
THE ARISTOCRACY OF CENTRAL TIBET.

A

**Provisional List of the Names of the
Noble Houses of Ü-Tsang.
(WITH TWO ILLUSTRATIONS)**



by

**H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and
Denmark, M. A., LI. D., F. R. A. I.,**

**(from the work of the 3rd Danish
Expedition to Central Asia.)**



**PRINTED BY G. THARCHIN AT THE
TIBET "MIRROR" PRESS,
KALIMPONG.
1954.**

THE ARISTOCRACY OF CENTRAL TIBET.

A provisional List of the Names of the Noble Houses of Ü-Tsang. By H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, M. A., Ll. D., F. R. A. I. (from the work of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia).

Tibet from an anthropological and ethnological point of view still constitutes a very mysterious region. Its geography, geology, meteorology and hydrography are however better known, thanks to the labours of a host of distinguished explorers from many European lands and America. These, mostly at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, succeeded, often secretly or in the face of considerable Tibetan opposition, in travelling extensively across the entire breadth of this country of exceptional elevation.

Its inhabitants, because of the quite extraordinary physical conformation of their native land, have always been in a very good position to enforce their desire to keep foreigners out, far more than other xenophobe peoples in the world. For this reason, our knowledge of the racial characteristics and the social customs of the Tibetans is extremely poor and sketchy.

On the other hand, the geographical proximity of India to the twin central provinces of Ü (where Lhasa, the forbidden capital, is to be found) and Tsang, and the influence which the former British

Indian Government wielded after the military expedition of 1904 and until 1947 in Central Tibet, did all the same help draw the veil from the hidden obscurities of the lamaist religion and the political organisation of Tibet. The bulk of the people, nevertheless, are still practically unknown, and the recent change in the international status of the country has not created favourable conditions for any further anthropological and ethnological exploration among them, at least for Western scientists.

This paper is an attempt, under the difficult conditions which are thus forced upon us, nevertheless to carry on with the task of widening our knowledge of a very mysterious part of the globe. It deals with a certain class of Tibetan society, namely the aristocracy. The latter, which is little known and has not, as far as I know, ever been investigated before, is an important component of the Tibetan social organisation, which it would be a mistake to underestimate in any study of its organic structure.

The land-owning nobility, today, shares the power and the responsibility of government with the Lamaist Church in an uneasy alliance. This is because, long before Buddhism came to Tibet and the present-day political system of Incarnate Rulers was instituted, the noblemen were the sole and undisputed lords of the land. Great houses, with proud and ancient traditions, thus sprang up, and have survived right down to our present times, with all the historical significance which this fact implies.

Communism today, in the form of Chinese armies, has now come to Tibet, and it is an open question how long these distinguished remnants of an age

gone by can continue to exist in the new order. Marxist indoctrination is sure to tell in the long run and it is difficult to see how the conservative old families with all the privileges which they enjoy and to which they are so jealously attached, can manage to keep themselves going under the changed circumstances. It is thus perhaps timely that such a list as I have prepared here be published before it is too late.

I have made the list provisional because I do not trust it to be complete. It is my hope that, with its publication, criticism and additions will be forthcoming, allowing eventually for a second and more complete edition. The Tibetan Cabinet in Lhasa, the *Kashag*, reputedly does publish a yearly list of Tibetan nobles (*Kuira*), brought up to date every time, and laying down the rules of precedence and rank as they may vary from time to time. In spite of repeated endeavours, I have found it impossible to obtain a copy of this list, even outdated, and I have had to content myself with gathering information from Tibetan friends and informants in the frontier area of Sikkim and the district of Darjeeling.

In this connection, I should like specially to express my most grateful thanks for their invaluable help, to Mr. G. Tharchin, of the Tibetan "Mirror" Press, Kalimpong, for all the names with which he has supplied me and for publishing this paper; to Rinchen Dölma (Mary-la) Ts'ha-rong Sä-mo, Ta-ring Lha-cham Kusho, for her assistance in gathering further names, mainly from Tsang, and for the genealogies, tales and sundry information connected with this list with which she has supplied me; and to Lo-bsang P'hün-tsok, teacher of Tibetan at St. Jo-

seph's College, Darjeeling, for his help in drawing up this paper in its final form.

The names of the various noble houses of the Tibetan aristocracy are, as a rule, those of their estates. Family names, such as we know them in the West, are, as is generally the case all over the East, unknown in Tibet. People there simply bear their own individual ones which are sometimes followed by that of their father or of the village in which they live, for purposes of official record.

Some names are of very ancient origin, and do not correspond to any property presently held by the families. They are much older, going back to a mythical past which it would be certainly most enlightening and interesting to investigate. Legends and stories are often given with the explanation of their meaning, as the following brief examples will show.

It will be seen from the list that there exists a family called Yu-t'hog (6). This, name, meaning "Turquoise Roof", is said to be linked with that of the bridge in Lhasa which has a covering of blue tiles to it, and is known as the Yu-t'hog Sam-pa. But the ancient family name of the house of Ts'ha-rong(198) is said to be Yu-t'hog also, although not the same as that of the house above.

The legend connected with this elder Yu-t'hog is that a famous physician, Yön-den Gom-po was once called upon to attend a bear that had got a splinter into one of its paws and was in great pain. The doctor

removed the bit of wood and cured the wound, so that the animal was soon quite well again. Whereupon, the story goes on, the bear, in order to prove its gratitude to its benefactor, sometime later brought to him the dried head of a Hor woman as a present. Attached to the head were still the turquoise jewelry with which Tibetan women, and especially nomadic ones of Hor, like to adorn themselves.

Dr. Yön-den Gom-po took the head up on to the terrace of his house, where he proceeded to wash the grime-encrusted stones with water. When he had done this, he laid them out to dry in the brilliant sunshine. A shepherd boy was standing some distance away, and when he saw the bright jewels flashing in the light, he imagined that the house must have a turquoise roof. "Oh! *Yu-t'hog* (Turquoise Roof)!" he exclaimed, and thus the family of the doctor came henceforward to be known by that name. It was only much later, and in comparatively recent times, that it was changed to *Ts'ha-rong*, from a valley in *K'ham*, in eastern Tibet, where the family owns some property.

Another name, which is not that of an estate, and which has a legend attached to it to explain its meaning, is that of *Sha-gab-pa* ("Hat Pulled Down One") (166). It is said that an ancestor of this family was standing by the *Yu-t'hog Sam-pa* in *Lhasa*, when the then ruling Dalai Lama happened to pass by in his palanquin.

Not wishing to be recognized, and in order perhaps not to be obliged to go through with the elaborate ritual of greeting the God-King to which all Tibetans must conform in such circumstances, the man pulled his hat down over his face. The Dalai Lama however did notice him. "Oh! Look, *Sha-gab-pa* (Hat Pulled Down One)", he said to his attendants, and the name stuck. As in the case of the previous tale, even if the story is only a legend, it has remained to give this particular family its curious name.

Lack of opportunity has kept me from investigating other such tales concerning the origin of the names of the Tibetan aristocracy. But I very much hope to be able to look further into this question some day, and to publish the results in a second, and let us expect, more elaborate edition of this paper.

Among the houses of the nobility of Central Tibet, some hold higher rank than others and are looked upon as the cream of the aristocracy. Thus, since the country has become a theocracy, ruled over by repeated incarnations of the Bodhisatva Avalokiteswara, or Chen-re-si in Tibetan, and known to us by the Mongolian title of Dalai Lama, those members of the families descending from such past rulers take precedence over all others. They are known as *Yab-shi* or "Father Estate", and are listed separately hereunder, in section A, in alphabetical order.

They are all about equally important, the

Lha-lu family enjoying perhaps a slightly higher status than the other five, because of its double descent, traced to both the Eighth and the Twelfth Dalai Lamas' families.

The Tibetan ruler, being a monk of the Ge-lug-pa order, must be celibate, and cannot therefore have any direct heirs. It is thus from his immediate family, from his brothers and sisters, that the Yab-shi families are descended. The present Yab-shi Tag-ts'her family consists of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's mother (the *Gya-Yum Chem-mo*), three monks, one lay brother with his wife and children, one married sister with her husband and children and one still unmarried little sister.

Next in importance come the *De-pön* families. This name means "Provincial Officer", and their members belong no doubt to houses of which the origin goes back to pre-Buddhist days, when laymen ruled the country in a feudal manner, and the Provincial Officers were all-powerful in their domains. They are listed here under section B, also in alphabetical order, all being of approximately equal importance.

They are followed by section C, in which I have given the names of all other noble families, not included in the first two categories, in alphabetical order according to the Romanized version of their names.

For transcription from the original Tibetan into Roman characters, I have followed the currently adopted method of English authors such as, for example, Sir Charles Bell. I have,

however, made a small alteration in the way I have spelt such aspirates as the Tibetan ར, ལ, རྩ, and རྩ. I have introduced an apostrophe

(') before the *h*, in order to avoid such combinations as *ph* and *tsh* being pronounced as *f* and *ch* which they invariably are, unfortunately nowadays, by those who do not know the Tibetan language (thus the town of P'ha-ri, on the Trade Route between India and Gyantse, is practically never called anything else than *Fari* by Englishmen, whereas it should really be P'ha-ri, the "Hog Mountain"). I have made no change in the form རྩ, *lh*, as there was no reason,

as above, to depart from the existing practice. When the pronunciation of a name is at variance with the way in which it is spelt in Tibetan (as, for example, Lang-chung-pa (97) instead of gNang-chung-pa, and Liu-shar (109) instead of Niu-shar), I have transcribed it as spoken in the Lhasa dialect rather than as written, and have given it its place accordingly in the alphabetical order.

For the Tibetan spelling which follows the Romanized version in the text, I have adopted an orthography which is that generally agreed upon by my informants. There were often great divergences of opinion on what was the correct way to write a name, but on the whole, the right one seems to be the one given here. This is of course a matter of importance in Tibetan, as a different spelling, even if the same sound

is rendered, may imply a completely different meaning. Some faults, naturally, may have crept in but I shall be pleased to correct them on the basis of further and better information next time.

Finally, the meaning given in inverted commas below the name is the literal one as far as possible, with the reservation about the correctness of the spelling which I have just made. In some cases, the literal translation has been somewhat paraphrased to bring out better the Tibetan meaning, which would otherwise not be sufficiently apparent from a word for word interpretation.

Thus I have put "One of a Pair of Musk-deer, Ornithoid One" for *La-ya-cha-rig-pa* (99), instead of "Musk-deer Pair One Bird Kind One", and "Alphaphone" for *Kap-Shö-pa* (86) instead of "K Articulate One", as, in my opinion, better rendering the Tibetan meaning.

**** **** **** ****

The following conventional signs have been used, and have the following significance:

(M.O.) = Monk Official. These are the so-called *Tse-trung* (ཚེ་རྩུང་), of the Tibetan

Government in Lhasa (where they are called after the Peak (*tse*) upon which the Potala, the Dalai Lama's palace, stands) and of Tsang. Such families specialize in supplying the administration with monk officials (always appointed

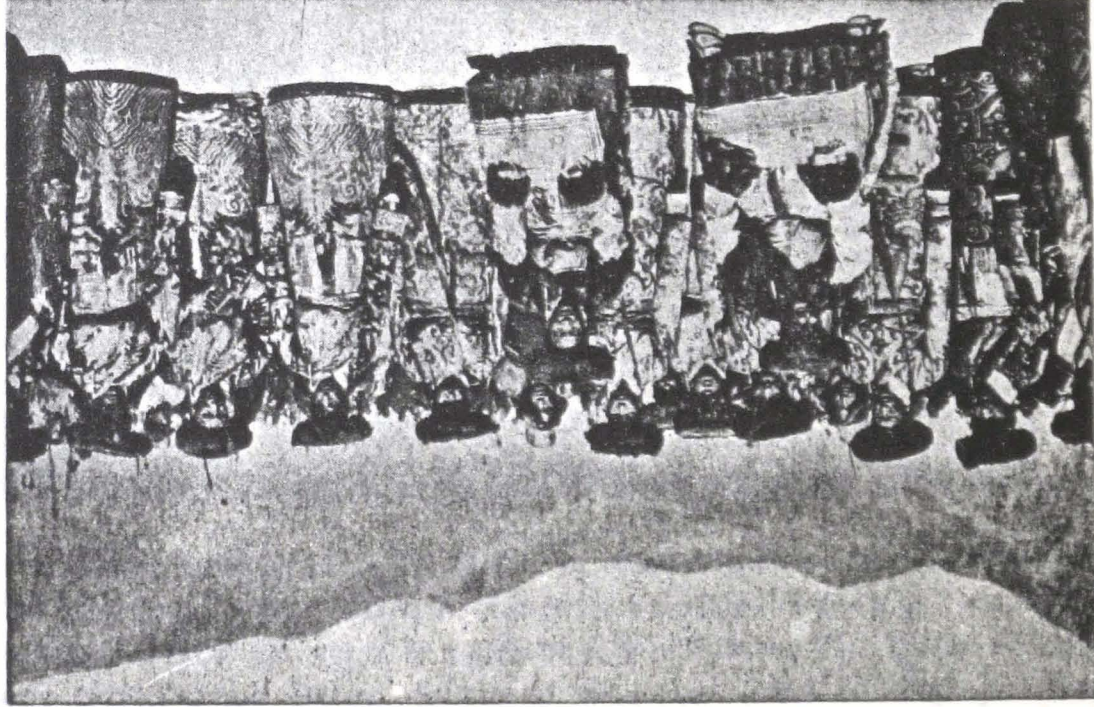
jointly with lay officials of the aristocracy) and they are recruited within these families from the nephews of former monk officials. These being celibate, cannot have children to whom they could pass on their charge.

(T) = Tsang, the province of that name. Most of the noble houses listed are from Lhasa. A few however are from Tsang. But, since the estrangement of the Pänchen Lama and his flight to China in 1923, most of these have since moved to the capital where they are indistinguishable from the U nobility. It did not seem worthwhile, for this reason, to put them in a category apart, and I have contented myself with simply marking them with this sign to show where they really belong. With the recent return of the Pänchen Lama to Shigatse, it may be of course that many of these families, who have had, paradoxically, their estates restored to them by the Chinese Communists, may decide to return home too.

(f) = feminine. This is to bring out the gender, as some names have *ma* or *mo* for "One" instead of *pa* and *po*, which are masculine.

= following a number, means that this is the second time that this family is named, although by a different

Tibetan noblemen at the annual *Tor-gya* festival in Lhasa. Seated, left, Dri-yül kungo (71) and, right, Tshon-go da-pon (203), both officiating as *ya-so* (field marshals), and surrounded by their *dro-nyer* (masters of ceremonies) and servants. Photo by acknowledgment to the late Reginald Fox. (Numbers refer to the name in the text).



Members
ing to
-in-19
Tshon-go
-ya-so

Tshon-
go (199)
-ya-so
at the



Members of the Tibetan nobility at De-kyi Lingka in Lhasa. From left to right, back row: P'hün-k'hang sä (3), Ts'ha-rong dzasa (199); front row: Yang-chän Dö-kar Ts'harong cham-chung (199), Ku-ku-la P'hün-k'hang lha-cham (daughter of the Maharaja of Sikkim) (3), De-kyi Dölma She-kar-ling-pa cham-chung (171), Pema Dölma Ts'harong lha-cham (199). Photograph taken at the occasion of the wedding of the daughter of the Maharaja of Sikkim to P'hün-k'hang sä. By acknowledgement to the late Reginald Fox. (Numbers refer to the name in the text).

"Serpent God"
(Descendant of the Eighth and Tenth)

name. To count such families twice would result in an incorrect total number at the end, and in order to avoid this, I have resorted to this means of listing them. The first time a family is met with, under whatever name, I have naturally given it a full number in the sequence.

* =denotes that, of the many names which a family may have, this is the one by which it is most generally known. The other name is usually a much older one, or that of some minor estate from which it originally sprang, and is only made use of on formal and official occasions.

In the alphabetical order, such letters as *ä* and *ö* have been assigned the same places as if they were *a* and *o*.

Figures in brackets refer to remarks about some of the names, to be found at the end of the list.

A. YAB-SHI

ཡབ་གཞིས་

1. Lha-lu

ལྷ་ལུ་

“Serpent God”

(Descendant of the Eighth and Twelfth Dalai Lamas' families)

2. Lang-üün ལང་ཡུན་
 “In front of Elephant (Mountain)”
 (Descendants of the Thirteenth Dalai
 Lama’s family) (1)
3. P’hün-k’hang ཕུན་ཁང་
 “Perfect House”
 (Descendants of the Eleventh Dalai
 Lama’s family)
4. Sam-drup-p’ho-trang བསམ་གུབ་པོ་བྱང་
 “Palace of Fulfilled Thought”
 (Descendants of the Seventh Dalai
 Lama’s family)
5. Tag-ts’her ཐུག་རྩེར་
 “Roaring Tiger”
 (Present, Fourteenth, Dalai Lama’s
 family)
6. Yu-t’hog གཡུ་བོ་གེ་
 “Turquoise Roof”
 (Descendants of the Tenth Dalai Lama’s
 family)
- B. DE-PÖN མི་དཔོན་

7. Do-k'har-wa མདོ་མཁར་བ་
 "Bank, Fortress One"
 (or Rag-k'ha-sha, see 11')
8. Do-ring དོ་རིང་
 "Tall Stone"
9. La-brang-nying-pa * ལ་བྲང་ཉིང་པ་
 "Old Lama's Dwelling One"
 (or T'hön-pa, see 11")
10. Lha-gya-ri ལྷ་གྲུ་རི་
 "Wide God Mountain" (2)
11. P'ha-lha པ་ལྷ་
 "Father God"
- 11'. Rag-k'ha-sha * རག་གཤམ་གཤམ་
 "House by the Dam"
 (or Do-k'har-wa, see 7)
- 11". T'hön-pa ཐོན་པ་
 "Descendant of T'homi Sambhota" or
 "Escaped One".

C. OTHER FAMILIES (listed in Romanized alphabetical order):

12. Bar-ts'ho བར་དམོ་
 "Middle Alive"
 (or Wang-dän-bar-ts'ho, see 204')
13. Bar-shi-wa བར་ཞི་བ་
 "Middle Calm"
14. Bön-chang (M. O.) བོན་གུང་
 "Northern Bön" (3)
15. Bön-shö-p'hün-k'hang བོན་ཤོད་ཕུན་ཁང་
 "Lower Bön P'hün-k'hang"
16. Bön-shö-sur-pa * བོན་ཤོད་རྩེ་བ་
 "Bön-trong-sur-pa Corner One"
 (or Bön-trong-sur-pa, see 17'
 or Cha-sang-pa, see 28') (4)
17. Bön-trong-shö-pa བོན་གྲོང་ཤོད་བ་
 "Bön Village Lower One"
- 17'. Bön-trong-sur-pa བོན་གྲོང་རྩེ་བ་
 "Bön-trong-shö-pa Corner One"
 (or Bön-shö-sur-pa, see 16
 or Cha-sang-pa, 28')

18. Bum-t'hang འབྲུག་པང་
 "Hundred Thousand Plain"
19. Chag-ri-shar-ma ལྷགས་རི་ཤར་མ་
 "Eastern Iron Mountain"
20. Chag-tra ལྷགས་རྩ་ག་
 "Iron Cave"
21. Chang-gong (T) ལྷང་གོང་
 "Upper Willow Tree"
22. Chang-lo-chän ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་
 "Possessor of Long Hair" (5)
23. Chang-lo-chän-sur-pa ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་རྩུང་པ་
 "*Chang-lo-Chän* Corner One"
24. Chang-ngö-pa ལྷང་ངོས་པ་
 "North Facing One"
25. Chang-ra * ལྷང་ར་
 "Willow Fence"
 (or Nang-kar-wa, see 126')

26. Chang-ra-shar རྩུང་ར་ཤར་
“Willow Fence East”
27. Chang-sur (T) རྩུང་སུར་
“*Chang* (-ra-shar) Corner”
28. Cha-nyäl ཇ་ཉལ་
“Sleeping Bird”
- 28'. Cha-sang-pa ཇ་བཟང་པ་
“Good Bird One”
(or Bön-shö-sur-pa, see 16
or Bön-trong-sur-pa, see 17')
29. Ch'hab-pel ཆབ་སྤེལ་
“Water Distribute”
30. Ch'hab-ts'hom ཆབ་ཚོས་ས་
“Water Hall”
31. Ch'hag-shar ཇུག་ཤར་
“Eastern Treasurer”
32. Ch'ha-pa ཆ་པ་
“One of a Pair”

33. Ch'he-og (T) ཚེ་འོག་
 "Infra Big"
34. Ch'hö-chang མཚོན་བྱང་
 "Worship North"
35. Ch'hö-chor-k'hang-sar (T) (M.O.) ཚོས་འབྱོར་
 ཁང་གསར་
 "Religion Gather New House"
36. Ch'hong-gye-p'hün-rab-pa འཕྱོང་ཀྱུས་
 སྤུན་རབ་པ་
 "Perfect Excellent One of *Ch'hong-gya*"(6)
37. Chi-ch'hag ལྷན་ཕྱག་
 "Chief Treasurer"
38. Chin-pa ལྷན་པ་
 "Alms Given"
39. Chi-pde-ts'hang ལྷན་གྱི་གཙང་
 "Pure Pleasure of All"
40. Chok-teng (M.O.) * ཚུལ་ཕྱིང་
 "Pent House"
 (or Rong-nam-sä, see 156')

41. Chok-trä རྩེག་བཀྲས་
“Super Auspicious”
42. Chör-gyä འབྱོར་གྱུས་
“Wealth Increase”
43. Dän-lhün (T) * རྩ་ལྷུན་
“Possessing Mountain”
(or Dän-yid-lhün-po, see 43’)
- 43’. Dän-yid-lhün-po རྩ་ཡིད་ལྷུན་གྲོ།
“Possessing Mind Mountain”
(or Dän-lhün, see 43)
44. Da-t’hang མདའ་པང་
“Arrow Plain”
45. De-dän-k’hang-sar (T) བདེ་ལྷན་ཁང་གསར་
“Peace Possessing New House”
46. De-k’har-wa བདེ་སྐུང་བ་
“Peaceful Fortress One”
(or Lu-k’hang, see 110’)
47. De-kyi-ling * བདེ་སྦྱིད་སྐྱིང་
“Peaceful Happy Park”
(or Ram-pa-k’hang-sar, see 150’) (7)

48. De-le-k'hang-sar (T) (M.O.) བདེ་ལེགས་
ཁང་རསར་
“Peaceful Good New House”
49. De-le-kyil-k'hang-pag-ra (T)
བདེ་ལེགས་དཀྱིལ་ཁང་སྐྱག་ར་
“Peaceful Good Middle House Yard”
50. De-le-rab-tän (T) བདེ་ལེགས་རབ་བརྟན་
“Peaceful Good Very Firm”
51. De-le-sim-k'hang (T) བདེ་ལེགས་གཟིམ་ཁང་
“Peaceful Good Sleeping House”
52. De-sur (T) བདེ་རྩུར་
“*De(-k'har)* Corner”
53. De-wa-shar (T) བདེ་བ་ཤར་
“Eastern Peaceful One”
54. Ding-cha རྩིང་བྱ་
“Soaring Bird”
55. Ding-yong རྩིང་ཡོང་
“Will soar”

56. Do-däm-pa (T) (M.O.) དོ་དམ་པ་
 “Stone Agreed”
57. Do-de མདོ་ལྷེ་
 “Bank Place”
58. Do-nang-pa (T) དོ་ནང་པ་
 “Stone Inside One” (8)
59. Dön-drup-kyil-k’hang (T) དོན་གྱུ་བ་དགུལ་ཁང་
 “Accomplishment Centre House”
 (or Dön-kyil, see 61’)
60. Dong-k’hang (T) བཞེང་ཁང་
 “Face House”
61. Dön-k’hang (T) དོན་ཁང་
 “Accomplishment House”
- 61’. Dön-kyil (T) * དོན་དགུལ་
 (“Accomplishment Centre”
 or Dön-drup-kyil-k’hang see 59)
62. Dön-po (M.O.) * དོན་པོ་
 “One with a Meaning”
 (or Tra-shi-ling-pa, see 191’)

63. Do-trong དོ་གྲོང་
“Stone Village”
64. Dra-ch’hi-p’hün-rab-pa གྲཱ་ཅི་ཕུན་རབ་པ་
“Perfect Excellent One of *Dra-ch’hi*” (9)
65. Drag-dong-tra-ling བྲག་དངོང་ལྷན་ལྷོང་
“Cave Face Lucky Park”
66. Drag-t’hön བྲག་ཐོན་
“Cave passed”
67. Dra-kar བྲག་དཀར་
“White Rock”
68. Drä-k’hü-pa འབྲས་ཁྲུང་པ་
“Rice Spreading One”
69. Dra-mön (T) དགྲ་མོན་
“Enemy Praise”
70. Drang-tö-pa འབྲང་ཐོད་པ་
“Upper Came One”
71. Dri-yül འཇི་ཡུལ་
“Cow-yak Country”

72. Dro-k'har-og གྲོ་མཁར་འཛོག་
 "Below the Fortress"
73. Dum-k'hang ལུ་མ་ཁང་
 "Garden House"
74. Dum-ra ལུ་མ་ར་
 "Garden"
75. Ga-bde-wa གླ་བདེ་བ་
 "Saddle Peace One"
76. Ga-den-rab-gyä (T) (M.O.) དགའ་རྒྱན་རབ་རྒྱས་
 "Widely Spread Happiness"
77. Gong-kar-og-bug-gya-mts'ho
 གོང་དཀར་འཛོག་ཕུག་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 "Upper White, Lower Inner
 Ocean" (10)
 (or Gya-mts'ho, see 82')
78. Göñ-t'hang དགོན་ཁང་
 "Monastery Plain"
79. Göñ-sham-pa དགོན་གཤམ་པ་
 "Below Monastery One"

80. Gyal-che-ling རྒྱལ་ཤེས་ལྷིང་
“King’s Residential Park”
81. Gyal-k’har-nang-wa རྒྱལ་མཁར་ནང་བ་
“King’s Fortress Inside One”
82. Gyal-trak-pa རྒྱལ་བྲགས་པ་
“Victorious Fame”
- 82’. Gya-mts’ho * རྒྱ་མཚོ་
“Ocean”
(or Gong-kar-og-bug-gya-mts’ho, see 77)
83. Hor-k’hang-sar ཧོར་ཁང་གསར་
“New House of Hor” (11)
84. Hor-sur ཧོར་རྩེ་
“Hor(-k’hang-sar) Corner” (11)
85. Jang-k’hü རྩེ་ཁྲུང་
“Green Spread”
86. Kap-shö-pa ཀ་ཤོད་པ་
“Alphaphone”
87. K’ha-nag ཁ་ནག་
“Black Mouth”

88. K'har-dän མཁར་དྲན་
“Fortress Owner”
89. K'har-k'ha-gya-mts'ho མཁར་ཁ་གྱུ་མཚོ་
“Ocean by the Fortress”
90. K'ha-wang-nang-pa ཁ་དང་ནང་པ་
“Powerful Relation Inside One”
91. Kog-pa (M.O.) མེག་པ་
“Secret One”
92. Kün-sang-tse ཀུན་བཟང་ཙེ་
“Peak of Everything Good”
93. Kya-ra-sri-pa ལྷན་ར་སྲི་པ་
“Past Existing One”
94. Kyi-bug ལྷན་བུག་
“Inner Happiness”
95. Kyi-bug-sur-pa ལྷན་བུག་སུར་པ་
“*Kyi-bug* Corner”
96. Kyi-mä ལྷན་མྱེད་
“Infra Happy”

97. Lang-chung-pa བཀའ་བུང་པ་
 “The One Who Was Given and Received (from the Dalai Lama)”
98. Lang-dong ལྷང་གཤོང་
 “Bullock Face”
99. La-ya-cha-rig-pa ལྷ་ཡ་ཇ་རིག་ས་པ་
 “One of a Pair of Musk-deer, Ornithoid One”
100. Lha-ding ལྷ་འོང་
 “Place God”
101. Lha-lung-sur-chi ལྷ་ལུང་སུར་ཇི་
 “Chief of the Corner of God’s Country”
102. Lha-mön (T) * ལྷ་མོན་
 “God Praise”
 (or Lha-tse-mön-kyi-pa, see 105’)
103. Lha-t’hog-sung-k’har ལྷ་ཐོག་སུང་སཀར་
 “God Roof, Double Fortress”
104. Lha-tse-k’har-gya’wa (T) ལྷ་ཙེ་སཀར་གྱ་བ་
 “God Peak Fortress, Broad One”

105. Lha-tse-kyi-bug (T) ལ་ཙེ་ལྷོད་ལུག་
 “God Peak, Inner Happiness”
- 105'. Lha-tse-mön-kyi-pa ལ་ཙེ་མློན་ལྷོད་པ་
 “God Peak Praise Happy One”
 (or Lha-mön, see 102)
106. Lhau-ta-ra (M.O.) ལྷ་ཏཱ་ར་
 “Little God Stable”
107. Lhün-ling ལྷུན་གླིང་
 “Mountain Park”
108. Li-og (T) (M.O.) ལྷི་འོག་
 “Under the Pear (tree)”
109. Liu-shar (M.O.) ལྷི་ཏུ་ཤར་
 “Eastern Pasture”
110. Lu-dong-sang-me-pa (T) ལུག་གཞོོང་སྤང་སྤང་པ་
 “Sheep Face, Lower Street One”
- 110'. Lu-k'hang * ལུ་ཁང་
 “Snake House”
 (or De-k'har-wa, see 46)

111. Lung-shar ལུང་ཤར་
“Eastern Country”
112. Mar-k’he-wa (T) མར་ཁི་བ་
“Profitable Butter”
113. Mar-lam-pa (M.O.) མཐར་ལམ་པ་
“Wealthy Road One”
114. Ma-ya མ་ཡ་
“Of a Pair of Peacocks”
115. Mi-gyab མི་རྒྱལ་
“King Clan (abbreviated)”
(or Mi-ru-gyā-po, see 117’)
116. Min-drug-bug (M.O.) མིན་རུག་རུག་
“Inner of Seven Star Constellation”
117. Min-kyi-ling མིན་རྒྱུན་ལྷིང་
“Prosperous Happy Park”
- 117’. Mi-ru-gyā-po * མི་རུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་
“King Clan”
(or Mi-gyap, see 115)

118. Mön-drong (M.O.) * མེན་གྲོང་
 “Thought Fort”
 (or Sam-k’har-wa, see 161’)
119. Mön-kyi (T) (M.O.) མེན་ལྗོངས་
 “Praising Happiness”
120. Mön-kyi-nub (T) (M.O.) མེན་ལྗོངས་ཉུང་
 “Western *Mön-kyi*”
121. Mön-kyi-tse (T) (M.O.) མེན་ལྗོངས་ཅེ་
 “*Mön-kyi* Peak”
122. Mön-ts’ho མེན་འཚོ་
 “Live Praise”
123. Mu-cha མུ་ཉུ་
 “Bird Boundary”
124. Nam-gang བཀའ་མ་གང་
 “Full Sky (end of month)”
125. Nam-pön བཀའ་པོ་བོ་
 “Sky Officer”
126. Nam-sä-ling བཀའ་སྤུས་ལྗོངས་
 “Park of Heavenly Son”

- 126'. Nang-kar-wa སྒང་དཀར་བ་
 “Light White One”
 (or Chang-ra, see 25)
127. Na-ra-kyi-shong-pa ལྷ་ར་རྒྱུད་གཤོངས་པ་
 “Nose Fence Happy Valley One”
128. Ne-shab ཉེ་ཞབས་
 “At Foot of Pasture”
129. Ne-tö སྤེ་ཕྱོད་
 “Upper Green Pasture” or “Upper Place”
130. Nga-p'hö ང་པོད་
 “I dare” (12)
131. Nga-ri-pa (T) མངའ་རིས་པ་
 “Western Tibetan (from *Ngari Korsum*
 province)”
132. Ngö-lung-pa དངོས་ལུང་པ་
 “Significant Country”
 (or Og-mo-lung-pa, see 141')
133. Ngö-shi-wa (M.O.) དངོས་གཞི་བ་
 “Significant Chief”

134. Norbu-gang (T) རོར་ཕུ་གང་
“Jewel Ridge”
135. Norbu-trang-k’har (T) རོར་བྱ་འབྲང་མཁར་
“Jewel Chest Fortress”
136. Nor-gyä རོར་གྱུ་ས་
“Wealth Increasing”
137. Nor-gyä-nang-pa རོར་གྱུ་ས་ནང་པ་
“*Nor-gyä* Inside One”
138. Nu-ma ལུ་མ་
“Breast Nipple”
139. Nya-mön ཉ་མོན་
“Fish Praise”
140. Nye-lung-pa ལྷེ་ལུང་པ་
“Green Shoots Country”
141. Nye-mo-do-k’har ལྷེ་མོ་བདོ་མཁར་
“One Bank Fortress of *Nye-mo*” (13)

- 141'. Og-mo-lung-pa * འོག་མོ་ལུང་པ་
 “Lower Valley”
 (or Ngö-lung-pa, see 132)
142. Pang-da-ts’hang ཕྱོག་མདའ་ཚང་
 “Approximate Bank Nest” (14)
143. Par-k’hang པར་ཁང་
 “Printing House”
144. Pā-ts’he བད་ཚལ་
 “Lotus Garden”
145. Pel-shi སྤལ་ཞི་
 “Increase Calm”
146. P’han-de-k’hang-sar (T) (M.O.)
 ཕན་བདེ་ཁང་གསར་
 “Beneficial New House”
147. P’hu-lung-pa ཕུ་ལུང་པ་
 “Upper Country”
148. Pön-ts’hang-drang-k’har (T) (M.O.)
 དཔོན་ཚང་འབྲུང་མཁར་
 “Officer Nest Camp Fortress”

149. Rag-tsi-pa རག་ཙེ་པ་
 “Dam Accountant”
150. Ram-pa * རམ་པ་
 “Coarse (Grass) Man”
- 150'. Ram-pa-k'hang-sar རམ་པ་ཁང་གསར་
 “New House of *Ram-pa*”
 (or De-kyi-ling, see 47) (6)
151. Rang-chön-trang-k'har (T) (M.O.) རང་བྱོན་འབྲང་སཁམ་
 “Self-born Camp Fortress”
 (or Rang-trang, see 151')
- 151'. Rang-trang * (T) (M.O.) རང་འབྲང་
 “Self Camp”
 (or Rang-chön-trang-k'har, see 151)
152. Ra-sa-gya-gän ར་ས་གྱུ་གན་
 “Goat Place, Old China”
153. Rinch'hen-gang (M.O.) རིན་ཆེན་གླང་
 “Jewel Ridge”
 (or Rin-gang, see 153'.)
- 153'. Rin-gang (M.O.) * རིན་གླང་
 “Jewel (abbreviated) Ridge”
 (or Rinch'hen-gang, see 153)

154. Ri-ngön (T) རི་མོང་
“Blue Mountain”
155. Rong-drag-pa རོང་གྲགས་པ་
“Famous Valley”
156. Rong-kyi-mä རོང་ལྗོངས་མཁོ་
“Lower Happy Valley”
- 156'. Rong-nam-sä རོང་ནམ་སྐས་
“Valley *Nam-sä*”
(or Chok-teng, see 49)
157. Rong-päl-ling (M.O.) རོང་དབལ་ལྷིང་
“Valley Glorious Park”
158. Rong-ta-ra-wa (M.O.) རོང་རྟ་ར་བ་
“Valley Stable One”
159. Sa-du-ts'hang ས་འདུ་ཚོང་
“Earth Meeting Place Nest” (15)
160. Sa-lung-pa ས་ལུང་པ་
“Earth Country”

161. Sam-drup-ling རསས་བྱུབ་གླིང་
“Park of Fulfilled Thought”
- 161'. Sam-k'har-wa (M.O.) བསམ་མཁའ་བ་
“Thought Fortress One”
(or Mön-drong, see 118)
162. Sä-nang ལྷ་ས་ནང་
“Son Inside”
163. Sar-chung གསར་བྱུང་
“Newly Became”
164. Se-ma-k'hang-sar (T) སད་མཁའ་གསར་
“Awakening (f) New House”
165. Se-shim-pa ཟས་ཞིས་པ་
“Tasteful Food”
166. Sha-gab-pa ཞ་གླབ་པ་
“Hat Pulled-down One”
167. Shag-chang ཤག་བྱང་
“Northern compartment”

168. Shag-pa ཞག་པ་
“Lasso”
169. Shä-sur བཤད་རྒྱུ་
“Shä (-tra) Corner”
170. Shä-tra བཤད་སྒྲ་
“Sound of Speech”
171. She-kar-ling-pa ཤེལ་དཀར་གླིང་པ་
“White Glass Park One”
172. Shöl-k’hang ཞོལ་ཁང་
“Lower House”
173. Shu-k’hü-pa ཤུ་ཁུད་པ་
“Whisper Spreading One”
174. Som-p’hü སོམ་ཕུད་
“Inside Cave”
175. Sönam-gang-pa བསོད་ནམ་གླང་པ་
“On Top of Good Fortune One”
176. Srong-gang སྲོང་གླང་
“Straight Ridge”

177. Sum-do-wa གསུམ་མདོ་བ་
“Crossroads One”
178. Sur-k’hang ཟུར་ཁང་
“Corner House”
179. Sur-k’hang-nub (T) (M.O.) ཟུར་ཁང་རྒྱབ་
“Western *Sur-k’hang*”
180. Sur-k’hang-shar (T) (M.O.) ཟུར་ཁང་ཤར་
“Eastern *Sur-k’hang*”
181. Sur-k’hang-sur-pa ཟུར་ཁང་ཟུར་པ་
“*Sur-k’hang* Corner One”
182. Tä-k’hang (M.O.) བགྲས་ཁང་
“Auspicious House”
183. Tä-päl * བགྲས་དཔལ་
“Auspicious Glorious”
(or Tra-shi-päl-ra-wa, see 191”)
184. Ta-ra-do-pa ཏ་ར་མདོ་བ་
“Stable Bank One”

185. Ta-ring (T) རྒྱུ་རིང་
“Long Defile”
186. Teng-pa (T) ལྷོང་པ་
“Upper One”
187. T'hang-mä བྱང་ལྗང་
“Lower Plain”
188. T'hang-nang བྱང་ནང་
“In the Plain”
189. T'hang-pön བྱང་དཔོན་
“Plain Officer”
190. T'ho-gom-po བཞོན་གློ་པོ་
“Elevated, Meditating One”
191. T'hön-sur བྱོན་ལྗང་
“T'hön(-pa) Corner”
- 191'. Tra-shi-ling-pa བརྟ་ཤིས་ལྗིང་པ་
“Auspicious Park One”
(or Dön-po, see 62)

- 191". Tra-shi-päl-ra-wa བླ་ཤིས་དཔལ་ར་བ་
 “Auspicious Glorious Fence One”
 (or Tā-päl, see 183)
192. Tren-t’hong བླ་ས་མཐོང་
 “*Tashi-lumpo* Monastery Visible” (16)
193. Tre-sur བླ་ས་རྩུར་
 “*Tren-(t’hong)* (abbreviated) Corner”
194. Tri-mön ཁྱི་སྒོན་
 “Praised Throne”
195. Tro-ga-wo ཁྱོད་གཤེན་པོ་
 “Angry-Pleased”
196. Trum-pa བླ་ས་པ་
 “Victorious One” (17)
197. Tsag-ser-k’hang (T) བཙུག་མེད་ཁང་
 “Ochre House”
198. Tse-sum-p’hün-k’hang ཅོས་གསུམ་ཕུན་ཀླང་
 “Third Day *P’hün-kang*”

199. Ts'ha-rong མ་རོང་
 "Hot Valley"
200. Ts'ha-t'hor-wa (M.O.) མ་འཕྲོར་བ་
 "Place of Scattered Salt"
201. Ts'ha-tri-wa མ་བྲི་བ་
 "Salt Supply Duty One"
202. Ts'ha-trul-t_us'hang མ་སྐྱལ་མང་
 "Warm Incarnation Nest" (18)
203. Ts'hon-go མཚོ་མགོ་
 "Lake Head"
204. Tsum-de-ling འཕྲུལ་བདེ་གླིང་
 "Smiling Park"
- 204'. Wang-dän-bar-t_s'ho དབང་ལྡན་བར་འཚོ་
 "Power Possessing Middle Alive"
 (or Bar-t_s'ho, see 12)
205. Wang-dän-go-yang དབང་ལྡན་གློ་ཡངས་
 "Power Possessing Extensive Door"

REMARKS about some of the names.

- (1) 2. Lang-dün, "In Front of Elephant (Mountain)": so called because the family of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama came from a place in Tak-po province, south of Lhasa, between the Tsang-po and the Himalayas, where its house was opposite a mountain said to be shaped like an elephant.
- (2) 10. Lha-gya-ri, "Wide God Mountain": this family is a descendant of the ancient Tibetan Kings. It is accorded special privileges for this reason; its members wear white, erect caps at ceremonial occasions, and the estate at E in southern Tibet (ཨ) is to all practical purposes autonomous.
- (3) 14. *Bön* is naturally the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, akin to Central Asian shamanism and to Chinese Tao-ism. A follower of Bön is a *Bön-po*.
- (4) 16. Bön-shō-sur-pa, "*Bön-trong-sur-pa* Corner one": meaning that this branch of the family is "a chip from the old block". When a member of a noble family leaves the jointly owned estate and starts an independent branch, this is known as a Corner (*Sur*).

- (5) 22. Chang-lo-chän, "Possessor of Long Hair": the members of this family wear their hair long, hanging over their shoulders, and not tied up on the top with turquoises and a charm box in the bun, as is the case with all other officials. It is an ancient privilege.
- (6) 36. Ch'hong-gye-phün-rab-pa, "Perfect Excellent One from *Ch'hong-gye*": the latter name is that of a region south of Lhasa.
- (7) 47. De-kyi-ling, "Peaceful Happy Park" or / 150' Ram-pa-k'hang-sar, "New House of *Ram-pa*": only one (male) descendant exists today and he donated all his property to the late Regent Trag-tra Rimpoche, so that there is very little chance of this house continuing.
- (8) 58. Do-rang-pa, "Stone Inside One": *Inside one* is opposed to *Corner-one*, in that it designates those of the family, from its core (inside), that have remained as the trunk of the tree from which the branches have broken off.
- (9) 64. Dra-ch'hi-p'hün-rab-pa, "Perfect Excellent One of *Dra-ch'hi*": the latter name is that of region south of Lhasa.
- (10) 77. Gon-kar-og-bug-gya-mts'ho, "Upper White, Lower Inner Ocean": the name of

the minor official who was the husband of the woman whom Dzasa Sur-k'hang Sur-pa married as his third wife, as recounted by me at the IVth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnographical Sciences, Vienna, Austria, 1952 (see Proceedings).

- (11) 83. & 84. *Hor* is the region north of Lhasa round Nag-chu-ka. It is said that *Hor* is the Tibetan equivalent of *Turk*.
- (12) 130. Nga-p'hö, "I dare": the head of this family led the Tibetan delegation to Peking to sign the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 1951, which brought the present political status of the country into being. Some of my informants say that the name can be spelt either འ་འདོད་ meaning "I call" or འགྲུབ་སྐད་, "Dictated Speech" which seems most appropriate under the circumstances.
- (13) 141, Nye-mo-do-k'har, "One Bank Fortress of *Nye-mo*": the latter name is that of a region east of Lhasa.
- (14) 142: See 202.
- (15) 159. See 202.
- (16) 192. Tren-t'hong, "Tashi-Lumpo Monastery Visible": from the house of this family in Shi-ga-tse, capital of Tsang,

it is said that the great Tashi-Lumpo monastery, seat of the Pänchen Lama, is visible, and hence the name.

- (17) 196. Trum-pa, "Victorious One": descendants of a nephew of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, but not a Yab-shi family.
- (18) 202. This family as well as those under 142 and 159, are those of powerful merchants from the eastern province of K'ham (Chinese Si-kang). They are not strictly speaking noble houses, but because they have great wealth they are now incorporated into the aristocracy. Their children intermarry with those of the old established nobility, and thus constitute fresh blood let into the ancient order. Although members of the aristocracy do not accept them right away, their names are included in the yearly list of the *Kashag* and gradually, they are coming to be completely assimilated. A son of the Yab-shi family of Sam-drup-p'ho-trang (4) has recently married a daughter of Pang-da-ts'hang (142).

—:o:—

The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia
 Camp Kalimpong.
 West Bengal, India.
 1953.