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BAND 10
Rulers on the Celestial Plain

Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet
A Study of Tshal Gung-thang

Volume 1

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in Cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo
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The present book represents a study of a historical space in Tibet that from the outset of historical recording in the 7th century proved decisive for the fate of the Snowland: sKyid-shod – the core district of northern Central Tibet, in the heart of which Lhasa is situated, the cultural and political centre of Tibet. In this protracted valley through which its name-giver, the alluvial sKyid-chu river cuts its winding way, the monastic complex of Tshal Gung-thang (erected late 12th century) spreads out, located at the eastern edge of present-day Lhasa township, a temple today partly in ruins. Essentially, the book deals with the eventful history and vicissitude of this monastic centre, and with the political supremacy of its polity, the Tshal-pa in the 13th and 14th centuries. It pays due heed to the historical and hegemonic development both in the narrow and wider environs encompassing the Lhasa Valley and in particular the so-called epicentric Lhasa Mandala Zone, both prior to the foundation of Tshal-pa as well as in the post-Tshal-pa epoch, where local polities and ruling houses competed for sovereignty over the valley until the 17th century. The sheer abundance of historical sources and reference materials consulted during this lengthy study bears witness to the existence of an hitherto unknown historical density in the area since early times, a melting pot and home of a complex network of clans, ancestral and religious lineages, eventually populated by local secular powers in steady interaction and communication with one another along much-trodden paths connecting the many religious institutions that gradually surfaced in the area from the onset of the Renaissance Period in the 11th century. A point of reference in this highly charged universe of intense and contentious relationships was the two famed temples of the “Lhasa Lords” (lha sa jo bo gnyis), precious sanctuaries that represent a pre-eminent heritage and constitutive legacy of the imperial epoch. From the late 12th century, they were under the special ritual protection and political management of the Tshal-pa. In the center of the Tshal-pa polity – as its compelling and towering figure – stood its redoubtable founder, the charismatic ascetic, yogi, uncompromising warlord and religious head Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (1123–1193 A.D.). The present work in its complex totality teeming with (some might want to say burdened by) minute details then – it is hoped – shall allow the reader to immerse himself into a world born from this truly audacious Tibetan master.

The book may be regarded as an extensive contribution to the historical study of early and late medieval Tibet, and thematically constitutes a follow-up of two previous works published by the same authors in 2000 and 2005 (Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po and Thundering Falcon, both OAW, Vienna). It is the continuation of a more than decade old, on-going fruitful cooperation between European and Tibetan researchers. The authors also here pursued a strict methodological approach that combines in-depth textual analyses, philology, anthropological inquiries with extensive in situ fieldwork, thereby creating a new approach within the field of Tibetan historical study. In addition and pursuant to the extensive textual elaborations offered, special priority was given to identify and localize all relevant toponyms. The many detailed cartographical works open up for a new dimension to historical studies or to what might be labelled informed historical geography, shedding light on the formative historical development and its repercussions and ramifications in the hinterlands of the political and religious centres. Starting from the history of the Tshal-pa – in the 13–14th centuries exerting religious and political hegemony over sKyid-shod
the present study offers new insight into the relations and interactions between clans, territories, religious lineages and local ruling houses within this region around Lhasa in the period from the 11th to the 17th century.

Part 1 of the book (= volume 1 of the present edition) is a translation of a basic text concerning the history of Tshal Gung-thang. Interwoven is a detailed annotation of the text, drawing upon a host of (partly rare or hitherto unknown) comparative sources on the earlier history of this region. Part 2 comprises five appendices: four lengthy individual studies on various aspects of the history and cultic tradition of Tshal-pa and the Lhasa valley, as well as a compilation of several historical tables. This part includes numerous clan genealogies, lists of religious institutions, or of names, such as the numerous teachers and disciples of the Tshal-pa founder, abbatial lineages of neighbouring monastic powers and, not least, genealogical tables of the regional hegemonies of the post Tshal-pa era. An extensive cartographical and photographic documentation (including rare historical photos) as well as a facsimile of two Tshal-pa texts complete the present work, which in toto provides the reader with compelling insights and absorbing testimonies of the fragile interdependence of religion and politics. In particular the history of the Lhasa valley – a first systematic study of the site – is dealt with at some length, demonstrating for the first time how the climate of the valley (constituting a so-called forest climate) has suffered from human-induced environmental changes throughout the last 4000 years and that it was precisely this climate and its challenges that played a constitutive role in the formation of politics concerning Lhasa with its sacred environment.

The book attempts to explore new territories too, we hope, by paving the way for new promising perspectives in Tibetological research in the future. It addresses one of its most pressing desiderata, given the nature of the Tibetan medieval society: the documentation and identification of the numerous clans that populated its rugged territories, delineating their complex migratory and settlement history, a survey that shall allow us a far better appreciation of the historical and political development and eventually enable us to draw more reliable, periodic historical maps of Tibet, such as maps known from neighbouring disciplines. On account of its size, the study may also be regarded as a reference work on the history of sKyid-shod area and the Lhasa Valley. Easy access and reference are ensured through comprehensive indices that include all personal names and toponyms mentioned in the two volumes.

It is a great pleasure in the first place to extend our thanks to the institutions that enabled us to carry out the Gung-thang research project, either by providing the financial means or by enabling us to carry out the necessary fieldwork: The German Research Council (DFG) and the Austrian Funds for the Promotion of Scientific Research (FWF). An essential share behind the successful implementation of the project (not least what concerns the lengthy fieldwork expeditions) stems from the long-standing academic cooperation with the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS) in Lhasa, with which the authors are directly and actively involved for many years now, made possible within the framework of the academic agreement between TASS and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW). The present study finally was carried out within the framework of a research project over many years attached to the Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies of the University of Leipzig (Germany), in part also linked to a project originally attached to the Austrian Academy of Social Sciences, and we are thankful to the leading representatives in
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Historical research and writing (based upon in-depth philological enquiries, and topographic and cartographic evaluations) often are solitary enterprises, conducted in strict self-absorbing solitude.
over lengthy periods, a circumstance that goes a long way in explaining the long period the book was in its making. The book, like the earlier ones, could not have been made if the nature of the collaboration (of a truly complementary nature) and the chemistry between its authors were not so excellent: The present research team – over long period residing in Leipzig and Hummelberg (the research hermitage of Hazod) when they were not underway in Tibet – worked together in a fruitful way, a collaboration (one may also say intellectual cross-pollination) that allowed us to exchange stimulating views and insights or to test still inchoate hypotheses and unripe assumptions before they transmuted into workable theses and viable analyses. The working process throughout all phases was truly collaborative, where individual works have been written (so in the appendices) by any of its two main authors, these are indicated by name. By scrutinizing a large number of sources, written and physical ones, we have been able to gather a fairly rich harvest of information on Tshal Gung-thang and – albeit far from exhaustive – been able to sketch out the rough historical outline of this medieval polity and monastic establishment down through history. The working process chosen was time-consuming, and our time-table would have looked very different had electronic mail not been invented, which enabled us, unlike former times, to dispatch large amount of written material and documents between our separate research caves.

Careful readers will inevitably detect a number of typos. For remaining mistakes and blunders – and in order to anticipate any subsequent criticism for carelessness – without objection we readily hasten to acknowledge these and collectively express our mea culpa (gyi na pa’i skyon).

In the making of the book and in particular during fieldwork, we were again able to sap uncommonly significant information and received practical help and assistance from the locals. We feel immensely grateful to numerous nameless Tibetan informants for their prompt assistance, guidance and excellent contributions throughout the fieldwork. More often than not, the local informants were seemingly unaware of the truly precious information they handed over to us – their often fragmentary recollections that stemmed from oral tradition, their references to obsolete or now-lost toponyms, or to recondite historical persons, cults or remote events, the information gathered later proved significant, not seldom serving as a final (or missing) link in a long chain of evidence. It should never be overlooked by researchers that the local people, their places and native homes constitute both the starting point and the end point in any historical and socio-anthropological inquiry. The present study is not least dedicated to the people inhabiting those remote villages and valleys – with this book we hope a number of fragments and otherwise lost mosaics in the historical jigsaw puzzle now could be reassembled and reinstated in their proper context.

Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod
Leipzig – Hummelberg July 2007
INTRODUCTION
Il n'y a pas d'exercice du pouvoir sans une certaine économie des discours de vérité
Michel Foucault, Collège de France 14.01.1976

Now in the world, [except] me, there is no one; everything has become united into one: There is only me. People cannot comprehend my [sheer endless] qualities. Only I can properly comprehend the Dharma [Teaching]. The Buddha, Nāgārjuna and I, we three, have identical intent. [...] Only I can provide hope for those seeking the blessing from a Guru. [...] Only I can safeguard and uphold the Teaching of the Buddha (buddhadeśana).

rNam thar phyi ma
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]

During the time [I] was engaged in warfare, I [solemnly] pledged that anyone killed would not be reborn in hell. [Even] if it involved the killing of one single monk, [his death and his remains] would produce rainbows and [other miraculous signs, such as] relics.

Even when I waged war, I never entertained any scruples about making a distinction between friend and foe. [On the contrary], except for the circumstance [that my warfare] was for the service of the [Buddhist] Teaching, not for a single moment did I do it for my own personal interest.

rNam thar nudor hdus
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]

The gTsang-chab klun mo at that point offered me the entire Tibetan realm, having filled it with many costly items, such as the seven Precious Emblems of Kingship [i.e. those of a Cakravartin].

Ngag phug ma
[Writings of Bla-ma Zhang]
I. PROLOGUE

1.1 The Present Study and its Historical Context

This is the compelling story of Zhang sNa-nam brTson-'grus grags-pa (1123–1193), yogi, esoteric teacher of the Dharma, warlord and ruler in one person – a variety of identities that corresponds to his own extroverted, religio-political self-image. He is better known as Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa, Zhang Tshal-pa or Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, named after his numerous hermitages and foundations, the most famous being his main seat: the monastic centre of Tshal Gung-thang close to lHa-sa in the heartland of upper Central Tibet.

In particular, it is the history of his extensive heritage, embodied in two main lines radiating out from his influential seat – namely, the religious and the secular thrones. The latter controlled in the 13th and 14th centuries sKyid-shod, the broad area around lHa-sa, in a hegemonic rule that from the second half of the 13th century was sanctioned by the court of the Yuan emperors. These “lords of sKyid-shod,” as one source calls them, were the Tshal-pa, “those from Tshal,” or more precisely: from Tshal and Gung-thang, two neighbouring districts which divided the institutions of the monastic and ruling centre between them. Gung-thang (or Celestial Plain) contains the main shrine, the Gung-thang vihāra, also known as zhang gi gnas chen or the Grand Pilgrimage Site of [Bla-ma] Zhang (today only partly preserved), an edifice which in its symbolic design – prescribed by Bla-ma Zhang himself – was intended to guarantee the spiritual unity of the Tshal-pa in time and place. In contrast to most of the numerous branch foundations, the religious institutions in these two places would survive the political downfall of the Tshal-pa in the 15th century and be taken over by the dGa’-ldan-pa, and later by the central government in the Dalai Lama period. Thus Tshal-pa history, which is presented here on the basis of the informative Gung thang dkar chag (see below), covers a period that reaches into the most recent past.

The quotations preceding this prologue suggest that the founding figure was an unusual character. He was indeed eccentric and at the same time seemingly complacent and self-confident in his behaviour – and hence invariably controversial; a charismatic personality who at all times proved capable of achieving his religio-political quests with all necessary authority. The underlying legitimacy was premised on a form of “charismatic leadership” that essentially combined a unique transmission of spiritual authority parred with a staunchly anti-intellectual stance. This legitimacy represented a significant historical bridge that sought a link, through the much-cherished reincarnation, to towering religious figures or to the dharmarāja of the glorious imperial epoch of Tibet. The emergence of Bla-ma Zhang and his religious polity was not a unique phenomenon. The second half of the 12th century was an epoch that witnessed waves of inexorable monastic expansionism: phases of consolidation of distinct orders, followed by the gradual rise of monastic rulers – often, as in the case of the Tshal-pa, with their main seat in the homeland of the founder. They displayed a similar pattern, consisting in an intimate symbiosis of religious authority invested in spiritual lines but often upheld by old aristocratic clans and the ruling gentry, who continued to draw their needed prestige and legitimacy from the same spiritual models.

From the 13th century on the political landscape of Central Tibet was largely characterized by a delicate coexistence or fragile equilibrium between regional hegemonies, local powers that occasio-
nally competed with one another for political power and influence or were locked in disputes over territorial expansion, but also competed for religious influence too. They viewed themselves as equal and largely autonomous regional polities – in an epoch bereft of a stable or durable centralized (state-based) authority. The political orientation, therefore, was quintessentially decentralistic. The supra-regional position of the Sa-skya from the mid-13th century was based on a temporary consensus premised on *Realpolitik*, in which they reigned under the auspices of the powerful Mongols, who largely followed a divide-and-rule strategy, preferring to govern from afar. The power of the Sa-skya-pa as temporary or local representative was outward, related to administrative affairs and organizational matters, and essentially had no lasting basis. We also find the “principle of regionalism” in force in the ensuing period of supra-regional power in Tibet, namely the Phag-mo gru-pa. The imperial claim of the sovereign (gong ma) from Yar-lung sNe’u-gdung was soon undermined by the falling away of allies, who tended regional interests and ignored central state authority. Looking back in time, the history of early and medieval Tibet underwent at one crucial point a phase that the chroniclers commonly call the “fragmentation of Tibet” (*bod sil bu*), a historical epoch to which the images of chaos and anarchy stick. The ensuing regional fragmentation of Tibet gave birth to a trait which would become emblematic of early Tibetan polity, in which an oscillation can be observed between two poles, namely decentralism vs. centralism. The “force of regionality” formed one stable factor and the actual regulatory mechanism in this pendulum of political orientations. It was represented in Tibet throughout lengthy periods by great lineages and aristocratic clans, who in the dynastic period had both sanctioned and underpinned the very institution of kingship, in a way that went far beyond just supporting a *primus inter pares* as the towering ruling centre. In the post-imperial period the selfsame lineages, ruling houses and clans re-emerged, now to function as local or regional rulers and as patrons (*sbyin bdag*), both creating and filling out the political space within which the new religious thrones were to establish themselves.

An imbalance in this spatial and political order of the post-dynastic period, however, soon made itself evident, in the form of a special legacy of the imperial period, and what would eventually become a prestigious, national commitment, associated from the very start with one key site: lHa-sa, the home of the lHa-ldan Jo-bo gnyis, whose temples (and above all the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang vihāra alias Jo-khang) gradually – in the wake of the Avalokiteśvara-*cum*-Srong-btsan sgam-po cult (from 11th cent.) – acquired the towering status of a national shrine (see App. II). It set the stage for and actually brought about a new geo-political constellation, which in turn led to what we tentatively shall describe as a “move or orientation towards lHa-sa.” At first, a steady army of ritualists entered the epicentric lHa-sa valley from the late 12th century on, in order to offer their services for the protection of the temple; later this movement, whose elaborate ritual preoccupations embodied only limited political ambitions, developed a heightened political and even hegemonic interest in representing and controlling the lHa-sa valley: It was the lHa-sa *sa dpyad zone* – the area that in the early post-dynastic analyses is described as a sacred, or pacified, mandala-shaped protective zone circumscribing the Jo-khang sanctum – that early on was proclaimed and would indeed become regarded as the centre of the Tibetan realm. One striking example of the fixation upon lHa-sa as the national centre of the Tibetan religious and historical universe in the later period was the institution of the grandiose lHa-sa *sMon lam chen mo* Festival, conceived and ceremoniously staged by bTsong-kha-pa (beginning of 15th century). This was immediately followed by the strategic erection of the great dGe-lugs-pa seats of dGa’-ldan, ’Bras-spungs and Se-ra in the core area of the
IHa-sa Mandala Zone. The civil wars in the late Phag-mo gru-pa period ultimately were wars over the supremacy in IHa-sa, at the end of which, as we know, stood the birth of the Dalai Lama, and the lasting presence of him, his institution and his government in the Holy City. Among the pre-existences of the Great Fifth, and forming an essential element of his legitimacy, was Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang. With good reason, for it was not least the visionary quest and deeds of this “little great man” – who simultaneously saw himself, among other things, as a “beggar,” “worm” and “Buddha” – that marked a decisive turning point in the later political history of IHa-sa, sKyid-shod and beyond.

1.2 Previous Studies and a Note on the Methodological Approach

This is the historic context in which we meet Bla-ma Zhang and the Tshal-pa. A detailed history of Tshal Gung-thang is set forth in the basic text, the Gung thang dkar chag, an annotated translation of which forms the core of Part I. The translation is followed by a section with numerous cartographic and photographic illustrations (including older documentation on Tshal Gung-thang). The (mainly satellite-based) maps in this section and scattered throughout the adjoining studies of Part II are the result of an intensive effort to identify and locate historical toponyms, and so enrich the detailed study of the sources, with in situ surveys also representing an essential component. The “search for the place” is part of a method that seeks to combine texts and ethnography, in an attempt to establish what we may term historical geography – still far too rarely engaged in a Tibetological context – which here means: documenting political developments in place and time and making these historical developments visible in the landscape and topography.

Part II is a collection of essays, introduced individually below (see Chap. 3), while also offering a number of genealogical and abbatial tables. Some of the latter reach beyond Tshal-pa into the neighbouring districts of northern Central Tibet. The present study may be regarded as a politico-historical work: a study of regional hegemony, its political presuppositions and its underlying causal or reflexive links to cult and ritual. The history of the Tshal-pa in no way is exhausted by this approach, however. There is, for example, no systematic presentation of the teachings of Bla-ma Zhang and of the Tshal-pa doctrine (i.e. of the Oral Instruction Lineage of Tshal-pa; Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa, also called Zhang-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa). Core elements of the Bla-ma Zhang’s teachings, in particular his unusual Mahāmudrā methods, and the complex individuality of this master have already been discussed in some detail in recent works (see especially Jackson 1994; and Martin 1992, 1996a, 2001a, b). A systematic treatment of the idiosyncratic Zhang teachings on the basis of his now available writings (below Chap. 3, and fn. 2) will be analyzed in a forthcoming study by C. Yamamoto (Lama Zhang: Vision and Violence in 12th Century Tibet).

The Tshal-pa have long been known to Tibetan historical research, particularly through the description in Kun-dga’ rdo-rje’s Deb ther dmar po, one of the main sources tapped by the Gung thang dkar chag (written 1782 A.D.) for the period up to the mid-15th century. This, the “[Tshal] Gung-thang Inventory” comprises 76 folia, and was recently presented in a German edition (translation and transliteration) by Karl-Heinz Everding (2000), – a contribution to Tibetan research which is acknowledged here, even if it has had no further influence on the present work. This is because the present translation was already available at the time of its publication, but more importantly the author, apparently intentionally, did not include any in-depth study in his publica-
Hence the present work forms the first major Tshal-pa study in which all the relevant sources available today on Tshal and sKyd-shod have been taken into account.

In this in-depth study of the engrossing – and illuminating – history of Tshal Gung-thang, an attempt has been made to trace the roots, formation and shifting fortunes of this religio-political hegemony down through history and thus in a modest way contribute – much along the same lines as an earlier study of g.Ya'-bzang – to filling in another gap in our knowledge of a congeries of hegemonies (including their underlying clan network) that both shaped and determined the regional and eventually supraregional history in Tibet in medieval times. The methodological approach combines texts with social-anthropological and geographical analyses based on a variety of ethnographic data. The documentation includes adequate illustrative photographs along with data from interviews conducted on location in order to ensure that supplementary information from otherwise lost oral sources can enrich and widen our depiction of the institution. It is particularly hoped that the enquiry – and not least the large number of toponymical investigations to determine the territorial boundaries – may pave the way for future research and one day allow us to draw more reliable periodic historical maps of Tibet. Our study may in fact now serve as a sort of gazetteer. It may be seen as a contribution to historical toponymy and to the settlement history of these areas, and in particular to our ongoing unravelling of the innumerable cultic, religious and political bonds that linked people, institutions, sanctuaries and territories throughout the central sKyid-shod district of Tibet. In fact, a perusal of countless sources allows us more adequately to appreciate the key role played by the major clans in the formation and shaping of the history of Tibet. A minute documentation of the numerous great clans of Tibet proper is now targeted for future studies.

The thematic diversity and the often lengthy annotations in the book may overstretch the indulgence of some readers. Yet it is precisely this extensive and “holistic” approach and the minute references that make the book useful as a “source reference book,” and it is hoped that its use has only been enhanced by its comprehensive indices.

2. HEGEMONY AND PATRONAGE
Strategies of Survival and Expansion

The war-torn society that had grown out of the collapse of the Tibetan dynasty in the 9th century would facilitate the emergence of a large number of local feudal lordships, noble houses or even, in rarer cases, regional kingships, all of which sprang (or claimed to spring) from the erstwhile dynasty. In their close vicinity were additional clan-based communities that often claimed territorial supremacy to land and other property based upon once-held dynastic appanages or royal grants of land received in return for allegiances. As in most medieval cultures, land rights and other forms of appanage (dhang ris, sa ris) offered to noble houses and clans were in dynastic times the very source of cohesion that ensured the royal house the loyalty vital for their survival as a confederation. Such power-sharing arrangements were the hallmark of Tibet in the ensuing centuries up at least to the 17th century, and in some cases even up until the 20th century.

With the gradual resurrection of ordered hegemonic structures, the newly formed and organized Buddhist clerical orders increasingly gained importance. Their establishment in Tibet was both
long and eventful, and paved the way for fundamental changes in the political and social texture of society. The absence of such organization had been a contributing reason for the collapse of the former dynasty. The gradual, eventually rigorous Buddhist orientation of society in the early renaissance period nurtured the rise of such clerical or spiritual authorities, yet those early centuries, an era shorn of a unified and state-based structure, only slowly witnessed a revival of monasticism, the success of which too often rested not only upon a strong charismatic figure or on an authoritative lineage of dignitaries, but also upon the ability to forge viable bonds with the ruling clans and patronizing communities that were willing to prop up and share power with the newly emerging force, most often by entering into patron-priest relationships of varying sorts. Once monastic institutions finally took shape in the initial period, their growth was seemingly rampant. Individual attempts were made to shape new religious institutions, or else resurgent attempts to strengthen monasticism saw the light of day. Most spectacular and decisive was the concerted return of the ten spiritual and ordained men to Central Tibet from their eastern exile in the 10–11th century. They later regrouped themselves into four factions (Klu-mes, rBa, 'Bring and Rag-shi). With their religious authority they vied for and finally won ample enduring support from their fellow kinsmen (their original clans) or from their most devoted adherents, who for their part provided territory and patronage for an increasing number of settlements. Without this initial clan support, the establishment would have met with a hapless fate. Once they gained a foot-hold, these initial establishments contributed to restructuring the political landscape for centuries to come.

The picture of this gradually evolving, largely clan-supported monasticism along with a concomitant flurry of individual ascetic movements was not unlike the situation in the Europe of the Middle Ages, where patrimonial societies were similarly dominated by a patchwork of aristocratic families, whose power remained unchallenged locally and who actively furthered the establishment and maintenance of ecclesiastical cloisters and clerical orders. It cannot be doubted that by the turn of the 11th century there were quite a number of local overlordships and minor feudal kingships and dynasties (btsad po, jo bo, bdag po) in major districts that chequered the central, southern and western territories and tracts of Tibet. Their rule was usually characterized by archaic or classical patrimonialism in the Weberian sense. The more successful ones, such as West-Tibetan dynasties of Gu-ge or later Mang-yul Gung-thang, would prove more than ephemeral.

Up to the 12th century, with a burgeoning proliferation of religious institutions headed by figures like Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che, these regional powers remained remarkably disparate and mainly of limited influence, not venturing much beyond the borders they controlled. Naturally, the emergence and rise of a sectarian hegemony like his must in the first place be seen in the context of the establishment of the numerous bKa'-gdams-pa and bKa'-brgyud branch schools that mushroomed in a period fraught with abundant religious activity. Most of these movements and petty orders – interlocked in patron-protégé relationships – would, as said, prove relatively short-lived, and only in the case of strong and entrenched clan-based structures – for example, in case of the enduring Ga-zi house behind the sTag-lung-pa, the 'Khon house and clan behind the Sa-skya-pa or the sKyu-ra behind the decidedly more autarchic 'Bri-gung-pa – we do see entities that would stand the test of time, that is, proved coherent enough to survive up until recent times. Two basic factors proved indispensable for their proliferation: the rigorous assertion of authority, divine or worldly, and the ability to attract a steadily growing circle of followers (along with ample patronage).
It appears that nowhere were the dynamics which prevailed among those who bridged the divide between secularity and sanctity more strongly at work than in the story of the religious figure of Bla-ma Zhang, who was spurred by similar hegemonic aspiration. His is one of the most remarkable biographies in Tibet’s history. Many features of his life are out of the ordinary. On more than one score, Bla-ma Zhang embodies what Weber had in mind with his concept of a charismatic authority. His religious vita and spiritual pursuits are astounding, manifesting quite personal, and even idiosyncratic traits. His truly intractable personality, his rare gift to win over large numbers of supporters, his vagaries and eccentricity, and not least his ruthless recourse to martial means to fulfill his objectives were all covered by the cloak of active compassion – the whole, it seems, a form of mystic mahāmudrā-style battlefield philosophy and activism (see also below Chap. 6.2).

This was combined with a unique visionary terrestrial quest with which he pursued his hegemonic objectives and won over his many supporters to a sectarian polity that comprised both temporal and monastic institutions centered on his main seat in Tshal and on neighbouring Gung-thang. These complementary foundations of his sectarian polity occurred successively in 1175 and 1187 A.D., and may in fact be considered the first of their kind in Tibet. His hegemony concomitantly paved the way for the rise of the order known as the Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa, a branch which for some centuries would assert itself quite vigorously within the rich bKa’-brgyud traditions. At the close of his eventful life in 1193 A.D., Bla-ma Zhang, actively supported by a dedicated group of close associates headed by his loyal intendant, lieutenant and successor Dar-ma gzhon-nu, emerged as the unrivalled master of most of the sKyid-shod territory in the heartland of dBus, and as the first sovereign post-imperial ruler of large tracts of northern Central Tibet, which since late dynastic times was emerging as the centre of Tibetan political and cultural life.

Like almost any institution and hegemony in Tibetan history planned so as to survive almost in perpetuum, but too often proving fragile and ephemeral, Zhang Rin-po-che’s hegemony in Tshal across the sKyid-chu River from lHa-sa would itself soon be drawn into the whirlpool of local conflicts, and within less than a century be challenged and eventually eclipsed by stronger forces that, attuned to the course of history, had allied themselves with strong foreign powers. It was as if his small empire, like so many other petty hegemonies, was from the outset destined to become exhausted, vulnerable, and incapable of developing strategies for either sustaining, upholding or even sharing power to ensure its long-term survival. It appears that fragile polities in medieval Tibet never fully exercised any absolute suzerainty over their territories. Soon after its establishment, the Tshal-pa, like so many other such religious polities in Central Tibet, succeeded in forging bonds with the moribund Xia (Mi-nyag) empire, not least through the active proselytic work of a few religious figures, and like other sects, they were quick to realize the benefit from being on good terms with the rising Mongol empire and their pious rulers, once the latter had emerged on the scene in Tibet. All along it exercised relative autonomy, first as a myriarchy, and later as a local dependency at the mercy of larger regional powers: initially the Sa-skya regional supremacy, then the Phag-mo-gru-pa, followed gradually by yet another dependency of the latter, the sNe’u-pa, and then – after a short period under the Karma-pa – the sKyid-shod-pa, which finally came under the dGa’-ldan pho-brang gzhung. Sharing thus the fate of most contemporary entities, the Tshal-pa were never to regain their past glory, and their institutions and territories finally became absorbed into other hegemonic powers. Their integration into the mainstream of contemporary history, their shifting subordination to the rule of others and their final absorption into the dGa’-ldan theocratic regime mark the stages in the history of Tshal Gung-thang.
3. THE GUNG THANG DKar CHAG
Its Sources and the Structure of the Present Book

The present study is largely based upon a text already briefly mentioned above (Chap. 1.2), the Gung thang dkar chag (abbr. GT), a work, long overlooked and until recently seldom quoted, which delineates the secular and ecclesiastic history of Tshal Gung-thang. It was written, or rather compiled, by 'Jog-ri-pa Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rnam-rgyal at the end of 1782 A.D.\(^1\)

As a text, it resembles the sort of pilgrim’s guidebook so popular as a genre in Tibet, but in this case fortunately a detailed one that includes a minute inventory and history of the different parts of the temple complex as seen from a late 18th-century perspective. The author expressly records the *causa scribendi* (along the lines of the obligatory *prajoyana* in traditional Buddhist scholastic writings): to provide documentation of the legitimacy – and an endorsement of the new identity and function – of the Gung-thang vihāra. True to the nature of a dkar chag, GT thus basically contains a description of the origin and erection of the religious site in question and an inventory of the religious items kept there. 'Jog-ri-pa proves to be a very traditional, loyal dGe-lugs-pa author, for his entire depiction of Tshal Gung-thang monastery is treated from the perspective resulting from the appropriation of the site by the dGe-ldan-pa in the 17th century. The author’s orthodox presentation is suffused with dGe-lugs ideology and the overly historical proclivities characteristic of the latter. In a wider sense, GT is nothing but a minute reappraisal, – an apology so to speak – of the history, the modalities of as well as the ideological and spiritual rationale behind the annexation or absorption of Tshal and its institutions into the wider dGe-lugs monastic network and overarching hegemony. This approach, along with the well-known selectivity and partisan mode characterizing almost all Tibetan historiographical writing, necessarily imposed strict limits on the objectivity of its compiler, who never fails to display generous praise of his own creed.

Given GT’s informative content, a virtually complete translation of it will constitute the core part of the present book (\(=\) Part I). Our general depiction of the life of Bla-ma Zhang and his institution has been rewardingly enriched by the fact that his writings are largely extant, not least his mystic-esoteric and auto-biographical *bKa’ rgya ma* and *bKa’’bum* collections,\(^2\) which now are

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\(^1\) His autobiography is titled *Dvags shel Nor bu’i phreng ba*.

\(^2\) A large number of his writings were indited or compiled by Bla-ma Zhang himself during his lifetime, and a still larger part by a number of his most prominent disciples immediately following his passing. The compilation of the two main collections that contain his collected writings underwent some redaction. The first such recorded attempt appears to have taken place in the early 13th century under the supervision of the 11th Yang-dgon throne-holder Byang-chub bzang-po. This was followed by a more systematical approach by *drung chen* Kun-dga’ rdo-rje who had a proper compilation of manuscripts made. For its contents and further transmissional history, see *DL5 gSan yig II* 8886–9962. The most complete edition so far of Zhang’s writings was published in 2004 in Kathmandu. A minute study of the contents of his complete works deserves a separate analysis.

By the fall of the main seat itself, at the close of the 15th century, the so-called *Zhang Tshal pa’i bka’ brgyud gser phreng* ("Golden Rosary of Tshal-pa Teachings") – which, as common in bKa’-brgyud lineages, the lives of the head figures of the Tshal-pa tradition and their teachings were delineated – had almost disappeared, especially at Tshal Gung-thang. Aside from Central Tibet proper (dBus), it is reported that texts and biographical material relating to the
accessible to us in different editions. Fortunately too for our present purposes, the autobiographical material left by Bla-ma Zhang is extant and quite voluminous, bearing witness to the enduring spiritual significance of this excentric 12th-century master. It may in fact be argued that for no other early medieval master do we possess such diverse autobiographical writings. Of signal importance, too, were the writings of the learned Tshal-dpon Kun-dga’ rdo-rje (i.e. dGe-ba’i blo-gros). Deplorably, most of his otherwise important texts have not survived: aside from his basic Deb dmar, we have an abbreviated biographical (rnam thar bsdu pa) commentary dealing with Bla-ma Zhang, namely the dGos ‘od re skong ma’i grel ba (written 1353 A.D.) and the Zhang rin po che la gSol ba ‘debs pa’i rab tu byed pa. Still remaining to be discovered, and possibly totally unrelated to the latter work, is (an apparently extensive) Bla-ma Zhang biography written by him (see dPe dkon 25). By one stroke of luck, though, we came across a rare copy of the biography of Tshal-pa sMon-lam rdo-rje written by the same Kun-dga’ rdo-rje – a text that was also consulted by ‘Jog-ri-pa. It is reproduced in the present book (see below). In addition, we could avail ourselves of a rare biography of Bla-ma Zhang written by Sangs-rgyas ras-pa entitled Bla ma Zhang gi rnam thar zin bris, a text evidently not consulted by our author. On the other hand, the latter made use of the very rare Supplement to the Deb dmar, commonly known as mKhas pa’i yid phrog (though it is currently unavaiable, we are aware that at least one Ms copy has survived in Tibet which hopefully will one day be placed at the disposal of the scholarly community). ‘Jog-ri-pa also used other rare Tshal material, such as a versified biography of Bla-ma Zhang entitled Zhang rin po che gSol ‘debs written by the late-17th-century Blo-bzang lhun-grub. Further, he appears to have had access to later sources for the political history of Central Tibet, such as the still extant sKyid shod dGa’ ldan pa’i gdung rabs. Another work consulted by ‘Jog-ri-pa, but not extant today, was important writings of the aforementioned 9th Tshal-pa khri dpon, sMon-lam rdo-rje, including the Zhang bKa’ brgyud rnam la gSol ‘debs byin rlabs rgyun ‘bebs, the Sems bskyed chen mo according to the Tshal-pa tradition and, particularly important, the biography of mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, the first throne-holder of Tshal Yang-dgon after the demise of its founder, Bla-ma Zhang, in 1193 A.D.

Vast in scope, but no less rewarding, were a large number of discrete sources, whether historiographical, biographical or esoteric, which allowed us to construe a fairly representative – though by no means exhaustive – picture of the Tshal institution, its numerous branches and, not least, many of their main personalities. Any future access to the huge and largely still unexplored ‘Bras-spungs library and the rarissima holdings kept in the Potala Palace library will close a number of additional gaps in our present knowledge of persons, places and institutions pertinent not only to the history of the Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa, but also to other little-known or long-forgotten aspects of Tibet’s rich sectarian and regional history. One of the major challenges of medieval historiography dealing with Tibetological materials has to do with the circumstance that our knowledge and understanding of the methods and techniques of argumentation and modes of

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Tshal-pa were also becoming rare in [eastern] gTsang district, at least by the same period – possibly with the exception of specifically Tshal-related works and popular Mahākāla teaching cycles. Cf. the Nor bu’i phreng ba (435–37, 442) and Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan ngur ‘bum 27a5–6 (and also the latter’s biography 16b4–17a2; see also F.-K. Ehrhard 2000b: 53–54). It was in the 1490’s that Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan (1475–1530) received, in the presence of Rin po che bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, the transmission of Zhang gi rnam thar and Zhang gi lam mchog mthar thug.

1 See also Drepung Catalogue 016948.
perception conveyed in much written literature is, from the modern viewpoint, restricted. As with similar literature, the rites of power, whether classified as instrumental, authoritative or coercive – in short, what may be called the ritual execution of power – often remain undecipherable, no doubt because the motives underlying such behaviour only rarely were addressed and commented upon in the indigenous sources – contrary to medieval East Asian and European historiography (see e.g. Gerd Althoff, Die Macht der Rituale). Moreover, questions relating to the system of social and ethic values, to ceremonial and hierarchial rank and to hegemonic pursuits are of signal importance, because social and cultural conventions defined the nature of the basic rights and obligations in society as much as they symbolized and instantiated the nature of such relations, often more essentially than political acts of power themselves. The unravelling of rituals in a Tibetan context remains a true challenge for future research.

The GT print was the work of rJe-btsun Grags-pa mkhas-grub, who was also involved along with lHa-btsun mchog gi sprul-sku Blo-bzang 'Jam-dpal rab-rgyas, – probably around the same period as GT was written, – in a reissue of the five volume edition of Bla-ma Zhang’s bka’ bum (cf. the colophon smon tshig to Zhang bka’ ‘bum II, passim). GT itself bears all the marks (which here means limitations) of traditional historiographical and biographical writings in Tibet, garbed as this genre is in an ideological mode of writing: episodes and persons are often treated to pious interpretations and imaginative descriptions, penned in an attempt to do justice to their assumed religious role, real or otherwise. As with the prototypical Tibetan chos ’byung genre, then, the modes of profane and ecclesiastical historiography merge.

Part II of the study contains a number of appendices: four lengthy essays (App. I–IV), a compilation of tables (App. V. Table 1–13), and the photographic reproduction of two Tibetan manuscripts (App. VI).

Appendix I examines two important medieval thangka icons exuding profound political, religious and ancestral authority. They represent two influential masters and patriarchs of lHa-sa in the late 13th century, Bla-ma Zhang and his immediate predecessor, the gNyos ruler Grags-pa-dpal. Both inscriptional thangka allow us a rare glimpse into the modus operandi of political and ritual symbolism in Tibet. By unravelling the deeper background behind these art objects, this appendix should be of particular interest to art historians; it provides rich evidence of the historical information and other available data in indigenous Tibetan sources. Such data can shed light not only on the function and historical background of the objects but also to both date and contextualize such masterpieces with far greater precision.

The lengthy Appendix II is a preliminary attempt to explore the main patterns in the cultic, historical and political history of the lHa-sa area from the 12th to the 17th century at the latest. In many ways, the essay represents the first serious attempt to tell the eventful history of the lHa-sa valley. It traces the key actors involved in this grand narrative, along with the most prominent clans in the area, and discusses at some length the cultic activities, the basic purposes and the practical strategies behind the attempt to safeguard the central Jo-khang sanctum (an edifice that heralded the birth of lHa-sa as an urban enclave and community) and not least a number of crucial issues relating to how nature, with its unpredictable hydrological whims, remained a perpetual challenge to the valley and its changing rulers and population. Finally, it provides minute details on how the
overriding importance of introducing flood-control policies and other forms of natural disaster management both defined and shaped the prolonged struggle for local hegemony and rule. The floods in lHa-sa – *terra sacra* at stake – indeed made for a continuously unfolding story of epic dimensions. The long conflict over local supremacy was fueled by ideological motives, had ritual implications and required different means of asserting hegemonic claims. It was a struggle principally rooted in basic questions of symbols and the legitimacy of their representation rather than mere profane concerns and objectives.

**Appendix III** deals with the establishment and expansion of the Tshal-pa myriarchy (*khri skor*), which consisted of over forty Tshal-pa *mi sde* or tax-paying units. The incorporation of these *mi sde* areas into a “Tshal-pa territory” goes back to the inchoate phase of the political history of the Tshal-pa, the period of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang and his immediate disciples. The official establishment of the myriarchy in the 1260’s followed a largely prescribed territorial structure. The appendix offers some new insights into this crucial period of Mongol Yuan dominance (ca. 1250–1368) in Tibet.

**Appendix IV** returns to a number of intriguing issues lurking behind the mythical beginnings of the Tshal-pa hegemony. It includes a lengthy discussion of the many historical toponyms relating to the districts east of lHa-sa, and the more restricted area of Tshal and Gung-thang in particular. This section is preceded by an analysis of the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone and of specific events within the mythical history of the lHa-sa valley, and it in turn leads to a discussion of significant ritual institutions in Tshal, such as that of the protective deities Pehar and Gung-thang lha-mo, and also the important festival of Gung-thang *Me tog mchod pa*.

**Appendix V** comprises 13 lengthy tables which delineate and document in a selective piecemeal form a number of central religious seats and institutions (Tables 1–3, Table 6: 8–12) and clan histories (Table 1.2; Table 7), including tables that enumerate the entire spectrum of teachers and disciples of the founder figure Bla-ma Zhang (Table 4–5). These tables in the first place are meant to serve as a convenient reference tool for researchers and the interested public alike. While Tables 1–3 more or less provide a summary of previously mentioned facts, the other tables often provide more extensive information. Thus Tables 10–12 include lists of the throne-holders of neighbouring religious institutions in and around sKyid-shod, such as those of ‘Bri-gung, sTag-lung, rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang or of the so-called Six Seminars (*chos grva drug*) of sKyid-shod, in some cases drawing on little known sources. Here above all the *skYor mo lung chos 'byung* should be mentioned, which, as well as the succession of abbots of the important monastery and college of sKyor-mo-lung (in lower sTod-lung), also includes important supplementary information on the Phag-mo-gru-pa polity in the lHa-sa valley of the 15th and 16th centuries. The governor lists of the most important seats (*rdzong*) in this area refer to the latter, the Phag-mo gru-pa presence in sKyid-shod (Table V.12.1–3).

Finally, **Appendix VI** is the facsimile edition of the *Gung thang dkar chag* (76 folia) and of the 69-folio biography of the 9th Tshal-pa ruler *drung chen* sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1346/7), the latter text written by sMon-lam rdo-rje’s son and successor Kun-dga’ rdo-rje. The *rNam thar* is among the most valuable specifically Tshal-pa sources that have come to light recently, and deserves to be made accessible to a broader audience in this form. The biography is a veritable gold mine of information on the 14th-century Tibeto-Mongol relationship, on a par with contemporary sources such as *Rlangs*. As the colophon of the only surviving manuscript explicates, the bio-
graphy existed in three versions. The appendix closes with a list of works by sMon-lam rdo-rje. These texts are largely inaccessible or lost and, together with other works that one day may come to light, would constitute the starting point for further studies of Tshal-pa history.

4. SKYID-SHOD – A KEY DISTRICT OF NORTHERN CENTRAL TIBET
A Brief Historico-Geographical Delimitation

The following chapter must be regarded as a necessary prolegomenon to a full-fledged study of the history of sKyi-d-shod and eventually of the entire lHa-sa area, the cultural meltingpot and historic heartland of Tibet. The sKyi-d-chu River (older forms or spellings, Kyi-cu or sKyi-chu, relate to the pre-imperial Kyi clan), a life-giving artery affording watery supply, a transportation and communication that winds its way from north-east to south-west down through the district, together with its many tributaries both defines and holds sway over the area of northern Central Tibet. Today the larger sKyi-chu area includes lHa-sa (currently a large city district) and the surrounding counties of sTag-rtse, Mal-gro, lHun-grub, 'Dam-gzung, sTod-lung bDe-chen and Chu-shur (~ -shul).4

sKyi-d-shod (i.e. “Low Tract of the sKyi[-chu] river [valley]”), as the main part of the sKyi-chu region usually is called in post-dynastic sources, is hardly easy to define in purely historico-geographical terms, because both the underlying geographical concepts and the actual demarcation of its loosely drawn borders shifted over time. The sKyi[d] River rises in the gNyan-chen Thang-lha mountains; the local tradition names sNying-ri, the “heart” of gNyan-chen Thang-lha (a hill near sNying-grong), as the (mythical) source of the river, which in its upper section is called lHa-chu (“River of the God,” i.e. Thang-lha). This corresponds to the course from sNying-grong approximately as far as Pho-mdo, the area around the mouths of the two main tributaries, the Rva-sgreng gTsang-po coming from the north, and the Phag-chu from the south-west. Together with the lHa-chu section of dBu-ru-lung (Middle Horn valley), these two side valleys form the core area of the district known as Byang (north). From the confluence downwards into the area of Klung-shod, the river is also known as the Rong-chu (named after the area east of Pho-mdo). The name sKyi-chu is actually only current from northern Mal-gro, the area around the mouth of the ‘Bri-gung gTsang-po (also known as gZho-rong-chu). In a great curve accross the central southern district of Mal-gro (where the main tributary of Mal-gro gTsang-po feeds into it), the river reaches the central sKyi-chu tract, historically the most significant section of sKyi-d-shod. The central tributary is here the ‘Phan-po-chu, which flows from the similarly named ‘Phan-po valley, which stretches from north-west to the east. This district once was the heartland of the mighty pre-imperial principality of Ngas-po, the submission and annexation of which at the close of the 6th and the beginning

4 One origin myth of the Kyi clan (also sKyi, Khyi) and the Kyi people (Kyi-mi) is to be found in Ka kho l ma 305–307. This story also contains an etymological explanation for the toponymical change from Kyi to sKyi. It says that the Kyi originally go back to an incestuous group of four brothers and sisters from ‘Phan-yul, and developed to become organized into the “seven villages of the the Kyi-people” (k’yi mi grong bdun) of dBu-ru sKyi-d-shod, described as settlements of communities of craftsmen who were happy (skyid) to work for Srong-btsan sgam-po, i.e. to help to erect his temples (see also TF Sorensen and Hazed 2005: 53, et passim). One of the grong bdun may refer to the sKyi-grong of Zhogs, the latter a valley and district situated at the border between ‘Phan-yul and sKyi-d-shod. For Kyi, see also fn. 10.

5 A certain sKyi-shod is registered in possibly old Bon sources that reflect a traditional classificatory scheme where it is listed as one of their “eighteen great -shod” or districts. It remains wholly open, however, whether it refers to the huge sKyi-d-shod district of Central Tibet or not (cf. Srid pa rgyud kha byang 62: Dagkar 1997: 695).
of the 7th century by the Yar-lung confederation marks the genesis of the Tibetan Empire. The Yar-lung "rgyal po gNam-ri srong-btsan, who had arrived from the south on his journey towards northern Central Tibet, founded a residence in rGya-ma (formerly sNon or Yar-snon), a side valley of the sKyid-chu which would be the birthplace of his heir and successor, Srong-btsan sgam-po. The latter is said to have erected his sku (or personal fortress) on the hilltop of dMar-po-ri situated in the narrow IHa-sa valley floor (in the imperial period usually known under the name of Ra-sa). IHa-sa (Ra-sa) was not a permanent seat of the founder king; on the contrary, similarly to

The sKyid-chu Area: Counties and District Centres*

LHA-SA (City Area District) [29°40'N 90°08'E] comprising: sNa-chen [29°39'N 91°11'E], Nyang-bra [29°42'N 91°06'E], Dog-sde [29°42'N 91°09'E], Tshal Gung-thang [29°37'N 91°13'E].

The capital administers six counties (rdzong), namely:

STAG-RTSE County: bDe-chen [29°40'N 91°22'E], bSam-grub-gling [29°39'N 91°18'E], gTsang-thog [29°46'N 91°29'E], La-mo [29°49'N 91°33'E], Chu-mda' [29°50'N 91°38'E], Dar-rgyas [29°45'N 91°25'E], Thang-dga' [29°51'N 91°33'E], Zhog[s]-mda' [29°50'N 91°28'E], 'Brom-stod [29°42'N 91°23'E].

MAL-GRO GUNG-DKAR County: Gung-dkar [29°49'N 91°43'E], Klong-grol-sgang [30°03'N 91°41'E], Gad-la-hor [30°04'N 91°45'E], rTsa-zhol [30°03'N 91°49'E], Nyi-ma lcang-ra [29°59'N 91°54'E], Yangs-ri-sgang [30°00'N 91°59'E], Ro-mdo-sgang [30°06'N 92°12'E], sPang-mdar [29°54'N 91°48'E], rGya-mdar [29°45'N 91°40'E], Ru-thog [29°41'N 92°14'E], Thang-skya [29°53'N 91°46'E], Dvags-pa [29°49'N 91°45'E], Bya-ra-mdar [29°48'N 91°49'E], bKra-shis-sgang [29°45'N 91°54'E], gZi-sbug [29°41'N 91°49'E], rMam-pa [30°05'N 92°18'E].

LHUN-GRUB County: dGa'-ldan chos-"khor [29°54'N 91°15'E], mTsho-stod [29°56'N 91°01'E], gSum-phreng [29°58'N 91°15'E], Byang-kha [29°57'N 91°08'E], Gad-po [29°54'N 91°01'E], Bye-ma [30°01'N 91°08'E], dPal-byor-gling [29°51'N 91°23'E], Grub-bgya [29°52'N 91°16'E], Icang-rasha [29°52'N 91°20'E], mKhar-rtsa [29°54'N 91°10'E], Yul-snga [29°56'N 91°22'E], Phu-mdar [30°10'N 91°20'E], Ngar-nang [30°06'N 91°29'E], Iha-khang [30°04'N 91°33'E], dBu-ru-lung [30°16'N 91°15'E], gTsang-gzhang [30°21'N 91°41'E], bCom-mdar [30°17'N 91°24'E], sTag-lung [30°09'N 91°13'E].

' DAM-GZHUNG County: 'Dam-chu-kha [30°28'N 91°06'E], Yangs-pa-can [30°05'N 89°32'E], gNam-ntsho [30°48'N 91°10'E], Kong-thang [30°29'N 91°07'E], sNying-drung [30°22'N 89°54'E], rGyas-dar [29°52'N 90°21'E], dBu-ma-thang [30°33'N 91°22'E], Lung-ring [30°30'N 91°20'E].

STOD-LUNG BDE-CHEN County: gDong-dkar [29°38'N 90°59'E], rGu-rum [29°43'N 90°46'E], sNa-mkhar [29°44'N 90°40'E], gNas-chung [29°37'N 90°59'E], sByar-rags [29°39'N 90°55'E], sNe'u [29°37'N 91°05'E], gSang-mdar [29°34'N 91°05'E], bDe-chen [29°58'N 90°42'E], Chu-bzang [29°59'N 90°44'E], dMar [29°51'N 90°44'E].

CHU-SHUR County: Chu-shur [29°21'N 90°43'E], mNyes-thang [29°33'N 90°57'E], Nam-mdar [29°54'N 90°42'E], Tshal-sna [29°26'N 90°57'E], rTa-dkar [29°20'N 90°40'E], mTshar-pa-nang [29°23'N 90°50'E], Chu-phu [29°24'N 90°43'E], Bye-nub [29°18'N 90°37'E], Tshva-rags [29°15'N 90°31'E], Sa-smad [29°15'N 90°28'E], gNam [29°27'N 90°54'E].

* The geographical positions (longitude/latitude) follow here (and in most cases throughout the book where no own GPS data exist) the details given in the Xiangcu Damingshi (XD). It should be noted that this extremely valuable catalogue of place-names does contain some errors apparently ascribable to mistranscriptions by the editors.
the later generations of emperors during which the “mobile centre” became a characteristic feature of the state organization (Hazod 2003; Dotson, forthcoming), he actually resided alternatively in different parts of Central Tibet – in the earlier phase of his reign especially in the section of upper sKyid-shod (cf. TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005: 15, passim). Here also the well-known Nyen-kar, one of the most frequented royal residence places, is situated, namely in Lo, the side valley of the sKyid-chu due east of ’Phan-po Zhogs (see below fn. 7).

’Phan-yul itself spreads out between the passes of sGo-la (north of Dog-ste/sde) and Chag-la. Beyond this point the area is called Byang (e.g. Byang sTag-lung, Byang Rva-sgreng, etc.); to the east it borders on Klung-shod and Mal-gro. The area south of sGo-la (i.e. the Dog-sde valley and Nyang-bran) is also regarded as part of sKyid-shod. Towards the west and south-west, ’Phan-yul borders on sTod-lung, its side valleys towards the south-east reaching as far as sNye-mo and Chu-shul. The sTod-lung-chu flows south of lHa-sa, and opposite sNe’u / Ra-ma-gang, where it empties into the sKyid-chu. The eastern bank of the sKyid-chu is traditionally regarded as part of sTod-lung. The latter is evidently identical with the ancient principality of sTod-ro Lung-gsum (see App. IV: Chap. 3). The stretch of land defined by sNe’u rdzong – the once imposing fortress on the eastern bank of the sKyid-chu and home of the sNe[l]/sNe’u-pa ruling house (below, Chap. 9.1) – constitutes the border between upper and lower sKyid-shod (i.e. sKyid-shod-stod, nd -smad). The area downstream from lHa-sa is generally called sKyid-smad, an indication that the division into sKyid-stod and -smad was made from the vantage point of lHa-sa itself. In the sources, the toponyms encountered to the south of this area are all identified as being part of sKyid-smad (cf. e.g. sNye-thang of sKyid-smad or gSang-mda’-phu of sKyid-smad). In the south-eastern direction, sKyid-smad district reached as far as Yar-rgyab Gong-dkar rdzong, seat of the important 14th-century Yar-rgyab rulers. It must be assumed that it was in this section of lower sKyi that the ancient principality of sKyi-ro (and the territory of the “sKyi dynasty”, see TDD 197 [1.2]) was situated, the centre of which is given as lJang-sngon. The latter toponym may refer to the present-day lCang (lJang) in sKyid-smad (Hazod 2003).

lHa-sa itself is commonly regarded as the core part or heartland (mthil) of sKyid-shod (cf. e.g. Ku khol ma 201; Thang stong rnam thar II 213: DL4 23b3) and further (post-dynastic) epithets corroborating its centrality include dBus phyogs nor ’dzin gyi lte ba (’Dzam gling rgyan gcig 90, 95) It sits firmly entrenched on a marshy basin in a mountain-fringed valley that stretches out on a plain in the middle reaches of the sKyid-chu. Upwards (= eastwards) from lHa-sa, at least up to Ba-lam or neighbouring lDan-ma (also known as sKyi[d]-stod kyi lDan) is the section of the middle sKyid-chu referred to as the well-known lHa-sa sa dpvyad (i.e. the geomantic classification of the landscape of the greater lHa-sa valley ascribed to the Chinese consort of Srong-btsan sgam-po). It represents an external buffer zone around the sanctuary of the Jo-khang, usually demarcated by four mountains in

b From the early dynastic period, western or upper ’Phan-yul, between the Ra-ma valley and the present-day Byema district constituted a core area within this region north of lHa-sa, where the two chilarphies of the ’Phan-yul stong sde and the bodyguard stong sde can be localised (these are the homelands of the clans who dominated these districts, namely the sGro, rMa and Ngan-lam). In the same area is situated the imperial yul sde district of Za-gad, where Srong-btsan sgam-po had a residence and indeed passed away (in 649 A.D.). The site is not far from the village of mGar-yul, one of the many mGar sites in Central Tibet (mGar-grong, yul, -khang, -lung) which local tradition describes as places associated with the great cillor mGar sTong-btsan, such as those in upper and lower sTod-lung), in Mal-gro and not least in Ram-pa and Grib, where the later mGar dpom po of Tshal came from (see App. IV: Chap. 2).
sTod-lung-mda’ (W), Dog-ste (N), Grib (S) and sTag-rtse/Ba-lam (E). This model arguably originated in the 11th century and served as a scheme for the establishment of later institutions within the lHa-sa valley, which could aptly be called the “lHa-sa Mandala Zone” (lHa-sa dkyil ’khor steng), a centre-periphery imagery which reflects the well-known penchant among Tibetans for numerical schemes, in this case the quadripartite Indic mandalic model (cf. Macdonald 1997 passim for its wide application to the Tibetan landscape; cf. also App. II: Chap. 1; App. IV: Chap. 2). The notion of lHa-sa as a geo-political axis of orientation is later heightened by the celebrated identification of lHa-lidan/lHa-sa as a Tibetan rDo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana), a parallel to the Buddhist spiritual centre of India, with the further connection of being the centre of the world or of the universe. A similar concept underlies the epithet sKyid-shod Chos kyi ’byung-gnas, “sKyid-shod – the Origin of Dharma” (e.g. sKyor lung chos ’byung 44b), born out of the belief that lHa-sa was the centre of centres. This geo-political concept of a spiritual fulcrum of lHa-sa would expand to include the district containing the later monastic models of Tshal Gung-thang, the cultic history of which in many ways is closely linked to the older history and religious geography of lHa-sa (for further discussion, see App. IV).

According to the description of the territorial division of Tibet proper in post-dynastic sources, lHa-sa, or more precisely the Ra-mo-che temple, stood at the centre of the Central Horn province (dBu-ru), one of the Four Horns into which (from the 8th century onwards) the key zones of the Tibetan Empire were divided. The borders of dBu-ru are listed with the toponyms sNye-mo (= E), ‘Ol-kha (= W), Prags (Sraga) (= N) and rMa-la la-brgyud (= S); see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: fn. 14). The southern border (= the northern border of the Left Horn, g.Yo-ru, the later lHo-kha) was obviously the rGod-dkar-la mountain range, a watershed between the middle sKyid-chu area and the northern valleys of gTsang-po. A network of paths and roads from time immemorial connected these two river zones, such as the routes leading from gSang-phu or from Grib to ‘Phrang-po (and onwards to rDro-rje-brag, etc.), from Zhal (close to Tshal Gung-thang) to sGrags, from sTag-rtse (through the Shing-tshang valley via the rGod-dkar-la pass) to mChims-phu and bSam-yas, from lHas-phu to Upper ’On (and onwards to bSam-yas or rDro, etc.), from rGya-ma to Upper ’On, from gZi-sbug and Ru-thog (both located in the eastern part of Mal-gro) to Upper ’On or ‘Ol-kha and Zangs-ri.

The Central Horn was early divided into two large regions (dBu-ru-stod and -smad), and also into a number of minor military and civil district units. The sources variably register 10 to 13 military thousand districts (stong sde) and 10 to 17 additional administrative units, the yul sde or yul dpon tshan (see App. IV: fn. 58). Two of the stong sde were sKyi-stod and sKyi-smad, militarily governed (ru dpon, dmag dpon) by the famous dBa’s/dBa’ clan (cf. e.g. lDe’u-2 261; Lo pan bka’ thang yig 439.1). Members of it appear to have owned large estates in the middle sKyi-chu region. The same clan thus was also in command (dmag dpon; ru dpon) of the lower (Central) Horn, which provides a rough idea of where the border between upper and lower dBu-ru ran. A late source registers mTha’-rgyas (located on the heights above the mouth of ‘Phan-po-chu) as bordering dBu-ru-stod and -smad (DL6 423).

1 See Richardson 1998: 231; one homeland of the clan at sKyid-chu was Ba-lam, possibly to identify as a later branch settlement, although the dhang ris catalogue (see below) gives Za-gad (in ‘Phan-yul, see above fn. 6) as the land of the dBas (dBa’s, dBa’) minister, perhaps meaning dBa’s dByi-tshab Phangs-to-re, who served under the btsan po gNam-ri srong-btsan and Srong-btsan sgam-po. The same minister is mentioned in connection with La-mo (or La-mo chag-pa-prum, the site of the later La-mo Tshangs-pa-lcog in sKyid-shod), where he is reported to have invited Khrul Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan sgam-po) who at that point sojournered in Nyen-kar (TDD 210f.). This is the pre-imperial seat of Nyen-kar
One old geographical name relating to dBu-ru is dBu-ru-shod or dBu-ru shod-chen (Great Lower Tract of dBu-ru), a designation which apparently refers to the whole sKyid-chu region. It is known from the dbang ris (territorial shares of power) catalogue, which reports on particular divisions of land in Tibet proper between the btsan po and his allied clans (mKhas pa'i dga ston 186f.; cf. also Vitali 2004: 118). dBu-ru shod-chen is here the territory which was directly subject to the emperor (btsan po mnga 'bdag). One may see a contradiction in this between the clan-specific allocations of the stong sde, according to which this area was subject militarily to the dBas clan; but the details of the district record refer to the 8th century, whereas the dbang ris list probably reflects a much older state of affairs (from the period of Srong-btsan sgam-po).

A number of toponyms registered as dynastic sites in the Dunhuang Annals (i.e. places of royal residence and/or council assembly) are located within the narrow sKyid-chu region, prominent among them being those ancient toponyms that were prefixed by [s]Kyi, such as sKyi Glags (i.e. Glags Ba-lam), sKyi lHas (south-west of dGa'-ldan), sKyi Bur (the present day Ra-stod valley, south-west of sNye-thang) and sKyi rNams (south of Bur). Based on the locations corresponding to these toponyms, one immediately recognizes that the sKyi region comprised the valleys south of the middle sKyi-chu (up to the end of the valleys) and the eastern and western side valleys of lower sKyi, a circumstance which had some bearing on the subsequent border designations of sKyi[d]-shod. According to the late 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad (Wylie 1962: 74), sKyi-shod begins east of gTsang sNye-mo, and thus includes areas within present-day Chu-shul county. The eastward extension of the lower sKyi reaches at least as far as 'On-shang-rdo (cf. the form 'On-shang-rdo of sKyi-shod), and possibly even 'Phrang-po, a district once part of dBu-ru (and currently under the jurisdiction of Gong-dkar county).

rmying-ma (seat of the Klum-ro and Yel-rab ruler Zing-po-rtse sTag-skya-bo; TDD 204.29–30) which corresponds to the Nyen-kar of the Old Tibetan Annals, the most important royal residence place in the 7th and early 8th century. As we were able to establish during the fieldwork of 2007, Nyen-kar (or Nyen/Nyan) was the original name of the Lo valley in sKyi-shod (with the site of Nyen-kar more precisely referring to the hamlet Nyenpokar (Nyan/Nyen-po-mkhar) in Upper Lo; see Part I: Map 1b.1). According to the local tradition, the valley became known as Lo following the foundation of the Lo-dgon by the bKa’-gdmgs-pa master sPyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-bar (1033–1103), a native of Nyan sNang-ra-sgang, south of Lo-dgon (bKa’ gdmgs chos ’byung 316; the area which in the Tshal-pa mi sde list is registered as Lo appears in the sources at least until the 13th cent. still also under the name of Nyan; cf. e.g. BA Roerich 612, 302). sPyan-snga-ba, the originator of the famous bKa-’bras-sis ’od-bar stupa type (CFS Gyalbo et al. 86), was a descendant of the dBa’, suggesting that this section of sKyi-shod, too, once belonged to the ancient branch settlements of this important clan. Moreover, there are good reasons to believe that Nyan was the actual homeland of the dBa’; this is supported by the presence of the two impressive burial grounds in the areas of Chumpo (Chums-po?) and Bami in the lower part of the valley (with some of the tombs of Bami comparable to the size of the imperial Phyong-rgyas tombs; below Fig. 4: Part 1: Map 1b.1). Bami, located in the valley section known as brGya-grong (“100 hamlets”) is probably to be read as [s]Ba-mi. “settlement of the sBa (~ ’Ba’/dBa’ [s]) people.” In its closer environs, the side valley of sTag-lung where traces of an ancient ruined complex are to be found may correspond to the Nyen-kar sTag-rtses of the Old Tibetan Chronicles, whereas ICang-bu and Thang-dga’ situated at the entrance to the Lo valley, are to be identified as the Nyen-kar ICang-bu and Nyen-kar Thang-bu-ra of the Annals (see TDD 230f.; Dotson, forthcoming; for the identification of Nyen-kar, see Hazod, forthcoming b).

* Cf. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1533b; there is also the form Shod-chen sKyi-lung (mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1102.1–2), which appears to mean the “sKyi[d] Valley of [dBu-ru] shod-chen.”

* Cf. Uechi 1988 and Hazod 2003 on sKyid-chu district. As far as is known, in the Dunhuang Annals the toponyms relating to places in the sTod-lung side valley of the sKyi-chu (in the Annals usually abbreviated sTod) and 'Phan-yul, and to Mal-gro as well, are not listed as part of the greater sKyi.
INTRODUCTION

Less clear is its northern extension or upper reaches: It can be surmised that sKyid-shod largely still conforms to the former borders of sKyi districts known from dynastic times. It is here advisable, though, to distinguish between the historical and the purely geographical borders of sKyi, which latter reach as far as the upper course of the sKyid-chu, to an area for which additional sKyi or sKyi[d]-lung sites are registered (Xizang Dimingzhi I (XD) 75b, 76a). It had been asserted that the assembly place called sKyi Sho-ma-ra is located in the upper course of the sKyid-chu, corresponding to the present-day bShol-ma-ra in the district of dBu-ru-lung in north-western Byang (HSLG 4: 71–72; XD 76a; Hazod, ‘King Mer-ke’). sKyi Sho-ma-ra is renowned first and foremost as the place where, according to post-dynastic sources, mGar sTong-btsan yul-zung, the chief administrator of Tibet proper, in the 650’s wrote the law book. The same district contains the dynastic site of Mer-k[h]e (i.e. present-day Mer-chung, -chen; cf. XD 75b; HSLG, ibd.), where King Mang-slon mang-btsan preferred to reside. It was under him that blon po mGar served. The latter died - according to the Annals – in Ris-pu, arguably the Ris-phu valley opposite Mer-khe. In the north one similarly finds the dynastic sites of sNying-drung (Map 1 above) and sPrags (not yet identified, but it may be identical with sPrags, on the northern border of dBu-ru); dBu-ru-shod gyi Re-skam of the Annals, registered as an assembly place, corresponds to Rol-skam (also Ru-skam), located close to the sKyid-chu in present-day Ngar-nang district (in the border area of Byang and Klung-shod; Part I: Map 6a).

The upper stretches of areas along the sKyi-chu areas are historically less well known and documented, and it is quite conceivable that additional, hitherto unidentified, sKyi place-names known from the Annals can be traced to these areas. It is fairly likely that the thousand district of sKyi-stod extended up to the river’s upper course. Concerning the upper border of sKyid-shod, today it is commonly assumed that was at the level of northern Mal-gro. The northernmost point of sKyid-shod known to us is ’Bri-gung-tshil/mthil, the location of which sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho once vaguely defined as sKyi[d]-shod-stod. Such references are seldom, it being places below Mal-gro (from La-mo) that are most commonly identified as proper to sKyid-shod. When Tshal-pa are referred to as the lords of Upper and Lower sKyid-shod (cf. e.g. Deb dmar gsar, Tucci 1972: 194), then thus commonly means the regions stretching from Mal-gro to Chu-shul. sKyid-shod *in toto* thus comprises the area which in the post-Tshal-pa period were under the political and administrative rule of the following six local Phag-mo-gru-pa governors, each residing in his own rdzong,

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10 sKyi[d] toponyms are found in different areas of Central Tibet, and even beyond. These places may have different proveniences and histories. Some may go back to the ancient Kyi clan, or to the sKyi-mi grong-bdun (fn. 4), the latter historically also related to the origin of the well-known sKyi-[g]jrong district in former Mang-yul. The toponym sKyi arguably can also be related to the (Zhang-zhung?) term skyi ’dang (skyin dang, skyi ’thing/thang) that appears in different contexts, including a cosmogonic one in which it means “water.” A certain skyi-dang is known from Bon-po sources as one of the 12 human creators (see Dagkar Namgyal Nyima 2003: 39, 113). Note also the well-known toponym Mi-yul sKyi-lding/thang (“sKyi-lding, the Land of Men”), site of the Tibetan anthropogenesis in rKon-gpo (Part I: fn. 3).

11 The place was once assumed to be located in lower sTod-lung, based on a reference in Deb sngon that calls it sTod-lung Sho-ma-ra; cf. Uray 1972: 43; TBH Sarenson 184. However, when compared with parallel sources, the entry is seen to contain two place-names, sTod-lung and Sho-ma-ra. sKyi Sho-ma-ra gave its name to the later college of Sho-ma-ra, mentioned in connection with the former Byang sTag-lung-pa (see for details Hazod, ‘King Mer-ke’).

12 Cf. Lange 1976: 50. See also Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1533b. The upper border roughly corresponds to the peculiar description of the course of the sKyid-chu given in dPal bsam lhong bzang 576.2–6, where the river is said to begin at the level of ’Bri-gung, i.e. [...] skyid chu ni dbus kyi shar stod ’bri gung phyogs nas [...] etc.
Sigla and Abbreviations:

⊙ = modern district capitals (xian):

\[ \text{⊙} = \text{Nye-mo} \quad \text{N} = \text{Na-dkar-rte} \quad \text{C} = \text{Chu-shul} \quad \text{G} = \text{Gong-dkar} \quad \text{P} = \text{'Phyong-rgyas} \]

\[ \text{N/T} = \text{sNe'u-gdong and rTse-thang} \quad \text{Z} = \text{Zangs-ri} \quad \text{E/C} = \text{Chu-gsum} \quad \text{M} = \text{Mal-gro Gong-dkar} \]

\[ \text{S} = \text{sTag-rte} \quad \text{L} = \text{I Hun-grub} \quad \text{D} = \text{'Dam-gzhung} \quad \text{T} = \text{sTod-lung bDe-chen} \]

\[ \text{口} = \text{monastic centres of the bKa'-bgyud school est. in the 12th/13th cent.}: \]

\[ \text{P} = \text{gDan-sa-thil} \quad \text{Y} = \text{gYa'-thang} \quad \text{L} = \text{Ge-re I Ha-pa} \quad \text{K} = \text{Tshur-phu} \quad \text{G} = \text{Tshal Gung-thang} \]

\[ \text{B} = \text{'Bri-gung-thil} \quad \text{S} = \text{Byang sTag-lung} \]

\[ \text{метр} \]

Map 1. Northern Central Tibet
fortification or stronghold: Bye-ri sTag-rtse rdzong (in sTag-rtse village, close to Zhogs), Brag-dkar rdzong (south of dGa’-ldan) and bDe-chen[-rtse] rdzong (in present-day bDe-chen township, formerly part of Ba-lam), sNe’u rdzong (south of lHa’-sa), lHun-grub[-rtse] rdzong in Chu-shul (in sKyid-smad) and Gong-dkar rdzong (see Map 1; see also below Part I: fn. 542).

1. The sNying-ri hill in present-day sNying-grong village (Map 1) is described as the heart of Thang-lha and the source of the lHa-chu (or sKyid-chu).

2. The valley of Mer-khe in dBu-ru lung on the upper course of the sKyid-chu formed a key district of dBu ru during the time of the Tibetan kingdom.
3. The village of Bami in the lower Lo valley of sKyi-d-shod most probably refers to the ancient homeland of the dBa’s, the ruling clan of sKyi-d-shod to whom the great tombs close to Bami (sBa-mi) arguably are to be connected (Fig. 4).

4. Remains of the great tombs of Bami. In the background the site of lCang-bu which corresponds to the Nyen-kar lCang-bu of the Old Tibetan Annals (see Part I: Map 1b.1).

5. The village of Nyan-po-mkhar in upper Lo with ancient ruins nearby still recalls the former name of the Lo valley: Nyen-kar, the central royal residence place in sKyi-d-shod in the 7th and early 8th century.
4.1 Tshal-pa District in Narrow and Wider Perspectives

In the autobiographical writings bKa’rgya ma (compiled and revised by his disciples in the 13th century), Bla-ma Zhang narrates his vision of the future monastic centre and of the surrounding Tshal-pa territory, which the klu mo (nāgī) of gTsang-chab, as the divine donor, so to speak, placed in his hands (GT 42b–43a). This act of transference of land and territory was envisioned to be accompanied, most dramatically, by a major flood that gradually expanded from gTsang-chab successively through the districts of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum and Grib, gradually spilled over into sKyiids-hod Ngam-hod, and dBus-gtsang Ru-bzhi, and finally flowed eastwards towards Mi-nyag.

This unfolding geographical activity, as delineated in the basic sources, reflects the gradual expansion of the outer borders of his “realm”, the Tshal-pa school, in the 13th century. This analogy must be distinguished from the later Tshal-pa hegemonic realm in its narrow, political sense, as demarcated by the establishment of its myriarchy (khri skor). The Tshal-pa estates defined in the edict of Qubilai as mi sde districts and territories refer to a number of settlements in Central Tibet, primarily in the region of sKyiids-hod and Ngam-hod (App. III).

Ngam-hod in older sources designates the areas above and below (i.e. east and west of) bSam-yas (e.g. dBa’bzhed 13a–b), but according to references in more recent sources the name refers to a larger area. one that to the east bordered directly on sKyiids-hod, reached almost up to Zangs-ri and included the areas watered by the tributaries both north and south of gTsang-po (Part I: fn. 597; above Map 1). It is noteworthy that Ngam-hod also surfaces as one alternative designation for sKyiids-hod (e.g. Deb dmar 126, 445); so also in the oral tradition, according to which the IHa-sa valley once was called Ngam-hod. Hence the above reference “sKyiids-hod Ngam-hod” may also be read as Ngam-hod of sKyiids-hod. The background for such apparent geographical vacillations should possibly be sought in the reorganization of the religious geography in the post-bSam-yas period, during which a sort of spatial equation between the areas of IHa-sa and bSam-yas was conceived. A link between the areas may be seen in the position of gNyen-chen thang-lda. The leading territorial or telluric god of northern Central Tibet had a residence at sKyiids-hod dMar-po-ri (of the “IHa-sa Mandala Zone”) and at bSam-yas Has-po-ri (see ‘Dzam gling rgyan gcig 89). As blon po (minister) of rgyal po Gangs Ti-se, Thang-lda may be considered an “offspring” of the prominent divine mountain that contains the source spring of the gTsang-po, in which – whether in IHa-sa or bSam-yas (or indeed elsewhere) – the same water flows (often euphemistically called the “turquoise-blue river-water of gTsang-po” or gtsang chab g.yu sngon). It is therefore small wonder that the general equation sKyiids-chu ↔ gTsang-po should exist, as documented in both written and oral sources. Incidentally, the sKyiids-chu was very recently renamed IHa-sa gTsang-po (or Lasa He). Such notions of the transference of divine properties forms within a larger context the background for such formulations expressive of spatial interlinkages or encountered in the above version of the Tshal-pa territory.

Ngan-lam (or Ngan-lam [lung-pa] Ral-gsum) is attested in early post-dynastic sources as a territorial designation for the central sKyiids-hod area. Tsha-ba-gru, Zhang’s birthplace in Tshal is given as Tsha-ba-gru of Ngan-lam, and the founder calls himself the Ngan-lam-pa, or the “beggar of Ngan-lam.” The presence of the same place-name in sKyiids-hod is as a case of a “wandering toponym,” testifying historically to an early branch settlement of the Ngan-lam clan of ’Phan-yul (see App. IV: Chap. 3). Grib in the compound of Ngan-lam lung-pa Ral-gsum Grib refers to the
valley of that name south of lHa-sa, where in the 12th century a branch of the influential mGar lineage from Ram-pa in sTod-lung settled. The clan functioned as a yon bdag of Zhang and his monastic centre. Up this very day Grib and Tshal Gung-thang still form one united district.

The closer area of Tshal Gung-thang encompasses [lHa-gdong] Shan-kha (W) and dPal-lding (E). Tshal village together with Yang-dgon is situated to the south-west; Gung-thang, seat of the gTsug-lag-khang, the sKu-'bum chen-mo, and other shrines, a few kilometers further south-east. This part of Tshal and Gung-thang also surfaces in the earlier sources under the names Tsha-ba-p and rTa-mo-ra, two toponyms each going back to dynastic times (see Part II: App. IV).

5. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
5.1 The Religious Communities in Northern Central Tibet in the 11th and 12th Centuries

As already detailed, the political landscape in the 11th century was characterized by a burgeoning monasticism and by small hegemonic powers in juxtaposition to one another. These latter were generally formed by branch lineages and petty dynasties that splintered off from the two main royal lines issuing from Yum-brtan and 'Od-srung, and from their widely ramified lines of descendants. Yet there were also numerous clan-based ruling houses and migrants from them that had settled down in the environs of the main lineages – local clans that had populated former dynastic districts and whose territorial and hegemonic claims were justified not least on the basis of bygone allegiances and once-held fiefs within clearly demarcated territories. These clans were often “invited” onto their land as its common rulers according to an ancient tradition of upholding and perpetuating a divinely vested throne (CFS Gyalbo et al. 27), an arrangement that in the long term would face considerable difficulties. Thus they were eventually forced to enter new alliances with the rise of a of new hegemonic powers and religious settlements. Such shifting alliances and the renewal of bonds of patronage forged under changing conditions proved conducive to ensuring their own survival as local rulers.

For northern Central Tibet during this period, the districts of 'Phrang-po, Lum-pa (a valley east of 'Phrang-po-go), lCang-rgyab (clearly lCang/lJang in sKyi-d-smad), Glag Ba-lam, Grib, sNyet-thang, 'Phan-yul, Klung-shod, dPe-bzhi (~ sPel-bzhi = Yer-pa?), bSam-yas, lHa `Bri-sgong (in 'On) and still other areas are mentioned by name (cf. TBH Sørensen 441–443). The fate of most of these local powers is only indistinctly visible in the sources; the blurred traces of their leading members usually disappear sometime in the 12th century, after being referred to merely as btsad po, rgyal po, or the like. The historical importance of these local rulers, as stated, largely depends on their roles as patrons of the religious movements and settlements that mushroomed in Central Tibet (as elsewhere) during the early Renaissance epoch (bstan pa phyi dar). They formed the politico-economic base for the reorganization of the Buddhist teaching and the establishment of affluent Buddhist communities from the early 11th century on. Among the main figures in these developments we are aware of are the rulers of bSam-yas, Tsha-la-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan and Bodhirāja, who had precursors in the West Tibetan rulers. Among the first initiators during the bstan pa phyi dar period that returned from eastern Tibet, namely the “Ten Men of dBus-gTsang” and their pupils, it was primarily the four groups under Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab, 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan, rBa-btsun Blo-gros dbang-phyug and Rag-si Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas (fol-
lowed later by rMa Chos kyi byang-chub) that were active in Central Tibet. They initially arrived in bSam-yas (with Klu-mes and his group of adherents in the vanguard), before in their relentless missionary quest spreading out across Central Tibet to establish numerous settlements and communities (or to take over old or renovated temples), where they set up schools as centres for the teaching and the spread of the Vinaya. According to Nel-pa Pandita's account, forty temples alone in northern Central Tibet were established by the first two generations of the so-called Klu, 'Bring, rBa und Rag groups: in 'Phan-yul, Mal-gro and sTod-lung, and in most areas of sKyid-shod (Part II: App. II and Table V.6). Some of them functioned as mother temples ([dgon] ma) for subsequent branch settlements (lag) or dependencies; many, except for their names, now have passed into oblivion and may never be properly identified.

These branch settlements for their part became the starting point for the further ramification of monastic establishments. We only have scattered information on these numerous, often minor settlements. Atiśa, for example, conducted many visits to some of these sites, where he exerted a strong pioneering impetus through his missionary presence. In this case, the distinct communities often were deputed with the same care as for the primary temples of the bKa'-gdams-pa orders established by the first- and second-generation disciples of Atiśa, such as Thang-po-che, Rva-sgreng, sNye-thang and gSang-phu (cf. Eimer 1979: 298). In their build-up, the settlements established in this initial phase often resembled communities or groupings (tsho ba, sde ba). The spread and distribution of the communities within the different regions and the distinct patron-priest bonds that were established should slowly led to increased political influence, with hegemonic implications, since the vital alliances based on patronage conduced to the forging of political unions. This process thus went hand in hand with the mobilization of political forces in the country, namely the local aristocratic clans who made themselves felt as patrons behind the distinct groups. One open question in the territorial division was the control of the lHa-sa area itself, which given the growing importance of the Avalokiteśvara cult during the 11th century brought with it control of the country's key sanctum: the ritually vital Jo-khang and its sacred image. Whereas bSam-yas and Khra-'brug (along with the Jo-khang the leading sanctuaries of Tibet, i.e. the chos 'khor gnas gsum) fell under the patronage of a single ruling house – bSam-yas under the mnga 'bdag of the Yum-brtan brgyud, Khra-'brug a branch settlement of the Yar-lung jo-bo of the 'Od-srungs brgyud – lHa-sa was – as far as we know – politically a relatively "open zone," a nonaligned site. We have yet to come across any detailed information suggesting that any ruling lineages occupying lHa-sa in the 10th and 11th century. From the local areas of rule in sKyid-shod (i.e. Grib, Ba-lam, sNye-thang, etc.) we hear next to nothing, and in the area as a whole other external clans came to the fore at the latest from the early 12th century.

5.2 Rulers of the lHa-sa Valley in the Pre-Tshal-pa Period

The breakdown of the dynasty in the 9th century and the lengthy interregnum that saw widespread civil war heralded a prolonged power vacuum in Central Tibet, one that would last well into the early 11th century. It is a well-known fact that the ensuing turmoil had devastating effects on temples and sanctuaries, many of which were destroyed and ransacked. At the outset of the 12th

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century a branch of the aristocratic mGar clan settled down in Grib, a sub-line of this widely rami-
ified clan (see e.g. *mGar rtse, passim*), which is commonly regarded as having descended from
the dynastic counsellor mGar sTong-btsan yul-srung. At approximately the same time a branch
of the influential [Kha-rag] gNyos clan, which originally came from IHa-sa sKyid-shod, resettled
in the sKyid-shod area (App. I, II). Much earlier, the sNa-nam clan, that of the paternal side of
Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang’s family (Chap. 6), is registered as occupying parts of lower sTod-
lung, at the western fringe of the IHa-sa valley, as can be drawn from the aforementioned imperial
dbang ris list. For the mid-12th century, the sparse sources unanimously report skirmishes taking
place between the Klu, 'Bring, rBa and Rag factions of IHa-sa, which appear to have been what
was then and later known as the IHa-sa sde-bzhi (“four communities/divisions of IHa-sa,” also
mentioned in the sources in a more toponymical sense as the “four quarters of IHa-sa township”).
They apparently vied for the appropriation, custodianship, and control of the key sanctuaries of
Ra-mo-che and Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snang (cf. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 448, 801; *Deb dmar* 400; App. II:
Chap. 1). It can be assumed on good grounds that these still largely nondescript local clans, which
in this period were on the rise, acted as lay patrons of the distinct groups steeped in the conflict.

From scattered references we in particular know that gNyos-nag Grags-pa-dpal (1106/22–1182)
of the [Kha-rag] gNyos lineage figured as *bdag po* of the upper and lower 'Bring community
(gNyos kyi gdung rabs 24; cf. also Vitali 2004; Akester 2004; App. II below), and it is safe to say
that members of the mGar clan, the rNgog and still other clans played a similar role. The branch
settlements of the two 'Bring groups, whose main seats were at Ngan-lam sPyi-mo (in 'Phan-yul)
and at Bran[g] Ra-mo-che in sTod-lung, spread out over the areas of 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod
up to Gong-dkar (and Dol and gZhung, south of gTsang-po). A similar expansion of branch set-
tlements in northern Central Tibet was witnessed among the clans supportive of the religious
communities of Klu-mes and his pupils, in particular rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas and Zhang
sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phugy (the latter a distant relative of Bla-ma Zhang). Settlements of Rag
groups could be found in 'Phan-yul, while those of the rBa (¬ dBa' /dBas) were primarily in sTod-
lung (having come from sNy an-dmar in mTshur-phen). 14 It is easy to see that behind the feuds in
IHa-sa a conflict of supraregional importance was brewing.

In the mid-1150’s Dvags-po sGom-tshul – who by then had taken over the representation of the
Dvags-po bKa’-brgyud-pa centre of Dvags-Iha sGam-po in eastern Central Tibet (1145 A.D., see
*sGam po khris rabs*) – established the IHa-lung monastery in mTshur of sTod-lung. He arrived
there upon the invitation of gnas brtan Shes-rab-grags, who possibly headed one of the rBa tsho
monastic communities of mTshur sNy an-dmar. It would soon become a centre of attraction for a

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14 The most significant settlements in the immediate vicinity of IHa-sa were the Bran[g] (¬ Bran-ka; later and even to-
day also Beng) Ra-mo-che (erected 1168 A.D. by sBal-ti dGra-bcom-pa upon the former 'Bring-smad settlement located
at the confluence of the sTod-lung-chu and sKyid-chu; cf. Richardson 1998: 231, 311), and the 12th century dGa’-
bd gong established by the 3rd sKyor-mo-lung throne-holder Shes-rab rdo-rje (1181–1253), at the site of a former settlement

Among the disciples of rGya ’Dul’-dzin was Sha-mi sMon-lam-pa (1084–1171) from the Klu-mes group, who as upād-
hvāya served during the ordination of the first Tshal-pa ruler before the establishment of Yang-dgon. Two of the dependen-
cies of Bran[g] Ra-mo-che were the (reoccupied) sKar-chung temple (in Ra-ma-sgang opposite IHa-sa) and two temples in
Zhal (obviously Zhal of Gung-thang); cf. Part II: Table V.6. According to Zhang’s *Writings*, a philosophical school, argu-
ably a branch of the ’Bring tsho establishment of gSang-phu Ne’u-thog, was erected in Tshal itself (App. IV: Chap. 4.1).
large number of "monks from dBus, gTsang and Khams" (see IHo rông chos ’byung 178). We are informed from other sources that Bla-ma Zhang often visited lHa-tshong to meet Dvags-sgom, who became one of his root teachers. After fighting between the factions in lHa-sa broke out – tumultuous skirmishes which were likened to being haunted by a noxious demon (’dre srin gdug pa can) – Dvags-sgom was invited to lHa-sa as mediator, namely by dPal-lidan lHa-mo and Grib rDzong-btsan, the two mighty protectors of lHa-sa (IHo rông chos ’byung, ibd.; mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 448).

In a society long bereft of a centralized power and still lacking the consensual hegemony of later epochs, monks were commonplace for settling disputes both prior to a conflict and after warfare had broken out, and not only as a pis-aller, given their reputation for impartiality. Dvags-sgom’s endeavours in lHa-sa consisted in successful mediation among the waning lHa-sa sde-bzhi factions, evidently with the help of the strongest forces, the ’Bring settlements and the gNyas clan. The result of his efforts was a settlement that led to the renovation of the war-ravaged Ra-sa ’Phrul-snang sanctum. The future political and religious responsibility for this national shrine, and hence for lHa-sa, finally was deputed – after an intermediate period of rule by gNyas Grags-pa-dpal – to Dvags-sgom’s close pupil Zhang Rin-po-che, before he himself left lHa-sa in the 1160’s. The ritual obligations sworn to for the protection and support of the Jo-khang (which in essence meant the protection of the Jo-bo image inside the shrine) included responsibility for its structural maintenance and overall preservation, which required protection against the elements of nature in form of embankments (chu rags) towards the south of lHa-sa town. For further details, see App. II.

6. GUNG-THANG BLA-MA ZHANG
Yogi, Warlord and Monastic Founder

6.1 Origins and Religious Career

Bla-ma Zhang was born according to the Western calendar in August 1123 in Tsha-ba-gru, located in the southern part of present-day Tshal Gung-thang district. His birth name was Dar-ma-grags. His parents were the Tantric lay-practioner (sngags pa) rDo-rje sems-dpa’, a scion of the sNa-nam (or Zhang sNa-nam) clan and a former nun by the name of Mang-skyid, who according to one source was addressed Shud-mo-bza’, evidently descending from the influential Shud-phu clan. Both clans usually are recorded as minister clans of the imperial period, while distinguished representatives of both lineages were prominently active in the political and religious movements of the early post-dynastic period of the 10th and 11th centuries. The Shud-phu were leading members in the regional movement of the g.Yo-ru kheng log, and particularly distinguished themselves in the bKa’-gdamspa and the rNying-ma-pa circles in the 11th and 12th century, being active in the area of their home estates in southern and western lHo-kha, where they soon emerged as founding figures of religious establishments and as heads of important spiritual lines. A leading Shud-phu lineage representative was the well-known teacher of bTsong-kha-pa and Vajrapāṇi master (Phyag-rdom-ba) Shud-phu Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan (1326–1402). Among the most prominent early post-dynastic sNa-nam-pa was Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phug (ca. 976–1060), to whom is ascribed the establishment of a large number of branch settlements of the Klu-mes communities (cf. Table V. 6.). In imperial if not even in pre-imperial times, the celebrated sNa-nam lineage had settled in lower sTod-lung, more precisely – as already indicated – in the area at the western entrance of the lHa-sa valley (in Bran[g] and gZhong as listed in the imperial dbang ris catalogue), but probably also in neighbouring districts, such as sNyams (south of sNye-thang in sKyid-smad) where rDo-rje
**Introduction**

dbang-phyug was born (as the son of sNa-nam Jo-sras – a name indicating the presence of a local sNa-nam-pa ruling house). Within larger dBu, the lineage from the 8th century on is also registered for upper dBu-ru (probably with its branch settlements in the gZho-rong valley; see Part I: fn. 11), and it occupied territories in the environs of Grva-thang, which – corroborated by a number of sources – bordered on local Shud-phu estates. The latter situation suggests that a long tradition of affinal affiliation prevailed between the neighbouring sNa-nam und Shud-phu clans, an affiliation which was continued in sKyid-shod district, as exemplified by the marriage between the parents of Dar-ma-grags. In sKyid-shod district, the two clans evidently played no major political role during this period. In the first half of the 12th century other lineages, as stated, had moved into the foreground, namely branches of the gNyos and mGar. In all likelihood the birthplace of Bla-ma Zhang in Tshal Gung-thang district at that point was located within the territory held by the mGar.

The sources contain no further references to Bla-ma Zhang’s family ties. Occasionally his Writings mention an older and a younger brother, along with a (younger?) sister, however, details of these family members are nowhere provided. His elder brother is called Zhang sNag-po, which can be read as the “maternal relative (snag) of [sNa-nam] Zhang.” It is reported that he, along with the mother, taught the young Dar-ma-grags the art of reading and writing. The first teacher outside the family was a certain grub thob Ma-jo dar-ma, a teacher arranged for him by his mother. It was with him that the spiritual development and the religious career of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang got underway – a development that according to the conventional arrangement in GT is described within the framework of outer, inner and secret biographies. It can be divided chronologically into three phrases, which we may subsume under the following headings:

1. Education in Central Tibet and Khams – until the early 1150’s

At the age of seven, Zhang received teachings in the basic doctrines of Prajñāpāramitā. Abhidharma and Pramāṇa at the feet of bSam-bu lo tsā ba, and in addition received teachings in different tantras, such as the cycles of Hevajra and Mahākāla, from Bla-ma rNgog-pa, one of his most important tantric teachers. He was trained in the practice of black magic, too, which he allegedly exploited in his dealings with some members of his family (1143 A.D.). The dispute (one source mentions Zhang sNag-pa as his primary opponent) may have arisen over his decision to move to Khams (between 1144 and 1148), where he was ordained in a monastery in Nags-shod (i.e. ordained at the age 26 (1148 A.D.) in the presence of mKhán po [rGya-ston] mKhar-sgo-ba and slob dpon Grab-mkhar). He remained a seven full years in Ngam-shod, where he first met his root bla ma, the translator and yogi dpal rGva-lo (rGva lo tsā ba gZhon-nu-dpal; 1110/1114–1198/1202). The yogic instructions he received at the feet of rGva-lo (in sadāngayoga, ānāvāma and Mahākāla-related teachings) were followed by a lengthy period of practice, perfected through instructions offered him by Māl Yer-pa sMon-lam-btsan (1105–1170 A.D.).

2. Pacification and Fixation

The period after his return to Central Tibet (in the early 1150’s) until 1187/89, the year of the foundation of the Gung-thang vihāra and the erection of the great Byang-chub chen-po statue. The lengthy epoch again can be subsumed under the period complementing his education paired with the perfection of his yogic practice and the period with the establishment and development of the Tshal-pa (ultimo 1160’s):
From the early 1150's on Zhang (along with his loyal disciple, the young Dar-ma gzhon-nu) visited and established numerous retreat sites and hermitages in Central Tibet; these are collectively known as the Bla-ma Zhang’s Seven Sites of Spiritual Realization (s grub gnas bdun), all situated in the areas between lHa-sa and bSam-yas. The classification alludes to lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug, the “Master of the Seven Sites” (i.e. Maheśvara), one of Zhang’s numerous “borrowed identities,” to be seen in connection with his endeavour to underpin his religious rule. One visible early triumph of the practice conducted at these sites was the pacification and the binding under oath of the local gods and demons of Grib and the lHa-sa valley – propitations that were conducted primarily at his favourite s grub gnas of Byang-mkhar (near Gung-thang), and which can be dated to ca. 1155/56, prior to his meeting with sGom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po (1116–1169 A.D.). The latter (often abbreviated sGom-tshul or Dvags-sgom) is, aside from rGya-lo, to be regarded as the most significant among Bla-ma Zhang’s six root bla ma. From mid-1150’s, sGom-tshul mainly resided in lHa-sa (in mTshur-phu of sTod-lung), where – as already stated – the two repeatedly met and where he conferred upon Zhang the teachings of the patriarch sGam-po-pa, first and foremost the celebrated Mahāmudrā cycle IHan cig skyes sbyor. In the biographical writings, he is often identified as the one with whose help [Zhang] realized the ultimate bodhicitta. Following the passing of sGam-po-pa (1153), Dvags-sgom rose to become the successor guardian of the bKa'-brgyud-pa order that was originated by his uncle, and which now was handed over to leading disciples via Dvags-sgom; we are referring to the “Sixteen Great Sons of D[v]ag[s]-la sGam-po-pa-’a,” among whom four were classified as the actual “Holders of the [Dvags-po] Lineage” (’brgyud pa ’dzin pa bzhi). In Deb sngon 550 (BA Roerich 462), sGom-tshul is counted among these four, a position of trust he eventually passed on to Bla-ma Zhang, which usually is not regarded as a direct pupil of the wise sGam-po-pa.15 From these principal lineage-holders, the following monastic establishments, known as the bKa’-brgyud che-bzhi (i.e. the Four Great bKa’-brgyud Orders), sprang, namely the Phag-mo gru-pa, Tshal-pa, ’Ba’-rom-pa and the Karma-pa. As already indicated (Jackson 1994: 59), it is untenable to maintain that Zhang was a representative of a pure Dvags-po bKa’-brgyud tradition, since he received teachings from other bKa’-brgyud-pa lineages and the Great Seal teachings – either transmitted by his root bla ma Mal Yer-pa and ’Ol-kha-ba Grol-sgom chos-gyung (1103–1199) or through the influence of dNgul-chu Be-ro-ba (Vairocana-rakṣita).16 The last of these, the Indian yogi Vairocana-rakṣita, was, so it appears, chronologically the last of Zhang’s six rtsa ba ’i bla ma, and from him he received, apart from the Great Seal teachings in the

15 See also below fn. 18. A particular indication of Zhang’s prominent position within the Dvags-po order is to be found in the story of his meditation hat (sgom zhva), described as the sgom zhva of sGom-tshul, which the latter had passed on to Bla-ma Zhang. sGom-tshul himself was presented the hat by sGam-po-pa during a meeting in ca. 1151 A.D. The sources (sGam po khri rabs 18a6–b1; sGam po pa rnam thar III [B] 146b1–6; mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 473) specify the hat more precisely as one with long lappets folded [above the head] (sna ring gi ’dab ma bldabs). Its origin is said to be the zhva sna rings (“hat with long lappets”) of the Bon-po, then the “10 men of dHus-gTsang” used to wear it, followed by the bKa’-gdams-pa from whom the tradition was taken over by (the originally bKa’-gdams-pa student) sGam-po-pa (below Fig. 6). It says in sGam po pa rnam thar III, at one point sGam-po-pa’s nephew, sGom-tshul, was unhappy with the long ear flaps and subsequently bended it upwards. It is apparently the crest represented on Fig. 5 of App. II and the highly significant sgom tshul sgom zhva which Bla-ma Zhang inherited from his teacher (see App. I: Fig. 8), signalling the Tshal-pa founder as an immediate successor of the sGam-po-pa tradition. For variants of the [Dvags-po] sgom zhva tradition mentioned in connection with other bKa’-brgyud founding figures, see mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 847.

16 The Zhang biographies list, in addition to the six root bla ma (Part I: fn. 56), over 40 teachers associated with Bla-ma Zhang (see Part II: Table V.4). The actual extent of their influence can be gleaned only through a more detailed examination of the Writings of Zhang.
tradition of Maitripāda, also the Cakrasamvara initiations and not least the dohā tradition (going back to Virūpa). At the end of the 1150’s or the beginning of the 1160’s,12 Bla-ma Zhang began to commit some of his most seminal works on the Great Seal tradition to paper, the foremost being the celebrated Lam mchog mthar thug (Martin 1992a). The early 1160’s also was the period when the first (monastic) Tshal-pa institutions (dgon, chos grva) are documented, witnessing among the young communities, the first monk ordinations, whether in the dgon of Re’u-chung or at the chos spyil of Tshal-sgang, the latter a precursor to the monastery of Tshal Yang-dgon, established in close proximity in 1175. Tshal Yang-dgon soon became the main seat of the religious dignitaries of Tshal-pa, that is, the Yang-dgon gdan sa ba. GT claims that Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims had ordered its foundation, and in addition that “all the teachers of dBu-rū” (= northern central Tibet) – as euphemistically remarked in Zhang’s bkA’ thon bu – had requested him to construct the monastery.

Bla-ma Zhang at that point already was a renowned authority, but reportedly notorious for his contentiousness and controversial attitude in matters concerning doctrine and method. This ill repute he apparently had acquired earlier on, if we are to believe the entry chronicled in Deb sngon (657.16–658.11; BA Roerich 558), according to which a certain dge bshes Zhang in 1152–53, assisted by Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po, visited sGam-po-pa in Dvags-/Iha sgam-po in order to clarify a number of recriminations against Zhang that were circulating. The identification of this person with Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, however, remains questionable.13 From the main sources, Bla-ma Zhang’s controversial behaviour – described in some detail for the first time

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13 The events chronicled in the Deb sngon to our knowledge do not surface in the biographical Writings of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, and there is good reason why not. It appears that the companion of Phag-mo gru-pa in reality was one of the latter’s main pupils, Zhang Sum-thog-pa, a noted local ruler (mtshen bdag po) of ’On and commonly addressed as a dge bshes chen po (Hr. rong chos ’byung 327.20–21); he primarily is known as the founder of gSe-gsby ’On and as the ordination teacher of ’Bri-gung-pa ’Jig-rten mgon-po. The form dge bshes (kalvi namitra) Zhang for the Tshal-pa founder is most unusual; confusingly, Zhang [g]Sum-thog-pa is occasionally addressed as Bla-ma Zhang, which apparently led to his being mistaken for Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (see Part I: fn. 813). Bla-ma Zhang does not appear in the list of direct disciples of sGam-po-pa, in contrast to Zhang gSum-thog-pa (see Deb sngon 550.13). A similar case of mistaken identity (many more cases could be quoted) can be registered, in connection with another event (see e.g. Bod rgya tshug mdzod chen mo 3223), in which Bla-ma Zhang, in the wake of Phag-mo gru-pa’s demise (1170), “conducted the deceased’s merit-transference [at gDan-sa-mthul], but did not take over the throne of Phag-gru.” However, this can only refer to Zhang Sum-thog-pa (notwithstanding the details in Hr. rong chos ’byung 3221f.), who ordained ’Jig-rten mgon-po in 1177, and attended to the throne of Phag-mo gru-pa (see V. Table 11.1; and Czaja 2006).

Concerning the Tshal-pa founder, it is transmitted that he had a statue erected of sGam-po-pa in Dvags-la sgam-po (see Dvag-la sgam po gnas rig 38a4), it can be viewed as a posthumous appreciation of the spiritual father of the Dvags-po bkA’-brgyud-pa, whom Zhang from Tshal allegedly never met personally.
in Jackson’s excellent study (1994), appears to have become noticeable at a later point, perhaps in the late 1160’s (or even later). This vrata-based idiosyncratic behaviour of his was instantiated by an uncommon approach to the realization of the Great Seal practice and tradition, involving a radical, perhaps personal interpretation of the concept of ‘dul ba, the conversion (i.e. the pacification and taming of people and territory). The battle campaigns of the “hot-tempered” Zhang and his small retinue of “brothers-in-arms” also involved the “killing” or elimination of enemies, an issue which Zhang at different places in his Writings justified or at least attempted to justify (see below). Dung-dkar (in Deb dmar 445) states that the warfare was directed against the local lords in Central Tibet. However, we find among the Zhang “warriors” (all, as far as we can judge, coming from the group of disciples called ‘phrin las grub pa’i bu chen; see App. V: Table 5.11-E below) a number of local chiefs – among them scions of the imperial Yum-brtan lineage. A few must have voluntarily joined the charismatic lord of Tshal and offered him their protection and material support. According to what is reported in GT and other sources (see e.g. Deb sngon 836.3f.), the primary objective was the acquisition of the necessary resources for the implementation of the Gung-thang project, that is, the erection of the grand Gung-thang vihāra and its furnishings (cf. App. IV: Chap. 4). In this connection we occasionally find details concerning the radical destruction of older religious establishments. In one case from IDan in sKyid-shod (orally transmitted only), the demolition of a stūpa at the insistence of Bla-ma Zhang is mentioned, the material out of which it was made allegedly being needed in order to build Gung-thang. A closer reading of this account reveals that it masks a more complex issue, namely the occupation of a key site of the lHa-sa Mandala Zone, arguably in connection with the transmission and adoption of a Yamāntaka tradition descending from Rva lo tsā ba, who had his main seat in IDan (see Hazod 2004). It is certain that the activism of the “mightiest warlord of (early post-dynastic) Central Tibet” (Jackson) during the late 1160’s or early 1170’s led to preparations for and the actual consolidation of the territory of the Tshal-pa, in the first place the areas of central sKyid-shod (not least the so-called lHa-sa Mandala Zone); but we also have reports of warfare in a number of areas of Ngam-shod (Chap. 4 supra). Zhang fulfilled the task of his teacher Dvags-po sGom-tshul, who had entrusted to him responsibility for lHa-sa (and the lHa-ladan Jo-bo-gnyis). As already noted above, this assignment had a history to it: Due to his unrivalled authority, Dvags-sgom in or around 1160 had been requested to come from sTod-lung to lHa-sa, in order to mediate in the warring disputes between the lHa-sa sde-bzhi groups, an arbitrage which made possible a long-needed renovation of the Jo-khang. A number of sources, however, tenaciously claim that it was the presence of the powerful gNyos clan in the area and the influential patriarch gNyos Grags-pa-dpal who finally broke the prevailing stalemate and brought peace to the area. Whatever the case, it was Bla-ma Zhang who eventually assumed oversight of the largely pacified area around the sanctum, which he, adroit in the exercise of power, steadily expanded and secured. Dvags-sgom’s invitation to lHa-sa was notably extended by its protectors, Grib rDzong-btsan and dPal-ladan lha-mo, who would have decisive roles to play in the later Tshal-pa cult. Zhang had already won them over to serve his quest in the early 1150’s during a successful retreat session in Byang-mkhar of Tshal Gung-thang. In a way, then, the Tshal-pa story truly begins with Zhang’s return to his homeland from Khams, after being forced to leave it during his family dispute.

3. Retirement – The Last Stages of his Life 1187–1193 A.D.

Following the erection of the Gung-thang vihāra (1187) and the ensuing construction of the great Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po statue, Bla-ma Zhang gradually withdrew from active life. One well-known event is his meeting with Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193), which can be dated to the
The founder of mTshur-phu dgon as member of the brgyud pa 'dzin pa bzhi, similarly had received instructions from Dvags-sgom to build his monastery in sTod-lung (the later main seat of the Karma-pa), on which occasion Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa urged Bla-ma Zhang “not to engage
in fighting, because people are unhappy with this method” – a request which the latter eventually fulfilled. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa later attended the consecration ceremony of the Byang-chub chen-po statue (in 1189, according to our sources), along with other important founding figures, such as Gling-chen ras-pa (1128–1188) and rGya-ma mSangs-rgyas dbyor-ston (1138–1210). The consecration of the statue, which represents lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug (see above), marked the zenith and simultaneously the end point in the career of Bla-ma Zhang. He would not live to see the completion of the adjacent building-project of the Sku-bum chen-mo, only that of the stūpa’s third socle (or parisanda). At the point of death, he is said to have prophesied: “‘Bri-gung-pa, mTshur-phu-ba and the Worm (nga 'bu, i.e. my humble self), the three of us, this year have received invitations from Uḍḍīyāna. Since ‘Bri-gung-pa’s (i.e. 'Jig-rten mgon-po’s) auspices [for longevity] are good, he will not need to go [now], but the two of us will have to go!” The very same year, both Dus-gum mkhyen-pa and Bla-ma Zhang indeed passed away (cf. 'Jig rten mgon po rnam thar II and III [B] 77a1–b1 [= 153–154], 246–47). Prior to his demise, the latter entrusted his legacy to his closest pupils and assistants, first and foremost Dar-ma gzhon-nu and Sākya ye-shes (see below).

6.2 “In the world, [except for] me, no one exists”

Strategies of a Charismatic Ruler and Warrior Saint

Looking back upon an eventful life, at its close and well advanced in age, Zhang summarily concludes at one place in his Writings (ZhK III (Cha) 254b1f.) that the three main objectives of his life hitherto were the appropriation of political hegemony (addressed by the term gnyat or “yoke,” i.e. bringing his subjects under his sway), the enactment and implementation of secular law (rgyal khrims) – in other words, the introduction of social and civilizing measures – and finally, the “sealing of roads and valleys” (see below). In addition to his religious identity and saintly repute, it was by means of these endeavours that he came to be considered “Lord of the Teaching” and equated with a manifest Buddha.

Elsewhere, in a [self-?] revelatory statement in the Zhang gi lung bstan mDo Za ma tog (ZhK III (KA) 146.5f.), we encounter a possibly more genuine portrait of Zhang as being small and sturdy in build – in conformity with the depictions of him in art – his countenance always radiating with brilliance, his one eye small, the other large(r) – a person, it is said, capable of converting sentient beings by his own sheer dragon-like force. He was permanently surrounded by numerous beasts of prey, and supported by his loyal attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu. On the battlefield he worked for the welfare of sentient beings, and whereby subdued all demonic powers. Assisted by all members of his retinue, and without regard for his own life, he accomplished all the tasks he felt called to perform. And indeed the prophecy continues (reminding us here of Avalokiteśvara and his universally altruistic mission), these exploits of his were immeasurable, innumerable, truly unimaginable. In almost formulaic, and certainly apologetic tones, it is said that he, in that extraordinary behaviour of his, eventually turned into a lord for those without a protector, a refuge for those without refuge, a last resort for those without any, an abode for those without abode, or a support for those sentient beings without proper support, and the like.

This statement enunciates a number of ideal characteristics that mark out the religious leader and founding figure of post-imperial times: a self-proclaimed mission or commitment to liberate living beings, instantiated in the mastery of the Mahāyāna Buddhist bodhisattva ideal but here
converted into a zeal for political activism, an ideal that was instrumentalized to serve as basis for the territorial transfer of a civilizing political order. The founding figure viewed himself in the form of an assumed or borrowed identity as a higher unity spanning his religious community ("an abode for those without abode") and put himself forward as one who could pacify a territory and liberated it from its barbaric nature. In its programmatic, ideological orientation, his hegemony once called into existence by the foundation of a ruling throne, never stepped beyond the frame set up and adhered to by the founder himself, for his authority and identity were regarded as limitless and all-pervasive. It was, then, binding in its historical dimension, too. The transference of rule and authority followed a lineage principle according to which in each new generation, the founder was present. As already remarked, the secular throne was occupied by a pupil lineage stemming from Zhang, and retained its legitimacy not least because of this specific nexus to the master. In a sense, the history of Tshal-pa always is the history of Bla-ma Zhang. This perception and understanding of history is reflected in later (dGe-lugs-pa) chronicles (as well as in the local tradition), where the demise of Tshal-pa as a religio-political institution and polity is viewed as linked with certain events in the biography of the founder (see App. IV: Chap. 5).

Zhang, therefore, may be held to be the prototype of a charismatic religious ruler of an idiosyncratic Tibetan-Buddhist type, in whom we— with regard to his political calculations— recognize a particular combination of undisputed authority, yogic vision, territorial quest and "borrowed identities." He commonly was looked upon as of one nature with U-rgyan (Guru Rinpoche) (urgyan ngo bo bla ma zhang gi gnas; cf. rDo rje gling pa rnam thar 221.1-4), and he saw himself as a manifestation of sNang-ba mtha'-yas or Amitābha (cf. e.g. 'Dzam gling rgyan gcig 92-93). As stated, he was identified with lHa dPal-'bar dBang-phyug, the "Master of the Seven Sites," which fact was embodied in the sgrub gnas bdun sites relating to him. One of these significantly included the chos rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po chamber (also called [Bla-ma] Zhang gzims-khang) in the lHa-sa Jo-khang. This form of identification with Tibet's first dharmarāja in association with a specific site can only be matched by bTsong-kha-pa or the later Dalai Lama(s), and is indicative of Zhang's position as bdag po of lHa-sa and of sKyid-shod. The identification with Srong-btsan sgam-po certainly was not an exclusive claim but one that could be asserted by any master or any other religious rulers. Thus, we encounter similar claims being made by the g.Ya'-bzang founder Chos kyi smon-lam (1169-1233), who in order to underpin his hegemonic ambitions in Yar-lung once proclaimed in front of his community: "I am Srong-btsan sgam-po!" (CFS Gyalbo et al. 149; BA Roerich 656). He too was in Tshal, registered as pupil of Bla-ma Zhang. It possibly was from the latter that g.Ya'-bzang-pa was inspired to implement the practice of territorial sealing (lam rgra or ri rgya lung rgya), which he declared in connection with his territorial quest. This normally included a hunting ban, and also

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14 In accordance with tradition, as routinely observed in hagiographical writings, and apparently also endorsed by Bla-ma Zhang himself, the latter was fitted out not only with an array of previous and future rebirths but also had numerous identities and aliases, so that whenever he met Dvags-sgom, he called himself sKyed Shes-rab rig-pa, born close to lHa-sa gtsug lag khang, then as one Shes-rab grags-pa, followed by five future rebirths in a number of celebrated Buddhist sites in India, China and again in India, among others, as a manifestation of Avalokitesvara.
the effective control of the territory vital for the hegemonic appropriation and control of large areas. We encounter this practice in this form for the first time in the post-dynastic period in the person of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang.

dPa'-bo gtsug-lag pertinently summarizes the formation behind the rise of the Zhang polity:

In general, that period was a time when Tibet was without a national law and had become fragmented. Therefore [Bla-ma Zhang] restricted the access to mountains, river and roads (ri rgya klung rgya lam rgya mdzad) to everyone. Against those who did not respect these restrictions, he performed acts of aggressive liberation (drag po'i 'phrin las mdzad), including military battle. Among his disciples there where many in whom the realization of the Great Seal was born in the front line of battle, the nobleman (dpon) Dar-ma gzhon-nu beholding the countenance of Cakrasamvara while at the front.

Here in a few words we again find a vivid description of the political and spiritual context of Bla-ma Zhang's territorial conquest and annexation, in which physical violence served as a seemingly appropriate means and the protagonists (headed by the later first Tshal-pa dpon po Dar-ma gzhon-nu) should emerge as virtual zealots and "holy warrior." The whole notion of army or battlefield may appear somewhat exaggerated to describe a small band of armed men, all loyal and devoted to Zhang's visions (and equipped with bows, arrows, spears, stones and slingshots and, not least, magical spells). Nonetheless, we are arguably here dealing with a phenomenon in post-imperial Tibet (though gNyos Grags-pa-dpal to some extent may have served as his precursor): a ritualization of war as means of establishing and violent enforcing civilizing principles under the direction of a leading representative of the Buddhist doctrine. The fierce form of Mahākāla (as Bya-rog (Fig. 8), mGon-po Beng and other forms) assisted him in this endeavour.

The uniqueness of this approach may be gauged by a statement of the siddha U-rgyan-pa (1230–1309) that though the Tantras taught and endorsed the liberation of creatures from the three lower realms (ngan song gsum) [by killing them], still, except for Virūpa in India and Zhang Rin-po-che in Tibet, no one else took recourse to this form of liberation. On the basis of the biographies of a number of Zhang disciples and later founders of Tshal branch seats and dependencies, it is often maintained that such person fought for Bla-ma Zhang in this or that area as if testing under battle conditions was part of the education of a tantric adept, perhaps way beyond what was called for out of loyalty to Zhang's visionary course. That Dar-ma gzhon-nu had a vision of Cakrasamvara at the front in fact indicates that battle itself had become a means of attaining spiritual realization (see also App. IV: Chap. 4.1).

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20 mKhas pa'i dga' ston 808; the translation for the most part follows Jackson 1994: 63.
21 Again mKhas pa'i dga' ston 810; cit. in Jackson 1994: 63. For Virūpa in this connection, see App. IV: Chap. 5.
Further,

Against anyone who defied his orders (i.e. refused to support materially the erection and furnishing of the vihāra), he repeatedly dispatched troops to fight them. [In this way] he executed a siddha’s various deeds, acts hard (i.e. impossible) for others to fathom.

(Deb rtsong 836.5–7; BA Roerich 714–15)

This may be read as implying that Zhang himself was not engaged on the battlefield, but that his deeds as a tantric adept (grub pa’i spyod pa) were accumulated for him by way of his pupil-soldiers whom he dispatched into battle. Together they formed a community of conspirators, bound by a common programme: “When one judges my outer activities, no one apart from my stout-hearted (snying rap ma) disciples can fathom them,” Zhang declared in the “Instruction to Jo-bo IHa-btsun” (Deb rtsong 836.11–12, see also Jackson, op. cit., 62). Only one disciple is recorded as having entertained scruples about accepting the programme: Ti-shri ras-pa (1164–1236), originally a ’Ba’-rom-pa disciple who later spent most of his active life in Xixia and among Mongol nomadic lords; during the period he spent with Zhang he once uttered that he attended on him for the sake of the Dharma and not in order to fight and kill people (GT 16a).

Bla-ma Zhang’s approach was practical-oriented, and he himself was a man of action, like many bKa’-brgyud ascetics both preceding and those following him, most notably Mi-la ras-pa. At no point in his life did he have a high regard for learned discourses or “tongue-users,” his term for representatives of a purely intellectual approach (see Jackson, op. cit. 52); the latter merely came up with approximations to the Buddha’s Four Truths, whereas the Teaching of the Great Seal (bka phyag pa) aimed at the actual attainment of spontaneous realization, which is why he propagated his method (decoupled from Buddhist ethics, as it were) and defended its utility for the Buddhist path.

One source (rNam thar phyi ma) elaborates:

At the moment when [I] was engaged in warfare, I [solemnly] pledged that anyone killed would not be reborn in hell. [Even] if it involved the killing of one single monk, [his death] would produce rainbows and [other miraculous signs such as] relics. […] My warfare was in the service of the Teaching: not for a single moment did I do it for my own personal interest.

And similar in GT:

’Gro-mgon swore that however other might look at his [unusual belligerent behaviour], if [this amassing of riches] should prove to be for his own sake only, they could kill him, he assured.

The small, sturdy man, often depicted with a roguish smile or sardonic mien (see App. I: “The many faces of Bla-ma Zhang”), was seen as a holy saint by some, but as a rascal and maverick of considerable controversy in other corners of contemporary Tibet. The statements bear witness to a spontaneity and a candor – to an eccentric self-projection that ranged from being a Nothing (“I, the Worm”) to being Everything (“In the entire world, there is only me”), statements bespeaking a sens of self-irony and humour. And while they were spoken by a particularly charismatic personality, they are in no way extraneous to the tradition.
7. DAR-MA GZHON-NU
Pioneer of Tshal-pa

In a retrospective view about his life (in ZhK III (Cha) 254b1–265b6), Bla-ma Zhang specifically acknowledged the great service performed by his favourite assistant, Dar-ma gzhon-nu, for the consolidation of the Tshal polity and for his contribution to winning new disciples and patrons. Zhang’s testamentary manifesto included the transfer to Dar-ma gzhon-nu of control of all the real property, including arable fields, possessed by the Yang-dgon and Gung-thang seats, and he instructed his successor to wholeheartedly provide alms to beggars (both of them would be helped in this endeavour by rich donations, such as those from the founder of sTag-lung). At the time, large parts of Gung-thang allegedly were in the hands of two of Bla-ma Zhang’s close pupils, lHa bzo Phag and dkon gnyer Hral-chung. In order to meet the costs for the consecration, Bla-ma Zhang privately (?) donated two sets of religious books written in gold and seven sets of other books. He further donated all of the items (including sculptures, thang ka and musical instruments) belonging to [Tshal] Gung-thang.

The intendant (nye gnas, or should we say “aide-de-camp”?) Dar-ma gzhon-nu (1145–1232/33 A.D.) stands first in the list of the Zhang’s disciples summarized as the phrin las grub pa bu chen. As said (Chap. 6.1), the members of this group devoted themselves wholeheartedly to fulfilling Zhang’s overall religious crusade and joined with the master in establishing a new polity. Another member of this group was mGar rGyal-ba byung-gnas of Grib, who was one of the first patrons (yon bdag) to offer Bla-ma Zhang his support. He was the head of the celebrated mGar clan, which had land in what would later be part of the heartland of the Tshal-pa polity, and a figure whose lineage would come to occupy the seat of the secular rulers of Tshal Gung-thang. Up to this point (ca. 1232), Dar-ma gzhon-nu was the dominant person. After Zhang, this disciple-intendant obviously was the most important figure in the founding phase of the Tshal-pa. Bla-ma Zhang himself in his writings maintains that the transfer of power from him to his favourite disciple resembled the heritage bequeathed from father to son (phas bu ’bogs pa).

Dar-ma gzhon-nu was a native of Ban-khos, a small district not far to the east of Gung-thang. The name of his lineage (and hence the lineage of the first three generations of Tshal dhon/dpon sa; see following Chap. and fn. 23) deplorably remains unknown. The sources chronicle that he had come, still a child, into the presence of Zhang, sometime in the early or mid-1150’s. This early and most common form of apprenticeship in loco parentis meant that he was specifically groomed to serve as Zhang’s close aide and confidant. The ties or bonds that evolved between them would make of him his teacher’s most loyal zealot, to whom the role of co-founder of the monastic centre has been ascribed. As for the Gung-thang vihāra, the sources at least corroborate that Dar-ma gzhon-nu was the founder. The Tshal tradition accordingly acknowledges his role in a corresponding cultic representation. He is described as the symbolically significant rider on a white mare and as an incarnation of brGya-byin (Indra), the latter of which must be seen in connection with the Pehar configuration of rGyal-po sku-Lnga, often featuring brGya-byin in the central position. The Pehar tradition, according to local informants, had appeared in Tshal by Zhang’s time. The deities of this group together with the Phyag-bzhi-pa (i.e. the Four-armed Mahākāla and his acolytes, including the Gung-thang protectress dPal-ladan lha-mo ’Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma), formed the primary tutelary gods of Tshal Gung-thang. In the cultic represen-
tations of the "Tshal-pa Triad," Dar-ma gzhon-nu is situated to the left of Bla-ma Zhang, while the root bla ma dPal rGva-lo is depicted to the right. The latter, as stated, was Zhang's principal yogic teacher, and the one through whom the celebrated Mahākāla teaching cycles among others were later transmitted – the school’s spiritual and esoteric hallmark. Whereas rGva-lo thus embodied the paternal teachings, Dar-ma gzhon-nu occupied something like the position of an "executive minister" of the religious throne. Small wonder that following the demise of Zhang, he was elected master (bdag po) of Gung-thang, which was tantamount to the position of the first secular ruler of Tshal-pa. This Tshal-pa pioneer passed away at the age of 88.

8. TSHAL-PA HEGEMONY IN THE 13th AND 14th CENTURIES

Following the establishment of Tshal and Gung-thang in the latter part of the 12th century and the passing of Bla-ma Zhang shortly after, the master's closest disciples and devotees were initially concerned with the consolidation of the new polity, and specifically with the establishment of the two lineages of a religious and secular throne.

8.1 The Religious and Secular Thrones of Tshal Gung-thang and the Expansion of the Monastic Seat

In the years 1187 or 1194 – the sources are at variance – the Zhang assistant Šākya ye-shes (1147–1207 A.D.) succeeded to the religious throne (gdan sa) of Tshal Yang-dgon. Like Dar-ma gzhon-nu and numerous other Zhang disciples, he had come into the presence of Zhang as a child (ca. 1158 A.D.). And like Dar-ma gzhon-nu, he offered Bla-ma Zhang a rare personality fit to groom for his own coming grandiose quest. The task deputed to Šākya ye-shes as part of this missionary quest was the supervision and training of subsequent Tshal-pa students. During the same period, Dar-ma gzhon-nu (at the behest of Zhang) was elected bdag po of the Tshal community and of the gTsug-lag-khang. Conjointly with Šākya ye-shes, Dar-ma gzhon-nu afterwards committed himself to the erection of the bKra-shis 'od-'bar reliquary of the deceased master, and to the completion of the temple and the large sKu-'bum stūpa. The patron-priest union entered into between these two persons thus ushered in the beginning of the post-Zhang era, with Tshal-pa hegemony resting upon two pillars, of the religious and secular thrones.

The institutionalized form of the chos srid lugs gnvis (this term was introduced only later, in the mid-13th century), represented a dual system of religious and worldly rule shared between a lay patron and his religious client, and the Tshal-pa can possibly be acknowledged as the first such monastic-hegemonial polity ever established in post-dynastic Central Tibet. Still, one may also argue that the preceding gNyos rule may have predated Tshal hegemony. Within this power-sharing coalition, the religious throne, at least in its initial phase, clearly remained the determining force, since the throne-holder of Tshal Yang-dgon was the principal representative of the spiritual lineage instituted by Bla-ma Zhang. Following Zhang's demise, the throne-holder's lineage ramified into numerous sub-lineages embodied in the numerous abbatial successions of the branch institutions, originally establishments of the direct "sons" and "nephews" (sras, bu, dbon) – that is, disciples – of the paternal master. According to the school's account of origin, the establishment of the secular throne of Dar-ma gzhon-nu, too, counted among the offshoots of the Zhang lineage.
The first ten generations of the *mkhan rabs* (abbatial succession) of Yang-dgon were dominated by two lineages, namely the lineages of the first abbot Śākya ye-shes and his pupil Sangs-rgyas snying-po, which provided the see with seven throne-holders. In between the incumbent and Zhang’s pupil lHa-phuyug-mkhar-ba, Sangs-rgyas-snying-po filled the post. Summoned to Tshal from his monastery lHa-phuyug-mkhar, he had formerly been the assistant of lHa-phuyug-mkhar-ba and would later establish his own abbatial line in Gung-thang (see below). This restriction to only a few lineages points up a tendency already observable among the lines ruling the branch monasteries and other monastic centres, where the abbatial succession was held by one clan or line. A direct link between clan affiliation and throne was evidently crucial, and related to the question of heritage and loyalty. One may speculate whether pure subjective commitments and power interests had gained the upper hand here; in other words, whether the clan-based or family-based occupation of the see (in Tibet, usually transmitted lineally from father to son or uncle to nephew) was effective in ensuring a maximum of loyalty and filial commitment. One may also argue that the chosen lineage-based transmission of the see in fact merely served practical purposes, inasmuch as – contrary to the conventional rule – the clan affinity of the line of throne-holders was not directly hereditary; rather, succession to the throne was determined in the first place by the paramount spiritual lineage of the founding master. For if a breach in the succession occurred, the election of a new candidate was defined in purely symbolic terms rather than through lines of descent. Election was ensured once a link between the candidate and the question of his status as heir to the sacred throne and its founder was established. This evidently was the case with the 11th throne-holder, the abbot *chos rje* Byang-chub bzang-po, who happened to rediscover the highly symbolic and numinous Zhang footprint Byang-mkhar Zhab-rjes ’Gro-don-ma. This single feat sufficed to cement his claim to the throne. We can safely assume that both mechanisms for regulating the question of succession were in use. It is not surprising that this throne-holder appears to have played a key role in the dissemination of important biographical writings of Bla-ma Zhang – in particular his brief esoteric sketches. (Part I: fn. 156).

The time following the tenancy of this throne-holder, was marked by a certain monopolizing of power, with the abbatial see of Yang-dgon appearing to have permanently fallen into the hands of the family of the ruling clan and house of mGar. The 12th abbot *spyan snga* Grags-pa bshes-gnyen (1322–1381 A.D.) handed over the *dpon chen* title to his brother and he himself took over the see of Yang-dgon. All subsequent generations of throne-holders came, as far as is known, from this ruling mGar house. Until the take-over by the Phag-mo gru-pa, the abbot and *dpon chen* (respectively, the spiritual court-chaplain and secular ruler) now shared power, linked by blood and fate either as uncle and nephew or as elder and younger brother (Table V.1–V.1.2).

The early history of the secular throne can be divided into two phases: The period until ca. 1230–31 A.D., in other words the period covering the reign of the first three throne-holders. These tenants all descended from the family of Dar-ma gzhon-nu. It was the time of the successful expansion of the Tshal-pa schools into the territories of eastern, central and western Tibet (below Chap. 8.2). During the period of the third *dpon po*, the occupation of the areas in sKyid-smad (1225–30 A.D.) followed. *GT* (29a) in hindsight designates the phase (alluding to the traditional threefold divisions of snga dar and phyi dar) as the beginning of the Tshal-pa Teaching (bstan pa’i dhu brnyes pa).

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22 We here follow the list of *GT*, in which not Zhang but his successor, Śākya ye-shes, is counted as the 1st Yang-dgon gdan sa ba.
The subsequent phase of the Tshal dpon po was dominated by the mGar lineage.\textsuperscript{21} The Tshal-controlled districts at the beginning of the Mongol supremacy and their distribution among princely appanages (established 1251–53 A.D.) were attached to Tshal but later, in the 1260’s, placed under Qubilai imperial patronage. The period following 1260 and lasting roughly one hundred years was the heyday of Tshal-pa hegemony. The Tshal-pa rulers proved capable of developing close bonds with the Mongols, and a particularly vital and profitable ones with Qubilai Qan and his family lineage. The Tshal-pa succeeded in convincing this powerful ruler and his successors, the Yüan emperors, that Tshal Gung-thang indeed was the “private temple” (sgos kyi lha khang) of Qubilai Qan. A private shrine (se chen gyi pho brang) in his honour was erected at Tshal Gung-thang in order to strengthen the patron realtionship with the powerful emperor. A large portion of the donations and offerings that reached Tshal from the imperial court served to maintain or restore the lHa-sa temples (Ra-sa, Ra-mo-che, Tshal Gung-thang). This point is repeatedly emphasized in the decrees and honours awarded to Tshal after it emerged as a myriarchy. During the concomitant administrative and military reorganization of Central Tibet, Tshal not surprisingly was transformed into a myriarchy (wanhu, khris skor) that comprised over 40 mi sde lay territories. During this period, the erection of the khris dpon palace in Tshal (no longer extant) was successfully completed. \textit{GT} designates this period of mGar rule as the “Tshal-pa rule of dBu-gTsang.” It was to last for close to 130 years (ca. 1231–1360’s) – in other words, until the fall of the Yüan dynasty and the rise of the Phag-mo gru-pa in Central Tibet under the patriotic and ambitious ta’i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan.

In 1232 or 1233 A.D. Dar-ma gzhon-nu passed away at the advanced age of 88, the last representative of the first founding generation of monks who had successfully established Tshal hegemony. By 1215 he had ceded the seat to his nephew ’Byung-gnas brtson-’grus. In keeping to its occupancy of the first dbon sa, the mGar family had long been one of the principal patrons of the monastic centre. A shift of power to the neighbouring ruling house of Grib, therefore, seemed long overdue. It was no coincidence that at the close of Dar-ma gzhon-nu’s life the old doyen of Tshal Gung-thang again emerged onto the scene. Though long past retirement, he was still vested with considerable authority. The ensuing coup d’etat for control of Tshal hegemony had serious consequences, particularly for the religious throne of Yang-dgon. The events culminated in the violent dismissal of the fourth Yang-dgon gdan sa ba Sangs-rgyas-’bum in 1231 A.D. According to an entry in the Deb sngon (BA 716), he was banished from the see and sent into exile by one sgom pa Ye-shes-ldan. The latter is not mentioned in \textit{GT}, but in other lists he is registered as the successor of Sangs-rgyas-’bum (Table V.1). \textit{GT}, on the other hand, lists Ti-shri ras-pa (the aforementioned disciple of Zhang and ’Ba’-rom who had arrived from the moribund Buddhist empire of Xia or Mi-nyag in 1226) as having possibly under the provisional title gral dpon temporarily taken over the see for about one year. He was followed in 1232 A.D. by the sixth abbot Sangs-rgyas snying-po. The entire story is reported in the \textit{GT} in a different context, involving factional fighting in Gung-thang, in the wake of which a certain sgom sde ba ( = Sangs-rgyas-’bum) was banished from the see. He managed to escape to Grib-mdagNas-gsar and lHa-sa rtse-mo (see \textit{GT}

\textsuperscript{21} The throne occupied by Dar-ma gzhon-nu is in \textit{GT} designated as dbon sa, lit. “Seat of the Nephew.” though nephew also may imply “disciple.” If it is not simply a mistranscription of dpon sa, the term may reflect the fact that succession to the throne during the first three generations followed from uncle to nephew. It differed from the succession of the mGar dpon chen, which was regulated by the principle of primogeniture, i.e. from father to son or to the second-eldest brother.
Only to return again before long, and found the sgom sde college called the gZims-khang shar-ba. It was erected under the patronage of the dpon chen Rin-rgyal-ba in Gung-thang, – a seminary which he would head as its first incumbent. The dating of the sgom sde to 1242 A.D. appears somewhat contradictory, though (Part I: fn. 115). In any case, the foundation must have taken place within the tenure of the mGar ruler, under whom the dismissed gdan sa ba obviously was rehabilitated. Sangs-rgyas-'bum had been – so it may be construed – the victim of an internal conflict, which backfired, leading to the rise of mGar in Tshal Gung-thang. The abbot evidently was a favourite of the mGar from Grib, and behind his dismissal we may perceive the hand of the old Dar-ma gzhon-nu, who opposed a seizure of power, obviously in vain, by the increasingly dominant mGar family.

The new mchod yon union forged between Sangs-rgyas-'bum of the abbatial throne and the secular dpon chen Rin-rgyal-ba of the mGar clan (i.e. the Tshal khri dpon) ushered in a fruitful revival of the chos srid lugs gnyis relationship that had existed between the religious seat and its benefactors. It heralded a new era in the monastic history of Tshal Gung-thang. Until that point Gung-thang had been registered as a temple, but now it was enlarged with a meditation college (sgom sde), named, after its location, Eastern Residence (gZims-khang shar-ma), which later was turned into an independent college with a throne of its own. This seat soon acquired a status and reputation both inside and outside Tshal, similar to its “mother seat.” The link between these two institutions remained close; for example, the latter’s mchod khang (the distinct chambers of worship) were traditionally maintained by monks from Gung-thang.

At the outset of the 14th century, Gung-thang underwent an expansive phase that witnessed the establishment of two additional colleges, namely the Dharma Wheel (Chos-'khor-gling) and the Dharma Throne College or Temple (Chos-khri lhag-khang/lho-lcog). Tshal, too, similarly erected the dBus-gling Mantra College, which came to be associated with the old prestigious retreat sites of Byang-mkhar (in Zhal) and g.Yu-brag of sGrags. Records of the individual abbatial lineages of these branch colleges deplorably disappeared from the sources sometime in the 14th century, and it is only during the dGe-lugs-pa period that more concrete information becomes available after the individual colleges and seminaries affiliated themselves (lag) to different dGe-lugs-pa institutions, – for example, by being incorporated into the scholastic grva/chos skor programme of study for visiting monks. The mid-14th century saw the culmination of Tshal-pa’s expansionism within the history of intellectual and spiritual life in Tibet. Under the guiding hand of the two influential drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje and Kun-dga’ rdo-rje, rulers of great intellectual acumen, Gung-thang became the site of one of the key philosophical seminaries in dBus, which were all situated on Tshal territory or close to it. These were dGa’-ba-gdong, sKyor-mo-lung and Zul-phu, and bDe-ba-can, gSang-phu and Chos-'khor-gling in Gung-thang (cf. Table V. 8.4 below; see also fn. 26 infra). It was in Tshal that in the years 1347–51 the prototypical Tshal-pa bKa’-gyur canon was revised and rearranged. The Tshal-pa manuscript edition of the canon constitutes the basis or archetype for almost all subsequent versions.

The sgom sde enjoyed a particular status: Its abbatial succession, defined by the “nephew lineage” of sprul sku Sangs-rgyas-'bum, experienced a remarkable revival in the 17th century in the person of Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol, who was considered a manifestation of the sgom sde founder, Sangs-rgyas-'bum. The enthronement of this celebrated representative of the rule of the Fifth Dalai
Lama eventually led to the appropriation of the whole of Tshal Gung-thang by the central government. The then abbot of Yang-dgon, *spyi ngsa skal ldan rgya mtsho*, the last *gdan sa ba* of the Tshal (i.e. *mGar*) lineage, entrusted to Zur-chen the empowerment and authorization of Bla-ma Zhang’s *bKa’ rgya ma* writings.

Zur-chen’s activities in Tshal Gung-thang say much about the symbolic continuation of the institution and how the shift in power in this case ensured a smooth transition. Zur-chen, the principal esoteric teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama, initially went to Yer-pa, the old cultic “life-pole” (*yashti*) of the *lHa-sa* sanctuary, where Bla-ma Zhang manifested himself in a vision and urged him to resume responsibility for the renovation and revitalization of his (Bla-ma Zhang’s) dilapidated temple complex (see 10.1 below). During the ensuing visit to Gung-thang and to the tomb of the *sgom sde* (*sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma*), Zur had recollections of his former existence as *Sangs-rgyas-*’*bum*, an experience which served as a strong and, perhaps even irresistible impetus to accept the throne (GT 51b–53a). Following his arrival in 1633, he took over the seat, first of Gung-thang, and then of the colleges of Chos-khri lho-lcog and gZims-khang-shar. The biography of Zur-chen further confides that he manifested himself as *Sangs-rgyas-*’*bum* at a point when the above-mentioned *chu rags pa* dGe-ba-*’*bum was about to carry out rituals and construction work on the Ra-sa ’Phrul-snang (Part I: fn. 119). Both Bla-ma Zhang and the *Sangs-rgyas-*’*bum* disciple lHa-rje dGe-ba-*’*bum are counted among the pre-existences of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Additional links were thus forged to the heritage of these two important figures in the history of *lHa-sa*. Their elevation into the ancestral gallery of those who devoted their life to the preservation of the Jo-bo sanctuary in *lHa-sa* would decisively strengthen the nascent bonds between dGe-lugs order and the old *bKa’-brgyud* site.

8.2 The Tshal-pa Branch Schools Outside Tshal Gung-thang

The establishment of the basic institutions of the Tshal-pa school—called according to their geographical position into Bar Tshal (the Tshal-pa school of Central Tibet), sMad Tshal (of East Tibet) and sTod Tshal (of western Tibet)—largely goes back to the first generation of Zhang’s disciples (see App. V: Table V.2). Their foundations fell during a period when Bla-ma Zhang was still active. Under Bar Tshal GT lists the founding of Ro-skam (established by the Ro-skampa Lo-sgom Nyi-ma shes-rab in 1183 in Glangs [Ba-lam] district), Kha-rag-dgon (established by Kha-rag-pa ‘Dul-ba-*’*od in Kha-rag, in 1181 or 1193) and Ru-thog-dgon in eastern Mal-gro (established by *rTogs ldan* Ru-thog-pa, a disciple of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba, probably before 1200). From these monasteries, Ru-thog in particular, numerous branch foundations followed, in Malgro, sTod-lung, Kong-po, in Grva-phyi and other districts. A number of these have still not been precisely localised. lHa-ri-kha (or lHa-ri sPang-gshong) was founded 1168 A.D. by the Zhang disciple Gra-*’*jed-pa Nam-rnkha-*’*od. This site (not mentioned in GT) was probably located in present-day lHa-ri county and along with its dependences is also to be counted as a part of Bar Tshal. Further Tshal-pa branch institutions included ‘Ju-bu-dgon (est. 1187 A.D. in Phrad-tsam, arguably sPras in ‘Phan-yul) and the monastery of lHa-phyug-mkhar (in eastern Ba-lam, established in 1193 A.D.), both founded by the Zhang disciple lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa Nyi-zla-*’*od.

The classification of the monastery founded by the Zhang student ‘Bri-ra-ba Säkya-*’*od, who jointly with the founders of lHa-ri-kha, lHa-phyug-mkhar and Kha-rag-pa belonged to the group
of "'Od-bzhi" disciples, is uncertain. His monastery in Byang, no description of which survives, is perhaps the Zhul-bu dgon-pa in West Tibetan Gung-thang, which in GT is listed under sTod Tshal and as having been erected by the Zhang disciple Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba (= 'Bri-ra-ba Śākya-'od ?).

The monastery of lHa-phyug-mkhar, the founder of which later emerged as the 3rd Yang-dgon gdan sa ba, gained increasing importance in the 13th century. The monastery not only developed into a virtual mother-seat for Ru-thog and its branch establishments (Za-lung-dgon etc.), but also served as a catalyst for the expanding sTod Tshal school. It was from here that the exodus of students of lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa and Ru-thog-pa had its beginning. They set out towards the West, launching their missionary quest in the environs of the famous Mi-la ras-pa hermitages in Mang-yul Gung-thang (i.e. the celebrated rdzong drug). The monastery of rTa-sga, erected in ca. 1200 A.D. by sNang-sgom ras-pa (alias Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa), became a key institution of the western Tshal-pa. Under the benign patronage of the local lords in the districts of the kingdom of Mang-yul Gung-thang, it paved the way for further missionary forays into little-known territories. From here they succeeded in expanding further towards Pu-rang, where they established additional dependencies. In Pu-rang they rose to become court chaplains of the local kings (see Table V.2). The monastic mother-seat and centre of Tshal Gung-thang profited from the local affluence of the sTod Tshal branch monasteries, from which donation regularly were dispatched to Central Tibet, to the temple of Gung-thang, to the sGom-sde and their "mother-seat" of lHa-phyug-mkhar. However, the heyday of sTod Tshal and its local political influence would be restricted to the 13th century (see also Everding 2000: 336ff.).

Riding the tide of Tibetan missionary activity eastwards in their service to propaganda fides, and no doubt in their search for patrons and benefactors (already initiated by the Sa-skya-pa, the Karma-pa and – close behind them – individual members of the 'Ba'-rom-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa in the late 12th century), the Tshal-pa can be counted among the first wave of Tibetans seeking land and affluent backers for their creed and seats. A pervasive clientelism arose between mighty eastern rulers and their numerous Tibetan teachers. The Tibetan religious institutions were in great need of securing support for their ever-expanding missionary work and for their financially burdensome religious establishments. They often found fertile ground in eastern Tibet, while in Xia state (982/1038–1227) and in areas of China occupied by different tribes and ethnic groups, such as the Mongols, they came across not a few pious Buddhist patrons, rulers or nomadic chieftains. The relationship that evolved served both sides, allowing for a rich intellectual, spiritual, economic and cultural exchange of teachings, ideas and commodities, but often it took the form of benign coercion, with the Tibetan religious clients being bound to remain at the court or headquarters of ruling patrons over an appreciable number of years. Possibly as early as 1209 A.D., the Tshal presence in East Tibet led to the foundation of Go-ra-dgon in the bTsong-kha area by Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, who had followed in the wake of gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, and Ti-shri ras-pa, of dPal Šri-phug-pa, later of mGar dam-pa Chos-sdings-pa and others, and still later of figures such as Ba-lam-pa (fn. 24), all of whom became court preceptors (bla mchod) in Xia. Prior to these endeavours, Karma Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa and his students, as well as figures like Vairocanaraksita/-vajra (the above-mentioned root-teacher of Bla-ma Zhang), similarly entertained early contacts to leading circles in Mi-nyag. The initial contact between Xia and Central Tibet was initiated by the Sa-skya-pa.

24 And arguably also to the east, perhaps in the retinue of Bla-ma Ba-lam-pa, who is chronicled as having returned from Mi-nyag in the 1220's to become the 4th abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar.
As far as can be discerned, there was never any permanent Tshal settlement in East Tibet. Following the defeat and destruction of the Xia state in 1227 A.D., the Tshal proselytizers in the new territory again withdrew to Central Tibet. The brief activity in the east was not in vain, however, inasmuch as the early contact with the Mongol princes and chiefs had positive repercussions during the subsequent Mongol supremacy. The Tshal-pa teacher mentioned, Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, arrived in Mongolia a second time between 1235 and 1240 upon invitation, where he is said to have served as tutor to the leading members of the Tolui line, the future ruling princely line of the Yüan Dynasty. Such contacts ensured rich donations and honours for Tshal over the years. The chronicles repeatedly stress the particular favour which Tshal-pa enjoyed under the successive Mongol chiefs, who evidently took over the commitments and contacts initially entertained by the defunct Xia state. This found expression in the recognition of the Tshal-pa as bdag po of IHa-sa and in the rich donations to Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang, the “private temple of the Emperor Qubilai.” The policy charted by the Tshal-pa combined a steady expansion of its main seat and its affiliated branches. Its success was ensured not least through the rich patronage on the part of the Mongol patrons.

The monasteries outside of Tshal were usually strongly embedded in their own local contexts and had their own lines of yon hdag. We are provided with some information about the first-generation abbots of the scattered Bar Tshal dependencies. The successors of the founders were typically addressed as dbon, often in the sense of a genuine nephew, and where the collateral lines and their families serving as local patrons, just as the Sa-skya polity functioned during the same period. The relationship between an uncle as yon hdag and a nephew as throne-holder was a much cherished Tibetan hegemonic structure. This may best be illustrated in the case of Ro-skam, which until the first part of the 14th century was dominated by the Lo-mi clan of Glags (Ba-lam), the clan of the founder Ro-skam-pa chen-po (1139–1208 A.D.). The abbots of this dependency were, at least during the period of mGar rulers, traditionally appointed by the successive Tshal-pa dpon chen (cf. Deb dmar 136–37) – an arrangement that possibly applied to the other Bar Tshal institutions too. This would have meant close bonds with the mother seat, and also centralistic structures that only permitted the branch institutions and their patrons limited autonomy.

The later history of the Bar Tshal monasteries is less well documented. The stray information in GT is primarily based upon the notes and records listed in Kun-dga’ rdo-rje’s Deb dmar, which end in the middle of the 14th century. With the exception of Ru-thog (and some minor Tshal-pa branch sites, such as sKam-dgon, Za-lung or rDzams-dgon) none of the other Bar Tshal institutions made it into the 17th century monastic catalogue of Vaidūrya ser po. Apart from the monastic center itself (and retreat sites established by Zhang), the majority of branch settlements apparently disappeared from the scene under the changing hegemonies in the 15th century.
INTRODUCTION

9. TIMES OF TRANSITION
Tshal Gung-thang during the 15th and 16th Centuries

In mid-14th century Central Tibet the area in and around lHa-sa witnessed a period of political upheaval, which gradually brought an end to so-called “Tshal-pa epoch” (tshal dus) and its heyday during the regency of the erudite Kun-dga’ rdo-rgyal-mtshan of the Rlangs lHa-gzigs clan, and followed a lengthy phase of self-assertion and the consolidation of his former administrative area (i.e. the Phag-gru khri skor in the lHo-kha region; see App. III). He eventually abandoned his regional base to replace Sa-skya and assume its supremacy over inner Tibet. The leading position of the ta’i si tu (da situ), was soon confirmed by a weakened imperial Yüan court in Dadu, followed by the actual dissolution of same dynasty (1368), – events that in Tibet proper led to a durable re-organization around a new central court now dominated by the ruling Rlangs family, the heads of which had their main seat in Yar-lung sNe’u-gdongs. Until the end of the 16th century they would have the status and title – in tangible mimicry of the new eastern imperial court – of “Sovereign” (gong ma), holding sway over all areas of dBus-gTsang. This development proved possible not least because of the vacuum caused by the absence of the Mongol court and by the political factual laissez-faire, or non-interference, practised by the succeeding Ming vis-a-vis Tibetan affairs. The Tshal-pa now lacked their prestigious and profitable imperial protection, which had ensured them their unrivalled position as lords of the lHa-sa valley. The predicament that the Tshal-pa found themselves in was partly self-caused: It was Tshal’s inevitable, yet ill-fated decision in the warfare between the Sa-skya and Phag-gru for supremacy to take sides against the ta’i si tu (for details, see Petech 1990, and now Czaja, 2006). The sovereignty of the Phag-gru gong ma throughout long stretches of their history often was reduced to nominal recognition. From the mid-15th century on centrifugal and regional powers in and around the centres of the so-called 13 governor seats (rdzong) dominated the political landscape. Among the rdzong, which were erected by the ta’i si tu (from 1355/56) and whose governors (sde pa, rdzong dpon) were elected from among his allies, six rdzong alone were located in sKyid-shod (see above Chap. 4.1 and Map 1). The rdzong families to a very large degree acted autonomously within their jurisdiction, with certain matrimonial alliances, the outcome of conflicts (alternating between domination and subordination with the waxing and waning of power) now and again leading to shifts in regional dominance; or with new powerful families emerging from minor estates stepping in the foreground, such as the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, who in the 16th century eventually replaced the sNel-pa and sKyor-mo-lung-pa as a dominant force.

Regarding the gradually evolving political pre-eminence in the lHa-sa valley and in the middle section of sKyid-shod (from the mid-14th century), the following phases can be discerned chronologically, among the major players.25

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25 For the source references concerning the following brief description, see App. II, passim; and App. V. Table 12.1–3. It should be noted that the sources available still do not allow for a complete historical and genealogical representation of these important local ruling houses. This in particular is true with respect to the sKyid-shod-pa.

Reportedly a MS copy of a uniquely rare text known as sDe pa sKyid shod pa’i gdung rabs written by A khu bkra-shis rab-brtan (see Part I: fn. 565) has survived (see Dung dkar tshig mdzod 252–53). An untitled supplement to this text, on the other hand, composed by drung Ngag-dbang Tshangs-pa’i dbyangs (d. 1724) of the Ga-zi house, the father
Introduction

- ca. 1350’s until the beginning of the 15th century:
  Given the weakened Tshal-pa polity, the sNel-pa and Brag-dkar-pa governor seats now represented leading Phag-gru outposts in sKyid-shod; with occasional ‘Bri-gung influence.
- ca. 1415–1480 A.D.:
  Hegemony of the sNel-pa or sNe’u rdzong dpon (i.e. the “heyday of sNe’u”; sne’u dus)
- ca. 1480–1517/18 A.D.:
  Occupation of the sNel-pa territory in sKyid-smad and the broader lHa-sa valley by the Rin-spungs-pa and the Karma-pa hierarchs; the gradual rise of the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, who for a short period sided with the Rin-spungs-pa.
- ca. 1518–1550:
  The sKyid-shod-pa and the sKyid-smad lHa-sa valley by the Rin-spungs-pa and the Karma-pa hierarchs; the gradual rise of the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, who for a short period sided with the Rin-spungs-pa.
- ca. 1550’s–1620/25 A.D.:
  Hegemony of the dGa’-ldan-pa in sKyid-shod and beyond (they also resided at Tshal).
- from 1620 A.D.:
  Initially supported by the dGa’-ldan-pa, their strongest inner-Tibetan ally, the phyag mdzod bSod-nams rab-brtan of ‘Bras-spungs takes over the political command in lHa-sa and sKyid-shod.
- from mid-1640’s:
  Tshal Gung-thang comes under the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

9.1 The sNe’u-pa / sNel-pa:
Pioneer Patrons of the dGe-lugs-pa in sKyid-shod and the Interregnum with the Rin-spungs-pa in lHa-sa

In the wake of the ascent of the Phag-mo gru-pa regime and strongly supported by the latter, the new dGe-lugs-pa order gradually disseminated throughout sKyid-shod at the beginning of the 15th century. It all started with the inauguration in 1409 of the sMon lam chen mo in lHa-sa by its creator, bTsong-kha-pa, who shortly after initiated the founding of the three great dGe-lugs convents and seats of dGa’-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs. The local representatives of the Phag-gru, the governors in sKyid-shod, served as patrons – in the first place the sNel-pa (sNe’u rdzong dpon), but also other local chiefs, such as the Brag-dkar-pa governorship (in upper sKyid-shod), and the latter’s neighbouring rGya-ma-pa, whose ruler at least up until the 15th century was still called the rGya-ma khri dpon. According to GT (38f.), during the sMon lam prayer festival, the Tshal-pa (represented by the 15th dpon chen tre hes dGa’-bde bzang-po) still served as official patrons (dānapati), but shortly after (ca. 1415), during the tenure of the 16th dpon chen, spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, the Tshal-pa house was constrained to hand over Gung-thang to the

of Tibet’s eminent literary figure bka’ blon mDo-mkhar-pa Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697–1763 A.D.), most deplorably must be regarded as lost. Cf. Deb ther rgya mtsho 15.

The recently published study on this ruling house titled sKyid shod sde pa’i skor by Yon-tan rgya-mtsho represents a first, rather inchoate attempt – based upon too limited a number of secondary sources – to unravel the exciting history of this ruling family. A thorough study of the sKyid-shod-pa is an urgent desideratum within Tibetology; this, however, will require access to the still extant but unseen 16th-century family chronicle by bKra-shis rab-brtan.
Phag-gru gong ma Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1432); see App. I. This heralded the demise of the Tshal-pa as a regional political hegemony.

The author of GT is of the opinion that following the rule of dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, there were four or five additional generations of Tshal dpon po, although he does not mention them by name. One source (Thang stong rnam thar 1 244f.) for the late 1440’s records the “Tshal-pa dpon po rNam-rgyal bzang-po,” possibly a descendant of the 16th dpon chen. The title “Tshal ruler” can only be understood as a nominal one. The real rulers were other persons. After their annexation, the Tshal-pa districts were administered by the local Phag-gru governors, with the house of the sNe’u rdzong (which produced the later rulers of Tshal, the dGa’-ldan-pa) controlling the largest portion (see below 9.3 and 9.3.1). The monastic centre itself, where bTsong-kha-pa studied in the 1380’s, lost none of its status as an influential centre of erudition; in fact, it soon turned into one of the leading seminars or learning centres of the dGe-lugs-pa in sKyi-d-shod.26 Se-ra Theg-chen-gling played an especially great role in the dGe-lugs-pa-ization of parts of the Gung-thang institution, not least through the strong commitment shown and close bonds maintained by Se-ra’s founder, Byams-chen chos gvi rgyal po Sakyā ye-shes (1354–1435 A.D.), who came from Tshal Gung-thang. The latter’s

26 This concerns in the first place the Gung-thang Chos-khor gryu-tshang, among the most celebrated circles of philosophical seminars of sKyi-d-shod (see above) (ca. 1419). These chos gryu historically perceived themselves as overlapping teaching institutions within the Tibetan epistemological tradition (going back to rNgog Blo-idan shes-rab.
founder, Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang, remained an indisputable authority for the new rulers. This found expression, among other ways, in the classification of bod nor bu nam gsum, or the “Three Gems of Tibet,” a triad recognized from the 15th century on that referred to bTsong-kha-pa, Phagmo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang (see App. I) – in other words, to the spiritual fathers of the political and religious leaders who in the 12th to the 15th century dominated and determined the fate of the lHa-sa valley.

In order to characterize the alliance between the Phag-gru (of sNel-pa) and the dGe-lugs-pa, we may refer to an episode that can be dated to 1416, the founding year of ’Bras-spungs. The primary sponsor, the 2nd sNe’u rdzong dpon Drung-chen Nam-mkha’ bzang-po (rl. ca. 1400–30), placed a large stretch of land as monastic estate at the disposal of the dGe-lugs-pa, namely the area of Dan-’bag to the west of lHa-sa. Upon completion of the complex, the sNe’u ruler went about transferring the relics of the Yamantaka master Rva lo rtsa ba from lDan to ’Bras-spungs, where they served as “inner support” for the later Vajrabhairava statue known as Chos-rgyal Icags-thag-ma (gShin rje gshed chos ’byung 94bf.; Hazod 2004: 36). This was a symbolic act incorporating the Yamantaka tradition into the dGe-lugs-pa, for whom the deity would serve as a leading Protector of the Doctrine. The Phag-gu lord occupied a position similar to the local lords and the pupil-warriors, who over 200 years earlier (and probably guided by similar motives) emerged in this valley at the eastern entrance of the lHa-sa Manḍala Zone (see above 6.1).

Similar cultic and symbolic borrowings are reported in connection with ’Bras-spungs, the power base of the dGe-lugs-pa (until the mid-17th century) and the primary site where the religious policy of the new order was formulated. The most spectacular (and still somewhat nebulous) episode, also mentioned in GT, was the transfer of Pehar from Tshal to ’Bras-spungs as the latter’s new protective deity (namely in the ’Bras-spungs bDe-yangs college, founded by ICog-pa Byang-chub dpal-ldan). He later would serve as the oracle deity of Pehar-lcog, or as gNas-chung chos rje (App. IV).

The Pehar transfer, according to one source, was linked with the great fire of Gung-thang of 1546, an event which perhaps actually occurred in the period of the Second Dalai Lama dGe’-dun rgya-mtsho (1475–1542), namely in 1529, according to the sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (cited in GT). When in 1517 A.D. dGe’-dun rgya-mtsho returned to lHa-sa from a lengthy mission and teaching tour through eastern Central Tibet, he was urged to ascend the abbatial see of ’Bras-spungs. In hindsight, this signalled a turning point in the political history of the lHa-sa valley: the end of the hegemony of the Rin-spungs-pa, a ruling house that had been controlling large parts of the sKyid-shod territory since 1880/81, when the Rin-spungs lord Don-yod rdo-rje made successful military inroads into the area.

Among the main instigators of the Rin-spungs military and political activity in Central Tibetan territories were the Karma-pa hierarchs, who never ceased coveting the lHa-sa area and its prestigious national legacy. Once in control of it, they soon fulfilled a long-cherished wish to establish

with its main seat in gSang-phu sNe’u thog), but from the 13th century on they were dominated by the Sa-skya-pa. The classification of the (sKyid-shod) chos grva drug (Table V.8) goes back to the dGe-lugs-pa, who made their entry into the old seminaries of sKyid-shod, but also into former, local centres of the rNgog lugs, such as the Ngan-po dgon of ’Phan yul. Often such centres were designated dge sa lugs, meaning that a dGe-lugs-pa seat structurally was attached to a Sa-skya monastery.
a temple in the near vicinity of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang vihāra. The 4th Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes (1453–1524 A.D.) and the Rin-spungs lord erected the Byang Yangs-pa-can monastery in sTod-lung in 1503 and in the very same year the 7th Zhva-nag Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454–1506) had the Thub-bstan Chos-'khor[-gling] erected, in the Sa-nag area on the eastern fringes of lHa-sa, Sa-nag being the Site of the Black [Tents] (i.e. of the Black Karna-pa). The second institution was erected as an outpost of the Karma-pa in the central lHa-sa area, and also a response to the ideological campaign the dGe-lugs-pa undertook in gTsang territories by building bKra-shis lhun-po. From 1498 until 1517 the dGe-lugs-pa clergy were excluded from participating in the sMon lam chen mo, the supervision and management of which during this period was alternately the responsibility of the Karma-pa and the (neutral but universally respected) gSang-phu-pa monk communities. In the same period (1503) the Karma-pa gained a firmer foothold by assuming control of the dBus-gling college in Tshal. Their influence, however, did not survive beyond the year 1517 A.D. According to GT, dBus-gling was taken over by the dGe-lugs-pa during the tenure of the 12th Se-ra abbot rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1469–1544) and attached to the Ser-Byes college.

9.2 In sKyor-mo-lung — Powerful Patroness of the 'Bras-spungs chos rje

In accepting the religious seat of 'Bras-spungs in 1517 A.D., dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, a strong and highly popular man, entered upon the political and religious scene in lHa-sa. During the preceding years he had toured southern and central Tibet and throughout had accumulated immense prestige. The monastic establishments he founded and the network of religious and political alliances he forged later proved decisive for his enduring political success. This included a fruitful collaboration with prestigious local chiefs, not least in the southern, south-eastern districts of Central Tibet, such as the chiefs of g.Yc/E-yul (i.e. the lHa-rgya-ri-pa), in gNyal, Nyang-po, Dvags-po, and particularly with the 'Ol-kha sTag-rtse rulers (nang sa), who donated and sponsored the erection of the retreat and teaching center of Chos-'khor rGyal (in Me-tog-thang of north-western Dvags-po). The sympathy, and indeed popularization, the dGe-lugs-pa reaped from his activities were not insignificant, i.e. “from Kashmir in the west to China in the east there was not a place in Tibet that was not touched by his teaching” (cf. DL2 556ff.; Mullin 1994: 98) at that point an optimistic claim within the hostile milieu the dGe-lugs-pa was still facing. As already noted, his consolidation of the bKa'-gdams-pa legacy, embodied in the person of 'Brom-ston-pa, the spiritual father of the succeeding dGe-lugs-pa order (whom dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho repeatedly identified himself with in visions and on whose teachings he gave public lectures), was led to the subsequent ascent of the order and heralded the
ideological self-image of the institution. No other Dalai Lama (with the exception of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama) more vigorously promoted the crucial 'Brom-ston legacy, which in the 17th century proved vital for the later Dalai Lama’s institutional legitimacy. Against this background, he may, in retrospect, well be regarded as the greatest of all Dalai Lamas.

The reinstitution of the sMon lam chen mo and the introduction of further lHa-sa annual festivals and rites (in connection with the establishment of certain crucial dharmapāla cults) were important milestones (see DL2 552ff.; Mullin 1994: 94–103). What was decisive for his success at ‘Bras-spungs and lHa-sa, however, was the unmitigated support he garnered from the Phag-gru gong ma Ngag gi dbang-phyug bKra-shis grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1488–1564 A.D.) and, perhaps more importantly, his consort and co-ruler (dpon sa or bdag mo) Sangs-rgyas-dpal-'dzoms-ma (ca. 1485–1555/61?). The latter resided at the sKyor-mo-lung estate of rNam-sras lHa-rtse (in lower sTod-lung), originally a branch seat of the sNe’u rdzong. She evidently was responsible for dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho’s ascent in 1517 and was the unrivalled local chief in this area to the west of lHa-sa; within the wider sKyid-shod area she only faced serious opposition from the aspiring dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa. The ‘Bras-spungs chos rje dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho lauded her as a truly peerless bstan pa’i sbyin bdag or “patroness of the teaching.” She served (conjointly with the gong ma by her own personal decision) as the main sponsor of the sMon lam chen mo (by 1518 it again was being conducted by monks from ‘Bras-spungs and Sc-ra). Further, she provided the financial means for the construction of the pivotal dGa’-ldan pho-brang in ‘Bras-spungs. After the passing of dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho (1542), she no doubt oversaw and completed the construction of the priceless reliquary for containing his remains (executed in sKyor-mo-lung) and ensured (still before the ailing 2nd Dalai Lama had passed away) that the rebirth of the ‘Bras-spungs chos rje would be from the neighbouring district (i.e. in retrospect the 3rd Dalai Lama bSod-mams rgyal-po (1543–1588) – on his mother side, a scion of the Kun-bzang-rtses branch of the sNe’u-gdong house). Her rule obviously came to an end with the invasion of sKyor-mo-lung in the early 1550’s by her local rivals and sometime antagonists, the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (see Table V.12.3).

9.3 The dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa:
The Figures behind the Rise of the dGa’-ldan Pho-brang State

The rulers of the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa during this epoch was the sde pa or sa skyong bSod-nams rgyal-po (1506–46) and, of even greater significance, his son Don-grub rgyal-po-rab-brtan (ca. 1525–68). These able men laid the groundwork for the rise into what can be called the leading political power in Central Tibet during the mid- to late 16th century. The fortress of bDe-chen-rtses, which they took over from the Brag-dkar-pa, eventually became their main seat. The war that raged during 1553–54 A.D., largely triggered by a dispute within the ruling Phag-gru family at rTses-thang, is said to have led to the arrest of either Sangs-rgyas-dpal-’dzoms-ma or bSod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1532–66), whose incarceration may have lasted until 1561. The popular lHa-sa sMon lam chen mo and the Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa festivals were both called off because of the warfare. Among the important secular branch seats of the sKyid-shod-pa were the lHa-sa mansion dGa’-ldan khang-gsar and, in Gung-thang, the residence called Tshal Zur-khang (est. 1549). As noted in GT, the sKyid-shod-pa were now the actual rulers at Tshal Gung-thang. Chronologically this coincided with the last of the “four or five” old Tshal-pa dpon chen, listed in GT after 1415 as still being holders of this position, if only nominally (see above). Nonetheless, we have references
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After the infamous and reckless sKyid-shod-pa ruler Don-grub rgyal-po, held responsible for military adventures and the shift in loyalty away from former allies, met a violent death through assassination in 1568, his younger brother mi dhang bKra-shis rab-brtan (also called sKyid-shod zhabz drung bKra-shis rab-brtan, 1531-89) assumes control of the house. During his and his nephew’s reign (other sources claim that sde pa Rin-po-che g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu (d. 1607/08) was his son) the power and influence of the house was further consolidated. Often referred to as the Byang-rgyud rgyal-po or the “kings of the northern districts [of dBu]” they actively patronized the dGe-lugs-pa in the latter part of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, and to a considerable extent attended the birth of the dGe-lugs state. bKra-shis rab-brtan must be regarded as the most influential political figure in second half of the 16th century in Central Tibet. His career started in Tshal Gung-thang, where he was soon acting as a very devoted patron to the dGe-lugs-pa. He developed especially close personal bonds with the ‘Bras-spungs chos rje bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, who in 1547 had visited Gung-thang as a five-year-old. The sKyid-shod-pa zhabz drung is extensively lauded in GT as the patron, who in the wake of the devastating fire of 1546 initiated the lengthy reconstruction of the Gung-thang vihāra. According to the description in GT, a very large part of the monastic inventory was destroyed in the fire, including the central lHa-chcn dPal-’bar or Byang-chub chen-po statue, only the right arm of which allegedly survived. The young ‘Bras-spungs chos rje bSod-nams rgya-mtsho was invited to conduct the inauguration of the new image, during which he performed the key s pry an dbye (“eye-opening”) ceremony (ca. 1552). It is reported that the Zhang statue in Gung-thang on that occasion took off its hat as a token respect for the zhabz drung.
The fire in GT registered for the fourth month of 1546 was a catastrophe, no doubt the gravest in the long history of Tshal Gung-thang. If the year is accurate, it was a true *annus horribilis* not only for Gung-thang but also for lHa-sa and other parts of Central Tibet. It is reported that a severe drought ravaged Central Tibet in the spring months, followed in the seventh month, during the rainy season, by a disastrous flood that swept across the open marshland of lHa-sa—a phenomenon, we know, of merciless regularity. This time called for renewed training in flood control, extensive repair of the faulty dikes and embankments and protracted relief for the hapless lHa-sa inhabitants. It would be tempting to see a complicity of the ruinous fire at Gung-thang in the drought (*DL3* 27b5–6; *Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar* 358.3–370.4). Regardless of whether the fire was an accident, a consequence of warfare or a case of arson, the tradition nevertheless holds—when in hindsight an explanation for the disaster was sought—that Pehar had been involved. According to one persistent account, he was subsequently brought to 'Bras-spungs—an anachronism, given the date 1529 mentioned earlier. The tradition at any rate sees a break in the history of Tshal Gung-thang that led to the dominance of the dGe-lugs-pa during the period of the second and third Dalai Lamas, when concerted attempts were made to conquer lHa-sa in cultic terms. Both the sKyor-mo-lung-pa and the sKyid-shod sde-pa were, in spite of their occasional local rivalries, the decisive patrons and promoters of this process.

The dominance of the sKyid-shod sde-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa hierarchs in lHa-sa was constantly contested during the supra-regional dBus-gTsang conflict (from 1580). These disputes served as opening shots of the battle over ultimate supremacy in Tibet. The main dGe-lugs-pa adversaries not only included the gTsang rulers (i.e. the gTsang sde srid, who in 1565 had replaced the Rin-spungs-pa), but also the Karma-pa, and even more so, the 'Bri-gung-pa, a local polity that, despite being ridden by inner conflict during these unruly years, had increasingly intervened in the local polity of the lHa-sa valley since the time of the 16th 'Bri-gung throne-holder and hierarch Rinchen Phun-tshogs (1509–57) from their extended territory in the Mal-gro area.

In 1605 the gTsang ruler bsTan-srung attacked 'Phan-yul, defeating the sKyid-shod-pa and appropriating many districts. In 1610 and 1612, in what later came to be known as the "Rat-Ox War" (*byi glang sde gzar*), the gTsang-pa sde pa Karma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal (?1597–1621 A.D.) attacked Yar-rgyab, thus intruding even further into dBus territory. He conquered many monastic estate districts of the sNe'u rdzong in the vicinity of lHa-sa, destroyed 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra and killed many monks. Central Tibet was now firmly in the hands of the gTsang troops, and the leaders of the sKyid-shod-pa, bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1586–1636) and his brother zhabs drung chos rje bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, were compelled to flee to Kokonor (see Sørensen 2007a). In 1618 the gTsang troops destroyed the sKyid-shod-pa residence of bDe-chen-rtse, and in the same year reportedly also took over the Tshal Zur-khang estate. The presence of the gTsang ruler, however, was only of a brief nature. In 1621 the joint forces of the sKyid-shod-pa and dGe-lugs-pa, assisted by Mongols troops were able to defeat the gTsang troops at rKyang-thang-sgang (the wide plain due south-east of 'Bras-spungs). This decisive battle was launched by the new strong man in sKyid-shod, the 'Bras-spungs treasurer (*phyag mdzod*) bSod-nams rab-brtan, the later first regent of Tibet. His career was eventful. As young man he was politically active in the front-line, involving in the search of the re-birth of the 4th Dalai Lama and promoting the collaboration between 'Bras-spungs and the sKyid-shod-pa, in the first place with the sde pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan and his son chos rje mtSho-skyes rdo-rje (d. 1655). Joining hands and arms at a point in their history that may be characterized as a battle for survival against an overwhelming gTsang opponent,
they forged contacts with the Mongols (the Tumed and later Qošot) in order to generate support for the dGe-lugs-pa. The decisive success in winning over the Mongols, however, must largely be credited to bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, who inveigled them by offering the celebrated statue of 'Phags-pa Lokesvara, the most precious object on dMar-po-ri in IHa-sa.

For all the merit of the sKyid-shod-pa in guaranteeing the success of the dGe-lugs, after the elimination of the gTsang-pa from the political scene in sKyid-shod, the entire IHa-sa area was appropriated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang ruler of 'Bras-spungs, despite the fact that it had earlier been under the sway of the sKyid-shod-pa. As compensation, the latter received 'Phan-po mKhar-rtse rdzong, no doubt much to their disappointment, because the loss of their bDe-chen seat meant a marked weakening of their house. This setback for the sKyid-shod-pa was ultimately due to their ally bSod-rnams rab-brtan, who in the 1640's has taken over the bDe-chen seat in his function as sa skyong and as regent of the emergent IHa-sa central government. Political outmanoeuvred, they did not play any decisive role in the remaining part of the 17th century.

9.3.1 The mGar and the Tshal sde pa

We may characterize the eventful medieval period of sKyid-shod from 15th to the early 17th century as displaying an ever-changing pattern of hegemony – the outcome of unabated warring conflict – with new local powers emerging on the scene and affecting (and upon occasion) reshaping political developments. Returning to the Tshal-pa again, their fragmented history and the vicissitudes of their monastic centre cannot be documented seamlessly, given the paucity of relevant sources. Adding to the complex picture is the fact that we are not dealing with one single institution, but with a number of autonomous institutions, colleges and chairs, each with its own estates, the management and direction of which often was shared by a number of superordinate institutions, such as the 'Bras-spungs, Se-ra, and gSang-phu. Writing a history of Tshal-pa during this period consequently would require a detailed recording of the genealogy of each individual institution, including successive holders and proprietors. Still, we can at least sketch the main features of this exciting history (see also Table V.3). Throughout the unstable, ever-changing historical phases delineated above, we recognize in the sKyid-shod-pa as one particular consistency and continuity. From the Bod kyi deb ther (182f.) we learn that they sprang from a certain Mi-chung Don-grub rgyal-po (fl. ca. 1380–1420), who (as also briefly mentioned in GT) served the Tshal-pa khri dpon dGa’-bde bzang-po (1384/86–1409/10) and then became a loyal paladin in the service of the sNe’u rdzong dpon Nam-mkha’ bzang-po. This petty lord (mi chung = mi dbang chung ba) was entrusted under the sNe’u with an estate outpost, the Nyang-bran dGa’-ldan (in the north-western part of the IHa-sa valley), after which his successors took their name (i.e. the dGa’-ldan-pa). As the 5th Dalai Lama notes in his chronicle, Don-grub rgyal-po’s son received additional territories, including estates that bound him to the Tshal see of Yang-dgon (Table V.12.3). These bonds to Tshal are remarkable. Mi-chung Don-rgyal was a scion of the family line of the blon po mGar (chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po blon po mgar gyi rigs) and a relative of the presiding Tshal-pa dpon chen, a member of the mGar clan from a collateral line.27 It appears that

27 That he descended from a branch of the mGar clan of Grib is not likely, since this would have been recorded in Tshal-pa sources. His original estate and residence is called Yar-phogs-gling, which is still not clearly identified. The allocation of dGa’-ldan to him possibly implies previous occupation so that the “Garden of the Upper Region” [of the
some sort of historical continuity was consciously striven for. As far as we can tell, there is no actual breach in the overall sKyid-shod-pa genealogy; the Zhang statue who bowed and saluted mi dbang bKra-shis rab-brtan by taking off its hat (see above) was thus displaying his respect to a remote member of his own glorious dānapati line.

'Jog-ri-pa, the author of GT, mentions the spyan snga sKal-lidan rgya-mtsho as the last scion of the mGar clan (meaning here the mGar of Grib). The work refers to the throne-holder lineage of the Yang-dgon see, which subsequently was taken over by Zur-chen after he arrived there in the 1630’s. The last mGar passed away in 1649 A.D. (according to Zur chen rnam thar 162a). The origin of the lineage-holders preceding sKal-lidan rgya-mtsho in the Phag-gru era, listed in GT (18b), remains little known. The succeeding Tshal-pa representatives in this critical phase in the mid-to late 17th century are not well-known either to the author of GT. They unfortunately include a most interesting and influential figure, the zhabs drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, who was held in high esteem by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The Tshal-pa sde pa Grags-pa is recorded as having been responsible for the acquisition and transportation of a historic monolith from Sri (in Tshal Gung-thang) to lHa-sa, where in 1693 it was installed in the Potala as memorial rdo ring for the Great Fifth. He arguably is identical with the sde pa Tshal-pa registered under the 1660’s (as having invited the 12th sTag-lung Ma-thang throne-holder to Tshal; sTag lung chos 'byung I [A] 1460). The achievements of the Tshal-pa, 'Jog ri-pa argues, recall those of blon po mGar; the zhabs drung may therefore be a descendant of the lineage of the past Tshal-pa dpon chen. 'Jog ri-pa’s identification appears to be a nostalgic attempt to establish a genealogical link between the last Tshal-pa representative and the glorious lineage of the dpon chen. It is far more plausible, however, to regard the Tshal-pa sde pa as the last sKyid-shod sde pa to reign there. It is maintained in GT that following the demise of Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan (1693), who remained without issue, the [Yang-dgon?] estates (sa ris rnams) remained under Tshal administration for one additional year, before being confiscated by the [lHa-sa] government (gzhung bzhes). This signalled – as summarized in a stanza in GT (40a) – the end of the “sKyid-shod Tshal-pa srid.” Still, we need not read this as the end of Tshal-pa hegemony over sKyid-shod (its demise can be dated to a period further back in time) but rather as the end of the secular rule of the [dGa’-ldan] sKyid-shod-pa over Tshal. They had been the administrators there since the early 15th century, but arguably restricted to Tshal Yang-dgon and its precincts, the abbacy of which was held by the mGar clan up to the 17th century. All traces of most of the founding clans of the early history of Tshal-pa were erased in the turbulence of events, but the mGar clan, in lasting that long, proved more durable. It terminated with the sKyid-shod-pa, which on the basis of their ancestral origin we can identify as a branch of the blon po mGar lineage, and thus as the legitimate inheritor of the glorious Tshal-pa dpon chen. 28

IHa-sa valley?] (yar phyogs gling) and the (later) estate of dGa’-ldan may refer to one and the same area in Nyang-bran. The present-day dGa’-ldan-pa is situated in the upper part of Nyang-bran, not far to the north-east of the Gar-ri hill (cf. Xixurig Dimenzh 12b; App. V: Fig. 62). In 1113 A.D. the siddha Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas erected a hermitage there (cf. Chos’ phel 2004: 59). The Gar of Gar-ri can likely be read as mGar, and may well be linked to the blon po mGar legend domiciled in Grib and lHa-sa valley (see App. IV).

28 The dGa’-ldan-pa lineage did not become extinct, but split into more sub-lines, one of which formed the later sKyid-shod sTag-rtse-ba. See Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1492a and Part I: fn. 565.
INTRODUCTION

10. CHANGING FORTUNES
The History of Tshal Gung-thang in the Period of the IHa-sa Central Government

10.1 The Gung-thang bla-brang as a Monastic and Private Estate: Transition and Survival of a Patronized Institution

The management of monasteries and institutions, particularly during the period of the emerging dGa’-ldan pho-brang theocracy with its burgeoning number of temples, was largely dependent upon the availability of patronage and ample governmental revenue. The limited governmental resources doubtlessly were strained from the very outset, and a large number of monasteries and their holdings, often landed or manorial estates – akin to classical latifundia – and moveable property (rgyu dngos) along with tracts of land throughout Central Tibet, were increasingly distributed as fiefs to the upper aristocratic echelon and their families; they were donated as private or ecclesiastic landed estates or as prebends with substantial landholdings to a selective number of dignitaries in the form of governmental estate grants accompanied by large-scale tax exemptions. For the government, this arrangement ensured the civil and military services of a large number of governmental officials at no cost, and a fair amount of loyalty from a large portion of the upper class including high ranking hierarchs. Another useful instrument to meet the running costs of an establishment was the religiously motivated endowment or fund (dge rgyun gyi thebs, mchod thebs, etc.). This covered a wide-ranging number of ritual performances and festivals or the partial subsistence needs of entire institutions or groups of monks. Such grants or funds were often the most efficient and direct means available to ensure the survival and perpetuation of monastic institutions and the smooth flow of their burdensome ritual and liturgic calendar.

Tshal Gung-thang was initially bereft of such patronage, and felt its lack. Indeed, their situation was gloomy and dismal, akin to many glorious institutions of yore that found themselves caught in this transitional phase at the turn of the 17th century without proper funding. The inclusion of Tshal Gung-thang under the government, however, would bring some relief, turning Tshal – in the nascent period (1642–1717) of the dGa’-ldan gzhung government – into one of the 18 gzhis kha under the IHa-sa Zhol administration.

The redoubtable Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol must be considered one of the giants of 17th-century religious life in Tibet – a figure who, not unimportantly, commanded the 5th Dalai Lama’s undivided respect. It must have been a deplorable sight that met this leading preceptor when he first assumes responsibility for Gung-thang, whether undertaken on another’s urging or his own inspiration. Driven by the spiritual impetus behind this appropriation, Zur-chen’s activities in Tshal Gung-thang formed a symbolic bridge to the past. As already noted, Zur-chen had a visionary experience in Yer-pa in which Bla-ma Zhang manifested himself and urged him to take on the task of revitalizing the master’s temple. The transference thus was a traditional Tibetan act of appropriation and legitimation ensured by way divine or mystic revelation. But equally important for the site’s survival was Zur-chen’s incarnational nexus to Sangs-rgyas-bum, for his incarnate status and his subsequent line ensured that this newly established Gung-thang bla brang or Gung-thang monastic estate including its land grants would enjoy a basic income. Zur-chen devoted himself, following his arrival there in 1633 A.D., wholeheartedly to the care and renovation of his monastic establishment. The monastery had been donated to this master as a personal or private monastic estate together with its tenurial residence, or bla brang (the whole could be called Zur-chen’s patrimony), as such
arrangements were commonly known. During his lengthy stay at Gung-thang and almost until his death in 1657, he successively occupied different seats within the monastic complex, before finally becoming master of the entire complex. His extensive repairs included the wholesale renovation of the gTsug-lag-khang and the erection of a new assembly hall. He introduced and procured endowment funds to facilitate the revival of obsolete ritual and liturgical services, among which was what later became known as the Gung-thang Butter Lamp Festival. His foremost legacy, however, was in the artistic field. Himself a talented artist and renowned painter, he personally executed numerous wall paintings (now all lost), had statues manufactured and installed, and conducted the appropriate consecration rites in the different parts of the monastic complex. Due to his repute as a leading esoteric teacher and to his position as tutor of the Fifth Dalai Lama, he succeeded in turning Gung-thang into an oft-frequented centre of erudition. He invited to Gung-thang a number of prominent contemporary scholars, such as mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-Idan (1603–1659/60). Under an incarnation line (that went back to Sangs-rgyas-’bum) that owned property and was in control of the monastery, Gung-thang along with its retainers (known as bla brang; i.e. bla [ma’i pho] brang; lit. “Guru’s Palace”) functioned as an independent body in control of the incarnation’s resources and funds.

10.2 The Last Centuries: An Estate in Search of Stable Patronage and Survival

At this stage in Tibet’s history, institutional survival always hinged upon adequate maintenance and patronage. Soon afterwards the supervision of the monk community and responsibility for the Bla-brang were placed in the hands of A-mdo Bya-bral, better known as rje dGe-’dun phun-tshogs (1648–1724), the 50th dGa’-Idan throne-holder (tenancy 1715–22). It was at some point after 1706 that he was offered the temple complex from the last Qošot ruler of Tibet Larjang (or IHa-bzang) Qan (1658–1717), who placed at his disposal the entire Gung-thang complex, the two grva tshang, and the endowment fund that ensured the revenue for the execution of rituals and offering (mchod thebs) as well as all land and assets under the estate grant. A few years later, probably around 1718, dGe-’dun phun-tshogs, by now known by his title Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa, was driven away from the Gung-thang see by the marauding Dzungars, in the wake of which the monastery suffered many raids. When peace finally was restored in Central Tibet in 1720, and the Dzungars expelled, dGe-’dun phun-tshogs returned and initiated a much-needed renovation and refurbishment of the vihāra and the individual lha khang. He ensured that any revenue and other assets from endowment funds were allocated to the distinct institutions, in an attempt to revive moribund local traditions. With his passing in 1724 – and clearly in order to perpetuate the smooth running of the monastery – a sku phreng line was established that issued from him. This lineage became known as the Gung-thang-tshan line. His reincarnation and hence its second incumbent Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan (1727–59) was installed on the throne at Gung-thang in 1729. Upon the return of the 7th Dalai Lama to IHa-sa in 1735, the abbacy and precinct colleges of bKra-shis-’khyil, in the context of the commemorative service for the Qinghai dGa’-Idan, asked the Panchen Bla-ma and Pho-Iha-nas for permission to invite the Gung-thang incarnation to Bla-brang bKra-shis-’khyil. The latter indeed entered in 1736. His subsequent apprenticeship at bKra-shis-’khyil (in present-day southern Ganzu or Gannan), however, meant that the Gung-thang-tshang or the Gung-thang gser-khri lineage in the future had precious little to do with its mother seat. All subsequent lineage-holders (its sixth lineage-holder, ever devoted to the survival of Gung-thang, passed away as recently as in 2000) remained active in eastern Tibet or in China. Beyond the above
request and appeal, we do not know the exact reason for this shift of the line’s permanent seat, but it may not least have been due to the fact that dGe-'dun phun-tshogs’s native soil (and hence field of his conversion activity and main source of revenue and patronage) was A-mdo and eastern Tibet. From the very outset the line no doubt had insufficient resources to manage the seat by themselves, without the aid of the subsequent permanent absenteees. There is no record of any discord in the management strategies between this line and the government or patrons.

Following the shift in location of the Gung-thang-tshang incarnation line during the second incumbent, the 7th Dalai Lama, on behalf of the Tibetan “precious government” (gzung sa rin po che), again took over the monastic estate of Gung-thang. Soon afterwards, the young hierarch (after the latter’s return from eastern Tibet in 1735) handed over the Gung-thang monastic estate to his maternal uncle, sku mdun sNgags-rams-pa bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan [~ mtsho] (d. 1740 A.D.), a beneficium governed less by the otherwise ever-rampant excesses of nepotism (most relatives of a new high incarnate were customarily ennobled following Chinese imperial promotional traditions to ensure loyalty — and were usually entitled to manorial estates, certain associated prerogatives and to large tracts of land) than by a sense of gratitude reflecting the wish to repay service and wardenship during the Dalai Lama’s initial years of trial in lHa-sa. sNgags-rams-pa, in any case, belonged to the inner court, and was possibly the closest attendant of the high hierarch during these taxing years. In 1729 he had faithfully followed the 7th Dalai Lama into temporary banishment in mGar-thar (Taining) in eastern Tibet. Simultaneously, together with the conferal of the monastic estate and its abacy, he had been vested with the title dar han mkhan po or “holy abbot” by the Emperor Yongzheng (rl. 1723–1735). But already well advanced in age, sNgags-rams-pa grew seriously ill in 1738, and all the largest dGe-lugs monasteries in Central Tibet were directed to execute extensive rim gro rites for his recovery. Although a slight improvement was registered, he nevertheless later the same year decided to retire as ecclesiastic official and to dedicate the end of his life to the care of Gung-thang. A bka’ shog was issued that transferred proprietorship of the entire Gung-thang bla-brang property to his nephew (tsha ho) dge slorzg bsKal-bzang yon-tan (d. 1783/4), who until then had served as his household servant. mKhan po sNgags-rams-pa passed away in 1740, having arguably fallen victim to a smallpox epidemic, one of those that with fatal regularity seemed to haunt Tibet and lHa-sa. That same year a formal request was forwarded to the emperor to confer upon the nephew, hereditarily, the title and prerogatives of a dar han mkhan po.

Groomed early as a monk, the new incumbent bsKal-bzang yon-tan similarly belonged to the closest entourage of the Dalai Lama. Holding the title and rank of dar han mkhan po from 1740 until his death in 1783–84, he also served an an unknown number of years as mkhan po at Zha-lu, and faithfully served as the high hierarch’s both as rtse-shod secretary and as one of his scribes. During the subsequent period Tshal counted as one of the minor private district estates (rdzong gzhis), of which Gung-thang may only have constituted a part, a district estate being normally what was conferred upon nobles and dignitaries of holding the seventh rank (rim bdun, Ch. qipin) (Duojie Caidan 1995: 201–02) during the second of the two last decisive Qing imperial political-administrative reorganization of the dGa’-ldan pho-brang gzhung (1750–1788 and 1793–1911). The year 1751 saw dramatic events: the assassination of the “King of Tibet” (Zangwang), the anti-imperial 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal and the ensuing murder of the two ambans Fuqing and Labudun (cf. e.g. Petech 1972: 216f.). bsKal-bzang yon-tan and his hereditary tsha bo lineage at Gung-thang received the so-called Ka-brgyad smad-pa’i khang-pa (Lower Eight-Pillared Mansion) in lHa-sa, once the landed estates and moveable properties of ’Gyur-med rnam-rgyal and his cohorts were
confiscated and restored either to their former owners or to the nobility that had remained loyal to Qianlong and the imperial throne. The Gung-thang bla-brang including the two chos sde grva tshang were turned from a monastic estate (mchod gzhis) into a private estate (sger gzhis) during this period, after it had been presented to bsKal-bzang yon-tan as his private property (bdag thob), a transfer which was confirmed in 1764 (see e.g. dGa' bzhi rnam thar 107, 407) as part of the dGa'-ldan gzhung programme of relieving governmental finances. Temporarily, dar han mkhan po bsKal-bzang yon-tan even rose to become an imperially elected bka' blon bla ma in 1767, only to resign in 1773. In 1782, the year the Gung thang dkar chag was written, he is listed as bka' zur (or ex-bka' blon) Gung-thang mkhan-po. Never without means, he was throughout the entire period regularly registered as a generous donor of offerings – during the obligatory sMon lam chen mo, for instance. As may be gleaned from GT, dar han mkhan po in the first place undertook extensive renewals and renovations at his own Gung-thang complex. He passed away in 1784 and was followed by the Gung-thang dar han mkhan po Blo-bzang dge-legs, a relative of his.

At this point in Tibet’s history, a so-called “latifundium economy” of landed estates – whether state, private or monastic – predominated throughout an overwhelming part of the country. Yet we still do not possess precise information as to the exact extent of private estates or how they operated, and unfortunately the same holds true for Gung-thang’s financial and political situation and its relations to the neighbouring Tshal estate (which at some point became a private estate of the Zhol-khang noble house). Unclear, too, is whether the control of the private estate was inherited patrilineally (popularly phrased pha shul bu 'jags), as was the case with most noble houses in Central Tibet. It is likely that it was. Only access to relevant dGa'-ldan pho-brang or local Gung-thang bla-brang tax and land-use documents will shed light on these important topics (cf. lCags stag zhib gzhung 10, 22, 39).

To resume the ensuing history of Gung-thang bla-brang: In the following years, during the somewhat somnolent 19th century up to the beginning of the 20th century, the conditions prevailing at the Gung-thang estate are only little or meagrely documented in contemporary literature. The reason for this silence was partly due to the circumstance that very little changed during this long period. The local Gung-thang-tshang incarnation sojourned permanently in eastern Tibet, and the few references are restricted to the brief visits of travelling hierarchs. We do possess some stray information: for instance, the visit of the 9th Dalai Lama Lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho in 1807 and 1808 as infant hierarch (DL9 [A] 22a6–24a1, 61a5–62a6 [B] 645–48); this hierarch is said to have enjoyed special visionary bonds with Bla-ma Zhang; small wonder given that the latter, ever since the time of the 5th Dalai Lama Bła-ma Zhang had been included in the lineage succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1808 Ngag-dbang chos-'phel (1760–1839 A.D.), the later 70th tenant of dGa'-ldan, received Tshal dBus-gling as household revenue (tha' dzin).

The 11th Dalai Lama mKhas-grub rgya-mtsho visited Gung-thang in 1841 in connection with the selection of the prospective Dalai Lama (apparently, Gung-thang served as residence for the high hierarch pending a final decision). Here again we find reference to Gung-thang and to the local statue of Bla-ma Zhang. Evidently, as with the 13th Dalai Lama, Gung-thang vihāra played a central role. Again in 1852, the same Dalai Lama paid visit to Gung-thang (and its four still existing colleges) and was received by the local Gung-thang mkhan chung Byams-pa chos-rgyan (i.e. Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan). During the tenure of the 12th Dalai Lama, the latter was received by Gung-thang-pa Ngag-dbang tshul-khrims (1860 A.D.), followed by visits by the hierarch in 1873 and
1874, where he was welcomed by the Gung-thang-pa steward Byams-pa bstan-rgyas and offerings were presented to the principal statue of Zhang Rin-po-che (see DL11 316–17, 406, 436; DL12 648, 677). From stray sources we are informed about natural disasters, foremost flooding, that regularly visited the area along the sKyid-chu river (for details see App. II). For instance, we have reports that Gung-thang was devastated by severe flooding in 1803 and again in 1863, which led to a reduction or exemption of taxes (see Rang 'byung gnod ’tshe chu skyon skor 3–5, 64–65).

In 1868 the rNyin-ma gter ston mChog-gyur gling-pa, like a host of other peregrinating masters, passed through Gung-thang (gTer chen lam yig 178), but beyond that silence seems to have surrounded the seat. Gung-thang’s repute by now had decreased dramatically. Still shortly afterwards it attracted the attention of all devout Tibetans. When the newly found 13th Dalai Lama was on his way from Dvags-po to lHa-sa in 1877–78, the infant hierarch took up residence at Gung-thang bDe-ba-can for two months, where he underwent the ceremonial hair-cutting ceremony and received his official name (DL13 31–37). Another noteworthy event was the birth in 1888, in lCags-ri-shar (under the Tshal Gung-thang private estate), of the 11th rTa-tshag rin po che sKal-bzang bstan-pa’i sgron-me (1888–1918).

Gung-thang bla-brang (Gung-bla for short) during this period remained, quite unpretentiously, in the hands of the family of the maternal uncle (or zhang tshan) line that had issued from the 7th Dalai Lama. The family remained the proprietor of the private estate up until 1959. The spiritual bonds with the founding figure Bla-ma Zhang must have been dim at this late point, but he still was held in high esteem and his writings were both studied and kept in the local gtsug lag khang. From the vivid memoirs of the eminent 3rd Khri-byang rin po che Blo-bzang ye-shes bstang’dzin rgya-mtsho (1901–1981) – one of the 20th-century’s illuminaries, a pupil of the controversial Phabong-kha and junior tutor of the 14th Dalai Lama (he belonged patrilineally to the house of the local Gung-thang nang-gong branch of the family, and thus descended from the line of estate holders at Gung-thang) – we are fortunately allowed some rare glimpses of the estate and of the daily life at a critical juncture at the beginning of the 20th century. His father Tshe-ring don-grub (1843–1907 A.D.), a distant relative of the 7th Dalai Lama, in 1904 carried out a renovation of a part of Gung-thang gtsug lag khang, including the rGyal-ba’i gzims-chung and the dormitories in the outer courtyard. The most decisive event in this period, however, was the alliance that was forged when his daughter, the older sister of Khri-byang sprul sku, sKal-bzang sgrol-ma in the 1890’s married into the influential Khe-smad (better known as the Kun-bzang-rtses aristocratic mi drag) house. She wedded its heir, the learned and very able Dza-sag Khe-smad Rin-chen dbang-rgyal (1874–1927), a nobleman who later rose to become rtsis dpon and shortly after, in 1914, bka’ blon. Through this marriage alliance – emblematic of the finer nobility – the so-called Khe[-smad] Gung[-thang] family bond was established between this noble house and the family in charge of the Gung-thang bla-brang (see Khri hyang rnam thar 4b1–6b6 et passim; Shar rtsechos ’byung 849f.).

29 The 13th Dalai Lama visited Gung-thang one more time in 1919.
30 Cf. Petech 1973: 93–94; Goldstein 1989: 102–03; DL13 534. In 1921 he became head of the newly established phyi rgyal las khung; cf. bShad-sgra 1991: 74. For a picture of Khe-smad or Kun-bzang-rtses zhabz pad, see Tsarong 1995: 82–83; on the additional private estates of the Khe-smad in Yar-lung; see CTZZ 83, 86. For a folk song relating to this noble family, cf. Sørensen 1990: 382. The original Khe-smad estate was located in ‘Phyongs-rgyas. The famous A-ni Lo-chen Chos-nyid bzang-mo (b. 1852/65) was born into the family of Khe-smad (her father was sde pa Rin-chen phun-tshogs).

The ensuing estate merger (or *gzhis [zla]-sgril alliance*)—a very common occurrence throughout this epoch—allowed the father as head of the family and as a governmental official to shift in 1904 to a newly constructed family residence (or *gzims shag*) attached to the Kun-bzang-rtse mansion in IHa-sa (finished in 1907, still located—having been newly renovated—in the southern Bar-skor quarter). The prevailing system of absentee landlordism in Tibet required feudal landlords or estate owners, in return for the traditional substantial governmental grants of landed property and tax privileges, to meet certain terms and conditions, such as governmental service, which made it obligatory for them to be permanent residents of IHa-sa (*Iha sar gstan bzhugs*). These sedentary estate owners of the nobility were barred from sojourning on their estates, except for a brief annual inspection tour (*gzhis skor*). This expains why Tshe-ring don-grub left the daily management of the Gung-bla estate in the hands of a steward (*gzhis sdom ngo tshab jog pa*) assisted by other permanent household retainers or clerks (*gstan sdom nang gzan*). When the father passed away in 1907, Khri-byang sprul sku’s mother Tshe-ring sgrol-ma (1875–1956) and his older sister remained on the estate at Gung-thang, with a relative of the deceased father (an aunt (*a ne*) by the name of g.Yang-'dzoms) and her husband (a Khams-pa (of ‘Ba’-thang?) nomad named ‘Ba’-pa A-pho) being deputed as estate managers and retainers. These latter are recorded as still being there up until at least the mid-1940’s (and very likely up until 1959), overseeing daily affairs. A tense atmosphere is reported to have reigned at the Gung-thang estate throughout the entire period, with no love lost between the remaining family members and their managers. Khri-byang narrates how the relatives of the aunt gradually attempted to take hold of the estate and how the life and fate of his own family, the proper owners, became increasingly miserable. He compared their hapless situation with the proto-typical story of Mi-la ras-pa and his mother in the hands of crude and merciless relatives. The Kun-bzang-rtse *rtsis dpon* (or Khe-smad rim-bzhi) Tshe-dbang don-grub (1902–1967), the son and successor of Rin-chen dbang-rgyal and nephew

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14 The charming three-storeyed Kun-bzang-rtse mansion must have been erected upon an older structure at the same site, since a Kun-bzang-rtse house is registered for 1904–05; cf. Waddell Map no. 65; the mansion (opposite which was located the rTa-ra or stables) is listed in Taring Map 1984: no. 68; Aufschnaiter Map Section Nga 70 (Kun-bzang-rtse); Nga 82 (Tshal-pa khang-gsar); Larsen and Sinding-Larsen 2000: 88, and Map. no. 127. It was located in the Rab-gsal district of the southern Bar-skor quarter (along the so-called south-east Gling-skor circuit), and in 1959, along with most other noble houses, was sequestered by the authorities. In 2002–03, the Kun-bzang-rtse mansion underwent a complete reconstruction. It was in the IHa-lidan Kun-bzang-rtse mansion that the scholar dge bshes Shes-rab rgya-mtsho resided in the early 1920’s; see Jackson 1997: 449.
of Khri-byang rin-po-che remained at the helm of the noble family as the new estate owner along with his brother-in-law Khe-smad jasay bSod-nams dbang-'dus (1901–1972);¹² the latter, possibly not overly interested in estate affairs, had an eventful life, holding important political posts, including Zhol gnyer and mda’ dpon, and later dmag spyi (commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan army)

¹² He belonged to the Zur-khang family (mi drag) and entered the Khe-smad/Kun-bzang-rtses family as a mag pa (adopted groom) and assumed their name when he married the daughter of Rin-chen dbang-rgyal, bDe-skhyi dbyangs-can (see Prince Peter 1963: 445f.; C. Harris ed. 2003: 104; Yuthok 1990: 317). In 1936 he participated in the search for the new 14th Dalai Lama; see his The Discovery of the 14th Dalai Lama (Bangkok: Klett Thai Publ. 1975; and more recently Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama (I.TWA 2000)). He was one of the signatories of the 17-point agreement in 1951 in Beijing.

Khe-smad bSod-nams dbang-'dus had two daughters, sKal-bzang g.yang-skyyid (married to Rig-'dzin rdo-rje) and Ye-shes sgrol-ma. The latter married bDe-legs rab-brtan sras ll, the hapless Don-grub dbang-'dus (they had one daughter, Rig-'dzin Tshe-brtan; cf. Prince Peter 1963: 438–42). The former’s eldest daughter (among nine children in all) is Kun-bzang-rtses bSod-nams lha-skyyid, who is married to the scholar (Khams-sprul) bSod-nams don-grub. The retired couple presently live in lHa-sa (in the Karma dgon-gsar district).
between 1948 and 1957. They did occasionally sojourn on the Gung-bla estate in the late 1950’s, but these were the last known activities of the leading members of the old estate owners who in 1959 decided to leave and seek asylum in India, although other members of their family did remain back in Tibet. Detailed information is lacking, yet in the same period major changes took place in the area, such as the establishment of the Gung-thang bzhugs-sgar (Gung-thang Military Camp) as well as different greenhouse and state farms (nongchang) on the Celestial Plain (Caigongtang; see e.g. Rang byung zangs 56; Yeh 2003, passim).

The dissolution of the old order meant the disappearance of its foremost representatives, and with them the irrevocable loss of their unique cultural and religious world, and its unique social system, values and customs. Their loss was also the loss of old pre-1949 Tibet. Adding to the woes, the insurgencies following the excesses of the Cultural Revolution saw massive destruction of many parts of the Gung-thang main temple; for example the entire first storey with its many chapels burned down, their priceless religious and artistic inventories being either plundered or lost. The annual Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa ceremonies also came to a halt for a number of years. By 1967 the magnificent sKu-'bum chen-mo had fallen victim to aimless destruction, and the remaining priceless objects in the temple subject to following successive acts of vandalism and plundering; most objects were scattered irrevocably in all directions. In March 1989 a partial renovation of the local gTsug-lag-khang site finally was undertaken with the active assistance of a large number of local people, and the dedicated support of the 6th Gung-thang-tshang incarnate 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug (1926–2000). This restoration has not advanced beyond the ground-floor of the three-storied 'Du-khang chen-mo, including the chambers of the rNam-sras lha-khang, mGon-khang, and Byams-khang, the remaining precinct having been swallowed up by the surrounding villages, in which it looks like a labyrinthine warren of buildings. It is most unlikely that the temple complex with its many chambers will ever be restored to its former glory. Without governmental support, the still largely destitute and neglected temple merely accommodates a total of eight monks.

The remaining monuments and buildings at Tshal and Gung-thang today stand as silent, almost forgotten witnesses to their past greatness, which spanned an eventful period of over 800 years, an epoch that had its beginnings in a vision on the beautiful Celestial Plain and the “Fold of the White Mare” that appeared to a Tibetan mystic ascetic named Bla-ma Zhang Rin-po-che. The ascetic’s understanding was to a saintly ideal that encapsulates both temporal and ultimate happiness, which stands over against the Western medieval notion of imperishable fame (gloria et nomen perpetuum). Gung-thang, with the demise of the old order and the dawning of a new one, now ingloriously shares its fate with many other decrepit institutions in Tibet. Catapulted into the last and most sweeping phase in its history, to the present and beyond, the site now faces unforeseen political and urban changes. In the face of either deplorable oblivion or, even worse, total disappearance, the historical documentation of the site in this study should be seen as a modest contribution to reviving the memory of its former political importance by delineating its glorious and eventful past and the formative role it once played in making lHa-sa the heart and pulsebeat of the Tibetan nation.

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33 See Yuthok 1990: 176 (photo), 241f., 281; rGas po i lo rgyus, passim; for further pictures, see Goldstein 1989: 551.
34 Cf. also sKal-bzang phun-tshogs 1997: 107–08.
PART I

The Gung thang dkar chag

Gung thang dpal gyi gtsug lag khang | byung rabs dang bcas pa’i  
dkar chag ’Gro mgon zhal lung bdud rtsi’i chu rgyun ||

[Proemium]

Who with steady and devout application renounce mundane vices  
and assume supramundane qualities,  
Who with diligence and skilful in means [as to how] causality [operates]  
and as to all aspects of the casual and resultant vehicles  
[i.e. the Hina- and Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna] exercise meditation  
Who made their own nature assume the union of the two bodies  
[of Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya], the treasury of all perfection and qualities  
To the peerless Guide, the son of Śuddhodana [i.e. Śākyamuni], his sons  
[i.e. Bodhisattvas] and disciples incessantly and devotionally, I bow down.

Marvellous lives, the manner of which the Jinas enjoyed  
The hidden meaning, in conjunction with union and path  
They have instructed, to the venerable Atiṣa [Phul-byung] and  
‘Jam-dpal-snying [*Mañjuśrī-ḥṛdaya, i.e. bTsong-kha-pa]  
Along with [their] disciples, to [these] until the Great Enlightenment [is attained],  
from the core of [my] heart I make offerings.

To all leaders [i.e. Buddhas] too with compassion and impartiality  
For the [Buddhist] Teaching and the living beings of the Snow-capped [Tibet],  
a land of repose.  
Wearing as ornament the mind of great kindness,  
To the Holders of the White Lotus [i.e. Avalokiteśvara, i.e. the Dalai Lamas]  
in succession, I bow down.

The river of the four currents of the precious bKa’-brgyud [Order]  
Filled up the vase of his discriminating intellect  
To the provider of coolness helpful to the [Buddhist] Teaching  
and the living beings of the Snow-capped [Tibet]  
To the Lord of the Siddhas, g.Yu-brag, Friend of Living Beings, I bow down.

Prophesied by Śākyamuni[2], the Teaching of [Buddha] Śākyamuni[2]  
Having relied upon Jagannātha [i.e. Bla-ma Zhang].
the Successor of the lineage of Sākya[muni]
Eminent his deeds for the Teaching of Sākya[muni]
To Sākya ye-shes, the Lord of the Living beings, I bow down.

Through the rays of light emanating from the activities of the unity of
the two systems (niti) [i.e. temporal and spiritual],
The field of merit and the supreme fields of the lower sentient beings
Leading into the town of prosperity and glory –
To the upholders of the precious tradition of the succession of disciples, I bow down.

The path of the two stages [of visualization and completion]
consisting in the ripening of the current of the four empowerments,
Observing the basis of the fully pure commitment and vow;
Cakrasamvara, the king of tantra of the most secret yoga, and
To the Dākinīs of the three spheres [i.e. inner, outer and secret]
I respectfully pay my respects.

To [those embodying] the illusory dance of the activities of precisely
this [active] compassion
Headed by Śrī Nātha [Mahākāla] and consorts (dpal mgon lcam dral),
the three commanders (bka’ sdod) of the outer, inner [and secret ones] as well as
Kāmadhātu-īśvarī (’Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma) and entourage
Making offerings to the host of Protectors: Pray constantly protect me!

Of unstained mental defects born from improper selfishness,
The higher intention, on its mirroring surface of self and others
Reflections [thus] exhorted, this image
I rejoice at its display to fulfil the dual objectives [of self and others]!

Thus, after this [obligatory] proemical salutatory eulogy (mchod par brjod pa), including
expression of benediction and auspiciousness, the author’s composition pledge (rtsom par dam
bca’ ba) [the announcement of the subject matter (brjod bya) follows, viz. [2b1–5]]

The name of Zhang Tshal-pa:

1 For a survey of the various biographical materials of Bla-ma Zhang as well as a detailed synoptic survey of his life
a number of general and brief biographical sketches exist, e.g. the ’Gro mgon rin po che’i rnam thar bsdus pa dGos
’dod re skong ma’i grel ba 532f., Zhang rnam thar zin bris; Deb dmar 126–129; lHo rong chos ’byung 181–199; Deb
sngon (BA Roerich 711–15); Mig ’byed ’od stong 68a5–70b3; mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 806–809; hKa’ hrgyud chos ’byung
65a2–66a5; dGa’ idan chos ’byung 49b6f.; Gu bkra chos ’byung 520–21; DL5 IV (= Ahmad 1999: 185f.); ’Khrung rabs
Deb ther nor bu’i phreng ba 1 191–194. See also Dung dkar tshig mdzod 515–17.

He was considered a manifestation of O-rgyan Rin-po-che and Strong-btsan sgam-po (and hence of sPyan-ras-gzigs;
ennobled later into the Dalai Lama lineage succession, see Sørensen 2005). According to Blon po bka’i thang yig 521.19–
21, he was also considered a manifestation of the translator Cog-ro Klu’i rgyal-mtshan (below 4a). A later classification,
invented in dGe-lugs circles, lists him as one of the “Three Jewels of Tibet” (Bod nor bu rnam gsam), the other two:
Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po and Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (see BA Roerich 711; and Part II: App. I).

We possess in addition a large number of [auto-]biographical sketches embedded in his hKa’ ’bum (contained in hKa’
From the viewpoint of his place of birth at Tsha-ba-gru, he was called Tsha-ba-gru-pa. His name as a youth was Dar-ma-grags.

He was called “Lord of the Living Beings” ['Gro-ba’i mgon-po, Jagannātha] in view of his convert [as seen] externally.

His name was g.Yu-brag[-pa] in accordance with his [favourite] site of solitary retreat [as seen] internally [i.e. spiritually].

He was called Bla-ma Zhang after his line of descent [as seen] secretly and

In accordance with his moral practice, he was called brTson-'grus grags-pa [*Viryakīrti].

[3a1–2]

Contents of the book:

An Inventory of the Glorious Gung-thang Temple, the support and its supported [i.e. the sanctuary including their statues of veneration] (rten brten par bcas) and the history of the secular rulers of the Tshal-pa reigning there. [3a3–3a6]

It encompasses five chapters:

CHAPERS:

I. A Brief Introductory History of the Origin of the Buddhist Teaching generally and specifically [i.e. in India and in Tibet]

II. [The Biography of ’Gro-mgon [the Tshal-pa Founder], his Disciples and the Development of the Religious and Secular Hegemony of Tshal Gung-thang]

II.1 ’Gro-mgon’s Outer, Inner and Secret Biography and the successive Biographies of his Disciples

II.2 The History of the Secular Lords (srid skyong and khri dpon) of Tshal

III. A Detailed Survey and Inventory of the Temple Complex of Gung-thang: The Main Temple and its Branch Dependencies, the Distinct Colleges and Institutions

IV. A Description of the Images and Statues (rten) installed there

V. The [Virtuous] Benefit (phan von, anuśāmsa) accruing from Venerating and Making Prostration towards the Three Types of Religious Objects.

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thor ba) or in the bKa’ rgya ma collections, the latter mainly related to his visionary, mystic-esoteric or spiritual exercises: rNam thar rGyal blon ma (the extended one compiled by rGyal-ba Lo-zhig). Shes rab grub ma (the intermediate one compiled by dge slong Shes-rab-grub; contained in ZhK I 8f. etc.) and the abbreviated dGos ’dod re skong ma (compiled by dge slong gTsang-pa Ya-so, compiled at g.Yu-n Grva-thang): They make up his phyi’i rnam thar.

The nang gi rnam thar generally consists of three or four compilations: The Extensive one, compiled by ’Dul-ba’od, The Intermediate one by gTsang-ston mal-’byor and The Abbreviated one by Lo-zhig.

Cf. also the biography by Mar-sgom called rNam thar phyi ma (cf. e.g. ZhK III (KA) 223a1–244b6) and the rNam thar mdor hsdu. See also Sangs-rgyas ras-pa’s informative Zhang rnam thar zin bris. In addition, we have eight or so smaller sketches making up the gsang ba’i rnam thar, etc. cf. ZhK I 182–189. See the redactional details in DL5 Thob yig II 88b6–99b2; further Jackson 1994: 58f. His rich biographical materials thus deserve a thorough study.

In his autobiographical writings, Zhang called himself many names: sNa-nam sprang ban (Beggar Monk of the [Zhang] sNa-nam lineage), Tshal-sgang gi sKye-med Zhang sgom-pa (Hermit sKye-med Zhang (fn. 50) of Tshal-sgang chos-spyi), Zhang gi sprang-ban sgom-pa (Hermit and Beggar-monk from the Zhang [sNa-nam] lineage), sMyon-pa, Ngan-lam Si’i Zhang-ston/Zhang-sgom (= Master/Hermit Zhang [sNa-nam] of Si (= Sri) in Ngan-lam (fn. 12), Ngan-lam sprang po (Beggar of Ngan-lam) or rtsad po (“king”) Bla[-ma] Zhang sNa-nam and still more. For the place-names Tsha-ba-gru and g.Yu-brag, see below fn.s. 12 and 62.
CHAPTER I

[A Brief Introductory History of Buddhism in Tibet]

[3b1–6a5]

[Content: A brief survey of the development of the Buddhist History in the Snowland of Tibet, its earlier and later dissemination (snga dar and phyi dar), the emergence of the bKa’-brgyud-pa and the subsequent development of the Buddhist Teaching during the time of bTsong-kha-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa].

[3b1–5b6]

[Following standard introductory phrases, the author offers a traditional, albeit very brief survey of the origin of the Land of Snow: The authoritative prophecy of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra as well as reference to non-specified sūtra and tantra [4a1–4a4]). It is asserted that, in the wake of a decrease or shrinking of a previously existing Great Ocean, forests emerged which thus paved the way for the arrival of creatures and animals (‘byung po and dud ’gro), but no human beings. Considering the importance of human karmic activity, the union of a rock demoness and a [Bodhisattva] monkey, emanations of Lady Tiri and an emanation born from the magical compassion of Lokeśvara [i.e. Avalokiteśvara], took place. From these two, numerous ape offspring descended. They settled in Kong-yul sPre-sna Mi-yul gyi lding and gradually turned into human beings, eventually populating Tibet. Socio-genesis of the four great clans (rus chen bzhi) and the division into numerous principalities. The progenitor of the Tibetan royal lineage mnga ’bdag gNyatshri-khri btsan-po and the subsequent generations of the [Yar-lung] kings, foremost king lHa Tho-ri snyan-btsan, during whose reign [a casket containing a number of holy objects such as] Kārāṇḍavyūha-sūtra, the dBang skyong (= sPang skong phyag [b]rgya pa[l ’i mdo], and a Cintāmani dhārani etc. fell onto the roof of the pho brang of Yum-bu bla-sgang; this is considered the [mythical] beginning of Buddhism in Tibet; after five kings, the Chos rgyal mnga ’bdag Srong-btsan sgam-po emerged, during whose reign Thon-mi Pandita invented the Tibetan alphabet based upon the Indian letters; the translation activity of Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan by many translators and learned scholars (lo [tsā ba] pa[n[di ta]]). After [the erection of] the lHa-Idan sprul-pa’i gtsug-lag-khang (= Ra-sa ’Phrul-sngag), the king married the princesses of the Chinese Emperor and the Nepalese King, Kong-jo and Khri-btsun respectively, and the two destined images, the Jo-bo Brother statues, were invited to Tibet. During the reign of the mnga' bdag Tshangs-pa lha'i me-tog [*Brahmā Devapuṣpa, i.e. Khri-srong lde-btsan], Ka (= sKa[-ba] dpal-brtsegs), Cog[-ro Klu’i rgyal-mtshan] and Bai[rotsana, Vairocana] translated numerous Buddhist sūtra and tantra. After mKhan chen Zhi-ba-tsho (= Mahopādhyāya Śāntarakṣita) and Padmasambhava, the Second Buddha, were invited, and the translation of monks such as the first seven ordained monks (sad mi mi bdun) [i.e. a convent] was introduced [at bSam-yas].

The tradition of the sūtra and mantra of the precious Teaching of the Jina was thus successfully established, capable of being enjoyed by high and low. The continuation of the tradition of his predecessors was upheld during the reign of mnga’ bdag Khri Ral[-pa-can] and his successors. This ends the phase of the early dissemination of the Buddhism in Tibet.]

1 It refers to Mi-yul sKyid-thing situated close to Bre-sna, the ancient center of Kong-po (cf. Karmay 1998; Ramble 1997; Hazod 2007). In the classical chronicles Nags-ma Bya tshogs-can (or Nags tMa-bya tshogs-can) in Kong-po is usually given as the place where the monkey-infants grew up. See most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 224.

2 The classical chronology of the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet. Cf. e.g. TBH Sørensen 23.
The later dissemination (*phyi dar*): After the deterioration of the precious Teaching executed through perverse acts such as the destruction of temples and centers for ordained monks, and in the wake of the assassination of king Ral-pa-can by Glan-dar-ma and his ministers, who had been governed by perverse aspirations, the upholders of the tradition [transmitting] scriptural authority and spiritual realization (*lung*, *rtogs*, i.e. *āgama*, *adhigama*) again populated the Snow-capped Land [of Tibet] which became ornamented by the presence of monastic discipline established in dBu and gTsang and initiated by supreme personages [such as] dGongs-pa rab-gsal [892–975 A.D.?] [etc.]. Yet, due to low merit, to worldly affairs in general and the transmission of exegesis and realization (*bshad sgrub*) of the sūtra and mantra, both the old and the new [translations] and, in particular, of the roots of the Teachings, monastic discipline deteriorated through the [adverse Vajrayānic] practises of union and liberation (*shyor sgril*). Even the universal activities [i.e. domain of rule] of the Dharma-rajās became fragmented. From one [regional] section of the triple division into Upper, Middle and Lower [i.e. western, central and eastern] Tibet [into which the country was divided] (*stod smad bar gsum*), namely the mNga’-ris region, the chos rgyal lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-’od [5b], Uncle and Nephew (*khu dbon*), the two, invited dPal lHa-gcig Di-paṃ kā-ra [i.e. Atiśa] [to Tibet, a scholar-saint] who by way of numerous teachings such as his *Bodhipathapradipa* etc. eliminated all flaws of doubts, perverse conceptions and misunderstanding concerning the Buddhist Teaching.⁶ Thereafter, the life of the Buddhist Teaching was safeguarded by the ideal life of numerous supreme personages, all representative of erudition, piousness, and goodness, the three (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*). In particular, [the fame of] the life-[-story] of ’Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, who constitutes the roots of the Teaching of bKa’-brgyud-pa as well as that of Tsong-kha-pa chen-po, the teacher of the living beings of the Three Spheres, [both] comparable to a white umbrella of the Teachings, covered the entire world. The successive lineage holders of [the Tshal-pa], master and disciples, suitably being manifestations of the supreme Ārya Lokesvara, had at all times firmly vowed to generate their minds [towards Enlightenment] in order to spread and propagate the precious Teaching until this very point through the good karmic activity prevailing there. It provided the preconditions for the high status (*abhyudaya*) and definite goodness (*nihāreyasa*) for all religious practices spanning from Śrī Guhyasamāyā until the protection against the transgression of [the vows as codified in] Pratimoksa, etc. It is a common perception that this is due to the [active] compassion of these [rulers]. The details [of their feats] are repeatedly described in many writings, which should be consulted. This present version is only an abbreviated [6a] [delineation of these glorious feats].

[Summarizing intermediate stanzas (*antarāśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*) [6a1–6a5]].

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⁵ See Stoddard 2004; see also Part II: Table V.6 below.

⁶ The *phyi dar* in mNga’-ris, Atiśa’s invitation and his activities in Western and Central Tibet. cf. e.g. Eimer 1977; Vitali 1996; Karmay 1998: 3f; Tsering Gyalbo 2006, passim.

⁷ The high status signifies the three higher realms in *samsāra*, the short-term goal of worldly salvation strived for by living beings, and the ultimate goodness or *summaḥ bonum* refers to the status consisting in the ultimate salvation or liberation from the selfsame cycle of migration; as such these two terms stand for temporary and ultimate happiness (*gnas skabs dang mthar thug gi bde ba*) or for thisworldly and otherworldly happiness.
CHAPTER II

[II.1] [Biography of the Tshal-pa Founder and his Disciples and the Split of the School into Bar-Tshal and sTod-Tshal] [6a5–28b1]

[II.1.1] [The Outer, Inner and Secret Biography of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che] [6a5–12b1]

The chapter is divided into [A] an external, [B] an internal and [C] a secret biography of 'Gro-mgon,* and a devotional biographical description of the lineage of his disciples [Chapter II.1.2]. As an ancillary section, an abbreviated exposition is offered concerning the history of the srid skyong, i.e. secular rulers of Tshal [Chapter II.2]. The author commences the chapter with an exposition of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, which is counted as the foremost and most eminent among the four bKa'-brgyud schools or among the four Dvags[-po bKa'-brgyud-pa] schools, which together with the school of Shangs[-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa], constitute the two bKa'-brgyud main systems.† Introductory Verse [6b1–2]].

[General eulogized, mythical origin of g.Yu-brag and the bKa'-brgyud-pa is given referring e.g. to [celebrated] prophecies proclaimed by Buddha Śākyamuni and gleaned from the Mañjuśrīmūla-tantra, Mahāmegha-sūtra and the Vimaladevīpariśeṣṭha, ~ vyākarana-sūtra, lHa mo dri ma med pa[-mdo]].‡ [6b2–7a6]

* The threefold classification into an external (exoteric, in casu worldly and ordinary), an internal (spiritual, internalized, mystic) and a secret (esoteric, otherworldly and hence quintessentially indescribable, abolishing the difference of, or merging the former two) is common in Tibetan hagiographical literature and is fundamentally intended to signal not only different levels of reality but also distinct modes of representation of reality and the life of a religious personage. Parallel and corresponding to this classification one often finds in the same literature the division into outer, inner and secret sites of meditative practice (see e.g. the example of the Mi-la rdzong-drug, below fn. 272).

† On the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, see most recently Kapstein 2005. The “four Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa” refer to the common classification of the bka' brgyud che bzhi or “Four Great Oral Instruction Lineages” which are linked to monastic seats and teaching centers in Central Tibet the founders of which were direct disciples of Dvags-po lha-rje bSod-nams rin-chen (1079–1153 A.D.) and his immediate successor at Dvags-lha sGam-po, his nephew Dvags-po sGom-tshul (1116–1169 A.D.), the latter known as one of Bla-ma Zhang’s root-teacher (see below fn. 47; Introduction: fn. 15).

The Group of the bka' brgyud che bzhi includes the Phag-mo gru-pa bKa'-brgyud, the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud, the 'Ba'-rom bKa'-brgyud and the Kar-ma bKa'-brgyud.

A further sub-division speaks of the “eight minor bKa'-brgyud schools” (bka' brgyud chung/ya brgyad) which go back to foundations of direct disciples of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (1110–1170), the founder of the Phag-mo gru-pa bKa'-brgyud. The latter’s main retreat in Ngam-shod developed to become the monastic centre of gDan-sa-mthil, the mother seat of numerous masters and founding figures and later the spiritual headquarter of the Phag-mo gru-pa rule (see now Czaja 2006). The bka' brgyud chung/ya brgyad usually include the ‘Bri-gung-pa, sTag-lungs-pa, ’Brug-pa, g.Ya’-bzang-pa, Khro-phu-pa, Shug-gseb-pa, Yel-pa and the sMar-tshang-pa, See a.g. CFS Gyalbo et al. 41f., Dung dkar ’tshig mdzod 158f. See also Introduction: Chap. 6.1.

‡ See e.g. TBH Sørensen 154.
[A] [The Outer Biography]

[7b1] [Bla-ma Zhang] descended from the [sNa-nam] Zhang clan, and he was born in Tsha-ba-gru.  

11 Cf. also mKhas pa'i dga' ston 806.4. In the esoteric writings, Zhang is also called sNa-nam sgom-pa Zhang ("the hermit Zhang of the sNa-nam [clan]"). The sNa-nam clan is counted among the chief aristocratic clans of the dynastic period and several protagonists of the sgna dar period stemmed from sNa-nam (cf. e.g. DBa' bzhes P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000, s.v. index). Zhang ("maternal uncle") in sNa-nam Zhang indicates that a branch of the lineage functioned as queen-giver and heir-producer to the royal house. In fact, the sNa-nam represented one of the four heir-producing clans in the dynastic period ("Bro, Tshes-pong, mChims and sNa-nam") and one of the three zhang blon (maternal uncle minister) in the group of the zhang gsun blon bzhi (= zhang blon of the 'Bro, mChims and the sNa-nam clan respectively, together with the fourth sBa/dBa' minister; see Dotson 2004). Two most prominent figures of the Zhang sNa-nam-pa were [Zhang] sNa-nam Khri-bzungs Nya-bzang (also called Zhang Nya-bzang and sNa-nam Nya-bzang; cf. P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 41) and later, in early post-dynastic times, Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phug (ca. 976-1060 A.D.); he was from Nyams dGa'-mo (mKhas pa'i dga' ston 474.10; BA Roerich 87; others say from gTsang-rong; gTer ston lo rgyus 24b4-5) which is in sKyid-smad (in the area of Bur (= present-day Ra-stod), see Eimer 1979: 274; a [s]Nyams is also reistered for the neighbouring gNam district; below fn. 694, Part I: Fig. 68a,b). A main settlement of the clan in the imperial period was in lower sTod-lung (cf. the imperial dbang ri catalogue, where the area of Brang and Zhong (in sTod-lung-rda') are registered as sNa-nam territory; mKhas pa'i dga' ston 187.3). On the other hand, the sNa-nam is listed as the lineage of the commander (ru'i dma gnpo) of Upper dBu-lu (see lDe'u 2 261.4-5); perhaps an even older connection is the presence of the lineage in Pa-snam (the name itself is derived from the Pa-tshab and sNa-nam clans) of gTsang. A branche is inter alia also registered for mDo-khams; cf. gTer ston lo rgyus 37b6-38a1. There is no concrete indication in the sources that the sNa-nam branch of Bla-ma Zhang's paternal family occupied any local aristocratic position in this area at the time in question (see also Martin 2000: 45), aside from the reference regarding Bla-ma Zhang's origin from a rJe'u (> rje bo or noble, lord) clan (lHo rong chos 'byung 181).*  

* It is noteworthy that the sNa-nam clan was also involved in the history of the ruling family of 'Bri-gung, i.e. the sKyur-ri (cf. 'Bri gung gdan rabs III 65). The ancestral mother was considered a lady of sNa-nam (from a branch in the gZho-rong valley of dBu-ru stod?; see above), who was embodied in the chos skyong A-pyi, the powerful 'Bri-gung Iha-mo medium; cf. TPS Tucci 630; lHo rong chos 'byung 403-04; Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III 47,2. Finally, the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshags-pa Chos kyi dpal-bzang-po (1384-1415 A.D.) too stemmed from the sNa-nam Zhang clan (a subline from rKong-po, evidently; cf. e.g. mKhas pa'i dga' ston 992; DMB I 481-83; Mig 'byed 'od stong 63a4-b5).  

12 Tsha-ba-gru, an ancient toponym, designates a small stretch of land located in Tshal Gung-thang, situated at the foot of Mt Tshan-dan-rig (see Map 1b.2). According to the locals, the birthplace – today marked by a white stone in a field close to lCags-grong village (cf. Fig. 31 of App. IV) – was more precisely the house of the mother, which seems to indicate a type of uxorilocal residence rule, according to which the parents lived in the paternal household of the mother. Bla-ma Zhang calls his birthplace b'Tsan-bangs-sa'i Tsha-ba-gru (gYal blon ma, in ZhK 214.4; in dBu-gos 'dod re skong ma'i lo rgyus and in dBu-gos 'dod re skong ma'i 'geral ba 534.4-5; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 2a1-2), which in this context would seem to mean: Tsha-ba-gru, the "place [i.e. meeting point] between the king and the people," in other words "a royal site" – either alluding to the presence of a royal residence formerly situated at this site or else understood as a prophecy. This text and the information in his rNam thar mdo bsldus (ZhK III (KA) 245b3-4) thus dovetail when it is maintained that Zhang is called a brtsyad po, (a petty) "king" or stems from a rje rigs. Among the comparative sources 'Brug pa chos 'byung 392.11 gives the form lHa-sa'i Tsha-ba-gru; lHo rong chos 'byung 181.15 has Ngan-lam Tsha-ba-gru (Tsha-ba-gru of the Ngan-lam region or district); * bKa' brgyud chos 'byung 65a3 has Gung-thang Tsha-ba-gru, and Blon po bk'i thang yig 521.19-21: dBu-ru Tsha-ba-gru. These are vacillating attempts which evidently bespeak different stages in the toponymic specification of the area.

Another reading of Tsha-ba-gru, reflecting an event prior to the birth of Bla-ma Zhang, is reported by Rva lo tsa ba (rnam thar 309.10-17), mentioning that a female manifestation of a Yum rDo-rje Ro-lang-ma (Vajravetali) called 'Od-zer "bum-me came from Tsha-ba-gru of sKyur-shod. The same place-name is also documented from the celebrated narrative in b'Tsun mo bka' thang (Chap. 9-10), which is related to the Vairocana exile story. Here it is recounted
located in sKyid-shod.\textsuperscript{13} His father was [called] rDo-rje sems-[d]pa\textsuperscript{14} and his mother Mang-skyid.\textsuperscript{15} He was born in autumn, on the fourth day of the middle autumn month [= eighth lunar Hor how the king, Khris-rong Ide-btsan, while pursuing the master, made a halt in Tsha-ba-gru, at a point where his horse became exhausted and “hot” (ngal ga mug tsha), hence the place was named Tsha-ba-gru, “the corner where [the horse] got hot.” Evidently, this reflects an attempt at popular etymology of an original old place name. Still it cannot be excluded that Tsha-ba-gru served as a model for the Tsha-ba-rong, the place of exile in the Vairocana myth (see Bai ro’i rnam thar; Padma bka’ thang, Chap. 83, etc.). This story underwent different adaptations throughout history, one version retaining the possibly original reading of Tsha-ba-gru, in the vicinity of lHa-sa and sKyid-chu (geographically making sense), whereas another version relegated the place of refuge to Eastern Tibet, a toponym transmitted especially in the rNyung-ma tradition. The latter became the official version and [s]Kyid-shod Tsha-ba-gru became obsolete.

\textsuperscript{13} sKyid-shod in this form is not reported in the Dunhuang materials, but \textit{grosso modo} corresponds to the area which in the dynastic time was referred to as (upper and lower) [s]Kyi, an area – along both banks of the sKyid-[d]-chu river – which stretched approximately from Mal-[‘]gro in the north to the rtTsang-po river in the south (cf. Introduction: Map 1). The entire area is divided into Upper and Lower (stod, smad) sKyid-shod, of which Bla-ma Zhang eventually became ruler (bdag pa); cf. e.g. Deb dmar gsar 59b (= Tucci 1972: 194). The area of lHa-sa is often described as the centre (mthil) of sKyid-shod (cf. Ka khol ma 201; DL4 23b3), a designation relating to the position of the lHa-sa Joghang as the heart of the lHa-sa Mandala Zone (the latter refers approximately to the section between lower sTod-lung and Ba-lam; see App. IV). This middle section of sKyid-shod was later the core territory of the sNe’u-pa (15th cent.) and especially of the sKyid-shod sde pa (from the mid-16th century) with its seat at (Ba-lam) bDe-chen-rtse rdzong, also called sKyid-shod rdzong. For a brief discussion of the history of this key district or region of Upper and Lower sKyid[d], where a large number of dynastic places are located, see Introduction: Chap. 4.

\textsuperscript{14} Deb sngon 832.16 and ZhK III (KA) 245b: sngags pa [nying ma pa]: rDo-rje sems-dpa’, a Tantric lay-practitioner. On one point of Zhang’s writings there is mention of his own iasha bo (nephew) brTson-grus seng-ge which refers to a son of one of his brothers and sisters. Zhang rnam thar zin bris 2a4–b3, 31a1–2 speaks of an elder brother called Zhang sNgag-po (rNam thar mdor bsdus (in ZhK III 246a5): Zhang-sag) and a younger one, as well as a sister, Zhang lcam-spun by name.

\textsuperscript{15} She was a former nun; together with an elder brother she taught him to read and write (BA Roerich 712; Martin 1992: 251; Martin 2000: 46). Mar-lung, in his biography (70a1), maintains that Zhang’s mother was Shud-mo-bza’ Mang-skyid, indicating that she evidently was of the Shud-phu clan, an imperial clan associated with the area of lHo-brag in southern Central Tibet. Cf. also Zhang rnam thar zin bris 2a3–3a5. Conversely, bKa’ brgyud chos ’byung 65a2–3 and Mig ’byed ’od stong 68a6 merely purport she was a Jo gya-yag-[= gyog]-mo or a maid of a local lord. A genealogical account of the Shud-phu is offered in the rnam thar of the Tsong-kha-pa teacher Shud-phu Phyag-rdor-bu Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan (1326–1402) which starts with the story of the chos bloṅ Shud-phu dPal gyi seng-ge (late 8th cent.). The original home of the Shud-phu (orig. spell. Shul-phul) appears to have been in Yar-’brog (where the ancestor described as the younger brother of gNya’-khris btsan-po arrived to become the Yar-’brog dgra lha), later rTams-shul (south-west of Yar-lung) became a main territory of the Shud-phu-pha where they won a reputation by disseminating specific esoteric tantric cycles. In the course of the khang log clan rebellion of the 10th cent., the local rule or rje’i dpam tshan of rTams-shul was established by a member of the Shud-phu (cf. IHo brag grub chen rnam thar 648.1–5). As a place-name Shud-[phu/bu] appears among other things in the context of the foundation of the Grva-thang vihāra, where it is said that the temple was erected at the border of sNa and Shud (cf. BA Roerich 77, 96); in the period around 1045 A.D. a conflict
month] of the female Water-Rabbit year [1123 A.D.][16] accompanied by the unusual signs which follow the birth of an extraordinary personage. Birth name: Dar-ma-grags [* Dharma-Kirti]. The grub thob Ma-jo dar-ma became his teacher; later the roles were turned around, when the latter requested teachings. So Ma-jo dar-ma was both teacher and disciple.17 [Dar-ma-grags] displayed unusual faculties from earliest childhood; being capable of circumambulating receptacles, reading holy scriptures, being instantly knowledgeable about the Buddhist sciences as well as behaving compassionately towards [fellow] living beings. He e.g. erected a seat when playing with his comrades, from which he preached the dharma.18 From the age of seven [i.e. ca. 1129-30 A.D.], he began his studies in the presence of the bla ma rNgog-pa19 and Sam-bu lo tsā ba etc. [8a] and brought the studies of the Buddhist sciences. Prajñāpāramitā and Pramāṇa to perfection. In fact, he turned into a [true] Lion of Speech (vādisimha).20

Provoked by clashes with his relatives and urged by temporary circumstances, etc. he took recourse to exhort mantra as well as to sorcery, and he proved successful in applying subjugating direct action of black magic against [those] evil antagonists. [Having moved to] Khams,21 he accepted

raged between sNa and Shud. See rNam thar rgyas pa (Eimer 1979: 240); Lam rim bla ma bhrgyud rnam thar 184. sNa probably means here the land of the Zhang sNa-nam clan to whom allegedly the Grva country was conferred in dynastic times. The same is said of the Shud-phu clan too (see below fn. 423). The common appearance of the two clans (behind Zhang’s parents) in Grva, an area which had (and still has) close ties with Tshal Gung-thang, suggests that there may have existed an earlier tradition of (affinal) relationships between the two lineages.

Although the sources are not entirely clear, according to Zhang rnam thar zin bris 2a±b3, 31a±12. Zhang had both an elder and younger brother, the elder was called Zhang sNag-po (albeit snag generally alludes to a relative on his mother’s side; a half-brother?) as well as a sister (see previous note).

16 It corresponds to ca. 27. 08. 1123 A.D. of the Western calender. bKa’ bhrgyudchos ’byung 65a3 has 1122.

17 He belonged to the group of former colleagues of Zhang’s mother (Martin, op. cit.). According to the rNam thar mdor bsdus (ZKh III 245b5–246a1), the “omniscient Ma-jo dar-ma” from Shol-pa’i-ri (?) advised the htsun ma Mang-skid to marry: it would be of great merit. He is repeatedly mentioned by Zhang. also in the context of later events. In addition, rJe’u-ston (Bye’u ston-pa) and slob dpon gShen ( = Ngam-shod gShen-pa rdO-rje seng-gz? below fn. 55) are listed among the earliest teachers of the young Zhang. See his biographical Shes rab grub ma (in bKa’ thor bu 12); Deh sngon 833.6–7. dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i grel ba, passim. lists more than 30 teachers of Zhang in the period before his ordination in the late 1140’s. See Part II: App. V, Table 4.

18 Cf. also Zhang rnam thar zin bris 3a3f. No doubt, an event intended to indicate that he would grow up to become a great religious leader and establish his own seat. We find this narrative element also in a number of other masters’ hagiographies. See e.g. the story of the young gYa’-bzung-pa (later a disciple of Zhang), CFS Gyalbo et al. 68.

19 Other sources claim that he had reached the age of 11 when he came to the teacher rNgog, i.e. rNgog mdO-sde. (one of his six root teachers, cf. fn. 56 below) from whom he heard the cycles of Hevajra, Gur (= Gur mgon, Pañjaramahākāla) and Mahāmāyā etc. (Deh sngon 833.8; BA Roerich 712; cf. more detailed Zhang rnam thar zin bris 6b3f.; ‘Brug pa chos ’byung 392; bKa’ ’thor bu 219.6). On rNgog mdO-sde (1078–1154 / 1090–1166 A.D.), a son of rNgog-ston Chos-sku rdo-rje (1036–1102 A.D.) and sPa-mo Chos-smon (Pa-bza’ Chos-tsho, sBa-mo [i.e. lady of the sBa clan] Chos-brtson) and an incarnation of sBug Ye-rgyal (var. Yug Yo-rgyal) of La-stod, see lHo rong chos ’byung 53f.: ‘Brug pa chos ’byung 345.19f.; BA Roerich: 406–413 et passim; further Ming mdcod 468–69; concerning Zhang’s teacher, lHo rong chos ’byung 183.16 gives slob dpon rNgog and adds the gloss: Jo-bo Thogs-med grags-pa (1120–1156 A.D.) who elsewhere is reported as the (second) son of mdO-sde (lHo rong chos ’byung 54, 55; BA Roerich 412–13). On fol. 42b infra, he is called rNgog-ston; in bKa’ thor bu 428.4 the root teacher is called rNgog sToddungs-pa.

20 He learned Abhidharma, Nyāya etc. (BA Roerich 712). More precisely, from bSam-bu lo tsā ba he learned the Pramāṇaviniścaya and the Nyāya-hindu (see bKa’ thor bu 13; see also ibid. 222, 429; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 7b3–5).

21 For Bla-ma Zhang’s stint eastwards, following the demise of his parents, cf. lHo rong chos ’byung 184.4f. It
the vow [of upholding] the five kinds of perpetual disciplinary rules (brtan [= gtan] khrims lnga) from ācārya Blo-bstan [= brtan].\textsuperscript{22} Age 24 [i.e. ca. 1146–47 A.D.] in a dream he experienced how blood profusely dripped from his nose, from which a long animal resembling a snake emerged, and which then moved towards the west. It declared that it would accompany him for a long time. When Bla-ma Zhang then, occasioned by the circumstance that a friend could not pay the price of a mdzo, experienced an intense feeling of renunciation, he destroyed the devices for black magic and removed the substance of blood. His disciples declared that he was insane and that he could not do such a thing.\textsuperscript{23}

At the age of 26 [i.e. ca. 1148 A.D.], he developed an intense faith after having studied mDo dKon [mchog] brtsegs [pa] (Ratnakūṭasūtra) and he took his final ordination at the feet of kalyāṇamitra mKhār-sgo-ba,\textsuperscript{24} with Grab-mkhar-ba\textsuperscript{25} as ācārya and, as secret preceptor (gsang ston) functioned 'Jang-mdō-ba of gZu,\textsuperscript{26} and he received the name brTson-’grus grags-pa [*Vīryakīrti].\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{[8b]} For one full year,\textsuperscript{28} he made the vow of sitting up straight (tsog bu) in one continuous seat session. Except for the exchange of cloth, he kept sitting [motionless] in meditation, making confession his key focal point.\textsuperscript{29} Thereafter he became the personal assistant of dPal rGva-lo chen-po\textsuperscript{30} when the should evidently be seen in connection with the skirmishes (from ca. 1143 A.D.) with some of his relatives, who became his foes and against whom he eventually practised black magic; cf. BA Roerich 712. Zhang rinam thar zin bris 9b1f. reports that he went to Khams in company of one slob dpon Ru-ston and that his family skirmishes were with Zhang sNag-po. The latter suggests that it was with his maternal nephews. This childhood or juvenile experience carries some resemblance to – or indeed may have been adapted from – the story of rJé-btsun Mi-la. Incidentally, Mi-la possibly passed away in the very same year Bla-ma Zhang was born.

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. bKa’i thob bu 13–14, 225 has slob dpon Blang-ston (Rlungs-ston in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho’s account; Ahmad 1999: 186); he took the vow at the age of 23. Zhang rinam thar zin bris 9b2–5; dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 540.3–4: age 33 (sic) he met Glang-ston; bKa’i brgyud chos ’byung 65a5: Glang-ston.

\textsuperscript{23} “The story of the nose.” For more details, see bKa’i thob bu 14.3f.; 225.5f; Zhang rinam thar zin bris 9b5–10a5.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. bKa’i thob bu 17.5: rGya-ston mKhar-mgo-ba; 231.2: mKhar-’og-pa. So also dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 540.4–5; Zhang rinam thar zin bris 12b4.

\textsuperscript{25} Cf. bKa’i thob bu 17.6; 231.2: Drab [~ Dra-ba]-mKhar-pa; bKa’i brgyud chos ’byung 65a6: Brab-mKhar-pa; IHo rong chos ’byung 184.10f.: Grags-mKhar-pa; Zhang rinam thar zin bris 12b5; so also dGa’i ldan chos ’byung 150a1. It may refer to a teacher from Grab-mkhar of Nags-shod.

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. bKa’i thob bu 17.6; 231.3: Zu [~Zur]-ljang mdo-ba; IHo rong chos ’byung 185.5: gZu-ldang mdo-pa; Deh sngom: gZung-ljang mDo-ba.

\textsuperscript{27} The full monastic ordination took place in Khams (see also Jackson 1994: 58); the exact place is not mentioned, but see below fn. 31. The year sa ’brug 1148 is erroneously given as me ’brug 1136 in dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 540.4–6.

\textsuperscript{28} The year following his ordination is given as [sa] ’brug 1148. Cf. e.g. bKa’i thob bu 18.1; 231.4; IHo rong chos ’byung 185.6.

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. bKa’i thob bu 18.2; 231.6f.; IHo rong chos ’byung 185.8. The “single seat/mat or session” (stan / gdan gcig. aikāsantika) of eating only once during one day maintains a rigorous Vinaya discipline and monastic principle; cf. e.g. Jackson 1994: 70.

\textsuperscript{30} The translator dPal rGya-lo Rin-po-che (dPal-chen rGva-lo, Mi-nyag rGva-lo, rGva lo tsā ba gZhon-nu-dpal; *Kumarasri; rGa or rGya evidently toponymically reflects Xia) (1110/1114–1198/1202 A.D.), a native of Tsong-kha in mDo-smad (or rGa of mDo-khams = Xia or Tangut); he studied in India where he obtained initiations from Abhayākara-gupta and where he became the disciple of another native Xia colleague, the polylinguist [r]TsWe mi lo tsā ba Sangs-rgyas grags-pa (himself of noble Tangut descent), an important figure in the transmission of the Cakrasamvara, Kālacakra as
latter went to Sog.11 Requesting for authorisation to meditate, dPal-chen thought that he would attain the level of Heruka in this very life and he was given esoteric mantric precepts and in fact later he turned out like that, it was said. Using dust-powdered as well as painted mandala, he received empowerment and contemplated deeply after having received numerous precepts related to the six-limbed yoga (sadangayoga) [of the Kālacakra tradition] and to psychic energy (prānāyāma). Being affected by attacks of headache etc., and asking dPal-chen the reason why, he was told that it was caused by an elemental disturbance in his body. And he was told it would be better not to eat anything after he had recovered.12 Thereafter, taking recourse to these precepts, and remaining in meditative recluse in his own place, he experienced demonic magical tricks and hindrances, and since rje btsun rG[va]-lo, being far away, could not be consulted, he dispatched a letter to Mal Yer-pa,13 inquiring about the reason for these episodes. The latter wrote an instruction

well as the Māhākāla teaching cycles (mKhas pa 'i dga' stanza 530; dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 541.4–543.3; BA Roerich 469, et passim; ‘Khor lo sdom pa chos 'byung 79–80; Sperling 1994: 801f., based on the rGva lo rnam thar (known as Byang chub sams 'byong ma) written by Bla-ma Zhang himself, conserved in bKa' thor bu 360.3–392.7). He was also counted among the chief disciples of Sa-skya chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158 A.D.). rGva-lo is mostly known for the dissemination of the Māhākāla cycles, among them foremost the Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa rGva-lo-lugs and the later Tshal-lugs kyi Ye-shes mgon-po phyag-bzhi-pa which he transmitted to Zhang (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 46 [according to Rin 'byung Vol. II, 245a–253b]; Buddhist Iconography 857; Willson and Brauern 2000: 342–44. Dan cam legs bshad I 93f.). He was a teacher of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (1110–1170) and Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193); cf. BA Roerich, s.v. index. Se-mo-do and bKra-shis-[r]do at lake gNam-mtsho are given as his chief sgrub gnas sites where he stayed for seven years (Bellezza 1997: 221; BA Roerich 614). dPal rGva-lo was considered one of the nine great practitioners (sgrub pa po che dgu) during his time.

In artistic representations, rGva-lo always appears to the right of Bla-ma Zhang, which evidently attests to his preeminent position among Bla-ma Zhang's fundamental teachers. Tradition holds that rG[v]a-lo was blind – and Bla-ma Zhang gave him a jiñāna-cakṣu, the third "wisdom-eye." For this story, see e.g. Zhang rnam thar zin bris I 34a2–5. His thugs dam image was Maitreya-nātha; cf. sTag lung chos 'byung I 632. A biographical thangka of rGva-lo is reported in 'Dzam gling rgyan gcig 622. A Bla-ma dam-pa Shes-rab rdo-rje authored the rJe bla ma rGva lo tsā ha'i gdung rabs dang rnam par thar pa'i 'gso'i 'debs 'grel ba (18 fols.); cf. Dreups Catalogue 017087.

11 He met rG[v]a-lo in Sog(s). BA Roerich 713; 'Brug pa chos 'byung 393. It most probably refers to the Sog in Khams (in Nags-shod; Petech 1990a: 63; Gyurme Dorje 1998: 443, 454); the accounts in Zhang bKa' 'bum and rGyal blon ma (in bKa' thor bu 20ff, 241f.) and lHo rong chos 'byung 185 mention the places of bKog-ke'u dgon-pa (var. rKog-skye'u dgon-pa) in Sum-pa-shod, Nags-shod and Zung-mdzo-brag of Sog where Zhang stayed at the time in question and where he met Bla-ma [dPal-chen-po] (= rGva-lo). Zhang rnam thar zin bris I 14a2–20a3, the most detailed source, reports his sojourn in Khams, lasting in all seven years approx. between ca. 1145/46–1152/53), where he met one bla ma dKar-shod and proceeded to Nags-shod Grab-mkhar, subsequently to Zur-rdzong gi brag-phug of Sog, etc. On Nags-shod, see also below 57a and fn. 741.

12 Deb sngon 834.16: "he should eat bones and meat."" 13 Mal Yer-pa (also Yer-pa-ba) sMon-lam-btsan (1105–1170 A.D.)* was a leading representative of the Mar-pa bKa'-brgyud teaching tradition which was transmitted to him by his principal teacher, the Mi-la disciple 'Bri-sgom ras-pa (also called Gling-kha [-k]-ba) after the Gling-kha monastery founded by him). Among his teachers are counted rDong (= rNgog) Mu-le (of the seat of Brag-ltag of lJad in gtSang; cf. App. II) and rGva-lo. Cf. Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar, passim; Zhang rnam thar zin bris I 21b6–22a2, 30b3–32b2; lHo rong chos 'byung 159.8–15; Chos kun gsal ba'i me long 19a6–7.

Mal Yer-pa founded Yer-pa sPos-dga' (sPos-kha, sPos-dkar-dgon) (cf. Vaidurya ser po 154.12; Zur chen rnam thar 80b1–81a3: its sngon ma is dPal-ldan lha-mo Dung-skyong-ma)** and later became one of the root teachers of Zhang. He stayed in Yer-pa sPos-dga' for over 30 years until 1170). See Mal Yer pa ba rnam mthar 9b3–4; and the biography written by Zhang called bkal pa dpag med ma (bKa' thor bu bu 393.1–426.4; dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 543.3–544.4); see also lHo rong chos 'byung 159.16f.
how to eliminate these demonic obstacles," adding that if these would prove inefficient, he should at the beginning of the [coming] month come to him. Meeting him, he meditated on the precepts containing the skilful methods [once expounded by] Nāropa; that very night he personally experienced the inner heat, and he realized that he had [previously] contemplated by looking at the dharma in a reverse order, but at this junction, a sensation emerged that the nature of the mind had become settled [in him].

[9a] Practising asceticism, he for three years stayed in mountain retreat; meeting rGva-lo again, he requested for [and received] the additional set of precepts. Together with his disciple-protégé (nye gnas) Dar-ma gzhon-nu, they dedicated themselves in retreat to spiritual realization in the caves of Brag-bla-nga of mGar-rong, sKo-ba brag-phug of rJe-mo, and in mKhar-chen-brag, etc. In particular they established at the foot of 'Bri-nag-brag their main seat of meditation.\[**\]

\[**\] He must be distinguished from the even older Zhang-gtsun Yer-pa-ba Ye-shes-'bar, pupil of Atiśa, cf. e.g. hKa’ gdam chos’ byung III 94.20.

\[***\] Yer-pa sPos-dkar is situated in the Yer-pa valley (cf. lHa sa’i dgon tho 116–17), to differentiate from the sPos-dkar of Central ‘Phan-yul (north of present-day ‘Phan-po township; see fn. 835).

\[1\] Cf. also Zhang rnam thar zin bris 22a2–3; hRo rong chos’ byung 163.9f.

\[2\] For details on the incidents taking place between the first meeting with rGva-lo and the first encounter with Mal Yer-pa (rje Yer-pa-ba) dated to ca. 1151 A.D., see Mal Yer-pa ba rnam thar 6a7f.; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 22a3–25b6; hRo rong chos’ byung 185.10–187.19. During this period: return to dBu with sojourns in ‘Gar-grong dgon-pa (‘Gar [- mGar]-rong dgon-pa) and the places of Bya[n]-mkhar (see below) (where he had his “demonic experience” (of a veneral disease) and wherefrom he sought contact with Mal Yer-pa; cf. Ahmad 1999: 186). ‘Gar-grong most probably refers to the site of the mGar-grong lha-khang located in gNam of sKyid-smad (see below fn. 694). Thereupon he came to lHa-lung (probably lHa-lung of sGrags, but there are also other candidates, e.g. lHa-lung in the lHa-sa valley; Cho-'phel 2004: 56), where he encountered three hungry wolves; lastly, in the hermitages of sTag-lung (rTag-lung or rDzong-lung; in Kong-po? BA Roerich 325. cf. fn. 85 below), gY-a-lung (BA Roerich 773; = g.Ya’-ma-ling? north of sBam-yas mChims-phu; dBu gtsang gnas yig 156; Dowman 1996: 217–218) and rDza-lung (or rDzong-lung; in Kong-po? BA Roerich 545). Cf. also hKa’ thor bu 24, 29, 253–254.

\[3\] In ‘Ger-rdzongl-brag [hRo rong chos’ byung 189.7; hKa’ thor bu 30.3, 244.1,261.1; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 33b4]; from there he continued to Mal-gro – meeting rje Yer-pa-ba – and then he proceeded to Cha’i/Phya’i dgon (to meet rje ‘Ol-k[h]a-ba; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 28a2–4; hRo rong chos’ byung, op. cit.; hKa’ thor bu 258.3). Cha, the place of the Cha’i dgon, most probably refers to the Cha-phu Brag-Sog-dgon, founded in the 11th century by the Klunes disciple Sākya dbang-phyug. Vaidūrya ser po 155.8; dBu gsam ston dbang 601.20; HSLG Vol. 1: 52. The district, which is listed as one of the m sde units of the Tshal-pa khris skor (below fn. 402) is situated south-east of gDa’-ldan monastery (cf. e.g. HSLG Vol 1: 70).

\[4\] On Dar-ma gzhon-nu, see below fn. 357.

\[5\] mKhar-chen brag[-phug] (also Brag-phug Kha-chen) is an alternative name of the Guru Rinpoche cave of rDzong-khangs-phug (alias rDzong sKu-’bum) in central sGrags (on this site, see Dowman 1996: 207, 213f.; Cho-’phel 2002: 17, 22); however, according to the present context, the mKhar-chen brag[-phug] of the Zhang biographies appears rather to be located in the Bya[n]-mkhar area (note 40). See rGyal blon ma in Zhang hKa’ tham I 246.5-6; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 21a3–6, 24a1–2, 27b4-3; hRo rong chos’ byung 187.14. Inga-rong refers to the InGa Valley in the central sGrags area. Finally, sKo-ba-brag is a locale in sTod-lung (below fol. 23a). ‘Bri-nag-brag-phug, the “Cave of the Black ‘Bri,” seems to correspond to the hermitage of ‘Be-nag gi brag-phug of Chu-len, also mentioned as Bya-mkhar ‘Bhe-nag Brag-phug; see rGyal blon ma 247.3, 207.5; hRo rong chos’ byung 187.15; Zhi II 16.5: “Bennag. According to the locals of Gung-thang, it represents one of a number of local sgrub gnas or dbyen gnas ri khrod in the mountainous area around Byang-mkhar, south of Gung-thang. From here paths lead to sGrags, where further sgrub gnas or hermitages of Bla-ma Zhang are situated, such as g.Yu-brag and bZang-yul Mon-gdong (fn. 62). Deb sngon 835.7: he (and his assistant) stayed in ‘Brong-bu and other places. On ’Brong-bu, see below fns. 51, 62.
The [local] gzhi bdag of lHa-sa, Grib and of this very site [i.e. 'Bri-nag-brag] displayed magic, demonic attacks, [yet the two were able] to suppress and bind these by oath. Later, Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma [adhering to the local gzhi bdag group of Bya-mkhar]" handed over to him the sgrub gnas [site of] of Bya-mkhar [as a token of submission after having been subdued]." mGon-po Beng-dmar-can41 manifested his body directly [in front of Zhang], and being urged to work extensively for the welfare of living beings, he promised to fulfill his commitment, wherefore the place was called mGon-zhal-stengs.42 Poisonous snakes displaying magic attacks emerged and fears of baneful halitosis [issuing from these creatures] were rampant. [They] made prayers to their yi dam, wherefore dPal rG[va]-lo and other bla ma arrived in the sky above them and spoke the following words:43

"Son! The nature of the mind is free from fixed foundation Generate persistently the ultimate meaning of non-arising (skyed) If one does not cut the concepts of ego-clinging (atmagraha) Even beholding the countenance of the Buddha of the three times Will not be beneficial to your mind."

They started to dance ecstatically. All the boulders were full of their foot-prints and after a particular intent was born in him, the upper and lower part of the cliffs were reverted. [9b] Due to the fact that the local gzhi bdag prayed that these foot-prints be kept as objects of worship [perpetually],44 it was prophesied that this very site presently known as Zhabs-rjes 'Gro-don-ma,'
would again be found by a [Tshal-pa] lineage-holder in the future. It was [in fact] discovered by the 10th throne-holder Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po (see infra), yet there is also a tradition saying that its discovery was made by the 11th throne-holder. 46

At the age of 33 [i.e. 1155–56 A.D.], Zhang met the slob dpon rin po che sGom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po [1116–1169 A.D.] 47 and requesting his precepts, [Zhang] received the Mahāmudrā cycle of IHan cig skyes sbyor. 48 Due to a karman-connection from previous lives [this meeting prompted] that his knowledge [and understanding] overflowed from within to become infinite cycle of snying-po would again be found by a [Tshal-pa] lineage-holder in the present-day location.

46 In the present version Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po is reckoned as the 11th gdan sa ba (below 18a).
47 The meeting with Dvags-sgom, sGam-po-pa’s nephew (and subsequently with Yer-pa-ba) took place in IHa-lung. Cf. rGyal blon ma 270.4f.; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 38b5f.; IHo rong chos ’byung 190–91. dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba 549.1f.: IHa-lung Brag-ral (= ’Tshur IHa-lung Brag-ral; Tshal rnam 23a1). IHa-lung here refers to the IHa-lung monastery of mTshur in sTod-lung* founded by Dvags-sgom in the year following sGam-po-pa’s death (1153) after having been invited by gnas brtan Shes-brag-grags; cf. IHo rong chos ’byung 178.13; BA Roerich 464; mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 801.15; mTshur phu dkar chag 670–71. sGom-tshul had been born in gNyab into the clan of sNyii-ba (the dominant lineage of Dvags-Iha sgam-po; see Sørensen 2007b). According to an entry Deb sgon (657f.; BA Roerich 558), it was perhaps not the first meeting with Zhang Sum-thog-pa (see Introduction: Chap. 6.1, fn. 16). After the founding of IHa-lung, sGom-tshul arrived in IHa-sa, where he took upon himself the responsibility for the restoration of the dilapidated Jo-khang, in around late 1160’s. He simultaneously served as mediator in the ongoing quarrels which prevailed between the adherents and patrons of the four communities (tsha, sde ba) which vied for supremacy in dBu at that time, i.e. of the Klku-mes, rBa, ’Bring and Rag-shi factions (mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 448, 801: sGam po’i rnam thar I 267.5f.; Dung-dkar 1991: 33f.; HSLG Vol. 6: 184–85). To this end, he evidently worked closely together with the Kha-rag gNyos clan, which at that time was highly influential in the lower sKyid-shod region, foremost with gNyos Grags-pa-dpal, who at that time had risen to become bdag po of ’Bring mtsho [-tsho] stod-smad, i.e. lord and patron of the upper and lower ’Bring tsha communities; cf. Kha rag gNyos kyi gdung rabs 24–25 (cf. App. II: Chap. 1 and Table V.7). Dvags-sgom later entrusted Zhang Rin-po-che with the care of IHa-sa; cf. mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 448.16–19; 801.15–20; Bla ma Dvags po sgom pa’i rnam thar (in ZhK I 352.4–360.3 = H 35a5–38a5 (= III KA 71a4–76a2); dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba 549.4. See also Dung-dkar’s notes in Deb dmam 400. Chapel (1982: 19) purports that the renovation, following the sde bzhis warring conflict of the IHa-sa vihāra, was completed in 1167 (uncertain upon which source this is based). From sGom-tshul, Bla-ma Zhang mainly received Mahāmudrā and Na ro chos drug. A personally blessed (phyag nas ma) hi statue of sGom-tshul allegedly was raised by Bla-ma Zhang called Khri-gnon lha-rje and installed in the Dvags-lha sgam-po hermitage; cf. Dvags lha sgom po’i gnas yig 38a4.

This circumstance served as a precursor for the immediately following foundations of Tshal and Gung-thang – (as ritual support for the IHa-ltan Jo-bo gnyis). See also Introduction and Part II: App. II. Dvags-sgom himself later left IHa-sa, in order to serve as mediator and peacemaker, most regularly in Yar-’brog. He was finally active for one year in mGar-phug [in ‘Ol-kha, before he went into retreat at Dvags-lha sgam-po where he finally passed away (1169 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 465. On his life, see also IHo rong chos ’byung 177.11–180.12. Dvags-sgom was considered a manifestation of the dynastic saint gNyags-ban Kūmarā; Blon po bka’ thang yig 522.8–10; Sørensen 2007b.

IIHa-lung (IHa-lung-nang; geogr. location 29°46'N 90°39'W; Xizang Dimenchi 198a) loc. in present-day sNa-mkhar sngan.

48 The celebrated Mahāmudrā text cycle IHan cig skyes sbyor is one of the key cycles of the bKa’-brgyud-pa. It was composed by sGam-po-pa and known as Dvags-po’s realization teachings (rtogs chos). It is found in sGam-po-pa’s Collected Writings (Vol. 1: 219–224).
was advised to focus one-pointedly on the conceptualizing mind as his object of attention and he should meditate persistently, whereupon an insight would be born in him in which the ultimate nature of non-arising (skye med, ajàta, *anutpàdà), wherefore he (henceforth) was known as sKye-med Zhang.\[10a\] He had many similar experiences of progress in his spiritual realization. He met bla ma 'Ol-kha-ba\[50\] and an unfeigned bodhicitta was born in him.

\[10a\] In accordance with the prophecies uttered by bla ma rG\[v\]a-lo etc. that he in the future would work for the welfare of the Buddhist Teaching and for the living beings, and that he would render various forms of ritual services to the statues of the IHa-ldan Jo[-bo] [Brothers, set up in Ra-sa 'PhruI-snang and Ra-mo-che], [Zhang and his disciple then] intended to erect Gung-thang dPal gyi gtsug-lag-khang.\[51\] His assistant Dar-ma gzhon-nu rode a white mare (rta rgod ma dkar...)

\[49\] See also IHo rong chos 'byung 191; for the three aspects of any entity or norm of existence (dharmu, samskrtu), and the theory of emptiness, see e.g. Nágàjñu’s basic treatise Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā Chap. VII, et passim.

\[50\] I.e. Zhang ”[endowed with the insight that all entities or concepts are] unoriginated.” For Bla-ma Zhang’s experience of the unborn [state of phenomena] or non-origination, see bKa’ thur bo 41–43; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 36–41; ‘Brug pa’i chos ‘byung 394. A namesake is registered called Zhang sKye-med (also sKye-med Jo-gdan – not identical with Bla-ma Zhang) was representative of a disciple lineage that arguably settled in Lung-nag, a valley to the south-west of Shel-dkar, headed by the Zhi byed practitioner sKam Ye-shes rgyal-mthsan; cf. Myung chos ‘byung 65.

\[51\] I.e. the yogin ‘Ol-kha-ba Grol-sgom Chos-gyung (1103–1199 A.D.), pupil of Ba-rn lo tsä ba (1040–1111), sGam-po-pa and rGva-lo. BA Roerich 468–469, 461–462. rGva-lo and ‘Ol-kha-ba were among the first yogins, who practised on Se-mo-do (Srin-mo-do), the island and heart-land of gNam-mtsho (Bellezza 1997: 159f.). Zhang met ‘Ol-kha-ba in Cha’i dgon (above fn. 36). Deb sgon speaks of Phya-yul (BA Roerich 469; Mar lung rnam thar 725b: Phya’i dgon). dGos ‘dod re skong ma’i ‘greI ba 544.4–545.6 reads ‘Ol-dga’ Rin-brtson (= Rin-chen brtson-’grus). The relevant chronology in IHo rong chos ‘byung 191.17–192.17: From the age of 36 (i.e. post 1158 A.D.), Zhang visited and meditated at the following locations: IHa-lang. ‘Brong-bu lKug-pa, Ngar-phug, bZang-yul [Mon-gdong], sPos-dkar (i.e. Yer-pa sPos-dga’ [est. by Mal Yer-pa, Vaidûrya ser po 154; below fol. 51b]), IHa-sa (meeting with rJe sGom-tshul), and subsequently with ‘Bhe’-ro (= Be-ro-ba) (?; cf. rGyal blon ma 284.1–2, )’Brong-bu’ sPyi (= Phyi)-khungs (Zhang consecrated here a mchod rten and a mgon khang; below fn. 62). [Thul gyi] Brag-sngon (= bSsam-yas Brag-sngon? see bKa’ thur bo 601.1) (where he composed his “Great Seal Instructions” and the IHan cig skyes pa don gyi [b]stdod pa; cf. rGyal blon ma 284.6–7; and also Martin 1992: 254, 304); foundation of the g.Yu-brag gi ri-khorod (in sGrags), again practice in sPos-dkar and g.Yu-brag (where he founded a sgom grva); after a sojourn in Ngar-phug (in sGrags) he founded Tshal Yang-dgon. See also rGyal blon ma 274–290; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 45f.

\[52\] Tradition holds that Zhang’s temple on the “Celestial Plain” (Gung-thang)* was erected to serve as a supportive monastery rendering ritual and cultic service to the main temple of Ra-sa situated across sKyid-chu river (cf. IHa ldan dkar chag 34); Zhang rnam thar zin bris 46b3f., 53b2–3; mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 808.19–21 states that the prophecy for building the temple came from rJe [Dvags-po] sGom-tshul who had previously pronounced the advice to erect the Yang-dgon monastery in Tshal (below 14b). The local people maintain – evidently referring to a so-called popular etymology story – that the name was given (or rather inspired) by Mi-la ras-pa, who himself was known as Gung-thang-
mo) and crossing the territory [searching for a suitable site], thought to himself that while they were entertaining great designs for establishing this site they did not have any provisions at all [for its completion]. At that moment the mare galloped [the distance covering] half a day's ride, which was setting an auspicious omen [for its erection]. They erected an [portrait] image ('dra 'bag) [i.e. simulacrum] of Zhang himself at Bya-mkhar, the sgrub gnas [i.e. which had been previously tendered to him by Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma] as a substitute. Later it spoke spontaneously three times. The image [or effigy-mask] was considered indistinguishable [in terms of resemblance] from [the real] 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che."

Furthermore, 'Gro-mgon rin po che had six root teachers such as bla ma Bai-ro and Ngam-shod smad-pa,\textsuperscript{54} pa, referring to Gung-thang of Mang-yul.\textsuperscript{**} The original name of the [IHa-sa] Gung-thang is said to have been [IHa-sa] 'Bum-thang (allegedly diff. from sKu-'bum-thang in IHa-sa; cf. e.g. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 235-6); IHa-sa Burn-thang as toponym e.g. corroborated in Bon sources; cf. Don-grub IHa-rgyal 2000: 434) and the story goes that during a ritual, in the course of which a vase filled with relics was buried, Bla-ma Zhang placed his cloth as relic too, one tiny fragment (Tib. tshal) of which was carried by the wind and brought to the later Tshal, hence the name. A slightly different version of the latter popular story is retained in DL12 650; cf. also Chos-'phel phel 2004c: 78; App. IV: Chap. 3.2.1.

* In the Dunhuang materials Gung-dang as epithet is repeatedly registered (cf. PT 1038, 1260, 1287; Macdonald 1971: 343-44) carrying the meaning “Celestial Plain,” a kenning for “godly abode” or IHa-yul, as opposed to M[yi]-yul, the land of humans.  

The white mare of the attendant seems to be a manifestation of one of the female protectors of the future monastery and temple of Tshal Gung-thang. The divine animal is inter alia known by name as the mount of rDo-rje dpal-mo-che alias rDo-rje Bod-khams-skjong, the leader of the four great sMan-mo to which also sMan-gcig-ma belongs (fn. 39). They count among the followers of the Tshal protectress rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma who for her part appears as an acolyte in the entourage of dpal-lidan Iha-mo dMag-zor-ma. The latter is also worshipped in Tshal Yang-dgon and is considered the mother of the Gung-thang Iha-mo 'Dod-khams dBang-phug-yug-ma (see below fols. 61a, 66a, 69a; fn. 780; App. IV).

\textsuperscript{53} I.e. dNgul-chu Be-ro-ba, the Indian yogi Vairocana-vartula/s-raksita/s-vajra, a pupil of Surapāla (cf. BA Roerich 844-47). Zhang met him in the early 1160's (perhaps already as early as late 1150's) where he requested Dakrakasamvara initiations and precepts related to the Virūpa-related dohās (rGyal blon ma 284.1–2; dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 546.1–6; Martin 1992: 254). According to Martin's calculation, shortly afterwards Zhang composed in Thul gyi Brag-snong (above fn. 51) his celebrated Great Seal Summa or Instructions, “Path of Ultimate Profundity” (Martin, op. cit., ibid.). He descended from Dākṣiṇa Kośāla (Oriisa). His biography (called Bla ma rnal 'byor pa) was written by Bla-ma Zhang. A study of this biography of the ascetic-cum-alchemist (> mercury, pārada, dngul chu) has recently been conducted by K. Schaeffer 2000, where questions as to the length of his sojourn and other chronological irregularities of his life are addressed. Cf. also Jackson, 1993: 58–59.

\textsuperscript{54} I.e. Ngam-shod gShen-pa rDo-rje seng-ge of 'On, a student of Sa-skya chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158 A.D.); cf. Deb dmar 242–43. He is classified in the sources as the root bla ma through whom Zhang received all textual traditions. Deb dmar 127.16; Jackson 1994: 59. He seems to be identical with gShen-dgon (~ -sgom) dkar-ba (i.e. slob dpon gShen') above fn. 17) who is listed among the disciples of Phag-mo gru-pa. His short biography written by Zhang is called Gang zhih nyz ma ma. Cf. also dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 546.6; IHa rong chos 'byung 321.12; Deb sngon 664.3. It says he was of the gShen clan and named rDo-rje dbang-phug-yug. He founded the monastery of Tsa'i-nang, whereupon he became known as Ngam-shod smad-pa (the one of Lower Ngam-shod; on this toponym, see below fn. 597). It is also reported that he held the see of Phug-mo-chem and erected the Grong-chung sKang-kha'i lha khang. He had numerous disciples, among them Zhang mTshal-pa; cf. Deb sngon 665.14-16. He is evidently also identical with the Bla-ma gShen who elsewhere in the Deb sngon as mentioned as a holder of Zhi hved precepts (in the tradition of sKam Ye-shes rgyal-mishan, Kollmar-Paulenz 1993, s.v. index) which he taught to sKye-med Zhang (= Zhang Tshal-pa, above fol. 9b); cf. BA Roerich 900.
etc., and 32 [general or] contemporary tea~hers.' From the six [root] teachers such as rG[v]a-lo etc. he received precepts and a broad range of learning of the basic treatises [of the bKa’-brgyud-pa, as well as] experienced direct realization [in his spiritual training]. The transmission from these [six teachers] constitutes the Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud, and the sources and origin of this tradition will briefly be presented below.

[B] [The Inner Biography]57

At the point when the foundations were being laid for the erection of Gung-thang dPal gyi gtsug-lag-khang, innumerable bla ma of the transmission lineage such as Nāgārjuna, father and son, surrounded by the Dharmakāya Samantabhadra with consort [Father and Mother], and four other classes, father and mother, tendered prophecies about the dissemination of the Teaching concerning the Transmission of Accomplishment and offered blessings upon the site. When, as main basis of realization, the Mahābodhi receptacle was erected, [10b] the Seven successive Sugata Buddhas [of this aeon] such as Vipaśyin etc., the Medicine Sugata along with his retinue strewed flowers and made prophecies that in the future the holder of the Transmission lineage of Accomplishment and holders of the Teaching of the pure moral discipline would come here. Materials for [the construction of] the temple and statues were provided without limit by the [local] Iha, klu, gnod sbyin etc., yet having foremost in mind the welfare of others, [provident] treasuries were hidden, an inexhaustible resource of merits for other converts [in the future]. Without shunning defamation etc. from others, by multifarious peaceful and wrathful means he assembled materials [for its erection]. Later 'Gro-mgon swore that in whatever way others look at [the unusual belligerent behaviour] of his, still if [this amassing of riches] should prove to be for his own sake only, they could kill him, he assured.

In brief, although his actions were in conformity with the view of converts of low merit [i.e. outwardly utterly mundane], still they were intrinsically beyond the [human] sphere of definition.

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56 Elsewhere the total number of his teachers amounts to figures spanning from 36 until 45; cf. mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 807; Deb dmar 127; brGyud pa sna thogs kyi tho byang and rTsa ba ’i bla ma drug gi gsol ’debs, in bKa’ thor hu 426–433, 445–447). In the list of the six risa ba ’i bla ma given on fol. 59a below Ngam-shod is not included. Here the six are: rje bitsun rGva lo ba, Dvags-[b]sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po. Mal Yer-pa-ba, Bla-ma rNgog-pa. Bla-ma ‘Ol-kha-ba and Bla-ma Bai-ro-ba. In Deb dmar 127.9–16 (Jackson 1994: 59) and dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba passim the six are:
1. rGva-lo (the disciple of rTsa-mi lo tsā ba and Abhyakāra[gupta], cf. above fn. 30, he is classified as the one by whom Zhang was directly instructed);
2. Mal Yer-pa (through whom the demonic obstacles were removed, see above), disciple of Gling-kha-pa.
3. ‘Ol-kha-ba, the disciple of Ba-ri lo tsā ba (through whom the relative bodhicitta was enhanced).
4. Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims (through whom Zhang realized the ultimate bodhicitta).
5. Grub thob Be-ro-tsa-na, the Zu-ra pāla disciple and
6. Ngam-shod gShen-pa [rDo-rje]; cf. also mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 807; Vaidīrya ser po 151.

The list in bKa’ thor hu (op. cit.) includes also bSam[-bu] lo [tsā ba] and rJe-btsun Phug-po-che-ba (= Phug-pa-ba? BA Roerich 442). For a full list of Zhang teachers, see Part II: App. V. Table 4 below.

57 ’Hro rong chos ‘byung 194.1–196.1
58 The peaceful and wrathful means, i.e. pacification (zhi ba, śānti), and forcefulness (drag po, abhicāra) are two of the four enlightened activities.
[i.e. comprehension] by [common] people. Committing these with pure morality and an infallible practise, the signs of the super knowledge that knows the mind of others, his contemplation and miraculous magic powers were to be relegated to [the sphere of the inconceivably and inexplicably] ultimate nature of coincidence. For example, when Zhang was young, a self-manifested Yogini (rang byung gi rnal 'byor ma) [once] prophesied his manifestation in an emanation form; in addition, endless prophecies were made foretelling [11a] the accomplishment of the welfare of others, in form of the establishment of the current temple and its [artistic] inventory and the establishment of the lineage of disciples, and, while sojourning in his different sgrub gnas [sites], whether related to his external, internal or secret [activities], foremost at g.Yu-brag of sGrags,60 he was blessed by Indrabodhi, by ācārya Nāgārjuna, and by people manifesting themselves in his visions, whether as Dākinīs and bla ma.60

At that very place [i.e. g.Yu-brag] assemblages of lha and mkha 'gro[-ma] of the outer, inner and secret mandala, the three, with one voice uttered prophecies, and also praised the seven secret biographies [i.e. ideal lives],61 the seven secret names (gsang ba'i mtshan bdun), and the seven sites for spiritual retreat (sgrub pa'i gnas bdun) [of Zhang]62 as well as his wondrous life-story, etc.

60 See below fn. 62.
61 Bla-ma Zhang’s violent approach, or his “aggressive enlightened behaviour” (drag po'i 'phrin las) was often related to the practice and propitiation of Heruka, cf. bKa' rgya ma 1, 14.5, passim; bKa' thor bu 291f. In addition to the justification given above for his recourse to military means, see e.g. also Deb sngon 836.4–18 (which quotes the Jo bo lhA btsun la gdams, i.e. “[Zhang’s] Instruction to [the bSam-yas ruler] Jo-bo lhA-btsun,” one of Zhang’s combatants; below fn. 357), and the 5th Dalai Lama rnam thar by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (Ahmad 1999: 187). The period of fighting which apparently amounted to four “battles” (IHa rong chos 'byung chronicles inter alia g.Yu-ru and ‘Ol-kha as the battlefield)* occurs between the founding of Tshal Yang-dgon (1175) and the building of the Gung-thang temple (1187); cf. e.g. IHo rong chos 'byung 192.17–19). We still possess no further details as to his special art of warfare, but it surely included part esoteric-mystic means, part assumed physical forms, i.e. by way of lance, archery, and stones. Nor do we know the exact sort of material spoils secured by Bla-ma Zhang during the battles. On the advice of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, he finally gave up fighting in around 1189 A.D. Cf. Karma sku phreng lI 18a5–b1; IHo rong chos 'byung 233; BA Roerich 479, 480; see also Jackson 1994: 61f.; Martin 2001.

* His esoteric writings e.g. also maintain that gDol and Yar-sna of bZang-yul (= gZad of Chu-shur district? Mon-gdong bZang-yul?) were battle-fields, see also Part II. App. 4.

62 gSang ba'i rnam thar bdun; they refer to biographical accounts or lives named after Zhang’s chief sgrub gnas (see following note), which normally include the mainly brief sketches of his esoteric and mystic experiences in these locations such as the bSam yas ma, Ngar phug ma, g Ya' lung ma, sPyi khungs ma, lHa sa ma, Bya[ng] mkhar Bhe nag brag ma (in bKa' thor bu 89f., 94f., 102f., 103f., 204f.), the bZang yol Mon gdong bKa’ rgya ma, g Yu brag 'khrul khor ma (cf. bKa' rgya ma l 64.4f.; 79f.); Gung thang gzims chung ma. Most of these were put to writing in 1196 by Dar-ma gzhon-nu and ‘Dul-ba-'od but also by others (see bKa' 'bas la rgyus). They are repeatedly and variously listed in the written esoteric materials and their individual history should be thoroughly studied. For a survey, cf. DL5 Thob yig II 886b–992b.

63 Cf. also bKa' rgya ma l 111–12; 213–216; II 55 et passim; Mig 'byed 'od stong 70b2–3; IHo rong chos 'byung 198.17: The seven celebrated sgrub gnas, sites of spiritual realization or hermitages associated with different secret names of Zhang can be listed as:

1. Bya[ng]-mkhar ['Brong-bu] (name: Padma-badzra, *Padmavajra). IHo rong chos 'byung 198.18 in a gloss identifies it with g Ya'[-ma?-]lung, but according to the locals it corresponds to the aforementioned Byang-mkhar retreat due south of Gung-thang also known as the Byang-mkhar mountain hermitage complex. The ‘Bri/Bhe-nag-brag retreat (above, fn. 38) also belongs to this hermitic area. In addition, the locals speak of the Zhang places of Chu-bzang, *Gongdang (spell. dGongs-thang/ladang?); gNam-sgo (cf. below 40b), sTag-tshang, Ding gi dPal-khungs, Brag-rtshe which all are situated in
the mountain region of Bya[ng]-mkhar, replete with numerous cloisters and hermitages. On the summit of Bya-mkhar, Zhang erected a meditation hut or spyil po; cf. Zhang rnam thar zin bris 46a1–2. Later, Byang-mkhar became a branch monastery of the DBus-gling complex and monastery in Tshal. A care-taker from this institution resided in the hermitage.

The hermitage complex is often mentioned in tandem with 'Brong-bu, so e.g. in the biography of the 13th cent. ascetic Pha-jo ’Brug-sgom zhi-gpo who visited Gung-thang in around 1211 A.D. where he also stayed in Byang-dkar ’Brong-bus (Yontan Dargye and Sørensen 2001: 9). The ’Brug-pa master, I" bDe-chen Chos-'khor zhabs drung Chos kyi mgon-po (1501–82) visited Byang-kha ’Brong-phu in the mid-16th cent. Zur-chen in 1655 sojourned in Byang-dkar ’Brong-phu where he conducted rituals and consecrations of statues kept in the hermitage; see Zur choen rnam thar 386.3–387.1. The place is also denoted Byang-dkar ’Brang-bu and as such is depicted on the srin mo gan rkyal painting where it is inserted due east of Tshal Gung-thang (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, App. 1: Fig 97; see also above fn. 40 and below Part I: Fig. 3). A mkhan po Bya-Bye-dkar-pa (= Bya[ng]-mkhar-pa of Tshal?) is registered for the 13th cent.; see xGam po khris rabs 28a ff.


3. bZang[s]-yul Mon-gdong (name: mTs’o-skyes rdo-rje, *Saroruhavajra); see below, on the chapter in his Secret Biography. According to locals, it is situated in the vicinity of Ngar-phug of Upper sGrags. The texts also speak of a bZang-yul lung-pa, [b]Zangs-ling dGe-phang; cf. bk’a’ thar bu 287; *Ho rong chos ’byung 193, which presumably refers to the same location. It is reported that bZang-yul [Yar-ma] was one of the battle-fields of Bla-ma Zhang, where he also composed some of his esoteric writings (e.g. his gNad kyi man ngag). The gTsong-pa rGyal-po or 4th sde srid gTsang-pa ruler, Karma Phun-tshogs ram-rgyal (71597–1621 A.D.) (below fns. 428, 694), who posed the greatest threat to the impending dGe-ladan hegemony in the early 1600’s, allegedly died from smallpox in his camp set up at Zangs-yul Mon-gdong; cf. Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar [A] 520.4–5; Chab-spel 1990: 549.

* Bri gung gling pa rnam thar 20a2–3 refers to a Zangs-lung seat which holds a light-emitting (’ad zer ma) sku ’bag statue.

4. ’Brong-bu sPiyi-khun[g]s (~ sPyi-skung, Phyil[s]-khung[g]) (name: Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, *Aksobhyavajra). The identification of this sgrub gnas has not been entirely clarified. According to informants from Tshal Gung-thang, the place is located in the vicinity of g Ya’-ma-lung (north of bSam-yas mChims-phu). A ’Brong-bu associated with g Ya’[-ma]-lung is repeatedly mentioned in Zhang’s autobiographical writings (bKa’ thar bu 31.1, 31.6, 94.4, 96.6: bk’a’ rgya ma I 96.2: Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar 12a1). In sPiy-khunigs, the 11th gdan sa ba is said to have discovered the foot-prints of Zhang (i.e. the Zhabs-rjes ’Gro-don-ma; below 1B); the foot-prints, however, were created during Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu’s sojourn in Bya[ng]-mkhar (see above 9a) and elsewhere it is also called Bya[ng]-mkhar zhab-rjes (bKa’ rgya ma I 104). bKa’ thar bu 284.2–3 reports that at bPyid-khungs Zhang consecrated a mchod rtten and a mgon khang. Below 22b our text speaks of a hermitage called “Byang-phyi ”Brong-bu sPiyi-khung[s]” which appears to be located in Chos-lung (also known as Byang-phyi Chos-lung), to the west of Ba-lam. It is the place of the Za-lung monastery erected around an old mgon khang of Bla-ma Zhang (see below fn. 253). The theory of Vitali (1996: 433) that it is located in Byang of Western Tibet is untenable. ’Brong-bu appears also in compound with another Zhang retreat, namely ’Brong-bu kIug-pa (bKa’ rgya ma I 33.3, 1–22; bKa’ thar bu 31.6, 47.2, 277.3 and passim; Mal Yer pa ba rnam thar 12a10; above fn. 51).

5. [m]Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil (name: Zhe-sdang rdo-rje, *Dveśavajra). It refers to the gzims-chung Chos-spyil (e.g. mentioned in bKa’ rgya ma I 185.5), the original meditation cell or dharma-hut of Bla-ma Zhang, located behind Yang-dgon, see Graph 5 below. Also called bKra-shis Tshal-sgang in Zhang’s Writings, where also Tshal-sgang gi Yang-dgon gsar-pa is mentioned. Today no more extant. mTshal-sgang as name was also the designation of a teaching center of Phag-mo gru-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po (cf. BA Roerich 559, 560) as well as a site in On (IHo rong chos ’byung 314; Phag gru rnam thar 1 29.1).

6. g.Yu-brag (name: dGa’-ba’i rdo-rje, *Pritivajra). Zhang is also called g.Yu-brag-pa, i.e. the One from the Turquoise Cliff Hermitage; said to be located in the vicinity of Ngar-phug of Upper sGrags (also spelled as sGrags). According to informants from Gung-thang, an alternative name of g.Yu-brag is lHa-lung brag-brag (rock-cave of lHa-
In particular, as it is said [autobiographically] in *bZang yul Mon gdong gi bka’ rgya [ma]*.  

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[C] [The Secret Biography]

It thus seems to correspond to the dynastic place of sGrags kyi lHa-lung, known as the birthplace of htisan po Dus-srong mang-po-rje (cf. e.g. *De'u Jo sras chos 'byung* 119. 3–4; TBH Sørensen 348). g.Yu-brag is first mentioned in the late 1160’s, where Zhang here founded a ri khrod and later a sgom grva (above fn. 51). *bKa’ rgya ma* (1743, 74.6; II 96.2, *et passim*) has g.Yu-brag lHa’i spyil-po and g.Yu-brag ’Brong-bu (see above). It does suggest that a number of his hermitages were clustered together within a narrow area, similar to Yer-pa. ’Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659) in the early 1600’s at g.Yu-brag, beheld how a statue of Bla-ma Zhang delivered Mahāmudrā songs; cf. *’Bri gung gdan rabs III* 262. An U-rgyan-phug is mentioned of Brag-g. yu [g.Yu-brag] where a g.Yu-brag rdo-rje was active (purportedly pupil of Bla-ma Zhang; yet this site seems to read as g.Yu-gong-brag of gNyal of lHo-brag; cf. Las *’phro gling rnam thar* 134a6–b1). g.Yu-brag was later a favourite hermitage where e.g. the 32nd throne-holder of Se-ra Byes Byang-rtses, Tshul-khrims chos-’phel (1561–1623 A.D.) sojourned to cure himself of his sa nad illness; cf. Se ra chos ’byung 397. See also *lHa rtses ba rnam thar* 75b2–3 for 1598.

7. [lHa-sa] *’Phrub-snang* (name: Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, *Lalitavajra*). See here the biographical account of the *rNam thar lHa sa ma* (in *bKa’ thor bu* 103.3f.). The Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po chamber in the gTszag-lag-khang is also called Bla-ma Zhang’s *sgrub khang* or Zhang geims khang; cf. *lHa ldan dkar chag* 28; Taring (first floor) no. 73; *Shakabpa Guide* 61; *Kam tie dang brgyud pa* II 359.6–7; BST von Schroeder 420–25.

The seven *sgrub gnas* (Graph 1) are probably part of Zhang’s hegemonic-altruistic formulation of the “sealing” of the territory (ri rgya klang rgya lam rgya); cf. *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* 808.8–11. As indicated below (fol. 42b), in accordance with Zhang’s identification with lHa dPal’-bar dBang-phug (Mahèsvara Śiva), he became “Master of the Seven Sites.”

These visions and embodiments inspired the 8th Zhva-nag Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, cf. his *’Gro mgon ’phros gsang gtam.*

In his his writings Zhang mentions a number of (partly unidentified) places in connection with his religious activities which are not known from the present text or other comparative Tshal-pa sources. These sites include *inter alia:*

- Grib kyi Lug-ge (Lug-ru; in Grib, south of lHa-sa)
- Yong-tan Ngom- (= Dom?) pa’i Le’i Mig-chung dgon-pa
- Ngan-lam sa’i sbrang (Ngan-lam, The Juice of the Earth; it refers to the Ngan-lam of sKyid-shod; see fn. 12)
- Gong-dkar-mo’i brag-phug (in the Gong-dkar district)
- Re’u-rtsa’i gtsug-lag-khang (perhaps identical with Re’u-chung-dgon; see next entry)
- Zhal gyi Re’u-chung-gdong (in Zhal, probably identical with Ri-chung, see below 20b; fn. 217)
- lHa-sa sde bzhi’i Dor-te sgo-phu’i ’Chor-nag (i.e. Chor-nag Dog-sde sGo-phu of lHa-sa sde-bzhi; on lHa-sa sde-bzhi which appears here as a place name, see App. II; Dog-sde sGo-phu is the northern cardinal area of the lHa-sa valley)
- Bla-sgro Mon-pa-gdong (= bZangs-yul Mon-gdon? above no. 3)
- Chu-shul Gru-gu-sgang (in the Chu-shul district of sKyid-smad; see below fn. 431)
- sTon ri-khrod (= retreat in sTod[-lung?]')
- Phya’o-lung, or Phya-po-lung gi dgon-pa (= Cha, see above fn. 36)
- sGrags kyi Khu’-brug rdzong (in the sGrags valley)
- sPang-po Thul gyi brag-sgon (see above fn. 51, 54)
- Yar-sna of bZang-yul (see above no. 3; it is mentioned in the context of one of his local belligerent activities)
- rGad-po-brag of Chos-phu (in sGrags)
- Khu’-brug/Khum-phug-rdzong (in sGrags)

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* See *bKa’ rgya ma I* 23–28; identical with *rNam thar Mo* [= *lHo rong chos ‘byung* 194–95; *bKa’ brgyudchos ’byung* 65b1–6. The text is named after the *sgrub gnas* of the same name, see fn. 62. The experience of Bla-ma Zhang inspired Mi-bskyod rdo-rje to compose his *’Gro mgon gsang cho’ phrub* which reports about the dream of his root teacher *grub thob* Sangs-rgyas gnyan-pa who in a dragon year at the age of 28 (a play on the dragon year of Bla-ma Zhang) had a similar experience. Among his major disciples, one was called gnas brtan dGe-sing of bZang-yul (Part II: App. V, Table 5).
"In a Dragon year, during the night of the eighth day of the first summer month [i.e. fourth lunar (Hor) month], miraculous events such as musical sounds emerged from the sky above etc., but when [I] looked up [I] could see nothing and [I] thought that it was an auspicious sign of the channels and energies [of yogic exercises] (rtsa rlung gi rten 'brel), whereafter [I] fell asleep. At dawn, when [I] made prayers to the bla ma, [I] saw in the sky above the countenance of the venerable Tārā endowed with one face and two hands and with all her limbs being ornamented with the letter tu. Conducting the rituals of inspection, [I] found confidence in that [she] was [my] istadevātā and hence paid [my] respect in form of contemplation and prayers, whereupon the venerable Tārā spoke: "Son of [good] family! If you proceed to the land of Oḍḍiyāna Vajrāśana (U-rgyan rDo-rje[-gdan]) in the west, you will obtain the dharma of the tenth bhūmi from your istadevātā," whereupon she disappeared. During the night of the ninth day, [I] clung to a sun-beam and [arrived] at the [divine] abode of the Trayastrīmsa wherefrom [I] proceeded in a westerly direction in order to search for the Land of Oḍḍiyāna, but I could not find it. Remaining behind, [I] met the [four-armed] Caturbhuja Mahākāla (mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa), and paying [my] respects, was granted precepts on how to annihilate [one's foes]. In that moment, [I] transformed into the three-eyed Heruka who said that [I] was now in control of half the abodes of [the sphere of the celestial] Brahmā (Tshangs-pa). The twenty-eight goddesses of the lunar constellations (naksatras) descended to earth. [11b] The nine khye'u chung wearing white silk caps [appeared] and offered “the Nine Heart Syllables” (snying po yi ge dgu). During the night of the 10th day, [in my dream] the 16 spiritual consorts (rig ma) with retinue in space above, endowed with the five bone-ornaments and the display of their magic was so tremendous that it was as if the earth trembled. Thereafter [I] arrived in the [Land of Oḍḍiyāna] and saw Vajrāśana [i.e. the Indestructible Seat] just as it really is. At that point, the Four Lokapālas offered many udumbara-flowers. It was a grand spectacle [for me to behold] and I uttered that I would offer many special types of presents and donations generated from [my] own mind. Then, at the distance of one arrow-shot in a western direction from the Land of Oḍḍiyāna, I found a red light resembling burning tongues of fire. Without hesitation, I went there. [I] found the istadevātā Vajrāvārāhi (rDo-rje phag-mo) resting on a swirling svastika seat, pig-headed but without ornaments. [My] body involuntarily turned into the letter him, and proceeding upwards from her womb (bhaga), [I] arrived at the [mystic] mandala center of her body, where [I] beheld all the locations of the six classes [of beings in samsāra] just like reflections in a mirror. [I] briefly had a vision of [myself] being dead. At that moment innumerable sorts of super knowledge (abhijñā) appeared [enabling me to see and recollect things and events throughout all three times]: 1008 bla ma of the remote past, 31 bla ma of [my] present [existence], 46 and [to be] built by [myself] in the future, a temple, with lha khang, a mchod rten, on the third parisanda of the latter. I beheld how [my own] body burned, and how the lha, klu, dri za, the mi and mi ma yin of the sphere of upper, intermediate and the underworld were lamenting, and how the dākinī and the dharma-pāla without remaining at rest [even for a moment] were busy and distracted.

44 It perhaps refers to lcags 'brug 1160 A.D., the first dragon year after Bla-ma Zhang's meeting with the yogic root master dPal rGva-lo in the 1150's.
45 It is uncertain whether or not this alludes to [mDo sde] Sa bcu pa = Dasabhūmika-sūtra.
46 Usually 32 teachers of his are listed.
Thereafter I reached the heart [of the visualized body of Vajravārahī]. [12a] [I] beheld 100 million Jambudvīpa, 100 million Vajrāsana, 100 million ṭṣṭadevaṭaḥ and [I] beheld 100 million bla ma Zhang praying and requesting precepts. [I] then reached the throat, where [I] saw Buddha-fields where innumerable Buddhas were teaching the dharma. [I myself] turned into Vairocana and [I] thought of explaining the dharma to [my] converts.67 [I] then reached the head, an awareness occurred like a rising sensation similar to the break of dawn [that shed light in the darkness]; thereafter [I] beheld the western direction the Land of Oddiyāna just like it is, inside its mansion made from padma ra ga, [I] vividly beheld the mandala of the seven god[desse]s of Vārāhī. At that moment from the heart of the main figure, the Five [Jina] and devī [appeared] expressing their benediction and offering the vase empowerment. Thereafter, [I] again went to the throat, the heart and the secret place [i.e. genitals] where [I] received the four kinds of empowerment and gained insight when being shown the womb of the Mother [i.e. Vajravārahī], [the center that] encompasses the visible world of phenomena.

[I then] turned into Heruka with one face and two arms, receiving the secret name mTsho-skypes rdo-rje. Countless gods made offerings. The ṭṣṭadevaṭaḥ [Vajra]vārahī expressed prophecies and eulogized the activities of the three times [of mTsho-skypes rdo-rje]:

[Verse [12a5]]. At the end of the melodious song, she turned into a red flower and disappeared. Thereafter [I] thought that all three realms were permeated by the sound of water; then [I] woke up from [my] dream [and assumed my ordinary body again].”

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67 For the sheer infinite multiplicity, see e.g. also parallel bKa’ rgya ma II 45–52; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 61a–b3. This echoes the cosmological vision of Vairocana, cf. TBH Sørensen: 494–96. Cf. also his lHa sa ma mthong snang sna istic in ZhK 370–2.
After [parts of] the inner, outer and secret biography [of Zhang] have been described – the utmost secret biography being beyond the range of words and [intrinsically] inconceivable – we now come to the history of his spiritual sons (thugs gyi sras) [and hence Lords of the religious see of Tshal-pa]. We begin, after a brief digression, with the election to the seat of mNyam-med Sâkyâ ye-shes.

After six years had elapsed, the construction of the [Great Stûpa] sKu-'bum chen-po which at that point had reached the third socle (parisânda) continued. At that point, having reached the age of 72, in the Water-female-Ox year [1193 A.D.] [Bla-ma Zhang] passed away. Different explanations circulate as to the Buddha emanation of this holy [personage]. It must be explained by considering [this question] in accordance with the outer, inner and secret biographies: as said previously, earlier sources, concuring with the majority of savants, maintain that he is the upholder of all karmic activities and commitments of the supreme Noble Padmapânî (= Avalokiteśvara) and of the Jinas of the Three Times. In particular, in the Snow-capped Country [of Tibet] his former activities have now manifested themselves in those of the successive lineage[-holders] of the All-knowing One [i.e. the Dalai Lama]. This is also the main and enduring reason for the eulogy of the succession of rulers of this seat. [13a] Particularly, the rGyal-mchog Lnga-pa chen-po [1617–1682 A.D.], Zur-chen chos kyi rgyal po dPal-byor 'phrin-las rab-rgyas [i.e. Chos-dbyings rang-grol, 1604–1669 A.D.], the [50th dGa'-ldan] Khri-chen dGe-'dun phun-tshogs [1648–1724 A.D.], sKyabs-mgon bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho rin-po-che [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.] as well as the latter’s zhabs drung, the rten pa Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan], master and disciples (dpon slob) all displayed respect and esteem [towards Bla-ma Zhang and his legacy] having understood that his activities are manifestations of this supreme Ārya [Padmapânî]. These points will be delineated below.

According to what this holy saint has himself said, among the holy kalyânamitra, he had six root bla ma, among which four [as such are] definitely [identified as important] (vin nges bzhi), being like wish-granting jewels. One of these resembling a wish-granting jewel is Dvags-[b]sgoms Tshul-khrims snying-po, i.e. the son of the elder brother of sGam-po [i.e. nephew] of sGam-po Zla-’od gzhon-nu [alias Dvags-po lha-rje, 1079–1153 A.D.] from whom he received a complete set of precepts of rJe sGam-po-pa upon which he meditated. His vase-like mind became filled with the ambrosia of spiritual experience and realization and hence [Zhang] received the complete and perfect [set of teachings] stemming from sGam-po-pa. The seeds of spiritual experience and realization being born in him, he was considered to be peerless in this regard.

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55 This is also confirmed by the 5th Dalai Lama, see CFS Gyalbo et al. 150–51. See also ’Gyur-med rdo-rje’s Nor bu’i chun po 132–152.

56 The name of sGam-po-pa’s elder brother was rGya[s]-pa Se-re, a native of Bong-snyi of gNyal/dMyal district (present-day in lHun-rts e xian); cf. lHo rong chos ’byung 177.12; BA Roerich 463. For the generation of students of sGam-po-pa, see e.g. BA Roerich 462. On the life of sGam-po-pa, see e.g. Steward 1995; see also Sørensen 2007b.
To explain this briefly: This system is the bKa'-brgyud tradition, but its precepts have now penetrated other school systems. In this tradition, there are many personages who upheld the Teaching. The system of bKa'-brgyud is mainly based upon the system of Mi-la [ras-pa] [1040-1123 A.D.]. Many people have spread the teaching in the upper and lower areas of Tibet and in Great Tibet. The source of the [bKa'-brgyud-pa] precepts was [the translator and Nāropa disciple] rje lHo-brag-pa [i.e. Mar-pa Chos kyi blo-gros, 1012-1097/99 A.D.]. The latter had four disciples: [A four-strophic song (rmi lam brda spro dkyi mgur)] follows, dedicated to Mi-la who established the pillar in the north, depicting him as a vulture perching on a rock and eventually producing a peerless disciple sGam-po-pa [13b1-13b3]. [The second verse, a two-and-a-half-strophic song is dedicated to] sGam-po-pa and his site in Dvags-po, etc. [13b4-13b5] Aside from [Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims], [Zhang] also received the precept tradition of Teaching. The system of

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10 This system is the bKa'-brgyud tradition, but its precepts have now penetrated other school systems. In this tradition, there are many personages who upheld the Teaching. The system of bKa'-brgyud is mainly based upon the system of Mi-la [ras-pa] [1040-1123 A.D.]. Many people have spread the teaching in the upper and lower areas of Tibet and in Great Tibet. The source of the [bKa'-brgyud-pa] precepts was [the translator and Nāropa disciple] rje lHo-brag-pa [i.e. Mar-pa Chos kyi blo-gros, 1012-1097/99 A.D.]. The latter had four disciples: [A four-strophic song (rmi lam brda spro dkyi mgur)] follows, dedicated to Mi-la who established the pillar in the north, depicting him as a vulture perching on a rock and eventually producing a peerless disciple sGam-po-pa [13b1-13b3]. [The second verse, a two-and-a-half-strophic song is dedicated to] sGam-po-pa and his site in Dvags-po, etc. [13b4-13b5] Aside from [Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims], [Zhang] also received the precept tradition of Teaching. The system of

10 On his life, see e.g. Lhalungpa 1982. See also Zhang’s presentation of the early bKa’-brgyud tradition in his dKar brgyud nram thar (see bKa’ thar bu 309f).

11 On Mar-pa, see the biography written by Tsang Nyön Heruka (transl. by Nālandā Transl. Committee 1990).


13 The verses are part of a set of songs dedicated to the four principal disciples of Mar-pa as referred to the previous footnote. Cf. Mi la ras pa’i nram mgur 109-113 (ed. Dharamsala 1994).

14 I.e. rNgog Chos-sku rdo-rje (1036-1102 A.D.) and Mes-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, Deb sngon (BA Roerich 404f.); ’Brug pa chos’ byung 343ff.

15 The three main ’Brug-pa branches go back to three disciples that issued from gTsang-pa rGya-ras: From rJe rGod-tshang-pa (1189-1258) and his line of transmission issued the Upper ’Brug; from dBon-ras Dar-ma seng-ge (1177-1237 A.D.) and his transmissional line issued the Middle ’Brug and from Lo Ras-pa Grags-pa dbang-phug (1187-1250) and his lineage issued the Lower ’Brug. See Aris 1979: 173.

16 On the Phag-mo gru-pa disciple Gling-ras-pa, alias sNa-phu-ba, also a one-time fellow-combatant of Zhang, cf. Gling chen ras pa nram thar II, lHo rong chos’ byung 629-645; Myang chos’ byung 88-9; BA Roerich 659-664; Blythe Miller 2005. See also below fn. 428, 429, 741.

17 rGob-pa ’Jig-rten mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal, the founder of the ’Bri-gung Byang-chub-gling. For his life, see e.g. the different biographies of such as hup po che’ har pa and Phyogs be’ dus gsum ma; BA Roerich 596-601; lHo rong chos’ byung 403f. He was ordained in 1177 in the presence of Bla-ma Zhang, rTsi-lung-pa and gNyal ’Dul -’dzin. He erected in 1179/80 the ’Bri-gung main seat. See also Table V.11.1 below.

18 Jagnānātha or Dharmavāmī (’Gro-mgon, Chos-rje) Ye-shes rdo-rje, the founder of the ’Brug-pa school, was ordained 1193 A.D. at Tshal in the presence of Bla-ma Zhang – just prior to the latter’s passing – with bZad-pa acting as upādhyāya and Ma-la-ba (sic = Mal Yer-pa?) as ācārya; this is uniformly rendered in most biographies. Cf. e.g. gTsang
Having been given instructive precepts, he showed good progress in his spiritual development. At that moment, Zhang Rin-po-che thought that rGya-ras was an excellent personage i.e. saint] and that [his] future lineage of disciples would benefit from the pure system of his. Immediately after rGya-ras had become ordained through Zhang Rin-po-che, [he] rode a white mare, purporting that aside from him nobody else in Tibet was [able] to cut the hair-tuft of the Indian master Nāropa, whereupon the horse galloped along, etc.29 At the point when rGya-ras was about to put on the hat given him by 'Bri-gung-pa, Zhang Rin-po-che thought [to himself] whether rGya-ras [was able to] wear it, etc.29 Such biographical narratives exist. Gling-chen ras-pa, the bla ma [of] rGya-ras, was also a pupil of Zhang; but [their common] root teacher was Phag[-mo] [gru[-pa] [rDo-rje rgyal-po] [1110-1170 A.D.]."

[14b] 'Gro-mgon thus pursued numerous methods of precepts transmitted down from his [various] root bla ma, and similarly the methods transmitted through the disciples are diverse and numerous, only here [in this book] we shall not elaborate further. If one wants to know more, one must consult [the distinct] authoritative history books.

29 pa rgya ras pa'i rnam thar 192.5-95.6; II 34b3-36b7 and III 10b4; Rva lung bka' brgyud gser 'phreng (containing his early biography by 'Bras-mo-pa) 400.6-402.7; bKa' brgyud chos 'byung 68b2-69a3; bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng chen mo 430-32; lhOr rong chos 'byung 653; Deb sngon 784.5-11 (BA Roerich 668-69).

At the beginning of the following Tiger year 1194 A.D., Ye-shes rdo-rje preached the dhārama at Tshal Gung-thang – the songs composed at that occasion is preserved (cf. his gSung mgur gvi rim pa 34b1-35a4). As reported in most of these Ye-shes rdo-rje biographies – such as the early one by 'Bras-mo-pa, but also by Padma dkar-po – rGya-ras appropriated (and hence founded) the monastery of Klong-rdol, located in b/gZad-pha (i.e. Upper gZad, identical with the present-day Se-pha (in Bod-Map [Verhufen, s.v. index] spelled as Sras-pha) situated east of Chu-shur; on gZad, see also fn. 92, 192, 225 and App. II). It followed a prophecy stemming from Bla-ma Zhang. rGya-ras in fact took possession of Klong-rdol, probably in form of receiving a stretch of land as monastic estate (dgon gzi), after he had been entreated by a local king (brtsad po, jo bo) named Rig-sngags – to whom rGya-ras addresses a number of songs in gSung mgur gvi rim pa (17b3-18b4) – yet these activities which took place during the very last years of Bla-ma Zhang’s life, reflect the role played by the latter was not small. In fact, many parallels between Bla-ma Zhang and gTsang-pa rGya-ras, both founders of their respective sub-schools, can be noticed, so e.g. at ‘Brug monastery a Byang chub chen po i’sku bum, a type similar to the one at ‘Bri-gung-mthil, was erected. Deb sngon reports that Zhang sent his disciple sPa-ri-ba with gTsang-pa rGya-ras after the latter’s ordination at Tshal. sPa-ri-ba (also [s]Pa-ri-ba of ‘Brug [in sKyi-d-smad?]) later founded the sPa-ri Byang-chub-gling monastery. Cf. dGos ‘dod re skong ma’i grel ba 564.2-3; Deb sngon 785.17f. (BA Roerich 670); Deb dmar 128, bKa’ brgyud chos 'byung 70a7-b1. G. Smith in his introduction to Padma dkar-po’s works (2001: 81) mentions that the gNom-‘Brug Se-ba Byang-chub chos gling (alt. Byang-chub Shing gi nags-khrod; or gNam-phu ‘Brug-dгон) was founded by rGya-ras in 1189. Duojie Caidan 1995: 452 gives 1205 as the founding date of ‘Brug-dgon. Cf. also HLSG Vol. 8: 38 and below fn. 420.

* The Klong-rdol is not identical with the Klong-rdol of Upper Ra-stod (also known as Klong-rdol of sBur-bu), the latter is the ancient Kyi Bur). Akester, personal communication.

71 Cf. lhOr rong chos 'byung 653.10-11. gTsang-pa rGya-ras is considered an incarnation of Nāropa which obviously is alluded to in this story. On the white mare in this connection, see the remarks in App IV. Chap. 4.2.

72 Somewhat differently rendered in the traditional gTsang pa rgya ras rnam thar; cf. also Myung chos 'byung 26-27 and mKhas pa'i dga’ ston 847 for a slightly other version.

* On his life, see more generally lhOr rong chos 'byung 306-320; Deb sngon 651-663 (BA Roerich 552-563); sTag lung chos 'byung 1 174–184. Deb sngon 657f. mentions a meeting with Zhang, but this apparently concerns a different Zhang, i.e. Zang Sum-thog-pa. See Introduction: Chap. 6 and above fn. 47; see also fn. 813 infra.
Wishing here to explicate briefly how the physical legacies (phyang rjes) [left behind by Bla-ma Zhang] came into existence, [erected and instituted] for the sake of the Teaching and for the sake of living beings, [this will be done] by way of [explicating] the successive lineage of disciples occupying the see (gdan rabs) that stemmed from 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che as well as [explicating the principles behind] the dual system of religious and secular rule (chos srid lugs gnyis).

The history of how the monastic [complexes] emerged as part of the activities of Zhang Rin-po-che: Thus as to the Yang-dgon [monastery]: as said earlier, following the command of Dvags-sgom [Tshul-khrims snying-po] it is known that 'Gro-mgon founded [the Yang-dgon monastery of] Tshal in a female Wood-Sheep year [1175 A.D.] and, in a female Fire-Sheep year [1187 A.D.] of the third sexagenary cycle (prabhava), the Gung-thang gtsug lag khang [was erected] as support for the ritual service [to be rendered to] the IHa-Iidan sprul-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang (= Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang)." It appears to be certain that the throne and the temple complex [must be treated] as distinct and that mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes was elected [as successor] to the see as prophesied in Manjūsrīmūlasūtra, etc. [where] he worked for the maturation and liberation of [the sentient beings] in accordance with the personal instructions of 'Gro-mgon.

[1] mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes*4

Place of birth: rTag (~ sTag)-lung gi dgon-pa dkar-po of Yar-'brog*3

*3 Cf. rGyals bston ma, in hKa` thor bu 290.7f. He had been requested by all the teachers of dBu-ra to erect the see. For the political and religious activities of Dvags-sgom in IHa-sa, prior to the transference of the responsibility of the site to Zhang, see above fn. 47 and App. II below. Before the erection of Tshal, Zhang founded a sgom grva in g.Yu-brag where he gathered many students. Our text mentions that already before 1175, ordination took place in Tshal (see below 20b); it may refer to the Zhang retreat of Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil situated close to Yang-dgon (fn. 62). rGyals bston ma 150.6 speaks of a philosophical seminary of dge lhes gZad-pa which existed in Tshal prior to the Yang-dgon foundation. On the chronology of the events preceeding the founding of Tshal Yang-dgon, see also note 51 above and App. IV: Chap. 4.1.

*4 Above, fn. 52; on the founding story of the monastery and temple, see below Chap. III. Mar-lung in his biography (81b1 -3) interestingly adds, aside from the two dates, that the statue of Thub-chen, the basis of the Tshal-pa teaching, was finished in 1189 A.D. Another text suggests that the casting of the Jo bo Śākya was made in 1193 (glang lo); cf. rNam thar phyi ma (ZhK III (KA) 223b2–254a).

*5 According to the listing in Gung thang dkar chag, Zhang himself is not included in the list of throne-holders and mNyam-med or "the Peerless" Śākya ye-shes is counted as the first gdan sa bu of Tshal Yang-dgon (see below fol. 58b1). On the following gdan sa bu list (i.e. the mkhan rabs list), cf. Deh dmar 129.12f.; Deh sdegs 838.1f. ("BA Roerich 716f"); mKhas pa'i dga' ston 809.3C.; Vaidyārya ser po 152.23f.; Lange 1976: 51–69; Part II: Table V.1 in this volume. He compiled among others the gśangs sgruos rin po che of Bla-ma Zhang’s writings.

According to Deh dmar 129, the first throne-holder was the youngest of three children, The eldest being slob dpon Jo-bsun, and the intermediate was his sister lewm ma Shes-rab-'bum.

*6 The clan of Śākya ye-shes allegedly was sGrad (var. sGrad ~ sGrad'sPras' tentatively but most unlikely so; the last is a toponym in 'Phan-yul; below fn. 405, or alternatively *sBrad ~ Srad, see below?); this needs further confirmation.

The toponym sTag-lung (Tiger Valley; more recently denoted IHo sTag-lung (or traditionally Yar-'brog sTag-lung or sTag-lung sNa-dkar), in contrast to the widely more famous Byang sTag-lung monastic mother seat north of IHa-sa), is situated south-west of Yar-'brog g.yu-mtsho lake, today a rural township or dзон gyug-lung of county, located at 28°48′N 90°29′E. Xizang Dzongzi II 171. Cf. c.g. IHo rong chos 'byung 656; see also Dung-dkar, Deh dmar 451, n. 617. In medieval sources, it is registered to be located in the heart of Zham-ma' area.

An early settlement area, in Yar-'brog sTag-lung, the early phyi dar temple of Srad-thang-gnas was founded in the
Father: the sngags rnying ma Grub-thob Nam-mkha’.
Mother: Bu-mo ‘Od-ldan-ma.
Date of birth: Rabbit year [i.e. 1147 A.D.].
Lay name: Śākya rdo-rje.

Having learned to write and read, he met Zhang who blessed him and prophesied that he would be an upholder of his Teachings. From that point [i.e. ca. 1158 A.D.], he safeguarded him like a son of a noble Family (kula-puṭra), turning him into a master of precepts. At the age of 19, when [r]Tsis-pa gZhon-[nu] seng[-ge] acted as preceptor (upādhyāya), Slangs-po Jo-btsun as ācārya and gTsang-gsar-skos” functioned as secret preceptor etc., he took his final ordination [15a]. Receiving the tantra from [his elder brother] gCen slob dpon Jo-btsun, as well as many precepts related to the sūtra teachings and many bKa’-gdamgs cycles from dge bshes rGyal-ba and from other bla ma, he thus perfected his studies. In the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che, he [served his apprenticeship] acting as assistant preceptor (las slob, karmācārya), thus perfecting his responsibility for the guidance and safeguarding of the disciples [of Zhang]. Reaching the age of 40 [ca.1186-87], he arrived at the see of the seat.” After six years Zhang Rin-po-che passed into nirvāṇa [1193 A.D.].
In the fashion of a patron-priest [relationship], the personal intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu [prompted] that the work [with the execution of a] commemorative service (sku 'dabs[s]) and the erection of the sku-bum chen-mo [of the deceased 'Gro-mgon] was continued, and that the gdung khang bkra-shis 'od-bar, the Protector-chapel (mGon-khang), the lower courtyard of the lha khang, the thig khang, the pitched chinese roof (rgya phubs), the gilded [cone-shaped] roof-top (gser 'phru), as well as the inner walls were erected, etc., thus carrying out the larger part of the [deceased lord's] physical imprints (sku rjes) [i.e. legacies]. Beyond that, Sakya ye-shes safeguarded the throne for 15 years. He even had numerous disciples who all displayed mastery of scripture and spiritual realization (ágama, adhigama), students like rGya Pho-ba long-pa, etc.

the year 1194; so also dPag bsam ljon bzang 601–03. The age of his ascent to the see mentioned in our text 40 (mistake for 48) +15 = 54 is thus faulty. Mar lung pa rnam thar mentions that the disciple lHa-phyug mkhar-pa acted as mkhan po in around 1190 A.D. In the same text, Dar-ma gzhon-nu (the later bdag po of Gung-thang, below fn. 357) is entitled Tshal mkhan po.

** The relatively rare lexical term skū 'dabs or, as repeated later in our text, merely 'dabs[s] poses a number of problems. In its present context, it mainly occurs in medieval texts. The term surfaces in forms such as skū 'dabs and gdung 'dabs, in connection with the cremation of the physical remnants of a deceased and its immediate aftermath. On the one side, as architectural term 'dabs usually alludes to some sort of eave or ornamental winged or petalled (both 'dabs[s]) comice,* yet in the present context it appears to allude to something different. The phrase repeatedly used in the present text [sku] 'dabs bzhengs would suggest that it alludes to the erection or the setting up of a physical entity or an arrangement in connection with an ossuary. From the numerous references gleaned from different contexts the term clearly refers to an often day-long ceremony, a grandiose funeral or mourning arrangement or indeed a commemorative funeral rite that followed in the wake of the actual cremation on the pyre (spur shyangs) and took place before – or in order to prepare – the bodily remains to be inserted into an ossuary or sepulchre reliquary,** a ceremony attracting rows or assemblies of guests. Later the term became obsolete. The latter interpretation is corroborated by Dung-dkar (cf. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 232) who defines skū 'dab as the honorific of dgongs rdzogs kyi 'das mchod or a commemorative funeral and prayer service.

* Often being part of or related to a hipped parapet, or a moulding on the roof-top ( 'dabs ? contraction of mda 'yab) or to a railing or socle (like a stengs bu, lan kun or vedikā). Its use may also be documented in general expressions like nye 'dabs, gangs 'dabs, etc. Cognate technical terms bya 'dabs and gser 'dabs are often in use, as “bird-winged” eaves or as a gilded cornice on a roof; see ill. Jackson 1996: 325. Again, mouldings in Rva-sgreng, such as those known as Bya- 'dab shar-ma and -nub-ma, were erected as thugs dam rten; cf. Rva-sgreng dgon pa'i dkar chag 132-33.

** Based upon texts like Tshal rnam 53a4.: skū 'dab gshhegs rdrongs; sTag lung chos byung l 228, 253, 330, 350, 390, 478, 500, 579, 604; Manggra la šri'i rnam thar 387.2; rGyal rite chos rgyal rnam thar 45.16–17, etc. with phrases like skū 'dabs chen mo'i skabs; gdung 'dah bzang po [-chen mo] bya [-hgyur,h; -hyan,, ~mdza]; skū 'dab chen mo'i geral dbar [-tsihs] 'dur phebs, etc. The translation in Everding 2000, passim as “Nachsorge” is incorrect.

** See below, Chapter III.

1 One of the first persons to observe most of the then completed temple complex at Gung-thang was Chos-rje Lo ras-pa dBang-phug brtson-'grus (1187–1250 A.D.) who in 1200–01 visited Tshal Gung-thang, a visit evoking in the young Lo-ras-pa a faith so strong that he immediately wanted to become ordained; cf. Chos rje Lo ras pa'i rnam thar 5b3–4; lHo rong chos byung 668–89. A similar strong devotion was generated by another noted figure who visited Tshal Gung-thang during the reign of Sākyā ye-shes, namely Khro-phu cho>[l]sā ba (1173–1225/36 A.D.) in 1207; cf. dPag bsam 'khri shing 48a3–b1. For a visiting guest, the monastic complex must once have held awesome dimensions.

2 Also called Bla-ma Rin-po-che rGya Pho-ba lung-pa Yan-ton bzang-po or Yan-ton grags-pa (secret name: Rol-pa'i rdo-rje), see bKa' rgya ma l 207. 5; mKhus pa'i dga' ston l 871.4; lHo rong chos byung 154.18–159.7; BA Roerich 449–51, 1065. According to his biography, he stemmed from the rGya clan through his mother, his father being one 'Jig-rten rdo-rje. From Zhang rin po che, he in particular learnt the Dohā cycle. He was foremost remembered as a personal pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa. For the spread of the rGya clan in southern Tibet, see Vitali 2004.

As chronicled e.g. in Chos rje sPyl dkar rnam thar 1 12a3–4, through this master the cycle known as Tshe ring skor gsum or “Life-Prolongation Trilogy Cycle” was transmitted. For further transmissions and cycles associated with rGya
At the age of 61 in a [Fire] Rabbit year ([me] yos 1207 A.D.), on the third day of the 12th month (rgyal, pa'cha) he passed away."

[2] Byang-chub ye-shes
Father: slob dpon Shes-rab ye-shes, a paternal relative of Sakya ye-shes. His election [and abbacy] to the throne did not last more than three years ([1208–1210 A.D.]). It was then transferred to rin po che IHa-phyug mkhar-pa after [the former’s] precepts [i.e. vows] had been infringed (bshlab pa babs)."

[3] IHa-phyug mkhar-pa
Clan: gZi

Place of birth: Zhur-na-lung of Dol in Lo-ro"
Father: Sangs-rgya[s]-skyabs. [15b]

The latter had four brothers and sisters, of whom [IHa-phyug mkhar-pa] [1145–1215] was the youngest. During his youth, he relied upon three teachers: rNgog mDo-sde [1078–1154/1090–1166 A.D.], Gan-pa Da[r]-re and Lo-ro Ras-pa [i.e. Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags 1085–1161 A.D.]. He thereafter met Zhang rin po che. The assistant preceptor (las slob, karmačārya) of Zhang, the
Vinayadharma Sha-mi [sMon-lam-’bar] [1084–1171 A.D.] functioned as upādhyāya and in lHa-sa he took his final ordination. Ordination-name: Nyi-zla-’od. He studied with ‘Gro-mgon Rin-po-che for 21 years and received the complete set of cycles of sūtra and mantra, received blessings and perfected fully all spiritual realizations. During his stay at mTha’-brag of Ba-lam, he was invited by [the yon bdag? or the local people of] [’]Phrang-gtsangs, and established the ‘Ju-bu [monastery] in a Sheep year [i.e. 1187 A.D.], where he stayed for three years. Thereafter he returned to mTha’-brag and in an Ox year [i.e. 1193 A.D.], he established the lHa-Phyug-mkhar [monastery], which he safeguarded for 18 years, wherefore he was [also] called Rin po che lHa-

He was engaged in the fightings in gDos; cf. dPon dar ma gzhon nu’i zhus lan in ZhK II 39.4–5. Chos legs rnam thar 9b specifies lHa-phyug-pa Nyi-zla-’od to be one of Bla-ma Zhang’s great sons called the ’Od-gsum (the three with the ‘od element in their name), without mentioning the other two. mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston speaks of the bu chen ’od khris (a classification which we find also with Dus-gsum mKhyan-pa’s chief disciples, cf. BA Roerich 517; Part II: App. V: Table 5); Yon tan ’brug sgra 9b2–3: Mar lung rnam thar 82b3–4 speaks of the three ’od pupils being better than the father [Zhang]. The group of four pupils includes

1. lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha’-’od (alias lHa-ri-pa chen-po; Deb dmar 135.16f.; i.e. Gra-’Jed-pa (’Jad-pa). Nam-mkha’-’od, the founder of lHa-ri spang-gshong (lHa-ri-kha) monastery; cf. also bKa’ rgya ma I 164.6–7 in the year 1168 A.D.; IHo rong chos ’byung 199–200; Deb sngon 837.4–5; mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 809.12–15: Here at lHa-ri-kha (in lHa-ri county; see below note 267) many holy personages arrived. For the branch settlements in Kong-po, cf. below 23a and fn. 267. He may or may not be identical with the pupil of Dus-gsum mKhyan-pa; cf. e.g. Karma sku phreng 1 24b5; Mi sna 253–54, although [Zhva-dmar] Nam-mkha’-’od (1133–99), who founded teachings from Bla-ma Zhang, allegedly was born in the vicinity of Ru-mtshams.

2. lHa-phyug-pa Nyi-zla-’od; Nyi-zla-’od = Nyi-ma-’od? if so, he also served as abbot of the Zhang foundation of sKam-dgon, see Vaidurya ser po 156.17–18.

3. Kha-rag-pa ‘Dul-ba-’od (the founder of Kha-rag-dgon, below 21a) and

4. ‘Drir-pa (= Dri-ra-pa, ~ ‘Bri-ra-ba) Sākya-’od, who founded a monastery in Byang (?) (possibly he is identical with the Zhang disciple Nyag ‘Bri-ra-ba of the sTod-tshal mentioned below 26b), cf. Mar lung rnam thar 82b3–4: Dri-med-’od. See mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 809.12–810.4; cf. also lHo rong chos ’byung 199.19f.; bKa’ hrgyud chos ’byung 66a1–5; Chos ’byung bstan pa ’i ngyi ma I12b1f.; BA Roerich 715: ‘Brug pa chos ’byung 395.8–9; Part II: Table V. 4.

103 Sha-mi ’dal ’dzin also called sgom sMon (the hermit sMon[-lam-’bar]; sMon-lam ’od[-zer]) counts among the chief disciples of rGya ’dal ’dzin dBang-phyug Tshul-khrims-’bar (1047–1131 A.D.) and Jo-gdan nag-po Dar-tshul of the Vinaya school of Kluk-mes (rGya ’dal ’dzin’s chief residence was the Pa-mam sGa-gdong / dGa’-ba-gdong in gTsang (BA Roerich 78f.; ’Dal ba’i chos ’byung I 31–2; II 89a3–90a5), often confounded with dGa’-ba-gdong of lower sTod-lung (found. in 1169; see App. V: Table 8). * Sha-mi was also a student of So-chung-ba (1062–1128) and of sKor Ni-rū-pa (b. 1062). One of the places associated with Sha-mi is rGyas-sman which is listed as one of the Tshal-pa mi sde (below fn. 425). Cf. BA Roerich 79, 879–883: CFS Gyalbo et al. 69, 108. On Sha-mi’s presence in Tshal, see also fn. 200.

* Pa-mam dGa’-gdong later became a rNying-ma-pa seat (mid-20th century, commemorating ca. 350 monks).

104 The location refers to the area of Ba-lam of sTag-rtse county (below fn. 410).

105 Deb dmar. ’Ju-phu. According to the context it is located in Phrad-tsam. Yet Phrad is arguably sPras of Phan-yul which is also given as sPrad. Jo bsun sPrad-pa alais Sras-pa of the sTod Tshal was a disciple of Sangs-rgyas-’bum and probably also of lHa-phyug-mkhar-ba. The ’Ju-bu monastery may correspond to the place ’Ju-ba of sPras, known as the birthplace of sBa-sgom bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan/snying-po, an important transmitter of the so-called A-ro precepts (i.e. from A-ro Ye-shes ’byung-gnas), pupil of AtiSa, as well as a household priest of Po-to-ba’s father (cf. Sørensen 2002: 243; BA Roerich 1000–05; Gu bkra chos ’byung 200). sPras is listed as an estate or mi sde of the Tshal-pa myriarchy. See below fn. 405. Less likely option: ’Ju of Dol, registered in Ras chung rnam thar 286. A student of the 9th Tshal dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje was ’Ju-phu-ba Shes-rab’ pel.

106 Deb dmar 134.17–18, BA Roerich 715, etc. lHa-phyug-mkhar was one of the most important branch monasteries
of the early Tshal-pa in Central Tibet and formed, aside from Tshal Gung-thang, the mother seat for the sTod-Tshal school which issued from the rTa-sga branch monastery (below Chapter II.1.2.3.1; cf. also Vitali 1996: 398, fn. 648). The crucial question as to its exact location is still not satisfactorily clarified. Seen in the context of the founding story, a location in sKyid-shod is evident, more precisely in the area of Ba-lam mTha'-brag. IHo rông chos 'byung chronicles that Nyi-zla'-od est. the monastery of IHa-phyug in Ba-lam Shar (199.12). Dung-dkar Rin-po-che in Deb dmar 451 (fn. 613) speaks of IHa-phyug-mkhar gyi ri khydro. Ba-lam Shar refers to the eastern section of the two valleys which form the Ba-lam district (east of sTag-rtse township). The location of IHa-phyug-mkhar in this section of the middle sKyid-chu area is attested by the Tsong kha pa rnam thar 315 where IHa-phyug is listed as one of the sKyid-shod holdings of the Phag-mo gru-pa governors of Brag-dkar (early 15th cent.; see below). The toponym, however, in this district remains unknown. Obviously IHa-phyug-mkhar must be counted among the Tshal-pa monasteries which later were not incorporated into the dGe-lugs-pa establishment, possibly because this monastery and institution at an early point had already lost political and religious importance. One also observes that several of the early Tshal-pa branches (as well as other pre-dGe-lugs institutions) of Central Tibet turned into nunneries in the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. Here a possible candidate for the identification of the old IHa/La-phyug-mkhar are the ruins of a nunnery in the IDan valley due east of the present-day Ba-lam district (see fn. 409). Corroborating its relative location as listed in bTsong-kha-pha’s biography, Si tu bka’ chems 124.13–14 = Rlangs 219.15–16 too mentions IHa-phyug dgon-pa in the 1350 A.D. skirmishes with ’Bri-gung, where it was destroyed. It appears not to recover after this blow. Here it was located close to the hermitage of Ba-lam Seng-ge-sgang. Deb sngon speaks of a mTshal-pa Phug-po [monastery] (i.e. Tshal-pa [IHa]-phyug-po/pa?), seat of one ’Gro mgon Rin-chen-mdzes in early 14th century (BA Roerich 719).

107 Deb sngon (BA Roerich 716): one year; dPug bsam ljon bzang 601.3: four years.
108 Cf. fn. 93 above.
109 Deb dmar 135.1: Rin-po-che sTon-nam.
110 On Ru-thog-pa, see below 238; sNang-sgom zhig-po is the rTa-sga-ba sNang-sgom zhig-po alias Tshang ’Durbaba chen-po (cf. below 284). The first three disciples are listed as abbots in Deb dmar in the context of being abbots of IHa-phyug-mkhar. Thus, it is maintained that following the demise of

- [no. 1] IHa-phyug-[mkhar]-pa in 1215 A.D.
- [no. 2] Bla-ma sPyan-snga-ba arrived at the seat of IHa-phyug-mkhar (ruled seven years). He was followed by
- [no. 3] Rin-po-che sTon-nam (rl. three years), In [shing] sprej, i.e. 1224 the gdan sa was vacant.
- [no. 4] Bla-ma Ba-lam-pa sojourneled in the East in the country of Mi-nyag (see also van der Kuijp 1991: 296); he might also be identified with Sangs-rgyas Ba-lam-pa, a Hayagriva ascetic and pupil of lCe-sgom (ca. 1140–1220; see Sørensen 1999: 192; but 1124–1204 A.D. acc. to van der Kuijp 2001).
- [no. 5] Sangs-rgyas Jo-sras (most probably not to be identified with Jo-sras [listed in our text below 23b) who led a group of monks from IHa-phyug-mkhar and who went to rTa-sga monastery towards the West; below fn. 274); he again was followed by
- [no. 6] Sangs-rgyas sTon-pa (see BA Roerich 991) and he again was followed by
- [no. 7] Bla-ma Za-lung-pa bSod-nams dbang-phyug. He took over the gdan sa in ca. 1257 A.D. (below 23a).
- [no. 8] Za-lung-pa Bla-ma mJos-pa bzang-po.
- [no. 9] Ru-thog-pa Sākya rgyal-mtshan (Tshal rnam 46b3–4) and

IHo rông chos 'byung 199.17–18 mentions Ru-thog[s]-pa Sākya-rgyal (= no. 9) and Khams-pa Byang-chub-dpal as the disciples of Nyi-zla-'od.

Place of birth: lHo-grangs of Gv[va]

Clan: rJe

Birth name: rDo-rje-'bum.

After lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, *Rin po che* Sangs-rgyas-'bum in a Dog year [1214 A.D.] came to the see of Yang-dgon. Father: lHa Rad-ma.111 Age five, when Zhang Rin-po-che arrived at Gv[va]-phu [Upper Gr[v]a], the father brought him to Zhang, from whom he received the [initiation] *Sems bskyed chen mo* and later at sGrags-mdal' [Lower sGrags], he received dBang chen empowerments. In Gung-thang he became a renunciate (*pravrajya*) in the presence of Zhang and received his ordination name: Sangs-rgyas-'bum. Requesting instruction, a particular insight was born in him. At the age of 23, he took his final ordination. [16a] Furthermore, he relied on many other bla ma, like slob dpön mGon-[b]zhi. In the latter part of his life, he became a student of lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, whereby he turned into a fit vessel for all kinds of precepts and he sharpened his mind through experience and realization. In the male Wood-Dog year [1214 A.D.], he arrived at the see of Yang-dgon, which he protected for five years [i.e. until 1219 A.D.].111 In the Water-Tiger year [1242 A.D.],114 he established the [monastic residence and meditation center of] sGom-sde [gZims-khang shar-ma] at Gung-thang. He erected a [Cakra-]Samvara *mandala* and offered it to the dBu-rte [of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang]. He repaired the dikes (rags) of lHa-sa [along the sKyid-chu river].116

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111 Deb dm.ar 133.5: dGra'î lHo-srongs. This local toponym within the well-known district of Gvra (see fn. 423) still remains unidentified.

112 Deb dm.ar 133.6: lHo Rad-ma.

113 So also Deb dm.ar 133: lo lnga (mistake for lo beo lnga? = 1230/31); Deb sngon (BA Roerich: 716); mKhas pa'i dga' ston 819 and Deb sngon (BA Roerich 716) maintain more convincingly that he held the chair for 18 years until 1230–31 A.D.; dPag bsam ljon bzang 601.4: 17 years. See also Jackson 1994: 72.

114 After his return from a year-long banishment (see below 22a and fns. 232, 233).

115 Deb dm.ar 133.15: dGon-sde (and sGom-sde, 135.6). As maintained in our text below (45b), there was – contrary to Tshal – in Gung-thang until that point no monastic residence (geghs gavra) wherefore Sangs-rgyas-'bum, who had returned from exile (see below and fns. 232, 233) and the 5th dbon sa ba Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan conjointly (by way of a yon mchod union) erected a sGom-sde. The founding year 1242 A.D. mentioned in the sources, is in contradiction to the dates of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, who was born in 1233. Age 23 (ca. 1254/55 A.D.), he took over the secular seat in Tshal (below 31a). After his return from China (1261 A.D.), he initiated the erection of new buildings in Gung-thang, among others the said [sGom-sde] gZims-khang shar-ma (--ba) (31b; cf. also Vaidyāya ser pos 151.24, 154.10). Chu stag or 1242 A.D. may possibly be erroneous for chu phag or 1263 A.D. On the other hand, in 1263 Sangs-rgyas-'bum had already passed away (fn. 118). Perhaps a better reading: in 1242 the former Yang-dgon gdan sa ba laid the foundation of the sGom-sde which was later completed by the yon ba Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. Sangs-rgyas-'bum who in his position as the first abbot of sGom-sde, held the title of gdan sa ba sprul sku is mentioned elsewhere in the Deb sngon as the “abbot Sangs-rgyas-'bum” of the sGom-sde” and is listed among the holders of the teaching tradition of Mar-pa’s disciple Mes-ston-po / Mes-ston (me lugs) (BA Roerich 406). Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma (113a) lists a Sangs-rgyas 'bum-mo who became the successor of the 6th Yang-dgon gdan sa ba Sangs-rgyas snying-po in around 1242 (fn. 130 below). This entry seems to confound the two thrones of Yang-dgon and sGom-sde. The sGom-sde formed a separate monastic complex and school and represented the leading religious throne of Gung-thang (see Chapter III. 3). Its name is derived from its location east of the Gung-thang Temple wherefore it was also denoted gZims-khang shar-ma (Eastern Residence). Today, it is no longer extant.

116 Deb dm.ar 133.16. lHo rong chos 'byung 199.7–9 mentions that after his restoration work of lHa-sa he became the master (bdag po) of the lHa-sa sde bzhi, i.e. the Four Communities of lHa-sa. The reference to the building of chu rags dikes more properly refers to the activities of dGe-ba-'bum. On “lHa-sa sde bzhi” and the chu rags pa, see App. II.
and he was active as mediator in the war between the 'Bri[-khung-pa] and the sTag[-lung-pa] etc.' His physical legacies left behind were numerous. He passed away at the age of 75.118

His countless pupils include: lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum,119 Ba-lam-pa, sPyan-mnga’-ba, rtogs ldan 'Dag-sbyar (~ char)-pa, sPos-kha-pa, etc.120 During the tenure of this [throne-holder], all the monastic communities (dgon sde) developed and expanded extraordinarily. Despite an oral command (bka’ rgya) of Bla-ma [Zhang] [bespoke] that one was not allowed to occupy the see beyond three years, still he prolonged his tenure in all to five years. In a Rabbit year [i.e. 1219 A.D./1231 A.D. see supra] strife broke out over the see and [he] was set aside [i.e. ousted from the chair].121 In the meantime Ti-shri ras-pa nominally (mtshan tsam) became gral dpon.122

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117 Deb dmar 133.16. Conflicts between the sTag-lung-pa and 'Bri-gung-pa are registered in the sources in connection with the procuring of materials (mainly wood from the area of Nags-shod) for the construction of the great vhāra of sTag-lung in 1224 A.D. (tenure of the 2nd sTag-lung throne-holder Rin-chen mgon-po alius Sku-yal Rin-po-che), cf. stTag lung chos byung I 258; BA Roerich 625. Albeit sharing common ecclesiastic roots, down through history the seats were regularly enmeshed in territorial disputes. Periods of harmony initiated between the 15th 'Bri-gung and the 14th sTag-lung throne-holders and should be strengthened since then, cf. Part I: App. II.

118 Reaching the age of 75, it may thus tentatively be suggested for the dates of Sangs-rgyas-'bum (ca. 1170-1245).

119 lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum was a key figure in the remedial and cultic history of lHa-sa and it is most deplorable that we have access neither to a lengthy biography nor to a testament. He was born in sKyid-smad into a wealthy household family. He is mainly associated with the dissemination of the physical as well as written legacy of the Avalokiteśvara cult. The dates proposed (1123-1182) would appear to dovetail with his patronage of sGam-pa-pa, but appear to be quite spurious when we consider that his root-teacher (sic), most confusingly, is registered as chos rje Lo-ras (1187-1250) and that he was also registered as pupil of Sangs-rgyas-'bum (who held the see of Yang-dgon between 1214-1219/1231). Zur-chen confirms that at the point when dGe-ba-'bum rendered service to Ra-sa, Zur-chen had manifested himself as Sangs-rgyas-'bum (accounting for the sral sku line of the latter, see below). For more details on him, see Part II: App. II.

Sources: 'Khruṅ rabs 9a1-4 = 593.1-4 (vol. Ba) of 5th Dalai Lama’s gSang ‘bum; DL5 1V (~ Ahmad 1999: 190-92); Rin chen phun thogs rnam thar 359.3-368.3; BA Roerich 1006; lHa ldan dkar chag, passim. Sog bclog hgyis thal gvi lo rgyus 229-230; Zur chen rnam thar 14.2-5; see also HSLG Vol. 6: 94-96; Nang rig 272; Byams-pa phrin-las 2000: 169-70; Prats 1982: 31-32.

120 On Ba-lam-pa, see above fn. 110. sPyan-mnga’-ba is probably the Bla-ma sphyin mngag ‘ba bsam-gtan shes-rab, the 2nd abbot of lHa-phuyg-mkhar (fn. 110). In addition, Deb dmar 133.17-20 mentions Jo-btsun Sras-pa (= Jo-btsun sPrad-pa (= sGrad-pa?; sBrad-pa?)] of the sTod-thsal, below 26b). Grva-pa dge-slong, slob dpon Ngar-phug-pa, (i.e. Ngar-phug-pa dGe- ’dan seng-ge, cf. Mar lung rnam thar 83b.2-3; Part II: Table V. 4). 'Bri-ra-ba (the Zhang disciple 'Bri-ba-Sàkya ‘od?, above fn. 101), rtogs ldan Byang-phyi-ba, lHa-spyil-pa, Zhang-sgom and Bla-ma Do-pa. On Bla-ma Do-pa, see BA Roerich 473, 991.

121 Deb sgon states that after 18 years, in 1231 A.D., he was expelled by sgom pa Ye-shes-ladan (BA Roerich 716), who in the Vaiḍāryā saṃpuruṣa po 152.24 is listed as the succeeding religious lord. The reasons for the abbatial demotion or removal chronicled in the present text does not ring plausible, inasmuch as the two preceding abbots held longer tenures. The dispute most probably was linked to the contemporary regulation of the succession of the Tshal-pa rule. 1231 is also the year that saw the transition of the secular rule from the line of Dar-ma gzhon-nu to that of mGar (i.e. from no. 3 to No. 4 of the dgon sa) (below Chapter II.2). See also below 22a and 38b 231, 232.

122 The title gral dpon usually refers to an assistant who supervises the master’s retinue, cf. e.g. parallel Deb sgon (BA Roerich 440).
that he acted as an interim figure. Anyway, in stongTsang-po
Again he was able, his biography purports, to protect Xixia against military attacks, being assisted in this matter by
or
been a statue of
and later, in a similar way and in different capacities at
bza’ Klu-lcam. Early, he met ‘Ba’-rom of ‘Dam-shod (other sources: Yar-stod Bar-
and later, in a similar way and in different capacities at
Sperling
A.D.) and these activities could also be alluded to in our text which mentions that he functioned as
the
he was. as said, invited by the Mi-nyag emperor through the mediation of Yar-lung-pa (fn. 378 below) some time after
1200 A.D. and arrived at Kam-chu (= Ganzhou, i.e. present-day Zhangye) and later at Ling-chu (i.e. Lingzhou) where
he was appointed guoshi. 1209–10, at a point the Mongols for the third time besieged Mi-nyag, during the final years of
the empire, his biography maintains that this ascetic arguably was able to help averting the assault. Under the Mi-
nyag emperor Gyal-rgod (Shenzong, i.e. Weiming Zunxu (1162–1226; rg. 1211–23), he was then appointed dishi. Again
he was able, his biography purports, to protect Xixia against military attacks, being assisted in this matter by
gTsang-po/ gTsang-so-pa. In all, he stayed in Mi-nyag and in the eastern borderland between 1196 and 1226 A.D.
He may have been briefly in Central Tibet in around 1219, where he ordained Sangs-rgyas ston-pa byTson-’grus seng-
ge (1207–78 A.D.), he finally took his full ordination. In the subsequent years, he visited Khams, took possession of several temples as well as founded one himself, and at one point
he was, as said, invited by the Mi-nyag emperor through the mediation of Yar-lung-pa (fn. 378 below) some time after
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ge (1207–78 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 744. Fearing the impending and, as it turned out, final attack from the Mongols, he
succeeded in fleeing the capital of Xia. He again returned to Central Tibet where he e.g. acted as precentor at Yer-pa
and later, in a similar way and in different capacities at IHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang, where he served (or replaced the
Tenury gdan sa ba (name?) in the sense of a locum tenens. He apparently mended the skirmishes at the see (1230–31
A.D.) and these activities could also be alluded to in our text which mentions that he functioned as gdan po, meaning
that he acted as an interim figure. Anyway, in 1231 or 1232, he again headed for Khams where he e.g. consecrated the
dByig-ne Iha-khang. His main disciple was Ras-pa dkar-po. In sum, it is thus not conclusively clear whether Ti-shri ras-pa,
if only very briefly, in 1231 held the abbyacy at Tshal.

123 Ti-shri ras-pa (the Cotton-clad dishi, or Imperial Preceptor) (1164–1236 A.D.) alias Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen, had an eventful and turbulent life in the easternmost borderlands of Tibet as well as in the Tangut state of Xixia or Mi-nyag (< Mi-niah, Tangut’s own ethonym). He indeed spent a total of 31 years in these borderlands. Aside from
Bla-ma Zhang, as well as the ‘Bri-gung and sTag-lung founders, he foremost was registered as a close student of ‘Ba’-
drom Dar-ma dbang-phug (1127–1199 A.D.), and despite his eclectic training, he is generally considered a leading
representative of the latter Ba’-rom, following him to the ‘Ba’-rom main seat in Khams. He eventually rose to become chaplain to the Mi-nyag Emperor.

The “interim” candidate as tenant in Tshal (‘Phags-pa ‘Gro-mgon) Ti-shri Ras-pa adhered to the rje’u clan (one
source indicates his clan to be the proto IDong clan) – which probably only means that he was of noble origin rather
than that he stemmed from the same clan as the clan of the 4th gdan sa ba Sangs-rgyas-bum.* He was born 1164 A.D.
at Ra-phrom of ‘Dam-shod (other sources: Yar-stod Bar-thang), his father being Dar khra-bo and mother Ka-tsha-
ba’ Klu-lcam. Early, he met ‘Ba’-rom, Zhang Rin-po-che and Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa, etc. As said, he also became a
student of ‘Bri-gung ‘Jig-rten mgon-pa (BA Roerich 601; Bri gung gdan rabs III 105). At the age of 25 (1189 A.D.),
he was ordained and received the name Shes-rab seng-ge. Age 34 (1195 A.D.), he finally took his full ordination. In the subsequent years, he visited Khams, took possession of several temples as well as founded one himself, and at one point
he was, as said, invited by the Mi-nyag emperor through the mediation of Yar-lung-pa (fn. 378 below) some time after
1200 A.D. and arrived at Kam-chu (= Ganzhou, i.e. present-day Zhangye) and later at Ling-chu (i.e. Lingzhou) where
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the empire, his biography maintains that this ascetic arguably was able to help averting the assault. Under the Mi-
nyag emperor Gyal-rgod (Shenzong, i.e. Weiming Zunxu (1162–1226; rg. 1211–23), he was then appointed dishi. Again
he was able, his biography purports, to protect Xixia against military attacks, being assisted in this matter by
gTsang-po/ gTsang-so-pa. In all, he stayed in Mi-nyag and in the eastern borderland between 1196 and 1226 A.D.
He may have been briefly in Central Tibet in around 1219, where he ordained Sangs-rgyas ston-pa byTson-’grus seng-
ge (1207–78 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 744. Fearing the impending and, as it turned out, final attack from the Mongols, he
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that he acted as an interim figure. Anyway, in 1231 or 1232, he again headed for Khams where he e.g. consecrated the
dByig-ne Iha-khang. His main disciple was Ras-pa dkar-po alias Shes-rab byang-chub (1198–1262 A.D.), who
descended from gSang.

The eventful life of this ‘Ba’-rom and Tshal master deserves an in-depth study. His istadevatā is reported to have been
a statue of Vajrayogini. Sources: < IHo rong chos ‘byung 213–220, 273, 434, 443; sTag lung chos ‘byung I [A]
1472; [B] 244; mkhas pa’i dga’ ston 802.23–803.1, 810.12–14; Mig ‘byed ‘ad stong 28b6–29a3; ‘Bri gung chos ‘byung
328–29; Tshal rnam 24a4; see also Khams stod lo rgyus 26–38; ‘Ba’-rom bla’ brgyud chos ‘byung 197–218 further
1996, XIX, Gene Smith 2001: 43; Pema Kunsang and Binder Schmidt 2005: 10–24. These papers also refer to other
minor biographies of Ti-shri ras-pa.

Ti-shri ras-pa is only registered in Deb dmar and Gung thang dkar chag, whereas Deb sngon and mkhas pa’i dga’
ston here introduce the 6th throne-holder. Vaidyāra ser po has sGom-pa Ye-shes-Ildan as the successor of Sangs-rgyas
’bum-pa, who was responsible for the latter’s banishment (see above). See also Chos ‘byung bs tan pa’i nyl ma 113a2f.;
its Tshal Gung thang pa’i bla rabs has sGom Ye-shes-Ildan as the 5th gdan sa ba who ruled for seven years. Clearly
different lists of the throne-holder successors have prevailed in Tibet, and Sangs-rgyas snying-po (our 6th gdan sa ba)
appears to be identical with Ye-shes-Ildan of other lists. In sum, it is thus not conclusively clear whether Ti-shi ras-pa,
if only very briefly, in 1231 held the abbyacy at Tshal.

* Bla-ma Zhang too is said (IHo rong chos ‘byung 181) to be of rje’u descent, which probably only means that he descended from a ruling or noble family (rje’u = rje ba).
He [earlier] met Zhang Rin-po-che when the latter fought against the gDos-pa ordering him that he should throw stones against the enemies. Twice stones were thrown against the enemies. The third time, he thought that it was not appropriate to kill people after he had arrived for the sake of dharma. He thus did not throw any stones and therefore the auspicious circumstances [between the two] proved faulty. Because of this, the initial belligerent of Zhang. The third time, he thought that it was not appropriate to kill people after he had [now] arrived for the sake of dharma. He thus did not throw any stones and therefore the auspicious circumstances [between the two] proved faulty. Because of this, the initial belligerent of Zhang.

At the age of 19, he arrived in dBu. In the presence of mahopādhyāya bZad-pa and mNyam-


Place of birth: Nyang-stod of gTsang

Father: slob dpon Tshul-khrims snying-po

Mother: bKra-shis-'od; He was the eldest among six [truly] peerless sons.

At the age of 19, he arrived in dBu. In the presence of mahopādhyāya bZad-pa and mNyam-

124 Verbatim from dGos 'dod re skong ma'i grel ba 564.4-565.4. According to the biographical sketch in *IHo rong chos* 'byung 213-14, he met Zhang in 1174 (Kham's stod lo rgyus 27: 1178) and again 1189 A.D. Chos kun gsal ba'i me long 20a1f. cites another biography where Dharma gzhon-nu was involved during Zhang's fightings against the bsDos.

The toponym gDos (and the gDos-pa) are listed among the geomantic places of the lhA-sa Mandala (i.e. the "gDos-pa'i brag of the East"; see Ka khol ma 213.9) where it appears to refer to a place in Ba-lam or western Mal' gro area (cf. also TBH Sørensen 258). Conversely, a Dos-po is registered (during the dGa'-ldan gzhang period) as part of the former Tshal-sde estate of present-day sTod-lung bDe-chen rdzong; cf. HSLG Vol. 3: 11. Further, one may also consider that gDos-pa mistakenly stands for g[g]Dol-pa, i.e. Dol of present-day Gong-dkar county which is mentioned as one of the places where Zhang waged war; fol. 21b infra.

125 Alluding to the two stone attacks previously perpetrated by Ti-shri on Bla-ma Zhang's behest. By way of analogy, the third stone attack by Ti-shri ras-pa was not executed, wherefore the third Hor attack on Mi-nyag proved successful, namely the invasion and subsequent destruction of the state of Xia/Mi-nyag in 1227 A.D. Thus indirectly, a magic relation between Zhang's local warfare and the attack on Mi-nyag by the Mongols is drawn here. And it was due to Zhang that, posthumously, the two first military raids against Xia for the Mongols were doomed to fail.

Tradition holds that the 'Bri-gung founder too, in a slightly different way, assisted the Mi-nyag king in avoiding the first waves of Mongol attacks; cf. Phyogs bcu dus gsum ma 165.

126 Often also called sNying-po Sangs-rgyas. He is listed among Zhang's disciples. Cf. *IHo rong chos* 'byung 197.20; Part II: Table V. 5; also mentioned in the context of the ordination of gTsang-pa rGya-ras (fn. 78) and Ro-skam-pa (below 20b). In bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen mo 434.2-3 one mkhan po Yul-zad-pa [sic] (we have a bZang/bZad-yul-ba connected to Thag-ma Iha-khang, s.v.) is mentioned (identical?), whose religious name was Sangs-rgyas ye-shes. He acted, as in the present case too, as upādhyāya together with the first throne-holder of Yang-dgon ṛcārva Sāky ye-shes, when in 1198 (?) one Seng-ge ye-shes (b. 1181 A.D.) was ordained, a religious figure whose life is detailed in the latter biography op. cit., 427f. Yul-[?]zad-pa at some point also acted as mkhan po – here abbot – of 'Bri-gung for one year during a one-year vacancy at this site. Hence, mkhan po bZad-pa is apparently neither identical with the dge
med Šākya ye-shes he became a renunciate and took his final ordination. In a Dragon year [i.e. [chu] 'brug, 1232 A.D.], he came to the see of Yang-dgon. In the upper courtyard, he erected the ossuary (gdung rt'en) for mNyam-med Šākya ye-shes. His karmic activities [in magnitude] and [the number of] convertees [that gathered around him] resemble space. He occupied the see for seven years. In an [[Earth-]Dog year [sa] khyi, i.e. 1238 A.D.], he passed away. 

[7] Rin po che Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu
Thereafter the latter's [i.e. Sangs-rgyas snying-po] brother arrived at the see. With the age of 12 he arrived in dBus; he received the name Sangs-rgyas ras-pa and he [eventually] knew the complete cycles of the Tshal-pa [tradition]. Age 23 he became a renunciate and took his full ordination (upasampadā) in the presence of dge bshes Jo-sras acting as upādhyāya and Brag-tshab-pa as acārya, the two. He established in M/Nyang-stod, the Glang-lung monastery. In a Dog year [i.e. [sa] khyi 1238 A.D.], he arrived at the see of Yang-dgon. He erected an inner support for Rin po che Sangs-rgyas snying-po. He held the see for 23 years, yet in some [writings] it is also maintained that he [only] remained 21 years on the seat. His karmic activities as well as [the number of] convertees [indeed] resemble space. In a [Iron-]Monkey year [[lcags] spre'u, 1260 A.D.], he passed away.

After him arrived at the see his own brother, Rin po che Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan.
[8] **Rin po che Kun-dga’ rgyal-mtshan**

[17a] At the age of ten, he was invited to dBus by the Great Ones [i.e. dpon po] Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub and his son,112 where in the presence of Chos-rin who acted as upādhyāya and Rin-chen-grub acting as ācārya, he became a renunciate and took his final ordination. Age 21 he occupied the seat. He erected an inner support and outer support for Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu. He established the lhA-sdings monastery.113 Above the Nine-pillared [Hall] [Ka-dgu-ma]114 in Yang-dgon [in Tshal] he constructed a gser khang, wherefore he became known as gSer-khang steng-pa. He occupied the seat for 33 years.115 His glorious karmic activities [in magnitude] as well as [the number of] converts [and living beings] resemble space. He then handed over the see to his own nephew (dbon) Sangs-rgyas rin-chen. For 11 years after retirement, he practiced in retreat. He passed away at the age of 63.116

[9] **Sangs-rgyas rin-chen**

Father: Śākya-'od, who was a paternal relative of gSer-khang-pa [alias Kun-dga’ rgyal-mtshan]: At the age of 16, he arrived in dBus, where he in the presence of Rin po che gSer-khang steng-pa and Rin-chen-dpal117 acting as upādhyāya became a renunciate and took his final ordination. Age 45, he came to the see. His [enlightened] activities for the converts too were extensive. He reigned for ten years and passed away at age 55.118 He was followed on the throne by sprul sku Śākya-’bum.

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111 Thus according to Deb dmar / Gung thang dkar chag, he was born in ca. 1228 A.D., 1248 he occupied the abbacy and his tenure lasted until [icags] brug 1280 (Deb dmar 131.21), when he retired. only to pass away in 1290/91, born in chu mo lug 1223 according to Deb sngon (BA Roerich 716); Ming mdzod 50–51: thus giving his dates 1223–92. He may be identified with mkhan chen gSer-khang-pa who in 1282 A.D. ordained the talented dPang Blo-gros btan-pa (1276–1342), the latter again was teacher to the 12th throne-holder (see below). sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 7a5–6, 33a2.

112 It appears to have been a rule that the (future) Yang-dgon gdan sa ba always used to come on the official and formal invitation of the dpon chen, e.g. the case of the 10th gdan sa ba.

113 Deb dmar 131.19. lhA-sdings. A lhA-sdings is associated with rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa: cf. the rGyal ba Yang dgon pa i rnam thar 85–87. Now, it may also allude to lhA-sa-sdeng temple of rDzam in Dvags-po, said to be erected, however, by another pupil of Zhang, Ye-shes blo-gros (cf. dGa’ ldan chos ’byung 175b1–2; Vaidyāra ser po 202). From a lhA-sdings dBus mdzad slob dpon gZhon-nu dbang-phug, sMon-lam rdo-rje received teachings; Tshal rnam 39b4–5.

114 We have a gSer-khang steng-shod gTsug-lag-khang erected ca. 1284 by the 6th throne-holder of sKyor-mo-lung, Rin-chen ’byung-gnas (1234–1290); cf. sKyor lung chos ’byung 23b. It may also refer to the lhA-sdings of sTod-lung Ram-pa (erected in the 12th cent. by the 5th Ne’u-thog gSang-phu abbot gNam-pa’bar-pa; cf. Yar lung chos ’byung 124.11–13), or to the lhA-sdings of Zhogs (below fn. 493). Otherwise currently unidentified.

115 For activities in this (currently no more extant) room or chapel, cf. dPon Dar ma gzhon nu i chus lan (e.g. in Zhang bka’ bum I) 30.2–3. In one corner (shug) of this chapel in 1647 A.D., Zur-chen executed and consecrated a wall-painting of bDe-mgon and entourage; Zur chen rnam thar 157b6–158a1 (= 314.6–315.1).

116 dPag bsam ljon bzang 601.5 purports that he held the abbacy for 38 or 39 years.

117 See note 131. Dates different in Deb sngon.

118 It appears to be U-rgyan-pa Seng-ge-dpal (alt. name Rin-chen-dpal) 1229/30–1309/21.  

119 According to Gung thang dkar chag, he was born 1235/36 A.D., arrived in dBus 1251 A.D., tenure from 1280 until 1290 A.D. when he passed away. His dates in Deb sngon one lo skor later: 1247–1301 A.D.; Ming mdzod 1745.

Chos kun gsal ha’i me long 20b7–21a3 after listing the throne-holders from the sixth until the ninth incumbent, mentions a transmission line through chos rje sMon-lam rgyal-mtshan, kun spangs dGe-sbyong, etc. The latter, not recorded in this form in Gung thang dkar chag, appears to refer to the 12th dpon chen (see below), e.g. reported in Iho rong chos ’byung 570, being active in the later 1370’s when he in 1378 invited sTag-lung chos rje bKra-shis dpal-brtsegs (1359–1424/25) to mTshal.
[10] *sPrul sku* Śākya-'bum

Date of birth: Ox year [i.e. 1253 A.D.].

Father: Ye-shes, who was a son of slob [dpon] Byang[-chub] ye[-she]s, who had [previously] faulted in [his lay] precepts [i.e. vows] ([b]slab pa skyon byung ba). Having taken his full ordination as a renunciate (pravrajā), he arrived in dBus and Śākya-'bum was elected to the see at the age of 38 [i.e. 1290 A.D.] [17b]. Being in possession of unobstructed super knowledge (abhiṣāma) and magical faculties such as [being able to directly] behold the countenance of his iṣṭadevata, he occupied the see for nine[teen?] years and passed away in a Dog year [1298 = 1310 A.D.]. Thereafter chos rje Byang-chub bzang-po followed on the throne.

[11] *Chos rje Byang-chub bzang-po*

From the 'Bre, a lineage that [indeed] included many holy kalyāṇamitra such as 'Bre Shes-rab-bar and gTsxang-pa 'Bre-sku, etc.

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139 I.e. Water-Ox year; *shing mo glang* 1265 A.D. Cf. BA Roerich 717.

140 See the 2nd throne-holder above.

141 According to the chronology in *Deb sgon*: he came to the chair age 37 (1301 A.D.) and passed away in Iron-Dog, 1310; BA Roerich 717: *Ming mdzod* 1720. He therefore ruled for nineteen (not nine) years. The dates given in *Deb sgon* are here to be preferred also because it is confirmed in *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar* [= Tshal rnam] 2a2 which mentions that he inaugurated sMon-lam rdo-rje as new dpon sa in 1303.

In 1337, a phyi rtan for Śākya-'bum, a gser 'bum was erected at Tshal Yang-dgon by the 9th dpon chen sMon-lam rdo-rje, cf. Tshal rnam 20a6–7. The nephew of Śākya-'bum was one dBon-she, the dhu mdzad of the sgom chen spyi of bSam-mdings monastery; cf. Tshal rnam 46a6–b1.

142 'Bre was an influential clan active in the Myang district of gTsxang (below Map 9), yet its fame eventually spread all over Tibet in the 11–12th century. Key figures included the mid- and late 11th- and early 12th-century 'Bre [chen-po] Shes-rab-'bar (also called Shes-rab bla-ma), one of the four principal disciples of rNgog lo tsā ba Blo-lidan shes-rab (1057/59–1109 A.D.) and a temporary antagonist of Rva lo tsā ba (b. 1016). He was ordained in the presence of Atiśa’s pupil Yol Chos kyi dbang-phuyug (the Yol clan, too, held large stretches of the Myang district, including the abbots of the early [sKyeogs] gNas-myin seat); other texts: in the presence of sNe-po Grags-pa rgyal-mishan.

In the presence of 'Bre, on the other hand, the pioneer of Vinaya Bya ‘dul ’dzin brTson-grus-'bar (1091–1166 A.D.) was ordained. In the late 10th century, a 'Bre’i lhag-khang is registered, a late snga dar period temple was erected in the eastern part of the 'Dus-chung valley of Myang (present-day in Pa-mam rdzong), where one of the pupils of Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phuyug, by the name mGo-ba Ye-shes g.yung-drung, took hold of the seat.

For an informative biographical sketch (of Shes-rab-'bar, unfortunately no dates) and of the subsequent throne-holders of his see as well as his flourishing lineages in La-stod, see Mang-thos’ *bsTan rtsis* 120–126. In fact, the 'Bre clan in tandem with the Khyung clan (cf. e.g. also Jackson 1984: 110–114) were the all-dominant occupants of the Myang-stod district (today a xiang; loc. 28°54’N 89°39’E). The area of conversion of the 'Bre clan and the dharmacakra activity of 'Bre chen-po was the district of Bye-mda’ of Upper Myang. It was also at the 11–12th cent., seat of Myang-stod ‘Chad-mang, est. by Be [= 'Bre?] g.Yo-rong-btsun (mKhan bu of Grva-pa mNgon-shes) and at the famous gNas-myin seat that 'Bre chen-po taught extensively and where he est. a bshad grva. He had many students such as sngags ‘chang Rin-chen ‘byung-gnas, Khyung Rin-cheng-grags and the influential La-stod-pa (or gNas-myin-pa) dKon-mchog mkhar-ba* – the latter was his most prominent student who eventually took over the seat of gNas-myin. Cf. *Myang chos ‘byung* 36f., 64, 75–83.

A famous medical pioneer in Tibet, g Yu-thog mgon-po (gsar ma) (1126–1202 A.D.) stemmed from the 'Bre clan (other sources, however, maintain that he stemmed from the neighbouring Khyung-po clan, similar to his elder relative (‘Dre rje? = 'Bre rje g.Yu-thog mgon-po rnying-ma; the latter’s line, however, is also assoc. with sTod-lung). We have reports of a local (9th-cent. king?) of Myang-stod in the snga dar period) bsad po ‘Bre chen-po rGyal-ba’i blo-gros who is registered as a translator and transmitter (a contemp. of sNubs Nam-mkha’i snying-po), esp. of the Single Fire and Single Skull (me gcig thod gcig) esoteric cycle.
Father: snags 'chang slob dpon Yon-tan rgya-mtsho.
Mother: Rin-chen 'bum, the niece (dpon mo) of Yang-dgon-pa [i.e. the last throne-holder?].
Date of birth: Earth-Dog year [1298 A.D.]. Youth [i.e. birth] name: Śākya mTha'-yas.

Age ten he took the novice vows in the presence of lHa-[g]dong Shes-[rab] rin-[chen] who functioned as upādhyāya and the sNar-thang upādhyāya Grags-[pa] she[s]-ba” acting as acārya. His name was changed into the ordination name: Byang-chub bzang-po. From mkhan po lHa-[g]dong Shes-rin-pa?] he [received and heard] many [teachings] such as on the Generation of the Thought [of Enlightenment] (thugs bskyed, cиттotpāda) and precepts on the mind training (blo sbyong) etc. From the bla ma of Shar-rkan, Grags-byor, he requested [and received] empowerment and all the precepts such as the reading transmission of the tradition of Me [i.e. Mes-ston] and the tradition of Tshal-[pa bKa’-brgyud] (me[s] lugs tshal lugs). Age 13, in an Iron Dog year [1310 A.D.], he was invited to dBys by chen po dGa’-bde-[dpal], father and son[s]. In that very year, on the third day of the fifth month, he was enthroned on the great see. In the subsequent year the Hevajra (brTag gnyis) was preached. Age 20, he took his full ordination in the presence of Sang-rin-pa” as acting as karmācārya, bSod-nams-dpal” acting as upādhyāya, and Bla-ma Sha-rkan-pa, who acted as secret preceptor. From the preceptor he learnt the basic Teaching of the Vinayāsūtra (‘Dul ba mdo rtsa), and the Bodhicaryāvatāra and he successfully requested for and received all relevant reading

Sources: lDe’u-2 324–26; Deb dmär 67; Rva lo rnam thar 257–58, 265, 315; Yar lung chos ’byung [A] 131.12–16; ‘Dul ba’i chos ’byung I 46; Myang chos ’byung 7, 14, 37–38, 41, 47, 64–65, 78–90, 105. et passim; mkhas pa ’i dga’ ston 73; Gu bkra chos ’byung 357.17–23; ’Ngog lo bstan bskyangs 454; Kam tshang brgyud pa II 145b5; Shes bya spyi’i khog dbubs 313; g Yu thog gsar rnying rnam thar 313; Nor ba’i do shal 108–10; see also bShad mdzod 190; BA Roerich 330. passim; Ming mdzod 1239, 1583–85.

gTsong-pa’ Bre-sku (also gTsang-pa ’Bre-sgur/-dgur/-rgur/-snur) was one of the pupils (in fact considered the most erudite) of the great Madhyamaka master Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055). He transmitted the teachings stemming from ’Bre Shes-rab’bar in the area of Pa-rnam sGa-gdong (i.e. dGa’-gendong of Pa-rnam county; location; 29°12’N 89°10’E, cf. Dimenchi I 500; dGra-lha 2000; on the name Pa-r’i-nam, see above fn. 11) and at Bya-rog-tshang both of gTsong (in central M/Nyang, the homeland of the ’Bre clan; for Bya-rog see fn. 450 below); cf. e.g. Yar lung chos ’byung 131.15; rGya bod yig tshang 485; bsTan rtis gsal ba’i nyin byed 116, 119.

* The importance and role of dKon-mchog mkhor-pa (mid-11th cent.) who later est. the gNas-gsar seat (also known as gNas-gog) in gTsong was substantial (see here Vitali 2004b). His ossuary was located in the small gNas-gsar temple. He was teacher of Phag-gru rdDo-rje rgyal-po and ’Ba’-rom Dar-ma dbang-phyug.

133 Deb sgnog: he lived from lcags sbrul 1281–me pho spre ’u 1356; cf. also Ming mdzod 1104–05. The identification of Tshal Byang-chub bzang-po in Pal (2001: 142) is uncertain.

134 This is probably Grags-pa shes-rab who is registered as abbot of sNar-thang for the years ca. 1306–1318 (BA Roerich 283). The famous bKa’-gdam-pa monastery and seat of the sNar-thang school was founded in 1153 by gTum-ston Blo-gros grags-pa (1106–1166), a disciple of Shar-ba-pa. Cf. BA Roerich 282f; Ferrari 61–62, 146. It is situated close to Chu-mig in gTsam (e.g. Chan 1994: 833, 834).

During the tenure of Byang-chub bzang-po at Tshal Yang-dgon, the dbu mdzod was Iha bsun Śākya bsod-nams.

135 Also Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po; below 36a. dGa’ idan chos ’byung I 50a4: Byang-chub-dpal.

136 The Me[s] lugs refers to the tradition of the Mar-pa disciple Mes-tshon bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, well-known mainly for the transmission of cycles pertinent to the Hevajra tantra that paved the way for the distinct Mes-tshon bKa’-brgyud tradition; e.g. Deb sgnog (BA Roerich 405-6). The Tshal lugs usually refers to the transmission at Tshal Gung-thang of the cult of the four-armed Ye-shes mgon-po or Mahākāla transmitted by rGva-lo (above fn. 30).

137 It corresponds to ca. 02. 06. 1310 A.D. of the Western calendar. See also Tshal rnam 58a1–2.

138 I.e. Don-zhags-pa Sangs-rgyas rin-chen also known as as the upādhyāya of Kun-dga’ rdO-rje; below 37a.

139 He is mentioned in Vaidūrya ser po 153.11–12 as one of the early abbots of dBys-gling monastery.
permissions and ritual practises. From the bSam-sdangs-pa bla ma mKhas-grub chos-rje gZhon-nu, 150 he requested for and received the cycle of Ri-gong-pa (ri gong pa'i chos skor). 151 [18a] From rje btsun Ri-po-ba Rin-chen bzang-po [1243–1319], he requested for and received all the cycles of rNgog-pa. 152 From rtogs ldan Don-grub ye-shes, he requested for and received the many bKa’ rgya [ma] [i.e. Sealed Biographical Books] cycles of [Bla-ma] Zhang. And by way of instructions and precepts as well as by way of reading authorization and hermeneutics etc. of the Hevajra [cycle] according to the Me[s-ston] tradition and the Collected Works of ’Gro-mgon rin-po-che etc., he worked extensively for the well being of sentient beings. He erected the mountain retreat (ri khrod) of Yer-pa dGa’-ldan-gling. 153 [In Gung-thang] he erected the Temple of the Dharma- Thron[e Chos-khri lha-khang] 154 and he renewed [both] the external and the internal [section of] the Bla-ye [Prayer Square]. 155 In accordance with the prophecy in bKa’ rgya [ma], he discovered

150 A number of bSam-sdangs-pa masters were related to Tshal Gung-thang, also this master; cf. Tshal rnam 46a7-b1, 49b1–2, 50b6, 63b4, 64a2. He resided in dPal gyi ri-bo.

151 Or Gru ma ri gongs pa’i chos skor. A cycle of Shangs-pa bka’-brgyud-pa?

152 I.e. the teaching cycle of the Hevajra tantra etc. according to the system of rNgog mDo-sde (cf. BA Roerich 407) which inter alia was transmitted within the rNgog lineage of sPre’u-zhing. The important teaching center in gZhung was founded by mDo-sde’s grandson Kun-dga’ rdo-rje (1157–1234 A.D.), his grandson, the 5th sPre’u-zhing throne-holder rNgog Rin-chen bzang-po (1243–1319, or 1231–1307?; Iho rong chos ’byung 61.14–62.7; BA Roerich 410) was active as a teacher in Tshal Yang-dgon and at the sGom-sde college. He may (although the Ri-bo-pa seems to have a flouruit covering the mid-14th cent.; see fn. 488 below) be identical with the rje btsun Ri-po-ba Rin-chen bzang-po, where “Ri-po-pa” perhaps referring to the place gZhung Ri-bo [Khyung-sdings], known as the residence of rNgog Chos-sku rdo-rje (= rNgog mDo-sde’s father). Cf. BA Roerich 404; Gu bkra chos ’byung 343–44; gTsang smyon rnam than 118.3; Chos-sku rdo-rje’s father was dPal-le, son of rNgog g.Yu-khri.

The 9th Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje wrote a biography of Ri-bo-pa (non-extend); see Table V.12 below.

For a representation of the rNgog (branch) lineage of rNgog Chos-rdor which includes a gdan rabs of sPre’u-zhing, see Iho rong chos ’byung 50–65; BA Roerich 403–14. On the gZhung district, see also below fn. 423.

153 The precise location of this ri khrod in the Yer-pa district (east of IHa-sa) remains unknown.

154 I.e. Chos-khri-nub, see 62a, 70a below. The building initially accomodated the private cella of Bla-ma Zhang, whereupon it was expanded by the current throne-holder into the Chos-khri lha-khang. Adjacent to this chapel, the later Chos-khri grva-tshang or college, situated just south of the gTsung-lag-khang itself was established; below Graph 3.

155 Although bla ye, bla [g.] yerIl (also bla dbyhe) as a term is fairly rare and nowadays obsolete, in medieval texts the term was in common use, employed in the sense of an open-air, spacious courtyard square or plain. Our text mentions that it consisted of an inner and an outer part and that the outer section alone accomodated a stone-paved courtyard (rdo bchal; this term is often a synonym of bla g.yerIl) and that it corresponded to the square-type similar to gSung-chos ra-ba of IHa-sa (below fn. 615), which clearly served as model. The main activities at a Bla-ye square was to deliver large-scale public or religious teachings. Bla-ye assembly or public squares were established at all major monastic (predominantly) bKa’-brgyud-pa centers throughout Tibet, such as at ’Bri-gung-mthil, here called Bla-dbyhe/ycel chen-mo (orig. Bla-g.yel chen-mo, cf. ’Bri gung gdan rabs III 167, et passim; Nam mkha’ dPal rnam than 8b3; dKon-mchog ’phel-rgyas 1991: 41), a huge open-spaced plain (now wall-framed) which included a prayer throne, hence a locale also called Bla-yel-thang. Older texts adduce that ceremonies conducted there also comprised ras phud rituals and large-scale ganacakra. The Gung-thang bla ye was mentioned during the reign of sMon-lam rdo-rje and Kun-dga’ rdo-rje; cf. Tshal rnam 17b5. Similarly, Ta’i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan mentions a triangular square, Bla-ye[1] chen-mo at gDan-sa-theH, where he in 1360 intended to erect a sKu-’burn for the late spyan snga Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan who had passed away that very year, at the corner of the Chos-khri of Bla-ye chen-mo; Si tu bka’ chems 239.16–240.8 = Rlangs 331.5–15; it was in the same location, i.e. Bla-yel chen-mo of rTses-ds-thang that the funeral service for ‘Gos lo tså ba in 1481 was enacted (mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 1125.10, 1126.22; Kan tshang bkyud pa l 302b4). It is indicated that such a square could hold up to 5000 monks and devotees; similarly at mTshur-phu (courtyards such as the Southern and
the footprint of Zhang Rin-po-che at sPyi-khungs, etc.; such incredibly wondrous biographical sketches concerning him prevail." He occupied the see for 48 years. Age 61 he passed away [1358 A.D.]. He was followed by sPyan snga ba Grags-pa bshes-gnyen.

[12] sPyan snga ba Grags-pa bshes-gnyen

Date of birth: Dog year [1322 A.D.].
Father: drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje.

He was ordained at the age of eight and became well versed in tantra and [related] ritual practice. He relied upon many bla ma such as sPang (= dPang) lo tsā ba [1276–1342].148 Ha rDzong-ri-ba and dPal-idan Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan [1312–1375].149 Age 33 [i.e. 1354], he arrived at the see. His glorious karmic activities and [the number of] resembling space [in magnitude]. Reaching the age of 61, he passed away in a Hen year [[lcags] bya 1381 A.D.].150 He was followed by sPyan snga Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan.

[13] sPyan snga Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan

Date of birth: Horse year [1366 A.D.].

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Western Square (bla ve nub ma and lho ma were constructed) and at sTag-lung. Cf. Kam tshang brgyud pa II 63b1–3. 89a1; mTshur phu dgon gvi dkar chag 40–41, 83, 114; sTag lung chos 'byung I 253, 256, etc.; BA Roerich 628.

148 i.e. the Zhab-s-rges 'Gro-don-ma, above fol. 9b. Cf. bKa'rgya ma l 104.3–6. Here it is mentioned that the Bya-mkhar zhab-s-rges, the foot-print of Bya-mkhar hermitage was detected by rTogs ldan sTag-lo-pa, an ascetic born in a Tiger year, but Byang-chub bzang-po was allegedly born in an Earth Dog year (1298 A.D.). However, the number of years (115; 1193 + 115 = ca. 1306-07) that had passed since the demise of Bla-ma Zhang would appear to fit with this throne-holder. It thus appears that at least this part of Bla-ma Zhang’s writings, the bKa’rgya ma (i.e. Ngar phug ma), which was transmitted to Byang-chub bzang-po from rTogs ldan Don-grub ye-shes ([= sTag-lo-pa?] the actual discoverer of the foot-print) was compiled by the former. In Tshal rnam 24a4–5, it is maintained that the stone-marked foot-print was found by this Yang-dgon gdan sa ba and the 9th Tshal dpon.

149 Byang-chub bzang-po is probably the “abbot of Tshal [Yang-dgon]” who is mentioned in Deb sgon in connection with Chos-dbyings dbang-phyug (a k.a. dBang-phyug rdo-rje) from the Sems khrid teaching lineage; he requested the latter to become abbot of [the Tshal monastery?] of mKhar-mgon. Cf. BA Roerich 722.

150 Assuming that it corresponds to 1322 A.D., his ascent to the throne in 1358 cannot have taken place in his 33rd year, but in his 35th year. The dates in Deb sgon: chu pho khyi 1322 – lcags bya 1381; Ming mdzod 1028–29.

151 dPang-lo alias dPang Blo-gros brtan-pa, he is registered for 1335 at Gung-thang; cf. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 15b3. The great scholar of kāvyā. See e.g. Shel dkar (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 62f.; BA Roerich, s.v. index.

152 In 1338, Bla-ma dam-pa visited Gung-thang where he remained for six months; cf. Sa skya gdung rabs 276. For his life, see TBH Sørensen 29–31; Everding 1988: 113–119. Bla-ma dam-pa served as teacher to sMon-lam rdo-rje; for details, see Tshal rnam 45b5f.

153 His ordination name: Sākya'i dGe-sbyong chen-po sMon-lam rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po. See his biography sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar. This figure is the last gdan sa ba listed in the Chos 'byung bstan pa'i nyi ma 113a4; the same text purports that he ruled for 24 years, and passed away age 60. So also dPag bsam Ijon bzang 601.7–8.

154 He appears to have been prosphesied in Blon po bka’i thang yig 522:
Father: ta'i si tu dGe-legs bzang-po.

Age nine he became ordained together with Drung slob dpon and two religious brothers in the presence of dpal-lidan bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan [1312–1375] and spyan snga Grags-pa bshes-gnyen. [18b] Age 13, in a Horse year [1378 A.D.], he arrived at the see. His [karmic activities] in the form of [providing] resources for the converts resemble the sky. He occupied the see for 21 years [i.e. until 1399]. He handed over the throne to spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan, and henceforth practiced as a great all-abandoning [peregrinating] ascetic (kun spangs).

[14] spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan

Date of birth: Rabbit year [1387 A.D.]
Father: Tre-hos dpal-'byor-bzang-po [i.e. the 13th dpal su ha].

He became expert in all tantra and ritual practices. Age 13, in a Rabbit year [1399 A.D.], he arrived on the throne, which he occupied for 18 years [until 1416 A.D.]. At the age of 31, in a Hen year on the 25th day of the fifth month,164 he passed away. He was followed by his disciple chos rje Grags-pa don-grub.


From the foundation of Tshal until this point 265 years had passed.165 Since the passing of mNyammed Rin-po-che [i.e. the 1st throne-holder] 225 years had passed.166 Following Chos rje Grags[-pa] don[-grub], in a Tiger year,167 bSod-nams rin-chen arrived on the throne.

[16] bSod-nams rin-chen

He was followed in a Monkey year168 by Rin po che Nam-mkha’ bzang-po.

[17] Rin po che Nam-mkha’ bzang-po

Following suit in a Horse year,169 Thams cad mkhyen pa Chos rje Rin-chen came to the throne.

[18] Chos rje Rin-chen

After him in a Dog year,170 Rin po che bSod-nams rgya-mtsho came to the throne.

165 It corresponds to ca. 13. 06. 1417 A.D. of the Western calendar.
166 I.e. either 1439 or 1451 A.D. (sic), which seems impossible. The dates of ascent to the throne for the following incumbents are shaky.

It may refer to Tshal Grags-don [= Tshal-pa dBu-gl Ling rtsa-pa Rin-chen Grags-pa don-grub] listed several times in the Thob yig of the 5th Dalai Lama. His students included Säkyä rgyal-mtshan.

167 i.e. 1207 + 225 = 1431 A.D. This calculation seems to fit because he in a transmission was followed by rNgog Byang-chub-dpal (1360–1446); cf. Thob yig IV 318b5.


169 In the list of the Vaidurya ser po 153.3, the following four gdan sa ba are missing. The chronology of most of these throne-holders is shaky.
170 i.e. 1440? / 1452 / 1464?
171 i.e. 1454/1466/1478/1490 A.D.?
[19] **Rin po che bsod-nams rgya-mtsho**
Father: *spyan snga dNgos-grub* [i.e. the 14th *gdan sa ha*].
He came to the throne in a Hen year.\(^{17}\)

[20] **sPyan snga Grags-pa rgya-mtsho**
He was followed by *spyan snga Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho*.

[21] **sPyan snga Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho**\(^{172}\)
He was the spiritual son of *pan chen bDe-legs nyi-ma*.\(^{173}\) He was contemporary with *zhabs drung* bKra-shis. After *Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho* *spyan snga* bsod-nams rab-brtan followed.

[22] **sPyan snga bsod-nams rab-brtan**
After him came *spyan snga sKal-lDdan rgya-mtsho*.\(^{174}\)

[23] **sPyan snga sKal-lDdan rgya-mtsho**
Until his tenure, concerning the question of safeguarding the see, there had been no fallacy in the successive ascent to the see, yet on account of the animosity (*’khu ldog*) [i.e. revenge] of rDo-rje grags-lDdan,\(^{175}\) this *spyan snga* suddenly passed away in an Earth Ox year, being [the 23rd] year of the 10th sexagenary cycle (*prabhava*) called *virodha*.\(^{176}\) Because there was no reliable assistant, Zur-chen *Rin po che* [Chos-dbyings rang-grol later] rendered service in form of setting fire to the funeral pyre and [19a] by making offerings, etc. In particular, Zur-chen personally tendered all necessary utensils and manufactured an arrow-long golden statue of the [deceased] *spyan snga*. He had it installed in the Yang-dgon monastery, where it thus [was capable of] restoring the faith [in the tradition] among all righteous and non-partisan people.\(^{177}\)

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\(^{17}\) I.e. 1465/1477/1489/1501 A.D.? A *bka’ bzhi pa dGe’-dun-dpal* of *Tshal-mo Gung-thang* is mentioned for the late 1460’s and in 1470; cf. *Sang rgyas seng ge rnam thar* 15a6–b1, 23b3.

\(^{172}\) Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho was throne-holder of Tshol in ca. 1570 as confirmed by a visit that year by rHa-rtse-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po; cf. *rHa rtsi ba rnam thar* 1 1a6–b.

\(^{173}\) For his life, see *Se ra chos ’byung* 242–248, mentioning his pupil Yang-dgon *spyan snga* Ngag-dbang rgya-mtsho, *op. cit.*, 245, as well as sKyi-dshod bKra-shis [rab-brtan] (see fn. 694 below) who attempted to persuade him to become throne-holder of dGa’-ldan Byang-rtse. His *flourit* is to be situated to the later part of 16th century. Similarly, the 3rd Dalai Lama vainly attempted to persuade him to become throne-holder of Se-ra; cf. *Mi sna* 621. The main treatise composed by him, a Vinaya commentary is commonly known as *’Dul ba bDe legs nyi ma*; cf. *’Dul ba’ichos ’byung H* 1/107a3–4; *JCh* 230–32.

\(^{174}\) The last *gdan sa ha* from the “Tshal lineage,” see below fol. 39b.

\(^{175}\) As alluded to later in our text, what is meant here is Pe-har. rDo-rje grags-lDdan is considered the minister of Pe-har. The expression *’khu ldog* is a common term for the antagonism or wrath of protective deities. Texts containing precepts to ensure the pacification of such animosity is attested e.g. in the writings (Vol. 5) of ICang-skya Rol-pa’i rdo-rje, a.o.

\(^{176}\) This would correspond to 1589 A.D., yet from Zur-chen’s biography it is apparent that the Yang-dgon *spyan snga* indeed passed away, after a brief illness, in an Earth-Ox year, not in the 10th sexagenary cycle but in the 11th *rab ’byung*, in other words 1649 A.D. Cf. *Zur chen rnam thar* 162a4–b6 (= 323.4–324.6) for this passage. The evidently mistaken attempt to identify the *rab ’byung* as the 10th was made by ’Jog-rj-pa, the author of *Gung thang dkar chag*. With the passing of the last scion of the mGar clan in that very year the final control or proprietorship of Gung-thang was transferred (*ritis sprod*) to Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol as *beneficium* – more precisely all *sa ris* required for the renovation was handed over to whoever held control over the mChod-khang at Gung-thang (i.e. Zur-chen); cf. below 52b.

\(^{177}\) The episode is *verha’iim* gleaned from Zur-chen’s biography 172a46 (= 324.4–6). The same texts for 1646 mentions a Yang-dgon *zhabs drung*. *Vaidyāya sa rpa* 153.3f. mentions additional (short-term and little-known) *gdan sa ha* following in the wake of sKal-lDdan rgya-mtsho, the 23rd throne-holder, namely
Up until *drung chen* dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan [i.e. the 14th incumbent] [the throne-holder] was in charge of safeguarding the secular affairs (*srid bskyangs*) and the religious esteem rendered and respect paid to the Tshal-pa monk-body, both teachers and pupils, [until then] never diminished. For this reason, whether in the secular or religious field of the two systems (*chos srid lugs gnyis*) there was no reason [for them] to “let their mouth water for” [i.e. to covet] support from other [patrons]. Subsequently [however], the institutions gradually deteriorated. In particular in the Fire Horse year [1546 A.D.], being the [40th year] of the ninth sexagenary cycle (*prabha-ta*) called *parabhava*, during the night of the 15th day of the fourth month” most of the temple complex

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[24. throne-holder?] Yang-dgon spyan sna Shar/Sha-ra Hor-pa* dGe-'dun dar-rgyas (fl. mid-17th cent.; cf. DL3 232b5: Zur chen rnam thar 170b1-2) followed by

[25. throne-holder?] skYid-shod zhabs drung bla-ma. i.e. either the celebrated Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin ’phrin-las or less likely the earlier bsTan-dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1593-1638); for their works, cf. gSung 'bum dkar chag 205-07. 238-39.

[26. throne-holder?] bSam-grub sgang-po mKhas-btus bzang-po,

[27. throne-holder?] sTod-lung Blo-bzang bstan-'phel,

[28. throne-holder?] ’Phyongs-rgya-po Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin,

[29. throne-holder?] sNa-mo-mkhar Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (possibly related to sNa-mo in Yar-stod),

[30. throne-holder?] [Sha-ra’?] Hor nAm-rgyal,

[31. throne-holder?] Rags-ma Legs-bshad rgya-mtsho (related to Rags, east of IHa-sa?), followed by

[32. throne-holder?] Shun-pa Ngag-dbang smon-lam (related to Shun, west of IHa-sa; rl. ca. 1690's).

These throne-holders evidently followed after the inclusion of Tshal by the IHa-sa central government.

* The Shar / Sha-ra Hor-pa was originally a clan-based (or nomadic) community and later noble house, documented already early in the 15th century (1409 A.D.) under the fiefship of the Brag-dkar *nang so* (the heartland in present-day Dar-rgyas *xiung* of sTag-rtsé county). The 3rd Dalai Lama in 1556 (where he met dGa'-ldan shar-pa *chos rje* Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po with whom the ’Bras-spungs chos rje entered a patron-priest relation) and again 1569 visited Sha-ra Hor-pa. It was the beginning of concerted attempt to establish relations with the Mongols of northern Central Tibet. Probably sometime during the period of the 5th Dalai Lama or later, the name was changed into Sha-ra 'Or-pa and again later, evidently from the reign of bka’ bdon [bShad-sgra] Don-grub ddo-rje (rl. 1808-1839), the name was again changed to bShad-sgra ‘Og-po** which as an estate and noble house rose to become possibly the most important among the 150 sger pa (not a sde dpon family; cf. Bya-rigs-pa 2001: 16) families in Tibet during the Pho-brang *zhung* government. bShad-sgra dGa'-ldan dpal-byor, a scion of the house, in his informative essay on his family pursports that the principality known as Brag-dkar was under the Tshal-pa khrí-dpon (when it in fact at that point was a stewardship or early in the 'Brog-N or nomadic units of bShad-grva ’og-phu belonged to the dGa’-ldan monastic head (bla spyi) administration. Here bShad-sgra ’or-pa is, as said, still registered as a village settlement or community located in Dar-rgyas *xiung* of sTag-rtsé county: 29'43'N 91°27'E. Other texts speak about bShad-sgra lho byang ljang.


** The original or oldest rendition underwent a gradual transformation from Shar / Sha-ra Hor-pa [Sha ra > [b]Sha[d] [sga] Hor pa > 'or pa > ’og pa] and this clan-based house can boast Mongolian roots (as noted by Petech op. cit.). 159 the original family name Sha-ra may have been derived from a *mchod rten* of the bKa’-gdams-pa master Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags. Like a small number of other noble houses or clan-communities, it underwent a transitional process of naturalization and Tibetanization. Similar cases of Tibetanized Mongols are reported from the 'Dam area north of IHa-sa (cf. e.g. Sperling 1992; being descendants of the militia-men of Doorda Darqan and Samgha in the wake of the 1240 or 1280 A.D. Mongol invasions resp.) or the (later *mi drug* aristocratic family) Hor-khang-pa of sTag-rtsé Phod-mdo (their presence already registered in the 1480’s), later they held estate land under their fief in rGya-ma valley (cf. Hor-khang 1994, 1999) and would rise to great influence in Tibet.

*159* Cf. next note.
including the statues caught fire and burned down. From that point the school and teaching of Tshal was only a shadow of its former self. This Fire Horse year is the year up until which, counting from the founding of Tshal [Yang-dgon] by ’Gro-mgon Rin-po-che [i.e. 1175] until this annus horribilis, 373 years had passed, the year up until which, since the establishment of Gung-thang [i.e. 1187 A.D.], 361 years had passed and, finally, five years since the birth of the [3rd Dalai Lama] rgyal dbang bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [1543–1588 A.D.] had passed.  

It corresponds to ca. 16. 05. 1546 A.D. of the Western calendar. Conversely, Karma sKu phreng 2 16 (Lanzhou 1997) has the 13th day of a winter month of 1546. Khris byang rnam thar 5a2 erroneously has 1507 A.D.; whereas mKhas pa’i dga’ston 811.6–11, 1294.8–9 situates it in 1547. The date corresponds to the time when in Gung-thang the central Fourth Month Festival of the Gung-thang Me tag mchod pa is held (below fn. 529) and would suggest that it was the baneful result of the Festival.

The year 1546 A.D. was a true annus horribilis that would haunt not only Gung-thang, but also IHa-sa and the rest of Central Tibet. Dark clouds roamed in the horizon in form of an immanent local war in Central Tibet: further, a drought and excessive precipitation. It prompted extensive repair and solidification of the dykes and dams around Gung-thang. The following year (29th day of the tenth lunar month), the stTag-lung vihāra too caught fire (the ‘Ba’-[b]rom lha-khang (and the mGon-khang) was destroyed.; see stTag lung chos ‘byung l 511–12), wherefore the cause of both fires may also have been associated with warring conflicts. In IHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang the story circulates, found both in written and oral sources, that Pehar caused the disasters (see also below fn. 576). In the biography of Mi-bskyod rdo-rije, it is reported, somewhat inconsistently, that the Horse-year (1546) saw a fire at mTshal stTag (sic = Tshal and stTag-lung or just Gung-thang?) gtsug lag khang caused by the gNas-chung rgyal-po who had instigated the ’Bras-spungs-pa to prohibit the Karma-pa Hierarch from visiting the Jo-bo statue in IHa-sa. However, a few lines further it is briefly mentioned that for the year 1547, on the 13th day [of the first month? see above] Gung-thang caught fire; cf. Kam tshang brgud pa II 22b6–7, 23a2. 1547 is also mentioned elsewhere in the present text as the year of the Gung-thang fire, obviously following another tradition (below 50b). In addition there are also references to be found in the Pehar story according to which the date of the Gung-thang me ’bar is to be located during the tenure of the 2nd Dalai Lama who died in 1542 (see App. IV: Chap. V).

A particular reminiscence of the Gung-thang me ’bar is represented by the so-called Gung-thang me-shor (“Gung-thang has caught Fire”) statue kept in the Jo-khang (cf. Richardson ‘The Jo-khang’, p. 251; Shakabpa Guide 43). According to Richardson it is represented by the statue of Khro-bo rMe-brtsegs-pa, the door-keeper at the entrance to the Amitābha chapel (ground-floor) who points his (right) arm to the north. Local monks, however, state that the Gung-thang me-shor of the Jo-khang is the grub thob Nyi-ma’dzin (i.e. siddha Virūpa), a statue on the northern wall of the ground-floor with the left arm pointing to the east, i.e. the direction of Tshal Gung-thang (see Fig. 51 of App. IV). There were also similar images kept in Khra’-brug where the “announcement” of the Gung-thang fire was represented by two figures, the statues of Pha Dam-pa sungs-rgyas and siddha Virūpa. Cf. TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005: 70–71.

Following the catastrophic fire, rGyal-ba bSod-nams rgya-mtsho already in 1553 A.D. carried out or supervised repair works and their subsequent consecrations at Gung-thang. Here he was met by Yang-dgon rin po che and rGyud-pa dphun slob. His patrons inviting him to Gung-thang were the dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa, Don-grub rgyal-po and his
Formerly, the throne-holders of Yang-dgon were all elected from the chair of the Tshal Gung-thang monk colleges (grva tshang). Pure spiritual and ritual practices prevailed [at Tshal Yang-dgon] such as [19b] the distribution of Centers of Meditative Realization (sgom grva) established all around [the complex], where cycles of sādhanā and instructions were practiced and in [various] Centers of Hermeneutics (bshad grva) where teachings pertaining to Mahāmudrā, Śadharmopadesa [of Nāropa], and the Sad[anga]vāga [related to Kālacakra] as well as the successive instructions pertaining to the unique Tshal tradition were taught [and explicated]. [The curricula there further included] the major basic treatises related to the field of [exoteric] sūtra, i.e. to the Vinaya, Abhidharma, Pāramitā, and Pramāṇa and related to the field of [esoteric] mantra, to the [cycles of] Mahākāla, Hevajra and Samvara (gar brtag sam) the three. Yet, it evidently only remained so up until [the tenure of] spyan snga bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 19th throne-holder?]. Later, however, and unlike former times, the religious tradition of the distinct colleges, the transmission of the sādhanā, mandala and the liturgical teachings were now handed down separately. Whichever teachers that were capable were elected to the chair of the individual colleges. At this very see [of Tshal Yang-dgon], the ’Jam-mgon Bla-ma [b]Tsong-kha-pa [i.e. Blo-bzang grags-pa, 1357–1419 A.D.] studied gso ba rig pa (cikitsā-vidyā) in the presence of the sman pa dKon-mchog-skyabs, and later he there made a grva skor [i.e. debating visits] for the study of the “Four Difficult Texts/Words (d/bka’ bzhis).” He [there] examined carefully all the [canonical texts of the] Translated Words (bKa’ ‘gyur) of Buddha and carried out a revision. This version served as a basis (gzhis ma) for the printing of the bKa’ ‘gyur at the imperial residence of the Mañjuśrī[-embodying] Chinese Emperor (Jam dbyangs gong ma), from where it spread in all directions. Later the precious [Tibetan] government [i.e. the current dGa’-ldan pho-brang gzung and the Dalai Lama] printed these whereby the text [collections] became disseminated all over the world. Furthermore, [b]Tsong-kha-pa demonstrated [there] his overall far-fetching activities from the viewpoint of the three promulgations of [Buddha’s Word] such as writing major commentaries including a commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra [i.e. the universally celebrated

brother bKra-shis rab-brtan. He paid the Tshal Gung-thang and the local sKyid-shod-pa estate known as Tshal Zur-khang a visit in 1556 and finally in 1577. Cf. DL3 29a6–b3, 35b5, 36a4, 49a6–7, 90b2–4; gShin rje gshed chos ’byung II 279a3–4; Se ra chos ’byung 121: sKyid shod sde pa’i skor 21.

In the year 1373 A.D. according to the vita of Tsong-kha-pa. He sojourned at Tshal Gung-thang between 1381 and 1385 A.D., where he deepened his knowledge of the canonical writings. See R. Kaschewsky 1971: 24, 81, 93–94; Tsong kha pa’i rmun thar 117–118, 471–72; dGa’ ldan chos ’byung 18a3. In the notoriously unreliable biography of Rva-lo, the protagonist met a sman pa Brag-ri dKon-mchog-skyabs in IIa-sa (ca. early 12th cent. sic), cf. Rva lo ’rim thar 318.

A grva skor also denoted a chos skor – in dGe-slugs circles became a widely established institution, designating monks who had finished their initial training and studies and who subsequently conducted a circuit or row of visits to different prestigious colleges where they tested their skills in debate and scholarly erudition in relation to different key cycles and texts. Tsong-kha-pa initiated this peregrinating debate tour throughout dBus and gTsang in his 19th year, i.e. from 1373 A.D. Sources: Tsong kha pa’i rmun thar 435f.; dPal bsam ’json bzang 431.7f; Kaschewsky 1971: 81–82; Se ra chos ’byung 330; Onoda 1992: 14.

According to Sangs rgyas chos gzung 30 it refers to Madhyamika, Prajnāpāramitā, Vinaya and Abhidharma. See the vita of Tsong-kha-pa (prev. note) 88.

The conception that the Chinese Emperors were regarded as manifestations or embodiments of Mañjuśrī (starting with Qubilai Qan, followed by some of the Ming emperors and later during the Qing dynasties) and closely associated with his cult and hence conceived of as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, contributed significantly to enhance the spiritual and religious status accorded these rulers; see Farquhar 1978; cf. also App. III: fn. 12.
Legs bshad gser ‘phreng and the sNyan ngag sgra rgyan. Personal discipless included one of the eight bsTan-'dzin who [became] knowledgable in many scriptures, namely rGyal-sras bDe-'byung who functioned as chad nyan pa at the Chos-’khor-gling [college of Tshal Gung-thang], but also rJe ‘Dul-ba ’dzin-pa chen-po [Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, 1374–1434/36 A.D.] through his excellent propagation of the teaching of the Moral Code and the Gradual Path, etc. The tradition-holder of the Lord [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa]; Nyams-chen chos gyi rgyal po Šakya ye-shes [1354–1435 A.D.] too descended from this seat (gdan sa) [i.e. place] and he functioned as Imperial Preceptor (dishti) for the emperors of the Great Ming [dynasty] [20a] in which all, whether the emperor, his ministers or the subjects, all became dānapati for the Teaching of the Yellow Hat [School]. He [i.e. chos rje Šakya ye-shes] established all over Tibet and China many monastic complexes (dgong sde), first and foremost the Se-ra Tseg-chin-gling, a source for the Teaching of Buddha, for the transmission of both Exegesis and Realization (bshad sgrub). As masters of the highly esoteric Tantric tradition, all [successive] lineage holders (sku ‘phreng) [at Se-ra] effortlessly brought about the financial conditions for establishing the new Upper and Lower Tantric College [in lHa-sa].

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185 See dPags bsam ljon bzang 432.17–433.1.; R. Kaschewsky 1971: 94–95. These works are respectively found in Vol. TSA and BA of his Collected Works, the latter minor work is on poetics or sāhālāmākāra, the phonetic figures of speech. See also Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 158–161; gShin rje gshegs chos 'byung ll 1204–b2. At Gung-thang, bTsong-kha-pa also wrote the Tshig shyor phun sum tshogs pa'i snyan ngag gi lam nas drangs pa'i blo shyang. During the same period bTsong-kha-pa also learned the Kālacakra system from the Tshal-pa bla ma rtags ldan Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan at sKyor-mo-lung. Cf. TPS Tucci 428.

186 To him is ascribed the conversion of Gung-thang seat to the dGe-lugs; bKa' gdamgs chos 'byung ll 97a4. In other sources counted among the so-called seven Bodhisattva, see R. Kaschewsky 1971: 209. He was considered the great scholar in the sKyod-shod district; BA Roeich 591. A detailed biography deplorably does not exist.

187 He was initially ordained in the presence of Bri-gung chos rje. Later he relied on bTsong-kha-pa, from whom he heard sūtra and tantra, but in particular vinaya, becoming in this field a peerless vinavadharā. He established the monastery of bTsun-mo-tshal (dGa' ldan chos 'byung l 66b2f.; Vaidūrya ser po 165–66; in fact, it was initially erected by Po-to-ba (1031–1105), later it shifted site several times; first it was re-built by 'dal 'dzin Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan at the shore of sKyid-chu; in the 1650's, being menaced by flooding, it was again moved. It is now situated at the entrance to the Byan-chen valley which corresponds to the Mal-tro brDZen-th[hang] of the Dunhungh Annals, cf. Hazod 2003). He also taught at sPangs-don in Mal-'gro and at Tshal Gung-thang. He passed away at bTsun-mo-tshal; gShin rje gshegs chos 'byung ll 1806–b2; Ming mdzod 886–87.


Sources: Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 292f.; dGa' ldan chos 'byung l 40a6f. For his biography, cf. Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar 397–402; Har chos 'byung 189–200 (Huth 1896); Se ra chos 'byung 23f.; Blo-bstan 2000; Everding 1988: 133–148 for a detailed retelling of his life, mainly based on Mongolian sources.

189 A number of sources recounts the founding story of Se-ra, cf. most readily Se ra theg chos 'byung, passim; Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul A 438f.; dGa' ldan chos 'byung l 40a5f.; Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, Chos sde chen po sa ra theg chen gling gi lo rgyus (Mi-rigs dpe-skru-khang 1995); Blo-bzang kun-mkhyen (ed.) 2003.

190 The prestigious dGe-lugs-pa institutions of rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad grva tshang go back to the Tsong-kha-pa disciple Srad rJe-bsun Shes-rab seng-ge (1383–1445 A.D.) who initially founded a tantric college in Se/Srad in gTsang (= the original Tantric College of Upper/Western [stod] [Central]-Tibet) and later in lHa-sa, in dGa'-ldan, Se-ra, and smAd-rgyud grva-tshang (in sTod-lung erected in 1433 A.D.). Mal-gro and also in Tshal Gung-thang. The latter (situated east of Tshal Yang-dgon, Graph 5) became the summer retreat site (dbyar gnas) of the lHa-sa rGyud-smad institution (the present building lCang-lo-can situated close, due west of rMe-ru gsar-pa, goes back to the 18th
wherefore his overwhelming feats and his karmic activities indeed resemble the place chos rje of ‘Bras-spungs, ‘Jam-dbyangs dGa’-ba’i blo-gros [i.e. Tshal-pa Legs-pa chos’-byor, 1429–1503 A.D.] too came from the [Tshal] gdan sa. He also functioned as ‘chad nyan pa at gSang-phu and at ‘Bras-spungs Blo-gsal-gling [in lHa-sa].” When he arrived at the throne of the Chos-rje [i.e. the main seat] of ‘Bras-spungs, he, by way of explicating the grand treatises [of bTsong-kha-pa etc.], performed great feats for the Teaching. He had innumerable disciples such as [the 2nd Dalai Lama] Thams cad mkhyen pa dGe’-dun rgya-mtsho [1475–1542 A.D.].

Because of the [successive] arrival of many learned ascetics who performed [peerless] deeds for the Teaching of the Lord [bTsong-kha-pa], all monk communities of Tshal Gung-thang were by nature utterly pure, and, on account of the gratitude incurred from having applied [its tradition to] the religious system of the Mahâpuruṣa [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa], this Grand Community (sde chen po) of Tshal Gung-thang was in a pure fashion changed into that of the dGe’-ldan-pa tradition.

Having [above] briefly told how these former lords who arrived at the [mother] seat [of Tshal Gung-thang], all disciples of Jagannâtha [Bla-ma Zhang], thus had been able to bring to fruition on a grand scale the well-being both of oneself and of others by way of [the transmission of] hermeneutics and realization (bshad sgrub) at Tshal, we may now continue by presenting a brief outline of the branch monasteries and centers attached to the mother seat, and [we commence with] the personal disciple of Jagannâtha by the name of Ro-skam-pa chen-po.


He was the eighth throne-holder of ‘Bras-spungs. Cf. Vaidûrya ser po 107.8–19; dGa’ ldan chos ’byung 1 31a4–b3. Onoda 1992: 15, 20; Ming mdzod 633.

gSang-phu Ne’u-thog was founded 1073 A.D. by rNgog Legs-pa’i shes-rab. Cf. e.g. Yar lung chos ’byung 126f. For the abbatial succession of this important monastery and teaching center in sKyid-smad, see Table 8 infra.

It is said to be named after the ne’u le or “wascal” which assisted during the monastery foundation and which may be associated with the nûga king klu’i rgyal po Ne’u-le Thod-dkar, the divine donor in the founding legend (Wylie 1962: 148). The local yul lha is also called Ne’u klu-btsan. The chief srum ma is bSe-khrab-can who is classified as the wrathful form of Tshangs-pa dkar-po. Klu Tshangs-pa and klu rgyal po Ne’u’u-le Thod-dkar are mentioned elsewhere as two names of gNyant-chu-thang-la (cf. Bellezza 1997: 26–29). Perhaps the name of this divinity is also related to other “Ne’u sites” of the sKyid-chu region, such as the site of bZad Ne’u-kha (in gZad Chu-shur/I) and the place of sKyid-smad Ne’u, both registered as settlements of the early Vinaya school (cf. Dul ba’i chos ’byung 155–56; MTP Uebach 139: Table V. 6; the latter place perhaps refers to the sNe’u due west of Ra-ma-sgang, where the sNe’u rdzong, the fort of the Nal-pa fief, was erected in the 14th cent. (see App. V: Table 12.1 and Fig. 63–65 of App. VI). gSang-phu is historically and even presently part of the sNe’u district, one of the xiang of sTod-lung bCg-len county (below fn. 434).
Ro-skam-pa chen-po\textsuperscript{194} (20b)  
Place of Birth: Phur-lung Byang-khang of Klad.\textsuperscript{195}

Father: Phyug-po bKra-shis seng-ge of the Lo-mi clan, being born the youngest of two sons.

Age 13 [in 1151 A.D.] he was ordained in the presence of lCags-bu-pa\textsuperscript{196} who acted as upādhyāya and mGar acting as ācārya.\textsuperscript{197} Ordination name: Nyi-ma shes-rab. When Zhang Rin-po-che came to 'Gyer of Gr[v]a\textsuperscript{198} (district) in order to wage war, [Nyi-ma shes-rab who at that time practised] in Ngār-phug,\textsuperscript{199} [arrived and] functioned as adjutant to Zhang Rin-po-che. In Tshal in the presence of Sha-mi 'dul-'dzin [1085-1171 A.D.]\textsuperscript{200} who acted as upādhyāya, Zhang Rin-po-che as [karm]ācārya and bZad-pa as upādhyāya, etc., he took his final ordination. Until the age of 49 he relied upon Zhang Rin-po-che [for instructions], which he [eventually] received full and complete [lit. “to the brim of the vase”]. At the point of the death of Zhang [i.e. 1193 A.D.], he was instructed [by Zhang] to return to his own country Lo-sgom to meditate.\textsuperscript{201} In Ro-skam, he built a simple hut where he meditated. Then he met 'Bri-khung chos-rje [i.e. 'Jig-rgen mgon-po], from whom he received dharma teachings and who decorated him with a meditation hat (sgom ḥva). He was given a long trumpet, requesting him to establish a monastery in Ro-skam with a
community for 500 monks. In a Rabbit year [1183 A.D.]a he established the Ro-skam monastery, a seat which rendered great service to Tshal Gung-thang.b He safeguarded the monk community [i.e. the see] for 25 years. Age 70, in a Dragon year [1208 A.D.] he passed away.

**Rin po che Sang[s]-rdo-r[je]**

The son of the latter’s elder brother Yon bdag ‘Bum-me, Rin po che Sang[s-rgyas] rdo[-l-je] was a disciple of his uncle [i.e. Ro-skam-pa], of ‘Bri-khun chos-rje [i.e. ‘Jig-rten mgon-po] and of sPyan snga Rin po che.c In a Dragon year [1208 A.D.], he was elected [as abbot] of Ro-skam by dbon Sangs-rgyas,d and he held the seat for 20 years, until a Dog [i.e. 1226 A.D.] year. Age 58 he passed away.

**gZhon-nu, i.e. rin po che Tshe-dpag-med**

- Father: dGos-pa
- Mother: [b]sKyid-bum

He received teaching from his uncle and from sPyan snga Rin-po-che. In a Dog year he was elected as [throne-holder] of Ro-skam by [the Fifth dp/bon sa ba] dbon Rin-rgyal. For 33 years, until a Horse year [1258 A.D.], he held the seat [21a]; he passed away age 67, etc. Over time and gradually, these [throne-holders] and their lineage of teacher and pupils too worked in a magnificent way for the sake of the Buddhist teaching and for living beings.

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a According to the context the Rabbit year is to be set after the death of Zhang (1193), which, however, does not dovetail with the other chronological data of Ro-skam-pa’s life mentioned here.

c The Ro-skam or “Dry Corpse” monastery evidently is to identify with the Ro-skam of Upper Ba-lam mentioned in the rGyal rabs sogs bod kyi yig tshang gsal ba’i me long (MTP Uebach 145, fn. 930). In the 1409 A.D. donation list embedded in Tsong kha’i rnam thar 315, it is registered too as an area under the Brag-dkar estate, listed in tandem with adjacent, former Tshal areas like Ba-lam, ‘IHa-phyug and ‘IDan. As noted above, Deb dmar gives Phur-lung of Glag[s] (which is the Glag[s] in Glags Ba-lam) as the birthplace of Ro-skam-pa chen-po. The old Ro-skam may refer to the (not further specified) ruins of Phur-lung in Upper Shing-tshang (Hazod 2004; see also below fn. 410; Map 1b.3). A Re-skam of dBu-ru-shod is known from the Dunhuang Annals (DTH 16.18; TDD: Re-skar), which, however, may refer to the Rol-skam (also Ru-skam) of present-day Ngar-nang xiang (east of Klung-shod) in ‘I Hun-grub county. Xizang Dimingzhi 70a; HSLG Vol. 4: 26; Hazod ‘King Mer-ke.’

d It refers to sPyan-snga Grags-pa’byung-gnas (1175–1255 A.D.), the attendant of ‘Bri-gung chos-rje and later abbot of Phag-mo-gru gDan-sa-mthil. BA Roerich 571–579; see O. Czaja 2006.

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186 This seems to refer to the later Tshal-pa dpon chen mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub (ca. 1185–1258) who ruled from 1230/31–1258 (see below, Chap. II.2).

187 Deb dmar 136.17: Sho-mi dGos-pa of upper Glags. dGos-pa appears as a var. spelling of the clan name ‘Gos (mGos) which is listed among the 18 clans of the ‘IDong tribe (‘IDong rus-chen bco-brgyad). They received as territorial appanage during the imperial period large stretches of ‘Gos-yul between Myang-stod and the border to present-day Bhutan (on mGos ‘Gos, see also most recently Vitali 2002: 82f.). In the present context, it remains unclear, however, whether there exists any relation to this clan. Sho-mi is perhaps a misspelling of Lo-mi, the lineage of Ro-skam-pa.

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201 It probably refers to the predecessor Sang[s-rgyas]-rdo[-l-je].

202 The Dog year most likely refers to 1226 A.D. Since all the mkhan po of Ro-skam used to be appointed by the dpon po of Tshal (see also following note) one may think that the dbon Rin-rgyal mentioned here is identical with the 5th dpon sa ba of Tshal, dpon/dbon Rin-rgyal-ba. The latter, however, lived from 1233 until 1289 (cf. below fol. 31a).
Kha-rag-pa chen-po [‘Dul-ba-’od]

Place of birth: Kyis-pa of Grva.

Clan: Kyi.

He was knowledgeable about many old tantra cycles pertaining to the mantric Rnying-ma-pa tradition. Moved by the killing of a [close] relative of his by [some] people,211 he was depressed and, therefore, in a Hen year [i.e. 1177 A.D.?] he came into the presence of Jagannātha Zhang Rin-po-che at Yang-dgon khra-mo.212 He made a request [to be given] cycles of religious teachings, and having for three years immured himself and practiced at Yung-bu Gad-pa,213 he consummately obtained of Bla-ma gZhon-nu and who were successively appointed by the Tshal-pa dpon po dGa’ bde-dpal, sMon-lam rdo-rga and Kun-dga’ rdo-rga: Bla-ma ‘Jam-dbyangs-pa who occupied the throne for 22 years, his younger brother Bla-ma Yon-tan rin-chen and the latter’s nephew, Bla-ma Nam-mkha’ seng-ge; for the latter, see also Tshal rnam 46b4. The chronology of the succession of abbots does not fit with the data of the respective dpon chen, however (see Part II: Table V). It seems that at least one generation of abbots is missing in this list.

211 Spelling corrupt. It evidently alludes to the toponym sDKyi-dl-ru. In the mid-16 to 17th century, sKyi-du was registered as an estate (gzhis ka); cf. DL5 I 322b4, DL6 339 (var. sKyi-dur or dKyi-il-du (sic) confirmed in the 1830 Tax Survey; CTZhenZhi 110) – but already in the 1610’s, a sKyi-ru-nas (seat of a gzhis ka) is registered; DL5 I 20a2. A sde pa sKu’ bring-pa is registered in the late 16th cent.: cf. Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar 10b2, 20b2-3. Visited in mid-16th cent. by thugs sras Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan; cf. Thugs sras rnam thar 11. Tāranātha repeatedly reports about visits to sKyi-du around 1600 A.D., invited by the local sde pa Kun-dga’: Tāranātha rnam thar 98ab, 131b5, 196a1–2, etc. In rJe bsun Mi’ gyur dpal sgron rnam thar 149.5–6 (ca. 1740 A.D.), a visit is registered at sKyi-du gzhis.

We in fact have two options: sKyi-du (modern spelling dKyi-il/-ru/-rug, a village in ‘Phyong-po xiang of present-day Grva-nang xian; Bod Map 99. Geograph. location: 28°55’N 91°33’E in Upper Grva. Another dKyi-du is a xiang and village located: 29°08’N 91°18’E, also of Grva-nang xian. Cf. DL5 IV (= Ahmad 318). In sDKyi-du, we find the place where Grva-pa mNgon-shes kyi rnam thar 7b6; gSgo rig sman kgod ‘bugs 205: BA Roerich 95–96; Ngag-dbang phun-tshogs 1994: 21, 23.

212 Deb damar (137): Kyi-pa-sa (sic) of Grva; Ming mdzod 136–37. Deb sngon mentions a Kha-rag sKyi-ston (i.e. Kha-rag-[pa ‘Dul-ba-’od], the teacher from the sKyi clan/place?) who taught the teaching cycle of Tshal (such as the so-called gZer lnga) to the dharmasvāmin Zhig-po (above fn. 194; BA Roerich 953). See also BA Roerich 949, where it is said that at the age of 12, Zhig-po came to the monastic college of a Kha-rag Gra-pa ‘Dul-ba-’od.

A story of origin of the Kyi clan (or Kyi-mi, evidently related to the ancient Kyi-ro territory) is given in Ka khol ma 305f. See also Introduction: Chap. 4.

213 Deb damar 137: killed in a fire.

214 If the reference to Yang-dgon is valid, 1177 would be the most obvious date. Ming mdzod 136–37 suggests 1165.

215 Deb damar 137, 16: Tshal-dgon khra-mo. It obviously refers to Tshal Yang-dgon; khra mo in this context remains unknown, however. We find khra mo e.g. in connection with rTse (= Potala) and Icags-po-ni; SLe lung rnam thar 169a4.

216 Or Yu-du / Yul-du / Yud-bu’i gad-pa, i.e. Gad-pa of Yud-bu, see also ZhK 292.1; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 59b1–2. It appears to be located not far from Phya’i lung / Cha’i lung located south-east of dGa’-ldan (later a mi sde of the Tshal myriarchy; below fn. 402). At this site Zhang himself wrote his treatise Mas ’dzeg go rim.

However, alternative toponymic candidates are plausible: a Gad-pa-kha of Yar-khung dPal-grong Grva-nang: cf. DL5 III 158b2. A place Gad-pa-[m]kha[r] and a place Gad-po are found in sTod-lung (loc. at 29°45’N 90°47’E), where later in sTod-lung in the 17th century, the sde pa Gad-kha-sa noble house was established, whose eldest son Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was a contentious candidate for the re-embodyment of the 4th Dalai Lama. From this house of sTod-lung Ran-pa also stemmed the 25th dGa’-ldan throne-holder dPal’-byor rgya-mtsho (1526–99). A Gad-po is also reported for ‘Phan-yul (cf. Xizang Dimengzhi I 53a, 97a, 102a), for sGrags (fn. 62) and even in Grva (Kha-rag-pa’s home territory), the place of Gad-’ phreng is situated (more precisely Gr[v]a’i phu-so Gad-’phreng; below fn. 259); otherwise unknown.
and realized all the precepts. At the summit of Ri’u-chung, he was ordained in the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che who acted as ācārya, "Ben-thang-pa," who acted as upādhyāya, as well as in the presence of 13 pious members of the saṅgha. Ordination name: dge slong dNgos-grub bla-ma. Later Zhang Rin-po-che named him 'Dul-ba-'od.' He was also known as rtags ldan Nyag-po seng-ge. Both his elder brother bSod-nams bla-ma and bZod-ldan bla-ma respectively became book-stewards (dpe gnyer) and domestic assistants to Zhang. His son from his period as a layman, slob dpon Jo-sras having passed away, [he] erected the huge main support (rten gtso chen mo) in the Southern Annexe [Glo-bur-lho] of the Gung-thang temple. In a Ox year [1193 A.D.?] he erected the monastery of Kha-rag ri-dgon as had been prophesied by Zhang Rin-po-che. Later, at Do-bo-ri a [special] insight was born in him. His nephew (dbon po) Seng-ge brtson-'grus was ordained in the presence of Zhang Rin-po-che. At one point when rich presents were brought, [Zhang Rin-po-che] made a dance called "the flight towards the snow-mountains by Nyag-po seng-ge [= i.e. 'Dul-ba-'od] of Kha-rag carrying along [the Mahāmudrā process of] view, meditation and conduct, the three." [21b]

At one point [Kha-rag Nyag-po seng-ge] in Gung-thang erected the southern portal and the southern wall [within the complex]. He also assisted in bringing to completion the sKu-'bum chen-mo [of Tshal] up to the third parisanda. During the period when Zhang Rin-po-che waged war at Dol in all directions, Kha-rag Nyag-po participated and thus fulfilled the intent of Bla-ma Zhang.

He erected a mountain retreat in Kha-rag; to the east [of Kha-rag], he erected bKra-shis kun-dga', to the west gSal-stengs [hermitage], and Rigs-pa, [at] Phu-stod [he erected] Do-bo-ri and to the north he erected Kha-lung. During his sojourn at bKra-shis kun-dga’ he visualized the 62 countenances of the deities of [the mandala] of [the Mother Tantra Cakra-]Samvarā. During his stay in Sog-po-dgon his personal disciple rNal-'byor ye-shes beheld how [Kha-rag Nyag-po]

217 According to the context, it either refers to a place in the area of Yung-bu Gad-pa or, more likely, it means a religious site in the Tshal Gung-thang district. Here it may correspond to the Zhang residence of Re’u Chung-dgon of Zhal which is repeatedly mentioned in his writings (elsewhere he speaks of a Rc'u-rtsa'i gtsug-lag-khang (above fn. 62). A Ngan-lam Ri-chung (var.: Ngan-lam gyi Re-chung ring-mo) is known from the biography of Gling ras pa (IHo rong chos 'byung 641; snA phu rnam thar 17a1-2 [= 33.1-2]). On Ngan-lam and Zhal, see below fn. 413.

218 'Ben-thang as toponym appears to refer to 'Ben-thang monastery adjacent to sNe'u-gdong and rTse-tshogs in rTse-thang. Cf. TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index.

219 In Deb dmar 129.2-3 he is also called Grva-pa rin po che 'Dul-ba-'od of Kha-rag. He is one of the 'od-gsum (or 'od-bzhi) group of disciples of Zhang (above, fn. 101). Cf. also Table V.3 below.

220 Or dpe = phyi?

221 It most evidently refers to Kha-rag (var.: mKha`-reg, Kha-dbrag = Kha-rags), the district north-east of Yar-brog-mtsho in sNe-dkar-rtses county. Geograph. Position: 29°15'N 90°24'E. Cf. also Part II: Table V.7.

Another sound guess, however, may be the homophonous Kha-[db]rag of Ru-thog xiang of Mal-gro Gung-dkar county. The location is also mentioned as the retreat site of Nam-mkha’-'od (1133–1199 A.D.), a student of Zhang as well as of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa and sTag-lang Thang-pa (cf. BA Roerich 522; he is probably not identical with lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha’-‘od, fn. 101).

222 Situated in Phu-stod in the area of Kha-rag; below 21b. Rlungs 110.20 mentions a mKhar-ltag Do-bo as an area of the Hülégü appanage.

223 Possibly also written gDos; cf. bKha’ rgya ma I 115.4. Here Bla-ma Zhang composed writings during warfare.

224 The more precise location of these sites of the Kha-rag area remains unknown. Do-bo-ri is registered in Vaidūrya ser po 229. Dob-bo-ri = Dum-bu-ri. It may not be related to the Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can (see lns. 431, 562 below).

225 It probably corresponds to the Sog-po-dgon of gYag-sde, a foundation of the Klu-mes group which was
was endowed with three eyes; on Do-bo-ri, during lightning, he wrapped the lightning into his coat and threw both against the cliff. When a huge fire raged in the forest, he displayed the gesture of menace (sdig mdzuh), whereupon the fire immediately extinguished. At one point when it [had] to rain in Kha-rag, he prayed to Zhang Rin-po-che, who [in Tshal instinctly knew about this] and making circumambulations around the platform on the roof of the edifice of Yang-dgon Ka-dgu-ma [i.e. the Nine-pillared Hall in Yang-dgon], he uttered: “I am helping Kha-rag Nyag-po to make rain,” whereupon a huge shower fell in Kha-rag. At one point when he requested Zhang Rin-po-che for empowerment in Cha’o-lung, he saw [how] the main statue of [the Cakra-]Samvara [mandala] in reality was Zhang Rin-po-che. At the point of his passing at Kha-rag, his heart [lit. “the śrīvatsa of the heart”] and his monk’s robe did not catch fire and these items were brought to Gung-thang where they were inserted into the statue of the Thousand-eyed and Thousand-armed (sahasrabhuja) [Avalokiteśvara] installed in the upper courtyard. The tongue [inscribed or marked?] with the word phat landed upon the lap of [his disciple] rNal-b’byor jo[-bo] ye-s[hes], whereupon it was inserted into the sku ‘hum of Kha-rag. [22a] From [these] relics were made a victory-banner and a co-emergently born īstadevataḥ as inner support manifested itself, whereafter they turned up in the hands of the [later] throne-holder of the see of Kha-rag Bła ma sGang-kha-pa. After his [i.e. Kha-rag-pa’s] demise, it was placed inside a golden statue of himself as inner support that is now kept in Kha-rag. At the time of the cremation, it was said that three suns appeared in the sky and that at the point of his death he transferred himself into the chest of Zhang Rin-po-che [i.e. merged with his spirit]. [Such auspicious and miraculous signs occurred]. After the death [of Seng-ge brtson- grub], the nephew of Kha-rag had a statue erected, being a copy (par ma) [sic] of the [statue of] Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in Nepal. It was consecrated after it had been brought to the upper courtyard [of Kha-rag], when a rainbow appeared connecting the two sites of IHa-sa [i.e. Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snang] and Gung-thang. During the period when factional fighting broke out at Gung-thang, a prophecy emerged that had been uttered by the Dharmapāla [i.e. Mahākāla?], whereupon the fightings abated. The sgom sde [responsible for the strife?] was exiled from the area. He had to flee to gNas-gsar of Grib-mda’ [Lower Grib] and to IHa-sa rtse-mo.: [The Kha-rag dbon po?] offered [the place of] established as dependency of Kha-rag Labs-so (MTP Uebach 139). Uebach (ibid.) – quite doubtfully – suggests it is identical with the Sog-po-dgon situated in Sog-po-lung, a side-valley in Shangs in gTsang (Ferrari 160, fn. 610).

A less likely candidate is the Sogs-po-ri (found. by the ‘Bring isho) which is located in bZad (bZad ~ gZad), i.e. part of present-day Gong-dkar and Chu-shul; cf. App. II below and Table 6 of App. V).

Also in this form registered in bKa’ thor hu 294.3–4. Probably the same location as Cha’i dgon. See fn. 36.

Recte Deb dmar 138: [...] the main deity of the Samvara [mandala] was in reality seen by Zhang Rin-po-che (bde mchog gi gtsos bo de zang rin po ches dngos su gzigs ‘dug).

I.e. Bła ma sGang-kha-ba Blo-gros bzang-po, below fn. 236.

Bal por par ma; corrupt: read: bal po i padmas with Deb dmar 138: erected by the Nepalese [artist named] Padma. According to Deb sngon 837 12–13 the statue was an image of chos skyong (i.e. Mahakāla?).

Deb sngon (op. cit., ibid.) gives the place of the statue as Kha-rag Bon-drug which corresponds to the branch monastery or dependency of Don/Bon-’brug-’ol mentioned below, fol. 22a.

It may refer to the Grib-mda’ Iha-khang which in IHa idan dkar chag 28 (2002 ed.) is registered as a site associated with Klu-mes. A gNas-gsar temple counts among the ‘Bring isho foundations; see App. V: Table 6; cf. also App. IV: fn. 11.

The true identity of IHa-sa rtse-mo (abbr. IHa-rtse) remains unclear. It either refers to a chos sde in IHa-sa inside Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snang, on the roof or the topmost point in Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snang (cf. Ga ci gdung rabs 402b5–6; bKa’ blon rtogs brjod 35); or it may refer to the Bar-khang rtse-mo of Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snang; cf. DL8 548 (its wall-painting repaired 1787). At this pinnacle, and along its adjacent courtyard, at least from the 18th cent., paintings of dPal-lha, of the 5th
sGom-sde nub-gling to the sGom-sde incumbent and he [i.e. the dbon po] requested and received [instead from the sgom sde ba] empowerment and precepts. The Kha-rag dbon po founded the monastery of Sa-dgon, as well as the monasteries of Don-'brug-'ol, Brag-cho, Do-lung, Phu-stod, sPong-po-mkhar, dByung, Gong-bu, and [s]Gam-po dgon-pa etc.

The throne-holders of Kha-rag arriving in succession from Kha-rag-pa until bla ma gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan, including teachers and disciples all worked magnificently for the sake of the Teachings and for the living beings.

Dalai Lama with teachers and entourage, and pilgrimage sites of Tibet were depicted. The srum ma dPal-lidan Dung-skhyong dbang-mo was usually propitiated. Cf. DL8 549. For this option, cf. DL7 835, 981.

It does not seem to refer to any of the surrounding mountains, such as the dGe-'phel dBu-rtses (to the west of the town) or the lHa-sa dBu-rtses (north of lHa-sa; below Fig. 79b), which – according to the local tradition – belongs to the group of the lHa-sa'ui Ri-chen-bzhi (see App. IV). A less likely option is the topmost point of dMar-po-ri in lHa-sa (albeit it does not readily appear to be identical with dMar-po-ri'i pho-brang rtses; cf. Vaidūrya ser po 427).

Alternatively, an old witness Zhang rnam thar zin bris 37b4 speaks of lCags-ri rtses-mo [of lHa-sa]. It occurs in a number of contexts: Vaidūrya ser po 425 (lHa-sa rtses-mo with a four-pillar temple on its northern side, here evidently referring to Ru-sa 'Phrol-snang), ib. 428; DL5 1 301a4; HSLG Vol. 4: 1; Nang rig 270–71. What is meant here is possibly that the exiled sgom sde ba (Sangs-rgyas-'bum?, see following note) placed himself under the protection of the mountains surrounding lHa-sa, respectively under the protection of the god of Grib (i.e. Grib rDzong-btsan).

The episode indicated here appears to allude to an internal conflict during the reign of the 4th gdan sa ba Sangs-rgyas-'bum, who in the wake of his exile, established the sGom-sde (see above fn. 115) and by the sgom sde ba the (first) gdan sa ba of the later sGom-sde is meant.

Deb dmar 139.13: Bon-'brug-'ol, i.e. the Kha-rag Bon-drug mentioned above (fn. 230).

Deb dmar 139.14: Brag-tshe.

These minor places remain largely unknown, but according to context appear to be located in Kha-rag or in the immediate neighboring areas. Sa-dgon may refer to the Sa (-smad, -stod) situated on the northern bank of the gsang-po in western Chu-shul; Phu-stod is the aforementioned area of the Do-bo-ri retreat which seems to be related to the place of Do-lung monastery. Deb sron notes that (a grossly exaggerated number of) 10,000 monks gathered at the monastery established by the [Kha-rag] dbon po (837.12). Another source indicates g.Yung Do-bo-ri, where hka 'bcu pa Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (i.e. chos rje Do-bo-ri-pa) resided; Kams thang brgyud pa 330a2–4.

gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan is mentioned during the life of the 9th Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje; cf. Tshal rnam 47a12. Another namesake was Tshal-pa rGya-gar-pa gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan, mentioned during the late 1280’s and early 1290’s, registered as a bya bral, cf. U rgyan rnam thar l 264. Deb dmar 139.15–20 lists the succession of the Kha-rag gdan sa ba

Kha-rag-pa

Nyag-po-seng-ge,

dbon po/dbon po Seng-gte brtson-'grus,
chos rje rGyal-[ba] gZhon[-nu],
mKhas-pa Grags[-pa] rgyal-[po/mtshan],
bla ma sGom-kha-ba Blo-gros bzang-po,
dBu-rtses-ba Grags-pa rdo-rje,
'Jam-dbyangs Shes-rab bzang-po,
dge bshecs Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan,
'Od-zer lHa-tho-ba and
bla ma gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan.
[C] [The Bar-Tshal Branches Stemming from Ru-thog-pa and his Disciples]

[Ru-thog-pa chen-po]

Ru-thog-pa chen-po was a disciple of lHa-phyug-pa [i.e. lHa-phyug mkhar-pa, the 3rd gdan sa ha of Tshal Yang-dgon].

Place of birth: gZar-po'i phu of Grva

Clan: mDzo-ri.

In the first part of his life, he was the disciple of sNa-ro Chos kyi ye-shes in sDe'u-sgang of Grva.

Having grown up he relied upon lHa phyug-pa. Having requested him for meditative guidance of Mahāmudrā; [he received it] and it is known that his [yogic] comprehension was extremely high. He established the Ru-thog monastery in Mal-'gro and the sGang-bu dgon-gsar [also in Mal-'gro].

The site of lDan-lung fell into his hands. He had as disciples three rtogs ldan ascetics: [22b]

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238 Ru-thog-pa or rtogs ldan Ru-thog-pa, the founder of Ru-thog dgon-pa. In his description of the sTod Tshal branches, Everding (2000: 333ff.) identifies him with sNang-sgom ras-pa aliases Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa or Sangs-rgyas-'od, the founder of rTa-sga (see foll. Chap.). Probably this is based on Deb damar where the biography of sNang-sgom ras-pa is captioned as "Ru-thog-pa" (ru thog pa'i rta sga'i snang sgom ras pa zhes grags pa des / [...]). However the identification is hardly possible; according to Vitali's calculations (see below fn. 250, 268) Ru-thog-pa sojourned in dBus when Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa founded rTa-sga (around 1200). Vaidūrya ser po 191.8 mentions the Zhang disciple rtogs ldan bDe-ba gZhon-nu as the founder of Ru-thog. We assume this is the personal name (or ordination name) of Ru-thog-pa. Cf. Vaidūrya ser po 191: Ming mdzod 1617 maintains that he was also called Zhig-po sTon-bde, also claiming that his clan was mDzo-ro.

239 Deb damar 139: Birthplace: Zur-phu of Grva district; clan: mDzo-ro. Upper gZar-po is located close to dKyi-ri/sKyi-ri in Upper Grva. Xizang Dimingzhi II 142a. Cf. also Bod Map Verhufen. The place most probably is identical with the dynastic Dra'i Zar-phu, one of the assembly places of Grva registered in the Dunhuang Annals. DTH 22.7–8.

240 Locals think that the place corresponds to the present-day village Ral-ri-sgang situated in d/Skyl-ru xiang of Grva (cf. Xizang Dimingzhi II 140b). sNa-ro Chos kyi ye-shes currently remains unidentified.

241 The exact location of the sGang-bu dgon-gsar remains unknown. Ru-thog is in eastern Mal-’gro (east of ‘Chad-kha dgon in Ru-thog xiang). Cf. also Rga lo rnam thar 279.18–19; ’Dzam gling rgyan gcig 871. The monastery, presently still existing on a modest scale, is situated above Mal-’gro river (also called g.Yu-’brug sngon-mo, an epithet routinely used for other rivers in Tibet, all ultimately identified or rather conflated with gTsang-po) with a view of the snowy mountain or gnas ri of Zu-’brug-mdā, lying opposite, which is also designated as the lord of the sa bdag of this region. The monastic inventory: the images of the main building are restricted to statues of the three Buddhas, Byams-dmar-btsan and gZhi bdag dge bsnyen Klu-btsan (the latter is also the yol lha of Ru-thog). A shrine outside houses a statue of näga Mal-gro gZi-can, vestiges of this most important näga can also be traced in other eastern parts of Mal-’gro (cf. Hazod 2003). To the east of Ru-thog dgon-pa there are the thermal springs of Ru-thog (cf. HSLG Vol. 5: 75; bK’a’ thang sde lnga 55). In Ru-thog, today there is hardly any recollection of the former Tshal-pa presence in the region. The disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, mKhas-grub or rtogs ldan bDe-ba’i gzhon-nu (= Ru-thog-pa? see above) is said to have had, prior to the foundation of the monastery, a retreat site called Chos-lung hermitage located above the monastery. The monastery was later attached to ‘Bn-khung, before it was transformed into a dGe-lugs dependency during the reign of the 2nd Dalai Lama (the founder of the Chos-’khor-rgyal, south of Ru-thog, cf. Vaidūrya ser po 191.10; lHa sa’i dgon tho 154). It is maintained that the Ru-thog abbots were usually provided by dGa’-ldan. Vaidūrya ser po 191.8–9 lists for the period of the abbots, the rdzogs ldan bDe-ba’i gzhon-nu, spyan sngal gZhon-nu rgyal-rtshang, spyan sngal Chos Bla-gros and gcenung Rin-po-che ’Jigs-med seng-ge. In a late (18th cent.) bSam-yas restoration-donation list (bSam yas dkar chag 378), both a Ru-thog bla brang and a Ru-thog rdzong sdog are registered.

242 Deb damar 140.1 reads lHanlung. Local people assume that lDan-lung is located north of Ru-thog; a valley called
in rTag-chen [a] rtags ldan mTshal-pa, in Za-lung [b] rtags ldan mDzes-pa and in rTa-sga [c] rtags ldan Dar-bsod.

[a] rtags ldan [m]Tshal-pa: he descended from the lineage Ri-khyi-ba of Ba-lam. He established the rTag-can [= rTag-spyan] monastery of Grva-phyi. The dbon po IHa-phyug and the disciple grub thob Bla-ma seng-ge etc. came to the dbon po of Ru-thog-pa, bsod-nams gzhon-nu.

[b] rtags ldan mDzes-pa [and the School of Za-lung]
Place of birth: Gle g.Yang-chung kha-ru of Za-'og, close to Ma-pham g.yu-rtogs mTen-gsum in mNgag-ris.
Father: g. Yung-drung byin-rabs, the middle son of Mal-gros-pa mGon. He was known as a [re-]birth of [the disciple of Mi-la ras-pa] Khyi-ra ras-pa; in rTa-sga of La-stod he took his final ordination in the presence of sP[ru]g-gcer-ba acting as upādhyāya, etc. Ordination name: mDzes-pa snying-po. He assisted rTa-sga-ba [i.e. sNang-sgom zhiig-po] when the latter brought presents [to Tshal], where he carried the ganjira of the Glo-'bur-shar [Eastern Annex], whereupon he went to dBus in search of the dharm. At sGang-bu dgon-gsar of Mal-[']gro (see supra) he requested Mahāmudrā teachings from rtags ldan Ru-thog-pa, whereafter he practiced meditative realization for three years. One night he had a dream, in which a shining red woman appeared and said: "Pray to Zhang Rin-po-chen and practice meditative realization at sPyi-khungs!" At Glo-'bur-nub [Western Annex of Gung-thang Ra-la'i-phu Za-'og-phug], he prayed to Bla-ma Zhang after having offered a mandala in front of the [latter's] image, at which point a spiritual insight that surpassed all former experiences was born in him. Thereafter he meditated in [strict] mountainous seclusion at 'Brong-bu sPyi-khyungs of Byang-phyi without descending [to human inhabited regions] (ri mi 'babs pa) for 13 years [ca. 1202/3–1214/15 A.D.]. In a female Wood-Pig year [i.e. 1215 A.D.], he established Za-lung [cloister], where many rtags ldan (or rtags ldan [d]an (different) is also located east of Ba-lam. The latter corresponds to the sKyid-shod kyi stod IDan-lung (IDan valley of Upper sKyid-shod) mentioned in Rva-lam nam thar 270.14. See fn. 409.

243 Deb dmur 140.5: Bon lineage of Ba-lam Ri-khyi-dba (referring to a branch of the dBa' clan; App. IV: fn. 82.
244 Today there exists barely more than a faint memory of a once-important rTag-can/spyan monastery in Grva-phyi (west of Yar-lung), at least so according to the locals of the neighbouring Grva-nang.
245 The location remains unidentified: a Za-'og[-phug] is known as the name of a sgrab gnas of Mi-la ras-pa which, however, lies in the closer area of Mang-yul Gung-thang, i.e. Gung-thang Ra-la'i-phu Za-'og-phug. Everding 2000: 364, 686; Ehrhard 2003: 364. On Ra-la (also Re-la), see also Vitali 1996: 548, 553; Vitali 1997: 1027; Buffetrille 2000: 55.
246 Mal-gros-pa obviously refers to Mal-gro or Mal-dro[s], the latter also known as a name of the Ma-pham g.yu-mtsho lake (alias Manasarowar). Deb dmur 140.8: Mal-dgos-pa mGon. A dGos-pa is mentioned as the father of the Ro-skam gdan sa gZhon-nu (above 20b).
247 Name rDo-rgya mgon-po of sNi-shangs. He belongs to the group of disciples of Mi-la-ras-pa called the Eight Cotton-clad Brothers (ras pa mchad brgyad). Hs kong chos 'byung 167, 168; M1g 'byed 'od stong 17b4–5 BA Roerich 435.
248 mKhon-po sPru-gcer.
249 Glo-'bur-shar[-ba] refers to the Eastern Annex of the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khung, which contains a number of separate temples (Chap. III.2-D below).
251 Deb dmur 140.16: sPyil-skun; i.e. the Byang-phyi 'Brong-bu sPyi-khyungs mentioned below.
252 'Brong-bu sPyi-khyungs is the name of one of Zhang’s sgrab gnas bdun which is associated with the area of g.Ya'-ma-lung in the northern mChims-phu valley (fn. 62). On the other hand, the present Byang-phyi seems to refer to the area of Chos-lung. See following note.
realized ascetics] and novices appeared.\textsuperscript{233} For 30 years, he safeguarded the monastic community. He passed away in a Dragon year [1244 A.D.] at the age of 79. His disciple, rtogs ldan Nam-mkha’ dbang-phyug established the Bal-yul gangs-ra monastery;\textsuperscript{24} [the disciple] rtogs ldan Nam-mkha’

\textsuperscript{233} The Za-lung monastery most probably is identical with the Za[va].-b-b-phu]-lung [mGon-po lha-khang], also known as Chos-lung dgon-pa (29°39’N 91°19’E; cf. Xizang Diminshi 185a) situated in present-day bSam-grub-gling xiang (west of Ba-lam in sTag-rtshe county), a site where Bla-ma Zhang was active and a cloister which contains a statue of four-armed Mahākāla allegedly erected (i.e. commissioned) by Bla-ma Zhang; the statue further constitutes one of the so-called “Three mGon-po Brothers,” cf. Blo-bzang mnam-rgyal 1999: 143–44; HSLG Vol. 1: 52, 61–62.

It represents the “Zva-lung (Valley of Nettles; orig. spelling) of Upper Chos-lung” mentioned in the autobiographical writings of Bla-ma Zhabs-dkar, who sojourned here for one year (in around 1811 A.D.).\textsuperscript{*} He too mentions the prestigious mGon-po phyag-bzhis statue of the local temple and its connection to Bla-ma Zhang g.yu-brag-pa; cf. Ricard 1994: 232f. In Bod kyi deb ther 183.7 Chos-lung is specified as Byang-phyi Chos-lung which is mentioned together with [Tshal?'] Yang-dgon as a dGe-ltan ruling house in the mid-15th century.\textsuperscript{**} Thus it appears that Za-lung dgon-pa and the sPlyi-khungs hermitage of the monastery are neighbouring (or even identical?) sites. The mGon-po iha-khang of Za[b]-lung could be the mGon-khang (= house of the mGon[-po Phyag-bzhis-pa]) of sPiyd-khungs which is mentioned in Bla-ma Zhang’s autobiographical bKa’ thos bu (284.2–3; the shrine was consecrated by Zhang after his meeting with ‘Bhe’-ro in the late 1150’s; see above fn. 51). However, the toponyms Byang-phyi and sPiyi-khungs remain unknown in modern day Chos-lung and, as has been said, the sgrub gnas sPiyi-khungs is otherwise associated with gYa’-ma-lung (see fn. 62). The later Za-lung is inter alia also associated with sNa’u Bya-bral-pa (early 14th cent.), a student of the gser ston Dung-rgyal ras-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho rgyal-mtshan (alt. or ordination name: Rin-cham bzang-po), the (re-)discoverer of (sGam-po-pa’s) Sems khtra teaching cycle (BA Roerich 717–720; Gene Smith 2001: 42; sGam po khris rabs 40a1; see also fn. 255 below: Gu bka’ chos ’byung 522–23; Nor bu i do shal 144). Visited by the 7th Zhwa-nag in the 15th cent. and by the sTag-lung monk rNam-rgyal rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (1532–1599 A.D.) in the 1580’s. As gnas chen or a pilgrimage site, visited by the 25th ’Bri-gung throne-holder in 1725; cf. ’Bri gung gdan rabs III 313. Today the Za-lung dgon-pa which is situated in the upper Chos-lung consists of a small building flanked by a new Byang-chub mchod-rten. Behind the temple there is a small cave which is associated with Bla-ma Zhang. One Rin po che Za-lung-pa was teacher to Klong-chen (1308–1364), and tended to the latter the precepts adhering to Zhang.

On the hill, to the right of the temple, one finds an impressive stone-throne which is called the throne (bzhugs khris) of the 5th Dalai Lama. It was also during the rule of the latter that Za-lung-dgon (as well as a number of other Tshal-pa branch institutions of sKyi-ded-shod) turned into a nunnery. Currently three ani (nuns) who come from the Mani lha-khang situated further down in the valley are responsible for the temple. The shrine accommodates inter alia statues of Bla-ma Zhang and the 5th Dalai Lama, as well as a new statue of Mahākāla which still today is worshipped in the area as the mGon-po phyag-bzhis-pa of Bla-ma Zhang. See Fig. 41–43. Close to Za[b]-phu-lung, a Za-ma-tog dPal gyi ri khrod was situated.\textsuperscript{**}

\* It seems to refer to the Chos-lung gzhis-stod listed among the estates of the later DGa’-ldan pho-brang gzhung; cf. HSLG Vol.1: 7–8. In the early 1640’s, Chos-lung bKra-shis-sngag gzhis ka adhered to Grong-smad A-ba; cf. Zur chen rnam thar 111b1f.

\** Another? Za[b’]-phu-lung (close to bSam-yas or of Thob-rgyal rdzong’), whose gdan sa ba in the 1620–30’s was dBang gi rgyal-pa and upon whose initiative bSam-yas was repaired.


\textsuperscript{24} Deb damr 140: g.Yul-Gangs-ra. Bal-po was one of the royal residences of imperial Tibet (Dotson, forthcoming). sBal-ba-tshal (also sBal-tshang and other spellings) of Yar’-brog is known as the place where king Khri iDe gtsug-brtsan Mcs Ag-blems passed away (TBD Serensen 362). A Bal-yul-gangs counts among the 21 dge bsnyen, a group of mountain gods named after their dwelling place. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 222. It seems to correspond to the present-day dPal-sde in north-western Yar’-brog (cf. also fn. 422, 542).
seng-ge built at Gong-po the Na-phu gangs-ra [monastery], and therefore [these three disciples of rtogs ldan mDzes-pa?] are known as the three Glacial Retreatants [Gangs-ra-ba].

[23a] Furthermore, thirteen ascetics including rtogs ldan Dar-ma and Sangs-rgyas, etc. each established thirteen monasteries in Kong-po. rTogs ldan dGe-[*]tsho-bo established the monastery of Ko-ba-brag in sTod-lung. He hung his coat onto a sunbeam. rTogs ldan Tsa-ri-ba established the monastery of lHun-grub-sdungs, whereas rtogs ldan Nyi-za [and his successors], altogether five, established in Gung-thang (cf. also rTogs ldan mDzes-pa’s younger brother, being invited from La[s]-stod, was ordained in the presence of rtogs ldan pa and mkhan po Säkya bkra-shis. Ordination name: bSod-nams dbang-phyug. In a Dragon year [1244 A.D.], he came to the see of Za-lung, remaining on the

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254 It appears to be the sNa’u-gangs-ra known as a place associated with the aforementioned Dung-mdsho ras-pa disciple sNa’u Bya-bral-pa (also sNa’u-pa, flourit first half of the 14th century) from the Sems khrid teaching lineage (fn. 253). Born in Zur-mkhar (of eastern Dvags-po), he later was ordained in Za-lung (ordination name: rDo-rje-mdzes) and after his practice in sNa’u-gangs-ra, he became known as the “ascetic of sNa’u” (BA Roerich 720). The exact location of this early Bar-Tshal branch remains unidentified; perhaps Gong-po is here a misspelling for rKong-po. See Deb dmnr 140.

256 rTogs-lidan Dar-ma, obviously not identical with the aforementioned rtogs ldan Dar[-ma] bsod[-nams] who came to rTa-sga (foll. chapter).

257 Cf. Deb dmnr 141.1–2. Foundations in Kong-po are also mentioned in connection with the students of lHa-ri-pa Nam-mkha’-od, the Zhang disciple who founded the lHa-ri-kha monastery. Cf. Chos ’byung bstan pa’i nyi ma 112b2f.: Tshal nam 46b3–4 and note 267 below.

258 Cf. lHa sa’i dgon tho 293 where the rtogs ldan mDzes disciple and founder of Ko-ba-brag is given as rtogs ldan dGe-bcu-pa rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. The site is perhaps identical with the Zhang retreat of sKo-ba-brag-phug of rje-mo mentioned above (fol. 9a). A sTod[-lung] gyi Kho is known as one of the royal residences in dynastic period (DTH 57.30); cf. also lHa ’dre bka’ thang 34.5 (cf. Blondeau 1971, s.v. index). The latter may correspond to Kho-brang-tshal (= Kho-brag-tshal or Pho-brang-tshal [Palace-garden?]), the birthplace of Mes Ag-tshoms (DTH 19.10). There could also be a relation between the name of this monastery in sTod-lung and the foundation of Ko-brag of Myang-stod established by the contemporary Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (below fn. 263, 815).

259 He is probably identical with the Bla-ma [r]Tsa-ri-pa who is mentioned as teacher of ’Khrl-zhig Seng-gseng-ge rgyab-pa, a leading representative of the rDzogs chen snying thig teaching transmission (born in g.Yu-ru Gra’i phu-so Gad-‘phreng; fl. first half of 13th cent.); at that time Tsa-ri-ba’s residence appears to have been Seng-gseng-ge rgyab of Srij-zhal where ’Khrl-zhig also heard expositions of the Tshal-pa teachings from one Seng-ge rgyab-pa bar-ba (middle Seng-ge rgyab-pa) (cf. Deb sngon 243–44 (BA Roerich 195–96); Nyingma School II 564–66; rDzogs chen chos ’byung l164b4–66a4). Seng-ge rgyab remains unknown to us; however, it appears that Srij-zhal refers to the eastern part of the Tshal Gung-thang district which is formed by the two valleys of Srij and Zhal (often mentioned together in earlier sources; cf. fn. 413); thus, the site of Seng-ge rgyab may be related to the Srin-mo brag-phug mountain at the entrance of Srij, which in Xizang Dimchog I 14a is registered as Seng[-ge]-rjig-thug (= phug). See also App. IV: Chap. 3.

Huber (in his notes to Padma dkar-po’s Tsa-ri gudebook, 1999: 69, 84f., 243) identifies the master bSamb-dtan dpal-ba (1291–1366, in BA Roerich 884–86) with the rtogs ldan Tsa-ri-pa of the Tshal-pa (the note refers to the entry in Padma dkar-po’s account which says that at one point the hermits of the Shug-gsbe bKa’ rgyud-pa “were sent out [to Tsa-ri] by the Tshal-pa lineage”), and identifies the monasteries est. by bSamb-dtan dpal-ba at Tsa-ri (i.e. Yab chos-sdungs and sGo-mo chos-sdungs) with the Tsa-ri-pa foundation of lHun-grub-sdungs, an identification that appears rather questionable.

260 Currently unidentified (see prev. note). Perhaps it refers to the lHun-grub-stengs of Dol.

261 Currently unidentified.

262 Deb dmnr 141.6: Las-stod. Probably La-stod [rTa-sga] is meant here.
throne for 14 years, whereupon he took over the throne at the age of 12 to 13. His younger brother Yos-lo-pa 12gZhon[-nu] rdo[-]rje arrived in a Snake year [1257 A.D.] at the throne [of Za-lung], where he safeguarded the monk community for 19 years. In his 58th year in a Pig year [1275 A.D.], he passed away. He was followed by slob dpon rNam-rgyal-mdzes who safeguarded the see for 15 years. Date of birth: Snake year [1245 A.D.] [His Mother] was lcang-mo [i.e. Sister or Lady] 12gsangs-rgyas-[b]skyid. He passed away in an Ox year [1289 A.D.], age 44. He was followed by his younger brother, slob dpon gZhon-nu-mdzes who came to the throne [in an Ox year, 1289 A.D.]. All [throno-holders] safeguarded their monastery both in the religious and in the secular sphere, the two (chos srid). Like [the sun during] daylight, they illuminated the Teaching adhering to the Transmission of Spiritual Realization.

The supplementary History of the origin of Bar Tshal, briefly told.

[On [c] rtogs ldan Dar-[ma] bsod[nams] see the following chapter]

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263 Cf. above fn. 106; he is probably the Za-lung-pa who is listed as one of the disciples of Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1170/82–1249/61 A.D.); cf. BA Roerich 728. On the latter figure, see Stearns 2000. A mahāsiddha Za-lung-pa is known as teacher of the rDzogs chen master Me-long rdo-rje who was also ordained in the presence of Za-lung-pa [in around 1250]. BA Roerich 196; rNyung ma school l 566f.

264 i.e. the one born in a hare year, 1219 A.D.?

265 Deb dmar 141: From a Pig year until an Ox year he held the throne for 15 years.

266 Deb dmar: 141. Thus the succession of abbots of Z[v]a-lung of the 13th cent. can be summarized as follows:

1. rtogs ldan mDzes-pa (disciple of Ru-thog-pa): rl. 30 years; 1215–1244 A.D.
3. Yos-lo-pa gZhon-nu rdo-rje (younger brother of no. 2): rl. 19 years; 1257–1275.
4. slob dpon rNam-rgyal-mdzes (disciple of no. 3): rl. 15 years; 1275–1289.
5. slob dpon gZhon-nu-mdzes (younger brother of no. 4): rl. 1289–?

No. 2 and the Za-lung-pa Bla-ma mLos-pa bzang-po are also listed as abbots of the lHa-phug-mkar monastery (above fn. 110). A later Za-lung-pa is mentioned as teacher of Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa (1308–63). Cf. Smith 2001: 33, 279.

267 Not listed here is the branch school stemming from Zhang's disciple lHa-ri-pa chen-po Nam-mkha'-od (fn. 101) and his successors. They obviously have to be counted among the Bar Tshal. His birthplace is mDzad-[pa] of Grva (also Gr[v]a 'Jed-pa, -Jad-pa); father: Gru-gu-tsa; mother: Thang-gro-ma. Ordination name: Sangs-rgyas-raschen (also Sangs-rgyas-'od). See Deb dmar 135.15f.; lHo rong chos 'byung 199.19. In 1168, he established the lHa-ri spang-gshong (or lHa-ri-kha) monastery (cf. bKa' brgya ma l 164.6–7).* Nam-mkha'-od was followed as next gdan sa ha in the succession by dBon-po lHa dGe-bshes, dpon po DBon Rin-po-che, Devakumāra (lHa gZhon-nu) and others. Cf. Deb dmar 135.19–22; lHo rong chos 'byung 199.19–2101.3; bKa' brgyud chos 'byung 66a2–3; Deb sngon 837.3–8 (BA Roerich 715); mkhas pa i dga' ston 809.12–15; App. V: Table 2.1–E. The sources mention as branches of lHa-ri-kha the three monasteries of [Kong-po]i lHa-ri gyang-[m]ho (the holy mountain formerly associated with the Bon-po tradition), Zu-ru-gdong and gSol-kha Brag-la lHa'i dgon (or: gSom-kha Brag-ste-dgon) as well as the Yang[s]-steng monastery of 'Brog. According to the 'Brag pa chos 'byung 395.9–10, Nam-mkha'-od founded lHa-ri-kha, Kong-po[i] lHa-ri gyang-tho and Yang-stengs of 'Brog; cf. also Chos 'byung bsTan pa i nsi ma l 112b2f. Vaidūrya ser po 202 lists the monastery So-lung La-kha (= gSol-kha) as the foundation of a certain rje (= lHa-ri-pa?) Nam-mkha'-od.

A branch of the early Tshal-pa of Central Tibet which is similiar missing in the listing of the present text was the rDzam gyi lHa-sa-steng monastery in rDzam of Dvags-po. It is given as a foundation of the Bla-ma Zhang disciple Yc-ches Blo-gros. See Vaidūrya ser po 202 and below, fn. 424.

* The location of this monastery still remains uncertain; spang-gshong-pa is registered as the name of a village of mTsho-stod xiang in eastern 'Phan-yul (cf. Xiang Dimunche l 48a) where a lHa-ri-kha] is unknown, however. lHo rong chos 'byung 426.6 speaks of a Byang-thang lHa-pha ri-kha'i dgon-pa; it is listed together with the Gye-re'i dgon-pa (i.e. Gye-re in sKyi-dam) as place of activity of the Bla-ma Zhang and gNyas gGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa, disciple of 'Jig-rten mgon-po and founder of the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud school (below fn. 420). One informant (bSod-nams ldan-pa, a librarian from 'Bras-spungs) suggests that the
[II.1.2.3] [The Monasteries of the Upper / Western sTod-Tshal School]

[A] [The West Tibetan Tshal-pa Branch Schools in the Territory of Mang-yul Gung-thang]  

[Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa and the abbots of the rTa-sga monastery]

Furthermore, the one known as sNang-[b]sgom ras-pa of rTa-sga was ordained into the Buddhist order in the presence of lHa-phyug-pa. Ordination name: Sangs-rgyas-'od. He consummately [received] all the precepts related to the cycles both of [theoretical] scriptural authority instruction and [practical] realization. [23b] At Byang-mkhar [= Bya-mkhar], at sPyil-skungs [= 'Brong-bu sPyi-khungs] and at mTha'-brag, etc. he perfected his practice of spiritual realization. In the presence of the dPal gDan-sa-ba too, he removed any misgivings (zhun thar bced) [hitherto prevailing] as to the cycles of instruction and realization received. Having the benefit of his converts in mind, he arrived at Ti-se and rDzong-drug for his spiritual realization. At [one of these Mi-la retreat caves known as] rDo-rgje-rdzong of Brag-skya, he purified his skills of spiritual commitment. Having established the monastery of rTa-sga, it turned into a main-center for his

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1. Ha-r-kha monastery is to be located in lHa-ri county (north of Kong-po Brag-gsum), perhaps sPang-gshong is here to be read as 'Phrang-gshong, a main settlement situated in western lHa-ri (cf. e.g. Bod Map, Verhufen, s.v. index).

2. On the sTod Tshal branch, the foundation of the key outpost rTa-sga dgon-pa of La-stod in western Tibet and its abbatial succession, see the present texts' Vorlage, Deb dmar 141–149; Yon tan 'brug sgra 9b3ff.; Chos legs rnam thar 9b2ff. (= Everding 2000: 588–593); Vitali 1996: 393f. and Everding 2000: 333f. Driven by their quest for propaganda fides, the missionary foray into new territories was on that score remarkably successful, although their activities were restricted, in the first place, to establishing petty monastic cloisters or hermitages suitable for their devotion to asceticism – the cornerstone of bKa'-bgyud practice. The considerable success of Tshang 'Dur-ba Tshul-khrims seng-ge, the “Lion of Morality” (see below) with his pragmatic approach that placed more emphasis on the Avalokiteśvara cult and ritual than upon devotional proselytism, ensured that his school gained a firm footing also among the common population.

3. lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa's hermitage in Ba-lam (above, 15b). On the other two retreat sites, see fn. 62.

4. It is far from easy to determine beyond doubt what is exactly meant by dPal gDan-sa-ba (or [Rin-po-che] gDanz-sa-ba). Mostly likely [dPal-ldan] lHa-phyug-mkhar-pa is meant, as in the present context. The title gdan sa ha here therefore refers to his position as abbot of lHa-phyug-mkhar (1193 until 1209/10).

5. The journey to Ti-se (around 1195) is one of the earliest documented bKa'-bgyud-pa pilgrimages to the holy mountain (Kailash) as already noted by Vitali (1996: 394f.). There are allusions to an even earlier date, e.g. the Ti-se journey mentioned in connection with the Zhang disciple gTsang-ston Hral-chung (see fn. 10 of Table V.5).

6. Mi-la rDzong-drug (also Gung-thang rDzong-drug) or the six fortresses or hermitages associated with Mi-la ras-pa are listed in many sources. They are classified as the six outer, six inner and six secret rDzong. See Everding 2000: 337; Ehrhard 2003: 347, 353; P. Aufschneiter 1976: 175–89; K. Dowman 1997: 211–15; Mig 'byed 'od stong 13a5–b3.

7. The hermitage belongs to the group of the six outer rDzong (see prev. note). Chos legs rnam thar 10a states that at that time the place was held by the 'Bri-khung-pa, who then accepted Sangs-rgyas mTshal-pa as the new holder. Later the cave became known as [m]Tshal-phug.

8. [Nub-ris] rTa-sga dgon or “the Horse-Saddle Monastery” (since a huge boulder there resembled a horse-saddle; Yon tan 'brug sgra 10a2–3) was arguably built between 1195–1200 A.D., as already suggested by Vitali (1996: 394–5), by Sangs-rgyas-'od also called Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa or Sangs-rgyas Tshal-chung. It soon turned into a powerful local establishment for the spread of the Tshal teachings in Western Tibet. In fact Yon tan 'brug sgra 10b2–3 maintains that the rTa-sga-pa were the dpon or rulers of sTod-tshal. In the first half of the 14th century when Ya-rtse troops occupied the Nub-ris area, the rTa-sga monastery and its dependencies fell under the “protection” of the latter kings for whom the bla mna were directed to perform annual sku rim ceremonies (see here the evidence of the copper-plate inscriptions of 1321
converts of the districts of sKu[-thang] [and] Nub-ris.\(^{275}\) During the period in which a large number of monk novices [increasingly] assembled there, [sNang-sgom ras-pa, aliaser Sangs-rgyas-tod, Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa] forwarded a request to Rin po che gDan-sa[-ba] [i.e. lHa-phuyug-pa]: "Since my small monastery [of rTa-sga now] has been established, I request [you] to send three or four monks headed by my maternal nephew (tsha bo) Jo-sras."\(^{276}\) Accordingly, having dispatched Jo-sras along with Tshang ["Dur-ba chen-po, bSam-gtan rdzong-ba\(^{277}\) and riogs ldan Dar-bsod,\(^{278}\) they arrived [at rTa-sga], but two months after [their arrival] Jo-sras died. [Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa] himself was [at that point] very old wherefore he requested riogs ldan Dar[-ma] bsod[-nams] saying: "Better remain here at [my] monastery, it will prove beneficial to sentient beings!"

He [i.e. riogs ldan Dar-bsod] occupied the see of the monastery.\(^ {279}\) For the people of [the West Tibetan districts of] Nub-ris [adjacent to sKyid-grong within Mang-yul Gung-thang area, as well as] Men-zhang,\(^ {280}\) Pu-rangs, Dol-po, and Glo-bo his activities for the benefit of the people were

and 1327 formerly kept in rTa-sga; Childs 2001: 12, 22–24). Much later this Tshal branch establishment was taken over by the Bo-dong school and constituted one of its five chos sde as e.g. recounted by Brag-dkar rta-so Chos kyi dbang-phug (1775–1837 A.D.) in his writings (cf. e.g. 'Bur pa mi rje'i gdung rabs 9b2, 15b5–6, 16b4–17a1; also Ehrhard 2000a: 204). It is still unclear when this take-over actually took place, but arguably relatively late and under dGe-lugs auspices, similar to the fate of its mother seat in Central Tibet. As indicated by Chos legs rnam thar 9b–10a, it was situated somewhere to the east of Mi-la's retreat hermitage of Brag-skya and to the north (yet still within the boundaries) of Nub-ris, in an area where formerly 'Bri-gung ri-pa had their hermitage. Perusing written sources and biographical diaries of many minor and little-known religious figures who travelled these remote Himalayan borderlands would no doubt bring to light more information on the vicissitudes of this once-influential centre.

\(^ {275}\) sKu nub ri brachygraphically renders Ku[-thang] Nub-ri[s]. For these two West-Tibetan districts in the Nepal-Tibetan borderland, now largely within the Himalayan Gorkha district of Nepal in the environs of Mt. Manaslu, cf. Aris 1973; Everding 2000: 299–300; Childs 2001. These areas were ethno-historically part of Tibet until mid-19th cent. – having successively been the hermitage area and field of conversion of the Tshal-pa, the 'Bri-gung-pa, and later (16–17th cent.) by the 'Brug-pa – when, along the Himalayan divide, northern Nub-ri fell under Tibetan rule and Upper Nub-ri and Ku-thang became part of Nepal. Medieval and later local texts often speak of the hermitage or retreat areas of Ku-thang ri khrod often adjacent to other neighbouring districts, much-sought retreat sites of asceticism, esp. for the 'Bri-gung ri-pa or retreatants, such as the area of Ku-thang Tsum gyi ri khrod. Ku-thang gTsaṅ gi ri khrod, cf. e.g. bKa' brgyud rnam thar chen mo 444ff. Most prominently associated with Kuttang is the sbas yul sKyid-mo-lung (a guide was written by the "Hidden-land Opener" Rig-'dzin rGod-ldeM; cf. e.g. Childs 1999: 129–131; 2001: 13).

\(^ {276}\) Probably not identical with Sangs-rgyas Jo-sras, the 5th abbot of lHa-phuyug-mkhar (above fn. 110).

\(^ {277}\) bSam-gtan rdzongs-pa was according to Deb dmar 147.15f. (supported by Chos legs rnam thar and Mang lung pa rnam thar, quoted by Vitali: 397–98) evidently responsible for the dissemination of Tshal-pa monasteries in the Glo-bo area (Mustang) which pertained to the so-called middle region (bar) of the areas of lower mNga'ris (below fn. 292). The bSam-gtan rdzongs gi dgon-pa / bSam-gtan-gling is mentioned in gSer-mdong's biography during his initial visit 1474, called Glo-bo'i lung-lag bSam-gtan-rdzong; cf. gSer mdong rnam thar 115.23–4. Otherwise undocumented.

\(^ {278}\) I.e. the disciple of Ru-thog-pa: = above no. c. See also Mar lung rnam thar 173a3: Dharma bsod-nams.

\(^ {279}\) According to Chos legs rnam thar 10a; Mar lung pa rnam thar 150a (cf. again Vitali 1996: 396–99); Yon tan 'brug sgra 10a4f. The second throne-holder of rTa-sga, riogs ldan Dar-ma bsod-nams played a major role in the expansion of rTa-sga. He was also responsible for disseminating the Tshal teachings in Pu-rangs (where the Tshal-pa occasionally rose to become court chaplains of the Pu-rang king after having saved the king from sickness), and in the areas of the Men-zhang (see foll. note). He was also a disciple of Bla-ma Zhang, cf. Deb dmar 129.5. Under his tenure, the sTod-tshal spread towards sNyije-shangs (Manang); cf. also Ehrhard 2001: 102.

\(^ {280}\) The nomadic groups of the Men-zhang who lived in Gro-shod and other districts of mNga'ris smad, they represent one of the principal communities of the Mang-yul Gung-thang kingdom (mi sde sgo bzhil); see Vitali 1997: 1024–36;
extensive and he also expanded the monastery of rTa-sga. After his passing, bla ma gZhon-nu [functioned as the third rTa-sga throne-holder, and thus] successfully executed the manufacturing of the receptacles in the form of inner and outer supports and [the execution of] a commemorative ceremony (sku 'dab[s]) [for the latter throne-holder].

With his disciples he arrived at Go-lo kun-rdzob, where he cared for and worked for the well-being of sentient beings. He even expanded the see. After the latter’s passing bla ma gCung-po [acted as fourth rTa-sga throne-holder and] erected [for the deceased] the inner and outer supports [i.e. edifices and statues] and a [sku] 'dab[s]. His former disciples and the patrons safeguarded and rendered service [to the see]. After the latter’s passing, slob dpon Sangs-rgyas bla-ma [as the fifth rTa-sga throne-holder (gdan sa ba)] occupied the see [24a]. He erected [for the deceased] an inner and outer support, [executed] a commemorative service ([sku] 'dab[s]) and cared for his monastic disciples. He too expanded the see. After the latter’s passing, bla ma Shes-rab bla-ma [acted as the sixth rTa-sga throne-holder and he similarly] erected [for the deceased] an inner and outer support, [executed a] commemorative service ([sku] 'dab[s]) [in his memory] as well as cared for the monk disciples. After the latter’s passing, his monk disciples erected [for the deceased] the inner and outer supports and a [executed a] [sku] 'dab[s]. Bhia ma dKon-mchog gzhon-nu [as seventh rTa-sga throne-holder] was then invited to the see. Everybody, such as bla ma bZang za-ra[-brtsegs] etc. rendered service on a grand scale [in order to enhance] the karmic activities of 'Gro-mgon Rin-poche [Bla-ma Zhang] e.g. by bringing many presents in form of sacred scriptures, a ganjira as well as precious material goods to the monasteries of Tshal Gung-thang and IHa-phyug-mkhar.

Tshang 'Dur-ba chen-po alias rTa-sga-ba sNang-sgom zhig-po

[He was a fellow companion of Jo-sras and had] already during his childhood been given [in custody for religious training] by his father to the dPal gDan-sa-ba. Growing up, he was ordained into the Buddhist faith in the presence of bla ma Ba-lam-pa. Ordination name: Tshul-khrims seng-ge. [Receiving] all the precepts for the cycles of instruction and spiritual realization, his mind matured. Thereafter he came into the presence of Rin po che gDan-sa-ba, where he became his private chamberlain, and was thus given all the precepts for the cycles of instruction and spiritual realization. He then came to rTa-sga, where in the presence of Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa and mkhan po sPug (~ sPrug)-gcer-ba, he took the vow of a bhiksu. At rDzong-drug, at sPong (= dPung)-rgyan


230 He is perhaps identical with the rTogs ldan Dar-ma who is mentioned in the Va ti bzang po'i rnam thar in connection with O-mo-thang in sKyid-grong. Cf. Erhardt 2003: 218.

231 On sku 'dab[s], see fn. 89 above. The third throne-holder or abbot of rTa-sga was sprul sku gZhon-nu seng-ge. cf. Chos legs rnam thar 10b3f.

232 On the activities of the third rTa-sga throne-holder bla ma gZhon-nu (also called sprul sku gZhon-nu seng-gc), see Chos legs rnam thar 10b3f. (= Everding 2000: 591) and Yon tan 'brug sgra 10b6f. The fourth throne-holder was mKhas-grub chen-po.

233 To Tshang 'Dur-ba is primarily ascribed the Tshal conversion of the Mang-yul Gung-thang region. The source for our text is throughout this section exclusively Deb dmar 142.23f.; cf. also Everding 2000: 340–344.

234 In Deb dmar the teacher is called dPal-lidan-pa. It probably refers to dPal-lidan [IHa-phyug-mkhar-pa].

235 The IHa-phyug-mkhar disciple Ba-lam-pa, who later (after 1224 A.D.) became abbot of the IHa-phyug-mkhar monastery. Cf. fn. 110 above.
sgangs kyi ra-ba\(^{287}\) as well as at dBang-po'i brag [i.e. the Cliff of Śiva/Maheśvara i.e. Mt. Manaslu] itself.\(^{288}\) he became perfect in the practice of spiritual realization. In Tshong-dus 'gur-mo\(^{289}\) he erected for the [deceased] sNang-sgom ras-pa an eight-mtho high reliquary-ossuary (gdung khang). As outer support (psyi rten) he erected a sku 'bum dome-reliquary, and he took up residence at the solitary site of Brag-dkar\(^{290}\) where he continued refining the skills of his spiritual commitment. The Khal-glang-mi [= "The Glang people of Khal"] "People of Khal-glang"]?, the Servant (g.yog) mGon-po and Teacher (ston pa) Be-chung [24b], his three patrons, offered him the valley [i.e. land] of Tshang-dur,\(^{291}\) where he established a monastery, the name of which became known as [Ha-sdings too. Based upon prophecies, which bespoke that he in reality was Avalokiteśvara, he was called sNang-sgom zhig-po. The areas of lHo-Nub-Gung, the three\(^{292}\) until and including the places of [the local mountain-cum-spirit] Jo-bo sKu-rgyal [i.e. Mt. Jo-bo sKu-rgyal]\(^{293}\) was

\(^{287}\) rDzong-drug are the celebrated hermitages or retreat sites of Mi-la and the glacial area (gangs kyi ra ha) adjacent to sPang-rgyan, or sPungs/dPung-rgyan = Manaslu; cf. Aris: 1975: 72.

\(^{288}\) According to Kah-thog's Gung thang rgyal rabs 90.10–11, Manaslu is also called Gungs-rim chen-po dPung-rgyan.

\(^{289}\) Tshong-dus m'u/'gur-mo of gTsang (in M/Nyung district; cf. Myang chos 'byung 9. 145) was formerly a key cross-road and market-place. From the very outset of the bstan pa phyi dar period it emerged as one of the most frequented cross-roads spread all over Tibet for innumerable saints and scholars throughout this early medieval phase of the second Buddhist dissemination, notably starting with Atiśa through Kha-che Pan-chen etc. Its role as an important trade-mart appears to spring from the activities of Lo-ston rDo-je dbang-phug (Dung-dkar 1981: 457–58; Ming mdzod 1673–74; Myang chos 'byung 145–47) and ICE Ha-bzang grags-pa, where the foundation for its later political role was formed. This vital cross-road therefore surfaces in most biographies and writings of numerous 11–12th-cent. masters such as Khyung-po mal-'byor, Rva, Chos-je Lo-ras and rGod-tshang (Shangs pa bla ras 32; Rva lo'i rnam thar 183.19–184.1; Lo ras pa'i rnam thar 89ff.; rGod thang rnam thar 149) to mention a few. The site more precisely refers to the present-day village of 'Tshong-dus at the entrance to the Zha-lu valley. It was the centre of the imperial stong sde of Khri-thang 'Gur-mo and it corresponds to the gTsang mGur-mo of the appanage distribution of 1251, according to which the gTsang mGur-mo-pa and the 'Bri-gung-pa swore allegiance to Möngke Qayan. Cf. mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1416.11; Petech 1990a: 11. During the Yuan Mongol supremacy and under local Sa-skya rule it constituted an postal station (jam chen) and myriarchy (also called lHa-sde 'Gur-mo; cf. gNyags ston gdung rabs 98.19); Petech 1990a: 55, 63, 65; Smith 2001: 223. There exist no sources concerning the sources concerning the early sTod Tshal-pa and this site in gTsang; thus one may consider in this context that the author of GT here refers to the Tshong-dus of sKyid-grong, an area where inter alia a site associated with Sa-skya Pandita is located. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 215, 347–48.

\(^{290}\) Probably not the famous Mi-la hermitage of Brag-dkar rta-so is meant here but the retreat site of Brag-dkar which is situated close to the later dGe-lugs foundation of bKra-shis bSsam-gtan-gling in sKyid-grong. Ehrhard 2003: 216, 333.

\(^{291}\) The exact location of Tshang-dur remains unknown.

\(^{292}\) Cf. also Gung thang rgyal rabs B 90.8–13, lHo nub gung gsum constitute the three core districts into which Mang-yul Gung-thang was divided (nang tshan) in its entirety, geographically defined as:

[A] lHo or the southern part that refers to the area spanning from Ting-va-ri (in present-day Nepal) until mTshams i.e. the part known as sKyid-grong and the area of

[B] Nub = Nub-ris (according to ICTZZh 332 part of rDzong-dga' khul) that stretches from the sKyo-la Pass (cf. Bod Map 56: sKyo-mo-la) to the area comprising the mountain massif known as dPung-rgyan or dBang-po'i brag (i.e. Mt. Manaslu) of Rod district (? = Rud, Ros/Rö present-day Samargaon; cf. the Map in Aris 1973, et passim; cf. also Vitali 2004c: 71) which borders on the district of Se-rib (i.e. an ancient name of a kingdom known already in the 7th cent. and comprising a part of present-day Mustang area (cf. Jackson 1978: 195f.); and finally

[C] Gung = Gung-thang which constitutes the source area stretching from mTshams until the stAg-la Pass situated in the mountain-range of dBec'i lHa-bsan.

Further ahead in the text, op. cit., 99.16–17, Kah-thog is more explicit by saying that these three areas of Mang-yul are made up of Gung-thang, sKyo-dgrong and Nub-ris. See also Everding 2000: 47, 292; Vitali 1996: 398.

\(^{293}\) Gung thang rgyal rabs B 89.14–15 Jo-bo sKu-rgyal (Jo-bo, the Lord King-Body) or the glacier mountain
turned into the heart[land] to be converted [by him]. Considering that his karmic activities and his promotion for welfare of the living beings [indeed] were immeasurable, [one example of this was that once when] he arrived in the presence of the [famed] sKyi-dgrong Jo-bo⁵⁴ the monks were just having breakfast in front of the [Jo-bo] Vati [Statue]. He generated compassion towards those who begged and who possessed neither food nor clothes. He requested the family of local lords (dpun brgyud) [i.e. custodians] of the Jo-bo with the words: "If possible I shall establish here in the presence of the Jo-bo [Statue] a tradition of providing soup [to the poor ones]. If [permission is not granted] at least grant me permission, with the 16 khal of flour (phye) brought along here, to rent your place so as to establish a site where [meat and bones can be ground] for preparing porridge (dzam drug/grub cig gi thug pa btang)."⁵⁵ They offered him the sites for establishing the tradition [of preparing and serving] porridge. From that point on, and until the entire Šamsāra is emptied, the traditions of continuing [to supply endowment and funding] for preparing soup and for having the Mani [mantra] of Avalokiteśvara recited prevail [in situ]; he provided a monk for each Jo-bo caretaker [responsible for these institutions].

He then came to the temple of Byams-sprin Rlung gi kha-gnon⁵⁶ and having been offered the estate administrating this [temple], he [provided the endowment for] establishing the sessions [i.e. the incessant pūjā-recitation of the celebrated six-syllabic] Mani [mantra of Avalokiteśvara]. Again, the spang-zhing people headed by the spang-zhing bcu dpon,⁵⁷ and the people of the yon bdag resembling a throned king (gangs ri rgyal po gdan la bzhugs pa lha bu) appears to be identical with the mountain-cum-deity known as sKu-lha dpal-rdzong. This depiction is well-known from standard description of other holy mountains, such as Kangchenjunga, etc. According to the same text, op. cit., 101.18-21, this mountain is considered one of the rje yi mgur / sku lha bcu gsum or 13 primordial ancestral telluric gods in Tibet whose main seat supposedly is Ti-se-gangs or Mt. Kailash, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 223–24; Haarh 1969: 263f.; Macdonald 1971: 207, 292–309; Aris 1979b: 2. For other lists of the mGur-lha bcu-gsum, see e.g. Bellezza 1997: 47f. The component sku lha suggests that the mountain holds great antiquity and import, being considered the home of one of the ancestral divinities symbiotically related to the personal cult and well-being of the Tibetan kings (CFS Gyalbo et al. 212ff.).

⁵⁴ Deb dmар 143.16: Kyi-rong. For a thorough study of this celebrated image, cf. Ehrhard 2004; Decleer 2006.
⁵⁵ Following here the explanation of Dung-dkar 1981: 459: risam pa la sha rUs kyi irdor bthab pa'i thug pa.
⁵⁶ The Byams-sprin lha-khang in Mang-yul counts among the 12 temples allegedly built by Srong-btsan sgam-po in order to nail down a supine or prostrate demoness, here intended to afront the element wind. In the Atśa Biography rnAm thar rgyas pa 48b (Eimer 1979: 220) the temple is called Tshangs-pa rung-gnon. Tradition holds that for the erection of this temple king Srong-btsan sgam-po summoned seven carpenters (from sKy[d] [shod] in dBus), wherefrom allegedly the sKyid-mi grong-bdun, the seven original families of sKyid-grong eventually descended. In Ka khoI ma 305f., Kyi-mi grong-bdun designates the original settlements of a commune of craftsmen from the Kyi clan in dBu-ru, who were involved in the construction project of several Strong-btsan sgam-po period temples (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 53; Introduction: fn. 4) We may thus assume that behind the episode related to the Mang-yul temple an immigration of Kyi people from the sKyid-chu region took place, which also accounts for the conflation between Mang-yul (often also Myang-grong) and sKyid-grong (also Kyi-rong). For the sKyid-mi grong-bdun, see also the data in Everding 2000: 320, fn. 781 and Ehrhard 2003: 266, et passim. On the classification of the Mang-yul Byams-sprin, see most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 52f., 184f.
⁵⁷ Cf. Verhüfen Index 86–87/28–29; Bod Map 54–56: spang-zhing (=shing) "Meadow-field." See also CTZhZH (1830 Land-Tax Survey) 337; Schuh 1988: 174, 184. Geographical position: Xizang Dimishing 1 450b: 28°30'N 85°15'E. It was in the 1970–80's registered as a people's community (kung hre, gongshe), later a cun or grong tso (rural village) within the sKyid-grong county. In spang-zhing the dynastic Byams-sprin temple is situated (see prev. note).

A less likely candidate, a similar-named locale spang-shing is mentioned by bsTan-'dzin ras-pa of Dol (1623-
sGar-ba offered him [land that could serve as] monastic estate (mchod gzhis) of Zhog[s]-phug,\(^2\) whereupon he founded a monastery. He thereafter instituted [formal] sessions for [the liturgic recitation of] Mañjuśrī [i.e. Mañjuśrī-nāma-samgriti], and the Mani [mantra of Avalokiteśvara]. Bla ma rGyal-ba Shes-rab from Bal-steng[s]\(^3\) requested many Dharma teachings from him. With a share of his food-provisions, he instituted [formal] sessions [for the recitation of] the Mani [mantra]. Furthermore,\(^4\) the people of sGun-pa (= dGun-pa), Shags and Mun\(^5\) acting as yon bdag offered him [land that could serve as] monastic estate, land and pasture and [25a] he founded a winter residence (dgon pa dgun gnas)\(^6\) and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of the Mani [mantra] financed by one single yon bdag. From [the people] of gSang-ma [i.e. the gSang-m[d]a] Valley\(^7\) he received an estate, and in the monastery [established there] he instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of Mani [mantra]. After he had also received an estate from a yon bdag from sNgags-steng\(^8\) an estate [too], he [in situ] instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation] of the Mani [mantra]. During the winter period, he instituted the continuous tradition of serving soup [for the poor; i.e. provided its necessary funding and endowment]. After the expiry of the winter session, all monks gathered for the winter teaching session (dgun chos)\(^9\) in which connection he instituted many sorts of [formal] sessions for the [recitation and reading of the Prajñāpāramitā] in its extensive, intermediate and [abbreviated] versions, the three (rgyas 'bring [bs dus] rnam gsum), [liturgic and for the recitations of texts such as] the “Going For Refuge and the Generation of the Enlightenment Mind Formulae” (skyabs 'gro sms bskyed), the “Hundred Syllable” [Mantra on Vajrasattva] (Yig brgya pa), the Mañjuśrī[-nāma-samgriti], the Vajravidhū/Vajravidārana [-nāma-dhārāni] (rDo rje rNam 'joms), Tārā and a Mani [mantra].\(^{10}\) [Furthermore] each twentieth day he instituted a large session

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1723), a place situated within the neighbouring area of present-day Gurung area of Kutang (presently in Nepal), cf. Aris 1979b: 2; Childs 1997: 146 wrongly reads sBang-zhing.

\(^2\) Currently unknown, but evidently located in the sGar area of sKyid-grong, see Gung thang rgyal rabs 1b, 2a (Everding 2000: 48–49), where sGar is mentioned in connection with sPang-zhing.

\(^3\) Cf. Deb dmar 144.6. Bal-lding. Currently unknown.

\(^4\) The text evidently reads yang na; Deb dmar: lar na, “In Lar,...” ; Everding 2000: 341, 2000a: 84–85 reads Ling-na (sic) (“In Ling,...”) which he identifies with the site of Ling-ba Brag-dmar situated opposite to dGun-mdā’. On this site, see also Ehrhard 2003: 358, 362.

\(^5\) The toponyms refer to three valleys south of Brag-dkar rta-so in sKyid-grong. See Map 5 in Everding 2000. For dGun/dGon, see also fn. 307 below.

\(^6\) Deb dmar 144.7: dgon pa dmun pa, which appears to be related to the aforementioned dānapati land of r/dMun.

\(^7\) Located in the south-eastern part of Gung-thang.

\(^8\) sNgags-sding in Deb dmar 144.9.

\(^9\) Cf. Deb dmar reads kun mchod. This reading may be preferable and refers to the expression of Kun bzang mchod pa'i sprin gvis mchod, i.e. offerings resembling the clouds of offerings of Samantabhadra. Hyperbolically, it alludes, metaphorically, to an immense cloud of offerings that flows from the endless number of emanations issuing from Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. It is a cherished depiction indicating a sheer infinite number of offerings. Samantabhadra is said to have made endless offerings by emanating countless bodies of himself, each of which again made offerings thus filling the sky. They in turn emanated countless bodies that also made offerings ad infinitum.

\(^10\) For a listing of these recitational or liturgic (chos spyod) texts related to a number of celebrated incantations cf. e.g. the anthology Chos spyod phyogs bsgrigs lam bzang gsal ba'i sgron me, passim. For most of these texts and their ritual application, see e.g. Hanson, The Torch of Certainty 53ff. The Prajñāpāramitā in three sizes refers to the 100.000, 25.000 and 8.000 versified versions respectively. For a rendering of the 100-syllable Vajrasattva incantation and a translation, see Beresford, The Confession of Downfalls 67–72. For the Mañjuśrī-nāma-samgriti, see Wayman 1985.
[for such recitations]. In Lower rGyun-mda’ (= rGun/dGun-mda’), he erected a huge kagni (*kaniska) stūpa." Having been invited to Gung-thang by yon bdag Rin-po-che mGon, he was offered the sTad [- Srad-]hang gi gtsug-lag-khang. He instituted [there – i.e. provided the endowment for] the [formal] session for [the recitation of] the Mani-[mantra], [financed] by the estate. Invited by the yon bdag bSam- grub of sNyam[s], he was tendered Brag-shug-gseb [as estate], whereupon he established a monastery [in situ] and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation of the Mani-[mantra]]. In Tsar he was invited by yon bdag Blo-gros, who tendered him the estate of sBo (- sPo?)-mong and [again] he [there] established a [formal] session for [the recitation of] Mani-[mantra-s]. Being invited by the people of Mang-dkar from outside [the core area of conversion, i.e. Mang-yul, he there aroused so much interest] that he became the key focus of the[se] yon bdag. He founded [there] the Khyu-ri dgon-pa and instituted a [formal] session for [the recitation of] Mani-[mantra]. In rTa-sga, he erected the Tshes-bcu bla-brang. He instituted there a full-monthly offering [i.e. provided its funding in commemoration] of [the rTa-sga founder] Sangs-rgyas Tshal-pa, and a regularly recurring Tshes bcu [ritual festival]. He erected the four-pillared Prayer Hall [Kun-mchod] of rTa-sga [monastery], and raised a white roof [i.e. tent] (dkar phibs = rgya phibs phub) [over the building]. He [thereafter] erected the

307 dGun (-phu, -mda’, also dGun gyi lung-pa) is the name of a valley situated due east of Brag-dkar rta-so in sKyid-grong. Cf. Map 6 in Everding 2000; CTZhZh 332; see also Chan 1994: 925, 931; Stearns 2000: 143. Geographical position: Xizang Diminchi I 445b: 28°39'N 85°18'E. It is mentioned in the Gung thang rgyal rabs as one of the three first cultivated areas of Mang-yul Gung-thang (i.e. rTsar, Ron, dGun). See Everding 2000: 48-49, 316. In dGun, Padmasambhava defeated the sku bla of Gung-thang (i.e. sku bla dPal-bzung (-rdzongs) alias Jo-bo sKu-rgyal, fn. 293) and his followers. Cf. Ehrhard 2003: 356. A sloh dpon mchod rten is raised in this area. In dGun and in the neighbouring districts many reliquaries of Mi-la ras-pa have been found; cf. e.g. Kam tshang brgyad pa II 398.1–3.

308 The kaniska stūpa was especially in the medieval period a prevailing type of stūpa in the western part of Tibet. Kaniska refers to an Indian King Kaniska. In its Tibetan form this receptacle usually consisted of two walls and an overarching roof to allow for those on pilgrimage to pass through the holy edifice. See H. Kottkamp 1992: 152f.

309 Following here Deh dmar 144: sNyams yon bdag […] etc. Probably referring to the gNyams which is listed among the 13 hundred groups (bgya tsho bcu gsun) of Gung-thang est. by the ruler 'Bum-sde-mgon (1253–1280). Everding 2000: 68–69 identifies it with the sNyam[s] situated south-west of rDzong-dkar. Cf. Verhufen, Bod Map; CTZhZh 334 too registers a locale mNyam in the district of rDzong-dga’ within the border of sKyid-rgyon xian; mNyam as part of present-day Gung-thang xiang in Xizang Diminchi I 468b: 28°41'N 84°57'E. It is probably identical with the mNyam of the northern Nub-ri area visited by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin in 1681, cf. Ehrhard 1998: 5; Childs 2001: 24.

310 Unidentified, but evidently situated in the environs of sNyams.

311 Cf. Deh dmar 144 reads gTsang, perhaps the better reading. A gTsang is located north of mNyam (see previous note), Xizang Diminchi I 4669a; Verhufen, Bod Map. A gTsang-po Zangs-tsha-ba is registered as one of the 13 hundred groups of Gung-thang.

312 Still unidentified.

313 Deh dmar 144: dkar phigs. Dung-dkar in his comments (op. cit., 460; see also brDa bkrol 16) defines dkar phigs as a long roofed path-way or staircase, whereas Tshig mchod 57 speaks of a roofed house with only one wall! More obviously, it may refer to a white (i.e. tent-cloth, rather than from wood) roof or to a white rgya phibs. See also Tshal rnam 19b1.
Temple of] the Dharma-Throne [including its] Prayer Square (bla yer) at rTa-sga,"' followed by the erection and installation of statues [inside the Hall]. He [thus] rendered immeasurable service [to the local religious establishment and to sentient beings in this region]. At sP[rug-gecer, since a phyi rten [reliquary] for the [deceased] abbot (mkhan po)"'' had not [yet] been manufactured, he erected a 'hum pa [i.e. dome-receptacle] as outer support [for the deceased abbot’s remains] [25b] and offered it to the [monastery]. Having been invited by the yon bdag of Dros-pa, he founded the monastery of Byang-chub-gling. On Chos-khri-thang he preached the dharma whereupon the yon bdag tendered him a monastic estate, and he [there] instituted [formal sessions] for [the recitation of mantra related both to] Manjugśrī-[nāma-saṃghiti] and to the Mani-[mantra]. The patron and priest (yon [bdag] mchod [gnas], dānapati, purohita)"" [thus conjointly] instituted [i.e. provided the endowment for] the meritorious tradition of manufacturing each fifth day tshva tshva terracotta figures. Following an invitation by the yon bdag to [come to] sKu-thang [= Kutang], at sProg,"" he came and erected a monastery, and instituted there a [formal] session for [reciting] the Mani-[mantra] on a regular basis. At Sa-'gag [in the district of 'Or-ma], he erected a large khag-ṇī stūpa [i.e. kaniska stūpa]. Having been invited by Ban-nag to come to [g]Sum-rje gTsom-ma [-- gTsom-] gling,"" he was given the monastic estate of dpag-rkyen. He established a monastery and instituted [the formal] regular session of [reciting] Mani-[mantra]. At this monastery, at Brag-dkar rta-so dBu-ma’i rdzong,"" at sMan-khang and at Go-bo-tsha"" he perfected his meditative accomplishment and by way of his ideal Bodhisattva life, he worked in immeasurably many ways for the welfare of sentient beings. At the age of 70, he passed away. At the time of the cremation of his body, [the following objects miraculously] emerged [from the pyre:] innately innate hand-bone [i.e. the radius or humerus of the deceased] (phyag gi rkang nang du lhan skyes), yet outwardly from the melting process through crystallization (zhun thigs), statues of

""See fn. 155 supra for the discussion of this term.

"" Alluding to mkhan po sPrug-gecer at whose feet riogs ldan mDzes-pa snying-po, but also Tshang 'Dur-pa chen-po had earlier become ordained (above 22b).

"" Still not identified.

"" It probably refers here to the open plain, evidently within the rTa-sga monastery, perhaps a courtyard in front of the Chos-khri [lha]-khang, the “Hall/Chapel of the Dharma-Throne.” Cf. similar the Chos-khri-thang in Sa-skya as described in the Gung thang rgyal rabs 4a (Everding 2000: 63); Si tu bka’ chems 73.3. The toponym Chos-khri-thang is also attested as the name of a locale (cf. Pha’ Brug sgom zhig po rnam thar, Y. Dargye and Sørensen 2001: 10).

"" For a thorough study of this relationship throughout Indo-Tibetan history, see Ruegg 1995, 1997.

"" In Upper sProg of Kutang (in Nub-ri according to Childs 1997: 146), a hermitage called mGon-pa-phug was visited by the 18th-cent. Kutang-ascetic Padma dbang-rdo during his itineraries (see Aris 1979b: 252.2–3, 411, 481). There sProg was defined as a district (yal). Uncertainty remains whether or not this monastic site is related to the monastery est. by Tshang 'Dur-pa.

"" Or a better? reading: the gSum-rje of gTsom-gling. Presently not conclusively identified. Evidently unrelated to the present site is Sum-bu/Som in southern Mustang, cf. Schuh 1997: 7–10. The rulers (rje) of Sum in Lower Mustang, gSum-po (present-day Thini) was an independent local polity along with Thag and sPun-khris (also: Mar-spag = Marpha). A hermitage, possibly unrelated, in Sum = Thini. Called Zom-bu-r of Sum-’bag is registered by O-rgyans bstan-'dzin (1657–1737); cf. Ehrhard 1998: 12. For some additional details on these districts, see the biography of Padma don-grub: 141–142 (Aris 1979b). Another option is gSum-sna-phu in Gung-thang dist. registered in Xizang Dimengzi l1470a.

"" The famous site of Mi-la ras-pa in sKyid-grong, see most recently Ehrhard 2003: 352–354.

"" Currently unidentified; sMan-khang perhaps is related to sMan-rtag (→ gdong) of sKyid-grong (fn. 337) or it refers to sMan-’gab situated in the same area. The latter was visited by the 12th sTag-lung throne-holder in 1440’s; cf. sTag lung chos ‘byung l1427.
Avalokita and Amitābha manifested themselves, each measuring one-and-half sor [i.e. finger-width] and upon a one-sor thick rib (rtsib ma) a statue of himself with a teeth-baring head manifested itself from the melting process of crystallization [during the cremation]. All over these statues] ornaments and differently coloured relics [occurred]. Furthermore, a right-twisting conch (daksināvartaśaṅkha) and a statue of a Dharma-pāla as well as innumerable bone relics [manifested themselves miraculously]. These were deposited inside the “heart” of a phyi rten reliquary, whereupon the mi ma yin in front of the golden statue [of Tshang 'Dur-pa] offered butter. The [lamps containing the] butter was capable of burning all through the night, and in fact kept burning for three full days and nights. On [especially auspicious days, such as] the 15th [i.e. full moon], the eighth and the thirtieth [days of the month] (nya stong bgyad gsum), respectively on the twentieth day of the month [when commemorating] his passing [26a] [these butter-lamps] were lit. The bla ma and the lords [of the region] erected a phyi rten, a nang rten and [executed] a commemorative service ([sku] 'dabs), as well as instituted [regular] offerings [commemorably devoted to his ossuary]. The monks and disciples safeguarded these receptacles and served [the place and institutions] in a meritorious way (skyong bran rnams [dge] legs mdzad).

[rTogs ldan Brag-dkar-ba Rin[-chen] seng[-ge]]

He later established the monastery of Physis-can. Having erected a statue of 'Gro-mgon [Rin-po-che], he placed within the heart of this statue a statue of Ye-shes mgon-po. Taking over the [regular] offerings [devoted to] Bla-ma Rin-po-che, and having requested to have the consecration performed, the name of the monastery became Physis-can. Having devoted his spiritual commitment immeasurably [and exclusively] to the welfare of sentient beings, he passed away. Many wondrous signs manifested themselves [during the cremation] such as divine statues, relics, and his corpse being unable to catch fire since it had been [protectively] wrapped up in his religious robe (sku chos [gos] kyi[s] gtums), etc. The monks and disciples erected a phyi rten [and executed a] commemorative service ('dabs) whereupon they instituted [regular] offerings to these [miraculous] relics.

[Bla ma bSod-[nams] dar-ba]

Bla ma bSod-[nams] dar-ba was invited, whereupon the former’s monastery and the [local] monks

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327 A common phenomenon in most hagiographic treatises that, during the cremation of especially holy personages, objects appeared and miracles occurred. Numerous references could be cited, for example in HHo rong chos 'byung, passim. E.g. during the cremation of the 26th 'Bri-gung hierarch rje dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin 'gro-'dul (1724–1766 A.D.) relics manifested themselves miraculously from the melting crystallization, being born from his forearm (i.e. radius or ulna) (phyag nga ral zhen thig tu 'khrungs pa'i ring bshad); cf. dKon-mchog 'phel-rgyas 1991: 21. In Bhutan, the dispute over the miniature statue of Rang-byung Khasarpāni led to a military confrontation between invading Tibetans and Zhab-drung’s army at the doors of sPungs-thang (Punaka) rdzong in 1639 A.D. Of supreme importance for the claim of legitimation in the 'Brug-pa school, this statue originally had manifested itself spontaneously (i.e. autogenously, similar to Tshang-'dur’s case, no doubt) from the vertebra during the cremation of the founder of the 'Brug-pa school. gTsang-pa gRya-ras in 1211 A.D. Cf. for details Myng chos 'byung 16–25. See also Martin 1992b.

328 Text: dbu so gisigs ge bs = dbu sor geig? I.e. the head alone being one sor in size. Evidently corrupt, hence translation tentative.

329 Deh dmar reads phyi rten nang gi thugs khar [...] , whereas the present text reads phyi rten nang rten gvi thugs khar. Both texts appear slightly corrupt.

330 The lHa-phyu-pa disciple rTogs-ldan Brag-po che-pa (--ba)? Above 15b.

and disciples safeguarded in an unimpaired way all the virtuous traditions [i.e. the execution of the endowment that secured regular offerings and rituals] and served [the place and its institutions]. When he [i.e. Bla-ma bSod-dar] passed away, [the remaining monks] carried out the cremation and the monks and disciples erected a phyi rten and [executed a] commemorative service (’dabs) [in commemoration of him], whereupon they instituted [regular] offerings [in his honour].

[Bla ma bSod-nams shes-rab]

Then bla ma bSod-nams shes-rab took over the see, whereafter he accomplished meritorious and virtuous activities in form of safeguarding the monastery and caring for the [local] monks and disciples. After he had passed away, the [local] monks and disciples [in return] erected a phyi rten and a nang rten, [executed a] commemorative ceremony (’dabs), and instituted offerings [in his memory]. The bla ma bZang Za-ra-[b]rtssegs and others brought along an inconceivable amount of presents in the form of material goods such as precious sacred writings, a golden parasol, a ganjira, a huge tent (gung mo = gur mo) etc. to the vihāra of Tshal Gung-thang, the sgom sde [College] and to [the temple of] lhA-phug. [26b] The mNga’ bdag pa and his queen [i.e. the king of Mang-yul Gung-thang], ruler and ministers along with the ruling lineage (dpon bshgyud) of the sDe pa chen po of Zur-bzang[152] [all] yielded service to [these institutions and representatives to ensure] virtuousness and prosperity and, [the former ones] having submitted themselves [?] to the Mang-yul Gung-thang rulers], were content.

[Jo btsun sPrad-pa]

The disciple of Rin-po-che gDan-sa-ba [i.e. lhA Phyug-mkhar?] named Jo btsun sPrad-pa[153] went towards the West (sTod), where he founded the dPal-ba Me-tse [sic] monastery and [later] the Bla-shod monastery in the direction of Blo-smad [i.e. Glo-smad, Lower Mustang].[154] where he established a teaching college for Madhyamaka [studies] (dbu ma’i bshad grva). After he had

[152] Currently unidentified.

[153] Jo-btsun sPrad-pa (read: sGrad-pa?) is generally unknown, although his feats in Nepal seemingly were impressive. According to the basic source for the Gung thang dkar chag, the Deb dmar 133, 146–7, however, his name is possibly rendered Jo-btsun sPras/Sras-pa, and the latter is registered as pupil. as here, of the throne-holder of the mother seat Yang-dgon, possibly being the third throne-holder lhA Phyug-mkhar-pa (rl. 1210–14) and the fourth throne-holder Sangs-rgyas’bhum (rg. 1214–31). Reading sPras/Sras (both variants registered: see fn. 405 below) in ’Phan-yul – as suggested above – it may refer to the area where ’Ju-bu, the first monastery of lhA Phyug-mkhar-ba is located (fn. 105). Another, and arguably much better reading is Jo-btsun sGrad-pa/sGad-pa and hence identify him with the elder brother of the first Yang-dgon throne-holder (see above fn. 83–84 of the sGrad clan); it would suggest that he was born ca. 1140–45. If this identification is warranted, his activities in Nepal can be situated to ca. 1250’s. If, on his way to Nepal to sKyid-grong in ca. 1261 A.D. At that place he drowned. Roberto Vitali, based upon a close reading of U-rgyam-pa’s biography (see von Rospatt, forthcoming) cogently suggests that Jo-btsun and Bla-ma dbu ma’i bshad grva simply are identical figures. In that case, his renovation of Shing-kun should be dated to late 1250’s or early 1260’s.

brought his mind to maturation in meditation and spiritual realization, he arrived in Nepal [Bal-yul], and having greatly worked for the benefit of the Nepalese people, he intended to renew the central pole (srog shing, yasti) of Ārya Swayamabhū-[caitya] ['Phags-pa Shing-kun], whereupon he cut down one [trunk] among three [trunks being found suitable to serve as] a central pole that were found growing in Sing-ga-nags [i.e. Nuwākot]¹¹⁵ and exchanged it with the central pole originally set up by 'Phags-pa Klu-sgrub [i.e. Ārya Nāgārjuna]. He then set up a new chattr, white-washed the [re-consecrated] caitya and installed a monolith (rdo ring) [commemorating the renovation]. He [thus] succeeded in accomplishing the promotion [for the welfare of the Nepalese people] on an immeasurable scale through his karmic feats. The Nepalese king and the Newār noble citizens ('ba' ro, bhāro) [of Kathmandu] presented [Jo-btsun] with a [miniature] bKra-shis sgo-mangs [stūpa] along with an endless number of gifts [as a token of gratitude] such as cotton [cloth], etc. He thereafter went back [towards Tibet], only to pass away [at a place called] Ra-sha ma-se.³ The bla ma [and] dpon [po] of Tshang-dur purified the body [i.e. executed the funeral ritual] and established at the place of the funeral pyre a mchod rten. [They] presented the dBus-rtsa at Gung-thang with a golden statue of Manjūśrī as well as offered the [above] many-doored stūpa to the [local] meditation college (sgom sde) [in Tshal]. Be-tse and Khyung-brten, the two, gradually brought along presents to [this local] sgom sde.

[Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba]

The disciple of Zhang, Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba established the Zhol-bu monastery.⁽¹⁶⁾ After the people of 'Or-ma, Ron and Gung-thang⁽¹⁷⁾ had become yon bdag [the number of] converts and feats increased on a large scale. In sKyid-grong [district] too the 'Jam-dpal-gling⁽¹⁸⁾ and Rin-po-che (~ Rin-chen)

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¹¹⁵ The Lion Forest or Sing-ga-nags in the vicinity of Bal-po'i rdzong, i.e. Newarkot / Nowakot, ca. 70 km from Kathmandu towards sKyid-grong; cf. A.W. Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che 1983: 269–270; Lo Bue 1997: 653. It was a much-sought place of retreat (sgrub gnas) already associated with Mi-las ras-pa, but esp. with his successors in the Ras chung sivan brgyud tradition, cf. lHa rong chos 'byung 151–153; repeatedly visited by grub thob O-rgyan-pa too, as reported in his biography.


¹¹⁶ The only corroborated of this otherwise unidentified temple is Grub chen O rgyan pa'i rnam thar 162, where the village of Ra-sha dba'-se is located en route between Nepal and sKyid-grong.

¹¹⁷ Deb dmur 147.10: Zhol-phug. It corresponds to sMan-mthong Zhol-phug which is located in the area of 'Or-ma in sKyid-grong (following note). The Va ti bzang po'i rnam thar (Ehrhard 2003: 221) mentions it as the place of a certain grub thob Zhol-chen-pa, perhaps a second name of the founder. It later became a favourite site of Bo-dong Phyogs-las mam-rgyal (1375–1451 A.D.). Cf. Dicemberger et al. 1997: 73; Ehrhard, op. cit., 221, 359–60. It still remains uncertain whether Nyag 'Bri-ra-ba is identical with the Zhang disciple 'Bri-ra-ba Sākyā-od who is said to have established a monastery in Byang (fn. 101 above). Vitali argues that Byang was once the name of an area in western Gung-thang (Vitali 1997: 1025f.).


¹¹⁹ It appears to be identical with the monastery of Jam-dpal-gling situated in the Giva district of south-eastern sKyid-grong (cf. Xizung Dimingzhi I 451b; Map 5 in Everding 2000); from the 16th century, it was associated with the 'Ba'-ra bK'a-brgyud-pa school. Everding 2000: 105, 203; Ehrhard 2003: 369.
spungs-pa monasteries were erected. [27a] In Sa-'gag of 'Or-ma, a kag-ni (*kaniska) stūpa was erected. 140 Three successive [generations?] of bla ma having brought along [inconceivably many] presents in form of material goods to Tshal Gung-thang, to the sgom sde [College] and to 'Bri-ra,141 the religious service rendered expanded greatly. bSam-gtan rDzogs-pa [~ rDzong-pa] chen-po established in Glo-bo the monastery of bSam-gtan-rdzong.142 By way of religious explication and meditative realization, he safeguarded [the well-being and progress] of his convertees. Bringing along presents gradually to lHa Phyug[-mkhar] and to the sGom-sde College [of Tshal Gung-thang], he was [able] to amass immense accumulations [of Merit and Wisdom]. Due to the huge respect and devotion to the see, he [was able] to execute his karmic activities and [thus] work for the sake of living beings.

[B] [Patronage of the Tshal-pa Branch Establishments in the Kingdom of Pu-rang]

[rTogs ldan g.Yungs-pa]

rTogs ldan g.Yungs-pa, disciple of the Rin-po-che,143 arrived at the rDzong-drug of Mi-la [ras-pa] and at Ti-se. Taking up residence at Mi-la rDo-rje-phug,144 he refined his skills of spiritual accomplishment. His activities and his work for the sake of sentient beings were immeasurable. Setting up [his monastic] residence in the presence of the king of Pu-rang,145 he acted as private court chaplain (purohita) to the royal couple (rgyal po yab yun). On account of the boundless devotion and respect [that he was thus accorded, they presented him with] golden gifts which [he then] even had escorted to the sGom-sde [i.e. the sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma of Tshal Gung-thang]. After he had passed away, the king and the queen along with his [former] monks and disciples erected a nang rten and a phyi rten [and executed a] 'dabs [in commemoration of the deceased].

[Tshul-dar-ba]

Thereafter bla ma Tshul-dar-ba was invited [to Pu-rang] where he cared for and safeguarded the monastery as well as [the well-being of] the monks and disciples. Taking up his seat directly [in front of the king’s palace] he [too] became the king’s private court chaplain [in accordance with the system of a] patron and priest (von [bdag] mchod [gnas], dānapati, purohita). He passed away after having safeguarded the welfare of the living beings on an immeasurably large scale [who had all accorded] him their devotion and respect. The king and queen as well as his monks and disciples [too] erected a nang rten and phyi rten [and carried out a] 'dabs.

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140 The monastery most probably refers to the place of Brag Rin-chen-spungs-pa situated close to rDzong-dkar; it is mentioned as a bla gier treasure site created by Prince Mu-ne btsan-po (elsewhere Mu-khri btsad-po). See Ehrhard 2003: 222, 362.
141 Currently unidentified. It is perhaps related to [Nyag] 'Bri-ra-ba.
142 Cf. above fn. 277.
143 I.e. Rin-po-che gDan-sa-sa-ba, either lHa-phyug mkhar-pa or Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas-'od.
144 It remains unclear which of the Mi-la sites is meant here; perhaps it is to be read as rDo-rje-rdzong; cf. rDo-rje rdzung of Brag-skya. above fol 23b.
145 This may suggest that he established his monastic community in front of the king’s palace or, equally likely, had his monastic establishment facing directly towards Pu-rang. See also below. fn. 346. For Pur-rang, its history and religious sites, see most recently Tsering Gyalbo 2006.
Shes-rab 'phel-ba

Thereafter bla ma Shes-rab 'phel-ba was invited [to the court] [27b] where he [too] cared for and safeguarded the monastery as well as [looking after] the [local] monks and disciples. Having taken up his seat [too] in front of [the palace of the king], he acted as the private court chaplain (purohita, bla mchod = bla'i mchod gnas) of the royal couple. On account of the patron-priest [relationship which thus evolved], the king granted him the gSer gyi gtsug-lag-khang including the adjacent community once established by lo tsā ba Rin-chhen bsang-po[14] as well as the gZhi [- bZhi]-sde'i gTsig-lag-khang along with its community,[15] whereupon he executed his karmic activities on an immeasurably large scale and worked for the sake of the living beings. Having passed away, the 'dabs as well as a phyi rten and and nag rten [objects in his commemoration] were erected by the king and his queen as well as by his monks and disciples.

Sangs-rgyas 'od-zer

Following him, bla ma Sangs-rgyas 'od-zer was invited [to the court]. He [too] took up his seat directly in front [of the king] assuming the task of safeguarding the monastery as well as caring for the monks and disciples; thereafter he became the court chaplain of the royal couple and bestowed [e.g.] empowerment (abhiṣekā) on the king, queen and ministers. He was subsequently invited by the King of Gu-ge where he bestowed upon the king, queen and ministers empowerment, [thus] on an immeasurably large scale [he harvested] an wealth of presents [that showered down upon him]. His karmic activities and his work for the sake of living beings were [indeed] extensive. He thereafter [again] settled down in front of [the king] of Pu-rang where he worked on an immeasurably large scale for the sake of the sentient beings. He received [as grant] the gSer gyi Bya-skyibs of Gads-pa[16] that was [under the jurisdiction] of the incumbents of rTa-sga [monastery] as well as some

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[14] Cf. also Deb dmur 148. The temple appears to refer to the famous Tho-ling gSer-khang of Gu-ge (also known as gSer-khang or 'Jam-dpal mam-'phrul bla-med 'dzam-gling-rgyans), usually ascribed to Ye-shes-'od and the great translator Rin-chhen-bsang-po (985–1055 A.D.; mNga ris rgyal rabs [Vitali 1996: 311f.; 442: n. 737] gives mnga 'bdag Zhi-ba-'od as the founder of the temple, sit. in present-day rTsas-mda'i county). As noted by Vitali in this context (op cit., 442–3), the king who presented the gSer-khang to the Tshal-pa may be identified with the Gu-ge ruler Grags-pa-lde who controlled Pu-rang in the period in question and thus also functioned as overlord of the Tshal-pa of Pu-rang (ca. 1265–1277 A.D.). However, the context rather points to a lord of Pu-rang and not to a ruler of the Gu-ge house (the latter mentioned separately as inviter of the Tshal-pa; see below) and one may take into account that the gSer-khang refers to a temple of the closer Pu-rang territory, perhaps to the late 10th-cent. foundation of 'Khor-chags (Kho-char, Kha-char) situated on the eastern bank of the rMa-bya (Karnali) river in Pu-rang (not far from the Tshal-pa seat of bZhi-sde; foll. note). Geograph. Position: 30°19'N 81°26'E. For a description of the temple, see Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 119–138, cf. also Vitali 1996: 258ff. For Tho-ling (mTho-lding: 31°48'N 79°79'E), see Tsering Gyalbo, op. cit., 175–188.

[15] The early phyi dar site of bZhi-sde (b-de) (Zhi-sde lha-sde dgon) is situated on the western bank of the Karnali, in present day Zhi-bde xiang of Pu-rang county. It is situated within the ruins of the fort of Zhi-sde khyung-rdzong dkar-mo. Geograph. position: 30°24'N 81°18'E (cf. Xizang Dimingzhi II 690b; the area in Pu-rang smad is related to the ancient Cog-ro clan (cf. Vitali 1996: 330; Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 142) and may correspond to the imperial Cog-la stong sde of Zhang-zhung smad; mKhas pa'i dga'i ston 188.1). The religious seat was later (from the 15th cent.) held by the Ngol-pa of the Sa-skya school. Cf. Vitali, op. cit., 1996: 392. For a description of Zhi-sde and its neighbouring sites, see Tsering Gyalbo 2006: 141f., et passim.

[16] For this famous temple (formerly a sacred site of the Bon-po, i.e. the rock cave, Gaid kyi Byi-ba [- Byis-pa]-mkhar in the Bon sources, see e.g. g Yang-drung Bon gyi bstan byung 62, 111, 294, 329; sPvi spungs khyo 'rul 59, etc.). The place was subsequently appropriated by the 'Brug-pa followed by the ' Bri-gung-pa. At one point, it was appropriated by 'Bri-gung spo yan sngags Shes-rab 'byung-gnas and his large retinue. Thereupon it was occupied (together with the hermitage
monasteries in Pu-rang. The monastery established by Bla-ri-pa, whose patron (yon bdag) the Men-\text{zhang} were, the Chos-gung [= Chos-lung] monastery established by the [g]Ser-spangs mkhan-po, as well as in the area of sMan-khrod and Mar-lung too an inconceivable number of monks, disciples and yon bdag contributed to expand the [number of] monasteries [of the Tshal-pa in the Western part of Tibet]. Even at rTa-sga, they brought along presents in form of material goods and riches primarily holy scriptures and writings. [28a] Their attachment and devotion [towards the Tshal-pa and their institutions] was indeed immeasurable."

This abbreviated exposition of the history of the origin of the sTod Tshal [has been written] in accordance with [the exposition] found in the Tshal pa'i Deb [ther] dmar [po]. Beyond these [details found in the latter book] if one should want to know [in greater detail] the lineage of disciples [active in these areas] and the expansion of the sgom grva [in the same areas], one may glean [these details] from earlier historical books (chos 'byung), the Tshal ha'i Deb ther chen mo and its appendix (kha long, ~ skong), the section [known as] Deb ther mkhas pa'i yid phrog,"the dGos 'dod re skong ma" as well as from the gSung 'bum of the drung chen Kun-dga' rdo-rje.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (antaraslokā, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bka' pa) [28a3–28b1]].

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505 Cf. above fn. 280.

506 The monastery is situated in the area north of Gro-shod; cf. Everding 2000: 448, 591. In Mar lung pa rnam thar 174.4f. it is listed as one of the sTod Tshal btsan-po cha-drug, i.e. the six powerful establishments of the sTod Tshal school, a classification which includes Chos-dGon gnyis (i.e. Chos-lung and Chos-'dzoms; [Vitali, op. cit., 398 reads: Chos-lung and dGon go-gsum]) situated in the upper (western) part (of the lower mNga'-ris area), [Yang-]Brag and bSam[-gtan-rdzong] in the middle part (in Glo-bo) and Mar[-lung] (see below) and rTa-sga in the lower part. Cf. Vitali 1996: 397, 398, fn. 648; Everding, op. cit., 389, fn. 996). At Chos-lung, it is reported for mid-1620's that one of the Four celebrated Autogenous Brother statues of Ārya Avalokiteśvara, the 'Phags-pa U-khang (a replica?, otherwise associated with Nepal) was set up; Kam tshang brgyud pa II 142a6–b1.

507 On the West Tibetan region of Mar-lung, see Vitali 1996, s.v. index; Everding 2000: 211, and passim. It was among others the birthplace of Mar-lung-pa Byang-chub seng-ge, a foremost representative of the early sTod Tshal school. sMan-khrod refers to a neighbouring region; Everding, op. cit., 382.

508 For a discussion of some of these localities where the head of these establishments, in some sources, even led to the rise of local petty Tshal-pa rulers or leaders (dpon, btsad po), see Vitali 1996: 397–398.

509 This text is generally considered lost; but see Introduction.

510 This refers to Bla-ma Zhang's abbreviated biographical sketch called dGos 'dod re skong ma (also called his rang btsod, i.e. Zhang's "self-praise" DL5 Thub yig II 89b1) or to the commentary made by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, written 1353 with the full title 'Gro mgon rin po che'i rnam thar bs dus pa dGos 'dod re bskong ma'i grel pa (also called Bla ma Zhang gi rnam thar; cf. dpC rgyun 416.5) contained in ZhK II 532.1–575.4.
If one thus were to explicate briefly how the karmic feats [– which in number and magnitude resemble the sky –] relating to the Three Wheels of Zhang Rin-po-che and his lineage of disciples were carried out and, as a part of this, the way how [later] the ruling secular lords of Tshal-pa (srid skyon khor dpon) accomplished the physical legacies [at Tshal Gung-thang] for the worthy recipients of worship, represented principally by the congregation and the master and disciples of Tshal-pa, then [to begin with, we should mention]

[1] [Dar-ma gzhon-nu]

[28b1] Zhang Rin-po-che’s adjutant was Dar-ma gzhon-nu, an incarnation of brGya-byin [Indra],

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356 The adm. term srid skyon evidently is a phrase coined in the 17th and 18th century; it won currency e.g. in the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama and henceforth. See also Richardson, ‘The Decree’ 449.

357 Dar-ma (or young person) or Darma = Dharma. His biography bKa’ rgya ma l 109–153; Mar lung rnam thar 69a3, 80b1, 173a2–4; mkhan-po (sic) Chos kyi gzhon-nu or Tshal gyi mkhan po Dharma gzhon-nu; further Deb dmar 128.22ff., lHo rong chos ‘byung 202.13f.; mkhas pa’i dga’ ston 808.13f.; Bod kyi deb ther 106.5f.; Vaidūrya ser po 151. He was a most important figure in the initial development of the Tshal-pa tradition, only surpassed by Bla-ma Zhang himself. In a specific classification of Zhang’s disciples, Deb dmar 128.2ff. presents the ‘phrin las grub pa’i bu chen of Bla-ma Zhang, i.e. those great pupils who fulfilled or executed Bla-ma Zhang’s karmic (i.e. active compassionate) activities (here probably an euphemism for either warfare, proselytism or artistry, etc.). In this list the first mentioned is

• Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Then follows
• lha btsun dBung-seng of ‘Phreng-po (i.e. ‘Phrang-po?’ go = ? the btsan po of ‘Phrang-po; cf. e.g. ‘Phrang po btsad po’i don du gsung pa’i gdam ngag dgos pa kun tshang among Zhang’s writings)
• Khri-rtse, Prince (btsan po) of bSam-yas (i.e. perhaps a member of the family of lHa-btsun sNgon-mo of bSam-yas; a Jo-bo lHa-btsun is mentioned elsewhere as one of Zhang’s fellow-combatants; cf. Deb sngon 836.8; bKa’ rgya ma II 157f.; Jackson 1994: 62; Mar lung pa rnam thar 82b1. 1 lists the Zhang disciple called bSam-yas-pa bSam-gtan seng-ge; on the bSam-yas ruler, see TBH Sørensen 443f.). However, this lha btsun could also refer to a member of another ruling house, such as the one of Bya-sa (from the Yar-lung jo-bo bRgyud) which at that period was represented by the three brothers Jo-bo lHa-chen-po (alias lHa-chen dPal-’bar), Khri Dar-ma and lHa-btsun Zhi-ba. The first is specified in the bKa’ gdams chos ‘byung as the lHa-chen dPal-’bar of Zhang-mtshal, suggesting that he belonged to the retinue of Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa. A closer relation between Tshal and Bya-sa is also alluded to by a note given in Deb sngon (BA Roerich 558) according to which Bla-ma Zhang wanted to induce Phag-mo grub-pa rDo-rje rgyal-po to become the chapsal of the Bya-sa ruler, only Zhang in this context is rather to be read as [Bla-ma] Zhang [g]Sum thog-pa (see Introduction: fn. 16; above fn. 47 and fn. 813 infra).

• gnas brtan dBGe-seng of bZang-yul [Mon-gdong] (cf. fn. 62)
• gnas brtan Seng-gc-grags of Gru-gu-sgang in Chu-shul (cf. Mar lung pa rnam thar 82b3 and below fn. 431)
• rDor [i.e. rDo-rje] dBang, the nephew of the king of Khra-rag
• gnas brtan Grub-thob of sGa-’dra (see fn. 422)
• sgom pa dKon-mchog seng-ge
• gnas brtan of mTsho-sna in Mon
• gnas brtan of ’Brug-mdo (in gNam of sKyid-smad?)
• gnas brtan mGon-po (cf. the text gNas brtan mgon po’i don du mdzad pa’i zas kyi rnal ’hvor Zhang’ writings)
• Dar-bsod (i.e. rtogs ldan Dar-bsod? above 23b)
• ’Gar (= mGar) rGyal-ba ‘byung-gnas (= the father of the 4th db’i/pon sa ba, see below)
• Nag-po dBon-ston of Kun-dga’ ra-ba of Phyag Khri-mchog
• Dam-pa Sras-sman of gZhang
• ’Bum-yag of sGre-mkhar
the Lord of the Gods.\textsuperscript{138} He was born at Ban-khos\textsuperscript{139} in the Wood Ox year [1145 A.D.] known as krodhana of the second sexagenary cycle (prabhava). After his ordination, he followed 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che as assistant and became his spiritual son. In the Fire sheep year [1187 A.D.], he rendered service to the Bla-ma [i.e. Bla-ma Zhang] and for the latter's pleasure, he erected the Gung-thang gtsug-lag-khang and the Byang-chub chen-po [pho brang] in the Upper Courtyard (khams stod). At the point when 'Gro-mgon passed into nirvāna, he was elected as bdag po of the community and the gTsug-lag-khang. In accordance with this, he [erected] the mgon khang in the outer Courtyard (phyi'i khams) [i.e. Khyams-smad];\textsuperscript{140} inside [the gTsang-khang sharma],\textsuperscript{141} he erected [the ossuary] gdung rten bKra-shis 'od-'bar. He finished as well the remaining [still incomplete] part of the [huge] sKu-'bum chen-mo, etc. In an undiminished way, he [thus] succeeded in paying respect to the mother seat [of Yang-dgon] as well as to the [numerous] branch monasteries inclusive the masters and disciples and subjects. He occupied the office of the dp/bon sa for 21 years. At the age of 88, he passed away [ca. 1232–33 A.D.].\textsuperscript{142}

[2] ['Byung-gnas brtson-'grus]

His [i.e. Dar-ma gzhon-nu's] nephew (dbon) 'Byung-gnas brtson-'grus was [subsequently] elected to the office of the dbon sa in a Pig year [1215 A.D.].\textsuperscript{143} He greatly rendered service to the gTsug-lag-khang and the [local, adjacent] precinct. During his tenure, the disciple of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-

- Hril-chung, the dkon gyner of Gung-thang (also Hral-chung; see Introduction: Chap. 7)
- lha bzo dpon Pho-rrog (cf. bk'a' rgya ma ll 27.4–5. 51.2: bzo bo dpon Pho-ro Seng-ge rgyal)
- Mar-pa lHa-dkar (also Mar-pa the famous sculpture-maker, see fn. 751 below)
- shing mkhan Phag lHa-bzo (He was considered a master wood-carver (shing bzo ha mkhas pa'i yang rtes); his family lineage later produced further artists like dpon mo che tiDo-rje gzhon-nu, dpon mo che iKar-po-mgon: cf. Tshal rnam 61a1–2; see also Introduction: Chap. 7)
- lHa Nyi-ma shes-rab, i.e. Ro-skam-pa; see above fn. 194.
- Phyag dpe ha [s]Na-mo rJe-btsun
dkon gyner Hral-mo
- sgo pa bZod-ladan
gnas hrten mChog-lha, etc. See also Part II: Table V. 4.

Under all these devotees and close assistants (nye gnas, usually translated as assistant but in this case, considering the nature of the relationship, attendant, adjutant or aide-de-camp are possibly better renderings), Dar-ma gzhon-nu, as said, was pre-eminent. In the usual pictorial representation of the Tshal-pa triad which consisted of Bla-ma Zhang (center), rG(v)la-lo (right) and Dar-ma gzhon-nu (left), we see that this disciple's role was prominent. Unknown is the clan of Dar-ma gzhon-nu, from whom descends the first three generations of Tshal-pa rulers; but see App. IV: Chap. 4.1.

\textsuperscript{138} See App. IV: Chap. 4.1, 4.2.

\textsuperscript{139} The place-name Ban-khos (Ban-khos Gung-ba-ri, Bang-ba-ri) is known from the geomantic descriptions of the lHa-sa valley where it designates one of the eastern toponyms (see App. IV: Graph 1). In HLSG Vol 1: 64 the Gung-ba-ri of Ban-khos is identified with a mountain in Shing-tshang (Map 1.b.2). Cf. also below 31a for Shes-rab-'bum of Ban-khos.

\textsuperscript{140} The Khyams-smad of the old temple structure, corresponds to the today's 'Du-khang (see Graph. 2).

\textsuperscript{141} See below, 59a.

\textsuperscript{142} For the succession of the Tshal-pa rulers nos. 1–15, i.e. until the reign of Phag-mo gru-pa during the tenancy of dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan (no. 16), cf. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 4bf.: Bod kyi deb ther 106.5–109.11 (= TPS Tucci 1949: 629; Ahmad 1995: 107f.); Vadārya ser po 151.14f.

\textsuperscript{143} Gung thang dkar chag (following dGa' idan chos 'hyung I 50b5–6: zhang gi dbon tshang la skyi shod stod smad chu shur bdad sogs kyi khr i dpon gyi ja'i sa'byung) retains the form dbon sa 'Nephew Seat' (?) as the form for this seat; the 5th Dalai Lama in his Bod kyi deb ther has dpon gyi go sa, uses the more obvious dpon[ po'i] sa, i.e. secular ruler (of Tshal Gung-thang), which under the Sa-skya/Yüan administration also functioned as khr i dpon.
che. Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge [alias Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa]\textsuperscript{34} [29a] in a Rat year [= 1216 A.D.] presented [the vihāra and this ruler with] the so-called Glegs bham 'Ga' sa ma Manuscript written with melted gold worth 40 srang, an extraordinary embroidered Thangka (rtags sku = btags sku) [i.e. a kesi tapestry]\textsuperscript{35} and a huge golden drapery hangings (gs'er 'phan, patta), etc. He occupied the office of the dbon sa for 13 years; in a Pig year [1227 A.D.] he passed away.

[3] [Ye-shes 'byung-gnas]

Thereupon the nephew (dbon) Ye-shes 'byung-gnas\textsuperscript{36} was elected to the office of the dbon sa. During his tenure, he [forcefully] subjugated (mnga 'og tu bcug) many settlements (yul grong) in the area of sKyid-smad, known as Srid Ma-bzhi Bu-brgyad [i.e. the “Dominion of the Four Mothers and Eight Sons”].\textsuperscript{37} [This period] was known as the beginning of the Teaching [i.e. the Dissemination of the Tshal-pa bka'-brgyud-pa School] and prosperity and felicity prospered [during his tenancy] greatly. He served the office of the dbon sa for five years. In a Tiger year [i.e. 1230 A.D.], he passed away.

[4] [mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub]

mGar Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub [1187–1261] [as next incumbent] arrived at the seat of the dbon sa [ca. 1240?] As to his clan [mGar], [divinely] originating from the Land of the Gods (lha yul) mGar Tshen-nam, [mGar] Tshe-'brug [first appeared, followed by] mGar Bla-mkhyen chen-po etc. and in close line [of affiliation subsequently] the chos blon chen po mGar sTong-btsan Yul-bsrung of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po [appeared] subjugating under his sway half [the world of] Jambudvīpa. He invited the Chinese and the Nepalese princesses, [brought] marvellous images such as the two [famed] Jo-bo Śākya([-munī)] Brother Statues, the Byams-pa chos-khor and [the Statue of the] Speaking Tārā (gSung-byon-ma) made from sandalwood as well as many extraordinary costly items (rin po che'i dpyad pa (~ spyad, chas, i.e. yo hyad)\textsuperscript{38}) to Tibet. Causing the Holy Law to disseminate in Tibet, he made his benevolence permeate [and hence reach] the entire population of the Land of Snow. Then again, after numerous generations had passed, mGar Yang-thog rgyal-ba [appeared]. He had two sons: rGyal-le and 'Phen-ne. The latter one took possession [of the place called] Ram-pa\textsuperscript{39} [whereas] the first-

\textsuperscript{34} See below 29b.

\textsuperscript{35} Perhaps it refers to the btags sku with the image of Bla-ma Zhang; see App. I.

\textsuperscript{36} Also Ye-shes-gzung. Cf. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 5b4. Tenancy 1227–1230.

\textsuperscript{37} Also Vaidūrya ser po 151.19, Bod kyi deb ther 106 reads Srin-gmo-bzhi bu-brgyad or “Four Sisters and Eight Sons” (but see TPS Tucci 629; Ahmad 1995: 265, fn. 909: srid ma bzhi hu brgyad). The toponym is still not identified. It evidently indicates a local rule in sKyid[-]mad; ma bzhi hu brgyad possible here refers to a idiosyncratic classification of (early) temples, i.e. four mother [seats] and eight branch temples or dependencies (= hu) which belonged to one of the local ruling houses of sKyid-smad such as the lHa-pa (below fn. 420).

\textsuperscript{38} Cf. TBH Sørensen 199–249. We here do not read d/spyad pa as “workmanship,” although theoretically feasible.

\textsuperscript{39} Cf. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 5b2–3. Ram-pa in sTod-lung is registered, according to a gloss in rGyal rabs gsal, as the seat of blon po mGar (sTon-btsan yul-bzung); see TBH Sørensen: 180; HSLG Vol. 3: 62. Cf. also Ram-pa rGyab-ma, an early phyi dar foundation established from sNye-thang Brag-sna and the bKa'-gdams-pa establishment of Ram-pa lHa-sdings of sTod-lung-mda' (bKa' gdams chos 'byung III 128.20–21; MTP Uebach 149; lHa nang pa'i rnam thar 56–57 maintains it is located not far from 'Bur pass and that it belonged to the monastic estate of Brang Ra-moche controlled by sBal-ti Jo-sras (App. V: Table 8 below). Ram-pa more precisely is the name of the valley due west of sKyor-mo-lung (see Part I: Map 3). It represents one of several “mGar (and Kong-jo) places” associated with the sTod-lung area (fn. 372 below; App. IV: fn. 21). Here, some ruins in central Ram-pa are locally identified as the birthplace of
mentioned] settled down in Grib [adjacent to lHa-sa].’ His [i.e. rGyal-le’s] son was mGar rGyal-ba ’byung-gnas who became yon bdag to Zhang Rin-po-che.’ [29b] Requesting from him empowerment and instruction [Zhang bestowed these upon mGar]. In accordance with [intense] prayers [for a male heir], [Zhang] prophesied that [mGar’s] junior wife would beget a son, wherefore [mGar] rejoiced greatly and he [immediately] invited Zhang Rin-po-che to Grib gSer-khang, saying: “Although I am 50 years of age, I have until now not produced any heir. Having now blessed this offspring of mine, I beg you [to accept him] by embracing him with your compassion!” Zhang directed a [magical] gesture towards the body of the wife of mGar, and spoke: “The body of yours will bear a talented purusa who will render [great] service to my [Tshal-pa] teaching!” whereupon [she and her son] received empowerment. He thereupon placed his hand on the wife’s head, [her son, the future] dpon Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub took birth through the benediction and truthful words [uttered by Zhang].}

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blon po mGar who later is said to have settled down together with the Chinese princess (Kong-jo) in rGya-mo (Fig. 70a below). This village at the entrance to the valley is named after the princess who here allegedly gave birth to a son (with mGar as the father). A small lake near rGya-mo is considered the soul-lake of this mGar issue who is said to have died a tender age. A number of additional mGar and Kong-jo sites are to be found in this area, such as the place where blon po mGar discovered iron, or the Kong-jo thab, a rock in upper Ram-pa which is described as the stove of the Kong-jo.

Alt. tr.: “Initial[ly] he settled down in Grib.” The local tradition holds that already in the time of blon chen mGar there was a residence of the mGar family in Grib and the tradition thus speaks of a Blon-po mGar-tshang, the ruins of which is still visible today. It is linked to the story according to which the minister had a liaison with the Chinese princess and therefore was expelled to Grib for three years by the jealous Srong-btsan sgam-po. More likely, however, these ruins refer to the below-mentioned Grib [g]Ser-khang where Bla-ma Zhang met his future yon bdag of Tshal. See for more details, App. IV: Chap. 2.

sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 5b3. He belonged to the group of trusted assistants and pupils who executed the worldly hegemonic tasks of Bla-ma Zhang. See above fn. 357. He or his father rGyal-le may be related to the dpon rGyal-tshas (= tsha, nephew of rGyal-ba/rGyal-le?) A-ma lha-gcig who is mentioned in Zhang’s autobiographical writings to have invited him to Tshal (prior to the foundation of Yang-dgon); cf. hKa’ thor bu 150.4. The recent lHa sa’i lgyar speaks of him as the bdag po of the Tshal estate who acted as Zhang’s yon bdag when the latter founded the Yang-dgon. HSLG Vol 6: 217.

The sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar (MN 4b3f.) and Bod kyi deb ther (BD 106–07; TPS Tucci 629) offer in its description of the Tshal-pa ruler the following genealogical list of the mGar descendants ([a], [b] = brothers): Tshe-nam TsA/TsAe ’brug (descended from heaven and ‘Od-gsal) with g‘Yu-bza’ Bod-dkar → mGar mThing-na-rje (not listed in BD) → mGar Bla-ma mkhyen-chen-po [Khi-sgra ‘Jings-smug] → [sTong]-Mes/Me Khi-chags/icags → mGar sTong-btsan Yul-bzung (i.e. blon chen mGar) → btsan po Yon-tan rgyal-bzung (?) → mGar btsan po Dred-po [a], bTsA-n-snyan Gung-ston [b], lHa-geG ciGYa-n-lam-po [c] [var. bTsA-n-snyan lDom-bu. ruler (yl dpon) of sNyA-mo (= the later) blon che (chief minister) mGar bTsA-n-syen/snya lDom/lDom-bu, known as one of the sons of sTong-btsan yul-bzung, see Richard 1998: 17; see also TBH Sørensen 348.415, et passim]; [a] and [b] are not mentioned in BD] → Khri-zangs Dong-bu (= lDom-bu) → Khri-gnyer Khri-icags → sTong-mes Khri-snang → Khri-sto-ro sTag-gzung (var. Khri-to-re stAg-[g]zung Khri-bzhers khus-po, sTong-bzhers Khus-chung) → Khri-btsan ’Phan-gzigs → blon chen Chas-pa sgo-drug (in BD listed as brother of sTong-mes Khri-snang and Khri-sto-ro sTag-gzung) → rDo-rgJe-gzung → Khri-zangs-btsan → 3–4 generations → then in succession mGar Thog-yang rgyal (= Yon/Yang-thog rgyal-ba) → rGyal-ba [a] and ‘Phan-ne (GT: ’Phan-ne; he took hold of Ram-pa; see above) → mGar rGyal-ba ’byung-gnas (he settled in Grib; he entered a patron-priest relationship with Bla-ma Zhang, see above) → Sangs-rgyas dNgos-grub (= no. 4 in the list of GT) → Rin-rgyal-ba (= no. 5) → the three sons of no. 5: [a] Nyi-ma shes-rab (no. 6), [b] dGa ‘bde-dpal (no. 7), and the monk Rin-chen dbang-phyug seng-ge [c]. The two sons of no. 7: [a] Rin-chen seng-ge (no. 8) and [b] sMon-lam rdo-rje (no. 9) → The two sons of no. 9: [a] Kun-dga’ rdo-rje (no. 10) and [b] Grags-pa bshes-gnyan (no. 11) → The son of no. 10: dGe-legs bzang-po (= no. 12) → The three sons of no. 12: [a] Tre-pos (tre hos) dPal ’byor bzang-po (= no. 13), [b] Legs-pa rgyal-mlchan (i.e. the 13th Yang-dgon gdan sa ba) and [c] Legs-ldan bzang-po
Age 47, he came to the office of the **dp/bon sa**.\(^{373}\)

[Excursus: The Tshal-pa Presence in Eastern Tibet, Mongolia and the Xia State]\(^{374}\)

Furthermore, as it is rendered [autobiographically] in **bKa' rgya [ma]** [of Bla-ma Zhang]:\(^{375}\)

“A **mḥa' 'gro ma** spoke: “A **vihāra** named **Ba-ti sde-chen**”\(^{376}\) will appear, [established] by one **Bal-po Ba-ta-na-ta** [~ Bal-po Bha-tan-ta = a Nepalese Monk], who has collected the essence [of the teachings stemming from] the four great disciples of **Nāra**[pa]. This [temple] will be taken over by one of your physical manifestations. At that point the teachings [of yours] will spread and expand [greatly].”

\(^{373}\) Considering the fact that he ascended the throne in ca. 1230–31 or a little later at the age of 47, he was arguably born in about 1184–85 A.D. However, **sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar** 5b4–6 suggests the dates 1187–1261, when he died age 75. The texts offer no background for the change in the line of secular rulers. The first three incumbents descended from the family line of **Dar-ma gzhon-nu**. Evidently, the change coincided with the demise of **Dar-ma gzhon-nu** (in around 1232), the eminence grise who had hitherto held the fate of Tshal-pa hegemony in his hands. During the same spell, the violent dismissal of the 4th **gdan sa ba** **Sangs-rgyas-’bum** (lcags yos 1231, see above fn. 121) took place, a figure who – as indicated above (22a) – counts among the instigators of the conflict, and who thus may have adhered to the **mGar** camp. As mentioned above **Grib**, one of his places of exile, belonged to the **mGar** clan. It was expressly the same **mGar** clan who supported **Sangs-rgyas-’bum** when the latter later returned and est. the **sGom-sde** College. **Shel dkar chos** **byung** 71b (Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 97) reports that a line descending from **Sang-rgyas dngos-grub** settled in **mNga’-ris** Gung-thang and became forefathers for the **sde pa** line **Rab-spe-ba**, into which line c.g. the 3rd **dGe-lugs** abbot of **Shel-dkar**, called ‘Jam-dbyangs **bKra-shis** rgya-mtsho (1641–1718 A.D.) was born.

\(^{374}\) For a brief survey of the Tibetan-Mongol relationship prior to the establishment of the Yuan-Dynasty – i.e. between the 1220–1260’s, see Petech 1983: 1990.

\(^{375}\) *Verbatim* from **bKa’ rgya ma I** (Ngar phug ma) 98.4–7; 104.2–3; **dGos ’dod**, *ibid.*

\(^{376}\) **bKa’ rgya ma** and **dGos ’dod re skong ma’i’ grel ba** 561.3–4 here merely have **Bha-ti sDe-chen** built by a Nepalese monk. Cf. also **sKal-Idan** rgya-mtsho, **A mdo chos** **byung** 345.
“About 95 years after I have passed into nirvāṇa, my teaching will spread from mDo-smad [i.e. Amdo].”  

Concurring with [these] prophecies, the personal disciple of Zhang [named] Bla-ma Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge [initially] arrived in [b]Tsong-kha [in Amdo], where he founded the Large Temple [dGon-mo-cho] of Go-ra and functioned as court chaplain (bla mchod) for the [local] king [and later for the emperor of Mi-nyag]. Assuming the name Gu-shri rTogs-pa yongs-su gsal-ba, he [i.e. the king had] not only presented him earlier with many gifts such as huge golden tassel hangings (gsen 'phan chen mo) etc., but also at this point [i.e. at the naming ceremony] too [he] lined up inconceivably [many precious] gifts such as a bkra shis khra ring, etc.

Again, [later] the personal disciple of Zhang [Rin-po-che], gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba dBang-phyug bkra-shis, master and disciples, seven in all, arrived in Mongolia (hor yul) [30a]. At one point,
as they were practising spiritual realization in mountain retreat, he was engaged as shepherd (*lug r Dzi*) by [the Banner Chief of a local] Hor Tribe (*hor gvi ru pa*). One day a huge flood emerged, and the water carried away the larger part of the sheep of other [shepherds] whereby they all perished. His [i.e. gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba’s] sheep [in contrast] remained unharmed, since he had directed his [intense magic] visualization towards the water. Consequently the Mongols were [utterly] taken by surprise. Inquiring him how this came about, he, without understanding their language, [merely responded] by making the [mudric] gesture of menace (*sdig mdzub, tarjana mDudrA*) towards the sky. With this [gesture] they understood that what [he thereby indicated was tantamount to] saying: “To wield control over the sky (*gnam, tngri*)!” and [instantly] his fame and merit increased. At that [very] time, Jing-gir-khang (*Chinggis Qan*, rl. 1206–1227) had occupied the throne (*rgyal sa*) for approximately three or four years. As the circumstances [of gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba’s miraculous feat] came to the ear of the Qan, he summoned him [and his retinue of six disciples] into his presence. The Qan [concluded that] these [Tibetans] had the same dresses [and accoutrement] as those living in Mi-nyag [i.e. Xixia]. Saying: “The one having control over the sky is highly meritorious!” he greatly rewarded [him]. gTsang-pa thereupon expressed an ode to the [Three] Jewels whereby the Qan won faith [in him and in the Buddhist religion]. Once when one of the Great Ministers of the Qan was hit by a Demon (*gra ba*) of the Upper [Sphere] (*steng gdon,*37) it was immediately allayed by [gTsang-pa]. Because of this, the Qan and the minister, the two presented him with an appropriate command (*lung bzang po,*38) as

and Ögödei’s subsequent rule, even serving as tutor to Beki (who became widow in 1232–33). It suggests a long career, but this still needs to be corroborated.

gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba must not be confounded with the almost contemporary gTsang-pa dKon-mchog seng-ge (d. 1218 A.D.) alias gTsang-pa Ti-shri, a leading student of Karma-pa Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110–1193); the former received teachings in La-stod Thang-chung (prob. in gNya’/sNye-gnang district, where he was born) of gTsang from the 11th Karma-pa who sojourned there between 1189–90 A.D.; cf. *Karma sku phreng* 1/18b2–3. At some point he was dispatched to Xia as the replacement of his master who had rejected the invitation due to advanced age. dKon-mchog seng-ge may have served under the Xia emperor Renzong (d. 1193). gTsang-pa who was also known as gTsang-so-pa, passed away in 1218 in the state of Xia (in Liangzhou) during the reign of the Xia emperor Shenzong where he evidently served as *disi* or imperial preceptor. Another? namesake rin po che gTsang-so-pa was pupil of Kobraq (1170/82–1249/61); cf. BA Roerich 727. The latter may refer to the pupil of Kha-che Pan-chen in Tibet, named gTsang-so-pa Tshul-khrims-mdzes who in the first part of the 1200’s and following the former’s departure from Tibet took over the responsibility of the communities in Tibet for nine years; cf. ’Dul ba’i chos ’byung II 101b1–5.

The remark of Rhie that gTsang-so-pa (pupil of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa) was active at the Mi-nyag court as early as 1159 (cf. Rhie and Thurman 1999: 53) is wide of the mark. Ti-shri ras-pa (cf. fn. 12 above) who met gTsang-so-pa 1200 for the first time, conducted the funeral rites and raised an ossuary for him.


On the other hand, it can be contended that gTsang-so-pa is identical with (rather than being confounded with) gTsang-pa Ya-so as reported in *dGos* ’dod re skong ma’i ’greI ba (who at g.Yo-ru Grva-thang compiled the abbreviated phvi’i rnam thar called *dGos* ’dod re skong ma of Bla-ma Zhang; cf. *dGos* ’dod re skong ma’i lo rgyus in ZhK 292–96).

37 The *steng gdon* usually refers to a group of demons led foremost by Rāhula traditionally known to cause various sicknesses such as paralysis, etc. Cf. CFS Gyalbo et al. 167–170.

38 The term *lung* usually associated with a bka’ *lung* or bka’ *shog*, i.e. an official and imperial rescript and may hence involve a writ authorizing the holder certain privileges. Cf. the similar-worded edicts in Tibetan and Mongolian (*rgyal po’i lung = qayan jarlty*), “command,” “order” or “edict.”

However, another *lung bzang po* or good rescript issued by the Emporer to dGa’-bde-dpal later in our text suggests
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well as an extensive amount of gifts. This was the first meeting [ever] between the Mongols and Tibetan monks.

Again [gTsang-pa] returned to Mi-nyag [i.e. the Xia State]. In the female Fire Pig year [1227 A.D.], as Cìnggis Qan had been ruling for nine[teen?] years, the land of [the Tangut Empire of] Mi-nyag was conquered by the Mongols. Many temples were destroyed. With the Teaching [of Buddhism] deteriorating [in this region], Bla-ma gTsang-pa went into the presence of the ruler and elucidated many [Buddhist] teachings on the karmic [rules of] cause and effect. Saying: “Since the happiness of sentient beings is dependent on the Teaching of the Buddha, a Qan must display great respect [30b] for the Teaching of the Buddha. Upon monks, taxation and military conscription (khral dmag) should not be imposed, the scattered [monks in the country] must be reunited and the demolished [temples and religious sites] should be restored!” [With such words he thus] even requested [the Qan to issue] an imperial decree [and a patent of investiture] (jasay or jariyl) [denoted] “Reinforcer of the Teaching [of Buddha]” (bstan pa gshed [= bshed] bskyed kyi ’ja’ sa). Indeed the request should be granted in accordance with the bla ma’s wish. In all regions between Bha-ti and Mi-nyag all the destructed sections [of] the temples were repaired, etc. This too appears to be the first edict ever to be granted to a [Tibetan Buddhist] monk by a Mongol Qan. Incidentally, the Bon-pos and the Daoist Priests (zin shing; Ch. xian sheng) etc. too were exempted from tax and military service etc."

that it more informally may also allude to a good proclamation or verdict of appointment, and also involve a written citation and a diploma. Cf. also for 1316, sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 13a2; see also Petech 1990a: 94.

** Whether reflecting historical fact or the reference attempts to depict an idealized state of affairs during the rule of Činggis Qan, we are nevertheless informed that e.g. the edict of Öleïtii does refer to Činggis and Ögödei, in fact to all Mongol rulers of having granted exemption of any tax and levies (M. aliba alba qubčiri īlu īyen)* exemptions on that score; see e.g. E. Haenisch 1940: 41–43; P. Ratchevsky 1954: 489; H. Franke 1990: 138–39; Poppe and Krueger 1957: see the edicts of 1289, 1324, 1328 etc. to Tibetan dignitaries and hierarchs (in Huang 1995). It is maintained that Činggis as early as 1219/1223 had granted Chinese monks (such as the Daoist monk Chang-chun) exemption of tax and military service; cf. Petech 1990b: 5.

Later edicts or decrees too issued by Mangala of 1276 A.D. and again those of Qubilai (issued 1280 and 1292 A.D. and under emperor Chengzong in 1294) etc., confirm that Činggis had endorsed such exemptions; see L. Ligeti 1972: 230–31. It cannot be excluded, however, that the introduction of this “Reinforcement or Revival of the Teaching Edict” in the present context reflects an attempt to antedate what in later Tibetan literature became known as the handelbstan pa shed bskyed ma (= ’ja’ sa bad vig ma? issued in 1254 A.D.) discussed in connection with the conferral of the same diploma by Qubilai to ‘Phags-pa; see dPa’-bo gTsuglag’s mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 1422. 18–23 and A-myes-zhabs’ Sa skya gding rabs (cf. Schuh 1997: 98–124). Qubilai in 1253/1258 with his third empowerment declared to reorganize Tibet and to exempt the monks from tax; cf. Kam 1994: 72–73.** See also the so-called “Pearl edict” issued in 1264 A.D. to ‘Phags-pa by Qubilai which confirmed the exemption of tax, military duty or other public services, also discussed in Schuh, ibid.; Petech 1983: 185. For similar privileges later during Ming conferred upon the Karma-pa, rNyin-ma-pa and other hierarchies, see Karma sKu phreng 2 131; mTshur phyi dkar chag 396–98; P. Tsering 1978: 516; TPS Tucci: 664, 703; Code (I. LXXVI); Haenisch 1940: 45–51; Chab-spel 1990: 34f.


** It is reported that the rNyin-ma master rTa-ston gZi-brjed and Zur Säkya’-od (1205–1268) succeeded in persuading Qubilai to grant the sugsags pa of Central Tibet exemption from tax and military service; cf. Gu bkra chos ’byang 286.3–288.25. Unable to assess the historicity of such claims, there can be little doubt that the cultural and political prestige ensured through entertaining amicable relationship with the imperial court later inspired historians to forge or invent such privileges in retrospect. The Yuan court kept issuing such privileges, so as late as 1368, here to the rGyal-rtsen rulers; cf. rGyal rtses chos rgyal rnam thar 14.

The term zin shing (Ch. xian sheng; cf. e.g. Laufer 1916: 526–27) designates Daoists, and not least during the
and [thus] the precious Teaching [of Buddha] itself has accomplished magnificent achievements for the common good. These [achievements] certainly are [the outcome of] the karmic activity of Zhang Rinpoche. The Qan even [allowed at court] Bla-ma gTsang-pa [to take up the] topmost seat in the rows of all [the invited] Sky-Worshippers (gnam mchod).

As O-go-ta (Ögödei [r.l. 1229–1241]) was elected to the throne as Qayan, Bla-ma gTsang-pa spoke to his private dānapati (shbyin bdag) Za-yin e-ka [i.e. Sayin-eka, or “Holy Mother,” i.e. Sorqoqta Beki, the widow of Tolui],[365] mother and her sons [i.e. Möngke, Qubilai, etc.]: “In Shva-’od Ral-gsun” [of Central Tibet], my Dharma-Friend named Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa alias Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge sojourns.[366] Invite him, [dear queen-]mother and sons, make him your chaplain!” Having spoken accordingly, he passed away. A sku ’bum [erected in his memory] too stands in Gu-rum, and a silver[-plated] ossuary (gdung khang) in [the place of] B[h]a-ti.[367] In accordance with the words of the Bla-ma, the Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa was thereafter invited

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Mongol period. For the question of their exemption of tax and other obligations, see Franke 1996: 161–165. For a meeting with these priests, see U-rgyan-pa in 1292 at the Qubilai court; U-rgyan pa rnam thar I 235.

[366] The worship of Heaven as the highest deity has a long history. Heaven (i.e. God) is regarded the supreme deity among shamanist Mongols. It was a key worship or sacrificial practice and later part of the state cult among Mongols. Cf. Schindler 1924: 644. The centrality of the practice is regularly addressed in numerous texts and inscriptions. See YS 77. For the term gnam mchod pa (Mong. tengri-yi falbari-, as it is repeatedly written in Mongol ‘Phags-pa inscriptions), lit. “pray to or worship tengri” in use during the Yuan period refers to a practitioner of religion irrespective of persuasion and creed. For the edicts, see Poppe and Krueger 1957; it embraced Buddhists, Christian, Daoists or Muslims, as the inscriptions stereotypically list: dövid erk’eyd senshīnyud dasmad; e.g. the ‘Phags-pa inscriptions (Poppe and Krueger 1957). It is corroborated from contemporary Zha-lu documents, see TPS Tucci: 671, fn. 955; Schuh 1981: 343. In case of Sa-pan, at the court of Köden in 1247, it is said that the former was seated at the front-row of all the hor gvi lha pa, here similarly and unspecifically understood as co-religionists and the practitioners of the divine realm; cf. Sa skya gdung rabs 126.

[367] The assertive and pious empress and daughter-in-law of Cinggis, whose confession was Christian-Nestorian, passed away 1252 A.D. She had become widow in 1232133 when Tolui passed away. Following this statement, cf. Schindler 1924: 644. The centrality of the practice is regularly addressed in numerous texts and inscriptions. See YS 77. For the term gnam mchod pa (Mong. tengri-yi falbari-, as it is repeatedly written in Mongol ‘Phags-pa inscriptions), lit. “pray to or worship tengri” in use during the Yuan period refers to a practitioner of religion irrespective of persuasion and creed. For the edicts, see Poppe and Krueger 1957; it embraced Buddhists, Christian, Daoists or Muslims, as the inscriptions stereotypically list: dövid erk’eyd senshīnyud dasmad; e.g. the ‘Phags-pa inscriptions (Poppe and Krueger 1957). It is corroborated from contemporary Zha-lu documents, see TPS Tucci: 671, fn. 955; Schuh 1981: 343. In case of Sa-pan, at the court of Köden in 1247, it is said that the former was seated at the front-row of all the hor gvi lha pa, here similarly and unspecifically understood as co-religionists and the practitioners of the divine realm; cf. Sa skya gdung rabs 126.

[368] Currently unidentified. Ral-gsun (or just Ral) is often to be found in toponymic compounds (e.g. in Ngan-lam Ral-gsun, Kong-po Ral-gsun, Thang-ro Ral-gsun, Stod-lung Ral-gsun, ‘Bri-mtshams Ral-gsun) and indicates the area of a confluence of two rivers* (cf. App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2). The name Shva-’od alludes to a place with a “flood” or cascade of water (cf. mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 1415.19–20).

A number of – unlikely – options for this toponym could be mooted: Shva-’od-steng/ia, the name of a place and village in Yangs-pa-can district of present-day ’Dam-gzhung xian (location: 30°03’N 90°35’E; cf. Xizang Dimiqzhil 1 129b). Other possible candidates: Sha-pho (also Sha-po-srang), known as the place of one of the major stages (’jam chen) of dBus in the Yuan Sa-skya period (still not localized). Cf. Petech 1990a: 63; BA Roerich 279; below fn. 431.

* sa ral glossed as [g]sun mdos/nda’ confirmed in Myang chos ’byung 26.


[370] Gu-rum and Ba-ti are Mongolian toponyms. In Gu-gum/rum Karma Paksi erected temples. Bha-ti (Bha-di/ti/Bhit-ti) is identified with an ossuary, cf. mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston 793, 1415.20–1416.4.
[to Mongolia] where he was honoured as the chaplain of the [widow-]mother and her sons. He conducted [for them] the empowerment (abhisheka) of Samvara [and tendered them] the reading blessing (anujña) of the Dharma etc. This was the first [time in history] the Mongols requested [and received] Dharma [teachings from the Tibetans].

Knowing that his pupil Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai] would later obtain the throne as [future] Qayan, he proclaimed many prophecies concerning future events such as: “Since you will later obtain the throne of the Qayan and since at that point the main seat of my Bla-ma called Tshal Gung-thang will exist you must to the best of your capability [31a] render assistance to it!” His body shivering, Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai] said: “Bla-ma Rin-po-che, please do not speak such great words like that! Later when the time comes I shall certainly know [what to do]!” Etc. ""Shortly after, Go-be-la [Qubilai] ascended the throne of the Qayan, and he became the Hor Se-chen rGyal-po [i.e. the Wise Qayan, [imperial title] Shizong]." He occupied the throne for 35 years [r. 1260–1294]. Prior to Se-chen's accession to the throne, in accordance with the prediction of Bla-ma Gung-thang-pa etc., he assumed ownership of Tshal Gung-thang and [its] community and of the monk body, which constituted the root of the Tshal-pa Teachings. At that time the wealth and prosperity [of Tshal Gung-thang] resembled [the limitlessness of] space. 794

The dpon Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub occupied the office of the dpon sa [in Tshal] for 24 years. Age 74, he passed away. 795

[5] [dPon chen Rin-rgyal-ba]

His [i.e. Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub] son dpon chen Rin-rgyal-ba 796 was born in a Snake year [1233 A.D.]. Aged 23 [i.e. 1254–55 A.D.], he was elected to the office of the dpon sa. In a Sheep year [1259 A.D.], dpon Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan along with about 60 people, master and servants such as Ban-khos-pa Shes-rab-'bum 797 went to China, where they met Prince Go-be-la [Qubilai]. [Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan] as attendant accompanied Go-be-la [Qubilai] when he waged war against 'Jang 798 and thus proved excellent in his military strategy. Immediately after returning from the

792 Cf. similarly mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1416.1–9.
793 The enthronement was preceded by struggles between Qubilai and his younger brother Ariq Böke who claimed to be the legitimate successor. Also addressed in Tibetan sources, such as mKhas pa'i dga' ston 893–95. Qubilai was born 23.09.1215 A.D., his accession to the Qanate 05.05.1260 (Emperor from 1271) and he ruled until his death 18.02.1294.
795 The latter statement refers to the appanage distribution among the Mongol princes (under Möngeke in 1251), according to which the Tshal-pa were entrusted to Qubilai. KG 1416: Rlangs 110; Sperling 1990: 148; Petech 1990a: 10f.
796 According to sMon lam rdo rje snyam thar 5b6–7, he was born in 1187, died age 75, in 1261 he passed away. And ruled for 21 years = 1240–61. Other calculations suggest: he was born around 1185, he passed away ca. 1258 A.D. and his rule at the see thus lasted from 1231, when he was approximately 47 years of age, until 1254–55 A.D.
797 Short for sPyan snga Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. He was born in sTod-lung, cf. bKa' gdam schos 'byung II 31b1; sMon lam rdo rje snyam thar 5b6–6a1.
798 Possible identical with Rin-po-che Shes-rab-'bum-pa (cf. BA Roerich 783) or Tshal-ba'i Zi-na Shes-rab-skyab in this period (mKhas pa'i dga' ston 894.13–15). On Ban-khos, see above fn. 359.
799 It refers to the old Nanzhao kingdom (in Yunnan) besieged in 1253 (its capital Dali destroyed) during the 'Jang campaign headed by Qubilai in 1253–54 and continuing until 1259, or, less likely, it refers to his expedition towards Nan Song (usually Tib. sMan-rtses, Ch. Manzi) in 1258–59, cf. Rossabi 1983: 22–28, 46–52; H. Franke 1996: 133.
[successful] warfare, Go-be-la in the first month of the Monkey year [1260 A.D.] was presented with the throne of the Qayan and he received the name Se-chon Qayan. dPon chen Rin-rgyal [received from Qubilai] inconceivably [many precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and a donation of silver [amounting to one] large bre, [items intended to serve] as financial resources for the renovation of the buildings including its receptacle-images of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang. An edict ('ja' sa) was granted [to him, issued by Qubilai] which [henceforth] declared the [formal] inclusion (shes su bcug) of [the following] local village settlements (yul grong) as lay communities (mi sde) [to be included under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa myriarchy].

It is unconvincing to assume that the Tshal-pa chief was involved in these campaigns (aside from any rituals of deterrence). Qubilai’s field commander in these battles was Uriyangqadai.

The revenue secured from the territories (sa ris) under each lay settlement (mi sde) listed below thus formally served as financial and revenue resources for the maintenance of Gung-thang. For a far larger donation of 1254 A.D. to ‘Phags-pa Bla-ma from Qubilai, cf. Schuh 1977: 116. For similar donations distributed to Chinese temples by Qubilai, cf. Franke 1996: 157.

The verbal phrase shes pa with the paraphrastic causative shes su bcug/chug can be read in two ways: to “make known”, i.e. “proclaim” or “announce”; but the correct rendering is corroborated from contemporary Zha-lu documents (see TPS Tucci: 670, 747; and Schuh 1981: 343) where shes pa = gogs pa, thus carries the sense of “adhering” or “belonging to”; hence “made to adhere” or formally “to put in charge of.” As such it is a standard phrase in medieval ‘ja’ sa or treatises containing an authoritative lung or decree. Used for the first time in the 1244 letter of invitation issued to Sa-pan issued by Gouden; cf. Sa skya gdung rabs 118. For its ample usage, see e.g. other contemporary documents: Si tu bka’ chems 15.10–16.2, 50.17–18, 52.1 = Rlangs 116.17–17.7, 150.2, 151.6, et passim; rGya bod yig tshang 338.11–12, etc.; Myangchos ’byung 78 (with a ‘ja’ sa ascribed – anachronistically – to the 9th-cent. Tibetan monarch Khri Kal-pa-can).

Cf. Bod kyi deb ther 107; ‘Dzam gling rgyan gcig 835; Vaidurya ser po 151.24 specifies the diploma or investiture as “Tshal-pa khri skor gvi ‘ja’ sa.” The term mi sde (“lay community” usually used in contrast to lha sde, the “monastic precinct” or “community,” see e.g. Tucci 1971: 194) evidently designated a geographically restricted local lay sedentary population unit, primarily set up for administrative, mainly taxation or fiscal purposes (tributes and household levies; M. alban and qubčiri; Ch. chai fa; see e.g. Schurmann 1956: 312f.). A closer comparison of available edicts issued by the Mongol emperors (written in Tibetan and Mongolian) indicates that mi sde and yul grong (the latter often equals Mong. sildgegn or “village settlements”) were synonyms, whereas mi sde either may reflect avimay, an “administrative population group” or, as indicated above, irgen “people,” i.e. ‘commoners. See the many Mongol-written edicts in ‘Phags-pa script partly issued to Tibetan hierarchs and dignitaries e.g. of 1289, 1304, 1308 and 1319, 1324, 1328 A.D. (in Poppe 1957: 46, 54–55; Huang 1995: edict 1–14). The organizational modalities and structures behind the mi sde is still not clearly defined, but for example, the term Gung-thang rtsa ha ‘mi sde (in Gung thang rgyal rabs, Everding 2000: 68–69) designates the basic regions of the khri skor established in the territory of Mang-yul Gung-thang kingdom. In documents from the Mongol Yuan period, mi sde [mang po] is merely rendered as Mong. ‘irgen, or “[unit of people” (cf. e.g. Schuh 1977: 169) and sde (in mi sde) usually reflects Mong. ulus, “territory” or “land.” With some reservations, the term mi sde in the Tshal-pa context seems to carry the same meaning and function as the (twelve) gzh[θ]i[s] kha or “landed estates” of the Phag-gru khri skor, est. in 1254 by khri dpon rDo-rje-dpal; Rlangs 112; CFS Gyalbo et al. 39–40. In some respects, they collectively resembled traditional “latifundia.” The effective demographically defined fiscal unit consisted of units of taxable household (hor ’dud [chung]), and in case of the Tshal-pa the number of 3700 (or 3702) households usually are recorded (cf. rGya bod yig tshang 300.11–12; Petech 1990a: 49f., 56; Dung-dkar 1991: 45; Thub-bstan phun-tshogs 1996: 538), probably an incomplete number, since some of the estates listed in rGya bod yig tshang as unrelated areas, appear in the present list as part of the Tshal-pa khri skor (see also App. III). An attempt has been made in the sequel to identify these feudal and lay mi sde territories, all originally attached to Tshal under the Qubilai Qan’s (i.e. Yuan Shizu, 1215–1294 A.D.), rl. 1260–1294) appanage and later imperial patronage, and subsequently to delineate – in a very piecemeal fashion – the main sequence of their complex regional history. Further research is here sorely needed, and
[Lay Communities (mi sde) under the Tshal-pa Myriarchy]

Cha.\(^{402}\)
Zhogs,\(^{403}\)

the persons and toponyms listed merely reflect a rather randomly selected list that must be improved in the future when more documentation turns up. Each district has its own history, seen both from a regional/local and from a supraregional perspective and the following notes must be considered preliminary and hopefully pave the way for a full-fledged survey of each area. Among the numerous khri skor, only of the Tshal-pa and Phag-gru-pa do we possess a more detailed list of their mi sde / gzhi kha (which, as said, in this context appear to be synonyms), an imponderable circumstance that prevents us from conducting any large-scale comparative analyses. Finally, the precise geographical coordinates as indicated in Dimingzhi are duly listed whenever possible, albeit these data (by occasionally applying comparable materials from GPS data) proved to be not always fully reliable (often deviating up to one degree). However, as initial data they shall serve their purpose. As more and more data are collected, a more complex but also more representative depiction of each territory and district can be offered, also as to the temporary or lengthy presence of different orders and hegemonies even within a relatively small area. Here as elsewhere, the prime reason behind the diversity of the sectarian and political landscape of a given area was one of clan-based land-holdings and of patronage offered from disparate

\(^{402}\) Cha (~ Phya; to be preferred) is located south-east of dGa’-ldan, in present-day gTsang-tog xiang of sTag-rtses rdzong (Ch. zong, this unit is later tantamount to the current administrative unit xian). bKa’ tor bu 292.1: Phya’i lung, but also Phya-bo-lung [dgon-pa] in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang. (The toponym is perhaps related to Phya, the lineage of the ancestral figure Yab-lha brdal-drug). In Phya-yul Bla-ma Zhang met his root teacher [’Ol-kha-ba] Grol-sgom Chos-g. yung (see above fn. 51); it is also mentioned in the sources in connection with dpal rGva-lo. A dge bshes Klogs (a pupil of Zhang) descended from Phya-bo-lung; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 58b5. See also Part II: Table V.4–5.

The Klu-mes disciple Sākya dbang-phyug founded the Brag-sog-dgon in Upper Cha (later adhering to the dGe-lugs). It possibly may be the same as the temple of Brag-tshab-dgon erected in Upper Cha, the foundation of which, however, is ascribed to Ka-ba sTon-nam (sTon-pa Nam-mkha’ of the Thag-ma Iha-khang in sTod-lung), a Vinaya settlement; cf. ‘Dul ba’i chos byung l 34–35; II 91b2–3.

In Cha, one of the Tibetan pioneers of the epistemological (tshad ma, pramāṇa) tradition Cha/Phya-[y]pa Chos kyi seng-ge (1109–1169 A.D.) was born. A Byi-shugs of Phya is registered for the 14th cent. in Tshal rnam 23a1.

Later, the 22nd dGa’-ldan throne-holder, dGe-dun bstan-pa dar-rgyas (1493–1568) was active here; cf. dGa’ ldan chos byung l 20b1–3. The 24th Gung-thang-tshang incarnation Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan was born in Cha. During the dGa’-ldan gzhung period, a private estate (sger gchis) known as Cha-pa is registered; cf. CTZhZh 148; HS LG Vol. 1: 46. 52. Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 and Map 1b (= 01): 29°45’N 91°31’E; cf. Xizang Dimingzhi l 85b. See also below Fig. 56.

\(^{403}\) I.e. Zhogs of ‘Phan-yul, an area divided into Zhogs-phu and -mda’ (in the 1960’s registered as people’s community or gongshe) which today is part sTag-rtses xian or county. See HS LG Vol. 1: 25–29. The overall territorial history of ‘Phan-po’ylu is complex yet extremely significant, since ‘Phan-yul belongs to the oldest settlement areas in Tibetan history right from the 6th cent. Due to its long and rich religious history, ‘Phan-yul was often designated — similar to a few other areas only — “the origin of learning” (*vidyākarah, rig pa’i byung gnas).* Geographically Zhogs is also to be counted as part
Dar-yul,

of sKyid-shod, and a sKyid-grong is located in Upper Zhogs (Part 1: Map 1b), which possibly is related to the legendary Kyi-mi grong-bdun (“seven villages of the Kyi people”) of dBu-nu sKyid-shod (see Introduction, fn. 4).

Zhogs is known as the place of the Bon-po family of Mu-zu gsal-bar whose son became the famous Bla-chen dGongs-pa rab-gsal (MTP Uebach 127ff.). The latter is said to have been inspired by the paintings of the ancient sNang-gsal temple of Zhogs to become a Buddhist monk (sNang-gsal later became a settlement of the Rag-shi faction; TBB Sorensen 447, 450; cf. also HSLG Vol. 1: 69; Part II: App. V, Table 6; later the Zur line of Chos-dbyings rang-grol settled there). Today, a sNang-gsal is no more known among the locals; perhaps it corresponds to the later 'Od-gsal dgon-pa in Zhogs-phu established by sPyan-snga-ba Tshul-khrims-bar (but ascribed to 'Od-gsal-ba chen-po gZhon-nu seng-ge in bkA' gSUM chos 'byung I 1573; and to Rin-chun seng-ge in dGa' ldan chos 'byung I 61a6-b1; where one of 'Od-gsal's throne-holders, rin po che Blo-gros rin-chen-wa was born). sPyan-snga-ba, the founder of Lo-dgon (see below fn. 411), is also registered as the founder of the gNas dgon-pa in Upper Zhogs (all later dGe-lugs establishments). See IHa sa dgon tho 111. The temple Nyan lHa-sdings (BA Roerich 276, 280) associated with dGe-'dun-sgang (close to Cha, prev. note) either refers to the lHa-sdings close to sNyan-grags in lower Zhogs or – more likely – it is the lHas-sdings dgon of Lo (alias Nyan; see below), sNyan-grags is registered as a rel. estate of Se-ra and locally also described as the former seat of one siddha Úmyön (dBus-smyon), apparently referring to dBur-smyon alSos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659/60), the 23rd throne-holde of 'Bri-gung (see Table V.11). bkA' gSUM chos 'byung III 111 refers to sDings-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho born in Zhogs and a sKar-ma brag-pa of Zhogs-phu. A pupil of rGya-ma dBon-ston (1138–1210) was sTon-pa mTshe-ma of Zhogs; see Table V.10 below.

A Zhogs-pa is also mentioned as a settlement of the 11th cent. 'Bring tsho (cf. MTP Uebach 147, 148; Table V.6 below). Following the demise of Atiśa, Zhogs is mentioned, cf. rNam thar rgyas pa yongs grags 217. dGa' bZhi rnam thar 107 speaks of Zhogs of sTag-rtsé khul (with sTag-rtsé evidently referring here to the neighbouring Phag-gru rdzong of Bye-ri sTag-rtsé). The area was used as camp-site in the 14th cent., see Si tu bka' 'chems 202. Zhogs was part of 'Bri-gung territory in the late 16th cent. (here e.g. sKyid-spro and Phyag-'tshal-sgang as ‘Bri-gung estates were located; cf. App. II: fn. 160).

Many leading dignitaries were Zhogs-born, in the area, so e.g. the 24th dGa'-ldan kхи-phri Byams-pa rgya-mtsho (1516–90; born at Upper Gram; he later resided at the local Gur-smon (var. Gur-mo, dGung/Gur-sngon) dgon-pa of Zhogs, a foundation of the (rGva lo tsā ba incarnation) rGva-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203–1282 A.D.; BA Roerich 790), who established the seat in 1237 (cf. DKTshDz 1780; VS 174.6; the monastery was later affiliated with rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad gva-tshang). See e.g. dGa' bZhi rnam thar 57; dGa' ldan chos 'byung (21b1–4, 61a6–b1; Rlangs 227; DL5 III 138b2, DL6 525; DL9 [A] 22a1–3, 23a6, 33b5, [B] 641, 645; cf. also DL7 126: 'Phan-yul Zhogs dgon-pa. Here the 9th Dalai Lama sojourned in 1807 and the 42nd dGa'-ldan kхи-phri Blo-bzang don-yod was born at Phan-lan of Zhogs. He was later ordained at the Gur-smon dgon-pa. For a description of the monastery, see IHa sa dgon tho 119f.; Chos-'phel 2004c: 249–51. In the dGa'-ldan gzhung period, registered is a Zhogs Zhol brGya-sho. mKhas-grub bdLegs rgya-mtsho was born in sNa-ra of Zhog-phu, where the rNyijen-ma establishment of bSam-gタン-ling was located. Geographical location of Zhogs-pa as inserted in Map 1 (= 02) and Map 1b: 29°50'N 91°28'E. See also below Fig. 54. This epithet is commonly also used for the entire dBus-gTsang region, but specifically for a number of early phyi dar sites, such as Myang-tsho. For further 'Phan-yul ephephets and metonymies, see e.g. 'Jig-rten mgon-po's Coll. Writings V 90–93.

and Dar-yul of 'Phan-yul. It refers to the valley of the Dar-yul-phu-chu of present-day Bye-ma and Byang-kha xiang or district center (west of old lHun-grub rdzong) of modern lHun-grub xian (the 1830 A.D. Tax documentary CTHZhZh 156, 164–67 too registers Dar-yul as part of lHun-grub rdzong; where Phye-ma = Bye-ma is registered as religious estate of the sTag-lung mkhan-po). See also bkA' gSUM chos 'byung III 105.8; BA Roerich 635; MTP Uebach 15, fn. 16. In this area the Dar-yul mGon-po Iha-khang was located (now in ruins), originally a 'Phan-yul Nalendra dependency* (cf. Jackson 1989) est. by Rong-ston (1367–1449). An old site, IHa 'dre bka' i thang yig 34.18–9, 53.12, 81.2 has gTsangs-ra-mo of Dar-yul during dynastic times, related to Guru Rinpoche.

In the 11–12th cent. it was an area (similar to neighbouring sPras) often inhabited and infested by brigands; cf. e.g. IHo rong chos 'byung 624. A number of important sites are associated with Dar-yul: Dar-yul Ko-ru; cf. bkA' gSUM chos 'byung I (Vol. II) 29.6. sGro-lag (= Gro-mda2? see below) monastery of Dar-yul was associated with Po-to-ba, cf. BA Roerich 268; and with the Bon Treasure-revealer gShen-chen Klu-dga'; cf. Martin 2001: 42.

A leading pupil of the Madhyamaka-pioneer Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (himself of 'Phan-yul rGyal) was Dar-yul Rin-
The Zhang Tshe-spong clan) stemmed from Thong-ba-sa in the local tradition and in recent pilgrim travelogues. See the lower part of the Dar-yul phu-chu valley the ancient location of Dar-yul as inserted in Map of 'Bri-gung-pa territories in the wake of the Central Tibetan mother seat holder A.D. (1333) and the subsequent seven throne-holders were all born in Dar-yul. e.g. the original Dar-yul Bye-ma estate (hence the name) was registered as the residence of the powerful mi dbang Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (of Ga-zi), father of the 10th, 11th and the 12th sTag-lung throne-holders: cf. sTag lung chos 'byung I.22; lHo rong chos 'byung 584, et passim; App. V: Table 11.2 below. The sTag-lung-pa, no doubt, had opposed the inclusion of Dar-yul and sPras into the Tshal-pa jurisdiction; at least, we have reports of military skirmishes between sTag-lung and Tshal in the crucial 1250's after the mi sde territories had been distributed. It may have led to the loss already at that point of both Dar-yul and sPras to sTag-lung.

The 38th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan later was born in Gro-mdal of Dar-yul. A bZang-yul of Dar-yul is also registered; cf. lHo rong chos 'byung 449.9-10 = 'Phan-yul bZang-yul; cf. Dzam gling rgyan gcig 867, 873. A number of early Vinaya establishment disciples came from Dar-yul such as Nyi-sdings-pa Blo-gros grags-pa and the 13th-cent. Dar-yul sNa-mo-ba sMon-lam Blo-gros (Nel-pa pandita, author of a celebrated history book).

Hot springs or thermal baths were found in Dar-yul, in present-day Bye-ma xiang at Chu-tshan-sgang (loc. at 130°03'N 91°08'E); cf. e.g. sTag lung chos 'byung 791. In sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 6a2: Dar sPras are treated as a unity. In the lower part of the Dar-yul phu-chu valley the ancient ['Phan-po] Ngan-lam is located; see App. IV; Chap. 3. Geogr. location of Dar-yul as inserted in Map 1 (= 03): 30°06'N 91°11'E; cf. Xizang Dimchig 158a, b; HSLG Vol. 4: 48.

Located in mKhar-rtses xiang (29°54'N 91°10'E) in mThong-smon – of Hun-grub county, where the powerful local mKhar-rtses sde pa (the ruling lineage whose heads descended from Mongolia) paved the way in the 15th cent. for the erection of the famous Sa-skya seminary and monastery of Nalendra by donating the area as a mchod gzhis (see Jackson 2007). Later, in the first part of the 16th cent., the estate was associated with the 'Bri-gung-pa and again later in the 1640's. After the confiscation of 'Bri-gung-pa territories in the wake of their role in the dBus-gTsang conflict, it was donated to the sKyd-shod-pa house as compensation for their loss of the Bye-ri sTag-rtsse seat, located close to dGa'-ldan monastery, appropriated by the dGa'-ldan pho-brang gzhung. The mKhar-rtses estate was generally associated with the rMa clan. Cf. P. K. Sørensen 2007a.

sPras* (− Sras, sPrad/Srad, bKras/sGras, Pras)* of 'Phan-yul. It is a locale of great antiquity, in former times covering a larger area. Initially a Bon, but over the centuries gradually also a bKa'-gdams-pa, stronghold often mentioned in connection with the prominent bKa'-gdams-pa master Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1027/31–1105 A.D.) born here (hence eventually called sPras[g]a; whose father was a Bon-po stemming from the influential gNyos clan, a branch or offshoot of the [Kha-rag] gNyos, see Part II: App. II and Table V.7 below); also sNe'u zur-pa (1042/45–1118/19; of the Zhang Tshe-spong clan) stemmed from Thong-ba-sa in sPras (see e.g. Sørensen 1999: 178; also bKa' 'gadams chos 'byung III 105.10, 158.15; IV 506b, 77b3-4; HSLG Vol. 4: 89–92, etc.). In the same century, a Kālacakra and Sadāng-yoga transmitter named Bła-ma sGro-ston gNam-brtsegs was born in sPras (Dus 'khor chos 'byung Ba5; Bu ston gSan rgyag 44b1-2). Today sPras as toponym is relatively obsolete in current admin. sources, but still occasionally finds usage in the local tradition and in recent pilgrim travelsogues, see e.g. Tshong dpon gnas bskor 84–85, 200–01; the core area
of the old sPras today roughly corresponds to present-day Seng-ge Valley (i.e. 'Phan-po Seng-ge'i sgang) which is part of the [g]Sum-phreng xiang,** situated east of the (old or former) lHun-grub rdzung. In the upper part of the valley, [s]Po-t[h]-o-dgon is dgonased perched at the top of a hill,*** often in the literature identified as the sPras [s]Po-to-ba; cf. e.g. 'Dzam gling rgyan gcig 870, 873. See also Dung dkar shig mdzod 1273–74.

Po-to-ba’s birthplace Bra’o-thang or Bra-bo-thang (“Buck-wheat Plain,” var. Khra-bo-thang, also Bra-bo-sgang; cf. e.g. Kun dga’ rdo rje rnam thar 415.2–3) of sPras is located in the area (still reg. in 1830 A.D.; cf. CTZhZh 164; Bra’o), the locals identify the place with the present-day *Gyamdenthang village (spell. uncertain) of the Seng-ge Valley (today called Seng-ge or Seng-ge-nang: 30°00′N 91°19′E = the area of Po-tho dgon-pa). Her also the late 11th-cent. Brag-rgyab hermitage of sPras is located (originally one of the 10–11th-cent. establishments of rNgog Byang-chub ’byung-gnas of the Klu-mes group; cf. Table V.6 below; here Po-to-ba and sNe’u-zur were ordained, the former under rNgog personally, cf. Pu to ba rnam thar l 4b5–6; II 2b2–7, 6a7; rGya bod chos ’byung 17b2; where he served as steward; it is regularly mentioned in the Po-to-ba literature. Brag-rgyab was allegedly destroyed in 1240, concomitant with the raid on Rva-sgreng and ’Phan-yul rGyal Iha khang during the infamous Mongol incursion headed by general Dorta; it is identical with the later rebuilt dGe-hugs-pa monastery of Brag-rgyab (est. by gNas-brtan Ngag-dbang [of Po-to dgon-pa]; i.e. the still existing ’Phan-yul Brag-rgyab dgon-pa) situated in lower Seng-ge. It was visited by the 16th *Bri-gung in 1536, arriving via Dar-la (sic = Chag-la) from sTag-lung. It had its own bla sprul line est. in the 18th cent.; cf. the Qing incarncation register Bla sprul deb gzhung 358–59. In the late 19th cent., the Brag-rgyab bla ma were in charge of the Po-to-ba’s gdan sa; cf. rJe bsun Lo chen rnam thar. Associated with sPras and Po-to-ba was Kha-rag sgom-chung and the latter’s teacher sBa-sgom bSod-nams ye-shes (or bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan; himself a pupil of Smtrijhanna; he acted as residential purohita in the family of Po-to-ba and was a transmitter of the celebrated A-ro precepts), cf. Sørensen 2002; Gu bka’ chos ’byung 200.

Shar[r]-ra, another noted bKa’-gdams-pa master and pupil of Po-to-ba, erected in the western part of the Shar valley the Sha-ra dgon-pa (see Map 4). For a brief survey in the 11–12th cent. of the numerous mchod rten receptacles and ossuaries in the ’Phan-yul area situated around Shar[r]-ra’s-ma’s main temple in Sha[r]-ra-mdpo, see Ye-shes shes-rab 1989 and most recently U. Roesler and H-U. Roesler 2004, Kadampa Sites in Phemo (incl. an illustrative photographic section); cf. also the visit by Ngor mkhan-chen in 1754 A.D. (dpal ldan chos skyong rnam thar I 195–97), where a number of a ne dgon pa are registered. Born in Sha[r]-ra Thang-stod of ’Phan-yul was the 2nd sTag-lung Ma-thang tenant O-rgyan mgon-po (1293–1363 A.D.). An A-ra chos rje of sPras is listed in lIHo rong chos ’byung 223.

A Do-bo dgon-pa (of rGyal dist. est. by dge bshes Phu-chung-pa; bKa’ gdam chos ’byung III 110–11) is mentioned for the year 1187/91 A.D., also the 11–12th-cent. sites gZhung-mkhan-brag (upon its summit, a self-originated or natural cai tyva is once said to have towered) and another site related to Po-to-ba was mKhar-thog (in Phod-mdo; cf. Pu to ba rnam thar l 8b3–4, 9a3, 10b3–4). Associated with Po-to-ba is also Grab of ’Phan-yul (cf. also CTZhZh 13), presently of Brom-stod, wherefrom one of his principal disciples descended. sPras was among a number of locations which Atsia considered suitable as a permanent basis prior to settling for sNye-thang (cf. Eimer 1979: 254), accounting for the area’s centrality or former prominance. Possibly pertinent to this is that Char-ma of sPrad [= sPras?] was donated to ’Brom-ston (along with gNam Byc-ma-lung, the area around his birthplace, near Yangs-pa-can; Introduction: Map 1) – where he intended to erect a temple in 1054 – but the local patron refused to grant permission (Rva-sgreng dkar chag 73) whereupon he went to Rva-sgreng; cf. bKa’ brgyud rnam thar chen mo 148b3–5. Further, a temple named Gung-gsum of Srad (i.e. sPras) counts among the foundations of sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (MTP Uebach 139, today no more known in the area).

sPras is variously registered in many sources: The 11th cent. Mar-pa lo tsā ba was also associated with Sras of ’Phan-yul, where he sojourned in a place called Sa-dmar; cf. Mar pa lo tsā ba rnam thar 49-50; it is here maintained that the locals of ’Phan-yul were regarded as “wicked people of low faith,” alluding here possibly to their idiosyncratic or arcane Bon-beliefs or to brigands roaming the area. However, sPras initially had been associated with the activities of Gu-rU Rin-po-che in dynastic times where a chapel was erected; see lDe’u 2 345: Sras Iha-khang; IHa ’dre bka’i thang vig 53.17: ’Phan-yul sPras kyi Iha-khang; cf. also dpag bsam ljon bzang 606.8–9. As noted above, sPras is presumably the location of the ’Ju-bu-dgon, the monastery which IHa-phug-mkhar-pa founded in 1187 at the invitation of the locals of Phrad-tsam (= sPrad). This may in fact constitute the background for the subsequent inclusion of the area
into the Tshal-pa khri skor as mi sde, the detailed circumstance of which still remains nebulous, or whether we should expect that the Tshal inclusion was merely formal to remain a bone of contention after its confirmation.

Most significantly, from the early 13th cent., the larger sPras in practise constituted a basic territory (and later landed estate) of Byang sTag-lung monastery and their secular rulers (with old sPras possibly extending up until the ‘Phags-chu valley located beyond the ICags-la (~ Chag-, Phyag-la) pass (see below Map 4). The sTag-lung seat was raised upon one of the numerous former dwellings of Po-to-ba in the area which also accounts for their lingering interest in Po-to-ba****). In the 13th cent., the sTag-lung area of Byang was nominally under the appanage of Ariq Böge (Qubilai’s brother who lost the internal struggle for becoming the rightful Činggisid ruler as Great Qan of all the Mongols in 1260) and the role it played during this spell of Mongol supremacy over Tibet was quite minimal. The originally narrow sTag-lung territory – never constituting a proper myriarchy – was listed as a small fiscal territory (500 hor dud; see App. III) which suggests that this minor area only comprised the area surrounding the closer monastic seat, yet it was a seat generously supported by Qubilai too. Their earlier throne-holders were born in eastern Tibet (in and around Bong-ra-steng of g Yang-stod in mDo-khams), the 8th incumbent of the ruling Ga-zi family being the first ever (1333 A.D.) to be among the environs of its Central Tibetan mother seat (see below). In the wake of the dramatic division of the sect (into Ya-thang in Central Tibet and Ma-thang in mDo-khams, which eventually would overshadow the Central Tibetan mother seat) in the 1270’s, a gradual corrosion of sTag-lung’s local influence in `Phan-yul initially made itself felt, but by the mid-14th century the Tshal-pa presence in the area may have dwindled too. In fact, the revival with unmitigated support from the areas Dar-yul, sPras and Rong began with the 9th throne-holder which must be dated to ca. 1370’s at a point when Tshal may have lost both Dar-yul and sPras to sTag-lung (cf. lHo rong chos ‘byung 570). Much later in the 18th century, the ruling Ga-zi family behind the local sTag-lung hegemony experienced something of a renaissance with the influential sde dpon aristocratic mDo-mkhar-ba house (= Rag-shag, Ra-kha-shag, holder of the sTag-lung fiefship; cf. Ga zi gdung rabs, passim; Petech 1973: 71–79). It was during the later part of the dGa’-ldan pho-brang gzhung period that Ga-zi, through their mDo-mkhar-ba family, would resume control of `Phan-yul, both the northern Phod-mdo and the southern districts of Dar-yul, Rong-yul (also called Rong-sgar) and sPras. See below. Cf. lHo rong chos ‘byung 465.20–466.20; Chan 1994: 567.

Genesis of sTag-lung: Prior to the erection of Byang sTag-lung dgon-pa (1180–81 A.D.) (Location: 30°09’N 91°13’E of IHun-grub rdzong), the founder sTag-lung-thang-pa bKra-shis-dpal (*Mangalasiri) (1142–1209/10) in the mid-1170’s arrived in Phod-mdo and sPras, to take up his seat in a small hermitage (gzims khang); (his followers) being physically (some even mortally) harassed by local malicious brigands of the sPras and Phod-mdo districts (indicative that the area was neither controllable nor yet properly habitable), he suffered all sorts of hardship; after a lengthy detour into the adjacent dBu-ru-lung valley (where he took his final ordination in Sho-ma-ra (see Introduction) in 1172 A.D. and then sojourned in Se-ba-lung, probing the possibility to establish a permanent seat there), he returned to Phod-mdo and sPras and was this time enthusiastically received by a number of local patrons and followers like Zhang A-stag (Zhang-dkar; also listed as root-patron for the 2nd sTag-lung throne-holder; cf. lHo rong chos ‘byung 485), dge bshes Zhang-ston Khang-mo-che and others (incidentally, all pupils of the bKa’-gdam-pa master sTabs-ka-ba Dar-ma-grags, 1103–74 A.D.) and finally succeeded in erecting his residence in 1180 (lHo rong chos ‘byung 118.1). The background for his success: during the warring conflict that prevailed locally between the Dar-yul-ba (see prev. note) and the Rong-pa of the adjacent district, he was requested to intervene and, having arbitrated successfully, the local people and patrons of the three areas of bKras (~ sPras), Dar (= Dar-yul) and Rong became and indeed would remain his stout devotees and patrons (a proto-typical story of winning – or being granted – political and religious hegemony due to merit/status-awarding mediation). The founder initially had a seat at Seng-ge-brag (alt. Seng-gling-brag; evidently = gSer-gling, org. Se-gle adjacent to the later sTag-lung monastery) and also had settled down in the Bla-brang nag-po, or “the Master’s Black Residence or Monk Estate.” Cf. Mangga la sri’i rnam thar 214.4–248.2; lHo rong chos ‘byung 463–69; Hazod, ‘King Mer-khe’). Rong more precisely refers to the valley and area between Phod-mdo and Klung-shod along the Rong-chu which is the name of sKhyid-chu downstream from Phod-mdo rdzong at the entrance to sTag-lung valley (already known from the time of Atriśa; cf. also Wylie 1962: 86, 163; BA Roerich 616. et passim; Introduction). Geograph. location of present-day Phod-mdo xiang: 30°10’N 91°20’E).***** Thus, the three areas (even
before I Hun·grub rdzong came into existence) from the very outset were considered the dānapati homeland (along with dBu·ru·lung and other parts of the Byang districts), and parts of the d'Dam and gNam·mtsho area) of the affluent sTag·lung-pa, and remained their main field of conversion and power throughout the following centuries up to the 19th century. Numerous localities of the later I Hun·grub rdzong area were related to sTag·lung (CTZhZh 163f). In fact, the sTag·lung-pa henceforth were the one stable hegemonic presence from the 13th century in the area of the Byang district and the northern d'Phan·yal.

An entry in the sTag·lung founder's biography informs us that, in around 1198 A.D., he tendered to the Bla·ma Zhang seat (= Tshal Gung-thang) substantial donations in form of mdzo and rta, contributed to the repair of Ra·sa d'Phru£·snang, and assisted the Tshal-pa in reviving the local custom of alm-distribution to beggars (sprang 'gyed gsas) in I Ha·sa, etc., an old Bla·ma Zhang charity tradition. These contacts may have heralded the incipient bonds between the two hegemonies, Cf. for details sTag lung chos 'byung I 218–20, et passim; Mangga la siri'i rnam thar 312.1–6, 357.1–2, 362.4–6; lhO rong chos 'byung 456, 467, 473; BA Roerich 616, 617; Deb dmar gsal, Tucci 1971: 201; HSLG Vol. 4: 34–35. The 14th sTag·lung-pa rNam·rgyal grags-pa (1469–1530 A.D.) was born in sGang-pa of sPras (loc. 29°59'N 91°16'E). An in-depth study of the sTag·lung monastic seat and the ruling Ga·zi family remains a major desideratum (cf. however App. II, and Table V.11.2 below).

During the Phag-gru hegemony, parts of d'Phan·yal were to be incorporated into the newly established I Hun·grub rdzong. In the same century, d'Phan·yal-ba Nyan-ston sAkya rgyal-mtshan established in sPras the Rin·chen-brag monastery****** (in present-day gSum· 'phreng, location: 29°59'N 91°16'E; later a dependency of rGyud-smad grva·tsang; Nyan-ston later ascended the d'Bras-spungs see); the adjacent old rGyab site adhered to this religious estate (CTZhZh 165), today abandoned, but Nyan-ston's former activities would herald good relationships with the emerging dGe·lugs-pa (held e.g. by the later 33rd throne-holder of dGa·ldan, Grags-pa rgya·mtsho). The upper part of d'Phan·yal, in other words a large part of present-day I Hun·grub rdzong (largely covering Dar·yul, sPras and Rong) throughout the 16–18th cent., as said, was ruled by the mi dhang or secular chief of the autocratic Ga·zi house. The sTag·lung see and its estates due to inner conflicts, during the time of the 24th throne-holder, were confiscated by the dGa·ldan pho-brang government in 1678 and remained in the hands of Se-ra until 1720, when it again was administered by the Rag·shag (mDo·mkhar) family line, headed by the secular chiefs of Ga·zi. Later, by imperial decree in 1781, this noble family, beyond their own estates (in I Hun·grub rdzong), received the areas of Grom·ma·bar, Rin·sgang (Rin·chen·sgang; loc. 29°58'N 91°09'E of Byang-kha), Sha·[rum 30°04'N 91°17'E], gYag·[g]rong (29°54'N 91°13'E of present-day dGa·ldan Chos·'khor), Sum·phrang, Khang·ilo·ga as well as dBu·ru·nang. It was this period (already from mid-17th century) that the area became reorganized. Lower d'Phan·mda e.g. became part, administratively, of sTag·rtse rdzong.

Geograph. location of Seng·ge (sPras) village and Po·to·dgon: 30°00'N 91°19'E (= 04), acc. to Xizang Dimchig Ch 51a,b; HSLG Vol. 1: 89–91. See also Map 4 below.

* Clusters with post-initial -r- developing into the omission of the preceding initial labial (ming gzi) consonant, i.e. spr- → sr-, i.e. a so-called merger, are similarly documented in the variant spellings e.g. of the toponymic pairs sPrad/Srad and sPrag/Srag of Ru·lag and dBu·ru in dynastic Tibet and hence similarly in names such as dBrad/Srad-ston (cf. e.g. Stearns 2001: 227–28).

** [g]Sum·'phrang/phrung ("Three Defiles"? or from *Sum·mdo?😉 'phrang, or "Defile at the Confluence") of d'Phan·yal is regularly mentioned in the rel. literature, in the sTag·lung materials from the 13th cent. In the 17th cent. a Sum·phrang zhabs drung is registered (along with a gYag·[g]rong and mDo·mkhar zhabs drung (= the Phod·mdo sTag·lung zhabs drung also called Ga·zi·zhabs drung); all three Ga·zi lines originally had issued from the 8th throne-holder; cf. sTag lung chos 'byung I 829–30, 845, 857, II 435.4. The hitherto oldest reference to Sum·phrang appears to be chronicled in Bla·ma Zhang's writings (ZhK I 244.1 = ZhK III (KA) 93b3 – accounting for the area's contacts to Zhang and hence Tshal?) and also in Ras chung rnam thar 228 (12th cent.) which reads 'Phan·yal sKras kyi Sum·'phrang, as if Sum·'phrang was part of sPras and not, as of now, sPras of Sum·'phrang. Not insignificantly, it would suggest that sPras indeed earlier constituted a larger area. The district Sum-['phrang is also mentioned by Padma dkar·po from his visit there in 1591 A.D.; cf. Pad dkar rnam thar II 436.1; IV 52b2, and by the 5th d'Brug·pa dPag·bsam dbang-po invited in 1605 by a nang so gSum·'phrang-pa; dPag bsam dbang po rnam thar I 52b5; see also later DLS III 134a4 and Ga·zi gdung rabs 422a2. In the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey, it is listed as a private estate; cf. CTZhZh 167.

A [g]Sum·phrang (also So·phrang/brang) is similarly found in 1323 (of present-day Central Bhutan) associated with migrants of the another line of the gNyos/sMyos clan which settled there.
"Brom stod-smad,46c

*** The history of the Po-to dgon-pa, of which we barely possess more than fragmentary information, still needs to be written. In the mid-13th century, the monastery and its dependencies were donated to the Na-sas-ba rGyals-pa (1181–1259 A.D.) (followed by the successors of his renowned Ohal bgyug transmission) by the local gNas-brtan line of Po-to dgon-pa, the former was a scion stemming from the descendants of the former kings of Na-sas (11Ha) and a key figure in the Po-to-ba’s bka’ gdamgs gzhung drug transmission; cf. e.g. bKa’ gdamgs chos ‘byung I (Vol. II) 121–125, PS 175–76 admits that its subsequent history is unattested and that no detailed record of its rbas rabs exists. dGa’ ldan chos ‘byung I 5/2a1 maintains that gNas-brtan Ngag-dbang-pa (evidently the Po-to see-holders) took hold of Brag-rgyab dgon-pa and upheld the local mon community. Visited in the early 15th c. by ‘Gos lo tsā’ ha, cf. ‘Gos lo ram thar 6b2–5, 66a3–4, being invited by one dge bshes gZhom-nu dkon-mchog.

As to [s]Po-t[ho] dgon-pa, it is merely reports that monks from the Thang-sag gGa’-ldan Chos-’khor monastery (in central ‘Phan-yul, below fn. 671) safeguarded – as a dependency – sPo-tho dgon-pa starting with one Ha-sa-ba rGyal-mdshen legs-pa, followed in succession by Ra-sha Blo-bzang dar-rgyas, mNyens-thang Blo-bzang ‘jam-dbyangs, Pa-ri md-so rgya-mdsho, IHa-sa Phun-tshogs chos-ldan, rDo-ba Nam-mka’ bZang-po and in the 1690’s, the famous rTses-dang (= rTsed-thang) dNgos-grub rgya-mdsho held the see. In the 17th century, it turned into a nunnery (still existing) which even today accommodates 50 nuns.

**** Already the 16th sTag-lung-lhon throne-holder Sangs-rgyas yar-byon (1203–72) considered himself – around the early 1240’s – a rebirth of Po-to-ba after he had unearthed books, engraved pots and precious objects related to the latter, from the pointmost of the hill of Bra-bo-thang of sPras; cf. sTag lung chos ‘byung II 282, 501; Sangs rgyas yar byon ram thar 7a4–5. This was followed by the 16th sTag-lung-lhon throne-holder and again later by one of Po-to-ba’s later biographers, the 18th throne-holder, the sTag-lung dpon rin po che or zha-pa drung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1571–1626 A.D.), the brilliant scholar-artist ksum politician; both similarly considered themselves a manifestation of Jinaputra Po-to-ba. It reflects an entire incarnation-line; cf. van der Kuip 2006: 12, fn. 43, sTag lung chos ‘byung I 732, dPags bsmam dpung po nram thar I 53a1–2 (= 105.1–2).

At sTag-lung and at ‘Phan-yul Thang-sag (i.e. the dGe-lugs establishment gGa’-ldan Chos-’khor), a large number of relics and pilgrim-sites related to Po-to-ba abound; e.g. his gezims chung; an effigy-stature (sku ’dra) of him and a statue of his istadevatā Muni as well as a particular ossuarium evidently famous as the “Louse-Dome” or Shig-’bum, the dome for the louse (which had been reborn as the mother of Po-to-ba); see the visits paid by 3rd rJe dPa’-ho Hierarch gTsug-lag rgya-mdsho (1568–1630/33 A.D.) of gNas-nang, during the late 1620’s as reported in Kam tshang bgyug pa II 145a7, et passim. Behind these vestiges of Po-to-ba and the revival of the latter’s physical legacies and his “eul” in the bKa’-gdamgs-pa master’s homeland, we no doubt should see the strong hand of Ngag-dbang ram-rgyal, who in Po-to-ba saw a sort of “founding figure” behind sTag-lung – recalling that sTag-lung was raised on former Po-to-ba territory and associated with its physical legacy. sTag-lung dgon-pa still today holds the printing-blocks of the 9-fols. biography of Po-to-ba written by Ngag-dbang ram-rgyal, called Sems dpa’ i chin po’i spyod pa nges bstan (cf. sKal-bzang phun-tshogs 2000: 116). Prior to establishing his Po-tho dgon-pa on sPo-[m]tho-ri, Po-to-ba resided in sTag-lung valley, hence at one point he was known as sTag-lung-thang-pa. To reiterate: in the 12th cent., sPras and sTag-lung or “Tiger Valley” (for the toponym’s pop. etymology, see bMangs la srī’i nram thar 221.2–4), were earlier considered to refer to the same territories, also accounted for by the alter epithet occasionally and in fact commonly ascribed to Po-to-ba, namely sTag-lung-pa chen-po, a circumstance which suggests to us that sTag-lung as toponym was en vogue already in the late 11th cent.

An interesting etymology is offered in bKa’-gdamgs-pa sources, where it is argued that the name sTag-lung springs from the name: Birch Tree Valley (shing stag pa skyes pa’i lung); cf. Zhu lan Nor bu’i phreng ba 384 in Pha chos of the bKa’ gdamgs gles ham.

***** Phod-mdo and a Phod-mdo-ba is mentioned already in the late 11th cent.: cf. Eimer 1979: 305.

****** Rin-chen-brang dgon gnas giug lag khang was erected during the tenure of the 11th sTag-lung-lhon throne-holder bKa-rshis dpal’-od in the 1440’s and upon the latter’s approval (and patronage), it was founded by Nyan-ston (who acted as bla chen; here later the sTag-lung-lhon seat’s 16th–18th throne-holders would be born in 1524, 1536 and 1571 respectively). Cf. dGa’ ldan chos ‘byung I 31a1–4, 60b4–6; bKa’ gdamgs chos ‘byung II 94b2; bKa’ gdamgs chos ‘byung IV 58b6–59a1. Since the Ga-zi line was residing as mi dbug or ruler over lHun-grub rdzong, it appears that Rin-chen-brang too was held or at least politically controlled by the sTag-lung-pa. Cf. DL6 703; in CTZhZh 145, 164, Rin-brang is registered as a mchod gcis (mentioned for the year 1831 A.D.).

46c Upper and Lower ‘Brom. The ‘Brom district (in present-day ‘Brom-stod xiang of sTag-rtsé county) originally may have been the area of the powerful ‘Brom clan. For a survey of the area’s grong tsho, see HSLG Vol. 1: 30–33. Cf. also BA Roerich 259, 860; Ferrari: fn. 100. An area with a millenium-old history. Geograph. location as inserted in Map I (= OS): 29°42’N 91°23’E; acc. Xizang Dimingzhi I 92b. See also Map 1b and Map 1b.3. Formerly part of lower ‘Phan-yul, ‘Brom-stod = ‘Brom-thod; cf. Bod Map 14; HSLG Vol. 1: 7, 16–17, 31.
Glang-ra,\textsuperscript{407}

Here is located a former hermitage (\textit{lha khang dmar po}) associated with the 11\textsuperscript{th} century gNyan \textit{lo tsā ba}, called gNyan mGon-phug and here the 'Brom-stod dgon-pa was established. Cf. Ferrari 42, 105; Blo-bzang ram-mgul 1999; \textit{HSLG Vol. 1}: 52, 61–62. The gNyan mGon-phug is named after a mGon-po or Mahākāla image which together with the mGon-po phyag-drug of bDe-chen (15\textsuperscript{th} cent.) and the mGon-po phyag-bzhi of Za[b]-lung (12\textsuperscript{th} cent.; fn. 253) form the group of the three highly venerated Mahākāla brother images of sKyid-shod. On gNyan-lo, known as one of the six translators of the 1076 A.D. religious council (Shastri 1997: 873f.), see \textit{inter alia} BA Roerich, s.v. index. Nyan-ston (var. Šākya bzang-po) also erected the 'Brom-sdangs. Local people speak of 'Brom-thod-pa, because a stūpa of the monastery contains as special relic, the skull (\textit{thod pa}) of 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i byung-gnas located in 'Brom-thod grong shiso. After more than one and a half centuries as \textit{mi sde} under Tshal, the district of 'Brom is listed as part of the Brag-dkar fief in the 1409 A.D. donation list in \textit{Tsung kha pa'i rnam thar 315}.

In the early 15\textsuperscript{th} cent., the seat of 'Phan-yul Zim-pa stTag-mgo (var. Zin-pa rtAm-mgo), whose chair was in the hands of the family of Zur-chen, was located in 'Brom-stod where Zur-chen was born in 1604. Earlier, in the late 16\textsuperscript{th} cent. (ca. 1580's), Zing-pa stTag gi dgon-pa and sNang-gsal were 'Brigung territories and seats; shortly after, it was occupied by the sKyid-shod-pa; cf. 'Bri gung chos byung 450. During the initial part (1642–1717) of the dGa-ldan Pho-brang gzhung period, 'Brom-stod constituted one of the 18 rdzong-estates under IHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction and a \textit{spyi khys} (governor) was in charge of the district.\* Under 'Brom-stod is perhaps also the place of the 'Brom sKyer-chung Iha-khang (MTF Uebach 91). Further, 'Brom-stod is also registered as the birthplace of the regicide Iha-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje, at Gung-mo-che (cf. e.g. \textit{HSLG Vol. 1}: 68; however, according to another tradition he was born near the place of IHa-lung dgon-pa in IHo-brag; cf. e.g. \textit{dBus gtsang gnas yig} 253; Chos'-phel 2002: 136). In \textit{smOn lam rdo rje rnam thar 612}, 'Brom Glang Yer (see the next notes) are listed as an unity.

\* The 18 \textit{rdzong gzhis} of the Zhol administration (est. 1675) refer largely to the sKyid-shod area and are listed as

\begin{enumerate}
\item ['Bras-bu-gling (= rTse[s]-thang 'Bras-gling? Sa-skya seat, cf. Sa skya gdung rabs 540, 761)
\item Grva-bzhi (= Gra-bzhi)
\item IHa-sa (i.e. Glang-ru close to IHa-sa (Xizang Dimingzi l 12a4) or the Glang-ra district; see fn. 407)
\item IHo-mos (?)
\item 'Brom-stod
\item Tshal
\item bDe-chen (= bDe-chen rdzong)
\item Chos-lung (fn. 253)
\item IIs'ul-[chung] (see fn. 426)
\item rNam-sgang (rNam-rgyal-sgang gzhis ka)
\item Shel-grong (in 'Phrang-go; see fn. 428; Map 1a below)
\item gNam (= rNam-rs of sKyid-smad; see Map 1a)
\item ICang (= IJang of sKyid-smad; Map 1a)
\item mNyes-thang (in sKyid-smad)
\item sGrags (below fn. 427)
\item Phreng-go (fn. 428)
\item Lum-pa (to the west of 'Phreng-go)
\item gDong-dkar (in sTod-lung-mda')
\end{enumerate}

Cf. e.g. Duojie Caidan 1995: 189; \textit{HSLG 1}: 7f.; bShad-sgra 1991: 60–61; Dungkar tshig mdzod 1783a; \textit{Lhasa Intervies 1–2.}

\textsuperscript{407} It refers to the present-day \textbf{Glang-ra} village (loc. between Yer-pa-mda' and Shar-phyogs), the place of the Glang-ra Byar-dgon, a branch of Yer-pa; cf. \textit{VS} 154; \textit{dPa gsal bsa m phyag bzang} 602.2. It is nowadays registered as village community (grong tsho) under the 'Brom-stod district (see prev. note) of stTag-rtsi xian (\textit{HSLG Vol. 1}: 30; = \textit{06} of Map 1) comprising of 146 individuals in all (formerly being served under rGyud-smad grva-tshang religious estate).

The site Glang-ra ICags (= ICang)-gseb (= Glang-ru ICang-gseb; cf. 'Bri gung chos byung 515) served as residence of many visiting hierarchs. Glang-ra dgon-gsar (dGe-lugs) in the same area was erected by dKa-'bzhi Kun-dga' mgon-po in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century. Glang-ra was in 1497 A.D. still part of the (Phag-gru-controlled) Brag-dkar rdzong fiefschip or dependency (est. in the mid-14\textsuperscript{th} century, fn. 542; Table \textit{V.12.2}) and in the late 15\textsuperscript{th} cent. ruled by the \textit{mi dpon} and gnos rgyal Srr-geod rgyal-po; cf. 'Bri gung gdan rabs \textit{III} 168; 'Bri gung kun dga' rin chen rnam thar 93–95, \textit{Dl.2} 366, 487.
In the period 1500-1520, it was under the 'Bre-gung-pa after the Brag-dkar governor had broken with the dGe-lugs. The latter house was in the mid-16th cent. absorbed by the powerful dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (fn. 542; Table V. 12.3).

Conspicuously, DL5 III 134a1-2 reports that mThar-rgyas (cf. below fn. 713) in 1679 A.D. was part of Glang-ra. Registered in the 1830 Tax Survey as rel. estate of 'Bras-spungs (CTZhZh 15). Glang-ra is apparently the Glang-ru rdzong gzhis of the later dGa'-ldan pho-brang government (cf. previous note) where during the same spell, a Rags-kha chu-skor of Glang-ru estate (cf. also DL5 II 58a5 in the 1660's) and Glang-ru Klu-sdings were founded.

408 **Yer-pa** is a montainous area north-east of IHa-sa with the famous and ancient complex of hermitage-temples, cloisters and retreats of Brag Yer-pa situated in the upper part of the valley. Geograf. location as inserted in Map I (= 07): 29°44'N 91°16'E. The first foundation (i.e. the Yer-pa Them-bu ikog-pa' i lha-khang) is said to go back to Srong-btsan sgam-po's consort Zhang-zhung-bza' Khi-btsun (alias Li-thig-sman). Ka khol ma 270.11-12; see most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 199. The rGyal blon ma 288.1 mentions a Te'u-skgyog (= Them[-bu] Ikog[-pa] above?) where the Zhang disciple sGom-pa Mar-pa (= i.e. Mar-lung-pa Byang-chub seng-ge (1153-1241), a.k.a. Mar-pa 'Ja'-sgom, Mar-lung lha btsun or Thon gyi sprang po or ban chung (the beggar or small monk of the Thon clan) who met Zhang around 1171 A.D., see *Mar lung rnam thar* 59b6, 61b5f) established the Dharma.

For a description of Brag Yer-pa, considered the "life-pole" (srog shing, yastt) of Ra-sa'i gtsug-lag-khang and highly significant for the later cultic history of IHa-sa, see *Yer pa'i dkar chag, passim; dBu gtsang gnas yig 98-101; HSGL Vol. 2: 106f.

Located in the Yer-pa district are *inter alia* also the sPos-dga' retreat founded by Mal Yer-pa and the dGa'-ldan-gling hermitage est. by the 11th Tshal Yang-dgon gdan sa ba (see above GT 18a). After more than one and a half centuries as *mi sde* under Tshal, Yer-pa is listed as part of the Brag-dkar governorship (under the Phag-gru) in the 1409 A.D. donation list in Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 315. Today, the former estate Yer-pa-mdà' gzhis ka as grong thso is part of 'Brom-stod district (see above). In the 17th cent., Yer-pa (-phu, -mda) and sPos-dga' were under 'Phan-yul Za-dam (cf. Zur chen rnam thar 80b1f). At Yer-pa, a speaking Munendra statue once adhering to IHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje was brought to Gung-thang by the 9th Tshal dpon. A gzhis ka Gling-ma is registered in Yer-pa-mdà' (1605 A.D.); cf. *IHa rtse ba rnam thar* 100b1. For the different versions of the seminal source denoted *Yer pa dkar chag*, cf. sKa-ba 2004.

409 The present Iدان refers to the Iدان valley (IHan, Iدان-mdà) situated to the east of Ba-lam. It is evidently identical with the imperial mدان of the Dunhuang Annals where the site is registered for the year 678 A.D (DTH 15.32: mدان; TDD 233.18: mNgan); see also following note.

The area is known from the biography of the 11th century Rva lo tsä ba who founded a hermitage on the sNgon-po-gdond mountain in lower Iدان-lung of Upper sKyid-shod (cf. *Rva lo rnam thar* 270; gShin rje bshed chos 'byung II 94b). Confirmed by local tradition which identifies the ruins of Mount rDzon-gni situated at the entrance to the valley as the former residence of the master. The locals also speak of a Rva-lo foundation called "Ma gonpa" (today no more extant) and of a Rva-lo sgrub khang situated in Upper Iدان. According to the gShin rje bshed chos 'byung II (op. cit. *ibid*) Rva-lo passed away in Iدان; the same text says that parts of his remains was inserted into a stupa in lower Iدان, later brought to 'Bras-spungs in the context of the foundation of this monastery (1416 A.D.). In addition to the Rva-lo sites, a number of ancient places worth mentioning in this area include: the place Glang-dar (some call it rGyal-po Glang-dar-mdà) marked by some trees within a walled enclosure (the trees are said to have been planted at the spot of a great stupa which was transferred to Tshal Gung-thang by Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang); the ruins of Bya-glag rdzong in central Iدان which according to the locals go back "to the time before Buddhism" (the place is named after the bya glag [or glag] eagle; possibly related to the well-known dynastic district of Glag[s]; see following note); finally most impressive is a large complex of ruins in Upper Iدان, a place referred to as "Peding ani-gonpa" (i.e. dPal-sdings A-ni dgon-pa nunnery). It was formerly affiliated with the Shar ruins which are situated in the lower section of the valley and which are seen as the site of a former bKa'-brgyud monastery. The nunnery is probably a chronologically later establishment which followed a local bKa'-brgyud tradition, more precisely a Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition as it is suggested by Bla-ma Zhang's presence in the local tradition. It is feasible that behind one of these sites is the old IHa-phyug-mikhar, the important branch institution of the early Tshal-pa localized by the sources in eastern Ba-lam.
Glags Ba-lam,\textsuperscript{410}

(Ba-lam shar, the neighbouring valley) where, however, no traces of a larger monastery are to be found. (Ba-lam shar is perhaps to be read as the Shar [place of IDan] in the [Glag] Ba-lam district; see Hazod 2004). A religious seat IDan-rdzong is registered for the 14\textsuperscript{th} cent. which acc. to context refers to the IDan of sKyid-shod (BA Roerich 693).

A IDan-lung (\textit{Deb dmars} 140.1; IHan-lung) is mentioned as a dependency of the Ru-thog-pa (above 22a). In IHan (= IDan) a temple was founded in the late 8\textsuperscript{th} or early 9\textsuperscript{th} century (cf. MTP Uebach 117) which, however, rather refers to the IDan-yul of Myang-stod in gTsang where later the phyi dar settlement of IDan Ba-so-thang was established (\textit{Bu ston Szerb} 78; BA Roerich 77-78, 202). After more than 150 years as \textit{mi sde} under Tshal, IDan of sKyid-shod is listed as part of the Brag-dkar government in the 1409 A.D. donation list in \textit{Thsong kha pa'i rnam thar} 315. It is also registered as part of a monastic estate in the 1830 Land-Tax Census (\textit{CTZhZh} 25; cf. also HSLG Vol. 1: 34) which lists the IDan grong tsho as part of the dGa' IDan bla spvi; other parts belonged to Kun-bde-gling; the latter (with its local dependency of bKra-shis-ljong; fn. 542) had many estates in the area between IHas-phu (in Upper Gru-bzhi) and IDan. The IDan \textit{mi sde} is inserted at the level of Bya-tshang in lower IDan: 29\textdegree 40'N 91\textdegree 24'E (= 08 of Map 1); \textit{Xizang Dimingzhi} I 88a; see also Map 1b.3.

\textsuperscript{410} \textbf{Glags and Ba-lam} were once royal places located in the Upper sKyid-shod region, often mentioned in the sources as a toponymic compound, Glags Ba-lam, occasionally also Ba-lam Glags. Cf. MTP Uebach 112, 113 (fn. 611); Uebach 1988: 507-508; TBH Sørensen 255, 371, fn. 1211; P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 41; Hazod 2004; Dotson, forthcoming. Ba-lam is known as one of the eastern toponyms of the IHa-sa sa dpyad and is mentioned (together with Glag[s]) in the Vairocana exile story which gives a description of the traditional route leading from bsSam-yas to the sKyid-chu. The Glags Ba-lam district represents here the eastern entrance to the IHa-sa Mandala Zone (see App. IV: Graph 1 and Chap. 3.3). In connection with Guru Rinpoché, Grom-pa of Ba-lam; see IHa 'dre bka' thang 56.10, 58.20; cf. also \textit{IDe wu-2} 345.16. Today Ba-lam is still used as toponym locally, whereas the toponym Glag[s] has disappeared. The Ba-lam is located due east of bDe-chen rdzong (the administrative center of today's sTag-rtses county) and is divided into two side valleys. Ba-lam-shar (also Shar Ba-lam) and Ba-lam-nub (also called Ba-ra). The 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (\textit{CTZhZh} 25) still refers to Ba-lam-shar and -nub. It appears to have once designated a greater area, including at least the place of bDe-chen at the entrance to Shing-tshang (cf. the form bDe-chen-rtse of Ba-lam, fn. 547). Ba-lam of Glag[s] in the 11\textsuperscript{th} cent. became the seat of a branch lineage of the Yum-brtan brgyud (CFSS Gyalbo et al. 191). The area was \textit{inter alia} the home of sBa gSal-sngan (8\textsuperscript{th} cent., below fn. 442) and of the "Glag Pa-lam-pa" Klu-mes Thshul-khrims shes-rab (early 11\textsuperscript{th} cent.), both of whom erected temples there. Klu-mes is also known as Klu-mes 'Brom, perhaps a reference that the 'Brom-stod (his actual birthplace?) was once registered as part of the Glags Ba-lam district. sBa gSal-sngan is said to have founded two temples in his homeland, one in Glags-mda' (Glags-mda' lha-khang, later a settlement of the Klumes group) and one in Phur-lung. The latter is also known from the sources as Klags [= Glags] Phur-lung (cf. fn. 195; Part II: Table V.6). Phur-lung refers to the western side-valley of Upper Shing-tshang which allows us to conclude that Glags was formerly the name of the Shing-tshang valley (situated due west of Ba-lam), or otherwise that Shing-tshang was part of a once greater Glags [Ba-lam] district. Today one hardly finds references in the local tradition which would corroborate the former historical significance of Glags Ba-lam, as is evident from the sources. As mentioned, the names of the important Tshal-pa schools of IHa-phyu-g-mkhars and Ro-skam in the locality of Ba-lam are not traceable in this area. Some nameless ruins are to be found in Phur-lung. In the upper Ba-ra valley there are the ruins of the mThso-dgon-pa (said to be a former Bon-po temple), while in Shing-tshang village is the abandoned dGe-lugs seat of Tshe-chu-dgon.

In Ba-lam, sKyi-bo Tshul-'phags was born; cf. 'Dal ba'ichos hyung I 55. VS 156 lists the monasteries of Ba-lam-nub Chos-rdzens and Ba-lam Chos-'khor which obviously are no more extant. As stated by the locals nowadays the only functioning religious site in the Ba-lam district (apart from gSang-sngags-mkhars, fns. 542, 547) is represented by the Mani lha-khang situated in Ri-Inga village of Upper Ba-lam-shar; a particularly artistic jewel which contains old and undamaged (and still undated) paintings referring to bKa'-gdams-pa and rNyings-ma-pa traditions. For a historico-geographical discussion of the Glags Ba-lam district, see most recently Hazod 2004. In Map 1 the Glags Ba-lam estate (which we read here as one unit) is inserted at the level of Pad-nag (the main village of Ba-lam-shar): 29\textdegree 39'N 91\textdegree 23' (= 09); \textit{Xizang Dimingzhi} I 81a. See Map 1 and Map 1b.3. After more than one and a half century as \textit{mi sde} under Tshal, Ba-lam is listed as part of the Brag-dkar fiefship (of 'Brom-stod) in the 1409 A.D. donation list in \textit{Thsong kha pa'i rnam thar} 315.
Lo63 Byang-ji,67
Sri.68

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63 Lo, east of Zhogs, an area primarily associated with sPhyin-sngag Tshul-khrims投身 bar (1038–1103) who here founded the highly significant Lo-dgon-pa in 1095 A.D. (VS 171.13ff.; hKa’ gtags chos byung l 316–324). It is known as the site of the gNam-gang mchod-pa, one of the Four Great Offerings of Central Tibet (dbyus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhi). See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 290; below fn. 519. dPa’ gsal sron bzang 605.17–18 locates it in Mal-gro, which reflects an earlier geographical division. Today it belongs to Thang-dga’ shang of stTag-dge county (cf. HSLG-I: 50; hHa sa’i dgon tho 110–111; CTZhZh 133). sPhyin-sngag-ba, a descendant of the dBa’ clan, was born in sNang-ra-sgang of Nyan (hKa’ gtags chos byung l i316). sNang-ra-sgang is a village south of Lo-dgon, Nyan was – acc. to the locals – the former name of the Lo valley. A visit to the area in June 2007 (Hazod, Ngodrup Tsering) leads to its identification as being the ancient Nyan-kar, known as the seat of the pre-imperial ruler Zing-po-rje stTag-ska-bo, and the dominant residence place of the Tibetan emperors in the 7th and early 8th cent. (see Introduction: fn.7; Fig. 3–5; below Map1b 1). In Zhang’s biography, a Lo-yul is listed which he arrived at after passing ‘Phan-yul (ca. 1155 A.D.). See Zhang rnam thar zin bris 27b2–3; cf. also App. III (Tshal-pa Rescript). This is apparently the Lo of sKyid-shod which in contemporary sources is also given as Nyan (cf. stTag lung chos byung 206.15; BA Roerich 612).

In Lower Lo, Sem-spa’ chen-po Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1392–1470 A.D.) founded the dGe-lugs monastery of Phagmo-dgon. He erected in the same period other dGe-lugs seats such as dBu-mo-thang, Nyi-sdongs, Chums Grong-gsar, all located in Chums (or Chu-mda’), east of Lo (Part I: Map 1b); see their earlier abbatial successions in dGa’ ldan chos byung l 50a1f., 60a5–6; see also hHa sa’i dgon tho 123; Chos-phel 2004: 246f. In dBu-ro Lo, the pupil of ‘Brin-gung Rin-chun phun-tsphogs. Grags-pa tsul-khrims phug-dgon, the author of an important, yet still non-extant historical treatise (see TH Martin no. 62). In Rlangs 219.17, we find Lo Byang-ji mentioned as a distinct unity, which therefore may also indicate that the mi sde in question must be read as Byang-ji of Lo (in stTag-rtshe district), and thus not as two mi sde districts, i.e. Lo and Byang-ji. In the early 17th cent., the 30th dGa’-ldan throne-holder was active as bla ma at Byang-ci’ where he established a grva tshang anew. In the biographies of Zur-chen, we find the seats of Zing-pa (on this site in lower ‘Phan-yul (related to the Zing-po-rje ruler of ancient Ngas-po), see HSLG Vol. 4: 70), sNang-gsal (in gZhogs). Byi (= Byang?) Phyin-lung and Zur-ru Brag-dkar. In Map 1, the place is anyhow inserted at the level of present-day Byang-phu of Lo: Xizang Dimenche 190a: 29°54’N 91°36’E (Xizang Dimenche 90a) as inserted in Map 1 and Map 1b (= 10). See however next note.

64 Byang-ji may refer to Byang-phyin [Chos-lung] mentioned above (fn. 253), or to the place of the Srib-s-mda’ temple, also called Byang-byi (= phyi) Sri-mda’ (in the 11th cent. by the group of ‘Bring Ye-shes yon-tan), which – as suggested by Uebach – is feasibly identical with the ‘Phan-yul sPhyin-byi’i Iha-khang (MTP Uebach 146–47, 151, fn. 944). Nevertheless, it shall be argued that it refers to a place east of Iha-sa, being identical with the birthplace of the Byang-ji ston-pa Shes-rab byin-tum, the author of an important, yet still non-extant historical treatise (see TH Martin no. 62). In Rlangs 219.17, we find Lo Byang-ji mentioned as a distinct unity, which therefore may indicate that the mi sde in question must be read as Byang-ji of Lo (in stTag-rtshe district), and thus not as two mi sde districts, i.e. Lo and Byang-ji. In the early 17th cent., the 30th dGa’-ldan throne-holder was active as bla ma at Byang-ci’ where he established a grva tshang anew. In the biographies of Zur-chen, we find the seats of Zing-pa (on this site in lower ‘Phan-yul (related to the Zing-po-rje ruler of ancient Ngas-po), see HSLG Vol. 4: 70), sNang-gsal (in gZhogs). Byi (= Byang?) Phyin-lung and Zur-ru Brag-dkar. In Map 1, the place is anyhow inserted at the level of present-day Byang-phu of Lo: Xizang Dimenche 190a: 29°50’N 91°32’E (= 11).

65 The locale Sri (var. dKri, Kri) has an old history. It refers to the place of the Sri yi rGya-phibs, the temple founded by ‘Bring Ye-shes yon-tan after the appropriation of the dynastic temple of dKar-khung (= sKar-c[h]ung at Ra-ma-sgang) and the erection of the bsNams/rNams-khang temple of Zhel. MTP Uebach 146–147; Part II: Table V. 5. Atsia, on his way from bsSam-yas to Iha-sa made a halt in the rGya-phibs temple of Sri (Eimer 1979: 26). Sri and Zhel are mentioned together in Mar lung pa rnam thar 67a2-4 and in Zhang’s writings where it is said that the two districts constitute the heart territory of (the now fully obsolete geographical designation) Ngan-lam Bal-gsum, the latter a toponym which refers to the imperial Ngan-lam, the clan from ‘Phan-yul, who evidently also had a branch settlement in this section of central sKyid-shod (fn. 12; App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2). Zhang often referred to himself as Zhang-sgom of Sri of Ngan-lam. ZhK III (Ch a) 256a3, b2 mentions sre-gad (sic) which is clearly corrupt for Sri-zhal.

The valley is situated to the east of Zhel (full note), and traditionally forms the eastern border of the Tshal Gung-thang district. Nag-mo of Sri mentioned in Zhang rnam thar zin bris 62b4–5. At the entrance of the Sri (~ dKri) valley, at the foot of Mount Srin-mo brag-phug (Seng-ri brag-khug= phug in Xizang Dimenche l. 14a) there are some traces of ruins, a place which the locals call rGpa’ lo tsa’ ha or with rGva-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (see below fn. 403). The 9th Tshal dpon successfully diverted the river-water that flowed from Sri and Zhel valley and which threatened Thesal Gung-thang. Tshal rnam 23a4. In the late 15th cent., a
Zhal,\(^{44}\) Byang sGal-sde tsho Inga,\(^{45}\) Nyang-bran,\(^{46}\) Dog-bde,\(^{47}\)

Member of the Zur lineage established the Kri-lung dgon-pa, a site chosen by him after he had beheld the valley from the rGod-dkar Pass. Cf. Zur cher rnam thar 46b5-47a6. dKri (= Siri) in more recent times (beginning 20\(^{th}\) cent.) was part of Gung-thang bla-brang private estate related to the noble house of Khe-smad and of the Tshal dBu-gling (HSLG Vol. 6: 172). For Siri, see also below 40b. In Map 1 the mi sde is inserted at the village of rTen-mkhar: 29°38'N 91°14'E (= 12).

\(^{44}\) Zhal refers to the valley and village of Zhal situated south-east of Gung-thang. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= 13): 29°38'N 91°13'E. In this same area the Re' u-chung-dgon hermitage is registered in the writings of Blama Zhang and a gNam-khang (= rNam[-rgyal]-khang) is mentioned, the latter probably related to the 'bring foundation of Zhal gyi rNams-khang (see prev. note). It is the place of the highly significant Bla-ma Zhang retreat of Byang-mkhar (fn. 62). From here paths lead to the holy mountain of sMin-drug rdza-ri and the area of sGrags. Zhal Bla-brang estate was in more recent time a part of Gung-thang bla-brang and associated with 'bras-spuings (HSLG Vol. 6: 172).

\(^{45}\) The five [village] communities (= [grong?]) tsho as a compound is probably to be read as The Five [village] Communities of the Byang and sGal district. Byang here perhaps refers to a place in Upper sTo-dlung (cf. Xizang Diminchi 1996, 100). DL3 89a3 mentions a sTo-dlung sGal-po. It was at sTo-dlung sGal-po that the Rin-spungs sde pa in 1575 A.D. set up his camp with a myriad of troops, a military step that prompted the personal attendant and uncle of the 'bras-spuings chos rje sBo-dams rgya-rgyas-mtsho (three years later = the 3\(^{rd}\) Dalai Lama), sku zhung Kun-bzang-rtsi, to expell them after the Rin-spungs army made their foray into the Central Tibetan territories, and after they had conquered and occupied sGal-Byang-sMon gSUM before reaching sKyid-shod (DL3 89a1-3; see also TPS Tucci: 46). Elsewhere the compound is also given as sMon Byang Gad of sTo-dlung (cf. gSo rig sman khang 'bugs 357) with sMon and Gad (= sGal?) here referring to present-day sMon-gron-gong (also sMon-mkhar) and Gad-po south of (old) bDe-chen rdzong in Upper sTo-dlung. Alternatively, sGal is the Gal-te-la (var. Gal-ta-la) known from the dba’ bzhd (and sBa bzhd) account on Padmasambhava’s arrival in Central Tibet. The master travelled from sNy-e-mo to sNams (probably the gNam of Yang-pa-can) and then, passing through Gal-ta-te-la, he arrived at sNyung-drung (of ‘Dam-gzhung) (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 53). It is the name of a hill close to sNyung-drung (sNyung-grong). See Bellezza 1997: 28. Hazod ‘King Mer-ke.’ In Map 1 the mi sde (= 14) is inserted at the level of sMon-grong (see Map 3).

\(^{46}\) Nyang-bran is mentioned together with Dog-te (see foll. note) in the context of the geomantic structure of the IHa-sa area (TBH Sørensen 256; App. IV: Graph 1); today constituting a northern suburb of the expanding town. It is the area where Pha-bong-kha is located (Shel dkar me long 4b; TBH Sørensen 261) – considered the Tibetan Devikoti – one of the 24 holy sites. At Pha-bong-kha, Strong-btsan sgam-po made the lha sa’i sa’i dPal. Etymologically, it is claimed that Nyang-bran toponymically stemmed from “the subdued area (bran) appropriated by the imperial monk-ascetic Myang/Nyang Ting ‘dzin bzang-po (nyang ting ‘dzin bzang po’i bran du gyur pa’i yul).” Occasionally mentioned in the literature, a Nyang-bran-pa Chos kyi seng-ge was teacher to Phag-mo gru-pa – he may be identical with Nyang-bran-pa Chos kyi ye-shes who together with Phya-pa Chos kyi seng-ge was ordained in the presence of Zhang Tshc-spong-pa Chos kyi bla-ma in the rNgog transmission.

Two sites in Nyang-bran are related to Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas and the Zhi-byed school: Gar-ri-dgon (Ga-ri bSangs-gling; in 1708, 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa here erected a seat) and Brag-ri khrod (the latter associated with Strong-btsan sgam-po). Cf. Bya-rigs 1995, 2003; IHa sa’i dgon tho 30–36; Chos’phel 2004: 58–59). Chu-bzang is located east of Pha-bong-kha, here the sa skyong or sde pa Nyang-bran Grong-smad-pa ruled the later powerful private estate, wherefrom e.g. ‘Phrin-las rgya-mtsho (d. 1667), whose nephew was sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, descended. Cf. VS 427; IHa sa’i dgon tho 74–76; A mi sde-district, see Se ra chos ‘byung 162. In Upper Nyang-bran, the settlement of dGa’-ldan-pa is to be found; it is related to the original estate of the sKyid-shod dGa’-ldan-pa (cf. Table V.12.1). Today Nyang-bran is a xiang (i.e. rural district center) under IHa-sa City District (Lasa shi chengguan qu). For Nyang-bran, see also HSLG Vol. 6: 99–100, 171. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= 15): 29°42’N 91°06’E.

\(^{47}\) This refers to the Dog[s]-sde [→te] (also Dor-[s]e/bde; Mani bka’ ‘bum and ‘Dzam gling rgyun gcig 96 has the older? form Do-ri) valley north of Se-ra. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= 16): 29°42’N 91°09’E. See
sTod-lung phu mda’;44
also Map 1b.2. It formerly constituted one of the four cardinal points of the iHa-sa Mandala Zone (App. IV: Graph 1). A site and area of great antiquity. Dor-te (~ste) was known to form one of the thousand districts of dbu-ru, and the two neighbouring stong dpon were divided between the local rMa and sKa-ba clan (lDe’u-2 258.15, 261.3) which, however, may refer to Dor-them of ‘Bri-gung (cf. MTB Uebach 50, 51, fn. 129; TBH Sørensen: 256). Cfr. also Ka khola ma 213.18–19. In Bla-ma Zhang’s writings one of his von bdag (i.e. phyug-po tse-btsun) stemmed from mTshar-nag (alt. or better: ‘Chör/Char-nag) of Dor-te/ste’i sGo-phu located within the so-called iHa-sa’i sde-bzhis zone (e.g. see ZkK II etc.). The same text (so also sNa phu rnam thar 17a1–2) reports about an influential von bdag of both Zhang and Gling ras-pa in the 1180’s denoted Jo-sras mgon-seng of iHa-sa sGo-phu or Upper Corridor. This may explain the subsequent inclusion into the later Tshal khris skor domain. In addition, several old hermitages mentioned in connection with Bla-ma Zhang and the early Tshal-pa are to be found in this area, such as Phur-bu-lcog (see lHa sa’i dgon tho 79f; HSLG Vol. 6: 611f.; Chos’ pel 2004c: 75f.; below Fig. 73), mKhar-rdo (i.e. the later mKhar-rdo rI-khrad bSams-gtang-gling established by mKhar-rdo bZod-pa rgya-mtsho in 1706 (HSLG Vol. 6: 63; Chos’ pel 2004: 76) a dkar chag from the site from his pen exists), or Ne-chung-ri (also Ne-phyu-ri-gri); see HSLG Vol. 6: 65, see also App. IV: fn. 11; below Fig. 76. To the east of the mRdo-rdo the small holy lake known as I-mtsho gnas-yul is located, considered subterraneously linked to an ocean under which iHa-sa rests; cf. sPang rgyan me tog 1994: 13–14. For many centuries, Dog-sde valley (lit. “narrow district” (dog sde’i) or “corridor” was the main entrance to iHa-sa from the north. The water of Dog-sde phu-chu river, in spring carrying melting water, was diverted by the 9th Tshal dpon.

In the same area, gNas-sgo-gdong and gNas-nang monastery are similarly situated; cf. Bya-rigs-pa 2003: bSod-nams tshe-brtan 1997. One defile leading to iHa-sa was called sGeg-mo’phrang. Stone quarries in Dog-bde produced building materials for the Potala Palace and other edifices (for illustrations, see Lading 2000: 109f.). The area had formerly been forested with gigantic juniper trees; cf. Brauen ed. 1988: 84–85. In the early 20th cent., it was under the mKhar-thog monastery whose subjects were served with ‘u lag work. Today Dog-bde is a xiang or rural district center under iHa-sa City District (chengguan qu). Cfr. also HSLG Vol. 6: 100–102, 171.

44 sTod-lung valley (“Upper Vale,” orig. sTod-klangs; cf. Padma bka’ thang, Chap. 91 and DL2 394, and many Karma-pa writings until the 17th cent., thereafter sTod-lung; divided into sTod-lung-phu and -mda’ = sTod-lung-sgang) due west, north-west of lHa-sa, which borders in the north-eastern direction towards Phan-yul and in the southern direction towards Chu-shul and sNye-mo. A county district with a complex and eventful history and with changing borders down through history. The south-eastern section traditionally includes the lower bank and hinterland territories of sKyid-chu and stretches as far as Thang-stod, a village south of sNon (below, fn. 433), which is said to represent the border between sTod-lung and Chu-shul county (see Maps 1a and 3). This lower part appears to refer to the area of the pre-dynastic sTod-ro (= sTod-lung Ral-gsum) principality (which originally gave name to the district; see App. IV: Chap. 3).

During the imperial time, a sTod-lung lIang-bu lha-khang was built, erected in the wake of ’U-shang-rdo. Localities in the 9th cent. included sTod-lung Lum-pa’ i lha-khang, sTod-lung Mong-tra’i lha-khang, sTod-lung lHan gyi lha-khang (cf. lDe’u-2 265, 297). Gradually, sTod-lungs became a highly significant region during the early period of the phyi dar in Central Tibet with a number of religious settlements, especially of the Klu-mes and ’Bring groups (cf. Part II: Table V. 5). A number of early bKa’-gdam-pa settlements or personages were born or associated with the area: sKyor-mo-lung, Brang (or Beng) Ra-mo-che and dGa’-ba-gdong in lower sTod-lung. Ram-pa of sTod-lung as well as sDings-kha and places in the Mong valley (both in Upper sTod-lung) are foremost associated with the mGar clan (App. IV). In the valley a sGro gzhis ka is registered; DL5 II 218a1). Cf. Table V.8 below.

Localities in the 11–13 cent. included sTod-lung Thag-ma, sTod-lung Göl-gong-lung, sTod-lung Sil-ma, sTod-lung lHa-zhing dgon-pa, Tsha-thog, etc. The Zhang writings mention sTod-lungs Thang-phu (probably the aforementioned Thang-stod). Among the early bKa’-gdam-pa masters, sTod-lung-pa RIn-chen snying-po (1032–1116 A.D.) was born in Ma-brag, where he later erected the bTsan-gro dgon-pa. Here e.g. Bya-yul-ba gZhon-nu’od (1075–1138 A.D.) and Glang-lung-pa sBr’ton-grus gzhon-nu were born. In rTsva sGye-mo (in gNam Bya-ma-lung, south-east of Yangs-pa-can), the great ’Brom-ston rGyal-ba’ byung-gnas (1004–64) was born (his mother adhering to the Khu clan, the father was a sKu-gshen, or Bon-po adherent). The ’Bri-gung grub dbang dKon-mchog tshe-brtan (1830–93) too was born there.

From the 13th cent. onwards, the area seems to have been largely controlled by a large part controlled by the Karma-pa who in the
sNye-thang *tsho,*\(^{419}\)

Yuan-Sa-skya period were not entrusted, at least officially, with administrative recognition. It most obviously already at that point was under the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa khi skor, as alluded to in sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 1544–6, where the 3rd Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje on behalf of Kun-dga’ rdo-rje received title and diploma in 1332 (see also Petech 1990b: 86–87). The clan distribution throughout its history is also complex, with the Khyung-po, dBa’s, mGar, sNa-nam, Tshe-spong, Mong etc. A number of sde pa or local ruling houses existed in the area, variously pledging loyalty to the Karma-pa and later to the emerging dGe-lugs order. The dGe-lugs establishments (lam rim grva tshang), from the 14–15th cent. included the sKyi-dshod dGa-ba-gdongs (see App. V: Table 8 below), sTod-lung Chub-bzang (29°59′N 90°44′E; established by Sher-bya byng Blo-gros), Lam-pa (loc. 29°43′N 90°43′E; est. by sTod-lung-pa chen-po Rin-chen snying-po, who also est. the bTsan-gro-dgon), rDe’u-ri (est. by dGe-dun ‘od-zer), gDens/sDings-ka/I Ding-kha (loc. 30°01′N 90°43′E; present-day Chu-bzang xiang; see App. IV: fn. 21; see also DLS III 151b, partly renovated in 1676) as well as Ra-tshag dgon-pa (with a famous Jo-mo (Vajrayogini) statue; the site located in the Yang valley (orig. called sPang-khung), established by sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug (App. V: Table 6), later appropriated by Sangs-rgyas bzang-po); cf. e.g. dGa’ ldanchos byung 110b2, 52a3, 61a2f.; bKa’ gdamchos byung IV 83b4, but also gSal-khang chos sde (formerly called gZung’jug-mo-dgon).

At sTod-lung rTse-kha estate (in Yab-mda’ xiang) the 3rd Dalai Lama was born in 1543 and the influential sNang-rtsse sde pa was located in present-day rGu-num xiang (below Map 3). The reason behind this may rest with the circumstance that mTshur-phu (in sTod-lung) in this period was, as listed here, under the Tshal myriarchy (cf. also Petech 1990a: 87). For a brief history of the area and the personalities born there, cf. also HSLG Vol. 3. The area deserves its own in-depth study. Geograph. location in Map 1 (= 17). sTod-lung bDe-chen: 29°58′N 90°42′E.

* From the Shel dkar chos byung 4b (P. Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 26), we learn that in the 13th century the sTod-lung Tshur-phu district was governed by the Shes-phrug line (a branch of the still-powerful dBas or dBa’s clan) who were closely connected with the Karma-pa through marriage (dBas Shes-phrug dKon-mchog-dpal was married to a daughter of Karma Pakshi) and had a von mchod relationship with their hierarchs (e.g. the mTshur-phu sde dpon rDo-je’bar (original name: Shes-phrug Ijang-tsha) with Karma Pakshi). For this lineage, see now Everding and Dzongphugpa 2006. Other noted local sde pa supporters of Karma-pa were the sTod-lung Phyam (or Khyam)-kha gong ma or, as noted, the sNang-rtsse sde pa (all 14–16th cent.; here the 3rd Yangs-can throne-holder chos rje Khyma-kha-pa was born, etc.). sTod-lung bDe-chen was donated to Zhva-dmar Karma-pa at the beginning of 1500’s; cf. Kam tshang brgyud pa I 310a5; App. II.

\(^{419}\) sNye-thang is an area with a millennium-long history; today a xiang in Chu-shur rdzong of sKyi-smad. Its *tscho* represents village communities in the district of sNye-thang (> sNye-[mo]’i) thang; from the late 17th cent. variably spelled mNyen-thang; for an attempted explanation of this toponymic vacillation, see DL6 342–43) where the early and famous bKa’-gdam-pa temple of the same name is located associated with Atiṣa (Eimer 1979, s.v. index and BST von Schroeder: 860f., 1066 for a part of its sculptural and artistic inventory), called sGrol-ma lhakhang situated in the area of ʻOr (ʻOr-mo). The temple is also called ʻOr gyi gtsug lag khang; cf. Sa skya gdong rabs 270; gNyos gyi gdong rabs 24.1: Lo ras pa’i rnam thang 39b2 (ʻOr may evidently not refer to [‘Bur], the lengthy side valley to the west of the temple of Jo-bo-rje and the name of the old district [sKyi] Bur (see Part II, App. II: fn. 29). An area with an early settlement history, ʻOr-mo is known as the settlement of an 11th-century descendant of the Yar-lung jo-bo (the ruling house in Yar-lung stemming from ʻOd-srungs (cf. TBH Sorensen 472; TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005: App. III). Atiṣa arrived at sNye-thang upon invitation from his disciple Bang-son Shes-rab nn-chen (orig. from ʻJang (‘I-lang, ICang), south of sNye-thang) who then later built the temple of “sNye-thang ʻOr” (Eimer 1979: 297). Both sNye-thang and ʻJang (or ICang-rgyab) are recorded as (11th cent.) settlements of a branch of the Yum-brtan brgyud (cf. CFS Gyalbo et al. 191).

In sNye-thang, the *Bring tscho* foundation of sNye-thang Brag-sna bKra-shis was established (cf. rGya bod vig tshang 461.15) where rNgog-lo Blo-Idan shes-rab produced a number of translations; see IDE’u-2 388.8–9. Here we also find brGya-grong gNas-bcu lhakhang = ? sNye-thang rGyal-grong est. by the 11–12th-cent. sMa tsho group headed by sMa Chos kyi Byang-chub. Cf. Table V.6.

Later the dGe-lugs monastic dependencies Brag-sna (the old Brag-sna bKra-shis; here e.g. the Shar-rtsse mkhan po Blo-bzang bkra-shis was born), but also Brag-sna ‘Phags-sde and Chos-rdzong (both identical?) and former Sa-skya seats in lower Rva-stod, formerly Bur-lung Valley; see App. II: Map 2), bKra-shis dpal-sgang, Rin-chen-gling (retreat seat of Klong-r dol bla-ma) and rMog-lcog dgon-pa were situated – the latter is a ri khrod (also called rMog-lcog
IHa-'Brug. 420

Kun-lung) located on the slope of mGon-po-ri towering behind sGrol-ma lha-khang (App. II: Map 2; App. IV: fn. 11) – once est. by mnyam med tMog-lgog-pa (1110–70), a one-time pupil of gNyos Grags-pa-dpal of Bur (in the closest neighbourhood to Atiša's seat, further 'Od-gsal-gling or also a bDe-chen a ni dgon pa (of Sa-skyā) were established).

An oft-frequented camp-site in sNye-thang was mKhar-nag-thang, used e.g. by the Karma-pa (cf. mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1191; Padma bka' thang 362), it was here that later the virtual ruler of Central Tibet (period: 1480–1512) Rin-spungs Don-yod rdo-rje had his lHa-sa area seat camped; cf. Rin chen rnam rgyal rnam mgur 12a4–6; DL10 71–77.

gNyos mKhar-nag (= sNye'; mKhar-nag, mKhar-nag in sNye'-mNyeh-thang: a local klu demon of the sNye-thang area) is said to reside in the place. The adjacent lake mKhar-nag-mtsho of mKhar-nag-thang is regarded as its abode.

In the district, the 1st dPa'-bo Chos-dbang lhun-grub (1440–1503) performed rain-stopping (i.e. preventing flooding) rituals and in the same area the eminently erudite 2nd dPa'-bo gTsug-lag phreng-ba (1504–1566) was born. During the first part (1642–1717 A.D.) of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang chung period. mNyeh-thang constituted one of the 18 estates or rdzong gzhis under lHa-sa Zhok jurisdiction (above fn. 406). Private manorial estates in the area included bDe-skyy-dgil-gpa and dGa'-thog Pho-brang-pa as well as a Tshong-’dus og-pa; TZhZh 34; DL11 58b4; Go gi gding rabs 418a2. Geographical location as inserted in Map 1 (= 18): 29°33'N 90°57'E.

420 IHa-'Brug – originally represents distinct units, lHa and 'Brug, then treated as a unity – is mentioned in the context of ta'i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan’s skirmishes in dBus in the 1350’s; it is e.g. maintained that after the occupation of Gong-dkar, the areas of gTsang-la Yar-gtogs and lHa-'Brug including Kha-rag came under his horses’ hooves (Bod kyi deb ther 135.18–19; Ahmad 1995: 137f.). From Grags pa’ byung gnas don chen 449.12–13, we are informed that lHa[-pa] 'Brug (along with La-stod Thang-chung in gTsang) had been allotted as appanaged territory to prince Môngke (half-brother of Qubilai) in 1251 A.D. This, along with a preceeding Tshal-warfare with gNam (= the 'Brug-pa) in the mid-1240’s, constituted the background why these districts later fell under Tshal.

An offspring of 'Brug is listed among Zhang’s combatants (above fn. 78). The districts were, always as a pair, mentioned in Si tu bka’ chems 106.21, 210.16–17, 270.14–15 = Rlangs 203.3–4, 217.14, 361 6–7. Here we are informed that in the wake of the Phag-mo-gru-pa take-over of power in Central Tibet in the mid-1350’s, the mi sde of lHa-'Brug, gTsang-la Yar-gtogs, Rong-lung-pa were reorganized. The district A-'Brug (= lHa-'Brug) is listed as territorial unity in tandem with the adjacent sNyec-stod and sNye-thang rGya-grong in the 1409 A.D. donation list for the inaugural sMon-lam chen-mo; cf. Tsong kha-pa'i rnam thar 326. But the mi sde thus clearly refers to two of the initially(?)) unrelated estates (resp. 600 hor chen and 225 hor dud) in dBus, subject resp. to the lHa-pa and the 'Brug-pa (rGya bod yig tshang 300–301; see also Petech 1990a: 58).

The myriarchy list of rGnas rnying skyes bu rnam s kyi rnam thar (cit. in Vitali 2002: 103) oddly mentions that lHa-sa (= lHa-pa) formed, together with Bya-yul-ba and sTag-lung-pa, two khri skor of the altogether six myriarchies of dBus (see App. III). These previously distinct areas, the larger lHa territory and the markedly smaller 'Brug unit, refer to the neighbouring territories of the lHa-pa and the 'Brug-pa.* It should not be forgotten that Bla-ma Zhang entertained close contacts with both founders, rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa and gTsang-pa rGya-ras. The geographical location of the lHa 'Brug unit in Map 1 (= 19, 20) is inserted at the level of the Gye-re and 'Brug-dgon-pa (see the sub-note below).

* The lHa-pa had a number of strongholds throughout Central and Southern Tibet – in the immediate pre-SA-skyā-Yuan spell, the lHa-pa were one of the most powerful ruling aristocratic or gentry houses (boasting old roots) and religious establishments in Central Tibet. Aside from the otherwise rarely mentioned IHa-thei-les by rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224), their main seat was the Ge-re/Gye-re dgon-pa (29°25’N 90°49’E; presently part of the Tshar-pa-nang xiang (also Gye-re mTsha-pa-sna; resp. reported already in the early 1500’s or 1600’s and thus also today, cf. Thang stong rnam thar II 254; Mas chen rnam thar 102.3–4); rJe bzin Kun dga’ grol mchog rnam thar 252) of Chu-shur county (cf. e.g. HSGL Vol. 8: 38, 61–63) initially erected 1231 (completed 1244/46) during the reign of the latter’s nephew lHa Rin-ch’en rgyal-po (1201–1270 A.D.) (or lHa-pa dBang-rgyal). The seat remained in the following centuries closely linked with the gNyos clan and lHa-pa house, but eventually entertained connections with the emerging dGe-lugs. It remained a lHa-pa estate and stronghold for many centuries. Cf. Part II: App. II for a detailed discussion. In the same county, in present-day gNam (var. rNams or sNams)’* xiang, the so-called [Upper gNam] ‘Brug dgon-pa (i.e. [b]Se-bal[-lung] Byang-chub chos-gling; 29°32’N 90°48’E) is located (see also Chan 1994: 477), erected by the ‘Brug-pa-founder gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161–1211) in around 1193 A.D. (1189 acc. to Smith 2001: 44, 81; above fn. 78)’* – during roughly the same period he had erected first the Klong-
sKul-Ching [= -'Phying-ru],\(^{221}\)

\(^{221}\) rdol and the future 'Brug-pa main seat of Rva-lung). In the 10–11th century, the rGya clan and the gNyos clan respectively had received large tracts of land in the gTsang province, between Kha-rag (see below) and Rva-lung towards IHo-Mon (see here Vitali 2004), yet already in the 11th and early 12th cent. skirmishes between the IHa-pa and 'Brug-pa are e.g. documented in the territorial disputes (around 1230–40) in IHo-Mon (i.e. present-day western Bhutan; cf. e.g. Dargye and Sørensen 2001) and it is reported how rGod-thang-pa (1189–1258 A.D.) called for a truce in Central Tibet after serious warfare between the parties had broken out, in the wake of considerable destruction of religious sites of the 'Brug-pa (not least the Rva-lung main seat) inflicted by the IHa-pa (rGos thang rnam thar I 196–99; Myang chos 'byung 19.15–20; this point may be intriguing since rGod-thang-pa possibly was of gNyos stock), still the gNyos and the sGog [sic] people had prior to these skirmishes served as patrons to rGod-thang (and the 'Brug-pa')! cf. ibd. 193–94. The military conflicts reported in his biography can be dated to the late 1240's or at latest mid-1250's. It was rGod-thang-who decided to call for a truce by paying his respect to IHa-pa rin po che Rin-chen rgyal-po (1201–1270). Not long after the 'Brug-pa found themselves in conflict with the Shug-gsea-pa; we have reports about military conflicts, connected in connections with disputes, already mentioned, over territories (sja cha'i khrug pa) in the mid-1240's between 'Brug-pa and the Tshal-pa which led to the postponement of the completion of Gye-re dgon-pa of the IHa-pa (gNyos rabs 47.1). A few years later (around 1260–65 A.D.), their territories in sKyid-smad (for the 'Brug-pa possibly merely referring to the lay territories of gNam district under 'Brug-dgon-pa; in other words corresponding to what much later was known as the 'Brug-sgar monastic estate in this area; cf. CTZhZh 176) were attached to the Tshal-pa. The history of this ancient house deserves a separate study.

The sKyid-smad G[y]e-re in Gye-re-long Valley to be differentiated from the homophonous sKyid-stod G[y]e-re (-phu and -mda), opposite dGa'-ldan, on the right bank of the sKyid-chu, present-day within 'Brom-stod district of sTag-rtshe county; cf. HSLG Vol. 1: 33, 60; Akester 2004. Known already in the 12th century in connection with serious flooding episodes; cf. Mul Ter pa ba rnam thar 8a1–2. Later, one dKa'-'bzhin-pa Kun-dga' mgon-po (dPal btsan ljon bzang 603) erected anew a sKyid-stod Gye-re dgon-gsar, which counted as a monastic estate under the later Pho-brang gzhung rule and was visited by the 5th Dalai Lama on his way back from China 1653. Here the 33rd dGa'-ldan throne-holder was born. The site in sKyid-stod corresponds to Gye-re'i gnas, a foundation of the 11th-cent. 'Bring tsho (Part II: Table V. 6). The name of the toponym may be associated with the dGyer, the founding clan of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sangs. G[y]e-re/Gyer 'Yarpang is the mythic site where the celebrated six-syllable mantra-formula miraculously emerged during the rule of Srong-bisan sgam-po; it is considered the latter's thugs gter (cf. TBH Sørensen: 160, 163; Zhang rnam thar zin bris 77a4; Rva lo rnam thar 279; gTer 'byung chen mo 59.6; HSLG, op.cit.; see also lHa sa'i dgon tho 107–08). In the 1970's, the site was blasted away. It later became a monastic estate dependency of the near-by dGa'-ldan bla-spyi of 'Brom-stod khol. Cf. HSLG Vol. 2: 96. The local estate subjects as corvee were obliged to embankment building. The 9th Tshal-pa sMon-lam rdo-rje here conducted service to the inscribed Yar-'phrang sanctuary (as well as to the neighbouring Mar-'phrang which accomodated a golden ctyausa); cf. Tshal rnam 228b–6.

In the gNam/sNam district there were many 'Brug-pa settlements: In central gNam, the branch seat of 'Brug [s]Nyams-[g]hang-dgon (today a nunnary; below Fig. 69a, b); in gNam-mdma, the Bon-r with the sNam-r 'Brug-rgyas hermitages were frequented by 'Brug-pa ascetics (so e.g. visited by Rva-lung Kun-dga' dgal-'byor in 1462). Here two rDo-ring estates were located in the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period: bDe-legs and sKyid-tshal (cf. rDo ring rnam thar B 363). The area roughly corresponds to the ancient [s]Kyi rNams registered in the Dunhuang Annals (Hazod 2003; Dotson, forthcoming); DLeL 341. For a guide to the gNam main seat, see gNam Byang chub gling gnas bshad by the 8th 'Brug-chen.

\(^{223}\) gTsang pa rgya ras rnam thar IV 20a3. 25a1 says that he erected the 'Brug temple after his successful mediation in the fights between the [monk?] communities and their local ruler(s) (sde btsad gnyis) in the area around 'Brug and sNye-thang. Other maintain that 'Brug dgon initially was erected by a Jig-rten mgon-po pupil sGom-she; see 'Bri gung chos 'byung 32. 4 It remains open whether the two Ge/Gyi[me]-re in sKyid-stod and -mda have the same etymologies. The sKyid-stod Gye-re may have derived from the name of the dGyer clan (short of bisyllabic dGye-re). See TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index.

\(^{231}\) Also bsKul 'Phying-ru. Possibly to be read as two units: [b]sKul and [\']Ching-ru (= 21, 22 of Map 1). Speaking for the unity of the toponym into one district is the information in Deb sngon (BA Rocrich 354; but also 'Ching-ru alone, ibd. 256) where it says that dMar-ston Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan—a pupil of Pu-rangs Lo-chung gZhon-nu shes-rab—originated from [s]Kul 'Ching-ru (11th cent.). The area(s) are mainly documented from activities in the 10–11th century. A toponym 'Ching-ru (-'Phying-ru) is mentioned in Atisa's biography where the master sojourned for a period and there it appears to be situated not far from gZhung or Dol (Yo11gs grags 162–63; Eimer 1979: 249; BA Rocrich 256). Both toponyms are still registered in the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey (registered for Gong-dkar khul; cf. CTZhZh 46, 49). A Khul-bu is situated between Dol and Grva. Cf. Xuzang Dimgihi II 114b; see Part I: Fig. 87a.

Evidently, the territories originally refer to the settlement areas (sbo ba), possibly adjacent, and initially established by the 'Brug-group during the resurrection of Buddhism in Central Tibet in the 10–11th century. In these territories, the
successive students of 'Bring Yc-shes yon-tan, named dMar gSal-ba'i shes-rab and Tshe-spong gSal-'bar, established the monasteries, inter alia, of Khe-lidr of sKul and 'Bras-mo lha-khang of 'Ching-ru (cf. MTP Uebach 42, 149; Kha rag gnyos gding rabs 16.5 lists some of these establishments to be the work of gNyos 'Byung-gnas shes-rab; see App. II: Chap. 1 and Table 7 of App. V).

Further, from this area rGya 'Ching-ru-ba shes-rab dbang-phyug descended (of the rGya clan), a pupil of gNyal/ dMyal-zhig 'Jam-dpal seng-ge, respective the 3rd and 4th Gling-stod abbot of gSang-phyu. He erected Rva-stod dBe-can in 1205 (located in the mNyies-thang district). 'Ching-phyu-ba is listed in rGya bod yig tshang as one of the small unrelated estates of Central Tibet during the period of the Yuan-Sa-skya administration, but it probably means 'mChing-phyu of bSam-yas (see App. III). In 14th-cent. texts the territorial unit is listed along with the (adjacent?) Gr[v]a-phyi and 'Phyongs-rgyas, and hence bsKul 'Ching (~ 'Phying)-ru [~du] appears to be located somewhere in this region. In this context, one may also consider that 'Ching-ru refers to the bChings-bkrol in central Grva-phyi (Bod Map Verhufen, s.v. index), or to Bying, the valley due east of Grva-phyi (with Bying-klu as the main settlement: Xizang Dimingshi II 18b). It was a disputed area during the Tshal-Phag war in 1348-49 A.D. Cf. Si tu bka' chems 104.2, 105.12 = Rlangs 200.7, 201.16. The 14th 'Brug-dbang visited 'Phying-ru (both -phu and -mda) in 1633 A.D.

The 5th Dalai Lama mentions a Thod-dkar gchis ka or estate of 'Phying-ru in 1660 A.D. (DL5 /293b2-3) and 'Deam gling rgyan gcig 900 refers to dPal bDe-chen Chos-'khor of 'Phying-ru (presently registered as part of Gong-dkar rdzong, close to the village of gNas-gsar-grong; cf. dPal ldan chos skyo ynam thar III 389-90; Chos-'phel 2003; the latter originally was a dben gnas or hermitage).

The three valleys are occasionally mentioned as an unity or as a triad (just like Gra Dol gZhung gsum; see next note), and they were as such a point of dispute between Tshal-pa and Phag-mo-gru in the mid-14th century. Cf. Si tu bka' chems 8.20, 72.13-14, 122.1 = Rlangs 110.14, 170.3, 217.7 which speaks also of a Ya[r]-'brogs Sa-gra* in this context, perhaps referring to one of the three regions. Ya[r]-'brogs sgang rdzong-nam-gsum is collectively listed as one of the district units of g Yo-ru (IDe'u-2 258.4; Nam mkha' dpal ram thar 73.3; Kun dga' dpal 'byor ram thar 484.6 and numerous other sources) and is also known from the account of gNyā-'khris btsan-po (IDe'u-2 235.16; IDHa 'dre bka' thang 37.14-15). It seems to indicate that the core area of the Yar-'brog district consisted of three parts (i.e. areas around Yar-'brog g.yu-mdtsho lake), but these areas still need to be properly defined. Yar-'brog and 'Brogs Sa-gra* appear in the sources (cf. mkhas pa'i dga' ston 1315-16). Yar-'brog-sgang dgon-pa is referred to in the 16th cent. Las-phro gling-pa writings; cf. Las' phro gling ram thar 229a3f. Yar-'brog-sgang as toponym, is repeatedly listed in the literature, here e.g. the famous 'Brogs-mi (993-1074/87) and gier ston Ra-shag chen-po were born. Cf. e.g. gTer ston lo rgyus 22a5.

Possibly one of them refers to the Bal-yul Gangs-ra area where the early Tshal-pa foundation of the same name was located (see above 254) and which may be identified with the imperial Bal-po (fn. 254) and the later sde pa seat of dPal-di (dPal-sde), situated on the north-western shore of Yar-'brog g.yu-mdtsho (geographic location of Yar-gzigs: 29°07'N 90°26'E; where the now ruined rdzong towers). gSa-gra* (today also a xiang) is situated to the east of the Yar-'brog lake (about 50 kms east of IHung-po-shol). From here paths lead to Lower 'Phyong-po and Rgyas-sman as well as to Upper Grva. The same place is also mentioned in connection with the early g.Ya'bsangs-pa, where gSa-gra* designated the eastern fringe of the "sealed territory" established by g.Ya'-bsangs-pa Chos kyi smon-lam (1169-1233). Cf. CFS Gyalbo et al., fn. 173. As is known, Yar-'brog (also designated as Ya[r]-'brogs of the 16 leb [?]) formed its own myriarchy (est. post 1290 A.D.), which in the territorial conflicts of the 14th cent. sided with the Phag-mo-gru-pa (see App. III).

The khri skor (with sNa-dkar-rtsa as its later administrative center) is said to have reached as far as lHo-brag (Deb damar gsar [Tucci 1971: 192f.]). A detailed history of the 14-15th-cent. sNa-dkar-rtsa khri skor and its khri dpon and their changing fortunes is a great desideratum. For its size, measured against the number of hor dud (750), it was only a small myriarchy (rGya bod yig tshang 301.16-17; Petech 1990a: 58). It's ruling khri dpon and nag so included Nor-bu bsangs-po, Amogha[siddhi] (*Don-yod [dngos-grub]); Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan and his son IHung-grub bkra-shis (mid-15th cent.) etc. as well as mi dbang Kun-dga' grags-pa; cf. DL5 /21-22; Deb damar gsar; Ehrhard 2002c: 58-78; Diemberger et al. 1997: 112. For the fightings in the neighbouring area around 1550-54 A.D., cf. Pad dkar ram thar /59b1f. The Tshal-pa mi sde a house is inserted in Map 1 (= 23-25) at sGa-gra*: 28°50'N 91°09'E.

In the Yar-'brog area a host of celebrated sites are found: the 15th-cent. Yar-'brog Yon-po-rdo (alias 'Og-min gSang-

* Here Grva-pa mnGon-shes’ disciple gDon-chung ston-pa established the temple of sGa’-dra (Part II: Table V. 5). Cf. gSo rig sman khog ’bugs 205. One of the students of Bła-ma Zhang, dKon-mchog seng-ge was born here. Most importantly, sGa’-dra is renowned for its

- sGa’-dra Chu-tshan (also known as Yar’-brog mTho-gang Chu-tshan or Chab-tshan; alt. name sGo-bsdus Chu-tshan), a famous natural hot spring seat (Chu-tshan: 28°47’N 91°10’E) and a cherished resort, visited by a row of religious masters down through time: so ’Gos lo tsā ha in 1422; the ailing Karma Mi-bskyod rdo-rje in 1553; Kam tshang brgyud pa II 25a3–4; mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 1316. Mi bskyod rdo rje gsung ’bum II 656. Here at the hermitage of Kha-brag mGrin-bzang, rDo-rje gling-pa discovered gter ma treasuries; cf. rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II 67.2–68.5. Also visited by Brug-pa Kun-legs (tr. Stein 1972: 291, 308), etc. In the later centuries, it remained a favourite thermal spot, e.g. for the Tibetan nobility for specific treatment (tsha chu’i ’phrod bzhes). Cf. bKa’ blo rtogs brjod 26b5; rDo rje rnam thar 247. For some stories and information related to this thermal source as well as to others, cf. gNyals-mdan 1989, 1992.

Other renown medicinal and thermal (sman chab ’phrod bzhes; often natural (rangi byung), usually carbonated water with healing properties, esp. against skin and limb diseases) sites in southern and central bDus included, e.g.

- The little-known sGang-yib Chu-tshan in Dog-sde of IHa-sa (see above); HSLG Vol. 6: 107. Visited e.g. by the 3rd Dalai Lama, cf. DL5 835.
- The sTod-lung Tsha-thog Chab-tshan (loc. 30°00’13.3”N 90°45’35.1”E; e.g. visited by bTsong-kha-pa in 1419 and by the Dalai Lamas more regularly, etc.; cf. also sTag lung chos ’byung I 787; Shar rite chos ’byung 689; HSLG Vol. 3: 56; rDo-phun 1995: 167–69; it is located above the village of gYu-thog, east of Chu-bzang in bDe-chan xiang; g Yu-thog was the home of g Yu-thog mgon-po mying-ma (above fn. 142); further
- Chu-mig-lung thermal of Upper sTod-lung (loc. at 29°59’N 90°43’E) equally of present-day bDe-chan xiang

- Ru-thog Chu-tshan of Mal-gro (cf. fn. 241 above) visited e.g. by ’Jigs-med dbang-po and IChang-skya in 1757 and famous today as a public thermal bath

- ’Ol-dga’/khā (as reported e.g. by DL10 55 in 1820 A.D. as well as earlier by Ste-lung) known as rDzing-phyi bla-sman (or ’Ol-dga’ Chu-tshan) visited by the 5th Dalai Lama; by Pho-lha-nas in 1729. DL2 365, 485 speaks of the thermal bath of ’Ol-pa sPang-khu chu-tshan (see mKhas-grub hid 2005: 83–5); and a thermal bath in

- ’On, e.g. visited by Tsong-kha-pa blo-bzang grags-pa prior to his passing. Cf. Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar 553; finally,
- Chu-gsum Chu-mdo Byang; cf. mKhas-grub 2001: 449–50

- dbags-yul Chu-tshan

Further thermal baths were found in

- ’Phan-yul Dar-yul (s.v. above) and at
- Bye-lung-mdö’/i Chu-tshan of rTsva sgYe-mo (in Bye[[-ma]]-lung of Upper sTod-lung, i.e. the area where ’Brom-ston-pa was born (above fn. 418); the birthplace is marked by the stupa Bye-lung ’bur-ma-pa), cf. DL5 II 914–b5, 184a7–b2

- Za-dam Klu-sdongs Chu-tshan-kha (here e.g. sems dpa’ chen po Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was born 1554); a site visited by a host of people, reported for 1631, 1666 A.D. etc. (cf. DL5 I 63a5, II 21a4–22a5); again, at

- ’Brig-gung gTer-sgron / Ti-sgron Brag-dkar of Zho-stod; the famous “Treasure-Box” site, a cherished thermal and medicinal bath visited already from 12th cent. by a host of dignitaries; cf. Mal Ye rpa ba rnam thar 8a6; cf. DL5 II 6a3; Ga zi gdung rabs 404b1; bKa’ blo rtogs brjod 38; sTag lung chos ’byung I 79. Loseries 1994; it is located at the foot of the present-day local nunnery of [g]Ti-sgrön[rm]. In the ’Brig-gung area we have additional thermal springs, Lung-bsthan, Gong-ma and ’Og-ma Chu-tshan. Further, at

- Rag-stod, the sKyi-dkud chu-tshan (Sa skya gdung rabs 257) and southwards in

- Phag-ri Kham-bu-lung (of IHo-brag)

- Year-kling, at rGya-ri; cf. DL3 47a5; bSod-nams 1994

- Chu-tshan-kha of E-stod, at the site of IHa rGya-ri (loc. ca. 29°04’N 92°12’E); commonly known as E-stod (IHo-brog) Chu-tshan discovered by sKyes-bu Ye-shes rdo-rje; cf. DL3 47a5; bSod-nams 1994; Chos- phel 2005a: 67.

In IHo-brag of IHo-kha we further have:

- Lung-smad kyi chu-tshan, including the following minor hot springs: O-rog chu-tshan, mThing gi chu-tshan, IHo-nang-pa. Zhal-nGo chu-tshan and IHo-pa chu-tshan; cf. IHo-brag-pa 2006: 84–85.

In northern Central Tibet often frequented by the sTag-lung throne-holders – other popular thermal sources were

- ’Dam sNying-drung IHa yi dga’-tshal Chu-tshan (loc. at 30°26’N 89°56’E) and
The three [regions] Gr[v]a, Dol and gZhung.\textsuperscript{423}

- Gro-ma-lung Chu-tshan of Upper sNying-drung (located in sNying-drung of 'Dam-gzhung county; geograph. position: (30°35'N 90°41'E) xian); cf. sTag lung chos 'byung l\textsuperscript{[A]} 1423-25; [B] 566, 753, 759, 872. Evidently already known in the 8th century. See Sato 1975: 13-14. Further,
- lHo-stod Chu-tshan, e.g. visited by Padma gling-pa; cf. his rnam thar 393; DL5 Thoh vig IV 33b2.

In the gTsang province mention should be made of
- Chu-bo-ri sMan-chab (e.g. visited repeatedly by the 5th Dalai Lama in the 1670's).
- Rong Cha-tshan or Rong-cho Tshan-kha (in Rong-chen) was a favourable thermal spring preferably visited by successive Sa-skya and Ngor masters, but later also by the Dalai Lamas, etc.: cf. e.g. Mus chen rnam thar 112, 2, 182, 1, 195, 1; Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar [B] 49b-4; DL6 308; Sa skya gdung rabs (kha skong) 656, et passim. Its considerable healing properties ensured regular visits (esp. during spring and autumn) for such treatments. A large number of thermal baths are registered for the gTsang province:
- sTag-rtsi Chu-tshan in Sa-dga' rdzong,
- Chu-gsham Chu-tshan in 'Gram 'Gag-sgo = gTsang-po'i lho-'gram Chu-tshan; cf. Thang stong rnam thar 1 173,
- dKyil-mkhar Chu-tshan,
- Sa-lhan-sgang Chu-tshan in Rin-spungs rdzong, and
- Kham-bu Chu-tshan in Gro-mo rdzong also called Gro-mo-lung Chu-tshan.
- Mang-mkhar Chu-tshan is registered, being visited by Pan-chen dPal-ldan ye-shes in 1778.

A cultural and a medical-baneological study of thermal springs and baths in Tibet and their importance deserve a separate scholarly treatment.

\textsuperscript{423} The three valleys Gr[v]a, Dol and gZhung in lHo-kha south of the gTsang-po (Map 1), in present-day Gong-dkar khor; in both historical and geographical works they are in numerous texts given in this form as toponymic triad, for the first time in DBa' hzhed 13a (P. Wangdu and H. Diemberger 2000: 57); hKa' thang sde Inga 185: collectively listed as imperial-time stong sde unit; Padma bka' thang (Canto 91 related to the burial of treasures by Gu-ru Rin-po-che); mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1419 8-9; sTag lung chos 'byung l 441; DL4 37a5, 44a6-b1; Rva lo rnam thar 240: bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu (196.2; Smith 2001: 222), and in a host of other texts. According to one tradition, queen dMar-rgyan, the consort of Khri-srong lid-btsan, was expelled to the lower part of Yar-rgyab Gra-gzhung (i.e. the Grva-[Dol]-gZhung region, which constitutes an essential part of Yar-rgyab, literally "behind Yar," Yar = Yar-stod-mda"); where she founded the temple of sGra-tshad (= Grva-tshad); cf. Aris 1979: 66. According to bShad mdzod, the three areas were allocated to the Northern Upper part of g Yo-ru (byung stod g.yu ru), which is a precise designation. The three districts (or parts thereof) remained an object of dispute between different rulers. It was a disputed mi sde area in the Tshag-Phag war of 1348-49 A.D.; see Si tu bka' chens 72.13-14, 98.9-10, 100.2, 103.17, 105.16 = Rlangs 170.3, 194.18, 200.1, 201.19, et passim. The areas were considered to belong to the innermost part of dBus (dBus khog) and were usually listed as district territorial units of g Yo-ru (De'u 2 258.3). On these areas, see also Wylie 1962, s.v. index; Eimer 1979: 249-251.

Grva Dol phyi mnyen were also designated g Yor-po phyi nang; cf. dPyod ldan yid khyi singing rta 61a4. The clan distribution in the area down through history remained complex. Some sources claim that the Zhang sNa-nam clan became lords of all three areas, conferred upon them by Mu-rub btsan-po during the Tibetan dynasty. As homeland or appanage and as a royal grant of land of the sNa-nam clan, it would explain the direct link between Bla-ma Zhang of sNa-nam and these southern areas (As said, other main branches of the early sNa-nam-po settled in Brang-phu and Zhong of sTod-lung-mda\textsuperscript{,} in Upper dBu-ru and in Pa-snam of Myang; above fn. 11). However, contradictory (or rather supplementary) information chronicles that in dynastic times (or in some inter-mediate period), the three areas were donated as reward to the so-called "three brothers of the mNga'-ris sBal-ti/Val-ti clan" (the later rulers of sKyor-mo-lung; cf. Table V.8.4); Seng-ge gung-btsan, sTag-gung-btsan and gZigs-gung-btsan, who allegedly served as military leaders to king Mu-tig btsan-po during a war between India and Tibet and for the service rendered in waging war against China and Mongolia (sic) (cf. sKyor lung chos 'byung 12b; the name sBal-ti may ultimately be a corruption for the dPal-sde/de area in Yar'brog). Finally, and more realistically, we have information that the Shud-phu clan in the 9th cent. were rulers in the three areas in question through Shud-phu bSod-nams seng-ge, the son of chos blon dPal gyi seng-ge, cf. lHo brag grub chen rnam thar 648.2f.; above fn. 15.

Grva is Dra of the Dunhuang Annals (see Uebach 1988; Dotson, forthcoming). dKyil-ru of Upper Grva is known as the birthplace of Grva-pa mNgon-shes dBang-phyug-'bar (of the lCe clan) (1012-1090 A.D.), where this famous
son of Grva district later erected a temple, one of the 108 temples which he is said to have founded in g.Yo-ru (i.e. lHo-kha). Most famous is the highly significant and artistically well-preserved g.Yo-ru Grva-thang vihāra situated in the lower part of the valley (est. 1081; completed 1093 A.D.; it corresponds to the later Tshong-'dus grva-tshang, one of the four celebrated jo.

Grva was regularly visited by the early Tshang-pa physicians (e.g. 'Od-zer bkra-shis); again, Grva-nang is registered, the site of a local rNyan-mdo (and sNye-mdo dgon-pa) of Gr[v]a of dBor-po (= g.Yor-pa?).

Grva was also the birthplace of the host of masters: the Grva-ba mNgan-shes' pupil Grva-phyi-ba Rlung Legs-pa'i shes-rab was born in Grva (cf. rGya bod chos 'byung 91a); further: the pupil of Ras-chung, Grva-phyi-ba rDo-rgje-'od. Similarly, 'Khrul-zhig Seng-ge rgyab-pa (in the Man ngag snying thig transmission) was born in Upper Grva, more precisely in Gad-phreng (= present-day Gad-'og = Gad-'or, loc. 29°12'N 91°18'E, in the 17th cent. it was a rdzong; see Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar 21a4) as well as Rog Shes-rab-'od. The celebrated Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa 'Dri-med 'od-zer was born in sTod-grong of Grva-phu (his father was a Ngan-lam bstan-pa (?) of the Rog clan, the latter evidently related to the Rog-pa of Upper Grva (in present-day dKyi-lu xiang; loc. 29°08'N 91°18'E; a second Rog-pa is to be found in Yar-lung (i.e. the Yar-lung Rog-pa[rtsa]; Padma bka' thang, Canto 69, 92; Ferrari 128, fn. 286; commonly associated with the site where Mā-çıg Lab-sgron-ma received gCod teachings; see also Bod kyi deb ther 187). In the dynastic period Rog-pa was known as one of the yul sde or yul dpön tshan districts of the Left Horn Province; cf. CFS Gyalblo et al. 240). An U-rgyan Rog-rje gling-pa is registered too.

In the imperial time dGa'-tshal-sbug. In Grva-phyi, Klu-mes Tshul-khrims founded the temple of 'Tshong-'dus-gnas; BA dBus gtsang gnas yig 257; = ? Phun-rab gzhis ka 28°58’N 91°34’E of present-day sPun-gsum of gYas-sman district; a Phun-tshogs rab-brtan of Byar district exists too. A Yad/Yang-kha of Grva is registered, the site of a local gNyan-dpon; Thugs sras rnam thar 12; HHa rtse ba rnam thar 56a6. From the 14th cent. the area was under the Yar-rgyab ruling house.

Grva is generally divided into Gr[v]a-phyi and Gr[v]a-nang, alt. std. and smad. Both areas are replete with historical sites and religious establishments. For a general description of the area, see Chan 1994: 367–370, et passim; CTZhZh 70–75: Chos-'phel 2004c, passim. In Grva-phyi, Klu-mes Tshul-khrims founded the temple of 'Tshong-'dus-gnas; BA Roerich. 75. It corresponds to the later Tshong-'dus grva-tshang, one of the four celebrated jo gdan tshogs pa seats associated with Kha-che Pan-chen (see TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index), i.e. the Tshong- 'dus tshogs-pa (also Bye-ma-rdzing tshogs-pa (Bya/Bye-tshogs). Cf. Chos-'phel 2002: 33f., for its mkhan rabs, see e.g. rGya bod chos 'byung 29a2–7; loc. 29°14’N 91°24’E; Dzung-dkar however locates it in Bye-rdzings of gZhu of sNye-mo; DKTshDz 1491. Another tshogs pa bzhi establishment in this area is the Grva-nang Rgyal-gling tshogs-pa (geograph. position: 29°11’N 91°19’E). These seats were later associated with the Grva-phug-pa (cf. DL5 II 80a6; cf. also the detailed exposé by 'Jigs-med dpal-lidan bzang-po 1992). Close to the latter site is located the dGa'-tshal-sbug.

In the imperial time – associated with Padmasambhava's treasure concealment – we register the sites of Grva sNge-dong, g.Yu-sgong-brag (the “Rock of the Turquoise-Egg”) as well as Grva-phyi Brag-po-che where treasures were concealed. The districts later comprised a number of sites such as the Karma-pa-related dpal-mgon Byams-pa'i-gling chos sde (loc. 29°14’N 91°20’E; where e.g. Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1424–84 A.D.) and Pan-chen bSod-nams mam-[par] rgyal-[ba'i sde] (1401–75 A.D.) were active; see Ehrhard 2002b and 2002c, passim; Tucci 1956b: 148).

Still other sites registered in the area include: Ri-bo rnam-rgyal close to the village of lCe-u-smad (loc. 29°12’N 91°19’E; est. by dGe-'dun rgyal-po, pupil of bTsong-kha-pa; cf. bkA 'gdams chos 'byung II 96b3–4; VS 226) and bDe-ba-gling (est. by 'Od-zer bkra-shis); again, Grva-nang sDings-po/po-che mchod-khang as well as the Cog-grva sDings-po-cke namesake monastery (an old 'Brug-pa and gTsang-pa rGya-ras seat; for its precise location; see Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar 20b6–21a3) est. 1578/80 A.D. by the 'Brug-pa master Phug-pa Rin-chen dpal-bzang (1537–
had presented a part of the district of Dol as religious estate to Chen bdag-gling gzhis ka of Grva-nang; cf. Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar 4b3f. In Grva-phyi a Chu-bzang dgon-pa is registered as monastic dependency of Cog-grva.

In Upper Grva-phyi, Chos-sdins dgon-pa (seat of the Byang-bdag clan, originally from the royal Mi-nyag line of the main seat Ngam-ring of La-stod Byang ruling house est. in the 13th cent.) and set of the formidable mi dbang bKra-shis stobs-rgyas and his son Ngag gi dbang-po; 1580–1639 A.D.; further Grva-nang Dar-rgyas Chos-sdins/bdag (loc. 29°13'N 91°19'E; birthplace, as mentioned, of gTer-bdag gling-pa of the gNyos/sMyos clan; visited e.g. by thugs sras Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan in the mid-16th cent. (here chos rje dPal Don-grub resided), and here he met 'Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs; cf. Thugs sras rnam thar 10–13). In dBen-tsha of Grva-nang (in Upper dBus or dBus kyi stod), rDo-rje gling-pa was born (1346–1405 A.D.) into the Khu clan (called the Khu-rje); cf. rDo rje gling pa rnam thar II 13.3f.; gTam zhing lo rgyus 1. The adjacent rNyin-ma-pa key seat of sMin-grol-gling monastery was founded 1670 by gTer-bdag gling-pa. gTer ston O-rgyan gling-pa (b. 1323) was born in Yar-rje of Grva-nang (the birthplace present-day is known as Grva-u-yus) and also the influential rNyin-ma-pa master 'Dri-med kun-dga' (b. 1347) was born in Khung-dmar of Grva-phyi (e.g. Nor bu'i do shal 256). A Grva-nang Pad-pa-kha of Yar-kangling is listed; cf. DL5 III 158b2. Finally, dignitaries like the 35th gGa'-ldan khrim-pa, etc. were born in this district too. A famous wood-carving artist guild was the Grva-phyi dGos-dgos; cf. DL5 II 247b3. Finally, the Tshal-pa monastery of rTag-can was founded in Grva-phyi (above fn. 244). A sgrub sde Don-grub mThong-smon-rtsa of Grva is listed for 1601 A.D.; rHa rtsa ba rnam thar 83a3.

Dol (west of Grva) corresponds to the royal residence of Dold (more precisely Mar-ma of Dold) registered in the Dunhuang Annals for 699 A.D. (DTH 18.21; TDD 236.6, Dotson, forthcoming). It consisted of three sections (stod smad bar gsum); cf. Rva Lo rnam thar 239.12. The area is also called Grib (cf. Gyurme Dorje 1998: 224) which refers to name of a place in the upper part of the valley (cf. Xizang Dimingzhi II 110a; hence, it could be identical with the imperial assembly place of Drib-nag (DTH 22.36, 23.6; Dotson, forthcoming) as already suggested by Uebach (1988: 511; cf. also MTP Uebach 141). A treasure-site related to Padmasambhava, was ICe-bde or ICe-ti of Dol (= ICe-bde-zhol at the entrance to the Dol valley, geograph. position: 29°16'N 91°06'E, present-day of Gong-dkar xian; later ICe-sde was headed by sde pa dGos-sgos (1606 and 1620 A.D.); cf. rHa rtsa ba rnam thar 20a1–2, 29a–2, 108a1–3.

A number of clans stemmed from the area, so already listed in the 11th cent., we find: 'Ches and 'imTshur (cf. BA 414; IHo rong chos 'byung 275), wherefrom e.g. 'Tshur dBang gi rdo-rje was descended (a place called 'Ju of Dol is listed where the latter was active; Ras chung rnam thar 286). A 12th-cent. site 'Tshur-chung (similarly related to the 'Tshur/'Chur clan) of Dol is registered; also related to the queen consort of a local king of Yar-lung Thang-chung called mTshar-du-gyu-skyled, mother to 'Dzeng [Dharmabodhi] in the 'ja' lus transmission; the latter was later active in 'Tser-chung (= 'Tshur-chung) of Dol. See Gu bkra chos 'byung 191. Both in Dol and the neighbouring gZhung valley a number of temples from the early phyi dar period are located, mostly associated with Grva-pa mNgon-shes and his disciples and with representatives of the Lower 'Bring tsho (see Table V.6). Atisa resided there (at dPe-khang of Dol and at Dol-mdga'— located close to gTsang-po river, where he erected a dike to stem the water of gTsang-po); cf. bkA' gdamgs chos 'byung III 124, 154–55. Dol-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (1059–1131 A.D.) [of the Rog clan; see above], the early bKa' gdamgs-pa master, erected a monastery in [gZhogs] Ya-gad of Lower Dol at a site once visited by Atisa; cf. ibid. 124; rGya bod chos 'byung 18a5.

Two of Mar-pa's four chief disciples (i.e. the Eastern and Western Pillars) came from this area (above fn. 72). In Dol, the dgon-pa of Me-tog mdzes-lidan was established by rnGog Ye-shes seng-ge in the 11th century.

Dol is repeatedly mentioned in connection with the warring activities of the early Tshal-pa, where e.g. the [g]Dol-po bsad po have been defeated (below fn. 800). For Dol, it is noteworthy that prior to the 1350's skirmishes, the Tshal-pa had presented a part of the district of Dol as religious estate to Karma Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284–1339 A.D.).

In rHa rtsa, a small valley between Grva-nang and Dol (see Part I: Fig. 87a), the seat of the Yar-rgyab ruler known as Dol Ihun-grub rHa rtsa rdzong was located (= Ihun-grub-gluing? see Rin chen dpal bzang rnam thar 7a1). Further sites in the Dol area: mKha'-spyd-phug as well as local dependencies such as Chos-'khor-sgang; bDe-gshongs (where sGrub-chren Chos-dpal and his lineage resided); Chos-rdzong: 'Phags-sde, bKra-shis rNam-rgyal (see also DL5 II 167b7; under
the Yar-rgyab rulers), the Sa-skya convent of gDung-phud (~Do/d Dun-phud) chos-khor (Table V.6; below Fig. 88); and Dol I Hun-grub-stengs (see Khams gsum Chos kyi rgyal po 'phan thar 396.7), etc. Innumerable masters came from this area: in the mid-14th cent., a pupil of 'Ba'-ra-ba, Klong-chen Ras-pa Rin-chen tshul-khrims was born in the heart of Dol, at IHa-sna. In the same transmission, the mystic Mon-rtsa-pa Kun-dga' dpal-lidan (b. 1408) was born in Khang-dmar-gl ing of Ba-ri-sgang between Dol and gZhung. In Dol, Las-'pho gling-pa was born. At the latter site, e.g. the 17th-cent. Karma-pa Kun-tu bzang-po was born. Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po (1580–1639) in 1620 was offered Dol-sngon (= Do-sngon) rdzong. An artist (lha bs zo ba) stemming from Do-sngon executed a statue of Grags-pa rin-chen of the Phag-gru Rlangs family; see Prats 2005: 19. In medicinal literature, a Nyang-khang-pa of Dol-md a' is mentioned.

In the Phag-gru period and especially in the period of mid-15th cent. when an inner Phag-gru war raged (ca. 1344 A.D.), the area suffered great destruction and pillaging, e.g. delineated in the biography of Mon-rtsa-pa; cf. also rGyal rtse chos rgyal 'phan thar 285. During most of the late 14th and the 15th century and prob. for a longer period, the three areas constituted landed estates under the control of the powerful local noble ruling house (sa skyong chos rgyal) of Yar-rgyab, such as under don chen Rin-chen bzang-po (and his wife Do-rgyus bde-ma) – their main residence was the aforementioned I Hun-grub IHa-rtsa palace. See the biography of Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (Ehrhard 2002c), later visited e.g. by Padma dkar-po in 1591 (in the mid-16th-cent., this Yar-rgyab seat had already been conquered by the sKyid-shod-pa; see Table V.12.3 below; sTag lung chos 'byung I 1428, 441; Pad dkar rnam thar IV 58a3–4), by the 4th Dalai Lama in 1606 A.D. (DL4 37a4–5) and a host of other dignitaries. In 1611, the three areas were temporarily appropriated by the gTsang forces; see ibid., 44a6–b1. In Dol, we find a number of estates; cf. the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey CTZhZh 61–65. gSer-stengs bSams-grub-gling gi khang-pa of Dol and gSan-mda' of bSar-md o in Dol; cf. DL5 II 251b6–252a2; IHa rtsa ba rnam thar 83a2. The area is known not least as the (first) residence of rDo-rje Shugs-ladan alias Dol rgyal, the disputed dGa'-ldan-pa protector who was “invented” in IHa-sa after the death of the Dalai Lama’s first regent bSod-nams chos-'phel (see Dreyfus 1999). The Dol-rgyal temple (to-day no more extant) was located in the western side-valley of lower Dol. Probably in the same period the dGa'-ldan gSung-rab-gling of Dol was founded; it counts among the thirteen great monasteries (gling bcu gsum) of the dGa'-ldan-pa, the greater part of which goes back to the period of the 5th Dalai Lama (see App. II), who e.g. also visited a Dol gNas-gsar in 1656 (DL5 I 2776b). It is reported that a relic statue of the thousand-eyed and -armed Avalokitesvara was kept which had emerged miraculously from the cremated pyre of the 3rd 'Bri-gung throne-holder Grags-pa 'byung-gnas in 1255. A 'Gag-gron of Dol is registered for 1697 A.D.; cf. DL6 438.

gZhung: In this area we find a number of temples of the early phyi dar period associated with the Lower 'Bring group. It cannot surprise us, that a line of the gNyos clan in the 8–9th cent. had settled here (see Table V.7). In the 11–12th cent. it may have been considered part of Yar-’brog area. As treasure-site related to Padmasambhava, Ra-kong of gZhung is registered. From gZhung-phu stemmed one of the disciples of Zhang, IHa-rgyus rDo-rje gNas-sgar in 1656 (DL5 I 2776b). It is reported that a relic statue of the thousand-eyed and -armed Avalokitesvara was kept which had emerged miraculously from the cremated pyre of the 3rd 'Bri-gung throne-holder Grags-pa 'byung-gnas in 1255. A 'Gag-gron of Dol is registered for 1697 A.D.; cf. DL6 438.

Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1: Grva at the level of Gr[v]a-thang: 29°25'N 91°20'E (= 26), Dol at the level of Dol gSung-rab-gling (Wylie 1962: 166): 29°14'N 91°07'E (= 27) and gZhung at the level of gZhung-grog: 29°08'N 90°54'E (= 28).

* This donation or grant was conferred upon the 3rd Karma-pa hierarch evidently around 1310 A.D. on the occasion of the cremation ceremonies of Tshal don chen dGa'-bde-dpal – apparently without the Karma-pa taking actual possession of it. In 1410 A.D., the 5th Karma-pa De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384–1415 A.D.) alias Halima (descending from the same clan as
Bla-ma Zhang, viz. the sNa-nam Zhang clan, and whose great repute due to his exalted position as imperial preceptor at the Ming-court here may have played a role) and the latter’s great teacher sNyug-phu-pa (or gNyag-dbyon la'u mKhan-chen) bSod-nams bzang-po (1341–1433 A.D.) were invited by the Phag-gru ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan to sNc'u-gdong (1411 A.D.) where this grant was reconfirmed. Proceeding to Dol dist., sNyug-phu-ba (var. gNyag-phu-ba snNyug-dbyon, below Fig. 90)’ erected the monastery of [m]Tshal-min (lit. “Not [belonging to] Tshai?”; Ehrhard 2002c: 78 suggests that it had been erected earlier, in 1408. Anyhow, mKhan-chen bSod-nams bzang-po (at one point also abbot of dGe- dun-sgang-pa) allegedly was installed in Tshal-min as 1st abbot in that year. He later conferred the final ordination on the 3rd Zha-ndmar and he there met Thang-stong. See Tshang stong rnam thar 119–20. Another mTshal-min-pa, following bSod-nams bzang-po was dge bshes bSod-nams seng-ge? (i.e. mKhan-chen Seng-ge-dpal; cf. also Phyogs las rnam rgyal rnam thun 383; Kun dga’ rnam rgyal gsum yig 75–76, 348 also mentioning one Tshal-min-pa Ngag-dbang bzang-po). Here he e.g. met Rong-ston (1367–1449); cf. Rong ston rnam thar 310; rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog rnam thar, passim.

The seat initially was patronized by the sNe’u-gdong gong ma (it henceforth remained a Karma-pa site with its own abbots-line, the [m]Tshal-min chos rje: two of its earlier chos rje there were Ngag-dbang bzang-po (mid-15th cent.) followed by Chos-grags-pa (tenure ca. 1480), as site visited repeatedly by the Gung-dkar rDo-rgyul-gdan-pa (1432–96 A.D.; cf. Kun dga’ rnam rgyal rnam thar 67, 168. Here Don-yod dpal-bzang-po and Bla-ma sMon-bzang received their training, and it remained a seat visited by a host of masters such as the peregrinating Tshang-stong rgyal-po. It is e.g. registered for the year 1568 A.D. under the site’s traditional secular patrons, the local Yar-rgyab dpun chen and was e.g. visited by Padma dkar-pa in 1591; by Go-shri Grags-pa chos-dbyangs (1617–58) in 1632 A.D., and by a host of other peregrinating dignitaries. The name and area is still listed in 1830 A.D.; cf. CTZMZh 65. The site’s history deserves an in-depth study.

The original name of Tshal-min (occasionally yet erroneously spelled mTshan-min) itself either discloses a preceding conflict over the area or, rather, it may indicate a confirmation of the new proprietorship. During the same period (early 15th cent.), the sNel-pa governorship (lbag po sNc’e-u-pa Nam-mkha’ bzang-po)” conferred Mt. Potalaka (i.e. dMar-po-ri) upon De-bzhin gshags-pa, who also settled there; cf. Ho rong chos ‘byung 259–1–8; mKhas pa i dga’ston 1014.7–14, 1174f., 1196.22–23; Karma Kam tshang I 237b5–8; Karma sku phreng l I 113b2–3; II 137, 308; see also Mi sna 417–19. Here the 5th Karma-pa passed away untimely in 1415 on dMar-po-ri, possibly being poisoned; cf. Bri gung gdan rabs III 156.

bSod-nams bzang-po e.g. was famous in the narrative transmission related to the Sixteen Arhats and the smyung gnas fasting rituals, the Avalokitesvara cycles in Tibet. For a thangka dedicated to this cycle and depicting him, cf. RMA 273 (see also Rhee and Thurman (eds.), World of Transformation 120–21). See also V. 8.4 below.

‘ Rather than referring to sNe’u-gdong-pa mi dbang Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, also feasible as suggested in mTshur phu dgon gyi dkhar chag 433–34. The hermitage or residence on dMar-po-ri of his later played a role, when the Karma-pa laid claim on lhAsa in the 1470s and early 1500’s as a religious site during their supremacy in dBus. The thugs dam relic of rje De-bzhin gshags-pa on dMar-po-ri was once a white sandwoodloque of the White Tarar (with the size of a young boy age eight); cf. Kam tshang brgyud pa l I 294a1–2. Mi-bskyod rdo-rje in 1526 A.D. reports about a speaking image of drung Rol-pa’i rdo-rje that requested to be placed in front of the lhAsa-sa sPyan-ras-gzigs (= Loktesvara); cf. ibd., II 14b–3.

A few years later the same sNe’u-li-pa fieshipph – simultaneously catering to the needs of the heads of the schools – donated Dan-bag in the western lhAsa area to the Ge-lugs chos rje rkha-shis dPal-dan, where ‘Bras-sung was erected. ** Located 25912’N 9005’E of present-day rGya-ri stang of Gong-dkar xiun. It was an important outpost of the bKa’-brgyud-pa in Yar-lung (located five miles east of rNam-rab Dvags-po grva-tshang). The “Monkey-field” (alt. spel. dpNyeling [sic]; Kre-shing [sic] cf. Chos-’phel 2003) alludes to the genesis narrative of the Tibetan people. Est. by rNgog Kun-dga’ rdo-rje (1157–1234 A.D.). The locale was named a former gdan sa or seat of the rNgog clan,1 where e.g. the Mar-pa’i gdun khlang rin po che was to be found; cf. the sPrc’u-zhing lineage in BA Roerich 409f.; Ho rong chos ‘byung 59–66; its mentioning in Rva lo rnam thar 240 seems an anachronism, among the rNgog, the learned and influential rNgog-ston Rin po che Byang-chub-dpal (1360/1367–1446/49 A.D.) 2 incidentally entered close bonds with the Phag-gru gong ma and the Brug-pa, and a host of masters was ordained in his presence such as ’Gos gZhon-nu-dpal. Among their syllabi, a particularly famous cycle remained the “Seven Mandala Cycle of rNgog” (rNgog dgyil bdun), the cycle’s last transmitter being Byang-chub-dpal; cf. Ehrhard 2002c: 38.

1 The rNgog clan had originally settled in Yar’-brug Do. Here a pupil of Guru Rin-po-che, rNgog btsun gZigs-snang was born; he allegedly served as sku rim pa of Khri-stong Iide-u-tsatsan; cf. Gu bkra chos ‘byung 343–44; BA Roerich 324.

2 Not consulted but central sources include: Byang-chub-dpal (bodhisattva) is listed as author of the rJe Mar pa nas brgyud rNgog gzhung pa yah sras bla ma’i rnam thar Nor bu’i phreng ba (13 fol.). And rNgog bSod-nams-dpal, Bja ma rNgog pa yab sras rim byon pa’i rnam thar Rin po che’i rgyan gyi phreng ba (cf. Drezung Catalogue 017051; 016991). He entertained close bonds with Tshal Chos’khor-gling Grags-pa don-grub and the 15th Tshal Yang-dgon-pa, as confirmed by DLS Thob vig.

424 g.Ye, gNyai and Dvags are three large districts in the south-eastern part of Central Tibet with a long history. g.Ye
(dBye-mo [yul-drug], lDe) and D[ylags count among the „border dynasties“ affinally related to the early sPu-rgyal house (see PT 1286 [TDD 1997]); gNyial (stod smad bar), on the other hand, had been married to the s\textit{rti}-Ni-ba, known as the lineage of sGam-po-pa a distant ancestor of whom is reported to have been married by the gNyai-khi-btsan-po; see \textit{sGam po khris rab}s 3b). The three areas are listed among the territories of the Hülégü appanage (cf. \textit{Rlangs} 110.11–111.2; Sperling 1991: 148f.; App. III: fn. 14), the greater part of which was covered by the Phag-gru and gYa’-btsan myriarchies. gYe and gNyial (or dMyal) were associated with the gYa’-btsan khris skor (est. ca. 1294) whose center was in Upper Yar; the area from Dvags-po (more precisely Dvags-po Krongs-kha = west of sKu-rab at the border of present-day sNang and gGya-tsha rdzong = eastern and western Dvags-po) and Bya-yul in the east up to Yar’-brog in the west (fn. 422) formed the “sealed territory” of the gYa’-btsan-pa, as proclaimed by the founder Chos kyi smon-lam (CFS Gyalbo \textit{et al.} 78–80; 222). The areas of Dvags-po and E[-yul] as well as lHo-ro lHo-kha (= Lo-ro?), Byar, kong-po, Brag-dkar, sNyel[=-mo?], Ya[r]-rgyab and Mon (mTsho-sna) are mentioned as ’Bri-gung territories which later (after the downfall of ’Bri-gung in 1290) were confiscated by the Sa-skya-pa (cf. Dung-dkar 1991: 51; \textit{Deb dmars gsar}, Tucci 1971: 195). According to \textit{Rlangs} 110.13–14, the people of gYe-chung (Lesser gYe = the northern part of gYe (=E)-yul) belonged to the Phag-mo gru-pa. It is unrealistic to see the extensive areas of gYe, gNyial and Dvags-po as appropriated by or held as Tshal-pa estates. The three Tshal-pa m\textit{si}d\textit{e} rather refer to single settlements located in these areas. As far as Dvags-po is concerned, the \textit{Vard\textsc{ur}ya ser po} (202) registers the rDzam gyi lHa-sa-steng monastery founded by Bla-ma Zhang’s personal pupil Ye-shes Blo-gros. It is located in the rDzam district of south-western Dvags-po (in present-day rGya-tsha county) and it may be argued that the “Dvags-po m\textit{si}d\textit{e}” refers to this area.** The monastery may have served here as an outpost of the Tshal-pa, not least in connection with the access to the holy Tsa-ri district. The Tshal-pa are reported to have been involved in the events concerning the opening of the mountain sanctuary (south of Dvags-po), which actually took place in several stages, with the final opening which is reported to have been accompanied by the gNyial presence is still known to the local tradition of today. On the initiative of a local b\textsc{la} m\textsc{a} there are plans

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** According to the locals, rDzam is short for rDza-ma; gTsang-pa rGya-ras, the (first) opener of the Tsa-ri gnas, allegedly gave the name to this area after he had found here a [self-created] clay (r\textit{dzad} m\textit{a}) statue.

The former Tshal-pa presence is still known to the local tradition of today. On the initiative of a local b\textsc{la} m\textsc{a} there are plans
'Chong-po [- 'Phyong-po] rGyas-sman\(^435\) and
to rebuild the rDzam-dgon. Linked to the monastery (\textit{ah} 17\textsuperscript{th} cent. dGe-lugs-pa) was the institution of the rDzam oracle which functioned as the medium of the Tsenmo ngagya (bTsan-mo lnga-rgyal[b]), a local deity with its seat on the rocky mountain behind the monastery). In rDzam one of the four "Bya-khyung 'bab-sa'" sites of western Dvags-pa are to be founded which refer to ruins of four ancient watch-towers (they are located in Ru-thang (at the entrance to the Ngar-rab valley), in rDzam (where the site is called rDzong lha-kha), in Sin-pho-stod (south of rDzam) and in Nye-nang (north-west of rDzam). Perhaps these sites were related to the history of ancient Dvags-yul [Se-mo] grub-bzhi, one of the three pre-imperial principalities which are to be localized in and around the Dvags-pa region. The two other: rNgags (exact location unknown, but arguably not far from rDzam) and rChims-yul (cf. e.g. DTH 80 (TDD 197); 1De 'u-2 225); the latter referring to the sKyems-stong valley (seat of the "sKyems-stong btsad po") situated at the border between Kong-po-stod and Dvags-po in the south-east of present-day sNang county. The valley is known to form traditionally the northern entry zone of the Tsa-rri pilgrimage (this function often mentioned together with the neighbouring valleys of La-thog (La-thog Zurl-mkhar) and sKu-rab rNam-rgyal; see fn. 542). It was also famous for its paper manufacture (i.e. the sKyems shgo). See Hazod 2006.

\(^435\) rGyas-sman (alt. rGya-, rGyal-sman) [and] 'Phyong-po, usually and most convincingly to be listed as two distinct units (cf. also the list in \textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 107 (below fn. 437), which has 'Phyong-po [and] rGyal-sman). Phying-ba of 'Phyong-po was one of the centers of the early Yar-lung rgyal po and it is the location of the tombs of the Tibetan kings. The 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama was born in 'Phyong-rgyas rdzong, seat of the local rdzong dpon family stemming from his ancestor Za-hor gZhon-nu bzang-po, minister of Ta'i Si-tu (i.e. \textit{da situ, lit. "Grand Instructor"}) Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (cf. e.g. \textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 163.8ff.). South-west of 'Phyong-rgyas is the rGya[s]-man (also called sPyan-gyas) valley, the upper part of which borders on Grva and Grva-phyi (cf. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 12).

In 'Phyong-rgyas Ro-skam, the 9\textsuperscript{th} Tshal dpon erected a seminary. In Upper rGya-sman, Zhang 'Od-jo-bo (in the line of Bya-yul-ba as throne-holders at the near-by sPyan-g.yas dgon-pa) sojourned and here he also passed away. See also rGya-sman-ri, cf. \textit{LfHa rite ba rnam thar} 45b1f. rGyas-sman village (today center of the rGyas-sman sxiang) is the location of the aforementioned sPyan-g.yas vihāra (a.k.a. Phu-thang sPyan-g.yas; loc. 28°58'N 91°33'E), once an important center of the Vinaya and later bKa'-gdams-pa school in Southern Central Tibet. It was founded by Grva-pa mNgon-shes (1012-1090) following the erection of the Grva-thang temple. Cf. BA Roerich 97-101: \textit{FS} 223. The site is also known as one of the three sanctuaries in Yar-lung which are dedicated to three of the Eight Medicine Buddhas, here to Rin-chen zla-ba, and listed among the so-called 18 sanctuaries of Yar-lung (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 99ff.). The famous 'Gos lo tsa ba descended from rGya-sman Yang-po, adjacent to sPyan-g-yas monastery, wherehe his yab mles line had once emigrated. A branch of the 'Gos clan that had arrived from the old imperial-era 'Gos clan land of 'Gos-yul 'Bring-mtshams; cf. 'Gos lo rnam thar 3a7f. The mkhan po sPyan-g.yas-pa gZhon-nu-grags-pa and Yong-tan-sangs were active at Chos-khor-gling; see \textit{Tshal rnam} 46a3-4, 46b7-47a1.

Two further Yar-lung sanctuaries of rGyas-sman are Rol-sgang sTon-pa mtshan-legs and the cave sanctuary of Ngam-shod Phug-mo-che. Rol-sgang (= present-day Rol-khang; in the text occasionally also given as Rong-skam, Ro-skam, etc.) is a foundation going back to Queen dPal gyi Nang-tshul-ma (late 8\textsuperscript{th}/early 9\textsuperscript{th} cent.); expanded in the 11\textsuperscript{th} cent. under gZus rDo-rtse rgyal-mtshan and Grva-pa mNgon-shes (BA Roerich 78, 100; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 100). Phug-mo-che (possibly identical with Phug-po-che, equally associated with Grva-pa mNgon-shes) is situated in the eastern part of the sPyan-g.yas valley (fn. 55 above; see also Part II: Table V. 5). rGyas-sman is also mentioned as the place of Sha-mi sMon-lam-\textit{bar}, who sojourned here in the early 12\textsuperscript{th} cent., where he met his teachers sKor Ni-rū-pa and So-chung-\textit{bar}, who later was active in Tshal (above fns. 102, 200). The area was the home of the "Phyong-rgyas rGyas-sman-pa Sangs-rgyas-grags (of rGya[s]-man sTag-rtse-sa; also Zhang dGa'-ldan-pa resided there, pupil of rMa sMon-lam in the \textit{Zhi-bved} tradition) from the lineage of sGr[r]o-phug-po chen-po (1074-1134 A.D.), the founder of the rDo-thog-thel monastery (rGyas-sman-pa's chief disciple was sKyi Chos kyi seng-ge, himself the teacher of sMan-lung-pa Šákya-'od (b. 1239) who founded the Strong-btsan sgam-po tomb-chapel in 'Phyong-rgyas). He is said to have received much estate land (gzhis kha) and the corresponding edict (\textit{ja' sa}) from the Emperor Qubilai after his visit to the court (cf. BA Roerich 154f.; \textit{bDud 'joms chos} \textit{byung} 344-347).

In sKyid-shug of rGyas-sman, the rNyin-ma-pa master 'Od-gsal klong-yangs was born. He renovated the pilgrimage site of rGyas-sman Mig-bzhi (or dMigs-bzhi; seat of the teacher Nam-mkha') rDo-rje rained in the rNyin-ma tradition; cf. Gu bKra chos 'byung 209; \textit{Padma gling rnam} thar 365; 'Jigs med gling pa \textit{rnam thar} 5; see also Khams gsum Chos
Sle'u-chung.∗

kyi rgyal po 333.3). We shall assume that perhaps a closer relation prevailed between the history of 'Phyong-po / rGyas-sman and the Tshal-pa mi sde. In the 15th cent., rGyas-sman fell under the jurisdiction of the rulers (sde pa) of 'Phyong-rgyas rdzong. DL 2 370, 498 registers a dGe-lugs establishment beyond the pass of Upper rGya-sman named bKa-shis chos-gling.

At rGyas-sman dgon-dkar, gNas-brtan Kun-dga’-’bum (= Thang-po-che lHa-ri’i bla ma; cf. Tshal rnam 465b), pupil of gTsang-kha-pa, passed away. For an etym. legend related to the site’s toponymy; cf. mKhas-grub ed. 1991: 244–45. In this area, the great ‘gos lo tsā ba gZhon-nu-dpal (see above) and lHa-rtsé-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po (1546–1615) were born. Geograph. location of 'Phyong-po and rGyas-sman as inserted in Map 1: 29°01’N 91°40’E (= 32); 28°58’N 91°33’E (= 33); Xizang Dimingzhi II 76b, 80b.

The Tshal-pa estate[s] of the Phyong-po area were surrounded by the gzhis kha belonging to the Phag-gru and g.Ya’-bzang khri skor, such as the Phag-gru estates of Thang-po-che to the north of 'Phyong-rgyas, [Tshong-’dus] Brag-kha to the northwest (at the entrance to 'On), lCa-gts-srg Gri-gu in the south or sNa-mo (here (at Na-mo Chos-rdzong) e.g. ‘gos lo tsā ba was active) in the east and the mi sde of Upper Yar-stod situated further south-east of 'Phyong-po (see CFS Gyalbo et al. 198–202). As mentioned in previous notes, the Tshal-pa had their own conflict with the Phag-gru khri dpon (i.e. with Ta’i Si-tu) and among the disputed areas registered for the late 1340’s ‘Phyong-rgyas is also mentioned (together with Grva-phyi and bsKul Phying-ru; Rlangs 200–201; fn. 421).

* Thang-po separated itself from Phag-gru in around 1300 and became an independent myriarchy; cf. Petech 1990a: 56; Czaja 2006. In rGya bod yig tshang 301.4, it is listed as a separate estate with 150 ho rdu. See also App. III.

Sle’u-chung (occasionally and falsely Gle’u-chung) is a well-known area in the 'Phrang-po district of present-day Gong-dkar county, already listed on a number of maps (e.g. Verhufen Index 92–93/29–30). The writings of Bla-ma Zhang speaks of a Le’u Mig-chung dgon-pa, which may be a very early 12th-cent. reference to Sle’u-chung, yet this remains doubtful. In Gling ras rnam thar II 20b3–5; III 401.1–5; IV 261–63, it is reported how during Bla-ma Zhang’s warfare (in ‘Phrang-po, below fn. 428) in the 1180’s the mKhar-chu-pa (see below, fn. 429) destroyed the dgon pa of Sle’u-chung. Cf. also Deb sngon 778.13–14, 781.5: Gle’u-chung (Ho rongs chos byung 638–639 speaks of Gling-chung, misspelled = Sle’u-chung). The outcome of the conflict may explain the later inclusion of these areas under Tshal.

When Mongol troops from gTsang later made a foray into dBus in 1640–41 A.D., they arrived at Sle’u-chung via sNyc-phu (the area where Shug-gseb is located; see Map 1a); cf. Zur chen rnam thar 120a2–3 (= 240.2–3). At that point (mid-17th cent.), the Sle’u-chung riSa ha (i.e. riSa ba’i mi sde, the root or core community of a given area), the center of the mi sde, was dGe-lugs territory; ibid. 136a4f. (=271.4ff.), we are informed that Zur-chen in 1643 A.D. attempted to carry out renovation in the local monastery, considered a former branch establishment of Tshal.

Further: the 'Od-gsal-sgam seat is located in Sle’u-chung. Sle’u-chung was in particular an area famed for their artists. * Later, during the first part (1642–1717) of the dGa’-ldan Pho-brang gzhot period, Sle’u as district constituted one of the 18 rdzong gzhis under lHa-sa Zhul administration (above fn. 406). Signally, from the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey, it appears that Sle’u-chung (at one point part of the rdDo-brag monastic estate) and mKhar-chu were neighbouring sites; cf. CTZZh 22. It thus alludes to Sle’u-chung village in ‘Phreng-’go xiang of Gong-dkar county. Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 (= 34) Xizang Dimingzhi II 112a: 29°22’N 91°01’E.

* In fact in Tibetan art-history the exquisite gilded li ma or cast metal statues were known as Sle’u-chung pa’i li ma (also abbr. Sle’u chung ma). The repute of the clan- or family-based Sle’u-chung metal-work Werkstatt in medieval Tibet was almost universal and indeed stretched well back in time. The Sle’u-chung-pa school over the years, clearly did not refer to one single artist (although some of them held higher repute than others as master artists), but evidently to a local family-based atelier. More than that, the Sle’u-chung style and metallurgic mixture remained unique. Universally recognized as master artist par excellence (lha btsi’i dbang po) in Tibet, among their most famous icons, a wonderful jewel-studded human-sized Vajradhara statue is registered, executed by the expert artist sNe’u (= Sle’u)-chung-pa bSod-nams-dpal in 1456
A.D., patronized by the 13th ‘Bri-gung throne-holder Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po at the ‘Bri-gung seat. Cf. ‘Bri gung gdan rabs III 152–53. The statue is presently kept in the ‘Du-khang at ‘Bri-gung; cf. dKon-mchog ‘phel-rgyas 1987: 65; Ra-se dKon-mchog rgya-mtsho 2003a: 23. Also at sTag-lung during the tenancy of the 11th throne-holder (1430–60), the same artist erected a Cakrasamvara executed according to the system of Vajrāhanpadā (four-faced, twelve-armed, and embraced by four Yogini); cf. sTag lungchos ’hyung I418–19. DL5 III 68a3–4 reports a speaking Vajrabhairava statue personally executed (phyang bzuo) by the Sle’u-chung-pa and personally blessed and consecrated by Tsong-kha-pa. This (or a statue of Tsong-kha-pa himself) seems to be referred to in 1608 A.D. when it was donated to the 9th Dalai Lama by a Cha-dkar dge slong (DL9 [A] 27a4: 6. [B] 649.50). The Vajrabhairava statue was installed in ‘Bras-spungs, in the sNgags-khang; cf. Grva pa chen pu bzhags chos thslu 45. A Bhairava statue known as the “Māra-Subdew” is mentioned in the Thos-bsam Nor-hu’i gling of Se-ra; cf. ibid. 67. dGe’dun-grub (in retrospect the 1st Dalai Lama) reports that when in 1459 A.D., he intended to erect the 'rigs lugs statues acc. to the Guhyasamājā cycle and a statue of the white tle-btsun-ma, they were erected by Sle’u-chung-pa (i.e. bSod-nams-dpal), since they considered him the best artisan available compared to other great masters, such as the Byang-pa’i dpon bKhra-shis rin-chen and his Nepalese artisans. Cf. DL1 262, 266 (see also Shen Weirong 2002: 233): “In the same or the following year, Gle’u [= Sle’u]-chung master(s?) were active at Rva-lung, where he/they erected an one-cubit size large gser sku of the 2nd ‘Brug-dbang hierarch’s yid dam deity; Kun dga’ dpal ‘byor rnam thar 436.5–6. DL6 375. For a Yamāntaka statue executed by this workshop, cf. Pan chen chos rgyal rnam thar 303–04; Pan chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar II 5186 and PSIZ 595; and Sle lung rnam thar 336a6, 346b1–4 too reports a Sle’u-chung-pa statue of Tsong-kha-pa and further statues of (84) Mahāsiddha once erected by sprul sku (= i.e. artist-manifestation, = highly gifted = Ch. jiangren, “man of [miraculous] craft”); Sle’u-chung-pa and installed at rTse-tshogs (adjacent to sNe’u-gdông). Cf. Pan chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I 48a5. Zur-chen refers to Sle’u-chung Byams-pa-gling and the latter’s attempt to renovate the seats in Sle’u-chung would suggest that the Sle’u-chung atelier in the 17th cent. had died out. A silver Bhairava statue (eight-years-old sized) is reported installed in Yangs-pa-can during the reign of the 13th throne-holder. Excellent gold-plated statues of the gShag-bDe’s Jigs triad were set up in the mgon khang of ‘Phyong-rgyas Ri-bo bDe-chens lhakhang; cf. dbus gtsang gnas yig 256. Cf. Kams thsong brgyud pa 315b4–5. For the Sle’u-chung-pa more generally, see e.g. BST von Schroeder: 681. 685, 700–02, 972, 996–97 who refers to other Sle’u-chung-ma statues such as a Kalacakra image. See further Se ra chos ’hyung 164, 191; Jackson 1996: 205. A gilded bTsang-kha-pa statue with the characteristic dhu lo bubs bzhus (i.e. hollow) was manufactured by the famous mid-15th-cent. Slo’u-chung-pa (the image called Sle’u-chung-ma; see below fn. 813 = a bKhra-shis rDo-kha-ma statue?) which was the bgsngo rten for the ‘Phyong-rgyas Chu-mig-nas; cf. DL5 I 108bl–2. The specific Slo’u-chung style or type of statue was also copied or imitated (tso sgruos) repeatedly, for instance in lHa-sa when a jewel-studded Årya Idem sku statue (requiring eight gser srang as materials) was manufactured in 1789. Cf. Jigs med gling pa rnam thar 357. 

* For another Byang-bdag (of Ngam-ring of La-stod Byang) called Nam-mkha’ legs-pa and Nepalese Zangs-mgar mkhas-pa artists, see Ehrehard 2002b (fols. 116a–b). Another master Copper-smith was dpon mo che Rin-chen bsam-grub who erected a rten for Bla-ma dam-pa; Tshal rnam 60a3–5.

** The usual expression sprul pa’i sku for a master artist may derive from the legend of the miraculous manifestation of Vīśvakarman, the God of Artists.

**27 sGrags (also sGrags) is located to the west of bSams-yas (MTP Uebach 79). lHa-lung of sGrags is reported as the birthplace of King ‘Dus-srong mang-po-rgje (above fn. 62). PT 1290 (TDD 249) reads lHa-lung of sKyi; cf. Macdonald 1971: 317–18. The area is famous for its hermitages often linked to Padmasambhava and Ye-shes mTho-rgyal (the latter was born in lower sGrags); among them the celebrated cave sanctuary of sGrags Yang-rdzong. Several sgrub gnas of Bla-ma Zhang lie in sGrags, such as Ngar-phug, gYu-brag, rGad-po-brag of Chos-phu, or Khu’‘brug/Khum-phug-rdzong, etc. repeatedly mentioned in his esoteric writings. Cf. bKa’i thon bu 57.4–5; also Ferrand 46, 117–18; Downman 1996: 205–215; Myang chos ’hyung 77: Ri Zangs-mdog of Upper sGrags, birthplace also of the author of bSams gtan mig sgron. gNubs-chens Sangs-rgyas ye-shes at Upper sGrags as well as the hermitage of the 9th-cent. rGya’ Jam-dpal gsgang-ba. The 9th Tshal ruler sMon-lam rdo-rje was born in sGrags a MTho-ris Thar-pa-gling; cf. Tshal rnam 236b–4.

In Upper sGrags, Me-long rdo-rje was born, son of rNal-’byor-pa bSam-yas. A rDzong-mkhar chos sde is registered in Las ’phro gling rnam thar 103a6. A sGrags-mda’ rdzong (with a lha btsun Chos kyi ye-shes) is mentioned for the 1540’s; cf. Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar 338.2–3. At sGrags-mda’, a Grong-gsar is mentioned in Padma gyaling-pa’s biography and a sPang-chung dgon-pa is registered for 1660 A.D.; cf. DL5 I 288b3. The dgon pa of Ri-zangs-rdog of sGrags is registered as a branch seat of the early rGya-ma Rin-chens-sgang-pa; see App. V: Table 10.

During the first part (1642–1717) of the dGa’ldan pho-brang gzhung period, sGrags constituted one of the 18
'estates or rdzong gzhis under the lHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction (cf. fn. 406). Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 at the level of present-day Inga-bkra. Xizang Dimenjhi II 137a: 29°15′N 91°16′E (= 35). See also below Map 8.

"Phrang-po,"28

mKhar-chu,29

estates or rdzong gzhis under the lHa-sa Zhol jurisdiction (cf. fn. 406). Geographical position as inserted in Map 1 at the level of present-day Inga-bkra. Xizang Dimenjhi II 137a: 29°15′N 91°16′E (= 35). See also below Map 8.

"Phrang-po" (alt. "Phrang-mu"? go?) designates a village in eastern sKyid-smad which is registered as part of present-day Tshal-sna district of Chu-shul county (Xizang Dimenjhi II / 116b: 29°25′N 90°58′E; Map 1a). Later a estate dependency of the dGa’-ldan Byang-rtsa grva tshang. Due south-east of Tshal-sna, the neighbouring ‘Phreng-’go (also ‘Phrang-po’ go) district is situated along the northern shore of gTsang-po which today is under the jurisdiction of Gong-dkar county. Thus it is not always clear which ‘Phrang is meant in the sources; hence two options. A ‘Phrang-pa (→go) is listed in rGya bod yig tshang 300.17 together with dGung-mkhar-ba (=Gong-dkar?) among the unrelated estates of the Yuan / Sa-skya administration. They are registered with altogether 70 rtsa ba’i dud chen (dud chen stands here probably erroneously for hor dud; cf. Petech 1990a: 58).

‘Phrang-po’ is an ancient locale, listed as one of the district units of the Central Horn province (App. IV: fn. 58). In the 11th century the area became the domain of a local ruler, stemming from descendants of the Yum-brtan brgyud (Gyalbo et al. 2000: 191). Copper-ore were early found and exploited at ‘Phreng-po’i ri’rdsza (Ka khol ma 97.14–98.1, 158.11–12). The place is also mentioned in the context of Bla-ma Zhang’s fightings, where he received assistance through Gling-ras-pa alias sNa-pha-pu. The locale sNa-pha is located there and it contains a sku tshab of Gling-ras-pa (Zhang rnam thar mr bris 57a6). Bla-ma Zhang wrote treatises there, at sPang-lung of ‘Phrang-po. He sojourned in ‘Phrang-po on invitation of the local btsad po (ruler) where he practised in the retreat of sNa-pha. Cf. Ho rong chos ’byung 637; BA Roenchi 663f.; the advice given to this combatant of Bla-ma Zhang is in Zhang’s esoteric writings (cf. Martin 2001c: 200–01). Among Zhang’s devoted combatants also one lha btsun (monk of a ruling house) of ‘Phreng/’Phrang-po is listed. sNa-pha (sNa-phu chos-lugs, Na-pha-dgon) which is also known as the place of the Gling-ras-pa (and Zhang) disciple gTsang-pa rGya-ras is located ca. eight kms north of rDo-rje-brag of lower ‘Phrang-po (to the west the old district of Lum-pa (also Lum-pa ICang-gseb) is located); cf. dBu gtsang gnas yig 123.6–7; Ferrari 46; Gyurme Dorje 1998: 225. A ‘Phrang-’go sde pa Thub-dbang rgyal-mtshan is listed in Thob yig IV 130a4. On the celebrated rNyin-ma-pa site of Thub-bstan rDo-rje-brag, see e.g. dBu gtsang gnas yig 156; DL5 I 319b4–5; Dowman, op. cit. 206ff.; Chos’ phel 2003.

The toponym is variously written ‘Phreng-’go/-rgo/-mgo/-po. For the year 1554 and 1591 a ‘Phrang-po Seng-ge-sgang is reported, the local people in the 1470’s had donated to the 7th Karma-pa the local rDo-rje brag-rtsa as monastic estate. In ‘Phrang-po, the 16th ‘Bri-gung Rin-chen phun-tshogs (1509–57) erected the hermitage O-rgya chos-rdzens (cf. Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar 268.2). A famous figure from this area is ‘Phreng-po/mgo gTer-ston Shes-rab ’od-zer (alias ‘Od-gsal sna-tshogs rang-grol; 1518–84), whose politically oriented prophecies eventually led to a ban on his writings by the dGa’-ldan pho-brang government. He erected the Jo-bo ‘bum-pa; cf. Chos’ phel 2003 also listing other sites in the area.

During the same period the ‘Phreng-sgo/mgo/-po sde pa (of the similar-named gzhis ka) was Thub-dbang rgyal-mtshan; for details, see mDo sngags ’byung gnas rnam thar, passim. In the 17th cent., Zur-chen executed wall-paintings at Shel-grong of ‘Phrang-’go (i.e. the ‘Phrang-’go of mTshal-sna xiang mentioned above; see also below Map 1a); cf. Zur chen rnam thar 133b6f., 137a6–b3 (= 278.6–279.3; cf. also Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar [A] 514.6 (= [B] 446b) which reports on the arrival there and at Lum-pa of the gTsang-ruler Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal in 1618. Prior to the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama, which has been said, it had turned into an estate, which he visited in his 12th 1662, and again 1662; cf. DL5 I 169b6–170a2, 319b3. It seems to refer to ‘Phrang-’go gzhis kha where the Phan-bde Legs-bshad-gling temple is located as well as Kla-sdangs.

The 33rd Ngok mkhar-chu speaks of a ‘Phrang-mgo gZhi-ba grva-tshang and a Sa-skya rNam-rav-davgs-pa grva-tshang; cf. dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III 396. Geographical position of ‘Phreng-’go (of Gong-dkar county) as inserted in Map 1 (= 36) 29°21′N 91°08′E; Xizang Dimenjhi II 111b.

mKhar-chu is evidently not identical with the famous mKhar-chu seat of lHo-brag. Arguably it refers to the aforementioned mKhar-chu which appears in the sources in connection with Bla-ma Zhang’s fighting in the ‘Phrang-po district, also known from the history of Gling-ras-pa’s and gTsang-pa rGya-ras’ sojourn in this area (Ho rong chos’byung 637 et passim; Deb sngon 778–783). It appears to be located somewhere between sNa-pha and Sle’u-chung (≈ no. 37 of Map 1). The seat was repeatedly enmeshed in warring conflict with the neighbouring Sle’u-chung (see above) in the 12th
Zung-mkhar,\textsuperscript{430}  
Kha-rag-pa,\textsuperscript{431}  
Rab-btsun-pa,\textsuperscript{432}

\textsuperscript{430} Deb snog also gives the form pho brang mKhar-chu Gle'u-chung (= Sle'u-chung) (778.14); elsewhere the same source mentions mKhar-chu of Ngam-shod. Cf. BA Roerich 895 (on Ngam-shod, see below fn. 597). It is probably to be identified with the mKhar-chu/bcu mentioned in connection with sGrags in Si tu bka' chems 89.12 = Rlangs 186.8.

\textsuperscript{431} Zung [\textit{\textsuperscript{4}Zur\textsuperscript{2}}-mKhar] is the small valley to the west of the bSams-yas; MTP Uebach 79. It is registered in the Dunhuang Annals and later sources as residence of Khri Srong idje-btsan; P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 57; Dowman 1996: 219f.; Dotson, forthcoming. Geograph. location as inserted in Map 1 (= 38) 29°18'N 91°25'E. It was a war zone during Bla-ma Zhang's time — accounting for its inclusion into the Tshal myriarchy. One of Zhang's pupils, the "king" (btsad po) of 'Phrang-po (see above) here waged war at Ya-gad; cf. Tshel rum 23a3.

rGya bod yig tshang 303.10–13 speaks of 350 rtsa ba'i dud (households) of Zung/Zur-mkhar of the Tshal-pa [myriarchy] which together with 2650 households of the rGya-ma [khri skor] were attached to the Sog jam (i.e. postal relay station of Sog), one of the seven major stages in dBus established in 1269 A.D (on Sog, see above fn. 225). On the mail system and its administration during the Yuan period, see Petech 1980: 61–67. See also App. III.

\textsuperscript{431} It is referring to the people of Kha-rag, i.e. Kha-rag[s]-pa. North-west of Yar-'brog lake, in present-day sNad-kar-rtshe xian. Kha-rag is nowadays a xiang (loc. 29°15'N 90°24'E; mod. spelling occasionally and erroneously: Kha-[d]rag, but more commonly — popular etymologically — mKha'-reg; lit. "touching the sky," yet the orig. form doubtlessly was Kha-rags). In former times, it was located in g.Yor or g.Yo-ru.

In the 8th century, according to the gNyos ethnogenesis the area called Kha-rag became the seat of the gNyos clan; they in the ensuing centuries controlled large stretches of land (see Table V.7 below). The same area is also associated with the Rva and mGar clan (above fn. 372). A number of 'Brug establishments was erected in the 11th century in the area such as 'Brang and SIl-ma (cf. Part II: Table V.6 and 7 infra). The holy mountains in the area (replete with perched hermitages) are Kha-rag Jo-bo and Kha-rag Jo-mo (resp. located at 29°14'N 90°20'E and 29°16'N 90°20'E). Here, during a meditation at Kha-rag, gTsang-pa rGya-ras received the vision and prophecy to open the Tsa-ri gnas (cf. Huber 1999: 66). For a brief essay on this area with its ancient fortress (rdzong) of g.Yul-rdzong and its sGrub-sde dgon-pa, see bDe-chen sgrol-dkar 1988. It seems to be the area of the dynastic temple of Kha-rag yul-rje and the phyi dar temple of Kha-rag Labs-so (the latter a foundation of rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas; Table V 6 below).

As a religious site, Kha-rag (often associated with neighbouring gTsang province) is among other things associated with the Po-to-bo companion Kha-rag sgom-chung (bKa' gdams chos 'byung 106.2–3; Sørensen 2002; Kollmar-Paulenz 1993; s.v. index). Later, a number of hermitages was erected in the area, such as Kha-rag bDe-chen Thar-pa-gling, founded by 'Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa; cf. the eulogy and guide to the site in his Coll. Writings II: 439–48.

The Kha-rag mountain range marks the traditional border between dBus and gTsang. A place in Kha-rag (i.e. Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can) also once defined the western border of the Phag-gru territories in dBus (below fn. 562). From Grags pa 'byung gnas don chen 449.11–12, we are informed that Kha-rag along with Rab-btsun (next note) had been allotted as appanage to prince Böcheq (half-brother of Qubilai). In the rGya bod yig tshang, Kha-rag is listed as a separate unit (of 88 hor dud) within the Yüan-Sa-skya administration. In the 1350's, it adhered to the gTsang-la Yargtogs. Cf. also Petech 1990a: 58. According to the same text (303.16–18), the Kha-rag-pa together with the 'Brug-pa, the people of Gru-gu-sgang* and Gra-ma-thang (i.e. Gr{v}-thang?) provided the services for the Sha-pho jam (postal stage of Sha-pho). Cf. also Thub-bstan phun-tshogs 1996: 541. Geograph. location of Kha-rag in Map 1 follows the position of present-day Kha-rag village: 29°15'N 90°24'E (= 39).

* This is evidently Gru-gu-sgang of gTsang-la Yargtogs (see above fn. 420), similarly listed as a separate estate (registered with 232 hor dud), cf. rGya bod yig tshang 301.1. In the writings of Bla-ma Zhang, it is called Gru-gu-sgang of Chu-shur (fn. 62), which may indicate that the borders of the latter district had changed down through time.

\textsuperscript{432} Referring to the people of Rab-btsun, i.e. Rab-btsun-pa. The place alludes to the early phyi dar temple of Rab-btsun-gnas, a dependency of bZad kyi D[ing]-pa'i gnas founded by the Klümes student rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas (bZad in Chu-shul; see also MTP Uebach 139; Part II: Table V.5). bZad in fact partly covered areas in present-day Chu-shur and Gong-dkar khul, cf. CTZhZh 53 registered thus in 1830. Rab-btsun is regularly mentioned in Si tu bka'.
"sNon," \textit{gSang-phu,} \textit{choms} 70.6, 109.13, 122.11-12 = \textit{Rlangs} 168.19, 205.15, where it is clear that it is located not far from Yar-'brog. As a community it constituted one of the minor estates (90 hor dud) according to \textit{rGya hod vig tshang} (cf. Petech 1990a: 58). The toponym is otherwise rarely documented and seems to be out of usage today. In Map 1 the \textit{mi sde} Rab-btsun-pa (= 40) is inserted (with question mark) at the level of Thod-dkar (due north-east of Yar-'brog-mtsos, see Map 2).

\textbf{433} The \textit{mi sde} of \textit{sNon} listed here between the Tshal-pa estates of Rab-btsun and \textit{gSang-phu} evidently refers to the \textit{sNon} valley due south of \textit{gSang-phu-mda'} (follow. note), which locally is still known as \textit{sNon}. The area includes the (dGe-lugs-pa) sites of \textit{bSe-ser} (29°30'N 91°01'E) and \textit{Nyi-ma-thang} (29°29'N 91°01'E; commonly \textit{sNon} Nyi-ma-thang),* two colleges founded in the 14\textsuperscript{th} cent. by gNyal-rgod Rin-chen bsam-grub (the sites were later called Nyi-thang bShad-sgrub Chos kyi bang-mdzod and \textit{bSe-ser} Byams-gling \textit{chos sde}; cf. Chos'-phel 2004c: 90–94), being dependencies affiliated with \textit{gSang-phu} Ne'u-thog Gling-stod monastery (cf. Onada 1990: 1051–3). In the 17\textsuperscript{th} cent., a \textit{mchod gzhis} under the \textit{sNe'u} district of \textit{sTod-lung} (cf. \textit{DL5 I} 321a1–3; \textit{DL5 III} 136a1) and a \textit{gSang-rgyal} of \textit{sNon} are registered (see also Tsong \textit{kha pa'i rnam thar} 317). A temple of \textit{rNions} counts among the foundations of the \textit{Bring tsha} (MTP Uebach 148b), possibly referring to this \textit{sNon} of sKyi-dmad (and not to the \textit{sNon} alias \textit{Gya-ma}). A toponymic triad is \textit{sNon-gSang-rGyal gsum} in the 1409 A.D. donation-list, which refers to \textit{sNon}, \textit{gSang-phu-mda'} and \textit{rGyal} (= \textit{rGya[1]-sde}); cf. Tsong \textit{kha pa'i rnam thar} 317–18. In the area, the bKra-shis-gshongs of \textit{sNon} was later located, which was involved in an estate compensation and transfer to the \textit{gSang-phu} Dus-mchod-pa in 1674; cf. \textit{DL5 II} 253a2–5. In the 17\textsuperscript{th} cent. a \textit{mchod gzhis} of \textit{sNon} under the \textit{sNe'u} district of \textit{sTod-lung} is registered (cf. \textit{DL5 III} 136a1). The locals speak of two \textit{gzhi kha}: sTag-gdongs \textit{gzhi kha} (which belonged to gNas-chung) and Bla-brang \textit{gzhi kha} which belonged to Nyi-ma-thang. A \textit{sNon-mda'} is known from the Atisa's \textit{rnam thar} (A-myes Byang-chub (a pupil of Atisa) consecrated here the \textit{Aryadeva lha khang}), which according to the context appears to be located in (or not far from) Dol, however (Eimer 1979: 251).

\textit{sNon} (= \textit{rNions}, \textit{gNon}) is written \textit{mNon} in the \textit{Dunhuang Annals}, listed as assembly place for the year 714 A.D. (\textit{TDD} 238.33; DTH 21.20; Dotson, forthcoming). The toponym is related to the ancient \textit{mNon} clan known as one of the allies of the \textit{Yar-lung} \textit{rgyal po} Khrin Slon-btsan \textit{alas} gNam-ri srong-btsan. The original clan territory appears to be the \textit{sNon} (or \textit{Yar-snon} = \textit{rGya-ma}) where gNam-ri srong-btsan founded a residence and where Srong-btsan sgam-po was born (cf. most recently TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005; on \textit{rGya-ma} and its religious sites, see also Rin chen sgyang kha khor ngag rnam thar 423f., \textit{et passim}; bKa' gdams chos 'byung 135–155; bGa' ldan chos 'byung 158b6–6; Hor-khang 1994: 37; \textit{HSLG} Vol. 5: 83, \textit{et passim}; Hor-khang 1999: 571–590: App. V: Table 10). The district called \textit{gNon-lung-pa} counts among the early \textit{yal tshang} drug of \textit{dBu-ra} (\textit{IDe'u-2} 257.18); it is listed between the \textit{yal dpon tshon} of \textit{Phrang-po} and \textit{gSang-phu} and thus may refer to the \textit{sNon} of sKyi-dmad. In Map 1 the \textit{sNon \textit{mi sde} (= 41)} is inserted at \textit{bSe-ser} (loc. 29°30'N 91°01'E) in present-day \textit{gSang-mda'} district of \textit{sTod-lung xian}.

* It is said that it was initially erected by Rva lo tsa ba. Cf. \textit{lha sa dgon the} 277–280. The locals speak of retreat sites of Rva-lo and Mar-pa situated in the mountains behind Nyi-ma-thang.

\textbf{434} \textit{gSang-phu} refers to the upper part of the \textit{gSang} valley (divided into \textit{gSang-mda'} and -\textit{phu}) in sKyi-dmad. It is famous first of all for the establishment there of the prestigious and influential college of erudition, the monastery of \textit{gSang-phu} Ne'u-thog (1073 A.D.), by rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab after spotting the site from sNye-chang; later developed by his nephew, rNgog Blo-idan shes-rab. For a description of the site, see \textit{lHa sa dgon the} 240–43; Chos'-phel 2004c: 87–90: App. V: Table 8; for the popular etymology of the name, see dGu' ldan chos 'byung 1472a2f; see also above fn. 192 and below fns. 630, 711. In the dynastic period, \textit{gSang} (=mda', -\textit{phu}) represented one of the \textit{dBu-ra} \textit{yal dpon tshon} (\textit{IDe'u-2} 257.18; App. IV: fn. 58). Geograph. location: \textit{gSang-phu-dgon} as inserted in Map 1 (= 42): 29°32'N 91°08'E. From \textit{gSang-phu} came some of the most stout supporters of Bla-ma Zhang, as reported in his writings, \textit{gSang-phu-ba'i} Ma-jol sring-gnyis. A not further identified \textit{rGya-ra} Gang-lugs monastery of \textit{gSang-phu} was the site where \textit{lha-rje} dGe-ba'-bum passed away. Today it is part of \textit{sTod-lung xian}, since \textit{gSang-phu} area from medieval times historically was placed under the \textit{sNe'u} fiefship – even today it is part of the \textit{sNe'u rdzong}. The village Thang-stod south of \textit{sNon} (prev. note) traditionally is regarded as the southern border of the \textit{sTod-lung} district.

A list of 1679 of the \textit{lha sde mi sde} under \textit{sNe'u khul} includes: Ram-pa-pa, \textit{gSang-phu-gling} (=sod, -\textit{smad}), Nyi-
rGya-sde \(^{435}\) and Grib,\(^{16, \text{etc.} 41}\)

Grib of sKyid-smad due south of Iha-sa is known from the Iha-sa sa dpvad where it marks the southern horizon of the Iha-sa Man\(\text{\'}a\) landscape (see Part II: App IV, Graph. 1). The mountain in Grib is the seat of the powerful yul lha of Grib and Iha-sa protector rdZong-bsan who is noted in the sources as the divine host of Dvags-po sGom-tshul responsible for inviting him to Iha-sa (see fns. 47 and 493; see also App. II: fn. 31). In the 11th century, Grib became the residence of a ruling family from the Yum-brtan phrug-dad and from the early 12th century onwards was registered as the home of a branch of the mGar lineage (i.e. the lineage of the yon bdag and later dpon chen of Tshal; on the symbolic representations of the Grib – Tshal relationship, see Part II: App. IV). A Grib-mda’ lha-khang is registered for the 11th cent. (see above fn. 231). In Grib we find the settlement Lug-gu, mentioned in the writings of Bla-ma Zhang (above fn. 62). According to the locals the settlement area originally counted 60 families (divided into three, later four grong tsho) which – in the language of the Mongol census of 1268 – means approximately 60 hor dud of the altogether 3700 households of the Tshal-pa myriarchy. During the period of the dGa’-ldan pho-brang government, documents report the estate (gchis) of sNe’u Grib, where sNe’u refers to the area of the old sNe’u rdzong (historically part of sTod-lung rdzong), one of the estates established during the Phag-gru rule in Tibet, as well as the area of Zang-sding/ting of Grib and Ra-ma-sgang (formerly adhering to the estate of Kun-bde-gling). During the tenure of the 8th Dalai Lama, the Tshal-mchog-gling temple was founded (1789 A.D.) in Grib. During the last centuries, Grib is registered as part of the present-day Tshal Gung-thang xiang. In Map 1, the Grib mi sde is inserted at Tshal-mchog-gling monastery in Upper Grib: 29°42’N 91°08’E (= 44).
In a Hen year [1261 A.D.] [dpon chen Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan again] arrived at Gung-thang. He erected a new great external wall around Gung-thang, as well as the Eastern Residence [gZims-khang-shar].

The Grand [Pillared] Courtyard [Khyams-ra chen-mo] of Gung-thang, including the ambulatory ([b]skor khang). He conducted the [appropriate] consecration [of these edifices] and held an extensive celebration. The happiness of [his] subjects [during his rule] resembles that [of those sojourning in the heaven of] Trayastrimśa. He occupied the office of the dpon sa for 26 years and passed away in an [Earth-] Ox year [1289 A.D.], at the age of 57.

[6] [dPon chen Nyi-ma shes-rab]

His son, dpon chen Nyi-ma shes-rab was born in an Ox year [1253 A.D.]; at the age of 17 [i.e. 1269 A.D.] he was elected to the office of the dpon sa, at the age of 20 [ca. 1272 A.D.] he, in accordance with the earlier tradition, arrived in China as attendant [in the entourage] of Jagannātha Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa [1235–1280 A.D.].

Since he was dressed as a monk, he was also known [in this period] as spyan snga Nyi-ma shes-rab. The Emperor [Qubilai] being most pleased [with him], he too obtained [from Qubilai] along with inconceivably [many precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large bre, an edict (ja' sa) which declared that all previous[ly donated] lay communities (mi sde), headed by the [larger mi sde of] Ha-sa and Gung-thang [in toto adhered to his jurisdiction]. He thereafter returned to dBus. [The number of] convents and the [magnitude of] resources [of prosperity to be enjoyed under his rule] resembles the sky [in extent]. Having served the office as dpon sa for 11 years, he passed away at the age of 27, in a Rabbit year [1279 A.D.].

44 Cf. e.g. bKa' gsdams chos 'byung ll 31b1; sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 6a2–4; VS (op. cit.), dPag bsdam ljon bzang 601.8–13. On the question of the founding date of the sGom-sde, see above fn. 115.

45 Considering the fact that his son Nyi-ma shes-rab occupied the office of his father at the age of age 17, we must assume that the tenancy of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan only lasted 16 years (not 26 years): i.e. from 1254 until 1269. If, conversely, he did rule for 26 years i.e. ca. 1254–1279, it would forecast an arrangement of dual rule between father and son for this office, an arrangement popular among the following incumbents. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 6a2–5 maintains Rin-rgyal retired in 1285, at the age of 44 and passed away at the age of 48, i.e. 1288, allowing for his dates: 1241–1288. The same texts claim that Rin-rgyal fathered three sons: the eldest (gevn po) dge bshes Nyi-ma shes-rab who was ordained as monk. Then dGa'-bde-dpal and finally Rin-chen dbang-phyug (1257–1295).

46 It can only refer to 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan's (1235–1280) second journey to China, which however, started in 1267 A.D., with his arrival at the imperial court in 1268 (cf. Petech 1990a: 20–22). As a nephew of Sa-skya Pandita, on whom was bestowed the temporal rule of Central Tibet, he first travelled to Mongolia 1244 where he (and his younger brother Phyag-na rdo-rje (d. 1267); later Prince of Bai-lan; cf. Petech 1990a: 259) accompanied their uncle on the latter's way to the residence of Prince Kōdēn (meeting him 1247 [after the first messenger had arrived 1243, a letter of invitation then followed in 1244; cf. Sa skya gzung rabs 117f.; TPS Tucci 9–12; Petech 1990a: 8]; on the way, 'Phags-pa took his novice monk vows at Zul-phu (BA Roerich 212; for Zul-phu in sKyid-smad, see Table V.8 below). In 1253, he was sent by Kōdēn to Prince Qubilai and became the latter's chaplain. In 1255 he received his final ordination, in 1261 he was granted the title of gushi; in 1264, he returned to Central Tibet and Sa-skya (en route he stayed inter alia at IHa-sa and Gye-re-dgon in sKyid-smad; cf. fn. 420). 1268–75: second journey to China (and eastern Tibet). In 1269 he invented the "'Phags-pa script," in 1270 he became imperial preceptor or dshi, a position which he held until 1274. In 1276, he returned to Sa-skya; 1277 he convened the great Chu-mig chos-’khor in gTsang; the convent was in part financed by Qubilai; Deb dmar 63. 372; BA Roerich 212). He probably was poisoned. passing away untimely. See Petech 1983: 181–88; 1990: 14–24; Szerb 1980, 1985; Ferrari 150–51.
[7] [dPon chen dGa’-bde dpal-ba]

Concerning dpon chen Rin-rgyal’s [32a] (second) son, dpon chen dGa’-bde-dpal-ba [alias dGa’-bde mgon-po] [1254/56–1310 A.D.], known as an emanation of mGon-po Bya-rog [gdong-can] [i.e. *Kākamukha, the Raven-headed One, Mahākāla], he is clearly prophesied in the [Blon po bka’i] Thang yig:41

It is sBa-mi gSal-snang42 of the present time
Who in the location known as Tshal-thang Bye-ma-thang43
As a caretaker (dkon gnyer) [in the future] shall appear
  carrying the name[-component] dGa’ [i.e. dGa’-bde-dpal]
  And who will care for food and cloth [for] the monk community.

In accordance with [this prophecy] at the point of his birth, his father and mother were taken by surprise when [signs of wonder] occurred such as the trembling of the earth and the flashing of lightening. Consulting Rin-po-che Sangs-rgyas gzhon-nu [the 7th Yang-dgon gdan sa ha] [about these wondrous signs], the latter prophesied: “Since this small child is an extraordinary personage, having been blessed by the great Dharmapāla Mahākāla, this person [in the future] will rule over all [regions within the present] realm, being in possession of power and glory!” [Hearing this, the parents] were [highly] pleased.

Aged five, having been taught to read and write etc., merely by being shown the signs [of the letters] he understood everything [instinctively]. Being in possession of perfect strength and qualities, he was [already] elected to the office of the dpon sa [at the age of 15]. At the age of 18, he went to Mongolia,44 where he met the Qayan, who rejoiced greatly [at this meeting]. He was thereafter appointed spyi dpon of Tibet followed by [the donation of] inconceivably [many

41 Cf. Blon po bka’i thang yig (28th skabs) 516. See also dGa’ bzhi rnam thar 17, where the author connects the dGa’ name component in this prophecy with the ethnikon dGa’-bzhi.

42 I.e. dba’ gSal-snang, one of the leading representatives of Buddhism during the time of the foundation of bsam-yas. sBa and sBa-mi are evidently interchangeable forms for this famous clan: dBa’s, dBa’, sBa, ‘Ba’, rBa, dBas; cf. P. Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 4–5, and passim. It is not entirely clear why dGa’-bde-dpal was considered – beyond possibly a mere mimicry of the role played by dBa’ in the founding story of bsam-yas – a rebirth of this famous minister. One clue could be that this Tshal-pa khri dpon also conducted renovations at bsam-yas; cf. bsam yas dkar chag 74–75. See also next note.

43 This is either to be read as an alternative or former name for the Tshal Gung-thang district (i.e. the sandy plain of Tshal), or, more likely, it refers to the [Gung-thang] Bye-thang [chen-mo] of the Tshal district which below (GT 45a) is described as the place (surrounded by trees) where the enthronement ceremony of the abbots of the religious throne(s) of Tshal Gung-thang took place. In Tshal rnam it is also mentioned as the site for the dpon sa inauguration ceremony (see fn. 474). According to the locals, it refers to the area around the colleges to the west of the Gung-thang temple complex (below Graph 3; App. IV: Chap. 3.2). Further below (GT 57a), the toponym Tshal-thang Bye-ma-can more generally is described as the place where the Gung-thang vhir̥a is located.

A toponym Bye-ma (var. Bye-ma-ri, Bye-ma-lung) is also known from the IHa-sa dpjad where it denotes one of the geomantic places situated to the East. Cf. Ka khol ma 214.2, 215.7; TBH Sørensen 260, 559; App. IV: Graph 1.

44 Considering the fact that dGa’-bde, as indicated in Gung thang dkar chag, infra, attained the age of 58, and that he held the office for 43 years, his dates would appear to be: born 1254 A.D. he took office ca. 1268 A.D., and passed away 1310 A.D. Hence, his visit to Mongolia should be situated ca. 1281 A.D. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 6b2–3 maintains that he was born 1256 and ruled for 25 years (ab 1288) and passed away 58, in other words: 1256–1312/13.
precious] presents in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large bre. He received an edict ('ja' sa) which declared that all previous lay communities (mi sde) were to remain under his jurisdiction. He then [again] arrived in Central Tibet (dBus). He ruled over [his] entire realm. As the Tshal mkhan po and the Srin-po-ri-ba and others would not hand over [their] mi sde [estates], he proceeded four times to China and [finally] received all the lay communities (mi sde) [as originally laid down in the edict].

At that point the Sa-skya dön chen Kun-[dga'] bzang-ba/ po [rl. 1270–1275]445 [32b] acted contrary to the wishes of ['Phags-pa] Bla-ma, and [the latter's] attendant (nye gnas) reported these calumnies [of disobedience] to the Emperor Se-chen [Sechen Qan, i.e. the "Wise Qan," Qubilai]446 and as a consequence of this, [the Emperor] dispatched a Mongolian army [along with] Zam-kha [i.e. Sang- go] etc. who [then] executed [the Sa-skya] dön chen.447 Concerning this too it has been said:448

445 Srin-po-ri-ba or the one from Srin-po-ri, the sacred hermitage and site on the mountain of Srin-po-ri in sKyid-smad (site of a Sa-skya monastery which goes back to a foundation of Pandita Vihūticasandra in the early 13th century) or, equally feasible, to the Srin-[mo]-phug-ri close to Byang-mkhar in Tshal. The Tshal mkhan po (if it means the Yang-dgon gdan sa ha) at that time was Sangs-rgyas rin-chen (Part II: Table V.1). The entry alludes to some internal disputes concerning the jurisdiction of the Tshal-pa territories.

446 Kun-dga' bzang-po was sentenced to death and killed at his fief, the castle (mkhar) of Bya-rog-tshang / rdzong in 1281 by Zam-kha, cf. BA Roerich 582; Yar lung chos 'byung 154–55; rGya bod yig tshang 290–91; 'Ba' ra rnam thar 2–4; Gung thang rgyal rabs (Everding 2001, Vol. 1: 96–97); U rgyan pa'i rnam thar l 184–86; mKhas pa'i dga' ston 62, 1368–69; cf. also Petech 1998c: 400-01; 1990b: 21ff. See below.

447 Qubilai was considered a manifestation of Māñjūśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom.

448 Sang-ko probably was a Tibetan who has gone down in history as a prototypically corrupt high-ranking official. He was head of Supreme Control Commission (zon zhiyuan), in 1288, he reorganized as Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (xuanzhengyuan). From 1282 until 1291, he was in charge of the financial affairs at court. For the details on the events discussed here, see Petech 1990b: 21ff.

449 The locus classicus in a Thang yig for these two celebrated hemistichs is the Padma bka' thang Canto 92: 564.8–565.4. The two gter ma couples (with gter shad) are further cited in fuller form in gTer ston lo rgyus 52a4–56a3 (= 393.4–401.3) by Kong-sprul (in reverted order) and in Gu bka' chos 'byung 393.18–20 (see also Sog bzlog bgyis 'ishul gyi lo rgyus 218.1–3; and in part in Kleng-rdol gsung 'bum II 444.8):

1. de nyid mi gnas mya ngen 'das 'og tu // 2. sna thag sa byas hor dmag hod tu 'dong //
   bya rog rdzong du dmag gi khrims rnga brdung // ngan song zer yang de 'dra'i sdug bsgal med //
   snying med po rnam gser phyre chu la 'bor / mi la srid bcad srid srong mang du yol //
   zangs yag brag la shas pa'i gter ka 'di / sens can sa 'og gnos pa'i dus tsam na //
   ma bzhag 'don pa'i rtags der bstan nas 'byung // gnam skos mkhar chur shas pa'i gter kha 'di //
   gter ston gu ru jo rtse zhes bya 'byung / mi bzhag 'don pa'i rtags su bstan nas 'byung /

Both quoted as accompaniment to the life-story of gter ston Gu-ru Chos kyi dhang-phug yug and Gu-ru Jo-rtse respectively, ibid. 393.21–394.11. Si tu bka' chems 161.16f. = Rlangs 254.20f. offers some background information. It is related that in the year following the [untimely] demise of 'Phags-pa (1235–1280), i.e. 1281 A.D., an attendant of the latter plotted against the dön chen (for an involvement in the death of the former) wherefore the Mongols dispatched a retaliatory army.* They seized Bya-rog (see next note) and executed Kun-dga' bzang-po, though allegedly he was innocent of any charges of betrayal, as some sources purport. During this operation the gold dust was thrown into the water [of gTsang-po]. This phrase either purports, concretely, that precious values were prevented (wasted?) from falling into the hands of the Mongols, or, it may implicitly also indicate that with this episode the Tibetans had inflicted great losses upon themselves. The event later became a topic of dispute between Sog-bzlog and the 5th Dalai Lama.

* For the term dmag khrims / khrims dmag, army of the law or rather punitive army, see fn. 690 below. Punitive campaigns against rebellious Tibetans were regularly dispatched from the Mongol court; cf. Franke 1981: 301.
“When the drum of the [Mongolian] punitive army (dmag gi khrims) is beaten [i.e. war is waged] at Bya-rog rdzong Faint-hearted men throw gold-dust into the river!”

At that point due to the activities of some dpon chen many calamities visited Tibet, wherefore it was a time where [ill-boding] prophecies [like these were heard].

“The nose-rope had been made by Sa[-skya] [so] the Mongolian army arrived in Tibet; Even [compared to] the so-called damned states (durgati) [of Samsāra] such sufferings [that visited Central Tibet] have never been [seen before].”

In accordance with this, when then in a Tiger year [1278] Mi-chen Zam-kha-ba [i.e. Sang-}

408 Or Bya-rog-tshang, i.e. “Raven Nest” (Bya-rog alludes to Mahākāla). It constituted a stong skor (qian hu) or chilarchy (comprising 832 household and 28 (or: 38) rta mgo (var. rtags mgo) units; see however below) in the 13th cent. and hence was a Sa-skya base under the Chu-mig myriarchy,* later it was attached to or merged with Tshong-'dus (cf. fol. 24a above; DL5 I 22a2-4) in gTsang.** A monastery in Bya-rog-tshang dates back to the mid-11th century and was associated with the gRywa clan (rulers of large stretches of Myang-stod) and in particular with gRywa Dul-'dzin dBang-pyug brtsun-grus (BA Roerich 78), alias dBang-pyug tshul-khrims. In the following century, the teachings transmitted through ‘Bre Shes-rab-'bar were taught by gTsang-pa ‘Bre-sgru/sku at Bya-rog-tshang. A dge bshes Bya-rog tshang-pa (referring to a local Vinaya settlement) is registered for the mid-13th cent., cf. rGos tshang rnam thar 1135 and BA Roerich 684, where rGos-tshang sojourned in the same or following period, the center of the area as fiefship accommodated the residential camp of the administrator Kun-dga’ bzang-po (Sa-skya dpon chen, ca. 1270-75 A.D.), arguably donated to him as estate. Upon his execution, the estate was taken over by the family of ‘Ba’-ra rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-pa (1310-91), a member of the gRywa clan, thus it was transferred (again?) to the original yen bdag. The site apparently is to be identified with the present-day Bya-tshang of Myang-smad (also locally known as Bya-rog-tshang; below Map 9); it is situated due south of the rdzong hill of old Pa-snman rdzong (= the Bya-rog rdzong of the 13th cent.?), more precisely below the sKu-ri, the latter considered the border mountain between upper and lower Myang. Cf. Deb dmars gser (Tucci 1971: 186) which has Nyang-smad Bya-rog rdzong; and rGya bod yig tshang; dpal-nams (= Pa-t’snam) Bya-rog-tshang. The Bya-tshang of Pa-nam rdzong is registered to have been occasionally overflowed (or flooded, as recent as 1958); cf. Rang ’byung gnod ’tshes chu skyon skor 252-53. The family line issuing from U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230-1309) had earlier settled in Bya-rog-tshang of Nyang-ro (= Upper Myang), perhaps referring here to the Bya-rog of Ra-lung (in upper Myang-stod: Xizang Dimchingi I 236b: 28°49'N 90°01'E), which again may be the Bya-rog-tshang under the Yar-brog khri skor that held 28 (or: 38) rta mgo (var. rtags mgo) units. A Bya-rog-tshang of Grva-phyi is also registered: see BA Roerich 990.

Sources: Si tu bka’ chen 162.1-2 = Rlangs 255.14; 210.5-6 = 302.17; Rva lo rnam thar 98; Yar lungchos ’byung 131.15; rGya bod yig tshang 302-03; 358-59, 485; U rgyan pa rnam thar 17; mkhas pa ’i dga’ston 483-84, 734; Zur chen rnam thar 65.2-5; DL5 [B] 28b6; DL5 I 22a3-4; Lung bstan kun gsal 59.2. ’Ba’-ra rnam thar 2-4; for further sources, see Petech 1988e: 401: 1990a: 25f., 65.

* The centre was in Chu-mig village (south-west of gZhis-kha-rtse; see Map 9), where today a memorial stone situated close to the walls of the Ngor E-wam dgon marks the site of the former khri dgon palace (loc. 29°08'48"N 88°43'31.6"E).

** For other figures such as 57 dud for Bya-rog-tshang and the question to which khri skor it adhered, see also the 5th Dalai Lama, gSer shing phun tshogs ‘dod ’jo 89a5-b2; DL5 I 22a2-4).

451 This proverbial prophecy claims that the local Sa-skya dpon chen through his actions attempted to become independent of Mongolian hegemonical rule. The idiom “to make/pull the nose-rope or the tether [of the animal]” indicates an attempt to remain or become free and independent. The second couplet is also cited in a number of sources.

452 The date is still inconclusive. We shall argue for 1290 (rather than 1278 A.D.) as the date.

Petech (1990a: 21, 31, 72) maintains that ’Dam-rin[ng]-pa (here clearly a namesake) was killed in 1267. An episode is rendered (Grub thob U rgyan pa ’i rnam thar I 171, 187–88, 224–29) where mi chen Sang-gha (d. 1291) met O-rgyan-pa (1230–1309 – according to bk’as brgyud chos ’byung 73b1–6, he reached the age of 92 and died in 1321 [sic]), possibly
go] arrived in Tibet, he convened [the heads of] all the myriarchies (khri skor, tümen erüge, wanhusu), and due to the fact that the [latter's] attendant 'Dam-ri[ng]-pa had inflamed Zam-kha, he carried through many [court] hearings (rtsa ra mang po byas) of dpon chen dGa'-bde dpal-ba. For this reason dGa'-bde went to China, where he met the Emperor and reported that in Tibet Zam-kha was acting contrary to the law. dGa'-bde-dpal reported: "Although I, the steward of the Gung-thang t'Gtsug-lag-khang, the private temple of the Emperor and of [the temples of] the two Jo-bo[-Statues, i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che], have not committed any sin even as much as the size of a needle, [Zam-pa], being instigated by the machinations of others, has carried out [court] hearings [against me], etc." [Reporting] thus in great detail, the Emperor was pleased and immediately bestowed upon him the imperial Five-Clawed Dragon [satin] Robe (na bza' brug sder lnga ma, Ch. *long duan) etc. and spoke benign words like: "You are [like] a family member [to me]!" etc. When Zam-kha-ba was about to plan killing [dGa'-bde-dpal] after he had brought him to court, he happened to sight the imperial robe under the upper garment that [dGa'-bde-dpal] had taken off. [a sight which] petrified and scared Zam-kha. [Shortly after however Zam-kha himself] was found guilty (nag phog) [of abuses and corruption], and dGa'-bde, master and servants, came [into his presence], before [Zam-kha] was to led to the place of execution. [33a] Gleefully [they] drank chang [whereupon he] sang [the following song of derision and insolence addressed to Zam-kha]:

"Between you and me the difference is extremely great:
You are Mi-chen Zam-kha-ba
I am dGe-'dun Tshal-pa [i.e. the One from the Tshal-pa Monk-body]:
Glorious Joyous Bliss (dga' bde dpal) [my name is],
[endowed with] Glorious Mental Bliss (blo bde dpal),
[and experiencing] Glorious Happiness (skyid pa'i dpal)
Now [the time has come for] dGa'-bde-dpal [to rejoice]!"

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*during this visit (i.e. 1280's?) after Qubilai Qan had received news of his fame. In O-rgyan-pa's biography, a number of high-ranking Mongol leaders invited him to visit Mongolia: Mi-chen In-byi-lag = léilag, the post-master general (cf. Petech 1990b: 62–63) in Tibet, then Samgha (d. 1291) and lastly invited by Prince Temir Buqa, son of Quruqchi (the seventh son of Qubilai; cf. Boyle 1971: 244), who had crushed the 'Bri-gung rebellion and who temporarily had Tibet under his jurisdiction after 1290 A.D. Cf. Franke 1981: 300.

The exact date of U-rgyan-pa's invitation and his 1½ months-long visit to Mongolia (at the court of Qubilai) should be situated to 1292.* The same text incidentally reports for the same year that U-rgyan-pa visited Tshal Gung-thang in 1292, where he met Mi-dpon or Chen-po dGa'-bde-dpal; as present to Emperor Qubilai, U-rgyan-pa brought along a bhum pa containing longevity-water that had been hidden by Guru Rinpoche and later extracted from U-ljang-rdo. For the meeting at Dadu (Great Capital) and Shangdu (Supreme Capital) and his capability to cure the ailing emperor as well as his receipt of a jade seal, see U'rgyan pa rnam thar 1 234-43.

* U'rgyan pa'i rnam thar 1 confirms the Water-Dragon Tiger year = 1292, yet simultaneously (and wrongly) chronicles O-rgyan-pa's age as being 73, which in casu must be rectified to 63 or the year altered to 1302 (Water-Tiger). We shall opt for the former date, 1292 (confirmed in U'rgyan pa'i rnam thar II 178b, III 108.3–09.2, also mKhas pa'i dga'stan 917), cf. op. cit., 226–229; van der Kuijp 2004.

49dGa'-bde mgon-po had probably been taken into custody (in China) by Sang-ko to arraign before the court in the wake of the 1290 incident; cf. Petech 1990b: 31, 72.

494 That this celebrated song or dictum is sardonic (rgugs gmam) is also understood by Nor-brang O-rgyan (1993: 289). Anyhow, this plaidoyer and depiction in favour of dGa'-bde is surely legendary, a concocted fabrication – similar to those written in China about Sang-go (i.e. Sangha) – made after his execution which was carried out on 17.08.1291.
For the sake of the monastic community of Tshal-pa, he seven times went to China. Although Mi-chen Zam-kha-pa and others perpetrated many unsuitable manoeuvings, [dGa'-bde] had the Emperor's confidence, and thus he [could] overwhelm his opponents with his brilliance. [He therefore] made [some] jesting remarks while gleefully serving chang; when the Emperor observed how adversities were eliminated after all the Dharma-Protectors that had followed in the trail of dpon chen po dGa'-bde had arrived, he was surprised and rejoiced greatly. For the 'Cham [Dance] figures [in Tshal Gung-thang] he annually donated countless presents such as robes, silk brocade and silver amounting to one large bre etc.

On the point of returning to Tibet, the Emperor said [to him]: “Formerly [I told] your father RIn-chen rgyal-mtshan [to create a symbiotic patron-priest unity between] Tshal and Gung[thang] [in a fashion like] covering a valley with a mountain and [I told him] to make a backrest for the [statue of lHa-chen] in Tshal Gung-thang. [These] physical legacies have [yet] not been completed, so I urge you to apply your [full] energy to render [such and other] services to my temple!” Presenting of
dancing_chen

In a Dragon year [1304 A.D.?), Chinese and Tibetan experts in craftmanship were summoned. [With their help, he erected] the Great Middle Storey [i.e. Bar-khang chen-mo, situated] above the [Gung-thang] gTsug-lag-khang, as well as four Chapel-Annexes (glo 'bur), the Entrance Vestibule (sgo khang) both the external and the internal wing, the twelve pitched roofs in Chinese [style] along with their golden gser 'phru ornaments [atop the roof]. [Moreover], above the circular winged-shaped [eaves] (bya 'dabs) [projecting from the roof-edge] [33b] four [small] lha khang [were erected in the four directions] inside of which mandala of the Anuttarayogatantra along with [the corresponding] statues [were erected]. As principal [task] he manufactured, in accordance with the behest of the Emperor, a wonderful throne and the backcloth for the Jo-bo Byang-chub-po [statue]. In the western direction [of the temple precinct he erected] the private chapel of the Emperor (gong ma dgos [= sgos] kyi lha khang) and the chapel [devoted to a mural representation of] the successive Mongolian DharmaRajas [emperors and rulers], respectively [installed] with many wondrous [extraordinary] [objects] such as costly items (rin po che'i dpyad pa [= dpyad, chas]), etc. Further, he successfully manufactured silver items each worth one thousand zho; gold[-plated] items worth one hundred zho each. In front of [the statue of] 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che [he manufactured] silver items each worth two thousand zho and gold[-plated] items each worth two hundred zho. Inside the Grand [Pillared] Courtyard [Khyams-ra chen-mo], in the 340 shelves 23,500 books of the holy scripture and inside [the distinct] interior lha khang, 3,020 gold-written books [were kept] being equipped with brocade wrappings and with book-straps made from identical materials. [He] covered the outer large [open] Square (bla ye chen mo) with a stone-paved courtyard. The large Vestibule (sgo khang) was equipped with [painted? images] of the Four Guardian Kings [of the Universe] (caturmasahārāja). Outside the large multi-coloured portal, he erected two stone lions, equipped [the vestibule] with two large pillars, and on the front-side [and aver] the door a bell was hung. Above that he [erected] a thig

The different pillars along both the inner and the outer corridors [of the gTsong-lag-khang he] embellished and fitted with coats of mail and helmets as well as swords and each [pillar was covered] with a tiger-skin. Merely by beholding [the gTsong-lag-khang] any external vile-minded enemy would be terrified and stricken by fear. Having [thus] brought to completion this most wondrous, indeed, in all dBu-gTsang, matchless gTsong-lag-khang along with its Corridor-Halls, he carried out its inauguration and arranged an extensive celebration [of this event].

In a Monkey year [i.e. sa spre’u 1308 A.D.] ’Jam-dpal-dbyangs Šakya gzhon-nu435 was invited from gSang[-phu] Ne’u-thog [to come to Tshal], where he established the Chos-’khor-gling436 and [thus] founded [there the tradition of] expounding and studying philosophy (mtshan nyid). In order to disseminate the Dharma transmission of the Glorious ’lVung, he rewarded the [school] was invited [to Tshal Gung-thang], where he founded a [Sa-skya] school.437 Thereafter, having [fully acknowledged the support and service rendered earlier] he rewarded [i.e. remunerated] (bdag rkyen mdzad) the sde bzhi of Rva-mo-che [in lHa-sa]438 and elected Ro-skam-pa mkhan chen bSod-nams shes-rab as acabary439, whereupon he established a Vinaya College. In accordance with the successful completion of all these [tasks], the dPon chen po [dGa’-bde-dpal again] arrived in China, and having reported the background [to his activities] to the Emperor, [the latter] was highly pleased and presented [him] with inconceivably [many precious] gifts in form of silk, brocade and silver amounting to one large bre [given in order to serve] as material resources for whatever costs [would be needed to maintain] the temple [in

435 The 14th-cent. 16th mkhan po of the Lower Monastery (Gling-smad; actually the 8th throne-holder of this chair) of gSang-phu Ne’u-thog. He occupied the chair at gSang-phu for 27 years, from ca. 1326–1352 A.D; see below fn. 630.
436 Cf. Yar lung chos ’byung 1346.f. VS 152.1; BA Roerich 341.
437 Cf. sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 7a1–3; VS 152.1–2; 156.22; dPag bsam ljon bzang 601.11–12, which purports that it was established by dGa’-bde; see below 47a.
438 Cf. Yar lung chos ’byung 1344.11–12. The Sa-skya college was part of the dBu-gling monastery, the first abbot of which was Do-pa Don-grub dpal-ladan (below Chapter III.3).
439 Ra-mo-che sde-bzhi/bzhi-sde (i.e. later bZhi-sde-pa dGa’-ldan bSam-gtan-gling) originally stems from what in late dynastic times were known as six chapels (other sources speak of four institutions) erected in the four directions around lHa-sa [Jo-khang], viz. rMe-ru (orig. dMar-ru?, which later developed its own line of abbots), Ke-ru (orig. dKar-ru?), dGa’-ba, dGa’-’ba[i]od, Brang-khang as well as Brang-khang [m]/ha[-]ma (cf. also TBH Sørensen 416).* The commonly transmitted story recounts that the convent called dGa’-ba was later transferred to Ra-mo-che by the Tshal khri dpon dGa’-bde bzang-po (i.e. dGa’-bde-dpal) where four so-called mchod ’bul bzhi grva were established, i.e. minor convents erected to provide ritual and liturgical service for Ra-sa/Ra-mo-che monastery. For a discussion and a brief historical overview of the institution down through history, cf. below Part II: Tables V.7.
Sources: sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar 7a2; VS 143.14f.; dPang bsam ljon bzang 598.10–16; DL7 865, 926.; Chos ’byung bstan pa nyi ma 89a2–3; mkhas pa’i dga’ston 1422.10–11; 7th Dalai Lama, gDong lnga i sgra dbyangs 78a3-92a4 (see below); see also the lengthy entry in Dung dkar tshig mdzad 1798–1800; lhA sa’i dgon tho 24–6, 37–8; further Larsen et al. 2001: 138, 141; Alexander 2005: Chap. 9; Ferrari 1958: 41, 94; Chab-spel 1982: 37; Chayet 1994: 148, HSLG Vol. 6: 41–42.
* Actually only three directions are given: E: dKar-ru and rMe-ru, S: dGa’-ba and dGa’-ba’i od (it may be related to the dGa’-ba’i ’od-phro temple where Atiša stayed during his sojourn in lHa-sa; according to the context, this was situated in sKhar-chung (= present-day Ra-ma-sgang); Eimer 1979: 261); N. Bran-khang and Bran-khang tha-ma. It appears to be related to the Bran[kha] (Bran-phu) area, the site of the Bran Ra-mo-che, which however is located to the west of lHa-sa; or else it is a corrupt rendering of Nyang-bran, i.e. the area to the north of lHa-sa where Pha-bong-ka is situated.
440 He is not listed in the chapter on Ro-skam (see above), but obviously was connected with this Tshal-pa institute.
the future. [dGa'-bde-dpal] even received the following positive verdict [of recognition] (lung hzung) [from the Emperor] that said:\textsuperscript{661}

“The Sa-skya-pa are my unique Bla-mas; 
[But] the Tshal-pa are my unique family members, 
so they are protected by my affectionate benevolence.”

He [then] arrived in Central Tibet [again]. Subjugating all [territories of Central Tibet] under his sway, he ruled over his huge [local] realm. [During his reign] enjoyable material resources of all wishes [conceivable] fell like rain. The lamp of the Teaching of the monk congregation of Tshalpa was kindled; the outer enemies were pacified and domestically he safeguarded his subjects with benevolent affection. His fame and renown covered all ten directions of Jambudvīpa. Being blessed by Śrī Vajrāpāṇi, he [dGa'-bde-dpal], who was indistinguishable [in might and fortitude] from the chos skyon Mahākāla, ruled the office of the dpon sa for 43 years, after which he passed away at the age of 58.\textsuperscript{662} At the funeral service, respect and reverence were extensively rendered to many tens of thousand of great Bla-mas and monks. [Karma-pa rje Rang-byung rdo-rje [1284–1339 A.D.], etc. [appeared at the head of the row of distinguished guests].\textsuperscript{663}

During the period prior to and after this drung chen [the following events took place]: Since chos rje sPos-rgya-ba\textsuperscript{664} had significant [meditative] encounters with 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che, for two years [34b] he contemplated spending all food and wealth, etc. [that he had gathered] successfully and so whatever he received offerings from dBu-gTsang etc. and, furthermore, whatever he had of possessions, he brought to Gung-thang and there principally by [providing] 15 khal [loads] of butter and butter-lamps amounting to thirteen copper-vessels full of oil [to be used] daily in front of the precious image [of Bla-ma Zhang], etc. Further, for the Ser rtsi chen mo [Festival] he had about 20 stang tse [~ stang rtsa, i.e. extra loads] of brown

\textsuperscript{661} The locus classicus for the couplet remains to be identified. But see mKhas pa'i dga'i ston 1422.8–10. Interestingly, Siddhiphala alias emperor Yinzong (1320–23), from sMon-lam rdo-rje in return for many presents donated to Gung-thang in 1320, was addressed as Tshal-pa'i nang mi or “family member.” See also sMon lam rdo rje nam thar 48a1–4.

\textsuperscript{662} sMon lam rdo rje nam thar 6a4–b4. As suggested above he probably lived ca. 1254–1310 A.D.

\textsuperscript{663} Cf. Karma sku 'phreng 2 61b5–6; Deb sngon 622.10–12; mKhas pa'i dga'i ston 975.19–21 (which gives the date of the funeral as lcags khvi 1310); Schuh 1977: 130. The Tshal mi sde district of Dol (see above fn. 423) was presented to Rang-byung rdo-rje as religious estate on this occasion; cf. Karma sku phreng l 113b2–3. Cf. also mTshur phu dkar chag 373 which wrongly dates the invitation after 1330. He visited Tshal Gung-thang again in 1337 or 1338; on this occasion sizeable distributions were enacted; for details, see Tshal rnam 21a–6. 5763 monks were also present.

It is reported that probably during the rule of dge slong Tshal-pa (= dGa'-bde-dpal or sMon-lam-rdo-rje?), the Dvags-po ruler bSod-nams rin-chen (1416–66?; of the dGyets/Ser clan) studied at Tshal both Mahāyāna teachings and medical lore (in the latter’s line there developed the famous Zur lugs gsar known through Zur-mkhar mNyam-nyid rdo-rje and Blo-gros rgyal-po, both from La-thog of eastern Dvags-po; above fn. 424). Cf. 'Bum-kho and Grags-pa 2003: 82–83.

\textsuperscript{664} sPos-skya-pa Seng-ge rin-po-che/chen (1258–1313 A.D., the latter dates reflecting the 'Brug-tradition; cf. also Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar 324.1). Cf. his biography rJe sPos skya pa rnam thar 261.2–4, 280.4–281.4, 285.3 for Gung-thang, which he repeatedly visited (in the period between ca. 1285–1300 A.D.) and esp. developed amicable relations to dpon chen dGa'-ba = dGa'-bde-dpal.

The biography relates that prior to 1280 at Gung-thang there initially only was a mchod khang with the statue of lHa-chen and three gdung khang or ossuaries. The khvams khra (courtyard) and the skor khang or ambulatory were about to be erected during this very period.
sugar boiled and coagulated (dgor = bsgar) and to the monks in connection with the Bu ram khru skor ma [New-year] Festival and to the Bla-mas and to the master and disciples he thus donated inconceivably [many] presents in form of mdzo[-cattle] and horses."

Such regular [endowment] (de'i rgyun = dge rgyun?) were also conducted by most great Bla-mas of that time.

Chos rje bCu-gsum-pa [Seng-ge rgyal-po] [1289–1325 A.D.][45] too, recalling the kindness of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [similarly] wanted to donate [a large amount of accumulated] resources for that purpose, wherefore [he donated] an inconceivably [large amount] of offerings such as 25 khal loads of butter and butter-lamps consisting of 13 copper-vessels full of oil [to be offered] on a daily basis in front of the precious image [of Bla-ma Zhang] and in front of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po; [in addition to this he donated] presents such as mDzo[-cows], horses and [samples of] holy scriptures etc. to the Bla-mas, master and disciples, as well as to the monk community [at Tshal Gung-thang] [to be used] for the [local] Ser rtsi ston mo Feast. [He thus] carried out many sorts of services." Similarly, [the latter’s son] chos rje Kun-dga’ seng-ge [1314–1347 A.D.] in a Fire Rat year [1336 A.D.][46] [carried out many] forms of services consisting of donating a load that

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[45] Cf. verbatim rje sPos skya pa rnam thar 280.4–281.2. This text mentions the amount of 200 extra loads of brown sugar, not 20. The Bu ram khru skor ma possibly was not a festival but a food-charity distribution that consisted of a cubit of brown bu ram distributed to each monk. In fact, it refers to the temporary assignment or assistance of his as dkon gnyer of Gung-thang for a period of two years that was taken up by sPos-skya (from 1288 he acted as the 5th throne-holder of Rva-lung), probably during the years 1298–1300 (cf. e.g. Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar 317.5–318.1). The former text reports that, due to his successful work in providing ample resources, he was considered the best steward since the establishment of Gung-thang in 1175. During his tenure at Gung-thang, he also delivered religious teachings.

At the memorial or commemorative service (gshegs rdzongs) of sPos-skya in 1313, most of the larger monastic communities of dBu-gTsang headed by Sa-skya and Gung-thang held a large feast of worship with food (butter and curd) distribution. At Rva-lung, a statue resembling in height the Jo-bo statue of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was erected as nang rien, and at the three 'Brug establishments of 'Brug, mDo- mkhar and Cho-rdzongs, statues the size of the Jo-bo at Ra-mo-che were erected together with a golden statue and a sku 'dra of sPos-skya himself; cf. Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar 324.1–5. These receptacles too were erected in artistic mimicry of the Ra-sa sanctuaries.

[46] It refers to the 6th throne-holder of Rva-lung, bCu-gsum-pa Seng-ge rgyal-po or Simharaja. His bonds to Tshal and to dpun chen sMon-lam may date to the period around ca. 1320–23, cf. Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar 330.4–5. Following the 'Brug-pa hierarch tradition of rendering service to Gung-thang gisug lag khang by offering butter-lamps (zu mar kyi zhab s tog) and in token commemoration of and traditional gratitude towards Bla-ma Zhang, he followed in the footsteps of his predecessor and mentor sPos-skya-pa. The commitments bear witness to the close ties that reigned between Tshal-pa and 'Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa, a rapport that was initiated with the close relationship between Bla-ma Zhang and gTsang-pa rGya-ras (but see here somewhat contradicting the mention of the 14th-cent. Brug pa / Tshal-pa dispute at Tsar-ri; above fn. 424).

Similar to his predecessor, after his demise, four gser sku equaling in size the Jo-bo in the two lHa-sa sanctum were erected and a grand commemorative service was executed, headed by the monasteries of Gung-thang and Sa-skya; ibid. 357.7–358.2 and Kun dga’ seng ge rnam thar 380.7–381.2.

[47] Verbatim from Seng ge rgyal po rnam thar 342.1–6. The extensive service rendered to Gung-thang took place ca. 1322. However, the same text, op. cit., 350.4–5, also seems to indicate that the 6th Rva-lung throne-holder in 1325 went to Gung-thang and served or assisted temporarily as dkon gnyer.

[48] The 7th throne-holder of Rva-lung and son of bCu-gsum-pa, 'Brug-pa Kun-dga’ seng-ge. In 1323, at the age of eight, he met Bla-ma dishi Kun-dga’ blo-gros who gave him religious teachings; Kun dga’ seng ge rnam thar 376.4–6. In 1325, he was invited to Gung-thang and assisted as steward; ibid. 380.2–3. In 1340, he attended the spectacular Gung
amounted to ten-thousand [ounces] of churned butter (mar lcags [= mar hcags] 'dres pa), presents such as tea and money, mDzo, horses, etc. to the monk community of Tshal and Gung-thang.\textsuperscript{46}

During the tenure of the [distinct] dpon chen both those before and after [dGa'-bde-dpal], when [especially] high-ranking Bla-mas were invited to Gung-thang, the [successive] dpon chen [usually] provided them with a [spectacular] reception of welcome on horse, including [forming] lanes and corteges [of mounted horses] (kya hrgas = rkya [h]rgas)\textsuperscript{46} who both brandished and displayed a sheer unending number of splendid [35a] gser 'phan standards and [many-coloured auspicious] bkra shis khra ring [emblems], etc. Such appropriate traditions prevailed [at Tshal Gung-thang]. Thus during the tenure of these dpon chen who [ruled] both prior to and after [the reign of] dpon chen po dGa'-bde[-dpal], all the worldly and religious powers [of the Tshal-pa] reached their peak. Thereafter, for many successive generations of dpon [rulers], over a period of about 140 years, [the Tshal-pa] were the [true] rulers of the dBu-gTsang [provinces]. The magnificent deeds [executed by these men, which included commitments] such as safeguarding all [the subjects under their rule] with [their] benevolence, just like parents [do towards their own offspring] etc., [these deeds indeed are so wondrous and inexplicable that they] surpass the all [the subjects under their rule] with [their] benevolence, just like parents [do towards their own offspring] etc., these deeds indeed are so wondrous and inexplicable that they] surpass the realm of [verbal] expression. This is [largely due to the fact that] formerly the spiritual sons of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [namely] the Yar-lung-pa Grags-pa seng-ge and gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, master and disciples, bestowed upon Činggis Qan and Qubila Qan [Se-chen], mother and sons, teachings on the karmic [law on] cause and effect, [as well as delivered] blessing-authorization (anujñā) and empowerment (abhiseka) according to the system of Tshal, bestowed religious explications of the many qualities of the body, speech and mind [aspects] of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che and many prophecies concerning future events. One should know that this is the timely ripening of the fruits [that sprang from] the inexhaustible [number of] seeds [once] planted, [which consisted of] extensive aspiration-prayers [which eventually] turned into [the unique] patron and priest [relationship executed] by way of the respect displayed and religious service rendered etc. to the precious Teaching [of Buddha] – specifically as much as generally – including the monastic community [of Tshal], the holy upholders of the Teaching [of Buddha]. That one simultaneously shall achieve [virtuous] merits when one [greatly] rejoice [over the above feats told] is something that has [already] been proclaimed in all the sūtra and tantra. Consequently, both Bla-ma Yar-lung-pa and gTsang-pa Dung-khur-ba, can [indeed] can be compared to great [auspicious] flag-poles (dar chen) [which disseminate and hence] safeguard the space-resembling Teaching of [the school of] Zhang Rin-po-che, through the karmic feats of his disciples in the extremest [i.e. all] directions [of their territories].

\textsuperscript{46} Cf. verbalim Kun dga’ seng ge rnam thar 399.5–400.1. It is here clarified that the donation this time consisted of loads weighting ten-thousand lla-sa ounces (lha sa srang gi khai khri phrag gcig) of mar and lcags. ingredients to manufacture butter-lamps. The reading butter and iron may therefore be preferred, where also other items are listed. Cf. also ibid. 412.3–4.

\textsuperscript{47} A similar expression, incidentally, occurs in phrases such as dmag [h]rgas, mi [h]rgas, etc. alluding to army-soldiers and men lined up during battle or during parade and procession; cf. e.g. Sì tu bka’ chems 98.20–99.7 = Rlangs 195.7–14 describing the soldiers of the hapless Tshal-pa army in 1348 A.D. Such horse guard of honour in battle or in procession and escort were later expressed with the words chibs rags, chibs bsu, chibs skyel.
[dPon chen Rin-chen seng-ge]

After dGa'-bde[-dpal], dpon chen Rin-chen seng-ge [followed]. He was born as the [eldest] son of dGa'-bde in a Tiger year [1278 A.D.]. At the age of 17, he came to the office of the dpon sa. At age 19, following the tradition of his ancestors, he arrived in China. Being favourably received by the Emperor, he was in numerous ways rewarded [for the service rendered] and received presents in the form of silver [amounting to the value] of one [large] bre, as well as silk and brocade. He then returned to dBus. His power and resources of wealth resemble [in extent and magnitude] that of the Land of the Gods. He held the office of the dpon sa for four years and passed away at the age of 21 years.

[Drung chen rin po che sMon-lam rdo-rje]

Thereupon drung chen Rin-po-che sMon-lam rdo-rje [1284–1346/47 A.D.] was elevated to the dpon sa office. He had earlier [been prophesied] by rje 'Ol-kha-ba who [had once] said to Zhang Rin-po-che: “Bla ma! As for your monastery, there will eventually come a dpon holding the position of a layman and in the end it will be destroyed by flooding!” Thus speaking, Zhang Rin-po-che prophesied: “At that point, I too shall appear and provide assistance!” According to [these prophecies], it is said that Zhang Rin-po-che [later] personally appeared with the intention of disseminating the teaching and worldly power of the Tshal-pa. He was born as the son of dGa'-bde[-dpal] in a [Wood-]Monkey year [i.e. 1284 A.D.]. [Endowed with the excellent marks and characteristic signs [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and possessing endless qualities such as [the mastery of the five] sciences etc., already at the age of five, he [instinctively] knew how to write and read. At the age of 20 [1303 A.D.], he came to the office of the dpon sa. In an [Earth] Monkey year

\[\text{[1972: 9]} \] [Drung chen rin po che sMon-lam rdo-rje]
[i.e. 1308 A.D.], he arrived in China in accordance with the tradition of [all the former Tshal-pa] predecessors. When he met the [new] Emperor, [the latter] was highly pleased, and he bestowed upon him silk and brocade and silver [amounting to] one [large] hre as well as issuing the 'Ja'sa Ka'u ling Edict which made public [i.e. confirmed] that the formerly [donated] lay communities were to remain [under Tshal-pa jurisdiction], as well as [handing over to him] a silver seal, along with gold ornaments. Then he went [back] to dBus, where a reception of welcome and a feast beyond imagination were made [in his honour]. He distributed wealth (mang 'gyed) to the

[of Tshal-pa].” [or: “Military Commander of the Three Circuits” or alt. indeed of “Civil Administration Population Overseer”] (Tib. klu dhan hu g[]yin min dzung gun, i.e. either to be construed as Ch. [tiand/] li guanmin [guan] wanhu; [san?] lu junmin wanhu [fu]; or lu wanhun guanmin zongguan). Reconstructed, we preferably may read his investiture as la wanhun guanmin zongguan or wanhun junmin zongguan (M. *cölge tümen irgen sunggon) i.e. “Civil Administrator of the [Tshal-pa] Myriarchy on the Route/Circuit [Level].” Cf. also Petech 1990b: 44, 56; YS 87.

The same text chronicles that in the tenth month of 1303, being invited by the 10th Tshal-throne-holder Sákya-bum, sMon-lam rdo-rje was officially instated as dpon sa of the entire Tshal-pa myriarchy during an inaugural mass ceremony on the Great Plain (Bye-thang) of Gung-thang (ibid. 12a1–3). In 1304, he went to Sa-skya to reconfirm the investiture. In the same year, at Sa-skya, he made extensive food distribution offerings; ibid. 22a6, 33a2.

His imperial visit included a meeting with the newly installed Yuan Emperor Qaišan (i.e. Külüü (Tib. Gu-yug). alias Wuzong (“Material Ancestor”); rg. 1307–11). sMon-lam rdo-rje arrived in Dadu (Great Capital) on the fifth day of the first lunar month: the following day, he met the new imperial dishi [Khang-gsar-pa] Bla-ma bzang-po Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1267–1314; dishi 1305–1313; and for the teachings he received ibid. 33b1). He strew flowers in front of a [kesi silk?] woven thanga (btags sku) of deceased Emperor Öljetü set up in the Ancestral Palace, in token respect of the role played by the latter who earlier had confirmed the Tshal-pa khrri skor investiture. On the 7th day of the same month, finally he met emperor Wuzong at the Chon-hyang Palace (sic ? = The Guanghan Palace on the Qionghua (or “Jade Flowery”) Isle located within the imperial city; built for ceremonial purposes where e.g. decrees were issued), with one Thar-ston Chos kyi 'od-zer* functioning as translator, and bestowed upon him esoteric initiations. During the same period, he made friendship with one Thu-gal The-mur, head or member of the Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (xuanyingyuan; M. sünjüng öön; Tib. sön ching dben); for this bureau, see Farquhar 1990: 153–57; YS 87; for further details on a number of additional 'ja'sa issued in favour of Tshal in this and in the following years; cf. Tshal rnam 12a2–6, et passim.

* Chos kyi 'od-zer, aliases Chos-sku 'od-zer or bDag-med rdo-rje was a prominent master at court and had major influence on the pious emperor Öljetü. He inter alia created a Mongolian alphabet; cf. Hor chos 'hungh (Huth 1896: 60ff.)

For the text, see Tshal rnam 12b2–6: Ga’o len hua [ru]. It clearly refers to Gaoliang He or more precisely the Monastery of Da Huguo Renwang Si (also simply named Gaoliang He Temple) located along Gaoliang River at the outskirts of Dadu (Beijing; it in fact was a man-made canal having been erected during the T’ang dynasty). It was built by the Nepalese genius Anige between 1270–74, under the auspices of empress Zhaorui Shunsheng, i.e. Čabi, the wife of Qubilai. Anige’s son, Asengge also contributed by sculpturing statues for this artistically affluent imperial temple.

It seems that the ‘ja’sa had been named after and linked up with the temporary abbot seat of guoshi (posthum. dishi) Tan-pal/lDan-ma Kun-dga’-grags / Ánandakirti (1230–1305 A.D.) who had received a decree of tax-exemption from emperor Chengzong in 1294. sMon-lam rdo-rje stayed at this imperial clan temple in 1308. Cf. Fuzu lidai tongzai (TT vol. 49: 2036); YS 7–8; see transl. in Franke 1994: 167–69; van der Kuijlp 1993c: 283.

sMon-lam rdo-rje also met Prince Gegen (later emperor Yinzong, rl. 1320–23), Yisun Temur (later emperor Dingdi. rl. 1323–28), as well as the Tibetan teachers Sangs-rgyas-dpal, Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan and finally Prince Chos-dpal (see below), the second son of Temür Buqa.

It is unclear how long sMon-lam rdo-rje remained in China, but evidently a few years. Returning to dBus, he was welcomed by the Sa-skya dpon chen 'Od-zer seng-ge (rl. 1315–1317, 1325–28). The relationship to Sa-skya during sMon-lam rdo-rje and during part of Kun-dga’ rdo-rje’s reign had remained amicable, contrary to the preceding reign of dGa’-bde. Cf. Tshal rnam 16b6–7, 47b3–4.
monk-body and to the community. In a Horse year, [36a] based upon the presents [donated by] slob dpon Chos-dpal, he erected the gold[-thread] draperies (gser 'phan) [of a type known as]

487 For his extensive food distribution, see Tshel rim, passim. The donation or distribution of tea or of gifts and money gradually became an institution of sizable proportions in almost all monastic communities in Tibet, in particular from the 15th century onwards. In the mid-1650's, e.g. a list of 'gyed-items would read: kha biags, dngul, risam pa, mar, nas, bu ram, dar, 'u zi and finally zi ling gi ja. Another list has, aside from the obligatory mang ja, also gser, dngul, ja, 'bru, rta, bu ram, lcags and ras. For a discussion of 'gyed or mang 'gyed, communal wealth distribution, see Ardussi 2003.

479 Notwithstanding the reference to his status as ācārya, it in casu obviously refers to Prince (rgyal bu) Chos-dpal (Čosbal; Ch. Chousiban), the second son of Temür Buqa (d. 1347, himself son of A'ururk (1232–97), the seventh son of Qubilai). It was the members of this imperial line from Qubilai who were regarded as “Viceroys of Tibet” (cf. Rasīūd ad-Dīn; tr. Boyle The Successors of Genghis Khan, 244) and that in the first place held direct property and political mandate over Tibet (cf. Petech 1990 b: 262–63).

Chos-dpal is mentioned in Chinese sources in the period 1306–31 (see YS 107:122; 108:142). His main residence was in Hezhou (Ganzu) where he had been appointed Prince of Zhenxi Wuqing (see the details, Petech 1990 b: 264–67; Franke 1990 b: 113–14). sMon-lam rdo-rje had met him in China and they accompanied one another as they went back to Central Tibet. At one point – and as a descendant of Qubilai Qan who had been in charge of Tibet since the qurilrai of 1251 – he played a major role in Tibet as highest Mongolian officer in situ.

Emperor Buyantu (1311–1320; i.e. Renzong – “Benevolent Ancestor”) too bestowed presents upon the Tshal-pa secular ruler and bestowed upon him a golden insignia with three jewel buttons, an edict and a document (bca' hu, Ch. zha fu) with silver seal. The horse year (1306 / 1318) in GT arguably should be emended to the [Wood] Tiger (rta = stag) year, i.e. 1314 A.D. in this context. Already 1316, sMon-lam rdo-rje received a bre of gold to cover the costs for the manufacture of votive balin offerings at the Gung-thang lhag-khang donated to him by the Mongol resident Daruyāci or “Mongolian Resident Commissioner” (cf.) Rigs-lnga [sic]. In 1319, emperor Renzong again donated 40 bre of silver to the private temple of Qubilai, i.e. Gung-thang vihāra this time to defray the cost of repairing the iHa-sa chu rags or dikes.

Our text (above GT 34b) informs us that dGa'-bde-dpal, probably in 1304 in the western direction within the Gung-thang vihāra complex (see also Chap. III.2 below) erected a Personal Palace, i.e. a “Memorial Hall or Chamber” devoted to Qubilai Qan. The erection of a worship hall was deemed appropriate since Qubilai was considered a Chinese ancestral emperor (e.g. Sā-ksya Statthalter and the Tshal-pa. It was he (and his family) within the imperial house who administratively had been in charge of Tibet (since 1251); and its erection was due to his paramount role in cementing the bonds to his Tibetan vassals.

The memorial temple at Gung-thang enshrined a genealogical altar or tablet (Ahnenpfel) equipped with either statuary or painted portrait(s) of the emperor (Se chen sku 'dra'i pho brag), a temple hall which served to worship and to commemorate the Dragon Throne. A similar edifice in China clearly served as model: The yingtang or “Portrait [or Shadow] Hall” – each emperor usually had his personal yingtang. In 1263, Qubilai had ordered the construction of an ancestor temple (Taimiao) in Dadu and its eight chambers each housed a tablet of his ancestors, accommodating (like later in Gung-thang) life-like (painted, silk-woven or sculptured) portraits and statues of all former Mongol rulers. A huge portrait of Qubilai was set up in the Wan'an temple of the Baita or White Pagode in Beijing. See Frank 1994: 30–32; see also N. Steinhardt 1983 for a chronology of the seven or eight-chambered Taimiao ancestor temple.

At Dadu, the annual imperial ancestor cult was foremost dedicated to the three Chinese ancestral emperors: Fuxi Shennong, and Huangdi (see YS 77), and a genealogical ancestor worship was conducted in the dynastic ancestral Taimiao or Zongmiao Temple. The Mongol Qans already from the time of Činggis Qan had titulated and canonized themselves as paragon Huangdi or “august emperors” in emulation of previous dynasties, cf. e.g. Rossabi 1988: 13–36.

A row of ceremonies and sacrifices to the deceased imperial forebear was regularly conducted in Gung-thang, so e.g. to commemorate the birthday of Qubilai (e.g. on the 27th day of the 9th month (to be emended to the 23rd of the 9th month), so reported for 1323 – it may be an equivalent of the imperial long-life wenshou qingdian or “birthday celebrations”); see ibid. 14b3–4, 15a12. The personal Qubilai cult (later also including paintings ([hr]ri mo) of other Mongol emperors, such as Gegen) at Gung-thang clearly underscores the often repeated statement that Gung-thang – at least as seen by the Tshal-pa – indeed was Qubilai’s private temple (sgrus kyi lha khang).
“Meaningful to Behold” (*mthong ba don ldan*) and a pitched Chinese-style *rgya phibs* roof for the Brag-lha klu-phug Cave [in lHa-sa].\(^{40}\) In a Dog year [1310 / 1322 A.D.], after he had received

Further, in 1320, sMon-lam rdo-rje again met the imperial Prince (*rgyal bu*) Chos-dpal when he received costly presents and equipment. Chos-dpal instituted that permanent butter-lamp service in front of the memorial statue of his great-grand-father Qubilai Qan. The relationship between Prince Chos-dpal and sMon-lam rdo-rje was close. Cf. *Tshal rnam* 13a2–b1, 17b1–2. In the same year, the new emperor, the pious Siddiphala (i.e. Yinzong) donated him one *bre* of gold in order to conduct Mahākāla protective or deterrent rites at Gung-thang. He *inter alia* honoured him with the title and investiture of [? sanlul chali] duyuanshuai (Tib. *sha ri* [sic] *du bhen shva*) i.e. “[Central Tibet / Tshal?-pa] Regional Commander” along with an edict and a wert (*sha fu*).

* In China, following the demise of *Phags-pa*, memorial halls (*dian*) too were erected and cult portraits and statues of him were set up in many places (see Ratchnevsky 1954: 494; Franke 1994: 310–11). Tolu (who never ruled) was posthumously conferred the imperial title Yingwu Huangdi and canonized as Ruizong by his son Mönge; cf. Allsen 1987: 38; Ratchnevsky 1970.

\(^{40}\) As listed in *Tshal rnam* 13b1–3, 18b1–23b4: The draperies were set up by him in Ra-sa, Ra-mo-che and Gung-thang, etc. For this Brag-lha retreat cave associated with Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. e.g. TBH Sørensen: 297; Larsen et al. 2001: 148–49.

The *phyag rjes* or physical legacies left behind by him, as reported in great detail in his biography, were sizable and included a long row of refurbishments, renovations and renewals not only in Gung-thang but all over Central Tibet, *inter alia*: A *bya ’dab* (roofed wing-shaped eaves) at Ra-sa *gtseg lag kang*, a new roof for the mGon-khang and at Ra-mo-che, and a strengthening of the Ih-sa dikes. He repaired the Brag-lha site. He further repaired and refurbished the hermitage (*bzhus phug*) of *Phags-pa* lCe-sgom, father and son (on him, see Per K. Sørensen 1999) and the Srong-btsan sgam-po *pho brang* (cave chamber) on dMar-po-ri as well as manufactured a host of statues and [wall] paintings in Ra-sa *Phnl-snang* itself. Further, he established the Bar-skor circuit of Ih-sa, the Khyams-khra-mo *Iha kang*, a *bya ’dab* of the same Khyams-khra, had a *dkon gnyer* Nag-tshang-pa [granary? seat for the Jo-khang stewards] erected; a white tent over the old Bla-ye courtyard [in Gung-thang], as well as expanded the old sKu-’bum chen-mo erected in Gung-thang during the time of Bla-ma Zhang which originally had been square and equipped with four *parisanda* but with one adjacent chapel temple only. In order to expand it, in the four directions, sMon-lam rdo-rje erected a chapel equipped with statues of basic deities of the Vajradhātu *mandala* as well as with a *rgya phibs* roof with murals, etc. He instituted sacrificial services of worship as well as erected a roof over the Memorial Hall containing painted images of Qubilai in the memorial chamber and over the [adjacent] *thugs dam* chamber [within the same complex] dedicated to Emperor Gegen (Yinzong, 1320–23). He also instituted prayer sessions for the One Hundred Syllable Mantra of Vajrasattva (*Yig brgya pa*) there. As outer support (*phyi rten*) of Emperor Gegen, he erected a silver sGo-mangs receptacle and as inner support, a statue of Vajrasattva. He further manufactured at Tshal, an eight-*thangka* set depicting the transmission of the precious bKa’-bryud lineage. From 1337 until 1347, he successively donated and equipped the mChod-khang chen-mo Hall with grand *gdugs* or canopies and other objects of worship. He further expanded the outer wall (*lcags ri*) around the Gung-thang precinct, differently sized walls in the southern direction. He refurbished the shelves (*kun dga’ ra ha*), vestibule (*sgo khang*) equipped with clay statues of the Four World Protectors in Chinese style, along with turrets and a roof. He instituted seasonal worship and sacrifices of commemoration of emperor Gegen on a grand scale, of his predecessors and ceremonies for releasing the summer retreat (*dgag dbye ston mo*) at Chos’-khor-gleng, etc as well as at Yang-dgon etc. Further, he instituted an annual distribution of provisions during the summer retreat sessions for practising *gsum chen* who trided in the hermitages located in the mountains situated to the north and south of sKyid-shod. He offered *mang ja* distribution to the monks communities of the stong skor of gTsan, requested one sKu-’bum thang-pa to render extensive service to and to repair the bSam-yas vihāra and he had teachers and pupils of Tshal-pa commissioned to renovate the temple of ’U-shang-rdo dPe-med bKra-shis dGe’-phel Iha-khang after it had burned down; he had the sKar-chung rDo-ri-dbyings Iha-khang renovated too after it had been destroyed by sand. He ensured that the *Yer-pa* IHa-yul vihāra was repaired, by one gTsan-ston. Further sites which were renovated include Mal-gro, sTod-lung (mTsho-smad) and *Phyongs-rgyas Ro-skam*. In IHa-sa, he relaunched the annual commemorative sacrifices (*dus michod*) to Srong-btsan sgam-po [in Jo-khang]. He established in
considered the animals parallel texts corroborate that the Ya-rtse king as Yang-dgon I Ha-sa S grags teachers). For Jo-gdan of the Ruler of the Wheel of the Three Realms representative called a pious monk-body [consisting bzang-po serving as teaching in Tshal he erected the 'Od-gsal bSod-nams-dpal-ba Age 45, in an Earth Dragon year [1328 A.D.], on the 27th day of the first [lunar] summer-month, he took the pravrajya and upasampadā [vows as a fully ordained monk] with Jo gdan mkhan chen bSod-nams-dpal-ba functioning as upādhyāya, [the ruling] Yang-dgon gdan sa ba Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po serving as karmācārya and mkhan chen Shes-rab mgon-po as secret preceptor, amidst a pious monk-body [consisting of] 24 [monks]. He established dPal kyi Ri-bo of the south and in Tshal he erected the 'Od-gsal 'Phrul gyi Iha-khang. Competing with the glorious magnificence of the Ruler of the Wheel of the Three Realms [i.e. Indra] [in terms of glory and repute] and seen

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Age 45, in an Earth Dragon year [1328 A.D.], on the 27th day of the first [lunar] summer-month, he took the pravrajya and upasampadā [vows as a fully ordained monk] with Jo gdan mkhan chen bSod-nams-dpal-ba functioning as upādhyāya, [the ruling] Yang-dgon gdan sa ba Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po serving as karmācārya and mkhan chen Shes-rab mgon-po as secret preceptor, amidst a pious monk-body [consisting of] 24 [monks]. He established dPal kyi Ri-bo of the south and in Tshal he erected the 'Od-gsal 'Phrul gyi Iha-khang. Competing with the glorious magnificence of the Ruler of the Wheel of the Three Realms [i.e. Indra] [in terms of glory and repute] and seen

sGrags a seat called mTho-ris Thar-pa-gling. At Shun- phrang, he erected a temple. At places of difficult passage such as sNa-bo-gdong (unidentified), he erected rest-places and guest-houses, etc.


See Richardson 1977: 168–174. His biography reports how sMon-lam rdo-rje the same year (1322) visited the I Ha-sa sde-bzhis [= I Ha-sa], and how he saved the life of a sheep about to be slaughtered as well as ransomed other animals (srog blu mdzad).

Tshal rnam 19a6–b1, 20a6, 42b1, 63a7: he erected a rNang rten of dGa'-bde-dpal in Gung-thang vihāra, namely a grand gilt statue of Vajradhara with backrest. He also erected the gSer-'bum lhO-ma as outer support for the deceased Yang-dgon rin po che [i.e. the 10th throne-holder Śākya-'bum] as well as a grand gilt statues of Rig-gsum mgon-po, considered the thugs dam statues of the 8th dpon chen.

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See above.

For the extensive printing and writing activities of Buddhist canonical texts. See Tshal rnam 20b1–6.

The Si-tu is otherwise unknown but must have been active at the Mongol court. See Tshal rnam 20a5–6.

Cf. verbatim Tshal rnam 27a5–b4, 39a6–b1 (listing the mainly Vinaya teachings he received from his ordination teachers). For Jo-gdan mkhan-chen bSod-nams-dpal-ba, see below 36a. Shes-rab mgon-po may be the one listed as a representative of the “Lineage of Ordination” transmitted by Śākyaśrībhadra. BA Roerich 1072. The ordination ceremony was followed by a large ston mo and the release of prisoners, etc.

See Tshal rnam 22a4–6, 27a3, 42a, 49b2–50b5, 52a1. sMon-lam rdo-rje erected the dPal gyi Ri-bo hermitage in 1322. dPal gyi ri-bo’i gzims-chung thog-kha is also mentioned where he repeatedly resided. It refers to the estate of dPal-ri gzIms-khang which is mentioned as seat of the protector Thog-btsan-pa (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 132). The latter is called dPal-ri Thog-btsan-pa in the Tshal-pa tradition and is said to reside on the mountain behind 'bras-spungs (i.e. the Ri-bo dGe-'phel? but see below 37a, fn. 501). Repeatedly mentioned in the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama.

In fact, sMon-lam rdo-rje in 1335, 1341 and 1344 repeatedly resided in dPal gyi Ri-bo hermitage where he received teachings from Ri-bo-pa. Cf. Tshal rnam 45a2–b2.
from the perspective of religion, he also composed countless written treatises such as the Zhang bka’[b]rgyud rnam la gsal ‘debs byin rlabs rgyun ‘phebs,409 the Sems bskyed chen mo according to the Tshal tradition,410 and the Biography [rNam thar] of mNyam med Säkya ye shes, etc. too.411 His fame and renown covered all areas [of Tibet]. The teaching of the Tshal-pa monk-body [36b] spread and it is [universally] known that the power [of Tshal-pa] during this period expanded greatly. He executed the office of dpon sa for 33 years. He passed away at the age of 64. Just as in former times, rJe sGom-[pa] Tshul-khrims smnying-po had handed over to Zhang Rin-po-che [the responsibility] of both gTsug-lag-khang of lHa-sa [i.e. Jo-khang and Ra-mo-che], and just as [later] dpon Dar-ma gzhon-nu, uncle and nephew, or how dpon Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub who belonged to the lineage of mGar settled down [there], these drung chen too manufactured inside the gTsug-lag-khang statues of the Dharma raja [Srông-btsan sgam-po along with his two] Queens, father and mother (Chos rgyal yab yum), statues and hollow [figures] (gso) of the peaceful and wrathful [forms] of dPal-ladan lHa-[mo] [Srî Devî sisters], and built the external Vestibule and the Door-Keeper's Ma-mGon412 including a door made from rosewood [Acacia catechu, known as bKra-shis khri-sgo].413 Putting on display the extensive respect [he held towards these local manufactured statues and images], he build an outer dike [to protect lHa-sa and the temple’s objects from flooding] and such feats of his are [indeed] beyond description.414

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410 Full title: Zhang 'tshal pa'i lugs kyi kyi sems bskyed chen mo Byang chub lam gvi gru rdzings sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bar pa, Sems bskyed pa'i cho ga bsdu pa.
411 For his spiritual training and studies; cf. Tshal rnam 28b6f. For his scriptural production, see Tshal rnam 4ob-41a. Most deplorably, none of these most important sources written by sMon-lam rdo-rje seem to have survived. He also wrote a brgyud pa'i rnam thar tho yig. Further important texts indited by sMon-lam rdo-rje inter alia included: Bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa Dri ma med par gsal ba, rJe htson Ri bo pa'i rnam thar gSal ba'i sgron me, gSan yig Nor bu'i phreng ba, Zhang 'tshal ba'i lugs kyi bde mchog ting nge 'dzin gvi dbang bskur rgyas pa'i cho ga Rin chen phreng ba.
412 The Bodhicittaotpāda was based upon the Bla-ma Zhang or the Tshal-pa tradition stemming from Abhayakāra. The sādhana and abhisēka of the Samvarā cycle were based upon the Lupa-system stemming from Bla-ma Zhang. The rDo rje phug mo practice transmitted acc. to Bla-ma Zhang. The six-limbed yoga (sādāngavagō) [of the Kālacakra tradition] acc. to rGya-lo. The Zhan gicle cycle of Mon pa gdong bka’ rgya ma, etc. It also includes his gsan yig, the list of former and contemporary teachers from whom he received a large number of teachings.
413 Dung-mtsho ras-pa Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (ord. name: Rin-chen bzang-po) is reported to have donated many gifts to sMon-lam-pa and Kun-dga’ rdo-rje; gTer ston lo rgyus 113b3; Gu bkra chos ’byung 523; mKhas-grub 2005: 243-46.
414 Cf. Richardson, ‘The Jo-khang’, 259; see also Appendix IV.
415 The sgo brungs Ma-mgon (> Skt-Tib. = Mahākāla-nātha and consort). We find statues of Ma-mgon-gnyis in numerous monasteries; so e.g. in mTshur-phu monastery, cf. mTshur phu dkar chag 146. The protective or tutelary dual deity form is also called Ma-mgon lCam-dral (thid. 349, 362) which probably is a form of Gur-mgon lCam-dral (Pañjara-Mahākāla, Brother-and-Sister), at the side of this deity appears inter alia also the dPal-ladan lHa-mo ‘Dod-khams dbang-plug-myaa, one of the three dPal-lha sisters of lHa-sa and Protectress of Gung-thang. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 49; Willson and Brauen 2000: 345f. A Ma-mgon is mentioned together with rDzong-btsan (of Grib) as the one who invited Dvags-po sGom-tshul to lHa-sa. Cf. mKhas pa'i dga’ ston 448.5-6; a parallel entry in dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'gre lha and in lHo rong chos ’byung 178.16-17 has dPal lHa-mo and Grib rDzong-btsan, whereas sGam po pa'i rnam thar I 269.4 has Chos-skyong mGion-po, Remati and rDzong-btsan.
416 Cf. Tshal rnam 18b1-19a3; lHa ldan dkar chag 17, 25, 27, 29, 44; Taring nos. 13, 17, 30, 31.
417 Cf. also Tshal rnam 14bf.; 18b3f. In addition, sMon-lam rdo-rje erected the Bar-skor (= the nang skor of the 'Khor sa chen mo) and the pitched golden roof of Brag-lha klu-sbug; cf. Bod kyi deb ther 108.5.
[10] [Drung chen Kun-dga’ rdo-rje]

Thereupon drung chen Kun-dga’ rdo-rje [1309–1364/65 A.D.] was an emanation of Mañjūśrī and an anachronism — prophecy by alicr lo Tshai-pa, who was born in a Hen year [i.e. 1309 A.D.] as son of drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje. Age five, he [already] mastered [the art of] writing and reading and had intuitively comprehended all the Dharmakaya-cycles of the Tshal-pa, wherefore he merely [needed] to behold all knowable things [niñeya] [i.e. phenomena] to comprehend them [instinctively]. Age 15, in a [Water] Pig year [1323 A.D.], he was elected to the office of the dpon sa.442 Age 17 [i.e. ca. 1325–26 A.D.], he went to China [to reconfirm his appointment], on which occasion the emperor [granted him] an audience and thus [received him] favourably. He was granted one large brc of silver, the value equaling eight gold srang,443 silk and brocade and a silver seal, along with golden ornaments and [finally] an edict which proclaimed [i.e. authorized] that the formerly [donated] lay communities [in Central Tibet were still to remain under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction]. He thereupon returned to dBus, where he was [given] a welcome reception and a feast of joy beyond imagination.444

He exchanged the great stone-plates of the pavement [in the courtyard] (rdo bcāl chen mo) and had the wall-paintings (37a) along the Bar-[b]skor [alleys] [re]-painted. As [inner] receptacle for his father he erected a grand golden statue, a silver-plated ossuary (dngul gdung) [in the form of a] bKra-shis sgo-mangs [shrine], and had a [set of] bKa’ gyer consisting of 260 volumes manufactured.445 [He thereafter] settled down in dBus-gling [to practise meditation]. He established

442 His father was sMon-lam rdo-rje and his mother Jo-mo rDo-rje ‘bum of Zha-lu. Cf. Myung chos byung 167 (one Tshal-pa dPon-mo’idzoms ‘Bum dpal-shi is also recorded who married Zha-lu Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan). According to the Zhva-lu chronicles (TPS Tucci 660), a daughter of a certain mTshal-pa dPon Ka-ra (sic) had relations with the Zhva-lu Nam-mkha’ mchog-grub dpal-bzang-po. See also Mt sma 393–95. In 1351–52 A.D., Kun-dga’ rdo-rje, after having relinquished his office, similarly took ordination and henceforth carried the name dGe-ba’i blo-gros. He was considered a manifestation of the celebrated imperial calligrapher IDan-ma rTse-mang (according to a gter lung prophecy by Guru Rinpoche).

Interestingly, in almost every Mongolian historiographic treatises, it is purported that it was the Sa-skya Kun-dga’ snying-po (alt. Tshal-pa Kun-dga’ rdo-rje), who on behalf of the Tibetans offered his submission to Činggis Qan in 1207, thus establishing the first contact between these peoples. Both candidates for such a connection are untenable and an anachronism and myth – already discussed by a number of scholars, cf. TPS Tucci 9; P. Ratchevsky 1954: 490; Heissig 1959: 69. The Sa-skya master lived 1092–1158 A.D. and Kun-dga’ rdo-rje 1309–64 A.D. There was contact between the Mongols and Tibet in 1207 (see the contact to Činggis Qan addressed above), yet the first proper contact was established in the 1230’s only, through the Tshal-pa teacher Grags-pa seng-ge and later the devastating invasion of 1240 into Tibet (both into dBus and gTsang provinces).

443 Confirmed in Tshad nam 27a3-4: When sMon-lam rdo-rje reached the age of 40, he transferred the Tshal-pa’i khris skor to his son. Enthroned during the first month of 1323, for details cf. ibid. At that point, dishi Kun-dga’ blo-gros [rgyal-mtshan] (1299–1327) arrived in Tibet; cf. TBI Sørensen: 57. The dishi (appointed 1315 until his untimely demise 1327) returned to China in 1324.

444 This equivalence is confirmed Si tu bka’ chems 46.12-13 = Rlangs 146.2–3.

445 The 3rd Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje in 1331 (~ 1333) received on behalf of Kun-dga’ rdo-rje, the title of si tu (Instructor) and the triple-jewelled (= nor bu gsum?) seal of first rank official (Ch. viping (1ctan); Tib. pung bcig pa’i dam kha ring gsum pa); cf. Tshad nam 15a5–7; Petech 1990b: 86–87; van der Kuijp 2004: 30–37. The first rank here seems impossible. The imprints of seals issued to minor vassal rulers were mandatory in use in connection with all official correspondence and documents.

446 For minute details about the erection of seals to minor vassal rulers were mandatory in use in connection with all official correspondence and documents.
[the hermitage of] Ri-bo dGe-'phel.\textsuperscript{503} His power and his wealth were beyond conception. Having executed the office of the dpon sa for 28 years,\textsuperscript{504} he handed over the office to his younger brother Grags-pa bshes-gnyen. Based upon prophecies from his yi dam and [spurred by other] dream-signs, he took his full ordination as a renunciate [in the presence of] Don-zhags-pa Sangs-rgyas rin-chen, with whom he had earlier a close connection. [Kun-dga' rdo-rje] received the name dGe-ba'i blo-gros, and so Don-zhags-pa became known as mkhan chen Sang[s]-rin-pa.\textsuperscript{505} The latter had also preached many teachings in the environs of Gung-thang such as Chos-skor-gling.

This drung chen was well-versed in all [fields of knowledge such as] mantra, philosophy, āgama, upadeśa, sūtra and śāstra. [and thus possessed] an excellent level of knowledge. The hKa' \textsuperscript{506}gyur compiled by the drung chen personally is now known as the Tshal Compilation (Tshal sgrigs).\textsuperscript{507} At the time when Bu-ston rin po che [1290–1364 A.D.] was invited to Tshal by dGe-ba'i blo-gros for the revision and consecration of [the edition, Bu-ston said]: “Since I am compelled to give an answer to the Tshal-pa dpon-po [Kun-dga' rdo-rje], it is no suitable that I arrive [there merely] for my own pleasure.” Taking along many books, he reputedly studied along the way [to Tshal in order to be well prepared].\textsuperscript{508}

Chos rje Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje [1340–1383 A.D.] too was invited [to Tshal Gung-thang] where he requested [and received] many teachings of sūtra and mantra. After explaining [dGe-ba'i blo-gros] [the visions] of his former [reincarnation] rebirth stories, [the Tshal-pa Lord] was filled with faith [in him].\textsuperscript{509}

All the bKa' \textsuperscript{510}bum and the bKa' \textsuperscript{511}rgya [ma] texts of Zhang Rin-po-che which had [previously] been scattered in [different] directions, were compiled into one collection, whereupon the transmission of their reading authorization (lung rgyun) and the transmission of the writings (dpe rgyun) were disseminated in a manifold way. Presently, [37b] these utterly pure transmissions of the reading authorization and of the books of Zhang bKa' \textsuperscript{512}bum and bKa' \textsuperscript{513}rgya [ma], which have been

\textsuperscript{503} Ri-bo dGe'-phel hermitage (dGe'-phel ri-khrod) is perched on the dGe'-phel dBu-rtsie mountain that towers behind 'Bras-spungs (cf. Ferrari 102; HSLG Vol.6: 51; Chan 1994: 156). The mountain, one of the Hsas' a'i Ri-chen-bzhi, is classified as a bla ri of the Tibetan people and considered the seat of the 'Bras-spungs protectress rDo-rje grags-mo-rgyal. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 190, 483; App. IV: fn. 11, passim.

\textsuperscript{504} 1323 + 28 = 1350 or 1351 A.D. During his tenure, Tshal is said to have reached the culmination of its power, so Sī tu bka' choms 47.16–19 = Rlangs 147.7–8.

\textsuperscript{505} Cf. BA Roerich 1023. gZhon-nu-dpal lists him among the holders of the Avalokiteśvara teaching cycle stemming from sTsa-mi and Ba-n lha tsā ba. He later came to spyan-gyas (“the strictest monastic college.” as he calls it) where he died.

\textsuperscript{506} Cf. H. Eimer 1983: 10. It refers to the ma phyi or original version of the Canon manufactured by Sī-tu dGe-ba'i blo-gros at Tshal Gung-thang. It was commonly known as Tshal pa bka' \textsuperscript{514}gyur. The Tshal spar ma ed. of bKa' \textsuperscript{515}gyur purportedly was kept in 'Bras-spungs; cf. DL5 I 213b6; DL5 Thob rig IV' 146a1–3.

\textsuperscript{507} Cf. also Bod kyi deb ther 108.15–18, DL5 Thob rig IV' 146a1–3.

\textsuperscript{508} Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (the later 4\textsuperscript{th} Zhiwa-nag Karma-pa) came to Gung-thang on invitation of si tu dGe-blo-ba (i.e. dGe-ba'i blo-gros, alias Kun-dga' rdo-rje) in 1358 A.D.; cf. Deb sugon 591.10–12 (BA Roerich 498); Iho rong chos 'byung 244; mkhas pa'i dga' ston 954, 957; mTshur phu dkar chag 382–83, 392–93. See also Schuh 1977: 143. The text in GT is almost identical with the wording in Deb sugon. The visit paid by the young Rol-pa'i rdo-rje to Tshal (similar to the visit and audience with tu'i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, Deb sugon, ibid.) were “visits of legitimation,” where the young Karma-pa sought confirmation for his coming candidacy and position as the 4\textsuperscript{th} Karma-pa.
transmitted through the Omniscient Great 5th [Dalai Lama], continue uninterruptedly and this is [not least] due to the kindness of this [dpon chen]. Among the chain of compositions [of Kun-dga’ rdo-rje], he made a commentary on ’Gro-mgon Rin-po-che’s gSol ’debs dGos re skong ma. Since the passing of ’Gro-mgon, 160 years have passed.

Furthermore, he assumed responsibility extensively in a wide range of [areas within the field of] the Buddhist teachings and [also] within worldly affairs such as composing innumerable written treatises, the sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar, the Tshal pa ’i deb ther chen mo [i.e. Deb ther dmar po] and its Supplement [known as] Deb ther mKhas pa ’i yid ’phrog. The [number of] converts, [the extent of] wealth and of resources [amassed during his tenure] were all boundless as the sky. He passed away at the age of 57 [1364 A.D.].

[11] [sPyan snga Grags-pa bshes-gnyen]

Thereupon sPyan snga Grags-pa bshes-gnyen, who was the younger brother of Kun-dga’ [rdo-rje], took over the office of the dpon sa for six years. After his power had expanded, he even ascended the see of Yang-dgon.

[12] [Drung chen Rin po che ta’i si tu dGe-legs bzang-po]

Thereupon drung chen Rin po che ta’i si tu dGe-legs bzang-po [1342–1390/1391 A.D.] appeared. He was born as son of drung chen Kun-dga’ rdo-rje in a Horse year [i.e. 1342 A.D.]. Age 13, he

507 IHo rong chos ’byung 203–04 (cf. also ZhK, passim) lists the earliest transmission of the different parts of bKa’ rgya ma through Dar-ma gzhon-nu and his pupils. For the details of the initial Mss-compilation executed by Kun-dga’ rdo-rje and transmitted through the 5th Dalai Lama, cf. the lengthy expose of the transmission of the bKa’ rgya ma in DLS Thob yig II 88b6–99b2.

508 This refers to the commentary to Bla-ma Zhang’s abbreviated biographical sketch called dGos ’dod re skong ma, made by Kun-dga’ rdo-rje and written 1353 with the full title ‘Gro mgon rin po che ’i rnam thar bsad pa dGos ’dod re hskong ma ’i grel pa contained in ZhK II 532.1–575.4.

509 193 + 160 = 1352 A.D.

510 Due to a most fortunate coincidence, this utmost rare biography written by Kun-dga’ rdo-rje has recently surfaced in Beijing and thus made available to scholarship: it must be the same dbu med Ms which Dung-dkar purports he once consulted, cf. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 509. The title of the unique work is dPal ldan dge sbyong chen po zhes pa Tshal pa drung chen sMon lam pa ’i rnam thar kun dga’ rdo rjes mdzad pa (Ms 1b1–79a6). bSod-nams don-grub in his Bod kyi lo rgyus deb tho 333 incongruously and evidently falsely (as confirmed during an interview with him in lHa-sa 2002), lists a Tshal pa drung chen sMon lam rdo rje ’i rnam thar written by one dPon Sangs-rgyas bzang-po (non-extant).

511 A major source for the early and intermediate Central Tibetan and Tshal-pa history. The text is deplorably still not accessible, but must have been in circulation in the 18th cent. since it apparently was consulted by Jog-ri-pa. Significantly, the existence of a Ms-copy of this utmost rare historical text is confirmed by Dung-dkar Rin-po-che who states that he personally inspected and made use of this Deb dmar Supplement called mKhas pa ’i yid ’phrog, a text in the possession of the office of the “Political Consultative Conference of TAR” (Bod rang-skyong-ljongs chab-srid gros-tshogs) in lHa-sa; cf. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1698–99.

512 See e.g. Dung-dkar’s edition of the Deb dmar, 1981.

513 Mi sna 394 renders his name as Grags-pa shes-rab.

514 I.e. he ruled approximately from ca. 1351 until 1355–1356 A.D.

515 He was evidently also addressed as dGe-sbyong-ba in a number of sources (see fn. 138 above). dGe-sbyong evidently does not refer to dGe-ba’i blo-gros as suggested by mTshur pha dkar chag 383. It appears that this form was used for Kun-dga’ rdo-rje and sMon-lam rdo-rje. He was prophesied in Blon po bka’i thang yig 521:22 as a
was elected to the office of the dpon sa [ca. 1354 A.D.]. Winning the favour of the Great Emperor of the East (shar gong ma rgyal po) [i.e. Togyon Temür, rl. 1332–1368]), at the same time he was granted the title of si tu [Grand Imperial Instructor], as well as a silvery seal (dam kha), presents in form of silver amounting to one large bre, brocade and silk and a decree which proclaimed [i.e. reconfirmed] that the formerly [donated] lay communities [in Central Tibet were still to remain under the Tshal-pa jurisdiction]; and [finally he received] wondrous golden butter-lamps for the sa reconfirmed that the formerly [donated] lay communities [in Central Tibet ganted was number of gser 'bum, as well as an extensive number of [relics] of the three [aspects of body, speech and mind] such as a nang rten for [his uncle] spyan nga Grags-pa bshes-gnyen [38a] and the gNas-brtan lha-khang of the bDe-yangs [college]. Having established retreat centers in Ra-kha-brag,16 and in Rag, etc. he founded numerous monastic communities and he established anew excellent relics of the [aspects of body, speech and mind].” For the monk-body too carried

manifestation of Nāropa (and of Bla-ma Zhang): nā ra pa zhes pandi ta / thub bstan stong dang hzhi hrgya na // Iha sa'i dkon gnyer zhig tu skye // dge ba'i mishan can riva lo pa // sangs rgyas chos la rje yi rangs // chos mdzad rnam kyi 'tsho ba sbyor // bha ma zang gi sprul pa 'byung / Cf. also Si tu bka' chems 107.2–3, 108.9–10 = Rlangs 203.5, 204.12–13, which reports that si tu dGe-legs-pa in 1350 A.D., barely nine years old, was taken [Mongol-style] hostage (hu gье), and secured as pawn for safety during a short period in the warring conflicts in Central Tibet. Cf. also mTshur phu dkar chag 392.

516 The “copper mine mountain” of Ra[g]-kha-brag (= Ra-kh/ga-brag: other readings: Rva-kha, cf. Iha sa gnas vig 74 for this etymology) situated in the Dog-sde area, north-east of Iha-sa (see e.g. Ka khol ma 97.13, 157.11; Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 538; Iha Idan dkar chag 5.8; App. IV: Graph 1). The hermitage was est. by this Tshal dpon but was later appropriated by the sNe'u-dpon Nam-mkha' bzang-po followed by the dGe-legs-pa. Tsong-kha-pa himself and e.g. his disciple and biographer Ku-cor rtags Idan (i.e. Sangs-rgyas dpal-bzang) (1386–1445 A.D.?) are reported to have gone into retreat at Rag[gs]-kha cave in 1407–09; cf. Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 287, 305.3–5; Kaschewsky 1971: 154. Following the passing of Tsong-kha-pa in 1419, the following year a grand commemorative offering was conducted by Byams-pa chos rje at Ra[gs]-kha-brag/Rva-kha-brag cave sponsored by sNe'u governor Nam-mkha' bzang-po. Cf. Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 576; Tsepak Rigzin 1993: 60. This event served as a forerunner for the later annual Gā'-ldan Inga-mchod chen-mo celebrated on the 25th day of the 10th lunar month. The hermitage complex accomodates a lNga-mchod-khang.

To the left and the right of the hermitage, we find recluses of main disciples. It was safeguarded by sGrub-khang dGe-legs rgya-mtsho accounting for why Ra[g]-kha-brag hermitage was re-established 1707 and later counted among the cherished retreat sites belonging to Se-ra monastery (Se-ra sGrub-khang-rtsé; see e.g. Se ra chos 'byung 612–15). It belongs to a number of ri khrod sites situated in the hills north of Se-ra, such as the Se-ra-rtsé sGrub-khang. Brag-ri, the eastern and western Ke'u-’tshang ri khrod and the hermitages of Phur-bu-’tseg and mKhar-rdo (i.e. the later mKhar-rdo bSam-gtan-glug monastery). See Sie lung rnam thar 360a2; Grva sa chen hzhi chags tshul 10; HSLG Vol. 6: 55–64; Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1885; Iha sa'i dgon tho 83; Ferrari 42–43, 103 and especially. Chos-'phel. Iha sa gnas vig 72–78. The latter two were known as retreat sites of Zhang Rin-po-che (above fn. 417). The place Ra[g]-kha is occasionally mentioned in the lit. rDo ring rnam thar 198; Petech 1972: 59.

517 Rag[gs] (from “Embarkment”) is the name of a village not far from the entrance to the valley leading to Yer-pa (cf. Kyichu Map in Taring; Aufschnaiter 1956). One speaks also of Rags-phu and -mda. ’The place thus appears to be identical with the site of the Rags-btsun dgon-pa situated in Rags-phu (a nunery, related to the mDo-mkhar family hence their secondary clan-name Rag[gs]-kha-shar/shag (east of Ra[gs]-kha); Rags-kha’i gling-kha; cf. HSLG Vol 6: 66: Xizang Dimengzi 1 12a: 29’41’N 91’13’E; A Ra-shag sprul sku line existed). The 5th Dalai Lama, upon his return from China in 1653, arriving via ‘Phan-yul and ‘Brom-stod, was welcomed at Rag[gs]-mda’ by crowds of monks; see also DL 7 441: Ga zi gung rabs 407a3. The present Rags village may be related ethymologically to the “[water-]embankments” (chu raes) which once stood here (see App. II). It has been suggested that the name originally corresponds to the old vul dpon tshyan of Raksá (personal communication P. Wangdu; see App. IV: fn. 58).

Khri byung rnam thar 7a2, 115b2–3 and Shar rtse chos 'byung 834–49 conversely records a (different) Ra[gs]-skor
or Rags-mgor of sTod-lung (= Rva-skor located in sBang-mtsho of bDe-chen xiang (loc. 29°52'N 90°46'E), where the 85th dGa'-ldan throne-holder and the 2nd Khri-byang Blo-bzang tshul-khrims dpal-ldan (1839–1899) were born (former seat of sKyer-sgang-pa and his lineage; also written Rva-skor: 29°53'N 90°46'E in bDe-chen xiang; cf. Chos-'phel 2004: 112–13). Again, both must be differentiated from the Rag-ma of "Phan-yul mentioned below (see fn. 670).

54 Cf. fn. 493 above.

55 The Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa held during the sa ga zla ba. It is classified as one of the “Four Great [Popular] Offerings of Central Tibet” (dbus kyi mchod pa chen po bzhis), viz.

1. lHa-sa bCo-lnga mchod-pa, or the “Fifteenth [Full Moon] Offering of lHa-sa”
2. Gung-thang Me tog mchod-pa, or the “Flower Offering of Gung-thang”
3. Rva-sgreng Ku-byug mchod-pa, or the “Cuckoo Offering of Rva-sgreng”* and
4. Lo gNam-gang mchod-pa, or the “[The Thirtieth] New Moon Offering of Lo Monastery” (see fn. 411 above)

Cf. e.g. bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab 1995: 43. The Flower Offering (puspa-püjā) of Gung-thang is said to have been introduced by Bla-ma Zhang. It appears to be rooted in or represents a revival of the dynastic and early-patrimonial tradition of the ‘Three Baskets Offerings,’ the oratory and public Tripitaka recitation introduced during the reign of Mu-ne btsan-po (cf. Nor bu'i chun po 152f.; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 290). For a short description of the Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa, see Richardson 1993: 87f.; "Brong-dgon 2000, passim; Lo Sem-spa’ 2002; bsTan-pa mkhyen-rab, op. cit., and Part II: App. IV for details.

* Also erringly 'Khor-yug mchod-pa. For an essay on the Rva-sgreng “Spring Offering,” cf. Grags-pa dkon-mchog 1996. The Cuckoo Offering (staged from the 1st until the 17th day of the 4th month) allegedly counted among the four celebrated bKa’-gdams Seasonal Festivals, resp. called The “Eight Month Offering” (Bya-zla mchod-pa), Ku-byug mchod-pa, Me-tog mchod-pa, and the 15th Day of the 10th Month Offering or Nya-drug mchod-pa, included is also the dGa’-ldan lnga-mchod Festival traditionally staged every year on the 25th day of the tenth lunar month; cf. Tsang kha pa rnam tshur 576–77.

56 See above fn. 517.

52 He thus ruled approx. 1355 until 1370–71 A.D. According to Deh sngon he however still appears to have been in office in the late 1370’s; thus it is said that the “si tu dGe-slang-ba of mTshal” together with the official of sNel-pa arranged the reception for bKra-shis dpal-brtsegs (the 9th sTag-lung throne-holder) in 1378. BA Roerich 639. gsTer ston Sangs-rgyas gling-pa repeatedly visited Gung-thang, for the first time in the mid-1350’s and finally in 1367; cf. Sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter byung 13, 68.

53 This eminent scholar e.g. wrote the brDa sprod pa'i gzhung sNyin po gsal ba at Gung-thang in 1339 A.D. See also P. Wangdu and Diemerger 1996: 69.

54 Other sources give 1315–1392. On his activities in the lHa-sa area, cf. sTag lung chos 'byung l 367; lHo rong chos 'byung 569–70; BA Roerich 639. Cf. fn. 137 above.

out on a regular as well as an seasonal basis ritual services and he manufactured anew most wondrous 'chams costumes for the protector Ma-mGon which gave the impression that it in reality embodied gnosis (ve shes pa). During the Me tog mchod pa festival [the 'chams sku] was brought onto the stone-paved courtyard in front of the silken appliquéd gos sku [wall thang ka]. It is said that this was the filled statue of lHa mGon-po [i.e. Mahâkâla] that earlier had been installed in the Rag gi dgon-pa and only later installed in the Chos-skor (~'khor]-gling [school]. His power and his wealth [in limitlessness] resembled the vastness of space.

In an Ox year [1361 A.D.], [his oldest son] tre hos dPal-'byor bzang-po was born, in a Horse year [1366] [the latter’s brother] spyan snga Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan [i.e. the later 13th Yang-dgon gdan sa ba] was born and in a Sheep year [1367 A.D.] [the youngest son] Drung-slob-dpon-pa Legs-ldan bzang-po was born. [Ta 'i Si tu dGe-legs bzang-po] executed the office of dpon sa for 17 years. Prior to and after [the tenure of] this [ruler], rGyal-sras dNgal-chu Chos-rdzong-pa Thogs-med bzang-po [1295–1369 A.D.], dPang lo-tsa-ba chen-po [Blo-gros btrtan-pa] [1276–1342 A.D.] and lo chen Byang-chub [rtse[-mo] [1303–1380 A.D.]] etc. were successively invited
[to Tshal Gung-thang], whereupon [dGe-legs bzang-po] he functioned as patron (dānapati) for the extensive turning [i.e. preaching] of the wheel of the expansive and profound Dharma such as the dharma cycles of Kālacakra, as well as many dharma cycles of the bKa’-gdamgs [school]. During that period close to one thousand vinayadharma and extremely many householders were given the eye of intelligence [i.e. won insight through these masters], whereupon they were brought to maturation and liberation. Even as a serious epidemic broke out somewhat prior to that, it was brought to an end due to the magic power of these [masters] and many prisoners guilty of heinous crimes were also brought to liberation. Having entered the door to the precious Teaching of the Jina, Si-tu personally completed his upasampadā vows and thereafter look up residence at the retreat center of Rag. While making [there] spiritual realization the focal [point of his activity], he [finally] passed away at the age of 52.

[13] [Tre hos dPal-’byor bzang-po]
Thereafter tre hos dPal-’byor bzang-po [1361–1390 A.D.] was elected to the office of the dpon sa at the age of ten. Winning the favour of the Great Emperor, he received the title of tre hos, as well as received presents in form of a donation of silver amounting to one large bre, silk and brocade, a silver seal along with [the aforementioned] edict (ja’ sa). His power and wealth were great, and he held the office of dpon sa for 21 years. At the age of 31, he passed away.

[14] [Drung slob dpon [Legs-Idan bzang-po]]
Thereafter Drung slob-dpon [Legs-Idan bzang-po] acted merely nominally as dpon sa, he took up residence in dBus-gling where he practised realization for [achieving] complete liberation.

[15] [Tre hos dGa’-bde bzang-po]
Thereafter tre hos dGa’-bde bzang-po [1386–1409/10 A.D.] came to the dpon sa office. He was born as son of tre hos dPal-’byor bzang-po in a Tiger year [1386 A.D.]; at the age of 11 [i.e. ca. 1396 A.D.] he was elected to the seat of the dpon sa. He erected as nang rten for his [deceased] father a huge golden statue and as phyi rten a huge silver-plated ossuary (dngul gdung). In commemoration [of the passing] of his father, at the point when the All-knowing Lord [bTsong-kha-pa] for the first time instituted the sMon lam chen mo [Ceremonies of] lHa-Idan, he functioned as patron

524 In fact a number of illustrious masters were invited during the rule of dGe-legs, such as e.g. Dol-bu-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361 A.D.) and the 4th Karma-pa Rol-pa’i rdo-rje (the latter actually was invited by Kun-dga’ rdo-rje, above 37a, fn. 506); cf. Stearns 1999: 32–33.
525 He thus ruled from 1370 until 1390 A.D.
526 Also tre pos, tres hor, cf. TPS Tucci 688 (fn. 123); dPal-’byor bzang-po acted as patron to bTsong-kha-pa.
527 Although not substantiated, he possibly ruled 1390 to ca. 1395–96 A.D.
528 Tenure ca. 1396 until 1409/10 A.D. In Deb dmar gsar 107.4–7 and bSam vas dkar chag 75 dGa’-lde bzang-po is named Grags-pa bzang-po.
529 Inaugurated in lHa-sa in 1409 A.D. Cf. the very detailed, itemized exposition of the donors and their donations in Tsong kha pa’i nam thar 295–339; see also Kaschewsky 1971: 158–169. Among the numerous patrons, the key sponsors who provided endowments and donations for the initial implementation of the different activities during the fifteen days of the grand and costly sMon lam chen mo ceremonies were, firstly, the overall ruler of Central Tibet, the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, under whom minor district chiefs like the sNe’u dpon lHun-grub rgyal-mtshan, the Brag-dkar nang so chief, further the dPon mDzes-pa, Jo-bo Sa-la, bSod-nams-’phel, dGe-’dun-’phel, along with numerous distinct communities successively presented an extensive amount of donations.
(dānapati) in accordance with the past incidents on the 13th day of the Month of Miracle (Cho-
'phrul zla-ba) — on the very day where once the exalted dānapati emperor Shunzi himself had functioned as dānapati — Bhagavat [Buddha Śākyamuni] displayed a sheer endless number of wondrous miracles such as having at the end of each ray of light that emanated from the navel of Bhagavat’s own body a Buddha manifesting themselves miraculously etc. after which he brought countless gods and human beings to maturation and liberation [39a]. [In accordance with this, tre hos dGa’-bde bzang-po too] made offerings to the [local] monk congregation and to the two Jo-bo Śāk[yamuni Statues in IHa-sa]. For the sake of the [sMon lam chen mo] Ceremony, he donated 250 khal of rtsam [pa flour], 120 khal of butter, and as basis for the [merit]-transference (sngo rten) three blocks of tea (ja sig), 11 animal torsos of dry meat to be used for [the grinding and the preparation of] porridge, four zho of gold, 100 khal of barley to be used as grain for offering, and for the butter-lamps an extensive amount of butter etc. and [thus] he [was able to] conceal treasuries of resources that served as a field of merit (*punyakṣetra) [for future generations]. Being favourably welcomed by the Great Emperor, in continuation of the former [tradition of granting privileges to the Tshal rulers], he received the title of tre hos as well as [numerous] presents, etc.

Both prior to and after the [tenure of] these drung chen [listed above], [prominent figures such as] Byams-chen chos-rje [chos gyi rgyal po Śākyamuni ye-shes] were born into the lineage of the Tshal-pa too. Because of him, the Se-ra Thug-chen-gling was founded [in 1419 A.D.], and there the Tshal-pa dpon chen erected anew an excellent statue of Maitreya, more than two storeys high, along with a Maitreya Chapel (Byams-khang), and had offerings made, etc. On a regular basis they endowed offering utensiles too, etc. Thereafter, following the behest issued by mTshungs-med Gung-ru-ba chen-po [Chos-rje Gyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po] [1383–1450 A.D.] addressed to Kun-mkhyen Byang-[chub] ‘bum-pa [i.e. Byang-chub-’od], the requirement that [he] establish

The Tshal Gung-thang contributions among these donors: for the commemorative service of the 13th throne-holder spyan snga ba Legs-pa rgyal-mtshan, the monk community of Tshal Gung-thang offered donations, as well as did the Yang-dgon-pa privately. Bla-ma Sher-rin-pa of ‘Bum-mo-chu, the monks of dBus-gling, slob dpon Kun-rgyal-ba, and the gnyer dpon Grags-pa seng-ge. As delineated in our text above also, in commemoration of tre hos dPal-byor bzang-po, the tre hos dGa’-bde bzang-po (cf. ibid. 332) donated the aforesaid quantity of items.

A number of prominent scholars visited Gung-thang during his tenure, such as ta’i si tu Chos-rje Rab-brtan Kun-bzang-’phags (1389–1442), one of the ruling princes of rGyal-rtses, in 1409; rGyal rtses chos rgyal rtim thar 43.1–8. Incidentally, that very year Gung-thang is counted among the rdzong gzhis dgon sde of dBus, which would suggest that its status at that point was subordinate to the Phag-gru. Gung-thang would serve as model for the vihāra of the rGyal-rtses rulers.

550 The first Tibetan lunar month, the month Buddha Śākyamuni displayed various miracles whereupon he refuted the heretics. Cf. Tsong kha pa’i rtam thar 331–32; Richardson 1993: 27–30.
551 The period in question corresponds to the reign of Ming Chengzi (r. 1402–1424), Cf. Tsong kha pa’i rtam thar 312. Sperling 1983: 339f.
552 For his religious service rendered to Ra-sa, see IHa ldan dkar chag 34–35. The same text (op. cit., 11.19–20, 17.7–8, 24.2–3, 28.3, 29.2–3, 44.2–3) repeatedly lists the service, repair-work and installation of religious objects conducted by different Tshal-pa khri dpon.
553 Other sources also confirm the Phag-mo gru-pa as the actual patrons of the (first) IHa-sa sMon lam chen mo and other Tsong-kha-pa institutions, represented by gong ma Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and his governor in sNe’u rdzong, drung chen Nam-mkha’ bzang-po. Cf. e.g. Bod kyi deb ther 174.19; Kaschewsky 1971: 159.
554 Cf. above 19b, fn. 188.
555 The third throne-holder at Se-ra, see Se ra chos ‘byung 44–49; Tsong kha pa’i rtam thar 217–18; VS 138.
a grva tshang was given. He took the gTsug-lag-khang [of lHa-sa] as [financial] basis for the Byams-khang of the Tshal-pa. The way in which the Ser-smad grva-tshang [was established] and how it originated is elucidated in great detail elsewhere.\textsuperscript{558} The tre hos executed the office of the dpon sa for 14 years. He passed away at the age of 25.

\section{16 \textit{spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan}}

Thereupon spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan\textsuperscript{559} [followed as ruler], but he again [was compelled] to hand over the lay territories [(mi) sde] of Gung-thang including the gTsug-lag-khang to [the Phag-mo gru-pa ruler] gong ma Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan [1374–1432].\textsuperscript{560} On the eighth day of the tenth [lunar] month of a Sheep year [1415 A.D.], when the [new] caretaker (gnyer pa) dGyes-rgyal mkhan-po [39b] had arrived [at Tshal], Gung-thang suffered [some] damaging incursions from the army [of the Phag-mo gru-pa?]. Until then more than 220 years had passed since the foundation of Gung-thang.\textsuperscript{561} Thus it is maintained in the Supplement Volume (\textit{Ihan thabs}) to the Deh ther chen mo of Tshal-pa [Kun-dga' rdo-rje]. Although, moreover, it appears that four or five generations [of ruling dpon sa ba] followed spyan snga dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan\textsuperscript{562} no records of these [rulers] have [as of yet] come to light. [Anyhow] during the reign of the All-knowing Great 5th [Dalai Lama], it is maintained in the Biography of Zur[-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol] (Zur rnam):

"The Yang-dgon spyan snga sKal-lidan rgya-mtsho" sojourned on the throne of Yang-dgon [monastery in Tshal]. Having worked in an extensive manner for the sake of the

\textsuperscript{558} This grva tshang is known as Thos-bsam nor-bu'i gling. The 8th Dalai Lama wrote a bca' vig to this institution, Thar lam gsal bar byed pa'i nyi ma. Cf. Se ra chos 'byung 276f.

\textsuperscript{559} He later became gdan sa ba of Yang-dgon (no. 14), father of the 19th gdan sa ba Rin-po-che bSod-nams rgya-mtsho.

\textsuperscript{560} The tenure of this mighty ruler of Tibet as the 5th sde srid of Phag-mo-gru-pa at rTses/d-thang lasted between 1385–1432, prior to this date he was abbot of rTsed-thang, 1381–85; cf. e.g. IHo rong chos 'byung 387–89. The exact date of the Phag-mo-gru appropriation of the Gung-thang complex and its territories which thus heralded its gradual decline – at a period when Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang also was appropriated – is still unknown, but was possibly in around 1410 A.D. (cf. rGyal rise chos rgyal rnam thar 42–43) when the transition in tenure from dGa'-bde bzang-po to dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan took place. We know that precisely mi dbang Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was the powerful ruler who remained strongly supportive of Tsong-kha-pa (but also of other denominations, such as the Karma-pa, and the 'Brug-pa, etc.) and during the inauguration of the sMon lam chen mo in lHa-sa and, not least, he was the key person in the renovation, expansion and donation of religious items, primarily to Jo-khang, but also other holy sites in the area such as Gung-thang; cf. Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 295–339.

In 1433, the 3rd Zhva-dmar Chos-dpal ye-shes (1406–52) visited Gung-thang; cf. \textit{Kam tshang brgyud pa} 246b1.

\textsuperscript{561} 1175 plus 220 results either in ca. 1393, or, counting from 1187 + 220 years (more tibetico), suggests that the year corresponds to 1415 A.D.

\textsuperscript{562} In Thang-stong rgyal-po's biography a Tshal-pa dpon po (also called Tshal Gung-thang-pa) rNam-rgyal bzang-po for the period around ca. 1445–47 A.D. is registered, pupil of Thang-stong; cf. Thang stong rnam thar 1 244.18–245.2; II 288, 325; III 331–38 reports his visit to lHa-sa in 1437 and how the area that year witnessed a major famine with a resultant high death toll. Through the intense prayers of this thaumaturge, the disaster eventually was alleviated.


\textsuperscript{564} He regularly turns up in Zur-chen's biography where he is registered as a pupil of Zur-chen. From this source, e.g. \textit{ibid.} 122a5–b2 (= 243.5–244.2), he attended on and rendered service in connection with the funeral rites in the wake of the passing of Zur's father Zur-chen gZhon-nu don-grub (1563–1641 A.D.). The Yang-dgon spyan snga himself passed away in 1649 A.D. according to Zur's biography.
Teaching and for living beings, he passed away in an Earth Ox year, being the [23rd] year called virodhin of the 10th prabhava. Since the lineage of mGar stong-tsas yul-yulbrungs expired [with his passing], the territories [under jurisdiction] of the treasurer (nang so) of Yang-dgon were immediately confiscated by bDe-chens\textsuperscript{42} without even allowing for

\textsuperscript{42} At this point the bDe-chens seat was controlled by sa skyong bSod-nams rab-brtan. The fortress of bDe-chens-rtse, originally a residence of the Brag-dkar rdzong dpon or nang so (being different from Bye-ri stags rtse of Stags rtse village, east of Zhogs). The fortress on Mt. rdzong ri in present-day bDe-chens (the Stags rtse county capital) is listed by Klong-rdol bla-ma as one of the 13 great rdzongs which Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan established at central points throughout the conquered areas of dBus and gTsang (\textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 139.2.3). It is given as Brag-dkar gSangs-snags bDe-chens rdzong, a name which combines originally two different establishments, the Brag-dkar rdzong situated in present-day Brag-dkar-zhol (south of Gru-bzhi, Map 1.b) and the bDe-chens-rtse fortress at the foot of which Tsong-kha-pa founded the gSangs-snags-mkhar monastery (fn. 547). The rdzong of Brag-dkar was the original seat and it appears that bDe-chens-rtse only formed a kind of outpost of the early Brag-dkar ruler. bDe-chens pho brang or mkhar was still in the 1520's in the hands of the "Brag-dkar ba nam sras," but appears already in about 1534 A.D. to have been appropriated by the skyid-shod-shad-pa; cf. DL2 381, 587; DL3 46a5-6. \textsuperscript{4} Thus, from the mid-16th cent. both fortresses adhered to the dGa'-ldan skyid-shod sde-pa local rule, which initially were members of the sNe'u rdzong. Under the effective rulers Don-grub rgyal-po and bKra-shis rab-brtan (see below fn. 694), the skyid-shod sde-pa (with its main seat now in bDe-chens-rtse alias Stags rtse rtse) became stout supporters of the dGe-lugs order (in the period of the 3rd Dalai Lama), but they are also registered, at an earlier point, as supporters of other denominations, such as the Karma-pa (cf. e.g. mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1169.12-17), Stags lung-pa and in particular the 'Bri-gung-pa. See also fn. 699, 724; \textit{HSLG} Vol. 1: 1–13. The 4th Dalai Lama visited bDe-chens and Brag-dkar in 1604; cf. DL4 33b6–b5. The skyid-shod-pa lost the bDe-chens estate (after it was ransacked and destroyed) in 1618, the place was looted by the gTsang troops, and after the victory of the united dGe-lugs front in 1621, the skyid-shod-pa were compensated for the loss of bDe-chens with mKhar-rtse of 'Phan-yul confiscated from the 'Bri-gung-pa. It was, as already said, taken over by the 1st Regent bSod-nams rab-brtan. See also Table V.12.3.

\textsuperscript{4} The ruling line of Bye-ri stags rtse - last headed by Shag-pa Tshe-dbang nam-rgyal - was on the brink of extinction when it through marriage formed with the dGa'-ldan skyid-shod-pa in 1525; see Table V.12.3 below. It is reported that it was offered to the 17th 'Bri-gung throne-holder (in around 1548 or 1555 by the sKu-rab[s] sde pa of Dvags-po - but he initially refused; 'Bri gung gdan rabs III 207), it was later appropriated by the same 'Bri-gung-pa (seat of mNyam-mchod Chos kyi rgyal-po) and, after destruction in the early 1600's, it was refurbished in the late 1620's (after the 23rd throne-holder had married a lady of the gTsang sde srid), as the seat known as rNam-par rtse'i gzhal-yas-khang. In 1641, the 'Bri-gung-pa lost it to the skyid-shod-pa; e.g. Chos gregs nam rah nam 1168–170, 205–06; 'Bri gung gdan rabs III 275.

\textsuperscript{4} Thus, according to Klong-rdol bla-ma (gSung 'bum II 448.2f.) the thirteen administrative centers include:

1. sNe'u-gdongs rdzong (i.e. the main seat of the Rlangs Phag-mo gru-pa in Yar-lung, the palace was originally founded by khri dpon dRo-rje-dpal in 1254 or 1258; see CFS Gyalso et al. 39), for a new study, see Czaja 2006.

2. Phying-ba stags rtse'i rdzong (i.e. Phying-rgyas rdzong of 'Phyong-po valley; above fn. 425). The governors descended from the Hor family (\textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 163f.)

3. 'Ol-kha stags rtse (in Central 'Ol-kha; cf. \textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 177f. Geographical location: 29°22N 92°18'E; \textit{Xizang Dimenchi II} 247a); headed by the Myang clan. The 'Ol-kha governor bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan was patron of rje bTsang-kha-pa.

4. Byi-ru (= Bye-ri) stags rtse of dBus-stod (i.e. the Stags rtse rdzong situated in Stags rtse village east of Zhogs in present-day Stags rtse county (App. V. Fig. 74, 75 ). Geographical location: 29°50N 91°29'E; \textit{Xizang Dimenchi I} 91a; \textit{HSLG} Vol. 1: 1ff).

5. Brag-dkar gSangs-snags bDe-chens rdzong (i.e. the aforementioned bDe-chens rdzong at the entrance to the valleys of Ba-lam (shar-, nun) and Shing-lishang. The Brag-dkar governors (headed by the family of the Tsong-kha-pa-patron Rin-chens dpal-bzang-po) were from the Myang clan, more precisely from a branch of the Myang lineage in Yar-lung; cf. \textit{Bod kyi deb ther} 171f.; \textit{Deh dmar gser} 96b; Tucci 1972: 236. Cf. Table V.12.2 below.

6. lI Hun-grub rdzong of 'Phan-yul. The ruins of the old fortress are located above gSum-p'lheng village, Geographical location: 29°58N 91°15'E; \textit{Xizang Dimenchi I} 50b; \textit{HSLG} Vol. 4: 1ff.

7. gzhis kha sNe'u rdzong situated in sNe'u due west of Ra-ma-sgang south of lHa-sa; today no more extant; it was destroyed by the flood waters of Skyid-chu (geographical position: 29°37'15"N 91°03'34.5"E; the original rdzong, however, is said to have been located on the neighboring hill where some remains of ruins are to be found, a site locally known as Gekhar (= dgSe-bo-mhhar, see Table V.12, fn. 1). The sNe'u chiefs (or the family of Nam-mkha' bzang-po (fn. 562), respectively) are said to have came from the sGyer/sGer clan; cf. \textit{Deh dmar gser} 100b; Tucci 1972: 240).
the autumn harvest to be collected, wherefore [the funding for] the erection of statues and relics etc. became like a drought cloud during spring.”

8. Yar-rgyab Gong-dkar rdzong in sKyid-shod-smad (seat of the ruling house of Yar-rgyab (Fig. 81); governorship ruled by the Thun clan (= Thon-mi, the lineage with its original territory in the Thon valley, east of sNyed-mo; Map 2); cf. Kun dga’ rnam rgyal rnam thar 14f.; Bod kyi deb ther 178f. Geograph. location: 29°17’N 90°58’E; Xizang Dimingzhi II 109b).

9. Chu-shur (—shul) rdzong (i.e. Chu-shur KHun-po-rtse, below Fig. 62. Geograph. location: 29°21’N 90°43’E; Xizang Dimingzhi I 114a; HSLG Vol. 8: 1ff.).

10. Yar-brog dPal-di’i (dPal-sde) rdzong (located in Yar-gzigs-phu of dPal-di xiang; geograph. location: 29°07’N 90°21’E; Xizang Dimingzhi II 154a; on dPal-di/sde, also see fn. 254, 422).


12. rGyal-mkhar sTag-rtse’i rdzong in Upper N/Myang (rGyal-rtse; 28°55’N 89°37’E; Xizang Dimingzhi I 299).

13. Pa-ri/nam lHun-grub rdzong in M/Nyang (west of rGyal-rtse; Xizang Dimingzhi I 499, see also fn. 450 above. Bod kyi deb ther and Deb dmar gsar (Tucci 1971: 210) list Gong-dkar, Brag-dkar, sNe’u, ‘Ol-kha sTag-rtse, bSam-grub-rtse and ICags-rtse Gri-gu. In a similar way, the Ta’i si-tu’s biography in IHo rong chos ‘byung 379-80 and Rlangs Po ti bser ru 361.5-362.4) which also gives the dates of foundation: gZhis-k[ha] Gong-dkar in around 1350 A.D.; Rin-spungs established in the year of the foundation of the great Dharma college of tSseq-thang, i.e. in 1352 A.D.; in 1354, bSam-grub-rtse was founded (alt. 1360 [lcags khyi = byi]); in 1356 sNe’u; in 1357 Brag-dkar (i.e. the rdzong of present-day Brag-dkar-zhol); then ‘Ol-kha sTag-rtse (est. 1358 A.D.), ‘Phyong-rgyas sTag-rtse and Gri-gu sTag-rtse (1359 A.D.). The latter formed one of the 12 gezi kha of the Phag-gru khris skor established by rDo-rgyud-dpal in the 1250’s. It is situated at Gri-gu lake, south of ‘Phyong-po (CFS Gyalbo et al. 31. 39-40). bSam-grub-rtse, seat of the later tGsang sde pa is listed by Klong-rdob bla-ma as one of the rdzongs which have been reconstructed in the same period (see also Myang chos ‘byung 182). The other ones: lHa-rtse’i rdzong of tGsang-stod, rDrol-mdkon rdzong of sKyid-shod (= gDong-mkhar rdzong (cf. TPS Tucci 692), in Lower sTod-lung) and the Srong-btsan sgam-po’i pho brang dMar-po-ri (gSung ‘bum II 448.8-11).

*** The destruction of the old Brag-dkar rdzong (App. V: Fig. 67) and its relation to dBde-chen is spoken of in a fragmentary local account: The ruins are called Brag-dkar Pbo-mo khang-ba by the locals and said to have been the residence of a powerful mother and her daughter (i.e. the Brag-dkar yam sras mentioned above?) who used to send regularly a servant called Dmam-can Cho-shgs-rgyal (the oath-bound Dharmaraja) to dBde-chen (of Ba-lam) in order to buy meat (for Brag-dkar). At one of his errands, the servant did not arrive in time for which he was scolded by the Pbo-mo. The Brag-dkar-ba, however, were not aware that the servant (described as a figure with horns on his head) was the wrathful deity Dam-can who subsequently avenged the insult by destroying the fortress. Later the deity would be tamed by Tsong-kha-pa, the local hero of the story, who made him his personal protector and as a religious protectress (meaning the neighbouring dBga’-ldan monastery; see Chan 1994: 144) – The ruins are located on a hill above today’s Brag-dkar-zhol village (geograph. location: 29°41’N 91°25’E; Xizang Dimingzhi I 88a). Not far to the south, the dGe-lugs-pa foundation of bKra-shis-ljongs (the sKyid-shod-rtse established there a bla sprul line centuries later) was situated which later belonged to Kun-bde-gling of IHa-sa. Today the monastery is abandoned: its chief srong ma was the chos skyon Shugs-ldan who also functioned as the local yul lha of the Brag-dkar-zhol area. Cf. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 141.

* The seat of the influential sde pa sKu-rab was in sKu-rab rNam-rgyal in the sKu-rab valley, south of tGsang-po river in eastern Dvags-po (in present-day sNang xian). For an early mention of sKu-rab[s], see Rva lo rnam thar 291.17. mKhas pa’i dga’ ston 1162.2: dGyer gyi rdzong rgyal chen sku rab pa. The area is located west of the La-thog valley, the latter known as the origin place of the Zur lugs medical tradition (with Zur referring to the old rdzong of La-thog Zur-mdkon). The dominating lineage of both areas was the dGyer, which originally constituted a branch of the dGyer-pa of rGya-ma (TF Sarenzen and Hazod 2005: 255, et passim). Further it is the sKyem-stong valley where the impressive imperial “Lishan tombs” are located (i.e. in sLeb of sKyem-stong); it corresponds to the ancient mChims-yul (see Hazod 2006). Both, the ruling house sKu-rab and sKyem-stong traditionally used to control the entrance to the holy rTsas-dri district. See Huber 1999, s.v. index.

443 Verbatim extracted from Zur chen rnam thar 162a-2-5 = 324.2-5 (cf. also 122b5-6 = 243.5-6). The only words missing in the original biography is the reference to the year and its corresponding year cycle. It is here added by the author' Jog-ri-pa. In fact sKal-ldan rgya-mtho passed away in 1649 (not as here 1589).
[Zhab-drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan]

Again, according to the oral tradition of others, it is said that zhab drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan was the last descendant of the Tshal-pa lineage. Corroborating something similar [we read] in the Section Cha of The Biography of the Great Fifth, Being an Exquisite Piece of Dukula Silk (INga pa chen po'i rnam thar Du ku la'i gos bzang) that in the Water Hen year of the 11th prabhava, on the 15th [fullmoon] day of the fourth month, the Tshal[-pa] zhab drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan passed away in Lo Sa-ma. Since [he had] no issue, the territories were left for one full year [under the jurisdiction of Tshal] [before they were confiscated]. Thereafter, in addition to the [ensuing] governmental confiscation (gzhung bzhes) and after the dismissal as estate administrator (gzhis gnyer) of Brag-gdgon to Upper rGyal [i.e. rGyal-phu],[45] still the funding in the form of an endowment for the flow of merit[-bestowing offerings] dge rgyun [at different monasteries conducted by the Tshal monks] remained intact [throughout the following years] as in former times: on an annual basis, the Bhairava [rituals] of rGyud-stod, rGyud-smad and gSang-sngags-mkhar [monasteries] were made,[97] the expenditures in connection with [the ceremonies of] the IHa-sa sMon lam chen mo[40a], the regular ritual offering services for Ra-mo[-che] and gNas-chung etc., the propitiatory rituals (bskyang gso) conducted on the 29th [day] each month,

54 Reading of the text uncertain, otherwise this Lo is unknown (according to the context it may refer to a place in rGyal of Phan-yul (foll. note); a Lo-tsa or Lo-tsa-g is located close to rGyal lha-khang; HSLG Vol. 4: 28; Xizang Diminingshu 147a). Despite a close reading of the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama, this information has not been traced. The rab byung hcu gcig chu bya mentioned here as the date of death of Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan corresponds to 1633 A.D., which evidently is not correct.* Below (GT 41a) the text says that Grags-pa died 44 years after sKal-'ldan rgya-mtsho (d. 1649, see prev. note), i.e. 1649 + 44 = 1693; in other words the date given by the author of GT have to be placed one rab byung later, a date which corresponds to the events associated with Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan alias Tshal-pa Grags-pa as mentioned below (see fn. 551 below).

* More precisely, the death of the Zhab-drung corresponds here to the sa ga dzla ba festival of the Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa, evidently a “corrected statement” by the author of the present text (cf. similarly the case of the dating of the Gung-thang fire). See App. IV: Chap. 5.

45 rGyal-phu in western Phan-yul as district is well documented, whereas Brag-gdgon or “Rock-face,” hitherto remains unidentified, but may allude to a place in Grib, along the sKyid-chu where once Thang-stong rgyal-po erected an iron-bridge; cf. fn. 732 below.

56 These passages allude to the widespread tradition of setting up a fund or endowment for the maintenance of ritual offerings at different places. Vital for the survival of institutions and as a well-earned way of enhancing and transferring religious merit (punya), such funding (of annual or permanent endowments) for the maintenance and support of the liturgical, cultic and religious practice and duties (euphemized as “a stream or flow of merit” dge rgyun giy thebs, mchod rgyun phugs, rgyun chags ‘dzugs, mchod thebs) gained currency and popularity, especially during the dGa’-‘ldan pho-brang supremacy.

57 On the two Tantric colleges in IHa-sa, rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad grva tshang, see above fn. 190. gSang-sngags-mkhar monastery is located at the foot of Mount bDe-chen-rtsi (in mid-1600’s it was called bDe-chen g Yul-rgyal-rtsi; renovated or rebuilt in 1628-30 while appropriated by the ‘Bri-gung-pa) of sTag-rtsi in Ba-lam in present-day sTag-rtsi xian, founded in 1419 by bTsong-kha-pa. Cf. Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar 557–58 (as his patron functioned Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (var. Rin-chen lhun-po) of the ruling house of Brag-dkar; Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar 557–58; dGa’ ‘ldan chos byung 1 42b2ff.; VS 144-45; Deb dmar gsar 96b; Tuucci 1972: 236; above fn. 542). In another Tsong-kha-pa vita (Kaschewsky 1971: 202), it is called the bDe-chen-rtsi monastery of Ba-lam. Formerly it was a sgrub khang associated with Rva lo ta ba. The first throne-holder was Dar-ma rin-chen, co-seating the dGa’-‘ldan see followed by mKhas-grub-rje, etc. An unseen gSang sngags mkhar gyi lo rgyas was composed by one Grags-pa Tshe-ring mgon-po.

548 The temple of the state oracle gNas-chung chos-rje (est. in the 17th century). gNas-chung also designates the area around the confluence of the sKyid-chu and sTod-lung-chu.
the financial support for the exchange of the Mt. Meru [balin or votive cakes] for the dPal[-ldan] lha[-mo] [deity] and for Gung-thang, the expenditures in connection with the Throne Hall, as well as the allowances of the monks of Yang-dgon including those of Chos-'khor-gling, the financial support for the exchange of the ritual utensils and victory banners [in the presence of] the statue of the Great 5th [Dalai Lama installed] in the niche of the Yang-dgon 'Du-khang and [for those statues installed] in the Gung-thang Tshe-dpag lha-khang, [further] the expenditures for the winter study sessions at Tshal and for the Me tog mchod pa Festival, etc. [Thus] on an annual basis for the flow of merit[-giving offerings at different monasteries conducted by the Tshal monks] which obliged them to proceed [to these places], he endowed [financial means amounting to] 28,113 khal, six bre and two-and-a-half phul [measures] of grain annually, [a tradition which was instituted and is intended to last] until the light of the sun and the moon have cleared the darkness [of ignorance in the world]. Having rendered this in prose, it may [also be] said in [an intermediate] stanza:

"Even if the secular power of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa in the meantime
   Had been lost, still the fully pure tradition of [providing endowment for]
   the stream of meritorious (dge rgyun) [ritual offerings prevails]
   [Capable thus of] eliminating the darkness of the world through the light of the sun;
   [Its sparkling] rainbow [is even capable of] competing [in brilliance] with
   the glorious [lustré emitting from] the lake of virtuous excellence during summer."

According to this apposite saying, it [thus] appears that this very Zhabs-drung belonged to the lineage of the Tshal-pa. During the period of this very Zhabs drung too, the reverence [in form of service rendered] those paid to the above-mentioned teaching and teachings-holders was great. In particular, he manufactured a precious image of the All-Seeing Great 5th [Dalai Lama, capable of] "Subduing the Three Realms Through [sheer] Brilliance" (khams gsum zil gyis gnon), being one-storey high, and executed in a distinguished way [the rituals associated with the insertion] of mantric formula [and relics] (gzungs [ghug 'bul]), as well as its [subsequent] consecration etc. At the time when [this image] was being escorted to the Hermitage of Byang-mkhar' [to be set up there] as the most prominent receptacle, inconceivably [many wondrous] signs [manifested themselves]: So even at the utmost narrow [40b] precipice along the road such as at gNam-sgo etc., the precious image – visible to everyone – all by itself made movements, such as bending backwards and leaning forwards (dgyed gug [~ dgur] mdzad) [thereby moving forwards], and so [they] were [finally] able to escort it [to Byan[g]-mkhar] without meeting any obstruction whatsoever [on the way]. When [formally] installed as the principal receptacle, it was [again] as before [standing] erect and majestic, being well-proportioned and immensely lustrous [etc.]; numerous signs like that were displayed which [thus indicated] that the ye shes pa [the divine principle of wisdom] in reality [already] rested [in the receptacle].

When, in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of the All-Seeing Great 5th [Dalai Lama], an excellent Monolith [rdo ring] was to be escorted from the Upper Valley of Sri [in order

548 For this retreat site situated south of Gung-thang, see above fn. 62.
549 gNam-sgo is one of the hermitages of the Byang-ng]-mkhar mountain retreat area (above, fn. 62). The miraculous story of the image walking all by itself once it negotiated a precipice at gNam-sgo carries strong reminiscence of the legendary transfer of the Jo-bo image of Mi-skyyod rdo-rje, the dynastic dowry image of Khri-btsun, on the way to Tibet from Nepal, where it similarly negotiated a precipice independently on foot; cf. TBH Sørensen 209.
550 This is confirmed in a mural in the Potala in the Bar-khyams gallery (the mural executed 1690–94; see Lading ed.
to be installed] in front of [the place] known as Zhabs-drung lha-khang [in the Potala], it was about to be left behind since [both] the workmen and knowledgeable experts – whoever – proved unable [to move it]. It was then precisely this very Zhabs-drung [who finally succeeded in moving it] – on account of his excellent intelligence and based upon the miracle of [his] unsurpassed skillful ingenuity which was not [capable of] having been issued from the intellectual creativity of others – he effortlessly managed to bring it to the bank of skYid-chu river. Then [by binding together] excellent larger stone pieces that resembled beams [brought] from sKam-po Yung into a raft,

2000: 114; App. IV: Fig. 36). Here the mural scenario is captioned that it was the Tshal-pa sde pa Grags-pa ≈ Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan who brought the rdo ring from Kri (= Sri).* This Kri’s rdo ring is also known as rdo ring nang ma (in contrast to the rdo ring phyi ma, i.e. the famous “Zhol pillar” outside the Potala)** which elsewhere is described as the pillar (without inscription) that commemorates the completion of the construction of the pho brang dmar po (Red Palace of the Potala complex) in chu hva 1693 (see Mig-dmar rgyal-mtshan (ed.) 1987: 16). In the same year the Tshal-pa Grags-pa passed away (above, fn. 544). The description in GT which connects the pillar installation with the dgeongs rdogs for the Fifth Dalai Lama appears to be contradicting, since the death of the Great Fifth (1682 A.D.) had been made public by the sde srid not before 1695.

* The Sri (alias [d]Kri) valley situated in the (eastern) part of the Tshal Gung-thang district (above fn. 413). The area including Sri, Zhul and sKam-po-yung (see next note) was, serving as a stone quarry, the sites from where stone materials of different sorts were delivered to lHa-sa. In the local oral tradition (ngag rgyum), stories and tales abound about how all rdo ring or monoliths set up in lHa-sa originated from this area (Wang Yao, pers. communication). Such stories often contain elements of how the same stones were able/made to fly or rather be slung over long distances, thus reminiscent of the present story expediting the cumbersome transportation of the blocks of stone. In some accounts the mentioning of a lag rdi or shepherd (see also Part II: App. II. Chap. 2. 2) are found, which similarly refers to “the flying” or “the moving” of stones. The analogy to the shepherd’s art of hurling his ur rdo or slingshot over an appreciable distance, in other words to make it “fly” is here obvious. This faculty originally was ascribed to dge-ba-’bum, the celebrated pioneering dike-builder, around whom stories of magically slingshotting larger stones for building dykes were spun. In actual fact, the “large stones” were transported, like here, in large boats. See also App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2.

** This pillar with the well-known inscriptions dedicated to the general and minister Ngan-lam sTag-sgra klu-gong is similarly called Sri’s rdo ring (Richardson 1985:2), suggesting that the monolith originated from this area or perhaps was originally installed in Sri, the latter being the core territory of the Ngam-lam of sKyid-shod. See App. IV: Chap. 3.2.2.

*** See also Bod kyi delb ther 173 (Nor-brang 1993: 427); Dzam gling rgyan geig 239, 522. According to the locals sKam-po-yung (DL5 II 3a e; e.g. similarly varies sKam-po-yurn; and on a mural in the Potala (prev. note) we have the spelling sKam-g-yung, etc.) is often also written or known as sSkam-po-lung, see Map 1b.2 (the mountain in the area is called sKam-pa shar-ri, a mountain complex which to the south and east also includes s Pang-sgang-ri and Bye-ma gNar-mthong-ri, cf. Tshe-brtan dge-legs 1994). Dzam gling rgyan geig 96, 522, 984 lists sKam-lung together with Chos-lung (fn. 253) and Grib. Monks from sKam-yung are mentioned in the biography of Po-to-ba – mid-11th cent.; Po to ba rnam thar 174.5. More pertinently, as part of a number of resource-rich sites in the near vicinity around lHa-sa, sKam[-po]-yung (stone quarry) is listed along with Dog-sde (gold-ore, silver-ore, iron-ore and calloitt; but also stones), gDol-pa, lla-lung and sDing-rag (i.e. sDing-sta of ’On? but better sTod-lung sDing-kha; DL6 421 22; App. IV: fn. 21 (slate) as areas that supplied of a ‘lag basis different sorts of raw materials to be used as building materials.* sKam-yung was earlier a settlement in the mountains south of Shan-kha, but at a later point was abandoned and the settlement transferred to the bank of sKyid-chu, nowadays it belongs to Shan-kha village. VS156.17 mentions the Zhang foundation of sKam-pa-dgon which, it appears, refers to the sKam-po-yung/lung of the Tshal Gung-thang district.***

* The [ar po] sa [h]ko rdo rtsug construction or mining enterprise (evidently initiated by the Pho-brang gzhung in mid-17th cent.), as it was called, prompted not only that measures were taken for repair work to pay for the loss due to the exploitation and mining, but also that the concerned local deities (sa bdag) of the said areas were propitiated through various pacifying rituals on a regular annual basis to prevent them from causing havoc such as rewarding offerings of fragrant substances (bhangs bsgun), and klu gtor rites, cf. e.g. Dzam gling rgyan geig 239, 520 22; DL6 400, 578, 669, 734, etc. For mural illustrations of the enterprises at these sites (e.g. sKam-ig] yung and sDing-rag), where building materials, mainly stones and marl (ar ka), for the erection of Potala Palace were excavated at Pha-hong-ka, gDol, lla-lung and Dog-sde; Precious Deposits Vol. 4: 22 23; see also Lading ed. 2000: 109 114; I In 1989: 190 91.
they attached [air-filled] bags [made from] g.Yag[-skin] to each end [of these beams], whereupon [the image], without any delay whatsoever, was brought in front of Pho-brang chen-po.** Mi-dbang ’Jam-dpal-dbyangs [i.e. the Ruler [embodifying] Mañjuśrī[ghosa], alias sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho] has praised similar [accomplishments of this very Zhab-drung] accordingly:**“

“Escorted thither — how excellent!
A miracle born from the compassion of the Victor [Jina]
The huge stones [brought about] through magic power
Derived from the transformation of the mind of the fortunate ones.
Most wondrous! Carried along by the waters of Skyid-chu in a [sailing] box [it did]
Not sink! Through the ingenuity [of the Zhab-drung] it safely was escorted.”

Thus it has been said.

Similar kinds of [narratives concerning this Zhab-drung] have not just been transmitted orally, but [in actual fact] have also more reliably reported many times in works like the dKar chag Thar gling rgya mtshor bygrod pa'i gru rdzing, etc.”“ Accordingly, the way in which this miracle of [his] skillful ingenuity [operates] indeed matches [the description of similar feats of skillful resourcefulness once displayed] by Chos blon chen po mGar” or [at least] it appears that [he] indeed possessed many [similar] special marks [of qualifications which are only possessed by people] like [those] who have been born into the lineage of this very person [i.e. mGar]. [41a]

In any case, after the passing of the Yang-dgon spyan snga Skal-lldan rgya-mtsho until the passing of zhab drung Grags-pa Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, 44 years elapsed.”“ In one way [one may actually say] that immediately after the passing of spyan snga [Skal-lldan rgya-mtsho] all the territories [hitherto under Tshal Gung-thang jurisdiction] were confiscated by bDe-chen-rtse”“ and previously, following the devastating fire at Gung-thang [i.e. in 1546 A.D.], the Skyid-shod

** There are several “[s]Kam” foundations of the 12th cent: the important bKa’ gdams-pa seat of [s]Kam-[s]kam founded by dge bshes Khrom-bshes Rin-chgyi seng-ge (from [Dvags] mChims), 1100-1170; found. date: 1137 A.D.; it is located in present-day Thang-skya ting of Mal-gro county, see e.g. lHa sa dgon tho 154, the Bla ma Zhang foundation of sKam-dgon in sKam-po-lung and the similar-named Rin-chen-sgang monastic dependency called sKam-dgon bDe-chen-gling established by Sangs-rgyas Rin-chen-sgang gZhon-nu byung-gnas (1138 1210 A.D.), the second rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang throne-holder (see Part II: App. V: Table 10).

** It may refer to Pho-brang dmar-po or the Red Palace completed in 1693 A.D.; see above fn. 551.

** The 4th Regent in the time of the 5th and 6th Dalai Lama (r. 1679-1705); see e.g. Richardson, ‘The Decree.’

** The source for these stanza lines has still not been identified among sDe-srid’s writings.

** In other words Dzam gling rgyan gzig by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho; see op. cit., 239, 522.

** Here the author refers to the popular narratives that describe how minister mGar in China succeeded in winning the hand of princess Kong-jo through various skillful means and trials of resourcefulness for his king Srong-btsan sgam-po; see THI Sorensen: 213 242.

** As mentioned above (fns. 544, 545), the zhab drung passed away in 1693 (and not 1633, the date in GT).

** I.e. the rdzong of the Brag-dkar ruler in Ba-lam which mid-16th century was appropriated by the dGu’-ldan Skyid-shod sde-pa (fn. 542; Table V.12). The circumstance behind the appropriation of Gung-thang by the sSkyid-shod-pa dating back to the mid-1600 (or even earlier, see Introduction: Chap. 9.3) may have led to the establishment of Gung-thang as an estate of the sSkyid-shod-pa (headed by bKra’-shis rab-brtan) called Tshal Zur-khang. In 1618, it was appropriated by the gTsang troops but soon reappropriated by the dCig-lugs faction, since the 5th Dalai Lama briefly visited it in 1630 and later also in 1655, when he made a stop-over at Klu-sdings (or the Naga pond) of Tshal Zur-khang; cf. D.I.87b4, D.I.4 33a4 b4; dKon mchog chos ’phel rnam thar 14a7; D.I.5 156b6, 245b5-6.
zhabs drung Don-grub rab-brtan dpal-bzang-po [succeeded in] executing in no inferior way the renovation of the [main]-building of the Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang [including its interior]. How [he succeeded] in manufacturing a new [huge] Brocade-Thangka which were to be on display during the Me tog mchod pa [Festival] in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of the [Grand] Mother [of zhabs drung] is elucidated in [detail in] the dGa' ldan pa'i gdung rabs rnam thar.\footnote{Currently not accessible. It refers to the dGa' ldan skyid shod pa'i gdung rabs written by bKra-shis rab-brtan, a Ms copy of this rarest of texts is said to exist in Tibet; cf. Dung dkar tshig mchod 254, 256. It was regularly quoted by the 5th Dalai Lama, cf. e.g. DL4 23b3-26a5. See also below fn. 565, 694–99.} Accordingly [it becomes clear] that it was [precisely] that very dGa'-ldan-pa dmag dpon bSod-nams rgyal-po who descended from the family line of Mi-chung Don-rgyal, [once] a footman of tre hos dGa'-bde-dpal-ba [i.e. dGa'-bde bzang-po].\footnote{This appears to refer not to dGa'-bde dpal-ba (1254/56–1310 A.D.), but to tre hos dGa'-bde bzang-po (1386–1409/10 A.D.), also confirmed in Bod kyi deb ther 182.4 which offers the family lineage of the noble house of the dGa'-ldan-pa (182.22–185.16). On Mi-chung Don-rgyal, see Introduction: Chap. 9.3.} Later, due to the vicissitudes of time, he served as footman for the gZhis-ka sNel-pa [district administrator].\footnote{Bsd-nams rgyal-po, according to Deb dmar gsar 107:6–9 (Tucci 1971: 242) was a son of one sNel-pa princess Nga-dbang dbang-mo who had married a (still unidentified) dGa'-ldan khang-gsar official. He later served as dmag dpon and as phyi blon for the Gongs sa sde-srid of the Phag-mo-gru-pa. Nga-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1480–1564; rl. 1495–1564).} sNel-pa (or sNel'u[-pa]) (where sNel-pa appears to be the variant name of the gzhis ka and sNe'u the name of the rdzong and fortress; otherwise in the sources indiscriminately used) of the estate of the sNe'u rdzong (one among the rdzong est. by Ta'i si tu Byang-chub rgyal-mthsan in the mid-14\textsuperscript{th} century; see above fn. 542) was an important local hegemony in sKyid-shod in the 15\textsuperscript{th} and early the 16\textsuperscript{th} century (seat and palace sNe'u Brag-thog; Table V.12). As feastful or landed estate, it initially was devoted to Rin-chen bzang-po, a close ally of Ta'i si tu. During his tenure and those of his successors, the members of this house were influential lHa-sa area patrons. Re[d]-mda'-ba who entertained close bonds to the house, characters them at this early stage as stobs ldan or “powerful” in his biography (op. cit., 19b5). As undisputed rulers of the central part of the sKyid-shod area in the early 15\textsuperscript{th} century, they were addressed skyi shod kyi che dgu yongs kyi gtsug or the “Head-Ornament of the Nine Great [Places] within the entire sKyid-shod Area.” Under the benign rule of the dpon po or sde pa Nam-mkha' bzang-po (both the younger and the elder) and later Chos-rgyal dpal-'byor rgyal-po who e.g. served as important patrons to the dGe-lugs establishment, their patronage included the erection of 'Bras-spungs (1416 A.D.), the manufacture of innumerable receptacles, providing endowment for the sMon lam chen mo, the cost of the renovation of Jo-khang, as well as the printing of numerous works, etc. which they most passionately promoted and financed on a grand scale. In the early 15\textsuperscript{th} century, the sNel-pa had received – reminiscent of Yuan Mongol times – the citation and imperial title of duyuanshuai or “General Regional Military Commander.”

Intermarried with the Tshal-pa, as local political and religious patrons in the lHa-sa valley (generally known as the bdag po or lords of sKyid-shod and ’Phan-yul, cf. mKhas pa'i dga’ ston 1014.11–12), they served as bridge and as defacto rulers of Tshal Gung-thang during the period following the Tshal-pa (from ca. 1360 or rather from 1415) until the sKyor-mo-lung-pa (from ca. 1517–1553) and the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa (ab 1550s–1620), with a brief interlude by the Karma-pa and the Rin-spungs, between 1480/98–1520 A.D. They were accused by the dGe-lugs-pa of a political volte face (ca. 1500 A.D.) during the Rin-spungs-pa reign in lHa-sa, wherefore their influence gradually diminished. See also Introduction: Chap. 9.1–9.3.1.

For a brief pedigree of this local noble house, see App. V: Table 12.1; Bod kyi deb ther 173–175 (= TPS Tucci: 646–48); Deb dmar gsar 107–108 (Tucci 1971: 223, 242); bSam yas dkar chag 75–76; sKyid shod sde pa skor. The sNe'u dpon was also active when the first iron-bridge was built at Grib, around 1430 A.D. by Thang-stong, across the sKyil[d]-chu; cf. Thang stong rnam thar 1 155–57. In the mid-15\textsuperscript{th} century, the sNel-pa rule is said to have extended from the threshold of 'Bri-gung [in the east] to Kha-rag rDo Bug-pa-can [in the west] and to Yar-khung Khra'-brug [in the south], before they lost their power during the time of the lord of the Rin-spungs sa skyong Don-yod rdo-rje
a minister [under] the Phag-[mo]-gru-pa [hegemony], and he was gradually rewarded [for the service he rendered], whereupon he obtained both the position and title (cho lo)\(^{563}\) of a dmag dpon [carrying the name dGa'-ldan-pa]. Then, gradually [with the passing of time] on account of the decision [made by the sDe-srid gong-ma of the Phag-mo gru-pa] and confirmed with a formal decree [of investiture] (gtan khra = gtan tshigs khra ma)\(^{564}\) and by way of a crystal seal [one of his great grand-children [also?] named bSod-nams rGyal-po\(^{565}\) was eventually appointed] as [new

\(^{1462/63-1512\text{ A.D.}}\) in a row of insurgencies around 1480 A.D. Cf. mKhas pa'i dga' ston 1140f.; Dung-dkar 1991: 59–61. The sNe'u rulers during this transitional period was sa skyong Ngag-dbang lhun-grub and nang so Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (cf. DL2 363; Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar 552.4).

The rapport between the Tshal-pa and the sNe'i/-pa dates back to the marriage alliance between the sNe'u rdzong dpon Grags-pa dpal-bzang who married a Tshal-pa dpon mo in the mid-15th cent. (cf. Bod kyi deb ther 172.2–4). The influence in this period of the sNe'i/-pa as rulers or protectors of Tshal must have been considerable, dpag bsam ljon bzang 601.5–18 chronicles that, during the secular rule of Kun-dga' rdo-rje or sDe-ba'i blo-gros (i.e. mid-14th century), the local dominion in lHa-sa was characterized by the words “the heyday of the Tshal-pa” (tshal dus) – due to the considerable fame Tshal enjoyed as a center of erudition and excellence – whereas during the period of the Phag-mo gru-pa hegemony in Central Tibet (i.e. late 14th until late 15th cent.), the rule in sKyid-shod was characterized by the “heyday of the sNe'u” (sne'u dus) – due to the considerable patronage, endowment and donation extended by this house.

\(^{563}\) Title (cho lo > Man. color): Mong. cö la. Tib. mishan refers to the later [Manchu-]Mongolian tradition (sog po'i lugs; so e.g. DL5 I 41a6–b1) – albeit originally Chinese – of conferring honours, entitlements, rank and here titles to dignitaries and nobles of the top echelon. A long-established and well-earned imperial system existed in China with nine ranks (jiu pin), already from the Tang dynasty. Each dynasty being a fons honorum, it served to secure loyalty and ensure recruitment, and relevant for the Tibetans, it was introduced in the Yuan period, later followed by the Ming and Qing. Especially in the mid-17th cent. – in fact from 1637 A.D. – it was actively taken over by the Tibetans themselves. The emergent dGa'-ldan pho-brang gzhung as fons honorum conferred titles and honours upon Tibetan and foreign religious hierarchies and nobilities (chos rje mi bsang drag rigs) too; cf. Ishihama 1992. Among a host of titles of Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan origin count e.g. darhan qung, jasay, tayiji, noyan, ačitu nom-un qan, ačitu erdeni, chos kyi rgyal po, etc.

\(^{564}\) Actually a decree or diploma and its settlement.

\(^{565}\) The pedigree and origin of the sKyid-shod or [Nyang-bran]-dGa'-ldan-pa House (the center of which originally was the still unidentified Yar-phyoogs-gleng) is given in Bod kyi deb ther 182–4 (also TPS Tucci: 648); see also Deb dmar gsar 108.5–11; bsam vas dkar chag 75–77 and particular App. V: Table 12.3 below. It appears that it was not bSod-nams rgyal-po, but one of his descendants, also named dGa'-ldan-pa bSod-nams (who was a grand nephew) and who was rewarded for his service to the sDe-srid Gong-ma (i.e. Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa) and thus became district judge of the said territories. In the relevant literature, the reign of bSod-nams rgyal-po, his wife and their scions (yab sras, yab yum sras) can be dated to the first quarter of the 16th century (ca. 1500–1525), they served as patrons of the dGe-lugs and were designated as bsTan pa'i sbyin-bdag dGe-ldan-pa (see Chos grva chos 'byung 642). This is confirmed by 'Br-gung sources, the dGa'-ldan-pa was dmag dpon of sKyid-shod, 'Phan-yul and g.Yor districts; cf. Kun dga' rin chen rnam thar III 178–182; 580.4. He was active at the outset of the 16th cent. and called nang so chos rje A-bsd; cf. Ngag dbang chos rgyal rnam thar 555.6–7. bSod-nams rgyal-po appears still to be alive in 1541 A.D.; cf. DL2 611. His eldest son (grandson?) Don-grub rgyal-po soon took over (see Table V.12.3).

The local ruling house, originally retainers of sNe'u, experienced its heyday in the period ca. 1510/15–1625 A.D., becoming an increasingly stronger local factor with the gradual weakening of the sNe'u-gdung gong-ma. They were rulers of Tshal Gung-thang already from early 1500’s, inviting the 'Brug-pa Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po (1465–1540) to the seat in 1508. Already in the 1530’s this house invited the 2nd Dalai Lama several times. During the charismatic rule of Don-grub rgyal-po, his younger brother bKra-shis rab-brtan and his successors (see below fn. 694), the support from this local house for the emerging dGe-ldan order would pave the way for the latter’s imminent ascent and triumph. Deriving from the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa in the 17th century were the sTag-rte-ba (so named after their main seat).* The last major figure was sKyid-shod sTag-rte-pa lHa-rgyal rab-brtan who 1720 A.D. was executed for
From the gNas chung dkar chag by Mi dbang 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs [i.e. sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho it is maintained that] the chos rgyal chen po [Dharmarāja, i.e. Pe-har] himself [once] sojourned in Yang-dgon gTsug-lag-khang [of Tshal Gung-thang]. During the period of the Omniscient dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama, 1475—1542 A.D.], [Pe-har] left Yang-dgon in the manifestation of the Horse-headed One [i.e. Hayagrīva] only to [arrive at] Chos-sde chen-mo dPal-ladan ’Bras-spungs where [Pe-har] became [its] srung ma. Furthermore, in the

his participation in the Dzungar-supported government (for details Mi dbang rtags brjod, passim). The history and vicissitude of this important house deserves a separate study. It is most deplorable that two texts which recount the history of this ruling house have still not reached academic circles (albeit one of these is still extant, and had recently been consulted by Dung-dkar), namely the sDe pa sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs written by A khu bKra-shis [rab-brtan] (cf. fn. 697 below) and an untitled supplement to this text written by drung Ngag-dbang Tshangs-pa-pi dbyangs (d. 1724) of the Ga zi house, the father of the eminent literati bKa'-blon mDo-mkhar-ba Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697—1763); cf. Deb ther rgya mtsho 15.

* The full name of the house, at the apex of their power, was the Bye-ri sTag rnam-par bRtse-ba'i sa-skyong-ba stemming from the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa line; cf. e.g. Mi dbang rtags brjod 133a4.

** Signally, mDo-mkhar-ba’s father stemmed from the line of Sras-khang gsar-pa (of ‘Phan-yul), a noble house that ultimately descended from a line of one (still unidentified) Tshal-pa outwardly were linked to one another. It therefore seems difficult to say whether one should still consider zhabs drung Grags-pa [Tshel-dbang rab-brtan] as belonging to the lineage of the Tshal-pa or whether he [is to be regarded as] a descendant of the sKyid-shod dGa'-ldan-pa. Even thought [his pedigree] is not clear from the Ded ther chen mo, I think it should be clear [41b] from [the latter’s] Supplement [known as Ded ther mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog], etc. [To me] it appears to be so.

From the gNas chung dkar chag by Mi dbang 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs [i.e. sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho it is maintained that] the chos rgyal chen po [Dharmarāja, i.e. Pe-har] himself [once] sojourned in Yang-dgon gTsug-lag-khang [of Tshal Gung-thang]. During the period of the Omniscient dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama, 1475—1542 A.D.], [Pe-har] left Yang-dgon in the manifestation of the Horse-headed One [i.e. Hayagrīva] only to [arrive at] Chos-sde chen-mo dPal-ladan ’Bras-spungs where [Pe-har] became [its] srung ma. Furthermore, in the
Brief Biography of lCog-pa Byang[-chub] dpal[-ldan] (lCog pa byang dpal ha'i rnam thar): dPe-har took possession of Tshal-pa Myriarch khri dpon Don-yod rdo-rje on the third day of the first [lunar] month of the Earth Ox year [1529 A.D.], and shortly after, Gung-thang caught fire [i.e. 1546 A.D.]. Based upon the prophecy which bespoke that Don-yod rdo-rje [soon] would pass away, the khri dpon immediately executed a rgyal rdzong [ritual] and [after Pe-har had been committed to the sKyid-chu river], [he flowed downstream and] appeared from amidst the waters at Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can.

Thereupon, lCog-pa [Byang-chub dpal-ldan] was able to collect him founded by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mlsho. Karmay, op. cit., ibid.; VS 455; Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1221–22; Nebesky Wojkowitz 1975: 444–454.

572 Cf. verbatim 10a5–6 in the brief lCog pa Byang chub dpal ldan rnam thar by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mlsho. According to this opusculum, lCog-pa was born 1464 and age 37 (sic) in a monkey year (1500 A.D.), he erected the bDe-yangs grva-tshang. This college within 'Bras-spungs was circumscribed (to the north) in the upper valley by the establishments of O-rgyen chos-rdzongs, to the east by Bon-dgon sgar-sa grva-tshang, to the west by sMan-dgon and in the lower part (south) by Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can dgon-pa where the bDe-yang site assumes the center in a mandalic lay-out. An image of lCog-pa was erected in 1803; cf. DL8 606 (see also Fig. 49, in App. IV).

The full title of the text was also dMar-ser-can. "hereupon, the somewhat elevated area at the foot of Mt. sKyid-chu, regular mention of the literature. It is registered on most older lHa-sa Maps. The locale on the western outskirts of lHa-sa boasts great antiquity. In the ancient, but celebrated narrative of the two monks from Khotan – a crucial legend employed in the Avalokiteshvara cult in Tibet to corroborate divine origin of Srong-btsan sgam-po – Dan-'bag-thang is mentioned as a last station before the monks reached lHa-sa; see TBH Sorensen 304. The toponym appears also in the account of Kong-jo’s arrival in lHa-sa (Mani bka’ bum 215b4; see App. IV: Chap. 2). ‘Bras-spungs and hence gNas-chung are located in the area of Dan-’bag. The local ‘Bras-spungs protector Dan-’bag zhal-ngo occasionally plays a role during ceremonies at gNas-chung. From the founding story of ‘Bras-spungs, we are informed how in 1415 A.D. during a visit to sNe’u[-rdzong] (opposite to Dan-’bag on the southern shore of sKyid-chu river) the founder ‘Jam-dbyangs chos rje bKra-shis dpal-ldan (1379–1449 A.D.) received indication of the future site, envisaged to be located in Dan-r’i-bag-mdla’-thang which was said to be a tract of land replete with topomantically promising watery pools. Occasionally also called Dan-’bag-mdla where visiting dignitaries used to pitch tents and camp. In fact, the now permanent residence of the establishments of sKyid-chu. [he flowed downstream and] appeared from amidst the waters at Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can. Thereupon, lCog-pa [Byang-chub dpal-ldan] was able to collect him founded by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mlsho. Karmay, op. cit., ibid.; VS 455; Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1221–22; Nebesky Wojkowitz 1975: 444–454.

572 Cf. verbatim 10a5–6 in the brief lCog pa Byang chub dpal ldan rnam thar by sde srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mlsho. According to this opusculum, lCog-pa was born 1464 and age 37 (sic) in a monkey year (1500 A.D.), he erected the bDe-yangs grva-tshang. This college within 'Bras-spungs was circumscribed (to the north) in the upper valley by the establishments of O-rgyen chos-rdzongs, to the east by Bon-dgon sgar-sa grva-tshang, to the west by sMan-dgon and in the lower part (south) by Dan-'bag dMar-ser-can dgon-pa where the bDe-yang site assumes the center in a mandalic lay-out. An image of lCog-pa was erected in 1803; cf. DL8 606 (see also Fig. 49, in App. IV).

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from the water] and requested [him] to become the basis of his worship [and to remain there as protector, etc.]. Such descriptions also exist, it is quite conceivable that a [certain] khri dön [named] Don-yod rdo-rje have existed between tre hos dGa'-bde bzang-po and the Yang-dgon sphyin sngva skal-dan rgya-mtsho.16

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Sources e.g. DL5 1315b2, VS 104.11–19: ’Dzam gling rgyan gcig 105, 723; Zur chen rnam thar 235.6–236.2; dPag bsdam ljon bzang 582.10–584.8; Pan chen blo bzang rnam thar 116–18; Grva sa chen bzhi chags tshul [B] 29–34; Rang byung zangs 11: Deb ther kun gsal 244; Sa skya gdung rabs [kha skong] 367; Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1486; Dung-dkar 1991: 64; Shakabpa Guide 24; see also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 132, 232.

Interestingly, pursuing another “route” than the one taken by Pehar in our story, when Mongol troops advanced upon Central Tibet by raiding skYid-shod 1641 A.D. the monks and population of Tshal Gung-thang fled via Chos-lung-mdla’ (located upwards on the northern bank of skYid-chu: 29°39′N 91°19′E, in present-day sTag-rtsi xian), crossing the waters of skYid-chu upwards to reach safety at Dan’-bag and finally at ‘Bras-spungs.

* Another early form Dan-phag-brag, perhaps a simple misspelling, is registered in Nam mkha’ dpal rnam thar 32.4. Still, Dar’-bag seems to be the original form, used until the 16–17th cent.

** Cf. bkra shis dpal ldan rnam thar 42–45: ’Bras spungs dgon bca’ yig 290–91; sMon lam chen mo’i bca’ yig 328–29; gShin rje gshed chos ’byung II 348b2–49ab. dbu ma byung tshul 15b4 reads Dar’-bag lung-pa’i mdla’. Erected upon an early settlement (called the Dan’-bag gNas-chung seat of the 12th cent. erudite Dan’-bag-pa sMra-ba’i od-zer. bkra-shis dpal-ldan accidentally was considered an incarnation of gNyos rGyal-ba IHa-nang-pa (among a host of other rebirths; *ibid.* 87).

*** As regularly reported in contemp. sources, the extensive flooding of IHa-sa often encroached upon areas up until the foot of ‘Bras-spungs reaching eastwards up to Se-ra; so e.g. in 1680 A.D. (cf. DL5 III 1953–6). Dan’-bag was formerly (1960–70’s) registered as a gongshe or commune adhering to the Lhasa Municipality. During the earlier dGa’-ldan Pho-brang gzhung it was administratively under Zhod, the majority of the Dan’-bag gzhung rgyug mi ser (see e.g. the 1830 A.D. Tax Survey; CTZ1zh 3–4) or governmental tax-paying serfs living there to corvée work which consisted of dike-building to protect the surrounding rural fields from being flooded and to reclaim washed-away land (sa zhung chos khyer sa tshab). Today the area is largely urbanized and incorporated into the IHa-sa city township.

**** A part of the famous “Wild Ass Meadow” or rKyang-thang-sngang na-kha, regularly mentioned in the literature, was donated to the Kha-che or Muslim community of IHa-sa by the 5th Dalai Lama. IHa-sa rKyang-thang and Dan’-bag Rin-chen-sgang were favourite camp sites (bzhugs sgar) for peregrinating hierarchs, their entourage and troops, often mentioned in this capacity by shifting rulers such as e.g. Phag-gru, and Karma-pa, who would set up their camps, as the gTsang troops did in 1618 when they intended to block the traffic between ‘Bras-spungs and IHa-sa. A part of the area was also known as Dan’-bag gling-kha = na-kha: cf. Sørensen 1990: 420. During the last centuries, the area also included the skYid-tsul Klus-dnings, the governmental official reception site (gzhung gi thab bsu’i sa). On rKyang-thang, see also App. IV: Chap. 2.

55 A version also prevails that the Pehar box was picked up by the monastery’s cook (see following note).

56 A khri dön carrying this name cannot currently be identified further. One may consider that behind this ruler is hidden the Rin-spungs lord Don-yod rdo-rje (1463?–1512 A.D.) who in 1480 A.D. conquered the area of skYid-shod (TPS Tucci 642; above fn. 562; see part II, App. IV: Chap. 5). A “khri dön” regularly surfaces in oral accounts related to Tshal Gung-thang. So for instance in the local version of a popular story of the arson of Gung-thang perpetrated by Pehar:

The khri dön and Bla-ma Zhang (sic) once went about completing a mural painting in Gung-thang. A child (= Pehar) joined them and he succeeded in pursuing the artist to finish the painting according to his instructions. Finally he requested that an additional figure in form of a monkey should be added to the picture. Zhang and the khri dön during the night observed the monkey (= Pehar) in the painting and how the creature with an incense stick would set fire to the temple – according to the story reported in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 309 – the deed was an act of revenge of the chos skvong, after that Zhang – allegedly – during the erection of the gTsug-lag-khang had put a ban on any pictorial representation of Pehar. Following this mischievous act, Pehar was confined to a small box which they committed to the waters of skYid-chu river. The abbot of ‘Bras-spungs predicted the advent of the box and dispatched a cook to the river in order to fetch it. Close to the later gNas-chung, the box was opened, and a pigeon was seen escaping from it, only to land in a tree around which the oracle temple then was erected.

The local people narrate that until 1959, the old Pehar Iha-khang as a particular relic preserved the (severed?) hand of a khri dön. It appears that behind this form of (a Pehar-possessed) khri dön, the “arsonist” of Gung-thang
Although in this way the origin of the religious and political history of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa have been critically examined, still I have only written a fraction [of their entire history]. [However it must be said] that in the relevant sources concerning [these ruling houses] numerous discrepancies [abound]. [More] details should be gleaned from the older authoritative texts [themselves].

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa) [41b5–42a4]]
Moreover, during the time of ‘Gro-mgon [Rin-po-che], prophecies were made by many bla ma and istadevātā deities; in particular, [once] when [Bla-ma Zhang] wanted to establish a gTsug-lag-khang [erected in order to] to render [ritual] service to both Jo-bo Brother Statues in lHa-lstan [lHa-sa] (lha ldan jo bo rnam gnyis)7â€ he in reality saw directly in front of the current gTsug-lag-khang a Cakrasamvara mandala including the supported [sanctuary] and its support [of sacred objects] (rten brten pa). At the time when he was sojourning at the Cave of bZang-yul Mon-gdong, [remaining in deep meditative contemplation] he went to the land of Oḍḍiyāna Vajrā[rā[a] [U-rgyan rDo-rje[-gdn]] and passing through the bodily forms of [his] istadevātā the Yogini [Vajravrāhī; rDo-rje phag-mo], he [finally] arrived at the [very] center [of the visualized body].7â€ Seeing [at that point] all knowable [phenomena] of future events (ḥyung ḣgyur), in particular [he visualized his own] 1008 bla ma of the past, the 32 bla ma of the present and as to [the events of] the future [he anticipated and visualized] the gTsug-lag-khang to be built by himself, the sanctuary and its sacred objects and, upon the third parisanda of the sKu-bum chen-mo, his own cremated remains after he had passed into nirvāṇa, the living beings of the six classes [of samsāra], the Dākinī and the Dharmapāla lamenting [his demise] and bringing offerings.

Moreover, in the bKa’ rgya [ma] Ngag phug ma [it is] said [by Bla-ma Zhang]:

“I explained the dharma to the [local] Nāgī, and when Dar-ma gzhon-nu observed it, [he] inquired: “Rin po che! Since the gods, nāga and human beings are [to be] taught the dharma, where are you going to establish our monastery?” The Nāgī from Ngag-phug intervened: “Rin po che is the chief [Lord of] the Teaching, and since he is the Lord of

577 See above 10a–11b; fn. 52.
579 See above the Chap. II.1.1-C.
580 This passage is a relatively faithful rendition – albeit the original is slightly more detailed and employs a more archaic diction – gleaned from bKa’ rgya ma l, Ngag phug ma 80.5–86.4. (also contained in ZhK I 224, ZhK II Vol. 1 10.4–15.1. It is a part of a number of questionaires addressed to Bla-ma Zhang by Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Cf. also almost verbatim identical dGos’ dود re skong ma’i’ gser ba 538.5f.
581 Cf. also Zhag rnam thar zin bris 53b6–54a2 mentioning the year 1170 A.D. The retreat site of Ngag-phug is situated in the upper sGrags valley and is mentioned chronologically as the last sojourn of Zhang before the foundation of Yang-dgon. Above fns. 51, 62, 199. Zur-chen repeatedly (1636 and 1654 A.D.) had visions of the local gnas bdag klu mo at Ngag-phug. During his last vision, he performed a balin offering which proved most efficient; cf. Zur chen rnam thar 104b1–4, 190a1–3 (= 208.1–4, 379.1–3). Me-long rdo-rje was associated with Ngag-phug too.

During roughly the same time as the present episode, the Zhang-disciple Mar-lung Byang-chub seng-ge (1153–1241) reports in his biography (op. cit., 59b4f.) his meeting with Bla-ma Zhang at Ngag-phug (bSam-yas Ngag-phug) in 1171 A.D. Mar-lung established a hermitage at g. Yu-brag. lHa-rtsa-ba Ngag-dbang bzang-po (1546–1615) in 1607 had an encounter with Ngag-phug Klu-bsan; lHa rtsa ba rnam thar 109b4.
the Teaching [we] request him to explain it [to us] in great detail!” Zhang Rin-po-che responded: “My main seat will appear in a grand way in rTa-mo-ra [“The Fold of the White Mare’] of Tshal in sKyid-shod.” Moreover, towards the area of the Glorious Celestial Plain [Gung-thang dpal-le], a perfect sanctuary and gTsug-lag-khang will emerge [being erected] for the sake of rendering [ritual] service to the two Jo-bo Brother statues [of Ha-sa]. You [Dar-ma gzhon-nu] will be the owner [i.e. ruler of the place]. The reason is that I, when about the age of 15, [happened] to see the countenance of Ha dPal-bar dbang-phyug [i.e. Mahëśvara], the Lord of the Seven Sites, and wondering whether [this] premature sight of the countenance of the deity [possibly would mean] an obstruction [to my future spiritual commitment], I inquired of slob dpun rNgog-ston’’ who said: “O! Those are the qualities which spring from having conducted your studies etc. in a useful way (sgo spyad [= go chod?] kyi thos pa)’’ [Now take a rest].’’ while I investigate it!” [He then] said: “[I anticipate that] at the [river of] gTsang-chab-Ldan [i.e. sKyid-chul], there is a [white] tent, out of which a white dog appears running. Now it has reached the alley (srang kha)!’’ Now it has reached [the family] house!” he said. [43a] After my perception had changed, I had stories [i.e. visions] of how [my family] house turned into a temple, etc.: the klu [mo] of gTsang-chab [i.e. sKyid-chul] had filled the inner part of the inconceivably [large] house of [Zhang] Rin-po-che to the brim with inconceivably [many] sorts of precious stones, foremost [gems like] the Jewel King of Might (rin po chen-po che ḍhang gi rgyal po, *ratnendra-rāja) and [the one known as] “wish-amplifier” (bsam ’phel).’’ [The nāgī or klu mo] said: “I am the daughter of the Nāgārāja Manicūḍa [gTsug-na rin-chen].’’ I shall serve as your patron (yon bdag), the rtogs ldan Byang-chub sens-
Another designation IIUS one ghon-nu-dpal toponyni refers count (ubovc g%hung; thc Kliyi Mon-gdong.  

It appears that both our ngam-shod emblems [with water] and, [the water], it kept overflowing (lhud lhud lud pa) [these territories], whereupon [the districts of] dBug-gTsang ru-bzhig [too soon] could not contain [the huge amount of water] and, splashing, [the water] flowed [downwards] in the direction of Mi-nyag [Gha].

Ngag phug ma 83.4 preferably reads rin po che byang chub sems dpal stobs Idan, Rin-po-che, the mighty Bodhisattva.

A deity mKhar-nag is inter alia known as one of the protector gods of the mTshur-phu monastery (cf. mTshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag 362). A mKhar-nag (and mKhar-nag-mtsho, residence of a klu demon) is related to the area of sNye-thang (see App. Ii: fn. 158). Cf. also gNam-thang mKhar-nag listed in Padma bka’ thang (Canto 60: 362). A not further specified Klu-btsig is worshipped as srong ma in the (new) Pehar lha-khang of Tshal.

Possible the name refers to a lake in the area of the sMin-drug rdza-ri south of Gung-thang. At any rate, it should count among the lakes in Upper sGrags, in the environs of the Zhang retreats of Ngag-phug, g. Yu-brag or bZang-yul Mon-gdong.

The appearance of the klu family in this context is possibly linked to the specific Mahakāla tradition of the mGon Khya and/or Gur-ngon (Mahākāla of the Tent) which seems to be spoken of in the vision of the tent and the dog. The cycle of Gur is said to have been transmitted to Zhang through his teacher Ngog-ston (Ngog mDo-sde; fn. 19). One of the forms of Gur-ngon is also called Gur-rkyang Ngog-lugs (Singlar Pahjara-Mahakāla in the Ngog tradition). Another form, the Gur-ngon leam-dral (Pahjara-Mahakāla, Brother-and-Sister) includes ’Dod-khams dbang-phug-ma, one of the three dPal-lha sisters and protectress of Gung-thang. Willson and Brauen 2000: 345–348. See also App. IV.

These seven royal possessions or emblems are insignia of an universal monarch; see e.g. Dagyah 1992: 97f.

It appears that both our text and the Ngag phug ma which read gtsang chab nas i nas la sogs pa’i chu mig brol nas [byang] [...] are corrupt (a case of dittography?). Otherwise the sentence, less coherently, would read: “From gTsang-po river springs of barley (sit) etc. gushed forth.”

bKa’ thod bu 263.1–2 has the form Ngan-lam lung-pa ral-gsum; dBugs ’dog re skong ma’i grel ba: Ngan-lam Ral-gsum (above fn. 12, 413). The toponymic compound Ngan-lam [lung-pa] Ral-gsum [cium Grib] evidently is a designation of the closer Tshal-pa territory. See for more details App. IV: Chap. 3.

Ngag phug ma (and dBugs ’dog re skong ma’i grel ba) add sKyid-shod Ngam-shod = sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod? Ngam-shod denotes in dBug ’ched the stretch above and below bSam-yas (P. Wangdu and Diemenger 2000: 57), and refers e.g. in Deb sngon to the area of gDan-sa-mthil (BA Roerich 557); cf. also sTag lung chos ’byung I 177, but the toponym appears also in the literature connected with other areas. Cf. the form Ngam-shod Phug-mo-che which describes one of the 18 sanctuaries of Var-lung (it is located in sPyan-gyas; see TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005: 106f.). Elsewhere gZhon-nu-dpal (BA Roerich 936) speaks of the gibsad po (princes) of Ngam-shod which perhaps refer to descendants of the ruling house of the Hla ‘Bri-sangs-pa in ’On and/or the bSams-yas princes. Cf. also the forms Ngam-shod ’On (IHo rong chos ’byung 154.19–20), Ngam-shod E[-yul] (Kolln-Paulenz 1993: 71) or Ngam-shod gCung-po rDo-ra-sgang (in gZhung; see Lo ras rnam thar 2). A mKhar-chen of Ngam-shod appears to be located in the area of ’Phrang-po or sGrags (above fn. 429). Thus Ngam-shod seems to stretch the stretch of land from lower sKyid-shod until about the level of Zangs-ri and g Ye, including the tributary areas south and north of gTsang-po (the central part of g Yo-ru or the later IHo-kha region). sKyid[d]-shod Ngam-shod as toponym compund evidently describes the areas around the central rivers of the middle and lower part of sKyid-chen and gTsang-po in the province of dBug (see also Introduction: Chap. 4).

Here – pictorially – is evidently meant the vision of the greater Tshal-pa territory, i.e. its actual expansion at
The klu mo proclaimed:

"[You,] having generated the mind [towards Bodhi] for the sake of living beings, Accumulating the [two] Heap[s of Merit and Knowledge] throughout [three] immeasurable [aeons like a Buddha] Unique Son of the Buddhas of the Three Times For you, the Lord of the [Buddhist] Teaching From this moment until the end of time I shall fulfill all [your] wishes!"

[Dar-ma gzhon-nu then] exclaimed: “\textit{Rin po che! Take a look!} It [really] happens like that (\textit{de tseg 'long ba yin})!” [Indeed, before my very eyes a full vision, I] saw in rTa-mo-ra of Tshal [i.e. the “Garden of the Fold of the Mare”] the [monastery of] Yang-dgon including its ambulatory, [and how the area emerged] by being filled to the brim with monasteries such as Nag-tshang dPon-khang etc.\textsuperscript{59} being surrounded by willows and [enclosed within] a circular [outer] wall. In Gung-thang, the gTsug-lag-khang including its Annexes (glo 'bur) [were displayed for my inner eyes], the mGon-khang,\textsuperscript{43b} the two door projections (rgo skyi'bs) [at the main entrance], the two [statues of] [Gung-thang] lha[-mo] and mGon[-po] [Mahákāla], installed at both sides of the main entrance including the [so-called] Private Dharma Hut (gZims-chung chos-spyil),\textsuperscript{60} the sKu-'bum [chen-mo] [erected in the [caitya-]form of the Glorious Descent from the Gods (lha las ba'bs pa, *devāvatāra).\textsuperscript{61} [all the sanctuaries] being surrounded by a square external wall. Although [Dar-ma gzhon-nu had] exclaimed: “\textit{Rin po che! Take a look!} Now it will be made accordingly,” by having been shown to me [in my vision] it was [as if it was physically] there [already]. [I proclaimed]: “My real main seat will appear in the north-eastern corner of [the area of my birthplace] Tsha-ba-gru. Later, whenever I take a gulp of water from gTsang-chab-lidan [i.e. sKyid-chu], I will become endowed with wealth. [in that respect it will] even surpass [all] the riches which [could] be acquired [through accumulation] within [one] kalpa.”

Motivated by a visionary experience like that, the local gzhi bdag and the Nāgarāja Manicūḍa [gTsug-na rin-chen] [subsequently] offered him [this] locale [which was a place where he intended to erect his main seat].

\textsuperscript{59} See above, fn. 582 and App. IV: Chap. 3.

\textsuperscript{60} Nag-tshang dPon-khang remains unknown. It appears to refer to the dKon-gnyer Nag-tshang-pa or the “Black Storehouse of the Stewards” associated with Tshal. See Tshal rnam 1961, it was erected by dpon sa sMon-lam rdo-rje. It can be assumed that it was related to the house/palace of the Tshal dpon pa which the locals call khrī dpon khang. The latter was situated in the eastern part of Tshal (see Graph 5).

\textsuperscript{61} This evidently refers to one of the eight celebrated forms of a caitya.

Based upon the oath given [by these local spirits] etc., which claimed that no harm caused by the nāga and local spirits (sa bdag) would come to the future lineage of disciples [residing there] and that [all conceivable] needs and desires [as to wealth and prosperity] would be amassed [at this place in the future], a monastic site [was subsequently established] at Yang-dgon where the [successive] masters and disciples could execute [their studies into the transmission and traditions of] hermeneutics and spiritual realization (bshad sgrub) related to the Three Baskets (Tripitaka) and of the Four Tantra [classes].

In that very area (sa phyogs 'di nyid) [in addition], the gTsug-lag-khang including its ambulatory [were erected]:

[A] The 40-pillars of the Upper Courtyard (Khyams-stod)\[^{40c}\] of the Central Palace (Pho-brang dbus-ma), the 34 pillars of the Lower Courtyard (Khyams-smad), and the 40 pillars of the Upper Storey (sten brtsegs) – in all 114 pillars [were erected] and

[B] The four Annexes (glo 'bur) of the Central Palace (Pho-brang dbus-ma), the 12 Chinese-styled [pitched] roofs, [equipped] with decorative ornaments like all-encompassing projecting cornices and victory banners etc.

[C] In the center of the gTsug-lag-khang [vihāra temple precinct] the Byang-chub chen-po'i pho brang [was situated] endowed with 12 pillars made exclusively from [the exquisite] sandal-wood and, as already explained above, the Statue of Mahābodhi [Byang-chub chen-po] was manufactured from materials consisting of a heap of precious stones. [44a] It was nine fathoms high, endowed with the paraphernalia of a nirmanakāya, [a statue so extraordinarily beautiful] that one could not look enough at it.\[^{44a}\] The lion-throne and the backrest endowed with three rims, erected by Lord dGa'-bde, following the behest of the Emperor Se-chen rgyal-po [i.e. Qubilai Qan]; [further], the wondrous, miraculously [manufactured] paintings, decorated and endowed with depictions of the bla ma transmission lines and many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, etc. were indeed inconceivable.

As [consecratory fillings] inserted inside [the statue] (nang zhugs) were found a sheer endless [amount of relics] such as [a text specimen] of a gold-[written Prajñāpāramitā] in its extended, intermediate and abbreviated form, as well as innumerable relics of the Tathāgata[s]. In the area to the left and to the right respectively, statues too were installed [such as] a silver statue of

\[^{40a}\] The present description of the temple complex reflects a later phase of the building construction (mainly from the time of dpot i dGa'-bde-dpal). Graph 2 gives a sketch of the current condition of the Gung-thang complex. Cf. also the descriptions offered in IHa sa'i dgon tho 26–30; Chos-'phel 1994: 78f.; Chan 1994: 197–199.

\[^{40c}\] In Tibetan monastic architecture, that often consists of a concentration of interconnected courtyards and buildings, a khyams ra usually alludes to the – often enclosed – arcaded, pillared or colonnaded open court[-yard]. In western and classic architecture it could thus in structure be associated with a basilica or Gallery Hall. The spatial specifications upper and lower do here not refer to storied levels above and below one another, but to courtyards lying in extension of one another, in the sense of upper designating the front or inner (sbug) courtyard, whereas usually the lower represents the farthermost or lower-lying (mdo) courtyard.

\[^{44a}\] Cf. DL I 264–65, asserting that the IHa-chen statue erected by Zhang actually became larger than expected since Zhang's nye gnas (Dar-ma gzhon-nu) had miscalculated the size of the srog shing.
Maitreya [Byams-pa] and Khasarpâni, etc. as well as ossuaries and many main statues with their respective retinues. Inside the lha khang situated to the right the thugs dam rtren of 'Gro-mgon, the statues of 62 [deities of the mandala of the Mother Tantra Cakra-[Samvara, and relief-carved (blos b[sh]langs) with superb workmanship. In the lha khang to the left, innumerable [deity] assemblies of peaceful and wrathful deities [were installed] headed by an excellent statue of Muni.

[D] Inside [the chambers] of the Upper Courtyard (Khyams-stod; i.e. Main Hall ) too, large and small statues, manufactured in accordance with Nepalese and Chinese artistic craftsmanship [were installed; further] 23,500 volumes of holy [canonical] scriptures (pravacana), such as the complete bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur etc., written in ink on gray paper along with its library and book-shelves (kun dga' ra ba grva mig). Furthermore, inside the individual lha khang, 3,020 gold[-written] religious texts [were kept], equipped with brocade wrappings and book-straps made from identical materials. In total, [these chapels thus] contain almost 40,000 volumes of the holy scripture.**

In the Western Annexe [Glo-'bur nub-ma] of the Upper Courtyard the image of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [known as] “Meaningful to Behold” (mThong-ba don-ldan) [is installed], flanked by Dharmapâla and the God of Wealth (Nor-lha, i.e. rNam-thos-sras).

In the Eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-ma] [of the Upper Courtyard][44b] a countless number of larger and smaller statues [are installed], [both] painted and carved ones, such as the ossuary (gdung rtren) of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che known as bKra-shis 'od-'bar-ma,** etc.

Inside the Southern Annexe [of the Upper Courtyard] an excellent statue of Mahâmuni [i.e. Śâkyamuni is installed], being about 15 mtho high, flanked left and right by a countless number of larger and smaller [statues], such as the one of Zhang Rin-po-che, etc.

[E] Among [the statues installed] inside the Lower Courtyard [Khyams-smad, those set up] within the pillars and [all] looking inwards, [there are statues of] Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrî etc. as well as a countless number of books.

In the South-eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-lho] statues of the bka' 'hsrum in yab yum [form are installed], displaying an awesome mien, the main deity with retinue.

In the western wing of the gTsug-lag-khang, on the upper [floor], is the lha khang dedicated to [murals or statues] of the successive lineage of Mongolian Qans.** [Further,] on the external and internal walls along the Upper and Lower Courtyard, along the Annexed Chapels/Cella (glo 'bur), the Central Tower [dBu-rtse] as well as [along the many] ambulatories (‘khor sa)** numerous [murals were executed depicting] the feats of many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, [narratives depicting] their rebirth stories (jātaka), many [depictions of] transmission lineage of bla mas,

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** As may be deduced from 33b above Khyams-ra chen-mo, Khyams-stod (and Bar-khang chen-mo?) are identical.

*** This part of the temple was mainly erected during the tenure of dGa'-bde; see 33b supra.

**** The gdung rtren bKra-shis 'od-'bar was situated inside the sGrol-ma lha-khang which was part of the Glo-'bur shar-ma. See also below, fn. 761.

***** Cf. above fol. 33b.

****** The ‘khor sa (~ lam, ~ khang) usually designates a processional aisle or ambulatory (i.e. [de]ambulatorium), either one or two-winged, either roofed or open-spaced, following the walls of a religious building.
mural panels (*rgyu d rim = ‘dobs rim*) of religious figures in peaceful and wrathful posture, as well as an endless number of religious statues. Also, among these [depictions and representations were placed images of] ‘Gro-mgon himself, of Emperor Se-ch’en rgyal-po [Qubilai], of the succession of rulers of Tshal-pa, [as well as depictions of his first- and second-generation] disciples (*slob ma yang slob*) such as mNyam-med Sākya ye-shes, gTsang-pa Dung-khor-pa, Yar-lung-pa Grags[-pa] seng[-ge], lHa-phug mkhar-pa, and Kha-rgag-pa, etc. [Further] an endless number of utensils such as water bowls, cymbals, [as well as decorative objects such as] objects of offering to the protective deities, “floor-coverings” and “ceiling-coverings” (*spyan gzigs sa rgyan gnam rgyan*),

111 tended by a lineage of patrons. Endless are both the regular and the seasonally held offerings conducted either for individual or for the common [i.e. all] *lha khang*, [traditions] established not only by the *bla ma* of the [successive] throne-holders and by many patrons, but these have [now] even become permanently established. Indeed, even though it would turn into an excellent field for rejoicing and wonder were we to write every [45a] [single detail concerning these sanctuaries], the many words [thus produced] would only be a cause for confusion, and not wanting to present these even in a few [words], we shall for the moment leave [the description as it is].

[F] Outside the [Central] Palace (*pho brang*) [erected] like this and equipped with ambulatories, an external wall [was erected] which in form corresponded with [i.e. is situated parallel to] the internally located annexes. In the western direction [outside the inner temple area] surrounded by a huge wall which enclosed the minor buildings (*khang bran*) located at the periphery, the so-called sKu-bum chen-mo [The Grand Tomb Stūpa] of [Bla-ma] Zhang [is located, itself] surrounded by [minor satellite stūpas like] the Sri-gnon ’bum-pa, etc.112 [Further comes] the so-called Bye-thang chen-mo113 surrounded by trees, [which surrounds] the Chos-khri iho-nub [The South-Western College the Dharma-Throne (*chos khris iho nub*)],114 [and adjacent thereto] the external and internal [stone-paved] platform of the Bla-ye [Prayer Square] (*bla ye phyi nang*),

111 The terms *sa rgyan* and *gnam rgyan*, i.e. “floor-ornament” and “ceiling-ornament,” are architectural décor or *mchod rdzas* and *mchod chas* terms, in the latter case alluding to a canopy, and as such a synonym for *bla [b]re, vitāna*, i.e. baldachin, a ceiling/roof curtain covering (*thog vol*), akin to German “Traghimmel” or “Prunkhimmel.” The term *sa rgyan* evidently designates the parallel curtain adorning the throne or the canopied dais along the floor; see CFS Gyalbo et al. 2000: 88; Tshig mdzod 1913; Rin-spungs’ mNyob mchod kyi bstan bcos.

112 The sKu-bum chen-mo structure – today destroyed – and the Sri-gnon mchod-rten were situated to the west of the gTsug-lag-khang. See Graph 3 and below Fig. 4, 6, 7.

113 The Grand Sandy Plain [of Tshal Gung-thang]. See 32a supra and above fn. 443 and Graph 3.

114 Chos-khri iho-nub refers to the later Chos-khri iho-leg. See below 53a; Chap. III.3.D.

115 For the gSung-chos ra-qa’i or “Open Prayer Square,” the platformed prayer and debate courtyard and large urban square, located in the Bar-skor southern front to the gTsug-lag-khang in lHa-sa was equipped with a *bzugs khris* or a three-plinthed prayer throne podium placed on a canopied dais. cf. Shakabpa Guide 88; Chan: 200: Taring: 9, 26; Larsen et al. 2001: 94. The Bla-ye Prayer Square of the (Southern/South-Western) Chos-khri or the College of the Dharma-Throne in Gung-thang (similar to other Bla-ye squares in other bKa’-brgyud monasteries throughout Tibet such as at ‘Bri-gung) resembled, as said, both in structure and function, that of the gSung-chos ra-ba. sMon-lam rdo-rje erected a white tent over the old pavement in Gung-thang, cf. Tshal rnam 19b.
Graph 2. Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang

Based on a drawing by THF (Tibet Heritage Fund); names in bracket = chambers in ruins
market-place as well as [various] assembly places, etc. [are located]. Following [the passing] of
Zhang Rin-po-che, for one or two generations of abbots, the Yang-dgon religious community and
the neighbouring communities [adhering to its jurisdiction] gathered there, where they [conjointly]
conducted [various] seasonal religious ceremonies.

[3.] [The History of the Teaching Institutions at Tshal and Gung-thang] 616

[A] [sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma:
The Meditation College [also called] The Eastern Residence]

No real [distinct] monastic residence (gzhis grva) existed, still the Fifth Tshal-pa Ruler (dpon) Rin-
chen rgyal-mtshan and the gdan sa ba sprul sku Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the two, having entered a patron-
priest relationship (von [bdag] mchod [gnas], dānapati, purohita), founded in the Water Tiger year
(?1242 A.D.) this meditation college [sgom sde] [known as] The Eastern Residence.617

Thereafter, basing themselves upon the dual system of religious and secular rule, they safeguarded
[this institution] in an excellent way.

[1st throne-holder] [sprul sku Sangs-rgyas-'bum]]. Subsequently, the latter’s nephew
[2nd throne-holder] dbon Rin-po-che occupied the throne [of the sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-
ma] for 24 years. Thereafter
[3rd throne-holder] Sang-'bum phyi-ma [i.e. “the Later” Sang[s-rgyas-]'bum [occupied the seat]
for two years.
[4th throne-holder] Bla-ma gZhung-pa [ruled] for two years. Thereafter
[5th throne-holder] rgyal sras Šākya rgyal-mtshan [45b] [ruled the institution] for 25 years.618
His activities were extensive.

[6th throne-holder] Tshul-khrims gzhon-nu, the sNag dbon of [the former] dbon Rin-po-che
safeguarded the seat for 40 years in an excellent way through the dual system of religious and
secular rule, wherefore he experienced the “strewing of flowers” by being eulogized by everyone
as “the Gracious One” (drin can pa).

616 The local tradition speaks of “Four grva tshang of Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang”:
gZims-khang shar-ba/ma (= Sub-chapter 3 A),
Chos-khri grva-tshang (Chos-khri lho-lcog, Chos-khri lho-nub = 3.D),
Chos-'khor-gling (3.B) and
Yang-dgon grva-tshang.

The latter obviously includes the dBus-gling College (= 3.C). Cf. HLSLG Vol. 6: 45–47. Missing in this list is the
Chos-khri nub-ma (see Chap. III. 6). The institutions of A, B, and C were established in the early 14th century, D one
century later. After Tsong-kha-pa, the colleges gradually were incorporated into the dGe-lugs-pa monastic network.
Cf. e.g. Vaidūrya ser po 151–154.

617 Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan was also called Shar-pa rin po che. There are some contradictory data concerning
the founding date of 1242 (see above fn. 115). The college was situated due east of the gTsug-lag-khang. Cf. dPag bsam
ljon bzang 601.9–11. It was during the third or fourth sGom-sde-pa that rNgog Rin-chen bzang-po (1243–1319) of
sPre’u-zhing in the early 1270’s served as teacher at the sGom-sde college; cf. BA Roerich 410; below Graph. 3.

618 The 5th throne-holder may have lived 1258–1330 A.D.; cf. BA Roerich 964. For the next incumbent the kinship
term snag dbon designates the son of the maternal cousin or the son of a sister of dBon rin po che.
Until this point, [this institution], if one disregards [a total period of] four years of rule during the abbacy of the third and fourth throne-holder, the two, was led for more than 90 years in an excellent way by sprul sku Sang[s-rgyas-]’bum and his nephew lineage." It should be known that this very sprul sku Sang[s-rgyas-]’bum and his [later] incarnation (skyre phreng) Zur-chen Rin-po-che [Chos-dbyings rang-grol] [1604–1669 A.D.], the two, reached a level of kindness towards the Tshal-pa bKa’-brgyud-pa in general and for this sGom-sde [institution] in particular which is [truly] incomparable.

This [sGom-sde] throne was occupied by an incalculable number of holy personages [in succession] and blessed [with their presence]. In particular most of the bdag-chen who descended from the throne-holder lineage (khri gdung) of the Glorious Sa-skya [Monastery] up until [the current Throne-holder] bDag chen rin po che Ngag-dbang Kun-dga’ blo-gros [1729–1783 A.D.]

In reconstructing and dating the tenure of the initial six incumbents of this institution, the only unknown quantity is the length of the tenure of the first throne-holder Sangs-rgyas-’bum. We shall tentatively assume that he enjoyed a very brief abbacy. See foll. note.

He passed away in 1669. His silver-plated ossuary was built in 1670 and installed at Gung-thang, when it was visited by the sDe-srid. Cf. also Zur chen ram thar 6b1–2 (= 12.1–2), 7b2–3 (= 14.2–3). Ordination name Ngag-dbang bKra-shis kun-dga’. He was in fact considered a manifestation of both the older and the later Sangs-rgyas-’bum.

Assuming that he enjoyed a very brief abbacy, we may conjecture: Established 1242 A.D. by

1st throne-holder: ca. 1242–?
2nd throne-holder: ca. 1242?–1265 A.D.
3rd throne-holder: ca. 1265–1267 A.D.
4th throne-holder: ca. 1267–1269 A.D.
5th throne-holder: ca. 1269–1293 A.D.
6th throne-holder: ca. 1293–1332 A.D.

If the precise dates for the tenure of the first incumbent should surface one day, the subsequent dates must be adjusted accordingly.

Also denoted Khyab-bdag bla ma bKa’-′gyur-pa chen-po or [Dol] gNas-gsar-pa. According to mGon po rnam thar 6b6b–6b8, 77b1–75a6, 76b6–77a5, he sojourned repeatedly at gZims-khang-shar in 1648, 1650 and again 1652 A.D. where he received detailed teachings from Zur-chen, as well as delivered teachings himself. Ibid., op. cit., 53a1–2 (for the year 1639 A.D.), Bla-ma ‘Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan and gZims-khang-shar Bla-ma dPal-ldan are mentioned. Cf. similarly Zur-chen’s biography, op. cit., 167aff. (= 333ff.); DL5 1/152b6–153a1, 282a2. In 1656 A.D. gTer-bdag gling-pa too is reported to have received teachings from Zur-chen in Gung-thang; see gTer gling rnam thar I 49.1–2; II 24a1–2.

Cf. e.g. Zur chen ram thar 149b5–150b3, 156b13–4, 164b3–5 (= 299.5–301.3, 312.3–5, 328.3–5).

This piece of cloth, ang ′ga’ ′rag designates short pants (dor ma yu thung) used by yogis while meditating on the psychic energy. See brDa dkar 1030–31.

The story rendered here refers to the adaptation of the esoteric Tshar pa tradition of the Sa-skya school by the dGe-lugs-pa. It was initiated by the 5th Dalai Lama after his vision of Tshar-chen (fn. 627) during a Mahākāla session in 1647. In the following year, Zur-chen received the teaching cycle from mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan at the Tshar-pa monastery of Yar-lung bKra-shis-rtsi (see Karmay 1988: 16; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 110, et passim).
mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-Idan formerly [manifested himself] as Kha-che Dharma-pa-la,\textsuperscript{626} later as Tshar-ba chos-rje,\textsuperscript{627} as well as [being an incarnation] of [other] bla ma of gZims-khang shar-[ma],\textsuperscript{628} etc. Further, when mgon po bSod-nams mchog-Idan resided [46a] at this throne [of the gZims-khang], the 'dzin gtor for the Las [kyi] mGon-po [Karma-natha] was close to falling apart, so he made preparations to replace it with a new one. In the place where the old had been removed the [new] gtor-ma vessel was filled with amrta, which was partaken of by mchod dpon 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan and Zhva-lu Shes-[rab] rin-pa. By way of such numerous signs of accomplishments [the gZims-khang shar-ma] became a particular place of blessing.\textsuperscript{629}

[B] [Chos-'khor-gling: The Dharma-Wheel College]

In a Monkey year [i.e. 1308 A.D.] 'Jam-dbyangs Šākya gzhon-nu, the 16\textsuperscript{th} throne-holder of gSang-phu from gSang-[phu] Ne'u-thog [to Tshal],\textsuperscript{630} was invited by dPon chen dGa'-bde-dpal and established as new [the College of] Chos-'khor-gling.\textsuperscript{631} He founded there a hermeneutic college (bshad grva) [for the study of] Prajñāpāramitā and Pramāṇa, wherupon he occupied the

\textsuperscript{s.v.}). In the account of the Dalai Lama's vision of Tshar-chen, one finds a similar description of this person, which appears to refer to the Kha-che Dharma-pa-la mentioned below; one may also see an allusion to Mahākāla mGon-dmar rkang-gling-can (cf. Willson and Brauen 2000: 344; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 47, 48).

\textsuperscript{626} Kha-che Dharma-pa-la. Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 165a2–b1 (= 329.2–330.1). It appears to refer to the Indian scholar who assisted Lo-chen Rin-chen bzang-po in mThol-ling; cf. Naudou 1980: 164, 190, 226. It remains unclear if he is identical with the Kashmiri master and Rin-chen bzang-po teacher Śraddhakaravarmā who transmitted to his disciple the Gur-mgon tradition (together with the so-called "flying" bse mask) which later became a central image of the Sa-skya. See Vitali 2001.

Byang-bdag Ngag gi dbang-po conversely maintains that mGon-po was a manifestation of a Kha-che Rin-chen rdo-rje; cf. Ngag gi dbang po rnam thar [B] 57b4–5.

\textsuperscript{627} I.e. the Sa-skya master Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho (1503–1567 A.D.) and 13\textsuperscript{th} Zha-lu throne-holder. Cf. Stearns 2001: 39–45.

\textsuperscript{628} The episode is gleaned from Zur chen rnam thar 149b1f., 151a3–5 (= 301.3–5); 154b3–4 (= 312.3–4) 164a3–b2 (= 328.3–329.2). The year was 1647 A.D., an experience in premonition of mGon-po's impending arrival.

\textsuperscript{629} The episode is gleaned from mGon po rnam thar 75a2–6, 81b1–2. For KarmanathaMahākāla; see Willson and Brauen 2000: 342, 345; Dagyab 1991: 174; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 48–49. For Gung-thang gZims-khang-shar, Bla-ma Zur 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan, evidently a relative of Zur himself, was active in the period 1645–60's, see DL5 I 143a4–5; II 13a2, 43b3, 171a1–2.

\textsuperscript{630} The 14\textsuperscript{th}-cent. 16\textsuperscript{th} mkhan po of the Lower Monastery (sMad-gling) of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog occupied the chair at gSang-phu for 27 years, from ca. 1326–1352 A.D. Other sources maintain that he stayed in Gung-thang for six years prior to his abacy at gSang-phu, probably ca. 1308–1314, wherefore the Monkey year may refer to 1308 A.D. Cf. also Yar lung chos 'byung 134.6–14; rGya bod yig tshag 488. See Onoda 1989: 209; Onoda 1992: 14. Chos-'khor-gling in fact was considered a branch college (lag) of gSang-phu. Everding 2001: 117 suggests 1296 for the Monkey year. Two dates are in circulation for his abacy: He occupied the see at gSang-phu in a Fire Tiger year which either refers to 1266 or to 1326. He either ruled 1266–1293 (so according to Re 'u mig) or between 1326–1352 (e.g. BA Rorich 329). At one point Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284–1339 A.D.) is reported to have been his student, for this reason we shall opt for the later dates.

\textsuperscript{631} Deb dmur gsar (Tucci 1971: 194) mentions the 9\textsuperscript{th} dhon sa ba sMon-lam rdo-rje, as the founder, which is more appropriate; so also Deb sngon maintains that Šāk[ya] gzhon-[nu] founded the college with the assistance of Tshal-pa sMon-lam-pa (BA Rorich 341). The college was situated to the south-west of the gTsug-lag-khang. sMon-lam rdo-rje, as confirmed in Tshal rnam 20a3–4, 22a1–2, erected along the outer, inner and intermediate walls, a khang gsar gling, completed within one year. The same text lists a number of masters who visited the college; cf. ibid. 45b6–46a5.
see for six years [i.e. 1308–1314 A.D.]. He subsequently came to the see of gsang-phu Ne’u-thog, and ruled for 27 years.  

During this period many savants and accomplished masters [such as] mkhas pa chen po Blo-gros mtshungs-med.  

phyogs-las mam-rgyal,  

e-ba rDo-[rje] gzhon-[nu],  
rgyal sde gZhon-nu seng-ge,  
chos rje Karma-pa  
and riogs Idan Grags-pa seng-ge [1283–1349 A.D.]  
[all came to Chos-khor-gling, where they] were brought to maturation and liberation. At Chos-khor-gling  
[1st throne-holder] mkhas pa Šākya gzhon-nu was followed by  
[2nd throne-holder] chos rje Don-grub-dpal, who from a Tiger year [i.e. 1314 A.D.] until a Horse year [i.e. 1354 A.D.] over a period of 41 years in an excellent way safeguarded the see through the three activities of a [true] scholar.  

By making the lotus grove of their intellectual understanding of the [real] meaning of the Tripitaka blossom, [he] brought to maturation a countless number of mkhas grub whose fame on this earth resembles that of the sun and the moon, [scholars] such as slob dpon...
chon po dKon-mchog seng-ge,\(^{40}\) Jog-po-pa [sic = Dol-po-pa] Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan [1292–1361 A.D.].\(^{41}\) mkhas btsun chen po Blo-gros bzang-po,\(^{42}\) slob dpon Shes-rab-'dphel,\(^{43}\) sMra-ba'i skyes-mchog bSod-nams-dpal,\(^{44}\) slob dpon [46b] dKa'-bzhi-pa, slob dpon Chos-mchog and mkhas btsun Ri-khrad-pa etc.\(^{45}\)

[3rd throne-holder] thugs sras dam Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan\(^{46}\) thereafter arrived at the see of Chos-'khor-gling, which he occupied for 14 years [i.e. ca. 1354–1367 A.D.]

[4th throne-holder] mKhas-btsun Blo-bzang [held] the see for 11 years [1367–1378 A.D.] starting from a Rabbit year.\(^{47}\) Thereafter,

[5th throne-holder] bSod-nams dpal-ba\(^{48}\) [who held] the throne for 10 years [1378–1388].

Thereafter,

[6th throne-holder] slob dpon chen po Kun-bzang-pa, who [ruled] the see for 22 years [i.e. 1388–1410/11 A.D.]. Thereafter,

[7th throne-holder] rgyal sras bDe-’byung-ba\(^{49}\) who [ruled] the see for 18 years [1400/1410?–1428 A.D.]. He is one of eight bSd-'dzin chen-po, profusely knowledgeable of the scriptures of the spiritual sons of Thams-cad mkhyen-pa [bTsong-kha-pa]. During his tenure, countless scholars such as Ye-bzang rtse-ba,\(^{50}\) the Omniscient One of the Dark Age, etc. conducted a grva skor [visiting debate session] at this seat.\(^{51}\) Thereafter,

[8th throne-holder] chos rje Chos kyi Shes-rab,\(^{52}\) [9th throne-holder] bShes-gnyen dpal-ba,

\(^{40}\) Possibly referring to lDan-ma dKon-mchog seng-ge.

\(^{41}\) The great Dol-po-pa; cf. Stearns 1999.

\(^{42}\) Unidentified.

\(^{43}\) He came from ’Ju-phu. The 9th Tshal dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje received teachings from him at Chos-'khor-gling; Tshal rnam 45a6–b3, 46b4.

\(^{44}\) He was involved in the ordination of the 11th Tshal throne-holder in 1317 and the 9th Tshal dpon in 1328; see above 17b and 36b.

\(^{45}\) Perhaps it refers to Ri-khrad-pa Blo-gros brtan-pa, ca. 1316–1358 A.D. according to Jackson 1989: 65.

\(^{46}\) Evidently different from Dol-po-pa. A student of his was btson-'grus bzang-po (1313–85) who held the see of Kam-kam dgon (cf. BA Roerich 309; Ming mdzod 4.; on [s]Kam-[s]kam, see fn. 552)

\(^{47}\) The Rabbit year as initial year of his supposed tenure does not fit, but could refer to 1363 A.D.

\(^{48}\) In the brief list of the Chos-'khor-gling abbots in Yar lung chos byung 134.10–14 and Deb sngon (BA Roeich 341), a throne-holder with the name Byams-pa[-dpal] is inserted between bSod-nams-dpal and Kun-bzang.

\(^{49}\) See dGa’ ldan chos byung 150b1; Vaidūrya ser po 152.17–21, 212.7–8; bKa’ gdam chos byung II 97a3–4. bSod nams rgyal mthsan rnam thar 12a5–6 mentions him as Chos-'khor-gling gdan sa ba already for 1400 AD. He is perhaps to identify with the Gung-thang chos rje rgyal-sras alias Gung-thang-pa mDzes-pa-dpal known from the dGe-lugs literature. bKa’ gdam chos byung II 96b1–2 maintains that mDzes-pa-dpal was throne-holder at Gung-thang and that he received teachings from bTsong-kha-pa at bKra-shis rDo-kha (see fn. 813). It is said that until this figure the seat belonged to the Tshal epoch, and after he incorporated the present seat into the dGe-lugs-pa fold, the seat belonged to the dGa’ ldan epoch. Cf. also dPa’ bsmam rjon bzang 494. mDzes-pa-dpal is otherwise known as the founder of the Gung-thang chos-sde in gNyal, a dependency of the gNyal sDe-drug (above fn. 424), which, it appears, functioned as an outpost for the dGe-lugs-pa-isaat of this area. He was also active at mKhar-stcng-dgon in gNyal of lHun-rtsa rdzong, originally est. by the bKa’-bgrgyud bla ma Rong-po rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan]. See dGe’-dphel 2005d: 80; see also dGa’ ldan chos byung I 49b2.

\(^{50}\) Or Yid-bzang rtse-pa, alias ‘Gos lo tsā ba gZhon-nu-dpal/Kumāraśīri (1392–1481 A.D.); cf. his biography and also Dung-dkar 1997: 463.

\(^{51}\) A grva skor designates monks who had finished their initial training and subsequently conducted a row of visits to different colleges where they tested their skills in debate and scholarly erudition through trials and examination.
[10th throne-holder] Rin Šāk[ya]-ba etc. gradually arrived at the see in a series of scholars [that successively held the see].

At an appropriate time, both prior to and following the [tenancy] of these [above-mentioned throne-holders who] emerged from precisely this see, *mkhas grub* such as *pan chen* Byams-pa gling-pa bSod-nams rnam-par rgyal-ba'i sde [1401–1475 A.D.], etc. beautified [with their mere presence] this great site, a place so vast that it resembles the assemblage of stars in the sky. This very site is a branch seat of the *gSang-phu* Gling-smad. Later [Chos-'khor-gling] merged with the affiliates of the Chos-khri lho-lcog [The Southern Tower [College] of the Dharma-Throne], etc. [in Tshal], whereupon they occupied merely a fraction of the area of the former assembly.

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Graph 3: *In Gung-thang* (see also Part I: Fig. 4)

[C] [Tshal dBu-gling: The Mantra College]

Zhang Rin-po-che [47a], at the beginning of the foundation of Tshal erected a private residence (*gzims chung*) in dBu-gling,"" where he remained for a long period. In order to disseminate there the Dharma tradition of the Sa-skya-pa, later the *dpod* dGa'-bde [dpal-ba] invited this very

[14th throne-holder (*gdan sa ba*)] the *dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen po*, known as Do-pa Don-[’]grub

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652 Also called Byams-gling Pan-chen bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1401–1475 A.D.) of the Thon clan in Gong-dkar rdzong and rulers of Yar-rgyab.

653 Cf. also gSer mdog rnam thar 85.4; Vaidūrya ser po 150.10f.; dGa’ ldan chos ’byung l 46b1–2; Onoda 1992: 14.

654 The dBu-gling gZims-chung; cf. dGos ’dod re skong ma'i ’grel ba. The site with the later dBu-gling College and monastery is situated not far west of the Yang-dgon dgon-pa.
dpal-Idan, the Mahāsattva, who came from Sa-skya shar-ba. He founded [in Tshal a college] and safeguarded for some years [this institution] by way of the very pure practise of Sa-skya. Thereafter, his assistant

[2nd throne-holder] dge ba'i bshes gnyen Rin-ch’en dpal-bzang arrived at the see [of dBus-gling]. Thereafter

[3rd throne-holder] sems dpa’chen po Shes-rab bzang-po safeguarded the see. Thereafter,

[4th throne-holder] bla ma Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan. Thereafter,

[5th throne-holder] chos rje Sangs-rgyas-dpal safeguarded the see. Following suit

[6th throne-holder] drung slob-dpon, the son of the [12th] dbup sa ba si tu dGe-legs bzang-po [1342–1390/91 A.D.], who occupied the see and safeguarded it for 23 years. Thereafter,

[7th throne-holder] bla ma Nam-mkha’ shes-rab who occupied the see for 13 years.

Then followed,

[8th throne-holder] mkhas pa Byang-chub bzang-po [ruled] for three years.

[9th throne-holder] mkhan rin po che Blo-gTsang-pa combining the [position as] mkhan tshab and the religious connection was established with the Ser-Byes mkhas-mang and simultaneously a religious connection was established with the Karma-pa.

Thereafter, following some further generations of abbots [i.e. anonymous throne-holders], again finally, on account of the kindness of Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan, who occupied the see for 13 years, who safeguarded the see. Thereafter, his assistant

[10th throne-holder] mKhas-pa Rin-ch’en-dpal safeguarded the see. Following suit

[11th throne-holder] mKhas-pa Rin-ch’en-dpal arrived at the see [of dBus-gling] and simultaneously a religious connection was established with the Ser-Byes mkhas-mang and the Ser-Byes mkhas-mang grva-tshang. At that time, the Se-ra rje-btsun [47b] again and again had visions of the countenance of rje Thams-cad mkhyen-pa and [following this, the level of] teaching, studying, hermeneutics and realization expanded increasingly.

During the time of the rule of the gTsang [lords over dBus] this seat [of dBus-gling] was handed over to the Karma-pa, and simultaneously a religious connection was established with the

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655 This Sa-skya master was pupil of Sa-skya Kun-dbang (= Kun-dga’ dbang-phyug). The 9th dbup sa ba sMon-lam rdo-rje rendered service to this throne-holder. Cf. Tshal rnam 23a4–5, 56a3: rGyal-bu Don-grub. Bya-rgis-pa (2003:129) purports that the founder was kun mkhyen Dad-pa.

656 He was also addressed Bla-chos-pa slob dpon Rin-ch’en-dpal. Cf. Tshal rnam 46b7.

657 Either mkhan tshab, i.e. acting or temporary mkhan po or read: mkhan tshang? Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar 472 speaks of a mkhan po of dBus-gling named Chos rin-pa and dge bshes Byang-chub bla-ma during the time of Tsong-kha-pa.

658 Cf. Vaidūrya ser po 153.10f. This abbatial list (bla rabs) is longer and, as said by Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan himself, possibly unreliable.


660 He was the 12th mkhan po of Se-ra from 1517 A.D. and served there for 29 years; see Se ra chos ’byung 71ff., 239; Chos kyi rgyal mtshan rnam thar, passim; Chos grva chos ’byung 632–645; VS 140. He established the Ra-mo-che sMon-lam tradition. At the close of his life, he occupied the seat of gSang-sngags-mkhar (above fn. 547).


662 Originally called Ser-Byes mkhas-snyan grva-tshang; subsequently designated Byes mkhas-mang grva-tshang or Mkhas-pa Shes-rab seng-ge Byes-pa grva-tshang; for its history, see Se ra chos ’byung 235f. In 1511 A.D. Chos-rje btsun-pa Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan took over the seat of this college. Cf. Chos kyi rgyal mtshan rnam thar 158.

663 It refers to the pre-gTsang-pa sde-srid period and the rule of the Rin-spungs-pa. We only have very rudimentary
Karma-pa. In the mind of the [chos ]rje Zhal-snga-nas Don-yod dpal-ldan [1445-1524 A.D.] misgivings were entertained as to whether or not the Karma-pa, on account of their mighty strength, [in reality] were coming [there] only to increase [the level] of teaching and study or not. Being inclined to think [it would be better] to withdraw from establishing a teaching connection for awhile, he had a dream: The image of mGon-po Beng[-dmar] depicted on the walls of the western Vestibule (sgo khang) of Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang appeared, waving the stick of [mGon-po] Beng. It said: “You may establish a Dharma connection!” In that year his own [system] of teaching and study developed. “Later, many auspices which pleased the protectors of Tshal Gung[-thang] occurred, wherefore a very great number of good things occurred such as the development of the grva tshang and the preaching of Dharma expositions at Tshal.” Thus it is said in the rnam thar of rJe btsun-pa [Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan].

Moreover, when Dung-dkar-ba Don-grub rgya-mtsho conducted extensive repair work at lHa-ldan [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], the Presiding [Zhal-snga-nas] [mkhan po] of dBus-gling Ngag-dbang Chos kyi dpal-'byor-ba, who unerringly descends from the lineage of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, executed the [ensuing] consecration, and bestowed many empowerments of [the cycles of] Sita Samvara [bDe-mchog dkar-po], Amitâyus, Vajrapâni and Caturbhujâ Mahâkâlâ [upon him], whereupon their minds even became one etc.

It was dpon slob dPal-bzang-po who later [left behind] [many excellent] and insurmountable physical legacies at this site. He was born in Grong-mchog. During his youth, it was Grib...
rDzong-btsan,56 who gave him the name dPal-bzang-po [his ordination-name being Blo-bzang lhun-grub] [48a], whereupon he was lauded in a sheer endless way in prophecies that said that he [indeed] was an extraordinary person capable of performing magnificent feats for the Teaching, etc. Shortly after, he sojourned in Se-ra for a short time where he [dedicated his time] to studying scriptures, etc. He subsequently sojourned for awhile in 'Bras-spungs, where he, in a fully pure way, succeeded in rendering service to the [local] bla ma rigs grva ba. During this period too, and taking as basis the fully pure prescribed limits [of the code of conduct] of the three vows, he [e.g.] for the rest of his life was unhappy with the thought that once, in connection with the [distribution of] properties of the bla ma rigs grva ba because of a [faulty] calculation, he may erringly have received one silver zho too much. He even made daily confessions which in the long term aimed at [redeeming this supposed transgression]. “Beyond that, [I] am capable of being cleared of any [other accusation of] transgression as to the question of any of the prescribed limits [of the moral code] related to the three vows!” he actually said, etc. Such are the excellent descriptions [of his exemplary life] which indeed are beyond conception.

During the period he rendered service to the [local] bla ma rigs grva ba,57 he was obliged to sojourn for a long time in Rag-ma rdzong of 'Phan-yul.58 Because he [there] witnessed how the joint monastic officials in-charge (las byed sbrel po) exerted many [sorts of] oppression upon the [local] mi ser-subjects, he emphatically petitioned the bla ma for leave of absence. He donated presents, tea and alms, such as whatever personal belongings he possessed, to the Lord, rgyal ba'i dbang po Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho [the 6th Dalai Lama, 1683–1706], to the Pan chen Chos kyi rgyal po Blo-bzang Ye-shes [the 2nd/5th Pan-chen Bla-ma, 1663–1737], etc. as well as to the large monastic assembly of 'Bras-spungs. He thereafter assumed [the simple] ascetic conduct of a bya btang renunciant, who [merely begged] for rtsam pa [food] at the door whenever it was needed (sgo rtsam zad len byed pa) [48b] and on his body wore nothing except the [simplest of] cloth.

Having requested [and received] an endless number of [i.e. all] Dharma cycles of sūtra and mantra from Thang-sag rin po che dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho,59 he practised diligence and austerities [to

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56 See above fn. 232, 436, 493; below fn. 780; Part II, App. IV: Chap. 2.

57 The term [bla ma] rigs grva appears to refer to the body or group of high-ranking monks and abbots in charge of a monastery and its adjacent body of colleges.

58 It most evidently refers to the area of Rag-ma (Ra-ma in the local tradition) of western 'Phan-yul, the site of the Ra[g]-ma'i Byams-khang erected by Zhang sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phug. The monastery – today a nunnery – is famous for accommodating one of the Three Maitreya Brothers Images (i.e. the 'Phan-yul Byams-pa spun-gsum of the three sNa-nam foundations: Rag-ma Byams-khang, rGyal lha-khang and sPyan-legs Byams-khang (in Upper rGyal valley); cf. Blo-bzang mam-rgyal 1999a: 130; Ye-shes dbang-phug 1993: 45–47; HSLG Vol. 4: 53, 76–78; lHa sa'i dgon tho 183–84; Chos-'phel 2004c: 175f.; 178f., 180f.; fn. 719 below). In the local tradition, the site is said to have been a residence of King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Several ancient places and ruins in this part of eastern 'Phan-yul are associated with the early dynastic period, such as Za-dam and mGar-yul (west of Rag-ma'i Byams-khang) (above fn. 373; App. IV: fn. 21). Until mid-17th cent., Za-dam gtsug lag khang was a gdan sa of Zhva-dmar. Later, during dGa'-ldan gzhung period both Za-dam and the neighbouring Rag-ma were monastic estates of 'Bras-spungs (cf. dGa’ bshi rnam thar 911). The area is also mentioned as the place of the Zhi-byed seat of Rag-ma Nyi-khud kyi dgon-pa (Kollmar Paulenz 1993: 273; BA Roerich 877); the seat of Dam-pa rgya-gar (= Pha dam-pa sangs-rgyas); mKhas pa'i dga’ston 886.3–4.

59 A biography of the influential Thang-sag-pa dNgos-grub rgya-mtsho is said to exist, compiled by sPos-khang (~dkar)-pa Blo-bzang mchog-grub (not seen). 'Phan-yul Thang-sag dGa’-ldan chos-khor was erected by Zhang-thang Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (or metaphetically 'Byung-gnas ye-shes), a leading pupil of Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags, the
Graph 4: Scheme of dBus-gling and Yang-dgon (ground-floor)

4a: dBus-gling
R = Mahākāla Statue
C = Byams-pa
L = Guru Rinpoche
Y = Yab-sras-gsum
□ = stūpa
● = pillar
x = žhab s杰 of Zhang Rin-po-che

4b: Yang-dgon
R3 = Statue of Phyag-rgdor
R2 = bTsan dmar-pa
R1 = Stūpa
C1 = Bla-ma Zhang
C = Śākyamuni
C2 = Guru Rinpoche
L1 = Pehar (plus two followers)
L2 = dMag-zor rgyal-mo
L3 = rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma
D and T = Paintings of g.Yu-sgron-ma
and Pa-ri Thog-btsan-pa

Graph 5: In Tshal village (see also Part I: Fig. 33)
a level) similar to Kha-rag sgom-chung." Having conducted 10 million [times] the recitational service (seva) of the [Śrī Vajra-]Bhairava Eka[vīra] [Form] ([dPal rdo-rje] 'Jigs-byed [dpa'-bo] gcig-pu), he expanded his experience of wisdom from moment to moment throughout the vastness of treatises related to sātra and mantra. At the time he meditated and practised according to the Dharma cycles [contained in] the Sealed Biographical Books (bKa’ rgyva [ma]) of [Bla-ma] Zhang, for a long time, he conducted the retreat-bound seva-recitation (bsten nyams tshams) at Tshal-sgang Chos-spyil-bu; and thus he [proved to be successful in] seeing the countenance of the [leading] bla ma of the bKa’-brgyud [tradition], primarily 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, [through which] a [profound] insight [of realization] on the nispamnakrama level manifested [itself in him].

In particular, the deterioration of the minor monastic communities etc. was so advanced at dBus-gling that the Assembly Hall (‘du khang), and the monk’s domitories (grva shag) etc. all [by now] had collapsed completely, the elders [among] the common monks, united in purpose, consequently forwarded a request to the Lord [i.e. dPal-bzang-po] and having accepted [their proposal], he [renovated] the Assembly Hall, the monk’s dormitories and the ambulatory; in the central inner part of the gtsang khang, he not only had excellent stūpa erected and many volumes of the sacred scriptures manufactured, first and foremost the bka’ ‘hum of [Bla-ma] Zhang, but he also renovated the old objects [of veneration such as] the statue of the Mahākāla [mGon-po] [erected] during the time of the Tshal-pa [rule], the more than 500 volumes of the bKa’ ‘gyur [formerly] manufactured by drung chen sMon-lam-pa and his son [i.e. drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje and drung chen Kun-dga’ rdo-rje, 9th and 10th dpon sa], the excellent statue of Do-pa Døng-grub dpal-Idan; furthermore, [he renovated statues], foremost among them the many statues made from gilt copper and from cast metal (li ma) [once] brought from the Retreat Center (sgrub sde) of sNgags-grong; [and he] made extensive offerings in the form of [decorating these] with liquid gold [as well as] with ceremonial scarfs, etc. Due to the magical power stemming from the repeated performances of rah gnas or consecrations of the gTsug-lag-khang including the objects of support [49a] that had been conducted after that the total [number of monks from the] assemblages of the rGyud-stod and rGyud-smad grva[tshang] as well as the dGa’-ldan Khri Rinp'o-che etc. had been invited [to dBus-gling of Tshal], this gdan sa [thus] came to experience a [renewed] flourishing.

Madhyamaka pioneer in Tibet, and is located in present-day dGa’-chos township (xiang) of present-day llHun-grub xian. See e.g. Roesler and Roesler 2004: 36–37.

Kha-rag sgom-chung, the contemporary of Mi-la ras-pa and a religious brother of Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal was renown for his austere or rigid asceticism. With his – with hindsight at least eclectic – bKa’-gdam-pa and bKa’-brgyud-pa/Drugs-chen leanings, he was in later dGe-lugs circles foremost imitated for his exemplary and uncompromising life conduct of a hermit. Cf. Sørensen 2002.

Above fn. 62.

104 I.e. the first abbot of dBus-gling; above Chap. III.3.C.

sNgags-grong or “Mantra Village” is a well-known locale, present-day situated in Hun-brgya xiang of Hun-grub rdzong in ‘Phan-yul. sNgags-grong in HSGL Vol. 4: 29–30. Precise location: 29°49’N 91°14’E (Xizang Dimenzi 1 61b, referring to the valley south of Glud-gong-sgang; see Map 4). In the Kun-bde-gling archive in Illa-sa, a Map of sNgags-grong of ‘Phan-yul is conserved. It was a chos gshi or religious estate of the [‘Bras-spungs] gZims-gong.

DL? 545 c.g. reports for 1742 A.D. that the rGyud-smad monks presented consecatory offerings in form of dkar spre and phyag nas or “blessed barley” to the newly erected Assembly Hall at Tshal.

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Thereafter [dPal-bzang-po] also established the mTsho-kha [monastery] in [']Phan-yul as well as in this region [the monastery] known as Ri-skya sDig-'joms or dGia’-ldan Me-tog thar-pa ’i-gling, etc., and he subsequently safeguarded [these places] for a long time. At the end of his life, he established a new retreat site at sNgags-grong, where he heard [i.e. received] the reading authorization of the entire bKa’ ’gyur of the Victor. At that time he rendered service etc. for a period of four years to about 30 kalyāṇamitra from Se[-ra], 'Bras-spungs and their tantric faculties, [monks] who were capable of working for the precious Teaching [of Buddha]. Having completely [received the above] reading authorization, he also donated extensive presents and fees etc. according to rank of the individual bla ma and to those who had requested for the dharma. He thereafter proved beneficial to the tradition of the Teaching. Among the row of scriptural compositions [he made] too, [we find the] bKa’ ’gyur dkar chag, an autobiography, Zhang rin po che gsol ’dbses” as well as many sorts of [writings within the field of] hSla bya, many sorts of [writings of the field of] ’dod gsol and smon lam and many sorts of [writings within the field of] Ja mchod,” etc. In the current recitational tradition, it is said

“[Being] Amitābha, the Lord of the Jina-s, Master of the siddha (siddheśvara), Protector of all [beings], Jāgannātha g.Yu-brag-pa
May you rejoice by [tasting] the Nectar of Wisdom!”∗∗

This [stanza] too appears to stem from [the words of] this Lord [dPal bzang-po]. As to the name of this lord, the people of ’Phan-po today [call him] the Teacher of mTsho-kha [mTsho-kha dpon-slob] whereas he in dBu-gling is known as slob dpon dPal-bzang-po. His real name was Blo-bzang lhun-grub.

[49b] During [the period] when the activities of this very Lord kept on expanding, the great siddheśvara known by the name dpon slob Ngag-dbang yon-tan∗∗∗ [in turn] safeguarded the seat [of dBu-gling] for 40 years. This holy [personage] was born in the area of mDo-khams. He studied the basic treatises in [the college of] Blo-gsal-gling of ’Bras-spungs. In the capacity of dBu mdzad of Blo-gsal-gling, having accepted to [act as] attendant to rNam-rden rGyal-ba’i dbang-po Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.], he went along when the latter went to ’Gar-thar [= mGar-thar].”∗∗∗ As remuneration for the extraordinary [excellence] in

∗∗ Probable identical with sGo-mo mTsho-kha; cf. dPags bsam lhon bzang 489.13–14.
∗∗ The exact location of these sites remains unknown.
∗∗∗ The text is called in full Zhang rin po che la gsol ’dbses pa’i rab tu byed pa as contained in Bla-ma Zhang’s writings (ZhK II. Vol. Ca 275a1–280b1 (1a1–b1 in the ZhK III). It was written by dGe-ba’i blo-gros.
∗∗∗ The bslab bya or moral precept, ’dod gsol and smon lam or wishful prayer literature and the ja mchod or tea libation are all minor genres popular not least in later dGe-lugs circles.
∗∗∗ The locus classicus not yet identified, but as said possibly to be found in the writings of this influential master. It may well stem from the non-extant Zhang rin po che gsol ’dbses versified biography stemming from his pen. The verse is repeated at the close of this treatise and this concluding verse may be the source.
∗∗∗ He appears to be identical with mchod dpon Zhva-lu mkhan-po Ngag-dbang yon-tan who, as said, rendered service to the 7th Dalai Lama in mGar-thar; cf. DL7 260. He possibly may be the mgon gnyer Ngag-dbang yon-tan who along with two bka’ blen met Sla-lung and to whom the latter tendered a life-long empowerment at dPal-’byor rab-brtan, an estate in Grva, in 1723; cf. Sles lung nam thar 361a5.
∗∗∗ This alludes to a decisive episode in the life of the 7th Dalai Lama, who had been escorted to mGar-thar (i.e.

Gung thang dkar chag (Chap. 3) 239
service rendered [by him], this Lord requested [and received] the gift of precisely this seat [i.e. dBus-gling] at the time [when the attendants] were in a position to choose either a monastery or a rdzong etc. according to their own personal taste. At that point, when others inquired: "[Why] did your Lord not request for a [monastery] with a larger revenue than this monastery [of dBus-gling]?" The Lord [i.e. Ngag-dbang yon-tan answered]: "Formerly, when rGyal-dbang Thams cad mkhyen pa [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] [once] in India had taken rebirth as King Dza," I served as the store-keeper for this king. However, due to avarice and because I did not use the expenditures as prescribed, [as retribution] I was born for a long time in the damned states (durgati). During the time of grub thob Thang-stong [rgyal-po] [1361–1485 A.D.]<sup>44</sup> I was reborn as a very poor person called Lug-shig-pa<sup>45</sup> Being [hereafter] born only in poor [circumstances], and deeming the fact that it seems that I have not been born into a richer [family] than my present one, compared to my [poor circumstances] this monastery [of dBus-gling indeed] appears to have the defect of being far too big for me!" etc. He certainly was a person [endowed with the super knowledge of] recollecting his former states of existence (pūrvavātānasmṛtyaabhijñā).

Again, at the place where the small rgyal-castle (rgyal mkhar)<sup>46</sup> was set up, situated in the southern corner of the eastern main-entrance to dBus-gling, he every night offered a chang bu [i.e. eatable] offering. It was said [by him] that [50a] this [offering] was [intended] for a dBus-gling bla-ma who had taken birth as a rgyal gong [demon]<sup>47</sup> etc. Many [suchlike statements from him] prevail that [thus describe] how he possessed an inconceivable yogic insight [of realization]. Anyway, at this main seat and its branch monastery of Bya-mkhar, the two, the [number of the members of the] assemblages during the time of this master and his disciple[s] increased excessively. [Indeed] beyond description is the development [in dBus-gling of the transmission of] hermeneutics, realization, teaching and study etc. [under his rule] and his last deed [i.e. the passing into nirvāṇa] too, he displayed at this main seat.

In the intermediate period, at the [abbatial] seat which he safeguarded in accordance with the dual system

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Geda, Taining, Qianning county; recently also named Bamei),* the garrison town to the north-west of Dar-rtses-mdö (Dajianlu), in farthermost Khams (now Ganzi) where he was exiled and detained for five years, 1730–35 A.D., following the Dzungar (i.e. Jegünyar) intrude in Central Tibet; for his journey hither and longish sojourn there; cf. DL7 221ff.; see also ICang skya'i rnam thar 152–165 (ed. Lanzhou 1989); see also generally Kämpfe 1974: 85ff.; L. Petech 1972: 169–176; Wylie 1959: 102; Wu 1995: 286ff.; Wang 1995: 206ff.; Uspensky 1997: 5–7.

* For the etymology of mGar-thar, lit. "[The Place wherefrom Minister] mGar escaped", cf. DL7 257–58; DL10 272.11–273.9; TBH Sørensen 241–42. Tradition holds that the local temple, similar to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, was erected on a dried-up lake.

<sup>44</sup> King Dza/Tsa of Za-hor in India, evidently a Tibetan mythic invention, was sometimes in rNyung-ma hermeneutics identified with Indrabhūti. He played a significant role in the legendary origin of Vajrayāna; see Karmay 1998: 76ff.

<sup>45</sup> The master was active in the IHa-sa and Tshal area when in around 1430–32 he initiated the erection of the iron bridge of IHa-gdung Shan-kha (in his biography also called the bridge of Brag-[IHa-gdung of Grib]) connecting the two districts of IHa-sa and Tshal Gung-thang (cum Grib), respectively. Thang stong rnam thar I 155–157; II 181.2–193.5, 212–213, III 275–88, III 357–58 (situating the erection in the period 1444–50) where he also displayed miraculous feats such as walking on the waters of sKyid-chu without sinking.

<sup>46</sup> Lit. "The one with Sheep-lice." These narratives seem to have been transmitted in oral form.


<sup>48</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 300, 395. A rgyal po was considered a dangerous spirit, often a manifestation of a deceased spiritual or religious person that may have passed away, as here, under dubious circumstances or was considered a nemesis for the breach of his vows.
of religious and secular rule. Unable to bear in his mind that at that time the former [monk's] dormitories situated around the courtyard (shag skor), as well as the enclosures etc. were far too small, to the effect that for example the Me tog mchod pa Ceremony etc. had to be performed along the path running outside the dormitories situated around the courtyard, he forwarded a request to the precious Central Government (gzhung sa) [i.e. dGa'-ldan pho-brang]. In accordance with his expressed wishes that the individual dormitories etc. should be expanded in the western and southern direction, the treasurer 'Phrin-las chos-'phel, who was counted among the leading monks of this [monastery] and whose discernment in all respects not only was incomparable, but whose concern for precisely this main seat was extremely great too, along with his supportive relatives took over the great responsibility [for its renovation and expansion] and erected anew the [monk's] dormitories, etc. As the possibly best means of increasing [the number of monks of] the congregation, [he introduced] gatherings of chos grva even during the winter and summer [sessions] respectively. [Thus] it would appear that the tradition of providing the best possible management [and implementation] of all the disciplinary rules [at dBus-gling], foremost the chanting of liturgical texts, had prevailed until the present day.

The Mahā-Sthavira [i.e. Great Elder] of Diligence dge slong Ngag-dbang dar-rgyas too established anew [at dBus-gling] the fully pure practise of the pratimokṣa moral code, the root of the [Buddhist] Teaching, such as the fasting rituals (posadha), [50b] etc. By religious and secular means, foremost by way of raising a trust fund (gtong thebs) [secured] by way of [performing] these [rituals] as well as, moreover, from [the enactment of] the Bhaisajyaguru[-pūjā], etc., the means were provided which in no small way contributed to a [prosperous] development [of the dBus-gling], etc. [Here however I] have only written an abbreviated exposè [of these developments].

These [details chronicled here so far] are [thus] merely an abbreviation of all the former events, both the general and specific [i.e. distinct] ones. Therefore, [the situation and circumstances of] the gTsug-lag-khang of the present time differ fundamentally from the situation that prevailed in former times. [The details concerning] the former conditions too appear in many old [historical] scriptural documents, yet they [contain] all sorts of contradictory arguments, and even the oral tradition of older generations contains many contradictions, wherefore it appears difficult to draw a true picture of the events.

According to [IHa 'dre bka'i] Thang yig

"In the female Fire-Pig year [1347 A.D.]

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This refers to the Me tog mchod pa Festival in dBus-gling. It is said that the dBus-gling monks implemented their own ceremonies independent from Gung-thang, but not less elaborate than the latter with mask dances, and with their own 'cham yig choreographical tradition, etc. Cf. e.g. DL5 / 315b1–2.

See IHa 'dre bka'i thang yig 77.22–78.2. The last couplet of this quatrain – not quoted here – reads: Iha 'dre yid kyi gzaugs can sving la zhung 3 rang rang bstan pa rang rang 'jig par' gyur / This dismal and self-destructive scenario is made clearer from a cognate verse in the Lo pan bka'i thang yig 408.12–14, where the episode in that year refers to the Sa-skya punitive army (here called khirms dmag) dispatched to Yar-klangs valley by the Sa-skya dpon chen rGyal-bzang in 1347 A.D. According to Si tu bka'i chams 95ff. = Rlangs 192ff. and again Rlangs 417–418 (cf. Petech 1990a: 49, 106–7) the contingents, mainly in the later part of 1348, were sent out to stem – abortively – the progress of the Phag-mo-gru-pa and were fielded by dBang-brtson (here not by rGyal-bzang; both actually succeeding one another, almost seamlessly, as Sa-skya dpon chen in 1347–48 A.D.). Cf. also Blondeau 1971: 111.
the army of the law will appear in Yar-klungs.  
After seven generations of rulers of the Teaching of the Tshal-pa."

the [sexagenary] year element etc. appears not to have any [relevance] to the directly following intermediate period. However, 225 years after the founding of Gung-thang, in the Iron-Horse year, Gung-thang suffered substantial war damages and thereafter in the 140th year [from then], in the Fire Sheep year [1547 A.D.], the great Fire occurred. Headed by [such episodes] both prior to and following [these events] the successive khri dpon too, being dissatisfied with their individual authority of power, waged a large number of fightings and conflicts. Spurred foremost by these [events], and by force of the blossoming of the fruits constituting the full maturation of [karmic activities both] the specific [i.e. personal] as well as the general [i.e. common] ones, the activities of the Three Wheels of the Tshal-pa monk-body (dGe-'dun Tshal-pa) and the authority of the secular zhabs drung, father and sons, gradually became weaker. As a consequence of this, it appears that [the general condition of] these [statues and relics] of the three kinds of receptacles [of body, speech and mind here in Gung-thang] gradually deteriorated too.

[The sKyid-shod zhabs drung in Tshal]
Finding it difficult to bear the dilapidation of the entire Gung-thang gTsug-lag-khang, the sanctuary and its [sacred] images [51a], the sKyid-shod zhabs drung bKra-shis rab-brtan [1531–1589 A.D.]

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a1 The chronology is uncertain, the Iron-Horse year can only refer to 1390, but the calculation is defective 1187 + 225 = 1411.

a2 The calculation is again defective: 1411 (see prev. note) + 140 = 1551. However, as we know, Gung-thang caught fire in 1546 or 1547, respectively. See fn. 179 above.

a3 The three wheels here refer to renunciation, study and work.

a4 We only have fragmentary information on this most important 16th cent. political figure. This is most deplorable. A genealogy of this sKyid-shod noble house written by him is said to exist (a rare Ms entitled skYid shod dga' ldan pa'i gdung rabs (cf. fn. 560 above) was consulted by Dung-dkar Rin-po-che, upon which the foll. tentative dates are based). He was known as a personality of great stamina and erudition who left behind writings (mostly non-extant). His pedigree as ruler of the dGa'-ldan-pa fief or ruler estate (issued from Nyang-bran dGa'-ldan-pa line unrelated to dGa'-ldan of the dGe-lugs-pa) is listed in Bod kyi deb ther 184.18–185.12 (= Tucci TPS: 648; Ahmad 1995: 185:86; Nor-brang 1993: 444–45); Dung dkar tshig mdzod 252–56. Their fortified residence (rdzong) was perched on Mt. Bye-ri sTag-rtsa. Hence, they were also called Bye-ri-[stag]-rtse sde pa after this fortress (at a later point, after the appropriation of the until then independent Brag-dkar bDe-chen-rtsa rdzong in the around 1555 A.D. that had been tendered to the sKyid-shod-pa after the former line had died out, donated as a reward for his military service in lhO-kha, the sKyid-shod-pa shifted their main seat to bDe-chen in present-day sTag-rtsa county. Both estates are listed among the 13 rdzong districts set up by Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (see note 542 above).

Initially titled nang so, later sKyid-shod sa skyong / zhabs drung dGa'-ldan-pa mi'i rje / mi dbang bKra-shis rab-brtan (also referred to as a[k] khu or conjointly khu dgon when listed along with his successor in the seat and nephew (dbon) g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu (cf. fn. 699 below) and with whom he ruled conjointly was, as said, one of the most powerful political figures (along with his elder brother Don-grub rgyal-po (= Don-grub [rab-brtan] rgyal[(-)]-po; see below) in northern Central Tibet in the later part of the 16th cent. He took over after the demise of his elder brother in 1568 and ruled until his death. * Earning a great repute due to his military and administrative service to the Phag-mo-gru-pa Gong-ma, he eventually became rdzong dpon of the nearby Brag-dkar estate or fief. Registered as patron of the 13th Zha-lu abbot Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho (inexplicably and questionably in the mid-1540's), he in particular entertained a patron-priest relationship with the 'bras-sprungs chos rje bSod-nams rgya-mtsho from ca. 1572. Repeatedly mentioned in contemporary sources, and often eulogized for his unfailing support of the dGe-lugs-pa sect, so by the 3rd and in
contacted a fully perfect renovation of these [buildings and their sacred objects]. At one point, having invited 'Phags mchog 'Jig rten dbang phyug bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama, 1543–1588 A.D.]," [to Gung-thang], the [consecratory] "eye-opening" ritual was performed," whereby many [wondrous] signs [occurred] such as [the display of] a fully clear sky, etc. or, again, once when offerings were presented [to the statues] at Gung-thang, the image of [Bla-ma] Zhang [known as] Yid-bzhin nor-bu [Cintāmani] took off [its] hat [all by itself as a token of veneration in front of the zhabs drung], etc. Considering [the nature of these auspices], the statement – according to some of the narratives which are presently [in circulation] – "that zhabs drung bKra-shis rab-brtan after having erected the currently existing statue of IHa-chen inserted into its "heart" the right particular 4th Dalai Lama who extolled him by comparing him to Hanuman, the monkey champion, the adviser of Sugríva and companion of Rāma, the epitome of an unfailing helper. He further was an elder contemporary and patron of the 2nd 'Ol-kha zhabs drung bsTan-pa rgya-mtsho (1557–1621) and of the 24th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan Chos-rgyal Byams-pa rgya-mtsho (cf. ca. 1575–1582 A.D.), the latter pupil of pan chen dB-de-legs nyi-ma (cf. fn. 666 supra). He was a renowned and stout patron of sacred receptacles erected in dGa'-ldan. 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra. He regularly had repair work carried out at Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Tshal Gung-thang. He e.g. sponsored the erection of a statue of the 3rd Dalai Lama. Under his soubriquet or name de plume dBang-can dbang-po'i sde (fuller dBang-can Ngag gi dbang-phyug bsnyems-pa'i sde [i.e. Sarasvati Vāgīśvara] or sMra-ba'i dbang-phyug, alluding to his great erudition as a man of letters), he composed an ode to the 3rd Dalai Lama at his residence Bye-ri stTag-rtsi'i rdzong.

We have little information on the number of his children. Aside from (his son?) gYul-rgyal, we surmise that a daughter of his (at least) was known by the name bSod-nams dpal kyi bu-khrd who in 1594 gave birth to zhabs drung Ngag-dbang mam-rgyal (1594–1651 A.D.), the future founder and unifier of the Bhutan state.** Another daughter is referred to in Tārānātha rnam thar 86b2, born around 1588–89.

Sources: DL3 83b4, 85b4, 87b4f., 90b2–92a3, 99a3 etc.; DL4 23b3–26a5; DL5 118b3f.: Tshar chen rnam thar 87b4: 'Dzam gling rgyan qig 92: IHa ldan dkar chag 9.14–15, 37.16–17; gShin rje gshedchos 'byung II 231b4, 232b5–6, 259b5, 263b2; dGe 'dan chos rgyal dbang phyug rnam thar 5b5: Hor dam chos dar tshul 254–55, 544 (= Klafkowski 223–4, 452); Dung dkar tshig mdzod 256: sKyi shod sde pa skor 21f. Cf. also Taube 1966: no. 1210. See Table V. 12.3.

As indicated in our text, he was involved in the invitation of the future 3rd Dalai Lama to Gung-thang in 1553 (see next note). An unique contemporary Central Tibetan document issued (date 30.04.1584) by bKra-shis rab-brtan confirms his lengthy floruit. During the same spell, the house also entertained amicable relations with an array of hierarchs including the Karma-pa, the Sa-skya-pa, 'Brug-pa, the sTag-lung-pa, and the gNam-rnam tshig mdzod 256; sKyi shod sde pa skor 21f. Cf. also Taube 1966: no. 1210. See Table V. 12.3.

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** This refers to the invitation of the 11-years old bSod-nams rgya-mtsho to Gung-thang in 1553 (which he had visited for the first time in 1547 where they were received by the residential sde pa dGa'-ldan-pa and again 1552 A.D.) and where he carried out or rather supervised the renovation work (followed by the relevant consecration) of the complex in the wake of the 1546 A.D. fire. He e.g. erected anew a (wall) brocade thangka (gos sku) (this may in fact refer to the gos sku erected by Don-grub rab-brtan during the same spell), etc. For a depiction, see Introduction: Fig. 12 taken from a biographical thangka of the 3rd Dalai Lama in Tucci TPS 394–96 (Pl. 68). The same year saw severe fightings breaking out in Tibet with the effect that the annual Gung-thang Me tog mchod pha had to be postponed; cf. DL3 29a6–b1, 35b5, 36a4. In 1642, the sKyi shod-pa taiji rDo-rje mam-rgyal was invited to the annual Flower Festival at Tshal Gung-thang.

*** This complementary ritual alludes to the [re]painting of the "eyes" (sphyan dbye) of a deity, mainly on thangka, whereby the image became consecrated or vivified (zhal bsho, rab gnas). See Introduction: Fig 12 for the visit.
arm, the only unscathed remnant of the former statue of IHa-chan after it had been largely destroyed during the fire [of 1546 A.D.]." appears to be [quite] authentic.

Thereupon, [the sKyd-shod] zhabs drung Don-grub rab-brtan [d. 1568],

"" commemorating the funeral ceremonies of the consort mother (yum),"" manufactured anew a wall brocade [Thangka] and he succeeded in carrying through in no inferior way a renovation of the statues of the gTsug-lag-khang chen-mo which had been damaged by fire.

Zhabs drung bKra-shis [rab-brtan] too [conducted] repair work and he erected anew the gilded copper [roof] of the Tshe-dpag[-med] Iha-khang and a wall brocade [thangka] etc. rGyal-mchog

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""Cf. also GT 41a above. With this figure the heyday of this house commenced. The flourrit of this sKyd-shod zhabs drung are to be situated in mid-16th century. The nang so Don-grub rgyal-po (see Bod kyi deb ther 184 (= Tucci TPS 648, Table; Ahmad 1995: 185) was son* of Ra-nu IHa-bsrung and grand-son of bSod-nams rgyal-po of the dGa'-ldan ruling house. His younger brother was bKra-shis rab-brtan with whom he ruled conjointly from ca. 1552. His active flourrit to be situated ca. 1525-1568 A.D., confirmed by sources such as the biography of Zhig-po gling-pa (1524–1583 A.D.), where the activities of the latter in erecting an octagonal deluge-bulwarking temple or chu bzlog lha khang called dRo-rje Iha-khang in IHa-sa in the years 1557–58 A.D. are reported, executed on the behest of sde pa Don-grub rab-brtan rgyal[p]o (also known as Don-grub mgon-po) of sKyd-shod. He was the figure who "rebelled" against the Phag-gru mother house by disobeying the sNe'u-gdong Gong-ma i.e. Ngag-dbang bKra-shis grags-pa (1488–1564). The warfare of sKyd-shod (of 1553–54) thus began during his tenure. The Gung-thang Me tog mchod pa and the 1553 sMon lam chen mo had to be postponed due to this warring conflict. He occupied sKyor-mo-lung for seven years until 1561. To him is also ascribed the erection or rather refurbishment of the dGa'-ldan khang-gsar mansion** in IHa-sa (famous seat in Tibetan political history), erected (or rather renovated) in 1549 (sa hyi = sa bya; see also HLSG Vol. 6: 91–2). Together with sde pa bKra-shis rab-brtan, he was involved in the restoration work in the immediate aftermath of the Gung-thang 1546 fire. The patronage, above all, made them the new "rulers" of Gung-thang. He dispatched troops to IHa-kha late in around 1567, shortly after he passed away. See App. V: Table 12.3.

Sources: Zhig po gling pa nam thar 60.3–63.6, 99.2–4; DL3 77a1–2; Sog bzlog hgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus 224.2; gShin rje gshed chos 'byung II 256a4–5; Lung bstan rdo rje lha khang (= see Akester 2001); sKyar lung chos 'byung 51a.

** In Dung dkar tshig mdzod 256 Ra-nu IHa-srung alias (sic) dma gpon bSod-nams rgyal-po is registered as the eldest brother of Don-grub and bKra-shis rab-brtan. This appears to be in contradiction with the 5th Dalai Lama Deb ther, but not infeasible. Since Dung-dkar enjoyed unique access to the crucial dGa'-ldan sKyid shod pa'i gdung rabs, a clarification of this point must await further research.

""The "New Residence of the dGa'-ldan [sKyd-shod-pa]" (contrary to the old or original dGa'-ldan-pa seat in Nyang-bran?) was euphemized lCang-lo-can or "the Willow-grove [Mansion]." It served as a celebrated residence and guest-house for numerous visiting dignitaries and hierarchs such as the 'Brug-dbang hierarch Ngag-dbang Chos kyi rgyal-po in 1522–24, the 2nd Dalai Lama in 1526, the 3rd Dalai Lama in 1553, Pad-ma dkar-po in 1591, the 4th Dalai Lama in 1603 A.D., the 5th 'Brug-chen dPags-bsam dbang-po in 1604, the 16th Ngag-dbang ram-rgyal in 1611, and for Taranatha, etc. to mention a few over the years. Situated outside the core part of inner IHa-sa (at that point barely consisting of more than the Jo-khang and Ra-mo- che temples and its closest bar skor surroundings), it was the estate mansion (or gzhis ka) of the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa in IHa-sa, serving as their local seat just south of Ra-mo-che monastery. It later became the residence of the Qosod king of Tibet bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal and still later of Pho-Iha-nas, etc. cf. e.g. bKa' 'thon rtogs brjod 39, et passim. In about 1634, it appears to have been appropriated by the dGe-lugs phyag mdzod or administrator bSod-nams rab-brtan, the strongman of Tibet, who renovated it the same year (DL5 [B] 83b4).

The present-day dGa'-ldan khang-gsar building constitutes the stable of the former main-building. The former mansion was torn down in 1930 and the present building (before it was recently renovated in 1996) dates from this period. Since numerous contempor. sources speak about a dGa'-ldan khang-gsar prior to mid-1550's, it would suggest that the old dGa'-ldan-pa chief merely rebuilt the mansion and that the original mansion was erected a century before by bSod-nams rgyal-po.

""It either refers to the mother of Don-grub rgyal-po (i.e. the yum and wife of bSod-nams rgyal-po (cf. fn. 534) and of bKra-shis rab-brtan, but this entry is doubtful since she apparently was still alive 1591). Rather it may refer to the passing of one Brag-dkar lcum Rin-chen rgyal-mo in 1568 A.D., the same year, in that case, as the sKyd-shod-pa ruler died.
bSod-nams rgya-mtsho was repeatedly invited and he conducted the consecration rites and the fire-offerings, etc. [Thus for his service to the temple] he was in a fully pure way rewarded.

During the tenure of [sKyid-shod] zhabs drung g.Yul-rgyal-ba\textsuperscript{77} when Gung-thang was in danger of being flooded by water [that overflowed from sKyid-chu river],\textsuperscript{78} he felt concerned

\textsuperscript{77} sKyid-shod sde pa or mi'i dbang po g.Yul-rgyal (= g.Yul mam-par rgyal-ba) nor-bu (ca. 1550?-1607 A.D.) was nephew (less likely he was son, as given in Bod kyi deb ther 185.13-16 [Nor-brang 1993: 445], but "son" may here possibly refer to being a heir on the seat) of bKra-shis rab-brtan (see above) with whom he over some years ruled conjointly. His flourit as ruler - based upon stray references in contemporary literature - to be situated 1589-1607 A.D. He was pupil of 'Khon-ston dpal-'byor lhun-grub (1561-1637), and is e.g. known to have repeatedly urged, just like his uncle/father nag so bKra-shis rab-brtan, Pan-chen Blo-bzang chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1570-1662) to compose treatises (cf. e.g. de Rossi Filibeck 1994: 119, 121). He was apparently also known as sde pa Rin-po-che g.Yul-rgyal nor-bu, perhaps indicating a strong religious status or commitment as also indicated from the references. He passed away in 1607, arguably falling victim to a smallpox epidemic raging that year. Evidently the sKyid-shod-pa, as rulers of Central Tibet and as such also during this spell politically responsible for Tshal Gung-thang (where they also had a seat) were regularly involved in inviting high dignitaries to this site such as Pad-ma dkar-po in 1591, who seized the opportunity to compose a poetic eulogy to Bla-ma Zhang.

He earned some ill-repute because he prompted the famous autogenous 'Phags-pa Lokesvara statue (the Potala 'Phags-pa Lokesvara - one of the renowned four autogenous Brother (rang byon mched bzhi) statues of Avalokitesvara - which until then and indeed later again had been installed in lhAsa), to be temporarily moved during his tenure to his Brag-dkar estate; later this famous statue was used by his son to inveigle the Tumed Mongols into supporting the dGa'-ldan-pa alliance including the sKyid-shod-pa towards their joint gTsang foes. For a discussion of this bribery and the celebrated statue's ensuing vicissitudes, see e.g. Sørensen 2007a.

The four sons with his wife Zhok-bzla' Byang-sems dgos-dgos included sde pa bSod-nams mam-rgyal (-rgyal-mtshan; also known as sKyid-shod A-dpal; 1586-1636), and sKyid-shod sde pa (alias zhabs drung) Yid-bzhin nor-bu (1589-after 1647) and finally the hierarch zhabs drung chos rje bsTan-'dzin blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1593-1638); for the latter, cf. sKyid shod chos rje rnam thar 180-81, et passim; further Ming mdzod 125; Mi sna 644-45; Dung dkar tshig mdzod 254-55; DL5 I 139b2-3. The latter had an utmost prolific religious career. He visited lhAsa and Tshal Gung-thang in 1616.

Yid-bzhin nor-bu (ibid. 255-56) along with his elder brother followed his father as secular ruler of sKyid-shod in 1607 A.D. But the former was taken hostage (bu gte) by the gTsang antagonists in 1605 and was kept in custody until 1621. bSod-nams mam-rgyal's sons again were mGon-po Rab-brtan, rDo-rje rgyal-po (-mam-rgyal) and chos rje mTsho-skyes rdo-rje, who, like his father, again played a major role in the political machinations of the mid-1700's.

Sources on him: DL4 22a6-b1, 41b6, et passim; DL5 Thob vig II 154b3; sTag lung chos 'byung I 568, 578, 584; Pad dkar rnam thar II 438.5; IV 50a6-50b4, 52b2-4; Tārānātha rnam thar 53b6, 87b7, 94b1, 195b1-3; dPag bsam dbang po'i rnam thar I 107.4; Bod kyi deb ther 185 (= Ahmad 1995: 186); sMon lam chen mo bca' vig 341; Vaidūrya ser po 128.18-21; dGa' ldan chos 'byung I 17b2-4, 36b6; gShin rje gshed chos 'byung II 399b6, 404b4-5; see also in Se ra chos 'byung 136, 260; gSer shing phun tshogs 'dod 'jo 73b3-4; sKyid shod sde pa skor 27f.; TPS Tucci 51, 53.

\textsuperscript{78} This may refer to the excessive threat of flooding that faced the lhAsa area - a phenomenon, incidentally, of regular occurrence - in 1562 A.D. (read chu bya for chu khjur) as reported in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dalai Lama's biography (DL3 72b5-73a5) rather than the even earlier 1546 A.D. flooding incident. Another possibility: The severe flooding in 1583 A.D. During the mid-1550's, the sde pa sKyid-shod-pa (i.e. Don-grub rab-brtan) entered a patron-priest relationship with the 20\textsuperscript{th} Brg-gung throne-holder Phun-tshogs bkra-shis (1547-1602 A.D.), the latter was invited to Tshal and Ba-dkar? by the sKyid-shod-pa in 1596; cf. Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar II 617. That year (1562) a serious deluge visited the lhAsa area. The 'Brg-gung-pa hierarchy being requested by the sKyid-shod-pa successfully assisted in eliminating the threat, by bringing the heavy rain to a halt and by reverting the course of sKyid-chu river. See 'Brg gung gdan rabs III 225-227; Phun tshogs bkra shis rnam thar 581.1-6. For a detailed exposé on the phenomena of flooding and flood control politics, see Part II: App. II.
and committed [himself to construct] a huge dike which would divert [the menacing flow of] water. He thus divided [the stretch of the dike] into separate [units] of [a certain length] and so regulated how each [person in charge] was compelled to resume unfailing responsibility for the [maintenance and regulation] of the dike. [51b] etc., [thus his activities] proved immensely beneficial to [upholding] the tradition of the Teaching [of Buddha]. Moreover, his persistence was not of an ordinary nature when [e.g.] he skillfully said: "Since we incessantly have to bring water-offerings to [the statue of] 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che, everyone will have to make an effort [to fulfill this objective]!" Hence, with greater and smaller diligence some [consolidated] the dam by loading three loads of [iron-]chains (zhags thag do gsun), [others again brought] whatever [could be fetched of old] horse shoes and whatever could be obtained of [old] knives [or other items of worn-out metal], etc. [So] it is said.\textsuperscript{391}

Albeit some of the [succeeding] generations of zhabs drung in the sequel were [able] to render service, to administer and safeguard to a small extent the gTsug-lag-khang and its [monk’s] com-munity, most of the [monastic complex and its community] remained, as said earlier, desolate or went into utter decay. The remaining [still] surviving receptacles of worship barely served as a shelter in the rain, let alone any [visible improvement in the development of the previously mentioned tradition of] hermeneutics and realization (bshad sgrub) even for the major part of the [monk’s] community. Without even wearing any proper dress [anymore] [the complex and its monastic community] turned into [a place inhabited] only by married householder monks (ser khyim).

\[\text{Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol [1604–1669 A.D.]}\]

[In this dismal state of affairs] the activities of 'Gro-mgon himself not being forgotten, the [local] protectors in yab yum [form] called to mind that the time for [the redemption] of the pledge [once given] by the Lord Zhang had come. At that time, when Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol,\textsuperscript{390} the crown (cod pan) of the [Buddha] family [of the principal teacher of] rGyal-mchog Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-ntscho [the 5th Dalai Lama, 1617–1682 A.D.] sojourned in Yer-pa sPos-dkar [~ sPos-dga'],\textsuperscript{390} and as [a token of his] merit-dedication of the [deceased] nang pa Glang-kha-ba [father and son],\textsuperscript{390} he was presented with a volume from the bKa’ ’bum of [Bla-ma] Zhang. At that

\textsuperscript{391} Most of the flood control measures were also ascribed to his uncle/father bKra-shis rab-brtan, who was renowned for his dedicated concern and personal engagement in repairing the dikes; cf. also Dung dkar tshig mdzod 256–57.

\textsuperscript{390} On Zur-chen, the principal tantric preceptor of the 5th Dalai Lama, see the latter’s biography Zur chen rnam thar, passim. He was born in Upper Chu-ris of ‘Brom. Cf. also Karmay 1988a; Gyurme Dorje 1991: 679–683; HSLG Vol 1: 74–76. The 5th Dalai Lama reports the visit by the 3rd and the 4th Dalai Lama in the 1600’s to the estate of Tshal Zur-khang. This estate alludes to the name of the estate at Gung-thang held by the sKyid-shod-pa, possibly since 1556, when it is mentioned for the first time, yet its origin may go further back in time; cf. DL3 46a5–6, 87b4; DL4 33a4–b4.

Another major figure active during the mid-to-late 17th century (esp. 1670’s) at Gung-thang, not mentioned in the present text, is Gung-thang mkhas pa, also known as Gung-thang rab ’byams pa or lo tsa ba bShes-gnyen rnam-rgyal. Sources: DL5 I 242a2, 260b3, 262a1, 264a6; DL5 III 2a5–6; gTer gling rnam thar l 79, 98, 130; Shel dkar chas ’byung 72b; The Nyingmapa School 729–30. He e.g. was a principal teacher in the field of Vinaya studies for sMin-gling Lo-chen Dharmaśrī. He was also called mKhas-mchog bShes-gnyen rnam-rgyal and he transmitted Sa-skyā and dGe-lugs teaching cycles (cf. Ehrhard 2003: 333, fn. 167). Beyond that, our knowledge of the main actors at Tshal Gung-thang in the early 17th cent. is meagre. An unknown Tshal sgyan snga is registered for the 1620’s; cf. Kun dga’ ’thun grub rnam thar 43.6.

\textsuperscript{390} Cf. Vaidūrya ser po 154.14–15; above fn. 33.

\textsuperscript{390} Clarified through the source for this information: Zur chen rnam thar 88a4 (= 175.4).
[very] moment a raven, being a manifestation of mGon-po [i.e. Mahākāla], [appeared] and showed many signs of joy, and in a dream [he saw how] a black man appeared [before him] saying: “Come here!” whereupon he was led into a large lha khang. He [subsequently] had visionary experiences of how he met someone who said that he was Bla-ma Zhang. This coincided with the utterance of an aspiration prayer [52a] which foretold that he must [henceforth] act as bla ma of Chos-khri lho-locg [i.e. The Southern Tower [College] of the Dharma-Throne]. The [local] bla ma and the Guardians of the Dharma [all] urged him to take over the throne of Gung-thang and he [instinctively] realized [these extraordinary premonitions to be] signs that extensive promotion for the benefit of living beings would come [to this site], since [he was to be assisted] in fulfilling his [karmic] task by the [local] Dharmapāla. In particular, having a recollection [through his abhijñā] of his former lives in which he himself had [once] been gdan sa ha Sangs-rgyas-'bum, he [finally] promised [to take over the responsibility].”" Shortly afterwards, he was [formally] accompanied [i.e. invited] to the main seat of Gung-thang, being given a perfect [reception of] esteem and respect, such as a procession of monks. He paid a visit to the sacred receptacles of the mChod-khang, being given a perfect [reception of] esteem and respect, such as a procession of monks. He paid a visit to the sacred receptacles of the gTsug-lag-khang, and paying a visit to the sku 'bum of gZims-khang-shar [= the sepulchre tomb of Sangs-rgyas-'bum] etc., when he recollected his former live as Sangs-rgyas-'bum. When he [once] paid a visit to the mGon-khang of the mChod-khang chen-mo, many [wondrous] auspices [occurred] such as the door [to the shrine] opening all by itself, as well as the radiation of a gray light directly from the middle of the countenance of mGon-po, etc. That night many expressions of joy were displayed such as the chos skyong bSe-khrab-pa (appearing in front of him) proclaiming: “When you were [once] bla brang pa Chos-dpal bzang-po, I was your protector!” etc.

705 Chos-khri lho-locg appears to be the later (dGe-lugs-pa) designation of the Chos-khri lho-nub (above fn. 614).
706 The entire section here on Zur-chen’s activity is gleaned verbatim from his biography; cf. Zur chen rnam thar 85b6–86a1, 87b1–88b5 (= 170.6–171.1, 174.1–176.5). According to the biography, he reached Gung-thang and took over its seat in 1633 A.D. Importantly, he was received by the people of sde pa rTse-kha-pa, Lo-pa, Tshe-ru, sPu-grong and Zhal. The 5th Dalai Lama had visited Gung-thang the same year and it may have been during this visit that the idea of asking Zur-chen to take over came to fruition; cf. DL5 74a1.
707 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 12.1–2. On Sangs-rgyas-'bum, the 4th throne-holder of Yang-dgon and founder of the sGom-sde gZims-khang-shar, see above 15b, 16a.
708 The Great Prayer-Hall, i.e. Assembly Hall of the Gung-thang temple.
709 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 176.5–178.4.
710 bSe-khrab[-can] is considered the wrathful manifestation of the dharmapāla Tshangs-pa dkar-po (for a readable essay on its numerous manifestations, see Sle-lung, Dom can legs bshad II 53–77). In Tshal Gung-thang, bSe-khrab’s place was formerly in the gZims-khang-shar, his chief residence in northern central Tibet is La-mo Byang-chub-lcog (situated east of dGa’-ldan), the first phyi dar temple founded by Klu-mes in 1009 A.D., which during the time of the Dalai Lama housed the La-mo Tshangs-pa state oracle. He is also regarded as the principal srung ma of the neighbouring Tsher-gseb, the foundation of which is similarly ascribed to Klu-mes (App. V: Table 6). As an independent deity bSe-khrab is worshipped inter alia in Khra’-brug, rTse-tshogs-pa and dGa’-ldan chos-khor-gling (in ‘Phan-yul) and he functions as the chief protector god of gSang-phu Ne’u-thog (founded 1073 A.D. by rNgog Legs-pa’s shes-rab) and its numerous branches. It is conceivable that the protector deity found its way to Tshal Gung-thang via the Tshal-pa (i.e. Chos-khor-gling) – gSang-phu connection. On bSe-khrab, see also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975, s.v. index; TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005, s.v. index. An unusual statue of bSe-khrab-can is to be found in the Sa-skya Ra-ba-smad monastery (in present-day Gong-dkar district). Cf. dPal ldan chos skyong rnam thar III 395–96. Chos-’phel 2002: 9f.
711 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 89b4–5 (= 178.4–5). This alludes to the information that Zur-chen was a re-birth of gSang-phu Gling-stod Bla-brang-pa Chos-dpal bzang-po. Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 12.4–5. The latter again may be identified with
In particular, [Chos-dbyings rang-grol] found the decay of the [entire] temple complex difficult to bear [in his heart] and observing that [the general state of] the monastic body too, considered from any aspect of the dual system [i.e. whether from a religious or a secular viewpoint], was largely in disarray, he united into one the separate and distinct monk communities of the Chos-khri lhon-nub which [until then] was destitute. Collecting together the barley [gathered] from the lease [of land that made up] the income of the bla brang, as well as [the revenue from] the corn gathered by Zur himself from alms-begging [in the entire region stretching] from mTha'-rgyas until Grib, he renovated from the ground up, the gTsug-lag-khang [52b] and [erected anew] the Assembly Hall ['Du-khang] of the Chos-khri [Chapel] after having put his own nephew etc. in charge of the supervision of the work. In order to gather labourers and a wealth of offerings for these labourers, he instituted the regular tradition of having religious dances (gar 'chams) [performed] etc. during the Tshes bcu [Festival], [staged] together with [the bestowal of] empowerment [rites] in public. [This is why] the present custom of an annually establishment of funding [i.e. flow of merit (dge rgyun)] has originated, [accumulated and acquired from] the offerings donated which reflect the financial level of each individual among the people [participating], [a tradition like the one] called Gung thang dkar me [i.e. the Gung-thang Butter-Lamp Festival] that even exists until the present day. At that [point] Zur-chen personally expanded [the complex] by adding areas for the establishment

the 11th throne-holder of Gling-stod, Bla-brang-pa Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan, fl. mid-14th cent. Cf. Onoda 1989: 211. Thus he united the erudite tradition of the early Tshal-pa (represented by Sangs-rgyas-'bum), gSang-phu and dGe-lugs-pa.

11 In Zur chen rnam thar 110a1–2 (= 219.1–2), serving here as source, it is claimed that although these individual bodies Chos-khri and lhO-lcog were still nominally in existence, they were individually unable to uphold and sustain a bla brang and a 'du khang themselves, for this reason they were merged in 1634 A.D.

12 mTha'-rgyas (also mThar-rgyas) is situated close to dGa'-ldan (cf. Zur chen rnam thar: dGa'-ldan zhul Thar [= mTha']-rgyas); it refers to present-day Dar-rgyas (Xizang Dimingzhi l 88a: 29°45'N 91°25'W) known as a district center of sTag-rtses rdzong (HSLG Vol. I: 17, 43). Already in 1409, mTha'-rgyas was part of the territory under the Brag-dkar nang so (cf. Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 314–315). During the foundation of dGa'-ldan monastery, it is said that bTsong-kha-pa established his new seat in lhAs between mTha'-rgyas and dTsun-mo-sdings, well within 'Bri-gung territory. For 1519, gzhis kha mTha'-rgyas is mentioned in 'Bri-gung sources, cf. Kun du'a rin chen rnam thar III 214 (= gling kha Dar-rgyas-rtses?: ibid. III 597). Conspicuously, DL5 III 134a2 reports that a number of lhA sde and mi sde of Upper sKyid-shod such as mTha'-rgyas in 1679 A.D. were under Glang-ra (cf. fn. 407 above). It was a gzhis ka in the final period of the dGa'-ldan pho-brang period, for a report of flooding hitting the area of Mal-gro in 1870 and again in 1936, see Rang 'byung gnod 'the chu skyon skor 77–79, 170–73. In the 17th cent., a bDud-'dul mchod-rten was erected in mTha'-rgyas which is classified as one of the sa gnad gso thabs, i.e. the strategically located nature-containing sanctuaries or "Means for Restoring Vital [Toponymic] Points" (in the areas of dBus-gTsang). In this context, mTha'-rgyas is specified as the border between Upper and Lower dBu-rU. See App. II: Map 5.

Grib, on the other hand, is the well-known area located opposite lhA-sa. Since Zur-chen attempted to ensure revenue for his restorations from the territories of mTha'-rgyas until Grib, it appears to refer to parts of the Upper sKyid-shod area which were under the dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod sde pa ruling house.

14 It may be adduced from sub-section 7 below that the Assembly Hall was the one located in gZims-khang-shar which was also shared and visited by the people of Chos-khri lhA-khang.

15 Cf. DL5 I 262a2 and III 134b2–3, 135a5, 136b1; DL7 368 registering the 'chams dances performed etc. by the Tshal Yang-dgon, dBus-gling and Gung-thang Chos-khri-ba during the 1675 and 1679 Tshes bcu in lhA-sa. 'Bar'-ra-ba rgyal-mltshan dpal-bzang-po (1310–1391) reports a visit to Gung-thang Tshes bcu festival during a pilgrimage to lhA-sa. Cf. his rnam thar Byin rlabs char 'bebs 89.1.

16 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 181a3–b1 (= 361.3–362.1), 185a6–b2 (= 369.6–370.2), 188a3–b3 (= 375.3–376.3).
of a few meditation huts, [erected] upon the old Bla-ye Prayer Square\textsuperscript{177} of Chos-khri [Dharma-Throne Chapel]. Along the walls of the present 16-pillar Assembly Hall [\	extquoteleft{}Du-khang\	extquoteright{}] including [the walls along] the skylight balustrade (seng g.yab).\textsuperscript{178} [Chos-dbyings rang-grol personally executed paintings of many peaceful and wrathful deities, such as the Eight Medicine [Sugata] Buddhas ([sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgyad), etc., paintings of the Sixteen Arhats (gnas [birtan] hcu [drug]) adapted from [old-style] Chinese imperial court [scroll paintings] from rGyal [Monastery] (rgyal yi sri thang = si thang)\textsuperscript{179} as well as [erecting] a statue of mGon-po, etc. in the Mahākāla chapel.\textsuperscript{180} Similarly, all over [the temple complex], in the upper and lower [parts], in the inner [part] and in the farther[most part] too, he conducted extensive consecratory rites (pratisthāvidhi), and when the Great 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama on his way to dGa’-ldan etc. for many days sojourned [here, the latter], upon request, personally conducted many [blessing rituals].\textsuperscript{181}

Later, in accordance with the request to come to the throne (khri) of gZims-khang-shar. [Zur-chen] arrived, where he yielded complete financial support such as conducting a renewal of the Assembly Hall ['Du-khang], including its wall-paintings, etc.\textsuperscript{182} From [Yang-dgon] spyan snga 3

\textsuperscript{177} Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 110a5–b1 (= 219.5–220.1) where it is maintained that they were built upon the old bla brang of Chos-khri. For Bla-ye, cf. fn. 155 above.

\textsuperscript{178} The architectural term seng g.yab[x] (> gseng g.yab; “middle-space shelter,” verandah, balustrade) designates the usually square open-air space in the middle of a Tibetan building – corresponding to the four-sided verandah structure around a skylight (mthongs g.yab) akin to a compluvium in the middle of an atrium-like construction.

\textsuperscript{179} Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 139a1–4 (= 277.1–4), 146b3–147a1 (= 292.3–293.1); see also Jackson: 1996: 217 for the term si zi thang, or “silk Thangka,” cf. ibid. 132–33, 205. 264. We assume that rGyal here does not reflect royal/imperial (gong ma), but a toponym: rGyal iha-khang (= rGyal Lug-lhas iha-khang) of ‘Phan-yul (loc. in mTsho-stod xiang (at 29°56’N 91°01’E) of Ihun-grub rdzong), the prestigious temple founded by Zhang sNa-nam rdDo-rje dbang-phuyg in 1012 A.D. It burned down in 1240 during a Mongol invasion (headed by the infamous commander Doorda Darqan). The monastery complex is located within the IHa-khang village of the sTag-sgo valley (also called rGyal) and divided into rGyal-stod and -smad, the one adhering to the dGe-lugs, the other to the Sa-skya school (one of the Three Maitreya Brothers Images is kept in rGyal-smad; cf. HSLG Vol. 4: 51, 76; dPal ldan chos kyong rnam thar III 198; fn. 670; and an old (11–cent.) (man-sized) Maitreya rdo sku is kept in rGyal-stod; Table V.6: Fig. 15a). The chief srong ma of the rGyal-stod temple are rDo-rje g.Yu-sgron-ma and dKar-srung. Here one of Zhang’s root-teacher Vairocana stayed for a long period (ca. mid-12\textsuperscript{th} cent.). Cf. also rGya bod yig ištang 460; MTP Uebach 141; Wylie 1962: 86, 162; Richardson 1998. s.v. index. Its abbatial history needs to be written, but the TBRC Database s.v. provides a list of a large number of the incumbents. After a number of early abbots, it was vacant for a period in the 1200’s; Chag dGra-bcom-pa (1153–1216) refused to take over the see and the estate and instead settled in his future estate, the main seat of rTe’u-ra in gNyul district.

Both the narrative and the artistic tradition related to the rich transmission of the sixteen arhats is long and most significant; it involved Zur-chen and went back to Klu-mes from whom it spread to rNgog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas and then through a number of important bKa’-gdam-pa masters, esp. the sNar-thang throne-holders, such as mChims Nam-mkha’-grags (1210–85), etc. See the 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama, Dzam med nor bu (vol. 12 of his Collected Works). The topic of the transmission of Sixteen Arhats and the cult and ritual programme associated with them deserves a detailed study.

\textsuperscript{180} Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 178b4–5 (= 356.4–5). It was a ‘bur sku or sculpture of the four-armed Mahākāla.

\textsuperscript{181} This section is abbreviated, but gleaned verbatim from Zur chen rnam thar 139a1–4 (= 277.1–4). This took place in 1645 A.D. During the subsequent visit in 1646 to the newly-erected Chos-khri bla-brang in Tshal Gung-thang by the 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama (a visit he repeated in 1656 where the 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama also met a bla ma dGe-dar, and again in 1662 where he was invited by sa kyong Thog-rong nam-rgyal, ruler of bDe-chen-rtses), the latter received from Zur-chen long-life empowerments according to the Byang gter tradition and the high hierarch himself delivered blessings, in addition to renewing items such as a gandhola, etc. Cf. DL S 1 132b4–6; II 245b5–46a4; I 315b1–2.

\textsuperscript{182} Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 162a4–5 (= 323.4–5); 178b3–4 (= 356.3–4). The renewal and renovation resp. of the gZims-khang-shar and the bla-brang was initiated in 1649 A.D.
s Kal-ldan rgya-mtsho, the last member of [the dbon sa] lineage of the great mGar [clan], he heard some dharma cycles of Zhang Rin-po-che. Since the estates [required for the financial support behind] the renovation of the Great Prayer Hall of Gung-thang [Gung-thang mChod-khang chen-mo] always fell upon the one who was respectively in charge of the Gung-thang mChod-khang, sa skyong bSod-nams rab-brtan, by offering Zur oversight (mgo bdag) of the entire temple complex, provided complete financial support for [renovating] the mChod-khang and its surroundings ('khor bcas) [53a] from the Chos-khri bla-brang.

For that reason, Zur-chen himself mostly resided [in a state] as if being inseparably [connected] with the rGyal-dbang-mchog [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama], but as he had become the bla ma for many local Mahâpurusa, he again and again [had] to travel [around the area]. Beyond that, he made Chos-khri bla-brang his permanent residence. He mostly bestowed empowerment and reading authorisation, etc. in Tshe-dpag[-med] Iha-khang. It is therefore due to the kindness of this master that – in terms of [the extent of] prostration and offering practise inside our three main mChod-khang [within the entire temple complex of Tshal Gung-thang] along with the mGon-khang – it has today at least not come to complete neglect in these areas [of former glory]. [I] shall later describe his other legacies.

73 s Kal-ldan rgya-mtsho generally received teachings from Zur-chen, so e.g. in 1646 the former received a number of cycles but in 1647 Zur-chen conversely received from the spyan snga, dbang and lungen of Zhang bKa’ rgya ma; cf. Zur chen rnam thar 278.3–4, 315.1–2.

74 Cf. verhaltim Zur chen rnam thar 162b2–5 (= 324.2–5). Sa skyong bSod-nams rab-brtan, alias later bSod-nams chos-'phel (1595–1657/58 A.D.), formerly the efficient official (zhal nge) and treasurer (phyag mdzod pa or phyag mdzod zhabs drung) of the 4th and 5th Dalai Lama – in this capacity the most important local Tibetan ally, protector and patron of the dGa’-ldan-pa and the Dalai Lama in the first part of the 17th cent. Along with the sKyid-shod sde-pa, another strong ally and later antagonist, he mostly actively worked for the involvement of firstly the Tümed Mongol forces, and later the Qosots, in the final struggle for supremacy in Tibet; he eventually became the favourite ally of Güüsi Qan (1582–1654 A.D.), in return for which he in 1642 became regent of Tibet. At that point, he doubtlessly was the strongest lord in Tibet, subordinate only to the Qosot ruler. His actual birth year is uncertain: 1595 is given (Mi sna 670–71), but it is still dubious. In 1617, he had been a participant in the search for the yang srid or rebirth of the 4th Dalai Lama, acting as zhal nge or official. Since already at that point the gTsang-pa rGyal-po was involved in warfare with the dGe-ldan-pa, he together with the sKyid-shod Bye-ri sTag-rtsa rtse-ba’i sde pa (i.e. the young dGa’-ldan-pa sKyid-shod sde pa) bSod-nams rnam-rgyal and mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (d. 1655; cf. DL5 I 240a2–3) went to Mongolia where they succeeded in winning the support of the Qosots (cf. Per K. Sørensen 2007). In 1625, he was holding the title phyag mdzod sa skyong bu and otherwise respectfully addressed xras po Rab-brtan by the 5th Dalai Lama in the latter’s writings. For his service, in 1642 he finally was appointed sde srid of the dGa’-ldan pho-brang gzhung at ‘Bras-spungs and henceforth known as sde srid bSod-nams chos-’phel, the 1st regent from 1642 until 1657/58. His commitments not only covered the building of parts of the Po-la-la, such as the White Palace, but also the renovation of Iha-sa and Rva-sgrem monasteries, etc.

Sources on his person and his achievements: Vaidûrya ser po 436; Zur chen rnam thar 53a1 (= 150.1), 78a1 (= 156.1), et passim; DL4 46a5–6, 50a4, 51a4; DL5 I 126b5–6, et passim; DL5 [B] 50b6–52a1, etc; further Richardson, ‘The Decree’ 447f.; Ming mdzod 1069–71; Yamaguchi 1995: 4f. and HSLG Vol. 3: 81–83 purporting that he was born in rGya-le of sTod-lung.

75 Cf. e.g. Zur chen rnam thar 139a1–2 (= 278.1–2), et passim. From 1646 Zur-chen had become a leading preceptor for the governor or sde pa dGa’-ldan-pa, and many dignitaries of Upper and Lower sKyid-shod.

76 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 139a3–4 (= 278.3–4).
The conditions of the other monasteries [within the complex] have been roughly outlined above in general terms. [Now] concerning the so-called Chos-khri lho-lcog [The Southern Tower [College] of the Chapel of the Dharma-Throne]: [formerly], during the time of [Bla-ma] Zhang it did not exist in reality as a college (grva tshang), rather [what existed at that time] was [its forerunner] the so-called Chos-khri lho-nub [The South-Western Dharma-Throne [Square]].

which rather could be compared more to a chos grva for holding teaching and study [sessions] pertaining to the uncommon [i.e. teachings offered by Bla-ma Zhang] such as cycles related to the instruction and realization (khrid sgruh) of the esoteric mantra [tradition] given to his monks, both teacher and disciples; [it] could also be compared to a common [i.e. public square] for teaching and debating in connection with the [secular lectures and religious teaching of] the dual system such as public preaching (khrom chos). Although it may therefore seem very difficult [to clarify] who among the predecessors (gong ma) originally established [this college], nonetheless it is certain that, according to the statement of Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa, it was lCog-chen-pa bKra-shis bzang-po [i.e. Dung-dkar 'Brug-grags], who counted among the personal disciples of 'Jam mgon bla ma [b]Tsong-kha-pa [that were known] to have relied upon the gifts of studying, who established [there] his own monastery [exclusively] dedicated to the ideal activities of the upholders of the Zhva-ser [Yellow Hat] School. However, from among those in the family lineage [53b] of the Tshal-pa who held the throne of Gung-thang, there were even some who assumed the yogic discipline (vratta) of the ascetic Muni. Although it is not certain that they [could] not even [have established] their own hermitage or something like a sgril khungs for presenting offerings, still thoughtful noble persons who had taken to heart [i.e. remembered] the [former] conditions regarding these sites are rare [which make information scanty]. Original written sources too, disregarding a mere repetition of former letters [i.e. copied from other books], have not been composed in any complete fashion, and so one cannot find any authentic source.

In former times, when Dung-dkar-ba Don-grub rgya-mtsho arrived at this seat [of the college], he abundantly bestowed tea and alms [to the disciples] and gave endless advice as to how [the monks] should remain harmonious internally [towards one another], and externally how they should keep a strict behavioral code, paying great attention to the law of vinaya monastic discipline. [as laid down in] the pratimoksa[-sutra] and how they at all times and on all occasions should work to increase their spiritual commitment. As a result, the members of the monastic congregation, with strong genuine faith and devotion, said: "Precious bla ma! it is at a late point that you [now] arrive at this monastery! In former times it was said that 'Gro-mgon Zhang Rin-po-che was very skillhl in leading the convertees onto the path of liberation. In that aspect [he] resembles you, Precious bla ma!" Having spoken thus, tears fell from the eyes of everyone, whether old or young, etc. Such [wondrous events demonstrate that this site] had been blessed by many holy Mahāpuruṣa-s!

Zur-chen, having thus safeguarded throughout his life the majority of his activities [for living beings by being active here at Tshal Gung-thang], finally [went to] 'Bras-spungs, where he sojourned together with rGyal-dbang-mchog [i.e the 5th Dalai Lama]. At that point he displayed the way of passing [into

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57 Vaññāya ser po 154.2f.; dPa'g bsam ljon bzang 602.2−3 maintains that in mid-18th cent. it accommodated 67 monk householders (ser khyim). Today the locals refer to it as Chos-khri grva-tshang.
the heavenly sphere, i.e. died]. The bodily remains, which were inserted into the cremation pyre at bSam-yas Phying-phu [= mChims-phu], were [later inserted into] an ossuary (gdung khang) [made] from the second-best [pre]cious stone [i.e. silver] [on the initiative of] rGyal-mchog, the 5th Dalai Lama, [with whom a] patron-priest [relationship existed], and the arched doorway (sgo khyim) [of the reliquary was adorned] by a statue of Zur[-chen] himself in the sambahgakāya form. [54a] This is the [reliquary] which today can be seen in Tshe-dpag[-med] Iha-khang.328

Thus Zur-chen arrived [there] having again the welfare of living beings in mind, and he occupied the throne of this main seat, protected the executive tradition of his predecessors, and [thereby] paid his respect and veneration to the monastic community and to the temple. In particular, he erected anew [the statues of] the deities in the surroundings of the ‘Bum-mo-che. He conducted endlessly many renovations of the ganjira, dharmacakra, chattria, the turquoise[-green] glazes, etc. [all renovated] as if being erected anew. Although he conducted an endless number of renovations as well as erected anew the gser tog [golden pinnacle] and the dharmacakra for all the other lesser reliquaries, etc. still [it was of no avail]. At the time when the Dzungar [army] arrived in Tibet, they destroyed many monasteries and [killed] bla ma of the rNyin-ma creed. [At that point Dung-dkar-ba?] had passed away at bSam-yas, the colleges too were accused [of heresy] in doctrine and philosophical view, and faced with this great calamity the monastic body dispersed in all directions.

[The 50th dGa’-ldan khri pa dGe’-dun phun-tshogs]

The monastic estate and the images having [at that point] been forcefully confiscated, due to the fact that simultaneously the entire trust for the management of the Bla-brang was handed over to the rje dGe’-dun phun-tshogs [1648–1724 A.D.], the 50th dGa’-ldan throne-holder,729 the activities of the three wheels [i.e. renunciation, study and work] for a period not only resembled a vanishing rainbow in the sky, but the worship and reverence paid to each of gTsug-lag-khang too resembled a bridge [set up in vain] between two rivers. Not long after, the Dzungars, without ever getting firmly established [in Tibet] (phra ma tshugs par), returned to their homeland. Although

328 See below Chap. III.4.D.

729 Also known as A-mdo Bya-bral or Bya-bral Phun-tshogs. He was born into the Va-shul clan and land in A-mdo (the Va-shul was also residents of sDe-dge of Khams). Formerly acting as Byang-rtses chos rje, he later occupied the see of dGa’-ldan between 1715–1722 (other suggest 1712–18; but this may have been part of his second term since he was addressed dGa’-ldan khri-zur in 1710?: cf. Sle lung rnam thar 82b5). He became abbot of Gung-thang during the same period after the Qoṣot Iha-bzang Qan (1658–1717), who at some point after 1706 offered him the entire complex of Gung-thang as benefice, including the two grva tshang within its compound, the endowment fund for offering (mchod thebs) as well as land and estate, and he received the title Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa. He was, however, driven away from the Gung-thang see in around 1718 by the vandalising Dzungars (see Petech 1972: 54, based upon the above source, op. cit., 5b). Following the Dzungar intrude, he soon returned and remained in Gung-thang until his death as khri chen; cf. DL7 193. He served as las dpon during Sle-lung’s ordination in early 1716 (Sle lung rnam thar 144a1–2; the latter had visited Tshal prior to the ordination*; ibid. 139a3–b2). He dedicated the rest of his life to a large-scale restoration of the temple complex. Sources: dGe’ldan gser khri rin po che dhang bsyuar ba’i skyes mchog dam pa khri chen rim byon rnam kyi rnam thar (vol. Nga of the Collection of Biographies of the Khri rin po che); Khri byang rnam thar 4b5–5b2; Ming mdzod 173–175; HSLG Vol. 2: 70.

* Sle-lung was invited to Tshal gzhis ka by Tshal rNam-sras khang-gsar-pa; cf. ibid. 169a3. Also called sKyid-shod rNam-sras khang-gsar. He may have been responsible for the building of the renewed Vaṣārvana chapel there.
the state of affairs of the monastic community [54b] including the lha khang, had already earlier been difficult for [the dGa'-ldan] Khri-chen to bear, since he still had to remain on harmonious terms with the dpon and the population, [any changes and improvement] fell by the wayside. Immediately after the Dzungars had returned home, hope materialized [again]. [He] conducted in an excellent way the renovation of each lha khang, both externally and internally. Taking as basis [for establishing a new monk body] the many monks who traditionally [visited the main temples of Central Tibet] and who had withdrawn to Se-ra-smad from among the former monks [belonging to the Tshal monk-body], he [furthermore gathered] some of the monks living in the nearest neighbourhood, and also permitted many new enrollments [of monks].

He established the Chos-khri [Iho-lcog anew?] in the Iron-Ox year of the 12th sexagenary circle [1721 A.D.]. The remains of the gZims-khang-shar [i.e. Eastern Residence and other institutions] etc. too, on account of persisting in their individual doctrines and philosophical view (lta grubah), however should remain intact. The material, such as objects of veneration, the trust fund, the storehouse and the monastic kitchen of the Chos-khri, etc. having been impounded and [then] returned to the rje [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs] were [re-]distributed to each [institution]. He also manufactured a large number of objects of veneration, the “floor-covering” (sa rgyan) and the “ceiling-covering” (gnam rgyan) [i.e. canopy], the tassels (patta), the vessels for aromatic powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]) of the 'Du-khang and the [long] rugs along the sitting row [in the 'Du-khang], etc. Having introduced the [tradition of ] reciting liturgical texts, similar to the majority [of such texts found] in the dGe-lugs [tradition] as well as the earlier tradition of [properly] performing the bskang gso [propitiation rituals] etc., he ensured that the ocean [of the teaching] returned to its former place.

Similarly, he accomplished the benevolence which in all respects was incomparable to [the activities of] others, like the activities [already] described of erecting new objects [of veneration] etc. in the lha khang chen mo. Finally gathering the arrangement of his form body [i.e. passing away] at this very site [of Gung-thang], the benevolence of this very Khri-chen, similar to that of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che and the 'Jam mgon bla ma [b]Tsong-kha-pa Chen-po [prior to him], was in all respects immeasurable for the monastic community and its temples, and so appeared the line of incarnations known henceforth by the denomination Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa.530

530 Or Khri Gung-thang-pa. The lineage issued from him was called the Gung-thang gSer-khri sku phreng or Gung-thang-sthang Incarnation lineage. Apart from the initial period and apart from the original name Gung-thang, it subsequently had only a little to do with Gung-thang. Its permanent basis was Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil in A-mdo – the original homeland of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs – where the line held high positions.

2. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan (1727–1759 A.D.). Born in Cha (due east of dGa’-ldan), he was identified as the reincarnation of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs. Age three, he was installed at Gung-thang. Age five he was ordained in the presence of rGya-sras Ye-shes grags-pa. He later entered Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil. He was also known under the name Tshangs-sras dGyes-pa’i rdo-rje. 1744 A.D. he ascended the throne to become the 5th and 8th throne-holder of Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil. Age 33, he was invited to Beijing to become imperial preceptor. From that time on, he was considered one of the eight Hutu’tus of Beijing, under the name Khri Gung-thang-sthang.
3. dKon-mchog bstan-pa’i sgron-me (real name mGon-po tshe-brtan) (1762–1823 A.D.) was born in south-east mDo-smad, recognized by ‘Jigs-med dbang-po as a rebirth of dGe-'dun phun-tshogs. Highly accomplished and erudite, he later entered 'Bras-spungs. After intense studies, aged 22, he received the dge bshes lha rams pa degree.
Thus [55a], following the protection [of the see] precisely through this Khri-chen [chair] some generations of abbots (mkhan rabs)\textsuperscript{11} followed. Yet, since they were permanently separated from the thoughts and deeds, the means and knowledge of the [local] bla ma and of those rendering service, with the exception of gathering their respective wages, they remained little concerned with the monastic community. In the inner lha khang and in the environs of the vestibule, [the monks] excrement, in some of the gtsang khang, one or two greedy monks and laymen, having abandoned the idea that [the present locale in reality] is a gTsug-lag-khang, [instead entertained] the idea that it was a storage room of a private householder, wherefore they piled up grains and peas, as well as [other] utensils of necessities [for trading purposes]. On account of the fact that imaginable bad customs appeared, such as the tethering of animals etc. here and there in the courtyard as well as in the inner and outer [parts of] the vestibule, the utter decay of the complete inner and outer [part of] the gtsang khang ensued, and so the three kinds of receptacles were damaged by rain water, by the sun, the wind and by birds and rats. In short, the gTsug-lag-khang including the receptacles turned into [something quite] external [i.e. different] from what has been described earlier, and it turned into a place of dejection for all thoughtful people.

Similarly, at a point when the monastic communities too were devoid of any bestowal of gifts [i.e. offerings from pious devotees] and the activities of the three wheels [i.e. renunciation, study and work] had steadily decreased, the Supreme Head-Ornament of Samsāra and Nirvāna, the rGyal-dbang [i.e. Dalai Lama], being indistinguishable from 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself, transferred the ownership [of the entire monastic community complex as estate] to the sku mdun sNgags-ram[s]-pa and his lineage,\textsuperscript{12} in whom the magical power of his karman and aspiration

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\textsuperscript{11} It appears to allude to the abbatial succession of absentees of Khri-pa at Bla-brang bKra-shis-'khyil (see prev. fn.).

\textsuperscript{12} Following the shift of the permanent residence of the Gung-thang-tshang incarnation line during the time of the second incumbent (cf. above), the “ownerless” (bdag ma theb) Gung-thang and its institutions again suffered from lack of patronage and from growing neglect. It was expropriated by the government (cf. Khri byung rnam thar 5b2–4), the 7th Dalai Lama on behalf of the government taking over the monastic estate of Gung-thang. In a period when governmental loyalty and service were increasingly repaid with landed estates (sa riges) and with grand donations - a policy susceptible to nepotism but often vital for the survival of the institutions themselves – the Gung-thang bla-brang was shortly after handed over to the hierarch’s close relative, i.e. bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho’s maternal uncle sku
had burst forth. In particular, with his unobstructed wisdom it could be seen how reverence and respect in an incomparable way occurred to the gTsug-lag-khang including its community [being executed] with great intention [by] the relative of rGyal-mchog [i.e. bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the 7th Dalai Lama, 1708–1757 A.D.], [by the name] dar han mkhan rin po che [55b] bsKal-bzang yon-tan. The order was given [to the latter] to take over the ownership, and, being motivated by mdun sNgags-rams-pa bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan/rgya-mtsho who belonged to the inner court. He was in fact known as the latter's personal Zeremonienmeister or rim gro pa chen mo. He was present during the installation of his nephew in 1720 A.D. in Potala, and as warden he followed the high hierarch to banishment to mGar-thar in eastern Tibet in 1729. In particular the performance of White Tārā rites is associated with him. For his service, he was invested with the honourary title dar han mkhan po* by the emperor along with presents of satin (cf. Wu 1995: 299). The Qing-court harboured grave misgivings towards most family-members of the high hierarch (foremost towards the 7th Dalai Lama's father, bSod-nams dar-rgyas (d. 1744), head of the emergent bSam-'grub pho-brang yab gzhis, who was suspected of entertaining anti-Qing or anti-imperial sentiments), evidently with the exception of bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan. After the return of the Dalai Lama in 1735 from mGar-thar, the entire Tshal Gung-thang monastic estate was conferred upon him. mKhan po sNgags-rams-pa passed away in 1740, possibly victim of a small-pox epidemic in that year.

Sources: 'Dzam gling gryan gcig 594.23–24; DL7 132, 135, 142, 171, 231, 242, 260, 290, 476–77, 518; Khri byang rnam thar 5b4–6; Mi dbang rtsogs brjod 232b3–4, 297a2; Kam tshang brgyud pa II 419.3; Pan chen blo bzang ye shes rnam thar I 114b3–115a1; see also Petech 1972: 77, 113, 145, 265; HSLG Vol. 6: 46–47, 180.

The year 1738 also saw preparations to erect an iron bridge across sKyid-chu. It was to be erected by the retiree dge slong Blo-bzang dpal-grub (cf. DL7 480). Prior to that, one of several iron-bridges, among others, had been raised at Brag-gdong of Grib around 1430 A.D. by Thang-stong rgyal-po; cf. Thang stong rnam thar I 157–58. These bridges, it appears, usually did not survive the floods that regularly hit the area. Usually Ra-ma-sgang and IHa-gdong Shan-kha (see also Dung dkar tshig mdzod 2150) were the fords where the river was crossed by boat.

The 1830 A.D. Governmental Tax Survey (CTZhZh 10, 22, 39) under the Tshal estate lists the following properties: mThong-smon, lCags-shar, mGar-tshang, lCags-ri shar-ma.,* sPel-bzhhi, mGon-lha, lHo-sgo, etc. 
* It originally was an inheritable title since Yuan time. I.e. "holy" or "sacred" abbot: Manchu darhan; Ch. da 'erhan, da la han < Mong. darqan. Free Noble, originally a black-smith. Cf. also Laufer 1919: 592–94, Cleaves, HJAS 12: 51.
** From this place originated the 11th rTa-tshag rin-po-che. Ngag-dbang thub-bsTan sKal-bzang bstan-po's sgrOn-me (1888–1918), from a family under the Tshal Gung-thang private estate. Cf. bSod-nams dbang-grags 1995: 43–45.

The sku mdun or nye 'khor ba bsKal-bzang yon-tan (1726?–1783/87 A.D.) was a nephew and cousin (tsa bo; sku tsha) of sNgags-rams-pa (prev. note), and, like the latter, he received a religious education. A monk groomed in the closest entourage of the latter, he too is repeatedly registered as the one who formally served as scribe or secretary behind numerous of the treatises composed by the Dalai Lama (see Taube 1966, s.v. index). He held the title of dar han mkhan po from 1740, up until his death in 1783 registered for most years during both the reign of the 7th and a good part of the reign of the 8th Dalai Lama. In the 13-article post-1751 imperial re-organization in Tibet, the Dalai Lama was charged with the appointment of abbots and bsKal-bzang yon-tan was destined to rise high not only as a mkhan po but also to hold office as bka' bIon bla ma 1767 (i.e. the ecclesiastic minister), only to resign six year later.* It may be speculated that he may be identical with bsKal-bzang bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal; albeit with some hesitation; cf. Petech 1973: 218. In this case, a Qing decree suggests that he was born in 1726. He then appears to be nephew to Grags-pa mtha'-yas; cf. 816 below. Cf. sGrol-dkar ed. 1995: 44.

In 1782 – the year of the writing of Gung thang dkar chag – he is merely listed as bka' 'zur (or ex-bka' bIon) Gung-thang mkhan-po according to the biographies of the 8th Dalai Lama (cf. Petech 1973: 218).** His role, if any at all, in the compilation of the present treatise Gung thang dkar chag remains unknown, since no information can be adduced from the colophon. But he must have been aware, and surely approved of, the endeavours of 'Jog-ri-pa, judged from the numerous references to him in the treatise. The latter family continued to reside at the estate of Gung-thang bla-brang throughout the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century, the estate merged with the Khe-smad (also Kun-bzang-rtses) noble family. The bond between the Khe-smad house and the Gung-thang bla-brang estate is most fortunately described in some detail in the biography of the 3rd Khri-byang Blo-bzang ye-shes bstan-'dzin rgya. Cf. Khri byang rnam thar 4b1–6b6, et passim; Shar rtse chos 'byung 848f., dKon mchog bstan 'dzin rnam thar II 13a4f. and Introduction supra.
his magnificent aspiration prayer [expressed] in former [lives], this holy person too accepted [the task] and took possession [of the monastery].

Making himself acquainted with the [wretched] circumstances of the monastic community and the temple, he felt [gloomy at the sight] as if an unendurable pain embraced his mind just like a mother who has beheld the dead corpse of her [only] son. Since those [responsible for] rendering service [to the institutions] had also whetted their minds through trusting faith in the manifestations stemming from the magic power of wholesome deeds [which ensure] auspicious goodness in the present and subsequent [existences], and, without paying any attention to their own property nor [shunning] any hardship, and being motivated by a virtuously [pure] intention (lhag bsam), they [thus] undertook in whichever suitable way new constructions mainly from the ground up or they conducted renovations concerning such [parts] as the upper and lower [storeys of] the gTsug-lag-khang, the outer, inner and intermediate [section], the walls, above and below the vestibule, the courtyard, the huge appliqué thangka (gos sku spe'u), the thog shing [i.e. ceiling wood-work], the wall plaster, as well as the spen bad and la bad [Tamarisk-stalked horizontal] roof attics of the gTsug-lag-khang and of the different colleges, etc.74 The unclean places dotted with excrement around the gTsug-lag-khang, he removed to a place further away, and neatly patched up the unsightly holes in the walls. All walled [areas] of less importance, which were [only] inhabitable with difficulty, he reassembled in the best possible way using them for other [purposes]. As the former Eastern Annexe [Glo-'bur shar-ma] bordered on a vacant [i.e. uninhabited] plot, he erected [and expanded] the lha khang anew, and, in addition to the older statues of the former [lha khang], he also erected a considerable number of new statues. The older statues were renovated and new ones erected [56a] in the other lha khang too, and in a large number whereupon the position [and lay-out of these new images within the different] lha khang were rearranged. Consecration too of all these as well as of the formerly [mentioned] new statues was carried out in considerable numbers by many mahāpurusā and by officiating monks headed by [those from] the two Tantric colleges, [conducted after these new statues had been inserted] with bone reliks [made from tshva

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74 These renovations, esp. of the huge three-storied appliqué gos sku of Munindra for the Me teg mchod pa festival were executed in 1753 by bsKal-bzang yon-tan, cf. DL7 843. The spen ma or spen bad arc friezes in the traditional form of a horizontal band decorating the parapet of Tibetan monastic and religious buildings, cf. Larsen et al. 2001: 49f.
of the successive incarnations of the Dalai Lamas and in particular of the [7th] Dalai Lama bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho exclusively with blessing-bestowing substances.

Above these, he erected numerous decorations such as gilt copper victory banners and gañjira, etc. and he equipped each individual statue, [both] the old as well as the new ones, with diadems, attire, ceremonial scarves, etc. and yielded in an excellent way service and respect [to the different institutions] by way of [supplying these with décors] such as baldachins, tassel draperies, vessels of aromatic votive powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]), “ceiling covering-s” (gnam rgyan) [i.e. canopies], offerings bowls, musical instruments, as well as “floor covering-s” etc.

Temporarily, for the decorative enrichment of the gTsug-lag-khang and its monastic community, for the protection against the hazards of inundation [threatening] from the upper valleys (phu chu'i 'jigs skyob) as well as a resource for the future renovation of the temple, the mother seat and its affiliated [monasteries], etc. he had an enclosure of trees planted around the boundary wall. Similarly, although it earlier had been very difficult at the two colleges to maintain independently the practice of recitation of the [cycles of] Samvara and Heruka, [he reintroduced] for these [rituals] through exertion in skillfulness in means (upāyakauśalya) and on compassion (karunā) the [meditative practices of] self-visualization [as a deity] (bdag [bskyed]) and front-visualization [of the deity] (mdun [bskyed]) along with the [relevant] empowerment practice. At the great commemorative [funeral] ceremony of skyabs mgon bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, he combined [and instituted] a full-day sādhana-pūjā along with a fire-pūjā including its supplementary [ritual], as well as performed [a monthly ceremony that coincided] with the date [of his passing], a full-day ritual of empowerment, [along with the practice of] self-visualization and front-visualization. On other occasions he supplied [the lha khang, etc.] with an endowment fund [serving as financial support for acquiring items] (sbyor 'jags) deemed necessary [for the implementation of] these [rituals] such as empowerment utensils made from good quality cloths [56b], musical instruments, “floor-coverings”, “ceiling-coverings”, tassel draperies, and vessels of aromatic votive powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]), etc.

For the members of monastic body too he was able not only to arrange, in addition to the supply of food, for tea to be served, but also for providing the framework (go yul?) for the income being in accord with the level of examination passed within [the subjects of] religious dance, the drawing of lines [of a sand mandala] and chanting [prayers], the three (gar thig dbyangs gsum), etc. as well as [providing for the endowment of] musical instruments and the liturgical texts for the sgrigs khongs of [the cycles of] Samvara, and Sarvavid [Vairocana], etc. Further he implemented [the prerequisite for] rendering service and worship such as providing [the distribution of] tea and alms during both regular as well as ad hoc [sessions], etc. In short, he provided excellent service, etc. to the distinct lha khang, [introduced] a strict code of discipline, as well as [covered] the expenditure [for conducting appropriate rituals]. Based upon this, he also ensured that the members of the monastic body could simply pursue, in the first place, the three fundamental rituals,” the three higher disciplines, or the praxis of one of the tantra classes, etc. without even needing to aspire, which shows that his kindness [indeed] was beyond the realm of thought. Further, as it will be explained [later], since earlier there had been no [proper] proprietor [to ensure daily care and

55The three basic observances prescribed by Buddha for all monks to uphold. i.e. gso sbyong or posadha, a two-month confession ritual: dbyar gnas, vārsika, a three-month summer (rainy season) retreat session and dgag dbyer, pravārana or the ritual of lifting the restriction imposed during the latter retreat.
maintenance] for the external or internal [sections of] the lha khang, [the recent renovations, etc.] had ensured that nowadays it remains indistinguishable [in splendour] from the lHa-l丹 sprul-pa’i gTseg-khang; evidently all these [improvements] are appropriate manifestations [ultimately] stemming from the magical display of the wisdom of both Zhang Rin-po-che and Khams gsun ’gro ba’i bla ma [b]Tsong-kha-pa chen-po. Those who were to repay the kindness of these [extraordinary persons and improvements] had realized [the extent] of what had been accomplished after having observed the manifestations of other residences and monasteries, and in order to repay the kindness extraordinary people stepped forward, the details [of their history however] shall be dealt with in the chapter delineating the different receptacles.

[4.] [The Seven Chambers of Worship (mchod khang) in the gTsug-lag-khang]

[A] [The Northern Annexae [later called] The Central Sanctuarium:
Glo’-bur byang-ma alias gTsug-khang dbus-ma]

Thus, a part of the Upper Courtyard [Khyams-stod] of the old gTsug-lag-khang is counted as the Glo’-bur byang-ma, alias gTsug-khang dbus-ma [57a] including its multi-storied shrine (khang brtsegs, kūtāgāra). Within [the latter sanctuarium the statue of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po / Mahābodhi alias lHa-chen dpal-’bar is installed] according to the clearly elucidated prophecy in mDo sde gdams ngag ’bog pa’i rgyal po;”

“From here [i.e. Central India], in the barbarous [region] in the northern direction
The so-called “Sandy Plain of Tshal” (tshal thang bye ma can) [is situated];
This dge bsnyen Li-tsa gzhon-nu
Epitomizing the [mantric] syllable A,
Will appear [there] as the one called sKye-med [i.e. Zhang Rin-po-che].
[The latter] will erect a huge statue of me [i.e. Mahēśvara]
And cultivate [i.e. convert] the sentient beings too by draconic means;
His retinue counts 500 [acolytes].”

Accordingly, [the statue] was initially erected by Zhang Rin-po-che himself. As consecratory

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76 I.e. the Byang-chub pho brang. According to the locals, the roof building, a later construction, is also called rGyal-ba pho-brang, alluding to the Dalai Lama who sojourned there.

78 In brief also called gDams ngag ’bogs pa or full gDams ngag ’bogs pa’i lung bstan gsal ba’i sgron me in mKharg nag chos ’byung 593.1–2, 594.3–4 (= dGa’ ldam chos ’byung I 49b4–6). The same verse also cited in dPal bsam ljum bzang 600.11–13.

This Treasury text (gter ma) – currently non-extant – was replete with prophecies and was regularly cited in the literature, so e.g. in the Vaidūrya ser po. It is fairly old, since it is also found cited in lDe’i-2 91 (last information courtesy of D. Martin). However, it was apparently first quoted by Rong-zom; for its shaky authenticity as a gsang sngags lung khangs, see gTer-bdag gling-pa. Nor bu’i chun po 481–89.

77 See fn. 443, 474 supra. dGa’ lde’i rnam thar 17 provides us with a somewhat unusual etymology of [m]Tshal-thang. For this toponym, see Part II: App. IV.
fillings (nang zhugs) many blessing-bestowing items were inserted such as numerous ring hsrel bone relics of the Jinas and their sons [i.e. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas], statues of deities as well as a wish-granting jewel once given [to Zhang] by one Jñānadākini in bSam-yas, and a right-twisting conch (dakṣināvartasankha). [This statue] was consecrated by ’Gro-mgon [Zhang himself], rje Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa [1110–1193 A.D.],149 and by grub thob Gling-chen ras-pa [i.e. Padma rdo-rje, 1128–1188 A.D.],150 etc. In this regard, at the time Gling ras-pa sojourned at Nags-shod,151 a raven conveyed a message to him from Zhang Rin-po-che. He immediately spoke to a disciple of his: “Close your eyes!” whereupon they [both] went off by magical means and when he opened his eyes again, both teacher and disciple, the two, [in a trice] had arrived in Gung-thang in front of the statue of Jo-bo [Byang-chub chen-po], where he performed the consecration [of the statue] conducted in form of a spiritual song of blessing.152 Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa on his part having lifted up [the statue of] Zhang Rin-po-che said: “Vanish into it!” whereupon he performed the consecration. Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston [1138–1210 A.D.]153 [once] from the top of the mandala-mountain strewed barley grains with his hands [in front of the statue as an act of consecration] and as he thus exorcized the bgegs [evil spirits] from the Gung-thang sacred objects and conducted the consecration, a rain of flowers fell upon the sacred objects [57b] like the sound of a drum (khrol khrol).154 At the point Zhang [actually] was to passing into nirvāṇa [i.e. 1193 A.D.] too, some [particularly] blessed disciples [of his] observed [how he] along with Khyi ’Brong-zhur155 was in reality absorbed [into the statue].

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149 The founder of the Karma bKa’-brgyud school who counts as the first in the Zhva-nag Karma-pa lineage. He was one of the most prominent disciples of sGam-po-pa along with Phag-mo gru-pa, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims and ‘Ba’-rom-pa, the latter ones constitute the so-called four “holders of the spiritual lineage” (BA Roerich 462). As one of his teachers prior to his meeting with sGam-po-pa and with rGva-lo rin-po-che, Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa on his part was teacher of Bla-ma Zhang (cf. IHo rong chos ’byung 228–234; dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 554.5–6; BA Roerich 475, 517; mKhas pa ’i dga’ ston II 864.19f., 871.5. 25).

150 The founder of the ’Brug-pa school, for his biography, see e.g. Gling ras rnam mgur l. For his relationship to Bla-ma Zhang and IHa-chen dpal-’bar, see op. cit., 39b5–7; Gling ras rnam thar ll 767. 20b3–6.

151 For Gling-ras-pa’s sojourn in Nags-shod (where he went prior to the passing of Phag-mo gru-pa in 1170: he reached the area via Zangs-ri in Central Tibet and after having passed [Dvags-lha] sGam-po and N/Myang-po), see Deb sgon 777.15f. (BA Roerich 662f.). It refers to Nags-shod in the ’Bri-ru county in Kham (see Ri-dbang bsTan-’dzin (2002), Nag shod ’bri ru ’i lo rgyas; GyuRme Dorje 1998: 443, 453). Earlier, it was an area utilized for its forestry or timber production. From Nags-shod, timber was collected for the erection of the vihāra of sTag-lung (1224 A.D.), a policy opposed by the ’Bri-gung-pa who similarly nurtured regional claims (cf. BA Roerich 625, App. II below). Nags-shod is listed as stong sde bu chung of Sum-pa-pa (MTP Uebach 22. 55; see Ri-dbang bsTan-’dzin (op. cit., 15) for the ancient borders of Sum-pa-pa). Zhang stayed here in the early 1150’s, see bKa’ ’tor bu 29.1; 233.5; 242.1; IHo rong chos ’byung 185.13, 187.3; above fn. 31.

152 Verbatim from dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 559.2–5, see also the biography in Deb sgon 778.13–16 according to which Gling ras-pa presented to the Gung-thang a sizable contribution to the construction (of the statue of the) IHa-chens [dpal-’bar] erected by Bla-ma Zhang. He also visited the mChod-khang in Gung-thang; cf. IHo rong chos ’byung 640.

153 Verbatim from Rin chen sngang khu dbon rnam thar 440.2–5. rGya-ma Sangs-rgyas dBon-ston Rin-po-che, alias rGya-ma Rin-chens-sgag-pa, with the ordination name gZhon-nu ’byung-gnas. For his life, cf. ibid. 432.3ff.; Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar 291–300.

154 Verbatim from dGos ’dod re skong ma ’i ’grel ba 559.4–560.1; Lam rim bla ma brgyud rnam thar 298.

Again, at a later point, on account of warfare that drifted back and forth between the [warring] communities, etc. [the amount and nature of] former images of body, speech and mind [in Gung-thang] was indeed both numerous as well as wondrous, still the service rendered [to these receptacles] in form of paying homage and making offerings etc. had become extremely lax. When grub chen Thang-stong-pa [rgyal-po][1361/1385–1464/5 A.D.] offered liquid gold [the value and weight amounting to] two zho to lHa-chen [i.e. Jo-bo lHa-chen dpal-'bar], there occurred a miracle, so that [the amount of liquid gold proved to] completely cover the entire body [of the statue]. For seven full days, he offered butter-lamps, food, incense etc. [in front of the image] and having [thus] ensured that auspicious circumstances prevailed for the improvement of religious service to be rendered, he made prayers, and, so from the [very] heart of the Jo-bo [statue], 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] Rin-po-che [suddenly] made his appearance in person and proclaimed:

"Mind-emulation of the Jina, Rig'-dzin lCags-zam-pa"

and

"Pacify the ferocious converts of barbarian India and Tibet."

as well as

"For you and me, the two of us, in the palace of the celestial realm
Neither a meeting nor a parting take place! Supreme Being, Nirmānakāya."

[Having spoken] accordingly, [Zhang] with a [loud] voice was [again] absorbed into the Jo-bo statue, etc. [Hence] the consecratory fillings of the former Jo-bo [statue] were [indeed] plentiful.

[Servicing] as a receptacle of inheritance (rten skal) for the future, [the body-parts of Zhang Rin-po-che] which had not caught fire [during the cremation, such as] his right hand [etc. were inserted] into the heart [of the statue] in the manner of a "wisdom-being" (jñānasattvā) [i.e. pristine awareness principle], in the head [of the statue that served] as a hzo phud [i.e. manufacture offering] of the Jo-

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74 A contracted but verhotim rendering extracted from the Thang stong rnam thar I 106–107. The episode recounted here took place during a visit by Thang-stong rgyal-po to Gung-thang in order to attend the local Me tog mchod pa Festival. The chronology of the biography is however problematic, since some data suggest the date 1450 A.D.; but a few pages ahead in the biography (118, 155, 161) the information presented therein suggests that the episode rather may be dated to 1430–32 A.D. Thang stong rnam thar III 183–6 suggests the year 1429 (sa bya = to be emended to 1408 or sa bu in the light of the events following directly thereupon in the biography?). At approximately the same period, rJe btsun ma Cho sgron ma visited Gung-thang; cf. Chos sgron rnam thar 148b6–7.

75 The biography (Thang stong rnam thar I–III) of Thang-stong rgyal-po, alias dPal Grub-pa'i dbang-phyug brTson-'grus bzang-po.

76 The full text of the versified proclamation, op. cit., I 107; II 185:

rgyal ba'i thugs sprul rig 'dzin lcags zam pa || bsan pa'i mthar nye dra cu kha ral dus || mi yi tshe lo brgya phrag bco brgyad bar || rgya bod klo klo gdul bya ma rungs 'dul || smon lam dbang gis gdul bya phyogs mthar rgyas || skyo sun skyid lag spungs pas brton 'grus ming || 'dod dgu'i char 'hab dge ba dpa'ug med 'grub || chos brgyad mgo snyoms dzin med 'khrul pa zhi g i bar chad rang grol las ngsan gyang du khugs || nga dang khyod gnyis mkha' spyod pho brang du || 'du[l] bcal med de skyes mchen sprul pa'i skur || Cf. also Thang stong rnam thar II 184.6–185.2.

77 The making and offering of such (often miniature) manufacture specimen or hzo phud is deemed of great importance prior to the successful and auspicious outcome of the actual manufacture of a main statue. Similar to other sorts of "first portion" offerings, whether involving the first specimen of the material (rgyu) such as stone, wood or the like when e.g. erecting an edifice, objects or specimen (often, as said, smaller statues) usually stem from the first cast when the main statue in question, in casu the lHa-chen dpal-'bar, was manufactured. The Yid-bzhin nor-bu statue was erected by Mar-pa lHa-dkar, cf. dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'gre la 560.2–3.
behind the principal statue of Ngag-dbang mchog-ldan (1677-1755) [\textsuperscript{154}] [The statue of \textit{IHa-chen} was made to be consecrated by 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself. The particularly small images were blessed by being inserted into the mouth [of the main statue] and were therefore known as \textit{mu[r] ru ma} [i.e. "the licked ones"]\textsuperscript{[58a]} [The statue] [containing numerous other miniature statues] like a pod full of sesame grains displayed the mudrās of subduing Māra, and was attired in \textit{nirmānakāya} [fashion] garb. Being [later] given the monk’s robes (\textit{snam shyar}) of Khris-chen Ngag-dbang mchog-ladan [1677-1755]\textsuperscript{152} and being equipped with the \textit{stod le} upper garment and the \textit{ras bse} fabrics, etc.\textsuperscript{153} [the statue of \textit{IHa-chen}, its ornaments and paraphernalia thus] turned into the attire of a \textit{sambhogakāya}. At a later point [again, the statue of \textit{IHa-chen} was presented with] a gilt \textit{phrul ris} [= \textit{phrul mig}; lattice-work] ornament, inlaid ornaments made form different precious stones, an excellently crafted headdress, ear-ornaments, as well as necklaces, including silk ribbons (\textit{dar dpyang}) and do shal-necklace (\textit{niska}) [tendered by] \textit{skyabs mgon} rGyal-tshab De-mo Rin-po-che,\textsuperscript{154} as well as a necklace enriched by diffent sorts of inlaid precious jewels was presented by rDo-ring No-yon [i.e. rDo-ring Pandita \textit{alias} dGa’-bzhi mGon-po dNgos-grub rab-brtan, 1721-1792 A.D.].\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{150} Cf. dGos ‘\textit{dod re skong ma} ‘i \textit{grel ba} 560.5-6. The terms designate sculptural measurements – mainly miniature and small-size statues – respectively sized \textit{mdzub} gang ma or "one full \textit{mdzub}" i.e. the distance on the second finger from the tip to the first joint; the \textit{khvud re ma} measures the distance between two hands outstretched to the tips of the fingers as well as \textit{tshon re ma} which indicates a measure of one full thumb; cf. Tshig \textit{mdzod} 266, 2298, 2336.

\textsuperscript{151} This person is counted among the ‘\textit{phrin las grub pa} ‘i bu chen group of Bla-ma Zhang disciples. He is also called [d]Mar-sgom, after having erected 108 images of Zhang, known as Mar-pa IHa-dkar-ma. A number of these statues was consecrated by Khaps-pa \textit{rin po che} dBu-se (a disciple of Zhang). Cf. Tshal \textit{rnam} 61b 4-5, 63b-7: Zhang \textit{rin-po-che}’i lugs sku (or cast statues); Zhang \textit{rnam thar} zin bbris 58a1-2; \textit{lHo rong chos} ‘byung 204.15-16; Deb \textit{dmar} 129.7; dGos ‘\textit{dod re skong ma} ‘i \textit{grel ba} 560.5-6; dPon \textit{Dar ma} gshon nu ‘i zhus lan in bKa’-rgya ma. See App. V: Table 5, fn. 2.

We have information that once on the way to dGa’-ldan, in a house belonging to one Rag-pa’i \textit{nye gnas} Don-rin in Rag-mda’ (cf. fn. 517 above), \textit{chos rje} bKra-shis dpal-ladan dreamt that the room was full of Bla-ma Zhang statues known as Mar-pa IHa-dkar-ma (bKra shis dpal \textit{rnam thar} 102-03). A statue of Bla-ma Zhang erected by him as principal statue of g.Yas-ru Byang-pa is known as Mar-pa IHa-skal-ma (i.e. the Hereditary Statue from Mar-pa, i.e. Mar-sgom), mentioned in Zur \textit{chen rnam thar} 107a1-2 (=213.1-2). He finally was the pupil who motivated Bla-ma Zhang to compose his most celebrated treatise Path of Ultimate Profundity (see Martin 2001). He evidently was the main architect behind the \textit{mchod gnas} Byang-chub chen-po \textit{alias} IHa-chen dpal-bar; cf. dGos ‘\textit{dod re skong ma} ‘i \textit{grel ba} 558.

\textsuperscript{152} This refers to the 54th \textit{khri} of dGa’-ldan (r.l. 1739-46 A.D.), A-chi-thu No-mon-han (A\textit{c\textit{tiu} N\textit{om-un} q\textit{an}) (mканchen) Ngag-dbang mchog-ladan (1677-1751 A.D.), pupil, among others, of the 50th throne-holder dGe’-dun phun-thsogs (see fn. 729) and yongs ‘\textit{dzin} of the 7\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama. His biography was written by ICang-skya Rol-pa’i rdo-rje (found in the latter’s Coll. \textit{Works} Vol. 2: 92 fols). He was also registered as 1\textsuperscript{st} Rva-sgruen hierarch. See \textit{Sa rtachos ‘byung} 406-09, 424-36, 539-41. Ngag-dbang mchog-ladan also played a role in the early phase of the rDo-rje Shugs-ladan affair.

\textsuperscript{153} The \textit{stod le} shirt designates an upper garment which is decorated with depictions of peaceful \textit{bodhisattva}. The \textit{ras bse} designates a garment made from either glued or coloured (lacquered) mixtures or patchworks of cotton-linen (skyo shyar, rtsi btang).

\textsuperscript{154} It refers to the 1\textsuperscript{st} De-mo Ho-thog-thu [\textit{~sprul sku}] Ngag-dbang ‘jam-dpal bde-legs rgya-mtsho who acted as regent (\textit{rgyal tshab}) during the minority of the 8\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama, tenure from 17.06.1757 until 01.03.1777 A.D. when he passed away (cf. Petech 1988b: 136-37). His main residence later was the hapless bTan-rgya-gling. Cf. also Schuh 1981: 110-119. For the Kong-po De-mo \textit{sprul sku} linc. cf. Klong rdo’l’s gSun g bum II 395.2-10.

\textsuperscript{155} For his biography, see dGa’-bzhi \textit{rnam than} 25, \textit{et passim}. A key political figure in 18\textsuperscript{th} century Tibet, see Petech 1973: 53-55.
Further, to the left and right, [statues of] the Supreme Pair [i.e. Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra], along with Ārya Lokesvara and Khasarpāni the four and the main statue, five in all [were installed]. [Further] a backrest [behind the statue] endowed with the six ornamental supports (drug 'gyogs), along with a pāṭa and [statues of] the eight Bodhisattva Sons with their countenances facing in the northern direction, as well as two wrathful Door-keepers (dvarapāla) [were erected]. The upper and lower garment of the main statue and his retinue, consisting of pieces of loose-hanging multi-coloured silk draperies (dar lhug [= hrug tshon sna), as well as the canopies both outside and inside, the vessels of aromatic votive powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]), pillar-draperies, beam-draperies, and ldo ldi (= dar gyi ldo ldi[ng]) [multi-coloured silken] tassels – [all] these items being of excellent material and craft had been manufactured by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che [bsKal-bzang yon-tan] and his relative Phyag-mdzod sde-pa bsKal-bzang dngos-grub, master and servants. Left and right of the main statue [of Jo-bo lHa-chen] were [statues of] Amitāyus, as well as the six statues respectively of Amitāyus and Bhaisajyaguru [situated] to the east and west [of the main statue], of [Buddha] Nagendarājā and of [Buddha] Akṣobhya, [all] erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. [This terminates] the description of gTsang-khang dbus-ma.75

[B] [The Western Annexe, [later called] Western Sanctuarium]

[Glo-'bur nub-ma alias gTsang-khang nub-ma]

The Western Sanctuarium was earlier known as the Western Annexe.76 [58b] In the center is the statue of Zhang Rin-po-che known as Yid-bzhin nor-bu [i.e. Cintāmani]. The second [statue] to the right represents the first throne-holder [of Yang-dgon] (gdan rabs thog ma) mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, and the third [statue] to the left is that of the assistant-intendant of Zhang, Dar-ma gzhon-nu. These three statues were erected during the time of 'Gro-mgon and his disciples by dpon Mar-pa lHa-dkar [which served] as bzo phud for the erection of [the statue of] lHa-chen dpal-'bar. Hence they are of the same material as the [main statue of] Jo-bo and [these as well as] the consecratory fillings (nang zhugs) etc., not being victims of the fire [that raged in 1546 A.D.], remain there [until this very day] unchanged and in the same position as in earlier [times]. The consecration was conducted by 'Gro-mgon himself. In particular, the [statue known as] the Precious Effigy (dra sku rin po che) [of Zhang Rin-po-che] [indeed displayed wondrous signs]: at a time when Zhang himself visited the areas [located] to the left and right [of the statue in this sanctuarium] too, [the statue delivered] answers [to the questions raised]: “Are the teacher and the disciples doing well?”; in accordance with his pleasing [behaviour], [this statue] was blessed as his own representative. Later too, Sangs-rgyas gNub-sgom from g.Ya'-bzung [i.e. g.Ya'-bzung-pa Chos kyi smon-lam,

75 These six ornamens of the main statue either refer to the six ornamental supports of the throne (khrit) itself consisting of the following paired figures: seng ge, glang chen, rta mchog, rma hva, shang shang and gyal kyi mi or it refers, here more likely, to the ditto décors of the backrest (khri rgyah [yul]): bya khyung, klu gdengs ka can, chu srin, mdzes pa'i bu rgyan, ri dvags sha ral can, glang po che rgyan Idan. See Sangs rgyas chos gzhung 87.

76 The current condition of the dbus-ma: four new statues (i.e. Jo-bo flanked by Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra and Tshe-dpag med) and a small virtrine containing images of the Tshal Gung-thang triad: rGva-lo, Zhang and Dar-ma gzhon-nu. Some parts of the backrest of the Jo-bo throne are preserved. The walls are empty.

77 The chamber or cella described here corresponds to the Zhal lha-khang, the northern part of the ground-floor of the Glo-'bur-nub complex (Graph 2).
1169–1233 A.D.] and [the latter’s disciple] dpal rgyal ba lHa [Go-ra] gdong-pa,⁷⁴ etc. [received] an endless number of religious teachings, etc. when many rays of light emanated from the 'dra sku rin po che. By virtue of the fact that the principle of wisdom (ye shes pa) truly dwelt [in this statue], at the time when Zur-chen rin-po-che was about to direct his thoughts at something else [i.e. was distracted], [the statue] several times took off his hat [displaying] a mien of lamentation.⁷⁵ [Thus] it was [indeed] a blessing-bestowing [statue] which on several occasions also spoke, etc.

Graph 6: The main statues of the gTsang-khang nub-ma

The third [statue] from the right was that of rGyal-mchog lNgas-pa chen-po [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama], [followed by statues of] Vajradhara, Tilopä, Nāropa-[pa], Mar-pa, Mi-la [ras-pa], SGam-po-pa and Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po. The fourth [statue] from the left [i.e. the second from the left; counting from the main statue] was that of dbyangs can bzhad pa dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, [followed by statues of] rje btsun rGva-lo-ba, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, Mal Yer-pa-ba, Bla-ma rNgog-pa, Bla-ma ’Ol-kha-ba, Bla-ma Bai-ro-ba. These are statues of [Bla-ma] Zhang’s six root teachers [59a] which had been [once] erected by Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol. The very excellent image at the beginning of the left row [depicts] skyabs mgon rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzing rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama installed] along with throne and backrest, as well as, [appropriate decor, namely] “ceiling-coverings” [i.e. a canopy], and with the distinct dresses and hats, [all] these [items] were erected by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzing yon-tan], master and servants. [This terminates] the description of Zhang lHa-khang.

[C] [The Eastern Annexe, [later called] Eastern Sanctuariun

[Glo-'bur shar-ma alias gTsang-khang shar-ma]

The larger part of the Eastern Sanctuariun, formerly known as the Eastern Annexe was in the main renovated from the ground up by Dar-han mkhan rin-po-che [bsKal-bzing yon-tan] and his retinue.

⁷⁴ Verbatim from dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 660.3–5. Chos kyi smon-lam, the founder of the g.Yas'-bzing bkAs'-brgyud-pa in Yar-stod counts among the disciples of Bla-ma Zhang. The lHa Bug-pa-can-pa Go-ra gdong-pa Sangs-rgyas lHa-sgom was one of Chos kyi smon-lam’s favourite disciples. See CFS Gyalbo et al. 30, 72, 77, 215.

Another 13th century ascetic who visited Gung-thang, circumambulated the ’Bum-pa and paid homage to the sku ’bag of Bla-ma Zhang was Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212–70); cf. Gu ru chos dbang rnam thar 323.6–324.4.

⁷⁵ The statue of Zhang was also called gSung-byon-ma. Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 209b4–210a2 (= 418.4–419.2), 215a4–5 (= 429.4–5). The event dates from 1657 A.D. It was evidently also visited by the young 9th Dalai Lama in 1807 and in 1808; see DL9 [A] 22b2, 34a2–6.
The main reliquary [installed in] the center [of the sanctuary] is the ossuary (gdung rten) known as bKra-shis 'od-'bar[1] which had been jointly erected by [Zhang’s closest disciple], the one called nye gnas Dar-ma gzhon-nu, the incarnation of the Devendra (Iha[öi] dbang [po] Indra [brGya-byin] and by the first gdan ra-bs mNyam-med Rin-po-che [i.e. Säkyä ye-shes]. [Utterly] countless are the blessing-bestowing conjectural fillings [placed inside the reliquary of the bKra-shis 'od-'bar ossuary] such as the bone relics [left behind after the cremation of] Zhang Rin-po-che, etc. The material [used] was made from precious stones. [Further] the [statue of] rje btsun Tārā [sGröl-ma] with the countenance facing towards the east [is installed there], erected during the time of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che. This blessing-bestowing [statue] too was famous by name as sGröl-ma gsung-byen-ma [Speaking Tārā] and Me-thub-ma [Fire-Proof]. Further, the four large cast metal (li ma) statues of Munindra, the statue of Amitābha [and] Munindra Grong-khyer-ma[2] etc. as well as larger and smaller ossuary shrines, [were installed here]. These too are exclusively blessing-bestowing old reliquaries of yore [i.e. erected prior to the Great Fire of 1546]. [These reliquaries] formerly scattered throughout many [different] lha khang [both within as well as outside the Gung-thang monastic precinct], remaining in a desolate state (’o brgyal bar bzhugs),[3] wherefore the treasurer of Dar-han [i.e. Phyag mdzod sde pa bsKal-bzang dngos-grub, the treasurer of Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che bsKal-bzang yon-tan] assembled [the scattered statues installed in different localities and had them set up] in this place, [59b] [then] erected anew a residential shrine, a shrine pavillion (khang [bu] brtsegs, kūtāgāra), as well as [iconographic array of] rock-landscapes etc., above which he arranged [the erection] of the eight [different types of] Sugata Stūpa-s[4] in the form of a gandhola-pinnacle. Among these an image of Pha Dam-pa

The 5\textsuperscript{th} Dalai Lama’s sNyan shel zhal byang, it (or a different object) is called Me-thub-ma Zhang rin-po-che’i sku. A statue called Me-thub-ma or dGe-’dun-dil phel which earlier was installed in the gTsang-khang shar-ma subsequently was transferred to the Byams-chen Zhal-ras lha-khang of Sc-ra, cf. Se ra chos ’byung 181–82; Grva sa chen po bzhi chags tshul 64.13–17; dPag bsam ljon bzang 597.14’17; Dl.7 617. It is said to be a speaking statue that was brought from Za-dam Karma chos-rdzong; hence commonly known as the Grong-khyer-ma Za-dam-pa). On Za-dam, see above fns. 408, 670. Numerous Me-thub-ma and Grong-khyer-ma statues are registered: A statue of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dalai Lama kept in ’Ol-dga’ rDzing-phyi was known accordingly when it surfaced unharmed at the point the temple caught fire; cf. ’Dzam gling rgyan gcig 393–94. A Virupa thangka and thugs dam rten of Atiśa; ibid. 568.

In 1575 A.D., another Grong-khyer-ma form of Sākyamuni was set up in bShad-sgrub-gluing (of Dvags-po district) by the 5\textsuperscript{th} Zhma-dmar dKon-mchog yan-lag; cf. Kam tshang brgyud pa II 59a2–3. In Li-ma lha-khang of Potala, a Munendra Me-thub-ma is registered (cf. ’Dzam gling rgyan gcig 394). A main statue of Sa-skya-pa is also mentioned: Pun chen blo bzang ve shes nram thar I 48a5. dPag-bsam dbang-po refers to a South Indian Grong-khyer-ma statue of Muni in sTag-lung; see also sTag lung chos ’byung l [A] 1454. dPag bsam dbang po nram thar l 53b5–54a1 list a red-li ma statue Munindra Grong-khyer-ma, a thugs dam statue of sTag-lung-pa. Dl.6 413 registers a similar dBu-li statue. In Bya-yul, another Thub-pa Grong-khyer-ma is registered for 1580; cf. Rin-chen dpal bzang nram thar 22b3–4. Dpt ther rgya mthos 334 reports a self-originated statue made exclusively from wood. Its artistic and stylistic history is still not properly written.

[1] This expression suggests that the statues and reliquaries had neither been subject to any renovation, nor had over long period received any public veneration and ritual service (bsnyen bkur).

and offerings bowls. These were erected by Dar-han Rin-po-che along and ye-shes [south, sanctuaries].

These objects of perfect artistic design had been erected by Tan-chen Lama, 1663-1737 A.D.] Phyang na padmo 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho [the 8th Dalai Lama, 1758-1804 A.D.], along with [their respective] seats, throne of the Pañcakūla and rock landscapes. These [statues] were equipped with gowns made from good quality brocade, along with canopies, vessels of aromatic votive powder [phye [ma'i] phur [ma]], pedestals, and offerings bowls. These were [all] erected by Dar-han Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan] and [his] relative Phyang mdzod sde ba bsKal-bzang dngos-grub, etc. [The statue of] Tārā Protecting From the Eight Fears [Atṣabhāyatārānāl] ['Jigs-pa brgbad-skyob[-ma]] facing towards the west, along with seat and rock-landscape [etc.] these [statues] were erected after religious devotees from the four quarters of lHa-sa [lha ldan sde bzhichos mdzad] had provided the financial prerequisites for their erection. [This terminates] the description of the Eastern Annexe.

[D] [The Chapel of Amitāyus: Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang]

The main statue of the Chapel of Amitāyus is that of Amitāyus, [along with] [images of the] Eight [Medicine] [Sugata] Buddha ([sMan-bla] bDe-gshegs brgbad), a [main] statue endowed with ornamental excellence (rgyan 'gros = spras?), with throne, backrest, aureola ('od bskor) and pata. These objects of perfect artistic design had been erected by sKyid-shod zhab drung bKra-shis rabi-btans, father and sons. Blessing-bestowing [statues and objects] that were consecrated [60a] after rGyal-mchog bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama] had been invited to [Gung-thang].

The silver-plated ossuary on the northern side, is the silver ossuary of Zur[-chen] Chos-dbyings rang-grol, a reliquary measuring 17 maces in height (rgyug [m]tho = dbyug [m]tho) and having the shape of a [Mahā-]Bodhi stūpa, since consecratory fillings [containing] the head-skull and heart of Zur himself, four relics, as well as an endless number of blessing-bestowing reliquaries [were inserted]. It had been erected by rGyal-mchog lnga-pa chen-po and donated as a present to this seat [i.e. chapel]. The bKa 'gyur too, [brought] from rGyal-rtses, was personally presented to this [seat] in connection with the commemorative [funeral] ceremony of Zur-chen by rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 5th Dalai Lama]. It certainly is a blessing-bestowing [object of veneration] written with molten gold upon dark-blue paper and consecrated by many holy persons (purula). Furthermore, this [chapel] holds two sets of bKa 'gyur and one set of bsTan 'gyur, [set up and arranged along

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78 On this famous yogi and teacher, see e.e. Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 42-69; see also above fns. 179, 416, 670.
79 bsKal-bzang dngos-grub was registered both as steward (mgren gnyer) [of Gung-thang bla-brang] and as monk: cf. DL 7 908.
80 On lHa-lidan (~lHa-sa) sde-bzhi, see App. II: Chap. 1.
81 The Tshe-dpag-med lha-khang corresponds to the southern chamber of the ground-floor of the Glo-bur shar-ma. It has been recently renovated in 2005/06 with the installation of several new statues (statues of Tshe-dpag-med, sGrol-ma and rNam-rgyal at the northern wall, and statues of bDe-mchog, gSang-dus and gShin-je at the western wall).
82 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 431.4-6.
83 Cf. Zur chen rnam thar 432.4-6.
with sets of wood-blocks, book- straps, book-covers with attached silk- clothed [title and number] sigla (zhal khebs gdong dar) as well as shelf-walls. The gowns of [the statues of] the other gods, along with the "ceiling-coverings" [i.e. canopies], the draperies, the vessels of aromatic votive powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]) had all been erected anew by Dar-han mkhan Rin-po-che, master and disciples. The reliquary-stupa, an ossuary of the father of Zur-chen located in the southern direction, as well as [the statues of] rje yab sras [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa and his two chief disciples] the three, [as well as statues and images of] Jina Pañcakūla [Buddhas of the Five Families], Buddha of the Three Times, Rigs-gsum mgon-po, Jo-bo Atiśa, Phag[-pa] gru[-pa] [rDo-rje rgyal-po], [Vajra-] Vidārana [(rDo-rje) rNam-'joms], of Mahākārunika Cittaviśrāmaṇa (Thugs-rje chen-po Sens-nyid ngal-gso), Śrī Devī ([dPal[-ldan] lha[-mo]), the main statue and retinue, three in all. These [statues] too were erected by Zur-chen Rin-po-che. [The statue of] Avalokiteśvara Gaganārāja [Nam-mkha' rgyal-po] had been brought from another gTsug-lag-khang and installed here. [This terminates] the description of Chapel of Tshe-dpag[-med].

[E] [The Chapel of Maitreya: Byams[-pa lha-]khang]

[60b] In the Chapel of Maitreya the main support is the image of [Lord] Ajita [(mGon-po) Mi- pham-pa] [i.e. Maitreya], known to have been erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. In some books it is asserted that Zur-chen sprul sku erected [the statue of] Maitreya surrounded by the eight bodhisattva. It is, however, also said [elsewhere] that in the wake of the erection [of the statue], on account of the animosity (dgongs ph[yor]ogs) [i.e. resistance] of the Dzungars, [he had to] leave it behind [unfinished]. [Further, here are found] the attire [ornamenting the statues] installed to the left and to the right [of the main statue], namely of Paramārya Avalokiteśvara Simhanāda ['Phags mchog sPyan-ras-gzigs Seng-ge'i sgra], the Eight [Medicine] [Sugata] Buddha [(sMan-bla) bDe-gshegs bryag], Ārya [Avalokiteśvara] Cittaviśrāmaṇa ['Phags-pa Sens-nyid ngal-gso], the Jina Pañcakūla, [the trinity] Guhyasamāja [gsang-ba 'dus-pa], Cakrasamvara [*Khor-lo sdom-pa], and Vajrabhairava [rDo-rje 'Jigs-byed], as well as a brocade [wall Thangka], having as central figure Munindra intended to be on display during the Me tog mchod pa [Festival], etc. made from different good-quality brocade, a blessing-bestowing brocade [wall Thangka] personally sprinkled [i.e. consecrated] by Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama]. Moreover, "ceiling-coverings" [i.e. canopies] along with vessels of aromatic votive powder (phye [ma'i] phur [ma]), [all] these [objects] had been made from good-quality brocade, which were also erected anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, master and disciples. Among these [objects of veneration] [is found] an old brocade [wall Thangka] (gos sku), a blessing-bstowing [object of veneration] which has as its central figure Munindra and which has been manufactured anew, at the same time as the [establishment of] the Chapel of Amitāyus by sKyid-shod zhabs drung Don-'grub rab-brtan and his brother. It [had subsequently] been personally sprinkled [i.e. consecrated] by Thams cad mkhyen pa bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama]. [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of Maitreya.

714 The statue was installed at the eastern wall of the Byams-pa lha-khang (i.e. the southern chamber of the Glo-'bur nub-ma). During the Me tog mchod pa Festival the chamber served as residence for the Gung-thang lha-mo which was set up in front of the Maitreya statue.
715 The text reads Kālacakra.
716 Cf. DL 7 843.
[F] [The Grand Chapel for the Protective Deity Mahākāla: mGon-khang chen-mo]

The mGon-khang chen-mo had been built by Zhang Rin-po-che’s disciple intendant Dar-magzhon-nu and by mNyam-med chen-po [Śākya ye-shes] [conjointly]. It was visited by successive Dalai Lamas, such as SKyabs-mgon bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [the 3rd Dalai Lama, 1543–1588 A.D.], rGyal-mchog Yon-tan rgya-mtsho [the 4th Dalai Lama, 1589–1616 A.D.] and rGyal-ba INga-pa chen-po [the 5th Dalai Lama, 1617–1682 A.D.], etc. [61a] and hence numerous [rituals] were conducted such as offerings, praises, and invocations. Many wondrous signs occurred too such as during one visit by the former Dalai Lama [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] amrta dropped from the feet of [the statue of] mGon-po [Mahākāla], etc.” The [exorcist] hom khang [> home: fire-pit] which had been built by rGyal-dbang Yon-tan rgya-mtsho in the presence of [the statue of] mGon-po [established in connection with mustering] the ritual of applied forceful suppression [= violent sorcery] (mgon spyod kyi las shyor; abhicāruka) is in reality still there. Many narrative reports prevail concerning the indescribably large number of [incidents] of activities and [manifestations] of [wondrous] signs such as the actual appearance of a raven from the heart of [the statue of the Raven-headed Mahākāla] *Kākāśya [Bya-rrog gdong-can]™ during many [times of] unrest. At the time when kun mkhyen Padma dkar-po [1527–1592 A.D.] visited [the chapel] for the first time it appeared as if the countenance of the statue of mGon-po had a very thick layer of gold; when he finally visited [i.e. faced the statue], it was as if [it merely was] a reflection in a mirror, etc.” [such incidents] are clear sign[s] that the wisdom being (ye shes pa) truly resides [in the statue]. A [statue of] [Bya-rrog] gdong-can like this, along with [acolytes such as] Gang-po and mDzes-ma, the main statue and retinue, six in all [are installed in this chapel].

77 I.e. Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa, the chief religious protector of Gung-thang. The central image is flanked by Seng-ge gdong-can and Chu-srin gdong-can (two of his acolytes). Two statues of lha-mo, Sihe lha-mo (= the bsTang-ma rDo-rje g.Ya’-mo-sil?) and Kong-btsun De-mo (alias rDo-rje Bod-khams-skyong) are installed along the eastern and western wall of the mGon-khang. In the north-eastern corner is the great statue of the Gung-thang lha-mo (see below). In front of the Phyag-bzhi-pa, there is the image of the powerful Raven-faced mGon-po placed upon an old stone with the carved image of an enemy (Fig. 17–18). He is one of several forms of Mahākāla which we find in the Tshal tradition and which are considered attendants of Phyag-bzhi-pa, such as mGon-po Beng, mGon Khyi, Gur mGon. Zhang received the Mahākāla tradition from rGva lo tsā ha who himself received the specific teaching cycles from Tsa-mi lo tsā ha Sangs-rgyas grags-pa. It was also transferred upon the founders of the Phag-mo gru-pa, the Karma-pa and sTag-lung-pa bKa’-brgyud. The chief Mahākāla of Tshal Gung-thang later became known as the Tshal-lugs kyi Ye-shes mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa. See Willson and Brauen 2000: 342–343; cf. also BA Roerich 474. Apart from rGva-lo rNgog mDo-sde is also mentioned as Zhang’s Mahākāla teacher (above fn. 19, 56). An episode involving the statue in Tshal, with Legs-Idan nag-po and crowds of ravens occurred when in about 1400, the 10th throne-holder of ’Bri-gung visited Tshal, cf. ’Bri gung gdan rabs III 136.

The latter episode obviously took place during one of the two occasions when the 7th Dalai Lama visited Gung-thang in 1754; cf. DL7 874, 907-08. Incidentally, the 9th Dalai Lama too entertained spiritual bonds with Bla-ma Zhang: cf. DL9 [A] 22a.1, [B] 645–48, 661, 667.

78 The 4th Dalai Lama visited Tshal Gung-thang in 1604; cf. DL4 33a4–7; dGa’-ldan chos ’byung l 136b6. At that point, a gzhis ka called Tshal Zur-khang existed on its premises, being attached to the sKyid-shod-pa ruling house. See also previous note.

79 This incident is actually ascribed to the 5th ’Brug-chen dPa-gsamt dbang-po (1593–1641 A.D.), the cousin of the 5th Dalai Lama, during his visit to Tshal Gung-thang in 1624 A.D. (and again 1629). Cf. verbatim dPa-gsamt dbang po rnam thar l 126a2–5 (= 251.2–5), 164a6–b1 (= 326.6–327.1). It is conceivable that the author of GT had been mistaken in identifying the 4th ‘Brug-dbang Pad-ma dkar-po, recalling that the former is an incarnation of the latter.
The stuffed effigy (sku gsob) of [Śrī Devī, dPal-l丹 lha-mo] 'Dod-khams dBang-phyug-ma,"29 also called Gung-thang lha mo, was known from the time of Zhang Rin-po-che to have been honoured in tandem with mGon-po [Mahākāla]. Known are narrative reports [concerning her] which declare that [her] activities [lead] to prompt [success when properly propitiated], and, moreover, [the statue is famed for] possessing a strict command (bka‘ gnyan [po]),"30 such as [once] when [she] displayed her real countenance as rGyal-mchog dGe-dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama] was paying [her] a visit, etc."31 Although [the statue] was formerly installed in the so-called lHa-mo-khang, [which was erected] along one wall of the dBu-rtse, atop the gTsug-lag-khang, in the meantime while Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa was conducting repair-works, [it was removed and installed] alongside [the statue of mGon-po in the mGon-khang. [Moreover,] the gowns of good-quality brocade, the prayer-flags on top of the head-gear, the umbrella made from peacock-feathers, etc. [61b] [decorating] this [Gung-thang] lha mo, the objects of offerings for the protective deities (spyan gzig), as well as the silken ceremonial scarfs, etc."32 were presented by Dar-han [-mkhan Rin-po-che], master and disciples. [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of the Grand Chapel of mGon-po.

29 " Alias Ma-gcig rDo-rje Rab-brtan-ma; see e.g. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 35; Richardson 1993: 87; 1998 'The Jo-khang', 259. The wrathful 'Dod-khams [dBang-phyug-]ma or *Kāmadhātū-iśvari appears in the train of the Mahākāla form of Gur mGon-po lcam-drāl (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., 49; Willson and Brauen 2000: 336 f.); the special attribute of the Gung-thang lha-mo is a ne’u le in the left hand (cf. also Willson and Brauen, op. cit., 343). Until recently the statue was kept in the mGon-khang (Graph 7), more recently it has been placed in a separate box on the western wall of the gTsug-lag-khang. Her original place is said to have been the lHa-sa Jo-khang where she lived together with her sisters and where she falls in love with rDzong-btsan, i.e. the god of tshul-khrin who used to visit her every year during the Gung-thang Flower Offering. The common mother of the dPal-lha sisters is the dPal-lDan lha-mo dMag-zor-rgyal who is also worshipped in Tshal.

30 It is said that in the wake of Bla-ma Zhang’s successful warfare, and in connection with the consecration of the Jo-bo statue in lHa-sa conducted by him, the dPal-lDan lha-mo took up permanent residence in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang: Zhang rnam thar zin bris 56b6–57a6. However, this rather refers to the wrathful dPal lha-mo, the younger sister of the Gung-thang lha-mo. See App. IV: Chap. 2.2.

31 This indicates that if proper worship and propitiation fails, her retribution can be severe.

32 It refers to his visit in around 1511 A.D. cf. DL2 526.

33 This term refers either to various objects of offering in form of dough, and dam r dzas or, in fact, to the court or entourage of a protective deity consisting of stuffed animals (e.g. wild yaks and leopards) functioning as messengers and guards of the deity, etc., cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 21, 401–2, 433.
[G] [The Chapel of Vaiśravana: rNam-thos-sras lha-khang]

In the Chapel of Vaiśravana [located] to the west, the statues of the gold-coloured Gyal-chen Vaiśravana, as well as that of the Red-lanced Vaiśravana mDung-dmar-can [i.e. Raktasūla Vaiśravana], equipped with hand-held emblems (hastacihna), [are installed]. Their countenances are [completely] immaculate. In particular, [narrative reports prevail which document the wondrous signs that occurred] such as how [once] when rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho paid [the statues] a visit, amrta dropped from the eyes of Vaiśravana mDung-dmar-can, etc. [Further] the filled statue inside [this chapel] is the blessing-bestowing stuffed statue of the gzhi hdag of Byakmkhar, Jo-mo sMan gcig-ma. [This terminates] the description of the Chapel of Vaiśravana.

Furthermore, the murals along the walls of the [pillared] courtyard (khyams), as well as [the figures of] the peaceful and wrathful [deities] such as Māričī [Od-zer-can-ma], etc. [painted along the walls] of the Vestibule (sgo khang) were executed anew by Dar-han [mkhan Rin-po-che], master and his attendants. [They] also renovated [the paintings of] the Four Great [World-Guardian] Kings (lokapāla) [that decorated] the external walls of the Vestibule. The two figures of dPal-lidan lha-mo and the Red-staffed Mahākāla [mGon-po Beng-dmar-can], [painted] in the face-to-face style on the internal eastern and western walls of the Vestibule had [once] been blessed by Zhang Rin-po-che and his disciples. Due to the fact that the principle of wisdom being (ye shes pa) actually resided in [the figure of mGon-po], this mGon-po [once] spoke to Se-ra-Byes zhal-snga-nas Don-yod dpal-lidan-pa and [thus] made prophecies concerning future incidents.

784 The Vaiśravana chapel is located in the south-western corner of the gTsug-lag-khang. Today it contains the (golden) statue of rNam-thos-sras (see below) as well as some traces of former paintings.

785 Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 217; L. Chandra, Buddhist Iconography no. 807, 2465; Willson and Brauen 2000, s.v. index; below Fig. 19-20.

786 The statue is no longer extant. The deity corresponds to the brsTan-ma goddess rDo-rje sMan gcig-ma from the group of the sman mo chen bzhi (above fn. 39). The group of the four sman mo is headed by Kong-btsun De-mo whose image is in the opposite mGon-khang (Graph 7 and 8). See also App. IV.

787 I.e. the 10th mkhan po of Se-ra; cf. fn. 664 above.
particular, since the countenance of this statue of IHa-mo was completely bereft of any impurity and [her] command very strict [the statue was thus capable of] directly showing portents of what is good or bad, wherefore the statue remained unchanged just like in former [times] with the mere exception of some appropriate paintwork [of the statue], etc.

Thus, a [description] of seven chapels during the initial, the intermediate and the final [period of their expansion] as well as [the account] how the throne-holders [62a] along with how the benefactors had paid their respect and worshipped these [chapels], etc. have [now] been briefly offered [above]. [In the sequel a description of the remaining reliquaries will therefore be presented].

[5.] [The Great Stūpa and its Satellite Stūpa]

[A] [The Great Stūpa: sKu-'bum chen-mo]

As for the sKu-'bum chen-mo [i.e. Grand Tomb-Dome] [located] in the western direction [from the gTsug-lag-khang]:

[Once] at bZang-yul Mon-pa-gdong, Zhang himself in a dream had a vision where he saw the cremated remains of his [own] deceased body [were resting] upon the sKu-'bum chen-mo, which [until that point had been finished] up until the third plinth (parisanda), [and he saw how] the lha, the klu, the dākinī and the dharmapāla, as well as the assemblages of his disciples lamented and paid worship [to his bodily remains].

[Later] after Zhang Rin-po-che along with some from his retinue, had gone to the place where the stūpa were to be erected, a prognostication was conducted [in order to inquire] whether [the erection of] the stūpa [could] be realized or not. In accordance with the portent’s proving positive [for its erection and completion], he subsequently drew the lines [for its ground-plan] and when the cornerstones were set up, the dbpon Dar-ma gzhon-nu inquired: “What size is the stūpa going to be?” to which [Zhang] responded: “In accordance with the cornerstones [already] laid down!” But the intendant instead requested: “This [would be enough] to raise a house! It will prove difficult to finish [the edifice] if it is erected too big. I therefore request [you] to reduce [the size] somewhat!” But Zhang Rin-po-che only replied: “Whoever jeopardizes this illusory manifestation of conventional truth [is bound to] fail! To say that the stūpa is [too] large [in order to be finished on time] is indeed a very grave sin. As atonement for [this ill-fated remark], you will have to expand [the stūpa] one arm-span [further] in each direction!”

Approaching the point when the master and his disciples had completed the stūpa up until the third parisanda-plinth [which had been raised] in the shape of [one of the eight mahā-caitya types, i.e. the type known as] the Descent from [the Abode of the] Gods, Zhang himself, having attained the age of 71, in the female Water-Ox year [1193 A.D.], on the tenth day of the fifth month arrived at the Western [Tower College of] the Dharma-Throne [Chos-khrī-nub] [in

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78 For a picture of the sKu-'bum chen-mo (now in ruins), see Richardson 1993: 89; below Figs. 4, 6, 7.
79 Cf. Zhang’s vision described above 11b.
80 Repeated in 1Ho rong chos 'byung 214. Other sources such as Mar pa lung pa nam thar (90b2; Vitali 1996: 365), commonly marred with a dubious chronology, suggest that he died in the Wood-Tiger year, i.e. 1194 on the tenth day of the first autumn month i.e. seventh Hor month – corresponding to ca. 31.07.1194 of the Western calendar. dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 542.2-4 maintain that he passed away age 70 at Ra-sa rdzong-mgo (sic).
81 Verbatim from dGos 'dod re skong ma'i 'grel ba 570.1-2. Corresponding to ca. 12.06.1193.
Gung-thang].” He proclaimed: “This year the dust will be shaken off my teaching (chos la rdul sprug hyed)” At the end, having delivered oratory expositions such as his own bKa’ ‘hum, his Yon tan btsal mchog ma.” [62b] as well as [expositions on the benefit of erecting caitya etc., he displayed the manner of passing into nirvāṇa. At that point, the bodily remains [of Zhang] were brought [and positioned] upon the remaining [part] of the former stūpa under construction, and, during the cremation, at a point when [Zhang’s] disciple known as grub chen Brag-nag-pa was [was about] to make a prayer in loud voice, a [last] precept [from Zhang] sounded [that came] from the funeral pyre (spur khang). Immediately, the fire of wisdom ignited the bodily remains all by itself. His heart, his tongue and his eyes, the three, as well as [miniature images of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, etc. along with relics that had manifested themselves [intact from the cremation] were [subsequently] inserted into the ossuary [of Zhang known as] bKra-shis ‘od-‘bar. Wrapping up the remnants [i.e. leftover materials and ashes etc. from the pyre] in the upper part of the hum pa [dome of the stūpa], [it should be known] that although the hum pa dome formerly accomodated no more that one lha khang, the drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje [i.e. the 9th dpon sa ba 1284–1346/7 A.D.] added an external coating [around the stūpa]. In the four directions at the base of the bum pa [dome of the stūpa] within four lha khang being [erected] in the form of arched doorways (sgo khyim), the basic deities of the Vajradhātu-[mandala] [were installed] as the principal objects of worship crafted in the aspect of the Pañcakūla [Buddhas], as well as [constructing minor] statues of the retinue, [all] being appropriately executed both in painted as well as in relief form. Furthermore, although it is maintained that a complete set of mural depictions of the 1000 images [of Buddha] as well as wall paintings (rgyud ris), etc. [also] existed, in the meantime, apart from the basic deities [of the Vajradhātu-mandala] [still being intact], the majority of the other objects of veneration had sunk into [utter] decay. Later, Zur-chen po’s sprul sku had the statues of the [minor] deities of the entourage supplemented in accordance with the mandala of the system of [Vajra]-ṣekhara (rtse mo’t thugs dkyil = ? [rdo rje’i] rtse mo’t lugs [kyi] dkyil [’khor]). Moreover, [objects like] dharmacakra-rings, chattrā-umbrellas, along with gilt turrets (gser ‘phru) were in the main constructed anew by drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje, after he had taken as basis the older [identical samples stemming] from former times. Zur sprul and some of the throne-holding bla mas too conducted repair-works. In short, although narrative stories and accounts of the origin of the

792 Verbatim from dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba 569.5–6. The Chos-khri nub-ma (or gZims-phug nub-ma), the original private residence of Bla-ma Zhang in Gung-thang (see below sub-chap. 6).

793 Also called Yon tan rtsal mchog gsum ‘phros in dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba 569.6. The small treatise is a religious manifesto of his, interspersed with quotations by [Mal] Yer-pa, Nāgārjuna, etc. It is found among Bla-ma Zhang’s writings (ZhK II VI. (separate Ms) 172b6–179b5). He started writing it in a Pig year at Gr[v]a-thang and completed it at bZang-yul Mon-pa-gdons (fn. 62). Here it is treated as an epilogue or as part of Zhang’s valedictories.

794 This evidently refers to the Zhang disciple Yar-’brog Brag-nag-pa chen-po listed in the dGos ’dod re skong ma’i ’grel ba. See App. V: Table 3. He is named after the Bla-ma Zhang retreat of sTag-lung Brag-nag of Yar-’brog (perhaps the present-day Brag-steng of sTag-lung; Xizang Diminche II 172). A monastery at Brag-nag is reported to have been built by rNgog Legs-pa’i shes-rab prior to his foundation of gSang-phu sNc’u-thog in 1073 (cf. BA Roerich 325; van der Kuijp 1987: 106–07; see also Ehhrhard 2002c: 44f. for Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho’i itinerary). Legs-pa’i shes-rab was a native of Yar-’brog. However, it may refer to Brag-nag in the vicinity of gSang-phu in sKyid-smad. For details on [lHo / Yar-’brog] sTag-lung, see also fn. 85.

795 The text erroneously reads stong sku par ma (sic) cha tshang; a parallel passage 70a infra reads stong sku cha tshang.

796 For details, see Tshal rnam 19b1–4.

797 For this kind of ornament, see Jackson 1996: 324.
godly abodes [i.e. iconographic mandala-representations] in the four directions of the sku 'bum chen-mo [63a] of [Bla-ma] Zhang, of the chattra, the dharmacakra, the gilded turrets, the iron-chains drawn in [each] corner [i.e. tethering the stūpa], as well as concerning the stone-made lions [whereto] the end [of the iron-chains] were fastened along with its ambulatory that circumscribed [the stūpa] are quite endless. [I] have [here] merely written a brief [account].

The majority of the minor 'bum [tomb domes] that accompanied [the sku 'bum chen mo] were [erected] by the attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu from the leftover [building materials] of the sku 'bum chen mo, being completed in the form of an amendment [for the erection of] the eight [mahā-caityas]. Later [this group of caityas] was apparently expanded by [adding] ossuaries of throne-holding bla ma. Due to the fact that no exact narrative stories prevail [to elucidate and document their history], it [nevertheless] appears that the former [throne-holding bla ma] too remained indifferent [to these reliquaries]. Zur sprul apparently manufactured anew all the dharmacakra and gilt turrets for these [reliquaries].

[B] [The Sri-gnon mchod-rten alias Khyi-'bum]

As to the [stūpa] now [called] Sri-gnon mchod-rten [the Sri-Spirit Suppressing Stūpa], [formerly famed] as Khyi-'bum [The Dog Stūpa Dome]: mGon Khyi-dom [= ldom?]-nag snying-dkar also named 'Brong-zhur, was a miraculous manifestation of Bya-rog gdong-can, the close executive attendant (bka’ sdod) of the Four-armed mGon-po [Mahākāla]; [concerning him it can be said that] if Bla-ma [Zhang] was ever about to go [somewhere] the following day, [Khyi 'Brong-zhur] had [already] proceeded to that place the previous evening. Furthermore, whenever other people were around, [Khyi 'Brong-zhur] [behaved and moved] in a traditional way; when nobody was around, he moved through space. Headed by this [acolyte] who was the one executing all the [hegemonic] commitments of [Bla-ma] Zhang Rin-po-che, he tamed by way of violent [militant] means countless classes [of evil personages and spirits] who [innately] had shown hatred against the precious Teaching [of Buddha] such as the Icang-rgyab bsad po and the gDol-po bsad po, etc. He suppressed the lungs, heart and all the limbs of these bsad po. Pledging that [63b] “Safeguarding [your] future disciples along with their lineages so that they can pay respect to and

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fn. 63a I.e. the Guardian Deity “White-chested Black Stray-Dog/Dog-Bear.” Cf. also foll. note.

fn. 63b This is either the raven-headed gnod shbyin Bya-rog gdong-can (attribute: rkang gling cornet) or Bya-rog kyi gdong-pa-can, the vulture-headed one listed as one of the eight dākinī of the mGon-po phyag-bzhi-pa according to the “rGva-lo and Tshal-pa system merged into one (lugs gnis gcig tu sgril)” (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 46–48). Among the parivāra or entourage of eight dākinī, one is represented by the dog-headed acolyte or Khyi'i gdong-pa-can which appears to be associated with the other mGon-Khyi representations mentioned in the Gung thang dkar chag (cf. especially the story of the klu rgyal gTsug-na rin-chen, above fn. 588).

fn. 63c The local rulers or bsad po of Icang-rgyab issue from the sub-lineage of one A-tsa-ra descending from the Yum-brtan byrgvyud (Gyalbo et al. 2000: 189f.). Icang-rgyab evidently refers to the area of present-day Icang (-stod/-smad) in the lower sKyid-chu region. It is reported that Bla-ma Zhang displayed thaumaturgic feats (such as walking on water without sinking, and leaving foot-prints in stones) in order to convert the Icang-rgyab bsad po and others; cf. DL6.834.

gDol should be read as Dol, a locality adjacent to gZhung (fn. 423 above). The activities of the mGon-khyi manifestation appears to be an euphemism of Bla-ma Zhang’s belligerent activities which led to several lingering conflicts with neighbouring local rulers initiated by him in order to secure material support for his hegemonic pursuit. Also cited in Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Vol. IV, Part. 1) 109–110 (Ahmad 1999: 187).
worship my stūpa and circumambulate it, etc. [I] shall revert the harm caused by the sri spirits, etc.” (he) left behind an object of veneration in the form of a dog’s bone. At that moment this very form of bone relic, which contained the [original, i.e.] the actual [essence] of the emanation (sprul pa dngos gzhi bs dus pa) [i.e. Khyi ‘Brong-zhur], was pressed down upon the lungs and heart, etc. of the btsad po, [a ritual executed] at dusk on the 29th [day of the last month of] the waning year, and prayers were made [in order as to] revert all evil omens, vicious sri [threats], major catastrophes and miseries for all living beings. [Above this bone relic] a stūpa was erected, whereupon it was consecrated. It is therefore said that when [the faithful disciples] make their circumambulation, pay their respects and make obeisance worship to this [stūpa], etc. all inauspicious circumstances such as [the harm caused by] the class of nefarious sri spirits are reverted.

[C] [The Tshe-sgrub 'bum-pa, rTa-'bum and Nor-'bum]

The so-called Tshe-sgrub 'bum-pa, the rTa-'bum and the Nor-'bum [reliquaries] were furthermore erected in order to execute the rituals of [securing] the longevity (tshe sgrub) of the former [throne-holding] lineage predecessors and in order to revert losses [incurred concerning horses and cattle], whereupon [these reliquaries gradually] expanded. If homage were paid and offerings made to these [objects of veneration], then [these reliquaries represent] nothing but blessing-bestowing objects known even today to accomplish their aims such as [being capable of] prolonging the life [of people], etc. After drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rye earlier had erected anew a gTsug-lag-khang to the north of the 'Bum-mo-che, along with [representations of] the three types of supports [i.e. statues, scriptures and stūpa] as well as [Chinese-style] roofs, many learned persons who committed themselves to the study of the classic treatises of medicine gathered [there]. rJe Thams cad mkhyen pa [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] too [received] the basic classics of medicine from sman pa dKon-mchog-skyabs, here and even today some [utensils] exist such as one said to be the medicinal bowl (sman tīng) that rJe Thams-cad mkhyen-pa used at that time to personally grind the medical [ingredients] by hand, etc. The family line of the so-called sman sgom 'Bang rgyas-pa, belonging to the descendants of sman pa dKon-mchog-skyabs, appeared there until later times [i.e. most recently]. Nowadays, it appears that one can only visit the [ruined] remains [64a] of the gTsug-lag-khang and within this area also [only] a statue of mGon-po. These [details merely constitute] an abbreviated narrative description of the sKu-'bum chen-mo and its surrounding [satellite stūpa].

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102 The text appears corrupt. It has lo cad. Or should we read of the 60th year of the seagenary cycle, i.e. 1146 A.D.?
103 The “Long-life” or “Life-prolongation” reliquary, the “Horse” and the “Cattle” (nor = nor phyugs) reliquary, respectively.
104 On this figure, see above 19b.
105 Today there are no more traces of these buildings.
The chapel (lha khang) known as Zhang Rin-po-che’s [personal] Western Residence or [also] the Western Dharma-Throne was earlier the private residence [or cella] (gzims chung) of ‘Gro-mgon himself and [the place] where he offered particular disciples secret teachings (lkog chos) such as on [the meditative stages of] visual generation and completion (utpattikrama, sampannakrama) of the esoteric mantra-system, etc. and [thus] it was a blessing-bestowing place too, where he finally passed into nirvāṇa. The image inside this [chapel] was the blessing-bestowing [statue] known as gSung-byon-ma [The Speaking Statue] or gSer-shog-ma [the Gold-leaf Statue] of Bla-ma Zhang.\textsuperscript{80t}

Concerning the history of the stūpa [installed here], at the time when ['Gro-mgon Rin-po-che], by way of applied violent sorcery, [e.g. by] sending forth armies of magically created dogs, etc. was eliminating many sinful people such as those entertaining perverse views against 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, or those fettered by avarice or those who destroy the wealth of others, a time as well when [he] displayed [activities] such as going to teach disciples in other realms having made his body invisible – [at that point Bla-ma Zhang] said to his intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu:"I am going into retreat for seven days. In the meantime do not come [and disturb me]!" When [Dar-ma gzhon-nu] a few days later [nevertheless] peeped through the door-opening [at that point Bla-ma Zhang] said to his intendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu:"I am going into retreat for seven days. In the meantime do not come [and disturb me]!" When [Dar-ma gzhon-nu] a few days later [nevertheless] peeped through the door-opening, he did not see anything on the throne except the [bla ma’s] cloak (sku her) and a luminescent letter A. When the intendant entered [the room] and shouted: “O my bla ma!” this very cloak [of Bla-ma Zhang] known as “The A-Lettered One” [i.e. A-gcig-ma] made the Bla-ma [Zhang] visible [again]. As is well-known, [that very cloak] as well as the precious throne seat which [Bla-ma Zhang] permanently [used] when preaching the Dharma, these two [objects] were subsequently inserted into it [as consecratory fillings], [after the stūpa] had been [properly] erected.

Furthermore, in this chapel are installed] a ras se ma\textsuperscript{80t} image of Mal Yer-pa-ba, the root teacher of [64b] ‘Gro-mgon himself [as well as a statue of] Munindra and an ossuary (gdung rten), the two, [both originally adhering to] the row of older objects of veneration [stemming from] former times. Furthermore, the foot-prints of ‘Gro-mgon himself and of mGon-khyi, as well as the formerly [installed] blessing-bestowing statue [of Dam-pa rgya-gar,\textsuperscript{80t}] known as] Dam-pa rgya-gar-ma, a statue which currently is in the sGrol-ma lha-khang. The walls of the courtyard (mdo ’i khyams) are painted with murals depicting [iconographic scenes] from the three inner, outer and secret biographies of Zhang Rin-po-che, etc. [In fact] this place is a particularly blessed [site of pilgrimage] where water springs gushing forth all by themselves after rJe dhon Blo-bzang nyima [1439–1492 A.D.],\textsuperscript{80t} the 9th throneholder [of dGa’-ldan] established a hermitage. Today it is

\textsuperscript{80t} This is clearly different from the aforementioned Chos-krhi lho-kcog grva-tshang. The Western Residence was located close to the sGom-sde college (see Graph 3).

\textsuperscript{80t} Cf. also Zur chen rnam thar 215a4.

\textsuperscript{80t} See more detailed the biography of Dar-ma gzhon-nu (Chap. II) in bKa’ rgya ma l 114.3–118.3.

\textsuperscript{80t} The term ras se ma either refers to a hoarse cotton or canvas (ras ma) made statue, or, more likely, read ras bse ma, a statue the external surface of which was made from glued, or was varnished or painted with a cotton-like fabrics so as to make it shine.

\textsuperscript{80t} rJe-bsun Dam-pa rGya-gar refers to the Indian saint [Pha] Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas.

\textsuperscript{81t} According to Vaidūrya ser po 152, it was mainly on his incentive that Tshal Gung-thang was turned into a dGe-
known that this hermitage has been absorbed into Chos-khri. [This terminates] the description of the gZims-phug [of Bla-ma Zhang].

[7.] [The Assembly Hall of the Chos-khri and the gZims-khang-shar [Chapels]]

The [16-pillar] Assembly Hall ('du khang) [adhering to] the Chos-khri [Iho-lcog] and the gZims-khang-shar [chapels] was -- if one disregards earlier and later [additions and refurbishments] -- erected anew by Zur-chen [Chos-dbyings rang-grol]. As detailed earlier [in this text], the wall-paintings too were personally executed by Zur(-chen)'s hand. 812

As main support of gZims-khang-shar [the Eastern Residence] the ossuary stūpa (sku gdung gi mchod rten) of the gdan sa ba Sangs-rgyas-'bum was installed. [The place] was also known to hold many [representations of] the three types of supports of body, speech and mind [i.e. statues, scriptures and stūpa] of former times [i.e. prior to the 1546 A.D. fire]. [This seat] is adhering [on the one side] to the fully pure system of dPal-lidan Sa-skyâ but [on the other side] also usitomly devoted to the system of 'Jam mgon [b]Tsong-kha-pa [i.e. the dGe-lugs], [still an account of the provenance of these objects will nevertheless be halted] here with what has been said [so far], since I have not seen any detailed description of the images.

The main support [inside the Chapel of] Chos-khri is the statue of rJe Rin-po-che [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] [known as] bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma. 813 [Further,] the Speaking Statue [gSung-byon-ma] of 'Gro-lugs bastion. The 9th throne-holder of dGa'-ldan was born into the nephew line of bTsong-kha-pa; he held the see 1490–92. Prior to this, 1481 he was elected as chos rje of GSang-phu Gling-smad. Cf. Onoda 1989: 207; Ming mdzad 655.

812 Cf. Sub-chapter C.2 (fol. 52b) above. See also Zur chen rnam thar 323.4–5; 356.3–4. This thorough renewal took place in 1649 A.D.

813 Also bKra-shis [r]Do-kha. It alludes to a specific sculptural form of Tsong-kha-pa so coined after a favourite site of his called bKra-shis rDo-kha located in 'On. Cf. Ferrari 1958: 47, 119; Chan 1994: 510–11; Chos-'phel 2002: 61f. The site is sometimes written bKra-shis rDo-mkhar – here e.g. gter ston Kun-dga-'bum was born (cf. gTer ston lo rgyus 113b4). bTsong-kha-pa sojourne here on several occasions. The original blessing-bestowing statue(s) – seven in all made from clay according to one source – denoted bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma, was (or were) erected in around 1414 A.D., having been manufactured by an artist of magic manifestation (usually an euphemism indicating a highly gifted or talented artist or, conversely, that the images allegedly were considered autogenous, i.e. as naturally created). During bTsong-kha-pa’s sojourn there in 1414–15, he met ‘Gos lo tsa ba; cf. ‘Gos lo rnam thar 9b6–7. They were sponsored by Tsong-kha-pa’s leading patron mi dbang Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. Different legends have been spun around their provenance: One legend purports that bTsong-kha-pa in one day washed his hair seven times, whereupon the magical artist(s) each time manufactured one statue of him. See Dze-smad, dGa’ ldan ngaq sgron thur bu 224; further Tsong kha pa’i rnam thar I 385–86, 542; gShin rje gshed chos byung II 136b2; Shar rtse chos ‘byung 703–04; bSod nams rgyal mthun rnam thar 40a3–4; cf. also DL5 I 165b3–4 for a bKra-shis rDo-kha-ma statue in Khra-brug, reported for 1652. TF Sorensen and Hazod 2005: 84, 86.

One specimen of the Tsong-kha-pa image was installed in Zhal-ras lha-khang in lHa-sa (i.e. Ra-sa ‘Phrul-snag), see Shel rnam thar 32b1–2; another was set up in the mNga’-ris grva tshang (cf. dBus gtsang gnas vigs 177); another was until recently (1947) found in the IInga-mchod grva-tshang (of rTses-thang); cf. Tshong dpon gnas bskor 98. It is unclear when (one of the) statue(s) was brought to Tshal Gung-thang. The distinctive feature of the seven rDo-kha-ma sculptures was that each was hollow and among its consecratory fillings contained hairs which originally belonged to Tsong-kha-pa. Additional samples of this statuary typus are reportedly found in the Potala (in the Nyi-od chamber), at dGa’-ldan in the Byang-rtses’i gzims khang, at bKra-shis lhun-po, Bla-brang bKra-shis’ khyil, sKu’-bum, etc. A gilded
mgon g.Yu-brag-pa chen-po is a blessing-bestowing statue which had been personally blessed with barley (phyag nas ma)" by Zhang Rin-po-che himself and which has also spoken several times. This [statue] delivered many profound teachings to [persons] such as bla ma mDo-sde-mgon of Pho-rog[s]-pa of gTsang" [65a], etc. Once when a pilgrim was paying this image a visit, [he] thought that [the image in reality] was a bla ma living [in the chapel] wherefore he, after having hung his leather bag of [rtsam pa] flour upon the [stone-]lion set up at the doorway, went away saying [to the bla ma]: "Precious bla ma! Please take care of this [bag] for a moment (yug gcig = yad cig)!") In his absence another person arrived, but as he [tried to] carry away the leather bag of flour, the precious image [of Zhang] spoke: “This bag is in my custody, so don’t take it away!” Again, at another time, a thief appeared and gradually took away clothes [from the statue], but when he then [attempted to] take away the monk’s gown [the statue responded]: "I am a bhikṣu monk, so leave [my gown] behind!” Such utterances etc. [prove that] the statue bestows extraordinarily blessings. Furthermore, [this chapel] is [also] known to hold many objects [of veneration] headed by a ras se ma image of Mal Yer-pa-ba, the root teacher of Zhang, a statue of Maitreya, the blessing-bestowing statue[s] of the Ārya Sthaviras with retinue made from nāgā-clay and once brought from the private residence of Byams-chen chos kyi rje Sākya ye-shes. Furthermore [an ensemble of statues of] the 16 Sthaviras, the successive incarnations of the Victor [i.e. Dalai Lama], the throne of the Great 5th, and the blessing-bestowing statue of mGon-po erected by Zur-chen, which directly displayed [wondrous] signs of good and bad, such as, at the point of Khri-chen Gung-thang’s passing into nirvāṇa, it threw a [ritual] dagger on the floor, etc. In particular, this very [monastic] seat is famed for [upholding] an utmost pure doctrine and philosophical view (lta grub = lta ba dang grub mthu)" as well as being famous for its upholders who pay heed to high moral conduct.

bTsog-kha-pa statue with the characteristic dhu lo bubs zhugs (i.e. hollow hair) was manufactured by the famous mid-15th-cent. Sle‘u-chung-pa (hence called Sle‘u-chung-ma; see above fn. 426) which was the bsngo rten for 'Phyong-rygas Chug-mug-nas: cf. DL5 1 108b1–2. For further ref., see e.g. Mi dbang rtogs brjod 298a2; Pan chen chos rgyal mnam thar 299; Grva sa chen bzhig chags tshul [B] 24–25; DL9 [A] 25a4, 32b6. [B] 648, 655; DL10 135, 183; Pan chen blo bzang ye shes mnam thar I 145a3; DL11 351; DL12 549, 582; see also Dung dkar tshig mdzod 194–95.

Bis mdlo dgon chen gdan rabs 415 reports about the existence of a gilded (gsers sku) rDo-kha-ma-styled statue of rDo-bTsog-kha-pa, but here evidently representing a re-manufactured specimen (i.e. taking the original rDo-kha-ma image as model) personally executed (phyag bco) by Pan-chen Byams-pa gling-pa bSod-nams rnam-rgyal (1401–75 A.D.), in other words fairly soon after the manufacture of the originals. This information would suggest that some of the above listed rDo-kha-ma specimen or exemplars indeed may have been manufactured by later sculptors.

bKra-shis rDo-kha is said to have been built upon a former hermitage of rGla lo tsā ha (cf. ‘Bri gung gdan rabs III 187–88; Rin chen phun tshogs rnam thar 186.5, 191.2). In the Se-gseb valley of Upper ’On, the remarkable L-shaped ensemble of five stūpa is found, which in Chan op. cit., 512 is spelled "Tshezig" (?) and mentioned as a foundation of (the rGva-lo disciple) Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang. This appears to be a confusion with the contemporary [Bla-ma] Zhang [g]Sum-thog-pa (from the disciple group of sGam-po-pa) who foundered here the Se-gseb vihāra to which evidently the stūpa belonged. He is inter alia known as teacher of the ‘Bri-gung founder ‘Jig-rten mgon-po (cf. BA Roerich 462, 569, 597, 601, 707; Bri gung gdan rabs III 77. App. V: Table 11: geographical location of bKag-dkar (the village at the entrance to Se-gseb): 29°25'N 91°50'E.

"It indicates that the statue was blessed with especially sacred/blessed barley corns. A statue of the Four-armed Māhākāla and I Cam-dral personally consecrated with sacred grains by Bla-ma Zhang is reported in the Bod-'brug bla-brang. cf. Kam tshang brgyud pa II 143a3–4. Occasionally also spelled phyag gnas ma, it qualifies thus blessed objects.

"Pho-rog mDo-sde-mgon a.k.a. Bya-skyungs-pa (1195–1257 A.D.); he was one of the chief skylungs of Ko-brag-pa (1170–1249/1182–1261 A.D.); cf. e.g. BA Roerich 728.

"I.e. drsī i darsāna and siddhiṇā, i.e. philosophical view and doxographical position; another, clearly less likely reading is lta ba dang sgrub pa, i.e. philosophical position and level of realization.
Consequently, [65b] it is the highest place for serving as support and riches, where heed is payed [to the practise] of the Three [Higher] Disciplines ([lhag pa i] bslab pa gsum, traya-[adhi]śikṣā) of one’s mind. Therefore this [seat] is excellent. Thus, the brief narrative account of the Descriptive Inventory dealing with the [history of] origin of the Gung-thang gTseg-lag-khang including its distinctive monastic communities has for the time being been completed.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (antarāśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa) [65b2–b5]
CHAPTER IV

The Sacred Objects of Veneration

[65b6–72b4]

Fourthly, a brief description [follows] of the receptacles [and how they are to be properly venerated]. Those paying a visit to the receptacles [in the distinct chapels and annexes] [should] orient [themselves] directly towards the receptacles described [here], they then should join the palms of their hands, and – whether standing or sitting with whatever appropriate behaviour – [the pious pilgrim] [expected] to take up his position [in the row of visitors], whereupon [each visiting pilgrim] himself, after having made three prostrations [towards the objects of veneration], [should] hold in his right hand an incense-stick and with his left hand scatter flower petals. He [then should] say:

| His Body [of Buddha] produced from 10 million auspicious perfections |
| His Speech [of Buddha] fulfilling the hopes of an endless [number of] living beings |
| His Mind [of Buddha] beholding without exception [all] knowable [objects] |
| as they [really] are – |
| To him, Foremost among the Śākyas, we respectfully pay our homage. |

To [b] Tsong-kha-pa, the universal embodiment of Compassion, the leader
To the precious [Pan-chen] Blo-bzang ye-shes, the beautiful ornament of
the three [higher] disciplines,
To bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the Holder of the White Lotus,
To these peerless three bla ma, we respectfully pay our homage.

[To] 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag, the Lord, the forefather of the bKa'-brgyud
[To] Heruka, the unification of the animate and inanimate [sphere], all-pervading
[To] [mGon-po] Legs-lidan nag-po [*Krṣṇa Bhagavat/Kalyāṇa-Kāla],
[mGon-po] Phyag-bzhig[-pa] [*Mahākāla] Caturbhujau and
'Dod-khams dbang-phyug-ma [*Kāmadhātvīśvarī [Remati]],
And to the holy assemblage of the Three Highest Jewels (Triratna), we pay our homage.

Thus preceded by a praise and homage, [we may here reiterate again that] the forefather of the teachings of the bKa'-brgyud [school], the one called Zhang g.Yu-brag-pa, being the one carrying many distinguished names, was formerly, immeasurably many aeons ago, a Buddha under the name Tathāgata 'Od-zer Kun-'phags dpal-brtsegs [kyi] rgyal-po, who with his emanation covered [all places] permeated by space. It [Later] in particular, he displayed the mode of taking birth – similar to the fate of [all other] humans – in Tsha-ba-gru, [a locale] adjacent to lHa-lidan sprul-pa'i gtug-lag-khang, the Vajrāsana of Tibet. He relied on numerous bla ma, such as Dvags-gom Tshul-khrims snying-po, etc. and thus brought to perfection [his studies and cultivation of] the three-[fold stages of wisdom accruing from] studying, reflection and meditation. When then [Zhang Rin-po-che] along with [other] bla ma, such as dpal rGy[a-lo-chen-po, Zhang Rin-poche's root teacher [66b], as well as the yi dam and local [protective] deities (gzi bdag), they all established the monastic community and the gtug-lag-khang [of Tshal Gung-thang], [erected in

\[81\] A manifestation of Avalokiteśvara; so also in the Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar 69; Dzam gling rgyan geig 1061.
order] to render ritual service to the IHa-Idan Jo-bo [statues], he made prophecies which [proved] highly beneficial for the Teaching [of Buddha] and the living beings in the future. In particular, due to the [fact that] Zhang personally [in his vision] saw at this very site in the form of a mandala of Cakrasamvara along with its buildings and reliquaries, he wished to establish a gTsug-lag-khang. At the time he supervised the foundation of the walls, the Sangs-rgyas rab-bdun, the Eight Medicine [Bhaisajyaguru Sugata] Buddhas ([sMan bla] bDe-gshogs brgyad), etc. arrived on the firmament. [Thus] occurred specific auspicious portents which brought about the strewing of flowers, etc.

[A] [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang dBus-ma]

Although similarly in former times the Upper and the Lower Courtyard (Khyams-stod, -sdma), as well as the intermediate and outer ambulatories (bar skor, phyi skor) [of Tshal Gung-thang] [in lay-out] showed no difference from the IHa-sa'i gTsug-lag-khang, at the time of the great fire of Ghang-thang [in 1546 A.D.] [these edifices] for the most part disappeared. Later, the inner ambulatory (nang 'khor = skor) was renovated along with the chapel[s]. Thus, concerning this very statue of the Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po alias the IHa-chen dpal-bar [installed in] the gTsang-khang dBus-ma of the gTsug-lag-khang: [a statue] made from dznyee kslm cast metal.**

** The li ma alloy cast metal denoted dznyee kslm (var. ji / rdzi / zi khyim; origin unclear, corrupt for? kamsa) is found in a variety of forms. So-called pure dznyee kslm is obtained from the earth and resembles natural bronze. The colour is dark and the metal itself is of fine quality. Artificial dznyee kslm is an alloy mixed with gold, silver and other precious metals in varying degrees. Lo Bue argues that artificial zi khyim = li khra is nothing but brass and natural zi khyim = li dmar is copper; see Lo Bue in Oddy and Zwalf 1991: 41–44. For further details on li ma; cf. Dung dkar tshig mdzod 1955–56 based upon Karma Rang-byung rdo-rje’s Rin po che sna tshogs kyi brtag thabs and De’u-dmar’s Rig pa hzo yi gnas la ‘dod rgur sgyur ba ‘od kyi sngan brgyan.

Countless dznyee kslm li ma alloy statues (usually small-sized) are reported to exist all over Tibet. Among the most prominent, we may list: in DGa’-Idan and Potala (in Li-ma Iha-khang); a Vairocana statue (cf. ‘Dsam gling rgyan gcig 394; DL7 58–49, 617), and at mTshur-phu statues of Hevajra, etc. (mTshur phu dkar chag 76–77, 158) referring to a statue of Guru Rinpocche discovered once by Sangs-rgyas gling-pa. A similar dznyee kslm statue of Munindra Grong-khyer-ma (cf. fn. 737 above), a gift to Padma dkar-po, was donated in 1577 A.D. by the Rin-spungs-pa ruler ‘Jig-rten dbang-phyug grags-pa; cf. Pad dkar rnam thar III 5b1: in the same year, the ‘Bras-spungs chos rje bSod-nams rgya-mtsho at Ko-khyim of ‘Dam (on his way to Altan Qan in Mongolia) offered to his faithful sKu-mdun chos-mdzad, a dznyee kslm li ma statue of Muni, considered as a miniature offering (hzo phud) from the manufacture of the Jo-bo rin po che (in IHa-sa); see DL3 90a6–b1, 92a3–4. Most spectacular, sTag-lung Ngag-dbang ram-rgyal reports in 1605 the principal image on Potala, a zi khyim Munendra statue originally erected in Varanasi; cf. sTag lung chos ‘byung I 582.

The 2nd bDe-chen Chos-khor Kun-dga’ lhun-grub reports the acquisition of a thugs dam statue of Vaisravana in the late 1630’s originally belonging to Bu-ston and made from this alloy. Cf. Kun dga’ lhun grub rnam thar 152.2. ‘Bri-gung Chos kyi grags-pa (1595–1659) reports a Hayagriva statue brought along from bSam-yas once by Rang-byung rdo-rje; cf. Chos gsags rnam thar I 233.1–2. SLe-lung reports in 1719 a Muni statue denoted IHa-yul-ma donated to sMin-grol-gling by the Phug-nas sde pa ‘Gyur-med Tshe-dbang phun-tshogs; cf. SLe rnam thar 190b4–5; for another statue in ‘Bras-mo dgon-pa in gTsang, see Myang chos ‘byung 35. mDo-kmar-ba mentions for 1724 A.D. a personal statue of his, a jinendra Ajita made from this alloy, originally a thugs dam image of Chag-lo (1197–1264 A.D.); cf. bKa’ blon rtags brjod 18. In 1901 A.D., the 13th Dalai Lama refers to a special statue of Muni; cf. DL13 274. Finally, a number of early statues at ‘Bri-gung (esp. of the founder), for a discussion of their provenance, cf. ‘Bri gung gdan rabs III 95, IV 29–30, 36–37, 43. Another rten skal statue is the ‘ja ’zug ma Amitāyuh statue; cf. DL11 444. Finally, a gdung rten made of this alloy is reported from a visit in 1949 to Chu-mig ring-mo monastery in gTsang: Tshong dpon gnas bsksr 160. The same text (48) lists a Muni statue called rGya-gar grong-gshogs-ma (in Tibetan Me-sdug-ma) in gTsang.
Once erected by 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che, which suffered minor fire damage, was inserted into the heart [i.e. torso of Jo-bo Byang-chub chen-po] in the form of jñanasa\~tva [i.e. wisdom being]. In height measuring nine fathoms, and formerly in nirman\~k\~aya-attire, it was decorated with a ras se diadem, etc. by Khri-chen Ngag-dbang mchog-Idan [1677–1751 A.D.], whereby the [mien of the] countenance was altered. Later, skyabs-mgon rGyal-tshab De-mo Rin-po-che [i.e. Ngag-dbang 'Jam-dpal bDe-legs rgya-mtsho]\textsuperscript{\(8\text{a}\)} donated these richly jewelled ornamental [items currently to be seen] such as a diadem made from gilt copper, etc.

Furthermore, to the left and right side, are four [statues of] s\~ravaka and [bodhi]sattva and below the eight Bodhisattva-sons along with the [two] wrathful \textsuperscript{67a} [deities]. They were manufactured exclusively from clay mixed with herbal substances (s\~man 'dam), etc. [garnished with ingredients] such as blessing-bestowing items (byin rten) [like] brocade [pieces] stemming from many mah\~apur\~usa, such as the Indian and Tibetan pandita and siddha, from rJe [b'Tsong-kha-pa], [his two] spiritual sons as well as successive Dalai Lamas and Pan-chen Lamas, etc., the main ingredient being the “corpse salt” (spur tshva) [i.e. ashes extracted after the cremation] of bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho, the previous rGyal-dbang [i.e. 7th Dalai Lama], the crest ornament of Existence and Peace (bhava-\~santi = sams\~aara and nirv\~ana). These [statues], fully wrapped up with dharma\~k\~aya-s\~ar\~ira-relics [inserted] as consecratory fillings, were consecrated by the majority of learned scholars of the Snow-capped Land [of Tibet] such as rGyal-dbang [i.e. the Dalai Lamas], father and spiritual sons, whereby they were made into merit fields for living beings. The [statues of] Amit\~ayus installed to the left and right have evidently been erected by Khri-chen Rin-po-che dGe-'dun phun-tshogs [1648–1724 A.D]. All [the decor such as] the gowns, along with the canopies and the “floor-coverings” of these [statues] too, were donated by [Dar-han]-m\~khan Rin-po-che.

\textbf{[B]} [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang nub-ma alias Glo-'bur-nub-ma]

Concerning the [miniature] image (\textquoteleft dr\~a sku\textquoteright) [i.e. simulacrum] called Cint\~am\~ani [Yid-bzhin nor-bu] of Zhang Rin-po-che inside the gTsang-khang nub-ma, formerly called Glo-'bur nub[-ma]: it was formerly erected as bzo phud [first offering specimen] for [the erection of the large statue of] lHa-chen dpal-'bar. It was personally consecrated (rab gnas ma) by Zhang himself, [and it was a statue] which spoke on several occasions. [Such incidents of its wondrous properties]: The image itself possessed permanent heat, so even during winter-time when it was exceedingly cold [it was able] directly to ensure that the oblation water [on the alter] in this sanctuarium never froze. At one point when rGyal-ba bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dalai Lama] was paying this image a visit, it took off its hat [in respectful salutation]. [Further,] although rTogs ldan Za-lung-pa chen-po [once] in inconceivably [many ways] underwent austerities in [order to enhance his] practise of [meditative] realization, still no insight was born [in him]. In a dream a d\~ak\~ini spoke to him: “Make prayers to this image [of Zhang]!” When he [subsequently] offered a mandala in front \textsuperscript{67b} of the statue, and persistently made prayers, he [finally] won insight in front of this very statue, etc.\textsuperscript{\(8\text{b}\)} [Such wonders provide proof that this statue indeed] is blessing-bestowing.

For further details on this metal, cf. Lo Bue ref. above; Dagyab 1977: 51–52, based upon 'Jigs-med gling-pa's Rin po che brtags thabs in gTsang tshogs 114.6–7, 120.3, 120, 15 (Pl. 74). See also von BST von Schroeder 762–764. 802 e.g. with statuary samples of Ksitigarbha.

\textsuperscript{8a} For other restorations completed by De-mo sprul sku, cf. Klong-rdol gSung 'bum II 456.

\textsuperscript{8b} Cf. above 22b, Za-lung-pa chen-po is rigs ldan m\~Dzets-pa, the founder of Za-lung monastery. In 1252 A.D.
The second [statue] to the right is that of the First Throne-holder mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes, and the third to the left is the statue of the one called nye gnas Dar-ma gzhon-nu. All three statues were made from the same materials and erected at the same time, therefore [they are considered] blessing-bestowing statues belonging to the row of main statues [installed during] the life-time of Zhang. The second [statue] to the right is that of rGyal-mchog lnga-po chen-po, then [follow] statues of bkA'-brgyud bla ma such as Te-lo [Tilopā], Na-ro [Nāropa], etc. [Installed to the] left [were statues of] rGyal-mchog dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho, along with statues of [Bla-ma] Zhang’s root teachers, dPal rG[va]-a-lo, Dvags-sgom Tshul-khrims snying-po, Byang-sems ’Ol-kha-ba, Mal Yer-pa, the teacher rNgog-pa and bla ma Be (~ Bai)-ro-ba, [all] bless-bestowing statues which had been erected by Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol and subsequently consecrated by Zur-chen personally as well as by the successive rGyal-mchog-s. [Further on] at the top-most position of the row to the left [the statue of rGyal-mchog bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho [the 7th Dalai Lama] [is installed], made from gilt copper and equipped with a backrest. Furthermore, the [different items and decors] such as canopies and gown for the distinct statues, along with [different] offering articles, were provided by [Dar-han-]mkhan Rin-po-che, master and pupils.

Concerning the main object [of veneration] installed to the left in the gTsang-khang [shar-ma], formerly called Glo-'bur shar-ma, [it must initially be said that] at a later point sku mdun Dar-han [bsKal-bzang yon-tan], master and pupils, expanded [the sanctuarium] in the northern direction, whereupon they had new paintings made. The main [object of] this [sanctuarium] is the so-called bKra-shis 'od-bar ossuary of Zhang Rin-po-che, which, after [Zhang] had passed into nirvāṇa [68a], had been finished up until the third plinth (parisanda) of this sKu ’bum chen-mo by the personal disciples of [Zhang] such as nye gnas Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc. At the point when [Zhang’s] corpse was being cremated upon [the third plinth of the reliquary], the skull, the tongue and the eyes, these three [relics of Bla-ma Zhang] along with [other] relics were inserted [into the ossuary] as consecratory fillings. It is an exceptional reliquary to which the disciples and siddha-ascetics [of Bla-ma Zhang] can direct their prayers. If one pays homage and makes offerings to this [reliquary], etc. it is maintained that one shall not be dispatched to the damned places (durgati) and one [will] even [be able to] cleanse all defilements of many previous lives.

Concerning the [statue] known as the Speaking Tārā [gSung-byon-ma]; it is a particular main object [of veneration] of earlier time [i.e. prior to Great Fire of 1546 A.D.] which constituted a reliquary, [being the object] of offering prayers [in order to secure both] temporary and ultimate [happiness in this life and beyond] for the family lineage of the sKyid-shod Tshal-pa. Further, the [other] cast metal [statues of Munindra, etc.] and old reliquaries were [initially] installed in the dilapidated chapel in the wake of the fire [of 1546 A.D.], but when [later] Dar-han[-mkhan

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\(^{821}\) The text is here evidently corrupt since this position is already taken up by the statue of mNyam-med. Alternatively, it may allude to the second statue to the right of mNyam-med.

\(^{822}\) These states refer to the high statue (abhīṣudaya), i.e. the three higher realms (svarga) of samsāra and the state of the definite goodness (nihīreya), i.e. liberation from the same samsaric existence. Cf. fn. 5 above.
Rin-po-che], master and pupils erected the [new] khang brtsegs abode here [in the sanctuarium], etc. [they] were rearranged in one place. The statue of Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas was brought to this site from the cave hermitage of Zhang. The statues [installed] in the northern, the eastern and the southern directions [of the sanctuarium] [represented figures] manufactured from clay mixed with herbal substances, [and containing] inconceivably [many] blessing-bestowing [objects] beginning with the “corpse salt” (spur tshva) [i.e. ashes extracted after the cremation] of the former Dalai Lama [rGyal-mchog gong-ma] Blo-bzang bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho. As consecratory fillings too [they contained] indescribably [many] relics, etc. The canopies, and offering articles along with gowns too were manufactured anew by sku mdun [Dar-han-jmkhan Rin-po-che [68b].

[D] [The Object of Veneration in the Tshe-dpag-med lha-khang]

Concerning the main object [of veneration] of the Tshe-dpag[-med] lha-khang: it is a statue of Amitāyus made from gilt copper. It was erected during the time when the sKyid-shod zhabs drung bKra-shis rab-brtan, father and sons were conducting a large-scale renovation of this sanctuarium, its main statue and retinue. [In fact] it is a blessing-bestowing [statue] which had been consecrated after Thams cad mkhyen pa bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama] had been invited [to Gung-thang]. The silver-plated ossuary [installed] in the northern direction is the ossuary of Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol, which had been erected by the Great 5th Dalai Lama and which had been donated [to this sanctuarium by the latter] along with the bKa’ ‘gyur [edition] [initially] brought from rGyal-rtse. Further, two printed sets of bKa’ ‘gyur and one complete edition of the bsTan’ ‘gyur were donated by sku mdun [Dar-han-jmkhan Rin-po-che. Moreover, the statues as well as the ossuaries along the southern side were erected by Zur-chen. The majority of gowns and offering articles were donated by sku mdun Tshang.]

[E] [The Objects of Veneration in the Byams[-pa] [lha]-khang]

It is known that the main object [of veneration] of the Byams[-pa lha]-khang, the statue of Maitreya, was erected by Khri-chen Gung-thang-pa [i.e. dGe-'dun phun-tshogs]. The statues [installed] to the right and the left, along with the brocade [wall] Thangka, the main figure of which was Munindra were [all] erected anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che. They are blessing-bestowing statues, objects that have been blessed and personally consecrated by many holy mahāpurusa such as the rGyal-dbang [i.e. the Dalai Lamas], father and sons, etc. Concerning the brocade [wall] Thangka, the main figure of which was Munindra, it is a blessing-bestowing reliquary personally consecrated by Phyag na padmo bSod-nams rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 3rd Dalai Lama]. The [statues of] the wrathful deities [erected in accordance with] the [system] of the early translation [period] and [installed] in the front were erected by the Omniscient 5th [i.e. Dalai Lama] along with his patrons, [set up] in order to revert the evil [forces] in the region. Later, they were brought to this gTsug-lag-khang [69a]. The gowns and the object articles of the main statue and the retinue too were supplied anew by Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, master and pupils.

821) This figure is still not properly identified.
[F] [The Objects of Veneration in the mGon-khang]

The main object in the mGon-khang is the [four-armed] Ye-shes mgon-po along with its retinue [of five acolytes], six [in all] which had been erected by the personal disciples of "Gro-mgon, such as the attendant Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc. [It] displayed numerous wonderous signs; not only during the Great Fire [of 1546 A.D.] when mGon-po [succeeded] in instantly quelling the fire merely by stretching out its legs, but also at one point when the former rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama] paid it a visit, [how] amrta dripped from its feet, as well as once when Zur-chen Chos-dbyings rang-grol for the first time paid [the statue] a visit, white rays of light emitted from the heart of mGon-po, whereby the entire interior of the mGon-khang became covered in a diffuse gray light.\(^{84}\)

As for the statue [of the Raven-headed Mahikila] Bya-rog gdong-can [*KLkiisya] too, during numerous occasions when conflicts [and warfare raged] a raven actually manifested itself from its heart and visually displayed [wondrous] signs such as mustering applied violent sorcery (mngon sp~od) against malevolent foes. The stuffed effigy (sku gsob) of [Śrī Devi, dPal-ldan lha-mo] "Dod-khams dBang-phyug-ma, famed as the Gung-thang lHa-mo, too is known to have been erected by sprul sku [the master artist] dBu-Gru-bzhi.\(^{85}\) There exist numerous narratives [which corroborate] how fearsome and efficient this lHa-mo is, and how having directly shown her countenance to rGyal-dbang dGe-'dun rgya-mtsho [i.e. the 2nd Dalai Lama] too,\(^{86}\) he accomplished his objectives an unhindered way. [Although the statue] formerly was installed in the lHa-mo-khang, [erected along one wall] of the dBu-rtshe of the gTsug-lag-khang, it was [however] later [removed and installed] in this very mGon-khang. The brocade gowns of these statues were manufactured anew by Dar-han[-mkhan Rin-po-che], master and disciples. The silken ceremonial scarfs and [69b] the objects of offerings for the protective deities, etc. were presented by gZhung-sa rin-po-che [i.e. the precious Tibetan Government or the Dalai Lama] and Dar-han-mkhan Rin-po-che, etc.

[G] [The Objects of Veneration in the rNam-sras lha-khang]

The two statues of the gold-coloured Vaisravana as well as the [Red-lanced] mDung-dmar-can [i.e. *Raktaśūla Vaiśravana] are known to be old statues which even during the fire [of 1546 A.D.] did not catch fire wherefore they are known as Me-thub-ma [i.e. Fire-proof]. In particular, the [statue of] mDung-dmar-can displayed numerous [wondrous] signs such as possessing a countenance completely unsoiled by any dust particles as well as being able to shed amrta from its eyes following the visit paid by the former rGyal-mchog [i.e. the 7th Dalai Lama], etc. [Narratives also exist which tell] how the sorrow of poverty is eliminated merely by beholding its countenance, etc. The filled statue [installed here] is an utmost important blessing-bestowing stuffed statue of Jo-mo sMan-gcig-ma, the gzhi hdag of the holy pilgrim site (gnas chen) of Bya-mkhar. The brocade gowns, the hand insignia and the ceremonial scarves etc. of the main object and its retinue had been presented by sku mdun [Dar-han-[mkhan Rin-po-che [i.e. bsKal-bzang yon-tan]. Furthermore, the wall paintings, the wall plaster, the spen bad [Tamarisk-stalk] roof frieze, the

\(^{84}\) mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-Idan reports a similar episode in 1650; \textit{mGon po rnam thar} 75a2-4.

\(^{85}\) For a relic raised by this artist (var. \textit{sprul sku mGo-gru-bzhi}) in lHa-sa, \textit{lHa ldan dkar chag} 29.8-11; Shakabpa \textit{Guide} 69. The latter text adds that in the Ra-sa temple there is a statue of the wrathful dPal-lha with a tortoise-face or dPal-lha drag-mo SBal-gdong-ma made from natural black stone excavated by Bla-ma Zhang in Bya[ng]-mkhar.

\(^{86}\) During the visits of this Dalai Lama in 1511 A.D. cf. DL2 526.
gilt roof ornaments as well as the offering requisites, etc. adhering to all [sections of] the gTsug-lag-khang. both the outer, the inner and the intermediate parts, were in the main manufactured anew or repaired by sku mdun [Dar-han-Jmkhan Rin-po-che, master and servants.

[H] [The SKU-'bum chen-mo]

As for the SKU-'bum chen-mo: [Once] at bZang-yul Mon-[pa-]gdong, 'Gro-mgon [Zhang] himself in a vision perceived how the cremated remains of his [own] body, after having entered nirvāṇa, rested upon the SKU-'bum chen-mo, which [at that point had been finished] up until the third plinth (parisanda); [and he saw how] from the upper, the intermediate sphere as well as from the underworld, the three, the deva, the nāga, the gandharva, as well as the disciples etc. were lamenting and worshipping [his bodily remains]. In accordance with this, when [in fact] later the master and his disciples were involved in erecting the stūpa, close to the point when they had brought it to completion up until the third plinth (parisanda); [70a] [Zhang] arrived at the [plain in front of] the Western Dharma-Throne [Chos-khrí-nub] [in Gung-thang] and gave teachings about the benefits, etc. of erecting a stūpa. At the end of [this proclamation] Zhang himself, having reached the age of 71, in the female Water-Ox year [1193 A.D.] at dawn on the 10th day of the fifth month77 demonstrated the way of passing into nirvāṇa. His bodily were brought onto the third plinth of the stūpa to be cremated, but [the body] initially would not catch fire. When his disciples then with great intensity offered prayers, [Zhang] emerged elevated above the funeral pyre and spoke numerous instructions. Thereupon, the fire of wisdom ignited all by itself from his heart, [the remnants of the] bones, except his heart and his tongue, etc., were wrapped up [and inserted] into the upper part of the bum pa [dome of the Grand Stūpa]. The different [dome sections], including [the so-called] eastern Iha-khung [located] inside the dome (bum pa) were erected by [his] disciples, whereas the Iha khang of the other directions [i.e. the western, the northern and the southern located at the base of the dome] and the basic deities of the Vajradhātu-[mandala] [were erected] as the principal objects of worship crafted in the aspect of the Pañcakūla [Buddhas], as well as [constructing minor] statues of the retinue, [all] being appropriately executed both in painted as well as in relief form.

Although a complete set of mural depictions of the 1000 images [of Buddha] as well as wall paintings (rgyud ris), etc. had been erected by drung chen sMon-lam rdo-rje, in the meantime, disregarding the fact that the basic deities [of the Vajradhātu-mandala remained intact], the majority of the other objects of veneration had sunk into [utter] decay. Later, since Zur-chchen sprul sku had the statues of the [minor] deities of the entourage supplemented in accordance with the mandala of the system of [Vajra-]śekhara (rtse mo'i thugs dkyil = ? [rdo rje'i] rtse mo'i lugs [kyl dkyil 'khor]), it goes without saying [that the visiting devotees should] venerate, make offerings and circumambulate these [holy objects of veneration]. Finally, whoever would behold [this Stūpa] with pellucid eyes, or merely touch it, or smell [the scent of its fragrant materials] or hear the ringing of the wind-bells [decorating it], [this devotee] will doubtlessly produce the seeds which shall enable [him] to [win final] liberation after the door to a [re]birth in the [three] lower realms (durgati) [70b] had been closed.

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77 It corresponds to cu. 12.06.1193 A.D. of the Western calendar. For his death: Deb 'dmar 128.
The majority of the surrounding [minor] stūpa [that accompanied the sku ‘bum chen mo] were known to have been erected by the disciples from the leftover [building materials] of the sku ‘bum chen mo, who added to it in the form of the eight [maha-caitya. [Again] Some of these are ossuaries of former successive throne-holders. Furthermore, [one finds] the Tshe-sgrub ‘bum-pa erected in order to avert any obstacle to the life of some of the family members [of the Tshal ruling lineage] as well as a stūpa erected in order to avert any damage [in form of the loss of] horse or cattle, etc. Even today, it is maintained that anyone who prostrates or circumambulates these stūpa, will, after having averted any obstacle to one’s life, secure endless benefits such as the prolongation of one’s life or prosperity and riches in the form of horse or cattle, etc.

[I] [The Sri-gcod ‘bum-pa or Khyi-'bum]

As for the [stūpa] known as Sri-gcod ‘bum-pa or Khyi-'bum: during the life-time of ‘Gro-mgon, the Four-armed [chos skyong] Ye-shes mGon-po, having manifested himself miraculously as Khyi-dom-nag, all the most important magnetizing (dhang, vaśa) and subjugating (drag, abhiccāra) [hegemonic] commitments of [Bla-ma] Zhang [Rin-po-che] were executed. At the point when the emanation was close to collecting [itself, i.e. returning to its original form, Ye-shes mGon-po] (sprul pa bsdu bar nye ba), [he came] into the presence of Zhang, and pledged: “Safeguarding [your] future disciples along with their lineages, [I] shall reverse all harm such as damages [caused] by the sri spirits in order that they can pay respect and worship my stūpa and circumambulate it, etc!” He thereafter left behind an object of veneration in the form of a dog’s bone, and the stūpa was erected upon this very bone relic which contained [the original form, i.e. essence of] the emanation (sprul pa bsdu pa’i sku rus). It is therefore said that endless benefits accrue such as allaying all harms such as injuries caused by [nefarious] sri spirits if [the faithful disciples adequately] make their circumambulations, make praises or pay their respect to this [stūpa], etc.  

[J] [The Objects of Veneration of the gZims-chung nub-ma]

As for [the chapel] formerly known as gZims-phug nub-ma, currently [71a] [merely] gZims-phug: It was [formerly] the private residence [or cella] (gZims chung) of Zhang Rin-po-che and the place where he offered particular disciples secret teachings (lkog chos) such as on [the meditative stages of] visual generation and completion (utpatti[krama], sampanna[krama]) of the esoteric mantra system, etc. Since [Bla-ma Zhang] finally demonstrated the way of passing into nirvāna, it is a [particularly] blessing-bestowing place. The image inside this [chapel] was the blessing-bestowing statue known as Nga-'dra-ma [“My Likeness’”] or gSer-shog-ma [the Gold-leaved Statue] [of Bla-ma Zhang] and it was [a statue] consecrated (phyag nas ma) by ’Gro-mgon personally.  

828 The material of the statue was made from ras se and regarding its consecratory fillings inside [the statue] it not only contained many particular [sacred objects], but also spoke on several occasions. Furthermore, [in this chapel one encounters] two ossuaries (gdutzg rten) along with [a statue of] Munindra, [originally adhering to] the row of older objects of veneration [from] former times. A blessing-bestowing statue known as ras se ma, an image of rJe-btsun

829 Offerings conducted at this stūpa in 1756 are reported; cf. DL7 1021.

829 See e.g. DL9 [A] 37a1–2.
Yer-pa-ba, indistinguishable from Vajrayoginī, [the teacher] definitely counted among the four root bla ma of ’Gro-mgon. [Further] foot-prints of Zhang personally and of mGon-khyi, as well as holy scriptures as already described above, and as a blessing-bestowing throne [once used] when [Zhang] finally demonstrated the way of passing into nirvāṇa. Using many bless-bstowing objects as consecratory fillings such as the personal cloak of [Bla-ma] Zhang known as “the A-Lettered One” [i.e. A-gcig-ma], etc. [these were inserted into] a stūpa erected by his disciples. In the courtyard many highly blessing-bestowing old and new [sacred objects such as] paintings of the peaceful and wrathful gods are also found, as well as, most importantly, [depictions] of the Biography [i.e. ideal life] of Zhang himself displaying the way of passing into nirvāṇa.

[Concluding intermediate stanzas (antaraśloka, bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa)] [71a6–71b4]
CHAPTER V

[The Virtuous Benefits (phan yon, anuśāmsa)
Accruing from Visiting the Objects]

[71b5–76b6]

Fifthly, as thus delineated above the founder of the Gung-thang dPal gyi gTug-lag-khang, the sanctuary including their objects [of veneration], was Gro-mgon [Zhang], father and sons [i.e. his disciples] and the way these [buildings and objects] had to be shown respect and reverence in all brevity have accordingly been delineated in accordance with the sacred writings of the former successors and authoritative oral discourses. Now, if we turn [our attention towards] offering a brief explication of the benefits accruing from paying homage and making offerings to these [objects], [we may start with a description being] in accordance with the explications [found] in the [Prajñāpāramitā] Ratnagunasamcaya[-gāthā] [Yon tan po che bsdus (\(= sdud\) pa)].

If someone equal to the sand (\(ji = bye\)) [found] in the river Ganges, in the fields Would discipline in Arhantship as many sentient beings as that, Whoever having copied this Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) And would give this book to another sentient being – he would have the more distinguished merit.

and according to the Lord Nāgārjuna [in his Suhrlekha, bShes pa’i spring yig] since

Just like figures of Sugata made from wood
Or the like, to which wise men pay homage.

The most important [point to make] in times [like] these having uniquely attained [a precious human body endowed with the states] of [eight] freedoms and [ten] opportunities (ksana-sampat, dal ’byor) is that one should not delude oneself. Having entered the portal to the precious Teaching [of the Buddha], one should at least receive the fully pure basis of [a prohibitive novice] training (siksāpada) including seeking refuge in the Three Jewels. In addition, relying correctly upon true spiritual friends, if one is able to establish the karmic residues (vāsanā) in one’s consciousness including the instruction (zhe dam = zhal gdam) to practise what has been taught by these [kalyānamitra], this is more sublime than all other roots of merit that agitate the three doors [i.e. body, speech and mind]. It is also the objective behind the mental intent of the Jinas and their sons [i.e. Bodhisattva]. Should one, either due to means or due to capability, prove unable to [act]

---


\[
yāvanti gājanādivālikatulyakṣetre
tāvanti sattvā arahanti vinayā kaścit |
yas caiva praṇjā ima pāramitā likhitvā parasavattī pustaku rādēya viśiṣṭapunyavah ||
\]

This hyperbolical analogy is cherished in canonical and hermeneutical literature, and frequently cited; see e.g. Dzam gling rgvyun gcig 923.17–19; bSam yas dkar chag 242–43.


82 The human form endowed with optimal conditions for practising Dharma; cf. e.g. sGam-po-pa’s Thar rgyan.
accordingly, yet having made the [Three] Jewels the object of their mind and taken refuge, if they by way of reciting specific mantric formulae, making prayers or rendering ritual service to specific objects of veneration by way of making prostration and homage, by way of erecting new statues, whether painted or sculptured, of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, by way of repairing old [dilapidated temples and objects], or by rendering service to the lha khang lacking veneration, etc. thus on a daily basis developed and expanded a basis of merits, and thus [having been able to] grasp the essence in connection [with the state of eight] freedoms and [ten] opportunities, then the wealth accumulated by their own means will not be wasted. Based upon this, and having cleansed any karmic obscuration, they will due to the compassion stemming from the [Three] Jewels easily realize all the objectives of temporary and ultimate [happiness]," reduce [cases of] illness and expand [their material] wealth.

[72b] The production of roots of merits too will increase steadily, etc. [Such] immeasurable benefits [accruing from these activities] have been spoken of in many unerring words by the Jina.

In particular, as delineated above, Zhang Rin-po-che himself subsumes the essential nature of the karmic activities of [all] the Jinas and [Bodhisattva] sons, wherefore these [sacred] images too are not just manifestations of images, [whether] painted or sculptured, [erected] for the sake of promoting the benefit of the living beings, but [embody also] the very essential nature of Wisdom (ve shes kyi ngo bo nyid, *jñānasvabhāvata). Therefore, the benefit accruing from making offerings, etc. to these [images of Tshal Gung-thang] are [far] larger compared to the offerings given to other gTsug-lag-khangs; still, since our mind has been suppressed by a thick [layer of] residues of karmic obscurations (karmāvarāṇavāsanā) [abstaining from doing this previously] is [surely] due to our having paid no heed! Now, since not only the holy personages of former times as well as the disciple lineage of Zhang Rin-po-che, who had all reached the lofty level of accomplishment (siddha), have enthusiastically applied themselves to render service to these objects of veneration [at Tshal Gung-thang], now also the Jina, father and son [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa and his two favourite disciples, etc.] have extensively made offerings to and praised [these images]. These [holy saints] have thus executed [these activities], having in mind that [these objects indeed] are particular [blessing-bestowing objects]. The [authoritative] sources for these [activities] have been [amply] expounded in [different] sūtra, tantra and sāstra, still citing these [authoritative canonical sources] would [easily] develop into a huge heap of letters, wherefore [we shall abstain here from further elaboration] and whoever may wish to know [more] may look into the different sūtra and sāstra.

[Concluding eleven [15- and 9-syllable] Stanzas [72b5–73b2]

** See fn. 822 above.
[Colophon, Acknowledgements, Benedictory Prayers and Dedicatory Transference of Merit]
[73b2–76b6]

[The writing of] this [treatise] denoted "A Descriptive Inventory of the Glorious Skyed-shod Gung-thang Temple including the History of its Origin, [also called] The Injunction of Jagannātha [Blama Zhang], [which resembles] A Current of Ambrosia" was with great devotion and aspiration encouraged by dge slong Ngag-dbang yar-'phel, the [current] dhu mdzad of the Gung-thang Chos-khris grva-tshang, by dge slong bsTan-'dzin chos-'phel, by the retired (zur pa) 'cham[s] dpon, dge slong bsKal-bzang mthu-stobs, the current 'cham[s] dpon in-charge (las thog pa), by bsKal-bzang chos-grags, the dge skos of the Grva-tshang, as well as by dge slong Thub-bstan bsam-'phel, the current joint dkon gnyer of the mChod-khang chen-mo and sphyi gnyer of the Grva-tshang, etc. -- [urged] by many such personages knowledgeable of the two systems (niti) [i.e. the secular and ecclesiastic]. In particular, dka' bu Grags-pa mkhas-grub [dpal-bzang-po], "an advocate of the basic theoretical treatises (gzhung lugs smra ba, *grantha-vāda) and adhering to the leading monks [of the author's own] college, [urged the author] with [the following] statement: "With the old records dealing with these themes [i.e. Tshal Gung-thang and its inventory], it is difficult to [acquire] a suitable understanding of the present [holdings]. A description of the objects of veneration, etc. is essential for these esteemed objects of veneration, still it is nonetheless difficult to gather [a proper and informative picture] from the old records. By all means [we therefore] need a descriptive inventory [delineating] its former history authentically bringing together all [relevant] explanations of the objects of veneration like this!" On account of [such] repeated and emphatic motivations, and due to having been fully accepted by many holy spiritual friends such as the Lord (mnga' bdag) of the Fully Perfect Teaching, rje btsun Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan [1713–1793 A.D.] etc., a little discernment was obtained concerning the general and specific [teachings contained] in the precious sacred scripture of Jina (jina-pravacana), whereupon the sPos-dga' ri-khrud" retreatant, the lazy person, [carrying] the ordination name Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phrin-las rnam-rgyal [eventually brought this work] to completion at the end of the fifth day of the 12th Hor month of the male Water-Tiger year [1782 A.D.]," being the [36th] year

84 Chos rje Zhul snga nas (or dpal-lidan bla ma dam-pa mTshungs-med) Grags-pa mkhas-grub [dpal-bzang-po] (alt. name Grags-pa mtha'-yas) is registered as Se-ra smad mkhan-po. He is listed as a younger contemporary and a main disciple of our Gung thang dkar chag author 'Jog-ri-ba, wherefore his floutir should be situated in the later or last part of the 18th century, and is also registered in the writings of the 8th Dalai Lama as one who urged the hierarchy to write.

Formerly, (evidently) serving as geol dpon to the 7th Dalai Lama. Grags-pa mtha'-yas is mentioned in the biography of Dl.7 and Dl.8 484 and Dl.9 [A] 45b2–3, 60a5. At the latest, he is registered as mkhan zur for 1808. In fact, he was maternal uncle (zhang po) to bsKal-bzang rnam-rgyal (= tsha bo drung vig bsKal-bzang yon-tan; cf. fn. 733 above). He served as mkhan po che for many years in the inner circles of court. Gr.1-karak (ed.) 1995: 44. He was also involved, along with ll.1a-btsun mChog gi sprul-sku Blo-bzang 'jam-dpal rab-rgyas, probably around the same period as GT was written, in re-manufacturing a 5-vols. edition of the Bla-ma Zhang bka' 'bum; cf. the printing colophon smon tshig to Zhang bka' 'bum II, passim. In 1811, he wrote the dGa' lidan khris rnas rnam thar covering the vitas of the 47th until the 67th throne-holder as well as a Shar rite grva tshang chos 'byung in 1814; cf. Shar rite chos 'byung 666. See also Ming mdzod 1785.

85 Possible not the (Mal Yer-pa foundation of) Yer-pa sPos-dga' (~ dkar) is meant here (see fn. 33), but the later dGe-lugs establishment of sPos-dkar ri khrud est. by sPos-dkar Bla-ma Blo-bzang mchog-grub (17th cent.; cf. HLSG Vol 4: 54). It is situated in the sPos-dkar valley of central 'Phan-yul (north of 'Phan-po township; below Map 4); and it is part of present-day dGa'-ldan chos-khor xiang of llun-grub county; cf. Xizang Dimengzh I 45b: 29°55'N 91°15'E.

86 It corresponds to ca. 09.01.1783 A.D. of the Western calendar.
called *suhhakrt* of the 13th *prabhava*, [also] being 2743 years after the birth of our compassionate teacher [Gautama Siddhārtha] in the Garden of Lumbini, being 2709 years after the wheel of [the preaching] the Four Truths consisting of the group of five excellent [disciples] [74a] at Vārānasi, being 662 years after 'Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa chen-po, the source of the Teaching of the bKa’-brgyud, took birth [i.e. 1123 A.D.] at Tsha-ba-gru of sKyid-shod after having become mindful of the welfare of the living beings, being 608 years after this holy personage had established Tshal [monastery] [i.e. 1175 A.D.], erected in order to render [ritual] service for the two Jo[-bo] Šā[kya] statues in lHa-Ildan, being 596 years after the establishment [i.e. 1187 A.D.] of the Gung-thang-dpal gyi gTsug-lag-khang, being 426 years after the birth [i.e. 1357 A.D.] of Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po [b]Tsong-kha-pa in [b]Tsong-kha of mDo-smad, being 374 years after that the selfsame holy personage [i.e. bTsong-kha-pa] had established [i.e. 1409 A.D.] the 'Brog Ri-bo dGe-lidan mam-par rgyal-ba'i gling [i.e. dGa'-ldan].87 the source of the precious teaching of those who wear our gold-coloured crown [i.e. dGe-lugs-pa] of ours. May this [work] composed [at a location] adjacent to the lHa-lidan sprul-pa’i gtsug-lag-khang, become a cause for the benefit of the teaching [of Buddha] and for sentient beings!

Hail! Well-being!

“Manifestly emerging from the nature of the precious
two Accumulations (*sambhāra*)
Reigning over the precious treasury of the Three Bodies
Into 100,000-fold light-nets of karmic activity;
To [him] capable of unfolding [such activities],
‘Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, [we] pay homage.
Lord, you have since long greatly won rulership over Enlightenment
Still in order to give relief of protection to the host of living beings
At the end of time, you have not only showed respect to
and relied upon *kalyānāmitra*
But in every way also turned the wheel of immeasurable [altruistic] deeds.
In particular, the Mahāmudrā, the essence of the true transmission, extensively
Expanding the activities of upholding, protecting and disseminating
[these systems] forcefully
Its all-surpassing, peerless, incomparable, superb system
The fame of the harmonious-sounding Tshal-pa system ablaze!
Being equal to the number of stars [in space] the host of disciples, [all]
born from the sacred words [i.e. teachings of you, Jina] (*[jina]pravacana-jata*], so
The Teaching [of yours], being the essence of the Lineage of Accomplishment
(*sgrub brgyud*) [in the bKa’-brgyud Tradition], the excellent system
Has been spread, thus penetrating all directions of the universe, [74b]
From which the Upper, Intermediate and Lower Tshal [school]
won universal acclaim.

87 The ‘Brog-ri (also Grog-ri, ’Gog-pa-ri) refers to the monastery mountain of dGa’-ldan (below Fig. 55–56). It is part of the greater mountain range of dBang-bskur-ri (Fig. 54) which is said to be the place where Srong-btsan sgam-po was crowned (see TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 233–236). On the founding story of dGa’-ldan; see e.g. Kaschewsky 1971: 185f.; dGa’-ldan dgon pa’i lo rgyus (in HSLG Vol. 2: 1ff.).
Specifically, the nimbus of the earth, i.e. dBus-'gyur [i.e. the IHa-sa area]
A gandola comprising the support and the supported
[i.e. the buildings and objects of veneration, i.e. Gung-thang]
Along with an assembled host of pitakadhara [sojourning there]
The maturation of the livelihood of innumerable living beings have been effectuated.

There, mNyam-med Śākya ye-shes etc.
[Secured] the lineage of the see which upheld the tradition of the Dharma
For the dissemination of the dual system [of secular and ecclesiastic rule],
Dar-ma gzhon-nu, etc.
Lords of Men, in the manner of secular rule, limitless [in number] arrived.

These [men of excellence] too, by way of the four kinds [enlightened] karmic activities
Ruled the wide expanse of the universe,
Bringing to maturation what nurtured the Teaching and the living beings of fully white
Magnificent deeds, its [victory-]banner [by them] have been hoisted
to [reach] the peak of cyclic existence (bhavāgra).

Here at the end of time [i.e. most recently] too, the supreme,
quintessential Teaching [of bTsong-kha-pa]
After the excellent system of those carrying the golden colour
[i.e. the dGe-lugs] is being upheld [there], too
The many holy [personages] such as the Lord of the Snowland
[Avalokiteśvara embodying, i.e. the Dalai Lamas]
May they disseminate [this teaching] wide and make it remain for long!

Thus, beginning with 'Gro-mgon personally and henceforth
Erected perforce of the karmic activities of the successively arriving holy personages
The Yang-dgon [temple], the Chos-khri and the dBus-gling [colleges], etc.
Great communities in which are coming together the three [higher] trainings
based upon the moral code, and
[Housing] a treasury, the bless-bestowing and wonderous
[image of Bla-ma Zhang, called] “Meaningful to Behold”
The peerless [statues and receptacles of] Munīdra and Mahābodhi, and
Headed by the image of ‘Gro-mgon, [called] the “Wish-granting Jewel”
There are portrait images, etc. of many successively arriving lineage-holders,
Wonderous objects of the three types (rten gsum), installed as main objects
Of the gTsug-lag-khang, greatly being [pure] amṛta for the eyes,
Including its buildings and objects of veneration, for the living beings
Manifestly exalted as an oceanic field of merit.
Towards these [objects] in order to generate devotion, faith and
Inspiration, the histories of their origin, etc.
Composed in a chain of [words] lauding their qualities.
This Descriptive Inventory. [75a] [denoted] The Exhortation of Jagannātha [Bla-ma Zhang]
The supreme Lord establishing the ultimate meaning (nītārtha)
Called Ngag gi dbang-po, "of incomparable kindness"
Merely the name alone [is capable] of eliminating all decay,
The Protector, [this book] has emerged from his great secret speech.
In order to [ensure] that it remains for a long time without decline and
For all living beings, who [with their senses] see, hear, recollect and touch
in order to plant the seed of pious [karmic acts] in their consciousness
[This Inventory, being] a great charitable offering
has been disseminated inexhaustibly in all directions.

All monks and lay people related in this way [to the manufacturing] and
In particular, [to the person who], whether in the beginning, at the end or
in the intermediate phase,
Carried great responsibility and any dependency on others
Not relying upon, the peerless rJe-btsun, supreme bla ma
Carrying the name[-element] Grags-pa [i.e. dKa'-beu Grags-pa mkhas-grub]
of [whose] three secrets [i.e. of the body, speech and mind]
Any adverse condition was allayed, and for the benefit of
the Teaching and of the living beings
All executing activities [of his] like the ascending node of the moon
May [these] promulgate more and more!
[As] sponsor [of materials], [as] learned [person] and [as] supreme observer of precepts
The Yang-dgon bla ma BIo-bzang 'byung-gnas and
Rig-grol bde-chen from the Chos-khri grva-tshang as well as
The rGyud-chen dge sIong bsKal-bzang rab-'byor,
dBu mdzad dge sIong bShes-gnyen Tshul-khrims,
DGe hsksos dge sIong Blo-bzang phun-tshogs and
sPyi gnyer dge sIong Blo-bzang bde-chos and
Ngag-dbang mam-rgyal, Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshan. etc.
Taking as basis [their] monastic communities along with its population
Such as dge sIong Blo-gros rgya-rtsho, etc.
[Belonging to] dBu-gling and their general assemblage, and furthermore
Many pious and knowledgable [monks]
Motivated by their fully pure intention
In order to bring about a magnificent auspiciousness
for this and subsequent existences
Each and everyone supplied numerous quantities of material objects.
Summing up, an immensely huge [amount of] wealth
[Once] being secured, because of this, all these sponsored wealth too
[Having contributed to] pacify all hindrances and adverse conditions
of timely [happiness in samsāra]
As well as purified the mental continuum by way of the [five] paths
and the two stages [of visualization and completion]
in order to secure] ultimate [happiness; i.e. nirvāṇa]

* The Lord of the Speech (Vṛṣisvara) alludes to the author of the treatise 'Jog-ri-pa Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phrin-las mam-rgyal. He was born in Bye-ri sTag-rtse (fn. 542) in 1747. His ordination name was Grags-pa blo-gros.
May [the personage mentioned above] before long attain the stage of the four bodies!

Bringing into being this very charitable offering [i.e. this book] with one-pointed
Excellent [pure] intention and trustworthiness
Scribes, letter-carvers, proof-readers, etc.
For all [these persons] too, any kind of harmful and unwanted [situation] in this very life
Having been completely quelled, for all existences
Without [ever] being separated from the Teaching of 'Jam-dpal snying-po,“
Having brought to perfection the realization (samaya) throughout
[all] [ten Bodhisattva] stages and [five] paths
May they become the cause for realizing the welfare of oneself and others
(svaparārtha)!

Having become the fundamant for the happiness and benefit of living beings
[during] the degenerate aeons (kaliyuga)
The Chos-khri, Yang-dgon, dBu-glungs sGom-sde, etc.
Along with their assemblage of monks, the three types of shrines and temple,
May [these institutions and reliquaries, etc.] remain unsullied for aeons!

Furthermore, [through] whatever merit thus accumulated [here]
[May] the Teaching of the Jina [i.e. Buddha] disseminate,
and may those upholding [this teaching gain] a firm lotus-foot [i.e. perpetuate] and
For living beings a feast of joy of Dharma, wealth and happiness
May [they] ripe to [gain] the good fortune of enjoying [these]!
In short, illustrated by this [execution of the work], for all, oneself as well as others,
The host of merit [whatever has been accumulated]
throughout the three times, without exemption
Having been united into one, and reconciled here, all bodied [persons]
May [they] touch [i.e. reach] the level of Vajradhara!
Infallible Three Jewels, Blessing of Compassion.
The truth of the infallible [principles of]
interdependent arising (pratītyasamutpāda) as well as
Through virtuous deeds of pure intention [made] by me, etc.
May all the aims of [one's] aspiration effortlessly be realized!”

The Descriptive Inventory denoted The Injunction of Jagannātha [Bla-ma Zhang], [a description of
Tshal Gung-thang] that had not been formerly available, was composed [being based upon] fully
authentic historical sources [delineating] the origins of the Tshal Gung-thang gi gTsug-lag-khang
including its [numerous specimens of] three [types] of shrines and its the monk assembly – emerged
from the secret speech activities (gsung gi gsang ba)“ of 'Jog [- 'Jo]-ri-pa Ngag gi dbang-po
[bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las mam-rgyal]. In order to disseminate [it] widely [in form of a] charitable
offering and to [ensure] that it remains undeteriorated for a long time, this very [book was written
with a view] to the restoration of faith [76a] and devotion [among] all [living beings whether]

“1 It alludes to bTsong-kha-pa, whose birth name in Tusita was 'Jam-dpal snying-po. Hence the teaching refers to the
dGe-lugs system. See Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar, passim; Vaidūrya ser po 152.20 et passim; Kaschewsky 1971: 171.
“2 One of the rdo rje gsum gyi gsang ba, the three adamant secrets, resp. of body, speech and mind.
oneself or others. In particular, the prominent disciple of this very bla ma [i.e. 'Jog-ri-pa] himself, [namely] mTshungs-med Chos kyi rje zhal-snga-nas Grags-pa mkhas-grub took upon himself in a most extraordinary way the responsibility [for its execution] throughout the three places, the initial, the intermediate and the final phase. In accordance with this, the spender of a charitable offering [in form of] supplying financial means, namely the Tshal Yang-dgon bla ma [Blo-bzang] byung-gnas donated a kha btags phyi mdzod [scarf], eleven silver srangs, and about 150 pieces of paper which served as basis for writing ('bag 'bri) as well as two wooden printing blocks; zhabs pad lHa-sdings dGe-slong rin-po-che donated five silver srangs; gYu-thog sprul sku donated 2.5 silver srangs. The phyag mdzod dge slong, assistant of sKyabs-mgon Bla-ma Rin-po-che donated 15 silver srangs and 5 silver zho. The deceased rGyud-chen dge slong bsKal-bzang rab-'byor, stemming from the monks of Chos-khris grva-tshang donated 10 silver srangs [taken] from his belongings. The dGe slong bShes-gnyen Tshul-khrims, dbu mdzad of the Gung-thang Chos-khris grva-tshang, the dge bskos Blo-bzang phun-tshogs, the phyi gnyer Blo-bzang bde-chos, Blo-bzang mkhyen-rab, the dkon gnyer of mChod-khang chen-mo, Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshun, the phyag mdzod of Grva-tshang, including Ngag-dbang mam-rgyal, the phyag mdzod zur pa, in the capacity of representing the entire college of Chos-khris grva-tshang] 32 silver srangs, 9 zho and 5 skar [ma].

From the Tshal dBus-gling grva-tshang collectively one silver srang and one kha btags phyi mdzod [scarf] was donated. [Further] dBus-gling dge slong Blo-gros rgya-mtsho donated one silver srang. Ngag-dbang lhun-grub, the Yang-dgon bla ma dbu mdzad donated five silver zho and one bsod btags [scarf]. Ngag-dbang mkhas-grub, the Chu-bzang dge bshes donated five silver zho. The Qalqa [i.e. Mongolian] Tshul-khrims-pa belonging to monks of Ser-byes donated one srang. Gung-ru Phun-tshogs dpal-ladan, belonging to the monks of Ser-smad donated three wooden printing blocks. bShes-gnyen [Tshul-khrims], a Chos-khris dbu mdzad donated 10 tam. Ngag-dbang mam-rgyal, the Chos-khris dge slong, Blo-bzang shes-rab and Blo-bzang zla-ba, the three altogether donated one silver srang, one silver zho and 7.5 skar [ma], one wooden printing block, as well as one bsod btags [scarf]. Blo-bzang mkhyen-rab, the dkon gnyer mChod-khang privately donated seven zho and five skar [ma]. Don-ladan, the Chos-khris dge slong donated three zho. Byams-pa shes-rab, the Chos-khris dge slong donated one zho and five skar [ma], in addition to a bsod btags [scarf] and one wooden printing block. gShes-gnyen, the Chos-khris dge slong donated five skar [ma]. From the nuns of Bya-mkhar\textsuperscript{41} [76b] collectively three silver srangs were donated.

Kun-dga' chos-'phel, the sGom-sde gZims[-khang]-shar mdzod pa and Byams-pa dam-chos, the two in charge donated on behalf of the collective Grva-tshang one bsod btags [scarf] as well as five silver zho. Byams-pa dam-chos, the phyag mdzod, donated one bsod btags and 7.5 silver skar [ma]. 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-'dzin, the Chos-khris dge slong, donated one tam.\textsuperscript{42}

A dGe-tshul-ma of sMon-mkhar sPyil-bu\textsuperscript{43} [finally] donated three srangs. [The above donations] serving as basis [for the expenditure of printing], in the capacity of having assumed the responsibility and having provided the [financial] means in a most outstanding way, dPal ldan Bla ma dam pa mTshungs-med kyi Zhal-snga-nas Grags-pa mkhas-grub dpal-bzang-po [issued] an injunction

\\textsuperscript{41} The Bya[ng]-mkhar nunnery is the former Bla-ma Zhang retreat situated in Zhal; fn. 62.

\\textsuperscript{42} This passage appears in the text in smaller letters.

\\textsuperscript{43} The "meditation hut" of sMon-mkhar remains unknown. There are several sMon-mkhar/dga' in Central Tibet (cf. e.g. CFS Gyalbo \textit{et al.} 79, 191; PS 224). Perhaps it is the sMon-grong/mkhar of sTod-lung (above fn. 415). Less likely: sMon-mkhar sPyil-bu refers to the sPyil-bu-dgon of Klung-shod (see e.g. TF Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 317).
that said: “Such an aspiration prayer for the printing colophon is necessary in connection with its printing,” whereupon the Ser-stod mkhan-po carrying the sprul sku name rGyal-dbang Blo-bzang ‘phrin-las mam-rgyal voluntarily complied with it and wrote:

They shall prevail (jayantu)!

[Whose] Dharma-kāya is unconditioned pure light
[Whose] Sambho-ga-kāya is adorned with
   the [32 major] marks and [80 minor] characteristics in their entirety
[Whose] Nir-maṇa-kāya fulfills [all] wishes, desires and hope
To ‘Gro-mgon g.Yu-brag-pa, [we] make prayers.

Great Being (mahāsattva) sojourning on the ten bhūmi
Imbued with a wrathful [mien] whose brilliance glows like fire
Eliminating [all] foes and [demonic] hindrances hostile to the Teaching
To the host [surrounding] Ye-shes mgon-po, [we] respectfully bow.
[Being] Amitābha, the Principal among the Jinas,
The Lord of all [beings], the Sovereign of Siddha (siddhāśvara)
Jagannātha g.Yu-brag-pa
May you rejoice at [this] amṛta of wisdom!

[Recite:]64

OM AMARĀŅI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ
OM BHRUM SVĀHĀ OM AMRTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ
OM TĀRE TUTTĀRE MAMA AYUH-PUNYAIR [= -PUṆYA]-JÑĀNA-PUṬTIM KURU YE SVĀHĀ
OM AMARĀŅI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ
OM BHRUM SVĀHĀ OM AMRTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ
OM TĀRE TUTTĀRE MAMA AYUH-PUNYAIR [= -PUṆYA]-JÑĀNA-PUṬTIM KURU YE SVĀHĀ
OM AMARĀŅI JĪVANTI YE SVĀHĀ OM BHRUM SVĀHĀ OM AMRTĀYUR DADE SVĀHĀ

In [this] historical source on the origin of the Teaching
of [both theoretical] hermeneutics and [the practical] realization of sūtra and tantra,
After having received in a [sheer] unending [way] competence and won siddhi
   [in the traditions delineated in this book]
May the satpurusa, all connections with whom are [truly] meaningful,
Beautify this great earth like a lotus-garden!

OM ARAPACANA DHI [76b6]

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64 These well-known bija and heart mantra are dedicated to the following deities: Amitāyuh, Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā, Sita Tārā (long-life mantra), and finally Maṇjuśrī.
ILLUSTRATIONS

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Photo: Charles Bell ca. 1920
Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)

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26. sGrol-ma lha-khang. Southern section

27. Gung-thang village – western part. Here, the highly reputed college of Chos-'khor-gling was located

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PKS 2006

33. In Tshal. (Photo: Google Earth 2006)

32a, b. Tshal Yang-dgon (2001 (32a), 2007)

34. The foot-print of Bla-ma Zhang kept in Yang-dgon
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45. The village of Lo at the entrance to the sMan-chu valley. Opposite the areas of lower Yer-pa and Glang-ra which in the 13th and 14th century formed two of the numerous Tshal-pa estates located along the sKyid-chu

46. From Upper Yer-pa towards the sKyid-chu (1995)
47. The skyid-chu valley in Upper skyid-shod. In the background the rDzong-ri twin hills of bDe-chen-rtse situated between the (former Tshal-pa) districts of Glag Ba-lam and ’Brom-stod

48. In Shing-tshang. The valley was part of the Glag Ba-lam district of the Tshal-pa territory and the place where the Tshal-pa monastery of Ro-skam was located

49. The entrance part of the the eastern and western Ba-lam (Ba-lam shar and -nub). The area at the eastern fringe of the lHa-sa Mandala Zone once formed a center of the Bar Tshal school

The valley of IDan (due east of Ba-lam) have some remarkable traces of historical sites, such as the site of rDzong-ri, the main residence of Rva lo tsâ ba (App. IV, Fig. 4), the ruins of the (originally Tshal-pa?) monastery of dPal-sdings (51a), or the somewhat ominous site of Bya-glag rdzong (51b) (2003).

In Lo, Upper sKyid-shod: The monastic complex of the sPyan-snga-ba foundation of Lo-dgon in Upper Lo and the area of lCang-bu at the entrance to the valley (in the background of 52b the tombs of Chum-po).

Lo, the Nyen-kar of the imperial period, is registered as one of the Tshal-pa mi sde (see above Map 1b.1) (2007).
53. The entrance of the Zhogs valley as seen from dGa'-ldan dgon pa. Zhogs formerly was part of Tshal-pa.

54. From Zhogs-mda' towards dGa'-ldan and the mountain range of dBang-bskur-ri.

55. dGa'-ldan, the heart of the dGe-lugs-pa school in Upper sKyid-shod (2002).
56. dGa-'ldan dgon-pa, bTsong-kha-pa's main seat on the 'Brog-ri, the north-western spur of the dBang-bskur mountain ridge. Below the sKyid-chu side-valley of Cha (~ Phya lungs) which is listed among the early Tshal-pa estates.

Photo: Google Earth 2006

57. "Arial Archaeology". Satellite photographs of high resolution occasionally allow an insight below the surface and are able to make visible the contours of deserted settlements or historical sites of the remote past. The photo gives the section of the small valley due east of Cha (Fig. 56) where the bKa'-gdams-pa seat of dGe-'dun-sgang was located (above Map 1b). The ruins marked by the smaller circle are the remains of an ancient stūpa, whereas the contours within the greater circle may point to tomb structures as they frequently can be found in the area along the sKyid-chu (see e.g. Fig. 52b).

Photo: Google Earth 2006
58. In the later period several territories in sKyi-d-shod were distributed to the great dGe-lugs-pa seats as monastic estates, in Upper sKyi-d-shod especially to 'Bras-spungs, dGa'-ldan or, later (from the late 18th cent.), also to lHas-sa Kun-bde-gling. The present drawing (a copy from a lHas-sa archive) is a cartographical registration of the tax-yielding units of the rGya-bza'-'sgang and lHas-phu gzhi kha which were under Kun-bde-gling.

59. The monastic seat of bKra-shis-ljongs in Brag-dkar-zhol belonged to lHas-sa Kun-bde-gling. In the 15th and 16th century, Brag-dkar-zhol and a considerable part of Upper sKyi-d-shod were the domain of the Phag-mo gru-pa governors of Brag-dkar-pa.

60. A 'Brogl-pa or nomadic family in Upper lHas (lHas-phu). The area corresponds to the Kyi lHas, one of the numerous “Kyi places” registered in the Old Tibetan Annals as sites of the residence of the emperor and/or the council.
b. The old rdzong of Chu-shul (at the southern entrance to Zhogs (53) goes back to the Bye-ri sTag-rte-rdzong, one of the Phag-gru outposts established in sKyid-shod in the mid-15th century (see App. V: Fig. 74, 75) (2001)

62a, b. The old rdzong of Chu-shul (at the southern entrance to the sKyid-chu region) and of lHun-grub, situated south of sPras (Fig. 85a) in 'Phan-yul (see also App. V: Fig. 63–76)
Photo: Spencer Chapman (62a), 1936
Charles Bell, ca. 1920
Courtesy Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)
63. The area of the ancient 'Bud-sde district in sKyid-smad (today part of the Tshal-sna local district)

64. The ancient site of 'U-shang-rdo ('On-cang-do) in the south of the 'Bud-sde / Tshal-sna district in sKyid-smad (TG 1997)

65. From Ra-stod / Bur towards the sKyid-chu and the opposite area of Thang-stod (PKS 2004)
Remains of an ancient stūpa complex close to sNe'u in sKyid-smad.

Photo: Ted Katsargiris 2001
68. The old Tshal-pa domain of sNon in sKyid-smad

69a-c. 'Brug Nyams-nang dgon-pa in gNam of sKyid-smad. The monastery was founded as a first branch of the 'Brug-pa dgon 'Brug Se-ba Byang-chub-gling in gNam-stod (69c). In the same area the old Bla-ma Zhang retreat of mGar-grong was located. gNam constituted together with the neighbouring Gye-re (seat of the Gye-re lHa-pa; Part II: Table V.7) the core area of the Tshal-pa mi sde of lHa-'Brug (2007; Fig. 69c after Chos-phel 2004)
In Ram-pa of Lower sTod-lung. It was the original territory of the mGar branch-lineage where the dpon chen of Tshal-pa hailed from. The stones in the foreground are considered the remains of the house where blon chen mGar was born. In the background the hill “Kye-dori” with ancient ruins of a not further specified religious seat – possibly the old Ram-pa lHa-sdzings (see Table V.8) (2007)

At the western entrance to the lHa-sa valley as seen from sKyor-mo-lung in lower sTod-lung (2002)

From the Potala or lHa-sa dMar-po-ri towards the east and the adjacent district of Tshal Gung-thang
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904
71b From lHa-sa dMar-po-ri towards the south-west. In the background the district of sNe'u-rdzong
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904

72a. In Se-ra Theg-cheng-gling. In the 15th century, the monastery founded by Byams-chen Sākya ye-shes, a native from Tshal, took over the responsibility of parts of the Tshal Gung-thang complex
Photograph from the Younghusband expedition 1904

72b. The mountain lHa-sa dBu-rise as seen from Upper Nyang-bran
73–78a, b. Several of the many retreat sites and minor dgon pa to be found in Nyang-bran and Dog-sde, the northern part of the lHa-sa valley (Fig. 83), were closely related to Bla-ma Zhang and the early Tshal-pa, such as Phur-bo-lcog (73), Ke'u-tshang (77), Ne'u-chung (76) or lHa-lung ri-khrod.

74. Ga-ri-dgon in Upper Nyang-bran
78a, b. Pha-bong-kha of Nyang-bran
Fig. 73–77 after Chos-'phel 2004

79a. The mGar land of Grib south of lHa-sa (see App. IV)
Photo: Google Earth 2006

79b. In Upper Grib
Photo: H. Richardson 1940’s
The holy mountain of Jo-mo Kha-rag (the snowy peak in the background) is known to mark the traditional border of dBus and gTsang. In the 13–14th century, Kha-rag-pa also constituted the western border of the Tshal-pa territory of Central Tibet.

Kha-rag.
The area registered as one of the Tshal-pa mtsd pa was the home of the Kha-rag-pa, a branch of the Bar Tshal school (2007).

The fortress of Gong-dkar in the 1940’s. The rdzong originally founded as one of the outposts and governor seats of the Phag-mo gru-pa in the late 14th century is situated at the border between the two main zones of Central dBus, sKyid-shod and Ngam-shod.

Photograph: Hugh Richardson
82-83. The lHa-sa mountain range protecting the lHa-sa valley from the north. (In the foreground of Fig. 82: the yul lha shrine of Glangthang in 'Phan-yul)

84. View from the Chag-la towards 'Phan-yul
The Seng-ge valley in northern Phan-yul corresponds to the ancient sPras district which is listed as one of the Tshal-pa estates. The area is known as the birthplace of the prominent 11th century bKa'-gdam-pa Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal, who founded here his main seat, Po-to-dgon (85b) (2003)

The entrance area to the valley of the Dar-phu-chu formed the core of the imperial Ngan-lam territory. In the 8th century (or even earlier) a branch of the Ngan-lam-pa also settled in the area of later Tshal Gung-thang
87a. The central part of Dol. The area with a number of important religious sites (yellow circle) was a "war zone" during Bla-ma Zhang's time and is registered as part of the Tshal-pa myriarchy. To the east the sites of lHa-rtse (Do1 lHun-grub lHa-rtse rdzong, seat of the Yar-rgyab ruler) and Khul-phu; the latter may be related to the ancient site and Tshal-pa estate of sKul 'Ching-ru

Photo: Google earth 2006

87b. The dGe-lugs-pa seat of gSung-rab-gling (see 87a)

88. rDo-phud chos-khor (cf. 87a) (2005)

89. Tshal-min sNyag-dbon bSod-nams bzang-po, the founder of the Tshal-min monastery in Dol (see above fn. 423)
Here, a disciple of Bla-ma Zhang founded the rDzam-dgon (no more extant). It was situated behind the rDzong lha-kha (90), the hill with ruins of one of the four ancient watch-tower sites in the upper or western Dvags-po.

90, 91. The rDzam area in western Dvags-po is to be counted among the domains of early Tshal. It was the mother seat of the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa – the tradition which was brought to sKyi-d-shod and transmitted to Bla-ma Zhang by Dvags-po sGom-tshul and other masters of the 12th century.

Photo: Ngodrop Tsering 2006

92. The monastic complex of Dvags-lha sgam-po in Dvags-po. It was the mother seat of the Dvags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa – the tradition which was brought to sKyi-d-shod and transmitted to Bla-ma Zhang by Dvags-po sGom-tshul and other masters of the 12th century.

Photo: Ngodrop Tsering 2006