


# A compiled list of Tibetan districts (*rdzong*) and government estates of the Ganden Phodrang territory (1830-1959)<sup>1</sup>

Alice Travers

(CRCAO, UMR 8155)

he Ganden Phodrang (Dga' ldan pho brang) government (1642-1959) has been often described as maintaining a remarkably small administration to rule over a comparatively vast territory. This was achieved not only by maintaining the core of political and administrative offices and functions in Lhasa while delegating great power to territorial representatives posted throughout the whole territory, but also by letting portions of this territory be administered semi-autonomously,<sup>2</sup> in what has been characterised overall as “a balance between centralisation and decentralisation” (Goldstein 1971). The Ganden Phodrang territory was divided into estates (*gzhis ka*) given in tenure to three types of landlords, with the ultimate lord of all land being theoretically the Dalai Lama. An estate could thus belong to either the aristocracy and was termed *sger gzhis* (private/noble estate) or a monastery and was termed *chos gzhis* (monastic estate), or it was held

---

<sup>1</sup> This compiled list of districts and government estates was first started in the framework of doctoral research on the aristocracy of the Ganden Phodrang and on the careers of lay officials, for which systematic information on all districts' names and ranks attached to the various positions of their heads was required (Travers 2009). I would like to thank in particular *bka' zur* Zhe bo Blo bzang dar rgyas (born 1933), a former lay official of the Tibetan government, for his help and for the time he dedicated to checking a first draft of this list in 2003 and 2005. The list was recently reviewed and expanded in the framework of the ANR-DFG project TibStat (“Social Status in Tibetan Societies”) thanks to the addition of the information available in Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956 (presented below); I am very grateful to Josayma Tashi Tsering (AMI) who shared a copy of this source. All errors and uncertainties left in the final version of this work remain mine only.

<sup>2</sup> These semi-autonomous sub-entities were Tashi Lhunpo labrang (Bkra shis lhun po bla brang), Sakya (Sa skya) monastery (often referred to, along with the Lhasa government, as “*gzhung bla sa gsum*” (lit. “the [Lhasa] government, the [Tashi Lhunpo] *bla brang* and Sakya [monastery]”), and Lhagyari (Lha rgya ri).

directly by the government and termed *gzhung gzhis* (government estate) or more often only *gzhis ka*.<sup>3</sup>

The district (*rdzong*),<sup>4</sup> which encompassed several such estates, was the basic territorial administrative unit of the Tibetan government during the entire Ganden Phodrang period. Districts were placed under the authority of one or two District Commissioners (in official documents *rdzong sdod* and more informally *rdzong dpon*)<sup>5</sup> based at the fortress used as the district headquarters (*rdzong*).<sup>6</sup> It was there that, outside the capital of Lhasa, justice was administered and taxes were collected.

In the last phase of the Ganden Phodrang rule, and in the context of extending and modernising its administration,<sup>7</sup> another level was added between the districts and the Central government in Lhasa, namely the regional provinces, whose number progressively increased during the first half of the 20th century. These provinces

<sup>3</sup> In Tibetan sources such as lists of districts and estates where it is obvious that the estate is administered directly by the government, the generic term *gzhis ka* is often only used.

<sup>4</sup> The Tibetan term "*rdzong*" originally designated simply a fortress. The exact time of its semantic extension, also to encompass the territorial unit over which the fortress ruled, and the exact time of the generalisation in Tibet of the administrative unit *rdzong* based on their eponymous fortress requires further research. It has been attributed to Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan's rule in the 14th century in Tibetan (Shakapa 1981: 30) and Western (Kapstein 2006: 118) secondary literature, but there is no evidence to support this claim in the autobiography of Byang chub rgyal mtshan (Petech 1990: 90 and 120; Van der Kuijp [1991] 2003: 431). According to Petech, during the Ganden Phodrang period, *rdzong* meant first only a fortress and only progressively took the meaning of "district", replacing the former *khul*; see Petech 1973: 12 and his explanation of *khul* in his "Glossary of Administrative Terms" of the Ganden Phodrang government: "this term originally indicated a district, but was later replaced by *rdzong*. It is still used, with the more vague meaning of region or province" (*ibid.*: 236).

<sup>5</sup> From the very beginning of the Ganden Phodrang rule, the officials in charge of the fortresses and their associated districts (*khul* and later *rdzong*, see above) were termed *rdzong dpon*: see Cüppers' study on the duties of a *rdzong dpon* (Cüppers 1999), though as Petech remarks in non-Tibetan sources (Chinese and Nepalese) of the 18th to 20th century, they continued to be referred to by their earlier title of *sde pa* (Petech 1973: 13).

<sup>6</sup> A short note of explanation on the choice made here regarding the English translation of the districts' incumbents: though the translation "District Governor" is also sometimes to be found, in Petech's work for instance, I have translated *rdzong sdod* (literally "district resident") and *rdzong dpon* (literally "district chief") as "District Commissioner", following the common translation found in British archives of the period, and keeping "Governor" for the positions of *spyi khyab*. The term "district head" renders the term, also used in Tibetan sources, of *rdzong 'go*.

<sup>7</sup> On which see Travers 2009.

were placed under the authority of one or two Province Governors (*spyi khyab*) who were entrusted with military responsibilities, in addition to the task of supervising the districts of their province. Nonetheless, until 1959, the district or *rdzong* remained the basic level of the State administration.

To the above-mentioned government estates (*gzhung gzhis* or *gzhis ka*) were appointed Estate Managers (*gzhis sdod*)<sup>8</sup>—an office that was often assimilated to that of District Commissioners (although it was of inferior status, as will be seen later); therefore, districts and government estates were often listed together, and referred to as “*rdzong gzhis*, a collective name for administrative units outside Lhasa” (Petech 1973: 13).

Despite the clear administrative significance of these two territorial units, the exact number of districts and government estates under the Ganden Phodrang government, even for its last period, appears to vary greatly according to the sources. Indeed, as will be seen below, these estimates depend on whether the source does or does not include government estates in addition to districts; districts and estates outside Dbus and Gtsang; and last, districts and estates that were under the control of semi-autonomous entities.

In any case, it is hoped that this new list of all presently known districts and government estates<sup>9</sup>—the choice made here has been to be as inclusive as possible based on the current state of research—under the direct or indirect (for those under the Tashi Lhunpo labrang) control of the Ganden Phodrang government will be a useful tool for anyone interested in the history of this government and time, and in particular its later phase, for which the present work is most valid.

*Explanation of the sources used for the compiled list of districts and government estates*

The starting point of the present work is the detailed list of districts (*rdzong*) and government estates (*gzhis ka*) that Melvyn Goldstein

---

<sup>8</sup> The Estate Manager (*gzhis sdod*) mentioned here is usually chosen among government officials and appointed by the Tibetan government to administrate an estate belonging directly to the government. It is not to be confused with other private estate managers, also termed *gzhis sdod*, who were privately sent by aristocratic landlords to their estate, often chosen either from among family members not serving the Tibetan government as officials, or a servant.

<sup>9</sup> Except for *Gzhis ka rtse*, which was considered a district before becoming the capital of a Regional province (i.e. the seat of a *spyi khyab*), Regional provinces and their capitals have not been included in the list. They were usually not listed in our sources (except for *Sgar tog*, the seat of the *sgar dpon* in Western Tibet, which is included in *Bshad sgra* and *Nor nang* 1956).

included in his pioneering anthropological study of the Ganden Phodrang government in the early 20th century (Goldstein 1968: 32-37).<sup>10</sup> Goldstein states the Tibetan tradition held that there should be 76 districts, but that his own research in 1968 led to the higher figure of around 120 (*ibid.*: 19), in which he included not only districts but also government estates, as well as the districts and estates under the direct authority of the Ganden Phodrang in areas of Tibet other than Ü and Tsang, i.e. those in the East, North, South and West, and last those which were under Tashi Lhunpo labrang.<sup>11</sup>

Later on, the same author revised his estimate to around 200 districts and government estates (Goldstein 2007: 461) over the whole territory under the direct or indirect (Tashi Lhunpo) control of the Ganden Phodrang, though without providing a new list. Thus, the information available in Goldstein's 1968 list comprises 85 *rdzong* and 31 *gzhis ka*, for a total of 116 administrative units. This list proved to be extremely valuable because it proposes, though with some gaps, the name of the district or government estate, a geographical location in one of the provinces of the Ganden Phodrang, the number of Commissioners appointed to each *rdzong* or *gzhis ka*, their particular titles, the rank of those Commissioners, and finally the origin of their recruitment.<sup>12</sup>

In order to supplement the missing information and cross-check the information available in Goldstein's list, and thus finalise the revised compiled list presented in this paper, four different types of primary sources have been used. The first one, the *Iron-Tiger Land Settlement* (*Lcags stags zhib gzhung*, hereafter *ITLS*) of 1830, represents the latest (so far) available land settlement of the Ganden Phodrang

<sup>10</sup> Goldstein does not mention his exact sources for this list, but it can be assumed that it is based—as the rest of the dissertation is—on his extensive oral history project, conducted with former (often prominent) officials of the Ganden Phodrang government.

<sup>11</sup> Eight districts and one estate (Lcib lung, Lhan lhun rab gzhis, 'Dam bla ma, Bzhad mthong smon gzhis, Rta nag rin rtse, Phun tshogs gling, Lha rtse, Gam pa and Ngam ring) are mentioned as normally occupied by Tashi Lhunpo officials. Including these estates in such a list was relevant inasmuch as they passed under the direct control of the Ganden Phodrang government in the aftermath of the Ninth Panchen Lama's flight in 1924 (on this event and its consequences, see Jagou 2011), and Lhasa officials were appointed to some of them as District Commissioner and Estate Managers. The precise time and type of change of authority over all these districts still requires further research.

<sup>12</sup> A few details in Goldstein's list remain inexplicable: for instance, some Districts' heads are given a rank of "0". I have deduced that they were not recruited among government officials, but others have no rank indicated at all, and the difference with those whose rank was "0" is not explained. I have tried to correct and supplement when possible the information, and to highlight any remaining gaps, so that it might be hopefully complemented by future research.

period.<sup>13</sup> This census includes 57 districts (still referred to as *khul*, and not *rdzong*) and estates. They are all under the direct administration of the Ganden Phodrang<sup>14</sup> and located in the central part of the Ganden Phodrang territory (Ü and Tsang), which explains the limited total number of districts and estates included. As Surkhang puts it, the *ITLS* comprises only those districts and estates “from Shelkar to Kongpo” (Surkhang 1986: 28), and excludes a number of those located in Northern, Southern and Western Tibet—which will be the case with traditional Tibetan estimates until 1959, as we will see with the next source.<sup>15</sup> One advantage of the *ITLS* is that it allows us to trace the existence of this limited number of districts back to 1830 and ascertain their names at the time. However, the territorial organisation of the Ganden Phodrang underwent significant changes between 1830 and 1959, and some of the districts listed there do not appear in the later sources consulted; it can be assumed that their territories were either integrated into others, or passed under the authority of a semi-autonomous entity, or changed names.

The second source which has been consulted, produced just a few years before the end of the Ganden Phodrang rule and administration in Tibet, is entitled “Shod drung las tshan gyi rim pa dang/ *rdzong gzhis khag gi ming tho*” [Ranks of the government noble lay officials and lesser officials and list of the various districts and government estates]. It was authored by two Tibetan government officials, *bka' blon* (Cabinet minister) Bshad sgra and *bka' drung* (Cabinet secretary) Nor nang and included as an appendix to their famous *Letter Writers* (*Yik bskur rnam gshag*)—though only in one specific edition published by Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press in Kalimpong in 1956 (Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956).<sup>16</sup> It is a list of all government positions to which lay officials could be appointed, ordered by the rank (*rim pa*) attached to the position, and including 70 estates and districts. The list mentions the respective number and

---

<sup>13</sup> The version published in Bod rang skyong ljongs lo rgyus yig tshags khang (ed.) 1989 has been used here. Several scholars have worked on the *Iron-Tiger Land Settlement*, in particular Ryavec (2001 and 2002), who studied the evolution of the use of agricultural land in Central Tibet, and Gurung (2016).

<sup>14</sup> It does not include estates that were under Tashi Lhunpo labrang and Sakya for instance. For a study of tax collection on an estate under Tashi Lhunpo, see Travers Forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> See Surkhang (1986: 28) for the list of districts of Western Tibet which are not included in the *ITLS*.

<sup>16</sup> I have included a transcription of the passages related to the District Commissioners and Estate Managers, and the subsequent description of the main road from Lhasa to Markham in the appendix of the present article.

title of District Commissioner and Estate Managers for each district and estate, as well as the distance separating the district or estate from Lhasa (given in Chinese *li*, i.e. 500 m). This source was consulted and mentioned in a footnote (without its precise content being provided) by Petech in his short description of the districts' system in the introduction of his book *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet*.<sup>17</sup> Based on it, he states that "At the time of the 13th Dalai-Lama there were 52 rdzoñ [...]" (Petech 1973: 13),<sup>18</sup> an estimate that is close to the one (53 districts) given by other authors, probably also derived from similar Tibetan written and oral sources regarding districts.<sup>19</sup>

Interestingly, in this same appendix to their *Letter Writers* and following the list of all the government positions, Bshad sgra and Nor nang include a detailed description of the main road (*gzhung lam*) linking the Ganden Phodrang's capital of Lhasa to the eastern end of its territory in Markham (Smar khams), entitled "Lha sa nas smad khams phyin gyi lam tho dang tham deb". It describes the 45 travel stages or *zhag* (a period of one day and one night) on the road from Lhasa to Markham, including a few *rdzong*,<sup>20</sup> as well as all places where travellers stopped simply to feed the animals and/or overnight, and could use the animals provided by the transportation corvée system between districts called the *rdzong skyel*.<sup>21</sup>

The third Tibetan primary source is an oral history type one, written by three former officials of the Ganden Phodrang and published in 1991 in the detailed description of the Ganden Phodrang administration that forms volume 13 of the collection published in the Tibet Autonomous Region entitled *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* (*Materials for the Culture and History of*

<sup>17</sup> It is referred to as "Tharchin" by Petech. Petech also mentions, as a source for his description, the data available in the "Shin byi roll", another list of government lay officials dated 1924 in which a number of *rdzong sdod* and *gzhis sdod* appear with their rank. This list is reproduced in transcription in the appendix of Petech's book (1973: 240-249).

<sup>18</sup> Petech obviously reached this figure by withdrawing from his calculation all the estates as well as the first place to be listed (see the reproduction of the Appendix), Sgar tog, where two *sgar dpon* were posted, probably because they are usually regarded as Province Governors (*spyi khyab*) rather than District Commissioners.

<sup>19</sup> O'Connor 1903: 41 and Bacot 1962: 71-72.

<sup>20</sup> They are however already mentioned in the previous list of officials including district and estate heads. The main interest of this road description resides in the information it provides on the government road and transportation corvée system to its easternmost part. The transcription of this part has been therefore also included in the appendix of this paper.

<sup>21</sup> On the Tibetan governmental transport system, see Surkhang 1986: 24-25 and Maurer 2019-2020: 29-37.

*Tibet* or *MHCT*) (Bshad sgra, Chab tshom and Sreg shing 1991: 92-94).<sup>22</sup> Based on these authors' recollections, and most probably on written sources as well, this is the most complete source, including 121 district and estate heads (*rdzong 'go*)<sup>23</sup> ordered according to the seven regional areas to which they belong (Stod sgar dang la stod lho byang khul, Gtsang khul, Dbus khul, Lho kha khul, Dwags kong khul, Byang rgyud khul and Mdo smad khul).<sup>24</sup>

The fourth and last primary source is an archival type one and thus contemporary to the period under scrutiny: the various lists of Tibetan Government officials and the successive positions they occupied, which were recorded by the different British Trade Agents and Political Officers appointed in Tibet between 1908 and 1950 both in their diaries and in the several *Who's Who* they compiled, and kept in the archives of the British Raj in London and Delhi. These archive documents interestingly reflect the actual appointments of Tibetan government officials to a number of these *rdzong dpon* and *gzhis sdod* positions between 1895<sup>25</sup> and 1959.<sup>26</sup>

The resulting compiled list which is presented below in the form of a table includes, for the territory of the Ganden Phodrang (Ü, Tsang, Northern, Western, and Eastern Tibet), 166 *rdzong* and *gzhis ka* (respectively 109 and 57) whose existence is attested after consulting the five primary and secondary sources mentioned above.

A short word of explanation and a few remarks on the personnel appointed as heads of these districts and government estates will help better understand the information gathered in the table.

<sup>22</sup> For a presentation of this collection see Travers 2020.

<sup>23</sup> In a few cases however, only the status of the territorial unit (*rdzong* or *gzhis ka*) is given without the exact title and number of the incumbent(s) being recorded.

<sup>24</sup> The list is followed by the description of the exact land composition and production of three districts and estates of different size and significance—big (*che gras*), middle (*'bring gras*) and small (*chung gras*)—according to the rank (*gnas*) of the district, a status that was actually that of the district head: Rgyal rtse, a district with a 5th rank Commissioner (*ibid.*: 94-97), Rin spungs, a district with a 6th rank Commissioner (*ibid.*: 97-99), and Rgya mtsho, an estate with a 7th rank Estate Manager (*ibid.*: 99-100).

<sup>25</sup> The reconstruction of the Tibetan officials' career in some British sources goes back to a period predating by a few years their actual presence in Tibet and thus allows one to go back to the beginning of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's rule for a number of these officials.

<sup>26</sup> In these sources, the names of districts and estates are given only in English transcription. A few of these districts, where government officials were appointed according to the British archives, could not be matched with a corresponding district in the various Tibetan lists. They have been retained (in italics) in the compiled list only when corroborated by their mention in Petech 1973.

*The District Commissioners and Estate Managers*

The District Commissioners and Estate Managers were usually officials (*gzhung zhabs*) appointed by the Ganden Phodrang government for a duration of three years (though the actual duration of their position could differ significantly from that norm).<sup>27</sup> The *rdzong* was placed under the authority of one single official or a pair of officials (*rdzong sbrel*, in one third of all districts),<sup>28</sup> in which case it could be either one lay official and one monk official, or two lay officials—but never two monk officials.

The officials' rank depended on the significance of the *rdzong*. The rank of the District Commissioners (*rdzong dpon*) varied between the fourth<sup>29</sup> and the seventh rank, with the vast majority of them holding the fifth and sixth rank. The rank of the Estate Managers (*gzhis sdod*) varied between the sixth and seventh rank, with a majority of them holding the seventh rank.

Based on the list of Bshad sgra and Nor nang (1956), Petech had already underlined the diversity in ranks and titles of the District Commissioners: *rdzong sdod* in most cases, but also *spyi khyab* (even when not the head of a regional province), *'go pa*, *sho pa* and other titles linked to the status of the particular incumbent (*lha gnyer*, *bla gnyer*, *bla spyi* for instance). Petech defines their role as follows:

They were responsible for the collection of revenue, for law and order and for the hearing of civil and criminal cases arising in their districts. Often a *rdzoñ-dpon*, especially when young and belonging to a family of the higher nobility, was an absentee; he stayed on in Lhasa and his duties were performed by a steward (*gñyer-pa*). (Petech 1973: 13)<sup>30</sup>

Besides, as pointed out by Melvyn Goldstein, some districts were permanently given to aristocratic or monastic units as a kind of prebend. Twelve districts and estates were the preserve of specific noble families, with the district's head position either conferring a

<sup>27</sup> See Travers 2009 for an analysis of the careers of lay officials including District Commissioners.

<sup>28</sup> 34 out of the 109 districts listed in the compiled table. Government estates were always placed under the authority of a single official.

<sup>29</sup> For the highest-ranking District Commissioner only, i.e. the Mar khams *thai'ji* who held the 4th rank when in Markham but the 5th rank when in Lhasa (Petech 1973: 13).

<sup>30</sup> In a few cases, Bshad sgra and Nor nang (1956) add to the description of a District with a pair of Commissioners: "*ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig*", which I have interpreted as: "one who goes in person and one who has only the position or title (i.e. but does not go in person)".



rank—suggesting that a member of those aristocratic families who served the government as an official occupied these positions—or not, in which case it was apparently customary to reserve the position either for family stewards or for family members who did not already serve the government.

Moreover, the management of thirteen districts and estates was entrusted to particular monasteries. Thus, a number of the District Commissioners and Estate Managers positions were occupied by individuals who were not government officials.

Finally, another interesting aspect was that ten districts were assigned to government offices or to particular officials already holding another position in the government, in which case the management of the district was considered a source of income and was granted in lieu of a salary.

As a matter of fact, districts were a source of income for their incumbents, and District Commissioners in pre-1959 Tibet have been described by external observers as “revenue contractors” (Richardson 1998 [1945]: 94), trying to maximise profits during their tenure, through various means (Goldstein 1968: 24).

#### *How to read the table*

The table provides (and is alphabetically ordered by) the name of the district or estate first in its English transcription (based on the THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan), followed by the Tibetan spelling in Wylie—the abbreviated forms in which the district is referred to in most official Tibetan sources is shown through the use of brackets;<sup>31</sup> then all information available in the sources on the districts and estates (location in one of Tibet’s provinces according to the various sources, distance from Lhasa as per Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956),<sup>32</sup> and on their incumbents (number, rank, title, recruitment, i.e. either monk of lay officials or both, or other types of appointees as per the various sources). The

---

<sup>31</sup> It has to be noted that all districts with a one syllable name (Lho, Jo, Do, Sngang, etc.) were always referred to with “rdzong” afterwards, which thus produced a doubling of this word when referring to the incumbent (“Lho rdzong rdzong sdod”), while incumbents of districts with a two and more syllables title were referred to as “Snye mo rdzong sdod” for instance.

<sup>32</sup> A good number of these districts and estates can be located more precisely by consulting the maps 36 and 37 in Ryavec 2015: 138-143, for which Goldstein 1968 is quoted as a source. However, only English transcriptions appear for places’ names (without any Tibetan), which maintains some room for ambiguity. The districts included in the *ITLS* have been precisely located on a map by the same author in Ryavec 2002: 61.

penultimate set of columns notes in which of the above-mentioned sources the district/estate appears.

The different sources display a number of discrepancies not only with respect to the number of districts and estates they include, but also the identification of a territory either as a district or as a government estate, or the number of incumbents, or their rank and their precise title. In the above-mentioned columns, when a choice had to be made, priority was given to the information corroborated by the highest number of sources. When there were only two sources, priority was given to one of the three Tibetan sources over Goldstein or the British archives. However, these discrepancies have been retained as far as possible in the final table, and they are all recorded and explained in the last column of the table. Indeed, since all these sources are produced by or based on reliable informants (be they Goldstein's informants, or the various Tibetan authors of the sources and, to a lesser extent, British observers of the time), in my view the discrepancies do not so much reflect errors (it can be the case of course marginally) on the part of the authors of these sources, but rather they reflect the variety of points of view (a more or less inclusive one) and variation over time in the status of the territorial entities and their incumbents.

For instance, some entities described as a district in one source are defined as an estate in another: in a few cases (such as Yar stod for example), this change seems to have happened after the government transferred the management to monastic or private individuals. The reasons for having only one incumbent in a source and two, with different ranks, in another, could be either the result of a change of authority of the district or estate or just due to the government having decided to change the rank of the incumbent of a particular district (as was the case for Gzhis ka rtse, for example). Some sources give only the largest government estates, while others (Bshad sgra, Chab tshom and Sreg shing 1991) include even the smallest. The appearance of certain districts in one source and not in another might be the result of a recent extension of the Ganden Phodrang territory (for instance, the districts of Spo stod and Spo smad). Government estates that appear in one source and not in another might have just joined the "group" of government estates following confiscation from a monastic or private landlord, or they might have just "left" this group following allocation of a government estate to a monastic or private landlord.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the information given by the Tibetan

---

<sup>33</sup> The instability that affected estates in Tibet, a phenomenon well described by Melvyn Goldstein (1973), had direct consequences on the quantity and nature of the estates directly managed by the government, and it seems to have, to a much lesser extent, indirectly also affected the districts, with the possibility for the ruler

authors of the various sources are only valid for the particular period with which they are concerned, which seems to be for most sources (except the *Land-Tiger Lang Settlement*) between the early 1940s and the late 1950s. The list by Bshad sgra and Nor nang (1956) reflects, for a few districts, both an anterior situation and new administrative changes affecting the district.

Thus, the compiled list presented here remains by necessity a provisional one, and it is hoped future work will allow it to be complemented further, in particular by providing additional information on the chronological administrative evolution of the various districts and government estates with precise dates of creation, dismantling, and changes of responsibility over these districts and estates.

*Legend and abbreviations used in the table*

N = Identification number

**District name:**

Transcr.= English phonetic transcription according to the THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan.

Translit.= transliteration according to the Wylie system.

single underlining= *gzhis ka* or government estate (57 districts, i.e. 52 districts and estates underlined, plus Mkhar rtse, Skyar po, Lho mos, Phod mdo and Sog which happen to also have a monastic recruitment and are thus already marked by a double underlining).

double underlining= district or estate with monastic recruitment (at least one of the district holders is a monk and not a government official, neither lay or monk) (13 districts).

**bold**= the position is, at least in a given period, the preserve of one particular aristocratic family and the incumbent can be a government official or not (12 districts).

*italics*= the district's name only appears in the British archives and in Petech (3 districts).

**dark grey highlight**= the district belongs to Tashi Lhunpo labrang (9 districts).

**light grey highlight**= *rdzong* linked to another government position or office as a salary or source of income (10 districts).

---

and the government to bestow the privilege of managing particular districts or estates to specific offices, monasteries or aristocratic families.

**Location:**

Dist.= distance from Lhasa as per Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956, expressed in *li*, i.e. 500 m (only for those districts mentioned in this source).

**District heads:**

Nb= number of districts' or estates' incumbents working together at the same time (one or two).

Rk= rank of the districts' or estates' incumbents when they are government officials (*gzhung zhabs*).

LO= lay official (*drung 'khor* or *shod drung*) of the Ganden Phodrang administration.

MO=monk official (*rste drung*) of the Ganden Phodrang administration.

**Sources:**

LS= [=ITLS, *Iron-Tiger Land Settlement*] Bod rang skyong ljongs lo rgyus yig tshags khang (ed.). [1830] 1989. *Lcags stag zhib gzhung*. Beijing: Krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang.

BN= Shod drung las tshan gyi rim pa dang/ rdzong gzhis khag gi ming tho/ lha sa nas smad khams phyin gyi lam tho dang tham deb [Ranks of the government noble lay officials and lesser officials and list of the various districts and government estates; travelling notes of the road from Lhasa to Khams] (Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956: 164-169, reproduced in the appendix of this paper).

BA= British Archives (*Who's Who*, diaries and reports, see bibliography).

V13=[*MHCT, Materials for the History and Culture of Tibet*] Bshad sgra, Dga' ldan dpal 'byor, Chab tshom, 'Chi med rgyal po, Sreg shing, Blo bzang don grub. 1991. *De snga'i bod sa gnas srid gzhung gi srid 'dzin sgrig gzhi*. In *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, vol. 13. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 92-94.

G= List of districts in Goldstein 1968: 32-37.

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
1	Ardza bésok	Ar rdza be sog	Khams		1	6	'go pa	LO					x	
2	Béru	Be ru	Khams		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO					x	
3	<u>Bétsang/</u> <u>Beltsang</u>	<u>Sbas</u> <u>tshang/</u> <u>Sbal tshang</u>	Byang		1	0	'go pa / 'Bras spungs bla spyi	'Bras spungs monastery				x	x	Rank and title by G, indicating an incumbent who is not a government official, but a monastic representative from 'Bras spungs); V13 records as Sbal tshang/G as Sbas tshang
4	<u>Bodong</u> <u>trégang</u>	<u>Bo gdong</u> <u>bkras sgang</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
5	<u>Chiplung</u>	<u>Lcib lung</u>	Gtsang		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	Rank by G, indicating an incumbent who is not a government official
6	Chökhorgyel	Chos 'khor rgyal	Dwags po	420	1	7	<i>gnyer sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	BN records the 7th rank, G the 6th
7	Chölung	Chos lung	Dbus		1	?	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO					x	Rank unfixed (G)
8	Chonggyé	'Phyongs rgyas	Lho kha	350	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
9	<u>Chuwar</u> <u>tardong</u>	<u>Chu dbar</u> <u>star gdong</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
10	Chushur/ Chushül	Chu shur/ Chu shul	Dbus	140	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	Chu shur (LS) / Chu shul (BN)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
11	<u>Chushur lhashong</u>	<u>Chu shur lha gshongs</u>	Dbus				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
12	Dakhar	Mda' mkhar	Stod mnga' ris	3100	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>			x	x	x	x	"rdA kong khri bcu gnyis pa'i snyan zhus kyi blon chen shin lung gnyis nas mi gcig gis shor lcogs byas mthus stsal" (BN). G has only one incumbent
13	<u>Dam</u>	' <u>Dam</u>	Byang		1	0	<i>spyi khyab / Se ra bla pyi</i>	Se ra monastery					x	Rank and title by G, indicating an incumbent who is not a government official
14	Dam lama	'Dam bla ma	Gtsang		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	
15	Dargön	Dar dgon	Mdo smad				<i>mkhan po</i>					x		
16	<u>Darma</u>	<u>Dar ma</u>	Lho kha	560	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	BN identifies it as a district/V13 and G as an estate (which might reflect a change?)
17	<i>Dawa/Tawa</i>	<i>Zla ba (mkhar)</i>	Lho kha			6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>				x			Petech 1973: 63 (fn. 1) and 167 (fn. 1). AR for the rank
18	<u>Déchen</u>	<u>Bde chen</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Dga' ldan monastery					x	Rank by G, indicating an incumbent who is not an official. Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
19	Démo chapnak	De mo chab nag	Dwags kong khul		1		<i>las 'dzin</i>					x		
20	Denma	'Dan ma	Mdo smad		1	5	<i>mdzod pa / bla gnyer</i>	MO				x	x	V13 records 'Dan ma <i>mdzod pa</i> ; G records <i>bla gnyer</i>
21	Dingri	Ding ri	Gtsang (G) or Stod (O'connor)		1	0	<i>sdod mda'</i>	Servant of a General (G)			x		x	Rank by G, indicating an incumbent who is not an official. However, two LO hold the position in the BA. The district might be one given to General who sends a servant as representative?
22	Do(bo)	Do bo	Lho ka	420	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	=Do bo in G only
23	Dokhar	Mdo mkhar	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Secretary in the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G)					x	Rank by G, indicating an incumbent who is not a government official (G spells it incorrectly Gdong skar)
24	<u>Döl (kyil tang)</u>	<u>Dol (dkyil thang)</u>	Lho kha	900	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>		x	x		x		Dol in LS and BN/Dol dkyil thang in V13
25	Drachen	Sbra chen	Byang/ Khams		2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	1 LO and 1 MO			x	x	x	V13 places it under the Hor tsho pa so dgu Byang/G in Khams

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
26	<u>Drachi</u>	<u>Gra bzhi</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO (BN); noble house of Skyid zur (G)		x	x		x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G)
27	<u>Drachi</u>	<u>Gra phyi</u>	Lho kha	210	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
28	<b>Drak</b>	<b>Sbrag</b>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	aristocratic Nang dkar house					x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G). Rank by G, indicating an incumbent who is not an official. If so, <i>and</i> from the aristocratic Nang dkar house, then he is either a servant or a member of the family not serving the government as an official
29	<u>Dranang</u>	<u>Gra nang</u>	Lho kha		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	aristocratic Bsam pho house (G)	x			x	x	
30	<u>Dréling</u>	<u>'Bras gling</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	<i>rtse gnyer tshang</i>		x			x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G); also in BN, starting from the Wood tiger year (1914)
31	<u>Drigu</u> ( <u>tongmön</u> )	<u>Gri gu</u> ( <u>mthong smon</u> )	Lho kha	350	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	BN and G list it as an estate/V13 as a district. BN gives a LO incumbent; G a MO. Petech 1973: 71 has Lcag rtse gri gu



N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
32	Drongpa	'Brong pa	Stod mnga' ris		1	7	<i>lho byang spyi khyab</i>	MO ( <i>rtse mkhan drung</i> )				x	x	V13 identifies it as a "means of support" ( <i>thab rten</i> ) for a <i>rtse mkhan drung</i>
33	<u>Düjung</u>	'Dus byung	Gtsang	560	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
34	Dzito	Rdzi tho	Mdo smad		1	7	<i>lha gnyer</i>	MO				x	x	Part of the "39 tribes" (G), title in V13
35	Dzogang	Mdzo sgang	Mdo smad	2240	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO		x	x	x	x	
36	Dzongga	Rdzong dga'	Stod mnga' ris	1610	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	G indicates two incumbents; BN only one
37	<u>Dzongok</u>	<u>Rdzong 'og</u>	Dbus				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
38	Gampa	Gam pa	Gtsang		1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po			x		x	British Archives have a Ganden Phodrang official as incumbent after 1924
39	Garap	Dga' rab	Dwags kong khul		1		<i>lha gnyer</i>					x		
40	<u>Géhor</u>	<u>Gad hor</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO				x	x	Rank by G; however, if he is a LO, he necessarily holds a rank
41	Go	Go'o	Mdo smad				<i>lha gnyer</i>					x		
42	<u>Gojo</u>	<u>Go 'jo</u>	Mdo smad		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x	x	V13 records <i>gzhis sdod</i>
43	Gongkar	Gong dkar	Lho kha	140	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
44	<u>Gongkar nésar</u>	<u>Gong dkar gnas gsar</u>	Lho ka				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
45	Gyamda	Rgya mda'	Kong po	490	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x		

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
46	<u>Gyangdrong</u>	<u>Gyang grong</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	MO				x	x	Rank by G; however, if he is a MO, he necessarily holds a rank
47	<u>Gyantsé</u>	<u>Rgyal rtse</u>	Gtsang	490	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
48	<u>Gyantsé lungmar</u>	<u>Rgyal rtse lung dmar</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
49	<u>Gyashar terna</u>	<u>Rgya shar gter sna</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
50	<u>Gyatso</u>	<u>Rgya mtsho</u>	Gtsang	420	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	G indicates the 6th rank
51	<u>Gyelgor</u>	<u>Rgyal sgor</u>	Dwags kong khul				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
52	<u>Gyeltön</u>	<u>Rgyal ston</u>	Mdo smad		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	Rtse phyag office (G)				x	x	Rank and recruitment by G (rank 0 indicates that the incumbent is not a government official)
53	<u>Jakminma ling</u>	<u>Ljags smin ma gling</u>	Dbus				<i>she dpon</i>					x		
54	<u>Jayül</u>	<u>Bya yul</u>	Lho kha		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	aristocratic Stag lha house (G)				x	x	Rank by G; if the incumbent holds no rank and is from the aristocratic Stag lha house, then he is either a servant or a member of the family not serving the government as a government official

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
55	Jo(bo)/Jomo	Jo (bo)/Jo mo	Kong po		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>		x	x	x	x		LS and BN record Jo rdzong, V13 Jo bo. "Chomo dzong" in the BA. Jo mo in Petech 1973: 92 and 158
56	Jogo	Jo 'go	Khams	3150	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>			x				According to BN, the Smar khams 'go pa actually takes charge of this district
57	<u>Jorra</u>	<u>Sbyor ra</u>	Lho kha		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	aristocratic Stag lha house (G)				x	x	
58	<u>Kharek chakbam</u>	<u>Kha reg lcags bam</u>	Lho kha		1		<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
59	<u>Kharta</u>	<u>Mkhar rta</u>	La stod				<i>gzhis sdod</i>		x			x		
60	<u>Khartsé</u>	<u>Mkhar rtse</u>	Dbus		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	from Kun bde gling monastery (G)	x	x		x	x	BN gives the 6th rank and specifies that it became a monastic estate ( <i>chos gzhis</i> ) of Kun bde gling in the Fire dog year [1946]. G gives the 7th rank
61	Ku(rab) nam(gyel)	Sku (rab) rnam (rgyal)	Dwags po	630	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x		x	
62	<u>Kyadam</u>	<u>Skya 'dam</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO					x	Rank by G; however, if he is a LO, he necessarily holds a rank

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
63	<u>Kyarpo</u>	<u>Skyar po</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	'Bras spungs monastery (G), Sgo mang grwa tshang (BN)					x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G). BN records it as given to Sgo mang grwa tshang in the Fire tiger year [1926]
64	Kyemtong/ Kyemtö	Skyems stong/ Skyem stod	Dwags po				<i>rdzong sdod</i>		x			x		LS records as Skyems stong/V13 as Skyem stod. Whether the two names refer to the same district remains uncertain
65	Kyirong	Skyid grong	Stod mnga' ris	1750	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	"Snyid grong" in G, probably a typo
66	<u>Kyishong</u>	<u>Skyid gshongs</u>	Lho ka				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
67	<b>Langru</b>	<b>Glang ru</b>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	aristocratic Phun khang house					x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G). Rank by G; if the incumbent holds no rank <i>and</i> is from the Phun khang aristocratic family, he is either a servant or a member of the family not serving the government as an official
68	<u>Langtang</u>	<u>Glang thang</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	MO	x			x	x	
69	<u>Laö</u>	<u>Gla 'od</u>	Lho kha				<i>gzhis sdod</i>				x	x		"La-hyo" in the BA

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
70	Lari (lama)	Lha ri (bla ma)	Dwags kong khul		1	5	'go pa	MO			x	x	x	G places the district in Khams
71	Lhabu	Lha bu	Gtsang		1	6	gzhis sdod	MO	x			x	x	
72	Lhakhang	Lha khang	Lho kha		1	6	rdzong sdod	MO	x		x	x	x	V13 identifies it as a district in Lho ka and G as an estate in Lho brag
73	Lhasöl	Lha gsol	Dwags po		1	7	rdzong sdod	LO mda' dpon (BN); rtse phyag (G)	x	x			x	BN identifies it as a district with a LO of the 7th rank and adds that it was given as an offering to an Army general ("di mda' gzhis can du mchod"). G identifies it as an estate and the incumbent as a clerk (nang gzan) of the rtse phyag office instead, with the 6th rank
74	Lhatsé	Lha rtse	Gtsang ou La stod (G)		1	6	rdzong sdod	Bkra shis lhun po			x		x	
75	Lhenlhün rapzhi	Lhan lhun rab gzhis	Gtsang		1	7	rdzong sdod	Bkra shis lhun po					x	
76	Lho	Lho	Mdo smad	1750	2	5	rdzong sdod	LO		x	x	x	x	"ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig" (BN)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
77	<u>Lhomö</u>	<u>Lho mos</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO (BN); Phur bu lcogs (G and BN)		x			x	Described by G as a district, instead of an estate, and being under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G); given to Phur bu lcogs (G) as monastic estate in the Wood mouse year [1924] (BN)
78	Lhonem trido	Lho nem khri rdo	Byang		2		<i>'go pa</i>					x		Under the Hor tsho pa so dgu
79	(Penpo) Lhündrup	('Phan po) Lhun grub	Dbus		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO ( <i>rtse mkhan drung</i> )	x			x	x	District or estate given as source of income to a <i>rtse mkhan drung</i> (V13)
80	(Yülgyel) Lhüntsé	(G.yul rgyal) Lhun rtse	Lho kha	490	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	G.yul rgyal lhun rtse in LS
81	<b>Ling</b>	<b>Gling</b>	Lho kha	420	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO (BN); aristocratic Khe smad house (G)	x	x	x		x	BN specifies " <i>tog gnas gcig</i> "; G identifies it as an estate instead of a district
82	<u>Lingkar</u>	<u>Gling dkar</u>	Gtsang	420	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	V13 and G identify it as an estate, BN as a district
83	<u>Lönpo zhi</u>	<u>Blon po</u>	Dbus				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
84	<u>Lumpa</u>	<u>Lum pa</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	'Bras spungs monastery					x	Rank by G. Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
85	Markham	Smar khams	Mdo smad	3500	1	4 / 5	<i>Smar khams rdzong sdod/ 'go pa/tha'i ji</i>	LO		x	x	x	x	4th rank when in Markham and 5th rank when in Lhasa (Petech 1973: 13)
86	Markyang	Mar rkyang	Gtsang				<i>'go pa</i>		x			x		
87	<b>Mel(dro) gung(kar)</b>	<b>Mal (gro) gung (dkar)</b>	Dbus	140	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO (BN); aristocratic Bshad sgra house (G)	x	x	x	x	x	V13 records as Mal gro gong dkar
88	<u>Meldro namling</u>	<u>Mal gro rnam gling</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO				x	x	Rank by G; however, if he is a LO, he necessarily holds a rank
89	<b>Nak</b>	<b>Snag</b>	Dwags po		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO, aristocratic Glang mdun house					x	
90	Na(kar)tsé	Sna (dkar) rtse	Lho ka	380	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	1 LO and 1 MO (G)	x	x	x	x	x	Only one LO in BN because this list comprises only LO
91	Nakshö biru	Nag shod 'bri ru	Byang		2		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		Under the Hor tsho pa so dgu

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
92	Nakchu(ka)	Nag chu (kha)	Byang		2	6	'go pa: 1 MO <i>mkhan po</i> and one LO termed <i>Nag chu nang so</i>	1 LO and 1 MO		x	x			
93	<u>Naktsang</u>	<u>Nag tshang</u>	Byang	1750	2	5	'go pa	1 LO et 1 monk from Bsam blo dormitory in 'Bras spungs monastery		x	x		x	BN and BA give the 5th rank, G the 6th
94	<u>Namgyel gong</u>	<u>Rnam rgyal sgong</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	From Mtsho smon gling monastery					x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (cf. G)
95	Namling	Rnam gling	Gtsang	400	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	G records only one incumbent, but BN writes: <i>"ngo 'gro gcig dang / tog gnas gcig"</i>
96	Namru	Gnam ru	Byang		2	6	'go pa	1 LO and 1 MO			x	x	x	
97	<u>Nang</u>	<u>Snang</u>	Dwags po	700	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x		BN identifies it as a district and V13 as an estate



N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
98	Nédong/ Néudong	Sne gdong/ Sne'u gdong	Lho kha	280	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	BN and V13 have two <i>rdzong sdod</i> . G records two separate entries, "Sne gdong" in Lho ka and "Sne'u" in Dbus, which have been merged here: no other source documents the existence of two districts with a similar name, plus the alternate form of Sne'u gdong is known for Lho ka Sne gdong rdzong. G describes "Sne'u" as being under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> and with recruitment in "Stag rtse" (?)
99	Ngamring	Ngam ring	Stod mnga' ris		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	
100	<u>Ninkhar</u>	<u>Nyin mkhar</u>	Stod mnga' ris		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO			x		x	
101	<i>Nyalam</i>	<i>Gnya' lam/nam</i>				6	<i>Gnya' lam sho pa</i>				x			Also in Petech 1973: 64; BA for the rank

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
102	Nyanang	Gnya' nang	Stod mnga' ris	1190	2	5	<i>sho pa</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	Two <i>rdzong sdod</i> in BN; only one in G; the title is <i>sho pa</i> according to V13 and G
103	<b>Nyémo (mönkhar)</b>	<b>Snye mo (smon mkhar)</b>	Gtsang	210	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO; aristocratic Lha klu house (G)	x	x		x	x	
104	Nyenrong	Snyan rong	Byang		2		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		Under the Hor tsho pa so dgu
105	Nyétang	Mnyes thang	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	<i>gzim 'gag</i>					x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G). Rank by G; however, if the holder is a <i>gzim 'gag</i> , he necessarily holds the 7th rank
106	Nyuk chökhörling	Nyug chos 'khor gling	Gtsang		1		<i>lha 'dzin</i>	MO ( <i>rtse gzim 'gag khri pa</i> )				x		Given as support to a <i>rtse gzim 'gag khri pa</i> (V13)
107	Ölga	'Ol dga'	Lho kha	310	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	BN identifies it as a district/G and V13 as an estate (which might reflect a change?)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
108	<u>On</u> (drak <u>khang</u> )	'On (brag <u>khang</u> )	Lho kha		1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	BN as a district with one LO and specifies: " <i>rdzong sdod gcig la tog gnas gcig</i> "; G identifies it as an estate instead of a district, and with a MO
109	<i>Oyuk/Uyuk</i>	'O <i>yug</i> / 'U <i>yug</i>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis gnyer</i>				x			"Huyu lingke" in the BA
110	Panam	Pa snam	Gtsang	560	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x		x	x	x	V13 writes Pa rnam
111	<u>Panam</u> <u>jatsang</u>	<u>Pa rnam bya</u> <u>tshang</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
112	Pari	Phag ri	Gtsang	630	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	One "Eastern" and one "Western" District Commissioner
113	Pelchö	Dpal chos	Gtsang		1	7	<i>Pal chos mkhan po</i>	MO				x	x	District or estate managed by the <i>Rgyal rtse pal chos mkhan po</i>
114	Peldi	Dpal di	Lho ka		1		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		
115	<u>Pengya</u>	<u>Span rgya</u>	Gtsang		1		<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
	(Penpo) Lhündrup= cf. Lhündrup													
116	Penpo nalenda	'Phan po na leN+Da	Dbus				<i>bla gnyer</i>	MO ( <i>rtse mkhan mgron che ba</i> )				x		District or estate given as source of income to the <i>rtse mkhan mgron che ba</i>
117	Phüntsoqing	Phun tshogs gling	Gtsang		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	Stod mnga' ris (cf. G)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
118	Pobo (chö)	Spo bo (chos)	Mdo smad	2100	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO		x	x	x	x	Posted there only from 1924 onwards, resulting from the incorporation of Spo bo under the control of the Ganden Phodrang. G records only 1 incumbent; BN has two but specifies: "ngo 'gro gcig / tog gnas gcig"
119	<u>Podrang</u>	<u>Pho brang</u>	Lho ka	380	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO		x		x		BN specifies: "gzhis sdod tog gnas gcig"
120	<u>Pomdo</u>	<u>Phod mdo</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	Se ra monastery (G)	x				x	From Se ra (Bsam blo dormitory)
121	Pomé (yülgong)	Spo smad (yul gong)	Mdo smad		1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO				x	x	
122	Potö(chumdo)	Spo stod (chu mdo)	Mdo smad		1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO				x	x	
123	Puhrang/ Puhreng	Spu hrang/ Spu hreng	Stod mnga' ris	2450	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO		x	x	x	x	Puhrang in BN/Puhreng in V13 and G
124	Ri(bo)ché	Ri (bo) che	Mdo smad		1	5	<i>bla gnyer</i>	MO				x	x	
125	<u>(Sé) Rin(chen) tsé</u>	<u>(Srad) rin (chen) rtse</u>	Gtsang	630	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	2 LO (BN) or 1 LO and 1 from Rgyud stod college (G)	x	x	x	x	x	In LS= Rin chen, BN = Rin rtse, V13= Srad rin chen rtse, BA="Serintse"

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
126	Rinpung	Rin spungs	Gtsang	350	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	G records the 5th rank; BN and V13 the 6th rank. G has only one incumbent but BN records: "ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig"
127	<u>Rong jazang</u>	<u>Rong bya bzang</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		
128	Rongshar	Rong shar	La stod		1	5	<i>sho pa</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
129	Rutok	Ru thog	Stod mnga'ris		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO			x	x	x	
130	Saga	Sa dga'	Stod mnga'ris	1610	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i> (BN)/ 'go ba (G and V13)	LO		x	x	x	x	V13 records two incumbents ('go sbrel). Thus, when BN writes "tog gnas gcig", it might imply "ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig"?"
131	Samyé	Bsam yas	Lho kha		1		<i>rdzong sdod</i>		x			x		
132	Sangen	Sa ngan	Mdo smad		1	6	'go pa	LO			x	x	x	
133	Sang(ngak chö)	Gsang (sngags chos)	Khams	3150	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO		x	x	x		
134	Seng(gé)	Seng (ge)	Lho kha	490	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
<u>Sérintsé, cf. Rin(chen)tsé</u>														
135	Serkha	Gser kha	Byang		2		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		Under the Hor tsho pa so dgu

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
136	Sertsa	Ser tsha	Khams		2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	1 LO and 1 MO			x		x	
137	Shang gachö	Shang dga' chos	Gtsang		1		<i>bla 'dzin</i>	MO ( <i>gzim dpon mkhan po</i> )				x		Given as support for a <i>gzim dpon mkhan po</i> (V13)
138	<u>Sheldrong</u>	<u>Shel grong</u>	Dbus		1	0	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	'Bras spungs monastery					x	Rank by G. Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (cf. G)
139	Shelkar	Shel dkar	La stod	150	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	1 LO and 1 MO	x	x	x	x	x	Only one LO in BN because this list concerns only LO
140	Shentsa	Shan rtsa	Byang		2		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		
141	<u>Sho(pa)ndo</u>	<u>Sho (pa) mdo</u>	Mdo smad		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	1 LO (BN)		x		x	x	BN records a district with a 6th rank LO; V13 identifies it as an estate; G records, as incumbent, a monk from Kun bde gling monastery
142	<u>Sok</u>	<u>Sog</u>	Mdo khams	140	1	6	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	1 LO (BN)		x			x	G records two incumbents from 'Bras spungs monastery (Har gdong dormitory); BN has 1 LO
143	Taktsé	Stag rtse	Dbus	70	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
144	<u>Tanak rangjön</u>	<u>Rta nag rang byon</u>	Gtsang				<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		Estate given as "support basis" to the <i>bka' blon bla ma</i> (V13)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
145	Tanak rintsé	Rta nag rin rtse	Gtsang		1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	
146	Tar	Star	Mdo smad	1050	2	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO		x	x	x	x	G records the 5th rank, BN the 6th. G gives only 1 incumbent; BN has two but specifies: "ngo 'gro gcig /tog gnas gcig". Also "Phemba" in the BA
147	Tengchen	Steng chen	Khams		2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	MO				x	x	V13 places it under the Hor tsho pa so dgu in Byang; G in Khams
148	Tingkyé	Gting skyes	Gtsang	770	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
149	Tölung (tsel)dé(chen) /Tsel	Stod lung (tshal) bde (chen)/Tshal	Dbus	35	1	7	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x		x	x	Bde chen in G and under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> ; Stod lung bde chen in V13. IN G and V13 a district. Tshal estate in BN.
150	<u>Treng(go)</u>	<u>Phreng ('go)</u>	Dbus	70	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO (BN); aristocratic Bsam pho house (G)		x			x	Under the authority of the <i>zhol las khungs</i> (G)

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
151	Tsahreng/ Tsadrang	Rtsa hreng/ Rtsa brang	Stod mnga' ris	3290	1	6	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO		x	x	x	x	G indicates the 5th rank but BN and BA the 6th. Petech (1973: 126 and 167 fn 1) has "Rtsa brang". Sometimes "Tsaparang" or "Chaprang" in the BA
152	Tsé(la)gang	Rtse (la) sgang	Kong po	840	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x		
	Tsel= Tölung (tsel)dé(chen)													
153	Tsétang ngachö	Rtse thang Inga chos	Lho kha		2	6		1 LO, 1 MO					x	G writes incorrectly Rtse thang dga' chos
154	<u>Tsona</u>	<u>Mtsho sna</u>	Lho kha	700	2	5	<i>rdzong sdod / Dga' ldan bla spyi</i>	1 LO, 1 from Dga' ldan monastery (G)/2 LO in BN	x	x	x	x	x	The 5th rank is only for lay official incumbents
155	<u>Wangden</u>	<u>Dbang ldan</u>	Gtsang	560	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x	x	
156	Yang(pa)chen	Yangs (pa) can	Dbus				<i>rdzong sdod</i>		x			x		Pastoral district
157	Yardrokling	Yar 'brog gling	Lho kha		1		<i>rdzong sdod</i>					x		



N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
158	<b>Yartö</b>	<b>Yar stod</b>	Lho kha		1	7	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO (BN): aristocratic Lcang lo can house (G)		x			x	BN for the rank, who adds that it was given to Lcang can house in the Me lang year (1937). G identifies it as an estate (following that change?) with "0" for the rank (which could imply that the family could send as incumbent a member who was not a government official?)
159	<u>Zadam</u>	<u>Za dam</u>	Dbus				<i>gzhis sdod</i>		x			x		
160	<u>Zala</u>	<u>Za lha</u>	Dbus		1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	MO					x	
161	<b><u>Zangri</u></b>	<b><u>Zangs ri</u></b>	Lho kha		1	0	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	aristocratic Bsam pho house (G)				x	x	Rank by G. If the holder comes from the aristocratic Bsam pho house, then he is either a servant or a member of the family not serving as a government official
162	<u>Zé</u>	<u>Zas / Zad</u>	Dbus	140	1	7	<i>gzhis sdod</i>	LO		x		x	x	BN and G record as Zas/ V13 as Zad
163	Zhétong mönzhi	Bzhad mthong smon gzhis	Gtsang		1	7	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	Bkra shis lhun po					x	

N	District name		Location		District and estate head				Sources					Additional remarks
	Transcr.	Translit.	Province	Dist.	N b	R k	Title	Recruitment	L S	B N	B A	V 13	G	
164	Zhi(ka)tsé	Gzhis (ka) rtse	Gtsang	630	2	5 / 4	<i>rdzong sdod/spyi rdzong</i>	1 LO and 1 MO	x	x	x	x	x	It was first a simple district, and then became the capital of the newly created Gtsang Province in 1921; the incumbents became the Gtsang Province Governor in addition to the district's head. BN gives only one LO because his list comprises only LO. BN gives the 5th rank and G the 4th, which reflects the chronological evolution: after the Gtsang Province was created, the rank of the position holder was elevated
165	Zhokha	Zho kha	Kong po	630	1	5	<i>rdzong sdod</i>	LO	x	x	x	x		A district in LS and BN (with a 5th rank incumbent), an estate in V13 and BA
166	Zingpu	Zing phu	Dwags kong khul		1		<i>gzhis sdod</i>					x		

## Appendix

### shod drung las tshan gyi rim pa dang/ rdzong gzhis khag gi ming tho/ lha sa nas smad khams phyin gyi lam tho dang tham deb

[Ranks of the government noble lay officials and lesser officials and list of the various districts and government estates; travelling notes of the road from Lhasa to Khams] (Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956: 164-169)

shod skor nas gzhung gi las tshan tog gnas yod rigs kyi 'gro khungs rgya deb nas zur 'don byas pa'o/ [...]

rim pa lnga pa'i gras/ [...]

rdzong gzhis gras/ stod sgar dpon gnyis/ lha sa nas le dbar 3500/ smar khams rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 3500 nag chu 'go pa gcig le dbar 700 mtsho sna rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 700 phag ri rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 630 gting skyes rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 770 gnya' nang rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 1190 skyid grong rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 1750 jo 'go rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 3150 'di smar khams 'go pas zhor skyong/ spu hrang rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 2450 spo bo rdzong sdod gnyis la ngo 'gro gcig/ tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 2100 zho kha rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 630 rong shar sho pa gcig/ mda' mkhar rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 3100 rdA kong khri bcu gnyis pa'i snyan zhus kyi blon chen shin lung gnyis nas mi gcig gis shor lcogs byas mthus stsal/ sne gdong rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 280 'phyongs rgyas rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 350 gong dkar rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 140 lhun rtse rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 490 gsang rdzong rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 3150 rtse sgang rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 840 rgyal rtse rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 490 gzhis rtse rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 630 shel dkar rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 150 nag tshang 'go pa gcig/ le dbar 1750

rim pa drug pa'i gras/[...]

rdzong sdod gras/ lho rdzong rdzong sdod gnyis la ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig/le dbar 1750 jo rdzong rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar/ stag rtse rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 70 pa rnam rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 560 rin spung [spungs] rdzong sdod ngo 'gro gcig dang/ tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 350 rin rtse rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 630 'di nas gcig lcang can gung bkra shis rab brtan la cA chin khri bzhugs nyer gnyis pa me glang lo bsko bzhag stsal zhing/ gcig dpal lhun pa rdo kong khri bzhugs bcu drug pa me sprel lo bsko bzhag stsal/ dpal lhun 'pho tsha ba gtsang mda' dpon lcog spe ba/ gnam

gling rdzong sdod gnyis la ngo 'gro gcig dang/ tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 400 rdzong dga' rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 1610 sa dga' rdzong sdod gnyis/ le dbar 1610 mdzo sgang rdzong sdod tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 2240 star rdzong rdzong sdod ngo 'gro gcig dang/ tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 1050 rgya mda' rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 490 sku rnam rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 630 'ol dga' rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 310 chu shul rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 140 do rdzong rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 420 seng rdzong rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 490 rtsa hreng rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 3290 sog gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 140 dol gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 900 gri gu gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 350 shod mdo rdzong sdod ngo 'gro gcig dang tog gnas gcig/ 'di gnyis gcig lcogs su shod mdo dgon par zhan hong khri bzhugs dang po lcags phag lo bsko bzhag stsal/ snang rdzong rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 700 mal gung rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 140 mkhar rtse rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar/ 'di zhu tho mgo mchan dgongs don kong zhu'i khri bzhugs bcu gnyis me khyi lo dbus gtsang kun bde gling gi chos gzhis su stsal/ 'on brag khang rdzong sdod gcig la tog gnas gcig/ le dbar/ dar ma rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 560 snye mo rdzong sdod tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 210 sna rtse rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 380 gling gzhis sdod tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 420 gling dkar rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 420/[...]

rim pa bdun pa'i gras/[...]

rdzong gzhis gras/ yar stod rdzong sdod gcig/ 'di lchang can gung la cA chen khri bzhugs nyer gnyis pa me glang lo bsko bzhag stsal/ lha gsol rdzong sdod gcig/ le dbar 420 'di mda' gzhis can du mchod/ pho brang gzhis sdod tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 380 gra phyi gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 210 zas gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 140 'dus byung gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 560 dbang ldan gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 560 rgya mtsho gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 420 chos 'khor rgyal gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 420 tshal gzhis sdod gcig/ le dbar 35 sgrags phreng gzhis sdod tog gnas gcig/ le dbar 70 'bras gling gzhis sdod gcig/ 'di zhan hong khri bzhugs bzhi pa shing stag nas bzung khral se legs 'grigs ched zhol gnyer thun mong nas nor skyongs su bsko bzhag stsal/ gra bzhi gzhis sdod tog gnas gcig/ lho mos gzhis sdod gcig/ 'di kong zhu'i khri bzhugs bcu gcig pa shing bya lo zhu tho 'go mchan don yongs 'dzin phur lcogs sprul sku'i chos gzhis su stsal/ skyar po gzhis sdod gcig/ 'di 'bras sgo mang grwa tshang la cA chin khri bzhugs bcu gcig pa me stag lo bzhag stsal/

// smar khams bar gzhung lam gyi lam tho bkod par/

lha sa nas bde chen du zhag sgrigs cha rang khungs rdzong skyel phar 'gro rta khal mi gsum lha zhol nas mal gung bar gtsang skyel

dang/ tshur yong mal gung pas bde chen dang/ bde chen pas brje len gyis lha skyel/ mal gung du rgya zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brje len/ rin chen gling du tsha zhag gang bde/ sgrig cha rang khungs mal gung khongs/ 'od zer gyang du zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs 'ol dga'i khongs/ 'dir rtswa dug yod/ mtsho mo rags su zhag am ban/ chin phral/ zhabs pad dkor rten bcas par sgrig cha 'ol kha nas gtong zhing/ de byings la sgrig cha mi dgos pa'i bka' gtan 'dug kyang dga' res 'ol dga' bar bskul lam dang/ de byings rang khungs rtswa dug yod/ nu ma rir zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rgya mda'i khongs mtsho mo rags nas 'di bar thag ring bas zhabs pad phebs skabs shan pa thang du rgya mda' bas tsha sgrig zhu lam/ rgya mdar zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brje len/ gla rur zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rgya mda'i khongs/ gram mdor zhag/ sgrig cha rgya mda'i tshab brag mi ser nas byed lam/ ko leb tu zhag/ zhabs pad am ban chin phral gong rten bcas par sgrig cha 'brug la bar 'khri lam/ de byings rang khungs 'di nyin phrog la grang zug che/ a rtsar zhag/ phral si gong gsal rnams la sgrig cha 'khri khungs pas zhu lam de byings rang khungs/ lha ri 'gor zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brje len dgos par rgya 'grul rnams kyi rta khal rgya sder 'khri zhing/ bod pa'i dpon rigs kyi rta khal kyang rgya sde rtswa za bas rtswa rin thog gtong yong bas spyi khyab pas a dar la gang 'byar byed cing/ chu ngan/ 'di nyin b+han+ng+ha la grang zug che/ tsha chu khar zhag am ban/ chin phral/ zhabs pad/ gor rten bcas la sgrig cha rgyal ston pas phyed dgos dpyad mtshams dang 'brel rung bdag med nyag rkyang gi gra ma 'grigs mang gshis sngon tshud lha ri nas bskul thabs lha shing/ de byings sgrig cha rang khungs lha ri'i khongs chu ngan/ rdo thug tu zhag dpon khag ming gsal gong bzhin la sgrig cha dpyad don rgyal ston par 'khri bdag med mang bas sngon tshud bca' gong par mol thabs de byings rang khungs rngod cha bca' gong khongs chu ngan/ 'di nyin nub kong grangs zug che thag ring yang tsha sgrig byed mi mi 'ong/ bca' gong du zhag sgrig cha rang khongs rngod khongs thag ring bas zhabs pad phebs skabs lam gsum mdo zhig yod par bca' gong pas tsha sgrig zhu lam/ a la mdor zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rngod khongs thag ring bas zhabs pad phebs skabs a la 'gag tu bca' gong pas tsha sgrig zhu lam/ bca' phreng Tam gsum mang zhing dbyar rbab nyen dang/ dgun gangs nyil gyi nyen che/ rngod grogs khad du zhag sgrig cha rang khungs/ rta khal dpyad mtshams grangs bcad kyi de min yar mar gnyis ka rngod pas brje len dang/ de las 'thol tshe lhag 'thol 'bab mar 'gro lha ri bas dpal 'bar du gtsang skyel/ yar yong dpal 'bar bas lha rir gtsang skyel/ lam bgrod phal cher gong mtshungs/ 'di nas chab mdo bar rdo thag gsil tshong mkho che/ rnam rgyal mgon du zhag sgrig cha rang khongs rngod khongs zam phreng mang/ tsha rag gsum mdor zhag/ zhabs pad

phebs skabs sgrig cha rnam rgyal dgon nas gtong lam 'dug kyang/  
 khang chung gcig las med cing/ grang zug che bas sge khung yod na  
 nges par rgyag dgos dang/ khral si chung kha zhag sdod ma byas  
 par rta mdar shar rgyag 'gro mi mang/ shar gong la'i gnas bdag bka'  
 gnyan pas me mda' rgyag pa sogs spyod lam mi bzo ba'i rigs mi  
 byed/ o rgyan rta mdar zhag sgrig cha rang khongs dpal 'bar khongs  
 lcags ra ba/ 'di nyin shar kong la grang ngad che bas dka' sbyongs  
 che zhing zhabs pad phebs skabs la rtser lcags ra bas chibs sna gtong  
 lam dang/ 'di nas bzung brag g.yab 'ba ' gong bar rtswa dug la gang  
 'dzem/ dpal 'bar du zhag sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brje len/  
 lha rtser zhag sgrig cha rang khungs dpal 'bar khongs/ ba ri nang du  
 zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs sho mdo'i khongs/ chu ngan/ 'di nyin  
 thag ring yang lam bar grong med/ zhabs pad phebs skabs lha rtse  
 ba ri gang rung gis thog gsol tsha khungs su khel nas sgrig lam  
 dang/ so mig dgung la grang zug che/ sho mdor zhag/ sgrig cha  
 rang khungs rta khal brje len/ chu ngan/ za dus 'dzoms/ yul 'di  
 nyin thag ring bas zhabs pad phebs skabs po ti dgon du tsha sgrig  
 rang sho mdo'i khungs/ rdze thor zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs lho  
 rdzong khongs 'bru tsam cung 'bol yul/ lho rdzong du zhag/ sgrig  
 cha rang khungs rta khal brje len thag ring bas lam bar lho rdzong mi  
 ser grong pa mang bas gang rung du tsha sgrig rang khungs/ zhabs  
 g.yas zam par/ sgrig cha rang khungs lho rdzong/ 'di nyin chu  
 tshod la che zhing lam gzar rtsub las/ thag ring med/ zam lha bka'  
 gnyan pas me mda' mi rgyag/ rma rir zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs  
 ri che'i khongs 'dir rta'ul lnga bcu tshun brje len dang/ de 'phros  
 rngin mdar gtsang skyel/ yi dwags la che tsam/ wa rgor zhag/ sgrig  
 cha rang khungs ri che ba/ thag nye/ rngin mdar zhag/ sgrig cha  
 rang khungs ri che/ rma ri'i rta rnams rang 'jags thog 'phros rta khal  
 brje len/ yig drug la che zhing grong thag shin tu ring yang thang  
 gshams gnyis ma zhag sa'i grong med pas la'i phyed tsam la wa rgo  
 pas tsha sgrig ched 'dzugs/ ri shig tu tsha sgrig cha rang khungs  
 chab khongs rta khal brje len/ phreng zam mang/ la gong du zhag/  
 sgrig cha rang khungs chab khongs/ lcags glang/ lcags khog/ lcags  
 'gug/ lcags dam bcas thon khungs/ gla mda' zhag/ sgrig cha rang  
 khungs chab khongs lcags chas gong bzhin thon khungs/ chab mdor  
 zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brje len zas sna tshong zog  
 'dzoms/ mang phur zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs chab khongs/  
 spom sder zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs chab khongs/ 'ga ' gong du  
 zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs brag g.yab khongs dang/ rta khal brje  
 len 'di nas bzung lam bde yan rkun nyen che/ wang dkar du zhag/  
 sgrig cha rang khungs brag g.yab khongs rta khal brje len dang 'di  
 nas bzung rtswa dug med/ 'ga ' dkar tsha/ sgrig cha rang khungs  
 brag g.yab khongs 'dir rta khal brje len/ 'gam du zhag/ sgrig cha  
 rang khungs brag g.yab khongs/ de nas tsha sar rta khal brje len gyi

byams 'dul du zhag/ tsha zhag sgrig cha rang khongs brag g.yab  
 khongs dang byams 'dun du rta khal brje len/ ra rtser zhag/ sgrig  
 cha rang khongs brag g.yab pa'i khungs/ rta khal brje len 'di nas ar  
 thang bar sa ngan gyi dgra nyen che zhing zhabs pad phebs skabs  
 brag g.yab pa'i phebs sgrol rta mi go hrag gtong zhing smar khams  
 pa'i sa mtshams nas khams g.yogs rnams kyis phebs bsu dang 'brel  
 phebs sgrol zhu lam/ a tshur du zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs smar  
 khams khong rta khal/ nyin dbar du zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs  
 smar khams khongs rta khal brje len dang 'di nyin a tshur shos bu la  
 grang zug che/ a ra thang du zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs smar  
 khams khongs/ ru shod du zhag/ sgrig cha rang khungs smar  
 khams zhes/ de nas smar khams sgar rdzong du 'byor rgyu rnams/  
 sgrig cha rang khungs rta khal brjod med/

## Bibliography

### Primary published and unpublished Tibetan sources

[= Bshad sgra and Nor nang 1956] Dpal ldan sa skyong mi dbang  
 bshad sgra ba chen po mchog dang/ mi rje bka' drung nor  
 nang pa mchog nas brtsams mdzad yig bskur rnam gzhang  
 rgyas pa khag gnyis dang/ gzhan yang yig bskur thor bu sna  
 tshogs/ bod kyi chos rgyal snga ba rnams dang gau shrI  
 khang gi gdung rabs/ rgyal dbang sku 'phreng rim byon  
 dang/ srid skyong rim pa'i khri lo/ shod drung las tshan gyi  
 rim pa dang/ **rdzong gzhis khag gi ming tho/ lha sa nas  
 smad khams phyin gyi lam tho dang tham deb/** khrimis yig  
 zhal lce bcu gsum dang khrimis 'degs ang grangs/ many+ju  
 gong ma'i khri rabs/ 'bras ljongs rgyal rabs/ bod sing gnyis  
 dang gor bod gnyis kyi chings yig sogs mdor bsdus phyogs  
 bsgrigs deb ther 'dod 'jo'i gter mdzod ces bya ba bzhugs  
 so//LETTER-WRITERS. YIK-BSKUR RNAM GSHAG. BY  
 H.E. KALON SHADRA & KADRUNG NORNANG. and  
 Various other collections of modern letter-writers. Short  
 History of ancient kings, H.H. the Dalai Lamas & their  
 Regents. The thirteen Code laws by king Srongtsen Gampo,  
 list of seals and their sizes as used by Dalai Lamas & Regents.  
 Edited & published by G. Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press,  
 Kalimpong 1956, 164-169.

[=ITLS, *Iron-Tiger Land Settlement*] Bod rang skyong ljongs lo rgyus yig tshags khang (ed.). [1830] 1989. *Lcags stag zhib gzhung*. Beijing: Krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang.

[=MHCT, *Materials for the History and Culture of Tibet*] Bshad sgra, Dga' ldan dpal 'byor, Chab tshom, 'Chi med rgyal po, Sreg shing, Blo bzang don grub. 1991. *De snga'i bod sa gnas srid gzhung gi srid 'dzin sgrig gzhi*. In *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, vol. 13. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

### British archives

Series consulted for serial information on lay officials' careers in diaries and reports:

India Office Records (IOR): L/P&S, series 7, 10, 11, 12, 20, MSSEur.

Public Records Office (PRO): series 371 (Foreign Office).

National Archives of India (NAI): Foreign Department, series ExtIA and SecE.

MS.OR. Richardson: Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Lists of Tibetan officials and descriptions of the Tibetan administration:

*Chiefs and leading families in Sikkim Bhutan and Tibet*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915, 22 p. (PRO/FO/371/2318 ex. 1933/10/141275/15).

*Chiefs and leading families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*, 1920, 9 p. (PRO/FO/371/6652 ex. 1463/1463/10).

*List of chiefs and leading families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*, Third edition, 1933, 26 p. (IOR/L/P&S/20/D216).

*List of leading officials, nobles, and personages in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet*, 1907. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1908, 13 p.

*List of leading officials, nobles, and personages in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet*, 1908. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1909, 14 p.

*Notes on Tibetan institutions and personalities, Confidential document prepared by M. Caccia*, Peking, 7 p. (PRO/FO/371/19254 ex. F5488/12/10).

O'Connor, Captain W.F. 1903. *Report on Tibet*, Tentative edition, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing.



- Revised Who's Who in Tibet*, 1944, 47 p. (PRO/FO/371/46121 ex. F2195/1/10).
- Richardson, H.E. 1998 [1945]. "Tibetan precis", Secret, For Official Use only, Printed by the Manager Government of India Press: Calcutta. In M. Aris (ed.), *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. London: Serindia Publications, 519-666.
- Who's Who 1942*, 40 p. (NAI).
- Who's Who in Tibet, Corrected to the Autumn of 1937, with a few subsequent additions up to February 1938 (plus addenda)*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1938, 79 p. (IOR/L/P&S/12/4185 A).
- Who's Who in Tibet, Corrected with a few subsequent additions up to 30th September 1948*. Calcutta: Printed by the Government of India Press, 1949, 146 p. (IOR/L/P&S/20D220/2 or V/27/270/26).

### Secondary sources

Bacot, Jacques

1962. *Introduction à l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris: Société Asiatique.

Cüppers, Christoph

1999. Eine Merkliste mit den Aufgaben der Distriktbeauftragten (*rdzong-dpon*) aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. In H. Eimer *et al.* (eds), *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 51-69.

Goldstein, Melvyn C.

1968. *An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System*, Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology. Washington: University of Washington.

1971. The Balance between Centralization and Decentralization in the Traditional Tibetan Political System: An Essay on the Nature of Tibetan Political Macro-Structure. *Central Asiatic Journal* 15(3): 170-182.

1973. The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land and Politics. *Journal of Asian Studies* 32(3): 445-455.

2001. *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2007. *A History of Modern Tibet, Volume 2: The Calm before the Storm (1951-1955)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gurung, Kelsang Norbu

2016. Different copies of the Iron-Tiger Land Settlement and their historical value as taxation manuals. In J. Bischoff and S. Mullard (eds), *Social Regulation—Case Studies from Tibetan History*. Leiden: Brill, 209-230.

Jagou, Fabienne

[French version 2004] 2011. *The 9th Panchen Lama (1883-1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*. Bangkok: Silkworm.

Kapstein, Matthew T.

2006. *The Tibetans*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Maurer, Petra

2019-2020. The Tibetan Governmental Transport and Postal System: Horse Services and Other Taxes from the 13th to the 20th Centuries. *Buddhism, Law & Society* 5: 1-58.

Petech, Luciano

1973. *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728-1959*, Serie Orientale Roma XLV. Rome: Ismeo.

1990. *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan-Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*. Rome: Ismeo.

Ryavec, Karl E.

2001. Land use/cover change in Central Tibet, c. 1830-1990: devising a GIS methodology to study a historical land decree. *The Geographical Journal* 167(4), December: 342-357.

2002. Land Use Change in Central Tibet, ca. 1830-2000, PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota.

2015. *A Historical Atlas of Tibet*. Chicago: The University of Chicago press.

Shakapa, Tsepon W.D.

1981. The rise of Changchub Gyaltzen and the Phagmo Drupa Period. *Bulletin of Tibetology* 17(1): 23-33.

Surkhang, Wangchen Gelek

1986. Government, Monastic and Private Taxation in Tibet. *The Tibet Journal* 11(1): 21-40.

Travers, Alice

2009. *La Noblesse Tibétaine du Ganden Phodrang (1895-1959): Permanences et Transitions*. Ph.D. thesis, University Paris Ouest-Nanterre La Défense and INALCO.

2020. *Renewing the United Front policy history through the writing of history: remarks on the production of collective memory in the Materials for the study of the history and culture of Tibet (1981-2014)*. In R. Barnett, F. Robin, and B. Weiner (eds.), *Conflicting Memories: Tibetan History under Mao Retold*. Leiden: Brill.

Forthcoming. 'When you Count, Everything is there, and when Everything is there, Everything Vanishes': A Criticism of Tax Collecting in Ngamring district (*rdzong*) during the First Half of the 20th Century. In C. Ramble, P. Schwieger and A. Travers (eds), *Tax, Corvée and Community Obligations in Tibetan Societies*. Leiden: Brill.

Van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J.

[1991] 2003. On the Life and Political Career of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-?1364). In A. McKay (ed.), *The History of Tibet. Vol. 2: The Medieval Period: c. 850-1895. The Development of Buddhist Paramountcy*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 425-466.

