

Gertraud Taenzer
The Dunhuang Region
during Tibetan Rule (787–848)
A Study of the Secular Manuscripts
Discovered in the Mogao Caves

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und Erling von Mende

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Maps:

Map I: Overview

Map II: The Dunhuang Region

Map III: Detailed Map of Khotan, Tshal-byi and Khva-cu ‘Khrom’ and ‘A-zha
Country

Plan I and II: The Irrigation Canals of Shazhou

Plates

Plates of Tibetan Texts:

Plate I: IOL Tib J 1486

Plate II: IOL Tib J 1414+ IOL Tib J 940

Plates of Chinese Texts:

Plate III S7060

Frontispiece

It is a detail of the left wall of Yulin Cave no. 25 situated on the left margin of a painting of the paradise of Maytreya. It stems from the time of Tibetan rule. The paintings of the cave were copied by order of the Dunhuang Academy and exhibited in 2009 in the Chinese Cultural Centre in Berlin. The detail was photographed and slightly modified for the frontispiece.

Signes critiques and Notes on Texts

Text

[abc]	Supplements: letters or phrases which are illegible or lost supplied by the author
# abc#	Deleted letters
---	Missing letters, number known, indicated by broken lines
+6	Approximate number of illegible letters or number of letters which are lost due to damage of the paper
abc	Insertions: word or phrase written below the line
(a?)	Ambiguous readings

Translation

[abc]	Supplements by the author
(abc)	Corresponding expressions in the original texts or translator's note

Roman Transcription of Tibetan

The Wyielie system (Wyielie 1959) with minor modifications is followed.

Roman Transcription of Chinese

Chinese is transcribed in Pinyin.

Classification of the Tibetan Handwriting

The script is classified in straight sutra stile, transitional (plate II) and careless cursive (plate I). Early or late transitional does not refer to the time these manuscripts were written in but to the more ore less relaxed style of writing. Early transitional is thus nearer to the straight sutra style.

Transliterations of the Tibetan Manuscripts

The transliterations of the Dunhuang manuscripts are according to the author unless otherwise stated.

The transliterations of the Miran and Mazar-tagh manuscripts are based on the readings of Thomas (TII) and/or Takeuchi (Turkestan) but were compared with the originals in facsimile or idp-website where possible.

Introduction

0.1 Introduction, Intent and Content

From the end of the 8th century to the middle of the 9th century the region of Dunhuang was administered by the Tibetan Empire. This period is almost completely covered by contemporary manuscripts found in cave number 17 of the Mogao caves near Dunhuang. These manuscripts consist mainly of Buddhist scriptures, but a number of them refer to secular matters. Due to lack of paper at the time, sheets of paper with only one side written on were kept to be later on pasted together to form scrolls to be filled with a sutra. Therefore most secular texts are found either on the back of a Buddhist scripture or on sheets of which the back is plain. Another source of information contain the sheets of paper belonging to individual scribes which were used by them as wrappers. They were called 'glegs tshas'. They contain draughts, copies of manuscripts or writing exercises mainly of a secular nature. Most often these entries are fragmentary. Occasionally sutras were reinforced whereby the patches were taken from secular manuscripts. Although most manuscripts discovered in the Mogao caves originate in the Dunhuang region a number of them were imported. As monks travelled they took scriptures and paper which was only used on one side with them.

To be able to understand the manuscripts better and finally to evaluate the economic situation of the area in the Tibetan period it seemed necessary first to clarify the administrative system of the area and to see whether the ethnographic composition of the people resident in the region had changed. Therefore this research was divided in three parts.

As the extant secular manuscripts naturally represent only a small fraction of texts written at the time and their selection being coincidental, there were in some instances not enough texts to be able to come to a definite conclusion and some chapters have not reached the length wished for. Due to a lack of material a chapter concerning the development of the size of the population could not be included. Instead a chapter about the development of the religious institutions is inserted. Although an increase in monks and nuns during the time of Tibetan rule not necessarily indicate population growth but together with the information that the administrative units were increased and the fact that the average family consisted of six members, it is likely.

In some cases information found in the finds from Khotan and Miran, which cover the same period of time, could be used.

As the manuscripts stem from a depot of Buddhist scriptures the question has to be asked whether they concern predominantly texts relating to the clergy. This is probably the case as far as contracts are concerned. The small amount of extant tax

related manuscripts is probably due to this fact as well, as of accounts of which type several thousands must have been written during Tibetan rule only one is extant.

Nonetheless combining all manuscripts available to me it was possible to get a picture of the situation of the population of the Dunhuang region under the Tibetans.

0.2 The Manuscripts

0.2.1 Description of the Material Used

Paper Manuscripts

The majority of manuscripts examined are paper manuscripts which predominantly stem from the Mogao caves near Dunhuang. Among the Miran and Mazar-tagh finds are c.650 paper manuscripts of secular content. Some of these contain information which could be used for the present volume.

To determine the material the paper was made of a number analyses have been carried out. As the results varied depending on the method applied and the individual manuscript analysed no conclusive statement could be made. The general idea is that the paper was made either of fibre of the paper mulberry tree or of a mixture of hemp cloth and ramie¹.

According to Fujieda the size of a sheet of paper was 1X1.5 small 'chi' (c.26X39cm), 1X2 small 'chi' or 1X2 'chi' (c.30X60cm)². The paper of the 'glegs tshas' and a number of the Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sutra is larger (26X76cm) and thicker, however³.

The material studied is generally of a secular nature; only for the compilation of the names of families subscribers of sutras have been looked into.

Wood-slips

Although almost all wood-slips discovered were found in the southern Tarim, reference had to be made to a number of them in order to be able to complete the research. Most of them measure between 22X2cm and 12X2cm. They were made of the wood of tamarisk or toghrak. All but one stem from Miran or Mazar-tagh.

The Miran site consists despite M.I. – the fort in which the wood-slips were discovered – of buildings which were mainly used for religious purposes, the sites M.II–M.XIII. Latter were dated by Stein⁴ as belonging to the Shanshan period (220–300). The fort (M.I.) was of irregular quadrangular shape. Inside the walls a number

1 Drège: 1986.

2 Fujieda: 66/67 part I, pp16.

3 Takeuchi: Contracts, pp53.

4 Stein: Serindia.

of buildings had been constructed⁵. The site was abandoned after the Tibetans had left.

Mazar-tagh is situated on a hill and has a watchtower. Stein discovered most of the wood-slips below the fort on the north-eastern slope. This area was divided in section a, b and c by him⁶. The site was destroyed by fire and was not used afterwards.

The wood-slips can be roughly divided in slips for the provisioning of soldiers – they contain the address and a certain number of notches and have a piece cut out on the bottom to be used as tally⁷ –, slips referring to the registration of fields and letters.

They were mainly used in the chapter on the administration of the occupied territories, the chapter on the ‘A-zha and the chapter on tax.

0.2.2 The Collections and Publications in Facsimile and Transcriptions of them

Paper Manuscripts

Most of the secular manuscripts are preserved in the Pelliot-Collection of the Bibliothèque National, Paris and in the Stein-Collection of the India Office Library in London. Some manuscripts can be found in the National Library of China in Beijing and in the Russian Collection. For the study of the names of families the subscripts of sutras of the above mentioned collections as well as the collection of the Tibetan manuscripts in Gansu were studied.

The Chinese manuscripts among them have been all published in facsimile⁸. Some manuscripts of the Stein collection can be viewed in the internet on “idp.bl.uk”. The majority of the important ones can be studied in facsimile and transcription in Ikeda: 1979, TTSEH and DSJ and Zhang (1995, contracts only).

A selection of the Tibetan manuscripts of the Pelliot-Collection and a few of the Stein-Collection have been published in facsimile in Choix I and II. The Royal Annals and other manuscripts concerning the history of the Tibetan Empire have been transcribed and provided with a syllabic index in Choix III. All of them have been filmed.

A large part of the Tibetan manuscripts of the Stein-Collection has been transliterated and translated by Thomas (TII). A selection of these is published in facsimile in TIII. All of the paper manuscripts of Miran and Mazar-tagh have been published in facsimile with a transliteration and syllabic index by Takeuchi

5 This is reflected in Stein’s registration numbers: M.I.x.2: M.: Miran, I: site number; x.: room number.

6 This is reflected in the registration number of the wood-slips, e.g.: M.Tagh.a.I.0021: M.-Tagh: Mazar-tagh; a.: section on the hill; i.: section 1.

7 Takeuchi (Military System, p51) called them ‘hill stationing (ri zug) slips’. He described their manufacture and use (ibid. pp51).

8 Dx, P.chin.facs., S facs..

(Turkestan I–III). All of them have been filmed. A part can be already studied in the internet on “idp.bl.uk”.

Wood-slips

The majority of the wood-slips are preserved in the Stein-Collection. Some stem from Chinese secondary excavations in Miran and are now in the Xinjiang Museum in Urumqi. A selection of the wood-slips of the Stein-Collection is transliterated and translated in TII and a selection has been published in facsimile in TIII. All of them are on view in the internet (idp.bl.uk). Wang (1986) has transliterated and translated into Chinese a selection of the wood-slips from the Chinese collection and all of those translated by Thomas. None of the wood-slips in the Chinese collection are available in facsimile.

0.2.3 Catalogues

Paper Manuscripts

A part of the Chinese manuscripts of the Pelliot-Collection has been catalogued (P.chin.cat. vols.I, III–V). The Chinese entries on the Tibetan manuscripts of the Pelliot Collection were also compiled (P.chin.cat vol.VI). P 2501–3000, 4107–4499, 5044–5521, 5599–6000 have not been described yet. A large part of the Tibetan manuscripts of the Pelliot-Collection are entered in Lalou: Inventaire I–III (Pt 1–2216). There is no catalogue for Pt 2217–4450, which constitute a collection of sutras.

Giles catalogued a large part of the Chinese manuscripts of the Stein-collection (Giles cat.) and Rong described some of its fragments (S6981–S13624). Valle-Poussin (1962) compiled a catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist scriptures from Dunhuang in the Stein-Collection. This catalogue and a large part of the Tibetan secular manuscripts from Dunhuang are included in the Toyo Bunko catalogue (Yamaguchi: Cat.), while a description of all of the paper manuscripts from Miran and Mazar-tagh can be found in Takeuchi: Turkestan II.

For the Russian manuscripts in Chinese a catalogue in Russian and one in Chinese has been compiled (DFNA and DX Cat. respectively). Huang (1982) compiled a catalogue of the scriptures of the collection of sutras in Gansu, while Savitzky (1984) did this for the Aparimitāyurjñāsutra in Tibetan of the Russian collection in the Oriental Institute in Petersburg. Apart from the index to Baozang and the index of the religious texts in Wang (ed.1962/1978) no catalogue exists for the manuscripts in Chinese Collections.

Apart from Rong’s catalogue the fragments in Chinese have not been catalogued in neither collection yet.

Wood-slips

No catalogue of the wood-slips has been compiled yet.

0.2.4 The Registration Numbers of the Manuscripts

The manuscripts of the Pelliot-Collection are designated with P for the Chinese manuscripts and Pt for the Tibetan manuscripts.

The manuscripts predominantly written in Chinese of the Stein-Collection of Dunhuang finds were included in the Oriental-Collection (Or) and bear S in this volume. They are designated Or.8210/S on the 'idp' website. The Tibetan manuscripts can be referred to under a number of designations partly due to their history⁹. All the manuscripts from Dunhuang have a location no. i.e. the number of the box in which they are preserved (vol.=volume, fol.=folio) and most of them have a Ch. number (Ch.=Qianfodong). As they were kept by the India Office Library they have an IOL registration number as well and can be found on 'idp' under IOL Tib J (IOL= India Office Library). The wood-slips and paper manuscripts from the southern Tarim are designated with M.Tagh when they were discovered on Mazar-tagh and M.I. when they were found in the fort in Miran. The wood-slips were registered with the India Office Library under IOL Tib N while the paper manuscripts have been reassembled and bear now new requisition numbers under Or.15000 as well.

The manuscripts of the Russian collection are designated DX.

The manuscript from the National Library of China in Beijing is designated Bei + the section¹⁰.

0.2.5 Present Stage of Research

As far as the research of the old Tibetan manuscripts is concerned apart from cataloguing the manuscripts and compiling indices a number of scholars have contributed to their understanding.

A.H. Francke wrote a survey of the Tibetan manuscripts of the Stein-Collection already in the beginning of the last century. In the first half of the last century Lalou, F.W. Thomas, L. Bacot, Tucci were the pioneers. They were followed by Beckwith, Richardson, Uebach, Uray, Yamaguchi, among others, who contributed greatly to the understanding of the early history of Tibet by using the only other contemporary texts – the pillar inscriptions – as well as the study of later sources, which contain partly preserved contemporary material, as reference. Thus they also tried to elucidate terms, the meaning of which had long been forgotten. Uray was the first to discover that a number of Tibetan letters of the Dunhuang finds stem from the post-Tibetan period. At the end of the 20th century Takeuchi took this study further and could determine that Tibetan had become the lingua franca in central Asia by then. Besides transcribing, describing and providing a syllabic index of the paper manuscripts from Mazar-tagh and Miran he also made inroads by establishing the

9 Takeuchi: Turkestan II, ppix gives a description of the reasons and the process of the registration.

10 The manuscripts are numbered according to the Qianziwen 千子文. 100 manuscripts are under each character.

formulae of the Tibetan contracts and letters, thus enabling one to identify and make use of fragments.

As the Chinese manuscripts cover not only the period of Tibetan rule but also the time of the rule of the Tang before it and the time of Guiyijun rule after it and as they moreover can be compared with the Turfan finds which go further back in time up to the Gaochang period, references to the Chinese administrative system can be studied and thus the number of scholars interested in them necessarily was greater. The researchers of the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang include Chavannes, Naba, Niida, Demiéville, Gernet, Fujieda, Yamamoto, Dohi, Ikeda, and recently Trombert just to name a few. Only Fujieda and Ikeda included Tibetan manuscripts in their research whereby they had to rely on what was published and translated at the time.

The problem for all scholars was that until recently it was difficult to get access to the material as only a selection of the manuscripts had been published. Still now the lack of catalogues in some sections makes the research a time-consuming enterprise.

0.2.6 Prospect of this Volume

The work found in this volume is insofar an attempt not yet made as it uses Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts as well as fragments of manuscripts alike to shed light on the circumstances in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule. This is of major importance as in some areas of research the information found in Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts comes from different sources. In tax-related manuscripts, for example, the Chinese manuscripts reflect the bookkeeping of the lower ranking officials, while the Tibetan manuscripts deal with the communication between the Tibetan administrators of the area and the Chinese local officials. Moreover, especially as far as the chapter on economy is concerned, many manuscripts which have not been studied before are included. These are combined with the manuscripts already known to clarify our understanding of the life of the inhabitants of Dunhuang during this period of time.

0.3 The Structure of this Volume

Part I starts with a brief survey of the administrative system of central Tibet. This is followed by a chapter on the boundaries and the administrative system of the occupied territories north-east of Tibet. To get a basic idea this chapter is headed by a synopsis of the administrative system supplied with a diagram of the administrative bodies. For a deeper understanding a section containing a commentary to each term supplied with a letter in brackets is added. Where necessary extracts from originals are included. The last chapter of this part is a treatise on the 'Mthong-khyab' military units deployed in the border regions.

Part II commences with a compilation of the names of the Chinese families resident in the Dunhuang area before and during Tibetan rule. This is supplemented

by lists of families of the Tibetan confederation and a discussion of names of non-Tibetan families appearing in the manuscripts. A whole chapter is dedicated to the 'A-zha, the Tuyuhun of the Chinese manuscripts, as they seem to have been the people most dominant in the region beside the Chinese. This chapter starts with a synopsis their history followed by a commentary to each point. Then a list of the 'A-zha names and toponyms is supplied.

This part is concluded by a chapter concerning the development of the ecclesiastical institutions.

Part III deals with the economy of the region. It starts with a chapter concerning the produce of the land and the distribution of fields. As not many manuscripts are extant these are included in the main text.

The chapter on tax and other dues as well as the chapter on contracts is divided into two sections. In the first section as far as the chapter on tax and other dues is concerned the terms and regulations dealing with taxation are discussed and clarified. Considerations on the consequences of this system for the population are added. The first part of the chapter on contracts primarily deals with the different types of contracts, their evaluation in number and content and considerations concerning the economic situation of the participants. Evaluations are presented. The second part is a text section in which a selection of manuscripts is translated and discussed.

This is followed by a list of the measures used at the time.

A conclusion taking into consideration the finds of all three parts rounds it off.

The appendices contain a concordance on a selection of toponyms of the 8th to the 9th century in Tibetan and Chinese and modern times, a concordance of the manuscripts used, a bibliography and a set of maps and plans.

Part I

1 The Organisation of the Tibetan Empire

1.1 The Administrative System of Central Tibet:

A Survey of its Development from the 7th to the 9th Century

The most conclusive information concerning the administrative system of central Tibet can be drawn from a set of contemporaneous manuscripts, the ‘Tibetan Royal Annals’¹. They show that the Tibetan empire was governed by the emperor in accordance with the assemblies of the great ‘zhang lon’ (great ministers)² which were convened twice a year at varying locations in central Tibet³ and by another assembly held at varying places in Mdo-smad⁴. These locations as well as the convening members of the assemblies and the residence of the emperor, which also varied, were recorded in the ‘Royal Annals’⁵. The ‘Royal Annals’ cover the events from the beginning of the 7th century up to the year 763.

The history of the development of the administrative system can be reconstructed with information provided by the ‘Royal Annals’, but a full account of the territorial

1 The ‘Tibetan Royal Annals’ are extant in two versions. One version consists of Pt1288 and IOL Tib J 750, the other is the manuscript Or.8212/187. They are translated in Bacot et al.1940 and in Dotson 2009 where they are called Old Tibetan Annals. They are transliterated in Choix III. The lines of these publications do not match. Here the line numbers of Choix III are used. The set of manuscripts is called ‘Royal Annals’ throughout this book.

2 The number of the great ministers seems to have varied. Pt1071 speaks of four including the great councillor (blon chen po) (Richardson: Hunting Accidents, in High Peaks, p150). The Bsam-yas Edict of the Emperor Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (written in 779 or 791 according to Li, Coblin: 1987, p186) lists nine including the great councillor (Dpa’-bo: ja 109b, Tucci: Tombs, p97). The Skar-cung Edict of the Emperor Khri Lde-srong-brtsan (802–815) does not use the term ‘zhang lon chen po’, but from the context it is clear that this body of ministers is meant. There, there are eight, including two priests and the great councillor (Dpa’-bo: ja 130a, Tucci: Tombs, p103).

3 The assemblies in central Tibet were generally convoked by the ‘blon chen po’ (the great councillor – sometimes translated with prime minister).

4 On the location of Mdo-smad see the chapter on the administration of the occupied territories (*b*) Dbyar-mo-thang and map I.

5 A compilation of the residences of the emperor and the locations of the assemblies and their localisation, where possible, is found in Uebach: Residences.

division of the empire can only be found in later sources, which do not always correspond.

The first reference to a segment of the territorial division of the empire – a horn ‘ru’ – occurs in the entry of the year 684 of the ‘Royal Annals’. It is stated that the assembly was held in Re-skar in the lower Dbu ‘ru’ (Dbu-ru-shod⁶). Until around the year 726 the ‘Royal Annals’ speak of three horns and Rtsang-chen. With the reorganisation of the administration of Tibet Rtsan-chen was added to the ‘horns’ and from then on four ‘ru’ are recorded⁷.

The ‘Yan-lag Sum-pa’i ru’ or ‘Sum-ru’ is first mentioned in 702⁸. This is the horn of the Sum-pa of Mdo-smad and it was never included in the horns of central Tibet. Thus altogether five horns were known: four horns for central Tibet: the central horn (Dbu-ru), the left horn (G.yo-ru⁹), the right horn (G.yas-ru)¹⁰ and Ru-lag (formerly Rtsang-chen). They were named and were geographically situated as if viewed from north to south. Ru-lag was the western most horn. The fifth horn was situated in Mdo-smad in the north-east.

The formerly independent kingdom of Zhang-zhung in the north-west of central Tibet was incorporated into Tibet already in 644/645¹¹. Zhang-zhung is nowhere referred to as ‘ru’ although it was subdivided into units of a thousand as the ‘ru’. In a later source it is designated a ‘khri’-unit¹² – literally a unit of ten thousand.

The horns were subdivided in units of a thousand (stong sde) consisting of a thousand families each¹³. The first reference to them in the ‘Royal Annals’ appears relatively late¹⁴, in A.D.746. Lists of the names of the units which are generally toponyms and their designation to a ‘ru’ can be found in later sources only.

In these later sources two distinct traditions can be observed.

6 IOL Tib J 750 (35).

7 See Uray (Brung-pa) for a detailed description of the reorganisation of the administration, and Uray (Horns) for the study of the ‘ru’ in the ‘Royal Annals’.

8 IOL Tib J 750 (90).

9 ‘G.yo’ with the meaning ‘left’ is no longer known; see Uray: Horns, p41.

10 The G.yas-ru is not mentioned by name in the ‘Royal Annals’.

11 Pt1288 (12).

12 In ‘Mkas pa lde’us mdzad pa’i rgya bod kyi chos ‘byung rgyas pa’ ed. Chab-spel tshе-brtan phun-tshogs, Lhasa 1987; the section on law and state of this work is designated in Uebach (Lde’u) as version B and its content is structured and translated (p826–p829).

On ‘khri’ units see the chapter on the administration of the occupied territories (p).

13 Takeuchi (Tshan, p852, p856 and note 36) concluded that as in P3491v it is stated that 53 households (hu 戶) make up the seven left ‘jiang’ (將) that in ‘jiang’ or ‘tshan’ the households are counted and as the units of a thousand were made up of 20 ‘jiang’ – thousand in ‘units of a thousand’ (stong sde) necessarily refers to households and not to the number of soldiers raised. For the description of the units called ‘jiang’ and ‘tshan’ see chapter on administration of the occupied territories (s).

14 IOL Tib J 750 (254). The first reference to units of a thousand is c.60 years later than the first reference to a horn. This does not necessarily mean that they did not exist earlier as the entries in the ‘Royal Annals’ contain only a shortened version of a selection of events.

One is reflected in two sources. In Dpa'-bo (ja 19b–20b) each horn of central Tibet and Zhang-zhung included eight units of a thousand each. Each of the horns and Zhang-zhung were divided in an upper and a lower part, consisting of four units each and a small unit of a thousand. The central Tibetan horns had an additional unit of bodyguards. The horn of the Sum-pa consisted of 10 units of a thousand and a small unit of a thousand. Almost identical is the list in 'Bka' thang sde lnga'¹⁵, but there Ru-lag is still called by its old name Gtsang (the Rtsang of the 'Royal Annals') and Zhang-zhung and the horn of the Sum-pa are not listed.

The other tradition is reflected in a list of the horns and the units of a thousand contained therein in Nel-pa Pandita's chronicle¹⁶. There the names of the units, their designation to a horn and the number of units in a 'ru' do not always correspond to the former two sources. The differences are especially predominant in the lists of Dbu 'ru' – which has twelve units and a small unit –, G.yas 'ru' – which has only six units and a small unit – and the units of Sum-pa country (Sum-pa'i yul) – where there are only eight units and a small unit. There is no list concerning Zhang-zhung included in Nel-pa Pandita's chronicle.

The former two lists have been dated to reflect circumstances in the second half of the 8th century as some of the names of the leaders of the horns which are given in Dpa'-bo can be traced in the 'Old Tibetan Chronicle'¹⁷. The list in Nel-pa Pandita's chronicle cannot be dated with certainty. Uebach suggests that the units were reorganized after the empire was weakened in the west and north at the time of the peace treaties with the Chinese, the Dru-gu and the Ljang 821/823¹⁸ and consequently Dbu 'ru' was strengthened i.e. more units were included. Thus the list in Nel-pa Pandita's chronicle would reflect the situation of the time after the peace treaties.

Some of the names of units found on manuscripts or wood-slips in Miran or Mazar-tagh occur only in one list of either tradition. This indicates that the units of both lists were in existence during the Tibetan occupation of the southern Tarim (c.790–c.850). However, some of the names of units on the manuscripts found in the southern Tarim and Dunhuang appear in neither list. On one hand these may have been units consisting of locals, on the other hand it is possible that both lists are incomplete. Some of the forms of the names of units in the later sources differ greatly from the contemporary forms, i.e. in the process of repeated copying the names were corrupted.

15 The 'blon-po bka' thang-yig of 'bka-thang sde-lnga' listed in Tucci: Painted Scrolls, vol. II, pp737–738 and Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita, pp21–22.

16 Written in 1283; transliterated, translated and discussed in Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita (pp19–24, pp50–55).

17 The 'Old Tibetan Chronicle': Pt1287: Michims Rgyal-gzigs (376) and Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-sna (378); and Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita, p20.

18 Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita, pp23.

References to a subdivision into units of five hundred can be found in the ‘Royal Annals’ already in 693¹⁹. Using two later sources Uebach²⁰ came to the following conclusion: as eight units of a thousand made up each horn of central Tibet, a horn divided into sixteen units would consist of sixteen units of five hundred households. These units were called ‘yul sde’ or ‘yul dpon tshan’. Each of these units was again divided into ten ‘tshan’. ‘Yul sde’ are only listed for the four horns of Tibet. The names of the ‘yul sde’ given in the two sources differ greatly. Some of them are toponyms known from the ‘Royal Annals’; some of them have the same names as the units of a thousand.

The question arises whether these two systems of dividing the horns in units of a thousand and units of five hundred existed simultaneously. The last entry referring to units of five hundred can be found in the ‘Royal Annals’ in the year 713²¹. The first entry mentioning units of a thousand is in 746²².

One source²³ speaks of units of a thousand of Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa and directly afterwards speaks of the ‘yul sde’ of the four horns of central Tibet. As no trace of units of five hundred or ‘yul sde’ of central Tibet can be found in the manuscripts from the southern Tarim and Dunhuang and as some of the names of the ‘yul sde’ also occur as names of units of a thousand one could suggest that somewhen between the reform of c.726²⁴ and 746 this system was reformed as well and two units of five hundred were fused to one unit of a thousand. The number of ‘tshan’ was not changed and this is why – as reflected in some Dunhuang manuscripts – a unit of a thousand in central Tibet comprised twenty ‘tshan’²⁵.

19 IOL Tib J 750 (63).

20 Uebach: Small units: The sources are: Lde’u chos ‘byung (see note 10) and Rgyal po bka’i thang yig: bka’ thang sde lnga, pt. kha Dgah ldan phun tshogs gling edition, Lokesh Chandra ed. New Delhi (Sata-Pitaka Series 308) 1982. Both sources list sixteen units for each horn of central Tibet.

21 IOL Tib J 750 (138).

22 The ‘rulers of small thousands’ (stong bu rje) in the entry of the year 707 (IOL Tib J 750, l. 113): “lnga brgya stong bu rjer bcos”: “the (heads) of the (units) of five hundred were made to rulers of small thousands” do not refer to the heads of the small units of a thousand known from the time when the division in units of a thousand was in use (see above: each horn included on top of the units of a thousand one small unit of a thousand). It means that a new designation was added which may have meant a higher rank for the officials concerned.

23 The Chos-‘byung of Lde’u. The relevant section is given in Uebach: Small Units, p999.

24 This reform comprised the inclusion of Rtsang-chen into the horns of central Tibet as ‘Ru-lag’ and the reduction of the great ‘mngan’ from eight to four etc. For a detailed account see: Uray: Brung-pa.

25 One could postulate a simultaneous emergency and existence of the system of ‘a thousand’ and ‘five hundred’ however. Then the names in the lists of the sixteen ‘yul sde’ must be partly wrong. Another possibility would be that the system of ‘a five hundred’ came into existence first and when the system of ‘a thousand’ was introduced some of the names of the ‘yul sde’ were altered. The facts that support this hypothesis are that on a document of the Munich Ethnographical Museum reference to ‘yul dpon’ (head of a ‘yul’-unit) is made (Uebach: Small Units, p1000) and that in the manuscript mentioning ‘tshan’ in the Khotan area

Apart from the units of a thousand – also called military units (rgod gyi sde) – civil units (g.yung gyi sde) existed. The division of the population in military and civil units is recorded in the ‘Royal Annals’ already in the year 654²⁶. No names of the civil units are known. Later sources are at variance concerning their number in relation to the military units²⁷. Certain is only that the people belonging to the military units had to defend the empire, while the people belonging to the civil units were responsible for the services of the interior. One source speaks of their being the basis for the economical upkeep of the country²⁸, the other states that people of professions such as herdsmen, merchants and craftsmen belonged to them. The latter source divides the civil units into ‘keng’ and sub-‘keng’ but does not specify which profession belonged to which ‘keng’²⁹. From the information given in Pt1071 one can conclude that in the sub-‘keng’ only bondservants and lowest servants were included. All members of the population belonging to the g.yung units were of a low status³⁰.

(M.Tagh.b.I.0048: translated and discussed in Takeuchi: Tshan, p855) the ‘tshan’ are not designated with their leader as in Dunhuang but with a toponym as the ‘yul sde’ or ‘yul dpon tshan’ of central Tibet.

26 Pt1288 (27).

27 In the ‘La-dvags-rgyal-rabs’ (compiled in the middle of the 17th century – cited from Uray: Legislation, p63) the numbers correspond, in Dpa’-bo (ja 20b) and Nel-pa Pandita’s chronicle (Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita, pp62) their number is smaller than the number of the military units.

28 Uebach: Nel-pa Pandita, p62: “g.yung stong sde sum bcus ni nang gi khab so btsugs” (concerning the thirty civil units of a thousand, they were the basis for the economical upkeep of the interior).

29 Dpa’-bo (ja 20b).

30 From Pt1071 (ll. 276, 287, 299) partly translated by Richardson: Hunting Accidents in Early Tibet, in High Peaks, pp149, it is evident that the people of the civil units ranged below the people belonging to the military units, but above bondservants working in farming (rkya bran). In ‘Lde’u’ version B: (Uebach: Lde’u, p828 1.2.13) it is stated that a ‘keng’ should not be admitted in the place of a ‘rgod’.

1.2 The Administrative System of the Occupied Territories North-East of Tibet:

With Special Emphasis on the Territorial Division of the Dunhuang Region in the Administrative Units of Dunhuang and the Units in the Vicinity of Dunhuang

1.2.1 Summary

After the conquests of the years 762–765 the administrative area designated as the great realm of the ‘Bde councillors’ (Bde blon) was established in 765 in the gained areas north-east of central Tibet. This area was divided in provinces with a military government called ‘great khrom’ (*a*)¹. The larger and more populous ‘khrom’ were the Dbyar-mo-thang and Mkhar-tsan ‘khrom’. The exact borderlines are not known but roughly the latter included Ganzhou, Liangzhou, up to the border with China, while the former formed the eastern frontier to China from lake Qinghai southwards (*b*). The two smaller ones were Kva-cu and Tshal-byi ‘khrom’ (*c*). The latter comprised the oasis towns Car-chen, Ka-dag, Nob-ched-po (Charklik) and the military base Nob-cu-ngu (Miran) along the south-eastern fringe of the Taklamakan, the former the area around Su-, Gua- and Shazhou (*d*). Although the former kingdom of Khotan was administered by the Tibetans in a different way than the ‘khrom’ it is possible that it was also transformed into a ‘khrom’, but no manuscripts confirming this are known. It does not seem to have been part of the administrative area of the Bde councillors (Bde blon) as the eastern ‘khrom’ (*e*).

The organisation of the domination was adapted to the conditions of each ‘khrom’. Shazhou was mainly populated by Chinese or sinicized peoples and Chinese officials were taking part in its administration. Part of its population was incorporated in the military organisation of the ‘khrom’ (*f*) while in Mkhar-tsan ‘khrom’ this was apparently not the case (*g*).

As the bulk of material extant deals with matters concerning ‘Chinese Shazhou’ (rgya Sha-cu) as it was called by the Tibetans, the administration of this area is well documented while the area around it cannot be depicted with such clarity.

The highest authority of Kva-cu ‘khrom’ were the assemblies which were convoked by two or three of the dignitaries (*h*) who convened in alternating localities at least annually (*i*).

Important issues, however, were handled by the Bde councillors who resided in Bde-sum-tshal in Zha in Bde-gams or ultimately by the assembly of the great ‘zhang lon’ in Long-cu (*j*). Petitions could be handed in to all three bodies (*k*).

1 To each letter in brackets a section is assigned in the commentary.

Only rarely direct orders from the palace of the emperor in central Tibet were sent (*l*).

The administrative centre of Kva-cu 'khrom' was in Guazhou where a military head (dmag pon, jiedushi 節都使) was responsible for the management of the affairs of the 'khrom' (*m*).

As central Tibet was divided in horns (ru)², the occurrence of a head of a horn (ru dpon), his deputy (ru theb) and a 'ru 'bring' and 'ru cung' seems to imply that Kva-cu 'khrom' formed a horn as well. It is not clear whether the 'ru' administration of the occupied areas was set up in the same way as in central Tibet. The head of the horn and his assistant seem to have had their headquarters in Guazhou and consequently not a lot of information can be found in Shazhou. For Shazhou only two manuscripts listing the participants of some kind of military exercise with a Tibetan middle ranking 'ru' officer (ru 'bring), a Chinese middle ranking 'ru' officer and several Chinese lower ranking 'ru' officials (ru cung) are extant. The head of a horn who had the rank below the military head (dmag pon) was also occupied with civil matters such as the change of the procedure of the audit of an inventory of a monastery (*n*).

In Mkhar-tsan 'khrom' below the head of a horn ranged the head of a 'khri sde', the 'khri dpon' – literally the head of a unit of ten thousand –. In Kva-cu 'khrom' the 'khri sde' of the Chinese and the 'A-zha units are attested. This type of unit is not known from central Tibet. In the list of ranks of the officials of Mkhar-tsan 'khrom' no distinction is made between the ranks of the heads of the 'khri sde' of various types (i.e. Tibetan, 'A-zha or 'mthong-khyab') while the ranks of the heads of units of thousand (stong sde) differ according to type. There is not enough material to clarify the function of the 'khri sde' definitely. It is possible that they were diversified later to form superstructures for the various types of units of thousand of a 'khrom'. As far as Shazhou is concerned, the 'khri dpon' ranged below the town prefect (rtse rje). No information exists as to whether or how the Tibetan units stationed in the region were incorporated in this system as no 'khri sde' of Tibetans is attested (*o*). The 'khri sde' not necessarily consisted of ten units of a thousand (stong sde), as the size of the population does not always fit the theory. Of the tasks of the head of the 'khri sde' the 'khri dpon' not much is known as there is only one manuscript extant. There he was concerned with a civil matter – a law suit (*p*).

In the administration of Shazhou the highest official was the town prefect (rtse rje blon). Below him and ranking above the heads of the various units of a thousand, a number of other officials were employed. These were all Tibetans while their assistants or deputies were selected from the Chinese. In official communications they were titled 'dignitaries of Shazhou' (Sha-cu'i dpon sna). Each unit of a thousand had their own tax official and a number of administrative officials ranging below the head of the unit. These were all Chinese (*q*). The units of a thousand

2 See chapter on the administration of central Tibet for details about the 'ru' formation.

whose population was not Chinese were apparently not under the town prefect of Shazhou, although they definitely were to be found in the vicinity of the town (*r*).

The units of a thousand were again divided in 'tshan' with a 'Inga bcu rkang', a head of 50, as head (*s*).

As in central Tibet the population was divided into military units 'rgod' and civil units 'g.yung'. Concerning the latter little is known from there about them. As they did not belong to the military organisation this is not surprising (*t*). In Shazhou the civil units were led by Chinese and the whole administration was carried out in Chinese – tax, land and population registers of these units are extant (*u*).

The administration was highly centralised. No communication is documented between the various towns of the region.

This administration was not set up in one go, changes occurred – units were divided, new ones set up (*v*). The sketch below shows as it has been set after about the second half of Tibetan rule.

1.2.2 Diagrams

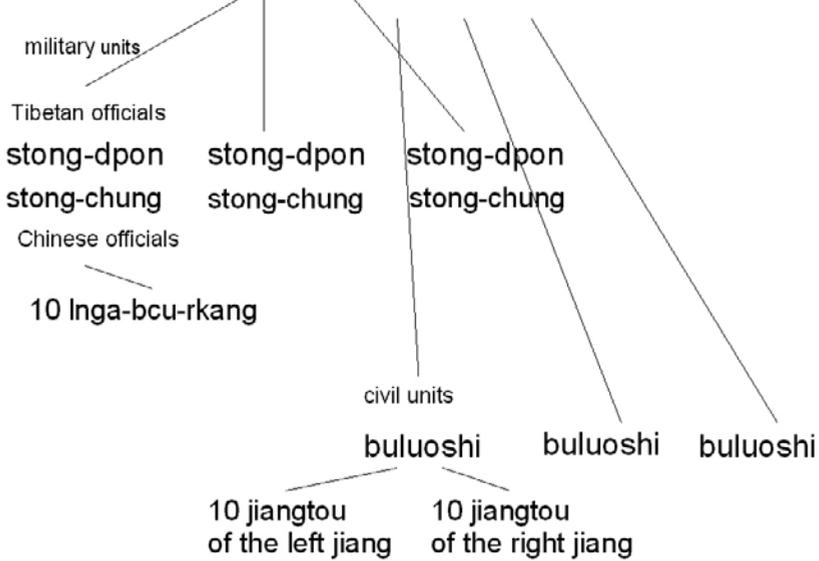


Shazhou

rtse-rje

khri-dpon

Tibetan and Chinese officials



1.2.3 Commentary

(a) The Establishment of the Military Administration of the ‘Khrom’

‘Khrom’ – which later referred to the provinces and their military governments conquered by the Tibetan empire – were already referred to in the ‘Royal Annals’ in the entry for the year 676 after the Tarim had for the first time come under Tibetan control and in the entry for the year 741 when administrative measures – inter alia the recruitment of troops in connection with the retaking of Lcags-rtse – were conducted. In these two instances, however, no specification is made, no ‘khrom’ assemblies are mentioned and the term great ‘khrom’ (khrom chen po) is not applied. ‘Khrom’ there seems to refer to the conquered area apparently in the region of lake Qinghai³.

Only after the conquests that took place till 764/765, which are related in Pt1276 (376–386)⁴, the foundation of an overall administrative system coordinated by a body of dignitaries called Bde councillors (bde blon)⁵ took place. The above mentioned text section only speaks of the establishment of the great realm of the Bde councillors and the set-up of five units of ten-thousand (khri sde) of ‘mthong-khyab’. Then Shazhou had not been conquered. But the area held seems to have

3 ‘Royal Annals’: IOL Tib J 750 (16–17): “blon btsan snas dru gu yul du drangste / ldum bu khri bshos khrom ‘tsald par”:

“[Mgar] Btsan-sna Ldom-bu having led a campaign into Dru-gu country he required Khri-bzhos ‘khrom”.

Uray (Khrom, p313) places Khri-bshos ‘khrom’ (mentioned for the year 676) in the region of lake Qinghai referring to Stein (Épopée: p196–197, p293–294, p314 n.136). Stein, however, speaks of lake Khri-shog as lake Qinghai – also calls it in his map like this and has the variation Khri-shos and Khri-bshos. As in the year (the winter of 676) Khri-bshos ‘khrom’ is referred to, Chinese sources speak of Tibetan raids of Shanzhou 鄯州 (east of today’s Xining?), Kuozhou and Hezhou (Beckwith: History, pp42) an identity is likely.

‘Royal Annals’: IOL Tib J 750 (234–236): “sprul gyi lo la / btsan po dbyard chab srid la gshegste / rgya’i mkhar dar khva hyvan phab / sho don gyi zhang tshal du btsan po’i spyen sngar / khrom gyi mkos chen po bgyis / dgun chab srid las slar brag mar du gshegste / bzo zhal chos gyis / brgalte mkhar lcags rtse slar thob / ”

“In 741 the emperor [Mes-ag-tshoms] raided Dar-khva-hyvan (Dahua xian 達化縣: Beckwith: History, p127) and the great recruitment of troops (‘mkhos chen po’ – discussion on this term in chapter on ‘A-zha (i) of the ‘khrom’ took place in Zhang-tshal in Sho-don”.

Uray (Khrom, p313) identifies Sho-don as Shudun 樹敦, which according to Molè (1970, pp121) was a ‘xian’ 縣 west of Xining ‘xian’ (modern day Gonghe 共和 on the south-eastern end of lake Qinghai according to Sato: 1987, map 3). It was the old capital of the Tuyuhun and was destroyed in 556 together with the other Tuyuhun capital Hezhen 賀真. Here it denotes a region, however. With this newly levied army Lcags-rtse among others was reconquered.

Thus in the early period of Tibetan expansion the term ‘khrom’ was known but it appears that it only was used to denote the conquered area around lake Qinghai.

4 Translation in the chapter on ‘mthong-khyab’: Establishment of the ‘Khri’ Units of ‘Mthong-khyab’ Related in the Old Tibetan ‘Chronicle’.

5 Also see (j) Responsibilities of the Bde Councillors (Bde blon).

been large enough for the formation of the ‘mthong-khyab’⁶ units who strengthened the Tibetan hold so that the areas were guarded and a military administration of the civilians could be set up. That this was a lengthy process is shown by the quarrel between Tibetan and non Tibetan officials about their ranks, illustrated in Pt 1089⁷, which alone took 10 years to solve. It is not possible to say when the areas covering the various ‘khrom’ were determined, but it seems that after the Bde councillors were installed the ‘khrom’ were established consecutively along with the conquests.

This ‘khrom’ organisation was not applied in central Tibet as can be seen in the apposition in IOL Tib J 751, 40 b3 the ‘khrom’ of the frontier realm (so khams kyi khrom) and the centre of the great country (yul chen po’i dbus)⁸. The term ‘so khams’ or ‘so-gams’⁹, referring to the conquered frontier provinces, occurs elsewhere.

It is difficult to ascertain a Chinese equivalent to ‘khrom’. In the Jiu Tangshu when referring to the territories occupied by the Tibetans on the Chinese western border the terms ‘dong dao jiedu’ 東道節度 (military government of the eastern ‘dao’) is used. It is clear that the military governors of a ‘khrom’ were known as ‘jiedushi’ and its government ‘jiedu’¹⁰. But what term was used for the administrative area has not been established yet. It is possible that ‘khrom’ was referred to as ‘dao’ in Chinese literature. Firstly the areas under military administration of the Chinese empire were called ‘dao’, secondly no other large administrative sections existed in the areas occupied by the Tibetans, thirdly ‘dong dao’ (eastern ‘dao’) indicates that the areas lay east of Tibet. But whenever the term ‘dao’ is used it is never designated with a name as in Tibetan, e.g. Kva-cu ‘khrom’¹¹. Therefore ‘dong dao’ may refer to the whole area and not to an individual ‘khrom’. This does however not tally with the following. In an entry for the year 802 a Tibetan leader had the title great minister of the interior combining the posts of military head of the troops of the five ‘dao’ on the eastern frontier and great inspector of the herds 內大相兼東境五道節度兵馬使都統牧大使¹² and Songzhou

6 See chapter on ‘mthong-khyab’: Establishment of the ‘Khri’ Units of ‘Mthong-Khyab’ Related in the Old Tibetan ‘Chronicle’.

7 Text and translation in Lalou: Revendications and Yamaguchi: Foundation; some sections are cited in this chapter (*f*), (*p*), (*q*). The dates of the years occurring in this document are discussed in (*v*).

8 According to Uray who was the first scholar to clarify the term ‘khrom’: Khrom, p314.

9 Pt1552v, first text on plate 615 in ‘Choix’ – an incomplete letter – refers to somebody who had been ordered to work in ‘So-gams’; in M.I.xiv.59 (3) (Ta, text 515, TII, p65) Kva-cu in ‘So-gams’ is mentioned.

10 See (*m*).

11 In the Chinese translation of “The Prophecy of the Li Country” (P2139) translated by Facheng 法成 – also known by his Tibetan name ‘Go Chos-grub (c.770–875) the government of Tshal-byi ‘khrom’ is called: military government of the military district of Sapi ‘Sapi jundangdao jiedu’ 薩毗軍當道節度, however (Uray: Dbang-po, p424).

12 Demiéville: Concile, p265, citing the Jiu Tangshu CXCVI B, 9a; Bushell: 1880, p510. The Tibetan leader councillor Mang-bzher 莽熱 was designated with above titles.

was referred to as a military government of the five ‘dao’ 松州五道節度¹³. The former may be explained with the other meaning of ‘dao’ in a military context. There it may refer to five routs of military expeditions. But from the latter it appears that five ‘dao’ actually refer to five ‘khrom’¹⁴. This may be substantiated by the fact that after 765 five ‘khri sde’ of ‘mthong-khyab’ were established¹⁵. This could mean one ‘khri’-unit was designated to each ‘khrom’.

Although the border with China is not documented for the whole Tibetan period it can be approximately depicted¹⁶.

(b) Mkhar-tsan ‘Khrom’

The entry in the ‘Royal Annals’ for the dog year 758: “... an expedition was lead by councillors Khri-bzang and Skyes-bzang Stag-snang and others in the direction Leng-cu in Khar-tsan ..” (...blon Khri-bzang dang blon Skyes-bzang Stag-snang las stsogs pas Khar-tsan Leng-cu phyogsu dra ma drangs par ..)¹⁷ shows that Leng-cu belonged to this ‘khrom’. Leng-cu has been identified with Liangzhou, today’s Wuwei¹⁸.

Ba-mgo, north-west of Liangzhou, and Ke’u-shan, so-far unidentified, were situated there as well¹⁹.

Ganzhou must have been included as it did not belong to the adjacent Kva-cu ‘khrom’²⁰.

13 Demiéville: Concile, p265, citing the Xin Tangshu CCXVI B, 4b,11.

14 See also the discussion in Demiéville (Concile, pp264, note 2) who wrote it when the term ‘khrom’ in the Tibetan military administration was not clarified yet. There is no problem of identifying four eastern ‘khrom’, concerning the question of the fifth ‘khrom’ see (d).

15 See chapter on ‘mthong-khyab’: Establishment of ‘Khri’ -units of ‘Mthong-khyab’.

16 The peace treaty between Tibet and China of 783 ended Tibet’s further incursions into Central Asia (Beckwith: History, p149). Therefore, although military confrontations between these two countries only ceased with the peace treaty of 821, the borderline did not change much. It extended from the Long Mountains 隴山 in the north in a south-westerly direction till it reached the Dadu River 大渡河 in today’s Sichuan, which it followed further south. Thus, for example, Longzhou 隴州, Fengzhou 鳳州 and Chengzhou 成州 were on Chinese territory, while Yuanzhou 原州 belonged to Tibet. The bordering areas of the treaty of 783 are described in more detail in the Jiu Tangshu 196A-B and Xin Tangshu 216A.

17 Or.8212/187 (32).

18 Uray: Khar-tsan: pp212 has identified Leng-cu with Liangzhou using more than sufficient evidence. Problematic is, however, his identification of it with Long-cu as well (Long-cu= Liangzhou 涼州). Firstly because a Chinese place called Longzhou 隴州 was situated near the Tibetan border in Chinese territory – it was raided by the Tibetans several times –, secondly because the Longshan – variously mentioned in Tibetan sources doubtlessly are the Longshan 隴山. Thus a transliteration Long-cu= Liangzhou would have certainly caused confusion among the Tibetans themselves.

19 ‘Royal Annals’: Or.8212/187 (44): These two places were raided in 761. Rong (1990/91, pp260) identified Ba-mgo as Fan/Panhe 番禾 situated NW of Liangzhou.

20 It is not included in Pt1079 (5) where the commissioners of the Kva-cu ‘khrom’ are stated to cover the area from Shazhou to Suzhou.

Its border to Dbyar-mo-thang cannot be ascertained, but probably was somewhere around Lanzhou. In the east it reached to the frontier with China along the Longshan mountain range²¹.

Dbyar-mo-thang ‘Khrom’

It is known from the Zhol inscription in Lhasa that this area once belonged to China. It is mentioned in connection with the campaign in the direction of Mkhar-tsan and the subjugation of the ‘A-zha who belonged to China.

Zhol inscription, south side²²:

(32–34) rgya’i khams khams su gtogs pa dbyar mo thang - - - - - na dang
tsong ka phyogs ..

“Dbyar-mo-thang belonging to the Chinese realm and towards the region of Tsong-ka”.

Although the inscription is defect at places it is possible that Tsong-ka, a region along the river Tsong-chu i.e. the Huangshui 湟水 belonged to Dbyar-mo-thang as well. Firstly because Dbyar-mo-thang was associated with lake Qinghai²³ and secondly – if the location of Lcags-rtse south-west of today’s Xining²⁴ is correct – it lay in its vicinity. According to a later source²⁵ Tsong-ka belonged to Bde-gams²⁶.

That Lcags-rtse belonged to Dbyar-mo-thang can be deduced from a phrase in a fragment from Dunhuang²⁷.

From a later source it is known that Shing-kun (Lintao) belonged to Dbyar-mo-thang²⁸.

21 The Longshan 隴山 mountain range is situated on the border between Gansu and Shaanxi.

22 Richardson: Inscriptions, pp11.

23 Uray (Khrom, p113) states that in the geographic literature and especially in religious and heroic epics Dbyar-mo-thang was always thought to be found in the neighbourhood of lake Qinghai.

24 Lcags-rtse: Tiedao (Uebach: Dbyar-mo-thang, p517, note 64); Tieren cheng = Shipu cheng (Stein: Civilisation, p117, note 2) – as example of translated place names (‘lcags’= ‘tie’= iron). Shibao 石堡 was recaptured by the Tibetans in the year 741 according to Chinese sources (Beckwith: History, p128), as was Lcags-rtse according to the Royal Annals: IOL Tib J 750 (234–238). Sato (map 3) places Shibao on the route from Xining to Lhasa south-west of Xining near lake Qinghai at Qara kötül.

25 Uebach: Dharma Colleges, note 32: c.f. biography of Dgongs-pa Rab-gsal in: Roerich: The Blue Annals, Calcutta 1949–1953, p63.

26 On the location and extension of Bde-gams see (j).

27 Pt1165: text, translation and commentary in chapter on ‘mthong-khyab’: Distribution of Units of ‘Mthong-khyab’.

28 Uebach: Dbyar-mo-thang: p522: There reference is made to the collected works of Bla-ma ‘Phags-pa (Sa-skya-pa’i bka’bum, the Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa-skya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism: compiled by Bso-nams Rgya-mtso, Tokyo 1968 vols. 6/7 – vol. 6: 173–2–2 and vol. 7: 60–1–3). According to this source Shing-kun (Lintao) on the Klu-chu (Taohe) belonged to Dbyar-mo-thang in the 13th century. Therefore it was doubtless included

In the south it had a border with Mdo-gams or Mdo-smad²⁹. Latter is only known from the ‘Royal Annals’. As in later sources Dbyar-mo-thang was confused with Mdo-smad³⁰ it doubtlessly had a border with it. Mdo-smad certainly reached up to the Yellow river as the place Rma-rong (gorge of the Rma, the Yellow river) belonged to it³¹. In the Dunhuang manuscripts only Mdo-gams occurs. No names of places in Mdo-gams are supplied in them, however.

In Tang times on the route from Qinghai to Lhasa the first Tibetan village was at N34E95³², further north lived the Duomi 多彌 (K: 3a: tâ/tâ, 359m: mġär/mġie)³³ in the area between the Yalong and the Jinsha (‘Bri) rivers³⁴. The area of the Duomi could have been included in Mdo-gams. Glong-thang ‘Jig-rten-sgron-ma designated as belonging to Mdo-gams has been identified as having been situated at the Jinsha river south-east of Jekundo further south³⁵.

therein in the 8th and 9th centuries as well.

- 29 Whether Mdo-gams and Mdo-smad were identical areas is not clear. In the Royal Annals regular assemblies are recorded to have been held at varying places in Mdo-smad. See ‘Administration of Central Tibet’ for further details.
- 30 Uebach: (Dbyar-mo-thang, p501, note 13) refers to E.G. Smith: Compendium: Introduction p21–22, notes 50–51.
- 31 Royal Annals: IOL Tib J 750 (114) and Or.8212/187 (37). It has been tried to localise other places or regions in Mdo-smad. But the results were unconvincing: Petech: 1967, pp253 equates Ledu 樂都 with Nyam-pu in Rag-tag in Mdo-smad on the basis that Ledu was called Nienpo in Ming times. But in the entry of the year 708 in which Nyam-pu is mentioned as an assembly place the area around Ledu was certainly not Tibetan yet.
- 32 Sato (Tang Route, p8, citing the Xin Tangshu): this place was called Shitang 食唐. According to Stein: Tribus, pp81, this place might be identical with Zho-thang in Mdo-smad known from the ‘Royal Annals:’ Or.8212/187 (42). He suggests that it is identical with the legendary Zo-thang whereby ‘shi’ of Shitang would be a translation of ‘zo’ – ‘eat’.
- 33 Sato (Tang Route, p8) states that the Duomi were called Nan-ma 難磨 the Nam-pa of later Tibetan sources (Dpa’-bo Ja 20b) but gives no source for the former. The Duomi may be identical with the Dangmi 黨迷 (K: 725r: tâng/tâng, K: 598e: mier/miei), who may have lived northeast of the Fuguo. The Fuguo are known to have lived in the Sui dynasty at a great river that flows south, west of the Jinsha river (Eberhard: Randvölker, p87). This may refer to the Dze river. Thus the area of Dangmi and Duomi seems identical and they were equated in the Fuguo chapter of the Suishu. But it cannot be excluded that they were two separate peoples who lived close to each other. In the Dunhuang manuscripts a Da-myi family appears which may be equated to the Duomi (see chapter on ‘mthong-khyab’: Provenance of the People of the ‘Mthong-khyab’ Units of the Dunhuang Region: The Unit of the People from ‘Brong-then).
- 34 Sato: Tang Route: Reconstruction of the Tang route to Tibet based on the Xin Tangshu, geographical section, completed and interpreted with the route of the 3rd Panchen Lama (in the year 1780) who followed the Qing route to Beijing and a local gazetteer of Yushuxian 玉樹縣 of 1914.
- 35 Uebach: Dharma Colleges, p404 (in this essay lists of the dharma-colleges established by Ral-pa-chan 817–841 according to three later sources are presented and the places, where possible, are localised) and Stein (Tribus, pp72) for the localisation of the area and temple.

In a Chinese report, describing the circumstances of the year 1281, the western border of Mdo-gams is the source of the yellow river and the north-eastern border the southern side of the Amnye Machen mountain range³⁶.

Thus Mdo-gams probably included peoples other than Tibetans as well and reached at least up to the upper reaches of the Yellow river and the Amnye Machen range. This may have been the border to Dbyar-mo-thang 'khrom'.

(c) In Pt1128 Tshal-byi and Kva-cu 'khrom' are listed together³⁷.

(d) Tshal-byi 'Khrom'

Tshal-byi 'khrom' is mentioned in a fragment of a letter and a tax-related document³⁸.

Tshal-byi is also the name of a town, the administrative centre of the 'khrom'. This can be verified with the Chinese translation of the Tibetan version of the "Prophecy of the Li Country". There Tshal-byi is translated with Sapi 薩毗 and refers to an area³⁹. It was the name of a town as well. The town of Sapi is mentioned in S367 (19–20)⁴⁰ as a place 480 li south-east of Shicheng 'zhen' 石城鎮 in the mountains by a lake, founded by Kang Yandian 康豔典 – a Sogdian from Samarkand – and frequented by Tibetans and Tuyuhun.

It should be south of Miran in the mountains (see map III)⁴¹.

References to places of this 'khrom':

Char-chan (Car-chen)⁴²:

It occurs in two manuscripts. In both it is referred to as Char-chan in Tshal-byi⁴³.

Ka-dag:

It appears in a number of manuscripts, the occurrence of the 'rtse rje'⁴⁴ of Ka-dag in M.I.xiv.23 B(2) proves that it was a town. If the identification of Thomas (TII, pp132) and Uray (Khrom, p311) with Katag of Muslim sources and Thomas's

36 Franke: 1985, pp408, a translation of the Heyuan zhi 河源志 (Treatise on the Source of the Yellow River), written in 1315 and printed in 1366.

37 Pt1128 text and translation in chapter on tax: Text Section: Tribute (dpya').

38 M.I.xvi.19 + frag 2, v (4) (Ta, text 557; TII, p124) and in Pt1128 (see note above) respectively.

39 Uray: Dbang-po, p424, see note 11 to (a) for the text section.

40 Translated and commented on by Giles (1932, p830).

41 TII, p120 and Uray (Khrom, p314): AC sāt b'ji – referring to Csongor (Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script AOH X–2 1960) for pronunciation, are of the same opinion. Uray (Dpang-po, p424, note 36) localises the lake exactly and suggests that it is the Liebazhumang or Uzun Shor Köl at 90°2'E long., 38°26'N lat.

42 Car-chen: It is probably Charcan (or Qiemo 且末) of modern times. It was called Zuomo, Jumo, Zhemotuona, and Boxian by the Chinese, its name was Jurjān in the 16th century (Giles: 1932, p846 – referring to Mirzā Haidar).

43 M.I.viii.21.e, r(2) (Ta, text 467) and M.I.i.3. (TII, p121).

44 The town prefect (see (g) below).

suggestion that this may be the place Kotak-sheri is correct it was situated between Cercen and Charkhlik on the Cercen river (see map). Nonetheless it certainly was situated in Tshal-byi 'khrom'.

Nob-ched-po (Charkhlik, Ruoqiang 若羌):

It had a town prefect (rtse rje)⁴⁵. A 'khri dpon' and a head of a unit of a thousand (stong pon) are mentioned on this fragmentary wood-slip as well.

Nob-chu-ngu (Miran) in Tshal-byi:

It is the military base where Stein discovered the wood slips. Judging from the remnants of the fort and the fact that no other archaeological finds date from the time of the Tibetan hold it can be assumed that it mainly was a military base with a small local population⁴⁶. Nonetheless it had a 'rtse rje': M.I.i.27 (Ta, text 377, TII, p151); and was an assembly place: M.I.xliv.7 (Ta, text 649, Takeuchi: Contracts, text 6 and TII, p143), Nob-chungu in Tshal-byi: M.I.xxviii.0036 (Ta, text 613, TII, p51).

Gtsos-mo-gling⁴⁷, Bye'u-ling and Ka-dag⁴⁸ are known as assembly places⁴⁹. As the former two place names appear on contracts and all are on manuscripts which were found in Miran these places should belong to Tshal-byi 'khrom'. Bye'u-ling has been identified by Thomas as Yuling⁵⁰. If this is reliable Tshal-byi 'khrom' reached at least to the Karamuran river (see map III).

The four or three forts (mkhar) of Nob:

Looking at the extant manuscripts it is difficult to make out whether the known towns such as Nob-chu-ngu, Ka-dag etc. mentioned above are referred to or whether these were small fortified places in the area between Nob-chu-ngu, Nob-ched-po and Ka-dag which were governed together: In M.I.ii.40⁵¹ the three forts of Nob (nob mkhar sum) are mentioned. This manuscript is a message from a councillor (blon)

45 M.I.x.2. (IOL Tib N 499, in TII, p451).

46 Stein states in Serinida I, p475, that the waters of the river and fields could provide a living for 500 families at the most, but doubts that the capacity was ever reached, as the farmers had to cope with the river who changes its bed frequently. At the time of his visit (1914) 24 families lived there.

47 Takeuchi's reading is Btsos-mo-gling; from the facsimile it seems certain that it should be 'Gtsos' as Thomas read it.

48 The whole phrase is: "-dag mkhar gong nas". It is probably be a misspelling for '-dag mkhar', i.e. the fort of -dag. Takeuchi took the whole phrase as the place name Gdag-mkhar-gong and took the remnants of the letter before 'dag' as 'g'. It is more likely, however, that the fragmentary letter is 'k' and the phrase means: "above the fort of Ka-dag" as in: "Kva-chu mkhar gong du": "above the fortified town of Guazhou", in Pt1374.

49 M.I.xiv.109 (Ta, text 542, Takeuchi: Contracts, text 42 and TII, p141); M.I.xxvii.19 (Ta, text 597v) and M.I.xliv.0013 (Ta, text 655, TII, p145) respectively.

50 TII, p165 and TII p233: Bye'u = Yao= Yu; TIII, p69: Bye'u-yok of the Mazar-tagh finds: on the same river on the lower reaches; there is a Bye'u-kying in M.I.xxx.001 v 3-4 (Ta, text 615). This manuscript is a letter mentioning Ka-dag as well.

51 TII, p136, Ta, text 394.

sent to the 'sgye'u ka'⁵² of the three forts of Nob. In its content it is requested that a courier is sent by the people of Ka-dag. The four forts appear in two manuscripts. One is the beginning of an official letter addressed to the commissioner for the arrangement of fields, the authorities (bla) of the four forts and an official of Nob-che(d)⁵³ (zhing 'god kyi ring lugs dang mkhar bzhi bla dang/ Nob-che ...). The other is a letter where the authorities of the four forts and the town prefect (rtse rje) are referred to twice but this time in connection with Nob-chu-ngu (Nob-chu-ngu mkhar [bzhi] ..)⁵⁴. As higher and lower officials of the three or four forts are jointly addressed in two letters it appears that their residence was the same place, i.e. the forts were administered from one place and did not have their own administration as the larger towns such as Nob-chu-ngu. But these references do not give enough evidence to come to a definite conclusion.

Kva-cu 'Khrom'

The administrative centre of this 'khrom' was Guazhou. Its main towns were Sha-, Gua- and Suzhou 沙瓜肅; assemblies were held in a number of other localities as well:

Places of Assemblies of Kva-cu 'Khrom' with the Councillors (Blon) Who Convened Them

Pe'u-mun	Pt 1094	Gtsug-brtan, Khri-sum-bzher, Stag-sum-bzher
Sru-ru	Pt 1297 pièce 3	'zhang' Lha-bzang, 'zhang' ?-sum-brtsan
Sug-cu	Pt 1088 /1 ⁵⁵	'dmag pon' Khrom-legs, Rgyal-tsan
Tsheg-pe'u	Pt 1079	'zhang' Legs-sum-brtsan, 'zhang' Legs-bzang, Rgyal-bzang
Kva-cu ⁵⁶	Pt 1374 375b (11)	Stag-sum-rjes
Si-shi-thang ⁵⁷	Pt 1078bis (5)	Rgyal-tsan, Btsan-bzang, ?

The occurrence of 'pe'u' in some place names suggests that these were posts (bao

52 Administrative officials of low rank dealing with grain; see chapter on tax, text section: Presents, for text and translation of the wood-slip and discussion of the term 'sgye'u ka'.

53 M.I.xliv.0013, in Ta, text 655, TII, p145: the text is incomplete here. Therefore it is not evident which official was meant.

54 M.I.xiv.109, in Ta, text 542, TII, p137.

55 Pt 1094, 1297 pièce3 and Pt 1088/1 in Takeuchi: Contracts, texts 1, 5 and 3 respectively.

56 The assembly was held above the city of Guazhou (Gva-cu mkhar gong du). This reference is contained in a part of an incomplete letter. In recent publications Guazhou of the Tang dynasty is identified as having been situated at Suoyang 鎖陽 of modern times (Li: Guazhou and Kikuchi: 1980) (see map II).

57 The exact wording is Kva-cu Si-shi-thang i.e. Si-shi-thang of Guazhou. It is possible that Si-shi-thang refers to a locality within the town of Guazhou but most probably a place of this name within the Kva-cu 'khrom' is referred to.

保) along the Great Wall.

In Chinese manuscripts Changle 常樂 (P2162v) features as a place where tax is delivered to and it is mentioned in S542v, text 8 (33)⁵⁸.

Discussion Concerning the Localisation of the 5th Eastern ‘Khrom’

All ‘khrom’, which were affected by the peace treaty of 822, sent a contribution for the occasion of the consecration of a vihara commemorating the event⁵⁹. The length of each piece was equivalent to the size and importance of each ‘khrom’ for the peace treaty’: Dbyar-mo-thang ‘khrom’, the Bde councillors, Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu ‘khrom’, followed by the Phyug-tshams unit – a Tibetan unit which probably was stationed in the area – and ‘Brom-khong territory (sa) – the area the temple was built in. Tshal-byi ‘khrom’ was not directly involved, therefore no contribution was sent.

But where was the fifth eastern ‘khrom’? The region of Khotan (see below) is unlikely to have been regarded as an eastern ‘khrom’ (dao) of Tibet⁶⁰ as it is known that the Tibetans had established ‘khrom’ west of Tibet as well⁶¹. Another possibility would be that there was another ‘khrom’ in the area of Songzhou where the seat of one of the military governments ‘jiedu’ had been 故松州城是吐蕃舊置節度之所⁶². As this place is the modern day Songpan in northern Sichuan near the border to Qinghai and Gansu this area may not have been considered as being relevant of the peace treaty – even though it had certainly a frontier with China. It is a great deal further southeast than all places designated so far as belonging to Dbyar-mo-thang.

Still another possibility would be that the Chinese considered ‘A-zha country (‘A-zha yul)⁶³ as a ‘dao’ as well. It lay west of Dbyar-mo-thang and south of Kva-cu ‘khrom’. As it had no border with China it would not have sent a contribution to the peace treaty. But the expression ‘A-zha ‘khrom’ is nowhere documented.

58 In DSJ II, p381and Ikeda: 1979, p523, see chapter on development of the religious institutions: Description of Table I [2], for details of the scroll. In line 33 a temple peasant is noted of going to Changle via Guazhou. The Chinese sources seem to be vague, therefore there is no agreement on its location. Li (Guazhou) places it to the southwest of Anxi 安西 at Liugongpocheng 六工破城 of today, Zheng deems it further south, south of the river Ku 苦 (Zheng, 1997 I, map on p186) and Kikuchi (1980) depicted it west of today’s Anxi (see map II). The latter localisation seems plausible regarding the statement above. Going from Dunhuang to Changle via Guazhou makes no sense if Changle lay on the way to Guazhou.

59 Pt0016 and Ch.9.i.37 (722 vol.32/fol.88–96= IOL Tib J 571) latter text in TII, pp92; that the peace treaty referred to in this manuscript is the treaty of the year 822 and not of 730–734, as suggested by Thomas, has been elaborated by Demiéville: Concile, pp362.

60 There is a reference to a southern ‘dao’ as well: Demiéville: Concile, p266 – citing the Jiu Tangshu, cxvii B, 8a,1: a Tibetan general fighting the Chinese in north-western Sichuan is entitled ‘General of the southern Province’ (nan dao yuan shuai 南道元帥). There ‘dao’ refers probably to the route of a military expedition, however.

61 Uray (Khrom, p314) refers to the ‘khrom’ of Bru-sha country (Gilgit) (bru sha yul gyi khrom).

62 Demiéville: Concile, p265 referring to a memorial of the year 821 by Wang Ya 王涯 in the Jiu Tangshu (xlxix, 4a,1).

63 On the location of ‘A-zha country’: see chapter on ‘A-zha, especially (*m*) and map I.

A last suggestion would be that Zha⁶⁴ the region the Bde councillors convened was considered a 'dao' by the Chinese.

Thus a solution to this question has to be postponed till more information is found.

(e) The Region of Khotan

Two manuscripts give rise to the idea that the Khotan region was also known as a 'khrom'. M.Tagh.a.IV.00149 (Takeuchi: Contracts, text 45, in Ta, text 200) is a fragment of a sale contract where the first line in which usually the convoking officials of the assembly, the assembly place of the 'khrom' and the year are stipulated to indicate the date, is partly preserved: "blon g.yu bzher dang blon [d.] thog rje lastsogs pa'i khrom gi": "[The assembly] of the 'khrom' was [held] by councillor G.yu-bzher and councillor ..-thog-rje and so on". Unfortunately the name of the assembly place is lost and therefore it is impossible to say which 'khrom' is referred to. M.Tagh.0506 recto⁶⁵, another fragment of a sale contract, points to a similar phrase in which an assembly is used as date. Assemblies with their convoking officials and the year they took place occur often in sale contracts to specify the date. The usage of the word 'khrom' above may mean that the Khotan region was also transformed in a 'khrom' the name of which name is not known so far. But not necessarily so, as people of the Khotan region may have used assemblies of the Tshal-byi 'khrom' for indicating the date. This practice of stating another assembly than the assembly of the area a document was written in was not unusual. In Pt2128⁶⁶ – which most probably was written in Dunhuang – an assembly of the Bde councillors in Zha is used as specifying the date. In two manuscripts⁶⁷, however, an assembly in the Khotan region is mentioned without indicating that it was an assembly of a 'khrom'.

The question is still open as to what was the fifth eastern 'khrom' – according to the Jiu Tangshu there were 5 'khrom' at the eastern frontiers (see (a) above). There is a slight possibility that the Khotan region was considered by the Chinese as one of the eastern 'khrom'.

Even if the Khotan region was known as a 'khrom' it was administered differently to the other 'khrom'. This is due to the fact that the King of Khotan and Khotanese officials were integrated in the administrative system.

(f) The Integration of Chinese Officials in the Administration of Shazhou

Pt1089⁶⁸ shows how Chinese officials took part in the administration of Shazhou.

64 See (j) below.

65 In Takeuchi: Contracts, text 43 and in Ta, text 82.

66 See chapter on contracts: Sale Contracts, for text, translation and commentary.

67 In Or.8212/1834c (Ta, text 359) an assembly in 'U-ten (Khotan) and in M.Tagh.a.IV.00121 (Ta, text 174; TII, p190) an assembly in Shel-than is referred to.

68 Transliterated and translated by Lalou (Revendications) and by Scherrer-Schaub (2007).

Lines 52–67 list the dignitaries of Shazhou which were appointed after a unit had been split in a rat year and indicate which posts have to be occupied by Tibetans and by Chinese. Although in some cases the insignia of rank bestowed on an official is given, it does not indicate the ranking in the administration of the officials. This list shows among others that the town prefect (rtserje) was a Tibetan and his assistant (zla) a Chinese. It further indicates that the fiscal affairs and the field and water management were conducted by Chinese officials.

Lines 80–83 of the same document reflect the situation more than eight years later and list the ranks in the administration and provenance of the officials. There the designation of some posts differs from the earlier list. Therefore either these posts were known by different designations or they were altered. A few more posts are added. Comparing the two lists one can see that a valuable insignia of rank does not necessarily mean a high post in the administration. The Chinese ‘to dog’, the assistant of the town prefect e.g. received ‘phra men’⁶⁹ as insignia of rank but ranges below the head of a unit of thousand who received ‘small brass’.

Lines 9–11 probably refer to the rearrangements in the rat year (lines 52–67)⁷⁰ and again indicate the insignia of ranks (thabs) connected to each post.

List arranged according to the provenance of the officials: line 52–67: rat year:

Tibetan officials:	post:	insignia of rank:
Rong-spo G.yu-gong	rtse rje blon town prefect councillor	

Lalou’s translation had to be amended in places due to new research results concerning certain terms. My translation differs in certain points from that of Scherrer-Schaub. There is a Japanese Translation in Yamaguchi (Foundation). This document reflects part of the development of the administrative system under the Tibetans. Problems were arising when new posts were created and it had not been decreed how to fit them in the existing lists of ranks. It mainly deals with the officials of Shazhou but other areas are also touched.

69 A list in the section of law and state in Dpa’-bo gives the ranking of the insignia of ranks. There (ja, 21a 5) gold + turquoise, silver + ‘phra men’, copper + iron are the six insignia of ranks, again divided in large and small to make twelve. It does not include brass. From the lists given below it is evident that brass ranked above copper. This is ascertained in Pt1071 (Dotson: 2007 I, p9). On the meaning of ‘phra men’ various opinions exist. Dotson (2007, I, p8, note 7) came to the conclusion that it is silver plated with gold referring to a description in the chapter on Tibet in the Xin Tangshu (translated by Bushell: 1880, p442). The rank of ‘gtsang chen’ seems to be a rank without an insignia (Dotson: 2007 I, p9).

One of the problems of the officials of Shazhou was that the value of the insignia of rank (thabs) was not equivalent to the rank in administration (ll. 22–24). It seems to have been a general practice among the Tibetans to give the dignitaries of the conquered peoples valuable insignia of rank but these were not connected to the possession of power as can be seen from a section of the same manuscript referring to Khotan (ll. 21–24).

70 Yamaguchi: Foundation, p14. However, it is possible that it refers to a time prior to this, to the time when only one military and one civil (g.yung) unit existed (see (q) for a detailed discussion).

Kyung-po Klu-rma	rtse rje spyan inspector of the town prefect	
‘Bro G.yu-gong	rtse rje ‘bring po middle ranking town prefect	
‘Bal Du-ma-legs	rtse rje chu ngu dang dgra blon go chu rub ⁷¹ small town prefect and ‘go cu rub’ of the war councillor	
Tshar Lo-spa-sho ⁷²	stong chung ngu: small head of a thousand	copper
Ser Lha-rma	stong chung ngu: small head of a thousand	small copper
Chinese officials:		
Do Stag-skyes	rgya’i to dog dang bod kyi rtse rje’i zla Chinese ‘to dog’, ⁷³ and assistant of the Tibetan town prefect	small+large ‘phra men’
An Bung-yig	to dog ‘og pon: deputy of the ‘to dog’	small+large brass
In l.12 An was still on this post in the dog year, got promoted to Chinese inspector (rgya las sphyan ⁷⁴)		
one unit:		
Yem Pheng	stong zla: assistant of the head of the unit of a thousand	small+large brass
Chang Mdo-tse	khral pon dang gzhi rdzongs ⁷⁵ :	

71 Go chu rub: person responsible for armament according to Lalou (Revendications, p196). She refers to ‘go cha’ armament. As in l.80 of the same document a ‘khri dpon go chu rub’ is listed and as so far the ‘khri dpon’ – the head of a ‘khri’-unit – has not been connected to military matters this meaning cannot be ascertained.

72 Pt1224: Tshar-long gyi sde Tshar ‘Gu-sma-sho and Or.8210/S2228 (Takeuchi: Contracts, text 55 D) Tshar za’ Mchums Phan-lag-zig (wife of the Tshar family). The Tshar family is otherwise unknown. The given names of the text and Pt1224 show a certain similarity. See (r) for a detailed discussion.

73 ‘To dog’: ‘dudu’ 都督 of the Chinese administrative system. There they were general governors of prefectures, always with a military connotation (des Rotours: Grand fonctionnaires, p297, pp303; Fonctionnaires, armée, p707, note2). This post was abolished in China around the middle of the 8th century. Another possibility is that the Tibetans derived it from the Turkish ‘tutuq’.

74 This post is not mentioned in the appointments of the rat year. It may have been newly created or reallocated to Chinese officials as in all the other references to an inspector (sphyan) it is said that they were appointed from among the Tibetans.

75 ‘Gzhi rdzongs’: ‘gzhi’ refers to granary in Pt1111 (see chapter on tax: ‘Khva’- tax); ‘rdzongs’ refers to provisioning of soldiers in IOL Tib J 740 lines 329–359 (Dotson: 2007 I, pp55–57); therefore here this official must have been responsible for the government granary and possibly

	tax official and official responsible for provisioning	
Sag	spyi'i khral pon ched po ⁷⁶ : general great tax official	'gtsang chen' ⁷⁷
Tse'u Cang-zhi	chu mngan: water official	
Li Pu-hvar	spyi'i zhing pon ched po: 'gtsang chen'+ 'gtsang chen' general great official responsible for the fields	
Chang Stag-legs	chu mngan water official	
L.12 in the dog year: Cang: his post is not mentioned, but it is said that he has a lower rank than An Bung-yig		
one unit:		
Kang Se'u-tam	stong zla: assistant of the head (of the unit of thousand)	small+ large brass
Li'u Hvang	khral pon dang gzhi rdzongs: tax official and official responsible for provisioning	
An Hing-tse	zhing pon: official responsible for the fields	
Li Phyin	spyi'i chu mngan: general water official	
Cang De'u-'do	stong chung: small copper + brass+ small head (of a unit of thousand)	special small copper ⁷⁸
Bam Stag-zigs	mngan: administrative official	
Jeng Lha-rton	mngan: administrative official	
Yang Klu-legs	chu mngan: water official	
'Vang An	sde'i chu mngan: water official of the unit	
Dza An	sde'i zhing pon: official responsible for the fields of the unit	

for the distribution of provisions.

76 He was granted a rank because his father had formerly occupied the post of the 'to dog': (59) ".... Sag pho sngon to dog rgyud lags pas / ": "Because the father of Sag earlier on was a 'to dog'".

77 'Gtsang chen': Dotson (2007 I, p9): rank without insignia.

78 This insignia of rank is otherwise not known. "Zangs chungu'i rkyen rdungs dang 'drubs" may indicate the design of the 'small copper' (zangs chungu) insignia of rank: ornaments hammered (rdungs) in and appliqué on an embroidered ('drubs) ground. This is only a suggestion.

line 9–11 probably refer to the changes in the rat year and explain the problems of the officials with the list above:

(9) na ning slad kyis Rgya Sha-cu pa rgod du bton nas // stong pon stong cung yang sde bcaid nas // stong pon ni thabs ra gan chungu stsald // stong cung ni thabs

(10) zangs ced po stsal / pa' // Rgya'i to dog dang stong pon du gral thabs la mchid myi mjald // stong cung Bod las bskos pa dang Rgya'i to dog 'og

(11) pon dang Rgya'i stong zla ra gan pa dag cig mchis pa yang gral thabs la mchid myi mjald par gyur pa //

“Earlier on after the Chinese of Shazhou had been promoted to military citizens (rgod)⁷⁹ and after the heads of the units of a thousand, the small heads (of the units of a thousand) and the units had been decided on, as far as the heads of the units of a thousand are concerned they were given ‘small brass’ as insignia of rank, concerning the small heads they were given ‘great copper’ as insignia of rank. (But) there was no agreement as to the ranking of the Chinese ‘to dog’ and the heads of the units of a thousand. It turned out that (although the posts of) the small heads (of the units of a thousand) selected from among the Tibetans and the deputy of the Chinese ‘to dog’ and the Chinese assistant of the head of the unit of a thousand with brass insignia of rank existed, that there was also no agreement concerning their ranking.”

Regarding the incorporation of the Chinese of Shazhou in the military organisation see (*n*), (*q*) the Units of Shazhou and (*t*).

List arranged according to the ranking in the administration issued after the ape year, i.e. more than eight years later:

lines 80–83

rtse rje blon dang khri dpon go cu rub // khri spyen // to dog ched po // ston pon Bod las

(81) bskos pa'i rnam //

rtse rje 'og pon // to dog chungu // Rgya'i spyen // stong zla Rgya las

(82) bskos pa'i rnam //

stong cung Bod las bskos pa'i rnam // rtse rje chungu dang mngan go cu rub // Sha-cu spyi'i dgra blon Bod las bskos pa' //

stong chung gi zla Rgya las

(83) bskos pa'i rnam // dgra blon Rgya las bskos pa //

Rgya spyi'i khral pon ched po // khri dpon gi yi ge pa zhes 'byung //

79 See (*t*) on the division of the population in military and civil (rgod, g.yung) units.

“The town prefect who also has the post of the ‘go cu rub’ of the head of a ‘khri’ unit, the inspector of the head of a ‘khri’ unit, the great ‘to dog’, the head of a unit of 1000 are appointed from among the Tibetans.

The deputy of the town prefect, the small ‘to dog’, the inspector of the Chinese, the assistant of the head (of a unit of 1000) are appointed from among the Chinese.

The small heads of the units of 1000 are appointed from among the Tibetans. The small town prefect who also has the post of the ‘go cu rub’ administrative official and the war councillor of the whole of Shazhou are appointed from among the Tibetans.

The assistants of the small heads (of the units of 1000) are appointed from among the Chinese. The Chinese war councillor is appointed from among the Chinese and so is the great head of taxes of all the Chinese and the scribe of the head of the ‘khri’ unit.”

(g) Officials of Mkhar-tsan ‘Khrom’

In the same document⁸⁰ referred to above (f) a list naming the various posts of Mkhar-tsan ‘khrom’ is included. Apparently it is a list of ranks of Tibetan officials. Therefore the great official for the fields and the great tax official (zhing pon ched po, khral pon chen po) seem to have been Tibetans (ll 37–38). No reference is made to Chinese units or officials⁸¹. Only heads of Tibetan, Sum-pa, ‘A-zha, ‘mthong-khyab’ units as well as generals of units of indigenous people (lho bal) and Lung Dor⁸² units are included (42,40). These posts were occupied by Tibetans⁸³. There is no indication that the local population was involved in the administration of this ‘khrom’.

The list gives a number of posts which are not documented for Shazhou probably because Shazhou was not the centre of administration of Kva-cu ‘khrom’.

(h) The ‘Khrom’ Assemblies

References to six assemblies with the convoking officials (see (d) Places of Assemblies) are extant.

80 Pt1089 (36–43).

81 Not much is known about the Chinese population of the area. After the end of the Tibetan rule only a few Chinese farmers lived in the area of Liangzhou and Zhang Yichao, the new ruler of the area, had Chinese from Shandong sent to set up a Chinese government there. Of those a hundred families were still there in 933 (Demiéville: Concile, pp215, quoting the Wenxian tongkao 文獻通攷 CCCXXXV, 1b and the Wudaishi 五代史 LXXIV, 3a).

82 Lung Dor: ‘Lung’ may refer to members of the Long clan 龍家 of Ganzhou, for ‘Dor’ no explanation has been found yet.

83 In the Dunhuang region the heads of the ‘mthong-khyab’ units were Tibetans as well (Pt1094, in Choix II and Takeuchi: Contracts, text 1).