

APPENDICES

Appendix One

Annalistic Entries in Other Documents

The most well-known annalistic entries outside of the *Old Tibetan Annals* itself are those associated with the introduction to the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. As noted in the introduction, the entry in the most widespread version likely corresponds to the year 814-815, during the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (*supra*, “Introducing the *Old Tibetan Annals*”). The version below differs only slightly from that translated in the introduction, and its only real variation is probably due to corruption. It comes from the library of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 'Bras-spungs Monastery.

In the year of the horse, Emperor Khri Lde-srong-btsan's court resided in 'On-cang-do in Skyi. He convoked them all—the new and old of the armies of the upper and lower regions.³⁹⁸ A Gar-log emissary paid homage. Chief minister Zhang Khri-zur Ram-shags and Minister Mang-rje Lha-lod and others took many gifts from China, and offered to the hands [of Khri Lde-srong-btsan] several camels, horses, cows, and oxen. He bestowed rewards on everyone from the rank of minister downwards. At this time... (*rta'i lo la btsan po khri lde srong btsan pho brang skyi'i 'on cang do na bzhus/ stod smad kyi dmag gsar rnying dang / kun chen btus/ gar log gi pho nyas phyag btsal/ blon chen po zhang khri zung*³⁹⁹ *ram shags dang / blon mang rje lha lod la sogs pas rgya las gnangs mang po bcad de/ mga rta dang ba mar*⁴⁰⁰ *phal mo che phyag du phul nas/ zhang blon man chad so sor bya dga' stsal pa'i lan la*).⁴⁰¹

Recently, a separate version of this document has been unearthed from Tabo Monastery in western Tibet. Intriguingly, the Tabo version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* opens with a different annalistic entry that dates to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, most likely to the year 783-784.⁴⁰²

In the year of the pig, the [emperor's] court resided in Zung-kar. In the presence of the emperor, the great monk [Bran-ka Dpal gyi] Yon-tan, the great monk [Myang] Ting-nge-'dzin, chief minister [Mchims] Rgyal-gzigs [Shu-theng], and chief minister [Ngan-lam] Stag-ra [Klu-khong] and others conferred, and in his presence systematized the translation of terms from Sanskrit into Tibetan. The decree: (*phag gi lo la pho brang zung kar ba*⁴⁰³ *bzhus// btsan po'i spyang ngar ban de chen po yon tan dang ban de chen po ting nge 'dzin dang/ blon chen po rgyal gzigs dang/ blon chen po stag ra las stsogs pa'/ rje blon mol ba'i spyang ngar rgya gar skad las bod skad du [ming btags pa] nams/ gtan la phab ste bkas bcad pa'*).⁴⁰⁴

Another annalistic entry is found in the first four lines of PT 1165, apparently referring to the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can):

³⁹⁸ This reading is most likely due to a corruption in the text, as most of the other versions mention the subjugation of great thieves (*rkun chen btul*).

³⁹⁹ Read *zur*.

⁴⁰⁰ Read *lang*.

⁴⁰¹ For the Tibetan text, see Rta-rdo 2003: 70.

⁴⁰² On the validity of this proposed date, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 289–99. The two ministers named most likely correspond to Mchims Rgyal-gzigs Shu-theng and Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khong, mentioned as the first two ministers in Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict, dating to c.779 (*infra*, Appendix Five). Likewise, the monks Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan and Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po are listed first in Khri Lde-srong-btsan's Skar-chung Edict, which dates to c.812 (*infra*, Appendix Five).

⁴⁰³ Read *na*.

⁴⁰⁴ For translation and transliteration, see Panglung 1994: 164, 168.

Appendices

In the autumn of the year of the rat, the court resided in Mal-tro Spe-tshal. Chief minister (*blon chen-po*) Zhang Khri-sum-rje and great minister (*zhang-lon chen-po*) Zhang Lha-bzang [convened] the council at [lacuna] in Dbyar-mo-thang. . . Minister Btsan-bzang and minister Lha-bzher convened [the council] at Lcag-rtse. At this time...(*byi ba'i lo ston pho brang ma tro sp[e] tshal na bzu[gs]/ blon chen po zhang khri sum rje dang/ zhang lon chen po zhang lha bzang gis 'dun sa dbyar mo thang giblon btsan bzang dang/ blon lha bzher gyis lcags rtser bdsus pa'i lan*).⁴⁰⁵

That this entry relates to the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) (815–841) is deduced from the fact that the chief minister, Zhang Khri-sum-rje, most likely corresponds to 'Bro Zhang Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang, mentioned as the penultimate minister in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” forming chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (*DTH*: 122, 132; *infra*, Appendix Four). If this is the case, it would date either to 820-821 or 832-833.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ For a French translation, see Uray 1975: 160. It was Uray, of course, who pointed out the existence of these annalistic entries in his own study of the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

⁴⁰⁶ For further details, see the discussion of this minister's career in Appendix Four.

Appendix Two

The Royal Succession

The dates of the royal succession are determined based on the *Old Tibetan Annals*, pillar inscriptions and the *Tang Annals*. The *Old Tibetan Annals* cover the years from 650 to 764, with seven years missing from 747 to 755, and dates that fall during this period are by far the most reliable. Where dates are contested or complicated I have given references in footnotes. Where possible, the dates of an emperor's life are given as well.

mid to late 6 th century	Stag-bu Snya-gzigs
late 6 th –early 7 th centuries	Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan
early 7 th century–c.640	Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po) (605?–649) ⁴⁰⁷
c.640–c.646	Khri Gung-srong Gung-rtsan (died c.646)
c.646–649	Second reign of Khri Srong-btsan
649–676	Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (c.643–676)
686–704	Khri 'Dus-srong (676–704)
704–705	Lha Bal-po
705–712	Empress 'Bro Khri-ma-lod
712–c.754	Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–c.754)
756–c.797	Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (742–c.800)
c.797–c.798	Mu-ne-brtsan (died c.798)
c.798–c.800	Second reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan; rules with chosen successor Lde-srong / Khri Lde-srong-brtsan (died 815)
c.800–c.802	Mu-rug-brtsan (died c.804) seizes throne from Khri Lde-srong-brtsan upon their father's death
c.802–815	“Second” reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan; Mu-rug-brtsan is subordinate to his younger brother, then dies c.804 ⁴⁰⁸
815–841	Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (died 841)
841–842	Khri 'U'i Dum-brtan ⁴⁰⁹
c.846–c.893	Khri 'Od-srung (c.842 / 843–c.893) ⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ For a discussion of the date of Khri Srong-btsan's birth, see Hazod 2000: 174–75; Wangdu 1989; and Dotson 2007a: 59–62.

⁴⁰⁸ The dates and the order of events surrounding Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's immediate successors are discussed in Dotson 2007c: 7–15.

⁴⁰⁹ On the validity of these dates and those of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, see Yamaguchi 1996: 250 and Imaeda 2001: 31.

⁴¹⁰ For a discussion of 'Od-srung's dates, see Vitali 1996: 541–47.

The *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), properly a part of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, records the royal succession, and, beginning six generations back from Srong-btsan Sgam-po, provides the names of the mothers of each emperor. The succession, beginning in the heavens and descending to the earthly kings, is as follows:

Khri'i Bdun-tshIgs was the middle of seven brothers, [with] the three elder and three younger sons of Yab-bla Bdag-drug,⁴¹¹ who resides above the broad sky.

The son of Khri'i Bdun-tshIgs, Lde Nyag-khri Btsan-po, came to the narrow earth as rain to rule the earth and the fathers of the land.⁴¹² The divine son(s) ruled the land of men, and then actually departed, unimpeded, to heaven.

[2.] Mu-khri Btsan-po was the son Lde Nyag-khri Btsan-po conceived with Gnam Mug-mug.

[3.] DIng-khri Btsan-po was the son Mu-khri Btsan-po conceived with Sa DIng-ding.

[4.] So-khri Btsan-po was the son Ding-khri Btsan-po conceived with So Tham-tham.⁴¹³

[5.] De-khri Btsan-po was the son of So-khri Btsan-po.

[6.] Khri-spe Btsan-po was the son of De-khri Btsan-po.

Concerning these, when the son was able to rein a horse, the father departed to heaven.⁴¹⁴

[7.] DrI-gum Btsan-po was the son of Khri-spe Btsan-po.

[8.] Spu-de Gung-rgyal Gnam la Dri bdun was the son of Dri-gum Btsan-po. When he united with Sa-le Legs drug, Spu-de Gung-rgyal died, whereupon they [had the son] Grang-mo Gnam Gser-brtsig.⁴¹⁵

[9.] Tho-leg Btsan-po was the son of Gser-brtsig.

[10.] Sho-legs Btsan-po was the son of Tho-leg Btsan-po.

[11.] Go-ru-legs Btsan-po was the son of Sho-legs Btsan-po.

[12.] 'Brong-shi-legs Btsan-po was the son of Go-ru-legs Btsan-po.

⁴¹¹ Yab-lha Bdag-drug, the grandfather of the first Tibetan Btsan-po, is also mentioned in the Kong-po Inscription as the father of Nyag-khri Btsan-po. He also appears in Old Tibetan ritual texts as the king of the Phywa gods, and is known also as Mgon-tshun Phya (Stein 1971: 487). A later Bon text, the *Mdzod phug*, identifies him with Indra (Brgya-byin).

⁴¹² The repetition of the opening from the last section of the document suggests an oral background to these stories of the Btsan-po's origin. This fits well with the supposition that these genealogies and narratives were manufactured and presided over by the same priestly class that used similar narratives and genealogies in their own rites of healing and so forth.

⁴¹³ These first three queens are notable for the fact that they represent upper, middle and lower, or heaven, earth, and the underworld, and that they pass their names on to their sons. This matrinyimic oddity does not occur later in the lineage.

⁴¹⁴ This phrase was interpreted by Tucci (1955) to indicate the practice of ritualized regicide, a theory that I will reassess in a forthcoming study of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

⁴¹⁵ This line is surely an error on the part of the *Royal Genealogy's* compiler(s) or scribe. *Gnam la dri [khri] bdun* refers to the seven heavenly thrones, the first seven kings. The next group is referred to as the six earthly Legs (*sa la legs drug*). Here the former is taken to be part of Spu-de Gung-rgyal's name, and the latter becomes his wife. Their offspring, fittingly perhaps, is a tomb, Grang-mo Gnam-gser, which we find as the tomb of Spu-de Gung-rgyal in the end of chapter one of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. The scribes have taken the phrase "they built the tomb Grang-mo Gnam-gser" (*grang mo gnam gser brtsig*), as a name, and given it a short form, Gser-brtsig, found in the next line. Needless to say, this is an error, and Spu-de Gung-rgyal did not have a son named Gser-brtsig. The passage should read something like, "in the heavens the seven thrones, on the earth, the six legs. When Spu-de Gung-rgyal died, they built the tomb Grang-mo Gnam-gser. Spu-de Gung-rgyal's son was Tho-leg Btsan-po." To rectify this error, I have not counted this erroneous Gser-brtsig as a king, and obviously the tomb did not father the next king, Tho-leg Btsan-po, though I should point out that I have followed this numbering elsewhere (Dotson 2004: 88–89). For a full discussion of the history and location of this tomb, see Hazod 2007a.

- [13.] Thi-sho-leg Btsan-po' was the son of 'Brong-shi-legs Btsan-po.
- [14.] I-sho-leg Btsan-po was the son of ThI-shog-leg Btsan-po.
- [15.] Zwa-gnam ZIn-te was the son of I-sho-leg.
- [16.] Lde Pru-bo Gnam-gzhung-brtsan was the son of Zwa-gnam ZIn-te.
- [17.] Lde-gol was the son of Gnam-gzhung-brtsan.
- [18.] Gnam-lde Rnol-nam was the son of Lde-gol.
- [19.] Bse' Rnol-po was the son of Gnam-lde Rnol-nam.
- [20.] Lde Rgyal-po was the son of Bse Rnol-po.
- [21.] Rgyal SrIn-brtsan was the son of Lde Rgyal-po.
- [22.] Rgyal-to-re Longs-brtsan was the son of Rgyal Srin-brtsan.
- [23.] Khri Btsan-nam was the son of Rgyal-to-re Longs-brtsan.
- [24.] Khri-sgra Sbung-brtsan was the son of KhrI Brtsan-nam.
- [25.] KhrI Thog-brtsan was the son of KhrI-sgra Sbung-brtsan.
- [26.] Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan was the son Khri Thog-brtsan conceived with Lady Stong-rgyal Mtsho-ma of the Ru-yong [clan].⁴¹⁶
- [27.] KhrI Snya-zung-brtsan was the son Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan conceived with Lady Mang-mo-rje Ji-dgos of the Gno' [clan].
- [28.] 'Bro Mnyen-lde-ru was the son KhrI Snya-zung-brtsan conceived with Lady Dung-pyang-bzher of the 'Bro' [clan].⁴¹⁷
- [29.] Stag-bu Snya-gzigs was the son 'Bro' Mnyen-lde-ru conceived with Lady Klu-rgyal Ngan-mo-mtsho⁴¹⁸ of the Mchims [clan].
- [30.] Slon-btsan Rlung-nam was the son Stag-bu Snya-gzigs conceived with Lady Stong-btsun 'Bro-ga of the 'Ol-god [clan].
- [31.] Srong-lde-brtsan was the son Slon-btsan Rlung-nam conceived with Lady 'Bring-ma Thog-dgos of the Tshes-pong [clan].⁴¹⁹
- [32.] Gung-srong Gung-rtsan was the son Srong-lde-brtsan conceived with Lady KhrI-mo-mnyen Ldong-steng of the Mong [clan].
- [33.] Mang-slon Mang-rtsan was the son Gung-srong Gung-rtsan conceived with Khon-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar.

⁴¹⁶ Aside from the queens of the first three Btsan-po, who certainly represent mythical figures, this is the first mention of a queen in Tibetan prehistory. As such, it may indicate a passage into a murky intermediate stage between prehistory and history.

⁴¹⁷ It is notable that this Btsan-po took his name from the 'Bro clan.

⁴¹⁸ This queen's name literally means "queen of the serpent spirits, goose lake," and is an excellent example of how folklore grows out of the desire to explain confusing etymologies, for a legend was developed according to which this queen, who was from the southeast, required fish and frogs—not a staple of the diet in Yar-lungs—to maintain her health (Sørensen 1994: 151–52).

⁴¹⁹ Unless this is a scribal error, Srong-lde-brtsan is another name for Khri Srong-btsan, alias Srong-btsan sgam-po. This is confusing, since Srong-lde-brtsan was also the name of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan before he took the throne in 756. This adds to the confusion in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* surrounding the events during the reigns of these two famous emperors, particularly the conquest of Zhang-zhung.

- [34.] 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje was the son Mang-slön Mang-rtsan conceived with Lady Khri-ma-lod KhrI-steng of the 'Bro' [clan].
- [35.] KhrI Lde-gtsug-brtsan was the son 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje conceived with Lady Btsan-ma-thog Thog-steng of the Mchims [clan].
- [36.] Khri Srong-lde-brtsan was the son Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan conceived with Lady Mang-mo-rje BzhI-steng of the Sna-nam [clan].
- [37.] Mu-ne-brtsan and [38] Lde-srong-brtsan were the sons Khri Srong-lde-brtsan conceived with Lady Rma-rgyal Ldong-skar of the Tshes-pong [clan]. Mu [ne] brtsan's line being cut off,
- [39.] KhrI Gtsug-lde-brtsan and [41] 'U-I Dum-brtan were the sons Lde-srong-brtsan conceived with Lady Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje of the 'Bro [clan].

/ : / gnam lhab kyI bla na yab bla bdag drug bzhugs pa pa 'I sras // gcen gsum gcung gsum na // khri 'i bdun tshIgs da nga⁴²⁰ bdun // khrI 'i bdun tshIgs kyi sras // lde nyag khri btsan po / sa dog la yul yab kyi rje dog yab kyI char du gshegs nas // lha sras myi yul gyI rgyal mdzad cing bzhugs pa las / mngon du thal byung dgung du gshegs pa // lde nyag khri btsan po dang / gnam mug mug du bshos pa 'I sras // mu khri btsan po mug khri btsan po dang sa dIng ding du bshos pa 'I sras // dIng khri btsan po ding khri btsan po dang / so tham tham du bshos pa 'I sras / so khri btsan po / so khri btsan po 'i sras / de khri btsan po / de khri btsan po 'i sras / khri spe btsan po // 'dI yan chad 'dra' ste / sras chIbs ka thub na / yab dgung du gshegs so // khri spe btsan po 'I sras / drI gum btsan po / dri gum btsan po 'i sras // spu de gung rgyal gnam la dri bdun / sa le legs drug bshos na / spu de gung rgyal grongs na / / grang mo gnam gser brtsig / gser brtsig gI sras // tho leg btsan po // tho leg btsan po 'i sras / sho legs btsan po / sho legs btsan po 'i sras // go ru legs btsan po go ru legs btsan po 'i sras // 'brong zhi legs btsan po / 'brong zhi legs btsan po 'i sras / thi sho leg btsan po' / thI shog leg gi sras / I sho leg btsan po // i sho leg gI sras / zwa gnam zIn te // zwa gnam zIn te 'i sras / lde pru bo gnam gzhung brtsan / gnam gzhung brtsan gyI sras // lde gol / lde gol / lde gol gyi sras / gnam lde rnol nam / gnam lde rnol nam gyI sras / bse' rnol po / bse rnol po 'i sras / lde rgyal po / lde rgyal po 'i sras / rgyal srIn brtsan / rgyal srin brtsan gyI sras / rgyal to re longs brtsan / rgyal to re longs brtsan gyi sras / khri btsan nam // khrI brtsan nam gyI sras / khri sgra sbung brtsan / khrI sgra sbung brtsan gyi sras // khrI thog brtsan khri thog brtsan dang / ru yong za stong rgyal mtsho mar bshos pa 'I sras / lha tho do snya brtsan / lha tho do snya brtsan dang / gno' za mang mo rje ji dgos su bshos pa 'I sras // khrI snya zung brtsan / khrI snya zung brtsan dang / 'bro' za dung pyang bzher du bshos pa 'I sras / 'bro mnyen lde ru / 'bro' mnyen lde ru dang / mchims za klu rgyal ngan mo mtshor bshos pa 'I sras // stag bu snya gzigs / stag bu snya gzigs dang / 'ol god za stong tsun 'bro gar bshos pa 'I sras // slon btsan rlung nam / slon btsan rlung nam dang / tshes pong za 'bring ma thog dgos su bshos pa 'I sras // srong lde brtsan / srong lde brtsan dang / mong za khrI mo mnyen ldong steng du bshos pa 'I sras // gung srong gung rtsan / gung srong gung rtsan dang / khon co mang mo rje khri skar du bshos pa 'I sras // mang slon mang rtsan / mang slon mang rtsan dang / 'bro' za khri ma lod khrI steng du bshos pa 'I sras // 'dus srong mang po rje / 'dus srong mang po rje dang / mchims za btsan ma thog / thog steng du bshos pa 'I sras // khrI lde btsug brtsan // khri lde gtsug brtsan dang / sna nam za' mang mo rje bzhI steng du bshos pa 'i sras / khri srong lde brtsan / khri srong lde brtsan dang / tshes pong za rma rgyal ldong skar du bshos pa 'I sras / mu ne brtsan dang / lde srong brtsan / mu brtsan gdung chad nas / lde slong brtsan dang / 'bro za lha rgyal mang mo rjer bshos pa 'I sras / khrI gtsug lde brtsan dang / 'u 'I dum brtan (PT 1286, ll. 42–69).⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ Read *dang*.

⁴²¹ For the text, see CD2, pls. 555–56. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, see CD3: 16 and Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 198–199. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see DTH: 88–89. See also Dotson 2004.

Appendix Three

The Sack of the Chinese Capital in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the Zhol Pillar

The Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763 in the wake of the Anlushan Rebellion is one of the most celebrated events in Tibetan history, and is recorded not only in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, but in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and in the Zhol Pillar Inscription that now stands in front of the Potala.

Chapter VIII of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which is properly the final chapter of the disordered text, contains a passage concerning the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. Some of the events narrated in the passage appear to extend into the 790s, though there are few details beyond the sack of the Chinese capital. As with the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan is the last one described in the *Chronicle*; it is mute on the reigns of his successors. The *Chronicle*'s passage on the sack of Changan is as follows.

The lord and ministers conferred, and Zhang Mchims Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] and others sacked the Chinese stronghold of King-shI (the capital), and appointed as lord of China Gwang-bu Hwang-te.⁴²² As good and desired rewards the small turquoise insignia were given in perpetuity (forever and always). Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang met in battle the Chinese general Hon Dze-sangs at 'Gu'-log-sgang, and massacred many Chinese. 'Gu'-log was then called Chinese Cemetery. Sbrang Rgyal-sgra Leg-zigs led a military campaign to the upper regions, and, scattering the enemy in battle at Mu-yungs, he gathered as subjects the king(s) of the valleys down to Nung-kog.⁴²³ Dba's Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod and others led military campaigns as far up as Mkhar-tshan. They sacked the eight towns of the prefecture, deported the dor-po, and subjugated them.⁴²⁴ The realm being expanded, they seized [the territory] from as far up as Long-shan mountain range, and established the five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts. They created great Bde-blon-khams anew. Chief minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan being skilled, clever, good, and auspicious, was bestowed the insignia of the precious jewel. Among the subjects, Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom [thousand-districts]⁴²⁵ were bestowed the "tiger top" as a sign of their heroism.⁴²⁶

*rje blon mol to / zhang mchims rgyal zigs la stsogs pas rgya 'i mkhar king shI phab ste/ rgya rje
gwang bu hwang te bskos soll/ legs pa zhin pa 'i bya dga' / g.yu 'I yi ge chu ngu nam nam zhar zhar
byin no// dba's skyes bzang stag snang gis// rgya 'I dmag pon hon dze sangs dang / 'gu' log sgang du
g-yul sprad nas / rgya mang po bthungs ste/ 'gu' log rgya dur du btagso' // sbrang rgyal sgra leg zigs
kyis/ stod phyogs su drangste/ mu yungsu g.yul bzlog nas/ lung gI rgyal po nung kog man chad 'bangs
su bsdus/ dba's btsan bzher mdo lod la stsogs pas/ mkhar tshan yan chad du drangste/ mkhar cu pa*

⁴²² Tibet's short-lived "puppet emperor" was a relative of the Chinese princess Kim-sheng Kong co. Gwang-bu Hwang-te is apparently a Tibetan phoneticization of "emperor of Guangwu," since the *Jiu Tangshu* states that this was Chenghong 承宏, the prince of Guangwu 廣武 (Pelliot 1961: 30).

⁴²³ As reviewed above in fn. 261 to the entry for 721-722, the "upper regions" (*stod-phyogs*) is the Tibetan equivalent of the Chinese 西域 *xi yu*, meaning "western regions." Uray (1991: 200, n. 29) suggests therefore that the "king(s) of the valleys" in this passage indicates a ruler or rulers in the Pamirs.

⁴²⁴ Btsan-lha (1997: 336) reads *dor-po* as "rebel leaders" (*ngo-log-pa'i gte-po*); Uray (1991: 200, nn. 30-31) offers further points on this section of the passage and translates *dor-po* with "defeated." Rong (1990-1991: 260) translates it with "their people." Bacot and Toussaint leave *dor-po* untranslated, but note that it is a place name (*DTH*: 154, n. 3).

⁴²⁵ Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom are three thousand-districts in Central Horn (cf. Uray 1991: 201, n. 33; *TLTD3*: 16).

⁴²⁶ One would assume that the "tiger top" (*stagi thog-bu*) was not given to every member of these thousand-districts. Like the *stag gi zar chen* and *stag gi zar cung* mentioned in the introduction ("Rank Order and Chain of Command," fn. 113), the exact meaning of *stagi thog-bu* remains unclear. *Thog* is a roof, or something that goes on top. Nominalized with *bu*, it may indicate a hat, or a feature on the top of a hat or helmet. Tiger skins were employed during the period of the Tibetan Empire to distinguish and decorate soldiers (Dotson 2007a: 119-20, 283-84, 307, 316-18).

brgyad phab nas/ dor po bton te/ 'bangs su bzhes so// chab srId che ste long shan la rgyud yan chad // pyag du bzhes nas/ mthong khyab khrI sde lnga btsugs/ bde blon khams ched po gchig gsar du bskyed do// blon che snang bzher zla brtsan 'dzangs shIng mkhas la/ bkra' shIs shing kha dro bas/ nor bu rIn po che 'i yi ge stsal to// 'bangs kyI nang na / dor te pyug tshams ste 'dzom dpa' ba 'I mtshan mar / stagI thog bu stsal to/ (PT 1287, ll. 376–86).⁴²⁷

Uray (1991: 202) states that this section of the *Chronicle* relates the events from 762–765 in chronological order. As such, several of the battles recounted follow the sack of the Chinese capital at Chang'an, and the great consultation, most importantly the fall of Liangzhou (Leng-cu).

The events related in the last few entries of the *Annals* are also related in the Zhol Pillar (c.764). The south inscription of the Zhol Pillar describes these events from the vantage point of rewards offered to Stag-sgra Klu-khong, who was instrumental in the attack. The first part of the pillar describes Klu-khong's role in uncovering the treachery of ministers Lang Myes-gzigs and 'Bal Ldong-tshab, who assassinated Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan, made an attempt on the life of his son and heir, Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, and plunged Tibet into a state of turmoil (*supra*, “The *Old Tibetan Annals*’ Contributions to Tibetan History”). Immediately following this passage, the rest of the south face of the pillar reads:

During the reign of Emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Ngan-lam Klu-khong being loyal, great in counsel, and firm of mind, was appointed as minister of the interior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs. Perceiving the weakness of the Chinese realm, he was proclaimed as general of the initial campaign in the direction of Khar-tsan. Being skilled in the art of war, and proceeding with caution, he first gathered [into the Tibetan fold] many 'A-zha of the Chinese territory. Taking many lands and riches from China, China was intimidated. [They sacked] Chinese Dbyar-mo-thang. In the direction of Tsong-ka, granaries and barley and so forth [±3] *dang pho gcald*. Klu-khong [±3] angered enemies [±3] made a great political campaign [±3] offered great counsel.

[Klu-khong] was loyal and delighted in benefiting the realm. By the importance of his counsel to the profound mind of emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, whatsoever was done politically was indeed good.

They vanquished and gathered [under Tibetan power] many territories and strongholds belonging to China. The lord of China, He'u-'gI 'Wang-te, and his ministers were terrified. They always offered a yearly tribute of 50,000 pieces of silk; they were made to pay tribute. After that, the lord of China, the father, He'u-'gI 'Wang-de, died. The lord of China, the son, 'Wang-peng-'wang, was installed as king and [deemed] it improper to pay tribute to Tibet. When the Btsan-po was dismayed at this, Ngan-lam Klu-khong requested to [be appointed] as great head of the council for Tibet to lead an army to the Chinese lord's court at Keng-shi, the center of China, and Zhang Mchims-rgyal Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng and Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong were both proclaimed as generals of the military campaign to Keng-shi. Leading the military campaign to Keng-shi, a great battle was fought with the Chinese at the ford at Ci'u-cir. Tibet scattered the enemy, and they massacred many Chinese. The lord of China, Kwang-peng-'wang, indeed came out from his castle at Keng-shI and fled to Sshems-ci'u. They sacked Keng-shI, and the minister of the interior of the lord of China, 'Gye'u-[±1]-keng and others, from Dong-kwan and Bo-kwan upwards [±3] the Btsan-po's subjects [±4] *cod chu gang dang khra* [±4] *te*, Kim-sheng Kong-co's brother [±4] being set up [±7] minister [±6] kings great and small [±6]

...into the inner part of the realm, and always listening to what is said. Klu-khong was loyal and delighted in benefiting the realm

⁴²⁷ For the text, see *CD2*: pl. 571. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, see *CD3*: 30. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 153–54. Cf. Sato 1958–1959: 533–37.

// btsan po khrI srong lde brtsan gyI rIng la// ngan lam klu khong blo ba nye la bka' gros che nas/ thugs brtand te// nang blon bka' la gtogs par bcug nas// rgya'i srid gyI nyam drod rtog cing / khar tsan phyogs su thog ma drangs pa'i/ dmag dpon du / bka' stsald gyis kyang/ dgra' thabs mkhas la gros gyi song de rgya'i khams su gtogs pa'i 'a zha dang po bsdus/ rgya las mnangs phal sa cha bcad pas/ rgya spa gong ste// rgya'i khams su gtogs pa dbyar mo thang/ [±3] na dang / tsong ka phyogs [stsang ra] dang nas las stsogs/ pa [±3] dang pho gcald/ klu khong gis [±3] 'khrugs pa'I dgra [±3] chab srid chen pho mdza_d [±3] bka' gros chen pho gsold [klu khong] glo ba nye zhing chab srid la dpend pa'i sems dga' ba byas so// btsan pho khrI srong lde brtsan thugs sgam la' bka' gros gyI rgya che bas/ chab srid gar mdzad do cog du'ang legs ste/ rgya'i khams su gtogs pa'I yul dang mkhar mang po bcom ste bsdus nas// rgya rje he'u 'gI 'wang te rje blon skrag ste/ lo cIg cIng rtog du dpya dar yug lnga khri phul te/ rgya dpya' 'jal du bcug go/ de'I 'og du/ rgya rje yab he'u 'gI 'wang de grongs ste/ rgya rje sras lwang peng 'wang rgyal por zhugs nas/ bod la dpya' 'jal du ma rung ste// btsan pho thugs snyung ba'I tshe ngan lam klu khong gis// rgya yul gyI thild / rgya rje'I pho brang keng shir/ bod gyls dmag drang ba'i bka' gros gyI mgo chen po gsold nas keng shir drang ba'I dmag dpon chen phor/ zhang mchims rgyal zIgs shu theng dang // blon stag sgra klu khong gnyIs/ bka' stsald te/ keng shir drangs nas// ci'u cI_r gyi rab ngogs su rgya dang thab mo chen pho byas te/ bod gyis g-yul bzlog nas// rgya mang po bdungs pas// rgya rje kwang peng 'wang yang/ keng shI'i mkhar nas phyung ste' sshem ci'ur bros nas/ keng shI phab ste rgya rje'I nang blon 'gye'u [±1] keng las stsogs te dong kwan dang bo kan ya[n cad] [±3] btsan po'i 'bangs [±4] cod chu gang dang khra [±4] te/ kim sheng kong co'i ming po [±4] 'khras shIng [±7] blon po [±6] rgyal pho che chung [±6] srid phugsu gra ba dang gtam yun du snyan par byas te/ klu khong glo ba nye zhing chab srid la dpend pa'I sems dga' ba byas so/ (ll. 21–74).⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ For transliteration and translation, see Richardson 1985: 8–15 and Li and Coblin 1987: 143–45, 158–60. Cf. Sato 1958–1959: 525.

Appendix Four

The “Succession of Chief Ministers” in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*

Chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* consists of a succession of chief ministers containing anecdotes about the chief ministers of Tibet. It is, literally, “an account of those who served as chief ministers” (*blon che bgyis pa 'I rabs*). In most cases, a given minister is described as being “wise” (*'dzangs*) and “brave” (*dpa'*), and sometimes “perceptive” (*snying-shes*). In other cases, such as the famous ministers Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse and Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-bzung, the text relates an illustrative anecdote. The following is a condensed list of the names of these ministers without the accompanying anecdotes. The text begins with the reign of the Btsan-po Lde Pru-bo Gnam-gzhung-rtsan, who is listed in above in the *Royal Genealogy* as the sixteenth in the line of Btsan-po. This starting point speaks once again to the mythological nature of the early generations in the royal succession.

- [1.] 'Da'r gyI Bu-stong Dang-rje.
- [2.] Rngegs Dud kyi rje.
- [3.] Khu Lha-bo Mgo-gar.
- [4.] Lho Thang-'bring Ya-stengs.
- [5.] Rngegs Thang-yong Thang-rje.
- [6.] Gnubs Smon-to-re Spung-brtsan.
- [7.] Mthon-myi 'Bring-po Rgyal-btsan-nu.
- [8.] Sna-nam 'Bring-tog-rje.
- [9.] Gnubs Khri-to-re Mthong-po.
- [10.] Gnubs Khri-dog-rje Gtsug-blon.
- [11.] Gnubs Mnyen-to-re Ngan-snang.
- [12.] Shud-pu Rgyal-to-re Nga-myi.

These ministers upwards were endowed with sacred power (*'phrul*). . .

- [13.] Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab.⁴²⁹
- [14.] Mgar Khri-sgra 'Dzî -rmun.
- [15.] Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang.
- [16.] Mgar Mang-sham Sum-snang.⁴³⁰
- [17.] Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse.
- [18.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung.
- [19.] 'O-ma-lde Lod-btsan.
- [20.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ The text connects him with the fall of Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsang-Bod, an event that is usually attributed to Zu-tse. Denwood (*forthcoming*), however, states that the text does not attribute this conquest to Mong, but simply narrates his feats at the time of this event. Cf. Beckwith 1987: 16, n. 14. Chapter four of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* recounts how Mong Sngon-po, perhaps the son of this minister, was put to death by Zu-tse (*DTH*: 106, 139).

⁴³⁰ The text here also mentions Khu Khri-snya Dgu'-zung.

- [21.] Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu.⁴³²
- [22.] Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung.⁴³³
- [23.] Dba's KhrI-gzigs Zhang-nyen.
- [24.] Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod.
- [25.] Dba's Khri-sum-rje Rtsang-bzher.
- [26.] Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tshab.
- [27.] Dba's Stag-sgra Khong-lod.⁴³⁴
- [28.] 'Bro Cung-bzang 'Or-mang.
- [29.] 'Bal Skye-zang Ldong-tshab.⁴³⁵
- [30.] Dba's Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan.
- [31.] Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lag.
- [32.] Mchims Zhang Rgyal-zlgs Shu-teng.
- [33.] Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong.
- [34.] Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang.
- [35.] 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags.
- [36.] Dba' Mang-rje Lha-lod.
- [37.] 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang.
- [38.] Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya.
(PT 1287, ll. 63–117).⁴³⁶

Like the genealogy of the Tibetan emperors, the list goes right up to the end of the dynasty, ending with Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya, a minister of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) and 'U-'i Dum-brtan (Glang Dar-ma). The succession of ministers corresponds generally with that established by the *Annals*, but differs from it in some instances. The succession of chief ministers in the *Annals* is as follows:

pre-650–667	Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-bzung.
667–679	No chief minister mentioned.
680–685	Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu. ⁴³⁷

⁴³¹ The text states, “Yul-zung being old, he was replaced by 'O-ma-lde Lod-btsan. Not long after, he became disloyal and was killed. Then Minister Stong-rtsan was reappointed. Acting for six more years, he became old and died.”

⁴³² According to the text, the lesser ministers and subjects preferred a different candidate, Dba's Sum-snang, but were overruled by the lord and ministers, who conferred in secret. Dba's Sum-snang then acted as his deputy and understudy, but died.

⁴³³ The text states that he was disgraced.

⁴³⁴ The text states that he was disgraced.

⁴³⁵ The text states that he too was disgraced.

⁴³⁶ For the text, see *CD2*, pls. 559–61. For Imaeda and Takeuchi's transliteration, Imaeda and Takeuchi *et al.* 2007: 202–04. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 128–32.

Appendices

685–698	Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod.
698–705	No chief minister mentioned.
705	Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung. Appointed in 705, then disgraced.
705–721	Dbas Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen.
721–725	Dbas Khri-sum-rje Rtsan-bzher.
725–727	Rngegs Mang-zham Stag-tsab.
727–728	Dbas Stag-sgra Khong-lod.
728–c.747	'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang. ⁴³⁸
c.747–c.754	'Bal Skye-zang Ldong-tshab.
755–756	No chief minister mentioned.
757–764	Dbas Snang-bzher Zla-brtsan.
764–???	Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lag

The chief ministers named in the *Annals* correspond perfectly with names 20 through 31 in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” from the *Chronicle*, apart from one oddity. Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod should be placed in the 22nd spot in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s succession of ministers and not the 24th, since he precedes Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Dbas Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen. The *Annals* mentions twelve chief ministers covering a period of 114 years, thus making the average reign as chief minister approximately ten years long, with the obvious caveat that chief ministers were most likely to rule either a very long time, such as twenty years, or a very short time, such as one year.

Concerning the succession of chief ministers after the period covered by the *Annals*, it is uncertain how long Mgos Khri-bzang remained in office. As he is not mentioned in Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's Bsam-yas edict, which dates to c.779, he must have left his office by that time. His successor, Mchims Zhang Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng, is first mentioned as chief minister in this edict, indicating that he had become chief minister by this time.⁴³⁹ The *Jiu Tangshu* states that in 782 Chief minister Shang Jiexi 尚結息 was replaced by the second minister, Shang Jiezan 尚結贊,⁴⁴⁰ and Sørensen (1994: 351, n. 1118) believes that the former name indicates Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng. The latter, however probably does not refer to Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong, because, as LI (1981: 176) has shown, he was apparently called Ma Chongying 馬重英 in the *Tang Annals*. Shang Jiezan is, in fact, an accurate rendering of Zhang Rgyal-mtshan, indicating Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-mtshan Lha-snang (Sato 1958–1959: 22, English summary). If the *Jiu Tangshu* is not in error here, and we take the “Succession of Chief Ministers” at face value as well, then this might indicate that Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong held the post for only a matter of months in c.782 before Zhang Rgyal-mtshan replaced him (Richardson 1998 [1977]: 67–68). This is problematic, however, because the annalistic preamble to the Tabo version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, which most likely dates to 783–784, refers to both Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng and Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong as “chief ministers” (*blon chen-po*) (*supra*, Appendix One). If we are to trust both the Chinese and Tibetan sources, then we can assume that

⁴³⁷ He is mentioned in the entries for 673–674, 675–676, and 676–677, and referred to as “minister” in the latter two entries. Sato (1958–1959: 824) assumes that he served as chief minister from 667 to 685.

⁴³⁸ The years between 747 and 755 are missing, so it is likely that 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang continued to act as chief minister for some of these years until he was replaced by 'Bal Ldong-tshab.

⁴³⁹ Sato (1958–1959: 824) states that he held the post from 768–781, while Richardson (1998 [1977]: 64) proposes 768–783.

⁴⁴⁰ See Bushell 1880: 487; Pelliot 1961: 42; and Lee 1981: 93.

Klu-gong was appointed in c.782, and that Zhang Rgyal-mtshan was appointed shortly thereafter, with both of them acting as chief ministers for at least one year, after which only Zhang Rgyal-mtshan served as chief minister.

Sna-nam Zhang Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang is recorded third in the edict of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (*infra*, Appendix Five). His death is reported in the *Xin Tangshu*'s entry for 796. (Pelliot 1961: 123). The next Tibetan edict containing information about the Tibetan ministers is that of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan in c.812. The first of the ministers who swore to this edict was Chief minister Zhang 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags. We know from the *Chronicle* that he was decisive in the reconquest of Khotan in the early 790s, but that does not necessarily indicate that he became chief minister under Khri Srong-lde-brtsan. The second name below Ram-shags in the edict of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan is Dba'-blon Mang-rje Lha-lod, and Ram-shags and Mang-rje Lha-lod are found in the introduction to the non-Tabo versions of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, dating most likely to 814-815, where again they are chief minister and minister, respectively. This means that Mang-rje Lha-lod did not hold the post of chief minister until after 814-815.⁴⁴¹

The next edict containing information about Tibet's ministerial regimes is the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar in Lhasa, dating to 821-822. In this pillar, the first minister named is Dpal chen-po Yon-tan, who is described as "the great monk participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs and in charge of internal and external affairs of the realm." Next is the commander of the army is named second among the ministers, Zhang Khri-sum-rje. There has been some debate about the identification of this person due to the fact that the inscription is damaged here. The name has sometimes been reconstructed as Rlang Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha, a minister who is listed as the sixth of six Ministers of the realm participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs in Khri Lde-srong-brtsan's Skar-chung Edict (*infra*, Appendix Five).⁴⁴² Most often the name is read as Zhang Khri-sum-rje, however, and the Chinese also has *shang* 尚, which is the standard transcription for *zhang*. Since the Rlang were not a zhang clan and the 'Bro were, this can only be 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang. Furthermore, his placement in the edict indicates that he is the chief minister, and nowhere do we find Rlang Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha listed as a chief minister.

The final chief minister mentioned in the succession according to the *Chronicle* is Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya. Though he is not found in the Lhasa treaty inscription, the edict of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan mentions Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-snya tenth in the list of governors, generals, and ministers of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs. He is famous in post-dyastic histories as the leader of the coup to oust Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) and is described in poetic detail as one of Tibet's great villains.

⁴⁴¹ Richardson (1998 [1977]: 64) suggests that Ram-shags took the post around 800 and that Mang-rje Lha-lod succeeded him around 810. Sato (1958-1959: 824) states that Ram-shags was appointed in 802, based on his dating of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* to this time.

⁴⁴² For references and a discussion of this matter, see Li and Coblin 1987: 122.

Appendix Five

The Regimes of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan Based on their Edicts

As noted in the introduction, and again in Appendix One, the annalistic dating formulas found in Old Tibetan letters and contracts cannot be precisely dated without a knowledge of the careers of the ministers who they name. A crucial technology for dating such Old Tibetan documents is therefore a database of ministers. Ideally, this would be a searchable electronic database, but as a piecemeal offering for such a project, I present the names of the ministers listed in three royal edicts, dating respectively to the reigns of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. The first two come from edicts preserved in the sixteenth-century *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, and have been translated and published by Tucci (1950: 44–55, 95–104).

Considering now the regime of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, the edict accompanying the Bsam-yas Inscription records the names of several of his ministers who swore to the edict proclaiming Buddhism the religion of Tibet. Richardson (1985: 27) dates this to between 779 and 782, based on 779 as the date of Bsam-yas's completion. Like Tucci, Richardson (1998 [1980]) also made a translation and transliteration of this edict.

Those who swore:

1. The nephew, Lord of 'A-zha.

Great ministers participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*zhang-blon chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*):

1. Chief minister Zhang [Mchims] Rgyal-gzigs Shu-theng.
2. Minister Stag-sgra Klu-gong.
3. Zhang [Sna-nam] Rgyal-tshan Lha-snang.⁴⁴³
4. Minister Rgyal-sgra Legs-gzigs.⁴⁴⁴
5. Minister Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod.⁴⁴⁵
6. Zhang Rgyal-nyen Zla-gong.
7. Minister Khri-gangs Rgya-gong.
8. Gcen Mtsho-btsan.
9. Zhang Rgyal-tshan Le-gong.

Ministers of the interior:

1. Minister Gra-'dzi, Zhang ['Bro Khri-gzu] Rams-shags.
2. Zhang A-srin.
3. Zha-snga Khri-gnyen.

⁴⁴³ According to the “Succession of Chief Ministers” in chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, these three succeeded one after another to the post of chief minister (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁴⁴ This corresponds to Sbrang Rgyal-sgra Leg-zigs who in the *Chronicle* led a campaign against the upper regions (*stod phyogs*) following the victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three).

⁴⁴⁵ This corresponds to Dba's Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod, who in the *Chronicle* led campaigns from Mkharr-tshan upwards following the victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three).

4. Minister Klu-gong.
5. 'Ong-ka Lha-mtsho.
6. Minister Shang-btsan.
7. Minister Srin-skyugs.
8. Minister 'Dus-ston.
9. Zhang Stag-tshab.
10. Zhang Legs-'dus.

Ministers of the exterior:

1. Zhang Bal-bu-stang.
2. Zhang Lha-gzigs.⁴⁴⁶
3. Minister La-kun-rtse.
4. Minister Spra-bzhin.
5. Minister Stong-thub.
6. Minister Zla-gong.
7. Minister Gtug-khyung-sling.
8. Minister Lhos-po.
9. Zhang Rgyal-snang.
10. Minister Byin-byin.⁴⁴⁷
11. Minister Long-po.
12. Minister Rtsang-lod.
13. Minister Gnyan-kong.

Governors and generals of the upper and lower regions (*stod smad kyi dbang po dang dmag dpon*):

1. Minister Skyes-bzang Stag-snang.⁴⁴⁸
2. Minister Snang-kong.
3. Minister Khyi-chung.
4. Minister Klu-bzher.
5. Zhang Mar-bu.
6. Minister Lha-mtsho.
7. Minister Par-mi.

⁴⁴⁶ This may correspond to Mchims Btsan-zher Lha-gzigs, named as subcommander of lower Branch Horn in the catalogues of thousand-districts dating to between 744 and 764 (Hazod, *infra*, Part III).

⁴⁴⁷ This may correspond to Le'u minister Lha-bzang Byin-byin, listed as a minister of the interior in the Skar-chung Edict of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (*infra*).

⁴⁴⁸ This corresponds to Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang, who in the *Chronicle* met in battle the Chinese general Hon Dze-sangs at 'Gu'-log following the Tibetan victory at the Chinese capital (*supra*, Appendix Three). He also appears in the catalogues of thousand-districts as the general of lower Central Horn (Hazod, *infra*, Part III; Dotson 2007a: 199–200).

8. Minister Shang-rdzong.
 9. Minister Mig-khyung-tshud.
 10. Minister Tang-bu.
 11. Khu Rgya-brtsan.
 12. Minister Mdo-gzigs.
 13. Minister Khong-khri.
 14. Minister Khong-legs.
 15. Minister Rmang-la-skyes.
 16. Minister Mdo-bzang.
 17. Minister Khri-gong.
- (*KhG*: 372–73; 109b, l. 4–110a, l. 2).

As for the regimes of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (c.798–815), the edict accompanying the Skar-chung Pillar edict proclaiming his desire to uphold the Buddhist religion records the names of several of his queens and ministers who swore to the edict reinforcing Buddhism the religion of Tibet. This likely dates to the latter half of his reign, and Richardson opts for c.812.⁴⁴⁹

Those who swore:

[Junior] queen sisters (*jo mo mched*):⁴⁵⁰

1. Jo-mo 'Bro-bza' Khri-mo-legs.⁴⁵¹
2. Jo-mo Mchims-rgyal-bza' Legs-mo-brtsan.⁴⁵²
3. Jo-mo Cog-ro-bza' Brtsan-rgyal.

Minor [vassal] kings (*rgyal-phran*):

1. The nephew, Lord of 'A-zha, Dud-kyi Bul-zhi khud-par Ma-ga-tho-yo-gon Kha-gan.⁴⁵³
2. Rkong Kar-po Mang-po-rje.
3. Myang-btsun Khri-bo.

Ministers of the realm downwards; greater and lesser ministers (*chab-srid kyi blon-po man-chad blon-po che phra*):

⁴⁴⁹ Richardson 1998 [1977]: 71.

⁴⁵⁰ On this title, see *supra*, “Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives.”

⁴⁵¹ According to the *Royal Genealogy*, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan and 'Bro-za Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje bore Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and 'U'i Dum-brtan (*supra*, Appendix Two; see also Sørensen 1994: 409, n. 1410). It is hard to harmonize these two names as having referred to the same person, and if the chief, heir-bearing queen were alive at this point, she would certainly be mentioned in this edict. One possibility is that the heir-bearing 'Bro queen, Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje, died some time after giving birth to the heir Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and his brother 'U'i Dum-brtan, and was duly “replaced” in her role by another lady of the 'Bro clan, Khri-mo-legs. See, however, Uebach 2005b: 44, where it is suggested that Khri-mo-legs might be the official name of 'Bro-za Lha-rgyal Mang-mo-rje.

⁴⁵² She is also mentioned in Ldan-ma-brag Inscription (Chab-spel 2003 [1988]: 87)

⁴⁵³ Kha-gan indicates a Turkic ruler, in this case, the lord of the 'A-zha. Ma-ga-tho-gon is not a name, but an epithet, and is also found to indicate the 'A-zha ruler during the early eighth century in the *Annals of the 'A-zha Principality*.

Monks participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs (*ban-de bka' chen-po la gtogs-pa*):

1. Ban-de Bran-ka Yon-tan.
2. Ban-de Myang Ting-'dzin.

Ministers of the realm participating in the great [deliberation of] state affairs (*chab-srid kyi blon-po bka' chen-po la gtogs-pa*):

1. Chief minister Zhang 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags.
2. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Btsan-bzher Legs-gzigs.
3. Dba'-blon Mang-rje Lha-lod.⁴⁵⁴
4. Dba's-blon Khri-sum-bzher Mdo-btsan.
5. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Lha-bzhir Ne-shags.
6. Rlang minister Khri-sum-rje Speg-lha.

Ministers of the interior:

1. Zhang Sna-nam Khri-sgra-rgyal.
2. Zhang Tshe-spong Mdo-bzher Phes-po.
3. Zhang Tshe-spong Lha-bzang Klu-dpal.
4. Zhang Sna-nam Rgyal-legs Dge-tshug.
5. Zhang Sna-nam Lha-bzher Spe-btsan.
6. Bran-ka minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong.⁴⁵⁵
7. Myang minister Khri-bzang Legs-'dus.
8. Le'u minister Lha-bzang Byin-byin.
9. Tong minister Stag-slebs.
10. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Mdo-gzigs.
11. Rlang minister Bsam-skyes.
12. Zhang Tshe-spong Lha-lung-sto.
13. Zhang Sna-nam Gnyan-lod.
14. 'Ong-ka Lha-sbyin.
15. 'Bring-yas-blom Stag-rma.
16. Rtsang-rje-blom Khye-'u-cung.⁴⁵⁶
17. 'Bal-blom 'Bro-ma.
18. Snya-shur-blom Btsug-snyas.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ According to the “Succession of Chief Ministers” in chapter two of the *Chronicle*, he succeeded Ram-shags as chief minister (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁵⁵ He corresponds to minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong, named as great minister of the realm in the 821-822 treaty pillar (*infra*).

⁴⁵⁶ This ethnonym-cum-title, Rtsang-rje, may indicate that this minister is a descendant of the ancient rulers of Rtsang or Rtsang-Bod, incorporated into the Tibetan Empire during the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan.

⁴⁵⁷ As noted above, Snya-shur is the clan name or title of the royal house of Zhang-zhung. This demonstrates the extent to which this once proud royal lineage was now co-opted as little more than a minor aristocratic clan within the Tibetan Empire.

Retainers (*snam-phyi-ba*):⁴⁵⁸

1. Khar-ba-rje blon Btsan-slebs.
2. Khu Stag-tshab.
3. Zha-snga Gcan-stag-lod.
4. Byung-po blon Rgyal-'byung.
5. Shud-pu blon Khong-khri.
6. Le'u blon Klu-gzher.
7. Zhang Tshe-spong Klu-mtsho-sto.
8. Pa-tsab blon 'Tsho-gzigs.
9. Myang blon Legs-btsan.
10. Rlang blon Gsal-slebs.
11. Dba' blon Lta-bo-btsan.
12. Bran-ka blon Bsam-pa.
13. Nyi-ba blon Ldon-kong.
14. Shud-bu blon Stag-slebs.
15. Zha-snga Gsas-btsan Khu-thog-btsan.
16. Sna-nam Lha-'bangs.

Governors, generals, and ministers of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*dbang-po dang / dmag-dpon dang / phyi-blon bka' la gtogs-pa*):

1. Lho blon Khri-bzang G.yu-brtsan.
2. Dbas blon Khrom-bzher.
3. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Stong-snya Smon-btsan.
4. Zhang Tshe-spong Khri-gzigs Spung-re-tsung.
5. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Stag-bzher Rgyal-slebs.
6. Zhang Sna-nam Btsan-sgra Khri-slebs.
7. 'Brom blon Rgyal-bzher Khar-tsi.
8. Lha-lung blon Mang-po-rje Skar-kong.
9. Zhang 'Bro Stag-bzher Pra-bal-stang.
10. Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-nya.⁴⁵⁹
11. Cog-ro blon Lho-gong.⁴⁶⁰
12. Lang-gro blon Khrom-legs.
13. Dba' blon Mdo-btsan.
14. Le'u blon Ku-rma.
15. Zhang 'Bro Stag-stang.
16. Mang-sgra blon Klu-rma.

⁴⁵⁸ On the translation of this term, see Takeuchi 1985: 139–40.

⁴⁵⁹ He is the final chief minister named in the “Succession of Chief Ministers” (*supra*, Appendix Four).

⁴⁶⁰ May correspond to Cog-ro blon Btsan-bzher Lho-gong named as minister of the exterior attached to the council in the 821-822 treaty pillar (*infra*).

17. Zhang Mchims Rma-btsan.
 18. Rtse-'brom blon Sga-'gu.
 19. Khyung-po blon Mes-kol.
 20. Pa-tsab blon Spe-ma.
 21. 'Brom Se-ri-stang.
 22. Dba's blon 'Phan-legs.
 23. Dbas blon Khrom-legs.
 24. Ska-ba blon Mtsho-lod.
 25. Cog-ro blon Gung-keng.
 26. Dbas blon Mye-slebs.
 27. Khu Mye-gzigs.
 28. Zha-snga Mu-gnyen.
 29. Zhang 'Bro Gung-stang.
 30. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Ma-rmyIn-brtse.
 31. Zhang Tshe-spong Rma-btsan.
 32. Cog-ro Brtan-kong.
 33. Gnang Yul-bzung.
 34. Cog-ro Khyi-btsan.
 35. Sbrang Mo-rma.
 36. 'Bro Ldog-srong-ston.⁴⁶¹
 37. 'Brom Yang-gzigs.
- (*KhG*: 411–13; 129b, l. 7–130b, l. 5)

Finally, the 821-822 China–Tibet treaty pillar records the regime during the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan. Following Li and Coblin’s transliteration, the north face of the pillar reads as follows:⁴⁶²

The ranks, names, and clans of the greater and lesser ministers of Greater Tibet who swore to the treaty (*bod chen-po’I blon-po che phra mjal-dum gyI gtsigs ’dzin-pa la gtogs-pa’I thabs dang mying rus la//*):

The ranks, names, and clans of the great ministers of the realm of Greater Tibet participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs (*bod chen-po’I chab-srid kyI blon-po chen-po bka’ la gtogs-pa’I thabs dang mying rus//*):

1. The great monk participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs and in charge of internal and external affairs of the realm, Dpal chen-po [Bran-ka]Yon-tan.
2. Commander in chief of the army, Zhang Khri-sum-rje [Stag-snang].
3. . . . great minister, Minister Lho. . .
4. Great high minister, chief of the army (*gung-blon chen-po dpon dmag. . .*) . . . -bzang.

⁴⁶¹ It is odd here that this minister of the 'Bro clan is not referred to as *zhang*, like those other clansmen mentioned in the edict.

⁴⁶² For the transliteration, see Li and Coblin 1987: 59–62. See also their translation and notes, 117–27. For Richardson’s transcription and translation, see Richardson 1985: 128–35.

Appendices

5. Great minister of the realm, Minister Rgyal-khri Mdo-gzigs.
6. Great minister of the realm, Minister Mchims Zhang Rgyal Btsan-bzher.
7. Great minister of the realm, Zhang Khri-btsan Khod-ne-stang.
8. Great minister of the realm, Zhang KhrI-bzher Lha-mthong.
9. Great minister of the realm, Minister Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong.

The ranks, names, and clans of the ordinary ministers of Greater Tibet (*bod chen-po'i blon-po phal gyi thabs dang myIng rus//*):

1. Minister of the interior Mchims Zhang Rgyal-bzher Khod-ne-brtsan.
2. Minister of the exterior participating in the [deliberation of] state affairs, Cog-ro Minister Btsan-bzher Lto-gong.
3. Retainer (*snam-phyi-pa*) Mchims Zhang Brtan-bzher Stag-tsab.
4. Fiscal governor official, head of all the revenue offices (*mngan-pon khab-so 'o-chog gi bla*), 'Bal Minister Klu-bzang Myes-rma.
5. Minister for official correspondence (*bka'i phrin blon*) Bran-ka Minister Stag-bzher Hab-ken.
6. Great accounts minister (*rtsis-pa chen-po*) Rngegs Minister Stag-zlgs Rgan-kol.
7. Minister of the exterior 'Bro Zhang Klu-bzang Lha-bo-brtsan.
8. Chief justice, head of the judiciary (*zhal-ce-pa chen-po zhal-ce 'o-chog gi [bla]*) Myang Minister Rgyal-nyen Legs-tsan.