

STUDY ON EARLY TIBETAN CHRONICLES

*REGARDING DISCREPANCIES OF DATES
AND THEIR ADJUSTMENTS*

BY

BUNKYO AOKI

THE NIPPON GAKUJUTSU SINKOKAI

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Note: In this dissertation I have used the phonetic marks of the romanized Tibetan following the example of the TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY by S. C. Das for the sake of a general convenience.

THE PHONETIC SYSTEM

ཨི་ i	ཨུ་ u	ཨེ་ e	ཨོ་ o
ཀ་ ka	ཁ་ kha	ག་ ga	ང་ ŋa
ཅ་ ca	ཆ་ cha	ཇ་ ja	ཉ་ ña
ཏ་ ta	ཐ་ tha	ད་ da	བ་ na
པ་ pa	ཕ་ pha	བ་ ba	མ་ ma
ཅ་ tsa	ཆ་ tsha	ཇ་ dsa	མ་ wa
ཞ་ sha	ཟ་ za	འ་ ha	ཡ་ ya
ར་ ra	ལ་ la	ཤ་ ṣa	ས་ sa
ཧ་ ha	ཨ་ a		

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STUDY ON EARLY TIBETAN CHRONICLES

Regarding Discrepancies of Dates

And their Adjustments

INTRODUCTION

The object of the study is to adjust the discrepancies of the dates observed in the early Tibetan chronicles between the sixth and the tenth centuries.

As we learn from the historical works on the early Tibetan chronicles, given by series of Tibetan scholars of the modern ages, we cannot help being confused with the dissimilarities of the dates indicating the Christian eras which are calculated from the Tibetan sexagenary cycles, according to the authors' respective bases of periods.

I fear it would be impossible to grasp the exact dates of the unified bases of periods, even in any new work that might be published hereafter, unless the conformity of the views is realized in such a way as to eliminate the discrepancies of dates in the Tibetan chronicles of early

days. It may be said, therefore, that the solution of the problem depends upon the establishment of rectifying the discrepancies in a most reasonable and agreeable way.

I had opportunities to discuss this subject with native Tibetan scholars during my stay in Lhasa from 1912 to 1916, but failed to reach any satisfactory conclusion due to their little interest in this sort of subject. I received, however, an impression from the repeated discussions that there must have been something illusive in ancient chroniclers' method of reckoning the dates by means of the old system of the sexagenary cycles when it was used for measuring the periods of some ambiguous historical events.

It was not until 1939, however, that the discrepancies of dates in the Tibetan historical records were first said to be pointed out ^{by} L. Petech in his work, *STUDY ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF LADAKH*, and later in 1946, by G. N. Roerich in his *BLUE ANNALS* or 'Deb-ther Siron-po' (དེབ་ཐེར་སྲོན་པོ་). In the latter, especially, the author gives detailed accounts for the features of the inconsistencies of dates which are observed in the

Deb-ther Sñon-po, and conjectures that there might have been some misjudgement by ancient Tibetan chroniclers of the length of the so-called 'dark periods' after the Disappearance of the Buddhist Doctrine in the latter half of the 9th century. (BLUE ANNALS, Part I, INTRODUCTION, XVI - XVIII.)

Encouraged with this valuable suggestion by Roerich's book; I began arranging the outcomes of my own researches, the rough drafts having been made when I was in Lhasa, and finally decided to compile them into a systematic form, and announce them.

In this project the investigations have been analytically made of the dates of events regarded as the 'bases of periods', and the 'elapsed number of years' between the basic periods, all of which are stated in the Tibetan annals.

Among the dates or periods, the date of the Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty which was concluded by King Ral-pa-can (རལ་པ་ཅན་) with the emperor, Mu-tsung of T'ang (唐穆宗), in the ninth century, and that of the establishment of the Rabbyuñ system in the eleventh century, have been proven

most essential to fixation of the exact period of standard for the study of early Tibetan chronicles.

The conclusion I have finally reached is that all discrepancies can be rectified both logically and practically by fixing the date of the ascension of the king, Glan-Dar-ma, upon the year 841 A.D., and that of his death and the Destruction of the Doctrine, upon 901 A.D., and thereby I have learnt that all the incorrect dates between the sixth and the tenth centuries are properly adjustable without the least confusion.

I have also studied some of the Chinese historical records for the Tibetan events of the early ages in order to compare the dates with each other, concerning Dar-ma's death, and learnt that there is no radical difference between the Tibetan and Chinese annals, judging from the contexts of the passages as well as reasoning from the descriptions in the Chinese historical records as far as the Old T'ang History and the New T'ang History are concerned, but the so-called 'combined text of Old and New T'ang Histories' is excepted from the above view. It is then not

acceptable to take the date of 842 A.D., or the second year of Hui-ch'ang, 會昌二年, for that of Dar-ma's death, on interpreting the passages referred to Dar-ma, 達磨, in the New T'ang History. (新唐書, Tm. 216, vol. 141 B, f 7-b.) [Concerning the proper readings of the T'ang Histories, I am indebted to the prominent scholars of the Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko) and the Institute for Oriental Culture, the University of Tokyo (Tōkyō Daigaku Bunka Kenkyū-sho.)]

I do not think, however, that the said conclusion is absolutely final, because it has been worked out within the limited scope of materials as given in chapter I. I do not know, therefore, if the present conclusion will be overturned, or endorsed, according to the different materials that might be found elsewhere.

I hope that the authorities of Tibetan studies will be kind enough to provide me with any possible suggestions which may complete this study.

In conclusion I wish to express my appreciations to the staff of Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library) of

Tokyo for providing me with liberal use of its facilities, especially the access to rare Tibetan texts; to Professor Dr. N. Tsuji of University of Tokyo, Professor Dr. W. Schiffer of Sophia University, Tokyo, Professor Dr. S. Elisséeff of Harvard University, Professor Dr. H. Richardson of St. Andrews, Scotland, all of whom gave kind considerations and encouragements to the announcement of this paper; and to Mr. T. Unno of University of Tokyo for his aid in smoothening out some English expressions.

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Bunkyo Aoki

CHAPTER I

Brief Accounts of Tibetan Historical Records (used for the present study)

1. General remarks

The materials used in the present study are from the works of Bu-ston, Deb-Sñon, Ljon-bzañ (and Hphags-pa, Dalai v, and Hjam-Dbyañs partially cited in this work), Bai-Dkar's chronological table (in Csoma's TIBETAN GRAMMAR), and the Chinese annals (Old T'ang History, New T'ang History and Tzū-chih T'ung-chien), which are familiar to the modern Tibetanists who make historical surveys of Tibet.

I am, however, going to give some brief explanations concerning them to clarify their respective characteristics in connection with the application to the present study.

2. Bu-ston, འཇུང་ཆེན་མོ།, generally known as 'Bu-ston Rin-po-chehi Chos-hbyun'-chen-mo, འཇུང་ཆེན་མོ་འཇུང་ཆེན་མོ། This was written by Bu-ston in his 33rd year (1322 A.D.) ① Being one of the early Buddhist

annals that are extant to-day. The descriptions in this annals are often cited by the later annalists of Tibet. Some authentic records may be found in this work, but the accounts for relative dates and the lapse of years or periods are lacking. I have examined three different editions, i.e., the block prints of *Bkra-gis Lhun-po*, བཏུ་ལེས་ལྷུན་པོ།, (244 fls.), *Sde-dge*, སྡེ་དགེ།, (203 fls.), and a manuscript text in *Dbu-med* characters (དབུ་མེད་ཡི་གེ།), and also consulted the English translation of the text by E. Obermiller. (THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND TIBET BY BU-STON. (1932))

Notes:

① *Bu-ston*, f. 244-a (*Bkra-gis Edition*), ལྷུན་པོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་དགུང་ལོ་ ལུམ་བུ་རྩ་གསུམ་བཞེས་པའི་དུས་སུ་བརྒྱམས་སོ། This date is computed by *Saṅs-rgyas Rgya-mtsho* and listed as, ལྷུན་པོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་དགུང་ལོ་, viz., 1290 A.D., hence 1322 A.D., when *Bu-ston* was 33 years old. (cf. *Bai-Dkar's* chronological table given by *Csoma's TIBETAN GRAMMAR*, p. 186; *Csoma* himself miscalculates the date by two years, thus, 1288 for 1290.)

② I use the *Bkra-gis Edition* for giving notes in the present study.

3. *Deb-Sñon*, དེབ་སྟོན།, or *Deb-ther Sñon-po*, དེབ་ཐེར་སྟོན་པ། in full, written by Gshon-nu-Dpal, གཞོན་ལུ་དཔལ། in 1478 A.D. (The particulars about this date are given in Chap. V, 1, E.)

The *Deb-Sñon Annals* is highly considered by modern scholars of Tibetan history, for the accuracy as well as the richness of chronological descriptions. However it may be, it is a fact that the work is characterized notably for the compilation containing the chapter called 'Royal Chronicles of the Three Countries, Tibet, China and Mongol,' རོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གསལ་གྱི་ཀུམ་རབ་ཀྱི་སྐབས། (ka, ff. 23·b, 27·a).

Differing from the other chapters in this work, the said chapter does not consist in principle of the author's own descriptions, but of quotations from other sources. The author especially remarks in this respect at the outset of the chapter, as follows:

"There were CHINESE-RECORDS well compiling (the Tibetan royal chronicles) from Sroñ-btsan to Dar-ma; they were translated into the Tibetan language by Bla-ma Rin-chen Grag-pa; Lord Kun-dgah Rdo-rje compiled (by it) a book; I will write it down just as compiled by Kun-dgah Rdo-rje," — རྒྱ་མཚོ་བཅོམ་

ནམ་དུ་མའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱའི་ཡིག་ཚང་ལ་ཡིག་མ་པར་བཏབ་པ་སྐོམ་རིལ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པས་ཤོད་
སྐད་དུ་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་བྱུང་བ་མའི་བདག་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྡོ་རྗེས་ཡིག་མ་བཏབ་པ་བཞིན་གྱི་བར་ཅད་ལྟོ།
(ka, f. 23.b)

This signifies that that CHINESE-RECORDS is a citation.

The book which is said to have been compiled by Kun-dgaḥ Rdo-rje is identified with the Deb-ther Dmar-po, དབ་བྱེར་དམར་པོ་ (or Deb-Dmar, 'Red Annals') which was said to have been written in 1346 A. D. (cf. Deb-Sñon, ka, f 24.a)

Notwithstanding the author's remarks, we observe in the CHINESE-RECORDS sections which is obviously inserted or supposed to be inserted by the author of Deb-Sñon himself. So we should say that Rgyahi-Yig-tshan or CHINESE-RECORDS, which was cited by the author, is not a genuine citation from the Kun-dgaḥ Rdo-rje's book, but a citation with insertion. (cf. ka, 24.a; 25.a-b; and 26.a)

Again, we should note that the author himself (seems he) did not have a direct access to the original text of the CHINESE-RECORDS, or even to the Tibetan translation as far as our observations are concerned. We should, therefore, not forget the proper character of Deb-Sñon when we treat it

as a material for chronological study.

Remarks by the Deb-Sñon author are also given to the descriptions of the royal chronicles of Mongol. It runs thus:

“On the royal chronicles of the kingdom of Mongol, Dsam-bha-la-to-ṣrī-mgon, who is called ‘Tai-dben’, mentioned it, (and according to it) Kun-dgaḥ Rdo-rje wrote (a book)” — ཏྲེན་གྱི་ལྷན་ཁམས་ལ་ ཏའི་དབེན་ཟེང་ཞེས་པ་ རྒྱ་ལ་ཏྲོ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱིས་ ལྷན་པ་ གྲུབ་དགའ་དོ་རྗེས་བྲིས་པའོ། (ka, f. 26. b)

The Deb-Sñon author does not mention here of quotations, but it is clearly understood by the contexts of the passages that the MONGOL-CHRONICLES, too, are citations from the book compiled by Kun-dgaḥ Rdo-rje. As in the CHINESE-RECORDS, we observe that they contain some insertions by the author of Deb-Sñon. (cf. ka, f. 27. a)

Regardless, it can be ascertained that the author of Deb-Sñon aimed, in principle, to compile the whole chapter with the records that he cited from other sources. This fact is proven by the compilation, by which the supplementary commentaries of his own are given after the close of the chapter. The close is read thus:

" (The above) is the chapter of the Royal Chronicles of Tibet, China and Mongol." — --- བོད་དང་ཁྱེད་མིའགས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་སྐབས་སོ།། (ka, f. 27-a) "

After saying this, he gives his own descriptions extending from ka, f. 27-b to ka, f. 28-a, before he commences with the following chapter.

A very strange feature in the annals of Deb-Sñon is of the discrepancies of the early dates which are observed on comparing the Tibetan chronicles with the CHINESE-RECORDS in the very annals of Deb-Sñon. Although the principal source of the discrepancies is originally to be sought for in the Tibetan chronicles, another source lies in the ambiguous descriptions as result of misreckoning the sexagenary cycles that were used in the early ages in Tibet. The author of Deb-Sñon might have been unaware of the discrepancies when describing the CHINESE-RECORDS, having been puzzled with the same year-names occurring in rotation by the sexagenary cycles of the early-day system. In this respect, the particulars are given in chapter V, 1, of the present study.

4. *Ljon-bzañ*, ལྷོན་བཟང་།, or *Dpag-bsam Ljon-bzañ*, དཔག་བསམ་ལྷོན་བཟང་། in full, written by *Sum-pa Mkhan-po Ye-ces Dpal-khyor*, ལུམ་པ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཅེས་དཔག་ལའུ་རྟེན་། in about 1748 A. D. (*Ljon-bzañ*, p. 166) — རྩ་བུ་བུ་གསུམ་པའི་ས་འགྲུག་ལོ་འདིར་... (i.e. 1748 A. D.), "in this year of the Earth-Dragon of the 13th Rab-byun," — [during the reign of Dalai ༥, 1708-1757 A. D.).

The text used in the present study is that of the Tibetan type-printed edition by S. C. Das, (1908.) A manuscript-text is found among the Tibetan collections of the Library, Tōyō BUNKO, Tokyo, Japan. (cf. INTRODUCTION)

Being a later-time issue of work on Buddhist annals, *Ljon-bzañ* contains many fine materials including the early royal chronicles, statements cited from *Sba-bzed*, *Bu-ston*, *Deb-Sñon*, *Hphags*, *Dalai ༥*, *Hjam-Dbyañs*, etc. S. C. Das gives an English INDEX and AN ANALYTICAL LIST OF CONTENTS in English for the *Ljon-bzañ*, by which even one who not versed in Tibetan can imagine the outline of the annals.

5. *Bai-Dkar*, བེ་དཀར་།, or 'Bai'-dúrya dkar-po'.

བེ་རུ་འུ་དཀར་པོ། *in full*, written by Sañs-rgyas Rgya-mtsho, མངས་ཀྱི་མཚོ།, (Regent to Dalai ༥), in 1687 A.D. (Csoma, TIBETAN GRAMMAR, p. 191), — རབ་བྱུང་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པའི་ཤོག་མ་ཕ་རྩ་ལ་ཞེས་མེ་མོ་ཡོས་ལ་བེ་རུ་འུ་དཀར་པོའི་རྩིས་གཞི་མཛད་དོ། (cf. chap. II)

Alex. Csoma de Körös gives the chronological table which was 'EXTRACTED' from the original text of Bai-Dkar in his TIBETAN GRAMMAR, 1834, (pp. 181-191). In this table the dates for historical events are listed in the method which reckons the elapsed years ^{from} the period of an event to the basic period which the Bai-Dkar author sets down at the beginning of the Fire-female-Hare year of the 12th Rab-byuñ (cf. chap. II), corresponding to the year, 1867 A.D.

It is to be noted that Csoma lists the dates by the Christian era according to Bai-Dkar's original basis of date, but Csoma miscalculates the basic date less by one year, and all the other dates of events, less by two years than the due periods. All those dates that are miscalculated can be rectified by the correct interpretations of the Tibetan original of the table. (cf. chap. II, 2. A.)

6. Rdo-rin's Inscription, རྡོ་རིན་ལྷི་ལེ་, or the inscription of Doring (stone pillar) at Lhasa recording the Agreement of the Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty in 821-822 A. D. The particulars are given in chapter IV, 5.

7. Chinese annals

A. T'ang History, or T'ang-Shu, 唐書

The annals exist in two issues, viz., Chiu-T'ang-Shu, 舊唐書, or Old T'ang History, the original issue, and Hsin-T'ang-Shu, 新唐書, or New T'ang History, the so-called revised and enlarged issue. The former was compiled in the first half of the 10th century (about 946 A. D.), and the latter was done in the middle of the 11th century (about 1061 A. D.). Tibetan history is dealt with as T'u-fan-ch'uan, 吐蕃傳, or TIBETAN ANNALS, in the 146th vol. of the Old T'ang History, and in the 141th vol. of the New-T'ang History, respectively. The merit and demerit of the two have long been discussed among scholars; however, it is not easy to settle the problem at once. Later, in the middle of the 18th century the two-combined editions were issued.

The TIBETAN ANNALS of the combined editions was translated into English by S. W. Bushell in 1880, entitled 'THE EARLY HISTORY OF TIBET FROM CHINESE SOURCE.'

It is of course very convenient for the scholar to read the combined editions, whether it is of the Chinese original or the translation, but it is preferable to read first the separate editions, trying to compare each with the other, in order to see for oneself the characteristics of the two different texts, and, accordingly, to avoid any prejudice that might arise from reading the combined editions which seem to me to have been compiled for appreciation of literary ^{style} rather than for esteem of chronology.

ᠲᠦᠵᠢᠴᠢᠬᠢ ᠲᠦᠩᠴᠢᠨ ᠰᠤᠵᠢᠲᠤᠨ ᠳᠠᠳᠤᠨ ᠲᠤᠨᠠᠨᠤᠨ
B. Tzū-chih Túng-chien, 資治通鑑

A well-known historical work that was issued in about 1086 A. D. It is said to have been compiled with the principal aim of describing the general features of political and military situations in the early days.

Tibetan affairs are dealt with in volumes 225-247 of this work. The purpose of taking up this annals in the present study is to see that the problem regarding King Dar-

ma was wrongly discussed among the Chinese historians of the time shortly after the New T'ang History. (cf. chap. IV, 6, (10))

CHAPTER II

Date Systems in Tibetan Chronicles

1. Sexagenary cycles and Rab-byuñ system

The dates in the Tibetan chronicles are recorded generally with the sexagenary cycles, and they are sometimes characterized by juxtaposition with the Rab-byuñ era.

Before the Rab-byuñ-era system was established, the plain sexagenary cycles alone were used for recording the dates of historical events.

On this subject S. C. Das gives the commentaries in his Tibetan Grammar entitled AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF TIBETAN LANGUAGE (1915). In the PREFACE, XI, it runs thus:

"These Tibetan names correspond to the Chinese names of the twelve animals and are said to have been first introduced in Tibet by Queen Wenchang, daughter of Emperor T'ai-tsung, who was married to King Mihi Lha surnamed Strong-

tsan Gampo, in about 635 A.D.^① About a century later,^② the system of astrology then prevalent in China, which contained a cycle of sixty years, was introduced in Tibet. At a later period, in about 1026 A.D.,^③ with the introduction of Kāla Chakra Tantras, the Indian Cycle of sixty years called the Vrihaspati Chakra was brought to Tibet from S'ridhānya Kaṭaka (འཕགས་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ Sanchi Topes?), situated on the River Kriṣṇā near modern Amraoti, in Southern India."

According to L. A. Waddell's *THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET*, (1895), the time of the introduction of the Chinese system of chronology in Tibet is stated as follows:

"He (King Ralpachan) seems to have been the first Tibetan sovereign who started a regular record of annals of his country, for which purpose he adopted the Chinese system of chronology." (p. 34)

No record referring to the introduction of the Chinese sexagenary cycle into Tibet was found in the Tibetan annals mentioned in the preceding chapter, but, regarding the establishment of the Rab-byuñ system*, the period is clearly recorded in the annals, as mentioned in the following

paragraphs. (* This was established according to the Vrihaspati Chakra)

We learn by comparing the Vrihaspati Chakra to the Chinese sexagenary cycles that they both rotate with the cycle of 60 years, and that the Vrihaspati Chakra has a distinct name for each year of the series, while the Chinese sexagenary cycle has the combination of 12 animals^④ and 5 elements^⑤ for making up the cycle of 60 years, and also that the Vrihaspati Chakra commences with the year called Prabhava, corresponding to the Fire-female-Hare year of the Chinese 60-year cycle, which begins with the year of Tree-male-Mouse. (cf. APPENDIX II, Sexagenary Cycle)

The Rab-byuñ-era system of Tibet was made up after the form of Vrihaspati Chakra. 'Rab-byuñ' is the Tibetan for 'Prabhava', the Sanskrit, which is the first-year name of the Vrihaspati Chakra. The year called 'Rab-byuñ' falls on the time when the doctrine of Kāla Chakra Mūla Tantra, (Dus-kyi Hkhor-lohi Rtsa-rgyud, དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་རྩ་རྒྱུད།) was said to have been brought to Tibet from India, and the Tibetan system of sexagenary cycle, which was then established, commences with that year. Thence the word 'Rab-byuñ'

has become a general name for the Tibetan sexagenary cycle.

Notes:

- ① 641 A.D. is regarded as correct.
- ② The period falls on the reign of འབྲུག་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་གཙུག་པོ་ལོ་བཟོ་མཆོག་མཆོག་, 705-755, or 680-742^{A.D.} (cf. Comparative table B of Chap. III) During the reign of the king the Chinese princess, Kim-çin-Koñ-jo, arrived in Tibet. (707-710 A.D., acc. to Doring Inscription.)
- ③ This date should be 1027 A.D. (cf. chap. II, 2)

④ Names of 12 animals:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. འབྲུག་ Byi-ba, Mouse | 2. གླུ་ Glan, Ox |
| 3. ལྷག་ Stag, Tiger | 4. ཡོས་ yos, Hare |
| 5. འབྲུག་ Hbrung, Dragon | 6. སྐྱལ་ Sbrul, Serpen |
| 7. རྩ་ Rta, Horse | 8. ལུག་ Lug, Sheep |
| 9. སྐྱེ་(ལུ) Spre(chu), Ape | 10. རྩ་ Bya, Bird |
| 11. མྱི་ Khyi, Dog | 12. ཡག་ Phag, Hog |

⑤ Names of 5 elements:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. ལྗང་ Çin, Tree | 2. མེ་ Me, Fire |
| 3. མ་ Sa, Earth | 4. ལྷག་མ་ Lcags, Iron |
| 5. རྩུ་ Chu, Water | |

2. Date of establishment of Rab-byuñ, ར་བྱུའི་ལུང་།

As mentioned above, the year called Rab-byuñ, which is the first year of the Rab-byuñ era, corresponds to the Fire-female-Hare year, which is the fourth year of the Chinese sexagenary cycle. (cf. APPENDIX II. Sexagenary-cycle table)

According to the chronological table by Bai-Dkar,^① the Rab-byuñ cycle begins with 'the year following the close of the Me-mkhah-rgya-mtsho era.'^② This year corresponds to the Christian era of 1027 A.D. It is listed in the chronological table, as follows: "Since the era of Me-mkhah-rgya-mtsho (which lasted for 403 years) commenced, or, since infidels (Muhammadans) entered Me-kha (Mecca),^③ 1063 years (elapsed.)" This is computed to be 624 A.D. by taking the year-basis for 1687 A.D., which was set down by the Bai-Dkar author. It runs further, thus: "Since the Me-mkhah-rgya-mtsho era ended, 661 years (elapsed)." This is computed to be 1026 A.D. in the same way as the above. And then it continues, "Since the Dus-Hkhor (Kāla-chakra) was introduced into Tibet, or,^④ since the era of Rab-byuñ set down for making the calculation, 660 years (elapsed.)"

This is computed to be 1027 A.D. in the same way as given above.

Tibetan chronologists make the year, 1027 A.D., the basis of computations for a long range periods of elapsed years by giving each cycle of 60 years the rotation-order number. Thus 'the 2nd Rab-byuñ' commences with the year, 1087 A.D., and 'the 16th Rab-byuñ', with the year, 1927 A.D. The present year, 1955 A.D., is the 29th year of 'the 16th Rab-byuñ'.

The Rab-byuñ system is used generally for recording the dates not only of the chronicles, but also of the present-day documents, etc.

Notes:

- ① Csoma, TIBETAN GRAMMAR, pp. 182, 184.
- ② The name of a duration of period for 403 years, which ranges from the time of entrance into Mecca by Muhammadans to the year previous to the beginning of the first Rab-byuñ (1027 A.D.),— མེ་མཁའ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འདས་ཁོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༧༧༡ (1026 A.D.), viz. from 624 ^{to} 1026 A.D.
- ③ མེ་མཁའ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཛོ་རྒྱལ་ མེ་ཁའ་སྐ་སྐོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༡༠༨༧ (624 A.D.)
- ④ ལུས་འཁོར་ལོད་དུ་ལོག་ རྩ་ལུང་ཐོག་རྩིས་ལོ་ ༧༦༠ (1027 A.D.)

3. Confusions in fixing the year of establishment of Rab-byuñ system

A. Csoma's view

Csoma de Kőrös treats the subject of Rab-byuñ in his *TIBETAN GRAMMAR*, p. 181, IV *CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE* and mentions it as follows:

"He (the Bai-Dkar author) wrote at the beginning of the 12th cycle of sixty years (^{the} Tibetans counting the beginning of the first cycle from 1026 of the Christian aera, and the present year, 1834, being the 28th year of the 14th cycle) consequently the beginning of 1686 A.D."

In the above statement we discover two doubtful points. One is in the parenthesized paragraph, viz., he denotes that '1026' is the beginning of the first cycle, while it should be 1027, as I have investigated in the preceding article (2),^{and} the '1027' can be obtained also from the process computing the Rab-byuñ era for 'the preset year, 1834,' — exemplified by Csoma himself. Again, in the chronological table (*TIB. GRAM.*, p. 184), Csoma lists '1025' as 'the first year of the cycle.' The other concerns

'the beginning of 1686 A.D.' The beginning of the 12th cycle of sixty years that was listed by the Bai-Dkar author falls upon the year, 1687 A.D., but not on 1686 A.D., because it runs in the Tibetan text of the table, as follows: "The beginning of the 12th Rab-byuñ called Pra-bha-wa, the Fire-female-Hare year, (i.e., 1687 A.D.) was made the computing basis (of dates) for the Bai-Dkar Annals." (TIB. GRAM. p. 191) — རབ་བྱུང་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པའི་ཐོག་མ་ཤ་རྩ་ཤ་ཞེས་མེ་མོ་ཡོས་ལ་བེ་རྒྱུ་རྩ་དཀར་པོའི་རྩིས་གཞི་མཛད་དོ།

B. Das's view

S. C. Das mentions this subject in his TIBETAN GRAMMAR, INTRODUCTION XV, 'Some Hints to Readers,' thus:

"---The present year 1914 called Ananda, in Sanskrit and འོང་སྐྱུག་ (wood-tiger) in Tibetan, is the 48th year of the 15th cycle རབ་བྱུང་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་, reckoning the beginning of the first cycle from the year 1026 A.D., when it was introduced in Tibet by one Chilü-Pandita. The 15th cycle will terminate in the year 1926 and the sixteenth cycle རབ་བྱུང་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ will commence in the year 1927."

From reading the above quotation we learn that

there is a confusion in the explanation. It is quite correct, of course, that he says 1914 is the 48th year of the 15th cycle. Then, '1914' should be the year which is computed from the beginning of the first cycle that is fixed upon the year, 1027 A.D., (but not on 1026 A.D., as mentioned by Das himself). Again, we see that, even from what he says 'the 16th cycle will commence in the year 1927,' it is clearly proven that the beginning of the first cycle falls definitely upon 1027 A.D.

Another confusion is found in the INTRODUCTION, xvii, of his GRAMMAR. It runs thus: "The period expressed by 403 years, according to the Kāla chakra Mūla Tantra, commenced at the rise of the Muhamadan religion at Mecca i.e., in 622 A.D. If 403 be added to 622, the first year of the HEJIRA, the year 1025 A.D. is obtained. With the year called Prabhava in which S'ākya is believed to have been born, the date of introduction of the Tibetan Rabjoong cycle begins. Tibetan historians affirm that Kāla chakra Tantras and the Urihaspatī cycle were brought from Kāshmir by an Indian Buddhist named ཅི་ལུ་པཎ་ཌི་ཏི་ Tsi-lu Pandita."

Here it seems to me that Das denotes the year, 1025, although he does not state it, as 'Prabhava', which is the beginning of Rab-byuñ cycle, despite his own claim for 1026 (as read in the preceeding citation.) But, neither 1025 nor 1026 is called 'Prabhava', because the year, Prabhava, falls definitely upon 1027. (cf. Chap. II, 2, and Das's GRAM., APPENDIX V) If the year is 'Prabhava', it should be 1027 A. D. in this case of calculation.

As regards the beginning of the Me-mkhah-rgya-mtsho era, which lasted for 403 years, the Bai-Dkar author places it as 624 A. D., viz., 'the time when Muhammadans entered Mecca.' (cf. Bai-Dkar's chronological table, p. 183 of Csoma's T. GRAMMAR, but note that Csoma lists the date 622 by miscalculation.) Then, if 403 years elapsed since 624 A. D., the close of Me-mkhah-rgya-mtsho era should be the year, 1026 A. D. Therefore, the Bai-Dkar author states, 'with the following year (i.e., 1027 A. D.) the Rab-byuñ cycle commences.'

In short it is not easy for us to learn distinctly from the above two citations of Csoma and Das whether they

are going to take 1025 or 1026 for the beginning of the first Rab-byuñ, and again, we can't help wondering why both Csoma and Das always ignore the year, 1027 A.D., while they actually, though without indicating, take it into the process of computing the years of the periods. It is also strange why they were unaware of the fact that 'Prabhava' or 'Rab-byuñ' corresponds to the year of 'Fire-female-Hare', with which the Rab-byun cycle commences, and that the 'Fire-female-Hare year' falls definitely upon the year, 1027 A.D. (In this case), and further why they did not notice that 1025 is the Tree-female-Ox year and 1026 is the Fire-male-Tiger year, both being different from the 'Fire-female-Hare' of Rab-byuñ.

CHAPTER III

Tibetan Kings in Early Ages

(Between 6th and 10th centuries)

1. General remarks

According to the Tibetan tradition, some thirty dy-

nasties had elapsed before King Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po came to the throne as the thirty-first or thirty-third king of Tibet.

Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po was the first virtual monarch who reigned over Tibet from the later part of the sixth century to the middle of the seventh century A. D.

Tibetan chronicles record that some ten dynasties were in succession from Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po to Glañ-Dar-ma, but the names of kings and the dates of their reigns differ variously according to the chronicles. Tibetan historians themselves admit the difficulty^① of arranging the unified records for the names and the dates. The only way that I can arrange them for my present study is to devise the comparative table of the Tibetan royal lineages during the periods on one hand, and the comparative chronological table of the kings on the other. I have arranged the comparative tables A and B, on the following pages as the result of investigations made throughout the historical works or Chos-k_hbyuñ (ཆོས་མཁའ་ལྟོན་), such as Bu-ston, Deb-Sñon and Ljon-bzañ, etc.

Note:^① Particulars: Ljon-bzañ, pp. 155, 156.

2. *Comparative tables of the royal lineages
and the royal chronologies*

*Two comparative tables are given separately,
Table A first and Table B next. Notes on the tables
are given after each table.*

TABLE A

Comparative Table of Tibetan Royal Lineages
Between 7th and 10th Centuries

བུ་སྟོན་ Bu-ston	དབ་སྟོན་ Deb-sñon	རྒྱལ་ཡིག་ཚང་ Rgyal-yig-tshan	ལྷོན་བཟང་ Ljon-bzang
31. བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་ (1) (སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་) Khri-lde Sroñ-btsan (Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po)	33. སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po - གུའ་སྟོན་གུའ་བཙུན་ (3) Guñ-sroñ Guñ-btsan	o སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ (2) Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po 569-650 - གུའ་སྟོན་གུའ་བཙུན་ Guñ-sroñ Guñ-btsan	33. སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po - གུའ་སྟོན་གུའ་བཙུན་ Guñ-sroñ-Guñ-btsan
32. མང་སྟོན་མང་བཙུན་ Mañ-roñ Mañ-btsan	34. མང་སྟོན་མང་བཙུན་ Mañ-sroñ Mañ-btsan	o མང་སྟོན་མང་བཙུན་ Mañ-sroñ Mañ-btsan	34. མང་སྟོན་མང་བཙུན་ Mañ-sroñ Mañ-btsan
33. གུའ་སྟོན་གུའ་བཙུན་ Guñ-sroñ Guñ-btsan	35. འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་རྗེ་ Hdus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje	o འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་རྗེ་ Hdu-sroñ Mañ-po-rje 650-679	35. འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་རྗེ་ Hdus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje སྐུ་བཅའ་ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Kluñ-nam Hphrul-gyi-Rgyal-po
34. འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་རྗེ་ ལྷོ་བཙུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Hdus-sroñ Mañ-po-rje- Blo-nam-gyi Rgyal-po	36. ལྷོ་བཙུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Kluñ-nam Hphrul-gyi- Rgyal-po	o ལྷོ་བཙུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Hdu-sroñ Mañ-po-rje 679-704	36. ལྷོ་བཙུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Kluñ-nam Hphrul-gyi- Rgyal-po
35. བློ་ལྷོ་གུར་ལུ་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan	37. མེས་ལག་ཚོམས་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms	o བློ་ལྷོ་གུར་ལུ་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan 705-755	36. བློ་ལྷོ་གུར་ལུ་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms
36. བློ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་བཙུན་ Khri-sroñ-Lde-btsan	38. བློ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་བཙུན་ Khri-sroñ-Lde-btsan	o བློ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་བཙུན་ Khri-sroñ Lde-btsan 755-780	37. བློ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་བཙུན་ Khri-sroñ Lde-btsan
37. མུ་ནེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Mu-ne-btsan-po	39. མུ་ནེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Mu-ne Btsan-po	o མུ་ནེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Mu-ne Btsan-po 780-797	38. མུ་ནེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Mu-ne Btsan-po
38. བློ་ལྷོ་བཙུན་(སད་ན་ལེགས་) Khri-lde-btsan (Sad- na-Legs)	39. མུ་ནེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Mu-ne Btsan-po --- (?) (4)	o རྩུ་ཚེ་བཙུན་པོ་ Ju-tse Btsan-po 797-804	39. སད་ན་ལེགས་འཛིན་ཡོད་ Sad-na legs Hdsin-yod
39. རྣམ་པ་འཕེལ་བའི་བཙུན་པོ་(བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་ བཙུན་པོ་རྣམ་པ་འཕེལ་བའི་བཙུན་པོ་) Ral-pa-can (Khri-lde- Sroñ-btsan Ral-pa-can)	40. བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Sroñ-btsan	o བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Sroñ-btsan 804-814	40. བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་པོ་ Ral-pa-can
40. གླུ་དར་མ་ལུ་དུམ་བཙུན་ Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum- tsan	41. རྣམ་པ་འཕེལ་བའི་བཙུན་པོ་ Ral-pa-can	o ལ་ལི་ལ་ལུ་ (5) Kha-li Kha-chu 814-836	41. གླུ་དར་མ་ལུ་དུམ་བཙུན་ Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum- btsan
41. འོད་སྟེང་སྟེང་ Hod-sroñ	42. བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ Khri-hum-tsan Dar-ma	o ཐ་མུ་ (6) Tha-mu 836- (?)	42. བློ་ལྷོ་སྟོན་པའུ་བཙུན་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ Gnam-lde Hod Hod sroñ
42. དཔལ་འཕྲོད་བཙུན་ Dpal-hkor-btsan	44. དཔལ་འཕྲོད་བཙུན་ Dpal-hkor btsan		43. དཔལ་འཕྲོད་བཙུན་ Dpal-hkor-btsan
(43)	(45) (8)		(44) (9)

Notes on Table A.

- (1) The original name of King Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po.
'Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po,' སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ་, is said to be the eulogistic name which was given by his subjects.
- (2) The dates listed in this column are those that were computed according to the sexagenary-cycle names recorded in the Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS, or Rgya-hi-yig-Tshan, ལྷུ་ལོ་ཡི་ག་ཚང་། (which contains the chronicles of Tibet.)
- (3) The interim king temporarily enthroned during the reign of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, being the son of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po.
- (4) རུ་ཙེ་, cu-tse, is wanting in the Deb-Sñon's List of monarchical names, but the name is added by the Ljon-bzan author in his excerpts from the Deb-Sñon, being spelt as རུ་ཙེ་, ju-tse. རུ་ཙེ་ or རུ་ཙེ་ is likely identifiable with King Sad-na-Legs, སུད་ན་ཡི་གས།
- (5) The letters, ཀ་ལི་ཀ་ཅུ་, kha-li-kha-chu, are the Tibetan transcriptions from Chinese characters, 可黎可足, which were originally transcribed from the Tibetan འི་གཏུག་, 'kehri-gtsug', the surname of King Ral-pa-can, རལ་པ་ཙན།

(6) The letters, ཐ་ མུ, *tha-mu*, or ཐ་-མུ^{tha-mo}, are the Tibetan transcriptions from Chinese characters, 達磨, which were originally transcribed from the Tibetan དར་མ་, 'dar-ma', being a part of the name, *Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum-btsan*, ལྷན་ དར་མ་ ལུ་ དུ་མ་ བཙེན་པོ།

(7) The last two names of the kings are but given for reference to see the successions of kings of the direct descendants after *Glañ-Dar-ma*.

TABLE B (3 SHEETS)

Comparative Table of Tibetan Royal Chronologies Between 7th and 10th

(Sheet 1)

<p>Historical Works རྒྱལ་རབས་ Royal Lineage (2)</p>	<p>1. འཇུག་བོ་ Bu-ston</p>	<p>2. དེབ་སྟོན་ Deb-Snon</p>	<p>3. རྒྱལ་ཡིག་ཚང་ Rgyahi-Yig-Tshan</p>	<p>4. འཕགས་པ་ Hphags-pa</p>	<p>5. ལྷོ་བཟང་ Ljon-bzan</p>	<p>6. རྒྱལ་བ་སྐུ་ལྔ་པ་ Dalai V</p>
<p>སྟོན་བཙུན་སྐུ་ལོ་ Sron-btsan Sgam-po</p> <p>Birth Ascension Death (Wun-sin-kji) (ལུག་སྐུ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལོ་)</p>	<p>(ཁྱི་ལྗེ་སྟོན་བཙུན་) མེ་སྲིད་ 557 (?) མེ་སྲིད་ 569 (?) མེ་ཉི་ 638 (?) Rn. 69. Age 82</p>	<p>(4) མེ་སྲིད་ 569 (629) ར་ཡ ལུག་སྐུ་སྲིད་ 581 (641) ལྗེ་ཡ (ལུག་སྐུ་སྲིད་ 641 (701)) ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 650 (710) ལྗེ་ལ Age 82</p>	<p>(5) མེ་སྲིད་ 569 ར་ཡ (Wun-sin-kji) (ལུག་སྐུ་སྲིད་ 641 ལྗེ་ཡ Lived in Tibet for 40 years, died in 680 A.D. ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 650 ལྗེ་ལ Age 82</p>	<p>མེ་སྲིད་ 557 (617) མེ་སྲིད་ 569 (629) མེ་ཉི་ 577 (637) མེ་ཉི་ 638 (698) Age 82</p>	<p>མེ་སྲིད་ 557 (617) མེ་སྲིད་ 569 (629) (མེ་ཉི་ 577 (637)) མེ་ཉི་ 638 (698) Age 82</p>	<p>མེ་སྲིད་ 569 (629) ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 650 (710)</p>
<p>གུན་སྟོན་གུན་བཙུན་ Gün-sron Gün-btsan</p>	<p>(Comp. Table A.)</p>	<p>(ref. Table A.)</p>	<p>(ref. Table A.)</p>	<p>(ref. Table A.)</p>	<p>(ref. Table A.)</p>	
<p>མང་སྟོན་མང་བཙུན་ Mañ-sron Mañ-btsan</p> <p>Birth Ascension Death</p>	<p>(མང་རྩོད་མང་བཙུན་) Mañ-roñ Mañ-btsan (ref. Table A.)</p>	<p>མེ་ཉི་ 638 (698) ལྗེ་ལ ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 650 (710) ལྗེ་ལ Age 13 མེ་ལོ་སྐུ་ 679 (739) ར་ཡ Age 42</p>	<p>མེ་ཉི་ 638 ལྗེ་ལ ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 650 ལྗེ་ལ མེ་ལོ་སྐུ་ 679 ར་ཡ Rn. 30</p>	<p>མེ་ཉི་ 626 (686) མེ་ཉི་ 638 (698) Age 13 ལྷོ་ཉི་ 652 (712) Age 27</p>	<p>མེ་ཉི་ 626 (686) མེ་ཉི་ 638 (698) ལྷོ་ཉི་ 653 (713)</p>	<p>'died at the age 28'</p>
<p>འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་ལྷོ་ Hdus-sron Mañ-po-tje</p> <p>Birth Ascension Death</p>	<p>(འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཙུན་) ལྷོ་ལོ་ Hdus-sron Mañ-po-tje Blo-nam-rgyal-po. Table A.)</p>	<p>མེ་ལོ་སྐུ་ 679 (739) ར་ཡ མེ་ལོ་སྐུ་ 679 (739) ར་ཡ ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 704 (764) ལྗེ་ལ</p>	<p>མེ་ལོ་སྐུ་ 679 ར་ཡ ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 704 ལྗེ་ལ</p>	<p>ལྷོ་ཉི་ 652 (712) ལྷོ་ཉི་ 652 (712) ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 680 (740) Age 28</p>	<p>(འདུས་སྟོན་མང་པོ་ལྷོ་བཙུན་ལྷོ་ལོ་) ལྷོ་ཉི་ 653 (713) ལྷོ་ཉི་ 653 (713) ལུག་སྐུ་ཉི་ 680 (740) Age 28</p>	

TABLE B (3 SHEETS)

Comparative Table of Tibetan Royal Chronologies Between 7th and 10th Centuries

S No. (1)	1. འཇུ་སོན་ Bu-ston	2. དེབ་སྲོན་ Deb-Snon	3. རྒྱལ་ཡིག་ཚང་ Rgyaki-Yig-Tshan	4. རལ་གས་པ་ Hphags-pa	5. ལྷོ་བ་བཟང་ Ljon-bzan	6. རྒྱལ་བ་སྐུ་ལྷ་པ་ Dalai V	7. རེམ་དབུང་ས་ Hjam-Dbyan's	8. བོ་དཀར་ Bai-Dkar
sion (A-j) འཇུ་སོན་	(ཁྱི་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཟང་བ་) མེ་སྲིང་ 557 (?) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (?) མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (?) Rn. 69. Age 82	(3) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (629) ཇེ ཡ ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་ 581 (641) (ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་ 641 (701)) ཇེ ཡ ལྷན་མེ་ཁྱི་ 650 (710) ཇེ ཡ Age 82	(4) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 ཇེ ཡ (Wun-sin k.j.) { ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་ 641 } ཇེ ཡ ལྷན་མེ་ཁྱི་ 650 ཇེ ཡ lived in Tibet for 40 years, died in 680 A.D. ལྷན་མེ་ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་	(5) མེ་སྲིང་ 557 (617) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (629) མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) Age 82	མེ་སྲིང་ 557 (617) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (629) (མེ་ལྷོ་ 577 (637)) མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) Age 82	མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (629) ལྷན་མེ་ཁྱི་ 650 (710)	མེ་སྲིང་ 557 (617) མེ་སྲིང་ 569 (629) Age 20 མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) Age 82	629 (མེ་སྲིང་) { (Wun-sin k.j.) } { 641 (ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་) }
	(Comp. Table A.)	(ref. Table A.)	(ref. Table A.)	(ref. Table A.)	(ref. Table A.)			
sion	(མང་འོང་མང་བཟང་བ་) Man-ron Man-btsan (ref. Table A.)	མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) ཇེ ཡ ལྷན་མེ་ཁྱི་ 650 (710) ཇེ ཡ Age 13 མེ་ལོ་ས་ 679 (739) ཇེ ཡ Age 42	མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 ཇེ ཡ ལྷན་མེ་ཁྱི་ 650 ཇེ ཡ མེ་ལོ་ས་ 679 ཇེ ཡ Rn. 30	མེ་ཁྱི་ 626 (686) མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) Age 13 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 652 (712) Age 27	མེ་ཁྱི་ 626 (686) མེ་ཁྱི་ 638 (698) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 653 (713)	'died at the age 28'		
sion འཇུ་སོན་	(འཇུ་སོན་མང་པོ་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཟང་བ་) ལྷོ་སྲོང་མེ་ལོ་ས་ Hdus-ston Man-po-rje Blo-nam-rgyal-po. Table A.)	མེ་ལོ་ས་ 679 (739) ཇེ ཡ མེ་ལོ་ས་ 679 (739) ཇེ ཡ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 704 (764) ཇེ ཡ	མེ་ལོ་ས་ 679 ཇེ ཡ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 704 ཇེ ཡ	ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 652 (712) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 652 (712) ལྷན་མེ་ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་ 680 (740) Age 28	(འཇུ་སོན་མང་པོ་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཟང་བ་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཟང་བ་) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 653 (713) ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 653 (713) ལྷན་མེ་ལྷན་མེ་སྲིང་ 680 (740) Age 28			

(Sheet 2)

Royal Lineage	1. Bu-ston	2. Deb-Sñon	3. Rgya-yig-Tshan	4. Hphags-pa	5. Ljon-bzan	6. Dalai v
<p>ཀྲུང་བམ་འཕུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Kluñ-nam Hphral-gyi Rgyal-po</p>	(ref. Table A.)	(reign: 704-705?)			(ref. Table A.)	
<p>ཁྲི་ལྡོ་གཙུག་པར་བ་ མེས་འག་ཚོམས་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan- Mes-Ag-Tshoms</p>	<p>Birth Ascension { Kim-gin-kij } ཀིམ་གྲིན་ཀའ་རྒྱལ་ Death</p>	<p>(ཁྲི་ལྡོ་གཙུག་པར་བ་) Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan (རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 712 (772) 壬子) ཁྲི་ལྟག་ 755 (815) 乙未 (inferred)</p>	<p>ཁྲི་ལྡོ་ 705 (765) [ascension] 乙辰 { རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 712 壬子 } { 'died: 741 (ལྷགས་ལྷུག་)' } ཁྲི་ལྟག་ 755 乙未 (inferred)</p>	<p>ལྷགས་ལྷུག་ 680 (740) ལྷགས་ལྷུག་ 680 (740) རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 742 (802)</p>	<p>ལྷགས་ལྷུག་ 680 (740) ལྷགས་ལྷུག་ 680 (740) { (Kim-gin k.j.) arrived } { in Tibet in the reign of } { yi-dsun, 709-712 } རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 742 (802) Rn. 62</p>	
<p>ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་(ལུ)་བཙུག་ Khri-ston Lde(hu)-btsan</p>	<p>Birth Ascension Death</p>	<p>ས་རྩ་ 718 (?) ལྷགས་རྩ་ 730 (?) Age 13 མེ་ལྷག་ 786 (?) Age 69</p>	<p>ཁྲི་ལྟག་ 755 (815) 乙未 ལྷགས་སྤྱུག་ 780 (840) 庚申</p>	<p>ལྷགས་རྩ་ 730 (790) རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 742 (802) ཁྲི་སྲང་ 785 (845)</p>	<p>ལྷགས་རྩ་ 730 (790) རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 740 (802) ཁྲི་སྲང་ 785 (845)</p>	<p>མེ་རྩ་ 766 (826) ལྷགས་ལྷུག་ 800 (860)</p>
<p>མུ་ནེ་བཙུག་པོ་ Mu-ne Btsan-po</p>	<p>Birth Ascension Death</p>	<p>རྒྱ་ལྡོ་ 802 (?) '(reign: about 1 1/2 years)'</p>	<p>ལྷགས་སྤྱུག་ 780 (840) 庚申 མེ་སྲང་ 797 (857) 丁丑</p>	<p>ལྷགས་སྲང་ 761 (821)* ཁྲི་སྲང་ 785 (845) མེ་ལོས་ 787 (847) (* corrected.)</p>	<p>ཁྲི་སྲང་ 785 (845) ས་ལྷུལ་ 789 (849) Rn. 5</p>	<p>(མུ་ནེ་བཙུག་པོ་) Mu-khri btsan-po 'reign: 1 year & 7 months</p>
<p>རྒྱ་ཚེ་བཙུག་པོ་ Ju-tse Btsan-po</p>		<p>(རྒྱ་ཚེ་ Ju-tse) ? མེ་སྲང་ 797 (857) 丁丑 ཁྲི་སྤྱུག་ 804 (864) 甲申</p>	<p>མེ་སྲང་ 797 丁丑 ཁྲི་སྤྱུག་ 804 甲申</p>			

1. Bu-ston	2. Deb-Sñon	3. Rgya-yig-Tshañ	4. Hphags-pa	5. Ljon-bzañ	6. Dalai v	7. Hjam-Dbyañs	8. Bai-Dkar
(ref. Table A.)	(reign: 704-705?)			(ref. Table A.)			
(ཁྲི་ལྡོ་གཙུག་པོ་རྒྱལ་) Khrī-loe Gtsug-brtan	ཞིང་སྤྱུལ་ 705 (765) [ascension] ཅེ་ཏེ (ཚུ་ཕྱི་ 712 (772) རྩ་མེ) ཞིང་ལྷག་ 755 (815) ཅེ་རླུ་ (inferred)	ཞིང་སྤྱུལ་ 705 ཅེ་ཏེ [ascension] { ཚུ་ཕྱི་ 712 རྩ་མེ } 'died: 741 (ལྷག་སྤྱུལ་)' ཞིང་ལྷག་ 755 ཅེ་རླུ་ (inferred)	ལྷག་ས་འབྲུག་ 680 (740) ལྷག་ས་འབྲུག་ 680 (740) ཚུ་རྩ་ 742 (802)	ལྷག་ས་འབྲུག་ 680 (740) ལྷག་ས་འབྲུག་ 680 (740) { (Kim-sin k.j.) arrived in Tibet in the reign of Yi-dsan, 709-712 } ཚུ་རྩ་ 742 (802) Rn. 62			
ས་རྩ་ 718 (?) ལྷག་ས་རྩ་ 730 (?) Age 13 མེ་སྤྱག་ 786 (?) Age 69	ཞིང་ལྷག་ 755 (815) ཅེ་རླུ་ ལྷག་ས་སྤྱུལ་ 780 (840) རྩ་མེ	ཞིང་ལྷག་ 755 ཅེ་རླུ་ ལྷག་ས་སྤྱུལ་ 780 རྩ་མེ	ལྷག་ས་རྩ་ 730 (790) ཚུ་རྩ་ 742 (802) ཞིང་ལྷག་ 785 (845)	ལྷག་ས་རྩ་ 730 (790) ཚུ་རྩ་ 740 (802) ཞིང་ལྷག་ 785 845	མེ་རྩ་ 766 (826) ལྷག་ས་འབྲུག་ 800 (860)	ས་རྩ་ 718 (778) ལྷག་ས་རྩ་ 730 (790) མེ་སྤྱག་ 786 (846)	730 (ལྷག་ས་རྩ་) 788 (མ་འབྲུག་)
ཚུ་རྩ་ག 802 (?) '(reign: about 1 1/2 years)'	ལྷག་ས་སྤྱུལ་ 780 (840) རྩ་མེ མེ་ལྷག་ 797 (857) ཏེ་ཡ	ལྷག་ས་སྤྱུལ་ 780 རྩ་མེ མེ་ལྷག་ 797 ཏེ་ཡ	ལྷག་ས་ལྷག་ 761 (821) * ཞིང་ལྷག་ 785 (845) མེ་ལོ་ས་ 787 (847) (* corrected.)	ཞིང་ལྷག་ 785 (845) ས་སྤྱུལ་ 789 (849) Rn. 5	(ལྷ་ཁྲི་འཛུལ་པོ་) Mu-Khri- btsan-po 'reign: 1 year x 7 mths'	མེ་སྤྱག་ 786 (846) ཞིང་རྩ་ 814 (874) Age 29	
	(ཚུ་ཙེ་ Cu-tse) ? མེ་ལྷག་ 797 (857) ཏེ་ཡ ཞིང་སྤྱུལ་ 804 (864) རྩ་མེ	མེ་ལྷག་ 797 ཏེ་ཡ ཞིང་སྤྱུལ་ 804 རྩ་མེ					

(Sheet 3)

Royal Lineage		1. Bu-ston	2. Deb-Snon	3. Rgya-yig-tshan	4. Hphags-pa	5. Ljon-bzan	6. Dalai v
སངས་ལེགས་ Sud-na-legs	Birth	(ཁྲི་ལྷོ་བཙུན་) Khri-lde-btsan.					
	Ascension	- Age 4				ལྷན་པ་ 790 (850)	
	Death					མེ་ལྷོ་ 817 (877)	
ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙུན་ Khri-lde Snon-btsan	Birth				མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 764 (844)		
	Ascension		མེ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 804 (864) 甲申	མེ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 804 甲申	མེ་ལོ་ས་ 787 (847)		
	Death		མེ་ལྷོ་ 814 (874) 甲午	མེ་ལྷོ་ 814 甲午	མེ་ལྷོ་ 817 (877)		
རལ་པ་ཙན་ Ral-pa-can	Birth	(ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙུན་རལ་པ་ཙན་) མེ་ལྷོ་ 806			མེ་ལྷོ་ 806 (866)	(ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙུན་རལ་པ་ཙན་) མེ་ལྷོ་ 806 (866)	(ཁྲི་ལྷོ་སྤོང་བཙུན་རལ་པ་ཙན་) མེ་ལྷོ་ 806 (866)
	Ascension (Peace Treaty)	ལྷན་པ་ 823 (Age 18)	མེ་ལྷོ་ 814 (874) 甲午	མེ་ལྷོ་ 814 甲午	མེ་ལྷོ་ 817 (877) Age 12	མེ་ལྷོ་ 817 (877)	མེ་ལྷོ་ 817 (877)
	Death	(Ratification: 821 and 822; Doring, 823.) ལྷན་པ་ 841	{ ལྷན་པ་ 821 (881) 辛丑 རྫོང་ལོ་ས་ 822 (882) 壬寅 } མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 (896) 丁辰	མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 丁辰	ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?) Age 36	མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 (896) Age 36	ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?)
སྐང་དར་མ་ Glan-Dar-ma	Birth	(སྐང་དར་མ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཙུན་) ལྷན་པ་ 841			ལྷན་པ་ 803 (863)	ལྷན་པ་ 803 (863)	
	Ascension	ལྷན་པ་ 841	མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 (896) 丁辰	མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 丁辰	ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?) Age 39	མེ་ལྷན་གྱི་ 836 (896) (inferred)	ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?)
	{ Persecution Death	'reigned for a long time' ལྷན་པ་ 901 (inferred.)	ལྷན་པ་ 901 辛酉	(not determined.)	'reign: about 6 1/2 months' ལྷན་པ་ 901 } ? ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ 902 }	'reign: a short period' ལྷན་པ་ 901	'reign: a short period' (901 or 902) (inferred.)
Total length of periods from Snon-btsan's birth to Dar-ma's death & his persecution		345 years (conjectured)	273 years		285 years (?)	285 or 273 years	273 years (conjectured)

1. Bu-ston	2. Deb-Snon	3. Rgya-yig-Tshani	4. Hphags-pa	5. Ljon-bzan	6. Dalai v	7. Hjam-Dbyans	8. Bai Dkar
(འགྲི་ལོ་འཛོམས་) Ahri-lde-btsan. — Age 4				ལྷན་པ་ 790 (850) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877)		ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 814 (874) མེ་ལྷི་ 829 (889)	
	ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 804 (864) 甲申 ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 814 (874) 甲午	ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 804 甲申 ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 814 甲午	ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 764 (844) མེ་ལྷི་ 787 (847) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877)				
(འགྲི་ལོ་འཛོམས་ལམ་མ་འཛོམས་) མེ་ལྷི་ 806 རྒྱ་ལོ་ 823 (Age 18) (Ratification: 821 and 822; Doring, 823.) ལྷན་པ་ 841	ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 814 (874) 甲午 { ལྷན་པ་ 821 (881) 辛丑 རྒྱ་ལོ་ 822 (882) } མེ་ལྷི་ 836 (896) 丁辰	ལོ་རྒྱུ་ 814 甲午 མེ་ལྷི་ 836 丁辰	མེ་ལྷི་ 806 (866) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877) Age 12 ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?) Age 36	(འགྲི་ལོ་འཛོམས་ལམ་མ་འཛོམས་) མེ་ལྷི་ 806 (866) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877) མེ་ལྷི་ 836 (896) Age 36	(འགྲི་ལོ་འཛོམས་ལམ་མ་འཛོམས་) མེ་ལྷི་ 806 (866) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877) Age 12 ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?)	མེ་ལྷི་ 806 (866) མེ་ལྷི་ 817 (877) Age 12 ལྷན་པ་ 841 ? (901?)	866 (མེ་ལྷི་)
(འགྲི་ལོ་འཛོམས་ལམ་མ་འཛོམས་) ལྷན་པ་ 841 'reigned for a long time' ལྷན་པ་ 901 (inferred)	མེ་ལྷི་ 836 (896) 丁辰 ལྷན་པ་ 901 辛酉	མེ་ལྷི་ 836 丁辰 (not determined.)	རྒྱ་ལོ་ 803 (863) ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?) Age 39 'reign: about 6 1/2 months' ལྷན་པ་ 901 } ? རྒྱ་ལོ་ 902 }	རྒྱ་ལོ་ 803 (863) མེ་ལྷི་ 836 (896) (inferred) ལྷན་པ་ 901	ལྷན་པ་ 901 (?) 'reign: a short period' (901 or 902) (inferred.)		863 (རྒྱ་ལོ་) 901 (ལྷན་པ་), — persecution, 902 (རྒྱ་ལོ་) — death.
345 years (conjectured)	273 years		285 years (?)	285 or 273 years	273 years (conjectured)	(285 years from Sroñ-btsan to Ral-pa can)	274 years

Notes on Table B

(1) The brief accounts of these historical works or Chos-hbuñ, མཚན་རྒྱུ་) are given in chapter I.

(2) The names of the kings in this column are listed with their most popular or shortened names. The monarchical names used exclusively in various chronicles are listed under the column-section of each chronicle.

(3) The dates with bracketed question marks, [?], indicate those computed on the period-basis which are inferred from the contexts of the Bu-ston Annals.

(4) The dates parenthesized, (629), are those which are computed by the authors of respective annals, the great majority being miscomputations.

(5) The dates listed on this column are computed on the bases which are recorded in the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-sñon. These dates are generally recognized in Chinese history.

CHAPTER IV

Researches For Determining Basic Dates In Early Tibetan Chronicles

The prerequisite for the rectification or adjustment of the discrepant dates in the early Tibetan chronicles is to determine the exact bases of periods, by which the number of the elapsed years can be correctly computed.

With this purpose I take up several periods of significant historical events and examine the dates recorded in the various chronicles or the Buddhist annals as mentioned in chapter I.

[Note: The dates parenthesized (629) are those which are reckoned by the respective authors of annals.]

1. Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ།

A. Descriptions in Deb-Sñon, དེབ་སྲོལ།

(1) Date of birth of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po

According to^① the CHINESE-RECORDS or Rgyahi-yig-Tshan, རྒྱ་ནི་ཡིག་ཚང་།, which is cited by the author of Deb-Sñon from the Kun-dgaḥ Rdo-rje's book, the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth is recorded as follows: "As the time when Kaḥu-

dsuñ of Thañ^② founded his kingdom in the Earth-male-Tiger year, 618 (678) A. D., falls upon the 50th year of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po's age, the year to be reckoned back by 49 years from the Kahu-dsuñ's time is that of Sroñ-btsan's birth, 569 (629) A. D.;^③ since the time 271 years elapsed before the year of Earth-female-Sheep, 839 (899) A. D.^④ (T. 1. 1. 1. f. 25-b)^⑤

The paragraphs of the above citation exactly indicate that the date of birth of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po is to be 596 A. D.,^⑥ authenticated by the established date of Thañ (Tang) Kahu-dsun's unification of China, viz., 618 A. D.

Notes:

① This part of the CHINESE-RECORDS seems to me to be a commentary by Kun-dgah Rdo-rje, or an insertion by the Deb-Sñon author. The particulars are given in article 6-A of this chapter.

② 唐高宗, (618-629 A. D.)

③ 569 A. D. is obtained from computing with 618 A. D. of Kahu-dsuñ as the basis of year.

④ 839 A. D. is deducted from notes ② and ③

⑤ བླ་མ་ལྟུང་རྒྱུ་གིས་ས་མོ་ལྷན་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ས་ཁྲུང་ས་པ་དེ་སྲོང་བཙུན་
ལྷན་པོའི་ལོ་ལྷ་བརྒྱུ་པ་ལ་ཡིན་པས། དེའི་མོང་གི་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་རྩ་དགུ་པོ་བསྟན་ཏེ།
སྲོང་བཙུན་འཁྲུངས་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་གཅིག་ས་མོ་ལྷན་ལ་ལོ་ལྷ་སོང་ཏེ།

⑥ The Deb-Sñon author himself takes this date (596) for 629 as clarified in chap. 7, 1.

(2) Date of death of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po

The CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon^① runs as follows:

"In the year of Iron-male-Dog, 650 (710) A. D.,^② when Chi-Kahu-dsuñ,^③ son of that (king),^④ ascended the throne and took his reign, Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po passed away." (ka, f. 24-a)^⑤

Notes:

① This part of the CHINESE-RECORDS must be the original translation adopted by Kun-dgah Rdo-rje. (cf. article 6, A, Notes of this chapter)

② 650 A. D. is computed according to the basis by the CHINESE-RECORDS.

③ 治高宗, (650-683 A. D.)

④ The king is *Thai-dsun*, 太宗, of *Tang*, (626-649 A.D.)

⑤ དེའི་ཕུ་ཚེ་ཀའུ་ཡུང་ཀུལ་སར་བརྟོན། དེས་ཀུལ་པོ་ཕྱེད་པའི་ཕུ་གྲུ་པོ་ཉི་
ལ་མུང་བཅའ་རྒྱུ་པོ་འདས།

(3) Explanations and critiques

From this and the preceding citations we may learn that the period of *Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po* extends from 569 to 650 A.D. Although these dates by Christian era are generally agreed by most historians, yet, since some of them hold a different view, it will not be meaningless to ascertain the accuracy of computation by the established basis of periods, which is obtainable from the *Rdo-riñs* Inscription. (cf. chap. I, 6.)

Deb-Sñon refers to this subject as follows: "In the Iron-female-Ox-year, 821 (881) A.D.,^① the 252nd year after the *Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po*'s birth, King *Ral-pa-can* concluded the Peace Treaty with China. In the following year, the Water-male-Tiger, 822 (882) A.D.,^② *Rdo-riñs* of Lhasa was erected." (*ཁོ་ལ་ཀའུ་*, f. 5-a.)^③

Notes:

① 821 A.D. is interchangeable with 881 A.D. if Deb-sñon's way of calculation is followed. The difference is due to the miscalculation of the date of Dar-ma, the successor Ral-pa-can.

② According to the Doring Inscription, 'Rdo-riñs' at Lhasa was erected in the 9th year of Skyid-rtag སྐྱིད་རྟག་, viz., 823 A.D. The problem of this difference of date between Deb-sñon and Rdo-riñs Inscription may be left untouched, because it is unimportant in this particular case.

③ མྱེང་བཙུན་གྱི་མ་པོ་ལ་ལྷུང་སྐྱེས་ནས་ལོ་ཉི་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཙུ་གཉིས་འདས་པ་
ལྷགས་མོ་མྱེང་གི་ལོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕན་ལྷོས་རྒྱ་བྱས་དང་དུམ་མཛད། དེའི་ལྷོ་ལ་རྒྱ་
ལྷགས་ལ་ལྷ་སའི་རྡོ་རྗེས་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་།

As mentioned before, (in chap. I.), the dates recorded in the Doring Inscription are regarded most reliable of all in the early Tibetan chronicles. From this point of view, the year, 569 A.D., which is fixed by calculating 252 years back from 821 A.D., the year of the Ratification of Peace Treaty (at Keñ-çi of China; 822 A.D. at Lhasa of Tibet.), may become a definite basis of periods in those early ages.

It is to be noted here that there arises no change in computing the length of the duration for 252 years even if the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth (569 A.D.) is mistaken for 629 A.D., because, in such a particular case, the date of the ratification slides to 881 A.D. We should not forget this 'slide-relation' of periods on observing the dates or periods between Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po and Glañ-Dar-ma, whenever they are recorded in the Tibetan chronicles.

Regarding the date of Sroñ-btsan's death, 650 (710) A.D., which is recorded in the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon, ^{substantiating} no indication relative to this date is found in the existing materials at hand, but almost all the Tibetan Buddhist annalists agree on the point which reckons Sroñ-btsan's age to be 82. With this age the date of his death, 650 (710) A.D. can be reckoned.

It is necessary to remark that the dates in parentheses, as seen in the above citations, are different from the established dates approved generally by historians. This difference of date is due to the misconception that arose on observing the periods recorded in

the early chronicles by the author of *Deb-Sñon* as well as the other annalists. The actual feature of the difference or inconsistency is clarified in the following chapters, (v and vi).

B. Descriptions in *Ljon-bzañ*, ལྷོན་བཟའ་

We read in the passages in *Ljon-bzañ*, p. 156, that *Sron-btsan Sgam-po* was born in the Fire-Ox year, and died in the Earth-Dog year. These years correspond to 617 and 698 A. D., respectively, according to the *Ljon-bzañ*'s way of reckoning. The particulars about the date problem are explained en bloc in chapter v.

The author of *Ljon-bzañ* also agrees with the two other dates, viz., the Earth-Ox year (629) of the *Sron-btsan*'s date of birth and the Iron-Dog year (710) of his death when the author reckons the number of elapsed years between some long-range periods, while the two dates are different from his own established ones by 12 years each. The subject of the differences is dealt with under REMARKS, (H), of this chapter.

C. Hphags-pa, འཕགས་པ།

According to the excerpts by Ljon-bzañ from the Hphags-pa's annals, the dates of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po are listed to be 'from the Fire-Ox to Earth-Dog', viz, 617 to 698 A. D., according to Ljon-bzañ's bases of reckoning of dates.

D. Dalai ཎ, ལྷལ་པ་ལྷལ་པ།

According to Ljon-bzañ's excerpts from the original, Dalai ཎ takes the dates to be 'from the Earth-Ox to the Iron-Dog', that is, from 629 to 710 A. D. according to Ljon-bzañ's bases of reckoning of dates.

E. Hjam-Dbyañs, འཇམ་དབྱེངས།

According to Ljon-bzañ's excerpts, Hjam-Dbyañs takes the dates to be 'from the Fire-Ox to the Earth-Dog', that is, 617 to 698 A. D., according to Ljon-bzañ's bases of reckoning of dates.

F. Bai-Dkar, བེ་དཀར།

The Bai-Dkar author, as mentioned in chapter I, lists the dates by the form of chronological table, indicating them with the 'number of elapsed years' to the year, 1687 A.D., which was set down by the author for his own basis of the year-computations.

According to the table, "From the time when Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po was born, there elapsed 1058 years (to the year, 1687 A.D.)." This indicates directly that the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth is 629 A.D., which is the year of Earth-Ox. The date of Sroñ-btsan's death is not listed in the table, yet it might be conjectured to be 710 A.D., if he follows the common view of the other annalists who reckon Sroñ-btsan's age to be 82.

G. Bu-ston, འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷན་པོ།

Bu-ston states in his annals (f. 138-b) that Sroñ-btsan was born in the year of Fire-female-Ox, and passed away at the age of 82. (f. 139-a.) No immediate description is given in his annals which can be traced to

^{the} dates corresponding to the Christian era, however, the said Fire-female-Ox year corresponds to 557 A.D., judging by the contexts of his statements in places, and, accordingly, the 82nd year of his age falls upon the year, 638 A.D. (cf. the date of King Ral-pa-can's death, chap. IV, 4, B.)

H. Remarks: problem of the birth-date of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po

It is of course due to misconception of periods that most of the chroniclers take the date, 569 A.D. (Earth-Ox year) for 629 A.D. (also Earth-Ox year), but apart from this, there is another puzzling fact that some of the chroniclers take the year, 569 (629) A.D., Earth-Ox, for 557 (617) A.D., Earth-Ox.

We must recall here that in S. C. Das's explanations the 12 year-cycle system was said to have been introduced into Tibet in the early ages before the introduction of the system of 60 year cycle. (cf. chap II.) There is a great liability for confusion in reckon-

ing the number of years by means of such a primitive system. Speaking of the fact, Deb-sñon and Dalai v record that Sroñ-btsan was born in the Earth-Ox year, while Bu-ston, Hphags-pa, Ljon-bzañ and Hjam-Dbyañs record it to be in the Fire-Ox year, being different from each other by 12 years. And then, the former two annalists take the Iron-Ox year for the time of Sroñ-btsan's ascension, while the latter four take it to be the Earth-Ox year. Now we must see that, when any of the names of five elements (i.e., Tree, Fire, Earth, Iron and Water, [cf. chap. II, Notes: ⑥ and ⑦]) was not combined with ^{one of} the names of 12 animals, the annalists could not distinguish one 12 cycle from another.

It is no wonder that they have mistaken one Ox-year for another on seeing the date of event recorded with the names of 12 year cycles alone; in other words, they have taken the date of birth for that of ascension due to identification of the Ox-years.

In short we need not, however, regard the problem of 557 (617) A.D. important, but may neglect it

in this specific case, because, as the evidence reveals, the author of *Ljon-bzañ*, who claimed for 557 (617) A.D. in his annals, adopted the date, 569 (629) A.D., when he calculated the length of periods between *Sroñ-btsan's* birth and other historical events. (cf. *Ljon-bzañ*, pp. 190-191)

Same argument applies to *...*
about the *...*

2. *Wun-ṣiñ Koñ-jo*, ལུང་ལྷོ་ཀོང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མོ་

Wun-ṣiñ Koñ-jo or *Mun-ṣen Koñ-co*, ལུང་ལྷོ་ཀོང་མོ་, 文成公主, the Chinese princess, who arrived in Tibet in marriage with *Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po*. This date is not of an immediate importance to set down the basis of periods, but is useful for confirming the dates of *Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po* by comparison with the Chinese annals in which Tibetan historical events are treated. The date of the princess' arrival in Tibet is recorded in the following historical materials.

A. *Deb-Sñon*

In the *Deb-Sñon's* CHINESE-RECORDS or *Rgyahi Yig-Tshañ*, ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ it runs thus: ^① “*Wun-ṣiñ Koñ-jo*,

princess of *Tha hi-dsuñ*,^① was granted (in marriage to *Sron-btsan*) in the *Iron-female-Ox* year, 641 (701) A.D."^②

Notes:

① ཟའི་ཏུང་གི་ཐུས་མོ་ལུ་ལྷོ་ལོང་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷུགས་མོ་གྲང་ལ་ཉིན། (ka, f. 24-a)

② 太宗 of T'ang, 唐, (624-649 A.D.).

③ 701 A.D. is obtained if we follow *Deb-sñon's* own way of computation, but this is, of course, incorrect, and it should be 641 A.D.

Addendum:

Age of *Sron-btsan Sgam-po's* Marriage.

In the year, 641 A.D., when the princess arrived in Tibet, *Sron-btsan Sgam-po* was 73 years old. The legendary documents extant in a family of the king's descendants, *Lha-Rgya-rigs-pa* of *Ye (r)* district in Tibet, tells us that the king received the princess (as his queen consort) when he was 'very old', (དུག་ལོ་མཐོན་པོ་།). Observing also the *Doring* Inscription, རྫོང་རྫོང་ཡི་གེ, and the statement by *Bu-ston*, the time of the king's marriage can be judged to be the later part of his lifetime. Accordingly, a view claiming for the king's marriage with the princess in his youth is not

approvable. (cf. also section C below)

B. Rdo-riñs (Doring) Inscription

In the East Inscription of the agreement of Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty, the date of Wun-çiñ Koñ-jo is recorded as follows: "Since the Chinese king, 'Li' (T'ang), first ascended the throne, [twenty]-three years of the reign of T'ang elapsed. The Divine King of Miracle (who was in the one continuous lineage of the royal family, Khri-sroñ-brtsan^① and the ^{chinese} king^②, Thehe-tsoñ Bhun-bu Shen-kwan-te, the two consulted to unify [the reigns], and in the year of Ceñ-kwan^③, Mun-geñ Koñ-co^④ was recieved by the [Tibetan king] as his wife." (ll. 21-25 of the East Inscription.)^⑤ [cf. ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHAJA BY H.E. RICHARDSON]

Notes:

- ① The king of འཇིགས་པོ་བཟོན་ is denoted ^{To be} འཇིགས་པོ་བཟོན་ སྐུ་མཚན་, Sroñ-brtsan Sgam-po.
- ② 太宗文武神皇帝, i.e., Thahi-dsuñ of T'ang, 唐太宗.
- ③ 貞觀, name of the era of T'ang-Thahi-dsuñ, (627-649 A.D.)
- ④ 文成公主, name of the princess of Thahi-dsuñ of T'ang.

ཅ ངང་མོ་ཀྱི་མེ་ལི་ཀྱལ་ལས་ལུགས་བསམ། དེའི་དང་གི་མིང་ལོ་ (ནི་ལུ) ར་
གསུམ་ལོ་ན། ཀྱལ་རབས་གཅིག་གི་དོན་དུ། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་འཚོ་བོ། བོ་སྤོང་འཚོ་བོ་
དང་། ཀྱི་མེ་མེའི་ཚོང་རྒྱུ་ལུ་ལོང་རྒྱུ་ཏེ་གཉིས། རབ་(མིང་) གཅིག་དུ་མོལ་བས། རེང་
ཀུ་གྱི་ལོ་ལ། ལུ་ལོང་ལོང་ཚོ་(འཚོ་བོ) མོའི་ལབ་དུ་སྤངས།

We may learn from the above citation that the date of the ascension of the first emperor of Tang is the year, 618 A.D., (according to Chinese history), and the time elapsed since then, i.e., 23 years, is the year, 641 A.D., which is the 15th year of Ceñ-kwan era of Thahi-dsuñ dynasty (626-649 A.D.).

(Note that both the Old Tang History, 舊唐書, and the New Tang History, 新唐書, record the date of Mun-çen Koñ-co's (文成公主) marriage as 'the 15th year of Ceñ-kwan era.' (641 A.D.)).

C. Ljon-bzañ (Ljon-bzañ, p.156)

It runs as follows: "In the Fire-Bird year, the Chinese princess arrived," མེ་བྱ་ལོར་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོ་ (Chinese wife) འཕྱོད།
According to Ljon-bzañ's way of reckoning the number

of years, the Fire-Bird year falls upon the time when Sroñ-btsan was 21 years old, for, as Ljon-bzañ takes the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth for the Fire-Ox year, 617 A.D., this Fire-Bird year corresponds to 637 A.D. This date by Ljon-bzañ conflicts with that of the Rdo-riñs Inscription of the Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty and other records of the T'ang Histories, and also the statements of the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon. The views which regards the time of Sroñ-btsan's marriage as in his youth is hardly acceptable from the reason mentioned in the preceding articles A., and E. below. Ljon-bzañ (p.150) states that Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po had five queens, དེལ་བརྟུན་མོ་ལྔ་ཡོད།. From what I heard from a des^{an}ant of the king, Sroñ-btsan took three Tibetan queens when he reached adolescence; it was in his later lifetime that he married the Nepalese and the Chinese princesses.

D. Bai-Dkar's chronological table

According to the chronological table in Csoma's TIBETAN GRAMMAR, p. 183, 641 A.D. ^① is immediately com-

puted. (Csoma miscalculates it by 2 years.) The date 641 A.D. itself is correctly given, but it is to be noted that the year falls upon the time when Sroñ-btsan was 13 years old, since the Bai-Dkar author takes the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth as 629 A.D. (cf. Chap. IV, I, F, and preceding section C.)

Note:

① ལོང་ཇི་འཕྲུག་ཡེ་ཤམ་ལྷན་ ༡༠༤༦ (1046), if this is calculated, 641 A.D. is obtained. (1687 minus 1046) The king's age of 13 is calculated by 641 A.D. minus 629 A.D.

E. Bu-ston

The author does not denote the date of the princess's marriage to Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po; however, we may judge that the princess was taken in marriage in the later part of Sroñ-btsan's lifetime, because, according to the author, the king married the princess after the achievement of his great works of the state. (cf. Bu-ston, f. 138, a-b.)

3. Kim-çiñ Koñ-jo, ཀིམ་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ།

Kim-çiñ Koñ-jo, or Kim-çiñ Koñ-co, ཀིམ་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཚོ། 金城公主, is the Chinese princess who became the queen consort of the Tibetan king, Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms, མི་ལྷོ་གཙུག་པ་དབྱེ་མེས་ཤར་གཙོ་མས།. The date of the princess's arrival in Tibet is of less importance for the present subject of study, but is useful to see the accuracy of the continuation of the periods between Sroñ-btsan and Dar-ma, and the resumption of royal relationship between Tibet and China (Tang). Regarding the period of the princess's arrival in Tibet, the following materials can be consulted:

A. Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS, ཐུའི་ཡིག་ཚང་།

According to the CHINESE-RECORDS, "In the Iron-female-Hog year, 711 (771) A. D., Wi-dsuñ^① was enthroned; as the Tibetan king^② asked for a princess, in the Water-male-Mouse year, 712 (772) A. D., Kim-çiñ Koñ-jo was sent to Tibet." (ka, f. 24.b)^④

Notes:

① 睿宗 of T'ang, 唐.

② *Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshomo*, མེ་ཤག་མཚོ་མཉམ་མེས་
ལག་ཚོམས། (705-755 A.D., or 680 (740)-742 (802) A.D.)

③ *Different from that of Rdo-riñs Inscription.*

④ ལྷན་པས་མེ་ཤག་ལ་(བུ་ཚོ་) ལྷི་རྩུང་རྒྱལ་མར་བསྐྱེས། བོད་ལྷི་རྒྱལ་པོས་བུ་
མོ་རྩུང་པས། ལྷུ་མོ་ལྷི་ལ་ལྷི་ལིང་ལོང་ལོ་བོད་ལྷུ་བརྒྱུངས།

B. T'ang History (T'ang-shu, 唐書.)

The Old T'ang History, 舊唐書, (vol. 146B, ff. 5b, 6a.) and the New T'ang History 新唐書, (vol. 141A, f. 5b.), both record the date of the princess's arrival in Tibet as the 3rd year of Keñ-luñ*, i.e., 709 A.D. (* cf. sec. c. below)

C. Doring Inscription (Rdo-riñs Inscription)

It records, "During the Keñ-luñ^① era (707-710 A.D.), Kim-ṣeñ Koñ-co was taken as the wife of the Tibetan king." (cf. ll. 27-28 of East Inscription of Rdo-riñs.)

The Inscription does not specify the year of the Keñ-luñ era which lasted to the 3rd or 4th year.

Note:

① Keñ-luñ, 景龍, of 睿宗(?) or 中宗(?) [707-710(?)]

D. Ljon-bzañ

“At the time of King Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms, (the king) took Kim-ḡiñ Koñ-jo, who was the princess of Wi-dsuñ,^① the younger brother of Dsuñ-Dsuñ,^② the 5th in Thañ-king lineage, as the wife of Hjañ-tsa Lha-dpon, son (of King Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms), but since the son died, the king married the princess.” (Ljon-bzañ, p.151)^③

In this no specific date is given. We see only the name of the Chinese king, Wi-dsuñ whose reign lasted from 710 to 712 A. D.

Notes:

① 睿宗, (710-712 A. D.).

② 中宗, (684-707 A. D.)

③ (དེའི་སྐོར་) བོད་མཆོག་གི་བཞུགས་སྐོར་ལ་འགྲུབ་པའི་མཚན་མོའི་རྒྱ་ཡི་མཐོང་སྐོར་ནི་དེ་ལྟར་གསུངས་པའོ། (འབྲུག་གི་བོད་མཆོག་གི་བཞུགས་སྐོར་ལ་འགྲུབ་པའི་མཚན་མོའི་རྒྱ་ཡི་མཐོང་སྐོར་ནི་དེ་ལྟར་གསུངས་པའོ།)

E. Remarks:

Records vary on the date of Kim-ḡiñ Koñ-jo. It is preferable to take the record of Rdo-riñs Inscription de-

noting the period between 707-710 A.D. However, there is another problem here in respect to the date of King Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms. The date recorded in the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon as 705 A.D. is regarded as that of the king's birth (or ascension in his birth-year); if so, it is impossible for him to have a son who is of marriageable age to be wedded to the princess, Kim-çin-Koñ-jo, in 712 A.D., as stated in the CHINESE-RECORDS. Therefore, we must admit that the date of the king's birth must be far earlier than 705 A.D. According to my own view, it is more preferable and reasonable to take 680 A.D., as the date of the king's birth, as listed in the annals of Ljon-bzañ and Hphags-pa. If, now, 710 A.D. be taken for the date of the princess's arrival in Tibet (according to Rdo-rins Inscription), the age of the king would be reckoned as 31 years at that time; then the relationship of the ages of the king and his son; and the son and the princess's date of arrival in Tibet would be reasonable. 'The doubt' whether King Khri-sroñ Lde(chu)-tsan, ཁྱི་སྲོལ་ལྷེ་(ལུ)བཙན་, is the son,

who was born between Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms and Him-ḡiñ Koñ-jo, will be solved, because the date of King Khri-sroñ Lde(hu)-tsan's birth is said to be 730 A.D.,^① and that of the princess's death, according to the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon, 741 A.D.^② Thus at the time when Khri-sroñ Lde(hu)-tsan was born, the father king, i.e., Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan Mes-Ag-tshoms, was 51 years old.^③

Notes:

① Ljon-bzañ, p. 157.

② Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS, ka, f. 24-b; also refer to Chronological table B, chap. II, of the present study.

③ H. E. Richardson criticizes the Tibetan chronicles in this respect in his work, ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA, pp. 64, 65, but I believe the problem may be solved by the reason mentioned in the REMARKS.

4. Ral-pa-can, རལ་པ་ཚན་པ།

The reign of King Ral-pa-can has various important historical significances. One of them is a chronological

matter; the erection of the famous old stone-pillar inscribing the agreement of Tibeto-Tang Peace Treaty, which remains intact since the earlier part of the 9th century, and attracts the deep interests of the worldwide scholars of Eastern studies. Before referring to the INSCRIPTION (in the article 5 below), the dates of the king, Ral-pa-can will be examined through the following annals.

A. Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS

Regarding the date of the king's death, the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon states thus: "In the Earth-female-Ox year, 809 (869) A.D., Mu-dsuñ,^① son of Hun-dsuñ,^② was enthroned. After that, the Tibetan king^③ was said to have passed away, (but in fact) the king died in the beginning of the year of Tree-male-Horse, 814 (874) A.D. In this year, Kha-li-kha-chu (Ral-pa-can) was enthroned."
(ka, f. 25-b.)^④

And regarding the date of the king's death, it runs thus: "In the Fire-male-Dragon year, 836 (896) A.D.,

year of 'Skyid-rtag', སྐྱེད་རྟག་ལོ། of Ral-pa-can's reign; therefore, the 1st year is 815 A.D., being the year of the ascension of King Ral-pa-can. As the year, 815 A.D. is the Tree-female-Sheep, 'the Iron-female-Bird year in which he died' must fall on 841 A.D. (Justifiable according to the sexagenary cycle; cf. APPENDIX II.) Generally speaking, 'the Iron-female-Bird year' in this period of Ral-pa-can, or thereabout, is also correspondable to 781 or 901 A.D., but each belongs to the date of a different chronological event, accordingly, 841 A.D. is the only reasonable date for 'the Iron-female-Bird year' among the given dates.

Some critiques will be given below in respect to the age of King Ral-pa-can, which is recorded in Bu-ston's annals and others.

As mentioned above, the year of the ascension of Ral-pa-can is 815 A.D. Ral-pa-can was then 10 years old. But Bu-ston states that 'the king, Ral-pa-can, was enthroned at the age of 18.' (f.144-b) This is obviously incorrect, because he was as matter

of fact occupying the throne when he was 16 years old and concluded the Peace Treaty with China (T'ang)

Ljon-bzañ, Hphags-pa, and Hjam-Dbyañs, respectively records the time of Ral-pa-can's ascension as 12 years of age. This differs by 2 years from the calculated date of the Treaty.

The miscalculation by Bu-ston is likely due to mistaking the date of ascension for that of the Rdo-rins-erection. (cf. article 5 below) Likewise, the difference in age-reckoning by Ljon-bzan and the others seems to be originally due to the error of taking the first-ratification date (1821 A.D.), when the king was 16, for the Rdo-rins-erection date (1823 A.D.). Accordingly, the ascension age of 10 might have been misreckoned for 12.

C. Ljon-bzañ

It states that the king, Ral-pa-can, " was born in the Fire-Dog year, 806 (866) A.D., enthroned in the Fire-Bird year, 817 (877) A.D., and died in the Fire-

Dragon year, 836 (896) A.D.¹ - རལ་པ་ཙན་མེ་བྱི་ལོ་པ་མེ་ཉུ་ནས་
རྒྱལ་པོ་མངའ་ཉེང་མེ་འབྲུག་ལ་བསྐྱོངས། (Ljon-bzan, p. 157.)

D. Hphags-pa

The author denotes that the king, Ral-pa-can "was born in the Fire-Dog year, 806 (866) A.D., and occupied the throne from the 12th to 36th year of his age, - as late as the Iron-Bird year, 841 (901) A.D." (cf. Ljon-bzan, p. 154 [excerpts]) - རལ་པ་ཙན་མེ་བྱི་ལོ་པ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་ནས་
མོ་དྲུག་པ་ལྷགས་ཉེད་པར་རྒྱལ་པོ་མངའ་།

E. Dalai v

(The same as D. above)

F. Hjam-Dbyañs

(The same as D. above)

G. Bai-Dkar

The chronological table indicates the date of Ral-pa-can's birth to be 866 A.D.,^① but does not list the date of his death. (cf. Csoma's TIBETAN GRAMMAR, p. 183.)

Note: ① རྒྱུ་ལྷན་པ་ཙན་མེ་ལྷན་པ་ནས་༨༦༦ (i.e. 866 A.D.)

Addendum:

L. A. Waddell refers to the date of King Ral-pa-can in his work, *BUDDHISM OF TIBET OR LAMAISM*, p. 34, thus: "His devotion to Buddhism appears to have led to his murder about 899², at the instigation of his younger brother Lañ Darma, — the so-called Julian of Lamaism — who then ascended the throne"

(Foot note), "2. The date is variously given, ranging from 838 (BUSHELL, 439 and 522) to 899 A.D. (CSOMA Gr., 183); 902 (SANANG SETSEN, 49); 914 (KÖPPEN, ii, 72).

5. Rdo-riñs Inscription, རྫོང་རྫོང་ཡི་གྲི་

A. Dates regarding the Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty

The Inscription of the agreement of Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty is observed to-day on a stone-pillar called 'DORING' in front of the CHO-KANG Cathedral at Lhasa, རྫོང་རྫོང་གི་རྫོང་རྫོང་།

The treaty was concluded between the Tibetan king, Ral-pa-can, and the Chinese emperor, Mu-dsun, 穆宗, and ratified first at Keñ-çi, 京師, capital of T'ang (China), and ^{then}

at Lhasa, capital of Tibet. The accounts of the solemn agreement were inscribed on a large stone pillar and erected as a monument at Lhasa, and a copy of the same inscription was erected also at Keñ-çi, or Chang-an, 長安, of China. The former is still extant at Lhasa, while the latter is said to be missing from Keñ-çi. The dates concerning the ratification of the treaty recorded in the inscription are as follows:

(1) Dates of Ratification:-^①

Keñ-çi, China, 1st year of Cañ-keñ, 長慶元年, Iron-female-Ox year, (or) 7th year of Skyid-rtag*, 彝泰七年, of Tibetan era, (corresponding to 821 A.D.);

Lhasa, Tibet, 8th year of Skyid-rtag* 彝泰八年, of Tibetan era, (or) 2nd year of Cañ-keñ, 長慶二年, water-male-Tiger year, (corresponding to 822 A.D.);

(2) Date of Erection of Rdo-riñs at Lhasa:-^②

9th year of Skyi-rtag*, 彝泰九年, (or) 3rd year of Cañ-keñ, 長慶三年, water-female-Hare year, (corresponding to 823 A.D.);

(3) Inspection:-^③

The inscription on Rdo-rins was inspected by two Chinese (T'ang) Envoys.

Addendum: Unlike the other chronological records, the events and their dates indicated in the Inscription are the most reliable of facts, being confirmed by the authorities both of Tibet and China on the solemn occasion of the agreement. I believe that differences or inconsistencies of dates and events observed in the early chronicles, whether they be Tibetan or Chinese, are rectifiable to some extent by taking the records of the Inscription for the bases of judgement. I also add that, concerning my study on the Rdo-rins Inscription, I have obtained valuable informations from the work entitled ANCIEN HISTORICAL EDICT AT LHASA, (1952), by H. E. Richardson.

Notes:

①, ② and ③ are summaries of the parts of the Inscription given in Richardson's text (above), pp. 57-58.

*** Skyid-rtag, སྐྱིད་རྟག་, ("Happiness-Perpetuity"), is the name of era given to the reign of Ral-pa-can. This is only Tibetan ERA-NAME which I have found in chronological records of early Tibet.

B. Annals recording the Peace Treaty

(1) Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS and its original description.

The subject of the Treaty is recorded in the CHINESE-RECORDS as follows: "In that year,^① Kha-li-kha-chu (Ral-pa-can) ascended the throne. The Tibetan ministers assembled at the field of Lhasa. The high priest(s) proclaimed the account of agreement. The validity was made known extensively. The Oath was sworn^{by all.}" (ka, f. 25-a.)^②

Notes:

① "that year" denotes 814 (874) A.D. This conflicts with the year, 815 A.D., which is obtainable from Rdo-rin's Inscription.

② ལོ་དེ་ལ་ ལ་ལི་ལ་ལུ་ བསྐྱེས་ ལྷ་མའི་ཐང་དུ་ བོད་ཀྱི་ རྒྱུན་པོ་ཚོགས་
 བཞུགས་པོས་ མཁའ་བརྒྱུགས་ བརྟེན། བདེན་པ་དར་ཏེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་བརྒྱུགས་དང་
 མཁའ་ཚད་ལྷས།

According to the original^① description of Deb-Sñon, it runs as follows: "In the Iron - female - Ox year, 821 (881) A. D., the king, Ral-pa-can, concluded the Peace Treaty with China, and in the following year, Water-male-Tiger, 822 (882) A. D.,^② the Rdo-rin's of Lhasa was erected."^③ (kha, f. 5-a)

Notes :

① 'original' means 'descriptions of Deb-Sñon excluding the chapter which is quoted from other sources.

② Rdo-rin's Inscription records it as 823 A. D. (cf. articles above)

③ ལྷགས་མོ་གླང་གི་ལོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་རྒྱལ་པ་ཚལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་དང་དུམ་མཛད། དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་
རྒྱ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལྷ་སའི་རྡོ་རིངས་བརྒྱུགས། ॥

(2) Bu-ston

The author states that the king, Ral-pa-can, "despatched his army to China and was victorious. The people of the two countries, who are in the relationship of 'Nephew and Uncle', (དཔེང་ལྗང་། Dbon-shan.), inscribed the Rdo-rin's of Lhasa." — f. 145. b, རྒྱ་ལ་དམག་དངས་ཏེ་བཙོམ་ནས།
དཔེང་ལྗང་དུམ་མཛད་ལྷ་ས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ལྷ་སའི་རྡོ་རིངས་ལ་བྲིས་སོ། ॥

(3) Ljon-bzañ

It says thus: " Owing to the matter of discord with China, the war was fought, then the Tibetan Lamas and the Chinese high Hwa-ṣaṅ (priests) reconciled the Tibetan and Chinese kings, and erected three Rdo-riñs (es), on each one of which the oath for the reconciliation was inscribed, in Tibet, China, and Rme-ru,^① the place between the two countries, respectively." (Ljon. p. 151)^②

Notes:

① Supposed to be a place on the boundary or in the buffer zone, but the Rdo-riñs Inscription (at Lhasa) does not record that a Rdo-riñs was erected at Rme-ru.

② རྒྱ་ནག་དང་མ་མཐུན་པས་འཐབ་དུས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱམ་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚན་པོ་དང་རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་འདུམ་པར་ཕྱི་མཉམ་གྱི་བོད་སྐོ་སྐོ་དང་པར་གྱི་མེ་རུ་རྩོ་རིས་གསུམ་ལ་མན་འཛད་བཞེད་པ་སོགས་།

* གང་, shañ, means 'uncle', being one of the Terms, "Nephew and Uncle", which are used to indicate 'RELATIONSHIP' between the Tibetan and Chinese (T'ang's) royal families since the establishment of matrimonial alliance during the reigns of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po and Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan, respectively.

(4) T'ang History, or T'ang-Shu, 唐書.

The Old T'ang History describes that, in the 1st year of Chañ-keñ, 長慶元年, 821 A.D., the Peace Treaty was ratified at Keñ-çi, China, and in the 2nd year of Chañ-ken, 822, at Lhasa, Tibet. (vol. 146 B, ff 14-15).

The New T'ang History does not denote the date of the ratification of the treaty at Keñ-çi, China, but record it for Lhasa in the 7th year of Skyi-rtag (in Chinese, 彝泰.), 821 A.D.

This record of the date differs from that of the Old T'ang History, and conflicts with the date and the place stated in the Rdo-rin's Inscription.

6. Glañ-Dar-ma, ཀླུ་དར་མ།

Among the dates of the early Tibetan chronicles, none more vague than those of Glañ-Dar-ma are observed. This is no doubt due to the lack of reliable historical records. Most of the books or records are said to have been missing with the disappearance of the Buddhist Doctrine during the period of the religious

persecution by King Glan-Dar-ma. Consequently, the accounts of the age are extremely confused by Tibetan annalists. Therefore, the dates that are carelessly computed based on the works of those annalists by modern scholars studying Tibetan chronicles also confuse the correct and the incorrect, and sometimes even with their own miscalculations.

One of the most important dates of Dar-ma's reign for the present study is that of his death or of his persecution of Buddhism. Regarding the date of his death, divergent views are found in modern historical works on Tibet. For instance, G. H. Roerich computes 841 A.D.; L. A. Waddell, 900 A.D.; S. W. Bushell, 842 A.D.; Csoma de Körös, 900 A.D.; C. A. Bell, 900 A.D.; G. Tucci, 842 A.D. etc.

I construct here a date-table concerning Dar-ma in order that we may learn at a glance the dates of Dar-ma as recorded in the various Tibetan Buddhist annals or the so-called CHOS-HBYUN, རྗེ་འཇུག་, and the Chinese annals of the New Tang History or Hsin-Tang-shu.

Comparative Table of Dates of Glañ-Dar-ma

Items Annals	Date of birth	Relation with Ral-pa-can	Date of ascen- sion or age	Duration of reign	Date of death and Persecution
བུ་སྤོན་ Bu-ston		younger- brother (inferred)	841 A.D., age, 'juvenile'	'a long time'	901 A.D. (inferred)
དེབ་སྤོན་ Deb-Sñon		youngest- brother(?)	836 (896) A.D.	about 6 years	901 A.D. (by computation)
རྒྱལ་ཡིག་ཚང་ Rgyahi-yig-tshañ		youngest- brother	836 A.D.	about 6 years	unable to decide whether it is 841 or 901 A.D.
འཕགས་པ་ Hphags-pa	water-sheep 803 (863) A.D.	elder- brother	901 A.D.(?) age, 39	about 6 1/2 months	902 A.D.(?)
ལྷོ་བཟང་ Ljon-bzañ	water-sheep 803 (863) A.D.	elder- brother	836 (896) A.D.	about 6 years	901 A.D. (by computation)
ལྷོ་པ་ Dalai v		elder- brother	901 A.D.(?)	'a short period'	901 A.D.(?)
འཇམ་དབྱེས་ Hjam-Dbyañs	not men- tioned of Dar-ma	"	"	"	"
བེ་དཀར་ Bai-Dkar	863 A.D. (water-sheep)	elder- brother			901 A.D. - persecution, 902 A.D. - death.
New Táng History. *			842 A.D. (inferred by the contexts)		'842 A.D.' is not of Dar-ma's death, but of Ral-pa-can's [chap. IV, 6, H(12)]

* The Old Táng history does not mention of Dar-ma.

Now the minute investigations will be given about the following annals.

A. Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS

Regarding the dates of Dar-ma's ascension and his death, the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon (ka, f. 25.6) runs as follows:

" In the Fire-female-Sheep year, 827 (887) A.D., King Hu-dsuñ, 文宗 (?), 2nd son of King Mu-dsuñ, 穆宗, was enthroned. In the Fire-male-Dragon year, 836 (896) A.D., the Tibetan king (Kha-li-kha-chu, or Ral-pa-can) died. In this year, the youngest brother called Tha-mu, 热巴, was enthroned. The king was fond of wine and was a man of bad conducts. And the kingdom of Tibet fell into chaos. The hill built at Si-ha-cihü to govern Tibet was overthrown. Klu-chu (river) flowed backwards for (the whole) three days. Bad omens appeared; the kingdom collapsed. -①- Though it is said 208 years elapsed before the Earth-female-Sheep year, 839 (899) A.D., if it is correctly calculated, 222 years passed since the kingdom of Thañ (Tang) was erected. This

Earth-female-Sheep-year is that Earth-female-Sheep year which falls on the 4th year of the reign of Glān-Dar-ma.^② After that, (Dar-ma) remained in his reign until the Iron-male-Ape year; 840 (900) A. D., and^③ even more until the Iron-female-Bird year, 841 (901) A. D. In the Iron-Bird year,^④ the Buddha-Law was destroyed, and without loss of time, he was murdered by Dpal-gyi-Rdo-rje. Thereby, scholars, who wish to see how many years elapsed since the destruction of the Doctrine, commence (calculation) at the time of the Iron-Bird year, 841 (901) A. D.^⑤ ⑥ As the time when Kaḥu-dsuñ, 高宗, established his kingdom in the Earth-male-Tiger year, 618 (678) A. D., falls upon the 50th year of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po's age, the year to be reckoned backwards by 49 years from Kaḥu-dsuñ's time corresponds to that of Sroñ-btsan's birth; since then, 271 years elapsed before the Earth-female-Sheep year, 839 (899) A. D.^⑦ In the Nel-pa's Chos-hbyuñ (Buddhist annals), the author's statement of the destruction of Doctrine in the Earth-fe-

male-Sheep year is over-estimated by 2 years, (i.e., early by 2 years). ① Wu-dsuñ^① took administration for 13 years and died at the age of 30, namely in the Ear-female-Sheep year, 839 (899) A.D. -----^②
(ka, f. 25. b)^③

Notes:

① The paragraphs before and after the mark, -①-, appear abnormal in sequence, viz., that following the mark may be an insertion to the original by the Deb-Sñon author or a section of commentary by Kundgah Rdo-rje himself.

② We have to note that the name, Glañ-Dar-ma, གླེན་དར་མ་, appears here, instead of 'Tha-mu', ཐ་མུ་, as used in the paragraph preceding the mark, -①-. Such a difference in usage of name indicates the possibility of an insertion. (☛ Tibetan, ▼ Chinese)

③ 840 A.D. and 841 A.D. may be computed if we follow the base of year in the CHINESE-RECORDS, but, on the contrary, 900 A.D. and 901 A.D. should be taken when we follow the base of year set down by the Deb

S'non author. (cf. chap. v.-vii.)

④ and ⑤ The definite date cannot be settled here. (cf. chap. vii.)

⑥ - ⑦ have been cited and explained in article, I, of this chapter, (IV).

⑧ After the mark ⑧, the descriptions appear to turn to the text of CHINESE-RECORDS proper.

⑨ The name of the Chinese king should be Mundsun, 文宗, (827-839 A.D.), according to Chinese chronicles.

⑩ མེ་མོ་ལུག་ལ་མུ་ཏུང་གི་བྱ་གཉེས་པ་ལུ་ཏུང་བསྐྱེས། མེ་མོ་ལུག་ལ་
བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདས། ལོ་དེ་ལ་གཙུང་པོ་ཐ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཐ་མུ་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསྐྱེས། དེ་
ཚང་ལ་དགའ་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་པ་ངན་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་ལྷུག་ས། སི་རྩ་ཅི་ཏུ་ལ་བོད་དཔར་
བའི་རི་བརྟེན་ལ་ཡོད་པ་འགྲེལ། གྲུ་རྩ་ཞག་གསུམ་གྱེན་ལ་ལོག། ལྷ་ས་ངན་ལྱང་ཞིང་
རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཞིག་པ་ཡིན་འོ། ། ལ། ས་མོ་ལུག་ལ་རྩ་ཚོད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་སོང་
ཟེར་ཡང་ལོགས་པར་བརྟེན་ན་ཐང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ལྷུ་རྩ་གཉེས་སང་དོ།
ས་མོ་ལུག་འདི་སྐང་དར་མས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལྷན་ནས་ལོ་བཞི་ལོན་པའི་ས་མོ་ལུག་དེ་ཡིན་འོ།
དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ལྷུག་ས་མོ་སྤྱོད་དང་ལྷུག་ས་མོ་ཕྱི་བར་དུ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷུག་ས་ཕྱ་
དེ་ལ་ཚོས་བསྐྱབས་ཤིང་། དེ་མ་ཐག་ལོ་རང་དཔལ་གྱི་དོ་རྗེས་བསད་དོ། དེས་ན་མཁས་
པ་རྣམས་ཚོས་བསྐྱབས་ནས་ལོ་ངེ་ཙམ་ལོན་པ་ནི་ལྷུག་ས་ཕྱ་དེ་ནས་མགོ་འདྲིན་པ་ཡིན་འོ།

བྲུང་ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལྷན་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ས་ལྷོ་ལ་དེ་སྤོང་བཙུག་ལྷན་པོའི་ལོ་ལྷོ་བརྒྱ་
 ས་ལ་ཡིན་པས། དེའི་གོང་གི་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་རྒྱ་དགུ་པོ་བསྐྱབ་ཏེ། སྤོང་བཙུག་ལྷན་
 བས་ལོ་ཉི་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་རྒྱ་གཅིག་ས་མོ་ལྷན་ལ་བཟང་དོ། བཟང་པོའི་རྒྱུ་
 ལྷོང་དུ་ས་མོ་ལྷན་ལ་དམ་པའི་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱབས་པར་བཞད་དེ། ལོ་ཉི་མ་ཉི་མང་བཙུག་མོ།

(b) ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལྷན་ལོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་མིད་གཟུང་ནས། དགུང་ལོ་ལྷན་བརྒྱ་ལ་ས་མོ་ལྷན་
 ལ་འདས། [ལོ་དེ་ལ་ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་གི་བུ་ལྷོ་ལ་ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱོས། --- ---] (ག་ན་ལ་ལོ་ག་)

Note: The passage between the marks (a) and (b) seems to be the insertion (as mentioned above) by Deb-Sñon author or Kun-Rdor.

(1) Explanations and critiques

We learn from the above citation that the date of Dar-
 ma's death and his persecution of the Doctrine is stated
 (roundaboutly) to be the year, 'Iron-Bird,' but it is not
 easy to see the corresponding Christian era, because the year
 is computable in two different dates in accordance
 with interpretations of the descriptions of the CHINESE-RE-
 CORDS. If we compute it according to the basis of year by
 the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon, we obtain the year, 841
 A.D., but when we do it according to that of the Deb-Sñon
 original (or proper), 901 A.D. is obtained. (cf. for parti-

culars: chap. v.)

The reason for the different results is due to the character of the passages in this part of Deb-Sñon's CHINESE-RECORDS, which are supposed to contain some inserted paragraphs of the author of Deb-Sñon (or Kun-Rdor's commentary), as I have suggested in the NOTES above. In this supposed 'Insertion or Commentary,' the author of Deb-Sñon (or Kun-Rdor) takes the date-basis according to the Tibetan way of computation, whereas we take the basis of the Christian era converted from that of CHINESE-RECORDS (of Deb-Sñon) and apply it to the Tibetan basis. (Hence, the inconsistency arises.)

In the case of interpreting the passages in question, however, we have to follow the Tibetan basis of date and take the year of the 'Iron-Bird' for 901 A.D., because the Deb-Sñon author (or Kun-Rdor) states that "Thereby, scholars, who wish to see how many years elapsed after the destruction of the Doctrine, commence (calculation) at the time of the 'Iron-Bird year,' " and the Iron-Bird year is no other than 901 A.D., which will

be explained in the following chapter.

The author of *Deb-Sñon*, (or *Kun-Rdor*, the author of *Deb-Ddar*), is unaware of the conflict arising between the two bases of dates owing to the identity of the name of year, 'Iron-Bird' given for the bases, respectively, of the sexagenary cycles.

Further, I have to add, regarding the problem of the date of Dar-ma's death or his persecution of the Doctrine, that valuable research-data are given in the INTRODUCTION to the *BLUE ANNALS* by G. H. Roerich, (1946).

B. Bu-ston

(1) Date of Dar-ma's ascension

We may learn about the date of Dar-ma's ascension from the following statement in Bu-ston's annals, thus:

"After that, King *Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum-btsan* was entrusted with the reign, — དེ་ནས་འཚོན་པོ་མཱ་དར་མ་ལུ་དུམ་
འཚོན་ལ་ཆབ་སྲིད་གཏང་།" (f. 145-b)

In the paragraph preceding this citation, the author states that the previous king, *Ral-pa-can*, died ^{at} the age

of 36, or in the Iron-female-Bird year, 841 A.D. (cf. chap. IV, 4, B.) As Dar-ma succeeded the throne 'after that,' the date of Dar-ma's enthronement is obviously 841 A.D., for it is the traditional rule that succession to the throne is held right after the death of a king.

(2) Problem of Dar-ma's age

Regarding Dar-ma's age at the time of his enthronement, views are divided. (cf. Date table of Dar-ma, chap. IV, 6.)

Bu-ston does not mention Dar-ma's age at the time of ascension, but we may infer it roughly from the context of the description that the king was then very young. Dar-ma is said to have been one of five brothers, including Ral-pa-can, a son of King Sad-na-Legs, མདན་ལྷ་ཡིགས།. The five brothers are listed in Bu-ston's annals (f. 144-b) and Ljon-bzan (p. 151, foot notes), as follows:

<u>Bu-ston</u>	<u>Ljon-bzan</u>	
1. (ཁྱི་ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཙན་)རལ་པ་ཙན།	གཙན་མ། Gtsañ-ma	1.
(Khri-lde Sroñ-btsan) Ral-pa-can		
2. གཙན་མ། Gtsañ-ma	ལྷ་རྗེ། Lha-rje	2.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----|
| 3. མི་དམ་མ་ལུ་དུམ་འཛོལ། | ལུན་གུབ། Lhun-grub | 3. |
| Khri-Dar-ma Hu-dum tsan. | | |
| 4. ལྷ་རྗེ་ལུན་གུབ། | དམ་མ། Dar-ma | 4. |
| Lha-rje Lhun-grub | | |
| 5. མི་ཚེན་པོ། Khri-Chen-po | རལ་པ་ཙམ། Ral-pa-can | 5. |
| | | |

(cf. Date table concerning Dar-ma)

Note: No confirmation is available concerning the number and the age-order of the brothers.

(3) Date of Dar-ma's death and the persecution

This is not given in Bu-ston's annals, except that he states Dar-ma was murdered 'after a long time reign' by Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi Rdo-rje, because of his destruction of the Doctrine. (cf. ff 145.b-146.b.)

Bu-ston also refers to Dar-ma in the passage, f.152.b, thus: "As Glañ-Dar-ma destroyed the Doctrine, there was no Doctrine for some years in Dbus-Gtsañ, — ལྷ་རྗེ་ལུན་གུབ་པ་བསྐྱབས་པས། དབྱུང་གཙོང་དུ་བསྐྱབ་པ་མེད་པ་ལོ་འགག་གྱུང་། "

Bu-ston says again (on f.147.a) that "At ^{the time when} Dar-ma destroyed the Doctrine ---, དམ་མ་ལ་བསྐྱབ་པ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་དུས་སུ། "

And the statement on f. 151-b. runs thus: " Thus, without the Doctrine in Dbus-Gtsañ, 70 years elapsed, — དེ་ལྟར་དབྱུས་གཙང་དུ་བསྐྱུན་པ་མེད་པ་ལོ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ལྟར་། "

As read above, Bu-ston does not indicate the date of Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine in every case; however, we may induce from the context of the passages in places by setting down '70 years' as the basis of measuring the length of period, and also from those descriptions of other annalists who quoted them from Bu-ston's annals, and learn that the date of the persecution of the Doctrine is 901 A.D., and, at the same time, regard this date as that of Dar-ma's death.

For instance, in the passage of Deb-Sñon, quoting from Bu-ston's annals, it runs as follows: "(Bu-ston) said that in the Iron-female-Bird year (901 A. D.), the Doctrine was destroyed; after that, in the 73rd year, viz., the Water-female-Bird^o year, the Doctrine came into existence, — ལྷགས་མོ་ལྷ་ལ་བསྐྱུན་པ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་། བདུན་བརྒྱ་ལྟར་གསུམ་པ་བསྐྱུན་པ་ལྟར་གཡིན་གསུངས།" (ka, f. 27-b) The Ljon-bzañ also describes an account similar to the Deb-

Sñon. (cf. Ljon-bzañ, p. 180, or the foot note, ①.)

We have to note here Deb-Sñon's quotation, in which the phrase, "in the Iron-female-Bird year" is added to Bu-ston's text. This seems to me that it is due to the Deb-Sñon's author, who have thought it necessary to clarify the date which he gathered from a thorough examination of Bu-ston's annals. Another differenceⁱⁿ the Deb-Sñon's quotation from Bu-ston's text is that of the elapsed number of years; that is, the quotation lists "73 years" instead of "70 years." (cf. Bu-ston, f. 152-a) Perhaps the Deb-Sñon author might have thought it better to give the actual number instead of round figures, which Bu-ston estimated according to a narration of '10 Men of Dbus-Gtsañ'. (cf. chap. V, 2.)

Notes: ① 973 A.D. (This date also was added to the Bu-ston's text by Deb-Sñon.)

① དབུས་གཙང་དུ་རབ་རྩུ་བྱུ་བ་དང་ཉལ་བཞད་ཉམས་པའི་ཕྱགས་ལྷན་སྡོད་གསུམ་པ་ལ་བསྟན་པ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བུ་རྩོན་གསུངས་པ་ནི་-----॥ [Bu-ston's statement, the Doctrine came into existence in the 73rd year after the decline of priesthood and preaching in Dbus-Gtsañ, (Central Tibet), in the year of Iron-Bird. (901 AD), -----.]

C. Ljon-bzañ

It runs in the passage on p. 151,^① thus: "The elder brother of Ral-pa-can, Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum-btsan, in his reign, set up a bad law of state and destroyed the Doctrine of Dbus-Gtsañ", and also in the passage on p. 157,^② it says "Glañ-Dar-ma, who was born in the Water-Sheep year, 803 (863) A.D., became the king,* and died in the Iron-Bird year (901 A.D.). (cf. chap. V.)

Notes:

① དེའི་གཟེན་གྱི་མཛུགས་ལུ་དུམ་བཙེན་ཀུལ་མར་བསྐྱེད་ཅི་དགོ་བའི་སྲིམས་བཅའ་མཛིན་དབུས་གཙོ་བོ་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྤྱོད་པས།

② མཛུགས་ལུ་ལྷན་ཁོ་པས་ས་བདག་ཕུས་ཀྱང་ལུགས་ཕྱར་བསྐྱེད།

* 'sa-bdag, ས་བདག', Master of Land, (thence, king).

D. Hphags-pa

The author states, according to the Ljon-bzan's excerpts, that "Glañ-Dar-ma, elder brother of Ral-pa-can, who was born in the Water-Sheep year, 803 (863) A.D., was enthroned at the age of 39. He took his reign in conformity with rules for 6 months, but after 6

and half months he became a wicked king and was murdered in the Water-Dog year (902 A. D.)." (cf. Ljon-bzan, p. 154.)

— དེའི་གཟེ་བུ་ལྷིང་དར་མ་ཀུ་ལུག་ལོ་པ་མོ་དགུ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སར་
འཁོད་དེ་ལྷ་བ་རྩལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ཉལ་ཀྱང་ལྷ་ཡིད་བདུན་དུ་ཉིག་རྒྱལ་ཉལ་པས་རྒྱ་ཉི་
ལོར་བ་བཏོངས།

E. Dalai v

According to the Ljon-bzan's excerpts, Dalai v states that "The elder brother of Ral-pa-can, Glañ-Dar-ma became the king and he, with the Inner Minister, Spas-stag-sna and others, destroyed the Doctrine of Sutras (?) in Dbus, ^{of Tibet,} but before long, he was murdered by Lha-lun Dpal-Rdor, — དེའི་གཟེ་བུ་དར་མ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉལ་དེ་
བར་ལྷོ་བོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་སྒྲུབ་དང་བཅས་པས་བོད་དབུས་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཕྱོགས་བརྟུན་པ་བསྐྱབས་ཀྱང་
མི་དེའི་བར་ལྷ་ལྷུང་དཔལ་རྗེར་གྱིས་བཏོངས། (Ljon-bzan, p. 154)

Note:

① མདོ་ཕྱོགས་, mdo-phyogs, can also be interpreted as 'region or area', thus: 'the region of Dbus (-Provice) of Tibet'

F. Hjam-Dbyańs

According to the Ljon-bzañ's excerpts, (p.155),
Hjam-Dbyañs does not refer to Dar-ma. On summing
up the elapsed number of years, ^① the author terminates
the calculation at the date of Ral-pa-can's death, viz.,
the Iron-Bird year (901 A.D.). (cf. T.R. Chronological table [B])

Note:

① According to Hjam-Dbyañs, 285 years are calculated
from the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth to that of Ral-pa-can's death.

G. Bai-Dkar

It is listed in the chronological table of Bai-Dkar
(Csama's TIB. GRAMMAR, p. 183) thus: i) "From the time of
Dar-ma's birth (to 1687 A.D.), 824 years (elapsed),"^① that
is, Dar-ma was born in 863 A. D., ii) "From the time of
the disappearance of the Doctrine, 786 years (elapsed),"^②
that is, the destruction of the Doctrine took place in 901
A. D., iii) "From the time of the death of Dar-ma, 785
years (elapsed),"^③ that is, Dar-ma died in 902 A. D.

Notes:

① ལྷོ་དཔལ་མ་བཅོས་ལྷན་དུ་

② ལྷོ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཚས་བསྐྱེད་ལྷན་པ་

③ ལྷོ་དཔལ་བསྐྱེད་ལྷན་པ་

H. T'ang-Shu (T'ang History), and
Tzū-chi-T'ung-chien

(1) Chiu-T'ang-Shu (Old T'ang History, 舊唐書.)

No account of Dar-ma, or ཇམ་མཚོ།, Tha-mo, is given in the Old T'ang History. But we have to note that there is a problem concerning the paragraph of vol. 146 B, f. 16-a, which runs thus: "In the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, 842 A. D., (the) tsan-pu (or Tibetan king) died. In the 12th month (of the year), Lun-tsan and others (envoys) arrived with the intelligence of the king's death. (The Emperor) sent Li-ching to console and offer homage."
[會昌二年贊普卒十二月遣論贊等來告哀詔以將作少監李璟弔祭之]

Most of the modern scholars, as well as some Chinese historians in early days seem to take 'tsan-pu' for Dar-ma, although there is no description about Dar-ma in the Old T'ang History. The Old T'ang History does not clarify the name of 'tsan-pu', but this Tibetan king is identifiable with Ral-pa-can from the description of the events of the Tibeto-T'ang Peace Treaty in the

Old T'ang History. Contrary to this, no ground is found in the History for the view to take the king ('tsan-pu') for Dar-ma. The date, 842 A. D., of Rat-pa-can's death mentioned in the Old T'ang History almost corresponds to the date, 841 A. D., which is stated in Bu-ston's annals (Cf. article, B, above)

(2) Hsin-T'ang-Shu (New T'ang History, 新唐書)

In vol. 141 B, f. 7-a, the paragraph runs as follows:
“(The) tsan-pu, during his reign of nearly 30 years, was sick and unable to administer the state affairs, and trusted them to the ministers; therefore, he was not able to resist China, so that the frontier guards remained peaceful. He died, (and) his younger brother, Tha-mo, 達磨, succeeded (the throne). Tha-mo was fond of wine, loved hunting, devoted to women, and, besides, cruel, tyrannical and ungracious. The administration increasingly corrupted. In the 4th year of Kai-chen, 839 A. D., Li-chin-ju was despatched to Tibet (by the Emperor), and Tibet sent Lun-ch'i-je to court with

offerings of articles of jade, sheep and horses.
In the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, 842 A. D., (the) Tsan-pu
died. Lun-tsan-je with others came^① and informed
of it. The Emperor sent Li-ching to console and offer
homage"

Notes:

① The Old Tang History dates (the arrival of envoys) by '12th month (of the year)' [cf. the preceding article, (1).]

② 新唐書列傳 141 卷吐蕃下, 7-a

“贊普立幾三十年病不事委大臣故不能抗中國邊
候晏然死以弟達磨嗣達磨嗜酒好畋獵喜內且凶
懷少恩政益亂成四年遣太子詹事李景儒往使吐
蕃以論集熟來朝獻玉器羊馬-----會昌二年贊
普死論贊熟等來告天子命將作監李璟吊祠”

(3) Explanations and critiques

First, we should note that the underlined passage in the above citation is the account in the old Tang-History incorporated into the New Tang History, and, accordingly, that it is what was related of the king, Ral-pa-can. There-

fore, 'tsan-pu', who died in the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, 842 A.D., should be ascribed to the king, Ral-pa-can. [cf. the preceding item, (11)]

Second, most scholars take 'tsan-pu' for Dar-ma, no matter whether it is mentioned in the Old T'ang History or in the New T'ang History, but such a view as that, I believe, has no firm ground to prove its validity. I will give theoretical reasons why 'tsan-pu' must be the king, Ral-pa-can, although 'tsan-pu' can be identified with Ral-pa-can from the contexts of the passages in ^{both} the Old T'ang History and the New T'ang History.

The word "nearly" in the beginning of the above citation, "(This) tsan-pu, during his reign of nearly 30 years" is written with the character, ~~近~~. This character means, in this phrase, 'before reaching, closely, nearly, or less.' So the actual number of years, in this case of 30 years, must be 'less than 30'

Now, I trace the date of the ascension of 'tsan-pu' through the contexts of paragraphs preceding the above citation, I am able to discover that it is 'the 12th year of

Yüan-ho, 元和十二年, corresponding to 817 A.D. If I presume that 'tsan-pu' took his reign for just 30 years, the date of his death would fall upon 846 A.D. This date, 846 A.D., proves obviously that '30' is not the actual number of years, being 4 years later than '842 A.D.' Then if I want a number which falls upon 842 A.D., I must select '26'. Therefore the number of years indicated by "nearly 30 years" should actually be "26 years". (However, according to other historical materials, such as Tsü-chih-Tung-chien and Rdo-riñs Inscription, the numbers, 27 and 28, can be obtained, respectively, for the duration of the reign of 'tsan-pu'. If then the said number of "nearly 30" can be indicated by 27 or 28 (besides 26); but, in this case, 26 should be taken in view of the problem stated in the New T'ang History.)

Now, by thus interpreting the passage given above, I can confirm that 'tsan-pu', who was enthroned in 817 A.D., remained in his throne for 26 years, and, accordingly, that the time of his death

falls upon 842 A.D., just as recorded in the New T'ang History. Therefore, the said 'tsan-pu' who died in 842 A.D., or the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, is none other than Kha-li-kha-chu, 可黎可足, namely, Ral-pa-can, རལ་པ་ཅན།. For this reason 842 A.D. should not be ascribed to Tho-mo, 達磨, or Dar-ma, དར་མ།, in any of his accounts of death in the T'ang histories.

In short, with reference to Dar-ma, i) the record is entirely absent from the Old T'ang History, ii) though the New T'ang History touches on Dar-ma, it does not clarify the date of his death eventually.

Addendum: Properly speaking, the compilation of the records regarding Ral-pa-can and Dar-ma. in the New-T'ang History is so intricate (or somewhat confused) that readers are apt to misinterpret one event for another. This is why we should be very cautious when we quote from that text.

(4) Tzū-chih T'ung-chien, 資治通鑑

Volume 247, ff. 36.b-37.a runs, as follows:

" In the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, 842 A.D., ---- the 12th month^[?] of that year, Tibet sent the envoy, Lun-pu-je, to court with the intelligence of the death of Dar-ma tsan-pu^v,
會昌二年----丁卯吐蕃遣其臣論普熱來告達磨之喪。

The annals states definitely that 'tsan-pu', who died in 842 A.D., is King Dar-ma. The compilers of the annals, Tzū-chih-Tung-chien, in their NOTES, cite the different views in this respect from various 'authentic' chronicles and give some brief critiques. They say that 'tsan-pu' who died in this year (842 A.D.) is Dar-ma; it is not proper to say that Skyi-rtag Tsan-pu, 彝泰贊普 (i.e., Ral-pa-can) was in his reign for 'about 30 years'; even if he was in his reign for 27 years, the date (of his death) would fall on 842 A.D. (It is noted that) Skyi-rtag Tsan-pu (Ral-pa-can) took his reign (or ascended the throne) in the 11th year of Yün-ho, 元和十一年, 816 A.D., and died in the 3rd year of Kai-ch'eng, 開成三年, 838 A.D.; therefore, the view that holds Ral-pa-can died in 842 A.D. is a mistaking of Dar-ma for Ral-pa-can.

However, we should say that this view of Tzū-chih-

T'ung-chien is incorrect, because the tsan-pu who died in the year, 842 A.D. has been proven to be Ral-pa-can, but not Dar-ma. (Cf. Preceding sec. 1 - Explanations & critiques)

(5) Remark: The relation between Tibet and China (T'ang) in the latter part of the 9th century.

The CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-sñon (ka, f. 25-6) runs as follows: "In the year of the Iron-male-Dragon, 860 A.D., (King) Ghi-dsuñ, 懿宗, the eldest son (of Hwan [?] - dsuñ, 宣帝) was enthroned. From the time on, the relations between Tibet (and T'ang) have been dissociated." ①

It is conjectured by the above statement that the accounts of Dar-ma's death in 901 A.D. are supposed to have been spread vaguely in China. It was the period approaching the downfall of the T'ang dynasty.

The total absence of the accounts of Dar-ma in the Old T'ang History, and the confused description in the New T'ang History might probably be due to the circumstance as mentioned in the above citation.

Note:

① ལྷན་མོ་འབྲུག་ལ་ (in 860 A.D) དེའི་བྱ་རྩེ་གི་ལྷན་མོ་ལ་ དེའི་ཕྱི་
ཚད་མོད་དང་འབྲུག་ལ་ཚད། (ལ་ f. 25. 6) * ལྷན་(?) ལྷན་(?) ལྷན་(?) ལྷན་(?)

CHAPTER V

Investigation of Elapsed number of years (stated in Tibetan chronicles)

The Tibetan Buddhist Annals or Chos-byun, རྩེ་ལྷན་མོ་, refer occasionally to the 'elapsed number of years' that were computed with the dates regarded most reliable by the annalists. The bases of computations set down by them offer us data by which we are able to determine the correct dates on one hand, and, on the other, discover the causes of discrepancies in dating events and then adjust confusions thereby. I will now examine them by the following annals. (Note that the parenthesized date, (629), (881), etc., are those that were supposed to be calculated by the annalist concerned.)

1. Deb-Sñon

A. Elapsed years from Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po to Jo-bo Atiṣa

Deb-Sñon, Kha, f. 5-a., runs as follows: " In the Iron-female-Ox year, 821 (881) A.D., when 252 years elapsed from the time of birth of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, 569 (629) A.D., King Ral-pa-can concluded the Peace Treaty with China.^① In the following year, the Water-male-Tiger, 822 (882) A.D.,^② Rdo-rins of Lhasa was erected. In the Fire-male-Dragon year, 836 (896) A.D., the 15th year from the Water-Tiger year (above), Ral-pa-can died. From that year to the Iron-female-Bird year, 841 (901) A.D.,^③ Dar-ma remained in his reign and destroyed the Superlative Doctrine. The 77th year from the Iron-Bird year (above) of the destruction of the Doctrine is the Fire-female-Ox year, (977 A.D.). From the following year of the Earth-male-Tiger, (978 A.D.),^④ to the year of Iron-Serpent, (1041 A.D.), which precedes the Water-male-Horse, (1042 A.D.), of Jo-bo Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet, 64 years elapsed. During those years the '6 men of

Dbus-Gtsaṅ'^① greatly spread the Superlative Doctrine. At the time when Jo-bo Atiṣa arrived in Tibet, there lived Khu and Rṅog, the disciples of the '6 Men' and many others. Having been thus, there elapsed 413 years after Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po was born (in 569 (629) A.D.). In the Water-male-Horse, (1042 A.D.), when 141 years elapsed since the Iron-Bird year of the Doctrine-Disappearance, Jo-bo (Atiṣa) came to Tibet."

Notes:

- ① cf. chap. IV, 5.
- ② This date should be 823 A.D., Water-female-Hare year. (cf. Rdo-riṅs Inscription, chap. IV, 5.)
- ③ This date is in question for the time being.
- ④ The time of the Restoration of the Doctrine, or Bstan-pa Phyi-dar.
- ⑤ Bu-ston and Ljon-bzaṅ state as "10 Men of Dbus-Gtsaṅ."
- ⑥ Deb-sṅon, Kha, f. 5-a, (དེལ་ལྷིང་) ལྷོང་བཅོམ་ ལྷོང་མེ་ལུང་ལ་བས་

ལོ་ཉིལ་བུ་དང་ལྷ་བུ་ཅུ་གཉིས་འདས་པ་ ལྷོང་མེ་ལུང་གི་ལོ་ལ་ ལྷོང་མེ་རལ་པ་ཅན་
ཉིལ་ལྷོང་དང་དུམ་མའོད། དེའི་ལྷོང་ལྷོང་གི་ལོ་ ལྷོང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་དང་ལྷོང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གི་
ལོ་བུ་ལྷ་པ་མེ་མོ་ལྷོང་ལོ་རལ་པ་ཅན་གཤམ་གསུམ་ ལོ་རྒྱུ་དང་ལྷོང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གི་ལོ་

དཔལ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉལ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་བརྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས། བརྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས་པའི
 ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ནུབ་ལོ་བཟུང་བཟུང་ཕྱི་ལོ་བཟུང་བཟུང་ལོ་མེ་མོ་སྐང་ཡིན། དེ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ས་མོ་རྟུག་ནུབ་
 རོ་མོ་མོད་དུ་ཚུ་མོ་རྟུག་ལོ་མེ་མོ་ལོ་མེ་མོ་ལོ་མེ་མོ་ལོ་མེ་མོ་ལོ་མེ་མོ་ལོ་མེ་མོ་
 ཡོད། ལོ་དེ་དག་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་དབུས་གཙོ་མོ་མི་དུག་གིས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་བརྟན་པ་ཉིན་
 ཏུ་དར་བར་མཛད། རོ་མོ་མོད་དུ་ཕེབས་དུས་མི་དུག་པོའི་སློབ་མ་ཁྱེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་
 དུ་བཞུགས་སོ། དེ་ལྟར་བ་སྐྱོང་བའི་ལུང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་སྐྱོང་
 བརྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ནུབ་ལོ་བཟུང་བཟུང་ཕྱི་ལོ་བཟུང་བཟུང་ལོ་མེ་མོ་
 མོ་རྟུག་ལོ་མེ་མོ་མོད་དུ་ཕེབས།

(1) Explanations and Critiques

We learn from the above that the time of Sroñ-btsan's birth, Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine, and Atiça's arrival in Tibet are, respectively, taken by the Deb-sñon author for the bases of computing the number of elapsed years. With the bases, we calculate 273 years, (viz., 252, 15 and 6 years), for the length of periods between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's death (and his persecution of the Doctrine),^① and 141 years, (viz., 77 and 64 years), between Dar-ma's death (and his persecution of the Doctrine), and Atiça's arrival in Tibet, or 413 straight

years, [viz, 273, 141, (minus 1 year)], between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet.

Among these bases, the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth (569 A.D.) has been established already (chap. IV, 1.), and that of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet is definitely acknowledged as 1042 A.D. by examinations to be given later (in article 3, B.), but that of Dar-ma's death (and his persecution of the Doctrine) is not yet fixed, whether it is to be 841 or 901 A.D., and it is the most difficult subject to solve the problem in the present study. One of the reasons of difficulty may be shown by the explanation given below:

First, we test 841 A.D. as a basic year, according to the above citation, in which it states that the elapsed years between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's ^{death} (and 'persecution') are 273; then we obtain 569 A.D., which accords with the established date of Sroñ-btsan's birth. We test further, according to the above citation, in which it states that the elapsed years between Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution') and Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet are 141; then we obtain 982 A.D., which conflicts with the established date of 1042 A.D.

(of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet). Consequently the number of 413 straight years, which is mentioned in the above citation, is calculated as the period between Sroñ-btsan's birth (569 A.D.) and an unnamed event (982 A.D.) in this case of test. (When the dates of Sroñ-btsan and Atiṣa are correctly taken, the number of 473 straight years is to be calculated. (569-1042 A.D.))

Second, we test 901 A.D. likewise, then we see that Sroñ-btsan's date of birth falls on 629 A.D., instead of the correct date of 569 A.D.; but Atiṣa's date of arrival in Tibet duly falls on 1042 A.D.; and, consequently, the number of 413 years is calculated just as shown in the above citation.

Thus, the result of the above tests discloses to be nothing but puzzling to us; however, we are able to assert that the author of Deb-Sñon takes three relative forms of bases for computing the lapse of periods as follows:

Form 1, "273 years" for the length of lapse between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution'),"

Form 2, "141 years" for the length of lapse between "Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution') and Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet,"

Form 3, "413 years" for the whole length of lapse between "Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution')."

Regarding the problem of the discrepancy existing in Deb-Sñon's way of taking the bases of periods, it will be solved with the determination of the date of Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution'), and that of his enthronement, the particulars of which are given in chapters VI and VII.

Note:

① The date of Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine of Buddhism and that of his death are generally treated to be contemporaneous, except the case specially remarked. The event of "Destruction of the Doctrine" is expressed, ^{sometimes} by a phrase, "Disappearance of the Doctrine", or "Persecution of the Doctrine." It is usually read in Tibetan texts as འཇམ་པེ་བསུམ་པོ།, bstan-pa-bsnubs.

B. Period of 'Later Spread of the Doctrine'

In the "Supplementary" descriptions that are given

by the Deb-sñon author following the citations of the CHINESE-RECORDS and MONGOL-CHRONICLES, the author quotes a paragraph from Bu-ston's annals (ff. 151-b, 152-a), and also adopts Hrom-ston-pa's view, and states as follows:

"Bu-ston Rin-po-che said, basing it on an old woman's talk,^① that the Doctrine came into existence (restored) in the 73rd^② year, i.e., the Water-female-Bird year, (973 A.D.), after the Iron-female-Bird year, (901 A.D.), when the Doctrine was destroyed, and also, Hbrom-ston-pa,^③ who is well versed in the Buddhist chronicles, said that 'it came into existence in the 78th year, i.e., the Earth-male-Tiger, (978 A.D.). In the 65th year, i.e., the Water-male-Horse, (1042 A.D.), after that Earth-male-Tiger (above), Atiṣa came to Tibet. At that time there lived Sum-pa Ye-ṣes Blo-gros, one of the so-called '6 Men of Dbus-Gtsañ.'" (Ka, f. 27-b)^④

Notes:

① cf. Bu-ston annals, f. 152 a

② Bu-ston says, "After the lapse of 70 years," but not "73rd year" and also he gives no date of the sexagenary-cycle year for that period.

③ Well-known saint, being a disciple, and afterwards the successor of 'the sect of Atiṣa', who contributed greatly to the restoration of the Doctrine, (བསྟན་པ་ལྗེ་དཔལ་), 'Later Spread of the Doctrine?'

④ བུ་ལྷོ་བོ་རི་པོ་ཆེན་ཀློག་མོ་ལྷིག་གི་ངག་གི་མཛུགས་སུ་འབྲངས་ནས་ལྷགས་མོ་
ཉལ་བསྟན་པ་བསྟན་པ་ནས། བདུན་བཅུ་ཚུ་གསུམ་པ་རྒྱ་མོ་ཉལ་བསྟན་པ་ཉལ་བ་ཡིན་གསུངས་ལ།
བསྟན་པ་འདི་རབས་ལ་ལོ་བུ་དུ་མཁས་པ་འབྲོམ་ལྷོ་བོ་པའི་ཞལ་ནས། བདུན་བཅུ་ཚུ་བརྒྱུད་པ་སོ་དྲུག་
ལ་ཉལ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་དོ། ས་མོ་དྲུག་དེ་ནས་ལོ་དྲུག་བཅུ་ཚུ་རྒྱ་པ་རྒྱ་མོ་རྒྱ་ལ་ཡ་ཉི་ལ་འོད་དུ་ལྷོ་བོ་
དེ་འོ་ཆོ་བ་དབུས་གཙང་མི་དྲུག་དུ་གསལ་པ་ལས་སུམ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སློབ་གྲོས་བཞུགས་ཡིད་ཀྱང་།

Explanation:

According to the above citation, the Restoration of the Doctrine started at the 73rd or 78th year after the Persecution of the Doctrine (901 A.D.). And then, in the 65th year (1042 A.D) after that, Atiṣa arrived in Tibet. By this way of computing the years, we are able to learn that, i) the date of Persecution of the Doctrine is the year, 901 A.D., ii) that of the beginning of the Restoration is 978 A.D., (acc. to Hbrom.), and iii) the elapsed periods between the time of Persecution and Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet are calculated as 141 years. As the date of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet has been fixed to be 1042 A.D., both 901 A.D. and 978 A.D. may be regarded as the correct date, as

far as the calculation of the lapse of 141 years is carried out correctly.

C. Dates of Lo-chen and Bla-chen

(1) Lo-chen, or Lo-chen Rin-chen Bzañ-po, ལོ་ཚེན་རིན་ཅན་པོ་
འཇམ་གྲོ།, is the saint who lived in West Tibet and contributed
to the Restoration of the Doctrine. His date is stated as follows:

"After 329 years elapsed since the time when Sroñ-btsan
was born, 569 (629) A.D.,^① Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen Bzañ-po was
born in the Earth-male-Horse year, (958 A.D.). When he was
13 years old, he was initiated into novicehood^② by MKhan-po
(tutor) Ye-ḡes Bzañ-po, as so said in his biography by Khri-thañ-
Dsñana; if then, the year when Lo-tsā-ba became novice^③
is the 70th year from the Iron-Bird (901 A.D.),^④ when the Doctrine
was destroyed. When Lo-tsā-ba was 85 years old, Jo-bo-
Rje (Atiṣa) came to Tibet, (1042 A.D.)." - Kha, f.3.b.^⑤

Notes:

① The date, 629 A.D. is computed at the basis of year,
1042 A.D. of Atiṣa's time of arrival in Tibet, according to Deb-
Snon's way of calculation.

② and ③ The words mean 'initiated into monkhood or priesthood in youth' — about 13 years of age.

④ The date, 901 A.D., is, also, obtainable, likewise with the above note, ①

⑤ མྱེང་བཙུན་ལའབྲུངས་ནས་ལོ་ལྔམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉེ་ལུ་རྩ་དགུ་ལདས་པ་ས་མོ་རྩའི་ལོ་
ལ་ལོ་རྩ་བ་རེལ་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ལའབྲུངས། མྱེང་གིས་ལོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་བཞེས་པའི་ཚེ་མཁན་པོ་ལ་
ལེས་བཟང་པོ་ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ཞེས་པ་ག། མི་མང་རྣམས་བཞེད་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་བའ་ལདུག་
དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ལོ་རྩ་བ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་དེ། (བཟླ་བ་པ་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་དབུས་གཙང་ལས་མངའ་རིས་ཧཱ་འར་མང་བའོ།)
ལོ་རྩ་བས་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་རྩ་ལྔ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་རྩ་བེ་རྩེ་(མཁེ་ལ)པོ་ད་དུ་རྩེ་བ།

(2) Bla-chen, or Bla-chen Dgoñs-pa Rab-gsal, ལྷ་ཆེན་
དགོངས་པ་རབ་གསལ།, is the saint who lived in Mdo-smad, མདོ་སྐད།, or
Amdo, N.E. Tibet, and contributed greatly to the Restoration of
the Doctrine. His dates are stated as follows:

"(He) was born in the Water-male-Mouse, (892 A.D.), in a
peaceful land of Tsoñ-Kha (in Amdo), — མྱེང་ཁ་བདེ་ཁམས་སུ་རྒྱ་མོ་བྱི་ལ་སུ་
ལའབྲུངས་ཉེ་གོ།" — Kha, f 1. a. And also, "Bla-chen, when he was
49 years old (940 A.D.), went to Dan-tig (a place in N.E. Tibet),
and lived there for 35 years. At his 84th year of age, (i.e.)
in the Tree-male-Hog year, (975 A.D.), (he) passed away to

the 'Happy Land of Heaven'. This Tree-Hog year is the 75th year since the Iron-Bird year, (901 A.D.),* when the Doctrine was destroyed." - Kha, f. 3-a. ① (cf. article 3, Ljon-bzan, E.)

Note:

① ལྷ་ཆེན་པོས་ལོ་བཞི་བར་ཚ་དགུ་ལ་དབ་ཉིག་ཏུ་ཉེ་བའི་ལོ་སྐུམ་འདུ་རྩ་ལྷ་དབ་ཉིག་ཏུ་བཞུགས། འཇུད་འདུ་རྩ་བཞི་པ་ལོང་པོ་ཡག་གི་ལོ་ལ་དགའ་ལྷན་ཏུ་གཞུགས། ལོང་ལྷ་འདྲི་བཞུག་པ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ལྷགས་ལྷ་ནས་བདུན་འདུ་རྩ་ལྷ་པ་ཡིན།*

** Here, too, 901 A.D. is reckoned for the date of Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine.

D. Date of Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug

The saint Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug, ལྷ་བམ་རྗེ་འཇུག་པོ།, being a disciple of Klu-mes, ② (who is said to be one of the '6 Men of Dbus-Gtsañ,') is the founder of Rgyal-Lha-khañ, རྒྱལ་ལྷ་ཁང་། ③ The dates regarding the saint indicate an accurate lapse between the time of Persecution of the Doctrine and Atisa's arrival in Tibet. According to the passages, Kha, ff. 11-b, 12-a, "the Rgyal-Lha-khañ ---- was established by Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug (1012 A.D.) ---- (he) was born in the Fire-male-Mouse year (976 A.D.) ---- He was initiated into monkhood by

Klu-me at the age of 18 (993 A.D.). This is the 937th year since the Iron-Bird (901 A.D.) of Dar-ma's time." ④ — ལྷ་བུ་མ་དོ་ཇི་དཔང་ཕྱག་གིས་བཏབ་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ་-----མེ་ལོ་བྱི་ལ་འབྱུང་སུ་-----ལོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། ལོ་དེ་སྐང་དཔང་མའི་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་བས་དགུ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་གསུམ་པ་ཡིན།།

According also to Kha, f. 13-b, "In the Water-male-Horse (1042 A.D.) when Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug was 67 years old, Jo-bo (Atiṣa) arrived in Mñah-ris (W. Tibet)," — ལྷ་བུ་མ་དོ་ཇི་དཔང་ཕྱག་གིས་དུག་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བདུན་བཞེས་པ་རྒྱ་ལོ་རྩ་ལ་དོ་བོ་ཇི་མངའ་རྩེས་སུ་ཡེབས།། — "he died in the year of Iron-male-Mouse (1060 A.D.) at the age of 85," — རང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་རྩ་ལྔ་ལྷ་ཕྱགས་ལོ་བྱི་ལ་གཤེགས།།

Notes:

- ① cf. Deb-Sñon, Kha, ff. 11-b, 12-a.
- ② *Klu-me*, a saint who contributed to the Restoration of the Doctrine. (cf. Kha, f. 2-b)
- ③ At the age of 37 (1012 A.D.) he erected Rgyal-Lha-Khañ, near Lhasa (T).
- ④ The date of Dar-ma's persecution of the Doctrine is

immediately and clearly pointed out by the author of Deb-sñon to be the year of Iron-Bird of 901 A.D. (cf. also preceding article, C, including the NOTES, ① & ②) The dates, 976 and 993 A.D., duly connected with the fixed date of 1042 A.D., the time of Atiṣa's

arrival in Tibet, as far as the accounts of Sna-nam-Rdo-rje are concerned. The author describes further the dates concerning the Rgyal Lha-khañ, and confirms that those dates exactly approach the time of the compilation of the annals, Deb-Sñon, 1476 A.D. (cf Kha. f. 13-b)

E. Dates regarding the compilation of Deb-ther Sñon-po

- (1) The time when Deb-Sñon was (being) written by the author

The author of Deb-Sñon says, in his 'insertion' to the ROYAL CHRONICLES OF THE TREE COUNTRIES, which he quoted from Kun-dgañ Rdo-rje's annals, as follows:
[Since the year of Earth-male-Ape (1368 A.D.), the Great Minñ King, (明太祖), occupied his throne.] "From that Earth-male-Ape year to the commencement of the present-time Fire-male-Ape year (1467 A.D.), 108 years elapsed." ① (Ka, f. 27-a)

And again on Kha, f. 3-b (Deb-sñon original or its proper),
" Since the time when the Buddhist king, Sroñ-tsan Sgam-po was born in the Earth-female-Ox, 569 (629) A.D., down to

the time of the writing* of this book, (Deb-ther Sñon-po), (viz.,),
the Fire-male - Ape year (1476 A.D.), 848 years elapsed^②.”

By these statements, the time of the compilation of the annals of Deb-ther Sñon-po is clarified very accurately. Regarding the lapse of 108 years (above), the author gives the detailed accounts of calculations in the paragraphs succeeding the part of the above citation from Ka, f.27-a. So the date, 1476 A.D., is to be regarded correct in its computation. The Deb-Sñon author^{calculates} here, too, the date of Sron-btsan's birth to be 629 A.D., because, when the number, 848 is calculated back from 1476 A.D., the year, 629 A.D. is obtained, which, however, conflicts with the correct date, 569 A.D. This inconsistency is due to the miscalculation of the period between Sron-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's persecution of the Doctrine (and his death).

Notes :

① [མ་ཙཱ་སྤྱེད་དེ་བཅས་ཏའི་མེད་ཀྱལ་པོས་ཀྱལ་ས་ལྷས།] “ མ་ཙཱ་སྤྱེད་དེ་བཅས་
དེང་མང་གི་མེ་སྤྱེད་ ༡༣ བ་བ་ལོ་ཀྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་མེད་བ་ཡི་བ་ལོ། ” (༧ མེ)

② ཚོས་ཀྱལ་སྤང་བཅོམ་ལྷན་པོ་ས་མོ་སྤང་ལ་འབྱུངས་བཅས་ཡི་གེ་འདི་བཞུགས་པའི་
མེ་ཙཱ་སྤྱེད་ ཡན་ཆད་དུ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད་དང་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་འདས་མོ། (༧ མེ)

* This is read in the text as “(when) this writing was done”

(2) Date of the completion of Deb-Sñon

The exact date of the completion of the annals of Deb-sñon is found in the epilogue of the book, as follows:

"In the Earth-male-Dog year (1478 A.D.) that falls upon the 850th year since the time when the Buddhist king, Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, was born, 569 (629) A.D., at Chos-Dsoñ (name of place s.w. to Lhasa), which lies amidst the most auspicious, vernal site affording bright happiness with the incessant natural nector of the Divine Law, the saint, who preaches the Buddha-Law, called Gshon-nu-Dpal composed this book himself," —Ba, f. 14-a —

ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཀུལ་པོ་སྤོང་བཅའ་
སྐམ་པོ་འབྲུངས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད་ལྔ་བརྒྱུ་ལ་བབ་ལས་པོ་བྱིས་ལ། དཔལ་གུ་ཉ་ཏུ་བཟང་
པོའི་ནགས་འདབ་རང་ཕྱང་འདུད་རྩི་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བའི་ཚེས་རྗེས་དུ་ཚེས་སྐྱེ་
བའི་བརྒྱུན་པ་གཞོན་ཀུ་དཔལ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་བཏུ་བར་སྐྱུར་བའོ།།

Explanation:

1478 A.D., the Earth-male-Dog year, viz., the date of the completion of the work by the author, is immediately computable from the date that was previously mentioned by 1476 A.D., the Fire-male-Ape year. (cf. Appendix, sexagenary cycle.)
When this year, 1478 A.D., is calculated backwards with the

'850 years' (above) to the time of Sroñ-btsan's birth, the date, 629 A. D., is obtainable.

The author of Deb-Sñon always takes the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth to be the year of the Earth-female-Ox, corresponding to 629 A. D., as we observed everywhere in the Deb-Sñon proper (except the section of citation from the CHINESE-RECORDS), and it has been confirmed here finally with the epilogue at the end of the work, Deb-ther Sñon-po.

By the way, if we want to see the date of Dar-ma's death and his persecution of the Doctrine according to the date of completion, 1478 A. D., viz., with 629 A. D. as the basic date, we calculate '273 years'^① down to the date of Dar-ma's death (and the persecution), then we obtain 901 A. D.

Note:

① cf. article 1, A of this chapter, or the comparative table B, of chap. III.

2. Bu-ston

The author does not much refer to the computation for the number of the elapsed years between periods. The following is the only description concerning the period

of the Destruction of the Doctrine by Glañ-Dar-ma. It runs as follows: " Having been thus, after the lapse of 70 ^① years without the Doctrine in Dbus-Gtsañ, the Doctrine was established (restored) by '10 Men of Dbus-Gtsañ.' When '10 Men' came (returned) to Dbus, an old woman told (them), 'When I was 6 years old, I saw priest(s)', so said she. (When) asked, 'How old are you, now?', she replied, '76 years old.' (From this talk, 70 years was estimated)," — ff. 151.b, 152.a—

དེ་ལྟར་ དབུས་གཙང་དུ་བསྟན་པ་མེད་པ་ལོ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ དབུས་གཙང་གི་མི་བརྒྱ་བསྟན་པ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་པ་ཡི་བྱ་རྟེ། མི་བརྒྱ་དབུས་སུ་ཕྱོག་ཙ་ན། རྒྱ་མོ་ལྷིག་པ་རེ། ལ་ལོ་དུག་ལོན་པ་ན་བརྒྱ་པ་མཚོང་བེར། ད་མི་ཙ་མ་ལོན་དེས་པས། བདུན་བརྒྱ་དོན་དུག་བེར་བས་སོ།།

Note:

① This lapse of years is cited as '73 years' by Deb-Sñon, ka, f. 27-b, and Ljon-bzañ, p. 180. (cf. chap. IV.)

The above description by Bu-ston gives no immediate indication of the date connecting 70 years with other dates of events, except that of our deduction from the contexts of passages in places in this annals. (cf. chap. IV, 6, B.)

3. Ljon-bzañ

A. Lapse of years or dates between Sroñ-btsan and Atiṣa

The description on p 191 runs as follows: "When there elapsed 413 years since the year of Earth-Ox of Sroñ-btsan, or 141 years after the Disappearance of the Doctrine, being the time of (the king,) Hod-lde, Jo-bo (Atiṣa) arrived in Tibet in the Water-Horse year, (1042 A. D.)," — མོང་འཛོལ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ནས་

ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་དང་། བཟུང་པ་སྤྱི་བཟོན་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཞེ་གཅིག་འདས་ཚེ་རྗེ་ལོ་ལྔ་ (ལ་ཏི་ལ་) རྒྱ་རྩ་ལ་མོད་དུ་ཕྱིན།

Setting the basis of date on the established year, 1042 A. D., when we compute the above mentioned periods, we obtain the date, 629 A. D., for Sroñ-btsan (birth), and, 901 A. D., for Dar-ma's persecution of the Doctrine. In this respect, Ljon-bzañ hold the same view with the Deb-sñon. (cf. article 1, A.)

B. Dates of Jo-bo Atiṣa

(1) Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet

We read on page 103 thus: "In the Water-Horse year^① of the last section of the duration of Me-mkha-rgya-mtsho,^②

he (Atiṣa) was born in Za-hor country of eastern India.”^③

And also on p. 185, “ when he was 59 year old, he started from India, stayed in Nepal for one year and arrived in Mñāk-ris of Tibet in the (following) Water-Horse year, (1042 A. D.).^④

Notes:

① This year corresponds to 982 A.D. According to the foot notes, Introduction XVIII of BLUE ANNALS by G.N. Roerich, “Atiṣa was a contemporary of King Naya-pāla of The Pāla dynasty (c. 1040-1055 A.D.)....”

② Name of the era ‘commencing with the time when Muhammadans entered Mecca, and ending in the year previous to the beginning of the Rab-byuñ era.’ (cf. Bai-Dkhar's Chronological table) The Me-mkhah-gya-mtsho era lasted for 403 years. The origin of the name of the era can be learnt from S. C. Das's TIBETAN GRAMMAR.

③ མེ་མཁའ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཇུག་གི་རྒྱ་རྩ་ ལ་ རྒྱ་གར་ལྟར་ཕྱོགས་ཟེ་རྩེར་..... དུ་འབྲུངས།

④ ང་དགུའི་དུས་སུ་..... རྒྱ་གར་ནས་..... ཐོ་བོ་ནས་ བལ་པོར་..... ལོ་གཅིག་བརྒྱུགས་.....

རྒྱ་རྩ་ལ་ བོད་ཀྱི་ མངའ་རིས་སུ་..... འཕྱེར།

(2) Atiṣa's date linked with the Rab-byuñ era through the time of Hbrom-ston-pa, (འཕྲོམ་སྟོན་པ།).

It is stated on p. 199 of *Ljon-bzan* that "Hbrom^① was born in the Tree-Dragon year, (1004 A.D.), preceding by 23 years the time of the establishment of the Rab-byun^② era"

Again, (on p. 191), it states that "Hbrom was 39 years old at the time of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet, (1042 A.D)." ^③

The Rab-byun era commences with the year, 1027 A.D. (cf. Chap. II) The year to be reckoned back from 1027 A.D. by 23 years is 1004 A.D.; which is said to be the date of Hbrom's birth, and the time when he was 39 years old falls upon the year, 1042 A.D., the date of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet. Thus the date, 1042 A.D., is connected with the Rab-byun era.

Notes:

① cf. Chap. V, 1, B. Hbrom-ston-pa

② རབ་བྱུང་མ་རྒྱུགས་གོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུར་གསུམ་པ་ལོར་འགྲུག་ལ་འབྱུངས།

③ རྗེ་མོ་ཤེངས་ལོར་འཕྲོམ་མོ་དགུ་ (p. 191, ལྷོ་མཚན་ *Ljon-bzan*)

[ལོ་རྒྱུར་གསུམ་པ་ལོར་རྗེ་མོ་ཤེངས་ལོར་དང་མཇུག་ (p. 199, *Ljon-bzan*), He met

Atiṣa when he was 41 years old, being the year, 1044 A.D.]

(3) Atiṣa's time in relation to Tsoñ-kha-pa's time of birth

It is excerpted from the passages of Ljon-bzañ, pp. 185 and 210, that Atiṣa was born in the Water-Horse year (982 A.D.), and came to Tibet in the following Water-Horse year (1042 A.D.),^① and stayed at Sñe-thañ (S.W. to Lhasa) in the Fire-Hog year, (1047 A.D.), when he was 66 years old. The time that elapsed, 310 years^② from 1047 A.D., falls upon the birth-date of Tsoñ-kha-pa, viz., 1357 A.D., the year of which is called Hima-Lambha in Sanskrit, Gser-h'phyañ, གསེར་འཕྱང་ (in Tibetan), Tiñ-yiku, 丁酉, in Chinese, being the year of Fire-Bird of the 6th Rab-byuñ.^③

By this way of computation, also, the date of 1042 A.D. can be proven to be correct, because the year, 1357 A.D., is the recognized date for the time of Tsoñ-kha-pa's birth.

Notes:

① cf. the previous item, (1) [chap. v. 3. 8.]

② The calculation of '310 years' is not given in the description.

③ མེ་ཡག་ལོའི་མཇུག་དུ་ (1047 A.D.) ལྷོ་ཐང་གི་སྤྱིད་ཆུའི་འགྲམ་ན་ (at the place near the river, Skyid-chu), རྩ་སོ་བཞུགས་ཏུ་ས་སུ་དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱང་ལྷན་བཟུང་ལོ་སྟུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་སྟོང་བ་ལྷགས་སྟུར་སྟོན་དུ་སྤི་མ་ལམ་གྱི་ལོ་ལ། གསེར་འཕྱང་ལོ། མ་རྩ་ཚེ་བའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཉིད་ཡིན་ལོ་ལྷན་པ་མེ་ཕྱའི་(ལོ་).....འབྲུངས་ཏེ་.....॥

C. Time of JIngis-khan's Invasion in relation to Dar-ma's time

In the passage on p. 158 of Ljon-bzañ, it runs thus:

"After Dar-ma was murdered by Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi Rdo-rje, the order between the sovereign and the subject collapsed. Since then, when 305 years elapsed, Jiñ-ger (Jin-gis) of Mongol conquered the great kingdom of China and others, and also governed Tibet in the Fire-Tiger year, (1206 A.D.)" ①

Note:

① དར་མ་ ལྷ་ལྷུང་དཔལ་གྱི་དོན་ལས་བསད་ཇེས་ཇི་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཀོ་རི་མ་འཕྲུགས་ནས་
ལོ་སྟུང་བརྒྱ་དང་ལྷ་འདས་པ་བ་ཚོར་རྒྱལ་ཇིང་གེར་གྱིས་རྒྱ་ནག་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ས་ཚོ་བོར་
དབང་བསྐྱུར་གྱིང་མེད་ཀྱང་མོ་སྟག་ལོར་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས།

From the above citation, the date of Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution') is computed to be 901 A.D. by going back 305 years from the year, 1206 A.D., which is regarded as correct for the time of Jin-gis Khan's conquest of Tibet. (But the calculation of '305 years' is not shown there in the description by Ljon-bzañ author.

E. Date of Bla-chen, བླ་ཚེན།.

According to the passage on p. 177 of Ljon-bzan, Bla-chen^① "was born in the Water-Mouse year, (892 A. D.), that is, preceding by 9 years the time of the disappearance of Doctrine,"

— བརྟུན་པ་རྒྱ་བས་པ་ལས་ལོ་དགུས་ལྷ་བའི་རྒྱ་མེད་ལ་འབྱུངས།

And also, (on p. 179), it runs thus: "In the Tree-Hog year, he died at the age of 84 (975 A. D.), — རྒྱ་བའི་པ་ལོ་དང་ཡག་ལ་འདས།

The date, 975 A. D. is confirmed by the following process of investigation:

We read in the passage on p. 179 of Ljon-bzan, or Buston (f. 147-b) that '10 Men of Dbus-Gtsań' were fully consecrated (བརྟུན་པར་རྫོགས་པ་) by Bla-chen when they visited him in Rdo-smad (N.E. Tibet) and made achievements in their necessary learnings, and we observe some confusion about the descriptions in Ljon-bzan and Buston in respect to the period and the event. However, it is almost confirmed by investigations that '10 (or 6) Men of Dbus-Gtsań' met Bla-chen in a certain period of Bla-chen's lifetime, no matter whether they received their ordainments from him or not. (cf. Deb-ñion, Kha, f. 3-a, and Ljon-bzan, p. 179) Anyhow, after Bla-chen

died, they came back individually to Dbus (Central Province of Tibet), and later they met together in Dbus in about the year of Water-Bird (973 A.D.), or the Earth-Tiger (978 A.D.).

We must now recall the account concerning Sum-pa Ye-ṣes Blo-gros, which is given in article I, B of this chapter, or Deb-sñon, ka, f. 27-b; and also note Ljon-bzañ's description on p. 191. In these passages we read that the Doctrine was restored in the year of Earth-Tiger, (978 A.D.), and also that, in the Water-Horse year, (1042 A.D.), or the 65th year from the Earth-Tiger year (above), Atiṣa came to Tibet. When Atiṣa arrived in Tibet, there lived Sum-pa, who was one of 6 or 10 men of Dbus-Gtsaṅ;^{ka} was said to be found among the list of receptioners to welcome Atiṣa.^②

Thereupon, the date, 978 A.D., viz., the period of the Doctrine-Restoration, (which was the time when 6 or 10 Men, including Sum-pa, assembled in Dbus on their return from Mdo-smad after the death of Bla-chen), is proven valid, because, 978 A.D. is the date which was computed at the fixed year-basis of 1042 A.D., the time of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet. Regarding 'the 65th year', which indicates that there elapsed 64 years

from the time of the Restoration of Doctrine to that of Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet, the possibility of the lapse of period can be testified by Sum-pa's age, though the age is not exactly reckoned, it is roughly estimable. [cf. Addendum to this article, E.]

Now, the year, 978 A.D., is stated to be the time when Sum-pa came to Dbus and met with rest of the '6 or 10 Men'; and the time which Sum-pa spent till 978 A.D. since Leaving Bla-chen's place(?) just after the latter's death, can be judged to be very short. [cf. Addendum to this article, E.]

Now, then, in the above citation, it is stated that Bla-chen died in the year of 'Tree-Hog'.^③ We can convert this into the year, 975 A.D., according to the explanation given above,^{because} the Tree-Hog year is calculated back by 3 years to the Earth-Tiger year, i.e., 978 A.D. [cf. APPENDIX II.]

It is noted that 915 or 1035 A.D. also is reckoned to be a Tree-Hog year, but not identifiable with the period of Bla-chen's death, because either one of 915 or 1035 A.D. would cut the reasonable relationship between the ages of Bla-chen and Sum-pa at the time of the former's death.

Addendum: Here, we have to refer to Sum-pa's age.

His age must be very old at the time of Atiça's arrival in Tibet, for, at that time of his return from Mdo-smad to Dbus in 978 A.D., (or speaking more accurately, at the time of his participation in the Dbus-Meeting of '6 or 10 Men') his age is supposed to be around 40 at the oldest, judging from the time of his proposed participation in the reception of Atiça's arrival, which was held 65 years after 978 A.D. (above). Accordingly, his age at the time when he last met Bla-chen might be approximately 30. If then, it is almost impossible to think that Sum-pa (and the others) were ordained by Bla-chen; when the latter was in 'the 5th year' after his own consecration, ^{that had been} given by the '3 priests in refuge' from Dbus, according to the descriptions in Ljon-bzañ and Bu-ston. Because Bla-chen's age at the time of his own consecration is conjectured to be around 18-20, corresponding to about 910 A.D., according to general rule of the Buddhist church, if we presume that Sum-pa then received ordainment from Bla-chen, Sum-pa's age must be around 13 at the youngest. If it is so, his age at the time of Atiça's arrival (1042 A.D.) should be

about 144 years.

The full accounts of the '6 or 10 Men of Dbus-Gtsaŋ' may be observed in the annals of Bu-ston (f. 147-b) and Ljon-bzaŋ (pp. 177-178). The Deb-Sñon author refers to this subject and states that 'no definite account is discoverable except quotations from other statements.' (Deb-sñon, Ba, f. 10-a)

Notes:

① The personage of Bla-chen is briefly given in article 1, c of this chapter.

② དེའི་ཚེ་ནི་ལ་ (Deb-Sñon, Ka, f. 27-b) དེའི་ཚེ་ནི་དབུས་གཙང་མི་དྲུག་ཏུ་གྲགས་པ་ལས་སུ་མ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སློ་བྱོས་བཞུགས་ཡོད་དེ། འཕྲོ་མ་ལྟོ་བྱིས་དབུས་ཀྱི་བཤེས་གཏེན་ཚེ་ནི་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཇོ་མོ་བསུ་ལ་འཕྲོ་བ་ལུ་ཟེར་བའི་ཡི་གེ་འདི་ནི་དང་། དཔེ་འདི་དག་སློང་ལུགས་འཕྲིན་དཔོན། བསུ་བ་ཚེ་ནི་ཡེ་ཤེས་སློ་བྱོས་དང་། ཤེས་འཕུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།

③ The date of Bla-chen's birth is explainable to be 892 A.D. by the fixed date, 975 A.D., (the time of his death), and the year that is said to be the time of Dar-ma's persecution of the Doctrine is also testifiable to be 901 A.D., reckoning 9 years from 892 A.D.

4. Bai-Dkar's chronological table (cf. Csoma's T. GRAMM.)

As mentioned in Chapter I, 5., the chronological table

lists the elapsed number of years from a time of an event to the period on which the author of Bai-Dkar set down the basis of calculation. So every number of year indicates an immediate lapse of period. (The author does not use the sexagenary cycle system except the basic year.) I pick up from the table some important years and list those corresponding Christian eras. Every Christian date listed by Csoma himself is miscalculated by 2 years with the difference from that of the Bai-Dkar original. (cf. A. Csoma's TIBETAN GRAMMAR, pp. 181-191)

Excerpts from Bai-Dkar chronological table

(Events)	Dates (from the original)	Csoma's
Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, birth,	629 A.D.	(627) ^①
Wun-siñ Koñ-jo, arrival-marriage,	641 "	(639)
Dar-ma, Destruction of Doctrine,	901 "	(899)
Dar-ma, death,	902 "	(900)
Jo-bo Atiṣa, birth,	982 "	(980)
Me-mkhañ Rgya-mtško, terminal,	1026 "	(1024)
Rab-byuñ, commencement,	1027 "	(1025)
Jo-bo Atiṣa, death,	1054 "	(1052)
Tsoñ-kha-pa, birth	1357 "	(1355)

Bai-Dkar, year-basis for computing

the lapse of years..... 1687 * (1686)^①

Notes:

① The dates in parentheses are those from Csoma's list of dates in the Bai-Dkar Chronological table.

② This date alone is miscalculated by one year. (cf. chap. I, 5, (Bai-Dkar))

5. Summarized remarks on the subject of elapsed number of years

As the result of investigation of all descriptions quoted from Bu-ston, Deb-Sñon, Ljon-bzañ and Bai-Dkar chronological table, etc., we are able to deduce that three principal bases of computations are set down by the annalists^① for fixing the dates of historical events.

These three bases are:

- i) The date of birth of Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po,
the Earth-Ox year of 629 A.D.,
- ii) The date of Destruction of Doctrine,
and the death of Glañ-Dar-ma,

the Iron-Bird year of 901 A.D.,

iii) The date of arrival in Tibet of

Jo-bo Atiṣa,

the Water-Horse year of 1042 A.D.

Among these bases, the last, 1042 A.D., has been proven to be correct and recognized as corresponding to other established dates; however, the former two, 629 A.D. and 901 A.D., still remain in question at this stage of investigation.

The date of 629 A.D. may be regarded as correct in an arithmetical sense, if it is reckoned according to the views of the annalists, but it conflicts practically with the established date of 569 A.D., and the date of 901 A.D. may be replaced by 841 A.D. according to difference of view.

The final investigation and the conclusion will be given in chapters VI and VII.

Note:

① Bu-ston is an exception. He does not relate the computing bases of periods; however, it can be inferred that he would take the 3 bases for 577 (or 569) A.D. of Sroñ-biṣan, 901 A.D. of Dar-ma, and 1042 A.D. of Atiṣa.

CHAPTER VI

Discrepancies in Dating, Researches for their Cause, and their Adjustments

1. Peculiar feature of discrepant dating

We have learnt through the descriptions in the preceding chapters that there are discrepancies in dating the events in the early Tibetan chronicles, and the discrepancies are not discoverable unless we convert the dates indicated by sexagenary cycles into the Christian era. The most striking confusions arise from the discrepancies in the chronicle of Deb-Sñon. Deb-Sñon, unlike the others, contains a chapter consisting of quotations from the Chinese sources which bear records of dates according to different year-bases than those of the Tibetan which the Deb-Sñon author adopted. The confusions that happened thereby were, however, unnoticed by the author himself (and later annalists alike) who reckoned the dates by the sexagenary cycle system and had no direct access to the texts of the Chinese chronicles.

The Deb-Sñon author treated the dates recorded in the

CHINESE-RECORDS (which he quoted from Kun-dgah Rdo-rje's annals) on the same age level with those recorded in the Tibetan chronicles, being unaware of the differences which arose between two date-bases. Though, of course, this is generally due to the defect in the old system of sexagenary cycles used in the early days of Tibet, the radical cause that brought about the differences lies in the ambiguous method of date-computation used by Tibetan chroniclers, owing to the lack of reliable historical materials in the early days. The fundamental way to solve the problem of discrepancies is, therefore, by straightening out the periods and events recorded in the Tibetan chronicles of early ages by analytical researches.

2. A division of periods in which lurks cause of discrepancies, and the nature of the cause

A. Three basic periods requiring research

I take up here the 3 relative periods which are based on Sroñ-btsan (629 A.D.), Dar-ma (901 A.D.), and Atiça (1042 A.D.),

according to the Tibetan chroniclers, except Bu-ston. (cf. the summarized remarks given at the end of chap. V,) viz.,

- i) 273 years, from Sroñ-btsan to Dar-ma,
- ii) 141 years, from Dar-ma to Atiṣa, and
- iii) 413 (straight) years, from Sroñ-btsan to Atiṣa.

B. Examinations with the aid of Comparative year-diagrams

(1) To render the explanation simple, I have made the comparative year-diagrams I and II.

Explanation: Diagram I indicates the relation between the 3 respective periods based on 629 A.D., 910 A.D. and 1042 A.D., according to the views of Tibetan chroniclers. It is remarkable that Sroñ-btsan's date does not reach the due point, while Atiṣa's falls just upon the due point, and also, each date between Sroñ-btsan and Ral-pa-can is unduly listed with difference of 60 years each. 901 A.D. of Dar-ma's is left in question for the time being. Each of the 3 periods, 273, 141, and 413 years, is duly measurable on the year line. (Note that '901 A.D.' is counted twice

when the year-line is drawn according to the said divisions of periods, — 273 ys. plus 141 ys. = 414 ys.)

Diagram II is drawn like Diagram I, except for setting down the base-point on the established date of 569 A.D. (of Sroñ-btsan). It is remarkable that Dar-ma's date of 'persecution' (and his death) falls on 841 A.D., the date in question, and Atiça's arrival does not reach the proper point of the established date of 1042 A.D., but is at the point of 982 A.D. (by mere coincidence), and likewise the date of Doctrine-Restoration points incorrectly to 918 A.D., but the other dates between Sroñ-btsan and Ral-pa-can fall on the due points.

Collectively speaking, the two diagrams indicate that, i) in the case of setting down the starting point of reckoning on the established date of 1042 A.D. (Atiça), the correct date (569 A.D.) of Sroñ-btsan is short by 60 years; ii) in case of setting down the starting point of reckoning on the established date of 569 A.D. (Sroñ-btsan), the correct date (1042 A.D.) of Atiça is short by 60 years; iii) the fact that 60 years deficit is reckoned in each case, signifies that either of the periods, 273 or 141 years, or the total length of 413

Diagram I

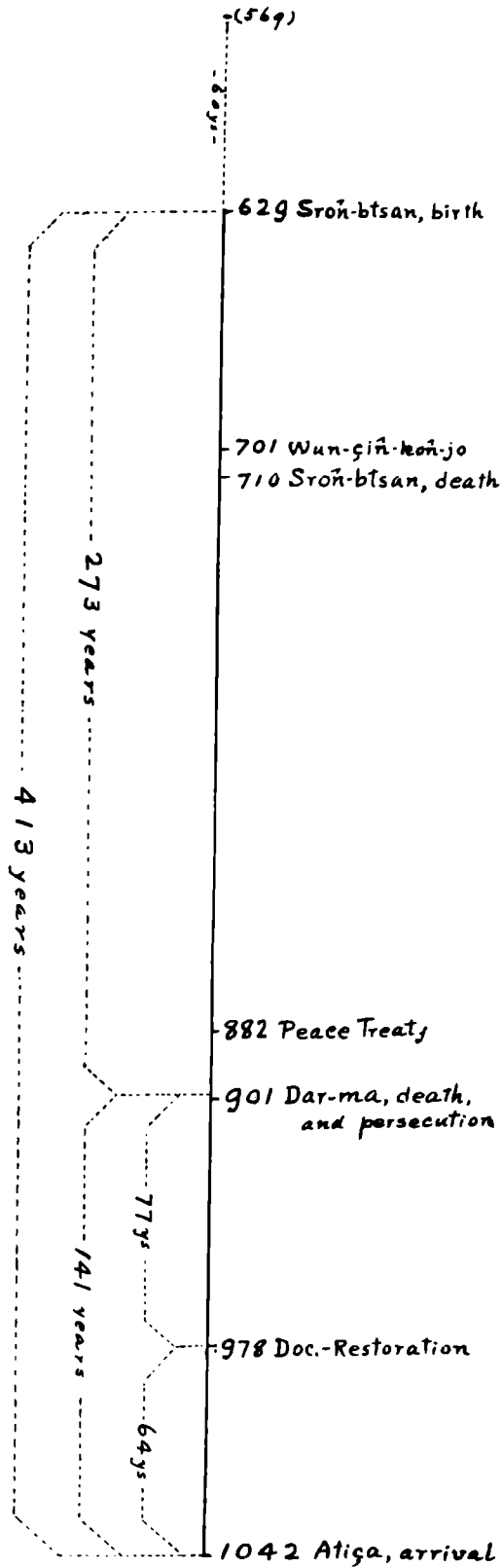
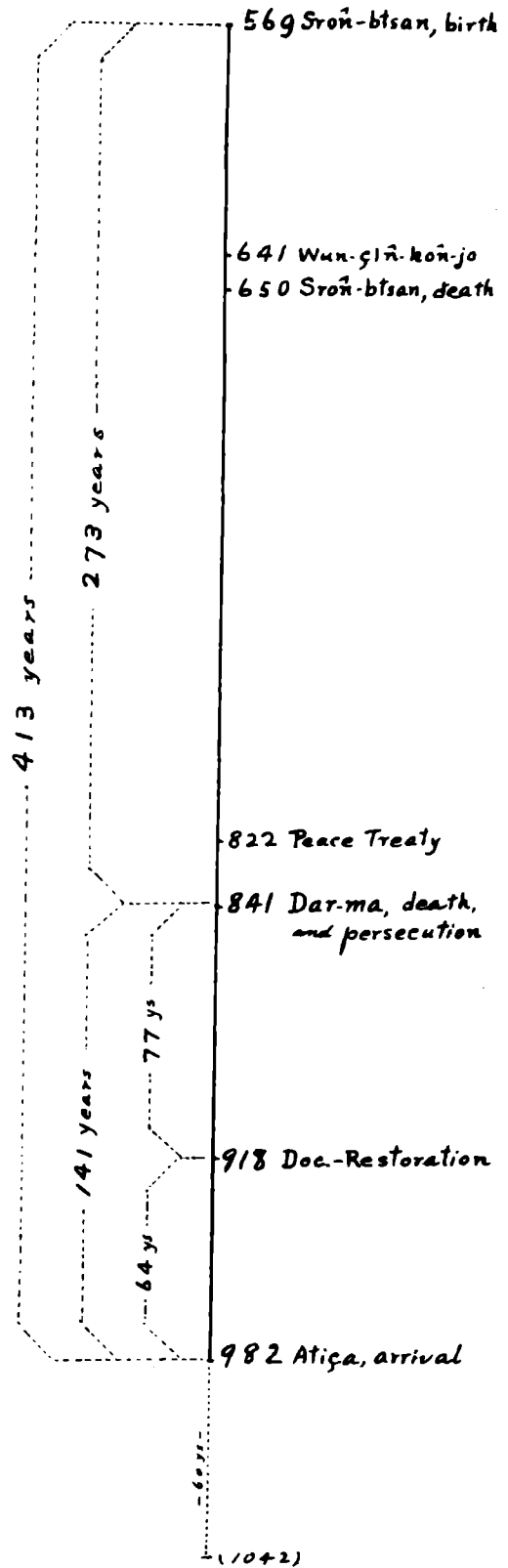


Diagram II



years is miscalculated by 60 years; (V) It is not easy, however, to discover at once the division of periods where the miscalculation enters, because of its illusive aspect.

(2) Minute examinations of 3 periods, 273, 141, and 413 years

To discover the division of period in which the 60 years is found latent, I will examine those 3 periods one by one by tracing their respective sources minutely.

First, I take up the period, 273 years, which is said to be 'the lapse of years between the time of Sroñ-btsan's birth and that of Dar-ma's death (and the persecution)'

As listed on the Royal chronological table (B), chap. III, the number of elapsed years are more or less varied according to the chroniclers; namely, Deb-Sñon and Dalai reekon 273 years; Ljon-bzañ, 285 or 273 years^①, and Hphags-pa and Bai-Dkar, 274 years^②. But, Hjam-Dbyañ calculates 285 (or 273 (?) years^③ for the length of period between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Ral-pa-can's death, (nothing is given about Dar-ma). Bu-ston does not give the details, however, we

may infer that he seems to measure 285 (or 273^(?)) years for the period between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Ral-pa-can's death, or 345 (333^(?)) years^② from Sroñ-btsan's birth to Dar-ma's death (and 'persecution').

Now, we can easily judge that '273 years', which is calculated to be the length of period between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's death by most annalists^③, is incorrect, because Sroñ-btsan's date of birth, 629 A.D., which is computed thereby conflicts with the due date of 569 A.D., (as far as arithmetical calculation is concerned).

It is, however, too intricate to explain here at once the reason why they miscalculate the number of years; it will be left to later minute investigations.

Notes:

①, ②, ③, ④ and ⑤. The differences between 273 and 285, 273 and 274, and, 345 and 333 years, respectively, need not be regarded as important in this case of examination, because they have no fundamental difference as I have mentioned in the REMARKS, chap. IV, I, H.

⑥ Bu-ston seems to estimate it correctly, but no description is given by him in this respect.

Second, I take up the period of 141 years which is said to be 'the length between the time of Dar-ma's death and his persecution of the Doctrine, and Atiḡa's arrival in Tibet.'

The period is divided into 77 years and 64 years by the epochal period of 978 A.D., viz., the date of the commencement of the 'Later spread of the Doctrine,' or the so-called Restoration of the Doctrine. (cf. chap. V, 1 and 3.) [cf. ILLUSTRATION, pp. 123-124]

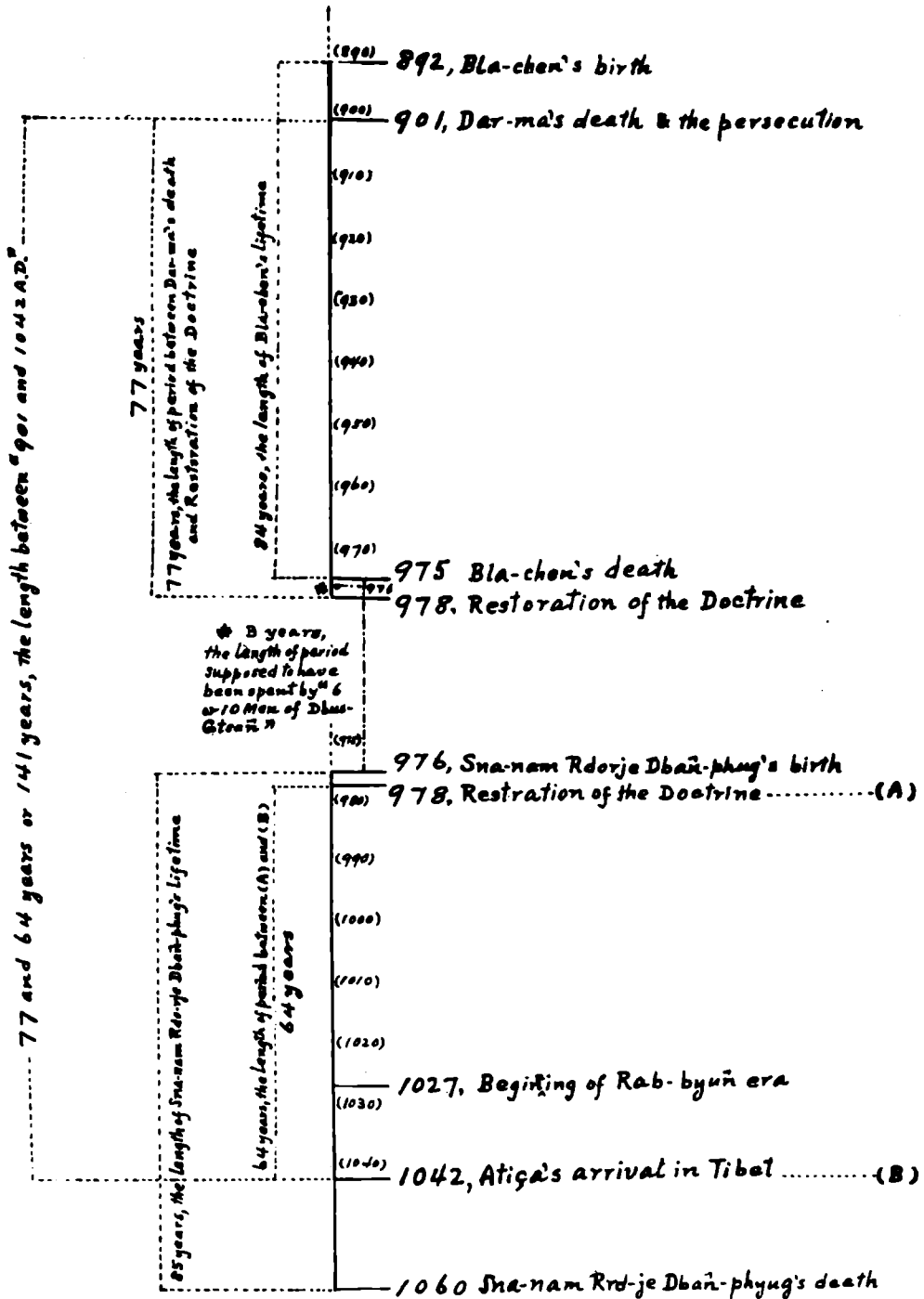
The 77 years is said to be 'the period between Dar-ma's persecution of the Doctrine and the Restoration of the Doctrine.' We have learnt that the date of the beginning of Doctrine-Restoration is the year, 978 A.D. (cf. chap. V, 3, D.); accordingly, the '77 years' should be regarded as the length of period calculated with the date-basis of 1042 A.D. Then, the date of Dar-ma's persecution (and his death) should be 961 A.D., (978 minus 77), as long as the calculation of 77 years is correct.

On examining whether there is any doubtful point in the length of 77 years, I have found that the length is of a very reasonable lapse of period judging by the duration of Bla-chen's lifetime. As mentioned in chapter V, 3, E, Bla-chen was born in 892 A.D. and died at the age of 84, in the year,

975 A.D. Thus, Bla-chen's date of birth (892 A.D.) precedes by 9 years the time of Dar-ma's persecution (910 A.D.), and Bla-chen's date of death approaches 3 years before the time of Doctrine-Restoration (978 A.D.); and this period of 3 years is not blank, but spanned with the time which is supposed to have been spent by '6 or 10 Men of Dbus-Gtsañ' before they met in Dbus (Central Province of Tibet) after they left Mdo-smad (N.E. Tibet) at different times following the death of Bla-chen in 975 A.D. (cf. chap. V, 3, E., and APPENDIX II, 60-cycle table.) Therefore, the period, 77 years may be regarded as a continuous length of time, elapsed almost simultaneously with the lifetime of Bla-chen, and at the same time, it is confirmed that the 77 years commences with Dar-ma's persecution and extend to the time when '6 or 10 Men', including Sum-pa, assembled in Dbus, when the Restoration of the Doctrine in Dbus-Gtsañ began; in other words, the period of 77 years is not any presumed length set down for the sake of convenience of computing the number of years by chronologists, but the actual lapse of historical years. (cf. ILLUSTRATION.)

Third, the '64 years' is said to be 'the length of period

Illustrations Indicating the Continuation of the Periods of 77 and 64 Years, respectively, or 141 Years continuously



which passed since the Doctrine-Restoration (978 A.D.) to Atiṣa's time of arrival in Tibet.' (1042 A.D.). [cf. chap. V, 1, A, & 3, B]

This date, too, is not a presumed period, but the actual, continuous length of time between the Doctrine-Restoration and Atiṣa's arrival in Tibet. This is testifiable by the duration of the life of Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug, the founder of the Rgyal-Lha-khañ. He lived in the years between 976 and 1060 A.D. When he was 67 years old (1042 A.D.), Atiṣa arrived in Tibet. (cf. chap. V, 1, D, and Deb-sñon, kha, ff. 11-b-13-b) His date of birth (976 A.D.) precedes by 3 years the time of Doctrine-Restoration (978 A.D.), and his death occurs 19 years after Atiṣa's arrival. Thus, the length of 64 years is included entirely within the duration of the life of Sna-nam Rdo-rje Dbañ-phyug, commencing duly at his age of 3 and continuing to his 67th year which is the time of Atiṣa's arrival — there is no room within this time for intervention of any other period.

The '64 years' thus connects immediately with the preceding period of '77 years' (mentioned above), and we have the continuous period of '141 years' without any intervention between them, extending right over the full

length between 901 A.D. (Dar-ma) and 1042 A.D. (Atiśa) (cf. ILLUSTRATION)

Fourth, the '413 years' is said to be 'the elapsed period between the time of Sroñ-btsan's birth and Atiśa's arrival in Tibet.' But if we calculate it correctly, we obtain '473 years' (569 A.D. - 1042 A.D.) This difference is due to the miscalculation of '273 years,' because there are not mistakes in the calculations of '77 years' and '64 years,' respectively, as have been already investigated above.

In short, what we have learnt from the above researches are that, i) the problem of miscalculation ^{of '273 years'} should be properly solved, ii) 77 and 64, or 141 straight years are correct calculations, respectively, iii) as the result of the valid calculations, the date of Dar-ma's death and the persecution has been fixed finally upon the year, 901 A.D., but further substantiations will be made of this subject to prove that 901 A.D. is the correct date. (cf. chap IV.)

(3) Examinations with the aid of comparative
Diagrams III and IV

(a) Examination with the Diagram III

Diagram III

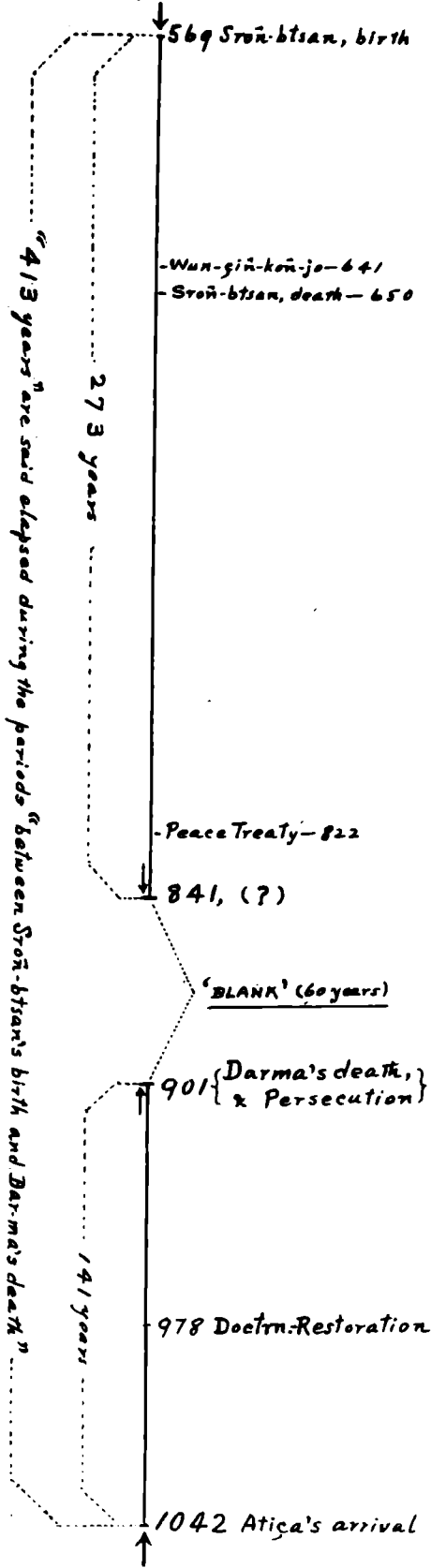
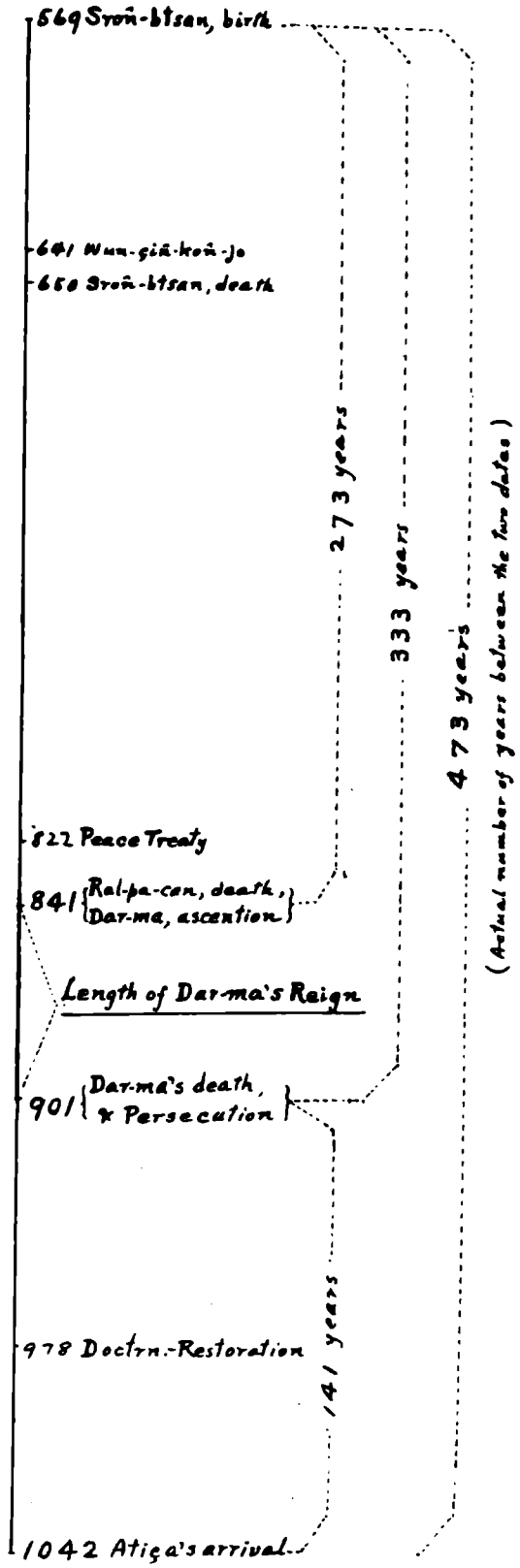


Diagram IV



I have drawn the year diagram III according to the results of the above examinations. The upper half of the line extends ^{downwards} from the point, 569 A. D. of Sroñ-btsan's date of birth, to the point, 841 A. D.,— the date in question. Next, the lower half of the line extends upwards from the point, 1042 A. D., Atiṣa's arrival, to the point, 901 A. D., which has been taken as the date of Dar-ma's death and his persecution as the results (cf. article, (2), 'Second' and 'Third') of accurate computations made on the established date of 1042 A. D., and researches of historical facts relating to the period of 141 (or 77 and 64) years extending over the whole length between 901 and 1042 A. D.

On this diagram, we can see at once that the date of 841 A. D. is not the time of Dar-ma's death and his persecution, because the most valid date has already been computed to be 901 A. D. Accordingly '273 years' indicates in this case no more than the lapse between 569 A. D. of Sroñ-btsan's birth and 841 A. D.

Then we note the blank between 841 and 901 A. D. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for any total blank or gap of time to exist in our world; the blank, therefore, is filled with a length of a 60 years-line which is obtainable from

the following calculations:

o Total number of years between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Atiṣa's arrival by Tibetan chroniclers is '273 plus 141 = 413', (or 413 years from 629 A.D. to 1042 A.D.).

o The actual number of the above should be 473 years, because it is to be calculated by the fixed dates of 569 A.D. and 1042 A.D. (1042 minus 569 = 473)

o The balance, 60, is obtained by subtracting 413 from 473. (This balance signifies that the historical lapse of the time of 60 years is missing from the records of the early chronicles of Tibet, but Bu-ston's annals appears to be an exception)

Therefore the actual lapse of years between Sroñ-btsan's birth and Dar-ma's death should be calculated as '333 years,' by adding 60 years to '273 years.' So, if we calculate the lapse of period with the 333 years upwards from Dar-ma's death, 910 A.D., Sroñ-btsan's birth will duly fall upon the year, 569 A.D.

The reason why most of the Tibetan chroniclers failed to compute correctly the date of Sroñ-btsan's birth, in spite of their correct computation of the date of Dar-ma's death

(and his persecution) is due to their ignorance of the reason which is necessary to add 60 years to '273 years.' The reason that they were unaware of the latency of 60 years will be clarified in the course of this paper.

(b) Examination with the Diagram IV

I will now examine the date of 841 A.D. — If 841 A.D. is not of Dar-ma's death and his persecution, then what date is it of? The question will be answered by the following explanation with the aid of diagram IV.

I have mentioned in chapter IV, 6, A, that it is very questionable to identify the Iron-female-Bird year, which is stated in the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-Sñon to be the time of Dar-ma's death and his persecution, with the year of 841 A.D. On the contrary, I have confirmed in chapter IV, 4, B, that it is quite valid to identify the Iron-female-Bird year, which is stated in Bu-ston's annals to be the time of Ral-pa-can's death, with the year of 841 A.D.^① Speaking of Dar-ma, therefore, the date, 841 A.D. should be ascribed to the date of the ascension of Dar-ma. (cf. chap. IV, 6, B (1))

I turn now to Diagram IV, which is drawn with the considerations mentioned above. By this diagram, it may be exactly understood that, i) the date of 841 A.D. is common to Ral-pa-can's death and Dar-ma's ascension,^{and} ii) the period of '60 years' between 841 and 901 A.D. is the length of the reign of Dar-ma.^②

Although the cause that makes the duration of Dar-ma's reign ambiguous is generally due to the scarcity of reliable historical materials in those days, the particular cause of mistake is to be ascribed to the name of year called 'Iron-female-Bird,' which was given according to the sexagenary cycle of the early-day system, unlike the regular date-system by Rab-byuñ in later ages, (cf. chap. II), because, as both the dates, 841 A.D. and 901 A.D., are indicated simply by 'Iron-female-Bird year', they are almost undistinguishable from each other, especially in days when the reliable records were missing. We should know that such circumstances brought about the miscalculation of '60 years' — the length of a sexagenary cycle.

Notes

① The Deb-sñon author takes the date of ^{death of} Ral-pa-can for 836 A.D. (Fire-Dragon year), following the description of the CHINESE-RECORDS of Deb-sñon, instead of the general views of the Tibetan annalists. The Ljon-bzañ author seems to follow Deb-sñon. Hphags-pa, Detai ṽ, and Hjam-Dbyañs take it for the 'Iron-female-Bird year', but the corresponding Christian era to that year is not determinable definitely within the scope of the present investigations, except the conjecture to be 901 A.D. (cf. Royal chronological table, (B) of chap. X)

Among the records of Chinese chronicles, the Old T'ang History states the date of Ral-pa-can's death to be 842 A.D., and the New T'ang History follows it. This date is almost identified with 841 A.D. of Bu-ston annals.

② The duration of Dar-ma's reign, which was regarded as indefinite, as observed in the 'Date table concerning Glañ-Dar-ma' (cf. chap. II, 6), has been indicated definitely by the result of all possible researches within available historical materials.

3. Adjustments of discrepancies

(with the illustration by Diagram ṽ)

Every discrepancy in dating events observed in the early chronicles will be adjustable by rectifying the miscalculation

of dates or periods, according to the principle which is deductive from Diagram IV, and the adjustments are to be made exactly as indicated by Diagram V; the points are as follow:

'629 A.D.' of Sroñ-btsan's date of birth for 569 A.D.,

'841 A.D.' for Ral-pa-can's death, and Dar-ma's ascension,

'901 A.D.' for Dar-ma's death and his destruction of the Doctrine,

'60 years' for duration of Dar-ma's reign,

'273 years' for 333 years,

'413 years' for 473 years,

'141 years' ^{*} is correct. (or '77' and '64' years)

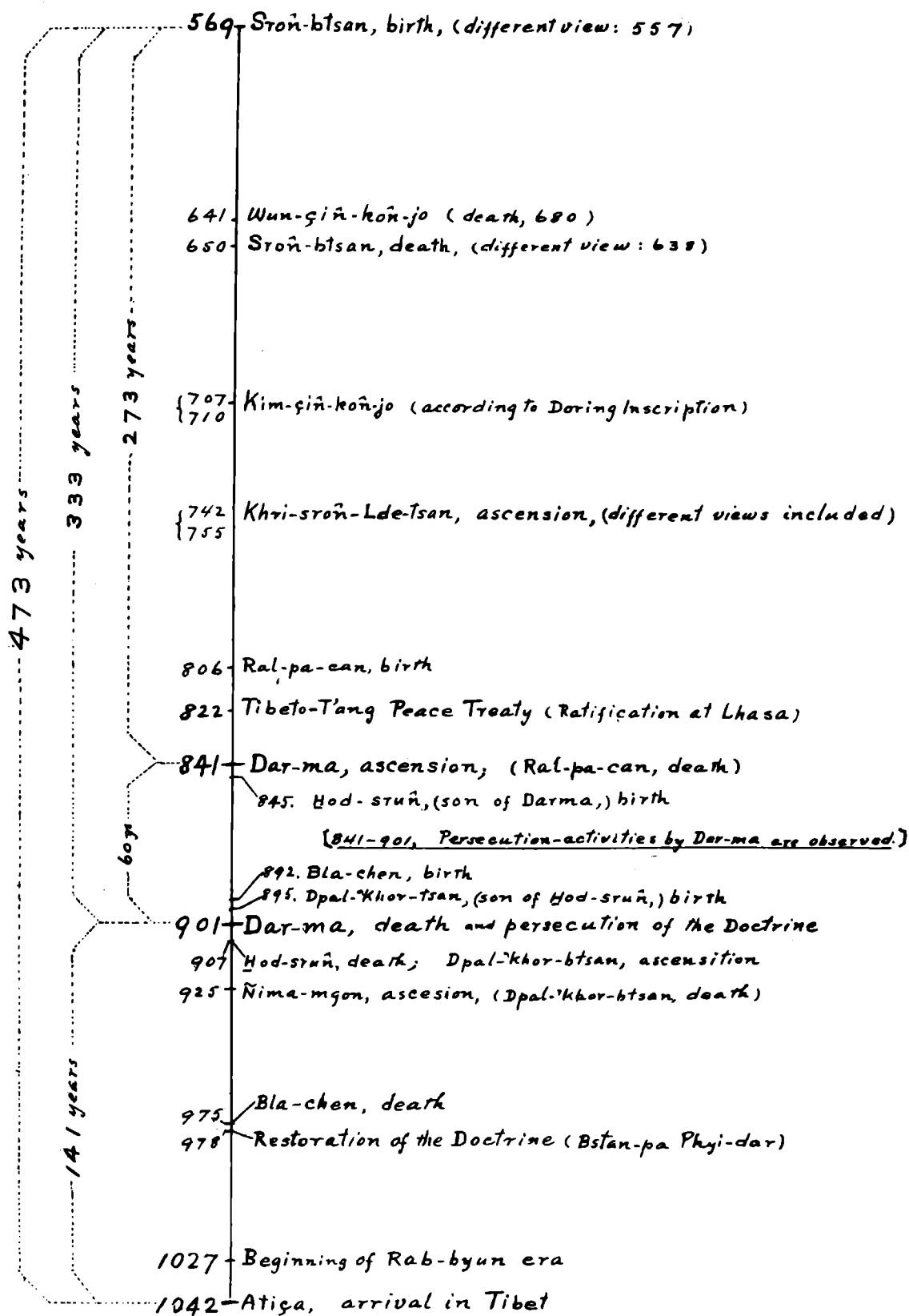
Note that no rectification is needed for the dates after the time of Dar-ma's death and his destruction of the Doctrine, because there is no inconsistency in dating fundamentally in principle.

CHAPTER VII

Citations of Historical Grounds to Rectify Discrepant Dates and Conclusion of Investigations

As have been described in the preceding chapters, the confusions from discrepancies in dating events

Diagram V



have been adjusted principally by inductive and mathematical methods in respect to the relation between the respective lapses of periods. I have now to substantiate the results of rectification with historical facts.

1. Ground for rectification according to Bu-ston's annals.

I quote here the following passages regarded worthy of the ground for the rectification. (cf. Bu-ston, ff. 145-b, 146-a)^①

"In the year of Iron-female-Bird, (841 A.D.), when the king (Ral-pa-can) was 36 years old, Dbas-rgyal To-re and Co(rg)-ro Legs-smā, the two (ministers(?) murdered the king by 'turning his face to the back of the neck' (i.e., twisting the head backwards). And then the king, Glañ-Dar-ma Hu-dum-hsan was entrusted with the reign. The very demon-like Dbas-rgyal To-re was appointed the minister of interior. The minister, Sna-nam Rgyal-tsha Khri-gsum, and others acted greatly contrary to the precepts of the Doctrine. The school-house, in which the Lo-tsā-ba(s) and Pandita(s) were translating the canons, was destroyed; the translations remained in pieces.

The consecration at Hon-cañ-rdo was left unperformed.

After that, when the king came of age, (དེ་ནས་འཛོལ་པོ་ནང་སྲིད་པ་དང་།),
his mind was possessed by a devil, he made all monks quit
their monkhood, and all those who did not wish to quit the
intrinsic marks to be priests carry arrows, bows, drums
and tambourines (of Bon-po) and leave to become hunters,
and killed those who disobeyed it. The king, having been
unable to remove (the statue) of Buddha Śākya-mu-ne,
hid it into sand (of steps?), erected there the door to bar it,
plastered it with clay and drew picture of monk drinking
wine. The king plastered with ^{mud} the doors of the monasteries
of Bsam-yas and Ra-mo-che, and hid most of books
amidst the rock of Lhasa. Then a long time after, (དེ་
ནས་རྗེས་ཤིག་ན།), Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi Rdo-rje, who was practising
meditation at Lha-ri-Sñiñ-po of Yer-pa, heard about it
and felt commiseration 'of a superlative nature' for the king
He (Dpal-Rdor) smeared up a white horse with the powder
of charcoal, put on an overcoat with the white inside and
the black outside, carried an iron arrow and an iron bow
and rode to Lhasa. On his arrival there, the king who

was reading the inscription of Rdo-riñs (Doring) saw (Dpal-Rdor) and sat with his body leaning on the sanctuary (མཚོ་རྩོད་) of Gtsug-lag-Khañ (གཏུག་ལག་མཚོ་) and Dgah-lدان (དགའ་ལྷན་). Dpal-Rdor dismounted at the front of the king. As Dpal-Rdor kneeled down and bent the bow, the king thought that Dpal-Rdor was saluting. At the first salute he bent the bow. At the second, he fitted the arrow. At the third, he loosed his seized fingers (?) and shot it. (The arrow) hit the breast (of the king). Dpal-Rdor said, 'I am the black demon called Ya-bsher; if a sinful king is to be killed, he is to be killed like that.' Saying so, he fled. Clamours arose in Lhasa: 'The king has been murdered; hasten to the pursuit of the assassin!' Dpal-Rdor washed the horse in Mi-nag Lake, put on his overcoat inside out and fled on, saying, 'I am the god called white sky-demon.' The pursurers could not arrest him. Some say that he is a demon-hermit of phantom. Some say he is Phur, of Grib-se-sgrom (?). Some say that it got dark at Than-mo Rdo-riñs, and he was not arrested. And then he went to Kham (E. Tibet) carrying with him three scriptures, Mñon-

pa-kun-las-btus (Abhidharma Samuccaya), Hdul-ba-hod-lan
 (The Vinaya text of Prabhavati) and Las-kar-ma-ga-tam (Kar-
 macataka). ^① Some Panditais) were expelled; some were
 driven out of the country. Most of Lo-tsa-ba(s) fled; the ex-
 ecutioners were sent, and Tiñ-ñe-hdsin-bzañ-po of Nāñ,
 Rin-chen-mchog of Rma and others were killed, and the
 Buddhist Doctrine was wiped out of existence." — (རལ་པ་ཅན་)

ལུགས་མོ་ཉལ་དབས་རྒྱལ་རྩི་རེ་དང་ཚོགས་པའི་ལོགས་སྐྱ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས། ཞལ་ལྷག་པར་བསྟན་ཏེ་
 བཤེད་པ་སོ།། དེ་བཅས་བཙུག་པོ་གླང་དར་མ་ལུ་དུམ་བཙུག་ལ་ཆབ་སྲིད་བཏང་། ཐེ་ལུ་དང་དབས་
 རྒྱལ་རྩི་རེ་བཙུག་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་པ། རྒྱུ་ལྷ་བམ་རྒྱ་ཚ་བྱི་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་ཀྱིས། ཚོས་བྱིམ་ས་
 དང་ལག་ལ་བ་མང་དུ་བྱས། ལོ་པར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་བསྐྱར་བའི་གྲོ་ཞིག་ལྟེ། བསྐྱར་ལ་བྱོལ་
 ལུས། དེ་བཙུག་ཏུ་ལ་རབ་གནས་མ་གྲུབ་པར་ལུས་སོ།། དེ་བཅས་བཙུག་པོ་བར་སོང་བ་དང་།
 ཐུགས་སུ་གདོན་གསོལ་ཏེ། དབང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཡབ། བཙུག་པའི་རྟགས་མོར་དུམ་འདྲིང་པ་
 ལུ་མ་དང་གཞུང་གཞུང་བསྐྱར་བཅས་འོན་པ་ལ་བཏང་། མི་ཉན་པ་རྣམས་བསང་དོ། ལྷ་
 ལྷ་ལྷ་སྐྱོ་བསྐྱལ་མ་རུས་པར། ཉེ་ཐེམས་སུ་བཙུག་ཏུ་སྐྱས། ལྷོ་བཙུགས་ཏེ་ཞལ་ཞལ་བྱས་ནས།
 བཙུག་པ་ཆང་འབྲུང་བའི་རི་མོ་བྱིས་ཏེ་བཞག་གོ། བསམ་ཡས་དང་། ར་མོ་ཆེ་འི་སྐོ་ལ་འདག་ཞལ་
 བྱས། མོ་ཏེ་ཡལ་ཆེར་ལྷ་སའི་བྱག་ལ་སྐས་སོ།། དེ་བཅས་རིང་ཞིག་ལ། ཡེར་པའི་ལྷ་རི་སྐྱིད་
 མོ་ལ། ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩི་རྩི་བསྐྱོམ་གྱི་ལོ་དཔལ་ཚོར་ཏེ། བཙུག་པོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་རྩི་ལྷུང་པར་ཅན་
 ལྷུས་ཏེ། རྟ་དཀར་པོ་ལ་སོལ་བ་ལྷུ་མས་བྱུགས། ཐེར་བཙུག་དཀར་ལ་ལྷི་བྱག་པོ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལུགས་
 མ་དང་ལུགས་གཞུ་ལྱིར་བས། ལྷ་སར་ལྷི་བ་དང་། བཙུག་པོ་དོ་རིངས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་སྲོག་གི་ལོ་ལོ་

མས་མཐོང་ལྟེ། གུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་དགའ་ལྡན་གྱི་མཚན་རྟོག་ལ་སྐུ་བརྟེན་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་
 མདུན་དུ་བབས་ཏེ། ལུས་མོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ་གཞུ་བདུངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཞེས་འགུལ་བར་གོ་འོ།
 ལྷག་དང་པོ་ལ་གཞུ་བདུངས། གཉིས་པ་ལ་མདའ་ལྟོང་ལྟར། གསུམ་པ་ལ་མཐོབ་(མཐོབ་པ།)བཞུལ་
 ཏེ་བཏར་བས། གང་དུ་ལོག་ལྟེ། ང་བདུན་ལ་བཞེས་ནག་པོ་ལྷ་བཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཅན་གསོད་
 བ་དེ་ལྟར་གསོད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་ཐོས་སོ། ལྷ་སར་བཅོམ་པོ་བཞེངས་སོར་...མདའ་རྒྱགས་
 ཞེས་བོས་པས། མི་ནག་མཚོ་ལ་རྟ་བཞུན། བེར་གྱི་ནང་ལྷོག་ལྟེ་གོན་ནས། ང་ལྟ་གནམ་
 མེ་ལུང་ལྟར་པོ་ལྷ་བཡིན་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཐོས་བས། བདས་པས་མ་ཟིན་ཏེ། ལ་ལ་དང་སྤོང་གྱི་པོ་
 ལྷང་(༧)ཟེར། ལ་ལ་གྱི་པོ་སྤོང་གྱི་ལུར་ཟེར། ལ་ལ་ཐན་མོ་དོ་རིས་སུ་ནམ་སྤོས་ནས་
 མ་ཟིན་ཏེ་ཟེར་རོ། དེ་ནས་མངོན་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས། འདུལ་བ་འོད་ལྟན། ལས་ཀུན་
 ལ་རྩོད་དང་གསུམ་ལྟེར་ཏེ། འམས་སུ་ཉེན་ལོ། ཡར་ཏེ་ལ་ལ་སྤྱུགས། ལ་ལ་སུལ་...བསྐྱེད།
 ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་པལ་ཆེར་ཐོས། གཞེད་མ་བཞེས་ལྟེ། ཉང་ཉིང་ངོ་འཛིན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། མ་རིན་ཆེན་
 མཚོག་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསད་དེ། བརྟེན་པ་མེད་པར་བྱས་སོ།

(1) Explanation of the citation

I have already mentioned from standpoint of the mathe-
 matical calculation that the king, Glañ-Dar-ma was ex-
 throned in 841 A.D. and died in 901 A.D., having been in his
 throne for full 60 years. I have now to explain how the
 above citation clarifies that the reign of Glañ-Dar-ma ex-
 tended over the period for so long as 60 years.

(a) The passage referred to with a clause, 'After that when the king came of age,' denotes that Dar-ma was very young when he ascended the throne in 841 A.D. (cf. chap. IV, 6, B.) This means some length of years had elapsed since his enthronement to the time when 'he came of age.'

(b) The other passage referred to by a phrase, 'Then a long time after,' denotes that the duration of the activities for destroying the Doctrine, (principally by the king himself), lasted for long years.

(c) Though the definite time of Dar-ma's death is not indicated in the passage of citation, it is identifiable with the year, 901 A.D., as I have mentioned in chapters IV, 6, B, (3), and V, 2.

(d) Thus the duration extending over the period from 841 A.D. of his enthronement to 901 A.D. of his death and the close of the persecution is duly proven to be exactly 60 years.

Therefore, all miscalculations by Tibetan chroniclers for the length of Dar-ma's reign are rectifiable by adding 60 years to their respective calculation with this strong histori-

cal ground as well as mathematical calculations discussed in the preceding chapter, (VI).

Note:

① The last paragraph tells us that the activity of the persecution of Doctrine still continued even after the death of Glañ-Dar-ma, though the time of his death is called to be that of the close of persecution.

2. Biographical fact to prove validity of the length of 60 years

The date of Bla-chen's death (cf. chap. V, 3, E) can be a proof of the date, 910 A.D., by which the length of period of 60 years is confirmed. The time of Bla-chen's birth is recorded as the Water-male-Mouse year in Deb-Sñon (Kha, f. 1-b), and Ljon-bzañ (p. 177), and the latter states that 'the year of his death is the 9th year before the time of Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine.' (cf. chap. V, 3, E) This falls upon 892 A.D., because Bla-chen died at the age of 84 in the year, 975 A.D. Accordingly, by reckoning 9 years onwards from 892 A.D., the time of Doctrine-Destruction by Dar-ma is computable to be exactly the

year, 901 A.D. This may indicate the fact that Dar-ma's persecution and his death took place actually when Bla-chen was 10 years old. With this fact and the other fact that Dar-ma was alive in about 845 A.D. — as it will be mentioned in the following article 3, — it can be proven that the lifetime of Dar-ma covered the period between 845 A.D., (accordingly 841 A.D.), and 901 A.D.

3. Chronological record bearing upon evidence of Dar-ma's life

According to Bu-ston's annals (cf. p. 46-b), "A prince (Hod-sruñ) was born to Mug, the younger queen consort (of Dar-ma) in the year of Tree-female-Ox, (845 A.D.), (he) ascended the throne, and died at the age of 63," — བརྩུ་ལྷོ་མོ་ཀུང་མའི་མུག་ལ་སྲས་གཙོག་གི་ལོ་མོ་སྐང་ལ་འབྱུངས་..... རྒྱལ་པོར་བཞེན་ཏེ། ལོ་དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་འདས་པོ།

Generally speaking, the 'Tree-female-Ox year' of this period may correspond to either 785, 845 and 905 A.D., but the year, 845 A.D. alone is identifiable with the period relating to Dar-ma; the rest belong to the events of dynasties other than Dar-ma's. (cf. Comparative Royal Chronological Table, (B), Chap. III)

With this chronological fact, it can be judged that Dar-ma was alive in around 845 A.D., because a prince was born to his younger queen consort in 845 A.D. If Dar-ma had died as early as 841 A.D., how could the prince, Hod-sruñ, be born as late as 845 A.D. — the 5th year after the death of the father-king, Glañ-Dar-ma? By this evidence I can confirm that 841 A.D. is not the time of Dar-ma's death, as far as the fact of the prince's birth is concerned.

With respect to doubts that the prince, Hod-sruñ, འོད་སྤྱན་, is the real son of Dar-ma, I observe no dissent among the annalists such as Bu-ston, Deb-sñon and Ljon-bzañ. For instance, the author of Ljon-bzañ states thus: "Gnam-lde Hod-sruñ, ^{prince of Dar-ma's younger queen consort,} is the direct successor to the lineage of Buddhist kings (of Tibet)," — དེའི་ཚུང་མའི་སྤུས་གནས་ལྷེ་འོད་སྤྱན་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དཔེས་ཀྱི། There is no record in the ^{Tibetan} annals that I have read which claims that Hod-sruñ is the son of other's than Dar-ma's. As long as Hod-sruñ is the real son of Dar-ma, I am able to say decisively that Dar-ma was alive in around 845 A.D., or strictly speaking, several months before Hod-sruñ's birth. In fact, as given in the previous article 2, it is proven that

Dar-ma was alive as late as 901 A.D., which has been testified by Bla-chen's age of 10.

A different view is, however, observed in the Chinese annals, i.e., the New Tang History, 新唐書, stating that "Dar-ma [as so read from the context] had no son; the queen consort adopted her elder brother's son, Ch'i-li-hu, 乞離胡, and made him tsan-pu, 贊普 ('Tibetan king')" [Vol. 141, B, f. 7-b; also, S.W. Bushell's THE EARLY HISTORY OF TIBET FROM CHINESE SOURCES, p. 89.] I conjecture that this statement of the New Tang History may have erroneously interpreted the Tibetan source. According to Tibetan annals, Dar-ma had two queen consorts; the elder queen had an adopted son called Yum-brtan (or Yum-btsan), while the young-queen had her own son, ^{called Hod-sruñ,} the direct lineage of Dar-ma. After Dar-ma died, Hod-sruñ succeeded to the throne; Yum-brtan established a separate kingdom; the two kings, before their separation, were said to have made efforts to recover the decline of the Doctrine that was destroyed by Dar-ma. (cf. Bu-ston, f. 146-a; Ljon-bzañ, p. 152, etc.)

4. Note on the HISTORICAL GROUNDS

Regarding an important problem solving the age of
Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi Rdo-rje, ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ།.

Although, in the early Tibetan chronicles, what gives the most powerful evidence of the death of King Glañ-Dar-ma and the persecution of the Doctrine might be the age of Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi Rdo-rje, who murdered the king, no record of his age is observed in the historical materials mentioned in the chapter I of this study. We are, however, able to conjecture it by the descriptions concerning Dpal-Rdor. It is said, according^{to} Bu-ston (f. 145.6) and others, that he was practising meditation at Yer-pa Lha-ri Sñiñ-po (hill) just prior to his attempt upon Dar-ma's life. His age at that time is estimable as 25-30 approximately, judging by the stage of his training in the Doctrine. He fled to Kham (East Tibet) as soon as he killed the king, carrying with him some scriptures and settled in Kloñ-thañ, ལྷོ་ནུང་ཐང་། of Kham.

Bu-ston says also (f. 174-6) that, when he was asked by Bla-chen^① (who came from Mdo-smad, Amdo,) for "Dpal-Rdor's gathering as one of the presiding members of 5 Dge-Sloñ faculties on the occasion of consecration for Bla-chen

himself," Dpal-Rdor declined Bla-chen's request on account of his former deed of assassination.

Now Bla-chen's age at that time is, if we conjecture from the accounts given by Deb-Sñon (Kha, f.3-a), to be 18-20, or about the year, 910 A.D. Accordingly, Dpal-Rdor's age would then be estimable as about 35-40. This estimation is regarded as most fitting of his age for such an occasion. On the contrary, if we reckon his age with the year-basis of 841 A.D., which is taken by some scholars for the date of Dar-ma's death, Dpal Rdor's age would then be 95-100, against the possible actualities of traditional accounts. If it is valid to estimate Dpal-Rdor's age to be 35-40 in the year, 910 A.D. (above), it is most reasonable to take the date, 901 A.D. for the time when he killed the king Glañ-Dar-ma.

Anyhow, the problem will not entirely be solved with mere 'conjectures' as mentioned above. Further investigations are required for the future.

Note:

① cf. chap. V, 3, E, etc.,

5. Conclusion

(a) The dates of events recorded in the early Tibetan chronicles which are miscalculated by 60 years should not be rectified by mere arithmetical reasoning, i.e., by simply adding the number 60, because the problem of 60 years is not an abstract arithmetical number, but a given length of time in the sequence of historical actualities. It is inadmissible to ignore the mutual relations between periods and actual historical events and add 60 years to a certain division of period which is established through mere conjecture or imagination to fill in a gap in history. This present research, concerning the discrepancy of 60 years, is, therefore, conducted from two approaches: mathematical reasoning with considerations of historical dates (which is distinguished from mere arithmetical calculation of numbers), and a chronological argument which is composed of events in Tibetan history ^{to} substantiate the first reasoning.

(b) The most radical cause of discrepancies in dating historical events by early Tibetan chroniclers is due to

their ignorance or unawareness of the actual length of King Glañ-Dar-ma's reign. The reason for this is because the dates of both Dar-ma's ascension (841 A.D.) and that of his death and persecution (901 A.D.) are indicated by the identical year-name of 'Iron-female-Bird year', without any particular mark to distinguish one Iron-female-Bird year of a 60-year cycle from that of another 60-year cycle. This difficulty in discriminating the two identical year-names is due to the loss of historical records which were destroyed in consequence of Dar-ma's destruction of the Doctrine and which has led to insufficient researches caused by the lack of source materials for study.

(c) Since the majority of the early Tibetan chroniclers have mistaken the two Iron-female-Bird years as one and identical, due to circumstances mentioned above, the length of Dar-ma's reign is calculated to be 'about half a year' or 'a short period' by Hphags-pa, Dalai ʼ, and Bai-Dkar (?), or 'about 6 years' by Deb-sñon and Ljon-bzañ. It is to be noted that Deb-sñon calculates it according to the CHINESE-RECORDS (of Deb-sñon), and Ljon-bzañ seems to follow the example of

Deb-Sñon, however, if they both follow Tibetan chronological calculation, they will also get 'about half a year or a short period.' Unlike these chroniclers, Bu-ston clearly discriminates the two Iron-female-Bird years and observes that Dar-ma's reign extended for 60-year period (between 841 A.D. to 901 A.D.).

(d) All the dates of events in early Tibetan chronicles (from Sroñ-btsan to Dar-ma) are erroneously computed 60 years later than the due time, as the result of mistaking the length of Dar-ma's reign, but the errors are not evident until the dates which are indicated with the names of the old-system, sexagenary cycle are converted into the corresponding Christian dates.

(e) In converting the dates from sexagenary cycle to corresponding Christian years especial caution must be taken in determining the basic dates for conversion. That is, one should take the date of Dar-ma's death and of his destruction of Doctrine to be 901 A.D. and that of his ascension, 841 A.D., so that the period - lapse from Sroñ-btsan's birth to Dar-ma's death and persecution totals 333 years,

instead of 273 years according to Tibetan tradition. If we ignore the preceding fact we forever be confused with discrepancies when calculating Christian dates from the Tibetan sexagenary cycle.

(f) In regards to the Tibetan chronicles recorded in Chinese annals, the following points should be noted:

- i) the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang, 會昌二年, corresponding to 842 A.D., in the Old T'ang History, 舊唐書, is the date of the king, Ral-pa-can's death, and it is groundless to take it for Dar-ma's death.
- ii) The New T'ang History, 新唐書, describes ^{events} concerning Ral-pa-can (可黎可足) and Dar-ma, 達磨; but the descriptions are very intricate — even confused to some extent — and readers are apt to be led into a labyrinthine confusion. Therefore, in order to acquire a correct interpretation, a very carefull comparative reading with the Old T'ang History is required. Further, there are erroneous statements in Chinese annals in comparing with Rdo-riñs (Doring) Inscription. (cf. the statements in Tzū-chih-T'ung-chien, 資治通鑑, and the 'Combined Edition of the Old and New T'ang Histories' [?].
- iii) It is

most reasonable to interpret 'the 2nd year of Hui-ch'ang (842 A. D.) of the New T'ang History' to be the date of Ral-pa-can's death as explained particularly in chapter IV, 6, H, (2).
IV) The misdating of Dar-ma's death by Chinese historians in those days led to the same error among modern (foreign) scholars who follow the Chinese annals uncritically. V) There are no fundamental inconsistencies between the Tibetan annals by Bu-ston and T'ang Histories as far as the date of Ral-pa-can's death is concerned.

(9) In my study which was made prior to the fixation of the division of period in which the 60 years in question elapsed, I conjectured it might be found latent in the period between "Dar-ma's persecution of Doctrine and the Restoration of Doctrine," because this period appeared to be the most chaotic in early Tibetan history, although Tibetan chroniclers measure the length of the period to be 77 years! On the assumption there was an error in the length, I computed it to be 137 years long, adding 60 years to '77 years'. Based on this, I calculated 137 years backward from 978 A. D., viz., the date of Doctrine-Restoration, (cf. Chap. V, 1, B; 3, E.), and

reached the year, 841 A.D., which is believed by most to be the age of Dar-ma's death and his persecution. I believed this to be correct, also, until the present study. Next, with this 841 A.D. as the basic year, I attempted to calculate dates in question in early Tibetan history. First I subtracted '273 years' from 841 A.D. to obtain Sroñ-btsan's birth, and then added 137 years (77 plus 60) to 841 A.D. and approached the age of Doctrine-Restoration. As a result I was able to adjust all discrepancies in dates arithmetically. (Note: the '64 years' between the Doctrine-Restoration and Atiça's arrival in Tibet does not come into question, because there is no room for doubt in the lapse of period.) Thus, in order to further substantiate my arithmetical discovery I proceeded to find recorded historical occurrences within the 60-year period. In this, however, I failed contrary to my expectation for the following reasons:

FIRST, I learned that the period to be filled with the said '60 years' is confined within the lapse between 841 and 901 A.D., because the periods preceding 841 A.D. does

not come into the present question, and those succeeding 901 A.D. are occupied by the established duration of '77 years' and '64 years' or together '141 years'. [chap. VII, 2, B(12)]

SECOND, I examined what situations took place within the '60 years' when limited in the period between 841 and 901 A.D., but found that the 60 years indicate no lapse of historical time. However, I tentatively took 845 A.D. (the date of King Hod-stun's birth) and 892 A.D. (the date of Saint Bla-chen's birth) for examination, because these two dates are found within the rationally fixed dates (841-901 A.D., cf. above). But the results of the tests clarified that the dates do not belong to the time 'after' Dar-ma's death and his persecution; rather both dates belong 'prior' to those events (of Dar-ma). Thus, no historical data could be found with the set limits. If so, should I take the 60 years as a blank lapse of period in history? No, because if I do admit the existence of such a blank, there arises an extraordinary matter which would hardly be believable.

The extraordinary matter is this: [see diagram]

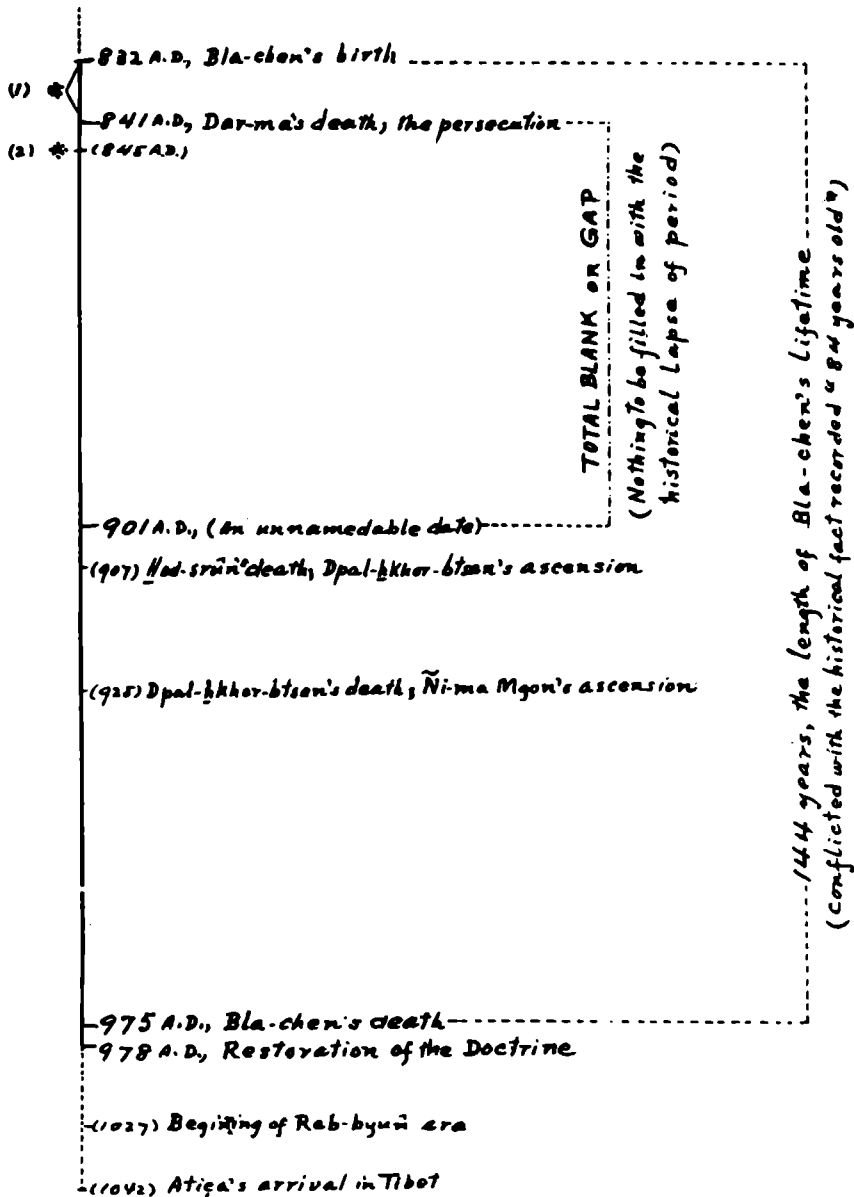
As given in the preceding article, (2), Bla-chen was born '9 years before Dar-ma's persecution' which would correspond to 832 A.D., if we follow the opinion that Dar-ma died in 841 A.D. But, as a matter of historical fact, Bla-chen's death is recorded as 975 A.D., and we cannot alter this established date without sufficient and powerful reasons. (Such reasons for alteration cannot be found in the above mentioned works). Thus, that means that Bla-chen lived from 832 to 975 A.D., a period of 144 years. This not only conflicts with the authentic records which state his death as at the age of 84, but also it is unthinkable that Bla-chen's life lasted 144 years. (The longest age recorded of a Tibetan king is 120 years. The king ruled during the legendary period.)

Another extraordinary matter concerns the birth of King Hod-sruñ. The particulars concerning the inconsistency of Hod-sruñ's birth and Dar-ma's death (if 841 A.D. is assumed) is described in the preceding article 3. It is absurd that 'Prince' Hod-sruñ was born (845 A.D) 5 years after the death of his father-king, Glañ-Dar-ma.

With the preceding examinations I saw the impos-

A Diagram

tentatively drawn with the presumption of the date of
Dar-ma's death and the persecution of the Doctrine in 841 A.D.



* (1) "Bla-chen was born 9 years before the Dar-ma's death etc."

* (2) "845 A.D." — Hod-sruñ can not be born in the 5th year AFTER the death of his father-king, Dar-ma.

sibility of assuming a 60-year period between "Dar-ma's death and persecution and Doctrine-Restoration" without avoiding a radical conflict with other established dates and events of history.

In conclusion though it is in principle necessary to add 60 years to a deficient length of period for chronological adjustment, in so doing to rectify discrepancies of dates, we must discover the essential contents of the 60 years-period. That is, the length of 60 years is a flow of historical events and it is not a blank or a gap in period. Therefore, the division of period of 60 years should not be considered in isolation from the neighbouring periods; rather it should be seen in a sequential relationship with other periods, indicating movements of historical data and events. Such a period of adequate and substantial historical facts covering 60 years cannot be found in Tibetan annals other than that of Bu-ston's among historical source materials in the present research.

The preliminary research which ended in failure

has driven me to this present investigation conducted upon mathematical reasoning based on historical dates and further documentation by events and occurrences in early Tibetan history.

APPENDIX

I. Chronological Table of Some Important dates

(The Dates between Sroñ-btsan and Darma are revised according to the results of the present study)

སྲོང་བཙུན་སྐུ་མོ་ Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, birth, ----- 569 A.D.

(557 - Bu-ston, Ljon-bzañ)

ascension, 581 (569)

ལུ་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ་ Wun-giñ-koñ-jo, arrival (marriage)----- 641

death, 680 (Deb-sñon's Chinese-Records)

སྲོང་བཙུན་སྐུ་མོ་ Sroñ-btsan Sgam-po, death, ----- 650

ཁྲི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་པར་བཅས་ཨག་རྫོང་མས་ Khri-lde Gtsug-brtan-

Mes-Ag-tshoms, birth, 705 or ----- 680

ཀིམ་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ་ Kim-giñ-koñ-jo, (Doring Inscriptions)----- { 707 }
710 }

death, 741 (Deb-sñon's Chinese-Records)

བོད་ཀྱི་འདུམ་གཅེན་མས་ Bod-rgya hdum-gtsigs (Doring Insc.)

Ratification at Ken-çi, China, 821., at Lhasa, ----- 822

Erection of Doring at Lhasa, 823.

རལ་པ་ཙན་ Ral-pa-can, death (Bu-ston, etc.) ----- 841

birth, 806, Ascension, 815 (Doring Insc.)

[Deb-sñon—814-836., Tang Histories—817-842]

ལྷང་དར་མ་ Glañ-Dar-ma, ascension (Bu-ston),-----841 A.D.

(Deb-Sñon's Chinese-Records, 836)

འོད་སྤུང་ Hod-sruñ, birth (Bu-ston),-----845

ལྷ་ཚེ་བ་ Bla-chen, birth, -----892

དཔལ་འཁོར་འཚོ་བ་ Dpal-hkhor-btsan (Bu-ston),-----895

ལྷང་དར་མ་ Glañ-Dar-ma, death & persecution,-----901

ལོ་ཚེ་བ་ Lo-chen, birth, -----958

ལྷ་ཚེ་བ་ Bla-chen, death,-----975

བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉི་དར་ Bstan-pa Phyi-dar (Restoration of Doctrine)-----978

འབྲོ་མ་སྐྱེ་བ་པ་ Hbrom-stom-pa, birth, -----1004

རབ་བྱུང་ཐོག་མ་ Rab-byuñ Thog-ma, Establishment

of the Rab-byuñ-era System -----1027

ཨ་ཏི་ཨ་ Atica, arrival in Tibet,-----1042

(Birth, 982., death, 1054)

ཇིང་གེ་ར་ཉི་མ་ལོ་དར་པ་ Jin-ger gyis Bod dbañ-ba,

Jin-gis Conquest of Tibet, (Ljon-bzañ)-----1206

བུ་སྤྱོད་ Bu-ston (Completion of the Bu-ston Annals);-----1322

Birth, 1290

ཀུན་དགའ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ Kun-dgah Rdo-rje,-----1346

(The author of Deb-ther Dmar-po)

ཚོང་ཁ་པ་ Tson-Kha-pa, birth -----1357

death, 1419

དབ་ཐེར་སྐྱོན་པོ་ Deb-ther Sñon-po (Deb-Sñon)-----1478

(The author, གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་ Gshon-nu-Dpal)

ལྷུ་བ་དང་མོ་ Dalai I. དེག་འདུན་གྱུ་པ་ 1391 -----1476

ལྷུ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ Dalai III. བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུ་མཚོ་ 1454 -----1588

ལྷུ་བ་ལྔ་པ་ Dalai V ལྷོ་བཟང་ལྷུ་མཚོ་ 1617 -----1677

བེ་རུ་རྩ་དཀར་པོ་ Bai-Dürya Dkar-po (Bai-Dkar)-----1687

(སངས་རྒྱལ་ལྷུ་མཚོ་ Sañs-rgyas Rgya-mtsho)

ལྷོ་ལྗོངས་གིས་ཐོད་དབང་བ་ Chinese suzerainty on Tibet-----1720

སི་དུ་འི་སྐུ་མ་རྟེན་མ་ Situ's commentary on Tibetan original Grammar

by ཐུ་མི་མི་རྟོ་ལ། (སི་དུ་མཁའ་པོ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་འཕྲུང་གནས་)-----1744

དཔལ་ག་བསམ་ལྷོ་བཟང་ Dpag-bsam Ljon-bzang (Ljon-bzang)-----1748

(ཐུ་མ་མཁའ་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱེར་)

དེ་ལྷོ་ནུ་དམག་ལྷུ་ཡོས་ལོ་ལ་ཐོད་དུ་བྱུང་ British Expedition into Tibet,-----1903

ལྷུ་བ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་པ་ Dalai XIII. ཐུ་བ་བསྐྱེན་ལྷུ་མཚོ་ 1876-----1933

ལྷུ་བ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་པ་ Dalai XIV. Present Dalai La-ma, -----1934

ད་ལྟའི་ལོ་འདི་ Present year, 'Tree-male-sheep', 29th year

of 16th Rab-byun, རབ་ལྷུང་འབྲུ་རྟེན་པེའི་ཤིང་མོ་ལུག་ལོ་འདི་ནི།-----1955

II. Table of Sexagenary Cycle,

Lo-hkhor Drug-bcu. ལོ་འཁོར་དུག་བརྒྱ

Figures in the parentheses indicate the order of years by Rabbyun

1. (58)	ལིང་པོ་བྱི་	Çin-pho-Byi	甲子	Tree-male-Mouce
2. (59)	ལིང་མོ་གླང་	Çin-mo-Glan	乙丑	Tree-female-Ox
3. (60)	མེ་པོ་རྩུག་	Me-pho-Stag	丙寅	Fire-male-Tiger
4. (1)	མེ་མོ་ཡོལ་	Me-mo-yos	丁卯	Fire-female-Hare
5. (2)	ས་པོ་འབྲུག་	Sa-pho-Hbrug	戊辰	Earth-male-Dragon
6. (3)	ས་མོ་སྤྲུལ་	Sa-mo-Sbral	己巳	Earth-female-Serpent
7. (4)	ལྷུག་པོ་རྩ་	Leags-pho-Rta	庚午	Iron-male-Horse
8. (5)	ལྷུག་མོ་ལྷུག་	Lags-mo-Lug	辛未	Iron-female-Sheep
9. (6)	ཚུ་པོ་སྐྱུ་	Chu-pho-Spre	壬申	Water-male-Ape
10. (7)	ཚུ་མོ་ཉེ་	Chu-mo-Bya	癸酉	Water-female-Bird
11. (8)	ལིང་པོ་ཁྲི་	Çin-pho-Khyi	甲戌	Tree-male-Dog
12. (9)	ལིང་མོ་ཕག་	Çin-mo-Phag	乙亥	Tree-female-Hog
13. (10)	མེ་པོ་བྱི་	Me-pho-Byi	丙子	Fire-male-Mouce
14. (11)	མེ་མོ་གླང་	Me-mo-Glan	丁丑	Fire-female-Ox
15. (12)	ས་པོ་རྩུག་	Sa-pho-Stag	戊寅	Earth-male-Tiger
16. (13)	ས་མོ་ཡོལ་	Sa-mo-yos	己卯	Earth-female-Hare
17. (14)	ལྷུག་པོ་འབྲུག་	Leags-pho-Hbrug	庚辰	Iron-male-Dragon

18. (15) ལུགས་མོ་སྤྲུལ་ *Lcags-mo-Sbrul* 辛巳 Iron-female-Serpent
19. (16) རྩུ་པོ་རྩ་ *Chu-pho-Rta* 壬午 Water-male-Horse
20. (17) རྩུ་མོ་ལྷག་ *Chu-mo-Lug* 癸未 Water-female-Sheep
21. (18) རྩིང་པོ་སྤྲུལ་ *Çin-pho-Spre* 甲申 Tree-male-Ape
22. (19) རྩིང་མོ་བྱ་ *Çin-mo-Bya* 乙酉 Tree-female-Bird
23. (20) མེ་པོ་རྩི་ *Me-pho-Kyi* 丙戌 Fire-male-Dog
24. (21) མེ་མོ་ཕག་ *Me-mo-Phag* 丁亥 Fire-female-Hog
25. (22) ས་པོ་བྱི་ *Sa-pho-Byi* 戊子 Earth-male-Mouse
26. (23) ས་མོ་གླང་ *Sa-mo-Glan* 己丑 Earth-female-Ox
27. (24) ལུགས་པོ་རྩག་ *Lcags-pho-Stag* 庚寅 Iron-male-Tiger
28. (25) ལུགས་མོ་ཡོས་ *Lcags-mo-Yos* 辛卯 Iron-female-Hare
29. (26) རྩུ་པོ་འབྲུག་ *Chu-pho-Hbrug* 壬辰 Water-male-Dragon
30. (27) རྩུ་མོ་སྤྲུལ་ *Chu-mo-Sbrul* 癸巳 Water-female-Serpent
31. (28) རྩིང་པོ་རྩ་ *Çin-pho-Rta* 甲午 Tree-male-Horse
32. (29) རྩིང་མོ་ལྷག་ *Çin-mo-Lug* 乙未 Tree-female-Sheep
33. (30) མེ་པོ་སྤྲུལ་ *Me-pho-Spre* 丙申 Fire-male-Ape
34. (31) མེ་མོ་བྱ་ *Me-mo-Bya* 丁酉 Fire-female-Bird
35. (32) ས་པོ་རྩི་ *Sa-pho-Khyi* 戊戌 Earth-male-Dog
36. (33) ས་མོ་ཕག་ *Sa-mo-Phag* 己亥 Earth-female-Hog
37. (34) ལུགས་པོ་བྱི་ *Lcags-pho-Byi* 庚子 Iron-male-Mouse

38. (35) ལུགས་མོ་གླང་ Lcags-mo-Glan 辛丑 Iron-female-Ox
39. (36) ལུ་ཕོ་སྐག་ Chu-pho-Stag 壬寅 Water-male-Tiger
40. (37) ལུ་མོ་ཡོས་ Chu-mo-Yos 癸卯 Water-female-Hare
41. (38) ལྷིང་ཕོ་འབྲུག་ Ciñ-pho-Hbrng 甲辰 Tree-male-Dragon
42. (39) ལྷིང་མོ་སྐྱུལ་ Ciñ-mo-Sbrul 乙巳 Tree-female-Serpent
43. (40) མེ་ཕོ་རྟ་ Me-pho-Rta 丙午 Fire-male-Horse
44. (41) མེ་མོ་ལུག་ Me-mo-Lug 丁未 Fire-female-Sheep
45. (42) ས་ཕོ་སྐྱེ་ Sa-pho-Spre 戊申 Earth-male-Ape
46. (43) ས་མོ་ལྔ་ Sa-mo-Bya 己酉 Earth-female-Bird
47. (44) ལུགས་ཕོ་ཁྱི་ Lcags-pho-Khyi 庚戌 Iron-male-Dog
48. (45) ལུགས་མོ་ཕག་ Lcags-mo-Phag 辛亥 Iron-female-Hog
49. (46) ལུ་ཕོ་བྱི་ Chu-pho-Byi 壬子 Water-male-Mouse
50. (47) ལུ་མོ་གླང་ Chu-mo-Glan 癸丑 Water-female-Ox
51. (48) ལྷིང་ཕོ་སྐག་ Ciñ-pho-Stag 甲寅 Tree-male-Tiger
52. (49) ལྷིང་མོ་ཡོས་ Ciñ-mo-Yos 乙卯 Tree-female-Hare
53. (50) མེ་ཕོ་འབྲུག་ Me-pho-Hbrng 丙辰 Fire-male-Dragon
54. (51) མེ་མོ་སྐྱུལ་ Me-mo-Sbrul 丁巳 Fire-female-Serpent
55. (52) ས་ཕོ་རྟ་ Sa-pho-Rta 戊午 Earth-male-Horse
56. (53) ས་མོ་ལུག་ Sa-mo-Lug 己未 Earth-female-Sheep
57. (54) ལུགས་ཕོ་སྐྱེ་ Lcags-pho-Spre 庚申 Iron-male-Ape

58. (55) ལུགས་མོ་བྱ། *Leags-mo-Bya* 辛酉 *Iron-female-Bird*
59. (56) ལྷ་པོ་མེ། *Cha-pho-Khyi* 壬戌 *Water-male-Dog*
60. (57) ལྷ་མོ་པག་། *Cha-mo-Phag* 癸亥 *Water-female-Hog*
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Note: * *The commencement of the 1st year of Rab-byun cycle.*
It corresponds to the year, 1027 A.D. (ref. CHAPTER II)