Cover: The Yambulagang, the first historical building in Tibet. Constructed during the reign of king Nya-tri Tsen-po in about 127 B.C. It is now known to have been destroyed in 1968 by the Chinese Red Guards during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

(from a painting by the state artist, Jamyang)
The White Annals
(Deb-ther dkar-po)

by
Gedun Chos-'phel

Translated from the Tibetan
by Samten Norboo

LTWA
Dharamsala
Contents

Publisher's Note 7
Introduction 9

THE WHITE ANNALS 17

Prologue: A Hymn of Praise 18
1 Early Tibetan Historical Records 20
2 Terminology and Nomenclature 22
3 Dress and Residence 29
4 Tibet's Jurisdiction over Li and Bal 32
5 System of Dating 41
6 Sources of the Work 44
7 Origin of Race and Ancient Social Customs 47
8 Some Events in gNam-ri Srong-btzan's Reign 53
9 King Srong-btzan sGam-po 63
10 Origin of the Tibetan System of Writing 68
11 Srong-btzan sGam-po's Foreign Policy 72
12 Mang-srong Mang-btzan and Khr'i-dus Srong-btzan 80

Translator's Notes 94
Publisher’s Note

In November 1971, with the blessings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, courses in Buddhist Dharma and Language were inaugurated at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Concomitantly, it was felt that the Library engage in publishing pursuits and record as many aspects as possible of Tibetan culture on topics both secular and religious.

*Deb-ther Kar-po or The White Annals* was written by the late Reverend Gedun Chos-'phel, a native literary genius and a refined political revolutionary of northern Tibet. Written at the turn of this century, it constitutes a critical historical analysis of Tibet and her early kings. The translator, Professor Samten Norboo is to be commended for his fine efforts in making a portion of Tibet's written history available to a wider circle of readers.

November 1977
Dharamsala

Gyatsho Tshering
Director
Introduction

History has always attracted Tibetan literary attention and not without valid reason. For barring a few countries, Tibet perhaps possesses the richest historical literature in Asia. Our literary resources have come down to us in the form of gTer-ma works (Hidden Treasures) like Pad-ma bKa'-thang (the biography of Padmasambhava, the great Indian tantric teacher who visited Tibet in the 8th century); Lo-gyu'i (chronicles); rGyal-rabs (genealogical histories) such as La-dvags gyal-rabs; Dan-rabs (monastic chronicles) such as the Chos-sde chen-po ta-sni 'khyil-kyi dan-rabs kha-sgong dang bchas (a volume devoted to the history of the bLa-brang monastery in A-mdo); Khrung-rabs (history of incarnations) such as skYes-rabs rnam-thar dad-pad'i sgo-'byed (the biographical work of the sixty-first head of the dGa'-ldan monastery, Lhasa); bsTan-rtzis (chronicle treatises); Chos-'byung (history of religion) such as Bu-ston's Chos-'byung on the establishment of Buddhism in India and Tibet; and Deb-ther (historical and religious records).

Scholars have repeatedly emphasised the importance of Tibetan historical literature but not solely for the purpose of research. They have been prompted by reasons far wider in scope: to study and expound, in addition to the history of their own country, that of all other countries where Buddhism was prevalent. Such reasoning accrued logically when seen within the framework that for centuries Tibet had been the spiritual nucleus for Asiatic Buddhists (particularly those belonging to the Mahayana school) and the Tibetan language had become their lingua franca. Under these circumstances, scholarly efforts have invested Tibetan historical literature with valuable histories of the
Mongols, the Oirats, Tanguit, Khotan, Nepal and even that of India and China.

Deb-ther dkar-po or the White Annals on the political history of Tibet is the work of the late Reverend dGe-'dun Chos-phel. It is the successor to Deb-ther dmar-po (Red Annals) composed in 1346 A.D. by Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje and Deb-ther sngon-po (Blue Annals) composed between 1476 and 1478 A.D. by 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba gshon-nu-dpal. While both Deb-dmar and Deb-dkar are political histories, Deb-sngon, a voluminous work running into several chapters, belongs to the category of Chos-'byung (history of religion). It traces the origin and development of Buddhism in Tibet and the patronage it received under the different kings and rulers. Deb-sngon has derived its main sources from the biographies (rNam-thar) of religious teachers and the sBa-bzhad, a chronicle containing histories of the reigns of Kings Khri-srong de-tzan and Mu-ne-tzan-po, as well as from Deb-mar and Bu-ton's well-known work on the history of Buddhism, the Bu-ston Chos-'byung.²

Deb-ther mar-po contains a list and brief account of the kings of Tibet and Mongolia. It has mainly been based on Tibetan translated excerpts from the Thang-shu, the rGya'i Yig-tsang or Chinese Annals rendered into Tibetan by bla-ma Rinchen Grags-pa.³ The author of Deb-dmar had referred to early Tibetan sources as well as dZam-bha-la Shi-mgon's work⁴ with regard to the list of Mongolian kings.

Deb-ther dkar-po is a comparatively short work and deals with the reign of King Srong-btzan sgam-po. Reverend dGe-'dun Chos-phel is perhaps the first Tibetan historian to utilise material from archaeological finds: the historical documents in old Tibetan and Ughir discovered from within the ruins of a temple in Touen-houng, Li-yul (Khotan). He has also consulted the Chinese Annals which had been incorporated in Deb-dmar and Deb-sngon. Parts of the Touen-houng documents, the source of dGe-'dun Chos-phel's Deb-dkar, were discovered by A. Stein and P. Pelliot. These were analysed and translated by Professor F.W. Thomas and published under the title Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan (1927).
Professor Thomas, C. Toursant and J. Bacot brought out another work also based on the same archaeological finds and entitled *Documents de Touen-houng relatifs a l’histoire du Thibet* (Paris, 1940). P. Pelliot’s *Histoire Ancienne du Thibet* (Paris, 1961) also dealt with the same theme. Since these documents were the earliest written records (of Tibet) discovered so far, it was but natural that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel gave so much importance to them.

Though *Deb-ther dkar-po* is a brief work, the author had plans to compile an exhaustive and detailed volume devoted to Tibetan history covering a period up to the recent past. According to the testimony of Professor Ngawang Jinpa of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, this large compilation had been completed and the manuscript in the custody of Mr. Ma-nang A-po, an associate of the author. Unfortunately we have lost track of the manuscript, following the demise of Mr. A-po.

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel was undoubtedly a great Tibetan scholar and historian. In the foreword to Reverend Chos-'phel's translation of *Dharmapada* (Anagarika Dharmapala Trust, 1946), Dr. George Roerich has noted that "Tibetan readers throughout Inner Asia and all those interested in Tibetan will be grateful to Reverend dGe-'dun Chos-'phel for having given them an excellent Tibetan translation of the Buddhist classics, the *Dharmapada*... The translator is not only a Tibetan scholar of eminence but a distinguished poet as well, and his translation combines scholarly exactitude with a highly literary value."

dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's position should not be considered less as a historian too. This will be evident from the verbal testimony he provided Dr. Roerich while the latter was compiling the *Blue Annals*, a translation of 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba's *Deb-ther-sngon-po*. In the introduction to this work, Dr. Roerich has acknowledged the assistance and guidance he received from Reverend Chos-'phel. Reverend Chos-'phel was also the author of *rGya-gar-gyi gnas-chen khag-la bgrod-pa'i lam-yig* (Calcutta, 1939) or *A Guide Book to Buddhist Sacred Places in India*.

One of the author's objects in writing *Deb-ther dkar-po* was to eliminate certain obvious discrepancies in '*Gos-lo-
tsa-ba's chronology of Srong-btzan sGam-po's birthdate as had been annotated in Deb-ther sngon-po. 'Gos accepts the Earth Female Ox (569 A.D.) year to be the year of Srong-btzan's birth and claimed that Srong-btzan lived until his eighty-second year. Though Reverend Chos-'phel relegates to 'Gos a prominent place among Tibetan historians and chronologists, yet he is compelled to refute 'Gos' data regarding Srong-btzan's birthdate and points out the discrepancies in Deb-ther sngon-po: "Having based his chronology on mTshal-pa's Deb-dmar, 'Gos writes that Thang Ka'u-dzung, the Chinese Emperor, seized the throne in the Earth Male Tiger year (618 A.D.) which is the fiftieth year of Srong-btzan. The Emperor ruled for nine years and his son Thang-th'i-dzung (The-tsung, Deb-dkar) ascended the throne in the Fire Male Dog year or 626 A.D. After nine years the latter made a treaty of friendship with the Tibetans. Wun-sul Kong-jo (Mun-chang Kong-jo, Deb-dkar) was sent in the Iron Female Ox year (641 A.D.) to Tibet.

From the above, Reverend Chos-'phel deduces that Srong-btzan was fifty years of age when Kau-tsung seized the throne, in the Earth Tiger year (618 A.D.). Since Kau-tsung ruled for nine years, Srong-btzan was fifty-nine when The-tsung ascended the throne. Sino-Tibetan relations commenced from the ninth year of The-tsung's reign and Kong-jo was sent as a bride in the Iron-Ox year (641 A.D.). If Kong-jo's meeting with King Srong-btzan was deferred by six years, it would seem that Srong-btzan married her when he was seventy-nine years of age, which does not seem to be a plausible argument. Reverend Chos-'phel further contends that most Tibetan historical literature accept that Srong-btzan proposed marriage to Kong-jo in his thirteenth year, the year of his enthronement. If 'Gos' calculations were to be accepted, then in the Earth Ox year, Kong-jo was a bride of over sixty-two years of age. According to Reverend Chos-'phel, 'Gos had advanced his calculations by sixty years and since the Iron Dog year (650 A.D.) was the year of Srong-btzan's death, 'Gos came to the conclusion that the king lived for eighty-two years (569-650 A.D.). Due to this erratic
inference, a discrepancy of sixty years more or sixty years less has resulted in the calculations of *Deb-ther sngon-po*, beginning from the Iron Bird year (901 A.D.), the year of King gLang-darma's persecution of Buddhism and proceeding backwards.

According to Reverend Chos-'phel, Srong-btzan was born in the Fire Ox year (617 A.D.) or 1161 Nirvana year. He ascended the throne at the age of thirteen in the Earth Ox year (629 A.D.). Sino-Tibetan relations began during Srong-btzan's eighteenth year. Kong-jo left for Tibet in the Iron Ox year (641 A.D.) when Srong-btzan was twenty-five years of age. Kong-jo's meeting with the king was deferred by six years and his actual marriage with the Princess took place in his thirty first year. They lived for three years together and Srong-btzan died in the Iron Dog year (650 A.D.) when he was thirty-four years of age. Reverend Chos-'phel quoted *Deb-ther sngon-po* and has mentioned that the Tibetans fought the Chinese for eight years following The-tsung's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to King Srong-btzan. This hostility probably took place during the eighteenth and twenty-fifth years of Srong-btzan. Reverend Chos-'phel also quotes Bonpo history, the *Byams-ma*, in support of his argument: "As Srong-btzan was hostile to Bonism, he could not survive for more than thirty-six years." The difference of two years is explained by Reverend Chos-'phel on the basis of information collected from documents discovered in Touen-houng, which state that Srong-btzan's death was kept a secret for two years. According to the Bonpos, his age at death, on disclosure, would therefore be thirty-six.

It is most interesting to note that the discrepancies in 'Gos' work also came before Dr. Roerich's attention. The latter discussed them elaborately in his introduction to the translation of *Deb-ther sngon-po*. He wrote: "There exists considerable confusion in the *Blue Annals* and other Tibetan historical works regarding the Tibetan chronology of the early period: King Srong-btzan's birthday either in 569 A.D. or 629 A.D. and the date of the persecution of the Buddhist doctrine by King gLang-darma either in 841 A.D. or 901 A.D."

Both Dr. Roerich and Reverend Chos-
Introduction

'phel ascribe an incorrect understanding of the Sanskrit passages contained in the Manjusri Mula Tantra (Tib. 'Jam-dpal rtsa-ba'i rgyud) as the reason for the discrepancies.

Another important discussion Reverend Chos-'phel expounded in his Deb-ther dkar-po was on the subject relating to the origin of Tibetan writing, a subject that has attracted keen interest from Western scholars. According to Tibetan historical works, the Tibetan alphabets were invented by Thon-mi Sam-bho-ta during Srong-btzan sgam-po's reign in the seventh century. There is however no unanimity among Tibetan traditions with regard to the particular Indian script that served as a model for Thon-mi's Tibetan characters. Deb-ther sngon-po asserts that Thom-mi created the thirty letters from the fifty Indian alphabets. The Tibetan work, Situ Sum-rtags, a commentary on Thon-mi Sam-bho-ta's work on grammar, Sum-bchu-pa-dang rtags-kyi-'jug-pa, mentions that Thon-mi used the Devanagari characters as his model. Sa-kya bsod-nam rgyal-rtsen in his rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long mentions that the two, dBu-chan (with head) and the dBu-med (headless) Tibetan characters were modelled from the Ranza and Vartula script (chapter 10 of rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long). A-la-sha bstan-dar in his work Yi-ge bshad-pa mkhas-pa'i kha-rgyan also supports the latter view. According to Dr. N. Kowitz, the Tibetan traditions are wrong in the assumption that the Tibetan script developed from the Ranza and the Vartula as both these two forms of writing originated at a later period.

The derivation of the Tibetan writing from the Ranza and the Vartula scripts has also been refuted by P. George in his work Alphabatum Tibetanum (Paris. 1762). According to George, the Tibetan writing developed from the Syrian script. For another scholar, P.S. Pallas, the Tibetan script appeared similar to the Devanagari. This fact has also been observed by Bu-ston Rin-po-che. Csomo de Koros, the great Hungarian traveller and scholar ascertained that a predecessor of the Devanagari, the so-called western Gupta script, as used in the seventh century, showed marked similarities to the Tibetan script, specimens of which were noted on inscriptions at Bodhgaya.
Nevertheless, the German scholar, A.H. Francke in his *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay, 1903) expounded a new theory that Tibet was in possession of a headless alphabet and the so-called 'inventor', Thon-mi Sam-bho-ta, did no more than to furnish it with a head. Following the discovery of ancient manuscripts in Khotan, Francke propounded a new theory that the Tibetan system of writing originated from the Central Asian Gupta or the Kashgar Brahmi script. His theory was also supported by A.F. Hoernle. At a later date, both L.A. Waddell and E. Vogel came to the conclusion that the Kutilla type of the Western Gupta script showed even greater affinity and similarity than the Kashgar Brahmi script.

Reverend Chos-'phel, who supports the views of Csomo de Koros, claimed that the Tibetan writing was designed on the Gupta model. He however did not solely base his theory on observations of the inscriptions at Gaya. According to him the dBu-chan (with heads) and the dBu-med (without heads) characters were not created simultaneously. The dBu-med characters were gradual developments from the dBu-chan, a development which resulted from the need to write with greater ease and speed. In support of his theory he cites the example of the gTer-tshag inter-syllabic sign or the two dots (:) placed one upon the other appearing either singly or doubly after every syllable in the old gTer-ma works. In course of time, writers developed the tendency of joining them together and drawing a straight line (/) instead of two dots (:). This (/) became the new inter-syllabic sign of the dBu-med script. Reverend Chos-'phel further explains how spa of the dBu-med assumed its form under similar circumstances. Previous practice in Tibetan writing was to place the 'sa' before the 'tsa' and not 'sa' over 'tsa' as in the modern usage. In course of time, the word gradually developed into spa as a result of these two letters coming together in an effort to write faster. The argument is at once both scientific and convincing. The only error and drawback of Reverend Chos-'phel is that he did not mention the name of the particular variety of the Gupta script which he believed to be the basis of the Tibetan script.
Reverend Chos-'phel has also devoted a few pages of his *Deb-ther dkar-po* to tracing the origin of Tibetan terminology. Equally interesting are his efforts to derive the origins and the type of costumes worn by the ancient kings and ministers, as well as a description of the social habits and customs of the people. The curious annotations of the dead will, I hope, initiate interesting discussion from learned scholars and students of Tibetan studies in the future. I feel confident that the *Deb-ther dkar-po* will be of considerable help to historians in the reconstruction of Tibet's ancient history. Since the *Deb-ther* was first published at Lhasa, I was unable to have access to its original publication. I thus had to base my translation on a publication from the Freedom Press, Darjeeling (1964) which unfortunately contained several printing errors.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, who have not only undertaken the publication of my translation but also the entire burden of transliterating the Tibetan words, numbering and arranging the footnotes, and separating the author's comments from those of the translator. In fact, without the help and co-operation of the Library, the publication of this work would not have been possible. In particular, I would like to thank Mr. P. Wangyal, former Assistant Director of the Library, and Mrs. Yangzom Tsarong, Editor of the Tibet Journal, who have kindly gone through the entire manuscript and removed certain inadequacies in the translation. If any further errors or inconsistencies are to be found in the work, they are purely my own. Lastly, my sincere thanks are also due to Professor N. Jinpa of St. Joseph's College Darjeeling for assisting me in the translation of some of the difficult passages in the *Deb-dkar*.

Samten Norboo
The White Annals

By

Gedun Chos-'phel
PROLOGUE
A Hymn of Praise

Homage to the Triple Deities\(^1\) of the Three Worlds,\(^2\)
The Lord whose face sends forth waves of delight,
Unto the pure ocean of righteous actions of beings.
Endowed with a two-score set of well-arranged teeth
That possesses the lustre of the moon,
May the light of smiles shining through it protect you all.

Descendants of the 'Od-gsal-lha\(^3\) celestial beings,
Possessors of the finest pearl of lineage,
You have raised the mountain of temporal order,
That is blessed with the wealth of four acquirements,\(^4\)
High in the midst of the snowy lands,
And raised the prosperity of the subjects,
Who have been loved and protected under the guidance of
your precepts
To rival that of the heavenly beings.
Victory to you, the Three Ancestral Forefathers,\(^5\)
Endowed with the art of all knowledge.

King Srông-btzan sgam-po,
The living incarnation of the god Phyag-na pad-mo\(^6\)
Has firmly established the order of the Two Systems,\(^7\)
And overshadowed the three realms of existence\(^8\) by the
brilliance of his greatness,
In accounting his exploits of the kingdoms of the four quarters
Based on whatever old and available records,
Written with well-founded dates,
And thus in attempting to measure the extent of the first Tibetan kingdom and its political power,
I have taken up a little courage.
It is said that the valiant, red-faced and cannibal-looking Tibetan soldiers,
Whose lives were protected by rTa-mchog, the wrathful deity
Had conquered two-thirds of the globe.
Early Tibetan Historical Records

Descendants of the 'Od-gsal-lha, these divinely ordained kings were incarnations of Rigs-gsum mgon-po.¹ So powerful were they, that they held sway over massive territorial jurisdiction, asserting their power through the leverage of the Golden Wheel of Method and Wisdom.² In view of their territorial jurisdiction, sovereign and military strength, the common man regarded their kings to equal the might of King Shri Harsha of India, Emperor Thetsung of China and King Yai-sha Migér-da of Ta-zig.³

Historical records we undoubtedly possessed; records that assessed a minute scrutiny of the day to day and year to year activities of our kings and their ministers. But unhappy events heralded sad beginnings for our annals, beginning with the rule of Lha-sras dar-ma and the revolt of his subjects, which resulted in the subsequent turmoil and collapse of the Tibetan kingdom. Moreover, the constant shifting of royal residences by later kings, the threat of Mongol invasion from sTod-smé and the gains or losses against Chinese forces in Khams aggravated the situation further. All these centrifugal tendencies threw the country into upheaval and left us the poorer, since most written documentation was irretrievably lost. In the years that followed, except for religious documentation, nothing was left thus. Records which could substantiate
important historical assets of our country have persevered into the accounts of foreign historiographers, while my countrymen betray an ignorance of our historical achievements. These historical achievements deal with events like the arrival of Tibetan armies in India; their occupation of Kanya Kubja (capital of central India); the imprisonment of King Srid-sgrubs$^6$ and the annexation and subjection of 108 towns; the subjugation and Tibetan occupation of Bal­­yul (Nepal) for over a generation; the penetration of Tibetan armies beyond Ri-bo Tze-Inga in China and the subsequent dethronement of its Emperor; and finally, the subjugation of Gru-gu,$^8$ Li-yul$^9$ (Khotan) and Yunnan for over a century.

The invasion of India has been described considerably in rBa-bzhad$^{10}$ and the flight of the Chinese Emperor from his capital has been recorded on the southern face of the stone monument at rTze-zhol,$^{11}$ Lhasa. These will be discussed henceforth and also an attempt shall be made to unfold Tjbet's early socio-political history and her territorial jurisdiction. I have deliberately omitted religious history, as this has been abundantly and adequately expounded elsewhere.

**Bearing in mind the building of the enormous kingdom by our kings,**

And having compared the dates of events mentioned in the royal decrees,

I have compiled this historical narrative,

Which has been subjected to the Three Modes of Astrological Reasoning.$^{12}$

And now, in the form of a bride,

It is being presented to sons of the unbiased.
Terminology and Nomenclature

Before tracing our early political development, I would like to give a brief explanation on the origins of our terminology and nomenclature. For as long as we can recall, our country has been classified as Bod in the Tibetan language. We are known to the Indians as Bho-ta, for no substantial reason other than that in ancient orthography both Bo and d were pronounced individually and hence the linguistic forms such as Bo-d, Bho-d, Bho-ta (all implying Tibet) developed. Yet certain religious texts refer to our country as Kha-ba'i ljongs (Himalaya) and Gang-can (Himavat). Both these literary usages are more accurately applicable to a chain of mountains in south Tibet only, but gradually came to be applied for the entire country.

In this context it is interesting to draw a parallel with rGya-gar or India, known today as Hindusthan (a Persian derivative). In Persian, Hindu is utilised rather than the Indian Sindhu and Hapta rather than Sapta (one week). Sindhu corresponds to regions contingent with the river Sindhi in western India, but gradually the word Hindu superceded Sindhu and came to be applied for the entire sub-continent.

Today, with the exception of China, all countries refer to our country Bod as Tibet. Formerly, we were known to the Chinese as Tu-woo (Tu) Fen and as Thu-bhad to the
The word Tibet thus appears to be a corrupted version of either of the above usages. A popular theory claims that the origins of the word Tibet may be traced to the Kashmiri language. It was felt that due to Kashmir's close association with Ladakh, words like Tod-bod and sTod-pa infiltrated the Kashmiri dialect and thus paved the way for the word Tibet to assume a definite form.

The word Bod has no serious connotation. Since King 'Nya-khrag and others were addressed as Bod or sPu-rgyal (king of Bod or sPu), it has been hypothesised that the name of the country was applied to the king. Conversely, classification of the king could reiterate the name of the country as for example, China held by the Ch'in dynasty came to be known as China and India held by King Bharata was known as Bharat.

Accordingly, we are told in sYung-drung Bon² (Swastika Bon) that our country was formerly known as Bon-gyi yul (country of the Bons), but with the passage of time, this term merged into Bod-kyi yul or the country of Bod. An explanation is necessary here in order to clarify this apparent confusion between Bon and Bod. gShen-rabs chos or the cult of Shen-rabs, Teacher of the Bons, was evident in Tibet prior to the reign of King gNam-ri srong-btzan, but despite the widespread terminological usage of the word Bon, this does not summon serious consideration. That the religion systematically constituted the name of the country is one self-explanatory postulation for the association of Bon and Bod. The fact that the Chinese came to call our country Phon gyi yul (the country of Phon) was due to the phonetic resemblance of Phon and Bon. Certain Mongolian provinces patronising the Bon religion have assimilated the literary usages of Bod and Bon. Moreover, in the old orthography, the affixes 'd' and 'na' were frequently interchanged, as for instance, btzad-po and btzan-po (a king) and chun-po and chud-po (a bundle). This interchanging may possibly point to the transformation of Bon into Bod, as has been claimed by the Bonpos (followers of the Bon cult). If Islam, predominant in Kashmir, came to be classified as Kha-che'i chos or the
religion of Kashmir, could we not surmise that the name of our country and our early religion were synchronised to fall under a common appellation? Hence the claim of the Bonpos that the name of the religion was applied for the entire country appears to be of a pertinent nature.

dBus (the centre of the country) and gTzang-po (a big river) constituted the central provincial structure of the country. The diverse villages that dotted the course of the river were classified as gTzang-pa. gTzang generally referred to the upper and main sectors of the country, while gTzang-mda' referred to the Phu-mdo (upper-lower) sector. The term Lha-khang-sbug (main part of the temple) could be used for gTzang-khang and gTzang-sder was an alternative word for Bla-sder (plate presented to the chief guest).

In course of time, the word mNga-ris skor-gsum became associated with the word Bod. mNga'-ris implies subjects of the king (though 'Bangs is also a general usage for subjects, while the king may be depicted as mNga'-bdag). This word systematically came to be applied for the entire country, beginning with the rule of the Chos-rgyal's descendants like mGon-gsum, but only in those areas inhabited by the king's subjects. The outcome of this development saw mNga-ris skor-gsum being identified as Bod, while the remaining portions of the country became Bod-chen-po or Greater Tibet. To maintain, as some scholars do, that Bod was inclusive of dBus and gTzang, while Bod-chen-po was reserved for the mDo-khams area is incorrect. This may be verified from a biographical work containing 'Brom's ('Brom-ston-pa) observations to Jo-bo (Atisa). In this biography, 'Brom invites Jo-bo to visit bSam-yas in Greater Tibet, the monastery which consisted of a large number of monks. Khams is the region in the east where A-mdo (pronounced Am-do) and Khams proper converge. It is from the word Khams-kyi rgyal-phren (the small principality on the border) that the word Khams owes its origin to, denoting the 'border' of the land.

A-mdo gradually became Am-do due to the distinct pronunciation of the prefix 'm' in the old tonal system. Originally, A-mdo was designated as gTzong-kha bde-
The modern constituency of Zi-ling was previously recognised as gTzong-kha while the remaining portions of the territory pertaining to this region retained the classification of gTzong-kha chen-po or Greater gTzong-kha. These terms have been inscribed on the stone monument at rTze-shol. In the historical work discovered at Li-yul (Khotan), it has been stated that "during the khyi-lo (dog year), btzan-po (the king) campaigned in the north while his minister Khri-'bring, during the subsequent winter marched with armies on gTzong-kha che-chung (Greater and Smaller gTzong-kha) and placed the Chinese military officer Thu-k-pu-shi under arrest."

Moreover, all territory extending from the heart of the country to the outlying borders were classified as rGyal-khams (the kingdom), while the diverse provinces in the interior and administered by a blon-po (minister) were grouped as blon-khams or the province of a minister.

Most of the battles between China and Tibet occurred in A-mdo. Certain maps have assimilated nomenclature like rGya-khra thang and Den-thang, confluxes north of rMa-lung. Oral tradition asserts that the Tibetans fought with the Chinese in these areas and that most of the A-mdo tribes are the remnant progeny of armies despatched to these areas. The same theory may also be applied to the sKyi, sGang and Khyung-po tribes who are claimed to be descendants of the early families of dBus and gTzang, whereas the Cho-ne-pas are claimed to be remnants of Srong-btzan's army.

The life-style of the 'brog-pa (nomads) have persevered strictly in accordance with traditional social mores and have withstood all transformation. Today, they still maintain the old orthography and their dialect is replete with words like ru-pa (living together) and ru-'gro-ba (nomadic life/travelling with livestock). dMag (war) has replaced ru, though ru-dpon, the old equivalent to the modern dmag-dpon (army commander) still persists and so too does rumtson (a lance) or mdung. In ancient days Tibetan armies manoeuvred under the camouflage of sbra-nag (tents of black yak's hair). This has also been mentioned in the Thang-yik:7 "As far as Ong-du of the Gru-gu district, the
Tibetan army under the camouflage of sbra-nay

In sTod and sMad, the upper and lower regions of Tibet, we often encounter terms like Gyas-ru (right division of a district), Gyen-ru (left division) and dBu-ru (central division). These three distinctions have evolved following the practice of certain military traditions where battalions had to proceed on the gyas, gyon, mdun and rgyab (right, left, front and back) of the king, the latter being piloted by four military chiefs known as Ru-'dren sde-bzhi.

The eastern regions contiguous to mDo-smid (lower mDo) bear nomenclature which correspond to Ka-chu, Tho-chu and Si-chu. Although there is a prevailing view which maintains that these terms coincide with the Chinese Ka-ji-su'u-chu, yet it is probable that the terms were adaptations of river names. These were the rivers which flowed by these districts since the source of most rivers have their starting confluence in Tibet and furthermore, the entire territory along the course of the river was in Tibetan possession. In all probability, these names were an offshoot from the term gShung-chu (main river). In an important Thang-yik, the emperor of China has been referred to as the King of Be-chu, perhaps due to the fact that the River Be-he ran adjacent to San-shi, the former capital of the emperor. What is of marked interest is that cities in the heart of China bear certain Tibetan names which leads one to conclude that these Chinese cities were once under Tibet's jurisdiction during the T'ang period (e.g. mZo-moi mkhar or Castle of mZo-mo and mKhar-sngon or Blue Castle).

Various terms were used to describe kings and their ministers. The following synonyms characterised a king in ancient times: btzen-po (severe, strong), rJe (Lord), rgyal-po (king), mNga-bdag (master of the subjects) and bla (the superior). The words sa-skyong (the protector of the world) and mi-dbang (the lord of men) are exact translations of two Sanskrit names, Bhupala and Narendra, as has been mentioned in the scriptures. Numerous foreign terms are evident in the Tibetan language, but they exist in corrupted form. The word sde-pa falls in this category. De-ba (Dev) in the Indian language depicts a
god, which the Kashmiris have borrowed and transformed as bDe-wang in their language. In Tibetan it (sDe-pa) came to be applied to a king, to the Dharma Rajas of mNga-ris, as a titular enhancement. In later times, this title was linked to Rin-spung sne-'u gdong-gtzang-pa (name of a chief).

Terms such as btzen-pho and btzen-mo (king and queen) were features of the old orthography. Modern equivalents are btzen-po and btzun-mo. Previously, the word btzen-mo was not attributed solely to the queen, but to all ladies belonging to the royal family, as will be noticed in the subsequent narration. Furthermore, brang-sa (residence of the king) was replaced by pho-brang (palace). Similarly, brang-sa or dbu-gur (residence or tent of a blama) also came to be known as bla-brang. According to the 'dul-wa the present usage of dmag-sgar btab-pa (to pitch a military tent) was expressed previously as dmag-gi brang btab-pa.

In the A-mdo rab-kong districts, there were three villages which fell under the names of rgyal-po, blon-che and btzen-mo, all adjacent to one another. These three undoubtedly represented an earlier king, minister and queen of the region.

The words blon-chen (minister) and phyi-blon (minister of the exterior) have been retained from old orthography. mDun-na-'don (who reads in the presence of) is a derivation from the Indian word Purohit, an official who recited the Vedas and astrology in the presence of the Indian king; the Brahmin priest of the king. The existence of such an official was also present at the court of the Tibetan king and was known as a sKu-bon (Bon-po). Later scholars have mistakenly interpreted this term to imply a bka'-blon (minister). The words shang-blon sna-bo-che, bkzen kha-bo-che and A-sha mgo-bo-che are equivalent to the modern usage of Le-sne chen-mo, Shal-ngo chen-mo and dBu-chen-mo. The terms Kha-che and sNa-bo-che were not intended solely for high bla-mas or the upper classes.

In former times, ministers maintained primary watch (mel-tse) on the borders. The minister who maintained vigilance (so) against external enemies was known as
Phyi-so and the minister who maintained vigilance within the state was known as Nang-so. This latter term is still utilised as a title. The term so-blon is an offshoot of the above terms and is often encountered in the inscriptions of rdo-ring (stone monuments).
3

Dress and Residence

Dress styles of our early kings and ministers may be hazarded from an antique painting, one whose procurement has been extremely difficult.

Tibet and Tazig have traditionally been close allies. This was a natural outcome of the fact that Tazig, in former days, was the centre of civilisation and advanced learning, with Buddhism enjoying unparalleled distinction. As a result of this cultural zenith, it was but natural that Tibetan kings and their ministers succumbed to numerous social influences. Srong-btzan sgam-po is noted to have adapted to the Thod, a head-dress of red silk, the Za-hog-gi-her, a garment of glossy sheen and curved slippers... wearing apparel prevalent among his Tazig counterparts. The Za-hog was not manifest in either India or China. Moreover, local iconographical deities reminiscent of their period, reveal concomitant styles of dress among rulers and their subjects. An examination of the bTzen-po, rGyal-po and Zang-blong icons indicate the manner in which ancient kings adorned themselves during wars. In the mNga-ris bLa-dvag regions, a tribe claiming ancestry from the line of Srong-btzan sgam-po used to cater to a red head-dress during the New Year celebrations. This head-dress had great height and the image of Tse-dPag-me (the Immortal Buddha) used to be attached with red silk on the
right of the head-dress. The remainder of the silk was interlaced at the fore of the head.

The king's retinue was known as Ru-'dren sde-bzhi and their manner of dress seems to be of an ancient practice. The rGyal-po'i thang-yik,¹ in a description of King Mutig-btzan-po's military march to the north, has noted that: "At the fore, one hundred cavalry guides; to the right, one hundred commanders in tiger skin; to the left, one hundred tantric commanders brandishing phur-pa (name of a ceremonial article); and to the rear, one hundred spies in heavy coat of armour, manoeuvring lances."

In the painting, the rDo-rje legs-pa and rGyal-po deities are depicted in Thang-shu (a type of garment). This garment was in vogue exclusively in Tibet, though evidence does exist that the early Burmese conformed to the Thang-shu garment. In fact, certain Burmese histories annotate that the Burmese are of Tibetàn stock.

On dMar-ri (the hill upon which the Potala stands), the Pho-brang dmar-po (red palace) constructed by King Khri-btuzn, possessed a dome decorated with arrows and lances. Subsequently, the temples of the bTzen deities, the sKu-mkhas dMar-po and La-rtze duplicated this method of decor. Red was the standard colour for dress, headgear, tombs and military banners of the btzen (deity) and and btzen-po (ruler). Descriptions of the design and architecture of the palace has been elaborated in rGyal-po'i bKa'-'bum.² An authentic painting is to be found in the eastern courtyard of the Potala. The Fifth Dalai Lama, in his work Lha-Idan dkar-chag³ says that "an old specimen of the painting is to be found in the gTzug-lag-khang (main temple in Lhasa)." But this painting has been partially obscured due to the smoke and damp within the confines of the temple. It is more than probable that the painting in the Potala was designed on the basis of the painting in the gTzug-lag-khang. Though several historical texts posit that the palace was destroyed by the Chinese army, yet Chinese annals tender no information to this effect, or of the arrival of its armies at dBus (central province of Tibet).

Scholar Grags-se of Khyung-po, a contemporary of
Ra-lo and student of logic at the Potala, has initiated some interesting details. If we follow his account, the Potala seemed to be at one time a monastic institute. The eleven-storied white residence of the religious kings has been mentioned in several guide books for pilgrims. Twenty years preliminary to the construction of the present palace, a foreign visitor, mJon-gurber, on his arrival at dBu, envisaged not merely the Potala, which he had become familiar with through a painting, but several additional storeys and walls. We unfortunately have no basis for examining the designs of other architectural constructions like the rLung-tsub ma-ruta, the Khang-mo-che of 'Phang-thang and the Brag-dmar mgrin-bzang.

Our early kings and their ministers normally resided in tents, Ministers dressed according to the styles of their king and army commanders draped themselves with tiger skins. The 'Bog-lchag or sTag-'gi-thog-bu (whip) was a remuneration to heroes of war. Today, these whips are part of a sentry’s uniform.

Our population has had a nomadic background. The hoisting of the dar-dung, a flag staff with a lance-like head in the fore of every house was a common practice. This practice developed from a military tradition and later assumed religious overtures. The hoisting of a flag-pole gradually became a universal feature in Tibet, stretching from the Indo-Tibetan tribes in the upper regions to the Tibetans residing in Chinese towns in the lower regions. Dress and custom of the local inhabitants may be surmised through a study of icons of important deities available in isolated areas of the northern and southern borders. If we observe the Goddess Ganga of India with her bangles, the A-mdo Queen rMa-rgyal-spom-ra and her hat, the Chinese Queen Kon-yin phya-pe and her Ber-sngon, we find similarities and correlations of dress in all these three countries among the native inhabitants.

The mNgon-she (fore-knowledge) that reveals to one
The three times in all perfections,
And the courage to say one’s guesses boastfully,
For a poor man like myself, bereft of these two qualities
Such is mine method of study,
Of a subject that has become too obscured.
Tibet's Jurisdiction Over Li and Bal

Few recall the geographical position of Li-yul (Khotan), a country that was once under the jurisdiction of Tibet. A century after Tibet's occupation of Li-yul, the latter had often been misinterpreted and misrepresented to be Bal-yul or Nepal. Certain passages in gLang-ri lung-bstan¹ give credence to this fact. The translator Shambala² admitted that "in Tibet these days, there is no one to identify Li-yul (with Bal-yul) with the exception of Red-mda'-pa³ and myself." Gro-lung-pa⁴ had also posited that Li-yul and Bal-yul were two entirely different countries and mentioned that "on the east and west of India are the countries of Li and Bal." bChom-Idan reg-ral⁵ had also explicitly stated that "the country of Li held by Sa-nu is not Bal-po, the country between India and Tibet."

Li-yul is situated on the northern 'back' of Tibet with Russia on its southernmost tip. To the Indians, Li-yul is known as Kampa Desh or Turkistan, and as Sin-dang to the Chinese. Li-yul's eastern borders merge with the northern back of mTso sNgon-po (the Blue Lake). Its western border embodies Yarkand, the latter having maintained active trade with mNga-ris bLa-dvags. At one time, Buddhism flourished in Li-yul but years of persecution saw the gradual fading of the doctrine, their Bhiksus fleeing to Tibet and India. These events occurred during the reign of
Sròng-btson sgam-po. In course of time the country was reduced to a state of barbarism. That Buddhism prevailed at one time is perceived through remnant ruins of old stupas and monasteries, as well as remains of the Go ranga lang ru Monastery.

The Li-yul inhabitants are of Mongolian origin. In fact, Kun mkhen klong-chen⁶ ascribes to IChang-ra smug-po (name of a place) a Mongolian identity. We find that the mDo-smad-pa (people residing in lower mDo) associated Li-yul as Yul-li, which is Li-yul in reverse. This is tantamount to saying Yul rGya-gar instead of rGya-gar Yul (country of India).

It is difficult to accept the view that Li-yul was ever under the subjugation of Tibet, due to the vast extent of the country in question. But we come across a series of convincing predictions that eventually materialised. The dGra-bchom pa (Arhat) dGe-'dun-'phel ascertained in his Li-yul Lung-bstan (work of predictions) that "Most of it (Liyl) will be captured by the Tibetan kings."⁷ Similarly, the Sutras in the gLang-ri Lung-bstan foresaw that "in times to come, due to the Karmic fruits, to this country will come the Tibetan and the Sumba⁸ armies." Important archaeological discoveries at Li-yul lent these speculations strong support among scholars. Numerous ruins of Tibetan forts were unearthed out of which inscription tablets for collecting tax and a volley of letters exchanged between military personnel came to light. These excavations, portions of which have found their way to other countries, authenticated a priori that Li-yul was once a part of Tibet.

The first and second sections of the historical narration that follows belongs to literature discovered at Li-yul. A large majority of the finds are presently under the aegis of Delhi. Entire portions of clay plastering that covered one of the monastic ruins travelled to Delhi. The taxation rates have been enumerated on inscription tablets made of hone. From such tablets, it appears that in the old orthography, rtsang-nan yam-gsum dang ran-khur gcig had the same implication as the present-day usage of chang breg-sum (three measures of beer) and rTza khur-gcig (a basket of grass).
I cite here two royal orders issued in response to petitions submitted to the Chief Minister and the Army Commander:

In the above petition, the word Pho-brang Lhan-kar is synonymous with the sTong-thang ldan-dkar Palace and it was here that the index to the bKa’-‘gyur was first compiled. Sha-chu was a district in Li-yul; rtze-rje was a minister or a district officer; Khron chen-po an army commander. Lo-thang bla-skyes was the term for the annual tax payable in advance to the sovereign. Tong-li was the name of a fruit. rJe-blon phrul or ‘phrul-gi rje-blon implied incarnate or the divine rulers and their ministers. bDag-cag lho-bal (we the Southern Nepalese) refers to the people of Nepalese origin who had settled in Li-yul. According to the thang-yik, due to political instability in their country (Nepal) the Newarese had migrated to Li-yul. In like manner Tibet’s policy of aggrandizement and conquest of Gru-gu resulted in the migration of the local population to Mon in the south.

The text of the correspondence may be explained as follows:

Text of the order issued from the Palace of Pho-brang Lhan-dkar to the district officers of Sha-chu during the mid-winter of the Dragon year:
The subjects of Sha-chu have petitioned:
There is the annual custom of offering (making presents) Tong-li to the Palace and the Military General. The produce from the state gardens is not only sufficient, but often in great surplus. Owing to the kindliness of your Divine Lordship and of the Ministers, we, the better stationed Lho-bal have a garden in the forefront of every house. Due to our failure to pay the annual levy from the produce of these gardens, the district officers (who have always oppressed us) are now contemplating to extort us. Hence, in order that we might not be robbed and harmed in future, we pray your Lordship to issue a strong order ensuring the security of your subjects and their gardens.

Forwarded, signed and duly stamped by the Ministers bKa-blon Khrom-bzher and Lha-bzang under the Great
Minister Zang-blon, with a request for issuing an indenture.


In the above petition, Bu-sring is an abbreviation of Bu-mo sring-mo (girls), Bu-bzang implies ya-med or khrel-med (immodest) while gTad corresponds to bKa-gtd or bKa-shog (the royal decree).

The translation of the text is as follows:
The decree issued by the Great Minister in the spring of the Hog year from the High Court at Long-chu:
As reported by the officers of rGya and sDe, Bod-sum and Zhang-blon had, on the pretext of marriage, carried off some girls from rGya-sha chu-pa for hard labour. This kidnapping of the king's subjects is unlawful. The subjects have appealed for an official order to enforce regulations prohibiting women of mThong-khyab (regarded as one's mothers) to marry outsiders, but to marry according to choice within the jurisdiction of mThong-khyab Khri-sde. Hence, in pursuance of an order issued for this enforcement, no one shall be permitted to select or kidnap or marry a woman (of these areas) in contravention of the law.
The rationale behind the decree was to inhibit immoral behaviour such as that of Zhang-bloung yaya.

It thus becomes evident from the above documents that Li-yul was once under King Khri-srong and that mThong-khyab and its five Khri-sde (districts) were established to constitute a new province under a minister.

Tibet consolidated her control over Nepal during the later years of Srong-btzan's reign, but the duration of this control is controversial. Nepal's revolt against Tibet is believed to have taken place during the last phase of King 'Du-srong mang-po's reign (though the revolt could have occurred earlier). A document found at Li-yul has annotated a yearly record of King Khri-lde gtzug-btzan's reign which mentions that "in the Horse Year, the king sojourned in Bal-yul (conferring with King Khri-lde gtzug-btzan)." On the basis of this evidence, I am led to postulate that Nepal was under Tibet's control prior to the reign of King Khri-srong.

Numerous linguistic similarities suggest that Nepal was once a part of Tibet. For instance, among the Nepalese certain tribes and castes bear names which have deviated from a Tibetan origin. The Tzoang tribes of Nepal could hypothetically have been the Tibetan gTzâng. bLa ma, Raya and Tamang are tribes noted for their valour. Tamang is apparently a deviation from the Tibetan rTa-dmag (cavalrymen). Where religion was concerned, the Nepalese practised an admixture of Bon and Buddhism. Linguistically, Tibetan of the old orthography was pre-eminent and the Nepalese claim common descent from the Tibetans. In central Nepal, Tibetan nomenclature like Pham-thang and Bod-thang is frequently used. Moreover, stone pillars commemorating the Nepalese kings, Narain (Narain) Deva and Shila Deva (contemporaries of Tibetan king 'Dus-srong) bear certain conclusive remarks authenticating suppositions that Bal-yul was under Tibet. These stone pillars convey the following remark: "The five officers shall pick up carriers every year for the purpose of paying tribute to Tibet." The Nepalese also say mi-ga for the Tibetan mig (eye), sne-po for sna (nose) and lhag for lag-pa (hand).
Tirahuta⁹ (Tirahuta or Tira-bhukti in North Bihar) fell to the Tibetans during the reign of Srong-btzan. Tirahuta is the region that stretches from the northern course of the River Ganga to the chain of dark forests and it is still known as Tirahita today. It contains within its area several towns of note: Sakya, Litsavi, Vridzi and Kanya Kubja. But due to severe climatic hazards and the extreme heat, the Tibetan garrisons permanently designated to remain there were unable to do so.

The rBa-bzhad gives an interesting account of Tibetan entry into Magada (Magadha). The expedition was for the purpose of importing relics from India for the white stupa at bSam-yas, required by King Khri-srong. The rBa-bzhad describes the manner in which the king utilised the services of each and every adult and disciplined the cavalry. At Phari a convocation was held by 'Gos (the minister) to determine the onset of battle and at Palmothang, an assessment of the cavalry's potential was undertaken. When the attack took place in the Indian plains, the Indian king was instilled with fear and thought to himself: "If these be the cavalrymen of the barbarian king, what might be the infantry, chariots and elephant-mounted regiments?" Overwhelmed by the might of the Tibetan army, the Indian king attached the shoes of the Tibetan king to the upper storey of his palace as a signal of surrender and declared: "My kingdom is at your feet. By becoming a subject of Your Majesty, I shall pay tribute and offer annual presents." In this way, the Tibetan army enroute to Magada subjugated the Indian king.

Crossing the River Ganga, the Tibetan king invaded Magada. War was unnecessary, for the Magadan people had fled east to Magadh leaving their wealth at Ottantapuri (the heart of Magada). The king sanctioned religious offerings to the Bodhi tree and ordered his deputies to erect an iron pillar near the Ganges, indicating the extent of Tibet's territorial jurisdiction. Shai armies later destroyed this monument by burning it, but the ruins are still prominent today. Within this locality, a town known as Bhotita Thangura is said to exist. This town has derived its name from the descendants of the Tibetan tribe detainted
here for safeguarding this pillar.

There is no certainty as to who the ruling Indian monarch was at the time of these events. By juxtaposing dates, it may be ascertained that Gosala (Kosala) of Sahor was the monarch during this period. The Thagur caste is widespread in India and the name Tha-gu-ra (Thakur) commonly depicts gods and names of the royal families. Yet it is unknown whether towns also bore these nomenclature. Though it has been posited that the initial racial population of the Thaguras consisted of an admixture of the kLa-klo (Anaryas) and the Brahmins, this claim requires further investigation. An iron effigy constructed during this period (presently preserved in Delhi) lays claim to this fact (the racial composition). Inscriptions on this monument are attributed to King Chandra or zLa-ba (pr. Da-wa). But from the pillars constructed by Mya-ngan-med (Asoka), these inscriptions are attributed to the Anarya kings of later times. Due to these dubious circumstances, it may also be possible to infer that the pillar was the endeavour of the Tibetans but such data lacks empirical evidence. Towards the end of Mutig-btzan-po's reign, King Dharmapala was captured and taken to prison in Tibet. This Indian king was supposed to have married his mistress Pho Yang Sa. The Great Fifth (5th Dalai Lama) claimed that the latter's descendants were the Chon-gey Sahor-ma tribes.

Thus, it appears that Tirahita was under Tibet's jurisdiction, as can be verified from Chag-lo chos-rje-dpal's Lam-yig\(^{10}\) (guide book). The statement found in this book that "having crossed the Ganga, we arrived in India the next day" indicates that one bank of the Ganga did not belong to India. Moreover, Li-yul lung-btzan narrates how Tibetan armies proceeded as far as Kausambi. Tibetan occupation of Chinese territory has been dealt with in a later sequence of this narration.

In short, there was no other kingdom parallel to Tibet in the entire continent (Asia). Tibetan military vigour attained its peak during the reign of Khri-srong-sde-btzan. Only certain petty principalities were excluded from Tibet's control, yet they too paid tribute and succumbed to orders when the occasion arose. Rig-lldzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa\(^{11}\)
has aptly designated King Khri-srong sde-btzan as the 'Universal King'. Tsal-pa has quoted Chinese historical sources vis-a-vis Tibet's vast empire during Khri srong's reign in has *Deb-dimar*¹² (*Red Annals*): The three corners of Tibet contained: IChe-'u, Muchi-'u and Suchi-zu on the east; the country of the Brahmins in the south; and the country of the Mongols in the north. In circumambulating them (the Tibetan kingdom), one had to walk several thousands of dPag-tsed (Tibetan mile), an event (the expansion of the Tibetan kingdom) which had never occurred before, even during the rule of the Chinese Emperors...Hun, Gyu IChi-'u who were more powerful and chivalrous than their Tibetan counterparts."

Within the circumference of the snows that grew together, Was built the conch castle of the two systems: method and wisdom.

Who can measure the four sides of the territory, That has been brought into existence by the Three Divine Protectors.
System of Dating Adopted in the Present Work

Any historical narration is incomplete if it is not substantiated with a sequence of chronological dates. I consider the sources of dated history to be of equal importance. There are several methods from which dates may be calculated and after a careful judgement, I have chosen what I consider to be most appropriate. The chronological events which I will be unfolding have not been based on our system of Rab-byung (Skt. Viraspati Cycle) as it is not very convenient to work on dates prior to the introduction of this system. Dates may also be reconciled through the Indian method of Vikram Sambat, but since we are unaccustomed to this method of deriving our statistics, I have not utilised it. There is also the method of sPyi-lo (general years), the reckoning of dates commencing with the death of Jesus Christ, but for our purposes, this is unsuitable. Our calculations have been based from the year of Buddha's death, ascribing to the Sthivara system of the Ceylonese as it seems to be the most trustworthy.

It seems that not less than 2,300 years have passed following Buddha's death. We find that Megasthenes, the Minister or Ambassador of Yavana arrived at the court of Chandra Gupta (sLa-ba sbes-pa) the Maurya king, grandfather of Dharma Raj Asoka (Mya-ngan-med) and spent
some years at Kanya Kubja. We derive this information as Megasthenes has mentioned in his book on travel that he by-passed convents of the Buddhist orders in the 'Central Country'. Both Megasthenes' arrival in India and the period of the reign of zLa-ba sbes-pa (Chandra Gupta) can be determined without any obscurity.

On the other hand, certainly not more than 2,500 years have passed since the death of Buddha. The commentaries to sNying-rje Pad-dkar' and Lha-le Phud-byung testify that Asoka was born one hundred years after the death of Buddha, while those of rTog-ge-dbar-ba and Bha-bye'-i sdad-pa tha-dad-du 'byad-pa speak of a hundred and sixty years. Kun-mkhen bu states that under the patronage of Asoka, the second convocation of Buddhists was held in the hundred and tenth year. From the Maha-bangsha, a work written by a renowned Ceylonese Sthivira, we learn that in the year 261 Asoka ascended the throne and died after forty years of rule. In gTod-rabs translated by 'Gos-lo tsa-ba (author of Deb-ther sNgon-po), it is noted that "in the interval, 300 years after the demise of Buddha, King Nya-ngan-med died." This entirely corroborates the data mentioned in the Maha-bangsha. We can conclude therefore that within 250 years of Buddha's death, Asoka was born. The religious treatise of the Sravaka school holds its ground as being the most reliable of all sources and dates expounded here may deviate within a range of ten years at the maximum. There is no scope of erring by a hundred years, not to speak of thousands. Scholars from India, Nepal and Kashmir have, as a rule, relied on this method for calculating dates. The authenticity of this method bears testimony in the convents of the Sravakas where a daily register was consistently maintained as a visual reminder of the days, months and years since Buddha's death.

Some Tibetan scholars have criticised the Sravaka Beendapa as having erroneously calculated both the birth date of Buddha as well as the date for the construction of the Buddha statue at Bodhgaya and have described the sources as being unreliable. But it should be noted here that the critics have mistakenly accepted Beendapa for
Pen-dapa, the latter implying bsod-snyoms-pa (an alms seeker), an error which developed unrestrainedly. In their own systems, they have further included an additional thousand years. Myth or reality, it has been said that at the time of the construction of the statue at Bodhgaya, there was an old woman well over a hundred years of age who had actually seen the Buddha. Another incident occurred too where Zhu-na gos-chan, disciple of Kun-dga'-bo (Ananda) offered his prize possession to the statue. Hence, though there may be errors in the calculation of the date of Buddha's birth and the construction of the statue, the resultant error cannot exceed a hundred years. It is thus absurd to talk of 1,000 years.

The visit of the great bsod-snyoms-pa ma-byon sangs-rgyas gsum-pa kha-che7 to Tibet occurred in the Wood Mouse year. This corresponds to 1748 of the Sthivira system. On systematising dates at Sol-nag thang-po-che, he arrived at the conclusion that 1750 years had passed following the death of the Buddha, basing his calculation on the Sthivira system. The great Pandit's (gSum-pa kha-che) verdict bore a difference of a mere two years, an error that occurred while working out the figures.

I have pursued the Sthivira system of chronology, convinced that it is the most accurate. Thus today, the Fire Dog year of the sixteenth Rab-'byung (Tibetan system) corresponds to 2,419 years posterior to Buddha's death. The Fire Hare year the first year after the Me-mkha rgyatso8 period corresponds to 1,571 years after Buddha's death. Kong-jo's arrival in Tibet occurred in the 1,188th year.

The extremely enchanting face of facts, is covered with the veil of uncertain dates. In tearing it into shreds with the nails of three analysis,9 I have undertaken this worthless speaking of a bad scholar. This draws the introductory chapters to a close.
Sources of the Present Work

Turning to the main body of the history, the contents of the following two portions (out of three) defined as 'Ka' and 'Kha' have been based on a set of scrolls written in old Tibetan and Yu-gur.1 These scrolls were discovered some thirty years ago encased within the walls of temple ruins on the borders of Tung-hang in Li-yul, and which were later relegated to scholars of various countries including India. I have had access to certain portions of the originals, and after an intense comparative study of these documents, I have reorganised them to present an analytical study of reliability.

The original papers, in their entirety, are presently with the two governments of Britain and France. Several portions of these valuable scrolls were diverted to Peking.

Those portions marked 'Ga' are merely certain vital statistical information extracted from the scrolls.

Portions marked 'Nga' have been based on the Chinese historical work called Wen-mang-mu and Thang. It was during the Pu-re-tsal2 epoch that two translators, Gyang-du (a Chinese) and Gu-shri Rinchen Dakpa3 (a Tibetan) translated brief summaries of the Chinese work and it was the later pages that were incorporated into Tsal-pa's4 Deb-dmar and a still more abbreviated version was incorporated into 'Gos' Deb-sngon. Both Tsal-pa and 'Gos
have based their work on Chinese historical sources. These royal chronicles of the Thangur emperors sustained limited publicity and restricted production. But in recent times, they have found their way into edited translations of numerous countries. I have prepared my project with the assistance of bilingual scholars and which have been further authenticated by comparisons with the translated versions and originals. Any critical review in the future by Chinese scholars will be welcome.

That portion of the history which I have marked 'Ka' is invaluable. Included here are the essence of Srong-btshan's six years rule, twenty-three years of Mang-slong Mang-btshan, twenty-nine of Du'i-srong and forty-four of Khri-sde gTzug-btshan. I issue an apology for the brevity of my historical analysis, an inadequate rending for scholars anticipating a detailed study. Yet I consider that the very source of my work (referred to above) has followed the same style of brevity in their presentation of facts. These historical works, so invaluable and authentic, may be compared with the Earth of Gold and which had remained beneath the sand and stones for a thousand years. Written and chronicled by Tibetans during the reigns of their kings, these works remained untouched by subsequent reviewers. Our former chronicles also followed the line of brevity as may be evidenced from the following narration.

The second chapter of a sGra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa has mentioned that: "In the horse year, King Khri-sde srong-btzan sojourned at the Hon Chang dho Palace and punished the brigands of sTod-smed. The Ambassador of Gartok owed allegiance and presented him with rNga-rta phal-po-che.* In the Ape year, the king sojourned at Dung-kyi stag-kyi stag-tzal; the Ambassador of Bhuktsong offered compliments and during the winter at Khabu of 'Dun-dungs, he subjugated Shang-btzan to-re and bLon-khi-sgum."

I would like to self-appraise the authenticity of my work. There will ensue a host of criticisms that would discount my historical theses as belonging either to an unfinished work, or to an unreliable reference. In support of the

*Volumes of Sutras
authenticity of my work, I would like to convey that my project has been supplemented by literary materials deemed as valid empirical research: the *rBa-bzhad* and the *Thang-yik*. Translator 'Gos also maintained a similar methodical pattern, his *Blue Annals* incorporating a paper from *gTad-rabs* the first chronology ever to be recounted on the Buddhist Hierarchy. Moreover, the *Mya-nyan-'das-chen* (Skt. *Maha Nirvana*), *Phal-po che'i mdo* (Skt. *Avatangsak/ Sutra*), sections on *rGyud* (Tantra) like the *gS'ang-'dus* (Guhya-samaj) and our *bKa'-'agyur* are extracts of some original works like the *mDo-rgyud*, accepted by all scholars.

The chapter sub-divided as *dKyus-ma* (miscellaneous) has been arranged in a dual method: by a comparison of dates in these histories, and by the extraction of certain relevant portions from Bon traditions. My work is untainted by insincerity and guess work, both being simultaneous to the ignorant and the prejudiced.

If there be an impartial scholar to value and judge my work, this will be reward enough for me. The reason being:

An artificially drawn eyebrow makes no movement,
The side looks of the Biased sees not,
This flower that blossomed in its own natural course,
How can it not draw the attention of the Learned?
Tibet is 8,000 le-bar (a unit of measurement), extending from Chang-ngan, the old Chinese capital. In the time of the Han emperors, Tibet came to be known as 'Jang of the west. The racial ancestry of the Tibetans is obscure, though there are theories that associate our descent with King ‘Fan-myi. Historical mythology recounts that 959 years after Buddha's demise, ‘Fan-myi and his family fled west, following the assassination of his uncle. This brought him to Ri-bo tsu-zhi, across the River Ma-chu, and he was hospitably received by the 'Jang people. Due to his naturally good and kind disposition, the people of 'Jang elected ‘Fan-myi to be their king. Descendants of ‘Fan-myi expanded numerically and gradually came into prominence. Bold and courageous, these people were given to war-like activities and soon they extended their dominions by capturing area after area. Yet it was not before a lapse of 200 years that they came into an initial encounter with China.

The Tibetans had strong physique. Those who were strong-spirited were called rgyal. Males were termed as pho. The king was designated as rGyal-pho and his queen as Mosman. Ministers of the Interior were addressed in accor-
dance with rank, as 'Superior' or 'Inferior' minister. Dwelling places were accommodated in houses or sbra-nag, a tent composed from the fur of black yaks. Kings and the nobility resided in tents, some of which could easily accommodate a few hundred people. The king's tent was situated in the centre of all the tents, extravagantly decorated with banners, while soldiers maintained guard outside. Other high-ranking government officials were allotted individual tents of their own. The lifespan of the Tibetans is reputed to exceed a hundred years of age. Attire of Tibetans consisted of robes derived from animal skins and women endowed themselves with red dyes on their cheeks. Meals were spread on carpets on the floor (gden-sha: carpet meat). This custom still prevails during certain state functions. Most of the food was consumed from wooden plates encased in leather. Drinking vessels were composed from barley; a composite paste from barley was first made and allowed to dry. The hardened barley was then hallowed out to take the shape of a cup, and it was in these cups that milk and other beverages was taken, after which the barley cup was consumed too. In certain state ceremonies called Chas-zhoags, a similar adaptation was pursued whereby a leaf, shaped like the Forpas (Tibetan cup) and called Go-ra, was issued from the private kitchen of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. A separate vessel carved from wood or 'khyor ma was used for alcoholic beverages. Gold and silver ornaments were in wide usage. Gold, silver, copper and lead were the minerals to be found in abundance in Tibet. Men wore decorative emblems on their arms, to distinguish their rank in the social hierarchy. Houses had level roof-tops. Barley, wheat and peas were the staple crops cultivated. Yaks, sheep, pigs, ewes and horses were maintained in a domestic household. Earth burial prevailed in early times. As yet, Tibet had no written script of her own and calculations were charted through symbolic allusions: either, signs were drawn on a wooden slate, or with the assistance of knots on a thread. At every subsequent distance of a hundred lebar, an active court was to be found. Though there were no written statutes, the king was the chief arbiter of justice.
Punishment for minor offences was severe. Punishment for major offences was still harsher, witnessed in the extraction of eyes for males and the mutilation of nose and limbs for females. These corporal acts were abolished during Khri-srong's reign under pledge of oath (according to the rBa-bzhad), though the king and the ministers took exemption from the oath. Certain social protocol accompanied the arrival of guests at any household. It was customary for guests to bring with their entourage a yak, which was later shot down with arrows. The dead yak would then be shared among the host and guests and the heroes were accorded respect. Filial relations were strong: the son revered his father, and the mother, her son. A general aspect of family mores was one in which the young were accorded more respect than the older generation. During journeys the young walked in advance, with the elderly following. As part of their attire, males adorned themselves with daggers, bows and arrows.

A careful emphasis was placed on the manner of death. Great priority was given to death on battlefield; victims of such a death and their families were lauded much respect. Conversely, natural death was treated with contempt. In the event of several deaths of family members on the battlefield, a coat of mail was attached to the houses as a mark of respect and honour. Military codes followed a strict pattern and the weapons that were used were of a superior nature. At the onset of battle, a golden arrow was shot in the air, an opening ceremony to alert the military forces that battle was about to begin. This custom prevaricates today; we have a mda'-yig or arrow-letter sent prior to the departure of an official on state duty to the other regions of Tibet. Tibetan armies were organised into two divisions: if the armies on the front line of a division were routed, the armies on the rear replaced them, and thus it became difficult for the enemy to resist the reinforcement. The arrival of enemies was often inter-communicated by the presence of camp-fires. The vanquished were humiliated by the compulsive wearing of foxtails on their heads. In those days, although there was no monetary allowances for the soldiers, this was supplemented by the spoils of loot
and plunder.

Each year the king and his ministers gathered together in an oath-taking ceremony. On these occasions, the sacrificial offerings included sheep, dogs and monkeys. The "Great Oath" or mNa'-chen convened every third year, and cattle, horses, and donkeys were sacrificed at midnight. The limbs of the animals were mutilated and their hearts were placed before the Don-snød* and a Ban-rde or priest who officiated these ceremonial rites, having called on the heavens, the mountains, sun and the moon to preside as witnesses, would affirm in the following manner: "If any of you act in a wicked and disloyal manner against the interests of the country may the gods of the heavens who can decipher your minds, render you into pieces and kill you in like manner as the animals are now being sacrificed." An edict at Lhasa has depicted that "by referring to the sun and the moon, the planets and the stars, and by ceremonial sacrifice, oaths were administered." At times, the king and his intimate associates pledged themselves under oath of 'dying together' and of 'living together'. In the event of the death of the king, those having undertaken the pledge simultaneous with the king sought their own lives and were buried with their monarch. Moreover, the personal property, coat of mail and even the horse of the king were placed within his vault, over which a mound resembling a small hill was erected. The cultivation of plants would ensue and each year rites were performed as offerings.

[Script dKyus-ma]

In the rGyal-po bKa'-thang, an interesting account has been annotated in describing these tombs. According to this work, the body of the deceased king was initially anointed with gold dust, after which it was placed in the centre of nine re'u-mig or horizontally formed enclosures. Numerous treasures were piled in the vault and the tomb was guarded by the Minister of the Interior. The latter and his attendants distinguished their identity by wearing badges which read 'the dead'. Convention strictly prohibited these specially designated guards to contact members of *altar
the royal family. Stray cattle found loitering near the tomb were not returned to the owners, but were given a placard indicating the words 'the dead'. During the annual death ceremonies, at the sound of the conch shell, the people in charge of the tomb fled to neighbouring areas and remained hidden. It was only after the newly elected sovereign and his retinue had completed the ritual performances that those in hiding come forward and partook in the ceremonial offerings.

An old Chinese legendary tale, rendered into an alien language imparts certain interesting observations on a Tibetan queen whose name was not discernible. This tale tells us that the Tibetan queen adorned herself in a dress known as 'stod-thung' or shirt of a dark-blue hue, with wide sleeves that almost flowed to the floor and that she wore a chemise of black silk. Her hair was decorated in several little braids and she wore A-long (ear ornaments) and shoes called Zo-'i. During the winter, she catered to furs of a variety of colours. At the time of her death, her body was anointed with gold dust and enclosed in an iron vessel. Such was the Chinese legend, and we find in the rBa-bzhad, social history that corroborates the Chinese legend..."The remains of gSal-snang's daughter was laid in an earthen vessel and was buried under her mother's bed." This observation of the rBa-bzhad indicates that the above descriptions were regular features of social conduct. As to the mineral wealth of the country, gold was to be found in abundance. A Ta-zig history, 'U-du A-pa-lam' gives an elaborate account of the various principalities of Tibet where gold was to be found. However, the names of the places are neither distinct nor intelligible. It further says: "there being so much gold reserves in Tibet, it was mined from the caverns in quantities as large as the head of a sheep."

Another peculiar feature of the country was that whosoever arrived in the country, would do so in a very happy mood. The reasons for this behaviour is unknown.

In bringing to light the social customs of the past, we have to depend solely upon foreign accounts. In fact certain customs vis-a-vis dress styles were scarcely written about
by its own people. For instance, the wearing of the pang-gdan (apron) of assorted colouring, the spa drug (head ornament) by Lhasa women and the wearing of the fur cap with four flaps on either side by the menfolk have never been mentioned in books written by Tibetans themselves. And perhaps 500 years from the present, future generations will be ignorant of our manner of attirement. It is unfortunate that with the exception of a few scattered information which we can ferret from legendary tales about other people, nothing more can be gauged.

While the Wheel of the Three Times rolls on, The Ancient Images reflect and then disappear. This, that the Mind has drawn on the void space. Is the extremely wonderful Magic Chronicle of the Kings.
Some Events in gNam-ri Srong-btzan’s Reign

It has been said that writing was non-existent in Tibet till the reign of King Srong-btzan sgam-po. Our history prior to this date was preserved through the media of oral traditions and due to this fact, a comparative chronology of dated history is inapproachable. Confusing and out-dated though it may be, I have recorded below the story of King gNam-ri, as annotated during the life-span of his son.

It seems that in 'Phan-yul (a valley north of Lhasa), there lived a petty ruler, Zing-po-rje by name and kinsman to the Tibetan king. The notoriety of his malpractices and misconduct soon caused popular resentment against him and members of the ruling elite like dByi-tsab revolted. Subsequently, they went to the court of the Tibetan King sTag-snya-gzigs, to whom they pledged their allegiance. But before Zing-po-rje could be avenged of his misdeeds, the Tibetan king passed away and the task of retribution became the legacy of his successor, gNam-ri srong-btzan. Armies were launched and 'Phan-yul was successfully brought under control. This military exploit was followed by the subjugation of the gTzang regions. Moreover, the rebellious Dhags-po people were curtailed by Seng-go mi-chen.
After a lapse of several years antecedent to the conquest of 'Phan-yul, an oath of loyalty pledging unity was consorted between the aging dByi-tساب and King Srong-tzan sgam-po.

From the facts at our disposal, we find that gNam-ri srong-btzan was the forerunner to unify and rule over the Yar-lung and Dhags-po regions of Lhoka. Previous rulers had, for the most part, minimal control over small portions of Yar-lung. A clarification should be made here vis-a-vis the title of King gNyan-khri btzan-po as the king of the entire region of Tibet. This title could create misunderstanding, since the area of the country and its jurisdiction has not been geographically demarcated by nature. The only method of classification is through the application of appropriate nomenclature over those regions by which the king had extended his jurisdiction by means of force. It should also be mentioned that the name Bod-Khams was at that period applied to a very limited territory.

[Scroll Kha]

The following is a synopsis of scroll Kha which deals with some events connected with gNam-ri srong-btzan's reign.

rGya-stag-bu sNya-gzigs, gNam-ri Srong-btzan's father sojourned at the palace of Phying-ba stag-rtze. Chief Zing-po-rje resided at Nyen-kar rting-pa, while 30,000 of his subjects headquartered at Yu-sna of sPur-ba. Zing-po-rje had a doubtful personality and was blasphemous in his conduct. To him good was evil and evil good; he rarely sought the advice from those who could be trusted, but turned to those flatterers who only effected a superficial regard for his person. He acted against all norms of moral conduct. The administration collapsed; no one dared counsel the Chief for fear of severe punishment. Every subject became displeased with the Chief. Zing-po-rje's minister, gNyen-'dzi-zung-nagpo appealed to him "Your Lordship has been repulsive in every action. Our government is not what it should be. Our religion is not the one it ought to be. The countrymen have become impoverished. The efficacy of the administration has fallen. When Na-mo
disintegrates, then Your Lordship will be ruined.” (Na-mo implies the majority) These words incurred the displeasure of Zing-po rje and 'Dzi-zung was severely punished. The latter, morally weakened through severe chastisement, resigned himself to the mischievous deeds of his chief and he too embarked on a career of malpractices. This greatly pleased the evil chief who remunerated 'Dzi-zung with lower kLum-ya-gsum which was demarcated by mKar phur­ba (a palace) together with the districts of sTag-skya-bu and yul yal-rab sde bzhi, inhabited by 30,000 subjects of Zing-po rje. There was a certain servant called Myang­tseng­sku who was allocated as personal attendant to 'Dzi-zung. But the latter's wife humiliated the servant which compelled him to approach Zing-po rje, saying in angry tones: “I am unable to serve 'Dzi-zung.” But Zing­po rje admonished him severely in the following manner: “There is no one dearer to me than my friend 'Dzi-zung. You are unworthy of serving him. Though the mistress may have insulted you, she is not at fault as she has the power to do so.” These words left Tsen­sku very unhappy. Simultaneous to this event, there began internicine strife between dPa' to-re khru-gu and gShen-khri-gzher 'Don­kong at'Phren­pe­rdzing­kha, the outcome of which saw the demise of dPa' the elder brother of dPa' Phang­to­re­dbyi­tsab. Seeking to avenge the murder of his brother, dPa' appealed to Chief Zing­po­rje for justice, to make the culprit 'pay thousand' for his brother's death. But Zing­po­rje thwarted his request by replying: “Since gShen­khri­gzher is a Minister of the Interior, he merits honour. It is proper for the pious to kill the impious.” Under these circumstances, both Myang­tseng­sku and dByi­tsab, deeply disappointed, were returning home together. At that time, the following thoughts occurred to the latter:

On the other side of Chab-Chab,
On the other side of Yar-chab,
Son of a man, son of a man,
There lives the son of a god.
The King of Truth would better make me serve.
The Saddle of justice would better be laid upon me.
The implication is as follows:
On the other side of the river,
On the other side of Yar-chab
Lives the One who is, although,
The son of a human being,
Is in fact the son of a god,
It is better if the king of Truth puts me into service,
It is better if the Saddle of Justice is laid on my back.

These thoughts of Tseng-sku were spoken involuntarily.
dByi-tsab overheard these words and though indistinct, he understood their implications, and upheld them by saying: "Oh Tseng-sku! No one is truer than yourself. My views do not differ from yours." Both of them mutually expressed their ill-will against Zing-po-rje. At the Khar-phying-ba-stag-rtze they endeared themselves to the Tibetan monarch, sPu-rgyal-stag-ba-snya-gzings and swore to a strong oath. In the meantime, dPa'-dbyi-tsab took his maternal uncle mNon-bzang-to-re-sron into his confidence, but immediately following the oath of conspiracy, the maternal uncle died. The work of conspiracy was imbibed in his son Bang-sum-'gron-po, a household attendant of Zing-po-rje, who was made to take the oath. Myang-smyon-to-re (who seems to be the same person as Tseng-sku) confided in Chespo-nag-seng, another accomplice about the plot against Zing-po-rje. After completing the usual formality of oath-taking, a message was sent through Chespo-nag-seng informing the sPu-rgyal of their established objectives. The sPu-rgyal ordered the necessary directives saying: "One of my sisters resides at the palace of Zing-po-rje. Nevertheless I shall fulfil your wishes."

Bang Sum 'gron-po, Myang and dPa' abided their time at mKhar-phying-ba; by day they concealed themselves in the hollows of trees at the Phag-tsal grove, by night they took oath to keep alive their revenge and 'swore to the King by their heads'. When the common man noticed their suspicious activities, they sang:

Mi. bzang.ni.rta.bzang.zhig.
Nyin.zing.ni.phag.tshal.na.
mTsEn.zing.ni.phying.bar.mchis.
dGra.'an.zin.chi.ang.
The Implication is as follows:

To each handsome man there is a handsome horse,
Day after day they remain at Phag-tsal forest,
Day after day they go to Phying-ba mkhar,
Whether a foe or a friend is not known.

Unfortunately for the conspirators, rGyal-stag-bu passed away before Zing-po-rje could be avenged. The task of Nag-senge, that of communicating messages to rGyal-stag-bu was now undertaken by his slave, sPu-gyim bTang-rmang-bu. The latter fearing that he might unconsciously leak out the conspiracy to his wife, no longer shared a common chamber with her, but would sleep in the hills, changing the place every night. He consoled his wife with the following words: "A strange Yi-dags has entered my body. Do not disclose it to anyone." On one occasion he quarrelled with his wife in which she angrily told him: "You are a great ITo-bo; it is not that the Yi-dags have descended upon you, but it is that you are resolved to undertake deception." (ITo is the word for deception.) Gyim-rmang-bu was annoyed with these words, and though he proxied kindliness towards his wife and feigned sleeping with her for two or three days, one night he murdered her by biting off her tongue. But before any action against Zing-po-rje could be consolidated, Gyim-rmang-bu fell ill and died.

Thereafter, King bLon-btzan (who should be identified as King gNam-ri), the son of King rGyal-snyag-bu-lta-gzigs and his brother bLon-kol-mched caused the six conspirators, Myang-tseng-sku, dPa-dbyi-tshab, dPa-myas-snang, dPa bu tshab, mNon-'mgon-po and Chas-po-nags-seng to take the following oath corporately:

Henceforth Zing-po-rje shall be ignored,
The authority of sPu-rgyal shall be acknowledged (and)
Shall not hesitate in undertaking a heroic and good cause,
Shall be prepared to lay even one's life for it.
Shall not disobey the orders of King bLon-btzan.
Shall not succumb to acts of deception.
In this way, Myang-tseng-sku and the others were bound to the oath.

King Khri-blon-btzan, having entrusted the reins of
government jointly to his brother bLon-kol and his mother sTong-btsun, then proceeded against Zing-po-rje with an army of 10,000 strong. Myang-tseng sku and mNon-'gron-po were invested with the duty of maintaining watch or 'bya-gchod' as far as the sTag-pa she-ra Pass, from which they further moved to Nyen-wa. Thereafter, dByi-tsab and Nags-senqe invited the king to cross the river together where they caused dissension among the enemies, destroyed the Yu-na-na castle and killed dGu-gri-zing-po-rje. The latters' minister, Mang-po and mother and son fled to the Gru-gu country. All territory lower to Phag-gi-yung-ba and those above rGod-bro-sna were annexed by King Khri-blon-btzan, and at his command, the name of the country was transformed from Nags-po to 'Phan-yul. The subjects of Nags-po, formerly under Zing-po-rje, devised a name for their saviour: gNam-ri-blon-btzan. gNam (sky) as his regime was as high as the sky, ri (mountain) as his helmet was stronger than the mountain. In this manner, Myang, dPa and mNon made over the territories of Zing-po-rje to the sPu-rgyal. gNam-ri-blon-btzan gifted portions of his territory, pointing to the (four) directions with a whip in his hand. dPa'-dbyi-tsab received Sa-gang-gshem and 500,000 families of the Mal-dro region. Myang-rtzen-gay received mKar-spub of gNyan-dri-zung and 500,000 Bon families. Ches-po-nags-seng received 300 slave families of 'On-gyi-smon-mka'. To mNon-'gron-po'i, the king bestowed 500,000 subjects such as Khon-ne's brother So-gnon and others. Besides donating slaves and principalities, the king endowed Myang, dPa', mNon and Ches-po with the role of ministers.

During the reign of this king, sPung-sem-zu-tse of Khyung-po beheaded Mar-mun, the King of the gTzang region of Tibet and gifted 20,000 gTzang families to the king. So pleased was the king at this generous gesture that he rewarded Zu-tse with 20,000 families. The fact that Zu-tse served under the king as a minister has been elaborated hereafter. A certain Mong-sngon-po had hatched a plot to assassinate the king and his brother, but before he could fulfil his plans, Zu-tse killed Mong-sngon-po instead. Dags-po rebelled against the control that was levied
As a result of a conference between the king and his ministers, a decree was subsequently issued stating that he who dared subdue Dags-po would be remunerated with the role of Army Chief. Sen-ge myi-chen volunteered to the task. Khyung-po-zu-tse expressed his doubts and said: "Is a man like you capable of army generalship? A hero must be high and elevated, just as a needle inserted through a bag appears at the top. Considerable time has lapsed from the day you served under the king. Yet I have not heard anybody addressing you as 'the brave and wise Sen-ge-myi-chen'. How could you undertake a task which will not materialise?" Myi-chen replied:

"It is true that people have not spoken in my favour. It is equally true that I have never entered in the 'small bag' like a needle and have not re-appeared at the top. But if I had done that, why speak of the top...I would have come out and overtopped the handle which is yet higher. Since I have not entered anything, hence my appeal for the first time." The king granted Myi-chen's request and appointed him in order that he subdue Dags-po-lha. True to word, Seng-myi-chen subdued Dhags-po and subjugated all territory beyond Dags-po-lha. He was amply rewarded and received all the subjects of gSer-khun-re-rgal, along with their cattle wealth. Word spread far and wide that he obtained, 'Brog-mo-thang merely with a few strokes of the lance and that he was gallant enough to kill as many as a hundred Dags-po(s) in a single day. Even to this day, Senge-myi-chen remains a legendary hero among the Dags-po people.

Zhang-snang, son of Myang-smon-to-re-tseng-sku was appointed as an attendant during the reign of Srong-btzan. Legend ascertains that during festivities of the dGyes-skyems ceremony (a drinking festival), Khyung-po-su-tse gave a recital glorifying the king's victories and conquest of gTzang. A reply was made by Zhang-snang which greatly pleased the king, that he appointed Zhang-snang as one of his ministers, and gave him a badge of honour known as Sug-bu-chung.

dPa'-dbyi-tsab was now well-advanced in years and was passing his last days. Having received information that King Khri-srong-btzan sgam-po (as yet a minor) was travel-
ling from Ngen-kar to sKyi-lung, he sent a message through sNya-to-re, which read: "In the days gone by, Chief Zing-po-rje was overthrown. We endeared ourselves to the sPu-rgyal.* As the kingdom grew in length and breadth, Myang was censured\(^2\) since he could not conduct an effective government. While we, myself and my descendants are still loyal to you, I beseech you to grant my sons a secret oath-taking before this old man dies. The 'father king' had accepted an invitation to visit my mChyis-brang.\(^3\) In conclusion, I beseech you to attend a smoke-clotted dinner at my residence at Lha-mo-chang." (Lha-mo-chang probably refers to chag-pa of Phen district.)

The king's rejoinder was as follows:

"One should not hurt the feelings of a grateful man. One should not ride the horse of a god. I recall dPa'-to-re and dByi-tsab installed as ministers on the other side of the Chab (name of a river) during the reign of my father. To-re is dead. You are advanced in age. Myang shang-nang was appointed as the Chief Minister, but father was mistaken about him; he also turned against the king and was censured. Dissension was instilled between gNam-ri srong-btzan and Zhang-snang by Zu-tse and Zhang-snang was punished. Since you, dPa' and your sons have been loyal to me, you may make preparation for your dinner at Lha-mo chag-pa and I shall grant the swearing of the oath." The king thus arrived at Lha-mo chag-pa and was presented with a gift of Khrab-bse-sna-bchu (coat of mail) and a lDong-gyi-rab-gri (a sword). dPa' and his seven sons pledged themselves to an oath in the presence of the king.

At the oath-taking ceremony, the king stated: "Since dByi-tsab is loyal, upon his death, I will take part in the construction of his tomb. To one of his sons, I shall grant the sGer-yig."\(^4\) Then he sang thus: "From now onwards, you shall not abandon me and I will not abandon you."

All seven of them, dByi-tsab and his sons offered thanksgiving to the king and the 'gorma'\(^5\) was lifted by Lanton, the attendant of the king. Later, the white 'gorma' was used in the foundation stone of dByi-tsab's mchad-pa (tomb).

\(*\)Srong-btzan's father
At the swearing investiture, the following words were recorded: "Henceforth, if you, father and sons, do not become disloyal to the sPu-rgyal, then Nam-Nam-Nam Sha-Sha-Sha-Sha-Yang, the sons of dByi-tsab, though found guilty (of other crimes) will be punished. In cases of an adverse report, they will be set free of the charges on tendering an apology and no criminal action will be taken against them. One of the sons of dByi-tsab will be appointed to a post no less than the one (signified by) gSer-gyi-yi-ge or Ambassador designate. If no hostilities against the king ensue, the king will not annex 'Khol-yul (subjects of dByi-tsab) even when the line of dByi-tsab draws to a close." In all, twelve sentences paraphrased the oath.

This oath of Khri-srong, administered to Minister kLu-gang, bears striking resemblance to the style of writing engraved on the northern edge of the rTze-zhol (pillar). The oath undertaken by dByi-tsab and his sons was as follows: "To King sPu-rgyal, Khri-srong-btzan, his son and his generation, we shall not be disloyal and shall adhere to all commands of the king." The oath consisted of twelve lines.

[Scroll dKyus]
I have availed of gNam-ri-srong-btzan's history solely from scrolls, as our royal chronicles lack the necessary data. Though the Thank-yik mentions the development of a major war during his reign, it has overall been difficult to assess correct birth and death chronology. All that we can do is hazard a guess. The span of his reign did not seem to be of any great duration, if we consider it from the angle that his mother was still alive when gNam-ri led a campaign into 'Phen-yul and that Srong-btzan had ascended the throne during dByi-tsab's last years. gNam-ri's life was cut short when he died of poisoning administered by some Mon people.

In annotating any history, it is essential to indicate the lives of the people in general. While doing so, it would be unjustified to over-emphasise the greatness of a king by writing wonder stories about him.
This being the Moon of true nature,
Shines In her spotless conch-like brightness,
Why should I draw with a one-sided view,
The ugly picture of the hare with the long ears.

The above relates to the history of gNam-ri srong-btzan.
gNam-ri's son was the great Srong-btzan sgam-po, incarnation of Arya Avalokitesvara. He is accredited with laying the foundation of a dual system of government in Tibet. Since much has been written about his religious activities, I will persevere strictly to his political and administrative achievements. The following account has been based on three scrolls of royal chronicles described earlier. The legible portions of the scrolls have been referred to in an abbreviated form. These scrolls had been written during the life-time of Srong-btzan by his contemporaries. It has been of necessity to refer to other popular historical works with regard to Srong-btzan's birth at the Mi-gyur Palace of Byams-gling, within the jurisdiction of the rGyama\(^1\) country, since the opening chapters of scroll 'Ka' have been partially damaged. From the remaining portion of the scroll, it may be deduced that Princess Mun Chang Kongjo was accompanied to Tibet by Minister mGhar stong-btzan yul-bzung. Following the assassination of the Nepalese monarch, Yusna Kug-tri, Nariba succeeded to the throne. A contagious black pestilence broke out. Three years following this event Lio-snay-shub (the name of a king) was subordinated during the reign of either King Khri-srong-btzan or Srong-s-btzan sgam-po, and all of the Shang-shung came under the latters' control. After a lapse of six years,
the king passed away (Khri-srong-btzan) while Queen Mun-chang Kong-jo survived Srong-btzan by a mere three years.

In the 1194th year posterior to Buddha's death, which corresponds to the Iron Male Dog year, King Myes khri-srong-btzan's (Srong-btzan) remains were removed and hidden deep within one of the inner chambers of the Palace 'Pying-ba. King dBon-khri-mang-slon-mang-btzan sojourned at Mer-ke for a years duration.

In the year 1195, the Iron Female Hog year, King Mang-srong-mang-btzan sojourned at gNyen-kar. During this year, the mDang or death rite of Myes-khri-srong-btzan was conducted at the 'Phying-ba Palace.

[Scroll dKyus]

In the above, "Kong-jo went to Tibet" correlates to her departure from China and is not her arrival in Tibet. The section, 'Nga' hereinafter estimates Kong-jo's arrival in Tibet to have occurred in the 1185th year after Buddha's death and we find this year corresponding to the Iron Ox Year. In the ninth year subsequent to the Iron Ox year, the King passed away. The statement that he lived with Kong-jo for a mere three years, requires some clarification. It appears that from the start of her journey to Tibet, till her meeting with the king, there was an interim of six years. The claim of popular historical works that the Minister mGhar cleverly deferred her meeting with the king carries substantial weight. By comparing the two dates, that of the mDang rites during the Dog year and the fact that nine years lapsed since the departure of Kong-jo from China, we can ascertain Srong-btzan's death to have occurred during the Bird year. But since his death was only made public in the following year, i.e. the Dog year, Chinese history has abided by this date and observes that Srong-btzan died in the Iron Dog year.

Certain old literary works mention that "'Brom, while travelling from Khams, arrived at 'Phrang-k'a-ba where the mDang rites of Chung-pha were being celebrated." Further, in some provincial dialects, mDang-che-ba is synonymous with rTzis-thang-che-ba (Greater Esteem). We are un-
acquainted with the typology and dramatisation of the mDang rite, though in certain rNying-ma ritual proscription, one intercepts the mDang-skang. sKang is skang-so, an expiatory sacrifice, making amends for unfulfilled duties. Here, symbols for offerings take the shape of lamps, blood and ceremonial delicacies. Most probably, the mDang rites were performed in similar manner.

A noteworthy feature from scroll ‘Ka’ is the revelation that Nari-Deva came to the throne in replacement of the assassinated Nepalese King, Yusna-kug-te. What holds interest for us is the possibility that Yusna-kug-te is a corruption from dZi snu-kirti and Nari-deva from Naradeva. In the Indian language, ‘dza’ and ‘ya’ have almost synonymous linguistic value, as for example. yama-ri is dzama-ri and yoghi is dzoghi. In the Indian original of Manjusrimula Tantra, we find after the succession list of Nepalese kings, a colophon which reads: “Dzishnu haynet sastra sampata vidhasta Nepala Adhipati stada”. The translation of this would be that “Dzishnu, the last of the Nepalese kings was killed by weapons.” What is revealed by these facts is that Nepal was insubordinated by Tibet, simultaneous to the year in which Kong-jo left for Tibet. It has been stated hereinafter in the ‘Nga’ portion of this chronicle that eight years after Kong-jo had been sent to Tibet, the Chinese envoy Wang-zhen tse arrived in India at a time when Nepal was under the subjugation of Tibet.

[Scroll Kha]
Srong-btzan saw numerous mishaps taken place during the regime of his father: the subjects assaulted his father and rebelled against his mother; kinsmen like Zhang-zhung, mZo-sum-pa, Nya-gnyi dags-po, Kong-po and Myang-po also revolted. These disloyalties climaxed in the poisoning of his father gNam-ri-srong-btzan. The young Srong-btzan, with consummate skill, personally subordinated rGya and A-zha3 without the use of force. Sumpa was overrun by diplomacy and without the deliberations of military effort by Tseng-sku’s son, Myang-po-rje zhang-shang. Both the rGya and A-zha people were compelled to pay tribute.
Seeds of dissension were now instilled between Srong-btzan and Mang-po-rje by Khyung-po-spung-pad.zu-tse. The latter falsely alleged that Zhang-snang was plotting against the king, while he informed Zhang-snang that the king was displeased with him, which in actuality was not the case. Thang-snang thought to himself: "Since Khyung-po is an intimate friend, his words must surely contain the truth." He therefore did not heed the king's request to visit him, but remained instead at the sPur-ba castle. On the other hand, the king's reaction was severe and thought that "It is true that Zhang-snang is hostile" The sequence to these false misapprehensions, was the murder of Zhang-snang by his attendant and the destruction of the sPur-wa castle on the counsel of the king. The bond between Khyung-po and the king grew in strength, he being the favourite minister. It was said that "sPung-pad-zu-tse was the most prominent person in any gathering."

Quoting from scroll 'Ga', "Zu-tse's knowledge knew no limits." In fact "having once heard the account table containing three figures, he could work them out. Also having heard the four sections of the codes of law for the first time, he mastered it at once and was able to pass judgement." And if he played a game of chess simultaneously, he would always win. When counting the pidgeons and noticing one short, he would remark; "it might have been swooped upon by a hawk; go and verify." On examination, this would indeed prove to be the case. He therefore earned the reputation "sPung-pa-zu-tse was as vile as he was sharp of intelligence, and bold of heart. He was prominent in all gatherings and conferences; there was none to equal him."

[Scroll Kha]

When Khyung-po-zu-tse was in his advanced years, he approached the king and said: "During the reign of Your Majesty's father, King gNam-ri-srong-btzan, I brought the gTzang regions to subordination. But since gTzang has neither been visited nor its land treaded upon by Your Majesty's father, I appeal to Your Majesty to do so and to grant your august presence to an entertainment at my Khri-boms abode." The king consented to this appeal and
sent his Minister mGhar yul-bzung to the Palace Khri-boms as a courier prior to his arrival. But mGhar intercepted a plot to assassinate the king and went back in haste to warn the king. Zu-tse came to learn of the flight of mGhar and approving revenge, he said to his son Ngag-re-khyung: "Offer my head to the king," whereupon he committed suicide. Ngag-re-khyung went to the king and offered the head of his father saying: "My old father, in an act of hostility had conspired against the king. Yul-bzung gained access to the conspiracy and accordingly made his report to the king. I have now killed my father and have brought his head to you. Please grant protection to my estates." The king relented and permitted Ngag-re-khyung to own the estates and subjects which were under his deceased father.

During his reign, King Srong-btzn was able to subdue Zhang-zhung through subtle diplomacy and matrimonial alliances. He did this by sending his sister Sad-kar as bride to the King of Zhang-zhung, Lig-mi-rgya. The princess remained aloof, performing neither Lig-mi-rgya’s wifely nor household duties. When this situation came to the attention of her brother, the king, he said: "If the princess conducts herself in such a manner, our diplomacy will fail. She must assume the household duties of Lig-mi-rgya and enact her wifely functions." This communique he conveyed through sPug-gyim-btzn-rmang-chung to the Khyung-lung castle. Since the princess was away at mTso-ma-pang after having spent a merry time at Chab-nya, rMang-chung proceeded to mTso-ma-pang. He offered his greetings to the Princess who enquired about the health of her brother the king. (The word Thugs-bde in the text or good health has occurred in many old literary works.) When rMang-chung replied in the affirmative, the princess proceeded to enquire about rMang-chung’s health, who also replied in the affirmative. Thereupon the princess remarked that since rMang-chung had come from her brother, he must accept her invitation to be her guest. Offering her greetings, she sang thus:

The burden of my country has fallen on me,
The castle of Khyung-lung is filled with dust.
At the time of rMang-chung’s departure, the princess said: “To my brother the king, there is nothing to write by way of a response. I am happy to learn that the king is in good health. I shall sanction the orders of the king. Offer this to the king.” Thus saying, she presented rMang-chung with a sealed gift for the king.

rMang-chung travelled back to the king and re-oriented his encounter with the princess, saying: “The princess has sent no letter as she thought that there was nothing to write about.” He then described the princess’ song and offered the sealed gift to the king, which contained thirty beautiful old turquoises. After deep contemplation as to the import of the gift, the king said: “It seems to imply that I am to wear the turquoise as a token of bravery if I am capable of fighting with Lig-mi-rgya. If not, I will be akin to a woman.” The sequel to this interlude saw an urgent conference between the king and his ministers and ultimately the devastation of Lig-mi-rgya’s kingdom. Moreover, during Srong-btzan’s reign, the entire Zhang-zhung was brought under subjugation.

On a dGyes-skyams celebration in which the king and all his ministers participated, the king sang thus:

If one asks what is the name of the king,
Then it is King Srong-btzan.
If one asks what is the name of the minister,
Then it is sTong-btzan-yul-bzung.
Both of us are king and minister.
In respect of length, Yarmo was extended,
From the mDo to the gTzang regions
In respect of breadth, Yarmo was extended,
From the south to the north.
We two are the king and the minister.
The king shall not abandon the subjects,
And the subjects will not abandon the king.

A song in rejoinder to the Kings’ was also issued by mGhar:
At the top is the fully-accomplished king, Khri-srong-btzan.
Below is the wise minister, sTong-btzan-yul-bzung.
Everything that is necessary for the support of a mighty kingdom is accomplished.
The external power has been extended to every direction.
The internal administration is effectively controlled.
Equity among all sections of the 'black-headed' subjects have been established.
Taxes have been reduced,
There is leisure enough (for everybody).
There is enough food for autumn and spring.
The wise have been praised, the brave honoured.
The doctrine being good and the administration efficient,
All the masses have prospered.
Origin of the Tibetan System of Writing

Writing and canonical literature were introduced during King Srong-btsan-sgam-po’s reign. It was during his reign that all state laws were codified, ranks of ministers defined, rewards for good work and punishment for crimes were properly enunciated. The thul-ka and the dor-ka of the peasants and the bre, phul and srang units were standardised and all religious traditions were established. The people were grateful to the king and they called him Srong-btsan-sgam-po.

Some recitals were held at every state function by kings and their ministers. From the sentence ‘bTzan-po'i mGur-lha’ the word lha seems to be the deity that helped the king recite his songs.

The above narrations summarises the early biographical data of Srong-btsan’s reign. He has three contributions of immense proportions to his name: the expansion of the country; the introduction of the Sakyamuni doctrine; and the introduction of the system of writing.

An examination of chronicles which deal with the origin of the Tibetan script reveal that Bu-ston and other scholars accepted the theory that it was Thon-mi who promulgated the Tibetan alphabets on the basis of the Nagari script.
According to other scholars, the two written formations of the dBu-chen (with heads) and the dBu-med (without heads) were stylised from the Ranza and the Vartula scripts. The Bonpos advocate that since Bon was the religion of Tibet before Srong-btshan's initiative, to deny the existence of a script would be a mistake.

It is also maintained that the ancient script of Zhangzhung was borrowed from the sPungs characters of Ta­zig. This underwent further development, first fo the sman­brag script and then later to the dbu-chen and 'bru-mar characters. Nevertheless, it is traditionally asserted that Thon-mi visited India during the Gupta period. It is of in­terest to note that he was contemporary to Harsha, Kumara Gupta (Tib. gZhun-nu'i sbes-pa), Surya Varman (Tib. Nyima'i go-cha). On an examination of scripts envisaged on copper tablets, and produced during the regimes of these kings, we find a marked association with the Tibetan script. On a closer scrutiny, they would appear to be the Tibetan characters worked upon by some skilled calligraphers, so that one unfamiliar with the Indian writing would be able to read the script. A specimen is illustrated below, one which appeared on a copper plate during the rule of gZhun-nu'i sbes-pa (Kumara Gupta), and whose transliteration and translation would be:

Namo maha devaya shri tsandra gupta vizaya sambha­saran g shott tarika tartika mans.

Victory to the Mahadeva...In the Kartika month of the tenth year of the victorious regime of Shri Chandragupta...

I am convinced that our alphabets were modelled along Gupta lines. I base my evaluation on the premise that the old orthography contained in the gTer treatises of the rNying-ma-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism had great affinity with the Gupta script. Furthermore, it may be seen that the dBu-med and dBu-chen characters did not develop simultaneously, but were separate developments. In fact, the dBu-med developed from the dBu-chen as a result of hasty writing. A comparison of the old writings and the popular Lho-yig (still extant in Bhutan) will clearly illustrate how the dBu-med had assumed its present form out of the dBu-chen characters.
In most of the old writings, the rtsegs-ma (superfixed and subjoined letters) were not placed directly above or below the basic letters, but preceded the latter as in the Indian system of writing. Even today, the 's' and 'r' are placed before the basic letter in the dbu med. In course of time, 's' and 'p' overlapped to form 'sp' and developed somewhat into a 'y'. The 'sp' formation of the dbu-med is half 's' and half 'p'.

Again, the Dang-kyog appears to be the gradual transformation of the letters 'OM'. In the Indian system of writing, this has been preserved in its original form. In some of our old works, this has also been maintained in its original form. In some of the gTer works of the rNying ma-pa, the symbol has undergone modification from 'OM' to 'AM'.

'Bri-gung dPal-'dzin asserts that the usage of the gTer-tseg or inter-syllabic punctuation in the gTer works transcends the rules of grammar, as elucidated in the sGra-mdo.

Though they have not been mentioned in the sGra-mdo, we notice in certain old literary works the arrangement of Tseg-drag (two dots placed one upon the other) appearing either singly or doubly after every syllable, as evidenced in a stone pillar at Lhasa. And it was from the contact of the two dots which saw the gradual evolution of the linear inter-syllabic punctuation of the dbu-med script.

1,300 years have evolved since the time writing was introduced in Tibet. Yet, orthography and forms of writing have not witnessed much transformation through the years, and today, those with a knowledge of Tibetan can decipher and comprehend inscriptions carved on stone pillars of old. In India, on the other hand, there is incomparable disparity between the Gupta scripts of a thousand years back with the script of the current era.

Book printing systematically gained in popularity from the period of rJe Rinpoche and it is reputed that the volumes of block prints in Tibet find no parallel in the entire world.

As mentioned above, orthography and literary forms have retained their original structure. Therefore, as long as we adhere strictly to scriptual terminology, the unity of our diverse dialects will be preserved. If a written sam-
ple of our script travelled a regional cross-section from mNga-ris to A-mdo, every literate person would be capable of reading and understanding such a presentation. Conversely, if colloquial languages of Ladakh and the Central provinces were encouraged to channel their growth into the compilation of dictionaries and religious works by a people possessing minimal aptitude in these languages, the unity of a common language would disintegrate, owing to the diversity of the colloquial languages of each province. An adjunct to this process would be the development of 'new ways of thinking' and distinct political characteristics as well as a further debilitation of racial and political integration. Even if a new and common colloquial language were formed and developed all over Tibet, there will come a day when our regional dialects and literary language would be limited to surmise, and our voluminous literature, such as the Shastras and Tantras written in scriptual terminology, understood by none. This dangerous trend should be cautioned against and avoided.

From the foregoing discussion, it may be concluded that Thon-mi Sam-bhota designed the Tibetan script on the Gupta model. A word now on the background of architectural design and their religious motifs. It is relative in this context to refer to Indian temple art. The walls of the Lhasa temple have painted characterisations of the Swastika, while the pillar constructs have been oriented to resemble the Phur-pa, a ceremonial dagger. From among the ruins of Indian temples, juxtaposing motifs are revealed. In fact, in both cases, the height and the size of the pillars have been proved to be of equal proportion. dPa'o-gtzug-phreng's verification that the architecture of the Lhasa temple had been based on the pattern of the Vikramasila temple (India) is accurate.

With the moral system (code) useful in our lifetime,
And the two-fold purpose bearing divine system (religion),
And with the four kinds of acquirements that gives joy in all times,
The religious king has enriched the kingdom of Tibet.
Sriong-btzan sgam-po’s Foreign Policy

[Scroll Nga]

The king of Tibet (Sriong-btzan) was also addressed as Yon-btzan Sriong-btzan. He was also addressed as Lha or god. He was famed to be a sagacious and wise king and is accredited with solidifying and extending his territorial boundaries. Of strong physique, he engaged in hunting wild yaks and asses as a pastime.

In the eighth year of Cheng-kwen¹, 1178 Nirvana era, the first envoy of the Tibetan king arrived at the court of the Chinese Emperor The-tsung. The Emperor reciprocated this gesture by sending a ‘bearer of the golden letter’ or ambassador to the Tibetan court. At the news of the betrothal of the Emperor’s daughter to the king of Gru-gu, Sriong-btzan sent a courier laden with gifts to present his case as a suitor. The Emperor turned down this request. Thwarted, Sriong-btzan plundered all cattle wealth and possessions of the Gru-gu, the latter fleeing north of mTso-sngon. This acquisition was followed by the conquest of Phyang, Ba-yi-ling and'Dzang. Sriong-btzan, with an army of 200,000 strong further conquered the Chinese province of Zong-cho. An envoy was moreover sent to the Emperor, conveying a coat of mail assembled of gold, together with an underlying threat that Sriong-btzan would wage war against China.
unless the Emperor consented to the proposed marriage. The Emperor adamantly rejected this threat and instead, sent the Chinese General, Han-be with a small army to fight the Tibetans, which was annihilated by the Tibetan army. Meanwhile, the 'Dzang subjects of the Emperor defected and joined hands with Srong-btzan. This time, a 50,000 strong Chinese army under General Ni-'u Tsi-da was deputed to Tibet and under cover of night, the Chinese army massacred 1,000 Tibetan soldiers at Zong-cho. The remaining Tibetan army retreated. Srong-btzan then issued an apology to the Chinese Emperor but again insisted on the hand of the Chinese princess. This time the Emperor of China capitulated. Lavish gifts of precious stones, ornaments and 5,000 bre of gold powder were sent to the Emperor through Minister Ru-stong-btzan. So pleased was the Emperor that he offered another Chinese princess to the Tibetan minister. However the latter said: "Since I have a wife in my own country, it would not be proper to divorce her. Moreover, etiquette does not permit me to take a wife before the king has done so." The Emperor was greatly pleased at this reply. He sent his daughter Princess Mun-chang Kong-jo to Tibet in 1185 (Nirvana era) or the Cheng-Kwen regnal year, escorted by General Li-ta-tsong. Srong-btzan personally welcomed the retinue at Po-he (the Tibetan border). The contrast between the elaborate silk robes of the Chinese officials against the simplicity of the Tibetan attire was so sharp that it reinforced embarrassment among the latter. Since this was the first time that a Tibetan king had taken a Chinese princess in marriage, Srong-btzan constructed numerous palaces and towns in his bride's honour. Social reformation also accompanied this unprecedented event. The customary application of red dye on the ladies' faces was prohibited since this feature displeased the Chinese princess. Robes of fine silk came into vogue, the king himself leading the fashion. Sons of the elite were sent to China for the purpose of study and Chinese scholars in turn were loaned to Tibet.

Once while the Emperor was returning homeward after a visit to Ko-'u-li (till recently under Japanese control), the King of Tibet deputed Minister sTong-btzan to China to
communicate the following letter:

"The All-Victorious Emperor controls everything under the Sun and the Moon. As the Ko-'u-li people lived in a far-off land, they did not heed your commands. gNam gyi-sras (son of God, title of the Chinese Emperor) had to lead an army as far as the River Le-po, vanquishing entire armies and cities. The news of your return after your triumphant victory has reached me. Although the domestic goose cannot fly as high as the wild goose, they belong to the same species. A golden goose is herewith presented."

Tsalpa's Deb-dmar mentions that "a golden bird measuring seven chag-shing (the length of wood splinters) in length and filled with beer was sent to the Emperor."

King Harsha presented gifts to the Chinese Emperor through a Brahmin envoy. Harsha was the author of a drama entitled kLu-kun-tu dga' ba'i zlos-gar (Skt. Naganada). This drama has been included in the bsTan-'gyur. Pandit Bhana Bhatta (Tib. Nags-kyi dpa'-bo) or the 'hero of the forest' has contributed a Sanskrit work in verse, illustrating Harsha's biography. In the twenty-second year of Cheng-kwen or 1192 Nirvana year, the Emperor sent Wang-hen-tse with thirty cavalrymen to the Indian court. But when the entourage arrived, they found the kingdom mourning the death of Harsha. Arjuna (Tib. Srid-grub) succeeded to the throne as Harsha had no offspring. Arjuna elicited a policy of religious persecution of Buddhists and even went so far as to assault Ambassador Wang-hen-tse and his party, compelling the latter to flee to Bal (Nepal), seeking refuge from Srong-btzan, as Bal at that time was the territory of Tibet. A militia despatch was arranged by Srong-btzan, which featured a combined effort of 1,200 Tibetan soldiers and 7,000 Bal (Nepalese) cavalrymen. This army arrived at Tirahta accompanied by the Chinese envoys, and in a battle of three days duration, the capital fell to the Tibetan army. 3,000 Indian soldiers were beheaded while 1,000 were thrown into a nearby river. King Arjuna escaped, only to gain respite, and organise fresh troops. But he was once more routed by the Tibetan army and taken captive to the court of the Chinese Emperor. So pleased was the latter by this noble gesture of Srong-btzan, that the
Emperor The-tsung erected an edifice of the Tibetan monarch in proximity to his own pre-arranged vault, to commemorate the Tibetan king. This battle between the Tibetans and the Indians witnessed more than 13,000 killed or captured, over 30,000 livestock impounded, and the surrender of 180 citadels. King Kumara of Kamrup, avowed antagonist of Arjuna, expressed his gratitude to the Tibetan king by presenting numerous gifts of houses, cattle and various other treasures. In the 1st year of Mo’u he’i or 1193 Nirvana year, the Emperor of China bequeathed the title of Mag-pa’i cho-lo³ and the kingship of mTso-sngon to Srong-btzan sgam-po. This granting of the cho-lo title to the kings of other countries was a Chinese strategy that gradually sought to extend control over the recipient nations. Srong-btzan maintained a liaison with the Emperor through the Chinese military leader Chhan-sun, and once wrote: "Since the gNam-gyi-sras (son of Heaven) has succeeded to the throne, should there be any revolt by the Emperor’s subjects, you may be assured of my army’s support." Along with this letter, fifteen different articles of gold were presented to the Emperor. After bestowing the title of cho-lo on Srong-btzan, the great Chinese celebrations ensued and, on the request of Tibet, silkworms and loom workers, beer, and china glass were imported to Tibet. Srong-btzan passed away in the first year of the Ching-ko’u or 1194 Nirvana era. Chinese envoys came in person to offer condolences and made offerings at the tomb. As Srong-btzan had no issue, one of his nephews came to the throne, but he being yet a minor, the reins of government were delegated to Minister mGhar-stong-btzan. According to certain well-known royal chronicles, this minor king was the grandson of Srong-btzan and son of Mang-srong mang-btzan, the latter having pre-deceased his father (Srong-btzan). Srong-btzan had a sister named Sa-tha-ma-kar. From the partially damaged portion of the paper scroll ‘Ka’, we deduce that hostility existed between Srong-tzans sister and younger brother, bTzan-srong, as a result of which bTzan was compelled to go to gNyal and settle there.

Most historical chronicles are in consensus that the
year in which Kong-jo left for Tibet and the year in which Srong-btzan passed away, corresponded to the Iron Ox and the Iron Dog year respectively. Most chronicles also agree that Srong-btzan's year of birth was in the Ox year, but there is some controversy with regard to the element of the Ox and the year cycle. The Great Fifth (5th Dalai Lama) and 'Gos assert that Srong-btzan was born in the Earth Ox year. Moreover, 'Gos has calculated the Earth-Ox year of the preceding sixty years, holding that Srong-btzan lived to a ripe age of eighty-two years. But Bu-ston maintained that Srong-btzan was born in the Fire-Ox year.

In tracing accurate details, it is remiss of the old histories for failing to mention the elements that co-exist with the yearly cycle. While computing dates prior to the Viraspati cycle, it has been ascertained that no scholar has chronologised dates efficiently with the exception of 'Gos. But he too, I maintain, has erred in his analysis of Srong-btzan's date of birth. If we were to accept his theory, then the resulting dates would be as follows: in the year of the Earth-Tiger when the Emperor Ko'u Tsung ascended the throne, Srong-btzan was already in his fiftieth year. After a reign of nine years, Ko'u Tsung died and was succeeded to the throne by The-tsung. Srong-btzan was now fifty nine years of age. Sino-Tibetan relations were introduced after a lapse of nine years antecedent to the succession to the throne by The-tsung. Thereafter, in the Iron Ox year Kong-jo was sent as a bride (to Tibet). By this time, Srong-btzan had attained his seventy-second year. If it were true that six years had lapsed (before Kong-jo met Srong-btzan) then we are obliged to accept that Srong-btzan came to live with Kong-jo in his seventy-ninth year. Further, if we add thirty-one years to Kong-jo's stay in Tibet after Srong-btzan's death, the total number of years Tibet that she lived in amounts to forty-two years. These facts may be verified from the Deb-sngon (Blue Annals). It is clear that 'Gos has based his calculations of Srong-btzan's death from Chinese histories, yet he has failed to mention the sources of his data on Srong-btzan's birthdate. If Srong-btzan's accession to power at the age of thirteen is accepted as a fact, in collusion with popular works, then 'Gos'
chronology has characterised Kong-jo to be an old bride of over sixty years of age. 'Gos undoubtedly has miscalculated his chronology within a range of sixty years between the former and later Earth Ox years. This initial error of 'Gos has resulted in a calculation of sixty years more or sixty years less in the chronological dates of the Blue Annals beginning from Dar-ma's religious persecution, in the Iron Bird year. The mistakes in the Blue Annals may be ascertained after a careful calculation of the dates. Those who abide by the theory that Srong-btzan lived till eighty years of age must also accept the ridiculous conclusion that he took his Chinese bride in his seventy-ninth year. There is every possibility that this contention has been provoked from a prophecy contained within a tantric work. Since the Tantras convey different implications, I will omit the specific references with regard to the Tantras as the occasion has not arisen. I will assume that Srong-btzan was born in the Fire Ox year, as has also been accepted by Kun-mkan-bu, and that he ascended the throne in the Earth Ox year. The remainder of the dates will be based on Chinese histories. If the above dates are considered within the framework of a single cycle of sixty years, the chronological calculation appears highly probable.

From these statistics, we obtain the information that Srong-btzan's year of birth, the Fire Ox, corresponds to 1161 Nirvana era, and that he ascended the throne at thirteen years of age. Sino-Tibetan relations commenced when Srong-btzan attained his eighteenth year and he received Kong-jo as his bride in his twenty-fifth year. According to Deb-ther sngon-po (The Blue Annals) an intermittent war erupted between the Tibetans and the Chinese during the interim of Srong-btzan's eighteenth and twenty-fifth year, a war which lasted for eight years. In the Iron Dog year, Srong-btzan passed away at the age of thirty-four. Kong-jo died in the Iron Dragon year following a stay of thirty years in Tibet, during the fourth year of 'Du-srong mang-btzan's reign. The 'Ka' section of this work mentions that "following the twenty-six years of Mang-srong's reign and during the seven years of 'Du-srong's reign, the mDangs rite of Queen Kong-jo was initiated in the Sheep year." It there-
fore seems that this rite was performed three years subsequent to the death of Kong-jo. If we are to follow the logic of these calculations, then there is a correlation between the prophecy of Byams-ma (a history of the Bon-pos) that "Srong-btzan cannot live for more than thirty-six years, he being anti-Bon" with the points clarified in the section 'Ka' that the king's death was kept a secret. In this connection, the following saying is most apt:

When a man speaks of many things,
He will speak of one truth at least.

Various tales have been told about Srong-btzan. These include the claim that he lived for eighty-two years or that he lived until thirty-four years of age; that the 'Father', 'Mother', 'Three' died simultaneously; that the king died of a fever in Rim-chen; that Kong-jo (his queen) remained for many years in Tibet after the death of the king and so on. All these diverse views however, single-pointedly centre around the life-story of the Divine king. In fact, truth reveals itself to man in varying forms in accordance with their differing levels of intellectual potential. On the other hand, devotees who hold the king and queen to signify the embodiment of Bodhisattvas believe, without any hesitation, that, exempting the Buddha himself, even the Arhats could accomplish not only the 'three' (accredited to Srong-btzan sgam-po) but also a hundred such deeds at one and the same time. Such devotees should forsake the habit of measuring the deeds of a Buddha on worldly lines. They should abandon the one for the other and assume what his belief dictates.

The above account pertains to the chronological history concerning the king. A rough estimate indicates that Srong-btzan was contemporary to several personages of note: to the Indian King Sri Harsha; the great Phyog-kyi gLang-po; to Nag-mo'i Khol; to dByug-pa-chen; the Emperor The-tsung of Thang-gur; the Emperor Yis-tir Gor-na of Ta-zig; and the Kashmiri teacher sBrang-rtzis blo-gros. This last patron was synonymous with Mohammad in the Kashmiri language and was corrupted to Madhumat in the Indian language. At the time of Srong-btzan's accession to the throne at the age of thirteen, his kingdom comprised
solely of dBus and gTzang. The fact that from this limited
overlordship he soon penetrated Zhang-zhung, Nepal and
the area north of India, stretching to Zong-cho of China at
so tender an age, should not be presumed impossible. If
Alexander, the Greek hero could have occupied Ta-zig,
Arabia and portions of India in not more than thirty-two
years, why not this king who, in human form, attired in his
coat of mail, was in reality the personification of rTa-mchog
Rol-pa. Thus it is a matter of great wonder to think of the
glory of this king in terms of his victories.
Khri-srong's sovereign powers, which were greater than
those of Srong-btzans', were achieved by the extension
of military force, already established during the time of his
predecessors. Within no time at all he controlled an area
demarcated by several tens of thousands 'lebar'. Even The-
tsung, the Emperor of Thang-gur, renowned for his
military capacity, could not counteract the strength of the Tibetan
army. There had been temporary friction between the two
due to the Emperor's rejection of Srong-btzan's suit for his
daughter's hand in marriage, but after an interjectionary
period of a minor assault on the Tibetan army, the Emperor
acceded Kong-jo's hand to Srong-btzan. It may be recalled
that from the time of The-tsung's rule, as many as three-
hundred Chinese castles were assimilated by the Tibetans.

sPyan-ras-gzigs, the Immortal Lord of Mercy:
With the fierce look of his eyes at a moment's irritation,
The powerful son of God on the throne,
Held by the five paws of the golden dragon,
Is made to shudder.
Mang-srong Mang-btzan and Khri-dus Srong-btzan

Mang-srong Mang-btzan succeeded Srong-btzan to the throne. As stated before, Mang-srong was the grandson of Srong-btzan, but being yet a minor, the administration of the country was sanctioned by Minister mGhar-stong-btzan until Mang-srong attained his fifteenth year. After five years of Mang-srong’s reign, the system of ‘Dun-ma (grand assembly) came into effect in the Wood Tiger year. It was at this assembly that annual administrative discussions were held by the king and his ministers. From the twenty-third year of Mang-srong’s reign, this assembly expanded into two branches: the dByar-'dun and the dGun-'dun.¹ There was also the mDo-smed kyi 'Dun-ma or the Assembly which convened in mDo-smed.

¹[‘Ka’ section continued]

1194 Nirvana era  

Iron Male Dog: King Myi Khri Srong-btzan’s shroud was hidden in the innermost recesses of the Phying castle. King dBon-khri mang-blon mang-btzan resided in Mer-ke for a year.

Iron Female Hog: The king sojourned in Nyen-kar for a duration
of one year and participated in
the mDangs rite for the deceased
Khri Srong-btsan.

Water Male Mouse: King Mang-
srong spent a year at Nyen-kar
Palace. Minister mGhar extended
the kingdom to include gLo-bo
and gTsang-rkya.

Water Female Ox: The king re-
mained at Nyen-kar. mGhar im-
posed the meat tax on the
nomads of Gyug. Chief Dagyal
Mang-po was delegated authori-
ty to organise cultivation of
Zhing or the Tibetan kingdom
and Chief Rasang established
trade between sTag-dpa and
Tibet. sBrug-gyim btzan-rmang
was appointed Trade Officer. He
seems to be the envoy deputed
to Zhang-zhung during Srong-
btsan's time.

Wood Male Tiger: The king
sojourned in Merke. An assem-
bly gathered at Mong-bu phu-
srol-'dzod at the initiative of
mGhar for the separation of
rGyod-gying or Fo-rgyod from
Fal-pa and for the planning of
further military expansion.

Wood Female Hare: mGhar spent
a year at his hometown of Gar-tir
for the written formulation of
royal decrees.

Fire Male Dragon: The king re-
mained at Mer-ke. The meat tax
was levied by mGhar at Mar and
gTzang.

Fire Female Snake: The king
sojourned at Mer-ke. mGhar pro-
1202 Earth Male Horse: The king sojourned at Mer-ke. mGhar remained at sNa-rig of sNying-dung and, as mentioned in section 'Nga', this was the year he visited China. sNying-drung appears to be the regional sector of mDo-smed. According to the A-mdo legend, mGhar remained for an extensive period close to a mountain known as bLon-po gser-chen, south of mTsho-sngon. On his return journey from China, he appears to have visited the A-zha country.

1203 Earth Female Sheep: The king remained in sPrings-kyi-shar. mGhar was in A-zha. Chief Da-rgyal Mang po waged a fierce battle with the Chinese Commander Pe'u-den-sang at mTsho-nag stong-ru. Da-rgyal was killed. The battle was of a years duration. The 80,000 Chinese army fought against great odds to eventually overcome the 1,000 manned Tibetan army.

1204 Iron Male Ape: The king remained at sKe-bye of Mal-dor for a year, while mGhar was at A-zha.

1205 Iron Female Bird: The king remained at Mer-ke, while mGhar was at A-zha.

1206 Water Male Dog: The king sojourned at rKong-gyung and supervised the people's affairs. mGhar administered Zhang-zhung from Du-gul. (This could
be another name for Gru-gu). It was during this year that mGhar waged war against Gru-gu.

Water Female Hog: The king sojourned at sNam-stong and mGhar proceeded to A-zha.

Wood Male Mouse: The king left for Byang-rol and mGhar remained at A-zha.

Wood Female Ox: The king sojourned at Sring-gi ldu-nag. mGhar remained at A-zha.

Fire Female Tiger: The king sojourned for another year at Sring-gi ldu-nag. mGhar returned from A-zha and was afflicted by Thong-myig (a type of skin disease).

Fire Female Hare: The king proceeded to 'Ormang. mGhar died at Ris-pu.

The above narration is in consensus with Deb-ther dmar-po and sNgon-po, both of whom are based on Chinese sources. They assert that "assisted by mGhar, the king ruled for fifteen years."

It is a short sketch of mGhar's activities during the fifteen years from the year of the Mouse to that of the Tiger. The death of mGhar towards the end of the year of the Tiger also seems to be consistent.

Earth Male Dragon: The king visited sGrags-kyi-shar and established a military base at Dri-ma khol.

Earth Male Snake: The king sojourned at Sring-gi ldu-nag. A-
zha pledged an oath of allegiance to the king.

Iron Male Horse: From 'O-dang, the king assaulted the Chinese at Ji-ma-khol and many Chinese lives were lost. 'O-dang is understood to be another name for Lhasa. Deb-ther sngon-po states that in the twenty-first year of Mang-srong's reign, the Horse year, the Tibetan armies attacked the country of Thang and conquered Thud of U-gur.

Iron Female Sheep: The king sojourned at 1Tam-gyi ra-snon during the summer and at Nyimang during the winter. He gave Princess Nya-mo tengs-yul (relative of the king) as bride to sPung-gya-gyug of the sNya-shu country.

Water Male Ape: After his summer visit to Shangs-kyi-sum-chumo, the king was afflicted by small-pox at his winter residence at Baling. In the interval of six years between the death of mGhar in the Hare year till the Ape year or 1216 Nirvana year, mGhar's nephew Zhang-blon pra-mo held the reins of government in conjunction with the tax-collector dPa-yum. Section 'Ga' has presented details of the initiation of mGhar-nya (mGhar's son) as Minister.

Water Female Bird: The king spent the early part of summer at Fo-dam-mdo. During late summer he left for Sum-chu-po. The
'Dun-ma or summer assembly was summoned by mGhar's two sons, mGhar btzan snya Idom-bu (elder) and kTri-'bring-btzan sro'd (younger) at Ne-tse lung of 'Dong-ka and they organised a large agricultural show. During the winter, the king proceeded to Palace Shangs-kyi-rab ka-tsal of Dung-dhung for the celebration of the Mun-mig rkang-ton rites. Pha-lo was subjugated.

Wood Male Dog: The king spent summer at Sring. When 1Chog-la rebelled the king left for Tshang-bang-sna in the winter. A convocation was held at gLag-gi bu-chung for the setting up of a military camp.

Wood Female Hog: Queen Khri-ma-bog, having proceeded to Zhe-shing, arranged a large festival. There is the possibility that this queen was Khri-btsun, the widow of Srong-btzan. She appears to be very powerful. A golden vessel was presented to her by 'Bonda rgyal-khri-zung. In the summer the king was in Nepal. The local government of Zhang-zhung was administered by Minister bTzan nya. 1Tang-yor was deputed to Gru-gu. During the winter, the king sojourned at sNa-bo of bTzan-'on.

Fire Male Mouse: The king spent summer at sPrags-kyi-shar. During the winter King Khri-mang-ston or Mang-srong mang-btzan passed away at Tshan-bang-sna.
Crown Prince Khri 'Dus-srong was born posthumously at Lhalung sGegs. Minister bTsan-snya overran Gru-gu and brought 1Dum-bu Khris-bshos under control.

Fire Male Ox: The king concealed the remains of his father at Ba-lam. rGye-shim-khu-bul and 1Chog-la ting-tsug-skor became hostile and Zhang-zhung revolted. King Khri-'dus sojourned at Nyen-kar.

Earth Male Tiger: The king concealed his father's remains and sojourned at Ba-lam. In early winter the Assembly was held at gLig-rgyu-byte. In late winter, the Assembly was held at mNyen. Rasang spung-rgye-rgyug and Khu-khri snya-dgru were issued strictures by the king, while at Nyen-kar, the king disclosed the death of his father.

Earth Female Hare: The king sojourned at Nyen-kar and performed the gDung-mchod or mdangs ritual at the Phying-ba Palace.

Interestingly, all royal chronicles tend to present a relative conformity to the events stated above. As a matter of fact, Mang-srong's death occurred in the Fire Mouse year, though Deb-sngon, quoting from Chinese chronicles, mentions that the death occurred in the Earth Female Hare year Form 'Ka', we know that the death of the king was concealed during the Ox and the Tiger years. This indicates that the death was kept a secret for three years and was only disclosed during the Earth Female year when the mDang rites were performed. Following this late disclosure, the Chinese records have accordingly based their data. Inheri-
tance rules sanctioned that a minimum of three years of age was a pre-requisite governing accession to the throne. Secrecy was therefore maintained for three years as Mang-srong's offspring 'Dus-srong was born in the very year that his father died. For additional chronological history, I leave it to the reader to develop a comparative study with the section 'Nga'. Chinese records pertaining to the dates of the accession (to the throne) of Tibetan kings and their deaths were generally based upon the time that such news was received in China from Tibet. A thorough study is therefore advisable. Deb-ther sngon-po's assertion that Mang-srong ascended the throne at the age of thirteen is concomitant with the Chinese chronicles. If the theory that Mang-srong being Srong-btzan's grandson is valid, then there is no reason to assume that he ascended the throne at thirteen years of age. It seems that when Minister mGhar visited China in 1202, the Earth Male Horse year, the news that the king had achieved his thirteenth year and had succeeded to the throne was proclaimed. This resulted in the subsequent Chinese misinterpretation which assumed that the king ascended the throne at the age of thirteen. 'Gos, the author of Deb ther sngon-po, did not correct these differences and he therefore concluded that "on attaining forty-two years of age, the Earth Female Hare year, the king died." In contradiction to these facts, I think that Mang-srong ascended the throne at the age of four and passed away in the Fire Mouse year at the premature age of twenty-seven. But this too would require further study by some unbiased scholars.

As section 'Ka' has not included information of Mang-srong mang-btzan, the following history evolves from 'Nga'. It appears that Srong-btzan was succeeded by a king whose name is unintelligible (in the script). In the third year of Zhen-ching, 1202, mGhar, as envoy, presented the Chinese emperor with an elaborate gold vessel and issued a request for another Kong-jo as bride to the (new) Tibetan king. Five years passed, and then the news arrived that the Chinese had occupied Gru-gu. In retaliation, mGhar invaded Gru-gu with the finest army, as a result of which the Gru-gu general Po-ho-ge fled to Tibet. Both Gru-gu
and Tibet sought the friendship of the emperor who, however, rejected both requests. Gru-gu ultimately fell to the Tibetans; the Gru-gu king fled to Lan-jo, taking with him his Queen Wam-pha and a handful of followers. This compelled the Emperor to despatch his military general, 'Dzen-zhen-the and Thu'u gu-tseng-yun to Lan-jo and 'Ranjor. Pu-din-khan was assigned the post of Chief Army General. This action (by the Emperor) was taken as a preventory measure to curb pursuit of the Gru-gu king by the Tibetan armies. The Tibetan Minister 'Dzin-'dzin went to (China) in order to lay the blame on Gru-gu but he was disallowed an audience with the Emperor. On his return, a Tibetan envoy was despatched again carrying an ultimatum that if any settlement between Tibet and Gru-gu was to be accorded, Che-shu'i, a province of China was to be acceded to Tibet. This was unacceptable to the Emperor. During the interval of these unsuccessful negotiations, the great Tibetan Minister, mGhar-stong-btzan died. Although not a man of letters, mGhar had a shrewd and sharp intelligence and was an experienced hand in the arts of war. It was due to his skilful manoeuvres that the Tibetan kingdom had greatly expanded its powers and jurisdiction. He had visited the Palace of Sa-rgya and the Emperor The-tsung conferred upon him the title of Army General of the West. To quote from Tsal-pa's Deb-dmar, "the title of Yang-yi'u thami tsun-kun was granted to mGhar." A great favourite of the Emperor, he also received as bride a niece of the Emperor.

mGhar had four sons: mGhar-btzan-syna sdom-bu, Lon-chin-lim or Khri-'bring-btzan-po, bLon-btzan or bLon-zi-mdo-ye and bLon-bal-lon. sNya-sdom-bu inherited his father's office. His three brothers were given the rank of army chiefs. In that very year, they conducted armies to twelve provinces of the 'Jang' on the outskirts of China. The Emperor, for the first time, considered a campaign against Tibet and his counsellors urged him to evacuate the Gru-gu people on the south of Lan-jo. A convention was held on the question of the invasion of Tibet between the Emperor and his ministers dZan-jo, Yan-mo-'ban and the Army Chief Chi-bi-heli. Yan-mo-'ban held that "at
present there being famine in the country, it is not advis-
able to engage in warfare." For Chi-bi-he-li, "the Tibetans
live in a distant land in the west and as soon as our army
arrive, they will flee to the mountains. If pursued in the
mountains, we cannot catch up with them. But in spring
they will return and will again plunder Gru-gu. It would be
sagacious to relieve ourselves temporarily of assistance to
the Gru-gu(s). On these lines, the Tibetans would assume
that we lack the strength to wage a war and with a sense
of superiority they will relax their vigilance, and if we
attacked them in such a relaxed situation, victory would be
assured." blon-dzon maintained, "If we do not assist
the Gru-gu(s) in their hour of plight, their country will be
destroyed. The conducting of armies immediately to pro-
tect Gru-gu will innure the safety of that country. Other
schemes can be handled later." A decision could not be
upheld since there was no unanimity of opinion. The
Gru-gu(s) therefore could not transfer their place of
residence.

In 1206 Tibetan armies annexed ten major Gru-gu
districts. Following this, in the first year of Zheng-fen or
1214, the Tibetan army returned and plundered eighteen
provinces of China. Tibet and Li-yul now entered into an
alliance to demolish the walls of Gu-chi and they vanquished
four Chinese provinces. The Emperor now sent 10,000
Chinese troops under the generalship of Ze-zhin-ke and
Go-zhi-phan to wage war against the Tibetans. On
arrival at rTa-mtshon, they made preparations to proceed
towards Dar-bu'u-he, but the army general Ze-zhin-ke
asserted that, "the country being at a distance, it is
cumbersome to travel with burdened horses. Therefore,
if we leave our pack-horses at rTa-phi-lin within wooden
enclosures, the infantry can move swiftly and invade Tibet
in a surprise attack and we will thus emerge victorious." However, army chief Go-zhi-phan-yang who was of equal
rank did not heed his words and marched his army together
with the pack animals. As a result the Chinese army was
totally annihilated, with the exception of a handful who fled
leaving the pack-horses behind. In the meantime, Ze-zhin
arrived at rTa-mtshon, but he too suffered a defeat at the
hands of the Tibetan army. The Tibetan Minister mGhar-btzan-snya and the Chinese General Ze-zhin-ke came to terms before the latter's departure for China. The Emperor once again sent troops to Tibet, but since his Army General Zan-cho died en route, the army was compelled to return to China. In this way, all Gru-gu was brought under Tibetan sway.

In 1216, the Tibetan Minister 'Dzin-'dzin was sent as emissary to China. During his youth, 'Dzin-'dzin had been educated in China. In a summons before the Emperor he was questioned about his king and the conditions prevalent in his country. 'Dzin-'dzin declared: "Our king, in terms of strength and culture is superior to his predecessors. He takes so keen an interest in the administration that no minister can deceive him. The subjects are a pastoral people as we have meagre harvest due to the cold climate. In the north of Bu-'u he-'tse, the snows do not melt during summer. In summer, the people clothe themselves in wool and in winter they adhere to slog-pa\(^1\) and descend into the inner recesses of the country inhabiting in sbra-nag\(^2\) and grass-huts shaped like canopies. The rest of the people are chiefly nomadic moving from place to place in search of pasture. Trade is small-scale, inferior to that of China. However, our rich and poor are united in purpose and lend assistance to each other. It is for this reason that our country increases in power."

The Emperor replied: "The royal families of Tibet and Gru-gu have affinal ties and you should have maintained friendship. Instead, when Gru-gu's army chief Zo-he-ke defected from his country and fled to Tibet, the Tibetan king conferred a rank upon him. Then, conducting Tibetan armies, he plundered Gru-gu. At that time when my army general Ze-zhin-ke was reconciling the dispute, the Tibetan army further plundered Mu-you. What was the purpose of plundering our territory Lan-jo?" The Tibetan minister rose from his seat and offered salutations: "I, who have been despatched by the king to offer a present to the Emperor, have no other business to fulfil." This statement pleased the Emperor. The Emperor's statement that Ze-zhin-ke had been despatched to settle a dispute was said by way of a
just as Ze-zhin-ke had come to Tibet to wage a war. In the third year of Zhang-yo’u or 1219, the Tibetan minister To-re 'phang-bu came to China for the amalgamation of a truce between China and Tibet, but the Emperor rejected the proposal. In the following year, the Tibetan armies plun­dere d Sha-zo, Ko-zo, He-zo and 'Ohang-zo, killing the chief­tains and plundering the people of their cattle. Two military despatches, each containing twelve divisions were de­ployed to Ta-jo under the generalship of the Chinese Gung-li­zhen. A subsidiary force of two divisions were sanctioned under General Li-lon. But prior to the departure of the two gen­erals, the Tibetan army looted The-jo and captured the two cities of Mi-gong and Tin-lang. The Chinese army was defeated and Phun­zo was conquered. The Emperor ordered his General Li­zhen-ke to proceed to To-he, but the latter did not wage war against the Tibetans. Together with the Gru-gu people, the Tibetans plundered An-shi city, north of Kan­zi. The Emperor now appointed his Secretary of State, Li­zing-zhon to relieve Li-zang-ke of his army generalship and sent him to To-he. But he being hostile to the army chief, disobeyed one of his orders. Thereupon, the army chief, with evil intention, deputed him as army chief and sent him to the west. Though Li­zing-zhon appealed to the Emperor against the posting, his appeal was not granted, and he was therefore compelled to lead a military operation against Tibet. Once the military prepara­tions were final, the Emperor himself escorted Li­zing for a short distance. Further, the Emperor issued imperial decrees to Gyang-nan and Khran-nan to depute armies for the above expedition. The allied armies arrived at Long ji and defeated the Tibetans in the battle that ensued. On the other hand, Li­zing-zhon with 150,000 soldiers encountered the Tibetan general mGhar-btzan-snya near mTsho-sngon­po. In the fierce battle that ensued Li­zhon-li, a comrade of Li­zing-zhon advanced too far in the battle arena and lost his life. Li­zing-zhon could not offer support to his friend, and taking his army, irrespective of rank and file, he retreated to Cin-phun-lang. However, the pursuing Tibetan army had arrived ahead of the enemy and pitched camp in a narrow valley so as to block the passage of the Chinese
army. The Chinese General Meci-chan, leading a gallant batch of 5,000 soldiers rushed upon the Tibetan camp at dead of night. The sudden onslaught created panic among the Tibetans who, tumbling one upon the other, fled and thus cleared the passage for the Chinese to retreat. Li-zing-zhon returned to Sha-jo with his remaining army. In view of such a colossal defeat, the Emperor became much disturbed. He summoned a meeting of his ministers to devise a way for curbing the menace of the Tibetan army. At the meeting he said: "I have never had the occasion to wear the coat of mail and go to war. Yet we have successfully subjugated the Ko-lees. That victory was followed by other wars and the internal feud in the country. Now that the Tibetan army have arrived, I am disturbed. Following the death of Li-tse, no distinctive enough general has came forward. This time, though our armies stationed in the He-te region could have resisted the enemy, the generals paid no heed to my orders and as a result, suffered a defeat. Now let me have your counsel. What shall be our recourse?" A section of the ministers suggested that "it would be wiser to conclude an agreement with the Tibetans." While others suggested that "it would be wiser to wait for a while and then launch an offensive later."

In the first year of the C'o-lun of 1223, the Tibetan king died and his son Khri-'dus-srong ascended the throne at the age of eight.

Rushing out from the beautiful snow lands,  
Like the inexhaustible winds of the winter,  
Was it not true that these unconquerable bands of the white lions,  
A constant menace to the Lord of men?  
The above related to the period of Mang-srong Mang-btzan's reign.  
Written by dGe-'dun Cho'-'phel of mDo-smed.
Translator's Notes

Introduction

1. This sBa-bzhad is believed to have existed in two versions: the sBa-bzhad gTsang-ma or Pure sBa-bzhad and the sBa-bzhad Zhabs-btags-ma or the sBa-bzhad with an Addenda. The latter was published at Dharamsala, India in 1968 by Mr. Phintso Tashi Takla, and is considered a biographical rarity. The French scholar, R. Stein, also published it in Paris in 1961. The original text of this work is presently in the collection of Mr. Densapa of Gangok, Sikkim.

2. Bu-ston's work has been made known to the academic world through Dr. E. Obermiller's translation of Bu-ston Chos-'byung or the "History of Buddhism" (Heidelberg, 1931-1932).

3. See references on page 23 of Deb-dmar, published by the Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim.

4. Ibid.

5. This work was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1949.


7. Ibid.,

8. Ibid., p. 48.

9. Ibid., p. 49.

10. Ibid.
Prologue
1. Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani and Manjugosa.
2. 'Dod-khams or realm of desire; gzugs-khams or the realm of form; gzugs-med khams or the realm of formlessness.
3. Gods of the illumined heaven or kings of the celestial region. This term may also be defined as clear light.
4. Religion, wealth, desire and salvation.
5. King Srong-btzan sgam-po (7th century); King Khri-srong lde'u-btzan (8th century) and King Khri ral-pa-chan (9th century).
6. Generally known as sPyan-ras-gzigs or the Bodhisattva of Infinite Mercy.
7. Temporal and religious.
8. See Note 2.
9. A tantric deity having a human face and with three horses' heads upon his own. He personifies the wrathful aspect of sPyan-ras-gzigs.

Chapter 1
1. sPyan-ras-gzigs or Avalokitesvara; Phyag-na rdo-rje or Vajrapani; and Manjugosa.
2. The Golden Wheel refers to authority. Method (male) refers to Bodhicitta, while wisdom (female) refers to the wisdom of voidness. This latter duality can also be compared to yin and yang.
3. Persia. For a fuller explanation see Sarat Chandra Das' Tibetan-Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
4. gLang darma, a 10th century Tibetan king.
5. Upper and lower regions of Tibet.
6. King Arjuna.
8. Name of a district in Tibet, west of the present A-mdo Province & south of Lake Kokonor.
10. A chronicle containing the history of the reigns of King Khri-srong lde'u-btzan and King Mu-ne btzan-po. See also my introduction to the translation of Deb-ther dkar-po.
11. A town at the foot and forefront of the Potala.
12. Pyogs-kyab or generalisation; rjes-kyab or inference; ldog-kyab or negativity. These three modes of astrological reasoning are known in Tibetan as Tshul-gsum.

Chapter 2

1. The first known Tibetan king to be historically recorded.
2. Name of the Shamanistic religion of Tibet which preceded Buddhism.
3. The three regions of mNga-ris (Ladakh).
4. The king, or literally, Lord Protector of the faith.
5. 'Brom or 'Brom-ston-pa rgyal-ba-'byung-gnas was the pupil and associate of Atisa Dipankara Srigyana, the famous Indian Buddhist Master who visited Tibet in the 11th century. 'Brom was a master of the Tantras and the Shastras. He revised the Abhisamayalankara-alok, a religious treatise by Hari Chandra as well as several other sutras.
6. A Tibetan title implying "Lord", "Chief". In this context it refers to Atisa Dipankara.
7. Works containing precepts and orders, as well as heroic legendary tales. There are many works under the title 'thank-yik'. The author has not identified the particular work from which he has extracted this quotation.
8. The title of the first section of the large collection of Buddhist works rendered into Tibetan and popularly known as the bKa'-‘gyur.
9. a,b: All three refer to monastic officials.

Chapter 3

1. "Legends of Kings" which belong to the gTer-ma (buried treasure) class of literature, the discovery of which is attributed to U-rgyan-gling-pa who worked in the second half of the 14th century.
2. This is a name of a gTer-ma work.
3. The full title of this work is Lha-lden-sprul-ba‘i-gtzug-lag-khang-gi dkar-chag-she‘i-dkar-me-long, an account of the main temple at Lhasa and composed by the Fifth
Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho in 1644. The prose portion of the work was translated by L.A. Waddell and published under the title "Description of a Lhasa Cathedral" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1895).

Chapter 4

1. The name of a sutra in the *bKa'-gyur* said to have been delivered by Lord Buddha on a visit to Li-yul.

2. A noted translator.

3. A great scholar of the Sa-skya school of Tibetan Buddhism, and a teacher to Tzong-kha-pa, the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa school.

4. Probably the author of *bsTan-rim-chen-mo* or the *Successive Stages on the path to Buddha's Teachings*.

5. Another great scholar who worked in the 14th century. He is said to have examined the colophons and verified the number of verses in the chapters of the *bKa'-gyur*.

6. Also known as rGyal-ba-klong-chen rab-byams. He was the author of *Rin-po-che'i-mdzod-chen-bdun* or the *Seven Treasures of kLong-chen* and was a great master of the rNying-ma-pa school which flourished during the 14th century. According to Dr. Roerich, he was the Abbot of Gans-ri thod-dkar near bSam-yas. See Roerich's *Blue Annals*, Vol. I, page 309, footnote 1.

7. This prophecy of the Li Khotan country which appeared in the Li-yul lung-bstan is one of the sources of original Tibetan works on the history of that country. This work has also been included in the *bsTan-'gyur* collections. For further details see A.I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, page 22.

8. Sumba was once a petty kingdom within Tibetan jurisdiction. Today, we find a racial admixture of the Sumba stock with the people from A-mdo proper.

9. Tirhut. See Oxford History of India. Also B.C. Law's *Ancient Geography*.

10. The Lam-yig under reference is the rGya-gar Lam-yig, a guide to India written by Chag-lo chos-rje, also known
as Chag-lo-tsa-ba. The text of this guide-book has been translated by G. Roerich and published under the title "The life of Chag-lo-tsa-ba" (Patna, K. Jaiswal Institute, 1960).

11. Author of sNgags-gsang-rje-chen-po pad-ma-dkar-po, the name of a Sutra in the bKa'-gyur, Vol. Chha.

12. A hymn of praise appearing under the bsTod-tshogs section of the bsTan-’gyur.

3. Tarkajvala (Skt), a work which reviews the several philosophical sects in India. This work has been included in the bsTan-’gyur.


5. Kun-mkhyan Bu-ston Rin-po-che (b. 1290 A.D.), the noted historian was the author of bsTan-pa'i-gsal-byed-chos Tyi 'byung-gnas or the History of Buddhism. This work has been translated into English by Dr. E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, 1931-32).

6. The first seven Buddhist hierarchies in succession to Gautama Buddha.

7. Also known as Sakyasri Bhadra, a celebrated Kashmiri Buddhist teacher who visited Tibet during the 11th century.

8. The 403 years since the ascendancy of King rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal to the throne of Shambala, a legendary country until the Fire Stag year (1026 A.D.) is known as Me-mkha-rgya-mtsho or the period of the Fire Sky...
Ocean. Me stands for the unit 3, mkha for the tenth unit 0 and rGya-mtsho for the hundredth 4. The Rab-'byung or the Tibetan system of reckoning dates has been adopted from the Fire Hare year (1027). See bLo-bzang bstan-'dzin's book, rGyun-mkho'i-chos-srid-she-bya-gnas-tshul, a work dealing with the religious and political systems of Tibet and published in Varanasi (1972).

Chapter 6

1. Part of Mongolia, north of A-mdo.
2. This probably refers to the Tshal or mTshal-pa epoch after the name of the famous monastery of Tshal gung-thang which came to prominence at the end of the 13th century and early 14th century.
3. Author of rGya'i-yig-tshang, a translation of certain excerpts from the Chinese historical work T'ang-shu.
4. Tsal-pa kun-dga' rdo-rje, the author of Deb-dmar was born in the district of Tsal.
5. Name of a work enumerated in the bsTan-'gyur sNa-tshogs section.

Chapter 8

1. A goblin with a narrow gullet and bulging belly, in constant hunger and thirst. A being belonging to one of the lower states of transmigratory existence.
2. Myang is Myang-shang-snang, the son of Tsing-sku and in the original text, bKyon-phab-pa is the same as Khrims-phog-pa (censured).
3. Here 'Father King' refers to gNam-ri srong-btzan and mChyis-brang refers to 'home'. The latter is also wife in coded language.
4. A golden letter or the royal order conferring the post of envoy.
5. Gorma is a stone held in the hand during oath-taking ceremonies, a custom still prevalent among the Khams-pa(s) and the Sikkimese.
6. Nam-Nam Sha Sha implies Nam-yang or never. In the *Shes-rabs-brgya-pa*, the words Nam-Nam Sha-Shar-'phung—"Will never be vanquished"—occur. They are also to be met with in the colloquial language of Bhutan.

7. A reconstructed version of the inscription on the stone pillar with translations has been given by H.E. Richardson in *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, 1952).

Chapter 9

1. Today it is known as rGya-ma-khri sgang.
2. This is a death rite; an ancient ritual performed on the death of an individual.
3. A-zha, formerly part of Mongolia now pertains to Russian territory. In former days, it was under the jurisdiction of the Tibetan kings.
4. 'Black-headed' refers to the Tibetans. See Richardson's *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, p. 16.

Chapter 10

1. Ornamental.
2. Rounded.
3. The symbol coming at the beginning of the opening sentence of a chapter or sub-chapters.
4. rJe Tzong-kha-pa (b. 1354 A.D.) the great reformer who founded the dGe-lugs-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism.

Chapter 11

1. This was the regnal year of the Chinese Emperor The-tsung. See Richardson's *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, p. 64.
2. The second great collection of Buddhist works containing Buddha's doctrinal teachings and commentaries to the *bKa’-gyur*.
3. A title.
4. The King, Queen and Minister.
5. Dignag (skt)
7. Yastidar.
8. Madhumati.

Chapter 12
1. Sheep's skin.
2. Yak hair's tent.
Gedun Choephel, one of the most progressive Tibetan scholars of this century, was born in Rekong, Amdo province in 1905. As a youth he studied at Tashi Khyil monastery in Amdo and later at the monastic university of Drepung near Lhasa. An exceptionally gifted and often controversial figure, he was at once a scholar, historian, literary innovator, translator, artist, poet, musician and traveller. He visited both India and Ceylon and developed highly nationalistic aspirations for Tibet. He passed away in Lhasa in 1951.

His unfinished “White Annals” is unique in Tibetan historical writing in that it presents a highly critical and intelligent appraisal of the very early period of Tibetan history, dealing simultaneously with historical and cultural developments. This English translation provides a valuable perspective on the earliest proofs of Tibet’s independent status, especially in light of more recent claims to its sovereignty.