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## Chinese Qiong ~ Tibetan Khyung; Taoism~Bonpo — Some Questions Related to Early Ethno-Religious History in Sichuan

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Ch. *Qiong~Tib. Khyung*; Taoism~Bonpo  
--Some Questions Related to Early Ethno-Religious History in Sichuan\*

Hoong Teik Toh

From the late 14<sup>th</sup> century to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, frequent ravages of the Tibetans in both Khyung po (in Khams) and Yuesui 越巂 (in Sichuan) had caused apprehension among those in Tibet as rumors rippled across the Sino-Tibetan border of a possible punitive campaign against the Tibetans by decree of the Ming emperor.<sup>1</sup> It was probably because of such a restive situation that, on June 26, 1415, the Ming government set up Shang Qiongbu Wei 上邛部衛 (Guard of Upper Khyung po) in Khyung po and appointed a certain Byams pa dpal (Zhangbabo 掌巴伯) as Zhihui Shi 指揮使 or Guard Commander there (MSL 13: 1851). During this period, the Ming government referred to Khyung po as Shang Qiongbu 上邛部 "Upper Khyung po" and Xia Qiongbu 下邛部 "Lower Khyung po", and to Rong po as Shang Longbu 上籠卜 "Upper Rong-po" and Xia Longbu 下籠卜 "Lower Rong po" (MSL 17: 703). The Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name Khyung po is noteworthy for two reasons:

- (1) In the Ming period, the standard transcription for *po* in Tibetan names was 卜. The use of 部 in transcribing Khyung po is rather unusual and this is especially so because
- (2) There was a place in Yuesui already known as Qiongbu 邛部 which was located to the south of the Dadu He 大渡河 (Rgyal rong Rgyal mo rngul [var.: dngul] chu).

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\* This paper grew out of a brief report given by the author on April 24, 2004 at a seminar entitled "Tibet and Her Neighbors" (Boston).

<sup>1</sup> The events in Khyung po (late 1380s) and Yuesui (1394, 1403, 1427) are respectively recorded in LR: 385, 576, SL: 372, and GCYS: 14, MSL 10: 451, MSL 17: 703, MSL 19: 1474.

This seems to imply that, for the Ming authority, Tib. *Khyung po* = Ch. *Qiongbu*. What grounds could the Ming Chinese have had for such an equation? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this. The best we can probably do here is to cull from extant sources the most relevant information so as to prepare us for more thorough research when, hopefully, more reliable data become available in the future.

### Early Records of “Qiong” and “Qiongbu”

The Qiongbu people in Sichuan were Tibetans. According to the *Mingshi*, a certain Lingzhenbo 嶺真伯 (obviously Tibetan: Rin chen dpal), acting as the last Mongol-appointed Pacification Commissioner (Zhaotao Shi 招討使) of Qiongbu, was responsible for submitting the Qiongbu region to the Ming authority (MS: 8020). In fact, long before the Ming period, Qiongbu had been one of China’s administrative areas and the disyllabic name can be traced back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.:

- (1) From the Northern Zhou 周 period to the Tang 唐 period: Qiongbu Xian 邛部縣.
- (2) Song 宋 period: Qiongbu Chuan 邛部川. (JTS: 1698, SS: 14231)
- (3) Yuan period: Qiongbu Anfu Zhaotao Si 邛部安撫招討司 and, later, Qiongbu Zhou 邛部州 (YS: 1473, MS: 8020).

The second syllable *bu* 部 in these names has nothing to do with the Chinese word for “tribe” which cannot be used to modify nouns such as *xian* “county” or *zhou* “prefecture”. It is obviously part of a non-Han place-name.

The name Qiong 邛 / 邛 alone—the phonetic value given in the *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 is 其恭反 (SJ: 426), i.e. *kion*—goes back to a much earlier period. Qiongbu 邛都, part of the Qin 秦 empire (221-206 B.C.), was the country (*guo* 國) of the “Southwestern barbarians” (Xinan Yi 西南夷) who were known for their horses and yaks (*maoni* 旄牛) (HS: 1646) and were subjugated by the Han 漢 Dynasty in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. There, a principality was set up by the Chinese and was named Yuesui Jun 越巂郡.

Going to the north, southwest of Chengdu 成都, was Linqiong 臨邛, which was then blessed with large deposits of iron and was already a Chinese district (*xian*) populated by mining magnates (the best known of which was the one from the Zhuo clan 卓氏) and their laborers (SJ: 3277). Ch. *lin qiong* means "on the verge of the Qiong [River]". The Qiong River (Qiong Shui 邛水) originates from the Qionglai Mountains (Qionglai Shan 邛來山) at Yandao 嚴道 (HS: 1598, JTS: 1681). The original name of Qionglai was Qiong-Zuo 邛笮 because the mountains marked the border between the countries of the Qiong and Zuo<sup>2</sup> peoples (SJ: 2992).

The Yandao district or Yandao Xian 嚴道縣 (SJ: 211, HS: 3229) was largely populated by non-Hans. As stated in the *Kuodi zhi* 括地志: "A district where there were barbarians was called *dao*, so it was called Yandao." (SJ: 426: 縣有蠻夷曰道，故曰嚴道). In the Han period, *dao*<sup>3</sup> was found in the designation of such "barbarian" districts.<sup>4</sup> Yandao (\**giam to*) might reflect Tib. *Gya mdo* (*gya* "meandering or swift flowing [rivers]", *mdo* "confluence"), *Gyang mdo* or the like<sup>5</sup>, but this cannot be certified at present. It is worthy of remark that the toponym *dao* 道 is closely related to the ancient understanding of the river system outlined in the geographical classic *Yugong* 禹貢. Yu 禹, the founder of the Xia 夏 Dynasty (±2000 B.C.—±1500 B.C.), was the hero of the

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<sup>2</sup> Of the language and ethnicity of the Zuo people, see Meng Mo: 12-13, 23-25.

<sup>3</sup> Rendered by "circuit" in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p 487b, No. 6306.

<sup>4</sup> See also Toh: 396. Cf. Enoki.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the name of the Bonpo holy mountain, Lha ri Gyang to / Gyang do (Karmay: 221, 301), Bla 'grum Gyang mdo (in the *Yi ge lha gyes can*, Karmay-Nagano: 156), as well as Gyang tho, Gyang mtho, Gyed mtho (Haarh: 237, 273, 293, 381, 393, 405) etc. In Moso, the word for "mountain" is *ndzo*.

Chinese flood legend who hailed from Xiqiang 西羌 "the Qiang of the west" (SJ: 686).<sup>6</sup> The *Maozhou tujing* 茂州圖經 says, "The surname of the river spirit was Jiang 姜. In the past, when Yu 'conducted' (*dao* 導, the archaic form of which is *dao* 道) [the course of smaller rivers into the course of larger] rivers, the [river] spirit actually helped him." (SZGJ 79: 2: 江瀆神，姜姓。昔禹導江，神寔佐之) Chinese records also have it that Yandi 炎帝 "Flaming [Red] Emperor" (representing "Fire" of the Five Elements), the second of the three pre-historical emperors (Sanhuang 三皇), was surnamed Jiang after the name of the Jiang River (Jiang Shui 姜水) where his mother (*dimu*) gave birth to him and, for which reason, the various Qiang tribes were also surnamed Jiang (SZGJ 31: 2: 帝母育于姜水，而以姜爲姓。故諸羌亦姓姜).<sup>7</sup> Yandi was also known as Shennong Shi

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<sup>6</sup> That was probably why the Tanguts, known in Chinese as Dangxiang Qiang 党項羌, named the kingdom they built in 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries as Xia 夏 (Xixia 西夏).

<sup>7</sup> Qiang 羌 (<\**k'ian*) and Jiang 姜 (<\**kian*) share the "rhyme" (*yun* 韵) of the word for "sheep" *yang* 羊. The female sign 女 of 姜 simply indicates that 姜 was the clan name—the character *xing* 姓 "clan name" takes the female sign—of the 羌 people. The character 羌 was also used to represent an emphatic negative in the ancient Chu 楚 language (cf. Jiang Shuge, "Qufu Chuyu yishu 屈賦楚語義疏", No. 11, in Jiang Shuge 1983: 79-81), the phonetic value of which is given in the *Shiji zhengyi* as *qiang* 彊 (\**kion*) (SJ: 2488). Both *qiang* and *jiang* are pronounced *kion* / *k'ion* in Southern Min 閩 dialect. Paul Pelliot suggested that Tib. '*greng* was the native name represented by 羌 (Thomas: 61, Stein 1957-58: 7), the untenability of which, however, had been demonstrated by Uray. In the early 1930s, the Tangutologist Wang Jingru proposed that 党 and 羌 (Wang hypothesized a \**tk'*- for the former and \**zk'*- for the latter) reflect the same word in ancient Qiang language (Wang: 662-664). For our present purpose, what can be said about 羌 and 𠂔 may be that they were very old names associated with rivers, or also with the cult of river spirits, in the regions that were inhabited by the Qiang herdsmen and hunters in ancient times. According to HHS: 2875-76, the Yuesui Qiang 越巂羌 was an offshoot from the Qiang tribe under the leadership of a certain Ang / Yang 𠂔 \**Dian* (Cf. Amoy *gon*, *gion*, Cantonese *non*, *iaen*) which emigrated from Qinghai around 384 B.C. to escape military enslavement by the expansionist power of the Qin 秦, a barbaric state which was to conquer the entirety of China in 221 B.C. (cf. Meng Wentong 1936: 15-20). Since 𠂔 ("high; raise, lift

神農氏 (SJ: 4), the name for the father of herbal medicine in Chinese history.<sup>8</sup> He was displaced by Huangdi 黃帝 “Yellow Emperor” (representing “Earth” of the Five Elements) who was also known as Xuanyuan Shi 軒轅氏.

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upwards”) and 冎 (“mound”) could be very easily confused orthographically (and, perhaps, also phonetically? In Amoy, 冎 is pronounced *gion*, *kion* and 冎 *gion*, *gon*), this record may very well refer to the early history of the ancestor of the Qiong people.

<sup>8</sup> An anecdote given in Huijiao’s 慧皎 *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 or *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (T2059.50: 334b) relates that Yao Xing 姚興 (r. 399-416)—the warlord of the Qiang 羌 tribe and the king of the Posterior Qin (Houqin 後秦) who sponsored and took part in Kumārajīva’s 鳩摩羅什 translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese—was skeptical of the authenticity of the large amount of texts recited in Chang’an 長安 by the 90-year-old Kashmirian Sarvāstivādin, Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍. Therefore Yao requested Buddhayaśas to memorize a medical recipe in the Qiang language which contained approximately 50, 000 words (*ling song Qiangji yaofang ke wuwan yan* 令誦羌籍藥方可五萬言). Two days later, the nonagenarian passed the test by reciting the Qiang text without making a single error! This record informs us of the fact that the Qiang people had their language and medicinal knowledge documented by the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. If the ancient Qiang people spoke a Tibetan language, this would seem to be the earliest mention of a Tibetan medical text. Whether this text had anything to do with the “original”—if there ever was one—medical classic *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 can, perhaps, never be confirmed. To note in passing, the Notopterygium root *Qianghuo* 羌活 / *Qianghua* 羌滑 (known in Tibetan as *rtsad g-yung*, *spru ma*) and Chinese angelica root *Danggui* 當歸 (borrowed into Tibetan as *tong ku*; cf. De’u dmar Bstan ‘dzin phun tshogs, *Shel gong shel phreng* [Beijing: Minzu Chubanshè, 1986; 2001 reprint], p. 295: *rgya nag tu tong ku zer zhing* etc.), according to the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (See HHS: 2854), were among the herbs taken by Taoist “immortals” in the barbarian region in Southwestern China. The name *Qianghuo* points to its place of origin in Qiang areas.

We find a Qiang clan, Tang 唐 (Karlgren’s reconstruction: \**d’ân*; Cantonese *t’oŋ*, Amoy \**toŋ*, Old Uyyur transcription *to* [*Tayto* for Datang 大唐, cf. Japanese *Dai tō*]), present in Longxi 隴西 around 227 A.D. (SGZ: 734). A striking fact is that both 唐 and Tib. *stong* mean “empty; futilely”. 唐 is also the archaic form for *tang* 湯 (Karlgren: \**t’an*; Amoy and Cantonese *t’oŋ*) “great, vast”, as already pointed out by Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) in his “Yin buci zhong suojian xiangong xianwang kao 殷卜辭中所見先公先王考”, *Wang Guowei Xiansheng quanji* 王國維先生全集 (Taipei:

## ***Khyung* and Local Religious Cults**

Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802) writes in his *History of Confucianism and Taoism* (Tib. *ma hā tsi na'i yul du rig byed dang bon gyi grub mtha' 'byung tshul*)<sup>9</sup>:

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Taiwan Datong Shuju, 1976), pp. 426-427. Cf. also Tib. *thang* "expanse, plain (noun); clear" (*thang stong* "wild / empty plain") and Ch. *dong* 洞 [ton] "empty (空洞); expanse (洞庭之野); clear (洞然)". In an Old Tibetan text from Dunhuang, *Pelliot tibétaine 1287*, the name of one of the oldest Tibetan clans Stong is spelled Tong (*ldong tong nī 'phan gyis btab*, see Huang: 191, 204), indicating that the prefix *s-* of *stong* was then not pronounced. It is therefore possible that *stong* was an orthographic loan for *tong*. It is very tempting to relate the old Tibetan Tong / Stong clan to the 唐 clan of the Qiang. The clan names of the ancient Qiang tribes in Chinese records still await the scrutiny of Sinologists and Sino-Tibetanists.

<sup>9</sup> Thu'u bkwan designated Confucianism and Taoism "Vedism (*rig byed*) and Bon [in China]" respectively to contrast their positions relative to Buddhism within the restricted Tibetan framework of religious historiography. However, under certain circumstances, a Taoist text could be regarded as Buddhist. For instance, the Tibetan translation of a Taoist text, *Yus sha' kyi'i brjed thog yang ti'i za ma tog* (The text available to me was copied by an anonymous scribe for publication in India in the 1960s), begins with the invocation *rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang 'phags ma sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo* ("Homage to Lord Mañjughosa and Noble Tārā!"), which is certainly not found in the Chinese original. *Yus sha' kyi* is a transcription of *Yuxia ji* 玉匣記; *yang ti* (*g-yang ti* < *yangzhi* 羊脂, which refers to the white color of the precious jade *yangzhiyu* 羊脂玉 from Khotan; cited in Stein 1971: 245 to account for Zhang zhong yu li "liquor," for which, however, 玉醴 is a more likely source) is a translation of *yu* 玉 "jade"; *za ma tog*, though being an etymologically curious Tibetan word, is of course a translation of *xia* 匣 "case, box". This Taoist manual of astrology was also translated into Mongolian as *Erdeni-yin* (var.: *Erdenitü*) *qas qayurčay* (var.: *qayirčay*). Its most interesting part (cf. the collection of the *Zhushen shengdanri yuxia ji deng ji* 諸神聖誕日玉匣記等集 in DZ 36: 319) is the *Fashi xuanze ji* 法師選擇記 (*Thang zan tsang gis bris pa'i gza' skar bzang ngan gyi dbye ba 'gyur med*) which was said to have been propounded by Tang Sanzang 唐三藏 (Xuanzang 玄奘, the great Buddhist master) to Tang Taizong 唐太宗 on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Zhenguan reign (貞觀元年正月十五日, *thang tin kvan rgyal po'i gnam lo thog ma'i zla ba dang po'i tshe bco lnga'i nyin* = February 6, 627 A.D.). This reminds us of a curious passage in the Mongolian



*shen nong bya bas ku'i tsang zhes pa'i spor thang gi gzhung khon sa'i  
rnam 'gyur gtso bor byas pa zhig brtsams/ yang shwan ywan zhes pa'i ri  
las khyung gis khyer byung yang zer/ khyung skad la dpe byas nas brtsams  
pa yin zhes kyang zer ba'i gzhung zhig kyang byung 'dug ste grags chung  
ngo//* (GM, Folio 429)

"Shennong" compiled a book of divination called *Ku'i tsang* (< Ch. *Guizang* 歸藏) and had [the hexagrams] begin with (*gtso bor byas pa*, reflecting Ch. 以...爲首) the figure (*rnam 'gyur*) of 'earth' (*khon sa* < *kun* 坤).<sup>10</sup> Also, it was alleged that a *khyung* (a mythical bird) brought [the book] from the hill called "Shwan ywan" (*Xuanyuan* 軒轅)<sup>11</sup>. Although

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chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* which mentions that a prophecy of "the translator" Tang Xuanzang (Mongolian *tang vangčang kemekü kelemürči* in Schmidt: 130, Manchu *tang yuwan juwang gebungge lodzawa* in Haenisch: 60; *lodzawa* = Tib. *lo tsā* [var.: *tstsha*] *ba* "translator") to Tang Taizong was found by the Mongol emperor in an ancient "book" (Mongolian *debter* < Persian دفتر *daftar*). This text is very likely to be Taoist or, at least, Taoist-cum-Buddhist. As Xuanxuan Daoren Yanlingzi 玄玄道人延陵子 (the Ming Taoist who was responsible for circulating the *Fashi xuanze ji*) puts it: "There is [only] one Tao in the world and the sages share one mind." (DZ 36: 323c: 天下無二道，聖人無兩心)

<sup>10</sup> The Xia 夏 version (following Yandi's tradition) of the *Book of Changes* (*Yi* 易) was called *Lianshan* 連山 while the Yin 殷 version (following Huangdi's tradition) was called *Guizang* (*Zhouli zhushu* 周禮注疏, *juan* 24: 夏人因炎帝曰連山，殷人因黃帝曰歸藏). The *Guizang* system begins with the *kun* "earth" hexagram (*Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏, *juan* 37: 歸藏者，殷之易，以純坤爲首).

<sup>11</sup> See SJ: 2: 軒轅之丘 "the hill of Xuanyuan". According to the *Shan hai jing* 山海經, the country of Xuanyuan was situated on the edge of Mt. Qiong 窮山. The legend of a *fenghuang* (a fabulous bird from the south) bringing forth a sacred book (*fenghuang xian tushu* 鳳皇銜圖書) was associated with Huangdi and not with Yandi (Shennong); see the *Chunqiu yuanming bao* 春秋元命苞 (*Huangshi yishu kao* 黃氏逸書考 48: 55b) and *Chunqiu hecheng tu* 春秋合誠圖 (*Huangshi yishu kao* 50: 7b).

there is a text alleging that 'it was also said that the book was produced according to (?) the sound of *khyung* (*khyung skad*),' [this remains] little known<sup>12</sup>.

Both *Guizang* and *Xuanyuan* are names associated with Huangdi rather than with Shennong (Yandi). Thu'u bkwan's curious account seems to betray an attempt to associate *khyung* with Shennong's clan name. Like Ch. *feng* or *fenghuang*, *khyung* is king of the feathered race<sup>13</sup>. In Bonpo iconography, the god Ye mkhyen dgra bla is presented in the form of a *khyung* (Karmay: 256). Interestingly enough, in the *Taishang Laojun zhongjing* 太上老君中經, the first Taoist immortal (*diyi shenxian* 第一神仙) Shangshang Taiyi 上上太一 is said to be a human-headed *fenghuang*, and he is the father of Tao 道之父 who was born prior to the beginning (*xian*) of our universe 天地之先<sup>14</sup> (DZ 27: 142b). According to Thu'u bkwan, who derived his "Sinological" knowledge from his *bla ma*,

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<sup>12</sup> I suspect that this had something to do with the famous Chinese legend of the invention of flute by Huangdi's musician Linglun 伶倫 (cf. Tib. *ling long* "fluttering, waving") who was inspired by the sound of *fenghuang* in the Kunlun mountains.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., *Rnam dag padma g-yung drung klong chen gyi dkyil 'khor*, a *gter ma* text discovered by Gshen chen klu dga': 'dab chag kyi rgyal po *khyung chen* (RR: 187).

<sup>14</sup> In §25 of the Taoist classic *Laozi* 老子, the Thing (*wu* 物) which formed heterogeneously and was born prior to the beginning of universe (有物混成，先天地生) is designated Dao 道 and Da 大 "great". The Chu 楚 bamboo-slip version reads 𠂔 instead of 物. The character 𠂔 has been tentatively deciphered as *zhuang* 狀, see Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, "Guodian *Laozi* jian chutan 郭店《老子》簡初探", *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 17 (1999): 45f. The silk version from the Han tomb at Mawangdui 馬王堆 reads 物. Cf. *Zhuangzi* 莊子 §23: 備物以將 (*varia lectio*: 壯, 獎) 形, taking note of the fact that 物, 將 and 狀 all have close visual appearances in their archaic forms and carry the semantic import of "big, great". The head-sign 首 in 𠂔 (similar to the graph 首 of *dao* 道) is of particular interest. Was it, in both characters, intended to convey the connotation of "first, ἀρχή"?

the omniscient (*thams cad mkhyen pa*) Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (章嘉, 1717-1786), the Taoist sage Lo'u kyun (Laojun 老君) and the Bonpo sage Ston pa Gshen rab are one and the same because, as adverted to by Lcang skya, *gshen* was merely a distortion of *xian* of *xiansheng* 先生.<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that Lcang skya did not arbitrarily equate *gshen* with Taoist terms such as *shen* 神<sup>16</sup>, *xian* 仙, *zhen* 真, or *xuan* 玄. There must be some reason for his equating *gshen* with *xian* 先. Tib. *gshen* (also spelled *shen* in Old Tibetan as in *Pelliot tibétain* 1285) is a very curious word used exclusively in Bonpo contexts and its meaning remains obscure. It occurs in the Bonpo term for an enlightened being, *ye gshen*. Tib. *ye* "primordial, pristine"<sup>17</sup> also means "eternity", obviously not in the sense of Arabic *abad* ابد "eternity *a parte post*" but closer to that of Arabic *azal* ازال "eternity *a parte ante*". The *rab* of *gshen rab* means "most, highest, supreme"<sup>18</sup>. If we take *gshen* to have been derived from 先, both *ye gshen* and *gshen rab* would mean something very close to the Taoist concept of *xian* 先 and *taishang* 太上. Furthermore, the term *mi bo [che]* in *Gshen rab mi bo [che]* is comparable to the Taoist notion of *daren* 大人 "great man"<sup>19</sup>. Lcang skya's hypothesis, though it requires further corroboration, should not be

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<sup>15</sup> GM, Folio 445: *lo'u kyun 'di bon gyi ston pa gshen rab dang gcig ces bdag gi bla ma thams cad mkhyen pas gsungs te/ rgya'i skad du skyes mchog la shyan shing zer ba'i shyan sgra zur nyams pas gshen zhes bos par sems so*// Note that *xiansheng* was used to refer to Taoist masters. A few instances of addressing someone *xian* instead of *xiansheng* in Chinese were presented by Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612-1672) in his *Shuying* 書影 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1981), p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> As suggested in Hoffmann: 358.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the Buddhist term *ye shes* "pristine wisdom".

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the Buddhist terms *shes rab* "sublime wisdom" (*prajñā*; 般若, 勝妙智慧, 妙智, 勝慧), *ri rab* "sublime mountain" (Mt. Sumeru, king of mountains; 須彌山王, 妙高山), etc.

<sup>19</sup> As found in the famous *Daren xiansheng zhuan* 大人先生傳 by Ruan Ji (210-263), see Chen Bojun 陳伯君 ed., *Ruan Ji ji jiaozhu* 阮籍集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1987), pp. 161-193.

slighted inasmuch as we take into account the fact that Taoist elements are found in Tibetan Bonpo writings<sup>20</sup>. In the *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (*Biographies of Taoist Immortals*) ascribed to the Han-Dynasty scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.), we find a Taoist immortal Ge You 葛由, as a "Qiang man" (*Qiangren* 羌人), rode on a sheep and entered Sichuan (*qi yang ru Xishu* 騎羊入西蜀)<sup>21</sup> during the reign of Chengwang of the Zhou

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<sup>20</sup> The episode of Kong tse (< Ch. Kongzi 孔子, i.e. Confucius) praying to Gshen rab in a Bonpo story (Karmay 1998: 181) obviously goes back to the Chinese story of Confucius revering Laozi (SJ: 2140). A Taoist story of Confucius was also found to have been translated into Tangut (See Кычанов).

<sup>21</sup> The ancient Qiang people were known as shepherds as indicated by the character 羌 which may be analyzed into "sheep" and "man". It is interesting to note that *khyung* and *khyu* "herd, flock" seem interchangeable in Tibetan; e.g., the name of Zhang zhung Ga *khyung* spungs pa was alternatively written as Ga *khyu* spungs pa. The Tangut word *khǝuǎ* "strong" (Li Fanwen: 320) may be compared to Tib. *gyong* "hard, strong" (cf. Ch. *qiáng, jiàng* 強 \**k'ion*, \**kion* "strong; stubborn") but probably not to *khyung*. In names such as Shel rgyung dkar po (*Mi'u rigs bzhi lha mchod rgyas pa*, Karmay-Nagano: 1), Rgyung yar Bla chen khod spungs, Zhang zhung Stong rgyung mthu chen, Me nyag Ne rgyung 'khar bu (RY: 3, 6, 7, 31) etc., *rgyung* probably has nothing to do with *khyung*. I am inclined to think that *khyung* is related to the hydronym Qiong 邛 (a non-Chinese word) whence came the Chinese word *jiang* 江 (as in the character *kong* 空 "empty; sky, air", the sign *gong* 工 is the phonetic component in both 邛 and 江) for the Yangzi River in particular and large rivers in general. Cf. the word for "river" in Burmese *'chyw̃n* (more precisely, "a rivulet") and Marma *'khyw̃n* (Bernot: 52). Cf. also Rong (Lepcha) *kyw̃n* "river, stream" (Mainwaring: 33) as well as Tib. *kyong*, *kong* "depression in the ground, concave, hollow", *khung* "hole, concavity", Burmese *chyiain'* "hollow". For sounds like *k'w̃n*, *k'w̃n* which are semantically related to "hole", "hollow" etc. in Sinitic and Thai, see an early article by Lin Yutang 林語堂, "Gu you fufuyin shuo 古有複輔音說", in Lin's *Yuyanxue luncong* 語言學論叢 (*Minguo congshu diyibian* 民國叢書第一編 51) (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1989), pp. 1-15. Tib. *klung* (var.: *klungs*, *klong*<sub>1</sub>; to be distinguished from *klong*<sub>2</sub> "center", for which cf. *gung* "middle", *dgung* "middle; midday; sky, air") means "[river] valley" (cf. Tib. *lung* "valley, hollow, furrow", *rong* "valley, gorge") and, with *chu* "water, river", it forms the binoms *chu klung*, *klung chu* "rivers". Nearly 30 years ago, Jerry Norman and Mei Tsu-lin proposed that Ch. 江 (\**kruŋ* in Li Fang-kuei's 李方桂 system), Tib. *klung* and Thai *khɿɿw̃n* are all Austroasiatic in origin (Norman-Mei: 282).

Dynasty 周成王 (1115-1079 B.C.) (DZ 5: 67c). This legend at least indicates that Taoism was present among the Qiang people by the time the *Liexian zhuan* was compiled.

A remarkable fact we must mention here is that the Sovereign of the Jiang River (Dijiang 帝江, Zujang 祖江) in ancient Chinese mythology was a bird deity, as already demonstrated by the eminent Sinologist Jao Tsung-i (Jao 2003a: 169-258, esp. 181-211). It is probably not a mere coincidence that Tib. *khyung*, being the name for a mythical bird, is also a clan name that can be related to the ethnonym Qiong 邛 which in turn was derived from the hydronym Qiong (邛水). It must not be forgotten that 邛水 was also written as 江水 (Meng Wentong 1987: 51).<sup>22</sup>

I do not know of any record which confirms that the Qiong people were familiar with Taoism. Nevertheless, we may have to take into account the fact that Linqiong was an important center for Taoist cults. The Tang Taoist master Liu Zhigu 劉知古 (8<sup>th</sup> century) hailed from Linqiong.<sup>23</sup> In the widely read Tang poem *Changhen ge* 長恨歌 by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), the Taoist priest who was sent to search for the soul of the

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A more thorough research on the history of 邛 and possibly related words in Tibeto-Burman languages may shed further light on this question.

<sup>22</sup> That river and bird cults were somehow intertwined in the remote past can also be seen from the fact that a curious word for "boat" was *yi* 鴼 (cf. Jao 2003b: 87, for the connections between the bird *yi* [噫, 鴼] and the divine Taiyi 太一 "Ultimate Oneness") which was in fact the name of a "large bird" (鴼, 大鳥也—from Gao You's 高誘 commentary of the *Huainan Zi* 淮南子; see Liu Wendian: 262). Among the many words for "boat, ship" recorded sinographically (cf. Jao 2003c), *helü* 閭閻 (Hong Liangji: 265b) may be singled out as one probably sharing the same origin with Tibetan *gru*. The name of the great Helü 閭閻, king of the ancient Wu 吳 state, probably had the same meaning in the ancient Wu language. The ancient Wu and Yue 越 peoples were famous for boatmanship and river battle.

<sup>23</sup> Zhao Daoyi 趙道一, *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑒, DZ 5: 282b.

Tang emperor's lover was also from Linqiong<sup>24</sup>. Zhang Xingcheng 張行成, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century scholar of the Xiantian 先天 school of the *Book of Changes*, was from Linqiong (Liu Yaohan: 88). In the *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄 (*Record of a Fortunate Encounter with Profound Mysticism*), a record of the preachings of the Taoist priest Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1148-1227) to Činggis Qan which was compiled by the Khitan scholar Yila Chucai 移剌楚材 / Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244), we read:

恒<桓>帝永壽元年正月七日，太上降蜀臨邛，授天師張道陵南斗北斗經及二十四階法籙諸經籍千餘卷。(DZ 3: 389a)

On February 26, 155, Taishang descended in Linqiong of Shu (Sichuan) and imparted to the *tianshi* Zhang Daoling the Scripture of Sagittarius and [the Scripture of] the Dipper as well as the scriptures of the 24-step magic formulae, in 1, 000-odd volumes.<sup>25</sup>

Zhang Daoling (34-156) was the very man who founded the Taoist cult of *tianshi* in Sichuan. He was certainly better known by the title Zhang Tianshi 張天師 which was by

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<sup>24</sup> 臨邛道士鴻都客，能以精誠致魂魄。

<sup>25</sup> For the worship of *tianshi* in Qiongzhou 邛州 and Linqiong 臨邛, see, e.g., Du Guangting's 杜光庭 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 and *Shenxian ganyu ji* 神仙感遇記, in *Siku Quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 258, pp. 247-48, 290. Some records have it that Zhang Daoling acquired his learnings in a mountain in Qiongzhou (Jao 1991: 147). Cf. *Daomen tongjiao ji xu* 道門通教集序 (DZ 32: 1a): 天師立教於西蜀，廣成終老於益州，故蜀之人奉道爲盛，儀注亦甚詳。 "Tianshi (Zhang Daoling) founded his teaching in Xishu; Guangcheng (Du Guangting) spent the latter part of his life in Yizhou. Therefore Taoism is widely practiced among the people of Shu (Sichuan) [and their] exegeses of rituals are very elaborate too." The *tianshi* cult was also practiced among the Dali 大理 (Nanzhao 南詔) natives. See Yang Zhonglu et al.: 384, 521 etc. The earliest occurrence of the term *tianshi* seems to be in the chapter of Xu Wugui 徐無鬼 of the *Zhuangzi* where we read that a horse-tender boy was revered by the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) as Tianshi.

no means unknown to Tibetan Bonpos. For instance, we read in *Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan's* history of Bonpo that the principal mentor of the Ming emperors was the Chinese *bon* (*rgya nag gi bon*) Cang thas pi which means "celestial *bon* (*gnam gyi bon*)".<sup>26</sup> "Cang thas pi" should read "Cang thas si" (the scribe might have copied this from a *dbu med* text in which *si* སྐ and *pi* ཕི could be easily confounded), i.e., Zhang Tianshi "celestial *shi*, Zhang".<sup>27</sup> If, indeed, *Qiong* = *Khyung*, this would imply an early

<sup>26</sup> RRB: 181: *thas tshong yab sras kyi ring la rtsa ba'i bla mchod dngos ni/ rgya nag gi bon cang thas pi* <sic.> *bya ba yin/ bod skad du gnam gyi bon zer ba'o/ Tib. thas tshong* = Ch. Taizong 太宗, which refers to the Yongle 永樂 emperor who was better known in Tibetan by the epithet Ye dbang or Ye dbang rgyal po. What is most curious is that Ye dbang, though representing Yanwang 燕王 (Yongle's princely title), actually refers to a Bonpo sage. See, e.g., Rong ston Tshul khri ms 'od zer, *Rnam dag padma yum gyi dkyil 'khor bsdus don nyams len du dril ba padma rgyan gyi gsal byed*. RR: 11: *bdag g-yung drung ye dbang gi rgyal po/ ston pa gshen rab rab tu gsal ba de [...]* (འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷོ་མ་ཡེ་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་རབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་དེ་[...]) The Ming Chinese also referred to Bonpo as *Daojiao* "Taoism". Cao Xuequan (1574-1647) cited the *Xibian ji* 西邊記 (*Records of the Western Borderlands*): 國師商巴，佛教也。禪師黎巴，道教也。(SZGJ 31: 6)

<sup>27</sup> In the Ming period, this referred to the Longhu Shan 龍虎山 Taoist priest Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 and his successors in the Zhengyi 正一 lineage (MS: 7654). See also *Huang Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命世錄, DZ 34: 784-814.

Ch. *shi* has manifold meanings. The Parthian prince An Shigao 安世高 (d. 170) rendered the words of the great physician Jivaka as such: 凡人學道，法當謝師。師雖無以教我，我嘗為弟子。 "Whoever learning a craft has to, as a rule, thank his teachers. Although [my] teachers have nothing to teach me, I have been a student [under them, so I thank them]." (*Fo shuo Nainü Qiyu jing* 佛說柰女祇域經, T553.14: 899b) This is the usual sense of *shi* "teacher". In the case of Zhang Daoling, who first exerted his influence in Sichuan through his healing service, *shi* has the sense of "priest-doctor, shaman" (cf. *laojun* 老君, the epithet of the Taoist sage, which has come to mean "healer, doctor" in Southern Min [lo kun] and found its way into the Malay language as *dukun* "magic healer"). It is therefore not surprising to find *shi* being rendered by *bon* instead of *dpon* "teacher, master". However it should further be noted that *dpon* could also be spelled *bon* (cf. *dpod*, 'bod, bod "call") in early Tibetan texts such as in *khri[m] bon* (i.e., *khri ms dpon*) which occurs in an Old Tibetan document retrieved from Mirān (Thomas: 124, 322).

affiliation between Taoist and Bonpo cults in Sichuan. To be sure, *Khyung*<sup>28</sup> is a name hardly separable from Bonpo. The Bonpo connection of the Khyung po clan goes back at least to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Stein 1971: 251). According to the biography of Khyung po rnal 'byor (11<sup>th</sup> century, founder of the Shangs pa bka' rgyud school), his forefathers were all Bonpo masters "from the beginning"<sup>29</sup>. Khyung lung rmgul (var.: dngul) mkhar was the capital of Zhang zhung, the ancient land of Bonpo. In TD: 5178, the king of the Great Yangtong 大羊同 (Zhang zhung), a tributary mission from which arrived at the Tang court in 641 A.D., is said to have borne the surname Jiangge 姜葛 which, however, might simply represent Khyung [lung dngul] mkhar.

In conclusion, the Ming equation of *Qiong* with *Khyung* raises very interesting questions with respect to early Sino-Tibetan history as well as the subtle relationship between Taoism and Bonpo in Sichuan. To accept "Qiong = Khyung", one has to assume that there had been immigrations of a subgroup of the ancient Qiang people from Qinghai to Sichuan and then to Khams and even far into Western Tibet (Zhang zhung). Let us hope that archaeological research in Sichuan will shed some light on this curious issue in the future.

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<sup>28</sup> In modern publications in the People's Republic of China, it is generally transcribed as Qiong 琼 (瓊). For instance, a story from the Gesar epic cycle has been translated as 琼察五兄弟 (GS).

<sup>29</sup> MG: 5: *dang po nas pha mes thams cad bon po'i dge bshes yin* etc. The 12<sup>th</sup>-century Tibetan ascetic and mystic poet Mi la ras pa traced his lineage (*rus*) to a Rnying ma pa (a Tibetan Buddhist school which has a subtle relationship with Bonpo) master of spells (*rig sngags*) by the name Jo sras who was a member of the Khyung po clan (ML: 15). At first, Mi la ras pa studied Bonpo black magic spells for revenge, of which he repented later. Having studied with Mar pa, he became a great Buddhist yogin. There are several Tibetan stories of his subduing Bonpos and in one of which he subdued the great Bon of the Mosos (Li Lincan: 277-284).



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- GM Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long*. In *Collected Works of Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* (Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 1). Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969.
- GS Gcod pa don grub ed. *Gling ge sar rgyal po'i sgrung: Khyung tsha spun lnga 'dul ba'i drag po'i g-yul 'khrug* (格薩爾: 瓊察五兄弟). Xining: Qinghai Minzu Chubanshe, 1990.
- HS *Hanshu* 漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962.
- HHS *Houhan shu* 後漢書. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1965.
- JTS *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975.
- LR Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal. *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung ngam rta tshag chos 'byung zhes rtsom pa'i yul ming du chags pa'i ngo mtshar zhing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can*. Ed. by Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje. Lhasa: Xizang Zangwen Guji Chubanshe, 1994.
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- ML Rus pa'i rgyan can. *Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur*. Xining: Qinghai Minzu Chubanshe, 1981.
- MS *Mingshi* 明史. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974.
- MSL *Ming shilu* 明實錄. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1966.
- RR *Rgyal rigs gshen lugs kyi rnam dag padma yum gyi dkyil 'khor bsdus don nyams len du dril ba padma rgyan gyi gsal byed dang rnam dag padma klong yangs kyi rgyud gzhung bcas kyi gsung pod*. Dolanji: Tenpa Yeshe, 1975.
- RRB *Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan. Rgyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas*. In *Three Sources for a History of Bon*. Dolanji: Khedup Gyatso, 1974.

RY Rgyung yar Bla chen dran pa. *Bden pa bon gyi mdzod sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde mig*. In *Theg pa'i rim pa mngon du bshad pa'i mdo rgyud rtsa 'grel dang mu stegs tshar gcod gtan tshigs thig mdo*. Kathmandu: Tritan Norbutse Bon Education Centre, 1991.

SGZ *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959.

SJ *Shiji* 史記. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1964.

SL Stag lung Ngag dbang mam rgyal. *Brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* (*Gangs can rig mdzod* 22). Ed. by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al. Lhasa: Xizang Zangwen Guji Chubanshe, 1992.

SS *Songshi* 宋史. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977.

SZGJ Cao, Xuequan 曹學佺. *Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1993.

T x,y: z

T = *Taishō shinshu daizokyō* 大正新修大藏經.

x = serial no., y = volume no., z = page no.

TD *Tongdian* 通典. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1988.

YS *Yuanshi* 元史. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976.

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