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Old Tibetan Rock Inscriptions Near Alchi *

Tsuguhito Takeuchi
Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

1. Introduction

Among the Tibetan rock inscriptions found in Ladakh, a surprisingly large number survive near the famous old temple at Alchi. To reach them, one goes from Khalatse toward Saspol on the modern Srinagar-Leh road, which here runs on the right bank of the River Indus. Just before reaching Saspol there is a bridge that carries the track from Saspol to Alchi. Across the river in front of the bridge is a ruined fort locally known as *(Alchi) mkhar-'gog*. There the track turns left and goes up along the river (Colour Plates). About 500 meters from the bridge, one sees to the left of the track a quite wide river bank stretching out at the river bend. Numerous boulders bearing Old Tibetan inscriptions and stupa drawings are found there.

These rock carvings were first reported by A.H. Francke, who recorded twenty inscriptions with sketch illustrations of stupas (Francke 1903, 1906-7). Later P. Denwood published fourteen texts with their photos (Denwood 1980). In the summer of 1988, I visited the spot and collected some one hundred rock inscriptions on about eighty rocks. Though there may remain a few more still unnoticed carvings, I think that most have now been discovered and described.[1]

The present publication is intended to make these basic transcriptions and descriptions available for further historical research. In the following pages, I will present all the texts I have recorded together with selected photos. Lists of the names of the writers will also be supplied in an index.

2. Outlook and Subjects

The subjects and forms of these rock carvings are stereotyped and may be classified into the following types:

The most common type is a combination of written Tibetan inscriptions and drawings of stupa(s). The inscriptions are written in one of two stereotypical formulae.

Formula 1: *A [gyi] lo la X gyi[s] bzhengs su gsol [ba/lo]* 'In the year of A, X humbly

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* The original draft was submitted in 1989 to H.Uebach and L.Panglung (eds.) *Rock Inscriptions in Ladakh* (Munich, in press). Unfortunately, however, the publication has been long delayed and not yet been fixed. Thus, I have decided to include it in the present volume with minimum modifications before it becomes totally outdated.

[1] Since the original draft was submitted there have been several relevant publications: Orfino 1990, Francke and Jina 2003, and Denwood 2007. But they have not been incorporated into the present publication. For a detailed bibliographical information, see Iwao et al. 2009: 91-93.

erected [the stupa(s)].' (See e.g. text 1-b below.)

Formula 2: *A [gyi] lo la X gyi[s] bris [pa/so]* 'In the year of A, X inscribed [the stupa(s)].' (See e.g. text 1-a.) The combined inscription–stupa type of carvings suggests that a person drew a picture of one or more stupas and signed his name.

There are, however, minor variations in the expressions. The date, given in the form of the twelve–year cycle, is sometimes missing. And the writer's name, consisting of title, clan and name, can vary by combining these elements in different ways. The dates and name forms will be discussed in later sections (§6–8).

Another type of carving is inscription formula 2 without any drawing of stupas (e.g. text 2-b). This could be interpreted either as an incomplete inscription–stupa type – i.e. where the writer had intended but did not succeed in drawing stupas– or as a single signature type – i.e. where the writer merely tried to write down his name as evidence of his presence.

The third type consists of the inscription formula 2 and the mantra *oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* (cf. text 73). Although the mantra here may be considered as taking the place of the stupa in the above inscription–stupa type, we have to take into consideration the possibility that these mantras were written in a period later than that of the other inscriptions (cf. §5, fn.2).

There also exist some other fragmentary graffiti which are hardly identifiable. One instance is a scribal exercise of the Tibetan alphabet (text 75). Another may be the beginning of a sutra (text 76).

The last type is a simple drawing without inscriptions. The subjects of drawings are stupas, svastikas, decorated disks, human figures, and animals (ibexes). Those drawings are of a type widespread throughout Eurasia, especially in Gilgit and Baltistan (Jettmar 1987), and probably belong to the pre-Tibetan period, though some of the stupa drawings may be of the same period as the others with Tibetan inscriptions.

3. Texts and Translations

The number given to each text refers to the boulder on which the text is inscribed. When more than one inscription are written on one boulder, they are distinguished by adding a, b, c *etc.* to the number. For example, texts 1-a and 1-b are inscribed on one boulder. Plate numbers [Pl.] are given after the text number, if their photos are reproduced here.

In case the text has been recorded in Francke (1906-7) or Denwood (1980), their reference number is given as Fr. (=Francke), Den.tex.ph. (=Denwood text number and photo number). The following *signes critiques* are used in editing the texts:

[abc]	Supplements. Illegible letters supplied by the editor
[abc?]	Doubtful readings
I	inverted *gi-gu*
^	so-called *a-chen* ཨ
∞	༄

ALCHI INSCRIPTIONS

1-a Pl.1

stagi lo la dge	In the tiger year,
sum brtsan briso	Dge-sum-brtsan inscribed [this].
Drawing of a stupa	

1-b Pl.1: Den. tx.4 ph.84D

stag lo la 'bro	In the tiger year, 'Bro
btsan khrom gyi bzh[e]ng	btsan-khrom has erected [this
su gsol lo	stupa].
Drawing of a stupa	

2-a Pl.2: Fr.16

stag lo la	In the tiger year, 'Bro
'bro btsan khrom	btsan-khrom inscribed [this
gyis bris	stupa].
Drawing of a stupa	

2-b Pl.3: Den. tx.4, ph.84D

sbrul gyi lo sag mar la	In the snake year, Sag mar-la
bris	inscribed [this].

Sag is most probably a Chinese clan name So (索), and *mar-la* is also possibly a transliteration of Chinese name. See the section on names.

3 Pl.4

lug gI lo rvang klIng	In the sheep year, Rvang-kling
'dus legs brIs	'dus-legs inscribed [this].
ōṁ above the line	

4-a Pl.5: Den. tx.13 ph.85F

kar ta[ng] [s]le lebs

4-b Pl.5: Den. tx.14 ph.85E

bya gag lo la	In the bird year, Mnen dge-legs
mnen dge legs	inscribed [this].
kyIs bris	

5-a Pl.6: Den. tx.1(a) ph.84A

bya gag lo la	In the bird year, *blon*

blon stong rtsan gyis bris	Stong-rtsan inscribed [this].

Drawing of an animal (ibex?)

5-b Pl.6: Den. tx.1(b) ph.84A

smer 'dron la	Smer 'dron-la-brtsan inscribed
brtsan gyIs bris	[this].

5-c Pl.6: Den. tx.1(b) ph.84A

rta'I lo la smer [rtso?]	In the horse year, Smer
'phan slebs	[-]-'phan-slebs

5-d Pl.6: Den. tx.1(b) ph.84A

mn[e]n la tung	Mnen la-tung [inscribed this].

5-e Pl.6: Den. tx.1(b) ph.84A

smer

6-a Pl.7

sbrul gyI lo la rvang klIng	In the snake year, Rvang-kling
la ^I tses bris	la-^i-tse inscribed [this].

ōṁ to the right side

La-^i-tse may be the transliteration of a Chinese name. Cf. text 13-c

6-b Pl.7

bru[g?] phag [-]

7

sbrul gi lo [la]	In the snake year, Smer s[ta][--]
smer s[ta][--] br[i]s	inscribed [this].

8-a Pl.9

rta'I lo la smer	In the house year, Smer stag-myi
stag myis bris	inscribed [this].

8-b Pl.9: Den. tx.9(a) ph.83H

'brug gi lo la rvang	In the dragon year, Rvang-kling
kling legs	legs-t[ru] ma[ng?] [inscribed this].
t[ru] ma[ng?]	

tru-mang may read *trum-nga*

8-c Pl.10: Den. tx.9(b) ph.83H

rlang gi lo la	In the ox year, Rce[l]-[la?]
lce[l] [la?]	inscribed [this].

Drawing of a man with an arrow shooting an animal (ibex?)
Note that *rlang* is used for *glang* "ox".

8-d Den. tx. 9(c) ph.83H
∞ *'dod da*

9-a Pl.11

stag gi lo la	In the tiger year, Smer
smer rin cen skyab	rin-cen-skyab inscribed [this
kyi brIs pa	stupa].

Drawing of a stupa

9-b Pl.11

stag g[i] lo la	In the tiger year,

10 Pl.12

stag gI lo la smer	In the tiger year, *blon* Smer
blon ^arya dpal gyIs	^arya-dpal inscribed [this].
bris pa	

11 Pl.13

∞ *khyi'i lo la stong pon*	In the dog year, *stong-pon*
rgyal ba ye shes	Rgyal-ba-ye-shes [inscribed this].

The same writer appears in texts 27, 28, 29-b, and 50.

12-a Pl.14

lugI lo la	In the sheep year, [Rga?]
[rga?] [---]	

12-b Pl.14

brag ^od las	Brag ^od-la inscribed [this].
bris	

12-c Pl.14

spre'u lo la sme[r]	In the ape year, Sme[r] [-]s

[-]s gtong	gtong-[.] inscribed [this].
]s bris	

13-a Pl.15

pag 'i lo	In the hog year, Rvang-kling
rvang klIng ba'	families [inscribed this].

In this boulder there are three writings, all by Rvang-kling families. Regarding Rvang-kling and their names, see the section on clans and given names.

13-b Pl.16

rvang klIng dpal sum	Rvang-kling dpal-sum
bris	inscribed [this].

13-c Pl.17

rvang klIng ^i tses	Rvang-kling i-tse
bris	inscribed [this].

The name ^*i-tse* is probably a phonetic transliteration of Chinese. See the section on clans and given names.

14-a Pl.18

khyI lo lyo tse	In the dog year, Lyo-tse inscribed [this].
bris	

The name *lyo-tse* is probably Chinese.

14-b

stag gi lo gyer stil	In the tiger year, Gyer-stil
bris	inscribed [this].

14-c

lu[g]	sheep

15 Pl.19

rta'I lo la	In the horse year, Mnen
mnen rmule thos	rmu-le-tho inscribed [this].
bris	

Drawing of a stupa with *ōṁ* written inside

16 Pl.8

rta'I lo la	In the horse year, Lha

lha

17 Den. tx.5 ph. 84E

spre'u lo la rye shIn	In the ape year, Rye-shin

Drawing of a stupa and one unidentified subject

18 Den. tx.8 ph.85A

sbrulo la mdo stong tses	In the snake year, Mdo-stong-tse
brI[s]	inscribed [this].

19 Den. tx.12 ph.85D

khyI 'i lo la	In the dog year, Lha-legs
lha legs bris	inscribed [this].

20 Pl.57

yos bu lo la [ne?]	In the hare year, [Ne?-smo?--]
[smo?] [--] bris	inscribed [this].

21

yos bu brag myI tses	In the hare year, Brag myi-tse [inscribed this].

22

brug gi lo mang re sleng	In the dragon year, Mang-re-sleng [inscribed this].

23

[']brug gI lo la [--] lca	In the dragon year, [--] lca
^ang rI nus brIs	ang-ri-nu inscribed [this].

24 Pl.58

bya gag lo [----]	[In] the bird year, [----] inscribed
[-- g -] kyis bris	[this].

25

stag lo la stobs	In the tiger year, Stobs

26 Fr.15

∞ *khyi'i lo la stong pon*	In the dog year, *stong-pon*

rgyal bas br[i]s	Rgyal-ba inscribed [this].

27 Pl.20

∞ *// stong pon*	*Stong-pon* Rgyal-ba-ye-shes
rgyal ba ye shes	erected [this stupa].
kyis bzhengs	
su gsol	
ba	
Drawing of a tripartite stupa and birds	

28 Pl.21

stong pon rgyal ba	*Stong-pon* Rgyal-ba-ye-shes
ye shes kyis	erected [this stupa].
Drawing of a tripartite stupa	

29-a Pl.22: Fr.3

stong pon
rga
Drawing of a stupa
Francke reads *rge* for *rga* here.

29-b Pl.22: Fr.4

stong pon	*Stong-pon* Rgyal-ba-ye-shes
rgyal ba ye shes	erected [this stupa].
kyis	
Drawing of a stupa	

30-a Pl.23: Fr.17

∞ */ stong*	*Stong-pon* Zhang-'bar erected
pon zhang	[this stupa].
'bar	
gyis	
bzheng	
Drawing of a stupa	

30-b Pl.24

∞ *zhan*	A great *zhan-pon* (*sic*) [erected
pon chen	this stupa].
pos	

Drawing of a stupa
Regarding the title *zhan-pon*, see the section on titles.

31 Pl.25: Fr.12

stong pon skyid sum rjes	*Stong-pon* Skyid-sum-rje [inscribed these stupas].

Drawing of three stupas

32 Pl.26

∞ / stong pon seng ge rjes bris	*Stong-pon* Seng-ge-rje [inscribed this stupa].

Drawing of a stupa and a human figure (of the writer himself?)

33 Pl.27

∞ / stong pon bdud 'joms kyis	*Stong-pon* Bdud-'joms [inscribed these stupas].

Drawing of two stupas

34 Pl.28

stong pon tsen pos bris	*Stong-pon* Tsen-po [inscribed these stupas].

Drawing of 6 stupas in a row (or two tripartite stupas)
Tsen may read *rtsen*.

35 Pl.29: Fr.9

∞ / stong pon rga bas bris	*Stong-pon* Rga-ba [inscribed this stupa].

Drawing of a stupa
Francke reads *rge* for *rga*.

36

∞ / / stong pon rga ba rin cen gis	*Stong-pon* Rga-ba rin-cen [inscribed this].

Rga-ba may read *rge-ba*.

37

stong pon rga	*Stong-pon* Rga [inscribed this].

This is written in rather cursive style.

38 Pl.30

stong pon *Stong-pon* Khrom [inscribed this stupa].
khrom
Drawing of a stupa
Texts 38-41, and probably 67 were written by the same person.

39 Pl.31

stong pon *Stong-pon* Khrom [inscribed this stupa].
khrom
Drawing of a stupa and a dog(?)

40 Pl.32: Fr.13(?)

stong pon khrom *Stong-pon* Khrom [inscribed this stupa].
Drawing of a stupa

41 Den. tx.7 ph.84F; Fr.14

stong pon khrom *Stong-pon* Khrom [inscribed this stupa].
Drawing of a stupa

42 Pl.33

∞ // stong pon *Stong-pon* [B]tsan-phyug-rje
[b]tsan phyug rjes erected [this stupa].
bzhengs su gsol
lo
Drawing of a stupa

43 Pl.34

stong pon *Stong-pon* [B]tsan-phyug-rje
[b]tsan phyug
rjes
[-]s [-]
[-]g
Drawing of a stupa

44 Pl.35

stong pon *Stong-pon* Gzhonu-dbang-phyug
gzhonu [inscribed this stupa].

dbang phyug
Drawing of a stupa
Texts 44, 45 and 78 were written by the same person.

45 Pl.36: Fr.8
gzho
nu dbang
phyug
Drawing of a stupa
Francke reads *gzho bru dbang cug*.

46 Pl.37

stong pon	*Stong-pon* Bsod-nam-[nga]
bsod nam	erected [these stupas].
[nga]s bzhengs su	
gsol	
ba	

Drawing of two stupas

47

stong pon shes	*Stong-pon* Shes-rab-blon
rab blon	[inscribed this].

48

stong pon	*Stong-pon* G.yu-dang-[-]gon
g.yu dang	[inscribed this].
[-]gon	

49 Fr.6

stong pon bdud	*Stong-pon* Bdud-'joms [inscribed this].
'joms	

Drawing of a stupa
Same writer as text 33. Francke reads *bdung* for *bdud*.

50

stong pon	*Stong-pon* Rgyal-ba-ye-shes
[rgyal] ba ye shes	inscribed [this].
[br]is	

51 Pl.38

blon tsen	*Blon* Tsen Co-ku [inscribed this stupa].
co ku	

Drawing of a stupa

Tsen may read *rtsan*. *Tsen/rtsan* can either be part of a name (clan or *mkhan*) or part of a title (*blon-tsen?*).

52 Pl.39: Fr.10

blon-tsen	*Blon-tsen* inscribed [this stupa].
gis bris	

Drawing of a stupa

Francke reads *stsan* for *tsen*.

53 Pl.40: Fr.1

so blon hal pa	*So-blon* Hal-pa [inscribed these stupas].

Drawing of a stupa and a stupa-like form (cf.text 17)

Texts 53-55 were written by the same person. Concerning *so-blon* “officer of the frontiers”, see the section on titles.

54 Pl.41

so blon	cf. text 53
hal pa	

Drawing of a stupa

55

so blon	cf. text 53
hal pa	

56 Pl.42

∞ // zhang lon	The great *zhang-lon* minister(s)
chen pos bris	inscribed [this stupa].
pa	

Drawing of a stupa

Concerning *zhang-lon chen-po*, see the section on titles.

57 Pl.59

zhang	The great *zhang-lon* minister(s)
lon chen	[inscribed this stupa].
pos	
Drawing of a stupa and a human figure	

58

zhang	The great *zhang-lon* minister(s)
lon chen	inscribed [this].
pos bris	

59

zhang	The great *zhang-lon* minister(s)
lon chen	[inscribed this].
pos	

60 Pl.43

'bro btsan	'Bro btsan-khrom erected [these stupas].
khrom gyi	
bzhengsu	
gsol lo	
Drawing of two stupas	

61 Pl.44

'bro dbang	'Bro dbang-khar [inscribed this stupa].
khar	
Drawing of a stupa	

62 Pl.45

∞ / khyi sum kyis zhengs su	Khyi-sum erected [this stupa].
sol ba	
Drawing of a stupa	
Note *zhengs* for *bzhengs, sol* for *gsol*.	

63

∞ / / khyi sum
kyis chas
[skra?]
Skra may read *sku*.

64

khyi sum	Khyi-sum inscribed [this].
Kyis bris	

65-a Den. tx.3(a), ph.84c, Fr.11

rvang klIng rgyal khris brIs oṁ	Rvang-kling rgyal-khri inscribed [this].

65-b Den. tx.3(b), ph.84c, Fr.11

rvang klIng pril myis bris	Rvang-kling pril-myi inscribed [this stupa].

Drawing of a stupa (maybe shared by the writer of tx.65-a)

Pril-myi may read *pril-la-myi*.

66

smer bzang legs kyis brIs	Smer bzang-legs inscribed [this].

Drawing of a svastika

67

stong	*Stong-pon* Khrom-dbang-phyug
pon khrom	inscribed [this].
dbang phyug	

cf. texts 38-41

68 Pl.46: Den. tx.2 ph.84B

stong pon [tsa?]	*Stong-pon* [Tsa?] [inscribed this].

Drawing of a stupa

69

blon pon	*Blon-pon* inscribed [this].
gis bris	

70 Pl.47

∞ / / sme[r?] dmag	The general (*dmag-pon*) Sme[r?]
pon / ka / shi gy[i]s /	ka-shi erected [this stupa].
zhengsu / sol / ba	

Drawing of a stupa

Written in cursive style. Note that *shad* is used for *tsheg, sol* for *gsol,* and *zengs* for *bzhengs.*

71-a Pl.48

] su [sol] ba

Drawing of a stupa

71-b Pl.48

] ka shis

gyis [-] [khri]g ki[l]

Drawing of a stupa

72 Pl.49

dge slong [dza - -]	Monk (*dge-slong*) [Dza --]

Drawing of a stupa

73 Pl.50

ōṁ maṇI padme hūm	*ōṁ maṇI padme hūṁ*
rdo rje	Rdo-rje-'e-shes inscribed [the mantra].
'e shes kyis bris	

74 Den. tx.10 ph.85B

ōṁ maṇI padme hūṁ

bag dar skyas zhangs

e nu sa khar zla ba

Both *Bag-dar-skyas-zhangs* and *E-nu-sa-khar-zla-ba* are probably names, but are not clear to me. There is a letter *sa* written before the second line, but it seems not to be part of the line.

75 Pl.51

ka kha ga

ca cha ja

Drawing of a stupa

A table of the Tibetan alphabet, maybe a scribal exercise.

76 Pl.52

∞ *rgya gar*	India

This may be the beginning of a sutra: e.g. *rgya gar [skad du . . .*

77

∞ *rgab*

78

gzhonu
dbang phy[u]g
cf. texts 44 and 45

79 Pl.53
Drawing of a stupa and several *ōṁ*

80 Pl.54
Drawing of a stupa, an unidentified figure and a human figure

81 Pl.55
Drawing of a stupa and two svastika

82 Pl.56
Drawing of a stupa, two human figures and an animal

KALATSE INSCRIPTIONS

K.1 Pl.K.1

dbas mon	Dbas mon-ba erected [this].
bas bzhengs	
su ba	

Drawing of a stupa. The left part of the rock was broken, where there may have been another inscriptions. To the right of the Tibetan inscription, there are roman and persian inscriptions, probably a name (ABLORASHID).

K.2 Pl.K.2

sbrul gyi lo	snake year

Drawing of two large stupa and a small stupa.

K.3 Pl.K.3: Francke (1907: Tafel III, Nr. 7)

sm[e]r dbang	Sm[e]r dbang-bzang-l[e]gs rem-ba
bzang la	
gs	
rem	
ba'i	

Drawing of three stupas and a human figure.

K.4-a Pl.K.4

[-----]
su s[o]l ba

Drawing of a stupa.

K.4-b Pl.K.4

[ca]m p[u]l [du]ng
[g zha]
ba / [---]

Drawing of a stupa.

K.5 Pl.K.5

∞/ shi ka[r]
pa dge'
blong rgya'
[pyi?] lun shes [je]

Drawing of a large stupa. *bzhes* is written to the right of the stupa.

K.6 Pl.K.6: Francke (1902: Plate 1, Fig. 1)

Drawing of three stupas and a figure. K.6 and K.7 are near Khalatse Fort.

K.7 Pl.K.7: Francke (1902: Plate 1, Fig. 2)

Drawing of two stupas and animals (ibexes?). Inscriptions illegible.

4. Indexes

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tiger			gyer-stil	14-b
tiger			stobs	25
tiger		'Bro	btsan-khrom	1-b
tiger		'Bro	btsan-khrom	2-a
tiger		Smer	rin-cen-skyab	9-a
tiger	blon	Smer	^arya-dpal	10

hare			ne?-smo?	20
hare		Brag	myi-tse	21
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Index 2 : Title Index

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blon-pon			69

dge-slong		dza?	72
dmag-pon	Smer?	ka-shi	70
so-blon		hal-pa	53
so-blon		hal-pa	54
so-blon		hal-pa	55
stong-pon		bdud-'joms	49
stong-pon		bdud-'joms	33
stong-pon		bsod-nam-nga?	46
stong-pon		btsan-phyug-rje	42
stong-pon		btsan-phyug-rje	43
stong-pon		g.yu-dang-gon?	48
stong-pon		gzhonu-dbang-phyug	44
stong-pon		khrom	38
stong-pon		khrom	39
stong-pon		khrom	40
stong-pon		khrom	41
stong-pon		khrom-dbang-phyug	67
stong-pon		Rga	29-a
stong-pon		Rga	37
stong-pon		Rga-ba	35
stong-pon		Rga-ba rin-cen	36
stong-pon		rgyal-ba	26
stong-pon		rgyal-ba-ye-shes	11
stong-pon		rgyal-ba-ye-shes	50
stong-pon		rgyal-ba-ye-shes	28
stong-pon		rgyal-ba-ye-shes	29-b
stong-pon		rgyal-ba-ye-shes	27
stong-pon		seng-ge-rje	32
stong-pon		shes-rab-blon	47
stong-pon		skyid-sum-rje	31
stong-pon		tsa?	68
stong-pon		tsen-po	34
stong-pon		zhang-'bar	30-a
zhan-pon chen-po			30-b
zhang-lon chen-po			57
zhang-lon chen-po			58
zhang-lon chen-po			59
zhang-lon chen-po			56

Index 3 : Clan Index

clan	name	title	text no
Bag?	dar-skyas-zhang?		74
Brag	myi-tse		21
Brag	^od-la		12-b
'Bro	btsan-khrom		1-b
'Bro	btsan-khrom		2-a
'Bro	btsan-khrom		60
'Bro	dbang-khar		61
Dbas	mon-ba		K.1
Kar-tang?	sle-lebs?		4-a
-lca?	^ang-ri-nu		23
Mnen	dge-legs		4-b
Mnen?	la-tung		5-d
Mnen	rmu-le-tho		15
Rvang-kling			13-a
Rvang-kling	dpal-sum		13-b
Rvang-kling	'dus-legs		3
Rvang-kling	la-^i-tse		6-a
Rvang-kling	legs-tru-mang?		8-b
Rvang-kling	^i-tse		13-c
Rvang-kling	pril-myi		65-b
Rvang-kling	rgyal-khri		65-a
Sag	mar-la		2-b
Smer			5-e
Smer	^arya-dpal	blon	10
Smer	bzang-legs		66
Smer	'dron-la-brtsan		5-b
Smer	dbang-bjang l[e]gs-rem		K.3
Smer?	ka-shi	dmag-pon	70
Smer	rin-cen-skyab		9-a
Smer	-s-gtong-		12-c
Smer	sta-		7
Smer	stag-myi		8-a
Smer	tso?-'phan-slebs		5-c

Index 4 : Name Index

name	clan	title	text no
^ang-ri-nu	-lca?		23
^arya-dpal	Smer	blon	10
^i-tse	Rvang-kling		13-c
^od-la	Brag		12-b
bdud-'joms		stong-pon	33
bdud-'joms		stong-pon	49
bsod-nam-nga?		stong-pon	46
btsan-khrom	'Bro		1-b
btsan-khrom	'Bro		2-a
btsan-khrom	'Bro		60
btsan-phyug-rje		stong-pon	42
btsan-phyug-rje		stong-pon	43
bzang-legs	Smer		66
dar-skyas-zhang?	Bag?		74
dbang-khar	'Bro		61
dbang-bjang l[e]gs-rem	Smer		K.3
dge-legs	Mnen		4-b
dge-sum-brtsan			1-a
'dod-da?			8-d
dpal-sum	Rvang-kling		13-b
'dron-la-brtsan	Smer		5-b
'dus-legs	Rvang-kling		3
dza?		dge-slong	72
g.yu-dang-gon?		stong-pon	48
gyer-stil			14-b
gzhonu-dbang-phyug			45
gzhonu-dbang-phyug			78
gzhonu-dbang-phyug		stong-pon	44
hal-pa		so-blon	53
hal-pa		so-blon	54
hal-pa		so-blon	55
ka-shi?			71-b
ka-shi	Smer?	dmag-pon	70
khrom		stong-pon	38
khrom		stong-pon	39
khrom		stong-pon	40

khrom		stong-pon	41
khrom-dbang-phyug		stong-pon	67
khyi-sum			62
khyi-sum			63
khyi-sum			64
la-^i-tse	Rvang-kling		6-a
la-tung	Mnen?		5-d
lcel-la?			8-c
legs-tru-mang?	Rvang-kling		8-b
lha?			16
lha-legs			19
lyo-tse			14-a
mang-re-sleng			22
mar-la	Sag		2-b
mdo-stong-tse			18
myi-tse	Brag		21
ne?-smo?			20
pril-myi	Rvang-kling		65-b
rdo-rje-'e-shes			73
Rga?			12-a
Rga		stong-pon	29-a
Rga		stong-pon	37
Rga-ba		stong-pon	35
Rga-ba rin-cen		stong-pon	36
rgyal-ba		stong-pon	26
rgyal-ba-ye-shes		stong-pon	11
rgyal-ba-ye-shes		stong-pon	27
rgyal-ba-ye-shes		stong-pon	28
rgyal-ba-ye-shes		stong-pon	29-b
rgyal-ba-ye-shes		stong-pon	50
rgyal-khri	Rvang-kling		65-a
rin-cen-skyab	Smer		9-a
rmu-le-tho	Mnen		15
rye-shin?			17
-s-gtong-	Smer		12-c
seng-ge-rje		stong-pon	32
shes-rab-blon		stong-pon	47
skyid-sum-rje		stong-pon	31
sle-lebs?	Kar-tang?		4-a

sta-	Smer		7
stag-myi	Smer		8-a
stobs			25
stong-rtsan		blon	5-a
tsa?		stong-pon	68
tsen-po		stong-pon	34
tshen?		blon	52
tshen?-co-ku		blon	51
tso?-'phan-slebs	Smer		5-c
zhang-'bar		stong-pon	30-a

5. Paleography and Orthography

As has been pointed out by Francke and Denwood, these Tibetan inscriptions show several archaic features: a) frequent use of the reversed *i*, b) *my* before *i*, c) alternation of aspirated and unaspirated stops and affricates (e.g. *cen* for *chen* in text 9-a), d) an abbreviated way of writing repeated consonants (e.g. *briso* in text 1-a for Classical Tibetan *briso so*, *lugI* in text 12-a for CT. *lug gi*). These paleographic and orthographic features are common to the Old Tibetan texts found in Dunhuang and East Turkestan as well as the official inscriptions of the Tibetan Empire. As for the writing style of the inscriptions, though some (e.g. texts 37, 70) look more cursive than others, all in all they are of the same type as the Old Tibetan texts from Central Asia, except for the very print–like form of *oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* (text 73), which may belong to a later period.[2]

Thus, we may ascribe the date of our inscriptions to contemporary with the Old Tibetan texts. But this does not necessarily mean that they were written during the time of Tibetan Empire (i.e. before 842). As has been recognized recently, the Old Tibetan textual tradition, including paleographic and orthographic traits, continued in post-Tibetan East Turkestan up through the 11th century (Uray 1989, Takeuchi 1990, 2004). And it is very likely that the tradition was also upheld in the western edge of the old territory by the newly migrated descendants of the imperial family. In fact some inscriptions found elsewhere in Ladakh and datable to the 10th to 12th centuries, such as the Sheh inscription (*ca*.950–1000), the Balu-mkhar inscription (11–12 c.), and one of the Khalatse inscriptions (12 c.), show some of the Old Tibetan paleographic and orthographic features (Francke 1903, 1905, 1906–7, 1907).

Therefore, the paleographic and orthographic features of our inscriptions suggest two possibilities for their dating: namely, that they were inscribed either during the time of the Tibetan imperialistic invasion of Ladakh (8–9 c.) or during the time of the establishment of the first Ladakh kingdom (9–11 c.).

[2] For the earliest use of the mantra, see Imaeda 1979.

Another notable orthographic feature, found only in several texts, is alternation or drop of word-initial consonants: e.g. *rlang* for *glang* (text 8-c), *zhengs* for *bzhengs*, *sol* for *gsol* (text 62). We may assume reflections of the Central Tibetan type pronunciation behind such spellings, though there cases are too few to draw any fast conclusion from.

The frequent use of the genitive for the instrumental – e.g. text 2-a has the instrumental marker *gyis* while text 1-b has the genitive marker *gyi* instead – and the drop of the instrumental marker (e.g. text 1-a) may be worth pointing out. Francke, in his discussion of a Tibetan inscription on the Darkōt pass, made an interesting remark ascribing this feature to influence from Indian inscriptions of a similar type (Francke 1928). Though I am not yet certain on this point, his remark definitely points to the common regional features of the stupa–inscription–style rock carvings found throughout Gilgit–Baltistan–Ladakh areas.

6. Years

Index 1, the year index, gives a list of years which appear on the inscriptions. They are arranged in the order of the twelve-year cycle. The list shows that these inscriptions were continually made for more than ten years. Since most of the writers were, as shown by their names and titles, military officers, we may suppose that troops were constantly present in this wide river bank area, either persistently or intermittently.

The inscribers designated their names in combinations of titles (*thabs*), clan names (*rus*), and given names (*mkhan* and *ming*). Indexes 2 through 4 give ordered lists of the inscribers in accordance with each element.

7. Titles

Index 2, the title index, lists the titles of officers and so on. But, strictly speaking, they are not homogeneous. Among them *dmag-pon*, *so-blon*, *stong-pon* are official posts: *dmag-pon* 'General' or 'Military Head' acted as the leader of the military administrative units *khrom* established in the borderlands of the Tibetan Empire (Uray 1979). *So-blon* is an abbreviation of *so'i blon-po* 'the officers of the frontiers or border guards' in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription (E.29: cf.Richardson 1985:112; Li and Coblin 1987:96). *Stong-pon*, a well-known ‘head of the thousand district,’ is most numerous here.

Blon in texts 5-a, 10, 51, 52, and 69 is not the name of a specific post but is a general title used before a personal name denoting an official of high rank, except for those whose family furnished mothers to the Btsan-pos, who were called *zhang*.

Blon-pon in text 69 is not found elsewhere. This may be either erroneous for *blon-po* or an innovated name of an official post in the post-imperial period.

The expression *zhang-lon chen-po* was originally a collective term referring to the *zhang* and *blon* ministers who were of specially high rank, participating in the deliberations of state

affairs (*bka'-la gtogs-pa*), in contrast to the ordinary ministers. But in our inscription texts 56-59, this term seems to refer to one person, someone who was in the post of the great minister (*blon-chen*) and held the title *zhang* from his family background. I suspect that a person of 'Bro family whose name appears in our inscriptions (cf. Index 3) would be a strong candidate. As for the 'Bro family, I will discuss it in the next section. But we should note that the term *zhang-lon chen-po* here seems to deviate slightly from its original usage.

Zhan-pon chen-po in text 30-b may be erroneous for *zhang-lon chen-po* or an innovated name like the above-mentioned *blon-pon*.

Besides these official and military titles, a Buddhistic title *dge-slong* appears in text 72.

The use of the titles in the Tibetan Empire may point to a dating of the inscriptions in the imperial period, but it is most likely that these titles continued to be used by the troops and officers of the Btsanpo's descendants who migrated into Ladakh. The presence of the deviant title names seems to support the latter possibility.

8. Clans and Given Names

Indexes 3 and 4 show the clans and the given names. The given names may consist of two elements: *mkhan* and *ming*. It is not always easy to distinguish these three elements. For example, it is unclear whether *rga* in texts 12-a, 29-a, 37, 35, 36 is a clan name or *mkhan*. And what about *rga-ba rin-cen* in text 36? Since I have not met with the clan name Rga in other sources,[3] and in our inscriptions clan names do not usually coexist with the title *stong-pon*, as seen in Index 2, I have considered *rga(-ba)* as *mkhan* and *rin-cen* as *ming*. But this is still hypothetical. Among the clan names I have listed in Index 3, the only clearly identifiable one are 'Bro and Dbas.[4]

The 'Bro family were one of the most influential clans in the Tibetan Empire. But what is striking is their connection with Ladakh after the collapse of the empire. Namely, they were instrumental in founding the first Ladakh kingdom: the family sponsored and supported the migration of Skyi-lde nyi-ma-mgon to Mnga'-ris (Petech 1977: 15-16, 155-56). They were also associated with the foundation of the Alchi temple complex located near to our rock inscriptions. Further, Petech states "[the 'Bro family] held some estates in Ladakh and played a substantial role in the spread of Buddhism in the country" (Petech 1977:166). Such a close connection of the 'Bro clan with Ladakh in the early stage of the first Ladakh kingdom needs to be taken into consideration in dating our inscriptions.

The well known Dbas family, which are also spelt as Dba's and Dba' in other Old

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[3] So far I have only found *Rga* appearing as the name of a legendary tribe before the foundation of Tibet (Francke 1926, *Antiquities*, vol.2: 65).

[4] Francke recorded: *oṁ staglo la brogba bona khromgo* (Francke 1906-07: 326, No.16), which is quoted in Vohra (1989) as evidence of 'brog-pa'. Unfortunately, I failed to record this inscription. But judging from Francke's illustration in Plate III, this may read something like: *stag lo la bro' [for 'bro?] btsan-khrom gi* ' In the tiger year, Bro(?) btsan-khrom [inscribed this].' (cf. my texts 1-b and 2-a).

Tibetan texts, appears in K.1.

The clan name Rvang-kling, which appears eight times here and once in a Khalatse inscription (Francke 1907, "Historische Dokumente von Khalatse": 598, Nr.2), is not found in other Tibetan sources in this form. Phonetically this is not to be equalled with *Rlang* or *Lang-ling* in Lalou's "Catalogue des Principauté" but with *Rong-lings* in a wooden slip, probably a name card, unearthed from Mazār Tāgh (M.Tagh b.i.0060: Thomas, *TLTD*: 303), where a name is written as *'bro'i rong lings yul bzung* "Rong-lings yul-bzung of (i.e. under) the 'Bro family." Here, *yul-bzung* must be a personal name (*ming*) and *Rong-lings* a clan name. And this person was subject to the 'Bro family. Thomas (*TLTD*) rightly connects *Rong-lings* with *Rong-glings* in the colophon in Cordier Catalog (1915, iii: 21l). This *Rong-lings* / *Rong-glings* should be equated with *Rvang-kling* here. I assume that the people of the Rvang-kling family came to Ladakh among the troops under the leadership of the 'Bro family.

Mnen, which must also be a clan, is hard to identify. It cannot be equated with the Mnon clan in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.[5] *Nen/nyen*, the name of' a district in documents from Mazār Tāgh (Thomas, *TLTD*: 176) may be parallel (Denwood 1980: l62), but it is not certain that this is the origin of the name.

Smer appears five times in Khalatse inscriptions (Francke 1907: 598): Nr.5: Smer rgyal, Nr.6: Smer blon rgyal, Nr.7: Smer dbang-bjang-legs, Nr.8: Smer dbang-po dbang-bjang, Nr.10: Smer *blon* sras-rgyal-legs. But this clan is not found elsewhere. Text 10 and Khalatse Nr.10 show that the officials from this family held the title *blon*.

Sag in text 2-b is a common Chinese family name. And its given name *mar-la* is most likely to be Chinese also (Takeuchi 1995: 130).

Interestingly, some of the other given names, such as *la-^i-tse* (text 6-a), *lyo-tse* (14-a) and *^i-tse* (l3-c), are most probably transliterations of Chinese names, too. Two of them belong to the Rvang-kling clan, while people of 'Bro, Mnen, and Smer clans bear mostly Tibetan names.

The inclusion of people bearing Chinese names among the troops presupposes the Tibetanization of the local Chinese inhabitants in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang and Hexi in the first half of the 9th century (Takeuchi 1995:131–32). This in turn would put the dates of our inscription posterior to it, namely, after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire.

9. Stupas and Other Subjects of Inscriptions

I will not discuss the forms of stupas and other subjects of drawing, due to my lack of iconographical expertise. But it is evident that these stupas are considerably different in form from those of later, more typical 'Tibetan' types. To make a comparative study, it would be more fruitful to compare them with the similar stupa drawings in the neighboring areas. In fact, strikingly similar 'stupa-inscription' rock carvings are found throughout the areas of Gilgit,

[5] E.g. P.t. 1287: 157.

Baltistan, and Ladakh. In addition to those accompanied with Tibetan inscriptions, there are stupa drawings with inscriptions in Kharosthī, Brāhmi, Sogdian, and Chinese. Some of them, e.g. one with Kharoṣṭhī (Jettmar 1987: Pl.9), go back to as early as the 1st century A.D. Although the stupa shapes, scripts and language vary, there must have existed the tradition of such a drawing in these areas long before the Tibetan period, and our Tibetan rock carvings must have been inspired from them.

10. The date and nature of the inscriptions

The examinations we have made on the paleography, orthography, years, names and titles thus reveal that the inscriptions belong to either the last phase of the Tibetan Empire, namely the first half of the 9th century, or the early stage of the first Ladakh kingdom, namely the second half of the 9th through 11th century, with more likelihood on the latter case. These carvings were made mostly by the military officers of troops who were stationed there for a considerable period of time. At the same time, the subjects of the carvings are totally Buddhistic. If these carvings had been made in the imperial period, it would contradict Petech's statement that "The Tibetan troops who crossed Ladakh en route to Baltistan and Gilgit about the middle of the 8th century cannot be expected to have exerted any religious influence, since Buddhism was only just penetrating their own home country" (Petech 1977: 165).

There is however one bit of evidence which may run counter to the post-imperial dating of the carvings. Namely, that the rock carvings with Tibetan inscriptions are found not only in Ladakh but also in Gilgit and Baltistan. Three cases have been reported: one on the Darkōt pass (north of Yasin), one in Gakush (north-west of Gilgit) and one in Satpura (south of Skardu). Historical background suggests that these inscriptions, especially the one on the Darkōt pass, must have been written under the occupation of Gilgit and Baltistan by the Tibetan imperial army, because that was the only time when Tibetan power reached as north–west as Gilgit.

The carving on the Darkōt pass, published in Stein's *Innermost Asia* (photo in illustration 46 and Francke's annotated translation in appendix L), shows that it is of the stupa–inscription type, though the inscription is hard to identify. According to Jettmar, the one in Gakush is also of that type (Jettmar 1975: 297). But unfortunately I have seen neither the inscription in Gakush nor the one in Satpura. Thus, I am not in a position to reach a final conclusion, but I suspect that these carvings were forerunners of the Tibetan version of stupa–inscription type rock carvings which became prevalent in the following post–imperial period as evidenced in our inscriptions.

The tentative conclusion I may draw is that these rock carvings near Alchi were made by the troop leaders who migrated to Ladakh after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire to establish the first Ladakh kingdom, having been inspired by the regional tradition of rock carvings.

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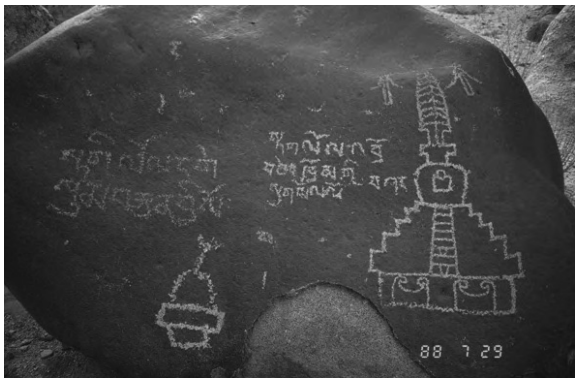
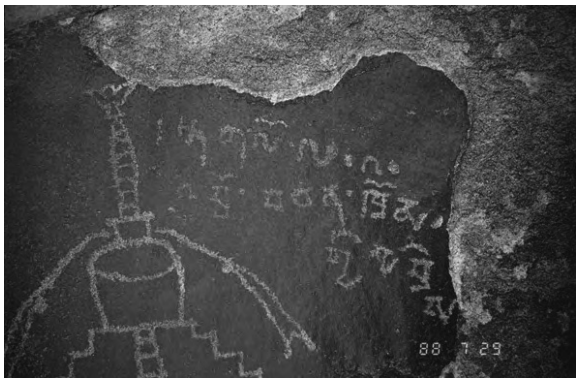


Pl.1: Text 1-a, 1-b

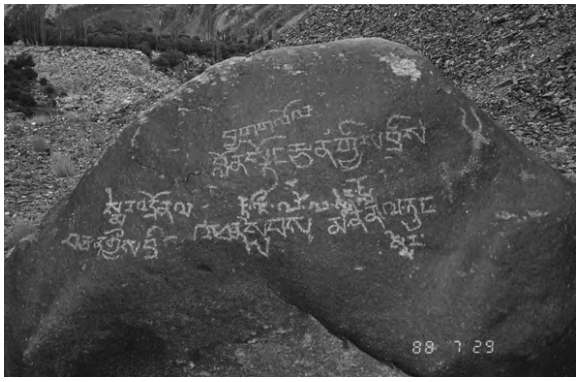


Pl.2: Text 2-a

Pl.3: Text 2-b

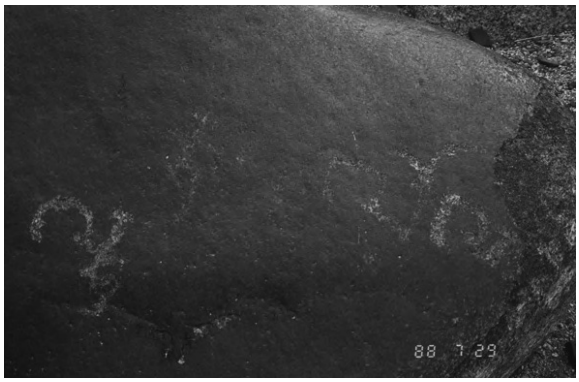
Pl.4: Text 3

Pl.5: Text 4-a, 4-b



Pl.6: Text 5-a, 5-b, 5-c, 5-d, 5-e

Pl.7: Text 6-a, 6-b

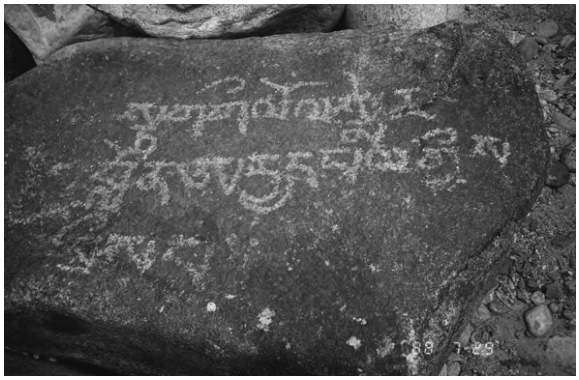


Pl.8: Text 16

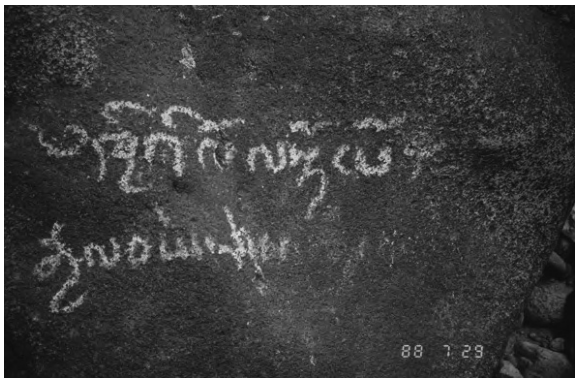
Pl.9: Text 8-a, 8-b

Pl.10: Text 8-c

Pl.11: Text 9-a, 9-b



Pl.12: Text 10



Pl.13: Text 11

Pl.14: Text 12-a, 12-b, 12-c

Pl.15: Text 13-a

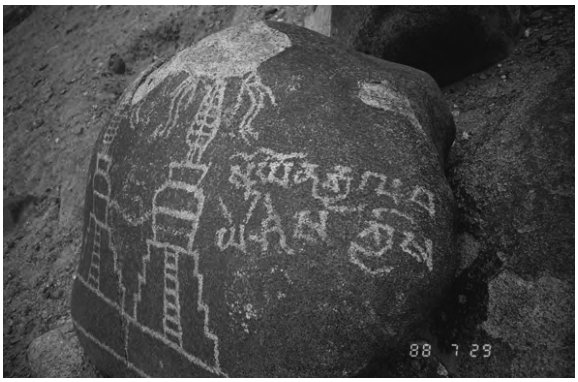
Pl.16: Text 13-b

Pl.17: Text 13-c

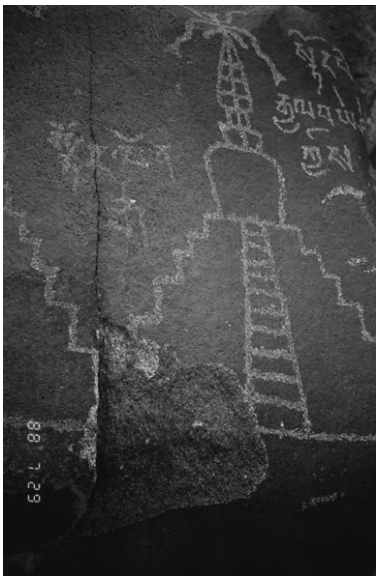
Pl.18: Text 14-a

Pl.19: Text 15

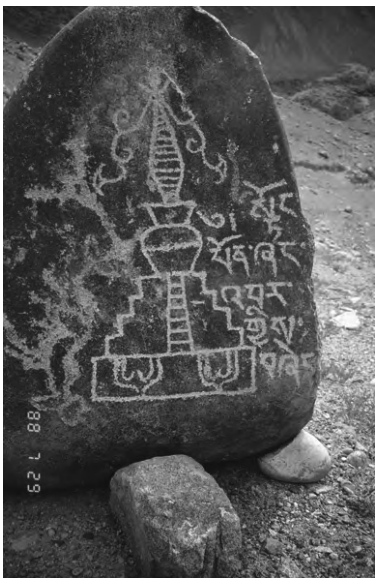
Pl.20: Text 27



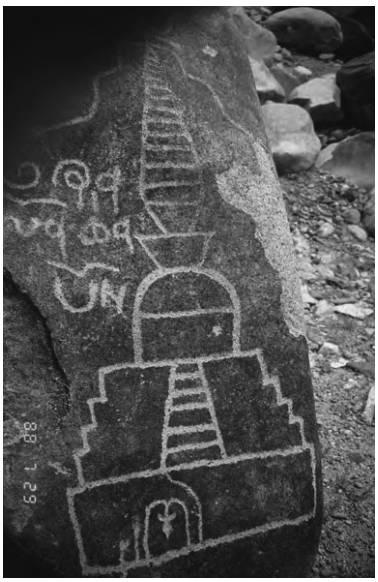
Pl.21: Text 28



Pl.22: Text 29-a, 29-b



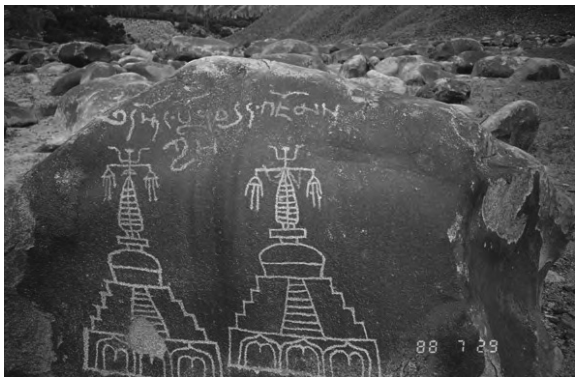
Pl.23: Text 30-a



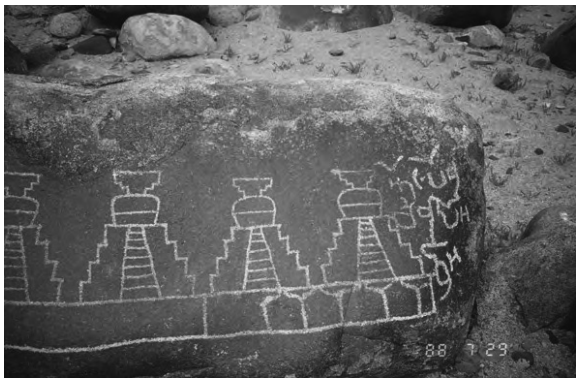
Pl.24: Text 30-b

Pl.25: Text 31

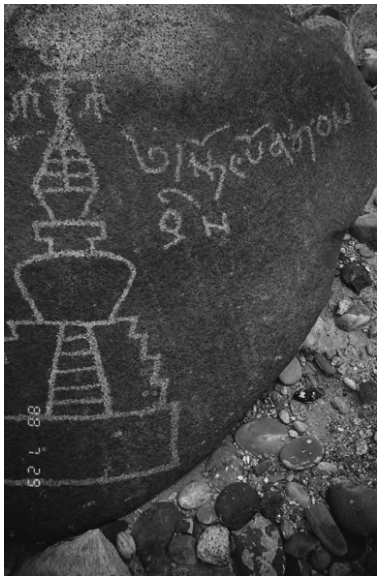
Pl.26: Text 32



Pl.27: Text 33



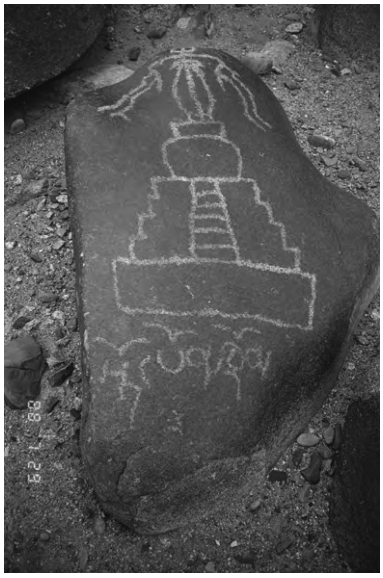
Pl.28: Text 34



Pl.29: Text 35

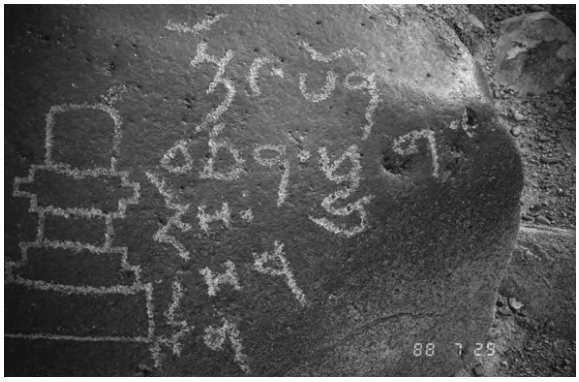
Pl.30: Text 38

Pl.31: Text 39



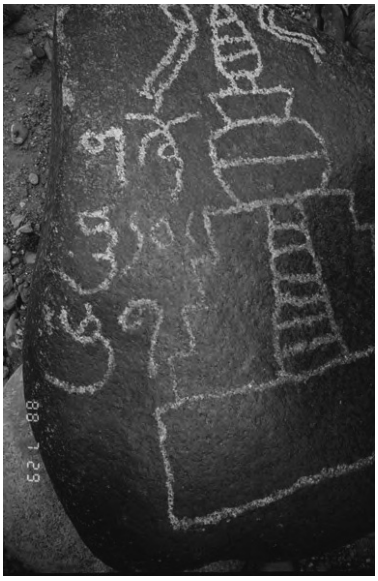
Pl.32: Text 40

Pl.33: Text 42



Pl.34: Text 43

Pl.35: Text 44



Pl.36: Text 45

Pl.37: Text 46

Pl.38: Text 51

Pl.39: Text 52

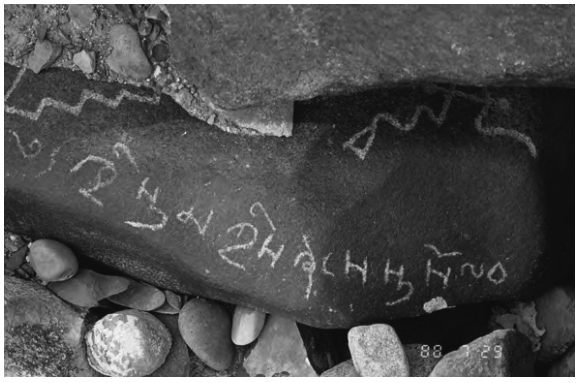
Pl.40: Text 53

Pl.41: Text 54

Pl.42: Text 56

Pl.43: Text 60

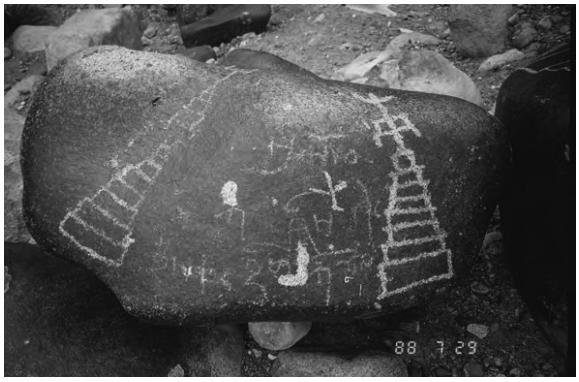
Pl.44: Text 61



Pl.45: Text 62

Pl.46: Text 68

Pl.47: Text 70



Pl.48: Text 71-a, 71-b

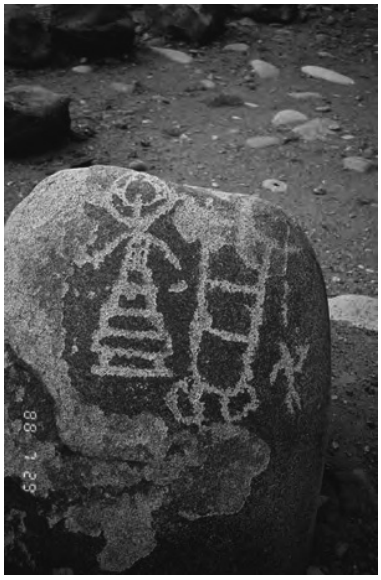
Pl.49: Text 72

Pl.50: Text 73

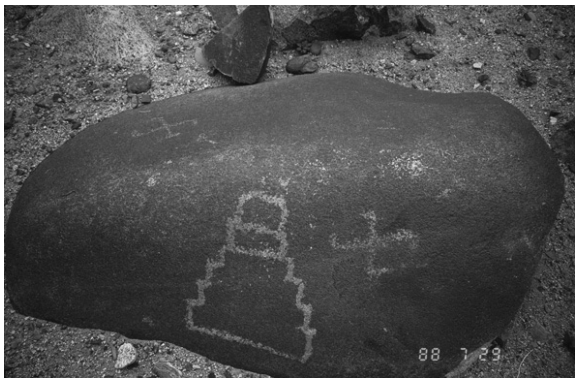
Pl.51: Text 75

Pl.52: Text 76

Pl.53: Text 79



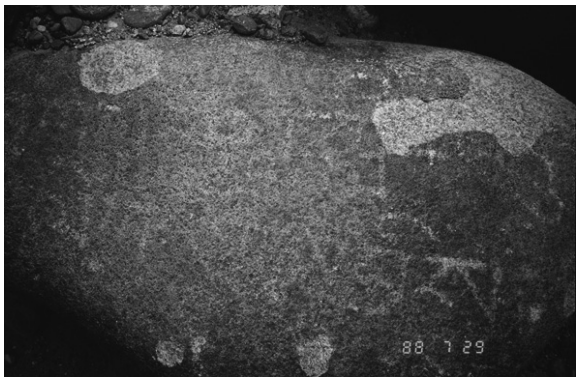
Pl.54: Text 80



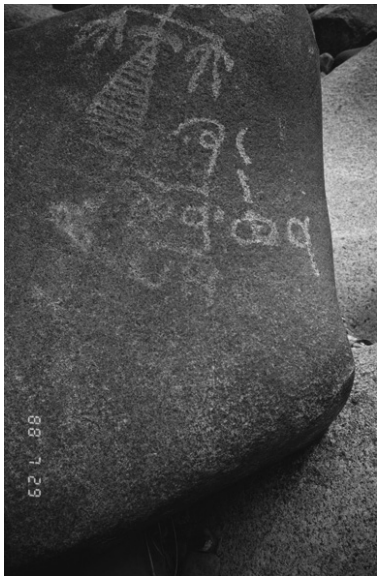
Pl.55: Text 81

Pl.56: Text 82

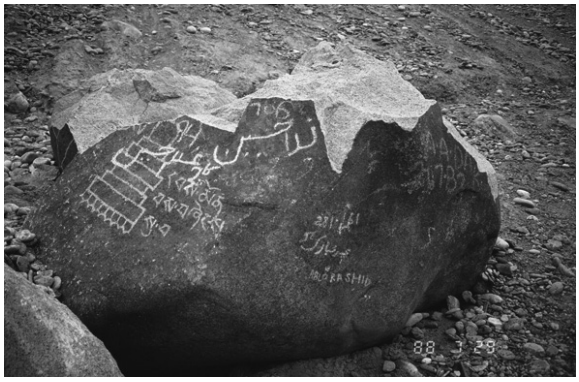
Pl.57: Text 20



Pl.58: Text 24



Pl.59: Text 57



Pl.K.1: Text K.1

Pl.K.2: Text K.2

Pl.K.3: Text K.3

Pl.K.4: Text K.4-a, K.4-b

Pl.K.5: Text K.5

Pl.K.6: Text K.6

Pl.K.7: Text K.7