MKHAS PA'I DGA STON

The feast for scholars

INTRODUCTION

This history was written by Pawo Tsuglag (dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, 1504–1566). He was a reincarnate lama of the Karma Kagyu (Karma bka' brgyud) sect. The text was compiled between around 1545 and 1564. It presents a history of Buddhism in India and its diffusion in Tibet, along with a history of Tibet, itself, concentrating on the history of the Karma Kagyu. It includes a transcript of the inscription on the Samye (bSam yas) pillar.

Sources

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dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng bas brtsams. 1986. *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

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TBRC: W7499

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TBRC: W28792

[This is reproduced from prints from the Lho brag blocks from Rumtek Monastery, with the same page setting as the 1965 version]

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[This work was published in identical form in 2006 and 2012]

References

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OUTLINE

Section and chapter titles are found in the two-volume Beijing 1986 edition, as are the page numbers. The transliteration is based on the 1986 edition and the 1980 Delhi block print.

Section 1	How the doctrine was established generally in the world ('Jig rten gyi khams spyir
	bstan pa), p. 5.
Section 2	Concerning India (rGya gar gyi skabs), p. 29.
Section 3	Concerning Tibet (Bod kyi skabs), p. 101.
Section 4	Concerning Khotan, old China, Minyak, Hor, and recent China (Li yul, rgya nag snga
	ma, mi nyag, hor, rgya nag phyi ma bcas kyi skabs), p. 1381.
Section 5	The five types of knowledge (Yul spyi dang shes bya'i gtso bo rig gnas Inga byung
	tshul), p. 1431.

Section 3: Concerning Tibet

The titles of the sub-sections on the Tibetan royal chronicles below are suggested by the 2012 edition.

Chapter (1)	How Avalokiteśvara became lord of Tibet (Thugs rje chen pos bdag gir mdzad tshul),
	p. 105.
Chapter (2)	The Tibetan royal chronicles (Bod kyi rgyal rabs), p. 149.
Part 1)	How people arrived in Tibet
Part 2)	The twelve petty kingdoms
Part 3)	The seven sky kings (gnam gyi khri)
Part 4)	The two upper realms
Part 5)	The six beautiful lands and the eight middle realms
Part 6)	The five emperors (btsan) of the lower realms
Part 7)	King Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po)
Part 8)	King Mangsong Mangtsen (Mang srong mang btsan)
Part 9)	King Dusong Mangpoje ('Dus srong mang po rje)
Part 10)	King Tri De Tsugten (Khri IDe gtsug btsan)

Part 11) King Tri Song Detsen (Khri Srong Ide btsan) Part 12) King Mune Tsenpo (Mu ne btsan po) Part 13) King Tri De Songtsen (Khri IDe srong btsan) Part 14) King Tri Tsug Detsen Ralpachan (Khri gTsug Ide btsan ral pa can) Part 15) Namdé Oshung (gNam lde 'od srung) and Tri De Yumten (Khri lDe yum brtan) Part 16) Concerning Lhasa and Samye Chapter (3) The appearance of monastic discipline ('Dul ba'i chos kyi byung ba), p. 465. Chapter (4) The history of the translators and scholars (Lo pan chos 'byung), p. 509. The appearance of the Vajrayana Nyingma (gSang rnying ma'i chos kyi byung ba), Chapter (5) p. 537. Chapter (6) The appearance of the Kadampa (bKa' gdams kyi byung ba), p. 655. Chapter (7) The appearance of the Kagyu, in general (bKa' brgyud spyi'i chos kyi byung ba), p. 739. Chapter (8) The appearance of the Karma Kamtsang (Karma kam tshang gi chos kyi byung ba), p. 859. Chapter (9) The history of the Drigung Kagyu ('Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar), p. 1337. Chapter (10) The appearance of various religious lineages (Chos brayud sna tshoqs pa'i chos kyi byung pa), p. 1359.

EXTRACTS

Section 3, Chapter 2: The Tibetan royal chronicles

Part seven concerns the life and activities of Songtsen Gampo. The text describes how the king sends his minister, Tonmi Sambhota (Thon mi sam bho ta), to India in order to learn reading and writing, so as to be able to create the laws of the ten virtues (*dge bcu yi rgyal khrims 'cha' ba la*), among other things. He encounters the brahmin Li byin and other scholars and creates the Tibetan alphabet. On his return, the king establishes his government and its ministers, allocating them with different tasks, and he himself goes into retreat to learn the script.

Later, his kingdom flourishes: from the east, from China and Minyak, come craftsmanship (*bzo*) and arithmetic (*rtsis*); from the south, from India (*dkar po'i rgya gar*), comes the sacred doctrine; from the west, from Sogpo and Nepal, come material wealth; and from the north, from Monglia and the Uighurs, come law (*khrims*). It is said that the king rules over half the world.

[p. 184]

ाषुष्यःस्तर्धःस् |यत्रःक्रीः।वृत्यःश्लेष्यःश्लेषःश्लेषः। |द्रात्यःष्र्वाषाःस्तरःश्लेषः।

One hundred ministers in all, levelled differences (bar gyi khod snyom) and maintained the two laws (khrims gnyis), so it is said.

The king stays in his palace for four years to learn the script and the people become restless. He emerges and gathers the people and announces his intention to create laws. After explaining his absence, he declares:

[p. 184]

टबर कु बुंग्राबा भैंगावश्या स्ट्रास्त्र स्ट्रास्त्र क्षेत्रक्ष अस्. सूर्य 'खंत्वर स्ट्रास्त्र 'खंत्वर स्ट्रास्त्र 'खंत्वर स्ट्रास्त्र 'खंत्वर 'खंत्रक्ष' त्राच्य 'क्षेत्र 'क्षेत्रक्ष' प्रचर 'क्षेत्र 'क

"Now, I must make the great royal laws. Formerly, when there were no laws, there were scattered small polities. Now again, without law, evil conduct is spreading and it is causing my subjects to suffer, so I must make law".

He made the six great laws (*bka' yi khrims yig chen po*). First, he divided Tibet into five horns. He made eighteen divisions of territorial power. He divided [Tibet] into sixty-one military thousand-districts. He divided it into civilian districts of servants and servants' servants. The three maternal uncles, together with the ministers formed a central council. The three regiments of heroes protected the watchposts on the borders. These were known as the six Tibetan institutions. As regards the six laws, they were: the law of Khri rtse 'bum bzher, the law of 'Bum gser thog sha ba can, the law modelled on the kingdom, the law of mDo lon zhu bcad,¹ the general laws created by the governors (*dbang chen*), and the internal revenue law. These were the six.

[p. 185]

८८. त्री वि.के.पर्वंश.ठावुर.वया.बुट.ता.८८. व्रिया.कूंच.ता.जया.मेज.त्र्या.बुंच.त्रा.४४४४. व्याचा.व्याचा.व्याचा.व

¹ This may mean, alternatively, the law concerning the summary of thes decision on what is received and given, that is, the arguments on both sides. It could, then, indicate, a law guiding judges' decision-making.

First, the king gave instructions to the different ministers according to the explanation of government and administration in Khri rtse 'Bum bzher's [law].

This involves organising:

The four horns [p. 186]

The shares of power [pp. 186–87]

The ten *sde* [pp. 187–88]

The civilian districts [pp. 188-89]

The experts, herders, traders, servants, and kings [pp. 188–89]

The upper regiments of heroes [p. 189]

The middle regiments of heroes [p. 189]

The lower regiments of heroes [pp. 189–90]

The text continues with the seven officials:

[p. 190]

त्त्व. पूर्च. तर्थच. बूर्रा क्रीय. पटी. स्टा. तांबुस. स्टिज. क्री. तांबुस. क्री. तांबास. स्व. तक्षास. त्यास्व. सूच्च. सूचाया श्व. सूच्च. क्रीय. पटी. अह्. श्व. अपू. तांबुस. क्रीय. त्यांच्य. क्रीय. व्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्यांच. त्यांच्य. त्यांच. त्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्यांच्य. त्य

Then, as far as the seven officials (*dpon*) are concerned: the duty of the regional officials is to maintain the laws of the smaller regions (*yul chung khrims*); the duty of the army officials is to defeat the enemy; the horse officials define the highways; the official of the prices manages the grain, gold, and silver—since there are many prices to enumerate, he is known as the official of the prices (*rngan dpon*); the official of the herd (*phru dpon*) manages the herds of yak and *dzo*; the justice official (*drang dpon*) decides legal cases. These are the seven officials.

[p. 190]

Furthermore there were the six great principles (*bka' gros*), the six insignia of rank (*yig tshangs*), the six official seals, the six attributes (*rkyen*), the six emblems of heroism, with the addition of the six legal codes. These were known as the thirty-six institutions of Tibet.

[p. 190]

Those who take care of the body of the lord will be given wages;² by controlling the soldiers, the servants' servants will be supported;³ servants who have not been sent to be soldiers should not be attached to the words of noblewomen; by protecting the borders, the subjects' fields and gardens will not be trampled by horses; by suppressing the enemy, the subjects will be protected; by observing the ten virtues, the ten non-virtues will be rejected. These are the six great principles (*bka' gros chen po*).

[p. 190-91]

As for the insignia of rank ($yig\ tshang$): the excellent are gold and turquoise; the middle are silver and gilt; the low are copper and iron, making six. Each is divided into two, an upper and lower, making twelve. Thus, the great 'high minister' ($gung\ blon\ chen\ po$) is given the large turquoise insignia; the middle 'high minister' and the great interior minister are given the small turquoise insignia; the lower 'high minister', the middle interior minister, and the great $bka'\ yo\ gal\ 'chos\ pa,^4$ all three are given the large gold insignia; the lower interior minister and the middle bka' blon are given the small gold insignia; the lower $bka'\ blon$ is given the gilt insignia.

Further, scholar translators, the emperor's mantra specialists, governors, and ministers of the upper and lower regions⁵ are given the large silver insignia. The Bon po who take care of the body of the lord, personal chamberlains, riders, guides to the northern plateau, border guards, those who protect district forts, and so forth, are given the small silver insignia. The six clans of paternal subjects, and so on, receive the bronze insignia. The heads of thousand-districts and horn officials receive bronze insignia. Heroes in battle receive iron insignia and, further, as for the wavy pale wood insignia, it is given to the common subjects.

² Reading *slar* as *blar* would mean 'superior wages'.

³ See Dotson (2006: 291–94) for a discussion and alternative reading of this passage.

⁴ Dotson (2006: 248–49) translates this as 'imperial justice'. The literal meaning is 'impartial executor of orders', but in the IDe'u chronicle the duties are described as those of a judge.

⁵ This could possibly mean 'west and east'.

[p. 191]

खूचा.काट्ट्या.स्चाया.कु.लिया.के.लिया.के.सूच्या.की.लिया.के.सूच्या.के.सूच्या.का.कु.लिया.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.के.स्व स्वा.काट्या.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.के.सूच्या.के.सूच्या.के.सूच्या.के.सूच्या.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.के.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.लिया.की.स्वाया.की.स्व

As regards the six seals (*phyag rgya*): the seal for official orders is a casket, the seal signifying a regional military government is a banner, the seal signifying a district (*yul*) is a royal fort, the seal signifying religion is a temple, the seal signifying heroes is a tiger skin, the seal signifying the learned is a text (*yig tshangs*). They are divided thus.

[p. 191]

राषु भुष .टे.भेष अपूर्। भुष .टे.बा.बु.ट्सप तपु.भुष .टे.बीट.टट.क्षेवा इत्राक्षपु.गुष .टे.स.खी ल.रतका गु.भुष .टे.क्षे.कूबा विलिट.सूपु.भुष .टे.ह्योब.टट.सूषी घह्टबातपु.भुष .टे.लुवा.क्टबा टब.

As regards the six attributes (*rkyen*):⁶ the attributes of the hero are the leopard and the tiger; the attribute of the coward is the fox hat; the attribute of the nobility (*ya rabs*) is the divine religion (*lha chos*); the attributes of the lower classes are *thags*⁷ and Bon; the attributes of the learned are texts (*yig tshangs*); the attributes of the wicked are (those of) thieves.

[p. 191]

ट्राय:अक्ष्य:र्वा,युं,क्षेता,क्ष्रूट्,क्षेता,क्ष्य:वावुका,च्रा,क्ष्य:च्रम:क्ष्य:व्यः,क्ष्य:व्यः,व्यः,व्यः,व्यः

As for the six emblems of heroism, they are both the upper and lower tigers, the large and small zar, the gam ras cloth and tiger skin coats, making six.

[p. 191]

Further, the three—great, middle, and lower—'high ministers' (gung blon), the three interior ministers, the three great imperial justices, making nine, comprise the nine great ministers. The high minister, like a husband, manages the entirety of the external affairs; the interior minister, like a clever wife, manages internal affairs; the great imperial justice (bka' yo gal 'chos pa)

⁶ Dotson (2006) translates this as 'qualities'.

⁷ See Dotson (2006: 306) for discussion of this term.

⁸ This could possibly mean using tiger skin for either upper or lower garments.

rewards the good, even if it is the son of an enemy, and he punishes the bad, even if it is his own son.

[p.191]

ारधिशःक्षीः वाष्ट्रमः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वयः (ब्रेयः चीवावा |टायापः त्यान्य वाष्ट्रायः स्वाः स्वयः व्यव्यायः स्त्री |ट्यायः त्याः स्वियः त्याः स्वयः य्यव्यायः । |ट्यापः त्याः स्वियः त्यायः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः । |ट्यापः त्याः स्वियः त्यायः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः । |ट्यापः त्याः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः ।

This is what is known as the [law] of Khri rtse 'bum bzher,

The first of the six laws (bka' yi khrims yig).

Bre, srang, phul, khyor, zho, nam, se, sran, and so on:

The order that delineated them is the second law (khrims yig),

Known as the [law] of 'Bum gyi gser thog sha ba can.

[p. 191-92]

|वाश्वं अर्प: कुल: विस्तर द्वेर: ब्वट्स: विस्तर वेत्र: प वि.चर.प्याटट.धु.प्याङ्ग्य.ताङ्गी |द्वा'त्र्व'कुल'विश्वरा'त्र्रे'त्र'श्रह्द्। विट.वी.क्र्य.अह्ट.प्टाट्य.प्व्र.भूट.। द्धि'सर'यत'द्धेर'ट्स'र्क्स'द्य |पा.र्यकाभी.भीष.री.क्र्याष्ट्री ार्क्रेट्र खेत्र विट 'र्चे' व्या खे 'चन्द्रा |वोशट.र्ज्ञवोश.र्ज्ज्याथ.पक्ट.भै.टापु.भी व्रिंग्न्यं पर्या |८४.८.८हूँ८.४.ब.धु.ब.स्८.। |**८े.**चथ्र.षुट.सू.हूर.थु.८विट.। |ट्रिंदर,ज.र्ज्जवा.ग्रुथ.श.टार्डूट.थ। |द्रपत'दर'चुब'पत्रे'रु'ब'बेट्। |ฆธุเนาเกากุณเหตุนายุ ब्रिव कर अह्र या र व भव के ब्रिटा जिवाबाजा-चु:न्वाबाखा-वार्क्ट्रन्वा श्चित्रक्र क्रियायाचार्यास्य धीरा

Thirdly, what is known as the law modelled on the kingdom

Demonstrates appropriate and inappropriate behaviour.

Subdue enemies and make the kingdom happy;

Tend to internal affairs and look after your retinue;

For your future life, practise the holy doctrine (dam chos).

Since the divine religion (Iha chos) is a fundamental attribute of the nobility,

Do not expound it to servants, who are not (worthy) recipients;

Since secret mantras (gsang sngags) are the foundation of perfect enlightenment,

Do not sell them, like other possessions, but keep them in your heart;

If you praise the bad, you will both be ruined,

So do not set up servants as lords.

If you do not praise the brave with tiger (insignia),

Bravery will not be cultivated;

If the wise are not praised with texts (yig tshangs),

Later, the wise and the bad will not be differentiated;

If the good are not rewarded,

Then who will do good deeds?

[p. 192]

ছিম.প্র.स.(बेद्य.প্র.टेशट.वी

|द्राय:द्रद:इर:ब्रा:वव:ब्रे:ह्रोद्

|८व'ल'वव'ह्रर'ब'चुब'व|

विषायट द्वा भेषा रेषा श्री त्युरा

विद्यात्यःकट्रायाः वार्यरुट्राया

हि.यंबा.येबा.ट्रेट.क्वेंब.धा.कटी

जियाश्चेत्रत्यायाययम्।

रिस्तारस्वायायात्रीयाम्यायाः

|रट.मी.शक्षय.मी.मी.शब्र र.थ।

हिःरूज्यत्यीयायीटाषुरियायहोता

|प्रचयःम्याषाः अवरः वःष्ट्रीः वटः यो

क्षिं, रट्ट स् वया या या राय के रा

If cowards are not shamed with a fox hat,

Then heroes and cowards will not be differentiated;

If the bad are not scrutinized,

They will never endeavour to change their attitudes;

If sins are not punished,

People will continue to commit sins.

If you harm your father and mother, who gave you life,

There will be great pain and suffering in the present and future;

If you harm your own son,

Outside, your enemies will uncover your deeds and words;

If you harm your family members, remote or close,

Husbandry and agriculture will diminish.

These are the three deeds, the three non-deeds, the three praises, the three shames, and the three non-harms. They are the fifteen renowned royal laws (*rgyal khirms*) [which ensure that] those who are heroic in battle are rewarded with the six emblems of heroism and those who are cowardly are shamed by wearing fox hats. So it is said.

[p. 192]

ष्ठिषयाकीत्रक्षा सार्रामे ब्रिट्स्ट्स्विश चुंकार्रामे विद्वास्त्र स्वायामे क्षित्र स्वायामे स्वायाम्य स्वायामे स्वयामे स्वय

As regards the sixteen pure rules of human conduct and, in particular, the rejection of the ten non-virtues and the pronouncement of the laws (*bka' khrims*):

The law of not taking life [requires] blood money (*gshin stong*) and wound price (*gson stong*); the law of not taking that which has not been given requires—for stealing the property of the clergy—compensation of one hundred, for that of the king—compensation of eighty, and for that of the subjects—compensation of eight; the law of sexual misconduct requires compensation for adultery (*smad 'jal*) and punishment for rape (*byi chad*); the law against lying requires that you swear an oath taking the protector deity as a witness; [consumption of] *chang* should be measured. These were modelled on the five established religious laws (*chos kyi gtan khrims*). In addition to these five, the laws against servants revolting and people digging up royal tombs comprise the six or seven great renowned laws.

Generally, in addition to rejecting the ten non-virtues: regard your mother as your mother, your father as your father, religious ascetics and brahmins as such; respect elders, repay kindness, and do not be deceitful towards others. These make up the sixteen pure rules of human conduct.

[pp. 192-93]

गवव"यट"।

<u>८ मृथि अक्षूता भैत्रा तर्वे ८ . र्टी श्राया अक्ष्री</u> |य'र्ट्'अ'ल'र्ट्रेब'ग्रॉ<u>ड</u>्रे'च्ग्रार'ङ्गे'ड्या ।ব্রির'ডর'অব্'র্ম'যার্উব্'উব্'বর্র্ব'এর'র্হ্ম। |वर्ष्ट्रव,ट्रा.क्ष्या.ज.धा.म्ज.क्ष्या.व.थेव। |यथ.ब्रॅट.घथय.<u>१८८.ल.४</u>८थ.ह्य.थॅ.पटीट.| **ब्रिकार्ट्स क्षेत्र के अन्य में अन्य म** चि.पर्यथ्रतार्ट.क्ष्य.क्र्या.तप्.तप्.ल्य.ज.पट्या |याब्रद्र'याद्यस्य प्ट्रद्र'स्य प्टायाद्यासा विषाद्यात्रम् । विषाद्यात्रम् । विषाद्यात्रम् । भ्रिव दास्य स्वार्याचा स्वार्थ विश्व |इ।८८.ब८.ज.ध्वायात्रःवात्रःव्या |अ'चर्ड्य'यम्'य'र्द्र्द्र'येद्र'वि'वर्द्र्ययाश्चर्। |रट.ष्व्रीषात्पञ्चट,येषातश्चिर.षाञ्ची,यर.शि |ष्रवत:८८:८ष:८७वा:श्रुंवा:५२:वाडेव:८२:५६दा |दे'ल'र्सेवाब'च'चगाद'धे'द्रेल'चङ्गवाब'हे। |W'र्चर्याचन्द्रात्त्रे'खेबायाग्री'चन्नुद्र'चर्रुय'द्र् ष्ट्रिःसरःसर्वःचर्देतेःर्गेःतसरःरस्यःया |र्यट्रायन्यावययान्यः पर्माट्रान्दे विट्राञ्चीट्रा

Furthermore,

Take refuge in the Three Jewels, and respect them with faith and devotion;

Show gratitude and respect to your father and mother;

Do not cut yourself off from your benefactors, but repay their kindness;

Do not quarrel with your superiors, but listen to what they say;

In all your activities, emulate the upper classes;

Concentrate on the doctrine and [its] texts so as to grasp their meaning;

Have faith in [the karmic law of] cause and effect and avoid sinful activities;

Do not think harmful thoughts of others, but determine to be of assistance;

In whatever you do, take your own mind as witness and always be honest;

Be measured in food and drink and act modestly;

Repay the interest on loans, and so forth, on time;

Do not cheat or be deceitful over *bre*, *srang*, and other [weights and measures];

Do not interfere in things that do not concern you;

Be self-reliant and controlled, and make your words weighty;

Hold fast to your oaths and vows, as if to your life.

These were the official proclamations.

With treatises on the excellent customs of the nobility (ya rabs)

And vows [to achieve] a prosperous and happy status in the next life,

All Tibetan subjects were established in pleasure and happiness.

[p. 193]

चित्रयाधियाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान्त्रयाः विद्यान [प:र्वा:क्रुंबर्ग:य:अ:क्रुंट्र्य:र्द्य:र्र-पठर्] |यादी'याषा'व्यव'व्य'द्रञ्जूया'च'रुव'चिवेद'द्रद्र'| |यादी'या'चट्रेव'व्य'र्रयावा'यादीवा'दा'श्वर'च्छ्टा

११व द्वा वित पानिक र्हेट त परेन ह्व पर्मवाक पति अधर व द्वा पर्मवाक पति । अधर वित वित पर केर्

As for the third law (khrims yig), when you make orders (zhal lce) concerning truth and falsehood:

Do not favour the powerful in your decisions,

But respond [appropriately] to both sides, as in the case of Dandin,

And decide according to the truth for both of them.

If powerful and weak [people] are in dispute, when you have completed your investigation into the truth, do not favour the powerful and decide without disappointing (yi chad) the weak. This is the law of mDo lon zhu chad. 10

[p. 193]

यीका मुद्रान्यञ्जरा प्राच्या कार्या प्राचन . લેવા અ: શ્રુષા 'ત્રવા' શ્રે કેંદ્રા' ક્રિયા 'ત્રદ્રા' વેષા અલે 'ત્રા' અલે 'ત્રા' સાથે 'ત્રા' ત્રા' કેંદ્ર 'તે કર્ ग्री:श्रि:व्रियण

As for the response to both (parties): the brahmin Dandin had borrowed a householder's ox and when he went to return it he put it in the owner's enclosure without saying anything. The householder saw that the ox had been returned, but he did not tie it up, and the ox came out of the gate and went astray. They took it as a legal case to Me lung gdong. (He decided that) since the brahmin had not said, 'I have returned the ox', his tongue should be cut, and since the householder had seen [the ox] but had not tied it up, his hand should be cut off. Taking this legal decision as an example, decide in favour of both equally. This is the general law of the great governors (dbang chen).

[pp. 193-94]

⁹ This should be the fourth law, according to the original list.

¹⁰ This could mean the law concerning the making of orders in contentious cases: see p. 5, fn. 1, above.

चाकुंकात्तरः चीचोकात्तरः ने,जान्त्रा, बीचका बेचका चोकुंका नर्ट्य सेन्टा-स्चोका निर्माण्या कुंकात्तरः कुंचिता कुंचा निर्माण्या कुंचा कुंचा

In the case that both parties are right: the son of a householder, just after he had been born, fell into a river and was swallowed by a fish. The servant of another householder, who lived in a village lower down, caught and killed the fish, and the boy—still alive—emerged. The householder raised him as his son. The first householder heard about this and a dispute arose, so they petitioned the king. [He ordered that] the two of them should raise the child in turns and each should take a girl [as a wife for him]. If a boy was born and either household said 'take it', then the boy should take the name of the second family; if a boy taken by either household later became a monk, then he should be known as a monk of the second family. Taking this as an example, in the event of both parties being right, decide in a way that pleases all three. This is known as the internal legal code of the king's treasury.

[p. 194]

हे 'क्षेत्र' भर 'स'से 'भेर' के 'भेर' के आर्थे 'दिन 'से 'से प्रता देवा 'से प्रता है प्रता है के प्रता के से प्र पर्दुते विभवापर्दद परे भ्रीत स्पर्म प्राप्त में नि'क्षर'वरी'द्वी'गुब'मु'खब'य'थी |বর্ল ব্রেম্বর ব্রম্বর ব্রেম্বর ব্রমেম্বর ব্রেম্বর ব্রমেম্বর ব্র |रे.ट्रेग|ब.क्षब्य,वु.मु.ब.स्त्रि.ट्रॉन्स.ब्र्स्स |र'सुवा'चेदु'स'र्सेवाष'र्रट'धेद्र'वार्हेट'। |ঝ'ঝ'বর্জ্ব'বঠ্ডিবার্ম'স্কু'ক্টর'<u>য়</u>্র'র্থার্ম'বভদ্| <u>|हे</u>'धे'नगत'नर्ड्द'त्रन्द्र्रा'क्र्याम् अर्थान्द्रे 'बेट'श्चेत् मिजार्र्युप्र.क्या.होट्.ट्विर.बी.अर्क्स्.सॅर.पत्रुजा र्स्.रतप.स्.अर्ग्नेवाका.ज्र्याका.ज्रूरा.कै.रटा.अथेशा |र्में.वोध्ट.क्र्यालावियातयायट्टे.क्रिंटाश्चेटी विषय.कट.त.धर.चेय.तय.पंचटा.धूट.थुटी चि'र्ज्ञेया'८र'राषा'के'ग्राव'र्क्रेषाया'यह्या म्भिषारपति मुँषाषा स्रोत् 'त्यो 'पस्ति से त्या केता श्चिलाराष्ट्रायास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रास्त्रान्त्राः अन्। क्रि. क्रि. र्यं त्या स्टान् हैं न्युर्ट . त्युं क्रिया या त्येया **ब्रिंब.धुट.घथया.ठट.ताजावा.ज्.पट्टा.क्या** वि.क्ष्रयायवा.स्ययाःश्रेष्य.तापु.श्री.टिवेट्यापवित्री <u>|त्र्ितीयाश्चाय्यायम्</u>ग्रीटाङ्गेट्रास्टायर्ष्ट्या

Thus the men from the eastern grasslands and woodlands, the barbarians from *Klo* and *Mon* to the south, the Turks and those in Zhang Zhung from the west, the Mongols and Uighur from the

north, were gathered as subjects. Half the world was governed [by Srong btsan sgam po]. The strict laws of the ten virtues [caused] peace and happiness equal to that of the gods.

In this way, from that time on, the all-benefitting

Good imperial law, like a yoke, bound them in an excellent manner;

The wild animals became part of the king's possessions;

The goats, sheep, and calves were left alone;

Mountain shrines¹¹ were built on the passes and boats crossed the great rivers;

The firm orders of the lord generated contentment and happiness among the subjects;

The king's government expanded like a lake in the summer;

Men were brave, horses were fast, and material wealth was equal to that of the gods;

Putting their trust in the religion, from that day on people were happy;

Regarding everyone as their parents, the people engaged in no disputes;

Reading and writing flourished and all people entered into the religion;

Without resorting to sinful friends, they obtain the jewel of the ten virtues;

Because of the deeds of the reincarnation [Srong btsan sgam po] there were no taxes or corvée labour;

As a result of timely rainfall, the stocks of fruitful seeds increased;

The branches and leaves of all trees flourished;

The birds sang carefree and melodious songs;

The contentment and happiness of the people of Tibet was like that of the gods.

The text continues with a description of the happiness of Tibet and its people.

A few pages later, the text turns to the story of Songtsen Gampo's missions to Nepal and China to seek brides.

Songtsen Gampo sends his minister, Gar (mGar), to Nepal, to ask the king for his daughter's hand in marriage. The Nepalese king at first refuses, saying that he does not have marriage alliances with the Tibetans. However, he then asks whether Songtsen Gampo can establish Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan king sends a letter in reply:

[p. 203]

¹¹ Dotson (2006: 407–08) has 'toll posts' for *la brtsas*.

યદ્યા મૈયા પૂર્વ 'શ્રેન' વૈયા સન દે. તા. ત્રા કર્ને ત્રણ ખૂર્ય સૌર્થે ત્યા કો કો કે ત્યા ત્યા સાથે ત્યા કો કો ક છેવે 'તો કુતો 'તા ર્તનો 'તાર્કેલુ' લિંગ્રયા 'તક્ષ્વ' કા કરે. તે કીર્યાન કો કો કો કા ત્યા ત્યા કો કો તા ત્યા કો

'The king of the barbarian Tibetans, Srong btsan sgam po, says to the king of Nepal, "You, in Nepal, to the south, have the doctrine (*chos*). I do not have either doctrine or religious practitioners. So if it pleases you to grant your daughter, then in one day I will create 5,000 bodily emanations and construct one hundred and eight temples, with all the doors facing towards Nepal, and there will be nothing more wonderful'.

Then the king of Nepal said, 'Ask him if he has the power to establish laws of the ten virtues', and he entrusted the paper with the question to a silver casket. The reply came, 'In that case, after having created the 5,000 emanations, in one day I will establish the laws of the ten virtues.' Being a little afraid, he thought, 'In order to appear profound, the Tibetan king seems to be boasting. Since the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, we have had the resources of unceasing smoke from our stoves'.

The Nepalese king then asks the minister about Tibet's material wealth. He eventually agrees to give his daughter in marriage.

After the queens of China and Nepal arrive in Lhasa, they establish temples and the religion flourishes.

[p. 243]

दि. ई.पु. सुंश्यः प्र. अघूट : चयः श्रीः वालपः चा श्रिः पट : लयः , जवा, श्रुवा, सूर्यायः दिट : दूर : श्रीट्या श्रिः पट : श्रुवा, पर्चे : प्रूं : क्रियः तावायः तः त्यश्रेजा श्रिः पट : लयः , जवा, श्रुट : जवा, वाकूट : कुट : त्यमे चा । प्र. प्रवो, चर्यः , जः पहुं चाथः , यहः , वाथः , वयः ः , श्री ।श्रुः , प्रवो, चर्यः , व्यः , व्

So, when the temple for the tutelary deity was completed,

In order to make the laws of the ten virtues secure and stable,

They made a terrifying court of emanations.

In order to turn people away from practice of the ten non-virtues,

They created a suitably frightening executioner,

To cut off people's heads and various limbs,

To pluck out their tongues and eyes, and to burn their skin with molten metal.

The heads, limbs, and eyes were piled up,

And when people saw this court they trembled with fear.

Then Tibet becomes a land in which the non-virtues are not practised.

[The following story about the novice monks from Khotan is introduced with a verse, which is omitted here.]

[p. 243-44]

डिश्रयः शह्टी-तः लुचे 'चु-, त्ययः शटटे 'कुं, प्रत्योधाना प्रष्टकः टेनलः सालुचे 'चटेटे' टे 'प्रटेचोना चुन् येषा जूचो, कुं, श्रयूचे, र.च.लः टेची- स्थाया कुंचे 'च्याया 'च्याया कुंचे 'च्

Then, in Li yul, there were two novices who were venerating sPyan ras gzigs. 'Phags pa 'jam dpal appeared to them and said, 'If you two wish to see sPyan ras gzigs, he has manifested as a king and is now residing in Tibet. Go and seek him there'. Having delivered that prescription, he disappeared. Taking their staves and alms bowls, they immediately set off for Tibet. Firstly, arriving at Khra 'brug, they found the results of previous punishments—an enclosure of heads and piles of eyes. 'What is this and who has done it?' they asked. 'A king who is said to execute this law cannot be trusted. He is not 'Phags pa 'jam dpal. He is a demon', they said, and they turned away from the enclosure of heads, named dBu ra.

[p.244]

Then, having arrived near to Lhasa, they encountered a blind Bon po horseman and asked him the way to Li yul. 'I am the messenger for the builder of the king's temples and I am in a hurry; I do not have time to show you', he said and left. In sTod lung valley, on the banks of the mDa' river, they found many corpses, without heads, without eyes, and so on. Arriving in Lhasa, beside the ICags ri hill, to the west, they saw people being executed by way of punishment. 'How could this be sPyan ras gzigs?' they said, and turned away.

[p. 244]

श्चिमानान्चिकानान्तुन्न विशेष्टकान्नुन्न स्वात्त्रकान्यविश्वकान्त्र स्वाविकान्य स्वाविकान

When they reached the plain of Dan 'bag, the king came to know of them and said to one of his ministers: 'Take the black horse to the plain of Dan 'bag. There are two men walking along there, with foreign clothes, shaved heads, saffron robes, and square-shaped garments. Bring them to me'. When they were led into his presence, he greeted them and said, 'Where have you two come from and what are you doing here?' The pair replied, ''Phags pa 'jam dpal gave instructions and we came to see sPyan ras gzigs'. 'Well, do you wish to see sPyan ras gzigs?' he asked, and they asked to do so. He led them to the west, to a sandy spot, and took off his head covering to display the face of Amitābha. It is said that he actually displayed the eleven faces. 'If you are sPyan ras gzigs, how is it that you have killed so many people?' they asked. 'These Tibetan people cannot be pacified, so I have created these emanations', he said. He snapped his fingers and the court and the executioner disappeared. The two had faith and asked for advice.

The king advises them to observe the ten virtues, to follow the three Buddhist trainings, to recite the mantra of compassion, to take refuge in the Three Jewels, and to practise compassionate altruism. He then magically transports them back to Khotan, where they become *arhats*. The king becomes famous in Khotan, as the emanation of Chenrezig (sPyan ras gzigs).

Section 3, Chapter 2, Part 11: King Tri Song Detsen

After creating Samye monastery, the king and his sons make promises and swear oaths and establish the divine doctrine. They establish lineages, upper classes, and virtuous people. Tri Detsugtsen (Khri IDe gtsug btsan) marries a Chinese princess. He holds power all the way to the 'eastern sea' and makes a great 'ja' sa (edict) for Tibet.

[p. 377–78]

તવદા. ત્રૂપુ, મૈયા. તેય તેયા તેટા. તમ. કેટ. તા. તમ. મેં. કેટા વુંચ. મેં. કેંચ. વેયાં તાયુ. કેટા. લેયું! દેવ. કોંગા. તેય પ્રત્યાં તમ. તમ. કેટા. લે. તમ. વેયા. કુંચ. કુંચ. કેંચા તાયું માં કિંચા તાયું. કુંચ. વયતા હતે. તાતા કેટા લે. અધ્યક્ષ ક્રિયા વુંચ. કું કુંચ. કું. તીયા કો. કેંચા કુંચ. કુંચા તાયું તમાં તાયું તે તાયા કુંચા તો તે તે તાયા કોંચા તાયું તો તાયા કોંચા તાયું તે તાયા કોંચા તાયું તે તાયા કોંચા તાયું તો તાયા કોંચા તાયું તો તાયા કોંચા તાયું તો તાયા કોંચા તાયા કોંચા તાયું તે તાયા તાયા કોંચા તાયા ક

At that time, mGos khri bzang yab lhag, the son of the prime minister, the elder mGos, put in order the former judicial rulings (*zhal ce*) and blood money and wound price [compensation for injury and death], which had not yet been put in order. He then created the [system] of nine pairs of wooden slips (*byang bu cha*).¹²

In the case of a legal case (*zhal ce*) concerning blood money, the case is initiated¹³ by writing down the [plaintiff's] insignia of rank, the blood price (*stong thang*), and [statements of] truth, and [the slip] presenting it to the authorities is called the 'accusation slip' (*byang gzas*).¹⁴ The slip with the reply is called the 'snake's head'. A further reply is called the 'black hole' (*smig nag*). These are the three slips for blood and wound compensation.

In a case about separating relatives, when a case is initiated concerning the way in which the mixing of relatives and the mixing of enemies happened, this is presented using what is called the *then* slip. In the case of oath-helpers (*dkar mi*) who expose falsehoods, the slip presenting this is called the swallow slip (*mchu smyung*). In general, these are the five parties' (*blo yus*)¹⁵ slips.

Relating to the parties' claims (*blo yus kyi shags*), if they are adjudged to be truthful, this is called the 'good undefiled' (*zang yag*); If they are found to be false, that is called the striped middle (*rked khra*). The slip with attached instructions concerning truth and falsehood is called the 'instruction' (slip). These are the three slips for court orders (*zhal lce*).

A good seal is applied to all faults and defects, and the one that purifies them is called the 'seal' slip. It is the slip for general use.

[p. 378]

त्तर्यः क्रूटः ट्रां चूत्र त्यचेटः चूत्रत्यावः लू.वानः वक्ष्यः रा.कृषः त्याक्षित्रः अवेत्रः क्षेटः वटः चूत्रः विद्यः चःक्टः टटः त्यावः लू.वानः वक्ष्यः तः वच्चटः अवेत्रः क्षेत्रः विद्यः चूत्रः विद्यः च्याः कृषः विद्यः व

Then, as for the great 'high minister', since he is peerless, if he is killed the blood price is eleven thousand; the middle 'high minister' and the great interior minister, for both it is ten thousand;

¹² This passage is quite obscure. For an extensive discussion and some different interpretations, see Dotson (2006: 211–12)

¹³ shags kyi mgo rgyangs: Dotson (2006: 211) interprets this as indicating that these details relate to 'the one faced with the charge'.

¹⁴ Dotson (2006: 212) corrects zas to gzas, as found in IDe'u, and suggests 'rebuke' slip.

¹⁵ Dotson (2006: 211) suggests that these are 'complainants' slips' but they seem to relate to both parties. See also the IDe'u extracts, p. 5, fn. 3.

the lower 'high minister', the middle interior minister, and the great imperial justice, for all three it is nine thousand; the lower interior minister, and the middle imperial justice, for them it is eight thousand; for the lower minister, it is seven thousand.

The text continues by describing how one of the ministers arranges for livestock to be distributed equally among the people.

However, there comes a time in which the religion declines:

[p. 423]

विचाः द्वेट् 'चयश्चरतः 'झुं 'लश्चरावृष्ठं 'टे.चहुंट्। विचाः ह्वेच्याः श्केट्टिंट्यं 'चेट्ट्यं 'चेट्ट्यं 'चट्या विचाः ह्वेच्याः सूच्यं 'चट्ट्रं 'चेश्चरायपुरं 'प्षष्टपः 'चुंच्यं 'क्या विचाः ह्विश्वराः सूचाः द्वेचः सूचः 'च्यां चुंच्यं 'ट्रं 'ख्या विद्याः सूच्यः 'चटः 'ट्यां द्वं 'च्यां 'चुंच्यं 'च्यां हिश्चरः चट्टा 'श्चरः स्वां 'च्यां 'खंडिं' च्यां चुंच्यं 'च्यां ट्यं याः सूच्' 'पंचां सूच्याः सूच्याः ग्रीं 'चश्चरं, 'चश्चराः द्वीं

Then, as regards the Tibetan people,

All their merit faded away like the light of a lamp that has exhausted its oil;

The power of the nobility diminished, like a stream in the winter;

The king's law perished, as if it were a rope of rotten straw;

The happiness and welfare of the kingdom vanished, as if it were a rainbow;

Evil deeds were whipped up, as if by the winds of spring;

And good intentions were forgotten, as if they were dreams.

Section 3, Chapter 8: The appearance of the Karma Kamtsang

The fifth Karmapa, Deshin Shegpa (De bzhin gshegs pa, 1384–1415), is invited to the Ming imperial court by the Emperor Yongle. Arriving in 1406 and staying until 1408, he has considerable religious interaction with the emperor, persuading him not to be too harsh on other Buddhist sects. At one meeting, the Karmapa sits to the left of the emperor, in the place of honour, with three monastic dignitaries to his left, the State Preceptor (*go'i shri*), a learned ritual master (*slob dpon*) and a great scholar.

[p. 1009]

Then the three lamas were entrusted [by the emperor] with the work of the great *go'i shri* (State Preceptor), with a golden seal and a crystal document of authorization. About one thousand Chinese monks, who had committed crimes, had been put in prison and were in danger of dying. On the advice [of the Karmapa], they were rescued. On another occasion, he made forceful petitions on behalf of the criminals in prison in the great kingdom. On a third occasion, a widespread pronouncement was made known, that all the doctrinal traditions, such as Buddhists, Bonpos, and astrologers (*zin shing*), should each act according to their own traditions, and that none of their offering practices should harm anyone. When that was done, each headman said, 'I understand that I will enact whatever the law (*khrims lugs*) is, as soon as it arrives', and pronouncements and edicts (*lung 'ja' sa*) to enhance the teachings were distributed throughout the whole kingdom.

Later, the Karmapa establish large encampments, gar (*sgar*), for religious teachings, which grow to such an extent that they require their own internal regulations.

[p. 1092-93]

बूबर्गुष्याचर्स्सा सूचान्यस्त्राच्यान्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रम् स्ट्रास्त्रम् स्ट्रास्त्

Monastic divisions, lamas, and *go'i shri* (State Preceptors), great ministers, minor ministers, beneath them the legal officers, the legal assistants, and the military officials, and beneath them three levels of men—upper, middle, and lower—there were multiple divisions on paper. The *go'i shri ra* appointed a judge (*khrims dpon*) for about three months, out of about thirty legal officers, in turn.

Those who assemble outside the door-curtain of the court in the morning are not to wear patched clothing or worn-out shoes and they should not wear a single cotton shawl.

The passage continues by describing the rules for those who may enter the camp, the behaviour of visitors and petitioners, the conduct of discussions and debates, and the provision and safeguarding of food and drink.

In subsequent sections, the phrases *rgyal khrims* and *lugs gnyis* seem to be used to refer to government and administration in general (eg. pp. 1273–74), while *khrims* can also refer to

administrative rules concerning taxation, the army, and corvée labour (khral dmag 'u lag khrim	s) (p.
1422).	