

### III. THE TSHAL-PA MYRIARCHY

#### Territory, Appanage Grants and Mongol Patronage

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#### 1. THE MONGOL CONQUEST:

##### Tibet as Vassal under the Great Mongol Empire (*yeke mongyol ulus*)



2. “*yeke mongyol ulus*”  
From a Seal of Güyük Qan in a letter, 1246

The numerically relative small Mongol people, pastoral nomads and hunter-gatherers, conquered with sweeping success and in shortest possible time in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century more territories and ruled larger stretches than any power in human history. A clue to their remarkable success can be traced to their capability to bring under their sway other people, by mustering and hence winning for their cause large segments of the nomadic and sedentary populations not least in the heartland of Northern China, but also gradually of subdued people in the vast territories held by them. Their extraordinary military and tactical excellence marked out much of their astounding battlefield triumphs. To this came a truly lucky hand in administrating and organizing the huge logistic resources needed to hold sway over the scattered tribes and vassal peoples, a mobile administration which was based upon the inclusion of multi-ethnic collaboration.<sup>1</sup> At the point of death of Čingis Qan in 1227, the *quriltai* was to follow his injunction and install Ögödei as new Grand Qan of the emerging *Yeke mongyol ulus* or the Great Mongol Empire. The latter faithfully executed the grand political and national schemes of his father to set up an empire. It was Ögödei Qayan who carried through a census that served as basis for the distribution of appanages. In 1236, he ordered the granting of appanages to imperial relatives and household princes in the newly conquered heartland of Northern China.

During the reign of Ögödei and Möngke all subdued or surrendering states (*il irgen*) were forced to accept the following terms to avoid all-out destruction. The terms included:

- I. The local ruler (the coming vassal ruler) was obliged to come personally to the Mongol court in order to accept Mongol sovereignty.
- II. Close relatives or sons of the ruler were to be offered as hostages, to be kept by the Mongols.
- III. Census registration of the subdued or vassal population and households to be conducted.
- IV. Taxes to be levied.
- V. Military units to be conscribed and mustered.
- VI. Postal relay stations or *jam* to be erected throughout the territories.
- VII. A Mongol appointed residential *daruyacı* (Ch. *daluhuachi*), a resident judge and inspector to be permanent staffed in the conquered area to ensure proper monitoring.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the argumentation in Allsen 1987: 5–7.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of regional judges and overseers (*daruyacı*) in the homeland of the Mongols suggest that the office was intended to control conquered vassals only. Much literature on the administration of non-Mongol population has been written. See YS209; Endicott-West 1989: 16ff.; Allsen 1981: 50f.; Farquhar 1990; A. Moestart and F. W. Cleaves, *HJAS* 15: 485–95.

Prior to their confrontations with conquered territories, the Mongols tenaciously followed a strategy of issuing orders or injunction of treats which demanded the unconditional submission of the addressee/foreign people (*qari irgen*), to be brought under their hove. A significant example is the letter of Güyük to Pope Innocent IV in 1246.<sup>3</sup> Normally such Mongol order (*jarliy*) wisely stipulated the physical survival and the perpetuation of the institutions of the submitted people (*il irgen*) in return for acknowledging the formal suzerainty of the Mongols.<sup>4</sup> For Tibet, there can be room for little doubt that Köden's famous letter of invitation to the Tibetans was an ill-concealed request of surrender, and the summon of a Tibetan church-leader to Mongolia in the 1240's, whatever its historicity, must be seen on this background. The aging Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and his replacement 'Phags-pa, with their year-long confinement as priests at the tents and palaces of the Mongols must be regarded as a case of hostage taking, at least initially, of a vassal, as stipulated by the above terms.<sup>5</sup> As a dependency of the Mongols, it was expected that the submitted ruler, hierarch or his subordinate personally arrived at court to receive or renew their investiture. In the time to come, this rule accounts for the numerous missions of the presiding *khri skor* to the Yüan court.

As in most cases, the Mongols had divided the subdued sedentary population into administrative units of ten, hundred, thousand and ten-thousand.<sup>6</sup> The administration of Central Tibet, i.e. the dBus gTsang districts in the Yüan-Sa-skya period, in other words the organization of the so-called thirteen myriarchies or *tümen/wanhu* (*khri skor*) had their immediate precursor in the establishment in Mongolia of the traditional hereditary and personal prince appanage (akin to a *apanagium* or share during the Roman Empire in early European history) and apportionment system (lit. "share [of a hunter's loot];" = [? Ch. *fendi*;] M. *olĵa-yin qubi, qubi*; Tib. *bgo bsha'*; i.e. *bgos bshas byas pa'i gtogs lugs*) in Tibet that followed the reform measures initiated from 1251 under the reign of Möngke (1209–59; rl. 1251–59 A.D.)<sup>7</sup> – a property division system of granting private appanage or land apportioning among the imperial princes had started already in the mid-1230's. Enormous stretches of annexed territories and the revenue and levies needed for the still expanding clan

<sup>3</sup> See P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Paupaté*. Revue de l'Oriente Chrétien (1922–23); Voegelin 1941.

<sup>4</sup> Allsen 1987: 64–65; Voegelin 1941 for the illustrative wording of letters to the Pope requiring submission.

<sup>5</sup> For the letter, probably a later fraudery?, from Köden, see Schuh 1977: 31–36, 41.

<sup>6</sup> The decimal system in organizing society was known among peoples and tribes of Inner Asia long before the Mongols. Still, it was Činggis Qan who in 1203 thoroughly introduced the system of decimal organization (10, 100, 1000 – later 10,000 was added) of male adults both inside and outside his bodyguards and each headed by a *noyan* or chief. It helped providing a hierarchical order and it formed the workable basis not only of militia and armies but also of the social organization of the entire population. Militia myriarchies (*wanhufu*) (first establ. 1277) and militia chiliarchies (*qianhuso*) – the latter often each consisted of ten so-called centurions. See Hsiao, *Military Establishments*, Chap. 1: 9, 22–23; *Secret History* 224; *YS* 98; *Un Code des Yuan* 1: xi.

For matter of convenience, we here list common terms for these units:

The ten-thousand-unit or myriarchy: Ch. *wanhufu*; Mong. *tümen*; Tib. *khri skor*.

Head of a myriarchy or a myriarch: Ch. *wanfuzhang*; Mong. *tümen-ü noyan*; Tib. *khri dpon*.

The thousand-unit or chiliarchy: *qianhu, qianfu*; Mong. *mingyan / mingqan*; Tib. *stong skor* and

the chiliarch: Ch. *qianfuzhang*; Mong. *mingqan-u noyan*; Tib. *stong dpon*.

The hundred-unit or centuries: Ch. *baihuso, bohu*; Mong. *ĵayun*; Tib. *brgya skor*.

Head of centurion: Ch. *baihuzhang*; Mong. *ĵayun-u noyan*; Tib. *brgya dpon*.

The ten-unit or decurion: Ch. *shihu, paizitou, paitou*; Mong. *harban*; Tib. *bcu skor*.

Head of a decurion: Mong. *harban-u noyan*; Tib. *bcu dpon*.

<sup>7</sup> The most authoritative study of Möngke's rule and his policies is Allsen 1987. See also Allsen 2001.

families and enfeoffed nobility<sup>8</sup> meant that allotted territories in the environs of the residences or main seats of the leading Tibetan clergy were divided and distributed as grants among the princes of the Mongol ruling or imperial princes, in the first place, to the Toluid line. Möngke's reform aimed at curtailing the excesses or misuse of exacting goods for personal use. It initially did not affect Tibet because this remote area only late was included into the Mongol empire. The 1251 *jarliy* issued by Möngke placed considerable restriction on the acquisition of appanage (*fendi*) by imperial princes.<sup>9</sup> In the new appanage allotment, the distribution to individual Toluid princes and their kin reflected a prior predilection to individual teachers and their specific teaching traditions that had been given to these prince households, although we still lack detailed information. Mongol tradition generally exerted a principle which stipulated that conquered territories were the joint property of the entire imperial house (*altan oruy*), a common pool of wealth and resources, and merely granted distinct princes and local Qanates specific rights, tax revenues collections or the lordship over segments of the entire territory and its population consisting of tenant families or tax households. Although some measure of information exists for the economics of princely appanages in northern China proper, our knowledge is meagre for the appanages outside this imperial heartland.<sup>10</sup>

We still possess far too little detailed information as to how and on what conditions this new distributive appanage or fief system for imperial relatives and prince lines was enacted *in concreto*, in particularly so what concerns Tibet as vassal and to what extent the implementation of the strict Mongol law was actually effectuated (*hor khrims chags*).<sup>11</sup> Signally, already in 1251, Möngke had placed his brother prince Qubilai in charge of the vast territories of Tibet. The direct influence of Qubilai and his descendants on Tibet should never diminish and in fact remained tangible until the end of Mongol rule in Tibet. We know that in dBu-s the overlordship of 'Bri-gung-pa and their territories had been allotted to Möngke (and Ariq Böke) and came under his patronage (with his passing and the rule of Qubilai, the 'Bri-gung – Mongol relations eventually turned ominous), Sa-skya-pa came under Godan's patronage, the Tshal-pa under prince Qubilai's patronage, the sTag-lung-pa under the tutelage of the later hapless Ariq Böke (d. 1266), and the Phag-mo gru-pa, the g.Ya'-bzang-pa and the Thang-po-che-ba (i.e. the g.Ya' Phag Thang *gsum* in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 1416) under the patronage of prince Hülegü; yet also minor districts were apparently distributed to members of the princes such the three districts of Rab-btsun, Gru-gu-sgang and Kha-rag that as territorial appanage were allotted to the influential prince Böcheg, half brother of Möngke, whereas lHa-sa (= lHa-pa) 'Brug-pa (incl. La-stod Thang-chung in gTsang) came another brother and confidant of Möngke, namely prince Möke's formal jurisdiction, if only nominally.<sup>12</sup> None of these princes and rulers ever set their foot in Tibet.

<sup>8</sup> A key person behind the complicated distribution of appanages was the loyal Širi Qutuqu (ca. 1180–1260), who had been appointed Judge (*jarjuči*) of North China followed by Bujir (Ch. Buzhier). The apportionment was initiated during the reign of Ögödei made in the wake of the first population census in 1234–35. Recipient were princes of imperial blood (*zhuwang*), princesses (*gongzhu*), imperial son-in-laws (*fuma*) as well as dignitaries and enfeoffed (fief-holding) nobility (*touxia guanyuan*). See P. Ratchnevsky 1966, 1993: 86; Holmgren 1987; P. Jackson 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Ratchnevsky 1972: Vol. 2: 72–73.

<sup>10</sup> See Allsen 1987: 85–88.

<sup>11</sup> In Tibetan sources, one usually distinguishes between the period prior to and after the implementation of the Mongol law in Tibet or its absence. The only comparative material how these imperial appanages were administered is given in Endicott-West 1989: 89–124; cf. also Biran 1997: 7–14. It is not fully clear to what extent the subjugated areas in Tibet were administered in the same way as on the mainland or in other conquered territories for that matter. For the economic structure of the Mongol dynasty; see Schurmann 1967.

It certainly was no coincidence that a Tshal-pa teacher who initially had served the Mi-nyag rulers (cf. App. I), later was invited from Central Tibet to the Mongol camp where he became the personal tutor to most of the above-mentioned princes that stemmed from the all-dominant Tolui line in particular by becoming teacher to their mother, the powerful Tolui-widow Sorqoqtani Beki (cf. *GT* 30b; Part I: fn. 388). His name was Yar-lung-pa (*alias* Gung-thang-pa) Grags-pa seng-ge and the activities and the crucial presence of his at the tent of the Mongol rulers – during his second sojourn in the Eastern borderlands that possibly covered the period from 1235 to 1240 – no doubt smoothed the way for the remarkable goodwill among the Mongols that the Tshal-pa enjoyed and thus account for the later inclusion of some of the above-mentioned territories into the Tshal myriarchy. During the tenure of the secular Tshal-pa rulers of dGa'-bde-dpal and sMon-lam rdo-tje of the ruling mGar clan (and who at the imperial court doubtlessly were seen as a parallel to the role of their ancestor figure Minister mGar at the T'ang court some 600 years earlier) enjoyed amicable relations to Qubilai and his princely scions. The comparatively extensive Tshal-pa myriarchy would suggest that the mGar-family as a family domain indeed had received the myriarchy as hereditary lords.

The Tibetan fief-holders or appanage grant-holders in Central Tibet enjoyed a modicum of discretionary or local executive power independent of the local *daruyāci* or of the imperial court. Tibetan sources during this early spell occasionally refer to the *wanhu* or *khri skor* administrative system (so *Rlangs* 110.6), evidently here a retrospective attribution. The actual establishment of this key organization within the Yüan-Sa-skyia administration most probably should be situated to *ca.* 1260/1264 A.D., following the accession and election of Qubilai as the rightful Činggisid ruler or paragon Great Qan and more readily as first Yüan emperor when a comprehensive administrative reorganization of the Tibetan districts was implemented. It replaced the former princely appanage system outlined above. It has been claimed that the date of the basic census (1268) was the point when the final organization of “the thirteen *khri skor* of Tibet” was enacted (Petech 1990b: 58). This statement is however not in all cases tenable; so g.Ya'-bzang for instance appears to have officially received the *khri skor* diploma in the early 1290's only (CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 97) and the same holds true for the Yar-'brog district. The individual (agriculturally based) household units (*hor dud*; Ch. *hu*) constituted, as is well-known, the smallest administrative unit and the distinct number of *hor dud* served as basis for the assessment and imposition of the tax revenue ensured from the *khri skor* districts (in the sources often contracted as *dmag khral las gsum*: military tax (= indicating the man-power and cost for upholding military emergency forces on standby), the revenue and tax tribute of agricultural products (usually a tithes or 10% levy) and various labour services (to

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. *Rlangs* 110–11 where it is mentioned that the distinct *khri skor* were the private property (*sgos bdag*) of the four Mongol prince lines; *Grags pa 'byung gnas don chen* 449–50 = *Rlangs Po ti bse ru* 386.3–387.3; *mKhas pa 'i dga' ston* 893.3f., 1416.11–13. Prince Böcheg (Tib.: sBo-lcog) and prince Möke (Ch. Muge; the eighth son of Tolui) – both half-brothers to Möngke and Qubilai – mentioned in some sources, were generally unknown to Tibetan history and their appanages and holdings in the remote area of Tibet are unusual and if reflecting historical fact, it may basically have been nominal. La-stod Thang-chung area and the monastery of Thang-chung was located in present-day gNya'-lam (also written sNye-nang) district, in the Tshong-'dus *xiang* (cf. *Xizang Dimingzhi* I 473).

In fact, we are only at the beginning of appreciating the numerous (and partly still unknown) bonds to different Mongol princes established by the Central Tibetan hierarchs. So, for instance, the *Thog rdugs spring yig* consists of letters (possibly prior to 1250) to different Mongol princes issued by the 4<sup>th</sup> gDan-sa-mthil throne-holder (rl. 1235–67), such as to Prince Hulahu (Hulegü), Cho-ma-'khar (Chormaqaï), Mo-mgo (Möngke) – all devotedly addressed as *bodhisattva*.

ensure a workable infrastructure and an intact communication system).<sup>13</sup> Both management and leadership of the myriarchies were conferred upon already existing religious-hegemonic centres (with the temporal ruler carrying the administrative responsibility as *khri dpon*); in Central Tibet it included the above-mentioned Tshal-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa, the sTag-lung-pa and the three centres under the Hülegü appanage (i.e. g.Ya' Phag Thang), in addition to the rGya-ma-pa, the Bya-yul-pa and the ruling house of sNa-dkar-rtse in Yar-'brog, whereas the aforementioned sTag-lung-pa – according the *Deb dmar gsar* – did not hold the official *khri skor* diploma; questionable too is the myriarchic status of Thang-po-che (see for more details, Petech 1990).

## 2. THE TSHAL-PA MYRIARCHY

Among the thirteen myriarchies recorded for Central Tibet proper (and three *khri skor* for Khams), our knowledge of the Tshal-pa *khri skor* currently appears to be best documented. It was *dpon chen* Rin-rgyal-ba (i.e. Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan), who 1254 or 1255 A.D. was appointed to the secular throne and who later became the first Tshal-pa Myriarch or *khri dpon* (M. \**tümen-ü noyan*; Ch. *wanfuzhang*). He apparently (albeit not firmly corroborated, a later Tshal-pa embellishment?) participated in the military expeditions of Qubilai in 1259 and arguably – if the sources can be trusted – distinguished himself as a strategist, wherefore he was richly rewarded. If for no other reason, it strengthened the good name and well-earned repute that Tshal already enjoyed at the Mongol court through the former service of Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge. Rin-rgyal-ba should return to Tshal Gung-thang in 1261, showered with imperial presents including what in the chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama is designated as the Tshal-pa *khri skor gyi 'ja' sa* or imperial decree or diploma, which proclaimed that a certain number of village districts (*yul grong*) in Central Tibet as *mi sde*, that is as lay tax-yielding communities (in the sense of a *gzhi[s] kha*, or estate) administratively adhered to the Tshal-pa. The list in *GT* counts over 40 such “*mi sde units*” (= 01–44 of Map 1, Part I); *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 6a1–2 speaks about 41 *mi sde* together known as *Tshal pa'i mi sde chen mo*.

The figures cannot in all cases be fixed more precisely, inasmuch as the number of the names of these occasionally also can be read as two (neighbouring) districts or communities (like for instance Lo Byang-ji, sKul 'Ching-ru, lHa 'Brug, etc.). The majority of these is situated in the above delimited area of sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod (Introduction; Chap. 4), the remaining ones refer to districts in 'Phan-yul, Byang, sTod-lung and the western and eastern lHo-kha. A few of the remaining toponyms are mentioned in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama (*Bod kyi deb ther* 107), where it is said that the distribution of the territories by the imperial decree was linked with the obligation of renovating dilapidated temples in the areas.

With the list in *GT* we nevertheless are dealing with a unique document that allows us, equipped with more precise geographical knowledge and with a broad history of the individual areas, rare glimpses into the genesis and structure of a myriarchic territory in medieval Tibet. We shall argue that the information provided nevertheless fill an important gap concerning the question of a rough distributive extent of the structure and environment of the Central Tibetan territories in the 13–14<sup>th</sup> century. Still it must be adduced that our attempt constitutes a reconstruction, we are bereft of detailed and precise information as to the exact distribution and extent of the Tshal *mi sde* – even

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Petech 1990: 49ff.; for the tax and levy system during Yüan, see Schurmann 1967.



more we still lack details as to the nature and economical relationship of these individual units throughout this period. Regarding Tshal, comparable data are only available concerning the Phag-mo gru-pa *khri skor* (with the 12 *gzhis kha* forming the core Phag-gru myriarchy, mainly locatable in and around the Yar-lung area), and in part we also possess stray data concerning the g.Ya'-bzang-pa, both myriarchies, as already pointed out, that were administrative zones attached to the former Hülegü appanage.<sup>14</sup>

From the description of the administrative organization in *rGya bod yig tshang* (hereafter *GY*), we can conclude that the management of the Tibetan districts under the Yüan-Sa-skyia regime was not covered by the myriarchies alone, it also included minor independent hegemonies. The list enumerates the following administrative units of dBus:

- [1] 'Bri-gung bod-'brog gnyis (the agricultural and pastoral areas of 'Bri-gung, registered with 3630 *rtsa* [*ba'i hor*] *dud*)
- [2] 'Tshal-pa (3700/3702)
- [3] Phag-mo gru-pa (2438)
- [4] g.Ya'-bzang-pa (3000)
- [5] rGya-ma-ba incl. Bya-yul-ba (5850)
- [6] sTag-lung-pa (500)
- [7] Upper and Lower bSam-yas (registered with merely 62 [*hor dud*]).
- [8] 'Ching-phu-ba (merely 8 [*hor dud*]).
- [9] Upper and Lower rDo (the valley east of bSam-yas, 70 [*hor dud*]).
- [10] dGung-dkar-ba (= Gong-dkar) incl. 'Phrang-pa (70 *rtsa ba'i dud chen*; fundamental great [*hor*] *dud*; 1 *dud chen* = 25 households, which with 70 *dud chen* would yield an unrealistic number; the entry is therefore most probable to be read as 70 households)
- [11] lHa-pa (600 *hor gyi dud chen*; read: 600 households)
- [12] Gru-gu-sgang of Yar-gtogs-pa (in the environs of Gong-dkar and gZhung, 232 *hor dud*)
- [13] Kha-rag[s]-pa (due north-west?) of Yar-'brog; 88 households).
- [14] Rab-btsun-pa (225).
- [15] 'Brug-pa (150).
- [16] Thang-po-che (150) (*GY* 300.9–301.5; to be attached to dBus is also the Ya-'brog leb ni bcu-drug, = Yar-'brog [17] (750 *hor dud*) mentioned at another place in *GY*).
- [17] Yar-'brog (750 *hor dud*).

<sup>14</sup> According to the description in *Rlangs* 110.11f., the territory of the Hülegü appanage in the lHo-kha region (there were also some estates in mNga'-ris) included Mon Lug-mgo-steng (in present-day mTsho-na) and the neighbouring districts of sNyal *stod smad* (= Upper and Lower gNyal), Gyu-shul (= Gru/Gro-shul), Lo-ro dkar-nag and g.Ye-chung-ba in g.Ye-che-ba (*sic*) (usually g.Ye-chung denotes the northern (smaller) part of g.Ye-yul, g.Ye-che refers to the part south of lHa-rgya-ri); further, in the western and central lHo-kha region the districts (*ru ba*) around Yar-'brog gnam-gsum and the Yar-lha Sham-po (the first is listed in *GT* as Tshal-pa *mi sde*), the districts around Khrab Ye gangs-leb (in Yar-'brog area?), mChod-rten-gling (in Yar-'brog area), sTod-tshan (?) and lCags-rtse Gri-gu (i.e. the district around the Gri-gu lake). Further: Thang-po-che (in 'Phyong-po), 'Phyong-rgyas, 'Phyos (in lower 'Phyong-po), Mon-mkhar (and?) Phyin

As indicated earlier, among the districts listed here alongside with areas generally known as proper *khri skor* (nos. 1-6, 17), we encounter some that we usually find registered in the edict of the Tshal-pa, namely the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa (= lHa 'Brug in *GT*), 'Phrang-pa (= 'Phrang-po/'go), Kha-rag-pa, Rab-btsun-pa and 'Ching-phu-ba (? – probably (sKul) ['']Ching-ru in the list of *GT*). Most of these names we have already met as territories belonging to the distinct appanages of the Mongol princes. The above toponyms refer to districts or territories in sKyid-smad and in the eastern and western part of Yar-'brog (below Map 1).

Worthy of mention under these separate territories are in particular the estates of lHa and 'Brug, which largely refer to parts of present-day Chu-shul county in sKyid-smad. 'Brug stands for the gTsang-pa rGya-ras foundation of 'Brug-dgon in gNam, lHa stands for the ruling house of the lHa-pa issuing from the (Kha-rag) gNyo clan, which in the 13<sup>th</sup> century formed one of the most powerful domains in Central Tibet (cf. App. II for details). Behind each of these foundations originally stood the powerful rGya and the gNyo clan. The main residence of the gNyo clan was Bur in sNye-thang of Chu-shur district and in the Gye-re valley, where the once-imposing Gye-re lha-khang was established by rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa and his nephew. A contentious neighbourhood should long reign between the lHa-pa and 'Brug-pa in the late 12<sup>th</sup> until at least mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, triggering occasional warfare between them, whereas Bla-ma Zhang, just like the 'Bri-gung founder 'Jig-rten mgon-po, entertained amicable relations to either seats. lHa and 'Brug initially had been part of the appanage of prince Möke, the half-brother of Qubilai and this may account for the subsequent donation of these *mi sde* territories to Tshal, once Qubilai became the sovereign ruler of all Mongols (from 1260). The precise background for the inclusion of these important local hegemonies into one single administrative district, however, is still not entirely clear.<sup>15</sup> Prior to the inclusion or fusion of these areas into a *mi sde* under Tshal, we are informed that the Tshal-pa and 'Brug-pa were enmeshed in armed warfare in the mid-1240's (e.g. *gNyo rabs* 47.1) and the same 'Brug-pa in turn are reported involved in warring skirmishes with the neighbouring lHa-pa in the mid-1250's. In the wake of their post-1260 appropriation of the 'Brug *mi sde* territory of sKyid-smad sanctioned by the Mongols, the relationship between the Rva-lung main seat and the Tshal Gung-thang again developed and close spiritual and economical bonds prevailed between the seats (it should be recalled that the relationship between both founders gTsang-pa rgya-ras and Bla-ma

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(=? Bying, east of Mon-mkhar rNam-sras-gling), mKhar-ltag (~stag) Do-bo (?), sPrags te (= sPrags and rTe'u-ra in gNyal; see Czaja 2006), 'Ol[-kha?] sNa-nam Zha-lnga (elsewhere 'On sNa-nam Zha-lnga), sGo-gdong, east of bSam-yas, Shong-bhe (~sde), east of lHo-brag, and the agricultural and pastoral areas (*bod 'brog*) of Ba-shi (?).

The 12 *gzhis kha* of the Phag-gru *khri skor* established by the *khri dpon* rDo-rje-dpal (*Rlangs* 122.11) were located in Zangs-ri (= the *gzhis kha* Pho-brang-sgang), in 'On (= *gzhis kha* [Tshong-'dus] Brag-dkar), in Rong, at the entrance to g.Ye-yul (= *gzhis kha* Chad-dkar), in Yar-lung (i.e. the estates of sNe'u-gdong, Ha-la-sgang and sNa-mo), in 'Phyong-po (the estates of Thang-po-che gling-smad, 'Phyos *gzhis kha* and (?) Mon-mkhar bKra-shis-gdong [exact loc. uncertain]) and in the area south and east of Yar-lung (lCags-rtse Gri-gu and mChod-rten-gling, see above). The location of the *gzhis kha* rGya-thang remains unknown. For details on the establishment of the Phag-gru *khri skor*, see now Czaja 2006. On the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor* (with its core territory in Yar-stod), see CFS Gyalbo *et al.*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> In the rendition of the *khri skor bcu gsum* listed in *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* (early 16<sup>th</sup> cent.), which constitutes an interesting supplement to the *GY* (cf. Vitali 2002), the lHa-pa (erronously written lHa-sa) are registered as a *khri skor* of dBus in an unusual way. After listing the myriarchies of mTshal, Phag-gru, rGya-ma-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa, the text incongruously adds: "Bya-yul-pa and sTag-lung-pa together with lHa-sa (read: lHa-pa), these three constitute two *khri skor* [*sic*]." (tr. Vitali 2002: 103, fn. 22).

Zhang had been close). The 5<sup>th</sup> until the 7<sup>th</sup> throne-holder of Rva-lung (*ca.* 1270's until 1347 A.D.; cf. Part I: fns. 465–468) served provisionally as stewards at Gung-thang and, arguably to be seen as a form of 'Brug revenue delivered to the powerful Tshal polity, where they proffered substantial food distributions and charity in form of large quantities of butter-lamps to the local *gtsug lag khang* and to the Tshal monk body.

With some reservation, sTag-lung-pa (no. 6)<sup>16</sup> too may be counted as an administrative part of Tshal-pa; here, however, it must be stipulated that the above figures for sTag-lung refers to the minor district direct under the jurisdiction of the ruling Ga-zi family and their monastic mother seat in Upper 'Phan-yul. The core part of this monastic center in the Byang district is in the sources (such as the informative *sTag lung chos 'byung*) alluded to with the three districts of sPras, Dar-yul, and Rong (all part of later lHun-grub county) that traditionally were counted as the heartland of the sTag-lung patrons and where they had their secular mansions; among these, two districts namely sPras und Dar-yul, are in particular registered in *GT* as Tshal-pa *mi sde*. Noteworthy, the relationship between the respective founding figures Bla-ma Zhang and bKra-shis-dpal had remained quite amicable – as relationships mostly were in the pioneering bKa'-brgyud-pa founding epoch – and the latter is recorded as a donor of rich presents to the Tshal seat in around 1198 A.D. However, later – and prior to the Yüan-time distribution of the *mi sde* territories – we also find reference to military incursions from the side of the Tshal-pa towards the sTag-lung-pa, so in the lawless and unruly 1250's, which must be assessed on the above background (cf. e.g. *sTag lung chos 'byung* 292, 297). Conversely, Tshal-pa's loss of the areas of Dar-yul and sPras to the sTag-lung-pa may have taken place in the 1370's (after the break-down of the Yüan empire), and following the defeat of Tshal to the new rulers, the Phag-gru, during the tenancy of the 9<sup>th</sup> sTag-lung throne-holder (cf. *lHo rong chos 'byung* 570). It can be generally assumed that the Tshal-pa rulers throughout most of the 13<sup>th</sup> century were regularly engaged in warfare either in order to defend prior appropriated *mi sde* territories under their sway or, conversely, in order to stake ownership of or to capture new land. The sTag-lung-pa – located on the northern periphery of Central Tibet – in the coming centuries wisely refrained from nourishing overly hegemonic aspirations for the Tibetan heartland around lHa-sa, contrary to the aspirations nourished by the ambitious 'Bri-gung-pa (see App. II above). The 'Bri-gung-pa, initially under the stout support of Möngke, should become a major inner-Tibetan opponent to Sa-skya in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century.

We still do not possess any firm knowledge as to the background why precisely most of these specific *mi sde* areas were included under Tshal, or why some territories indeed were extensive in size, others relative small (in fact merely covering one or more village-settlements). One clue surely rests with the circumstance that a number of the Tshal-pa *khri skor mi sde* earlier were held by different Mongol princes as princely appanage allotted to them, so e.g. aside from the core part of Tshal *mi sde* under Qubilai's patronage, the *mi sde* Rab-btsun, Kha-rag, the lHa[-pa] and 'Brug as said were held by Böcheg and Möke (both Qubilai's half-brothers), and Qubilai surely had taken over these territories by 1260 or 1264 A.D., since it was he who in 1251 as prince had been given the province of Tibet as overall fiefship. This may also account for the transfer of the sTag-lung appanage to Tshal. It is likely that most of these appanages eventually was donated and included under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction in the famous and much-coveted edict granted to Rin-rgyal. On the other hand, some *mi sde* clearly reflect territories which had either submitted themselves, had

<sup>16</sup> So e.g. *gNyag ston gdung rabs* 98 lists the sTag-lung *khri skor*.



been appropriated forcefully or had sworn patronage on a *mchod yon* basis to the Tshal-pa prior to 1250 A.D. The nature of the submission of territories clearly requires further research, but individual cases like the destruction of the Sle'u-chung dgon-pa through the mKhar-chu-pa (both subsequently registered as *mi sde* under Tshal; see below) seem to suggest that the submission may have been anticipated by military activities that entailed the concomitant destruction of local religious institutions. This circumstance may have served as a prerequisite for the subsequent inclusion of a given territory.

It can be assumed that the data given, like those offered in *GY*, refer to the period prior to 1300 A.D., and hence reflect the status quo of a specific period, wherefore they may carry no firm validity for the entire phase of the Yüan-Sa-skya regime. It was in the wake of this dissolution that Tshal – who made no triumphant figure during the political and military skirmishes in this later Yüan period (see Petech 1990) – commenced losing most of their revenue-generating *mi sde* territories. We know that the data in numerous concrete cases contradict the Tshal-pa edict of ca. 1261, in which it, so e.g. in *GT*, is related that the edict during all the succeeding *dpon chen* each time and in this very form was re-confirmed by the imperial court. This no doubt was a matter of formal confirmation, and by no means did it necessarily reflect historical facts. In accordance with the same list, the number of Tshal-pa *hor dud* is said to amount to 3702, a figure which must be upwards corrected, provided the following estates listed in *GY* (i.e. no. 8, 10, 11, 13–15) are included. According to this calculation, Tshal (including sPras and Dar-yul) comprised over 5000 (agricultural) *hor dud* units. Taking into account the total number of 44 *mi sde* units, it in average amounts to ca. 120 households per unit. To compare: According to local informants, the Grib valley (formerly a Tshal *mi sde*) due south of lHa-sa originally comprised 60 families, which were divided into three *grong tsho* (village communities); it thus represented one of the minor Tshal-pa areas (= no. 44). The size of the individual estates was fluctuating, between eight and up to several hundred *hor dud*, as may be gathered from the list in *GY*.

It remains unclear how we should estimate those Tshal-pa *mi sde* units that refer to entire regions, all the more so since the name of some of those also are listed in connection with other myriarchies. So for instance the estates of g.Ye-gNyal-Dvags gsum, three regions that in particular were associated not only with g.Ya'-bzang-pa, but also with 'Bri-gung-pa and with Bya-yul, or the (complex unit of) *mi sde* known as Yar-'brog-sgang-gsum, which is listed as part of the Hülegü appanage (fn. 14) and which arguably was located within the (later) Yar-'brog *khri skor*. It may be surmised that here distinct or individual settlements within the large regions carrying the same name were meant (we may refer to the example of Dvags-po; see Part I: fn. 424).

One of the larger Tshal-pa estates was the "sTod-lung *phu mda'*," an area which not least was and still is associated with the Karma-pa (seats at mTshur-phu), yet according to our present knowledge, the historically important monastic estate was in the Yüan-Sa-skya period not vested with any official district administration and it may be surmised that these monastic estates were under the Tshal administration. It most obviously already at that point was under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, as alluded to in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* 15a4–6, where the 3<sup>rd</sup> Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje on behalf of Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje received title and diploma in 1332 (see also Petech 1990: 86–87). For the verification of these critical Tshal-pa estates, we deplorably lack adequate comparative material and data from the neighbouring hegemonies and polities. As

with most other *mi sde*, for sTod-lung too, detailed information on minor areas within the *mi sde* occasionally can be registered, so e.g. sKyor-mo-lung of sTod-lung comprised landed estates (in total covering 100 *hor dud*) distributed with Ram-pa (30 *hor dud*), gZhong-pa [lHa-chu] (24 *phu dud*) and Beng [= Brang]-gzhong (46 *hor dud*); see Table V. 8.2 and *sKyor lung chos 'byung* 44f.

Less known appears the history of rGya-ma and the similar-named *khri skor* with its seat in the fortified complex of rGya-ma khri-khang (see Table V.10, Fig. 29). The rGya-ma valley is in the sources also known as [Yar] sNon or rGya-ma sNon (~ gNon). sNon also surfaces as one of the Tshal-pa *mi sde*; the latter sNon, however, appears to refer to the sNon (also sMon), the small valley due south of gSang-phu, -mda' in sKyid-smad. Some information on the territorial extent of rGya-ma can be gleaned from the distribution of the dependencies adhering to the Rin-chen-sgang main seat (see Part II: App. V, Table 10).

Informants from Mal-gro mention the height of La-mo as the approximate border to the Tshal-pa of sKyid-shod and the Mal-gro gTsang-po river once constituted the border between the rGya-ma-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa, a circumstance that on its side led to a contentious relationship between these polities. The relationship between the 'Bri-gung founder and Zhang had been amicable, but throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century 'Bri-gung had been less successful, contrary to Tshal, in forging bonds to the Mongol court and especially to Qubilai. A major reason rested with 'Bri-gung's strenuous connections to Sa-skya. The rGya-ma-pa kept claiming, at least until 'Bri-gung's temporary downfall in 1290 (at a point when the Tshal-pa and rGya-ma-pa acted as allied to Sa-skya) that the districts of Bya-yul (and in fact more districts in lHo-kha, including Kong-po; cf. Part I: fn. 424) adhered to them. The rGya-ma-pa with their spiritual center or mother seat at Rin-chen-sgang (*Sangs rgyas dbon ston gyi rnam thar*; Hor-khang 1994) entertained traditionally close relations with Bya-yul, and according to *GY* it is not surprising that Bya-yul is listed in connection with rGya-ma (above no. 5). The relatively large number of *hor dud* (5850) allow us to conclude that with these figures the larger areas of the lHo-kha district in question (e.g. Byar, Dvags, gNyal) evidently were counted as part of the Bya-yul / rGya-ma administration, and not to the 'Bri-gung-pa, Tshal-pa or to the g.Ya'-bzang-pa, whereto these areas occasionally are also associated. These districts *in toto* formerly adhered, at least formally, to the Hülegü appanage (fn. 14), of which the Phag-gru saw themselves as rightful inheritor, at least this is what may be concluded from the description given by *ta'i si tu* Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (so *Si tu bka' chems* in *Rlangs*). The energetic Phag-gru *khri dpon* of the 14<sup>th</sup> century found themselves incessantly challenged and entangled in conflicts with the neighbouring myriarchies, in particular with the g.Ya'-bzang-pa (and the Thang-po-che-ba), but also with the Tshal-pa, who demonstrated their presence in the very heart-land of the Phag-gru with their *mi sde* of 'Phyong-po and rGyas-sman (Part I: fn. 425).

Disregarding these somewhat imprecise data as to a number of *mi sde*, it is to some extent feasible to gain a clear picture of the myriarchic territory of the Tshal-pa. A glance at the Map (below Map 3 and Map 1 of Part I) demonstrates that in the district of sKyid-shod (stretching out between La-mo and Chu-shul and in particular in the environs of lHa-sa) through a juxtaposition of *mi sde* to a large extent formed a coherent area, which altogether allow us justifiably to designate the Tshal-pa as "the Lords of sKyid-shod." With some reservations this also applies to the neighbouring Ngam-shod area. Beyond that, the territorial division reflects a veritable "patchwork territory,"

according to which the additional *mi sde* are spread out over different areas and districts and, as we may see, occasionally well within the core area of other myriarchies. A major cause for the lack of an effective administration of these areas and certainly an incentive for incessant conflicts with neighbouring hegemonies – aside from the general corruption and inefficiency prevailing – were the archipelagic structure behind the territorial distribution of these *gzhi ka* or *mi sde*. The outcome was sheer endless military and court disputes so emblematic of medieval Tibetan politics. Lacking an extensive network of alliances and legal agreements, conflicts were pre-destined to take place, exhausting all parties involved.

Looking for the origins of these territories, it soon becomes clear that the borders of the myriarchy only to a minor extent overlap with the expansion and dissemination of the Tshal-pa as religious school (i.e. the Bar Tshal, sTod Tshal, etc.). Neither from the missionary presence of the Tshal-pa in East-Tibet, nor from West-Tibet can any notable territorial claim be observed; the Tshal-affiliated monasteries and hermitages here far more became integrated into the local political context, surviving there at the mercy of local patrons and rulers. These areas merely constituted “Tshal-pa land” as long as the transfer of presents and donations kept flowing from these branch monasteries and dependencies (and not least from their local patrons) to the monastic mother seat in sKyid-shod. This sort of revenue was not based upon any sound economical or fiscal basis, but merely reflected the given supraregional, ideal conditions, a circumstance that also had some bearings on the highest patron and authority – the imperial court. In Central Tibet too, to which the myriarchic territories were limited, no causal connection between the existence and the location of the *mi sde* territories and the expansion of the Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa can be drawn. Additional districts in which a number of Bar Tshal monasteries can be localized (like Kong-po and Mal-gro) were situated outside the proper myriarchic borders. On the other hand, not all *mi sde* districts included the presence of a Tshal-pa branch institution. Still, territories naturally were based upon the processes behind the expansion of a religious throne, and it had been, so it appears, closely linked up with the activities of the founding figure.

In hindsight, we can conclude that the affiliation of the majority of *mi sde* territories to the monastic centre can be dated back to the time of Bla-ma Zhang and his personal pupils. A number of *mi sde* territories can be seen as a war trophy, the outcome of the achievements of the (in part violent) expansion – garbed as *’dul ba* or “conversion” actions – of the Tshal-pa pioneers in the 1170–80’s. A number of *mi sde* districts are mentioned in connection with Bla-ma Zhang’s fightings in Central Tibet (like in Grva, Dol, ’Phrang-po, Sle’u-chung, mKhar-chu) and finally a part of the *mi sde* surely represents donations to Tshal of former appanage districts. The sources do mention other war-scenes like gDos-pa (in sKyid-shod), lCang-rgyab (i.e. lCang/lJang of sKyid-smad) or ’Ol-kha, which however should later not surface as Tshal-pa estates. Did these areas constitute battlefields where Tshal-pa was defeated? Representatives of local ruling houses from areas of Central Tibet, in particular Grib, from Kha-rag, ’Phrang-po and bSam-yas were war companions – or brothers in arms – to Zhang and his lieutenant Dar-ma gzhon-nu. With the exception of bSam-yas (see above) they were registered as Tshal-pa *mi sde* districts and it can be surmised that we in a narrow sense are here dealing with districts that originally constituted the homelands of Zhang’s *dānapati*.

Closely linked up with the process of the pacification and conversion of the land we should mention the measures (for the first time chronologically mentioned by Bla-ma Zhang) for the ritual sealing

of the territory (*ri rgya klung rgya; lam rgya*; cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 808; *Deb sngon* 836). It originally describes a physical barrier or delimitation drawn along Buddhist-ethical criteria set up in order to protect animals and living beings (mostly in form of a hunting ban), but both formed and served, at the same time, as a political mechanism to delimit the religious sphere of influence and allow access to resources (see also most recently the example of the g.Ya'-bzang *lam rgya*, which were defined by way of the connection to eight former *phyi dar* temples in g.Yo-ru; CFS Gyalbo *et al.* 78–80, 221–225). We are deplorably bereft of the distinct names of the Tshal-pa *lam rgya*, yet it may be surmised that they – similar to the case of the g.Ya'-bzang-pa – refer to strategically significant areas and / or spiritual sites of the master himself; accordingly they were located in the district of Zhang's *sgrub gnas* (foremost in Tshal and the sGrag area; Part I: fn. 62) or in the border areas of the “lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone” (sTod-lung-mda', Dog-sde, Nyang-bran, Ba-lam, Grib), districts that later surfaced as Tshal-pa *mi sde* (Part I: Map 1). As already indicated, the activities of Bla-ma Zhang and his group must be seen in connection with the pacification of and mediation in the warring conflicts between the different *phyi dar* groups in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is certainly no surprise to see that in numerous Tshal *mi sde* we encounter the presence of former *phyi dar* temples and communities of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

In the depiction concerning the appropriation of Tshal *mi sde*, one should not rule out the circumstance that a number of temples and religious and landed estates often were vacant in this period and the tradition of donating vacant seats and territories to a reputed master was common-place, tendered with a view to the hope that the religious center and its surrounding area would thereby witness a revitalization. We have already mentioned areas where the Tshal-pa presence or relationship is less evident, like for instance g.Ye, gNyal, Dvags or the districts of Ya[r]-'brog. Unclear is also the history of the Tshal-pa *mi sde* estates in Phyong-po or rGya[s]-sman. In question of the *mi sde* of Grva, Dol and gZhung (three districts, commonly treated as a geographical unity, in northern lHo-kha regularly frequented by Zhang and his group), age-old clan connections to Zhang sNa-nam (i.e. Bla-ma Zhang's family lineage) may have played a role; the sNa-nam clan had been awarded with the three areas as appanage in late dynastic time according to later sources (Part I: fns. 11, 15, 423), the original sNa-nam clan territories in Central Tibet were located in sTod-lung-mda'.

Territorial gains secured by the Tshal-pa that probably fell in post-Bla-ma Zhang times took place under the 3<sup>rd</sup> *dbon / dpon sa Ye-shes 'byung-gnas* (tenure *ca.* 1227–1230), when “many settlements” (*yul grong*) of sKyid-smad were conquered. These areas are defined or referred to by way of the still nebulous toponymic or hegemonic concept of *srid ma bzhi bu brgyad* i.e. “Dominion of the Four Mothers and Eight Sons.” It remains unclear to which Tshal-pa domain this conquest or annexation refers, but arguably the above-mentioned lHa 'Brug of sKyid-smad.

We can conclude that the borders of the later myriarchy refer back to the founding phase of the monastic residence. The edict issued in their favour thus roughly [re-]confirmed a territorial or manorial estate structure already prevailing prior to its issue. The particular structure is to an appreciable extent nothing but the footprint once set down by the early Tshal-pa and by their charismatic founder, visible traces that had been left behind in their search for land and resources to fulfil their ambitious and zestful religious ideal of erecting a polity.

Once the *khri skor* was established, the actual extended division of each myriarchy into minor units of chiliarchies and centurions etc., we can adduce from numerous decrees and edicts, albeit only a fraction of these have come down to us. A large number doubtless will be available once hitherto sealed archives in Tibet will be opened. We can adduce that a flurry of correspondence throughout all the myriarchies was issued in order to provide for the upkeep, the administration or the enforcement of law. A number of such unique documents have been published in recent years (see Everding 2006) and for the Tshal-pa *khri skor*, we fortunately can avail us of two such rescripts (kept in archives in lHa-sa). The Tshal-documents are dated to 1337 and 1338 respectively, issued under or in the name of the redoubtable 9<sup>th</sup> Tshal-pa *khri dpon* sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346 A.D.) and his son who ruled conjointly with him, the 10<sup>th</sup> *khri dpon* Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1309–1364). The texts, issued in their names either under an inspection tour or in Gung-thang proper are characterized as so-called *gtam* or local rescript<sup>17</sup> which admonished a number of transgressors to refrain from misappropriating access to land, water and grassing (*sa chu rtsva gsum*) and to refrain from misusing rights adhering to the territories of Lo-phu dgon-pa (i.e. the territory of ancient Nyen-kar in present-day sTag-rtse county; cf. Introduction, fn. 7; Part I: fn. 411) under the jurisdiction of Tshal. The rescripts stipulate the consequences to be meted out to those who continue violating the privileges and rights of the monastery.

## Tshal-pa Rescript of 1337 A.D.

*rGyal po 'i lungs gis |  
smon lam rdo rje 'i gtam |*

*mtshal pa la gtogs pa 'i chen po dbon rgyud  
dpon skya yul gyi gzhis kha ba tha sdud  
'grim 'drul byed mi | mdzo rta gsan pa |  
lha sde | mgo 'a lung pa | mi sde rnams la  
zlo ba | lo phu dgon pa ba 'di pa lugs dang  
mthun par sdod pa la | khong dang sngar  
nas dbang pa 'i sa chu rtsva gsum ci dang ci  
'phrog ma 'then | sngar btags pa 'i bzhin yi  
ge la log pa byed na khrims lugs bzhin rtsa  
ra byed pa gseb tshangs la svogs khrims  
dang 'gal ba 'i bya ba mi byed | glang lo zla  
ba lnga ba 'i tshes bco bryad la Yung bu  
mdar bris.*

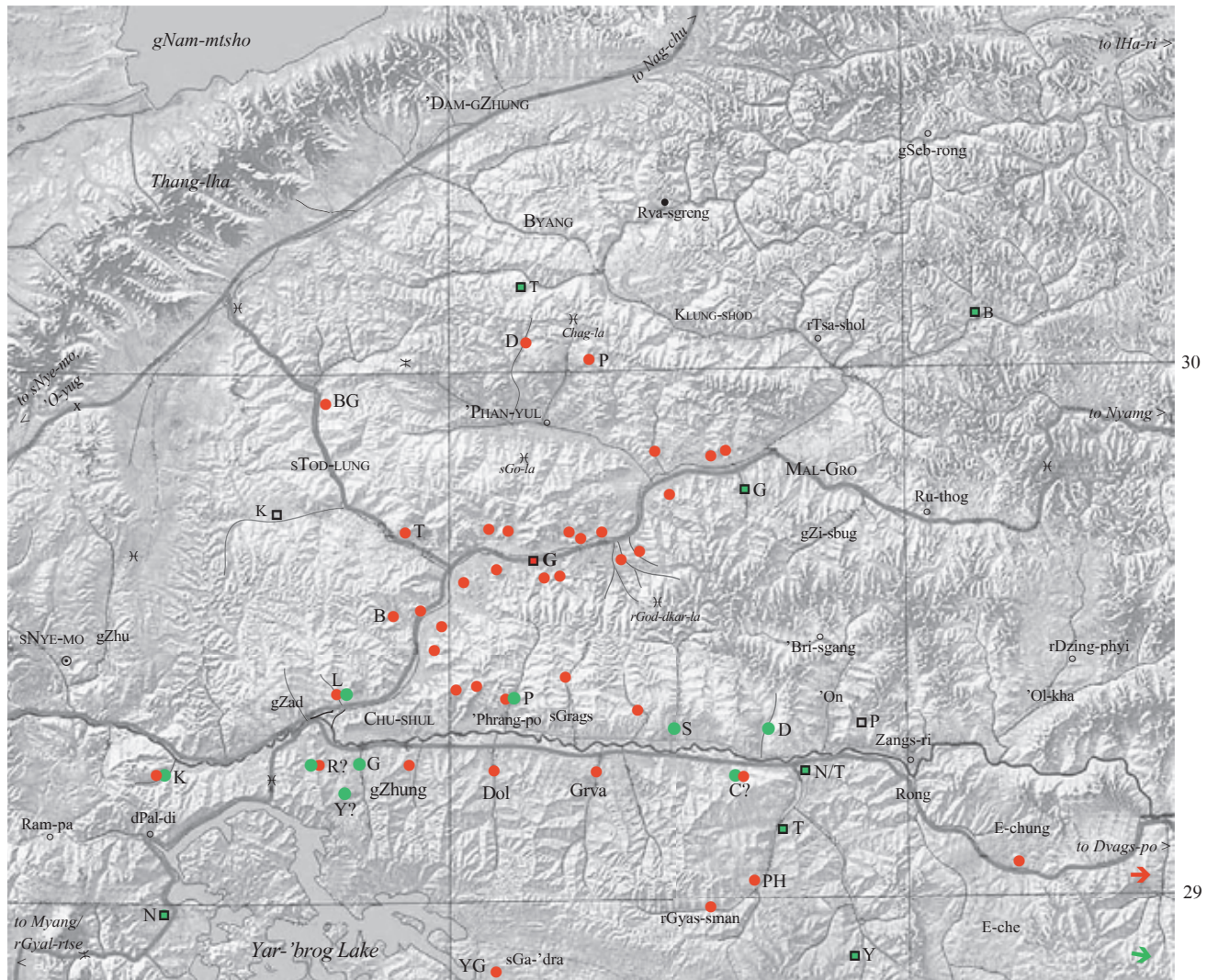
## Tshal-pa Rescript of 1338 A.D.

*rGyal po 'i lungs gis |  
kun dga' rdo rje 'i gtam |*

*mtshal pa la gtogs pa 'i chen po dbon rgyud | dpon  
skya sa yul gyi gzhis kha ba | tha sdud 'grim 'drul  
byed mi | mdzo rta bsan pa | lha sde | mgo lung pa  
| mi sde rnams la zlo ba | lo phu dgon pa ba 'di  
pa | lugs dang 'thun par bstod pa la | khong rang  
dang sngar nas dbang pa 'i sa chu rtsva ga de ci  
dang ci ma 'phrog ma 'then | sdad btags pa 'i 'dod  
mchu' slong khro dang | phyug lug la khyu 'dzin  
skyi 'khrul brdal po spus sgyur ma byed | sngar  
nas med pa 'i khral dang rtsva shing 'u lag ma len  
| dbang che dang she mong ma brtson par bde'a  
bar bsdod du bcug | 'di skad zlas bzhin yig ge log  
pa byed na rtsva ra byed pa yin | 'di pas kyang  
rang la i btogs pa 'i bzhin gi gseb tshangs la svogs  
khrims dang 'gal ba ma byed | stag lo zla ba bcu  
gcig pa 'i tshes bcu bzhi la gung thang nas.*

<sup>17</sup> For the technical terms and their use in Tibeto-Mongol diplomacy, see Everding 2006.





### Sigla and Abbreviations:

- = districts and estates in *GY*
- = centre of myriarchy
- = the Tshal-pa *mi sde* in *GT* (see also Sat-Map 1)
- = Tshal-pa *mi sde* which in *GY* are listed as unrelated districts

- G = Tshal Gung-thang
- G = rGya-ma Khri-khang (centre of the rGya-ma *khri skor* = rGya-ma *dang* Bya-yul in *GY*);
- B = 'Bri-gung (centre of the 'Bri-gung *khri skor* = 'Bri-kung bod-'brog gnyis in *GY*)
- S = sTag-lung (monastery and district [*GY*])
- Y = g.Ya'-bzang (centre of the g.Ya'-bzang *khri skor*)
- T = Thang-po-che (*GY*; also listed as *khri skor* or *-stong-skor*)
- N/T = sNe'u-gdong-rtse (centre of the Phag-gru *khri skor*)
- N = sNa-dkar-rtse (centre of the Yar-'brog *khri skor*; *GY*: Ya[r]-'brog *leb ni bcu drug*)
- P = gDan-sa-mthil (spiritual centre of the Phag-mo gru-pa)
- K = 'Tshur-phu (centre of the Karma-pa)

- BG = Byang sGal-sde tsho-Ing
- D = Dar-yul
- P = sPras
- T = the Tshal-pa *mi sde* of sTOD-lung
- K = Kha-rag-pa (in *GT* and *GY*)
- L = lHa-pa and
- B = 'Brug-pa (i.e. Tshal-pa *mi sde* of lHa-'Brug)
- P = 'Phrang-po (~pa) (*GT* = 'Phrang-pa in dGung-dkar *dang* 'Phrang-pa of *GY*)
- S = bSam-yas phu-mda' (*GY*)
- R? = Rab-btsun-pa (in *GT*; unrelated estate in *GY*; exact location unknown)
- D = rDo'i phu-mda' (*GY*)
- G = dGung-dkar (i.e. Gong-dkar; *GY*)
- Y? = Yar-gtogs-pa'i Gru-gu-sgang (*GY*; exact location unknown)
- C? = sKul [']Ching-ru (Tshal-pa *mi sde* in *GT* [= 'Ching-phu-pa of *GY*?]; exact location unknown)
- PH = 'Phyong-rgyas (i.e. 'Phyong-po in 'Chong-po [and?] rGyas-sman of *GT*; see Part 1, fn. 426)
- YG = Yar-'brog sGa[ng]-'dra ( = part of the Yar-'brog sgang-rnam-gsum of *GT*?)
- ➔ = Bya-yul (*GY*; not inserted on the map)
- ➔ = the eastern Tshal-pa estates of gNyal Dvags (in E gNyal Dags of *GT*); not inserted on the map

Map 1. The administrative districts (and district centres) of dBus during the Yuan-Sa-skya period as listed in *GY* and the Tshal pa *mi sde* of *GT* (see also Part I: Map 1)



3. Qubilai Qan, the first Yüan Emperor and a patron of Tshal Gung-thang



4. The seal of a Tibetan myriarch. The example of the 'Bri-gung khri skor seal

6. The Phag-gru khri dpon and later sovereign of Tibet Ta'i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan. The statue made of 'medicinal clay' is kept in the Potala



5. sNe'u gdong-rtse. The palace which in the later history served as seat of the lHo-kha governor (lHo spyi khyab) goes back to the founding phase of the Phag-mo gru-pa khri skor and in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. became the power base of the Rlangs Phag-mo gru-pa rule

Photo: Schäfer 1939. Courtesy Bundesarchiv Koblenz



6



## APPENDIX IV



1. *'Phrin-las rgyal-po alias Pehar in his monkey manifestation (see below fn. 116)*  
The stone-head (H = ca. 22cm) is kept in Lo dgon-pa, Upper sKyid-shod (2007)