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PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 381. BAND

Brandon Dotson

The Old Tibetan Annals

An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History

With an Annotated Cartographical Documentation
by Guntram Hazod

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Foreword

Since the spectacular discovery of the polyglot cache of ancient manuscripts by A. Stein and P. Pelliot at the famous sealed-up Library Cave (no. 17) of the Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang (in present-day Gansu Province of China) at the turn of the twentieth century, few were aware that the study of many hitherto unknown aspects of Asian, not least Buddhist culture was about to break new ground. And now more than one hundred years after their discovery almost to the day, the manuscripts are still keeping a host of scholars engaged while attempting to unveil many of their secrets. Among the most precious findings, the varied bundles of Tibetan manuscripts and scrolls alone should prove to revolutionize our knowledge of early religious thought and of Buddhism in Tibet, but in particular alter for good the historical study of imperial Tibet. From among the most invaluable palaeographic *trouvailles* detected in the cache, it not least was the subsequent publication and initial translation in 1940–46 by Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, of the most unique Tibetan scrolls – the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* – that prompted the study of early history of Tibet to gain momentum and experience something of a true quantum leap. These early documents must be regarded – in particular so what concerns the *Annals* – as the first and single most important documents available on early Tibetan history. For the history of early Tibet, the general dearth of reliable contemporary sources had remained deplorably tangible and frustrating. Indeed, bereft of these rare Tibetan-language Dunhuang scrolls along with the detection of other minor text fragments in Tibetan unearthed in Central Asian oases, our knowledge of imperial Tibet not only would have been distressingly meagre, but also persistently inconsistent, replete with numerous yawning gaps both what concern the name, title, and identity of major historical figures, but also banning us from numerous details and from establishing a basic, reliable chronology of consecutive state affairs and historical events of the emergent imperial power of Tibet. The same holds true for our knowledge of the basic administrative structure of the empire, as well as the identity, distribution, and expansion of territories held or conquered by the powerful Tibetan dynasty for that matter. The scrolls soon came to be viewed as quite indispensable sources, ideally supplementing (sometimes paralleling, but most often vastly emulating) the information culled from the Chinese *Tang Annals*. Our sparing knowledge of imperial Tibet prior to this point had been hinged upon a few monolithic, epigraphic inscriptions, or stray quotations of similar imperial edicts traced in later medieval, historiographical sources.

The fortuitous, but timely discovery at Dunhuang carries abundant witness of an enduring cultural impact that must have been exerted by China on early Tibetan statecraft and administrative procedures (or Tibetan imitations thereof). By the early eighth century, these practices must have followed in the trail of the introduction or initial distribution into Tibet of a number of Chinese literary classics that served as vehicles and purveyors of age-old civilisatory attainments and techniques. This development evidently had gone hand in hand with the training and apprenticeship of a number of Tibetans at Chinese imperial academies. Confronted with samples of imperial bureaucratic and archival procedures, the Tibetans must have been compelled to improve both style and bureaucratic conventions and mobilise resources to introduce similar norms, however inchoately and piecemeal. Indeed, the *Old Tibetan Annals (OTA)*, more than anything else, demonstrably testifies to the enduring bureaucratic fillip exerted by Chinese administrative conventions and archival standards. Of small surprise, the *OTA* – originally executed by royal Tibetan historiographers and only surviving in this sole and incomplete exemplar that evidently represents no more than a local apograph – is from the viewpoint of genre an annalistic, chronographic work which carries strong reminiscences of the basic Chinese formulaic and annalistic *benji* and *biannian ti* style and idiom mixed with elements of the *nianbiao* format.

Whereas the initial, far from unflawed translation conducted in 1940 – deeming the considerable amount of still unsolved philological pitfalls involved and the level of knowledge at that point – must be regarded as a pioneering effort, the historical study of imperial Tibet since then has made great strides and our

knowledge today rests on a much firmer footing. A renewed translation of the philologically challenging *OTA* long had been overdue, but a path-breaker had to wait until Brandon Dotson took upon himself the ambitious undertaking in his usually dauntless way. The new, now complete and appropriately annotated translation of the *Old Tibetan Annals* presented in this book, is nothing less than sensational. The translation, paying due heed to the orthographical peculiarities of Old Tibetan with its archaic diction, is philologically precise, remaining faithful to its annalistic format yet elegant to the extent the original text allows it with its overtly formulaic and bureaucratic structure. Equally impressive is his competent treatment of the genre and its background, locating the document precisely within its proper historical and cultural context. Dotson no doubt benefitted from the initial translation of the *OTA*. He moreover paid adequate heed to a large number of research papers published since then related to the unravelling of a number of complicated issues characteristic of the Dunhuang documents published by a row of specialists. He also took into account recent relevant scholarship, whether in Western scholarship or Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese contributions. The absorbing study breaks new ground. Our knowledge of the imperial period is vastly improved by this publication. Dotson argues passionately and soberly, and writes with gusto and enthusiasm. The overviews and analyses provided by him are all invariably perspicacious, well-argued, constantly marshalling a good body of evidence for his arguments. It is moreover elegantly written, his style is rewardingly concise and inordinately precise.

The book is divided into several incisive parts consisting of a number of brief contextualising essays and introductions, all instructive for a better appreciation of the key document itself: the actual annotated translation of the *OTA*. Spurred by its content, both its civil and military versions, Dotson has included additional chapters, *inter alia* on imperial marriages and international relations, on historical geography and the emperor's court and the empire's political sites, as well as chapters on administration and administrators, on class and rank, ennoblement and ministerial aristocracy, etc. The book comprises five additional appendices that as essays take up individual issues of particular historical relevance gleaned from the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, such as stray annalistic entries in other documents, delicate questions surrounding the royal succession, the celebrated sack of the Chinese Tang capital, the succession of chief ministers, as well as the regimes of three major emperors. These appendices, all scientific highlights of innovative insights, allow us better to appreciate the enduring success of the empire with its hegemonic imperative and its coercive nature of rule. *In toto*, they enable us for the first time to acquire a proper understanding of the *OTA* – Tibet's First History – as it is now appropriately dubbed.

Of incredible value is the elaborate and annotated cartographical documentation of the geographical-territorial division and distribution of imperial central Tibet by Guntram Hazod, who by now has emerged as a leading expert on Tibetan imperial-era toponyms and geography. He admirably and ingeniously succeeds in identifying an appreciable amount of otherwise little-known imperial toponyms, won from his years of text-reading as well as from his countless travels and in-depth inquiries and investigations in Tibet. His new findings and identity of hitherto unknown imperial burial grounds and tumuli turns a new page in Tibetan historiography. The numerous maps and charts are a feast for the eyes and an astonishing achievement, for the first time the reader is equipped with a visual tool that documents the empire's actual territorial structure and expansive growth. It is a masterful contribution in its own right and vastly enriches and ideally supplements Dotson's text and documentation.

The masterful treatment by Dotson (and the excellent documentation by Hazod), remains a landmark study on imperial Tibet, a standard reference work unsurpassed for years to come. We now eagerly await his forthcoming translation of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the earliest known narrative epic dedicated to a heroic retelling of the feats of Tibet's emperors and ministers – a true wonder of early epic literature of immense beauty, with its inimitable, arcane poetic diction and unique archaic lore.

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Leipzig

Preface and Acknowledgements

The writing of history is of course very important to the formation of identity, and the *Old Tibetan Annals*, Tibet's first known history, is no exception. The *Old Tibetan Annals*, however, is not a heroic foundation myth of the Tibetan Empire or the Tibetan people, but a laconic document written by and for court historiographers. It is partially the document's minimalist nature and the lack of any narrative structure or obvious authorial imperatives that lends the *Old Tibetan Annals* its status as the single most reliable document for early Tibetan history. The royal historiographers who authored the *Annals* were not in the business of writing an engaging or enlightening document, they provide no interlinear comments on the events they record, and they take for granted the transparency of the bureaucratic jargon they employ. As such, there is little or no continuity to the events recorded.

This is not to say that the *Old Tibetan Annals* is "reticent" or defective in some way as a source for Tibetan history. It lacks a unifying narrative, but narrative is not the business of the bureaucrat. It is perhaps this lack of narrative structure that accounts for the esteem historians have for the *Annals* as a privileged historical source: it is far easier to fit such laconic data into one's own historical narrative than it is to reinterpret an already plotted story. Aware of the fact that any attempt to contextualize the *Annals* is to interpret its data within the framework of a just such a "story" that is inevitably a product of the historiographer's own time and place, I have tried to remain faithful to its annalistic form in my translation, but have, via the media of footnotes and a long introduction, effectively transformed the document and contextualized it within a structure familiar to contemporary historians and academics. To do so, some might argue, does violence to the form of the *Annals* and falls prey to a tendency to impose narrative on such forms of historiography. I disagree. I would argue that appreciation for a given form does not preclude the historian's transformation of that form in order to suit his or her purposes. Therefore, while I remain conscious of the unique form of the *Annals*, I elucidate its content with annotation. Indeed (and perhaps this is due to our need for a "story," for which I can offer no apology), a translation of the *Old Tibetan Annals* without the benefit of such contextualization would probably be better suited to an art gallery or experimental theatre. I must emphasize that this is not a value-laden judgment against a minimalist form; the annalists succeeded in writing annals.

The introduction is divided into seven sections. It opens with a general discussion of the *Annals*, its form, and content. This is followed by a short diachronic history of the period covered, and then a discussion of the *Old Tibetan Annals'* contributions to the elucidation of certain historical problems. The third section of the introduction, "Succession and Marriage and the Tibetan Royal Line," considers the rules governing royal succession, the structural relationships of the Tibetan emperors to their maternal and paternal relatives and to the ministerial aristocracy. It goes on to consider the practice of dynastic marriage and the role of Tibet's princesses in forging important alliances. The fourth section of the introduction, "Historical Geography and the *Old Tibetan Annals*" examines the territorial extent of the Tibetan Empire, and complements Guntram Hazod's annotated cartographical survey in Part III of this book. The fifth section of the introduction, "Administration and Administrators in the *Old Tibetan Annals*," discusses many of the administrative measures found in the *Annals* and reviews our knowledge of these and of the functionaries responsible for them. The sixth section of the introduction, "Class and Rank in the Tibetan Empire," reviews the system of ranks employed by imperial Tibet, and the nature of early Tibetan society in general, with reference to class, exchange, and inheritance. It also details the chain of command and in this way contextualizes the administrative measures found in the *Annals*. The long introduction closes with a discussion of the linguistic and orthographic features of the *Old Tibetan Annals* and an explanation of the editing conventions employed here.

The core of this work, an annotated translation of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, is accompanied by transliteration, which follows each individual yearly entry. The transliteration differs slightly from previous transliterations by paying closer attention to Tibetan punctuation. Presented together with the translation, this facilitates easy access to the Tibetan text. Photographic reproductions of the documents themselves appear at the end of the work. While the footnotes are lengthy in places, they are generally viewed in this case as a necessary evil, and are meant to contextualize events that would otherwise remain quite opaque. They are reduced somewhat by the inclusion of a long introduction, which locates the document within its historical and cultural context.

The annotated translation of the *Annals* is followed by five appendices meant to complement the body of the work. Appendix One contains annalistic entries found in other Old Tibetan documents. Appendix Two lists the dates for the royal succession of Tibetan emperors and presents an abbreviated royal genealogy taken from the Old Tibetan document PT 1286. Appendix Three presents translations of passages from the Zhol Pillar and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* narrating the final event described in the *Annals*—the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital. Appendix Four presents an abbreviated version of the “Succession of Chief Ministers,” which forms chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which is compared with the dates given in the *Annals* and other contemporary sources. In a similar vein, Appendix Five lists the regimes of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Khri Lde-srong-btsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan as recorded in their respective edicts.

The appendices are followed by Guntram Hazod’s annotated cartographical survey of the historical geography of early Tibet and the territorial divisions and place names in the *Annals*. This includes annotated maps of the minor kingdoms, the ancient pre-imperial principalities, and a brief survey of relevant burial sites; annotated maps of the eighteen shares of power; the geography of the four Horns of Tibet; the locations of the thousand-districts and administrative districts; the court sites and council sites named in the *Old Tibetan Annals*; and the results of recent expeditions that have led to the identification of Nyen-kar. The place names are documented not only with textual sources, but also with recourse to archaeological evidence and *in situ* fieldwork, and this work includes photographs and satellite imagery in addition to more conventional maps.

For ease of reference there is a table that records the royal residences, council sites, foreign visits, and “royal events,” an index of place names, an index of personal names, and a glossary.

The idea for this book began five years ago when I first attempted a translation of the *Old Tibetan Annals*. Like most good ideas, it is one that many others have had before, and I am grateful to those who have, in the spirit of collaborative scholarship, offered their comments and guidance on various points. First and foremost, I must thank Nathan Hill, who read the first draft in 2003, and whose comments to that and subsequent drafts significantly improved its form and content. His linguistic expertise and eye for precision served as a much-needed corrective to my sometimes too figurative renderings. I am also particularly indebted to Helga Uebach, Per Sørensen, Kazushi Iwao, and Sean Gaffney for their comments and insights. I am also thankful to Kazushi Iwao and Nathan Hill for their assistance with Japanese sources, and to Dongzhi Dorje and Brenda Li. Needless to say, any mistakes that remain are entirely my own.

It is a great privilege to include in this book Guntram Hazod’s maps of imperial Tibet. These are, I believe, the best maps of their kind, composed and annotated by one of the foremost scholars of early Tibetan historical geography. Apart from his willingness to include this excellent work in the book, Guntram Hazod has also shepherded the book through the publication process, and continued to share freely his ideas on many topics, for which I am deeply grateful. I am also indebted to his work and the work of Anna Hazod in undertaking the layout and formatting of the publication.

Preface and Acknowledgements

The book is also greatly enhanced by the inclusion of reproductions of the *Old Tibetan Annals* itself. For this I am deeply thankful to the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften for covering the cost of reproductions and permissions from the British Library in London and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. My thanks also to Sam van Schaik at the International Dunhuang Project.

The publication of several of the documents of the Pelliot collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Stein collection of the British Library, along with syllabic indices, has been particularly useful to this undertaking, and the digital reproduction of these manuscripts online by the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) has rendered the texts more easily accessible. Most recently, Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO) has transliterated several Old Tibetan documents and created an online concordance tool that is of crucial importance to lexicon building. A debt of gratitude is owed to all of those involved in these excellent projects.

The research that went into this book was supported in part by the International Institute of Education's Fulbright Program in China. In addition, the School of Oriental and African Studies supported the publication with a research grant.

PART I
INTRODUCTION

Introducing the *Old Tibetan Annals*

The *Old Tibetan Annals* is Tibet's oldest extant history. Principally a bureaucratic register of events, it is the single most reliable source for the history of the first half of the Tibetan Empire. This record was maintained more or less contemporaneously with the events it describes, with entries added at the end of each year. In each yearly entry the *Annals* records information such as the summer and winter residences of the Tibetan emperor (Btsan-po), the place at which the summer and winter councils ('*dun-ma*) were convened, who convened them, and what, if any measures were taken (taxes, promotions, censuses, etc.). From 692 onward, the location of the council in Mdo-smad, in eastern Tibet, its convenors, and any measures taken there are often recorded as well. Visits from foreign dignitaries, military engagements, dynastic marriages, the birth of a future sovereign, the deaths of important figures, and the performance of funeral rites for the royal family are also recorded.

Standing at the very beginning of Tibet's long and extremely rich historiographical tradition, the *Old Tibetan Annals* occupies a privileged place among the various sources for Tibetan history. It is perhaps worth considering briefly the major sources for early Tibetan history of which the *Annals* forms only a small, albeit very important part. In the study of early Tibetan history, and the period of the Tibetan Empire (600—850) in particular, we can first divide sources into two general categories: those that are roughly contemporary with the events they describe, and those composed retrospectively. These latter sources are often written by Buddhist or Bon-po historians who, from the tenth century onwards looked to the fallen empire as a golden age and eulogized it as such in their histories. In this way figures such as Srong-btsan Sgam-po and Padmasambhava came to the fore in the revealed treasure (*gter-ma*) literature of the Rnying-ma school of Tibetan Buddhism, and another imperial-era sage, Dran-pa Gnam-mkha' (and one of his sons), was mythologized in a similar way by the Bon-po. These later sources, coming as they do after the fall of the Tibetan Empire, are often referred to as "post-dynastic," and they take the shape of religious histories, of which there are various subgenres.¹

On the other side, the early sources also fall into a number of categories. In the first place, there are Tibetan documents, Chinese documents, and documents written in other languages such as Khotanese and Arabic. Among the early Tibetan documents, there are inscriptions carved into standing stelae, messages and records written onto small wooden slips, and documents written with paper and ink. The vast majority of the latter that have come down to us were recovered from the famous Mogao Cave 17, generally known as the cave library at Dunhuang, and most of these are now kept in the British Library in London and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The cave library included documents written in many different languages, and the Tibetan texts form a large and only partially explored corpus in which the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* are perhaps the best-known documents. This corpus has been and continues to be catalogued, and studies and translations of Tibetan Dunhuang documents are multiplying as the field of early Tibetan studies grows both internationally and inside Tibet and China.² These texts, which may have been the property of a local temple, were sealed in the cave probably in the first decade of the eleventh century, and were not disturbed until the turn of the twentieth century (Rong 1999–2000). Their isolation accounts in part for their value to scholars: sitting untouched in a Central Asian cave, these documents knew nothing of later developments in Tibetan cultural history, but rested unedited, unread, and free from (later) tampering.

¹ For a general discussion see van der Kuijp 1996.

² For a brief overview of the many catalogues of collections of Tibetan Dunhuang documents, see Takeuchi 1995: 2, n. 3.

The fragmentary histories from Dunhuang, particularly the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, are sometimes seen as a means to “correct” the narratological and mythological excesses of post-dynastic religious histories. Indeed Giuseppe Tucci used the *Annals* as a sort of baseline for testing (and demonstrating) the validity of the post-dynastic Tibetan historical tradition concerning the outlines of the royal period and the regnal dates of the Tibetan emperors (Tucci 1947). Privileging the early sources, while sometimes justified, must also take account of the imperatives at work even in the earliest texts, be they mythological, royalist, or otherwise. Further, it is evident that the later Tibetan historical tradition is based on equally ancient non-extant histories, some of which were similar to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, so there is little point in dismissing post-dynastic histories as universally corrupted by a veneer of myth (van der Kuijp 1991: 95).³

Along with pillar inscriptions and wooden slips, the Tibetan Dunhuang documents are the earliest corpus of Tibetan writing and represent a vast array of genres. The breadth of the collection of Tibetan Dunhuang documents is particularly interesting considering the conditions under which many of these texts were written. Dunhuang was a crucial, but distant outpost in Tibet’s colonial regime. It was held by the Tibetans from 786 until 848, when a Tibetan colonial regime ruled over Dunhuang’s multi-ethnic population. Located at a key point of the eastern end of the Silk Road, Dunhuang was a center of cultural and economic exchange. It remained so after the fall of the Tibetan Empire, when for at least the next two centuries the Tibetan language was used as a *lingua franca* in Dunhuang and in its dealings with neighboring states (Uray 1981; Uray 1988a; Takata 2000; Takeuchi 2004b).

The social and cultural context of the Tibetan Dunhuang documents and the periodization of Old Tibetan writing is becoming better understood, but in many cases questions remain unanswered. It is clear, for example, that many of the documents were written by non-Tibetans who were only semi-literate, or by those fulfilling tax obligations by serving as scribes. In other cases, individual professional scribes have been identified through forensic handwriting analysis, with themes in their work sometimes apparent (Dalton, Davis, and van Schaik 2007). Perhaps most fundamental is the question of whether the Dunhuang corpus, as a product of its particular time and place, provides information that can be applied to the rest of the Tibetan Empire. This question looms large in analyses of legal and administrative documents, the analysis of general protocols for letters and contracts, and also in matters of religious expression.⁴ In the case of the *Old Tibetan Annals* and many other key documents, it is apparent that they were sent from central Tibet to Dunhuang, and do not represent a regional tradition particular to Dunhuang. The presence of the *Annals* in the Dunhuang corpus is as a result of its chief importance to the Tibetan courtly tradition of record keeping, for which it served as an exemplar.

The tradition of keeping annals probably originated in the early-to-mid-650s, the earliest period the *Old Tibetan Annals* describes (Uray 1975: 161–62; Uray 1984: 344). According to post-dynastic Tibetan histories, such as the mid-to-late thirteenth-century *Rgya bod gyi chos ’byung rgyas pa* of Mkhas-pa Lde’u, Tibet’s legal and administrative practices were first inscribed on wooden slips, and then later transferred to

³ For a case study demonstrating this point, see Uray 1967.

⁴ In the case of religious expression, the argument that Dunhuang materials overlap to a large degree with central Tibetan materials and those found elsewhere has been made convincingly in recent studies by Cathy Cantwell and Rob Mayer, who have documented the close relationship between Dunhuang materials and texts found in the *Rnying ma’i rgyud ’bum* (Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 3–4; Cantwell and Mayer 2008). Similar arguments can also be made in terms of the ostensibly non-Buddhist texts from Dunhuang, which overlap to a significant extent in their content with Bon-po texts recently unearthed from a stupa in Gtam-shul, and also with liturgies found in the *Klu ’bum* other later Bon-po ritual texts (Stein 1971: 484; Karmay 1998 [1991]; Wangdu and Glang-ru 2007; Bellezza 2008: 480–98; Dotson *forthcoming a*).

paper.⁵ It is quite possible that this is true of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and that the early entries were initially written on wooden slips. This is also suggested by the brief and laconic nature of the early entries.⁶

The form of the *Annals* and the bureaucratic practices involved may have been influenced by Tibet's contacts with China (Uray 1975: 69; Bjerken 2001: 28–29). The *Old Tang Annals* (*Jiu Tangshu*) records Srong-btsan Sgam-po's (c. 605–649) impressions of Chinese culture following the arrival in Tibet in 641 of the Chinese princess, Wencheng.

He also discarded his felt and skins, put on brocade and silk, and gradually copied Chinese civilization. He also sent the children of his chiefs and rich men to request admittance into the national schools to be taught the classics, and invited learned scholars from China to compose his official reports to the emperor. (Bushell 1880: 445; cf. Pelliot 1961: 5; Lee 1981: 10–11).

Though it is possible that the Chinese historiographers exaggerated the Tibetan emperor's Sinophilic tendencies, there is little reason to assume that the report is incorrect altogether. The last line in particular indicates that Chinese men of letters handled the task of official correspondence at the Tibetan court. This relates to a period shortly before the annalistic tradition began in Tibet, so it is not unlikely that the Tibetans were directly influenced, if not guided by, Chinese bureaucratic practices. The relationship between the Tibetan Empire and the Tang was perhaps closer at this time than in any other period of their relations.

The *Old Tibetan Annals* itself served the purpose not only of acting as a record of events, but also as a bureaucratic manual for government scribes. Annals of this sort were kept by the central Tibetan authority, and also by the regional assemblies such as that of the 'A-zha, those of the various colonial military governments (*khrom*) on Tibet's borders, and that of Bde-blon-khams, a massive province bordering China in the northeast and stretching over the Tibetan Empire's northern borders.

In addition, the formulaic start to the entry for each year—"in the year of the [animal] the Btsan-po resided in [place name]"—served also as a date marker for contracts and for bureaucratic correspondence by distinguishing, for example, one year of the tiger in the twelve year cycle from another year of the tiger falling twelve years before or after. As such, the formula played a similar, though more precise role than the five elements that were later added to the twelve animals to constitute the sixty-year cycle. In this way, time itself was centralized by the figure of the Tibetan emperor.

In the various military governments the date would be reckoned without the mention of the Tibetan emperor's residence, but using a similar formula: "in the year of the [animal], [official's name] convened the

⁵ The relevant passage is as follows: "Concerning the six institutions, the administration (*khod*) of Tibet was carried out at Kyi Sho-ma-ra. The one who arranged the administration was Mgar Stong-btsan. He had six *mdzo*-loads of paper brought, and wrote down what had been previously arranged using pebbles and wooden slips, but was frustrated by the inappropriateness of his legal manual." (*khod drug ni/ bod kyi khod kyi shod ma rar byas/ khod shom mkhan mgar stong btsan gyis byas te/ shing bu dang rde'u yan chad rtsis nas/ shog bu mdzo khal longs pa la bris pas khrims byang ma thebs par 'khrugs te/*) (*Lde'u*: 271; 152a, l.7—152b, l.1). Cf. the parallel passage in *KhG*: 185. The "six institutions" (*khod-drug*) form a part of the *Section on Law and State*, a chapter containing numerous legal and administrative catalogues, and which is found in several post-dynastic histories. The three most complete versions are found in *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* of Mkhas-pa Lde'u (hereafter abbreviated *Lde'u*), the *Chos 'byung chen po bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* of Lde'u Jo-sras (hereafter, *Jo sras*) and the mid-sixteenth-century *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba (hereafter, *KhG*). A comparison of these three main versions with parallel Old Tibetan traditions forms the basis of Dotson 2007a.

⁶ I am indebted to Tsuguhito Takeuchi for this observation, made at the Old Tibetan Workshop of the 11th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Bangkok, 9 December 2005. In the *Annals* we indeed find explicit reference to the adoption of paper for administrative measures, such as the red tally, that previously employed wooden slips (Uebach 2008; *infra*, entry for 744-745; and fn. 215 to the entry for 702-703).

summer / winter council at [place name].”⁷ This formula served not only to date the document, but to place it geographically. Unfortunately, as this dating system relied on widespread knowledge of the identities and careers of important officials and the residence of the Tibetan emperor in a specific year, its usefulness faded as these facts were forgotten. The role of the *Annals* as an example on which other regional military governments could model their own annals may well be the reason for its presence and survival in Dunhuang.

The chronology of the *Old Tibetan Annals* deserves some explanation. Each entry (apart from the preamble and some of the entries in Version II; see *infra*) begins with the dating formula, “it fell on the year of the [animal].” For example, the first full entry, for the year 650-651, states, “it fell on the year [of] the dog” (*khyl lo la bab ste*). The entry then contains a record of that year. The Tibetan year, based on both solar and lunar calendars, does not correspond to the Gregorian calendar, so each entry in the *Annals* is not a record of the events from 1 January to 31 December. During the imperial period, before the adoption of the sexagenary cycle from China and the subsequent adoption of the Kālacakra calendar in 1027, the Tibetan year was divided into four seasons, each with three months.⁸ To these there was often added an intercalary or “extra” (*ldab-ma*) month. In some entries in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (675-676, 704-705), the year begins in spring, while in others (701-702, 708-709, 725-726, 726-727) it ends in spring. Based on this, and also on the fact that another Old Tibetan document, PT 1089, refers to the fourth day of the third month of spring as belonging to the same dog year as the subsequent summer months, Yamaguchi (1984: 408) argues that the Tibetan year began with the third month of spring. To this we can add the dating formulae found in the fragmentary *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*, where a few entries begin, “The new year[’s day] of the [animal] year...they celebrated the great *sku-bla* ceremony of the first summer month” (*xxx lo'i lo sar dang...dbyar sla ra ba'i sku bla chen po gsol*) (Uray 1978: 556).⁹ This indicates that the first summer month was shortly after the new year (*lo-sar*), if not the new year itself. Yamaguchi further argues that the third spring month was roughly equivalent to the fourth lunar month of the Tang calendar. In fact, we find a short Chinese–Tibetan vocabulary in the Dunhuang document Pelliot chinois 2762 that includes all of the months of the year, and this states that the first month of spring (*dpyid-sla ra-ba*) corresponds to the first Chinese month, and the last month of spring (*dpyid-sla tha-cungs*) to the third Chinese month (Pelliot 1961: 143–44). Working with very rough equivalences due to the non-correspondence of the calendars, this equates roughly to April of the Gregorian calendar. As a result, a yearly entry in the *Annals* in fact comprises the last three quarters or so of one year and the first quarter or so of the next in the Gregorian calendar. It is for this reason that many scholars refer to years in the *Annals* with two separate years, usually separated by a forward slash (e.g. the first entry, for the year of the dog, is “650/651”). To avoid giving the impression that this signifies vacillation between two years, I adopt a different format, e.g., “650-651.” Again, with the caveat that we are dealing here with only rough equivalence, the old Tibetan calendar’s correspondences with the Western calendar’s months of the year can be sketched as follows:

⁷ In the various colonial military governments (*khrom*), assemblies were held in both summer and winter. See, for example, Takeuchi 1995: 139–44.

⁸ For further details on the early Tibetan calendar, see Haarh 1969: 422–23. On the Tibetan use of the Chinese sexagenary cycle of twelve animals combined with five elements, see Uray 1984.

⁹ See, however, Yamaguchi 1984, where *sar* in this year change formula is read as a verb.

| Tibetan month | Western month |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Last spring month (<i>dpyid sla tha-cung</i>) | April |
| First summer month (<i>dbyar sla ra-ba</i>) | May |
| Middle summer month (<i>dbyar sla 'bring-po</i>) | June |
| Last summer month (<i>dbyar sla tha-cung</i>) | July |
| First autumn month (<i>ston sla ra-ba</i>) | August |
| Middle autumn month (<i>ston sla 'bring-po</i>) | September |
| Last autumn month (<i>ston sla tha-cung</i>) | October |
| First winter month (<i>dgun sla ra-ba</i>) | November |
| Middle winter month (<i>dgun sla 'bring-po</i>) | December |
| Last winter month (<i>dgun sla tha-cung</i>) | January |
| First spring month (<i>dpyid sla ra-ba</i>) | February |
| Middle spring month (<i>dpyid sla 'bring-po</i>) | March |

Although this is far from precise, it at least demonstrates that when referring to events described in the *Annals*, one can, for example, assume that the summer council in the snake year 693-694 fell in 693, and allow for the possibility that the winter council of the same year took place in 694.

Like the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the *Old Tibetan Annals* only contains information up to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan (ruled 756–c.800), ending with the sack of the Chinese capital and the victorious return of Tibet's generals in 764. The practice of keeping the yearly entries in the *Annals* did not end, however, in 764; it is only our misfortune that a complete set of *Annals* has yet to come to light. This is confirmed by the fact that included in the introduction to the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* is an entry dating to the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (ruled c.798–815):

In the year of the horse,¹⁰ Emperor Khri Lde-srong-btsan's court resided in 'On-cang-do in Skyi. The old armies of the upper and lower regions were rotated, and they subdued the great thieves. A Gar-log emissary paid homage. Chief minister Zhang Khri-zur Ram-shags and Mang-rje Lha-lod and others took many gifts from China, and offered to the hands [of Khri Lde-srong-btsan] several camels, horses and oxen. He bestowed rewards on everyone from the rank of minister downwards. At that time... (*rta'i lo la btsan po khri lde srong btsan pho brang skyi'i 'on cang rdo na bzhugs/ stod smad kyi dmag mying rjed dang rkun chen btul/ gar log gi pho nyas phyag btsal/ blon chen po zhang khri zur ram shag dang / mang rje lha lod la sogs pas rgya las gnangs mang po bcad de/ rnga rta dang lang phal mo che phyag tu phul/ zhang blon man chad so sor bya dga' stsal ba'i lan la*).¹¹

¹⁰ This can be either 802-803 or 814-815, with the later date the more likely one.

¹¹ This transliteration is based on the critical edition in Ishikawa 1990: 1. For a French translation, see Uray 1975: 159, and for an English translation see Kapstein 2000: 52. By way of comparison, Simonsson (1957: 239–41) analyzed this passage from the version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* contained in the “*Oslo Bstan 'gyur*,” and translated it into German.

While most documents would simply recount the year and the residence of the emperor or the site of the council as a dating formula, the importance of this document as part of the imperial project of Buddhist translation seems to have warranted the inclusion of an entire entry.¹²

In addition to such fragments, a damaged section of another set of annals, the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*, covering the years 706-707 to 714-715 and the arrival in Tibet of the Chinese Princess of Jincheng (Kim-sheng Kong-co), has been published by Thomas (1951: 8–16) and treated by Petech (1956), Yamaguchi (1970a), and Uray (1978).

Though referred to here as a single text, the *Old Tibetan Annals* as such is non-extant. What we have instead are two fragmentary versions of the *Old Tibetan Annals*. Version I covers the years from 650-651 to 747-748 and the redactor, presumably excerpting the *Annals* for the benefit of a civil board, seems to have focused mostly on what might be called civil matters, prompting Uray (1975: 165) to dub it the “civil version.” Version II of the *Annals* is not nearly as long as the Version I, and only overlaps with it for five years, from its beginning in 743-744 through 747-748. After 747-748 there is a hiatus of seven years until the next entry in 755-756. The entries then continue up to 764-765, after which the entries for 764-765, 761-762, and then 762-764¹³ are repeated clumsily in a different hand in what I refer to as the “Annals Fragments.” The events narrated in these annals are mostly of a military nature, and, again following Uray, who assumes that the redactor excerpted the military features in the original text of the *Annals* for the benefit of a military board, I refer to Version II sometimes as the “military version.”

Like many other Old Tibetan Dunhuang documents, Version I has been broken into pieces. The first part of this document resides in the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the shelf mark Pelliot tibétain 1288, while the rest is held in the Stein Collection of the British Library under the shelf mark IOL Tib J 750 (also abbreviated ITJ 750). Version I of the *Annals* was probably compiled in the mid-ninth century (Uray 1975: 163), but as mentioned already, the data it contains are nearly contemporaneous with the dates in the yearly entries, probably entered at the end of each year, and are certainly not retrospective creations. Bacot translated Version I of the *Annals* into French in 1940–1946 (*DTH*: 13–52).

Concerning the first section of the Version I, although the first dated entry is for 650-651, there are some entries that precede it. Tragically, the paper is torn at this point, so towards the top of the page only half of each sentence can be read. Because of the missing portions, it is difficult to tell how far the text goes back chronologically. Due to the fact that several of these same events are recounted in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, however, Richardson (1998 [1965]: 7–11) was able to plausibly reconstruct several of the missing parts of the text, and my translation, though it does not follow his readings entirely, is greatly indebted to his work. This also brings up another point about the preamble, namely that its content is more closely related to the narrative of the *Chronicle* than to the subsequent entries of the *Annals*. This, along with some of its linguistic features which will be considered below, signals the preamble as something apart from the rest of the *Annals*. Version I of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, like so many other Old Tibetan Dunhuang documents, is written on the reverse side of a Chinese Buddhist sutra, in this case the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra*, in 224 columns (Enoki 1962: 248; *CD2*: 31–32).

Version II of the *Annals*, previously held in the British Museum, is now housed in the British Library with the shelf mark OR 8212 (187). The document post-dates the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang in c.786, but it is difficult to date with any precision (Uray 1965: 163). As with the Version I, however, the information was

¹² Further such scattered annalistic entries, including those found in the Drepung and Tabo versions of the *Sgra sbyor ham po gnyis pa*, are translated in Appendix One.

¹³ The entry here, recording the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in fact comprises not one, but two years (Uray 1991: 205–06).

originally compiled almost at the same time as the events it describes, and what remains is only a copy, or perhaps even a scribal exercise based on a copy. Thomas translated this version into English in 1940–1946 (*DTH*: 53–75). Like Version I, Version II is written on the back of a Chinese medicine Buddha sutra, the *Yao shi jing* (Barnett: 215).

To complicate matters, several entries in Version II of the *Annals* do not contain the opening dating formula, but leave a blank space where it was to have been entered. Because of the overlap of the two versions of the *Annals* from the first entry of Version II in 743–744 through 747–748, and due to the dating formulae found in all but the first of these entries in Version II, the dates it covers may be identified. As mentioned above, Version II jumps several years at this point. I have stated that the next entry is for the year 755–756, but this is not undisputed, and the dating formula is again missing in the first entry after this lacuna. The only date found from here until the end of Version II is in the next entry, for the year of the monkey, which must correspond to 756–757. This period between 755–756 and 764–765 is a highly eventful one in Tibet and China. Both were rocked by internal turmoil, with the Anlushan rebellion in China erupting at the end of 755 and the assassination of the Tibetan emperor, Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, probably in the same year. Tibet made significant military campaigns into Chinese territory at this time as well, leading to their famous, albeit short-lived capture of the Chinese capital in 763. These events are recorded in Chinese sources in some detail, and the difficulty of harmonizing these accounts with that of the *Old Tibetan Annals* lies at the heart of the chronological problems concerning Version II. As a preliminary solution, Beckwith (1987: xvii–xviii; 146, n. 14; 148–49, n. 23) dated the last part of Version II to between 756 and 764. This was a tentative solution, however, and Beckwith noted that the matter could only be resolved through a close comparison of the Chinese and Tibetan sources. Fortunately, Géza Uray undertook just such a meticulous study not long after, and demonstrated a workable solution: the final part of Version II covers the years from 755–756 to 764–765, and this is achieved by the fact that the penultimate entry is not for a single year, but for two. In other words, the penultimate entry is for both the tiger year 762–763 and the hare year 763–764, and the final entry is for the dragon year 764–765 (Uray 1991: 203–05).

The document on which Version II is written ends with the “Annals Fragments.” This consists of entries for the years 764–765, 761–762, and 762–764, and close with an answer to a petition from a local Chinese subject king. The “Fragments” were not translated by Thomas, but may be found in the OTDO transliteration (Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 358). They are written in a very rough hand, include no punctuation, and are full of spelling mistakes. If nothing else, the presentation of the “Annals Fragments” here makes for a salutary lesson in just how sloppy Old Tibetan writing can be.

The history of the study of the *Old Tibetan Annals* bears witness to the internationalization of Tibetan studies and some of the attendant political issues that have accompanied its rise. The documents comprising the *Annals* were taken from Dunhuang by Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot, to be housed in the British Museum and British Library in London and in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. This act is viewed in China as a theft of Chinese cultural inheritance, and continues to be raised as an issue. Due in part to their privileged access to the documents in Paris and London, Jacques Bacot and F.W. Thomas respectively translated Version I and Version II of the *Old Tibetan Annals* in 1940–1946. Bacot’s work was not solitary, however, and he was not confined to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Indeed he travelled to Sikkim where he enlisted the help of Mthar-phyin Bha-bu-lags, the famous Christian convert and publisher of the first Tibetan newspaper, *Melong*. It was through Mthar-phyin that Bacot’s trajectory intersected with that of another path-breaking historian of early Tibet, Gendun Chömpel, who Tharchin enlisted to help with translating and making sense of the documents Bacot had brought with him, presumably reproductions of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the *Royal Genealogy*, and the *Old Tibetan Annals*. Chömpel was aggrieved by what he perceived among his countrymen as indifference to their own history, and he was fascinated by inscribed pillar edicts,

Chinese histories such as the *Tang Annals*, and by the ancient documents that came to him from Bacot by way of Tharchin (Stoddard 1985: 206).

Tragically, the study of Tibetan history that Chömpel envisioned as his magnum opus was derailed when he was imprisoned and his notes were appropriated. Published posthumously in his collected works and independently as the *Deb ther dkar po*,¹⁴ Gendun Chömpel's work on early history has acted as a foundation stone for the study of early Tibetan history within Tibetan and Chinese scholarship, and his glosses are cited approvingly in later works by Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]), Gnya'-gong Dkon-mchog Tshe-brtan (1995), Huang Bufan and Ma De (2000), and numerous others.

Tibetan and Chinese engagement with the *Old Tibetan Annals* and other Old Tibetan documents came comparatively late, and was by necessity informed by reproductions of these documents in international publications. Much of the Dunhuang Tibetan corpus is now available online, and has also been reproduced in recent Chinese publications, giving added momentum to an already flourishing subfield of Old Tibetan studies in Tibet and China.¹⁵

Prior to this recent boom in early Tibetan studies on the Tibetan plateau, the study of the *Annals* and other Old Tibetan documents thrived in Europe, Japan, and the United States, where scholars improved upon the pioneering work of Bacot and Thomas. In particular, Chang Kun (1959–60) wrote a long article on the *Annals*, organized thematically, and Uray (1975) wrote a solid introduction to the *Annals*, as did Bjerken (2001: 20–30). Petech (1967), in an important article, analyzed the most problematic entries in the *Annals* and discussed issues of historical geography. In addition to these works, there are several others that deal more generally with Tibetan history and language, and which come to bear directly on the *Annals*. Salient among these are the contributions of Uray (1960, 1962a, 1962b, 1971, and 1978), Uebach (1988, 1997, 2003, and 2008), Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]), Stein (1952 and 1963), Yamaguchi (1969, 1970a), Róna-tas (1978), Richardson (1998 [1965]), and Beckwith (1983, 1987). The profusion of scholarship on the *Annals* and on early Tibetan social and cultural history both internationally and within Tibet and China make it possible now to offer a full translation of the *Annals* that can significantly improve upon previous works.

The Tibetan Empire, a Brief Survey

Here I will give a brief synoptic history of the first half of the Tibetan Empire, and then underline the contributions of the *Old Tibetan Annals* to certain historical issues of this period.

The Yar-lung Kingdom expanded to become the Tibetan Empire through a process of conquest that began in earnest in the mid-sixth century.¹⁶ This was initiated by Srong-btsan Sgam-po's grandfather, Stag-bu

¹⁴ The *Deb ther dkar po* seems to have been first published in Darjeeling in or before 1960. For more on this work and a review of Samten Norboo's 1978 English translation, see Richardson 1988 [1978]. In fact, Chömpel's work was more focused on the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the *Tang Annals*, and he only treated the first thirty entries in Version I of the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

¹⁵ In terms of the status of Old Tibetan studies in Tibet and China, special mention must be made of the recent publication of a large volume on Old Tibetan studies edited by Kha-sgang Bkra-shis Tshe-ring (2003). In a recent article on "Tibetan Tibetology," Kapstein (2007) reviews this volume and considers the identity politics underlying such work, along with the field and its prospects.

¹⁶ I consciously differentiate the "Yar-lung Kingdom" and the "Tibetan Empire" based on the fact that the former was confined to Yar-lung and 'Phyong-rgyas, while the latter expanded to control disparate peoples and territories, and thus warrants the name empire. This is a welcome standardization, as all too often these terms are mistakenly employed as if they were interchangeable. In a recent article, for example, Cuevas (2006: 51) makes a noble effort to standardize the periodization

Snya-gzigs. At this time, Stag-bu Snya-gzigs was the ruler of just one of many rival kingdoms. As recounted in the third chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Yar-lung's northern neighbor, the kingdom of Ngas-po, had grown powerful by conquering Yel-rab Sde-bzhi and Klum [ro] Ya-gsum, the lands of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo. The ruler of Ngas-po, known by the similar name Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum, alienated his subjects by his harsh and unjust rule, and some of them, notably members of the Dba's, Myang, Gnon, and Tshes-pong clans, secretly pledged their allegiance to Stag-bu Snya-gzigs, and together plotted to overthrow Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum. As with so many other political intrigues in Tibet's history, this one also involved marriage, since Stag-bu Snya-gzigs' sister was one of Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum's wives.

This plan was thwarted, however, when Stag-bu Snya-gzigs was kidnapped by the 'Ol-god clan, who, having provided him with an heir-bearing wife, stood in relation to him as his bride-givers and as his heir's maternal uncle clan (*zhang*). The 'Ol-god clan controlled the area called Gnubs-mtsho Gling-dgu near Yar-'brog Lake. After seizing King Stag-bu Snya-gzigs, they turned him over to Klu-dur, the king of Lho-brag, who kept Stag-bu imprisoned and demanded a ransom.¹⁷ This may have been the event that led to King Stag-bu's death and the postponement of the plot against Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum.¹⁸ The plot against Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum was taken up, however, by Stag-bu Snya-gzigs' sons, Slon-mtshan and Slon-kol, and the former conquered Ngas-po, seized territories stretching down to Rkong-po, and became the first Tibetan ruler to preside over what could justly be called an empire. Through alliance and conquest, he soon added to his empire the lands of Sum-pa and Gtsang-Bod, the latter corresponding generally to Upper Gtsang (Hazod, *infra*, Part III).

These conquests all adhered to a model whereby ministerial / clan interests and imperial interests coincided. The case of Gtsang-Bod illustrates this model perfectly: Khyung-po Spung-zad Zu-tse defected from Zhang-zhung, conquered Gtsang-Bod, and offered its twenty-thousand households to Emperor Slon-mtshan. Slon-mtshan promptly granted them back to Zu-tse as his own lands. More than empty ceremony, this formality enshrined the Tibetan Empire's model of expansion as one in which self-interest and imperial interest coincided, and it served to hold together this coalition of conquests through patron-client relationships centered on the figure of the Tibetan emperor.

Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan was poisoned, and his death precipitated the revolt of several of the newly conquered territories. This rebellion was fiercely put down, however, by Slon-mtshan's young son and successor, Khri Srong-btsan, alias Srong-btsan Sgam-po. During his reign, Srong-btsan Sgam-po conquered Zhang-zhung, attacked the 'A-zha and the Turks, and won a battle for succession by orchestrating the death of his brother, Btsan-srong. At this point, Tibet was truly an empire, and would soon enter into alliances with its neighbors and govern disparate peoples such as the 'A-zha, Mthong-khyab, and Chinese.

The Tibetans came into conflict with the 'A-zha, a Turkic people who, known to the Chinese as the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, constituted a buffer state between China and Tibet. It was as a direct result of Tibet's growing military power on China's western border that the Chinese emperor, Taizong 太宗 (626–649) in 641 granted a marriage with Princess Wencheng 文成. This marked the true beginning of Tibet's long and tenuous relationship with China.

of Tibetan history, but unfortunately refers to the period of the Yar-lung Kingdom as the "early imperial period." Needless to say, there is nothing "imperial" about a small kingdom composed of local, more or less identical, clan-based units.

¹⁷ This is recounted in the *Chronicle Fragments* relating to Stag-bu Snya-gzigs (PT 1144).

¹⁸ Later Bon histories, however, such as the *Bsgrags pa gling grags* and the *Rgyal rabs bon gyi 'byung nas*, whose relevant passage is based on the former text, maintain that Stag-bu was rescued by a Bon-po (Uray 1972a: 37–38, n. 91). Whatever the case may be, this scrap of narrative, referred to by Uray as part of the "*Chronicle Fragments*," illustrates the precarious nature of the Yar-lung Kingdom not long before its period of rapid expansion.

The fledgling empire was held together by powerful ministers such as Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse and Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang, who governed large areas of territory as their personal fiefs during the first half of the seventh century. These ministers came into conflict with one another, however, and the preamble to the *Annals* contains fragments relating to Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang's fall from grace. As narrated in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, this was the result of slander and plotting by Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse. Zu-tse, however, would soon meet a similar fate when his plot to assassinate Srong-btsan Sgam-po was uncovered by Mgar Stong-rtsan, resulting in Zu-tse's death. This dynamic of deadly rivalry between ministers is found throughout the history of the Tibetan Empire, and ministerial plots to assassinate the Btsan-po are also quite common, and indeed resulted in the deaths of emperors Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (c.612), Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (c.755), and probably also Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (841).

The most powerful minister in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and perhaps in the history of Tibet, was Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung, who served under both Srong-btsan Sgam-po (reigned c.612–649) and Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (reigned 649–676). As recorded in the *Annals*, Mgar standardized the administrative and legal systems of the Tibetan Empire in 654–655 and 655–656, and played a central role in the conquest of the kingdom of 'A-zha in 663, after which it became part of the Tibetan Empire as a “minor kingdom” (*rgyal-phran*) under Tibetan domain. After his death, Mgar Stong-rtsan's sons served as chief ministers, and eventually their power grew to rival that of the Tibetan emperor.

Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan was likely no more than seven years old when he became emperor in 649 upon the death of his grandfather, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, and he remained in Nyen-kar and Mer-ke for the first eight years of his reign. He died in 676, and his son, Khri 'Dus-srong, was born shortly after. For the first thirteen years of his reign, Khri 'Dus-srong remained in Nyen-kar. It was during his reign that the Mgar clan built their own empire in Bya-phu and in the northeast among the 'A-zha. Once Khri 'Dus-srong reached adulthood (he was coronated in 685), however, he put down the Mgar rebellion, and his song of chastisement in this context is one of the most famous songs in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.¹⁹ This conflict became heated in 695, and was resolved in 699 when Khri 'Dus-srong defeated Mgar's forces in battle, and the survivors fled to China.

This period of Mgar supremacy, sometimes referred to as the “Mgar Shogunate,” transpired at a time when the Tibetan emperors were young and incapable of ruling on their own. This in some ways prefigures the later dynamic whereby Tibet was ruled by powerful regents during the minorities of the Dalai Lamas, many of whom died young, and in suspicious circumstances. During this period, Tibet's empire expanded at an astounding rate. By 670, they controlled the area around Kashgar, conquered the city-states of Khotan and Kucha, and accepted the submission of the powerful empire of the Western Turks (Beckwith 1987: 30–34). These would all be contested conquests that the Tibetans would lose and win back more than once in their efforts to gain the upper hand in exacting tribute from the Central Asian city-states on the Silk Road, the main prize sought by the Chinese, Turks, Arabs, and Uighurs throughout this period.

After his defeat of the Mgar, Emperor Khri 'Dus-srong continued his campaigns, and went to the southeast to subjugate the Mywa people in what would become the Nanzhao Kingdom. He died there in 704, just after the birth of his son, Rgyal Gtsug-ru, who would later be coronated with the name Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. Khri 'Dus-srong's untimely death led to a battle for succession between Rgyal Gtsug-ru and his half brother, Lha Bal-po. The former was supported by his grandmother, Lady Khri-ma-lod, and her clan, the 'Bro. Similarly, Lha Bal-po was supported by his mother, Princess Ga-tun, who was either a Turkic or 'A-zha

¹⁹ For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 161–65. Chab-spel (1993: 423–26) translated the song into modern Tibetan, and portions of the song have been translated into French by Macdonald (1971: 352) and into English by Karmay (1998 [1996]: 439), Beyer (1992: 276–77), and Zeisler (2004: 321, 324, 341, and 427), the latter with grammatical annotation.

princess.²⁰ At this time, Lady Khri-ma-lod was the most powerful political figure in Tibet, and her candidate won out. Princess Ga-tun died not long after, and her funeral is recorded in the *Annals*' entry for 708-709.

The most important royal figure during the period of these infant rulers was undoubtedly "Empress" 'Bro Khri-ma-lod, first as the mother of Khri 'Dus-srong, and then as the grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan. The entries for the years from 700-701 to 712-713 faithfully record her whereabouts as if she were a Tibetan emperor, and after her death in the winter of 712-713 she is accorded a royal burial at Phying-ba in the winter of 713-714. The only other burials at Phying-ba recorded in the *Annals* are those of Emperor Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po), Emperor Khri Mang-slön, and Emperor Khri 'Dus-srong. As such, it would not be a stretch to regard her, like her Chinese contemporary, Wu Zetian 武则天 (690–705), as nothing less than an empress.

Before the coronation of Rgyal Gtsug-ru as Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan in 712, the second Chinese princess, Kim-shang Kong-co (the Princess of Jincheng 金城), arrived as the young Rgyal Gtsug-ru's bride. This is recorded in the *Annals*' entry for the dog year 710-711. Although she was unhappy in Tibet, and plotted to escape in 723, the second Chinese princess seems to have been instrumental in introducing Buddhism to the Tibetan court. In fact, many of the great deeds, temple building and so forth attributed to the first Chinese princess by later Tibetan historians were probably the efforts of the Princess of Jincheng (Richardson 1998a).

The first half of the eighth century was a time of great military strength for the Tang, who recaptured many of the territories they had lost to the Tibetans. To the northwest, the Arabs made strong inroads as well, sacking Bukhara, Samarkand, and other territories. In the 750s, Tibet was at its weakest, and was riven by a civil war and the assassination of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan in c.755. Intriguingly, this period of extended bad news is missing from Version II of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, where there are no entries for the years from 747-748 to 754-755. It is evident that the manuscript was cut at this point, with another part of it adhered, and that this accounts for the missing years (*infra*, "Linguistic and Orthographic Features of the *Old Tibetan Annals*"). The events that marked this troubled period are alluded to by parts of the entry for the sheep year 755-756: "[t]he soldiers sacked the father's entourage... They banished the bondservants of Lang [and] 'Bal; they were sent to Mtong sod... They assessed (confiscated) wealth of the disgraced Lang [and] 'Bal." The likely reason for these reprisals directed against Lang and 'Bal is explained in the Zhol Pillar inscription, which dates to c.764. Lines 1–20 of the south face inscription read:

During the reign of Emperor Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan, Ngan-lam Klu-khong carried out his loyal duties. 'Bal Ldong-tsab and Lang Myes-zigs, though acting as chief ministers, became disloyal and did harm to the body of the Btsan-pho, the father, Khri lde-gtsug-rtsan, and he departed to heaven. They came close to harming the body of the Btsan-pho, the son, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. The realm of black-headed Tibetans being in a state of strife, Klu-khong demonstrated the fact of 'Bal and Lang's disloyalty, and offering it to the ears of the Btsan-pho, the son, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, 'Bal and Lang's disloyalty became true [evident] and they were disgraced. Klu-khong was loyal. (*btsan pho khri lde gtsug rtsan gyi ring la' // #/ngan lam klu khong gyis// glo ba nye ba'i rje blas byas pa // 'bal ldong tsab dang/ lang myes zigs/ blon po chen pho byed byed pa las/ glo ba ring_s nas// btsan pho yab khri lde/ gtsug rtsan gyi sku la dard te/ dgung du gshegs so/// btsan pho sras khri srong lde brtsa_n gyi sku la ni dard du nye// bod mgo nag po'i srid ni 'khrug du byed pa las/ klu khong gis/ 'baḡ dang/ lang glo ba rings pa'l gta_n gtsigs//*

²⁰ Beckwith (1987: 73) finds it likely that he was the son or relative of Queen Ga-tun (meaning "princess" in Turkish: *qatun*), whose funeral is recorded in the winter of the snake year 708-709. Uebach (1997b: 59, n. 12) extends the possibility that she was a daughter of the 'A-zha Khagan. Vitali (1990: 26, n. 31) advances the theory that Khri-ma-lod forced Khri 'Dus-srong to the margins even before his death, and that Lha Bal-po accompanied him. Were this to be substantiated, it would reveal two factions: Khri 'Dus-srong and Lha Bal-po on the one hand and Khri-ma-lod and Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan on the other.

btsan pho sras khrl sro_{ng} lde brtsan gyi snyan du gsold na_s 'bal dang / lang glo ba rings / bden par gyurd te/ khong ta nl bkyon phab ste// klu khong glo ba nye'o.²¹

It is evident from the first sentence for the entry of 755-756, “[t]he soldiers sacked the father’s entourage,” that the turmoil had not yet ended even then. The written edict accompanying the Bsam-yas Pillar inscription, preserved in *KhG*, further states:

After the Btsan-po, the father, departed to heaven, it being an example of the manner in which we were carried away by turmoil (*pan-pun*), the Lhun-gyis 'grub Temple [Bsam-yas Monastery] was firmly established on the seventeenth day of the first month of spring in the year of the sheep... (*btsan po yab dgung du gshegs pa'i phyi nas/ ban bun khyer ba'i dpe tshul yod pa nas/ gtsug lag khang lhun gyis 'grub tu/ lug gi lo la dpyid zla ra ba'i tshes bcu bdun la rten btsugs pa'i tshe/*) (*KhG*: 371; 108b, ll. 6–7).²²

The annalistic entries for this period almost certainly did exist, but seem to have ended up on the cutting room floor.

The final few entries in the *Annals* record the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital, which is also detailed in the Zhol Pillar and in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (see *infra*, Appendix Three). There was constant warfare from the late 750s until this monumental event. The Tibetans installed on the Chinese throne as a puppet emperor one of the Princess of Jincheng’s relatives, but this state of affairs lasted less than one month.

It is here that the *Old Tibetan Annals* ends. Conveniently, it is to this very period that the first pillar inscriptions date. These, along with fragmentary Old Tibetan documents, many of which date to the period during which Tibet controlled Dunhuang (c.786–848), the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and Chinese histories such as the *Tang shu*, are the most reliable sources for reconstructing the history of the latter half of the Tibetan Empire. Here I will only offer a brief summary, since this extends beyond the period covered by the *Annals*.

The period from the sack of the Chinese capital in 763 to the peace treaty with the Chinese in 821-822 was the apogee of Tibet’s military expansion. The Tibetans allied themselves with the kingdom of Nanzhao, and routed the Chinese on numerous occasions. In particular, they seized control of many of the territories to the far northeast, Shazhou / Dunhuang and Liangzhou being primary among them as a strategic base for exerting control over the Silk Road. It was only with the Nanzhao defection to the Tang in 794, and the rise of the Uighur Empire in the early ninth century, that Tibetan military power was effectively reined in.

By the mid-eighth century, Tibetans had become familiar with the religious and cultural traditions of their neighbors, particularly China. Chinese classics, Chan Buddhist teachings, and apocrypha are among those Chinese works translated into Tibetan. Translation occurred on a large scale, and the vocabulary is standardized enough to suggest some sort of centralized organization, if not royal patronage (Stein 1983). Buddhist texts and teachers from India also made significant inroads into Tibet at this time. The most significant development in this regard was the arrival in Tibet of Śāntarakṣita, a brilliant Indian Buddhist philosopher who had served as abbot of Nālanda Monastery.

Buddhism, as the religion of most of Tibet’s neighbors, held a certain appeal to the Tibetans. In addition to its international status, Buddhist scholarship also offered Tibetans an integrated educational system that produced literacy and discipline (Kapstein 2006: 71). As such, one might suppose that these were attractive features for an expanding empire, and that they contributed to the royal adoption of Buddhism in c.779. This

²¹ The transliteration generally follows Richardson 1985: 6–9. See also Li and Coblin 1987: 143, 158.

²² See also Richardson 1998 [1980]: 92.

was marked by the consecration of Bsam-yas Monastery, a royal pillar inscription, and two royal edicts proclaiming the Tibetan conversion to Buddhism. These edicts would be reaffirmed in pillar inscriptions and edicts by Khri Srong-lde-btsan's son, Khri Lde-srong-btsan (ruled c.798–815).

These two rulers also sponsored a royal translation committee to regulate and standardize translations of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to Tibetan, along with projects to catalogue extant translations. Buddhist monks soon formed an important part of the royal court, and the clergy became a new route to political power. This would become particularly evident during the reigns of emperors Khri Lde-Srong-btsan and Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (alias Ral-pa-can) (815–841), when the monks Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po and Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan held prominent positions in the government (Richardson 1998b). There are indications that the latter figure, as chief minister, effectively ruled Tibet for a time due to Ral-pa-can's illness and / or inability (Richardson 1998 [1961]).

When Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan's brother, 'U'i Dum-brtan (Glang Dar-ma), took the throne in 841, he seems to have curtailed the political power of the clergy or reduced public expenditure for their support. The later Tibetan Buddhist historians caricature this king as an evil, anti-Buddhist ruler whose crimes against the Sangha, such as the transformation of temples into granaries, almost prefigure scenes from the Cultural Revolution. In fact, we find among the Old Tibetan Dunhuang documents prayers dedicated to him, evidence that he constructed temples, and one of the imperial Buddhist catalogues, the '*Phang thang ma*, even attributes to him a Buddhist commentary (Halkias 2004: 57–58). In one of the most evocative scenes in Tibetan religious histories, this ruler is assassinated in spectacular fashion by a monk named Lha-lung Dpal gyi Rdo-rje. While the narrative color may be a later elaboration, this monk was most certainly a Buddhist hierarch in central Tibet at the time, and his name is found inscribed on a small, broken pillar inscription at Brag Yer-pa. His assassination of 'U'i Dum-brtan in 842 marked the death knell of the Tibetan Empire, but its throes would be felt for another few decades.

The battle for succession that followed 'U'i Dum-brtan's death was not new. Srong-btsan Sgam-po seems to have murdered his brother Btsan-srong; Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (r. 712–c.755) took the throne only after his half brother, Lha Bal-po, was deposed; and Khri Lde-srong-btsan (r. c.798–800, c.802–815) had prolonged battles with his brother, Mu-rug-brtsan (r. c.800–c.802), which were only resolved with the latter's apparent death in 804 (Dotson 2007c: 12). The problem of succession following 'U'i Dum-brtan's death, however, was that there seemed not to be an heir who, according to the rules of succession, could be deemed legitimate. This split the ministerial aristocracy, with the most powerful section of the aristocracy—those maternal relatives (*zhang*) who provided queen mothers for the royal line, the 'Bro clan principal among them—forming the most influential group. The Dba's clan strongly opposed the 'Bro and the rest of the matrilineal aristocracy. This led to civil war, acted out on the battlefields of eastern Tibet until the mid-860s.

Meanwhile, Tibet's hard-fought conquests fell away from its weakened imperial grasp. This is traditionally conceived of in later Tibetan histories as the reverse of the process by which the Yar-lung Kingdom expanded to become the Tibetan Empire. In this way, the minor kingdoms were subjugated and united under the flag of the Tibetan Empire, and on its collapse the Tibetan plateau was once again characterized by scattered polities in what is referred to as the "Period of Fragments" (Bod sil-bu). Several of these small principalities made claims to royal blood, as did the dynasty founded in western Tibet, but none of them, nor any other rulers in the subsequent history of Tibet, would ever rule over a realm as large as the Tibetan Empire at its height.

The *Old Tibetan Annals*' Contributions to Tibetan History

Within the history of the Tibetan Empire there are many thorny issues that are debated by historians. The *Old Tibetan Annals*, as the most reliable document for the history of the first half of the Tibetan Empire, clarifies a number of these issues, and serves in some ways as a corrective against the often imaginative creations of Tibet's later historians. Among the most salient of the *Annals*' contributions is its revelation that Princess Wencheng, who arrived in Tibet in 641, came as the bride of Gung-srong, the son of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, and that the father took to wife his son's widow when Gung-srong died in c.646. This episode was partially transferred by post-dynastic Tibetan historians to involve not the first, but the second Chinese princess, the Princess of Jincheng. There are other such instances of suppressed or transferred historical episodes that the *Old Tibetan Annals* lays bare.

The preamble to the *Old Tibetan Annals* records the arrival in Tibet of the Chinese princess, Mun-chang Kong-co (Princess Wencheng). This heralds the beginning of Tibet's lasting relationship with China, and creates a ritual relationship with very complex dynamics. The *Jiu Tangshu* briefly describes the marriage of the Chinese princess and the Tibetan emperor in the following terms:

The 15th year of Chenkuan (641) the Emperor gave Princess Wencheng, of the imperial house, in marriage. He appointed the President of the Board of Rites, Daozong, Prince of Jiangxia, to preside over the ceremony, and he was given special credentials, and escorted the princess to Tufan. Lungtsan led his warriors to await her arrival at Pohai, and went himself to receive her at Heyuan. He received Daozong most respectfully, with the rites due from a son-in-law. (Bushell 1880: 444–45; Pelliot 1961: 4–5; and Lee 1981: 9–10).

It has always been assumed that Princess Wencheng came to Tibet as the bride of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. It is evident from the *Old Tibetan Annals* that these two were indeed married, but that the princess may have first come as someone else's bride. Yamaguchi (1970a) has argued that Wencheng was initially the bride of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's son, Gung-srong Gung-rtsan. While Gung-srong is absent from the *Annals*, his existence is implied in two entries. The last entry in the preamble, dating to 649, reads as follows: “[t]hen after six years Btsan-po Khri Srong-rtsan departed to heaven. He had cohabited to Princess Mun-cang Kong-co for three years” (*btsan mo mun cang kong co dang dgung lo gsum bshos so*). At this point the princess had been in Tibet for nine years, so we are left to ponder what she was doing for the six years when she was not wed to Srong-btsan Sgam-po. This passage, coupled with the *Royal Genealogy*'s statement that Gung-srong Gung-rtsan and Kong-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar bore the son Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (*DTH*: 82, 88; Dotson 2004: 88), indicates that the Chinese princess probably came to Tibet as the bride of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's son, Gung-srong Gung-rtsan. His absence in the preamble to the *Annals* and his absence in contemporary Chinese sources suggest, however, that he did not rule as emperor.²³ It is interesting if Srong-btsan Sgam-po took his son's wife, and cohabited with her until his death three years later in 649, since this partly confirms a statement concerning the Tibetans in the *Beishi*, a Chinese source that offers a vignette of Tibetan culture at the turn of the seventh century, which might otherwise be viewed as a typical bit of ethnocentrism: “[t]hey marry their widowed mothers and sisters-in-law—when a son or younger brother dies, the father and elder brother(s) also take his wife.” (Beckwith 1977: 106).

²³ Sato (1959: 11, English summary) offers the alternative explanation that Srong-btsan Sgam-po was campaigning against Zhang-zhung from 644 to 649 and that he and the Chinese princess cohabited for three years from 641 to 644. As discussed below, the preamble to the *Old Tibetan Annals* has some peculiar linguistic features, and should not be treated as being of a piece with the body of the *Annals* in terms of its reliability.

The first entry of the *Annals*, for the dog year 650-651, also explicitly points to the existence of another generation between Srong-btsan Sgam-po and Mang-slon Mang-rtsan by referring to the former as the “grandfather” (*mes*), and to the latter as the “grandson” (*sbon*). It remains unclear, however, why Gung-srong is not mentioned in the *Annals*. One possibility is that Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s marriage to his deceased son’s wife (or whatever marriage existed) was considered somewhat irregular, and that the present record reflects the resulting whitewash. Otherwise, it may simply be due to the fact that Gung-srong never reigned as emperor.

The matter of whether or not Chinese blood ran through the Tibetan royal lineage is a touchy one, with scholars such as Uebach and Yamaguchi offering strong arguments on either side of the issue. On the face of it, the situation is rather clear-cut: the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286) plainly states that Gung-srong Gung-rtsan and Khon-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar bore the son Mang-slon Mang-rtsan. Uebach’s counterargument to this, however, is based on an entry in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the horse year 706-707 in which it states that “the grandmother (*pyi*) Mang-pangs died.” This year falls, of course, during the reign of grandmother (*pyi*) Khri-ma-lod, in the minority of Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. Based on the fact that Khri-ma-lod was the grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, and based also on the fact that *pyi* / *phyi* can indicate either grandmother or great-grandmother, Uebach (1997b: 57) argues that Mang-pangs was the great-grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, thus making her the mother of Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan and the chief queen of Khri Gung-srong. Quite correctly, Uebach takes the source value of the *Annals* to be greater than that of the *Royal Genealogy*. Uebach (1997b: 66) concludes that “there is no doubt that the *Genealogy* providing the Chinese title *kung-chu* in Tibetan rendering *khon-co* preceding the Tibetan name Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar is corrupt.” Uebach thus demonstrates that the Chinese Princess Wencheng never bore a Tibetan emperor. This is well argued, and hinges on the *Old Tibetan Annals*’ consistency in its use of the kinship terms *yum* and *phyi* to refer to mothers and grandmothers of the Tibetan emperors. The only possible objection would be that *phyi* could refer to a maternal grandmother, but this is far-fetched: only ladies of the paternal line were accorded the prestige associated with these terms that set them apart from other royal ladies as having given birth to an emperor.²⁴ The question we must ask, then, would seem to be this: why does the *Royal Genealogy* present Khon-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar as Mang-slon’s mother when this was not the case? Is this merely textual corruption, or was there some reason to attribute to this Tibetan emperor a Chinese mother? As we shall see, there was a later literary episode in which the Sna-nam clan and the second Chinese princess, the Princess of Jincheng, both claimed Khri Srong-lde-btsan as their son, and the outlines of this narrative tradition may have their basis in the events that informed the diverging testimonies of the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Royal Genealogy* concerning Khri Mang-slon’s mother.

This marriage of the aging Srong-btsan Sgam-po to Princess Wencheng would seem to be the historical basis for a tradition in later Tibetan historiography according to which the second Chinese princess, the Princess of Jincheng, married an old, bearded Tibetan emperor, Mes Ag-tshoms. According to several post-dynastic Tibetan histories, the Princess of Jincheng, whose arrival in Tibet the *Annals* records in the entry for 710-711, was intended to be the bride of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan’s son, but was then wed to the father upon the son’s untimely death. As demonstrated by Yamaguchi (1970a), this episode has obviously been transferred from the events surrounding Princess Wencheng’s marriage to Gung-srong Gung-btsan and her subsequent remarriage to Khri Srong-btsan for the final three years of his life after her husband’s death. In terms of such transference, the second Chinese princess suffered mightily, with many of her cultural and

²⁴ One possible exception to this is the term *sru*, used for royal ladies. Though this usually means maternal aunt, it can also indicate a half sister, for which see *infra*, “Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives,” fn. 41.

religious contributions stripped from her by later historians and added to the legacy of the first Chinese princess.²⁵

As Kapstein (2000: 23–30) pointed out in a brilliant analysis, later Tibetan historians did the Princess of Jincheng one favor in that they made her the mother of Emperor Khri Srong-lde-btsan, and in doing so transformed his actual mother into a usurper. This was achieved through an authorial sleight of hand that still convinces many of its truth. Specifically, they conflated Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan's son, Lhas-bon, with his elder half brother, Lha Bal-po.²⁶ With Lhas-bon out of the way, they made Khri Srong-lde-btsan the son of the Princess of Jincheng, which, given his and the princess' mutual interest in the Buddhist religion, fit well with the authorial imperatives of Tibet's Buddhist monk historians.

The *Old Tibetan Annals* puts the lie to this literary episode in two ways. First, it records the death of the Chinese princess in the winter of the hare year 739-740, three years before it records the birth of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan to Sna-nam Mang-mo-rje Bzhi-steng in the horse year 742-743. This demonstrates beyond any doubt that Khri Srong-lde-btsan was the son of the Sna-nam princess, and not the Princess of Jincheng. Secondly, the *Annals* lays bare the fallacy of conflating Lha Bal-po with Lhas-bon: Lha Bal-po is referred to in the snake year 705-706 as the Btsan-po's elder brother (*btsan-po gcen*), while Lhas-bon is called the Btsan-po's son (*btsan-po sras*) in the entries for the hare year 739-740 and the snake year 741-742.²⁷ In both instances it is Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan who is indicated by the term Btsan-po, so his elder brother cannot be the same person as his son.²⁸

Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan's son, Lhas-bon, is only mentioned twice in the *Annals*, once for his death and once for his funeral. His death in the summer of 739-740 was followed shortly thereafter by the death of the Princess of Jincheng in the winter, and in the winter of the next year their funeral(s) were held.²⁹

One other possible instance of transference concerns the battle for succession between Lha Bal-po and Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, both of whom were championed, respectively, by mother and grandmother of separate bloodlines. The dynamic of one royal lady and her infant royal scion vying with another royal lady and her chosen successor is reminiscent of post-dynastic accounts of the rivalry over one century later between 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan, the "sons" of Glang Dar-ma 'U'i Dum-brtan. The possibility should thus not be discounted that the rivalry between the two queens and their two candidates

²⁵ For further discussion of Gung-srong and this marriage, see Yamaguchi 1969 and 1970a and Beckwith 1987: 23, n. 54.

²⁶ See, for example, the *Sba bzhed* (Stein 1961a: 2) and *Lde'u*: 300. In other cases this conflation was not made, but Lhas-bon was simply transformed into the child of another foreign princess, from Ljang (Kapstein 2000: 217).

²⁷ This could also be translated as "the Btsan-po, the elder brother" and "the Btsan-po, the son," where Btsan-po is read in apposition with these kinship terms. Still, the obvious point of reference is the reigning emperor.

²⁸ This has been treated in some detail by Kapstein (2001: 216–218).

²⁹ The ambiguity of the passage, *btsan po sras lhas bon dang/ btsan mo khong co gnyls gyl mdad btang*, allows for two interpretations: one funeral was performed for both of them, or there were two funerals, one for each. The former solution is supported by Beckwith (1983: 7, n. 20), who explicitly states that they were "buried together." Were this so, it would be the only joint funeral ceremony recorded in the *Annals*, and would suggest that Lhas-bon was the son of the Chinese princess, most likely by Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. This theory would obviously be correct were Khong-co called "mother," but she is not. Also, Lhas-bon seems to have been Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan's only son at that point. This in itself would constitute a crisis, since his succession to the throne would potentially subordinate Tibet to its maternal relatives, in this case China. His death, and the death of his mother, could be read as a pre-emptive strike against such an eventuality, as suggested by Vitali (1990: 28, n. 65) but, I hasten to add, the sources are clear that the Chinese princess died of plague (*TLTDI*: 61–62; Emmerick 1967: 84–85; Beckwith 1983: 7; Kapstein 2001: 41–42). Still, his birth three years after the death of the ostensible crown prince might go some way towards explaining later preoccupations with Khri Srong-lde-btsan's legitimacy and parentage.

for the throne in the early eighth century served as a template for the muddled narrative of 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan's struggle in the mid-ninth century (Dotson 2007c: 11, n. 42).³⁰

By recording these events in a reliable form, the *Old Tibetan Annals* reveals some very interesting features of Tibetan historiography. The processes by which transference occurs, as in the case of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, the seven-year-old groom of the Princess of Jincheng, who was transformed by later historiographers into the "Bearded Grandfather" (Mes Ag-tshoms) with his child bride, or in the case of the two royal ladies championing their respective scions as heirs to the throne in 704 and 705 being transferred to a period one hundred and forty years later, are various and not always clear. One possibility that presents itself is that these events were suppressed, as in the case of Gung-srong Gung-rtsan's absence in the *Annals*, and then later re-emerged as creative episodes within Tibetan historiography. Another possibility, which may have worked in tandem with suppression, is that these instances of transference developed out of creative folk etymologies, as in the traditional explanation of the name Yum-brtan as meaning "supported by his mother." Likewise, faced with the name "Bearded Grandfather" (Mes Ag-tshoms), Tibetan historiographers perhaps applied the suppressed history of the Gung-srong — Srong-btsan Sgam-po — Wencheng oblique marriage to Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan's marriage to the Princess of Jincheng.³¹ Perhaps a more obvious circumstance giving rise to these types of transference of events from one time to another is the religious transformation of Tibetan historiography. From as early as the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, the life of Srong-btsan Sgam-po was mythologized and filled with the magical deeds of this emanation of Avalokiteshvara and his Chinese and Nepalese queens. The elaboration of this narrative of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as Tibet's great religious king and the focal point of the early *gter-ma* tradition left little room for matters such as the relationship between Gung-srong and Wencheng, and it seems that this was put to the side, only to be recycled in chapters on one of the more "mundane" emperors, in this case Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan. The *Old Tibetan Annals* informs these and many other such historical issues, and it is for this reason that it constitutes such an invaluable resource for early Tibetan history.

Succession and Marriage and the Tibetan Royal Line

Genealogies, and royal genealogies in particular, have a tendency towards simplification. The reason for recording a royal genealogy, a clan lineage history, or indeed a spiritual lineage is, after all, to glorify the living members of the lineage by linking them to their heroic predecessors and ultimately to a divine source, and this is best achieved not by listing every one of its members or detailing their activities, but by presenting a simple unbroken chain with one representative in each generation. So it is that in many royal genealogies we are presented with one king after another with no mention of queens, calling to mind the lists of Biblical begattings. Those documents such as the *Old Tibetan Royal Genealogy* that do mention the mothers of the kings still present a unifying linear march from the heavenly ancestor to the present incumbent of the throne, leaving no clue that behind this lies a many-limbed family tree of great complexity (see *infra*, Appendix Two). Apart from his mother, grandmother, and his chief queen who bears his heir, the Tibetan emperor was also surrounded by his junior queens or consorts, who were junior wives that wielded

³⁰ Richardson (1998 [1971]: 53) hypothesized that this later rivalry between 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan developed from an error by Tibetan historiographers, who misread the name Glang Dar-ma 'U'i Dum-brtan as indicating two emperors—Glang Dar-ma and Yum-brtan. Richardson (1998 [1971]: 55) later distanced himself from his theory.

³¹ There are many more such instances of "transference" in Tibetan historiography, whereby events pertaining to one period are mistakenly attributed to another. For an interesting discussion of this phenomenon in the context of Bon-po historiography, see Blezer *forthcoming*.

less power than his mother, grandmother, and chief queen. Sometimes the chief queen gave birth to more than one son, and the junior queens would also give birth to sons by the emperor, leaving the heir to the throne with brothers and half brothers. Many of these same women bore daughters who served as princesses that forged ties with foreign powers through their marriages, often becoming de-facto rulers of their adopted countries. The *Old Tibetan Annals* reveals the names of some of these figures who are not included in royal genealogies. More importantly, we can use the *Annals* and other texts to gain a better understanding of the Tibetan emperor's place between brothers and half brothers who might challenge him, maternal relatives who might act as a guard against such challenges, but who could also overpower the throne, and the bureaucratic elite who, though equally self-interested, also depended on the perpetuation of the kingship.

The formative events in the founding of the Tibetan Empire shaped the dynamics of these relationships. The struggle between Khri Srong-btsan (Sgam-po) and his unfortunate brother Btsan-srong, resulting in the latter's death, informed the practice of degrading the brothers or half brothers of the emperor by giving them new clan names and setting them aside from the succession as “frères écartés” (Chayet 1994a: 121–22). Similarly, the kidnapping and imprisonment of Emperor Stag-bu Snya-gzigs by the clan of his chief queen, 'Ol-god-bza' Stong-btsun—effectively postponing the conquest of Ngas-po and the birth of the Tibetan Empire—set up the most important dynamic throughout the history of the royal line: its uneasy relationship with the matrilineal aristocracy (*zhang*) who formed the core of the administration but also threatened to exercise control over the throne itself through key figures such as the emperor's grandmother, mother, wife, and maternal uncle. The marriage of Princess Sad-mar-kar, a sister of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, to the king of Zhang-zhung serves as a prime example of the crucial political role of Tibetan princesses sent to foreign lands. It was Princess Sad-mar-kar's coded instructions, given in song, that spurred her brother to attack and conquer Zhang-zhung, and several other Tibetan princesses mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals* were sent “to conduct politics” in neighboring lands. In this way the emperor's paternal aunts, sisters, and daughters—Tibet's princesses—were in many ways his greatest diplomats, for it was through these women that Tibet subordinated its vassal or client kingdoms and forged ties with neighboring powers.

Royal Brothers and Half Brothers

Amidst all of these self-interested factions, between the emperor's wives, mothers, and grandmothers and their clans, the princesses (the emperor's paternal aunts, sisters, and daughters), agnatic relatives (brothers, half-brothers, paternal cousins), and the ministerial aristocracy, the Tibetan emperors succeeded against all odds in becoming strong rulers and in maintaining an apparently unbroken royal lineage until at least the year 843. The principles of royal succession are only partially understood, and may not have remained constant over the entire history of the Tibetan Empire. In considering principles of succession, it is not primogeniture or ultimogeniture that is most at issue, but a rather less intuitive principle that has been perpetuated by Tibetan historians from at least the thirteenth century onwards, and taken up by several modern scholars, namely that the Tibetan king took the throne at the age of thirteen, accompanied by the ritualized death of his father.³²

The notion that the succession took place when the heir reached the age of thirteen enjoys no currency for the period described in the *Annals*. The date of Mang-slön Mang-rtzan's birth is not recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, neither is his coronation, which is indicated by name-bestowal. We can assume that he was

³² It was Tucci's article, “The Secret Character of the Kings of Ancient Tibet,” that truly established this notion. I hope to critically reassess this theory of ritualized regicide and the principles of Tibetan sacred kingship in a forthcoming study and translation of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

very young when he inherited the throne upon his grandfather Khri Srong-btsan's death in 649 based on the fact that like other emperors in their minority, he stayed in one or two residences rather than travelling throughout the empire.³³ Khri 'Dus-srong (676–704) was born after the death of his father Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan in the winter of the rat year 676-677, he was coronated in the winter of the bird year 685-686, and died in the winter of the dragon year 704-705. Even by Tibetan reckoning, the young Btsan-po was only ten years of age when he took the throne. Likewise, Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–c.755) was born Rgyal Gtsug-ru in the third month of spring (i.e., just after new year) in the dragon year 704-705, and he was coronated as Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan the winter of the rat year 712-713 at the tender age of nine. Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (742–c.802), on the other hand, was born Srong-lde-brtsan in the horse year 742-743, and did not take the throne until the age of fifteen in the summer of the monkey year 756-757, when he was coronated as Khri Srong-lde-brtsan following the assassination of his father. This conclusively demonstrates that succession never occurred at age thirteen between 650 and 764.

Other principles of succession have been studied in some detail by Anne Chayet. Chayet notes that neither primogeniture nor ultimogeniture, but succession by the middle brother was an ideal type (Chayet 1994a: 116, 118). This is expressed in the *Royal Genealogy*, for example, when the heavenly father of the first Tibetan king is the middle child of seven siblings. Also, while in the earliest version of the myth of Dri-gum Btsan-po there are two sons, and the elder takes the throne, in later versions such as that found in the sixteenth-century *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (163), there are three, and the middle son becomes king. This ideal type, however, seems rarely if ever to have materialized in an actual succession event.

The emperor's brothers and half brothers were without a doubt the greatest challenge to the throne. We have already mentioned the struggle between Srong-btsan Sgam-po and his brother Btsan-srong, resulting in the latter's death. There was also a struggle for succession from 704–705 between half brothers, a similar struggle for succession from 800–804 between Khri Lde-srong-btsan and Mu-rug-btsan (Haarh 1960; Dotson 2007c: 14), and the apparent murder of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan by his brother Khri 'U'i Dum-brtan, an event whose narration has taken on almost Shakespearian hues.

The Tibetan emperor insulated himself from competition from brothers and half brothers through a number of means. In the first of the above succession struggles, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, of whom the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* tells us that he put down revolts from both maternal and paternal relatives when he took the throne in his youth, relied mostly upon the strength of his ministers. In the second struggle for succession, the challenge to Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan from his half brother was countered by the strength of the latter's matrilineal relatives, particularly his grandmother and her clan, the 'Bro. The third example, though less clear, seems to have followed this same pattern, with the usurper Mu-rug-btsan being opposed, and possibly slain, by the Sna-nam clan whose deceased empress, Mang-mo-rje Bzhi-steng, was Khri Lde-srong-btsan's grandmother (Dotson 2007c: 13). In the final example, which is not narrated in extant Old Tibetan sources, ministerial and matrilineal groups seem to converge to engineer a coup and place the emperor's brother, Khri 'U'i Dum-brtan, on the throne. A final battle for succession following the latter's death only a year or so later seems to have pitted the matrilineal aristocracy (*zhang*), particularly the 'Bro clan, against the ministerial aristocracy, represented chiefly by the Dba's clan. In all of this we can see that from the origins of the Tibetan Empire to its fall competition between the emperor and his agnatic relatives was the single most dangerous threat to the throne's stability.

An interesting practice developed in order to guard the emperor against this threat from his brothers and half brothers, whereby these royal agnates were distanced from the royal line by associating them closely with their mothers and by stripping them of membership to the royal clan. The former practice only worked, of

³³ This is conveniently demonstrated in the Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits, and "Royal Events," *infra*.

course, in the case of half brothers by a different mother. This identification with their mothers' clans served to set them apart from the succession (Chayet 1994a: 122). So it is that *Jo sras* tells us, for example, that Mang-slön Mang-rtsan's younger half brother who was set apart from the succession was called 'A-zha-tsha. This is not in fact a proper name, for it simply means "son of a lady of 'A-zha," or from another angle, "uterine nephew of 'A-zha." In other words, the term *tsha* is suffixed to the mother's clan name, ethnicity, or place of origin, as in the case of Gesar's famous Chinese half brother, Rgya-tsha. Similarly, later histories refer to Khri Srong-lde-btsan's elder half brother, Lha-bon, as Ljang-tsha Lha-bon. This serves to attach the half brother to his mother's family and distance him from the royal clan of his father.

This practice of identifying potential rivals for the throne with their maternal lineage rather than the royal paternal lineage was only one part of the strategy for distancing them from the throne. In addition, a new clan name was created for those brothers and half brothers who were set apart from the succession. According to *Jo sras* (104), which is almost unique in its preservation of this fascinating knowledge, this custom was an early innovation by Tibet's wise ministers (Chayet 1994a: 118–19). A passage concerning a group of early kings who are generally considered to be mythological in nature states that one king's brother, the son of a woman named Thod-dkar, was set aside from the throne, and that he and another similarly debased royal elder brother then came to be known by the clan name Zhang-lnga cen-po. The text goes on to say that "at this time, since the kings had become numerous and were competing, the wise ministers put one on the throne [lit. 'on the royal place / capital'] and degraded the others. The lineages of the two who were degraded were [thereafter] known as Yar-gar-gnang and Zhang-lnga cen-po." (*'di dus na blon po rig pa can gyis rgyal po mangs na 'gran zlar gyur pas gcig rgyal sar bzhas nas gzhan thang mtshams su 'bebs te 'di gnyis thang mtshams su phab pa rigs ni yar gar gnang zhes bya ste zhang lnga cen po zhes bya'o*) (*Jo sras*: 104; Chayet 1994a: 119).³⁴

Here it is the ministers who act as kingmakers with the power to decide matters of succession. This is particularly interesting from a comparative perspective, since when considering the fate of the royal line between competing agnatic lineages and encroaching maternal relatives in Chinese history, it is the bureaucrats who in the Ming effectively win the day and act as caretakers of the succession by curbing the influence of the emperor's grandmother, mother, wife, and their relatives (Holmgren 1991: 74–75).

The new lineage name given to a debased brother or half brother is somewhat vexing. In the above example, the name Zhang-lnga cen-po is given to one of the debased elder brothers. Another passage referring to the reign of a later, though still mythical king, Rgyal-to-to-re Long-btsan, reveals that when this king's younger brother Ltab-nag was degraded, his lineage (*rgyud*) was known as Zhang-lnga gcung-pa.³⁵ So we have

³⁴ Chayet has demonstrated that term *thang mtshams su phab pa* indicates the setting apart from the succession of a royal brother or half brother. While she does not resolve the precise etymology of the phrase, she offers that in Amdo a bastard is called a "child found on the plains" (*thang rnyed-pa*). While circumstantial, this is eminently relevant in that this degradation effectively bastardizes the son as he is stripped of his father's name and distanced, perhaps even literally, from the royal line. The power of naming is already evident in the name bestowal ceremony that marks the emperor's coronation and assumption of power. One can imagine an inverse ceremony for these agnatic relatives as they are stripped of membership to the royal clan and given a new clan name, along with perhaps a ministerial post to keep them sufficiently at bay. Indeed it would resemble almost a parody of the Tibetan marriage ceremony, in which the outgoing bride is ritually separated from her natal home and its gods, then ritually attached her marital home and its gods (Shastri 1994: 760). A literal translation of *thang mtshams su phab pa* would be something like, "they brought him down to the border [of the] plain," or, if one reads *thang* in the sense of a level, jurisdiction, benchmark, or criterion, then "degradation" becomes less figurative a translation. On the term *thang*, see *infra*, "Land and Taxation," fn. 73.

³⁵ *rgyal to to re long btsan gyi gcung po thang mtshams su phab pa ni gcung ltab nag bya ba yin pas de'i rgyud la zhang lnga gcung pa zhes grags sol* (*Jo sras*: 105). The division of the Zhang-lnga into "elder brother" (*cen-po*) and "younger brother" (*gcung-pa*) lineages also points to succession by the middle brother as an ideal type.

greater / elder and lesser / younger branches of the Zhang-lnga clan. What's more, Zhang-lnga means "five maternal uncles / fathers-in-law / bride-givers," so once again the royal brothers are associated with matrilineal relatives (Chayet 1994a: 122–23). The existence of this clan is also attested in Old Tibetan sources and indeed in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. A Zha-snga clansman is also mentioned in *Annals'* entry for the sheep year 731-732 as an outgoing commissioner (*brung-pa*) of Rtsang-chen. In the edict of Khri Lde-srong-btsan preserved in *KhG*, two members of the Zha-snga clan are listed as retainers (numbers three and fifteen), and another is included as number twenty-eight in the list of governors, generals, and ministers of the exterior (*infra*, Appendix Five). While this is almost certainly the same clan name as *Jo sras'* Zhang-lnga, the name Zha-snga means literally "the presence [of the emperor]." Of course the literal meaning of a clan name is sometimes meaningless, but in this case it is important because it has been artificially created as a category for degraded members of the royal lineage. This latter orthography, found in Old Tibetan sources, should probably be privileged over Zhang-lnga, which may well be a folk etymology. Zha-snga also has a more direct function of evoking distance from the emperor, since it is used respectfully to avoid directly referring to the emperor himself by instead indicating his presence.

Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives

Among those set aside from succession to the Tibetan throne were half brothers born to the "wrong" mother. In some cases, such as the sons of foreign princesses, this is presumably down to obvious political considerations, since an heir with a foreign mother could become beholden to his maternal relatives and thus imperil Tibet. In the case of the Tibetan aristocracy, there were other considerations determining which clans were permitted to supply heirs in a given generation. As I have argued elsewhere, the royal succession operated according to a system of "zhang (bride-giving clan) rotation," by which a given clan that supplied an heir-bearing empress was permitted to contract such heir-producing unions only after a certain number of generations—usually five—had passed since the last such union (Dotson 2004: 95). Formally, members of only four clans, the 'Bro, Mchims, Tshes-pong, and Sna-nam, bore the title *zhang*, but other clans, such as the 'Ol-god and the Mong, also mothered Tibetan emperors. The members of these four *zhang* clans dominated Tibetan officialdom, as may be seen from the numerous *zhang* officials mentioned in the regimes of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Khri Lde-srong-btsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (*infra*, Appendix Five). While this was a restrictive practice admitting only a few elite clans, it was not a closed marriage circle, and could open itself to new heir-supplying maternal clans if and when their political stars rose. Similarly, a given clan might enjoy heir-bearing status at one point, and then be relegated to providing junior queens in subsequent generations. This was the case for example with the Ru-yong clan, who mothered Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan according to the *Royal Genealogy* (*infra*, Appendix Two), but are scarcely mentioned again save for a reference in *Jo sras* (119) to three half brothers of Khri 'Dus-srong set aside from the succession due to their birth to a certain Ru-yong-bza' (Chayet 1994a: 120).³⁶

The situation of a restrictive, but open marriage circle between the royal line and the most important aristocratic clans is reminiscent also of imperial marriage practices in China (Holmgren 1991: 60–61, 92, n. 15). Traditionally, the senior widow, that is, the Chinese emperor's mother or grandmother, also had the

³⁶ The text in fact says Ru-spong-bza', but this is due to a transcription error from the *dbu-med* original into the *dbu-can* printed book format, an all too common occurrence in the modern publications of both *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* (and no doubt many other works). Fortunately, a reproduction of the *Lde'u dbu-med* manuscript has recently been published in China (see bibliography).

power to select his spouse. As this was often the grandmother, who chose a spouse in her own interests, it also created a rivalry between her clan and that of the emperor's mother (Holmgren 1991: 63–66). There are certainly hints that a similar custom may have existed in early Tibet. The most powerful female figure in early Tibetan history is, after all, Grandmother Khri-ma-lod of the 'Bro clan, who ruled from 705 to 712 during her grandson's minority. Furthermore, while there are many titles for royal ladies in the *Annals*, such as “princess” (*btsan-mo*, *je-ba*) and “(junior) queen” (*jo-mo*), the highest are “mother” (*yum*) and “grandmother” (*phyi*).³⁷ In fact, the title *jo-mo*, meaning “(junior) queen,” may have functioned to set apart from the heir-bearing queen the junior queens whose children had no rights to succession. This is clear from the case of Khri Lde-srong-btsan, who, according to the *Royal Genealogy*, sired Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and 'U'i Dum-brtan by Lady 'Bro-bza' Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje (*infra*, Appendix Two), and in whose Skar-chung Edict is recorded the names of three “[junior] queen sisters” (*jo-mo mched*), Jo-mo 'Bro-bza' Khri-mo-legs, Jo-mo Mchims-rgyal-bza' Legs-mo-brtsan, and Jo-mo Cog-ro-bza' Brtsan-rgyal. First we can observe that these three ladies are from separate clans, so they are obviously not sisters. Why then refer to them as such? One possibility would be that they are classificatory sisters in a royal marriage arrangement that borrows this term from sororal polygyny (Uebach 2005b: 47). Another mystery is the apparent absence of the chief queen in this edict, indicating perhaps that she had died by c.812. Whatever the case may be, it shows that among the junior queens, we have one from the same clan as the chief queen, one from another *zhang* clan, the Mchims, and one from a non-*zhang* clan, the Cog-ro.

Returning to the pre-eminence of mothers and grandmothers, royal widows in Tibet may or may not have enjoyed the power of selecting the emperor's chief wife, but Grandmother Khri-ma-lod played an even larger role in championing an heir to the throne in the struggle for succession in 704–705. In this case we can also observe that the proscription against heir-bearing marriage with any single bride-giving (*zhang*) clan until a certain number of generations—perhaps five—had passed, may also have played a role in this succession. Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan was not yet a year old when his father died in the winter of the dragon year 704–705. His elder half brother—born possibly as the son of a Pa-tshab clan lady or a Western Turk or 'A-zha lady—was installed on the throne.³⁸ Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan was the son of a Mchims lady, however, and five intervening generations had passed since the Mchims had last mothered a Btsan-po, Emperor Stag-bu Snya-gzigs. According to the established pattern of exchange with the royal line, it was effectively the Mchims clan's “turn” to provide an heir. 'Bro Khri-ma-lod, who had

³⁷ Uebach (1997b: 54–55) has treated these terms in her article on the women mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and my work draws heavily on her path-breaking research. It should be explained, however, that we translate these terms and titles somewhat differently. While Uebach translates *btsan-mo* with “empress,” in parallel with *btsan-po*, and explains that this can refer either to a consort of the emperor or to a princess, I have opted to translate it only with “princess.” I do so because the consorts of the Tibetan emperor who the *Annals* refers to as *btsan-mo* are foreign: Kong-co, the first Chinese princess, and Ga-tun, a Western Turk or 'A-zha lady (her “name” is in fact a title, *qatun*). So these are princesses from the perspective of their homelands—they are women who participate in or are eligible to participate in dynastic marriages between countries. This, in fact, is a good working definition of a princess, and explains why it is used both for the aunts, sisters, and daughters of the Tibetan emperor on the one hand and for his foreign brides on the other. In the case of other two women whom Uebach cites as consorts possessed of the title *btsan-mo*—Khri-mo-lan in 675–676 and Mang-mo-rje in 696–697—it is far from clear that they are in fact consorts and not female relatives of the emperor. Similarly, Uebach's assumption that the emperor's chief wife enjoyed the title *btsan-mo* until she gave birth to an heir, at which point she became “[the emperor's] mother” (*yum*), is attested only in one instance, and here it may be explained according to my above definition of a princess (Uebach 1997b: 66). This is in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*, where Khri-bangs, a Tibetan princess who went to 'A-zha in dynastic marriage and bore an heir to the throne, is referred to as “the Mother [of the lord of the 'A-zha], Princess Khri-bangs” (*yum btsan-mo khri-bangs*) (ITJ 1368, l. 12). Further refinements of the translation of these terms will be given below in discussing Tibet's princesses and dynastic marriages.

³⁸ As Kapstein points out, *Jo sras* (120) calls Lha Bal-po “the elder brother Lha Bal-po, child of the Pa-tshab [lady]” (*gcen lha bal po pa tshab tsha*). Kapstein (2000: 216) rightly observes that it is unsafe to take *Jo sras*' claim at face value, but this remains nonetheless the only clear statement concerning Lha Bal-po's parentage.

mothered a Btsan-po one generation earlier according to the same custom (five generations after the last such instance of a 'Bro heir-bearing queen), served as the guarantor of this system of succession, deposing the usurper clan's candidate in favor of the Mchims scion, Rgyal Gtsug-ru. This may have been opportunistic at the same time, since Khri-ma-lod ruled the country in Rgyal Gtsug-ru's minority until the rat year 712-713, when she died shortly after his coronation as Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan.³⁹

The Tibetan emperor's precarious place between rival agnatic kin and extremely powerful maternal relatives goes some way towards defining the domestic politics of the Tibetan Empire. It also underlines some of the interesting structural imbalances at work in the exchange patterns of the Tibetan royal line. In Tibetan society in general, and indeed in the dynastic marriages we will see below, bride-givers (*zhang*) stand in a position of superiority to bride-receivers (*dbon*). And the pressures of hypergamy and the benefits of dynastic marriage meant that ladies of the royal clan generally married foreign rulers. At the same time, the emperor was reluctant to accept foreign brides unless they were junior (non-heir-bearing) queens, since an heir to a foreign queen might fall under the undue influence of his mother and her countrymen. Under these circumstances, heir-bearing unions with Tibetan clans, even though they structurally subordinated the royal line to its bride-givers, seem to have been one of the only viable options. This is another instance where the circumstances of royal succession lead to a break between royal patterns of exchange and those within the larger society.

As a result of these exchange patterns, the emperor's bride-receivers tended to be foreign kings, while his bride-givers were the native Tibetan aristocracy. There is at least one case, however, where a very important Tibetan clan, the Dba's, appear to have been granted a bride from the royal family. In chapter five of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Dba's Dbyi-tshab addresses Srong-btsan Sgam-po and mentions the role of Srong-btsan's father, Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, in Dbyi-tshab's marriage. "As for the Btsan-po the father, he granted the spreading of the carpet [ceremony] for my wife." (*btsan po yab ni bdaql mchis brang du gdan bting yang gnang*) (PT 1287, ll. 252-53; *DTH*: 111, 144). The "spreading of the carpet" (*gdan-bting*) is one of the phases of a Tibetan marriage ceremony where a carpet is spread out for the bride. This was incorporated as the third part of the eight-part marriage ceremony devised by Kong-sprul (Karmay 1998 [1975]: 153). This is a fascinating passage because it reveals that the Dba's clan stood as bride-receivers (*dbon*) in relation to the Tibetan emperor. This put them in a weak position in relation to the royal line, but also implicates the Dba's as a non-threatening ally to be called upon against the emperor's rival agnatic kin and overweening maternal relatives. This circumstance in fact goes some way towards explaining the prominence of the Dba's as ministers, their opposition to the *zhang* clans in the civil war, and also perhaps the pretense of one of their members to declare himself Btsan-po after the fall of the empire.

Dynastic Marriage and International Relations

On an international level, the emperor's aunts, sisters, and daughters played a key role as the agents of dynastic marriages contracted with neighboring powers. Tibet's princesses conducted politics in foreign countries and gave birth to heirs who they inevitably guided into cooperation with or subordination to Tibet.

³⁹ One objection to this solution is raised by Beckwith (1983: 8-9), who claims that Rgyal Gtsug-ru is an odd and unlikely name for a proper heir, as it differs too markedly from the coronation name, Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. This can be countered with reference to PT 1290, which contains a coronation verse offered by Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan to Prince Mu-cu-brtan, who receives the regnal name Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Macdonald 1971: 317-18). Rgyal Gtsug-ru is no stranger a pre-coronation name than Mu-cu-brtan. The problematic historiography of this period has been treated in Petech 1967: 255-58; Petech 1988; Beckwith 1983; Vitali 1990: 2, 26, 28, 29; and Kapstein 2000: 215-17.

In their alliances and conquests and in their relative freedom of movement, Tibetan princesses are almost analogous to Tibet's great ministers who, in the formative period of the empire especially, conquered lands both for themselves and for the empire. Again, this is not unlike the situation in China, where princesses enjoyed massive retinues and played a crucial pro-Chinese role in foreign courts (Holmgren 1991: 66–67). Just as certain Chinese princesses (the Princess of Jincheng among them) exercised great political influence among the foreign courts into which they were wed, so Tibetan princesses played a very active role in spreading the *pax tibetica* to vassal kingdoms.

The high status of Tibetan princesses can be seen also from their titles in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and in Old Tibetan legal documents. *Btsan-mo*, grammatically the female equivalent of *Btsan-po* (Tibetan emperor), was used to refer to Tibetan princesses, that is, those ladies of the royal family who were eligible to contract dynastic marriages. Similarly, it was used to refer to foreign princesses who married in to the Tibetan royal line, such as Princess Wencheng. The *Old Tibetan Annals* mentions a number of royal ladies who are known by different terms or titles. In translating these terms, I have not taken an overly literal view, which is why both *btsan-mo* and *je-ba* are translated with “princess,” since a princess is a woman of the royal line who marries out, or a foreign bride who has married in.⁴⁰ Similarly, a chief queen or heir-bearing queen or “empress” is to be distinguished from junior queens or junior wives (*jo-mo*), even though there appears to be no clear term for the former before she is called “mother” or “grandmother.” The term *jo-mo* also implies a high status, and the male equivalent, *jo-bo*, means “lord.” Further distinctions between royal ladies are suggested in two Old Tibetan legal documents that treat penalty for theft (PT 1075 and ITJ 753), which list punishments according to the status of the victim and begin at the top of the class hierarchy with royal ladies. These are, in order (and here one presumes they appear in order of rank as well), *btsan-mo*, *lcam*, *sru*, and *jo-mo* (ITJ 753, ll. 64–72). princesses (*btsan-mo*), sisters (?) (*lcam*), half sisters (?) (*sru*), and junior queens (*jo-mo*) (ITJ 753, ll. 64–72). Apart from *sru*, all of these titles are found in the *Annals*. This leaves a number of gaps. We can add to this the emperor's mother and grandmother, who have the highest status, and his wife who, upon bearing an heir, is also called “mother.” The term *btsan-mo*, as we've seen already, can indicate foreign princesses who've married in, but it also indicates Tibetan princesses, apparently of the highest rank. These come before *lcam* and *sru*, which would appear to be lower ranking princesses. How these might translate into kinship terms is not entirely clear, though one might assume that *btsan-mo* were the emperor's sisters and daughters, with *lcam* and *sru* slightly further removed.⁴¹ Below these, according to these legal clauses, are the *jo-mo*, who appear to be junior wives. The legal context seems here to privilege the emperor's blood relatives, but elsewhere, such as in the Skar-chung edict, and in the bell inscriptions, *jo-mo* appear to have considerable prestige. We must therefore take into account the possibility that these terms changed over the course of the period covered by the *Annals*, and observe that they might be used differently in different texts and contexts.

⁴⁰ There may indeed be cases where an out-marrying princess is not in fact of royal blood (“bone” in Tibetan terms), but a sister-in-law of the *Btsan-po*, and this is one possible definition for the term *je-ba*; see *infra*, fn. 294.

⁴¹ The term *lcam* is problematic, since it can mean sister or wife. Uebach (2005b: 39) translates *lcam* in the *Annals* with “co-wife.” *Lcam* could conceivably be read as an honorific prefix for *sru*, and indeed, in a previous work I read *lcam sru* as one term rather than two (Dotson 2007b: 16). Given that *lcam* appears in the *Annals* when *lcam* Lha-spangs dies in 730–731, it is perhaps best to read *lcam* and *sru* as two separate terms. This is also followed by Uebach (2005b: 48). My rendering of the term *sru* with “half sister (?)” also requires some explanation. *Sru* or *sru-mo* usually means mother's sister or mother's brother's wife. In some contexts, however, it can refer to a half sister. This is seen, for example, in the first chapter of the *Hor gling g.yul 'gyed*. *Gling sgrung gces btus series*, p. 23, where Ne'u chung refers to her half sister 'Brug-mo as *sru* (their respective fathers, Sngo-lo Ston-pa and Skya-lo Ston-pa, are brothers). One might assume that *sru* similarly refers to the *Btsan-po*'s half sisters rather than maternal aunts because all of the other terms for eminent royal ladies seem to indicate either blood relatives or wives and co-wives, and *sru* as maternal aunt would make an exception to this rule. On the other hand, the emperor's mother's brother had great importance, so it is not entirely surprising that his wife should enjoy a status alongside the princesses and queens. The matter requires further investigation.

Princess Sad-mar-kar's marriage to the king of Zhang-zhung and her part in the conquest of Zhang-zhung was cited above as a model for the political role of the Tibetan princess. In fact, there are a few other examples of Tibetan princesses in this formative period of the Tibetan Empire's expansion. If we look back two generations to the Yarlung Kingdom and its all-important conquest of Ngas-po, we find two dynastic marriages with a similar, perilous theme. Neither has the epic quality of the Sad-mar-kar narrative; they are only mentioned as circumstances alongside other, larger events. The first of these two dynastic marriages is mentioned when Stag-bu Snya-gzigs agrees to the plot to conquer Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum put to him by the Dbas, Myang, Mnong, and Tshes-pong clans. "Although a sister of mine indeed resides in Zing-po-rje's whereabouts, I shall do as you say." (*nga'i sring mo zhig kyang / zing po rje 'i ga na 'dug mod kyi // khyed zer ba bzhin bya 'o zhes bka' stsal nas*) (PT 1287, ll. 158–59). This demonstrates that a dynastic marriage existed between Yar-lung and Ngas-po, with Stag-bu Snya-gzigs' sister wed to Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum. Stag-bu Snya-gzigs' planned conquest of his brother-in-law would be postponed, however, due to Stag-bu's kidnapping and imprisonment by his own chief wife's clan, the 'Ol-god (see *supra*, "The Tibetan Empire, A Brief Survey"). In both of these dynastic marriages we find bride-givers (*zhang*) dominating their bride-receivers (*dbon*). One cannot underestimate the importance of these events and their power in informing Tibet's subsequent dynastic marriages and international relations. The clear, two-edged theme that emerges is this: the chief queen and her family are dangerous; and one can conquer foreign lands through the agency of dynastic marriage.

The marriage of Princess Sad-mar-kar to Lig Myi-rhya, the king of Zhang-zhung, was underpinned by this same logic of gaining the upper hand by marrying a Tibetan woman into a foreign court. Moreover, Lig Myi-rhya was well aware of the power dynamics involved in such marriages, and, as Uray (1972b: 36) has pointed out, his understanding that a Zhang-zhung king with a Tibetan mother would weaken his country informed his sexual avoidance of Princess Sad-mar-kar.

The political importance of dynastic marriage probably accounts for the fact that the *Annals* records several. The first and by far the most famous of these is the found in the preamble to the *Annals*, which mentions the arrival of Princess Wencheng. This marriage has become the stuff of folklore, and forms a model for Tibetan marriage, where it figures in the songs exchanged between the bride's and groom's parties. Generations of Tibetologists have picked away at Wencheng's legacy, proving that many of the achievements attributed to her were in fact those of the second Chinese princess, the Princess of Jincheng. We have also seen the details of Wencheng's oblique marriage to her father-in-law following her husband's death, and the evidence against her ever having mothered a Tibetan emperor. Of course all of this diminishes Princess Wencheng as a cultural phenomenon not one whit. More importantly for our purposes, her modest historical reality did not prevent the Chinese and the Tibetans from looking to her marriage as the creation of a lasting, formal relationship between their two countries. Known as the *dbon-zhang* relationship, this term indicates son-in-law in relation to father-in-law, nephew in relation to maternal uncle and bride-receiver in relation to bride-giver. Generally, and within Tibetan society at large, it is a hierarchical relationship in which the son-in-law / nephew / bride-receiver is subordinate to the father-in-law / maternal uncle / bride-giver. While such concerns might not always be germane to the special case of dynastic marriage, we have seen how the power dynamics worked here, with the bride-receivers fearing the bride-givers, practicing sexual avoidance to forestall the birth of a compromised heir, and often falling under the power of their bride-givers as in the case of Stag-bu Snya-gzigs, Zing-po-rje Khri-pang-sum, and Lig Myi-rhya. As a structural relationship, *dbon-zhang* is not limited to two individuals, but extends to families, clans, and in the case of dynastic marriage, countries. So it is that even after the fall of the Tibetan Empire we find Tibetan writers referring to "Uncle China" (*zhang-po rgya*) (*KhG*: 334).⁴²

⁴² These dynamics are explored in further detail in Dotson *forthcoming b*.

In considering the matrimonial relationship between Tibet and China, it is interesting to note their respective approaches to this custom. As is often the case when looking to the origins of a particular Tibetan custom, we find in the case of dynastic marriage a parallel Chinese practice of engaging in political marriages with neighboring countries. China's dynastic marriages with foreign, usually Central Asian dynasties were known as *heqin* 和親 or “peaceful marriage arrangements” (Pan 1997: 95). In a study of such marriages from the Han to the Tang, Pan Yihong concludes that China's marriages with Central Asian peoples tended to adapt to the practices of such nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples as the Xiongnu and the Turks, among whom dynastic marriages were presumably a normative feature of their international relations (Pan 1997: 122). In this sense, China was perhaps “doing as the Romans do,” but it is interesting to question the extent to which this “Chinese” model may have influenced Tibet's dynastic marriages, particularly in terms of the rights and duties obtaining between royal houses (and by extension kingdoms), and the political role of Tibetan ladies sent as brides to foreign countries. Famously, the Chinese only gave brides to foreign peoples, never receiving them. This implies that the latter situation would indicate the acceptance of a somehow submissive role, and such a contention is partially demonstrated in the case of Tibet's dynastic marriages, and in particular in the vassal status of Tibet's nephews / sons-in-law / bride-receivers, Dags-po and 'A-zha.

Tibet's *dbon-zhang* relationship with China began in 641 when Princess Wencheng married Khri Gung-srong, the son of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. After his death in c.646, she married his father, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, and lived as his wife for the three years leading up to his death. The Tibeto-Chinese *dbon-zhang* relationship was renewed three generations later when Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan married the Princess of Jincheng in 710. Over one hundred years after this second marriage, the bilingual inscription of the Lhasa Treaty Pillar of 821-822 refers to the *dbon-zhang* relationship between the Tibetans and Chinese as follows:

Twenty-three years of the Tang era having passed from when the first lord of China, Li, assumed the throne. After one generation, the divine emperor, Khri Srong-brtsan, and the Lord of China The'i-tsong BU-n-bU Sheng-Hwang-te [Taizong] both agreed to unite their kingdoms.⁴³ In the Ceng-kwan year Mun-sheng Kong-co was married to the Btsan-po. Later, the divine emperor Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan and the Chinese lord Sam Lang kha'e 'gwan sheng bUn shIn bU Hwang-te [Xuanzong], agreed to unite their kingdoms, and building on their relationship (*gnyen*), Kim-shing Kong-co was wed to the Btsan-po in the keng-lung year. Having become *dbon* [and] *zhang*, they rejoiced. . . in this way, as neighbors and relatives (*gnyen*), and acting precisely in the manner of *dbon* [and] *zhang*. . .” (*dang po rgya rje ll rgyal sar zhugs nas// de'i tang gi srid lo nyi shu rtsa gsum lon// rgyal rabs gclg gi 'og du// 'phrul gyi lha bisan po khri srong brtsan dang// rgya rje the'e tsong bUn BU zheng hwang te gnyls// chab srid gclg du mol nas// ceng kwan gyl lo la/ mun sheng kong col// btsan po'i khab du blangs// phylis 'phrul gyl lha bisan po khri lde gtsug brtsan dang// rgya rje sam lang kha'e 'gwan sheng bUn shIn bU hwang te [gnyls]// chab srid gclg du mol te// gnyen brtsegs nas// keng lung gl lo la kIm shang kong col// btsan po'I khab du blangs nas// dbon zhang du 'gyur te dgyes pa las// ...'di ltar nye zhIng gnyen pa yIn na// dbon zhang gl tshul kho na ltar//*).⁴⁴

We see in this bilingual treaty inscription the sorts of rights and duties attached to the relationship, and the idea that there is a prescribed manner (*tshul*) in which each party should act.

Apart from the two Chinese princesses, all of the other marriages mentioned in the *Annals* have Tibetan princesses going to different countries as brides. This is not to say, however, that Tibet did not accept other foreign princesses in marriage besides the two Chinese princesses. In recording the death of a certain Princess Ga-tun (where *ga-tun* is a transcription of *qatun*, a Turkic term meaning “princess”) in 708-709, the

⁴³ This may be a euphemism for marriage.

⁴⁴ Lines 21–33 (with some elisions) of the east inscription; for translation and transliteration, see Richardson 1985: 110–13 and Li and Coblin 1987: 48–49, 96–97.

Annals reveals that Tibet accepted a bride in dynastic marriage from either the 'A-zha or the Western Turks. Furthermore, if we look to post-dynastic histories, we find foreign brides for Tibetan rulers in nearly every generation. This information must temper any statements to the effect that Tibet emulated the Tang in seeking always to be bride-giver and never bride-receiver in such dynastic marriages. The key point from the Tibetan perspective was whether or not a princess was a chief, heir-bearing queen in her new abode. This was the case when Tibetan princesses went to Dags-po and 'A-zha, but it was never the case—Princess Wencheng and her treatment in the *Royal Genealogy* notwithstanding—for foreign princesses marrying into the Tibetan court. As a result we cannot say that the Tibet–China *dbon-zhang* relationship subordinated Tibet to China.⁴⁵

The *dbon-zhang* model was not limited solely to the Tibeto-Chinese relationship, and the *Old Tibetan Annals* describes in greater detail Tibet's matrimonial relationships with Dags-po and 'A-zha, both of whose rulers were referred to as nephew / son-in-law (*dbon*) in relation to the Tibetan emperor. Each minor kingdom constituted a subordinate unit of the empire itself, with a limited degree of autonomy. In the case of Dags-po, this autonomy appears to have ended in the first half of the eighth century. In both of these cases Dags-po and 'A-zha are in the subordinate position of bride-receivers vis-à-vis Tibet, and this seems to have been Tibet's preferred diplomatic arrangement. Most importantly, the Tibetan princesses in these cases bore heirs to the thrones of Dags-po and 'A-zha. In this way the bride-receivers / sons-in-law (*dbon*) also became uterine nephews (*dbon*).

The first time the term *dbon* appears in the *Annals* is in the entry for the pig year 675-676: "Princess Khri-mo-lan gave a great banquet. 'Bon Da-rgyal Khri-zung bestowed great gold and copper, and. . ." As Uray (1963: 206) demonstrated, Da-rgyal / Dar-rgyal was the name of the royal lineage of Dags-po.⁴⁶ They enjoyed a matrimonial relationship with the royal line as one of the "ancient relatives of the four borders" (*gha' gnyen mtha' bzhi*). This ancient relationship may be the reason for their privileged epithet, "nephew / son-in-law / bride-receiver" (*'bon / dbon*), but it is evident that this matrimonial relationship was renewed during the period covered by the *Annals*.

Khri-zung is referred to as 'Bon Da-rgyal Khri-zung each time he appears in subsequent entries for the years 687-688 and 688-689, as Dbon Da-rgyal in 690-691, and as 'Bon Da-rgyal in 694-695, the year of his death. The entry for the rat year 688-689 states that Princess (Btsan-mo) Khri-mo-stengs went to Dags-yul "to [conduct] politics" (*dags-yul du chab-srid la gshegs*). Stein (1973: 413, n. 5; 2003 [1985]: 572, n. 9) believes that rather than meaning "waging a war," this expression has to do with marriage. While this interpretation may be correct in this case and in some others, it is certainly not so in every case in which the phrase *chab-srid la gshegs* appears in the *Annals*.⁴⁷ *Chab-srid* refers to political alliance and to the realm. Thus in the

⁴⁵ Kapstein (2000: 221, n. 77) may be correct, however, in his observation that the two parties understood the relationship differently, with the Chinese reading it as indicative of subordination. In the treaties negotiated between the Tibetan Empire and the Tang, and in particular in the famous treaty of 821–822, the diplomatic language recognizes China and Tibet as equals, and there are numerous instances where one side attempted to outmaneuver the other in such negotiations (Richardson 1998 [1970]; Stein 1988).

⁴⁶ As pointed out by Uebach (1997b: 61, n. 17), this fact was overlooked by Petech, Richardson, and Yamaguchi, who all followed Thomas' assumption that Dbon Da-rgyal was to be identified with Dbon 'A-zha rje. Though their errors may stem from Thomas, a text published by Thomas himself in fact demonstrates that Da-rgyal was the ruler of Dags-po. ITJ 734, published by Thomas (1957) as text four, states in lines 333–34 (pp. 76, 94) that Dar-rgyal Sprog-zin was the ruler of Dags-yul Shing-nag. This is further corroborated by the catalogue of minor kingdoms of PT 1286, in which Dags-rgyal gyi Sprog-zin is named as the ruler of Dags kyi Gru-bzhi (PT 1286, ll. 18–19).

⁴⁷ Stein is probably in error, for example, when he translates *btsan po chab srid la mywa la gshegs pa* in the entry for 704-705 with "le roi va prendre épouse au Nan-tsh'ao" (Stein 1973: 413, n. 5). It would then follow that the Tibetan emperor was

treaty pillar quoted above, the rulers of China and Tibet agree to unify their realms (*chab-srid gcig du mol*). In the entry for 756-757, Khri Srong-lde-btsan “takes the realm in hand” (*cab-srid pyag du bzhes*), and in the entry for 762-764, the political alliance is destroyed (*chab-srid zhig*) preceding the Tibetan invasion of the Chinese capital. Thus while the meaning of *chab-srid* is wide enough to include marriage in the sense that it is integral to unifying realms, this is but one aspect of the term. In the case of the visit by Princess Khri-mo-stengs to Dags-yul, *chab-srid* may indicate a matrimonial alliance in which she had gone to marry 'Bon Da-rgyal Khri-zung (Uebach 1997b: 61), but it more explicitly underlines her importance as a member of the ruling house capable of governing.

Princess Khri-mo-stengs seems to have mothered Da-rgyal Khri-zung's successor, 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung, who is mentioned in entries for the years 706-707, 707-708, 711-712, 712-713, 713-714, and 714-715 (Uebach 1997b: 61). This was a successful dynastic marriage for Tibet, as it brought Dags-po under Tibetan control. Having revolted during the minority of Khri Srong-btsan, Dags-po was one of the few territories under the Btsan-po's domain that still enjoyed the status of a semi-independent minor kingdom (*rgyal-phran*) within the Tibetan Empire. Princess Khri-mo-stengs' marriage and the accession of her son to the throne of Dags-po effectively ended this status quo, and Dags-po was incorporated territorially into the Tibetan Empire with the completion of the red tally of Dags-po in the horse year 718-719 (Uebach 1997b: 61).

Another semi-autonomous minor kingdom, 'A-zha, also stood in relation to Tibet as bride-receiver / nephew, and it is in the context of this relationship that we find the *Annals*' only mention of the term *dbon-zhang*. Unlike Dags-po, 'A-zha was a very large and powerful kingdom, and was ethnically Turkic rather than Tibetan. 'A-zha also managed to retain its semi-autonomous status even after the birth of an heir to a Tibetan mother. The entry for the ox year 689-690 states: “Princess Khri-bangs went as a bride to the lord of the 'A-zha.” In the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*, which covers the years from 706-707 to 714-715, the ruler of 'A-zha, who is referred to by the title Ma-ga tho-gon Kha-gan, is most certainly the son of this Tibetan princess, who is called “the mother, Princess Khri-bangs” (*yum btsan-mo khri-bangs*) (Yamaguchi 1970a: 63). The Tibetans seem to have referred to the rulers of the 'A-zha by their titles, and the *Old Tibetan Annals* uses the term “lord of the 'A-zha” (*'a zha rje*) to refer to successive rulers.

The ruler of the 'A-zha does not appear again in the *Annals* until the hare year 727-728, where it states that the Btsan-po “met with 'Bon 'A-zha rje [as] bride-giver and bride-receiver (*zhang dbon gdan tshom*).” This relates to a new ruler of 'A-zha who is referred to by the same title. The passage most likely indicates the renewal of the Tibetan-'A-zha matrimonial relationship.⁴⁸ Dbon 'A-zha-rje is mentioned once again in the *Old Tibetan Annals*' entry for 745-746. Dbon 'A-zha-rje also appears in the edicts (*bka'-tshigs*) of Khri Srong-lde-btsan and his son Khri Lde-srong-btsan preserved in *KhG* (372-73; 411-12; *infra*, Appendix Five). These date to c.779 and c.812, respectively, and, together with the Chinese example, demonstrate the longevity of this sort of relationship.

The *Old Tibetan Annals* records two other instances of dynastic marriage where the Tibetan emperor, and, by extension, Tibet, stands as bride-giver (*zhang*) in relation to a subjected and subordinate bride-receiver (*dbon*). The entry for the dog year 734-735 states, “Princess (*je-ba*) 'Dron-ma-lod was sent as a bride to the

also on such matrimonial missions in 701-702, 739-740, and 741-742. The latter entry has an especially martial context that would tend to disagree with such an interpretation.

⁴⁸ The phrase *gdan-tshom* may simply be an expression for an intimate meeting such as a summit, but it is also similar to a phrase used in a matrimonial context: the “spreading of the carpet” (*gdan-bting*) is one of the phases of a Tibetan marriage ceremony where a carpet is spread out for the bride. This was incorporated as the third part of the eight-part marriage ceremony devised by Kong-sprul, for which, see Karmay 1998 [1975]: 153.

Dur-gyis Kha-gan.”⁴⁹ The marriage served to formally seal the Tibetan-Türgiś alliance (Beckwith 1987: 111). The entry for the dragon year 740-741 records a similar relationship with Bru-zha (Little Palūr): “Princess (*je-ba*) Khri-ma-lod was sent as a bride to the lord of Bru-zha.” Just a few years earlier, in the summer of 737-738, Tibet attacked Bru-zha and conquered its pro-Tang king. This marriage on the heels of conquest is therefore not unlike that between the Tibetan princess, Sad-mar-kar, and Lig Myi-rhya, king of Zhang-zhung, and once again underlines the highly political role of dynastic marriage.

Historical Geography and the *Old Tibetan Annals*

The *Old Tibetan Annals* contains quite a lot of information regarding the historical geography of the Tibetan Empire and the surrounding countries, so it will be useful to give an overview here with reference to Guntram Hazod’s historical-geographical study that comprises Part III of this book.

As described in the brief survey of the history of the Tibetan Empire, the Yar-lung Kingdom expanded to become the Tibetan Empire through a process of conquest that began in earnest in the mid-sixth century. Stag-bu Snya-gzigs, the grandfather of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, was at this time the ruler of just one of many rival kingdoms. We are aware of these polities in two ways. In the first place, we know of the “minor kingdoms” (*rgyal-phran*) as symbolizing the fragmented chaos that precedes the centralizing order of empire. Catalogues of these minor kingdoms are found in the *Royal Genealogy* and in Old Tibetan ritual texts, where they are invoked as a model of the known world. These formulaic minor kingdoms are loosely based on historical realities pertaining to the empire’s expansion, or, on what one might call “non-formulaic minor kingdoms.” The earliest records of these conquests, the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, name a number of small polities conquered by the Yar-lung Kingdom and brought into the imperial fold. Furthermore, these polities, once subjugated by the Tibetan Empire, were often still referred to as “minor kingdoms,” as was the case with Dags-po, 'A-zha, Kong-po, and Myang-yul. Within this second group of “non-formulaic minor kingdoms” we therefore can further distinguish the earlier “(competing) minor kingdoms” from the later “(vassal) minor kingdoms” as a change in status reflecting the rise of the empire.

The first sort of minor kingdoms is formulaic in that it is a conscious representation of the known world. It is evoked as such in ritual literature, where healing tales are set in each kingdom as antecedents to empower and heal the patient (PT 1285, ITJ 734, Dotson *forthcoming a*). Most often, these liturgies follow the path of the Gtsang-po River from west to east, and the official catalogue of minor kingdoms in the *Royal Genealogy* follows this same pattern. While their formulaic nature might lead some to reject them out of hand as sources of any historical-geographical value, to do so would be slightly reactionary, since their contents do overlap with the non-formulaic minor kingdoms mentioned in the *Annals*, the *Chronicle*, and other Old Tibetan texts.

Turning to the second sort of minor kingdoms, there are those mentioned in the *Annals* or in the narratives of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and other Old Tibetan documents. Among these are the Yar-lung Kingdom, ruled by Stag-bu Snya-gzigs; the kingdoms of Yel-rab Sde-bzhi and Klum [ro] Ya-gsum, ruled by Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo; the kingdom of Ngas-po, ruled by Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum; Gnubs-mtsho Gling-dgu,

⁴⁹ The term *je-ba* is otherwise unknown. One possibility is that it refers to sisters of the Btsan-po’s co-wives, in which case they are not in fact of the royal clan (*infra*, fn. 294). This is a pertinent distinction, and one the Tibetans were surely aware of, for the *Xin Tangshu* reveals that the Tibetans sent a marriage request in 679 via Princess Wencheng for a Chinese princess who was in fact a daughter of the emperor (Pan 1997: 115).

ruled by the 'Ol-god clan; and the kingdom of Lho-brag, ruled by Klu-dur. The first three are mentioned in chapter three of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and the last two are found in the “Chronicle Fragments” relating to Stag-bu Snya-gzigs. Chapter four of the *Chronicle*, together with chapter three, forms the narrative of the empire’s expansion, and mentions a number of other realms conquered or annexed by Tibet. Among these are Gtsang-Bod, ruled by Mar-mun; the kingdom of Dags-po; the kingdom of Sum-pa;⁵⁰ and Mon. We can add to these the kingdom of To-yo-chas-la in Northern Zhang-zhung, ruled by Bor-yon-rtse (mentioned in the “Chronicle Fragments” relating to Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse; ITJ 1284); Zhang-zhung itself, ruled by King Lig Myi-rhya; the kingdom of 'A-zha; the kingdom of Kong-po; and the kingdom of Myang-yul, to the north of Kong-po. Together, these kingdoms constitute the political topography of the Tibetan plateau in the late sixth and early seventh century.

The correspondence between formulaic and non-formulaic minor kingdoms is significant: they both include Zhang-zhung, Gnubs-yul, Ngas-po, Dbye-ro / Yel-rab, Klum-ro, Dags-yul, Kong-yul, Myang-yul, and Sum-pa. Other such formulaic catalogues, such as that of PT 1060, name Rtsang-stod and Lho-ga Lang-drug, which may overlap respectively with Rtsang-Bod and Lho-brag.

For Hazod’s maps of these minor kingdoms, including detailed information about the possible burial sites of some of these dynasties, see now Map 3 *et passim* in Part III of this book.

When these kingdoms were conquered, they were brought into the Tibetan Empire through the creation of new territorial units. Initially, Tibet’s territories, along with central Tibet itself, were ruled by administrative chiefs (*khos-dpon*), an institution that likely dates to the mid-630s (Uray 1972a: 41). There were five administrative chiefs, and they carried out the administration of Tibet, Zhang-zhung, Sum-pa, Chibs, and Mthong-khyab (Uray 1972a: 32–45; Rong 1990–1991: 251–54; Dotson 2007a: 314; Hazod, *infra*, Part III). This marked the beginning of a process by which new structures of “state territory” replaced the borders drawn by the old kingdoms or local ruling clans. Among the first attempts to institute state territory was the eighteen “shares of power” (*dbang-ris*), also known as the “administrative arrangement of territories” (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*). This measure formally assigned specific territories to specific clans. In all likelihood, this merely formalized the de-facto situation and enshrined previously held clan territories within the new state-sanctioned divisions. It inaugurated a process, however, by which autonomies became administrable units of the Tibetan Empire.

For Hazod’s map and documentation of the eighteen shares of power, see now Map 4 *et passim* in Part III of this book.

The phrase “administrative arrangement of territories” (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) is reminiscent of the entry in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the tiger year 654-655: “[Mgar] divided the fierce (military) and tame (civilians), and made the manuals for creating the great administration. So one year.” (*/ rgod g.yung dbye zhIng/ mkho sham chen pho bgyI ba’I rtsis mgo bgyI bar lo gchIgl/*) (cf. *infra*). These measures may be the source not only of the eighteen “shares of power,” but for the more well known tradition of “Horns” (*ru*), or “Divisions.”

⁵⁰ The location of the minor kingdom of Sum-pa / Sum-yul is a difficult matter. The area was inhabited by the Sum-pa people, known to the Chinese as Su pi. They were once thought to correspond to the inhabitants of the “Land of Women” (*nu guo*) mentioned in Chinese sources such as the *Sui shu*, but this has since been ruled out. According to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Minister Myang Zhang-snang subjugated the Sum-pa without recourse to serious violence. Like another such early conquest, that of Zhang-zhung, the Sum-pa appear to have been assimilated to Tibetan culture more successfully than later conquests. This is evident from the fact that an Old Tibetan administrative document, PT 1089, refers to the officials of Tibet and Sum-pa together and in contrast to those Chinese or barbarian officials. Aspects of Sum-pa cultural heritage are preserved in a collection of folk sayings, ITJ 730. Part, if not all of Sum-pa was legislated in 703 as Sum-ru or Sum-pa’s Horn. For a thorough discussion of the geography of Sum-pa, see Denwood *forthcoming*.

The Horn system likely began with only three Horns: Central Horn, Left Horn, and Right Horn. In this formulation that Central Horn is conceived of as facing south. Thus Right Horn is to the west and Left Horn is to the east. With the addition of Branch Horn, which lay to the south of Right Horn and to the south of the Gtsang-po River, the famous “four Horns of Tibet” (*Bod khams ru-bzhi*) came into existence. Thereafter, the phrase “the four Horns” was often used to refer to central Tibet and to Tibet in general even up to the present day. In addition to this core area of Tibet, Sum-ru was legislated in the winter of 702-703, and Zhang-zhung was brought under administration and divided into thousand-districts, but not referred to as a Horn.⁵¹

The four Horns of Tibet, Sum-pa’s Horn, and Zhang-zhung, along with areas of eastern Tibet, were made up of subordinate units called thousand-districts (*stong-sde*), each comprised of one thousand households (Takeuchi 1994: 81, n. 36). This likely also indicates that each thousand-district supplied one thousand soldiers; in Tang China and in later Tibetan history, the soldier tax, like most other taxes, was levied at the household level, so a thousand-district, comprised of approximately one thousand households, may likewise have been responsible for supplying approximately one thousand soldiers. This was but one aspect of the thousand-district, which cannot be considered a strictly military unit such as a “division.” As Richardson (1998 [1990b]: 171) notes, heads of thousand-districts also mediated civil disputes and were responsible for the equitable distribution of surplus grain, and thousand-districts included those whose duties were not strictly military in nature.

In addition to thousand-districts, the Horns also contained “administrative districts” (*yul-dpon-tshan / yul-sde*), which were either units of five hundred households subordinate to the thousand-districts, as Uebach (1997a: 999–1001) proposes, or parallel divisions of territory. Whatever the case, these “administrative districts” were located in agricultural areas, and were administered by local officials (*yul-dpon*) and interior ministers (*nang-blon*) (Dotson 2007a: 149–50).

First created in the second half of the seventh century, the thousand-districts were not equitably distributed at first. In 744-745, with the “administration” (*mkhos*) of the four Horns, the thousand-districts were balanced so that there were then ten thousand-districts in each Horn (Uebach 1985a). Four of these were located in the “upper” part of the Horn, and four in the “lower” part. Each of these halves was headed by a *ru-dpon*, a rank that was apparently synonymous with general (*dmag-dpon*). The ninth thousand-district was a “sub-thousand-district” that probably consisted of less than a thousand households, and the tenth was a “royal guard thousand-district” (*sku-srung stong-sde*). As a result, there were forty thousand-districts in the four Horns of Tibet, and four of these were “royal guard thousand-district,” each designated by a cardinal direction. It appears that these served as the personal guard of the emperor, and were stationed on all four sides of the Tibetan imperial court.

For Hazod’s maps of the borders of the four Horns and the thousand-districts and administrative districts of the four Horns, see now Map 5 *et passim* and Map 6 *et passim* in Part III of this book.

At this point, in the middle of the eighth century, there are indications that thousand-districts acted as corporate entities rather than simply as units from which soldiers and provisions could be levied. Soldiers were conscripted from the individual estates of these thousand-districts, which were then responsible for provisioning the soldiers to war (Dotson 2007b: 57). In some cases, the thousand-districts also appear to have operated like military colonies, moving *en masse* to colonize recently conquered territories, particularly on the border with China. Thus, for example, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* informs us that the thousand-districts of Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-dzom, all from central Tibet, distinguished themselves in battle with China during the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763 (PT 1287, ll. 385–86; *DTH*: 115,

⁵¹ For a detailed summary of this process, see Uray 1960.

154; Sangs-rgyas Mkharr 2003; *infra*, Appendix Three). This demonstrates that the troops supplied by the thousand-districts did not serve as local militias guarding only their own area, but were sent all over the Tibetan Empire.

The leadership of Tibet's thousand-districts was also associated with particular clans, a factor that served to preserve traditional clan territory within the new administrative units. As an administrative unit, however, the thousand-district was fundamentally geographical, encompassing about a thousand households of a given area. While this overlapped with clan territory, there are indications that the thousand-district as a territorial unit later served to undermine the clan as a fundamental part of a person's identity. This is seen, for example, in the fact that the names of soldiers inscribed in Old Tibetan documents and on wooden slips begin first with a soldier's thousand-district, and only then proceed to clan name and personal name (Uray and Uebach 1994). The trend away from clan solidarity and towards an imperial identity is part and parcel of the Tibetan imperial administration, and lies behind many of the changes in the thousand-districts.

Later, during the ninth century, the military system appears to have become far more sophisticated in breaking up regional and clan identity among its ranks. Assigning soldiers to watchpost duty, for example, it is evident that the authorities made a conscious effort to post together men who were neither from the same thousand-district nor the same clan (Takeuchi 2003).

These two trends—that of military colonies constituted by population transfer from central Tibet to the borders, with thousand-districts and clans as the basic units of identity, and that of an administrative policy that militated against regional and clan identity to forge an imperial identity—seem to be at odds with one another. There is strong evidence for both, and while the former may have given way to the latter, it is also quite possible that the two models overlapped for some time or existed side by side in separate contexts. Moreover, it is this push and pull between self interest and imperial interest that, as we have seen in the formation of the empire through ministerial conquests, constituted the creative dynamic driving the expansion of the Tibetan Empire.

The Extent of the Empire

The heart of the Tibetan Empire consisted of the four Horns and Sum-pa's Horn. In eastern Tibet, political power was devolved to a political council in Mdo-smad that operated in the same manner as the central Tibetan council. The *Old Tibetan Annals* records the sites of the political council of Mdo-smad, the first of which is recorded in the entry for the dragon year 692-693. The territorial unit certainly existed prior to this, and is mentioned in the entry for the year 653-654. Unfortunately, very few of the Mdo-smad council sites are identified. It can be supposed, however, from its existence as early as 653, prior to the conquest of the 'A-zha, that Mdo-smad did not include any far-flung territories. Its probable location is therefore in modern-day Khams and A-mdo to the south of the Yellow River (Huang he) (Uebach 2003: 24).⁵²

Appended to the four Horns, Sum-pa's Horn, and Mdo-smad were the regions of Zhang-zhung and 'A-zha, both of which were conquered in the mid-seventh century. The latter enjoyed the status of a "minor kingdom" (*rgyal-phran*) and nominal autonomy within the Tibetan Empire. The 'A-zha people, referred to

⁵² See also Uebach 1990: 405–06. According to Uebach (1990: 406), Mdo-smad was governed by a powerful minister known as the Great Mdo-blon (*mdo-blon chen-po*). While this may be the case, the *Old Tibetan Annals* never refers to the convenor(s) of the Mdo-smad council as Mdo-blon, and the jurisdiction of the Mdo-blon is by no means certain, with the other obvious candidate as a territory under his control being Mdo-khams (see *infra*). The most commonly recurring sites for the Mdo-smad council are Gtse-nam-yor, Dbu-le, Yol, and Rag-tag.

as Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 in Chinese, occupied the area around Lake Kokonor, and in particular the areas to the west, probably stretching into the Qaidam Basin.⁵³ Their main centers were located at Dulan in modern Dulan County, Qinghai Province, and at Mantou, a garrison town at the eastern end of the Qinghai Nanshan mountains and Qishui in modern Kung he County (Sato 1993: 8–10). The former, Dulan, is the site of a stunning archaeological find that includes several impressive tombs (Xu 1996: 7–8; Heller 1998).

When Tibet conquered the 'A-zha in 663, half of them fled to Liangzhou, where the Chinese created a new province to accommodate them, Anlezhou 安樂州, meaning “pacified district.” Tibet conquered Liangzhou 涼州 in early 758 and made this the center of one of their colonial military governments (*khrom*).

Zhang-zhung, on the other hand, did not enjoy any autonomy, and was divided into upper and lower halves, each consisting of five thousand-districts. One of these districts was Gu-ge, the traditional center of Zhang-zhung.

The furthest reaches of Tibet's imperial apparatus were colonial military governments (*khrom*), which served to legislate newly conquered areas through direct military rule (Uray 1980: 314). There appear to have been eight or nine such colonial military governments, each of them coming into existence at different times following a major conquest, with new *khrom* sometimes replacing older *khrom*. Their chain of command was military in nature, with a general at the top, and below him several town prefects (*rtse-rje*) who governed the larger settlements or cities. These colonial military governments were full of subordinate units such as ten-thousand-districts (*khri-sde*),⁵⁴ thousand-districts, sub-thousand-districts, units of fifty households (*tshan*), and smaller *tshan* units.

Many of the colonial military governments were located in the northeast, reflecting its importance as the primary arena in Tibet's military expansion. Among these is Rma-grom, first mentioned in the *Annals*' entry for the year 704-705, and whose re-establishment is recorded in the *Annals*' entry for 755-756. Rma-grom was located at the bend of the upper Yellow River, near Mgo-log.⁵⁵ Khri-bshos khrom, the military government of the Kokonor region, is mentioned in the *Annals*' entry for 676-677 (Uray 1980: 313–14). To the east of Lake Kokonor was Mkhar-tsan khrom at Liangzhou (Uray 1991), which certainly existed by the time of the 821–822 peace accord celebrated in the *Prayers of De ga g.yu tshal*, and may have existed for decades earlier.⁵⁶ Another colonial military government, Dbyar-mo-thang khrom chen-po, is mentioned in PT 1089, but its location is uncertain. Richardson (1998 [1990b]: 169) believed it to have come into existence in the wake of the Tibetan offensive to Changan from 760–764. This is in line with Uray, who locates Dbyar-mo-thang to the northeast of Kokonor. Most recently, Kapstein (2004: 104–06; Kapstein *forthcoming*) has suggested a different, much larger area for Dbyar-mo-thang from the upper Yellow River basin in the south extending to the regions south and west of Kokonor and up to the northwest in the direction of Dunhuang. This massive area would overlap with both Rma-grom and Kwa-cu khrom. The latter included Guazhou 瓜州, Suzhou 肅州, and Shazhou 沙州 / Dunhuang 敦煌 (Richardson 1998 [1990b]: 173). Further to the west, another military government, likely called Tshal-byi khrom,

⁵³ On the 'A-zha, see Molè 1970.

⁵⁴ Kazushi Iwao has demonstrated that unlike a thousand-district, which comprised one thousand households, a ten-thousand-district (*khri-sde*) could range widely in size, with some *khri-sde* too poor in arable land to constitute even a thousand-district. More generally, the *khri-sde* was “an administrative unit established in densely populated areas such as already existing oasis cities” (Iwao 2007a: 220–21). Iwao argues that in common with the military systems of nomadic states, units of ten thousand should not be approached in a strictly numerical sense.

⁵⁵ Intriguingly, Rma-grom persisted as an independent realm after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, as is evident from a tenth-century missive from the Uighur Khagan (Uray 1980: 313; Ishikawa 2003).

⁵⁶ This depends on the date of PT 1089, the administrative document discussed in some detail below in the context of rank order and chain of command.

administered the Lop-nor region. At the northwestern reaches of this chain of colonial military governments was the *khrom* with jurisdiction over the kingdom of Khotan—though here it is more a question of indirect than direct rule—and the military government of the land of Little Palûr (Bru-zha'i yul gyi khrom) (Uray 1980: 313–14). To the other extreme, forming the southeast end of the chain of military governments, there was most likely another *khrom*—its name is not known—that controlled the western part of modern Sichuan province (Uray 1991: 206–07, n. 60).

The locations of these military governments provide some idea of the Tibetan Empire's massive geographical reach. They also bear witness to the Tibetan Empire's inroads into Chinese territory to the northeast, and its conquest of Khotan and Little Palûr in the far northwest.

The colonial military governments were connected with the Tibetan imperial administration through the creation of new provinces that included several of the *khrom*. One such province was the “realm of the pacification minister” (Bde-blon khams or Bde-blon ris), a term that may have been borrowed from the Chinese Anlezhou, which had been created by the Tang to accommodate the 'A-zha (Li 1981: 178; Richardson 1990b: 173). Bde-blon khams stretched along the northeastern borders of the empire and included at least three colonial military governments: Mkhâr-tsan khrom at Liangzhou, Kwa-cu khrom, and Tshal-byi khrom in the Lop-nor region.⁵⁷

As is evident from the name of this province, it was governed by an extremely powerful figure, the “pacification minister” (*bde-blon*). The *bde-blon* had jurisdiction over a large area, including Dunhuang, which is why the Tibetan Dunhuang documents contain so many references to this office and a number of official letters bear the seal of the *bde-blon*. In this way the colonial administration of this area was centralized to a striking degree on the office of the *bde-blon*. At the same time, many official and legal matters still required mediation or approval from the central Tibetan authorities.

In playing an important role in integrating the colonial military governments with the central Tibetan administration, the *bde-blon* was not alone. Uray (1990a: 424) has demonstrated that there were also “governors” (*dbang-po*) to whom the generals of the colonial military government were subordinate. These “governors” are found offering auspicious words in the *Prayers of De ga G.yu tshal* (PT 16 and ITJ 751), an official document that inaugurates the treaty temple celebrating the 821–822 treaty between Tibet, China, the Uighurs, and Nanzhao. Prayers by Tibetan functionaries are offered in order, almost certainly in accordance with rank and prestige, and while the authors of the first prayer are unidentified due to the fact that the first part of the manuscript is missing, it is evident that the second prayer comes from Dbyar-mo-thang khrom chen-po, and is offered “by the governors of Mdo-gams—the great central region—and by all the subjects” (*dbus kyi khams chen po mdo gams gyi dbang po man cad 'bangs yongs kyi*; PT 16, ll. 34 r. 3–4; Uray 1990a: 422). The third, fourth, and fifth prayers are offered by the *bde-blon*, Mkhâr-tsan khrom chen-po, and by Kwa-chu khrom chen-po, respectively.⁵⁸ Allowing for the possibility that this order may be situational to the extent that it highlights those most involved in winning the peace, the placement of Dbyar-mo-thang ahead of the *bde-blon* is striking, and supports Kapstein's contention that Dbyar-mo-thang was quite massive. It further demonstrates that the great colonial military government of Dbyar-mo-thang overlapped with or included the region of Mdo-gams, which was headed by one or more governors (*dbang-po*).

Many aspects of the historical geography of the Tibetan Empire remain vexed issues. This is in large part due to the fact that territorial administration was not static, but changed as the Tibetan Empire expanded,

⁵⁷ See, however, Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 278, n. 70), who holds out the possibility that Bde-blon-khams had some manner of jurisdiction over territories as far to the west as Khotan.

⁵⁸ For a more complete outline of the contents, see Kapstein *forthcoming*.

consolidated its conquests, and adapted existing local structures. It would seem, for example, that Dbyar-mo-thang khrom chen-po would have taken over some of the areas previously included in Mdo-smad. Similarly, it may have overlapped with Rma-grom. The precise chronology and the relationship between these administrative districts is now being carefully reconstructed by able scholars, and should be clarified through further research.

For Hazod's map of Tibetan Empire, including the colonial military governments, see now Map 2 *et passim* in Part III of this book.

As the Tibetan Empire expanded, it came into contact with neighboring countries, forged alliances, and operated in a state of nearly constant warfare. The *Old Tibetan Annals* records the Tibetan Empire's contacts with China, 'Jang / Ljang (indicating first the pre-Nanzhao polities, then, after the mid-eighth century, Nanzhao itself),⁵⁹ the Western Turks (Dru-gu), the Eastern Turks ('Bug-cor), the Türgis (Dur-gyis), Sogdians (Sog-dag), 'Iran' (Ta-chig), Little Palûr (Bru-zha), Ladakh (Mard), and others. The biggest prize at stake in this nearly constant state of warfare was control over the trade on the Silk Road, mostly in the form of tribute and taxes imposed on the oasis city-states of the Tarim Basin.

The Emperor's Court and the Political Councils

One could easily make the mistake of assuming that Lhasa served as the capital of imperial Tibet in the same sense that it did under the administration of the Dalai Lamas. While it was an important area, and is referred to as a capital in the *Jiu Tangshu*, it was but one of many key places, and we cannot refer to a single place as the center or capital of the Tibetan Empire. This is for the simple reason that the ritual and political center of the empire was the emperor himself, and he travelled with a large mobile court. While the Tibetan emperors had ancestral strongholds such as Phying-ba Stag-rtse, the *Old Tibetan Annals* demonstrates that the emperor's court (*pho-brang*) was a massive encampment that generally moved twice each year, and was stationed in separate places in summer and winter. This moveable center included attendants, officials, ritual specialists, monks, and soldiers. Among these, it is evident that the central judiciary (*pho-brang 'khor gyi zhal-ce-pa*), formed part of this court (Dotson 2007b: 33–34), as most likely did the "royal guard thousand-districts" of the four directions. With the introduction of Buddhism, the emperor's personal *sangha* (*pho-brang 'khor gyi dge-'dun*) also formed part of the mobile Tibetan court (Dotson 2007c: 3).

A passage in the *New Tang Annals* (*Xin Tangshu*) pertaining to the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821-822 describes the Tibetan emperor's tent in picturesque language:

The northern valley of the Tsang River is the summer residence of the tsanp'u. His tent was surrounded by a fence of spears; and a hundred halberds, with long handles and hooked heads, stood upright, with an interval of some ten paces between them; while in the middle large flags were erected. There were three gates, each a hundred paces distant from the other. Armed warriors guarded these gates, and sorcerers recited prayers, with bird-shaped hats and tiger-girdles, beating drums the while. All comers were searched before they were allowed to enter. In the centre there was a high platform, surrounded by a circle of jewelled balusters. The tsanp'u was seated in the centre of the tent, which was ornamented with gold figures of dragons, lizards, tigers, and leopards. He was dressed in a plain cloth costume, his head enveloped in the folds of bright red-coloured silk, and he was girt with a sword inlaid with gold. (Bushell 1880: 521; Pelliot 1961: 130–31).

⁵⁹ See, however, Stein 1983: 216, where Ljang is taken to indicate not Nanzhao but certain Qiang peoples.

Though this description pertains to the encampment during a famous treaty ceremony, where the court was no doubt more elaborate than during the usual state of affairs, it still offers an approximation of the scale of the court. This “moveable center” of the Tibetan Empire also served to make the emperor physically present before his subjects, and no doubt also offered aristocratic clans a method of earning prestige by inviting the Tibetan court to sojourn on their lands. Equally, it emphasized the emperor’s dependence on his subjects, without whose assent he could not station the court (Hazod 2003: 36–37; *infra*, Part III).

Some places appear over and over again in the *Old Tibetan Annals* as the favored court sites. In particular, Nyen-kar, Mer-ke, Bal-po, and Brag-mar stand out as the most popular court sites. These sites all have in common the fact that they sheltered a Tibetan emperor during his minority, establishing a pattern by which the emperors seem to have been protected in their youth before striking out with their courts when they come of age.

In such a way, Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s grandson, Khri Mang-slön, remained in Mer-ke and in Nyen-kar from 650 through 658. Mer-ke, as Hazod (*in press*) notes, was located in Byang on the upper course of the Skyid-chu River. This area was referred to as Dbu-ru-lung, and the river here, of which Mer-ke forms the main side valley, is called the Lha-chu.

Nyen-kar served as a haven not only for the young Emperor Khri Mang-slön, but also for his son, Khri 'Dus-srong, who, after his birth at Lha-lung in Sregs in the summer of 676-677, remained in Nyen-kar from 677-678 through 693-694, with the exception of 689-690, which he spent elsewhere. The location of Nyen-kar has been the source of some debate, due in part to the fact that there seems to have been more than one site in central Tibet known by this name. From the compound toponyms in the *Annals* it is evident that Nyen-kar was a large area; apart from Nyen-kar itself, we find the royal residences of Nyen-kar Lcang-bu (willow grove)⁶⁰ and Nyen-kar gyi Thang-bu-ra (plane). Chapter three of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* states that Snyen-kar Rnying-pa (Old Snyen-kar) was the residence of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo, the evil king of Yel-rab Sde-bzhi and Klum Ya-gsum (*DTH*: 133). Neither of these latter two areas have been identified with any certainty, but one of Sad-mar-kar’s songs in the *Chronicle* reveals that Klum-ro was near Mal-gro (*mal tro ni klum dang nye /*) (PT 1287, l. 422; *DTH*: 158).⁶¹ This is only very general, however, and the extent of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo’s realm is unclear. Chapter five of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* injects a bit of precision. The text states that when Emperor Khri Srong-btsan went from Nyen-kar to Skyi-lung, the retired minister Phang-to-re Dbyi-tshab requested to make an offering to him at La-mo Chag-pa phrum (*la mo chag pa prum du pyag thab tsam zhlg gsol du ji gnan*) (PT 1287, l. 253). This most likely corresponds to the La-mo Valley east of Ganden Monastery, which lies at the crossroads between Mal-gro, 'Phan-po, and central Skyid-shod. Specifically, it is probably identical with the site of La-mo Chag-de'u, an early Phyi-dar temple founded by Klu-mes (Hazod, *infra*, Part III). A further hint regarding Nyen-kar’s location is found again in the songs of Sad-mar-kar in the *Chronicle*, one line of which states that Nyen-kar is near Dog (*nyen kar ni dog dang nye /*) (PT 1287, l. 422; *DTH*: 158). Unfortunately, the location of Dog is unknown.⁶²

There are further indications that Nyen-kar lies in the vicinity of modern La-mo. In their studies of royal residences and council sites, both Uebach (1988) and Hazod (2003: 36–37; *infra*, Part III, map 7.7) assume that the normal pattern of movement from one season to the next did not entail arduous journeys, but typically went from one half of a Horn to the other half, and remained in generally the same province. For

⁶⁰ Nyen-kar Lcang-bu should not be confused with the royal court sites of Byar gyi Lcang-bu and Stod gyi Lcang-bu, the latter of which most likely includes the site of Lcang-bu Temple and its pillar inscription, located in the courtyard of Mtsur-phu Monastery in Stod-lung (Richardson 1985: 92). See also Petech 1967: 243.

⁶¹ Sato (1978, map seven) places Klum-ro to the northeast of 'Dri-gung.

⁶² Bacot translates *dog* as a synonym for earth (*sa*), and while this term does indeed carry this meaning, particularly with reference to the ruler who descends from the heavens to the earth, *dog* is here almost certainly a toponym.

the most part, these royal court sites were located in Central Horn. If we follow this assumption, then it is possible to gain a general idea of a given court site's location based on where the court was stationed in the preceding and following seasons. In the case of Nyen-kar, we find the following temporally "adjacent" sites: Mer-ke (650-651, 654-655), Tshang-bang-sna (676-677), Bal-po (690-691), 'On gyi 'A-ga-tshal (690-691), Mal-tro'i Brdzen-thang (694-695, 714-715), Zrid-mdā' (696-697), Zhe-shing gi Rtsibs (715-716), Stod gyi Mkho (759-760), and Myang-sgrom (760-761). Mer-ke is identified in Byang, and Bal-po is located near Yar-'brog Lake (see below). Mal-tro'i Brdzen-thang corresponds to Greater and Lesser Byan, and the site of Btsun-mo-tshal, a Gelug monastery just east of La-mo (Hazod 2003: 34). 'On gyi 'A-ga-tshal, while not precisely identified, is to be found in the 'On Valley across the mountains separating Central Horn from Left Horn. The other sites are unidentified, but Stod gyi Mkho should be found in Stod-lung.⁶³

Perhaps most importantly for our purposes, in 695-696 there were two winter court sites. The winter court site was first in Brag-mar, and then moved to Nyen-kar Lcang-bu, indicating that these two sites cannot have been too far distant. Brag-mar corresponds to Brag-dmar, the famous retreat center just northwest of Bsam-yas Monastery, but the place name also refers to the area around Bsam-yas itself.⁶⁴ In considering the court's movement from Brag-mar in the winter, one recalls the well-known routes between here and both Ganden Monastery and Stag-rtse. The latter point may be relevant to our discussion, since we find in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* the toponym Nyen-kar Stag-rtse. This would put Nyen-kar in modern Stag-rtse County, probably at Old Stag-rtse, present day Zhog-mdā'. This is close to La-mo, and corresponds well with the Sad-mar-kar's indication that Klum, probably contiguous with Klum-ro Ya-sum, part of Zing-po-rje Stag-skyā-bo's realm, was near Mal-gro. Most importantly, Guntram Hazod has recently confirmed the location of Nyen-kar based on evidence from the field and local histories. It is the old name of Lo, directly to the east of Zhogs (Hazod, *infra*, Part III).

Nyen-kar as a royal residence is probably to be identified with Nyen-kar Rnying-pa, the site of Zing-po-rje Stag-skyā-bo's stronghold. As "Old Nyen-kar," it is distinguished from another Nyen-kar located to the west.⁶⁵ This Nyen-kar in the west was first a thousand-district of Right Horn. Then, with the reorganization of the Horns in 744, it came under the jurisdiction of Central Horn. It follows that this Nyen-kar thousand-district was located on the border of these two Horns, which was marked by the Snye-mo and Gzhu Valleys (Uebach 1985a: 150). This Nyen-kar is therefore to be found either in modern 'Dam-gzhung or Stod-lung Counties.

Another extremely popular court site was Bal-po, and the young emperor Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan stayed there from 709 until his enthronement in the winter of 712-713. Even more so than Nyen-kar, the location of Bal-po has been a source of debate. It is, of course, the Tibetan name for Nepal, and so was taken by some to indicate the Kathmandu Valley. While Tucci originally held this view, he later altered this in order to take account of the toponym Bal-po Bri'u-tang ("female yak plain") by asserting that Bal-po is to be found in a nomadic area on the borders between Right Horn and Central Horn (Tucci 1958: 35-36). According to Petech (1967: 245), the *Xin Tangshu* holds the key to Bal-po's location: it states that the Tibetan emperor resides sometimes at Lhasa and sometimes at Ba bu 拔布. The latter is found in the same work's itinerary from Kokonor to Lhasa as Ba bu lake 拔布海, and Petech concludes that this refers to Dpal-sde Lake or Yar-'brog Lake. Later, Sato (1975) made a thorough study of this itinerary, and concluded that the area of

⁶³ One possibility is that it is identical with Ko-ba-brag (Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 80).

⁶⁴ This is evident from the Bsam-yas edict preserved in *KhG* (371), which refers to Bsam-yas Monastery as "the spontaneously completed temple of Bsam-yas in Brag-dmar" (*brag dmar gyi bsam yas lhun gyis grub kyi gtsug lag khang*).

⁶⁵ Sato (1978: map seven), on the other hand, places Nyen-kar Rnying-pa on the Gtsang-po in the eastern part of Right Horn. This is Sato's gloss of the toponym Nye-mkhar mda', and is most probably an error. It may relate, however, to Nyen-kar thousand-district.

Ba bu, also referred to as the Ba bu River 拔布川, in fact indicated the Skyid River just to the southwest of Lhasa, past 'Ba'-phug Pass, where the river is called the 'Ba'-phug-chu. Sato (1975: 16) in this way rejects the identity of Ba bu and Bal-po. The possibility remains, however, that Petech is correct in his location of Bal-po (but not Ba-bu) in Modern Dpal-sde district near Yar-'brog Lake.

As with our treatment of Nyen-kar, we can look to those court sites that preceded and followed royal sojourns in Bal-po. These are Zhe-shing (675-676), 'On gyi Sna-bo (675-676, 690-691), Nyen-kar gyi Thang-bu-ra (689-690), 'On gyi 'A-ga-tshal (690-691), Re'u-tsal (694-695), Brag-mar / Brag-mar gyi Tsalka (697-698, 707-712, 717-719, 721-723), Phar (699-700), Dold gyi Mar-ma (699-700), and Dron (706-707). 'On, Nyen-kar and Brag-mar are identified, as is Dold gyi Mar-ma, which is in the south across the Gtsang-po from Rdo-rje Brag in modern Gong-dkar County (Petech 1967: 243-44). Re'u-tsal, Phar, and Dron, the latter a key residence site, are unidentified.

As with Nyen-kar, the sheep year 695-696 holds an important key to the location of Bal-po. Just as there were two winter court sites this year, there were two summer sites as well, and the summer court moved from Bal-po to Ltam. The latter is most likely equivalent to Gtam-shul, southeast of Yar-'brog Lake. This is not too far distant from the proposed site for Bal-po on the west side of this same lake, or nearer to Lhasa.

Bal-po and Brag-mar were summer and winter court sites, respectively, for many years during the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (712-c.755). Brag-mar's royal connotations as a court site, along with those of nearby Zung-kar, may have influenced the decision to situate here Bsam-yas Monastery, the royal temple *par excellence*.

While the emperor was by no means only a figurehead, most of the governance of the empire was left to the chief minister and administrative council, which met in the summer and winter at various sites throughout central Tibet. The itinerant nature of the council could be interpreted as a creative response to the demands of a rapidly expanding empire: creating a system of government that is not spatially fixed may have been intended to combat regionalist trends within the previously autonomous areas that now constituted the Tibetan Empire. As with the court sites, some council sites were used several times, and the areas along the Skyid River and in Glag in central Tibet, along with Mal-gro to the east, stand out as favorites.

For Hazod's map of the court and council sites named in the *Annals*, including details on the location of Nyen-kar based on recent fieldwork, see now Map 7 *et passim* in Part III of this book.

Administration and Administrators in the *Old Tibetan Annals*

The *Old Tibetan Annals* is concerned primarily with imperial Tibet's administrative and bureaucratic practices, so it will be useful to review this in some detail before proceeding to the *Annals* itself. It was mentioned above that the extant copies of the two versions of the *Old Tibetan Annals* were likely preserved to serve as exemplars of record-keeping. These were in no way intended to serve a pedagogical purpose as administrative manuals, however, and they assume that any reader has a full understanding of the various administrative measures it describes. As a result, the *Annals* is full of administrative *hapax legomenae*. The translation of these terms has been and remains problematic, only occasionally rising above educated guesswork. Other aspects of early Tibet's administrative practices have become increasingly clear due to the work of Bogoslovskij, Uray, Uebach, Takeuchi, Iwao, and others. Here I will contextualize generally the administrative measures and functionaries recorded in the *Annals*, focusing primarily on land legislation, taxation, transportation, corvée labor, and the roles of Tibet's administrators.

Land and Taxation

We have already sketched the political geography of the Tibetan Empire, but the demarcation of administrative and territorial units tells us little of their utility in terms of legislation and taxation. As an administrative record, one of the principal themes of the *Old Tibetan Annals* is the legislation and taxation of land, and imperial Tibet's practices in this arena are illuminated by a number of other Old Tibetan documents. Here I will outline basic administrative approaches to land, such as the distinction between royal lands (*rje-zhing*) and service tenure lands (*khol-yul*). I will also explore taxable units of arable land such as *rkya* and *dor*, the various types of taxes (*khral*, *kwa* / *khwa*, *chad-ka*) and tribute (*dpya*), and the officials responsible for these measures.

The most fundamental work on the Tibetan empire's social history and administrative organization is Bogoslovskij's *Essai sur l'histoire du peuple Tibétain ou la naissance d'une société de classes*, published in its original Russian version in 1962 and translated into French by Alexander Macdonald a decade later. Not unlike much of the scholarship produced in Tibet today, Bogoslovskij's writing is informed by political imperatives, chiefly, the need to place early Tibetan society in that spot marked "feudal" on a Marxist evolutionary continuum. In practice—and this may be equally true of methodological statements in general—such ideological imperatives tend only to tinge introductions and conclusions, and leave the body of the work quite at ease. Indeed, apart from introductory bombast that refers to the "new and happy life" that followed the "peaceful liberation of Tibet," Bogoslovskij's *Essai* is a model of diligence and clarity, and remains probably the best introduction to the social history of the Tibetan Empire.

Bogoslovskij's approach dictated that he attend closely to the means of production and its control, which, in the context of the study of an agrarian society, entailed a detailed investigation of land legislation. His principal conclusions may be summarized as follows: 1) the emperor is the nominal or titular owner of all of Tibet's land; 2) land is administratively divided into two types, a) the royal lands (*rje-zhing*); and b) service tenure lands (*khol-yul*) over which ministerial aristocrats and their descendants held usufruct rights contingent upon their undying loyalty to the emperor (Bogoslovskij 1972 [1962]: 67–79). Of these two types of lands, the royal lands (*rje-zhing*) were parceled out as taxable units over which subjects could hold usufruct rights (Bogoslovskij 1972 [1962]: 69). The service tenure lands (*khol-yul*), on the other hand, were aristocratic domains that were not subject to the same type of taxation. These were bequests by the emperor to an aristocratic lineage, and could be revoked at any time (Bogoslovskij 1972 [1962]: 70–72). As such, it is inadvisable to speak of these service tenure lands as private property.

Royal lands are mentioned four times in the *Old Tibetan Annals* in the entries for 718-719, 719-720, and 720-721. In each case, they come in pairs. The officials carry out the felt roll [tax] and fodder roll [tax] of the *glings* (grazing lands?)⁶⁶ and the royal lands of the three Horns (*ru gsum gyl rje zhing glings gyl pying rll dang/ sog rlld bgyis*) in the winter of 718-719, and make an account of this in the summer of 719-720 (*ru gsum gyl rje zhing gyl phyng rll gyl rtsis dang/ sog ma' l rtsis...bgyis*). Similarly, in the winter of 719-720, they levy the felt roll [tax] on the royal lands of Rtsang-chen, and make an account of this in the summer of 720-721. This pattern recurs throughout the *Annals*: administrative measures are first carried out, and then recorded. As seen from the entries for 718-719, 719-720, and 720-721, the royal lands in question were located all over Tibet: in the three Horns and in Rtsang-chen.

⁶⁶ The term *glings* is a *hapax legomenon* that might mean "grazing lands." This is based on the context of the felt roll tax, where felt is made from the wool of animals kept by farmers, nomads, and those combining these two lifestyles (*sa-ma-'brog*). This is presumably based on the word *gling*, meaning "island," "continent," and "isolated place," with the additional suffix being either collective or resultative in the sense expounded by Uebach and Zeisler (2008). On the other hand, one notes that in the entry for the next year *glings* is elided, suggesting that *rje-zhing* and *rje-zhing glings* are not very different from each other.

Service tenure lands are not mentioned in the *Annals*, but are found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, pillar inscriptions, and in Old Tibetan legal texts. Given their nature as lands whose usufruct rights were on a sort of “long lease” to aristocratic lineages, they seem not to have come under the direct remit of imperial Tibet’s taxation regime, so their absence from the *Annals* is not particularly surprising. In the Zhol Inscription, Emperor Khri Srong-lde-btsan (reigned 756–c.800) awards legal protection to Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong and his descendants: “I grant that within the lineage of Zla-gong, if one paternal lineage is extinguished, the service tenure lands and livestock / wealth of the extinguished lineage will not be taken by the administration, but will be granted to whichever clansman is nearest” (*zla gong gi bu tsha peld las la la zhig / rabs chad na rabs chad gyl khol yul dang / nor pyugs / blar myi bzhes par / pu nu po gang nye ba stsald par gnango ///*) (north face, ll. 27–31; Li and Coblin 1987: 149, 171, 178–79). In a similar passage in the Leang-bu Inscription, Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (reigned 815–841) grants that if Zhang Nya-sto’s lineage should ever die out, “his service tenure lands and all else that he owns will not be confiscated by the authority, and will not be given [to anyone else], but will be added to the provisioning of this temple” (*nam zhlḡ na // zhang nya sto la / bu tsha rgyud yong myed pa zhlḡ du gyur na // khol yul las stsogs pa dbang ngo cog // blar yang myl bshes / gyang myl sbyin bar // gtsug lag khang 'dl rkyen / du bsnan par // bka's gnang ngo /*) (ll. 35–39; Li and Coblin 1987: 303, 309). Srong-btsan Sgam-po makes similar promises regarding service tenure lands to Dba's Dbyi-tshab and his descendants in an oath in chapter five of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (DTH: 110, 146).

The above passages demonstrate that while service tenure lands could be seized and legally confiscated, they were understood as being otherwise inalienable, and are mentioned in the same breath as “all that one owns” (*dbang ngo cog*). That the seizure of service tenure lands may be considered a drastic measure may be seen from a passage in the Old Tibetan legal text PT 1071, where a commoner is banished for his cowardice, but his service tenure lands are allowed to remain within his paternal lineage. The clause in question concerns a case in which a copper-ranked minister or equal who, having fallen under a yak, is not rescued by a bystander from the ranks of *gtsang-chen* down to the lowest commoner, yet survives the ordeal.⁶⁷ The cowardly bystander is punished as follows:

As punishment for cowardice, a fox tail will be attached [to him], and his treasury and livestock being given to him, he will be banished together with those [of his family] who have not established their own households. If [one of] his sons has set up his own household, then the banished man’s service tenure lands will be given to that son. If there is no son who has set up his own household, then it will be given to the [banished man’s] father.” (*snar ma'I chad par / 'o dom btags [btab] ste / bang za phyug nor / stsald te / sdum pa ma phub pa dang spyugo / spyug pa'I khol yul / ni bu sdum pa phub pa mchis na / bu stsald / bu sdum [sdu] pa phub ma mchis dang pha stsald /*) (PT 1071, ll. 369–70).

We can perhaps conclude that while it is incorrect to speak of these service tenure lands as “private property,” it is also true that once they were awarded they were rarely confiscated. The ministerial aristocracy could therefore be more or less content in the knowledge that the Tibetan Empire preserved the status quo as long as it remained loyal to the Btsan-po. While this surely contributed to the stability of the empire, it also meant that the core of Tibet’s tax revenue had to come from the royal lands, which, by necessity, did not infringe on the traditional lands of those aristocratic clans forming the basis of the administration itself. The fiscal impetus for conquest, and the conflict of interest between clan and empire—two factors that loom large in the Tibetan Empire’s eventual collapse—are readily apparent.

These categories of royal lands and service tenure lands have clear parallels in similar arrangements under the administration of the Dalai Lamas, where those lands belonging to the central government (*gzhung*

⁶⁷ On the rank of *gtsang-chen* and members of the ministerial aristocracy, see *infra*, “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy,” fn. 84.

rgyugs-pa) were legislated differently than aristocratic estates such as Sa-skya and Lha-rgya-ri, and monastic estates such as Bkra-shis Lhun-po (Samuel 1993: 55–63).

One of the most fundamental terms for Tibetan governance, found in fourteen entries of the *Annals*, is “administration” (*mkhos*), or “to make an administration,” “administrate” (*mkhos bgyis*). Uray (1972a: 18–19, n. 3) discusses the terms *mkhos*, *khod*, and *khos* in some detail, and concludes that they mean “institution, administration, settlement of the state,” and are related to the word group of verbs including “to appoint” (*sko*), “to establish” (*god*), and “to sit down,” “to dwell” (*khod*).⁶⁸ The term first appears in the entry for 654-655, when Chief minister Mgar Stong-rtzan “made the manual / protocols for creating the great administration” (*mkho-shams chen-pho bgyi-ba’i rtsis-mgo bgyi*). The term *mkho-shams* means “arrangement of the administration,” and Mgar here has authored the blueprint for Tibetan governance. It was this draft that presumably formed the basis for the many subsequent “administrations” found in the *Annals*.

With one exception, these “administrations” fall generally into two categories.⁶⁹ First are those instances where large territories are administrated. This is the case with Zhang-zhung in 662-663, 675-676, and 724-725; 'A-zha in 696-697, 714-715, and 742-743; Sum-ru in 702-703, Mdo-smad in 715-716; Mtong-sod in 730-731; a colonial military government in 741-742; and the four Horns of Tibet in 744-745 (Version II). As is evident from the last area mentioned, it would be wrong to conclude that these administrations concerned only foreign colonies. The second category is the administration of pastureland: this is mentioned in the entries for 673-674, 693-694, 709-710, and in both versions of the entry for 746-747. The single exception to these two categories appears in the entry for 744-745, which contains a “great administration of soldiers.” This is the only instance where *mkhos* refers explicitly to people rather than places. Because this term is so broad in its remit, it likely includes not only territorial legislation, but the initial organization and subsequent renewal of the imperial administration and its policies. This latter point is stressed by Petech (1989: 156), who, in little more than a brief note, suggests that *mkhos* does not signify the beginning of an institution, but “rather a revision or reorganization of the local administration.” The logic of this point is evident from the four “administrations” of Zhang-zhung and the three of 'A-zha.

More recently, Iwao (2006: 11–16) has refined the definition of *mkhos* in his study of an important document, PT 1078bis, a judgement in the case of a land dispute between two Chinese families in Dunhuang. The background to the dispute begins, “...in the year [of] the rat, they attached the inhabitants of Shazhou to the *rkya* and made an administration (*mkhos*) of fields, and [the fields] were received as *rkya* fields” (*byi ba lo la // sha cu pa rkya sbyar / zhing mkhos m[dzad] las rkya zhing du mnos te*) (PT 1078bis, ll. 7–8). This phrase, the first part of which occurs again in the document at line 29, demonstrates that the *mkhos* of Shazhou / Dunhuang entailed the parceling off of land into taxable units called *rkya* (Iwao 2007b: 118 and 8, English summary). This measure in fact formed the basis for the Tibetan Empire’s administration and taxation, because the *rkya* was a fundamental unit for legislating land and people. This is made perfectly clear by a passage from another document studied by Iwao, PT 1111, which contains the accounts of two granaries in Dunhuang.

“Autumn of the year of the rat. The Chinese inhabitants of Shazhou have 684 *rkya* in the three thousand-districts, and every single *rkya* offers two loads (*khal*) each as tax (*khva*), so that makes 1,368

⁶⁸ The term is also related to *khos* and *khod*, which are found in the catalogues of the “six institutions” and “thirty-six institutions” that form a large part of the *Section on Law and State*, the earliest extant Tibetan *corpus iuris*, which contains information relating both to the imperial period and to later times. On the *Section on Law and State*, see Uray 1972a, Uebach 1992, and Dotson 2007a.

⁶⁹ The *mkhos* of the *Annals* (and one from the *Chronicle*) are summarized in Uebach 2003, an article dedicated to the meaning of the term.

loads of barley..." (*rtā'i lo'i ston rgya sha cu pa stong sde gsum la rkya drug brgya' brgyad cu rtsa bzhi mchis pa / rkya gchig kyang khwa khal gnyis gnyis 'bul ba bsdoms na nas khal stong sum brgya' drug cu rtsa brgyad byung ba dang*) (PT 1111, ll. 14–16; Iwao 2007b: 113; Iwao forthcoming c).

In other words, the *rkya* unit or *rkya-zhing* "crop field," laid out through an "administration" (*mkhos*), forms the basis for taxation and also for the creation or revision of larger units such as thousand-districts. Indeed Iwao (2007a: 217–19) has determined that Tibet's thousand-districts consisted of approximately 230 *rkya* each. It is in this light also that we can better understand how the *mkhos* recorded in the entry for 744-745 in Version II of the *Annals* resulted in the redistricting of Tibet's thousand-districts. Furthermore, this allows us to see in more practical terms the early history of Tibet's land legislation as outlined in the *Section on Law and State* found in post-dynastic histories. There, in a measure likely dating to the mid-630s, Tibet is divided into six (actually five) "administrations" (*khod*): Tibet, Zhang-zhung, Sum-pa, Chibs, and Mthong-khyab, each of which is overseen by an "administrative chief" (*khos-dpon / khod-dpon*). With the completion of these administrations and the institution of the *rkya* system, interim measures such as the "eighteen shares of power" (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*), which were based mainly on traditional clan territory, would have given way to thousand-districts, and taxation would become stabilized. Similarly, Uebach (2008: 64, n. 19) has shown that the *mkhos* probably also included the red tally of soldiers for conscription, demonstrating further how these "administrations" lie at the root of Tibet's territorial and military systems.

The above quotation shows how simply a tax burden can be calculated once the *rkya* system was in place. It also shows that taxes were paid in kind, in this case as loads of barley, but the same document also mentions wheat, millet, and peas. These were then accounted and stored in granaries. The term used for these sorts of taxes is *khwa*, and the tax was managed by, among others, the *khwa-mgnan*, a fiscal governor.

PT 1078bis records the process by which land was administrated, and testifies to the existence of other units besides *rkya-zhing*. The text states in one place, "the estate fields were tallied as equal to five and one half *dor* each, and after this was written in the register of the field-records..." (*rkya zhing dor phyedang drug drug mnyaM bar khram du btab las / zhing yig dkar cag 'dris pa'i 'og du ni*) (PT 1078bis, l. 16). The text goes on to list the measurements of several other fields, in *dor*, according to the register of the field-records (*zhing-yig dkar-cag*) (Bsod-nams 2004: 393–96; Iwao 2006: 6). This valuable document demonstrates that agricultural fields were initially measured by means of a tally (*khram*), and then recorded in an official register of field-records (*zhing-yig dkar-cag*). The unit *dor* is a loan from the Chinese *tu* 突, a basic land unit that could be further subdivided into ten *mou* 畝, and which was roughly equivalent to 1.5 acres. Under the Tibetan administration of Dunhuang, it was common to allot one *dor* to each person in a farming household (Khrin chin Dbyin 2003: 254–55). Like *rkya*, *dor* were also subject to tax, which in this case was called *dor-kha / dor-ka* (Iwao 2007b: 8, English summary). Given that each member of a farming household was responsible for one *dor*, this was a very specific and minutely divided system of taxation.

Under later Tibetan administrations, the basic taxable unit was the household. It is unclear from the *Annals* and from other Old Tibetan documents whether this was true of the Tibetan Empire. We know from a celebrated list of land grants in chapter four of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* that "bondservant households" (*bran khyim*) were a unit of some sort, if not the basic economic unit, because Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan grants thousands of such bondservant households as rewards to his co-conspirators after the defeat of Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum and the conquest of Ngas-po.⁷⁰ The importance of the household as an economic unit is evident from the existence of "household registers" (*khyim-yig*), kept by estates as records of their subject or tenant households, and used for tax purposes (Dotson 2007b: 49).

⁷⁰ For Róna-tas' translation and commentary on this passage, see Róna-tas 1955.

It is evident that one type of tax, the *ka / kwa / khwa*, was an agricultural tax levied on units of arable land (*rkya* and *dor*), but there were other types of tax. For example, we find “tax” (*khral*) in the entry for 746-747 in Version II of the *Annals*. In the corresponding entry in Version I of the *Annals*, the “additional tax” (*khral-thud*) is reduced. The same entry also mentions “taxpayers” (*khral-pa*), which are found earlier in the entry for 726-727. In addition, the *Annals* also mentions “extraordinary taxes” (*chad-ka*) in the entries for 738-739 and 758-759, which appear to be occasional taxes levied according to need (Bogoslovskij 1972 [1962]: 88).

Beyond these taxes, tribute (*dpya*) was claimed from subjugated territories. Tribute should be divided into two types, the first being a sort of ceremonial relationship between kingdoms, and the latter a regular sort of tax, not unlike those mentioned above, levied on ostensibly foreign colonies. Kazushi Iwao’s careful work on land legislation, political organization, and tax offers us a clear understanding of this latter type of tribute or “tribute tax.” Iwao has demonstrated, for example, that such tribute (*dpya*) was accounted every three years, at which time the accounts of the previous two years were also settled. He has also shown that “tribute” (*dpya*) and “tax” (*khral*) were levied at the same time, and that the goods involved did not overlap. In particular, tribute included such goods as cloth and paper, while tax mainly concerned grain (Iwao *forthcoming b*). Iwao further notes that this sort of tribute continued after foreign territories were occupied by the Tibetan Empire, and that the sort of goods involved must have necessarily varied according to the local economies.

We find in the *Old Tibetan Annals* numerous measures that relate to land legislation and taxation. We have already seen a few of these, the “felt roll [tax]” (*phying-rild*) and “fodder roll [tax]” (*sog-ril*), above in the analysis of royal lands. Like so many other difficult administrative terms in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, *p(h)ying-ril(d)* has been discussed by generations of scholars. Bacot translated it with “delimitation des champs,” and related *phying* to the verb *'bying*, meaning “immerger, inonder, enfoncer, d’où enfouir, ensevelir, et aussi irriguer, labourer” (*DTH*: 36, n. 5). Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 157, n. 3) opted for a more literal reading of this term, concluding that it indicates an official register of estates kept on a roll of paper wrapped in felt. Relating this to the establishment of the *phying-ril* in the royal lands and its subsequent account in the entries for 718-719 through 720-721, Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 69) concluded that the measure relates to the division of the royal lands into taxable units. Five years later, Petech (1967: 273) outlined this problematic term once again, and concluded that it is not to be read literally, but should be translated with a more general term, such as “registri catastali.” Róna-Tas (1978) then devoted an entire article to the term *phying-ril*, and opted for a more literal interpretation of *ril* as “round” or “roll,” related to the *dril* in *shog-dril* “scroll.” Further, Róna-Tas emphasized that in the felt-manufacturing process, yak hair is pressed into rolls, and that these rolls then form the raw materials for clothing, boots, hats, and tents. This echoes Laufer’s studies of felt-making in Tibet, where, like Róna-Tas, Laufer cites the *Jiu Tangshu*’s statement that the Tibetan noblemen dwell in large felt tents, and the *Xin Tangshu* passage according to which the Tibetan emperor lived in a camp of several large tents that could hold hundreds of people (Laufer 1930: 7–8; Róna-Tas 1978: 362–62; Pelliot 1960: 2, 80). More recently, Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 166, n. 6) read *ril* as “to gather in that which is scattered; to gather taxes or rent.”⁷¹ In the end, Wang Yao and Chen Jian echo Bogoslovskij and Petech by concluding that *zhing gi phying-ril* designates a tax on fields or a lease or rental fee for fields, but do not clarify their reading of the term *phying*. A decade later, Huang Bufan and Ma De (2001: 60, n. 3) followed this conclusion, stating that *phying* meant “to hand out,” while *ril* meant “to collect.” Gnya’-gong Dkon-mchog Tshes-brtan (1995: 67, n. 9) throws doubt on the

⁷¹ The authors further claim that the term *ril* carries this same meaning in A-mdo dialect (which dialect is not specified), and appears in phrases such as “collecting farmer / servant tax” (*myi khral ril*), “collecting tax on livestock” (*zog khral ril*), “collecting horse tax” (*rta khral ril*), “collecting wool tax” (*bal khral ril*), and “collecting fodder tax” (*rtswa khral ril*). One notes, however, that *ril* in the compound *phying-ril* is not a verb, but a noun.

interpretation that *phying-ril* is a field tax, but is also uncertain that it is a felt tax. Unfortunately, he offers no further hypothesis.

In my opinion, Róna-Tas' solution is the most attractive for its literal reading of "felt roll" (*phying-ril*), and its emphasis of the importance of felt to Tibet's material culture. Bogoslovskij's literal interpretation of *phying-ril* as referring to the physical, written record of fields protected by a felt wrapper cannot be verified, and, as we will see in the discussion of the red tally (*khram dmar-po*), it seems that paper was not widely used in Tibetan administrative practice until 744-745. Another problem the readings of Bacot, Bogoslovskij, Wang Yao and Chen Jian, and Huang Bufan and Ma De is that their readings of *phying-ril* often create difficult problems for the translation of *sog-ril*, which occurs as a parallel and related term. As noted by Róna-Tas (1978: 359), a comparison of the measure in 718-719, *ru gsum gyl rje zhing gllngs gyl pying ril dang/ sog rilld bgyis*, and its account in 719-720, *ru gsum gyl rje zhing gyl phying ril gyl rtsis dang/ sog ma'l rtsis...bgyis*, demonstrates that "*sog-ril(d)* of the first sentence is identical in its meaning with the *sog-ma* of the second."⁷² *Sog-ma* means "straw," "hay," or "fodder grass," which is stored for the winter. Hence we are dealing here with material goods, and not with field records or taxes on fields, and the same holds true for *phying-ril*, a measure that relates to *phying-ba* "felt."

A number of other administrative measures in the *Old Tibetan Annals* come to bear on taxation, but are concerned more with people and record keeping than with land. Chief among these are the tally (*khram*), the "census" (*pha-los*), and the account (*rtsis*).

The term *khram* refers to the tally, the implement for the tally—the tally stick—and the notch or incision on the tally stick. Róna-Tas (1956) made an interesting study of the tally stick and its adoption in wrathful iconography as a tally of one's misdeeds. While there is evidence for the use of the tally in the earliest ritual lexicon, particularly in the context of funeral rites (Uebach 2008: 58, n. 8), their primary role was probably administrative. Tally sticks were employed to relay messages and to keep records and accounts by a system akin to double-entry book-keeping whereby the tally stick was divided into two identical halves. These were used by the military to record disbursements of provisions and to send messages (Takeuchi 2003, 2004a; Chos-'phel 2003 [1990]). These were also used to relay legal decisions from the center to the periphery (Dotson 2007b: 33–35). The term *khram* is most often used in the *Annals* to refer to the tally as an administrative measure, and not to the physical tally stick itself. We find references to the tally in the entry to 707-708: "they transferred the tally of the fiscal governor's revenue office (*mngan gyi khab-so'i khram spos*)." This generally associates the tally with the revenue office and the fiscal governors, whose posts are examined below. The fiscal governors are connected with the tally again in the entries for 721-722 and 728-729, which, like the entry for 742-743, concern the "tally of jurisdiction" (*thang-khram*).⁷³ Aside from a

⁷² Bogoslovskij works around the identification of *sog-ril* with *sog-ma* by reading *sog-ril* as an abbreviation of *sog-ma phying-ril*, an interpretation that seems slightly forced, even if it is not entirely implausible.

⁷³ *Thang* is an important term that can mean "authority," "rank," and also "rate," "value," "valuation," and "level" (Uray 1962b: 359–60, n. 16; Uebach 2008: 58). Examining the occurrences of *thang-khram* in the *Annals*, Uray (1962b: 359, n. 16), reads *thang-khram* as a single term having to do with "organizational and personal changes in offices," and both he and Uebach (2008: 58, n. 7) translate it with "tally of authority." *Thang-khram* appears in three entries in the *Annals*: in 721-722 they make a "great tally of authority (*thang-khram*) of the fiscal governors (*mngan*) and upper and lower way-station [officials] (*slungs*)"; in 728-729 they make "the tally of authority reducing the great fiscal governors from eight to four"; and in 742-743 they make a tally of authority after one minister is removed and replaced with another. The second of these three entries is most valuable, and proves Uray's point that it relates to personnel changes. Further, this took place two years after the dispatch of "representatives to announce the reduction of great fiscal governors from eight to four" in 726-727, allowing us to further deduce that the *thang-khram* records changes in personnel and jurisdiction that are already accomplished. It also suggests that the *thang-khram* might have had something to do with jurisdiction. This is supported by an examination of the appearances of the term *thang* in the *Annals*. *Thang* appears first in 726-727, where it probably relates to the personnel changes and

general tally, there are two specialized types of tallies in the *Annals*, the red tally (*khram dmar-po*), and the pale tally (*kram skya*).⁷⁴ In the entry for 690-691, ministers make a red tally of the men of Rtsang-chen; in 692-693 they make the red tally; in 708-709 they take account of a red tally of the royal guards (*sku-srung*); in 712-713 they take account of a red tally of the three Horns; in 718-719 they make a red tally of Dags-po; and in 744-745 the red tally is transferred, by royal decree, to yellow paper. In a recent article on the tally, Helga Uebach argues that this measure in 744-745 marks the introduction of the use of paper for administrative purposes. Further, in surveying the entries on the red tally just given, she concludes that the red tally is in fact a conscription of soldiers (Uebach 2008: 59–62).⁷⁵ The pale tally (*kram skya*), is also recorded in this entry for 744-745, where they take account of the pale tally of soldiers in each region. Uebach (2008: 63) demonstrates that this, unlike the red tally, was a record “written in black and white on paper,” and this is in fact what the term “pale” (*skya*) describes. In light of Uebach’s recent conclusions, we can revise Bogoslovskij’s view that the tally played a role in bringing newly absorbed territories into line with Tibet’s administration, as in the case of Rtsang-chen and Dags-po, and that the tally was concerned with the registration of taxable subjects (Bogoslovskij 1972 [1962]: 139). Indeed the tally did have a unifying effect, and in so far as conscription was a form of tax, Bogoslovskij was correct. The emphasis here, however, is squarely on the military side of things, and the tally of 744-745, along with the census that preceded it, played a key role in reorganizing the thousand-districts and the Horn system in the decades leading to Tibet’s most significant victories over the Tang in the northeast. Moreover, it is exactly to this period that our extant catalogues of thousand-districts date, and some of these surely owe their existence to the measures recorded in the entry for 744-745.

One measure in the *Annals* that has almost always been taken to indicate a registration of the population is the “census” (*pha-los*). Uray (1972a: 28, n. 64) offers a very literal translation of this term as “certification, verification of the fathers,” and notes Chos-grag’s definition of the term as “registration or review of the heads of the families.” Uebach (2003: 22–23) follows this same line, and assumes that the *pha-los* was a convocation of representatives of the populace. Most recently, Uebach revisited the term in an article co-authored with Bettina Zeisler, in which the authors conclude that the second part of the compound, *los*, holds

administrative changes recorded in the preceding years: “[t]hey fixed the fiscal governors’ *thang* (*thang sbyard*).” The verb *sbyard* means “to stick,” “to adhere,” so one might translate this more freely as “they assigned the fiscal governor’s *thang*.” *Thang* also appears twice in Version II of the *Annals*, in 746-747 and in 764-765: “[t]hey established the *t[h]ang* concerning Minister [Dba’s] Skyes-bzang Stag-srang”; and “Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] was bestowed the great turquoise insignia and praised for saying he was content with the *thang* of Mgar ‘dzi-rmun.” In this last entry, Mgar ‘dzi-rmun refers to a post, not a person (*infra*, fn. 366 to the entry for 764-765). We find a similar use of *thang* in the Zhol Pillar inscription: “the descendants of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong’s father, Zla-gong, are awarded the *thang* of those of ministerial insignia (*zhang lon yl ge pa’l thang*) (*infra*, “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy”). This is echoed in a passage of the east face inscription at Zhwa’i Lha-khang: “[e]ven the commoners among the lineage of minister Ssang-bzang ‘Dus-kong who enjoy the personal rank of *gtsang[-chen]* and head of thousand-district and so forth are given the *thang* of those holding ministerial insignia (*zhang-lon yl-ge-can gyi thang du gnang-ba*) (*infra*, “Commoners and Bondservants”). We can see from this last passage that *thang* differs from rank (*thabs*), since those concerned are bestowed a different *thang* than that of their ranks (*gtsang[-chen]* and *stong[-dpon]*). This is also apparent from the entry for 746-747, where a minister’s *thang* is established. From this it seems apparent that what is meant by *thang* is something more like “jurisdiction” and “rights and duties,” and I have used the former to translate the term throughout.

⁷⁴ On the translation of *skya* with “pale,” see Uebach 2008: 62–63.

⁷⁵ In her discussion, Uebach also attempts to shed some light on redness of the red tally. On the one hand, the color red is associated with the Tibetan military and with blood, so this might be figurative, but on the other hand there are among the extant tally sticks some marked with red paint or blood (Uebach 2008: 62). In closing, Uebach (2008: 65) makes the interesting point that “...with regard to the system of two pieces inherent of the tally...so far it is unknown whether the Red Tally was a tally only in name or whether each soldier of the Tibetan army was provided with one part of the tally perhaps as a token for identification....or whether each unit or subunit received the respective number of tallies for its files.”

within it simultaneous notions of year, age, report, able-bodied, and capable for service. As a result, they render *pha-los* “[registration of] the male able-bodied adults.” This is in itself a translation of convenience, they state, since one can not easily convey the polysemy of *los*. As a matter of further convenience, I will refer to this sometimes as a census, where “census” should be taken as a shorthand for “[registration of] the male able-bodied adults.” In the *Annals*, a census is taken in 673-674, 711-712, 719-720, 734-735, and 743-744. The last three are the most interesting, as they concern, respectively, Zhang-zhung and Ladakh (Mard), 'A-zha, and the civil and military population of Tibet. The entry for 743-744 (Version I) also reveals that the medium for the census was, up until this year, the wooden slip: “they abolished the wooden slips for the census (*pha-los gyi byang-bu bor*).” This demonstrates its close relationship (material, in any case) with the tally.

The most fundamental administrative measure in the *Old Tibetan Annals* is surely the “account” (*rtsis*). Like the *Annals* itself, the account is a bureaucratic record, and in the *Annals* ministers make accounts of several measures, most often the removal and appointment of functionaries (719-720, 723-724, 730-731, 731-732, 742-743, 745-746). In this context, and with the spelling *rtsis*, “account” in the *Annals* is unambiguously a noun, and it is almost always accompanied by the verb “to make” (*bgyis*). I have therefore translated this literally with “to make an account,” although “to record” is equally accurate.

These accounts (*rtsis*) are not to be confused with two related terms, *rtsis-mgo*, meaning “manual” or “protocol,” and the verb *brtsis*, “to take account of,” “to calculate.” (The term *rtsis* is also found as a verb in Old Tibetan administrative documents, but in the *Annals* it is always a noun.) The phrase *rtsis mgo bgyis* is not a verb-auxiliary compound meaning, “to begin an account,” or “to make the beginning of an account,” but a noun, *rtsis-mgo*, meaning “manual” or “protocols,” followed by the verb *bgyis*. The term is found in the entry for 654-655, which, as reviewed already, records Chief minister Mgar Stong-rtsan’s creation of the “manual / protocols (*rtsis-mgo*) for creating the great administration”; and in the entry for 690-691, which records Chief minister Mgar Khri-bring’s creation of the “manual / protocols (*rtsis-mgo*) for soldiers / conscripts (*mun-mag*).”⁷⁶ The verb *brtsis* is the perfect tense form of the verb *rtsis*, meaning “to calculate, to count.” This verb appears fourteen times in the *Annals*, with five of these instances pertaining to the “calculation” of the wealth of someone who has been exiled or disgraced (680-681, 699-700, 707-708, 755-756, 756-757). In these cases, it is easy to surmise that this is a euphemism for “confiscation.” The enumerative value of *brtsis* is evident in its application to the “surplus and deficit of the *thugs-nyen* of the

⁷⁶ Basing oneself solely on the linguistic evidence of the *Annals*, one could translate *rtsis mgo bgyis* with “they made the beginning of an account” in parallel with such phrases as “they made the beginning of the census” (*pha-los gyi mgo mdzad*; 743-744, Version II) and “they completed the end of the account” (*rtsis gyi mjug bcade*; 747-748, Version II) (*DTH*: 31; Uray 1972a: 27). Admitting the evidence of other legal and administrative documents, we find two other occurrences of *rtsis-mgo* demonstrate its unambiguous identity as a noun. The first is in PT 1111, the record of granaries: “...when they were in Shazhou, they received of one hundred loads of barley and ten loads of millet [but] the notes, were not in accordance with the protocols (*rtsis-mgo*) of the granary supervisor...” (*sha cu na mchis pa'i tshe / nas khal brgya' dang khre ci khal bcu nos pa / stsang dam zhag gi rtsis mgo / reg zig dang myi sbyar zhing*) (PT 1111, ll. 19–21). The second example comes from ITJ 740 (2), a document concerning the use of divination dice as a means for legal judgements: “...if one adheres to the manual / protocols (*rtsis-mgo*) for gathering soldiers and the pronouncements of the authority” (*mun mag btus pe'i rtsis mgo dang bla'l bka' gsung ba' dag dang sbyar na*) (ITJ 740 (2), ll. 337–38; Dotson 2007b: 55). From these two passages we can infer that *rtsis-mgo* is a noun that is of a piece with terms such as pronouncements of the authority (*bla'l bka' gsung ba'*). We can add to this the appearance of this term in the *Dbab' bzhed*, which also supports the above conclusions: “[f]or a whole morning the complete *rtsis-mgo* and the good law (*chos lugs bzang po*) were announced to the assembled subjects without any mistake by law and official order” (*bka' khrims dang bka' nan gyis rtsis mgo dang chos lugs bzang po ril ma nor bar snga dro thog thag 'bangs 'tshogs pa la bka' zhal gyis sisal to*) (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 29 and n. 33); Wangdu and Diemberger’s translation is given above, but one might read the ergative as a genitive, and render this as “a manual for law and suppression.” The possibility remains that the meaning of this term derives from a more literal meaning such as “the beginning of an account,” which, in setting out how a measure was to be completed, would not be a far cry from a manual or a protocol.

revenue office” in 722-723, the similar “deficit and surplus of the soldiers” in 729-730, and “extraordinary taxes” in 738-739. In other cases, such as in its application to the “red fire-raising [stations]” in 674-675 and 709-710, and to tallies in 708-709, 712-713, and 744-745, I have opted for a more figurative translation of this verb as “to take account of,” which emphasizes its relationship to the accounts (*rtsis*). Its use with tallies recalls Petech’s theory that the meaning of the verb as both “to calculate” and “to take account of,” or “rendre compte,” grew out of the initial meaning of the term, which was “to incise,” and related to record-keeping on tally sticks (Petech 1967: 276).⁷⁷

The difference between making an account (*rtsis bgyis*) and taking account (*brtsis*) is mostly grammatical, but their subtle difference can be illustrated by two entries dealing with the same topic. In the entry for 738-739, officials “imposed extraordinary taxes (*chad-ka bcad*)” and then calculated / took account of the extraordinary taxes (*cad-ka brtsis*.” In the entry for 758-759, by contrast, they “counted the extraordinary taxes (*chad-ka bgrangs*)” and then “made an account of the extraordinary taxes (*chad-ka’l rtsis bgyis*.” Analyzing these two entries, there emerge three stages in the collection of the extraordinary tax: it is imposed and collected (*bcad*), it is counted (*brtsis* or *bgrangs*), and it is recorded (*rtsis bgyis*). Therefore the “calculation” or “taking account” (*brtsis*) precedes the final “making of the account” (*rtsis*).

Conscription, the Transport Network, and the Alert System

Apart from many sorts of taxes and tributes, the subjects of the Tibetan Empire were also liable for conscription into the military, and held responsible for the transport network through mandatory contributions of corvée labor. A fascinating Old Tibetan legal document, “Replies Concerning the Dice Statutes from the Tiger Year Dice Edict” (ITJ 740 (2)), reveals that the soldier tax was levied at the level of the estate (*gzhis*). Military administrators from the thousand-district would come to an estate and conscript suitable bondservants (*bran*) as soldiers (*mun-dmag / dmag*). Despite the fact that he had lost part of his labor force, the estate holder was still responsible for provisioning his bondservants as soldiers throughout their duties. The allotted provisions were put into bales and sent to the authorities of the thousand-district, who then distributed them as appropriate (Dotson 2007b: 54–59). This created a one-to-one system of provisioning accountability, and presumably maintained a healthy balance between soldiers and agriculturalists, since the former depended upon the latter, and over-conscription would result in the collapse of the provisioning system. This was viewed as an onerous tax, a fact evident from the legal document’s inclusion of a clause concerning punishment—sometimes death or banishment—of those who fail to provision their conscripted bondservants.

Another tax that has traditionally been viewed as the most onerous for Tibet’s taxpayers is that of corvée labor along the transport network. Under the regimes of the Dalai Lamas, Tibet was divided into major routes and subdivided into stations (*sa-tshig*), each a half-day’s walk from the next, so that a round-trip journey could be made in one day. The central government issued permits, and on the presentation of such a permit, the bearer could demand transportation and riding animals, sometimes numbering in the hundreds. All this came at no cost to the bearer or the central government as the labor was unpaid, and it facilitated the movement of people and goods throughout Tibet (Goldstein 1989: 4). Due to such high demands, and due to the weakness of the central government, some aristocratic families that were strong enough or brazen enough refused to fulfill their corvée labor obligations (Carrasco 1959: 25). In this way, the transportation system for relaying goods was an important measure of the government’s reach.

⁷⁷ Indeed Uebach and Zeisler (2008: 318) follow this line in their translation of part of the entry for 708-709: “the red notch of the Guards was cut [on the tally]” (*sku srungs gyI khram dmar po brtsis*).

While there is a lack of such detailed information on the transport network and corvée system under the Tibetan Empire, it is evident that something very similar existed at this time, probably with all the attendant resentment as well. This is evident from another clause from the Old Tibetan legal document ITJ 740 (2), where a man entrusted with goods and horses loses these items and is punished for this loss, even if it is no fault of his own (Dotson 2007b: 39–40). It is further evident from Nepalese inscriptional evidence that the corvée system existed as early as 695, when the Licchavi king Śivadeva II included in the Lagantol Inscription a provision for corvée labor on the Tibetan trade route (Davidson 2005: 132).

This movement of goods and services overlapped in part with the postal relay system, which together with the transport system operated a network of stations (*slungs-tshangs*) that were not unlike the *sa-tshig* mentioned above. Messengers (*pho-nya*) traversed these areas bearing sealed messages and official and military correspondence, about which we find a number of strict protocols in Old Tibetan documents (*TLTD3*: 190; Macdonald 1971: 325; Stein 1984: 263–64). Messengers were regulated by *slungs* officials (*slungs-dpon*) who were responsible for provisioning the messengers and punishing them should they fail in their duties (Bsod-nams Skyid 2003: 277). In a thorough study of *slungs* drawing on Old Tibetan and Tang sources, Bsod-nams Skyid (2003: 276) estimates that *slungs*, as a term for a unit of distance traversed by a messenger, constituted about thirty *li* (*le-dbar*), that is to say approximately fifteen kilometers. The importance of this communications and transport network to Tibet's administrative and military success, in combination with its instrumentalization of Tibet's newly acquired literacy, cannot be underestimated.

The *Old Tibetan Annals* mentions *slungs* in the entry for 721-722, when ministers “carried out a great tally of the ranks of the fiscal governors and upper and lower way-station [officials] (*slungs*).” Here, however, *slungs* seems to be shorthand for *slungs-dpon*.

While “messengers” (*pho-nya*) are found throughout the *Annals*, these are in fact not domestic messengers or postal officials, but foreign emissaries dispatched on political missions to Tibet. The diplomatic nature of these emissaries is readily evident, but is further emphasized by the entry for 756-757, in which “Pa-gor Na-'dod and Ce Sngang-rtsan were proclaimed as reciprocal emissaries” to countries in the upper (northwestern) regions.

Similarly, there was also a complex system of watch posts designed to raise the alarm in case of trouble. These hill stations (*ri-zug*) were managed by officials known as *tshugs-pon*, and have been studied in some detail by Takeuchi (2003, 2004a). This may relate to an obscure term in the *Annals*, *zhugs-long dmar-po*, which appears in the entries for 674-675, 691-692, and 709-710, and which may indicate “red fire-raising [stations]” responsible for lighting beacons or signaling to raise an alarm. Considering the context, in the first and last of these three instances, the *zhugs-long dmar-po* are calculated / accounted for (*brtsis*). In the entry for 691-692, ministers make “a selection / conscription for red fire-raising [stations].” As with other *hapax legomenae* of the *Annals*, *zhugs-long dmar-po* has been subjected to a number of interpretations. Ishikawa (1999: 113), based on the premise that *zhugs-long* is the honorific for *me-long*, meaning “mirror,” and reasoning that “mirror” is used to mean “history” or “document,” believes that the *zhugs-long dmar-po* must be a “record” of some type, likely related to the red tally. Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 103), on the other hand, takes it to be the name of a military division. An entirely different interpretation is given by Huang and Ma (2000: 64), who understand *zhugs-long* as “spark,” and hypothesizes that *zhugs-long dmar-po* is a slat of wood with a spark design used in the course of troop conscription.

Given that *zhugs-long dmar-po* can be calculated, and require conscription, presumably of troops, and in consideration of the etymology of the term *zhugs-long*, which seems to be the honorific for *me-long*,

meaning “mirror,” signaling may be more to the point.⁷⁸ Still, “red mirror” does not immediately evoke a beacon station, and one wonders if the etymology of *zhugs-long* is somewhat different than simply the honorific for mirror. One possibility is that *long* comes from the verb *lang*, “to rise” of which it is a variant of the present tense stem, and that it acts as a verbalizer for fire similar to *me gtong* “to set fire,” *me 'bar* “to blaze,” or *me shor* “to catch fire.” In this case the use of the honorific *zhugs* might distinguish a “fire-raising [station]” (*zhugs-long*) from a mirror (*me-long*). Then the term would indicate beacon stations that use fire and smoke to raise an alarm and communicate over distance, not unlike the Chinese beacons (*feng 烽*), which had been operating for centuries, and indeed at Dunhuang. In fact, we find in the *Jiu Tangshu* the statement that “[w]hen the country is invaded the smoke-fires are lighted, there being a tower every hundred *li*” (Bushell 1880: 441; Pelliot 1961 1–2; and Lee 1981: 3). Therefore I provisionally translate *zhugs-long* with “fire-raising [station]” and render *zhugs-long dmar-po* as “red fire-raising [station],” where red is a color associated both with fire and with soldiers.

Functionaries in the Old Tibetan Annals

Having sketched in some detail the main administrative measures recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and contextualized them within Tibetan imperial praxis, it remains to offer the same treatment to the many types of functionaries and ministers who appear in the *Annals*.

Concerned as it is with administration and bureaucracy, the *Old Tibetan Annals* includes in its entries a number of functionaries. We have already seen in the treatment of the tally that this measure involved at least two particular types of officials, the revenue officer (*khabs-so*) and the fiscal governor (*mngan*). These two types of officials, along with another, the commissioner (*brung-pa*), appear in the *Annals* far more often than any others.

The *mngan* is the first functionary to appear in the *Annals*, in the entry for 653–654, when Spug Gyim-rtsan Rma-chung is installed as fiscal governor (*mngan*) of the land of Zhang-zhung, which had only recently been conquered. Spug Gyim-rtsan Rma-chung appears in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* as a messenger between Srong-btsan Sgam-po and his sister, Sad-mar-kar, who lives in Zhang-zhung with King Lig Myi-rhya. According to this heroic retelling of Tibet’s conquest, the message she relays to her brother through Spug contains coded language that instructs him on how to defeat Zhang-zhung (*DTH*: 155–58). Seen in this light, Spug’s appointment as fiscal governor of Zhang-zhung is likely a reward for his role in its conquest.

Based on the internal evidence of the *Annals* itself, the *mngan* is a high-ranking post, as there were at most eight *mngan* at a given time. This is apparent from the reduction of the fiscal governors of Rtsang-chen from four to two in 684–685, the appointments that brought the total number up to six in 692–693, and the reduction from eight to four that was carried out in 726–727 and finally accounted for in 728–729. In terms of the nature of the post, the entry for 707–708 states that they “transferred the tally of the fiscal governors’ revenue office” (*mngan gyi khab so'i khram spos*), indicating that the *mngan* were responsible for the revenue office and its tally. This latter point is confirmed in the Lhasa Treaty Inscription, which names among the Tibetan officials the “fiscal governor official, head of all the revenue offices” (*mngan-pon khab-so 'o-chog gl bla*) (Li and Coblin 1987: 61, 118, 123–25; *infra*, Appendix Five). The entry for 717–718

⁷⁸ Another possibility is that it is related to *zhugs-ling*, which indicates a fireplace or hearth (Dung-dkar 2002: 1776). One intriguing, albeit circumstantial bit of evidence connecting *zhugs-long* to signaling with mirrors and with the hill stations (*ri-zug*), is the name of one such hill station, “sacred mirror” (*'phrul gl mye-long*) (Takeuchi 2004a: 52–53). These stations were manned by teams of four, headed by a *tshugs-dpon*, but it would be a stretch to relate *zug* and *tshugs* here to *zhugs*. Furthermore, while there is evidence for fire and smoke beacons, signaling with mirrors is not well attested in early Tibet.

records an account of fiscal governors' households (*mngan gyi khyim rtsis bgyis*). This most likely indicates those households that lived under the jurisdiction of the fiscal governor and his revenue office. Similarly, after the number of fiscal governors was reduced from eight to four in 726-727, the *Annals* states that "they assigned the revenue office's taxpayers," probably meaning that those households that had been under the jurisdiction of the dismissed fiscal governors were now part of some other functionaries' responsibilities.

Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 135–37), working from the *Annals* and other Old Tibetan sources, demonstrated that the fiscal governors were also entrusted with documents, and that there were some known as *chu-mngan* and *stsang-mngan* who were put in charge of water and grain, respectively. Iwao (*forthcoming b*) also notes the presence of *dpya-mngan*, who were concerned with tribute. This wide range of duties, along with an apparently regional authority, indicate that the *mngan* were regional governors in charge of matters extending beyond taxation.

The term *khab-so* can be used to refer to the revenue office, but also to the revenue officers, who were subordinate to the fiscal governors, and were responsible for the tally and for taxation, as seen in the entries for 717-718 and 726-727, discussed above. The etymology of the term is obscure, and Uray and others translated it as "palace guards," despite their patently fiscal responsibilities.⁷⁹ Whatever the case, the *khab-so* appear to have been the Tibetan Empire's accountants and tax collectors.

The role of the commissioners (*brung-pa*) is less apparent in the *Annals*. They are first mentioned in 682-683 when the commissioner Lho 'Bring-po Rgyal-sum-sregs "offered a banquet with libations at Nyen-kar." That this was recorded in the *Annals* indicates that Lho held a position of some prestige, as the only other such banquet mentioned is one given by Da-rgyal, a minor (vassal) king. The five other appearances of *brung-pa* (707-708, 714-715, 715-716, 731-732, and 745-746) are all cases of relief and replacement where the officials' names are given. This again suggests the importance of the office, since similar promotions and transfers to and from other posts are not mentioned in the *Annals*. Uray (1962b) emphasizes these points in his study of the office of the commissioner, and also points out their regional jurisdiction and their role in integrating the territory of Rtsang-chen with the four Horns of Tibet. Further, as Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 140) pointed out, the commissioners are involved in the legal confiscation of wealth: in ITJ 753, an Old Tibetan legal fragment concerning theft, the property of an executed or exiled man is turned over to the commissioners (Thomas 1936: 280). Based on this somewhat sketchy picture of the office, I have provisionally translated *brung-pa* with "commissioner."

There are a number of officials mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals* who are concerned with territorial and military governance. Many of these concern the thousand-districts (*stong-sde*), which are mentioned in the entries for 746-747 and 755-756. A head of thousand-district (*stong-dpon*) is mentioned in the entry for 762-764, and the royal guard (*sku-srung*), which the later sources count as a thousand-district, is mentioned in 708-709. In the entry for 707-708 the great [heads of] five hundred [households] (*Inga-brgya chen-po*), mentioned also in 693-694, are transformed into heads of little thousand-districts (*stong-bu rje*). Oddly, the [heads of] five hundred [households] are mentioned again twenty years after this when their appointment is recorded in the entry for 713-714.

⁷⁹ Li and Coblin (1987: 61, 118, 123–25) discuss some of the possible solutions to this problem, in particular the reading of *so* in the sense of the verb *bsas*, "to nourish." This suggests a reading of *khab-so* as similar to "welfare" (*kha-bso*) or, less likely, "good fortune" (*kha-bsod*). A simpler reading would take *so* to be a rare nominal suffix, which occurs in such words as "urethral orifice" (*chu-so*), "glory, honor" (*ngo-so*), and "tomb" (*bang-so*), in which case *khab-so* would be an obvious precursor to *nang-so*, "customs officer" (Gyurme 1992: 135; Zhang *et al.* 1998 [1994]: 1511). See also Uebach 1985b: 30; and Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 73–74, n. 271.

Among the few other officials of note in the *Annals* are the “investigator” (*snom-bu-pa*), mentioned in the entry for 685-686, and the “representative of the emperor” (*ring-lugs*), found in the entries for 726-727 and 747-748. The former is obscure, as there are very few references to anything resembling early Tibetan police. As such, it remains one of the *Annals*' *hapax legomenae* that is translated mostly from context. The term *ring-lugs*, however, has been the subject of an article by Michael Walter, who demonstrated that *ring-lugs* is a functionary upholding the presence (*ring*) of the emperor (Walter 1998b).

More important than any of these is the term *zhang-lon*, found in the phrase “great ministers” (*zhang-lon chen-po*), in the final entry of the *Annals*. This term, which indicates not only ministers, but the entire class of ministerial aristocracy and all its attendant privileges, will be considered in some detail in the next section of the introduction, which investigates class, rank, exchange, and inheritance to offer a vignette of the social fabric of the Tibetan Empire.

Class and Rank in the Tibetan Empire

It has already been stated that the royal court was the moveable center of the Tibetan Empire. It does not follow from the absence of a fixed center, however, that the Tibetan Empire was a decentralized polity. In nearly all research into Tibetan governance, there is a strong focus on the dialectic of centralization and regionalism (Carrasco 1959; Cassinelli and Ekvall 1969; Goldstein 1971a; Samuel 1993). This has led some to characterize Tibetan government, particularly that of the Dalai Lamas, as exercising a sort of “soft power” in which the central government does not enjoy firm political control over its “subordinate” parts, but rather stands in a more symbolic relation to them as patron to client. In considering such issues as social stratification, order of rank, and chain of command, regional variation becomes the rule, and bedevils any attempt at sweeping generalization. There is no reason to believe that matters were any simpler during the age of empire. As will be demonstrated below, however, there are some important differences. While the emperor and the central Tibetan ministers devolved power to a number of regional assemblies, and to several colonial military governments on the borders, there are indications of legal and administrative centralization that go beyond that achieved by any subsequent Tibetan government. Another major difference is the emphasis on clan and lineage, a feature of Tibetan society that dissipated gradually from the time of the empire to the present day.

The social stratification of the Tibetan Empire can be presented from any number of angles. This is due to the intersection of different systems of rank or class, each with their respective prerogatives. There is, for example, the Tibetan royal family, and those linked to it as kin. This system of rank is headed by the emperor and the immediate royal family. Just outside of this tier are the bride-giving (*zhang*) clans who supply the heirs to the royal line. The discussion of dynastic marriage revealed that the Dba's clan stood in relation to the royal family as bride-receivers (*dbon*), and they belong here in the hierarchy, alongside the emperors' *zhang*. Lower in practical terms, but perhaps more important in ceremonial matters are those “semi-royal” lineages spawned by the half brothers of the emperors. These scions, born not to *zhang* queens, but to those ladies not authorized to provide an heir to the throne, became the heads of new collateral lineages whose practical influence in government was minimal.

Similar to this, in that it is kin based, is the relationship between the Tibetan emperor and the minor kings or vassal kings with whom the royal line had contracted dynastic marriages. As foreigners, however, these do not really belong in the same category as the royal family and its Tibetan kin.

Alongside these kin-based strata is a system of ministerial rank that is wed to ministerial posts and estates. Each rank on this scale included an attendant degree of ennoblement, including a minister's relatives, and a commensurate land grant. The minister was also entitled to wear the epaulets, graded according to a valuation of precious metals, denoting his rank. This gradated system, with its marked similarities to earlier Chinese systems of rank, was not rigidly applied across the breadth of the empire, but adapted to local situations in the many areas under Tibetan rule. Thus, for example, a silver-rank minister in Khotan would not necessarily be commensurate in rank and status with a silver-rank minister in Dunhuang, or indeed one in central Tibet.

Similar to the less than standard valuation of the ministerial ranks in different regions of the Tibetan Empire, there were also local rulers who, regardless of their technical rank, effectively governed the area under their jurisdiction. The chief ministers of the Mdo-smad council and the *bde-blon*, who ruled over the northern and northeastern reaches of the empire, are prime examples of this. Similarly, the generals of each colonial military government (*khrom*) enjoyed regional political authority, as did the governors (*dbang-po*) above them.

Given this plurality of ranking systems, to say nothing of how this all translated into actual practice, it is probably inadvisable to try to weave this into a single spectrum of social and political rank. We have already treated the Tibetan kin of the royal family and those foreign houses linked to Tibet through dynastic marriage (*supra*, "Dynastic Marriage"). What remains, therefore, is to clarify the system of ennoblement and ministerial rank.

Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy

Old Tibetan legal and administrative documents encode the values and assumptions surrounding the social stratification of the Tibetan Empire. Like many pre-modern legal systems, that of the Tibetan Empire meted out punishments according to the social class of the complainant and that of the defendant in a given case. This is seen most explicitly in PT 1071, an Old Tibetan legal document dealing mainly with blood money or restitution when someone is accidentally shot with an arrow during the course of a hunt. Richardson (1998 [1990a]) outlined this text in some detail, and the gradations of punishment according to class are clearly given in his work. The legal document decides punishments according to the status of the victim, beginning with the four great ministers, and proceeding through turquoise, gold, gold-inlaid silver (*phra-men*), silver, brass (*ra-gan*), and copper-rank ministers, all the way down to the lowest class of Tibetan society comprising bondservants and barbarian prisoners (*lho-bal btson-pa*). Investigating the categories of victims, or complainants, nine tiers of social strata are apparent. These nine strata should not be seen as in any way static, for they refer only to a particular time and place, and during the course of the Tibetan Empire there were surely many developments and variations in the system of ranks.

I The four great ministers (*zhang-blon chen-po bzhi*):

- a. Chief minister (*blon chen-po*).
- b. Great minister of the interior (*nang-blon chen-po*).
- c. The veritable maternal uncle of the Btsan-po, endowed with political authority

(*btsan po'i zhang drung chab srid la dbang ba*).⁸⁰

d. Deputy to the chief minister (*blon chen-po'i 'og-pon*).

Also included in this echelon of rank are the fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers of any of the above. The most severe penalties are meted out for crimes committed against this group, the strictest being capital punishment accompanied by the loss of one's property and wealth and the execution of one's family line, which was known as the *sgor rabs bcad* penalty. The strictest monetary fine also applies to crimes against this group, reaching 10,000 *srang*. There is no mention of any particular type of insignia (*yi-ge*) that distinguishes this group from the others, but they stand at the apex, just above the turquoise-rank ministers. The *Old Tibetan Annals* mention a number of promotions made in the dragon year 764-765 following the successful campaign against the Chinese capital, where it states, "Chief minister Snang-bzher was bestowed *ke-ke-ru* insignia and appointed as chief minister." The *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, describing the very same events, states that Chief minister Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan was bestowed the precious jewel insignia (*nor-bu rin-po-che 'i yi-ge*).⁸¹ It might thus be surmised that this highest level, sometimes referred to only as *chen-po* instead of *zhang-lon chen-po*, were holders of a special type of insignia, either white chrysoberyl (*ke-ke-ru*), or precious jewel, that distinguished them from the other ministers.

II Turquoise-rank ministers (lit. "ministers with turquoise insignia"; *zhang-lon g.yu'i yi-ge pa*), along with their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. Also included in this group are the relations of the four great ministers: "from the sons and their descendants (*bu-po-spad*) down to his patrilineal parallel cousins and their descendants (*pha-spun-spad*)—these without insignia—, along with the stepmother(s) (*ma yar-mo*), daughter(s)-in-law (*mna'-ma*), wife / wives (*khyo-mo*), and unmarried daughter(s) and sister(s)..."⁸²

III Gold-rank ministers (*zhang-lon gser gyi yi-ge-pa*), their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. Also included in this rank are the relations of turquoise-rank ministers: "from the sons and their descendants down to his patrilineal parallel cousins and their descendants—these without insignia—, along with the step-mother(s), daughter(s)-in-law, wife / wives, and unmarried daughter(s) and sister(s)."

IV Gold-inlaid-silver-rank (*phra-men*)⁸³ ministers, their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. The relations of gold-rank ministers (as above).

V Silver-rank ministers, their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. The relations of gold-inlaid silver-rank ministers (as above).

VI Brass-rank ministers, their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. The relations of silver-rank ministers (as above).

VII Copper-rank ministers, their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. The relations of brass-rank ministers (as above).

⁸⁰ The term *drung* implies that *zhang* is meant in the sense of the kinship term, and that this post is filled by the actual bride-giver / maternal uncle / father-in-law (*zhang*) of the Btsan-po. This distinguishes it from the *zhang* in *zhang-blon* or *zhang-lon*, a compound that simply means "minister" (Dotson 2004: 79–82).

⁸¹ For translation and transliteration of this passage, see *infra*, Appendix Four.

⁸² *zhang lon chen po bzhl'i phu bo spad phan cad/ pha spun spad tshun cad/ yI ge ma mchis ba'l rnam/ dang ma yar mo dang/ bna' ma dang/ khyo mo dang/ bu sring khyo ma mchis pa dang/ 'di rnam/*. See below for a more detailed discussion of these kinship terms.

⁸³ On this term, which means either gold-inlaid silver or silver and gold alloy, see below.

VIII A *gtsang-chen*,⁸⁴ and the relations of copper-rank ministers (as above). Also included in this stratum are royal military subjects, bondservants attached to the estates (*rkya*) of an aristocrat or a commoner, and the fiscal governor's attaché (*rgyal-'bangs rgod-do-'tshal dang zhang-lon [dang] dmangs kyi bran rkya la gtogs-pa dang mngan gyi mngan-lag*).

IX Civilian royal subjects (*rgyal-'bangs g.yung-ngo-'tshald*), bondservants not attached to the estates (*rkya*) of an aristocrat or a commoner (*zhang-lon dang dmangs kyi bran rkya la ma gtogs-pa*),⁸⁵ ordinary civilians (*g.yung-ngo-'tshald*), and barbarian prisoners (*lho-bal brtson-pa*).

The system of rank order according to valuations based on precious metal insignia has distinct Chinese echoes, a point made already by Demiéville (1952: 286, n. 2). In Tang China, he notes, there was a system of rank by which “fish bags,” in two parts, served as official insignia, and were decorated with precious metals. In a decree from 674, we find the following materials corresponding to ranks, in descending order: gold and jade appliqué, gold, silver, and brass, with copper or bronze (and perhaps iron) applying to commoners (Demiéville 1952: 286, n. 2). It may well be the case, therefore, that the Tibetan system of insignia of rank partly modeled itself on similar Chinese practices.

The Tibetan imperial system of ranks according to insignia (*yi-ge*) is also found in a valuable passage in the *Xin Tangshu*. Bushell (1880: 442) translates the passage as follows: “[t]he officers in full costume wear as ornaments—those of the highest rank *ze-ze* [瑟瑟 pinyin: *sè sè*], the next gold, then gilded silver, then silver, and the lowest copper—which hang in large and small strings from the shoulder, and distinguish the rank of the wearer.”⁸⁶ The description corresponds exactly to those found in the Old Tibetan legal texts PT 1071, PT 1072, and PT 1073, save for the omission of brass (*ra-gan*) between the ranks of silver and copper, and it further indicates that the Tibetan insignia (*yi-ge*) can be considered to be akin to epaulets. We can note that *sè-sè*, meaning something like “aquamarine,” probably indicates turquoise (Demiéville 1952: 285, n. 2). Here “gilded silver” (金塗銀 pinyin: *jīn tú yín*) means “silver inlaid with gold,” or “vermeil,” as Demiéville (1952: 284, n. 2) rendered it, and should therefore be translated with “gold-inlaid silver.” This corresponds to the Tibetan *phra-men*, thus clarifying an obscure term (Takata 2006: 164; Dotson 2007b: 8–9, n. 7).⁸⁷

The above groups from I to IX are defined according to the status of the complainants in cases of someone being hit by an arrow during a hunt, and the prices for blood money range from 10,000 cash (*srang*) for the killing of one with the rank of the four great ministers (group I) by any person ranking from turquoise to gold-inlaid-silver rank or of equal status (groups II, III, and IV), all the way down to 50 *srang* for the murder of those in group IX by one of equal status. Any failure to pay, no matter the amount required, constituted grounds for execution. The gradation of fines indicates the likely correspondence of rank to personal wealth

⁸⁴ A *gtsang-chen*, like other designations such as “silver-rank minister,” appears to describe a rank, and not a post. However, *gtsang-chen* does not appear to indicate a type of insignia: there is no construction here such as *gtsang-chen gyi yi-ge-pa*. This is evident from PT 1089, where a man appointed “great official of fields in [Sha-cu in] general” (*spyi'i zhing-pon ched-po*) is described as having the rank (*thabs*) of a *gtsang-chen*: “LI pu hwar is appointed the great official of fields in [Sha-cu in] general. He is of *gtsang-chen* rank.” (*li pu hwar spyi'i zhing pon ched por bskostel/ thabs gtsang chen mchis pa*) (PT 1089, l. 61). The translation of *spyi* as indicating Sha-cu in general is justified by the appearance in PT 1089 of the phrases “great tax official for the Chinese in general” (*rgya spyi'i khral-dpon ched-po*; ll. 50, 83) and “enemy-subduing minister for Sha-cu in general” (*sha-cu spyi'i dgra-blon*; ll. 49, 82) (cf. Iwao forthcoming b). On the other hand, Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 284, n. 87) understands *gtsang-chen* as a post relating to land management.

⁸⁵ While PT 1071 (ll. 289, 300, 311) has *rkya la gtogs pa here*, PT 1072 (ll. 8, 18, 30) has *rkya la ma gtogs pa* in its versions of these clauses. Given that the former would make for a repetition of *rkya la gtogs pa* from group VIII, I am inclined to follow PT 1072. Cf. Iwao 2007b: 107–08 and 8, English summary.

⁸⁶ Cf. Pelliot 1961: 80.

⁸⁷ Demiéville (1952: 285, n. 2) did not equate this with the corresponding Chinese term, and rendered *phra-men* as “joyaux?”. See also Takata 2006: 164, where *phra-men* is translated with “silver inlaid with gold.”

and provides some general information about the monetary system and the extent of the divide between rich and poor.

Investigating the groups of defendants rather than complainants, we can also further qualify the ranking system in the eyes of the law by observing the partition of defendants into three separate legal groups:

- a. Ranks I, II, III, and IV (i.e., from those of the rank of chief minister down to those of gold-inlaid-silver rank).
- b. Ranks V, VI, and VII (i.e., from those of silver rank down to those of copper rank).
- c. Ranks VIII and IX (i.e., from the rank of *gtsang-chen* down to the lowest commoner).

This division only applies to crimes committed against groups I and II, after which defendants are further simplified into two distinct groups: those ranking from great minister to minister of copper rank (ranks I—VII), and those from *gtsang-chen* downwards (ranks VIII and IX). This latter, more fundamental division essentially separates ministers (*zhang-lon*) from commoners (*dmangs*), the latter category being comprised of all those who are not *zhang-lon*, i.e., those from *gtsang-chen* rank downwards. This is further demonstrated by the fact that from the rank of a *gtsang-chen* downwards, kin are not included in one's legal status. Below the rank of a *gtsang-chen*, this is probably also a practicality, as we are no longer dealing with ennobled aristocracy.

A similar, though less well-defined divide between upper and lower classes in this legal document is expressed as the difference between the *dge-ba* and the *ngan-pa*. While these terms usually mean “virtuous” and “wicked,” respectively, in this context they indicate social rank. This is also demonstrated by King Zing-po-rje Khri-pang-sum's rash statement in chapter three of the *Chronicle* that “[i]f an aristocrat [lit: “virtuous man”] (*dge-ba*) kills non-aristocrat, he is killed—that is all.” (*dge bas myi dge ba bsad na / bsad du zad do*) (PT 1287, l. 146). This is also partly evident from numerous petitions sent to various government officials, which often contain the humilific formula “a lowly man such as I” (*bdag ngan-pa*).⁸⁸

Order of rank alone is insufficient to gain a clear understanding of the social and political values of ennoblement and ministerial aristocracy. Such matters are described in some detail, however, in a number of inscribed pillar edicts and in other Old Tibetan sources. The north side of the Zhol Pillar demonstrates quite clearly the correspondence between insignia of rank (*yi-ge*), aristocracy (*dku-rgyal*), and ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-lon*). The north face inscription begins: “[a] summary of the edict bestowing ennoblement on minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong” (*blon stag sgra klu khong/ dku rgyal gtsigs gnang ba 'I mdo*) (Li and Coblin 1987: 148) After recounting a few grants, the text reads:

As long as there is one among the descendants of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong who holds in his hand the insignia of ennoblement, even if the lineage dies out or is disgraced, the silver insignia shall not be taken back. The great silver insignia is bestowed in perpetuity on whoever is nearest among the lineage of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong and of Zla-gong. [I grant that] the descendants of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong's father, Zla-gong, are awarded the jurisdiction of those of ministerial insignia, with three hundred soldiers. (*blon stag sgra klu khong/ gi bu tsha rgyud peld/ dku rgyal gyi yi ge' lag na 'chang 'chang ba zhlg rabs chad dam bkyon bab na yang dngul gyl yi ge blar myl bzhes par/ blon stag sgra klu khong/ dang/ zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud gang nye ba gclg dngul gyl yi ge chen po g.yung drung du stsald*)

⁸⁸ For references to examples of this formula, see Coblin 1991: 92. Richardson (1998 [1990a]: 163, n. 26) also treated the problem of defining *dge-ba* in this context, and came to the plausible conclusion that “[i]f a religious meaning is to be ruled out, the term may be something like *ya-rabs*, person of good birth.”

par gnang ngo//blon stag sgra klu khong gi pha zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud 'pheld gyi rnam/ zhang lon yi ge pa'l thang dang dmag sum rgyar gnang ngo.⁸⁹

This crucial passage demonstrates the identity of aristocratic insignia or insignia of ennoblement (*dku-rgyal gyi yi-ge*) with ministerial insignia (*zhang-lon yi-ge*), and shows clearly that ennoblement was accompanied by the acquisition of a ministerial post.⁹⁰ The passage also demonstrates that each insignia of rank was divided into greater and lesser tiers, a fact that may be verified in numerous other Old Tibetan documents.

In a celebrated passage from chapter four of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan rewards his co-conspirators after the defeat of Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum, lord of Ngas-po.

Then Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan pointed with his whip and granted Sdur-ba, the castle of Mnyan 'Dzi-zung, along with one thousand five hundred bondservant households as Myang Tseng-sku's reward. He granted Za-gad, the territory of Gshen [Khri-bzher 'Dron-kong], and one thousand five hundred bondservant households from the area of Mal-tro as Dba's Dbyi-tshab's reward. He granted one thousand five hundred bondservant households from [Mnon 'Dron-po's] own Mnon clan, and others, as Mnon 'Dron-po's reward. He granted three hundred bondservant households from Smon-mkhar in 'On as Tshes-pong Nag-seng's reward.

Myang Tseng-cung and his patrilineal parallel cousin (*pha-spun-po*⁹¹), Mu-gseng, both joined the plot [against Zing-po-rje], and he indeed admitted them to the aristocracy (*dku-rgyal*).⁹² He admitted to the aristocracy Dba's Dbyi-tshab's grandsons (*tsha-bo*), Stag-po-rje Myes-snang and Mang-po-rje Pu-tshab, the two.⁹³ He admitted to the aristocracy Tshes-pong Nag-seng's younger brother, Na-gu.

Thus Myang and Dba's, with Mnon making three, and Tshes-pong, the messenger, making four, were loyal, and he granted them many bondservant households and great lands. He appointed them as the Btsan-po's ministers. (PT 1287, ll. 191–98).⁹⁴

This passage forms the prototype for later ennoblements, and contains nearly all of the features that are found in later such grants: admission into the aristocracy, appointment to a ministerial post, and the award of a land grant. There is a good degree of parity in these land grants, and some poetic justice as well. Myang, Dba's, and Mnon each receive the same number of bondservant households, while Tshes-pong, who played a lesser role as the “messenger,” receives three hundred bondservant households. Myang and Dba's are also given the territories of their respective former tormenters, Mnyen 'Dzi-zung Nag-po and Gshen Khri-bzher 'Dron-kong.

⁸⁹ North face inscription, ll. 31–41 (Li and Coblin 1987: 149, 171). See also Richardson 1985: 20, 21.

⁹⁰ Róna-tas (1955: 263–69) argues that the term *dku-rgyal* denotes aristocracy, and he further points out its close relationship with the possession of insignia (*yi-ge / yig-tshang*) and the title “minister / ministerial aristocrat” (*zhang-lon*). Denwood (1991: 134) injects some linguistic precision into the argument, reading *dku-rgyal* as “overcomer of intrigue,” but essentially upholds Róna-tas' claims.

⁹¹ See below for a discussion of this term.

⁹² I believe a play on words is intended here, with the author teasing out the forgotten meaning of *dku-rgyal*, the common term for aristocracy, as “overcomer of intrigue.” This is juxtaposed with the justified intrigue (*dku*) they committed against Zing-po-rje Khri-pang-sum. This reading was first suggested by Denwood (1991: 134).

⁹³ These two are mentioned again in the oath of Dba's Dbyi-tshab in chapter five of the *OTC*. In that oath, they are qualified as part of the “sons and brothers” (*spad-spun*) and lineage (*bu-tsha*), so I am inclined to read *tsha* here as grandson, and not as nephew.

⁹⁴ For text, see *CD2*: pls. 563–64. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 23–24. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 138–39. For Beckwith's English translation, see Beckwith 1979: 207–08. For Róna-tas' translation and commentary on this passage, see Róna-tas 1955. For Uray's translation of most of this passage, see Uray 1967: 502.

Nepotism, Guilt By Association, Exchange, and Inheritance

A ministerial aristocrat's relatives were affected, both positively and adversely, by their relationship to him. This reveals the prevalence of a culture of nepotism and also suggests a high degree of clan, or at least lineage, solidarity. This sort of practice is evident from two fundamental principles found in royal grants of land and benefits. In the first place, these grants are usually given retroactively to the honored minister's grandfather, which serves to spread its benefits to more of his kinsmen. Secondly, such grants often include a guarantee protecting innocent kinsmen from charges brought against a criminal among them. In other words, it guards the minister and his lineage from guilt by association with his cousins who might run afoul of the emperor.

As mentioned already, relatives of a ministerial aristocrat (*zhang-lon*) are also ennobled by virtue of their kinship ties. A minister's father, grandfather, mother, and grandmother hold the same insignia of rank as the minister. Another group of relatives are ennobled not to the same status as the minister, but to one tier below. These are:

...from the minister's non-ranking sons and their descendants (*bu-po-spad*) down to his patrilateral parallel cousins and their descendants (*pha-spun-spad*), along with the step-mother (*ma-yar-mo*), daughter-in-law (*mna'-ma*), wife (*khyo-mo*), and unmarried daughters and sisters... (*bu po spad phan cad/ pha spun spad tshun cad/ yI ge ma mchis ba'I mams/ dang ma yar mo dang/ bna' ma dang/ khyo mo dang/ bu sring khyo ma mchis pa dang/ 'di rnams/*).⁹⁵

These kinship terms require some explanation, but a detailed investigation of their meaning and their relationship to other Tibetan kinship terms would take this analysis too far off course. There are some points, however, that demonstrate how imperial Tibetan society and its patterns of exchange compare with subsequent Tibetan societies. Suffice it to say that *bu-po-spad* is not a lineage (*bu-tsha*), but a kindred, or more specifically, a patrilineal egocentric kin group descending from ego's generation and including his own male descendants. Similarly, *pha-spun-spad* is a patrilineal egocentric kin group descending from ego's own generation where it begins with his father's brothers' sons and extends to their descendants (FBSS / FBSC; father's brothers' sons' children). Thus *pha-spun-spad*, as implied by the grammar of the phrase "from *bu-po-spad* down to *pha-spun-spad*," are genealogically further removed than *bu-po-spad*, and comprise a larger range of relatives, all of whom are more distant than one's own filial kindred (*bu-po-spad*) or paternal lineage (*bu-tsha*).⁹⁶

⁹⁵ See Richardson 1998 [1990a]: 151.

⁹⁶ Elsewhere in the same Old Tibetan legal document (PT 1071, ll. 431–34), the pair of terms *bu-po-spad* and *pha-spun-spad* are replaced by another pair, "lineage" (*bu-tsha*) and "branch relatives" (*ya-lag-pa*), which appear to qualify the first pair of kinship terms. Gnya'-gong (1995: 312, n. 15) glosses *ya-lag-pa* as *yan-lag-pa* or *rtsa-lag-pa*, meaning "relatives" or "family." It also means "upper branch," or "supplement," and this meaning should probably be considered in a genealogical sense. The term *bu-po-spad*, literally means "son son," which is to say "sons and their sons (S, SS)" or "sons' sons (SS)." *Spad* literally means "son," but there may be grounds for reading it in this instance as "descendants," in which case *bu-po-spad* might be taken as a synonym for lineage (*bu-tsha*), or its honorific, *sras-dbon*, and would thus indicate a lineage. The argument advanced above is that *bu-po-spad* differs from lineage (*bu-tsha*) in that while *bu-tsha* literally means "sons and grandsons," and indicates a paternal lineage in a wider sense extending several generations, *bu-po-spad* is probably a more restrictive term indicating "sons and their sons / descendants." On the distinction between lineage and kindred, see Fox 1967: 67.

The second kinship term in the clause, *pha-spun-spad*, is more familiar than *bu-po-spad* in that the terms *pha-spun* and *pha-spun-po* are found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and are still used today in various parts of the Tibetan cultural area (cf. Guigo 1986: 82, 89–90, 96; Crook 1994: 501–05; Brauen 1980). As mentioned above, *ya-lag-pa*, meaning "relatives," was used as a synonym for *pha-spun-spad*. *Pha-spun-spad* literally means "father brother son," that is, "father's brothers and their sons (FB, FBS)," or "father's brothers' sons (FBS)." Within the phrase "from one's *bu-po-spad* down to one's *pha-spun-*

The term *ma yar-mo*, often spelled *ma g.yar-mo* (lit. “borrowed mother”) indicates step-mother. While this is most often due to a father’s remarriage following the death of one’s mother, it is odd that remarriage should be so common as to be found in the standardized formula of a legal document such as PT 1071. It is more likely, therefore, that the term indicates generally a father’s wife who is not one’s birth mother. This would indicate, then, the practice of polygyny among the ministerial aristocracy. The other terms in the list make it clear that women left their natal home upon marriage for their husband’s home, and that they were not always alone: the term, “in-marrying bride” (*mna’-ma*) unequivocally indicates the practice of virilocal marriage, that is, of the wife residing in her husband’s home. The practice of virilocal marriage is further confirmed by the inclusion in the ennobled relatives of “daughter(s) and sister(s) without husbands” (*bu-sring khyo-ma mchis-pa*), who in this way are indicated as dependents until they are married off.

Aside from revealing that the Tibetan aristocracy practiced virilocal polygyny, and perhaps oblique marriage as well, PT 1071 reveals other interesting facts about patterns of exchange during the Tibetan Empire. Regarding the inheritance of an executed man’s property by his son, the clauses concerning those executed for failing to rescue someone who had fallen under a yak explicitly distinguish between two classes of sons. In the case of a copper-rank minister or his equal who, having fallen under a yak, is not rescued by a bystander from the ranks of *gtsang-chen* down to the lowest commoner, yet survives the ordeal, the cowardly bystander is punished as follows:

As punishment for cowardice, a fox tail will be attached [to him], and his treasury and livestock being given to him, he will be banished together with those [of his family] who have not established their own households. If [one of] his sons has set up his own household, then the banished man’s service tenure lands will be given to that son. If there is no son who has set up his own household, then it will be given to the [executed man’s] father. (*snar ma’I chad par / ’o dom btags [btab] ste / bang za phyug nor / stsald te / sdum pa ma phub pa dang spyugo / spyug pa’I khol yul / ni bu sdum pa phub pa mchis na / bu stsald / bu sdum [sdu] pa phub ma mchis dang pha stsald /*) (PT 1071, ll. 369–70).

The phrase “to set up a household” (*sdum-pa phub-pa*) is glossed in a later clause dealing with those ranked from *gtsang-chen* down to the lowest commoner, in which it states that a man will be exiled along with his sons who have not established their own households (*bu-po khyim ma phub-pa*) (PT 1071, l. 382). This is an important point, as it offers a window into the working practice of inheritance and residence among not only the aristocracy as in the clause translated above, but also among the commoners, as in the clause just quoted. These clauses inform us that sons were considered dependants until they had set up their own household (*sdum-pa / khyim*).

Such an arrangement seems to reflect a situation quite the opposite of what is found in many areas of the Tibetan cultural region today, where emphasis is placed on the maintenance of a household or estate with as little division as possible, be it through polyandry or other means.⁹⁷ The situation described in the legal

spad,” *bu-po-spad* are defined as being in closer proximity than *pha-spun-spad*. Thus *pha-spun-spad* are close kinsmen (*phu-nu-po drung*) who are more distant than one’s own paternal lineage (*bu-tsha*) or filial kindred (*bu-po-spad*). This being the case, Richardson’s translation of *pha-spun-spad* as “members of the father’s clan and their children” (Richardson 1998 [1990a]: 151) seems to be too broad, as this would be indicated simply by “clansmen” (*phu-nu-po*). These kinship terms are also treated briefly in Gnya’-gong 2003: 219–20.

⁹⁷ Properly speaking, this type of marriage is more accurately referred to as monomartial polygamy, as the marriage patterns of a single family on a single estate can move from polyandry to polygynandry to polygyny to monogamy without any inherent contradiction of the monomartial principle and the maintenance of a single undivided estate (Berreman 1975). For cultural, economic and environmental factors giving rise to this type of marriage, see Levine 1988; Goldstein 1971b; Crook 1994; and Thargyal 2007: 163–68.

It should be noted, however, that the division of property within the family can coexist with neolocality. In the case of Nubri in northern Nepal, for example, a son inherits his share of the household’s property and moves into a separate home

clauses of PT 1071 and PT 1072 reflects, possibly, a strategy driven by an imperative of expansion, whereby sons start their own households apart from their natal homes. This model of inheritance, coupled with the practice of virilocal or neolocal polygyny, is in fact consonant with the needs of an expanding empire that operated colonial regimes in its territories. Further, it demonstrates once again the fluidity and adaptability of Tibetan patterns of exchange.

Commoners, Subjects and Bondservants

Though it seems that ennoblement usually extended only to an aristocrat's immediate relatives, in some cases the favors of ennoblement, or, reciprocally, the punishment of guilt by association, extended to large swathes of an aristocrat's family, and even to his bondservants. The entry for 755-756 in the *Old Tibetan Annals* demonstrates that in some cases the aristocracy and their bondservants shared the same fate; in this year the bondservants (*bran*) of the disgraced ministers, Lang Myes-zigs and 'Bal Ldong-tshab, were exiled to Mtong-sod. This demonstrates that the bondservants were deemed guilty by association with their masters and could be punished for the latter's crimes.⁹⁸ That servants were tarred with the same brush as their masters does not necessarily mean that there existed a sense of solidarity between the aristocracy and their bondservants, though the possibility of this type of relationship should not be rejected out of hand.⁹⁹

One of the later inscriptions at Zhwa'i Lha-khang, probably dating to 812, reveals that there were often both ministerial aristocrats and commoners (*dmangs*) within a single lineage. Lines 25–28 of the east inscription read:

Even the commoners among the lineage of minister Sngang-bzang 'Dus-kong who enjoy the personal rank of *gtsang[-chen]* and *stong[-dpon]* (head of thousand-district) and so forth are given the jurisdiction of those holding ministerial (*zhang-lon*) insignia. (*blon sngang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud dmangs kyi mams kyang gtsang dang stong*¹⁰⁰ *las stsogs pa sgor bde ba'l mams/ zhang lon yI ge can gyi thang du gnang ba*).¹⁰¹

Though the analysis of PT 1071 and other related documents has shed ample light on the ranking system within the upper echelons of Tibetan society, the document's unique value is its treatment of the lower classes, about whom sources like the *Old Tibetan Annals* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* have little to offer. As demonstrated above, *dmangs* is employed in PT 1071 to apply to all of those who are below the rank of *zhang-lon*, that is to say rank VIII, comprising *gtsang-chen*, the relations of a minister of copper rank, all royal military subjects, bondservants attached to the crop fields (*rkya*) of a commoner or a minister, and fiscal governor's attaché; and rank IX, comprising all civilian royal subjects, bondservants not attached to the crop fields (*rkya*) of a minister or a commoner, ordinary civilians, and barbarian prisoners. It is obvious that within this group, as within the general group called *zhang-lon*, there is a high degree of stratification.

when his wife gives birth to a son. The new father then inherits one half of the property, or, if he has a marriageable younger brother, one third. The remainder belongs to the father, but this is eventually given to the sons when the older generation moves to the grounds of the local monastery during the last part of their lives (Childs 2003: 103–04). On neolocality in the context of a pastoral estate in Kham, see Thargyal 2007: 155–61.

⁹⁸ It is possible the servants were involved in the treason apparently perpetrated by their two masters or that they had a hand in the civil strife that followed.

⁹⁹ For an insightful discussion of the relationship between these two classes in the context of a pastoral estate in premodern Tibet, see Thargyal 2007: esp. 198–99.

¹⁰⁰ A note by Richardson (1985: 56–57) suggests the reading *gstang [chen] dang stong [dpon]*, and I have followed this gloss in my translation.

¹⁰¹ See Richardson 1985: 56–57 and Li and Coblin 1987: 271–72, 292.

This is evident also from the use of the term *dmangs mtha'-ma*, meaning “lowest commoner.” As such, *dmangs* is a very general category and is probably best translated by the non-specific term “commoners.”

Commoners (*dmangs*) are differentiated, however, from subjects (*'bangs*). As is obvious from the frequently occurring compound *btsan-po rjes 'bangs*, meaning “the emperor and subjects,” *'bangs* can indicate anyone who is subject to the Btsan-po. This is highlighted by the phrase “gathered as subjects,” translated slightly less literally with “subjugated” (*'bangs su bkugs*), which is commonly used to describe a Tibetan conquest. Bogoslovskij (1972: 81–84) also notes the meaning of the term *'bangs* as designating all of the Btsan-po's subjects, whether aristocrats or commoners. Consonant with its use in English, however, the term “subject” can refer not only to all those who are subject to a ruler or monarch, but those subject to a petty lord as well. In PT 1071, for example, half of the service tenure lands of an executed man are sometimes bestowed on his subjects and his bondservants, thus indicating that while all members of Tibetan society may be subjects of the Btsan-po, some are also subjects of the landed gentry. This is in fact a crucial element of the text, for it also reveals that there were circumstances under which the subjects and bondservants could inherit land.

That land ownership (or, more accurately, usufruct rights) was not restricted to the landed gentry is further demonstrated by the legal category “bondservants of a commoner or a minister who are attached to the *rkyā*” (*zhang-lon dang dmangs kyi bran rkyā-la-gtogs*), since it demonstrates that not only ministers, but also commoners could be in possession of bondservants. It is further evident that bondservants could own their own goods that they were free to sell or barter. In his study of Old Tibetan contracts, Takeuchi treated PT 1094, a text in which an aristocrat's bondservant sells an ox to another man. Not only the seller, but also the guarantor for the sale was a bondservant, further confirming the ability of this class to buy and sell goods.¹⁰²

The lot of a bondservant was most often linked to the land, as is evident from the term “bondservants attached to the *rkyā*” (*bran rkyā la gtogs pa*), where *rkyā* is a taxable land unit. Also, most land given in grants was awarded together with bondservants. Bogoslovskij (1972: 95–96) notes, however, that some *bran* were not field servants but artisans, and that *bran* could be attached to monasteries, private estates, and to the army as well. Iwao (2007b: 107–08 and 8, English summary) notes a status distinction here whereby bondservants attached to or belonging to a *rkyā* (*bran rkyā la gtogs pa*) enjoy a higher status than those who are unattached to a *rkyā* (*bran rkyā la ma gtogs pa*). As such, it seems that the ancient Tibetan *bran* parallels in many ways the pre-modern *mi-ser*, for among the former category are some who are not much more than slaves, some who are field servants attached to the land, some who are landless and therefore lower in status, and some who are artisans.¹⁰³

Bogoslovskij (1972: 94–95) points out quite correctly that bondservants were treated as property in much the same way as land, and that *bran* could be requisitioned for various tasks, exchanged, bought, and sold. Concerning the treatment of bondservants as property, Takeuchi analyzed two documents concerning the sale of bondservants, the first from Miran, and the second from Dunhuang. In the first case, a layman buys a male bondservant from a monk for the price of three *dmār srang*.¹⁰⁴ The buyer and seller both appear to be Tibetan, but the bondservant is Chinese (Takeuchi 1995: 35–38, 159–61). The second text, which Takeuchi dates to 820 (plus or minus one twelve year cycle), records a sale in which two brothers sell their sister to another man as his wife. All parties involved are Chinese, and the price is seven *dmār srang* (Takeuchi 1995: 38–40, 161–64). Despite the fact that the person sold in both examples was Chinese, neither is

¹⁰² Takeuchi (1995: 139–44) dates the text to either 832 or 844.

¹⁰³ For a summary of the various types of *mi-ser*, see Goldstein 1986. On Tibetan corvée labor during the imperial period, see Takeuchi 1995: 264–67 and Dotson 2007b: 39–40.

¹⁰⁴ The interpretation of *dmār srang* or “*srang* of *dmār*” is uncertain, but Takeuchi (1995: 26) hypothesizes that one *srang* of *dmār* may be equivalent to one string of copper coins worth 1,000 cash.

referred to as a barbarian prisoner (*lho-bal btson-pa*), and in the former case the man sold is explicitly called a bondservant (*bran*). Therefore while the possibility of obtaining land and buying and selling goods did exist for some in this social class, it was also the case that bondservants were the object of sale or grant themselves rather than buyer, seller, or guarantor.

Regarding social mobility in the Tibetan Empire, Róna-tas (1955: 262) observed that a servant could become an aristocrat (*dku-rgyal*). It should be noted that in Róna-tas' example from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*—Myang Tseng-sku, the bondservant (*bran*) of a minister of the Mnyan clan, being ennobled by Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan after the conquest of Ngas-po—the ennoblement in question was brought about due to treason and defection from one kingdom to another, not due to promotion within the class hierarchy of a single bounded society. As such, the passage cannot be used to demonstrate the degree of social mobility within the early Tibetan Empire, and this remains an unresolved issue.

Rank Order and Chain of Command

While the system of rank according to precious metal insignia is quite clear, the order of rank and the actual posts and duties of Tibetan officials remain to be demonstrated. As mentioned above, there are regional circumstances that complicate the chain of command. Starting from the center, and moving outward, however, we begin with the royal court. As described already in the section on historical geography, the emperor's court was a massive establishment comprised of soldiers, monks, ritual specialists, and officials. Its gravitational pull as the center of the empire is evident from the legal clauses of the Old Tibetan text ITJ 740 (2). Here legal matters arising on the periphery are relayed to the judges of the court retinue (*pho-brang 'khor gyi zhal-ce-pa*) for a decision. The cases are notable for their mundane nature: local magistrates did not forward only cases of murder or treason to the court, but simple cases such as marital separation (Dotson 2007b: 34–35). This suggests that imperial Tibetan law and administration was more centralized, and enjoyed a longer geographical reach than in subsequent Tibetan administrations. A similar dynamic of centralization has been discussed recently by Iwao in his analysis of a group of Old Tibetan documents pertaining to the requisition of copies of the *Satasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Here local officials in Dunhuang required approval of expenditure from the relevant office of the *bde-blon*, but it seems that both the *bde-blon* and the Dunhuang officials also required approval from the authorities in central Tibet.¹⁰⁵

Apart from the emperor's court, the central political council (*'dun-ma*), often convened by the chief minister, was the highest political authority in the land, and it was here that most important legislative decisions were taken. Like the court, this was also a mobile center, and its sites are recorded in detail in map seven *et passim* in Part III of this book.

While the central council was perhaps the most prestigious, it is best viewed as the “*primus inter pares*” of many such councils. The *Annals* also records the council of Mdo-smad in eastern Tibet, and other Old Tibetan administrative documents and letters reveal the existence of a council of the *bde-blon* (*bde-blon gyl 'dun-sa*; PT 1089, l. 6), regional councils in Kwa-cu regional military government (*kwa-cu khrom gi 'dun-tsa*; PT 1078, l. 4), and the land of 'A-zha (ITJ 1368). There were, no doubt, several other regional councils.

The chief minister and the other high-ranking ministers from central Tibet were by no means restricted in their activities to the core regions of the four Horns of Tibet. From the outset, ministers made their names

¹⁰⁵ This information comes from Kazushi Iwao, “The costs of copying *Satasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in Tibetan ruled Dunhuang,” a paper presented at the Mediaeval Tibeto-Burman Languages Symposium, School of Oriental and African Studies, 17 September 2008.

through conquest, winning distant lands for the empire and for themselves. Nevertheless, their practical influence in the governance of these conquered territories tended to wane over time, and was delegated to regional officials. So, while political power was concentrated at the top with the emperor and powerful bride-giving clans, the business of running the empire was also the responsibility of local, regional officials in a long chain of command.

The ceremonial order of rank is evident from the edicts of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Khri Lde-srong-btsan, and from the Lhasa Treaty Inscription. The regimes listed in these edicts are presented in Appendix Five. There we see that this ceremonial order was relatively constant, with a few variables. After queens and minor (vassal) kings, the first Tibetan ministers to swear are the “great ministers participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs” (*zhang-blon chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*). This became a stock expression such that the “orders” or “deliberation of state affairs” (*bka'*), as Uray (1990a: 421) translated it, was essentially a synonym for political cabinet (Macdonald 1971: 325). Following these, we have, in order, the ministers of the interior, ministers of the exterior, and then governors and generals. As a ceremonial hierarchy emanating from the center, these edicts certainly reflect a central Tibetan bias.

Such a bias is also evident in other Old Tibetan administrative documents, where, for example, heads of thousand-districts from Tibet and Sum-pa outrank those of Mthong-khyab and 'A-zha (PT 1089; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 286).

To gain a better understanding of the chain of command and order of rank in a particular situation, we must turn to PT 1089, an Old Tibetan document dealing with the order of rank in Shazhou / Dunhuang. This document records an answer to a petition by Chinese officials in Shazhou, who are essentially disaffected due to their subordination to Tibetans. The main issue raised in this document is the request by the Chinese “commanders” (*to-dog*) for higher insignia.¹⁰⁶ They complain that Tibetan heads of thousand-district and little heads of thousand-district were promoted and given equal or higher insignia than the Chinese officials such as the “commanders.”¹⁰⁷ In particular, they request to be given higher insignia than these Tibetan officers. Their line of argument is fascinating, as it reveals the varied adaptations of the local indigenous governments to the Tibetan Empire’s system of ranks in the empire’s colonial regimes. In particular, they point to Khotan, where the vassal ruler, while functionally subordinate to the Tibetan minister, outranked him in terms of insignia. They argue for a similar symbolic superiority to their Tibetan counterparts in Shazhou (PT 1089, ll. 21–28; Lalou 1955: 177, 181; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 288–89). What the Chinese officials argue, with considerable tact, is that there is a fundamental distinction between rank order with its attendant insignia, and a post itself. Recognizing the subordinate nature of “barbarians” such as themselves and the Khotanese, they assert that they should be placated (or compensated) with higher symbolic, but arguably meaningless, insignia of rank.

¹⁰⁶ The term *to-dog* is a loan from the Chinese *dudu* 都督 “commander,” a term which fell into disuse in the Tang by the middle of the eighth century (Demiéville 1952: 197). It is not an equivalent rank, however, since the *to-dog*, while the highest-ranking Chinese officers in the Tibetan administration, were by no means “commanders” in the sense of their Tang counterparts (Iwao *forthcoming a*). Indeed Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 267) notes that based on the evidence of PT 1089, “on est tenté de penser qu’ils étaient devenus dans le marges de l’empire une manière de seigneurie héréditaire.” See also the “note additionnelle” on page 326.

¹⁰⁷ “Even at Sha-cu, formerly, though the heads of thousand-districts from Tibet appointed to a higher place were [ranked] as *gtsang-chen-pa*, from last year onwards the Chinese inhabitants of Sha-chu were selected as soldiers, districts were divided and heads of thousand-districts and little heads of thousand-districts [appointed]. They gave the heads of thousand-districts the rank of small brass, and gave the little heads of thousand-districts the rank of great copper.” (*sha cu na yang sngon ni bod las stong dpon gong tsar bskos pa' bisang cen pa zhig mchis par yang bas/ na nling slad kyis rgya sha cu pa rgod du bton nas// stong pon stong cung yang sde bcad nas// stong pon ni thabs ra gan chungu [xa] stsald// stong cung ni thabs/ zang ched po sisald*) (PT 1089, ll. 8–10; Lalou 1955: 176, 180; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 284–85).

Lalou (1955) translated and analyzed the text, and dated the document to the end of the eighth century, with the earliest date, that of the rat year, being 784. Later, Stein (1983: 206, n. 102) dated it to 820 or 832, and Rong Xinjiang (1990–1991: 270–271) placed it in about this same period. Most recently, Scherrer-Schaub (2007) made a diplomatic annotated translation and edition of the document, though without taking a firm position on its date.¹⁰⁸ One passage of the document records the order of rank, and lists several different posts, revealing a good deal about the lower echelons of Tibetan imperial bureaucracy. This is the order of ranks in Mkhhar-tsan regional military government as decided by the great ministers (*zhang lon chen po*).

The order of ranks:

Horn officials (*ru-dpon*);

Heads of ten-thousand-districts (*khri-dpon*);

Great war (lit. “enemy [subduing]”) ministers (*dgra-blon chen-po*);

Brass [rank] town prefects (*rtse-rje ra-gan-pa*);

Great agriculture officials (*zhing-dpon chen-po*);

Great ministers of strongholds (*mkhar-dpon chen-po*);

Great estates chief of the wealth / livestock of the mountains and plains (?) (*stod smad gyl phyug-ma'i gzhl-s-pon chen-po*);¹⁰⁹

The Horn inspectors appointed from the inner retinue (*ru spyan nang kor las bskos-pa mams*);

The middle-rank war ministers (*dgra-blon 'bring-po*);

The ru-theb;¹¹⁰

The lesser-rank war ministers (*dgra-blon chungu*);

The great tax officials (*khral-po[n] chen-po*);

The great secret scribes (*gsang gi yi-ge-pa chen-po*);

The great accounts ministers / chancellors (*rtsis-pa ched-po*);

The great justices (*zhal-ce-pa ched-po*);

Heads of thousand-districts of Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyl stong-pon*);

Heads of thousand-districts of Mthong-kyab and 'A-zha (*mthong-kyab dang 'a-zha'i stong-pon*);

Copper [rank] town prefects (*rtse-rje zangs-pa'*);

Secret messengers (*gsang gl pho-nya*);

Middle rank secret scribes (*gsang gl yige-pa 'bring-po*);

Lesser secret scribes (*gsang gl yige-pa chungu*);

¹⁰⁸ See especially Scherrer-Schaub's criticism of Rong's dating of the rat year to 820 (Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 272–73, n. 56). As Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 273, n. 56) notes, the dating of PT 1089 depends also on a detailed analysis of related Tibetan and Chinese documents. Kazushi Iwao, who works with many of these documents, including PT 1089, believes that the rat year mentioned in PT 1089 must precede tribute (*dpya'*) texts such as PT 1128, and has demonstrated that it must be earlier than 826 and later than 795 (Iwao *forthcoming b*).

¹⁰⁹ This translation is uncertain, and follows that of Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 292, n. 116): “régisseur des domaines de plaine et de montagne,” though this seems to fail to take account of the word *phyug-ma*, which may indicate wealth or livestock.

¹¹⁰ Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 292 has “[I]e substitut du commandant de *ru*.”

spyI gcod;¹¹¹

Little heads of thousand-districts of Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyl stong-cung*);

Translators of Chinese and Turkish (*rgya drugl lo-tsa-pa*);

Generals of Lung and Dor belonging to the grade of copper-rank officials (*lung dor gyl dmag-pon/ zangs-pa sna la gtogs-pa*);¹¹²

Accounts inspectors (*rtsls spyan*);

Little heads of thousand-districts of Mthong-kyab and 'A-zha belonging to the grade of those with large tiger girdles (*mthong-kyab dang 'a-zha'i stong-cung / stagl zar cen [can]*)¹¹³ *pa sna la ma gtogs-pa*);

Collectors and distributors of secrets (*gsang gl rub-ma-pa dang 'gyed-ma-pa'*);

Inspectors of the estates officials (?) (*gzhl-s-pon spyan*);¹¹⁴

Great caretakers (?) (*byung 'tsho ched-po*);¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Based on Btsan-lha 1997: 157, where *gcod dpyong gi ring lugs* is defined as a term for a judicial officer, Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 293) translates *spyi-gcod* with “[I]e juge (*gcod*) général (*spyi*) [à savoir chargé de prononcer les peines].” While this is certainly possible, I still find the term vexing enough to leave untranslated at present.

¹¹² The reading of Lung and Dor as place names follows Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 262, n. 17 and 293. Up until this point, a division stroke (*shad*) is found between each office, such that one could easily read *lung dor gyl dmag-pon* and *zangs-pa sna la gtogs-pa* as two separate posts (Lalou 1955: 182; Rong 1990–1991: 269–70). This sort of mechanical reflex is proved somewhat less likely when one considers that the list mentions almost exclusively posts, not ranks, and “copper-rank officials attached to the *sna*” can only be a rank. Further, it creates difficult problems with the interpretation of *sna*, and what it means to belong to or be attached to the *sna*. Btsan-lha (1997: 423), relying on ll. 394–96 of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which concern a conflict with 'Jang, probably in 791, defines *sna la gtogs pa* as “a name for minor officials” (*dpon chung-ngu'i ming*). Richardson, in his partial translation of PT 1089 kept in his papers at the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford (Ms OR. Richardson 44, p. 4), read *sna la ma gtogs pa* as “not part of the general order.” With Scherrer-Schaub’s solution, these cumbersome explanations are rendered completely unnecessary. The notable exception to the rule that the passage lists only posts and not ranks is the appearance of “those with small tiger girdles” on their own further along.

¹¹³ The translation of *zar* is uncertain; it literally means “pitchfork,” but this is obviously unacceptable in the present context. The correction of *zar-can* to *zar-cen* is justified not only by the fact that a tiger’s small *zar* [rank] (*stagl zar cung-pa*) appears immediately below in the text, but also by the appearance of *stagi zar-cen* in other Old Tibetan texts such as PT 1217, ll. 3–4: *bdag ngan pas snga slad chab srid kyi 'dab du dpen pa 'i zho sha phul pa 'i rngo 'phul stagi zar cen gnang ba tsaM zhi / 'og dpe phyag rgya 'ga' 'cang bar chi gnang zhes*. Rong (1990–1991: 270) translates *stagi zar can pa* with one “having as mark a tiger skin on his shoulder,” but offers no explanation. Presumably, Rong takes *zar* to be a noun derived from the verb *'dzar*, and its causative equivalent *gzar*, “to hang down,” “to hang or throw over, the toga over one’s shoulder” (Jäschke 1998 [1881]: 464). It is in this sense that I have translated *zar* with “girdle,” assuming that it is a piece of clothing that hangs down, and comes in larger and smaller varieties. While this might be a garment that can be worn over one’s shoulder, “girdle” at least echoes the *Xin Tangshu* (*supra*, “The Emperor’s Court and the Political Councils”), but the problem will probably find its resolution through an iconographic study of the paintings from Dunhuang that depict warriors clad in tiger skins, and perhaps also with recourse to wrathful iconography, which has managed to sublimate a number of the martial and administrative features from the imperial period. Alternatively, *zar* could be a variant for *gzar*, a type of saddle blanket, but tiger skin seems wholly inappropriate for this. One further possibility is that it is similar to a *rmed-'dzar*, which a “[p]iece of red cloth attached to the crupper” of a saddle (LaRocca 2006: 286).

Note that the construction of this post, and the placement of the *shad* follows the same logic as in *lung dor gyl dmag-pon/ zangs-pa sna la gtogs-pa*.

¹¹⁴ The translation of *gzhis* is uncertain. I have read it as estates, but Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 294) translates it with “biens fonds,” and Rong (1990–1991: 270) translates it with “granaries.”

¹¹⁵ Rong 1990–1991: 270: “the high official in charge of administrative properties”; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 294: “[I]e grand [préposé au] ravitaillement.” This office could be in charge of receiving and looking after grain, or in its distribution. As

Those with small tiger girdles [rank] (*stagl zar cung-pa*);
Deputy officials of estates (?) (*gzhl-s-pon 'og-pon*);
Lesser secret scribes (*gsang gl yi-ge-pa phra-mo*);
Lesser barbarian generals (*lho-bal gyl dmag-pon chungu*);
Lesser caretakers (?) (*byung 'tsho chungu*);
Accountants of *chos* (religious affairs?) (*chos gyi rtsls-pa*);
Tally officials and wooden-slip-makers (*khram-pa/ sam mkhan*).¹¹⁶

gral thabs la/ /ru dpon/ /khrI dpon/ /dgra blon chen po/ /rtse rje ra gan pa/ /zhang lon chen po/ /mkhar dpon chen po/ /stod smad gyl phyug ma'I gzhls pon chen po/ /ru spyan nang kor las bskos pa nrams/ /dgra blon 'bring po/ /ru theb/ dgra blon chungu/ /khral po chen po:/gsang gl yige pa ched po/ /rtsis pa ched po/ /zhal ce pa ched/ po/ /bod sum gyl stong pon/ /mthong kyab dang 'a zha'i stong pon/ /rtse rje zangs pa'/ /gsang gl pho nya/ /gsang gl yige pa 'bring po/ / gsang gl yige pa chu ngu/ /spyi gcod/ /bod sum gyl stong cung/ /rgya drugl lo tsa pa/ lung dor gyl dmag pon/ zangs pa sna la gtogs pa/ rtsls/ spyan/ /mthong kyab dang 'a zha'I stong cung/ /stagi zar can pa sna la ma gtogs pa/ /gsang gl rub ma pa dang 'gyed ma pa'/ /gzhl-s-pon spyan/ byung 'tsho ched po/ /stagi zar cung pa/ gzhls pon 'og pon:/gsang gl yige pa phra mo/ lho bal gyl dmag pon chungu/ byung 'tsho chungu/ chos gyi rtsls pa/ khram pa/ sam mkhan (PT 1089, ll. 33–43; Lalou 1955: 177–78, 182–83; Rong 1990–1991: 269–70; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 292–94, 306–07, 322).

This fascinating passage is perhaps the most comprehensive picture of the lower ranks in Tibetan imperial administration to be found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. Several of these ranks are military in nature, and their functions are self-evident. A full analysis of all that it reveals would take this introduction too far off course, but some brief comments are in order. The racial dynamics found in this list are particularly interesting. As noted above in the discussion of historical geography, the four Horns of Tibet and Sum-pa's Horn formed the core of the Tibetan Empire. This is evident in the present list, where heads of thousand-districts from Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyl stong-pon*) are mentioned separately from, and indeed above, the Mthong-kyab and 'A-zha heads of thousand-districts. Further, PT 1089 also demonstrates that the local Chinese were generally subordinate to the Tibetans, as in the case of the Tibetans serving as heads of thousand-districts while the Chinese served as their attachés (*stong-zla*).

such, it seems unlikely that it goes together with the next phrase, *stagl zar cung pa*, since whatever its specific meaning, the tiger's *zar* is almost certainly a military distinction.

¹¹⁶ Scherrer-Schaub (2007: 294, n. 130), basing herself on the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*'s entry for *sam Ta*, which states that it is a writing surface or a wooden slip (Zhang *et al.* 1998 [1984]: 2918), translates *khram pa / sam mkhan* with "celui qui tient les registres (*khram*) ou/et celui qui tient les tablettes en bois [*sam (khra)*]." Alternatively, one could read *sa mkhan*, and translate this with "guide."

Linguistic and Orthographic Features of the *Old Tibetan Annals*

The *Old Tibetan Annals* holds a place of great importance for the study of Old Tibetan orthography and palaeography. Of course the most reliable, dated sources for such work are the inscribed pillars, the oldest of which dates the middle of the eighth century. Version I of the *Annals*, as stated at the beginning of this long introduction, has a strong claim to being the oldest extant Tibetan *composition*. The present document is of course a later copy, but the original entries were most likely composed from the early to mid-650s. This brings up a very interesting problem. Namely, in the course of copying the text, have variant orthographies been “corrected?” Early Old Tibetan (mid-seventh to mid-eighth century) differs a good deal from the middle Old Tibetan of the mid-eighth to mid-ninth century, which was far more standardized and had been refined by translation to and from Chinese and Sanskrit. This latter period also includes the Tibetan domination of Dunhuang (786–848), and most of the Old Tibetan texts employed here date to this time.¹¹⁷ Were it the case that the scribe retained the original orthographies, Version I of the *Old Tibetan Annals* would constitute a series of snapshots of the language and its development year by year from the mid-650s to 747-748, all restricted to the same narrow literary genre. Needless to say, this would make it a treasure trove for Old Tibetan linguistics. In fact, there are some indications that the original orthography of the yearly entries was left generally intact. Nathan Hill, in his study of the so-called “*a-chung*,” notes that this letter’s occurrence as a final consonant, which he argues to be an archaism, is found with far greater frequency in the first part of Version I of the *Annals* (643-644 to 659-660) than in the later part (Hill 2005: 117).

It was mentioned in the introduction that the damaged preamble to Version I of the *Annals* does not form an entirely coherent piece with the *Annals* proper in that it is more narrativized does not cover the same subject matter (e.g., emperor’s residences, council sites, administrative measures) that one would expect. This is doubly true from a linguistic standpoint. In the first place, the dating formula found at the beginning of each entry in the *Annals* is not present in any of the “entries” in the preamble. The *Annals* entries begin, *xxx gyi lo la babste*, which can be translated with “it fell on the year of the [animal],” or “the year of the [animal] arriving,” or, more fluently, and in accord with the phrase “at the appropriate time” (*dus la 'bab pa*), it could be translated with “so the year of the [animal].” Sometimes an entry simply begins “in the year of the [animal]” (*xxx gyi lo la*). In the preamble, however, we find neither of these dating formulae, but a different sort of formula: “then after three years” or “in three years after that” (*de nas lo gsum na*) and “then after six years” (*de nas lo drug na*) in the penultimate and final entries, respectively. This has allowed scholars such as Hugh Richardson to work backwards and supply plausible dates for these entries. This move to date this tantalizingly fragmentary opening to our most fundamental historical text for the early Tibetan Empire has not been matched, however, by an equally driven imperative to compare its form and content with the document it ostensibly introduces.

In fact, the variant dating formula is a relatively minor divergence from the *Annals* when we consider the grammar of the preamble. Nowhere in the *Annals* do we find the final declarative particle known in

¹¹⁷ After early Old Tibetan and middle Old Tibetan, late Old Tibetan (late-ninth to early-twelfth century) was a *lingua franca* along the Silk Road, and the language of post-imperial Tibetan Buddhist documents from Dunhuang. Texts were composed mostly by non-Tibetans such as Chinese and Khotanese, but also by Tibetans in Liangzhou, the Tsong-ka kingdom, western Tibet and elsewhere on the Tibetan plateau. Tibetan was also spoken during this period by Chinese and Khotanese as a second language. This periodization of Old Tibetan is based on that suggested by Prof. Takeuchi in a paper at the Old Tibetan workshop of the 11th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Bangkok, 2005.

traditional Tibetan grammar as the *rdzogs-tshig*, but the preamble is littered with eight of them in its sixteen fragmentary lines.¹¹⁸

In addition, the preamble refers to the famous Tibetan minister, Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung, by his full name, and this comes in the context of his invitation of the Chinese princess to wed the Tibetan emperor. Mgar Stong-rtsan is mentioned in every entry in the *Annals* from 652-653 to 667-668 simply as “Chief minister Stong-rtsan.” Taken together with the preamble’s parallel passage in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and its abnormal (for the *Annals*) use of the final declarative particle, it is fair to conclude that the “preamble,” far from being recorded from memory with the advent of the annalistic tradition in the mid-650s, was a significantly later composition. One might even venture so far as to suppose that the preamble’s faux-annalistic formula was an attempt to make its narrative fit more smoothly with the form of the *Annals*. All of this is not to discredit the preamble as a source for Tibetan history, but only to put it on a par with the more epic-toned narrative of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and to separate it from the body of the *Annals* in terms of its genre and its reliability.

Turning now to the two versions of the *Annals*, they differ not only in content, but in their form as well. Version I of the *Annals* is written on a long scroll, 25.8 cm wide x 434 cm long. PT 1288 makes up the first 70 cm, and the remaining 364 cm comprise ITJ 750 (Lalou 1961: 2; La Vallée Poussin 1962: 236). The text of Version I of the *Annals*, including the preamble, is neat and clear. The letters are large and square with regular spacing, as if written with the aid of a ruler. This is in keeping with many of the official documents found in Dunhuang, of which the *Annals* in particular, in its page-setting and in the proportion of its letters, appears similar to inscribed pillar edicts. Double *tsheg* and reverse *gi-gu* are found throughout the text, along with typical variations in spelling between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. The years are written in vermilion ink, which has faded, and the entries are written in black. The entire text appears to be the work of a single hand. Every entry but one begins with an introductory “head mark” *yig-mgo*. This is usually in vermilion like the dating formula that follow it, but is in black in the entries for 663-664, 664-665, 667-668 to 669-670, and 672-673 to 675-676. Here it can be seen especially clearly that while what has come to be seen as the “standard” *yig-mgo* curls in with its “tail” to the left, this one curls down with its tail to pointing upwards.¹¹⁹

The scroll ends in the middle of the entry for the year 747-748. Only one other entry is incomplete, which is for the year 716-717, which includes only the dating formula and the generic beginning of an entry. The absence of the remainder of the entry is inexplicable until one recalls that the *Annals* may have been written on wooden slips that were only later collated to create a document on paper. The missing entry for 716-717 could therefore be the result of the misplacement of a single missing wooden slip.

Version II of the *Old Tibetan Annals* is a far shorter scroll measuring 26.5 cm wide x 143.5 cm long. The dating formula, where it appears, is in red. Where there is no dating formula, a space is left blank where it should appear, suggesting that the scribe did not have vermilion ink at his disposal. This does not apply to the “Annals Fragments,” however, which leaves no such space for the dating formula. Only in the latter does a “head mark” appear, which is not unlike that found in Version I. The scribes responsible for Version II employ different writing styles and orthographies. By contrast with the nicely ruled lines of Version I, the lines incline upward or downward. Both the writing itself and the spacing between lines is cramped in some places and open in others. The writing is evidently the work of three different hands, while a fourth hand composed the “Annals Fragments.”

¹¹⁸ I am grateful to Dongzhi Duoje for sharing this observation.

¹¹⁹ For more on these opening symbols and their development, including examples, see Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 17–19, 25, and plate V.

One of the most striking aspects of Version II is that the first eleven lines are upside down. This is not apparent from the photographic reproductions published in *CD3* (plate 592), where the first eleven lines are shown right side up, followed by white space, and then the rest of Version II. The photographic reproductions included here show the document as it is, and it is evident that paper containing the first eleven lines of the scroll was cut and pasted. The dried paste is red in color, and is visible on the Tibetan verso of the scroll. These first eleven upside-down lines contain the entries for 743-744 to 747-748. After the cut, the main part of the scroll begins—right side up—in the middle of the entry for 755-756. On the recto, the cut comes just three lines before the end of the Chinese *Yao shi jing*. This creates something of a puzzle, since one might assume that it was the Chinese scribes who cut the scroll and reattached it with no regard to how this affected the Tibetan document on the verso, in the process discarding the fifteen or so centimeters of scroll that contained the entries for 748-749 to 754-755. Examining the Chinese, however, it is obvious that this was not the case. This version of the *Yao shi jing*, the *Foshuo guanding jing*, corresponds to Taisho vol. 21, no. 1131, and was translated during the Eastern Jin dynasty (4th / 5th century) in China by the Kucha monk Shrimitra (Chinese: Bo shi li mi duo luo; died 343). Our fragment begins some way (about two-fifths) into the text, but the most interesting aspect is the cut. It is obvious that this cutting and pasting of the scroll in no way renders the Chinese coherent, since it in fact cuts out more than half of the sutra, as can be seen on the final plate of the photographic reproductions at the end of this book. What we are left with is only about 20 percent of the *Yao shi jing*, and the knowledge that the portion of the scroll removed by the cut must have been approximately 4.5 meters long. When intact, our scroll would have measured about 7.5 meters. Only a portion of this cut was rescued and adhered to the end of the Chinese text (and the beginning of the Tibetan text).¹²⁰ From the Tibetan, it is evident that at least some of this cut portion contained Version II of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and it is obvious that the surviving fragment did not mark the point where the scribe began. We can fairly assume, therefore, that the prior to the disfiguration of this document, the scribes had a much longer scroll of the “military version” of the *Old Tibetan Annals* perhaps going as far back as Version I does, that is to say, to the year 650-651. In fact, the missing portion would have left more than enough space for this. We can only hope that this missing fragment of the *Yao shi jing*, and, more importantly, its Tibetan verso, will some day come to light.

In transliterating the *Annals*, I have attempted to render the text as it appears in the original documents and made as few corrections as possible in order to retain the original orthographies and irregularities. I have not bothered to correct some of the more obvious liaisons, such as *stagi* for *stag gi*, *be'i* for *ba'i*, or *bsduste* for *bsdus te*. Likewise, I have left untouched most variants between aspirated and unaspirated consonants and also retained attested variant spellings. For example, the term “nephew / son-in-law / bride-receiver” (*dbon*) appears as *'bon* and as *dbon*, the royal honorific for corpse, *spur*, appears throughout as *dpur*, and the term “gift” or “reward” (*bya-dga'*), is consistently spelled *bya-sga*. Further, I have taken note of the employment of single and double *tsheg*. I have retained these older orthographies in order to underline them, as they are good examples of common types of variation found in Old Tibetan. Glosses that are not otherwise obvious are given in the footnotes.

The text employs only *gi / gis* and *gyi / gyis* for the genitive and ergative particles; there is no use of *kyi / kyis* following *d*, *b*, or *s* suffixes, which are instead followed by *gyi / gyis*. Further, *gi / gis* hardly ever stands on its own, but is usually attached to a syllable, as in the above example, “*stagi*” for “*stag gi*.” As a result, *gyi / gyis* often follows *g* and *ng* suffixes, as at line 11: “*yul zung gyis*.” Taking account in Version I of those instances where a genitive or ergative particle appears after *g* and *ng* suffixes, instead of the expected *gi / gis*, we find an imbalance of 47 to 7 in favor of *gyi / gyis*.

¹²⁰ One can at least be satisfied that the Tibetan text was pasted on upside down in relation to the body of the scroll, since it would have otherwise caused even greater chronological headaches of the sort that we are faced with in dealing with PT 1287 and the order of paragraphs in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (Uray 1992).

I present my own transliteration here both for ease of reference and to demonstrate the pattern of use of the double and single *tsheg* in the text. I mark the double *tsheg* with a colon and the single *tsheg* with a full stop in the transliteration. In order to disambiguate, I have therefore used the dash to mark off a *ga* prefix before a *ya* root letter (e.g., *g-yag*, not *g.yag*). This is only so in the body of the *Annals* transliteration appearing below each entry. Everywhere else I have followed the standard practice according to Wiley transliteration (e.g., *g.yag*).

Further editing conventions are as follows:

I Reverse *gi-gu*.

î Indiscriminate *gi-gu*.¹²¹

M Circle over a syllable indicating an abbreviation for *m*.

[±#] Approximate number of syllables (not graphemes) missing due to damage in the original.

[abc] Letters missing or illegible but reliably construed from context.

[abc] Intentional deletions in the original.

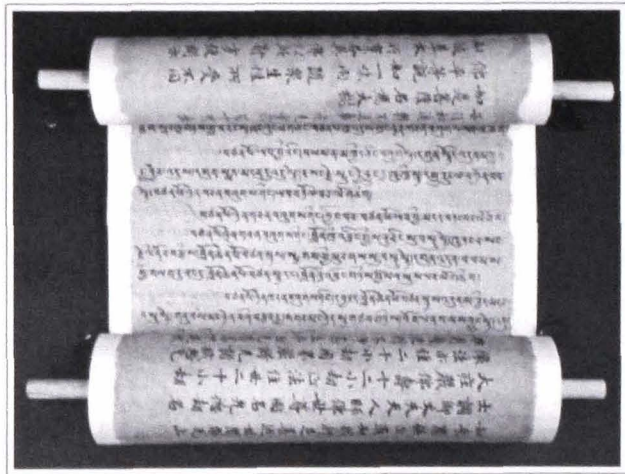
abc_{abc}abc Text intercalated below line.

Heavier editing can be found in the OTDO transliteration (Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 230–48, 355–58).

¹²¹ This is a *gi-gu* that is neither normal nor reverse.

PART II

THE *OLD TIBETAN ANNALS*



Previous page:

The *Old Tibetan Annals*, Version I, showing the Chinese on the scroll's recto

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THE OLD TIBETAN ANNALS, VERSION I: PT 1288, IOL TIB J 750

... became treacherous, and at Snying-drung ... [Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang bought about the submission] of all the Sum-pa also.

[Then after x years when Myang Zhang-]snang became disloyal, his subject Pa-tsab [betrayed him so that Zhang-snang] was accused and put to death. The stronghold Sdur-ba was destroyed.¹²²

[Then after x years] the Btsan-po Khri Srong-rtsan set out on the north road and [made war] on the 'A-zha and China. Both China and the 'A-zha offered tribute.¹²³

[Then] after [x] years, when the Btsan-po, the elder brother Srong-rtsan, and the younger brother Btsan-srong were fighting. . . *lta*, Mkha's-sregs became treacherous, and at Gzen in Gnyald, the younger brother Btsan-srong, to fire. . . (*lta mkha's-sregs 'khus ste/ gnyald gyl gzen du/ gcung btsan srong/ zhugsu. . .*)¹²⁴

PT 1288

- 1 [±17] 'khus. nas/ snyIng. drung:
- 2 [±15] [su]m. pa/' mtha: 'a. dag: gyang:
- 3 [±9]¹²⁵

¹²² This seems to be part of a feud between the Myang and Pa-tshab clans beginning with a Pa-tshab lady's humiliation of Myang Tseng-sku in chapter three of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, leading him to defect to Spu-rgyal and aid in the conquest of Ngas-po. After the conquest, Myang Tseng-sku received as a reward for his service the stronghold of Sdur-ba, which had belonged to the Pa-tshab lady's husband, Mnyan 'Dzi-zung.

¹²³ The *Jiu Tangshu* states that he sent his first envoy to the Chinese court in 634, at which time he requested the gift of a Chinese princess for a matrimonial alliance but was apparently refused due to the intervention of an 'A-zha prince. Following this, Khri Srong-brtsan led a campaign against the 'A-zha and defeated them, and after a rapprochement with the Chinese emperor, was granted a Chinese princess (Bushell 1880: 434–44; Pelliot 1961: 3–5; and Lee 1981: 6–10).

¹²⁴ Richardson (1998 [1965]: 11) reconstructs the passage to read “Mkha's-sregs, [the servant] of the younger brother [Btsan-srong], betrayed him and the younger brother [died] in his bed by fire and Gzen of Mnyal.” Though this reconstruction is not entirely implausible, it cannot be accepted at face value. *Zhugs* may not indicate fire, but may be read, “to where the younger brother, Btsan-srong was staying.” Without the context, or a parallel passage, however, it is not possible to reconstruct the passage with any degree of certainty. Richardson is surely correct, however, in stating that there is little doubt that the passage indicates that younger brother, Btsan-srong, died as a result of some sort of treachery. The *Gsang ba phyag rgya can*, one of the five texts comprising the *Can Inga*, which were standard historical texts that Karmay (1998 [1994]: 307) dates to the late ninth or early tenth centuries, contains a confused list of ten Tibetan rulers who were killed. The second after Gri-gum Btsan-po is Btsan-srong. The passage states: “[w]hen Btsan-srong was staying at Lho-kha he was trampled by a horse. The reason for this is that he did not tame a wild horse” (*btsan srong bzugs nam lho khar rta grir bkrongs te / rgyu mtshan la rta rgod ma thul bas so /* (*Lde'u*: 375). The order of the list is confused, and Karmay (1998 [1994]: 306, n. 5) takes this passage to refer to Khri 'Dus-srong. The fifth entry in the list ostensibly pertains to Khri Lde-srong-btsan, but may relate in fact to the circumstances surrounding Btsan-srong's death: “Srag shot Khri Lde-srong-btsan with an arrow and killed him. The reason for this was that he made the subjects carry the torches and his horse trampled him” (*khri lde srong btsan srag gis mun mda' brgyab nas bkrongs te / rgyu mtshan 'bangs rnam me sgron 'gyog tu bcug nas rta bcags pas so /*). The entire passage uses the symbolism of the horse for the death of a ruler, a metaphor that goes back to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, where lord and subject are likened to a horse saddled with a rider. This was the topic of my paper, “To reign and to rein: the metaphor of horse and rider in early Tibetan political theory,” presented at the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter, 30 August 2006.

¹²⁵ While Richardson (1998 [1965]: 8) notes the existence of this line in his transliteration, this is omitted in that of Imaeda and Takeuchi (*CD3*: 40). As a result, the line numbers given in their transliteration are all one line off. The same is true of the

- 4 [±12] [sna]ng: glo. ba. rIngs. nas/ kho. na'I. bran: pa. tsab: gyIm. po:
 5 [±7] bkyon. phab. nas: bkumo/ mkhar: sdur. ba: bshIg. go/
 6 [±7]/ btsan: po: khrI. srong. rtsan. gyIs/ shuld: byang. lam: du. pyung. ste/'a. zha. dang: rgya. la'.
 7 [±6] [da]ng: 'a. zha. gnyIs: gyis: dpya': gcalto¹²⁶/
 8 [±6] na'/ btsan. po: gcen: srong. rtsan: da_{ng}/ gcung: btsan. srong. gnyIs: nold. nas/ gcung.
 9 [±6]lta: mkha's: srengs: 'khuste/ mnyald. gyI. gzen. du/ gcung. btsan. srong/ zhugsu
 10 [±4] [s]o/

[641-642] The princess, Mun-chang Kong-co, having been invited by Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung, came to the land of Tibet.¹²⁷ They killed the Nepalese Yu-sna-kug-ti.¹²⁸ Na-ri-ba-ba was installed as king.¹²⁹ There arose a pestilence affecting livestock.

[644-645] Then after three years, during the reign of Khri Srong-btsan, Lig Snya-shur lost and all of Zhang-zhung was subjugated and ruled.

[649-650] Then after six years Btsan-po Khri Srong-rtsan departed to heaven. He had been married to Princess Mun-cang Kong-co for three years.¹³⁰

- 11 [±5] [b]tsan. mo: mun. chang: kong. [ka] co/ mgar: stong. rtsan. yul. zung. gyIs: spyän. drangste: bod. yul
 12 du: gshegso/ bal: po: yu. sna: kug. tI. bkum/ na. rI. ba. ba: rgyal. phor: bchug/ gnag. nad: chen. po: byung///
 13 # // de. nas: lo: gsum: na/ btsan. po: khrI. srong. rtsan. gyI. ring. la'/ Ilg: snya: shur: brlag. ste: zhang. zhung: thaMs
 14 cad. 'bangsu: bkug: ste: mnga'o/
 15 # // de. nas: lo. drug. na'/ btsan. po: khrI. srong. rtsan. dgung. du. gshegso/ btsan. mo: mun. cang. kong. co: dang:
 16 dung. lo: gsum. bshos. so

numbering used on the plates 579 and 580 in *CD2*. This is remedied, however, in the OTDO transliteration (Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 230).

¹²⁶ Read *gtsal to*.

¹²⁷ According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, the Chinese emperor agreed to the marriage on December 11, 640, and Mgar Stong-rtsan arrived on February 20, 641 in order to escort the princess to Tibet. She was escorted by Daozong 道宗, prince of Jiangxia 江夏, on March 2, 641, after which they travelled to Heyuan 河源, an 'A-zha—Tibetan border area where they met the Btsan-po and contracted the marriage. For a discussion of this chronology, see Uray 1978: 561–63.

¹²⁸ This appears to be the only instance in the *Annals* where Bal-po indicates Nepal. On the possible location of Bal-po in Tibet, see *supra*, “Historical Geography.”

¹²⁹ While the matter has not been clarified with certainty, these two names most likely refer to the Nepalese rulers Vishnugupta and Narendradeva. The latter lived in exile in Tibet from approximately 624–641, and then returned to Nepal as a Tibetan vassal king to rule from 641–679 (Sato 1958: 269 and English summary, 10; Petech 1967: 272; Vitali 1990: 71–72; Sørensen 1994: 199–200, n. 560, 557–58).

¹³⁰ On this perplexing statement, see Yamaguchi 1969 and 1970a; Beckwith 1987: 23, n. 54; and *supra*, “The *Old Tibetan Annals*’ Contributions to Tibetan History.”

[650-651] It fell on the year [of] the dog. They concealed¹³¹ the corpse of the Btsan-po, the grandfather Khri Srong-rtsan, in the funerary chamber of Phying-ba, and it resided there. The Btsan-po, the grandson,¹³² Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan, resided in Mer-ke. So one year.

17 # / / khyI lo la bab ste/ btsan. po: myes: khrI: srong. rtsan: gyI. spur: phyIng. ba'I. ring. khang: na':
rIng: mkhyud. chIng:

18 bzhugste/ btsan. po. sbon. khrI. mang. slon. mang. rtsan: mer: ke. na. bzhugs. phar: lo. gcig/

[651-652] It fell on the year of the pig. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and at Phying-ba they performed the funeral of the Btsan-po, the grandfather Khri Srong-rtsan.¹³³ So one year.

19 # / : / phagI lo la bab ste/ btsan. po: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ phyIng. bar/ btsan. pho: myes:
khrI: srong. rtsan: gyI:

20 mda'd: btang. bar: lo: gcig/

¹³¹ Noting the extended period of time between death and the final funeral rites in the *Annals*, Gnya'-gong (1995: 66–67) posits that *ring-khyud* indicates that the corpse was set aside and venerated with offerings. Haarh, more than any other scholar, considers in detail the royal dead and the terms used for them. He posits that while *spur* indicates an untreated, unburied corpse, *spu* is a ritually buried corpse (Haarh 1969: 324). On the term *ring*, Btsan-lha (1997: 883) glosses this as a synonym for *spu* or corpse (*ro*), and relates it to the term for cremation relics (*ring-bsrel*). Walter (1998a: 65–66) argues that *ring* indicates the presence of the emperor, and by extension his body. Walter reads *ring-khyud* as “to preserve the corpse,” and, underlining the compound *mkhyud-spyad*, meaning “to examine hidden connections,” he posits that the funerary specialists (*ring-mkhan*) might have examined the marks on the emperors’ bodies as signs forecasting the fate of the empire (Walter 1998a: 66–67, n. 11). While this is certainly a possibility, and the concealing of the corpse at this time no doubt also entailed the beginning of embalming techniques such as those involving salt and purgatives (c.f. Uebach 2005a), I have opted above for the more narrow and literal meaning of *mkhyud*, “to conceal,” suggested by Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 67). The phrase also appears as *ring-mkhyid* (see the entry for 678–679). The term *mkhyid* indicates the span between one’s thumb and pinky finger (Zhang *et al.* 1998 [1984]: 306; Goldstein 2001: 156). As a verb, *'khyid* (but not *mkhyid*) is attested in Jäschke (1998 [1881]: 59) in the phrase *mig 'khyid*, “to roll one’s eyes,” and Goldstein (2001: 166) lists it as “to drag / pull / haul.” Even were one to read *'khyid* for *mkhyid*, none of these meanings suffices, so we must provisionally conclude that *ring-mkhyid* is a variant for *ring-mkhyud*.

¹³² According to the *Royal Genealogy*, Mang-slon Mang-rtsan was the son of Gung-srong and the Chinese princess. He therefore stands in relation to the deceased Srong-btsan Sgam-po as his grandson (*sbon / dbon*). In Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 165, n. 3, however, *sbon* is interpreted as paternal nephew. This would presumably make Mang-slon the son of Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s brother, Btsan-srong. Though this is a tempting solution, the pairing of *sbon* with *myes* clearly indicates “grandson” and “grandfather,” unless the phrase “the Btsan-po, the paternal uncle” (*btsan-po khu-bo*) was deemed too inelegant and replaced by “the Btsan-po, the forefather” (*btsan-po myes*), in order to emphasize the unbroken lineage of the Btsan-po. Still, their solution ignores the explicit evidence of the *Royal Genealogy*. Concerning Gung-srong’s queens and Mang-srong’s mother, see also the note on *phyi* Mang-pangs for the year 706-707 and *supra*, “The Old Tibetan Annals’ Contributions to Tibetan History.”

¹³³ The term *mdad* is used for all funeral / burial rites recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. From other Old Tibetan ritual and funerary texts we know of the existence of similar rites known as *shid* and *rmang*, but the exact definitions of these three terms remain elusive (Stein 2003 [1985]: 597). Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 67–68) reads *mdad* as *mdang*, and relates this to, among other things, the Rnying-ma practice of *mdang-skang*, a sort of *skang-so* offering *gtor-ma* rite. The term *mdad* appears several times in the *Annals*, however, so Chos-'phel’s reading can probably be discarded. Richardson (1998 [1978]: 87) suggests glossing *mdad* with *'dad*, “funeral repast” (Das 2000 [1902]: 677) or “accumulation of virtue for the deceased” (*gshin po'i dge ba bsgrub pa*) (c.f. Btsan-lha 1997: 362). This is surely correct, and one finds *'dad* in the *Zas gtad*, the final part of the *Dba' bzhed*, where a debate is held to decide of whether to perform Khri Srong-lde-btsan’s funeral (*'dad btang*) according to the Bon tradition or the Buddhist tradition (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 92–105).

[652-653] It fell on the year of the rat. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan subjugated Glo-bo and Rtsang-rhya'.¹³⁴ So one year.

21 # / : / byI ba'I lo la bab ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. gyis: glo. bo: dang. rtsang. rhya'.

22 bkug: phar: lo: gcIg/

[653-654] It fell on the year of the ox. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan held a yak-hunt at G.yug.¹³⁵ Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje¹³⁶ carried out a “felt roll [tax]”¹³⁷ in the fields and agreed with the Ra-sang-rje¹³⁸ minister, Rid-stag-rhya, on a great sale of fields.¹³⁹ He installed Spug Gyim-

¹³⁴ The precise locations of Glo-bo and Rtsang-rhya are uncertain, but the latter name evokes western Gtsang, and the former may refer to Glo Mon-thang (Mustang) in northern Nepal.

¹³⁵ Bacot translated *gnag lings biab* with “fit chasser les yacks dans le Gyug” (*DTH*: 30), with which I concur here. On the other hand, Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 97), Gnya'-gong (1995: 67), and Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 166, n. 5) all agree on the interpretation of this term as “meat tax,” based presumably on a reading of *lings* as an old form of *gling* or *rlings*, meaning “to gather” or “to collect” (cf. Yamaguchi 1970a: 61). This is not at all well attested in Old Tibetan sources, however, where we do indeed find *lings* indicating the hunt, for example, in PT 1071, the legal document concerning hunting: “if one steals the meat of a game animal, he will be imprisoned in a stronghold for one year...the punishment is three *rkud*” (*lings gyi ri dags kyl sha zhig la rkus na / mkhar / tsud lo gcIg gis bcado... ri dags kyl lings btab pa las sha rkus na / rkud sun tshal dbabo*) (PT 1071, ll. 458–60; Richardson 1998 [1990]: 160). In the same passage, *g.yag* and *'bri* are mentioned as animals in the hunt. Incidentally, the punishment is notable for its demonstration that the empire, or indeed the emperor, laid claim to all wild game animals in the realm. We also find *lings* used to refer to a great hunt in the *Annals of the 'A zha Principality* (ITJ 1368, l. 7). As such, “meat tax” can be discarded, and Bacot’s original translation upheld. One can further add that *lings* found as an element in place names in the *Annals*, such as Byar-lings-tsal, probably has this same meaning, and here indicates a hunting ground.

¹³⁶ Da-rgyal was the epithet of the vassal king of Dags-po, who later became related to the Tibetan emperor by marriage after which he enjoyed the epithet *dbon*, meaning nephew, son-in-law, and bride-receiver (*supra*, “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations”).

¹³⁷ On *phying-rild*, rendered here provisionally as “felt roll [tax],” see Róna-Tas 1978 and *supra*, “Land and Taxation.”

¹³⁸ Ra-sang-rje is associated with Zhang-zhung in several Old Tibetan catalogues of principalities. In those of the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286) and PT 1290, the “ministers” of Zhang-zhung are Khyung-po Ra-sangs-rje and Stong-lom Ma-tse. In PT 1060, however, the “ministers” are simply Khyung-po and Ra-stsang-rje. The so-called “ministers” of these minor kingdoms (*rgyal-phran*) were only represented by clan names, and likely indicate ruling clans as opposed to a single royal minister.

¹³⁹ Given this minister’s traditional association with Zhang-zhung, this sale might have been precipitated by the subjugation one year earlier of Glo-bo and Rtsang-rhya, which were likely located in western Gtsang. The translation of this sentence is not entirely certain, however, and it may be the case that it does not in fact indicate a sale of fields. Petech (1967: 273), for example, reads *tshong chen* as an abbreviation for *tshong-dpon chen-po*, and translates the term with “capo-essatore.” The problem with this interpretation is that it does not sufficiently explain the function of the sociative particle *dang* in the sentence. Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 97) offers another alternative by reading *ris* for *rid*, and interpreting the passage as indicating the opening of trade relations. Following this reading of *ris* for *rid*, we might interpret the passage differently than did Dge-'dun Chos-'phel: “he affixed Stag-rhya, the realm of the Ra-sang-rje minister, to the great sale of fields.” Here the “realm of the Ra-sang-rje minister” (*ra-sang-rje'i blon-ris*) is read as an administrative and territorial structure similar to the “realm of the pacification minister” (Bde-blon-ris / Bde-blon-khams). The implication then is that after the conquest of Zhang-zhung, the Tibetan Empire kept in place or co-opted some of the Zhang-zhung ministerial hierarchy, the Ra-sang-rje clan among them. This sale would then mark the end of such a proxy regime.

rtsan Rma-chung as the fiscal governor of the land of Zhang-zhung.¹⁴⁰ In Mdo-smad, Kam Khri-bzang Bye-'da' was killed by homicide,¹⁴¹ and they were revenged.¹⁴² So one year.

23 [# / : / gla]ng gyI lo. la bab. ste'/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. gyis/ g-yug. tu:

24 gnag. lIngs: btab/ da. rgyal: mang. po. rjes: zhing. gyI. phyng. ril: bgyIs/ ra. sang. rje'i: blon: rid: stag. rhya. dang:

25 zhIng. gyI. tshong. chen: sbyard/ zhang. zhung. yul: gyI. mngan. du: spug: gylm. rtsan. rma. chung. bchug/ mdo. smadu: kam: khri.

26 bzang: bye. 'da': thong. myis: bkum: ste. sha. gnyard. phar: lo. gchIg/

[654-655] It fell on the year of the tiger. The Btsan-pho resided in Mer-khe and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan convened [the council] at Mong-pu Sral-'dzong. He divided the [populace into] fierce (military) and tame (civilians), and made the manuals for creating the great administration.¹⁴³ So one year.

27 # / : / stagI lo la bab ste/ btsan. pho: mer: khe. na'. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che: stong. rtsan: gyis/ mong. pu: sral.: 'dzong. du':

28 bsduste/ rgod. g-yung: dbye. zhing/ mkho. sham: chen. pho: bgyI. ba'I rtsis: mgo: bgyI. bar: lo. gchIg/

[655-656] It fell on the year of the hare. The Btsan-po resided in Mer-khe and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan wrote the texts of the laws at 'Gor-ti. So one year.

29 # / : / yos bu'I lo la: bab ste// btsan. po. mer. khe. na. bzhugs: shing/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. gyIs/ 'gor. tI'r/ bka'/

30 grIms: gyI. yi. ge: brIs. phar: lo. gchig/

[656-657] It fell on the year of the dragon. The Btsan-po resided [at] Mer-ke and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan held a great stag hunt at Yul-mar in Gtsam.¹⁴⁴ So one year.

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of *mngan*, a regional governor atop the fiscal hierarchy, and for details of Spug Gyim-rtsan Rma-chung, see *supra*, "Functionaries in the *Old Tibetan Annals*" and Uray 1962b: 358.

¹⁴¹ *Thong-myi* indicates "homicide" as in the law of homicide (*thong-myi khrimis*) found in the legal document PT 1071 (Richardson 1998 [1990a]: 150). Alternatively, it could here indicate an ethnic group.

¹⁴² The term *gnyar* is found in Old Tibetan ritual texts, including the "ransom" rite in ITJ 734. In his treatment of this text, Thomas (1957: 100) reads *gnyar* as the "aorist of *gnyer*, 'employed,' 'be in charge.'" While this is possible, it renders the above passage as "they employed flesh." Tibetan and Chinese scholars are unanimous in glossing *thong-myi* as "assassin" (*dgra sha len mkhan*) and *sha gnyard* as "enact revenge" (*sha lan glan pa*), thus rendering the above phrase, "he was killed by an assassin, and was revenged" (Dge-'dun Chos-'phel 2005 [1990]: 98; Gnya'-gong 1995: 67; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 166; Rnam-rgyal Tshe-ring 2001: 553; Huang and Ma 2000: 61).

¹⁴³ On this passage, and the translation of *rtsis-mgo*, see *supra*, "Land and Taxation," fn. 76.

¹⁴⁴ We have seen from the entry to 653-654 that *lings* is a noun meaning "hunt." While *sha* means "meat," it is probably an abbreviation here for *sha-ba*, meaning "deer" or "stag."

31 # / : / 'brugI lo la bab ste/ btsan. po. mer. ke. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che: stong. rtsan. gyIs/ gtsam. gyi. yul: mar. du'. sha.

32 lIngs: chen. pho. btab. phar: lo. gchIg/

[657-658] In the year of the snake the Btsan-po resided in Mer-ke, and in the summer, Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in G.ye Thal-ba-gong in Snying-drung. So one year.

33 # / : / sbrul gyI lo la/ btsan. po. mer. ke. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. ce. stong. rtsan./ dbyar: snyI_{ng}. drung. gyI. g-ye: thal: ba. go_{ng}. na. mchIs. phar:

34 lo: gcig/

[658-659] In the year of the horse the Btsan-po resided in Mer-ke and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in Sna-rings in Snying-drung. So one year.

35 # / : / rta'I lo la/ btsan. po. mer. ke. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. snyIng. drung. gyI. sna. rings. na. mchIs. par: lo. chig/

[659-660] It fell on the year of the sheep. The Btsan-po resided in Sha-ra in Sprags and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha. Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje fought with the Chinese [general] Se'u den pang at Mtsho-nag Stong-ru. Although Da-rgyal died, he reduced 80,000 [Chinese soldiers] to 1,000.¹⁴⁵ So one year.

36 # / : / lugI lo la' bab ste/ btsan. po. sprags. gyI. sha. ra. na: bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. 'a. zha. yul. na. mchIste:

37 da. rgyal: mang. po. rjes/ mtsho. nag: stong. rur/ rgya. se'u: den. pang. da_{ng}/ nol: thabs: bgyIste/ da. rgyal. gyang. gum. zhing:

38 brgyad: khrI. stong. la: rdugs. phar: lo. gcig/

[660-661] In the year [of] the monkey the Btsan-po resided in Ske-bye in Mal-tro and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha. So one year.

39 # / : / spre'u lo. la/ btsan. po: mal. troe.¹⁴⁶ ske. bye. na. bzhugs/ shIng: blon. che. stong. rtsan. 'a. zha. yul. na. mchIs: phar. lo. gchig:

[661-662] In the year of the bird the Btsan-po resided in Mer-ke and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha. So one year.

¹⁴⁵ On this battle, and the famous Chinese general Su Dingfang 蘇定方, see Petech 1967: 258–60; Beckwith 1987: 27–28; and also Gnya'-gong 1995: 68, n. 16.

¹⁴⁶ This common abbreviation, taking the form of a '*greng-bu*, signifies the addition of the genitive particle 'i.

40 # / : / bya gagl lo la/ btsan. po. mer. ke. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan: 'a. zha. yul. na.
mchIs. phar: lo. gchig/

[662-663] In the year of the dog the Btsan-po was delayed¹⁴⁷ in Rkong-g.yug¹⁴⁸ and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan performed the administration of Zhang-zhung at Du-gul.¹⁴⁹ So one year.

41 # / : / khyI'i. lo. la/ btsan. po: rkong. g-yug. du: 'gord: mdzad. chIng/ blon. che: stong. rtsan. gyis/
du. gul: du: zhang. zhung. gyi.

42 mkhos: bgyIs: phar: lo: gchIg/

[663-664] In the year of the pig the Btsan-po resided in Snam-stod and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha.¹⁵⁰ So one year.

43 # / : / pagl lo la/ btsan. po: snam. stod. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. 'a. zha. yul. na.
mchis. phar. lo. chIg/

[664-665] In the year of the rat the Btsan-po departed [to the] north for sport¹⁵¹ and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtsan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha. So one year.

¹⁴⁷ Bacot read the term 'gor mdzad as indicating a delay (*DTH*: 32), as did Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 167, n. 18).

¹⁴⁸ Rkong-g.yug is otherwise unattested. One possibility is that it refers to Gong yue 弓月, which in 662 submitted to the Tibetans. Gong yue was closely associated with Kashgar, both of which were instrumental in the Tibetan seizure of Khotan (Chavannes 1969 [1900]: 122, n. 1).

¹⁴⁹ While Zhang-zhung was conquered in 644-645, this administration (*mkhos*) of Zhang-zhung would appear to announce its true integration within the Tibetan Empire. The location of Du-gul is unknown, but Mgar's journey here is worth noting, since he spent the previous year in the land of the 'A-zha in the northeast, and returned there after his work in Du-gul, presumably in the west.

¹⁵⁰ This year marks the conquest of the 'A-zha by the Tibetans. In the summer of 663 the 'A-zha minister Su ho kuei defected to the Tibetans and the 'A-zha forces were crushed. The 'A-zha khaghan, his Chinese princess, and several thousand families fled to the Chinese at Liangzhou 涼州 (Beckwith 1987: 31). The Chinese created a new province to accommodate the fleeing 'A-zha, calling it Anlezhou 安樂州, meaning "peaceful and happy district," or rather, "pacified district."

¹⁵¹ The translation of *byang rol du gshegs* is not certain. On the face of it, *rol* is a directional complement, as in the well-known phrase *pha rol tu phyin pa* in the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit *pāramitā*. Reading it this way, the emperor departed to the north. On the other hand, *rol* is also a verb indicating, "sport," "play," or, perhaps more to the point, "hunting," and appears in this sense in the entry for 746-747 in Version II of the *Annals*, where it states, "the Btsan-po departed to Gser-khung for sport" (*gser-khung du rol du gshegs*). This meaning is also evident in the entry for 724-725, where, after the phrase *byang rol du gshegs*, it is stated that the emperor hunted yak. The grammar of the phrase of *byang rol du gshegs* remains vexing, however, as one would expect *byang du rol du gshegs*, but I assume that the first terminative particle was dropped as this became a stock expression (it appears four times in the *Annals*). In its appearance in the entry for 744-745 (Version I), the emperor immediately returns, and stations the court at Ra-mtshar. This tells us that this "north" was not very far off, and the Byang-thang to the north of central Tibet immediately comes to mind as a possible location (cf. Hadoz, *infra* Part III, section seven). This also suggests that we are not dealing here with the toponym Byang-rol, though similar place names (e.g., Byang-ngos) are known elsewhere (Stein 1951: 236-37).

44 # / : / byI ba'I lo la/ btsan. po: byang. roldu. gshegs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan: 'a. zha. yul. na. mchIs. par: lo. chig/

[665-666] In the year of the ox the Btsan-po resided in Ldu-nag in Zrid and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtzan stayed in the land of the 'A-zha. So one year.

45 # / : / glang gyI lo la/ btsan. po: zrid. kyi. ldu. nag. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. 'a. zha. yul. na. mchIs. par. lo. chig/

[666-667] It fell on the year of the tiger. The Btsan-po again resided in Ldu-nag in Zrid and Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtzan returned from 'A-zha. A *thong-myig* arose in Zrid-mda'.¹⁵² So one year.

46 # / : / stagI lo la bab. ste/ btsan. po: zrid. gyi. ldu. nag. slad. ma. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. stong. rtsan: 'a. zha. yul. nas. slar.

47 'khord. te/ zrId. mda'r: thong. myig: byung. bar: lo. gchIg/

[667-668] In the year of the hare the Btsan-po departed to 'Or-mang. Chief minister [Mgar] Stong-rtzan died at Ris-pu. So one year.

48 # / : / yos. bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: 'or. mang. du. gshegste/ blon. che. stong. rtsan. rIs. pur. gum. bar: lo: gchIg/

[668-669] In the year of the dragon the Btsan-po resided in Sha-ra in Sprags, and they built a military barracks at Ji-ma-gol.¹⁵³ So one year.

49 # / : / 'brugI lo. la/ btsan. po: sprags: gyI. sha. ra. na. bzhugs. cIng/ jI. ma. khol. du. dgra. bzher. brtsIgs. par. lo. chig/

[669-670] In the year of the snake the Btsan-po resided in Ldu-nag in Zrid, and many 'A-zha paid homage. They convened [the council at] Gte'u.¹⁵⁴ So one year.

¹⁵² Alternatively, "he got a *thong-myig* at Zrid-mda'." According to Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 167, n. 19) follow Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 100–101), and state that *thong-myig* indicates a skin disease. Gnya'-gong (1995: 68–69), however, reads this as a variant for *thong-myi*, which, as noted above in the notes to the entry for 653-654, means "homicide" (though he and others take it to mean assassin). Petech (1967: 274) also relates these two terms, but translates *thong-myig* as "ispezione." This *thong-myig*, whatever its meaning, may not relate to Mgar's death in the subsequent year.

¹⁵³ Molè (1970: 168, n. 451) has demonstrated that Ji-ma-khol was the equivalent of the Chinese Dafeichuan 大非川, situated in 'A-zha territory south of Lake Kokonor (c.f. Petech 1967: 250; Beckwith 1987: 33).

¹⁵⁴ The translation of *gte'u bsdus* is contested. The above reading follows Bacot (*DTH*: 33), and is justified by the fact that in many other places a similar shorthand is used for the convening of these councils such that the names of the conveners are

50 # / : / sbrul: gyI. lo. la/ btsan. po: zrlD. gyi. ldu. nag. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'a. zha. ma_{ng}. po: pyag.
'tsalte: gte'u. bsdus. par. lo. chIg/

[670-671] In the year of the horse the Btsan-po resided in 'O-dang, and they massacred many Chinese at Ji-ma-khol.¹⁵⁵ So one year.

51 # / : / rta'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: 'o. dang. na. bzhugs. shIng/ jI. ma. khol. du: rgya. mang. po: btungs.
phar: lo: gchig/

[671-672] It fell on the year of the sheep. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Ra-sngon in Ltam. In the winter [the Btsan-po] departed to Nya-mangs-tshal, and Princess Snya-mo-stengs departed as a bride to Snya-shur Spungs-rye-rgyug.¹⁵⁶ So one year.

52 # / : / lugI. lo. la. bab: ste: btsan. pho: dbyard: ltam: gyI. ra. sngon. na. bzhugste/ dgun. nya. mangs:
tshal. du. gshegs

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53/1 shIng/ btsan. mo: snya. mo: stengs: snya. shur: spungs: rye. rgyug. la: bag. mar: gshegs: par: lo.
gchIg/

[672-673] It fell on the year [of] the monkey. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Sum-chu-bo in Shangs and in the winter he departed to Nam-tse-gling. He fell ill with pox. So one year.

elided, or a terminative particle is missing. This leaves it open to interpretation, however, and Dge-'dun Chos-'phel (2005 [1990]: 101) defines *gte'u* as "to offer agreement to remain a subject" (*'bangs su sdod pa'i gan rgya phul ba*). This, like many of his other path-breaking readings, is followed by most later Tibetan and Chinese commentators (Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 168, n. 21; Huang and Ma 2000: 62–63). While it is not spelled out in their reasoning for this argument, I assume that they read the term *gte'u* as the diminutive for of *gte* or *gtal*. According to Btsan-lha (1997: 245), *gte-ba* is a synonym for *bita'-ba* or *bita'-ma*, which, in the context of loan contracts, is a "pledge" or a "security." We generally find this term spelled *gta'* or *gtam*, though the term "deposited security" (*bzhag-btam*) is also attested (Takeuchi 1995: 51; Dotson 2007b: 37). Given that this is a deposit that the borrower forfeits in the event that he is unable to repay the loan and interest, one can see how such a concept could transfer to the context of political allegiance. One possibility is that the diminutive is meant to distinguish the political term from its economic counterpart, but this is pure speculation. Gnya'-gong (1995: 69) offers a different reading, opining that it "may mean 'to gather under one's power the enemy leaders'" (*dgra sde'i 'go pa rnams dbang du bsdus pa'i don yin pa 'dra*). Applying Ockham's razor, the simplest solution is to assume that *Gte'u* is a place name, perhaps identical with *Rte'u-mkhar*, a council site in 682-683, and that the passage is missing a terminative particle. Alternatively, with the addition of a terminative particle, this phrase would mean, "they gathered them [at] *Gte'u*" (*gte'u bsdus*).

¹⁵⁵ This apparently refers to Mgar Khri-'bring's defeat of a large Chinese army, already in retreat from a defeat suffered at the hands of a huge Tibetan army at Wu Hai 烏海 (Crow Lake) (Beckwith 1987: 35–36). On the meaning of the verb *btungs*, which seems to apply most often to large numbers of people, in most cases Chinese, see Hill *forthcoming*.

¹⁵⁶ As the epithet, and perhaps clan name of the royal lineage, it appears that *Snya-shur* is to Zhang-zhung as *Spu-rgyal* is to Tibet. It is found in such royal names and titles as *Lig Snya-shur* and *Snya-shur Lag-miyig*.

¹⁵⁷ It is halfway through the entry for this year that PT 1288—the "French part"—of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, Version I, ends and IOL Tib J 750—the "British part"—begins.

54/2 # / : / spre'u lo la bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard: shangs. gyl: sum. chu. bo: na. bzhugs: cIng/ dgun:
nam. tse: glIng. du:
55/3 gshegste/ nad: 'brum: bus: bsnyengs.¹⁵⁸ par: lo. gchIg/

[673-674] In the year of the bird, at the beginning of the summer the Btsan-po resided in Pho-dam-mdo, and late in the summer he moved to Sum-chu-bo. Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu and [Mgar] Khri-'bring Btsan-brod convened the council at Ne-tso-lung (lit. "parrot valley") in 'Dong-ka. They carried out a great administration of pastureland. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court departed to Rab-ka-tsal in Shangs. They convened the council at Stag-tsal in Dungs and carried out a selection¹⁵⁹ of soldiers,¹⁶⁰ and convoked [a registration of] the male able-bodied adults.¹⁶¹ So one year.

56/4 # / : / bya gagI lo. la': btsan. po: dbyar. stod: pho. dam: mdo. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar: smad: sum.
chu. bor: sposte/
57/5 'dun. ma. 'dong. ka'I: ne. tso. lung. du: mgar: btsan. snya: ldom. bu: dang/ khrl. 'brIng: btsan: brod.
gnyIs: gyis: bsduste.
58/6 'brog: mkhos: chen. po: bgyis/ dgun. pho. brang: shangs: gyl. rab. ka: tsal. du. gshegs. shIng/ 'dun.
ma: dungs:
59/7 gyl. stag. tsal: du. bsduste/ mun. magI. rkang. ton. bgyIs/ pha. los: bkug. par: lo. gcig/

[674-675] It fell on the year [of] the dog. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Zrid. Lcog-la¹⁶² revolted, and in the winter [the Btsan-po] departed to Tshang-bang-sna. The council convened at Pu-cung in Glag. They took account of the red fire-raising [stations].¹⁶³ So one year.

¹⁵⁸ Imaeda and Takeuchi correct this to *bsnyungs* (CD3: 42).

¹⁵⁹ Yamaguchi (1970a: 65) treats this term in his translation of the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*, and remarks that "rkang ton means 'drawing out' ('don, bton) from the unit or group (rkang)." He translates the term as "to conscript." Zhang *et al.* (1998 [1984]: 90) state that *rkang-ton gyis* is the equivalent of *bdam-pa*, meaning "to choose" or "to select." Gnya'-gong (1995: 69) and Btsan-lha (1997: 29) each agree that it indicates either corvée labor done on foot or some type of soldier tax. Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 168, n. 24) are surely in error when they relate *rkang-ton* to *rkang-'don*, which were taxable units in the in the political organisation of the Yuan-Sa-skya period. See also Ishikawa 1999: 112, n. 27.

¹⁶⁰ *Mun-mag* alternates with *mun-dmag*, literally meaning "darkness soldier." Aside from its appearance in the *Annals*, *mun-dmag* is also found in Tak 430, a fragment from Miran, which states: / . . lo la// s[k?]un mkhar/ nob chungu g.yung drung rtser/ rkyen gyl/ mun dmag spu tshugs dkar/ "In the [] year at G.yung-drung-rse in Little Nob, the *mun-dmag* of the rkyen. . ." (Takeuchi 1998a: 140; TLTD2: 270). While the interpretation of the term *rkyen* is as yet uncertain, *rkyen gyi mun dmag* may be related to the term *dmag-rkang*, which indicates a field from which a soldier must be provided as tax. The final clause of the Old Tibetan legal text ITJ 740 (2) concerns the protocols for levying troops. There, the bondservants levied from an estate as troops are referred to as *mun-mag*, but the term is also used interchangeably with "soldier" (*dmag*) (Dotson 2007b: 55). Thomas writes that "It seems probable that *mun-dmag* . . . denotes organized bodies employed in cultivation, &c., in the rear of the war front." (TLTD3: 74). This is certainly a fair conclusion, though it may not be necessary to assume that *mun-dmag* were involved only in cultivation, as they may have been troops levied from an estate. Horlemann (2007: 84, n. 10) offers that the *mun-dmag* is equivalent to the Chinese quasi-ethnonym Wenmo / Hunmo 渾末, who were former slaves and bondservants conscripted by the Tibetan army.

¹⁶¹ On the term *pha-los*, see Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 317 and *supra*, "Land and Taxation."

¹⁶² Lcog-la can be located in western Tibet, more precisely in the area of lower Zhang-zhung. The army catalogue of *KhG* lists Cog-la among the five thousand-districts (*stong-sde*) of lower Zhang-zhung located on the borders of Tibet and Sum-pa (*KhG*: 187-88). The corresponding catalogue in *Lde'u* (259) places Gug-ge and Gulg]-cog in the same position (*infra*, Hazod, Part III).

60/8 # / : / khyI lo: la bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard: zrlD. na. bzhugs: shInḡ/ lcoḡ. la: log. pa: dang/ dgun.
tshang. bang. snar/ gshe
61/9 gste¹⁶⁴/ 'dun. ma: glag. gI. pu. cung. du: 'duste/ zhugs: long: dmar. pho. brtsIs: par: lo. gcig/

[675-676] It fell on the year of the pig. In the spring the Btsan-po departed to Zhe-shing. Princess Khri-mo-lan gave a great banquet. 'Bon Da-rgyal Khri-zung bestowed great gold and copper, and in the summer [the Btsan-po] resided in Bal-po. Minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya carried out the administration of Zhang-zhung at Gu-ran in Zhims. [He] went to [Western] Turkestan (Dru-gu-yul)¹⁶⁵ for plunder (?).¹⁶⁶ In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Sna-bo in 'On. So one year.

62/10 # / : / phagI lo la: bab. ste/ btsan. po: dpyid: zhe. shing. du. gshegste/ btsan. mo: khrl. mo. lan.
gyIs/ ston. mo: chen. po
63/11 gsold/ 'bon. da. rgyal: khrl. zung. gyIs/ gser. zangs: chen. po: gsold. pha: daḡḡ/ dbyard: bal. po.
na. bzhugs:
64/12 shInḡ/ blon. btsan. snyas/ zhImS: gyI. gu: randu: zhang. zhung. gyI. mkhos: bylste/ dru. gu: yul.
du: ltang. yor. mchIs
65/13 dgun: btsan. pho: 'on. gyI. sna. bo. na. bzhugs: par: lo. gchIḡ/

[676-677] It fell on the year of the rat. In the summer the Btsan-pho resided in Sha-ra in Sprags, and in the winter, from Tshang-bang-sna, Khri Mang-slon departed to heaven. The Btsan-pho, the son, Khri 'Dus-srong, was born at Lha-lung in Sregs.¹⁶⁷ Minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya led a military campaign to [Western] Turkestan.¹⁶⁸ They proclaimed the colonial military government of Khri-bshos Stronghold.¹⁶⁹ So one year.

¹⁶³ The translation of the term *zhugs-long* is problematic. For a discussion, see *supra*, "Conscription, the Transport Network, and the Alert System."

¹⁶⁴ This is a not uncommon practice whereby one word starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next. The intended phrase here is *gshegste*.

¹⁶⁵ According to Beckwith (1987: 63–64, n. 56), Dru-gu-yul always refers in the *Annals* to the Western Turks, while the Eastern Turks are referred to as 'Bug-cor.

¹⁶⁶ On the term *ltang-yo*, see Beckwith 1987: 42, n. 24. Cf. Gnya'-gong 1995: 69, who reports that *ltang-yor* can indicate either an epidemic affecting men and livestock or some type of internal turmoil. Btsan-lha (1997: 257) supports the former of these two glosses. Here I have followed Beckwith's resourceful etymology, but the matter is not conclusively resolved.

¹⁶⁷ According to the *Royal Genealogy* in PT 1286, Khri 'Dus-srong was the son of Mang-slon Mang-rtsan and 'Bro Khri-ma-lod Khri-steng (*DTH*: 82, 88; Dotson 2004: 88). This is confirmed by the fact that she is later referred to as the grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. It is suspicious, of course, that 'Dus-srong was born after the death of his father, and Haarh (1969: 69), among others, regards him as an illegitimate heir.

¹⁶⁸ The verb *drangs* is usually found in the phrase *dra-ma drangs*, which while literally meaning something like "to pull a net," means "to lead a military campaign" (Uray 1962a).

¹⁶⁹ Stein (1952: 84) reads [Minister Mgar Btsan-snya] Ldom-bu for *ldum-bu*. Such a misspelling is odd, though, since one finds the correct spelling of this name in the entry for 673-674. Furthermore, one would expect an ergative particle marking this minister as the agent. Reading *ldum-bu* at face value, I follow the Old Tibetan dictionary of Rnam-rgyal Tshe-ring (2001: 272), which states that it is another name for "stronghold" (*mkhar*). According to Uray (1980: 313), Khri-bshos colonial military government was located in the Kokonor region. The establishment of this military government followed raids of Shanzhou 鄯州, Kuozhou 廓州, Hezhou 河州, and other Chinese fortified prefectural capitals (Beckwith 1987: 42–43).

66/14 # / : / byl: ba'l. lo. la: bab. ste dbyard: btsan. pho: sprags: gyl. sha. ra. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dgun. tshang. bang. sna. nas/ khrl.

67/15 mang: slon. dgung. du. gshegs/ btsan. pho: sras: khrl: 'dus. srong/ sgregs. gyl. lha. lung. du. bltam/ blon. btsan.

68/16 snyas: dru. gu. yul: du. drangste/ ldum. bu: khrl. bshos: khrom: 'tsald. par: lo. gchig/

[677-678] In the year of the ox they concealed the corpse of the Btsan-po, the father, at Ba-lam, and it resided there. Rye-shin Khu-bul-bu and Lcog-la Ring-tsug-skor were both disloyal.¹⁷⁰ Zhang-zhung revolted and the Btsan-po Khri 'Dus-srong resided in Nyen-kar. So one year.

69/17 # / : / glang. gl. lo. la/ btsan. po: yab. gyi: spur: ba. lam. na. mkhyId.¹⁷¹ cing. bzhugste/ rye. shIn: khu: bul. bu: da_{ng}: lcog. la: rIng.

70/18 tsug. skor: da_{ng}. gnyls/ glo. ba. rIngste/ zhang. zhung. log. cIng: btsan. po: khrl. 'dus: srong. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs: phar. lo. chig/

[678-679] It fell on the year of the tiger. They concealed the corpse of the Btsan-po, the father, at Ba-lam, and it resided there.¹⁷² At the onset of winter the council convened at Ryu-bye in Glag. At the end of winter it convened at Mdan. They brought reprimands down upon Ra-sang-rje Spung-rye-ryang and Khu Khri-snya Dgra-zung.¹⁷³ The Btsan-pho resided in Nyen-kar. The father arrived (?) [at the end of the lying-in/ embalming state].¹⁷⁴ So one year.

¹⁷⁰ These appear to be place names related to the revolt of Zhang-zhung mentioned in the next sentence.

¹⁷¹ Read *mkhyud* (?).

¹⁷² The sentence is exactly the same as the opening phase from the preceding year, save for the fact that the corpse is called a *ring* instead of a *spur*. These terms may be interchangeable, though Haarh (1969: 324) interprets *spur* as a corpse that had been ritually treated in particular, but also indicating the dead in a wider sense. Haarh (1969: 360) also considers that *ring* may indicate a corpse in a further state of decomposition.

¹⁷³ This phrase, *bkyon phab*, indicates the disgrace of a minister and the end of his career, often resulting in death (cf. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 11–12, 36, n. 65). Judging by the names, in particular the Ra-sang-rje minister, this would appear to be political fallout from the revolt of Zhang-zhung.

¹⁷⁴ The verb *gtol* means “to pierce,” “to perforate,” and “to open,” but also “to find solutions or methods” (Walter 1998a: 67, n. 12). This latter meaning is found in the “Dialogue between Two Brothers” (PT 1283 (1), ll. 149, 330, and 463), where the meaning is closer to “ascertain” or “know.” In an Old Tibetan funeral rite, *btol* is found as a noun: *btol chen-po* (PT 1042, ll. 100, 109), which Lalou (1952: 357) translates with “grand enterrement.” In the *Annals*, the *btol* occurs after the corpse—first as *spur* in 677-678, then as *ring* “presence” in 678-679, has been in enclosed or concealed *mkhyud*, indicating probably a lying in state and perhaps also referring to the embalming period. The *btol* is followed by the *mdad* in the next year, which I have translated with “funeral.” The verb *btol* also appears in the entry for 712-713 following Khri-ma-lod’s death. Her funeral is held in the next year. One can only suppose from the context that verb *gtol* indicates the completion of the lying in or embalming period. Uebach, however, finds it highly unlikely that the meaning here is “to pierce,” or “to perforate,” stating that this is not part of the process of embalming, and suggests that *btol* corresponds to the verb *brtol*, meaning “to arrive,” and meaning “to be ready” in the sense of the procedure (personal communication; for Tibetan embalming see Uebach 2005a: 4–5). Along similar lines, Gnya’-gong (1995: 80, n. 3) states that *btol* signifies that the corpse is taken out from its concealing/ cloistering (*mkhyud pa las btol pa’i don*). My translation follows these suggestions, but the entire mortuary and funerary process requires further investigation.

71/19 # / : / stagI. lo. la: bab: ste/ btsan. po: yab. gyI. ring/ ba. lam: na: mkhyId.¹⁷⁵ cing. bzhugste/ dgun. stod. 'dun. ma: glagI

72/20 ryu. byer: 'dus/ dgun. smad: mdan. du. 'duste/ ra. sang. rje: spung. rye. ryung. da_{ng}/ khu: khrl. snya: dgru. zung. la: bkyon. bab.

73/21 ste/ btsan. pho: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ yab. btol: bar: lo. gchIg/

[679-680] In the year of the hare the Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar, and they performed the funeral for the Btsan-pho, the father, at Pying-ba. So one year.

74/22 # / : / yos. bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ pying. bar: btsan. pho: yab. gyI. mdad. btang. bar. lo. cig/

[680-681] In the year of the dragon the Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring convened [the council] at Ru-rings. They calculated (confiscated) the wealth of Khu and Ra-sang-rje. Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya convened [the council] at Mur-gas in Sprags. In the winter, Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya and Minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring convened the council at G.yag-ru-thang in Ba-bams. So one year.

75/23¹⁷⁶ 'brugI. lo. la/ btsan. po: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. khrl. 'bring: gyIs. ru. ringsu: bsduste/ khu. dang. ra. sang.

76/24 rje'I. nor. brtsIs/ blon. chen. pho. btsan. snyas/ sprags: gyI. mur. gas. su: bsduste/ dgun. 'dun: ba. bams:

77/25 gyI. g-yag. ru: thang. du: blon. chen. po: btsan. snya: dang/ blon. khrl. 'bring. gnyIs. gyis: bsdus. par. lo. gchIg/

[681-682] It fell on the year of the snake. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar, and in the summer, and Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya convened the council at Zrid-mda'. Gnubs Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan and Mgar Mang-nyen Stag-tsab, the two, came down from Bog-la,¹⁷⁷ and convened the council at Lung-rings in Rgyas. So one year.

78/26 # / : / sbrul: gyI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. khar. na. bzhugs. shing/ dbyard: blon. chen. pho: btsan. snyas: 'dun. ma: zrlId. mdar:

79/27 bsduste/ gnubs: mang. nyen: bzhl. brtsan. da_{ng}/ mgar: mang. nyen. stag. tsab: gnyIs/ bog. la. nas: mas: byung. ste/ 'dun.

80/28 ma'. rgyas: gyI. lung. rIngs: sdu:¹⁷⁸ bsdus: phar: lo. gchIg/

¹⁷⁵ Read *mkhyud*(?).

¹⁷⁶ This entry is missing the "head mark" *yig-mgo* at the beginning.

¹⁷⁷ The translation of *bog la nas mas byung ste* is uncertain. Gnya'-gong (1995: 81) summarizes the problem nicely: it either means that these two men came down from Bog-la Pass, or that fratricide (*dme*) arose between them. We find a very similar construction in the entry for 685-686, which uses the term *dme*'. The problem with the latter solution is that the two ministers are of separate clans, and both go on to convene a council in this year and the next. Further, reading *dme* for *mas* is something of a stretch. Still, my rendering is problematic in that one would expect a verb of motion and not *byung* in the phrase "they came down."

¹⁷⁸ Read *du*.

[682-683] It fell on the year of the horse. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya convened the council at Sgyog-ram. In the winter, [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan and [Mgar] Mang-zham Stag-tsab¹⁷⁹ convened the council at Rte'u-mkhar. The commissioner¹⁸⁰ Lho 'Bring-po Rgyal-sum-sregs offered a banquet with libations at Nyen-kar. So one year.

81/29 # / : / rta'I lo la. bab ste/ btsan. po: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. chen. pho: btsan. snyas/ 'dun. ma: sgyog. ram: du'.

82/30 bsduste/ dgun: mang. nyen. bzhl. brtsan. da_{ng}/ mang. zham: stag. tsab: gnyis. gyIs/ 'dun. ma: rte'u. mkhar. du. bsduste

83/31 brung. pa: lho. 'brIng. po. rgyal: sum: sregs: gyIs/ nyen. kar. du. 'bul: skyems: gsold. phar: lo. gcig/

[683-684] It fell on the year of the sheep. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya convened [the council] at Mur-gas in Sprags. In the winter they performed the funeral for Princess Mun-cang Kong-co. So one year.

84/32 # / lugI. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. chen. pho. btsan. snyas/ sprags: gyI. mur:

85/33 gas: su/ bsdus/ dgun: btsan: mo: mun. cang. kong. co'i: mdad: btang. bar: lo. gchig/

[684-685] It fell on the year [of] the monkey. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya convened the council at Re-skam in Dbu-ru-shod. Khu 'Dus-tsan, Rngegs Khyi-ma-re, and 'A-zha, the three, lodged a legal complaint,¹⁸¹ and there was a great pestilence affecting livestock. They conveyed the loads (?) of contaminated meat to Khri-boms,¹⁸² and in the winter the council convened at Rab-kha-tshal in Shangs. They reduced the fiscal governors of Rtsang-chen from four to two. So one year.

86/34 # / : / spre'u: lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che: btsan. snyas/ 'dun. ma: dbu. ru. shod. gyI. re.

87/35 skam: du. bsduste/ khu: 'dus: tsan. da_{ng}: rngegs: khyI. ma. re. da_{ng}/ 'a. zha. gsum: mchid. shags: 'tshal: zhing/ gnag:

¹⁷⁹ This undoubtedly indicates the same two men mentioned the previous year, and the change in Mgar Stag-tshab's name must be a scribal error. The correct version is presumably Mgar Mang-nyen Stag-tsab, as this is found again in the entry for 685-686.

¹⁸⁰ For a discussion of commissioners (*brung-pa*), see Uray 1962b and *supra*, "Functionaries in the *Old Tibetan Annals*."

¹⁸¹ The term *mchid-shags* means to put forth one's case in a legal dispute. While the last of these three names is obviously a place name, it must here designate a specific person known by this alias, perhaps the lord of the 'A-zha.

¹⁸² The translation of the phrase *khri boms su gor sha'I ltong brgyus nas* presents several obstacles to translation. Bacot is probably correct in relating *gor* to the verb 'go-ba, "to infect," and reading *gor-sha* as contaminated meat (*DTH*: 36, n. 1). His gloss of *ltong* as *gtong*, which he translates with "l'envoi," is less likely. It is rather a noun, and we are dealing with *ltong* of contaminated meat. Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 169, n. 31) translate *ltong brgyus* with "they gathered the corpses" (*shi ro bsdus pa*), and this is echoed by Huang and Ma (2000: 67). Gnya'-gong Dkon-mchog Tshes-brtan (1995: 81, n. 7) casts doubt on these solutions, stating that the matter requires further investigation. The first problem is the term *ltong*, which is only attested as *ltong-ka*, the "nock" of an arrow (Zhang *et al.* 1998 [1984]: 1094). Obviously this is not meant here, so we have the above speculations based on context that it means "corpse." One further possibility is that it is a variant of *ltang*, which is a bale or load or goods. Equally troublesome, the verb *brgyus* means "to go." With a *d* suffix, on the other hand, it means "to convey," and I have opted for this gloss here. While this solution relies on assuming variant spellings, it has the advantage of avoiding speculative translations based only on context.

88/36 nad: chen. pho: byung. ste/ khrI. boms: su/ gor. sha'I: ltong. brgyus. nas/ dgun. 'dun. shangs: kyI.
rab. kha. tshal. du'

89/37 'dus. nas/ rtsang. chen. gyI. mngan. bzhI. las/ gnyis: su: bcos. phar: lo. gchig/

[685-686] It fell on the year of the bird. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and fratricide arose between Chief minister [Mgar] Btsan-snya and [Mgar] Mang-nyen Stag-tsab, the two.¹⁸³ Chief minister Btsan-snya died at Sum-chu-bo in Shangs. At Bang-mo Bang-kar Minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring Btsan-brod was appointed as chief minister. In the winter, Minister Khri-'bring convened [the council] at Pu-chung in Glag. The Btsan-po adopted the name Khri 'Du-srong.¹⁸⁴ The “sniffer”¹⁸⁵ seized many poisoners and put them to death. So one year.

90/38 # / : / bya. gagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. chen. po: btsan.
snya: dang/ mang. nyen. stag.

91/39 tsab: gnyIs/ dme': byung/ shangs: gyI. sum. chu. bor/ blon. chen. pho. btsan. snya: gum/
[m]bang. mo: bang. kar. du: blon. khrI

92/40 'brIng. btsan. brod. blon/ chen. phor. btshug/ blon: khrI. 'brIng. gyis/ dgun: glagl/ pu. chung. du.
bsduste/ btsan. po: khrI.

93/41 'du.¹⁸⁶ srong. du. mtshan. gsold/ snom: bu: pas: dug. ma: mang. po: bzung. nas: bkum. bar: lo.
gchig/

[686-687] It fell on the year of the dog. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar. Minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring said, “let us lead a military campaign to [Western] Turkestan (Dru-gu-yul),” but this was postponed. In the summer the council convened at Shong-sna, and in the winter it convened at Bra-ma-thang. They levied the felt roll [tax] of the fields from Shangs downward. So one year.

94/42 # / khyI. 'i. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. khrI 'bring. gyIs/ dru. gu:
yul. du: drang. zhes: bgyI

95/43 bgyI. ba. las/ phyI. dalte¹⁸⁷/ dbyar: 'dun. shong. snar: 'dus/ dgun. bra. ma. thang. du: 'duste/
shangs: man. chad. du:

96/44 zhIng. gyI. phying. rIld: btab: phar: lo. gcig/

¹⁸³ The term *dme* generally applies to incest, but it also extends to another transgression between blood relatives, namely, fratricide (Chen Jian and Wang Yao 2003 [1983]: 106, n. 3). This is evident from one of the legal clauses in PT 1071 (ll. 325–28) that concerns the law of fratricide (*dmer brtsi khrims*) (Richardson 1998 [1990a]: 155). The term *dme* can also refer to impurity between members of religious fraternities, and so could be read in the above context to indicate problems between ministers, and not fratricide per se. The term has a slightly different meaning in Rebkong, however, where fratricide is called *nang-dme*. There the term *dme*, or rather *dme-bo*, refers to an outsider who kills a member of one's family (personal communication, Dongzhi Dorje).

¹⁸⁴ He is most often known as Khri 'Dus-srong, and is introduced by this name upon his birth in the entry for 676-677, so it is odd that the name is misspelled in the record of the name-giving coronation ceremony. See also See Uray 1964: 331.

¹⁸⁵ In Chen Jian and Wang Yao 2003 [1983]: 106, n. 6; Gnya'-gong 1995: 81, n. 8; and Btsan-lha 1997: 429, *snom-bu-pa* is glossed as “investigator” (*rtog zhib pa*). This appears to be purely contextual, however, and I assume here that a “sniffer” catching poisoners is more akin to a royal food-taster than a detective. Huang and Ma (2000: 67), on the other hand, take it to mean a spy.

¹⁸⁶ Read 'dus.

¹⁸⁷ Imaeda and Takeuchi correct this to *dald te* (CD3: 44).

[687-688] It fell on the year of the pig. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring led a campaign to the land of Kucha (Gu-zan-yul) in [Western] Turkestan.¹⁸⁸ In the winter they levied the felt roll [tax] of Rtsang-chen. 'Bon Da-rgyal Khri-zung, Gnubs Mang-nyen Gzhi-brtsan, and Mgar Sta-gu Ri-zung, the three of them, convened [the council] at Bzang-sum-tsal. They imprisoned the rebels of Rtsang-chen with each other (lit. "man with man").¹⁸⁹ So one year.

97/45 # / : / phagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. khrl. 'brIng. gyis/ dru. gu. zan. yul: du. drangs/ dgun:
 98/46 rtsang. chen. gyI. phying. rld. btab/ 'bon. da. rgyal: khrl. zung. da_{ng}/ gnubs: mang. nyen. bzhl. brtsan. dang/ mgar. sta. gu: ri:
 99/47 zung. gsum: gyIs/ bzang. sum. tsal. du. bsduste/ rtsang. chen. gyI. log. pho: dang. pho: btsud. par: lo. gchI_g/

[688-689] It fell on the year of the rat. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and in the summer the council convened at Zu-spug. In the winter Dbon Da-rgyal Khri-zung convened [the council] at Tshur-lung in Zhogs. Princess Khri-mo-stengs departed on a political campaign to Dags-yul.¹⁹⁰ So one year.

100/48 # / byI. ba'I. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar: 'dun: zu. spug. du: 'dus/ dgun: dbon. da. rgyal
 101/49 khrl. zung. gyIs/ zhogs: gyI. tshur. lung. du. bsdus/ btsan. mo: khrl. mo. stengs: dags: yul. du. chab: srld. la. gshegs. pha_r. lo. chI_g

[689-690] It fell on the year of the ox. The Btsan-po resided in Thang-bu-ra in Nyen-kar and Princess Khri-bangs departed as a bride to the lord of the 'A-zha.¹⁹¹ Chief minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring returned from [Western] Turkestan (Dru-gu-yul). In the winter the council convened at Nya-sha-tshal in Phul-po. So one year.

102/50 # / glang. gyI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. gyI. thang. bu. ra. na. bzhugs. shIng/ btsan. mo: khrl. bangs/ 'a. zha. rje. la: bag. mar:
 103/51 gshegs/ blon. che. khrl. 'brIng. dru. gu. yul. nas: slar: 'khorte/ dgun. 'dun. phul. poe. nya. sha. tshal. du. 'dus. par. lo. chig/

¹⁸⁸ Gu-zan-yul corresponds to Kucha, one of the four garrisons (Sato 1959: 347–48; Beckwith 1987: 50).

¹⁸⁹ Bacot translates *rtsang chen gyi log pho dang pho btsud* with "les champs du Rtsang-chen furent inondés," but notes in a footnote Thomas' "tout autre et ingénieuse interprétation" which is "brought back the revolted of Rtsang-chen to their previous allegiance" (*DTH*: 36, n. 9). According to Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 169, n. 35), it means, "to quell an initial rebellion" (*ngo log thengs dang po lhing 'jags byas pa*). I arrive at a different meaning by reading the "rebels (*log*) of Rtsang-chen" as the patient of the verb *btsud*, meaning "to enter," "insert," which I take to be an abbreviation for "to imprison in a stronghold" (*mkhar btsud*), as in a clause of the legal document PT 1071: "if one steals the meat of a game animal, he will be imprisoned in a stronghold for one year" (*lings gyi ri dags kyl sha zhig la rkus na / mkhar / tsud lo gcI_g gis bcado*) (PT 1071, ll. 458–59; Richardson 1998 [1990]: 160).

¹⁹⁰ On the meaning of *chab-srid* in this case, and its likely marital connotation, see *supra*, "Dynastic Marriage."

¹⁹¹ She is almost certainly the same Khri-bangs mentioned in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality* (*supra*, "Dynastic Marriage").

[690-691] It fell on the year of the tiger. In the summer the Btsan-po resided [at] Bal-po. At Tsha-steng in 'O-yug, Chief minister Khri-'bring created the manual / protocols for soldiers / conscripts, and in the winter the Btsan-po resided in 'A-ga-tsal in 'On. Dbon Da-rgyal and Chief minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring convened [the council] at Gling-kar-tshal in Rtsang. They made a red tally of the men of Rtsang-chen. Mgar 'Bring-rtsan Rtsang-ston and Pa-tsab Rgyal-tsan Thom-po, the two, levied a felt roll [tax] of the fields of Left Horn. So one year.

104/52 # / stagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ dbyard. btsan. po: bal. po. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. che. khrI. 'brIng. gyis: 'o. yugI. tsha. stengsu. mun

105/53 magI: rtsis: mgo: bgyIs: pha: da_{ng}/ dgun: btsan. pho: 'on. gyI. 'a. ga. tsal. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbon. da. rgyal: da_{ng}. blon. che: khrI.

106/54 'brIng. gyis/ rtsang. gyI. gling. kar. tshal. du. bsduste/ rtsang. chen. pha'I. khram: dmar. po. btab. pha. da_{ng}/ mgar: 'brIng. rtsan/ rtsang.

107/55 rton. da_{ng}/ pa. tsab: rgyal. tsan. thom: po: gnyIs: gyis/ g-yo. ru'I. zhing. gyi. phyIng. ril. btab. phar: lo. gchIg/

[691-692] It fell on the year of the hare. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and in the summer the council convened at Sre'u-gzhug, then moved from Lha-gshegs to Khra-sna.¹⁹² They made an account of the felt roll [tax] and the executed lineages.¹⁹³ In the winter [the council] convened at Skyi Bra-ma-tang. They made a selection / conscription for red fire-raising [stations]. So one year.

108/56 # / yos. bu'I. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar. 'dun: sre'u. gzhug. du: 'dus: pa. las/

109/57 lha. gshegs. nas/ khra. snar. 'phoste/ phyIng. rild. da_{ng}/ rabs. cad. gyI. rtsis: bgyIs/ dgun. skyI. bra. ma. tang. du. 'duste/

110/58 zhugs. long. dmar. poe: rkang. ton. bgyIs. par. lo. gchIg/

[692-693] It fell on the year of the dragon. The Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and the summer council convened at Shong-sna. They appointed the great fiscal governors to [the number of] six.¹⁹⁴ The winter council convened at Skyi Gling-rings-tsal. They made a red tally. The winter council of Mdo-smad convened at Rgyam-shi-gar. They seized Sum-pa's dice statutes.¹⁹⁵ So one year.

¹⁹² This construction suggests that Lha-gshegs and Khra-sna are both places within the greater area of Sre'u-gzhug. Lha-gshegs literally means "the god departed," and this points to legends that may have influenced this place name.

¹⁹³ The term *rabs-cad* is found in the legal document PT 1071 where the *sgor rabs-cad* is the most severe form of capital punishment involving the execution of oneself and one's sons (Richardson 1998 [1990a]: 151, 162, n. 9).

¹⁹⁴ I.e., "as six." See Uray 1962b: 359, n. 14.

¹⁹⁵ Bacot treats *sho-tshigs* as a place name (*DTH*: 37), and Beckwith (1987: 53–54, n. 82), implying that *sho-tshigs* are a group of people belonging to the Sum-pa, claims that the seizure may have had something to do with the defection during the summer of that year of eight thousand Qiang tribesmen who seceded to the Chinese army at the Dadu 大渡 River. Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 169–70, n. 36) translate *sho-tshigs* as a toll or customs duty, and indeed the term *sho-gam* has this meaning. Gnya'-gong (1995: 81) reads it simply as a corruption for *sho-tshugs*—a station where taxes are collected. On the other hand, *sho-tshigs* has a well-attested meaning in the legal document ITJ 740 (2), where it indicates "dice statutes" that are used in deciding legal cases with recourse to divination with dice (Dotson 2007b: 26–30). The judges of the court retinue issued the dice statutes, and these gave guidance on how and when to decide legal cases with recourse to divination dice. If this

111/59 # / 'brugI. lo: la. bab. ste./ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar. 'dun. shong. snar. 'duste/ mngan. chen. po:

112/60 drug. du: bskos/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. gling. rings: tsal. du. 'duste/ khram. dmar. po. btab/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun:

113/61 rgyam. shI. gar. du. 'duste/ sum. pa'I. sho. tshigs: bzung. bar: lo. gcig/

[693-694] In the year of the snake the Btsan-po resided in Nyen-kar and in the summer the council convened at Skyi Stag-tsal. They appointed the great [heads] of five hundred.¹⁹⁶ In the winter, [the council] convened at Bzang-sum-tsal. They administrated / appointed the pastures of Great Rtsang. Chief minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring went to the land of the 'A-zha. So one year.

114/62 # / sbrul gyI lo la/ btsan. po. nyen. kar. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyard. dung.¹⁹⁷ skyI. stag. tsal. du. 'duste/ lnga. brgya. chen. po. bskos/

115/63 dgun. bzang. sum. tsal. du. 'duste/ rtsang. cen. poe. 'brog: bskos. nas/ blon. che. khrI. 'brIng. 'a. zha. yul. du. mcl. par. lo. chig/

[694-695] In the year of the horse the Btsan-po resided in Brdzen-tang in Mal-tro. Minister [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan convened the council at Zhon-ba in Zu-spug, and Mgar Sta-gu was seized by the Sogdians. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Re'u-tsal and Ton-ya-bgo Kha-gan paid homage. 'Bon Da-rgyal and [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-rtzan convened the council at Phu-chung in Glag. Da-rgyal died. So one year.

116/64 # / rta'I lo la: btsan. po: mal. troe. brdzen. tang. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. mang. nyen. bzhI. brtsan. gyis. 'dun. ma: zu. spugI. zhon.

117/65 bar. bsdu. shIng/ mgar. sta. gu. sog. dgIs:¹⁹⁸ bzung/ dgun. btsan. po. re'u. tsal. na. bzhugs. shIng/ ton. ya. bgo: kha. ga_n:

118/66 phyag. 'tsald/ 'dun. ma: glagI. phu. chung. du: 'bon. da. rgyal: da_{ng}/ mang. nyen. bzhI. brtsan. gyIs: bsduste/ da. rgyal: guM. bar. lo. chig

[695-696] In the year of the sheep, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. The council convened at Gro-pu in Dra, and Mgar Btsan-nyen Gung-rton was disloyal.¹⁹⁹ The Btsan-po departed to Ltam. In the winter, the Btsan-po departed to Brag-mar. They held Mgar Gung-rton's trial at Sha-tsal, the Btsan-po made a pronouncement [passed judgement] at Nyen-kar Lcang-bu, and Gung-rton was killed. Chief minister

entry indeed records the Tibetan seizure of the Sum-pa dice statutes, it demonstrates the antiquity of this practice, and the Tibetan Empire's concern with its centralization, though not necessarily a Sum-pa origin for the practice.

¹⁹⁶ On these posts, which were subordinate to the heads of thousand-districts and little heads of thousand-districts, see Uray 1982: 546; Uebach 1997a: 100; and *supra*, "Rank Order and Chain of Command."

¹⁹⁷ Read 'dun.

¹⁹⁸ Read *dag gIs*.

¹⁹⁹ According to Beckwith (1987: 56), Mgar Btsan-nyen Gung-rton, who acted as the governor of Khotan, was defeated in battle along with his ally, the khaghan of the Western Turks, Ashina Tuizi, when they fought the Chinese general Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 at Lingchuan and in the Daling 大嶺 Valley. Perhaps the mention of his disloyalty indicates that he surrendered prematurely or seceded to the Chinese. See also Petech 1967: 260.

[Mgar] Khri-'bring went to the country of 'A-zha and met in battle the Chinese general 'Wang Zhang-sho at Stag-la Rgya-dur (lit. "Tiger Pass, Chinese Cemetery"). They killed many Chinese.²⁰⁰ So one year.

119/67 # / lugI lo la btsan. po: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs. shing/ 'dun. ma. dra'I. gro. pur. 'dus. pa. las/ mgar. btsan. nyen.

120/68 gung. rton. glo. ba. rIngte: btsan. po: ltam. du. gshegs/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. du. gshegs/ sha. tsal. du: mgar. gung:

121/69 rton. gyl. zhal. ce: dbyangs. nas/ nyen. kar: lcang. bur: btsan. poe: bkas: bcade/ gung. rton. bkum/ blon. che. khri. 'bring.

122/70 'a. zha. yul. du. mclS. shing/ stag. la: rgya. dur. du. rgya'I. dmag. pon. 'wang. zha_{ng}. sho. da_{ng}-g-yul: sprade. rgya. ma_{ng}. po. bkuM. bar. lo. chig/

[696-697] In the year [of] the monkey the Btsan-po resided in Zrid-mda'. Chief minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring made an administration of the 'A-zha at 'O-kol in Sil-gu-cin in the land of the 'A-zha. In the winter [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan convened [the council] at 'O-bar-tshal. They summoned many people from Princess Mang-mo-rje.²⁰¹ So one year.

123/71 # / spre'u lo la/ btsan. po: zrId. mda'. na. bzhugs. shIng/ blon. ce. khrI. 'brIng. gyis/ 'a. zha. yul. gyl. sil. gu. cIn. gyi. 'o. kol. du:

124/72 'a. zha'I. mkhos: bgyIs/ dgun. 'o. bar. tshaI. du. ma_{ng}. nyen. bzhl. brtsan. gyls: bsduste/ btsan. mo. ma_{ng}. mo. rje. la_s: myI. ma_{ng}. po. bkug. lo. ci_g

[697-698] It fell on the year of the bird. The Btsan-po resided in Bal-po and an emissary of Ce-dog-pan²⁰² paid homage. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Tsal-ka in Brag-mar. The council resided in 'A-ga-tsal in 'On. So one year.

125/73 # / bya gagI lo la bab ste/ btsan. po: bal. po. na. bzhugs. shIng/ ce. dog. pan. gyl. po. nya. phyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang:

126/74 brag. mar. gyl. tsal. ka. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'dun. ma: 'on. gyl. 'a. ga. tsal. na. bzhugs. par. lo. gchI_g/

[698-699] It fell on the year [of] the dog. In the summer the Btsan-po departed [to the] north for sport. In the winter Chief minister Khri-'bring led a military campaign to greater and lesser Tsong-ka and seized the great

²⁰⁰ The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* devotes an entire chapter to this battle, and the verbal jousting between Mgar Khri-'bring and the Chinese general that preceded it (*DTH*: 167–70).

²⁰¹ Cf. Petech 1967: 275, where *las* is read not as the ablative particle but as part of a compound, *las-myi*, meaning "artisan." While I do not rule this out, one objection to this is that the princess should then be marked in the ergative, which she is not.

²⁰² This country is so far unidentified.

Chinese general Thug Pu-shi.²⁰³ That winter they brought reprimands down upon Mgar. The Btsan-po departed to Phar.²⁰⁴ So [one] year.

127/75 # / khyI. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard. byang. roldu. gshegs/ dgun. blon. chen. pho: khrl.
'bring. gyIs/ tsong. ka. che. chung. du. drangste/
128/76 rgya'I. dmag. pon. chen. po: thug: pu. shi. bzung/ de'i: dgun. mgar. la: bkyon. phab. ste: btsan.
po: phar. du. gshegs. par. [lo.] chig/

[699-700] It fell on the year of the pig. In the summer the Btsan-po departed from Phar to Bal-pho Bri'u-tang and the Chinese emissary Je'u Zhang-sho paid homage.²⁰⁵ In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Mar-ma in Dold, and rewarded the loyal with gifts and insignia of rank.²⁰⁶ Ton-ya-bgo Kha-gan paid homage.²⁰⁷ At Bya-tsal in Sgreys they calculated (confiscated) the wealth of the disgraced ones [lit. "the ones upon whom the reprimand was brought down"]. So one year.²⁰⁸

129/77 # / pagi. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard. phar. nas: bal. phoe: bri'u. tang. du. gshegs. shIng/
rgya'I: pho. nya: je'u. zhang. sho: pyag.
130/78 'tsald/ dgun. btsan. pho: dold. gyI. mar. ma: na. bzhugs. shIng/ glo. ba. nye. ba: yig. gtsang.
dang: bya. sga: stsald/ ton.
131/79 ya. bgo: kha. gan. phyag. 'tsald/ sgreys: gyI: bya. tsal. du. bkyon. bab. gyI. nor. brtIs. par. lo.
gchig/

²⁰³ On Thug Pu-shi, which may be a transcription of a Chinese title, *fushi* 副使 "assistant commissioner," rather than a personal name, see Petech 1967: 260–61.

²⁰⁴ According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, it was at this time that Khri 'Dus-srong met Mgar Khri-'bring in battle. Khri-'bring was apparently loyal to the very end, committing suicide on the battlefield as his troops deserted him. His younger brother and one thousand followers, along with Khri-'bring's son, fled to China together with 7,000 'A-zha families (Beckwith 1987: 61). These defectors were settled in China's purpose-built 'A-zha province of Anlezhou.

²⁰⁵ Like so many other Chinese emissaries, Je'u Zhang-sho remains unidentified. On the possible transcription of his surname, see Petech 1967: 261.

²⁰⁶ This underlines 'Dus-srong's attempt to consolidate his power after the vacuum left by the fall of the Mgar clan, especially among the 'A-zha. This group was particularly important, as a large part of the 'A-zha were loyal to the Mgar clan. The term *yig-gtsang*, literally, "pure letters," is somewhat puzzling, and has been outlined recently in Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 319–20. They note that most have seemed to assume that it is a variant of its homophone *yig-tshang*, another term for insignia of rank. Indeed they, too, translate it with "'insignia of rank' (lit. 'pure', 'clean letters')" (Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 319). I follow this definition, and can add some observations on the semantic range of *yig-gtsang* in relation to *yi-ge*, both of which I translate with "insignia of rank." In PT 1071, PT 1089, extant pillar inscriptions, and other Old Tibetan documents we find *yi-ge* as the common term for insignia of rank. The term *yig-gtsang* occurs once also in Version II of the *Annals* in a similar context in the entry for 759-760. Looking at the context of the appearance of both *yi-ge* and *yig-gtsang* in the *Annals*, the former (and this is true elsewhere) refers always to a specific insignia, e.g., turquoise or brass. One possibility therefore is that *yig-gtsang* refers to the generality of "insignia of rank," while *yi-ge* refers to the particular grade. This also seems to anticipate the later term *yig-tshang*, which is used in a very similar manner. On the other hand, Btsan-lha (1997: 840–41) glosses *yig-gtsang* as a document bestowing gifts to ministers, soliders, or subjects (*blon po dang dpa' bo dang 'bangs mi la bya dga' gnang ba'i yi ge'i ming*). On insignia of rank, see *supra*, "Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy."

²⁰⁷ On the possible reasons for the visit this figure, known to the Chinese as Ashina Tuizi, see Beckwith 1987: 63–64, n. 56.

²⁰⁸ For a variant English translation of the entries for the years 697-698 to 699-700, along with a passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* concerning the conflict with the Mgar clan, see Snellgrove 1987: 394–95.

[700-701] It fell on the year of the rat. In the summer the Btsan-po departed from Mong-kar on a political campaign to Sha-gu Nying-sum-khol. Ton-ya-bgo Kha-gan was sent to [Western] Turkestan (Dru-gu-yul). In the autumn the Btsan-pho departed, and led a military campaign to Ga-chu.²⁰⁹ In the winter, the Btsan-po's court resided in Rma-bya-tsal. The mother, ['Bro] Khri-ma-lod, resided in 'On-cang-do, and 'Ba' Ta-shi paid homage.²¹⁰ So one year.

132/80 # / byI. ba'I. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard. mong. kar. nas: chab. srId. la: sha. gu. nyIng.
sum: khol. du. gshegs. shIng/
133/81 ton. ya. bgo: kha. gan: dru. gu. yul. du. btang/ ston. btsan. pho. gshegstē: ga. chur. drangs/
dgun. btsan. poe: pho. brang.
134/82 rma. bya. tsal. na. bzhugs/ yum: khrI. ma. lod: 'on. cang. do. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'ba': da. shI.
phyag. 'tsald. par. lo. chig/

[701-702] It fell on the year of the ox. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Gser-zha and led campaigns to Zong-cu and The'u-chu.²¹¹ The mother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in Mong in Stod. In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Khri-rtse and in the spring intercalary month he led campaigns to Zong-chu and The'u-cu. The mother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in Ngan-lam-tsal Sar-pa. Zhang Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin and Seng-go Sngang-to-re Skyi-zung convened the council at Glag-gu chung.²¹² So one year.

135/83 # / glang. gyI. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard: gser. zha. na. bzhugs. shIng/ zong. cu. dang:
the'u. chur. drangste/ yum. khrI.
136/84 ma: lod. stod. gyI. mong. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dgun. btsan. pho: khrI. rtse. na. bzhugs. cIng/
dpyId. ltab.²¹³ mar/ zong. chu. dang/
137/85 the'u. cur. drangste/²¹⁴ yum. khrI. ma. lod/ ngan. lam. tsal: sar. pa. na. bzhugs: shIng/ 'dun. ma.
glagu: chung. du: zhang. btsan.
138/86 btsan. to. re: lhas: byIn. da_{ng}/ seng. go: snang. to. re: skyI. zung. gyis/ bsdus. par: lo. gchIg/

[702-703] It fell on the year of the tiger. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Pong Khri-mu-stengs. The mother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in 'Jon in Yar-'brog. In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Khri-rtse. Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Minister Mang-rtsan Ldong-zhi convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Nam Ldong-prom. They made the great administration of Sum-ru. The mother resided in 'On-cang-do. The council was also convened at 'On-cang-do. They abolished the great wooden document(s) [in favor of paper].²¹⁵ So one year.

²⁰⁹ Beckwith (1987: 63) states that this refers to a raid that 'Dus-srong led against Hezhou 河州. The *Jiu Tangshu* states that at this same time a Tibetan general called Qu Mangbozhi 麴莽布支 (*mang-po-rje*) led armies against Liangzhou and neighboring areas (Richardson 1998 [1977]: 63).

²¹⁰ On the possible identity of 'Ba' Ta-shi, and the reconstructed Chinese characters, see Petech 1967: 261.

²¹¹ Beckwith (1987: 63–64) states that these correspond to Songzhou 松州 and Taozhou 洮州.

²¹² This appears to be a contraction for Glag gi Bu-chung.

²¹³ Read *ldab*.

²¹⁴ This repetition of *zong chu dang the'u cur drangste/* may be due to eyeskip by the copyist, in which case only one, and not two campaigns were led to these places.

²¹⁵ The translation of this sentence is problematic. While the text definitely reads *shid* and not *shing*, all commentators have "corrected" *shid* to *shing*, and Imaeda and Takeuchi in their transliteration also correct *shid* to *shing* (CD3: 45; Imaeda and

139/87 # / stagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard. pong. khrI. mu. stengs. na. bzhugs/ yum: khrI. ma. lod. ya- 'brogl. 'jon.

140/88 na. bzhugs/ dgun. btsan. pho: khrI. rtse. na. bzhugs/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun: nam. ldong. prom. du: khu. mang. po. rje. lha

141/89 zung. dang/ blon. mang. rtsan: ldong. zhIs: bsduste/ sum. ru'I. mkos. chen. po: bgyIs/ yum. 'on. cang. do. na. bzhugs:

142/90 cIng/ 'dun. ma'ng: 'on. cang. dor. bsduste/ shId. gyi. bka' tang. chen. po. bor. bar. lo. chig/

[703-704] In the year of the hare, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in 'Ol-byag in Gling. The Chinese emissary Kam-keng paid homage.²¹⁶ They convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Ci-'bos in Yol. The mother resided in Rnang-pho Dur-myig, and they killed Khu 'Byur-lod-btsan. In the winter the Btsan-po departed to the country of 'Jang, and sacked 'Jang.²¹⁷ So one year.

143/91 # / yos. bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. glIng: gI. 'ol: byag: na. bzhugs. shIng/ rgya'I. po. nya: kam. keng. phyag. 'tsald/

144/92 mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun. yol. gyI. ci. 'bosu: bsdus/ yum: mang. pho: dur. myIg. na. bzhugs. shIng/ khu. 'byur. lod. btsan

145/93 bkum/ dgun. btsan. po: 'jang. yul. du. gshegste/ 'jang. phab/ par: lo. gcIg/

[704-705] It fell on the year of the dragon. In the spring Rgyal Gtsug-ru was born at Kho-brang-tsal.²¹⁸ In the summer the Btsan-po, the father, resided in Yo-ti Cu-bzangs in Rma-grom.²¹⁹ The mother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in 'O-dang in Yar-'brog. The council convened at Brag-sgo. In the winter the Btsan-pho departed on

Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 236). Bacot translated *shing gyi bka' tang chen po bor* as “[l]a grande réglementation des forêts fut établie” (*DTH*: 40). Wang Yao and Chen Jian (2001 [1992]: 170, n. 43) offer a different reading: “they arranged the great texts of the laws that had been made from wood” (*shing las bzos pa'i bka' khriims kyi yi ge chen po bkrams pa*). Apart from *shid*, the verb *bor* also presents some problems. Its primary meaning is “to cast aside,” but *bor* has a secondary meaning, “to say” or “to do,” as in the phrase *bro bor* “to swear [an oath],” where *bro* can be otherwise verbalized by *stsal*, and less commonly by *bskyal* or *khud* (cf. Li and Coblin 1987: 431). As seen in the above translations by Bacot and by Wang and Chen, the translators have opted for this secondary meaning of *bor*. These two meanings of *bor*, along with the option of reading either *shid* or *shing*, allow for four possibilities that can be summarized as follows: “they made / abolished the great funerary / wooden documents(s).” I have followed the prevalent gloss of *shid* with *shing* in my reading and translate *bor* according to its primary meaning, as I do in the entry for 743-744 (Version I), which also concerns the replacement of a wooden technology—the tally stick—with paper records. The present entry should probably also be read in this light. The most viable alternative translation, reading *shid* at face value, would be “they abolished the great funerary document,” but it would seem unusual to describe in such honorific terms something that is being abandoned. What’s more, funerary practices might not have come the jurisdiction of the political council.

²¹⁶ On this emissary and his career, see Petech 1967: 262).

²¹⁷ 'Jang / Ljang was located to the southeast of Tibet and refers to either the Moso peoples of northwest Yunnan or to Nanzhao, but Nanzhao was not yet established as a unified kingdom until the middle of the eighth century (Backus 1981: 43-44). Cf. Stein 1983: 216, where Ljang is taken to indicate not Nanzhao but certain Qiang peoples.

²¹⁸ According to the *Royal Genealogy* in PT 1286, Rgyal Gtsug-ru / Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan was born to 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje and Mchims-za Btsan-ma-thog Thog-steng (*DTH*: 82, 88; Dotson 2004: 88). The death of his mother, Btsan-ma-tog, is recorded in the entry for 721-722.

²¹⁹ Or, “the military government of the Rma-chu (Yellow River).” For more information on the location of this region in eastern Tibet, see Uray 1980: 313 and *supra*, “Historical Geography and the *Old Tibetan Annals*.”

a political campaign to Mywa,²²⁰ but departed to heaven. The mother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. Zhang Khri-bzang Stag-tsab convened the council at Byar-lings-tsal. So one year.

146/94 # / 'brugl. lo. la: bab. ste/ dpyld. kho. brang. tsal. du: rgyal: btsug. ru. bltam/ dbyard. btsan. po:
yab: rma. grom. gyI. yo.

147/95 tI: cu. bzangs. na. bzhugs. shIng/ yum: khrl. ma. lod: yar. 'brog. gl. 'o dang. na. bzhugste/ 'dun.
ma: brag. sgor:

148/96 'dus/ dgun. btsan. pho: chab. srId. la: mywa. la. gshegs: pa. las/ dgung. du. gshegs/ yum: khrl.
ma. lod: lhas:

149/97 gang. tsal. na. bzhugste/ 'dun. ma: byar. lIngs. tsal. du: zhang. khrl. bzang. stag. tsab. gyIs:
bsdus. par: lo. chig/

[705-706] It fell on the year of the snake. The Btsan-po, the son, Rgyal Gtsug-ru, and the grandmother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in Dron. Ldeg Ren-pa', Mnon Snang-grags, Khe-rgad Mdo-s nang, and others revolted, and at Bon-mo Na-la-tse they killed Ldeg Ren-pa and the insurgents.²²¹ At Pong Lag-rang, they deposed from the throne the Btsan-po, the elder brother, Lha Bal-pho.²²² The corpse of the Btsan-po, the father, Khri 'Dus-srong, resided in the funerary chamber at Mer-ke. In the winter, the Btsan-po Rgyal Gtsug-ru and the grandmother, Khri-ma-lod, resided in Zhur. Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung was proclaimed as chief minister.²²³ After that, at Gling-rings-tsal, they brought reprimands down upon Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung. Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen was proclaimed as chief minister.²²⁴ Se-rib revolted.²²⁵ So one year.

²²⁰ The Mywa people correspond in part to the Nanzhao. They are divided into black and white Mywa, the most famous king of the white Mywa being Gualuofeng 閣羅鳳, known to Tibet as Kag-la-bong (see the entry for 756-757; Beckwith 1987: 65). The white Mywa, corresponding to the Chinese Bai Man were more Sinicized, and formed the ruling class of the Nanzhao kingdom, which would be consolidated in the middle of the eighth century. The Black Mywa, or Wu Man, were an endogamous group corresponding apparently to the Yi (Lolo). They formed the majority of Nanzhao, but were far less Sinicized in their customs (Backus 1981: 49).

²²¹ Bacot read *bon mo na la rtser* as a personal name (*DTH*: 40). Stein (1988: 28) follows Bacot in reading this as a personal name, and believes it to indicate a female priest, *bon-mo* being the feminine form of *bon-po*. Though this is certainly an interesting possibility, I read the final “*ra*” in *rtser* as a terminative particle. In reading *bon mo na la rtse* as a toponym, I follow Petech (1967: 275). Petech further reads Ldeg Ren-pa not as a personal name, but as a title pertaining to the rebels. This is not unlikely, as Ldeg Ren-pa is rather odd as a personal name. An alternative translation, therefore, would be, “[t]he *ldeg ren-pa*, Mnon Snang-grags, Khe-rgad Mdo-s nang, and others, revolted, and at Bon-mo Na-la-tse they killed the *ldeg ren-pa* insurgents.” That a revolt would be named is not unusual, as this occurs in the case of the “Revolt of Shining Light” (*'od-'bar kheng-ldog*) in Left Horn after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire (*KhG*: 431). *Ldeg ren-pa*, if it is indeed such a term, and not a personal name, evades translation. This insurgency was no doubt in support of Lha Bal-po.

²²² The *Jiu Tangshu* states that Khri 'Dus-srong's sons disputed the succession for a long time, until Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan took the throne at the age of seven. This apparently refers to the year 712-713, when his name-bestowal ceremony is recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. The revolt recorded in the present entry, along with the ministerial intrigues, bear witness to the turmoil of this period. Beckwith (1983: 4, n. 9) extends the possibility that this phrase is to be translated, “they deposed Lha from the capital, Bal-po.” While Bal-po is also a place name, it is rather unlikely that it is a place name here, since *rgyal-sa* likely indicates not a specific capital, but the seat of government in general. We find a parallel construction in the Lhasa treaty pillar: “[t]wenty-three years of the Tang era passed from when the first lord of China, Li, assumed the throne...” (*dang po rgya rje ll rgyal sar zhugs nas// de'i tang gi srld lo nyi shu rtsa gsum lon/*) (Richardson 1985: 110; Li and Coblin 1987: 48, 96).

²²³ Chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the “Succession of Chief Ministers,” places him as one of two ministers between Mgar Btsan-snya and Mgar Khri-'bring (*DTH*: 122, 131; *infra*, Appendix Four).

²²⁴ This is also stated in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (*DTH*: 122, 131).

150/98 # / sbrul. gyl. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po. sras: rgyal: gtsug. ru. dang/ pyl. khrl. ma. lod: dron. na. bzhugs/ ldeg. ren. pa':
 151/99 mnon: snang. grags: dang/ khe. rgad. mdo. snang. las: stsogs: pa: log. ste: bon. mo: na. la. tser: ldeg. ren. pa. log.
 152/100 pa. mams: bkum/ pong. lag. rang. du: btsan. po. gcen. lha: bal. pho: rgyal. sa. nas: phab/ btsan. po. yab: khrl. 'dus.
 153/101 srong. gyl. dpur/ mer. ke'i: rIng. khang. na. bzhugs/ dgun. btsan. po: rgyal: gtsug. ru. dang/ pyl. khrl. ma. lod. zhur. na. bzhugs/
 154/102 khu. mang. po. rje. lha. zung. dang/ blon. chen. por. bka': stsald/ de'i. rjes. la: glIng. rings. tsal. du: khu. mang. po. rje. lha. zung.
 155/103 la: bkyon. phab/ dba's: khrl. gzigs: zhang. nyen: blon. chen. phor: bka'. stsalde/ se. rlb. log. par. lo. gchlg/

[706-707] It fell on the year of the horse. In the summer the Btsan-po and the grandmother resided in Dron. The corpse of the Btsan-po, the father, Khri 'Dus-srong, resided in Mer-ke. 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the council at Na-mar. They brought reprimands down upon Lho 'Dus-sregs. Zhang Rgya-sto convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gle-ma in Par.²²⁶ In the winter, they performed the funeral for the Btsan-po, the father, at Phying-ba. The grandmother, Mang-pangs, died.²²⁷ The Mdo-smad council convened at Rte'u-dkyus in Yol.²²⁸ So one year.

156/104 # / rta'l lo la: bab. ste/ btsan. po: dang/ phyI: dbyard: dron. na. bzhugs/ btsan. po: yab. gyl. dpur. mer. ke. na. bzhugs
 157/105 'dun. ma/ na. mar. du: 'bon. da. rgyal: btsan. zung. dang/ blon. chen. pho: khrl. gzigs: gyls: bsduste/ lho. 'dus. sregs
 158/106 la: bkyon. phab/ mdo. smad. gyl. dgun. 'dun. par. gyl. gle. mar: zhang. rgya. stos. bsdus/ dgun. phyIng. bar. btsan. po:
 159/107 yab. gyl. mdad. btang/ pyl. mang. pangs. nongs/ mdo. smad. gyl. 'dun. ma: yol. gyl. rte'u: dkyusu: 'dus. par. lo. chig/

²²⁵ Se-rib appears to indicate a region in the Kali Gandaki valley, but perhaps also including Skyid-rong and the area around Mt. Manaslu, a kingdom that seem also to be described in Chinese sources (Chang 1959–1960: 143; Petech 1967: 275; Jackson 1978: 198–200, 207–08; Ramble 1997: 500–05).

²²⁶ He is perhaps the same person as 'Bro zhang Brtan-sgra Ya-sto, the Mdo-blon chen-po mentioned in *Annals of 'A-zha Principality* (Yamaguchi 1970a: 69; Uray 1978: 551). His association here with the Mdo-smad council would also suggest that the Mdo-blon was the ranking minister of Mdo-smad, and not Mdo-khams. Further, it points to a connection between Mdo-smad and 'A-zha. The two names do not match perfectly, and Richardson, who devoted some time to the study of Tibetan names, remarks that *sto* frequently appears as the final syllable in the names of those belonging to the Tshe-spong clan (Richardson 1985: 92). This ending is not exclusive to their names, however, as it is also found in certain Cog-ro names, and even in 'Bro names, as seen above.

²²⁷ The verb *nongs* means “to grieve, regret” or “to err,” but is employed as a verb for death in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (Hill forthcoming).

²²⁸ There appears to be an error in this entry, as it seems to list two Mdo-smad winter councils. One is surely the Tibet council—likely the one in Par / Phar, since the Mdo-smad winter council of 703-704 was in Ci-'bos in Yol, which is roughly the same place as Rte'u-dkyus in Yol, while Phar is named as a royal residence in 698-699 and 699-700.

[707-708] It fell on the year of the sheep. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. The grandmother resided in Dron.²²⁹ 'Bon Da-rgyal and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Lha-gab. They transferred the tally of the fiscal governor's revenue office.²³⁰ The commissioner, Gnubs Kho-ma-re, died. They appointed Rdo 'Phan-kong in his place. They calculated (confiscated) the wealth of the disgraced Khu and Lho. In the autumn they performed the funeral for grandmother Mang-pangs. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar then moved the court. The grandmother and grandson resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the winter council at 'On-cang-do. They transformed the [heads of] five hundred into heads of little thousand-districts.²³¹ The Mdo-smad council convened at Rma-rong in Rag-tag. So one year.

160/108 # / lugl. lo. la. bab/ btsan. pho: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs/ py.I dron. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun: lha. gab. du: 'bon.

161/109 da. rgyal: da_{ng}/ blon. chen. po: khrl. gzigs: gyIs: bsduste/ mngan. gyI. khab. soe: khram: spos/ brung. pa: gnubs: kho. ma. re. gum:

162/110 ste/ skyIn. bar: rdo. 'phan. kong. bcug/ khu: dang/ lho. bkyon. bab. gyI. nor. brtsis/ ston. phyI. mang. pangs: gyI. mdad. btang/

163/111 dgun. btsan. po: brag. mar. na. bzhugs: pa. las/ pho. brang. 'phoste/ phyI. sbon. lhas. gang. tsal. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun:

164/112 'on. cang. dor: blon. chen. pho: khrl. gzigs: gyIs: bsdus. ste/ lnga. brgya. stong. bu: rjer. bcos/ mdo. smad. gyI. mdun. ma'.

165/113 rag. tagl. rma. rong. du: 'dus. par: lo. gclg/

[708-709] It fell on the year [of] the monkey. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Sha-ru Stronghold in Bal-po. The grandmother's court resided in Dron. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Mkris-pha-tang. They took account of the red tally of the royal guards. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Brag-mar. The grandmother resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the council at 'On-chang-do. The Mdo-smad council convened at Nyam-pu in Rag-tag. They gathered many gold taxes from the subjects.²³² In the spring they performed the funeral for Princess Gatun.²³³ So one year.

²²⁹ In this year she requested a marriage alliance with China and the Chinese agreed (Bushell 1880: 456; Pelliot 1961: 13; and Lee 1981: 28).

²³⁰ The term *khab-so* appears to refer in general to the tax office / revenue office (*khab-so*) and its functionaries (*khab-so-pa*, *khab-so dpon-sna*) (Uray 1982: 546; Li and Coblin 1987: 123–25). Among other things, this office took charge of property confiscated from executed or exiled criminals (ITJ 753, ll. 48–56; Thomas 1936, 280, 284; Uray 1962b: 354–55, n. 2). In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* there are two apparent references to this office, but with the variant spellings of *khab-bso* (l. 67) and *kha-bso* (l. 448). The latter may reveal the derivation of this word from *kha-bso*, literally, “feed mouths,” meaning “welfare” (Dotson 2007b: 5, n. 2). The verb *spos* means “moved” or “transferred.” We find it in the latter sense in the entry for 744-745: “[b]y the Btsan-po's decree, the red tally was transferred to yellow paper,” and in the former sense in the entry for 673-674: “[a]t the beginning of the summer the Btsan-po resided in Pho-dam-mdo. Late in the summer he moved to Sum-chu-bo.” This is found also in the present entry, as *'phos*: “In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar then moved the court.”

²³¹ The existence of a *stong-bu-rje*, who is presumably the head of a *stong-bu-chung* or “sub-thousand district” is a good indication of the probable existence of thousand-districts (*stong-sde*) and heads of thousand districts (*stong-dpon*) at this time. On this post, see Uray 1982: 546.

²³² Here I attribute an ablative function to *la*.

²³³ As noted already, this is a Turkic title, *qatun*, meaning queen, and not a name. She is either a Western Turk or 'A-zha princess (Beckwith 1983: 6, n. 14; Uebach 1997b: 59, n. 12; and *supra*, “The Tibetan Empire, a Brief Survey.”

166/114 # / spre'u. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal. po: sha. ru: mkhar. na. bzhugs/ pyl. po. brang. dron. na. bzhugs. shlng/ dbyar.

167/115 'dun: mkhrIs. pha: tang. du: blon. chen. po: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: bsduste/ sku: srungs: gyl. khram: dmar. pho: brtsIs/ dgun.

168/116 btsan. po: pho. brang: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ pyl. lhas. gang. tsal. na. bzhugs/ 'dun. ma: 'on. chang. dor/ blon. chen.

169/117 po: khrI. gzIgs: gyis: bsdus/ mdo. smad. gyl. mdun. ma: rag. tagI. nyam. pur: 'dus/ 'bangs. la: gser:

170/118 khral: mang. po. bsdus/ dpyId. btsan. mo: ga. tun. gyl. mdad. btang. bar: lo: gchig/

[709-710] It fell on the year of the bird. The Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. The grandmother resided in Dron. The summer council convened at Mkhri-pa-rtsa. They made an administration of the pasturelands of Left Horn. In the winter the Btsan-pho's court resided in Brag-mar. The grandmother resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. The council convened at 'On-chang-do. They took account of the red fire-raising [stations] of Ru-lag. They captured the king of Se-rib. The Mdo-smad winter council convened at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

171/119 # / bya. gagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. pho: bal. po. na. bzhugs/ phyl. dron. na. bzhugs/ dbyar: 'dun. mkhrIs. pa: rtsar. 'du

172/120 ste²³⁴/ g-yo. ru'i. 'brog. gyl. mkhos: bgyis/ dgun. btsan. phoe: pho. brang: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ pyl. lhas. gang: tsal: na':

173/121 bzhugs/ 'dun. ma: 'on. cang. dor: 'duste/ ru. lagI. zhugs. long. dmar. pho. brtsIs/ se. rib: gyl. rgyal: pho. bzung/ mdo.

174/122 smad. gyl. dgun. 'dun: gtse. nam: yor. du: 'dus. par: lo: gchig/

[710-711] It fell on the year [of] the dog. The Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. The grandmother resided in Dron. The council convened at MkrIs-pa-tang. They made Princess Kong-co's travelling arrangements. Zhang Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin²³⁵ and others acted as groomsmen. Princess Kim-shang Khong-co departed to Shatsal in Ra-sa. In the winter the Btsan-po, husband and wife, resided in Brag-mar. The grandmother resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. Zhang Rgya-sto and Sta-gu Ri-tsab convened the Mdo-smad council at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

175/123 # / khyI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po: bal. po. na: bzhugs/ pyl. dron. na. bzhugs/ mkhrIs. pha. tang. du: 'dun. ma: 'duste:

176/124 btsan. mo: khong. co. gshegs: pa'I. yo: byad. bkral/ zhang. btsan. to. re. lhas: byIn. las: stsogs. pas/ gnye. bo. bgyI

177/125 ste²³⁶/ btsan. mo: kIm: shang. khong. co: ra. sa'I. sha. tsal. du. gshegs/ dgun. btsan. po: stangs: dbyal: brag. mar. na. bzhugs:

²³⁴ This is the same practice observed above at ll. 60–61 whereby one word starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next. The intended phrase here is 'duste.

²³⁵ He is perhaps identical with Zhang Btsan-to-re, mentioned in the same context in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality* (Yamaguchi 1970a: 66).

²³⁶ Here *bgyste* starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next.

178/126 pyl. lha. sgang.²³⁷ tsaj. na. bzhugste/ mdo. smad. gyl. 'dun. ma: gtse. naM. yor. du: zhang. rgya. sto: da_{ng}/ sta. gu. rI. tsab. gyis: bsdus pa^r: lo. chig/

[711-712] In the year of the pig, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. The grandmother resided in Dron. 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Gzhong-phyag. They brought reprimands down upon Chog-ro Khong-ge. In the winter the Btsan-pho's court resided in Brag-mar. The grandmother resided in Lhas-gang-tsal. 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened [the council] at Skyi-mams. They convoked many [registrations of] male able-bodied adults. Chog-ro Khri-gzigs Gnang-kong convened the Mdo-smad council at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

179/127 # / pagI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal. po. na. bzhugs/ pyl. dron. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun. gzhong. phyag. du. 'bon. da. rgyal. btsa_n.

180/128 zung. da_{ng}/ blon. chen. pho: khrl. gzigs: gyls: bsduste/ chog. ro: khong. ge. la: bkyon. bab/ dgun. [pho] btsan. phoe: po. brang. brag. mar:

181/129 na. bzhugs/ pyl. lhas. gang. tsal. na. bzhugs/ skyI. mamsu: 'bon. da. rgyal: btsan. zung. da_{ng}/ blon. blon.²³⁸ chen. pho: khrl.

182/130 gzigs: gyls. bsduste/ pha. los: mang. pho: bkug/ mdo. smad. gyl. 'dun. ma: gtse. nam. yor. du: chog. ro: khrl. gzi

183/131 gs²³⁹/ gnang. kong: gyls: bsdus: par: lo. gchIg/

[712-713] In the year of the rat, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-pho. The grandmother resided in Dron. 'Bon Da-rgyal [Btsan-zung] and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened [the council] at Bye-malung in Lha-gab. In the winter [the Btsan-po] resided in Brag-mar. The Btsan-po's name was adopted to be Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan instead of Rgyal Gtsug-ru.²⁴⁰ The grandmother Khri-ma-lod died. 'Bon Da-rgyal [Btsan-zung] and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the winter council at Skyi-dra-tsal. They took account of the red tally of the three Horns. The grandmother arrived [at the end of the lying-in / embalming state].²⁴¹ So one year.

184/132 # / byI. ba'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal. pho. na. bzhugs/ pyl. dron. na. bzhugs/ 'bon. da. rgyal: da_{ng}/ blon. chen. pho. khrl. gzl

185/133 gs:²⁴² gyls/ lha. gab. gyl. bye. ma. lung. du. bsduste/ dgun. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ btsan. poe. mtshan. rgyal: gtsug.

186/134 ru. las/ khrl. lde. gtsug. rtsan. du. gsold/ pyl. khri. ma. lod. nongs/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. dra. tsal. du: 'bon. da. rgyal: dang/

187/135 blon. chen. pho: khrl. gzigs: gyls: bsduste/ ru. gsum: gyl. khram: dmar. pho. brtsIs/ phyi: btol. bar: lo: gchig/

²³⁷ Read *lhas gang*; the *tsheg* has been misplaced.

²³⁸ This repetition of *blon* is puzzling; I can only assume it is an error.

²³⁹ Here *gzigs* starts at the end of one line and ends and the beginning of the next.

²⁴⁰ As with Khri 'Dus-srong, the name-bestowal marks the emperor's succession to the throne. See Uray 1964: 331.

²⁴¹ On the term *btol*, see the fn. 174 to the entry for 678-679.

²⁴² Here *gzigs* starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next.

[713-714] It fell on the year of the ox. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Brdzen-tang in Mal-tro. 'Bon Da-rgyal [Btsan-zung] and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Rkyang-bu-tsal in Zu-pug. They appointed the [heads] of five hundred. They proclaimed the summer and winter lands.²⁴³ The Chinese emissary Yang-kheng paid homage.²⁴⁴ In the winter the Btsan-pho's court resided in Brag-mar. They performed the grandmother Khri-ma-lod's funeral at Pying-ba. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the winter council at Mong-kar. Gnubs Khri-mnyen Mon-tsan died, and they offered the subjects of the *khud-pa chen-pho*²⁴⁵ to [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher. So one year.

188/136 # / glang. gyI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. po. dbyard: mal: troe. brdzen. tang. na. bzhugs/ 'bon. da. rgyal: da_{ng}: blon. chen. pho:

189/137 khrI. gzIgs: gyis/ dbyar. 'dun. zu. spugI. rkyang. bu. tsal: du. bsduste/ lnga. brgya. bskos/ sngo. sa: skya. sa/ kha. bstand.

190/138 rgya'I. pho. nya: yang. kheng. phyag. 'tsald/ dgun. btsan. phoe. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ pying. bar: phyI: khri.

191/139 ma. lod. gyI. mdad. btang/ dgun. 'dun: mong. kar: du/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. gzigs: gyls: bsduste/ gnubs:

192/140 khrI. mnyen: mon. tsan. gum. nas/ khud. pa: chen. phoe. 'bangs: khrI. sum: rje. rtsang. bzher. la: phul. bar. lo. chig/

[714-715] It fell on the year of the tiger. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Brdzen-tang in Mal-thro and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the council at Ltams in Mal-thro. They removed the commissioner Rdo 'Phan-kong [from his post] and installed Tshes-pong Tre-gong.²⁴⁶ 'Bon Da-rgyal and Zhang Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin carried out at 'O-khol in Sil-gu-cin an administration of the 'A-zha. In the

²⁴³ Gnya'-gong (1995: 99, n. 8) states that this indicates summer and winter lands, as does a gloss in Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 172, n. 53. The meaning of the phrase *kha-stand* is unclear, and the present rendering is necessarily provisional.

²⁴⁴ On this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 262–63.

²⁴⁵ Following Thomas, Bacot translated this as “grand trésorier” (*DTH*: 43). A note in Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 172, n. 54 states that it means “wealth and possessions.” While the common meaning of *khud-pa* is “pocket” or “pouch” (Jäschke 1998 [1881]: 41), it is also used to mean “gift” (*Bka' gdams kyi man ngag be'u bum sngon po'i rtsa 'grel*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrunkhang, 1991; cited in Dan Martin's online dictionary at THL). In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* we find *khud-pa* used to verbalize oaths in the phrases *dbu-snyung khud* and *bro khud* (PT 1287, ll. 252; *DTH*: 143–44). One possibility is that it is here related to here to *skud-pa* “to smear,” as smearing the mouth with the blood of the sacrificial victim was certainly a part of oath-taking, and this is mentioned also in the *Xin Tangshu*'s account of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821-822 (Bushell 1880: 521; Pelliot 1961: 131). This still doesn't seem to clarify the office of *khud-pa chen-po*. The term *khud* also appears as a verb in the divination text ITJ 739: “whatever you do and whatever you've contemplated, you have not forgotten to *khyu khud*.” This may concern tending one's herds, since the prognosis tells of someone whose riches increase while he ignores the God Mgon-btsun-phya (or, the protectors (*mgon*), ancestors (*btsun*), and Phya Gods), and likens this to pouring mud into water. This bad prognosis arrived at by throwing a dice roll of 4 4 2: *kve na ning ni / tshal mo skar / dgongs spyod ni re che na / mgon btsun ni phyas dang ste / sdug la ni yun re ring / ci bgyi ni ci bsamS kyang/ khyu khud ni bskyud myi 'tshal / dran sems ni gsal yang / dbang dang chung ste 'jim pa chur bcug pa bzhim ste ngan no //* (ITJ 739, verso 4, ll. 3–7). As before, however, this fails to clarify the meaning of the office *khud-pa chen-po*.

²⁴⁶ This is the first of six instances of “relief and replacement” in the *Annals* (c.f. Chang 1959–1960: 132). The removal (*byung / phyung*) is followed by appointment (*bcug / bchug*). The former verb is found in a very literal sense in the second half of the legal document PT 1071, which concerns a situation where a bystander either removes (*phyung*) or fails to remove a man from under a yak. The first clause begins, “[t]he law [in the event that] one of the rank of great minister or his equal down to one of the rank of silver gilt insignia or his equal was trapped under a yak, and one removes him or does not remove him” (*zhang lon chen po dang stong mnyam ba man cad / phra men kyl yI ge pa dang stong mnyam ba yan cad / g.yagi 'og du chud la / gcig gis gcig phyung ba dang / ma phyung ba'i khirms la /*) (PT 1071, ll. 329–30).

winter the Btsan-pho resided in Nyen-kar. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher²⁴⁷ convened the winter council at Mnon. 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs, the two of them, led a military campaign to 'Bu-shing-kun and returned.²⁴⁸ So one year.

193/141 # / stagI. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. pho: dbyard: mal: throe: brdzen. tang. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'dun. ma/ mal: throe ltamsu/ blon. chen.

194/142 po: khrl. gzigs: gyis: bsduste/ brung. pa: rdo. 'phan. kong. nI: byung/ tshes. pong: tre. gong. bchug. ste/ 'bon. da. rgyal: dang: zhang:

195/143 btsan. to. re: lhas: byIn: gyis/ sIl. gu: cIn. gyi: 'o. khol: du: 'a. zha'I. mkhos: bgyIs/ dgun. btsan. pho: nyen. kar: na':

196/144 bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun: mnon. du: blon. khrl. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher. gyIs/ bsduste/ 'bon. da. rgyal: dang/ blon. chen. pho:

197/145 khrl. gzigs: gnyIs: gyis/ 'bu. shIng. kun. du: dra. ma: drangste/ slar. 'khord. par: lo. gchIg/

[715-716] In the year of the hare the Btsan-po resided in Rtsibs in Zhe-shing. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher convened the summer council at Rkyang-bu-tshal in Zu-spug. The commissioner of Rtsang-chen,²⁴⁹ Lang Sa-tseng, died, and they installed Zhang Khri-mnyes Smon-zung. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Nya-sha-tshal. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher convened the council at Nubs in 'O-yug. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Rgyod. They carried out a great administration of Mdo-smad. So one year.

198/146 # / yos: bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po. zhe.²⁵⁰ shIng. gyI. rtsibs: na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun. zu. spugI. rkyang. bu: tshal: du: blon. khrl. sum. rje. rtsang:

199/147 bzher. gyIs: bsduste/ rtsang. cen. gyI. brung. pa: lang. sa: tseng. gum. ste/ zhang. khrl. mnyes: smon. zung. bcug/ dgun. btsan. po. nya. sha.

200/148 tshal. na. bzhugs/ 'dun. ma: 'o. yugI. nubsu/ blon. khrl. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher. gyIs: bsduste/ blon. chen. po: khrl. gzigs:

201/149 gyis/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun: rgyodu. bsdus. nas/ mdo. smad. gyI. mkhos. chen. po: bgyIs. par: lo. gchIg/

[716-717] It fell on the year of the dragon. In the summer the Btsan-po's court. . .²⁵¹

202/150 # / : / 'brugI. lo. la: bab. ste/ dbyard. btsan. pho: pho. brang/

²⁴⁷ The entry for 721-722 records his appointment as chief minister.

²⁴⁸ Beckwith (1987: 80) writes that these two carried out raids across the Yellow River, from Lintao 臨洮 and Lanzhou 蘭州 to Weiyuan 渭源, near the source of the Wei River. Petech (1967: 251-52) discusses the problems of locating 'Bu-shing-kun, and of identifying it with Lintao.

²⁴⁹ Note that Rtsang-chen is mentioned here after Ru-lag was already mentioned in 710, thus indicating that Ru-lag could not have replaced Rtsang-chen as an administrative territory at this point.

²⁵⁰ Imaeda and Takeuchi correct this to *zha* (CD3: 48).

²⁵¹ The entry ends here, and the next few lines are left completely blank. This is the only such incomplete entry in Version I of the *Old Tibetan Annals* prior to the partial final entry for the year 747-748.

[717-718] In the year of the snake, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Dungs. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the Mdo-smad council at Gnyi-ji-gen. In the winter the Btsan-pho's court resided in Brag-mar. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher convened the winter council at Mong-kar. They removed Zhang Khri-mnyes Mnyen-lod as *chibs-pon*,²⁵² and installed Zhang 'Bring-rtzan Khyi-bu. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Ryam-shi-gar. They made an account of the fiscal governors' households.²⁵³ So one year.

203/151# / : / sbrul: gyI. lo. la: btsan. po: dbyard. dungs. na. bzhugs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: blon. chen. po: khrl. gzigs. gyIs/ gnyI.
 204/152 jI. gen. du. bsdus/ dgun. btsan. phoe: pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. mong. kar. du: blon. khrl. sum: rje: rtsang. bzher.
 205/153 gyis/ bsduste/ chIbs: pon: zhang. khrl. mnyes: mnyen. lod. byung/ zhang. 'brIng. rtsan. khyI. bu: bchug/ blon. chen. pho. khrl. gzIgs:
 206/154 gyIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun: ryam. shI. gar. du. bsduste/ mngan. gyI: khyIm. rtsis: bgyIs: phar: lo. chig/

[718-719] In the year of the horse, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. Zhang Btsan-to-re [Lhas-byin] and Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher convened the summer council at Gro-pu. They carried out the red tally of Dags-po.²⁵⁴ In the winter the Btsan-pho's court resided in Brag-mar. They carried out the felt roll [tax] and fodder roll [tax] of the royal lands and *glings* (grazing lands?) of the three Horns. [Chief] Minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Yol. So one year.

207/155 # / rta'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun. gro. pur: zhang. btsan. to. re. daNg/ blon. khrl. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher:
 208/156 gyis: bsduste/ dags: poe: khram: dmar. pho. btab/ dgun. btsan. phoe: pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ ru. gsum. gyI. rje. zhing.
 209/157 glIgs: gyI. pying. rIIdaNg²⁵⁵/ sog. rIId. bgyIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun/ blon. khrl. gzigs: gyIs/ yol. du. bsdus. phar. lo. chig

²⁵² While most have interpreted *chibs-pon* as “horse chief,” it is evident that Chibs is a place name. One of the first catalogues in the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG*, that of the “administrative chiefs” (*khos-dpon*) reflects an administrative structure dating to the mid-630s (Uray 1972a: 41). It lists the administrative chiefs of Tibet, Zhang-zhung, Sum-pa, Chibs, and Mthong-khyab, and names their locations. This indicates that Chibs is a place name and cannot be taken to mean “administrative chief of his majesty’s horses,” as claimed by Uray (1972a: 33). Further, the administrative chief of Chibs, Dbas Btsan-bzang Dpal-legs, was stationed at Gram-pa Tshal, and this gives us the general location of Chibs, as Gram-pa corresponds to the Gram valley above Sa-skya. Chibs also appears as a place name in the funerary narrative of the *Zas gñad* at the end of the *Dba' bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 94). In this connection, it is worthy of note that Chibs is a place from which swift horses are summoned. One possibility is that this region came to be called Chibs (horse) as a result of its excellent horses. The reverse, that the honorific term for horse derived from this toponym, is also possible. For further discussion, see Hazod, *infra* Part III, section 2.

²⁵³ This almost certainly indicates those estates for which they were held administratively responsible, and not the fiscal governors' own households.

²⁵⁴ The red tally of Dags-po appears to mark the “nationalization” of Dags-po as part of the administrative Tibetan Empire and the end of Da-rgyal's status as a minor king (*rgyal-phran*), since Da-rgyal is last mentioned in the entry for 714-715. For further details, see Uebach 1997b: 61 and *supra*, “Dynastic Marriage.”

²⁵⁵ Read *rild dang*.

[719-720] In the year of the sheep, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. Zhang Btsan-to-re [Lhas-byin] and Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the summer council at Zar-phu in Dra. They made an account of the felt roll [tax] of the royal lands of the three Horns, an account of the fodder [tax], and an account of Ru-yong Phyi-g seng's having died, and the installation [as his replacement] of commissioner Seng-go Mon-bu. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar. Zhang Btsan-to-re and Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the winter council at Tshang-bang-sna. They convoked [a registration of] male able-bodied adults (*pha-los*) of Zhang-zhung and Mard.²⁵⁶ Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tsab levied the felt roll [tax] on the royal lands of Rtsang-chen. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Yol. So one year.

210/158 # / lugI. gI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun. dra'I. zar. phur. zhang. btsan. to. re. da_{ng}/ blon. khrI. sum: rjes: bsdu
 211/159 ste²⁵⁷/ ru. gsum: gyI. rje. zhing. gyI. phying. rIl: gyI. rtsis: da_{ng}/ sog. ma'I. rtsis: da_{ng}/ ru. yong. phyI. gseng. gum. ste/ brung. pa: seng. go: mon. bu. bchug
 212/160 pa'I: rtsis: bgyIs/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. tshang. bang. snar: zhang. btsan. to. re: da_{ng}/ blon: khrI. sum:
 213/161 rjes: bsduste/ zhang. zhung. da_{ng}: mard. kyI. pha. los: bkug/ mgegs: [zha]mang. zham: stag. tsab: gyIs/ rtsang. chen. gyI: rje. zhing. gyI. pying.
 214/162 rIl: btav/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun: blon. chen. po: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: yol. du. bsdus: phar: lo: gchIg/

[720-721] In the year [of] the monkey the Btsan-po resided in Stag-tsal in Dungs. A 'Bug-cor emissary paid homage.²⁵⁸ Zhang Btsan-to-re and Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the summer council at Mkha'-bu in Dungs. They made an account of the felt roll [tax] of the royal lands and *glings* (grazing lands?) of Rtsang-chen.²⁵⁹ They convened the winter council at Bzang-sum-tshal. Ministers and *gtsang[-chen]* were issued with horse tack.²⁶⁰ They sacked the Chinese fortress So-ga-song. They convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

²⁵⁶ Mard, and later Mar-yul, was the Old Tibetan name for Ladakh (Uray 1990b).

²⁵⁷ Here *bsduste* starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next.

²⁵⁸ According to Beckwith (1987: 63–64, n. 56), 'Bug-cor was not only the Tibetan name for Qapaghan Qaghan (692–716), but also a designation for the Eastern Turks. Moriyasu (1980: 175) contends that it rather referred to a group active following the collapse of the second Eastern Turk Khanate, located to the east of Liangzhou and north of the great bend in the Yellow River.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 284, n. 87, where *rtsang-chen* is read not as a place name but as a variant for *gtsang-chen*, which is there understood as a post relating to land management. Scherrer-Schaub's reading is possible, especially when one compares the entry for 716-717, which mentions an account of fiscal governors' households (*mngan gyi khyim rtsis bgyis*). The latter likely indicates those households that lived under the jurisdiction of the fiscal governors, and by analogy, the royal lands in the entry for 720-721 might fall under the jurisdiction of the *gtsang-chen*. On the other hand, Rtsang-chen occurs unequivocally as a toponym in seven other places in the *Annals*, so it is read in this sense here.

²⁶⁰ This phrase, *zhang lon gtsang la chibs gyI chas phab*, presents several problems. First, Zhang Lon-gtsang could be a personal name, and Bacot reads it as such: "[u]n harnachement de cheval fut donné au Zhang Lon-gtsan" (*DTH*: 44). This is an attractive solution, since nowhere else in Version I of the *Annals* do we find the term "minister" (*zhang-lon / zhang-blon*), and Version II does not employ this term until its final entry. Bacot's footnote gives Thomas' reading of the passage: "[t]ous les *zhang-lon* furent privés (du commandement) des escadrons (*cha*) de cavalerie" (*DTH*: 44, n. 7). Here Thomas has evidently read *tshang-ma* for *gtsang*. Perhaps most interesting is that while Bacot translates *phab* with "donné," Thomas gives the verb the exact opposite meaning. In the *Annals* the verb *phab* means "to sack," or, more literally, "to cause to fall." We see this in the very next sentence in the entry: "[t]hey sacked the Chinese fortress So-ga-song" (*rgya'I mkhar so ga song phab*). The agent, which is only implied here, should be in the ergative case. The other common construction found in the *Annals* involving *phab* is the phrase

215/163 # / spre'u: lo. la/ btsan. po: dungs: gyl. stag. tsal. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'bug. cor. gyl. pho. nya: phyag. 'tsald/ dbyar. 'dun. dungs:
 216/164 gyl. mkha'. bur: zhang. btsan. to. re. da_{ng}/ blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsduste/ rtsang. chen. gyl. rje. zhing: glIngs: gyi. pyIng. rild. gyl. rtsis: bgyIs/
 217/165 dgun. 'dun: bzang. sum: tshal: du: zhang. btsan. to. re. da_{ng}/ blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsduste/ zhang. lon. gtsang. la/ chlbs: gyl. chas:
 218/166 phab/ rgya'I. mkar: so. ga. song. phab/ mdo. smad. gyl. dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam. yor. du. bsdus: par: lo: gchlg/

[721-722] In the year of the bird, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Stag-tsal in Dungs and moved to Rnang-po Dur-myig. At Dgos-dbye, many emissaries of the upper regions (Stod-phyogs) paid homage.²⁶¹ Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-gzigs, Zhang Btsan-to-re, and [Zhang] Khri-bzang Stag-tsab, the three, died.²⁶² In the winter, [the Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the council at Mkhar-phrag. They carried out a great tally of jurisdiction of the fiscal governors and upper and lower way-station [officials].²⁶³ Minister [Cog-ro] Khri-gzigs Gnang-khong convened the

"they brought reprimands down upon [name of disgraced minister]" (*xxx la bkyon phab*). Here the patient is marked with the allative particle *la*. Similarly, *zhang lon gtsang* is marked with the allative in the above passage, so we might assume that something was "brought down" or "made to fall" upon him. This text-immanent approach to the passage seems to lead us nowhere, unless we suppose that "horse tack" is being used metaphorically. Looking beyond the *Annals*, *phab* is used in legal texts to refer to punishments that are brought down or issued, and the verb is used in this way numerous times in this sense in PT 1071. It is in keeping with this meaning that I have elected to translate *phab* somewhat freely with "issued," as in something decided from above. In my opinion *chibs* can be ruled out as a place name here by its association with "equipment" (*chas*). Similarly, *gtsang* is probably not a place name because the *Annals* retains the older orthography Rtsang, as opposed to Gtsang, and Rtsang is not found on its own, but in compounds such as Rtsang-chen. We do find *gtsang* in the compound *yig-gtsang*, probably meaning "insignia of rank," in the entries for the years 699-700 and 759-760 (see fn. 206 to the entry for 699-700). Still, reading *gtsang-chen* for *gtsang* is not an ideal solution, even if it does follow the example set by Richardson (1985: 56-57) elsewhere.

²⁶¹ According to Beckwith (1987: 203-05), Stod-phyogs is the Tibetan equivalent of the Chinese 西域 *xi yu*, meaning "western regions." It generally refers to the area of a higher elevation located to the north and northwest of Tibet, around the Pamirs and the Tarim Basin. The place name Dgos-dbye is odd, but translating it as "dividing necessities" (*dgos dbyer*) or something similar would be stranger still. Further, we find parallel grammar in the entry for 732: "...the Btsan-po resided in Ding-ding-tang in Ba-chos. At Btsan-yul, the Chinese emissary Li-kheng and emissaries of Ta-chig and Dur-gyis paid homage" (*btsan po ba chos gyl ding ding tang na bzhugs/ shIng/ btsan yul du rgya'I pho nya ll kheng dang/ ta chlg dang dur gyls gyl po nya phyag 'tsald*).

²⁶² This appears to be a very serious disaster or coup. It is unfortunate that the terse style of the *Annals* does not provide more information on the events surrounding the fall of these key figures.

²⁶³ *Slungs*, as a term for a unit of distance traversed by a messenger, constituted about thirty *li* (*le-dbar*), or approximately fifteen kilometers (Bsod-nams Skyid 2003: 276). The intermittent stops are called *slungs-tshangs*, and these are headed by *slungs-dpon* (*supra*, "Conscription, the Transport Network, and the Alert System"). Here *slungs* appears to be a post closely related to that of *mngan*, and they appear in a pair not only here, but elsewhere as well. One such pairing is found in a document from Miran, Tak 377, but the fragment does not reveal anything about the meaning of *slungs* (Takeuchi 1998a: 124). A document from Mazar Tagh, Tak 244, uses the phrase *slungs-pon*, revealing the likely possibility that *slungs* is a contraction for *slungs-[d]pon* (Takeuchi 1998a: 79; TLTD2: 186-87). The term *thang-khram* indicates a tally of authority in the sense of record of officials' jurisdictions and their rights and duties (*supra*, "Land and Taxation," fn. 73). Here the terms "upper and lower" are taken to modify *slungs* and not *thang*. Otherwise, they made a great tally of the "upper and lower jurisdictions of the *slungs* and the *mngan*."

Mdo-smad winter council at 'Ryam-shi-gar. Dba's Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher was proclaimed as chief minister.²⁶⁴ The mother [of the Btsan-po], [Mchims-bza'] Btsan-ma-tog [Thog-steng], died. So one year.

219/167 # / bya gagl. lo. la/ btsan. po. dbyard: dungs: gyl. stag. tsal. na. bzhugs: pa. las/ mang. po: dur. mylg. du. 'phos. shlng/ dgos:

220/168 dbyer/ stod. phyogs: gyl: pho. nya. mang. po: phyag: 'tshald/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. gzIgs: da_{ng}/ zhang. btsan. to. re: dang/ khrI. bzang. stag. tsab:

221/169 gsum: gum/ dgun: pho. brang/ brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ 'dun. ma: mkhar. phrag. du/ blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsdus. nas/ mngan.

222/170 dang/ slungs: stod. smad. gyl. thang. khram: chen. po. btab/ mdo. smad. gyl. dgun. 'dun. 'ryam: shI. gar. du: blon. khrI. gzIgs: gngang.

222/171 khong. gyIs: bsdus/ dba's: khrI. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher: blon. chen. por: bka'. stsald/ yum. btsan. ma. tog: nongs. par: lo. chig/

[722-723] In the year [of] the dog, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the summer council at Drib-nag. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the winter council at Mkhar-prag. They calculated the surplus and deficit of the *thugs-nyen* of the revenue office.²⁶⁵ Minister [Cog-ro] Khri-gzigs Gngang-khong convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

224/172 # / khyi lo la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs. shlng/ dbyar. 'dun: drIb. nag. du: blon. chen. po: khrI. sum. rjes: bsdus/ dgun.

225/173 btsan. po: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun: mkhar. prag. du/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. sum: rjes: bsduste/ khab. soe: thugs. nyen.

226/174 gyl. lhag. cad. brtsIs/ mdo. smad. gyl. 'dun. ma: gtse. nam: yor. du: blon. khrI. gzIgs: gngang. khong. gyis. bsdus. phar. lo. chig/

²⁶⁴ This corresponds to the "Succession of Chief Ministers" in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which lists Dba's Khri-sum-rje Rtsan-bzher after Mgar Khri-'bring and before Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tshab (*DTH*: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four). Oddly, the document omits Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen, whose tenure as chief minister lasted from 705 to 721.

²⁶⁵ The term *thugs-nyen* in *khab soe thugs nyen gyi lhag cad brtsis* presents a problem. As noted above in the entry for 707-708, the term *khab-so* appears to refer in general to the tax office / revenue office (*khab-so*) and its functionaries (*khab-so-pa*, *khab-so dpon-sna*). The term *thugs-nyen* should presumably be read as *thugs-gnyen*, literally "heart relative." This might be taken to refer to the hereditary aristocracy, and perhaps more explicitly to the near relatives of the Tibetan emperor. These two terms, *khab-so* and *thugs-gnyen*, also appear in close succession in a passage found in both the *Dba' bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 75–76) and in *KhG* (382, ll. 12–13; Dotson 2007b: 47–48). *Thugs*, meaning "mind" or "disposition," is found in a number of compounds attested in Old Tibetan texts. In letters, one commonly opens with a florid formula asking after the addressee's health (*thugs-bde*) (Takeuchi 1990: 183–84). In diplomatic correspondence, often the authorities will "consider" (*thugs-dpag / thugs-bag mdzad*) a matter put to them and offer a decision. In this sense, *thugs-nyen* (not *gnyen*) could indicate mental disturbance, although this is hardly something where the surplus and deficit could be calculated. Gnya'-gong (1995: 100, n. 18) renders it with 'gro-sgo ("expenditure"), and while this seems to rely entirely on context, it is perhaps more persuasive than any of the literal meanings suggested here.

[723-724] In the year of the pig, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bal-po.²⁶⁶ [Chief] Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang bzher] convened the summer council at Drib-nag. They removed both fiscal governors Lang-gro Snya-brtsan Khong-lod and Seng-go 'Dring-rtsan Mon-chung [from their posts], and installed both Chog-ro Snya-zhin-kong and Gnubs Khri-sum-rje Stag-rtsan. In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Brag-mar. They performed the funeral for the mother, Btsan-ma-thog. Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-zher] convened the council at Mong-kar. They made an account of [Chief] Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher]'s offering of [the post of] *khud-pa chen-po* to Zhang Khri-mnyes Smon-zung.²⁶⁷ Minister [Cog-ro] Khri-gzigs Gngang-khong convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. So one year.

227/175 # / phagI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal. po. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar. 'dun: drIb. nag. du: blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsduste/ mngan: lang.
 228/176 gro: snya. brtsan: khong. lod. da_{ng}/ seng. go: 'brIng. rtsan: mon. chung. gnyIs: phyung. ste/ chog. ro: snya: zhIn. kong. da_{ng}/ gnubs: khrI. sum. rje:
 229/177 stag. rtsan. gnyIs: bchug/ dgun. btsan. pho: brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ yum. btsan. ma. thogI. mdad. btang/ 'dun. ma: mong. kar. du:
 230/178 blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsduste/ khud. pa: chen. pho: blon. khrI. sum. rjes/ zhang. khrI. mnyes: smon. zung. la: phul. ba'I. rtsis: bgyIs/
 231/179 mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam: yor. du: blon. khrI. gzigs: gngang. khong. gyIs: bsdus: par: lo. chIg/

[724-725] In the year of the rat, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Spel and departed [to the] north for sport. At Kho-nye Du-ru, he hunted wild yak (lit. “with regard to wild yak, they made sport”), and fettered wild yak.²⁶⁸ Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened the summer council at Lci'u-lung in Dbu-ru-shod. Minister Sta-gu Ri-tsab convened [the council] at Chos-gong in Pa-nong. They carried out an administration of Zhang-zhung. In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje convened the winter council at Lhas-gang-tsal. Minister [Cog-ro] Khri-gzigs Gngang-kong convened the Mdo-smad council at Rgyod. So one year.

²⁶⁶ During this same summer Princess Kong-co wrote to Chandrāpīda, the king of Kashmir, requesting asylum. Arrangements were made through Tegin, the ruler of Zabulistan, and in consultation with the Tang emperor, Xuanzong 玄宗 (712–756), but nothing seems to have come of it (Beckwith 1987: 96, n. 62). This is of course not the type of information that would be recorded in the *Annals*.

²⁶⁷ Minister Khri-sum-rje was offered the subjects of the *khud-pa chen-po* in the entry for the year 713-714 (Uray 1962b: 357, n. 12). Zhang Khri-mnyes Smon-zung had replaced Lang Sa-tseng as commissioner in the entry for 715-716.

²⁶⁸ This passage suggests that the other royal trips “to the north” may have also been hunting trips where the Btsan-po engaged wild yaks. The relationship between the Tibetan emperor and the yak is also described in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. A passage introducing Khri 'Dus-srong states, “[f]rom the time when Btsan-po Khri 'Dus-srong was small, even though he was young, he killed wild boar, fettered wild yaks, seized tigers by their ears, and so forth” (*btsan po khri 'dus srong // sku chung nas gzhon gyis kyang // phag rgod la bshan gyIs mdzad / g.yag rgod sgrog [sgog] du bcug // stagI rna ba la bzung ba la stsogs pa*) (PT 1287, ll. 328–29; *DTH*: 112, 149). It seems that the Btsan-po's relationship with the yak may be described as one of ritual combat, as is evident in one of the later accounts of the first king's descent from heaven, where the presence of yaks figures among the god's objections to the land of Tibet (Karmay 1998 [1994]: 300). This sentiment is also apparent in the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* where Dri-gum Btsan-po challenges his subjects, “[w]ho dares serve as an enemy and take the role of the yak?” (*dgra ru rgal g.yag du drung phod dam zhes*) (PT 1287, ll. 8–9; *DTH*: 97, 123; cf. Hill 2006: 91, n. 12).

232/180 # / byI. ba'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. spel. na. bzhugs. shIng/ byang. roldu. gshegste/ kho. nye. du. rur/ g-yag. rgod. la: rol. mo. mdzade/
233/181 g-yag. rgod. sgrog. du. bchug/ dbyar. 'dun: dbu. ru. shod. gyI: lcI'u. lung. du: blon. chen. po: khrI. sum. rjes: bsdus/ pa. nong. gyI. chos: go_{ng}.
234/182 du/ blon. sta. gu: rI. tsab. gyis: bsduste/ zhang. zhung. gyI. mkos: bgyIs/ dgun. btsan. pho: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ blon. chen. po: khrI. suM:
235/183 rjes/ dgun. 'dun. lhas. gang. tsal. du. bsdus/ blon. khrI. gzigs: gnang. kong. gyIs: mdo. smad. gyI: 'dun. ma. rgyodu. bsdus pa_r/ lo. chI_g

[725-726] In the year of the ox, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Mtshar-bu-sna. [Chief] Minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] convened [the council] at Bri'u-tang in Bal-po. Chief minister [Dba's] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-bzher] died. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. They exiled Seng-go Mon-chung to Tshang-bang-sna. In the spring Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tsab was proclaimed as chief minister.²⁶⁹ So one year.

236/184 # / glang. gyI. lo: la/ btsan. po: dbyard: mtshar. bu: sna. na. bzhugs/ shIng/ blon. khrI. sum: rjes: bal: poe: brI'u: tang. du. bsduste/ blon. chen.
237/185 po: khrI. sum. rje. gum/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ tshang. bang. snar: seng. go: mon. chung. spyugs/ dpyId/ rngegs: mang. zhaM
238/186 stag. tsab/ blon. chen. phor: bka': stsald. par/ lo: gcig/

[726-727] In the year of the tiger, the Btsan-po's court resided in Mtshar-bu-sna in Se-ga. Chief minister Mang-zham convened [the council] at Lha-gab. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Brag-mar. They dispatched representatives to announce the reduction of great fiscal governors from eight to four.²⁷⁰ In the spring, Chief minister Mang-zham convened [the council] at Zlo. They assigned the fiscal governors' jurisdictions. They assigned the revenue office's taxpayers.²⁷¹ [Dba's] Stag-sgra Kong-lod convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor.²⁷² So one year.

239/187 # / stag. gI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: pho. brang: sre. ga'I: mtshar. bu. sna. na. bzhugs/ blon. chen. pho. mang. zham: gyIs: lha. gab. du: bsdus/

²⁶⁹ Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tshab succeeds Dba's Khri-sum-rje as chief minister in the "Succession of Chief Ministers" in chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (DTH: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four).

²⁷⁰ Here I have followed Petech's interpretation of this problematic passage (Petech 1967: 276–77). See, however, Uray 1962b: 358–59, where *ring-lugs* is treated not as a person, but as a "decree." More recently, Walter (1998b) demonstrated that *ring-lugs* is an office upholding the presence (*ring*) of the emperor, and I have accordingly translated it with "representative." A similar construction employing *ring-lugs* with the verb *bkye* is found in the final entry of Version I of the *Annals*, 747–748. The verb *bkye* "to dispatch," "to issue," is found most often in the formulae accompanying seals on official correspondences: "[w]e have attached the seal of the dispatch" (*bkye'i phyag rgya phogs ste*) (PT 1083, l. 1; PT 1085, l. 1) and "seal dispatched from the court" (*pho brang nas bka' rtags bkye*) (PT 1085, l. 9). *Bkye* is also nominalized as "a dispatch" in loan contracts (Takeuchi 1995: 88–89, 257–63).

²⁷¹ I follow Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 87) in his reading of this passage: "les contribuables de l'impôt *khral* furent répartis entre les *khabs*." Alternatively, if we read *khral-pa*, by analogy with *khram-pa* "tally official," then the sentence translates, "they appointed the revenue office's tax officials." See also the use of *khral-pa* in the entry for 746–747.

²⁷² That winter Stag-sgra Khong-lod raided the Dadou 大斗 valley and attacked Ganzhou 甘州, but was defeated by Chinese as he fled to Kokonor (Beckwith 1987: 100).

240/188 dgun. btsan. poe: pho. brang/ brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ mngan. mched.²⁷³ brgyad. las: bzhlr.
bcos: pa'I: zlugs: gyl. ring. lugs:

241/189 bkyl/ dpyld. blon. chen. po: mang. zham: gyls/ zlor. bsduste/ mngan. gyl. thang. sbyard/
khab. so'l: khrald. pa: bskos/ mdo. smad.

242/190 gyl. dgun: 'dun: stag. sgra: khong. lod. gyls/ gtse. nam: yor. du. bsdus: par: lo. gclg/

[727-728] In the year of the hare, in the summer the Btsan-po departed on a political campaign to the land of 'A-zha. On the way, Dba's Sum-po-skyes was the subject of an accusation. They sacked the Chinese stronghold Kwa-chu Sin-cang.²⁷⁴ Chief minister Mang-zham died. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Jor-gong-sna. He met with 'Bon 'A-zha rje [as] bride-giver and bride-receiver.²⁷⁵ Dba's Stag-sgra Khong-lod was proclaimed as chief minister.²⁷⁶ [They] bestowed gifts [on] many people of 'A-zha.²⁷⁷ Zhang 'Bringrtshan Khyi-bu convened the winter council of the land of Tibet at Skyi Lhas-gang-tshal.²⁷⁸ Minister [Cog-ro] Khri-gzigs Gngang-khong convened the Mdo-smad council at 'Bro Lchi'u-lung. So one year.

243/191 # / yos: bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyar. chab. srld. la: 'a. zha. yul. du. gshegste/ shuldu: dba's:
sum: po: skyes: bka'. gyod. la:

244/192 chags/ rgya'I. mkhar: kwa. chu: sIn. cang. phab/ blon. chen. pho: mang. zham: gum/ dgun.
btsan. phoe: pho. brang. jor. gong. sna: na':

245/193 bzhugste/ 'bon. 'a. zha. rje. dang/ zhang. dbon: gdan. tshom/ dba's: stag. sgra: khong. lod: blon.
chen. por: bka'. stsald/

246/194 'a. zha: phal: pho. che: bya. sga: stsald/ bod. yul: gyl. dgun. 'dun: skyI: lhas: gang. tshal: du/
zhang. 'brlNg. rtshan: khyI. bus: bsdus:

247/195 mdo. smad. gyl. 'dun. ma: 'bro: lchi'u. lung. du: blon: khrl. gzigs: gngang. khong. gyls: bsdus:
par: lo. gchlg/

[728-729] In the year of the dragon, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Bol-gangs in Mtsho-bgo, but returned to the land of Tibet. The council convened at Ldu-nag in Zrid. In the winter [the Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. They brought reprimands down upon Dba's Stag-sgra Khong-lod, and 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang was proclaimed as chief minister.²⁷⁹ Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang]

²⁷³ Read *chen*.

²⁷⁴ Stag-sgra Khong-lod and Cog-ro Mang-po-rje led this military campaign to Guazhou 瓜州. Cog-ro Mang-po-rje also attacked Suzhou 肅州, and then rejoined the other Tibetan forces and combined with a Türgiś force to lay siege to Kucha (Beckwith 1987: 101–02). This minister is also mentioned in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality* (Yamaguchi 1970a: 73).

²⁷⁵ As explained above in “Dynastic Marriage,” this indicates the renewal of their matrimonial relationship, and probably refers to a new marriage. The gifts referred to later in the same entry likely celebrate the renewal of this relationship.

²⁷⁶ Again, this accords with the “Succession of Chief Ministers” found in chapter two of the *Chronicle* (DTH: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four).

²⁷⁷ This should read ‘a zha phal po che [la] bya sga stsald, since the verb *stsald* indicates that it was not the people of 'A-zha, but the Tibetan emperor and the Tibetan administration that bestowed these gifts. If it were the people of 'A-zha giving the gifts, not only would the verb “to offer” (*phul*) be employed, but the gifts would not be referred to as *bya-sga / bya-dga*, which carries the connotation of a reward given from a superior to an inferior.

²⁷⁸ This indicates that Lhas-gang-tshal, a royal residence in 704-705, 707-708 through 711-712, and a council site in 724-725, was an area in the Skyi region.

²⁷⁹ It appears that Stag-sgra Khong-lod was slandered by a Chinese spy (Beckwith 1987: 106). The disgrace Dba's Stag-sgra Khong-lod and his replacement by 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang as chief minister is also recorded in the “Succession of

convened the winter council at Byar-lings-tsal. They made the tally of jurisdiction reducing the great fiscal governors from eight to four. They convened the Mdo-smad council at Rgyod. So one year.

248/196 # / 'brugI: lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard: mtsho bgoe: bol: gangs: na. bzhugs: pa. las/ slar: bod. yul: du. gshegste/ 'dun. ma: zrlId.

249/197 gyI: ldu. nag. du. 'dus/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ dba's: stag. sgra: khong. lod. la: bkyon. phab. nas/ 'bro: chung. bzang.

250/198 'or. mang: blon. chen. por. bka'. stsal/ dgun. 'dun: byar. lIngs. tsal: du: blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. gyls: bsduste/ mngan.

251/199 chen. po: brgyad. las/ bzhI: bcos: pa'I. tang. khraM. btab/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: rgyodu: bsdus: par: lo. gchI: g/

[729-730] In the year of the snake the Btsan-po's court in the summer resided in Mtsar-bu-sna in Sre-ga. Minister ['Ba] Skyes-bzang Ldong-tsab and others went to battle at Mu-le Cu-le and massacred many Chinese. In the winter, the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Dbu-tshal in Brag-mar. The Chinese emissary Li Tsong-kan paid homage.²⁸⁰ Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] convened the winter council at Skyi Sho-ma-ra. They calculated the deficit and surplus of the soldiers. They led a military campaign to [Western] Turkestan (Dru-gu-yul), and returned.²⁸¹ So one year.

252/200 # / sbrul: gyI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: pho. brang. dbyard: sre: ga'I. mtsar. bu: sna. na. bzhugs/ blon. skyes: bzang. ldong. tsab. las:

253/201 stsogs: pas/ mu. le: cu. ler. g-yul: sprade: rgya. mang. po: bdungs/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. gyI. dbu. tshal: na. bzhugste: rgya'I

254/202 po. nya: II: tsong. kan: pyag. 'tsald/ blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. gyls/ dgun. 'dun: skyI. sho. ma. rar. bsduste/ mun. magI: snon

255/203 god. brtsIs/ dmag: dru. gu: yul. du. drangs: pha: slar: 'khord. par: lo. gchI: g/

[730-731] In the year of the horse, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Ding-ding-tang in Ba-cos. The Chinese emissary Tswa De-pu paid homage.²⁸² Lady Lha-spangs died.²⁸³ In the winter [the Btsan-po] resided in Brag-mar. The winter council convened at Mkar-phrag. They removed Princess Kong-co's minister, Chog-ro Zhen-kong, and made an account of the installation of Lang-gro Khong-rtsan [as his

Chief Ministers" in chapter two of the *Chronicle* (DTH: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four). This would seem to mark a major regime change. The Dba's clan had held the post of chief minister almost continuously for twenty-five years, but the 'Bro clan's tenure in office would go on to eclipse that of the Dba's. It must be noted, however, that the Dba's enjoyed their ascendancy under the reign of 'Bro Khri-ma-lod, so it may not be accurate to speak of too serious a conflict between these two major clans during the period up to this point.

²⁸⁰ On Li Tsong-kan's Chinese name and his career, see Petech 1967: 263.

²⁸¹ Beckwith (1987: 108–10) believes that the Tibetan army joined up with the Türgiś to attack Sogdiana.

²⁸² On this Chinese emissary, his reconstructed Chinese name and his career, see Petech 1967: 263. In this year the Tang agreed to peace with Tibet (cf. Bushell 1880: 464–68; Pelliot 1961: 20–23; and Lee 1981: 45–50).

²⁸³ Her relationship to the Btsan-po is unclear.

replacement].²⁸⁴ At Gtse-nam-yor, Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] carried out the administration of Mtong-sod. So one year.

256/204 # / rta'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard: ba. cos: gyI: ding. dIng. tang. na. bzhugste/ rgya'I. po. nya. tswa. de. pu: pyag. 'tsald/ lcam: lha. spangs: nongs/

257/205 dgun. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ 'dun. ma: mkar. phrag. du. 'duste/ kong. coe. blon: chog. ro. zhIn. kong. phyung. ste/ lang. gro: khong. rtsan. bcug.

258/206 pee. rtsIs. bgyIs/ gtse. naM. yor. du. blon. chen. po. cung. bzang. gyIs: mtong. sod. gyl. mkhos: bgyIs. par. lo. gcig/

[731-732] In the year of the sheep, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Mtshar-bu-sna. The Chinese emissary Cang 'Do-shi and others paid homage.²⁸⁵ In the winter [the Btsan-po] resided in 'Om-bu-tsal in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] convened the winter council at Skyi Sho-ma-ra. They removed the commissioner of Rtsang-chen, Zha-nga Thang-rtsan, and made an account of the installation of Seng-go Smon-bu [as his replacement]. So one year.

259/207 # / lugI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. mtshar. bu. sna. na. bzhugste/ rgya'I: pho. nya: cang. 'do. shi. las: stsogs: pha: phyag. 'tsald/ dgun

260/208 brag. mar. gyl. 'om. bu. tsal. na. bzhugste/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. sho. ma. rar. blon. chen. po. chung. bzang. gyIs: bsduste/ rtsang. chen. gyl.

261/209 brung. pa/ zha. snga. thang. rtsan. byung. nas/ seng. go: mon. bu: bcug: pa'I. rtsis: bgyIs. par. lo. gchig/

[732-733] In the year [of] the monkey, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in Ding-ding-tang in Ba-chos. At Btsan-yul,²⁸⁶ the Chinese emissary Li Kheng²⁸⁷ and emissaries of Ta-chig and Dur-gyis paid homage.²⁸⁸ In the winter [the Btsan-po] resided in 'Om-bu-tshal in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] convened the winter council at Lhas-gang-tshal. They performed the funeral for Lady Lhas-pangs. The Mdo-smad council convened at Zol. So one year.

262/210 # / spre'u. lo. la/ dbyard. btsan. po: ba. chos: gyI. ding. dIng. tang. na. bzhugs/ shIng/ btsan. yul: du. rgya'I. pho. nya: li. kheng. daNg/ ta. chIg.

263/211 dang. dur. gyIs: gyI. po. nya. phyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang/ brag. mar. gyl. 'om. bu. tshal. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. lhas: gang. tshal.

²⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that the Chinese princess had her own minister. The *Jiu Tangshu* reports that she sent her minister on a special mission to the Tang court in 729 (Bushell 1880: 465; Pelliot 1961: 20; and Lee 1981: 45). It may be as a result of this mission that he was dismissed.

²⁸⁵ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 264.

²⁸⁶ Perhaps this indicates the Btsan-po's court, wherever it happens to be stationed. On the other hand, it is safest simply to read this as a place name, as above; see also Hazod, Part III, section seven, where it is taken to refer to a place in Gtsang.

²⁸⁷ On Li Kheng, see Sato 1958-1959: 465 and Petech 1967: 264-65.

²⁸⁸ Ta-chig or Ta-zig denotes the Arabs, who were at this time asserting themselves in Central Asia, and Dur-gyis indicates the Türgiś, who were composed of a coalition of Western Turks under the leadership of Su-lu 蘇祿, and were allied to the Tibetans. For a synopsis of their relationship with the Tibetans, see Beckwith 1987: 85-114.

264/212 du: blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. gyIs: bsdus/ lcam. lhas. pangs: gyI. mdad. btang/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: zol. du. 'dus: pa_r. lo. chI_g.

[733-734] In the year of the bird the Btsan-po's court resided in Dron.²⁸⁹ At Btsan-yul, the Chinese emissary Li Zhang-sho²⁹⁰ and Mywa La-kag²⁹¹ and others paid homage. In the winter [the Btsan-po's] court resided in 'Om-bu-tsal in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] convened [the council] at Lhas-gang-tshal. They took account of the executed lineages of the four Horns.²⁹² The Mdo-smad council convened at Zol. So one year.

265/213 # / bya gagI lo la / btsan. poe: pho. brang. na. dron. na. bzhugs/ btsan. yul: du. rgya'I. pho. nya/ ll. zhang. sho. da_{ng}: mywa. la. kag. las/ stsogs

266/214 pa: pyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang: brag. mar. gyI. 'om: bu. tsa.l na. bzhugs/ blon. chen. po. cung. bzang. gyIs/ lhas. gang. tshal.

267/215 du. bsduste/ ru. bzhI. rabs. chad. brtsIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: zol. du. 'dus. pa_r: lo. gchI_g/

[734-735] In the year of the dog the Btsan-po's court in the summer resided in Dron. The Chinese emissary 'Wang 'Do-shi paid homage.²⁹³ They sent Princess 'Dron-ma-lod as a bride to the Dur-gyis Kha-gan.²⁹⁴ In the winter [the Btsan-po's] court resided in 'Om-bu-tsal in Brag-mar. The council convened at Zlo. They made a [registration of] male able-bodied adults of 'A-zha. They convened the Mdo-smad council at Seb. Minister ['Bal] Skyes-bzang Ldong-tsab sacked Khyi-sha-can. So one year.

268/216 # / khyI'I: lo. la/ btsan. poe: pho. brang. dbyard: dron. na. bzhugs/ rgya'I: pho. nya: 'wang. 'do. shI: phyag. 'tsald/ je. ba: 'dron. ma: lod. dur.

269/217 gyIs: kha. gan. la: bag. mar. btang/ dgun. pho. brang: brag. mar. gyI. 'om. bu. tsal. na. bzhugs/ 'dun. ma. zlor. 'dus/ 'a. zha'I

270/218 pha. los: bgyIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: seb. du. 'duste/ blon. skyes. bzang. ldong. tsab. gyIs/ khyI. sha. can. phab. par. lo. chig

²⁸⁹ The text in fact reads "Na-dron," but I read *na* as a scribal error.

²⁹⁰ Petech (1967: 266) identifies Li-zhang-sho with Li Hao, the president of the Board of Works, who is mentioned in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Bushell 1880: 466; Pelliot 1961: 23, 102; Lee 1981: 50) and in the *Xin Tangshu* (Bushell 1880: 466; Pelliot 1961: 102) as having led an envoy to Tibet in this year (cf. Backus 1981: 44).

²⁹¹ Concerning the identity of Mywa La-kag, Stein (1952: 83) contends that despite the missing first syllable in the Tibetan rendering, the name corresponds to Piluogua 皮羅闍, who ruled Nanzhao from 728–748.

²⁹² This is the first mention of the four Horns of Tibet. For an outline of the history of the legislation of the four Horns, see Uray 1960.

²⁹³ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 266.

²⁹⁴ This was likely arranged by the Dur-gyis emissary who visited in 732. The marriage served to formally seal the Tibetan-Türgis alliance (Beckwith 1987: 111). In her study of the terms used in the *Annals* to designate royal ladies, Uebach (1997b: 62) suggests that *je-ba* may be daughters of the Btsan-po by a co-wife, and this is an attractive solution. She adds in a footnote that it may be connected with *che-ba*, which means elder sister or elder daughter (Uebach 1997b: 62, n. 21). The former meaning is more common, and could indicate that *je-ba* were sisters of the emperor's queens or consorts, in which case they would not actually be of royal blood. On the other hand, the two *je-ba* of the *Annals* appear in the entries for 734-735 and 740-741, by which time the emperor was in his thirties, so it is likely that as out-marrying princesses they were of his son's generation and not his own. In fact, if one considers the princesses of the *Annals* from this vantage point, all of the Tibetan ladies referred to as *btsan-mo*—that is, excluding in-marrying foreign princesses—appear to be sisters of the reigning emperor.

[735-736] In the year of the pig, in the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in Mang-ste-lung in Dron. At 'O-yug the four cavalry regiments paraded [in] the presence of the Btsan-po and they made a selection.²⁹⁵ The Chinese emissary Je'u Jang-shi paid homage.²⁹⁶ In the winter [the Btsan-po's court] resided in 'Om-bu-tsal in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] went to the land of 'A-zha. So one year.

271/219 # / phagI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang. dbyard. dron. gyI. mang. ste. lung. na. bzhugs/ 'o. yug.
 du: chIbs: sde. bzhI: btsan. poe
 272/220 spyan. snga: brImste²⁹⁷/ rkang. ton. bgyIs/ rgya'I: po. nya: je'u. jang. shI: pyag. 'tsald/ dgun.
 brag. mar. gyI. 'om. bu. tsal. na. bzhug_S:
 273/221 blon. chen. po. cung. bzang: 'a. zha. yul. du. mchIs. par: lo. gCg/

[736-737] In the year of the rat the Btsan-po's court resided in Mang-ste lung in Dron. Cog-ro Mang-po-rje Khyi-chung led a military campaign to [Western] Turkestan.²⁹⁸ In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. The Chinese emissary Li Zhang-sho paid homage.²⁹⁹ So one year.

274/222 # / byI: ba'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: pho. brang. dron. gyI. mang. ste. lung. na. bzhugs/ cog. ro. mang.
 po. rje. khyI. chung. gyIs/ dru. gu. yul. du
 275/223 drangs/ dgun: pho. brang: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ rgya'I. pho. nya. li. zhang. sho: pyag. 'tsald.
 par: lo. chig/

[737-738] In the year of the ox the Btsan-po's court resided in Mang-ste lung in Dron. Minister ['Bal] Skyes-bzang Ldong-tsab led [a military campaign] to the land of Bru-zha.³⁰⁰ In the winter [the Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. They conquered (lit. "brought down") the king of Bru-zha, and he paid homage.³⁰¹ The Chinese emissary 'Wang 'Do-shi paid homage and China cut off political ties.³⁰² So one year.

276/224 # / glang gI lo la/ btsan. poe: pho. brang. dron. gyI. mang. ste: lung. na. bzhugs/ blon. skyes:
 bzang: ldong. tsab: gyIs/ bru. zha. yul

²⁹⁵ As noted above, Chibs is a place name, and the *chibs-dpon* was responsible for its administration. In the present case, *chibs-sde* might indicate the districts of this area, but, as seen above, this area was located in the Gram Valley in the 630s, and is here found in 'O-yug, which is quite distant from Gram. Therefore the present case likely indicates "cavalry regiments." Alternatively, it indicates that these regiments, and the *chibs-dpon* himself, were not associated with a single area, but were stationed in different places at different times. On marching formations as a "martial metaphor" for Tibetan military brigades, see Stein 1984: 295.

²⁹⁶ On this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 266–67.

²⁹⁷ Read 'grimste.

²⁹⁸ The army travelled through Little Palûr (Beckwith 1987: 114)

²⁹⁹ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 267.

³⁰⁰ Bru-zha is the Tibetan name for Little Palûr (Beckwith 1987: 116, n. 44).

³⁰¹ The king of Little Palûr was pro-Tang, and it was the Tibetan seizure of Little Palûr, along with the Pamir region to the northwest, that angered the Chinese, likely causing them to end the peace with Tibet in this year (Beckwith 1987: 116).

³⁰² On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, who also visited Tibet three years earlier, see Petech 1967: 267. Earlier in the year, the Chinese broke the peace treaty of 730 by invading northeastern Tibet. The Tibetans promptly sent an envoy to attempt to renegotiate a peace, but these efforts were in vain (Beckwith 1987: 114–15, n. 20). The Chinese invaded Tibet from three directions during the spring of the next year, their first action being the removal of the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 730 erected at Qiling 赤嶺 (Beckwith 1987: 120–21).

277/225 du. drangs/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ bru. zha'l: rgyal: po: phab. ste: phyag.
'tshald/ rgya'l: pho. nya. 'wang. 'do.
278/226 shI: pyag. 'tsald/ nas/ rgyas: chab: srId. bshlgs. par. lo. gchlg/

[738-739] In the year of the tiger the Btsan-po's court in the summer resided in Dron. They imposed extraordinary taxes.³⁰³ In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. The winter council convened at Bya-tsal in Sgregs and at Rte'u-mkar in Cu-bgo. They calculated the extraordinary taxes. They retook Skun-kar Rma-tshe.³⁰⁴ So one year.

279/227 # / stagI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: pho. brang: dbyard. dron. na. bzhugste/ chad. ka. bcad/ dgun. pho.
brang: brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun.
280/228 'dun: sgregs: gyl. bya. tsal: da_{ng}. cu. bgoe: rte'u. mkar. du. 'duste/ cad. ka. brtsIs/ skun. kar:
rma. tshe. slar: thob. par: lo. chig/

[739-740] In the year of the hare, in the summer the Btsan-po departed on a political campaign to Beg.³⁰⁵ The son, Lhas-bon, was residing in Dron, but he died.³⁰⁶ The Btsan-po, the father, returned to the land of Tibet in winter. Princess Kim-sheng Khong-co died. So one year.

281/229 yos: bu'I. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. chab. srId. la: beg. du: gshegste/ sras. lhas: bon: dron. na.
bzhugs/ bzhugs.
282/230 pa. las: nongs/ btsan: po. yab: dgun. bod. yul: du. slar. gshegs/ btsan. mo: kIm. sheng: khong.
co. nongs. par: lo. chig/

[740-741] In the year of the dragon, in the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in Ngang-mo-gling in Mtshar-bu-sna. They sent Princess Khri-ma-lod as a bride to the lord of Bru-zha.³⁰⁷ In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. Zhang Khri-mnyes Smon-zung died. So one year.

³⁰³ Generally *chad-ka* means "fine" or "punishment," but as it is not mentioned in connection with any crime, and is imposed in the first part of the year and accounted in the latter part of the year, it is most likely, as Bogoslovskij (1972 [1962]: 88) claims, "une taxe irrégulière et épisodique dont le taux était arrêté par le roi en fonction des circonstances." Its likely etymological relation to *chad*, meaning "deficit," is suggested by Gnya'-gong (1995: 101) when he states that *chad-ka* "may mean to top up an incomplete calculation of wealth and other items" (*rgyu nor sogs grangs ka ma tshang ba la ldang bar byed bcug pa'i don yin pa 'dra*). I have followed Bogoslovskij and Gnya'-gong here in my rendering, with the word "extraordinary" indicating that this was probably not a tax taken at regular intervals of time. See, however, Btsan-lha 1997: 169, where *chad-ka* is glossed as "property or wealth" (*chas ka'am rgyu nor*).

³⁰⁴ It is possible that *sku-mkhar* is meant here (Gnya'-gong 1995: 101, n. 28), in which case they "retook Rma-tshe, a royal stronghold."

³⁰⁵ The location of this place is uncertain.

³⁰⁶ There is no mention of when Lhas-bon, the son of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, was born. As noted in the introduction, post-dynastic historiographers often conflate him with Lha Bal-po, an error repeated by some modern scholars. One possible solution, which takes into account the fact of Lhas-bon and Kim-sheng Kong-co both dying at roughly the same time and being buried at the same time, is that proposed by Beckwith: Lhas-bon was the son of Kong-co and Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, and they probably both died of smallpox (Beckwith 1983: 10–11: *supra*, "The Old Tibetan Annals' Contributions to Tibetan History"). This would contradict the tradition according to which Lhas-bon was the son of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan's Jang queen or the son of a lady of the Pa-tshab clan.

283/231 # / 'brugl. lo. la/ btsan. poe. po. brang/ dbyard. mtshar. bu: sna'l. ngang. mo: gllng. na. bzhugste/ je. ba: khrl. ma. lod. bru. zha. rje. la: bag.
 284/232 mar. btang/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ zhang. khrl. mnyes: smon. zung: gum. bar: lo. gcig/

[741-742] In the year of the snake, in the summer the Btsan-po departed on a political campaign. They sacked the Chinese stronghold of Dar-khwa-hywan.³⁰⁸ At Zhang-tsal in Zho-don, they carried out in the presence of the Btsan-po a great administration of the colonial military government. In the winter [the Btsan-po] returned to Brag-mar from his political campaign. Attacking from Bzo-zhal-cos, they retook the stronghold of Lcag-rtse.³⁰⁹ They performed the funeral(s) for both the son, Lhas-bon, and Princess Khong-co. So one year.

285/233 # / sbrul. gyl. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. chab. srl. la. gshegste/ rgya'l. mkhar. dar: khwa. hywan. phab/ zho: don. gyl. zhang. tsal: du.
 286/234 btsan. poe: spyan. sngar/ khrom: gyl. mkos: chen. po: bgyls/ dgun. chab. srl. las: slar. brag. mar. du. gshegste/ bzo: zhal.
 287/235 cos: gyls/ brgalte: mkar. lcags: rtse. slar: thob/ btsan. po: sras: lhas: bon: da_{ng}/ btsan. mo: khong. co: gnyls: gyl.
 288/236 mdad: btang/ bar: lo: gcig/

[742-743] In the year of the horse, in the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in Mtshar-bu-sna. The Chinese emissary An Da-lang and the Black Mywa emissary, La-bri, paid homage.³¹⁰ At Zlo they made an account of the [respective] removal and installation of Shud-pu Khong-zung and Lang-gro Khong-rtsan.³¹¹ They made a tally of jurisdictions. At Khu-nye Mon-gangs, Minister Mang-po-rje³¹² made an administration

³⁰⁷ This marriage to Sushilizhi 蘇失利之 secured Tibetan rule in Little Palūr. Beckwith (1987: 123, n. 94) notes that when Little Palūr was allied to the Tang, the Tibetans called the ruler "king of Bru-zha" (*bru-zha'i rgyal-po*), whereas once aligned with Tibet he was referred to as Lord of Bru-zha (*bru-zha rje*). This may indicate not simply a change of allegiance, but a change of status: the ruler went from being the king of an independent country to being the lord of a subjected territory. On the other hand, the short Chinese-Tibetan vocabulary contained in Pelliot chinois 2762 contains the names for the rulers of China, Tibet, Dru-gu (which here seems to indicate Uighurs), and 'A-zha. These are Rgya rje, Dru-gu rgyal-po, Bod gyi Btsan-po, and 'A-zha rje (Pelliot 1961: 143). One might argue that the use of the terms "lord" (*rje*) for the subordinate ruler of 'A-zha and "king" (*rgyal-po*) for the ruler of the far more troublesome Uighurs demonstrates the pattern suggested above. The use of "lord" for the ruler of China, however seems to contradict this. Looking to the Chinese equivalents, "king" (王 *wang*) is used for the rulers of 'A-zha and Dru-gu, while "emperor" (天子 *tianzi*) is used for the rulers of China and Tibet.

³⁰⁸ This is the fortified city of Tahua 達化 on the northeastern front with China (Sato 1958–1959: 460–61; Petech 1967: 251; Gnya'-gong 1995: 101, n. 29).

³⁰⁹ In the phrase *bzo zhal cos gyls brgalte*, I have read *bzo zhal cos* as a place name, but this is not entirely certain, and Bacot reads this as a personal name (*DTH*: 51). Gnya'-gong (1995: 101–02, n. 30) identifies Lcag-rtse stronghold with the fortified city of Shibaocheng 石堡城, but Beckwith (1987: 129, n. 24) states that there is no doubt that the Tibetan name for this city was Jid-par (*infra*, fn. 327 to 745-746, Version II). Sato (1958–1959: 460–61) appears to have proved this point also with reference to the *Jiu Tangshu*.

³¹⁰ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 267–68.

³¹¹ This indicates that the former was replaced by the latter.

³¹² His army was defeated that winter in Kokonor by the Chinese military governor of Lungyu, Huangfu Weiming (Beckwith 1987: 128).

of 'A-zha. Btsan-po Srong-lde-brtsan was born at Brag-mar. The mother, [Sna-nam] Mang-mo-rje [Bzhi-steng], died.³¹³ So one year.

289/237 # / rta'l. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang. dbyard. mtshar. bu: sna. na. bzhugs/ rgya'l: pho. nya: an. da. lang. da_{ng}/ mywa. nag. poe: po: nya. la.

290/238 brl: pyag. 'tsald/ zlor: shud. pu: khong. zung. da_{ng}/ lang. gro: khong. rtsan. gnyls/ 'byung. 'jugl. rtsis. bgylste: thang. khram:

291/239 ttab/ khu. nye. mon. gangsu: blon. mang. po. rjes: 'a. zha'l. mkhos: bgyls/ btsan. po: srong. lde. brtsan: brag. mar: du'/

292/240 bltam/ yum: mang. mo. rje. nongs: phar: lo. gchlg/

[743-744] In the year of the sheep, in the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in Ra-mtshar. Chief minister [Bro] Cung-bzang [Or-mang] convened the summer council at Breng. They abolished the wooden slips for the [registration of] male able-bodied adults.³¹⁴ In the winter, the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. They convoked a great [registration of] male able-bodied adult soldiers and civilians at Skyi-mams.³¹⁵ At Brag-mar the Chinese emissary Kwag Cung-lang paid homage.³¹⁶ So one year.

293/241 # / lugl. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang. dbyard: ra. mtshar. na. bzhugste/ blon. chen. po. chung. bzang. gyls/ dbyar: 'dun:

294/242 breng. du. bsduste/ pha. los: gyl: byang. bu: bor/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ skyI. mamsu: rgod. g-yung. gyl. pha. los:

295/243 cen. po: bkug/ brag. mar. du. rgya'l: po. nya: kwag. cung. lang. pyag. 'tsald. par: lo. gcig/

[744-745] In the year [of] the monkey, in the summer the Btsan-po departed [to the] north for sport, but returned. The [Btsan-po's] court was stationed at Ra-mtshar. The Chinese emissary Cang 'Gwan-'ge and the

³¹³ According to the *Royal Genealogy* in PT 1286, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan was born to Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan and Sna-nam-za Mang-mo-rje Bzhi-steng (*DTH*: 82, 89; Dotson 2004: 88). Oddly, the entries for the subsequent years are silent on her burial.

³¹⁴ The translation of the verb *bor* is problematic. As discussed in fn. 215 to the entry for the year 702-703, *bor* has a secondary meaning "to say" or "to do," as in the phrase *bro bor* "to swear [an oath]." One might read it in this sense to indicate that they made the wooden slips for the census. Such a reading is partially supported by the parallel entry in Version II of the *Annals*, which states that they "began the [registration of] male able-bodied adults (lit. 'made the head of the [registration of] male able-bodied adults)" (*pha los gyi mgo mdzad*) in the first part of the year, and "made the [registration of] male able-bodied adults" (*pha los bgyis*) in the winter (*infra*). The beginning of the census might refer to the same measure described by the above phrase *pha-los gyi byang-bu bor*. On the other hand, translating *bor* with its primary meaning as in the main text above has the advantage that it is in keeping with the entry for the next year, where the red tally (*khram dmar-po*), which also would have used such wooden slips, was transferred to paper (Uebach 2003: 22; Uebach 2008; Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 318, n. 17).

³¹⁵ This may have been in response to a Chinese punitive expedition that marched deep into Tibetan territory in the spring of this year (Beckwith 1987: 128). As noted by both Uray (1960) and Uebach (1985a; 2008: 63-64, n. 19), this census likely entailed a reorganization of the thousand-districts of Tibet, a change which can be seen in the catalogues of thousand-districts in *KhG*, *Lde'u*, and the *Blon po'i bka' thang yig*, which post-date this re-organization, as opposed to the catalogues in *Jo-sras* and in Ne'u Pandita's *Sngon gyi gnam me tog phreng ba*, which predate it (Dotson 2007a: 207).

³¹⁶ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 268.

Dur-gyis emissary paid homage.³¹⁷ In each area they took account of the pale tally of soldiers.³¹⁸ In the winter, the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] and Minister ['Bal] Skyes-bzang [Ldong-tshab] convened the winter council at Skyi Sho-ma-ra. They carried out a great administration of soldiers. By the Btsan-po's decree, the red tally was transferred to yellow paper. So one year.

296/244 # / spre'u: lo: la/ btsan. po: dbyard. byang. roldu. gshegs: pa. las: slar: 'khor-te/ po. brang. ra. mtshar. du. btab/ rgya'I
 297/245 po. nya/ cang. 'gwan. 'ge da_{ng}/ dur. gyIs: gyl: po. nya: pyag. 'tshald/ yul. yul: dmag. myI: khram: skya: brtsIs/ dgun. po. brang.
 298/246 brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. sho. ma. rar/ blon. chen. po. cung. bzang. da_{ng}. blon. skyes: bzang. gnyIs: gyIs: bsduste:
 299/247 dmag. myI. mkhos: chen. po: bgyIste/ btsan. po. bkas: khram: dmar. po. shog. shog. ser: po: la: spos. par. lo. chIlg/

[745-746] In the year of the bird, in the summer the Btsan-po resided in 'O-dang, and in the winter resided in Brag-mar. The winter council convened at Dra-bye. They made an account of the removal of the commissioner Zhang Tre-gong and the installation of Cog-ro Rma-gong, as well as the removal of Seng-go 'Phan-la-skyes and the installation of Myang 'Dus-khong.³¹⁹ They performed [junior] Queen Khri-btsun's funeral.³²⁰ So one year.

300/248 # / bya. gagI: lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. 'o. dang. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dgun. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun.
 301/249 dra. byer. 'dus/ brung. pa: zhang. tre. gong. phyung. ste/ cog. ro. rma. gong. bcug. pa. da_{ng}/ seng. go. 'phan. la: skyes: phyung. ste/ myang.
 302/250 'dus: khong: bcug. pa'I. rtsis: bgyIste/ jo. mo: khrI. btsun. gyl. mdad. btang. bar: lo. gchIlg/

[746-747] In the year [of] the dog the Btsan-po's summer court resided in Na-mar, and in the winter resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang] and Minister ['Bal] Skyes-bzang Ldong-tshab, the two, convened the winter council at Skyi Byar-ling-tsal. They made an administration of the pastureland and fallow land of the four Horns. By order of the Btsan-po, they removed the salaries (?) of the thousand-districts, and transferred [this] to separate taxpayers.³²¹ [Officials from] chief minister downwards swore an

³¹⁷ On the possible identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 268. The Türgiś-Tibetan alliance had withered in 738 with the murder of Sulu 蘇祿 and the ensuing collapse of the Türgiś confederation. At this point they had little to offer in the way of partnership (Beckwith 1987: 126).

³¹⁸ On the "pale tally" (*khram skya*), which seems to indicate a record kept on paper, see Uebach 2008 and *supra*, "Land and Taxation."

³¹⁹ This may be the same Myang 'Dus-kong mentioned in the inscriptions at Zhwa'i Lha-khang as the grandfather of Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po (Richardson 1985: 51, n. 6).

³²⁰ Beckwith (1983: 7, n. 17) identifies Khri-btsun with Ljang-mo Khri-btsun, and notes that the *Sba-bzhed* (Stein 1961a: 2) and *KhG* both identify Ljang-mo Khri-btsun as the mother of Ljang-tsha Lhas-bon (cf. Sørensen 1994: 351, n. 1120). Were this so, it would confirm a relation of dynastic marriage with Nanzhao. As noted above, however, it has also been claimed that Lhas-bon was the son of the Chinese princess, Kim-sheng Kong-co (Beckwith 1983: 10–11).

³²¹ The translation of the phrase *stong sde'i gle'u thogsal/ khral pa gu du spags* remains provisional. Bacot renders it "[p]ar ordre du roi une contribution supplémentaire fut imposée sur les districts improductifs" (*DTH*: 52), while Petech (1967: 277–

oath. [The Btsan-po] made a great commandment, and reduced the additional taxes of the black-headed subjects.³²² So one year.

303/251 # / khyI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. pho. brang. na. mar. na: bzhugs/ dgun: brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. da_{ng}:

304/252 blon. skyes. bzang. ldong. tsab. gnyIs: gyis/ dgun. 'dun. skyI: byar. lIngs: tsal. du. bsduste/ ru. bzhI'i. 'brog. sog

305/253 gI. mkhos: bgyIs/ btsan. po: bkas/ stong. sde'I: gle'u: thogs_{la}³²³/ khral: pa: gu.³²⁴ du. spags/ blon. chen. po: man. chad:

306/254 bro. stsalte/ b_{ka}'. nan. cen. pho: mdzad. nas/ 'bangs: mgo. nag. poe: khral: thud: scungs. par: lo. gcI_g/

[747-748] In the year of the pig the Btsan-po's court resided in Na-mar. They dispatched representatives to each [area] decide (i.e., legislate) the pasturelands and fallow lands.³²⁵ At Khu-le, horse...

307/255 # / phagI. lo. la/ btsan. poe. po. brang. na. mar. na. bzhugste/ 'brog: sog. gcod. pa'I. ring. lugs: so. sor. bkye/ khu. ler. chI_b_g:

78) translates it, “[p]er decreto del re, dopo (?) il raccolto dei campi non irrigui delle chiliarchie, le tasse furono trasportate altrove.” The main problem with the passage is how to read *thogs_{la}*. The *la* is subscribed, so one can either read it as *sla* “moon, month” or as the allative particle *la*. I have read it in this latter sense, with *la* as a converb and *thogs* as the transitive verb meaning “to bear aloft, to carry, to bear away.” I am indebted to Nathan Hill for this suggestion. The other problems with the passage include the term *gle'u*, which can indicate a musk deer, but which Bacot and Petech each read as describing a particular category of land. They may have arrived at this translation from the meaning of *gle* as “a small uncultivated island” (Jäschke 1998 [1881]: 81). More likely is that *gle'u* is the diminutive of *gla*, meaning “salary” (Takeuchi 1998b: 161–62; see especially Takeuchi 1998a: nos. 266, 358, 503). Finally, following Gnya'-gong (1995: 102, n. 31), who reads *gu du spags* as *gud du spags*, and glosses this as “meaning to set aside or to assign to others” (*logs su bzhag pa'am gzhan du 'phar ba'i don*), I have adopted his latter gloss. This also accords with Btsan-lha Ngag-dbang Tshul-khrims' rendering of the verb *spags* as “moved” (*bskyod pa'am 'phags pa*) (Btsan-lha 1997: 451). In any case, it is obvious that the passage indicates a benevolent royal action linked to the tax relief mentioned in the same entry. Here the redistribution of civil servants' salaries presumably necessitates their oath to carry out such a measure. See also Ishikawa 1999: 108, n. 18.

³²² Following Petech (1967: 277–78), I translate *khral-thud* with “additional tax.” Petech discusses this entire problematic entry, and it is perhaps worth citing his tentative translation: “[e] perfino il grande ministro prestando giuramento, fu fatto un grande severo decreto; e quindi furono diminuite (?) le imposte addizionali dei sudditi teste-nere” (Petech 1967: 278).

³²³ Read *thogs la*.

³²⁴ Read *gud*.

³²⁵ On the construction *ring-lugs...bkye*, see fn. 270 to the entry for 726-727.

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[743-744] [It fell on the year of the sheep.] ... was convened. They made the beginning (lit. “the head”) of the [registration] of male able-bodied adults of the land of Tibet. In the winter, the [Btsan-po’s] court resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister [’Bro] Cung-bzang [’Or-mang] convened the winter council at Rnam. They made the [registration of] male able-bodied adults. So one year.

1 bsduste/ bod. yul. gyi. pha. los: gyi: mgo. mdzad/ dgun. po: brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ dgun. ’dun. blon: ce. cung. bzang. gyis. rnam.

2 su. bsduste/ pha. los: bgyis. par. lo: cIg/ [744-745] spra’i. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. phoe. pho. brang/ mtsar: du. btabste/ byang. roldu. gshegs.

[744-745] It fell on the year of the monkey. The Btsan-po’s court was stationed in Mtsar. [The Btsan-po] departed [to the] north for sport. Chief minister [’Bro] Cung-bzang [’Or-mang] and ’Bal Ldong-tsab both convened the winter council at Skyi Sho-ma-ra. They carried out an administration of the four Horns. So one year.

2 su. bsduste/ pha. los: bgyis. par. lo: cIg/ [744-745] spra’i. lo. la: bab. ste/ btsan. phoe. pho. brang/ mtsar: du. btabste/ byang. roldu. gshegs.

3 dgun. ’dun. skyI. sho. ma. rar/ blon. ce. cung. bzang. da_{ng}/ ’bal. ldong. tsab. gnyis: gyis. bsduste/ ru. bzhi. mkhos. bgyis: par. lo. chig

[745-746] It fell on the year of the bird. The Btsan-po’s court resided in Yi-dang in Yar-brog. The Chinese general ’Ba’ Tsang-gun led the Chinese *byim-po* of Wakhan (Kog-yul) [in a military campaign].³²⁶ The nephew, Lord of ’A-zha, and Minister Mang-pho-rje both attacked at the stronghold Jid-par, and led a military campaign to the great fortified city of Phud-gon at Chinese Ram-’da’ Jid-par.³²⁷ They mostly killed the Chinese. In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar. So one year.

³²⁶ The translation of *rgya’I dmag dpon ’ba’ tsang gun/ kog yul gyi rgya’I byim po drangste* is complicated by the fact that when named, the agent of the verb *drangs*, “to lead a military campaign,” appears always in the ergative throughout the *Annals*, but there is no ergative particle in the above sentence. This reading is suggested, however, by the entry for 747-748, where the Chinese *byim-po* arrive in Kog-yul, resulting in the loss of both Wakhan (Kog-yul) and Little Palûr (Bru-zha). This suggests that the *byim-po* were a Chinese expeditionary army for driving the Tibetans out of Wakhan. This reading follows those of Petech (1967: 268–69) and Beckwith (1987: 128–29, n. 124), who translates as follows: “[t]he Chinese general ’Ba tsang kun [Chinese, *chiang-chün*, ‘general’] led [in an attack] the Chinese army [? for *byimpo*, probably from the Chinese, *ping pu*, ‘Board of War’] of Kog yul.” Regarding *byim-po*, Gnya’-gong (1995: 102, n. 33), reading *gyim-po* for *byim-po*, glosses this as “border-protecting army or border guards” (*mtha’ srung dmag gam so srung pa*), and Btsan-lha 1997: 553 offers a similar definition of *byim-po*. On the identity of the Chinese general, see Petech 1967: 269. Beckwith (1987: 129, n. 124) equates Kog-yul with Kuozhou 鄆州, but I think it is evident from the appearance of the *byim-po* here and in the entry for 747-748 that we are dealing with Wakhan. See also Beckwith 1980: 34 and Beckwith 1987: 133, n. 148.

³²⁷ According to Beckwith (1987: 129, n. 124), Jid-par corresponds to the fortified city of Shibaocheng 石堡城. Beckwith’s translation of this passage differs significantly from my own, however, in that while I read *rgya’i ram ’da’* as a place name, Beckwith translates it with “Chinese forces,” and takes this to be the agent of the verb *drangs*: “the Chinese forces attacked the great fortified city [mkharpo che] of Pud-gong at Jid-par” (Beckwith 1987: 129, n. 124). See too Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2001 [1992]: 173, n. 72, where it is stated that *ram ’da’* means “enemy pursuers” (*dgra bo rjes ’ded byed mkhan*) in

4 [745-746] bya gagi lo la bab ste/ btsan. poe. pho. brang/ yar. 'brogl: yI. da_{ng}. na: bzhugs/ rgya'I. dmag. dpon. 'ba': tsang. gun/ kog. yul. gyi. rgya'I
 5 byim: po: drangste/ dbon. 'a. zha. rje. da_{ng}: blon. mang. pho. rje. gnyis: gyis: mkhar: jid. par. la: brgalde/ rgya'I. ram. 'da' jId. par. du/ phud
 6 gon. mkhar. pho. cer. drangste/ rgya. phal. cer. bkuM/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. na. bzhugs. par: lo. gchig/ [746-747] khyi. lo la bab ste/ dbyar

[746-747] It fell on the year [of] the dog. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Na-mar. He departed to Gser-khung for sport. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang], 'Bal [Skyes-bzang] Ldong-tsab, and Lang Myes-zigs, the three, convened the council at Skyi Bya-rling-tsal. They made an administration of the pasturelands and fallow lands of the four Horns. They collected the taxes levied (lit. "brought down") on Dgu-khol.³²⁸ They established the jurisdiction concerning Minister [Dba's] Skyes-bzang Stag-snang.³²⁹ So one year.

6 gon. mkhar. pho. cer. drangste/ rgya. phal. cer. bkuM/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. na. bzhugs. par: lo. gchig/ [746-747] khyi. lo la bab ste/ dbyar
 7 btsan. po. na. mar. na. bzhugste/ gser. khung. du. rol. du. gshegs/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar: na. bzhugs/ mdun. ma: skyi. bya. rling. tsal. du.
 8 blod. ce. cung. bzang. da_{ng}/ 'bal. ldong: tsab. da_{ng}. lang. myes. zigs. gsuM. gyis: bsduste/ ru. bzhi. 'brog. sog. mkhos. bgyis/ dgu
 9 khol. gyI. khral. phab. pha. bsduste/ blon. skyes: bzang. stag. snang. la. tang. btab: par: lo. gchig/ [747-748] phagI. lo. la. bab. ste/ dbyar. btsan. po.

[747-748] It fell on the year of the pig. In the summer the Btsan-po resided in Na-mar. The Chinese *byim-po* arrived at Wakhan (Kog-yul).³³⁰ Bru-sha and Wakhan (Gog) were lost.³³¹ In the winter the Btsan-po resided in Brag-mar. Chief minister ['Bro] Cung-bzang ['Or-mang], 'Bal [Skyes-bzang] Ldong-tsab,³³² Minister Mang-pho-rje, Zhang 'Bring-rtzan, and others convened the winter council at Rtse-gro in Dra. They completed the end of the account of the pasturelands and fallow lands. *zhing gyi reg...*

9 khol. gyI. khral. phab. pha. bsduste/ blon. skyes: bzang. stag. snang. la. tang. btab: par: lo. gchig/ [747-748] phagI. lo. la. bab. ste/ dbyar. btsan. po.

unspecified Khams and Amdo dialects. This is generally followed by Huang and Ma (2000: 75), who state that they are a type of troop. Without a more detailed explanation of this term, and due to the fact that it is not in the ergative, it seems safer to follow Thomas' reading of it as a place name (*DTH*: 62).

³²⁸ Although I have read Dgu-khol as a place name, it might be otherwise. *Dgu* means nine or "all," and *khol* means "subjects" or "subject territories."

³²⁹ The precise meaning of *stag snang la tang btab* is not certain. I read *tang* as *thang* "jurisdiction" (*supra*, "Land and Taxation," fn. 73). According to Thomas' translation, the collected taxes "were placed in charge of Councillor Skye-bzang Stag-snang" (*DTH*: 62), and I think that this is probably accurate in that it relates the establishment of this minister's jurisdiction to the far reaching administrative changes made during this year, for which see too the parallel entry in Version I.

³³⁰ Kog / Gog corresponds to the kingdom of Wakhan to the far northwest, as opposed to the Kog located in Mdo-smad in the northeast, which is mentioned in the entry for 755-756.

³³¹ This marks China's successful campaign to curb Tibet's influence in the Pamirs and retake Little Palûr and Wakhan.

³³² According to the "Succession of Chief Ministers" in chapter two of the *Chronicle*, 'Bal Skye-zang Ldong-tshab succeeded 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang as chief minister (*DTH*: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four).

10 na. mar. na. bzhugs/ gog. yul. du. rgya'i. byim. po. byungste/ bru. sha. da_{ng}. gog stord/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. na. bzhugste/ dgun. 'dun. dra'l. rtse: gror. blon. ce. cung.

11 bzang. da_{ng}/ 'bal: ldong. tsab: da_{ng}. blon. mang. pho. rje. da_{ng}/ zhang. 'bring. rtsan. las. stsogs. pas. bsduste/ 'brog. sogi. rtsis. gyi. mjug. bcade/ zhing. gyi. reg. ?zir

[Seven years missing.]

[755-756] [It fell on the year of the sheep.] The soldiers sacked the father's entourage. They appointed heads of the three thousand-districts of Stong-sar.³³³ They banished the bondservants of Lang and 'Bal; they sent them to Mtong-sod.³³⁴ Both Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lag] and Zhang Stong-rtzan sacked the stronghold Te'u-cu.³³⁵ They re-established the colonial military government of the Upper Yellow River (Rma-grom), and Zhang Mdo-bzher was proclaimed as general of the colonial military government of the Upper Yellow River. Minister Khri-sgra, Mang-rtzan 'Pan-gang, Minister Mdo-bzher, and others convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Dbu-le Lam-nag. They led a military campaign to Te'u-cu. Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] convened the winter council at Kog in Rag-tag.³³⁶ They calculated (confiscated) the wealth of the disgraced Lang and 'Bal. So one year.³³⁷

12 yab. gyi. khor: pha: dag. dmag. myis. phab/ stong. sar. stong. sde. gsum. gyI. stong. dpon. bskos/ lang. 'bal. gyi. bran. spyugste/

13 mtong. sod. du. bton/ blon. khri. bzang. da_{ng}/ zhang. stong. rtsan. gnyis. gyis/ mkhar: te'u. cu. phab/ rma. grom: pyir: btsugste/ zhang. mdo.

14 bzher. rma. grom. gyi. dmag. dpon. du. bka'. stsald/ mdo. smad. gyi. dbyar. 'dun. dbu. le. lam. nag. du/ blon. khri. sgra. da_{ng}/ mang. rtsan.

15 'pan. gang. da_{ng}/ blon. mdo. bzher. las. stsogs. phas. bsduste/ te'u. cur: dra. ma. drangste/ dgun. 'dun. zhang. rgyal. zigs. gyis

16 rag. tagI. kog. du. bsduste/ lang. 'bal. bkyon. pab. pe'l: nor: brtsIs. par. lo. cig/ [756-757] spra'u: lo. la. babste/ dbyar. btsan. pho

[756-757] It fell on the year [of] the monkey. In the summer the Btsan-pho resided in Zung-kar. The name of the Btsan-po was adopted as Khri Srong-lde-brtsan.³³⁸ He took the realm in hand. The subjects in the four

³³³ Alternatively, at the places of the thousand-districts (*stong-sa*), they appointed the [respective] heads of three thousand-districts.

³³⁴ As noted in the introduction, Lang Myes-zigs and 'Bal Skyes-bzang Ldong-tshab were responsible for a state of civil strife. They assassinated Khri Lde-gtsug-rtzan, and made an attempt on the life of his son and heir, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (*supra*, "The Tibetan Empire, a Brief Survey").

³³⁵ According to Beckwith (1987: 145, n. 12), this corresponds to Taozhou 洮州 City (cf. fn. 211 to the entry for 701-702).

³³⁶ It is evident from the entry for 759-760 that Rag-tag was located within Mdo-smad and included within in Rma-rong and Kog, with the former presumably referring to part of the Yellow River Valley (Beckwith 1987: 129, n. 124). Beckwith (1987: 129, n. 124) further argues based in part on phonological reconstruction that Kog corresponds to Kuozhou 廓州.

³³⁷ As the first entry after a seven-year hiatus, this one is somewhat irregular. While the entries usually proceed according to the season, this passage puts both Mdo-smad councils at the end of the entry, which results in the Mdo-smad summer council being mentioned after the Tibetan winter council, when these of course took place in the reverse order. Were it not for the fact that the next entry mentions the monkey year, one might be tempted to assume that the present entry ran over into the next year. Also, the next entry follows this practice, placing both Mdo-smad councils at the end of the entry. Cf. Beckwith 1987: 65, n. 63.

³³⁸ On the use of the verb *bon* in this context, see Uray 1964: 331.

directions received a great dice edict.³³⁹ Minister Skyes-bzang Rgyal-kong convened the summer council at Bu-cung in Glag. They finished calculating (confiscating) Lang and 'Bal's wealth. In the winter the Btsan-pho resided in Zung-kar. Skyes-bzang Rgyal-kong and Rgyal-ta Khri-gong both convened the winter council at Skyi Pyi-tsal. The Black Ban-'jag,³⁴⁰ Gog (Wakhan), Shlg-nig,³⁴¹ and so forth, emissaries of the upper regions, [all] paid homage. Pa-gor Na-'dod and Ce Snang-rtsan were proclaimed as reciprocal emissaries. The armies of Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lhag], Zhang Stong-brtsan, and Kag-la-bong,³⁴² the three, sacked Se-cu.³⁴³ They subjugated [those from] Tse-ci downwards. Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lag] convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Yol. There were many new subjects. Minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] convened the winter council at Yol. So one year.

- 16 rag. tagI. kog. du. bsduste/ lang. 'bal. bkyon. pab. pe'I: nor: brtsIs. par. lo. cig/ [756-757] spra'u: lo. la. babste/ dbyar. btsan. pho
 17 zung. kar. na. bzhugs/ btsan. poe. mtsan. khrI. srong. lde. brtsan. du. bond/ cab. srid. pyag. du. bzhes/ 'bangs. mta': bzhi. la
 18 bka'. sho. cen. pho. pyung/ dbyar 'dun. glagI. bu: cung. du: blon. skyes. bzang. rgyal: kong. gyis: bsduste/ lang. 'bal. gyI. nor. gyi. mjug
 19 brtsIs/ dgun. btsan. pho: zung. kar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. skyi. pyi: tsaldu/ skyes: bzang. rgyal: kong. da_{ng}/ rgyal: ta: khrI: gong. nyis.
 20 gyis: bsduste/ ban: 'jag. nag. [n]po. da_{ng}. gog. da_{ng}/ shlg. nig. las: stsogste/ stod. pyogs. gyI: pho. nya. pyag: 'tsald/ pho: nya'I.
 21 lan. du. pa. gor. na. 'dod. da_{ng}/ ce. snang. rtsan. gnyis: bka'. tsald/ blon: khri. bzang. da_{ng}. zhang. stong. rtsan. da_{ng}/ kag: la: bong. gsuM
 22 gyi. dmagis/ se: cu. phab// tse. ci. man. cad. 'bangsu. bkug/ mdo. smad. gyi. dbyar. 'dun: yol: du. blon. khri: bzang. gyis/
 23 bsduste/ gsar. bu. pal. pho. ce. mchIs/ dgun. 'dun. yol. du. blon. snang. bzher. gyis/ bsdu/ par. lo: cIg/

[757-758] [It fell on the year of the bird.] In the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in G.yag-ru-gong in Ba-bams. A Chinese emissary paid homage. Chief minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan]³⁴⁴ and Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] both convened the summer council at Mong in Stod. Minister

³³⁹ Thomas: “[u]pon the subjects all round a heavy compulsory contribution was levied” (*DTH*: 63). Thomas explains his reading of *bka'-sho* as follows: “[a]pparently = ‘[special] command tax’, i.e. a special levy at the outset of a new reign” (*DTH*: 69–70). In other words, Thomas reads the term as the honorific of *sho-gam*, but with a specific connotation. On the other hand, the term *bka'-sho* appears numerous times in the legal document ITJ 740 (2), where it means “dice edict” (Dotson 2007b: 26–30), and the document as a whole demonstrates the importance of divination dice to Tibetan legal practice. One other option would be to gloss this as “official document” (*bka'-shog*), a term that also appears in ITJ 740 (2) (Dotson 2007b: 37–38), in which case one might translate “the [news of the enthronement] came to the subjects in the four directions in a great official document / proclamation.”

³⁴⁰ Beckwith (1987: 144, n. 7) assumes here a scribal error for Gan-'jag, which would indicate the country of Ganjak above Kashgar.

³⁴¹ According to Beckwith (1987: 145, n. 8), this corresponds to Shughnan.

³⁴² This refers to Gualuofeng 關羅鳳, the leader of Nanzhao, which had become allied with Tibet in 751 (Backus 1981: 71).

³⁴³ In this attack Tibetan and Nanzhao forces combined to sack Suizhou 肅州 (Sato 1958–1958: 519–20; Beckwith 1987: 145).

³⁴⁴ Chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* names Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan as the one who became chief minister after the fall of 'Bal Ldong-tshab and prior to Mgos Khri-bzang's tenure in office (*DTH*: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four). Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan presumably became chief minister just after 'Bal Ldong-tshab was disgraced, probably in 754. Oddly, he is only called “minister” in the entry for 756-757, and his appointment as chief minister is not recorded.

Skyes-bzang Rgyal-kong was being proclaimed deputy to the chief minister, but he died.³⁴⁵ Zhang Stong-rtsan and Minister Mang-rtsan 'Phan-gang convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Re-kras 'Dzong. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Lcang-bu in Stod. Minister Mang-rtsan and Minister Mdo-bzher both convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. Chief minister [Dba's] Sngang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] and others sacked both the Chinese stronghold Great Tsong-ka and Seg-shing-kun.³⁴⁶ So one year,

24³⁴⁷ dbyar. btsan. po'i. pho: brang. [dbya]ba: bams: gyi: g-yag: ru .gong. na. bzhugste: rgya'I: po: nya: pyag. 'tshalde: dbyar. 'dun.
 25 stod. gyI: mong. du: blon. chen. po. snang. bzher: dang. zhang. rgyal: zigs: gnyIs: gyIs: bsdus. te: blon. skyes: bzang. rgyal. kong. blon. che'i.
 26 'og: dpon. 'tshal: 'tshal: ba: las: guM:/ mdo: smad. gyI: dbyar. 'dun. re: kras: 'dzong. du: zhang. stong. rtsan. dang: blon. mang. rtsan.
 27 'phan. gang. gyIs: bsdus: dgun. btsan. po'I: po. brang. stod. gyI: lcang. bu. na. bzhugs: mdo: smad. gyi: dgun. 'dun: blon. mang. rtsan
 28 dang. blon. mdo: bzher: gnyis. gyIs. gtse. nam: yor: du. bsduste: blon. chen: po: snang. bzher: las: stsogs: pas: rgya'I: mkhar. tsong. ka/
 29 chen. po: dang. seg: shing. kun: gnyis: phab: par: lo: cig [758-759] dbyar: btsan. po: khri: srong. lde. brtsan. gyi

[758-759] [It fell on the year of the dog.] In the summer the court of Btsan-po Khri Srong-lde-brtsan resided in Zu-spug. Chief minister [Dba's] Sngang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] came back to the land of Tibet. Zhang Stong-rtsan convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Dbu Shing-nyag. They counted the extraordinary taxes in each area. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. They convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. They made an account of the extraordinary taxes. Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lag] and [Dba's] Skyes-bzang Stag-sngang and others led a military campaign in the direction of Kar-tsan Leng-cu.³⁴⁸ So one year.

29 chen. po: dang. seg: shing. kun: gnyis: phab: par: lo: cig [758-759] dbyar: btsan. po: khri: srong. lde. brtsan. gyi
 30 pho: brang: zu: spug: na. bzhugste: blon. che: snang. bzher: bod: yul: du: slar. mchIs: mdo: smad. gyi. dbyar. 'dun. zhang. stong/
 31 rtsan. gyIs: dbu: shing. nyag: du. bsduste: yul: yul: du: chad. ka. bgrangs/ dgun. btsan. po'i: pho: brang: byar: gyi: lcang: bu: na:
 32 bzhugste: mdo. smad: gyI: dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam: yor. du: bsduste: chad. ka'I: rtsis: bgyis: blon: khri: bzang. dang. skyes: bzang
 33 stag: snang. las: stsogs: pas: khar. tsan. leng. cu: phyogsu: dra. ma: drangs: par. lo: cig/

³⁴⁵ On the inchoative sense of verbal duplication, see Uray 1954.

³⁴⁶ Uray (1991: 212–13) writes of Great Tsong-ka that it “is identical with the garrison of Heyuan Jun [河源軍] in or near today's Xining.” He did not identify Seg-shing-kun, but Gnya'-gong (1995: 119, n. 3) states that it “may be the Chinese garrison of Suirong Jun 綏戎軍.”

³⁴⁷ A different hand begins here, and the writing is smaller.

³⁴⁸ This corresponds to Liangzhou 涼州 (Uray 1991; Rong 1990–1991: 261–64).

[759-760] [It fell on the year of the pig.] In the summer the Bsan-po's court resided in Mkho in Stod. Minister Khri-sgra and Minister Mdo-bzher convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Dbu-le. They bestowed many from Sum-ru with insignia of rank. Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lag] and Zhang Stong-rtsan both went to the land of 'A-zha. In the winter the Btsan-po's court resided in Nyen-kar. Minister [Dba's] Skyes-bzang Stag-snang convened the winter council at Slo. Minister Khri-sgra convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Rma-rong in Rag-tag. Minister Khri-bzang, Zhang Stong-rtsan, and Zhang Btsan-ba, the three, sacked Little Tsong-ka. So one year.

34 dbyar: btsan. po'I: pho: brang. stod. gyl: mkho: na. bzhugste: mdo: smad. gyl: dbyar. 'dun: blon.
khri: sgra: dang: blon. mdo: bzher. gyis
35 dbu: ler. bsdu: te: sum: ru: pal: po: che: ylg: gtsang. stsal: blon. khri: bzang: dang. zhang. stong.
rtsan. gnyIs: 'a: zha: yul: du:
36 mchis: dgun. btsan. po: pho. brang: nyen. kar. na. bzhugs: dgun. 'dun. blon. skyes: bzang: stag:
snang. gyls: slor. bsdu:
37 mdo: smad. gyi. dgun. 'dun: rag: tagI: rma. rong. du: blon. khri: sgras: bsdu: te: blon. khri. bzang.
dang: zhang. stong. rtsan: dang. zhang
38 btsan. ba: gsum: gyis: tsong. ka: chu: ngu. phab: par: lo: cig/ [760-761] dbyar: btsan. po'i: pho:
brang: myang:/

[760-761] [It fell on the year of the rat.] In the summer the Bsan-po's court was stationed at Myang-sgrom.³⁴⁹ The Btsan-po's son was born. Chief minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] convened the summer council at Ne-tso-lung. An emissary of the upper regions paid homage. Minister Khri-sgra and Minister Mdo-bzher³⁵⁰ Rtsang-khong convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Re-lung-bzangs. So one year.

38 btsan. ba: gsum: gyis: tsong. ka: chu: ngu. phab: par: lo: cig/ [760-761] dbyar: btsan. po'i: pho:
brang: myang:/
39 sgrom: du: btab: [dbyar. 'dun:] btsan. po'I: sras: bltam: dbyar: 'dun: ne. tso: lung. du. blon. chen. po:
snang. bzher. gyis
40 bsdu: te. stod. pyogs: po: nya: pyag: 'tshal:/ mdo: smad. gyl. dbyar. 'dun: blon: khri: sgrang.³⁵¹
dang. blon: snang:³⁵² bzher. rtsang:
41 khong. gyis: re: lung. bzangsu: bsdu/ [761-762] dbyar. btsan. poe: pho. brang. zu: spugI./ pho.
brang. sdIngsna: bzhugs

[761-762] [It fell on the year of the ox.] In the summer the Btsan-po's court resided in SdIngs court at Zu-spug. The summer council convened at Brdzen-thang in Mal-tro. They convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Zho-thang in Nyas. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. They convened the winter council at SkyI-bur. They convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor.

³⁴⁹ For the possible identification of this area, see Hazod, *infra*, Part III.

³⁵⁰ While the name clearly reads Snang-bzher, Minister Snang-bzher convened the central council, so this is likely an error for Mdo-bzher, who, along with Minister Khri-sgra, convened the previous Mdo-smad summer council.

³⁵¹ Read *sgra*.

³⁵² Read *mdo*.

Minister [Dba's] Skyes-bzang and others sacked both Ba-mgo and Ke'u-shan in Khar-tsan.³⁵³ Zhang Stong-rtsan sacked both Zong-cu and Zangs-kar. So one year.

- 41 khong. gyis: re: lung. bzangsu: bsdus/ [761-762]³⁵⁴ dbyar. btsan. poe: pho. brang. zu: spugI./ pho. brang. sdIngsna: bzhugs
 42 dbyar. 'dun. mal: tro'I:/ brdzen. thang. du. 'dus/// mdo. smad. gyI./ dbyar. 'dun. nyas: gyI: zho: thang. du. 'dus:// dgun. pho: brang./
 43 byar. gyI. lcang. bu: na. bzhugs/// dgun. 'dun. skyI. bur. du: 'dus:// mdo. smad. gyI: dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam: yor. du. 'dus:
 44 te. blon. skyes. bzang. las: stsogs: pas:/ khar. tsan. ba: [b]mgo. dang. ke'u: shan. gnyIs. phab// zhang. stong. rtsan.
 45 gyis: zong. cu. dang./ zangs: kar. gnyIs. phab. par. lo. gcIg:/// [762-764] pho: brang. dbyar. sa: byar. na. bzhugs.

[762-764] [It fell on the year of the tiger. It fell on the year of the hare.]³⁵⁵ In the summer the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Sa-byar. The summer council convened at Bu-cung in Glag. The Chinese emissary Ang 'Do-shI and others paid homage.³⁵⁶ The Mdo-smad summer council convened at Lha-rI-mo in Dbu-le. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. The winter council convened at SkyI-bur. Minister KhrI-sgra Stag-tshab convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse. [Those ranking] from heads of thousand-district upward on the border were bestowed the Chinese silk tribute as rewards. The Lord of China having died at the end of winter, [another] Lord of China was newly installed.³⁵⁷ As he found it unsuitable to offer [Tibet] silk tribute and maps, and so forth, political ties were destroyed, and Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zIgs [Shu-theng], Zhang Stong-rtsan and others crossed the iron bridge at Bum-lIng.³⁵⁸ They waged a great campaign. They sacked many Chinese strongholds, such as 'Bu-shIng-kun, ZIn-cu, and Ga-cu.³⁵⁹ Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] returned to the land of Tibet. Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zIgs [Shu-theng], Minister [Ngan-lam] Stag-sgra [Klu-khong], Zhang Stong-rtsan, Btsan-ba, and others led a military campaign to the capital and sacked the capital.³⁶⁰ The Lord of China fled, [another] Lord of China was newly appointed, and the military campaign returned.³⁶¹ Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zig [Shu-theng] went to Tibet for a great consultation. So one year.

³⁵³ Uray (1991: 198) established the correct reading of these place names.

³⁵⁴ Another hand now takes up the writing. The writing is large, well spaced, and employs double and triple *shad* not found in the others' writing.

³⁵⁵ This entry runs over into the hare year. Cf. *supra*, "introducing the *Old Tibetan Annals*" and Uray 1991: 205.

³⁵⁶ On the identification of this Chinese emissary, see Petech 1967: 269.

³⁵⁷ This refers to the end of Suzong's 肅宗 reign (756–762) and the beginning of that of Daizong 代宗 (762–779).

³⁵⁸ The iron bridge at Bum-lIng is most likely to be identified with the bridge of Hongji spanning the Huang he 黃河 River (Uray 1991: 203–204, n. 57).

³⁵⁹ 'Bu-shIng-kun corresponds to the Lintao army 臨洮軍 garrisoned in Linzhou 臨州 (Uray 1991: 202, n. 36; see, however, Sato 1958–1959: 527). ZIn-cu is Qinzhou 秦州 and Ga-cu is Hezhou 河州 (Uray 1991: 203–04, nn. 59 and 60).

³⁶⁰ This of course is Changan 長安, which the Tibetans refer to only as "the capital" (*keng-shi*; pinyin: *jingshi* 京師).

³⁶¹ The *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* both narrate the sack of the Chinese capital. Uray (1991: 202–03) summarizes these accounts of the Tibetan offensive of 762-764: "in the 1st year of *bao-ying* 寶應 (May 13, 762—Jan. 18, 763) the Tibetans occupied Lintao 臨洮 and the prefectures (*zhou*) Qin 秦州, Cheng 成州, and Wei 渭州; in the 1st year of *guang-de* 廣德 (Aug. 24, 763—Feb. 6, 764) the Tibetans crossed the Dazhen Guan 大震關, the pass of the Long Shan 隴山 from the east and, to secure their rear, they seized the parts of the Longyou Dao 隴右道 (Military Province) still under Chinese rule, namely the prefectures (*zhou*), Lan 蘭州, He 河州, Shan 鄯州 and Tao 洮州. Turning east again they occupied Jingzhou 涇州 in the 9th

- 45 gyis: zong. cu. dang./ zangs: kar. gnyls. phab. par. lo. gclg:/// [762-763, 763-764] pho: brang. dbyar. sa: byar. na. bzhugs.
 46 dbyar. 'dun. glagI: bu: cung. 'du.³⁶² 'dus:// rgya'I: pho: nya. ang. 'do. shI: las/ stsogs. pa/ phyag: 'tshald.// mdo. smad. gyI: /
 47 dbyar. 'dun./ dbu: le'I: lha. rI. mor. 'dus:// dgun. pho: brang. byar. gyI: lchang. bu: na. bzhugs/// dgun. 'dun. skyI. burdu./
 48 'dus/// mdo. smad. gyI: dgun. 'dun./ gtser. blon. khrl. sgra. stag. tshab. gyIs/ bsdus/ rgya'I: dpya. dar./ [dang. sa. ris]
 49 [las/ stsogs. pa/] so: phyogsu:/ stong. dpon. yan. cad. bya: sgar. stsald./// dgun. smad. rgya. rje: nongs. nas// rgya
 50 rje. gsar. du. bcug: pa./ dbya': dar. dang. sa: rIs. las: stsogs: pa: 'bul: du. ma: rung. nas// chab. srlD. zhlg. nas
 51 zhang. rgyal. zIgs: dang. zhang. stong. rtsan. las: stsogs/ pas:/ bum. lIng. lchang: zam: rgal: te.// dra. cen. drang. ste./
 52 'bu: shIng. kun. dang. zIn. cu: dang. ga. cu. las: stsogs. pa/ rgya'I. mkhar. mang. po. phab: ste/ zhang. rgyal: zigs.
 53 slar. bod. yul/ du./ mchis. te/ zhang. rgyal. zIgs// dang./ blon. stag: sgra: dang. zhang. stong. rtsan. dang. zhang./
 54 btsan. ba/ las/ stsogs. pas/ keng. shI. dra. ma. drangste: ke.³⁶³ shI. phab.// rgya. rje. bros:/ nas/ rgya. rje. gsar. du. bcug/
 55 nas/ [zhang.] dra. ma/ slar. log: nas// zhang. rgyal. zig: bod. yul. du. mol. cen. la/ mchis/ par. lo: gchig/

[764-765] [It fell on the year of the dragon.] The [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lchang-bu in Byar. The summer council convened at Bu-cung in Glag. Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Snig in Sla-shod. In the land of Tibet, they were making a great consultation.³⁶⁴ They made promotions and transfers of great ministers. Chief minister [Dba's] Snaŋg-bzher [Zla-brtsan] was bestowed the white chrysoberyl insignia and appointed as chief minister.³⁶⁵ Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] was bestowed the great turquoise insignia and praised for saying he was content with the jurisdiction of Mgar 'dzi-rmun.³⁶⁶ Minister [Mgos] Khri-bzang [Yab-lag] was appointed as chief minister.³⁶⁷

month (Oct. 12—Nov. 9, 763) and in the 10th month (Nov. 10—Dec. 9, 763) they took Binzhou 邠州 and Fengtian Xian 奉天縣 ravaged east of Wugong 武功, and finally invaded the Chinese capital Chang'an 長安. There they enthroned a new emperor, but after 13 days (Nov. 18—30, 763) —or 15 in other sources—they had to surrender the town and retreat to the line of the prefectures Yuan 原州, Hui 會州, Cheng 成州 and Wei 渭州." For further accounts of this event from Old Tibetan sources, see Appendix Three.

³⁶² Read *du*.

³⁶³ Read *keng*.

³⁶⁴ Here *mol cen* appears at the end of line 57 and again at the beginning of line 58. I have read this as indicating an ongoing event, but this sort of duplication at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next is sometimes a formal and not a grammatical feature.

³⁶⁵ The *ke-ke-ru* is a white chrysoberyl, and the word is borrowed from the Sanskrit *karketana* (Dotson 2007a: 119–20; Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 320, n. 21).

³⁶⁶ From the edict of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan preserved by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag, it appears that Mgar-'dzi-rmun is the highest rank among ministers of the interior. In the list of those who swore to the edict, which likely dates to circa 779, the first of the ministers of the interior (*nang-blon*) is Minister Gra-'dzi Zhang Rams-shags (*infra*, Appendix Five). Having initially read this

Zhang Stong-rtsan was bestowed the turquoise insignia and proclaimed as general of the four frontiers. So one year.

56 pho: brang. byar. gyI. lchang. bu: na. bzhugs// dbyar. 'dun. glagI. bu. cung. du. 'dus:// mdo.

57 smad. gyI. dbyar. 'dun. blon. khri. sgra. stag. tshab. gyis/ sla. shod. gyi. snig. du. bsdus:// bod. yul. du. mol. cen./

58 mol: cen. mdzade./// zhang. lon. chen. pho: [mol. cen. bdzade/ bo. mol. cen/] spo. bleg. mdzade// blon. che.

59 snang. bzher. ke. ke. ru'I: yIge. stsalde./ blon. cher. bcug:/ zhang. rgyal. zigs. chen. pho: [ke. ke. ru'i.] g-yu'I: yi

60 ge. stsalde/ mgar. 'dzi./ rmun. gyI. thang. du. chog. shesu. bstod.// blon. khri: bzang. blon. cer: bcug//

61 stong. rtsan. g-yu'I. yIge/ stsal: te/ so. mtha. bzhi: dmag. pon. du. bka'. stsalde.// par. lo. gcig//

as simply a peculiar name, I am inclined now to read this as “the Gra-'dzi / Mgar-dzi-rmun minister, Zhang [Bro Khri-zul Rams-shags.”

³⁶⁷ This is problematic in that it indicates that there were two chief ministers appointed. The first, Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan, was already chief minister, and held this post from 757-758, if not earlier, so it is unclear how he can be “appointed” again. We might assume that this is a mistake, and that [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] was given the highest insignia and then retired from the post of chief minister, to be succeeded by Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag (cf. Richardson 1998 [1977]: 66).

“Annals Fragments”

[764-765]³⁶⁸ [It fell on the year of the dragon.] The [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. The summer council convened at Bu-cung in Glag. Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Snig in Sla-shod. In the land of Tibet, they were making a great consultation. They made promotions and transfers of great ministers. Chief minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] was bestowed the white chrysoberyl insignia and appointed as chief minister. Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] was bestowed the great insignia³⁶⁹ and praised for saying he was content with the rank of Mgar 'dzi-rmun. Minister Rgyal-bzang was appointed as chief minister.³⁷⁰ Stong-rtsan was bestowed turquoise insignia and proclaimed as general of the four frontiers. So one year.

62 # // pho. brang. byar. gyi. lchang. bun.³⁷¹ gzhuks// dpyar. 'dun. glagi. bu. cung. du. 'dus. mdo.

63 smad. gyi. dpyar. 'dun. blon. khri. [s] sgra. stag. tsab. gyi.³⁷² slashong. gyi. snig. dus. bsdus. bod. yul.

64 du. mol. cen. mol. cen. mdzade. zhang. lon. chen. po. spo. bleg. mdzade. blon. che. snang. bzher

65 ke. ke. ru. 'i. yege. stsal. de. blon. cher. bcugzhang. rgyas.³⁷³ zigs. chen. po. 'i. yege.

66 stsal. de. mgar. 'ji.³⁷⁴ rmun. thang. du. chog. shesubstod. blonrgyalbjang.³⁷⁵ blon. cherbcug

67 sdong. rtsan. g-yu'i. yege. stsalde. so. mtha. bzhi. dmag. bon. dus. bka'. stsalde. par. lo

68 gcig. btsan. po. khri. btsuglegs. btsan. gyibka'. skosde. mchis. pa.

Having established the decree of Btsan-po Khri Btsug-legs-btsan, he convened [the council] at Re-lung-bzang.³⁷⁶

68 gcig. btsan. po. khri. btsuglegs. btsan. gyibka'. skosde. mchis. pa.

69 khong. kyis. re. lung. bjang.³⁷⁷ su. bsdus [761-762] dbyar. btsan. pho. pho. brang. zu. sposgyis

³⁶⁸ These entries form the final part of the scroll on which Version II of the *Old Tibetan Annals* is written. They are written in an entirely different hand, and employ completely different punctuation, without any use of the double *tsheg*. Punctuation is lost, and what follows is a jumbled and semi-literate version of some of the preceding entries, along with a short unrelated paragraph at the end of the document. There are no reverse *gi-gu* in this section.

³⁶⁹ In the final entry of the *Annals*, it states that he is bestowed “great turquoise insignia.” The word “turquoise” (*g.yu't*), however, is intercalated below the line. It seems, therefore, that the scribe of the “Annals Fragments” was simply copying the above entry, but failed to read between the lines.

³⁷⁰ This is an odd error, as the final entry in the *Annals* states that Mgos Khri-bzang was appointed as chief minister.

³⁷¹ Read *bu na*.

³⁷² Read *gyis*.

³⁷³ Read *rgyal*.

³⁷⁴ Read *'dzi*.

³⁷⁵ Read *bzang*.

³⁷⁶ This statement is quite bizarre. It would appear to refer to the The Mdo-smad summer council of 760-761, which was convened at Re-lung-bzangs by Minister Khri-sgra and Minister Snang-bzher Rtsang-khong, but the mention of Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-legs-btsan would appear to be a corruption for Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can), the grandson of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. This might even offer a clue for the date of the text's writing, but most likely simply indicates the ignorance of the scribe, whose Tibetan is truly remedial. One must also admit the possibility that the “Annals Fragments” were written later than Version II of the *Annals* that precedes it. The apparent use of the personal pronoun *khong* is also interesting in this connection.

³⁷⁷ Read *bzang*.

[761-762] [It fell on the year of the ox.] In the summer the Btsan-pho's court resided [in] Sding-sna court in Zu-spos. The summer council convened at Brdzen in Mal-dro and the Mdo-smad summer council convened at Sho-thang in Nyas. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. The winter council convened at Skyi-bur. The Mdo-smad winter council convened at Gtse-nam-yor. Minister Skyi-bzang and others sacked both Ba-mgo and Ke'u-shen in Khar-tsan. Zhang Stong-rtsan sacked both Zong-cu and Zangs-kar. So one year.

- 69 khong. kyis. re. lung. bjang. su. bsdus [761] dbyar. btsan. pho. pho. brang. zu. sposgyis
 70 phobrang. sding. sna. bzhugs. dbyar. 'dun. mar.³⁷⁸ dro. 'i. brdzen. dus. 'dus. mchis. dang.
 71 mdo. smad. gyi. dpyar. 'dun. nyas. gyi. sho. thang. du. 'dun.³⁷⁹ dgun. pho. brang. byar. gyis. lcang.
 bu.
 72 na. bzhugs. dgun. 'dus.³⁸⁰ skyi. bur. du. 'dus. mdo. smad. gyis. dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam.
 73 yor. dus. 'dus. te. blon. skyi. bjang.³⁸¹ las. la. stsogs. pa. khar. tsan. ba. mgo. dang. ke'u. shen
 74 gnyis. phab. zhang. sdong. stsan. gyis. zong. cu. dang. zangs. kar. gnyis. phab. pa. lo. gcag.

[762-764] [It fell on the year of the tiger. It fell on the year of the hare.] In the summer the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Sa-byar. The summer council convened at Bu-cung in Glag. The Chinese emissary Yang' Do-zhi and others paid homage. They convened the Mdo-smad summer council at Lha-ris-mo in Dbu-le. In the winter the [Btsan-po's] court resided in Lcang-bu in Byar. The winter council convened at Skyi-bur. Khri-sgra dang gi Stag-tshab convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse. [Those ranking] from heads of thousand-districts upward on the border were bestowed the Chinese silk tribute as rewards. The Lord of China having died at the end of winter, [another] Lord of China was newly installed. [As he found it unsuitable to offer Tibet] silk tribute and maps and so forth, [the Tibetan forces] crossed the iron bridge at Bum-ling. They led a military campaign. They sacked many Chinese strongholds, such as 'Bu-shing-kun and Zin-cung. Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] returned to the land of Tibet, and Zhang Rgyal-zigs, Minister [Ngan-lam] Stag-sgra [Klu-khong], Zhang Stong-rtsan, Zhang Btsan-ba, and others ...

- 75 pho. brang. dpyar. sa. byar. na. bzhugs. dbyar. 'dus.³⁸² gla.³⁸³ gi. bu. cung. 'du. 'dus. rgya. 'i. pho.
 nyang.
 76 yang. 'do. zhi. las. stsogs. pa. phyags. 'tshal. mdo. smad. gyis. dpyar. 'dus.³⁸⁴
 77 dbu. le. [i ris] lha. ris. mor. 'dus. dgun. pho. brang. byar. gyis. lcang. bu. na. bzhugs
 78 dgun. 'dun. skyi. bur. ru. 'dus. mdo. smad. gyis. dgun. 'dun. gtser. khri. sgra. dang
 79 gi. sdag. tseb. gyis. bsdus. rgya'i. dpya. dar. so. phyogs. su. [dpon.] sdong. dpon.
 80 yan. cad. bya. sgar. stsald. dgun. smad. rgya. rje. nos.³⁸⁵ nas. rgya. rje. gsar. dus
 81 bcug. pa. dbyar. dang. dang. sa. ris.³⁸⁶ las. las. stsogspas. bumring.³⁸⁷ lcag. zams

³⁷⁸ Read *mal*.

³⁷⁹ Read *'dus*.

³⁸⁰ Read *'dun*.

³⁸¹ Read *bzang*.

³⁸² Read *'dun*.

³⁸³ Read *glag*.

³⁸⁴ Read *'dun*.

³⁸⁵ Read *nongs*.

³⁸⁶ This is an unfortunate, though not incomprehensible error for *dpya' dar dang sa ris*. The scribe omits the next line of text, which should read: *'bul du ma rung nas// chab srld zhtg nas zhang rgyal zigs dang zhang stong rtsan las stsogs/ pas/* before moving on to *bum ling [ring]*.

82 rgyal. de.³⁸⁸ dra. cen. drang. te. lastsogspa. bum. ling. lcag. zam. [rgya] rgaltedracendrang
83 ste. zhang. rgyal. zigs. dang. zhang. sdong. stsan. las. stsogspa. bum. rung. lcagzam
84 rgalde. dracen. drang. ste. 'bu: shing. kun. dang. zin. cung. las. stsogs. pa. rgya'imkhar
85 mang. po. phabte. zhang. rgyal. zigs. slar. bod. yul. dus. mchis sde. zhang
86 rgyal. zigs. dang. blon. stag. sgra. zhang: sdong. stsan. dang. zhang. btsan. ba. las. stsogs

[The last paragraph, apparently a continuation of this writing exercise, has nothing to do with the *Annals*, but appears to be a complaint by a local ruler about the Tibetans breaking a treaty by leading a military campaign.]

From Ba-btsan court: at the time when Yam-cu and Stag Cung-bzang stayed in Kwa-cu stronghold, King Ko-te came from within the stronghold to visit Kam-cu, and complained. [His] petition:

“Tibet has led a military campaign. In accordance with this, and in compliance with the contract of the oath,³⁸⁹ henceforth it is inappropriate to abide by its truth. Although one might say [this is not so], from now hence taxes, men, and horses will indeed be in accordance with the law of Za.”

The Btsan-po's court resided in Lha-sgal. The above complaint being very harsh ...³⁹⁰

87 # // ba/ btsan. pho. brang. nas. yam. cu. dang. sdag.³⁹¹ cung. bjang.³⁹² gyisng/ kwa. cu. khar. nang.
du
88 mchis. pa. 'i. du. su. khar. nang. nas. rgyapo. ko. te. mchispa'i. kam. cu. mjal. de
89 rmas. pa. mchid. nas. bod. gyis. dran.³⁹³ ma. drang. de. mchis. pa. dang. byar. nas.
90 bro. ye. kan. las. gtog. de. phyin. cad. bden. dus.³⁹⁴ gzung. yang. myi. rung. pa. shod
91 kyang. khral. yang. myi. rta. da. phyin. cad. nas. zagyi. khrim.³⁹⁵ dang. yang. 'byor. Sde
92 btsan. pho. pho. brang. lha. sgal. nas.³⁹⁶ bzhugsde. bla. na.³⁹⁷ bka'. nan. thur. drags. sde. mchi

³⁸⁷ Read *ling*.

³⁸⁸ Read *rgal te*.

³⁸⁹ My reading of *bro ye kan las gtog* follows Gnya'-gong's gloss of this as “attached to the contract of the oath” (*bro yi gan rgya la gtogs*) (Gnya'-gong 1995: 120), but this is little more than guesswork. The term *ye kan* might equally be a Chinese term for an oath or oath contract.

³⁹⁰ This residence is not recorded in the *Annals*. Lhas-gang-tshal is employed as a royal residence during the first decade of the eighth century, and as a council site in 724-725, 727-728, 732-733 and 733-734. One other candidate for this place name, Lha-sgab, is a council site in 707-708, 712-713, and 726-727. This brings us no closer to dating this fragment, but we can observe that the entry for 727-728 records the Tibetan sack of Guazhou, and that the 730 treaty with the Chinese was broken later on in the same decade. For this fragment to pertain to this period, however, the dating formula for the royal residence site would have to be an error for the council site.

³⁹¹ Read *stag*.

³⁹² Read *bzang*.

³⁹³ Read *dra*.

³⁹⁴ Read *du*.

³⁹⁵ Read *khirms*.

³⁹⁶ Read *na*.

³⁹⁷ Read *nas*.

APPENDICES

Appendix One

Annalistic Entries in Other Documents

The most well-known annalistic entries outside of the *Old Tibetan Annals* itself are those associated with the introduction to the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. As noted in the introduction, the entry in the most widespread version likely corresponds to the year 814-815, during the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (*supra*, “Introducing the *Old Tibetan Annals*”). The version below differs only slightly from that translated in the introduction, and its only real variation is probably due to corruption. It comes from the library of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 'Bras-spungs Monastery.

In the year of the horse, Emperor Khri Lde-srong-btsan's court resided in 'On-cang-do in Skyi. He convoked them all—the new and old of the armies of the upper and lower regions.³⁹⁸ A Gar-log emissary paid homage. Chief minister Zhang Khri-zur Ram-shags and Minister Mang-rje Lha-lod and others took many gifts from China, and offered to the hands [of Khri Lde-srong-btsan] several camels, horses, cows, and oxen. He bestowed rewards on everyone from the rank of minister downwards. At this time... (*rta'i lo la btsan po khri lde srong btsan pho brang skyi'i 'on cang do na bzhugs/ stod smad kyi dmag gsar rnying dang / kun chen btul/ gar log gi pho nyas phyag btsal/ blon chen po zhang khri zung*³⁹⁹ *ram shags dang / blon mang rje lha lod la sogs pas rgya las gnangs mang po bcad de/ rnga rta dang ba mar*⁴⁰⁰ *phal mo che phyag du phul nas/ zhang blon man chad so sor bya dga' stsal pa'i lan la*).⁴⁰¹

Recently, a separate version of this document has been unearthed from Tabo Monastery in western Tibet. Intriguingly, the Tabo version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* opens with a different annalistic entry that dates to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, most likely to the year 783-784.⁴⁰²

In the year of the pig, the [emperor's] court resided in Zung-kar. In the presence of the emperor, the great monk [Bran-ka Dpal gyi] Yon-tan, the great monk [Myang] Ting-nge-'dzin, chief minister [Mchims] Rgyal-gzigs [Shu-theng], and chief minister [Ngan-lam] Stag-ra [Klu-khong] and others conferred, and in his presence systematized the translation of terms from Sanskrit into Tibetan. The decree: (*phag gi lo la pho brang zung kar ba*⁴⁰³ *bzhugs// btsan po'i spyang ngar ban de chen po yon tan dang ban de chen po ting nge 'dzin dang/ blon chen po rgyal gzigs dang/ blon chen po stag ra las stsogs pa' / rje blon mol ba'i spyang ngar rgya gar skad las bod skad du [ming btags pa] rnams/ gtan la phab ste bkas bcad pa' /*).⁴⁰⁴

Another annalistic entry is found in the first four lines of PT 1165, apparently referring to the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can):

³⁹⁸ This reading is most likely due to a corruption in the text, as most of the other versions mention the subjugation of great thieves (*rkun chen btul*).

³⁹⁹ Read *zur*.

⁴⁰⁰ Read *lang*.

⁴⁰¹ For the Tibetan text, see Rta-rdo 2003: 70.

⁴⁰² On the validity of this proposed date, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 289–99. The two ministers named most likely correspond to Mchims Rgyal-gzigs Shu-theng and Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khong, mentioned as the first two ministers in Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict, dating to c.779 (*infra*, Appendix Five). Likewise, the monks Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan and Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po are listed first in Khri Lde-srong-btsan's Skar-chung Edict, which dates to c.812 (*infra*, Appendix Five).

⁴⁰³ Read *na*.

⁴⁰⁴ For translation and transliteration, see Panglung 1994: 164, 168.

In the autumn of the year of the rat, the court resided in Mal-tro Spe-tshal. Chief minister (*blon chen-po*) Zhang Khri-sum-rje and great minister (*zhang-lon chen-po*) Zhang Lha-bzang [convened] the council at [lacuna] in Dbyar-mo-thang. . . Minister Btsan-bzang and minister Lha-bzher convened [the council] at Lcag-rtse. At this time...(*byi ba'i lo ston pho brang ma tro sp[e] tshal na bzu[gs]/ blon chen po zhang khri sum rje dang/ zhang lon chen po zhang lha bzang gis 'dun sa dbyar mo thang giblon btsan bzang dang/ blon lha bzher gyis lcags rtser bdsus pa'i lan*).⁴⁰⁵

That this entry relates to the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) (815–841) is deduced from the fact that the chief minister, Zhang Khri-sum-rje, most likely corresponds to 'Bro Zhang Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang, mentioned as the penultimate minister in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” forming chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (DTH: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four). If this is the case, it would date either to 820-821 or 832-833.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ For a French translation, see Uray 1975: 160. It was Uray, of course, who pointed out the existence of these annalistic entries in his own study of the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

⁴⁰⁶ For further details, see the discussion of this minister's career in Appendix Four.

Appendix Two

The Royal Succession

The dates of the royal succession are determined based on the *Old Tibetan Annals*, pillar inscriptions and the *Tang Annals*. The *Old Tibetan Annals* cover the years from 650 to 764, with seven years missing from 747 to 755, and dates that fall during this period are by far the most reliable. Where dates are contested or complicated I have given references in footnotes. Where possible, the dates of an emperor's life are given as well.

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| mid to late 6 th century | Stag-bu Snya-gzigs |
| late 6 th –early 7 th centuries | Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan |
| early 7 th century–c.640 | Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po) (605?–649) ⁴⁰⁷ |
| c.640–c.646 | Khri Gung-srong Gung-rtsan (died c.646) |
| c.646–649 | Second reign of Khri Srong-btsan |
| 649–676 | Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (c.643–676) |
| 686–704 | Khri 'Dus-srong (676–704) |
| 704–705 | Lha Bal-po |
| 705–712 | Empress 'Bro Khri-ma-lod |
| 712–c.754 | Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–c.754) |
| 756–c.797 | Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (742–c.800) |
| c.797–c.798 | Mu-ne-brtsan (died c.798) |
| c.798–c.800 | Second reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan; rules with chosen successor Lde-srong / Khri Lde-srong-brtsan (died 815) |
| c.800–c.802 | Mu-rug-brtsan (died c.804) seizes throne from Khri Lde-srong-brtsan upon their father's death |
| c.802–815 | “Second” reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan; Mu-rug-brtsan is subordinate to his younger brother, then dies c.804 ⁴⁰⁸ |
| 815–841 | Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (died 841) |
| 841–842 | Khri 'U'i Dum-brtan ⁴⁰⁹ |
| c.846–c.893 | Khri 'Od-srung (c.842 / 843–c.893) ⁴¹⁰ |

⁴⁰⁷ For a discussion of the date of Khri Srong-btsan's birth, see Hazod 2000: 174–75; Wangdu 1989; and Dotson 2007a: 59–62.

⁴⁰⁸ The dates and the order of events surrounding Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's immediate successors are discussed in Dotson 2007c: 7–15.

⁴⁰⁹ On the validity of these dates and those of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, see Yamaguchi 1996: 250 and Imaeda 2001: 31.

⁴¹⁰ For a discussion of 'Od-srung's dates, see Vitali 1996: 541–47.

The *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), properly a part of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, records the royal succession, and, beginning six generations back from Srong-btsan Sgam-po, provides the names of the mothers of each emperor. The succession, beginning in the heavens and descending to the earthly kings, is as follows:

Khri'i Bdun-tshIgs was the middle of seven brothers, [with] the three elder and three younger sons of Yab-bla Bdag-drug,⁴¹¹ who resides above the broad sky.

The son of Khri'i Bdun-tshIgs, Lde Nyag-khri Btsan-po, came to the narrow earth as rain to rule the earth and the fathers of the land.⁴¹² The divine son(s) ruled the land of men, and then actually departed, unimpeded, to heaven.

[2.] Mu-khri Btsan-po was the son Lde Nyag-khri Btsan-po conceived with Gnam Mug-mug.

[3.] DIng-khri Btsan-po was the son Mu-khri Btsan-po conceived with Sa DIng-ding.

[4.] So-khri Btsan-po was the son Ding-khri Btsan-po conceived with So Tham-tham.⁴¹³

[5.] De-khri Btsan-po was the son of So-khri Btsan-po.

[6.] Khri-spe Btsan-po was the son of De-khri Btsan-po.

Concerning these, when the son was able to rein a horse, the father departed to heaven.⁴¹⁴

[7.] DrI-gum Btsan-po was the son of Khri-spe Btsan-po.

[8.] Spu-de Gung-rgyal Gnam la Dri bdun was the son of Dri-gum Btsan-po. When he united with Sa-le Legs drug, Spu-de Gung-rgyal died, whereupon they [had the son] Grang-mo Gnam Gser-brtsig.⁴¹⁵

[9.] Tho-leg Btsan-po was the son of Gser-brtsig.

[10.] Sho-legs Btsan-po was the son of Tho-leg Btsan-po.

[11.] Go-ru-legs Btsan-po was the son of Sho-legs Btsan-po.

[12.] 'Brong-shi-legs Btsan-po was the son of Go-ru-legs Btsan-po.

⁴¹¹ Yab-lha Bdag-drug, the grandfather of the first Tibetan Btsan-po, is also mentioned in the Kong-po Inscription as the father of Nyag-khri Btsan-po. He also appears in Old Tibetan ritual texts as the king of the Phywa gods, and is known also as Mgon-tshun Phya (Stein 1971: 487). A later Bon text, the *Mdzod phug*, identifies him with Indra (Brgya-byin).

⁴¹² The repetition of the opening from the last section of the document suggests an oral background to these stories of the Btsan-po's origin. This fits well with the supposition that these genealogies and narratives were manufactured and presided over by the same priestly class that used similar narratives and genealogies in their own rites of healing and so forth.

⁴¹³ These first three queens are notable for the fact that they represent upper, middle and lower, or heaven, earth, and the underworld, and that they pass their names on to their sons. This matrinyimic oddity does not occur later in the lineage.

⁴¹⁴ This phrase was interpreted by Tucci (1955) to indicate the practice of ritualized regicide, a theory that I will reassess in a forthcoming study of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

⁴¹⁵ This line is surely an error on the part of the *Royal Genealogy*'s compiler(s) or scribe. *Gnam la dri [khri] bdun* refers to the seven heavenly thrones, the first seven kings. The next group is referred to as the six earthly Legs (*sa la legs drug*). Here the former is taken to be part of Spu-de Gung-rgyal's name, and the latter becomes his wife. Their offspring, fittingly perhaps, is a tomb, Grang-mo Gnam-gser, which we find as the tomb of Spu-de Gung-rgyal in the end of chapter one of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. The scribes have taken the phrase "they built the tomb Grang-mo Gnam-gser" (*grang mo gnam gser brtsig*), as a name, and given it a short form, Gser-brtsig, found in the next line. Needless to say, this is an error, and Spu-de Gung-rgyal did not have a son named Gser-brtsig. The passage should read something like, "in the heavens the seven thrones, on the earth, the six legs. When Spu-de Gung-rgyal died, they built the tomb Grang-mo Gnam-gser. Spu-de Gung-rgyal's son was Tho-leg Btsan-po." To rectify this error, I have not counted this erroneous Gser-brtsig as a king, and obviously the tomb did not father the next king, Tho-leg Btsan-po, though I should point out that I have followed this numbering elsewhere (Dotson 2004: 88-89). For a full discussion of the history and location of this tomb, see Hazod 2007a.

- [13.] Thi-sho-leg Btsan-po' was the son of 'Brong-shi-legs Btsan-po.
- [14.] I-sho-leg Btsan-po was the son of ThI-shog-leg Btsan-po.
- [15.] Zwa-gnam ZIn-te was the son of I-sho-leg.
- [16.] Lde Pru-bo Gnam-gzhung-brtsan was the son of Zwa-gnam ZIn-te.
- [17.] Lde-gol was the son of Gnam-gzhung-brtsan.
- [18.] Gnam-lde Rnol-nam was the son of Lde-gol.
- [19.] Bse' Rnol-po was the son of Gnam-lde Rnol-nam.
- [20.] Lde Rgyal-po was the son of Bse Rnol-po.
- [21.] Rgyal SrIn-brtsan was the son of Lde Rgyal-po.
- [22.] Rgyal-to-re Longs-brtsan was the son of Rgyal Srin-brtsan.
- [23.] Khri Btsan-nam was the son of Rgyal-to-re Longs-brtsan.
- [24.] Khri-sgra Sbung-brtsan was the son of Khri Btsan-nam.
- [25.] Khri Thog-brtsan was the son of Khri-sgra Sbung-brtsan.
- [26.] Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan was the son Khri Thog-brtsan conceived with Lady Stong-rgyal Mtsho-ma of the Ru-yong [clan].⁴¹⁶
- [27.] Khri Snya-zung-brtsan was the son Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan conceived with Lady Mang-mo-rje Ji-dgos of the Gno' [clan].
- [28.] 'Bro Mnyen-lde-ru was the son Khri Snya-zung-brtsan conceived with Lady Dung-pyang-bzher of the 'Bro' [clan].⁴¹⁷
- [29.] Stag-bu Snya-gzigs was the son 'Bro' Mnyen-lde-ru conceived with Lady Klu-rgyal Ngan-mo-mtsho⁴¹⁸ of the Mchims [clan].
- [30.] Slon-btsan Rlung-nam was the son Stag-bu Snya-gzigs conceived with Lady Stong-btsan 'Bro-ga of the 'Ol-god [clan].
- [31.] Srong-lde-brtsan was the son Slon-btsan Rlung-nam conceived with Lady 'Bring-ma Thog-dgos of the Tshes-pong [clan].⁴¹⁹
- [32.] Gung-srong Gung-rtsan was the son Srong-lde-brtsan conceived with Lady Khri-mo-mnyen Ldong-steng of the Mong [clan].
- [33.] Mang-slön Mang-rtsan was the son Gung-srong Gung-rtsan conceived with Khon-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar.

⁴¹⁶ Aside from the queens of the first three Btsan-po, who certainly represent mythical figures, this is the first mention of a queen in Tibetan prehistory. As such, it may indicate a passage into a murky intermediate stage between prehistory and history.

⁴¹⁷ It is notable that this Btsan-po took his name from the 'Bro clan.

⁴¹⁸ This queen's name literally means "queen of the serpent spirits, goose lake," and is an excellent example of how folklore grows out of the desire to explain confusing etymologies, for a legend was developed according to which this queen, who was from the southeast, required fish and frogs—not a staple of the diet in Yar-lungs—to maintain her health (Sørensen 1994: 151–52).

⁴¹⁹ Unless this is a scribal error, Srong-lde-brtsan is another name for Khri Srong-btsan, alias Srong-btsan sgam-po. This is confusing, since Srong-lde-brtsan was also the name of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan before he took the throne in 756. This adds to the confusion in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* surrounding the events during the reigns of these two famous emperors, particularly the conquest of Zhang-zhung.

- [34.] 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje was the son Mang-slön Mang-rtsan conceived with Lady Khri-ma-lod KhrI-steng of the 'Bro' [clan].
- [35.] KhrI Lde-gtsug-brtsan was the son 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje conceived with Lady Btsan-ma-thog Thog-steng of the Mchims [clan].
- [36.] Khri Srong-lde-brtsan was the son Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan conceived with Lady Mang-mo-rje BzhI-steng of the Sna-nam [clan].
- [37.] Mu-ne-brtsan and [38] Lde-srong-brtsan were the sons Khri Srong-lde-brtsan conceived with Lady Rma-rgyal Ldong-skar of the Tshes-pong [clan]. Mu [ne] brtsan's line being cut off,
- [39.] KhrI Gtsug-lde-brtsan and [41] 'U-'I Dum-brtan were the sons Lde-srong-brtsan conceived with Lady Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje of the 'Bro [clan].

/ : / gnam lhab kyl bla na yab bla bdag drug bzhugs pa pa 'I sras // gcen gsum gcung gsum na // khri 'i bdun tshlgs da nga⁴²⁰ bdun // khrl 'i bdun tshlgs kyi sras // lde nyag khri btsan po / sa dog la yul yab kyi rje dog yab kyl char du gshegs nas // lha sras myi yul gyl rgyal mdzad cing bzhugs pa las / mngon du thal byung dgung du gshegs pa // lde nyag khri btsan po dang / gnam mug mug du bshos pa 'I sras // mu khri btsan po mug khri btsan po dang sa dlng ding du bshos pa 'I sras // dlng khri btsan po ding khri btsan po dang / so tham tham du bshos pa 'I sras / so khri btsan po / so khri btsan po 'i sras / de khri btsan po / de khri btsan po 'i sras / khri spe btsan po // 'dl yan chad 'dra' ste / sras chlbs ka thub na / yab dgung du gshegs so // khri spe btsan po 'I sras / dri gum btsan po / dri gum btsan po 'i sras // spu de gung rgyal gnam la dri bdun / sa le legs drug bshos na / spu de gung rgyal grongs na / / grang mo gnam gser brtsig / gser brtsig gl sras // tho leg btsan po // tho leg btsan po 'i sras / sho legs btsan po / sho legs btsan po 'i sras // go ru legs btsan po go ru legs btsan po 'i sras // 'brong zhi legs btsan po / 'brong zhi legs btsan po 'i sras / thi sho leg btsan po / thl shog leg gi sras / I sho leg btsan po // i sho leg gl sras / zwa gnam zIn te // zwa gnam zIn te 'i sras / lde pru bo gnam gzhung brtsan / gnam gzhung brtsan gyl sras // lde gol / lde gol / lde gol gyi sras / gnam lde rñol nam / gnam lde rñol nam gyl sras / bse' rñol po / bse rñol po 'i sras / lde rgyal po / lde rgyal po 'i sras / rgyal srln brtsan / rgyal srin brtsan gyl sras / rgyal to re longs brtsan / rgyal to re longs brtsan gyi sras / khri btsan nam // khrl brtsan nam gyl sras / khri sgra sbung brtsan / khrl sgra sbung brtsan gyi sras // khrl thog brtsan khri thog brtsan dang / ru yong za stong rgyal mtsho mar bshos pa 'I sras / lha tho do snya brtsan / lha tho do snya brtsan dang / gno' za mang mo rje ji dgos su bshos pa 'I sras // khrl snya zung brtsan / khrl snya zung brtsan dang / 'bro' za dung pyang bzher du bshos pa 'I sras / 'bro mnyen lde ru / 'bro' mnyen lde ru dang / mchims za klu rgyal ngan mo mtshor bshos pa 'I sras // stag bu snya gzigs / stag bu snya gzigs dang / 'ol god za stong tsun 'bro gar bshos pa 'I sras // slon btsan rlung nam / slon btsan rlung nam dang / tshes pong za 'bring ma thog dgos su bshos pa 'I sras // srong lde brtsan / srong lde brtsan dang / mong za khrl mo mnyen ldong steng du bshos pa 'I sras // gung srong gung rtsan / gung srong gung rtsan dang / khon co mang mo rje khri skar du bshos pa 'I sras // mang slon mang rtsan / mang slon mang rtsan dang / 'bro' za khri ma lod khrl steng du bshos pa 'I sras // 'dus srong mang po rje / 'dus srong mang po rje dang / mchims za btsan ma thog / thog steng du bshos pa 'I sras // khrl lde btsug brtsan // khri lde gtsug brtsan dang / sna nam za' mang mo rje bzhI steng du bshos pa 'i sras / khri srong lde brtsan / khri srong lde brtsan dang / tshes pong za rma rgyal ldong skar du bshos pa 'I sras / mu ne brtsan dang / lde srong brtsan / mu brtsan gdung chad nas / lde slong brtsan dang / 'bro za lha rgyal mang mo rjer bshos pa 'I sras / khrl gtsug lde brtsan dang / 'u 'I dum brtan (PT 1286, ll. 42–69).⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ Read *dang*.

⁴²¹ For the text, see CD2, pls. 555–56. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, see CD3: 16 and Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 198–199. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 88–89. See also Dotson 2004.

Appendix Three

The Sack of the Chinese Capital in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the Zhol Pillar

The Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763 in the wake of the Anlushan Rebellion is one of the most celebrated events in Tibetan history, and is recorded not only in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, but in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and in the Zhol Pillar Inscription that now stands in front of the Potala.

Chapter VIII of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which is properly the final chapter of the disordered text, contains a passage concerning the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. Some of the events narrated in the passage appear to extend into the 790s, though there are few details beyond the sack of the Chinese capital. As with the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan is the last one described in the *Chronicle*; it is mute on the reigns of his successors. The *Chronicle*'s passage on the sack of Changan is as follows.

The lord and ministers conferred, and Zhang Mchims Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] and others sacked the Chinese stronghold of King-shI (the capital), and appointed as lord of China Gwang-bu Hwang-te.⁴²² As good and desired rewards the small turquoise insignia were given in perpetuity (forever and always). Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang met in battle the Chinese general Hon Dze-sangs at 'Gu'-log-sgang, and massacred many Chinese. 'Gu'-log was then called Chinese Cemetery. Sbrang Rgyal-sgra Leg-zigs led a military campaign to the upper regions, and, scattering the enemy in battle at Mu-yungs, he gathered as subjects the king(s) of the valleys down to Nung-kog.⁴²³ Dba's Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod and others led military campaigns as far up as Mkhar-tshan. They sacked the eight towns of the prefecture, deported the dor-po, and subjugated them.⁴²⁴ The realm being expanded, they seized [the territory] from as far up as Long-shan mountain range, and established the five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts. They created great Bde-blon-khams anew. Chief minister [Dba's] Sngang-bzher Zla-brtsan being skilled, clever, good, and auspicious, was bestowed the insignia of the precious jewel. Among the subjects, Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom [thousand-districts]⁴²⁵ were bestowed the "tiger top" as a sign of their heroism.⁴²⁶

*rje blon mol to / zhang mchim, rgyal zigs la stsogs pas rgya 'I mkhar king shl phab ste/ rgya rje
gwang bu hwang te bskos sol/ legs pa zhin pa 'i bya dga' / g.yu 'I yi ge chu ngu nam nam zhar zhar
byin nol/ dba's skyes bzang stag snang gis/ rgya 'I dmag pon hon dze sangs dang / 'gu' log sgang du
g-yul sprad nas / rgya mang po bthungs ste/ 'gu' log rgya dur du btagso' // sbrang rgyal sgra leg zigs
kyis/ stod phyogs su drangste/ mu yungsu g.yul bzlog nas/ lung gl rgyal po nung kog man chad 'bangs
su bsdu/ dba's btsan bzher mdo lod la stsogs pas/ mkhar tshan yan chad du drangste/ mkhar cu pa*

⁴²² Tibet's short-lived "puppet emperor" was a relative of the Chinese princess Kim-sheng Kong co. Gwang-bu Hwang-te is apparently a Tibetan phoneticization of "emperor of Guangwu," since the *Jiu Tangshu* states that this was Chenghong 承宏, the prince of Guangwu 廣武 (Pelliot 1961: 30).

⁴²³ As reviewed above in fn. 261 to the entry for 721-722, the "upper regions" (*stod-phyogs*) is the Tibetan equivalent of the Chinese 西域 *xi yu*, meaning "western regions." Uray (1991: 200, n. 29) suggests therefore that the "king(s) of the valleys" in this passage indicates a ruler or rulers in the Pamirs.

⁴²⁴ Btsan-lha (1997: 336) reads *dor-po* as "rebel leaders" (*ngo-log-pa'i gte-po*); Uray (1991: 200, nn. 30–31) offers further points on this section of the passage and translates *dor-po* with "defeated." Rong (1990–1991: 260) translates it with "their people." Bacot and Toussaint leave *dor-po* untranslated, but note that it is a place name (*DTH*: 154, n. 3).

⁴²⁵ Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom are three thousand-districts in Central Horn (cf. Uray 1991: 201, n. 33; *TLTD3*: 16).

⁴²⁶ One would assume that the "tiger top" (*stagi thog-bu*) was not given to every member of these thousand-districts. Like the *stag gi zar chen* and *stag gi zar cung* mentioned in the introduction ("Rank Order and Chain of Command," fn. 113), the exact meaning of *stagi thog-bu* remains unclear. *Thog* is a roof, or something that goes on top. Nominalized with *bu*, it may indicate a hat, or a feature on the top of a hat or helmet. Tiger skins were employed during the period of the Tibetan Empire to distinguish and decorate soldiers (Dotson 2007a: 119–20, 283–84, 307, 316–18).

brgyad phab nas/ dor po bton te/ 'bangs su bzhes so// chab srlld che ste long shan la rgyud yan chad // pyag du bzhes nas/ mthong khyab khrl sde lnga btsugs/ bde blon khams ched po gchig gsar du bskyed do// blon che snang bzher zla brtsan 'dzangs shlng mkhas la/ bkra' shls shing kha dro bas/ nor bu rln po che 'i yi ge stsal to// 'bangs kyl nang na / dor te pyug tshams ste 'dzom dpa' ba 'I mtshan mar / stagl thog bu stsal to/ (PT 1287, ll. 376–86).⁴²⁷

Uray (1991: 202) states that this section of the *Chronicle* relates the events from 762–765 in chronological order. As such, several of the battles recounted follow the sack of the Chinese capital at Changan, and the great consultation, most importantly the fall of Liangzhou (Leng-cu).

The events related in the last few entries of the *Annals* are also related in the Zhol Pillar (c.764). The south inscription of the Zhol Pillar describes these events from the vantage point of rewards offered to Stag-sgra Klu-khong, who was instrumental in the attack. The first part of the pillar describes Klu-khong's role in uncovering the treachery of ministers Lang Myes-gzigs and 'Bal Ldong-tshab, who assassinated Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, made an attempt on the life of his son and heir, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, and plunged Tibet into a state of turmoil (*supra*, "The *Old Tibetan Annals*' Contributions to Tibetan History"). Immediately following this passage, the rest of the south face of the pillar reads:

During the reign of Emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Ngan-lam Klu-khong being loyal, great in counsel, and firm of mind, was appointed as minister of the interior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs. Perceiving the weakness of the Chinese realm, he was proclaimed as general of the initial campaign in the direction of Khar-tsan. Being skilled in the art of war, and proceeding with caution, he first gathered [into the Tibetan fold] many 'A-zha of the Chinese territory. Taking many lands and riches from China, China was intimidated. [They sacked] Chinese Dbyar-mo-thang. In the direction of Tsong-ka, granaries and barley and so forth [±3] *dang pho gcald*. Klu-khong [±3] angered enemies [±3] made a great political campaign [±3] offered great counsel.

[Klu-khong] was loyal and delighted in benefiting the realm. By the importance of his counsel to the profound mind of emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, whatsoever was done politically was indeed good.

They vanquished and gathered [under Tibetan power] many territories and strongholds belonging to China. The lord of China, He'u-'gl 'Wang-te, and his ministers were terrified. They always offered a yearly tribute of 50,000 pieces of silk; they were made to pay tribute. After that, the lord of China, the father, He'u-'gl 'Wang-de, died. The lord of China, the son, 'Wang-peng-'wang, was installed as king and [deemed] it improper to pay tribute to Tibet. When the Btsan-po was dismayed at this, Ngan-lam Klu-khong requested to [be appointed] as great head of the council for Tibet to lead an army to the Chinese lord's court at Keng-shi, the center of China, and Zhang Mchims-rgyal Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng and Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong were both proclaimed as generals of the military campaign to Keng-shi. Leading the military campaign to Keng-shi, a great battle was fought with the Chinese at the ford at Ci'u-cir. Tibet scattered the enemy, and they massacred many Chinese. The lord of China, Kwang-peng-'wang, indeed came out from his castle at Keng-shI and fled to Sshems-ci'u. They sacked Keng-shI, and the minister of the interior of the lord of China, 'Gye'u-[±1]-keng and others, from Dong-kwan and Bo-kwan upwards [±3] the Btsan-po's subjects [±4] *cod chu gang dang khra* [±4] *te*, Kim-sheng Kong-co's brother [±4] being set up [±7] minister [±6] kings great and small [±6]

...into the inner part of the realm, and always listening to what is said. Klu-khong was loyal and delighted in benefiting the realm

⁴²⁷ For the text, see *CD2*: pl. 571. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, see *CD3*: 30. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 153–54. Cf. Sato 1958–1959: 533–37.

// btsan po khrl srong lde brtsan gyl rlng la// ngan lam klu khong blo ba nye la bka' gros che nas/ thugs brtand te// nang blon bka' la gtogs par bcug nas// rgya'i srid gyl nyam drod rtog cing / khar tsan phyogs su thog ma drangs pa'i/ dmag dpon du / bka' stsald gyis kyang/ dgra' thabs mkhas la gros gyi song de rgya'i khams su gtogs pa'i 'a zha dang po bsdus/ rgya las mnangs phal su cha bcad pas/ rgya spa gong ste// rgya'i khams su gtogs pa dbyar mo thang/ [±3] na dang / tsong ka phyogs [stsang ra] dang nas las stsogs/ pa [±3] dang pho gcald/ klu khong gis [±3] 'khrugs pa'l dgra [±3] chab srid chen pho mdza_d [±3] bka' gros chen pho gsold [klu khong] glo ba nye zhing chab srid lu dpend pa'i sems dga' ba byas so// btsan pho khrl srong lde brtsan thugs sgam la' bka' gros gyl rgya che bas/ chab srid gar mdzad do cog du'ang legs ste/ rgya'i khams su gtogs pa'l yul dang mkhar mang po bcom ste bsdus nas// rgya rje he'u 'gl 'wang te rje blon skrag ste/ lo clg clng rtog du dpya dar yug lnga khri phul te/ rgya dpya' 'jal du bcug go/ de'l 'og du/ rgya rje yab he'u 'gl 'wang de grongs ste/ rgya rje sras lwang peng 'wang rgyal por zhugs nas/ bod la dpya' 'jal du ma rung ste// btsan pho thugs snyung ba'l tshe ngan lam klu khong gis// rgya yul gyl thild / rgya rje'l pho brang keng shir/ bod gyis dmag drang ba'i bka' gros gyl mgo chen po gsold nas keng shir drang ba'l dmag dpon chen phor/ zhang mchims rgyal zigs shu theng dang // blon stag sgra klu khong gnyls/ bka' stsald te/ keng shir drangs nas// ci'u clr gyi rab ngogs su rgya dang thab mo chen pho byas te/ bod gyis g-yul bzlog nas// rgya mang po bdungs pas// rgya rje kwang peng 'wang yang/ keng shl'i mkhar nas phyung ste' sshem ci'ur bros nas/ keng shl phab ste rgya rje'l nang blon 'gye'u [±1] keng las stsogs te dong kwan dang bo kan ya[n cad] [±3] btsan po'i 'bangs [±4] cod chu gang dang khra [±4] te/ kim sheng kong co'i ming po [±4] 'khras shlng [±7] blon po [±6] rgyal pho che chung [±6] srid phugsu gra ba dang gтам yun du snyan par byas te/ klu khong glo ba nye zhing chab srid la dpend pa'l sems dga' ba byas so/ (ll. 21–74).⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ For transliteration and translation, see Richardson 1985: 8–15 and Li and Coblin 1987: 143–45, 158–60. Cf. Sato 1958–1959: 525.

Appendix Four

The “Succession of Chief Ministers” in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*

Chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* consists of a succession of chief ministers containing anecdotes about the chief ministers of Tibet. It is, literally, “an account of those who served as chief ministers” (*blon che bgyis pa 'I rabs*). In most cases, a given minister is described as being “wise” (*'dzangs*) and “brave” (*dpa*), and sometimes “perceptive” (*snying-shes*). In other cases, such as the famous ministers Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse and Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-bzung, the text relates an illustrative anecdote. The following is a condensed list of the names of these ministers without the accompanying anecdotes. The text begins with the reign of the Btsan-po Lde Pru-bo Gnam-gzhung-rtsan, who is listed in above in the *Royal Genealogy* as the sixteenth in the line of Btsan-po. This starting point speaks once again to the mythological nature of the early generations in the royal succession.

- [1.] 'Da'r gyI Bu-stong Dang-rje.
 - [2.] Rngegs Dud kyi rje.
 - [3.] Khu Lha-bo Mgo-gar.
 - [4.] Lho Thang-'bring Ya-stengs.
 - [5.] Rngegs Thang-yong Thang-rje.
 - [6.] Gnubs Smon-to-re Spung-brtsan.
 - [7.] Mthon-myi 'Bring-po Rgyal-btsan-nu.
 - [8.] Sna-nam 'Bring-tog-rje.
 - [9.] Gnubs Khri-to-re Mthong-po.
 - [10.] Gnubs Khri-dog-rje Gtsug-blon.
 - [11.] Gnubs Mnyen-to-re Ngan-snang.
 - [12.] Shud-pu Rgyal-to-re Nga-myi.
- These ministers upwards were endowed with sacred power (*'phrul*). . .
- [13.] Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab.⁴²⁹
 - [14.] Mgar Khri-sgra 'Dzî -rmun.
 - [15.] Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang.
 - [16.] Mgar Mang-sham Sum-snang.⁴³⁰
 - [17.] Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse.
 - [18.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung.
 - [19.] 'O-ma-lde Lod-btsan.
 - [20.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ The text connects him with the fall of Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsang-Bod, an event that is usually attributed to Zu-tse. Denwood (*forthcoming*), however, states that the text does not attribute this conquest to Mong, but simply narrates his feats at the time of this event. Cf. Beckwith 1987: 16, n. 14. Chapter four of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* recounts how Mong Sngon-po, perhaps the son of this minister, was put to death by Zu-tse (*DTH*: 106, 139).

⁴³⁰ The text here also mentions Khu Khri-snya Dgu'-zung.

- [21.] Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu.⁴³²
 [22.] Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung.⁴³³
 [23.] Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen.
 [24.] Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod.
 [25.] Dba's Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher.
 [26.] Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tshab.
 [27.] Dba's Stag-sgra Khong-lod.⁴³⁴
 [28.] 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang.
 [29.] 'Bal Skye-zang Ldong-tshab.⁴³⁵
 [30.] Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan.
 [31.] Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lag.
 [32.] Mchims Zhang Rgyal-zlgs Shu-teng.
 [33.] Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong.
 [34.] Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang.
 [35.] 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags.
 [36.] Dba' Mang-rje Lha-lod.
 [37.] 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang.
 [38.] Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya.
 (PT 1287, ll. 63–117).⁴³⁶

Like the genealogy of the Tibetan emperors, the list goes right up to the end of the dynasty, ending with Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya, a minister of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) and 'U-'i Dum-brtan (Glang Dar-ma). The succession of ministers corresponds generally with that established by the *Annals*, but differs from it in some instances. The succession of chief ministers in the *Annals* is as follows:

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------|
| pre-650–667 | Mgar Stong-rtzan Yul-bzung. |
| 667–679 | No chief minister mentioned. |
| 680–685 | Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu. ⁴³⁷ |

⁴³¹ The text states, "Yul-zung being old, he was replaced by 'O-ma-lde Lod-btsan. Not long after, he became disloyal and was killed. Then Minister Stong-rtzan was reappointed. Acting for six more years, he became old and died."

⁴³² According to the text, the lesser ministers and subjects preferred a different candidate, Dba's Sum-snang, but were overruled by the lord and ministers, who conferred in secret. Dba's Sum-snang then acted as his deputy and understudy, but died.

⁴³³ The text states that he was disgraced.

⁴³⁴ The text states that he was disgraced.

⁴³⁵ The text states that he too was disgraced.

⁴³⁶ For the text, see *CD2*, pls. 559–61. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 202–04. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 128–32.

| | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 685–698 | Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod. |
| 698–705 | No chief minister mentioned. |
| 705 | Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung. Appointed in 705, then disgraced. |
| 705–721 | Dbas Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen. |
| 721–725 | Dbas Khri-sum-rje Rtsan-bzher. |
| 725–727 | Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tsab. |
| 727–728 | Dbas Stag-sgra Khong-lod. |
| 728–c.747 | 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang. ⁴³⁸ |
| c.747–c.754 | 'Bal Skye-zang Ldong-tshab. |
| 755–756 | No chief minister mentioned. |
| 757–764 | Dbas Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan. |
| 764–??? | Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lag |

The chief ministers named in the *Annals* correspond perfectly with names 20 through 31 in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” from the *Chronicle*, apart from one oddity. Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod should be placed in the 22nd spot in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s succession of ministers and not the 24th, since he precedes Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Dbas Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen. The *Annals* mentions twelve chief ministers covering a period of 114 years, thus making the average reign as chief minister approximately ten years long, with the obvious caveat that chief ministers were most likely to rule either a very long time, such as twenty years, or a very short time, such as one year.

Concerning the succession of chief ministers after the period covered by the *Annals*, it is uncertain how long Mgos Khri-bzang remained in office. As he is not mentioned in Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's Bsam-yas edict, which dates to c.779, he must have left his office by that time. His successor, Mchims Zhang Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng, is first mentioned as chief minister in this edict, indicating that he had become chief minister by this time.⁴³⁹ The *Jiu Tangshu* states that in 782 Chief minister Shang Jiexi 尚結息 was replaced by the second minister, Shang Jiezan 尚結贊,⁴⁴⁰ and Sørensen (1994: 351, n. 1118) believes that the former name indicates Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng. The latter, however probably does not refer to Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong, because, as Li (1981: 176) has shown, he was apparently called Ma Chongying 馬重英 in the *Tang Annals*. Shang Jiezan is, in fact, an accurate rendering of Zhang Rgyal-mtshan, indicating Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-mtshan Lha-sngang (Sato 1958–1959: 22, English summary). If the *Jiu Tangshu* is not in error here, and we take the “Succession of Chief Ministers” at face value as well, then this might indicate that Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong held the post for only a matter of months in c.782 before Zhang Rgyal-mtshan replaced him (Richardson 1998 [1977]: 67–68). This is problematic, however, because the annalistic preamble to the Tabo version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, which most likely dates to 783–784, refers to both Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng and Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong as “chief ministers” (*blon chen-po*) (*supra*, Appendix One). If we are to trust both the Chinese and Tibetan sources, then we can assume that

⁴³⁷ He is mentioned in the entries for 673–674, 675–676, and 676–677, and referred to as “minister” in the latter two entries. Sato (1958–1958: 824) assumes that he served as chief minister from 667 to 685.

⁴³⁸ The years between 747 and 755 are missing, so it is likely that 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang continued to act as chief minister for some of these years until he was replaced by 'Bal Ldong-tshab.

⁴³⁹ Sato (1958–1959: 824) states that he held the post from 768–781, while Richardson (1998 [1977]: 64) proposes 768–783.

⁴⁴⁰ See Bushell 1880: 487; Pelliot 1961: 42; and Lee 1981: 93.

Klu-gong was appointed in c.782, and that Zhang Rgyal-mtshan was appointed shortly thereafter, with both of them acting as chief ministers for at least one year, after which only Zhang Rgyal-mtshan served as chief minister.

Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang is recorded third in the edict of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (*infra*, Appendix Five). His death is reported in the *Xin Tangshu*'s entry for 796. (Pelliot 1961: 123). The next Tibetan edict containing information about the Tibetan ministers is that of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan in c.812. The first of the ministers who swore to this edict was Chief minister Zhang 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags. We know from the *Chronicle* that he was decisive in the reconquest of Khotan in the early 790s, but that does not necessarily indicate that he became chief minister under Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. The second name below Ram-shags in the edict of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan is Dba'-blon Mang-rje Lha-lod, and Ram-shags and Mang-rje Lha-lod are found in the introduction to the non-Tabo versions of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, dating most likely to 814-815, where again they are chief minister and minister, respectively. This means that Mang-rje Lha-lod did not hold the post of chief minister until after 814-815.⁴⁴¹

The next edict containing information about Tibet's ministerial regimes is the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar in Lhasa, dating to 821-822. In this pillar, the first minister named is Dpal chen-po Yon-tan, who is described as "the great monk participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs and in charge of internal and external affairs of the realm." Next is the commander of the army is named second among the ministers, Zhang Khri-sum-rje. There has been some debate about the identification of this person due to the fact that the inscription is damaged here. The name has sometimes been reconstructed as Rlang Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha, a minister who is listed as the sixth of six Ministers of the realm participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs in Khri Lde-srong-brtsan's Skar-chung Edict (*infra*, Appendix Five).⁴⁴² Most often the name is read as Zhang Khri-sum-rje, however, and the Chinese also has *shang* 尚, which is the standard transcription for *zhang*. Since the Rlang were not a zhang clan and the 'Bro were, this can only be 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang. Furthermore, his placement in the edict indicates that he is the chief minister, and nowhere do we find Rlang Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha listed as a chief minister.

The final chief minister mentioned in the succession according to the *Chronicle* is Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya. Though he is not found in the Lhasa treaty inscription, the edict of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan mentions Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya tenth in the list of governors, generals, and ministers of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs. He is famous in post-dyastic histories as the leader of the coup to oust Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) and is described in poetic detail as one of Tibet's great villains.

⁴⁴¹ Richardson (1998 [1977]: 64) suggests that Ram-shags took the post around 800 and that Mang-rje Lha-lod succeeded him around 810. Sato (1958-1959: 824) states that Ram-shags was appointed in 802, based on his dating of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* to this time.

⁴⁴² For references and a discussion of this matter, see Li and Coblin 1987: 122.

Appendix Five

The Regimes of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan Based on their Edicts

As noted in the introduction, and again in Appendix One, the annalistic dating formulas found in Old Tibetan letters and contracts cannot be precisely dated without a knowledge of the careers of the ministers who they name. A crucial technology for dating such Old Tibetan documents is therefore a database of ministers. Ideally, this would be a searchable electronic database, but as a piecemeal offering for such a project, I present the names of the ministers listed in three royal edicts, dating respectively to the reigns of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. The first two come from edicts preserved in the sixteenth-century *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, and have been translated and published by Tucci (1950: 44–55, 95–104).

Considering now the regime of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, the edict accompanying the Bsam-yas Inscription records the names of several of his ministers who swore to the edict proclaiming Buddhism the religion of Tibet. Richardson (1985: 27) dates this to between 779 and 782, based on 779 as the date of Bsam-yas's completion. Like Tucci, Richardson (1998 [1980]) also made a translation and transliteration of this edict.

Those who swore:

1. The nephew, Lord of 'A-zha.

Great ministers participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*zhang-blon chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*):

1. Chief minister Zhang [Mchims] Rgyal-gzigs Shu-theng.
2. Minister Stag-sgra Klu-gong.
3. Zhang [Sna-nam] Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang.⁴⁴³
4. Minister Rgyal-sgra Legs-gzigs.⁴⁴⁴
5. Minister Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod.⁴⁴⁵
6. Zhang Rgyal-nyen Zla-gong.
7. Minister Khri-gangs Rgya-gong.
8. Gcen Mtsho-btsan.
9. Zhang Rgyal-tshan Le-gong.

Ministers of the interior:

1. Minister Gra-'dzi, Zhang ['Bro Khri-gzu] Rams-shags.
2. Zhang A-srin.
3. Zha-snga Khri-gnyen.

⁴⁴³ According to the "Succession of Chief Ministers" in chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, these three succeeded one after another to the post of chief minister (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁴⁴ This corresponds to Sbrang Rgyal-sgra Leg-gzigs who in the *Chronicle* led a campaign against the upper regions (*stod phyogs*) following the victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three).

⁴⁴⁵ This corresponds to Dbas Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod, who in the *Chronicle* led campaigns from Mkhari-tshan upwards following the victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three).

4. Minister Klu-gong.
5. 'Ong-ka Lha-mtsho.
6. Minister Shang-btsan.
7. Minister Srin-skyugs.
8. Minister 'Dus-ston.
9. Zhang Stag-tshab.
10. Zhang Legs-'dus.

Ministers of the exterior:

1. Zhang Bal-bu-stang.
2. Zhang Lha-gzigs.⁴⁴⁶
3. Minister La-kun-rtse.
4. Minister Spra-bzhin.
5. Minister Stong-thub.
6. Minister Zla-gong.
7. Minister Gtug-kyung-sling.
8. Minister Lhos-po.
9. Zhang Rgyal-snang.
10. Minister Byin-byin.⁴⁴⁷
11. Minister Long-po.
12. Minister Rtsang-lod.
13. Minister Gnyan-kong.

Governors and generals of the upper and lower regions (*stod smad kyi dbang po dang dmag dpon*):

1. Minister Skyes-bzang Stag-snang.⁴⁴⁸
2. Minister Snang-kong.
3. Minister Khyi-chung.
4. Minister Klu-bzher.
5. Zhang Mar-bu.
6. Minister Lha-mtsho.
7. Minister Par-mi.

⁴⁴⁶ This may correspond to Mchims Btsan-zher Lha-gzigs, named as subcommander of lower Branch Horn in the catalogues of thousand-districts dating to between 744 and 764 (Hazod, *infra*, Part III).

⁴⁴⁷ This may correspond to Le'u minister Lha-bzang Byin-byin, listed as a minister of the interior in the Skar-chung Edict of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (*infra*).

⁴⁴⁸ This corresponds to Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang, who in the *Chronicle* met in battle the Chinese general Hon Dze-sangs at 'Gu'-log following the Tibetan victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three). He also appears in the catalogues of thousand-districts as the general of lower Central Horn (Hazod, *infra*, Part III; Dotson 2007a: 199–200).

8. Minister Shang-rdzong.
 9. Minister Mig-khyung-tshud.
 10. Minister Tang-bu.
 11. Khu Rgya-brtsan.
 12. Minister Mdo-gzigs.
 13. Minister Khong-khri.
 14. Minister Khong-legs.
 15. Minister Rmang-la-skyes.
 16. Minister Mdo-bzang.
 17. Minister Khri-gong.
- (*KhG*: 372–73; 109b, l. 4–110a, l. 2).

As for the regimes of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (c.798–815), the edict accompanying the Skar-chung Pillar edict proclaiming his desire to uphold the Buddhist religion records the names of several of his queens and ministers who swore to the edict reinforcing Buddhism the religion of Tibet. This likely dates to the latter half of his reign, and Richardson opts for c.812.⁴⁴⁹

Those who swore:

[Junior] queen sisters (*jo mo mched*):⁴⁵⁰

1. Jo-mo 'Bro-bza' Khri-mo-legs.⁴⁵¹
2. Jo-mo Mchims-rgyal-bza' Legs-mo-brtsan.⁴⁵²
3. Jo-mo Cog-ro-bza' Brtsan-rgyal.

Minor [vassal] kings (*rgyal-phran*):

1. The nephew, Lord of 'A-zha, Dud-kyi Bul-zhi khud-par Ma-ga-tho-yo-gon Kha-gan.⁴⁵³
2. Rkong Kar-po Mang-po-rje.
3. Myang-btsun Khri-bo.

Ministers of the realm downwards; greater and lesser ministers (*chab-srid kyi blon-po man-chad blon-po che phra*):

⁴⁴⁹ Richardson 1998 [1977]: 71.

⁴⁵⁰ On this title, see *supra*, “Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives.”

⁴⁵¹ According to the *Royal Genealogy*, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan and 'Bro-za Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje bore Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and 'U'i Dum-brtan (*supra*, Appendix Two; see also Sørensen 1994: 409, n. 1410). It is hard to harmonize these two names as having referred to the same person, and if the chief, heir-bearing queen were alive at this point, she would certainly be mentioned in this edict. One possibility is that the heir-bearing 'Bro queen, Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje, died some time after giving birth to the heir Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and his brother 'U'i Dum-brtan, and was duly “replaced” in her role by another lady of the 'Bro clan, Khri-mo-legs. See, however, Uebach 2005b: 44, where it is suggested that Khri-mo-legs might be the official name of 'Bro-za Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje.

⁴⁵² She is also mentioned in Ldan-ma-brag Inscription (Chab-spel 2003 [1988]: 87)

⁴⁵³ Kha-gan indicates a Turkic ruler, in this case, the lord of the 'A-zha. Ma-ga-tho-gon is not a name, but an epithet, and is also found to indicate the 'A-zha ruler during the early eighth century in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*.

Monks participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs (*ban-de bka' chen-po la gtogs-pa*):

1. Ban-de Bran-ka Yon-tan.
2. Ban-de Myang Ting-'dzin.

Ministers of the realm participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs (*chab-srid kyi blon-po bka' chen-po la gtogs-pa*):

1. Chief minister Zhang 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags.
2. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Btsan-bzher Legs-gzigs.
3. Dba'-blon Mang-rje Lha-lod.⁴⁵⁴
4. Dba's-blon Khri-sum-bzher Mdo-btsan.
5. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Lha-bzhir Ne-shags.
6. Rlang minister Khri-sum-rje Speg-lha.

Ministers of the interior:

1. Zhang Sna-nam Khri-sgra-rgyal.
2. Zhang Tshe-spong Mdo-bzher Phes-po.
3. Zhang Tshe-spong Lha-bzang Klu-dpal.
4. Zhang Sna-nam Rgyal-legs Dge-tshug.
5. Zhang Sna-nam Lha-bzher Spe-btsan.
6. Bran-ka minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong.⁴⁵⁵
7. Myang minister Khri-bzang Legs-'dus.
8. Le'u minister Lha-bzang Byin-byin.
9. Tong minister Stag-slebs.
10. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Mdo-gzigs.
11. Rlang minister Bsam-skyes.
12. Zhang Tshe-spong Lha-lung-sto.
13. Zhang Sna-nam Gnyan-lod.
14. 'Ong-ka Lha-sbyin.
15. 'Bring-yas-blom Stag-rma.
16. Rtsang-rje-blom Khye-'u-cung.⁴⁵⁶
17. 'Bal-blom 'Bro-ma.
18. Snya-shur-blom Btsug-snyas.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ According to the "Succession of Chief Ministers" in chapter two of the *Chronicle*, he succeeded Ram-shags as chief minister (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁵⁵ He corresponds to minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong, named as great minister of the realm in the 821-822 treaty pillar (*infra*).

⁴⁵⁶ This ethnonym-cum-title, Rtsang-rje, may indicate that this minister is a descendant of the ancient rulers of Rtsang or Rtsang-Bod, incorporated into the Tibetan Empire during the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan.

⁴⁵⁷ As noted above, Snya-shur is the clan name or title of the royal house of Zhang-zhung. This demonstrates the extent to which this once proud royal lineage was now co-opted as little more than a minor aristocratic clan within the Tibetan Empire.

Retainers (*snam-phyi-ba*):⁴⁵⁸

1. Khar-ba-rje blon Btsan-slebs.
2. Khu Stag-tshab.
3. Zha-snga Gcan-stag-lod.
4. Byung-po blon Rgyal-'byung.
5. Shud-pu blon Khong-khri.
6. Le'u blon Klu-gzher.
7. Zhang Tshe-spong Klu-mtsho-sto.
8. Pa-tsab blon 'Tsho-gzigs.
9. Myang blon Legs-btsan.
10. Rlang blon Gsal-slebs.
11. Dba' blon Lta-bo-btsan.
12. Bran-ka blon Bsam-pa.
13. Nyi-ba blon Ldon-kong.
14. Shud-bu blon Stag-slebs.
15. Zha-snga Gsas-btsan Khu-thog-btsan.
16. Sna-nam Lha-'bangs.

Governors, generals, and ministers of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*dbang-po dang / dmag-dpon dang / phyi-blon bka' la gtogs-pa*):

1. Lho blon Khri-bzang G.yu-brtsan.
2. Dbas blon Khrom-bzher.
3. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Stong-snya Smon-btsan.
4. Zhang Tshe-spong Khri-gzigs Spung-re-tsung.
5. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Stag-bzher Rgyal-slebs.
6. Zhang Sna-nam Btsan-sgra Khri-slebs.
7. 'Brom blon Rgyal-bzher Khar-tsi.
8. Lha-lung blon Mang-po-rje Skar-kong.
9. Zhang 'Bro Stag-bzher Pra-bal-stang.
10. Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-nya.⁴⁵⁹
11. Cog-ro blon Lho-gong.⁴⁶⁰
12. Lang-gro blon Khrom-legs.
13. Dba' blon Mdo-btsan.
14. Le'u blon Ku-rma.
15. Zhang 'Bro Stag-stang.
16. Mang-sgra blon Klu-rma.

⁴⁵⁸ On the translation of this term, see Takeuchi 1985: 139–40.

⁴⁵⁹ He is the final chief minister named in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁶⁰ May correspond to Cog-ro blon Btsan-bzher Lho-gong named as minister of the exterior attached to the council in the 821-822 treaty pillar (*infra*).

17. Zhang Mchims Rma-btsan.
 18. Rtse-'brom blon Sga-'gu.
 19. Khyung-po blon Mes-kol.
 20. Pa-tsab blon Spe-ma.
 21. 'Brom Se-ri-stang.
 22. Dba's blon 'Phan-legs.
 23. Dbas blon Khrom-legs.
 24. Ska-ba blon Mtsho-lod.
 25. Cog-ro blon Gung-keng.
 26. Dbas blon Mye-slebs.
 27. Khu Mye-gzigs.
 28. Zha-snga Mu-gnyen.
 29. Zhang 'Bro Gung-stang.
 30. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Ma-rmyIn-brtse.
 31. Zhang Tshe-spong Rma-btsan.
 32. Cog-ro Brtan-kong.
 33. Gnang Yul-bzung.
 34. Cog-ro Khyi-btsan.
 35. Sbrang Mo-rma.
 36. 'Bro Ldog-srong-ston.⁴⁶¹
 37. 'Brom Yang-gzigs.
- (*KhG*: 411–13; 129b, l. 7–130b, l. 5)

Finally, the 821-822 China–Tibet treaty pillar records the regime during the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. Following Li and Coblin's transliteration, the north face of the pillar reads as follows:⁴⁶²

The ranks, names, and clans of the greater and lesser ministers of Greater Tibet who swore to the treaty (*bod chen-po 'I blon-po che phra mjal-dum gyl gtsigs 'dzin-pa la gtogs-pa 'I thabs dang mying rus la//*):

The ranks, names, and clans of the great ministers of the realm of Greater Tibet participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*bod chen-po 'I chab-srid kyl blon-po chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa 'I thabs dang mying rus//*):

1. The great monk participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs and in charge of internal and external affairs of the realm, Dpal chen-po [Bran-ka]Yon-tan.
2. Commander in chief of the army, Zhang Khri-sum-rje [Stag-s nang].
3. . . . great minister, Minister Lho. . .
4. Great high minister, chief of the army (*gung-blon chen-po dpon dmag. . .*) . . . -bzang.

⁴⁶¹ It is odd here that this minister of the 'Bro clan is not referred to as *zhang*, like those other clansmen mentioned in the edict.

⁴⁶² For the transliteration, see Li and Coblin 1987: 59–62. See also their translation and notes, 117–27. For Richardson's transcription and translation, see Richardson 1985: 128–35.

Appendices

5. Great minister of the realm, Minister Rgyal-khri Mdo-gzigs.
6. Great minister of the realm, Minister Mchims Zhang Rgyal Btsan-bzher.
7. Great minister of the realm, Zhang Khri-btsan Khod-ne-stang.
8. Great minister of the realm, Zhang Khri-bzher Lha-mthong.
9. Great minister of the realm, Minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong.

The ranks, names, and clans of the ordinary ministers of Greater Tibet (*bod chen-po'i blon-po phal gyi thabs dang myIng rus//*):

1. Minister of the interior Mchims Zhang Rgyal-bzher Khod-ne-brtsan.
2. Minister of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs, Cog-ro Minister Btsan-bzher Lto-gong.
3. Retainer (*snam-phyi-pa*) Mchims Zhang Brtan-bzher Stag-tsab.
4. Fiscal governor official, head of all the revenue offices (*mngan-pon khab-so 'o-chog gi bla*), 'Bal Minister Klu-bzang Myes-rma.
5. Minister for official correspondence (*bka'i phrin blon*) Bran-ka Minister Stag-bzher Hab-ken.
6. Great accounts minister (*rtsis-pa chen-po*) Rngegs Minister Stag-zlgs Rgan-kol.
7. Minister of the exterior 'Bro Zhang Klu-bzang Lha-bo-brtsan.
8. Chief justice, head of the judiciary (*zhal-ce-pa chen-po zhal-ce 'o-chog gl [bla]*) Myang Minister Rgyal-nyen Legs-tsan.

Part III

IMPERIAL CENTRAL TIBET

An Annotated Cartographical Survey
of its Territorial Divisions and Key Political Sites



Guntram Hazod

Previous page:

The tomb of Kri (see Chap. 3.2, no. 9)

Photo: Hazod 2008

1. Introductory Remarks

The following pages are an overview of the territorial divisions of early and imperial Tibet based on the known basic data and lists of names in the Dunhuang documents and post-dynastic chronicles. It is the geography of the *Annals* that is outlined here, from the outer boundaries and provinces of the empire to the numerous places in the valleys of central Tibet that are listed as the residence place of the court or places of the council (§ 2–7). The center of attention is central Tibet, the comparatively small area in the south of the highlands which is known as the actual Bod, the Bod of the four Horns, where the political foundation of the empire was laid (§ 4–6). The maps are accompanied by brief comments, essentially notes on the question of the location of the individual sites, with some data coming from the author's most recent field studies being presented here for the first time.*

From the beginning, the efforts to identify historically relevant toponyms have had a particularly important place in historical Tibetan research, as when it concerns questions of the precise geographical situation of particular places, districts, or territorial boundaries, or if we attempt to locate the old clan connections in these territories – the latter a subject that is increasingly coming to the fore today – one entered (and is today still entering) unknown territory. It is a discussion that is gradually allowing us to grasp the history in its specific spatial connection and its interweaving of regional and inter-regional relations. The field research supplementing the text is here indispensable, but (apart from the first Tibet field researches in the 1930s and 40s) in the West one was for a long time limited to textual research without the possibility of checking the testimony of the written sources *in situ*. The pioneer researchers on the historical geography of early Tibet (above all G. Uray) were often able to achieve astonishingly good approximations from their desks, but they were naturally not infrequently imprecise and many details had to remain under question marks, which we have only gradually begun to resolve in recent years. Alongside the favorable preconditions for field work in Tibet it is also a new situation regarding sources that today makes it easier for us to locate old place names: the access to new primary sources, to modern toponymic catalogues, to more precise geographic data, cartographical material, and much more, all facilitate this research.

The identification of particular places is not always the result of a targeted search, but not infrequently a by-product of an investigation of a completely different (local) historical context. In the process one learns in the field that toponyms are generally very long-lived and have a high degree of continuity; even if they are often covered by later historical structures, they can usually nevertheless be traced, whether through the fact that the name is still in local usage or just appears in the memory of a local oral account. There are, however, cases where old place names have apparently disappeared due to the regrettable situation whereby in some areas the treasure of the oral tradition is increasingly vanishing. Other difficulties in the identification of places are changed spellings, duplicate names, or the situation of “wandering toponyms,” that is the appearance of one and the same (historically used) place name in different areas (arising in

* Most of the research for this contribution was carried out in the framework of research projects at the University of Leipzig (2000–2006; supported by the German Research Council, DFG) and at the Social Anthropology Research Unit of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the latter project financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). I wish to thank B. Dotson, Per K. Sørensen, Matthew Akester and John Bellezza for reading the manuscript and for their observations, corrections and instructive comments. Several questions of identification have been closely discussed with Pasang Wangdu, Tsering Gyalbo and Ngodrop Tsering from the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS) and I am grateful for the references and fruitful suggestions they have given me. Finally, I would like to express my special thanks to Ngodrop Tsering and Tenzin (both from the TASS) for their assistance and contribution during the field-work.

All maps and photographs presented in this contribution are by G. Hazod unless otherwise stated.

the context of migrations or the establishment of branch institutions). Precisely in the latter cases, only on-site researches are capable of delivering the decisive information on the identification. Finally, work in the field repeatedly brings surprising facts to light that lead to new insights into particular historical-geographical connections. In this context, the encounters with thus far unknown evidence of the past, ruins or burial grounds which were often not expected in this place or in this form and size are spectacular. Recent discoveries of this kind are briefly described in two shorter chapters. (§ 3.2, § 7.2).

Realistically, the data from *in situ* surveys can only be limited to a few areas. In the majority of the places, the geographical position details are based on more or less detailed indications from the written sources, as have been frequently addressed in earlier works. A number of the key sites of early central Tibet have still not been identified. Other details are uncertain or open to question. As a whole, this appendix to the *Old Tibetan Annals* may be seen as a sketch to a documentation that will perhaps at some time lead to a detailed historical atlas of early central Tibet.

*

Abbreviations:

d. = representative [*yl*] *lha* or territorial deity

l. = lineage

l/m = lineage of the minister

m. = minister

r. = ruler

p.c. = personal communication

c. = *circa*

cent. = century

i.a. = *inter alia*

approx. = approximately

W-R, S-R = winter / summer residence of the *btsan-po* (or *btsan-po*'s family)

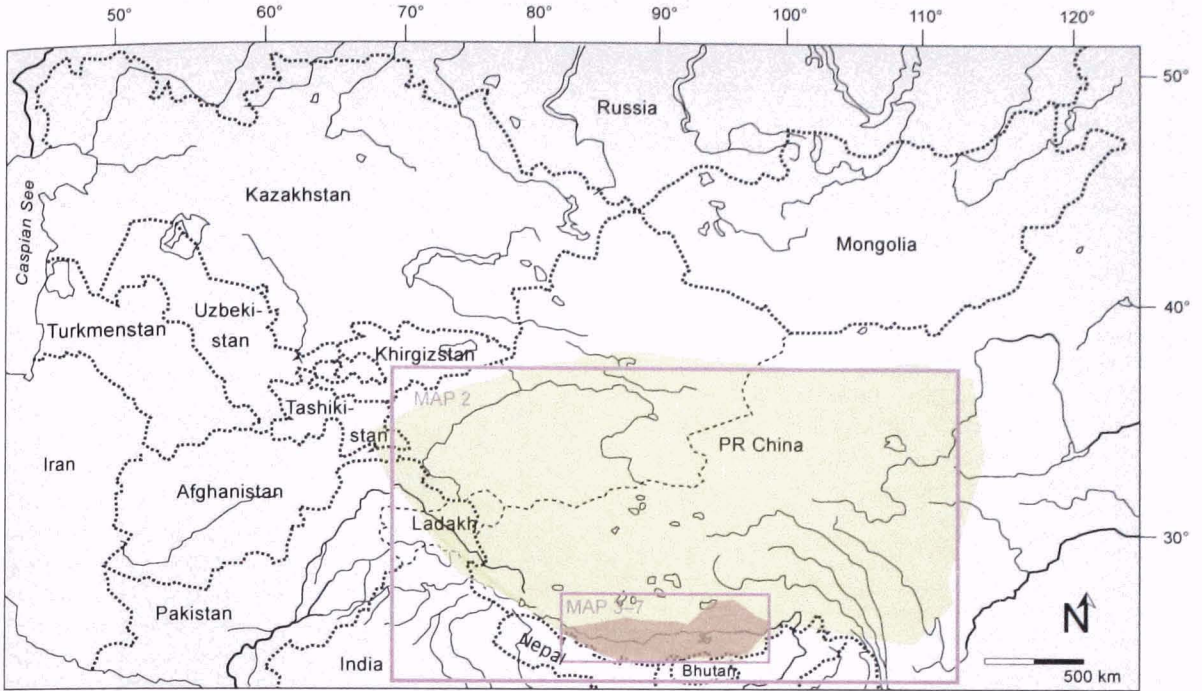
W-A, S-A = winter / summer assembly

Sp = spring

Abbreviations used in the maps:

r. = river; t. = temple; l. = lake

Imperial Central Tibet

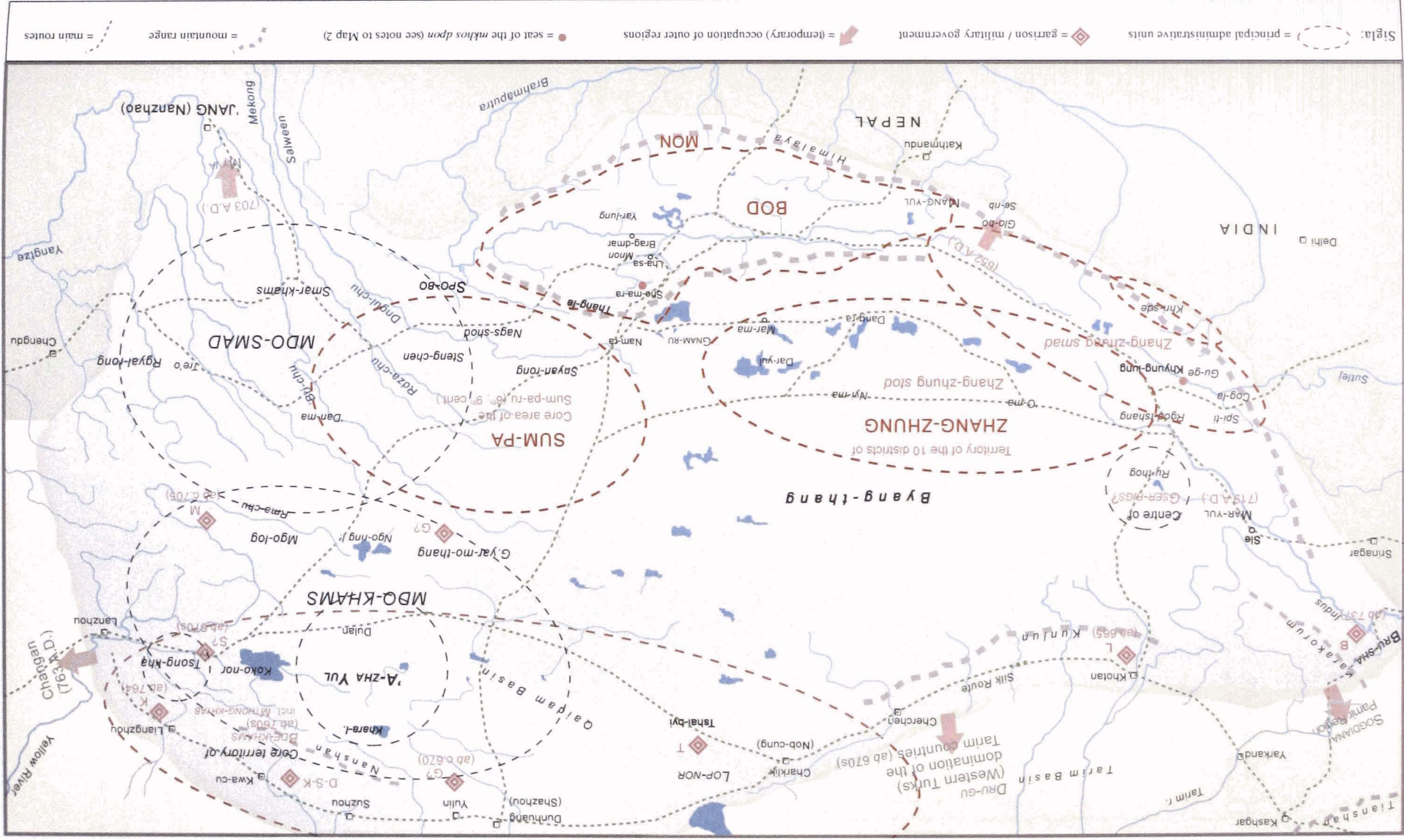


MAP 1a: Tibet in the 8th / 9th century (= yellow area; red = central Tibet) in relation to the borders of modern Central Asia.



MAP 1b: Imperial Tibet and its neighbours (based on the map in C. Beckwith's *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, p. 12).

MAP 2: The principal regions and administrative units of the Tibetan Empire (based on a map prepared by Karl Ryavec).



Styla: ○ = principal administrative units
 ◆ = garrison / military government
 ↗ = (temporary) occupation of outer regions
 ● = seat of the *mkhos dpom* (see notes to Map 2)
 --- = mountain range
 - - - = main routes

2. Principal Provinces

Notes on MAP 2

Map 2 provides an overview of the expansion of the basic zones of the political and military administration in the highlands established during the expansion of the Tibetan Empire from the 7th century – from the principal administrative zones of the *khos-dpon* to the sites of the garrisons in the outer provinces.

• The territories of the five (or six) administrative chiefs (*[m]khos-dpon*; *khod-dpon*, *khad-dpon*). The institution was initiated in the period of Srong-btsan Sgam-po (Uray 1972a: 41; Uebach 1992; Dotson 2007a). *KhG* 185.12–17; *Lde'u* 270.8–10 (the latter speak of the “six administrative zones” (*khod-drug*), but only five are listed by name):

1. **Bod** (= Tibet proper, initially divided into three Horn provinces (*ru-gsum*) plus Rtsang-chen, later (early 8th cent.) established as the area of the *ru-bzhi* (§ 5, 6))

mkhos-dpon: Mgar Stong-rtzan yul-zung (with the help of Da[r]-rgyal Mang-po-rje and Mchims Mang-bzher ngan-pa (*KhG* 186; *Lde'u* 271; Uray 1972a: 33–34; Dotson 2007a: 351f.)(On Mgar and his lineage, see *RCP*: 145, 582f.; Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje is a title and probably refers here to the *rgyal-phran* prince of Dwags-po. See Introduction: fn. 46)

Main seat: **Skyi[d]-shod Sho-ma-ra** (see § 7.1)

2. **Zhang-zhung** (Subjugation in the 640s (above Part I: 82); the report of an earlier conquest of Zhang-zhung (plus 'A-zha and Dwags-po) in the time of 'Bro-gnyen lde-ru (*Jo sras* 107.19–21) probably represents a later fabrication and rather seems to reflect events of the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po)

mkhos-dpon: Khyung-po Bun-zung-che / Pung-sad Zu-tse) (On this figure, see Uray 1972a: 36–40; Sørensen 1994: 179; below § 3.2-8; Denwood, *fc*)

Main seat: **Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar** (–dngul-mkhar, rdul-mkhar) (On this site, in Bon-po sources classified as one of the four *mkhar chen* of ancient Zhang-zhung, see e.g. Gyalbo 2005, 2006, *passim*; Bellezza 2002: 37–43)

3. **Sum-pa** (Subjugation of “all the Sum-pa” by Myang Zhang-snang in the 630s)

mkhos-dpon: Hor Bya-zhu ring-po (Not identified; one minister from Hor was Zhang-po Rgyal gyi khram-bzang, listed among the *nang blon* (ministers of the interior) of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. Sørensen 1994: 178)

Main seat: **Nam-ra Zha-don** (Perhaps related to Nam Ltong-prom (see Stein 1961b: 74), the place where the administration of Sum-ru was carried out (*OTA*, entry 702-703). Dotson 2007a: 302 relates it to Nam-ra Chag-gong; § 4))

4. **Chibs** (Uray 1972a: 33 reads it as “*btsan-po*’s horses / or postal service.” Perhaps it is related to the establishment of the *btsan-po*’s body guard and the recruitment of cavalry con-

nected to it as one may conclude from the *OTA* entry of 735-736, i.e. “the selection of the *chibs-sde-bzhi* in the presence of the *btsan-po* in 'O-yug.” The *chibs-dpon* represented one of the seven classes of officials (*dpon-bdun*; *Lde'u* 255; *KhG* 190). On the other hand, Chibs is here evidently a place name; the toponym is also known from other contexts, cf. Chibs gyi Chas of the *OTA*, which according to context was formerly occupied by the Chinese before it was taken over by the Tibetans in AD 720. A Chibs is mentioned in *Dba' bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 94), and a Chibs *yul* is registered in the origin account of the Rlangs clan (*Rlangs* 34.4–9) where it says that the Rlangs-rje Rtsal-gsum conquered Chibs, defeated the two regiments (*sde*) of Sbrang and Dar and killed [the chief of Chibs] Chibs-pa btsan-grags. Note that in the same *rus mdzod* account the Dbas – the clan which provided the post of the Chibs *khos-dpon* – is described as a branch of the Rlangs people (Glang / Glong (= Sum-pa Glang), an ethnonym associated with Glang-thang, the place of the later (8th cent.?) border temple of Glang-thang Sgrol-ma in 'Dan-ma, Sde-dge County; Stein 1961b: 79))

mkhos-dpon: Dbas Btsan-bzang dpal-legs (Identical with Sbas-lcang Dpal gyi legs-bzang (a.k.a. [']Bal Skyid-thag ring-mo), known from the list of ministers who served as *nang blon* during the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po (some sources mention him also as minister under Khri Srong lde-btsan); cf. Sørensen 1994: 178, 397)

Main seat: **Gram-pa-tshal** (Not identified, unless it is the site of the Gram-pa (= Grom-pa; Map 6b) as suggested by Dotson 2007a: 303. It would rule out an identification with the Chibs (in eastern Tibet) of the Rlangs story)

5. **Mthong-khyab** (The exact location of Mthong-khyab (and the land of the “Mthong-khyab people,” Rong 1990–91: 256) remains unknown, but it was evidently in the neighborhood of 'A-zha *yul* (around Dulan, west of Kokonor), and the “five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts (*khri-sde*)” were part of the Bde-blon-khams province (see below). There is also mention of the “nine Mthong-khyab districts (*srid-sde*)” which together with the “six *stong-sde* of 'A-zha” constituted the “eastern division of heroes” (*smad kyi dpa'-sde*) (est. in the 8th cent.). They are described to be situated between Rma Pom-ra (in Mgo-log) and Ka-thang Klu-tshes (Bka'-thang Klu-rtses) (*KhG* 189.20–21; *Lde'u* 275.2–3), or, as *Lde'u* further states, in the border area at Lom-shi Rgya-mkhar (?). See above App. III; Richardson 1998: 167; Sato 1978)

mkhos-dpon: Cog-ro Rgyal-mthsan Gyang-gong (He is evidently identical with the Cog-ro Rig-pa'i skad-bzang / kong-zang from the list of the *nang blon* of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, also known from other contexts (but referring to

a different period) as [Cog-ro] Skye-bzang rgyal-ma-'og / Skyes-za rgyal-'[gong; *BK* 437, 439; *Lde'u* 297; *KK* 266]

Main seat: **Ri-bo Gya'dmar** {Location unclear, but apparently in the region of Bde-khams}

[6.] **Mon** {In *Lde'u* listed as the third of the six *khod* zones (the fifth [evidently referring to Sum-pa] is missing). Mon (and the Mon Rtse-rgyal) is among the group of the four (border) kingdoms (of Bod) which became subject to the *btsan-po* (*KhG* 189; Dotson 2007a: 133). The historically rather vague toponym and ethonym "Mon" is scattered throughout the Himalayas and the highlands, but here it evidently relates to the southern Mon corridor including the area of Bhutan (= Mon-yul and the area of Lho-Mon khabzhi; Aris 1980; Pommaret 1999); see also § 3.2-1}

mkhos-dpon: Gnyags Dpal-sde Be-ku-cog {Listed in the catalogue of the "16 *chos blon chen po* of the king [Srong-btsan Sgam-po]" in *KK* 321.1–2 as the *lho phyogs mon rgya gar gyi khas dpon* (= *mhos-dpon*), i.e. administrative chief of Mon and the Indian border region in the South}

{In the same catalogue (*KK* 320.18–321.7) there is also mention of a *khas-dpon* of the land of the "Dru-gu (Western Turks) in the North" (namely *chos blon* Lam-sde Khri-bzang lo-btsan), a *khas-dpon* of "China in the East" (Mchims Mang-rje mang-lod) and a *khas-blon* of "Stag-gzig in the West" (minister Snubs Gna'-stong-re gtsug-snon)}

● **The eight military governments** (*khrom* [*chen-po*]):

1. **M** = Rma-khrom {The Rma-chu garrison situated on the upper Yellow River; also described as a *khri-sde*}
2. **S** = Khri-bshos *khrom* {In the Kokonor region; exact location unknown}
3. **G** = Dbyar-mo-thang *khrom chen-po* (var. G.yar-mo/G.yer-mo-thang) {G.yar-mo-thang is known as the area where the "treaty temple" of De-ga G.yu-tshal is located, which Kapstein identifies with the Yulin east of Dunhuang, in other words to the northwest of Kokonor (Kapstein 2004; cf. also Uebach 1991). Uray 1980: northeast of Lake Kokonor. Richardson (1998: 169) thinks the *khrom* was established in the 8th century in place of the Khri-bshos garrison, and he suggests that its jurisdiction included the area of Tsong-ka. In Gruschke 2001 (I): 81, 210 G.yer-mo-thang is indicated as the area to the north / northwest of Lake Ngo-ring}
4. **T** = Tshal-byi {The *khrom* of the Lop-nor region; it was headed by a *ru-dpon* and included the four cities of Ceren, Ka-dag, Little Nob (Nob-chung, near Miran), and Nob-chen (= Charkhlik); *TLTD II* 119ff.; Uray 1980: 311; Richardson 1998: 170, *et passim*; see also Takeuchi 2003}
5. **K** = [M]Khar-tsan *khrom chen-po* (i.e. Liangzhou; it was also administered as a *ru*, headed by a *ru-dpon*)
6. **D-S-K** = Kwa-cu *khrom* [*chen-po*] {It included Guazhou, Suzhou, Shazhou or Dunhuang; above, Introduction: 41}
7. **L** = Khotan (Li-yul)
8. **B** = Bru-zha {For a detailed discussion of the land Bru-

zha (associated with Gilgit) and neighboring areas in the imperial period, see most recently Denwood, *fc*: Chap. 2.2] [9.] A further *khrom* is reported to have been established at the southwestern border of the empire (Introduction: 42)

● **Mdo-smad, Mdo-khams, Bde-khams:**

As noted above (39ff.), the Mdo-smad of the *OTA* largely appears to correspond to present-day Khams plus A-mdo to the south of the Rma-chu. To the north and north-east was Mdo-khams which geographically apparently overlapped with Bde-khams, i.e. the "realm of the pacification minister" (Bde-blon-khams; Bde-blon-ris) which is reported to have been created anew in the 760s. The core of the latter was probably the area around Mkhar-tsan, but also the *khrom* of Tshal-byi, Kwa-cu or Dbyar-mo-thang were under the jurisdiction of the Bde-blon-khams (Introd.: 40f.; Dotson 2007a: 272). It is possibly identical with the Tsong-kha Bde-yangs listed in *Rlangs* as one of three branch settlements of the Rlangs in this part of eastern Tibet (the other two: G.yar-mo-thang and Mdo-khams; *Rlangs* 28.6–9); it appears in later sources in the compound of Mdo-khams, Bde-khams, Khrom-khams (cf. *CFS*: 51), with the latter perhaps referring to the area of the Rma-chu garrison. The *dbang-ris bco brgyad* catalogue lists Mdo-khams as the territory of the "eight military thousand-districts," and the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* describes Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams as the Sum-pa Branch Horn (see below). For Mdo-khams, Mdo-smad, see also the discussion in Gruschke 2001 (I): 11–12}

● **Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa-ru** (*KhG* 187; *Jo sras* 111; *Lde'u* 259; *GK* 185; *TLTD II*: 417ff., *et passim*; Dotson 2007a; Ri-wang 15f.; Denwood, *fc*; Sato 1978)

Both regions were administratively divided into thousand-districts (*ab* 8th cent.; Sum-pa-ru: 702 A.D.). *BK* speaks of the 13 *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung of the Upper Regions (*stod* = W) and the 13 *stong-sde* of Sum-pa in the Lower Regions (*smad* = E). *KhG* and *Lde'u* give the following listing:

- "10 *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung [plus] Khri-sde *stod smad*"
- I) "Five *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung-*stod* situated between Bod and Gru-gu (Dru-gu):" 1. 'O-co-bag ('O-tsho/zho-pag, *TLTD II* 460f.) [= 'O-mtsho in 'O-ma (?); Bellezza, p.c.] 2. Mang-ma-bag [= Mar-ma (?), Shan-rtsa County, *XD* 608] 3. Snye-ma-bag (~Gnye-ma, Nyi-mo-bag) [= Snyi-ma of Shan-rtsa County?] 4. Rtsa[l]-mo-bag 5. Ba-ga (= *stong bu-chung*) [In Sato 1978, nos. 4, 5 are placed in Dgc-rgyas County]
- II) "Five *stong-sde* of Lower Zhang-zhung situated between Bod and Sum-pa (see below):"
1. Gug-ge 2. Gu[g]-cog (~Cog-la) [between Gu-ge and Spi-ti] 3. Spyi[r]-rtsang [Sato 1978: south of Khyung-lung]
 4. Yar-rtsang 5. Spyi-ti (~ Ci-de (= Spi-ti, also Sp[yl]-Lcog; Petech 1997: 252) (= *stong bu-chung*) {A "Spyi ti sde myang rmang la snang" (= Myang Rmang-la-snang from the Spyi-ti division?) is mentioned as the author of an imperial period inscription in Ru-thog (Bellezza 2008: 187, fn. 193)}

{Tucci 1956: 73 reads Khri-sde as Khri-te = Kirata, east of the Kali Gandaki (see also Everding 2000: 264f.; Map 4 in Dudjom 1991). Khri-sde is the name of the territory adjacent to [Zhi-sde] Cog-ro in Pu-rang *smad* (Gyalbo 2006: 142). The five districts of no. II seem to correspond to the Gug-cog *sde-lnga* (five divisions of Gug-ge and Cog-la) which are listed to form the “western divisions of the heroes” (*stod kyi dpa'-sde*) headed by the five clans of 'Bro, Khyung[-po], Mgar ('Gar), Snubs and Gnyan (*KhG* 189.10–12; *Lde'u* 274.9–11)

The borders of Sum-pa-ru (*yan-lag* Sum-pa-ru / Sum-ru):

E: Gnye-yul (~G.ye-yul) Bu[m]-nag (Gnyen-yul Brag-ra)

S: Smyi-ti chu-nag (~ Smri-ti / Rmi'u-ti chu-nag {In Lha-ri, see also § 5: G.yas-ru)

W: Yel-zhabs Sding[s]-po-che (~Spel-zhabs Ldeng-po)

N: Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang (in 'Bri-ru *rdzong*)

Center: Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal {Rgya-shod may refer to the Rgya[l]-sde *bcu gnyis*, 12 tribal units which constituted the “middle regiment of heroes” and which was subordinated to the Nags-shod sub-thousand-district (below, no. 11) (*Lde'u* 274.17f.; Riwang 15; *KhG* 189.17: Sbas Rgya-sde *bcu gsum*). In Sato 1978, Rgya-sde is placed in eastern Nags-shod}

The districts:

1. Rtse-mthon {Localized by Thomas in the Nob region (*TLTD II* 160f.; 467); a Rtse-mtho castle is mentioned in *Dba' bzhed* 30a together with Rgod-lting (= below no. 3, 4? *TLTD II* 128) as a representative stronghold of Zhang-zhung which fell under the rule of the Spu-rgyal}

2. Yo-mthon (~ Pho/Spo-mthon) {Sato 1978: near Rgya-sde}

3–4. Rgod-tshang-stod, -smad {It was suggested to identify it with the Rgod-tshang districts near Glang-chu in Mnga'ris (Gyalbo 2005, 2006), or with the Rgod-tshang in Rgyal-rong, Bar-khams County (*Dungkar* 2044). Documents from Miran refer to a Rgod-tshang which appears to be located in the Nob region (Nob-c[h]jung, -che), *TLTD II* 128, 130, 144. In Sato 1978, Map 7, it is placed NE of 'Jong (nos. 5–6)}

5–6. 'Dzom-stod, -smad (~'Jong, ~Mdzo) (*TLTD II* 130f., 443, 460; *TLTD III* 89. Sato 1978: north of Nags-shod)

7–8. Tre-stod, -smad (Dre-stod, smad) {Probably not the Tre-shod of eastern Khams. *TLTD II* 130 lists a “Thre Mthong-ma of the Nag-shod district”; see also Sato 1978, Map 7}

9. Kha-ro (Perhaps identical with the Kha-dro district in the Nob region; *TLTD II* 129, 461)

10. Kha-bzang (Kha-zangs / Khang-bzangs)

11. Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) {see *TLTD II* 125ff.}

A number of the districts of the Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa army catalogue are still not properly identified. The Zhang-zhung of the catalogue does not correspond to the extension of Zhang-zhung as described in the Bon-po tradition, which includes the region associated with Sum-pa, i.e. the “Gateway Zhang-zhung” from Khyung-lung in the west up to Sum-pa Glang gi Gyim-shod in the east (cf. e.g. Dagkar 2003: 17f.). Upper and Lower Zhang-zhung is probably the same as the

Great and Little Yangtong of Chinese sources, with Great Yangton bordering to the east on Little Y. (Denwood, *fc*). The districts of Zhang-zhung *stod* (“between Bod and Dru-gu”) Denwood thinks are to be located along the “Byang-thang Corridor” as he calls the east-west route approximately from Gnam-ru in the east up to the present-day Seng-ge kha-'bab district (south of Ru-thog, the latter identified by the same author as the core of the ancient kingdom of Suvarnagotra, the land of the “Gold Dynasty,” *Gser-rigs* [it is registered as part of Tibet in c. 726, but apparently was not included in the Zhang-zhung *stong-sde* structure as it was probably never part of Zhang-zhung]). The corridor was bordering to the north on “Turk-controlled territory (Dru-gu)” (Denwood, *op. cit.*) and towards the south may well have reached as far as the northern border of G.yas-ru of Bod, although the definition of this line remains somewhat vague (§ 5, 6). Note that there is also a “Zhang-zhung of the North” which in IOL Tib J 1284 is reported to have been offered to Khri Srong-rtsan by Khyung-po Zu-tse after the latter had defeated Bor-yontse, the lord of To-yo Chas-la (identification uncertain, but see § 3.1: Rtsang; To-yo Chas-la; § 3.2-8). The Zhang-zhung *smad* of the catalogue appears to be restricted to the area around Gu-ge and Pu-rang, plus Spi-ti (W) and Khri-sde in the south. As to its eastern extension, the cartographic entry (on Map 2–5) follows the tradition which gives Mt. Rtsang-lha Pu-dar as the border mountain between Zhang-zhung and Bod (§ 3.1: Rtsang). The description in the catalogue according to which Lower Zhang-zhung was situated between Bod and Sum-pa is hardly possible and, as noted by Denwood, some other name may be behind this “Sum-pa.” However, this suggested location of the catalogue still needs further examinations. T. Gyalbo thinks, the core areas of the two halves of Zhang-zhung refer to the present-day districts of Gu-ge (= Lower Zhang-zhung) and Pu-rang (= Upper Zhang-zhung). In the latter also a Mangma (= Mang-ma-bag?) and a Baga (= Ba-ga *stong bu chung?*) are to be found (T. Gyalbo, p.c.).

The Sum-pa-ru of the 8th century evidently had its central parts around 'Bri-ru County, and the Horn included apparently districts further to the north of it (Nob region) and extended to the east as far as 'Dan-ma in Khams (= the Sum-pa Glang). See Denwood, *fc*; cf. also Riwang 15; Chödrag 4. The *mi'u-rigs-bzhi* classifications give 'Dzam-stod, -smad (nos. 5, 6?) and Nags-shod (no. 11) as the area of the [Stong] Sum-pa (Vitali 2003: 55). In the classical description of the geography of Tibet which characterizes the three divisions of Stod, Bar, Smad as regions resembling respectively a lake (W), canal (C) and a field (E), *Jo sras* 110.8–11 offers the variant version according to which the canal was the area of “six Horns,” = the zone of the *ru-bzhi* plus Gnam[-ru] (see § 6) plus Sum-pa-ru. Somewhat contradictory are positions such as those of the aforementioned *yul gyi khod bshams pa* or in *BK* which locate the Sum-pa-ru in Mdo-khams or in Smad, respectively.

3. The Ancient Principalities

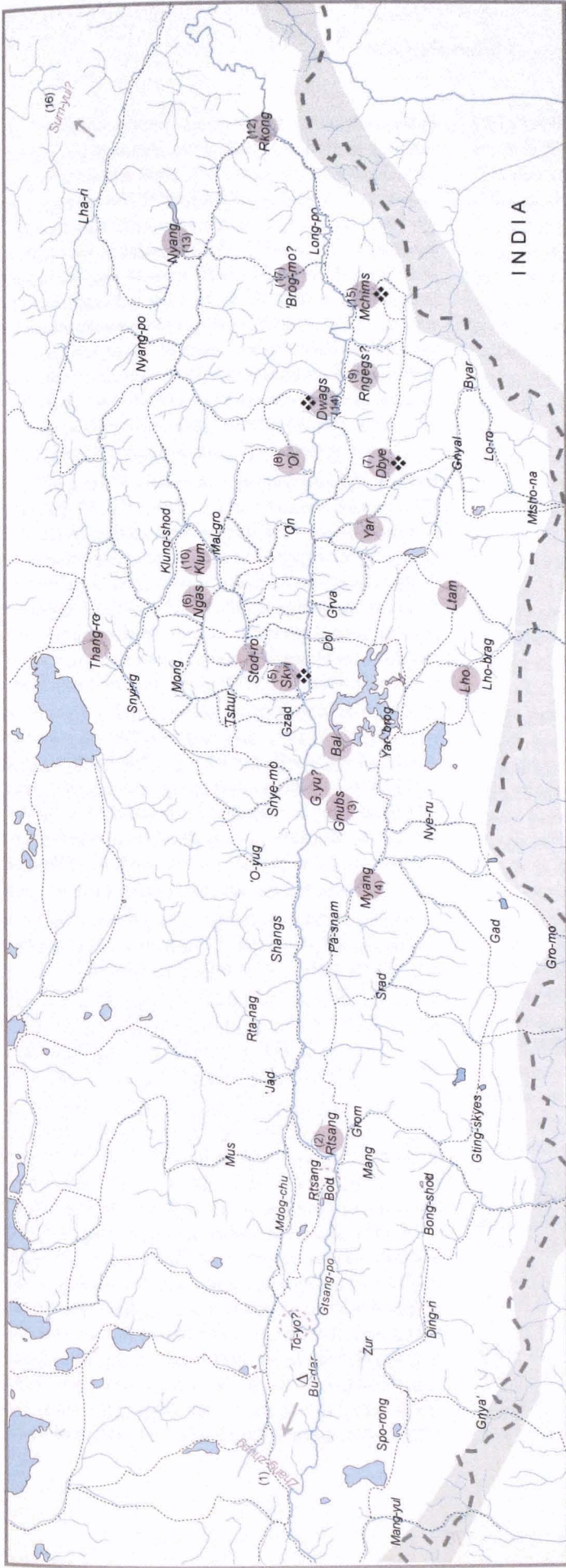
3.1 Notes on MAP 3

The pre-imperial principalities described as “petty kingdoms” (*rgyal-phran*) largely relate to areas in agricultural zones on either side of Gtsang-po. They were similarly structured units – stratified, clan-based societies whose individual members were grouped around a ruling lineage and drew their identity from a common territory (*yul*) and its *lha* (territorial god). The rivalries between the individual *yul*, the strategies of their affinal relations and the rituals (led by the *bon po* and *gshen* priests) to heal the land and its representatives form the object of the oldest records of the *rgyal-phran* period (e.g. PT 1285; IOJ 734; *GSP*; Dotson, *forthcoming a*), whose cultural lore continued to have an effect long into the imperial period. The various *rgyal-phran* lists reflect at the same time an overview of the local ruling houses (including Zhang-zhung) which from the 7th century were absorbed into or more or less closely bound to the empire, although several of these old regional dynasties were able to preserve a certain independence (see below § 3.2). The *lha* of the individual *yul* themselves remained respected authorities after the unification of the land and became an integrative component of the state cult (Karmay 1996). After the decay of the empire, they remained a central point of reference for regional political developments (such as the 10th-cent. regional principalities, or *rje-dpon-mtshan*) and for developments in the sphere of the Buddhist protective deity cult. Various *rgyal-phran* lists have been handed down; one of the classifications speaks of the “12 plus 42 smaller *rgyal-phran*” (*rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis*, *rgyal-phran sil-ma bzhi-bcu rtsa-gnyis*), although the numbers are rather symbolic (the one group includes more than 12, the other ends after four entries with “etc.”). § 3 is a summary of various lists, based on the catalogue of the *rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis* in PT 1286 (= (1) (2) etc. in the following listing) and the other data from the Dunhuang documents (largely already compiled in Lalou 1965) (PT 1285, 1287, 1290, 1060, 1040, ITJ 734) and comparative Bon-po ritual texts (such as the newly discovered *GR* and *RD* (Text 1 and 2 in *GSP*; see Bibliography)). The *rgyal-phran* catalogues of the later sources (*Lde'u* 225; *KhG*, *Jo sras*; *KD*) and the various lists of the *mgur-lha bcu-gsum* or the *srid-pa chags-pa'i lha-dgu*, which predominantly relate to old territorial gods, form supplementary sources (cf. *Lde'u* 230; Karmay 1998: 437; Kalsang 1996; *Lhoka* 175f.; Bellezza 1997: 47f.; *OD*, *passim*; *Bstan srung*, *passim*). Finally, separately marked on the map are the dynasties described as the “ancient relatives at the four borders” (*gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi*) listed at the beginning of PT 1286; see e.g. Richardson 1998 [1969]: 28f.; Yamaguchi 1992.

The *yul* on Map 3 from W to E:

(1) **Zhang-zhung** (r.: Dar-pa'i *rjo-bo* Lig Snya-shur (Gnya-zhu Lag-mig *alias* Lig Mi-rhya); m.: Khyung-po [and] Ra-sangs-rje (see above Part II: fn. 139), Stong-lom Ma-tse [PT 1290, m.: She'u and Spug]; var. r.: Zhang-zhung Dar gyi rje Li-ga-shur; m.: Sm[r]a Ra-sangs-rje) {Zhang-zhung is also known as Smra Zhang-zhung (Smra means “man” and is often to be found as an epithet of geographical designations or in toponymic compounds which refer to a land in a more formulaic context (cf. below Smra-yul Thag-brgyad), but it also appears as clan name Smra = Rma / [S]mar); § 3.2-1, 3.2-2). Smra-yul (Mar-yul) is known as a geographical designation of La-dvags [original name: Mard; Uray 1990b; above fn. 256]). On the other hand, Dar-pa is here a place name (cf. also PT 1290: Dar-ma'i *rje-bo* Leg-snya-shur; Uray 1972a: 41); it may refer to the west Tibetan Dar-lung of Shan-tsha County (Bellezza 2008, s.v.); it is the Dar-ma'i *yul* given as the home of the [Zhang-zhung] mother of the fifth Gnam-khri (cf. Dagkar 2003: 210). For details on the Zhang-zhung *rgyal-phran*, see most recently Gyalbo 2006: 11ff.; Bellezza 2008; Denwood, *fc*)

Rtsang = Rtsang-ro Dbye-kar (PT 1285) (the form Myang-ro'i Pyed-kar in PT 1286 [= (2)] appears to be misleading (*Dungkar* 1625 locates it in the Lha-rtse area). r.: Rtsang-rje'i Thod-dkar; I./m.: Su-ru/du and Gngang; var. Ban (?)) {The Rtsang-ro may correspond to the **Rtsang-shul** of the *lha-dgu* lists (var.: Kha-rag (~Kha-la) Rtsang-stod, evidently not the Kha-rag of the Dbus-Gtsang border area; *RD*: 26; Rtsang-shul Mthon-ba). d.: Rtsang-lha P[h]u/Bu-dar [and younger brother] Rtsang-lha Bye'u. The first is classified as the leader of the 13 Mgur-lha and refers to a mountain situated SW of Bzang (Zang-zang), at the border between Ngam-ring and Sa-dga' County (Bellezza 1997: 47, 77; Bellezza, *fc*). The mountain is said to mark the border between Spu-rgyal Bod and Zhang-zhung, and the province Gtsang (orig. Rtsang) allegedly owes its name to the Rtsang-lha (Bellezza, *ibd.*; Rtsang = *rtsangs pa kharal*? See Hazod 2005). Bye'u, the younger brother, perhaps refers to the not more closely identified Bye-ma-la mountain in Ngam-ring (§ 5), or to Mt. Gtsang-la east of Phad-khu-mtsho (*XD* 457b; Map 6a). In the description of the 10th-cent. principality of Gtsang-stod-yul (with Grom-pa Lha-rtse as the center) the deity Gtsang-lha Bu-dar is given as the representative *lha*. It also suggests a geographical correspondence between the ancient Rtsang-ro and the later Gtsang-stod principality – a territory which included the present-day Lha-rtse and Ngam-ring and possible also areas south of the Gtsang-po. This Rtsang-ro may have partly overlapped with the “Rtsang Bod” described as a



Sigla: ● = centres of the principalities

- (1), (2) etc. = the *yul* of the *rgyal phran* catalogue in PT 1286
- = dynasties specified as *gnä' gnyen miha' bzhi* (Ancient Relatives at the Four Borders): 1) Lde'i Gangs-bar (dynasty represented by the lady Lde-za Gang-rag-ma) [In Dbye-mo]
- 2) Skyi-la-mda' (dynasty represented by the lady Skyi-za [..]) [In Lower Skyi]
- 3) Dags kyi Bshen-mkhar (dynasty represented by the lady Dags-za Gyim-pang-ma) [In Dwags-po]
- 4) Mchims-yul gyi Dngul-khur (dynasty repres. by the lady Mchims[-za] Sha-ishang-ma) [In Mchims]

--- = modern frontier

..... = path

MAP 3:
The Ancient Principalities.

territory of 20,000 households. The core of this Rtsang Bod presumably was the eastern Ngam-ring or the area of the later Khri-bom[s] *stong-sde* (§ 3.2-8; § 6); see also To-yo

?**To-yo** = To-yo Chas-la (IOL Tib J 1284; r.: Bor-yon-tse) {The territory in “Byang gi Zhang-zhung” conquered by Khyung-po Zu-tse (see § 2). Identification unclear, but it may be speculated whether the To-yo Chas-la (a toponym of Turcic origin?) refers to the Tho-yor nag-po (Byang Tho-[g.]yor nag-po *yul*), known as the homeland of Rig-'dzin Rgod-ldem-pa (1337–1409) in [La-stod] Byang (= Byang gi Zhang-zhung?). It is described as the territory related to the legendary Hor-pa king Gur-ser (*DJ* 451; *GKC* 580, 669–72, *passim*) and apparently belongs to the section west of Ngam-ring-mtsho which is marked by three ancient Hor *lha ri*, namely Ri-bo Bkra-bzang, Zang-zang lha-brag and Gcung Ri-bo (Bellezza 2005: 282f.). According to T. Gyalbo (p.c.), a Toyo is to be found north of the Ma-pham lake, in an area locally referred to as “Byang”}

?**G.yu** = G.yu-ro Lung-gsum {Likely identical with the Rulag district of G.yu-lung. It is listed in PT 1285 after Skyi-ro, which suggests a location to the west of Gzad Chu-shul, near the Gtsang-po. Perhaps akin to the g.yu-lung-ri, the name of a mountain due east of Lower Rin-sprung}

(4)**Myang-ro** = Myang-ro'i Sham-po (r.: Long-ma Byil-brom) [-cha] (= *rgyal-po* Lo[ng]-ngam; also *rta rdzi* (horse-keeper) Lo-ngam; cf. *KhG* 189 (and *Lde'u* 273) where he is listed among the “seven herders” (*rdzi bdun*); *l./m.*: Ngabmyi and 'Bre [var. She'u and Yug = Spug]; *d.*: not registered in the *lha-dgu* lists; a “Nyang-lha Phu-dar” is known from the *mgur-lha* catalogues; Bellezza 1997: 48) {Gri-gum (orig. sp. Dri-gum) btsan-po had his seat at *mkhar* Myang-ro Sham-po before his territory was taken over by Lo-ngam (*TDD* 200–02). The residence is also known as Sham-po brtsegs-dgu (nine-storied Sham-bu [castle] which in *MC* (9, 88) is identified with the site of Rtse-chen (near Rgyal-rtse). According to the locals of Sham-bu, a village due west of Rtse-chen, the toponym Sham-bu brtsegs-dgu refers to nine mountain peaks around the Sham-bu area. The latter once may have also included the Rtse-chen hill and the adjacent plain of Brgya-grong (Map 3.2a). Sham-bu's central part is the valley called Yar-lung, where two burial sites are to be found (see § 3.2, no. 14). For the geographical extension of M/Nyang-ro, cf. the form Nyang-ro (~ Myang-stod) Khang-dmar (south of Rgyal-rtse), or Nyang-ro Rtsis (i.e. either the Rtsis lha-khang *alias* Gnas-rnying (Chos-'phel 2008: 30f.), or the [Myang-stod] Rtsis Gnas-gsar in the lower Myang-stod (Everding 2000: 9); the latter may be the Nyang-ro Brtsis kyi Thal-tshal, which is described as the place where Gri-gum was killed (*YC* 43); corresponding to Myang-ro Thal-ba-tshal in other sources); Hazod 2007a}

(3)**Gnubs** = Gnubs gyi Gling-dgu (var. Gnubs-shul Gling-drug; r.: Gnubs-rje'i Sril[bs]-pa / Srid-pa [cf. *KhG* 189.2 where

Snubs-rje Sris-pa is listed as representative of the *kheng* class of the *rje-dgu* (“nine lords”). *l./m.*: Rme'u and Gro; PT 1290; *l./m.*: Rme'u and Lcang; *Lde'u*, *l./m.*: Rme'u and 'Gro; *d.*: Gnubs-lha Mthon-drug / Rten-drug) {The territory is generally identified with the Rong area east of Dpal-ti (i.e. Gnubs-yul Rong, *Jo sras* 150.12). A Gnubs land is also to be found in the area of Lower 'O-yug (Map 7a-b) where (according to Bellezza 1997: 48) also the Nub-lha is located (i.e. “above G.yung-drung-gling *dgon-pa*”). It suggests an extension of the original Gnubs to the north of Gtsang-po. The Gnubs (Snubs) clan known from the list of the *yab-'bangs rus-drug* (and the *bod-'bangs rje-dgu*) is *inter alia* also registered for 'Phyong-po and Upper Yar-lung as well as for Gu-ge (see § 2, § 4). Note that the Yar-brog lake is also called Nubs-mtsho}

Bal = Bal-yul Leng-thang / Lang-btang) (listed in PT 1285, 1040; r.: La-nam) {The area of Dpal / Bal-sde (~Sbal-lung) of north-western Yar-'brog; most probably related to the Bal clan (= Dpal? note that in *Rlangs'* genealogical description of the Dbra (7.14–8.2), Bal-po and Dpal are given as two different branch-lines). Dpal (Dbal, Bal) is i.a. registered as the lineage of the mother of Spu-lde Gung-rgyal; perhaps related to the lineage's origin in central Tibet is the Dpal-skyes, a site close to the Rdo-nang-ri in Yar-'brog; Map 7.4}

(5)**Skyi** = Skyi-ro'i Ljang-sngon / Lc[h]ang-sngon (r.: Skyi-rje'i rmang[s]-po; *l./m.*: She'u and Spug (var. Ngas-mi [people of Ngas-po?] and 'Gro [= 'Bro]); *d.*: Skyi-lha Bya-rmang) {It appears to be the area around Ljang, Lower Skyi. In *GR* 27 a *yul* Skyi-yul La-mo 'Jing-sngon is registered, which suggests an identification with the La-mo of Upper Skyi (Map 7.8). The toponym Skyi is evidently related to the Kyi (Skyi-mi) clan whose origin place was in 'Phan-yul; *RCP*: 17; *TF*: 53}

Thang-ro = Thang-ro Ral-gsum (registered in the *lha-dgu* catalogues; *d.*: [Gnyen-chen] Thang-lha Ya-bzhur) {Apparently the Snying-grong or 'Dam-gzhung district}

Stod-ro = Stod-ro Lung-gsum (~Stod-lung Ral-gsum); registered in PT 1060 and also known from the *lha-dgu* lists. r.: 'Brong-lom; *d.*: Stod-lha Ze-ze (probably identical with Jo-mo Zi-zi in the Lhasa Valley) {See Hazod 2007b: 604}

(6)**Ngas** = Ngas-po Khra-sum/-sna (r.: Dgung-gri'i Zing[s]-po-rje [Khri-[']pang[s]-sum]; *l./m.*: Mgar and M/Snyan; *d.*: Klum-lha Thugs-po; apparently the *lha* of Klum-ro) {The heart of Ngas-po was the valley of Yung-ba-sna (= present-day Yung-ba / Yul-sna *shang*) in Lower 'Phan-po (*HSLG-4* 30; *XD* 64f.; descendants of the lineage of Zing-po-rje [Khri-pang-sum] are reportedly living at Zing-ba, a village close to Zing-pa Stag-dgon at the entrance to the Yung-ba Valley; *HSLG-4* 70). Khra-sum/sna is arguably to be identified with the Khra-nang / Khra-phu of Upper Yung-ba; Map 6b; see also Migmar 66. In PT 1287 (*TDI* 204) Khri-pangs-sum's (chief) residence was Sdur-ba'i Yu-sna, i.e. the *mkhar* Yu-sna which later was conquered by the allies of Khri Slon-mtshan (*TDI* 207; in the same account it is described as Mnyan 'Dzi-

zung gi mkhar Sdur-ba = Sdur-ba Castle which the Ngas-po vassal Mnyan 'Dzi-zung once had been granted by Khri-pang-sum and which later, after the fall of Ngas-po, was allocated together with 1500 households (*bran khyim*) to Khri Slon-mtshan's ally Myang Tseng-sku. It is identified with the Ka-ba Yul-sna, the birthplace of 'Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug in 'Phan-yul (Migmar 67; cf. PK 405.11: Dbu-ru 'Phan-yul Ska-ba), possibly the Ka'u (Kha-'khor/ Dkar-po-khud) south-east of Zing-ba (see below § 3.2, no. 11). The narrative of the conquest of Ngas-po suggests that the latter constituted a hegemonic power whose radius reached far beyond the borders of 'Phan-yul (= Ngas-po proper), namely from Yung-ba down to Rkong-po Bre-sna (TDD 207.12–14)

(10)**Klum-ro** = Klum-ro'i Ya-sum (PT 1286, 1290) (r.: Nam-pa'i bu Gsang-ti [var. *rgyal-po* Nam-sa Rtsi-ti]; l./m.: Myang and Sbrang) {The context in *OTC* suggests a location in Mal-tro. The representative ruler of Klum-ro (*cum* Yel-rab) in the late 6th cent. was Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo before he was killed and his territory confiscated by the ruler of Ngas-po. He resided at Nyen-kar rnying-ba – most probably the Nyen-kar of the *OTA* (= the Lo east of Zhogs; see below § 7.2). A prominent territorial god in this part of Skyid-shod is the Zhogs-lha Rgyug-po (~Phyug-po), a mountain and *yul-lha* in the eastern section of the Upper Zhogs Valley, who is listed among the highly significant *srid-pa'i lha-dgu* (*Lhoka* 175). Possibly the deity corresponds to the ancient *lha* of Klum-ro who apparently was also worshipped by the Ngas-po ruler (i.e. the Klum-lha Thugs-po (= Phyugs-po?) listed above). It suggests the location of the core area of Klum-ro between Zhogs and Chum-mda' (east of Lo); Map 7.8}

Ltam = Ltam-shul Gung-dang (listed in PT 1285; r. Ya-bo) {Gtam-lha Spun-dgu (var. Gtam-lha pho-dgu) is the leading *lha* of this area south-west of 'Phyong-po. In the 10th cent., in the context of the *kheng-log* ("rebellion of the subjects"), the principality of Gtam-shul Lho-brag (also Lho-brag Gtam-shul) have been established, with Bya-tshang Gung-snang as its stronghold and the Snyi-ba and Shud-pu as the ruling lineages; *KhG* 432; *Jo sras* 145f.; *Lde'u* 374; *SL* 6–7}

Lho = Lho-ga Lang-drug (PT 1060, PT 1289; r.: Lang-ling [var. Lho-bu]; m.: Thog-snan; d.: Lho-bla'i (*bla ri*) Gang-rgyal) {Most likely the Lho-brag area. In PT 1144, the Lho-brag ruler is Klu-dur, a rival of Stag-bu Snya-gzigs}

Yar = Yar-khyim Sogs-yar (~Yar-lung Sog-kar / Sogs-dkar; *RD* 30: *yul* [Yar-]lungs Sogs-ka) (r.: 'O-lde Spu-rgyal [PT 1285 (TDD 186.7): Ga-gar Ltangs gyi rje, seat at *mkhar* Bar-pa Zo-brang]; d.: Yar-l[h]a Sham-po){Yar-lung Sog-kha refers here to the Yar-lung area. The toponym is also known as the name of a section of the upper Yar-lha Sham-chu, marked by several ruins of ancient watchtowers (*CFS*: 206f.). Bar-pa Zo-brang refers to a place in Lower Yar-lung (*TF*: 221); the latter largely corresponds to the Yar-mo rnam-bzhi (*TF* 228) which in *GSP* is registered as separate *yul*)}

(7)**Dbye** = Dbye-ro yul-bzhi (also Dbye-mo / G.ye-mo Yul-drug) (r.: Dbye-rje'i [M]khar-pa; l./m.: Dbo and Rtug [var. Pho-gum, Pho-rol; Sbo (= Spo) and Rngog]; d.: Dbye-bla Spyi-gangs (~Dbye-lha Spyi-dkar [and Gro-lha Gang-bu]. Spyi-gangs is located at the border to Gnyal) {Dbye = G.ye-yul, east of Yar-lung. It is most probably identical with Lde, the dynasty with Gangs-bar near Klog in southern G.ye (= G.ye-che) as its center (Hazod 2006). Evidently to be related to this dynasty is the newly discovered necropolis of Rgyal-mkhar-thang in G.ye-chung; see § 3.1}

(8)**OI** = 'O-yul gyi Spang-kar (var. 'Ol-phu Dga'-dang; 'Ol-phu Yang-kar; *GR* 36–37: 'Ol-phu Rga/Rgu-dang (and?) 'Ol-phu kyi Spang-bzangs (r.: 'Ol-rje'i Zin-[']brang-tsha/rje; l./m.: Rngo[g?]) and Dba's [var. Go and Sbas]) {It evidently refers to the Upper 'Ol-kha, around 'Ol-kha-rdzong and Rdzing-phyi}

(9)?**Ngegs** = Ngegs-yul kyi Gru-bzhi (var. Sreg-yul Se-mo Gru-bzhi; Rngegs-shul Gling-brang. r.: Rngegs-rje'i La-brang [var. Rngog-rje Tshe'u klu-'brang]; l./m.: Sas-pa and Myang; d.: Rngegs-lha Pya-rmang) {[R]ngegs = Gnyags, and apparently also identical with Rngogs (cf. Dotson 2007a: 401), the famous *phyi dar* clan whose original land in Dbus is said to be the Yar-'brog Do (= Rdo-nang); *GKC* 343–44. Yet, the ancient Rngegs-yul was in Dwags-po. It is evidently identical with the (rebellious) rule of Nyags-nyi of *OTC* which – as demonstrated by Uray 1988b – is to be located close to Dwags-lha sgam-po. According to P. Wangdu (p.c.), Nyag-mi is the name of a mountain in this area, somewhere south of the Gtsang-po. It may correspond to the Nyag-nyi rgyab-dmar ("red rear [mountain] of Nyag[s]-nyi") which is among the 27 places of arrival of the mythical ancestor Gnya'-khri btsan-po (*Lde'u* 237). Probably this was the seat of the Rngegs-lha Pya-rmang, the latter to be found in later sources in the form of Snyags-lha Byar-ma / Byar-ma'i gangs of Dwags-po (*DLS* 20b4, 23b5). The *yul* is inserted here with question mark at the level of Sku-rab, due west of La-thog}

(14)**Dwags** = Dags kyi Gru-bzhi (also Dags-shul Shing-nag, Dags-yul Se-mo Gru-bzhi; PT 1287: Dags-po Lha-de; Dags kyi Bsen-mkhar) (r.: Dags-rgyal gyi Sprog-zin [var. Dwags-rje Lce-mang]; l./m.: Pha-gu and Pog-rol [var. Bla and Kam-mo]; d.: Dags-lha Sgam-po) {It refers to present-day Dwags-po *stod*, the area around Rgyal-tshva County. The local tradition speaks of four watch-towers which traditionally marked this territorial section of western Dwags-po, perhaps an allusion to the ancient "quadripartite territory" of [Se-mo] Gru-bzhi; *RCP*: 177}

(15)**Mchims** = Mchims-yul gyi Dgu-yul (var. 'Chims-yul Nag-po dgu-sul / Rgu-sul / Dgra-sul) (r.: Mchims-rje'i Ne'u; l./m.: Dang and Ding-ding; d.: Mchims-lha Than-tsho) {The heart of Mchims-yul was the Skyems-stong Valley in eastern Dwags-po. Above the village Sleb (locally a.k.a. Mchims) the famous necropolis of Lishang (= Sleb *shang*) is located (divided into the two fields of *bang-so nub* and *-shar*). It is

evidently to be related to the dynasty of the Mchims-rgyal (§ 3.2). The ancient ruins of Bangye (Spang-rgyas?) opposite the grave fields are locally described as the seat of a former king (apparently not a representative of the Skyems-stong *sde-pa* of the Phag-gru period, who had their *rdzong* further to the south of the Skyems-stong Valley; Hazod 2006)

(17)? **Brog-mo** = 'Brog-mo snam-gsum (PT 1286) (r.: Se-re Khri / Ser-khri; l./m.: Skyang re-gnag / Rkang-re nag-po) {Probably identical with the 'Brog-mo-thang in *OTC* where the context suggests a location close to Dwags-po or Rngegs. Perhaps it refers to the Phyi-'brog northeast of Mchims}

(13) **Nyang** = Myang-yul gyi Rta-gsum (~Nyang-yul rnam-gsum (~ Thags-sum), Nyang-yul Shing-nag/-sngon) (r.: N/Myang-[b]tsun Slang-rgyal / Glang-rgyab; l./m.: 'O-ru and Sprags [var. De-ru [and?] [-]spun]; d.: Myang-lha Bo-mo) {The ancient Nyang (plus Nyang-dkar; Map 3.1) largely corresponds to the area of present-day Rgya-mda' County. Rta-gsum of Nyang is to be identified with present-day Kong-po Brag-gsum, an area where Gnam-lha dkar-po, a deity of supra-regional significance, functions as the territorial god. The original home of the Myang clan people (with an even older ancestral relation to Mon, *Lde'u* 237) appears to be the Nyang-po Valley further to the west, however. This is the territory of the *yul-lha* Nyang-po rgyal-po (also A-bo Nyang-lha), which we assume is identical with the Myang-lha Bo-mo of the written account. See below § 3.2.2)}

(12) **Rkong** = Rkong-la Bre-sna (var. Kong-yul Gling-grags) (r.: Rkong-rje'i dkar-po; l./m.: Mkhar-pa and Pha-drug (Six Paternal Lineages; d.: Kong-lha Mthong-drug; Kong-lha De-yag / Des-legs. In *GPS* separately listed is the Kong-shul Se-mo-gru-bzhi) (The locals speak of the three divisions of Kong-po-stod (from Rib in the west [= the traditional border to Dwags Mehims (also Kong Mchims)] up to c. the level of Sman-gling; the western part, around 'O-rong-rdzong, is identified as the Long-po (cf. the compound Nyang Long Kong *gsum*) in Dudjom 1991: Map 8), Kong-po *smad* (c. from Sman-gling up to the point of confluence of the Pharlung-chu and Stong-mjug-chu = the border of Kong-po and Spo-bo; § 3.2-1) and Kong-po *gzhung* = central Kong-po, the area around present-day Ba-yi including Bre-sna, the latter known as the seat of the Kong-dkar-po princes. For ref. see e.g. Hazod 2005, 2007a). It is uncertain however to what extent this later Kong-po geographically corresponds to the ancient Rkong *yul*. See also 'Brog-mo and Srib-s-yul. The tombs of the ancient Rkong-po rulers are said to be located in the Rab-kha Valley of Sman-gling county; § 3.2, no. 22)

Not inserted on the map:

Yel-rab sde-bzhi {Mentioned in *OTC* (*TDD* 205) together with Klum[-ro] Ya-sum as the *yul* of Stag-skya-bo. Exact location uncertain. It corresponds to the later Yel-rab (Yel-zhabs) *stong bu-chung* (= the district of the Bran-ka line-

age) and is to be located somewhere in the border region of Lower 'Phan-yul and Skyid-shod (see § 4: Bran-ka *yul*)}

(11) **Srib-s-yul kyi Rol-mo-gong** (PT 1286; 1290: 'Ol-mo-gong of Srib-s) (r.: Drang-rje'i Rnol-nam; l./m.: [B]Zhug[s]-tshams and Dbrad) (= Kris-sna Rol-mo-gong of the later sources (*Lde'u* etc.); r.: Drang-rje Gong-nam; l./m.: Sbrad and Zhu). It is presumably to be located in eastern Lho-kha; perhaps it corresponds to Srin-mo-rong (Map 6c)

(16) **Sum-yul gyi Ya-sum** (PT 1286) (r.: 'Thal-lji Rmang-ru-ti [= 'Bal-lji-rmang, see *TDD* 228.10]; l./m.: Rlang[s] and Kam) {Not identified; unless Sum-yul = Sum[-pa] *yul*}

Zhong-yul Dam-drug (Zhong-du Dam-drug) {Not identified; it is listed in PT 1285 between Mchims and Rkong}

Mdo-ro Lung[-gsum] (r.: Mdo-rje 'On-'brang; *RD* 28: Mdo-rje Sum-po) {Its position in the list of IOJ 734 (after Rkong-yul) suggests an identification with eastern Tibet (Mdo-ro = Mdo-khams as suggested by Thomas). However, the ruler's name ('On-'brang, "subject from 'On") points to another option: the Rdo Valley due west of 'On}

Byang-ka s/Rnam-brgyad (r.: Hir-kin Dar-kan; m.: Durg-yus and A-ma-cha'; d.: Yol-tang-re' (var. Dru-gu'i *lha*) (PT 1060; *GSP*) {Not identified, but apparently referring to a *yul* in the land of the Western Turks (Dru-gu); § 2}

Rgya-yul Gtan-bzangs (r.: Rgya-rje Mying/Mye-mtshan [Rmang-po]; Rgya-rje btsan-ba; d.: Rgya-bla'i 'Brong-nam; m.: Rgya *blon* Gyi-zing-ba) {Rgya = Rhya? Both forms are to be found as the clan name of the Lo-ngam of Myang-stod (Hazod 2007a; the branch line called Rgya-long of Bgrya-grong (*RN* 177; Map 3.2a) may be related to this Lo-ngam origin. However, this area is otherwise represented by the *yul* of Myang-ro. In *RD* 19 the Rgya-yul is listed as one of the first (= westernmost) *yul* and thus rather may refer to an area further to the west, such as the Rgya-steng (in Pu-rang), or the Rgya-gling of Nyi-ma County; Bellezza 2008, s.v.}

Smra-yul Thag-brgyad (var. Sm[r]a-yul Thang-brgyad. PT 1285; *RD* 21, *passim*; Bellezza 2008, s.v.; r. Dang-ding-dings) {Probably not a real place; Dotson *forthcoming a*: see also above "Zhang-zhung"}

Yet more *yul* and (pre-imperial) ruling houses (such as Lha-yul Gung-thang, Phva-yul, Dmu-yul, Myi-yul, Klu-yul, Nya-lung, Nags-yul), of which some are described in the context of a "mythical country," are scattered throughout the Dunhuang documents. Several *yul* registered in *GR* and *RD* still remain to be identified: Ma-yul Ya-sum (= Myang-yul Rta-gsum?); Chab kyi Mar bzhuks Rgyal-mkhar-steps (see PT 1060; Lalou 1965: 200); Bzangs-yul Rgyan-med (= Bzang or Zangs-dkar of La-stod Byang? (§ 7.1); or Bzang = Gzad [Chu-shul]? § 4); 'Ga'-shul Gru-bzhi; Glo'i Spu-drung gi Spu-mkhar (= Glo-bo?; Map 2); Ngam-yul nag-po (= Ngam-shod? *RCP*: 26); Khar-yul Khar-stod; Glan-yul Glan-stod (related to the Glan lineage); Sten-yul Dru-mong bzhi-stengs.

3.2 Evidence of Local Dynasties in Early Central Tibet

Newly discovered burial sites in the areas related to the ancient principalities
and the key districts of the four Horns

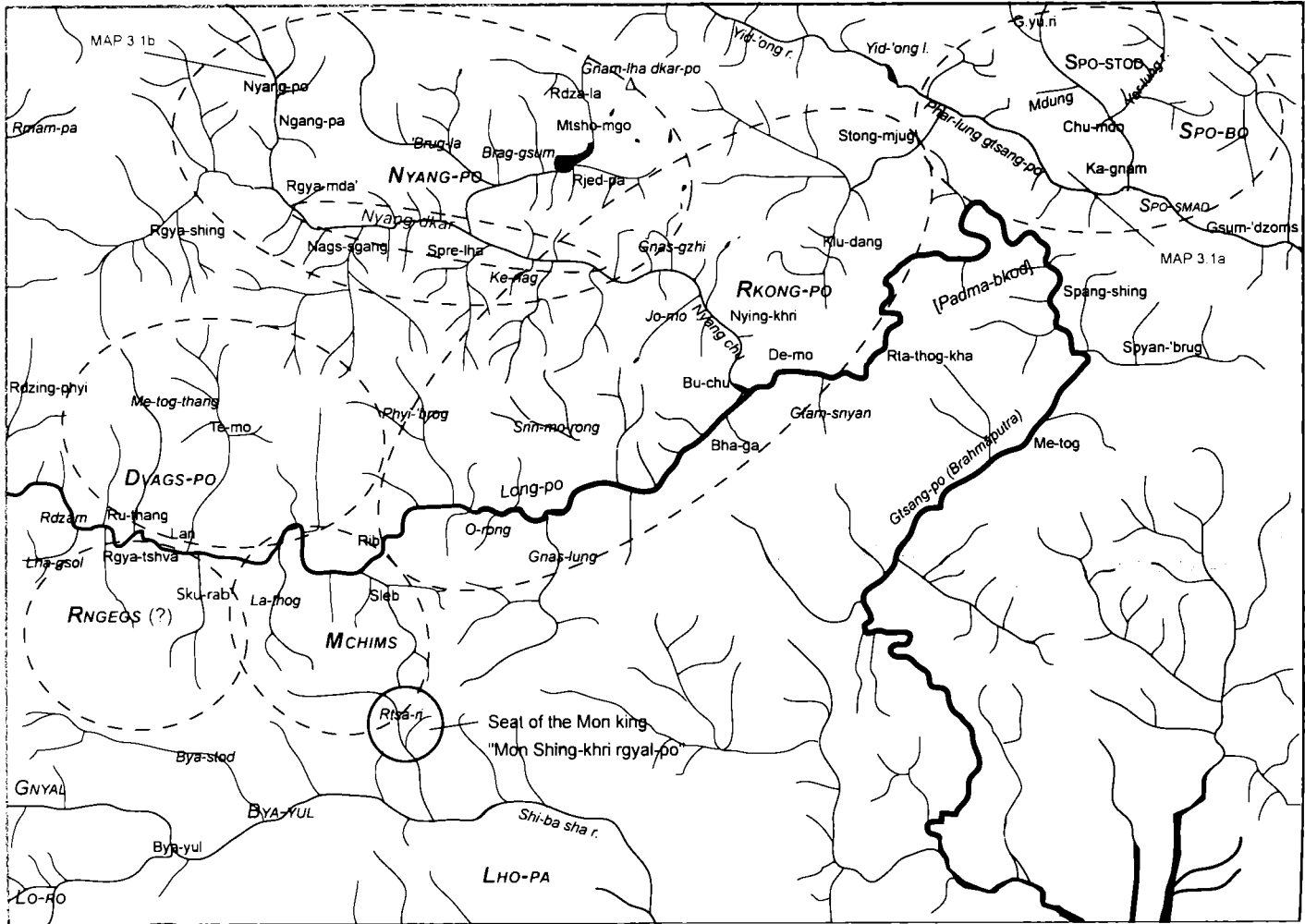
After the discovery of the imperial-period grave field of Lishan (Sleb *shang*, in Skyem-stong, eastern Dwags-po) in the 1980s, it was somewhat surprising to find grave structures of a size comparable with the royal tombs in 'Phyong-rgyas (see Chayet 1994b: 72, 75–78, 82). The larger buildings among the over 200 tombs evidently also had a similar internal structure, with several walled chambers or shafts, although our knowledge of the royal tombs in relation to this remains limited to the details in the written sources. According to the Tibetan tradition, tumuli were built from the time of the Btsan-Inga period, which supposedly began around the fourth or fifth century AD, while the more complex architecture of walled, rectangular graves (described as *phul che*) only begins with Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (cf. most recently Hazod 2007a). When precisely this form of burial ended is uncertain; but one can take the death of the *mnga' bdag* Dpal-'khor-btsan (beginning of 10th cent.) as a rough indication. It is the period of the fragmentation of the empire, which significantly corresponded with the opening and plundering of the dynastic graves, with this plundering not being limited to the royal tombs of 'Phyong-rgyas. As we now know, the grave destructions still continue today, albeit under a different aegis (see below). This rough “tumuli chronology” of the Tibetan tradition (= approximately AD 4th to 10th cent.) is still indicative today when we come across burial sites comparable with those of Skyem-stong or 'Phyong-rgyas and for which there is (still) no scientific dating. Some fields may already have been established in pre-imperial times (quasi parallel to the Btsan-Inga graves), but the larger structures, which have sides between 20 and 60 or more meters long, most probably are not to be dated before the early 7th century. There is no doubt that the relative size here forms a parameter for the assessment of the historical importance of those buried in these grave sites. For the Lishan tombs, for a long time nothing was known about who the builders of the impressive *bang-so* were, but it is clear that they should be classified as one of the ancient regional dynasties. Today we can grasp the historical context with greater accuracy. During a visit to Skyem-stong (2005), Pasang Wangdu (from the Historical Department of the TASS) and the author of this article have been able, independently of each other, to establish that the valley is without doubt to be identified as the core country of the Mchims-yul. The graves above the village of Sleb (earlier called Mchims) are quite obviously to be classified to this famous Mchims-rgyal dynasty (Hazod 2006). One of the most prominent members of the Mchims was General and later Grand Minister Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng (8th cent.) who is also addressed as Mchims Snyal-pa (Dmyal-pa), “the one from Snyal (Gnyal) in Mchims,” suggesting that the ancient Mchims-yul was a larger territory including also the district of Gnyal south of Skyems-stong. He is listed among the “nine great ones” (*che dgu*; a catalogue of representatives of the 8th cent.-ruling aristocracy; *SLS, Jo sras* 112; Dotson 2007a 117ff.), and described as a lord who have possessed ninety thousand bondservants, – surely an exaggerated number, which nevertheless gives an indication to the dimension and inner structure of this local rule situated within the boundaries of the four Horns of Tibet.

During the fieldworks in 2005, 2007 and 2008 we were able to discover a number of burial sites of which some should evidently be seen in a similar context: local dynasties that have their roots in pre-imperial times and survived as it were as sub-dynasties of the empire and during this period buried their high representatives in huge *bang-so* in the style of the *btsan-po*. The following notes are a brief overview of the external characteristics and historical context of these burial sites.

1. **Spo-bo:** The site of Khang-ral-sgang in Upper Spo-bo
(Geographical position: N30°09'27.4" E95°26'10.7"; Map 3.1, 3.1a)

According to the so-called “ultra secret tradition” (*Yang gsang lugs*) of the origin of the Tibetan kings, Spo-bo is considered to be the country of origin of the mythical ancestor Gnya'-khri btsan-po, a descendant of the *the'u brang* spirits, who was driven out of here and came to Bod (*Lde'u* 226). In the Gri-gum account, the same Spo-bo (Spu-yul) is the place in which one of the sons of the eighth king of the Yar-lung dynasty, who were driven out of Myang-ro Sham-po (§ 3.1, no. 4), took refuge. Nyang-yul and Kong-po are usually considered to be the

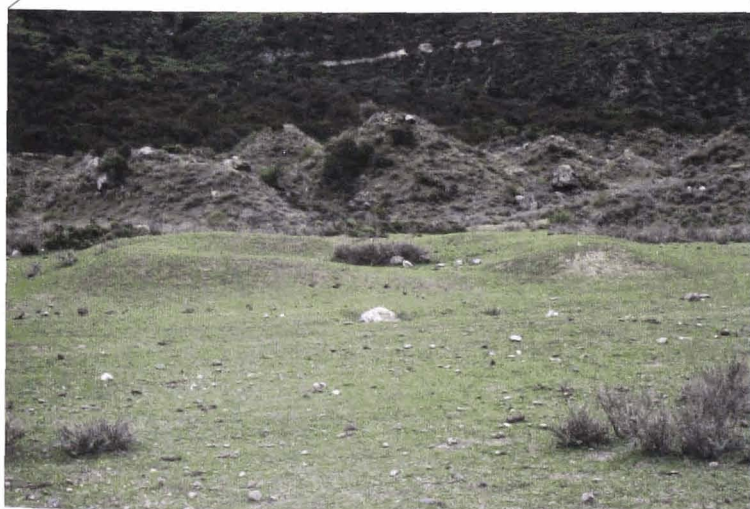
MAP 3.1: Ancient territories in eastern Lho-kha.



locations of the other sons; various accounts also mention Dwags and G.ye, that is, areas that are known as pre-imperial local dynasties and which later were able to maintain a certain special status and quasi autonomy within the empire owing to their family connections to the royal line (in the Dalai Lama period, later [supposed] descendents of these dynasties, such as the Ka-gnam *sde-pa* from Spo-bo or the Lha-rgya-ri-pa from G.ye-yul, took up and cultivated this inheritance again). As is well known, the tradition is not in agreement on which of the Gri-gum sons went where. In Spo-bo the local tradition speaks of the son Sha-khri. It is said that he came from the north to Upper Spo-bo (Spo-stod), where he hid for a while in the side valley of Yar-lung in the place of Gsang, before he built a residence in central Spo-stod. He remained here for three years and then went to Yar-lung (i.e. the Yar-lung of the later Spu-rgyal). The place of the Gri-gum son is called Shatrikha (Sha-khri-mkhar, Castle of the Flesh-Throne) and is situated on a hill over the plain of Mayülthang. This section on the right bank of the Spo-stod River is littered with natural hills formed in the ice age, which are called *sding-'bur* in the local tradition. It is said that in the run-up to the Bsam-yas foundation, all locals in the country were called on to gather earth to build the monastery. An inspection by the builders in Spo-bo, however, showed that the earth was unusable for this, and so the already collected piles were left behind. In the middle of this hilly land-



MAP 3.1a: In Spo-bo.



1. Remains of a grave in "Mayülthang."

scape, near the village of Ra-bzhi and directly below the Sha-khri-mkhar hill there is the “place of the collapsed houses” (Khang-ral-sgang), which the old people call a former “city.” The local inspection produced a somewhat differing picture: a number of rectangular or quadratic elevations which are in moss and only rise slightly above the ground. At some points the earth is exposed and one can see the remains of stone walls that surround these 10- to 30-metre-long buildings. Here in our view it is not a question of a cluster of former houses but of a burial ground. Spo-bo is one of the high-precipitation wooded areas of eastern Lho-kha. The main building material is wood. As is also emphasized in the *sding-'bur* story, earth is unusable as a building material, in contrast to middle and western central Tibet, where buildings with clay or crushed earth have also been able to survive for a thousand years. Nevertheless, the builders of the graves adopted the methods of the central Tibetan *bang-so*, where earth is piled on the top of the chambers, which are roofed with stone slabs or wood. Over the years the rain dissolved the earth and the wooden constructions beneath it rotted. The result is these indented elevations with stable stone walls on the sides (Fig. 1).

This is only a first cursory diagnosis, and whether or not we are right will perhaps be shown by later researches. Without doubt, however, Khang-ral-sgang is to be seen in a historical connection with the site of the neighboring Sha-khri-mkhar and evidently to be classified under one of the old local dynasties. This has nothing to do with the post-imperial rule of the Ka-gnam *sde-pa*, who saw themselves as the descendants of the Gri-gum son – a purely artificial link to a much older history that is largely still in the dark. This affects not least the question of the historical connection to the line of the Tibetan kings, whose land of origin, Yar-lung, is as it were present in the synonymous Yar-lung Valley of Spo-bo. Here there are several interesting details, which still require closer investigation, such as the history of the families in Spo-stod, persons of short stature, which add the component “*ma*” to the end of their names (perhaps to be read as *smra*, Mayültang = Smra-yul-thang?) and which is possibly connected with the origin legend of Mon, which is widespread here. This is the story of the “Forest Throne” Mon Shing-khri rgyal-po, who is described as the king of the 18 valleys (*rong*) or as the king of the 18 tribes (*tsho*) of Mon. These include Spo-bo and the neighboring areas of Yid-'ong, Me-tog (the area around the Gtsang-po gorge and of the *sbas yul* Padma-bkod) as well as Kong-po and Nyang-po, in other words the wooded areas of eastern Lho-kha. His chief minister was Sku-lha Thob-rgyal, who is buried in Spo-bo (under the 'Bursgo mchod-rten at the confluence of the Spo-stod-chu and the Yar-lung-chu); his *yul-lha* is considered to be the widely feared Stong-mjug Rdo-rje brag-btsan, who lives in the rocks at the confluence of the Phar-lung-chu and the Stong-mjug-chu; this is the traditional boundary mark between Kong-po and Spo-bo. Lho Tsa-ri, i.e. the area around the Tsa-ri mountain sanctuary, is considered to be the main seat of the Shing-khri rgyal-po.

Renowned Tibetan clans come from this large Mon area, namely the Lho, Gnyags (= Rngegs), and Myang (*Lde'u* 237), but also the Smra live here (the clan name is known among Lho-pa groups in the border area south of Tsa-ri, who historically have close ties to Kong-po; T. Huber, in his paper delivered at the IATS conference 2006). The Lho and the Gnyags also settled somewhere in the southern and south-eastern Lho-kha area, while the Myang ancestor came to Nyang-stod. Here it is unclear which Nyang this relates to: the Myang of Gtsang or the Myang / Nyang-po in Lho-kha. We presume the latter (in *OTC* the ethnonymic compound of Lho-Ngegs relates to a larger (geographic and ethnic) unit, which includes Myang; Dotson 2007a: 78f.).

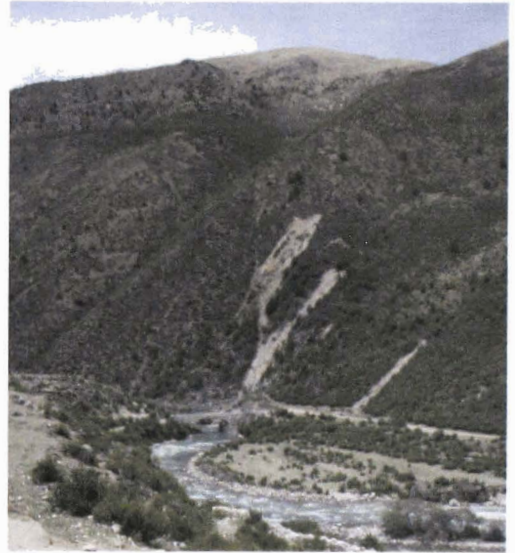
2. Nyang-po: A Grave field at the foot of the Nyang-lha (Geograph. position: N30°13'43.7" E93°06'02.5")

A historical-geographical survey of the Nyang-po area in eastern Lho-kha was presented by the author at the IATS conference (Königswinter 2006) under the title “The Land of Shing-khri btsan-po.” The name of this ruler refers to a local tradition in Brag-gsum-mtsho, which names Shing-khri btsan-po as a son of Gri-gum btsan-po, who had his seat in Rjed-pa, on the south bank of the lake. At the time I was unaware of the Spo-bo tradition of the Mon Shing-khri rgyal-po (see above), and it seems that two traditions are mixed in the statements of the locals of Rjed-pa, that of the Gri-gum account (with the arrival of a son in Nyang-yul) and that of the Mon king and ruler of the 18 lands, which includes Nyang-po (a third corresponding tradition is the arrival of the Nyang ancestor from Mon, described in *Lde'u*; see above). In a parallel tradition, the same seat in Rjed-pa is linked to Gesar.

the local hero of the Brag-gsum-mtsho area. Brag-gsum forms a geographically clearly separate zone, which is defined by the “three rocks” (*brag-gsum*), “three doors” (*sgo-gsum*) etc. As mentioned (§ 3.1: Nyang-yul), this area corresponds to the Rta-gsum of the *rgyal-phran* catalogue, which is given as the center of Nyang-po. The ancestral origin may not be here, however, but in the Nyang-po Valley further west, where the Nyang-chu rises and where also the M/Nyang-lha, the old territorial god (Myang-lha Bo-mo) has his residence. The latter relates to the present-day Nyang-po *yul-lha* called Nyang-po rgyal-po (also Abo Nyangla; A-bo Nyang-lha), a mountain not far north of Nyang-po village. Opposite, on the other side of the River Nyang, alongside the two villages of Drikung (sp.?) and Menri (Sman-ri) there is a field with dozens of tumuli-like elevations, which the old people describe as the place with “many *hang-so*.” Only the small hills can clearly be discerned as graves. The larger ones have almost been levelled, with these destructions dating from the development or extension of the neighboring agricultural fields. What remains are some overgrown remains of walls that rise from the soil and show the design of



MAP 3.1b: In the Upper Nyang-po Valley (cf. Map 3.1).



2. Nyang po rgyal po, the *lha* of Nyang-yul.



3. Remains of a tomb in Sman-ri.

a square or rectangular structure (one of them is c. 30 m long). It is evident that these graves are to be ascribed to the important Myang clan, which came to the fore as a king-maker clan in the early 7th century. It is noticeable that in Nyang-po a similar dialect is spoken as in 'Bri-gung (or the Zho-rong Valley), which is reachable from here over a western pass. 'Bri-gung has traditionally had close connections with Nyang-po, but this linguistic relationship may go back to an older history of early settlements of the Myang lineage in these areas (in the imperial era the Myang were known to have territories in the area of Lower Zho-rong). It is possible that the above mentioned area, which the locals pronounce as "Drikung" (not listed in *XD*) goes back to 'Bri-gung, but one of the locals also spoke of Drikung gyepo (Dri-khung (= Gri/Dri-gum) rgyal-po), which connects this place with the account of the Gri-gum sons. Behind Drikung lies the small side valley of Mi-yul-nang, of which it is said that at the end of this age people would only live here (and consequently would be the starting point for the new spread of people). It is thereby in a similar anthropogenetical context as the famous Mi-yul of Kong-po (Mi-yul Skyi-thing), where Gri-gum is also supposed to be buried (see Hazod 2007a, but the "Mayüthang" (Smra-yul-thang) of Spo-bo possibly also has a similar background; *smra* (~*rma*) here synonymous with *mi*, men; cf. Stein 2003). Drikhung and Sman-ri are two of the numerous places in the Nyang-po area in which the enormous silo towers stand (usually 12-cornered, a few are 8-corned ones), which otherwise exist in this form only in eastern Tibet (in the 'Dan-ba and Rgyal-rong area; see www.sui.org). According to Frederique Darragon's studies based on recent Radio-Carbon dating results, the oldest wood sample are from towers in Nyang-po, with a probable dating of the oldest structure to the imperial period, or even earlier (Darragon, personal communication, March 2008). The history of this tower tradition, which is unique in central Tibet, is in need of further more detailed research.



4. In Rgyal-mkhar-thang of G.ye-yul.

3. G.ye: The tombs of the "three princes" of Rgyal-mkhar-thang
(Geographical position: N29°05'07" E92°12'08")

The plain of Rgyal-mkhar-thang lies immediately to the north of Lha-rgya-ri; there is only one hill between the county capital of Chu-gsum and this plain, on which stand three enormous mounds of earth. The locals see these as the remains of palaces of the "three princes" (*sras gsum*). In truth, however, they are *bang-so*, comparable in size to the biggest of the Lishan tombs, if not bigger. Behind them are a further approximately 20 smaller tumuli. In all they are in relatively good condition and should prove a goldmine for later archaeological excavations. In our estimation it is here a question of evidence of the dynasty of L.de (L.de'i Gangs-bar), the center of which, Gangs-bar, lay in Klog in the south. Hazod 2006; below Map 6b.

4.–10. The many burial sites of **Skyid-shod**: in Bye-kha (geograph. position: N29°46'33.60" E91°30'20.73"), Dge-'dun-sgang (N29°47'01.56" E91°31'48.26") and Cha (N29°45'10.23" E91°37'37.94"); in Kri (N29°36'09.57" E91°14'13.88"); in the Lo valley (Chumbo and Bami), and in Stag-brag (N29°36'19.33" E90°57'40.12" (the latter already mentioned in Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231f.; in addition, several fields of ancient smaller tumuli have recently be found in the Skyid-shod area (in Chu-shul, Lower Stod-lung, a.o.) in the course of a German geographical research project; Knut Kaiser, Marburg University).

Not far from Lhasa, in the eastern section of the Skyid-chu valley and in lower 'Phan-po (below no. 10), there are a number of grave fields, of which – although some of them are of a considerable size – the world outside the immediately neighboring settlements has previously apparently taken no notice. They are in the three side valleys of Bye-kha (no. 4), Dge-'dun-sgang (no. 5) and Cha (no. 6), in the Lo valley (i.e. the burial sites of Chumbi (no. 7) and Bami (no. 8); see below § 7.2), and in Kri (no. 9) (see Map 7.8). With the exception of the last of these burial sites, which has only one grave, the layouts externally display a similar pattern: larger rectangular (often trapezoidal) graves surrounded by smaller, round barrows. In Bye-kha and Dge-'dun-sgang, in addition, each somewhat apart, there is a separate field with a larger number of exclusively small burial mounds, which presumably represent a structure from an earlier (pre-imperial?) era. Fields nos. 4–6 are easily visible on modern satellite photographs (Google Earth 2008). The photographs on the one hand give a good overview of the number of tombs (in Bye-kha for example there are approx. 130; there is a similar number at no. 5), on the other hand, they clearly show the relative size (up to 40m in length) and the original form of the individual structures, which are largely badly damaged or have been almost completely levelled. The four larger rectangular tumuli in the Cha valley (also described by the locals as *bang-so gru-bzhi*) are in good condition, even if with clear traces of earlier grave openings. At least two of them seem to have been built in two or three stages. They lie on the eastern side of the central valley section with a view of the monastery of Dga'-ldan.

A more exact (clan) historical classification to these three neighboring structures is currently hardly possible. The dominant clan in Skyid-shod was the Dba's clan, whose main grave field, however, we presume to be in the Lo valley (no. 8; below 7.2). In the old texts the district of Cha is written as Phva (Phya'i-lung, Phya-yul, *inter alia* known as the birthplace of Phya-pa Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169) of the early *tshad-ma* tradition; *RCP* 153); it may relate to the clan name Ph|v|ya, which is described in Bon-po sources as the paternal line of Gnya'-khri btsan-po (Karmay 1998: 282ff.). The lineage appears in the *dbang-ris bco-brgyad* list, but beyond this is not known as a leading line in the imperial period. The closer surroundings of the tombs of Cha are described by the locals as "Bimi," and the local *yul-lha* is called Bimi rgyal-po. The precise spelling of the toponym is unclear, but apparently it relates to an older settlement of "Bi people."

[No. 9]. The grave in the Kri valley, the ancient Ngan-lam Sri, and the story of the "Sri'i *rdo-ring*"

Evidently people tend not to see things that are in front of their eyes if they are things that lie outside the spectrum of their expectations. On the western side of the Kri valley (var. spelling: Sri), 12 km from Lhasa as the crow flies, within sight of a much-loved picnic place, there is a huge mound that the locals, because of its shape, call the *sa gru-bzhi* (square ground). It is definitely a tumulus and to my knowledge is Central Tibet's biggest burial mound north of the Gtsang-po (65x45m; height on the side of the valley c. 12m). I came across this site because of a question that suggested itself from previous studies, namely, whether here, in the local tradition there was a *rdo-ring* story. And the story is told of a great pillar that came flying from India and landed in a place behind the (later) *sa gru-bzhi*. Once, "on the orders of the government" this earth home was constructed and the pillar was enclosed in it. I know that here it was a case of the "Zhol pillar," which in the *Rgya bod yig tshang* is called the "Sri'i *rdo-ring*," the "long stone of Sri [= Kri]." Somewhat later, during a second visit, an older informant confirmed this. He knew of another account of this vanished pillar, namely that the *rdo-ring phyi ma* of Lhasa earlier stood at the *sa gru bzhi* square. *Rdo-ring phyi-ma* ("outer *rdo-ring*") is a term for the "Zhol pillar," which was very probably brought to Lhasa at the same time as the *rdo-ring nang-ma* ("inner *rdo-ring*," in the eastern entrance area of the Potala), which likewise came from Sri (*alias* Kri), that is, in 1693/94 on the instiga-

tion of the regent *sde-srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. More details on this can be found in Hazod 2007b: 602–10, where it is also discussed that the area of the Tshal Gung-thang district (including Sri) was known as Ngan-lam until the 13th century. Historically it goes back to a branch territory of the Ngan-lam clan, which presumably had its main seat in the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul (Map 4.1, cf. also no. 27 below). The inscription on the Zhol pillar is dedicated to this clan and its most important representative Ngan-lam Stag-ra Klu-khong, and was probably also erected on the orders of Klu-khong in Sri (presumably also his birthplace). It is therefore logical to identify the *sa gru-bzhi* hill as the grave of this famous general and later great minister.

The rear side of the burial mound shows clear signs of an earlier grave opening and we suppose that the precise position of the long stone was immediately in front of this “entrance.” In the local account, according to which the entrance area is the place where the stone was brought in to the *sa gru-bzhi* hill, one may see the memory of the former presence of the stone at this place, whose disappearance in the tale is combined with the artificial earth mound in front of it. An approximately 2x2m depression in this area, directly at the foot of the south-east-facing slope, could be the place of the former base of the pillar. Under these circumstances, the logical supposition is that what is now described as the “west side” of the “Zhol pillar” originally faced the slope, and this may be the reason why there is no inscription on this side (see Richardson 1985: 1–25). Perhaps the *rdor-ring* pointed exactly towards the *yul-lha* mountain in the south east, the seat of the territorial god of Kri called Gyeltsenponyog-sum (Rgyal-btsan dpon-g.yog-gsum, “mighty king, master and servant, the three”). When the stone was set up again in Lhasa (where it was later again shifted within the Zhol area several times) the original orientation was largely retained. In Sri the “west side” more precisely pointed NW, whereas the present-day “north inscription” originally pointed NE. The period around AD 764 is assumed as the date of the inscription, although one may have to take account of the fact that the three sides were not inscribed at the same time, but at a certain time interval. Richardson (*op. cit.*) read the chronology of the Zhol inscription in the order east, south, north face, with the eastern inscription only being a few lines. But another reading is also conceivable according to which a longer text was the first, whose immortalisation in stone made the erection of a bigger *rdor-ring* necessary. Possibly it began with the NE inscription (the long “north inscription,” where Klu-khong is quoted as *nang-blon* and where the privileges of the Ngan-lam lineage guaranteed by the (young) Khri Srong-lde-btsan (r. 756–c. 800) are listed); followed by the “east inscription” (= SE in Sri; with the short declaration of the appointment of Stag-sgra Klu-khong as *nang-blon chen-po*) and the “south inscription,” which starts with a review of the career of Klu-khong in the time of *btsan-po* Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan and ends with the mention of the conquest of the Chinese capital (AD 763). The appointment of Klu-khong as great minister (around AD 782; see above, Appendix Four) is no longer mentioned. Shortly afterwards he died and his tomb was logically erected in front of “his” *rdor-ring*, whose inscriptions pay tribute to his deeds and record the privileges of his descendants.*

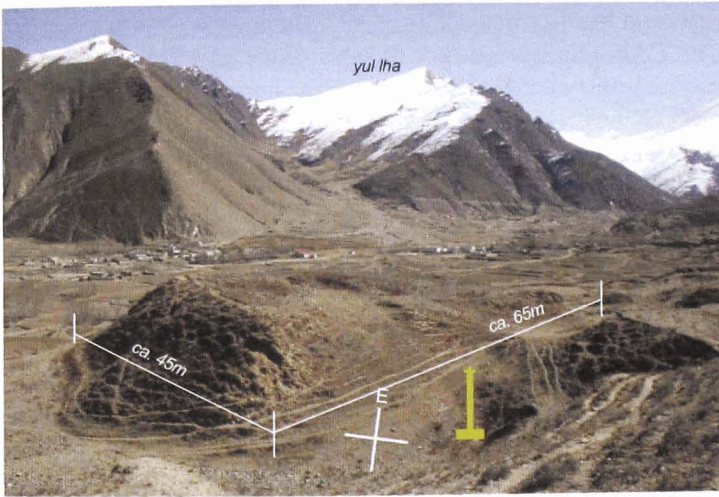
The Sri's *rdor-ring* history indicates a significant element in the politics of the early Tibetan state, namely a certain form of regionalism that existed in a partial autonomy of the allied clans. The loyal adherence to their obligations to the court (*glo ba nye ba'i rje blas byas pa*; cf. Zhol, South Inscription, l. 4) allowed them to immortalise their position in the state guaranteed to them by the *btsan-po* and the privileges associated with it in a stone, which was not set up at a “center” but in their own territory. Conversely, the transfer of the *rdor-ring* to Lhasa at the end of the 17th century signified a form of centralism that the new government was then striving for through a series of political (and politico-religious) measures. The relocation corresponds with the completion of the building of the Potala Palace, whose “place below” (*zhol*) has since been decorated by the *rdor-ring* – as an instrument of a completely new context.

* One may note, however, that the location of the pillar as it is supposed here represents a somewhat out-of-the-way place, and for the publication of a declaration in this form one would rather expect a more central position. In this connection also a different scenario is conceivable: there was an assembly place somewhere in the middle of the valley, where the pillar had originally been set up and from where the stone later, after the death of Klu-khong, had been moved to the place behind the tomb. This does not necessarily question the present theory about the original orientation of the pillar and the sequence of its inscriptions (i.e. NE, SE, SW), although the explanation concerning the “empty west side” would be obsolete in this context.



5a. The tomb in the Kri Valley, the ancient Ngan-lam Sri, is most probably to be identified with the grave of the general and great minister Ngan-lam Stag-ra Klu-khong.

5b. Reconstruction of the position of the “Sri'i rdo-ring,” before the latter was moved to Lhasa (Zhol) in the 17th century.



6a. The four *bang-so gru-bzhi* of Cha.
Photo: Google Earth 2008

(5b)



6b. In Cha. In the background the monastery of Dga'ldan.

[10.] In **Stag-brag**: the “Glang-da-ma site” in the western section of the Lhasa Maṅḍala zone

There may be a similar transfer story for another famous Lhasa stele, namely the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar in front of the Jo-khang temple, which was presumably originally erected in Sbra-stod-tshal (in Rgya-ma; AD 822), where the treaty was signed on the Tibetan side. We presume here a connection with the formulation and installation of the “Lhasa Maṅḍala” in the 11th and 12th centuries, of which the story of the killing of King Glang Dar-ma provides an early testimony. According to a popular version of this post-dynastic account, the king was killed during an inspection of this inscription (i.e. at the “center”). At each of the four sides of the Lhasa valley we find Glang-dar-ma places that correspond with the four “flight places” of the regicide (see Hazod 2007b: 578f.). One of these sites is in the Stag-brag valley, which corresponds to the Bran[g] (-phu, -mda') from the list of the western Lhasa Maṅḍala toponyms. An *in situ* exploration of the site first described by Richardson (1998 [1963]: 230–31) was prohibited owing to the local army camp in the immediate vicinity, but residents confirmed Richardson’s description of the site, which is known as Glang-so and has several large burial mounds. The locals add that originally three mounds (today almost completely demolished) were arranged in the form of a circle with some remains of walls at the center “where Glang-dar-ma used to wash his hair.” Owing to the thematic proximity to the Lhasa Maṅḍala mythology it would be rash to see this place in a close historical relationship with Glang-dar-ma; Glang-so should certainly also not be read as Glang-dar-ma *bang-so* (Richardson *op. cit.*, p. 231), as the *btsan-po* is supposed to be buried in 'Phyong-rgyas (*Lde'u*: 378.13). On the other hand, one cannot exclude the fact that the Stag-brag tradition in fact holds a historical memory – perhaps of a residence of the king close to an earlier grave site – that the later formulation of the Glang-dar-ma killing story as a key event in the Lhasa Valley links to. As to the identification of the Stag-brag *bang-so*, Richardson believes (*op. cit.* p. 231) that the place name Bran[g] could relate to the Bran-kha clan; but he is skeptical about classifying these rather large graves to this lineage, which in the imperial time produced no outstanding figures apart from the monk minister Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan (r. early 9th C.). In the *dbang-ris* catalogue, Bran[g] is registered as land of the Sna-nam (see § 4, no. 7).

11. A burial site in **Lower 'Phan-yul** (at N 29°51'51.32" E 91°23'28.13") and the question of the localisation of the ancient Ngas-po stronghold of *mkhar* Yu-sna

The aforementioned Bran-kha lineage (no. 10) was not unimportant even in the early phase of the empire, as it is registered in the *dbang-ris* catalogue, with the district of Yung-ba (in Lower 'Phan-yul) as their territory. The latter was once the core area of the Ngas-po ruler Khri-pang-sum, whose residence called Sdur-ba'i Yu-sna (or *mkhar* Yu-sna) was redistributed several times in the course of history. It became a property of the Ngas-po vassal, Mnyan, and later, after the conquest by Khri Slon-mtshan, it was given to the Myang ally, before the area appears under the name Yung-ba che-chung (great and small Yung-ba) as a territory of the Bran-ka lineage (see below § 4, no. 14). The grave field behind the village of Ka'u (spell. uncertain), not far from the valley entrance of Yung-ba probably also belonged to this territory of greater Yung-ba (Map. 4.1; Map 7.8). It has around 50 *bang-so*, including several larger structures, which are all badly damaged – the work of the locals, who until today take stones from the walled sections (cf. no. 14, and chap. 7.2). The graves lie in the surroundings of two *stūpa* ensembles, described locally as Sharaba chörten, and go back to Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141) (the early Bka'-gdams-pa master was in particular active in 'Phan-po and Skyid-shod; cf. e.g. Roesler & Roesler 2004: 55f.; *RCP* 156, 420). According to the locals, ruins in the upper part of the small valley are remains of a “Sha-ra-ba *dgon-pa*.” This place should be given particular attention in any possible later archaeological investigation, because it appears that the monastery stood on a large tumulus over 50 meters long (Fig. 8). It is evidently a grave of a prominent member of the lineage that lived here, possibly of *chos blon* Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan, but his grave is associated with a hill near 'Phan-po township (§ 4, no. 14). A later descendant of Dpal gyi Yon-tan was 'Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug (*fl.* 12th, 13th cent.), founder of the 'Ba'-rom-pa Bka'-brgyud order, whose birthplace in 'Phan-yul, Ka-ba Yul-sna (cf. *LC* 207), is identified with the above-mentioned Ngas-po stronghold *mkhar* Yu-sna (Migmar 67, according to an information from Dungkar Rinpoche; Migmar, p.c.). Ka-ba Yul-sna itself has to my knowledge not yet been located. In Ka'u, which appears in the place name index of *XD* 59a in the form of Kha-'khor or Dkar-po-khud, a small enclosure around a tree, which is called “kapo,” is held to be holy. It is called this “because here the first

letter of the Tibetan alphabet [ka] appeared." A certain *geshe* Kaba is supposed to have deposited it. Possibly the memory of the place Ka-ba Yul-sna is hidden here, – with Ka-ba perhaps being related to Ska-ba; this is the name of the lineage that together with the Rma clan administered the two first *stong-sde* of Dbu-ru (§ 6).

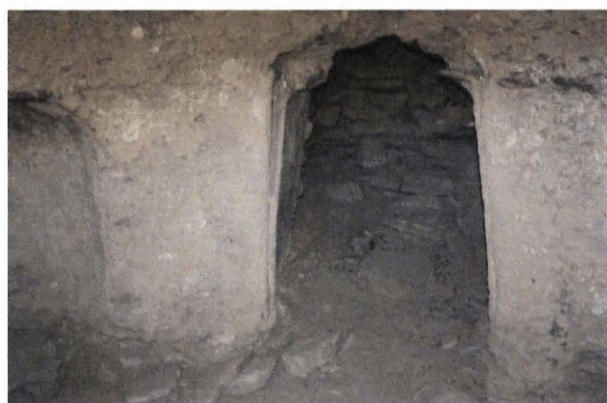
12. Lower 'Phyong-po: Tombs in the land of the goddess (Geograph. position: N 29°10'08.42" E 91°40'39.39")

Alongside the Rgyas-sman further to the south, the 'Phyos valley forms the largest side valley within the 'Phyong-po district. It is repeatedly mentioned in the sources in various historical contexts, – as a residence place of the Yar-lung *jo-bo*, as one of the *gzhis-kha* of the Phag-gru *khri-skor* or as the seat of a district chief *sde-pa* 'Phyos-pa in the period of the Phag-mo-gru-pa rule. Much earlier, in the 10th century, before the arrival of the Yar-lung *jo-bo*, there was a local rule (*rje dpon-tshan*) in 'Phyos, which emerged out of the *kheng-log* period, in which 'Phyos played an important role. Tshes-pong and Shud-phu (var: Khu and Gnyags) are mentioned as important lineages in the establishment of this *rje dpon-tshan* (Dotson, *forthcoming c*). These and many other well-known central Tibetan clans (such as the Myang, 'Gos, Gnubs, Dgyer, Mgar, Lce and many more) had branch settlements in the Yar-lung and 'Phyong-po area that certainly go back to the imperial period or are even older. 'Phyos itself also appears as a clan name; it is presumably the lineage of the local ruler entitled 'Phyos *rje'u*, a supporter of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* in the 9th and 10th centuries (CFS 185), and the 'Phyos are cited as one of the nine grave-robber clans who in a *bya* year of the 10th cent. (presumably *chu bya* 913) opened the royal graves of 'Phyong-rgyas and shared the treasures among themselves (KhG 433; CFS 197). The 'Phrul-rgyal *bang-so* (i.e. tomb of *btsan-po* Khri 'Dus-srong) is here assigned to the 'Phyos together with the Khu and Greng. Presumably the 'Phyos people also laid hands on the graves of their own land. These are four *bang-so* in the small side valley of Lha-yul in the lower 'Phyos valley. Two round graves lie behind Lha-yul village at the valley entrance. Higher up, on the western side not far from the hamlet of 'Bum-thang, there are two rectangular graves, a smaller square one and a trapezoidal greater tomb, c. 45m long at the front and 30m on the other sides, height c. 8m. (Fig. 7a, b; the criteria for the decision to erect rectangular graves once square another time in rectangular or trapezoid form, are unclear; the latter are often on a slope so that the form gives the (perhaps intentional) impression of a building that is rejuvenating itself towards the back, as if the grave would merge with the mountain behind it). The imposing grave displays the special feature that it has an opening at the front – evidently an entrance that was made by force at some time. It is only half closed with stones, so that one can climb inside it. Inside, there is an empty antechamber of about 5x3m, from which four walled openings (c. 1x1.5m) lead to the inside of the grave. These entrances are closed with stone boulders and further penetration was not possible (Fig. 7c). The entrance area displays a rather unusual arrangement of the inside of the grave, according to which the individual chambers appear to lie alongside each other and are not built into the earth (cf. the graphic representation of archaeological findings of graves of the imperial period in Chan 1994: 369; Chayet 1994b; Caffarelli 1997).

Apart from the fact that the two rectangular buildings certainly date from the imperial time, we can only make suppositions about the identification of the *bang-so*. It is possible that they are the graves of a prominent member of one of the above-mentioned clans. Worth mentioning is an aspect of the local *yul-lha* (territorial god) tradition, according to which the locals worship the *bang-so* as their *yul-lha* ("they are like our *yul-lha*"), and the lower, round *bang-so* decorated with prayer flags is also used as a *yul-lha* place. It is said of the large *bang-so* that people previously regularly made *khor-ra* (circumambulations), similar to the account from the report of Tibet's "first grave" (see references below no. 13). The *yul-lha* is a lady named Lhachemo (Lha-chen-mo); this is a non-specific term for protective goddesses, as they are known for example from the entourage of Mgon-po (Mahākāla). But perhaps there is a historic memory behind the name and it relates to a royal lady, possibly not a princess (*btsan-mo*) but a queen, be it a junior (*jo-mo*) or an heir-bearing queen (*yum*) (see supra, Part I, "Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives"). The grave report of the *Gsang ba yang chung* (in *Lde'u*: 376–80) mentions the *bang-so* of the queens, which presumably had a similar construction to those of the kings (some nuns from the royal house were buried in *stūpa*-like *bang-so*). For some the place of the grave is mentioned, lower Don-mkhar and Mu-ra in 'Phyong-rgyas, and for the graves in upper Lha-yul it could be a case of a not yet more closely localised burial site of royal ladies, who were possibly buried in their paternal estate (i.e. land of one of the above-mentioned local clans).



(7a)



7c. Inside the trapezoidal tomb (7a, b).



7b. The two greater tombs of Lha-yul are situated in the upper section of this side valley of Lower 'Phyos.

7a. The trapezoidal tomb of Lha-yul (see 7b).



8. The grave field of Ka'u in Lower 'Phan-po.

13. Upper 'Phyong-po: The site of Bangs-so Sa-dkyil-'khor
(Geographical position: N28°53'03,4" E91°42'40,4")

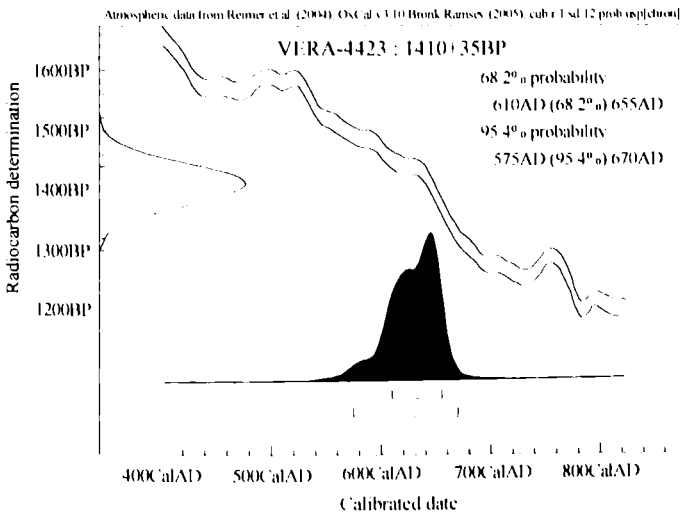
A hill in the Upper Zhas-phu Valley (in Upper 'Phyong-po), which the locals call Bangs-so Sa-dkyil-'khor, aroused our interest as its situation and other details in the descriptions of the local tradition show clear correspondences with the written account on the grave of Gri-gum btsan-po in 'Phyong-po. According to the tradition, it is the prototype of tumuli burial, which begins with the Btsan-Inga – the ancestors of the Tibetan kings – who had their immediate homeland in this section of the 'Phyong-po Valley, also known as Grang-mo Grang-chung (see Hazod 2007a).

14. Myang-stod-1: The grave field of Sham-bu (geograph. position of "Grave-1:" N28°55'54.4" E89°30'18.0")

The area of Sham-bu immediately to the west of Rgyal-rtse township is in one of the high-resolution zones of the Google Earth satellite program, so that anyone can get a picture of the grave landscape, the individual tombs' relative size and of the external condition of the structures. The six larger tombs (30–50m long) are all badly damaged. The destruction is largely from the recent past and present and is the work of locals, who break off stones for use as building material (house-building, dam-building). Some graves have been hollowed out some metres deep, so that parts of the walls of the grave chambers, which go down like shafts below ground level, are exposed. Animal bones (sheep) and human bones are repeatedly discovered (Fig. 9b). A radio-carbon dating of a human bone (lower leg) from the bottom of the opened "Grave 1" (Fig. 9a) gave a dating of AD 575 – 670 (95,4% probability) or AD 610– 655 (68,2% probability) (Vienna Environmental Research Accelerator, VERA-4423). In other words, the structure is most likely from the early imperial period (Graph 1).

Here there are more than 100 graves spread over two fields, one in the middle section of Yar-lung, the other in the small side valley of Rdza-kha. Yar-lung is the name of the whole area behind Sham-bu village, which is uninhabited (two smaller monasteries, the Yar-lung *dgon-pa* and the Byang-chub *dgon-pa*, are not used any more). Both toponyms, Yar-lung and Sham-bu, apparently relate to the homeland of the Tibetan kings, which had a fateful connection with Myang-ro. It was the birthplace and residence of Gri-gum btsan-po, who fell here

in a duel. His widow, according to one account, is said to have been sought out and made pregnant by Sham-po, the territorial god of Yar-lung. The issue of this union is Ngar-la-skyes, who later called one of the sons of Gri-gum to the throne of Yar-lung (= the throne of Spu-lde Gung-rgyal; there is also the account that identifies Ngar-la-skyes with Spu-lde Gung-rgyal). Spu-lde Gung-rgyal later came to Myang-ro and avenged the death of his father through a war in the course of which the adversary Lo-ngam and his line were wiped out. This is apparently in contradiction with the *rgyal-phran* lists, which give Lo-ngam as the representative ruler of the principality of Myang-ro Sham-po (see Hazod 2007a). No "Lo-ngam lineage" is known of for the imperial period, unless the clan

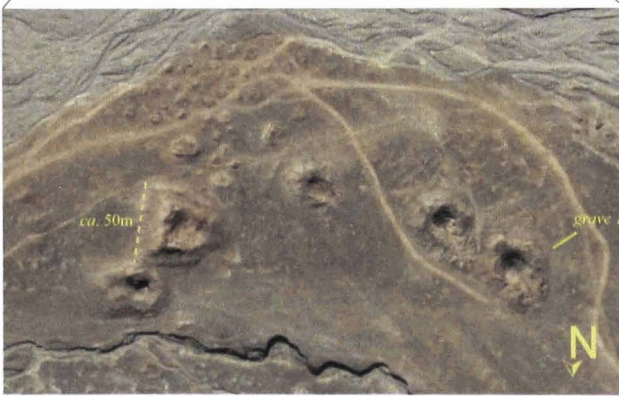


Graph 1: Diagram of the bone dating, Sham-bu, Grave 1.

name Rhya, which in the Gri-gum account of PT 1287 is associated with Lo-ngam, is identical with Rgya, a well-known lineage from Myang-stod (with the plain of Brgya-grong (SW of Sham-bu; Map 3.2a; Map 6.2) as one of the main settlements of the lineage (RN 177–97; Vitali 2004a: 9–10).



MAP 3.2a–b: In Sham-bu of Myang-stod.



(9b)



9a, 9b: "Grave 1" of the field of Yar-lung of Sham-bu.

The area's dominant clan in the imperial time was 'Bre (Dre), which is already registered as the minister clan of Myang-ro Sham-po and which appears in the 7th century *dbang-ris* as the clan of the Nyang-stod *yul* (= Myang-ro). The same lineage later provided the commander of the Ru-lag-smad (together with the Khyung-po). The army catalogue of *BK* (438.3) correspondingly also calls the 'Bre the commander lineage of the Myang-ro *stong-sde*, while *KhG* and *Lde'u* give the 'Bro clan in this position. This appears irritating, as the actual domains of the 'Bro was the area of Ru-lag-stod. Perhaps worth mentioning in this connection is the story of *mnga'-bdag* Dpal-'khor-btsan, the unloved successor to 'Od-srungs, who had to leave his earlier domains in Lho-kha and moved his residence to Grom-pa Lha-rtse in Gtsang. As Petech has already noted (1997), he built this residence in the land of his minister and close ally from the 'Bro lineage. Less well known is the fact that Dpal-'khor-btsan also had a seat in Myang-stod, in Rgyal-rtse (the later Dpal-'khor chos-sde is named after him; Tucci 1949: 664, 702); it can be assumed that he also started his violent resettlement program from here, which affected the 'Bre people from Myang-stod and the Gnyags people from Yar-lung, and which became his undoing (the new settlement of the Gnyags is reported to have been the area north of Tho-yor nag-po *yul* in La-stod Byang (*GD* 97; see § 3.2-8). It is possible that this last *btsan-po*, who was killed by a certain Sham-po mchu-nag (Black Sham-po river [*sic*]) (elsewhere by one Stag-rtse Gnyags; *Jo sras* 142; *Lde'u* 371, 376) lies buried in Sham-bu. Later descendants of Dpal-'khor-btsan settled in various territories of Ru-lag and G.yas-ru, where they founded local ruling houses, one of which is in Stag-tshal of Myang-stod. It is unlikely, however, that this 11th-century house continued the old grave culture in Sham-bu. What we can assume in an identification of the graves is a close historical if not ancestral relationship of the buried and the buriers to the old Myang-ro Sham-po. In this sense, we can also take into account that even before Dpal-'khor-btsan, members of the *btsan-po* family were buried in this Yar-lung of Myang-ro – historically, so it appears, an old “outpost” of the Yar-lung *rgyal-po*.

15. Myang-stod-2: The grave field of Ser-po (N 29°00'37.41" E 89°26'54.34")

Ser-po is a small side valley in Myang-stod, the entrance of which is dominated by the 'Brong-rtse, the rock with the Dge-lugs-pa monastery of 'Brong-rtse chos-sde (*VS* 244; Chos-'phel 2008: 19f.; Map 6.2). A grave field of several dozen *bang-so* covers the slopes of the eastern side of the valley. Larger and smaller graves alternate here, although there are no tumuli of the size of Sham-bu (no. 14) among them. Their history is similar to the case of the Sham bu site, namely that several old Myang-stod clans could come into question for the classification of this area, but only vague suppositions can be made. Old ruins in upper Ser-po, not far from the monastery of Ser-po Theg-mchog-gling (a foundation of 'Brug-pa Pad-ma dkar-po; Chos-'phel 2008: 21f.) are described as the remains of an old settlement, as a place “where it was originally intended to build Lhasa.” One frequently finds such and similar formulations (such as “Little Lhasa”) in the local tradition in relation to no longer known ruins, and they usually relate to old, possibly pre-imperial local political centres (cf. e.g. Hazod 2007a). The area around 'Brong-rtse was geographically apparently part of the stage of events described in the Gri-gum account, namely part of Nyang-ro Stag-tshal, which is mentioned in some versions as the higher geographical description of this section of Myang-stod (Hazod 2005: 223). It is named after the settlement of Stag-tshal opposite Rtsis Gnas-gsar. Here too, the apparently no longer locally known place name Thal-ba-tshal, where Gri-gum fell, is possibly to be located in the immediate proximity of Stag-tshal or 'Brong-rtse (Hazod 2007a: 262). The original establishment of the grave field of Ser-po may thus go back to clans from the Gri-gum account; among others, Sbrang, from whom the mother of the Gri-gum *btsan-po* descended, is conceivable here (see Hazod 2007a: 269).

16. Ngam-ring: The tombs and ruins of Bom-ma
(Geographical position: N29°12'30.8" E87°26'38.9")

The 'Bro (see no. 14) were also the commanders of the thousand-district of Khri-bom, whose core area we identify with the region around Glang-mtsho (Ngam-ring County) (§ 7.1). The name Khri-bom relates, as we believe, to Bom-ma, the name of a village that has recently been abandoned (the inhabitants today are settled in the newly established village of Lug-lung, also called Lug-lung Bom-ma, one of the few *sa-ma-'brog* settlements in this primarily nomadic area). Immediately before Bom-ma there are several badly damaged grave structures, in between several scattered ruins, with some of the wall remains possibly being from removed grave chambers.

The locals believe that these are the remains of a township from the previous age. Directly next to them runs the highway to Ngam-ring township, in the widening of which some years ago one of the tombs was half removed. The workers speak of four cross-shaped chambers in which the remains of pottery and animal and human bones were found (the graves have since become known to the authorities and colleagues from the Chinese Tibetology Research Center in Beijing recently made a brief inspection, yet without having initiated further research). Further south, in the plain of Skya-bo-lung, there is an even larger field of c. 50 (smaller) tumuli (Map 6.1a).

If we are right in this identification of Khri-bom, it makes sense to connect this place with Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, who resided in the *mkhar* of Khri-boms (§ 6). Possibly the same place was previously already the seat of Mar-mun, the ruler of Gtsang Bod who was defeated by Zu-tse and whose territory (together with 20,000 families) Zu-tse later received from the *btsan-po* (Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan). The name of the local territorial god Bo yül-sa (*yul-sa*) (so pronounced), who resided in the huge rocks behind Bom-ma, may refer to this old Bod of Gtsang (cf. also the name of the Rtsang-ro spirits Rtsang *lha* Pu / Bu-dar and *srin* Pod-de (= Bod?), which are to be located in this area of Ngam-ring; Hazod 2005: 295f.).

The association of the place with the Khyung-po lineage seems somewhat contradictory in the face of the statements on the territorial division of the Gtsang region according to which Gtsang-stod (and Ru-lag-stod to which Khri-bom belonged) was the domain of the 'Bro, while the Khyung-po lineage was assigned to Gtsang-smad (and Ru-lag-smad). Both lineages had territorial links scattered throughout Gtsang (and beyond) and the place where their representatives were buried does not necessarily have to lie in the territory that was subject to their command (in the case of the Khyung-po this also included districts of G.yas-ru *stod*, where they provided the *ru-dpon*). This spatial distribution of lines, which one finds to a greater or lesser extent among all clans, leads not least to the question of the identification of the “home territory.” This is not always to be clarified so definitely, as for example is possible in the case of the Mchims, who were similarly scattered through various endowments of appanages but whose deceased dignitaries, we can assume, were brought “home” for burial (similar to the *btsan-po*, who were all transferred for burial in their “own country” (*rang gi yul*)). There is thus in the various (branch) *yul* of a certain lineage always something like an original *yul*, which itself is only a point in a long history of the line, which however at some point became a particular reference point of the lineage identity, a “home” and place of return for the dead. Richardson (1998 [1977]: 59) says that Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse was a “foreigner” and came from the far-lying Zhang-zhung. He is registered as *mkhos-dpon* (chief administrator) of Zhang-zhung (with his seat in Khyung-lung) and a certain Khyung-po Spu-stangs regulated the northern trade routes (*Lde'u* 264). In addition, the Chronicle fragment of IOL Tib J 1284 reports about the conquest of the principality of To-yo Chas-la by Zu-tse which the latter offered together with “all of Byang gi Zhang-zhung” to Khri Srong-rtshan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po). As mentioned above (§ 2, § 3.1), this To-yo Chas-la possibly corresponds to the Byang Tho-yor nag-po *yul* situated in the area around Zang-zang, and Byang gi Zhang-zhung accordingly is to be read as the Zhang-zhung of Byang, referring to the region better known as La-stod Byang. This identification would lead to the conclusion that To-yo Chas-la and Rtsang Bod were neighboring territories (and originally part of Zhang-zhung) and with the missions of Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse were successively brought under the rule of the *btsan-po*. Here one may hypothesize that Spung-sad and his family had already settled in this area of [La-stod] Byang, more precisely in the core area of Rtsang Bod since the time of Mar-mun and were then in the service of this ruler. The later minister acted on his own account when he overpowered his old lord in order to offer his services to another (up-and-coming) lord in Skyid-shod, i.e. Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan. (The sentence “Khyung-po cut off Mar-mun’s head” in PT 1287 sounds like the execution of a defaulting *primus inter pares*, who in old Tibetan oath declarations usually “swore by his head” [*dbu snyung gnang ba*]). As we know, Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse later fell into disfavor at court, but not his line, which continued to act in the administration of the Gtsang districts and whose representatives perhaps had their resting places in Khri-bom, the old homeland of the ancestor Spung-sad.

17–32. Further sites:

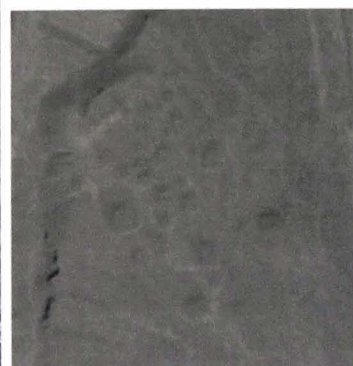
[17.] **Rba-nag** (a grave field of around 50 smaller round *bang-so*; situated close to Rba-nag village in the area between Chu-mig and Srad in Gtsang; approx. location: N 29°02'42.78" E 88°41'26.82"; Map 6.2)

[18–19]. Two neighboring burial sites in the area of Stag-lung in **Yar-brog**, one at Mtsho-dbang (N 28°50'34.78" E 90°25'14.26"), and the other at Chu-lung (N 28°49'38.90" E 90°26'16.51"). The latter site, two larger tomb-like hills surrounded by ancient ruins, is locally known as “Lhakhang gönpa,” and thus may refer to an old temple. Yet, at least one of the two hills appears to represent a grave.

[20.] **Rtse-gdong** (the impressive, recently also officially inspected site of more than 100 smaller round *bang-so* is situated due east of the G.yas-ru Gtsang-brang temple (§ 5; below Map 7.5); (geograph. Position: N 29°23'11.73" E 89°14'39.04").

[21.] **Skyid-stod** (The burial site close to Skyid-stod in central Lho-brag (approx. at N28°23'14.09" E 90°46'32.97") was visited and photographically documented by Ngodrop Tsering and Gyurme Tsultrim (both from the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa) in 2008. According to their description (Ngodrop Tsering, p.c.), a central larger rectangular tomb lies in an ensemble of numerous *bang-so* of various sizes (Fig. 10b). It is the grave field of a local dynasty of which a leading representative by the name of Lde-sman Lde'u-cung is mentioned in the two Lho-brag inscriptions (Li and Coblin 1987: 353–360). The two rock inscriptions with the same text (one of them partly damaged) are in Sman-thang district east of Skyid-stod (Fig. 10a). This inscription contains the interesting information according to which the authorities of the (local) thousand district were responsible for the upkeep of the *bang-so*. The closer identification of this “Lde'u-cung-dynasty” (evidently not identical with Lde / Dbye, above 3.1, no. 7) and generally the older clan history of ancient Lho-brag still remains unknown. A prominent clan of this section of Lho-kha was Shud-phu, but according to the lineage account of the *Shud phu lo rgyus (SL)*, the clan have not settled down in the Lho-brag and Gtam-shul area before the 9th /10th century.

(10b)



10a, b. The “Lho-brag inscription” and the grave field of Skyid-stod in Lho-brag.
Photos: Ngodrop Tsering 2008

11. A grave field in central Gnyal.
Photo: Google Earth 2008

[22.] **Rab-dga/kha** (according to information from locals from Sman-gling, which I received from F. Darragon (Nov. 2008), in the Rab-kha Valley of Sman-gling county (c. at N 29°18'00.87" E 94°16'19.32") there is a larger grave field with the "tombs of the Kong-po rulers" (apparently referring to the so-called Rkong-dkar-po kings).

[23–32] The following sites can only be referred to on the basis of modern satellite photographs (Google Earth 2008, 2009) and the data still need to be examined *in situ*:

[23.] There is a larger grave field in central **Gnyal** (geograph. position: N28°24'43.60" E92°20'51.52"). Some three dozen larger *bang-so* cover an area of c. 380x300m, including a rectangular grave structure of c. 40x30m. With regard to a possible clan-historical connection, this site is primarily to be considered in the dynasty of the Rnyi-ba *rgyal-po* (~*btsad-po*). According to the *Rnyi ba lo rgyus* (cit. in *Text F* of Sørensen and Dolma 2007: 192) it already existed in the pre-imperial time and the Rnyi-ba lineage (*inter alia* known as the line of Sgam-po-pa) also dominated in the imperial time (and later) the area of Gnyal stod-smad-bar-gsum. A branch of the Thon, the line of Thon-mi Sambhota, also belongs to the older lineages of Gnyal; it came from Lug-ra-kha, a small area in the east of the Thon district, Snye-mo county, and at the time of the father, Thon-mi Sngangrags (also Thon-mi A-nu; 'Bring-sto-re A-nu) settled in Sa-bo-ra of Upper Gnyal. The latter is the birthplace of Thon-mi Sambhota, whose father supposedly already served as a minister under *btsan-po* Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (see Rang-sgra 1999). The place however is somewhat distant from the grave field, on the other side of the Gnyal river, and for the identification of the *bang-so* the Rnyi-ba certainly remains the first candidate. It is possible that the residence of Btsan-srong was also in the immediate area of Rnyi-ba, Gzen of Gnyald, where this ill-fated younger son of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan met a violent death – at the instigation of his brother, the later *btsan-po* Srong-btsan Sgam-po (see *supra*, OTA preamble, and "The Tibetan Empire, A Brief Survey").

[24.] In **Snye-mo**, due east of the village of Phu-gsum, a field of four rectangular tombs is to be found, with the two greater ones being of the size of c. 45x45m (geograph. position: N 29°30'02.20" E 90°09'43.52").

[25–32] A number of burial sites can be identified in the area of central '**Phan-yul**, most of them have smaller (round-shaped) tombs. These are two sites NE of Za-dam (25: N 29°55'41.46" E 91°07'09.07"; 26: N29°56'22.91" E 91°07'28.58"), a field of around 100 tombs situated due east of ancient Ngan-po; RCP: 605ff. (some of them are larger, c. 30x30m; 27: N 29°58'30.47" E 91°10'48.29", evidently not identical with the one described in Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231 to be situated "about two miles to the west of Lhun-grub *Rdzong*"), two neighbouring fields around the area of Seng-ge, with the first including c. 150 smaller tombs (28: N29°53'26.84" E 91°08'04.29"; 29: N 29°52'26.67" E 91°08'48.74"), a site of c. 100 tombs (some of them of rectangular structure) situated immediately to the west of Glang-thang (30: N 29°52'56.64" E 91°12'14.74"), and two extensive fields around the area known as Bon-grong (31: N 29°52'14.56" E 91°13'28.73"; 32: N 29°51'44.25" E 91°16'41.11"). A number of clan names are registered for this core section of 'Phan-yul in pre-imperial and imperial times, *inter alia* as the leading lineages of several *dbang-ris* territories. See the following chapter, and Map 4.1.

*

These recently discovered sites sketched out here fit in to what in the meantime has become a long list of known burial sites in central Tibet, of which some are more or less well documented, others have been no more than just seen or registered (cf. Wangdu, Sonam *et al.* 1992; Chayet 1994b; Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004: 41ff.). These are sites in Lower Yar-lung (some of them prehistoric), graves in 'On, in Grva, and Grva-phyi (see Chan 1994: 355f.), several recently discovered sites in Stod-lung and the Skyid-chu region (K. Kaiser, p.c.), sites in 'Phan-yul (cf. no. 27 above), 'Dam-gzhung (cf. Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231–32), several fields in Gtsang (in Pha-drug and also in the Lha-rtse area (§ 6: Mang-dkar). With few exceptions (Richardson 1998 [1963]; P. Wangdu 1994) there has so far not been any attempt to locate the historical context of these sites more precisely. Similar to the examples above, one can here presume a clan-historical connection. Together, these sites mark a political geography where alongside the idea of the center a living regionalism can be discerned. Some of these regional zones had dynastic structures with a certain measure of autonomy (in ideological and socio-economic regard, as we can expect in connection with the realization of these royal-like grave monuments). This diagnosis somewhat corrects our image of the imperial period: there was not just one dynasty of the *spu-rgyal btsan-po* plus some (rebellious) "semi-independent" local regimes in the periphery (see § 5), but regional structures were more wide-ranging; they existed in the innermost zones of the empire and form a significant component of the early state in Tibet.

4. The Eighteen Shares of Power

Notes on MAP 4

The “18 shares of power” (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*) catalogue (*KhG* 186f.) relates to a territorial division of the Tibetan regions into particular domains (clan domains and domains of the *btsan-po*) and district units, and represents a section of the territorial-political organization, which, as *Dungkar* believes, is to be dated to the time of *Srong-btsan Sgam-po* and thereby precedes the organization of the Horn provinces and their sub-districts (*Dungkar* 1860a, b). However, as the second institution of the *bod kyi khos-drug* (in *KhG* 185; § 6) the *khos* of the *yul gyi dbang-ris rnam-pa* is placed after the institution of the “five Horn divisions.” Moreover, in this list the talk is already of *stong-sde* (thousand-districts) and the parallel account of the *yul gyi khod-bshams-pa* (“administrative arrangement of territories”) in *Lde'u* 273f. also mentions the *Sum-pa-ru*, which was only established in the early 8th century. Possibly, these are interpolations or additions from the time of the listing of this *dbang-ris* order, which otherwise in fact appears to relate to an early phase of the territorial division. *Dotson* dates the *dbang-ris* system in *KhG* to the latter half of the 7th cent.; *Dotson*: 2007a: 207, 364–74). Some of the 18 *dbang-ris* include several territories and clan domains, which are marked on the map with “a, b, c.” The spelling variants of the *yul gyi khod-bshams-pa* are in brackets.

1 Dbu-ru shod-chen (var. *Dbu-ru sha-chen*[?]): territory of the *btsan-po mnga'-bdag* (The “great lower tract of *Dbu-ru*” includes the *Lhasa Valley* (cf. *KhG* 177), and more generally appears to refer to the *Skyid-shod* region, although this zone is registered as the dominion of particular clans, mainly the *Dbas*’; see § 7.2)

2 Pho-brang Sne-che (*Pho-brang Rne-byi*): *yul* of the emperor and the royal subjects (The Identification of *Sne-che* is unclear (the form *Rne-byi* is evidently corrupt). One may think here of one of the great *Sne / Ne'u* places of the central Tibetan history, such as *Sne'u* in *Skyid-smad*, or *Sne-gdong* of *Lower Yar-lung* where reportedly a stronghold of the *Yar-lung rgyal-po* already existed in pre-imperial times (i.e. the *sku-khar* at *Zo-dang-ri*; *TF*: 229; above § 3.1: *Yar*). Less likely *Sne-che* = *Sna-chen*, the latter *inter alia* the name of a village (and *shang*) east of *Lhasa* (*XD* 11b). As noted by *Dotson* (2007a: 368), nos. 1 and 2 have a parallel in the “three *stong-sde* for the affairs of the king and its entourage” listed in *Rgyal po bka' thang* (*GK* 184.18) as the first three *stong-sde* of the “18 *stong-sde*” of *Tibet*)

3 Yar-lung Sogs-kha: territory of the *Khu* and *Gnyags* lineages (i.e. *Yar-lung* (§ 3.1); cf. also the *rje-dpon-tshan* list of *Lde'u* 374 where *Khu* and *Snyags* are listed as the clan leaders of the local rule of *Yar-lung-stod*)

4 Ya[r]-'brog Gangs-khyim: *yul* of the *Ku-rings sde-lnga* (Five Divisions of the *Ku-rings* [people?]) (Placed here at the level of *Sna-dkar-rtse*)

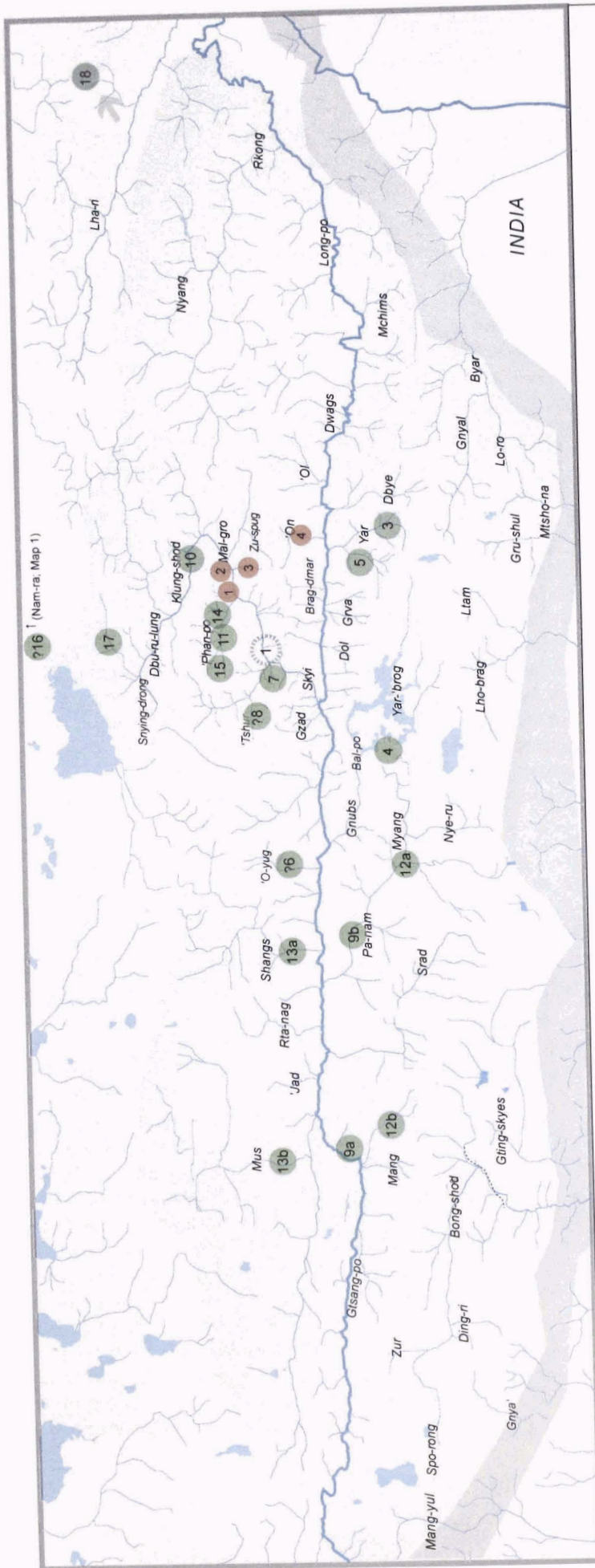
5 'Ching-nga 'Ching-yul: *yul* of the *Mgos* and *Snubs* (i.e. *Phying-ba*; on *Snubs*, see § 3.1; for *Mgos*, see § 6: *Ru-lag*)

?6 Bya-'ug sa-tshigs: territory of the *Drang-rje pha-lnga* (A *Bya-'ug* is in *Shangs* (Map 7.5), the latter itself registered as one of the *dbang-ris* (no. 13); *Bya-'ug/zug* is the name of an (still unidentified) 8th-cent. temple, founded by *Mchims Mdo-bzher spre*[1]-chung (*Sørensen* 1994: 388). The land of the five fathers / paternal lineages descending from [the *ma sang*] *Drang-rje* [?] possibly refers to 'O-yug; *TF*: 224. For other options, see *Dotson* 2007a: 373)

7 Brad [= *Brang*] and **Gzhong-pa**: *yul* of the *Sna-nam* lineage (In *Lower Stod-lung*; in the classification of the most prominent lineages, the *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi*, the *Sna-nam* is described as the lineage of the central region; *KhG* 189.7–9: “The 'Bro in the West [see below], the *Mchims* in the East [see § 3.2], the *Sna-nam* in the middle [of central Tibet] and the minister *Sbas* [§ 7.2] are the *zhang-gsum blon dang bzhi* [‘three *zhang*, four with the minister’], who exercised the functions of the *sku-zhang* and of the *blon-chen*” (cf. *Uray* 1972a: 20; note that the *Sbas* (*Dbas*’s) represents one of “four *blon chen*” and the compound of *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi* can also be read as “three *zhang* plus four (great) councillors” as can be drawn from *Jo sras* 112.4–5 where after the three *zhang* the *Khu*, 'Gar, *Sba* and 'Gos are listed as the *blon-bzhi* clans). Within central *Dbus* the *Sna-nam* had (at least from the 8th cent.) also territorial links in *Upper Dbu-ru* and in certain areas of central *Lho-kha*, such as in *Grva* or 'On. In *Gtsang* the *Sna-nam* are registered already for the pre-imperial times, namely as one of the two leading clans in the district which later became known as *Pa-nam* (= the *yul* of the *Pa*[-tshab] and [*Sna*]-nam lineages); *RCP*: 407. Cf. also *Everding* 2008: 74)

?8 Brag-rum stod smad: *yul* of the *Tshes-pong* lineage (Location uncertain. A possible candidate is the area around the *Stod-lung Lcang-bu* temple where the *Tshes-pong* had estates during the imperial period (*Richardson* 1985: 92; § 7: *Lcang-bu*). A *Brag-rum Gnas-gsar* is registered among the early *phyi dar* temples of *Dbus* (*RCP*: 665), likely the re-occupation of the 8th-cent. *Brag-rum Dngul-ma* [of *Stod-lung*?], founded by a member of the *Tshes-pong* (*MTP* 115). The same lineage is also associated with the areas of 'On and *Yar-lung*)

9a,b Gtsang-stod, Gtsang-smad: territory of the 'Bro and *Khyung-po* lineages (The entry on the map follows the situation of the later Horn division of *Gtsang* where the 'Bro were the leading lineage of *Upper Ru-lag* (9a), and the *Khyung-po*



MAP 4:
The Eighteen Shares of Power.

Sigla: ● = the sites of the *dbang ris bco brgyad* ● = territories granted by Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan to his four allies

the dominant lineage of Lower Ru-lag (see § 3.2) as well as of Upper G.yas-ru (9b = Lower Myang). The place of origin of the 'Bro in western Gtsang appears to have been in the area of Byang La-stod; see *GBY* 307–10; Bellezza 2005: 60)

10 Klung-shod Nam-po: territory of the 'Dru and Phyugs-mtshams {In the Klung-shod area of Dbu-ru}

11 'Phan-yul stong-sde: territory of the Sgro and Rma (var. 'Phan-sna Khram-sna, *yul* [of the people] of 'Dzom-steng [?]) {In 'Phan-yul the home estates of the Rma lineage was the area around the later Glang-thang temple and the *sde-pa* seat of Mkhar-rtse (*RTN*: 301; *RCP*: 605). The district thus may refer to the central part of 'Phan-po; Map 4.1}

12a,b Nyang-ro [and] Grom-pa: *yul* of the 'Bre and Lce lineage (i.e. the areas around Rgyal-rtse (= the dominion of the 'Bre; § 3.2) and of Grom-pa-lung in Gtsang. The Lce, the lineage behind the later Zhva-lu, had settlements in Myang-ro from the early 9th cent., and some generations earlier it is *inter alia* registered for Yar-lung and [Gtsang] La-stod. See *ZL* (transl. in Tucci 1949: 656ff.); cf. also Everding 2008)

13a,b Shangs and Gle: *yul* of the Phyi-ri and Gle clans {*Lde'u* has "Blo (= Gle) of Shangs, the *yul* of the Byi-ri and Blo-byi" (?). The toponym Gle (also known as a clan name of western Tibet; Everding 2000: 258) refers to the Gle-lung (Gle-ba) of Upper Mus, NE of Ngam-ring (Map 6a). Later (from the 12th cent.), the area became a settlement of the Gnyags-ston-pa line, descendants of the Gnyags people who have settled in the Mdog area since the time of Dpal-'khor-btsan. *GD* 97; Everding 2006a: 26; see also above § 3.2-2}

14 Yung-ba che chung: *yul* of the Bran-ka lineage {Great and Small Yung-ba is to be located in Lower 'Phan-yul (§ 3.1: Ngas-po). A tomb in Klu-rgyal-sgang of Brgya-grong *shang* south of 'Phan-po township is (locally) identified as the grave of Bran-ka Dpal gyi yon-tan (M. Akester, p.c.), the minister of the Bran-kha lineage who was buried in his homeland. It thus can be assumed that the Yung-ba-che once covered a greater section of this part of 'Phan-yul; Map 4.1}

15 Zha (= Za) Gad-Sde *gsum* (var. Za Gad Lte-lung): territory of [the lineage of] *blon-po* (~*blon-chen*) Sbas (= the lineage of Dba's Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re) {*Sde* / Lte-lung perhaps refers to the not closer identified Dbu-ru *stong-sde* of Sde-mtshams (~*Ste*-jam). Otherwise, the form Za-gad *sde-gsum* may also be read as "three divisions (or regiments; *sde-gsum*) of the Za-gad territory." This is the area between Gad-po and Za-dam in western 'Phan-yul, which borders on the "body guard" district of Ngan-lam (*RCP*: 602ff.; below Map 4.1). In the 10th century the *rje-dpon-tshan* of 'Phan-yul Za-gad [Stag-pa] was established (Stag-pa: probably the valley of the Stag-mgo-chu); *KhG* 432; *Lde'u* 374; Hazod, *forthcoming*)

?**16 Nam-ra Chag-gong:** territory of the 'Bring (var. Nam-ra Tsha-dgong): 'Bri and Chag lineages {*Dungkar* 1207 reads it as two place names: Nam-ra of (western) Nag-chu

(the toponym is apparently related to the Nam-ra *yul-lha* close to Bar-tha (*XD* 379b; Bellezza, p.c.; Map 2) – not identical with the Gnam-ru; § 6) and the Chag of 'Phan-yul (= the area around the Chag-la?). On the other hand, 'Bri[ng] is arguably related to the "border area of the 'Bring" ('Bring-mtshams), a *stong-sde* of Dbu-ru; perhaps akin to 'Bri-lam, which however is situated south of Gnam-mtsho (Map 6b). Chag (Chags-pa, Phyang-pa) is also known as a clan of western Tibet (registered as a dominant lineage in the area of Mtsho-chen County; Bellezza 2008, s.v.)

17 'Dam-shod [and?] Dkar-mo: territory of the Phya and Rva lineage (*Lde'u*: *yul* of the Lcog-ro) {In the 'Dam-gzhung area. For the Rva and Ph[v]ya lineages in central Tibet, see e.g. *RCP*, s.v.}

18 Mdo-khams and Mdo-chen: area of the *rgod stong-sde brgyad*, "eight military chieftaincies" {In *Lde'u* it is specified as the *yul* of the supplementary Horn of Sum-pa; see § 2.}

Further entries on the Map:

The territories which the founder king Khri Slon-mtshan (Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan) granted to his four principal allies after the conquest of Ngas-po (§ 3). See *TDD* 207:

1 Mkhar Sdur-ba plus 1500 families > Tseng-sku of the Myang lineage {For Sdur-ba, see § 3.1: Ngas-po; § 3.2, § 7.2. In PT 1287 (*TDD* 209.21–22), Tseng-sku is also mentioned in connection with Khur-ra, apparently a place somewhere along the Skyid-chu in upper Skyid-shod}

2 Za-gad plus 1500 families from Mal-tro > Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re of the Dba's clan {Za-gad = Za-gad *dbang-ris*; it is the Za-gad of Ngas-po which once belonged to the Gshen Khri-bzher 'Don-kong, the killer of Dbyi-tshab's brother Dba's Bshod-to-re Khru-gu (*TDD* 205), and which then the Dba's received as a reward from Khri Slon-mtshan for his role in the defeat of Zing-po-rje. The territory of the Dba's minister geographically thus comprised two different units, in 'Phan-po and Mal-gro. The Mal-gro part more precisely may refer to Klum-ro where the actual Dba's home land is to be located (§ 7.2) and which is also mentioned by name in connection with Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re (*TDD* 209.19–20)}

3 Mnon plus 1500 families [from Mnon and adjacent areas in Skyid-shod] > 'Dron-po of the Mnon lineage {Mnon corresponds to Rgya-ma in Mal-gro, where Khri Slon-mtshan had established the residence of Sbra-stod-tshal, a.k.a. Yarnon (= "Snon[, the branch seat] of the Yar]-lung-pa"?) Sbra-stod-tshal, corresponding to Byams-pa Mi-gyur-gling of the later sources. The valley of Snon south of Gsang-phu in Skyid-smad may similarly be related to the Mnon lineage (it later provided the sub-commander of Dbu-ru-stod, and is i.a. listed among the "seven athletic ministers"; *Lde'u* 299)}

4 Smon-mkhar in 'On plus 300 families > Nag-seng of the Tshes-pong clan (i.e. the clan of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's mother; see also Brag-rum)



MAP 4.1:
Four Phan-yul districts of the *dbang-ris bco-brgyad* period (red circle = the grave fields nos. 12 and 25–32 of § 3.2)

5. The Borders and Centers of the Four Horns

Notes on MAP 5

Sources: *KhG* 186.11–22; *Jo sras* 111.4–14; *Lde'u* 272.9–273.2; *Bshad mdzod* (Smith 2001: 222); Migmar 68–72; *Dungkar*, s.v. index; Riawang 14–15; *TF* 43f.; Dotson 2007a). At the earliest, the details given in *Lde'u* and *KhG* relate to the period from early/middle of the 8th century (after the foundation of Ra-mo-che), *Jo sras* represents an earlier tradition (Dotson 2007a: 105, *et passim*; below § 6).

DBU-RU

E: 'Ol-kha'i Shug-pa Spun-bdun (Shug-pa Spun-bdun is unidentified; we assume it refers to a mountain in Upper or northern 'Ol-kha and the district itself was part of G.yo-ru)

S: Rma (~ Dma)-la-la-brgyud (*Bshad mdzod* [Smith 2001: 324]; Dkar-la (= [Rgod-] dkar-la) {It is the Rgod-dkar-la-brgyud between Skyid-shod and Ngam-shod; *RCP*: 17ff.}

W: Snye-mo Gzhu {This border area became later known as Ru-mtshams, the zone where the borders of Dbu-ru and G.yas-ru meet (cf. Ru-mtshams Gzhu-snye listed among the *rje-dpon-mtshan*; *KhG* 432). In the imperial period, Snye-mo was part of G.yas-ru, at least after the territorial reorganization of 744 (see § 6), now a days it belongs to Dbus. Formulations in later sources such as "Snye-mda' (Lower Snye-mo) of Dbu-ru-smad" (*RCP*: 677) apparently refer to an older territorial situation, or Dbu-ru here means Dbus}

N: Prag[s](~ Srag) kyi Glang-ma gur-phub (*Bshad mdzod* has Smri-ti-mig (= the source of the Smri-ti chu-nag?) [Prag[s] is most likely the Sprag-lung (~ Brag-lung, also Dbu-ru Sprag) registered as an estate of the early Stag-lung-pa (Hazod, *forthcoming*; *TN* 52) and is the Sprakha or the Brag-lung, both registered as part of the Dbu-ma-thang district of 'Dam-gzhung County. In Sato 1978, Glang-ma gur-phub is placed NW of Gnam-mtsho (?)}

Center: Lha-sa Ra-mo-che (*Jo sras*: Lha-sa 'Phrul-snang)

Upper Dbu-ru = the northern half of the Horn

Lower Dbu-ru = the southern part {Later sources give the site of Mtha'-rgyas in Skyid-shod as the border between Upper and Lower Dbu-ru; *TF* 91}

G.YO-RU

E: Kong-yul Bre-sna (§ 3)

S: Sha-'ug Stag-sgo {In mTsho-na}

W: Kha-rag spyi-stud (~ Kha-rag Gangs-rtse) {The border district of Kha-rag, *RCP*: 431, *passim*}

N: Rma-la-la-rgyud {See above}

Center: Yar-lung Khra-'brug [*TF*, *passim*]

Upper G.yo-ru = the western half of the Horn

Lower G.yo-ru = the eastern part {See *TF*: 230. The border between the two *ru* halves have to be placed to the east of

G.ye-yul as the latter is mentioned as part of Upper G.yo-ru. *Bshad mdzod* (Smith, *op. cit.*, 324, fn. 737) has: Rkong Lha-nag-po (E); Rma-la (N); Kha-rag Byi-stod (W); Sha-'ug Rta-sgo (S). The same text gives the division into a northern and southern G.yu-ru, each further divided into upper, middle and lower sections. Northern G.yu-ru: Stod (= Gr[v]a, Dol, Gzhung); Bar (= E, Dmyal, Yar); Smad (= Byar, Dags, Rkong). Southern G.yu-ru: Stod (= Byar, D[v]jags, Rgang (read: Rkong); Bar (= Gtam-shul, Gru-shul, Chu-shul (?)); Smad (= Lo-ro lung-gsum)

G.YAS-RU

E: Brags (~Sprags) kyi Glang-ma gur-phub (= northern border of Dbu-ru (*sic*); *Bzhad bdzod* [Smith 2001: 324] defines the G.yas-ru boundaries as upward (= westward) from Chumtshams Bzang gi Sogs-pa-ri and downward (= eastward) from La-stod Bye-ma-la g.yung-drung (see below). I suspect that Chumtshams, the eastern border, refers to Ru-mtshams and Bzang is to be read as Gzad, the adjacent district where the Sogs-pa-ri is to be located; *RCP*: 121}

S: Snye-nam G.yag-po-sna (~ Gnya'-ni G.yag-po'i sna) {This border site is apparently not the Gnya'-nang, the border district south of Ding-ri (Chapel 1989: 105; Migmar 71). A Snye-nam is listed among the Ru-lag *yul-sde*}

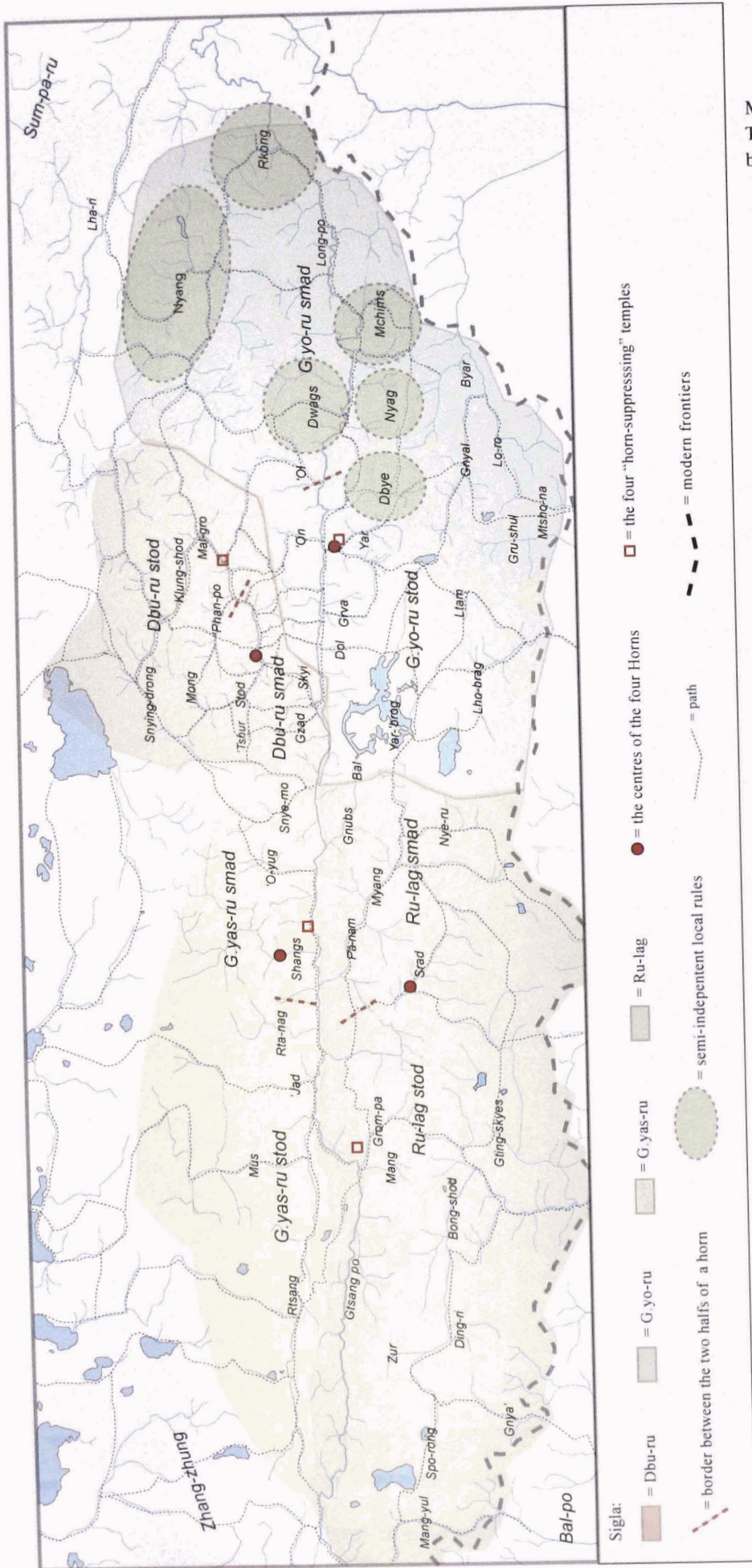
W: Bye-ma la-dgu (*Bshad mdzod*: La[s]-stod (= La-stod Byang) Bye-ma-la g.yung-drung (evidently related to the Bon-po *gter ma* site of Gtsang-stod Bye-ma g.yung-drung; cf. e.g. Karmay 1972: 96); *Jo sras*: Gtsang-la Ma-dgu {Chapel 1989: 105: Bye-ma-la mountain in Ngam-ring County). Exact location uncertain. In Sato 1978, the Bye-ma-la is placed in the area due north-west of Zhang-zang. It may be related to the mountain Rtsang-la Bye'u (above § 3.1: Rtsang)

N: Rmi-sti chu-nag (~ Smri-ti chu-nag) {It appears to be misplaced here (but see below); Smri-ti River denotes according to *Bshad mdzod* the northern border of Dbu-ru}

Center: Gzhong-pa-tshal of Shangs (var. Zhong-zhong; Zho-zhe-tshal) {In Rnam-gling County; cf. e.g. *Tshig mdzod* 2620; more precisely it refers to the valley section of Zhong-zhong in Upper Shangs, locally known as the area where Khyung-po Rnal-'byor founded the Zhong-zhong dgon-pa, the mother-seat of the Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa; Map 7.5}

Upper G.yas-ru = the western half of the Horn

Lower G.yas-ru = the eastern half {Of all the Horns G.yas-ru is the one that it is most difficult to locate precisely, both with regard to the borders and the situation of the individual districts. A possible explanation for the disaccord concerning the definitions of the western border of Dbu-ru and eastern border of G.yas-ru (and for the somewhat strange position of



MAP 5:
The four Horns of Tibet:
borders and centers.

the latter's northern border) could be the circumstance that the present catalogue represents a mélange of two traditions, referring to the system before and after the territorial reorganization of 744 where several districts of (former) Dbu-ru were transferred to the Right Horn (see below § 6; Table 1). The northern border in Maps 2, 5, 6 follows the course of the present-day northern province border of Gtsang, and Gzhu Snye-mo (the "Ru-mtshams") is indicated as the border between Dbu-ru and G.yas-ru. The western part of G.yas-ru largely corresponds to the area known as Byang (La-stod Byang; Byang La-stod), although the exact borders to Ru-lag remain here somewhat unclear. According to our identification, the Ru-lag thousand-district of Khri-bom lies to the north of the Gtsang-po, in the area around Glang-mtsho (Map 6.1a) which arguably was part of La-stod Byang (also known as "G.yas-ru Byang;" cf. e.g. STEARNS 2007: 544; *GK, passim*). Possibly one or another section that is here marked as part of G.yas-ru belonged to Ru-lag. Thus the present day Lha-rtse County, earlier a core district of Ru-lag, extends to the north beyond the Gtsang-po, a situation that perhaps reflects older historico-geographical circumstances. Similarly vague is the border of the two G.yas-ru halves. We assume that, similar to the details of the other Horns, the first four *stong-sde* were in the upper half (= here the western half) and the succeeding *stong-sde* mentioned were in the lower half. This division is also supported by the details on the Horn commanders, according to which the *stong-sde* nos. 7 and 8 were also under the lineage of the *ru-dpon* of Lower G.yas-ru (i.e. the Mgos). Likewise, the *stong-sde* nos. 5 and 6 are registered as the thousand-districts dominated by the Langs (Rlangs), the lineage where the Lower Right Horn's subcommander hailed from, i.e. Lang[s]-pa Mgon-ne/bu. Note that Shangs is given as part of eastern G.yas-ru (*ZL* 15b.)

RU-LAG

Established in the first half of the 8th cent.; before, the *OTA* speak of Gtsang-chen which is geographically not identical with the later Supplementary or Branch Horn; it rather means a section in Gtsang, presumably the area around the four *stong-sde* of Ru-lag-stod.

E: Ne-na-bkra (*Jo sras:* 'Dzam Ne-na-tra; *KhG:* 'Jam Ne-bkra) (It is to be located at the border between Yar-'brog and Myang-stod; Migmar 70)

S: Bal-po Glang-dgur (~ sna) [Chapel 1989: 105: at the Tibet–Nepal (Bal-po) border]

W: Khen-mag-mig (*KhG, Jo sras:* La-kcm/n G.yag-mig) [Migmar (*op. cit.*) locates it at the border between Ding-ri and Skyid-rong *rdzong*; but note that the *yul-sde* list of Ru-lag also includes Myang-yul [Gung-thang] (Mnga'-ris-smad) which would suggest a western extension of Ru-lag approximately up to Sa-dga' (cf. also the Ru-lag *bon po* 'du gnas Lha-yul Gung-thang). Ribang 15 thinks that the Ru-lag included also the area of Sa-dga' and 'Brong-pa]

N: Bye-ma sa/la-sngon (= western border of G.yas-ru)

Center: Sprad kyi Ngur-pa-sna (*KhG:* Brad kyi Dur-ba-sna; *Jo sras:* Srid kyi Dur-ba-sna) (Sprad = Srad, the valley and district to the west of Sa-skya (*XD* 376a: 28°53'N 88°44'E). A Dur-pa-sna is unknown in Srad. It may correspond to the site of later Srad *rdzong* in central Srad, where a village "Dobä" is located. A Ba-dur is in western Srad)

Upper Ru-lag = the western half of the Horn (= approximately the (later) La-stod Lho, i.e. the region from Sa-skya (also given as Gtsang La-stod Grom-pa Sa-skya) in the east up to Mang-yul in the west (cf. Everding *et al.* 2006: 27)

Lower Ru-lag = the eastern part of the Horn

Further entries on the Map:

• The Four Ru-gnon or Horn suppressing temples:

Dbu-ru Ka-tshal (loc. at 29°51'N 91°44'E; *XD* 36)

G.yas-ru Gtsang-'gram (loc. at 29°30'47,8"N 89°85'30,0"E)

G.yo-ru Khra-'brug (loc. at 29°11'531'N 91°46'341"E)

Ru-lag Gram-pa Rgyang (loc. at 29°08'03,9"N 87°44'58,7')

{See *TF:* 50ff. Note: Gtsang-'gram possibly corresponds to 'Grams-tsha ('Grangs-rtsang), the *stong-sde* which originally (= *ante* 744) was part of Dbu-ru (§ 6). It would lead to the conclusion that the (post-dynastic) classification of the four Ru-gnon temples refer to a situation after the 740s)

• The "Semi-independent" Rules (see also Map 6c)

It relates to the territories in eastern central Tibet (Map 3.1) that are described in *OTC* (PT 1287: *DTH* 111.3–4) as rebellious local rules, and following Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan's (violent) death were (again) pacified by his successor (Srongs-btsan Sgam-po). These regional vassal rules were later repeatedly able to maintain a certain extent of autonomy, in the case of Rkong-po laying claim to special status, namely with the reference to the close ancestral relationship with the Spu-rgyal line (Uray 1988b; Uebach 1985b; Yamaguchi 1992; see also above § 3.2).

After the *gnyen* (affinal relatives) **Zhang-zhung** and the *mdzo* (mixed) **Sum-pa** (§ 2), it lists:

Nyag-nyi (see Rngegs, § 3.1)

Dags-po

Rkong-po

Myang-po (i.e. Nyang-po of eastern central Tibet)

Marked on the map are also the territories of **Dbye** (G.ye-yul), **Mchims**, and **Spo-bo**, which in the imperial time preserved or further developed a similar distinct status of regional dynasties. For details see § 3.1; 3.2. (Of this group, G.ye-yul and Spo-bo later (from the 17th cent.) experienced a particular renaissance in which the succeeding ruling houses of the Lha Rgya-ri-pa of G.ye and the Ka-nam *sde-pa* of Spo-bo were accorded special privileges by the Dga'-ldan pho-brang government owing to their supposed linear relationship with the old royal house).

6. The Districts of the Four Horns

Notes on MAP 6a-c

Based on *Lde'u* 256–261; the details of the comparative sources (*KhG* 187; *BK* 437–70; *GK* 185; *TLTD* 417ff.; *Jo sras* 110.11–111.5; *MTP* [= Uebach 1987: 50ff.]) are given in parenthesis and summarized in Tables 1–2. Beyond, there are numerous references on the *stong-sde* system found in various sources, and as recently demonstrated by Dotson (2007a: 207), at least four traditions of *stong-sde* can be differentiated, with the earliest to be dated before 702 A.D. (= the date when the Sum-pa-ru have been established, § 2). Of the classical catalogues, the versions of *MTP* and *Jo sras* reflect a situation before the territorial reorganization of 744 (Uebach 1985a), whereas the lists in *Lde'u* and *KhG* are to be dated between 744 and 763; the details in *BK* represent a mixture of these two traditions. The catalogues of the administrative districts of Ru-bzhi are only preserved in *Lde'u* and *GK*, although the two apparently describe different periods of the 8th century (Dotson 2007a: 153f.). Apart from the names of the individual districts, the sources provide several details and distinctions of the individual Horns (names of the commander (*ru-dpon*) and sub-commander (*dpa'-zla*; *ru-sgab*) and their lineages, characteristics of the Horn horse (*ru-rta*), Horn banner (*ru-rta*), Horn insignia, army metaphor (*dmag-bzhed*)) which here are restricted to the mentioning of the names of the Ru commanders and the ruling lineages of the individual districts (for details, see Dotson 2007a).

DBU-RU

I. The *stong-sde* or military thousand-districts

?1 Dor-ste(~sde) – (*BK*: no. 5) {Uebach 1987: 50 (fn. 129) refers to the 'Bri-khung Rdo-them (of the Zho-rong Valley) which is mentioned in *DMS* [Tucci 1971: 241] as the (eastern) border of the territory that was under the jurisdiction of the Phag-gru governor seat of Snel-pa in the 16th cent. (*RCP*: 761). It is possibly identical with the Mdo-stod listed together with 'Phan-yul and Klung-shod as one of three branch settlements of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* in northern Dbu-ru (*KhG* 433.20). A less likely location is Dog-sde in the Lhasa Valley. The small district is rather to be counted as part of the (upper) Skyi thousand-district. Also feasible: Dor-sde = "regiment of the Dor-po", a tribal group of eastern Tibet (Richardson 1998 [1990b]: 167) who perhaps had settlements in Upper Dbus}

?2 Sde-mtshams (~Ste-'jam; Ste-'Dzom; *BK*: Ste-'Jom/'Jem, no. 6; *MTP*: Stong-'jim) {Identification unclear; perhaps identical with the Lte-lung (Sde) mentioned in the list of the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* in tandem with the Za-gad district of 'Phan-yul; § 4. Sato 1978 has it SW of Nag-chu}

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: Sma(~Rma) and Ska-ba (§ 4)

3 Phyug-[m]tshams (~ Chugs-'tshams) {It corresponds to the *yul* of the 'Dru and Phyug-tshams which arguably is to be located in the Klung-shod/Upper Skyi-chu region (§ 4). The districts nos. 1–3 are mentioned in PT 1287 where it says that they were granted a tiger emblem as "badge of heroism" during the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (*TDD* 217.6–7; it is linked to the establishment of the "eastern division of heroes" in the 760s; Dotson: 2007a: 387f.). They apparently refer to neighboring districts, probably to be situated between Zho-rong and Gcong-pa in Byang}

4 'Grangs-'tshams (var.: 'Brang-mtshams, 'Grams-tsha, Grang-brtsan) {In *Lde'u* it is listed with Nyen-kar as part of G.yas-ru (see below), in *Jo sras* and *MTP* the two are registered as part of Dbu-ru. Sato 1978 has it NE of Shangs}

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Phyug-/mtshams {The clan (var. Phyug-tshang) is also registered for western Tibet (Bellezza 2008; Gyalbo 2005: 278) and people from Phyug-mtshams constituted the "eastern division of heroes;" see above}

5 Gcong-pa (var.: Bcom-pa; in *MTP* and *BK* listed together with Zom-steng, a district which in *KhG* is listed as part of G.yas-ru) {Bcom-pa evidently is the Bcom-pa/Bcom-mdo in the Rva-sgreng Valley in Byang of Lhun-grub County}

?6 'Bring-'tshams (*BK*: no. 1–2; *Jo sras*: 'Bri-te, no. 4) {It refers to the 'Bring clan whose land was Nam-ra (§ 4) and apparently was also related to the 'Bri[ng]-mtshams of Ru-lag. The catalogue lists the Cog-ro as the lineage of this *stong-sde* (see below), who in the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* is mentioned in connection with 'Dam-shod (see § 4; cf. *RN* 55: Cog-ro 'Bri-mtshams). *Jo sras* lists as nos. 5 and 6: Co-la (= Cog-la) and Zo-stengs; *MTP*: Bcom-pa (no. 7) and Gzo-steng, no. 8} **Lineage** of nos. 5 and 6: Cog-ro {A burial site of this clan is reported to be in the 'Gre area, north of Rva-sgreng in Byang; see Roesler 2007: 130}

7 Kyi-stod {It largely corresponds to the later Skyid-shod *stod*, i.e. between Mal-gro and Lhasa; *RCP*: 17ff.}

8 Kyi-smad (= Skyid-chu region south of Lhasa)

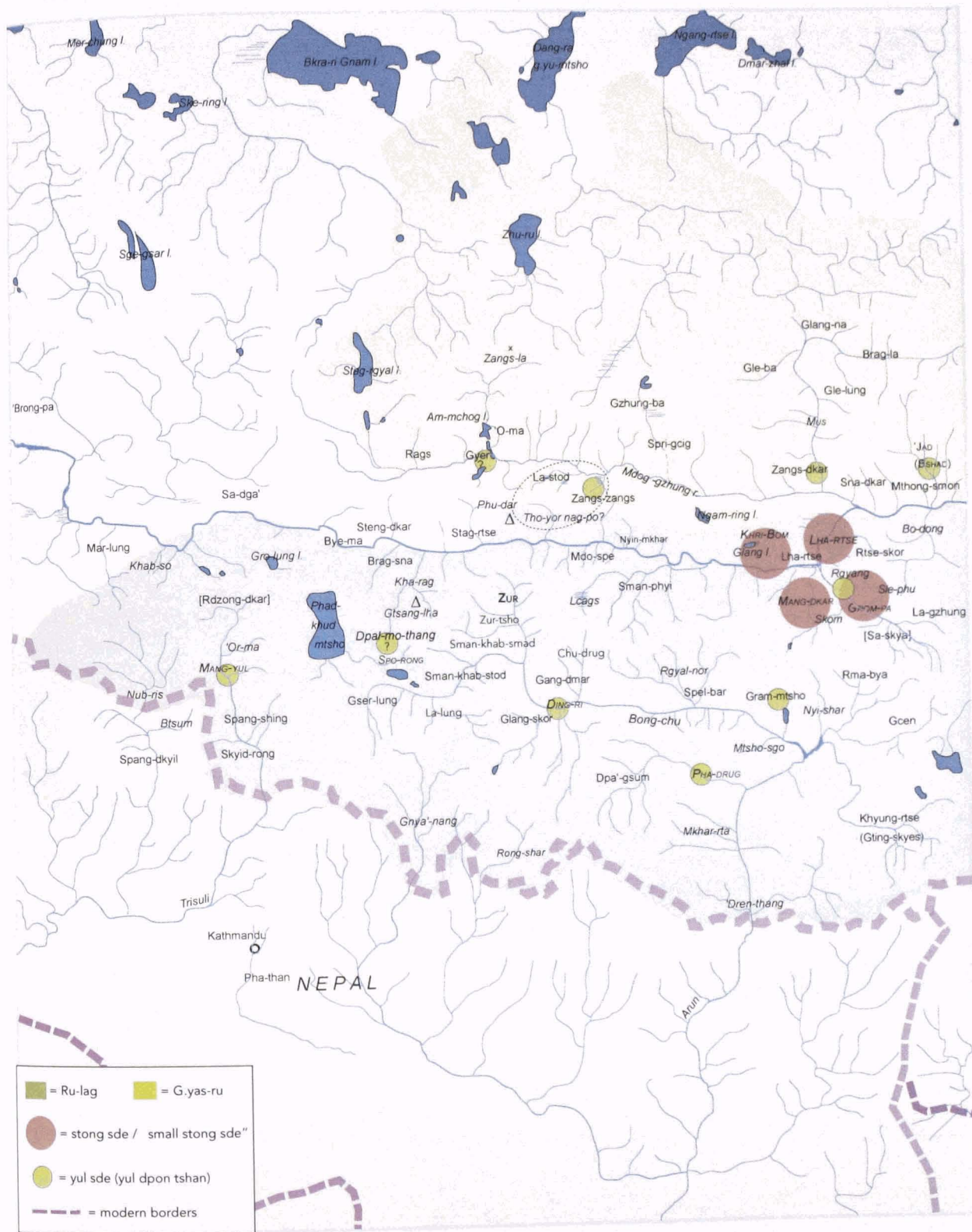
Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Sbas (Dba's; see § 7.2)

9 Yel-rab (var. Yel-zhab, Spel-zhabs = the *stong bu-chung*) {Arguably the ancient *yul* of Yel-rab sde-bzhi, § 4}

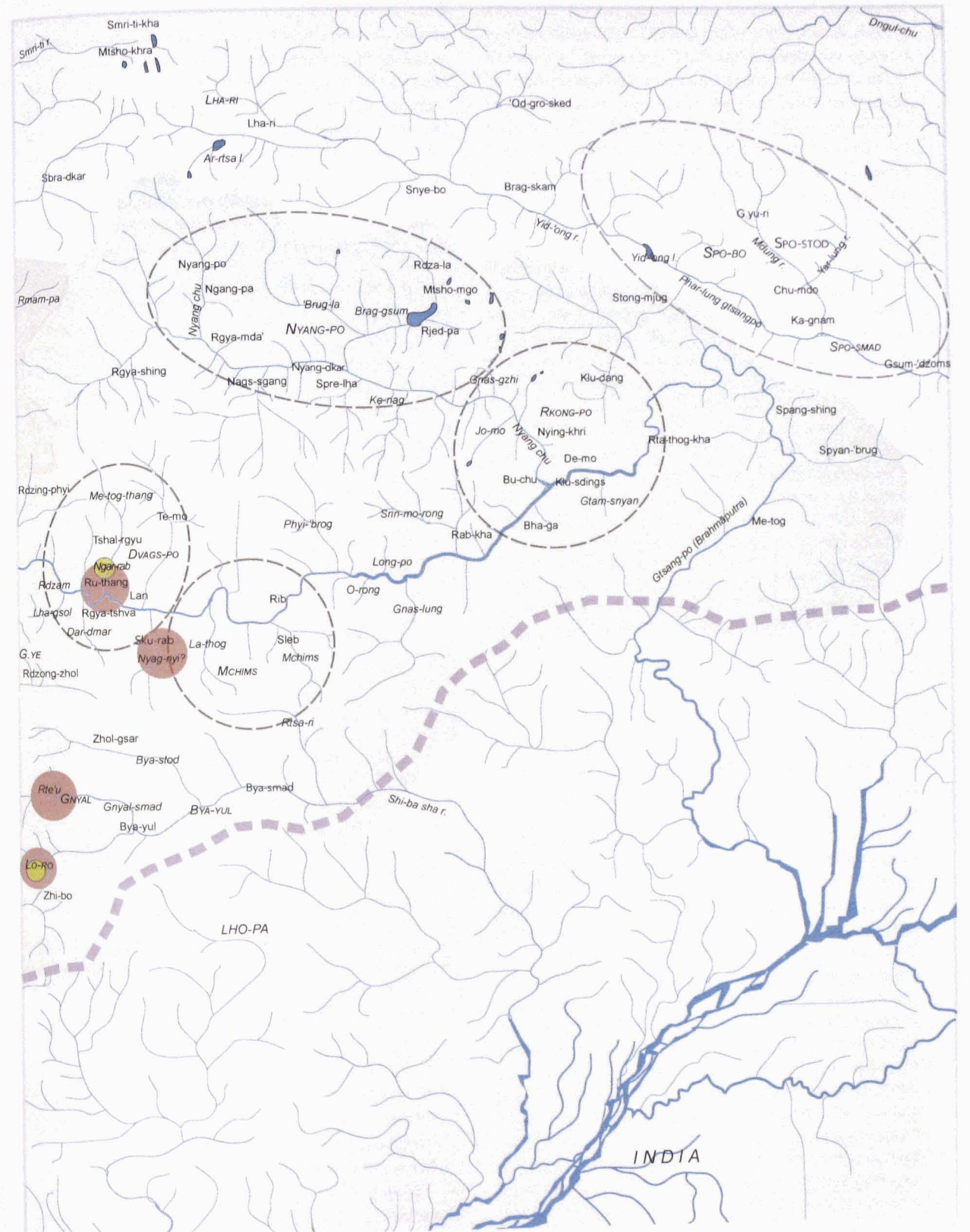
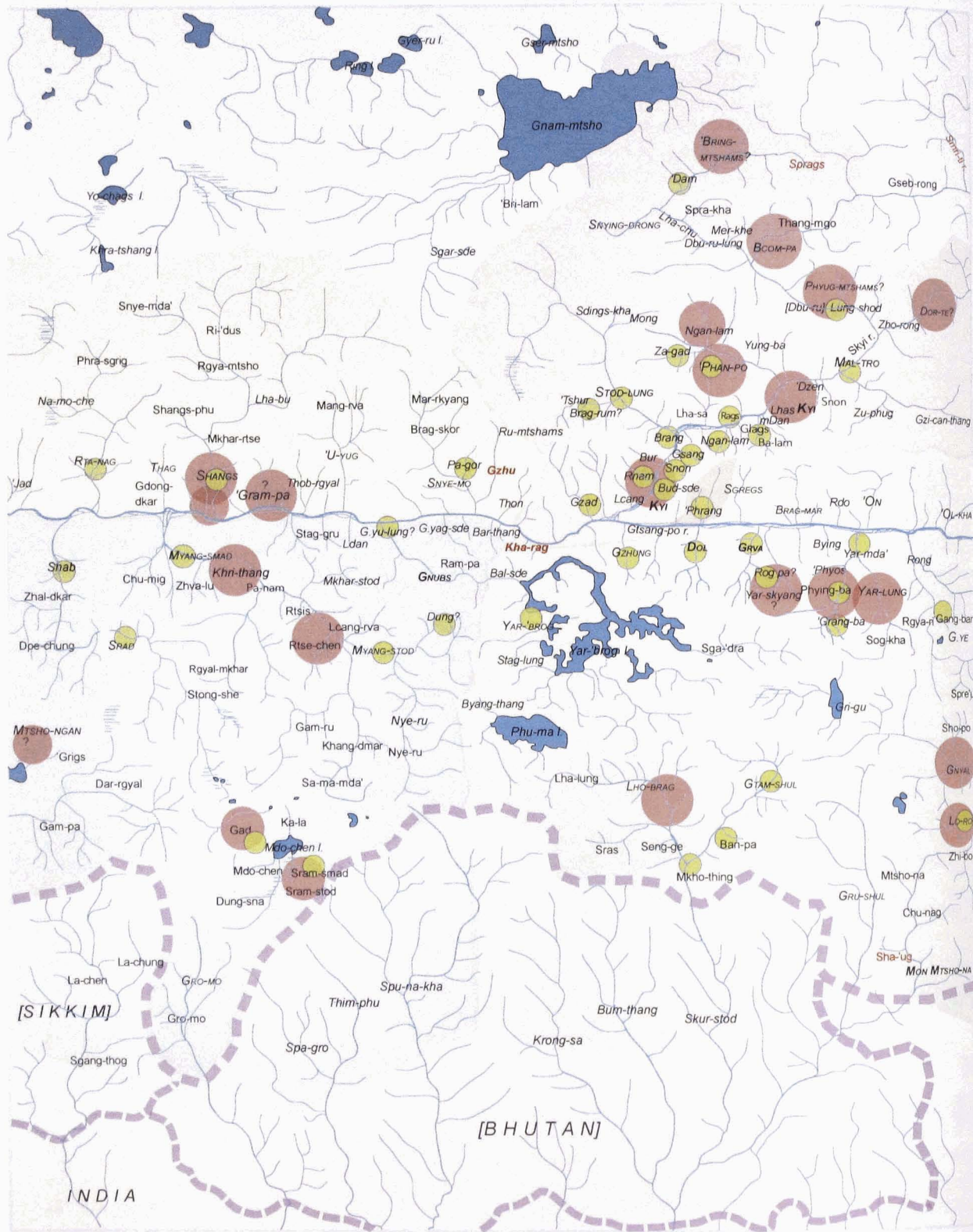
Lineage of no. 9: Bran-ka (*BK*) {It was the lineage which was allocated the Yung-ba *yul* as *dbang-ris* (§ 4)}

10 Sku-srung Shar-phyogs (The *sku-srung stong-sde* (body guard division in the East (*sic*), read: *byang phyogs*) {The Zhol inscription mentions the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul as the representative lineage for the body-guards of the king (Map 4.1). One source (*BD* 3a, in *CFS*: 29) specifies the Khyi clan (§ 3.1: Kyi) as a *sku-srung* lineage [of Dbu-ru?]. The establishment of royal guards has its parallel in the formulation ment-

Imperial Central Tibet



MAP 6a-c: The districts of the four Horns.



tioned elsewhere in the *Section of Law and State (SL)* which says that the “six clans of paternal subjects (*yab-'bangs rus-drug*) took care of the ruler’s body.” This group (often given in the form of three pairs of clans) chronologically appear for the first time in the context of the arrival of the mythical ancestor (Gnya'-khri btsan-po), although the various lists are not uniform with regard to the names. Another *rus-drug* group in the *SL* is the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug*, “group of the six *btsan* clans,” in which the Ngan-lam also appears (*Jo sras* 112.3). These groups of six are historically in a more or less close connection with the *rje* and clan groupings such as the “nine paternal subjects of Bod” (*bod [yab]-'bangs pha-dgu*, apparently corresponding to the group of the *rje-dgu* or *srid-dgu*) – a symbolic number of the lords of the *rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis* subject to the *btsan-po* (§ 3.1) from whose lineages (*rje-rus* and *blon-rus*) the greater part of the officials and military posts were drawn. Whether the leadership of the *sku-srung* was limited to particular clans is rather unlikely; from a later source (cit. in Vitali 2007: 1036) we learn that the *sku-srung* lineages apparently alternated, or were selected afresh by each *btsan-po*. It is also not quite clear whether the recruiting of the bodyguard divisions was (similarly to that of the *rgod-stong-sde*) connected with a particular territory, or if these four groups each were brought together from various areas of the respective Horns. See also Dotson 2007a: 164ff.).

Further registered:

- 'Phan-yul *stong-sde* {See § 4}
- Phod-kha (~Phor-ka) and Ngam-ru'i phag (~Ngam-ru-pag) (Listed in *Jo sras* as nos. 9 and 10 and in *MTP* as nos. 11 and 12 of the Dbu-ru *stong-sde*) {The latter is the Gnam-ru of Dpal-dgon County, north-west of Gnam-mtsho (Gyurme 393; *XD* 540a; Uebach 1999: 267; *TLTD II* 243). Phod-kha is the G.yas-ru Phod-dkar of the other lists; below Table 1}

Commander (*ru-dpon*) of Upper Dbu-ru: Sna-nam Rgyal-rta Rgan-mo-chung {It suggests that there was an (older) branch settlement of the Sna-nam-pa in Upper Dbu-ru; this was possibly in the Zho-rong Valley; see *RCP*: 75}

Commander of Lower Dbu-ru: Dbas Skeyes-bzang Stag-snang {On this figure, see Dotson 2007a: 199f. Further details are mentioned in connection with the *ru* halves and their commanders, such as the characteristics / color of the Horn [commander's?] horses (*ru-rta*), Horn banners (*ru dar*), and the types of insignia (*yig-tshang*) of the Ru leadership. Among these the banner possibly has an older history, that is, it seems to be less a *ru* specific than an (old) clan-specific insignia (= the banner of the *ru-dpon's* lineage). In the various *rus mdzod* accounts one repeatedly finds the subdivision of a clan into branch lines of older, middle, and younger ancestral brothers, who are distinguished by colours (usually white, variegated and black) and are correspondingly marked by *rus* banners (see e.g. the description of the Dbra (~Sbrang) division, i.e. the Dbra *dkar nag khra gsum*; *Rlangs* 6f.). Such distinguishing marks were presumably used in military engage-

ments in pre-imperial times (perhaps on the model of older Turkic traditions), but above and beyond that, in the narrower sense they have a social relevance of signaling the identity and unity of a lineage and its transregional ramifications. Thus the glorious red banner (*dpal-dar dmar-po*; or *dpal-dar = sbal-dar?* frog banner) of the Dbas, the striped flag of the Sna-nam, or the white lion banner of the 'Bro (Wangdu 1994) etc. (cf. *KhG* 188) are perhaps each old transregional clan emblems (or insignia of one of the lineage sub-divisions) that were then taken account of in the establishment of the Ru and their distinguishing mark. For clan insignia, see also the case of the Dgyer lineage, in *TF*: Introduction, *et passim*.

II. The administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*, *yul-sde*, *yul-gru*)

- 1 Stod-lung
 - 2 'Phags-rgyal (*GK*: Phar-kyang) {Identification uncertain; perhaps related to the 'Phags-chu valley in Byang}
 - 3 Klung-shod
 - 4 Mal-gro
 - 5 'Dam-shod
 - 6 Za-gad {Sec § 4}
 - 7 Rag-sha (*GK*: Rag-nas) {It may refer to the Rag district close to Yer-pa, east of Lhasa}
 - 8 Ba-lam {The Ba-lam district east of Lhasa, described in post-dynastic sources as the eastern entrance to the Lha-sa Maṇḍala zone; *TF*: 576, *et passim*}
 - 9 Ngan-lam {Either the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-po or the Ngan-lam of Skyid-shod; Hazod 2007b: 602f.}
 - 10 Brang-yul {i.e. Bran in Lower Stod-lung} (In *GK*, 'Bren (= Brang-yul or 'Phrang-po [no. 13]?) and G.yu-khung (?) are listed as the 9th and 10th *yul gru*)
 - 11 Dbul-ide (*GK*: Dbu-sa-skor; elsewhere Dbus-skor) {It is the present-day 'Bud-bde in Skyid-smad}
 - 12 Gzad Chu-shul {In present-day Chu-shul}
 - 13 'Phrang-po {The district adjacent to Sgrags}
 - 14 Gnon-lung-pa {Rather the Snon in Skyid-smad and not the Snon (= Rgya-ma) of Mal-gro is meant here; *RCP*: 182}
 - 15 Gsang[-phu, -smad] {In Skyid-smad}
 - 16 Brag-rum {See § 4}
 - 17 'Phan-yul (= no. 14 of the *yul gru* list in *GK*)
- The names of the districts nos. 12–16 are not registered in the list of the Dbu-ru'i *yul-gru chu-drug* of *GK*, which mentions here the Gzhol [12], Skungs (?) [13], Rong-shod (?) [15] and Bra-rnams [16] (= Bra[ng] [and] Rnams [of Skyid-smad]?)

G.YO-RU

I. The *stong-sde* or military thousand-districts

- 1 Yar-lung
 - 2 'Ching-lung {Phying-lung; *MTP*, *Jo sras*: Shar-po and Phying-ba; Shar-po = “disectric to the east [of Phying-bal] (?) = Yar-lung; cf. also Shar-mgo of Yar-lung; *CFS*: 241}
- Lineage** of nos. 1 and 2: Gnyags and Tshe-spong (*GD* 97)

?3 Yar-rgyang (*MTP*: Yar-rkyangs, no. 4; *KhG*: Yar-mtshams, no. 3; *BK*: Ljang-kyang, no. 6) [It possibly refers to the Yar-skyang situated south east of Grva-nang]

?4 Yung-nga (*MTP*: Yum-'bangs, no. 6); *KhG*: G.yu-'bangs; *BK*: Lung-pa) [Not identified; Uebach (1987: fn. 147) reads Yum-'bangs ("subjects of the mother") as a place related to the Tshes-pong in 'On. Also feasible: Yung-nga = Yung-ba of Dbu-ru and hence misplaced here. *Jo sras* gives Lho-brog (Lho-brag) and Mang-rgyal as nos. 3 and 4]

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Myang and Sna-nam

5 Dwags-po (*KhG*: no. 8)

?6 Myag-mi (*MTP*: no. 7, *KhG*: Nyag-nyi, no. 6; *BK*: Nyang-po (*sic*), no. 7) [Nyag-nyi = Rngegs, see § 3.1. In *Jo sras* Dmyal (= Gnyal) and Khri'u are listed as nos. 5 and 6]

Lineage of nos. 5 and 6 (in *BK*: Nyang-po and Dwags-po): Ldong and Mchims [On Ldong, the *rus* name of an individual lineage as well as the name of a tribal or ethnic group of various clans, see Chödrag 38f.; it is often paired with Stong; for its meaning, see Dotson 2007a: 80–82; 124, 384f.]

7 Dmyal (*MTP*: Dmyal-khri, no. 5; *KhG*: Dmyal, no. 7; *BK*: Gnyal, no. 5) [i.e. Gnyal, today Lhun-rtse County]

8 Lho-brag (*Jo sras* lists Myang (= Nyang-po in Lho-kha) and Dwags-po as nos. 7 and 8)

Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Mchims and Snyi-ba (the latter known as the leading lineage of Gnyal, *DG*; *GKR*, *passim*)

9 Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) (*Jo sras*, *MTP* and *BK*: Ri-bo *stong bu-chung*) [Lo-ro south of Gnyal]

Lineage of no. 9: Sbrang-ston [i.e. a branch of the Dbra (Sbra[ng]). On this clan (often to be found in the compound of Se Khyung Dbra), see *Rlangs* 9f.; 26f.; Czaja 2006: chap. 1; Chödrag 39f.; Bellezza 2008; s.v.; Vitali 1996: 429]

10 Sku-srung Shar-phyogs (Body-guard division in the East) [A Shar-phyogs is in G.ye-yul]

Commander of Upper G.yo-ru: Myag (*KhG*: Myang) Stag-gzig G.yu-btsan (Myag Stag-bzang g.yu-brtan)

Commander of Lower G.yo-ru: 'Chims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting (Zhang Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng; also Mchims Snyal-ba [~Dmyal-ba] Shud-ting [~Shud-stong]; on this famous general, see above *OTA* entry 762-764; Dotson 2007a: 201f.)

II. The administrative districts

1 Nga-rabs (*GK*: Dwags-po, no. 1; Nga-rab, no.2) [i.e. the valley north of modern Rgya-tshva; *RCP*: 177, 347]

2 Gung-po (*GK*: Gung-po, no. 3) [Perhaps the area of Gong-stod and -smad, north of Lha Rgya-ri in G.ye-chung]

3 Gang-'bar (= G.ye'i Gang-'bar(~par); situated in Klog of southern G.ye-yul *alias* G.ye-che; Hazod 2007a)

4 Yar-mdal' (*GK*: Yar-klungs, no. 4) [Lower Yar]

5 'Chings-lung (Phying-ba)

6 Greng-nga (*GK*: 'Grangs-te, no. 5) [Grang-mo Grang-chung in Upper 'Phyong-po; Hazod 2007a; § 7.1: Breng]

?7 Rog-pa [Rog-pa-rtsa of 'Phyong-po (?) (Ferrari 1958: fn. 286); or the land of the Rog-pa lineage in Grva; *RCP*: 172]

8 Lo-ro (*GK*: Gnyal, no. 6; Lo-ro, no. 7; 'Kha-gpa (?) no. 8)

9 Ban-pa [In eastern Lho-brag]

10 Stam-shul (*KG*: Rtam-shul, no.9) [i.e. the Ltam-shul (~Gtam-shul) district, today Mtsho-smad County]

11 Kho-mthing [In southern Lho-brag; *TF*: 52]

12 Brag-lung [Not identified; likely in western Lho-kha]

13 Dol and Gzhung (*GK*: no. 11) [*RCP*: 173f.]

14 Gra-lung (*GK*: no. 10) [*RCP*: 171f.]

15 Khab-so [Not inserted in the map; a Khab-so is listed as one of the Ru-lag *stong-sde*; version of *MTP*]

16 Yar-'brog rnam-gsum (*GK*: no. 12) [*RCP*: 169f.]

G.YAS-RU

I. The *stong-sde* or military thousand-districts

1 Lho-yo (*Jo sras*: Stong-yong; *KhG*: Stong-chen; *BK*: Stod-yongs; *Lde'u* 260.14: "royal six districts of Lho-yo")

2 Shangs (*Jo sras*: Gshang-lha; *KhG*: Shangs-chen; *BK*: Shangs-steng; *MTP*: Sde-spo and 'O-tshab = nos. 1 and 2)

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: Khyung-po

3 Lang-mi [The district of the "Lang people" (= Rlangs; below no. 6) may refer to the (still not closer identified) Glang-lung of La-stod [Byang] (*Lde'u* 384.10-11)]

4 Phod-dkar (*Jo sras* and *MTP*: Shangs-steng and Bzang-po/ro = nos. 3 and 4) [Location unknown; a Pho-kar dist. (and "Pho-kar tribe") is localized by Thomas in NE Tibet; *TLTD II* 294f., *passim*. A possible candidate is the 'U-yug Phu-dkar known from later sources (Czaja 2006, s.v. index)]

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Spa-tshab (Pa-tshab) [Ancient branch settlements of the lineage are *inter alia* also registered for Lower Myang (in Gtsang) and 'Phan-yul, i.e. the Pa-tshab-yul in the Rgyal (~Stag-mgo) Valley of 'Phan-po-stod]

5 Nyen-mkhar (~Nyen-kar gyi *sde*; *TLTD II* 466) [A Nyen-khang is south of G.yag-mo in northwestern Ngam-ring and a Nyin-kar is to be found to the southwest of the Glang-mtsho (Map 6a, b). The two sites are in the western part of G.yo-ru and hence probably can be ruled out as candidates for the identification of this district. As mentioned above (§ 5), the first four districts probably belonged to G.yas-ru-stod or the western half of the Right Horn, which would suggest a location of the Nyen-dkar *stong-sde* (not identical with the Nyen-kar listed in *OTA*) somewhere to the east of Shangs. Note that in the older version of *Jo sras* and *MTP* the *stong-sde* of Nyen-kar, Phod-dkar and 'Grangs-tshams are among the districts of Dbu-ru – reflecting here a system where the *stong-sde* still were not balanced between the Right and Central Horns (§ 5). It has led to the suggested location of Nyen-kar *stong-sde* somewhere between Snye-mo and Stod-lung/'Dam-shod. Uebach 1987: 51; *Dzungkar* 1875a, b; Dotson 2007a: 183f. It contradicts however the definition of Dbu-ru's western border (= Gzhu of Snye-mo), but not of the eastern (and northern) borders of G.yas-ru (see § 5: G.yas-ru). The *stong-sde* thus could indeed refer to an area in (north-)western Dbus (Nyen-

kar = Gnyan-grong?, a var. form of Snying-grong; § 7.1), but note that in the catalogues of the administrative districts, which in the version of *GK* we think describes a situation of the first half of the 8th cent., the area in question is clearly defined as part of Dbu-ru. Perhaps Nyen-kar is simply a corrupt form of [S]Nye-mo *m*khār and this *stong-sde* means the great Snye-mo district that today administratively belongs to Dbus. Note that in the lists of *GK* Snye-mo is listed as the last (= easternmost) *yul-sde* of G.yas-ru. Sato 1978 identifies the Nyen-kar with a Nye-mkhar (?) situated due east of 'U-yug]

6 'Grangs-rtsang (*KhG* and *BK*: 'Brang (Drang)-mtshams, no. 5) {Possibly an alternative or corrupt spelling of Gtsang-sgram (~'gram/grang[s]/'brang), "shore ('gram) of the Gtsang-po River," where the border temple of G.yas-ru Gtsang-sgram is located (*XD* 638b; see Fig. 13; Map 7.5; § 5). *Jo sras* and *MTP* give 'Bro[gl]-mi and 'O-mi as nos. 5 and 6 (not identified) and list 'Grams-tsha/Grangs as a district of Dbu-ru, likewise *Lde'u*, where 'Grangs-'tshams is (mistakenly?) paired together with Phyug-'tshams; see above}

Lineage of nos. 5 and 6: Lang[s]-sa (= pa) {Lang = Rlangs, cf. the division of the Bod G.yas-ru'i Rlangs, *Rlangs* 28.4. *TLTD II* 466 has *nyen-kar gi sde dba' kha myi*, "Nyen-kar district, the Dba' [and] Kha (= Ka-ba?) people," possibly referring here to the Nyen-kar of Dbu-ru/Skyid-shod; § 7.2}

7 Yo-rabs (*KhG*: Spo-rab; *BK*: Yel-rab) {Perhaps it is to be counted as part of original Dbu-ru, see Nyen-mkhar}

8 Gzong-sde (*BK*: Zom-steng) {Not on the map}

Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Mgos {See below}

9 Shangs (*stong bu-chung*)

Lineage: Sle (~Gle; see § 4)

10 Sku-srung Nub-phyogs (Body-guard division in the West)

Commander of Upper G.yas-ru: Khyung-po Stag-bzang nya-stong, ancestor of the six Lho-yo districts of the king]

Commander of Lower G.yas-ru: Mgos Khri-snyen gsang-mchod (Mgos Khri-gnyen/bsnyon G.yang-'phyos/Dpal-mo)

II. The administrative districts

1 Byang-phug {Unknown, but evidently W of Zang-zang}

2 Zang-zang {In western Ngam-ring}

3 Zangs-dkar {In Lower Mus, NE of Ngam-ring}

4 Dung-lung-pa {A Dung-lung is also listed among the Ru-lag districts}

5 Dgeg-lung-pa

6 Bgyid-lung-pa {Perhaps the Skyid-lung of the Rnam-gling district; Map 7.5}

7 Bshag-lung-pa

8 'Byad-lung-pa ('Jad, the present-day Bzhad Mthong-smön)

9 Rta-nag lung-pa {West of Shangs, also registered as Rta-nag of Shangs; it was part of G.yas-ru La-stod Byang, Vitali 1996: 567ff.; *GKC* 253f., *passim*: Rta-nag, Thag Rta-nag}

10 Zhan-thag (= Thag? the area of [Thag] Gdong-dkar [plus Rta-nag; see previous note]; *GKC* 198)

11 Mtsho-nyang {Probably the Mtsho-nya of Rnam-gling}

12 Rta-nu (= Nyug of Rta? a side valley in Rta-nag)

13 Gtsang-shod {Identification unclear; perhaps it is related to the Gtsang-'gram of G.yas-ru; § 5}

14 Lo-yug (= 'O-yug?)

15 Snye-mo {Registered as the seat of a *yul-dpon* from the Mgar lineage; *RCP*: 582}

16 Dgra-yag {Unknown, but arguably close to Snye-mo}

The *g.yas-ru yul-sde bcu-drug* in *GK*:

(1) Byang-phugs; (2) Tre-shod; (3) Zang-zang; (4) Stag-sde; (5) Stag-ris (no. 4 or 5 may refer to the Stag-rtse south of Mt. Phu-dar; Map 6a); (6) Mus-ldog; (7) 'Jad; (8) Rta-nag ('Jad, Rta-nag, Mus plus 'Bro-btsad [territory of the princely 'Bro line] later became the dominion of descendants of Skyid-lde; *GBY* 365); (9) Zhan-thag; (10) Shangs; (11) Mon-mkhar; (12) Ge-re (*TF*: 254; *ZL* 15b); (13) Lang-gro (= 'Gro ('Bro-rtсад?) of Glang-lung? (in La-stod Byang; see above Lang-mi); (14) Spa-gor (In central Snye-mo; *GKC* 280: Sa-gor (= Pa-gor) of G.yas-ru); (15) Tshur-zho (= the border area of 'Tshur and Gzhu?); (16) Snye-mo {It is evident that both catalogues (*Lde'u* and *GK*) list the districts from west to east}

[GTSANG] RU-LAG (*GK* 185.12: G.yon-ru Ru-lag)

I. The *stong-sde* or military thousand-districts

1 Mang-dkar (*MTP* and *Jo sras*: no. 5) {The Mang-dkar Valley south of Lha-rtse. An extensive grave field of tumuli is to be found near New Lha-rtse, an area which we assume was part of the Mang-dkar *stong-sde*}

2 Khri-bom[s] (*Jo sras*: Khrom-pa, no. 1; *MTP*: Khri-gong, no. 6; *BK*: Khri-dgongs; elsewhere Khri-goms, Khri-som) {Owing to its position in the army catalogue, the district has always been supposed to lie in the immediate vicinity of Mang-dkar or Lha-rtse and according to the latest knowledge can most probably be identified with the area around Glang-mtsho lake in Ngam-ring County (Map 6.1a). Khri-bom also refers to a stronghold and residence place, the *m*khār Khri-bom in PT 1287, seat of Khyung-po Spung-sad, the conquerer of Rtsang Bod and of the (neighboring?) To-yo Chas-la (§ 3.2-8). It relates, as it appears, to the settlement of Bom-ma, east of Glang-mtsho (§ 3.2-8). The western and northern extent (and thereby also the exact borders with Ru-lag and G.yas-ru in this area) is unclear, while the eastern district boundary presumably followed a similar route to the present-day boundary between the two districts of Ngam-ring and Lha-rtse. Seng-ge lung-pa forms this border point from which in the direction of Glang-mtsho a section begins that is characterized by a series of ruined watchtowers on both sides of the river. To our knowledge they are nowhere more closely documented and could be from the time of the principalities of Gtsang-stod-yul (10th cent.) or from La-stod Byang (from 13th cent., with the centre at Ngam-ring-rdzong; Glingön 54), but could also have a much older history}

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: 'Bro (see § 4, no. 9a,b)

3 Sgrom-pa (*Jo sras*: no. 6; *MTP*: no. 1) [i.e. the valley of the Sgrom-chu a.k.a. [Sa-skyal] Grum-chu; it also included the closer area around Old Lha-rtse (cf. the form Grom-pa Lha-rtse) and the adjacent plain of Rgyang-thang, known as the place of the famous Ru-lag temple of Grom-pa Rgyang (Map 6a.1). A number of ancient ruins (to our knowledge so far not dated or more closely documented) are to be found in the area around Red-mdal in Lower Grom-pa]

4 Lha-rtse – (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: Lha-mtsho/'tshong, no. 2) [The district stretches towards the northeast, at least up to the level of Phun-tsho-gling; Map 6.1a]

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Sgro (*BK*: 'Bro [= Sgro,'Grol])

5 Myang-ro (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: no. 4) [It largely corresponds to Myang-stod; Map 6.2]

Lineage: 'Bro (*BK*: 'Dre) [see § 3.2; a 'Bro land in Myang was possibly the Ldan-yul where three 'Bro brothers founded a temple in the late 8th/early 9th cent.; Hazod 2004: 41]

6 Khri-thang (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: no. 3; Chapel 1989: 112 reads Khri-'bangs) [It appears to be the ancient Khri-thang Gurmo (*KhG*: 162.2), a district centered around Tshong'dus [Gur-mo] in Lower Myang (Hazod 2007a; the section is also known as central Myang (Myang-bar-'gzhung)]

Lineage: Khyung-po [A description of the Khyung-po territory in the Myang region is to be found in *GBY* 365.11–14; it is related to the 10th, 11th cent., however (see also Everding 2008: 67, 87). In the early 9th cent., during the reign of *btsan-po* Khri Lde-srong-btsan, parts of Khri-thang, namely the area of Ne'u-sing-chen of Tshong'dus up to Zhu Rgya-ling lha-khang of Dpal-rnams (= Pa-nam), reportedly became the dominion of the (white) Dpyal lineage. Vitali 2007: 1032]

7 Mkhar-gsar (*KhG*: Khang-gsar; *MTP*: Khab-sar/ Khab-so (apparently not the Khab-so NW of Rdzong-dkar; Everding 2000: 425); *Jo sras*: Khab-sar; *BK*: Khar-pa) [Not identified. The Shud-bu/phu clan (the clan, where the commander of Mkhar-gsar hailed from) is usually associated with the Ltam-shul and the central and southern Lho-kha region, but the original homeland was in Yar-'brog (*SL* 1). A Khang-sar is in southern Yar-'brog, situated in an area which is to be counted as part of G.yo-ru, however. The *stong-sde* thus may refer to a border area of Ru-lag and G.yo-ru, or Mkhar-gsar (~Khang-gsar) = Mkhar-stod, -smad in Myang? (*XD* 215–218; 210; Khang-gsar; Map 2.6). Note that a Khab-so is registered as a *yul-sde* of G.yo-ru. It is also known as the name of a royal office; above Part II: fn. 265]

Lineage: Shud-ke (*BK*: Shu-gu) [Shud-ke = Shud[-phu] [and-] Dgyer? *RCP*: 711; cf. also *Rlängs* 7.20: Shu-ke. We assume it refers to the Shud-phu lineage, see *SL*, *passim*]

8 Gad-sram (var. Gad-bram/bkram/khram) [It refers to the areas Gad and Sram (*stod*, -*smad*) at the southern border of Ru-lag (Everding 2000: fn. 666). It was part of Mgos-yul ("land of the Mgos clan") which was granted to *blon-po* Mgos by Khri Srong-lde-btsan. Vitali 2002: 82f.; *RCP*: 177]

Lineage: Mgos [*GN*, *passim*; see also *RD* 12–17]

9 Mtsho-ngam (*stong bu-chung*) (var. Mtsho-[s]ngos, Mtsho-rta, Tshong-ma; *Jo sras*: Mngal) [Mtsho-ngam is known from the list of the nine Bon-po assembly sites (*bon po 'du gnas*) of Ru-lag, i.e. the Mtsho-ngam Dril-cung (var. Mtsho-rnga'i Dril-chung), which is said to be situated to the north of 'Bri[ng]-mtshams (Uebach 1999: 264), the latter referring to the area around Gam-pa; Map 6b]

Lineage: Sgro (~Bro)

10 Sku-srung Lho-phyogs (Body-guard division in the South) [During the reign of Glang-dar-ma a member of the Dpyal clan (of Lower Myang) is reported to have become the *sku-brsung* or body-guard of the *btsan-po*. Vitali 2007: 1035]

Commander of Upper Ru-lag (= nos. 1–4): 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-gc

Commander of Lower Ru-lag (= nos. 5–9): Khyung-po mes-po G.yu'i zur-phud (*BK*: 'Dre Rgyal-to-re khri-lod)

II. The administrative districts

1 Mang-yul [It evidently refers to Mang-yul Gung-thang]

2 Snye-nam [Snye-nam of La-stod Lho; cf. *RN*: 3; 38]

3 Dpa'-chad (see below)

4 Drangs-so (var. Grangs-so) [i.e. the district of Gram-tsho (~Grangs-so) in La-stod Lho]

5 Grom-lung [see above]

6 Shab-lung-pa [The Shab Valley east of Chu-mig]

7 Srad-lung-pa [Srad with the center of Ru-lag]

8 Myang-mdal lung-pa

9 Khri-thang-pa [nos. 8 and 9 evidently refer to two adjacent districts in Lower Myang; see Khri-thang]

10 Thang-'brang

11 Nul-po

12 G.yu-lung [Probably related to the ancient *yul* of G.yu-ru lung-gsum. § 3]

13 Dung-lung-pa [We assume it refers to the Dung of Upper Myang; *XD* 238a, b; Map 6.2; see § 7: Dungs]

14 Myang-stod-pa [Upper Myang, also the name of a village; *XD* 232; Map 6.2]

15 Gad-sram lung-pa (see above)

16 Spa-rongs [= Spo-rong, east of Ding-ri?]

The *ru-lag yul-gru bcu-drug* in *GK*:

(1) Dpal-ma (= Dpal-mo-thang in eastern Gtsang?); (2) Chad-lung (nos. 1 and 2 = no. 3 above); (3) Ding-ri; (4) Sri-yul; (5) Mnga'-ris (= Mnga'-ris *smad*, i.e. the area of Gung-thang); (6) Pa-drug (Pha-drug in southern La-stod Lho; *Shel dkar* 9a notes that Ding-ri and Pha-drug (no. 3 and 6) represented two (military) districts and as such were registered in an army book (*dmag deb*) in the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan); (7) 'Bri[ng]-mtshams (east of Gad-sram, no. 15 above); (8) Sras kyi yul (= no. 7 above); (9) Kram-lung (= no. 5 above); (10) Shab-lung; (11) Nyang-ro; (12) Nyang-stod; (13) Gtsang-bzhi; (14) Ri-bo.

Table 1. The Ru-bzhi *stong-sde* Lists*

| <i>Lde'u</i> | <i>KhG</i> | <i>MTP</i> | <i>Jo sras</i> | <i>BK</i> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| DBU-RU | | | | |
| 1 Dor-ste | 1 Dor-sde | 1 Dor-te | 1 Dor-sde | 1 'Bring-[mtshams] |
| 2 Sde-mtshams | 2 Sde-mtshams | 2 Chugs 'tshams | 2 Phyur 'tshams | 2 Mtshams |
| 3 Phyug-'tshams | 3 Phyug-mtshams | 3 Stong-'jim | 3 Ste-'joms | 3 Bcom-pa |
| 4 Grangs-'tshams | 4 Brang-mtshams | 4 'Bring-'tshams | 4 'Bri-te | 4 Zom-steng |
| 5 Gcong-pa | 5 Com-pa | 5 Grams-tsha | 5 Co-la | 5 Dor-de |
| 6 'Bring-mtshams | 6 'Bri-mtshams | 6 Nyen-kar | 6 Zo-stengs | 6 Ste-'jom |
| 7 Kyi-stod | 7 Skyi-stod | 7 Bcom-pa | 7 Kyi-stod | 7 Skyid-stod |
| 8 Kyi-smad | 8 Skyi-smad | 8 Gzo-steng | 8 Kyi-smad | 8 Skyid-smad |
| 9 Yel-rab (sub-t.) | 9 Yel-rab (sub-t.) | 9 Skyi-stod | 9 Phor-kha | 9 Yel-zhabs (sub-t.) |
| 10 Sku-srung-E [=N] | 10 Sku-srung E [=N] | 10 Skyi-smad | 10 Ngam-ru phag | |
| | | 11 Phod-dkar | 11 Grangs | |
| | | 12 Ngam-ru'i phag | 12 Nyen-khar | |
| | | 13 Spel-zhabs (sub-t.) | 13 Spel-zhabs (sub-t.) | |
| G.YO-RU | | | | |
| 1 Yar-lung | 1 Yar-lung | 1 Shar-po | 1 Shar-po | 1 Yar-klungs |
| 2 'Ching-lung | 2 'Phying-lung | 2 Phyi-bo | 2 Phying-ba | 2 Phyi-lung |
| 3 Yar-rgyang | 3 Yar-mtshams | 3 Lho-brag | 3 Lho-brag | 3 Ljang-kyang |
| 4 Yung-nga | 4 G.yu-'bangs | 4 Yar-rkyangs | 4 Mang-rgyal | 4 Lung-nga |
| 5 Dwags-po | 5 Dwags-po | 5 Dmyal-khri | 5 Dmyal | 5 Gnyal |
| 6 Myag-mi | 6 Nya-gnyi | 6 Yum-'bangs | 6 Khri'u | 6 Lho-brag |
| 7 Dmyal | 7 Dmyal | 7 Nyag-nyi | 7 Myang | 7 Nyang-po |
| 8 Lho-brag | 8 Lho-brang | 8 Dags-po | 8 Dwags-po | 8 Dwags-po |
| 9 Lo-ro (sub-t.) | 9 Lo-ro (sub-t.) | 9 Ri-bo (sub-t.) | 9 Ri-bo (sub-t.) | 9 Ri-bo (sub-t.) |
| 10 Sku-srung-E | 10 Sku-srung-N [= E] | | | |
| G.YAS-RU | | | | |
| 1 Lho-yo | 1 Stong-chen | 1 Sde-spo | 1 Stong-yong | 1 Stod-yongs |
| 2 Shangs | 2 Shangs-chen | 2 'O-tshab | 2 Gshang-lha | 2 Shangs-steng |
| 3 Lang-mi | 3 Lang-mi | 3 Shangs-stengs | 3 Shangs-stengs | 3 Lang-mi |
| 4 Phod-dkar | 4 Phod-gar | 4 Bzangs-po | 4 Bzangs-po | 4 Phod-dkar |
| 5 Nyen-mkhar | 5 Nyen-mkhar | 5 'Brog-mi | 5 'Bro-mi | 5 Drang-mtshams |
| 6 'Grangs-rtsang | 6 'Brang-mtshams | 6 'O-mi | 6 'O-mi | 6 Gnyan-mkhar |
| 7 Yo-rabs | 7 Spo-rab | 7 Shangs (sub-t.) | 7 Shangs (sub-t.) | 7 Yel-rab |
| 8 Gzong-sde | 8 Gzong-sde | | | 8 Dzom-steng |
| 9 Shangs (sub-t.) | 9 Zhangs (sub-t.) | | | 9 Shangs (sub-t.) |
| 10 Sku-srung-W | 10 Sku-srung-W | | | |
| RU-LAG | | | | |
| 1 Mang-dkar | 1 Mang-kar | 1 Grom-pa | 1 Khrom-pa | 1 Mang-gar |
| 2 Khri-bom | 2 Khri-phom | 2 Lha-mtsho | 2 Lha-'tshong | 2 Khri-dgongs |
| 3 Sgrom-pa | 3 Grom-pa | 3 Khri-dang | 3 Khri-dang | 3 Khrom-pa |
| 4 Lha-rtse | 4 Lha-rtse | 4 Nyang-ro | 4 Myang-ro | 4 Lha-rtse |
| 5 Myang-ro | 5 Myang-ro | 5 Mang-dkar | 5 Mang-mkhar | 5 Nyang-ro |
| 6 Khri-thang | 6 Khri-'thad | 6 Khri-gong | 6 Khrom-pa | 6 Khri-tha |
| 7 Mkhar-gsar | 7 Khang-sar | 7 Khab-so | 7 Khab-sar | 7 Gad-bkram |
| 8 Gad-sram | 8 Gad-phram | 8 Gad-gsum | 8 Gad | 8 Mkhar-pa |
| 9 Mtsho-ngam (sub-t.) | 9 Mtsho-ngos (sub-t.) | 9 Mtsho-rta (sub-t.) | 9 Mngal (sub-t.) | 9 'Tshong-ma (sub-t.) |
| 10 Sku-srung-S | 10 Sku-srung-S | | | |

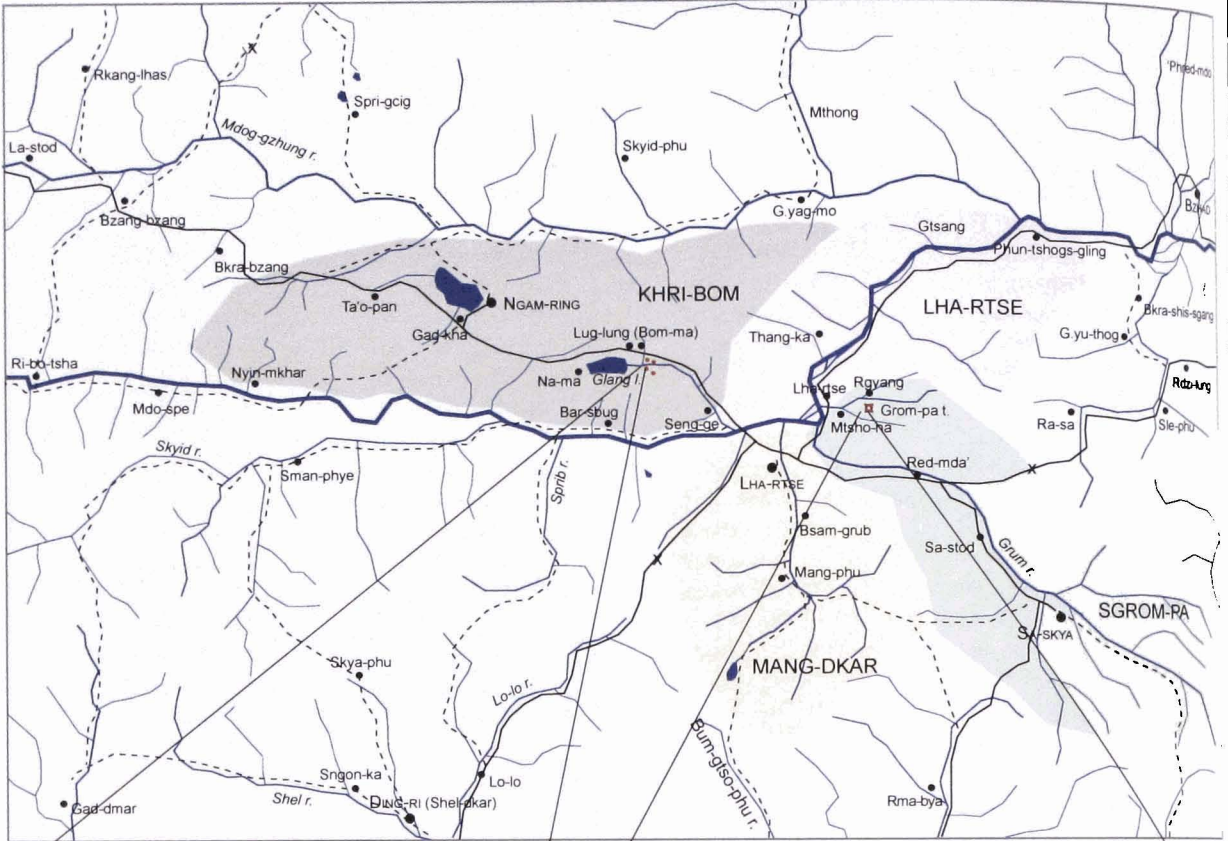
* Names in **bold** refer to districts which originally were part of Dbu-ru and which at a later point, in the course of the territorial reorganization in the 740s, have been transferred to G.yas-ru (sub-t.) = sub-thousand-district (*stong bu-chung*) Sku-srung-E = eastern body-guard

1
2 = names of (neighboring) districts paired together in the catalogues

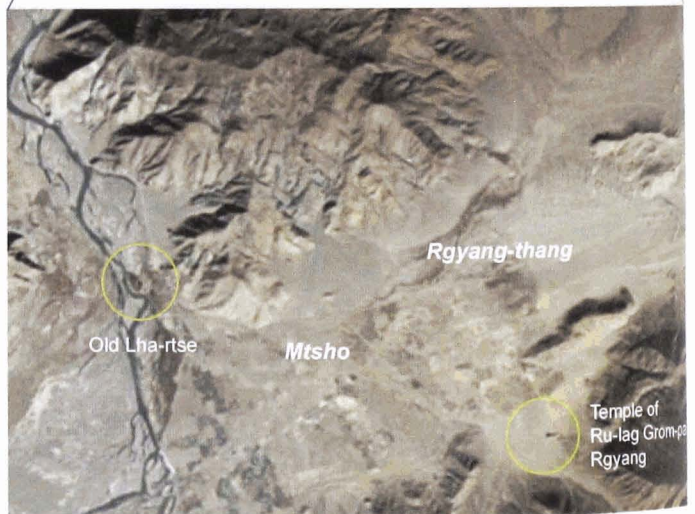
Table 2. The Ru-bzhi yul-dpon-tsan / yul-sde Lists

| <i>Lde'u</i> | <i>GK</i> | <i>Lde'u</i> | <i>GK</i> |
|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| DBU-RU | | G.YAS-RU | |
| 1 Stod-lung | 1 Stod-lung | 1 Byang-phug | 1 Byang-phugs |
| 2 'Phags-rgyal | 2 Phar-kyang | 2 Zang-zang | 2 Tre-shod |
| 3 Klung-shod | 3 Klung-shod | 3 Zangs-dkar | 3 Zang-zang |
| 4 Mal-gro | 4 Mal-gro | 4 Dung-lung-pa | 4 Stag-sde |
| 5 'Dam-shod | 5 'Dam | 5 Dgeg-lung-pa | 5 Stag-ris |
| 6 Za-gad | 6 Ba-lam | 6 Bgyid-lung-pa | 6 Mus-ldod |
| 7 Rag-sha | 7 Ngan-lam | 7 Bshag-lung-pa | 7 'Jad |
| 8 Ba-lam | 8 Rag-nas | 8 'Byad-lung-pa | 8 Rta-nag |
| 9 Ngan-lam | 9 'Brenq | 9 Rta-nag lung-pa | 9 Zhan-thag |
| 10 Brang-yul | 10 G.yu-khung | 10 Zhan-thag | 10 Shangs |
| 11 Dbul-lde | 11 Dbu sa-skor | 11 Mtsho-nyang | 11 Mon-mkhar |
| 12 Gzad Chu-shul | 12 Gzhol-skungs | 12 Rta-nu | 12 Ge-rc |
| 13 'Phrang-po | 13 'Phan-yul | 13 Gtsang-shod | 13 Lang-gro |
| 14 Gnon-lung-pa | 14 Rong-shod | 14 Lo-yug | 14 Spa-gor |
| 15 Gsang | 15 Bra-rnams | 15 Snye-mo | 15 Tshur-zho |
| 16 Brag-rum | | 16 Dgra-yag | 16 Snye-mo |
| 17 'Phan-yul | | | |
| G.YO-RU | | RU-LAG | |
| 1 Nga-rabs | 1 Dwags-po | 1 Mang-yul | 1 Dpal-ma |
| 2 Gung-po | 2 Nga-rab | 2 Snye-nam | 2 Chad-lung |
| 3 Gang-'bar | 3 Gung-po | 3 Dpa'-chad | 3 Ding-ri |
| 4 Yar-mdā' | 4 Yar-klungs | 4 Drangs-so | 4 Sri-yul |
| 5 'Chings-lung | 5 'Grangs-te | 5 Grom-lung | 5 Mnga'-ris |
| 6 Greng-nga | 6 Gnyal | 6 Shab-lung-pa | 6 Pa-drug |
| 7 Rog-pa | 7 Lo-ro | 7 Srad-lung-pa | 7 'Bri-mtshams |
| 8 Lo-ro | 8 'Khag-pa | 8 Myang-mdā' lung-pa | 8 Sras kyi yul |
| 9 Ban-pa | 9 Rtam-shul | 9 Khri-thang-pa | 9 Kram-lung |
| 10 Stam-shul | 10 Gra-lung | 10 Thang-'brang | 10 Shab-lung |
| 11 Kho-mthing | 11 Dol [plus] Gzhung | 11 Nul-po | 11 Nyang-ro |
| 12 Brag-lung | 12 Yar-'brog | 12 G.yu-lung | 12 Nyang-stod |
| 13 Dol Gzhung | | 13 Dung-lung-pa | 13 Gtsang-bzhi |
| 14 Gra-lung | | 14 Myang-stod-pa | 14 Ri-bo |
| 15 Khab-so | | 15 Gad-sram lung-pa | |
| 16 Yar-'brog rnam-gsum | | 16 Spa-rongs | |

Part III

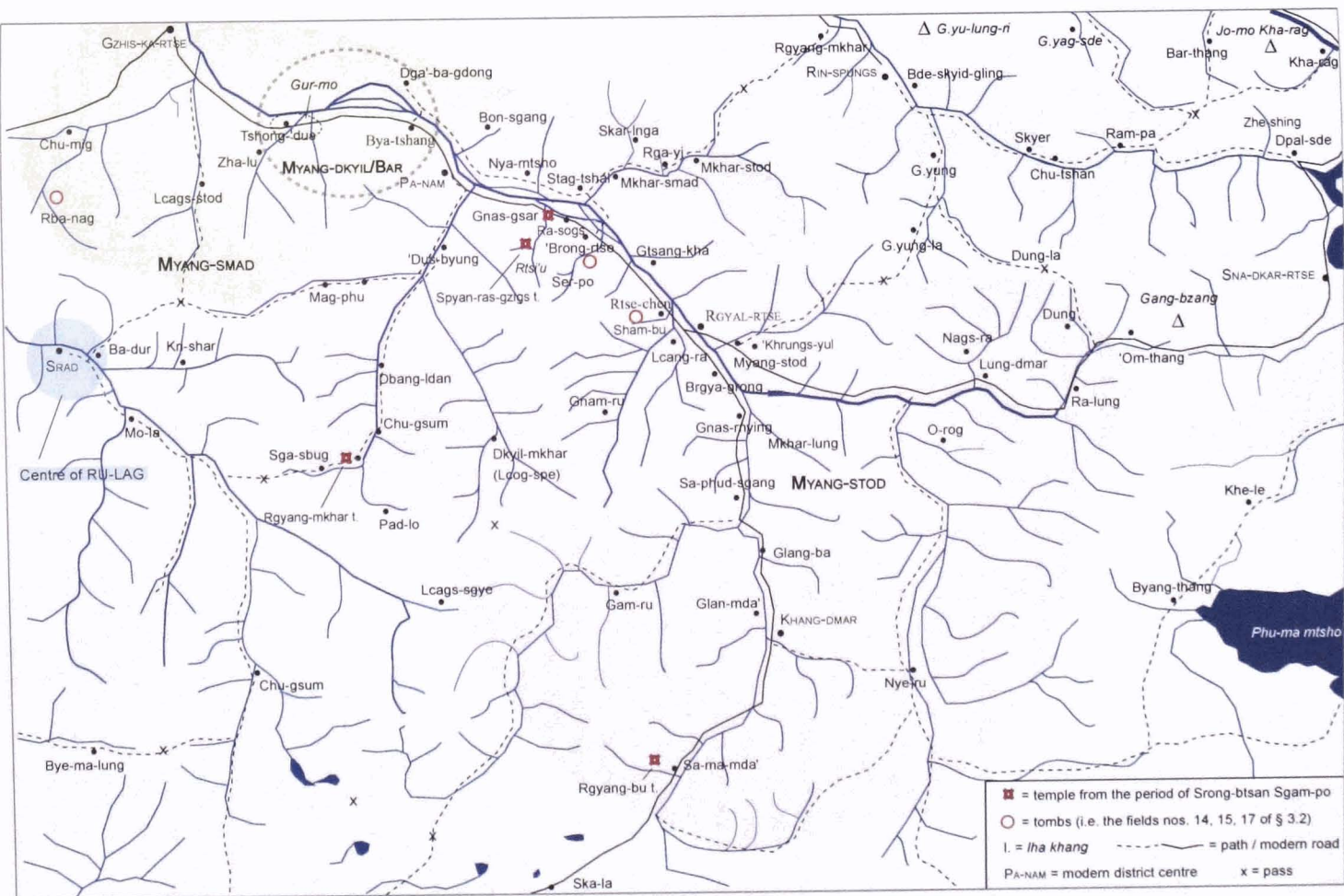


12. In Bom-ma (see § 3.2–8).



Map 6.1b

MAP 6.1a, b:
The four military thousand-districts of Upper Ru-lag.



7. The Place Names of the *Annals* in Central Tibet (PT 1288 + IOL Tib J 750 [TDD 230–44]; Or.8212/187 [TDD 355–58])

7.1 Notes on MAP 7.1–2

Abbreviations:

W-R; S-R = places registered for the year xx as winter/summer residence of the *btsan-po* (or *btsan-po*'s family)

W-A; S-A = places used for the winter / summer assembly

Sp = spring

P = Places registered in another (political) context than as residence or council sites (see also supra "Index of Place Names in the *OTA*")

? = suggested location which needs further examination

The places on Map 7.1 and 7.2 from W to E:

● **Bzang** = **Bzang Sum-tsal** (W-A-687, 693, 720) {The entries are related to Rtsang-chen, which makes it plausible to identify it with the Zang-zang of the La-stod Byang (§ 3.1)}

● **Dron** = **Dron, Mang-ste-lung of Dron** (S-R-705–708; 710–712; 733–739) {Dron perhaps is Gron, a variant form of Grom[-pa], the district in Gtsang-stod that was closely linked to the 'Bro, i.e. the lineage of the Grandmother Khri-ma-lod, who had her residence place in Dron. Otherwise she resided primarily in Dbus (in Lhasa, 'On-can-rdo or Tshal, near Lhasa). An identification with 'Brom (-stod, -smad), the district opposite Glag Ba-lam in Skyid-shod, would also be conceivable, but here no Mang-ste-lung is to be found. On the other hand, the entries in the *OTA* suggest a location in relative vicinity to Bal-po or the Yar-'brog area}

● **Ne-tso-lung** [of 'Dong-ka] (673, S-A-760) {The *mkhos* of the pastureland which was carried out in 673 appears to concern the 'brog-pa of the (later) G.yas-ru region. In this connection 'Dong-ka may refer to the Gdong-dkar / mkhar, the valley of the Gdong-dkar thag-chu (west of Shangs) which was part G.yas-ru Thag; § 6: G.yas-ru}

● **Shangs** = **Sum-chu-bo** [of S.] (S-R-672, late S-673; P-685, 686); **Rab-ka-tshal of Shangs** (W-R-673) {Sum-chu-bo is the present-day Chu-sum-bo in the area of Gzhong-pa in Upper Shangs. Rab-ka-tshal may correspond to the present-day Ra-kha Valley in western Shangs; Map 7.5}

● **Nam-tse-gling** (W-R-672) {The context makes it plausible to identify it with Rnam-gling of Shangs; Map 7.5}

● **Tshang Bang-sna** (W-R-674); W-A-719; P-676, 725) {Identified in *GY* 171.3–4 with the site of Pho-brang-sgang in Lower Shangs; see also Migmar 171; Map 7b.1}

● **Khri-bom** (P-684–85) {See § 6: Khri-bom and § 3.2–8}

● **Rtsang Rhya'** (P-652) {Rhya' may be related to the lineage Rhya (PT 1287), the latter probably an older form of Rgya, the name of the clan who had settlements in Upper

Myang (§ 3.1); it appears also as part of a name (cf. e.g. *OTA* entry 653–654). On the other hand, the context in the *OTA* where it is mentioned together with Glo-bo (Map 2) points to an area somewhere in western Gtsang (on Glo-bo plus neighbouring Se-rib, see above fns. 91, 173; Everding 2000: 47)}

● **Mtshar** = **Mtshar[-bu-sna] of S[r]e-ga** (S-R-725, 726, 729, 731, 742, 744; Ngan-mo-gling of M. (S-R-740) {Sre-ga where Mtshar-bu-sna is located perhaps refers to the Sreg-pa-lung of Gnubs (*GKC* 447, 448) (Map 3). Less likely: Mtshar-pa-sna of Skyid-smad (close to Chu-shul), the 'Tshar-sna of 'Phan-yul (Uebach 1997: 149; see also Ngan-mo-gling of Mtshar-bu-sna (i.e. Ngan-po of 'Phan-yul? but nowhere is there a Se-ga/Sre-ga), or the Tshar in Thob-rgyal of Rnam-ling County (*XD* 647); inserted with question mark at Rong district}

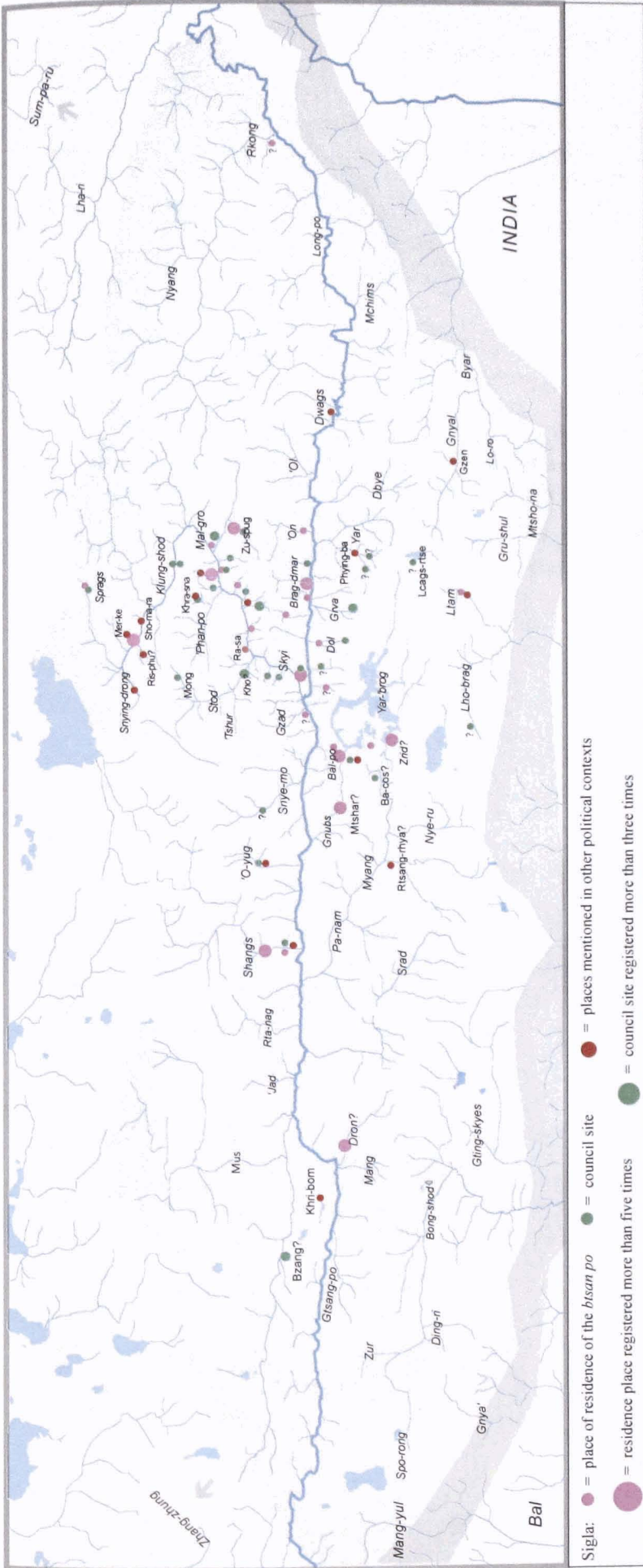
● **'O-yug** = **'O-yug** (P-690–91); **Nubs of 'O-yug** (W-A-715) {The latter either refers to the village Nub[s] in Lower 'O-yug or, more likely, to the Nubs, a small valley due east of 'O-yug, § 3.1: Nubs}

● **Gling-kar-tshal of Rtsang** (W-A-690) {Migmar 86 thinks it corresponds to the site of the later (15th cent. Phag-gru governor seat of) Gling-dkar *rdzong* in (Upper) 'U-yug ('O-yug). According to context it appears to be related to Rtsang-chen, a region much further to the west, however}

● **Brag-sgo** (S-A-704) {Identification uncertain, perhaps the Brag-skor of Upper Snye-mo}

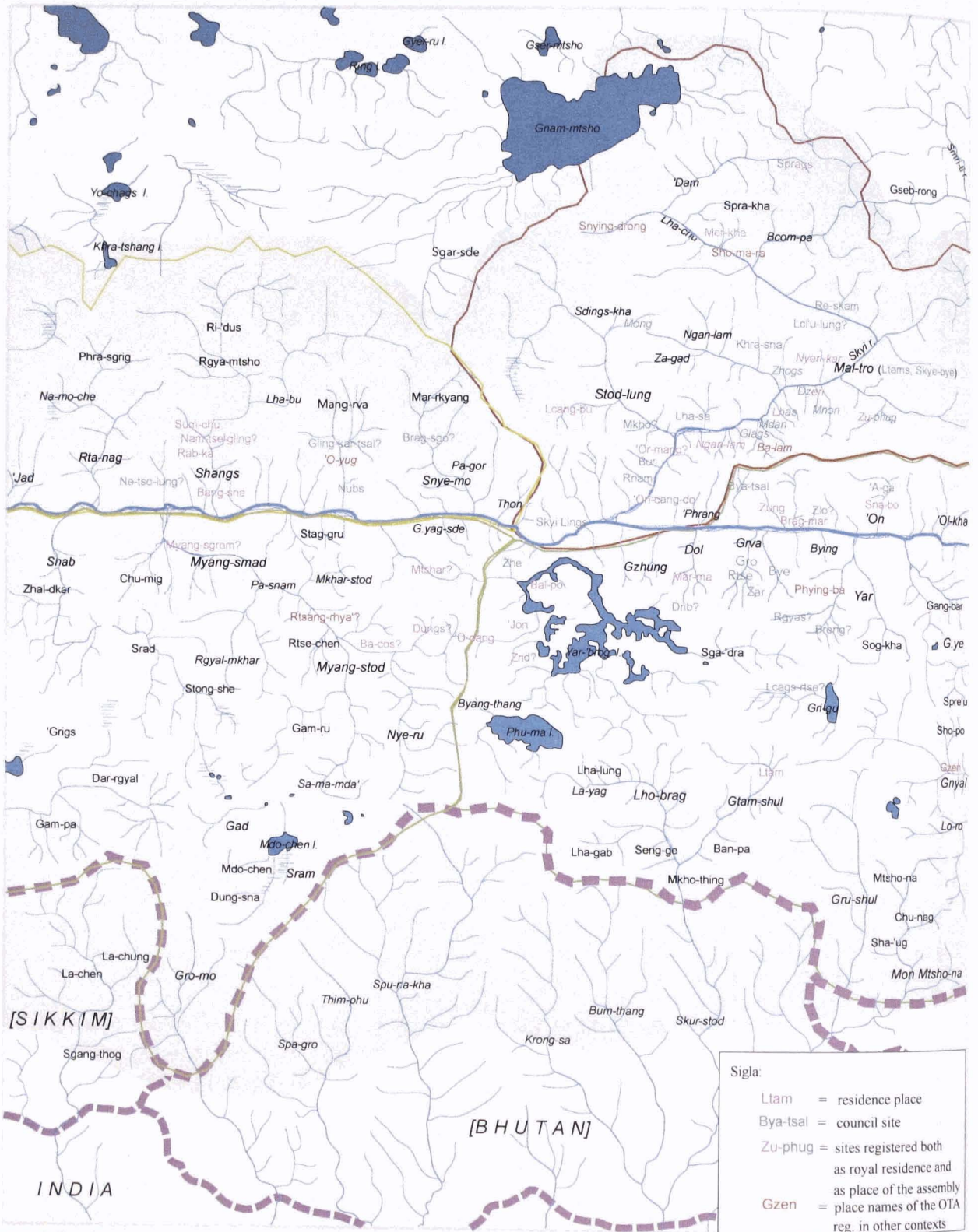
● **Ding-ding-tang of Ba-c[h]os** (S-R-730, 732) {Possibly the Ba-chos Gung-thang known from the Gri-gum account of PT 1287 (*TDD* 202): with his army the Gri-gum son [Shakhyi] went from Phying-ba through Men-pa 'phreng-ba'i la and Ting-srab rong-rings and then reached Ba-chos Gung-thang from where he later proceeded to Myang-ro Sham-po to (re-)conquer the Myang-ro district which had been occupied by the usurper Lo-ngam (§ 3.2; the "long valley / ravine Ting-srab" may refer to the Ting-ra of south-western Yar-'brog (Map 7.4), which also would suggest that the army of the Yar-lung king followed the southern route to Gtsang, – possibly from Phying-ba via Rgyas-smam to Ting-ra and (Phu-ma) Byang-thang (Uray 1972b) and from here either via Nye-ru or via Stag-lung and the Kha-brag-la to Myang-stod). Ba-cos thus appears to be located somewhere between (south)western Yar-'brog and the eastern Myang-stod}

● **Dungs** = **Stag-tshal of Dungs** (S-R-673, 717, 720, 721); **Mkha'-bu of D.** ([S-]A-720) {From the context it seems probable that it refers to an area in eastern Gtsang. It may correspond to the Ru-lag district Dung-lung-pa which we assume



MAP 7.1-2:
The place names of the *Annals* in central Tibet – Distribution of royal residences and places of the council.

Sigla: ● = place of residence of the *bisan po* ● = council site ● = places mentioned in other political contexts ● = residence place registered more than five times ● = council site registered more than three times



Map 7.2

is the small Dung valley situated in the northeastern part of Myang-stod (§ 6; Map 6.2). A Dung-lung is occasionally mentioned in later sources (e.g. *GKC* 207)

● **Bal-ph|ho/bo = Bal-po** (S-R-675, 690, 695, 697, 709–711, 718, 719, 722, 723); **Bal-pho Bri'u-tang** ([S-]A-699); **Bal-po Sha-ru-mkhar** (S-R-707, 708) {It is evidently the Dpal-sde (Sba-lung) district of Yar-'brog (§ 3.1), arguably related to the Bal (Sbal-ti) clan (cf. also the form Dpal-skyes); § 3.1; Map 7.4}. Sha-ru castle perhaps refers to the site of the later Dpal-sde *rdzong* (in Yar-gzig village; *XD* 154a) and 'Bri'u-tang could be the 'Bri-lung situated further to the east}

● **Zhe = Zhe-shing** (Sp-R-675); **Rtsibs of Z.** ([S-]R-715) {According to one informant from Rin-spungs, Zhe-shing is the name of a small valley due north of Dpal-sde (Bal-po) in Yar-'brog (not registered in *XD*)}

● **'Jon = 'Jon of Yar-'brog** (S-R-702) {Exact loc. unknown}

● **'O-dang = 'O/Yi-dang of Yar-'brog** (S-R-670, 704, 745) {It may refer to the 'Om-thang behind the Kha-brag-la, at the border between present-day Rgyal-rtse and Sna-dkar-rtse County; *XD* 237b, 238b; Map 6.2. Less likely: the 'Ong ('Ong-chung, 'Ong-'go) SW of Sna-dkar-rtse; Map 7.4}

?● **Zrid = Ldu-nag of Zrid** (S/W-R-665, 666, 669; S-A-728); **Zrid-mda'** (P-666; S-R-681, 696) {Ldu-nag perhaps means Lung-nag (*ldu = lngu = lung*; cf. Uebach 1999: 265) and an identification with the *bon po* site of Skyid-shod Lung-nag has been suggested (Uebach, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*). Yet, a Zrid in Skyid-shod is unknown and the toponym generally still remains unidentified. The form Zrid may be here an older or variant spelling of Srid. The latter occasionally also appears in the form of Srad. There are a number of Srad places in central Tibet, such as the Srad as a variant form of Gzad [Chu-shul] (Gzad = present day Sras), Srad (= Spras) in northern 'Phan-yul, the Sras in Lho-brag (originally Srad?), or the Srad district in Gtsang where the center of Ru-lag is located, i.e. Dur-ba-sna of Srad (also Srid kyi Dur-ba-sna; *Jo sras* 112; Ldu-nag = Dur-sna?). An informant from Sras (= Gzad Valley, one of our candidates for the identification of Zrid but a place without any traces that would confirm this) states that he has heard of a "Duna" situated in the Yar-'brog area; probably meaning the Rdo-nang of the Yar-'brog-mtsho peninsula zone which is not the Ldu-nag of Zrid. Nevertheless, Yar-'brog remains as one of the closer candidates, where Srad (= Zrid?) appears to have been once the name of an area around the later Lho Stag-lung, place of the *phyi dar* temple of Srad-thang-gnas; *RCP*: 94, 660; Map 7.4}

● **Ltam = Ra-sngon of L.** (S-R-671); Ltam (P [S-R]-695) {Inserted at Gtam-shul; less likely: the Ltams of Mal-tro}

● **Lcag-rtse** (A-832/33? [PT 1165; see App. I]) {Possibly not the Lcags-rtse (Jid-par?) of the 741-742 entry of the *OTA*, but rather a Lcag-rtse in central Tibet, perhaps the Lcag-rtse at the Gri-gu lake, SW of Yar-stod}

● **Gzen = Gzen of Gnyal** (P-ante 640) {Exact location unknown. Inserted at Upper Gnyal; see also § 3.2, no. 23}

?● **Breng** (S-A-743) {A possible candidate is the Breng (~Greng/Grang-mo Grang-chung) of 'Phyong-po (Hazod 2007a). Note that it would be the only entry of a council held in the homeland of the *btsan-po* (but see Rgyas). The place (in the form Yar-stod Brang-nga 'bram-snang) is listed as residence of the "prince, [Srong-btsan Sgam-po's younger] brother" (*rgyal-bu-mched*). *Lde'u* 255.1–2; Dotson 2007a: 89. A 'Breng (~'Greng/'Brang) is in Kha-rag; *RCP* 675}

● **Phying-ba** (P-650, 651, 706, 713) {Referring to the burial of the *btsan-po* in Mu-ra and Lower Don-mkhar, the two grave fields opposite the *bla'i pho brang* Phying-ba Stag-rtse}

?● **Drib = Drib-nag** (S-A-722, 723) {Drib = Grib; inserted here with question mark at the Grib of Upper Dol; other options include *inter alia* the famous Grib south of Lhasa, or the Grib of Yar-'brog; Map 7.4}

● **Mar-ma = Mar-ma of Dold** (W-R-699) {In Dol, place of the *phyi dar* temple of Mar-ma Chog-phug; *RCP*: 660}

● **Gro = Gro-bu/pu of Dra** (S-A-695, 718) {In Grva district, possibly the Gro-sar, west of Grva-nang; Map 7.4}

● **Zar = Zar-phu of Dra** (S-A-719) {It is the Gzar-po of Upper Grva; *RCP*: 123}

● **Rtse = Rtse-gro of Dra** (W-A-747) {In Grva; identical with Gro-pu?}

● **Bye = Dra Bye** (W-A-745) [= Bye[-mo] of Dra/Grva, or Dra-bye = Grva-phyi?}

?● **Skyi Lings = Skyi Gling-rings-tsal** (W-A/P-692, P-705); probably identical with **Skyi Byar Lings-tshal** (W-A-704, 728, 746) {A Skyid-tshal and Skyid Gling-po are registered for the western Chu-shul district (*XD* 119b; Chöpel 2004: 138; a Skyid-tshal is also in [Skyi] Rnams; *RCP*: 168). The place of the council is inserted here at the level of the later Skyid-tshal dgon-pa situated due west of Sras (= Gzad)}

?● **Byar = Byar gyi Lcang-bu** (R-W-758, 761, 762, 764) {According to context it is less likely to be identified it with the Byar of Lho-kha and we assume Byar corresponds here to Skyi Byar (see Skyi Lings)}

● **Rnam = Skyi Rnam[s]** (W-A-711, 743) {It is the Rnam / Gnam of Lower Skyid-shod, south of Bur}

● **Bur = Skyi Bur** (W-A-761, 762) {Bur-lung is the later Rva-stod Valley in Skyid-smad; *RCP*, s.v. index}

● **'On-cang = 'On-cang-do** (S?/W-R-700, 702); W-A-702, 707–709; R-814/815 [see above App. I]) {In southern Skyid-smad; Map 7.4}

● **Bya-tsal = Bya-tsal of Sgreys** (P-699; W-A-738); **Lha-lung of Sgreys** (P-676) {The exact location of Bya-tsal is unknown; Lha-lung is in Upper Sgreys /Sgrags; *RCP*: 87f.}

?● **'Or = 'Or-mang** (R-667) {As far as a place in central Tibet is meant it could be the 'Or-[mo] in the Snye-thang

district of Skyid-smad (*RCP*: 166). 'Or-mang appears also as part of a personal name, i.e. [Cung-'bzang] 'Or-mang from the 'Bro clan who became chief minister in AD 702)

- **Zung-kar** (S-R/ W-R-756; R-783/84 [see App. I]) [Zung-mkhar (~Zur-mkhar), the valley to the west of Brag-dmar]
- **Brag-dmar = Tsal-ka of B.** (W-R-697); **Brag-dmar** (W-R-707–709, 710–713, 717–719, 721–723, 725, 726, 728, 730, 736–738, 740, 741, 743–747); **Dbu-tshal of B.** (W-R-729); **'Om-bu-tshal of B.** (W-R-731–735) [For Brag-dmar, see WANGDU and DIEMBERGER 2000; *SK*, *passim*]
- **Zlo = Zlo** ([Sp-]A/P)-726, 742) [In the same years Brag-dmar is registered as the *btsan-po*'s place of residence, hence Zlo may refer to Lo (~Glo), the valley due east of Brag-dmar. It is possibly identical with Slo and may historically be related to the clan name Lo (Lo-mi), listed among the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug*; *Jo sras* 112; Hazod 2004. Also feasible: the Lo-mo-yul, known as the birthplace of the “hermit of the Sba clan” (Sba-sgom); identical with the Lo of Skyid-stod?; see § 7.2. A settlement Lo is at the entrance to the Sman-chu Valley east of Tshal Gung-thang; Map 7.8]
- **'A-ga = 'A-ga-tsal of 'On** (W-R-690; S/W-A-697) [The place in the 'On Valley (north of Yar-lung) appears to be no more known among the locals of today]
- **Sna-bo = Sna-bo of 'On** (W-R-675) [Exact location unknown; perhaps related to the 'On Sna-nam Zha-lnga, a key site of the later Phag-gru *khri skor*; *RCP*: 559]
- **Lcang-bu = Lcang-bu of Stod[-lung]** (W-R-757) [Most likely the site of the Lcang-bu temple (early 9th cent.). Akester (p.c.) thinks the original place of the temple was not in the Mtsur-phu valley (at the later Mtshur-phu *dgon* where the Lcang-bu pillar is situated (Richardson 1985: 92f.), but somewhere in the lower section of Stod-lung]
- **Mkho = Mkho of Stod[-lung]** (S-R-759) [It may well be identical with the Ko-ba-brag of Stod-lung; known from Tshal-pa sources, *RCP*: 80; perhaps related to it is the site of the (8th cent.?) Ko-ri Ni-ting temple; Uebach 1987: 111]
- **Lha-sa = Mkharr-brag** (W-A-721, 722, 730); Sha-tsal of Ra-sa (P-710) [Mkharr-brag probably is the imperial site of Lha-sa Mkharr-brag; Sha-tsal (“deer grove”) appears to refer more closely to the place around Ra-mo-che]
- **Ngan-lam = Ngan-lam Tsal sar-pa** ([W-]R-701) [It is the Ngan-lam of the Tshal-pa district (and not the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul; § 4). The district is described as Btsan-'bangs-sa (place of [one of] the *btsan-'bangs* clans) and evidently constituted a settlement of the Ngan-lam from the group of the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug* (§ 6: Dbu-ru). See *RCP*: 602ff.]
- **Ba-lam** (P- 677, 678) [It is the Ba-lam of Upper Skyi; § 6]
- **Glag = Bu/Pu-cung of Glag** (~ Glagu-chung) (S-A-685, 701, 756, 762, 763, 764) [The place in Glag may be the Glag Phur-lung known from later sources; it refers to the south-western side valley of Shing-tshang; Hazod 2004: 32f.]

● **Mdan** (W-A-678) [It is the Ldan (Ldan-ma) Valley due east of Ba-lam; see Hazod 2004]

● **Lhas = [Skyi] Lhas gang-tsh[hl]** ([W-]R-704, 707, 708, 710, 711; W-A-727, 732, 733) [Skyi Lhas is the Gru-bzhi Valley south of Dga'-ldan; *RCP*: 711, *passim*]

● **Mnon** (W-A-714) [The land of the Mnon clan in Malgro is the S/Gnon (~Yar-snon) *alias* Rgya-ma of the later sources. Here Tibet's first emperor Khri Slon-mtshan *alias* Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan established a first outpost of the Yar-lung alliance – the residence of Yar-snon Sbra-stod-tshal (also Dbu-ru Brag-stod-tshal) where the son and successor Khri Srong-rtsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po) was born, i.e. the *pho brang* Byams-pa Mi-'gyur-gling from the later sources. Here the 821/22 treaty was sealed by the Tibetan side. Hazod 2002. Note that there is also a Snon (= Mnon) in Lower Skyid-shod, the valley south of Gsang-phu; § 6]

● **Nyen-kar** (R-651–653, 677–688, 691–693, S-R-695, W-R-714; W-R-759); Thang-bu-ra of N. (R-689); Nyen-kar Lcang-bu (P [W-R]-695) [Nyen-kar corresponds to the Lo Valley in Upper Skyid-shod; below § 7.2; Map 7.9]

● **Slo** (W-A-759) [Possibly identical with Zlo; less likely: the Lo where the Lo-dgon was founded (11th cent.), a place in the Upper Lo Valley, the Nyen-kar of the imperial period]

● **Mal-tro = Ltams of Mal-tro** ([S-]A-714); Skye-bye of Mal-tro (R-660); Spe-tshal of Mal-tro (in PT 1165; above App. I) [The sites in Mal-gro are not more closely identified. Skye in Skye-bye is perhaps to be read as Skyi; Skye-bye = Skyi Phyi-tshal, i.e. Bye-kha of Skyi (?); see § 3.2, no. 4]

● **Zu-spug = Zu-spug** (S-A-688; S-R-758); **Zhon-ba of Zu-spug** (S-A-694); **Rkyang-bu-tsal of Zu-pug** (S-A-713, 715); *pho brang* **Sdings of Z.** (S-R-761) [Zu-spug is the Zi-sbug of eastern Mal-gro; Rkyang-bu-tsal – well known from the founding history of Bsam-yas – most likely is the present-day Mkharr-rkyang, a village (with unidentified ancient ruins nearby) in Lower Zi-sbug. Hazod 2003; *Dbu' bzhed* 60]

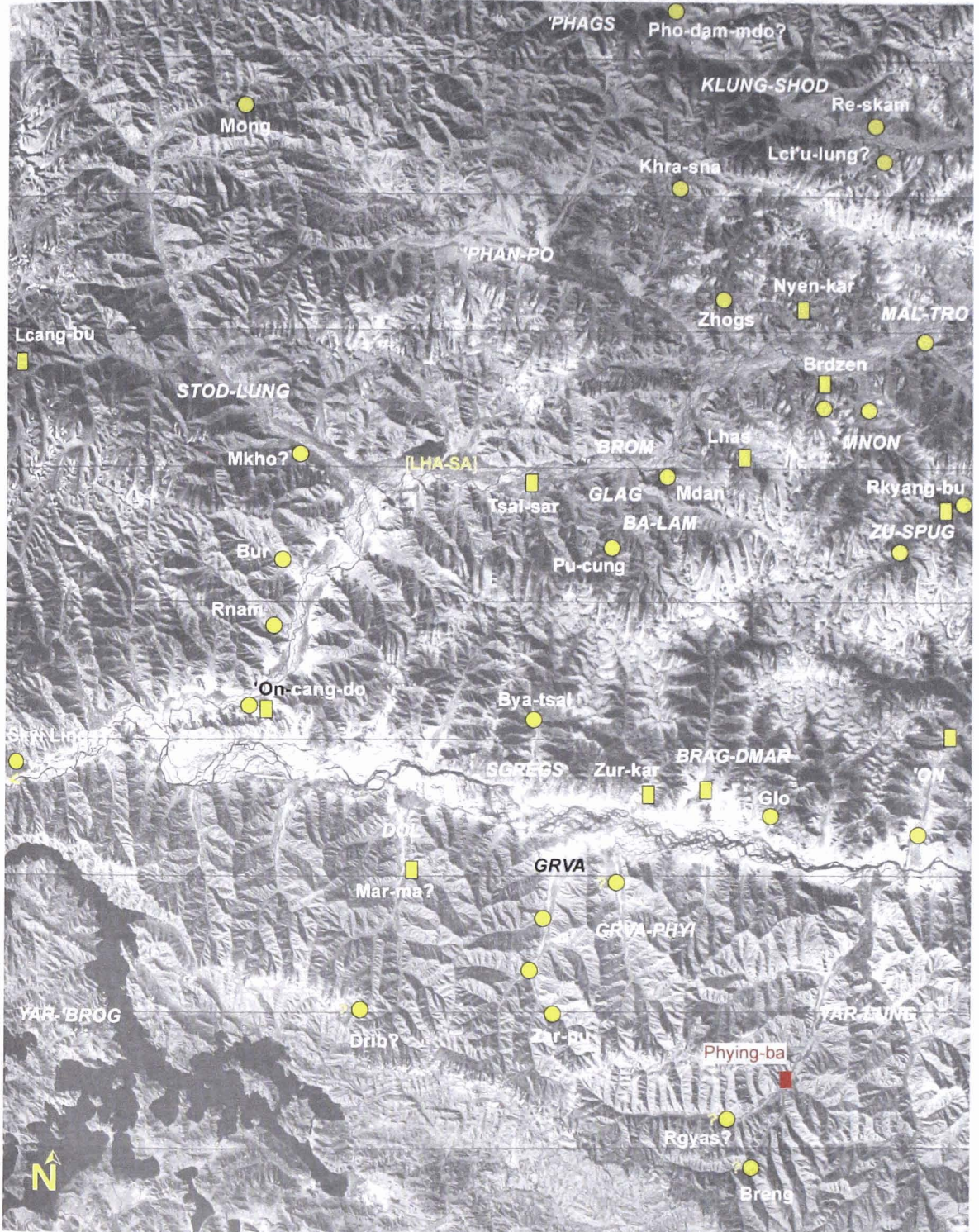
?● **Khra-sna** (A/P-691) [Arguably the old Ngas-po Khra-sna; located in Upper Yung-ba-sna of Lower 'Phan-yul; a Khra-sna is also in Upper 'On]

● **Zhogs = Tshur-lung of Zhogs** (W-A-688) [It refers to a not further known place in Zhogs, usually referred to as 'Phan-po Zhogs in the sources]

● **Mong = Mong-pu Sral-'dzong** (A-654); **Mong of Stod[-lung]** (S-A-757); **Mongl-kar** (S-R/P-700; 701; W-A-713, 717 701, 723) [The Mong Valley of Upper Stod-lung is known as the birthplace of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's wife. Mong-bza' Khri-lcam; Migmar 108f. Worth of mention is the neighboring Lding-kha (Sdings-kha) which a local account describes as the summer residence of *blon-chen* Mgar (Stong-btsan yul-zungs); several sites around Lding-kha-*dgon* are locally associated with Srong-btsan Sgam-po; *RCP*: 582]

- **Snying-drung** = **Snying-drung** (P-ante 650); **Gye Thal-ba-gong of S.** (P-657); Sna-rings of S. (P-658) (The Snying-grong district of 'Dam-gzhung County; it was traditionally divided into nine camps (Gnyan [read: Snying]-grong sger-gzhung-dgu) centered around the administrative seat of Sbas-tshang *rdzong* (Fort of the Sbas [= Dba's clan?] House); see Bellezza 2005: 53)
- **Sprags** = **Mur-gas of Sprags** ([S-]A-680, 683); **Sha-ra of Sprags** (R/P-659, 668, 676) (Sprags in the north-eastern part of 'Dam-gzhung; see § 5, Map 6b)
- **Mer-ke** = **Mer-k[h]e** (R-650, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 661; P-705, 706) (It corresponds to the Mer-che, -chung in Dbu-ru-lung of Byang. Mer-khe is also the name of the local *yul-lha* who at the same time is considered as the chief territorial god of the Dbu-ru-lung area, an attribution which also underlines the central position of Mer-khe in this section of the Upper Dbu-ru; Hazod, *forthcoming*)
- **Ris-pu** (P-667) (The place where *blon-chen* Mgar passed away presumably refers to the Ris-bu/phu Valley of Dbu-ru-lung; Hazod, *forthcoming*)
- **Sho-ma-ra** = '**Gor-ti** (P-655) (Sho-ma-ra is the form which later sources mention as the seat of the *mkhos-dpon* of Bod (§ 2) and as the place of the event which in *OTA* is registered for 'Gor-ti (i.e. the writing of the law book by *blon-chen* Mgar). A 'Gor-ti is not known in the area of Sho-ma-ra, however, and it can not be excluded that the site refers to a different place somewhere else ('Gor-ti = a mistranscription of Bra-gor-sde? i.e. the Bra-gor district in Central Snye-mo which was also a land or branch settlement of the Mgar clan; *RCP*: 145. In the account of the state organization in *Lde'u* 254.19–20, Yar-lung Sog-kha (§ 3.1) is given as the place where Srong-btsan Sgam-po made the law, a statement which is clearly to be identified as a later fabrication; Dotson 2007a: 89)
- **Pho-dam-mdo** (early S-R-673) (Presumably the Phod-mdo in the Byang district, Lhun-grub County, Migmar 85)
- **Lci'u-lung** = Lci'u-lung of Dbu-ru-shod (S-A-724) (Exact location unknown, but Dbu-ru-shod refers here to Klung-shod (see next entry); it is possibly related to Lcil-bu, an alternative form of Spyl-bu in Klung-shod; *TF* 2005: 317)
- **Re-skam** = **Re-skam of Dbu-ru-shod** (A-684) (It is the present-day Rol/Ru-skam in Klung-shod; *RCP*: 118)
- **Dags-po** (P-688, 718) (See § 3.1)
- **Kong-po** = **Rkong Gyug** (P-662) (Rkong we read as Rkong-po; but see Part II, fn. 148. A Kong-gyo is known from later sources, but appears to refer to a place in Lower Khams. *BA* Roerich 507)
- ?● **Myang-sgrom** (S-R-760) (In the same season the council was held at Ne-tso-lung [of 'Dong-dkar] which is in relative proximity to Myang. Thus the residence site may refer to a place in the Myang Valley of Gtsang. Other candidates include *inter alia* the Nyang-bran in the Lhasa Valley)
- ● ● Further places of the *OTA* which are not inserted on the map and which according to the context are to be located in central Tibet:
 - **Ba-bams** = **Gyag-ru-gong/thang of B.** (S-R-757; W-A-680) (Unidentified)
 - **Bang-mo Bang-kar** (P-685) (A place Bang-mkhar-rdo is registered for Yar-brog)
 - **Bog-la** (P-681) (According to the context, it could be in southern Lho-brag, somewhere on the southern route between Yar-brog and Rgyas (Rgyas = Rgyas-sman?)
 - **Bon-mo Na-la-tse** (P-705) (Unclear whether it refers to a place in central Tibet; see Part II: fn. 221)
 - **Byang Rol** (P-698, 744) (In Byang district, north of 'Phan-yul? [Rol = Rol-skam *alias* Re-skam?]; cf. also Rol-mo-gong of Sribts (§ 3.1), or the Rol-khang of Rgyas-sman (*RCP* 661), but see above Part II and fn. 151 for a different reading of *byang rol du gshegs*)
 - **[Skyi] Bra-ma-thang** (W-A-686, 691) (Skyi Dra-tsal)
 - **Btsan-yul** (P-732, 733) (A Btsan-po is in western Tibet (Bellezza 2008, s.v.), and is also the name of a place in 'Phyong-po. In the present context it rather refers to a place in Gtsang or western Lho-ka, however)
 - **Chos-gong of Pa-nong** ([late S-]A 724) (Unidentified, but arguably in (western) Gtsang (Pa-nong = Spa-rong? § 6)
 - **Gser-khung** (P-746) (According to context somewhere in Dbu-ru or central Lho-kha)
 - **Gte'u** ([A]-669 (Possibly identical with Rte'u[-mkhar])
 - **Gu-ran of Zhims** (P-675) (According to the context it is rather a place in Zhang-zhung area)
 - **Gyo-ru** (P-690, 709) (§ 5, 6)
 - **Gyug** (P-653) (As a place in central Tibet it may refer to the Gyug of Rkong[-po] (cf. Migmar 96f.; or Yugs of Gtam-shul (*SL* 7) ? [= Yugs *rdzong*? *RCP*: 677]), yet, the context also allows an identification with a place in Zhang-zhung)
 - **Gzhong-phyag** (S-A-711) (Possible candidates: Gzhong-pa in the Lower Stod-lung Valley, or Gzhong-pa-tshal, the center of Gyas-ru in Shangs)
 - **Jor Gong-sna** (W-R-727) (Unidentified)
 - **Kho-brang-tsal** (P-704) (The place where Rgyal Gtsug-ru was born remains unidentified. Post-dynastic sources give *pho brang* Lhan-dkar (Ldan-mkhar, Lan-dkar) as Mes 'Ag-tshoms' birthplace. It is usually identified with the Ldan-mkhar of Yar-stod, possibly a mis-identification, for the local oral tradition only speaks of a foundation of this palace by the king. Perhaps Kho-brang-tsal is a misspelling of Pho-brang-tsal and refers to one of the "grove places" (*ts[h]al*) of central Tibet used as camp site for the court or the council, such as the *pho brang* Tsal-ka of Brag-dmar or [Ngan-lam] Tsal [sar-pa], the residence of Khri-ma-lod in 701; or Kho-brang-tsal means the Mkho of Stod-lung)

- **Kho-nye Du-ru** [situated “in the north”] (P-724) {Not identified; it cannot be excluded that the *Byang* in this context refers to a specific district, such as the *Byang* of northern Dbu-ru or the *Byang-thang* of southern Yar-'brog (Map 7.4)}
- **Lha-gab** (S-A-707, 726; **Bye-ma-lung of Lha-gab**; [S-]A 712) {Unidentified; the context suggests a location in western Lho-kha. The “hiding place of the god” (Lha Gab[-sa]) perhaps refers to the area around the later *phyi dar* temple of Bye-ma-lung. Location uncertain, but arguably in the area between Yar-lung and Yar-'brog; *RCP* 662}
- **Lha-gshegs** (A- 691) {According to context in Dbu-ru}
- **Lha-sgal** (R-after 764) [= Lha-gab? or sgal = Gal-te, in Snying-grong]
- **Mkhris-pha-tang**/tsa (S-A-708, 709, 710) {Not identified, but most likely in G.yo-ru whose pasture lands were administered during a conference at this site. Perhaps it corresponds to the not more closely located ancient *yul* of Khris-sna (*alias* Srib, § 3.1). A possible candidate is also Kri, a.k.a. Sri, the valley in the eastern section of Tshal Gung-thang which in the south borders on G.yo-ru; *RCP*: 610}
- **Na-ma[r]** (S-R, [S-]A-706, 746, 747) {Identification uncertain; perhaps the Stod-lung Na-mar; *Lde'u* 345}
- **Nya-mangs-tshal** (W-R-671) {Related to Nya/Snya Sha-tsal? A Nya-mo is *inter alia* in the Gzhung area of Lho-kha, the site of the *phyi dar* temple of Nya-mo Gyur/Kyur; cf. also the Nya-lung in PT 1285}
- **'O-bar-tshal** (W-A- 696) {Possibly identical with 'O-dang [of Yar-'brog]; or 'O-bar-tshal is 'O-tshab of G.yas-ru? above § 6; otherwise unknown}
- **Phar** (P-698, 699) {Perhaps the Phar-rkyang of Dbu-ru (§ 6); according to context it could also refer to a site in eastern Tibet; cf. *OTA* entry 706-707: Gle-ma of Par, and above Part II, fn. 204}
- **Pong Lag-rang** (P-705) {The place where Lha Bal-po (Rgyal-gtsug-ru's elder brother) was deposed remains still unidentified. Pong = Bong[-shod] of Gtsang? Perhaps a better candidate: Bong-snyi of Gnyal, a site related to the Snyi-ba clan in Gnyal; *RCP*: 91}
- **Ra-mtshar** (S-R-743, 744) [= Mtshar-bu-sna?]
- **Re'u-tsal** ([W-]R-694) {Perhaps it refers to Re'u-chung (Re'u-rtsa) in the Tshal Gung-thang district; *RCP*: 120}
- **Rgyas** = Lung-rings of Rgyas ([W-]A-681) {Unidentified. A possible candidate is the Rgyas-smam Valley of 'Phyong-po where a Lung-shar is registered; *XD* 81a}
- **Rma-bya-tsal** (W-R-700) {Probably it refers here to a place in eastern Tibet}
- **Rnang-plh|o Ng/Dur-myig** ([S-]R) 703; S-R-721) {Unidentified; perhaps the Snang-gro of Gnyal}
- **Rte'u-mkar** of **Cu-bgo** (W-A-738) {Unidentified; according to context in the central or western Lho-kha region; perhaps the Rte'u of Gnyal (*TF*, s.v. index), where, however, no Cu-bgo (= Chu-s/mgo) district is registered}
- **Rte'u-mkhar** (W-A-682) {Likely identical with Cu-bgo'i Rte'u-mkar; see previous entry}
- **R/Gtsang-chen** (P-687, 719, 720) {See § 5: Ru-lag}
- **Ru-bzhi** (P-733, 746)
- **Ru-gsum** (P-718, 719)
- **Ru-lag** (P-709)
- **Ru-rings** (A-680) {Probably in Dbu-ru}
- **Sa-byar** (S-R-762) {Location uncertain, unless it is identical with the [Skyi] Byar}
- **Sgyog-ram** ([S-]A-682) {It appears to be a compound of two names, Ram-pa of Sgyog (= G.yag)?}
- **Sha-tsal** (P-695) [= Sha-tshal of Ra-sa? – or Sha-tsha[l] of Ba-lam (Hazod 2004), [Nya-]Sha-tshal of Phul-po?}
- **Shong-sna** (S-A-686, 692) {Related to Sho-ma-ra? – in later sources also given as Shong-ma. Perhaps a better candidate is the Gshong (-nub, -shar) east of Kha-rag (Map 7.4). A Gshongs-ma is *inter alia* registered for Rin-spungs (*XD* 341a), and a Sho-ma is in Shangs (Map 7.5)}
- **Skyi Dra-tsal** (W-A-712) {Perhaps identical with Skyi Bra-ma-tang. Identification unclear. A possible candidate is Sbra-stod-tshal, but the latter is usually given in the form of Yar-snon (= Mnon) Sbra-stod-tshal}
- **Skyi Phyi-tsal** (W-A-756) [= Skyi Bye-kha? see Mal-tro]
- **Skyi Stag-tsal** (S-A-693) {It may refer to one of the two Tiger Cliff sites in Skyid-shod known from the later period as prominent governor seats: Bye-ri Stag-rtse (i.e. the “old Stag-rtse” at the entrance to Zhogs) and the Stag-rtse at the entrance to Ba-lam; for these sites, see *RCP*: 208, *et passim*}
- **Sdur-ba** (P-ante 650) {The *mkhar* Sdur-ba [Yu-sna] related to ancient Ngas-po was probably in Lower 'Phan-yul; see § 3.2, no. 11}
- **Snam-stod** (R-663) [= Rnam[s] in Skyid-shod?}
- **Snya Sha-tshal** (W-R-689); Phul-po Nya-sha-tshal (W-R-715)
- **Spel** (S-R-724) {Spel = Spel-zhabs (~ Yel-rab)? Or identical with the residence place of Mal-tro Spe-tshal? (mentioned in PT 1165)}
- **Sre'u Gzhug** (S-A-691) {Perhaps identical with the *phyi dar* site of Gzhug-gnas of Gtsang, which appears to be somewhere in the eastern part of Gtsang, *RCP*: 660; Sre'u = Sreg? See Mtshar}
- **Yul-mar** of **Gtsam** (P-656)
- **Zhur** (W-R-705) {Arguably identical with the Zhur of the *phyi dar* settlement of Zhur Yur-go; exact location unknown but most likely somewhere in southern Lho-kha, between Yar-'brog and Grva. *RCP*: 660}



MAP 7.3: Royal residences (= □) and Council sites (= ○) in the core region of central Tibet.



MAP 7.4: Place names of the *Annals* (= names in yellow) in the upper (western) part of G.yo-ru.

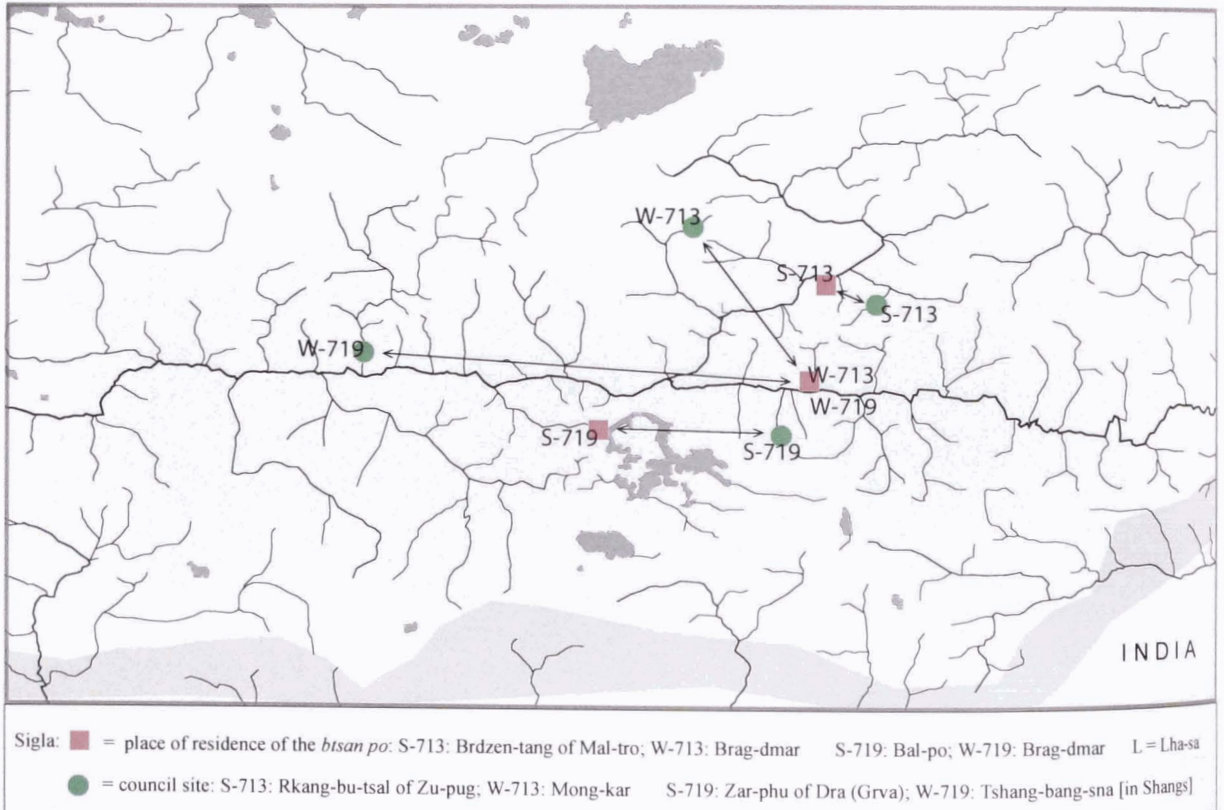


13. G.yas-ru Gtsang-'gram (see § 5)

MAP 7.5: In Shangs of G.yas-ru (red = place names in the OTA).



MAP 7.6: Places of the *Annals* (= yellow) in Upper Dbu-ru.



MAP 7.7: Relative distance of residence and council places: the examples of the years 713 and 719.



MAP 7.8: In Upper Skyid-shod (yellow area = districts registered in the *Annals* as places for the *btsan-po*'s *pho brang* and / or the *'dun sa*; red circle = the grave fields nos. 4–8, 9, 11 of § 3.2).

7.2 The Identification of Nyen-kar

Local examination of a royal residence place and clan land in the Skyid-chu Valley

1. Preliminary remarks

If one were to summarize the entries in the *OTA* on one single map, a map in which all the questions of the identification of the place names are solved, then in the area of central Tibet we would see a dense overlapping of lines that run through particular places, some more often than others, so that here a tight network emerges, which apparently does not start from or lead back to a fixed center. A line landscape without a center, this is the graphic abstraction of the seasonal movements of the royal *pho brang* described in the *Annals* and the gathering that was often (but not always) held relatively close to the *btsan-po*'s residence (Map 7.7). It indicates a significant detail of the political geography of imperial Tibet, already addressed above (Introduction: 59f.), where a "mobile center" is on the move between winter and summer camps in the core zone of an ever-expanding empire. For their part, the core zones with their administrative basic districts in agricultural central Tibet form a development directed outwards, as is expressed in the successive establishment of the Horns and "additional Horns." The factor of movement here appears as a strategic function in the process of political consolidation of early state development. Even if we have today made some progress in the identification of the individual sites, we know little in detail about the places themselves and the background for their specific use as described in the *Annals*. What for example causes the court to set up its camp precisely in Mer-khe (in Dbu-ru-lung), or the great minister to call the next gathering at this site or another (and almost never where the *btsan-po* was staying)? In some cases, connections are recognizable, if for example particular administrative measures (such as census records) were being carried out in the region in which the gathering was held. Mostly, however, the entries provide no more detailed indications that would make it possible to learn the particular motives for the choice of location. There are some geographical restrictions, which have already been mentioned, for example that the areas of Dbu-ru and the northern G.yo-ru were preferred, that is, the innermost and as it were the safest zone of the empire (Map 7.3). With regard to the residence places, it is perhaps worth mentioning in this connection that a range of sites such as Lhasa or places in 'Phan-yul or also in Yar-lung, which we know had a central importance for the royal house and are given as the royal seat, do not appear in the *Annals*. The lack of attention to them does not mean that the *btsan-po* or the court did not stay at these places or were not active here, but it does indicate that the list of residence places in the *Annals* apparently only relates to the primary locations of the *pho brang*. Here it is noteworthy that the residence places (but also the council sites) often lie in the hinterland, away from the main routes, which all the more raises the question of the motive for the choice of these places. In an earlier work (Hazod 2003), it was noted that it makes sense to see these places as belonging to a particular lineage. We know that the clan aristocracy (under the condition of unbroken loyalty to the throne) never lost their old territorial connections in the period of the kingdom. Thus the decision to locate the court and the gathering in this or that site is perhaps based on the fact that a host who makes his area available as a camp site resides in these places. This involves a structural dimension, if we see the alternating choice of places as part of the relationship between the throne and the clan aristocracy, a relationship that has its foundation in the authority of the state. At the same time, these sites mark a political geography, through which the older territorial structures shine, the latter embodied in the lands of old (and partly regionally oriented) clans.

One of the frequently mentioned sites in the *OTA* is Nyen-kar, whose importance as the most frequented royal residence place of the seventh and early eighth centuries has been addressed in a number of research papers. The identification of this place on the basis of an *in situ* research trip conducted in 2007 has allowed us a better understanding of the connection, which is addressed here, between the older history and the later use of the place in the imperial period.



MAP 7.9: Nyen-kar – the heart of ancient Klum-ro and royal residence place in the imperial period.

2. The Identification of Nyen-kar

Nyen-kar is never described in the *OTA* as a council site, but only as a residence place, and in this category, with 22 entries ranks behind Brag-dmar (34 annual entries). The next most frequent are Bal-po (in Yar-'brog) and the not more closely identified Dron, both with 14 annual entries. In the 8th century, Brag-dmar, the area around Bsam-yas, was the preferred residence place of the two *btsan-po*, Mes Ag-tshom and Khri Srong-lde-btsan (and was certainly still so after the period of the *Annals*; AD 764). Nyen-kar was primarily the residence place of the *btsan-po* Khri 'Dus-srong, who almost exclusively set up camp here when he was not on the march with his soldiers. From the *OTA* we gather that it is a question of a large area which includes the localities of Lcang-bu and Thang-bu-ra. The area had a much older history going back to before the time of the *Annals*, if

we assume that the Nyen-kar of the *Annals* is identical with the Nyen-kar rnying-ba that is mentioned in the *OTC* as the main residence of the (pre-imperial) ruler Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo. In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the same place name is also linked to Srong-btsan Sgam-po; it says that he went from Nyen-kar to Skyi-lung and subsequently came to La-mo Chags-pa-prum, where a solemn alliance between the *btsan-po* and Dba's Pangs-to-re Dbyi-tshab (and the latter's collateral clan relatives, *spun mtshan bdun*) was sealed (*TDD* 210–212). In his *Deb ther dkar po* (*DK* 62.2–3), the Tibetan scholar Dge-'dun Chos-'phel states that this site may be connected with the Chag-la pass in 'Phan-yul (Map 4.1), an assumption that later Tibetan historians who were consequently looking for Nyen-kar primarily in 'Phan-yul also followed (Migmar 110f.; P. Wangdu, p.c.). This proposal cannot be satisfactory, because a pass is not a place of reception, rather a place that one leaves behind. B. Dotson was the first to point out that La-mo Chags-pa-prum is to be identified with the area of La-mo and that Nyen-kar is therefore to be sought in this section of the Skyid-chu Valley (= Skyi-lung). This geographical limitation distances itself from the usual assumption among Western authors which locates Nyen-kar in Stod-lung (Richardson 1985: 92f.; Uebach 1992: 505). Here they followed Petech (1967), who erroneously equated the Nyen-kar Lcang-bu of the *Annals* with the Lcang-bu of Tshur in Stod-lung. Likewise, the assumption according to which the area of the Nyen-kar residence is identical with the G.yas-ru *stong-sde* Nyen-kar, and therefore is supposed to lie in the border region of the central and right Horns, now proves to be false.

Dotson's reference to La-mo can now be narrowed down further, as La-mo Chags-pa-prum evidently means the place of the later La-mo temple, which appears in the sources also in the form of La-mo Chag-de'u (*RCP*: 659). The temple was founded by Klu-mes (AD 1109) and in the Dga'-ldan pho-brang period was the seat of the state oracle La-mo Tshangs-pa. The leading position of the oracle resulted from an older (post-dynastic) protective deity tradition, which identifies Tshangs-pa dkar-po as the birth god of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. According to the local tradition, the same deity has its *bla mtsho* or "soul lake" in the Upper La-mo Valley, as it were at the foot of the "coronation mountain" of the founder king (i.e. Mt. Dbang-bskur-ri), and functions as the territorial god (*yul-lha*) of La-mo. It makes La-mo one of the key sites in the Srong-btsan Sgam-po biography, regardless of the re-painting and decoration that this place (like other royal sites in the Skyid-chu Valley between Rgya-ma and Lhasa) experienced in the later vita literature and the local tradition (Hazod 2002; *TF*: 236, *passim*). The king reached this place on his way from Nyen-kar through Skyi-lung. The way, which is described here, is reminiscent of a point in the biography of the Stag-lung-pa founder, Stag-lung Thang-pa Bkra-shis-'phel (1142–1210), where it is said that on his journey to Phag-mo-gru (Gdan-sa-thil, the seat of his later teacher) in Pho-mdo (Map 7.6) he met a doctor from Nyan, who asked Stag-lung-pa to join him and his people, who were also on the way to Phag-mo-gru. The group travelled through Klung-shod to Nyan and then (presumably through Rgya-ma) further to 'On, from where Stag-lung Thang-pa then reached Phag-mo-gru-pa (*SC* 206.15; *BA* Roerich 612). We thought that this Nyan, which was evidently between Klung-shod and the Skyid-chu, could well be identical with the Nyan Lha-sdings, a Bka'-gdams-pa temple, which was historically closely connected with the temples of Spyil-bu in Klung-shod and of Dge-'dun-sgang, near La-mo (*TF*: 317). And it should also be identical with the Nyan from the biography of Spyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar (AD 1038–1103), who was born in Snang-ra-sgang of Nyan in AD 1038 as the son of Śākya Rdo-rje of the Dbas (Dba's) lineage (*KC* 316) who were native to this place. The famous Bka'-gdams-pa master was the founder of the Lo dgon-pa in the Lo Valley (opposite La-mo) and apart from his numerous *caitya* foundations known as Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar, is supposed among other things also to have erected a temple in Zhogs, to the east of Lo. As a Lha-sdings is listed for Zhogs in the toponymic catalogue of *XD*, which is near Snyan-grags, it was initially logical to look for this Nyan here. Our visit to Zhogs in May 2007, however, was disappointing. The local tradition does indeed know of the presence of Spyan-snga-ba in Zhogs, but not of his birthplace. There are several interesting stories about the Lha-sdings and Snyan-grags area in Lower Zhogs, but no indications that make it possible to conclude it was a royal residence place. Some weeks later, after the return from Gtsang, we decided to make another research journey in this area, this time to go to Lo, one of the side valleys of the Skyid-chu, which as of yet we had not visited. In the Bka'-gdams-pa and in particular in the Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition, there are, as we know, numerous examples where founding figures established their main seat in their birthplace. Often, it forms the first field of conversion of the master. Thus, if Spyan-snga-ba's birthplace is not in Zhogs,

it might be in Lo, where his main monastery is. And so it was. Here the whole Nyan and Nyen-kar story has its conclusion.

The Lo Monastery is in the upper section of the valley, an impressive structure generously enclosed by walls, stretching over the Glang-chen hill (Fig. 14a; geogr. position: 29°54'43.4"N 91°36'09.1"E). The foundation stone for this important Bka'-gdams-pa seat was laid in AD 1095, by Spyan-snga-ba (with his then assistant Bya-yul-ba chen-po Gzhon-nu-'od, 1075–1138). In the 17th century it was taken over by the Dge-lugs-pa and further extended (VS 171f.). Today the head is a young Rin-po-che who managed to get hold of financial support for major renovation work in recent years, and has ensured the revitalization of the specific monastery tradition, above all the important 11th-month festival of Lo Gnam-gang mchod-pa, which is part of the "Four Great Offerings of central Tibet" (*dbus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhi*) (see TF: 290). Characteristic of the local tradition is, among other things, the Lo oracle, which is only responsible for Lo and its inhabitants. The female oracle comes from the local lineage of the Lo Gser-khang chu-khor and is the medium of the deity Lo A-phyi 'Brog-mo, the *yul-lha-mo*



14a. Lo dgon-pa.

of the country, which supposedly once functioned as the patroness (*yon bdag mo*) of Spyan-snga-ba. The name of the founder is on everyone's lips here and everyone knows the house where he was born in Snang-ra-gang, a village not far below the monastery. The local monks say that he frequently meditated under a juniper tree in the place of the later monastery (the tree trunk of the juniper is still there; it is said that it still sprouts and a small shrine is held sacred as a separate place; Fig. 14b). During one of his sessions the letters "los" appeared in the needles of the tree, which Spyan-snga-ba understood as a command to break off his exercise: "it is right (*los*) [you should now build your monastery here]." It is pronounced as "lo," hence the name of the monastery, after which the valley is named. Before, it is said, it was called "Nyen" (Nyan).

This is a secondary popular etymology, as one often finds in the local traditions. But the indication that this area was previously called Nyan is certainly trustworthy. It is also mentioned in the chronology of the written tradition, where it is said that in the *shing mo phag* year (1095) Spyan-snga-ba came (back) to Nyan, where in the same year he erected the "Lo'i gtsug-lag-khang" (KC 312). Probably the place name already existed previously, but it related to a place *in* Nyan. Only later did Lo gradually replace Nyan as the name of the valley. Thus Tshal-pa sources of the 13th century mention Lo-yul as part of the Tshal-pa myriarchy (RCP: 163), while at the foundation of the above-mentioned Nyan Lha-sdings at the end of the 12th century, talk is of a foundation in Nyan. It was set up by the Spyil-bu-pa disciple Lha-sdings-pa (KC 485) and is the present-day Lhas-sdings Monastery, which is in a western side valley of the Lower Lo. The Nyan of the Stag-lung Thang-pa story is also to be located in Lo. The group certainly came into this area over the passes of Grams-la and Khug-la, according to the locals one of the common connecting routes between Klung-shod and Skyid-shod. Finally, in Lo one also finds



14b. The "Lo tree."

indications that make it possible to identify Nyan as the old Nyen-kar. To the north of Lo dgon-pa there is the small settlement “Nyenpo kar” (Nyen / Nyan-po-mkhar; not registered in *XD*); it is named after the ruins of the same name, which has today almost disappeared as people used the stones for the new buildings of this village. At the entrance to the Lo Valley is the village of Lcang-bu, evidently the Nyen-kar Lcang-bu of the *Annals*; next to it is the present-day district center (*shang*) Thang-dga', presumably the Thang-bu-ra of the *OTA*. Behind Snang-ra-gang, Spyan-snga-ba's place of birth, there is the small side valley called Stag, which we visited on the advice of locals who speak of “age-old ruins” in this area. There are now only a few remains, from which however one can clearly recognize the contours of a larger building complex – possibly the place of the old Nyen-kar Stag-rtse of the *OTC* (*TDD* 228.33; geographical position: 29°54'0.3"N 91°35'27.2"E). An archaeological investigation here (and in Nyen-po-kar) would presumably bring to light informative data, and would do so even more at two further sites where the most impressive evidence of the old Nyen-kar is to be found.

It concerns two grave fields in the Lower Lo, one near the place “Bami” on the eastern side of the valley, the other in the western side valley of Chumpo (sp.?). The narrower area around Bami is called Brgya-grong (Settlement of 100 Families; a frequent place name in central Tibet, in the immediate area of which one often comes across traces of older local history; see § 3.1: Myang-ro; Map 3.2a; Hazod 2007a). From their dimensions these are historically two of the most important grave sites of the Lhasa Valley (see § 3.2, nos. 4–10). They have thus

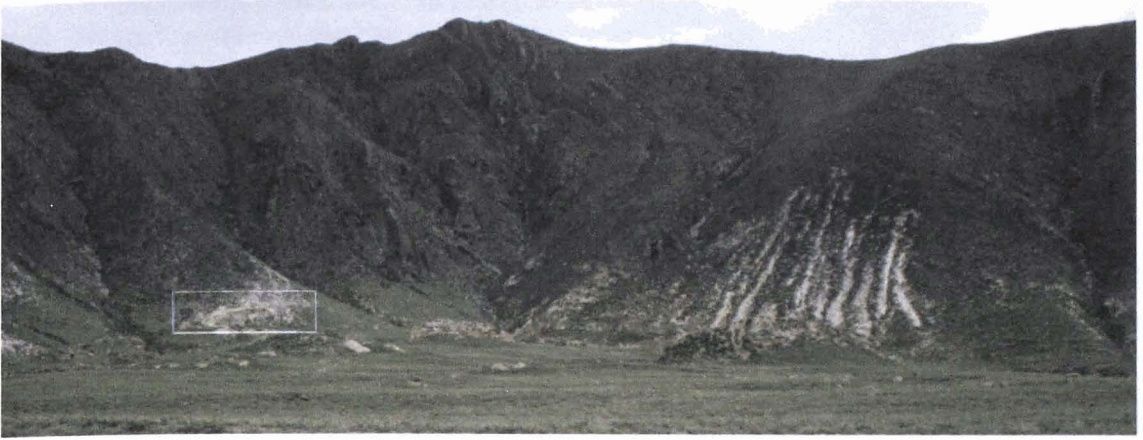


15. Nyan-po-mkhar (the village in the background).



16. The ruins in Stag of Lo.

far not been registered by researchers, which is all the more amazing since Lo is not unknown and the “Bami tombs” lie on a slope immediately next to the main route up the valley. Similar to Sham-bu and other grave sites (above § 3.2), there are large tumuli here (with a length of approximately 30 to 40 m) alongside smaller ones, although with the exception of one structure (Fig. 17c, geographical position: 29°51'21.0"N 91°34'29.3") the larger tombs have all been broken open and often up to half of them taken away. As elsewhere, the grave destructions are continuing today. The earth is carried away and the stones from the inner grave walls broken out and carried away on small tractors. The locals know exactly what the buildings they call *sa-phung* (mounds of earth) are, and in conversation with one of the workers we met in Bami, we drew out details of the findings that they repeatedly come across as well as about the structure of the tomb chambers they had removed; they usually indicate the design of a (walled) plan in the shape of a cross, although these chambers are deep into the earth. The same informant also knew the grave field of Chumpo opposite very well, which consists of many more but smaller tumuli. But on this evening of our last field research day there was no more time for a visit to this side valley, and we satisfied ourselves with some shots from a distance. On the journey out of the valley, the red walls of



17a. The necropolis of Bami (The rectangle marks the opened grave of Fig. 17b).



17b. Inside the grave (Fig. 17a).



17c. One of the bigger tombs in Bami is marked by a cairn. In the background to the left the village Lcang-bu.

La-mo dgon-pa, which lies exactly opposite on the other side of the Skyi[d] River, shone in the evening sun (Fig. 18). The point in the *OTC* is consistently made clear: the king went from Nyen-kar to Skyi-lung, crossed the river (possibly at the old ford of Rgya-mo-rab; Hazod 2002) and came to La-mo Chag-pa-phrum.

3. Dba's – a dynasty in Skyid-shod

This identification of Nyen-kar leads to some additions with regard to our knowledge of the early history of the Lhasa Valley and that of the events of the foundation of the empire described in the *OTC*. As mentioned, “Old Nyen-kar” was the seat of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo, the ruler of Klum-ro (Klum-ro Ya-sum plus Yel-rab sde-bzhi; § 3.1). Several indications in the *OTC* suggest that this thus far not identified *rgyal-phran* was in the area of Mal-gro, which is now confirmed (Lo is today part of Stag-rtse County, but in older sources is mentioned as part of Mal-gro; *RCP*: 163). Lo and the surroundings, approximately the area between Zhogs and Chum-mdal (east of Lo), formed, it seems, the core region of this principality, which was bordered by the territory of Ngas-po in the west, with the center in Yung-ba (Lower 'Phan-yul). The territorial god of Ngas-po is given in the lists (erroneously?) as Klum-lha (god of Klum[-ro]), who is possibly to be identified with Zhogs-lha Phyug-po, a mountain god highly worshipped in this region with his seat, Zhogs-lha-ri, in the border region between Zhogs and Lo (Map 7.8). Now, somewhere around the end of the 6th century, the minister clan of Mnyan (i.e. the clan of Mnyan 'Dzi-zung) broke away from this ruler of Nyen-kar, who was described as tyrannical, and went over to Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum, the lord of Ngas-po. The account in PT 1287 is well known: what followed was the killing of Stag-skya-bo and the annexation of his territory by the lord of Ngas-po. From his new lord the Mnyan minister received the Sdur-ba castle (and its estates) (for the question of its identification, see § 3.2, no. 11; Fig. 8). Two clans appear on the stage, Myang and Dba's, who are disappointed with their new lords, and who, with two further lineages (Mnon and Tshes-pong), convinced the Yar-lung king to proceed against the rival. Very possibly the decisive military actions were carried out from Rgya-ma; this is the land of the ally of Mnon, where Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan had erected an outpost and residence (i.e. Sbra-stod-tshal, birthplace of the son, Srong-btsan Sgam-po). This section of the Skyid-chu region is so to say the narrower geographical stage of the story of the foundation of the empire (Map 7.8). The soldiers crossed the river from Rgya-ma and conquered the main seats of the northern rival, an event followed by the well-known redistribution of the core lands of Ngas-po (plus Klum-ro) to the allied clans by the *btsan-po* (§ 4). The ally of Mnon received his own land (i.e. Rgya-ma), it is said. We assume that also in the case of the other lineages there were already similar older connections to the territories assigned to them that were now confirmed by the *btsan-po*. The Myang received Sdur-ba, along with Za-gad the Dba's (i.e. Dba's Pangs-to-re Dbyi-tshab mentioned above) also received territories in Mal-gro. In the story of the conquest of Ngas-po he is mentioned by name in connection with Klum (“Dbyi-tshab Pangs to-re cut the power (*chab*) [of Khri-pangs-sum] at Klum,” *TDD* 209). Presumably this relates to the Klum core land in Nyen-kar *alias* Nyan / Lo, which – as we know from the Sphyan-snga-ba biography – was a homeland of the Dba's lineage (among others, Kham-pa lung-pa (1232–1282), son of Sbas Rnal-'byor mgon-po from Nyan, is descended from the same local branch lineage; *BA* Roerich 302).

This local Dba's presence leads us to the graves of Bami. They are certainly to be ascribed to a clan that was resident here. It is quite possible that this field (like the one in Chumpo too) was already being used as a graveyard in pre-imperial times. But, as mentioned in other points in this contribution, the larger grave buildings, judging from the dimension and structure as we find here, date at the earliest from the beginning of the 7th century (§ 3.2). This is the period when older dynasties that were more or less closely allied to the empire begin to bury their high representatives in large graves (resembling those of kings) (as in Mchims, Gye, Nyang-po, Spo-bo) and where at the same time clans allied to the side of the *btsan-po* became “great,” whose position and high status was reflected in the construction of similarly big tombs. Examples of this in our view are the big structures of Grva-nang, Grva-phyi and 'On in Lho-kha (see above § 3.2), or the newly discovered necropolises of Bom-ma and Sham-bu in Gtsang or precisely those of Lo in Skyid-shod. The clans and bearers of these “sub-dynasties” of the empire cannot always be further identified (see § 3.2). In the case of Lo / Nyen-kar, alongside the Dba's, the Klum-ro (minister) clans Mnyan and Myang mentioned in the *rgyal-phran*

lists are also a possibility, but realistically are rather to be ruled out. Mnyan (also written as Snyan and perhaps historically related to the toponym Nyan / Nyen) did not play a leading role in the imperial period and Myang certainly has its graves in Nyang-po (§ 3.2-2; Map 3.1b). What is left is the line of the Dba's Dbyi-tshab.

This king-maker clan (of Sum-pa origin; § 2: Chibs) was one of the very great ones. Together with the queen-provider clans of 'Bro, Mchims, and Sna-nam, it forms the group of the *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi*, a classification of the leading lineages, in which the Dba's assumed the position of the *blon-chen* (lineage of the great minister), which interestingly never appeared as a bride-giver clan in relation to the court (see Introduction (p. 59) where the clan's position as "bride-receiver" (*dbon*) is discussed). A Tibetan account (P. Wangdu, p.c.) highlights it as the clan that more than others was entangled in the fate of the empire. The talk is of the "three mistakes" of the Dba's clan: 1) it was the co-founder of the empire (= the story of Dba's Dbyi-tshab), 2) it brought Buddhism to Tibet (= the story of Dba' Gsal-s nang, as reported in the *Dba' bzhed*) and 3) it bore (co-)responsibility for the fall of the empire (= the story of the rebel Dbas Kho-bzher legs-stengs, whose failed anarchic enterprises of the 9th century in eastern Tibet speeded up the disintegration of the empire (Petech 1994: 651ff.; as described elsewhere (Hazod 1998; *CFS*: 85f.)), there is possibly a close connection between the death of this last Dba's of the imperial period and the origin of the Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar deity, who for her part seems to be connected to the legend of the Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar *stūpa* – the *caitya* type which was created and disseminated by the Dba's descendant Spyang-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar).

This clan (or the branch line of Dbyi-tshab) not only had its historic roots in Skyid-shod, but was also the ruling lineage in this area. The Skyi districts (i.e. the two *stong-sde* of Skyi-stod, -smad) were subject to its authority and also the commanders of Lower Dbu-ru came from this line (§ 6). Correspondingly, there are several branch settlements in the Skyid-chu area; Ba-lam and Glag are known by name (home of Dba' Gsal-s nang; Hazod 2004), but also the La-mo of the Dba's Dbyi-tshab was evidently a Dba's land. The actual homeland of the imperial period, however, was apparently in Nyen-kar, in the surroundings of Bami. In the place name index of XD 90a, the place is listed as Ba-mig (= Ba-rmig? cow hoof), but the spellings in this catalogue are not always trustworthy. The locals themselves know of no exact spelling and we believe that this place in the settlement land of the "100 families" (*brgya-grong*) is to be read as 'Ba-mi (= Dba's / Dba'-mi / Sba-mi): "[settlement of the] people of Dba's."

According to this identification, then, Srong-btsan Sgam-po and the succeeding *btsan-po* who set up their residences in Nyen-kar resided in the land of this loyal minister clan. We can also presume similar connections in other place names of the *Annals*, according to which the locations of the *pho brang* and the council were usually within the protective zones of particular clans loyal to the king. The fact that one or other place is listed more frequently than another highlights less the place itself than the clan that lived there.



18. La-mo dgon-pa as seen from the opposite village Leang-bu in Lo.

TABLE AND GLOSSARY

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and “Royal Events”

The following table lists the royal residences, council sites, Mdo-smad council sites, visits by foreign emissaries and “royal events” of each year recorded in the *Annals*. The latter category records births, deaths, funerals and marriages relating to the Tibetan royal family. A similar table can be found in Chang 1959–60: 155–65.

Abbreviations:

| | |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Aut | Autumn |
| Fr | “Annals fragments” |
| II | <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> , Version II (used only for the overlap from 743-744 to 747-748) |
| S | Summer |
| Sp | Spring |
| W | Winter |

| Yr. | Residence | Council Sites | Convenors | Mdo-smad Council Sites | Convenors | State Visits | Royal Events |
|----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| mid-630s | | | | | | | Btsan-srong, Khri Srong-rtsan's elder brother, dies |
| 641-642 | | | | | | | Chinese princess Mun-chang Kong-co arrives in Tibet |
| 649-650 | | | | | | | Death of Khri Srong-rtsan |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|------------------------|--|--|--|--|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 650-651 | Mer-ke | | | | | | Khri Srong-rtsan's corpse in funerary chamber at Phying-ba |
| 651-652 | Nyen-kar | | | | | | Khri Srong-rtsan's funeral performed at Phying-ba |
| 652-653 | Nyen-kar | | | | | | |
| 653-654 | Nyen-kar | | | | | | |
| 654-655 | Mer-khe | Mong-pu Sral-'dzong | | | | | |
| 655-656 | Mer-khe | | | | | | |
| 656-657 | Mer-ke | | | | | | |
| 657-658 | Mer-ke | | | | | | |
| 658-659 | Mer-ke | | | | | | |
| 659-660 | Sprags kyi Sha-ra | | | | | | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|-----|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 660- | Mal-troi | 661 | Skye-bye | | | | | | |
| 661- | Mer-ke | 662 | | | | | | | |
| 662- | He toured | 663 | Rkong-g-yug | | | | | | |
| 663- | Snam-stod | 664 | | | | | | | |
| 664- | He went to | 665 | the north | | | | | | |
| 665- | Zrid kyi | 666 | Ldu-nag | | | | | | |
| 666- | Zrid kyi | 667 | Ldu-nag | | | | | | |
| 667- | He departed | 668 | to 'Or-mang | | | | | | |
| 668- | Sprags kyi | 669 | Sha-ra | | | | | | |
| 669- | Zrid kyi | 670 | Ldu-nag | | | | | | |
| 670- | 'O-dang | 671 | | | | | | | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 671-672 | (S) Ltam gyi Ra-sngon (W) Nya-mangs-tshal | | | | | | Princess Snya-mo-stengs wed Snya-shur Spungs-rye-rgyug of Zhang-zhung |
| 672-673 | (S) Shangs gyi Sum-chu-bo (W) Nam-tse-gling | | | | | | |
| 673-674 | (S1) Phodam-mdo (S2) Sum-chu-bo (W) Shangs gyi Rab-ka-tsal | (S) 'Dong-ka'i Ne-tsolung (W) Dungs gyi Stag-tsal | (S) Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu and Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod | | | | |
| 674-675 | (S) Zrid (W) Tshang-bang-sna | (W) Glag gi Pu-cung | | | | | |
| 675-676 | (Sp) Zhe-shing (S) Bal-po (W) 'On gyi Sna-bo | | | | | | Princess Khri-mo-lan gave a great banquet |
| 676-677 | (S) Sprags gyi Sha-ra (W) Tshang Bang-sna | | | | | | Khri Mangslon dies. His son, Khri 'Dus-srong, is born at Lha-lung in Sgregs |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 677-678 | Nyen-kar | | | | | | Khri Mangslon's corpse is concealed at Ba-lam |
| 678-679 | Nyen-kar | (W1) Glaggi Ryu-bye (W2) Mdan | | | | | Khri Mangslon's corpse is concealed at Balam, then "arrives" (btol) |
| 679-680 | Nyen-kar | | | | | | Khri Mangslon's funeral performed at Phying-ba |
| 680-681 | Nyen-kar | (S) Ru-rings (Aut?) Sprags gyi Mur-gas (W) Babams gyi G.yag-ru-thang | (S) Minister [Mgar] Khri-'bring (F?) Chief minister Btsan-snya (W) Chief minister Btsan-snya and Minister Khri-'bring | | | | |
| 681-682 | Nyen-kar | (S) Zridmda (W) Rgyas gyi Lung-rings | (S) Chief minister Btsan-snya (W) Gnubs Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan and Mgar Mang-nyen Stag-tshab | | | | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 682-683 | Nyen-kar | (S) Sgyog-ram (W) Rte'u-mkhar | (S) Chief minister Btsan-snya (W) [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan and [Mgar] Mang-zham Stag-tshab | | | | |
| 683-684 | Nyen-kar | (S) Sprags gyi Mur-gas | (S) Chief minister Btsan-snya | | | | Mun-cang Kong-co's funeral performed |
| 684-685 | Nyen-kar | (S) Dbu- ru-shod gyi Re-skam (W) Shangs gyi Rab- kha-tshal | (S) Chief minister Btsan-snya | | | | |
| 685-686 | Nyen-kar | (W) Glag gi Pu-chung | (W) Chief minister Khri-'bring | | | | Coronation and name- giving ceremony for Khri 'Dus- srong |
| 686-687 | Nyen-kar | (S) Shong- sna (W) Bra- ma-thang | | | | | |
| 687-688 | Nyen-kar | (S) Bzang- sum-tshal | (S) 'Bon Da- rgyal Khri- zung, [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan and Mgar Sta-gu Zi- mun | | | | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|--|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 688-689 | Nyen-kar | (S) Zu-spug (W) Zhogs gyi Tshur-lung | (W) Dbon Da-rgyal Khri-zung | | | | Princess Khri-mo-stengs departed on a political mission to Dags-yul |
| 689-690 | Nyen-kar gyi Thang-bu-ra | (W) Phul-po'i Nya-sha-tshal | | | | | Princess Khri-bangs departed as a bride to the lord of the 'A-zha |
| 690-691 | (S) Bal-po (W) 'On gyi 'A-ga-tshal | (W) Rtsang gyi Gling-kar-tshal | (W) Dbon Da-rgyal and Chief minister Khri-'bring | | | | |
| 691-692 | (S) Nyen-kar | (S) Sre'u-gzhug (S1) Lha-gshegs (S2) Khra-sna (W) Skyi Bra-ma tang | | | | | |
| 692-693 | (S) Nyen-kar | (S) Shong-sna (W1) Skyi Gling-rings-tsal | | Rgyam-shi-gar | | | |
| 693-694 | (S) Nyen-kar | (S) Skyi Stag-tsal (W) Bzang-sum-tsal | | | | | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 694-695 | (S) Mal-tro'i Brdzen-tang (W) Re'u-tsal | (W) Zu-spug gi Zhon-ba (W) Glag gi Pu-chung | (S) [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-brtsan (W) 'Bon Da-rgyal and [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-rtsan | | | | Ton-ya-bgo Kha-gan paid homage |
| 695-696 | (S1) Bal-po (S2) Ltam (W) Brag-mar (W2) Nyenkar Lcang-bu | (S) Dra'i Gro-pu | | | | | |
| 696-696 | (S1) Zrid-mda' | (W) 'O-bar-tshal | [Gnubs] Mang-nyen Bzhi-rtsan | | | | |
| 697-698 | (S) Bal-po (W) Brag-mar gyi Tsal-ka | (W) 'On gyi 'A-ga-tsal | | | | | An emissary of Ce-dog-pan paid homage |
| 698-699 | (S) He departed north (W) He departed to Phar | (W) 'On gyi 'A-ga-tsal | | | | | |
| 699-700 | (S) He departed from Phar to Bal-po Bri'u-tang (W) Dold gyi Mar-ma | | | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage; Ton-ya-bgo kha-gan paid homage |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 700-701 | (S) He departed from Mongkar to Shagu Snying-sum-khol (W) Rmabya-tsal (W, Khri-ma-lod) 'On-cang-do | | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 701-702 | (S) Gser-zha (S, Khri-ma-lod) Stod gyi Mong (W) Khri-rtse (W, Khri-ma-lod) Ngan-lam-tsal Sar-pa | (W) Gla-gu chung | (W) Zhang Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin and Seng-go Snang-to-re Skyi-zung | | | | |
| 702-703 | (S) Pong-khri Mu-stengs (S, Khri-ma-lod) Yar-'brog gi 'Jon (W) Khri-rtse (W, Khri-ma-lod) 'On-cang-do | (W) 'On-cang-do | (W) Zhang Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin and Seng-go Snang-ro-re Skyi-zung | Nam-ldong prom | Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Mang-rtsan Ldong-zhi | | |
| 703-704 | (S) Gling gi 'Ol-byag (W) He departed to 'Jang-yul (W, Khri-ma-lod) Rnang-po Dur-myig | | | (W) Yol gyi Ci-'bos | Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Mang-rtsan Ldong-zhi | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 704-705 | (S) Rma-grom gyi Yoti Cu-bzangs (S, Khri-ma-lod) Yar-'brog gi 'O-dang (W) He departed to Mywa (W, Khri-ma-lod) Lhas-gang-tsal | (S) Bragsgo (W) Byarlings-tsal | Zhang Khri-bzang Stag-tsab | | | | Rgyal Gtsug-ru/ Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan was born. Khri 'Dus-srong died at Mywa |
| 705-706 | (S, Rgyal Gtsug-ru and Khri-ma-lod) Dron (S, Lha Bal-po) Pong Lag-rang (W, Rgyal Gtsug-ru and Khri-ma-lod) Zhur | | | | | | The emperor's elder brother, Lha Bal-po, was deposed; Khri 'Dus-srong's corpse resided in the funerary chamber at Mer-ke |
| 706-707 | (S, Rgyal Gtsug-ru and Khri-ma-lod) Dron | (S) Na-mar | (S) 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister Khri-gzigs | (W1) Par gyi Gle-ma (W2) Yol gyi Rte'u-dkyus | (W1) Zhang Rgya-sto | | Khri 'Dus-srong's funeral performed at Phying-ba; Grandmother Mang-pangs died |
| 707-708 | (S) Bal-po (S, Khri-ma-lod) Dron (W1) Brag-mar (W2, Rgyal Gtsug-ru and Khri-ma-lod) Lhas-gang-tsal | (S) Lha-gab (W) 'On-cang-do | (S) 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister Khri-gzigs (W) Chief minister Khri-gzigs | (W) Rag-tag gi Rma-rong | | | The funeral for grandmother Mang-pangs was performed |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 708-709 | (S) Bal-po'i Sha-ru- mkhar (S, Khri-ma- lod) Dron (W) Brag- mar (W, Khri-ma- lod) Lhas- gang-tsal | (S) Mkhris- pha tang (W) 'On- cang-do | (S) Chief minister Khri-gzigs (W) Chief minister Khri-gzigs | (W) Rag- tag gi Nyam-pu | | | The funeral for Princess Ga-tun was performed |
| 709-710 | (S) Bal-po (S, Khri-ma- lod) Dron (W) Brag- mar (W, Khri-ma- lod) Lhas- gang-tsal | (S) Mkhris- pha rtsa (W) 'On- cang-do | | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | | | |
| 710-711 | (S) Bal-po (S, Khri-ma- lod) Dron (W) Brag- mar (W, Khri-ma- lod) Lhas- gang-tsal | (S) Mkhris- pha-tang | | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | Zhang Rgya-sto and Sta-gu Ri-tsab | | Princess Kim-shang Khong-co arrived in Tibet |
| 711-712 | (S) Bal-po (S, Khri-ma- lod) Dron (W) Brag- mar (W, Khri-ma- lod) Lhas- gang-tsal | (S) Gzhong- phyag (W) Skyi Rnams | (S,W) 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister Khri-gzigs | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | Chog-ro Khri-gzigs Gnang-kong | | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 712-713 | (S) Bal-po (S, Khri-ma-lod) Dron (W) Brag-mar | (S) Lha-gab gyi Bye-ma lung (W) Skyi Dra-tsal | (S,W) 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister Khri-gzigs | | | | Rgyal Gtsug-ru was coronated as Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan; Gandmother Khri-ma-lod died |
| 713-714 | (S) Mal-tro'i Brdzen-tang (W) Brag-mar | (S) Zu-spug gi Rkyang-bu tsal (W) Mong-kar | (S) 'Bon Da-rgyal Btsan-zung and Chief minister Khri-gzigs (W) Chief minister Khri-gzigs | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | Grand-mother Khri-ma-lod's funeral held at Pying-ba |
| 714-715 | (S) Mal-thro'i Brdzen-tang (W) Nyen-kar | (S) Mal-thro'i Ltams (W) Mnon | (S) Chief minister Khri-gzigs (W) Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | | | | |
| 715-716 | (S) Zhe-shing gi Rstibs (W) Nyasha-tsal | (S) Zu-spug gi Rkyang-bu tsal (W) 'O-yug gi Nubs | (S) Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer (W) Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Rgyod | (W) Chief minister Dbas Khri-gzigs | | |
| 716-717 | | | | | | | |
| 717-718 | (S) Dungs (W) Brag-mar | (W) Mong-kar | (W) Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (S) Gnyi-jigen (W) Ryam-shi-gar | (S, W) Chief minister Dbas Khri-gzigs | | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 718-719 | (S) Bal-po (W) Brag-mar | (S) Gro-pu | (S) Zhang Btsan-to-re and Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Yol | (W) Chief minister Dba's Khri- gzigs | | |
| 719-720 | (S) Bal-po (W) Brag-mar | (S) 'Dra'i Zar-phu (W) Tshang- bang-sna | (S, W) Zhang Btsan-to-re and Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Yol | (W) Chief minister Dba's Khri- gzigs | | |
| 720-721 | (S) Dungs gyi Stag tsal (W) Brag- mar | (S) Dungs gyi Mkha'- bu (W) Bzang- sum-tshal | (S, W) Zhang Btsan-to-re and Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | | A 'Bug- cor (Eastern Turk) emissary paid homage | |
| 721-722 | (S) Dungs gyi Stag tsal (W) Brag- mar | (W) Mkhari- phrag | (W) Minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) 'Ryam- shi-gar | (W) Minister Khri-gzigs Gnang- khong | Many emissaries of the upper regions (Stod- phyogs) paid homage | Mchims-bza' Btsan-ma-tog Thog-steng, mother of Khri Lde- gtsug-rtsan, died |
| 722-723 | (S) Bal-po (W) Brag- mar | (S) Drib- nag (W) Mkhari- phrag | (S, W) Chief minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | (W) Minister Khri-gzigs Gnang- khong | | |
| 723-724 | (S) Bal-po (W) Brag- mar | (S) Drib- nag (W) Mong- kar | (S, W) Chief minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Gtse- nam-yor | (W) Minister Khri-gzigs Gnang- khong | | Mchims-bza' Btsan-ma-tog Thog-steng's funeral was held |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 724-725 | (S1) Spel (S2) He departed to the north (W) Brag-mar | (S1) Dbu-ru-shod gyi Lci'u-lung (S2) Pa-nong gi Chos-gong (W) Lhas-gang-tsal | (S1) Chief minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer (S2) Sta-gu Ri-tsab (W) Chief minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | (W) Rgyod | (W) Minister Khri-gzigs Gnang-khong | | |
| 725-726 | (S) Mtshar-bu-sna (W) Brag-mar | (S) Bal-po'i Bri'u-thang | (S) Chief minister Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzer | | | | |
| 726-727 | (S) Sre-ga'i Mtshar-bu-sna (W) Brag-mar | (S) Lha-gab (Sp) Zlo | (S, Sp) Chief minister Mang-zham | (W) Gtse-nam-yor | (W) Stag-sgra Khong-lod | | |
| 727-728 | (S) 'A-zha (W) Jor Gong-sna | (W) Skyi Lhas-gang-tshal | (W) Zhang 'Bring-rtshan Khyi-bu | (W) 'Bro Lchi'u-lung | (W) Khri-gzigs Gnang-kong | | |
| 728-729 | (S) Returned to Tibet from Mtsho-bdo'i Bol-gangs (W) Brag-mar | (S) Zrid gyi Ldu-nag (W) Byar-lings-tsal | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | (W) Rgyod | | | |
| 729-730 | (S) Sre-ga'i Mtshar-bu-sna (W) Brag-mar gyi Dbu-tshal | (W) Skyi Sho-ma-ra | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 730-731 | (S) Ba-cos gyi Ding-ding-tang (W) Brag-mar | (W) Mkar-phrag | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | Lady Lhaspangs died |
| 731-732 | (S) Mtshar-bu-sna (W) Brag-mar gyi 'Om-bu-tsal | (W) Skyi Sho-ma-ra | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 732-733 | (S) Ba-cos gyi Ding-ding-tang (W) Brag-mar gyi 'Om-bu-tsal | (W) Lhas-gang-tshal | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | (W) Zol | | Chinese emissary and emissaries of Ta-chig and Dur-gyis paid homage | They held the funeral for Lady Lhas-spangs |
| 733-734 | (S) Dron (W) Brag-mar gyi 'Om-bu-tsal | (W) Lhas-gang-tshal | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | (W) Zol | | A Chinese emissary and Mywa La-kag paid homage | |
| 734-735 | (S) Dron (W) Brag-mar gyi 'Om-bu-tsal | (W) Zlo | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | (W) Seb | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | Princess 'Dron-malod was sent as a bride to the Dur-gyis Kha-gan |
| 735-736 | (S) Dron gyi Mang-ste-lung (W) Brag-mar gyi 'Om-bu-tsal | | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 736-737 | (S) Dron gyi Mang-ste-lung (W) Brag-mar | | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 737-738 | (S) Dron gyi Mang-ste-lung (W) Brag-mar | | | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 738-739 | (S) Dron (W) Brag-mar | (W1) Sregs gyi Bya-tsal (W2) Cugbo Rte'u-mkhar | | | | | |
| 739-740 | (S) The Btsan-po departed to Beg (W) The Btsan-po returned to Tibet | | | | | | The Btsan-po's son, Lhas-bon, died; Princess Kim-sheng Kong-co died |
| 740-741 | (S) Mtshar-bu-sna'i Ngang-mogling (W) Brag-mar | | | | | | Princess Khri-ma-lod was sent as a bride to the lord of Bruzha |
| 741-742 | (S) The Btsan-po departed on a campaign (W) Brag-mar | | | | | | The funeral(s) for both the son, Lhas-bon, and Princess Khong-co, was/were performed |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 742-743 | (S) Mtshar-bu-sna | | | | | A Chinese emissary and a Black Mywa emissary paid homage | Sna-nam Mang-morje Bzhi-steng, wife of Emperor Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan, mother of Emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, died |
| 743-744 | (S) Ra-mtshar (W) Brag-mar | (S) Breng | (S) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | | | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 743-744 (II) | (W) Brag-mar | (W) Rnam | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang | | | | |
| 744-745 | (S) He departed north, and returned to Ra-mtshar (W) Brag-mar | (W) Skyi Sho-ma-ra | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang and Minister Skyes-bzang | | | A Chinese emissary and a Dur-gyis (Türgiś) emissary paid homage | |
| 744-745 (II) | Mtsar, then he departed north | (W) Skyi Sho-ma-ra | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang and Minister 'Bal Long-tshab | | | | |

Table and Glossary

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|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|----------------------------------------------------|
| 745-746 | (S) 'O-dang (W) Brag-mar | (W) Dra-bye | | | | | They performed [junior] Queen Khri-btsun's funeral |
| 745-746 (II) | (S) Yar-'brog gi Yi-dang (W) Brag-mar | | | | | | |
| 746-747 | (S) Na-mar (W) Brag-mar | (W) Skyi Byar-lings-tshal | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang and Minister 'Bal Long-tshab | | | | |
| 746-747 (II) | (S) Na-mar, then departed to Gser-khung (W) Brag-mar | (W) Skyi Bya-rings tshal | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang, Minister 'Bal Long-tshab and Minister Lang Myes-zigs | | | | |
| 747-748 | (S) Na-mar | | | | | | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 747-748 (II) | (S) Na-mar (W) Brag-mar | (W) Dra'i Rtse-gro | (W) Chief minister 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang, Minister 'Bal Long-tshab, Minister Mang-pho- rje, Zhang 'Bring-rtshan and others | | | | |
| 755-756 | | (W) Rag- tagi Kog | (W) Zhang Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng | (W) Dbu- le'i Lam- nag | (W) Minister Khri-sgra, Mang-rtshan 'Phan-gang, Minister Mdo-bzher and others | | |
| 756-757 | (S) Zung-kar (W) Zung- kar | (S) Glag gi Bu-cung (W) Skyi Phi-tsal | (S) Minister Skyes-bzang Ryal-kong (W) Minister Skyes-bzang Ryal-kong and Rgyal-ta Khri-gong | (S) Yol (W) Yol | (S) Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag (W) Dba's Snang- bzher Zla- brtsan | The Black Ban-'jag, Gog (Wakhan), ShIg-nig and so forth, emissaries of the upper regions (<i>stod- pyogs</i>) [all] paid homage | Srong- lde-brtsan coronated as Khri Srong- lde-brtsan |

Table and Glossary

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 757-758 | (S) Ba-bams gyi G.yag-ru-gong (W) Stod gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Stod gyi Mong | (S) Chief minister Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan and Zhang Rgyal-zigs | (S) Re-khras 'dzong (W) Gtse-nam-yor | (S) Zhang Stong-rtsan and Mang-rtsan 'Phan-gang (W) Mang-rtsan 'Phan-gang and Minister Mdo-bzher | A Chinese emissary paid homage | |
| 758-759 | (S) Zu-spug (W) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | | | (S) Dbu Shing-nyag (W) Gtse-nam-yor | (S) Zhang Stong-rtsan | | |
| 759-760 | (S) Stod gyi Mkho (W) Nyen-kar | (W) Slo | (W) Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-s nang | (S) Dbu le (W) Rag-tag gi Rma-rong | (S) Minister Khri-sgra and Minister Mdo-bzher (W) Minister Khri-sgra | | |
| 760-761 | (S) Myang sgrom | (S) Ne-tso-lung | (W) Minister Snang-bzher | (S) Re-lung-bzangs | (S) Minister Khri-sgra and Minister Mdo-bzher Rtsang-khong | An emissary of the upper regions (<i>stod-pyogs</i>) paid homage | The Btsan-po's son was born |
| 761-762 | (S) Zu-spug (W) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Mal-tro'i Brdzen-thang (W) Skyi-bu | | (S) Nyas gyi Zho-thang (W) Gtse-nam-yor | | | |

Table of Royal Residences, Council Sites, Foreign Visits and "Royal Events"

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--|
| 762-764 | (S) Sa-byar (W) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Glag gi Pu-cung (W) Skyi-bu | | (S) Dbu le'i Lha-rims (W) Gtse | (S) Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab | A Chinese emissary and other paid homage | |
| 764-765 | (S) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Glag gi Pu-cung | | (S) Sla- shod gyi Snig | (S) Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab | | |
| 764-765 (Fr) | (S) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Glag gi Pu-cung | | (S) Sla- shod gyi Snig | (S) Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab | | |
| 761-762 (Fr) | (S) Sding- sna court at Zu-spos (W) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Mar- dro'i Brdzen (W) Skyi- bur | | (S) Nyas gyi Zho- thang (W) Gtse- nam-yor | | | |
| 762-764 (Fr) | (S) Sa-byar (W) Byar gyi Lcang-bu | (S) Glag gi Bu-cung (W) Skyi- bur | | (S) Dbu le'i Lha-ris-mo (W) Gtse | (S) Minister Khri-sgra Stag-tshab | A Chinese emissary and other paid homage | |

GLOSSARY

Many of these terms are discussed in detail in the introduction, and a few of them receive treatment in the annotation of the *Old Tibetan Annals*. I give here the years where they appear and, if applicable, the chapter or subchapter in which the term is discussed, where the reader can find further references.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ke-ke-ru</i> | White chrysoberyl gemstone (Sanskrit <i>karketana</i>); 764 |
| <i>dkar-chag</i> | Register; “Administrative Measures in the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ” |
| <i>dku-rgyal</i> | Aristocracy, landed gentry; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy” |
| <i>bka'-gyod</i> | Accusation, charge; 727 |
| <i>bka'-grims</i> | Official law; variant of <i>bka'-khrims</i> ; 655 |
| <i>bka'-tang / bka'-thang</i> | Document, testament; 702 |
| <i>bka'-nan</i> | Condemnation, suppression; 746 |
| <i>bka' la gtogs-pa</i> | Political cabinet, lit. “those attached to the [lord’s] orders” or, “participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs”; “Rank Order and Chain of Command” and Appendix Five |
| <i>bka'-sho</i> | Dice edict, proclamation (?); 756, fn. 339 |
| <i>bkyon phab</i> | To be disgraced, lit. “to bring reprimands down upon”; preamble, 678, 698, 705–708, 711, 728, 755 |
| <i>rkang-ton</i> | To select, conscript or levy; 673, 691, 735 |
| <i>rkya</i> | Basic taxable land unit that could be divided into sub-units (<i>dor</i>); “Land and Taxation” |
| <i>sku-srung</i> | Royal guard; 708, Hazod, Part III |
| <i>khab-so</i> | Revenue office, revenue officer; 707, 722, 726 |
| <i>khol-yul</i> | Service tenure lands; “Land and Taxation” |
| <i>khos-drug / khod-drug</i> | Six Institutions, forming a large part of the <i>Section on Law and State</i> ; “Introducing the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ” |
| <i>khos-dpon</i> | Administrative chief; “Land and Taxation,” Hazod, Part III |
| <i>khyim-yig</i> | Register of households; “Land and Taxation” |
| <i>khyo-mo</i> | Wife, secondary wife; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy” |
| <i>khram</i> | Tally, tally stick, notch; “Land and Taxation,” 707, 721, 728, 742 |
| <i>khram dmar-po</i> | Red tally; “Land and Taxation,” 690, 692, 708, 712, 718, 744 |
| <i>khram skya-bo</i> | Pale tally; “Land and Taxation,” 744 |
| <i>khral</i> | Tax (as a general term); 746 (II) |
| <i>khral-thud</i> | Additional tax; 746 |
| <i>khrald-pa / khral-pa</i> | Tax official, taxpayer, tax; 726, 746 |
| <i>khri-sde</i> | Ten-thousand-district (consisting in fact of far fewer than ten-thousand households); “The Extent of the Empire” |
| <i>kh rin</i> | Judicial punishment; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange, and Inheritance” |
| <i>khwa</i> | Tax, usually of grain; “Land and Taxation” |

Table and Glossary

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| <i>mkhos</i> | Administration, to administrate; “Land and Taxation,” 662, 673, 675, 696, 709, 715, 724, 730, 741, 742, 744, 746 |
| <i>'khus</i> | To be treacherous; preamble |
| <i>glo-ba rings</i> | To be disloyal; preamble, 695 |
| <i>glo-ba nye</i> | To be loyal; 699, 743 |
| <i>dgra-bzher</i> | Military barracks; 668 |
| <i>'gor mdzad</i> | To be delayed; 662 |
| <i>rgod</i> | Military (literally, “fierce,” “wild”); 654 |
| <i>rgyal-phran</i> | Minor king, minor kingdom; these are of two types: sixth and early seventh-century realms in competition with each other, and, from the seventh century onwards, vassal kingdoms subordinate to the Tibetan Empire; “Historical Geography and the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” Appendix Five, Hazod, Part III |
| <i>ngan-pa</i> | Lowly, wicked, humilific form of self-reference; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy” |
| <i>mngan</i> | Fiscal governor; “Functionaries in the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” 653, 684, 692, 707, 717, 721, 723, 726, 728 |
| <i>lnga-brgya chen-po</i> | Great [head of] five hundred [households]; 693, 707, 713 |
| <i>chad-ka</i> | Extraordinary tax, punishment, fine; 738, 758 |
| <i>chab-srid</i> | Realm, polity, political alliance; <i>chab-srid la gshegs</i> , “to go on a political mission / campaign”; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations,” 688, 700, 704, 727, 737, 739, 741, 756, 762–764 |
| <i>chibs-sde</i> | Cavalry regiment; 735 |
| <i>chibs-dpon</i> | Chief of Chibs (a place name); alternatively, chief of the cavalry regiment; 717 |
| <i>mchid-shags</i> | Complaint in a legal case; 684 |
| <i>je-ba</i> | Princess, lady, royal lady; “Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives,” 734 (and fn. 294), 740 |
| <i>jo-mo</i> | Junior queen, lady, royal lady; “Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives,” 745 |
| <i>rje-zhing</i> | royal lands; “Land and Taxation,” 718, 719, 720 |
| <i>gnye-bo</i> | Groomsman; 710 |
| <i>gnyen</i> | Relative, often affinal relative; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations” |
| <i>btungs</i> | To massacre, slaughter; 670, 729, Appendix Three |
| <i>btol</i> | To arrive [at the end of the funerary process]; also as a noun, e.g. <i>btol chen-po</i> in PT 1042; 678 (and fn. 175), 712 |
| <i>ltang-yor</i> | Plunder (?); 675 |
| <i>stangs-dbyal</i> | Husband and wife; 710 |
| <i>stong-cung / stong bu-rje</i> | Head of sub-thousand-district; “Rank Order and Chain of Command,” 707 |
| <i>stong-sde</i> | Thousand-district; “Historical Geography and the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” 746, 755, Hazod, Part III |
| <i>stong-dpon</i> | Head of thousand-district; “Rank Order and Chain of Command,” 762–764 |

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| <i>thang</i> | Authority, jurisdiction, rights and duties, value, level, valuation; “Land and Taxation,” fn. 73, 726, 746(II), 764 |
| <i>thang-khram</i> | Tally of jurisdiction, tally of authority (in the sense of officials’ jurisdictions and their rights and duties); “Land and Taxation,” fn. 73, 721, 728, 742 |
| <i>thabs</i> | Rank; Appendix Five |
| <i>thong-myi</i> | Homicide; 653 |
| <i>dor</i> | Unit of land, approximately 1.5 acres; “Administrative Measures in the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ” |
| <i>dra-ma / dra</i> | Military campaign; 714, 755, 758, 762–764 |
| <i>gdan tshoms</i> | “To arrange the carpet,” probably synonymous with <i>gdan bting</i> , part of the Tibetan marriage rite; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations,” 727 |
| <i>mdad / mda’d</i> | Funeral or burial rite; 651 (and fn. 133), 679, 683, 706, 707, 713, 732, 741, 745 |
| <i>’dun-ma / ’dun</i> | Political council, council site |
| <i>ldum-bu</i> | Stronghold; 676 |
| <i>sdum-pa</i> | Household; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange and Inheritance” |
| <i>nongs</i> | Royal honorific for “to die,” lit. “to regret,” “to err”; 706, 712, 721, 730, 739, 742, 762–764 |
| <i>gnag-lings</i> | Hunt involving yak and <i>mdzo</i> ; 653, fn. 135 |
| <i>snon-god</i> | Deficit and surplus; similar to <i>chad-lhags</i> ; 729 |
| <i>snom-bu-pa</i> | “Sniffer,” royal taster who checks for poison; investigator; 685, fn. 185 |
| <i>dpya</i> | Tribute (offered from a foreign country); “tribute tax” (given in kind by people in occupied territories); “Land and Taxation,” 762–764 |
| <i>spu-rgyal</i> | Epithet of the Tibetan royal lineage. According to one theory, expressed in the OT document PT 1038, it is their clan name. It is often used metonymically to refer to Tibet in general |
| <i>spur / dpur</i> | Royal honorific for corpse; 650, 677, 705, 706 |
| <i>spo-blegs</i> | Promotions and transfers; 764 |
| <i>spyan-nga</i> | The presence [of the emperor], lit. “before the eyes [of the emperor]”; variant for <i>spyan-snga</i> ; similar to <i>zhal-snga / zha-nga</i> ; 735, 741 |
| <i>pha-spun-spad</i> | Patrilateral parallel cousins and their descendants; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange, and Inheritance,” fn. 96 |
| <i>pha-los</i> | Census, literally, “[registration of] male able-bodied adults”; “Land and Taxation,” 673, 711, 719, 734, 743, 743(II) |
| <i>phu-nu</i> | Clan; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange and Inheritance,” fn. 96 |
| <i>pho-nya</i> | Messenger, emissary; “Rank Order and Chain of Command,” 697, 699, 703, 713, 720, 721, 729–737, 742, 743, 744, 756, 757, 760, 762–764 |
| <i>pho-brang</i> | Court (the mobile centre of the Tibetan Empire) |
| <i>phying-rild(d)</i> | Felt roll [tax]; “Land and Taxation,” 653, 686, 687, 690, 691, 718, 719, 720 |
| <i>phra-men</i> | Gold-inlaid silver, silver-gold alloy, one type of insignia of rank; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy” |
| <i>bag-ma</i> | Bride, almost always in a virilocal marriage; 671, 689, 734, 740 |

Table and Glossary

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| <i>bu-po-spad</i> | Sons and their descendants; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange, and Inheritance,” fn. 96 |
| <i>bu-tsha</i> | Lineage; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange and Inheritance,” fn. 96 |
| <i>bond / bon</i> | To offer, to proclaim, to intone; 756 |
| <i>bya-sga / bya-dga'</i> | Present, reward, gift in recompense; 699, 727, 762–764 |
| <i>byim-po</i> | Chinese border troops; 745(II), 747(II) |
| <i>bran</i> | Bondservant; “Commoners, Subjects and Bondservants,” 755 |
| <i>brung-pa</i> | Commissioner; “Functionaries in the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” 682, 707, 714, 715, 731, 745 |
| <i>dbang-ris</i> | Fiefdom, personal district, lit. “share of power / ownership”; identical with “administrative arrangement of territory” (<i>yul gyi khod bshams pa</i>); “Historical Geography and the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” Hazod, Part III |
| <i>dbon-zhang</i> | The relationship between bride-giver and bride-receiver (<i>dbon</i>); father-in-law and son-in-law, maternal uncle (mother’s brother) and uterine nephew; used in the classificatory sense to refer to countries linked through dynastic marriage; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations” |
| <i>'bangs</i> | Subject; “Commoners, Subjects and Bondservants,” 756 |
| <i>'bon / dbon</i> | Bride-receiver in relation to bride-giver (<i>zhang</i>); son-in-law; nephew; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations,” 675, 687, 688, 690, 694, 706, 707, 711, 712, 713, 714, 727, 745(II) |
| <i>sbon</i> | Grandson; 650, 707 |
| <i>ma yar-mo / g.yar-mo</i> | Mother-in-law, lit. “borrowed mother”; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange, and Inheritance,” fn. 96 |
| <i>mun-mag</i> | Soldier or conscripted soldier; 673, fn. 160, 690, 729 |
| <i>mol-cen</i> | Great consultation; 762–764, 764 |
| <i>dmangs</i> | Commoner; “Commoners, Subjects and Bondservants” |
| <i>dme</i> | Incest, fratricide, problems between confrères; 681, 685 |
| <i>dmer brtsi khrimis</i> | Law of fratricide; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations” |
| <i>gtsang-chen</i> | Rank in the ministerial hierarchy just below ministerial aristocracy (<i>zhang-lon</i>); “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy,” fn. 84 |
| <i>rtsis</i> | Account, record; <i>rtsis-bgyis</i> is “to make an account,” or “to record”; “Land and Taxation,” 691, 717, 719, 720, 723, 730, 731, 742, 745, 747, 758 |
| <i>rtsis-mgo</i> | Manual, protocols; “Land and Taxation,” fn. 76, 654, 690 |
| <i>rtse-rje</i> | Town prefect; “Rank Order and Chain of Command” |
| <i>brtsis</i> | Account, record; <i>rtsis-bgyis</i> is “to make an account,” or “to record”; “Land and Taxation,” 691, 717, 719, 720, 723, 730, 731, 742, 745, 747, 758 |
| <i>tshugs-dpon</i> | Head of four men assigned to each hill station (<i>ri-zug</i>); “Rank Order and Chain of Command” |
| <i>zhang</i> | Bride-giver in relation to bride-receiver (<i>dbon</i>); father-in-law, maternal uncle (mother’s brother); also used as a kinship term cum-title to refer to members of those clans with whose ladies the emperors contracted heir-producing unions: the 'Bro, Mchims, Tshes-pong, and Sna-nam; “Dynastic Marriage and International Relations” |

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| <i>zhang-dbon</i> | See <i>dbon-zhang</i> ; 727 |
| <i>zhang-lon</i> | Minister, ministerial aristocracy; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy,” 764 |
| <i>zhal-ce</i> | Trial, legal case; 695 |
| <i>zhal-ce-pa</i> | Judge; “Rank Order and Chain of Command,” Appendix Five |
| <i>zhing-yig</i> | Field records; “Land and Taxation” |
| <i>zhugs-long dmar-po</i> | Red fire-raising [station]; “Conscription, the Transport Network, and the Alert System,” 674, 691, 709 |
| <i>yi-ge</i> | Insignia of rank, epaulets; usually referring to a particular type of insignia, e.g. turquoise, gold, silver, brass, etc.; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy,” 764 |
| <i>yig-gtsang</i> | Insignia of rank, lit. “pure letters”; usually referring to the generality of ministerial insignia and not a specific type; may also be the origin of the later term <i>yig-tshang</i> , used in the same way; “Ennoblement and Ministerial Aristocracy,” 699 (and fn. 206), 759 |
| <i>yul-sde / yul-dpon-tshan</i> | Administrative district, district of the local official; “Historical Geography and the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” Hazod, Part III |
| <i>yo-byad</i> | Necessaries, provisions; 710 |
| <i>gyung</i> | Civilian, lit., “tame”; 654, 743 |
| <i>rabs-cad</i> | Executed lineages, extinct lineages; to executed a lineage, the most severe form of capital punishment entailing the execution of the guilty party and his male lineage; 691, 733 |
| <i>ri-zug</i> | Hill stations; “Rank Order and Chain of Command” |
| <i>ring</i> | Royal honorific for corpse. Also indicates the “presence” of the emperor; 678 |
| <i>ring-khang</i> | Funerary chamber; 650 |
| <i>ring mkhyud</i> | To conceal the (royal) corpse (?); an intermediate stage in the royal funerary rites; variant: <i>ring mkhyid</i> ; 650, 677, 678 |
| <i>ring-lugs</i> | Representative of the emperor; 726, 747 |
| <i>ru</i> | Horn, an administrative division of territory; “Historical Geography and the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i> ,” 684, 709, 712, 718, 733, 744(II), 746(II), 746, Hazod, Part III |
| <i>ru-dpon</i> | Horn official, synonymous and equal in rank to general (<i>dmag-dpon</i>); “Rank Order and Chain of Command,” Hazod, Part III |
| <i>rol</i> | To hunt, fish, or make sport; directional complement; 664 (and fn. 151), 698, 724, 744, 746(II) |
| <i>sha-lings</i> | Stag hunt; 656 |
| <i>sho-tshigs</i> | Dice statutes; 692, fn. 195 |
| <i>sog-rild</i> | Fodder roll [tax]; “Land and Taxation,” 718, 719 |
| <i>sras-dbon</i> | Lineage, honorific of <i>bu-tsha</i> ; “Nepotism, Guilt by Association, Exchange, and Inheritance” |
| <i>slungs</i> | Way station associated with the transport network; abbreviation for <i>slungs-dpon</i> ; “Conscription, the Transport Network, and the Alert System,” 721 |

BIBLIOGRAPH

Abbreviations

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| <i>BA</i> Roerich | <i>Blue Annals</i> , see G.N. ROERICH 1995 [1949]. |
| <i>BD</i> | <i>Bug pa can pa'i gdung rabs</i> , in <i>CFS</i> (GYALBO, <i>et al.</i> 2000). |
| <i>BK</i> | O-rgyan gling-pa (revelator; b. 1323), <i>Blon po bka'i thang yig</i> . In: <i>Bka' thang sde lnga</i> . Lhasa: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1997 (see <i>KD</i>). |
| <i>Bstan srung</i> | Sle-lung rje-drung Bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje (1697–?), <i>Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad</i> . Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 2003. |
| <i>Bshad mdzod</i> | Don-dam Smra-ba'i seng-ge, <i>Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu</i> ; see CHANDRA, L. 1969; SMITH 2001. |
| <i>CD2</i> | SPANIEN, Ariane and Yoshiro IMAEDA. 1979. <i>Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale: complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India office et du British Museum. Tome 2</i> . Paris: Bibliothèque nationale. |
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| Chapel 1989 | See CHAB-SPEL TSHE-BRTAN PHUN-TSHOGS and NOR-BRANG O-RGYAN 1989. |
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| Chöpel 2004 | See CHOS-'PHEL 2004. |
| Chöpel 2008 | See CHOS-'PHEL 2008. |
| <i>Dbā' bzhed</i> | In: WANGDU, Pasang and DIEMBERGER, Hildegard 2000. |
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| <i>DG</i> | Sgam-po-pa Mi-pham Chos kyi dbang-phyug (1589–1633), <i>Gdan sa chen po dvags lha sgam po'i ngo mtshar gyi bkod pa Dad pa'i gter chen</i> . 1b1–46b2 [= 369–459]. In: <i>dPal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo</i> . Vol. Bu (For an edition of the text, see SØRENSEN and DOLMA 2007). |
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- GKR *Sgam po khri rabs* = Rin-chen rdo-rje and Sākya dge-slong bzang-po, *Gangs can 'dir ston pa'i rgyal tshab dpal sgam po pa'i khri gdung 'dzin pa'i dam pa rnam kyi gtam bai dūrya'i phreng ba*. 1b1–123a6. In: *dPal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo*. Vol. Mu (For an edition of the text, see SØRENSEN, Per K. and S. DOLMA 2007).
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- GSP *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar du rnyed pa' bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs*, ed. by WANGDU, P. and LANGRU, N. 2007 (The edition includes four old (9th / 10th-cent. ?) Bon-po ritual texts recently discovered during the renovation work of a *stūpa* in Gtam-shul: 1. *Gnag rabs* (Ms 1–45), 2. *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogz* (Ms 1–47), 3. *Sha ru shul ston gyi rabs* (Ms 1–31), 4. *Sman dbyad* (Ms 1–24); with an Introduction by P. Wangdu).
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- IOL Tib / ITJ “IOL” (abbreviated “IO”) indicates that the text is an Old Tibetan document from the India Office Library, kept in the British Library in London. The letters and numbers following indicate a document's shelf mark.
- Jo sras Lde'u Jo-sras; *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*, Chos-'dzoms (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987.

- KC* *Bka' gdams chos 'byung* = Las-chen Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 2003.
- KD* O-rgyan gling-pa (revelator; b. 1323), *Bka' thang sde lnga*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1986.
- KhG* *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* = A) Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba, *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnam kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1985.
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- MC* Tārānātha Kun-dga' snying-po (1575–1634), *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jugs ngogs*. Lhasa: Bod-ljong mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 2002.
- Migmar* Mig-dmar Tshe-ring, *Tun hong nas thon pa'i bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha las byung ba'i bod ljongs sa ming*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe rnying dpe-skrun-khang, 2005.
- MTP* *Me tog 'phreng ba*, see *Ne'u*, see UEBACH, Helga 1987.
- Ne'u* *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* by Ne'u pandi-ta grags-pa smon-lam blo-gros. In: *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, pp. 1–54. See *MTP*.
- OD* *Oracle and Demons*, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998 [1956].
- OTA | Annals* *The Old Tibetan Annals*.
- OTC | Chronicle* *The Old Tibetan Chronicle*.
- PT* Pelliot Tibétain. The number following indicates its shelf mark at the Bibliothèque nationale in France.
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- RD* *Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs sogs* (Text 2 in *GSP*, pp. 33–59).
- Riwang* Ri-dbang bstan-'dzin, *Nags shod bri ru'i lo rgyus Rab rim sā la'i ljon pa*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmang dpe-skrun-khang, 2002.

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- SHL* *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs kyi rnam thar. Gangs-can rig-mdzod 28*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, 1996.
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- SLS* *The Section on Law and State*.
- SPL* Phur-bu rdo-rje, *Spo bo ka gnam rgyal po'i rgyal rabs ji ltar byon tshul dang rgyal rabs rim byon gyi lo rgyus*. In: U-rgyan (ed.), *Spo bo'i lo rgyus*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1988, 9–27.
- Tak* The shelf marks given in TAKEUCHI 1998a.
- TDD* See IMAEDA, Y. and TAKEUCHI T. *et al.*, 2007.
- TF* *Thundering Falcon*; see SØRENSEN, Per and HAZOD, G. 2005.
- TLTD* Thomas, Frederick W. 1935, 1951, 1955, 1963. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Tukestan*. Vols I–IV. London.
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- PT 1060 A ritual text involving horses, and containing a catalogue of principalities.
- PT 1071 Laws regulating hunting accidents.
- PT 1072 Fragments of laws regulating hunting accidents.
- PT 1073 Laws concerning the dog bite.
- PT 1075 Laws concerning theft.
- PT 1078bis An Old Tibetan document concerning a land dispute.
- PT 1083 Petition by Chinese in Sha-cu to remain endogamous and prevent Tibetans from mistreating their women and children.
- PT 1085 Official dispatch forbidding excessive levies by Tibetans in Sha-cu.
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- PT 1217 An Old Tibetan document that refers to *stagi zar-cen* and *yo-gal 'cos-pa*.
- PT 1283 (1) "Dialogue between Two Brothers."
- PT 1285 Ritual liturgies involving bon and gshen.
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- PT 1290 Fragmentary text containing coronation of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, a catalogue of principalities and information about messengers.
- ITJ 730 Proverbs of the Sum-pa people.
- ITJ 734 Ritual liturgy containing ransom rites.
- ITJ 739 Divination text.
- ITJ 740 (2) Legal document entitled "Replies concerning the dice statutes from the tiger year dice edict." The first part of the scroll contains a divination text.
- ITJ 751 *Prayers of De ga G.yu tshal*. Continuation of PT 16.
- ITJ 753 Laws concerning theft.
- ITJ 1282 Contract for a "marriage by sale."
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- ITJ 1368 *Annals of the 'A zha Principality*.
- Tak 244 An Old Tibetan document from Mazar Tagh, containing the phrase *slungs-pon*.
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INDICES

Index of Place Names in the *Old Tibetan Annals*

Many of the place names in the *Old Tibetan Annals* are given in a compound form. Glag gi Pu-chung, for example, which was a council site in 674, 685, 694, 701, and 762, consists of Glag and Pu-chung, where Glag is the larger area to which Pu-chung belongs. I have translated this "Pu-chung in Glag." In the tables and in the index of place names, however, I give the compound form Glag gi Pu-chung, only and cross reference for place names appearing more than once in the *Annals*. For ease of presentation the years given in the indices are in short form. Therefore an entry such as "Kar-tsan Leng-cu (Liangzhou); 758" indicates that the place name Kar-tsan Leng-cu is mentioned in the entry for 758-759.

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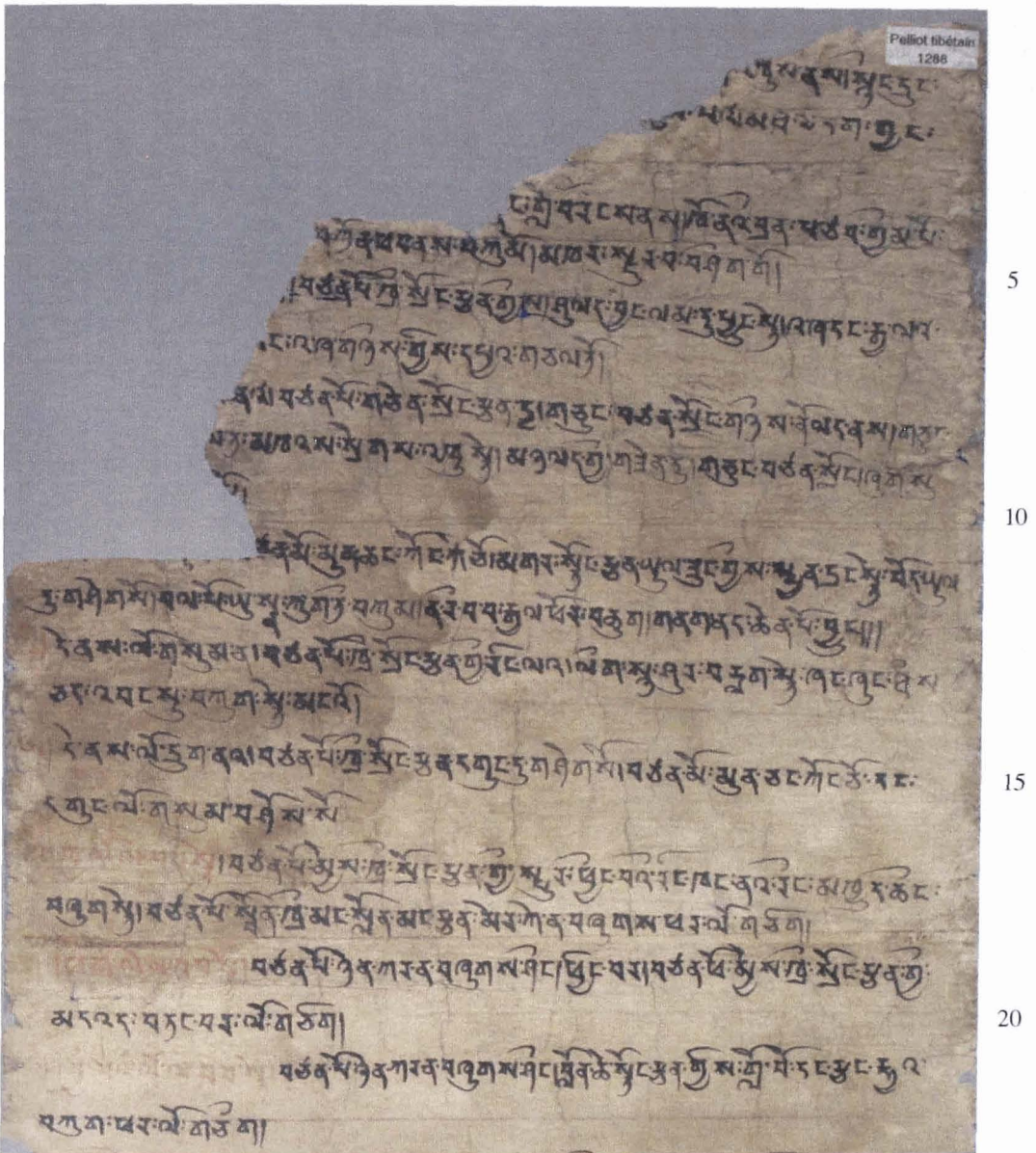


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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 88-89.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page, showing the beginning of a section with a large initial letter.

210

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, continuing the manuscript page with several lines of text.

215

220

225

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, showing the end of a section with a large initial letter.

230

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235
 240
 245
 250
 255

245
 250
 255

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is dense and appears to be a list or a series of entries. The right margin contains the number 260.

260

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, continuing from the previous page. The text is dense and appears to be a list or a series of entries. The right margin contains the numbers 265, 270, and 275.

265

270

275

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, continuing from the previous page. The text is dense and appears to be a list or a series of entries. The right margin contains the number 280.

280

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Old Tibetan Annals – Version II

(Plate II.i – II.iv)

10

5

15

20

30

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35

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 1-3.

40

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 4-6.

45

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 7-10.

50

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 11-14.

55

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, lines 15-16.

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

60

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥

65

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३० ॥

70

75

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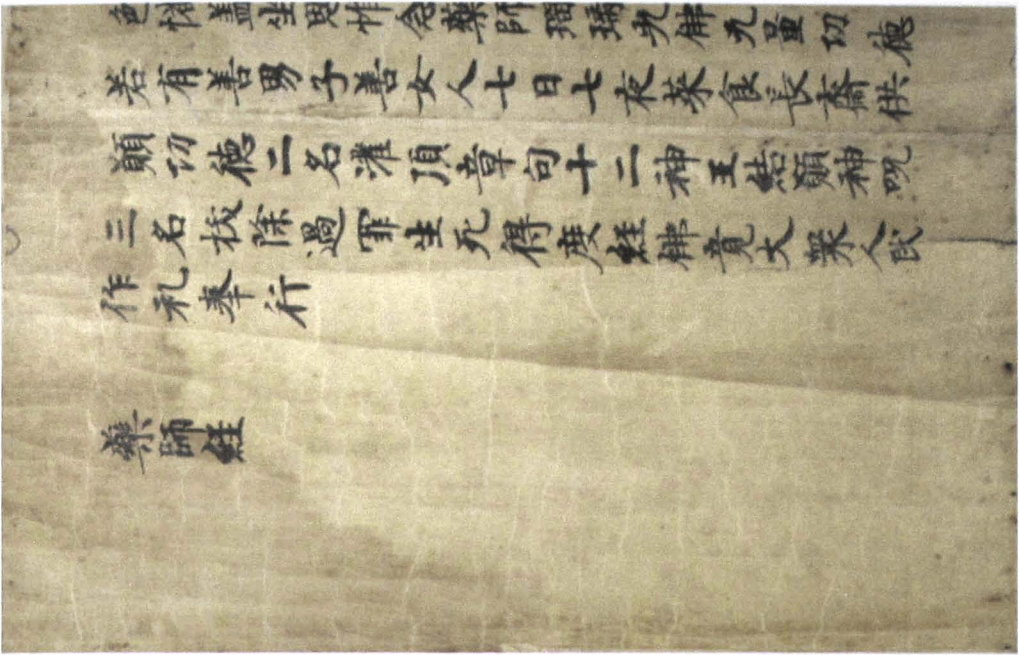


Plate III. *Yao shi jing* – final page of *OTA* Version II, recto.

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