

The Establishment and Significance of the *Zhang Lon* System of Rule by Maternal Relatives during the T'u-fan 吐蕃 Dynasty

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I. The Meaning of “*zhang gsum blon bzhi*”

Among works on the ancient history of Tibet written by Tibetans, the fourth chapter of the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* by the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa scholar dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba (1504–1566) is particularly well-known, and it is highly valued by researchers on account of the fact that it cites a variety of historical sources. In addition to the “six laws” (*khriims yig drug*) laid down by King Srong-btsan-sgam-po (581–649), the founder of the kingdom of T'u-fan 吐蕃, this work also makes mention of “six institutions” (*khos drug*) in connection with the establishment of the system of military households (*rgod*) and civilian households (*g-yung*), and one of these institutions is described as follows:

The three *zhang*, together with the minister, preside over the central assembly. (*zhang gsum blon bcas dbus kyi 'dun sa 'dzin* / [KGJ, f. 18b, l. 5])

In a more detailed account in another section of the same work, an exposition of the civilian households is followed by a list of items supplied by four neighbouring countries, in turn followed by this statement:

The 'Bro clan above, the mChims clan below the sNa-nams clan in the middle, and the minister sBas are called the “three *zhang*, four with the minister,” and it expresses the duties of the honourable *zhang* and the chief minister. (*stod na 'bro smad na mchims bar na sna nams blon po sbas rnams la zhang gsum blon dang bzhi zhes sku zhang dang blon chen gyi bya ba byed to* / [KGJ, f. 20b, l. 4])

In the above passages, ‘minister’ translates ‘*blon* [po]’, which is transcribed in Chinese historical sources as *lun* 論, while *zhang*, the meaning of which is explained below, is likewise transcribed as *shang* 尚. ‘*Byed to*’ in the second passage, being in the present tense, combines with ‘*zhes*’ to express the meaning ‘says’,

‘expresses’, etc.

‘Zhang’ means ‘maternal grandfather’ and is translated in Chinese as *chiu* 舅 (‘maternal uncle’, ‘father-in-law’, ‘maternal grandfather’). ‘Grandchild’, on the other hand, is expressed by ‘*dbon*’, which is rendered in Chinese as *shêng* 甥 (‘nephew / niece’, ‘son / daughter-in-law’, ‘grandchild’), and its honorific equivalent is ‘*tsha*’. In later times the suffix ‘*po*’ was added to *zhang* to give ‘*zhang po*’, signifying ‘maternal uncle’, and to *dbon* to give ‘*dbon po*’, also referred to as ‘*tsha bo*’ and denoting the nephew of any uncle. Further details on this will be found in my *Toban ôkoku seiritsushi kenkyû*.¹⁾

Moot points relating to the passages quoted above have already been discussed by G. Uray in his study entitled “The Narrative of Legislation and Organisation of the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*.”²⁾ Since he also summarizes earlier views on the issues involved, I shall take the liberty of quoting him here at some length (*ibid.*, pp. 19–20, n. 3).

... I do not define the contents of <<the six institutions of Tibet>> and the beginning of their catalogue respectively, in the same way as Tucci and R. A. Stein. According to Tucci <<B o d k' o s, institutions, administration: three ž a ñ along with the b l o n took hold of the assembly, (a d u n s a) of dBus; three d p a' s d e protected the boundaries>> (PRN, p. 90), ... Stein's view is essentially the same as Tucci's: <<les trois žañ avec leur(s) ministre(s) tiennent réunion au centre; les trois 'divisions guerrières' protègent les frontières; c'est ce qu'on appelle [*sic*] les six khos (. . .) du Tibet>> (TAMST, p. 14, n. 36; spacing by me—U.G.);—<<on distingue six 'fonctions' (khos) divisées en deux parties selon une opposition entre centre culturel et frontières. Trois ministres s'occupaient de l'assemblée au centre . . . De l'autre côté [*sic*], trois 'groupes de guerriers' montaient la garde aux frontières>> (CT, p. 85). So Stein endeavours to surmount the numerical difficulties by regarding the *blon* as subordinate to and dependent on the three *žañ*, consequently they do not belong to the six institutions. But this calculation is contradicted [*sic*] by the detailed catalogue on the three *žañ* and *blon* that is to be found in the catalogue-cycle of the six institutions. According to this the *blon* <<councillor>> is not subordinate to, but coordinate with the three *žañ* <<uncles>>: *stod-na 'Pro* . . . [as quoted above — Yamaguchi] <<Above 'Bro, below *Mčhims*, in the middle *Sna-nam* and the councillor *Sbas* (are) the three uncles, four with the councillor. So (it is said). (Gloss:) They discharge the duties of the *sku-žañ* ('His Majesty's maternal uncle') and the great councillor (cf. PRN: 87. 2–5; *sku-žañ* occurring [*sic*] in the text is a rank in the *Sa-skyapa* period, so the gloss must be dated after the middle of the 13th century, cf. Uray, Review of D. S. Ruegg's *The life of Bu ston Rin po che*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX (1967), p. 384) . . .

Besides, a mention should be made here of the expression *žañ-gsum-blon-*

bži occurring twice in the *Blon-po-bka'i than-yig* (BK. DG. *ča*: 7a, 2; ... *ča*: 39a. 3), which has already been connected with the catalogue of the six institutions by R. A. Stein (*TAMST*, p. 14, n. 36). The expression is generally interpreted as <<the three *žan* and the four *blon*>> (Hoffmann, *QGTB*: 248.17; R. A. Stein, *TAMST*: 11. 25–26 and *CT*: 104. 7–8), but even the idea has come up <<qu'on doive retrouver le nombre douze en multipliant les trois 'oncles maternels' par les quatre 'ministres'>> (*TAMST*: 14. 4–6 and n. 36). But only E. Haarh's translation <<the three *Žan*, four with the *Blon*>> (*YD*: 235. 7, cf. also: 280.12) can be accepted, as the *žan-gsum-blon-bži* is obviously a shortened, compound variant of the fuller phrase *žan-gsum blon-dan bži* preserved in the catalogue of the uncles and the councillor.³⁾

Among the questions considered in the above quotation is the meaning of '*khos* (/ *khod*)' in connection with the number 'six' in '*khos* (/ *khod*) *drug*'. 'Six', as distinguished from the 'six laws' (*khriṃs yig drug*) mentioned in the original Tibetan, here refers to the 'five large wings' (*ru chen lnga*), 'eighteen territories' (*dbang ris rnam pa bco bryad*), '61 units of military households each supplying a 1.000-man battalion' (*rgod kyi stong sde 61*), 'civilian households, slaves and servants' (*g-yung gi mi sde kheng dang yang kheng*), 'three military divisions for defending the frontiers' (*dpa' sde gsum gyi mtha'i so kha srung*), and the *zhang gsum blon bcas dbus kyi 'dun sa 'dzin* presently under consideration (*KGJ*, f. 18b, ll. 4–5). Tucci and Stein have, therefore, clearly erred in the way in which they count these six-*khos* (/ *khod*). '*Khos* (/ *khod*)' is considered to mean 'institution', and if *khod* should be the correct form and *khos* a misspelling, then this interpretation does carry some weight.

But in the T'u-fan *Annals* among the Tun-huang documents, a reference to the *mkho sham chen pho*⁴⁾ inaugurated in 654 after Srong-btsan-sgam-po's death is preceded by the phrase "dividing the military and civilian households" (*rgod g-yung dbye shing*) (*DTH*, p. 13), thus clearly indicating that this refers to the same institution. '*mkho sham chen pho*' here signifies an extensive system for supplying human and material necessities (*mkho rgyu gshom pa*), and if in the light of this one then reconsiders *khos* (/ *khod*), regarding *khod* as the wrong form, it will then be recalled that '*khos pa*' is an old term corresponding to '*dun pa*' ('desire', 'demand'). This merits consideration since it may be linked to *mkho* in '*mkho shams*'.⁵⁾

In the passage quoted above not only does Uray, overlooking the fact that there was a distinction in Old Tibetan between *zhang* ('maternal grandfather') and *zhang po* ('one related to the maternal grandfather', 'maternal grandfather's proxy'), fail to distinguish between *zhang* and *zhang po*, but instead of considering the possibility that *sku zhang* may simply be the honorific form of *zhang* (cf. *bla* / *sku bla*), he also alludes to the fact that a member of the Zha-lu clan was called *sku zhang* upon becoming related by marriage to the Sa-skyapas and appears to suggest that the term *sku zhang* could not have been used prior to the thirteenth century. But just because he has managed to discover this term in a source dating

from the thirteenth century, this does not necessarily mean that there were no earlier instances of its usage. He has, in other words, committed the simple error of an undistributed major premise. In addition, he maintains that this section alone of the interlineal gloss must be of a later date than the rest of the gloss. This is, however, a totally arbitrary assertion without any foundation, and at least in the lHo-brag edition "*stod . . .*" *infra* constitutes a single gloss without any recognizable divisions.

At this point let us now move on to the main subject of this paper and consider whether *zhang gsum blon bzhi* (or *zhang gsum blon dang bzhi*) does in fact mean "the three *zhang*, four with the *blon*," as it was translated by E. Haarh and endorsed by Uray. I wish it to be understood at any rate that it is to this institution that the term "*zhang lon* system" as used in this paper refers.

II. The Date of the Establishment of "*zhang gsum blon bzhi*"

If "*zhang gsum blon bzhi*" does in fact denote "the three *zhang*, four with the *blon*," this means that at any one time there would always have been three *zhang* who, together with a single *blon chen* or chief minister, formed a foursome that presided over the central assembly (*'dun sa*). But there was invariably only one king, and among his close relatives there would also have been only one maternal grandfather (or his proxy). In addition, there would have been differences in the relative degrees of affinity between the king and each of the three *zhang*, and so it is inconceivable that three maternal relatives should have wielded equal power and applied themselves to government together with a single chief minister. At least, without considerable supporting evidence, it is difficult to imagine that such an arrangement could have been feasible. Furthermore, if such an arrangement had existed, it would have been at variance with the institution of 'nine great *zhang lon*' (*zhang lon ched po dgu*), which is considered to have existed as an administrative structure. Provided that this system corresponds to what is referred to in the *Annals* (*DTH*, p. 118, l. 18) as '*blon po'i rim pa*', it definitely did exist at the time, and so it becomes difficult to accept the contemporaneous existence of an institution that would not have been compatible with it.

I shall leave the question of the correct meaning of *zhang gsum blon bzhi* until later, and here I wish to begin by considering the question of when it would have been historically possible for this institution to have come into existence.

The names of the three *zhang* are given as the 'Bro, mChims and sNa-nams clans. Assuming that the passage in question represents a reliable gloss on the original text, it must be determined whether or not it would have been possible for these three clans to have provided the mother of one of the kings by the time of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's reign. This is easy enough to establish, for not only can one ascertain the maternal family names of the historical kings⁶⁾ in the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs* found among the Tun-huang documents, but the names of four families of maternal relatives prior to the establishment of the Yar-lung dynasty appear at

the beginning of the *Annals*.⁷⁾ These include the names of the 'Bro and mChims clans but not that of the sNa-nams clan, and this latter clan was not in a position to call itself *zhang* until Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (742–797) acceded to the throne.

As for *blon*, this means 'minister', as has already been noted. 'sBa' (spelt 'dBa's' in the Tun-huang documents) refers to the rBa clan, and in the *Blon rabs* and *Annals* among the Tun-huang documents members of this clan are mentioned as chief ministers no earlier than after the death of mGar sTong-btsan-yul-zung in 667; the first definite record is for 705 after the fall of the mGar clan and following the death of King Khri-'dus-srong (676–703) (*DTH*, p. 19, col. 56).

In either case, *zhang gsum blon bzhi* cannot be considered to reflect the situation during the reign of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. Moving further on in time to Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's son Mu-ne-btsan-po (775–797), we find that this king's mother came from the Tshes-pong clan (*DTH*, p. 82, ll. 31–32), and since this name is not included among those of the three *zhang*, *zhang gsum blon bzhi* cannot apply to the situation at this time either. Consequently, for all the conditions to be fulfilled, the passage in question must be regarded as a gloss reflecting the state of affairs during King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's reign after the appointment of dBa's sNang-bzher-zu-brtsan (*DTH*, p. 102, l. 14) in 757.

III. The Position of the Zhang-Drung According to the Tun-huang Documents

The Tun-huang document PT 1071 preserves *in toto* the Tibetan law providing for redress in cases of accidental injury or homicide; details will be found in my "Sontsen Gamupo ō no 'jūroku-jō hō' no kyokōsei to Toban no keihō" 「ソンツェン・ガムボ王の〈十六条法〉の虚構性と吐蕃の刑法」 (The fictitiousness of King Srong-btsan-sgam-po's "sixteen-article law" and criminal law in T'u-fan).⁸⁾ This document would suggest that the law in question was also applied in Tun-huang after its occupation by T'u-fan in 786. The law itself seems to have been formulated by mGos Khri-bzang-yab-lag (*DTH*, p. 102, ll. 14–15), dBa's sNang-bzher-zu-brtsan's successor as chief minister, and this fact too was noted in my above study.

The law in question divides potential victims into nine groups according to rank, and the highest-ranking ministers are set down as follows in article 1:

The four great *zhang blon* consisting of a chief minister, an inner minister, a single *zhang drung* of the *btsan po* who governs at will, and a deputy chief minister, and those including their grandfathers and fathers (*blon chen po dang / nang blon chen po dang / btsan po'i zhang drung chab srid la dbang ba gcig dang / blon chen po'i 'og pon / dang zhang blon chen po 'di bzhi / khong ta ngo bo dang / khong ta'i myes po dang pha dang 'di rnams /*)

According to this passage, which specifies the positions of the four

highest-ranking figures, there was only one *zhang*, described as the “*zhang drung* (‘honourable *zhang*’) of the *btsan po*,” and he is further defined as one “who governs at will.”⁹⁾ He is third in rank, with the chief minister and inner minister above him and the deputy chief minister below him. The *zhang drung* at the time was from the sNa-nams clan, but his predecessor had been from the mChims clan, while his predecessor in turn had come from the ’Bro clan. A member of the mChims clan became chief minister after the mGos family, and following a short term in office by a member of the Ngan-lam clan, a member of the sNa-nams clan, who was also the *btsan po*’s *zhang*, succeeded to the position of chief minister (*DTH*, p. 102, ll. 15–17). In this case it is not clear whether there was a *zhang drung* in addition to the chief minister or whether the same person held both positions concurrently.

The above circumstances would imply that a foursome made up of a single *zhang drung*, coming from one of the three families of maternal relatives, and three *blon*, consisting of the chief minister, inner minister and deputy chief minister, constituted a group regarded as representing the highest-ranking officials in government, and in view of this fact the expression “*zhang gsum blon bzhi*” or “*zhang gsum blon dang bzhi*” can only mean that one of the four officials filling positions equivalent to that of *blon* was the *zhang drung*, coming from one of the three families of maternal relatives and “governing at will” at the time in question.

If we now examine the ranking of the ‘nine great *zhang lon*’ given in the *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* (*KCJ*, f. 21b, l. 5), we find that the first three are given as follows:

1. *dgung blon chen po* (chief minister): greater writ in turquoise.
2. *dgung blon ’bring po* (deputy chief minister): lesser writ in turquoise.
3. *nang blon chen po* (inner minister): *id.*

Although the order of the second and third positions has been reversed, they both belong to the same rank in the twelve-grade system of court ranks,¹⁰⁾ and hence this does not contradict the content of PT 1071. Article 2 of PT 1071 defines the rank of the next group of victims as those who do not hold the above official positions but do have the rank of the ‘writ in turquoise’, and also their paternal ascendants. It is thus evident that the above four officials were grouped together not only in their capacity as holders of the highest official ranks, but also as incumbents of the highest government positions.

If a *zhang drung* from one of the three families of maternal relatives holding the above ranks is added to the ‘nine great *zhang lon*’, this ought to give a total of ten people. When the main chapel (*dbu rtse*) of bSam-yas monastery was completed in 779, the king summoned together his subjects and issued a signed edict vowing allegiance to Buddhism. The list of names in this edict gives, just as expected, the names of nine ‘great *zhang blon* privy to the [king’s] commands’ (*zhang blon chen po bka’ la gtogs pa*), headed by *blon chen po zhang rGyal-gzigs-shu-ther*, *blon*

sTag-sgra-klu-gong and *zhang* rGyal-tshan-lha-snang, with the name of the inner minister coming tenth in the list (*KGJ*, f. 109b, ll. 4–6). This means that the position of *zhang drung* already existed at this time.

Since the names of the first three people in this list also appear in the same order in the *Blon rabs* from Tun-huang as mChims *zhang* rGyal-zigs-shu-teng, Ngan-lam sTag-sgra-klu-gong and sNa-nam *zhang* rGyal-tshan-lha-snang (*DTH*, p. 102, ll. 15–17), they may be considered to be reliable. The third name in the list corresponds to the *zhang drung* of the then king, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, namely, a member of the sNa-nams clan. In this listing the inner minister comes tenth instead of second, but the names may not necessarily be listed in order of rank.

A similar state of affairs may be observed in the list of names on the north face of the stele recording the Sino-Tibetan treaty concluded in 822. The 'Bro clan, second in the list, was related either directly or collaterally to the family line of the *zhang* of the then *btsan po*. In this case too the inner minister comes tenth in the list. But since the first name in the list is that of a monk which has been especially added to the list, thus differing from the circumstances of the signed edict of bSam-yas, it is in fact equivalent to the inner minister coming ninth in the list.¹¹⁾ A member of the 'Bro clan may have served simultaneously as both chief minister and *zhang drung*.

It is not, however, possible to determine on the basis of the above examples when the position of *zhang drung* was institutionalized. Apart from in the *Annals* alluding to Princess Wên-ch'êng 文成,¹²⁾ the names of politically important figures do not appear prefixed with the epithet *zhang* in the *Annals* from Tun-huang dealing with the reign of Srong-btsan-sgam-po.

Towards the end of 698, when the mGar clan was liquidated, a member of the Khu clan was appointed chief minister but soon lost his position, and until the appointment of a member of the dBa's clan in 705 there was no chief minister; government was perhaps directly administered by the king. During this period, from the year 700 onwards, the name of Khri-ma-lod, King Khri-'dus-srong's mother and the empress dowager, appears annually in the *Annals* alongside the name of the king, thus suggesting that she was a person of considerable political influence. In 701 the name of *zhang* bTsan-to-lhas-byin is recorded for the first time as president of the assembly ('*dun ma* / '*dun sa*) (*DTH*, pp. 18–19, col. 49–56). If one leaves out of consideration the family lines antedating Srong-btsan-sgam-po, the only clan qualified to assume the title of *zhang* at this time was the 'Bro clan. Corroboration for this conjecture is to be found in the fact that the *zhang* of the previous king was, albeit in name only, the T'ang 唐 imperial family from which Princess Wên-ch'êng came.

After the death of Khri-ma-lod in 712, the *zhang* bTsan-to-re remained until his death in 721 at the centre of power together with the chief minister from the dBa's clan, who died in the same year, and he held the second- or third-highest position in the government. During this period, following the death of King Khri-'dus-srong in 703, this *zhang* of the deceased king betook himself to the

T'ang in accordance with the plans of Khri-ma-lod, now grand empress dowager, and in 710 undertook to bring back Princess Chin-ch'êng 金城 as queen consort for Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–754), who was still only seven years of age at the time (*DTH*, pp. 19–22, col. 55–72).

The *zhang* during the reign of this king already came from the mChims clan. The name of the *zhang* Khri-bzang-stag-tsab, who died in the same year as bTsan-to-re, appears as president of the assembly after the birth of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan. Because there were never two *zhang drung* at any one time, he probably came from the mChims clan. But since the queen dowager, also from the mChims clan, died in the same year as the 'Bro *zhang* bTsan-to-re, the mChims clan may not have been favoured with any political position (*DTH*, pp. 19–22, col. 55, 72).

In point of fact, seven years later, in 728, Chung-bzang-'or-mang of the 'Bro clan overrode opposition from the dBa's clan to become chief minister and wielded power for at least twenty years. The 'Bal and Lang (/ rLang) clans of the Sum-pa tribe are mentioned as his collaborators, and the movements of the mChims clan during this time are not clear. Clear references to members of the mChims clan in connection with the assembly appear in the *Annals* only after King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's accession to the throne (*DTH*, pp. 24–27, col. 79–97; pp. 55–56).

The 'Bro clan provided Khri-srong-lde-brtsan with a consort, and a son was born in 760 (*DTH*, p. 58, col. 39), but this prince appears to have died at an early age some time after work began on bSam-yas monastery, and the queen took Buddhist vows and became a nun in 791.¹³⁾ The 'Bro clan cannot, therefore, be said to have been close to the centre of power during this king's reign. But once the sNa-nams clan, one of the *zhang* clans, withdrew from its position of power at about the same time as King Khri-lde-srong-brtsan's abdication, the Tshes-pong clan, which now assumed the position of *zhang* and had been committing repeated errors since coming into conflict with the sNa-nams clan, the previous king's *zhang*,¹⁴⁾ thereby losing all chance of making its mark, availed itself of this opportunity to provide the next chief minister and also presented the next king, Khri-lde-srong-btsan (776/7–815), with a consort. As a result it was also able to become the *zhang* of King Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan (806–841).

At the start of this king's reign, there was a short period of rule by the dBa's clan, but shortly afterwards the 'Bro clan won the position of chief minister. It is to be surmised that the 'Bro clan's rule continued until King Dar-ma 'U'i-dum-brtan (809–842) ascended the throne in 841, when it lost its power to the dBa's clan, but details remain unclear.¹⁵⁾

Be that as it may, although the 'Bro clan did not come to the fore during the reign of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, apart from this period of relative uninfluentiality it not only held the position of chief minister for a long period of time spanning three reigns, but prior to that it had also been holding sway as *zhang* for many years. Furthermore, as will be seen below, it had been a *zhang* clan ever since

the time of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's great-grandfather, King 'Bro-mnyen-lde-ru. Therefore, leaving aside the question of when the T'u-fan kingdom's system of rule by maternal relatives was established as an institution, the *de facto* system of rule whereby the *zhang* wielded actual power must be considered to have existed from the time immediately after the fall of the mGar clan.

IV. The Evolution of the System of Rule by Maternal Relatives and Its Significance

After the fall of the mGar clan, the 'Bro clan of maternal relatives became a major force in the Tibetan government as a result of the great political influence of the queen dowager, Khri-ma-lod. When the 'Bro clan was out of power during the reign of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, the mChims and sNa-nams clans administered the affairs of government in its stead either as *zhang* or as chief minister. But although the protagonists had changed, theirs may be said to have been an identical system of rule following the precedent of the 'Bro clan.

But during this time the dBa's clan, weaving its way as it were through any available openings, eventually attained the position of chief minister and came to exercise power, albeit with somewhat different motives. In former times when King Khri-slön-mtshan, Srong-btsan-sgam-po's father, had been no more than a local prince of the Yar-lung region, the dBa's clan, in its capacity as a powerful clan from Central Tibet, had lent its support to him in a more distinct form than had the mGar clan, and it had played an important role in Khri-slön-mtshan's eventual domination of all Tibet. Furthermore, when all the powerful clans were incorporated by the kingdom of T'u-fan within the system of twelve official ranks, the dBa's clan cooperated with Srong-btsan-sgam-po and was regarded by the king too as having been, practically speaking, his foremost collaborator in the foundation of the kingdom. But it had hitherto not been favoured with the position of chief minister, having been invariably forestalled by the mGar clan.

At these nodes in the chain of succession to political power, there were also active the Khu clan, descending from a collateral line of the royal house of Yar-lung, the rNgegs clan (I-tsêng 宜縉), which as one of the "six paternal vassals" (*yab 'bangs drug*) had its base in Kham and, calling itself Fu-kuo 附國, had sent envoys to the Sui 隋, 'Bon-da-rgyal belonging to the royal line of T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾, which had been annexed by T'u-fan during the time of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, and the Sum-pa tribes.¹⁶⁾ Although there were some slight differences in regard to policy between them and the dBa's clan, they differed more markedly from the three *zhang* clans, especially the 'Bro clan, which sided with the royal family and adopted a policy of appeasement with the T'ang, and insofar that they utilized the structure of the military state in order to extend T'u-fan's rule in Central Asia, they would seem to have been the successors to the actively military line of policy going back to the mGar clan.

As we have already seen, the *zhang* did not have any important connections

with politics during the reign of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. It was only the powerful Myang and mGar clans from the eastern part of Central Tibet and the powerful Khyung-po clan from the western part of Central Tibet who had helped his father establish himself as ruler (*DTH*, p. 101, ll. 5–35) that filled the post of chief minister. If we seek the reason for this state of affairs in the *Annals*, we find the following passage:

During the reign of the *Btsan po* Srong-brtsan-sgam-po, the paternal vassals rebelled and the maternal vassals revolted. Zhang-zhung, which was related by marriage, the *mdzo* (half-blooded) Sum-pa, and Dags-po, rKong-po and Myang-po of the same family¹⁷⁾ also all revolted. [This was] because his father gNam-ri-slon-mtshan had been given poison and killed, [and] because the youthfulness of his son Srong-brtsan had an adverse effect and he at first eliminated those who were loathsome and those who were vulnerable. But afterwards he restored to vassalage all those who had revolted. (*btsan po srong brtsan sgam po'i ring la // yab 'bangs ni 'khus / yum 'bangs ni log // gnyen zhang zhung / mdzo sum pa / nyag nyi dags po / rkong po / myang po kun kyang log // yab gnam ri slon mtshan dug bon te bkrongs so // sras srong brtsan sku gzhon ma phan te // gzod ma dku' ba dang / dug pa rnams rabs bchad do // de'i rjes la / de'i mi log kun 'bangs su slar bkug go' //* [*DTH*, p. 111, ll. 1–6])

According to this account, Srong-btsan-sgam-po had run amok in retaliation for his father's poisoning, thereby causing people to alienate themselves from him, but later he succeeded in winning them all back.

In interpreting this passage, it is important grammatically to understand the function of the 'terminal particle' (*rdzogs tshig*). First the fact that rebellion and revolt had occurred is given and then, with the reason for this rebellion and revolt acting as the latent subject, these events are explained by means of two complementary clauses each ending with a 'terminal particle'.¹⁸⁾ Tradition has it that Srong-btsan-sgam-po ascended the throne at the age of thirteen and that he met with his father's death four years later, corresponding, namely, to the years 593 and 597 respectively.¹⁹⁾ In the above passage his father's death is attributed to poisoning.

The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* mentions a curious historical custom which, although not referring directly to the above incident, is related to it. The Tibetan kings of ancient times are said to have been

... able to go to the sky without being impeded by mountain crags; they returned each day to earth and went to the heavens each night. When his son was able to ride a horse, the father is said to have gone to heaven holding the rope of rMu. (*ri brag mi thogs mkha' la gshegs bzhud byed // nyin bzhin sar byon mtshan bzhin mkha' la gshegs // sras kyis chibs kha thub par gyur pa na // rmu thag la 'jus na mkhar gshegs so skad /* [*KGJ*, f. 6b, l. 7])

This passage shows evidence of the irresponsible confusion and distortion often found in Tibetan historical works, and it represents in fact a conflation of two quite distinct themes. Some explanatory comments will therefore be in order.

Prior to moving to the Yar-lung region, where through their exploits they left their mark as historical kings and also left their tombs on the earth, the ancient kings of Tibet are said to have ruled over the “six paternal vassals” (PT 1038). Further details about them are, however, not known. For this reason they were regarded as divine beings who did not leave their remains on the earth and were called ‘*lde'u*’ (contraction of ‘*lda'i bu*’; *lda* / *bla* / *la* / *lha* are all derivatives of the same root). ‘*lDe'u*’ means ‘son of god’, and anyone called by this name differed from ordinary people. To his head were attached, unbeknown to other people, a rope and ladder for ascending to heaven. It was therefore believed that he could travel back and forth between heaven and earth before the very eyes of the populace, communicate the wishes of the gods in heaven to the people on earth, and thereby rule the land. In other words, he was a shaman who entered into a state of ecstasy and gave voice to “divine messages” (*lde'u'i tshig*). Today this term is used in the sense of ‘riddle’, but in its original form it refers to the words transmitted by a *lde'u*.²⁰⁾

But according to the *Annals* from Tun-huang (*DTH*, pp. 97–98), when Dri-gum-btsan-po moved to Yar-lung after having increased his strength for reasons to be mentioned below, he plotted further advances to the west, but was caught in a trap when fighting with a king from the west; as a result he himself ruined these faculties of a *lde sras* (honorific of *lde'u*) and, no longer able to win the assistance of lDe-bla-gung-rgyal, the god of the *lde*, left his remains on the earth.

The second half of the passage quoted above refers to a totally different matter. Namely, once a prince had been born and was able to ride a horse, the mother's relatives would dispose of the king, who had already left an heir, so as to assume power. The “rope of rMu” was the rope that the king held when, while still alive, he travelled back and forth between heaven and earth, and he did not hold it when he betook himself to heaven after having been killed, but here it is erroneously stated that he held it when he was killed. In addition, as a result of later confusion of the folk beliefs surrounding *lde'u* with the legends of the Bon religion, the name of the dMu (/ rMu) tribe, from which Bon originated, has also been erroneously added to the name of this mysterious rope.

In “The Sacral Character of Kings of Ancient Tibet”²¹⁾ G. Tucci discusses this phenomenon in a religious context, linking it to Bon, but in my view his exposition follows the forced religious explanations of later times, confusing the ancient shamanistic folk religion with the Bon religion deriving from the dMu tribe. I also consider his view to lack any perspective on the influence exerted by the “Kingdom of Women” (Nü-kuo 女國) in Tibetan history, and, basing myself on a critical examination of the Tibetan historical sources of later ages on which his interpretation is based, I accordingly wish to present a different interpretation of this phenomenon as a historical custom.

In regard to the fact that the king did not “go to heaven holding the rope of rMu” but was killed and then betook himself to heaven, the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs* among the Tun-huang documents contains the following reference to Dri-gum-btsan-po’s father:

Khri-spe-btsan-po: although this [king] would seem to have been the upper limit, when the son was able to ride a horse, the father went to heaven. (*khri spe btsan po / 'di yan chad 'dra' ste / sras chibs la thub na / yab dgung du gshegs so // [DTH, p. 81, ll. 35–37]*)

If one mistranslates ‘*yan chad*’ appearing in this sentence in the sense of ‘until’ in accordance with the general usage of later times, one will end up with a meaning similar to that of the passage quoted earlier from the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. But the original meaning of ‘*yan chad*’ is ‘set . . . as the upper limit’, and the meaning ‘from . . . to / until’ is a secondary development. In point of fact, when expressing the sense of ‘from . . . to’ in later historical sources, ‘. . . *yan chad* . . . *man chad*’ and ‘. . . *man chad* . . . *yan chad*’ are used interchangeably. In their original meaning, ‘*yan chad*’ and ‘*man chad*’ express temporal and spatial distance from the speaker or writer, the former indicating relative distance and the latter relative proximity. Hence in the understanding of old texts a corresponding interpretation becomes necessary.²²⁾

If we now examine some Bon texts, we find that in the *Bon chos dar nub kyi lo rgyus* and *g-Yung drung bon kyi rgyud 'bum*,²³⁾ the parents of Dri-gum-btsan-po are given as follows:

Khri-sde-yag-pa, sBrang-za-lha-rgyan (*BDL*, f. 31a).

Phri-rje-yag-pa, sBrang-bza'-lha-rgyan (*YBG*, f. 12b).

It is not clear which spelling among Khri-spe, Khri-sde and Phri-rje is the correct one, but they are obviously variants of the same name. His son’s name is given as Dri-gum / Gri-gum / Dri-rum-btsan-po respectively.²⁴⁾ In Bon texts his mother is stated, as here, to have come from the sBrang (Hsi-mo-lang 悉末朗) clan.²⁵⁾

In other words, ever after its intermarriage with the sBrang clan, there arose in this dynasty a custom whereby the king was killed once the crown prince was able to ride a horse. Srong-btsan-sgam-po’s father was similarly killed as described above, and even as late as 754, when Khri-srong-lde-brtsan was thirteen years of age, his father was already dead (probably killed; *DTH*, p. 56, col. 12). It should also be added that prior to this Khri-'dus-srong was born after Mang-slon-mang-rtsan died in 676 (*ibid.*, p. 15, col. 27) and that Khri-'dus-srong died in 703 immediately after the birth of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (*ibid.*, p. 19, col. 55).

This state of affairs was of such seriousness that it drove Srong-btsan-sgam-po to seek reprisal, and it would appear to have borne a significance that cannot be

understood on the basis of a religious interpretation such as that given by Tucci. I now wish to consider this point in the next section.

V. The Traditions of the Nü-kuo in the Royal House of T'u-fan

As I have already explained in detail elsewhere, 'sBrang' is a Tibetan corruption of 'Suvarṇa', and it was found as a clan name of Eastern Nü-kuo 東女國 in Ssü-ch'uan 四川 in the form of double family names such as sBrang-Kho (Chang-ku 章谷) and sBrang-rLangs (So-lang-lang 索朗郎 / ? 李朗郎) in the Chin-ch'uan 金川 (Gyim-shod) district until the time of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty. This clan was also known by the Tibetan name of gSer-po, meaning 'golden man', and with their base in the district of Gyim, obviously a transliteration of Chin[-ch'uan], they claimed to be maternal relatives of the royal house of T'u-fan.²⁶⁾

If, still adhering to the views of P. Pelliot, one continues to confuse this land of the Sum-pas (Sum-yul), known to have been located in Ssü-ch'uan, with the Sun-po 孫波 of Su-p'i 蘇毗 west of the Li-niu River 犁牛河 (corresponding to the Chin-sha River 金沙江) and does not accept that the latter is a term associated with the new setup established under the T'u-fan military system of the above-mentioned *khos drug* and refers to the 'branch third wing' (*yan lag gsum pa'i ru*), then one will probably have difficulty acknowledging the thesis put forward here. To understand this, it is perhaps necessary to grasp the Oriental conception of ordinal numbers, whereby *ru lag*, referring to the southwestern part of present-day gTsang, signifies 'auxiliary wing' and corresponds to the 'child' or 'second one' when the 'right wing' or *g-yas ru* of eastern gTsang is identified with the 'mother' or 'first one'.²⁷⁾

Eastern Nü-kuo, described in the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü chi* 大唐西域記 (Record of the Western Regions of the Greater T'ang) as lying to the east of Mar[-yul] Sa-bu (Mo-lo-so 秣邏娑 [= San-po-ho 三波訶 (Sa-spo-kha?)]), which lay in turn to the south of Khotan and corresponds to present-day Ladakh, was situated in Upper Zhang-zhung (Zhang-zhung-stod), and the Sum-pa sBra (/sBrang) clan of Chin-ch'uan also claimed to have migrated from Zhang-zhung.²⁸⁾

One of the *Annals* from Tun-huang (PT 1286) opens with the following passage:

gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi'i rabs la // lde'i gangs bar na / lde za'i gang rag ma' // skyi'i la mda' na / skyi za'i . . . // dags kyi bsen mkhar na / dags za'i gyim pang ma' // mchims yul gyi dngul khar na / mchims (za'i) sha tsang ma . . .

This gives the names of four families as the clans of the four quarters who were in former times related by marriage to the royal fouse of Yar-lung. "In bSen-mkhar of Dags, the Dags woman Gyim-pang-ma" in the second line corresponds to "Dags-po of the same family" in the *Annals* of Srong-btsan-sgam-po quoted earlier (cf. p. 10).

G. Uray has taken issue with my translating 'nyag nyi' as 'same family', but his arguments are based on an acceptance of all later sources as long as they match his own preconceptions, and there is no discussion whatsoever of any facts that might prove incommodious to his views. If, for example, *nyag nyi* is to be looked upon as a place-name, then it must be considered to refer to a district such as Nyang-po (Myang-po) sufficiently large to be able to supply the troops for a battalion of one thousand men. Yet Uray does not actually claim that such a locality can be identified in a district completely distinct from Dags-po. Hence there is, as hitherto, no obstacle to my interpretation, which, taking 'nyag' in the sense of 'progenitor' and 'nyi' or 'gnyi' in the sense of 'gnyig' or 'one', would understand 'nyag nyi' to mean a 'single family with the same ancestor' and interpret it in the passage in question as qualifying the rebels in the order of their affinity to the royal house. This interpretation is not only supported by a consideration of this passage from a rhetorical point of view,²⁹⁾ but will also be corroborated by my subsequent discussion.

To sum up what has been said so far, the inhabitants of Dags-po were both related by marriage to the royal house of Yar-lung and belonged to the same family, and the reason for this will become clear below. The queen's name Gyim-pang-ma is a variant spelling of Gyim-pa-ma resulting from liaison and means "woman of the Chin (Suvarṇa / sBrang) clan." Therefore, if, as I do, one identifies Sha-khyi with lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gzhung-btsan and, in accordance with the *T'ang shu* 唐書 (History of the T'ang), regards him as Srong-btsan-sgam-po's sixth predecessor, then one should have no hesitation in identifying the sBrang-za-lha-rgyan mentioned in Bon sources with this Gyim-pang-ma on the basis of only the opening passage of the *Annals* quoted above and the factual account of the six generations of rulers in the historical section of the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*.³⁰⁾

A tradition providing further evidence of the fact that this woman from Dags was a woman of the Chin or sBrang clan is to be found in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. The passage in question, which again consists of two parts, would suggest that the royal house of Yar-lung and the family of the sBrang queen from rGyal-mo-rong in Ssü-ch'uan were related by marriage, and it may be summarized as follows:³¹⁾

King 'Bro-gnyen-lde-ru took to wife the mChims woman Klu-rgyal (mChims-bza'-klu-rgyal) from Dags-po. Because this queen lost her good looks on account of the fact that she was unable to eat the food of her homeland, he procured it from her homeland and had her restore her beauty. Upon examining the food, the king was grieved to discover that it consisted of frogs, and he became seriously ill.

The king made a verbal will to the blind prince whom the queen from Dags-po had borne: "Call a physician from the T'u-yü-hun to open your eyes and then ascend the throne; if your eyes should not open or if the family line should be about to die out, summon my son Sum-ri-ring-po ('Long Mountain

of the Sum-pa') belonging to my Bon mistress rGya-mo-rgya-lcam ('Queen, Woman of rGyal-mo-rong') in the land of the Sum-pas and, feigning abdication, set him on the throne." Then, so that their descendants would not be harmed by the illness, the royal couple, together with the chief minister, are said to have entered the tomb while still alive. (*KGJ*, f. 11a, ll. 4–7)

According to the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, the consort of this 'Bro'-mnyen-lde-ru was a mChims woman (*DTH*, p. 82, ll. 8–19) and not a Dags woman. In the reference to the four families related by marriage in the opening passage of the *Annals*, the Dags woman and mChims woman are mentioned side by side, and so the reference here to the consort from Dags-po probably strayed in from some historical source and was linked to the second half of this passage. Alternatively, it may be a reflection of the fact that during the reign of this king the 'Bro' family assumed power in the style of Nü-kuo. According to the fourteenth-century history *rGyal rabs rnams kyi 'byung tshul gsal ba'i me long chos 'byung*, this king contracted leprosy, but there is no mention of the Sum-pas (*GSM*, f. 27a, l. 3–27b, l. 2). This means that the alleged relationship between Dags-po and the Sum-pas must be an interpolation belonging to a separate tradition. The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* also notes that the reference to eating frogs derives from the fact that the inhabitants of Dags-po ate fish.

Although the queen from Dags-po mentioned here probably derives from the Dags woman appearing at the start of the *Annals*, there can be no doubt that because she belonged to the sBrang clan and was, namely, of Nü-kuo origin, just like the queen from rGyal-mo-rong, she brought to mind the case of the queen from rGyal-mo-rong in Ta-chin-ch'uan 大金川 in Ssü-ch'uan who had married into the rLangs clan, resulting in the above tale. The queen from rGyal-mo-rong, that is to say, the "Chin" sBrang clan that had intermarried with the rLangs clan of Sum-pa, was looked upon as being connected with Dags-po and was alluded to as a collateral branch of the same family as the royal house of Yar-lung. In rGyal-mo-rong too the So-mang family of the queen claimed to be maternal relatives of the royal house of Yar-lung, and it is also recorded that the first ruler of this region was known by the soubriquet of Zhang-po. This fact too I have dealt with in detail elsewhere.³²⁾

In the "Tung Nü-kuo chuan" 東女國傳 (Account of Eastern Nü-kuo) of both the *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the T'ang) and *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the T'ang) it is clearly stated that the people of Eastern Nü-kuo observed patriarchal succession, while matriarchal rights were passed down from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law. This was a notion of considerable importance and is known to have been practised also in rGyal-mo-rong during the Ch'ing dynasty. If it was a custom that had existed in this form from the very outset, it means that if a certain family observing patriarchal succession took a sBrang woman in marriage, there was only a possibility of there arising a demand for matriarchal succession in that family. If this demand should be recognized,

however, then that family joined the sBrang clan, while if, as in the case of the royal house of Yar-lung, it was rejected and only patriarchal succession was advocated, the situation remained as before, although there was also a possibility of there arising a temporary demand for matriarchal succession. In rGyal-mo-rong in Chin-ch'uan, Ssü-ch'uan, there is evidence of both trends, and there were also instances of a compromise being reached by using in conjunction both the paternal and maternal family names, the latter reflecting matriarchal rights. This fact was noted above and has already been discussed in detail elsewhere.³³⁾

'Bro-gnyen-lde-ru referred to in the passage quoted above is the name of a king belonging to the historical period of the Yar-lung dynasty, and his name is prefixed with the name of the 'Bro clan because his mother came from this clan. Attention should also be paid to the fact that, as has already been seen, this was the same 'Bro clan that revived the *zhang lon* system of rule by maternal relatives.³⁴⁾

As I have already noted elsewhere, Dri-gum-btsan-po, whose mother was the sBrang woman lHa-rgyan, also appears to have been known by the name of Khri-sbrang-spungs-btsan, meaning "king of the sBrang military forces."³⁵⁾ It would appear that this king withdrew from the position of leader of Khams, land of the "six paternal vassals," and, supported by the "matriarchal" forces of his mother's home of Dags-po, seized the Yar-lung district to the southwest of Dags-po. His two sons subsequently ruled over the two districts of Yar-lung and rKong-po, but it is also conceivable that he had brothers who controlled interjacent Dags-po or that among the subsequent descendants of the royal house of Yar-lung there appeared a branch family that set much value on matriarchal rights and, settling in Dags-po with its historic associations, professed to belong to the sBrangs clan, and that they prided themselves in belonging to the same family as the royal house of Dags-po.

When Srong-btsan-sgam-po's father Khri-slön-mtshan established his hegemony over all of Tibet, one of the forces that resisted him was the Dags-po-lha-sde, based at bSen-mkhar in Dags-po, and they were subjugated by Seng-go-myi-chen acting upon Khri-slön-mtshan's orders. The course of events is related in the *Annals* (DTH, p. 106, l. 28–p. 107, l. 16). This Dags-po corresponds to the land of the aforementioned Gyim-pang-ma who was related by marriage to the royal house of T'u-fan and came from bSen-mkhar, and its inhabitants called themselves by no other name than lHa-sde or the 'divine tribe'.

In the *Annals* compiled in the second half of the eighth century, when the T'u-fan dynasty was at the zenith of its power, there are indications that the royal house of T'u-fan, which since its migration to Yar-lung had been using the appellation 'lha sras', permitted other families to use the designation 'lha' ('god')³⁶⁾ and also prefixed their names with the epithet 'nyag nyi', probably meaning 'of the same family'. It was no doubt these families that, as branch families of the royal house of Yar-lung, attached importance to matriarchal rights.

It is to be surmised that even in the Yar-lung royal house itself, connected as it was to these families, the custom of eradicating the king's power as soon as the

crown prince had reached the age of being able to ride a horse and beget a successor became reality as a means for restoring matriarchal rights whenever the opportunity presented itself. This is probably why we find the statement in the *Bod kyi rgyal rabs* beginning "although this [king] would appear to have been the upper limit . . ."

The reason that after his father's death Srong-btsan-sgam-po became obsessed with wreaking vengeance was doubtless that he considered his father's poisoning to have been due to this pernicious custom. Similarly, the fact that when he founded the T'u-fan kingdom he did not choose his chief ministers from among his maternal relatives, especially the 'Bro clan, would also seem to have been the result of his desire to remove any such danger from the very mechanism of government. Hence, taking account also of the fact that, historically speaking, the assembly presidency composed of *zhang gsum blon bzhi* could not have existed during his reign, I wish to state that it is a definite mistake to count such an institution among the institutions set up by this king.

As has already been seen, however, rule by maternal relatives, or *zhang*, was revived after Khri-'dus-srong's purge of the mGar clan. It may not have been a revival of exactly the same form of matriarchal succession as that practised in Nü-kuo, but since the *zhang* forces did, practically speaking, assume power with the appearance of Khri-ma-lod, nor would it seem proper to say that a mere coincidence allowed maternal relatives to gain control.

If one uses the term 'zhang lon system' in a sense encompassing the above implications, then as an administrative structure defining one aspect of the character of the T'u-fan dynasty it must be viewed among the *khos drug* with an importance equal to that of the *mkho sham chen pho* or 'great conscription and requisition system', even though it evolved at a later date. In point of fact, Buddhism too must be considered to have been introduced to Tibet largely as a result of the policy of appeasement with the T'ang pursued by the 'Bro clan, which had won its power through this *zhang lon* system.

Abbreviations

- BDL *Bon chos dar nub kyi lo rgyus*. Ms. Oslo Univ. 32465, 95 fols.
 BKT *O rgyan gling pa'i gter kha: Blon po bka'i thang yig (bKa' thang sde lnga*, Vol. Ca). Zhol Edition, 77 fols.
 CT R. A. Stein. *La civilisation tibétaine*. Paris, 1962.
 DTH J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris, 1940-46.
 GSM Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. *rGyal rabs rnams kyi 'byung tshul gsal ba'i me long chos 'byung*. 1368, sDe-dge Edition, 104 fols.
 KGJ dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Vol. Ja. 1545, lHo-brag gNas Edition, 155 fols.
 KGP *Ibid.*, Vol. Pa. 253 fols.

- NPC Nel-pa-paṇḍita sMon-lam-blo-gros. *sNgon byung gi gtam me tog phreng ba* (H. Uebach. *Nel pa paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phreng-ba*. München, 1987).
- PRN G. Tucci. *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*. Rome, 1956.
- PT Fonds Pelliot tibétain.
- QGTB H. Hoffmann. *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*. Wiesbaden, 1950.
- TAMST R. A. Stein. *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines: Légendes, classifications et histoire*. Paris, 1959 (repr. Paris, 1961).
- TCL Wang Yao 王堯, ed. *T'u-fan chin-shih lu* 吐蕃金石錄 (Record of inscriptions from T'u-fan). Peking, 1982.
- TLTD F. W. Thomas. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part 2. London, 1951.
- TSK Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳. *Toban ōkoku seiritsushi kenkyū* 『吐蕃王國成立史研究』 (A study on the establishment of the T'u-fan kingdom). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1983.
- VSM Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho. *dPal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhva ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa bai d'ura ser po'i me long*. 1692–98, 419 fols.
- YBG *g-Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum*. 24 fols. (*Sources for a History of Bon*. Dolanji, 1972).
- YD E. Haarh. *The Yar Lung Dynasty*. Copenhagen, 1969.

Notes

- 1) See TSK, pp. 528–575.
- 2) *Acta Orient. Hung.* (*Acta Orientalia* [Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae]), Vol. 26, No. 1 (1972), pp. 11–68. My views on Uray's thesis as earlier set forth in my TSK, pp. 568–569, n. 25 have been partially revised in the present paper.
- 3) The abbreviations appearing in this quotation may be all found in the foregoing list of "Abbreviations."
- 4) Whereas I consider the fact that the *mkho sham chen po* started functioning to be expressed by "*rtsis mgo bgyi ba*" (DTH, p. 13), Uray reads this expression to mean that "the head (i.e. the preparatory stage) of the census . . . was made" (*op. cit.*, p. 27, ll. 14–15) and, claiming that there is no record in the *Annals* of the date when this system as a whole was established, develops a different viewpoint. But he ignores the fact that the term '*rtsis*' did not mean 'reckoning' as it does today, but had the meaning of 'task', 'concrete object' or 'value', still found in expressions such as '*las 'gan rtsis sprod*' ('transfer of responsibilities / duties'), '*rgyu dngos rtsis len*' ('receipt of goods') and '*rtsis 'jog byed pa*' ('to respect / regard'), and he also disregards the inconsistency involved in having the *Annals*, which give nothing but the essential points of events of national importance, record only the date of the preparatory stage and not the date of the actual inauguration of the system. I have accordingly set forth my counterarguments in TSK, pp. 862, 898–899, n. 114.
- 5) See TSK, pp. 862, 898–899, n. 114.
- 6) I have dealt in detail with the generations of the historical kings in TSK, pp. 91–150. Although I have modified my views in regard to certain particulars, my conclusions are in broad agreement with the "T'u-fan chuan" 吐蕃傳 (Account of T'u-fan) in the *T'ang shu*, and I identify Srong-btsan-sgam-po's sixth predecessor with Sha-khyi, i.e., lDe-pru-bo-gnam-gzhung-btsan,

