

PART II

THE *OLD TIBETAN ANNALS*



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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-s nang bought about the submission] of all the Sum-pa also.

[Then after x years when Myang Zhang-]s nang became disloyal, his subject Pa-tsab [betrayed him so that Zhang-s nang] 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 gyI 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 lnga*, 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 gir 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 rnams 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: sregs: '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: spyen. 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'/ lIg: 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 dgung. 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 btab* 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 from 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 kyI sha zhig la rkus na / mkhar / tsud lo gcIg gis bcado... ri dags kyI lings btab pa las sha rkus na / rkud sum 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 *phyng-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. phying. ril: bgyIs/ ra. sang. rje'i: blon: rid:
stag. rhya. dang:
25 zhIng. gyI. tshong. chen: sbyard/ zhang. zhung. yul: gyI. mngan. du: spug: gyIm. 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. tIr/ bka'/
30 grIm: 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 khrims*) 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 Tshen-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: snyIng.
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 gagI 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 # / : / pagI 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. mchls. 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. mchls. 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. gshegs. shIng/ 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: zrId. gyi. ldu. nag. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'a. zha. ma_{ng}. po: pyag.
'tsalte: gte'u. bsds. 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 # / : / rtaI. 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

IOL TIB J 750¹⁵⁷

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 *bta'-ba* or *bta'-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 bsds 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 bsds*).

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-myig*.

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. gyI: sum. chu. bo: na. bzhugs: cIng/ dgun: nam. tse: gIng. du:

55/3 gshegs/ 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/ khrI. 'brIng: btsan: brod. gnyIs: gyis: bsduste.

58/6 'brog: mkhos: chen. po: bgyis/ dgun. pho. brang: shangs: gyI. rab. ka: tsal. du. gshegs. shIng/ 'dun. ma: dungs:

59/7 gyI. 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-skyia 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 Gu[g]-cog in the same position (*infra*, Hazod, Part III).

60/8 # / : / khyI lo: la bab. ste/ btsan. po: dbyard: zrId. na. bzugs: shIng/ lcog. 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: khrI. mo. lan.
gyIs/ ston. mo: chen. po
63/11 gsold/ 'bon. da. rgyal: khrI. zung. gyIs/ gser. zangs: chen. po: gsold. pha: da_{ng}/ dbyard: bal. po.
na. bzugs:
64/12 shIng/ blon. btsan. snyas/ zhIm: gyI. gu: randu: zhang. zhung. gyI. mkhos: bgyIste/ dru. gu: yul.
du: ltang. yor. mchIs
65/13 dgun: btsan. pho: 'on. gyI. sna. bo. na. bzugs: par: lo. gchIg/

[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 Sgreys.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 Tshes-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 # / : / byI: ba'I. lo. la: bab. ste dbyard: btsan. pho: sprags: gyI. sha. ra. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dgun. tshang. bang. sna. nas/ khrI.

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

68/16 snyas: dru. gu. yul: du. drangste/ ldum. bu: khrI. 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. gI. 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}. gnyIs/ glo. ba. rIngste/ zhang. zhung. log. cIng: btsan. po: khrI. '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: khrI. 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. khrI. '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. khrI. '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: zrId. mdar:

79/27 bsduste/ gnubs: mang. nyen: bzhI. 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. bzhi. 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: glagI/ 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, Gnuks 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. khrI. 'brIng. gyis/ dru. gu: gu. zan. yul: du. drangs/ dgun:

98/46 rtsang. chen. gyI. phyng. rIld. btab/ 'bon. da. rgyal: khrI. zung. da_{ng}/ gnuks: mang. nyen. bzhI. 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. gchIg/

[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 khrI. zung. gyIs/ zhogs: gyI. tshur. lung. du. bsdus/ btsan. mo: khrI. mo. stengs: dags: yul. du. chab: srId. 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: khrI. bangs/ 'a. zha. rje. la: bag. mar:

103/51 gshegs/ blon. che. khrI. '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 lling '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 gcIg 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. paI. 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-rtisan convened the council at Phu-chung in Glag. Da-rgyal died. So one year.

116/64 # / rtaI 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. rIngste: btsan. po: ltam. du. gshegs/ dgun. btsan. po. brag. mar. du. gshegs/ sha. tsal. du: mgar. gung:

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

122/70 'a. zha. yul. du. mclIs. 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. gyI. sil. gu. cIn. gyi. 'o. kol. du:

124/72 'a. zha'I. mkhos: bgyIs/ dgun. 'o. bar. tshaI. du. ma_{ng}. nyen. bzhI. brtsan. gyIs: 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. gyI. po. nya. phyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang:

126/74 brag. mar. gyI. tsal. ka. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'dun. ma: 'on. gyI. '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: khrI.
'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. brtsIs. 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' gnanng 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. baI. 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. gshegs: 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 Snang-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 趨莽布支 (*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_r 'brogI. '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: rnang. pho: dur. myIg. na. bzhugs. shIng/ khu. 'byur. lod. btsa_n
 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' khrims 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 *bskyl* 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 # / 'brugI. lo. la: bab. ste/ dpyId. 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: khrI. ma. lod: yar. 'brog. gI. '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: khrI.
ma. lod: lhas:

149/97 gang. tsal. na. bzhugste/ 'dun. ma: byar. lIngs. tsal. du: zhang. khrI. 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-snang, 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. Dbas 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-snang, 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 gyia rje II rgyal sar zhugs nas// de'i tang gi srId 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. gyI. lo. la. bab. ste/ btsan. po. sras: rgyal: gtsug. ru. dang/ pyI. khrI. ma. lod: dron. na. bzugs/ 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. nams: bkum/ pong. lag. rang. du: btsan. po. gcen. lha: bal. pho: rgyal. sa. nas: phab/ btsan. po. yab: khrI. 'dus.

153/101 srong. gyI. dpur/ mer. ke'i: rIng. khang. na. bzugs/ dgun. btsan. po: rgyal: gtsug. ru. dang/ pyI. khrI. ma. lod. zhur. na. bzugs/

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: khrI. gzigs: zhang. nyen: blon. chen. phor: bka'. stsalde/ se. rIb. log. par. lo. gchIg/

[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 [Dbas] 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'I lo la: bab: ste/ btsan. po: dang/ phyI: dbyard: dron. na. bzugs/ btsan. po: yab. gyI. dpur: mer. ke. na. bzugs

157/105 'dun. ma/ na. mar. du: 'bon. da. rgyal: btsan. zung. dang/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: bsduste/ lho. 'dus. sregs

158/106 la: bkyon. phab/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun. par. gyI. gle. mar: zhang. rgya. stos. bsdus/ dgun. phyIng. bar. btsan. po:

159/107 yab. gyI. mdad. btang/ pyI. mang. pangs. nongs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: yol. gyI. 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 # / lugI. 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: khrI. 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: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: bsdus. ste/ lnga. brgya. stong. bu: rjer. bcos/ mdo. smad. gyI. mdun. ma'.

165/113 rag. tagI. rma. rong. du: 'dus. par: lo. gcIg/

[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/ pyI. po. brang. dron. na. bzhugs. shIng/ dbyar.

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

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

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

170/118 khral: mang. po. bsdus/ dpyId. btsan. mo: ga. tun. gyI. 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 Mkhris-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/ phyI. dron. na. bzhugs/ dbyar: 'dun. mkhrIs. pa: rtsar. 'du

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

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

174/122 smad. gyI. 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 Sha-tsal 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/ pyI. 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 *bgyiste* starts at the end of one line and finishes at the beginning of the next.

178/126 pyI. lha. sgang.²³⁷ tsaj. na. bzhugste/ mdo. smad. gyI. '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-rnams. They convoked many [registrations of] male able-bodied adults. Chog-ro Khri-gzigs Gnam-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/ pyI. dron. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun.
gzhong. phyag. du. 'bon. da. rgyal. btsa_n.
180/128 zung. da_{ng}/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: bsduste/ chog. ro: khong. ge. la: bkyon. bab/
dgun. [pho] btsan. phoe: po. brang. brag. mar:
181/129 na. bzhugs/ pyI. lhas. gang. tsal. na. bzhugs/ skyI. rnamsu: 'bon. da. rgyal: btsan. zung. da_{ng}/
blon. blon.²³⁸ chen. pho: khrI.
182/130 gzigs: gyIs. bsduste/ pha. los: mang. pho: bkug/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: gtse. nam. yor. du:
chog. ro: khrI. gzi
183/131 gs²³⁹/ gnam. kong: gyIs: 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-ma-lung 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/ pyI. dron. na. bzhugs/ 'bon. da.
rgyal: da_{ng}/ blon. chen. pho. khrI. gzi
185/133 gs:²⁴² gyIs/ lha. gab. gyI. bye. ma. lung. du. bsduste/ dgun. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ btsan. poe.
mtshan. rgyal: gtsug.
186/134 ru. las/ khrI. lde. gtsug. rtsan. du. gsold/ pyI. khri. ma. lod. nongs/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. dra. tsal.
du: 'bon. da. rgyal: dang/
187/135 blon. chen. pho: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: bsduste/ ru. gsum: gyI. 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: gyIs: 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: *kya 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 bzhin 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 kyi 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 khrims 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: khrI. gzigs: gyis: bsduste/ brung. pa: rdo. 'phan. kong. nI: byung/ tshes. pong: tre. gong. bchug. ste/ 'bon. da. rgyal: da_{ng}: 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. khrI. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher. gyIs/ bsduste/ 'bon. da. rgyal: dang/ blon. chen. pho:
197/145 khrI. 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. khrI. sum. rje. rtsang:
199/147 bzher. gyIs: bsduste/ rtsang. cen. gyI. brung. pa: lang. sa: tseng. gum. ste/ zhang. khrI. mnyes: smon. zung. bcug/ dgun. btsan. po. nya. sha.
200/148 tshal. na. bzhugs/ 'dun. ma: 'o. yugI. nubsu/ blon. khrI. sum. rje. rtsang. bzher. gyIs: bsduste/ blon. chen. po: khrI. 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: khrI. gzigs. gyIs/ gnyI.

204/152 jI. gen. du. bsdu/ dgun. btsan. phoe: pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/ dgun. 'dun. mong. kar. du: blon. khrI. sum: rje: rtsang. bzher.

205/153 gyis/ bsduste/ chIbs: pon: zhang. khrI. mnyes: mnyen. lod. byung/ zhang. 'brIng. rtsan. khyI. bu: bchug/ blon. chen. pho. khrI. 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 # / rtaI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. bal: po. na. bzhugs/ dbyar. 'dun. gro. pur: zhang. btsan. to. re. da_{ng}/ blon. khrI. 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 glIngs: gyI. pying. rIlda_{ng}²⁵⁵/ sog. rIld. bgyIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun/ blon. khrI. gzigs: gyIs/ yol. du. bsdu. 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 gtad* at the end of the *Dba' bzher* (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-gseng'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. bzugs/ 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. rII: 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. bzugs/ 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/ rngegs: [zha]mang. zham: stag.
tsab: gyIs/ rtsang. chen. gyI: rje. zhing. gyI. pying.
214/162 rII: btab/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun: blon. chen. po: khrI. gzigs: gyIs: yol. du. bsdu: 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: gyI. stag. tsal. na. bzhugs. shIng/ 'bug. cor. gyI. pho. nya: phyag. 'tsald/ dbyar. 'dun. dungs:
 216/164 gyI. mkha'. bur: zhang. btsan. to. re. da_{ng}/ blon. khrI. sum. rjes: bsduste/ rtsang. chen. gyI. rje. zhing: gllngs: gyi. pyIng. rild. gyI. 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: gyI. chas:
 218/166 phab/ rgya'I. mkar: so. ga. song. phab/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun. gtse. nam. yor. du. bsdus: par: lo: gchIg/

[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 [Dbas] 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 [Dbas] 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 gyI ding ding tang na bzhugs/ shIng/ btsan yul du rgya'I pho nya ll kheng dang/ ta chIg dang dur gyIs gyI 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 gagI. lo. la/ btsan. po. dbyard: dungs: gyI. stag. tsal. na. bzhugs: pa. las/ nang. po: dur. myI. du. 'phos. shIng/ dgos:

220/168 dbyer/ stod. phyogs: gyI. pho. nya. mang. po: phyag: 'tshald/ blon. chen. pho: khrI. gZlgs: dang/ 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: bsdu. nas/ mngan.

222/170 dang/ slungs: stod. smad. gyI. thang. khram: chen. po. btab/ mdo. smad. gyI. dgun. 'dun. 'ryam: shI. gar. du: blon. khrI. gZlgs: gnang.

222/171 khong. gyIs: bsdu/ 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 Mkharpag. 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. shIng/ dbyar. 'dun: drIb. nag. du: blon. chen. po: khrI. sum. rjes: bsdu/ 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 gyI. lhag. cad. brtsIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: gtse. nam: yor. du: blon. khrI. gZlgs: gnang. khong. gyis. bsdu. 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' bzher* (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 [Dbas] 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 [Dbas] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsang-zher] convened the council at Mong-kar. They made an account of [Chief] Minister [Dbas] 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 [Dbas] 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 [Dbas] 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 gyls 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. chung. 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 *khav-so*." 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: bzhIr.
bcos: pa'I: zlug: gyI. ring. lugs:

241/189 bkye'/ dpyId. blon. chen. po: mang. zham: gyIs/ zlor. bsduste/ mngan. gyI. thang. sbyard/
khab. so'I: khrald. pa: bskos/ mdo. smad.

242/190 gyI. dgun: 'dun: stag. sgra: khong. lod. gyIs/ gtse. nam: yor. du. bsdus: par: lo. gcIg/

[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 'Bring-rtshan 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. srId. 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: gyI. dgun. 'dun: skyI: lhas: gang. tshal: du/
zhang. 'brIng. rtshan: khyI. bus: bsdus:

247/195 mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: 'bro: lchi'u. lung. du: blon: khrI. gzigs: gngang. khong. gyIs: bsdus:
par: lo. gchIg/

[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'. tsald/ dgun. 'dun: byar. lings. tsal: du: blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. gyIs: bsduste/ mngan.

251/199 chen. po: brgyad. las/ bzhIr. bcos: pa'I. tang. khraM. btab/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: rgyodu: bsdus: par: lo. gchIg/

[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 ['Bal] 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: li: tsong. kan: pyag. 'tsald/ blon. chen. po: cung. bzang. gyIs/ 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. gchIg/

[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. gyI. 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. gyI. 'om. bu. tsal. na. bzhugste/ dgun. 'dun. skyI. sho. ma. rar. blon. chen. po. chung. bzang. gyIs: bsduste/ rtsang. chen. gyI.
 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: II. kheng. da_{ng}/ ta. chI_g.
 263/211 dang. dur. gyIs: gyI. po. nya. phyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang/ brag. mar. gyI. '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/ II. zhang. sho. da_{ng}: mywa. la. kag. las/ stsogs

266/214 pa: pyag. 'tsald/ dgun. pho. brang: brag. mar. gyI. 'om: bu. tsal. na. bzhugs/ blon. chen. po. cung. bzang. gyIs/ lhas. gang. tshal.

267/215 du. bsduste/ ru. bzhiI. rabs. chad. brtsIs/ mdo. smad. gyI. 'dun. ma: zol. du. 'dus. par: 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 皮羅閣, 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-Türgiś 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. bzhl: btsan. poe
272/220 spyen. snga: brImste²⁹⁷/ rkang. ton. bgyIs/ rgya'I: po. nya: je'u. jang. shI: pyag. 'tsald/ dgun.
brag. mar. gyI. 'om. bu. tsal. na. bzhugs:
273/221 blon. chen. po. cung. bzang: 'a. zha. yul. du. mchIs. par: lo. gcIg/

[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. II. 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'I: rgyal: po: phab. ste: phyag.
'tshald/ rgya'I: pho. nya. 'wang. 'do.

278/226 shI: pyag. 'tsald/ nas/ rgyas: chab: srId. bshIgs. par. lo. gchIg/

[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: gyI. 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 # / 'brugI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang/ dbyard. mtshar. bu: sna'I. ngang. mo: glIng. na. bzbugste/ je. ba: khrI. ma. lod. bru. zha. rje. la: bag.

284/232 mar. btang/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzbugste/ zhang. khrI. 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. gyI. lo. la/ btsan. po: dbyard. chab. srId. la. gshegste/ rgya'I. mkhar. dar: khwa: hywan. phab/ zho: don. gyI. zhang. tsal: du:

286/234 btsan. poe: spyen. sngar/ khrom: gyI. mkos: chen. po: bgyIs/ dgun. chab. srId. las: slar. brag. mar. du. gshegste/ bzo: zhal.

287/235 cos: gyIs/ brgalte: mkar. lcags: rtse. slar: thob/ btsan. po: sras: lhas: bon: da_{ng}/ btsan. mo: khong. co: gnyIs: gyI.

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 gyIs 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'I. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang. dbyard. mtshar. bu: sna. na. bzhugs/ rgya'I: pho. nya: an.
da. lang. da_{ng}/ mywa. nag. poe: po: nya. la.
290/238 brI: pyag. 'tsald/ zlor: shud. pu: khong. zung. da_{ng}/ lang. gro: khong. rtsan. gnyIs/ 'byung.
'jugI. rtsis. bgyIste: thang. khram:
291/239 btab/ khu. nye. mon. gangsu: blon. mang. po. rjes: 'a. zha'I. mkhos: bgyIs/ btsan. po: srong.
lde. brtsan: brag. mar: du'/
292/240 bltam/ yum: mang. mo. rje. nongs: phar: lo. gchIg/

[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-rnams.³¹⁵ At Brag-mar the Chinese emissary Kwag Cung-lang paid homage.³¹⁶ So one year.

293/241 # / lugI. lo. la/ btsan. poe: po. brang. dbyard: ra. mtshar. na. bzhugste/ blon. chen. po. chung.
bzang. gyIs/ dbyar: 'dun:
294/242 breng. du. bsduste/ pha. los: gyI: byang. bu: bor/ dgun. pho. brang. brag. mar. na. bzhugs/
skyI. rnamsu: rgod. g-yung. gyI. pha. los:
295/243 cen. po: bkug/ brag. mar. du. rgya'I: 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 gtam 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: 'khorte/ po. brang. ra. mtshar. du. btab/ rgya'I
 297/245 po. nya/ cang. 'gwan. 'ge da_{ng}/ dur. gyIs: gyI: 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. gyI. 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-tsab, the two, convened the winter council at Skyi Byar-lings-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 thogsla/ khral pa gu du spags* remains provisional. Bacot renders it "[p]ar ordre du roi une contribution supplémentaire fut imposee 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. gcIg/

[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. chIb_s:

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 *thogsla*. 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 a aside or to assign to others” (*logs su bzhaq 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: cIḡ/ [744-745] spraṅ. 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: cIḡ/ [744-745] spraṅ. 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 *byim-po*, 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 廓州, 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. 'brogI: yI. da_{ng}. na: bzhugs/ rgya'I.
dماغ. 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-s nang.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-rtsan, 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-s nang" (*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'I. 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-rtsan 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-rtsan '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'I: 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-rtsan, 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), ShIg-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. strong. 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}/ shIg. 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/ bsdus/ par. lo: cIlg/

[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 閼羅鳳, 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 壽州 (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-rtzan and Minister Mang-rtzan '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-rtzan and Minister Mdo-bzher both convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Gtse-nam-yor. Chief minister [Dba's] Snang-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: bsdu: 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: bsdu: 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. bsdu: te: 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: strong. 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] Snang-bzher [Zla-brtsan] came back to the land of Tibet. Zhang Stong-rtzan 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-snang 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: strong. 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. bsdu: te: 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: bsdu: te: 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. gyI: mkho: na. bzbugste: mdo: smad. gyI: dbyar. 'dun: blon. khrI: sgra: dang: blon. mdo: bzher. gyis

35 dbu: ler. bsdus: te: sum: ru: pal: po: che: yIg: gtsang. stsal: blon. khri: bzang: dang. zhang. stong. rtsan. gnyIs: 'a: zha: yul: du:

36 mchis: dgun. btsan. po: pho. brang: nyen. kar. na. bzbugs: dgun. 'dun. blon. skyes: bzang: stag: snang. gyIs: slor. bsdus

37 mdo: smad. gyi. dgun. 'dun: rag: tagI: rma. rong. du: blon. khrI: sgras: bsdus: 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 bsdus: te. stod. pyogs: po: nya: pyag: 'tshal:/ mdo: smad. gyI. dbyar. 'dun: blon: khrI: sgrang.³⁵¹ dang. blon: snang:³⁵² bzher. rtsang:

41 khong. gyis: re: lung. bzangsu: bsdus/ [761-762] dbyar. btsan. poe: pho. brang. zu: spugI./ pho. brang. sdIngsna: bzbugs

[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-rtzan sacked both Zong-cu and Zangs-kar. So one year.

- 41 khong. gyis: re: lung. bzangsu: bsdu/ [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-rtzan 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-rtzan, 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. gnyIs. phab. par. lo. gcIg:/// [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: lcang. bu: na. bzhugs///
 dgun. 'dun. skyI. burdu./
 48 'dus/// mdo. smad. gyI: dgun. 'dun./ gtser. blon. khrI. 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. srId.
 zhIg. nas
 51 zhang. rgyal. zIgs: dang. zhang. stong. rtsan. las: stsogs/ pas:/ bum. lIng. lcag: 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. shIr. 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 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.³⁶⁴ 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.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. lcang. 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'. stsald.// 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-zu] 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: lcang. bun.³⁷¹ gzhuugs// 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'. stsald. 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'i*), 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 srlId zhlg nas zhang rgyal zlg 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. zagy. 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*.