

Part III

IMPERIAL CENTRAL TIBET

An Annotated Cartographical Survey
of its Territorial Divisions and Key Political Sites



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Previous page:

The tomb of Kri (see Chap. 3.2, no. 9)

Photo: Hazod 2008

1. Introductory Remarks

The following pages are an overview of the territorial divisions of early and imperial Tibet based on the known basic data and lists of names in the Dunhuang documents and post-dynastic chronicles. It is the geography of the *Annals* that is outlined here, from the outer boundaries and provinces of the empire to the numerous places in the valleys of central Tibet that are listed as the residence place of the court or places of the council (§ 2–7). The center of attention is central Tibet, the comparatively small area in the south of the highlands which is known as the actual Bod, the Bod of the four Horns, where the political foundation of the empire was laid (§ 4–6). The maps are accompanied by brief comments, essentially notes on the question of the location of the individual sites, with some data coming from the author’s most recent field studies being presented here for the first time.*

From the beginning, the efforts to identify historically relevant toponyms have had a particularly important place in historical Tibetan research, as when it concerns questions of the precise geographical situation of particular places, districts, or territorial boundaries, or if we attempt to locate the old clan connections in these territories – the latter a subject that is increasingly coming to the fore today – one entered (and is today still entering) unknown territory. It is a discussion that is gradually allowing us to grasp the history in its specific spatial connection and its interweaving of regional and inter-regional relations. The field research supplementing the text is here indispensable, but (apart from the first Tibet field researches in the 1930s and 40s) in the West one was for a long time limited to textual research without the possibility of checking the testimony of the written sources *in situ*. The pioneer researchers on the historical geography of early Tibet (above all G. Uray) were often able to achieve astonishingly good approximations from their desks, but they were naturally not infrequently imprecise and many details had to remain under question marks, which we have only gradually begun to resolve in recent years. Alongside the favorable preconditions for field work in Tibet it is also a new situation regarding sources that today makes it easier for us to locate old place names: the access to new primary sources, to modern toponymic catalogues, to more precise geographic data, cartographical material, and much more, all facilitate this research.

The identification of particular places is not always the result of a targeted search, but not infrequently a by-product of an investigation of a completely different (local) historical context. In the process one learns in the field that toponyms are generally very long-lived and have a high degree of continuity; even if they are often covered by later historical structures, they can usually nevertheless be traced, whether through the fact that the name is still in local usage or just appears in the memory of a local oral account. There are, however, cases where old place names have apparently disappeared due to the regrettable situation whereby in some areas the treasure of the oral tradition is increasingly vanishing. Other difficulties in the identification of places are changed spellings, duplicate names, or the situation of “wandering toponyms,” that is the appearance of one and the same (historically used) place name in different areas (arising in

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All maps and photographs presented in this contribution are by G. Hazod unless otherwise stated.

the context of migrations or the establishment of branch institutions). Precisely in the latter cases, only on-site researches are capable of delivering the decisive information on the identification. Finally, work in the field repeatedly brings surprising facts to light that lead to new insights into particular historical-geographical connections. In this context, the encounters with thus far unknown evidence of the past, ruins or burial grounds which were often not expected in this place or in this form and size are spectacular. Recent discoveries of this kind are briefly described in two shorter chapters. (§ 3.2, § 7.2).

Realistically, the data from *in situ* surveys can only be limited to a few areas. In the majority of the places, the geographical position details are based on more or less detailed indications from the written sources, as have been frequently addressed in earlier works. A number of the key sites of early central Tibet have still not been identified. Other details are uncertain or open to question. As a whole, this appendix to the *Old Tibetan Annals* may be seen as a sketch to a documentation that will perhaps at some time lead to a detailed historical atlas of early central Tibet.

*

Abbreviations:

d. = representative [*yul*] *lha* or territorial deity

l. = lineage

l/m = lineage of the minister

m. = minister

r. = ruler

p.c. = personal communication

c. = *circa*

cent. = century

i.a. = *inter alia*

approx. = approximately

W-R, S-R = winter / summer residence of the *btsan-po* (or *btsan-po*'s family)

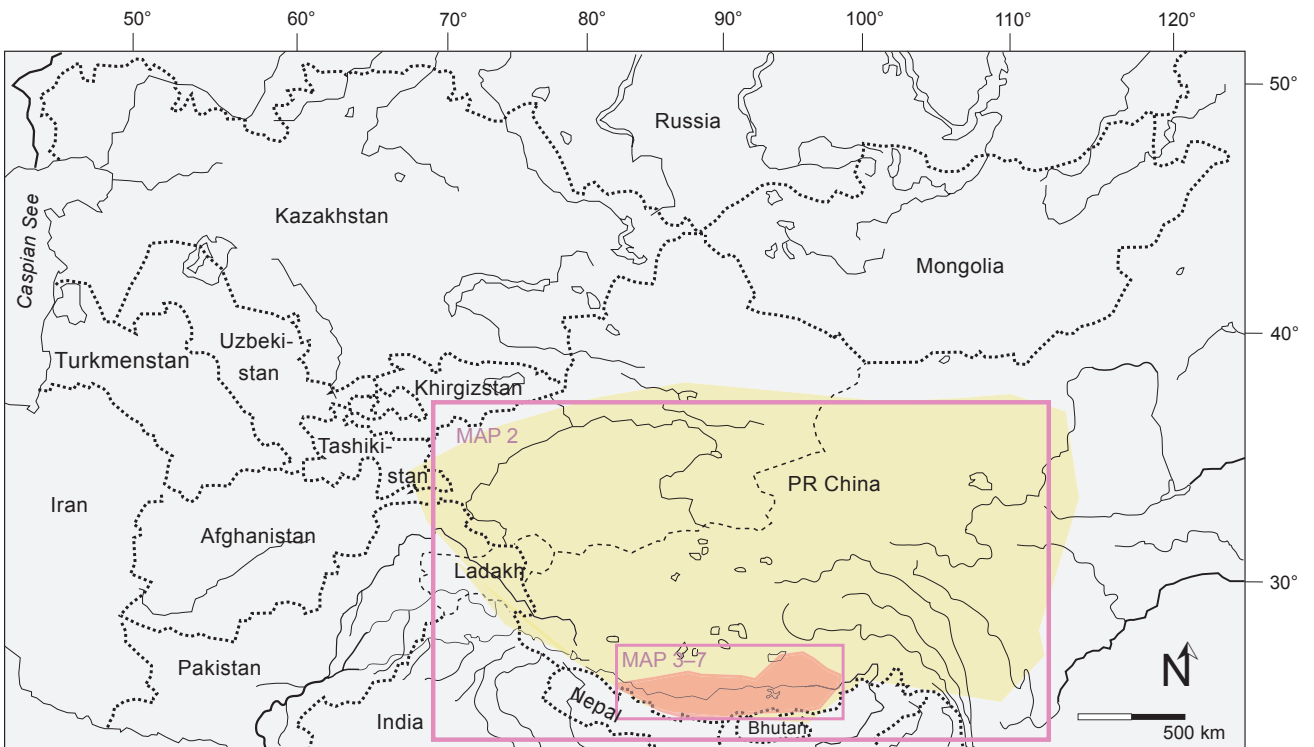
W-A, S-A = winter / summer assembly

Sp = spring

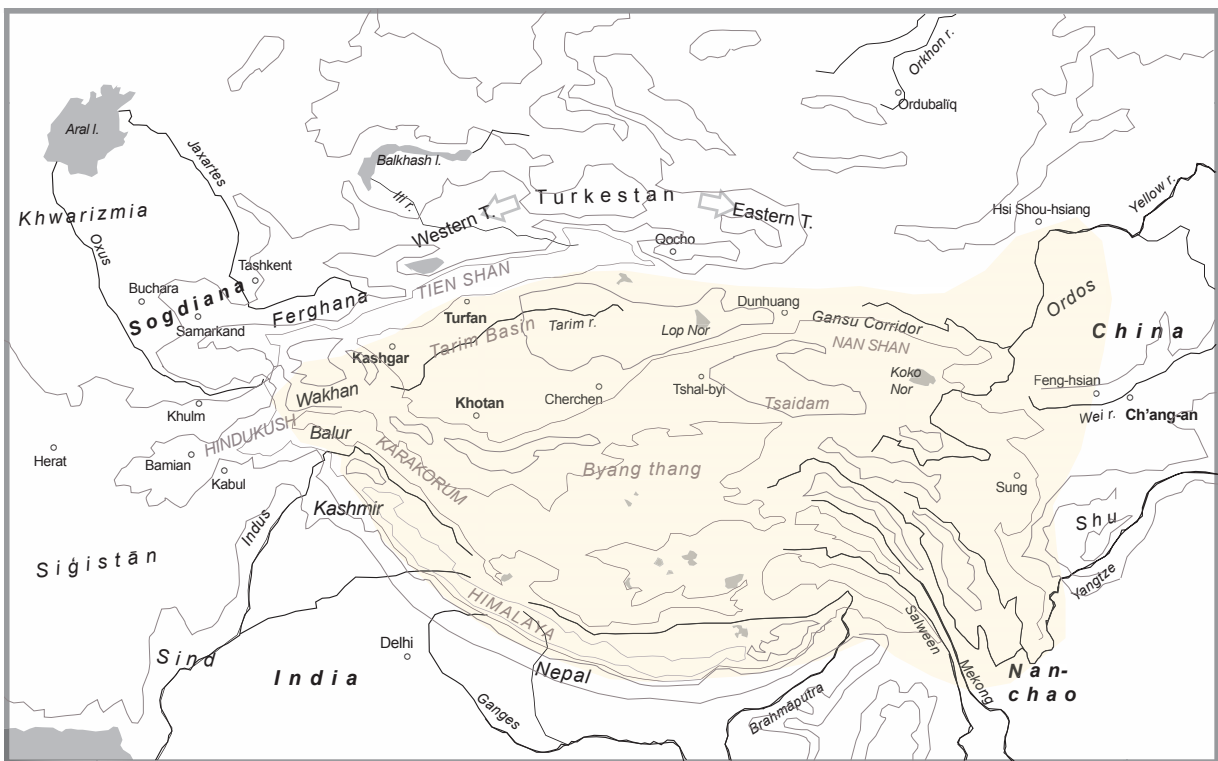
Abbreviations used in the maps:

r. = river; t. = temple; l. = lake

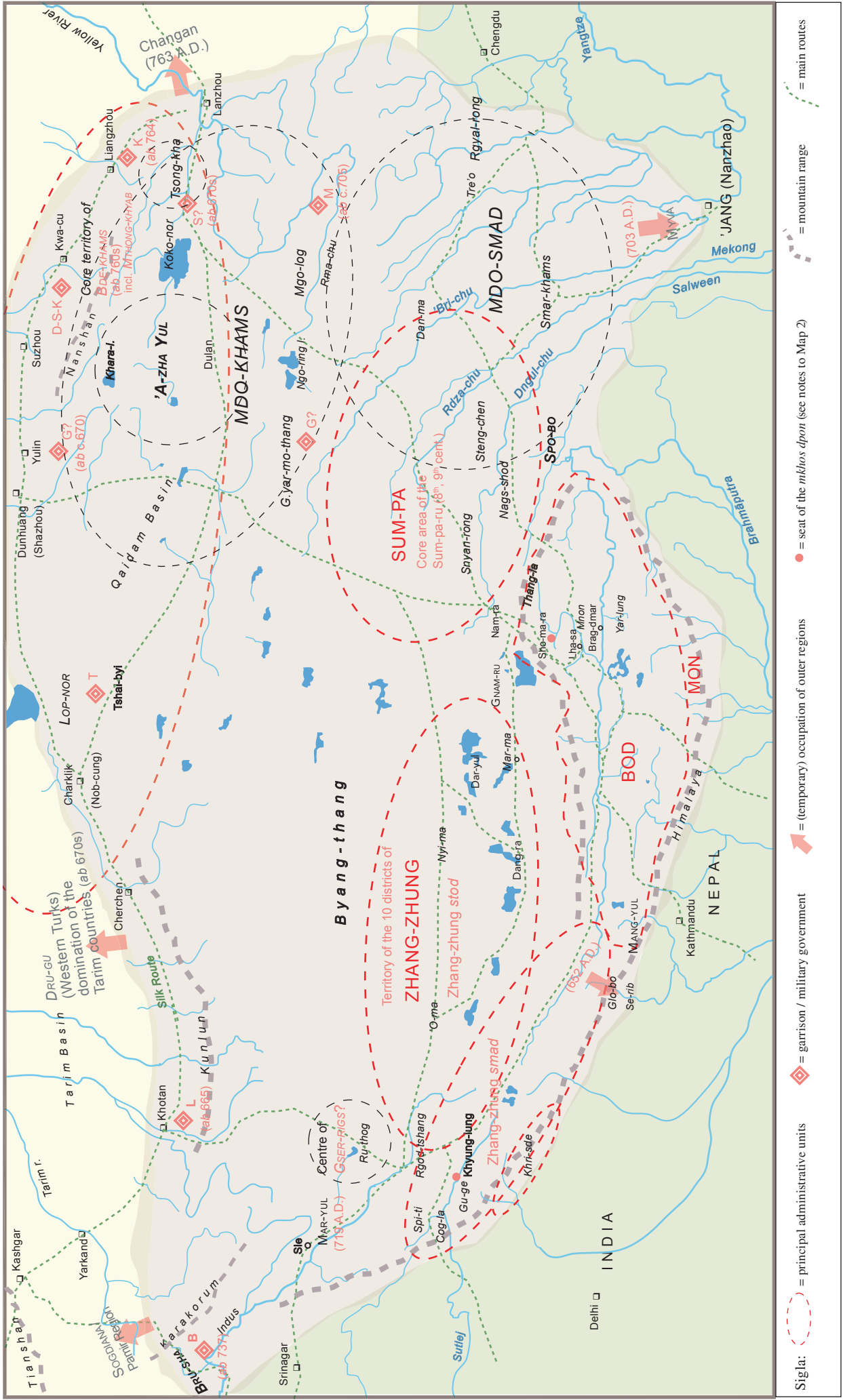
Imperial Central Tibet



MAP 1a: Tibet in the 8th / 9th century (= yellow area; red = central Tibet) in relation to the borders of modern Central Asia.



MAP 1b: Imperial Tibet and its neighbours (based on the map in C. Beckwith's *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, p. 12).



MAP 2: The principal regions and administrative units of the Tibetan Empire (based on a map prepared by Karl Ryavec).

2. Principal Provinces

Notes on MAP 2

Map 2 provides an overview of the expansion of the basic zones of the political and military administration in the highlands established during the expansion of the Tibetan Empire from the 7th century – from the principal administrative zones of the *khos-dpon* to the sites of the garrisons in the outer provinces.

● The territories of the five (or six) administrative chiefs (*[m]khos-dpon*; *khod-dpon*, *khad-dpon*). The institution was initiated in the period of Srong-btsan Sgam-po (Uray 1972a: 41; Uebach 1992; Dotson 2007a). *KhG* 185.12–17; *Lde'u* 270.8–10 (the latter speak of the “six administrative zones” (*khod-drug*), but only five are listed by name):

1. **Bod** (= Tibet proper, initially divided into three Horn provinces (*ru-gsum*) plus Rtsang-chen, later (early 8th cent.) established as the area of the *ru-bzhi* (§ 5, 6))

mkhos-dpon: Mgar Stong-rtsan yul-zung (with the help of Da[r]-rgyal Mang-po-rje and Mchims Mang-bzher ngan-pa (*KhG* 186; *Lde'u* 271; Uray 1972a: 33–34; Dotson 2007a: 351f.)) (On Mgar and his lineage, see *RCP*: 145, 582f.; Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje is a title and probably refers here to the *rgyal-phran* prince of Dwags-po. See Introduction: fn. 46)

Main seat: **Skyi[d]-shod Sho-ma-ra** {see § 7.1}

2. **Zhang-zhung** (Subjugation in the 640s (above Part I: 82); the report of an earlier conquest of Zhang-zhung (plus 'A-zha and Dwags-po) in the time of 'Bro-gnyen lde-ru (*Jo sras* 107.19–21) probably represents a later fabrication and rather seems to reflect events of the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po)

mkhos-dpon: Khyung-po Bun-zung-che / Pung-sad Zu-tse) {On this figure, see Uray 1972a: 36–40; Sørensen 1994: 179; below § 3.2-8; Denwood, *fc*}

Main seat: **Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar** (~dngul-mkhar, rdul-mkhar) {On this site, in Bon-po sources classified as one of the four *mkhar chen* of ancient Zhang-zhung, see e.g. Gyalbo 2005, 2006, *passim*; Bellezza 2002: 37–43}

3. **Sum-pa** {Subjugation of “all the Sum-pa” by Myang Zhang-snang in the 630s}

mkhos-dpon: Hor Bya-zhu ring-po {Not identified; one minister from Hor was Zhang-po Rgyal gyi khram-bzang, listed among the *nang blon* (ministers of the interior) of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. Sørensen 1994: 178}

Main seat: **Nam-ra Zha-don** {Perhaps related to Nam Ltong-prom (see Stein 1961b: 74), the place where the administration of Sum-ru was carried out (*OTA*, entry 702-703). Dotson 2007a: 302 relates it to Nam-ra Chag-gong; § 4)}

4. **Chibs** {Uray 1972a: 33 reads it as “*btsan-po*’s horses / or postal service.” Perhaps it is related to the establishment of the *btsan-po*’s body guard and the recruitment of cavalry con-

nected to it as one may conclude from the *OTA* entry of 735-736, i.e. “the selection of the *chibs-sde-bzhi* in the presence of the *btsan-po* in 'O-yug.” The *chibs-dpon* represented one of the seven classes of officials (*dpon-bdun*; *Lde'u* 255; *KhG* 190). On the other hand, Chibs is here evidently a place name; the toponym is also known from other contexts, cf. Chibs gyi Chas of the *OTA*, which according to context was formerly occupied by the Chinese before it was taken over by the Tibetans in AD 720. A Chibs is mentioned in *Dbal bzhed* (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 94), and a Chibs *yul* is registered in the origin account of the Rlangs clan (*Rlangs* 34.4–9) where it says that the Rlangs-rje Rtsal-gsum conquered Chibs, defeated the two regiments (*sde*) of Sbrang and Dar and killed [the chief of Chibs] Chibs-pa btsan-grags. Note that in the same *rus mdzod* account the Dbas – the clan which provided the post of the Chibs *khos-dpon* – is described as a branch of the Rlangs people (Glang / Glong (= Sum-pa Glang), an ethnonym associated with Glang-thang, the place of the later (8th cent.?) border temple of Glang-thang Sgrol-ma in 'Dan-ma, Sde-dge County; Stein 1961b: 79)}

mkhos-dpon: Dbas Btsan-bzang dpal-legs {Identical with Sbas-lcang Dpal gyi legs-bzang (a.k.a. [']Bal Skyid-thag ring-mo), known from the list of ministers who served as *nang blon* during the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po (some sources mention him also as minister under Khri Srong lde-btsan); cf. Sørensen 1994: 178, 397}

Main seat: **Gram-pa-tshal** {Not identified, unless it is the site of the Gram-pa (= Grom-pa; Map 6b) as suggested by Dotson 2007a: 303. It would rule out an identification with the Chibs (in eastern Tibet) of the Rlangs story}

5. **Mthong-khyab** {The exact location of Mthong-khyab (and the land of the “Mthong-khyab people,” Rong 1990–91: 256) remains unknown, but it was evidently in the neighborhood of 'A-zha *yul* (around Dulan, west of Kokonor), and the “five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts (*khri-sde*)” were part of the Bde-blon-khams province (see below). There is also mention of the “nine Mthong-khyab districts (*srid-sde*)” which together with the “six *stong-sde* of 'A-zha” constituted the “eastern division of heroes” (*smad kyi dpa'-sde*) (est. in the 8th cent.). They are described to be situated between Rma Pom-ra (in Mgo-log) and Ka-thang Klu-tshes (Bka'-thang Klu-rtses) (*KhG* 189.20–21; *Lde'u* 275.2–3), or, as *Lde'u* further states, in the border area at Lom-shi Rgya-mkhar (?). See above App. III; Richardson 1998: 167; Sato 1978}

mkhos-dpon: Cog-ro Rgyal-mthsan Gyang-gong {He is evidently identical with the Cog-ro Rig-pa'i skad-bzang / kong-zang from the list of the *nang blon* of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, also known from other contexts (but referring to

a different period) as [Cog-ro] Skye-bzang rgyal-ma-'og / Skyes-za rgyal-'[']gong; *BK* 437, 439; *Lde'u* 297; *KK* 266}

Main seat: **Ri-bo G.ya-dmar** {Location unclear, but apparently in the region of Bde-khams}

[6.] **Mon** {In *Lde'u* listed as the third of the six *khod* zones (the fifth [evidently referring to Sum-pa] is missing). Mon (and the Mon Rtse-rgyal) is among the group of the four (border) kingdoms (of Bod) which became subject to the *btsan-po* (*KhG* 189; Dotson 2007a: 133). The historically rather vague toponym and ethonym “Mon” is scattered throughout the Himalayas and the highlands, but here it evidently relates to the southern Mon corridor including the area of Bhutan (= Mon-yul and the area of Lho-Mon khabzhi; Aris 1980; Pommaret 1999); see also § 3.2-1}

mkhos-dpon: Gnyags Dpal-sde Be-ku-cog {Listed in the catalogue of the “16 *chos blon chen po* of the king [Srong-btsan Sgam-po]” in *KK* 321.1–2 as the *lho phyogs mon rgya gar gyi khas dpon* (= *mkhos-dpon*), i.e. administrative chief of Mon and the Indian border region in the South}

{In the same catalogue (*KK* 320.18–321.7) there is also mention of a *khas-dpon* of the land of the “**Dru-gu** (Western Turks) in the North” (namely *chos blon* Lam-sde Khri-bzang lo-btsan), a *khas-dpon* of “**China** in the East” (Mchims Mang-rje mang-lod) and a *khas-blon* of “**Stag-gzig** in the West” (minister Snubs Gna'-stong-re gtsug-snon)}

● **The eight military governments** (*khrom* [*chen-po*]):

1. **M** = Rma-khrom {The Rma-chu garrison situated on the upper Yellow River; also described as a *khri-sde*}
2. **S** = Khri-bshos *khrom* {In the Kokonor region; exact location unknown}
3. **G** = Dbyar-mo-thang *khrom chen-po* (var. G.yar-mo/G.yer-mo-thang) {G.yar-mo-thang is known as the area where the “treaty temple” of De-ga G.yu-tshal is located, which Kapstein identifies with the Yulin east of Dunhuang, in other words to the northwest of Kokonor (Kapstein 2004; cf. also Uebach 1991). Uray 1980: northeast of Lake Kokonor. Richardson (1998: 169) thinks the *khrom* was established in the 8th century in place of the Khri-bshos garrison, and he suggests that its jurisdiction included the area of Tsong-ka. In Gruschke 2001 (I): 81, 210 G.yer-mo-thang is indicated as the area to the north / northwest of Lake Ngo-ring}
4. **T** = Tshal-byi {The *khrom* of the Lop-nor region; it was headed by a *ru-dpon* and included the four cities of Cercen, Ka-dag, Little Nob (Nob-chung, near Miran), and Nob-chen (= Charkhlik); *TLTD II* 119ff.; Uray 1980: 311; Richardson 1998: 170, *et passim*; see also Takeuchi 2003}
5. **K** = [M]Khar-tsan *khrom chen-po* [i.e. Liangzhou; it was also administered as a *ru*, headed by a *ru-dpon*}
6. **D-S-K** = Kwa-cu *khrom* [*chen-po*] {It included Guazhou, Suzhou, Shazhou or Dunhuang; above, Introduction: 41}
7. **L** = Khotan (Li-yul)
8. **B** = Bru-zha {For a detailed discussion of the land Bru-

zha (associated with Gilgit) and neighboring areas in the imperial period, see most recently Denwood, *fc*: Chap. 2.2} [9.] A further *khrom* is reported to have been established at the southwestern border of the empire (Introduction: 42)

● **Mdo-smad, Mdo-khams, Bde-khams:**

As noted above (39ff.), the Mdo-smad of the *OTA* largely appears to correspond to present-day Khams plus A-mdo to the south of the Rma-chu. To the north and north-east was Mdo-khams which geographically apparently overlapped with Bde-khams, i.e. the “realm of the pacification minister” (Bde-blon-khams; Bde-blon-ris) which is reported to have been created anew in the 760s. The core of the latter was probably the area around Mkhar-tsan, but also the *khrom* of Tshal-byi, Kwa-cu or Dbyar-mo-thang were under the jurisdiction of the Bde-blon-khams (Introd.: 40f.; Dotson 2007a: 272). It is possibly identical with the Tsong-kha Bde-yangs listed in *Rlangs* as one of three branch settlements of the *Rlangs* in this part of eastern Tibet (the other two: G.yar-mo-thang and Mdo-khams; *Rlangs* 28.6–9); it appears in later sources in the compound of Mdo-khams, Bde-khams, Khrom-khams (cf. *CFS*: 51), with the latter perhaps referring to the area of the Rma-chu garrison. The *dbang-ris bco brgyad* catalogue lists Mdo-khams as the territory of the “eight military thousand-districts,” and the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* describes Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams as the Sum-pa Branch Horn (see below). For Mdo-khams, Mdo-smad, see also the discussion in Gruschke 2001 (I): 11–12}

● **Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa-ru** (*KhG* 187; *Jo sras* 111; *Lde'u* 259; *GK* 185; *TLTD II*: 417ff., *et passim*; Dotson 2007a; Ri-wang 15f.; Denwood, *fc*; Sato 1978)

Both regions were administratively divided into thousand-districts (*ab* 8th cent.; Sum-pa-ru: 702 A.D.). *BK* speaks of the 13 *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung of the Upper Regions (*stod* = W) and the 13 *stong-sde* of Sum-pa in the Lower Regions (*smad* = E). *KhG* and *Lde'u* give the following listing:

“10 *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung [plus] Khri-sde *stod smad*”

I) “Five *stong-sde* of Zhang-zhung-*stod* situated between Bod and Gru-gu (Dru-gu):” 1. 'O-co-bag ('O-tsho/zho-pag, *TLTD II* 460f.) {= 'O-mtsho in 'O-ma (?); Bellezza, p.c.} 2. Mang-ma-bag {= Mar-ma (?), Shan-rtsa County, *XD* 608} 3. Snye-ma-bag (~Gnye-ma, Nyi-mo-bag) {= Snyi-ma of Shan-rtsa County?} 4. Rtsa[l]-mo-bag 5. Ba-ga (= *stong bu-chung*) [In Sato 1978, nos. 4, 5 are placed in Dge-rgyas County]

II) “Five *stong-sde* of Lower Zhang-zhung situated between Bod and Sum-pa (see below):”

1. Gug-ge 2. Gu[g]-cog (~Cog-la) {between Gu-ge and Spi-ti} 3. Spyi[r]-rtsang {Sato 1978: south of Khyung-lung} 4. Yar-rtsang 5. Spyi-ti (~ Ci-de (= Spi-ti, also Sp[y]i-Lcog; Petech 1997: 252) (= *stong bu-chung*) {A “Spyi ti sde myang rmang la snang” (= Myang Rmang-la-snang from the Spyi-ti division?) is mentioned as the author of an imperial period inscription in Ru-thog (Bellezza 2008: 187, fn. 193)}

{Tucci 1956: 73 reads Khri-sde as Khri-te = Kirata, east of the Kali Gandaki (see also Everding 2000: 264f.; Map 4 in Dudjom 1991). Khri-sde is the name of the territory adjacent to [Zhi-sde] Cog-ro in Pu-rang *smad* (Gyalbo 2006: 142). The five districts of no. II seem to correspond to the Gug-cog *sde-lnga* (five divisions of Gug-ge and Cog-la) which are listed to form the “western divisions of the heroes” (*stod kyi dpa'-sde*) headed by the five clans of 'Bro, Khyung[-po], Mgar ('Gar), Snubs and Gnyan (*KhG* 189.10–12; *Lde'u* 274.9–11)}

The **borders** of Sum-pa-ru (*yan-lag* Sum-pa-ru / Sum-ru):

E: Gnye-yul (~G.ye-yul) Bu[m]-nag (Gnyen-yul Brag-ra)

S: Smyi-ti chu-nag (~ Smri-ti / Rmi'u-ti chu-nag {In Lhari, see also § 5: G.yas-ru}

W: Yel-zhabs Sding[s]-po-che (~Spel-zhabs Ldeng-po)

N: Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang (in 'Bri-ru *rdzong*)

Center: Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal {Rgya-shod may refer to the Rgya[l]-sde *bcu gnyis*, 12 tribal units which constituted the “middle regiment of heroes” and which was subordinated to the Nags-shod sub-thousand-district (below, no. 11) (*Lde'u* 274.17f.; Riwan 15; *KhG* 189.17: Sbas Rgya-sde *bcu gsum*). In Sato 1978, Rgya-sde is placed in eastern Nags-shod}

The **districts**:

1. Rtse-mthon {Localized by Thomas in the Nob region (*TLTD II* 160f.; 467); a Rtse-mtho castle is mentioned in *Dba' bzhed* 30a together with Rgod-lting (= below no 3, 4? *TLTD II* 128) as a representative stronghold of Zhang-zhung which fell under the rule of the Spu-rgyal}

2. Yo-mthon (~ Pho/Spo-mthon) {Sato 1978: near Rgya-sde}

3–4. Rgod-tshang-stod, -smad {It was suggested to identify it with the Rgod-tshang districts near Glang-chu in Mngaris (Gyalbo 2005, 2006), or with the Rgod-tshang in Rgyalrong, Bar-khams County (*Dungkar* 2044). Documents from Miran refer to a Rgod-tshang which appears to be located in the Nob region (Nob-c[h]lung, -che), *TLTD II* 128, 130, 144. In Sato 1978, Map 7, it is placed NE of 'Jong (nos. 5–6)}

5–6. 'Dzom-stod, -smad (~'Jong, ~Mdzo) {*TLTD II* 130f., 443, 460; *TLTD III* 89. Sato 1978: north of Nags-shod}

7–8. Tre-stod, -smad (Dre-stod, smad) {Probably not the Tre-shod of eastern Khams. *TLTD II* 130 lists a “Thre Mthongma of the Nag-shod district”; see also Sato 1978, Map 7}

9. Kha-ro (Perhaps identical with the Kha-dro district in the Nob region; *TLTD II* 129, 461}

10. Kha-bzang (Kha-zangs / Khang-bzangs)

11. Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) {see *TLTD II* 125ff.}

A number of the districts of the Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa army catalogue are still not properly identified. The Zhang-zhung of the catalogue does not correspond to the extension of Zhang-zhung as described in the Bon-po tradition, which includes the region associated with Sum-pa, i.e. the “Gateway Zhang-zhung” from Khyung-lung in the west up to Sum-pa Glang gi Gyim-shod in the east (cf. e.g. Dagkar 2003: 17f.). Upper and Lower Zhang-zhung is probably the same as the

Great and Little Yangtong of Chinese sources, with Great Yangton bordering to the east on Little Y. (Denwood, *fc*). The districts of Zhang-zhung *stod* (“between Bod and Dru-gu”) Denwood thinks are to be located along the “Byang-thang Corridor” as he calls the east-west route approximately from Gnam-ru in the east up to the present-day Seng-ge kha-bab district (south of Ru-thog, the latter identified by the same author as the core of the ancient kingdom of Suvarnagotra, the land of the “Gold Dynasty,” **Gser-rigs** [it is registered as part of Tibet in c. 726, but apparently was not included in the Zhang-zhung *stong-sde* structure as it was probably never part of Zhang-zhung]). The corridor was bordering to the north on “Turk-controlled territory (Dru-gu)” (Denwood, *op. cit.*) and towards the south may well have reached as far as the northern border of G.yas-ru of Bod, although the definition of this line remains somewhat vague (§ 5, 6). Note that there is also a “Zhang-zhung of the North” which in IOL Tib J 1284 is reported to have been offered to Khri Srong-rtsan by Khyung-po Zu-tse after the latter had defeated Bor-yontse, the lord of To-yo Chas-la (identification uncertain, but see § 3.1: Rtsang; To-yo Chas-la; § 3.2-8). The Zhang-zhung *smad* of the catalogue appears to be restricted to the area around Gu-ge and Pu-rang, plus Spi-ti (W) and Khri-sde in the south. As to its eastern extension, the cartographic entry (on Map 2–5) follows the tradition which gives Mt. Rtsang-lha Pu-dar as the border mountain between Zhang-zhung and Bod (§ 3.1: Rtsang). The description in the catalogue according to which Lower Zhang-zhung was situated between Bod and Sum-pa is hardly possible and, as noted by Denwood, some other name may be behind this “Sum-pa.” However, this suggested location of the catalogue still needs further examinations. T. Gyalbo thinks, the core areas of the two halves of Zhang-zhung refer to the present-day districts of Gu-ge (= Lower Zhang-zhung) and Pu-rang (= Upper Zhang-zhung). In the latter also a Mangma (= Mang-ma-bag?) and a Baga (= Ba-ga *stong bu chung?*) are to be found (T. Gyalbo, p.c.).

The Sum-pa-ru of the 8th century evidently had its central parts around 'Bri-ru County, and the Horn included apparently districts further to the north of it (Nob region) and extended to the east as far as 'Dan-ma in Khams (= the Sum-pa Glang). See Denwood, *fc*; cf. also Riwan 15; Chödrag 4. The *mi'u-rigs-bzhi* classifications give 'Dzam-stod, -smad (nos. 5, 6?) and Nags-shod (no. 11) as the area of the [Stong] Sum-pa (Vitali 2003: 55). In the classical description of the geography of Tibet which characterizes the three divisions of Stod, Bar, Smad as regions resembling respectively a lake (W), canal (C) and a field (E), *Jo sras* 110.8–11 offers the variant version according to which the canal was the area of “six Horns,” = the zone of the *ru-bzhi* plus **Gnam[-ru]** (see § 6) plus Sum-pa-ru. Somewhat contradictory are positions such as those of the aforementioned *yul gyi khod bshams pa* or in *BK* which locate the Sum-pa-ru in Mdo-khams or in Smad, respectively.

3. The Ancient Principalities

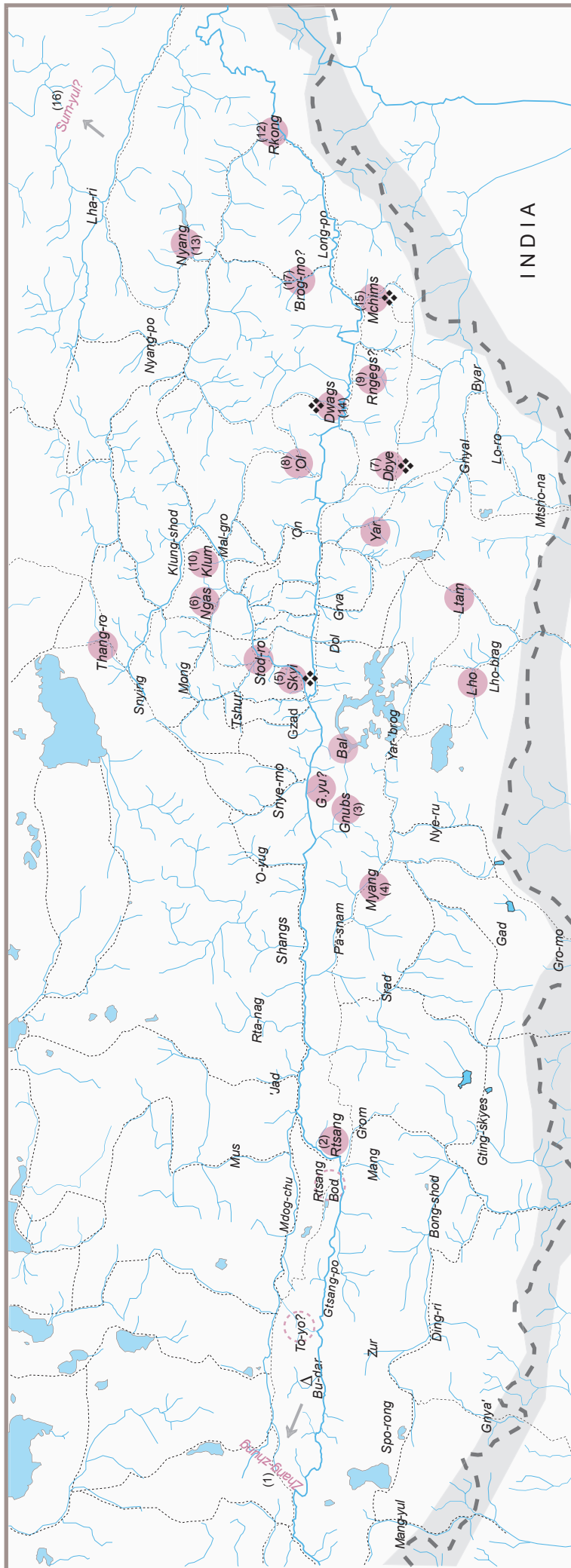
3.1 Notes on MAP 3

The pre-imperial principalities described as “petty kingdoms” (*rgyal-phran*) largely relate to areas in agricultural zones on either side of Gtsang-po. They were similarly structured units – stratified, clan-based societies whose individual members were grouped around a ruling lineage and drew their identity from a common territory (*yul*) and its *lha* (territorial god). The rivalries between the individual *yul*, the strategies of their affinal relations and the rituals (led by the *bon po* and *gshen* priests) to heal the land and its representatives form the object of the oldest records of the *rgyal-phran* period (e.g. PT 1285; IOJ 734; *GSP*; Dotson, *forthcoming a*), whose cultural lore continued to have an effect long into the imperial period. The various *rgyal-phran* lists reflect at the same time an overview of the local ruling houses (including Zhang-zhung) which from the 7th century were absorbed into or more or less closely bound to the empire, although several of these old regional dynasties were able to preserve a certain independence (see below § 3.2). The *lha* of the individual *yul* themselves remained respected authorities after the unification of the land and became an integrative component of the state cult (Karmay 1996). After the decay of the empire, they remained a central point of reference for regional political developments (such as the 10th-cent. regional principalities, or *rje-dpon-mtshan*) and for developments in the sphere of the Buddhist protective deity cult. Various *rgyal-phran* lists have been handed down; one of the classifications speaks of the “12 plus 42 smaller *rgyal-phran*” (*rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis*, *rgyal-phran sil-ma bzhi-bcu rtsa-gnyis*), although the numbers are rather symbolic (the one group includes more than 12, the other ends after four entries with “etc.”). § 3 is a summary of various lists, based on the catalogue of the *rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis* in PT 1286 (= (1) (2) etc. in the following listing) and the other data from the Dunhuang documents (largely already compiled in Lalou 1965) (PT 1285, 1287, 1290, 1060, 1040, ITJ 734) and comparative Bon-po ritual texts (such as the newly discovered *GR* and *RD* (Text 1 and 2 in *GSP*; see Bibliography). The *rgyal-phran* catalogues of the later sources (*Lde'u* 225; *KhG*, *Jo sras*; *KD*) and the various lists of the *mgur-lha bcu-gsum* or the *srid-pa chags-pa'i lha-dgu*, which predominantly relate to old territorial gods, form supplementary sources (cf. *Lde'u* 230; Karmay 1998: 437; Kalsang 1996; *Lhoka* 175f.; Bellezza 1997: 47f.; *OD*, *passim*; *Bstan srung*, *passim*). Finally, separately marked on the map are the dynasties described as the “ancient relatives at the four borders” (*gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi*) listed at the beginning of PT 1286; see e.g. Richardson 1998 [1969]: 28f.; Yamaguchi 1992.

The *yul* on Map 3 from W to E:

(1)**Zhang-zhung** (r.: Dar-pa'i *rjo-bo* Lig Snya-shur (Gnya'-zhu Lag-mig *alias* Lig Mi-rhya); m.: Khyung-po [and] Ra-sangs-rje (see above Part II: fn. 139), Stong-lom Ma-tse [PT 1290, m.: She'u and Spug]; var. r.: Zhang-zhung Dar gyi rje Li-ga-shur; m.: Sm[r]a Ra-sangs-rje) {Zhang-zhung is also known as Smra Zhang-zhung (Smra means “man” and is often to be found as an epithet of geographical designations or in toponymic compounds which refer to a land in a more formulaic context (cf. below Smra-yul Thag-brgyad), but it also appears as clan name Smra = Rma / [S]mar); § 3.2-1, 3.2-2). Smra-yul (Mar-yul) is known as a geographical designation of La-dvags [original name: Mard; Uray 1990b; above fn. 256]). On the other hand, Dar-pa is here a place name (cf. also PT 1290: Dar-ma'i *rje-bo* Leg-snya-shur; Uray 1972a: 41); it may refer to the west Tibetan Dar-lung of Shan-tsha County (Bellezza 2008, s.v.); it is the Dar-ma'i *yul* given as the home of the [Zhang-zhung] mother of the fifth Gnam-khri (cf. Dagkar 2003: 210). For details on the Zhang-zhung *rgyal-phran*, see most recently Gyalbo 2006: 11ff.; Bellezza 2008; Denwood, *fc*}

Rtsang = Rtsang-ro Dbye-kar (PT 1285) (the form Myang-ro'i Pyed-kar in PT 1286 [= (2)] appears to be misleading (*Dungkar* 1625 locates it in the Lha-rtse area). r.: Rtsang-rje'i Thod-dkar; l./m.: Su-ru/du and Gngang; var. Ban [?]) {The Rtsang-ro may correspond to the **Rtsang-shul** of the *lha-dgu* lists (var.: Kha-rag (~Kha-la) Rtsang-stod, evidently not the Kha-rag of the Dbus-Gtsang border area; *RD*: 26: Rtsang-shul Mthon-ba). d.: Rtsang-lha P[h]u/Bu-dar [and younger brother] Rtsang-lha Bye'u. The first is classified as the leader of the 13 Mgur-lha and refers to a mountain situated SW of Bzang (Zang-zang), at the border between Ngam-ring and Sa-dga' County (Bellezza 1997: 47, 77; Bellezza, *fc*). The mountain is said to mark the border between Spu-rgyal Bod and Zhang-zhung, and the province Gtsang (orig. Rtsang) allegedly owes its name to the Rtsang-lha (Bellezza, *ibd.*; Rtsang = *rtsangs pa kharal*? See Hazod 2005). Bye'u, the younger brother, perhaps refers to the not more closely identified Bye-ma-la mountain in Ngam-ring (§ 5), or to Mt. Gtsang-la east of Phadkhu-mtsho (*XD* 457b; Map 6a). In the description of the 10th-cent. principality of Gtsang-stod-yul (with Grom-pa Lha-rtse as the center) the deity Gtsang-lha Bu-dar is given as the representative *lha*. It also suggests a geographical correspondence between the ancient Rtsang-ro and the later Gtsang-stod principality – a territory which included the present-day Lha-rtse and Ngam-ring and possible also areas south of the Gtsang-po. This Rtsang-ro may have partly overlapped with the “Rtsang Bod” described as a



Sigla:

- = centres of the principalities
- ◆ = dynasties specified as *gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi* (Ancient Relatives at the Four Borders): 1) Lde'i Gangs-bar (dynasty represented by the lady Lde-za Gang-rag-ma) {In Dbye-mo}
- (1), (2) etc. = the *yul* of the *rgyal phran* catalogue in PT 1286
- ◆ = modern frontier
- = path

(1), (2) etc. = the *yul* of the *rgyal phran* catalogue in PT 1286

(1) Dags kyi Bshen-mkhar (dynasty represented by the lady Dags-za Gyim-pang-ma) {In Dwags-po}

(2) Mchims-yul gyi Dngul-khur (dynasty repres. by the lady Mchims[-za] Sha-tshang-ma) {In Mchims}

(3) Skyi-la-mda' (dynasty represented by the lady Skyi-za [...]) {In Lower Skyi}

(4) Ringe-gs? (9) Dbye (7) Dags (8) 'Ol (8) Dwags (14) R'long (12) Nyang (13) 'Brag-mo? (17) Mchims (15) Long-po (16) Surm-yul?

MAP 3:
The Ancient Principalities.

territory of 20,000 households. The core of this Rtsang Bod presumably was the eastern Ngam-ring or the area of the later Khri-bom[s] *stong-sde* (§ 3.2-8; § 6); see also To-yo}

?**To-yo** = To-yo Chas-la (IOL Tib J 1284; r.: Bor-yon-tse) {The territory in “Byang gi Zhang-zhung” conquered by Khyung-po Zu-tse (see § 2). Identification unclear, but it may be speculated whether the To-yo Chas-la (a toponym of Turcic origin?) refers to the Tho-yor nag-po (Byang Tho-[g.]yor nag-po *yul*), known as the homeland of Rig-'dzin Rgod-ldem-pa (1337–1409) in [La-stod] Byang (= Byang gi Zhang-zhung?). It is described as the territory related to the legendary Hor-pa king Gur-ser (*DJ* 451; *GKC* 580, 669–72, *passim*) and apparently belongs to the section west of Ngam-ring-mtsho which is marked by three ancient Hor *lha ri*, namely Ri-bo Bkra-bzang, Zang-zang lha-brag and Gcung Ri-bo (Bellezza 2005: 282f.). According to T. Gyalbo (p.c.), a Toyo is to be found north of the Ma-pham lake, in an area locally referred to as “Byang”}

?**G.yu** = G.yu-ro Lung-gsum {Likely identical with the Rulag district of G.yu-lung. It is listed in PT 1285 after Skyi-ro, which suggests a location to the west of Gzad Chu-shul, near the Gtsang-po. Perhaps akin to the g.Yu-lung-ri, the name of a mountain due east of Lower Rin-spungs}

(4)**Myang-ro** = Myang-ro'i Sham-po (r.: Long-ma Byi[-brom] [-cha] (= *rgyal-po* Lo[ng]-ngam; also *rta rdzi* (horse-keeper) Lo-ngam; cf. *KhG* 189 (and *Lde'u* 273) where he is listed among the “seven herders” (*rdzi bdun*); l./m.: Ngabmyi and 'Bre [var. She'u and Yug = Spug]); d.: not registered in the *lha-dgu* lists; a “Nyang-lha Phu-dar” is known from the *mgur-lha* catalogues; Bellezza 1997: 48) {Gri-gum (orig. sp. Dri-gum) btsan-po had his seat at *mkhar* Myang-ro Sham-po before his territory was taken over by Lo-ngam (*TDD* 200–02). The residence is also known as Sham-po brtsegs-dgu (nine-storied Sham-bu [castle] which in *MC* (9, 88) is identified with the site of Rtse-chen (near Rgyal-rtse). According to the locals of Sham-bu, a village due west of Rtse-chen, the toponym Sham-bu brtsegs-dgu refers to nine mountain peaks around the Sham-bu area. The latter once may have also included the Rtse-chen hill and the adjacent plain of Brgya-grong (Map 3.2a). Sham-bu's central part is the valley called Yar-lung, where two burial sites are to be found (see § 3.2, no. 14). For the geographical extension of M/Nyang-ro, cf. the form Nyang-ro (~ Myang-stod) Khang-dmar (south of Rgyal-rtse), or Nyang-ro Rtsis (i.e. either the Rtsis lha-khang *alias* Gnas-rnying (Chos-'phel 2008: 30f.), or the [Myang-stod] Rtsis Gnas-gsar in the lower Myang-stod (Everding 2000: 9); the latter may be the Nyang-ro Brtsis kyi Thal-tshal, which is described as the place where Gri-gum was killed (*YC* 43); corresponding to Myang-ro Thal-ba-tshal in other sources); Hazod 2007a}

(3)**Gnubs** = Gnubs gyi Gling-dgu (var. Gnubs-shul Gling-drug; r.: Gnubs-rje'i Sri[b]s-pa/Srid-pa [cf. *KhG* 189.2 where

Snubs-rje Sris-pa is listed as representative of the *kheng* class of the *rje-dgu* (“nine lords”). l./m.: Rme'u and Gro; PT 1290: l./m.: Rme'u and Lcang; *Lde'u*, l./m.: Rme'u and 'Gro; d.: Gnubs-lha Mthon-drug / Rten-drug) {The territory is generally identified with the Rong area east of Dpal-ti (i.e. Gnubs-yul Rong, *Jo sras* 150.12). A Gnubs land is also to be found in the area of Lower 'O-yug (Map 7a-b) where (according to Bellezza 1997: 48) also the Nub-lha is located (i.e. “above G.yung-drung-gling *dgon-pa*”). It suggests an extension of the original Gnubs to the north of Gtsang-po. The Gnubs (Snubs) clan known from the list of the *yab-'bangs rus-drug* (and the *bod-'bangs rje-dgu*) is *inter alia* also registered for 'Phyong-po and Upper Yar-lung as well as for Gu-ge (see § 2, § 4). Note that the Yar-brog lake is also called Nubs-mtsho}

Bal = Bal-yul Leng-thang / Lang-btang) (listed in PT 1285, 1040; r.: La-nam) {The area of Dpal / Bal-sde (~Sbal-lung) of north-western Yar-'brog; most probably related to the Bal clan (= Dpal? note that in *Rlangs'* genealogical description of the Dbra (7.14–8.2), Bal-po and Dpal are given as two different branch-lines). Dpal (Dbal, Bal) is i.a. registered as the lineage of the mother of Spu-lde Gung-rgyal; perhaps related to the lineage's origin in central Tibet is the Dpal-skyes, a site close to the Rdo-nang-ri in Yar-'brog; Map 7.4}

(5)**Skyi** = Skyi-ro'i Ljang-sngon / Lc[h]ang-sngon (r.: Skyi-rje'i rmang[s]-po; l./m.: She'u and Spug (var. Ngas-mi [people of Ngas-po?] and 'Gro [= 'Bro]); d.: Skyi-lha Bya-rmang) {It appears to be the area around Ljang, Lower Skyi. In *GR* 27 a *yul* Skyi-yul La-mo 'Jing-sngon is registered, which suggests an identification with the La-mo of Upper Skyi (Map 7.8). The toponym Skyi is evidently related to the Kyi (Skyi-mi) clan whose origin place was in 'Phan-yul; *RCP*: 17; *TF*: 53}

Thang-ro = Thang-ro Ral-gsum (registered in the *lha-dgu* catalogues; d.: [Gnyen-chen] Thang-lha Ya-bzhur) {Apparently the Snying-grong or 'Dam-gzhung district}

Stod-ro = Stod-ro Lung-gsum (~Stod-lung Ral-gsum); registered in PT 1060 and also known from the *lha-dgu* lists. r.: 'Brong-lom; d.: Stod-lha Ze-ze (probably identical with Jo-mo Zi-zi in the Lhasa Valley) {See Hazod 2007b: 604}

(6)**Ngas** = Ngas-po Khra-sum/sna (r.: Dgung-gri'i Zing[s]-po-rje [Khri-[']pang[s]-sum]; l./m.: Mgar and M/Snyan; d.: Klum-lha Thugs-po; apparently the *lha* of Klum-ro) {The heart of Ngas-po was the valley of Yung-ba-sna (= present-day Yung-ba / Yul-sna *shang*) in Lower 'Phan-po (*HSLG-4* 30; *XD* 64f.; descendants of the lineage of Zing-po-rje [Khri-pang-sum] are reportedly living at Zing-ba, a village close to Zing-pa Stag-dgon at the entrance to the Yung-ba Valley; *HSLG-4* 70). Khra-sum/sna is arguably to be identified with the Khra-nang / Khra-phu of Upper Yung-ba; Map 6b; see also Migmar 66. In PT 1287 (*TDD* 204) Khri-pangs-sum's (chief) residence was Sdur-ba'i Yu-sna, i.e. the *mkhar* Yu-sna which later was conquered by the allies of Khri Slon-mtshan (*TDD* 207; in the same account it is described as Mnyan 'Dzi-

zung gi *mkhar* Sdur-ba = Sdur-ba Castle which the Ngas-po vassal Mnyan 'Dzi-zung once had been granted by Khripang-sum and which later, after the fall of Ngas-po, was allocated together with 1500 households (*bran khyim*) to Khri Slon-mtshan's ally Myang Tseng-sku. It is identified with the Ka-ba Yul-sna, the birthplace of 'Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbangphyug in 'Phan-yul (Migmar 67; cf. *PK* 405.11: Dbu-ru 'Phan-yul Ska-ba), possibly the Ka'u (Kha-'khor/ Dkar-po-khud) south-east of Zing-ba (see below § 3.2, no. 11). The narrative of the conquest of Ngas-po suggests that the latter constituted a hegemonic power whose radius reached far beyond the borders of 'Phan-yul (= Ngas-po proper), namely from Yung-ba down to Rkong-po Bre-sna (*TDD* 207.12–14)

(10)**Klum-ro** = Klum-ro'i Ya-sum (PT 1286, 1290) (r.: Nam-pa'i bu Gseng-ti [var. *rgyal-po* Nam-sa Rtsi-ti]; l./m.: Myang and Sbrang) {The context in *OTC* suggests a location in Mal-tro. The representative ruler of Klum-ro (*cum* Yel-rab) in the late 6th cent. was Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo before he was killed and his territory confiscated by the ruler of Ngas-po. He resided at Nyen-kar rnying-ba – most probably the Nyen-kar of the *OTA* (= the Lo east of Zhogs; see below § 7.2). A prominent territorial god in this part of Skyid-shod is the Zhogs-lha Rgyug-po (~Phyug-po), a mountain and *yul-lha* in the eastern section of the Upper Zhogs Valley, who is listed among the highly significant *srid-pa'i lha-dgu* (*Lhoka* 175). Possibly the deity corresponds to the ancient *lha* of Klum-ro who apparently was also worshipped by the Ngas-po ruler (i.e. the Klum-lha Thugs-po (= Phyugs-po?) listed above). It suggests the location of the core area of Klum-ro between Zhogs and Chum-mda' (east of Lo); Map 7.8}

Ltam = Ltam-shul Gung-dang (listed in PT 1285; r. Ya-bo) {Gtam-lha Spun-dgu (var. Gtam-lha pho-dgu) is the leading *lha* of this area south-west of 'Phyong-po. In the 10th cent., in the context of the *kheng-log* (“rebellion of the subjects”), the principality of Gtam-shul Lho-brag (also Lho-brag Gtam-shul) have been established, with Bya-tshang Gung-s nang as its stronghold and the Snyi-ba and Shud-pu as the ruling lineages; *KhG* 432; *Jo sras* 145f.; *Lde'u* 374; *SL* 6–7}

Lho = Lho-ga Lang-drug (PT 1060, PT 1289; r.: Lang-ling [var. Lho-bu]; m.: Thog-snan; d.: Lho-bla'i (*bla ri*) Gang-rgyal) {Most likely the Lho-brag area. In PT 1144, the Lho-brag ruler is Klu-dur, a rival of Stag-bu Snya-gzigs}

Yar = Yar-khyim Sogs-yar (~Yar-lung Sog-kar / Sogs-dkar; *RD* 30: *yul* [Yar-]lungs Sogs-ka) (r.: 'O-lde Spu-rgyal [PT 1285 (*TDD* 186.7): Ga-gar Ltangs gyi *rje*, seat at *mkhar* Bar-pa Zo-brang]; d.: Yar-[h]a Sham-po){Yar-lung Sog-kha refers here to the Yar-lung area. The toponym is also known as the name of a section of the upper Yar-lha Sham-chu, marked by several ruins of ancient watchtowers (*CFS*: 206f.). Bar-pa Zo-brang refers to a place in Lower Yar-lung (*TF*: 221); the latter largely corresponds to the Yar-mo rnam-bzhi (*TF* 228) which in *GSP* is registered as separate *yul*)}

(7)**Dbye** = Dbye-ro yul-bzhi (also Dbye-mo / G.ye-mo Yul-drug) (r.: Dbye-rje'i [M]khar-pa; l./m.: Dbo and Rtug [var. Pho-gum, Pho-rol; Sbo (= Spo) and Rngog]; d.: Dbye-bla Spyi-gangs (~Dbye-lha Spyi-dkar [and Gro-lha Gang-bu]. Spyi-gangs is located at the border to Gnyal) {Dbye = G.ye-yul, east of Yar-lung. It is most probably identical with Lde, the dynasty with Gangs-bar near Klog in southern G.ye (= G.ye-che) as its center (Hazod 2006). Evidently to be related to this dynasty is the newly discovered necropolis of Rgyal-mkhar-thang in G.ye-chung; see § 3.1}

(8)**OI** = 'O-yul gyi Spang-kar (var. 'Ol-phu Dga'-dang; 'Ol-phu Yang-kar; *GR* 36–37: 'Ol-phu Rga/Rgu-dang (and?) 'Ol-phu kyi Spang-bzangs (r.: 'Ol-rje'i Zin-[]brang-tsha/rje; l./m.: Rngo[g?] and Dba's [var. Go and Sbas]) {It evidently refers to the Upper 'Ol-kha, around 'Ol-kha-rdzong and Rdzing-phyi}

(9)?**Ngegs** = Ngegs-yul kyi Gru-bzhi (var. Sreg-yul Se-mo Gru-bzhi; Rngegs-shul Gling-brang. r.: Rngegs-rje'i La-brang [var. Rngog-rje Tshe'u klu-'brang]; l./m.: Sas-pa and Myang; d.: Rngegs-lha Pya-rmang) {[R]ngegs = Gnyags, and apparently also identical with Rngogs (cf. Dotson 2007a: 401), the famous *phyi dar* clan whose original land in Dbus is said to be the Yar-'brog Do (= Rdo-nang); *GKC* 343–44. Yet, the ancient Rngegs-yul was in Dwags-po. It is evidently identical with the (rebellious) rule of Nyags-nyi of *OTC* which – as demonstrated by Uray 1988b – is to be located close to Dwags-lha sgam-po. According to P. Wangdu (p.c.), Nyag-mi is the name of a mountain in this area, somewhere south of the Gtsang-po. It may correspond to the Nyag-nyi rgyab-dmar (“red rear [mountain] of Nyag[s]-nyi”) which is among the 27 places of arrival of the mythical ancestor Gnya'-khri btsan-po (*Lde'u* 237). Probably this was the seat of the Rngegs-lha Pya-rmang, the latter to be found in later sources in the form of Snyags-lha Byar-ma / Byar-ma'i gangs of Dwags-po (*DLS* 20b4, 23b5). The *yul* is inserted here with question mark at the level of Sku-rab, due west of La-thog}

(14)**Dwags** = Dags kyi Gru-bzhi (also Dags-shul Shing-nag, Dags-yul Se-mo Gru-bzhi; PT 1287: Dags-po Lha-de; Dags kyi Bsen-mkhar) (r.: Dags-rgyal gyi Sprog-zin [var. Dwags-rje Lce-mang]; l./m.: Pha-gu and Pog-rol [var. Bla and Kam-mo]; d.: Dags-lha Sgam-po) {It refers to present-day Dwags-po *stod*, the area around Rgyal-tshva County. The local tradition speaks of four watch-towers which traditionally marked this territorial section of western Dwags-po, perhaps an allusion to the ancient “quadripartite territory” of [Se-mo] Gru-bzhi; *RCP*: 177}

(15)**Mchims** = Mchims-yul gyi Dgu-yul (var. 'Chims-yul Nag-po dgu-sul / Rgu-sul / Dgra-sul) (r.: Mchims-rje'i Ne'u; l./m.: Dang and Ding-ding; d.: Mchims-lha Than-tsho) {The heart of Mchims-yul was the Skyems-stong Valley in eastern Dwags-po. Above the village Sleb (locally a.k.a. Mchims) the famous necropolis of Lishang (= Sleb *shang*) is located (divided into the two fields of *bang-so nub* and *-shar*). It is

evidently to be related to the dynasty of the Mchims-rgyal (§ 3.2). The ancient ruins of Bangye (Spang-rgyas?) opposite the grave fields are locally described as the seat of a former king (apparently not a representative of the Skyems-stong *sde-pa* of the Phag-gru period, who had their *rdzong* further to the south of the Skyems-stong Valley; Hazod 2006)

(17)?"**Brog-mo** = 'Brog-mo snam-gsum (PT 1286) (r.: Se-re Khri / Ser-khri; l./m.: Skyang re-gnag / Rkang-re nag-po) {Probably identical with the 'Brog-mo-thang in *OTC* where the context suggests a location close to Dwags-po or Rngags. Perhaps it refers to the Phyi-'brog northeast of Mchims}

(13)**Nyang** = Myang-yul gyi Rta-gsum (~Nyang-yul rnam-gsum (~ Thags-sum), Nyang-yul Shing-nag/-sngon) (r.: N/Myang-[b]tsun Slang-rgyal / Glang-rgyab; l./m.: 'O-ru and Sprags [var. De-ru [and?] [-.]spun]; d.: Myang-lha Bo-mo) {The ancient Nyang (plus Nyang-dkar; Map 3.1) largely corresponds to the area of present-day Rgya-mdal County. Rta-gsum of Nyang is to be identified with present-day Kong-po Brag-gsum, an area where Gnam-lha dkar-po, a deity of supra-regional significance, functions as the territorial god. The original home of the Myang clan people (with an even older ancestral relation to Mon, *Lde'u* 237) appears to be the Nyang-po Valley further to the west, however. This is the territory of the *yul-lha* Nyang-po rgyal-po (also A-bo Nyang-lha), which we assume is identical with the Myang-lha Bo-mo of the written account. See below § 3.2-2}

(12) **Rkong** = Rkong-la Bre-sna (var. Kong-yul Gling-grags) (r.: Rkong-rje'i dkar-po; l./m.: Mkhar-pa and Pha-drug (Six Paternal Lineages; d.: Kong-lha Mthong-drug; Kong-lha De-yag / Des-legs. In *GPS* separately listed is the Kong-shul Se-mo-gru-bzhi) {The locals speak of the three divisions of Kong-po-stod (from Rib in the west [= the traditional border to Dwags Mchims (also Kong Mchims)] up to c. the level of Sman-gling; the western part, around 'O-rong-rdzong, is identified as the Long-po (cf. the compound Nyang Long Kong *gsum*) in Dudjom 1991: Map 8), Kong-po *smad* (c. from Sman-gling up to the point of confluence of the Pharlung-chu and Stong-mjug-chu = the border of Kong-po and Spo-bo; § 3.2-1) and Kong-po *gzhung* = central Kong-po, the area around present-day Ba-yi including Bre-sna, the latter known as the seat of the Kong-dkar-po princes. For ref. see e.g. Hazod 2005, 2007a). It is uncertain however to what extent this later Kong-po geographically corresponds to the ancient Rkong *yul*. See also 'Brog-mo and Srib-syul. The tombs of the ancient Rkong-po rulers are said to be located in the Rab-kha Valley of Sman-gling county; § 3.2, no. 22}

Not inserted on the map:

Yel-rab sde-bzhi {Mentioned in *OTC* (*TDD* 205) together with Klum[-ro] Ya-sum as the *yul* of Stag-skyabo. Exact location uncertain. It corresponds to the later Yel-rab (Yel-zhabs) *stong bu-chung* (= the district of the Bran-ka line-

age) and is to be located somewhere in the border region of Lower 'Phan-yul and Skyid-shod (see § 4: Bran-ka *yul*)}

(11)**Srib-syul kyil Rol-mo-gong** (PT 1286; 1290: 'Ol-mo-gong of Srib-s) (r.: Drang-rje'i Rnol-nam; l./m.: [B]Zhug[s]-tshams and Dbrad) (= Kris-sna Rol-mo-gong of the later sources (*Lde'u* etc.); r.: Drang-rje Gong-nam; l./m.: Sbrad and Zhu). It is presumably to be located in eastern Lho-kha; perhaps it corresponds to Srin-mo-rong (Map 6c)

(16)**Sum-yul gyi Ya-sum** (PT 1286) (r.: 'Thal-lji Rmang-ru-ti [= 'Bal-lji-rmang, see *TDD* 228.10]; l./m.: Rlang[s] and Kam) {Not identified; unless Sum-yul = Sum[-pa] *yul*}

Zhong-yul Dam-drug (Zhong-du Dam-drug) {Not identified; it is listed in PT 1285 between Mchims and Rkong}

Mdo-ro Lung[-gsum] (r.: Mdo-rje 'On-'brang; *RD* 28: Mdo-rje Sum-po) {Its position in the list of IOJ 734 (after Rkong-yul) suggests an identification with eastern Tibet (Mdo-ro = Mdo-khams as suggested by Thomas). However, the ruler's name ('On-'brang, "subject from 'On") points to another option: the Rdo Valley due west of 'On}

Byang-ka s/Rnam-brgyad (r.: Hir-kin Dar-kan; m.: Durgyus and A-ma-cha'; d.: Yol-tang-re' (var. Dru-gu'i *lha*) (PT 1060; *GSP*) {Not identified, but apparently referring to a *yul* in the land of the Western Turks (Dru-gu); § 2}

Rgya-yul Gtan-bzangs (r.: Rgya-rje Mying/Mye-mtshan [Rmang-po]; Rgya-rje btsan-ba; d.: Rgya-bla'i 'Brong-nam; m.: Rgya *blon* Gyi-zing-ba) {Rgya = Rhya? Both forms are to be found as the clan name of the Lo-ngam of Myang-stod (Hazod 2007a; the branch line called Rgya-long of Bgrya-grong (*RN* 177; Map 3.2a) may be related to this Lo-ngam origin. However, this area is otherwise represented by the *yul* of Myang-ro. In *RD* 19 the Rgya-yul is listed as one of the first (= westernmost) *yul* and thus rather may refer to an area further to the west, such as the Rgya-steng (in Pu-rang), or the Rgya-gling of Nyi-ma County; Bellezza 2008, s.v.}

Smra-yul Thag-brgyad (var. Sm[r]a-yul Thang-brgyad. PT 1285; *RD* 21, *passim*; Bellezza 2008, s.v.; r. Dang-ding-dings) {Probably not a real place; Dotson *forthcoming a*; see also above "Zhang-zhung"}

Yet more *yul* and (pre-imperial) ruling houses (such as Lha-yul Gung-thang, Phva-yul, Dmu-yul, Myi-yul, Klu-yul, Nyalung, Nags-yul), of which some are described in the context of a "mythical country," are scattered throughout the Dunhuang documents. Several *yul* registered in *GR* and *RD* still remain to be identified: Ma-yul Ya-sum (= Myang-yul Rtagsum?); Chab kyil Mar bzhugs Rgyal-mkhar-stegs (see PT 1060; Lalou 1965: 200); Bzangs-yul Rgyan-med (= Bzang or Zangs-dkar of La-stod Byang? (§ 7.1); or Bzang = Gzad [Chu-shul]? § 4); 'Ga'-shul Gru-bzhi; Glo'i Spu-drung gi Spu-mkhar (= Glo-bo?; Map 2); Ngam-yul nag-po (= Ngam-shod? *RCP*: 26); Khar-yul Khar-stod; Glan-yul Glan-stod (related to the Glan lineage); Sten-yul Dru-mong bzhi-stengs.

3.2 Evidence of Local Dynasties in Early Central Tibet

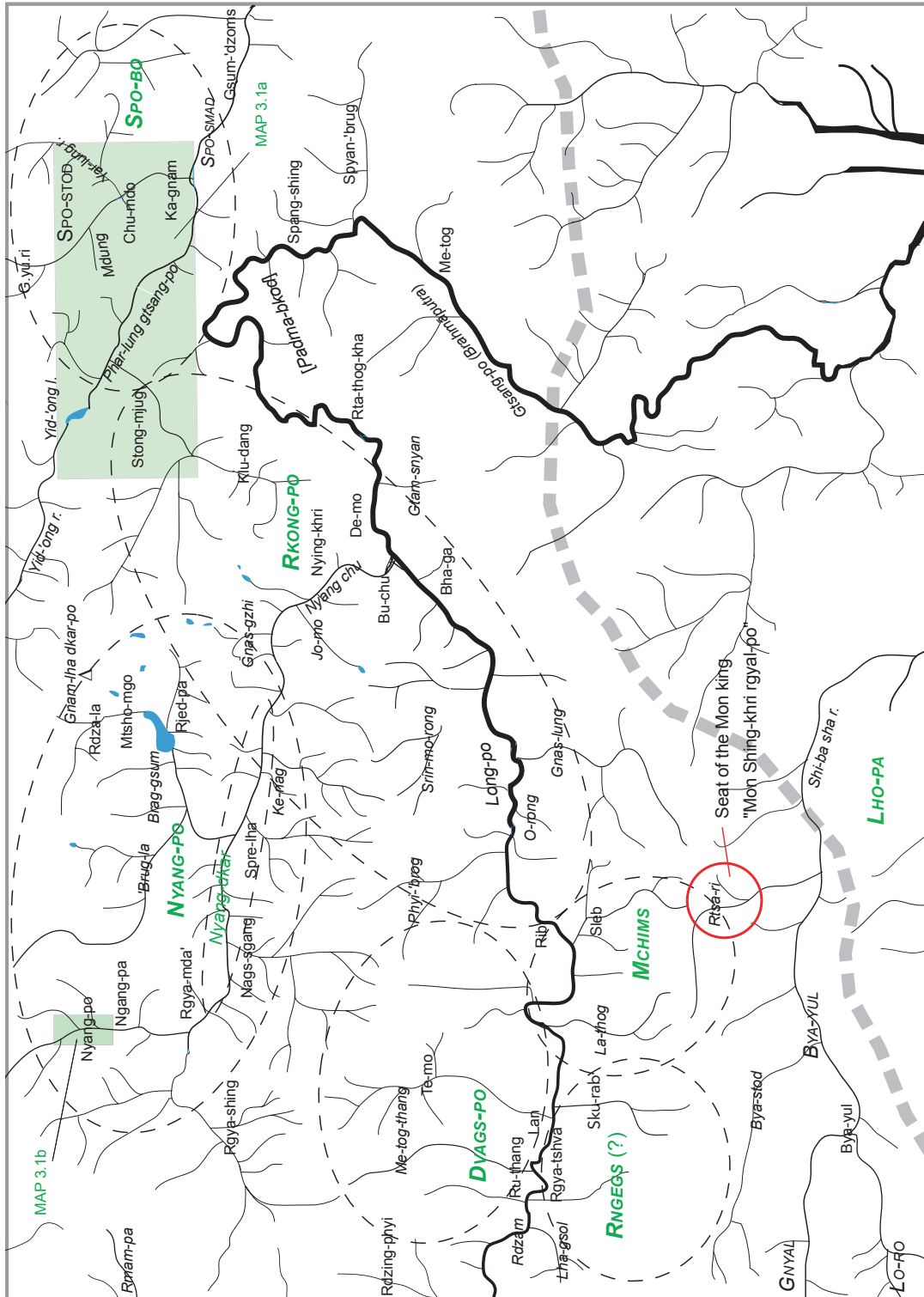
Newly discovered burial sites in the areas related to the ancient principalities
and the key districts of the four Horns

After the discovery of the imperial-period grave field of Lishan (Sleb *shang*, in Skyem-stong, eastern Dwags-po) in the 1980s, it was somewhat surprising to find grave structures of a size comparable with the royal tombs in 'Phyong-rgyas (see Chayet 1994b: 72, 75–78, 82). The larger buildings among the over 200 tombs evidently also had a similar internal structure, with several walled chambers or shafts, although our knowledge of the royal tombs in relation to this remains limited to the details in the written sources. According to the Tibetan tradition, tumuli were built from the time of the Btsan-Inga period, which supposedly began around the fourth or fifth century AD, while the more complex architecture of walled, rectangular graves (described as *phul che*) only begins with Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (cf. most recently Hazod 2007a). When precisely this form of burial ended is uncertain; but one can take the death of the *mnga' bdag* Dpal-'khor-btsan (beginning of 10th cent.) as a rough indication. It is the period of the fragmentation of the empire, which significantly corresponded with the opening and plundering of the dynastic graves, with this plundering not being limited to the royal tombs of 'Phyong-rgyas. As we now know, the grave destructions still continue today, albeit under a different aegis (see below). This rough “tumuli chronology” of the Tibetan tradition (= approximately AD 4th to 10th cent.) is still indicative today when we come across burial sites comparable with those of Skyem-stong or 'Phyong-rgyas and for which there is (still) no scientific dating. Some fields may already have been established in pre-imperial times (quasi parallel to the Btsan-Inga graves), but the larger structures, which have sides between 20 and 60 or more meters long, most probably are not to be dated before the early 7th century. There is no doubt that the relative size here forms a parameter for the assessment of the historical importance of those buried in these grave sites. For the Lishan tombs, for a long time nothing was known about who the builders of the impressive *bang-so* were, but it is clear that they should be classified as one of the ancient regional dynasties. Today we can grasp the historical context with greater accuracy. During a visit to Skyem-stong (2005), Pasang Wangdu (from the Historical Department of the TASS) and the author of this article have been able, independently of each other, to establish that the valley is without doubt to be identified as the core country of the Mchims-yul. The graves above the village of Sleb (earlier called Mchims) are quite obviously to be classified to this famous Mchims-rgyal dynasty (Hazod 2006). One of the most prominent members of the Mchims was General and later Grand Minister Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng (8th cent.) who is also addressed as Mchims Snyal-pa (Dmyal-pa), “the one from Snyal (Gnyal) in Mchims,” suggesting that the ancient Mchims-yul was a larger territory including also the district of Gnyal south of Skyem-stong. He is listed among the “nine great ones” (*che dgu*; a catalogue of representatives of the 8th cent.-ruling aristocracy; *SLS, Jo sras* 112; Dotson 2007a 117ff.), and described as a lord who have possessed ninety thousand bondservants, – surely an exaggerated number, which nevertheless gives an indication to the dimension and inner structure of this local rule situated within the boundaries of the four Horns of Tibet.

During the fieldworks in 2005, 2007 and 2008 we were able to discover a number of burial sites of which some should evidently be seen in a similar context: local dynasties that have their roots in pre-imperial times and survived as it were as sub-dynasties of the empire and during this period buried their high representatives in huge *bang-so* in the style of the *btsan-po*. The following notes are a brief overview of the external characteristics and historical context of these burial sites.

1. Spo-bo: The site of Khang-ral-sgang in Upper Spo-bo
(Geographical position: N30°09'27.4" E95°26'10.7"; Map 3.1, 3.1a)

According to the so-called “ultra secret tradition” (*Yang gsang lugs*) of the origin of the Tibetan kings, Spo-bo is considered to be the country of origin of the mythical ancestor Gnya'-khri btsan-po, a descendant of the *the'u brang* spirits, who was driven out of here and came to Bod (*Lde'u* 226). In the Gri-gum account, the same Spo-bo (Spu-yul) is the place in which one of the sons of the eighth king of the Yar-lung dynasty, who were driven out of Myang-ro Sham-po (§ 3.1, no. 4), took refuge. Nyang-yul and Kong-po are usually considered to be the



MAP 3.1: Ancient territories in eastern Lho-kha.

locations of the other sons; various accounts also mention Dwags and G.ye, that is, areas that are known as pre-imperial local dynasties and which later were able to maintain a certain special status and quasi autonomy within the empire owing to their family connections to the royal line (in the Dalai Lama period, later [supposed] descendents of these dynasties, such as the Ka-gnam *sde-pa* from Spo-bo or the Lha-rgya-ri-pa from G.ye-yul, took up and cultivated this inheritance again). As is well known, the tradition is not in agreement on which of the Gri-gum sons went where. In Spo-bo the local tradition speaks of the son Sha-khri. It is said that he came from the north to Upper Spo-bo (Spo-stod), where he hid for a while in the side valley of Yar-lung in the place of Gsang, before he built a residence in central Spo-stod. He remained here for three years and then went to Yar-lung (i.e. the Yar-lung of the later Spu-rgyal). The place of the Gri-gum son is called Shatrikha (Sha-khri-mkhar, Castle of the Flesh-Throne) and is situated on a hill over the plain of Mayülthang. This section on the right bank of the Spo-stod River is littered with natural hills formed in the ice age, which are called *sding-'bur* in the local tradition. It is said that in the run-up to the Bsam-yas foundation, all locals in the country were called on to gather earth to build the monastery. An inspection by the builders in Spo-bo, however, showed that the earth was unusable for this, and so the already collected piles were left behind. In the middle of this hilly land-



MAP 3.1a: In Spo-bo.



1. Remains of a grave in "Mayülthang."

scape, near the village of Ra-bzhi and directly below the Sha-khri-mkhar hill there is the “place of the collapsed houses” (Khang-ral-sgang), which the old people call a former “city.” The local inspection produced a somewhat differing picture: a number of rectangular or quadratic elevations which are in moss and only rise slightly above the ground. At some points the earth is exposed and one can see the remains of stone walls that surround these 10- to 30-metre-long buildings. Here in our view it is not a question of a cluster of former houses but of a burial ground. Spo-bo is one of the high-precipitation wooded areas of eastern Lho-kha. The main building material is wood. As is also emphasized in the *sding-bur* story, earth is unusable as a building material, in contrast to middle and western central Tibet, where buildings with clay or crushed earth have also been able to survive for a thousand years. Nevertheless, the builders of the graves adopted the methods of the central Tibetan *bang-so*, where earth is piled on the top of the chambers, which are roofed with stone slabs or wood. Over the years the rain dissolved the earth and the wooden constructions beneath it rotted. The result is these indented elevations with stable stone walls on the sides (Fig. 1).

This is only a first cursory diagnosis, and whether or not we are right will perhaps be shown by later researches. Without doubt, however, Khang-ral-sgang is to be seen in a historical connection with the site of the neighboring Sha-khri-mkhar and evidently to be classified under one of the old local dynasties. This has nothing to do with the post-imperial rule of the Ka-gnam *sde-pa*, who saw themselves as the descendants of the Gri-gum son – a purely artificial link to a much older history that is largely still in the dark. This affects not least the question of the historical connection to the line of the Tibetan kings, whose land of origin, Yar-lung, is as it were present in the synonymous Yar-lung Valley of Spo-bo. Here there are several interesting details, which still require closer investigation, such as the history of the families in Spo-stod, persons of short stature, which add the component “*ma*” to the end of their names (perhaps to be read as *smra*, Mayültang = Smra-yul-thang?) and which is possibly connected with the origin legend of Mon, which is widespread here. This is the story of the “Forest Throne” Mon Shing-khri rgyal-po, who is described as the king of the 18 valleys (*rong*) or as the king of the 18 tribes (*tsho*) of Mon. These include Spo-bo and the neighboring areas of Yid-'ong, Me-tog (the area around the Gtsang-po gorge and of the *sbas yul* Padma-bkod) as well as Kong-po and Nyang-po, in other words the wooded areas of eastern Lho-kha. His chief minister was Sku-lha Thob-rgyal, who is buried in Spo-bo (under the 'Bursgo mchod-rten at the confluence of the Spo-stod-chu and the Yar-lung-chu); his *yul-lha* is considered to be the widely feared Stong-mjug Rdo-rje brag-btsan, who lives in the rocks at the confluence of the Phar-lung-chu and the Stong-mjug-chu; this is the traditional boundary mark between Kong-po and Spo-bo. Lho Tsa-ri, i.e. the area around the Tsa-ri mountain sanctuary, is considered to be the main seat of the Shing-khri rgyal-po.

Renowned Tibetan clans come from this large Mon area, namely the Lho, Gnyags (= Rngegs), and Myang (*Lde'u* 237), but also the Smra live here (the clan name is known among Lho-pa groups in the border area south of Tsa-ri, who historically have close ties to Kong-po; T. Huber, in his paper delivered at the IATS conference 2006). The Lho and the Gnyags also settled somewhere in the southern and south-eastern Lho-kha area, while the Myang ancestor came to Nyang-stod. Here it is unclear which Nyang this relates to: the Myang of Gtsang or the Myang / Nyang-po in Lho-kha. We presume the latter (in *OTC* the ethnonymic compound of Lho-Ngegs relates to a larger (geographic and ethnic) unit, which includes Myang; Dotson 2007a: 78f.).

2. Nyang-po: A Grave field at the foot of the Nyang-lha (Geograph. position: N30°13'43.7" E93°06'02.5")

A historical-geographical survey of the Nyang-po area in eastern Lho-kha was presented by the author at the IATS conference (Königswinter 2006) under the title “The Land of Shing-khri btsan-po.” The name of this ruler refers to a local tradition in Brag-gsum-mtsho, which names Shing-khri btsan-po as a son of Gri-gum btsan-po, who had his seat in Rjed-pa, on the south bank of the lake. At the time I was unaware of the Spo-bo tradition of the Mon Shing-khri rgyal-po (see above), and it seems that two traditions are mixed in the statements of the locals of Rjed-pa, that of the Gri-gum account (with the arrival of a son in Nyang-yul) and that of the Mon king and ruler of the 18 lands, which includes Nyang-po (a third corresponding tradition is the arrival of the Nyang ancestor from Mon, described in *Lde'u*; see above). In a parallel tradition, the same seat in Rjed-pa is linked to Gesar,

the local hero of the Brag-gsum-mtsho area. Brag-gsum forms a geographically clearly separate zone, which is defined by the “three rocks” (*brag-gsum*), “three doors” (*sgo-gsum*) etc. As mentioned (§ 3.1: Nyang-yul), this area corresponds to the Rta-gsum of the *rgyal-phran* catalogue, which is given as the center of Nyang-po. The ancestral origin may not be here, however, but in the Nyang-po Valley further west, where the Nyang-chu rises and where also the M/Nyang-lha, the old territorial god (Myang-lha Bo-mo) has his residence. The latter relates to the present-day Nyang-po *yul-lha* called Nyang-po rgyal-po (also Abo Nyangla; A-bo Nyang-lha), a mountain not far north of Nyang-po village. Opposite, on the other side of the River Nyang, alongside the two villages of Drikung (sp.?) and Menri (Sman-ri) there is a field with dozens of tumuli-like elevations, which the old people describe as the place with “many *bang-so*.” Only the small hills can clearly be discerned as graves. The larger ones have almost been levelled, with these destructions dating from the development or extension of the neighboring agricultural fields. What remains are some overgrown remains of walls that rise from the soil and show the design of



MAP 3.1b: In the Upper Nyang-po Valley (cf. Map 3.1).



2. Nyang-po rgyal-po, the *lha* of Nyang-yul.



3. Remains of a tomb in Sman-ri.

a square or rectangular structure (one of them is c. 30 m long). It is evident that these graves are to be ascribed to the important Myang clan, which came to the fore as a king-maker clan in the early 7th century. It is noticeable that in Nyang-po a similar dialect is spoken as in 'Bri-gung (or the Zho-rong Valley), which is reachable from here over a western pass. 'Bri-gung has traditionally had close connections with Nyang-po, but this linguistic relationship may go back to an older history of early settlements of the Myang lineage in these areas (in the imperial era the Myang were known to have territories in the area of Lower Zho-rong). It is possible that the above mentioned area, which the locals pronounce as “Drikung” (not listed in *XD*) goes back to 'Bri-gung, but one of the locals also spoke of Drikung gyepo (Dri-khung (= Gri/Dri-gum) rgyal-po), which connects this place with the account of the Gri-gum sons. Behind Drikung lies the small side valley of Mi-yul-nang, of which it is said that at the end of this age people would only live here (and consequently would be the starting point for the new spread of people). It is thereby in a similar anthropogenetical context as the famous Mi-yul of Kong-po (Mi-yul Skyi-thing), where Gri-gum is also supposed to be buried (see Hazod 2007a, but the “Mayüthang” (Smra-yul-thang) of Spo-bo possibly also has a similar background; *smra* (~*rma*) here synonymous with *mi*, men; cf. Stein 2003). Drikhung and Sman-ri are two of the numerous places in the Nyang-po area in which the enormous silo towers stand (usually 12-cornered, a few are 8-corned ones), which otherwise exist in this form only in eastern Tibet (in the 'Dan-ba and Rgyal-rong area; see www.sui.org). According to Frederique Darragon's studies based on recent Radio-Carbon dating results, the oldest wood sample are from towers in Nyang-po, with a probable dating of the oldest structure to the imperial period, or even earlier (Darragon, personal communication, March 2008). The history of this tower tradition, which is unique in central Tibet, is in need of further more detailed research.



4. In Rgyal-mkhar-thang of G.ye-yul.

3. G.ye: The tombs of the “three princes” of Rgyal-mkhar-thang
(Geographical position: N29°05'07" E92°12'08")

The plain of Rgyal-mkhar-thang lies immediately to the north of Lha-rgya-ri; there is only one hill between the county capital of Chu-gsum and this plain, on which stand three enormous mounds of earth. The locals see these as the remains of palaces of the “three princes” (*sras gsum*). In truth, however, they are *bang-so*, comparable in size to the biggest of the Lishan tombs, if not bigger. Behind them are a further approximately 20 smaller tumuli. In all they are in relatively good condition and should prove a goldmine for later archaeological excavations. In our estimation it is here a question of evidence of the dynasty of Lde (Lde'i Gangs-bar), the center of which, Gangs-bar, lay in Klog in the south. Hazod 2006; below Map 6b.

4.–10. The many burial sites of **Skyid-shod**: in Bye-kha (geograph. position: N29°46'33.60" E91°30'20.73"), Dge-'dun-sgang (N29°47'01.56" E91°31'48.26") and Cha (N29°45'10.23" E91°37'37.94"); in Kri (N29°36'09.57" E91°14'13.88"); in the Lo valley (Chumbo and Bami), and in Stag-brag (N29°36'19.33" E90°57'40.12" (the latter already mentioned in Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231f.; in addition, several fields of ancient smaller tumuli have recently be found in the Skyid-shod area (in Chu-shul, Lower Stod-lung, a.o.) in the course of a German geographical research project; Knut Kaiser, Marburg University).

Not far from Lhasa, in the eastern section of the Skyid-chu valley and in lower 'Phan-po (below no. 10), there are a number of grave fields, of which – although some of them are of a considerable size – the world outside the immediately neighboring settlements has previously apparently taken no notice. They are in the three side valleys of Bye-kha (no. 4), Dge-'dun-sgang (no. 5) and Cha (no. 6), in the Lo valley (i.e. the burial sites of Chumbi (no. 7) and Bami (no. 8); see below § 7.2), and in Kri (no. 9) (see Map 7.8). With the exception of the last of these burial sites, which has only one grave, the layouts externally display a similar pattern: larger rectangular (often trapezoidal) graves surrounded by smaller, round barrows. In Bye-kha and Dge-'dun-sgang, in addition, each somewhat apart, there is a separate field with a larger number of exclusively small burial mounds, which presumably represent a structure from an earlier (pre-imperial?) era. Fields nos. 4–6 are easily visible on modern satellite photographs (Google Earth 2008). The photographs on the one hand give a good overview of the number of tombs (in Bye-kha for example there are approx. 130; there is a similar number at no. 5), on the other hand, they clearly show the relative size (up to 40m in length) and the original form of the individual structures, which are largely badly damaged or have been almost completely levelled. The four larger rectangular tumuli in the Cha valley (also described by the locals as *bang-so gru-bzhi*) are in good condition, even if with clear traces of earlier grave openings. At least two of them seem to have been built in two or three stages. They lie on the eastern side of the central valley section with a view of the monastery of Dga'-ldan.

A more exact (clan) historical classification to these three neighboring structures is currently hardly possible. The dominant clan in Skyid-shod was the Dbas' clan, whose main grave field, however, we presume to be in the Lo valley (no. 8; below 7.2). In the old texts the district of Cha is written as Phva (Phya'i-lung, Phya-yul, *inter alia* known as the birthplace of Phya-pa Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169) of the early *tshad-ma* tradition; RCP 153); it may relate to the clan name Ph[v]ya, which is described in Bon-po sources as the paternal line of Gnya'-khri btsan-po (Karmay 1998: 282ff.). The lineage appears in the *dbang-ris bco-brgyad* list, but beyond this is not known as a leading line in the imperial period. The closer surroundings of the tombs of Cha are described by the locals as “Bimi,” and the local *yul-lha* is called Bimi rgyal-po. The precise spelling of the toponym is unclear, but apparently it relates to an older settlement of “Bi people.”

[No. 9]. The grave in the Kri valley, the ancient Ngan-lam Sri, and the story of the “Sri'i *rdo-ring*”

Evidently people tend not to see things that are in front of their eyes if they are things that lie outside the spectrum of their expectations. On the western side of the Kri valley (var. spelling: Sri), 12 km from Lhasa as the crow flies, within sight of a much-loved picnic place, there is a huge mound that the locals, because of its shape, call the *sa gru-bzhi* (square ground). It is definitely a tumulus and to my knowledge is Central Tibet's biggest burial mound north of the Gtsang-po (65x45m; height on the side of the valley c. 12m). I came across this site because of a question that suggested itself from previous studies, namely, whether here, in the local tradition there was a *rdo-ring* story. And the story is told of a great pillar that came flying from India and landed in a place behind the (later) *sa gru-bzhi*. Once, “on the orders of the government” this earth home was constructed and the pillar was enclosed in it. I know that here it was a case of the “Zhol pillar,” which in the *Rgya bod yig tshang* is called the “Sri'i *rdo-ring*,” the “long stone of Sri [= Kri].” Somewhat later, during a second visit, an older informant confirmed this. He knew of another account of this vanished pillar, namely that the *rdo-ring phyi ma* of Lhasa earlier stood at the *sa gru bzhi* square. *Rdo-ring phyi-ma* (“outer *rdo-ring*”) is a term for the “Zhol pillar,” which was very probably brought to Lhasa at the same time as the *rdo-ring nang-ma* (“inner *rdo-ring*,” in the eastern entrance area of the Potala), which likewise came from Sri (*alias* Kri), that is, in 1693/94 on the instiga-

tion of the regent *sde-srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. More details on this can be found in Hazod 2007b: 602–10, where it is also discussed that the area of the Tshal Gung-thang district (including Sri) was known as Ngan-lam until the 13th century. Historically it goes back to a branch territory of the Ngan-lam clan, which presumably had its main seat in the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul (Map 4.1, cf. also no. 27 below). The inscription on the Zhol pillar is dedicated to this clan and its most important representative Ngan-lam Stag-ra Klu-khong, and was probably also erected on the orders of Klu-khong in Sri (presumably also his birthplace). It is therefore logical to identify the *sa gru-bzhi* hill as the grave of this famous general and later great minister.

The rear side of the burial mound shows clear signs of an earlier grave opening and we suppose that the precise position of the long stone was immediately in front of this “entrance.” In the local account, according to which the entrance area is the place where the stone was brought in to the *sa gru-bzhi* hill, one may see the memory of the former presence of the stone at this place, whose disappearance in the tale is combined with the artificial earth mound in front of it. An approximately 2x2m depression in this area, directly at the foot of the south-east-facing slope, could be the place of the former base of the pillar. Under these circumstances, the logical supposition is that what is now described as the “west side” of the “Zhol pillar” originally faced the slope, and this may be the reason why there is no inscription on this side (see Richardson 1985: 1–25). Perhaps the *rdo-ring* pointed exactly towards the *yul-lha* mountain in the south east, the seat of the territorial god of Kri called Gyeltsen-ponyog-sum (Rgyal-btsan dpon-g.yog-gsum, “mighty king, master and servant, the three”). When the stone was set up again in Lhasa (where it was later again shifted within the Zhol area several times) the original orientation was largely retained. In Sri the “west side” more precisely pointed NW, whereas the present-day “north inscription” originally pointed NE. The period around AD 764 is assumed as the date of the inscription, although one may have to take account of the fact that the three sides were not inscribed at the same time, but at a certain time interval. Richardson (*op. cit.*) read the chronology of the Zhol inscription in the order east, south, north face, with the eastern inscription only being a few lines. But another reading is also conceivable according to which a longer text was the first, whose immortalisation in stone made the erection of a bigger *rdo-ring* necessary. Possibly it began with the NE inscription (the long “north inscription,” where Klu-khong is quoted as *nang-blon* and where the privileges of the Ngan-lam lineage guaranteed by the (young) Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (r. 756–c. 800) are listed); followed by the “east inscription” (= SE in Sri; with the short declaration of the appointment of Stag-sgra Klu-khong as *nang-blon chen-po*) and the “south inscription,” which starts with a review of the career of Klu-khong in the time of *btsan-po* Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan and ends with the mention of the conquest of the Chinese capital (AD 763). The appointment of Klu-khong as great minister (around AD 782; see above, Appendix Four) is no longer mentioned. Shortly afterwards he died and his tomb was logically erected in front of “his” *rdo-ring*, whose inscriptions pay tribute to his deeds and record the privileges of his descendants.*

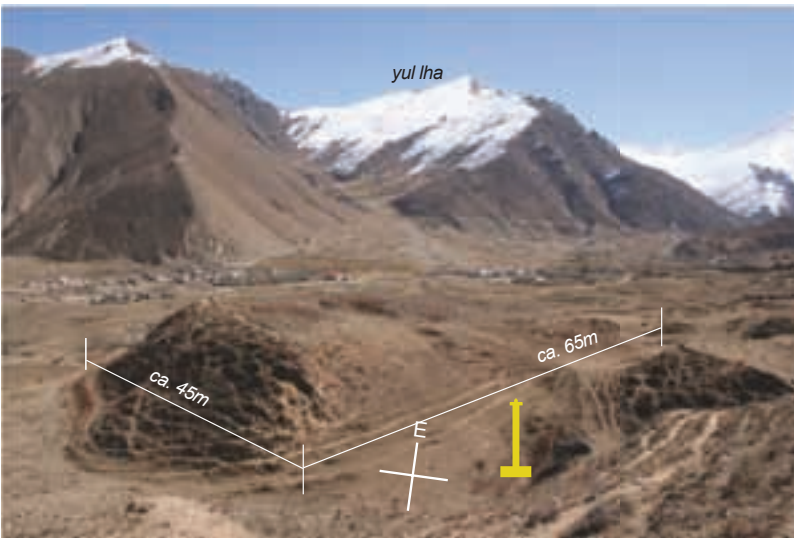
The Sri'i *rdo-ring* history indicates a significant element in the politics of the early Tibetan state, namely a certain form of regionalism that existed in a partial autonomy of the allied clans. The loyal adherence to their obligations to the court (*glo ba nye ba'i rje blas byas pa*; cf. Zhol, South Inscription, l. 4) allowed them to immortalise their position in the state guaranteed to them by the *btsan-po* and the privileges associated with it in a stone, which was not set up at a “center” but in their own territory. Conversely, the transfer of the *rdo-ring* to Lhasa at the end of the 17th century signified a form of centralism that the new government was then striving for through a series of political (and politico-religious) measures. The relocation corresponds with the completion of the building of the Potala Palace, whose “place below” (*zhol*) has since been decorated by the *rdo-ring* – as an instrument of a completely new context.

* One may note, however, that the location of the pillar as it is supposed here represents a somewhat out-of-the-way place, and for the publication of a declaration in this form one would rather expect a more central position. In this connection also a different scenario is conceivable: there was an assembly place somewhere in the middle of the valley, where the pillar had originally been set up and from where the stone later, after the death of Klu-khong, had been moved to the place behind the tomb. This does not necessarily question the present theory about the original orientation of the pillar and the sequence of its inscriptions (i.e. NE, SE, SW), although the explanation concerning the “empty west side” would be obsolete in this context.



5a. The tomb in the Kri Valley, the ancient Ngan-lam Sri, is most probably to be identified with the grave of the general and great minister Ngan-lam Stag-ra Klu-khong.

5b. Reconstruction of the position of the “Sri'i rdo-ring,” before the latter was moved to Lhasa (Zhol) in the 17th century.



6a. The four *bang-so gru-bzhi* of Cha.
Photo: Google Earth 2008

(5b)



6b. In Cha. In the background the monastery of Dga'-ldan.

[10.] In **Stag-brag**: the “Glang-da-ma site” in the western section of the Lhasa Maṅḍala zone

There may be a similar transfer story for another famous Lhasa stele, namely the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar in front of the Jo-khang temple, which was presumably originally erected in Sbra-stod-tshal (in Rgya-ma; AD 822), where the treaty was signed on the Tibetan side. We presume here a connection with the formulation and installation of the “Lhasa Maṅḍala” in the 11th and 12th centuries, of which the story of the killing of King Glang Dar-ma provides an early testimony. According to a popular version of this post-dynastic account, the king was killed during an inspection of this inscription (i.e. at the “center”). At each of the four sides of the Lhasa valley we find Glang-dar-ma places that correspond with the four “flight places” of the regicide (see Hazod 2007b: 578f.). One of these sites is in the Stag-brag valley, which corresponds to the Bran[g] (-phu, -mda') from the list of the western Lhasa Maṅḍala toponyms. An *in situ* exploration of the site first described by Richardson (1998 [1963]: 230–31) was prohibited owing to the local army camp in the immediate vicinity, but residents confirmed Richardson’s description of the site, which is known as Glang-so and has several large burial mounds. The locals add that originally three mounds (today almost completely demolished) were arranged in the form of a circle with some remains of walls at the center “where Glang-dar-ma used to wash his hair.” Owing to the thematic proximity to the Lhasa Maṅḍala mythology it would be rash to see this place in a close historical relationship with Glang-dar-ma; Glang-so should certainly also not be read as Glang-dar-ma *bang-so* (Richardson *op. cit.*, p. 231), as the *btsan-po* is supposed to be buried in 'Phyong-rgyas (*Lde'u*: 378.13). On the other hand, one cannot exclude the fact that the Stag-brag tradition in fact holds a historical memory – perhaps of a residence of the king close to an earlier grave site – that the later formulation of the Glang-dar-ma killing story as a key event in the Lhasa Valley links to. As to the identification of the Stag-brag *bang-so*, Richardson believes (*op. cit.* p. 231) that the place name Bran[g] could relate to the Bran-kha clan; but he is skeptical about classifying these rather large graves to this lineage, which in the imperial time produced no outstanding figures apart from the monk minister Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan (r. early 9th C.). In the *dbang-ris* catalogue, Bran[g] is registered as land of the Sna-nam (see § 4, no. 7).

11. A burial site in **Lower 'Phan-yul** (at N 29°51'51.32" E 91°23'28.13") and the question of the localisation of the ancient Ngas-po stronghold of *mkhar* Yu-sna

The aforementioned Bran-kha lineage (no. 10) was not unimportant even in the early phase of the empire, as it is registered in the *dbang-ris* catalogue, with the district of Yung-ba (in Lower 'Phan-yul) as their territory. The latter was once the core area of the Ngas-po ruler Khri-pang-sum, whose residence called Sdur-ba'i Yu-sna (or *mkhar* Yu-sna) was redistributed several times in the course of history. It became a property of the Ngas-po vassal, Mnyan, and later, after the conquest by Khri Slon-mtshan, it was given to the Myang ally, before the area appears under the name Yung-ba che-chung (great and small Yung-ba) as a territory of the Bran-ka lineage (see below § 4, no. 14). The grave field behind the village of Ka'u (spell. uncertain), not far from the valley entrance of Yung-ba probably also belonged to this territory of greater Yung-ba (Map. 4.1; Map 7.8). It has around 50 *bang-so*, including several larger structures, which are all badly damaged – the work of the locals, who until today take stones from the walled sections (cf. no. 14, and chap. 7.2). The graves lie in the surroundings of two *stūpa* ensembles, described locally as Sharaba chörten, and go back to Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141) (the early Bka'-gdams-pa master was in particular active in 'Phan-po and Skyid-shod; cf. e.g. Roesler & Roesler 2004: 55f.; *RCP* 156, 420). According to the locals, ruins in the upper part of the small valley are remains of a “Sha-ra-ba *dgon-pa*.” This place should be given particular attention in any possible later archaeological investigation, because it appears that the monastery stood on a large tumulus over 50 meters long (Fig. 8). It is evidently a grave of a prominent member of the lineage that lived here, possibly of *chos blon* Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan, but his grave is associated with a hill near 'Phan-po township (§ 4, no. 14). A later descendant of Dpal gyi Yon-tan was 'Ba'-rom-pa Dar-ma dbang-phyug (*fl.* 12th, 13th cent.), founder of the 'Ba'-rom-pa Bka'-brgyud order, whose birthplace in 'Phan-yul, Ka-ba Yul-sna (cf. *LC* 207), is identified with the above-mentioned Ngas-po stronghold *mkhar* Yu-sna (Migmar 67, according to an information from Dungkar Rinpoche; Migmar, p.c.). Ka-ba Yul-sna itself has to my knowledge not yet been located. In Ka'u, which appears in the place name index of *XD* 59a in the form of Kha-'khor or Dkar-po-khud, a small enclosure around a tree, which is called “kapo,” is held to be holy. It is called this “because here the first

letter of the Tibetan alphabet [ka] appeared.” A certain *geshe* Kaba is supposed to have deposited it. Possibly the memory of the place Ka-ba Yul-sna is hidden here, – with Ka-ba perhaps being related to Ska-ba; this is the name of the lineage that together with the Rma clan administered the two first *stong-sde* of Dbu-ru (§ 6).

12. Lower 'Phyong-po: Tombs in the land of the goddess (Geograph. position: N 29°10'08.42" E 91°40'39.39")

Alongside the Rgyas-smān further to the south, the 'Phyos valley forms the largest side valley within the 'Phyong-po district. It is repeatedly mentioned in the sources in various historical contexts, – as a residence place of the Yar-lung *jo-bo*, as one of the *gzhis-kha* of the Phag-gru *khri-skor* or as the seat of a district chief *sde-pa* 'Phyos-pa in the period of the Phag-mo-gru-pa rule. Much earlier, in the 10th century, before the arrival of the Yar-lung *jo-bo*, there was a local rule (*rje dpon-tshan*) in 'Phyos, which emerged out of the *kheng-log* period, in which 'Phyos played an important role. Tshes-pong and Shud-phu (var: Khu and Gnyags) are mentioned as important lineages in the establishment of this *rje dpon-tshan* (Dotson, *forthcoming c*). These and many other well-known central Tibetan clans (such as the Myang, 'Gos, Gnubs, Dgyer, Mgar, Lce and many more) had branch settlements in the Yar-lung and 'Phyong-po area that certainly go back to the imperial period or are even older. 'Phyos itself also appears as a clan name; it is presumably the lineage of the local ruler entitled 'Phyos *rje'u*, a supporter of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* in the 9th and 10th centuries (CFS 185), and the 'Phyos are cited as one of the nine grave-robber clans who in a *bya* year of the 10th cent. (presumably *chu bya* 913) opened the royal graves of 'Phyong-rgyas and shared the treasures among themselves (*KhG* 433; CFS 197). The 'Phrul-rgyal *bang-so* (i.e. tomb of *btsan-po* Khri 'Dus-srong) is here assigned to the 'Phyos together with the Khu and Greng. Presumably the 'Phyos people also laid hands on the graves of their own land. These are four *bang-so* in the small side valley of Lha-yul in the lower 'Phyos valley. Two round graves lie behind Lha-yul village at the valley entrance. Higher up, on the western side not far from the hamlet of 'Bum-thang, there are two rectangular graves, a smaller square one and a trapezoidal greater tomb, c. 45m long at the front and 30m on the other sides, height c. 8m. (Fig. 7a, b; the criteria for the decision to erect rectangular graves once square another time in rectangular or trapezoid form, are unclear; the latter are often on a slope so that the form gives the (perhaps intentional) impression of a building that is rejuvenating itself towards the back, as if the grave would merge with the mountain behind it). The imposing grave displays the special feature that it has an opening at the front – evidently an entrance that was made by force at some time. It is only half closed with stones, so that one can climb inside it. Inside, there is an empty antechamber of about 5x3m, from which four walled openings (c. 1x1.5m) lead to the inside of the grave. These entrances are closed with stone boulders and further penetration was not possible (Fig. 7c). The entrance area displays a rather unusual arrangement of the inside of the grave, according to which the individual chambers appear to lie alongside each other and are not built into the earth (cf. the graphic representation of archaeological findings of graves of the imperial period in Chan 1994: 369; Chayet 1994b; Caffarelli 1997).

Apart from the fact that the two rectangular buildings certainly date from the imperial time, we can only make suppositions about the identification of the *bang-so*. It is possible that they are the graves of a prominent member of one of the above-mentioned clans. Worth mentioning is an aspect of the local *yul-lha* (territorial god) tradition, according to which the locals worship the *bang-so* as their *yul-lha* (“they are like our *yul-lha*”), and the lower, round *bang-so* decorated with prayer flags is also used as a *yul-lha* place. It is said of the large *bang-so* that people previously regularly made *'khor-ra* (circumambulations), similar to the account from the report of Tibet’s “first grave” (see references below no. 13). The *yul-lha* is a lady named Lhachemo (Lha-chen-mo); this is a non-specific term for protective goddesses, as they are known for example from the entourage of Mgon-po (Mahākāla). But perhaps there is a historic memory behind the name and it relates to a royal lady, possibly not a princess (*btsan-mo*) but a queen, be it a junior (*jo-mo*) or an heir-bearing queen (*yum*) (see supra, Part I, "Mothers, Grandmothers, Heir-Bearing Queens, and Junior Queens: Maternal and Affinal Relatives"). The grave report of the *Gsang ba yang chung* (in *Lde'u*: 376–80) mentions the *bang-so* of the queens, which presumably had a similar construction to those of the kings (some nuns from the royal house were buried in *stūpa*-like *bang-so*). For some the place of the grave is mentioned, lower Don-mkhar and Mu-ra in 'Phyong-rgyas, and for the graves in upper Lha-yul it could be a case of a not yet more closely localised burial site of royal ladies, who were possibly buried in their paternal estate (i.e. land of one of the above-mentioned local clans).

Part III



(7a)



7c. Inside the trapezoidal tomb (7a, b).



7b. The two greater tombs of Lha-yul are situated in the upper section of this side valley of Lower 'Phyos.

7a. The trapezoidal tomb of Lha-yul (see 7b).



8. The grave field of Ka'u in Lower 'Phan-po.

13. Upper 'Phyong-po: The site of Bangs-so Sa-dkyil-'khor (Geographical position: N28°53'03,4" E91°42'40,4")

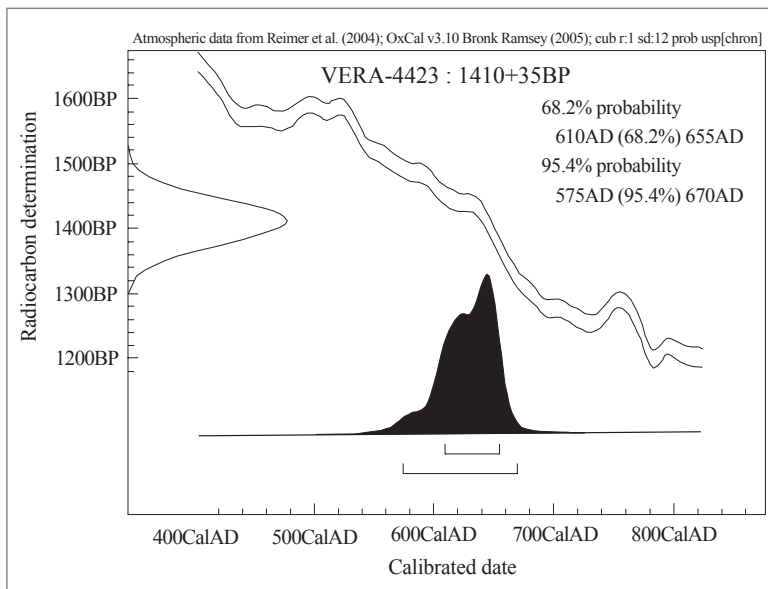
A hill in the Upper Zhas-phu Valley (in Upper 'Phyong-po), which the locals call Bangs-so Sa-dkyil-'khor, aroused our interest as its situation and other details in the descriptions of the local tradition show clear correspondences with the written account on the grave of Gri-gum btsan-po in 'Phyong-po. According to the tradition, it is the prototype of tumuli burial, which begins with the Btsan-Inga – the ancestors of the Tibetan kings – who had their immediate homeland in this section of the 'Phyong-po Valley, also known as Grang-mo Grang-chung (see Hazod 2007a).

14. Myang-stod-1: The grave field of Sham-bu (geograph. position of "Grave-1:" N28°55'54.4" E89°30'18.0")

The area of Sham-bu immediately to the west of Rgyal-rtse township is in one of the high-resolution zones of the Google Earth satellite program, so that anyone can get a picture of the grave landscape, the individual tombs' relative size and of the external condition of the structures. The six larger tombs (30–50m long) are all badly damaged. The destruction is largely from the recent past and present and is the work of locals, who break off stones for use as building material (house-building, dam-building). Some graves have been hollowed out some metres deep, so that parts of the walls of the grave chambers, which go down like shafts below ground level, are exposed. Animal bones (sheep) and human bones are repeatedly discovered (Fig. 9b). A radio-carbon dating of a human bone (lower leg) from the bottom of the opened "Grave 1" (Fig. 9a) gave a dating of AD 575 – 670 (95,4% probability) or AD 610– 655 (68,2% probability) (Vienna Environmental Research Accelerator, VERA-4423). In other words, the structure is most likely from the early imperial period (Graph 1).

Here there are more than 100 graves spread over two fields, one in the middle section of Yar-lung, the other in the small side valley of Rdza-kha. Yar-lung is the name of the whole area behind Sham-bu village, which is uninhabited (two smaller monasteries, the Yar-lung *dgon-pa* and the Byang-chub *dgon-pa*, are not used any more). Both toponyms, Yar-lung and Sham-bu, apparently relate to the homeland of the Tibetan kings, which had a fateful connection with Myang-ro. It was the birthplace and residence of Gri-gum btsan-po, who fell here

in a duel. His widow, according to one account, is said to have been sought out and made pregnant by Sham-po, the territorial god of Yar-lung. The issue of this union is Ngar-la-skyes, who later called one of the sons of Gri-gum to the throne of Yar-lung (= the throne of Spu-lde Gung-rgyal; there is also the account that identifies Ngar-la-skyes with Spu-lde Gung-rgyal). Spu-lde Gung-rgyal later came to Myang-ro and avenged the death of his father through a war in the course of which the adversary Lo-ngam and his line were wiped out. This is apparently in contradiction with the *rgyal-phran* lists, which give Lo-ngam as the representative ruler of the principality of Myang-ro Sham-po (see Hazod 2007a). No "Lo-ngam lineage" is known of for the imperial period, unless the clan



Graph 1: Diagram of the bone dating, Sham-bu, Grave 1.

name Rhya, which in the Gri-gum account of PT 1287 is associated with Lo-ngam, is identical with Rgya, a well-known lineage from Myang-stod (with the plain of Brgya-grong (SW of Sham-bu; Map 3.2a; Map 6.2) as one of the main settlements of the lineage (RN 177–97; Vitali 2004a: 9–10).



MAP 3.2a-b: In Sham-bu of Myang-stod.



(9b)



9a, 9b: "Grave 1" of the field of Yar-lung of Sham-bu.

The area's dominant clan in the imperial time was 'Bre (Dre), which is already registered as the minister clan of Myang-ro Sham-po and which appears in the 7th century *dbang-ris* as the clan of the Nyang-stod *yul* (= Myang-ro). The same lineage later provided the commander of the Ru-lag-smad (together with the Khyung-po). The army catalogue of *BK* (438.3) correspondingly also calls the 'Bre the commander lineage of the Myang-ro *stong-sde*, while *KhG* and *Lde'u* give the 'Bro clan in this position. This appears irritating, as the actual domains of the 'Bro was the area of Ru-lag-stod. Perhaps worth mentioning in this connection is the story of *mnga'-bdag* Dpal-'khor-btsan, the unloved successor to 'Od-srungs, who had to leave his earlier domains in Lho-kha and moved his residence to Grom-pa Lha-rtse in Gtsang. As Petech has already noted (1997), he built this residence in the land of his minister and close ally from the 'Bro lineage. Less well known is the fact that Dpal-'khor-btsan also had a seat in Myang-stod, in Rgyal-rtse (the later Dpal-'khor chos-sde is named after him; Tucci 1949: 664, 702); it can be assumed that he also started his violent resettlement program from here, which affected the 'Bre people from Myang-stod and the Gnyags people from Yar-lung, and which became his undoing (the new settlement of the Gnyags is reported to have been the area north of Tho-yor nag-po *yul* in La-stod Byang (*GD* 97; see § 3.2-8). It is possible that this last *btsan-po*, who was killed by a certain Sham-po mchu-nag (Black Sham-po river [*sic*]) (elsewhere by one Stag-rtse Gnyags; *Jo sras* 142; *Lde'u* 371, 376) lies buried in Sham-bu. Later descendants of Dpal-'khor-btsan settled in various territories of Ru-lag and G.yas-ru, where they founded local ruling houses, one of which is in Stag-tshal of Myang-stod. It is unlikely, however, that this 11th-century house continued the old grave culture in Sham-bu. What we can assume in an identification of the graves is a close historical if not ancestral relationship of the buried and the buriers to the old Myang-ro Sham-po. In this sense, we can also take into account that even before Dpal-'khor-btsan, members of the *btsan-po* family were buried in this Yar-lung of Myang-ro – historically, so it appears, an old “outpost” of the Yar-lung *rgyal-po*.

15. Myang-stod-2: The grave field of Ser-po (N 29°00'37.41" E 89°26'54.34")

Ser-po is a small side valley in Myang-stod, the entrance of which is dominated by the 'Brong-rtse, the rock with the Dge-lugs-pa monastery of 'Brong-rtse chos-sde (*VS* 244; Chos-'phel 2008: 19f.; Map 6.2). A grave field of several dozen *bang-so* covers the slopes of the eastern side of the valley. Larger and smaller graves alternate here, although there are no tumuli of the size of Sham-bu (no. 14) among them. Their history is similar to the case of the Sham bu site, namely that several old Myang-stod clans could come into question for the classification of this area, but only vague suppositions can be made. Old ruins in upper Ser-po, not far from the monastery of Ser-po Theg-mchog-gling (a foundation of 'Brug-pa Pad-ma dkar-po; Chos-'phel 2008: 21f.) are described as the remains of an old settlement, as a place “where it was originally intended to build Lhasa.” One frequently finds such and similar formulations (such as “Little Lhasa”) in the local tradition in relation to no longer known ruins, and they usually relate to old, possibly pre-imperial local political centres (cf. e.g. Hazod 2007a). The area around 'Brong-rtse was geographically apparently part of the stage of events described in the Gri-gum account, namely part of Nyang-ro Stag-tshal, which is mentioned in some versions as the higher geographical description of this section of Myang-stod (Hazod 2005: 223). It is named after the settlement of Stag-tshal opposite Rtsis Gnas-gsar. Here too, the apparently no longer locally known place name Thal-ba-tshal, where Gri-gum fell, is possibly to be located in the immediate proximity of Stag-tshal or 'Brong-rtse (Hazod 2007a: 262). The original establishment of the grave field of Ser-po may thus go back to clans from the Gri-gum account; among others, Sbrang, from whom the mother of the Gri-gum *btsan-po* descended, is conceivable here (see Hazod 2007a: 269).

16. Ngam-ring: The tombs and ruins of Bom-ma
(Geographical position: N29°12'30.8" E87°26'38.9")

The 'Bro (see no. 14) were also the commanders of the thousand-district of Khri-bom, whose core area we identify with the region around Glang-mtsho (Ngam-ring County) (§ 7.1). The name Khri-bom relates, as we believe, to Bom-ma, the name of a village that has recently been abandoned (the inhabitants today are settled in the newly established village of Lug-lung, also called Lug-lung Bom-ma, one of the few *sa-ma-'brog* settlements in this primarily nomadic area). Immediately before Bom-ma there are several badly damaged grave structures, in between several scattered ruins, with some of the wall remains possibly being from removed grave chambers.

The locals believe that these are the remains of a township from the previous age. Directly next to them runs the highway to Ngam-ring township, in the widening of which some years ago one of the tombs was half removed. The workers speak of four cross-shaped chambers in which the remains of pottery and animal and human bones were found (the graves have since become known to the authorities and colleagues from the Chinese Tibetology Research Center in Beijing recently made a brief inspection, yet without having initiated further research). Further south, in the plain of Skya-bo-lung, there is an even larger field of c. 50 (smaller) tumuli (Map 6.1a).

If we are right in this identification of Khri-bom, it makes sense to connect this place with Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, who resided in the *mkhar* of Khri-boms (§ 6). Possibly the same place was previously already the seat of Mar-mun, the ruler of Gtsang Bod who was defeated by Zu-tse and whose territory (together with 20,000 families) Zu-tse later received from the *btsan-po* (Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan). The name of the local territorial god Bo yül-sa (*yul-sa*) (so pronounced), who resided in the huge rocks behind Bom-ma, may refer to this old Bod of Gtsang (cf. also the name of the Rtsang-ro spirits Rtsang *lha* Pu / Bu-dar and *srin* Pod-de (= Bod?), which are to be located in this area of Ngam-ring; Hazod 2005: 295f.).

The association of the place with the Khyung-po lineage seems somewhat contradictory in the face of the statements on the territorial division of the Gtsang region according to which Gtsang-stod (and Ru-lag-stod to which Khri-bom belonged) was the domain of the 'Bro, while the Khyung-po lineage was assigned to Gtsang-smad (and Ru-lag-smad). Both lineages had territorial links scattered throughout Gtsang (and beyond) and the place where their representatives were buried does not necessarily have to lie in the territory that was subject to their command (in the case of the Khyung-po this also included districts of G.yas-ru *stod*, where they provided the *ru-dpon*). This spatial distribution of lines, which one finds to a greater or lesser extent among all clans, leads not least to the question of the identification of the “home territory.” This is not always to be clarified so definitely, as for example is possible in the case of the Mchims, who were similarly scattered through various endowments of appanages but whose deceased dignitaries, we can assume, were brought “home” for burial (similar to the *btsan-po*, who were all transferred for burial in their “own country” (*rang gi yul*)). There is thus in the various (branch) *yul* of a certain lineage always something like an original *yul*, which itself is only a point in a long history of the line, which however at some point became a particular reference point of the lineage identity, a “home” and place of return for the dead. Richardson (1998 [1977]: 59) says that Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse was a “foreigner” and came from the far-lying Zhang-zhung. He is registered as *mkhos-dpon* (chief administrator) of Zhang-zhung (with his seat in Khyung-lung) and a certain Khyung-po Spu-stangs regulated the northern trade routes (*Lde'u* 264). In addition, the Chronicle fragment of IOL Tib J 1284 reports about the conquest of the principality of To-yo Chas-la by Zu-tse which the latter offered together with “all of Byang gi Zhang-zhung” to Khri Srong-rtsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po). As mentioned above (§ 2, § 3.1), this To-yo Chas-la possibly corresponds to the Byang Tho-yor nag-po *yul* situated in the area around Zang-zang, and Byang gi Zhang-zhung accordingly is to be read as the Zhang-zhung of Byang, referring to the region better known as La-stod Byang. This identification would lead to the conclusion that To-yo Chas-la and Rtsang Bod were neighboring territories (and originally part of Zhang-zhung) and with the missions of Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse were successively brought under the rule of the *btsan-po*. Here one may hypothesize that Spung-sad and his family had already settled in this area of [La-stod] Byang, more precisely in the core area of Rtsang Bod since the time of Mar-mun and were then in the service of this ruler. The later minister acted on his own account when he overpowered his old lord in order to offer his services to another (up-and-coming) lord in Skyid-shod, i.e. Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan. (The sentence “Khyung-po cut off Mar-mun’s head” in PT 1287 sounds like the execution of a defaulting *primus inter pares*, who in old Tibetan oath declarations usually “swore by his head” [*dbu snyung gnang ba*]). As we know, Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse later fell into disfavor at court, but not his line, which continued to act in the administration of the Gtsang districts and whose representatives perhaps had their resting places in Khri-bom, the old homeland of the ancestor Spung-sad.

17–32. Further sites:

[17.] **Rba-nag** (a grave field of around 50 smaller round *bang-so*; situated close to Rba-nag village in the area between Chu-mig and Srad in Gtsang; approx. location: N 29°02'42.78" E 88°41'26.82"; Map 6.2)

[18–19]. Two neighboring burial sites in the area of Stag-lung in **Yar-'brog**, one at Mtsho-dbang (N 28°50'34.78" E 90°25'14.26"), and the other at Chu-lung (N 28°49'38.90" E 90°26'16.51"). The latter site, two larger tomb-like hills surrounded by ancient ruins, is locally known as “Lhakhang gönpa,” and thus may refer to an old temple. Yet, at least one of the two hills appears to represent a grave.

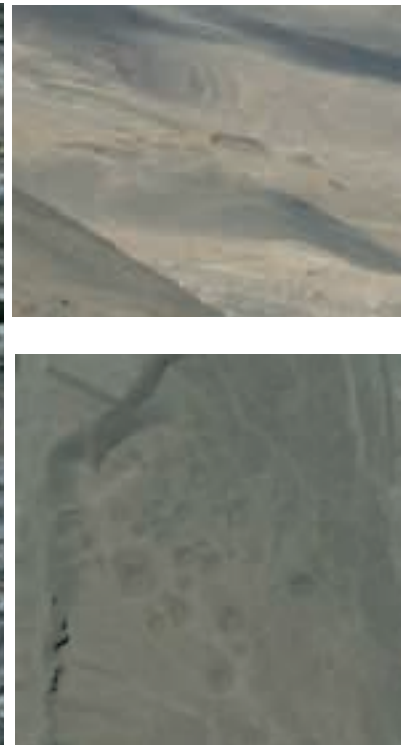
[20.] **Rtse-gdong** (the impressive, recently also officially inspected site of more than 100 smaller round *bang-so* is situated due east of the G.yas-ru Gtsang-brang temple (§ 5; below Map 7.5); (geograph. Position: N 29°23'11.73" E 89°14'39.04").

[21.] **Skyid-stod** (The burial site close to Skyid-stod in central Lho-brag (approx. at N28°23'14.09" E 90°46'32.97") was visited and photographically documented by Ngodrop Tsering and Gyurme Tsultrim (both from the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa) in 2008. According to their description (Ngodrop Tsering, p.c.), a central larger rectangular tomb lies in an ensemble of numerous *bang-so* of various sizes (Fig. 10b). It is the grave field of a local dynasty of which a leading representative by the name of Lde-sman Lde'u-cung is mentioned in the two Lho-brag inscriptions (Li and Coblin 1987: 353–360). The two rock inscriptions with the same text (one of them partly damaged) are in Sman-thang district east of Skyid-stod (Fig. 10a). This inscription contains the interesting information according to which the authorities of the (local) thousand district were responsible for the upkeep of the *bang-so*. The closer identification of this “Lde'u-cung-dynasty” (evidently not identical with Lde / Dbye, above 3.1, no. 7) and generally the older clan history of ancient Lho-brag still remains unknown. A prominent clan of this section of Lho-kha was Shud-phu, but according to the lineage account of the *Shud phu lo rgyus (SL)*, the clan have not settled down in the Lho-brag and Gtam-shul area before the 9th /10th century.

(10b)



10a, b. The “Lho-brag inscription” and the grave field of Skyid-stod in Lho-brag.
Photos: Ngodrop Tsering 2008



11. A grave field in central Gnyal.
Photo: Google Earth 2008

[22.] **Rab-dga/kha** (according to information from locals from Sman-gling, which I received from F. Darragon (Nov. 2008), in the Rab-kha Valley of Sman-gling county (c. at N 29°18'00.87" E 94°16'19.32") there is a larger grave field with the “tombs of the Kong-po rulers” (apparently referring to the so-called Rkong-dkar-po kings).

[23–32] The following sites can only be referred to on the basis of modern satellite photographs (Google Earth 2008, 2009) and the data still need to be examined *in situ*:

[23.] There is a larger grave field in central **Gnyal** (geograph. position: N28°24'43.60" E92°20'51.52"). Some three dozen larger *bang-so* cover an area of c. 380x300m, including a rectangular grave structure of c. 40x30m. With regard to a possible clan-historical connection, this site is primarily to be considered in the dynasty of the Rnyi-ba *rgyal-po* (~*btsad-po*). According to the *Rnyi ba lo rgyus* (cit. in *Text F* of Sørensen and Dolma 2007: 192) it already existed in the pre-imperial time and the Rnyi-ba lineage (*inter alia* known as the line of Sgam-po-pa) also dominated in the imperial time (and later) the area of Gnyal stod-smad-bar-gsum. A branch of the Thon, the line of Thon-mi Sambhota, also belongs to the older lineages of Gnyal; it came from Lug-ra-kha, a small area in the east of the Thon district, Snye-mo county, and at the time of the father, Thon-mi Sngang-grags (also Thon-mi A-nu; 'Bring-sto-re A-nu) settled in Sa-bo-ra of Upper Gnyal. The latter is the birthplace of Thon-mi Sambhota, whose father supposedly already served as a minister under *btsan-po* Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan (see Rang-sgra 1999). The place however is somewhat distant from the grave field, on the other side of the Gnyal river, and for the identification of the *bang-so* the Rnyi-ba certainly remains the first candidate. It is possible that the residence of Btsan-srong was also in the immediate area of Rnyi-ba, Gzen of Gnyald, where this ill-fated younger son of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan met a violent death – at the instigation of his brother, the later *btsan-po* Srong-btsan Sgam-po (see *supra*, OTA preamble, and “The Tibetan Empire, A Brief Survey”).

[24.] In **Snye-mo**, due east of the village of Phu-gsum, a field of four rectangular tombs is to be found, with the two greater ones being of the size of c. 45x45m (geograph. position: N 29°30'02.20" E 90°09'43.52").

[25–32] A number of burial sites can be identified in the area of central **'Phan-yul**, most of them have smaller (round-shaped) tombs. These are two sites NE of Za-dam (25: N 29°55'41.46" E 91°07'09.07"; 26: N29°56'22.91" E 91°07'28.58"), a field of around 100 tombs situated due east of ancient Ngan-po; RCP: 605ff. (some of them are larger, c. 30x30m; 27: N 29°58'30.47" E 91°10'48.29", evidently not identical with the one described in Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231 to be situated “about two miles to the west of Lhun-grub *Rdzong*”), two neighbouring fields around the area of Seng-ge, with the first including c. 150 smaller tombs (28: N29°53'26.84" E 91°08'04.29"; 29: N 29°52'26.67" E 91°08'48.74"), a site of c. 100 tombs (some of them of rectangular structure) situated immediately to the west of Glang-thang (30: N 29°52'56.64" E 91°12'14.74"), and two extensive fields around the area known as Bon-grong (31: N 29°52'14.56" E 91°13'28.73"; 32: N 29°51'44.25" E 91°16'41.11"). A number of clan names are registered for this core section of 'Phan-yul in pre-imperial and imperial times, *inter alia* as the leading lineages of several *dbang-ris* territories. See the following chapter, and Map 4.1.

*

These recently discovered sites sketched out here fit in to what in the meantime has become a long list of known burial sites in central Tibet, of which some are more or less well documented, others have been no more than just seen or registered (cf. Wangdu, Sonam *et al.* 1992; Chayet 1994b; Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004: 41ff.). These are sites in Lower Yar-lung (some of them prehistoric), graves in 'On, in Grva, and Grva-phyi (see Chan 1994: 355f.), several recently discovered sites in Stod-lung and the Skyid-chu region (K. Kaiser, p.c.), sites in 'Phan-yul (cf. no. 27 above), 'Dam-gzhung (cf. Richardson 1998 [1963]: 231–32), several fields in Gtsang (in Pha-drug and also in the Lha-rtse area (§ 6: Mang-dkar). With few exceptions (Richardson 1998 [1963]; P. Wangdu 1994) there has so far not been any attempt to locate the historical context of these sites more precisely. Similar to the examples above, one can here presume a clan-historical connection. Together, these sites mark a political geography where alongside the idea of the center a living regionalism can be discerned. Some of these regional zones had dynastic structures with a certain measure of autonomy (in ideological and socio-economic regard, as we can expect in connection with the realization of these royal-like grave monuments). This diagnosis somewhat corrects our image of the imperial period: there was not just one dynasty of the *spu-rgyal btsan-po* plus some (rebellious) “semi-independent” local regimes in the periphery (see § 5), but regional structures were more wide-ranging; they existed in the innermost zones of the empire and form a significant component of the early state in Tibet.

4. The Eighteen Shares of Power

Notes on MAP 4

The “18 shares of power” (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*) catalogue (*KhG* 186f.) relates to a territorial division of the Tibetan regions into particular domains (clan domains and domains of the *btsan-po*) and district units, and represents a section of the territorial-political organization, which, as Dungkar believes, is to be dated to the time of Srong-btsan Sgam-po and thereby precedes the organization of the Horn provinces and their sub-districts (*Dungkar* 1860a, b). However, as the second institution of the *bod kyi khos-drug* (in *KhG* 185; § 6) the *khos* of the *yul gyi dbang-ris rnam-pa* is placed after the institution of the “five Horn divisions.” Moreover, in this list the talk is already of *stong-sde* (thousand-districts) and the parallel account of the *yul gyi khod-bshams-pa* (“administrative arrangement of territories”) in *Lde'u* 273f. also mentions the Sum-pa-ru, which was only established in the early 8th century. Possibly, these are interpolations or additions from the time of the listing of this *dbang-ris* order, which otherwise in fact appears to relate to an early phase of the territorial division. Dotson dates the *dbang-ris* system in *KhG* to the latter half of the 7th cent.; Dotson: 2007a: 207, 364–74). Some of the 18 *dbang-ris* include several territories and clan domains, which are marked on the map with “a, b, c.” The spelling variants of the *yul gyi khod-bshams-pa* are in brackets.

1 Dbu-ru shod-chen (var. Dbu-ru sha-chen[?]): territory of the *btsan-po mnga'-bdag* {The “great lower tract of Dbu-ru” includes the Lhasa Valley (cf. *KhG* 177), and more generally appears to refer to the Skyid-shod region, although this zone is registered as the dominion of particular clans, mainly the Dbas; see § 7.2}

2 Pho-brang Sne-che (Pho-brang Rne-byi): *yul* of the emperor and the royal subjects {The Identification of Sne-che is unclear (the form Rne-byi is evidently corrupt). One may think here of one of the great Sne / Ne'u places of the central Tibetan history, such as Sne'u in Skyid-smad, or Sne-gdong of Lower Yar-lung where reportedly a stronghold of the Yar-lung *rgyal-po* already existed in pre-imperial times (i.e. the *sku-khar* at Zo-dang-ri; *TF*: 229; above § 3.1: Yar). Less likely Sne-che = Sna-chen, the latter *inter alia* the name of a village (and *shang*) east of Lhasa (*XD* 11b). As noted by Dotson (2007a: 368), nos. 1 and 2 have a parallel in the “three *stong-sde* for the affairs of the king and its entourage” listed in *Rgyal po bka' thang* (*GK* 184.18) as the first three *stong-sde* of the “18 *stong-sde*” of Tibet}

3 Yar-lung Sogs-kha: territory of the Khu and Gnyags lineages (i.e. Yar-lung (§ 3.1); cf. also the *rje-dpon-tshan* list of *Lde'u* 374 where Khu and Snyags are listed as the clan leaders of the local rule of Yar-lung-stod)

4 Ya[r]-'brog Gangs-khyim: *yul* of the Ku-rings *sde-lnga* (Five Divisions of the Ku-rings [people?]) {Placed here at the level of Sna-dkar-rtse}

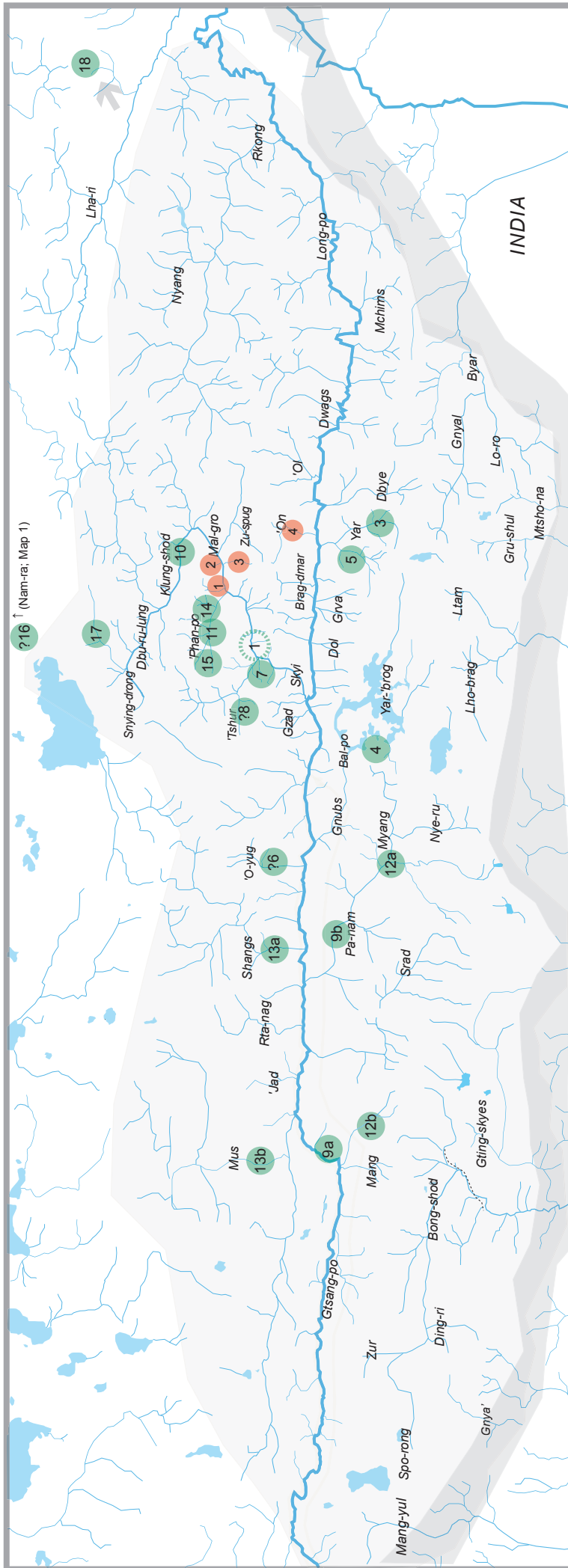
5 'Ching-nga 'Ching-yul: *yul* of the Mgos and Snubs (i.e. Phying-ba; on Snubs, see § 3.1; for Mgos, see § 6: Ru-lag)

?6 Bya-'ug sa-tshigs: territory of the Drang-rje pha-lnga {A Bya-'ug is in Shangs (Map 7.5), the latter itself registered as one of the *dbang-ris* (no. 13); Bya-'ug/zug is the name of an (still unidentified) 8th-cent. temple, founded by Mchims Mdo-bzher spre[l]-chung (Sørensen 1994: 388). The land of the five fathers / paternal lineages descending from [the *ma sang*] Drang-rje [?] possibly refers to 'O-yug; *TF*: 224. For other options, see Dotson 2007a: 373}

7 Brad [= Brang] and Gzhong-pa: *yul* of the Sna-nam lineage {In Lower Stod-lung; in the classification of the most prominent lineages, the *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi*, the Sna-nam is described as the lineage of the central region; *KhG* 189.7–9: “The 'Bro in the West [see below], the Mchims in the East [see § 3.2], the Sna-nam in the middle [of central Tibet] and the minister Sbas [§ 7.2] are the *zhang-gsum blon dang bzhi* [‘three *zhang*, four with the minister’], who exercised the functions of the *sku-zhang* and of the *blon-chen*” (cf. Uray 1972a: 20; note that the Sbas (Dbas) represents one of “four *blon chen*” and the compound of *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi* can also be read as “three *zhang* plus four (great) councillors” as can be drawn from *Jo sras* 112.4–5 where after the three *zhang* the Khu, 'Gar, Sba and 'Gos are listed as the *blon-bzhi* clans). Within central Dbus the Sna-nam had (at least from the 8th cent.) also territorial links in Upper Dbu-ru and in certain areas of central Lho-kha, such as in Grva or 'On. In Gtsang the Sna-nam are registered already for the pre-imperial times, namely as one of the two leading clans in the district which later became known as Pa-nam (= the *yul* of the Pa[-tshab] and [Sna-]nam lineages); *RCP*: 407. Cf. also Everding 2008: 74}

?8 Brag-rum stod smad: *yul* of the Tshes-pong lineage {Location uncertain. A possible candidate is the area around the Stod-lung Lcang-bu temple where the Tshes-pong had estates during the imperial period (Richardson 1985: 92; § 7: Lcang-bu). A Brag-rum Gnas-gsar is registered among the early *phyi dar* temples of Dbus (*RCP*: 665), likely the re-occupation of the 8th-cent. Brag-rum Dngul-ma [of Stod-lung?], founded by a member of the Tshes-pong (*MTP* 115). The same lineage is also associated with the areas of 'On and Yar-lung}

9a,b Gtsang-stod, Gtsang-smad: territory of the 'Bro and Khyung-po lineages {The entry on the map follows the situation of the later Horn division of Gtsang where the 'Bro were the leading lineage of Upper Ru-lag (9a), and the Khyung-po



Sigla: ● = the sites of the *dbang ris bco brgyad* ● = territories granted by Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan to his four allies

MAP 4:
The Eighteen Shares of Power.

the dominant lineage of Lower Ru-lag (see § 3.2) as well as of Upper G.yas-ru (9b = Lower Myang). The place of origin of the 'Bro in western Gtsang appears to have been in the area of Byang La-stod; see *GBY* 307–10; Bellezza 2005: 60}

10 Klung-shod Nam-po: territory of the 'Dru and Phyugst-mtshams {In the Klung-shod area of Dbu-ru}

11 'Phan-yul stong-sde: territory of the Sgro and Rma (var. 'Phan-sna Khram-sna, *yul* [of the people] of 'Dzom-steng [?]) {In 'Phan-yul the home estates of the Rma lineage was the area around the later Glang-thang temple and the *sde-pa* seat of Mkhar-rtse (*RTN*: 301; *RCP*: 605). The district thus may refer to the central part of 'Phan-po; Map 4.1}

12a,b Nyang-ro [and] Grom-pa: *yul* of the 'Bre and Lce lineage {i.e. the areas around Rgyal-rtse (= the dominion of the 'Bre; § 3.2) and of Grom-pa-lung in Gtsang. The Lce, the lineage behind the later Zhva-lu, had settlements in Myang-ro from the early 9th cent., and some generations earlier it is *inter alia* registered for Yar-lung and [Gtsang] La-stod. See *ZL* (transl. in Tucci 1949: 656ff.); cf. also Everding 2008}

13a,b Shangs and Gle: *yul* of the Phyi-ri and Gle clans {*Lde'u* has “Blo (= Gle) of Shangs, the *yul* of the Byi-ri and Blo-byi” (?). The toponym Gle (also known as a clan name of western Tibet; Everding 2000: 258) refers to the Gle-lung (Gle-ba) of Upper Mus, NE of Ngam-ring (Map 6a). Later (from the 12th cent.), the area became a settlement of the Gnyags-ston-pa line, descendants of the Gnyags people who have settled in the Mdog area since the time of Dpal-'khor-tsan. *GD* 97; Everding 2006a: 26; see also above § 3.2-2}

14 Yung-ba che chung: *yul* of the Bran-ka lineage {Great and Small Yung-ba is to be located in Lower 'Phan-yul (§ 3.1: Ngas-po). A tomb in Klu-rgyal-sgang of Brgya-grong *shang* south of 'Phan-po township is (locally) identified as the grave of Bran-ka Dpal gyi yon-tan (M. Akester, p.c.), the minister of the Bran-kha lineage who was buried in his homeland. It thus can be assumed that the Yung-ba-che once covered a greater section of this part of 'Phan-yul; Map 4.1}

15 Zha (= Za) Gad-Sde gsum (var. Za Gad Lte-lung): territory of [the lineage of] *blon-po* (~*blon-chen*) Sbas (= the lineage of Dba's Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re) {Sde / Lte-lung perhaps refers to the not closer identified Dbu-ru *stong-sde* of Sde-mtshams (~Ste-'jam). Otherwise, the form Za-gad sde-gsum may also to be read as “three divisions (or regiments; *sde-gsum*) of the Za-gad territory.” This is the area between Gad-po and Za-dam in western 'Phan-yul, which borders on the “body guard” district of Ngan-lam (*RCP*: 602ff.; below Map 4.1). In the 10th century the *rje-dpon-tshan* of 'Phan-yul Za-gad [Stag-pa] was established (Stag-pa: probably the valley of the Stag-mgo-chu); *KhG* 432; *Lde'u* 374; Hazod, *forthcoming*}

?**16 Nam-ra Chag-gong:** territory of the 'Bring (var. Nam-ra Tsha-dgong): 'Bri and Chag lineages {*Dungkar* 1207 reads it as two place names: Nam-ra of (western) Nag-chu

(the toponym is apparently related to the Nam-ra *yul-lha* close to Bar-tha (*XD* 379b; Bellezza, p.c.; Map 2) – not identical with the Gnam-ru; § 6) and the Chag of 'Phan-yul (= the area around the Chag-la?). On the other hand, 'Bri[ng] is arguably related to the “border area of the 'Bring” ('Bring-mtshams), a *stong-sde* of Dbu-ru; perhaps akin to 'Bri-lam, which however is situated south of Gnam-mtsho (Map 6b). Chag (Chags-pa, Phyag-pa) is also known as a clan of western Tibet (registered as a dominant lineage in the area of Mtsho-chen County; Bellezza 2008, s.v.)}

17 'Dam-shod [and?] Dkar-mo: territory of the Phya and Rva lineage (*Lde'u*: *yul* of the Lcog-ro) {In the 'Dam-gzhung area. For the Rva and Ph[v]ya lineages in central Tibet, see e.g. *RCP*, s.v.}

18 Mdo-khams and Mdo-chen: area of the *rgod stong-sde brgyad*, “eight military chiliarchies” {In *Lde'u* it is specified as the *yul* of the supplementary Horn of Sum-pa; see § 2.}

Further entries on the Map:

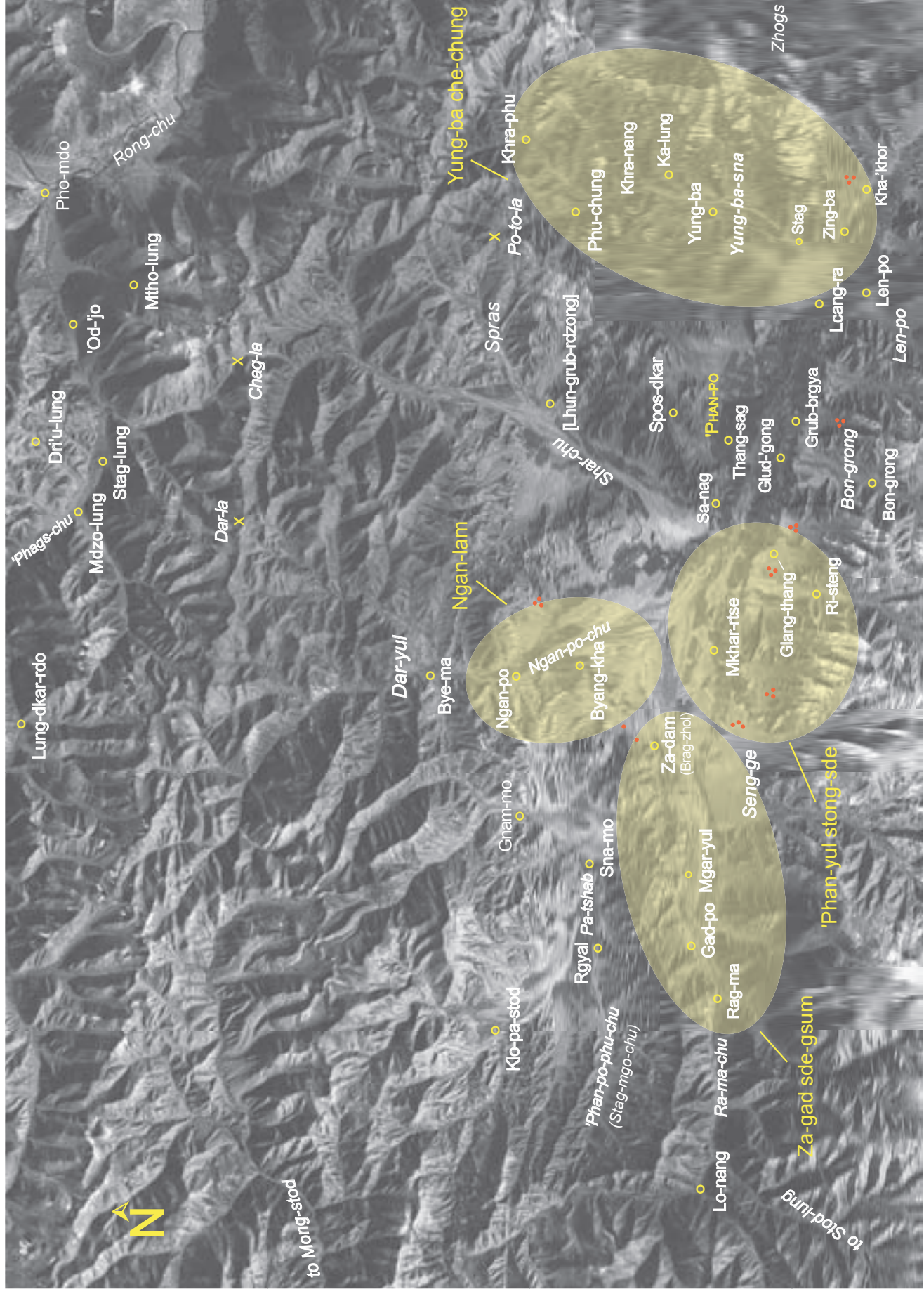
The territories which the founder king Khri Slon-mtshan (Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan) granted to his four principal allies after the conquest of Ngas-po (§ 3). See *TDD* 207:

1 Mkhar Sdur-ba plus 1500 families > Tseng-sku of the Myang lineage {For Sdur-ba, see § 3.1: Ngas-po; § 3.2, § 7.2. In PT 1287 (*TDD* 209.21–22), Tseng-sku is also mentioned in connection with Khur-ra, apparently a place somewhere along the Skyid-chu in upper Skyid-shod}

2 Za-gad plus 1500 families from Mal-tro > Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re of the Dba's clan {Za-gad = Za-gad *dbang-ris*; it is the Za-gad of Ngas-po which once belonged to the Gshen Khri-bzher 'Don-kong, the killer of Dbyi-tshab's brother Dba's Bshod-to-re Khru-gu (*TDD* 205), and which then the Dba's received as a reward from Khri Slon-mtshan for his role in the defeat of Zing-po-rje. The territory of the Dba's minister geographically thus comprised two different units, in 'Phan-po and Mal-gro. The Mal-gro part more precisely may refer to Klum-ro where the actual Dba's home land is to be located (§ 7.2) and which is also mentioned by name in connection with Dbyi-tshab Pangs-to-re (*TDD* 209.19–20)}

3 Mnon plus 1500 families [from Mnon and adjacent areas in Skyid-shod] > 'Dron-po of the Mnon lineage {Mnon corresponds to Rgya-ma in Mal-gro, where Khri Slon-mtshan had established the residence of Sbra-stod-tshal, a.k.a. Yar-snon (= “Snon[, the branch seat] of the Yar]-lung-pa”?) Sbra-stod-tshal, corresponding to Byams-pa Mi-gyur-gling of the later sources. The valley of Snon south of Gsang-phu in Skyid-smad may similarly be related to the Mnon lineage (it later provided the sub-commander of Dbu-ru-stod, and is i.a. listed among the “seven athletic ministers”; *Lde'u* 299)}

4 Smon-mkhar in 'On plus 300 families > Nag-seng of the Tshes-pong clan {i.e. the clan of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's mother; see also Brag-rum}



MAP 4.1:

Four 'Phan-yul districts of the *abang-ris bco-brgyad* period (red circle = the grave fields nos. 12 and 25–32 of § 3.2)

5. The Borders and Centers of the Four Horns

Notes on MAP 5

Sources: *KhG* 186.11–22; *Jo sras* 111.4–14; *Lde'u* 272.9–273.2; *Bshad mdzod* (Smith 2001: 222); Migmar 68–72; *Dungkar*, s.v. index; Riwang 14–15; *TF* 43f.; Dotson 2007a). At the earliest, the details given in *Lde'u* and *KhG* relate to the period from early/middle of the 8th century (after the foundation of Ra-mo-che), *Jo sras* represents an earlier tradition (Dotson 2007a: 105, *et passim*; below § 6).

DBU-RU

E: 'Ol-kha'i Shug-pa Spun-bdun {Shug-pa Spun-bdun is unidentified; we assume it refers to a mountain in Upper or northern 'Ol-kha and the district itself was part of G.yo-ru}

S: Rma (~ Dma)-la-la-brgyud (*Bshad mdzod* [Smith 2001: 324]: Dkar-la (= [Rgod-] dkar-la) {It is the Rgod-dkar-la-brgyud between Skyid-shod and Ngam-shod; *RCP*: 17ff.}

W: Snye-mo Gzhu {This border area became later known as Ru-mtshams, the zone where the borders of Dbu-ru and G.yas-ru meet (cf. Ru-mtshams Gzhu-snye listed among the *rje-dpon-mtshan*; *KhG* 432). In the imperial period, Snye-mo was part of G.yas-ru, at least after the territorial reorganization of 744 (see § 6), now a days it belongs to Dbus. Formulations in later sources such as “Snye-mda' (Lower Snye-mo) of Dbu-ru-smad” (*RCP*: 677) apparently refer to an older territorial situation, or Dbu-ru here means Dbus}

N: Prag[s](~ Srag) kyi Glang-ma gur-phub (*Bshad mdzod* has Smri-ti-mig (= the source of the Smri-ti chu-nag?) {Prag[s] is most likely the Sprag-lung (~ Brag-lung, also Dbu-ru Sprag) registered as an estate of the early Stag-lung-pa (Hazod, *forthcoming*; *TN* 52) and is the Spra-kha or the Brag-lung, both registered as part of the Dbu-ma-thang district of 'Dam-gzhung County. In Sato 1978, Glang-ma gur-phub is placed NW of Gnam-mtsho (?)}

Center: Lha-sa Ra-mo-che (*Jo sras*: Lha-sa 'Phrul-srang)

Upper Dbu-ru = the northern half of the Horn

Lower Dbu-ru = the southern part {Later sources give the site of Mtha'-rgyas in Skyid-shod as the border between Upper and Lower Dbu-ru; *TF* 91}

G.YO-RU

E: Kong-yul Bre-sna (§ 3)

S: Sha-'ug Stag-sgo {In mTsho-na}

W: Kha-rag spyi-stud (~ Kha-rag Gangs-rtse) {The border district of Kha-rag, *RCP*: 431, *passim*}

N: Rma-la-la-brgyud {See above}

Center: Yar-lung Khra-'brug {*TF*, *passim*}

Upper G.yo-ru = the western half of the Horn

Lower G.yo-ru = the eastern part {See *TF*: 230. The border between the two *ru* halves have to be placed to the east of

G.ye-yul as the latter is mentioned as part of Upper G.yo-ru. *Bshad mdzod* (Smith, *op. cit.*, 324, fn. 737) has: Rkong Lha-nag-po (E); Rma-la (N); Kha-rag Byi-stod (W); Sha-'ug Rta-sgo (S). The same text gives the division into a northern and southern G.yu-ru, each further divided into upper, middle and lower sections. Northern G.yu-ru: Stod (= Gr[v]a, Dol, Gzhung); Bar (= E, Dmyal, Yar); Smad (= Byar, Dags, Rkong). Southern G.yu-ru: Stod (= Byar, D[v]ags, Rgang (read: Rkong); Bar (= Gtam-shul, Gru-shul, Chu-shul (?)); Smad (= Lo-ro lung-gsum)}

G.YAS-RU

E: Brags (~Sprags) kyi Glang-ma gur-phub (= northern border of Dbu-ru (*sic*); *Bzhad bdzod* [Smith 2001: 324] defines the G.yas-ru boundaries as upward (= westward) from Chu-mtshams Bzang gi Sogs-pa-ri and downward (= eastward) from La-stod Bye-ma-la g.yung-drung (see below). I suspect that Chu-mtshams, the eastern border, refers to Ru-mtshams and Bzang is to be read as Gzad, the adjacent district where the Sogs-pa-ri is to be located; *RCP*: 121}

S: Snye-nam G.yag-po-sna (~ Gnya'-ni G.yag-po'i sna) {This border site is apparently not the Gnya'-nang, the border district south of Ding-ri (Chapel 1989: 105; Migmar 71). A Snye-nam is listed among the Ru-lag *yul-sde*}

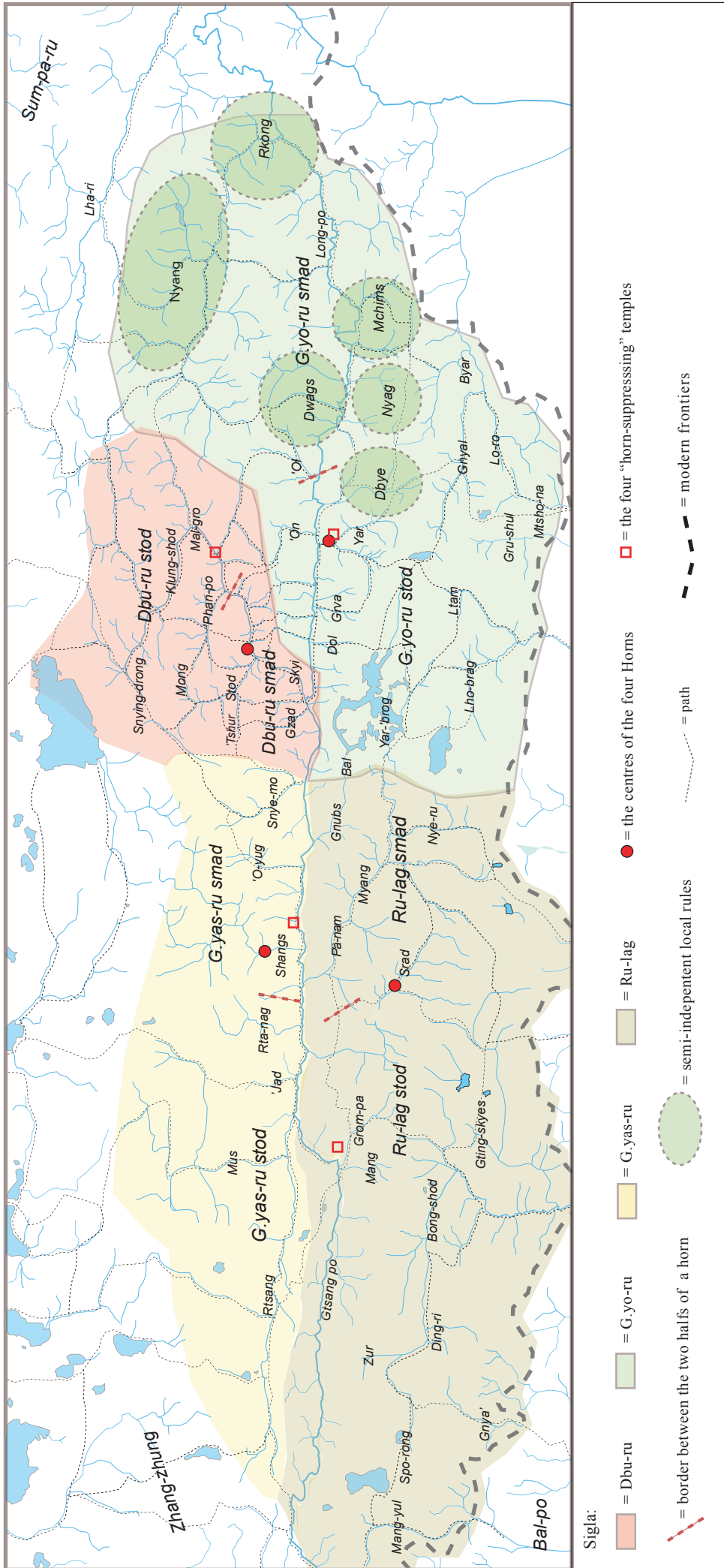
W: Bye-ma la-dgu (*Bshad mdzod*: La[s]-stod (= La-stod Byang) Bye-ma-la g.yung-drung (evidently related to the Bon-po *gter ma* site of Gtsang-stod Bye-ma g.yung-drung; cf. e.g. Karmay 1972: 96); *Jo sras*: Gtsang-la Ma-dgu {Chapel 1989: 105: Bye-ma-la mountain in Ngam-ring County). Exact location uncertain. In Sato 1978, the Bye-ma-la is placed in the area due north-west of Zhang-zang. It may be related to the mountain Rtsang-la Bye'u (above § 3.1: Rtsang)}

N: Rmi-sti chu-nag (~ Smri-ti chu-nag) {It appears to be misplaced here (but see below); Smri-ti River denotes according to *Bshad mdzod* the northern border of Dbu-ru}

Center: Gzhong-pa-tshal of Shangs (var. Zhong-zhong; Zho-zhe-tshal) {In Rnam-gling County; cf. e.g. *Tshig mdzod* 2620; more precisely it refers to the valley section of Zhong-zhong in Upper Shangs, locally known as the area where Khyung-po Rnal-'byor founded the Zhong-zhong dgon-pa, the mother-seat of the Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa; Map 7.5}

Upper G.yas-ru = the western half of the Horn

Lower G.yas-ru = the eastern half {Of all the Horns G.yas-ru is the one that it is most difficult to locate precisely, both with regard to the borders and the situation of the individual districts. A possible explanation for the disaccord concerning the definitions of the western border of Dbu-ru and eastern border of G.yas-ru (and for the somewhat strange position of



MAP 5:
The four Horns of Tibet:
borders and centers.

the latter's northern border) could be the circumstance that the present catalogue represents a mélange of two traditions, referring to the system before and after the territorial reorganization of 744 where several districts of (former) Dbu-ru were transferred to the Right Horn (see below § 6; Table 1). The northern border in Maps 2, 5, 6 follows the course of the present-day northern province border of Gtsang, and Gzhu Snye-mo (the "Ru-mtshams") is indicated as the border between Dbu-ru and G.yas-ru. The western part of G.yas-ru largely corresponds to the area known as Byang (La-stod Byang; Byang La-stod), although the exact borders to Ru-lag remain here somewhat unclear. According to our identification, the Ru-lag thousand-district of Khri-bom lies to the north of the Gtsang-po, in the area around Glang-mtsho (Map 6.1a) which arguably was part of La-stod Byang (also known as "G.yas-ru Byang;" cf. e.g. STEARNS 2007: 544; *GK, passim*). Possibly one or another section that is here marked as part of G.yas-ru belonged to Ru-lag. Thus the present day Lha-rtse County, earlier a core district of Ru-lag, extends to the north beyond the Gtsang-po, a situation that perhaps reflects older historico-geographical circumstances. Similarly vague is the border of the two G.yas-ru halves. We assume that, similar to the details of the other Horns, the first four *stong-sde* were in the upper half (= here the western half) and the succeeding *stong-sde* mentioned were in the lower half. This division is also supported by the details on the Horn commanders, according to which the *stong-sde* nos. 7 and 8 were also under the lineage of the *ru-dpon* of Lower G.yas-ru (i.e. the Mgos). Likewise, the *stong-sde* nos. 5 and 6 are registered as the thousand-districts dominated by the Langs (Rlangs), the lineage where the Lower Right Horn's sub-commander hailed from, i.e. Lang[s]-pa Mgon-ne/bu. Note that Shangs is given as part of eastern G.yas-ru (ZL 15b).}

RU-LAG

Established in the first half of the 8th cent.; before, the *OTA* speak of Gtsang-chen which is geographically not identical with the later Supplementary or Branch Horn; it rather means a section in Gtsang, presumably the area around the four *stong-sde* of Ru-lag-stod.

E: Ne-na-bkra (*Jo sras*: 'Dzam Ne-na-tra; *KhG*: 'Jam Ne-bkra) {It is to be located at the border between Yar-'brog and Myang-stod; Migmar 70}

S: Bal-po Glang-dgur (~ sna) {Chapel 1989: 105: at the Tibet–Nepal (Bal-po) border}

W: Khen-mag-mig (*KhG*, *Jo sras*: La-kem/n G.yag-mig) {Migmar (*op. cit.*) locates it at the border between Ding-ri and Skyid-rong *rdzong*; but note that the *yul-sde* list of Ru-lag also includes Myang-yul [Gung-thang] (Mnga'-ris-smad) which would suggest a western extension of Ru-lag approximately up to Sa-dga' (cf. also the Ru-lag *bon po 'du gnas* Lha-yul Gung-thang). Ribang 15 thinks that the Ru-lag included also the area of Sa-dga' and 'Brong-pa}

N: Bye-ma sa/la-sngon (= western border of G.yas-ru)

Center: Sprad kyi Ngur-pa-sna (*KhG*: Brad kyi Dur-ba-sna; *Jo sras*: Srid kyi Dur-ba-sna) {Sprad = Srad, the valley and district to the west of Sa-skya (*XD* 376a: 28°53'N 88°44'E). A Dur-pa-sna is unknown in Srad. It may correspond to the site of later Srad *rdzong* in central Srad, where a village "Dobä" is located. A Ba-dur is in western Srad}

Upper Ru-lag = the western half of the Horn (= approximately. the (later) La-stod Lho, i.e. the region from Sa-skya (also given as Gtsang La-stod Grom-pa Sa-skya) in the east up to Mang-yul in the west (cf. Everding *et al.* 2006: 27)

Lower Ru-lag = the eastern part of the Horn

Further entries on the Map:

• The Four Ru-gnon or Horn suppressing temples:

Dbu-ru Ka-tshal (loc. at 29°51'N 91°44'E; *XD* 36)

G.yas-ru Gtsang-'gram (loc. at 29°30'47,8"N 89°85'30,0"E)

G.yo-ru Khra-'brug (loc. at 29°11'531'N 91°46'341"E)

Ru-lag Gram-pa Rgyang (loc. at 29°08'03,9"N 87°44'58,7')

{See *TF*: 50ff. Note: Gtsang-'gram possibly corresponds to 'Grams-tsha ('Grangs-rtsang), the *stong-sde* which originally (= *ante* 744) was part of Dbu-ru (§ 6). It would lead to the conclusion that the (post-dynastic) classification of the four Ru-gnon temples refer to a situation after the 740s}

• The "Semi-independent" Rules (see also Map 6c)

It relates to the territories in eastern central Tibet (Map 3.1) that are described in *OTC* (PT 1287; *DTH* 111.3–4) as rebellious local rules, and following Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan's (violent) death were (again) pacified by his successor (Srong-btsan Sgam-po). These regional vassal rules were later repeatedly able to maintain a certain extent of autonomy, in the case of Rkong-po laying claim to special status, namely with the reference to the close ancestral relationship with the Spurgyal line (Uray 1988b; Uebach 1985b; Yamaguchi 1992; see also above § 3.2).

After the *gnyen* (affinal relatives) Zhang-zhung and the *mdzo* (mixed) Sum-pa (§ 2), it lists:

Nyag-nyi (see Rngegs, § 3.1)

Dags-po

Rkong-po

Myang-po (i.e. Nyang-po of eastern central Tibet)

Marked on the map are also the territories of Dbye (G.ye-yul), Mchims, and Spo-bo, which in the imperial time preserved or further developed a similar distinct status of regional dynasties. For details see § 3.1; 3.2. (Of this group, G.ye-yul and Spo-bo later (from the 17th cent.) experienced a particular renaissance in which the succeeding ruling houses of the Lha Rgya-ri-pa of G.ye and the Ka-nam *sde-pa* of Spo-bo were accorded special privileges by the Dga'-ldan pho-brang government owing to their supposed linear relationship with the old royal house).

6. The Districts of the Four Horns

Notes on MAP 6a-c

Based on *Lde'u* 256–261; the details of the comparative sources (*KhG* 187; *BK* 437–70; *GK* 185; *TLTD* 417ff.; *Jo sras* 110.11–111.5; *MTP* [= Uebach 1987: 50ff.]) are given in parenthesis and summarized in Tables 1–2. Beyond, there are numerous references on the *stong-sde* system found in various sources, and as recently demonstrated by Dotson (2007a: 207), at least four traditions of *stong-sde* can be differentiated, with the earliest to be dated before 702 A.D. (= the date when the Sum-pa-ru have been established, § 2). Of the classical catalogues, the versions of *MTP* and *Jo sras* reflect a situation before the territorial reorganization of 744 (Uebach 1985a), whereas the lists in *Lde'u* and *KhG* are to be dated between 744 and 763; the details in *BK* represent a mixture of these two traditions. The catalogues of the administrative districts of Ru-bzhi are only preserved in *Lde'u* and *GK*, although the two apparently describe different periods of the 8th century (Dotson 2007a: 153f.). Apart from the names of the individual districts, the sources provide several details and distinctions of the individual Horns (names of the commander (*ru-dpon*) and sub-commander (*dpa'-zla*; *ru-sgab*) and their lineages, characteristics of the Horn horse (*ru-rta*), Horn banner (*ru-rta*), Horn insignia, army metaphor (*dmag-bzhed*)) which here are restricted to the mentioning of the names of the Ru commanders and the ruling lineages of the individual districts (for details, see Dotson 2007a).

DBU-RU

I. The *stong-sde* or military thousand-districts

?1 Dor-ste(~sde) – (*BK*: no. 5) {Uebach 1987: 50 (fn. 129) refers to the 'Bri-khung Rdo-them (of the Zho-rong Valley) which is mentioned in *DMS* [Tucci 1971: 241] as the (eastern) border of the territory that was under the jurisdiction of the Phag-gru governor seat of Snel-pa in the 16th cent. (*RCP*: 761). It is possibly identical with the Mdo-stod listed together with 'Phan-yul and Klung-shod as one of three branch settlements of the Yum-brtan *brgyud* in northern Dbu-ru (*KhG* 433.20). A less likely location is Dog-sde in the Lhasa Valley. The small district is rather to be counted as part of the (upper) Skyi thousand-district. Also feasible: Dor-sde = “regiment of the Dor-po”, a tribal group of eastern Tibet (Richardson 1998 [1990b]: 167) who perhaps had settlements in Upper Dbus}

?2 Sde-mtshams (~Ste-'jam; Ste-'Dzom; *BK*: Ste-'Jom/'Jem, no. 6; *MTP*: Stong-'jim) {Identification unclear; perhaps identical with the Lte-lung (Sde) mentioned in the list of the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* in tandem with the Za-gad district of 'Phan-yul; § 4. Sato 1978 has it SW of Nag-chu}

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: Sma(~Rma) and Ska-ba (§ 4)

3 Phyug-[m]tshams (~ Chugs-'tshams) {It corresponds to the *yul* of the 'Dru and Phyug-tshams which arguably is to be located in the Klung-shod/Upper Skyi-chu region (§ 4). The districts nos. 1–3 are mentioned in PT 1287 where it says that they were granted a tiger emblem as “badge of heroism” during the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (*TDD* 217.6–7; it is linked to the establishment of the “eastern division of heroes” in the 760s; Dotson: 2007a: 387f.). They apparently refer to neighboring districts, probably to be situated between Zho-rong and Gcong-pa in Byang}

4 'Grangs-'tshams (var.: 'Brang-mtshams, 'Grams-tsha, Grang-brtsan) {In *Lde'u* it is listed with Nyen-kar as part of G.yas-ru (see below), in *Jo sras* and *MTP* the two are registered as part of Dbu-ru. Sato 1978 has it NE of Shangs}

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Phyug-'mtshams {The clan (var. Phyug-tshang) is also registered for western Tibet (Bellezza 2008; Gyalbo 2005: 278) and people from Phyug-mtshams constituted the “eastern division of heroes;” see above}

5 Gcong-pa (var.: Bcom-pa; in *MTP* and *BK* listed together with Zom-steng, a district which in *KhG* is listed as part of G.yas-ru) {Bcom-pa evidently is the Bcom-pa/Bcom-mdo in the Rva-sgreng Valley in Byang of Lhun-grub County}

?6 'Bring-'tshams (*BK*: no. 1–2; *Jo sras*: 'Bri-te, no. 4) {It refers to the 'Bring clan whose land was Nam-ra (§ 4) and apparently was also related to the 'Bri[ng]-mtshams of Ru-lag. The catalogue lists the Cog-ro as the lineage of this *stong-sde* (see below), who in the *yul gyi khod bshams pa* is mentioned in connection with 'Dam-shod (see § 4; cf. *RN* 55: Cog-ro 'Bri-mtshams). *Jo sras* lists as nos. 5 and 6: Co-la (= Cog-la) and Zo-stengs; *MTP*: Bcom-pa (no. 7) and Gzo-steng, no. 8} **Lineage** of nos. 5 and 6: Cog-ro {A burial site of this clan is reported to be in the 'Gre area, north of Rva-sgreng in Byang; see Roesler 2007: 130}

7 Kyi-stod {It largely corresponds to the later Skyid-shod *stod*, i.e. between Mal-gro and Lhasa; *RCP*: 17ff.}

8 Kyi-smad {= Skyid-chu region south of Lhasa}

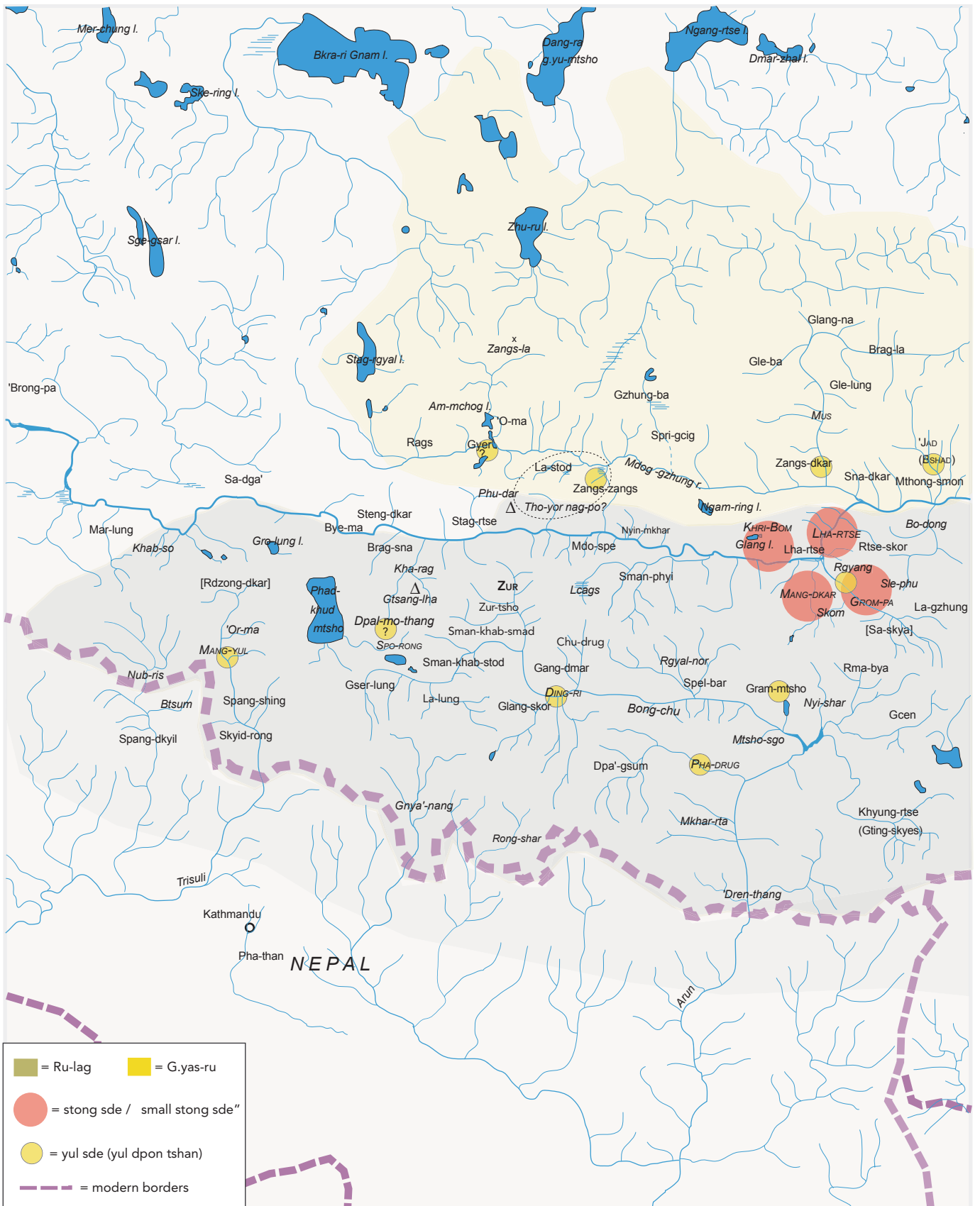
Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Sbas (Dba's; see § 7.2)

9 Yel-rab (var. Yel-zhab, Spel-zhabs = the *stong bu-chung*) {Arguably the ancient *yul* of Yel-rab sde-bzhi, § 4}

Lineage of no. 9: Bran-ka (*BK*) {It was the lineage which was allocated the Yung-ba *yul* as *dbang-ris* (§ 4)}

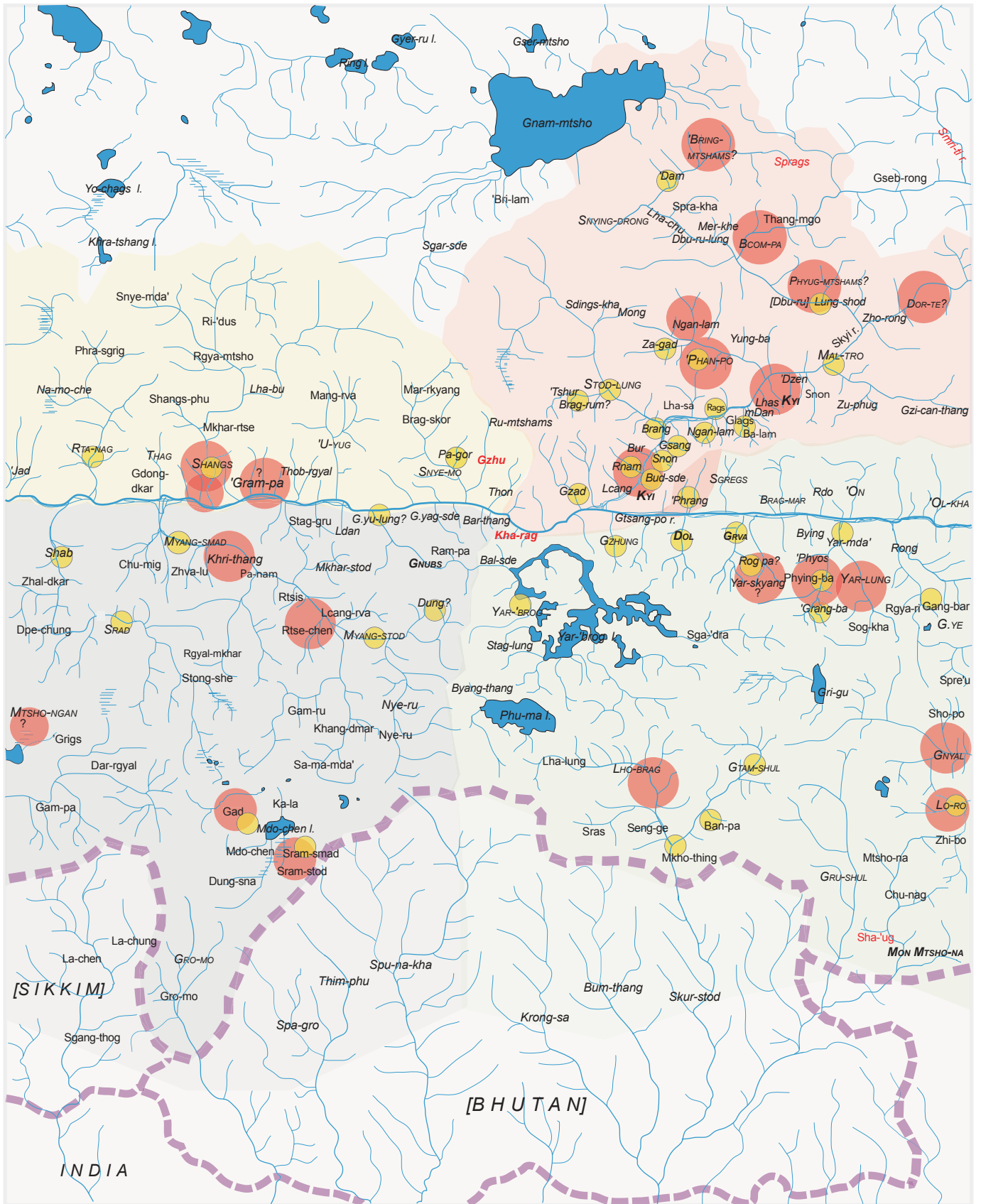
10 Sku-srung Shar-phyogs (The *sku-srung stong-sde* (body guard division in the East (*sic*), read: *byang phyogs*) {The Zhol inscription mentions the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul as the representative lineage for the body-guards of the king (Map 4.1). One source (*BD* 3a, in *CFS*: 29) specifies the Khyi clan (§ 3.1: Kyi) as a *sku-srung* lineage [of Dbu-ru?]. The establishment of royal guards has its parallel in the formulation men-

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MAP 6a-c: The districts of the four Horns.

Part III



Imperial Central Tibet

