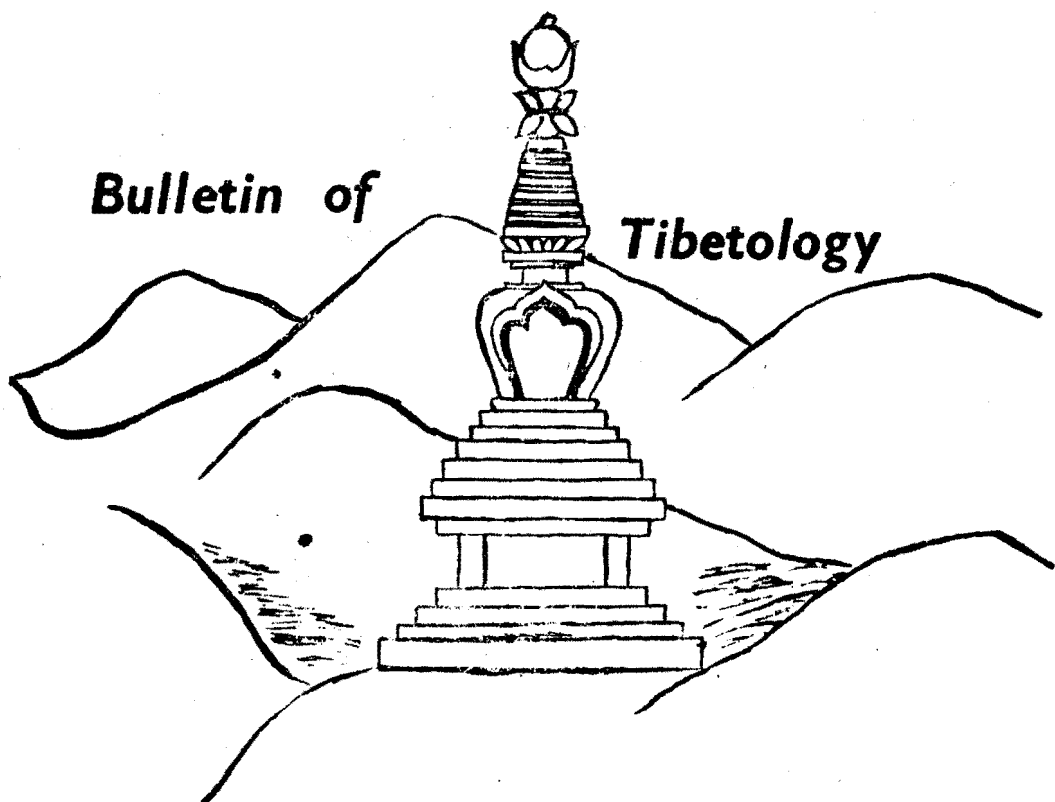


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—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

*EDITORS*

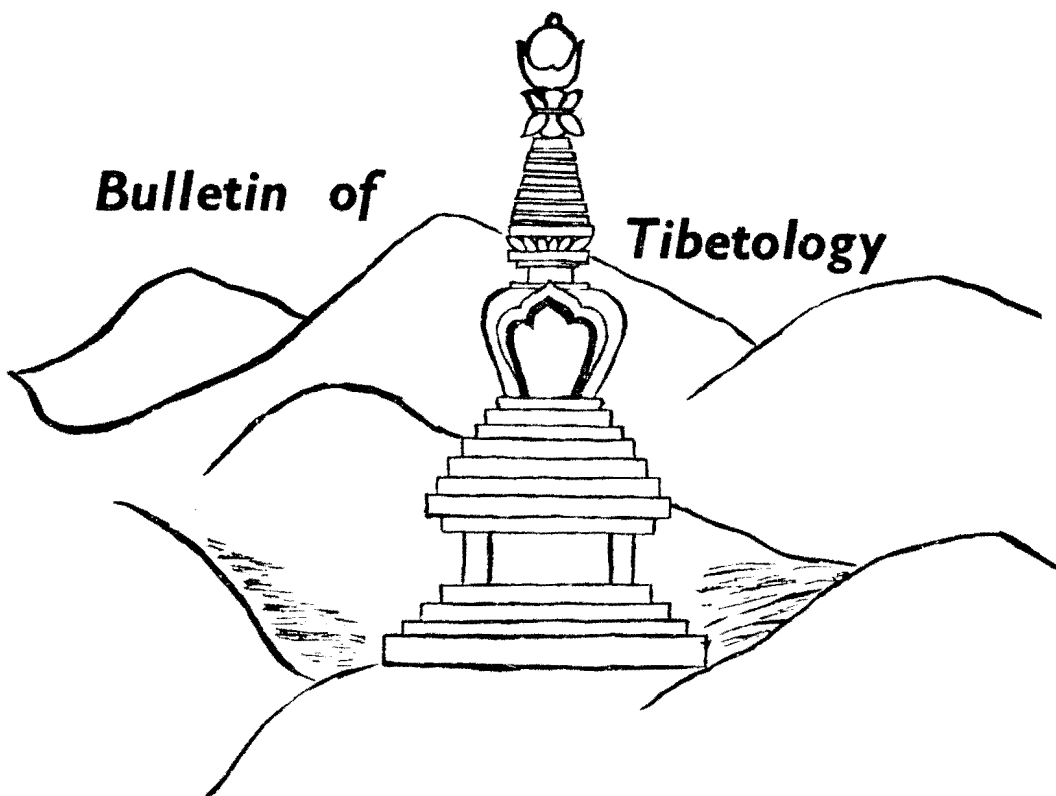
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## NAMES AND TITLES IN EARLY TIBETAN RECORDS

—HUGH E. RICHARDSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some information about the grading and ornaments of Tibetan ministers is also found in the T'ang Annals (Hsin T'ang Shu). The Chief Minister is there called *lun ch'e* and his assistant *lun ch'e hu mang*. These two are further described as great and little *lun*. There is a Commander-in-Chief called *hsi pien ch'e pu*; a chief minister of the interior called *nang lun ch'e pu* or *lun mang jo*; an assistant called *nang lun mi ling pu* and a lesser one called *nang lun ch'ung*; a chief consulting minister—*yu han ch'e po* with assistants also designated *mi ling* and *ch'ung*. All the ministers taken together are 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 *spyen*, 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;<sup>2</sup> 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".<sup>3</sup>

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 Mchims<sup>4</sup>, 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".<sup>5</sup>

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 Gcung<sup>6</sup>—the Younger Brother King; and it is possible that when Nepal was under Tibetan domination their king held the title of Btsan Po Gcen<sup>7</sup>—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;<sup>8</sup> 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;<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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 *amalya*. 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 *thabs* and *rus*, signify some sort of rank or title. Bacot, etc. have translated the names of Khri Sum Rje Rtsan Bzher and 'Bal Skye Zang Ldong Tshab as "le bzher Khri Sum Rje Rtsang de Dba's" and "Bal Skye Zang, le Tshab de Ldong"; and it is noted there that *bzher* means "haut fonctionnaire". This is apparently mere guesswork; and a key to the significance of such syllables 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* + *ming*, and as a very large number of *mkhan* existed—lists are given below, it seems probable that all nobles who attained ministerial rank were known by a *mkhan*. It seems equally probable that ordinary people did not have a *mkhan*. LINV 2169, for example, refers to persons only by their *rus* and *mying*; and many documents in TLTD and LINV relate to persons who can be seen from the context to have been farmers, soldiers, workmen and ordinary citizens. The names usually consist of two syllables only and many of them can be shown from established examples to be *mying*; the form of others differ from the usual mould of a *mkhan*, as can be seen from the lists which follow. Many of the names are prefixed by a *rus*, usually differing from the well established *rus* of the Tibetan nobility, and in many cases of non-Tibetan appearance. This is not surprising as the documents originate in the border regions and the *rus* fall into distinctive groups in the different regions. From Sha Cu (Tun Huang) there are such family, clan or racial names as 'Im; Hong; Le; Le'u; K'eu. The usual prefix for names from Khotan is Li and from the Tu Yu Hun, 'A Zha. The *rus* Ngan does not appear often but may perhaps refer to people of Sogdian origin.<sup>11</sup> Similarly the personal names fall into distinctive groups. From Sha Cu are found for example—Le Shing; P'eu P'eu; Hyan Ce; 'Im 'Bye Le'u; Wang Kun

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

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

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

#### MKHAN

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

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



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

## MYING

[A] Klu Gong; Klu Dpal; Skar Kong; Skyi Zung; Kha Ce; Khar Tsi; Khong Ge; Khong Sto; Khong Zung; Khong Lod; Khyi Chung; Khyi Ma Re Dod; Khri Gong; Khri Gda Khri Slebs; Gung Rton; Dge Tshugs; Rgan Kol; Rgya Gong; Rgyal Kong; Rgyal Sum Gzigs; Rgyal Slebs; Sngo Btsan; Rje Gol; Rje Chung; Rje Tshang; Nya Sto; Mnyen Lod; Stag Skyes; Stag Snya; Stag Snang; Stag Rtsan; Stag Tshab; Stag Lod; Brtan Kong; Brtan Sgra; Mdo Btsan; Mdo Lod; 'Dam Kong; 'Dus Kong; 'Dus Dpal; Rdog Rje; Ldong Tshab; Ldong Zhi; Ldom Bu; Ne Stang; Ne Brtsan; Ne Shags; G nang 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.<sup>12</sup> 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*)<sup>13</sup> 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||bduggi pha Ma Ko Can sgos zho sha phul ba'i rje blas 'dir bdag cag Led Kong gi bu tsha rngo thog las bsko bar ..*" "That *rje blas* (right to office) which our father's family regularly enjoyed, does not (now) exist. The *rje blas* earned by the performance of services especially by our father Ma Ko Can ..let one from the descendants of our Led Kong who is capable be appointed to that *rje blas*."
4. A branch of Mchims seems to have been known as Mchims Rgyal; see the well attested Mchims Rgyal Rgyal Gzigs Shu Steng (Zhol and THD) also in the third edict in TTK: Mchims Rgyal Btsan Bzher Legs Gzigs; Mchims Rgyal Srong Snya Mon Btsan; Mchims Rgyal Stag Bzher. Rgyal Gzigs, Btshan Bzher and Stag Bzher, without a prefixed Rgyal, are known *mkhan*. That prefix does not appear in the names of other *zhang* who are identified as belonging to the Mchims *rus*.
5. See TTK, p. 58. Tucci does not however, notice the unexplained spelling *lon* which is most frequent in this term *Zhang blon* does appear in LINV 1166: Zhang Blon Chen po Zhang Khri Sum Rje; in TLTD II 222 Zhang Blon Khri Bzher; also in LINV 981 and TLTD II 148. But for *zhang lon* see LINV 113, 1155, 1083; REV passim; TLTD II 9, 21 137, and a dozen other instances. To these can be added ten instances of the form *zhang lon chen po* and some significant examples e.g. 139 and 153 where a distinction is made between *lon* and *blon*, viz. Zhang Lon Chen po Blon Dge Bzang. The *shang lon che phra*; and *chags srid kyi blon po rnams dang*

*zhang lon che phra* are recorded as witnesses to a decree in the Zhwa'i Lhakhang inscription. In the Zhol inscription it seems that a person not related to the royal family by marriage could be given the rank of *zhang lon*. It may also be noted that no examples are found of e.g. *lon che*, *naing 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 Lhakhang) I suggested placing Myang in the Gyantse Nyang (Myang) Chu region; but I now think it far more probable that the home of the Myang family was in and to the west of the headwaters of the Myang Chu of Rkong Po - now known as the Rgya mda' or Kam chu. The legend of Dri Gum Btsan po, although claimed in recent times for the Gyantse valley, is properly connected,—as I am assured by several learned Tibetans—with the lower course of the Rkong-po Myang Chu. The site of Zhwa'i Lha khang, where a leading member of the Myang family built a chapel, also points towards Rkong po.
11. The character which is most naturally represented in Tibetan, as in French, as *ngan*, is one of several names indicating Sogdian origin. There were colonies of Sogdians in Eastern Central Asia from Hami and Lop Nor to the Ordos, see J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighoures*; Li Fang-kuei, "Sog", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1957; E. Pulleyblank in TP, XLI, 1952. Perhaps the origin of Ngan Lam Stag Sgra Klu Khong may be sought there. The Zhol Inscription suggests that his family had newly come to prominence in Tibet. Might he have been not

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

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.

## NON-ANIMISTIC ELEMENTS IN TIBETAN BUDDHISM

—SIEGBERT HUMMEL

Without entering into the question of the relative age, Fr. Krause has investigated the differences between animistic and non-animistic elements in two smaller works<sup>1</sup>. He speaks of two ideas of life, of which the non-animistic one shows an inseparable unity of body and soul which can not be destroyed even by death. There is a life after death in form of corporeality, that is to say, the unity of soul with the bodily frame. At least the nature of an individual can not be separated from a visible form. If we rightly want to speak of a non-animistic idea of life we must recognize the significance of the body within the psycho-somatic unity in the different forms of spiritual and, above all, religious culture.

Krause's researches are helpful in bringing light into the probably oldest epoch of Tibetan culture, whose complex nature always confronts us with new riddles. A typical idea within Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) is the Bar-do state which is strange itself in the Buddhist conception of death and rebirth. According to this conception the consciousness of the deceased still exists 49 days or in exceptional cases 30 years. Sometimes the dead is not conscious of the fact that he has died. The dead thinks that his life on earth goes on in form of a human body. This intermediate state (Tib.: Bar-do) is finally ended by the dissolution of all psychic functions of man, which are capable of creating a new functional unity which is psycho-somatic with the help of the element (Tib.: Phung-po) gZungs (the body aggregate). The self in Bar-do is consciousness and contains the whole of experiences which were collected during the life which came to an end by the death of the body.

Only in this intermediate state, according to the theory of Tibetan psychology, is it possible for the deceased to come back as a ghost (Tib.: sGyu-lus, Yid-kyi-lus) in which case consciousness temporarily appears in form of a visible body which can be materialized. Apparitions of deceased persons, who are dead more than thirty years, are interpreted as images of thoughts of the living person.

The different stages of the other world through which the deceased has wandered in the Bar-do are described in the so-called Book of the Dead<sup>2</sup> and interpreted as merely psychic events which can be experienced in meditation during the lifetime. A reinterpretation of the pre-Buddhistic ideas of travelling into the other world took place in Lamaism. According to that interpretation the Bar-do is as illusory as life on earth. The difference between the experiences in the Bar-do and those of the earthly life is, that the Bar-do states are only psychical reflexes of the past life of a man who was not conscious enough of the nature of existence. The Lama (lib.: Bla-ma) becomes the guide for the deceased on his way to the other world in reading the Book of the Dead at the death-bed in order to enlighten the deceased on the true nature of the appearances in the different stages of the Bar-do, and in order to accelerate the dissolution of the individual existence and its unification with the superindividual universum, the origin of the life, or to effect at least a favourable rebirth in a new body.

The theory of the Bar-do is obviously very old. We already meet it, in a changed form, in pre-Indo-German ideas of the Mediterranean culture, according to which the travel of a Mystagogue into the other world passes some stages to reach at last the Unio mystica. We recognize the relations with an archaic gnosis. The branches of the Shamanistic cosmic tree represent the stages of the other world, which we find again in the rings of the conical spire on the Lama pagoda (Tib.: mChod-rten), representing the different heavens of the Bodhisatvas. The Shaman climbs on the tree and leads the deceased through the other worlds as the Lama leads the dead through the Bar-do states which end with the unification of the deceased and the universal spirit if the former succeeds. The expansion of Shamanistic ideas into the ancient Asia Minor and the unification of Shamanistic ideas with old oriental ideas in Central Asia<sup>3</sup> are well-known. In this connection the question arises: Can we suppose that remainders of a non-animistic idea of life persist in the Buddhist theory of rebirth on earth? This Buddhist theory of rebirth could lead to the same origin as the Lamaistic Bar-do tradition, which can not be said of the Hinduistic metempsychosis, for there the soul as an independent integral thing leaves the mortal body and goes into a new body while according to the Buddhist theory, after the dissolution of all psycho-physical functions of the individual a new complete psycho-physical being can be



rebuilt. But we can not enter here into some ideas of Lamaism which are akin to the Hinduistic ideas, e.g. in connection with the theory of a Tulku (Tib.: sPrul-sku). They are exceptions<sup>4</sup>.

If it is typical of non-animistic idea of life that the dead dwells in a country of the dead, where he lives according to earthly conditions and has the possibility of coming back now and then to those living on earth in a bodily form, we only need remember some Tibetan death-ceremonies<sup>5</sup>. During the time, in which the deceased body remains in the house, he gets food from the survivors. His dish is filled with beer or tea up to the 49th day after the death, the ordinary end of the Bar-do time. Before the dead is taken out of the house, the Lama speaks to him and explains that he is now dead, that he has been entertained well and that the survivors do not want him to come back. As it is possible, that the dead comes back in a bodily form, the dead is bound up, sometimes he is weighted with stones, and his eyes are covered with dust. All this is intended to prevent the dead from rambling during the Bar-do time in his old body which he left at the end of his life. We only comprehend the binding and the weighting down of the dead with stones if we know the very old kinds of burial in Tibet: the burial in earth and the burial in water<sup>6</sup>. This taming of the dead (Tib.: gShin-'dre-'dul-va, gShin-po-'dul-va) to prevent them from disturbing the living can be traced back to the pre-Buddhistic customs<sup>7</sup>. As the dead are regarded to be dangerous when they appear among the living, people do not call them<sup>8</sup>, for they are on account of bad Karma only restless ghosts (Tib.: gShin-'dre), which can transform themselves into the feared bTsan-demons which send illness, especially when they have had a violent death<sup>9</sup>.

The day, when the corpse is taken out of the house, a kind of doll or effigy is made of the clothes of the deceased and of a printed paper which is to represent him (Tib.: mTshan-byang/ spyang, Byang-bu/ sPyang-pu). The effigy represents the tied up dead, in front of which are sometimes put some bones of the corpse that has been set out or the animals to be eaten. This serves as a magical representation of the dead<sup>10</sup>. Here we see the identity of our individual existence and bodily form which is typical of a non-animistic idea of life. Food and beverage are put out in front of the effigy.

The community of the dead with the living persons, above all at meals, is, according to Fr. Krause, a typical symbol for a non-animistic idea of life, as the intermediate rites for the deceased, by which the dead is led into another, yet bodily form. These rites are remembered in the Bar-do ceremony, when the deceased is led by the Lama into the other world and the Book of the Dead is read out to him or to his effigy as in order to guide him on his way". This will be done until the unification with the source of all things, the clear light, or the formation of a new individual has been achieved that is to say, a kind of transformation of the old psycho-somatic unity.

For the time of an eventual return there is as mentioned before according to the opinion of the Tibetans, the possibility, that the dead becomes a bodily ghost, a demon. The bodily apparition of a deceased, the real presence of the dead, occurs according to our representation, either with the body of the former earthly life, into which the dead moved again, or with the body of a phantom (Tib.:sGyu-lus), sometimes materialized, or with an effigy which represents the dead, responding with his symbolic portrait. The latter possibility is especially typical of the non-animistic conception.

Proceeding from the idea of a unity which can not be divided into body and soul, it is an essential feature of the non-animistic conception, that the body is a complete aspect of this unity. The possession of parts of the body or things which come in contact with the body can therefore be of great importance. This explains many of the magic rituals and customs of Lamaism connected with charms and amulets. We only remember the so-called Tsha-Tsha which are made by mixing the ashes of a burned corpse or a burned paper-picture of the deceased with clay. These plaquettes, cast in iconographical forms, are put up on the altar at home, in reliquaries and in amulet cases<sup>12</sup> to represent the blessings of the deceased. The physical remains of the dead or of living persons play a big part also in the so-called "Black Magic" of Lamaism. Human existence can be prolonged if one appropriates certain parts of a living person or organism (Tib.: Srong-bslu-byas-na).<sup>13</sup> While realizing the blissful beneficial forces of a deceased with the help of a Tsha-Tsha, in the performance Black Magic one can get power over something or somebody (man or beast), whose physical substances one possesses, so that one can improve one's own vitality with the help of the another's vital power while at the same time one may be able to

destroy him. The physical substances recreate the presence of the former possessor<sup>13a</sup>.

In the non-animistic ideas of the Lamaism we can probably distinguish between an older and a younger conception. According to the younger one it is enough to have the form as expression of the essential nature of a force or to appropriate the qualities of the matter which is connected with the matter or form of an individual as Fr. Krause has pointed out. The essential aspect of matter and form is always to be considered.

We remember once more the effigy or mask, especially the symbolic picture of the deceased and its function after the corpse has been taken out of the house. Without any doubt there are relations to the figures of ancestors in the non-animistic attitude. The presence of the deceased is never merely symbolized. The effigy which has direct, bodily relations with the deceased, as for instance through the clothes, which had been worn by him and the picture, printed with the help of wood-blocks, though unrelated to the material body of the deceased, are considered as representing the real existence of the dead; which is also demonstrated by the offering of food.

We may further think of the stone pillars (Menhir, Tib.: rDo-ring) of the 8th and 9th century in the oldest Lamaistic temples, which represent the dead ruler or the still living king with his whole authority and majesty (Tib.: mNga-thang) and with this the order of the world. We find here partly megalithic traditions. We do not know whether phallic ideas, are connected with this, but we cannot exclude this possibility<sup>14</sup>.

We should especially appreciate the monsters in which beast and man are united. The Tibetans think that animals have a greater vital power. The essential distinction between man and beast is however more or less denied here. Both are different aspects of the same vital principle and the one aspect is always present in the other. According to the non-animistic conception a human being turns into a beast or a beast into a human being by changing the bodily form whereupon the being whose form has been assumed is present with all its qualities. According to the non-animistic conception man and beast can transform into one another.

In these non-animistic ideas we can see the origins of the Lamaistic mask-ceremonies, especially the cult-dances whatever is represented by the assumed bodily appearance becomes reality. The human being becomes a divine or demoniacal being, or a particular animal by wearing the corresponding mask. Even one part of the body or only the emblems which point to the new being are sometimes enough. Speaking about these monsters not only when they are represented by masks of the Lamaistic cult-dances (Tib.: 'Cham), but also when they are images of the pantheon, we should realize that the transformation of a human being or a divinity into the nature of an animal with all its qualities and capacities, is an act of magic, brought about by putting on the appropriate masks and costumes. Fr. Krause calls this the principle of the effective form<sup>15</sup>. The dance-masks represent an actual form of reality, they do not only point to it. Transformations experienced in meditation only are a later stage of development, beside which the older magical practice of materialisation continued.

We clearly recognize the very old pre-Buddhistic traditions of the Tibetan mask-ceremonies still in the mask-processions, the nocturnal, noisy masquerades during the New Year's Day, in the begging-rounds of youngsters which find their counterpart in the excesses of the monks during the sMon-lam festival (Tib.: Lo-gsar-smon-lam-chen-po) together with New Year ceremonies in lHa-sa. Their original aim was to represent the army of the dead and of demons in connection with the magic of fertility for the new year<sup>16</sup>. This troop, mythologically known in Europe as the "wild hunters", is found in the Lamaistic pantheon too, namely as the retinue of the Tibetan rider of the white horse dGra-lha with his dogs and birds as messengers of death and as retinue of the famous white old man (Tib.: sGam (rGan)-po-dkar-po, Mi-tshe-ring) who is known all over Europe and Asia (cf. Eckart). Formerly this white old man as the master of life and fertility was an important figure of the Lamaistic 'Cham, and not a comic one. The pre-Buddhistic relations of the 'Cham to the occurrences of the psyche in the Bar-do are well known<sup>17</sup>.

Besides all these visible practices there are also many meditative exercises in Lamaism, influenced by an archaic, non-animistic conception and therefore above all connected with the body. During the corresponding exercises the transformation of the mystagogue into the absolute emptiness

recurr only together with the bodily aspect. Above all we point to the practices of the conjuration of divinities (Tib.: sGrub-pa, sPyan-dren-pa), which are considered as aspects of the absolute and who carry the meditator after his identification with them into the last unification. According to the theory of Tantrism the participation of the body supports the successful, preparatory meditation, a method which is known as the so-called Yoga with form (Tib.: 'Dzin-lam), by gestures (Skr.: Mudra) and sound symbols (Skr.: Bija, Mantra, Dharani). Painted and plastic icons can serve as supporting meditative instruments. First the mystagogue (Skr.: Sadhaka) identifies himself with the chosen divinity and he sees in it the first transformation of his own unity of body and soul. This occurrence is called bDag-skyed<sup>18</sup>. The divinity, now the self of the meditator, becomes visible to the mind's eye. This projection, which is called mDun-skyed, is said to be seen as partly materialized. At last the Sadhaka attentively observes the disappearance of this apparition into emptiness, which finishes the whole process of his own transformation into emptiness which, in its effects, means a parallel to the favourable end of the Bar-do: Dissolution of the unity of body and soul.

Without entering into the problems of parapsychology, we could mention, in this connection, the materialized so-called 'second selves' presupposing a split personality, beside the phenomena of materialisation during the conjuration of divinities by the Sadhaka (Tib.: sGrub-pa-po, sPrul-pa-mkhyen-pa).

In Tibet these materialisations are interpreted as phantoms, connected with the body, of the conjurer who sends off the second self as a body of a second personality (Tib.: sPrul-pa=Phantom) or who visibly conjures the divinity (Tib.: mDun-skyed), creates a materialized psychogon. Sometimes the conjurer is conscious of his primary personality which is possible during the conjuration. These phantoms of the second-self or the materialized divinities in the meditations are controlled by the meditator and are connected with a cord like a navel-cord, not always visible, which feeds the phantom (Thugs-Kyi-sPrul-pa)<sup>19</sup>.

It is important for us that the way to the redemption from the visible, illusionary world, divided into subject and object, leads via the psycho-somatic change of the Sadhaka into a divinity (bDag-skyed) and finally via the bodily appa-

rition of the divinity (mDun-skyed). Redemption is dissolution of the unity of body and soul.

The trance of a medium (Tib.: sKu-rten), possessed by a divinity known as Srung-ma<sup>20</sup> has a pre-Buddhistic origin and is older than the above-mentioned meditation with the help of icons from a pantheon, whose character as instrument is well known. The visible transformation of the facial expression of the medium is inseparably connected with the transformation of his body as a suggestive support the medium puts on the clothes which are iconographically prescribed for the divinity in question. This corresponds the meaning of the mask and points to non-animistic elements, too<sup>21</sup>. The man, clad in particular robes becomes a particular divinity or a temporary incarnation by the mask.

We also find old Shamanistic elements in the Srung-ma practice (of the theory of Bar-do)<sup>22</sup>. The penetration of Buddhism with Shamanistic elements in Tibet took place early. We still recognize a non-animistic component in Shamanism with its chiefly animistic structure. Here we also must speak of the meaning of the skeleton which is the fundamental condition for the psycho-somatic existence besides the mask for the transformation of the Shaman. The non-animistic idea of the decisive function of bones for the psycho-somatic unity might be the basis for the use of diverse bony things in the Lamaistic cult<sup>23</sup>. We remember the meaning of the bone-trumpet, the skull-bowl or the bone-rosary with the help of which the deceased, often a man demonized by death, whose bones are used, or a demonical powerful animal, is forced into the real presence and into a magic service, like in the above-mentioned ceremonies connected with charm and amulet.

The skeleton turning into a skeleton in the lamaistic gCod-mysteries, imagined by the mystagogue, has probably its origin in a similar occurrence of Shamans as initiation for a new being; the turning into a skeleton is depicted in the myth of Dto-mba-shi-lo among the Na-khi related to the Tibetans in the south-west Chinese-Tibetan cultural borderland. The idea of the vital function of the bones still survives in the Tibetan designation of succession as Rus (= bone)<sup>24</sup>. H. v. Sicard (l. c.) rightly calls attention to that fact, that the way leads from the preservation of the bones, in order to ensure the revival of the deceased, to the burial, which precedes the abandoning of the body of the deceased

(as for instance in water, or by exposing) out of fear of the dead. Where non-animistic elements, intended to ensure the life after death, have united with other funeral ceremonies, e. g. the cremating in Etruria, the anthropomorphic cinerary urn for the ashes can take over the function of the mask<sup>25</sup>.

Perhaps in prehistoric times the funeral in several stages was known in Tibet, at which the bones were buried in vessels during the second funeral. The Miao-Tzu, for instance, who are related to the Tibetans know a burial in several stages with cleaned bones<sup>26</sup>. The number of examples could be continued. They show us that the magic-meditative and demonological basis of Lamaism with its bodily practices goes partly back to the stage of non-animistic elements and here we have probably reached one of the oldest components of Tibetan culture.

## NOTES

1. Fritz Krause, *Zur Frage der nicht-animistischen Weltanschauung* (In Memoriam Karl Weule, Leipzig 1929, p. 377 ff.).—Id., *Maske und Ahnenfigur: Das Motiv der Hülle und das Prinzip der Form* (in: *Ethnologische Studien*, I, 4, Halle 1931, p. 344 ff.).
2. Tib.: Bar-do-thos-sgrol=Deliverance by hearing while on the After Death Plane (intermediate state). cf. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, 3. ed. London 1957 (German: *Das tibetische Totenbuch mit psycholog. Kommentar* V.C.G. Jung, Zurich 1936); Th. Schreve, in: A.H. Francke, *Geistesleben in Tibet*, Gutersloh 1925, p. 56; A. David-Neel, *Vom Leiden zur Erlosung*, Leipzig 1937, p. 143; M. Lalou, *Les chemins du mort dans les croyances de Haute-Asie* (in: *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris 1949, 1).—P. Poucha, *Das Tibetische Totenbuch* (in: *Archiv Orientalni*, 20, Prag 1952, p. 136 ff.); Anagarika Govinda, *Das Mysterium des Lebens und der Wiedergeburt* (in: *Indische Welt*, 1952, 6-1953, 4); D.L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford 1957, p. 262 ff.; A. David, Neel, *Textes Tibétains inédits*, Paris 1957, p. 128-144; S. Hummel, *Eine Jenseitsdarstellung aus Tibet* (in: *Acta Ethnogr. Acad. Scient. Hung.*, VI, 1-2, Budapest 1957); Id., *Zum Ursprung der Totengerichts- und Hollenvorstellungen bei den Tibetern* (in: *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss. u. Religionswissenschaft*, 1958, 1, p. 43 ff.).—G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*, 2. ed. Leipzig 1958, p. 169.
3. cf. O. Huth, *Maichen und Megalithkultur* (in: *Paideuma*, V, 1-2, p. 12 ff.).—M. Eliade, *Einführende Betrachtungen über den Schamanismus* (in: *Paideuma*, V, 3).—H. Nachtigall, *Die kulturgeschichtliche Wurzel der Schamanenskelettierung* (in: *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 77, 2).—S. Hummel, *Zentralasien und die Etruskerfrage* (in: *Kairos*, 1966).
4. cf. S. Hummel, *Die lamaistische Psychologie und ihre Stellung zum Spiritismus* (in: *Zeitschr. f. Psycho-somatische Medizin*, V, 3, p. 212 ff.).—Id., *Die lamaistischen Malereien und Bilddrucke des Linden-Museums* (in: *Tribus*, 16, Nr. 71591).

5. L.A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London 1895, p. 490 ff. (the prebuddhist origin is to be seen).
6. S. Hummel, *Die Leichenbestattung in Tibet* (in: *Monumenta Serica*, XX, p. 266 ff.). Conc. the signification of the corpse as the presence of the dead cf. the stuffed animals, which we can find in lamaist temples and fortresses in the mGon-khang or over the entrance. These animals are the Pho-nya (messengers) of terrible divinities (cf. G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, P. I, p. 130; L.A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 2. ed. London 1905, illustr. p. 200; Perceval Landon, *Lhasa*, Vol. I, London 1905, ill. p. 197).
7. H. Hoffmann *Quellen Z. Geschichte der tibet. Bon-Religion*, Mainz 1950, p. 186 ff.; W. Schott, *Über die Sage von Geser-chan* (in: *Phil. u. hist. Abhandlungen d. kgl. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1852, p. 265); W. Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba Ling*, Leipzig 1933, p. 400 ff.; A. David-Neel, *Heilige u. Hexer*, Leipzig 1936, p. 41 (with examples of conjuration); R.A. Stein, *L'Epopée Tibetaine de Gesar*, Paris 1956, p. 110.
8. Rin-chen Lha-mo, *We Tibetans*, London 1926, p. 179 f.
9. G.A. Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, New York 1926, p. 78.—H. Hoffmann, 1. c., p. 141.—S. Hummel, *Die lamaist. Psychologie u. ihre Stellung zum Spiritismus*, 1. c. (bibliography).
10. D.L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, p. 267.
11. cf. the reading out of the book of the dead in front of the portrait of the dead (so-called Osiris-statue) in Egypt (S. Hummel, *Zum Ursprung der Totengerichts- u. Hollenvorstellungen bei den Tibetern*, 1. c., p. 51); especially about Egypt cf. K. Sethe, *Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter* (in: *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* 7, 21, Berlin 1931).—W. E. Evans-Wentz, 1957, p. 22.
12. S. Hummel, *Die lamaistischen Kultplastiken im Linden-Museum* (in: *Tribus*, 11, p. 41 ff.).—mChod-rten with Tsha-Tsha in the interior are gDung-rten (receptacle of bones); cf. F. Grenard, *Tibet*, London 1904, p. 313.
13. S. Hummel, *Gunstige u. ungünstige Zeiten u. Zeichen nach dem Tibetischen des Chags-med-rin-po-che* (in: *Asian Folklore Studies*, XXII, p. 111).—R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 's-Gravenhage 1956, chapter XXV.
- 13a. *Pars-pro-toto in magic*: E. v. Erdberg-Consten, *Teil und Ganzes, Begrenzung und Weite in der chinesischen Kunst* (in: *Festschrift Willy Weyres*, Köln 1965).
14. S. Hummel, *Der magische Stein in Tibet* (in: *Intern. Archiv f. Ethnographie*, XLIX, p. 236).—Id., *Die verschlossene Urflut im Stadttempel zu Lhasa und die Weiden vor dem Heiligtum* (in: *Kairos*, 1964, 3-4, p. 173 ff.).—Id., *Die Kathedrale vom Lhasa, Imago Mundi und Heilsburg* (in: *Antaios*, VII, 3).
15. Fr. Krause, *Maske und Ahnenfigur*, 1. c., p. 357.—Id., *Review H. Lucas, Lamaistische Masken* (in: *Tribus*, 11, p. 174 ff.).
16. S. Hummel, *Der gottliche Schmied in Tibet* (in: *Folklore Studies*, XIX, p. 267 f., bibliography).
17. *Details in S. Hummel, Der Weisse Alte* (in: *Sinologica*, VI, 3, p. 193 ff.).—Id., *Der Hund in der religiösen Vorstellungswelt des Tibeters* (in: *Paideuma*, VI, 8; VII, 7).—Id., *Boy Dances at the New Years Festival in Lhasa* (in: *East and West*, XII, 1; XIII, 1; XV, 1-2).



18. About Yoga with form, cf. S. Hummel, Review Garma, C. C. Chang, the Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa (in: Kairos, 1964, 3-4, p. 290).—About the calling of divinities (tib.; sGrub-thabs, skr.: Sadhana) cf. F. D. Lessing, Wu-Liang-Shou (in: The Bulletin of the Inst. of Hist. and Phil., XXVIII, Taipei 1957, p. 798 f.).—According to the lamaist theory the divinity in question isn't really present in the picture with the mere production of painted or plastic icons. Some rites are necessary, by which the divinity moves into the picture (these rites: Rab-tu-gnas-par-byed):
19. Details in S. Hummel, Die lamaistische Psychologie u. ihre Stellung zum Spiritismus, I. c.—Id., Einige parapsychologische Phänomene im Lamaismus der Tibeter (in: Zeitschr. f. Psycho-somatische Medizin, VI, 1, p. 52 f.).—Id., Das Motiv der Nabelschnur in Tibet (in: Antaios, IV, p. 582 ff.).
20. cf. Tr. K. Oesterreich, Die Besessenheit, Langensalza 1921.
21. Details in S. Hummel, Die lamaist. Psychologie u. ihre Stellung z. Spiritismus, I. c. (bibliography conc. Srung-ba and Srung-ma ('Jig-rten-srung-ma), sKu-rten and prebuddhist dPa'-bo and bsNyen-jo-mo).
22. cf. D. Schroder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (in: Anthropos, 47, p. 238 ff.).—Id., Zur Struktur des Schamanismus (in: Anthropos, 50, p. 848).
23. cf. A. Friedrich, Knochen u. Skelett in der Vorstellungswelt Nordasiens (in: Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, V, Horn 1943, p. 189 f.).—W. Nolle, Schamanistische Vorstellungen im Shaktismus (in: Jahrbuch des Museums f. Volkerkunde zu Leipzig, XI, p. 41 ff.).—B. Laufer, Use of Human Skulls and Bones in Tibet, Chicago 1923.—cf. the bones before the doll of the dead.—Concerning the ceremonial use of human bones in Lamaism cf. S. Hummel, Profane u. religiöse Gegenstände aus Tibet und der lamaistische Umwelt im Linden-Museum (in: Tribus, 13, p. 72 ff.); conc. Afrika: H.v. Sicard, Karangamarchen, Uppsala 1965, p. 21, note 1.
24. S. Hummel, Euras. Traditionen in der tibet. Bon-Religion (in: Opusc. Ethn. Mem. Lud. Biro Sacra, Budapest 1959, p. 200 f.) gCod.—Id., Die Bedeutung der Na-khi für die Erforschung der tibetischen Kultur (in: Monumenta Serica, XIX, p. 319).
25. S. Hummel, Zentralasien und die Etruskerfrage, I. c.—Id., Die Leichenbestattung in Tibet, I. c., p. 269: The funeral as condition for the further bodily life of the dead (Sikhim).
26. S. Hummel, Die Leichenbestattung in Tibet, I. c., p. 278.—Id., Euras. Tradit. in der tibet. Bon-Religion, I. c., p. 200 (bibliography). About further propagation of the custom cf. H.v. Sicard, I. c., p. 21, n. 1.

AN  
ART BOOK  
FROM  
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

༄༅། །རྒྱལ་ཏྭ་གཞུག་མཆོག་གཉིས། །

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha, and Sakyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

*April 1962.*

## Notes & Topics

### THE GREY WOLF

On 25 January 1965, the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology had a distinguished visitor: Sir Harry Luke, KCMG, D. Litt (Oxford). As is well known to the specialists in Byzantine and Turkish studies, besides being in his days a topman in British diplomatic services, Sir Harry Luke is an eminent scholar in the history and culture of the Near East in medieval times. With characteristic modesty he described Inner Asia and Tibet as "a field entirely new to me" but was soon at home in discussing topics like migration of cultures and motifs from Inner Asia to Asia Minor. He spoke about the Grey Wolf banner of the Turks and told us having seen in a Turkish Museum the banner used by Ataturk (Kamal Pasha). Two months later Sir Harry Luke wrote to us the following:

"I did not forget your inquiry about a possible Tibetan origin of the Grey Wolf symbol and have obtained the following information from Mr. Meredith Owens of the British Museum, which I append for your information:

"The Grey Wolf legend is of Mongol origin rather than Tibetan, although the Mongol historian Ssanang Setzen makes the Mongol royal house spring from that of Tibet. The ruler of Tibet, Dalai Subin Aru Altan Shireghetu, was murdered by his minister Longnam who usurped the royal power. The murdered king had three sons, one of whom was called Sha-za-thi (flesh-eater). When the Mongols took over this legend they made the name Sha-za-thi into Bortechinua, which means the grey-blue wolf. This son went and settled near Lake Baikal, becoming ruler of the Bede people. He took a lady from the Gongbo people named Goa-maral (bitch-woman) to wife and this helped the growth of the legend that the Mongols were of wolfish origin. Klaproth says that the Mongol Lamas wished to flatter their royal house by tracing their lineage to Tibet, a country more advanced in culture and religion. (See Howorth: *History of the Mongols*, pp. 32-34)".

"The story of the wolf also occurs in Chinese sources and the murder of Dalai Subin is confirmed by Tibetan chronicles. Apparently the ancestors of the ancient Turks were massacred by a neighbouring tribe, all but a child 10 years old whose hands and feet were cut off. He was nourished by a wolf, which protected him from enemies by hiding him in a cave. The female wolf bore ten male cubs who captured wives and gave their names to their families. The child, named Asena (or Arsena), became their chief. (This is the most popular version of the legend)".

"Thus the grey wolf (*bozkurt*) became an omen of happy import among the ancient Turks. The emblem appeared on the standards of the Huns and the Uighurs. The Oguz branch of the Turks was said to have been guided by a wolf on their migrations and in the early epic of Oguz Kagan, the latter is said to resemble a wolf physically. The wolf device does not seem to have been used as an emblem for some time after the Turks became Muslims—probably because of religious scruples—but it was revived by Atatürk".

I hope this information may be of use to you".

Mynak Tulku Jamyang Kunga, a young Khampa scholar working in the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, contributes an article on the Grey Wolf in Tibetan literature in the next issue of this *Bulletin*.

NCS

## 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 Boddhisattva) or Thon-grub (Skt. Siddhartha).

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

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

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

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

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

\*

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

Among important foreign titles which entered Indic vocabulary in the period of Iranian, Greek, Parthian and Scythian settlements are Kshatrapa, Shaha, Strategos and Meridarch; the last two were 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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***Bulletin of Tibetology***

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