

tioned elsewhere in the *Section of Law and State (SL)* which says that the “six clans of paternal subjects (*yab-'bangs rus-drug*) took care of the ruler’s body.” This group (often given in the form of three pairs of clans) chronologically appear for the first time in the context of the arrival of the mythical ancestor (Gnya'-khri btsan-po), although the various lists are not uniform with regard to the names. Another *rus-drug* group in the *SL* is the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug*, “group of the six *btsan* clans,” in which the Ngan-lam also appears (*Jo sras* 112.3). These groups of six are historically in a more or less close connection with the *rje* and clan groupings such as the “nine paternal subjects of Bod” (*bod [yab]-'bangs pha-dgu*, apparently corresponding to the group of the *rje-dgu* or *srid-dgu*) – a symbolic number of the lords of the *rgyal-phran bcu-gnyis* subject to the *btsan-po* (§ 3.1) from whose lineages (*rje-rus* and *blon-rus*) the greater part of the officials and military posts were drawn. Whether the leadership of the *sku-srung* was limited to particular clans is rather unlikely; from a later source (cit. in Vitali 2007: 1036) we learn that the *sku-srung* lineages apparently alternated, or were selected afresh by each *btsan-po*. It is also not quite clear whether the recruiting of the bodyguard divisions was (similarly to that of the *rgod-stong-sde*) connected with a particular territory, or if these four groups each were brought together from various areas of the respective Horns. See also Dotson 2007a: 164ff.).

Further registered:

- 'Phan-yul *stong-sde* {See § 4}
- Phod-kha (~Phor-ka) and Ngam-ru'i phag (~Ngam-ru-pag) (Listed in *Jo sras* as nos. 9 and 10 and in *MTP* as nos. 11 and 12 of the Dbu-ru *stong-sde*) {The latter is the Gnam-ru of Dpal-dgon County, north-west of Gnam-mtsho (Gyurme 393; *XD* 540a; Uebach 1999: 267; *TLTD II* 243). Phod-kha is the G.yas-ru Phod-dkar of the other lists; below Table 1}

Commander (*ru-dpon*) of Upper Dbu-ru: Sna-nam Rgyal-rta Rgan-mo-chung {It suggests that there was an (older) branch settlement of the Sna-nam-pa in Upper Dbu-ru; this was possibly in the Zho-rong Valley; see *RCP*: 75}

Commander of Lower Dbu-ru: Dbas Skyes-bzang Stag-snang {On this figure, see Dotson 2007a: 199f. Further details are mentioned in connection with the *ru* halves and their commanders, such as the characteristics / color of the Horn [commander's?] horses (*ru-rta*), Horn banners (*ru dar*), and the types of insignia (*yig-tshang*) of the Ru leadership. Among these the banner possibly has an older history, that is, it seems to be less a *ru* specific than an (old) clan-specific insignia (= the banner of the *ru-dpon's* lineage). In the various *rus mdzod* accounts one repeatedly finds the subdivision of a clan into branch lines of older, middle, and younger ancestral brothers, who are distinguished by colours (usually white, variegated and black) and are correspondingly marked by *rus* banners (see e.g. the description of the Dbra (~Sbrang) division, i.e. the Dbra *dkar nag khra gsum*; *Rlangs* 6f.). Such distinguishing marks were presumably used in military engage-

ments in pre-imperial times (perhaps on the model of older Turkic traditions), but above and beyond that, in the narrower sense they have a social relevance of signaling the identity and unity of a lineage and its transregional ramifications. Thus the glorious red banner (*dpal-dar dmar-po*; or *dpal-dar = sbal-dar?* frog banner) of the Dbas, the striped flag of the Sna-nam, or the white lion banner of the 'Bro (Wangdu 1994) etc. (cf. *KhG* 188) are perhaps each old transregional clan emblems (or insignia of one of the lineage sub-divisions) that were then taken account of in the establishment of the Ru and their distinguishing mark. For clan insignia, see also the case of the Dgyer lineage, in *TF*: Introduction, *et passim*.

II. The administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*, *yul-sde*, *yul-gru*)

- 1 Stod-lung
 - 2 'Phags-rgyal (*GK*: Phar-kyang) {Identification uncertain; perhaps related to the 'Phags-chu valley in Byang}
 - 3 Klung-shod
 - 4 Mal-gro
 - 5 'Dam-shod
 - 6 Za-gad {See § 4}
 - 7 Rag-sha (*GK*: Rag-nas) {It may refer to the Rag district close to Yer-pa, east of Lhasa}
 - 8 Ba-lam {The Ba-lam district east of Lhasa, described in post-dynastic sources as the eastern entrance to the Lha-sa Maṇḍala zone; *TF*: 576, *et passim*}
 - 9 Ngan-lam {Either the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-po or the Ngan-lam of Skyid-shod; Hazod 2007b: 602f.}
 - 10 Brang-yul [i.e. Bran in Lower Stod-lung] (In *GK*, 'Bren (= Brang-yul or 'Phrang-po [no. 13]?) and G.yu-khung (?) are listed as the 9th and 10th *yul gru*)
 - 11 Dbul-lde (*GK*: Dbu-sa-skor; elsewhere Dbus-skor) {It is the present-day 'Bud-bde in Skyid-smad}
 - 12 Gzad Chu-shul {In present-day Chu-shul}
 - 13 'Phrang-po {The district adjacent to Sgrags}
 - 14 Gnon-lung-pa {Rather the Snon in Skyid-smad and not the Snon (= Rgya-ma) of Mal-gro is meant here; *RCP*: 182}
 - 15 Gsang[-phu, -smad] {In Skyid-smad}
 - 16 Brag-rum {See § 4}
 - 17 'Phan-yul (= no. 14 of the *yul gru* list in *GK*)
- The names of the districts nos. 12–16 are not registered in the list of the Dbu-ru'i *yul-gru chu-drug* of *GK*, which mentions here the Gzhol [12], Skungs (?) [13], Rong-shod (?) [15] and Bra-rnams [16] (= Bra[ng] [and] Rnams [of Skyid-smad]?)

G.YO-RU

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

- 1 Yar-lung
- 2 'Ching-lung {Phying-lung; *MTP*, *Jo sras*: Shar-po and Phying-ba; Shar-po = “disdistrict to the east [of Phying-ba]” (?) = Yar-lung; cf. also Shar-mgo of Yar-lung; *CFS*: 241}

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: Gnyags and Tshe-spong (*GD* 97)

?3 Yar-rgyang (*MTP*: Yar-rkyangs, no. 4; *KhG*: Yar-mtshams, no. 3; *BK*: Ljang-kyang, no. 6) {It possibly refers to the Yar-skyang situated south east of Grva-nang}

?4 Yung-nga (*MTP*: Yum-'bangs, no. 6); *KhG*: G.yu-'bangs; *BK*: Lung-pa {Not identified; Uebach (1987: fn. 147) reads Yum-'bangs ("subjects of the mother") as a place related to the Tshes-pong in 'On. Also feasible: Yung-nga = Yung-ba of Dbu-ru and hence misplaced here. *Jo sras* gives Lho-brog (Lho-brag) and Mang-rgyal as nos. 3 and 4}

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Myang and Sna-nam

5 Dwags-po (*KhG*: no. 8)

?6 Myag-mi (*MTP*: no. 7, *KhG*: Nyag-nyi, no. 6; *BK*: Nyang-po (*sic*), no. 7) {Nyag-nyi = Rngégs, see § 3.1. In *Jo sras* Dmyal (= Gnyal) and Khri'u are listed as nos. 5 and 6}

Lineage of nos. 5 and 6 (in *BK*: Nyang-po and Dwags-po): Ldong and Mchims {On Ldong, the *rus* name of an individual lineage as well as the name of a tribal or ethnic group of various clans, see Chödrag 38f.; it is often paired with Stong; for its meaning, see Dotson 2007a: 80–82; 124, 384f.}

7 Dmyal (*MTP*: Dmyal-khri, no. 5; *KhG*: Dmyal, no. 7; *BK*: Gnyal, no. 5) {i.e. Gnyal, today Lhun-rtse County}

8 Lho-brag (*Jo sras* lists Myang (= Nyang-po in Lho-kha) and Dwags-po as nos. 7 and 8)

Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Mchims and Snyi-ba (the latter known as the leading lineage of Gnyal, *DG*; *GKR*, *passim*)

9 Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) (*Jo sras*, *MTP* and *BK*: Ri-bo *stong bu-chung*) {Lo-ro south of Gnyal}

Lineage of no. 9: Sbrang-ston {i.e. a branch of the Dbra (Sbra[ng]). On this clan (often to be found in the compound of Se Khyung Dbra), see *Rlangs* 9f.; 26f.; Czaja 2006: chap. 1; Chödrag 39f.; Bellezza 2008; s.v.; Vitali 1996: 429}

10 Sku-srung Shar-phyogs (Body-guard division in the East) {A Shar-phyogs is in G.ye-yul}

Commander of Upper G.yo-ru: Myag (*KhG*: Myang) Stag-zig G.yu-btsan (Myag Stag-bzang g.yu-brtan)

Commander of Lower G.yo-ru: 'Chims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting (Zhang Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng; also Mchims Snyal-ba [~Dmyal-ba] Shud-ting [~Shud-stong]; on this famous general, see above *OTA* entry 762-764; Dotson 2007a: 201f.)

II. The administrative districts

1 Nga-rabs (*GK*: Dwags-po, no. 1; Nga-rab, no.2) {i.e. the valley north of modern Rgya-tshva; *RCP*: 177, 347}

2 Gung-po (*GK*: Gung-po, no. 3) {Perhaps the area of Gong-stod and -smad, north of Lha Rgya-ri in G.ye-chung}

3 Gang-'bar {= G.ye'i Gang-'bar(~par); situated in Klog of southern G.ye-yul *alias* G.ye-che; Hazod 2007a}

4 Yar-mdä' (*GK*: Yar-klungs, no. 4) {Lower Yar}

5 'Chings-lung (Phying-ba)

6 Greng-nga (*GK*: 'Grangs-te, no. 5) {Grang-mo Grang-chung in Upper 'Phyong-po; Hazod 2007a; § 7.1: Breng}

? 7 Rog-pa {Rog-pa-rtsa of 'Phyong-po (?) (Ferrari 1958: fn. 286); or the land of the Rog-pa lineage in Grva; *RCP*: 172}

8 Lo-ro (*GK*: Gnyal, no. 6; Lo-ro, no. 7; 'Khag-pa (?) no. 8)

9 Ban-pa {In eastern Lho-brag}

10 Stam-shul (*KG*: Rtam-shul, no.9) {i.e. the Ltam-shul (~Gtam-shul) district, today Mtsho-smad County}

11 Kho-mthing {In southern Lho-brag; *TF*: 52}

12 Brag-lung {Not identified; likely in western Lho-kha}

13 Dol and Gzhung (*GK*: no. 11) {*RCP*: 173f.}

14 Gra-lung (*GK*: no. 10) {*RCP*: 171f.}

15 Khab-so {Not inserted in the map; a Khab-so is listed as one of the Ru-lag *stong-sde*; version of *MTP*}

16 Yar-'brog rnam-gsum (*GK*: no. 12) {*RCP*: 169f.}

G.YAS-RU

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

1 Lho-yo (*Jo sras*: Stong-yong; *KhG*: Stong-chen; *BK*: Stod-yongs; *Lde'u* 260.14: "royal six districts of Lho-yo")

2 Shangs (*Jo sras*: Gshang-lha; *KhG*: Shangs-chen; *BK*: Shangs-steng; *MTP*: Sde-spo and 'O-tshab = nos. 1 and 2)

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: Khyung-po

3 Lang-mi {The district of the "Lang people" (= Rlangs; below no. 6) may refer to the (still not closer identified) Glang-lung of La-stod [Byang] (*Lde'u* 384.10–11)}

4 Phod-dkar (*Jo sras* and *MTP*: Shangs-steng and Bzang-po/ro = nos. 3 and 4) {Location unknown; a Pho-kar dist. (and "Pho-kar tribe") is localized by Thomas in NE Tibet; *TLTD II* 294f., *passim*. A possible candidate is the 'U-yug Phu-dkar known from later sources (Czaja 2006, s.v. index)}

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Spa-tshab (Pa-tshab) {Ancient branch settlements of the lineage are *inter alia* also registered for Lower Myang (in Gtsang) and 'Phan-yul, i.e. the Pa-tshab-yul in the Rgyal (~Stag-mgo) Valley of 'Phan-po-stod}

5 Nyen-mkhar (~Nyen-kar gyi *sde*; *TLTD II* 466) {A Nyen-khang is south of G.yag-mo in northwestern Ngam-ring and a Nyin-kar is to be found to the southwest of the Glang-mtsho (Map 6a, b). The two sites are in the western part of G.yo-ru and hence probably can be ruled out as candidates for the identification of this district. As mentioned above (§ 5), the first four districts probably belonged to G.yas-ru-stod or the western half of the Right Horn, which would suggest a location of the Nyen-dkar *stong-sde* (not identical with the Nyen-kar listed in *OTA*) somewhere to the east of Shangs. Note that in the older version of *Jo sras* and *MTP* the *stong-sde* of Nyen-kar, Phod-dkar and 'Grangs-tshams are among the districts of Dbu-ru – reflecting here a system where the *stong-sde* still were not balanced between the Right and Central Horns (§ 5). It has led to the suggested location of Nyen-kar *stong-sde* somewhere between Snye-mo and Stod-lung/'Dam-shod. Uebach 1987: 51; *Dungkar* 1875a, b; Dotson 2007a: 183f. It contradicts however the definition of Dbu-ru's western border (= Gzhu of Snye-mo), but not of the eastern (and northern) borders of G.yas-ru (see § 5: G.yas-ru). The *stong-sde* thus could indeed refer to an area in (north-)western Dbus (Nyen-

kar = Gnyan-grong?, a var. form of Snying-grong; § 7.1), but note that in the catalogues of the administrative districts, which in the version of *GK* we think describes a situation of the first half of the 8th cent., the area in question is clearly defined as part of Dbu-ru. Perhaps Nyen-kar is simply a corrupt form of [S]Nye-mo *mkhar* and this *stong-sde* means the great Snye-mo district that today administratively belongs to Dbus. Note that in the lists of *GK* Snye-mo is listed as the last (= easternmost) *yul-sde* of G.yas-ru. Sato 1978 identifies the Nyen-kar with a Nye-mkhar (?) situated due east of 'U-yug}

6 'Grangs-rtsang (*KhG* and *BK*: 'Brang (Drang)-mtshams, no. 5) {Possibly an alternative or corrupt spelling of Gtsang-sgram (~gram/grang[s]/'brang), "shore ('gram) of the Gtsang-po River," where the border temple of G.yas-ru Gtsang-sgram is located (*XD* 638b; see Fig. 13; Map 7.5; § 5). *Jo sras* and *MTP* give 'Bro[gl]-mi and 'O-mi as nos. 5 and 6 (not identified) and list 'Grams-tsha/Grangs as a district of Dbu-ru, likewise *Lde'u*, where 'Grangs-'tshams is (mistakenly?) paired together with Phyug-'tshams; see above}

Lineage of nos. 5 and 6: Lang[s]-sa (= pa) {Lang = Rlangs, cf. the division of the Bod G.yas-ru'i Rlangs, *Rlangs* 28.4. *TLTD II* 466 has *nyen-kar gi sde dba' kha myi*, "Nyen-kar district, the Dba' [and] Kha (= Ka-ba?) people," possibly referring here to the Nyen-kar of Dbu-ru/ Skyid-shod; § 7.2}

7 Yo-rabs (*KhG*: Spo-rab; *BK*: Yel-rab) {Perhaps it is to be counted as part of original Dbu-ru, see Nyen-mkhar}

8 Gzong-sde (*BK*: Zom-steng) {Not on the map}

Lineage of nos. 7 and 8: Mgos {See below}

9 Shangs (*stong bu-chung*)

Lineage: Sle (~Gle; see § 4)

10 Sku-srung Nub-phyogs (Body-guard division in the West)

Commander of Upper G.yas-ru: Khyung-po Stag-bzang nya-stong, ancestor of the six Lho-yo districts of the king}

Commander of Lower G.yas-ru: Mgos Khri-snyen gsang-mchod (Mgos Khri-gnyen/bsnyon G.yang-'phyos/Dpal-mo)

II. The administrative districts

1 Byang-phug {Unknown, but evidently W of Zang-zang}

2 Zang-zang {In western Ngam-ring}

3 Zangs-dkar {In Lower Mus, NE of Ngam-ring}

4 Dung-lung-pa {A Dung-lung is also listed among the Ru-lag districts}

5 Dgeg-lung-pa

6 Bgyid-lung-pa {Perhaps the Skyid-lung of the Rnam-gling district; Map 7.5}

7 Bshag-lung-pa

8 'Byad-lung-pa ('Jad, the present-day Bzhad Mthong-smon}

9 Rta-nag lung-pa {West of Shangs, also registered as Rta-nag of Shangs; it was part of G.yas-ru La-stod Byang, Vitali 1996: 567ff.; *GKC* 253f., *passim*: Rta-nag, Thag Rta-nag}

10 Zhan-thag (= Thag? the area of [Thag] Gdong-dkar [plus Rta-nag; see previous note]; *GKC* 198)

11 Mtsho-nyang {Probably the Mtsho-nya of Rnam-gling}

12 Rta-nu {= Nyug of Rta? a side valley in Rta-nag}

13 Gtsang-shod {Identification unclear; perhaps it is related to the Gtsang-'gram of G.yas-ru; § 5}

14 Lo-yug {= 'O-yug?}

15 Snye-mo {Registered as the seat of a *yul-dpon* from the Mgar lineage; *RCP*: 582}

16 Dgra-yag {Unknown, but arguably close to Snye-mo}

The *g.yas-ru yul-sde bcu-drug* in *GK*:

(1) Byang-phugs; (2) Tre-shod; (3) Zang-zang; (4) Stag-sde; (5) Stag-ris (no. 4 or 5 may refer to the Stag-rtse south of Mt. Phu-dar; Map 6a); (6) Mus-ldog; (7) 'Jad; (8) Rta-nag ('Jad, Rta-nag, Mus plus 'Bro-btsad [territory of the princely 'Bro line] later became the dominion of descendants of Skyid-lde; *GBY* 365); (9) Zhan-thag; (10) Shangs; (11) Mon-mkhar; (12) Ge-re (*TF*: 254; *ZL* 15b); (13) Lang-'gro (= 'Gro ('Bro-rtasad?) of Glang-lung? (in La-stod Byang; see above Lang-mi); (14) Spa-gor (In central Snye-mo; *GKC* 280: Sa-gor (= Pa-gor) of G.yas-ru); (15) Tshur-zho (= the border area of 'Tshur and Gzhu?); (16) Snye-mo {It is evident that both catalogues (*Lde'u* and *GK*) list the districts from west to east}

[GTSANG] RU-LAG (*GK* 185.12: G.yon-ru Ru-lag)

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

1 Mang-dkar (*MTP* and *Jo sras*: no. 5) {The Mang-dkar Valley south of Lha-rtse. An extensive grave field of tumuli is to be found near New Lha-rtse, an area which we assume was part of the Mang-dkar *stong-sde*}

2 Khri-bom[s] (*Jo sras*: Khrom-pa, no. 1; *MTP*: Khri-gong, no. 6; *BK*: Khri-dgongs; elsewhere Khri-goms, Khri-som) {Owing to its position in the army catalogue, the district has always been supposed to lie in the immediate vicinity of Mang-dkar or Lha-rtse and according to the latest knowledge can most probably be identified with the area around Glang-mtsho lake in Ngam-ring County (Map 6.1a). Khri-bom also refers to a stronghold and residence place, the *mkhar* Khri-bom in PT 1287, seat of Khyung-po Spung-sad, the conquerer of Rtsang Bod and of the (neighboring?) To-yo Chas-la (§ 3.2-8). It relates, as it appears, to the settlement of Bom-ma, east of Glang-mtsho (§ 3.2-8). The western and northern extent (and thereby also the exact borders with Ru-lag and G.yas-ru in this area) is unclear, while the eastern district boundary presumably followed a similar route to the present-day boundary between the two districts of Ngam-ring and Lha-rtse. Seng-ge lung-pa forms this border point from which in the direction of Glang-mtsho a section begins that is characterized by a series of ruined watchtowers on both sides of the river. To our knowledge they are nowhere more closely documented and could be from the time of the principalities of Gtsang-stod-yul (10th cent.) or from La-stod Byang (from 13th cent., with the centre at Ngam-ring-rdzong; Glingön 54), but could also have a much older history}

Lineage of nos. 1 and 2: 'Bro (see § 4, no. 9a,b)

3 Sgrom-pa (*Jo sras*: no. 6; *MTP*: no. 1) [i.e. the valley of the Sgrom-chu a.k.a. [Sa-skyal] Grum-chu; it also included the closer area around Old Lha-rtse (cf. the form Grom-pa Lha-rtse) and the adjacent plain of Rgyang-thang, known as the place of the famous Ru-lag temple of Grom-pa Rgyang (Map 6a.1). A number of ancient ruins (to our knowledge so far not dated or more closely documented) are to be found in the area around Red-mda' in Lower Grom-pa]

4 Lha-rtse – (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: Lha-mtsho/'tshong, no. 2) {The district stretches towards the northeast, at least up to the level of Phun-tsho-gling; Map 6.1a}

Lineage of nos. 3 and 4: Sgro (*BK*: 'Bro [= Sgro,'Gro])

5 Myang-ro (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: no. 4) {It largely corresponds to Myang-stod; Map 6.2}

Lineage: 'Bro (*BK*: 'Dre) {see § 3.2; a 'Bro land in Myang was possibly the Ldan-yul where three 'Bro brothers founded a temple in the late 8th/early 9th cent.; Hazod 2004: 41}

6 Khri-thang (*MTP*, *Jo sras*: no. 3; Chapel 1989: 112 reads Khri-'bangs) {It appears to be the ancient Khri-thang Gur-mo (*KhG*: 162.2), a district centered around Tshong-'dus [Gur-mo] in Lower Myang (Hazod 2007a; the section is also known as central Myang (Myang-bar/-gzhung)}

Lineage: Khyung-po {A description of the Khyung-po territory in the Myang region is to be found in *GBY* 365.11–14; it is related to the 10th, 11th cent., however (see also Everding 2008: 67, 87). In the early 9th cent., during the reign of *btsan-po* Khri Lde-srong-btsan, parts of Khri-thang, namely the area of Ne'u-sing-chen of Tshong-'dus up to Zhu Rgya-ling lha-khang of Dpal-rnams (= Pa-nam), reportedly became the dominion of the (white) Dpyal lineage. Vitali 2007: 1032}

7 Mkharg-sar (*KhG*: Khang-gsar; *MTP*: Khab-sar/ Khab-so (apparently not the Khab-so NW of Rdzong-dkar; Everding 2000: 425); *Jo sras*: Khab-sar; *BK*: Khar-pa) {Not identified. The Shud-bu/phu clan (the clan, where the commander of Mkharg-sar hailed from) is usually associated with the Ltam-shul and the central and southern Lho-kha region, but the original homeland was in Yar-'brog (*SL* 1). A Khang-sar is in southern Yar-'brog, situated in an area which is to be counted as part of G.yo-ru, however. The *stong-sde* thus may refer to a border area of Ru-lag and G.yo-ru, or Mkharg-sar (~Khang-gsar) = Mkharg-stod, -smad in Myang? (*XD* 215–218; 210: Khang-gsar; Map 2.6). Note that a Khab-so is registered as a *yul-sde* of G.yo-ru. It is also known as the name of a royal office; above Part II: fn. 265}

Lineage: Shud-ke (*BK*: Shu-gu) {Shud-ke = Shud[-phu] [and-] Dgyer? *RCP*: 711; cf. also *Rlangs* 7.20: Shu-ke. We assume it refers to the Shud-phu lineage, see *SL*, *passim*}

8 Gad-sram (var. Gad-bram/bkram/khram) {It refers to the areas Gad and Sram (*stod*, -*smad*) at the southern border of Ru-lag (Everding 2000: fn. 666). It was part of Mgos-yul ("land of the Mgos clan") which was granted to *blon-po* Mgos by Khri Srong-lde-btsan. Vitali 2002: 82f.; *RCP*: 177}

Lineage: Mgos {*GN*, *passim*; see also *RD* 12–17}

?9 Mtsho-ngam (*stong bu-chung*) (var. Mtsho-[s]ngos, Mtsho-rta, Tshong-ma; *Jo sras*: Mngal) {Mtsho-ngam is known from the list of the nine Bon-po assembly sites (*bon po 'du gnas*) of Ru-lag, i.e. the Mtsho-ngam Dril-cung (var. Mtsho-rnga'i Dril-chung), which is said to be situated to the north of 'Bri[ng]-mtshams (Uebach 1999: 264), the latter referring to the area around Gam-pa; Map 6b}

Lineage: Sgro (~'Bro)

10 Sku-srung Lho-phyogs (Body-guard division in the South) {During the reign of Glang-dar-ma a member of the Dpyal clan (of Lower Myang) is reported to have become the *sku-brsung* or body-guard of the *btsan-po*. Vitali 2007: 1035}

Commander of Upper Ru-lag (= nos. 1–4): 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge

Commander of Lower Ru-lag (= nos. 5–9): Khyung-po mes-po G.yu'i zur-phud (*BK*: 'Dre Rgyal-to-re khri-lod)

II. The administrative districts

1 Mang-yul {It evidently refers to Mang-yul Gung-thang}

2 Snye-nam {Snye-nam of La-stod Lho; cf. *RN*: 3; 38}

3 Dpa'-chad (see below)

4 Drangs-so (var. Grangs-so) {i.e. the district of Gram-tsho (~Grangs-so) in La-stod Lho}

5 Grom-lung {see above}

6 Shab-lung-pa {The Shab Valley east of Chu-mig}

7 Srad-lung-pa {Srad with the center of Ru-lag}

8 Myang-mda' lung-pa

9 Khri-thang-pa {nos. 8 and 9 evidently refer to two adjacent districts in Lower Myang; see Khri-thang}

10 Thang-'brang

11 Nul-po

12 G.yu-lung {Probably related to the ancient *yul* of G.yu-ro lung-gsum, § 3}

13 Dung-lung-pa {We assume it refers to the Dung of Upper Myang; *XD* 238a, b; Map 6.2; see § 7: Dungs}

14 Myang-stod-pa {Upper Myang, also the name of a village; *XD* 232; Map 6.2}

15 Gad-sram lung-pa (see above)

16 Spa-rongs {= Spo-rong, east of Ding-ri?}

The *ru-lag yul-gru bcu-drug* in *GK*:

(1) Dpal-ma (= Dpal-mo-thang in eastern Gtsang?); (2) Chad-lung (nos. 1 and 2 = no. 3 above); (3) Ding-ri; (4) Sri-yul; (5) Mnga'-ris (= Mnga'-ris *smad*, i.e. the area of Gung-thang); (6) Pa-drug (Pha-drug in southern La-stod Lho; *Shel dkar* 9a notes that Ding-ri and Pha-drug (no. 3 and 6) represented two (military) districts and as such were registered in an army book (*dmag deb*) in the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan); (7) 'Bri[ng]-mtshams (east of Gad-sram, no. 15 above); (8) Sras kyi yul (= no. 7 above); (9) Kram-lung (= no. 5 above); (10) Shab-lung; (11) Nyang-ro; (12) Nyang-stod; (13) Gtsang-bzhi; (14) Ri-bo.

Table 1. The Ru-bzhi *stong-sde* Lists*

<i>Lde'u</i>	<i>KhG</i>	<i>MTP</i>	<i>Jo sras</i>	<i>BK</i>
DBU-RU				
1 Dor-ste	1 Dor-sde	1 Dor-te	1 Dor-sde	1 'Bring-[mtshams]
2 Sde-mtshams	2 Sde-mtshams	2 Chugs 'tshams	2 Phyur 'tshams	2 Mtshams
3 Phyug-'tshams	3 Phyug-mtshams	3 Stong-'jim	3 Ste-'joms	3 Bcom-pa
4 'Grangs-'tshams	4 'Brang-mtshams	4 'Bring-'tshams	4 'Bri-te	4 Zom-steng
5 Gcong-pa	5 Com-pa	5 'Grams-tsha	5 Co-la	5 Dor-de
6 'Bring-mtshams	6 'Bri-mtshams	6 Nyen-kar	6 Zo-stengs	6 Ste-'jom
7 Kyi-stod	7 Skyi-stod	7 Bcom-pa	7 Kyi-stod	7 Skyid-stod
8 Kyi-smad	8 Skyi-smad	8 Gzo-steng	8 Kyi-smad	8 Skyid-smad
9 Yel-rab (sub-t.)	9 Yel-rab (sub-t.)	9 Skyi-stod	9 Phor-kha	9 Yel-zhabs (sub-t.)
10 Sku-srung-E [=N]	10 Sku-srung E [=N]	10 Skyi-smad	10 Ngam-ru phag	
		11 Phod-dkar	11 'Grangs	
		12 Ngam-ru'i phag	12 Nyen-khar	
		13 Spel-zhabs (sub-t.)	13 Spel-zhabs (sub-t.)	
G.YO-RU				
1 Yar-lung	1 Yar-lung	1 Shar-po	1 Shar-po	1 Yar-klungs
2 'Ching-lung	2 'Phying-lung	2 Phyi-bo	2 Phying-ba	2 Phyi-lung
3 Yar-rgyang	3 Yar-mtshams	3 Lho-brag	3 Lho-brag	3 Ljang-kyang
4 Yung-nga	4 G.yu-'bangs	4 Yar-rkyangs	4 Mang-rgyal	4 Lung-nga
5 Dwags-po	5 Dwags-po	5 Dmyal-khri	5 Dmyal	5 Gnyal
6 Myag-mi	6 Nya-gnyi	6 Yum-'bangs	6 Khri'u	6 Lho-brag
7 Dmyal	7 Dmyal	7 Nyag-nyi	7 Myang	7 Nyang-po
8 Lho-brag	8 Lho-brang	8 Dags-po	8 Dwags-po	8 Dwags-po
9 Lo-ro (sub-t.)	9 Lo-ro (sub-t.)	9 Ri-bo (sub-t.)	9 Ri-bo (sub-t.)	9 Ri-bo (sub-t.)
10 Sku-srung-E	10 Sku-srung-N [= E]			
G.YAS-RU				
1 Lho-yo	1 Stong-chen	1 Sde-spo	1 Stong-yong	1 Stod-yongs
2 Shangs	2 Shangs-chen	2 'O-tshab	2 Gshang-lha	2 Shangs-steng
3 Lang-mi	3 Lang-mi	3 Shangs-stengs	3 Shangs-stengs	3 Lang-mi
4 Phod-dkar	4 Phod-gar	4 Bzangs-po	4 Bzangs-po	4 Phod-dkar
5 Nyen-mkhar	5 Nyen-mkhar	5 'Brog-mi	5 'Bro-mi	5 Drang-mtshams
6 'Grangs-rtshang	6 'Brang-mtshams	6 'O-mi	6 'O-mi	6 Gnyan-mkhar
7 Yo-rabs	7 Spo-rab	7 Shangs (sub-t.)	7 Shangs (sub-t.)	7 Yel-rab
8 Gzong-sde	8 Gzong-sde			8 Dzom-steng
9 Shangs (sub-t.)	9 Zhangs (sub-t.)			9 Shangs (sub-t.)
10 Sku-srung-W	10 Sku-srung-W			
RU-LAG				
1 Mang-dkar	1 Mang-kar	1 Grom-pa	1 Khrom-pa	1 Mang-gar
2 Khri-bom	2 Khri-phom	2 Lha-mtsho	2 Lha-'tshong	2 Khri-dgongs
3 Sgrom-pa	3 Grom-pa	3 Khri-dang	3 Khri-dang	3 Khrom-pa
4 Lha-rtse	4 Lha-rtse	4 Nyang-ro	4 Myang-ro	4 Lha-rtse
5 Myang-ro	5 Myang-ro	5 Mang-dkar	5 Mang-mkhar	5 Nyang-ro
6 Khri-thang	6 Khri-'thad	6 Khri-gong	6 Khrom-pa	6 Khri-tha
7 Mkhar-gsar	7 Khang-sar	7 Khab-so	7 Khab-sar	7 Gad-bkram
8 Gad-sram	8 Gad-phram	8 Gad-gsum	8 Gad	8 Mkhar-pa
9 Mtsho-ngam (sub-t.)	9 Mtsho-ngos (sub-t.)	9 Mtsho-rta (sub-t.)	9 Mngal (sub-t.)	9 'Tshong-ma (sub-t.)
10 Sku-srung-S	10 Sku-srung-S			

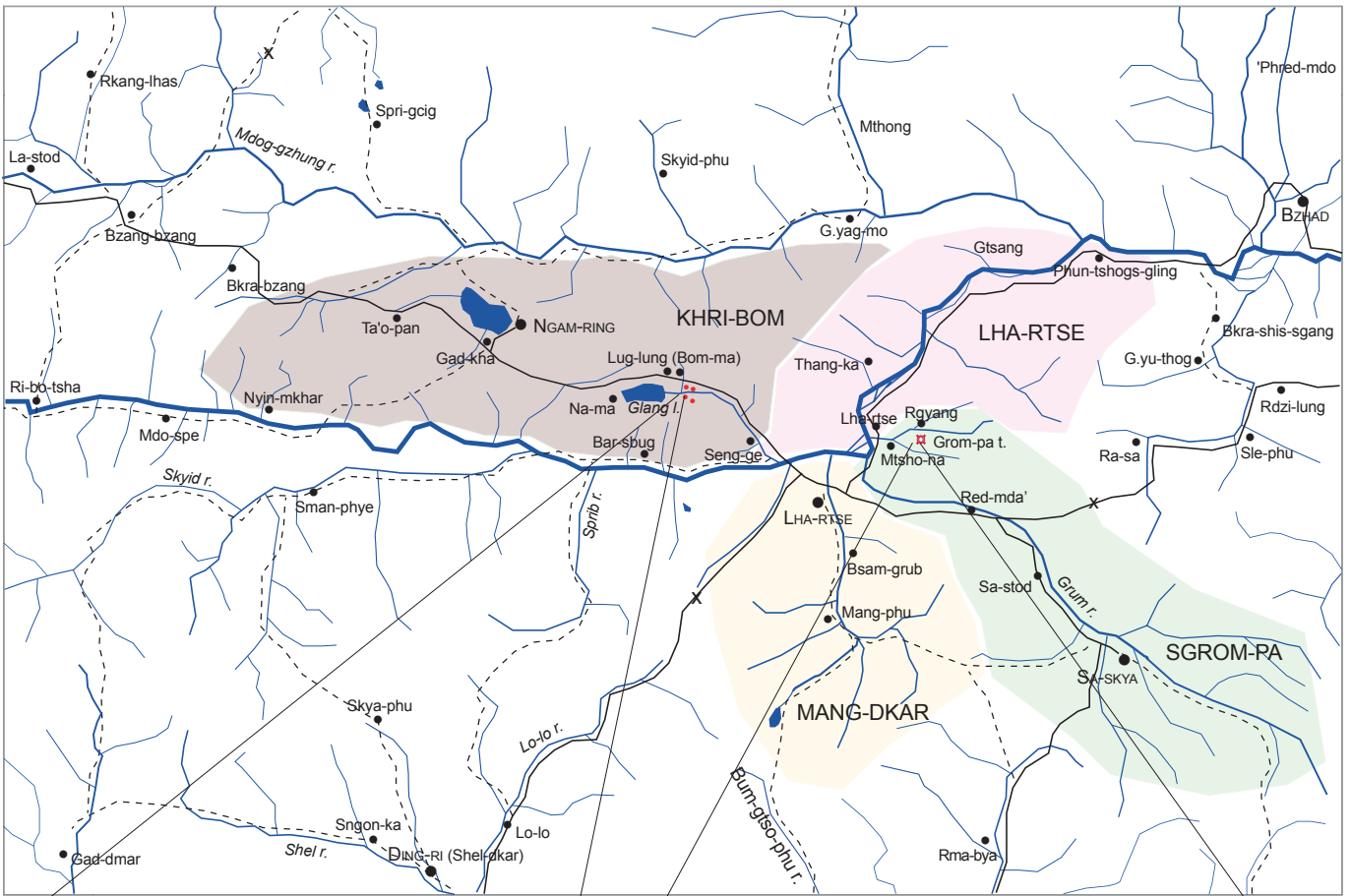
* Names in **bold** refer to districts which originally were part of Dbu-ru and which at a later point, in the course of the territorial reorganization in the 740s, have been transferred to G.yas-ru (sub-t.) = sub-thousand-district (*stong bu-chung*) Sku-srung-E = eastern body-guard

1
2 = names of (neighboring) districts paired together in the catalogues

Table 2. The Ru-bzhi *yul-dpon-tsan* / *yul-sde* Lists

<i>Lde'u</i>	<i>GK</i>	<i>Lde'u</i>	<i>GK</i>
DBU-RU		G.YAS-RU	
1 Stod-lung	1 Stod-lung	1 Byang-phug	1 Byang-phugs
2 'Phags-rgyal	2 Phar-kyang	2 Zang-zang	2 Tre-shod
3 Klung-shod	3 Klung-shod	3 Zangs-dkar	3 Zang-zang
4 Mal-gro	4 Mal-gro	4 Dung-lung-pa	4 Stag-sde
5 'Dam-shod	5 'Dam	5 Dgeg-lung-pa	5 Stag-ris
6 Za-gad	6 Ba-lam	6 Bgyid-lung-pa	6 Mus-ldod
7 Rag-sha	7 Ngan-lam	7 Bshag-lung-pa	7 'Jad
8 Ba-lam	8 Rag-nas	8 'Byad-lung-pa	8 Rta-nag
9 Ngan-lam	9 'Breng	9 Rta-nag lung-pa	9 Zhan-thag
10 Brang-yul	10 G.yu-khung	10 Zhan-thag	10 Shangs
11 Dbul-ide	11 Dbu sa-skor	11 Mtsho-nyang	11 Mon-mkhar
12 Gzad Chu-shul	12 Gzhol-skungs	12 Rta-nu	12 Ge-re
13 'Phrang-po	13 'Phan-yul	13 Gtsang-shod	13 Lang-gro
14 Gnon-lung-pa	14 Rong-shod	14 Lo-yug	14 Spa-gor
15 Gsang	15 Bra-rnams	15 Snye-mo	15 Tshur-zho
16 Brag-rum		16 Dgra-yag	16 Snye-mo
17 'Phan-yul			
G.YO-RU		RU-LAG	
1 Nga-rabs	1 Dwags-po	1 Mang-yul	1 Dpal-ma
2 Gung-po	2 Nga-rab	2 Snye-nam	2 Chad-lung
3 Gang-'bar	3 Gung-po	3 Dpa'-chad	3 Ding-ri
4 Yar-mda'	4 Yar-klungs	4 Drangs-so	4 Sri-yul
5 'Chings-lung	5 'Grangs-te	5 Grom-lung	5 Mnga'-ris
6 Greng-nga	6 Gnyal	6 Shab-lung-pa	6 Pa-drug
7 Rog-pa	7 Lo-ro	7 Srad-lung-pa	7 'Bri-mtshams
8 Lo-ro	8 'Khag-pa	8 Myang-mda' lung-pa	8 Sras kyi yul
9 Ban-pa	9 Rtam-shul	9 Khri-thang-pa	9 Kram-lung
10 Stam-shul	10 Gra-lung	10 Thang-'brang	10 Shab-lung
11 Kho-mthing	11 Dol [plus] Gzhung	11 Nul-po	11 Nyang-ro
12 Brag-lung	12 Yar-'brog	12 G.yu-lung	12 Nyang-stod
13 Dol Gzhung		13 Dung-lung-pa	13 Gtsang-bzhi
14 Gra-lung		14 Myang-stod-pa	14 Ri-bo
15 Khab-so		15 Gad-sram lung-pa	
16 Yar-'brog rnam-gsum		16 Spa-rongs	

Part III

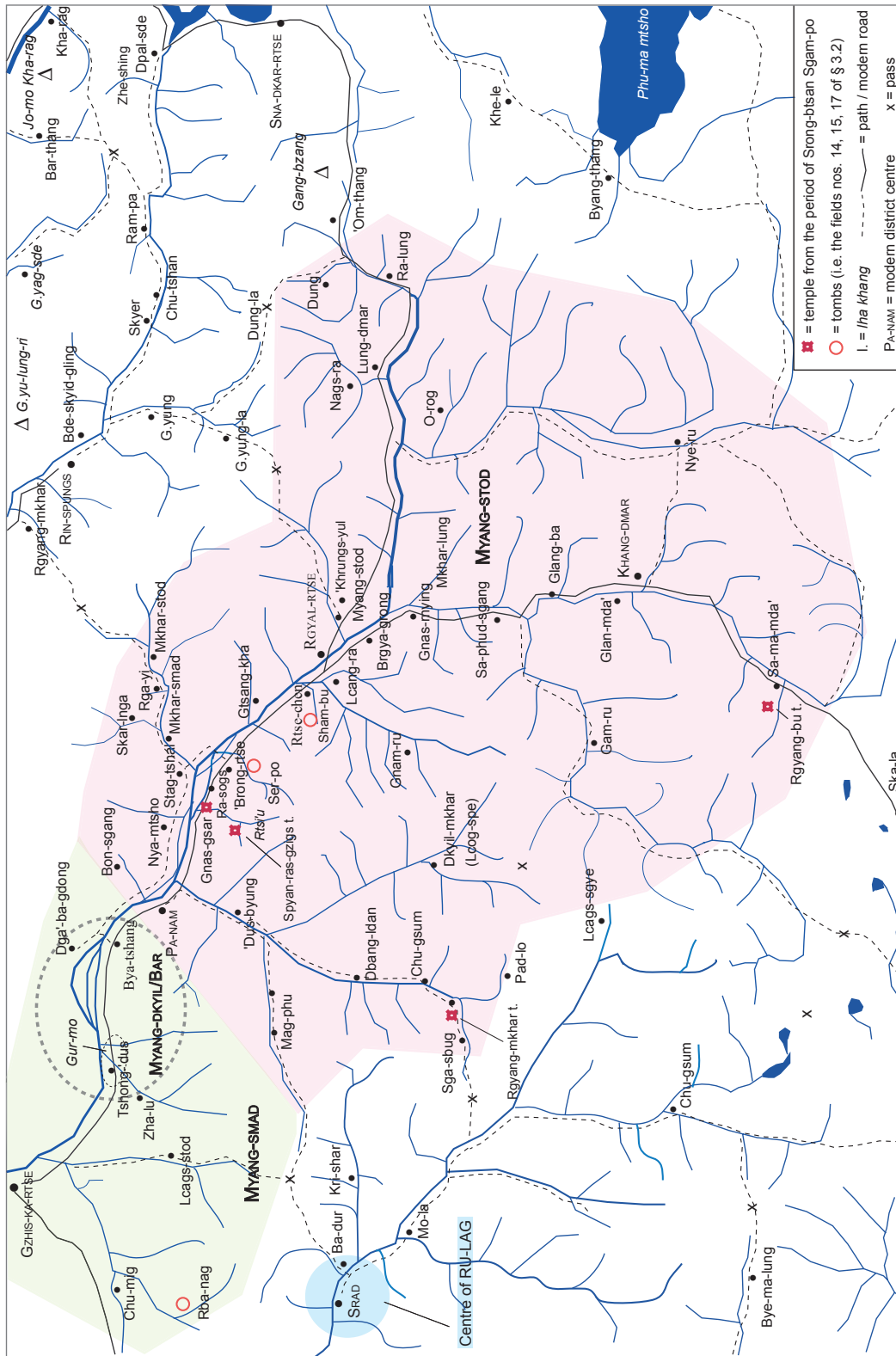


12. In Bom-ma (see § 3.2–8).



Map 6.1b

MAP 6.1a, b:
The four military thousand-districts of Upper Ru-lag.



MAP 6.2:
Myang-stod-smad, the area of the two Ru-lag-smad *stong-sde* of Myang-ro and Khri-thang.

7. The Place Names of the *Annals* in Central Tibet (PT 1288 + IOL Tib J 750 [TDD 230–44]; Or.8212/187 [TDD 355–58])

7.1 Notes on MAP 7.1–2

Abbreviations:

W-R; S-R = places registered for the year xx as winter/summer residence of the *btsan-po* (or *btsan-po*'s family)

W-A; S-A = places used for the winter / summer assembly

Sp = spring

P = Places registered in another (political) context than as residence or council sites (see also supra “Index of Place Names in the *OTA*”)

? = suggested location which needs further examination

The places on Map 7.1 and 7.2 from W to E:

?●**Bzang** = **Bzang Sum-tsal** (**W-A-687, 693, 720**) {The entries are related to Rtsang-chen, which makes it plausible to identify it with the Zang-zang of the La-stod Byang (§ 3.1)}

?●**Dron** = **Dron, Mang-ste-lung of Dron** (**S-R-705–708; 710–712; 733–739**) {Dron perhaps is Gron, a variant form of Grom[-pa], the district in Gtsang-stod that was closely linked to the 'Bro, i.e. the lineage of the Grandmother Khri-ma-lod, who had her residence place in Dron. Otherwise she resided primarily in Dbus (in Lhasa, 'On-can-rdo or Tshal, near Lhasa). An identification with 'Brom (-stod, -smad), the district opposite Glag Ba-lam in Skyid-shod, would also be conceivable, but here no Mang-ste-lung is to be found. On the other hand, the entries in the *OTA* suggest a location in relative vicinity to Bal-po or the Yar-'brog area}

?●**Ne-tso-lung** [of 'Dong-ka] (**673, S-A-760**) {The *mkhos* of the pastureland which was carried out in 673 appears to concern the 'brog-pa of the (later) G.yas-ru region. In this connection 'Dong-ka may refer to the Gdong-dkar / mkhar, the valley of the Gdong-dkar thag-chu (west of Shangs) which was part G.yas-ru Thag; § 6: G.yas-ru}

●**Shangs** = **Sum-chu-bo** [of S.] (**S-R-672, late S-673; P-685, 686**); **Rab-ka-tshal of Shangs** (**W-R-673**) {Sum-chu-bo is the present-day Chu-sum-bo in the area of Gzhong-pa in Upper Shangs. Rab-ka-tshal may correspond to the present-day Ra-kha Valley in western Shangs; Map 7.5}

?●**Nam-tse-gling** (**W-R-672**) {The context makes it plausible to identify it with Rnam-gling of Shangs; Map 7.5}

● **Tshang Bang-sna** (**W-R-674**); **W-A-719**; **P-676, 725**) {Identified in *GY* 171.3–4 with the site of Pho-brang-sgang in Lower Shangs; see also Migmar 171; Map 7b.1}

●**Khri-bom** (**P-684–85**) {See § 6: Khri-bom and § 3.2–8}

?●**Rtsang Rhya'** (**P-652**) {Rhya' may be related to the lineage Rhya (PT 1287), the latter probably an older form of Rgya, the name of the clan who had settlements in Upper

Myang (§ 3.1); it appears also as part of a name (cf. e.g. *OTA* entry 653–654). On the other hand, the context in the *OTA* where it is mentioned together with Glo-bo (Map 2) points to an area somewhere in western Gtsang (on Glo-bo plus neighbouring Se-rib, see above fns. 91, 173; Everding 2000: 47)}

?● **Mtshar** = **Mtshar[-bu-sna] of S[r]e-ga** (**S-R-725, 726, 729, 731, 742, 744**; Ngan-mo-gling of M. (**S-R-740**) {Sre-ga where Mtshar-bu-sna is located perhaps refers to the Sreg-pa-lung of Gnubs (*GKC* 447, 448) (Map 3). Less likely: Mtshar-pa-sna of Skyid-smad (close to Chu-shul), the 'Tshar-sna of 'Phan-yul (Uebach 1997: 149; see also Ngan-mo-gling of Mtshar-bu-sna (i.e. Ngan-po of 'Phan-yul? but nowhere is there a Se-ga/Sre-ga), or the Tshar in Thob-rgyal of Rnam-ling County (*XD* 647); inserted with question mark at Rong district}

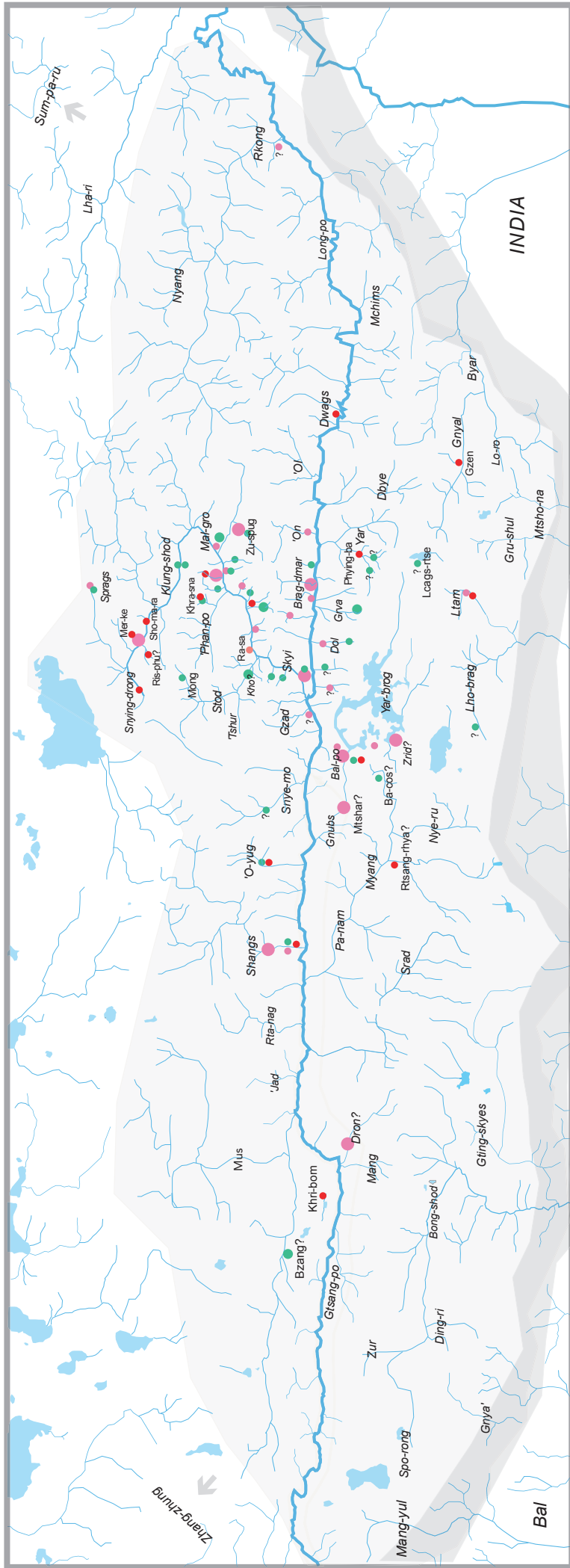
●**O-yug** = **O-yug** (**P-690–91**); **Nubs of O-yug** (**W-A-715**) {The latter either refers to the village Nub[s] in Lower 'O-yug or, more likely, to the Nubs, a small valley due east of 'O-yug, § 3.1: Nubs}

?● **Gling-kar-tshal** of **Rtsang** (**W-A-690**) {Migmar 86 thinks it corresponds to the site of the later (15th cent. Phaggru governor seat of) Gling-dkar *rdzong* in (Upper) 'U-yug ('O-yug). According to context it appears to be related to Rtsang-chen, a region much further to the west, however}

?● **Brag-sgo** (**S-A-704**) {Identification uncertain, perhaps the Brag-skor of Upper Snye-mo}

?● **Ding-ding-tang** of **Ba-c[h]os** (**S-R-730, 732**) {Possibly the Ba-chos Gung-thang known from the Gri-gum account of PT 1287 (*TDD* 202): with his army the Gri-gum son [Shakhyi] went from Phying-ba through Men-pa 'phreng-ba'i la and Ting-srab rong-rings and then reached Ba-chos Gung-thang from where he later proceeded to Myang-ro Sham-po to (re-)conquer the Myang-ro district which had been occupied by the usurper Lo-ngam (§ 3.2; the “long valley / ravine Ting-srab” may refer to the Ting-ra of south-western Yar-'brog (Map 7.4), which also would suggest that the army of the Yar-lung king followed the southern route to Gtsang, – possibly from Phying-ba via Rgyas-sman to Ting-ra and (Phu-ma) Byang-thang (Uray 1972b) and from here either via Nye-ru or via Stag-lung and the Kha-brag-la to Myang-stod). Ba-cos thus appears to be located somewhere between (south)western Yar-'brog and the eastern Myang-stod}

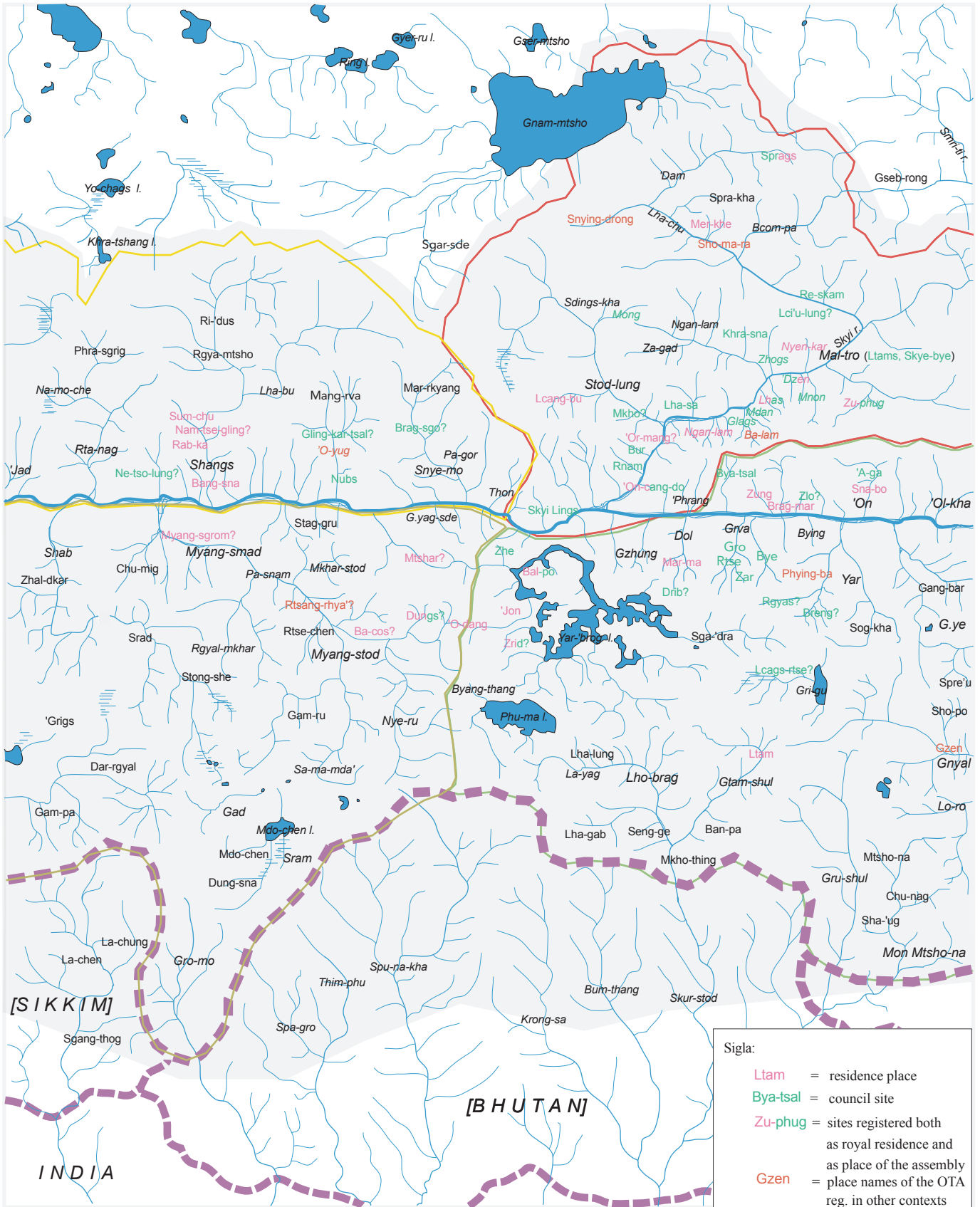
?● **Dungs** = **Stag-tshal of Dungs** (**S-R-673, 717, 720, 721**); **Mkha'-bu of D.** ([S]-A-720) {From the context it seems probable that it refers to an area in eastern Gtsang. It may correspond to the Ru-lag district Dung-lung-pa which we assume



Sigla: ● = place of residence of the *bisan po* (pink)
 ● = residence place registered more than five times (green)
 ● = council site (green dot)
 ● = places mentioned in other political contexts (red)
 ● = council site registered more than three times (green)

MAP 7.1-2:
 The place names of the *Annals* in central Tibet – Distribution of royal residences and places of the council.

Part III



Map 7.2

is the small Dung valley situated in the northeastern part of Myang-stod (§ 6; Map 6.2). A Dung-lung is occasionally mentioned in later sources (e.g. *GKC* 207)}

● **Bal-p[h]o/bo = Bal-po** (S-R-675, 690, 695, 697, 709–711, 718, 719, 722, 723); **Bal-pho Bri'u-tang** ([S-]A-699); **Bal-po Sha-ru-mkhar** (S-R-707, 708) {It is evidently the Dpal-sde (Sba-lung) district of Yar-'brog (§ 3.1), arguably related to the Bal (Sbal-ti) clan (cf. also the form Dpal-skyes); § 3.1; Map 7.4). Sha-ru castle perhaps refers to the site of the later Dpal-sde *rdzong* (in Yar-gzig village; *XD* 154a) and 'Bri'u-tang could be the 'Bri-lung situated further to the east}

● **Zhe = Zhe-shing** (Sp-R-675); **Rtsibs of Z.** ([S-]R-715) {According to one informant from Rin-spungs, Zhe-shing is the name of a small valley due north of Dpal-sde (Bal-po) in Yar-'brog (not registered in *XD*)}

● **'Jon = 'Jon of Yar-'brog** (S-R-702) {Exact loc. unknown}

● **'O-dang = 'O/Yi-dang of Yar-'brog** (S-R-670, 704, 745) {It may refer to the 'Om-thang behind the Kha-brag-la, at the border between present-day Rgyal-rtse and Sna-dkar-rtse County; *XD* 237b, 238b; Map 6.2. Less likely: the 'Ong ('Ong-chung, 'Ong-'go) SW of Sna-dkar-rtse; Map 7.4}

?● **Zrid = Ldu-nag of Zrid** (S/W-R-665, 666, 669; S-A-728); **Zrid-mda'** (P-666; S-R-681, 696) {Ldu-nag perhaps means Lung-nag (*ldu = lngu = lung*; cf. Uebach 1999: 265) and an identification with the *bon po* site of Skyid-shod Lung-nag has been suggested (Uebach, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*). Yet, a Zrid in Skyid-shod is unknown and the toponym generally still remains unidentified. The form Zrid may be here an older or variant spelling of Srid. The latter occasionally also appears in the form of Srad. There are a number of Srad places in central Tibet, such as the Srad as a variant form of Gzad [Chu-shul] (Gzad = present day Sras), Srad (= Spras) in northern 'Phan-yul, the Sras in Lho-brag (originally Srad?), or the Srad district in Gtsang where the center of Ru-lag is located, i.e. Dur-ba-sna of Srad (also Srid kyi Dur-ba-sna; *Jo sras* 112; Ldu-nag = Dur-sna?). An informant from Sras (= Gzad Valley, one of our candidates for the identification of Zrid but a place without any traces that would confirm this) states that he has heard of a “Duna” situated in the Yar-'brog area; probably meaning the Rdo-nang of the Yar-'brog-mtsho peninsula zone which is not the Ldu-nag of Zrid. Nevertheless, Yar-'brog remains as one of the closer candidates, where Srad (= Zrid?) appears to have been once the name of an area around the later Lho Stag-lung, place of the *phyi dar* temple of Srad-thang-gnas; *RCP*: 94, 660; Map 7.4}

● **Ltam = Ra-sngon of L.** (S-R-671); **Ltam** (P [S-R]-695) {Inserted at Gtam-shul; less likely: the Ltams of Mal-tro}

● **Lcag-rtse** (A-832/33? [PT 1165; see App. I]) {Possibly not the Lcags-rtse (Jid-par?) of the 741-742 entry of the *OTA*, but rather a Lcag-rtse in central Tibet, perhaps the Lcag-rtse at the Gri-gu lake, SW of Yar-stod}

● **Gzen = Gzen of Gnyal** (P-ante 640) {Exact location unknown. Inserted at Upper Gnyal; see also § 3.2, no. 23}

?● **Breng** (S-A-743) {A possible candidate is the Breng (~Greng/Grang-mo Grang-chung) of 'Phyong-po (Hazod 2007a). Note that it would be the only entry of a council held in the homeland of the *btsan-po* (but see Rgyas). The place (in the form Yar-stod Brang-nga 'bram-snang) is listed as residence of the “prince, [Srong-btsan Sgam-po's younger] brother” (*rgyal-bu-mched*). *Lde'u* 255.1–2; Dotson 2007a: 89. A 'Breng (~'Greng/'Brang) is in Kha-rag; *RCP* 675}

● **Phying-ba** (P-650, 651, 706, 713) {Referring to the burial of the *btsan-po* in Mu-ra and Lower Don-mkhar, the two grave fields opposite the *bla'i pho brang* Phying-ba Stag-rtse}

?● **Drib = Drib-nag** (S-A-722, 723) {Drib = Grib; inserted here with question mark at the Grib of Upper Dol; other options include *inter alia* the famous Grib south of Lhasa, or the Grib of Yar-'brog; Map 7.4}

● **Mar-ma = Mar-ma of Dold** (W-R-699) {In Dol, place of the *phyi dar* temple of Mar-ma Chog-phug; *RCP*: 660}

● **Gro = Gro-bu/pu of Dra** (S-A-695, 718) {In Grva district, possibly the Gro-sar, west of Grva-nang; Map 7.4}

● **Zar = Zar-phu of Dra** (S-A-719) {It is the Gzar-po of Upper Grva; *RCP*: 123}

● **Rtse = Rtse-gro of Dra** (W-A-747) {In Grva; identical with Gro-pu?}

● **Bye = Dra Bye** (W-A-745) {= Bye[-mo] of Dra/Grva, or Dra-bye = Grva-phyi?}

?● **Skyi Lings = Skyi Gling-rings-tsal** (W-A/P-692, P-705); probably identical with **Skyi Byar Lings-tshal** (W-A-704, 728, 746) {A Skyid-tshal and Skyid Gling-po are registered for the western Chu-shul district (*XD* 119b; Chöpel 2004: 138; a Skyid-tshal is also in [Skyi] Rnams; *RCP*: 168). The place of the council is inserted here at the level of the later Skyid-tshal dgon-pa situated due west of Sras (= Gzad)}

?● **Byar = Byar gyi Lcang-bu** (R-W-758, 761, 762, 764) {According to context it is less likely to be identified it with the Byar of Lho-kha and we assume Byar corresponds here to Skyi Byar (see Skyi Lings)}

● **Rnam = Skyi Rnam[s]** (W-A-711, 743) {It is the Rnam / Gnam of Lower Skyid-shod, south of Bur}

● **Bur = Skyi Bur** (W-A-761, 762) {Bur-lung is the later Rva-stod Valley in Skyid-smad; *RCP*, s.v. index}

● **'On-cang = 'On-cang-do** (S?/W-R-700, 702); **W-A-702, 707–709; R-814/815** [see above App. I]) {In southern Skyid-smad; Map 7.4}

● **Bya-tsal = Bya-tsal of Sgreys** (P-699; W-A-738); **Lha-lung of Sgreys** (P-676) {The exact location of Bya-tsal is unknown; Lha-lung is in Upper Sgreys /Sgrags; *RCP*: 87f.}

?● **'Or = 'Or-mang** (R-667) {As far as a place in central Tibet is meant it could be the 'Or-[mo] in the Snye-thang

district of Skyid-smad (*RCP*: 166). 'Or-mang appears also as part of a personal name, i.e. [Cung-'bzang] 'Or-mang from the 'Bro clan who became chief minister in AD 702}

● **Zung-kar** (S-R/ W-R-756; R-783/84 [see App. I]) {Zung-mkhar (~Zur-mkhar), the valley to the west of Brag-dmar}

● **Brag-dmar = Tsal-ka of B.** (W-R-697); **Brag-dmar** (W-R-707–709, 710–713, 717–719, 721–723, 725, 726, 728, 730, 736–738, 740, 741, 743–747); **Dbu-tshal of B.** (W-R-729); **'Om-bu-tshal of B.** (W-R-731–735) {For Brag-dmar, see WANGDU and DIEMBERGER 2000; *SK*, *passim*}

● **Zlo = Zlo** ([Sp-]A/P)-726, 742) {In the same years Brag-dmar is registered as the *btsan-po*'s place of residence, hence Zlo may refer to Lo (~Glo), the valley due east of Brag-dmar. It is possibly identical with Slo and may historically be related to the clan name Lo (Lo-mi), listed among the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug*; *Jo sras* 112; Hazod 2004. Also feasible: the Lo-mo-yul, known as the birthplace of the “hermit of the Sba clan” (Sba-sgom); identical with the Lo of Skyid-stod?; see § 7.2. A settlement Lo is at the entrance to the Sman-chu Valley east of Tshal Gung-thang; Map 7.8}

● **'A-ga = 'A-ga-tsal of 'On** (W-R-690; S/W-A-697) {The place in the 'On Valley (north of Yar-lung) appears to be no more known among the locals of today}

● **Sna-bo = Sna-bo of 'On** (W-R-675) {Exact location unknown; perhaps related to the 'On Sna-nam Zha-lnga, a key site of the later Phag-gru *khri skor*; *RCP*: 559}

● **Lcang-bu = Lcang-bu of Stod**[-lung] (W-R-757) {Most likely the site of the Lcang-bu temple (early 9th cent.). Akester (p.c.) thinks the original place of the temple was not in the Mtsur-phu valley (at the later Mtshur-phu *dgon* where the Lcang-bu pillar is situated (Richardson 1985: 92f.), but somewhere in the lower section of Stod-lung}

● **Mkho = Mkho of Stod**[-lung] (S-R-759) {It may well be identical with the Ko-ba-brag of Stod-lung; known from Tshal-pa sources, *RCP*: 80; perhaps related to it is the site of the (8th cent.?) Ko-ri Ni-ting temple; Uebach 1987: 111}

● **Lha-sa = Mkhar-brag** (W-A-721, 722, 730); Sha-tsal of Ra-sa (P-710) {Mkhar-brag probably is the imperial site of Lha-sa Mkhar-brag; Sha-tsal (“deer grove”) appears to refer more closely to the place around Ra-mo-che}

● **Ngan-lam = Ngan-lam Tsal sar-pa** ([W-]R-701) {It is the Ngan-lam of the Tshal-pa district (and not the Ngan-lam of 'Phan-yul; § 4). The district is described as *Btsan-'bangs-sa* (place of [one of] the *btsan-'bangs* clans) and evidently constituted a settlement of the Ngan-lam from the group of the *btsan-'bangs rus-drug* (§ 6: Dbu-ru). See *RCP*: 602ff.}

● **Ba-lam** (P- 677, 678) {It is the Ba-lam of Upper Skyi; § 6}

● **Glag = Bu/Pu-cung of Glag** (~ **Glagu-chung**) (S-A-685, 701, 756, 762, 763, 764) {The place in Glag may be the Glag Phur-lung known from later sources; it refers to the southwestern side valley of Shing-tshang; Hazod 2004: 32f.}

● **Mdan** (W-A-678) {It is the Ldan (Ldan-ma) Valley due east of Ba-lam; see Hazod 2004}

● **Lhas = [Skyi] Lhas gang-t[s]h[al]** ([W-]R-704, 707, 708, 710, 711; W-A-727, 732, 733) {Skyi Lhas is the Gru-bzhi Valley south of Dga'-ldan; *RCP*: 711, *passim*}

● **Mnon** (W-A-714) {The land of the Mnon clan in Malgro is the S/Gnon (~Yar-snon) *alias* Rgya-ma of the later sources. Here Tibet's first emperor Khri Slon-mtshan *alias* Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan established a first outpost of the Yar-lung alliance – the residence of Yar-snon Sbra-stod-tshal (also Dbu-ru Brag-stod-tshal) where the son and successor Khri Srong-rtzan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po) was born, i.e. the *pho brang* Byams-pa Mi-gyur-gling from the later sources. Here the 821/22 treaty was sealed by the Tibetan side. Hazod 2002. Note that there is also a Snon (= Mnon) in Lower Skyid-shod, the valley south of Gsang-phu; § 6}

● **Nyen-kar** (R-651–653, 677–688, 691–693, S-R-695, W-R-714; W-R-759); Thang-bu-ra of N. (R-689); Nyen-kar Lcang-bu (P [W-R]-695) {Nyen-kar corresponds to the Lo Valley in Upper Skyid-shod; below § 7.2; Map 7.9}

● **Slo** (W-A-759) {Possibly identical with Zlo; less likely: the Lo where the Lo-dgon was founded (11th cent.), a place in the Upper Lo Valley, the Nyen-kar of the imperial period}

● **Mal-tro = Ltams of Mal-tro** ([S-]A-714); Skye-bye of Mal-tro (R-660); Spe-tshal of Mal-tro (in PT 1165; above App. I) {The sites in Mal-gro are not more closely identified. Skye in Skye-bye is perhaps to be read as Skyi; Skye-bye = Skyi Phyi-tshal, i.e. Bye-kha of Skyi (?); see § 3.2, no. 4}

● **Zu-spug = Zu-spug** (S-A-688; S-R-758); **Zhon-ba of Zu-spug** (S-A-694); **Rkyang-bu-tsal of Zu-pug** (S-A-713, 715); *pho brang Sdings of Z.* (S-R-761) {Zu-spug is the Zi-sbug of eastern Mal-gro; Rkyang-bu-tsal – well known from the founding history of Bsam-yas – most likely is the present-day Mkhar-rkyang, a village (with unidentified ancient ruins nearby) in Lower Zi-sbug. Hazod 2003; *Dbu' bzhed* 60}

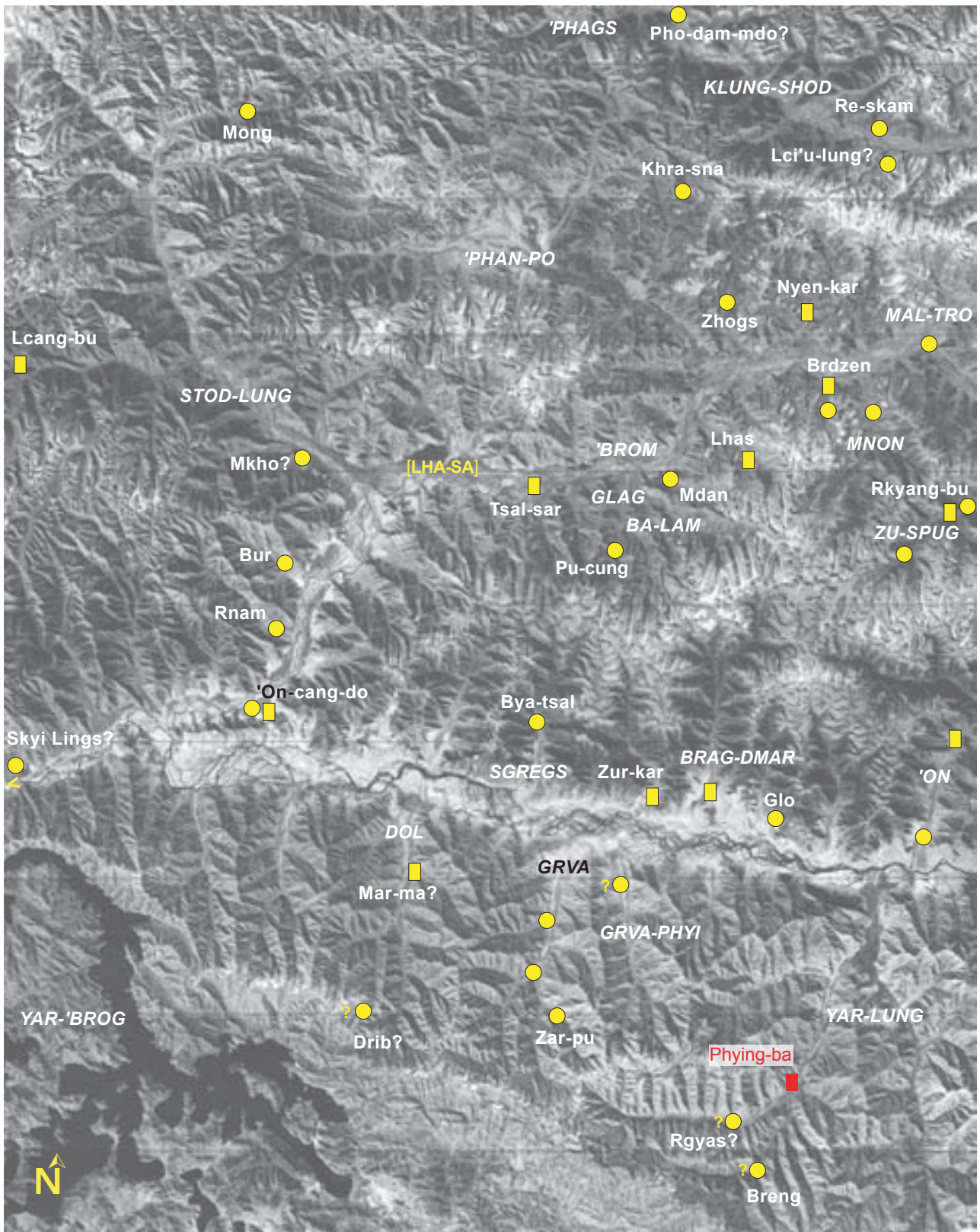
?● **Khra-sna** (A/P-691) {Arguably the old Ngas-po Khra-sna; located in Upper Yung-ba-sna of Lower 'Phan-yul; a Khra-sna is also in Upper 'On}

● **Zhogs = Tshur-lung of Zhogs** (W-A-688) {It refers to a not further known place in Zhogs, usually referred to as 'Phan-po Zhogs in the sources}

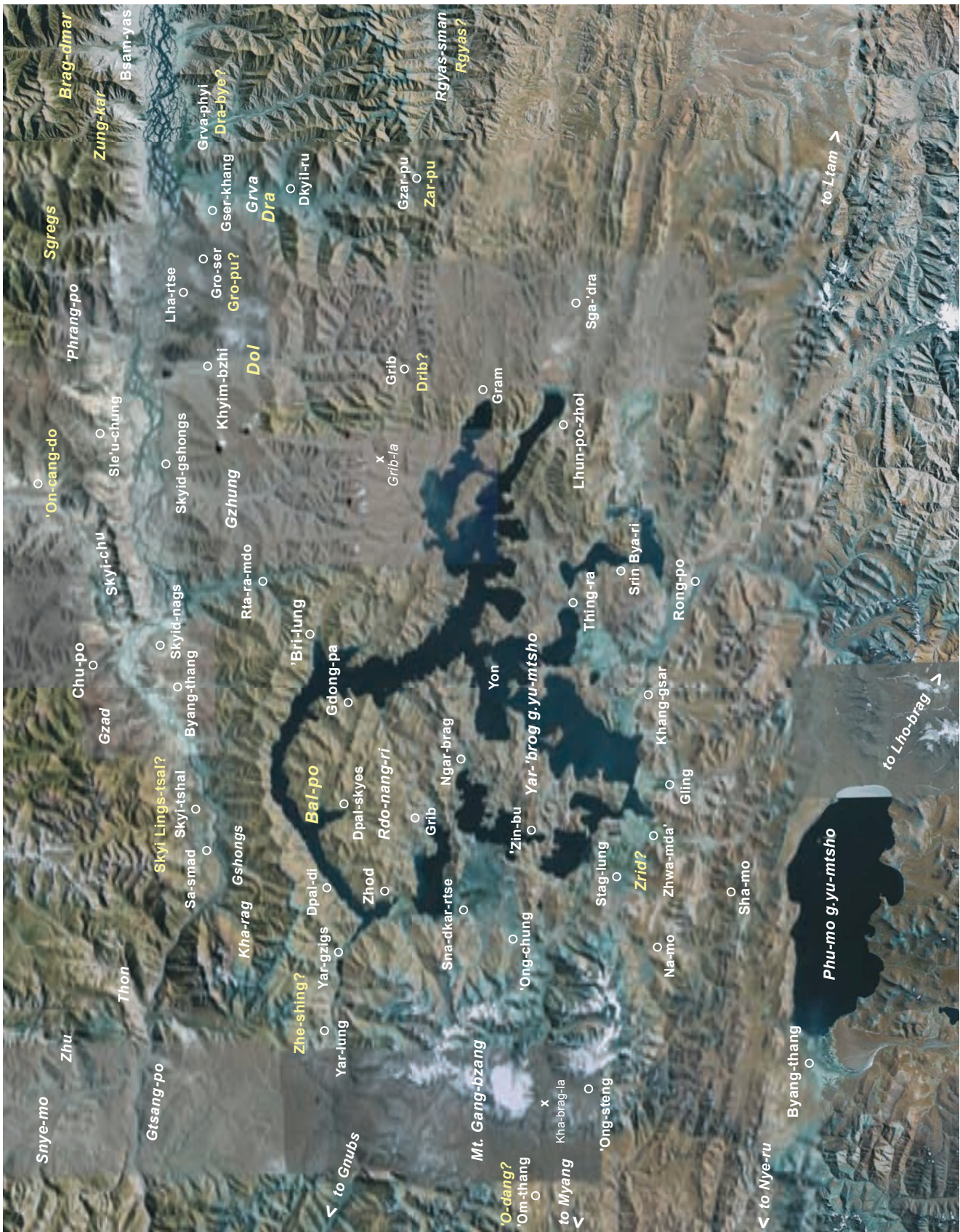
● **Mong = Mong-pu Sral-'dzong** (A-654); **Mong of Stod**[-lung] (S-A-757); **Mong[-kar]** (S-R/P-700; 701; W-A-713, 717 701, 723) {The Mong Valley of Upper Stod-lung is known as the birthplace of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's wife, Mong-bza' Khri-lcam; Migmar 108f. Worth of mention is the neighboring Lding-kha (Sdings-kha) which a local account describes as the summer residence of *blon-chen* Mgar (Stong-btsan yul-zungs); several sites around Lding-kha-*dgon* are locally associated with Srong-btsan Sgam-po; *RCP*: 582}

- **Snying-drung = Snying-drung** (P-ante 650); **Gye Thal-ba-gong of S.** (P-657); Sna-rings of S. (P-658) {The Snying-grong district of 'Dam-gzhung County; it was traditionally divided into nine camps (Gnyan [read: Snying]-grong sger-gzhung-dgu) centered around the administrative seat of Sbas-tshang *rdzong* (Fort of the Sbas [= Dba's clan?] House); see Bellezza 2005: 53}
- **Sprags = Mur-gas of Sprags** ([S-]A-680, 683); **Sha-ra of Sprags** (R/P-659, 668, 676) {Sprags in the north-eastern part of 'Dam-gzhung; see § 5, Map 6b}
- **Mer-ke = Mer-k[h]e** (R-650, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 661; P-705, 706) {It corresponds to the Mer-che, -chung in Dbu-ru-lung of Byang. Mer-khe is also the name of the local *yul- lha* who at the same time is considered as the chief territorial god of the Dbu-ru-lung area, an attribution which also underlines the central position of Mer-khe in this section of the Upper Dbu-ru; Hazod, *forthcoming*}
- **Ris-pu** (P-667) {The place where *blon-chen* Mgar passed away presumably refers to the Ris-bu/phu Valley of Dbu-ru-lung; Hazod, *forthcoming*}
- **Sho-ma-ra = 'Gor-ti** (P-655) {Sho-ma-ra is the form which later sources mention as the seat of the *mkhos-dpon* of Bod (§ 2) and as the place of the event which in *OTA* is registered for 'Gor-ti (i.e. the writing of the law book by *blon-chen* Mgar). A 'Gor-ti is not known in the area of Sho-ma-ra, however, and it can not be excluded that the site refers to a different place somewhere else ('Gor-ti = a mistranscription of Bra-gor-sde? i.e. the Bra-gor district in Central Snye-mo which was also a land or branch settlement of the Mgar clan; *RCP*: 145. In the account of the state organization in *Lde'u* 254.19–20, Yar-lung Sog-kha (§ 3.1) is given as the place where Srong-btsan Sgam-po made the law, a statement which is clearly to be identified as a later fabrication; Dotson 2007a: 89}
- **Pho-dam-mdo** (early S-R-673) {Presumably the Phod-mdo in the Byang district, Lhun-grub County. Migmar 85}
- **Lci'u-lung = Lci'u-lung** of Dbu-ru-shod (S-A-724) {Exact location unknown, but Dbu-ru-shod refers here to Klung-shod (see next entry); it is possibly related to Lcil-bu, an alternative form of Spyl-bu in Klung-shod; *TF* 2005: 317}
- **Re-skam = Re-skam of Dbu-ru-shod** (A-684) {It is the present-day Rol/Ru-skam in Klung-shod; *RCP*: 118}
- **Dags-po** (P-688, 718) {See § 3.1}
- **Kong-po = Rkong G.yug** (P-662) {Rkong we read as Rkong-po; but see Part II, fn. 148. A Kong-g.yo is known from later sources, but appears to refer to a place in Lower Khams. *BA* Roerich 507}
- ?● **Myang-sgrom** (S-R-760) {In the same season the council was held at Ne-tso-lung [of 'Dong-dkar] which is in relative proximity to Myang. Thus the residence site may refer to a place in the Myang Valley of Gtsang. Other candidates include *inter alia* the Nyang-bran in the Lhasa Valley}
- ● ● Further places of the *OTA* which are not inserted on the map and which according to the context are to be located in central Tibet:
 - **Ba-bams = G.yag-ru-gong/thang of B.** (S-R-757; W-A-680) {Unidentified}
 - **Bang-mo Bang-kar** (P-685) {A place Bang-mkhar-rdo is registered for Yar-'brog}
 - **Bog-la** (P-681) {According to the context, it could be in southern Lho-brag, somewhere on the southern route between Yar-'brog and Rgyas (Rgyas = Rgyas-smam?)}
 - **Bon-mo Na-la-tse** (P-705) {Unclear whether it refers to a place in central Tibet; see Part II: fn. 221}
 - **Byang Rol** (P-698, 744) {In Byang district, north of 'Phan-yul? [Rol = Rol-skam *alias* Re-skam?]; cf. also Rol-mo-gong of Sribas (§ 3.1), or the Rol-khang of Rgyas-smam (*RCP* 661), but see above Part II and fn. 151 for a different reading of *byang rol du gshegs*}
 - **[Skyi] Bra-ma-thang** (W-A-686, 691) {Skyi Dra-tsal}
 - **Btsan-yul** (P-732, 733) {A Btsan-po is in western Tibet (Bellezza 2008, s.v.), and is also the name of a place in 'Phyong-po. In the present context it rather refers to a place in Gtsang or western Lho-ka, however}
 - **Chos-gong of Pa-nong** ([late S-]A 724) {Unidentified, but arguably in (western) Gtsang (Pa-nong = Spa-rong? § 6)}
 - **Gser-khung** (P-746) {According to context somewhere in Dbu-ru or central Lho-kha}
 - **Gte'u** ([A]-669) {Possibly identical with Rte'u[-mkhar]}
 - **Gu-ran of Zhims** (P-675) {According to the context it is rather a place in Zhang-zhung area}
 - **G.yo-ru** (P-690, 709) (§ 5, 6)}
 - **G.yug** (P-653) {As a place in central Tibet it may refer to the G.yug of Rkong[-po] (cf. Migmar 96f.; or Yugs of Gtam-shul (*SL* 7) ? [= Yugs *rdzong*? *RCP*: 677]), yet, the context also allows an identification with a place in Zhang-zhung}
 - **Gzhong-phyag** (S-A-711) {Possible candidates: Gzhong-pa in the Lower Stod-lung Valley, or Gzhong-pa-tshal, the center of G.yas-ru in Shangs}
 - **Jor Gong-sna** (W-R-727) {Unidentified}
 - **Kho-brang-tsal** (P-704) {The place where Rgyal Gtsug-ru was born remains unidentified. Post-dynastic sources give *pho brang* Lhan-dkar (Ldan-mkhar, Lan-dkar) as Mes 'Ag-tshoms' birthplace. It is usually identified with the Ldan-mkhar of Yar-stod, possibly a mis-identification, for the local oral tradition only speaks of a foundation of this palace by the king. Perhaps Kho-brang-tsal is a misspelling of Pho-brang-tsal and refers to one of the “grove places” (*ts[h]al*) of central Tibet used as camp site for the court or the council, such as the *pho brang* Tsal-ka of Brag-dmar or [Ngan-lam] Tsal [sar-pa], the residence of Khri-ma-lod in 701; or Kho-brang-tsal means the Mkho of Stod-lung}

- **Kho-nye Du-ru** [situated “in the north”] (P-724) {Not identified; it cannot be excluded that the *byang* in this context refers to a specific district, such as the Byang of northern Dbu-ru or the Byang-thang of southern Yar-'brog (Map 7.4)}
- **Lha-gab** (S-A-707, 726; **Bye-ma-lung of Lha-gab**; [S-]A 712) {Unidentified; the context suggests a location in western Lho-kha. The “hiding place of the god” (Lha Gab[-sa] perhaps refers to the area around the later *phyi dar* temple of Bye-ma-lung. Location uncertain, but arguably in the area between Yar-lung and Yar-'brog; *RCP* 662}
- **Lha-gshegs** (A- 691) {According to context in Dbu-ru}
- **Lha-sgal** (R-after 764) {= Lha-gab? or sgal = Gal-te, in Snying-grong}
- **Mkhris-pha-tang**/tsa (S-A-708, 709, 710) {Not identified, but most likely in G.yo-ru whose pasture lands were administered during a conference at this site. Perhaps it corresponds to the not more closely located ancient *yul* of Khri-sna (*alias* Srib, § 3.1). A possible candidate is also Kri, a.k.a. Sri, the valley in the eastern section of Tshal Gung-thang which in the south borders on G.yo-ru; *RCP*: 610}
- **Na-ma[r]** (S-R, [S-]A-706, 746, 747) {Identification uncertain; perhaps the Stod-lung Na-mar; *Lde'u* 345}
- **Nya-mangs-tshal** (W-R-671) {Related to Nya/Snya Sha-tsal? A Nya-mo is *inter alia* in the Gzhung area of Lho-kha, the site of the *phyi dar* temple of Nya-mo Gyur/Kyur; cf. also the Nya-lung in PT 1285}
- **'O-bar-tshal** (W-A- 696) {Possibly identical with 'O-dang [of Yar-'brog]; or 'O-bar-tshal is 'O-tshab of G.yas-ru? above § 6; otherwise unknown}
- **Phar** (P-698, 699) {Perhaps the Phar-rkyang of Dbu-ru (§ 6); according to context it could also refer to a site in eastern Tibet; cf. *OTA* entry 706-707: Gle-ma of Par, and above Part II, fn. 204}
- **Pong Lag-rang** (P-705) {The place where Lha Bal-po (Rgyal-gtsug-ru's elder brother) was deposited remains still unidentified. Pong = Bong[-shod] of Gtsang? Perhaps a better candidate: Bong-snyi of Gnyal, a site related to the Snyi-ba clan in Gnyal; *RCP*: 91}
- **Ra-mtshar** (S-R-743, 744) {= Mtshar-bu-sna?}
- **Re'u-tsal** ([W-]R-694) {Perhaps it refers to Re'u-chung (Re'u-rtsa) in the Tshal Gung-thang district; *RCP*: 120}
- **Rgyas** = Lung-rings of Rgyas ([W-]A-681) {Unidentified. A possible candidate is the Rgyas-sman Valley of 'Phyong-po where a Lung-shar is registered; *XD* 81a}
- **Rma-bya-tsal** (W-R-700) {Probably it refers here to a place in eastern Tibet}
- **Rnang-p[h]o Ng/Dur-myig** ([S-]R) 703; S-R-721) {Unidentified; perhaps the Sngang-gro of Gnyal}
- **Rte'u-mkar** of **Cu-bgo** (W-A-738) {Unidentified; according to context in the central or western Lho-kha region; perhaps the Rte'u of Gnyal (*TF*, s.v. index), where, however, no Cu-bgo (= Chu-s/mgo) district is registered}
- **Rte'u-mkhar** (W-A-682) {Likely identical with Cu-bgo'i Rte'u-mkar; see previous entry}
- **R/Gtsang-chen** (P-687, 719, 720) {See § 5: Ru-lag}
- **Ru-bzhi** (P-733, 746)
- **Ru-gsum** (P-718, 719)
- **Ru-lag** (P-709)
- **Ru-rings** (A-680) {Probably in Dbu-ru}
- **Sa-byar** (S-R-762) {Location uncertain, unless it is identical with the [Skyi] Byar}
- **Sgyog-ram** ([S-]A-682) {It appears to be a compound of two names, Ram-pa of Sgyog (= G.yag)?}
- **Sha-tsal** (P-695) {= Sha-tshal of Ra-sa? – or Sha-tsha[l] of Ba-lam (Hazod 2004), [Nya-]Sha-tshal of Phul-po?}
- **Shong-sna** (S-A-686, 692) {Related to Sho-ma-ra? – in later sources also given as Shong-ma. Perhaps a better candidate is the Gshong (-nub, -shar) east of Kha-rag (Map 7.4). A Gshongs-ma is *inter alia* registered for Rin-spungs (*XD* 341a), and a Sho-ma is in Shangs (Map 7.5)}
- **Skyi Dra-tsal** (W-A-712) {Perhaps identical with Skyi Bra-ma-tang. Identification unclear. A possible candidate is Sbra-stod-tshal, but the latter is usually given in the form of Yar-snon (= Mnon) Sbra-stod-tshal}
- **Skyi Phyi-tsal** (W-A-756) {= Skyi Bye-kha? see Mal-tro}
- **Skyi Stag-tsal** (S-A-693) {It may refer to one of the two Tiger Cliff sites in Skyid-shod known from the later period as prominent governor seats: Bye-ri Stag-rtse (i.e. the “old Stag-rtse” at the entrance to Zhogs) and the Stag-rtse at the entrance to Ba-lam; for these sites, see *RCP*: 208, *et passim*}
- **Sdur-ba** (P-ante 650) {The *mkhar* Sdur-ba [Yu-sna] related to ancient Ngas-po was probably in Lower 'Phan-yul; see § 3.2, no. 11}
- **Snam-stod** (R-663) {= Rnam[s] in Skyid-shod?}
- **Snya Sha-tshal** (W-R-689); Phul-po Nya-sha-tshal (W-R-715)
- **Spel** (S-R-724) {Spel = Spel-zhabs (~ Yel-rab)? Or identical with the residence place of Mal-tro Spe-tshal? (mentioned in PT 1165)}
- **Sre'u Gzhug** (S-A-691) {Perhaps identical with the *phyi dar* site of Gzhug-gnas of Gtsang, which appears to be somewhere in the eastern part of Gtsang, *RCP*: 660; Sre'u = Sreg? See Mtshar}
- **Yul-mar** of **Gtsam** (P-656)
- **Zhur** (W-R-705) {Arguably identical with the Zhur of the *phyi dar* settlement of Zhur Yur-'go; exact location unknown but most likely somewhere in southern Lho-kha, between Yar-'brog and Grva. *RCP*: 660}



MAP 7.3: Royal residences (= □) and Council sites (= ○) in the core region of central Tibet.



MAP 7.4: Place names of the *Annals* (= names in yellow) in the upper (western) part of G.yo-ru.

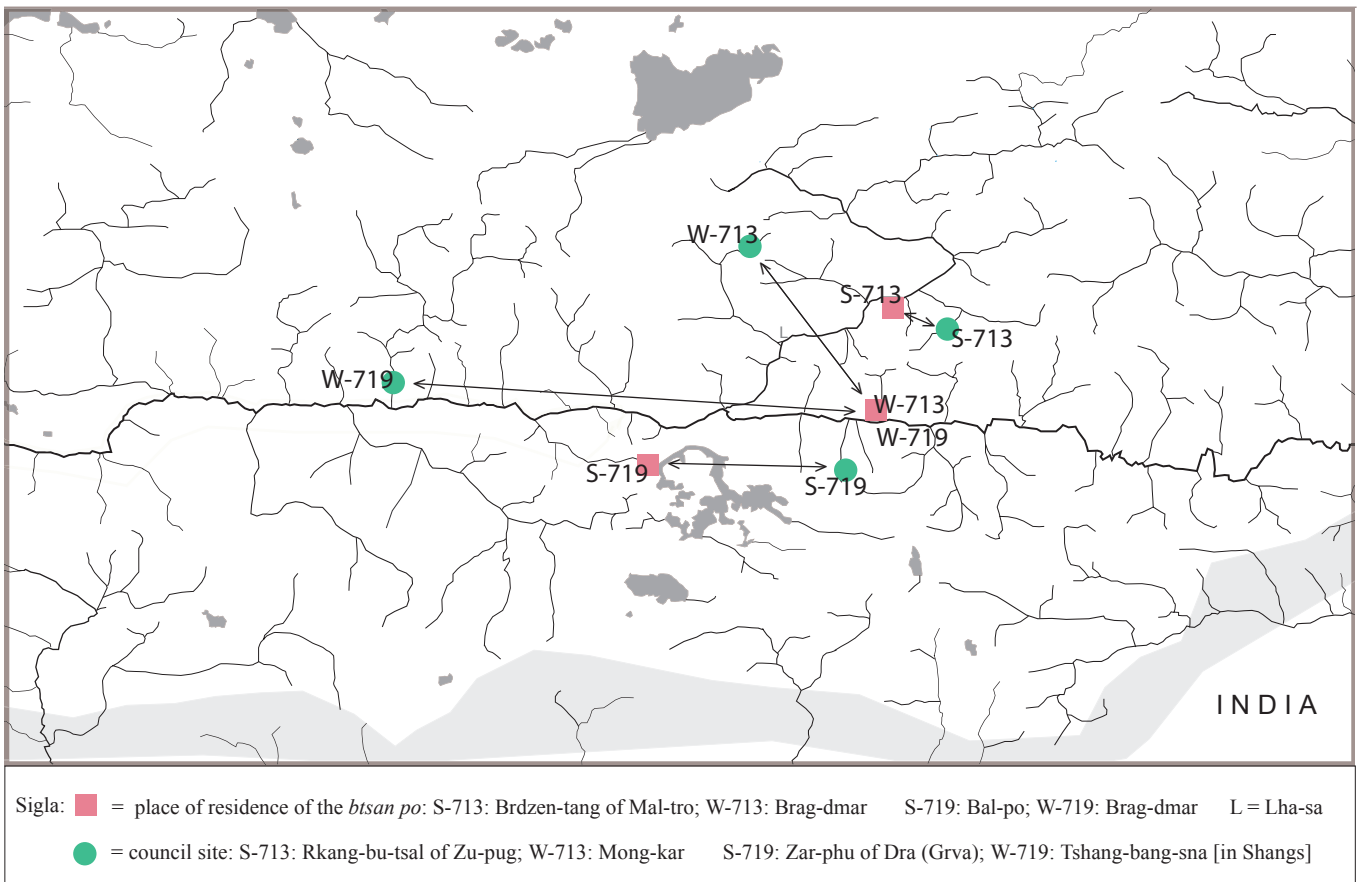


13. G.yas-ru Gtsang-'gram (see § 5)

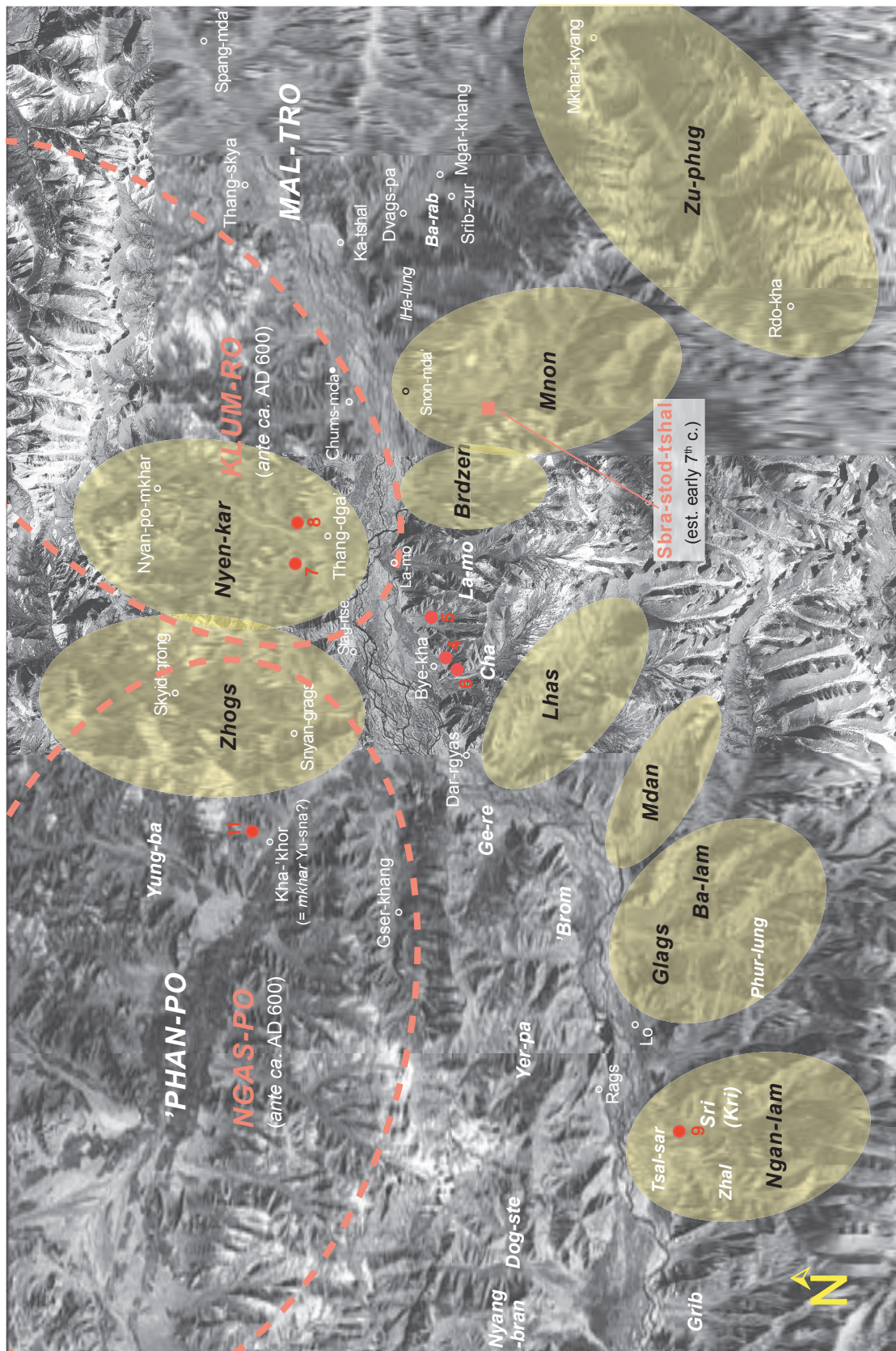
MAP 7.5: In Shangs of G.yas-ru (red = place names in the OTA).



MAP 7.6: Places of the *Annals* (= yellow) in Upper Dbu-ru.



MAP 7.7: Relative distance of residence and council places: the examples of the years 713 and 719.



MAP 7.8: In Upper Skyid-shod (yellow area = districts registered in the *Annals* as places for the *btsan-po*'s *pho brang* and / or the *'dun sa*; red circle = the grave fields nos. 4–8, 9, 11 of § 3.2).

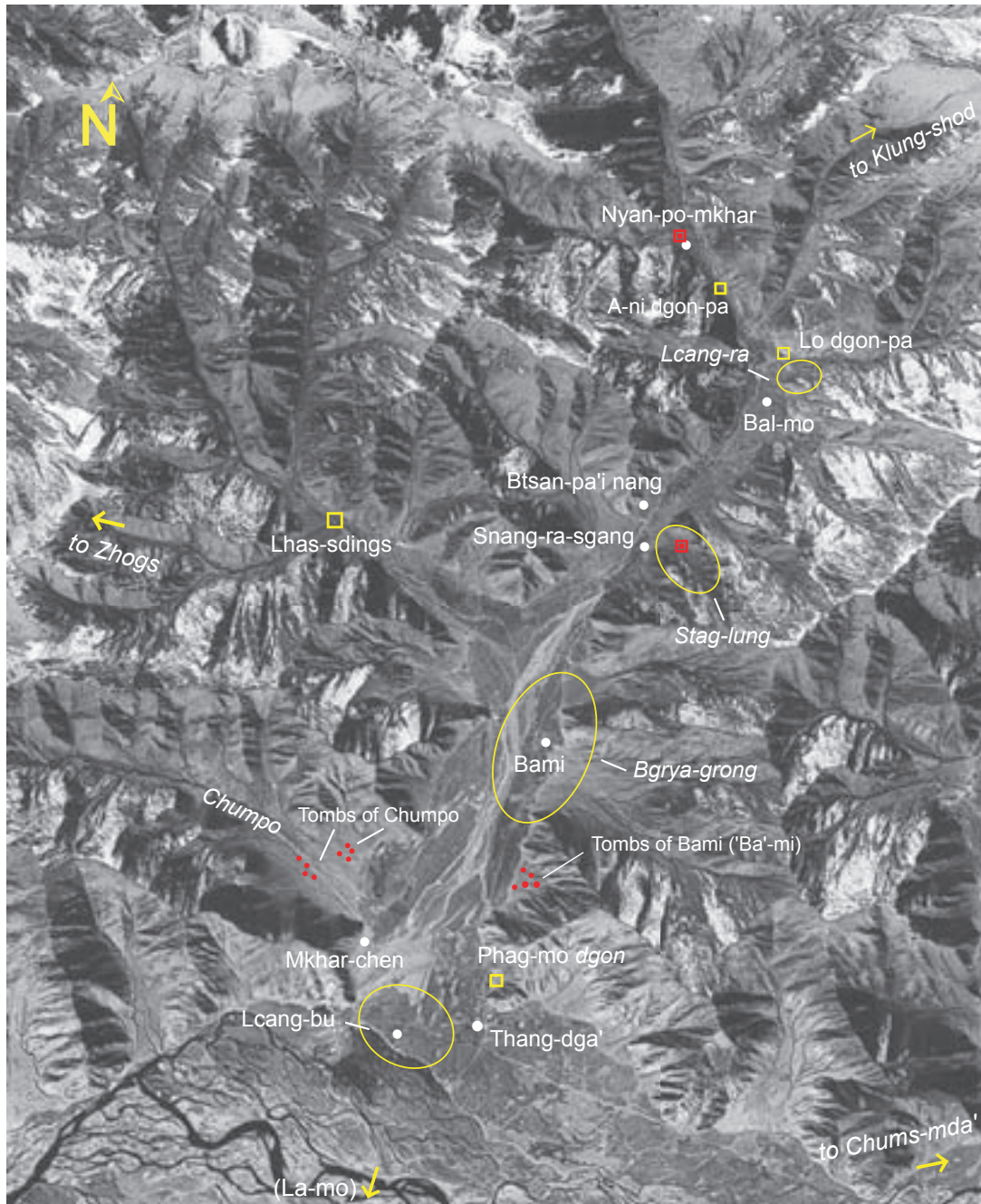
7.2 The Identification of Nyen-kar

Local examination of a royal residence place and clan land in the Skyid-chu Valley

1. Preliminary remarks

If one were to summarize the entries in the *OTA* on one single map, a map in which all the questions of the identification of the place names are solved, then in the area of central Tibet we would see a dense overlapping of lines that run through particular places, some more often than others, so that here a tight network emerges, which apparently does not start from or lead back to a fixed center. A line landscape without a center, this is the graphic abstraction of the seasonal movements of the royal *pho brang* described in the *Annals* and the gathering that was often (but not always) held relatively close to the *btsan-po*'s residence (Map 7.7). It indicates a significant detail of the political geography of imperial Tibet, already addressed above (Introduction: 59f.), where a "mobile center" is on the move between winter and summer camps in the core zone of an ever-expanding empire. For their part, the core zones with their administrative basic districts in agricultural central Tibet form a development directed outwards, as is expressed in the successive establishment of the Horns and "additional Horns." The factor of movement here appears as a strategic function in the process of political consolidation of early state development. Even if we have today made some progress in the identification of the individual sites, we know little in detail about the places themselves and the background for their specific use as described in the *Annals*. What for example causes the court to set up its camp precisely in Mer-khe (in Dbu-ru-lung), or the great minister to call the next gathering at this site or another (and almost never where the *btsan-po* was staying)? In some cases, connections are recognizable, if for example particular administrative measures (such as census records) were being carried out in the region in which the gathering was held. Mostly, however, the entries provide no more detailed indications that would make it possible to learn the particular motives for the choice of location. There are some geographical restrictions, which have already been mentioned, for example that the areas of Dbu-ru and the northern G.yo-ru were preferred, that is, the innermost and as it were the safest zone of the empire (Map 7.3). With regard to the residence places, it is perhaps worth mentioning in this connection that a range of sites such as Lhasa or places in 'Phan-yul or also in Yar-lung, which we know had a central importance for the royal house and are given as the royal seat, do not appear in the *Annals*. The lack of attention to them does not mean that the *btsan-po* or the court did not stay at these places or were not active here, but it does indicate that the list of residence places in the *Annals* apparently only relates to the primary locations of the *pho brang*. Here it is noteworthy that the residence places (but also the council sites) often lie in the hinterland, away from the main routes, which all the more raises the question of the motive for the choice of these places. In an earlier work (Hazod 2003), it was noted that it makes sense to see these places as belonging to a particular lineage. We know that the clan aristocracy (under the condition of unbroken loyalty to the throne) never lost their old territorial connections in the period of the kingdom. Thus the decision to locate the court and the gathering in this or that site is perhaps based on the fact that a host who makes his area available as a camp site resides in these places. This involves a structural dimension, if we see the alternating choice of places as part of the relationship between the throne and the clan aristocracy, a relationship that has its foundation in the authority of the state. At the same time, these sites mark a political geography, through which the older territorial structures shine, the latter embodied in the lands of old (and partly regionally oriented) clans.

One of the frequently mentioned sites in the *OTA* is Nyen-kar, whose importance as the most frequented royal residence place of the seventh and early eighth centuries has been addressed in a number of research papers. The identification of this place on the basis of an *in situ* research trip conducted in 2007 has allowed us a better understanding of the connection, which is addressed here, between the older history and the later use of the place in the imperial period.



MAP 7.9: Nyen-kar – the heart of ancient Klum-ro and royal residence place in the imperial period.

2. The Identification of Nyen-kar

Nyen-kar is never described in the *OTA* as a council site, but only as a residence place, and in this category, with 22 entries ranks behind Brag-dmar (34 annual entries). The next most frequent are Bal-po (in Yar-'brog) and the not more closely identified Dron, both with 14 annual entries. In the 8th century, Brag-dmar, the area around Bsam-yas, was the preferred residence place of the two *btsan-po*, Mes Ag-tshom and Khri Srong-lde-btsan (and was certainly still so after the period of the *Annals*; AD 764). Nyen-kar was primarily the residence place of the *btsan-po* Khri 'Dus-srong, who almost exclusively set up camp here when he was not on the march with his soldiers. From the *OTA* we gather that it is a question of a large area which includes the localities of Lcang-bu and Thang-bu-ra. The area had a much older history going back to before the time of the *Annals*, if

we assume that the Nyen-kar of the *Annals* is identical with the Nyen-kar rnying-ba that is mentioned in the *OTC* as the main residence of the (pre-imperial) ruler Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo. In the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the same place name is also linked to Srong-btsan Sgam-po; its says that he went from Nyen-kar to Skyi-lung and subsequently came to La-mo Chags-pa-prum, where a solemn alliance between the *btsan-po* and Dba's Pangs-to-re Dbyi-tshab (and the latter's collateral clan relatives, *spun mtshan bdun*) was sealed (*TDD* 210–212). In his *Deb ther dkar po* (*DK* 62.2–3), the Tibetan scholar Dge-'dun Chos-'phel states that this site may be connected with the Chag-la pass in 'Phan-yul (Map 4.1), an assumption that later Tibetan historians who were consequently looking for Nyen-kar primarily in 'Phan-yul also followed (Migmar 110f.; P. Wangdu, p.c.). This proposal cannot be satisfactory, because a pass is not a place of reception, rather a place that one leaves behind. B. Dotson was the first to point out that La-mo Chags-pa-prum is to be identified with the area of La-mo and that Nyen-kar is therefore to be sought in this section of the Skyid-chu Valley (= Skyi-lung). This geographical limitation distances itself from the usual assumption among Western authors which locates Nyen-kar in Stod-lung (Richardson 1985: 92f.; Uebach 1992: 505). Here they followed Petech (1967), who erroneously equated the Nyen-kar Lcang-bu of the *Annals* with the Lcang-bu of Tshur in Stod-lung. Likewise, the assumption according to which the area of the Nyen-kar residence is identical with the G.yas-ru *stong-sde* Nyen-kar, and therefore is supposed to lie in the border region of the central and right Horns, now proves to be false.

Dotson's reference to La-mo can now be narrowed down further, as La-mo Chags-pa-prum evidently means the place of the later La-mo temple, which appears in the sources also in the form of La-mo Chag-de'u (*RCP*: 659). The temple was founded by Klu-mes (AD 1109) and in the Dga'-ldan pho-brang period was the seat of the state oracle La-mo Tshangs-pa. The leading position of the oracle resulted from an older (post-dynastic) protective deity tradition, which identifies Tshangs-pa dkar-po as the birth god of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. According to the local tradition, the same deity has its *bla mtsho* or "soul lake" in the Upper La-mo Valley, as it were at the foot of the "coronation mountain" of the founder king (i.e. Mt. Dbang-bskur-ri), and functions as the territorial god (*yul-lha*) of La-mo. It makes La-mo one of the key sites in the Srong-btsan Sgam-po biography, regardless of the re-painting and decoration that this place (like other royal sites in the Skyid-chu Valley between Rgya-ma and Lhasa) experienced in the later vita literature and the local tradition (Hazod 2002; *TF*: 236, *passim*). The king reached this place on his way from Nyen-kar through Skyi-lung. The way, which is described here, is reminiscent of a point in the biography of the Stag-lung-pa founder, Stag-lung Thang-pa Bkra-shis-'phel (1142–1210), where it is said that on his journey to Phag-mo-gru (Gdan-sa-thil, the seat of his later teacher) in Pho-mdo (Map 7.6) he met a doctor from Nyan, who asked Stag-lung-pa to join him and his people, who were also on the way to Phag-mo-gru. The group travelled through Klung-shod to Nyan and then (presumably through Rgya-ma) further to 'On, from where Stag-lung Thang-pa then reached Phag-mo-gru-pa (*SC* 206.15; *BA* Roerich 612). We thought that this Nyan, which was evidently between Klung-shod and the Skyid-chu, could well be identical with the Nyan Lha-sdings, a Bka'-gdams-pa temple, which was historically closely connected with the temples of Spyil-bu in Klung-shod and of Dge-'dun-sgang, near La-mo (*TF*: 317). And it should also be identical with the Nyan from the biography of Spyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar (AD 1038–1103), who was born in Snang-ra-sgang of Nyan in AD 1038 as the son of Śākya Rdo-rje of the Dba's (Dba's) lineage (*KC* 316) who were native to this place. The famous Bka'-gdams-pa master was the founder of the Lo dgon-pa in the Lo Valley (opposite La-mo) and apart from his numerous *caitya* foundations known as Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar, is supposed among other things also to have erected a temple in Zhogs, to the east of Lo. As a Lha-sdings is listed for Zhogs in the toponymic catalogue of *XD*, which is near Snyan-grags, it was initially logical to look for this Nyan here. Our visit to Zhogs in May 2007, however, was disappointing. The local tradition does indeed know of the presence of Spyan-snga-ba in Zhogs, but not of his birthplace. There are several interesting stories about the Lha-sdings and Snyan-grags area in Lower Zhogs, but no indications that make it possible to conclude it was a royal residence place. Some weeks later, after the return from Gtsang, we decided to make another research journey in this area, this time to go to Lo, one of the side valleys of the Skyid-chu, which as of yet we had not visited. In the Bka'-gdams-pa and in particular in the Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition, there are, as we know, numerous examples where founding figures established their main seat in their birthplace. Often, it forms the first field of conversion of the master. Thus, if Spyan-snga-ba's birthplace is not in Zhogs,

it might be in Lo, where his main monastery is. And so it was. Here the whole Nyan and Nyen-kar story has its conclusion.

The Lo Monastery is in the upper section of the valley, an impressive structure generously enclosed by walls, stretching over the Glang-chen hill (Fig. 14a; geogr. position: 29°54'43.4"N 91°36'09.1"E). The foundation stone for this important Bka'-gdams-pa seat was laid in AD 1095, by Spyian-snga-ba (with his then assistant Bya-yul-ba chen-po Gzhon-nu-'od, 1075–1138). In the 17th century it was taken over by the Dge-lugs-pa and further extended (VS 171f.). Today the head is a young Rin-po-che who managed to get hold of financial support for major renovation work in recent years, and has ensured the revitalization of the specific monastery tradition, above all the important 11th-month festival of Lo Gnam-gang mchod-pa, which is part of the “Four Great Offerings of central Tibet” (*dbus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhi*) (see TF: 290). Characteristic of the local tradition is, among other things, the Lo oracle, which is only responsible for Lo and its inhabitants. The female oracle comes from the local lineage of the Lo Gser-khang chu-'khor and is the medium of the deity Lo A-phyi 'Brog-mo, the *yul-lha-mo*



14a. Lo dgon-pa.

of the country, which supposedly once functioned as the patroness (*yon bdag mo*) of Spyian-snga-ba. The name of the founder is on everyone's lips here and everyone knows the house where he was born in Snang-ra-gang, a village not far below the monastery. The local monks say that he frequently meditated under a juniper tree in the place of the later monastery (the tree trunk of the juniper is still there; it is said that it still sprouts and a small shrine is held sacred as a separate place; Fig. 14b). During one of his sessions the letters “*los*” appeared in the needles of the tree, which Spyian-snga-ba understood as a command to break off his exer-

cise: “it is right (*los*) [you should now build your monastery here].” It is pronounced as “*lo*,” hence the name of the monastery, after which the valley is named. Before, it is said, it was called “Nyen” (Nyan).



14b. The “Lo tree.”

This is a secondary popular etymology, as one often finds in the local traditions. But the indication that this area was previously called Nyan is certainly trustworthy. It is also mentioned in the chronology of the written tradition, where it is said that in the *shing mo phag* year (1095) Spyian-snga-ba came (back) to Nyan, where in the same year he erected the “Lo'i gtsug-lag-khang” (KC 312). Probably the place name already existed previously, but it related to a place *in* Nyan. Only later did Lo gradually replace Nyan as the name of the valley. Thus Tshal-pa sources of the 13th century mention Lo-yul as part of the Tshal-pa myriarchy (RCP: 163), while at the foundation of the above-mentioned Nyan Lha-sdings at the end of the 12th century, talk is of a foundation in Nyan. It was set up by the Spyil-bu-pa disciple Lha-sdings-pa (KC 485) and is the present-day Lhas-sdings Monastery, which is in a western side valley of the Lower Lo. The Nyan of the Stag-lung Thang-pa story is also to be located in Lo. The group certainly came into this area over the passes of Grams-la and Khug-la, according to the locals one of the common connecting routes between Klung-shod and Skyid-shod. Finally, in Lo one also finds

indications that make it possible to identify Nyan as the old Nyen-kar. To the north of Lo dgon-pa there is the small settlement “Nyenpo kar” (Nyen / Nyen-po-mkhar; not registered in *XD*); it is named after the ruins of the same name, which has today almost disappeared as people used the stones for the new buildings of this village. At the entrance to the Lo Valley is the village of Lcang-bu, evidently the Nyen-kar Lcang-bu of the *Annals*; next to it is the present-day district center (*shang*) Thang-dga', presumably the Thang-bu-ra of the *OTA*. Behind Snang-ra-gang, Spyang-snga-ba's place of birth, there is the small side valley called Stag, which we visited on the advice of locals who speak of “age-old ruins” in this area. There are now only a few remains, from which however one can clearly recognize the contours of a larger building complex – possibly the place of the old Nyen-kar Stag-rtse of the *OTC* (*TDD* 228.33; geographical position: 29°54'0.3"N 91°35'27.2"E). An archaeological investigation here (and in Nyen-po-kar) would presumably bring to light informative data, and would do so even more at two further sites where the most impressive evidence of the old Nyen-kar is to be found.

It concerns two grave fields in the Lower Lo, one near the place “Bami” on the eastern side of the valley, the other in the western side valley of Chumpo (sp.?). The narrower area around Bami is called Brgya-grong (Settlement of 100 Families; a frequent place name in central Tibet, in the immediate area of which one often comes across traces of older local history; see § 3.1: Myang-ro; Map 3.2a; Hazod 2007a). From their dimensions these are historically two of the most important grave sites of the Lhasa Valley (see § 3.2, nos. 4–10). They have thus



15. Nyen-po-mkhar (the village in the background).



16. The ruins in Stag of Lo.

far not been registered by researchers, which is all the more amazing since Lo is not unknown and the “Bami tombs” lie on a slope immediately next to the main route up the valley. Similar to Sham-bu and other grave sites (above § 3.2), there are large tumuli here (with a length of approximately 30 to 40 m) alongside smaller ones, although with the exception of one structure (Fig. 17c, geographical position: 29°51'21.0"N 91°34'29.3") the larger tombs have all been broken open and often up to half of them taken away. As elsewhere, the grave destructions are continuing today. The earth is carried away and the stones from the inner grave walls broken out and carried away on small tractors. The locals know exactly what the buildings they call *sa-phung* (mounds of earth) are, and in conversation with one of the workers we met in Bami, we drew out details of the findings that they repeatedly come across as well as about the structure of the tomb chambers they had removed; they usually indicate the design of a (walled) plan in the shape of a cross, although these chambers are deep into the earth. The same informant also knew the grave field of Chumpo opposite very well, which consists of many more but smaller tumuli. But on this evening of our last field research day there was no more time for a visit to this side valley, and we satisfied ourselves with some shots from a distance. On the journey out of the valley, the red walls of

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17a. The necropolis of Bami (The rectangle marks the opened grave of Fig. 17b).



17b. Inside the grave (Fig. 17a).



17c. One of the bigger tombs in Bami is marked by a cairn. In the background to the left the village Lcang-bu.

La-mo dgon-pa, which lies exactly opposite on the other side of the Skyi[d] River, shone in the evening sun (Fig. 18). The point in the *OTC* is consistently made clear: the king went from Nyen-kar to Skyi-lung, crossed the river (possibly at the old ford of Rgya-mo-rab; Hazod 2002) and came to La-mo Chag-pa-phrum.

3. Dba's – a dynasty in Skyid-shod

This identification of Nyen-kar leads to some additions with regard to our knowledge of the early history of the Lhasa Valley and that of the events of the foundation of the empire described in the *OTC*. As mentioned, “Old Nyen-kar” was the seat of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo, the ruler of Klum-ro (Klum-ro Ya-sum plus Yel-rab sde-bzhi; § 3.1). Several indications in the *OTC* suggest that this thus far not identified *rgyal-phran* was in the area of Mal-gro, which is now confirmed (Lo is today part of Stag-rtse County, but in older sources is mentioned as part of Mal-gro; *RCP*: 163). Lo and the surroundings, approximately the area between Zhogs and Chum-mda' (east of Lo), formed, it seems, the core region of this principality, which was bordered by the territory of Ngas-po in the west, with the center in Yung-ba (Lower 'Phan-yul). The territorial god of Ngas-po is given in the lists (erroneously?) as Klum-*lha* (god of Klum[-ro]), who is possibly to be identified with Zhogs-lha Phyug-po, a mountain god highly worshipped in this region with his seat, Zhogs-lha-ri, in the border region between Zhogs and Lo (Map 7.8). Now, somewhere around the end of the 6th century, the minister clan of Mnyan (i.e. the clan of Mnyan 'Dzi-zung) broke away from this ruler of Nyen-kar, who was described as tyrannical, and went over to Zing-po-rje Khri-pangs-sum, the lord of Ngas-po. The account in PT 1287 is well known: what followed was the killing of Stag-skya-bo and the annexation of his territory by the lord of Ngas-po. From his new lord the Mnyan minister received the Sdur-ba castle (and its estates) (for the question of its identification, see § 3.2, no. 11; Fig. 8). Two clans appear on the stage, Myang and Dba's, who are disappointed with their new lords, and who, with two further lineages (Mnon and Tshes-pong), convinced the Yar-lung king to proceed against the rival. Very possibly the decisive military actions were carried out from Rgya-ma; this is the land of the ally of Mnon, where Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan had erected an outpost and residence (i.e. Sbra-stod-tshal, birthplace of the son, Srong-btsan Sgam-po). This section of the Skyid-chu region is so to say the narrower geographical stage of the story of the foundation of the empire (Map 7.8). The soldiers crossed the river from Rgya-ma and conquered the main seats of the northern rival, an event followed by the well-known redistribution of the core lands of Ngas-po (plus Klum-ro) to the allied clans by the *btsan-po* (§ 4). The ally of Mnon received his own land (i.e. Rgya-ma), it is said. We assume that also in the case of the other lineages there were already similar older connections to the territories assigned to them that were now confirmed by the *btsan-po*. The Myang received Sdur-ba, along with Za-gad the Dba's (i.e. Dba's Pangs-to-re Dbyi-tshab mentioned above) also received territories in Mal-gro. In the story of the conquest of Ngas-po he is mentioned by name in connection with Klum (“Dbyi-tshab Pangs to-re cut the power (*chab*) [of Khri-pangs-sum] at Klum,” *TDD* 209). Presumably this relates to the Klum core land in Nyen-kar *alias* Nyan / Lo, which – as we know from the Spyan-snga-ba biography – was a homeland of the Dba's lineage (among others, Kham-pa lung-pa (1232–1282), son of Sbas Rnal-'byor mgon-po from Nyan, is descended from the same local branch lineage; *BA* Roerich 302).

This local Dba's presence leads us to the graves of Bami. They are certainly to be ascribed to a clan that was resident here. It is quite possible that this field (like the one in Chumpo too) was already being used as a graveyard in pre-imperial times. But, as mentioned in other points in this contribution, the larger grave buildings, judging from the dimension and structure as we find here, date at the earliest from the beginning of the 7th century (§ 3.2). This is the period when older dynasties that were more or less closely allied to the empire begin to bury their high representatives in large graves (resembling those of kings) (as in Mchims, G.ye, Nyang-po, Spo-bo) and where at the same time clans allied to the side of the *btsan-po* became “great,” whose position and high status was reflected in the construction of similarly big tombs. Examples of this in our view are the big structures of Grva-nang, Grva-phyi and 'On in Lho-kha (see above § 3.2), or the newly discovered necropolises of Bom-ma and Sham-bu in Gtsang or precisely those of Lo in Skyid-shod. The clans and bearers of these “sub-dynasties” of the empire cannot always be further identified (see § 3.2). In the case of Lo / Nyen-kar, alongside the Dba's, the Klum-ro (minister) clans Mnyan and Myang mentioned in the *rgyal-phran*

lists are also a possibility, but realistically are rather to be ruled out. Mnyan (also written as Snyan and perhaps historically related to the toponym Nyan/Nyen) did not play a leading role in the imperial period and Myang certainly has its graves in Nyang-po (§ 3.2-2; Map 3.1b). What is left is the line of the Dba's Dbyi-tshab.

This king-maker clan (of Sum-pa origin; § 2: Chibs) was one of the very great ones. Together with the queen-provider clans of 'Bro, Mchims, and Sna-nam, it forms the group of the *zhang-gsum blon-bzhi*, a classification of the leading lineages, in which the Dba's assumed the position of the *blon-chen* (lineage of the great minister), which interestingly never appeared as a bride-giver clan in relation to the court (see Introduction (p. 59) where the clan's position as "bride-receiver" (*dbon*) is discussed). A Tibetan account (P. Wangdu, p.c.) highlights it as the clan that more than others was entangled in the fate of the empire. The talk is of the "three mistakes" of the Dba's clan: 1) it was the co-founder of the empire (= the story of Dba's Dbyi-tshab), 2) it brought Buddhism to Tibet (= the story of Dba' Gsal-s nang, as reported in the *Dba' bzhed*) and 3) it bore (co-)responsibility for the fall of the empire (= the story of the rebel Dbas Kho-bzher legs-stengs, whose failed anarchic enterprises of the 9th century in eastern Tibet speeded up the disintegration of the empire (Petech 1994: 651ff.; as described elsewhere (Hazod 1998; *CFS*: 85f.)), there is possibly a close connection between the death of this last Dba's of the imperial period and the origin of the Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar deity, who for her part seems to be connected to the legend of the Bkra-shis 'Od-'bar *stūpa* – the *caitya* type which was created and disseminated by the Dba's descendant Spyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar).

This clan (or the branch line of Dbyi-tshab) not only had its historic roots in Skyid-shod, but was also the ruling lineage in this area. The Skyi districts (i.e. the two *stong-sde* of Skyi-stod, -smad) were subject to its authority and also the commanders of Lower Dbu-ru came from this line (§ 6). Correspondingly, there are several branch settlements in the Skyid-chu area; Ba-lam and Glag are known by name (home of Dba' Gsal-s nang; Hazod 2004), but also the La-mo of the Dba's Dbyi-tshab was evidently a Dba's land. The actual homeland of the imperial period, however, was apparently in Nyen-kar, in the surroundings of Bami. In the place name index of *XD 90a*, the place is listed as Ba-mig (= Ba-rmig? cow hoof), but the spellings in this catalogue are not always trustworthy. The locals themselves know of no exact spelling and we believe that this place in the settlement land of the "100 families" (*brgya-grong*) is to be read as 'Ba'-mi (= Dba's / Dba'-mi / Sba-mi): "[settlement of the] people of Dba's."

According to this identification, then, Srong-btsan Sgam-po and the succeeding *btsan-po* who set up their residences in Nyen-kar resided in the land of this loyal minister clan. We can also presume similar connections in other place names of the *Annals*, according to which the locations of the *pho brang* and the council were usually within the protective zones of particular clans loyal to the king. The fact that one or other place is listed more frequently than another highlights less the place itself than the clan that lived there.



18. La-mo dgon-pa as seen from the opposite village Lcang-bu in Lo.