


Tibetan Legal Geography: Situating Legal Texts, Situating Sacred Tibet¹

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1. Introduction

ne would suspect, or at least hope, that pre-modern Tibetan legal texts explicitly specify the extent of their jurisdiction. While some texts in fact do mention that they are to be applied only to Tibet, upon further examination it appears that exact boundaries are hardly ever given. When examining the legal geography of Tibet, one is struck by how the law is less determined by *where* you are, than by *who* you are. At first glance, this appears to be in contradiction of the Tibetan adage: "You have to keep to the laws of the land where you drink the water."² This proverb very much points to the importance of "place" in Tibetan law and customs. Still, monks and nuns, foreigners, non-Buddhists, and some other groups were seen – to some extent – to be outside of the jurisdiction of the local or central Tibetan government, and were deemed to have their own legal systems.³ There

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² *lung pa de yi chu btung/ de yi khrims zungs*. Of course, *khrims* here (and elsewhere) can be interpreted in various ways and can also be understood not as law in the strict sense but as rules, 'mores', and the 'way things are done'.

³ For monastic jurisdiction see Berthe Jansen, *The Monastery Rules: Buddhist Monastic Organization in Pre-modern Tibet*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018: 148–175. Another example of a group that occupied an alternative legal space were the Nepalese/ Newaris living in Central Tibet. This had always been common practice, but it was put into writing in the 1856 treaty between the Tibetan and the Gurkha governments, for which see Tsepon Wangchuck Deden Shakabpa and Derek Maher (transl.), *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2010 [1967]), 597. The Tibetan army also had their own (limited) jurisdiction, on which see Alice Travers, "The Tibetan Army of the Ganden Phodrang in Various Legal Documents (17th-20th Centuries)." In *Secular Law and Order in the Tibetan Highland. Contributions to a workshop organized by the Tibet Institute in Andiastr (Switzerland) on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Christoph*

are many indications that in practice, however, these groups did in fact fall under the jurisdiction of the Tibetan "state" law, but only when it suited the government or the local ruler. As mentioned, the legal texts to which we have access do not necessarily indicate the prominence of locality. More generally speaking, most legal texts that have survived deal with the theoretical and the ideal, with the aspirational and the inspirational.

2. *Legal geography*

While this article consists mainly of a case study that deals with a semi-legal text on Tibetan geography, it seems necessary to introduce the topic of legal geography in the context of Tibetan studies. While studying various Tibetan law texts, I stumbled across a text nested within another text that specifically deals with Tibet as a physical space in great detail – the main work under discussion here. It occurred to me then that it only makes sense when one deals with legal issues to be aware of one's jurisdiction, in other words the legal space and its limitations. I thought to myself, naively of course, that this should be an interesting sub-field within Tibetan studies. I even came up with a name: legal geography. A quick internet search revealed, of course, that this field already existed – it is the cross-disciplinary field that studies "the co-constitutive relationship of people, place and law,"⁴ or phrased differently, it is the search for "the presence and absence of spatialities in legal practice and of law's traces and effects embedded within places."⁵ Some of the main questions asked in legal geography are the following:

- 1) What is the spatiality of law? i.e. How does space affect the development and implementation of law?
- 2) What is the role of law in creating or establishing space?
- 3) How do legal specialists and geographers work with ideas of jurisdiction and scale?⁶

While I clearly have not "invented" this sub-field, as far as I know, this area has not been explored when thinking about Tibetan law,⁷ while

Cüppers from the 8th of June to the 12th of June 2014, ed. Dieter Schuh, (Andiast: IITBS GmbH, 2015), 249–266.

⁴ Luke Bennett and Antonia Layard, "Legal Geography: Becoming Spatial Detectives." *Geography Compass* no. 9 (7) (2015), 404.

⁵ *ibid.*, 405.

⁶ *ibid.*, 410.

⁷ It has been mentioned in passing by Rebecca Redwood French, *The Golden Yoke: the Legal Cosmology of Buddhist Tibet*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995, 36.

sacred geography is of course something that has received a fair amount of attention by scholars of Tibetan cultural areas – and rightly so.⁸ As this article demonstrates, for the case of the broader Tibetan cultural area, even when one is studying legal geography, sacred geography is never far behind.

3. *Legal geography in Tibetan texts: a case study*

The relatively short text under consideration is found in a compilation of legal texts called *Sde pa gtsang pa'i khrims yig zhal lce 16 dang dga' ldan pho brang ba'i zhal lce 12 sogs nyer mkho sna tshogs* (*Various Necessities such as the 16 Pronouncements: the Legal Code of the Gtsang Governor and the the Dga' ldan Pho brang's 12 Pronouncements*). While written in “printed letters” (*dbu chen*), this compilation is very clearly a copy of a text written in cursive script (*dbu med*). The text notes when lines are missing (or skipped) and there are many scribal errors that can be attributed to misreading the cursive script. There are also other orthographical mistakes that cannot be simply misreadings – they are clearly mishearings. This suggests that these texts were not only copied by looking at the paper version but that they were also written down based on an oral reading. Many of the other legal documents that I have studied display similar features.⁹ The BDRC description notes that it is a copy of an ancient text from Sog tsan dan dgon near Nag chu kha (in Central Tibet) and that this version has been published in Dolanji (in India) by the Tibetan Bon po community.¹⁰ Perhaps on account of its title, the whole work has been misidentified as having been “authored” by Karma Bstan skyong dbang po.¹¹ In actuality, this work consists of many longer and shorter texts that have in some way or another to do with exercising the law. According to BDRC it is: “a collection of legal texts on the codes governing tibet [*sic*] during the 16th and 17th centuries.”

This work can be found perched between a text entitled *Mi bsad dge stong sprod 'jal skor bka' shag gi bsnes tho zar bcas pa'i ngo shus* (165a/325–

⁸ See for example Toni Huber, ed, *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: a Collection of Essays* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999), and Alex McKay, *Kailāś Histories: Renunciate Traditions and the Construction of Himalayan Sacred Geography* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁹ Berthe Jansen, “The Origins of Tibetan Law: Some Notes on Intertextuality and the Reception History of Tibetan Legal Texts.” *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* no. 55 (2020), 221–244.

¹⁰ I have attempted but not succeeded in seeing the original manuscript.

¹¹ John Powers and David Templeman. *Historical dictionary of Tibet* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 789; John Powers, *The Buddha Party: How the People's Republic of China works to Define and Control Tibetan Buddhism* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2017), 337.

167b/338), a direct copy regarding the giving and exchanging of *dge stong* fines in the case of manslaughter, including an additional list from the cabinet's "stewards"¹² and *Bza' pa rab 'bring mtha' dgu'i brten bsor pa*¹³ *thul dang bstun pa'i zhi drag gi sgrub 'then dgos lugs* (348–357), a short work that may have to do with taxes. The work under consideration has been recently given a title by BDRC's staff who index Tibetan texts: *Bod kyi sa bshad spyi dang sa skya pa'i skabs kyi dbus gtsang gi sa rtsis*, which has been roughly translated as "A general explanation of the land of Tibetan and a land ledger of Ütsang at the time of the Sa-kyapas." It has to be noted that this is an entirely contextual and very new title – the work itself does not suggest that it had any title whatsoever.

Nonetheless, the term *sa bshad* (description of the land) to describe (part of) the work is apt, in my view. While not necessarily a genre of written literature, *bshad pa* (descriptions) or *gtam bshad* (speeches) tend to be part of oral performances, in which items and places are described and praised in very ornamental ways. The oral genre of *sa bstod* (praise of place) still performed by Tibetans in Amdo, in fact, demonstrates some parallels to this work, while being more focused on the local.¹⁴ I will return to this issue below.

In addition to the title being absent, the work also does not bear a colophon, year, or author. The topics dealt with are the position of Tibet in relation to its neighboring countries, the political history of Tibet, the supine demoness, and the census of Tibetan areas. Upon closer inspection it becomes clear that this text is a composite, which mainly cites parts of the *Rgya bod yig tshang* – a compilation in its own right – written by Dpal 'byor bzang po (Śrībhūtibhadra) in 1434, to describe the world, with Tibet as its centre.¹⁵ There is, for example, also a section that corresponds to *Chos rgyal bod kyi rgyal rabs*, which can also be found in the former compilation.

Considering the originals that this text is based on, we find that all authors are Sa skya pa. The Mongols, including Genghis Khan, are favorably spoken of.¹⁶ While only Sa skya authors are cited (though not named), the text clearly demonstrates that the compiler edited or updated the contents. The cited and paraphrased texts can be found in

¹² Provisionally understanding *bsnes* to be *sne len* and emending *zar to zur*.

¹³ Should we emend to *bsod pa*?

¹⁴ See Timothy Thurston, "An Introduction to Tibetan *sa bstod* Speeches in Amdo." *Asian Ethnology* no. 71 (1), 2012: 49–73.

¹⁵ For an overview of this work and its dating see Ariane Macdonald, "Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya Bod yig can." *Journal Asiatique* no. 251 (1963).

¹⁶ Several other texts that I have come across do make edits when the contents do not suit political sensibilities. Some later legal texts compare the Mongols unfavorably.

the *Sa skya chos 'byung gces bsdus*,¹⁷ which – in the way it is available to us now – is a modern six-volume compilation of various historiographical works related to the Sa skya lineage.¹⁸

4. The contents of the text

The text (henceforth *Bod kyi sa bshad*) starts off clearly positioning Tibet (*Bod gangs can*) at the center:

In this world, it is accepted that there are nine great regions. In the east, China and Khri stan (Khitan, 契丹; *Qidān*, in Manchuria), in the south India and Kashmir, in the west Stag sde and Gzig pan, and in the north Khrom and Ge sar. With Tibet, surrounded by snow, in the center, this makes nine. As for the assertion that snow-laden Tibet is the node of the borders of the world: because it is high ground with many mountains¹⁹ where snow is found, from where the rivers flow down to the outer edges, it is accepted to be the central node.²⁰

The section from the *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo* to which this passage corresponds contains additional material, which starts off citing a section from a supposedly lost work on the life of the historical Buddha *Sdom pa* [sic?: *ston pa*] *rgyan gyi me tog* (*A flower ornament for the Teacher*)

¹⁷ *Sa skya'i chos 'byung gces bsdus*, BDRC W1PD90704, vol. 3 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009).

¹⁸ From recent email exchanges with Caumanns and Heimbels, scholars on Sa skya lineage and literature, it has become apparent to me that to this day there are (almost) no systematic studies on how these pre-modern religious histories were compiled and the extent to which they are based on earlier sources.

¹⁹ Emending *rim to ri mang*.

²⁰ *Bod kyi sa bshad* 167b/338: *bkra shis* § 'dzam gling 'di la yul chen po dgu yod par 'dod ste/ shar na rgya nag dang khri stan/ lho na rgya gar dang kha che/ nub na stag sde dang gzig pan/ byang na khrom dang ge sar/ dbus na bod yul gangs kyi ra ba dang dgu zer/ 'dzam bu gling gi sa tshad kyi lte ba bod gangs can yin par 'dod pa ni/ sa mtho rim gangs chags chu bo thams cad 'di nas phyi'i mtha' la 'bab pa'i phyir gyis dbus lte ba yin par 'dod do/ This roughly corresponds to Dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, Si khron Mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Chengdu 1985), 9; 2007, 5: 'dzam bu gling 'di la / yul grangs chen po dgu yod par 'dod de / bcom ldan ral gris mdzad pa'i sdom pa brgyan gyi me tog [ston pa rgyan gyi me tog] las / yul dbus dang / mtha' 'khob kyi sa mtshams ni / shar du li kha ra shing 'phel dang / lhor dum bu'i chu rlung dang / nub tu bram ze'i grong ka ba dang / byang du shi ra'i ri mun pa can gyi bcad pa rnam so // shar na rgya nag dang / khri brtan / lho na rgya gar dang kha che gnyis / nub na stag sde dang gzig 'phan gnyis / byang na khrom dang ge sar gnyis / dbus na bod yul gangs kyi ra ba dgu zer te / 'dzam bu gling gi sa tshad kyi lte ba / bod gangs can 'di yin par 'dod pa ni / sa mtho / ri mang / gangs chags chu bo thams cad 'di nas phyi'i mtha' rnam la 'bab pa'i phyir gyi 'di nyid / sa'i dbus lte ba yin par 'dod do // Underlined are the parts that do not correspond with the text under consideration. Spelling variants are not noted.

written by Bcom ldan ral gri (fl. first half of the 13th CE).²¹ The text goes on to name and describe pillars, in China (shell-coloured), India (turquoise-coloured), Stag gzig (silver hued) and Khrom and Ge sar (gold coloured), and state that they function as border-markers.²²

As indicated earlier, there are a couple of occasions in which the text appears to have been clearly "updated" or changed. For example, in the section on the pillars, the description of their length and width are different. Our text states: "The stone pillars are about fifty *pho 'dom* in circumference, and they are each a hundred *pho 'dom* long."²³ By contrast, the "original" work says: "The height of the stone pillars are eighty *gzhu 'dom* and each are twenty *gzhu 'dom* wide. They have pinacles (*rgya phigs*) on top."²⁴ Further textual comparison reveals, however, that the version of the *Rgya bod yig tshang* contained within the *Sa skya chos 'byung gces bsdu*s is indeed based on a different manuscript, which corresponds exactly to our text.²⁵ When Macdonald studied this

²¹ Dan Martin, "Tibet at the Center: a Historical Study of Some Tibetan Geographical Conceptions Based on Two Types of Country-lists Found in Bon Histories." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Fagernes 1992), ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 520. This passage and many other relevant fragments to do with Tibet's geographical position can be found at Dan Martin's <https://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/50-tibetan-geo-texts>

²² *Bod kyi sa bshad* 167b/ 339: *bod kha ba can gyi rgyal khams dang phyogs bzhi'i rgyal khams kyi mtshams na srid pas bskos pa'i rdo ring chen po bzhi yod de shar phyogs rgya nag dang bod kyi sa mtshams shar phu gangs dkar lha'i yul na* (168a/ 339) *'gron bu dung gi rdo ring btsugs pa yan chad lho phyogs rgya dkar po dang bod kyi so mtshams smyug ma bu khur srin gyi yul na mthing zhun g.yu'i rdo ring btsugs pa tshun chad nub stag gzig dang bod kyi so mtshams rkang ma rkang gcig klu'i yul na sha tse dngul gyi rdo ring btsugs pa pa* [sic?] *man chad byang phyogs khrom dang ge sar bod kyi so mtshams la sma'i lung rgyud sman gyi yul na rag gan* [?] *gser gyi rdo ring btsugs pa tshun chad bod kha ba can du gtogs pa'i sa tshad du byed cing*

This corresponds to *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo* 1985: 14/ 2007: 6: *bod kha ba can gyi rgyal khams dang / phyogs bzhi'i rgyal khams kyi sa mtshams na / srid pas bkod pa'i rdo rings chen po bzhi yod de / shar phyogs rgya nag po dang / bod kyi so mtshams na / sha phud gangs dkar lha'i yul du / 'dron bu dung gi rdo rings* [15] *gtsugs pa yan chad / lho phyogs rgya dkar po dang / bod kyi so mtshams / smug ma bu khur srin gyi yul du / mthing zhun g.yu'i rdo rings gtsugs pa tshun chad / nub phyogs stag gzig dang / bod kyi so mtshams / rkang ma rkang gcig klu'i yul du / sha rtse dngul gyi rdo rings gtsugs pa man chad / byang phyogs khrom ge sar dang / bod kyi so mtshams / ma* [sic: la] *rma'i lu rgyud sman gyi yul du / ra rgan gser gyi rdo rings gtsugs pa tshun chad / de rnam bod gangs can gyi rgyal khams su rtogs pa'i sa tshad yin cing* / Underlined text diverges significantly from *Bod kyi sa bshad*.

²³ *Bod kyi sa bshad*: 168a/339: *rdo ring bzhi po de la spom* [sic: sbom] *phra pho 'dom lnga bcus 'khor ba/ dpang la pho 'dom bgya re yod par byed do*

²⁴ *Rgya bod yig tshang* 1985: 14: *rdo rings kyi spangs* [sic: dpang] *la / gzhu 'dom bryad cu re dang zheng phyogs re la / gzhu 'dom nyi shu re / steng na rgya phigs dang bcas pa yod do zer ro /*

²⁵ *Rgya bod yig tshang* 2007: 6: *rdo ring bzhi po de la/ sbom phra pho 'dom lnga bcu'i 'khor dang / dpangs la pho 'dom gnyis bgya re yod par byed do /*

work (the *Rgya bod yig tshang* of Gangtok) she had only one version to her disposal,²⁶ and Martin, while listing the various versions available, notes that they all "go back to the Densapa manuscript" and that "it would be desirable to find some other manuscript version for comparison."²⁷ While not strictly speaking a manuscript, this rather significant difference indicates that the version of the *Sa skya chos 'byung gces bsdus* is distinct from the versions used by most academics.²⁸ What is more, we now know that it was the version that our editor(s) used.

The reason for the update seems clear: whoever edited it might have realized that the measurements had become obsolete and wanted their audience to understand the given measurements of the pillars. Unfortunately, even without knowing how exactly *pho 'dom* and *gzhu 'dom* compute, it is clear that it does not add up, since in the former work the ratio height and width is 2:1, while in the latter it is 4:1.²⁹ One does not need to be an engineer to understand that 4:1 is the more likely ratio. The variant version of the *Rgya bod yig tshang* found in the *Sa skya chos 'byung gces bsdus* has clearly introduced an error here and the compilers of *Bod kyi sa bshad* have replicated that error.

A second example of textual divergence occurs in a list naming the most important sacred places in Tibet, and again the reasons for the edit seem obvious. After naming the Jokhang and Ramoche, our unnamed compilation inserts the Potala, while the *Rgya bod yig tshang* obviously was composed long before the first stone of the Potala palace was even laid in 1645. While the hill that the palace was built on already bore the name Potala, it seems that the later addition by the compilers of *Bod kyi sa bshad* indicates the building and not the hill, seeing that the Potala is mentioned in a list of other notable buildings. This – admittedly rather minor – effort to update the text shows how the work under discussion was not just some text randomly inserted into a collection of legal texts for good measure, but that the editors considered and edited the contents, and that this was done to serve a certain

²⁶ Macdonald, "Préambule," 54.

²⁷ Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. Serindia Publications, 1997, 68.

²⁸ Doubtlessly there are other variants, the examination of which is beyond the scope of this article. It is unfortunate that to this day a more systematic study of the *Rgya bod yig tshang* has not been undertaken.

²⁹ A *gzhu 'dom* is literally a bow's length and is described as being equivalent to four cubits (*khru bzhi*). *Rgya bod tshig mdzod chen mo*: 2425. This is approximately 180 cm or 6 feet. The term *pho 'dom* does not occur in this dictionary, but is explained in *The New Tibetan English Dictionary* to be length of a man's outstretched arms: 684. This is confirmed by Martin: "from fingertip to fingertip of outstretched arms." (Martin: <https://sites.google.com/site/tiblical/> measurements-numbers). The English "fathom" is used to describe the same length, which is now standardized to indicate 183 cm or 6 feet. If this is correct, then *gzhu 'dom* and *pho 'dom* are indeed synonymous.

purpose.

Thirdly, where the text treats the positions of the "demoness suppressing temples," some of the names have been slightly altered.³⁰ The passage starts as follows: "This land of Tibet resembles a demoness laying on her back. The geomantics are bad, which included the 'O [thang] mtsho (Milky Lake) being the demoness' heart's blood, and so in order to suppress these bad things, the temples of the four horns were built during the time of the Dharmarāja Srong btsan sgam po." A scheme then follows, naming the temples and the demoness' body parts on which they were built.³¹ Aris has previously provided excellent tables showing how various different Tibetan texts identify these temples differently.³² From these tables, it is clear that the scheme presented here resembles that found in the *Rgya bod yig tshang*. There are a few notable dissimilarities, some of which can be explained as simple orthographical mistakes, while many of them, interestingly, appear to be "misspellings" not based on reading the text but on hearing it.³³

5. Concluding Remarks: Legal Space and the Placement of Legal Texts

This text may be easily dismissed as plagiarized or simply as non-original material and therefore not worthy of study. In my opinion this is mistaken. This text under consideration here is part of a bundle of legal texts that was probably once in the possession of someone who dealt with legal issues in some way or the other. All the other sections of the bundle deal with legal issues, fees, precedents, etc. It is of course unfortunate that we find this bundle out of context and we are therefore forced to conjecture. This particular text deals with the geography and

³⁰ On the myth-making of the supine demoness, see Janet Gyatso, "Down with the Demoness: Reflections on a Feminine Ground in Tibet." *The Tibet Journal* no. 12 (4)(1987): 38–53; Robert J. Miller, "'The Supine Demoness'(Srin mo) and The Consolidation of Empire." *The Tibet Journal* no. 23 (3) (1998), 3–22; Martin Mills, "Re-assessing the Supine Demoness: Royal Buddhist Geomancy in the Srong btsan sgam po Mythology." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* no. 3 (2007), 1–47; Woesser, <https://highpeakspureearth.com/2016/the-senmo-map-or-the-resurrection-of-the-demoness-by-woesser/> (2016, viewed 10-03 2020)

³¹ *Bod kyi sa bshad* 168a: *bod yul 'di srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba 'dra ba/ 'o thang mtsho srin mo'i snying khrag ru 'dug pa bcas kyi sa bkra ngan/ ngan pa mnon pa la ^ chos kyi rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i sku dus thog mar bzhengs pa'i ru bzhi'i lha khang ni dpung mgo g.yas la ka tshal/ g.yon la khrag 'brug/ brla g.yas la gtsang 'gran/ g.yon la grom pa rgyang brtsigs so/ yang srin mo'i yan lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang bzhi nil gru mo g.yas la kong po bo chu/ g.yon la lho brag kho mthing/ dpus mo g.yas la ka brag/ g.yon la pra dum rtse brtsigs/ srin mo'i nying lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir yang 'dul gyi*

³² Michael Aris. *Bhutan: the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1979), 26–31.

³³ See appendix I for the table.

the census of (Central) Tibet. It lists sacred places and their holy objects and recounts the myth of the supine demoness. I believe, however, that a case can be made that this text was some sort of manual for someone who was studying or practicing law. Unpractical as it may seem, it gives some sort of sense of the centrality, greatness, and limits of Tibet, the place where the law was practiced. I dare venture to suggest that this was a text for the apprentice of law to study and for the practitioner of law to consult, along with the more formal legal texts in the collection. Whereas it has been suggested that the legal geographer investigates "the manifestation of law upon space,"³⁴ here we are made to look at how space manifests upon law— in this case, a compilation used by a legal practitioner. This hypothesis forces us to look at the all too often overlooked *context* of the collections of legal texts.

As far as I am aware, no one so far has questioned why and how these texts have reached us in the way that they have.³⁵ They are written by different authors, presumably in different times, and deal with diverse subjects. All of them, in some way or another have to do with the practice of law. These collections have been organized in a certain way and have been given titles. It is clear that these titles were added later on, as we have the same legal texts with different titles in different "collections."

Due to well-known reasons, only very few identifiable collections are currently available in the public domain aside from the one discussed here. *Bod khrims yig gi skor* (On Tibet's Legal Texts) is another example of a copied work from the LTWA, that may well have been a (personal) collection of works once used by the owner.³⁶ The compilation of law texts published by Babu Tharchin in 1954 (and reprinted in 1956), entitled *sNgon byon chos rgyal srong btsan sgam pos mdzad pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu gsum dang khrims 'degs ang grangs bcas bzhuqs so* (The Thirteen Pronouncements, the Legal Texts Created by the Dharmarāja of Yore Srong btsan sgam po and Legal Measures and Numbers) could also have had a similar provenance.³⁷ Other available collections

³⁴ Bennett & Layard, "Legal geography," 414.

³⁵ But see Jansen, "The Origins of Tibetan Law."

³⁶ This is also argued in Jansen, "The Origins of Tibetan Law."

³⁷ Part of a work called: *Dpal ldan sa skyong mi dbang bshad sgra ba chen po mchog dang / mi rje bka' drung nor nang pa mchog nas brtams mdzad yig bskur rnam gzhaq rgyas pa khag gnyis dang / gzhan yang yig bskur thor bu sna tshogs/ bod kyi chos rgyal snga ba rnam dang gau shr khang gi gdung rabs/ rgyal dbang skur / phreng rim byon dang / srid skyong rim pa'i khri lo/shod drung las tshan yi rim pa dang / rdzong gzhis khag gi ming tho/ lha sa nas smar kham phyin gyi lam tho dang tham deb/ khrims yig zhal lce bcu gsum dang khrims 'degs ang grangs/ ma+nya+dzu gong ma'i khri rabs/ 'bras ljongs rgyal rabs bod sing gnyis dang gor bod gnyis kyi ching yig sogs mdor bsdu phyogs bsgrigs deb ther 'dod 'jo'i gter mdzod ces bya ba bzhuqs sol. Letter-Writers. Yig-bskur rnam gshag. By H.E. Kalon Shadra & Kadrunq Nornang, and Various other collections of modern letter-writers.*

of legal texts have been published in book-form in the PRC in the last few decades, but it is not clear in what form these publications reached the editors and where they originally came from.³⁸

There is just one bundle of legal materials to which we have access that has not been (entirely) decontextualized. It is from the personal collection of Rebecca French and was acquired in around 1986 during her fieldwork on Tibetan law in India. The man she purchased it from through an intermediary in McCleod Ganj was called "Rigpa," who mentioned that a relative of his took the text along with him whenever he had to travel on official business and was called upon to decide cases of law. French showed it to her main informant, Kungo-la Thupten Sangye, who confirmed that he had had one just like it when he traveled to Amdo and other places.³⁹ While it is identified in the library catalogue as the *Ganden Podrang Code of Thirteen Sections (dGa' lDan Pho Phrang [sic: brang])* it consists of several law texts, sewn into a bundle for ready use by a legal specialist.⁴⁰ I believe that the other legal collections, of which the originals are not available or extant, have come to us in the same way: they were once owned by specialists who consulted them when needed or studied them as part of their training. In other words, I am suggesting that these collections are in fact the "private" and portable libraries or reference works of a practitioner of the law. It may well be that where monks resorted to first consulting and then citing authoritative Buddhist works to make statements on correct conduct and so on when faced with (potential) monastic legal problems,⁴¹ legal specialists used their personal collections of legal texts for inspiration and authorization as they travelled to adjudicate cases, making them "vectors of law," carrying law "through space and time, performing both spatiality and legality."⁴² These works, badly

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. Kalimpong, 1956: 217-34. On a 1643 edict found in this work, see Berthe Jansen, "A legal decree from 1643: a translation and critical edition." Proceedings of the TibStat workshop held in Bonn 2019. (forthcoming) CRCAO.

³⁸ For example, *Zhal lce phyogs bsdus* 1987; *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs* 1989; *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims* 2004; *Gzhung dga' ldan pho brang skabs kyi khrims srol bca' chings bdams bsgrigs* 2008; *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims gsal ba'i me long* 2014; *Bod kyi khrims srol skor gyi lo rgyus yig tshags phyogs sgrig zhal lce phyogs sgrig* 2016.

³⁹ Personal communication Rebecca French, 2 March 2020.

⁴⁰ "Ganden Podrang Code of Thirteen Sections (dGa' lDan Pho Phrang)," *Digital Collections - University at Buffalo Libraries*, accessed August 28, 2019, <https://digital.lib.buffalo.edu/items/show/772>

⁴¹ Jansen, *The Monastery Rules*, 20.

⁴² Bennett & Layard, "Legal geography," 415. Another very interesting and similar compilation can be found in the repository of BDRC entitled *Deb ther long ba'i dmigs bu* (A Guide Leading [those who are] Blind [to] written works). According to the

spelled or poorly copied, written on low-quality paper are in sharp contrast with the way Rdo sbis Tshe ring rgyal described the official edicts issued by the Dalai Lamas, his replacements, and the regents. They were often written on superior quality Tibetan material such as silk (*gos chen*), Kongpo paper (*skyems shog*), and Nyemo paper (*snye shog*) in cursive lettering, without any mistakes.⁴³

To conclude, the Tibetan geographical text that is presented here – when viewed in context – is more than a cut and paste work on the supine demoness and Tibet's sacred geography. It is likely to have served to give the legal practitioner a sense of place, a sense of jurisdiction (but not in the strict sense of the word) and to remind him of the sacred place that was – and still is – Tibet. It needs to be noted that this particular legal-geographical text is *not* found among other legal bundles – for now, it stands as a *unicum* (despite itself being a product of "plagiarism"). This may attest to the relative unimportance of legal geography and place in Tibetan legal materials, but this would be an argument from absence. Nonetheless, if my hypothesis is correct and this particular collection of legal texts was indeed used by practitioners of the law, then, in terms of how people viewed "the spatiality of law," the kind of legal geography practiced was decidedly retroactive. In other words, it was the geographical worldview of the Sa skya pas of the 15th century that was used to "understand" – or to lend authority to – the legal landscape of Tibet, by people in the late 17th, 18th, 19th and possibly even the 20th centuries. While they are themselves socially produced, "law and space actively shape and constitute society."⁴⁴ In other words, although the exact ways in which these two factors have impacted Tibetan societies remain to be examined, this embedded text yet again confirms the remarkable continuity of the usage

description it is a manual for government officials written (but more likely compiled) by Bka' drung Nor rgyas nang pa dbang 'dus tshe ring (b. late 19th century). The text has a date written on it in ballpoint: 1932/33 (169). It contains short pragmatic works that were deemed needed to administer: a list of ranks, lists of fines and punishments, a list of the sixteen pure human Dharmas (*mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug* to name but a few. From the format it can be gleaned that this is another compilation designed for practical usage. It is dissimilar in the sense that it does not contain *Zhal lce* or edicts. For more on the topic of the sixteen pure Dharmas, see Ulrike Roesler, "'16 Human Norms' (*mi chos bcu drug*)—Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan." In *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015), 389–409.

⁴³ Rdo sbis Tshe ring rgyal, *Khrims gleng*: <http://trimleng.org/2017/11/12/documents-of-tibetan-legal-system/> (2017, viewed 25-02 2020): *de dag ni gos chen dang skyems shog snye shog la sogs pa'i bod shog spus dag steng 'bru tsha dang/ tshugs ma 'khyug 'khyug bris sogs gzhung bris 'khrul med du bris yod*

⁴⁴ Sarah Blandy and David Sibley, "Law, boundaries and the production of space." *Social & Legal Studies* no. 19 (3) (2010), 278.

of Tibetan historical materials in the wider Tibetan cultural sphere.

6. Appendix I

	Stag tshangs pa	Our text 168b-169a
right shoulder	Ka tshal	Ka tshal
left shoulder	Khrag 'brug	Khrag 'brug
right thigh	Gtsang 'gram	Gtsang 'gram
left thigh	Grom pa rgyang	Grom pa rgyang
right el- bow	Kong po bu chu	Kong po bo chu
left el- bow	Lho brag mkho mthing	Lho brag mkho mthing
right knee	Ka brag	Ka brag
left knee	Pra dum rtse	Pra dum rtse
right palm	byang mtshal gyi rlung gnon	byang mtsham gyi rlung <u>gnong</u>
left palm	khams klong thang sgrol ma	khams <u>kyi</u> 'dan <u>glong</u> thang sgrol ma
right foot	mang yul byams sprin	<u>byam</u> sprin
left foot	mon yul bum thang spa gro skyer chu	mon 'bum thang <u>sgyer</u> chu rnams
heart blood	'o thang mtsho	'o mtsho

7. Appendix II

An annotated edition and its textual antecedents on Tibet's geography and census from *Sde pa gtsang pa'i khrims yig zhal lce 16 dang dga' ldan pho brang ba'i zhal lce 12 sogs nyer mkho sna tshogs*: 338–347/ 167b–173a. All text that is underlined can be traced to the *Rgya bod yig tshang*.

Summary of the text:

The work starts off by mentioning Tibet being the centre of world and by describing its neighbours and how the borders are marked (167b–168b). It continues to liken Tibet to a supine demonness and names the temples that hold her down (168b–169b). The text goes on to name the temples built by Srong btsan sgam po's queens and subsequently names many sacred sites and statues in Tibet and outside of it (e.g., Rewalsar in India and the Boudhanath stūpa in Nepal) that are associated with his reign (169b–170b). While it is likely that our editors have copied this list from elsewhere, I have not been able to trace the origins of this long list. It is striking, however, that many of the sites named are affiliated to the Sa skya school.

The work then relates the reign of Srong btsan sgam po's great grandson 'Dus srong mang po rje rlung nam phrul gyi rgyal po and his seven "strong ministers".⁴⁵ The text jumps to a time 3290 years after Buddha Śākyamuni's birth to mention Genghis Khan, and five generations later the *cakravartin* Kublai Khan – the emanation of Mañjuśrī who invited 'Phags pa. The text then cites a passage from the *Rgya bod yig tshang* that is known to be a report of the Mongol census of 1268 – a likely Tibetan translation or reworking of part of a no longer extant Chinese text *Comprehensive Institutions of the Great Yuan* (*Da yuan tongzhi* 大元通制) (171b–173a).⁴⁶ The cited passage ends with "mang+ga+laM" but then immediately continues by giving an alternative way (*yang lugs gcig la*) to calculate the myriarchies (*khri skor*), which can also be found in the same text. This is where our short legal geographical work terminates (173a).

⁴⁵ For a very similar account see the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* from the 14th century, translated by Per K. Sørensen, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. Tibetan Buddhist Historiography*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994), 348–49.

⁴⁶ Luciano Petech, "The Mongol Census in Tibet." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, ed. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu kyi (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1980), 233. A rough translation of this section can be found in Das (1886). Das does not mention the name of the source text. Tucci (1949 vol 1: 139; vol 2: 709) and Macdonald identified Das' article as being based on this text (Guisepppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), vol. 1, 139; vol. 2, 709; Macdonald, "Préambule," 54). For another paraphrasal translation see Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. 1, 14.

The text:

(167b/338) bkra shis § 'dzam gling 'di la yul chen po dgu yod par 'dod ste/ shar na rgya nag dang khri stan/ lho na rgya gar dang kha che/ nub na stag sde dang gzig pan/ byang na khrom dang ge sar/ dbus na bod yul gangs kyi ra ba dang dgu zer/ 'dzam bu gling gi sa tshad kyi lte ba bod gangs can yin par 'dod pa ni/ sa mtho rim gangs chags [sic? char] chu bo thams cad 'di nas phyi'i mtha' la 'bab pa'i phyir gyis dbus lte ba yin par 'dod do/⁴⁷ bod kha ba can gyi rgyal khams dang phyogs bzhi'i rgyal khams kyi mtshams na srid pas bskos pa'i rdo ring chen po bzhi yod de shar phyogs rgya nag dang bod kyi sa mtshams shar phu gangs dkar lha'i yul na

(168a/ 339) 'gron bu dung gi rdo ring btsugs pa yan chad lho phyogs rgya dkar po dang bod kyi so mtshams smyug ma bu khur srin gyi yul na mthing zhun g.yu'i rdo ring btsugs pa tshun chad nub stag gzig dang bod kyi so mtshams rkang ma rkang gcig klu'i yul na sha tshe dngul gyi rdo ring btsugs pa pa [sic?] man chad byang phyogs khrom dang ge sar bod kyi so mtshams la sma'i lung rgyud sman gyi yul na rag gan [?] gser gyi rdo ring btsugs pa tshun chad bod kha ba can du gtogs pa'i sa tshad du byed cing⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Underlined roughly corresponds to Dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang (Chengdu 1985), 9: 'dzam bu gling 'di la / yul grangs chen po dgu yod par 'dod de / bcom ldan ral gris mdzad pa'i sdom pa brgyan gyi me tog [ston pa rgyan gyi me tog] las / yul dbus dang / mtha' 'khob kyi sa mtshams ni / shar du li kha ra shing 'phel dang / lhor dum bu'i chu rlung dang / nub tu bram ze'i grong ka ba dang / byang du shi ra'i ri mun pa can gyi bcad pa rnam so // shar na rgya nag dang / khri brtan / lho na rgya gar dang kha che gnyis / nub na stag sde dang gzig 'phan gnyis / byang na khrom dang ge sar gnyis / dbus na bod yul gangs kyi ra ba dgu zer te / 'dzam bu gling gi sa tshad kyi lte ba / bod gangs can 'di yin par 'dod pa ni / sa mtho / ri mang / gangs chags chu bo thams cad 'di nas phyi'i mtha' rnam la 'bab pa'i phyir gyi 'di nyid / sa'i dbus lte ba yin par 'dod do // See Dan Martin's "Tibet at the Center" (<https://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/50-tibetan-geo-texts>). This particular section is meant to cite a lost work on the life of the Buddha: *sdom pa brgyan gyi me tog*.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 14: bod kha ba can gyi rgyal khams dang / phyogs bzhi'i rgyal khams kyi sa mtshams na / srid pas bkod pa'i rdo rings chen po bzhi yod de / shar phyogs rgya nag po dang / bod kyi so mtshams na / sha phud gangs dkar lha'i yul du / 'dron bu dung gi rdo rings [15] gtsugs pa yan chad / lho phyogs rgya dkar po dang / bod kyi so mtshams / smug ma bu khur srin gyi yul du / mthing zhun g.yu'i rdo rings gtsugs pa tshun chad / nub phyogs stag gzig dang / bod kyi so mtshams / rkang ma rkang gcig klu'i yul du / sha rtse dngul gyi rdo rings gtsugs pa man chad / byang phyogs khrom ge sar dang / bod kyi so mtshams / ma rma'i lu rgyud sman gyi yul du / ra rgan gser gyi rdo rings gtsugs pa tshun chad / de rnam bod gangs can gyi rgyal khams su rtogs pa'i sa tshad yin cing /

rdo ring bzhi po de la spom phra pho 'dom lnga bcus 'khor ba/ dpang la pho 'dom bgya re yod par byed do⁴⁹/ bod la yul gru chen po gsum yod pa ni stod mnga' ris bskor gsum gangs dang g.ya' yi ra ba ljing 'dra ba/ sman lha ri chu drug

(168b/ 340) nags dang ne ljong zhing dang 'du ba/ bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi brag dang chu 'thab yur ba 'dra ba/⁵⁰ bod yul 'di srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba 'dra ba/ 'o thang mtsho srin mo'i snying khrag ru 'dug pa bcas kyi sa bkra ngan/⁵¹ ngan pa mnon pa la ^ chos kyi rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i sku dus thog mar bzhangs pa'i ru bzhi'i lha khang ni dpung mgo g.yas la ka tshal/ g.yon la khrag 'brug/ brla g.yas la gtsang 'gram/ g.yon la grom pa rgyang brtsigs so/ yang srin mo'i yan lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang bzhi ni/ gru mo g.yas la kong po bo chu/ g.yon la lho brag kho mthing/ dpus mo g.yas la ka brag/ g.yon la pra dum rtse brtsigs/ srin mo'i nying lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir yang 'dul gyi

(169a/341) gtsug lag khang bzhi ni/⁵² lag mthil g.yas la byang mtsham gyi rlung gnong/ g.yon la khams klong thang sgron ma/ rkang mgo g.yas la byam sprin/ g.yon la mon 'bum thang sgyer chu rnam brtsigs/⁵³ de'i rjes su bal

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 14: rdo rings kyi spangs la / gzhu 'dom brgyad cu re dang zheng phyogs re la / gzhu 'dom nyi shu re / steng na rgya phigs dang bcas pa yod do zer ro // bod la yul gru chen po gsum yod pa ni / stod mnga' ris bskor gsum / gangs dang g.ya' i ra ba rdzing dang 'dra ba la / yul gru chen po gcig smad lha re phyugs drug / nags dang na'i ljongs / zhing dang 'dra ba la yul gru chen po gcig / Note as the main difference gzhu 'dom instead of pho 'dom.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, 15. The contents and phrasing are similar, while the orthography is rather different.

⁵¹ Similarly phrased in *Bkra shis lhun po bca' yig* (new) 357: [...] rgyal po srong btsan sgam pos bod kyi sa bkra ngan pa bzlog byed mtha' 'dul dang yang 'dul ru gnon gyi gtsug lag khang rnam bzhangs/

⁵² Strong similarity to *Bu ston chos 'byung* vol. 3: 33.

⁵³ This is found in *Rgya bod yig tshang*, 97: lar bod yul kha ba can 'di srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba dang 'dra/ 'o thang gi mtsho 'di srin mo'i snying khrag tu 'dug pa 'di gnon dgos/ de la 'ang / dang po ru bzhi'i lha khang brtsig dgos zer nas/ dpung mgo g.yas pa la ka tshal/ g.yon pa la khra 'brug brla g.yas pa la gtsang 'gram/ g.yon pa la grom pa rgyang brtsigs so/ yang srin mo'i yan lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir/ mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang bzhi ni/ gru mo g.yas pa la kong po bu chu/ g.yon pa la lho brag mkho mthing / dpus mo g.yas pa la ka brag g.yon pa la pra dum rtse ba brtsigs/ srin mo'i nying lag bzhi gnon pa'i phyir yang 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang bzhi ni/ lag mthil g.yas pa la/ byang mtshal gyi rlung gnon/ g.yon pa la khams su klong thang sgron ma/ rkang 'go g.yas pa la byams sprin/ g.yon pa la mon bum thang sgyer chu rnam bzhangs/ cf. *Bu ston chos 'byung* (vol. 3): 33: bod kyi sa gzhi srin mo gan rkyal du 'gyel ba 'dra ba 'di mnan dgos par gzigs nas | dpung pa g.yas la ska tshal | g.yon la khra 'brug | rkang pa g.yas la gtsang 'gram | g.yon la grom pa

za khri btsun gyi ra sa 'phrul snang dang/ rgya za kong jos
rgya thabs ra mo che/ po ta la⁵⁴ zhang zhung za li tig sman
gyis khram phug lkog ma/ ru yod za rgyal mo btsun gyis
brag lha klu phug/ mon za khri 'jam gyis yer pa'i lha khang
rnams bzhengs/⁵⁵gzhan yang gnas chen byin chen bsam
 yas/ ching bu/ yang rdzong/ mkhar chu shel brag⁵⁶ 'on bu
 stag tshang⁵⁷/ zho stong gter sgrom⁵⁸/ yer pa⁵⁹ thag skas⁶⁰/
 phung po ri bo che/⁶¹zab phu lung⁶² ri bo bkra bzang⁶³/
 zangs zangs lha brag⁶⁴/ ches

(169b/342) ma shing gi lha khang⁶⁵/ nyang stong rtsis gnas
 gsar⁶⁶/ phur mo chos rdzong⁶⁷/ sog po zhong zhong lha
 khang⁶⁸/ sreg shing 'jam dbyangs gar gzigs⁶⁹/ dge ldan/⁷⁰

rgyang ste | ru bzhi'i gtsug lag khang bzhi | gru mo g.yas la kong po bu chu | g.yon la lho brag khom thing | pus mo g.yas la ska brag | g.yon la pra du ma rtse ste mtha' 'dul bzhi | lag mthil g.yas la byang tshal gyi rlung gnon | g.yon la khams kyi 'dan glong thang sgrol ma | rkang mthil g.yas la mang yul byams sprin | g.yon la mon yul bun thang spa gro skyer chu la sogs pa gtsug lag khang mang po bzhengs nas gdod 'o thang mtsho la rdo mkhar brtsigs shing gis phub Also see Aris' schema (Aris, *Bhutan*, 26–31).

⁵⁴ Not in *Rgya bod yig tshang*.

⁵⁵ end of cited passage.

⁵⁶ Mchims phu (near Samyé), Yang rdzong, Mkhar chu, and Shel brag are four of the so-called eight sacred places blessed by Padmasambhava for the practice of the Eight Herukas (Shabkar Tsogdruk Rangdrol and Matthieu Ricard (transl.), *The Life of Shabkar: The autobiography of a Tibetan yogin* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 272, n. 59).

⁵⁷ 'On phu stag tshang, one of the 'tiger dens' associated with Padmasambhava near Samyé.

⁵⁸ Gzho stod gter sgrom at 'Bri gung.

⁵⁹ Presumably Brag Yer pa.

⁶⁰ Thag skas is a cave in which Padmasambhava is said to have meditated; it is named so because one needs to climb a steep mountain cliff to get there, holding on to a rope (*Dga' ldan dgon pa dang brag yer pa'i lo rgyus*, 1994: 116).

⁶¹ A famous sacred site/ mountain associated with Padmasambhava in Gtsang.

⁶² Zab phu lung is a hidden land (*sbas yul*) in Gtsang associated with Padmasambhava.

⁶³ A sacred site and branch monastery of Rdo rje brag, in La stod associated with the Byang gter tradition and Rig 'dzin rgod ldem (1337-1408).

⁶⁴ Zang zang lha brag in Gtsang is most well-known as the birthplace of Rig 'dzin rgod ldem and site where he uncovered *gter ma*.

⁶⁵ *Chu ma shing gi lha khang* is a temple on the banks of the Gtsang po river (*Dbus gtsang gnas yig*, 336) It is possibly one of the *mtha' 'dul* or *yang 'dul* temples.

⁶⁶ Nyang stod rtsis gnas gsar between Lhasa and Gyantsé (Rgyal rtse), which is said to have been built by Srong btsan sgam po.

⁶⁷ A temporary (? lit. tent) Sa skya monastery (*sa skya'i gur dgon*, see Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams Gsung 'bum).

⁶⁸ This could refer to Zhong zhong monastery in eastern Gtsang, founded by Khyung po mal 'byor (Smith, 2001, 53).

⁶⁹ A famous painting at Sa skya created by *Sa skya Paṇḍita* (two images).

⁷⁰ Dga' ldan monastery.

'ol kha rdzing phyi/⁷¹ chos lung⁷² / mnye thang⁷³ / pha bong kha⁷⁴ / phur bu lcog⁷⁵ / chos lung⁷⁶ / zang ri⁷⁷ / ra sgren⁷⁸ / brag seng ge'i zhal⁷⁹ byang stag lung⁸⁰ / kong po rtsa ri⁸¹ / mtho lding gser gyi lha khang⁸² / gangs ti se / mtsho ma 'pham⁸³ dang chos sku / nyan ri chos sku⁸⁴ / chos 'khor rgyal⁸⁵ la phyi gangs ra⁸⁶ / la stod rgyal gyi shri⁸⁷ / skyid grong 'phags pa⁸⁸ / gnya' nang grod phug /⁸⁹ me tog mdangs chen⁹⁰ / mtsho pad+ma /⁹¹ tre ta pu ri /⁹² sa skya lha khang chen mo⁹³ / g.yu kham mtsho'i sgrol ma⁹⁴ / bal yul gyi mchod rten byang rung kha shor dang /⁹⁵ 'phags pa shing kun⁹⁶ / stag mo lus byin /⁹⁷

(170a/343) kho khom sgrol ma⁹⁸ / ye rang jo bo⁹⁹ / dben

⁷¹ This may also be one of the *mtha' 'dul* / *yang 'dul* temples. It was later affiliated to the *Dge lugs* school. Franz-Karl Ehrhard. "A 'Hidden Land' at the Border of 'Ol-kha and Dvags-po." *The Tibet Journal* no. 34/35 (3/2) (2009), 493–521.

⁷² A monastery in Gtsang.

⁷³ Also spelled Nye thang or Snye thang, where Atisha passed away.

⁷⁴ Pha bong kha hermitage affiliated to Sera monastery.

⁷⁵ Phur bu lcog hermitage affiliated to Sera monastery.

⁷⁶ Second time this name is mentioned.

⁷⁷ This could be Zangs ri mkhar dmar, the erstwhile residence of Ma gcig slab sgron.

⁷⁸ Ra sgren monastery, a significant Bka' gdams pa site.

⁷⁹ Brag seng ge'i zhol, a branch monastery of Ra sgren.

⁸⁰ Stag lung monastery, built on a site previously affiliated to the Bka' gdams pa. It is the main seat of the Stag lung bka' rgyud school.

⁸¹ A popular place of pilgrimage in South-West Tibet.

⁸² Mtho lding gser gyi lha khang (the golden temple of Tholing) built by Ye shes 'Od in Mnga' ris.

⁸³ Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarovar.

⁸⁴ A monastery close to Mount Kailash.

⁸⁵ A monastery in Dwags po.

⁸⁶ La phyi (Lapchi), a pilgrimage site on the Nepal-Tibet border associated with Milarepa.

⁸⁷ Also known as the important sacred site Rtsibs ri in South-West Tibet.

⁸⁸ The 'Phags pa lha khang in Skyid grong, meant to have been built in the 7th (!) century.

⁸⁹ One of Milarepa's caves in South-West Tibet.

⁹⁰ Me tog mdangs can monastery, a place initially linked to Thang stong rgyal po.

⁹¹ Rewalsar, North India.

⁹² Tirthapuri in Zhang chung, western Tibet.

⁹³ At Sa skya monastery.

⁹⁴ Unknown site associated with Tārā (or, alternatively, with the statue).

⁹⁵ Boudhanath stūpa, Nepal.

⁹⁶ Svayambhunath stūpa, Nepal.

⁹⁷ Namobuddha, near Kathmandu.

⁹⁸ A speaking Tārā statue in modern-day Bhaktapur.

⁹⁹ The Śākyamuni Buddha statue at Pathan

dgon¹⁰⁰ / brag skya¹⁰¹ / zla ri jo bo¹⁰² / phun gling thub dbang
 glang 'dul¹⁰³ / g.yu lo skabs gsum bde ldan lha Khang¹⁰⁴ / jo
 nang¹⁰⁵ / smon 'gro jo bo¹⁰⁶ / rgyang yon po lung¹⁰⁷ / gA ya
 rda ra¹⁰⁸ / ngam ring byams chen¹⁰⁹ dang / rdzong dus
 'khor¹¹⁰ / rgyud bshad lha Khang¹¹¹ / snar thang¹¹² / byang
 chen¹¹³ / gangs can¹¹⁴ / bkra rdzong zung 'jug phug / mgar
 mo chos rdzong¹¹⁵ / zhwa lu'i thugs rje chen po¹¹⁶ / rgyan
 gong¹¹⁷ / brag ram¹¹⁸ / rmu¹¹⁹ / dar lung gnyan gyi pho
 brang¹²⁰ / khro phu byams chen¹²¹ / rong byams chen¹²² /
 bkra shis lhun po'i brten gyi gtso bo..thub dbang gsum
 sgrigs / byams chen / sgrol ma lha Khang / mthong ba don
 ldan / dga' gdong byams pa / gting skyid sgrol ma /

(170b / 344) dur smrig sgrol ma byams pa rang byon /
 mchod Khang chen mo gsum /¹²³ § de nas rgyal thog bzhi
 la¹²⁴ / 'dus srong mang po rje rlung nam 'phrul gyi rgyal po'i
 dus rtsal po che mi bdun byung ba ni / ar po gdong btsan
 gylis seng ge dkar mo'i gnya' ba nas bzung byung mon khri

¹⁰⁰ A monastery possibly in the district (*rdzong*) of Shigatsé.

¹⁰¹ A Karma bka' brgyud pa monastery in Dge rgyas rdzong (mNga' ris).

¹⁰² Unknown.

¹⁰³ Unknown.

¹⁰⁴ Possibly referring to a chapel at Zha lu monastery.

¹⁰⁵ Jo nang monastery in Gtsang.

¹⁰⁶ A statue in Smon 'gro near Rgyal rtse.

¹⁰⁷ There is a cave associated to Padmasambhava in Rgyang yon po lung.

¹⁰⁸ This could refer to 11th century master Gayadhāra's meditation cave, near Sa skya.

¹⁰⁹ Ngam ring (dga' ldan) byams pa gling was a Sa skya monastery until it was converted to Dge lugs in the 17th century (see <https://treasuryoflives.org/en/institution/Ngamring-Chode->)

¹¹⁰ This may refer to Ngom ring rdzong dus 'khor lha Khang, as mentioned in the *Dbus gtsang gnas yig*, 420.

¹¹¹ Unknown temple.

¹¹² Snar thang monastery or printery in Gtsang.

¹¹³ Likely to be Byang chen hermitage in Gtsang.

¹¹⁴ This could be Gangs can monastery in Sa skya rdzong.

¹¹⁵ Mgar mo chos rdzong is in Bkra shis rdzong (to the west of Shigatsé), where there is a retreat place.

¹¹⁶ The great Avalokiteśvara statue (?) at Zha lu monastery.

¹¹⁷ Rgyan gong mgon Khang or lha Khang, not far from Zha lu monastery.

¹¹⁸ Brag ram mgon Khang, a place in Gtsang associated with the Bo dong lineage.

¹¹⁹ Possibly the Rnying ma monastery Rmu dgon dkar.

¹²⁰ A pilgrimage site in Dar lung (Mnga' ris).

¹²¹ The great Maitreya statue at Khro phu (Skyid grong).

¹²² Rong byams chen monastery (which housed a large Maitreya statue) in Gtsang. It was initially affiliated to Sa skya and was converted to Dge lugs in 1650.

¹²³ Here the main sites at Bkra shis lhun po are enumerated.

¹²⁴ This is added by the editor(s).

bzang gi stag dar ma gnyis lcags thag gi sbrel nas ngar sgras lung po bskangs te 'khrid byung skad/ lho don dam yang dag 'phags kyi seng ldan gi gdung chen po bcu gsum gyi steng du gong tsha la lcags dos gcig rgyab nas 'khur byung skad/ lcogs ro zangs dkar gyi lha sa'i rdo ring sked la btsug nas yo ga yog gin byung skad/ rngog ring nag pos bal yul nas glang po che'i phru gu gcig gson por 'khur byung skad/ bgos shag byung

(171a/345)gis sha ba yu mo'i rlin bu tshal rgyangs nas klad la dbyug gin byung skad/ rnon rgyal mtshan rnam grang kyi mig mthong gsum re mda' rgyangs res slebs shing/ gtsang po la phar mchong tshur mchong byed gyin byung skad/ ¹²⁵ §¹²⁶ lhar bcas 'gro ba'i skyabs gcig pu/ sang rgyas

¹²⁵ Underlined corresponds with *Chos rgyal bod kyi rgyal rabs* in Shes rab rin chen's (b. 1405, Sa skya scholar) *gSung 'bum*, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang: 2007 W2DB4577, but is also featured in the *Rgya bod yig tshang* 2007, 102, 3: '*dus srong mang po rje rlung nam 'phrul gyi rgyal po ni/ chu mo bya lo ba stel/ ma 'khrungs gong tsam du yab 'das/ 'khrungs 'phral nas dgung lo nyi shu rtsa dgu'i bar la srid bzung / 'di'i ring la bod du rol mo'i rnam grangs mang po 'byung ba'i snga ltas la/ rtsal po che mi bdun byung ba* (103) *ni/ ar po ldong btsan gyis seng ge dkar mo'i gnya' ba nas bzung byung skad/ mon khri bzang gi stag dar ma gnyis lcags thag gi sprel nas ngar sgras lung pa bkang ste khrid byung skad/ lho don dam yang dag 'phags kyi/ seng ldeng gi gdung chen po bcu gsum gyi steng du/ gong dza la lcags dos gcig rgyab nas khur byung skad/ lcog ro zangs dkar gyis/ lha sa'i rdo ring rked la btsugs nas yo ga yo gin khur byung skad/ rngog rings nag pos bal yul nas glang po che'i phrug gu zhig gson por / khur byung skad/ mgos shag byung gis/ sha ba yu mo'i blud bu tshwas rgyangs nas klad la dbyug gin byung skad/ smon rgyal mtshan rnam grangs kyi/ mig mthong gsum de mda' rgyang gang res sleb cing / gtsang po la phar mchongs tshur mchongs byed kyin leb byung skad do/* The underlined is what has been left out by the editor of our text.

¹²⁶ This is found verbatim in the *Rgya bod yig tshang* (2007), which has been given the header *Khri skor bcu gsum gyi dud kyi grangs dang 'ja' mo 'dzin lugs yod*, 156-7: *lhar bcas 'gro ba'i mun sel phyir/ sangs rgyas shAkya thub 'khrungs nas/ lo grangs sum stong nyis brgya dang/ dgu bcu 'das dus hor yul du/ bsod nams chen po'i chu gter las/ rgyal po jing gir gang zhes pa/ sa 'dzin rin chen 'khrungs par 'gyur/ mi dbang de nas rgyal rabs lngar/ stobs kyi 'khor lo bsgyur mdzad pa/ se chen gang zhes grags pa des/ 'jam dbyangs rnam 'phrul sa skya pa/ chos rgyal 'phags pa spyang drangs nas/ bcu phrag lo ni song ba'i dus/ sa pho 'brug lo shar ba dang/ gong nas mngags pa'i gser yig pa/ a kon ming gling gnyis yong nas/ mi sde sa cha dang bcas pa/ chen po hor gyis ming btags pa'i rtsa ba'i dud drangs rtsis pa na/ stod kyi mnga' ris skor gsum dang/ lha sde gzhung pa la sogs kyi. khri stong gseb tu mi the bas/ bod 'brog gang yod zur bzhang nas/ dbus gtsang khri skor so so yi/ dud grags bcas pa 'di ltar ro/ la stod lho pa'i dud kyi grangs/ stong dang dgu cu rtsa dgu yin/ la ltod byang pa nyis stong dang/ nyi brgya lnga cu tham par brtsil/ chu mig khri skor hor dud grags/ sum stong nyer gsum yod pa'i bar/ zha lu khri skor sum stong dang/ brgyad brgya dgu rtsa (157) gnyis yod/ byang 'brog khri skor rting la byung/ yar 'brog khri skor khyad chos la/ leb ni bcu drug zer ba de/ hor dud phyed dang brgyad brgya 'o/ dbus phyogs rtsa dud 'khyer lugs ni/ 'bri gung bod 'brog gnyis po la/ sum stong brgyad brgya sum cu yod/ tshal po sum stong bdun brgya yin/ phag mo gru pa nyis stong dang/ bzhi brgya sum cu rtsa brgyad yod/ g.ya' bzang pa la sum stong dbang/ rgya ma ba dang bya yul bal lnga*

shAka thub sku 'khrungs pa nas/ lo grangs gsum stong nyes
brgya dang/ dgu bcu 'das dus hor yul du/ bsod nams chen
po'i chu gter las/ rgyal po ji gir gan¹²⁷ zhes pa/ sa 'dzin rin
chen 'khrungs par gyur/ mi dbang de ni rgyal rab lngar
stobs kyi 'khor los bsgyur mdzad pa/ se chen gan¹²⁸ zhes
grags pa des/ 'jam dbyangs rnam sprul sa skya pa/

(171b/ 346) chos rgyal 'phags pa spyen drangs nas/ bcu
phrag lo ni song ba'i dus/ sa pho 'brug lo shar ba na/ gong
nas mngags pa'i gser yig pa/ a kon ming gling gnyis yong
nas/ mi sde sa cha dang bcas pa/ chen po hor gyi ming
btags pa'i / rtsa ba'i dus grangs rtsis pa ni/ stod kyi mnga'
ris skor gsum/ lha sde gzhung pa la sogs kyi/ khri stong
gseb tu ma the bas/ bod 'brog gang yod zur bzhag nas/
dbus gtsang khri skor so so yis/ dud grangs bcas pa 'di ltar
ro/ la stod lho pa'i dud kyi grangs/ stod dang dgu bcu rtsa
dgu yin/ la stod byang pa gnyis stong dang/ nyis brgya
lnga bcu tham par rtsi/ chu mig khri skor hor dud grangs/
sum stong nyag gsum yod par byed/

(172a/ 347) zhwa lu khri skor sum stong dang/ brgyad
brgya dgu rtsa gnyis yod/ byang 'brog khri skor rting ma
byung/ ya 'brog khri skor khyad chos la/ leb ni bcu drug
zar ba de/ hor dus phyed dang brgyad brgya yod/ dbus
phyogs rtsa dud 'khyer lugs ni/ 'bri gung bod 'brog gnyis
po la/ sum stong brgyad brgya sum bcu yod/ tshal pa sum
stong bdun brgya yin/ phag mo grub pa nyis stong dang/
bzhi brgya gsum cu rtsa brgyad yod/ g.ya' bzang pa la
gsum stong dbang/ rgya ma ba dang ja yul ba lnga stong
dgu brgya phyed 'khyer yin/ stag lung pa dang lnga brgya
dang/ de nas lho 'brug la sogs pa'i/ kha 'thor stong dang
bzhi brgya yod/ tshul 'dir hor dang sa skya pa/ mchod

(173a/ 348) yon 'brel nas dbus gtsang/ sa rtsis byas pa'i thog
mar 'dug/¹²⁹ mang+ga laM/¹³⁰ yang lugs gcig la/ mnga' ris

*stong dgu brgya phyed 'khyer yin/ stag lung pa la lnga brgya dang/ de steng lha 'brug la
sogs pas/ kha 'thor stong dang bzhi brgya yod/ tshul 'di hor dang sa skya pa/ yon mchod
'brel nas dbus gtsang du/ sa brtsis byas pa'i thog mar 'dug* This section deals with the
census of the thirteen myriarchies and tax collection. Also see Petech, "The Mongol
Census in Tibet."

¹²⁷ Elsewhere Jing gir gan: Genghis Khan.

¹²⁸ Setsen, the Khagan title for Kublai Khan.

¹²⁹ end of verbatim quote.

¹³⁰ It can be argued that this is the end of one text and that a new text starts here.

rdzong dga'i 'og gi ble dol rdzong gsum gyi khri skor gcig/
 la stod lho byang/ chu zhal rnams re rer bgrang ba'i khri
 skor bzhi/ bra ber khyung gsum khri skor gcig ya 'brog
 tshal pa khri skor gnyis/ rgya 'bri g.ya' phag khri skor bzhi
 zur nas bsdus pa'i gcig byung ba/ bya yul hor dud stong
 phrag gcig/ 'brug pa hor dus dgu brgyar byed/ stong dang
 dgu brgya phyed 'khyer du/ khri skor gcig gis bya ba
 bsgrub/¹³¹

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¹³¹ *Rgya bod yig tshang* 2007: 142: chu zhal rnams re re bgrangs pa khri skor bzhi/ sbra ber khyung gsum khri gcig /yar 'brog tshal pa khri skor gnyis/ /rgya 'bri g.ya' phag khri skor bzhi/ /zur nas bsdus pa'i gcig byung ba/ /bya yul hor dud stong phrag gcig /'brug pa hor dud dgu brgyar byed/ /stong dang dgu brgya phyed khyer du/ khri skor gcig gi bya ba bsgrubs/

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