





# The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang

According to mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs  
by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa





ROBERTO VITALI

THE KINGDOMS OF GU.GE PU.HRANG  
ACCORDING TO MNGA'.RIS RGYAL.RABS BY GU.GE  
MKHAN.CHEN NGAG.DBANG GRAGS.PA

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Despite my interest in West Tibet, I felt I could not write a work on its history without having first read *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* by Ngag.dbang grags.pa, which I could never obtain. When finally Tashi Tsering, whose enduring efforts to locate, preserve and diffuse Tibetan literature have reached legendary proportions, kindly gave me a copy of this most rare text, he fulfilled an old dream of mine. The result of its reading is the present work which is a humble homage to *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*, symbolised by Tho.ling. Its millenary this year is marked by the release of a series of sources on West Tibet, including the present work, published by the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang lo.gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.dran.mdzad sgo'i go.sgrig tshogs.chung of Bod.ljongs *mNga'.ris rig.gzhung gces.skyong.khang*.

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༡༡། །བུ་གི་མཁུ་ཚིན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པས་མཛད་པའི་  
མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞུགས་ལགས་སོ།།







དེ་ཡང་སྤྱིར་མ་བཟླ་ན་ཉམས་དགའ་བར་སྐྱུ་མ་ལྟ་བུའི་མི་ལམ་གྱི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་རྣམ་  
 པ་ལྟ་བུ་སྣོད་གྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབྱིབས་དང་། ཚད་དང་། བཞོད་པ་དང་། རང་བཞིན་དང་།  
 བཟང་ངན་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། བཅུད་ཀྱང་བྱད་དབྱིབས་དང་སོ་སོའི་རིས་དང་འབྲུར་བ་  
 དང་། བཟང་ངན་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཤིང་བསམ་གྱི་མི་བྱུང་པ་ལས། བཙོམ་ལྡན་  
 འདས་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་གངས་ཅན་མཚོ་ཡི་ཞིང་ཁམས་རབ་འབྲུམས་གྱི་ནང་ཚན་མི་  
 འཇིག་གྱི་སྣོད་གསུམ་པ་སྤིང་བཞི་བྱེ་བ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པའི་ཚད་ཚུལ་བདུགས་ན། ཆགས་པ་དང་  
 པོའི་སྤྱང་ནས་ནི། །དམུལ་བའི་སྤྱིད་པའི་བར་དུའོ། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། སྤྱི་དགུ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྤྱི་  
 མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱིས། རྣམ་མཁའ་ལ་སྣོད་གྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལྡན་ལྡན། སྤྱང་ནལ་བུ་དལ་བུ་ལྡང་  
 བར་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཐོག་མར་ཚངས་ཆེན། དེ་ནས་ཚངས་པའི་མདུན་ན་འདོན། དེ་ནས་ཚངས་  
 རིས་ཏེ་བསམ་གཏན་དང་པོའི་གནས་གསུམ་དང་། དེ་ནས་གཞན་འཕྲུལ་དབང་བྱེད་ནས་  
 འཐབ་བྲལ་གྱི་བར་འོག་གཞི་གཞལ་མེད་ཁང་དང་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་ཡས་རིམ་ནས་ཆགས་པ་  
 ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཇིས་མཁའ་ལ་སྤྱང་རྟེན་དེ་ལ་ཚུའི་སྤྱང་པོ་རྟེན། །དེ་ལ་ས་ཆེན་འདི་རྟེན་དེ་ལ་  
 འགྲོ་བ་ཀུན་ཀྱང་རྟེན། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། མས་རིམ་ནས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་འདི་ལྟར།  
 ཐོག་མར་འོག་སྤྱང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། དེའི་སྤྱང་དུ་འོ་མ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དེ་སྤྱང་གིས་  
 བསྐྱབས་པས་གར་དངུལ། ལྷོ་བཱེུ་ཟུ། ལུབ་པད་མ་ར་ག བྱང་གསེར་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རི་བོ་  
 མཚོག་རབ། དེའི་སྤྱི་རྩོལ་དུ་རྩོལ་མཚོ་བདུན་དང་། གསེར་གྱི་རི་བདུན་དང་། དེའི་སྤྱི་རྩོལ་  
 དུ་བ་ལྷ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་སྤིང་བཞི་སྤིང་ཕྲན་བརྒྱད་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་། ཟངས་སྤིང་དང་།  
 སིང་ག་ལའི་སྤིང་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤིང་རྒྱུང་མང་པོ་དང་། མི་མེད་པའི་སྤིང་དང་། རི་ནག་པོ་  
 མང་པོ་ཆགས་ཤིང་སྤྱི་རྩོལ་དུ་ལྷུགས་རེའི་འཁོར་ཡུག་ཆེན་པོ་ཆགས་ཏེ་དེ་ལ་བར་བསྐྱལ་

གཅིག་འགོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།

བཅུད་ཀྱི་ཆགས་ཚུལ་ཡང་བསམ་གཏན་གཉིས་པ་ནས་ཚངས་ཆེན་དང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་  
བཞིའི་བར་གྱི་ལྷ་རྣམས་དང་། བྱང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷ་རྣམས་དང་། དུད་འགྲོ་ཡི་དྲུགས་  
གཞན་རྣམས་ཡས་རིམ་ཆགས་ནས་མཉམ་མེད་དུ་སེམས་ཅན་གཅིག་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་ཆགས་པ་  
ཚོགས་ལ། ཆེ་ལོ་དཔག་མེད་མར་འགྲིབ་པས་གནས་པའི་མགོ་ཚུམ་པ་དུས་མཉམ་པ་སྒྲི  
བར་བསྐྱལ་བཅུ་དག་འགོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཆགས་པ་གནས་པ་འཇིག་པ་ཞིག་ནས་སྐྱོངས་པ་  
རྣམས་ལ་བར་བསྐྱལ་གི་ཤུ་གི་ཤུ་སྒྲི་བཅུད་བཅུ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་ཆེན་ཞེས་བུའོ། དེ་ལྷ་བུའི་  
འཇིགས་རྟེན་སྐྱེ་བྱ་སྐྱོངས་བ་ནི་གཉིས་ཏེ་ལས་དང་བདག་པོས་སྐྱོང་བའོ།

- |སེམས་ཅན་བསམ་པ་བཟང་ངན་གྱིས།
- |སྐྱོད་བཅུད་ཡོན་ཏན་བཟང་ངན་དུ།
- |འབྲུང་ཕྱིར་ལས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱོངས་ཞེས་པར།
- |འཇིག་རྟེན་དག་ན་བཟོད་པ་ཡིན།

ཞེས་པའི་ཚུལ་ལྟར་བསྐྱལ་པ་དང་པོའི་ཆེ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཡང་། སྐྱེས་དགུའི་ལས་  
ཀྱིས་བདེ་བ་དང་། འཇམ་པ་དང་། རྣམ་པར་དགའ་བ་དང་། སློ་བུར་གྱི་གཞོན་པས་ཚུད་མི་  
ཟ་བ་དང་། བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཡང་འཇམ་བུ་སྐྱོང་པའི་བསྐྱལ་པ་དང་པོའི་མི་རྣམས་ནི་  
འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ནས་ཆེ་འཕྲོས་ནས་མིར་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་གཟུགས་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དང་འདྲ་བར་བརྟུན་  
ཏེ་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་། དགའ་བ་ཟས་སུ་ཟ་བ་དང་། ཆེ་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་ཐུབ་པ། རྒྱ་འཕྲུལ་དང་  
ལྷན་ཞིང་རྣམ་མཁའ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་ལས། རོ་ལ་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་གིས་སའི་བཅུད་ཅེས་བུ་བཞུག་  
དམར་སེར། རོ་སྐྱང་ཅི་མ་སྐྱོལ་བ་འདྲ་བ། མནམ་ཤིང་ལྷགས་པས་གཞན་གྱི་ཀྱང་མཐོང་།

རྣམ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་པས། འོད་ཉམས་རྣམས་ལྷན་པར་གྱུར་དེ། ལྷ་ངན་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་  
 གྱི་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཉི་མ་དང་། ཟླ་བ་བྱང་རྣམས་སྤང་བའི་བྱ་བ་བྱས་པ་དང་། ཞལས་ཀྱི་ཟས་ཟ་བའི་  
 དང་པོ་ཡིན་ཅོ། དེའི་ཆེ་ས་མང་ཉུང་ཟོས་པས་དབང་གིས། མདོག་བཟང་ངན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་  
 ལས། རྩོད་ནི་ངན་ནོང་ནི་བཟང་ངོ་ཞེས་ང་གྱུ་བྱེད། ཉོན་མོངས་བསམ་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་  
 རྣམ་གྱིས་ཤིང་རྣམ་སྤྲིན་གྱིས་བཅུད་དེ་ཟད་རྣམས་ལྷ་ངན་བྱེད་དོ། དེ་རྣམས་ས་ཞག་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་  
 མདོག་སེར་པོ་དོང་ཁའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྷ་བྱུར་སྤར་དང་འདྲ་བ་བྱང་རྣམས་ལྷ་ངན་བྱེད་པའི་བར་སྤར་  
 བཞིན་ཅོ། དེའི་འོག་དུ་སྤྱུ་གུའི་ཆལ་མདོག་ཀ་དམ་པའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྷ་བྱུ་སེར་བཞི་ཅམ་པ་  
 རངས་སྤུས་རངས་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་སྤུས་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་བ་བྱང་རྣམས་ལྷ་ངན་བྱེད་པ་སྤར་བཞིན་ཅོ། དེའི་འོག་  
 དུ་མ་ཚོ་མ་བཏབས་པའི་འབྲས་ས་ལུ་བྱན་པ་མེད་པ་དག་བྱང་སྤྱེ། དེ་ཟོས་པས་སྤུ་ལ་  
 རྣམས་ལས་ཆེས་རགས་པས་གཤང་སྤྱི་དང་པོ་མའི་དབང་པོ་དོད་པར་གྱུར་དེ། དེ་དེ་དག་  
 གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་གི་པོ་མའི་དབང་པོ་ལ་མིག་རྒྱགས་སུ་བལྟས་པས་སྤོན་གོམས་པའི་དབང་  
 གིས་ཆགས་པར་གྱུར་རྣམས་ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་དེ། འབྲིག་པ་སྤྱོད་པའི་དང་པོ་དེ་ཡིན་ཅོ། དེ་  
 སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་གྱིས་མཐོང་རྣམས་སེམས་ཅན་གྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་ཟེར་  
 རྣམས་སེག་མ་དང་རྩི་བ་ཕེན་པར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་མིག་ལམ་དུ་མི་སྤང་བའི་སྤྱིར་དུ་ཁང་པ་  
 ཅིགས་དེ་བྱིམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་དེ་ཡིན་ཅོ། དེ་ཡན་ཚོད་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་ཞེ་གཅོད་པའི་གཞོད་པ་  
 མེད་པ་དང་སྐལ་པ་བཟང་བས་ནད་དང་འཐབ་མོ་དང་ནད་འབྲུགས་མེད་པར་རང་གི་ལས་  
 ཀྱིས་བདེ་བར་འཚོ་བས་ན་ལས་ཀྱིས་སྤོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱའོ།

གཉིས་པ་བདག་པོས་སྤོང་བ་ནི། དགེ་བའི་སྤྱིམས་ཀྱིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་བྱ་ལྷར་སྤོང་བ་དང་།  
 ཅོད་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་འབངས་རྣམས་དེལ་བཞིན་འཚིར་བ་ལས། །བདེ་དང་སྤྱུག་བསྐལ་ས་

བདག་མཛད་པའི་རྗེས་འགྲོའི་ཕྱིར། །བདག་པོ་སྐྱོང་ཞེས་འཛིག་དེན་དག་ན་བཛོད་པ་ཡིན།  
 ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ལ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་ནི། །ལེ་ལོས་གསོག་འཛོག་བྱས་ནས་ནི། །འཛིན་བཅས་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞིང་དཔོན་སྟབས། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། དེའི་ཆེ་སེམས་ཅན་ལེ་ལོ་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་ས་ཞབ་  
 མང་པོ་དང་། །འབྲས་ས་ལུ་དུས་གཅིག་དུ་སྒངས་ནས་གསོག་འཛོག་བྱས་པས་གཞན་གྱིས་  
 ཀྱང་ཐབས་བཟང་སྟམས་ནས་ཞབ་མང་པོའི་འབྲས་སྒངས་པས། །འཛིན་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱིབ་  
 པས་མ་ཚོས་པའི་འབྲས་དེ་མི་སྐྱེ་བར་ས་ལ་ཐིམ་པས། ས་ལྷུར་ཐུག་དག་གིས་ནས། །ཡུལ་  
 དང་། སྐྱོང་དང་། །ཞིང་རྣམས་བདག་རིས་སུ་བཅད་ནས་འབྲས་ས་ལུ་བདེ་བ་ནས་འཚོ་བར་  
 བྱེད་པ་ལ། སེམས་ཅན་གཡོ་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་རང་གི་འབྲས་ཡོད་བཞིན་དུ། གཞན་གྱི་འབྲས་  
 མ་བྱིན་པར་སྒངས་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་མཐོང་བ་ན། ཀ་ཡེ་སེམས་ཅན་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་འབྲས་ཡོད་  
 བཞིན་དུ་གཞན་གྱི་ས་ལུ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་བྱིར་བྱེར་བ་ལ་ངས་མ་བྱིར་བཞེད་པའི་བརྟུན་གྱིས་སྟོན་  
 བདེ་བ་པས། དེའི་གཞི་ལ་ཚོད་པ་དང་། དེག་པ་དང་། གསོད་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ། མ་བྱིན་པར་ལེན་  
 པ་དང་། བརྟུན་དུ་སྐྱོབ་དང་། སྟོག་གཅོད་པའི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ནས་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་ཆེ་མ་  
 བྱིན་པར་སྒངས་པའི་རྒྱུ། མི་མཐུན་པར་གྱུར་པ་ལ། མི་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ལེགས་ཉེས་  
 བཅས་འབྱེད་པ་བཅོམ་འབྲུས་དང་སྟོང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ་བྱམས་ཤིང་སྟེ་སྟོམས་ཆེ་བ་གཟུགས་  
 བཟང་ཞིང་། སྟོད་པ་དང་སྐྱོབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཁས་པ། ཚོད་རིག་པ་ཅིག་ཞིང་དཔོན་དུ་  
 བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་དེ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པའི་འཚོ་བར་ས་ལུའི་དུག་གས་སྟབ་ཏེ་ཚད་བཅད་རྗེས་  
 འཛིན་དང་བདེན་བརྟུན་གས་འབྱེད་ཀྱི་དཔོན་དུ་ཁུར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེས་ཚད་བཅད་རྗེས་  
 འཛིན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བྱ་བསྐྱངས་པས་སྐྱེ་བོ་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བས་ན། མང་པོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 དང་ཞིང་གི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར་ནས་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད་པས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་དང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་

སྐྱོང་བས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱས་ཏེ། དེའི་ཆེ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་ཞིང་། རྒྱལ་  
པོ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་མོ།

དེ་ལ་སྤྱིར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཡང་། བཀའི་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་དང་། ལྷོ་བས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་  
བསྐྱར་བ། ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་ཕུན་བཞི་སྟེ། དེ་དག་གིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་སྐྱོང་བ་ཡིན་མོ།  
བཀའི་འཁོར་ལོས་སྐྱར་བ་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱོང་གཅིག་དང་། སྐྱོང་གཉིས་དང་། སྐྱོང་གསུམ་ལ་  
དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་ནས་སྐྱོང་བཞི་ལ་དབང་བའི་བར་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་སྐྱར་བ་ཡིན་ལ།  
མདོ་ལས་དེ་ཙམ་ལས་མ་གསུངས་ཀྱང་། བསྐྱར་བཅོས་ལས་གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལུགས་  
འཁོར་ལོ་ཅན། །དེ་དག་སྐྱོང་གཅིག་སྐྱོང་གཉིས་དང་། །གསུམ་དང་བཞི་ལ་མས་རིམ་བཞིན།  
ཅེས་བཞིར་བཤད་དོ།

བཞི་པ་དེས་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ཇི་ལྟར་མཇུག་པ་ནི། འོག་ནས་རང་རང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་འཆད་ལ།  
སྐྱོབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་ནི། འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་མེད་མོད་ཀྱི། རང་  
གི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོབས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོའི་མཐའ་ཐུག་པར་ས་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་གནོན་ཏེ།  
གནོད་པས་གྲོལ་བ་མེད་པར་འཇུག་བྱ་སྐྱོང་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་དབང་བ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་  
མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་མོ། ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི། འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་པོ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་  
ཁམས་ན། རྒྱལ་ཐབས་གཉིས་པར་རང་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལ་སྤྱི་བོ་ནས་དབང་བསྐྱར་བས་  
ཡུལ་ཁམས་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་མོ། རྒྱལ་ཕུན་ནི་མཁའ་ལ་སོགས་  
པའི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་མང་ཉུང་གང་ཡང་རུང་བ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་བྱེད་པ་དག་ཡིན་མོ། དེ་  
ལྟར་རྒྱལ་རིགས་བྱུང་བ་མ་ཟད། རིགས་གཞན་ཡང་།

།སྤོན་ནི་འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་།

ལས་ལས་ཆད་པའི་རིགས་ཅིག་སྟེ།

ལས་དང་བྱ་བའི་བྱེད་པར་ལས།

རིགས་ནི་བཞི་དང་ལྔ་རྩ་འགྲུ་ལ།

ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། བསྐྱེད་དང་པོའི་མི་དེ་དག་ལས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་འཐབ་ཅོད་དང་། འབག་  
 ཅོག་གིས་ཡིད་སྦྱོར་ཞིང་། གཙང་སྤྱོད་དང་དཀའ་སྤྱོད་ལ། བདེན་པ་དང་བསམ་མཐའི་གནས་  
 སུ་བྱིམ་ཕུབ་སྟེ་འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ལ། བྱམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐ་སྟོན་བྱས་སོ། ། ཡང་དེ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་བྱིམ་དང་། ཞིང་གི་འཚོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ལས་བཅོམ་ཞིང་ངོ་ཚད་  
 བྲིལ་ལ་འཛེམ་པ། སྤྱིན་པ་ལ་དགའ་བ། གཉེན་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་པོའི་འཚོ་ཐབས་ལྟར་ལེན་  
 པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཇི་རིགས་དང་། དེ་ལས་ཀྱང་འགའ་ཞིག་ངོ་ཚད་དང་བྲིལ་བཞིན་དུ་རྒྱུང་ཞིང་  
 འཛིག་རྟེན་ན་སྤྱད་པའི་ལས་ལ་བབ་ཚོལ་དུ་འཇུག་པ། དམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་། འགལ་བར་  
 སྤྱོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གདོལ་པའི་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། རིགས་བཞི་འམ་ལྔ་རྩ་འགྲུ་བའི་དང་པོ་  
 ཡིན་ནོ། ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བ་དེ་ཡི་སྲས་འོད་མཛེས་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། དེས་ཀྱང་ཡབ་ཀྱི་  
 བྲིམས་བཞིན་དུ་འཛེམ་བུ་གྲིང་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་བྱས་ཏེ། ཚོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱུངས་སོ། ། དེའི་རིང་  
 ལ་མིའི་མིང་ལ་རྩུར་བོག་ཅེས་བྱའོ། དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་མཚོག་ དེའི་ཆེ་མིའི་མིང་ལ་སྤྱིན་  
 མགྲིན་ཞེས་བྱ། དེའི་སྲས་གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས། དེའི་ཆེ་མིའི་མིང་ལ་དམ་ལའི་མི་ཞེས་ཟེར་  
 སོ། དེ་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དེ་དག་གི་ཆེ་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་  
 རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དགེ་བ་དང་། སྤྱོད་པ་ཕལ་ཆེར་བཟང་བ་དང་། རྣམ་པར་སྤྱིན་པའི་སྐྱེལ་བ་  
 བཟང་ཞིང་ཕན་པར་སྤྱོད་པ་སྤྱིན་པའི་སྤྱིར་གཙུག་ལག་ལ་བདེན་པའི་བྲིམས་སུ་བཅའ་བ་ནི་  
 མེད་དོ། ། གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་ལས་གའི་མེ་བ་གཅིག་སྟེས་པ་ལས་བྱིའུ་མཚན་སོ་

གཉིས་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་སྐྱེས་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་པོ་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ། གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཀྱི་བཅུན་མོ་  
 དུག་ཁྱིའོད་པ་རྣམས་འོ་མ་རང་བཟགས་ནས་སོ་སོ་ནས་ང་ལ་རུ། ང་ལ་རུ་བྱས་པས། ང་ལ་  
 རུ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་དང་། མིང་གཉིས་པ་གྲགས་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། འདི་ནི་གསེར་གྱི་  
 འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལྷ་བདུན་དང་། ཉེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལྷ་བདུན་དང་།  
 བུ་སྦྱོང་དང་ལྷན་པ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། གོས་ཀྱི་ཆར་བབ་ནས་འཇམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་དུ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཁྱི་  
 བཞི་སྦྱོང་ལོན་ནས་གཞོད་སྤྱིན་ལྷ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུལ་ནས། ཤར་དང་རུབ་དང་བྱང་དང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་  
 བཞི་རྣམས་སུ་ལོ་ཁྱི་སྤྱག་མང་པོ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས། སུམ་ཅུ་ཅུ་གསུམ་དུ་སོང་སྟེ་བརྒྱ་སྤྱིན་  
 སོ་དུག་གི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་བསྐྱུངས་སོ། དེ་ནས་ངན་སེམས་སྐྱེས་བསོད་ནམས་ཟད་པ་  
 ལས་ལྷང་སྟེ་ཆུན་པོར་གྱུར་པ་ལྔར་གྱི་སྟོན་པོ་སྤྱིང་སྦྱོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་ངོ་ཤེས་ནས་ཇི་ལྷར་གྱུར་  
 པ་དྲིས་པས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱད་ནས་གོང་པ་ཡིན། འདིའི་དུས་སུ་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་  
 བསྟན་ཅིང་། གཞུལ་བ་དང་། བཅོའི་གནས་དང་ལས་ཀྱི་མཐའ་བྱེ་བྲག་ཐ་དད་དུ་མ་བྱེད་དུ་  
 བཅུག་པས་མིའི་མིང་ལ་ཡིད་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་ཟེར་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དུག་ཀ་ཡང་ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་  
 ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་ཡན་ཆགས་པའི་བསྐྱལ་པ་དང་པོ་ཇོགས་སོ།

འདིའི་སྐུས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛེས་པ་དང་གནས་པའི་བསྐྱལ་པ་མགོ་ཚུམ་པ་དུས་མཉམ་པར་  
 བཞེད་པ་ལེགས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བར་གྱི་བསྐྱལ་པ་དཔག་མེད་ནས། ཆེ་ལོ་བཅུ་པའི་བར་  
 གསུངས་པ་དང་མཐུན་ཞིང་། དཔག་མེད་ལས་འགྲིབ་པའི་དང་པོ་ཡང་འདི་ནས་ཡིན་ཏེ།  
 །དེ་ནས་ལས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལྷག་པས། །ཆེ་བྱང་ལོ་ནི་བཅུ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ། ང་ལས་  
 རུའི་སྤྱག་པ་གཡས་པར་གའི་མི་བ་གཅིག་བྱང་བ་ལ་མཛེས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་  
 ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། མཛེས་པའི་སྤྱག་པ་གཡོན་པ་ལ་གའི་མི་བ་བྱང་བ་ལ་ཉེར་མཛེས་ཞེས་



བྱ་སྟེ། དངུལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་སྲིང་གསུམ་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཉེར་མཛེས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་  
 གཡས་པར་གའི་མི་བུ་ལས་བྱིའུ་ཞིག་ཕྱང་བའི་མིང་མཛེས་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་  
 ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་སྲིང་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་བསྐྱར་གཡོན་པར་གའི་མི་བུ་ལས་བྱིའུ་ཞིག་  
 ཕྱང་བའི་མིང་ཉེར་མཛེས་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་སྲིང་གཅིག་ལ་  
 དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་བཞི་ཀ་ཡང་ག་མི་ཤིང་བལ་ལྟར་འཇམ་ཤིང་བསམ་ལ་གནོད་པ་  
 མེད་པ་དང་། གཟུགས་བཟང་ཞིང་མཛེས་པ་ལྡན་སྐྱུག་པ་མཚན་སོ་གཉིས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ནིང་  
 ལས་ཀྱི་དང་འདྲའོ།

འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ནི། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཡིད་སྤོང་བའི་  
 ཁྲིམས་སུ་བཅས་པ་ནི་མེད་ཅིང་། གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནི་སྲིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྷོ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་གུས་པས་འདྲད་ཅིང་བསྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་དོ། དེ་ཅམ་གྱིས་འབངས་སུ་ཁས་སྲངས་ནས་  
 བཀའ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དངུལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནི་སྲིང་དེ་དང་དེར་  
 ཡུལ་ལྗོངས་དང་སྤོང་རྣམས་སུ་དེ་དག་གིས་དཔུང་གི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་འགོ་བར་བྱེད་དོ།  
 དེ་ཅམ་གྱི་ཐར་རོལ་རྣམས་འདྲད་ཅིང་བཀའ་བཞིན་སྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་  
 བསྐྱར་བ་ནི། དེ་དག་དུ་རང་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་གཡུལ་བཤམ་པར་བྱེད་དེ། དེ་ཅམ་  
 གྱིས་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་འདྲད་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནི་གཡུལ་དུ་མཚན་ཅམ་བྱ་  
 དགོས་ཏེ། དེ་ཅམ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་གོལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་འདྲད་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ་བཀའ་བཞིན་དུ་  
 སྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།

འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་གཉིས་པ་ལྡན་གཅིག་དུ་མི་འབྱུང་སྟེ། འབྲན་ཟླ་མེད་པའི་ལས  
 བསགས་པ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། དེ་དག་ཀྱང་གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་སོགས་པ་རིམ་པ

བཞིན་གྲིང་བཞི་དང་། ལྷ་མི་སྟུན་མ་གཏོགས་གྲིང་གསུམ་དང་། བ་ལང་སྤྱོད་མ་གཏོགས་པ་  
 གྲིང་གཉིས་དང་། ལུས་འཕགས་པོ་མ་གཏོགས་པ་གྲིང་གཅིག་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་  
 དག་ཀྱང་ཚོས་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་གཞོད་པ་མེད་པ་དང་། ལྷོ་དགུ་ཡང་སྐལ་བ་  
 དང་ལྷན་པའི་ཕྱིར། ངང་གིས་དགོ་བ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་མི་རིག་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་མི་འཇུག་པས། ལུས་  
 སྲོག་ལ་གཞོད་པའི་སྤྲིམས་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་སྤྲིམས་སུ་བཅའ་བ་མི་དགོས་པ་  
 ཡིན་ནོ། ཕྱི་མ་འདི་ལྡ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷེ་ལྷ་ཞེས་བྱའོ།

ཉེར་མཇེས་ལྷན་གྱི་སྲས་བཟང་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཉོན་མོངས་ལ་  
 དགའ་ཞིང་སྤྱོད་པ་རྩལ་པ་གས་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ་བྱས་པ་མི་གེས་པ་དང་། དེ་ན་དུ་མི་བཟོ་བ་  
 མང་ཞིང་། གཞན་ལ་གཞོད་པ་དང་། གཡོ་སྐྱུའི་སྤྱོད་པ་འཕེལ་བས་བཟང་པོའི་སྐལ་པ་གས་  
 རྒྱང་། ལེགས་པར་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྤྱོད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་རྣམས་  
 སྤོབས་པ་བྱི་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ་མི་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། སྤོབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སོགས་  
 པ་རིམ་གྱི་འབྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདིའི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་དང་སྤྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ནི་གཙུག་ལག་ལ་བརྟེན་  
 ནས་བྱ་དགོས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་དགོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། དང་སྤོང་དག་གི་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བུ་ལྷར་རིགས་པས་  
 སྤྱོད་བ་ནི་གཙུག་ལག་འདི་ལྷར་བྱས་ན་རིགས་ཤིང་། བདག་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀ་དགོ་བ་དང་  
 ལེགས་པར་འགྱུར་ལ། འདི་ལྷར་བྱས་ན་མི་རིགས་ཤིང་མི་འཚོ་ལ་བདག་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀ་  
 ལ་དགོ་བ་དང་ལེགས་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ཞེས་པ་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་ཞིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་དང་  
 འཚམས་པར་བྱས་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་དག་ལས་དགོ་ཉན་ཅིང་རྟོགས་པར་བྱས་ནས་  
 རང་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་སྤྱོད་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།

རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ནས་བདུན་འབུམ་ཉིས་བྱི་ཆིག་སྤོང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ཅ་བདུན་བྱུང་བའི་ཐ་མ་རྒྱལ་

པོ་གྱི་གྱི་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་ལོགས་སྐྱེས། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་བྱུ་འཇིན་དུ་བྱུང་།  
 བའི་ཐ་མ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྲང་བ་ཅན་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་གོ་འུ་ཏ་མ་དང་། བ་ར་དོ་ཅ། བཅེན་རབ་  
 དུ་བྱུང་། བཅུང་བ་ར་དོ་ཅས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་སོ། བཞུན་ཅན་པད་མའི་རྩ་ལག་གིས་རང་གི་  
 ཆས་ཀྱིས་ཉེས་པའི་སྤྲང་འཚོང་ལ་བཟང་མོ་དུས་སུ་མགྲོན་ལ་མ་གཉེར་བའི་འཁོན་གྱིས་  
 བསད་ནས་གཡོག་མོས་ཀུ་ཅོ་བྱས་པས་པད་རྩས་རལ་གྱི་ཁྲག་ཅན་དང་། བཟང་མའི་མགོ་  
 གྲང་སྤོང་གི་སྤྱིལ་པོའི་སྒོར་བོར་ནས་རམ་མདའ་བས་དྲང་སྤོང་བཟུང་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་  
 བསོལ་བས། བསལ་ཤིང་ལ་སྤྱོར་ཅིག་ཅིས་བསྒོ་བ་བཞིན་གཤིད་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསལ་ཤིང་  
 ལ་སྒོན་ནོ། དེའི་ཆེ་རང་གི་མཁན་པོ་དྲང་སྤོང་མདོག་ནག་གིས་མངོན་གྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་གྱུར་  
 པ་དོགས་ནས་གོ་འུ་ཏ་མའི་རྩ་ར་བྱོན་ནས་རྒྱ་མཚན་བྱིས་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་བའི་ཉེས་པ་བྱིད་ལ་མེད་  
 དམ་ཞེས་བྱིས་པས། བདག་ལ་ཉེས་པ་མེད་ན་མཁན་པོའི་མདོག་ནག་པོ་དེ་གསེར་གྱི་མདོག་  
 དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག་ཅིས་བརྗོད་པའི་མེད་ལ་གསེར་མདོག་དུ་གྱུར་པས་དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་དྲང་སྤོང་གསེར་  
 མདོག་དུ་གྲགས་སོ། དེས་མཁན་པོ་ལ་བདག་གི་ན་འགྲོ་བ་གར་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་དྲིས་པས། བྱམ་ཟེ་  
 རྣམས་བུ་མེད་པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པས་བུ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པས་བདག་གཞིན་རུ་ལ་རབ་དུ་  
 བྱུང་བས་བུ་མེད་སྐྱས་པ་དང་། མཁན་པོ་བྱོད་རིགས་རྒྱུད་མ་བཞག་ན་འཁོར་བར་འཁོར་  
 ཞིང་། རིགས་རྒྱུད་བཞག་ན་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་ཅིས་བྱམ་ཟེ་རྣམས་ཟེར་བས་རིགས་རྒྱུད་གཞིག་ཅིག་  
 བྱས་པས། དེས་ཁུ་བ་ཐིག་པ་གཉེས་ཁྲག་དང་འདྲིས་པ་དབང་པོ་ལས་ཟགས་དེ་ཁུ་བ་ཐིག་པ་  
 བཉེས་པོ་དེ་སྤོང་གཉེས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ཉི་མ་ལ་སྤྱིན་པ་དོལ་བས་བྱིའུ་གཉེས་བྱུང་སྟེ་ཏ་ཅང་མི་  
 རིང་བ་ན། བུར་ཤིང་གི་ཆལ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཞུགས་ནས་འདུག་གོ དེ་དྲང་སྤོང་གིས་རང་  
 གི་སྒོ་བ་མའི་བུར་གྱེས་ནས་བསྐྱུངས་སོ།

དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མིང་ནི་ཉི་མས་སྤྱིན་པར་བྱས་པས་ཉི་མའི་རིགས་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། ཁ་ཅིག  
 ན་རེ་གཅིག་ཟླ་བས་སྤྱིན་པར་བྱས་པས་ཟླ་བའི་རིགས་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། མིང་གཉིས་པ་གོ་ཏེ་  
 མའི་བྱ་ཡིན་པས། གོ་ཏེ་མ་ཞེས་པ་དང་། བྱ་རམ་ཤིང་གི་ལོ་མའི་བསེབ་ནས་བྱུང་བས་བྱ་  
 རམ་ཤིང་པ་ཞེས་པར་གྱུར་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བ་ར་རྫོ་ཚ་སྤྲུམ་མེད་པར་གྲོང་ས་པ་སློན་པོ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སློན་བྱང་སློང་མདོག་ནག་གི་བྱུང་དུ་གོ་ཏེ་མ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནས་ཡོད་པ་དམ་སྤྱི  
 མཁན་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོ་བའི་བྲལ་ས་བྱས་པས་བྱང་སློང་གིས་ཉེས་པ་མེད་པ་  
 གོ་ཏེ་མ་བྱིད་རང་གིས་བསད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱས་པར་བཤད་ནས་འཁོར་ལོས་བརྒྱུར་བའི་  
 རྒྱུན་ཆད་ཀྱི་དོགས་ནས་རིགས་རྒྱུད་གཞིགས་པའི་ཐབས་བྱས་པས་བྱ་འདི་གཉིས་བྱུང་བ་  
 ཡིན་ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ངོ་མཚར་སྤྲེས་ནས་བྱི་ཏུ་ཐུ་བོ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལ་བསྐོས་སོ།

དེའི་སྤྲུམ་མེད་པར་གྲོང་ས་ནས་རྒྱ་བོ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལ་བསྐོས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱ་རམ་ཤིང་པ་  
 ཞེས་བྱའོ། དེའི་བྱ་རྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་གྱུ་འཛིན་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཐ་མ་བྱ་རམ་ཤིང་པ་འཕགས་སྤྱེས་  
 པོ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ལ་སྤྲུམ་བཞི་སྟེ། སྤྲུམ་མདའ་གདོང་། ལག་སྟེ། སྤང་ཆེན་འདུལ། ཀང་གདུབ་  
 ཅན་ནོ། བཅུན་མོ་རྒྱང་བ་ལ་སྤྲུམ་མོ་བཞི་སྟེ། དཀར་མོ་དང་། སྤང་ལྷན་མ་དང་། དཔལ་  
 སྤང་ཅན་དང་བྲགས་མ་དང་། ལྷར་གྱི་སྤྲུམ་བཞི་དང་། ལྷམ་སྤྱིང་བརྒྱད་དོ། བཅུན་མོ་སྤྲུམ་  
 གཉིས་གི་ནས། འབྲུན་ཟླར་འོས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་བྱ་མོ་སྤངས་པས་ངའི་བྱ་མོ་ལ་བྱ་  
 བྱུང་ན་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོས་ན་སྟེ། དེ་ལྟར་མི་བྱེད་ན་མི་སྟེར་ཟེར་བ་ན། བསྐོ་བའི་ཅིགས་  
 བཟུང་ནས་སྤངས་པས་སྤྲུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། མིང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་དགའ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། དེ་སློན་པོ་  
 ཀུན་གྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྲུམ་མདའ་གདོང་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལ་བཞག་ན་ནོ། ལྷར་  
 ཆད་ཆེགས་ཐལ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་དགའ་བཞག་ན་ནི་ཐུ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བསྐྱུང་དགོས་པས། ད་ནི་

ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཕུ་བོ་རྣམས་ངོ་མ་ཕུག་པར་སྐྱབས་པར་བྱ་སྟེ་མ་དུ་བསམས་སོ།

དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་དགའི་ཞང་པོས་པོ་ཉ་བདང་མེ་ལྷ་ལས་སྤངས་པ་ལྟར་བྱེད་ན་ལེགས།  
མི་བྱེད་ན་ཡུལ་འཁོར་ཕྱི་མར་སྐྱབས་ལོ། ཞེས་སྤྱིང་པས་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཡིད་མི་བདེ་བ་ན་  
གཡོན་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་ད་ནི་སྐར་མདའ་གདོང་མིང་སྤྱིང་དགུ་རྣམས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད་ཚལ་ལྟར་  
འགྲོ་བ་བྱུང། ཞེས་སྐྱས་པའི་དེ་དག་སྤྱིད་ཚལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་སྤྱིག་ཅོར་གི་སྐྱས་གང་བར་བྱས་  
པས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཐོས་པས། སྤྱི་ཡིན་དྲིས་པས། ལྷ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྤྱས་མ་ལགས་པ་གཞན་སྤྱི་ཞེས་  
གསོལ་བས། དེ་ལྟར་ཡང་ངས་གཞོན་ལུ་རྣམས་སྤྱིང་ས་ཞེས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་བས། གཡོན་ཅན་  
དེས་ལྷ་དེ་བཞིན་འཚལ་ལོ་ཟེར་ནས་སྐྱབས་པས། གཞོན་ལུ་དེ་རྣམས་སྤྱིང་མོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
ཁྱིད་དེ། ལུ་བོ་སྐལ་ལུན་གིང་ཉེའི་འགམ་དང་སྤྱིང་ཚེན་པོ་མེར་སྐྱའི་མི་གནས་དང་ཉ་ཅང་  
མི་མིང་བར་ཅའི་སྤྱིལ་པོའི་གནས་བདེ་བས་དེ་འདུག་གོ།

དེ་རྣམས་ལང་ཚོ་རྒྱས་པས་འདོད་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་གདུང་པས་སེང་སེང་པོར་བྱུར་པ་དང་  
སྤྱིང་གིས་དྲིས་པས། ལྷ་མཚན་སྐྱས་པ། བྱེད་རྣམས་མ་མི་གཅིག་པའི་སྤྱིང་མོ་དང་ཅེ་ལ་  
རེག་གོ། དེ་ལྟར་དུང་ངམ་ཞུས་པས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་སྤྱིང་བ་ལ་དུང་ངོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་  
པས། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཞིང་དགའ་དགུར་སྤྱིད་པས་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ་རྣམས་བཅས་ནས་  
མང་པོར་བྱུར་པ་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་གསན་ནས། དེ་ལྟར་པོད་དམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པར་པོད་དོ་ཞུས་པས།  
དེ་ལྟར་པོད་པ་པོད་པ་ཞེས་སྐྱས་པས་རྒྱ་གར་སྤྱིད་དུ་གྲུ་གྲུ་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ། དེའི་སྤྱིར་  
གཤམ་རིགས་དང་པོ་དེ་ནས་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་རྣམས་ལ་དུང་སྤྱིང་གི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་སྤྱིང་ནས་གོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་གཞིའི་གནས་བཞུན་པ་ལྟར་གཞི་  
དེར་གོང་ཁྱིམ་བདེ་བས་པས་སེར་སྐྱའི་གཞི་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་གྲགས་སོ། གཞི་དེར་སྤྱི་པོས་གང་

ནས་དོག་པར་གྱུར་པ་ལས། ལྷས་བདགས་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་བདག་པ་ནི་ལྷ་བཟུང་ནས་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་  
 གྱུར་རོ། དེ་དག་གིས་རིགས་མཉམ་པ་ལས་རྒྱུ་མ་སྒྲུངས་པས་རྒྱལ་སྤིང་ཉམས་པ་དང་།  
 ཕྱིན་ཆད་སྲུས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་མི་བྱེད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་སོ། དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་མེས་སེང་གི་འབྲམ་  
 ཡན་ཚེད་རིགས་མཉམ་པ་ལས་རྒྱུ་མ་ལེན་པ་མ་བྱུང་། དེ་ནས་འཕགས་སྐྱེ་པོ་གི་ནས་  
 རྒྱལ་སྤིང་དགའ་དབང་བསྐྱར་རོ། དེ་བྱ་མེད་པར་གྲོང་ནས་སྐར་མདའ་གདོང་ངོ། དེ་ཡང་  
 གི་ནས་སྒྲང་ཆེན་འདུལ། དེ་གི་ནས་རྐང་གདུབ་ཅན་རྒྱལ་པོར་གྱུར་རོ། དེའི་བྱ་གནས་  
 མཚོག་ཡིན་ནོ། གནས་མཚོག་གི་བྱ་ས་ཁྲིམ། དེའི་བྱ་རྒྱུད་ལྗོངས་སྤོང་སེར་སྐྱར་བྱུང་བའི་ཐ་  
 མ་ཤིང་རྟ་བུ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་སྲས་ཤིང་རྟ་བུ་པ། དེའི་སྲས་ཤིང་རྟ་བུ་དགུ་པོ། དེའི་  
 སྲས་ཤིང་རྟ་ཁྲ་པོ། དེའི་སྲས་ཤིང་རྟ་བུ་པ། དེའི་སྲས་བརྟན་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ། དེའི་སྲས་གཞུ་  
 བུ་པ། དེའི་སྲས་གཞུ་བུ་པ། དེའི་སྲས་གཞུ་དགུ་བུ་པ། དེའི་སྲས་གཞུ་རྒྱལ། དེའི་སྲས་  
 གཞུ་བཀྲ། དེའི་སྲས་གཞུ་བརྟན། དེའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ་སེང་གི་འབྲམ་དང་། སེང་གི་སྐྱེའོ།

སེང་གི་འབྲམ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྟེ། ཟས་གཙང་དང་། ཟས་དཀར། བྱེ་བོ་ཟས། བདུད་རྩི་  
 ཟས་དང་། སྲས་མོ་གཙང་མ། དཀར་མོ། བྱེ་མོ། བདུད་རྩི་མ་སྟེ་བུ་དངོ། ཟས་གཙང་ལ་  
 ལྷ་བཟུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེགས་པ་རབ་སང་གི་བྱ་མོ་སྐྱུ་འཕྲུལ་དང་། སྐྱུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་མོ་གཉིས་  
 སྒྲངས་པ་ལ། སྐྱུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་དོན་གྲུབ། སྐྱེས་དགུའི་བདག་མོ་ལ་གཙུང་དགའོ་གཉིས་  
 སོ། ཟས་དཀར་ལ་ཟངས་རིས། བཟང་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། བྱེའོ་ཟས་ལ་མ་འགགས་པ་དང་།  
 མིང་ཆེན་གཉིས། བདུད་རྩི་ཟས་ལ་ལྷས་སྤྱིན་དང་ཀུན་དགའོ་གཉིས། དོན་གྲུབ་བལྟམས་པ་  
 དང་། དུས་མཉམ་པར། མ་ག་ཏའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་དུ་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྤྱིང་པོ། ཀོ་ས་ལར་  
 གཉན་ཡོད་དུ་གསལ་རྒྱལ། པད་ས་ལ་ཀོ་ཤམ་སྤྱིར་ཤར་པ། འཕགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་འཕགས་རྒྱལ་

དུག་དུམ་པོ་རབ་སྒྲུང་རྣམས་ཤུང་ལ། དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་གཅན་འཛིན་མོ།

།འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་གཉིས་དང་ཉི་མའི་རིགས།

།ཤྲུའི་རིགས་སུ་འགྱུར་ཚུལ་ལས་བརྒྱུ་མ་ནས།

།འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ས་བདག་ཤུང་བའི་ཚུལ།

།སྐྱུང་པའི་འཕྲེང་བ་རིང་པོ་མཚར་དུ་མང་པ།

།འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤུང་ཚུལ་ལོ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཇི་ལྟར་ཤུང་ཚུལ་ནི། ལྗོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱབས་སེང་གི་བྱ་སྤྱིད་སྐྱབ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱན་ལྟ་དང་། ཡུལ་འཁོར་བསྐྱུང་གི་བྱ་སྐྱུང་ན་སྤྱན་བརྒྱད། ས་སྤྱན་མ་ཚམ་པར་འཐབ་པས། སྤྱིད་སྐྱབ་ཚན་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཕལ་ཆེར་བསད། སྐྱུང་ན་གྱི་རྒྱ་བོ་རུ་པ་དེ་འཁོར་སྐྱུང་སྤྲུལ་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་པ་ཤུང་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཆས་སུ་བཞུགས་ནས་རི་བྲག་དུ་བྲོས་པ་ལས་ཕྱིས་སྤྱིད་སྐྱབ་རྒྱལ་ས་ཐོབ་ནས་ས་སྤྱན་བསད་པའི་ལྷག་མ་གར་སོང་བྱིས་པས་ལྲར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་པས་འོ་ན་དེ་དག་བོད་ཅེས་སྐྱས་པ་ལ། དེ་དག་གི་མིང་ལ་བོད་ཅེས་བྲགས་ཤིང་། ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་རྣམས་དེ་ལས་ཆད་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་ལྟ་ལས་ཤུལ་ཤུང་གི་འབྲེལ་པ་ལས་བཤད་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་ན། སྤྱན་རས་གཟེགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་སྤྱེའུ་དང་། རྒྱལ་མའི་རྒྱལ་པ་བྲག་སྤྱན་མོ་གཉིས་ལས་འཕྲེལ་བར་འདོད་དོ། རྒྱས་པར་དེ་དག་གི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།

དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་བོད་ཡུལ་དེ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱན་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མནར་བའི་དུས་སུ། ཁ་གཅིག་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསལ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་ལྟ་ཡོད་པས། ཤུང་ཏ་བྲ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མཚན་དང་ལྟན་པ་ཤུང་བས་དེ་ལྟ་རི་ཤུང་ཐོར་རྒྱལ་བས་གཉེན་འཁྲི་བཅན་པོ་ཞེས་བྲ་ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ཁ་གཅིག་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྤྱིང་།

དཔེ་སྤྱི་ལུ་ཚིག་ས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་དང་། བྱེའོ་ཟས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཚིག་། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལུ་བ། དེའི་  
 སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བཟང་གྱི་ལ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སང་ག་གྱི། ཞེས་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་དང་། ཞེས་  
 ཅིག་པད་སའི་གྱི་ལུ་པོ་འཚར་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལུ་འགྲེལ་པ། སོར་མོ་དུ་བས་འབྲེལ་བ་  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་གྱུང་བ། གཉེན་རྣམས་སྐྱེག་ནས་ཟངས་ཀྱི་གཏུ་ཁ་ལྟུར་  
 དུ་བཅུགས་དེ་ཚུ་བོ་གང་ག་ལ་སྐྱུར་སོ། དེ་ཞིང་པས་རྙེད་ནས་བསོས་དེ། ཡར་སོས་པ་ན་  
 ལྟར་གྱི་ལོ་གྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བསྟེན་པས་ཡིད་སྐྱོ་སྤྱི་གངས་རིའི་གསེབ་དུ་བྱོས་ནས་རིམ་གྱི་ལྟ་རྟེན་གྱི་ལྟེ་  
 མགོར་བྱོན་པ་བོད་ཀྱི་མིས་མཐོང་ནས་མི་བཞིའི་གཉེའ་བ་ལ་གདན་དྲངས་པས་གཉེའ་བྱི་  
 བཅན་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེས། གང་ལྟར་ཡང་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་ལུ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་ལྟ་རྟེན་གྱི་ལྟེ་  
 ཞེས་འདུག་པ་ཞིག་ལས་ཚད་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། འདྲིར་ནི་བཟང་གྱི་ལུ་གྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ཡིན་པ་འཕྲུག་  
 པར་སེམས་སོ།

དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གྱི་ལུ་པོ་དེ་བོད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་ནས་མི་བཞི་གཉེའ་བའི་བྱི་བྱས་ནས་གདན་  
 དྲངས་པས། གཉེའ་བྱི་བཅན་པོར་མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། ཡར་ལུང་སོག་ཁའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལུ་ལ་  
 ཚིང་བར་སྤྱི་ལུ་ཚིང་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་དེ། བོད་ཀྱི་གྱི་ལུ་པོ་ལ་ལྟ་བུ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་  
 སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་དེང་བྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སོ་བྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་  
 ཡི་བྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བདགས་བྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བྱི་བཅན་པོ། དེ་ལ་གནམ་  
 གྱི་བྱི་བདུན་ཟེས། སྤྱི་བྱི་བཅན་པོའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལུ་ལུ་བཅན་པོ། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་གཞི། ཉ་ཞི། ལུ་ཞི།  
 གསུམ་འཁྲུངས།

གྱི་ལུ་པོ་དེའི་རིང་ལུ་འཁྲུང་དོལ་བོན་མང་དུ་གྱུང་ཞིང་། དབྱས་ཀྱི་ལུང་པ་འོན་དུ་བོང་  
 རྣེན་ཞིག་སྐྱེས་སོ། དེའི་གྱི་བུ་པ་གཤེན་ཡིན་ཞིང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་ཅིག་གྱུང་བས་ཤེས་རབ་



ཅེས་དང་། བོང་རྣལ་བརྟེན་ནས་གཤེན་རབས་མི་བོང་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེས་ལོ་དགུ་ལོན་  
 དུས་ཡུལ་འདྲིས་ཁྱེར་ནས་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ཞུགས་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་བར་དུ་མིའི་ནང་  
 དུ་མི་འདྲིས་སོ། ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་ལོན་དུས་མིའི་ནང་དུ་འདྲིས་ནས་གསོན་པོའི་ལྷ་ས་ཚོད། ནད་པ་  
 དང་མི་ལམ་ངན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་རིམ་གྱོ་དང་། ལྷུང་དང་། ལྷོ་གཏོང་བ་དང་། སྲི་འདུལ་བ།  
 གཤེན་བདུར་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡུལ་གང་ན་འདྲི་སྲུ་ཡོད། དེ་ཅི་ལ་དགའ་བ་དེ་དང་མཐུན་  
 པའི་ཚོ་ག་བྱས་པས་ཕན་གོད་ཀྱི་ཉམས་དུ་མ་ཙམ་བྱང་བས། མི་རྣམས་དད་ཅིང་རྒྱལ་པོས་  
 ཀྱང་དེ་བོས་ནས་བོན་མཇུག་པས་བདོལ་བོན་དཔ། དེའི་ཚེ་སློན་པོ་ལོང་མ་ཞེས་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 དང་..... (བོག་བུ་གཉིས་མ་ཚང་)



སྐྱུང་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ། དེའི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་བའི་གཉེན་པོ་བཟུང་བཅའ། དེ་ལ་ཡལ་གྱིས་ལེགས་ཉེས་ཅི་བྱུང་ཡང་།  
 གཉེན་པོ་གསང་བ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་ཐོབ་དང་དངོས་གྲུབ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཞེས་ཞལ་ཆེམས་བཞག་ཀྱང་།  
 སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་གྱི་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་མ་བྱུང་བས། རིམ་དང་མི་ནད་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཞིང་།  
 རྒྱལ་སྤིང་ཅུང་ཟད་མ་འཕྲོངས་སོ། དེའི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་སྐྱེ་ལྟེ་སྤ། དེ་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་དམུ་ལོང་ཅིག་  
 བྱུང་བས། རྒྱལ་སྤིང་ལ་བསྐྱོས་པས། གཉེན་པོ་གསང་བ་མཚོད་ཅིང་། རྐྱེན་བཟུངས་པས་  
 སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་སྤེ། རྐྱེན་ལ་སྐྱེ་གཞིགས་པས་མཚན་ཡང་རྐྱེན་ལ་སྐྱེ་གཞིགས་སུ་གསོལ་ལོ།  
 དེའི་རིང་ལ་རིམ་ནད་དང་བཀྲ་མི་ཤེས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཆད་ནས། མངའ་ཐང་ཡང་མེས་གྱི་  
 སོར་ཆུད་དེ། འདི་ཡི་རིང་ལ་བཀྲ་མི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཅིས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྷགས་བཞུ་  
 བ། ཐོང་ཤོལ་བཟོ་བ། ཞིང་མོ་བ། ལྷགས་ལྷེབས་ནས་མཛོད་དང་དྲིའུ་བཟོ་བ། རྐྱེན་གྱི་རིན་  
 ཐང་། སྤྲུལ་སྤྲུལ་ཅེས་སུ་འཛོལ་བ། རི་རྩ་ལ་ཆུན་པོ་བཟོ་བ་རྣམས་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་ལ་གནམ་གྱི་  
 སྤོང་བཅའ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱུད་ལོན་པ་ལ་ཡལ་གུང་དུ་བཞེགས། ལོ་དེ་ཉིད་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་དབང་  
 བསྐྱུར་དེ། ཐོ་བྱུང་བྱམས་པ་མི་འགྱུར་གྱིང་བཞེངས་ནས་བཞུགས།

འདིའི་རིང་ལ་གར་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱུང་ངོ། རུབ་ཕྱོགས་གཉེན་པོ་བྱུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་  
 བདུལ་ནས། བོད་དུ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་དང་ཅིས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤོལ་བཅུགས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གནམ་རི་སྤོང་  
 བཅའ་དང་། ལུམ་ཆེ་སྤོངས་བཟུང་འབྲིང་མ་གཉིས་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་གཞིགས་བཟུགས་བཟང་བ་དང་།  
 མཛེས་པ། མཚན་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ལྡན་པ་དབུ་ལ་ཨ་མི་རྩེ་བ་བཞུགས་པ་ཅིག་ཐོ་བྱུང་བྱམས་  
 པ་མི་འགྱུར་གྱིང་དུ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་བཞུགས་མོ། དེའི་ཆེ་ཐོ་བྱུང་དུ་དགེ་བ་དང་བཀྲ་མི་ཤེས་པའི་རྟགས་མང་  
 དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་ཤིན་དུ་དགྱེས་ཤིང་། མཚན་བྱི་སྤོང་བཅའ་དུ་གསོལ་སྤེ།  
 དབུའི་འོད་དཔག་མེད་དར་ལེབ་གཞན་གྱིས་དགྱིས་ནས་ཐོ་བྱུང་དུ་བསྐྱུངས་སོ།

བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་དག་ན། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱིས་རི་བོ་པོ་དྲུ་ལ་ནས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་  
 སེམས་ཅན་འདུལ་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབས་ནས་གཟིགས་པས་སྐྱུ་ལ་འོད་ཟེར་གཅིག་སྤྲོས་པས་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་གནམ་རི་སྤོང་བཅན་དང་། ཆེ་སྤོང་ས་བཟའ་འབྲིང་ལ་ཐོད་དཀར་བུམས་པ་མི་  
 འགྱུར་གླིང་ན་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་ཕོག་དེ་ལ་སྤོའི་རིམ་པའི་མཐོང་སྤང་གསུམ་བུང་སྟེ། བར་སྤང་  
 གི་ལྟ་དང་། གནོད་སྤྱིན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་པོ་དྲུ་ལ་ནས་འོད་ཟེར་དཀར་པོ་འབྲོས་པ་མཐོང་། བྱང་  
 རྒྱལ་སེམས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དངོས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་གཤེགས་པ་གཟིགས།  
 གནམ་གྱི་སྤོང་བཅན་གྱིས་ཁྱིའུ་མངེས་པ་མཚན་དང་ཟུར་ཕུད་ཀྱིས་སྤྲས་པ་ཞིག་བཅུན་མོའི་  
 ལྷམས་སུ་ཞུགས་པ་མཐོང་།

དེ་ནས་ཡབ་བྱང་དུ། འབྲོང་ཞེ་ལེ་བོང་ཟན་བྱ་བ་བསད་ནས་ལམ་དུ་གཤེགས་ནས་ལོ་  
 དེ་ཉིད་ལ་སྤྲས་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སར་བསྐྱོས་ན་སྐྱམ་པ་ཐུགས་ལ་མངའ་བ་ལ་དེ་  
 ཀའི་སྤོང་ལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཅོད་པར་བསྐྱོན། ཀུན་བཟང་གིས་ཁྲུས་གསོལ།  
 སྤང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱིས་དབུ་ལ་ཕྱག་གིས་རེག་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོར་དབང་བསྐྱར་དོ།

རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ནས་མཐའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བརྟུལ་ནས་དབང་བྱས། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་སོ་སོ་ནས་སྤྱིན་ཡིག་འབུལ་ཞིང་སྐྱེས་བསྐྱར་དོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་  
 ཡིག་གི་ལན་སྐྱར་བ་ལ་བོད་ན་ཡི་གེ་མེད་པ་ལ། མེས་ཐོ་དོ་རི་སྤྱན་མཚན་གྱིས། གཉན་པོ་  
 གསང་བ་ཡང་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་འདུག་པ། བོད་ཡིག་དུ་བྱ་དགོས་པར་གཟིགས་ནས། ཐོན་  
 མི་ཞུ་ཀུའི་བུ་ལ་གསེར་བྲི་གང་བསྐྱར་ནས། གཡོག་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཅས་དེ་ཡི་གེ་སློབ་དུ་ཁ་ཆེར་  
 བཏང་ངོ་། དེས་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལི་བྱིན་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བསྐྱབས། པརྗེ་ཏ་ལྷའི་སེང་གི་ལ་སྐྱ་བསྐྱབས་དོ།  
 གསལ་བྱིད་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་བསྐྱན་ནས་སུམ་ཅུ། དབྱངས་ཨི་ཨུ་ཨི་ཨོ་བཞིར་བསྐྱས་དེ་ཁ་ཆེན་

ག་རའི་ཡི་གེ་དང་བསྐྱེན་ནས་བཅོས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཐོན་མི་སམ་སྟོ་ཏེ་འཁོར་བཅས་འཁོར་  
ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་མཇུག། ཡི་གེ་དང་སྐྱ་མང་པོ་སྐྱབས་སོ། རྒྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་  
ཅིག་བསྟོམས་དང་ཅིས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་པ་ལ།

།ཞལ་རས་གསལ་ལ་འོད་མདངས་གང་པས་བཟང་།

།གདམས་ངག་ཐར་ལམ་མ་ལུས་ཆགས་པ་དང་།

།ལས་ངན་བག་ཆགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བསལ་མཛད་པ།

།འཕགས་པ་མ་ཕམ་ཡན་ལག་དམ་པ་ལགས།

།བདེ་དགེས་བདེ་མཉེས་ཡི་གེས་དེས།

།དྲིང་འཛིན་ཞི་ཉིད་རིག་ཅིང་གཟིགས།

།ཉོན་མོངས་ཚོགས་བཅོམ་མགོན་པོ་མཚོག

།དུག་གསུམ་འདུལ་དཔུང་ཀུན་ཏུ་བདུལ།

ཞེས་པ་བྲིས་དེ་ལྟུང་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཉེས་དེ། བྱེན་གྱི་ཁོག་སྐར་དོའི་གཙུག་ལག་  
ཁང་བཙུགས་དེ། རྒྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བལྟགས་པའི་ཞབས་སུ་ཡི་གེ་འདི་དོ་ལ་བྲིས་དེ་  
བཞག་གོ། བོད་དུ་ཡི་གེ་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སྐྱ་བོ་དེ་གཉེས་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་ནས་ལྷ་སའི་སྐྱ་མཁར་མ་རུར་ཡི་གེ་གཟུགས་དང་བརྗོད་དང་། ལྷེ་བུ་རྩེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་  
ལེགས་པར་བཅོས་ནས། ཐོན་མིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་། སྐྱའི་བསྐྱེན་ཚོས་བརྒྱན་མཛད་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོས་  
ཀྱང་ལོ་བཞིར་མཚམས་བཅད་ནས་སྐྱབས་སོ། མེས་ཀྱི་བྱུགས་དམ་ཟ་མ་དོག་བཀོད་པ་དང་།  
མདོ་ལྷེ་དགོན་མཚོག་སྤྱིན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཅི་རིགས་སུ་བསྐྱར་དེ། དེ་ཡི་ཚེ་བོད་འབངས་ཀྱིས་  
རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གཤེ་བ་གསན་ནས། སྟོན་དང་འབངས་རྣམས་ལ་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་པ། ང་དམ་པའི་

ཚོས་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་འགལ་ཞིང་ཚོས་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སྤྱོད་བཟུང་ན། ཕྱི་མ་ངའི་དབོན་རབས་རིམ་  
 པར་འབྲུང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་བཟུང་ནས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་  
 ལྷག་བསྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་ཅིང་། ཚེ་འདིའི་བདེ་བ་ལས་ཉམས་ཤིང་། ཕྱི་མ་ཡང་ངན་སྲིང་  
 རྣམས་སུ་འགྲོ་བའི་རྒྱལ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་སྤྱོད་པས་འཛོམས་པས། དེ་ན་ངས་སེམས་ཅན་  
 རྣམས་ལ་ཕན་པའི་ཕྱིར། མཚོད་གནས་དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་པོ་ལ་འདྲིས་པའི་མཚོད་པ་  
 དང་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དང་མི་འགལ་ཞིང་། འཛིག་དེན་གྱི་འཚོ་ཐབས་དགེ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱབ་པ་  
 དང་། ལུས་ཀྱི་དཔའ་རྩལ་དང་། སློ་སློས་གཙུག་ལག་ལ་གོམས་པར་བྱེད་པ་དང་། རྒྱད་པར་  
 དགེ་བ་བརྩའི་ལས་དང་། སར་ལ་སར་གཤམ་རིམ་གྱི་བྱེད་པ་དང་། མ་ལ་མ་གཤམ་ཤིང་རིམ་  
 གྱི་བྱེད་པ་དང་། མཁན་པོ་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་གུས་ཤིང་། སྤྱི་ལུ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། རིགས་ཀྱིས་  
 གན་རབས་ལ་བཀྱར་ཞིང་ཕྱག་བྱ་བ་དང་། དགེ་སྦྱོང་དང་། བུམ་ཟེ་ཐོས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ་  
 རྣམས་བསྟོན་ཅིང་། བསྟེན་བཀྱར་གྱིས་མཚོད་པ་དང་། ཆང་མི་འབྲུང་བར་བྱ་བ་དང་། མི་  
 ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བརྩུ་བྱུག་གི་སྲོལ་བརྩུགས་དེ་བྲིམས་བཅས་སོ། ། གསུངས་ནས་པོད་རྣམས་  
 ཚོས་ལ་བཀོད་པས་ཀུན་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ནི་གླམ་པོ་ཞིག་གོ ། ཞེས་གྲུང་པས་མཚན་སྤོང་  
 བཅན་གླམ་པོ་ཞེས་བྲགས་སོ། །

དེ་ནས་སྐྱུལ་པ་བཏང་སྟེ་སྟོ་སྟོ་སྟོགས་ནས། ཅན་དན་སྐྱུལ་གྱི་སྟིང་པོ་ལས། རང་བྱུང་དུ་  
 བྱོན་པའི་སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་བརྩུ་བཅུག་ཞལ་སྐྱུན་དྲངས་སོ། ། དེ་ནས་བལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོད་  
 ཟེར་གོ་ཆའི་སྐས་མོ་བྲི་བརྩུན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལྷ་མོ་བྲི་གཉེར་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱུལ་པར་བྲགས་པ། མངའ་  
 བྱུང་སྐྱུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ཁབ་དུ་ཞེས་པའི་རྫོང་ལ་དགུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཆད་ཇོ་  
 བོ་མི་བསྟོན་དོ་ཇི། བུམས་པ་ཚོས་འཁོར། ཅན་དན་གྱི་ཇོ་བོ་སྐྱུལ་མ་རྣམས་སྐྱུན་དྲངས་སོ། །

ཡང་དེའི་ཚེ་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱེ་ཡུལ་ན་ཐང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞི་པ་  
ཐང་ཐའི་རྒྱུང་ཞེས་པ། མཁས་ཤིང་དཔའ་བ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས། ཉོར་བཙམ་སྟེ་རྒྱ་ཉོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་  
ཁམས་གཉིས་ཀ་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱས་སོ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གོགས་པོ་བྱས་  
ཏེ། སུ་ཚུ་སྟེས་དང་ཕོ་ཉ་གཏོང་ཞིང་ཤིན་དུ་མཇོལ། བོད་རྣམས་རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐའི་རྒྱུང་  
ལ་སང་གི་བཙན་པོ་ཟེར་རོ།

དེའི་སྐབས་མོ་ལུ་ཉེ་གོང་ཚོ་བྱ་བ་གཟུགས་བཟང་གིང་མཛེས་པ་མངའ་བྱད་སུ་སུ་  
ཚོགས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ་འཕགས་མ་སྟོལ་མའི་སྐྱུལ་པར་གྲགས་པ་ཅིག་ཡོད་དོ། བུ་མོ་དེ་སྟོང་  
བ་ལ་ཉོར་དང་། བྱ་ལུ་རྩུ་གྱི་མི་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་མ་བྱིན་པར་རྒྱ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་  
གཞན་རེ་བྱིན་ནས་སྟོག་གོ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀྱང་འདོད་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་མ་བྱིན་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
ཁྲིས་ནས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅུ་ལྔ་ལ་དམག་འབུམ་ཚོ་བཞི་བྲིད་ནས་རྒྱལ་དྲངས་ཏེ། བྱ་ལུ་  
རྩུ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བཙམ་ནས། རྒྱའི་ས་ཆ་བྱང་ཅེ་ལུ་རྟེན་བ། དེ་ནས་ཕོ་ཉ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་  
ཁབ་གཅིག་བསྐྱར་ནས་བུ་མོ་བྱིན། གལ་ཏེ་མི་སྟེར་ན་དམག་བྱེད་དེ། རྒྱ་ཡུལ་བརྟུག་པར་  
བྱེད་དོ་ཞེས་སྟོང་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཅམ་བསད་དེ། འཐབ་མོ་དང་ཚོད་པ་མང་པོ་  
བྱས། དེ་ནས་ལུ་རིང་པོ་ནས་བཟངས་བྱས་ཏེ། བོད་དམག་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱིར་ལོག་སྟོན་པོ་  
འགར་ལ་གསེར་སྟོང་ཚོ་ལྔ་དང་། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རིགས་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་ནས། བུ་མོ་ལེན་དྲ་  
བདང་བས། ཐའི་རྒྱུང་གི་སྐབས་མོ་ལུ་ཉེ་གོང་ཚོ། ལུགས་མོ་སྟང་གི་ལོ་ལ་བྱིན་ནས་དེའི་  
སྟོལ་མ་ལ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད། བྱང་དུ་སྐང་ཞེས་པ་དམག་དང་བཙན་པ་བདང་། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་  
ཀྱང་དམག་དང་བཙན་པས། རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་བེ་ཉ་བྱ་བ་ནས་བསུས། ཀོང་ཚོའི་  
ཚོང་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཆ་དེ་ཚོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གདན་དྲངས་གིང་།

དར་གྱི་འབྲུ་དང་། སྤང་ཆང་ཞེས་པ་དང་། བཅོལ་སོགས་པ་མང་པོ་ཡང་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བོ།  
ཡི་གེ་ཁ་ཅིག་ན་གོང་ཚོ་སྤོང་བ་ལ། གེ་སར་དང་། ལྷག་གཟིག་གི་གཉའོ་རྣམས་འཛོམ་ཞེས་པ་  
དང་། གཡུ་ཞགས་འཁོར་མ་ལ་དར་ཡུག་རྒྱུད་དུ་བཅུག་ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཀའ་ཆེམས་  
ལ་ཡི་གེ་མ་དག་པ་འདྲེས་པ་ཡིན་པས་དོན་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེའི་ཆེ་བལ་མོ་ཁྱི་བཅུན་གྱིས་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་འདོད་ཀྱང་། བཞེངས་མ་ཐུབ་  
པས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ས་གནི། སྤྱིན་མོ་གན་ཀྱལ་དུ་འགྱེལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་  
འདི་མནན་དགོས་པར་གཟེགས་ནས། སྤྱིན་མོའི་དཔུང་པ་གཡས་ལ་སྐྱུ་རུའི་ཀ་ཚལ།  
གཡོན་ལ་གཡུ་རུའི་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་རྒྱང་པ་གཡས་ལ་གཡས་རུའི་གཙང་གུམ། གཡོན་ལ་གཡོན་  
རུའི་གྲོམ་པ་རྒྱང་སྟེ། རུ་བཞིའི་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞི། ལྷ་མོ་གཡོན་ལ་སྟོ་བྲག་ཁམ་ཐིང་། ལྷ་  
མོ་གཡས་ལ་གོང་པོ་བུ་རྒྱ། སུས་མོ་གཡས་ལ་སྐྱ་བྲག་གཡོན་ལ་ཕྱ་དུམ་ཅི་སྟེ། མཐའ་  
འདུལ་བཞི། ལག་མཐིལ་གཡས་ལ་བྱང་ཚལ་གྱི་རྒྱང་ཚོན། གཡོན་ལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་ཐང་  
སྟོལ་མ། རྒྱང་མཐིལ་གཡས་ལ་མང་ཡུལ་བུམས་སྤྱིན། གཡོན་ལ་མོན་བུམ་ཐང་སྟེ། ཡང་  
འདུལ་བཞི། གཞན་ཡང་སྤྱ་སྤྱོན་སྤྱིར་རྒྱལ་སོགས་ལ་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་ནས།  
གདོད་འོ་ཐང་གི་མཚོ་ལ་དོ་མཁར་ཅིགས་ཤིང་གི་ཡུལ། ལྷའི་འདག་པས་ཞལ་ཞལ་བྱས་ཏེ་  
ར་ལ་ས་སྐྱས་ཏེ་དལ་ནས། ལྷ་སའི་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་། ར་ས་འབྲུལ་སྤང་བཞེངས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་ཚོ་བོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་བཞེངས་པའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། གསེར་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་  
མང་པོ་སྟོ་འབྲུར་བྱང་མའི་ནང་དུ་སྤྱངས་པ་ལས་རང་འབྲུང་དུ་བྱོན་པའི། ཚོ་བོ་ཐུགས་ཚི་  
ཆེན་པོ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་སྟོ་འབྲུར་བྱང་མར་བཞུགས་སོ། དབུས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་འབྲུར་དུ་བཞུན་  
པའི་གཙོ་བོ་ལ་སེམས་དཔའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། དེ་ཡི་གཡས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་འབྲུར་ལ་



མར་མི་མཛད་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ལའོར་དང་བཅས་པ་བཞུགས། གཡོན་གྱི་སྐྱོ་འབྲུང་ལ་བུམས་པ་ཚོས་གྱི  
ལའོར་ལོ་བསྐྱོར་བ་ལའོར་བཅས་བཞུགས། སྐྱོ་འབྲུང་གྲོ་མར་མི་བསྐྱོད་དོ་རྗེ་ལའོར་བཅས་  
བཞུགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་མོ་ཨོང་ཇོས་ཀྱང་རྩ་མོ་ཆེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་སྟེ། ཇོ་པོ་རིན  
པོ་ཆེ་བཞུགས་སོ་གསོལ་ལོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་རི་བོ་ཅེ་ལྷར་བྱོན་ནས། ལྷ་ཁང་རྒྱ་ཅ  
བཞེངས། དོ་རིང་བཙུགས་དེ་མཛད་པ་བཀའ་བྲིམས་ལྟར་བུས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་དེ་བཞག་གོ

རུབ་སྤྱོདས་ཞང་ཞུང་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལིག་མི་ཤའི་སྲས་མོ་ལི་ཐོག་སྐྱེན་ཡང་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས  
ཤིང་། བོད་མོ་མོང་ཟ་བྲི་ལུ་མ་ཡང་བཞེས་དེ་དམར་པོ་རི་དང་། ལུགས་པོ་རི་ལ་གྲོང་བདབ  
རི་གཉིས་གྱི་བར་ལུགས་ཐག་གིས་སྤྱེལ་བའི་ལྷེ་མས་བཙུགས། བྲག་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་སྤུག་སོགས་ལ  
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། མཁར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་བཅིགས། ཚོས་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བཀའ་བྲིམས  
ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་གྱི་བས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། སྤངས་མཐོ་བས་འབངས་ཐམས་ཅད་དཀོན  
མཚོག་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱབས་འོག་དུ་བཙུད་དེ། འདི་དང་ཕྱི་མ་གཉིས་ཀའི་བདེ་ལེགས་གྱིས  
བསྐྱེངས་སོ།

དེའི་ཆེ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་སུ་པ་ར་དང་། བུམ་ཟེ་ཤང་ཀ་ར་དང་། བལ་པོའི་སློབ  
དཔོན་གི་ལ་མཇུ་དང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཏ་རུ་ཏ་དང་། ལྷ་རུ་ཏ་དང་། བུམ་ཟེ་ལི་དྲི  
དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཏ་ཤང་མ་རུ་རྗེ་བ་ཅེ་གདན་དྲངས་དེ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཐོན་མི་སམ་གྲོ་ཇ  
དང་། དེའི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀོལ་དང་། ལྷ་ལྷང་དོ་རྗེ་དཔལ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ཚོས་ཅི་རིགས་སུ  
བསྐྱུར་ཅིང་གདན་ལ་པལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཡི་རིང་བོད་སློང་ལྷེ་རུ་བཞེ་ཕྱ། ཤར་ཅ་མི་དང་  
ཤིང་མི། ལྷོ་སྟོ། མོ་མ། རུབ་ཞང་ཞུང་། བྱང་ཉོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དབང་དུ  
བསྐྱུས་ནས་མངའ་མཛད། ད་ལྟེ་གདུང་རབ་ལྷ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འོང་། དེའི་རིང་ལ

དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དང་། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བས་དབུའི་མཚོད་གནས་སུ་བཀུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་ལུང་བསྟན་  
ཅིང་། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་གཏོད། དབུ་ལ་འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་དངོས་སུ་བཞུགས་  
ཤིང་། འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུའི་སྲུལ་པ་ཡིན་ཅོ།

སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྲུལ་པ་ཡིན་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན། ལི་ཡུལ་གྱི་བཙུན་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་  
རྒྱུས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། དགུང་ལོ་བཙུན་གསུམ་པ་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱེད་སྲིད་ཀྱི་བཙུན་ཙུ་  
ཅ་གཉིས་པ་ས་པོ་ཕྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་སྐྱེ་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་ཐུགས་དམ་བཙུན་  
གཅིག་ཞལ་གྱི་མདུན་དུ་འབྲེངས་ནས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། བློ་བཙུན་དང་ཀོང་ཚོ་ཡང་གཡས་  
གཡོན་དུ་འབྲེངས་ཏེ་འདུག་གོ དེ་ནས་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གསུམ་ཀ་ས་སོ་སོའི་ཞལ་ཏེ་བཞག་ཅིང་།  
ཀོང་ཚོའི་ཞལ་ནས། ལྷ་གྲུ་མུ་ནི་ར་མོ་ཆེ་ནས་འཕུལ་སྐྱེད་དུ་གདན་དྲོངས་ལ། སློའབུར་  
ལྷོ་མའི་ནང་དུ་བོས་ལ་སྒོ་ལ་ཞལ་ཞལ་བྱས་ནས་འཇམ་དབྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་གཅིག་བྲིས་ལ་ཞིག་  
ཅིག་འཕུལ་སྐྱེད་གི་མི་བསྐྱེད་དོ་ཆེ་རུ་མོ་ཆེ་ར་གདན་དྲོངས་ལ་བཞུགས་སོ་གསོལ། ཞེས་པ་  
ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཞལ་ཏེ་དང་། སློན་འབངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ངེད་དང་མ་ཕྱད་པའི་སྐྱེ་གཅིག་བསྐྱེད་པ་  
ཡོད་ན་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་མཚོད་ཅིང་ཕྱག་འཚོལ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིག་ཅེས་མོང་བཟའ་  
བློ་ལྷུ་དང་། སློན་པོ་རྣ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཞལ་ཆེམས་བཞག་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱག་བློ་བཙུན་དང་།  
ཀོང་ཚོའི་སྤྱི་བོར་བཞག་པའི་འོད་དུ་ཞུ་ནས་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གསུམ་ཀ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཐིམ་  
སོང་བ་དང་། བོད་འབངས་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་བང་སོ་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ཡང་མཐོང་དོ། དེ་ནས་  
སློན་པོ་རྣ་མས་ཀྱི་ཀྱང་ཞལ་ཆེམས་ལྷ་ར་ཚོ་བོ་གཉིས་པོ་བརྗེ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུས་པར་  
བཀའ་ཆེམས་ལས་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།

དེའི་སྐྱེས་མང་སྲོང་མང་བཙུན་མེ་པོ་ཕྱི་ལ་འབྱུངས། དགུང་ལོ་བཙུན་གསུམ་ལ་རྒྱལ་

སར་བདོན། གློན་པོ་འགར་གྱིས་གློན་པོ་བྱས་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་རེ་འགའ་མཐུན་ཞིང་སྐྱེས་བསྐྱུར། རེ་འགའ་མི་མཐུན་ཞིང་དམག་དང་། ས་ཆའི་  
 ཚོད་པ་མང་དུ་བྱས། དེའི་གློན་པོ་འགར་འདས། དེ་ནས་བོད་ཀྱིས་དམག་བྱས་ཏེ། རྒྱའི་  
 རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་རྒྱབ། ཡུལ་གྱུར་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤངས་ནས། རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་གློན་པོ་ཆེ་  
 བ་དགུ་དམག་འབུམ་དང་བཅས་པ་བཏང་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སའི་བར་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་གློན་པོ་  
 འགར་གྱི་བུས་དམག་དཔོན་བྱས་ནས་འཐབ་པས། རྒྱའི་དམག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕམ་པར་བྱས།  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་ལོ་འཁོར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བདོན། ལོ་བཙུག་ལྷའི་བར་དུ་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ས། ལོ་ཉི་  
 བུ་ཅ་བདུན་ལ་རྩ་ཕྱི་བལ་བཤེགས་སོ།

དེའི་སྐྱུས་གྲུང་སྤྱོད་གྲུང་བཅས་གྱིས་ལོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ནས་ལོ་བཙུག་བར་ལ་  
 བཤེགས་སོ། དེའི་སྐྱུས་འདུ་སྤྱོད་མང་པོ་རྗེ་རྒྱུད་གི་ཐོག་བཅས། རྩ་ཕྱི་བལ་འབྱུངས། རྒྱལ་  
 སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ལོ་ཉི་བུ་ཅ་དགུ་རྒྱུངས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས། བར་རྒྱའི་ག་རྒྱ། ལྷའི་བལ་པོ་ཤིང་ཁུ་ལི་ལུ་  
 ཏེ། བྱུང་ཉེར་གྱི་སྐྱུས་ལྷགས་ཅེ། ལུ་བ་སྐོ་བོ་གད་རིང་། སྐལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ནང་གོང་། ལྷ་དྲུ་  
 ཤིང་འགར་རྩ་ཆད་མངར་བསྐྱུས་སོ།

རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་རྒྱ་ནས་རྗེ་དང་རོལ་མོའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་པོ་གསར་དུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་།  
 བོད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེའི་མི་བདུན་པོ་ཡང་བྱུང་། དེ་གཅིག་གིས་བྲག་ཤོང་འོམ་དགུ་ལ་མཚོངས་  
 ལུས། གཅིག་གིས་གཡག་ཤོད་ཀྱི་རྐང་པ་བཟུང་ནས་ལྷེ་བས་ལུས། གཅིག་གིས་འདམ་སེང་  
 ལྷག་སྐྱུ་ནས་བཟུང་ནས་སྐོར་ལུས། གཅིག་གིས་ཤིང་པོ་འདོམ་དོ་པ་མདས་འབེགས་ལུས།  
 གཅིག་གིས་མཁར་སྐྱ་རྩ་ལ་འབེབས་ལུས། གཅིག་གིས་ཤ་བའི་ལྷོད་པུ་གསེར་གྱི་བསྐྱངས་  
 ལུས་ཀྱང་ལ་བསྐོར་ལུས་པ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།

ཉུལ་པོ་འདི་ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་ཚ་དགུ་པ་ལྷགས་མོ་སྒང་ལ་འདས་སོ།

དེའི་སྲས་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ལྷོ་གཙུག་བརྟན་མེས་ཨག་ཚོ་མ་སྤེ། བལྟམ་ལ་ཁད་ལ་ཡབ་འདས། དེ་ཉིད་  
 དུ་ཉུལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་དེ་སྐྱུ་ནར་སོན་པ་དང་། སྤར་མེས་སྲོང་བཙམ་གྱིས་གདུང་  
 རབས་ལྷ་ནས་ལྷོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཉུལ་པོ་བྱང་ཞེས་ལྷང་བསྟན་པ་ཁོ་རང་ཡིན་སྟམ་ནས་ལྷ་ས་ཁོ་  
 བྱག་ཚིང་བྱ་ནམ་ལྷལ་དར་ལུར་མཁར་བཏབ། མདོ་སྤང་དུ་ལིང་བཅུ་བྱི་ཅི། བྲག་དམར་དུ་  
 ཀ་ཚུ་བར་སྒོམས། སང་ཐང་ཀ་མེད། བཀའ་བཅུ་པ་ཚུད། བྲག་དམར་མགྱིན་བཟང་ལ་  
 སོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། བྲན་ཀ་ལུ་ལ་ཀོ་བ་དང་། སྤེགས་རྩ་ན་ཀུ་མ་  
 རས་ལོ་རྩུ་བྱས་དེ། མདོ་སྤེ་གསེར་འོད་དམ་པ་དང་། ལས་བརྒྱ་པ་གཉིས་བསྐྱུར། གཞན་  
 ཡང་སྐྱེན་དཔུང་དང་། ཕྱིས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་ཅིང་། ཚོས་སྲོལ་ཚེན་པོ་བཅུགས་  
 སོ། དགུང་ལོ་དུག་ཅུ་རེ་གཉིས་པ་ལ་ས་མོ་ལུག་ལ་འདས་སོ།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྡངས་ཚ་ལྷ་དཔོན། ཉུ་ཉུལ་པོའི་སྲས་མོ་གི་ཤིང་ཀོང་ཇོ་སྒངས། བཟོས་ལ་  
 གོས་དར་བྱི་ཚོ་མང་པོ་དང་། བཟོ་རིགས་སྤུ་ཚང་དང་། རོལ་མོའི་ཆ་བྱང་མང་པོ་བྱིན་ནས་  
 རྗངས་པས། བོད་དུ་སྤེའབས་པ་དང་སྲས་གོངས་ནས། མེས་ཨག་ཚོ་མ་གྱིས་བཞེས། ལྷ་ཤུག་  
 ལུ་ནི་བཙལ་ནས་མཚོན་པ་བྱས་པས་སྲས་མཚན་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་མེ་པོ་ཉ་ལ་འཁྲུངས་དེ།  
 མཚན་ཡང་སྤོང་སྲོང་ལྷོ་མཚན་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ།

དེ་ཚུང་དུ་ནས་མཁྱེན་པ་ཚོགས་ཤིང་། ཤེས་རབ་དང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་བྱང་བས།  
 སང་ཤི་ལ་སོགས་མི་བཞི། ཉུའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཚོས་འཚོལ་དུ་བཏང་བས། ཉུའི་ཉ་ཤང་མངོན་  
 ཤེས་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་པོ་ཉ་བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤུལ་པ་ཅིག་འོང་སྤེ།  
 དཔྱིབས་འདི་འདྲོའོ་ཞེས་འབག་བྱས་དེ་སྤེའབས་པ་དང་། ཉུལ་པོས་གཉེན་བཀུར་བྱས། ཚོས་

མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་ནས་ཏེ་གང་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་པ་རྒྱུ་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདས་པ་སྐྱོན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་མཐོན་པོ་བཞིག་ཏེ། ལྷ་གྲུ་ལུ་ནི་བྱེ་མའི་འོག་དུ་སྤྱོད་ནས། ལྷ་སར་བཤས་ར་བྱས་སོ། སྐྱོན་པོ་རྣམས་ནི་གི་ཐོག་རྗེ་ཐང་ལ་འབར་བུ་བ་རྒྱལ་གས་ནས་གི། ཚོན་གྱུ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱལ་མགོན་བུ་བ་སྐྱམ་ནས་གི་བས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་བྱེ་མའི་འོག་དུ་བཅུགས་པས་ལན་ཟེར་བ་དང་། དེའུ་གཉིས་ལ་བསྐྱལ་ནས་མང་ཡུལ་སྤྱིད་རོང་དུ་སྤྱུལ། མཁར་བྲག་དང་། མགྲིན་བཟང་གཉིས་བཞིག་གོ།

དེའི་ཚེ་སྤྱ་གསལ་སྤྱང་ཞེས་བུ་བའི་ཚོས་སྐྱོན་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོས་མང་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཁར་དཔོན་ལ་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་བཏང་། སང་གིས་ཚོས་སྤྱི་མཐོན་པོ་མཐོང་བ་དང་། ཚོས་རྣམས་བྲག་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཏེ་བཞག་གོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སར་བསྐྱོན། ཐོ་བྱང་དུ་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཇེད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཐབས་མང་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་གཏམ་བུང་བ་ན། ཚོས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་བུང་བ་དང་། སང་གི་ཚོས་བྲག་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྤངས་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་དུ་གསོལ་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གིན་དུ་དད་པར་གྱུར་ཏེ། རྒྱ་མེ་གོ་དང་། ལ་ནན་ཏེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་ཅིག་གསུང་ནས་བསྐྱར་བར་བརྟམས་པས། སྐྱོན་པོ་མ་ཞང་བྲོམ་པ་སྤྱོད་ལ་སོགས་པས་བཀག་སྡོམ་བསྐྱར་དུ་མ་བཅུག། དེར་སྐྱོན་པོ་ཚོས་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། སང་གི་ཡང་མང་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱུང་ས། གསལ་སྤྱང་གི་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བྱིན་ནས། མདུ་བོ་རྩི་དང་གྱི་ན་ལེན་ཏེ་ལ་མཚོད་པ་བྱས། བལ་པོར་སྤོབ་དཔོན་བོ་ཏེ་སྤྱ་དུ་མཇེད་ཏེ་མང་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྱོད་དངས་ནས་ཚོས་ཞུས། སྤོབ་དཔོན་ལ་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཞུ་བ་སུལ་བས། ང་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སངས་རྒྱལ་འོད་སྤྱང་གི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ་མཚོད་ནས་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དེ། ལྷ་གྲུ་བུ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་མཐའ་ཁོབ་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་བ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་བཏབ་པ་ཡིན་པས་འོངས་གིང་བཏགས་

དེ་བལ་པོར་བཤེགས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་ཡི་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་དབུས་སུ་འོངས་པས། སོ་བྱང་སྤྱང་འཆུབ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་  
 མཇལ་སྟེ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཚིད། བལ་པོའི་ཡུལ་ན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁན་པོ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་འདུག་ཏུ་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བ་མཁམས་ཤིང་བཟང་བ། སྟོབ་དཔོན་སྟུ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་འཛིན་པ་འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་  
 ལས་ཚོས་དོས་སུ་གསན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལུས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉེས་ནས་ངས་  
 སྟོབ་དཔོན་སྟོན་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་མོལ་བར་བྱ་ཡི། བྱིད་རི་ཞིག་ཡི་བ་ཅིག་གསུང་ནས་ཞང་རྣ་  
 བཟང་དང་། འགོས་ཁྱི་བཟང་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཚོས་སྟོན་ཀུན་ལ་ཚོས་བྱིད་པ་བཀའ་བརྩལ་བས་  
 ཞང་རྣ་བཟང་རྣ་ལེ མ་ཞང་དབང་ཆེ་ཞིང་། ཚོས་ལ་གནག་པའི་མི་འགྲུབ་འཆི་ཞེས་ཟེམ་  
 འགོས་རྣ་ལེ མ་ཞང་མེད་པའི་ཐབས་གཅིག་བཟྱི་ཡིས། སྤྱད་ཀྱི་བདག་གི་སྤོང་གོན་མཛོད་  
 ཅིག་ཟེམ། དེར་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཆད་བྱས་ནས་འགོས་ཀྱིས་སྟོ་བདོན་ནས་མ་ཞང་གསོན་པོར་དུར་  
 དུ་བརྩལ་ནས། ཁ་ཕ་འོང་གིས་བཅད་ནས་བཞོག་ དེ་ནས་འབུལ་བ་གསེར་ཕྱི་བྱེ་གང་དང་  
 གཞན་ཡང་ཡོ་ཆས་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་དེ། ཡི་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་སྟོབ་དཔོན་བོ་རྩི་ས་དོ་གདན་འདྲིན་  
 དུ་བཏང་།

དེའི་རྗེས་ལ་ལང་འགྲོ་སྐྱ་ར་དང་། གཉེར་སྐྱབ་ཚན་སྤོང་གཟིགས་དང་། རྒྱང་རྒྱ་ར་  
 ལེགས་གཟིགས་གསུམ་བསུར་བཏང་བས། མང་ཡུལ་དུ་མཇལ་བའི་ལང་འགྲོ་སྐྱ་ར་དང་།  
 སྟོབ་དཔོན་དེར་བཞག་ནས། གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སོ་བྱང་དུ་ཕེབས། ཕྱག་དང་གཏམ་སྟོན་སུལ་  
 བས། ཞང་སྟོན་རྣམས་རྣ་ལེ སྟོ་བལ་གྱི་ངན་སྤྲུགས་བྱིད་ཀྱི་བརྟག་དགོས་ཞེས་ཟེམ་སྟེ། སང་  
 ཤི་དང་། སེར་འགོས། ལྷ་ལུང་གཟིགས་དང་། མཚིམས་མི་ལན་གསུམ་བཏང་ནས་སྐད་  
 མ་ཤེས་དེ། ཁ་ཆེ་ཨ་རྒྱན་ལ་ཨ་ཅ་ར་བཟང་ངན་ཅི་འདྲ་ཡིན་དུས་པས། ཤིན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་སྟེ།

ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མི་འཚལ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། སློབ་དཔོན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་འཇམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་ན་མིའི་  
གཟུགས་བཟུང་ནས་ཚོས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རང་དང་སྤྱིའི་མཚན་ཉིད་འབྱེད་པ་ལ་ང་ལས་མཁས་པ་  
མིད་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཡིད་ཆེས་ཉེ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་དཔལ་དང་མཐུ་དང་  
འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོས་བསུ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ། བཀུར་སྤྱི་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་ཕོ་བྲང་སྤྱང་རྒྱལ་དུ་ཁ་ཆེ་ཨ་རྣམས་ལོ་ཙ་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷ་བ་བཞིར་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་  
ཁམས་བཙོ་བརྒྱད། ཅེན་འབྲེལ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བཤད་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྤྱིན་འབྲུགས་ནས།  
དམར་པོ་རི་ལ་ཐོག་རྒྱལ། སང་ཐང་རྒྱས་བྱིས། མི་ནད་དང་ཕྱུགས་ནད་མང་པོ་བྱང་བས་  
བོད་ཡོ་ལོག་ནས་ཚོས་བྱས་པས་ལེན་ཟེར་ཏེ་སློབ་དཔོན་སྤར་བལ་པོར་རྒྱངས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་རིང་ཞིག་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཚོས་བྲིམས་བཅུགས་ནས། སྤྲ་གསལ་ལྷང་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་  
དུ་ཚོས་འཚོལ་དུ་བཏང་། སང་གི་ལ་ཐོགས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་བལ་པོར་ཨ་ཙ་ར་སྤྱན་འདྲེན་དུ་  
བཏང་ངོ། དེའི་ཆེ་རྒྱ་ཡི་ཉ་ཤང་ཞིག་ན་ཤེ། ད་སྤེ་ལྷ་བ་དུག་དང་ཞག་དུག་ནས་འཕགས་པ་ཉ་  
སྐད་ཀྱི་སྤྱུལ་པ་ཅིག་འོང་ཏེ་འདི་འདྲའོ་ཞེས་འབག་བྱས་སོ། སྤེབས་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་རྗེ་མཉེས་  
ནས་བསྟེན་བཀུར་བྱས། ཉ་ཤང་ཞིག་ལས་ལུང་སྤངས་ཏེ། འཁོར་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཚོས་སྤྱིས་  
སུ་སྤུལ་ལོ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས་ད་དུང་ཨ་ཙ་ར་གདན་མ་འགྲོངས་པས་བྱོད་ཀྱང་གདན་  
འདྲེན་ལ་སོང་གསུང་ནས་བལ་པོར་བརྒྱངས་སོ།

ཡི་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་དང་། སང་གི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཨ་ཙ་ར་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་བྲག་དམར་མགྲིན་  
བཟང་དུ་འཕེབས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པས་བསུ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཕུག་འཚོལ་ནས་  
མཚོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཚོས་ཞུས་པས། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཞལ་ནས། ཚོས་བཤད་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་  
ལྷ་སྤྱིན་འབྲུགས་ནས། ཚོས་བྱེད་དུ་མི་སྤེར་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤྱི་ཆེ་ལ་





བསྐྱོན་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲིད་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དམག་དྲངས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀྱི་མཚམས་སུ་དམག་  
 ཅིས་པས། བྱངས་བྱེ་བ་བཅུ་གསུམ་འདུག་གོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་རིང་  
 བསྐྱེལ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་རེའི་ནང་དུ་རིང་བསྐྱེལ་རེ་རེ་བཅུག་ཅིང་  
 ལྷག་མ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་མཚོད་རྟེན་དཀར་པོའི་ནང་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ། ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་  
 ས་མོ་ཡོས་ལ་བཞེངས་ཚར་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་བོ་རྗེ་ས་ཏོ་དང་། པད་མ་སམ་ལྷ་བས་རབ་  
 གནས་མཛད་པས་སྤོང་ཁང་གི་ལྷ་རྣམས་སྤོང་ཁང་གི་ཁ་བད་ལ་སྤྲིགས་ཏེ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བའི་  
 མི་ཏོག་སྤངས་ཤིང་། བར་ཁང་ལྷ་རྣམས་བར་ཁང་གི་ཁ་བད་ལ་སྤྲིགས་ཏེ་མི་ཏོག་སྤངས།  
 འོག་ཁང་གི་ལྷ་རྣམས་དབུ་ཅེ་ཐང་ལ་གར་བྱས་ཏེ། སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་མདུན་དུ་འཁོད་ནས་  
 དབང་དང་མི་ཏོག་སྤངས་ཏེ། རང་རང་གི་གནས་ཇི་ལྷ་བར་འཁོད་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེའི་ཆེ་ལོ་  
 བཅུ་གསུམ་དུ་ཞལ་སྤོའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། ལུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་སྐྱེད་གི་  
 སྤོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ། བོད་ལ་བཅུན་པ་ཐུབ་མི་ཐུབ་སད་པའི་ཕྱིར། བོ་རྗེ་ས་  
 ཏོས་མཁན་པོ་བྱས་ནས། སྤྲ་གསལ་སྤང་དང་། སྤྲ་ཁྲི་བཞིར་སང་གི་ཏ། དཔལ་འཁོར་སྟེ་རོ་  
 ཙ་ན། ངན་ལམ་རྒྱལ་བ་མཚོག་དབྱངས། ཁོན་གྱུའི་དབང་པོ་སྤྱང་བ། སྤྲ་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོག་  
 དང་། གཙང་ལེགས་གྲུབ་དང་བདུན་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ཏེ། མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་དང་། དཔལ་  
 དབྱངས་ལ་སོགས་པར་གསོལ་བ་སད་མའི་མི་བདུན་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ།

དེའི་ཆེ་པརྗེ་ཏ་བི་མ་ལ་མི་ཏ་དང་། དུ་ན་གི་ལ། རྒྱའི་ཏ་གང་རྣམས་དྲངས་ཏེ། ལོ་ཙ་  
 བ་སད་མི་མི་བདུན་དང་། ཀ་བཙོག་གཉིས། ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་བ། བན་ལྷེ་རྣམ་  
 མཁལ། སྤྲ་རིན་ཆེན་ལྷ། འུ་ཀྱའོད་ལ་སོགས་པས་ལོ་ཙ་བྱས་ནས་སྤྲེ་སྤྲོད་གསུམ་དང་སྤྲགས་  
 ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་སྤྲེ་དང་པོ་གསུམ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་བོད་ཁམས་སུ་བསྐྱོན་པ་དར་བ་དང་། བསྐྱོན་འཛིན་ལ་

མཚོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས། འབངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནའང་། འབས་འོག་གི་ལྷོ་  
དབུའི་གཙུག་དུ་བཀྱར་བའི་དཔེ་མཛད་ནས་དགེ་རྒྱལ་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་ཆེ་བས་ནས་འཇོལ་སྟེ་  
འབས་ལ་སྐྱབས་པའི་ཕྱག་གསུམ་མཛད་ནས་འབྲུར་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བསྟན་པ་ལ་བསྟེན་  
བཀྱར་མཛད་དོ།

མེ་པོ་སྤྱེའུ་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་དམག་རྒྱབ་ནས། དམན་ཅི་བུའི་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་པོ་དང་  
ཅེའུ་དཀར་ཉི་ལུ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤངས། རྒྱ་ནས་བོད་དུ་ཞག་རེ་ལ་རྒྱན་ཆང་  
དུལ་དམ་རེ་འབུལ་བའི་འཇའ་མོ་བཙུགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐང་རྒྱུང་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་།  
ཁོས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཞེས་ཐང་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་བཞེན་མ་འབུལ་བས། ཡང་རྒྱ་པོ་ཡོས་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དམག་  
བྱས་པས། རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐང་རྒྱུང་གཤེན་རྒྱུར་བྱོས་སོ། བོད་དམག་རྒྱའི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་ན་བྱུང་དུར་  
སྤེབས། རྒྱའི་སློན་པོ་ཀ་འུ་ཉི་བོད་ལ་ངོ་ལྷས། དེ་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་གི་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཀ་འུ་དབང་  
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐྱོས་ནས། རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་བོད་དབང་བར་བྱས་ཏེ་འཇའ་ས་འགྲེམས་  
སྤྲུ་བཙུག་གོ།

དེའི་ཆེ་སློབ་དཔོན་པད་མས། ངམ་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱེ་མ་ནི་སིང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བ་དང་། གཙང་པོ་  
སྐྱབས་སྤྲུ་བཙུག་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འབྲུས་བྱེད་པའི་བུ་མ་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་སྐྱར་བས་ལྷའི་  
རྒྱ་བོ་མ་འདྲེས་པས་གང་བ་བྱུང་སྟེ། དབུ་སྐྱ་བསིལ་བར་གསོལ་བས་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
ལྷར་དབུ་ཅེའི་ལྷ་གར་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་སྐད་འདོན་པ་ལས། ད་ལྟ་ལྟ་རྣམས་ཐག་  
པས་དྲངས་པའི་ཆེ་ཡང་མི་འགྲུལ་ཞིང་། ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ལ་དབུགས་པས་རྒྱབ་རུང་སྐད་མི་  
མཆིས་བས། བྱེ་མ་ནི་སིང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མིག་འབྲུལ་དང་། ངན་སྐྱབས་ཅི་བྱེད་  
མི་གེས་ཟེར་ནས་སྟོན་སྐྱོ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྐར་སྟོག་སྟེ་ཇངས་སོ།

དེའི་ཚེ་འབྲུག་ལོ་ལ་པོ་བྱང་ལྡན་དཀར་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་སྟོན། ལྷ་བཟུར་གྱི་བན་དེ་  
 དཔལ་བཅེགས་དང་། ལྷན་དེ་སྲུང་དབང་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བོད་དུ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་བཟུར་རོ་  
 ཅོག་གི་མཚན་བྱང་དང་བམ་པོ་པོ་ལོ་ཀའི་བྱང་ས་སུ་མཚིས་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 བཀའ་དང་བསྟན་ཚོས་གར་གཏོགས་པ་དང་། ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གར་གཏོགས་པའི་མིང་དང་།  
 རྗེ་ཚན་དང་། ཚོས་རྣམ་དག་ཡིན་མིན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ནས་དཀར་ཆགས་སུ་  
 བྲིས་ཏེ་བཞག་གོ།

དེ་ནས་ཨ་རྩ་ར་ཡ་བོ་རྗེ་སྤྲུང་ཞལ་ནས་བོད་དུ་ལྷ་སྟེགས་མ་བྱང་བར། སློབ་དཔོན་  
 པད་མ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོས་པ་མི་འབྲུང་ཀྱང་། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་དབང་གིས་  
 སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་གཉིས་སུ་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དགེ་སློང་བྱང་ནས་དཀར་པོ་  
 ཚིག་ཐུབ་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ཅིག་ཅར་བའི་ལམ་བསྟན་པར་འགྱུར་བས། དེའི་ཚེ་ངའི་སློབ་མ་ཀ་མ་  
 ལ་གི་ལ་སྤྱན་དངས་ལ་ཚོད་དུ་ཆུག་ཚོད་པ་ཚོས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཞི་བར་འགྱུར་རོ། དེ་ནས་དད་  
 ལྡན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀ་མ་ལ་གི་ལའི་ཚོས་ལྷགས་བཞིན་དུ་སྟོན་ཅིག་ཅེས་ལྱང་བསྟན་ཏེ། ཅས་  
 འཕྲ་བ་རྒྱབ་ནས་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དཔལ་དབྱངས་སློབ་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་ཚོས་བསྟན་ནོ།  
 ཡི་གེས་དབང་པོ་བྲོས་ཏེ་ལྷོ་བྲག་དུ་སྐོམ་དུ་སོང་ངོ།

སྐབས་དེ་གྱུར་ཏེ་གང་མ་ཏེ་ཡ་ནའི་སློབ་མ་ཞིག་བྱང་སྟེ། ལུས་ངག་གི་སྟོན་པ་སྤྱིན་པ་  
 དང་། ཚུལ་སྤྱིམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཅི་སྤྱད་ཀྱང་སངས་མི་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་། སྤྱིན་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་  
 ཀས་ཉི་མ་འབྲིབ་པ་བཞིན་འཆིང་བ་ལས་མ་འདས། དེ་ན་ཅི་ཡང་ཡིད་ལ་མི་བྱེད་པ་མི་ཉོག་  
 པ་ལ་གནས་ནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཏེ། འབྲུམ་ལས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་དུ་སྤྱིན་པ་སྐོམ་པ་ནི་  
 རྣམ་མཁའ་སྐོམ་པའོ་ཞེས་དང་། མདོ་གཞན་ལས་ཀྱང་དམིགས་པར་ལྷུང་བའི་སྤྱིན་པ་ལ་

སོགས་པ་དྲུག་གིས་བཤགས་སོ། གང་ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་པ་ནི་འཁོར་བ་ཡིན་ལ། གང་མི་རྟོག་པ་  
 རི་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཞེས་ཚིག་ལ་སྤྱད་པར་མི་རྟོག་པ་ལ་སྤགས་པའི་མདོ་ཁ  
 ཅིག་གུངས་ནས། ཆད་ལྟ་ལ་ཞེན་ཏེ་དག་སྦྱང་མི་བྱེད་དོ། བོད་པ་ལ་ཆེར་དེ་ལ་དགའ་ཏེ།  
 དེའི་ལུགས་བཞིན་དུ་སློབ། དཔལ་དབྱངས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཉུང་ཤས་ཅིག་བོ་རྩེ་སདྲའི་ལུགས་  
 བཞིན་སློབས་ཤིག་གསུང་པས། བོད་སྟོན་མི་དམངས་རྣམས་ཁྱོས་ཏེ། ཚུ་གྱི་རེ་འཛིན་ཞིང་།  
 རྩོན་མིན་པ་རྣམས་སོད་ཟེར་བ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུགས་མ་བདེ་ནས་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་འབོད་དུ་  
 བཏང་བས་ལན་གསུམ་པ་ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་འོངས་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོལ་སོས་ཏེ། ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤྲི་  
 ལ་གདན་འདྲེན་པའི་ཕོ་ཉ་བཏང་ངོ། དེ་ཉ་གང་གིས་ཚོར་ནས་འབུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མདོ་  
 རྩེ་རྣམས་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་རྩོད་པ་ལ་སྤྱངས་ཏེ། ཚོས་བྱེད་མི་དགོས་པར་ཉལ་བས་ཚོག་  
 པའི་མན་ངག་བསམ་གཏན་ཉལ་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བརྩམས། དེ་རིགས་པས་སྐྱབ་པ་  
 ལྟ་བའི་རྒྱབ་ཤ དེ་ལ་རྩོད་པ་སྦྱང་བ་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་ལེན་རེ། ལུང་གི་སྐྱབ་པ་མདོ་རྩེ་བརྒྱད་  
 ཅུའི་ཁྱངས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱས་ཏེ། མདོ་རྩེ་དགོངས་འགྲེལ་ཁོ་བོའི་འདོད་པ་དང་མི་མཐུན་  
 པར་མཐོང་ནས་བཀའ་མ་ཡིན་པར་བསྐྱར་བ་བཏབ་ཏེ་དོག་དྲིལ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྤྱས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤྲི་ལ་བྱོན་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གུང་ལ་བཞུགས། ཉ་གང་གཡས་གཡལ་བྱས།  
 སློབ་དཔོན་གཡོན་གཡལ་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ། གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་མེ་རྟོག་གི་འཕྲེང་བ་རེ་རེ་བཏང་ནས། རྒྱེད་  
 གཉིས་རྩོད་པ་གྱིས་ལ་སྤྱ་རྒྱལ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཕམ་པ་དེས་མི་རྟོག་གི་འཕྲེང་བ་འདི་ཡུལ་ལ་འདིར་  
 མ་སྤྱད་ཅིག ཅེས་བཀའ་རྩལ་པ་དང་། ཉ་གང་ན་རེ་ལས་དགེ་སྤྱོད་གཉིས་ཀས། རིམ་པ་  
 བཞིན་མཐོ་རིས་དང་། ངན་སོང་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ལས་མ་འདས་ཤིང་དེ་གཉིས་ཀའང་སངས་རྒྱས་  
 ལ་སྐྱབ་པའི་མཚན་འཛིན་ཡིན་ནོ། འབུམ་ལས་གཟུགས་དགེ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་སྦྱོད་ནའང་

མཚན་མ་ལ་སྤྱོད་དོ། མི་དགེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་སྤྱོད་ནའང་མཚན་མ་ལ་སྤྱོད་དོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་  
 པས། སྤྱིན་དཀར་ནག་གཉིས་ཀས་ཉི་མ་སྒྲིབ་པ་དང་འདྲ། ཅི་ལ་ཡང་མི་སེམས་མི་རྟོག་ལ་  
 སྤྱོད་པ་ནི་མ་མཐོང་མ་དམིགས་ཡང་དག་པར་རྗེས་སུ་མི་མཐོང་བ་ཡིན་པས། ཤེར་ཕྱིན་  
 སྒོམ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། འབྲུམ་ལས་གཟུགས་མ་མཐོང་མ་དམིགས་ཡང་དག་པར་རྗེས་སུ་མ་  
 མཐོང་གསུངས། དེ་ཅིག་ཅར་དུ་འཇུག་པ་ནི་ས་བརྒྱ་པ་དང་འདྲའོ། དེ་ལྟ་བུས་སྤྱིན་པ་ལ་  
 སོགས་པ་གསུངས་པ་དོན་མེད་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ཇིས་དོན་ཟབ་མོ་མ་གོ་བའི་རིམ་གྱིས་པའི་  
 དབང་དུ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། ཇིས་དོན་གོ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྱིན་སོགས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་མངས་སུ་  
 བབས་པ་དང་འདྲ་ཅེས་ཟེར་རོ། ཀ་མ་ལ་གྱི་ལ་ན་རེ་ཅི་ཡང་མི་སེམས་ཟེར་བ་དེ། སོ་སོར་  
 རྟོག་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་སྤངས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། སོ་སོར་རྟོག་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་མེད་ན་སུས་ཀྱང་རྣམ་  
 པར་མི་རྟོག་པ་ལ་གནས་མི་རུས། སོ་སོར་རྟོག་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་ཡོད་ན། ཡུལ་དུ་ན་པ་དང་།  
 ཡིད་ལ་བྱས་པར་གསལ། གཞན་ཡང་ཡིད་ལ་མི་བྱེད་པ་ནི། ཡིད་ལ་མི་བྱེད་སྐྱམ་པ་ལ་  
 བྱེད་ན། དེ་གིན་དུ་ཡང་ཡིད་ལ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། དུ་ན་པ་མེད་པ་ཅམ་དངོས་ལ་བྱེད་ན། བརྒྱལ་  
 བ་དང་། འབོག་པ་ཡང་འཚང་རྒྱ་བའི་ལྟ་རྣམ་པར་མི་རྟོག་པར་གྱུར་རོ། དུ་ན་པ་དང་ཡིད་  
 ལ་བྱེད་པ་མེད་ན། སྤྱིན་གྱི་གནས་རྗེས་སུ་དུ་ན་པ་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་ཡང་རྗེ་ལྟར་  
 འགྱུར། དུ་ན་པ་མེད་ན་རེ་ཆེན་སྒྲོལ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡང་། དེ་དག་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བ་ཁོ་ན་  
 ཡིན། དེས་ན་སོ་སོར་རྟོག་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་ཡང་དག་པའི་དོན་རྟོགས་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་  
 པས་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤོང་པར་རྟོགས་ན་མཚན་མ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་པའི་རྟོག་པ་ཞི་བར་བྱས་  
 རས་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤངས་ཏེ། ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་  
 གོམས་པས་སྒྲིབས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤངས་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐོབ་པ་ཡིན་

མོ། ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱས་པ་གསུངས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སོ་སོ་ནས་འགས་ཐོབ་གསུངས་པས། དཔལ་  
དབྱངས་དང་ཡི་ཤེས་དབང་པོས་ཀྱང་སོ་སོ་ནས་ལྷུང་དང་རིག་པ་རྣམས་པས། ཉ་ཤང་གིས་  
ལན་རྒྱ་མ་རྣམས་ཏེ། སམ་ཁས་སྤངས་ནས་མེ་ཏོག་གི་འཕྲེང་བ་སློབ་དཔོན་ལ་སྤུལ་ལོ། དེའི་  
ཆེ་ཉ་ཤང་གི་སློབ་མ་མ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་ལྷུང་ན་གྱི་བཟེར་ནས། རང་གི་རྒྱ་རྩེ་  
རྩོ་བརྟུངས་ཏེ་གི་ཟེར་པོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་སྟོན་པ་ཆོས་སྟོན་བཅུ་དང་། ས་  
རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དུག་ལ་སློབ་པ། ལྷ་བ་སློབ་དཔོན་ལྷ་གྲུབ་གྱི་ལྷགས་བཟུང་། རྩེ་རྩོད་གསུམ་  
བསྐྱབ་པ་གསུམ་དུ་མ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཆོས་ཉམས་ལེན་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཉ་ཤང་གི་ལྷགས་བྱེད་  
པར་མི་དབང་ཞེས་བཀའ་སྤུལ་ཏེ། ཉ་ཤང་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱུངས། ཁོའི་དཔེ་རྣམས་སྤུས་ནས་  
གཏེར་དུ་སྤྲས་སོ། རྩོན་ལྷན་དང་ཅེན་མིན་གྱི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཅིག་ཅར་བ་དང་། རིམ་གྱི་པ་ཟེར་བ་  
ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་མཚོད་གསུམ་དང་། ཀ་མ་ལ་གྱི་ལ་དང་བཞི་བོད་ལ་གིན་དུ་  
བཀའ་རྩིན་ཆེ་བས།

- |རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པ་ཞི་བ་འཚོ།
- |འཇགས་འཆང་སླ་མེད་དམ་པ་པད་མ་འབྱུང་།
- |མཁས་པའི་གཙུག་རྒྱན་ཀ་མ་ལ་གྱི་ལ།
- |སློང་ལྷེ་བཙན་ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་པ་ཅན།
- |བོད་ཡུལ་ལྷན་པ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན།
- |དམ་ཆོས་རྣམ་བཤེས་མཐར་རྒྱས་མཛད་པ།
- |བཀའ་རྩིན་མཉམ་མེད་དམ་པ་བཞི་ཀ་ལ།

།པོད་རྣམས་ཉལ་དུ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཞེས་ཁ་བཏོན་དུ་བྱའོ།

དེའི་ཚེ་སྤོང་ལྷོ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་རྣམས་ལ་བཤད་སྐྱོད་དང་།  
འཚིང་བུ་ལ་སྒྲོམ་སྐྱོམ་མཛད། སོ་བུར་སྤྱང་ཚུབ་དུ་གྲོང་བྱིར་སྤྱིད་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་དང་།  
ཚངས་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་གཉིས་བཏབས། དེ་དག་གྲོང་མང་ཞིང་ཤིན་དུ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བས། སྤང་  
བྱིམ་འདི་ཙམ་ཡོད་ནི་མི་ཤེས། སྤང་མིག་མང་རིས་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་མ་འདྲིས་ན་སྤང་གི་  
མཚམས་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། དེའི་ཚེ་སློན་པོ་འགོས་སྤོང་བཟང་ཡབ་ལྷག་ཤུད་བུ་དཔལ་གྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་  
ངམ་ཏ་ར་སྤྱོད་ཤང་། ཞང་རྒྱལ་ཚ་ལྷ་སྤང་དང་། ཉ་བཟང་འདོ་བཞེར་སྤྱིའུ་རྒྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
སློན་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་སློན་པོ་ཚོས་དང་ལྷན་པས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བཞེན་དུ་སྐྱབ་པས།  
བོད་འབངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་བདེ་ཞིང་སྤྱིད། སྤྱི་བོའི་ཚོགས་ནི་མང་། ལོ་ལེགས་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་  
འཁྲུགས་པ་མེད་པ། མཐའ་བཞིའི་ལྷོ་ཐམས་ཅད་གནན་ཏེ། ཤར་རྒྱ་ལྷག་སྤོང་རྒྱ་གར། ལུབ་  
སྤལ་ཏེ་འབྲུག་དང་། བྱང་ཉོར་གྱི་ས་ཚ་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཚོས་སྤོང་དང་།  
རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཤིན་དུ་བཙན་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཡི་རིང་ལ་བོན་རུབ་ཤིང་།  
དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དར་བར་མཛད་དོ། ཕྱག་ལ་ཞུད་པ་ལའི་རི་མོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། འཕགས་པ་  
འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་སྤྱལ་པར་གྲགས་ཏེ། རྒྱ་མཚན་སྤོང་གྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་དག་ལས་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།  
ང་བདུན་པ་ལ་སྤྲོས་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་བཏད་ནས། ང་དགུ་ལ་བཤེགས་སོ།

དེའི་སྤྲོས་སྤྱི་ཚེ་བཙན་པོས་ཀྱང་། བསམ་ཡས་སུ་འདུལ་བའི་མཚོད་པ་དང་། མདོ་  
སྤོང་མཚོད་པ་དང་། མངོན་པའི་མཚོད་པ་གསུམ་གཅུག་ བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྤོང་ལན་གསུམ་  
སྤོང་མས་ནས་བཙན་པོ་སློན་པོ་འབངས་གྲགས་པ་བཀའ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་ཚང་བར་བསྐྱུས་ནས།  
མེས་སྤོང་བཙན་སྤོང་པོ་ཡན་ཚོད་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པར་དཀོན་མཚོག་གི་མཚོད་

པའི་རྟེན་དུ་ཕུལ་བ་རྣམས་དང་། འབངས་ཀྱི་རང་ནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 དང་། རྒྱུད་པར་ངེད་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་གསོལ། རྟེན་རབ་དུ་  
 བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ། ཕུག་དང་བསྐྱར་སྟེ་བཀའ་བཅས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་དེལ་ཅམ་ཡང་མི་  
 འབྲིད། ཅི་རྒྱུད་སྟོན་པ་མི་འབྲུལ་ཅི། བུ་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་མི་དགག་ཅི། ཚ་རྒྱུད་  
 རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་འགོགས་མི་ཟེར་རིགས་ལ་རྣམས། ཚོས་སྦྱོང་སྦྱང་མ། རྗེ་འབངས་ཀྱི་  
 འགྱུར་ལྷ་ཕོ་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་དུ་བཞག་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པས་དབུ་སྦྱང་མཛད་  
 དེ། དེ་དག་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་ནས་ཕུག་རྒྱས་བཏབས་དེ་བཞག་གོ།

རྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆ་རྣམས་ཡབ་ལ་འདུད་པ་ཅམ་གྱིས་གུས་སོ་བྱུང་བས་བསྐྱེད་ས་མཛད་  
 དེ། མི་རིགས་ཆ་ཉལ་ཤན་དུ་མཛེལ་ནས། ས་བགོས་བྱས་པ་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་  
 ས་ཚིགས། རྒྱའི་ལན་ལྷ། ཕྱིན་དུ་ལྷ། ཕྱིན་འཇུ་ལྷ། ཤིན་ཀུ་ལྷ། རྒྱའི་སྟོ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་ཇི་ལྷ་  
 དང་། བྱང་རྣམ་གྱི་བར་དང་། རྒྱའི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་བྱང་རྣམ་གྱི་ས་ཆ་རྣམས་དུ་དུ་དོའི་སྟོ་རུ་བ་ཀྱི་  
 བར་དང་། མ་རྒྱའི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱུ་ཚོན་བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཆར་བྱས། རྒྱའི་ས་མཚམས་ཀི་ཇི་ལྷ་  
 ཕྱོགས། ཐན་གྱིང་ཉ་དང་། ལུ་ཇུ་ལ་ཤིང་དུ། ཤིང་ཚོན་ལ། ཐང་དུ་ཉ་ཕན་ཆད་རྒྱའི་ས་  
 ཆར་བྱས། ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་བར་སུག་ཆུ། ཞ་ཇི་ལྷ་ཐ་ཐ་ལི་རྣམས་སྦྱང་པར་བཞག་ནས་  
 གཉིས་ཀས་ཀྱང་མི་འཛིན་པར་བྱས། དེའི་བོད་དབང་གི་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅི་  
 མོ་བོད་དུ་བལྟས་ནས་སྦྱིས་སོ།

དེའི་ཆེ་ཡུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཅུ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་གྱི་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་གྱི་ཁོན་གྱིས་ངན་བྱ་བར་རྩོམས་པ་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཅུ་མོར་གྱུར་པས་ཀླགས་མ་སྟེད་པས། རྒྱུ་མ་ལ་ངན་བྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར་སྲས་ལ་  
 དུག་བྱངས་དེ་དགོངས་སོ། དེ་ནས་བཅུ་མོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཅུ་ཡང་དགོངས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་



ལོ་གཅིག་ལྷོ་བ་བདུན་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་དེ་དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་པ་ལ་གཤེགས་སོ།

གཙུང་མུ་ཁྱི་ནི་བཅན་པོས་ཞང་རྒྱལ་ས་ལྷ་ལྷང་གི་བུ་བསད་ནས་དེའི་སྲིམས་ལ་སྤྱུགས་  
པར་གྲོངས་སོ། དེ་ནས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྲས་རྒྱུང་བ་སྲི་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཅན་ལོ་བཞི་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་  
བསྐྱོས་ནས། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པ་འོང་མི་འོང་སད་པའི་སྤྱིར། དབུ་རྒྱན་བསྐྱོན་དེ་བལྟས་  
པས། དབུ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ལྷིད་ཀྱིས་ལྷིངས་པ་ཡོ་ནས་ལྷད་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོང་པར་ཤེས་ནས་མངའ་  
གསོལ་དེ། སད་ན་ལེགས་མཛེང་ཡོན་དུ་གྲགས་སོ། དེས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུང་རྩེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་  
ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། པརྗེ་ཏ་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤི་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་སྤྱོད་བྱངས། གཉམས་  
རྩེ་ན་ཀུ་མར་ལ་སོགས་པས་ལོ་ཙ་བྱས་དེ་ཆོས་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུས། ལྷར་གྱི་ཏ་ཤང་གི་ལྷགས་  
ངན་པའི་ལྷག་མ་ལ་སྲོད་པ་ཀུན། ལྷན་ལྷང་ནས་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སྲིམས་བཞིན་དུ་རྩོམ་  
ལ་ཡི་གེ་སྲིས་དེ་བཞག་གོ། སྲི་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཅན་གྱིས། འབྲོ་བཟའ་མང་པོ་རྗེ་བཞེས་པའི་སྲས།  
གཙང་མ། རལ་པ་ཅན། དར་མ། ལྷ་རྗེ་ལྷན་གྲུབ། སྲི་ཆེན་དང་ལྷོ། གཅེན་གཙང་མ་རྗེ་  
འབངས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་། གཙུང་སྲང་དར་མས་སྣོབས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱུགས་དེ། རྒྱ་བོ་རིར་  
སོག་གཅིག་བཞགས། བོད་འབངས་ཀུན་ལ་གདམས་པའི་བསྐྱོན་བཅོས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མཛད།  
འབྲུ་རྩེ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བཞེངས་ནས་གོ་མོར་འབྲོས་དེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷོ་སྲོང་བཅན་  
ལོ་སྤུམ་ཅུ་སོ་གཉིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས་གཤེགས་སོ།

དེ་ནས་རལ་པ་ཅན་མེ་པོ་ཁྱི་ལ་འབྲུངས་ནས་ལོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གདད་དེ་སྲི་  
གཙུག་སྲི་བཅན་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། བཅུན་མོ་ངང་རྒྱལ་མཁའ་དུ་བཞེས། བན་ཆེན་པོ་  
ཞང་ཙོག་གྲུ་ཉེས་དབང་སྐྱུག་གཟེགས་རྒྱལ། འབྲོ་སྲི་གསུམ་རྗེ་སྐྱུག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྲོན་པོ་བྱས།  
པོ་བྱང་ལྷོ་ཤང་རྩོམ་གྲོང་ཁྱེད་བཏབས། ལྷོ་ཤང་རྩོམ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྒྱ་བཞགས་གདུང་ཅེགས་

གཡུ་བད་ཚེན་པོ་ཅན་བཞེངས་སོ།

རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས་ཚེན་ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ། མཁམ་པོ་བོ་རྗེ་ས་ཉོ་དང་། ཡེ་  
 ཤེས་དབང་པོ་དང་། ཞང་ཉ་བཟང་དང་། རྗེན་པོ་བྲི་བཞིར་སང་ཤི་དང་། ལོ་ཙ་བ་དེ་བཞོ་  
 ཤ་དང་། ལྷེ་བྲི་འབྲུག་དང་། བུམ་ཟེ་ཨ་ནུ་ལ་སོགས་པས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐད་བོད་ལ་མ་བྲགས་པ་  
 མང་དག་ཞིག་བྱུང་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་དང་། ལི་དང་། ཟ་ཉོ་ལ། ལ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ནས་  
 བསྐྱུར་བས་འདྲ་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་པོ་བྱུང་འདུག་པས། ཚོས་བསྐྱབ་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན་གསུངས་  
 ནས་ཉེ་འོག་གི་མཁམ་པོ་རྣམ་མི་ཏ་དང་། སུ་ལེན་ཏ་བོ་རྗེ་དང་། ཤི་ལེན་ཏ་བོ་རྗེ་དང་། ཏུ་  
 ར་ཤི་ལ་དང་། བོ་རྗེ་མི་ཏུ་རྣམས་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རད་ན་རྩེ་ཏ་དང་།  
 རྣམ་ཤི་ལ་དང་། རྣམ་སེན་དང་། ཇོ་ཡ་རྩེ་ཏ་དང་། མན་རྩེ་བྲི་ཕྱམ་དང་། རྩེ་ཨིན་ཏ་  
 ཤི་ལ་ལ་སོགས་པས་ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་བསྐྱུར་བས་ཚོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་ལས་བོད་སྐད་དུ་  
 བསྐྱུར། མིང་དང་བདེས་བཏགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཀར་ཆག་དུ་བྲིས། དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ནམ་ཡང་  
 མིང་དང་། བདེ་དང་། ལྷེ་མཚན་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཞུང་ལུགས་འདི་དང་འགལ་བར་མི་འགྲུར་  
 ཞིང་། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱབ་དུ་རུང་བར་གྱིས་ཤིག་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ། ལྷར་བསྐྱུར་བ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་སྐད་གསར་བཅད་ཀྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཤབ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་སྐྱེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་རྗེ་པ་  
 མ་བསྐྱུར། གསང་ལྷགས་ནང་མའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱང་མ་བསྐྱུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་བཀའ་བཅད། ཐ་ན་བྲེ་སྤང་  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡང་རྒྱ་གར་དང་མཐུན་པར་བཅོས། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རེ་རེ་ལ་འབངས་མི་བྲིམ་  
 བདུན་བདུན་སུལ་ནས་བཀའ་བཅད་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་མཇེད་དེ། ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཚོས་བསྐྱུར་བ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། པརྗེ་ཏུ་འདི་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་ལོ་ཙ་བ་འདིས་བསྐྱུར་  
 ཞེས་པའི་བསྐྱུར་བྲིས། འདུལ་བ་དང་། མདོ་རྗེ་དང་། མདོ་ན་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐོག་མར་རིམ་

བཞིན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 དང་། འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ་ཞེས་མཚན་པར་བཟོན་པ་བཅུག་དེ་དག་  
 ཏུ་མ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཚོས་གང་ཡང་མ་བསྐྱུལ། རྩོན་ཆད་བོད་ན་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ལའང་། རྩེ་  
 རྩོད་གསུམ་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཚོས་ལ་ཉམས་ལེན་མ་བྱེད་ཅེས་བཀའ་ལྷུག། རྒྱལ་དམག་  
 རྒྱངས་ནས་སྤར་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱིས་མངའ་འོག་དུ་མ་ཚུད་པའི་ས་ཆ་གར་ཕྱོགས་སོ་ལ་གན་གྱི་  
 རི་རྒྱུད་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་རྒྱ་བདག་པོ་ཟད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ལ་སྐྱབས་ཏེ་དབང་  
 ཏུ་བསྐྱུས། དེར་དོ་རིང་བཅུགས་ནས་འདི་ཡན་ཚོད་བོད་དབང་ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་ཏེ་  
 བཞག་གོ་ རྩོ་ཕྱོགས་སློ་དོ་མོན། རྒྱ་གར་ལི་ལྷ། ཏོར་ག་གའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་ས་འདྲ་གདོང་  
 རྒྱག་པ་བཏགས་པ་ཚུན་ཆད་དབང་དུ་འདུས། རྒྱ་བ་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱག་གཟེག་གི་ས་མཚམས་རྒྱ་  
 མཚོའི་འགྲམ་བྱེ་མ་དགང་རིངས་ཉ་སྤང་བའི་རྒྱབ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་བཏུགས་ཏེ་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས་ཏེ་  
 མདོར་ན་འཇམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་གི་གསུམ་གཉིས་ལ་མངའ་མཇུག་དོ། ཕྱོགས་བཞིའི་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། ལོ་གསུམ་ནས་ཕོ་ཉ་དང་། སྤྱི་འབྲུལ་ཏེ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། རྒྱད་པར་དུ་  
 རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཕྱག་དང་མཚན་པ་འབྲུལ། སྤྱི་ཡང་འབྲུལ་ཅིང་། བོད་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་དང་དམག་  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་བྱེད་ཅིང་། ཆད་མོལ་ལ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ལྷ་སར་བསགས་ནས་  
 བདེན་པ་དར་ཏེ། ལྷ་དང་ལྷུ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔང་དུ་བཞག་ནས་གནའ་དགག་པའི་ཡི་གེ་དོ་རིང་  
 ལ་བྲིས་ཡོད། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་མཐའ་དབུས་ཀུན་ཏུ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བཞེངས་  
 སོ། བཟུན་པ་ལ་གིན་ཏུ་དད་པའི་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ངའི་གཙུག་ཏུ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་  
 བཀའ་བའི་ཐབས་ཅི་ཡོད་བཀའ་ལྷུག་པས། སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སློ་བཏོན་ནས་ཇིའི་དབུ་སྐྱ་  
 ལ་དར་ཡུག་བཏགས་ནས་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་དྲངས་ཏེ་དེར་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་བཞུགས་སོ་

གསོལ་ནས་མཚོད་ཅིང་ཞབས་སྤྱི་བོར་སྤངས་པས། དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ནས་དགོང་འདུན་ལ་དབུ་སྤྲེ་  
 ཞེས་པ་བཏགས་ཤིང་། གཞན་སློན་པོ་དང་། དཔོན་ཇི་ལྟར་མཐུ་དང་སློབས་ཆེ་ཡང་། རབ་  
 དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་འགྲན་དུ་མེད་པར་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་ལ་མཚོད་  
 པའི་ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྲུ་བས་ཀྱང་ཆེར་སྤྱིད་ནས་མཚོད་པ་འབྱུལ། དཀོན་མཚོ་གཞི་  
 ཞབས་ཏོག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་དམ་རྣམས་ལ་ལྲུ་མཚོད་ནས་ཇི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་  
 ཐུགས་དམ་ལ་མཚོད། ལན་གཅིག་སྤྱི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སློབ་ལུ་བ་ལ། འབའ་རྒྱལ་ཏོ་རེས། ལྷ་  
 རུ་སྤྱད་ཀྱལ་ནས་སྟན་ཁྲ་ཞུས། ཇི་ལགས་སྤོང་གི་བན་རྒྱུང་ཕྱིད་བསྐྱར་བ་ལ་བསན་ནས་ཕྱིད་  
 ལེགས་པོ་མ་འཕེར་ན་བཀའ་བབས་རྒྱལ་ཞུས་པས། སྟན་ཁྲ་མ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ལྲུ་མངའ་བདག་གི་  
 དབུ་ཐོད་ལུད་ནས་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་ཕྱག་དགུ་རྩལ་ནས་གཡས་གྲལ་དང་། གཡོན་གྲལ།  
 གྲུང་གྲལ། གསུམ་ཀ་དགོང་འདུན་ལ་ལུལ་ནས་སྤྲོ་དང་པོ་དགོང་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་ལ་ལུལ་ཏེ།  
 རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་དགོང་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་དང་། མཚོད་པ་དང་། བཀྱར་སྤྲོ་  
 དང་། མཚན་བཟོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཇི་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་བཞིན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ལ། གང་གིས་ཀྱང་  
 འགྲན་དུ་མེད་པ་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ཏེ། ཕྱག་མཚོད་དེ། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཇི་དང་ཇི་བོ་ཞེས་  
 པའི་ཐ་སྤྱད་གྲགས་སོ།

དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དཀོན་མཚོ་གཞི་དབུ་འབངས་ཤིན་དུ་སྤྱོད་དོ། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དར་  
 བར་མཚོད་དོ། ཆབ་སྤྱིད་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་ལུལ་བས། སྤྲིག་ལ་དགའ་བའི་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་  
 ཁྲིམ་ནས་ཚོས་སྤྲིམས་བཤིག་པར་སློག་ཆད་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷ་སྤྲས་གཙང་མ་གྲོ་མོར་ཐུགས།  
 བཙུན་མོ་ངང་རྒྱལ་བན་ཆེན་པོ་བྲན་ཁ་དཔལ་ཡོན་ཏན་ནལ་བཤམས་ཞེས། ཕྱ་མ་ཞུས་ཏེ།  
 བན་ཆེན་བཀྱལ། བཙུན་མ་ལྷེབས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་ལོ་སོ་དུག་པ་ལྷགས་མོ་བྱུལ། དབས་

ཉམས་ཏེ་རེ་དང་། ཅོག་གྲུ་ལེགས་སྒྲ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཞལ་ལྷག་པར་སྐྱུར་ནས་དགྲོང་ས་སོ།

འདི་ཡན་ཚད་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སྤོང་ཅ་བརྒྱད་  
བཞེངས་པར་གྲགས་སོ། འདི་མེས་དབོན་བཞིའི་རིང་ལ་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྤེད་རེ་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་  
ཞིན་ནོ། འདི་ཡན་ཚད་ནི་བསྟན་པ་སྤྲུལ་དཔལ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་ཆབ་སྲིད་སྲུང་དཔལ་ལ་སྤུལ་  
ཐེ་བྲང་དབས་རྒྱལ་ཏེ་རེ་སློན་པོར་བསྐྱོས་སོ།

སྐྱ་ཚེ་སྤོང་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཅོག་ཀྱང་བཞེངས། ལྷ་ཚོས་ལ་སློབ་གཉེར་ཀྱང་མཇུག། ལྷ་  
བ་བརྒྱད་རྒྱལ་སྤྲིད་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱུངས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བླ་མ་སྐྱ་གདོན་གསོལ་  
ཏེ་བསྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས། ལྷ་སར་བྱིམས་ར་བཙུགས། སྤྲུལ་མེས་སྤོང་བཙན་གྲམ་པོའི་དུས་སྐུ།  
རྒྱའི་ཀོང་ཇོས་ཤུག་ལྷ་མི་བོད་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མང་པོ་རྩེགས། བོད་ཀྱི་  
ལུན་སྐུམ་ཚོགས་པ་བྱུང་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ། ས་སྐྱ་དང་། རི་སྐྱ། སྤྱད་བཟང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ།  
ལྷ་ཁང་དང་། མཚོད་རྟེན་རྩེགས་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཉམས་སྐྱ་བཙུགས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བོད་  
དུ་མཐའ་དམག་འབྲུགས་པ་སྐྱ་གེལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་ཤུག་ལྷ་མི་རྒྱལ་  
སྐྱུར་གསུངས་པས་སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཤུག་ལྷ་མི་འགྲུལ་བར་མ་རུས་པས། ས་འོག་དུ་སྐྱས།  
བྱམས་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བྱིང་རྟེན་ཁར་བཞག་ཏེ་ཤུག་ལྷ་མི་ཡིན་པར་བྱས་ཏེ་བྱིར་བལ།  
རྒྱལ་པོས་གཟིགས་པས། སེར་ཡོ་རོ་རོ་བྱིར་དང་། ཤུག་ལྷ་མི་བྱིར་བལ་དགོས་པ་བྱུང་།  
སློན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མ་སྐྱུར་བར་བྱེ་མལ་སྐྱས་ཏེ་བཞག དེ་ནས་འཕུལ་སྤོང་གི་སྤོ་རྩེགས་  
ཏེ་ཞལ་ཞལ་བྱས་པ་ལ། བཙུན་པ་ཆང་འཕྲང་བའི་རི་མོ་བྱིས་ཏེ་བཞག བསམ་ཡས་དང་རྩ་  
མོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཡང་འདག་ཞལ་བྱས་ཏེ་བཞག པོ་རྟེ་ཡལ་ཆེར་བསྐྱས་ནས། ལྷ་སའི་བླ་མ་སྐྱས།  
ལོ་པར་རྣམས་ཚོས་སྐྱུར་སྤོ་ལུས་ཏེ། ལ་ལ་སྐྱུགས་ལ་ལ་བྱོས། རུ་བང་དོ་ལ་ཡང་རབ་

གནས་མ་གྲུབ་པར་ལུས། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་བཅུན་པའི་རྟགས་པོར་དུ་མ་འདོད་པ་ཀུན་མདའ་  
 གཞུ་དང་། རྩེ་གང་སྐྱུར་ནས། ལིང་ལ་བཏང་། སྤྱིས་ཚོས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དྲོགས་པའི་མེལ་ཚེ་  
 བཅུགས། རྩེ་དང་། བྱུ་གུ་དང་། འཇང་ཡུལ་དང་། སུམ་སྐལ་སོགས་པ་འབངས་རྣམས་ལ་  
 མ་རྗོངས་པར་བཀའ་ཆད་པས་བཀའ་བྲིམས་མགོ་ནས་བཤེགས། མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་  
 རྣམ་གམས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ན་བོད་དབང་བའི་རི་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་རྩིབས། བོད་  
 ཡུལ་ནས་རྒྱ་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་རྒྱ་བོ་ཚེན་པོ་མ་རྒྱ་བྱ་བ་འབབ་པ་ཡར་ལ་ཞག་གསུམ་ལོག་ དེལ་  
 སོགས་པའི་ལྷས་ངན་པ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་། བོད་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་དང་།  
 ཚོས་བྲིམས་གཉིས་པོ་བཤེགས། བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་ཡང་རུག  
 འཇིག་རྟེན་སྐྱོང་པའི་ལྷ་བ་ཡང་ཉམས། རྩི་གྲུ་ཐམས་ཅད་མིག་བཅར་བ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱུན་པར་  
 བཅུག་ཏེ། དགོ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལ་སྦྱོད་པའི་སྐལ་བ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ལྱང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩི་རྗེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡེར་པའི་བྲག་ལྷ་རི་སྟོང་པོ་ལ་སྐོམ་གིན་ཡོད་  
 པས་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱབ་པར་གཤེས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྟོང་རྗེ་བྱུང་པར་ཅན་སྐྱེས། རྟ་དཀར་པོ་གཅིག་  
 ལ་སོལ་བས་ཕྱི་ལས་བྱུགས། བེར་ནང་དཀར་ལ་ཕྱི་ནག་པ་ཅིག་གྲོན་ལྷགས་མདའ་ལྷགས་  
 གཞུ་བྱིར་ནས་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྩི་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་སྟོག་གི་ཡོད་པ་མཐོང་སྟེ།  
 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ནས་དགའ་ལྷན་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས་མདུན་དུ་བབས་ནས་ཤུས་མོ་ལ་རྟེན་ཏེ་  
 བཞུ་དུང་པས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཕྱག་འབུལ་བར་གོ་ ཕྱག་དང་པོ་ལ་བཞུ་དུང་། གཉིས་པ་ལ་མདའ་  
 རྩིང་སྐྱུར། གསུམ་པ་ལ་མཐེབ་བཞོལ་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྲགས་ཀར་ཕོག་པས། ང་བདུད་ཡ་  
 བཞེར་ནག་པོ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྩིག་ཅན་དེ་ལྟར་གསོད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་བྱོས་སོ། ལྷ་སར་  
 བཅོན་པོ་དགྲོངས་རམ་མདའ་རྒྱགས་བྲས་ནས་བོས་པས། མི་ནག་མཚོ་ལ་གན། བེར་ཕྱི་

ནང་ཚེག་དེ་སྤྱི་ཚུ་ཐོན་ནས་ང་ལྷ་གནམ་ཐེངས་པོ་བྱ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་བྲོས་པ་བདས་པས་མ་  
ཟིན་དེ། ལ་ལར་བྱང་སྤོང་སྤྱིན་པོ་རི་ཟེར་བ་དང་། ལ་ལར་ཐལ་མོ་རྩོ་རིང་སྤྱ་ནམ་སྤྱིས་  
ནས་མ་ཟིན་ཟེར་པོ། དེ་ནས་མངོན་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་འདུལ་པ་འོད་ལྡན། ལས་.....  
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(འདྲིའི་མཚམས་ནས་མ་དཔེའི་ཤོག་བྱ་གཉིས་ཚང་གི་མིན་འདུག)







ལྷོ་པོ་སྤྲོད་ངེ་འདི་མགོན་གདུང་གི་ཆེ་བུར། ཡུན་ཏུ་རི་ཀའི་མེ་ཏོག་གཉིས་ཁྲུངས་ཏེ། ཞི་བ་  
འོད་གྱིས།

|སྤོན་གྱི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་དབང་གིས་ན།

|ལྷ་རིགས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་པའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་སྟེ།

|ས་སྤོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་སྐྱུ་སྤྲུལ་བ།

|འགོ་བ་སྐྱོབ་སྤྱིར་བྱིས་གྱི་གནས་སྤངས་པའི།

|སྤྲོ་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད།

|མངའ་རིས་སྤོད་འདིར་འདུལ་བྱའི་དོན་དུ་འཁྲུངས། ཞེས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་ཡང་མཁྱེན་པ་ཆེ་བས་འཇིག་རྟེན་སྤོང་བའི་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་བས་  
གཞན་ཕན་གྱི་ཐབས་འབའ་ཞིག་དགོངས་པའི་མཇུག་སྤོད་ཐམས་ཅད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་བདེ་  
སྤྱིད་ཁོ་ནའི་ཐབས་སུ་བརྩོན་པ་ལས། ས་པོ་བྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་ཅང་གི་དཀར་སེན་གདུས་སུ། ལྷ་  
གའི་སྤོན་པོ་ཞང་རུང་སྤྱོགས་སྤྱོགས་གྱི་སྤོང་ལས་པ་ཡུལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་གཙོ་བོ་དང་གན་པ།  
འབངས་བྲགས་པ། གྲོས་ལ་དབང་བ་རྣམས་བསྐྱུས་ནས། སྤོན་ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་མེས་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་སྤོན་  
བཅན། མེས་སྤོང་བཅན་སྐམ་པོ། མེས་བྱི་སྤོང་ལྷེ་བཅན། མེས་རལ་པ་ཅན་རྣམས་གྱི་སྤྱོད་  
དྲིན་ལ་བོད་ཡུལ་སྤོན་པ་དང་འདྲ་བ། ལེགས་ཉེས་གྱི་གཟུགས་མི་མཐོང་བའི་གནས་འདིར།  
རྒྱ་གར་ནས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་བསྐྱུར་བའི་སྤྱིར། འབངས་གྱི་ནང་ནས་དད་པ་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་  
དང་ལྷན་པ་ཐར་པར་ཞུགས་པ་སུ་བྱུང་ཡང་། ཞབས་གྱི་རིུ་དབུའི་གཙུག་དུ་ཁྲུར་བའི་དྲིལ་  
བསྐྱུགས་ཏེ། རྒྱ་གར་ནས་པརྗེ་ཏུ་མང་པོ་སྤྱོད་དངས། ཚོས་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་འབངས་  
ཐམས་ཅད་ཉམ་བཞག་དུ་སྤྱོད་དུ་བཀས་གནང་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱུས་གྱི་བསྐྱུན་པ་ཉེ་མ་གར་བ་དང་

འདྲ་བར་མཛད་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲང་དར་མས་བསྟན་པ་བསྟུབས་ནས། ལོ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཚོས་  
 བྲིམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་གཉིས་ཀ་ཉམས་ནས། མགོ་ནག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་དགེ་ལེགས་  
 གྱིས་ཐོངས་ཤིང་ཉམས་དམའ་བས། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་མཛད་རྒྱལ་དཀའ་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་  
 འབངས་སློ་ཉམས་ཤིང་། བཀའ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱབ་ནའང་། ཚོས་ཚིགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བྲིམས་མ་  
 བུང་འདུག ད་སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་ཕྱིས་ནས་ཀྱང་དགེ་  
 ལེགས་དང་། དེ་ཚོས་ཇི་ཅམ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་མཛད་དེ། ཚོས་བྲིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་  
 ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་མང་པོ་མཛད་ནས་མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་དུ་བསྐྱབས་ནས་གནང་། མེ་ཕོ་སྤྱེའུ་ཡི་ལོ་ལ་  
 ལྷ་གེར་ཐོ་སླིང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་མངས་བྲིས། ས་ཕོ་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་  
 ཞལ་སྤོ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་དེ། ཐོ་སླིང་ཁང་དམར་དཔལ་དཔེ་མེད་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་  
 ལག་ཁང་ཞེས་མཚན་གསོལ། བསྟན་པའི་གཙོ་བོའི་སྐུ་བཞེངས། མཚོད་རྒྱུན་དང་མི་ཞིང་ངོ་  
 བོ་དང་། ཞིག་ཆེམས་མཛད་དེ། ལོ་ཙ་བ་རེན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། བྱིས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་  
 ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་གཅིག ས་མ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་སྤྱས་ནས། ཁ་ཆེར་ལོ་ཙ་སྟོབ་དུ་བཏང་བས། བཙུ་དགུ་  
 ཚད་པས་ཤི། ལོ་ཙ་བ་རེན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་བོད་  
 དུ་ཐོན་ནས་ལྷ་ཕྱིར། པརྗེ་ཏ་ཤུ་རྩ་ཀ་ར་ལྷ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་པོ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས།  
 གསེར་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འབྲུལ་བ་མང་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། རྗེ་སྟོད་གསུམ་དང་། རྒྱུད་རྗེ་བཞིའི་  
 དགོངས་འགྲེལ་དང་། ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཙོས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱར་ནས་བསྟན་པ་  
 ཤིན་ཏུ་དར་བ་མཛད་དོ།

ལོ་རྩ་བའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ན། ཁ་ཆེན་མཁའ་སྤྱི་འཁྱུང་གི་འཕྲུལ་པ་ཅན་ལྷ་ལོ་རྩ་བ་དང་སྐྱབས་  
 ནས། ཁ་ཆེར་རྒྱངས་ཟེར་ཏེ་ལན་གཉིས་ཁ་ཆེར་རྒྱངས་འདུག་གོ དེ་ལྟ་ནས་གཉིས་ཤི་ནས།

མང་ལྗེ་ར་རིན་ཆེན་གཤམ་རབ། མ་དགོ་སྒོ། བཟངས་རིན་ཆེན་གཞོན་ལྷ་གསུམ་ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་  
 ལྷ་ལྷུང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་གཤམ་ནས། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ལོ་ཆུང་བྱས་སོ། འདི་གསུམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་དབུ་ཆད་  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུར། དུས་དེའི་ཆེ། ལུ་གཤི ལྷ་ཡང་། མར་ཡུལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དགོ་པའི་  
 བཤམ་གཉེན་བཅུན་ཆེན་སྒྲིལ་སྒྲོན་གསུམ། འབངས་དྲ་མ་རྣམས་བསགས་ཏེ་རྟོགས་ནང་  
 དུ་བསྐྱོས་ཆེན་མཛད། བཀའ་བོག་ཆེན་མོ་དང་། དུས་ད་མན་ཆད་འཆམས་པའི་བཀའ་  
 བྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲ་རུ་ཆུད་རེ་རེ་མཛད་ནས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཟུངས། ཚོས་བྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཉུལ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 ཡང་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཅུགས་སོ།

གཞན་ཡང་ལུ་ཡངས་སུ་ཁ་ཆར་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལྷན་གྱི་བྱུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་བྱམས་  
 པའི་སྐྱ་བཞེངས། མར་ཡུལ་ཉར་མའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་མར་མེ་མཛད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བཞེངས། པི་  
 ཏིར་ཏེ་པོ་ཙོག་ལ་བརྒྱན། མཐའ་འདུལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་ང་རའི་ཀ་ནམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་།  
 རེ་སག་གི་མོ་ནང་གི་ལྷ་ཁང་། རོ་ཆུང་གི་སྤྲིའི་ལྷ་ཁང་། པི་ལྷར་དཀར་སག་གི་ལྷ་ཁང་ལ་  
 སོགས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཅ་དང་། མཚོད་རྟེན་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བཞེངས་སོ། སྐྱ་རྟེན་  
 མོ་སྤྲིང་དགོ་འདུན་བཀའ་སྤྲོད་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་ཡིས་གཙོ་བྱས་པ། དགོ་འདུན་བརྒྱད་བཅུའི་སྤྲོ་  
 ཚང་བ་བཅུགས། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་བཀའ་བསྐྱུར་རོ་ཙོག་ཆར་གསུམ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་  
 སྐྱོགས་བམ་མང་པོ་བཞེངས། ཐུགས་གྱི་རྟེན་ཡང་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། མི་བྱེད་པའི་དད་པ་  
 བརྟན་པོ། ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་ནས་པརྟེ་ཏེ་རྣ་མ་གྱི་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ལོ་ཆེན་  
 དང་། པང་ཀྱང་ལོ་ཙ་བ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཚོས་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་  
 པའི་ལྗེ་དང་། དེ་དག་ལ་ཉན་བཤད་དང་སྐྱོམ་སྐྱུབ་ཀྱི་ལྗེ་མང་དུ་བཅུགས་སོ།

ཞང་ཞུང་དུ་བོན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་བ་ལས། བོན་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱུས་ནས་ཁང་པ་གཙོག་

དུ་བཅུགས་ནས་མི་ལ་བསྐྱེགས། བོན་དཔེ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེས་ནས་ཆབ་ལ་རྒྱུད། གཤིན་  
 པོའི་དོན་དུ་རྗོར་དུ་རྒྱུད་པའི་ལུགས་ཡོད་པ་བཀག་ནས་དགེ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་སྲོལ་བཅུགས།  
 བོད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཚན་བརྗོད་ཁྱེད་ལ་བཏོན་བྱེད་པ་དང་། བྱད་མེད་བཅུན་མ་བྱེད་པའི་སྲོལ་  
 བཅུགས། ལྷ་རྩེ་ཡབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་རྒྱུད་ས་པར་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱལ་སར་མི་འདོན་པའི་སྐྱིམས་ཡོད་  
 པ་ལ་ཁོང་གི་ཡབ་སྐུ་ཆེན་དུ་སྟོན་ནས། སྐྱེས་མངའ་བདག་དུ་བཀུར་བའི་སྲོལ་སྟོན། ལྷོ་རྩེ་  
 སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་ཅིང་། དགོས་ཚུལ་སྐྱིམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་  
 སྐྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་མང་དུ་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཇི་ལྟར་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱིམས་སྐྱུ་སྐྱེས་མང་ན། རྒྱལ་  
 ཆབ་མ་གཏོགས་པ་རབ་དུ་གཤེགས་པ་དང་། བཅོན་པོ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་འདུལ་ཞིང་སྤྱང་བ་  
 དང་། བཅོན་པོ་སྐྱུ་བོ་གདུང་ཆད་ན་བཅུན་པ་ནས་གསོ་བ་དང་། ལྷོ་སེར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་  
 ཚོས་སྐྱོར་བཅུན་པོར་བསྐྱུང་བ་དང་། ལྷོ་ཆད་བཀའ་དང་བསྟན་ཚུལ་གསར་དུ་སོང་བ་  
 དང་། མང་དུ་བྱོས་པ་དང་། ལྷོ་མ་བཅོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བཀུར་བ་དང་སྟོན་དང་གོ་ཆ་ལ་  
 སོགས་པ་འདྲིར་མེད་ན་གཞན་ནས་འཚོལ་བ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་མི་གོད་པར་བཅོས་སྐྱུ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུང་བ་དང་། ལྷོ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མདའ་དང་། བང་དང་། མཚོངས་  
 དང་། ལྷུང་ཀྱི་རྒྱུངས་དང་། ལྷུལ་དང་། ཉེ་སྐྱུ་དང་། འབྲིས་དང་། ལྷོག་དང་། ཅིས་ཏེ་ཕོ་  
 བྱད་སྐྱུ་དག་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་དཔའ་རྩལ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྟོབ་པ་དང་། འབངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བོ་དགེ་  
 བ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱུད་པ་དང་འབངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རྗེས་འབངས་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་  
 འགགས་པ་དང་། ལྷོ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཉེན་གྱི་བཅོམ་སྐྱེགས། ལྷོ་སྐྱེས་སོགས་སྟོབ་ཅིང་། དེ་  
 དག་ཀྱང་འལ་འོལ་མི་བྱ་བ་དང་། དེ་དག་ལ་ཡོན་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་དང་། ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་བཅོམ་འལ་  
 འོལ་མི་བྱ་ཞིང་། ཡོན་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་དང་། རྐྱེད་ཁྱེད་བོན་རྣམས་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་དང་།

འབངས་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྟ་བུ་གྲང་ཚོས་རྩོམ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་དུ་ཅི་ལྟར་གྱི་མི་  
 གཏོང་བ་དང་། ཅི་ཕེབས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་འགྲུལ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། མདོ་ར་ཚེས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ བཀའ་  
 ཁྲིམས་ཚེས་མོ་དང་འབའ་བྱེད་རེ་ཞེས་དང་། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་གསོལ་དགོངས་དང་། མཚོན་  
 པའི་རྒྱན། རྣམ་བཟའ། ལྷགས། ཚེས་ལྟོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཐོ་སྤྱིང་གི་མགོ་བྱས་ཁལ་སྤོང་ཉལ་  
 མ་བཅུ་ས་བོན་འགྲོ་བའི་ཞིང་དང་། ལྷ་དང་། ཞིང་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་བཤའ་ཐང་གང་ཡོད་  
 དང་། ལྷལ་འབྲོག་ རང་གི་དཀོར་ཚོར་ལ་སོགས་པ་དགེ་འདུན་ལ་སྤུལ་ནས། ཉི་ཟླ་རྣམ་  
 གནས་སུ་འཛོག་པར་མཇེད་པ་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་འབྲིང་འབའ་བྱེད་ཀྱི། ཉ་སེའམགས་པ་  
 དཔང་དུ་བཞག་ནས་ཡོན་ཏན་འབྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་སྤུལ་པ་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་པེ་དབོན་སྤོན་གསུམ་གཟུ་  
 དང་། དཔང་དུ་བཞགས་སོགས་ལྟེ། ཐམས་ཅད་གྱིས་དབུ་སྤྱང་མཇེད་ཅིང་། ལྷིས་ཀྱང་  
 མངའ་མཇེད། སྤུལ་མཚེད་བཅུན་མོ་སྤོན་པོ་རང་རེ་ཀུན་ལ་ཚོས་རྩོམ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་འབའ་བའི་  
 དབུ་སྤྱང་མི་ལེན་རེ། རང་རེ་ལྷི་མ་རྣམས་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་མི་ཟེར་རེ་ཞེས་ཀུན་གྱིས་དབུ་སྤྱང་  
 འབོར་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་བཅུན་གྲགས་ཐམས་ཅད། མི་ཉལ་པ་སྤྱུ་མ་ལྟར་གཟེགས་ནས།  
 རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ཚོས་ལ་སྤུལ་ཞིང་མངའ་རེས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་འབངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་རན་ཐམས་ཅད།  
 གཅེན་ཁོ་རེ་ལ་སྤུལ་ནས། ལུས་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱང་མི་དུན་ཅིང་། སེམས་ཀྱང་ལྷལ་ལ་གཡོ་ག  
 གཞག་དཀག་བར་བཞུན་པ་དང་། དེ་ལ་དད་པ་ལྟོ་དུ་རྙེད་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན་པས་རང་དབང་  
 ཡོད་ཅིང་། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་དང་མཇེད་བའི་དུས་སུ་རང་ལའང་ཐུགས་རྗེས་མ་རྒྱུང་  
 བར་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་མཇེད་ཅིག ཅེས་གསོལ་ནས། སྤུལ་མཚེད་གསུམ་ལའང་བཀའ་སྤུལ་ནས།  
 ལུ་མ་སྤྱིང་གསུམ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་བོར་སྤངས་ཏེ། སྤྱོད་སྤུལ་གཞོན་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལྷག་མཐེལ་ན་མངའ་  
 ཡང་། རིགས་དང་། འབྲོར་པ་དང་། འཁོར་དང་། ལང་འཚོ་དང་། དབང་ལྷག་གང་ལའང་

མ་དགོས་པར་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲངས་ཞིང་།

།བྱིས་པའི་རང་བཞིན་ཚེན་སྲོལ་གྱུང་པས།

།དམ་པས་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ་འདི་འདྲ་མཐོང་ནའང་འགྲོད།

།མཁས་པས་བལྟས་ན་བཀྲ་ཤལ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ལ།

།གྲོངས་པའི་བྱིམ་ཞིག་དམག་ལ་སྤྱོད་པས་བཅེངས།

།གཏི་ལུག་སྲོང་བྱིམ་འདོད་ཆགས་ཚུ་གཉེར་ཙམ།

།ཞི་ལྡང་ཚུ་སྤྲོད་ཚུ་བ་མའི་སྤྲོས་གང་ལ།

།ཚུ་འཇིགས་ཀྱི་བཞིན་ཚུལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྱང་ནས།

།སྤྲོག་ནས་སྤྲོས་ནམས་བྱིད་དེ་དགོན་པར་བྱོས།

།ཚུལ་པོའི་དཔལ་ལ་གདམས་པའི་ཚོས་ཐོ་ནས།

།མའི་དབང་པོ་གཤེགས་པའི་གལ་དེ་ནས།

།འབངས་རྣམས་བཞུགས་དེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བཞུན་པ་ཡང་།

།ལམ་པོ་ཆེ་བཞིན་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་མས་མཇེད།

དེ་ལྟར་བཞུན་པ་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་མས་བདག་རྒྱུན་མཇེན་ནས། མངའ་མིས་ནས་དར་བར་མཇེད་  
 ལ། བྱིན་དུ་བགྱིན་ཆེའོ། རྒྱགས་ལོག་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བམ་སྤྱོད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་གི་སྤྱོད་པ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། རྒྱད་པར་དུ་བོན་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བཀག་ནས་ཡང་དག་པའི་ལམ་ལ་  
 བཅུད་དེ། ལྷན་པས་གཤགས་པས་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་རྒྱབ་པར་མཇེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་  
 ཆེ་བ་བཞུན་པའི་ཕྱིར་བོན་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ལ། བོན་གཞུང་རྩིང་པ་ལ་ཚོས་ལ་སོགས་  
 པའི་བསྐྱེ་སྤྱོད་མེད་པ། ཉི་ཆེ་གཅིག་གནང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། འབངས་རྣམས་ལ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་

ལུང་དང་། མཐུན་པར་སྤྱོད་པའི་བཀའ་ལུང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྣལ་ཅིང་། རྒྱལ་པར་ཡུལ་དུས་  
 དང་ཚམས་པར་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱབ་རུས་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་འཐད་པ་མང་བོ་མཛད་པས།  
 སློབ་དཔོན་ལྷན་སྐྱབ་ལས་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པ་ལྷ་བུ་ཡིན་མོ། ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་མ་ཡི་ཤེས་འོད། །སངས་རྒྱས་  
 མཛད་པ་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར། ཞེས་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་འོད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ཅན་དང་། །དགེ་སློང་ཤུའི་  
 བདོང་ཅན་དང་། ཞེས་པས་ལྷ་སྤྲོ་མ་དང་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་བོ་གཉིས་ལུང་བསྟན་ཞེས་  
 ཟེར་རོ། དེ་ལྷར་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནས་ཀྱང་སྐྱགས་དམ་མཐོ་སློང་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས། བྱང་ཆུབ་  
 སེམས་དཔའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱབ་པ་ལྷ་བུ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་། སྐྱགས་དམ་  
 མཐར་ཕྱིན་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་མོ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལོ་ཆེན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་།  
 དམན་པ་ཕན་ཆད་ལ་ཡང་རང་རང་གི་བསམ་པ་དང་མཐུན་པར། བང་ལ་བང་འདུལ་གྱི་  
 ཚོས་བསྟན་ནས་གྲོལ་བར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་མོ། རྗེ་ཕྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ཡང་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་  
 ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་ལ་མཚོན་པ་དང་ཞིག་གསོས་དང་། དར་རྒྱས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྐྱགས་འཁྲུ་  
 དང་བཀའ་ལུང་ལྷར་མཛད་ཅིང་། དཔོན་རབ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་། དེ་ལྷར་གྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་ནན་  
 ཅན་མཛད། རྒྱ་ནས་ཤིན་ཏུ་བགྱེས་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱགས་དམ་སློང་ལ་ཕྱག་འཁྲུ་  
 བསྟམས་ནས་བསྐྱོར་བ་མང་དུ་མཛད་ཅིང་། བཞན་ཡང་མཚོན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྐྱུལ་ཞིང་།  
 རང་བཞན་ཀུན་གྱི་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་མོ། དེ་ཡི་ཆེ་ཡང་ཉེ་གནས་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་པ་སུ་ཡང་  
 མི་མཛལ་བར་བཀའ་སྣལ་ནས། ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་བར་དུ་སྐྱེ་མཚམས་བཅད་ནས་སྐྱགས་དམ་  
 མཛད་ཅིང་མཚམས་ལས་ཐོན་པ་དང་རེ་ཞིག་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་གྱིས་འདུལ་བུ་རྣམས་ལ་  
 ཞལ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། ཚོས་རྩེགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་ཐ་མ་སྣལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། མང་རྒྱུད་དུ་  
 བཤེགས་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་དགོས་སོ་སོ་ནས་རང་རང་གིས་དད་གསུ་དང་སྤྱོ་བས་ཕྱག་འདུལ་བ་དང་།



ཞལ་བལྟ་ཞིང་བཀའ་ལྟངས་ལྟར་བསྟན་པའི་ཕྱིར་བསྟུ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་ཐོག་མར་རབ་  
 ཏུ་བྱང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་རང་གི་ཆ་ལུགས་ཚང་བའི་སེར་སྤྱིང་དང་། དེའི་རྗེས་ལ་སྤྲུགས་  
 པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཉེ་རུ་ཀའི་ཆ་ལུགས་སུ་བཞུགས་ནས་གར་དང་། རོལ་མོ་དང་གི་རྩོ་  
 དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པས་བསྟུ་བ་དང་། དེའི་རྗེས་བཙུན་མོ་མོ་བཙུན་སྐྱེ་སེར་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་།  
 དེའི་རྗེས་ལ་ཡུལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་གན་པ་རྣམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གསུམ་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་ནས་སྤྱོད་གར་དང་། དགའ་  
 ཉེ་དགའ་ཉེ་ཆད་པའི་བྱོ་དང་། ཅེད་འཛོ་དང་། བཞད་གད་དང་། སྤོན་ལམ་དང་། དེའི་  
 རྗེས་ལ་གན་པོ། གན་མོ་དང་། དེ་དག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་ཉེ་ཞག་  
 ལྟའི་བར་དུ་སྤྱིང་མ་ཆད་པའི་བསྟུ་བ་བྱས་སོ། སོ་སོ་ནས་ཕྱག་དང་། བསྐྱོར་བ་དང་།  
 མཚོད་པ་དང་། སྤོན་ལམ་འདེབས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་གཟེགས་  
 ནས། སྤྱོད་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་མངའ་རིས་དར་ཞིང་ཚོས་ཅིགས་ཀྱང་བཅན་པ་ལེགས་གསུངས་  
 ནས་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།

སྤོན་གཞོན་ལྟ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཙང་གིས་ཤུགས་ལེགས་ལྟར་བསྟུ་བ་ལྟར་  
 སྤྲུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ཕྱིར། མངའ་རིས་བསྐྱོར་གསུམ་ནས་གཞོན་ལྟ་གིས་རབ་ཆེ་བའི་བྱོ་  
 གསལ་བ་ཡིད་འགྲུས་ཤིང་སྤྱིང་སྤོབས་ཆེ་བ། ཚོས་ལ་དད་ཅིང་། དཀོན་མཚོ་གལ་བསྐྱེ་ཞུ་  
 ཆེ་བ། ཉི་བརྒྱ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་ཐར་པར་བཏང་ངོ་། དེ་ཡང་གུ་གི་ནས་བརྒྱ། སྤྱོད་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་  
 མར་ཡུལ་སུམ་ཅུ། པི་ཉི་ནས་སུམ་ཅུ་དང་། ཉི་བརྒྱ་བསྐྱུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། སྤྱོད་ཡང་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་  
 མཐའ་ཕྱིན་པའི་བར་དུ་མཐོ་སྤྱིང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་བསྟུ་བ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མཇུག་  
 པ་ཡིན་ནོ།

༥ སྤྲུམ་ཆེ་བ་བྱི་ལྷེ་མགོན་བཅན་མི་པོ་སྤྱི་ལྟུ་ལ། པར་སྐམ་བྱུངས་སྤོན་སྤྱིང་དུ་རྗེ་

འབངས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་རབ་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ། མཚན་རྗེ་བ་ཕྱ་ལྔ་བར་གསོལ་དོ། ལོ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཅུ་  
བརྒྱད་ཡབ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལྟར་ལྟར་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་གནས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མཚོད་པ་དང་།  
ཞིག་བསོམ་མཛད་ཅིང་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱུངས་ཏེ། དཀར་སག་གི་ཚོས་ལྷེ་དང་གནས་བཞི་ཡང་  
བཙུགས་སོ།

༥ རྒྱུད་བ་ལྟ་འཁོར་བཅན་ནི། ས་པོ་བྱི་ལ་དགེ་སྙིན་གྱི་བསྐྱབ་པ་བཞེས་ཏེ། མཚན་ནག་  
ར་ཇར་གསོལ་ལོ། ལོ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཅུ་དགུ་པ་ལ་རབ་དུ་གཤེགས་ནས། ན་ག་ཕྱ་ལྔ་བར་མཚན་  
གསོལ་ནས་གཅེན་བཤེགས་ནས་ལོ་བཞི་ར་ཡབ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལྟར་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱུངས་ཤིང་།  
ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་ལྟར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཞིག་བསོམ་དང་། མཚོད་པ་མཛད། ཚོས་ཅིགས་ཀྱི་  
བཀའ་བྲིམས་ཡང་བརྟན་པར་མཛད། དཔེ་པའི་ཚོས་ལྷེ་དང་། དབུ་ལྷེ་ཡང་བཙུགས། ཁ་  
ཆར་གྱི་འཕགས་པ་དབུས་མ་དང་མཉམ་པའི་དངུལ་སྐྱ་རྗེ་བཙུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ལ་  
གསེར་དོ་ལོ་ཕྱིད་དང་གསུམ་བརྒྱའི་བརྒྱན་རྗེ་རྗེ་མ་ལམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕྱ་སྟོང་ཕྱག་  
གིས་སྐྱས་པ་དང་། འཇམ་དབྱངས་དཀར་པོའི་དངུལ་སྐྱ་ཅི་ལྷ་གང་པ་དང་། རྗེ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་  
ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལྟ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྗེ་གསེར་པ་དངུལ་ནས་གྲུབ་པ་དང་། རག་གན་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རྗེ་  
རྗེ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྗེ་གསེར་པ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ག་ག་ནའི་གྲུབ་པ་གོང་བྱིར་མ་དཀྱིལ་  
ཀྱང་མ་སོགས་ལི་མངོ་མཚར་ཞིང་། དྲིན་སྐབས་ཆེ་བ་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་པ་སོགས་རྒྱ་མ་ཤིན་  
དུ་ཆེ་བར་མཛད།

༦ སྐས་མོ་ལྷའི་མེ་དོག་ཀྱང་རབ་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ་གྱེ་ལྷེལ་གྱི་དབུ་ལྷེ་སྐས་ཚབ་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་  
ཁང་ལྷའི་མེ་དོག་བཞེངས། བཙུན་མའི་ལྷེ་བཙུགས་ནས་འཚོ་བའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་ཆ་ཚང་བུའོ།

༧ མངའ་བདག་ཆེན་པོ་བགྱིས་འཁོར་རེས་ཚ་ཙ་སྐང་དགོས་འཁོར་གཡུ་སྐྱ་དང་བྱི་ལྷེའི་

ཚོས་སྐོར་གསུམ་བཅུགས་ཤིང་རྒྱ་མ་མང་དུ་མཛད། གཙང་གི་འཚོང་འདུས་མགུར་མོ་ནས་  
འཁོར་ལོ་ལ་རྒྱན་ཚོད་མང་འཁོར་བསྐྱུས་སོ།

འཁོར་རེའི་སྐས་བསྐྱེད་ལྡོང་ཅོག་དེ། རྒྱུང་བ་ཚ་ལ་སྤེལ་གཤམ་པོ་འཇུག་མཛད། ལྷ་སྤེལ་གྱི་  
ཤིས་བཙའ་ཡང་བེད། ཁོང་ནི་གཅིག་དུ་དཀོན་མཚོག་ལ་དང་ཅིང་། མཚོད་པ་བསྐྱུར་སྤེ་  
ཆེར་མཛད། གཉིས་སུ་ཆ་བའོག་གི་འབངས་ལ་བུམས་ཤིང་ཞི་དུ་ལ་ཆེ། གསུམ་ལ་ཡབ་  
མཚོད་རྣམས་ལ་གུས་ཤིང་ཆེད་ཀ་ཆེ། རྒྱུང་པར་དུ་ཁ་ཆེའི་པརྩི་དྲ་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་  
ནས་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་ལོ་རྩུ་བུས་ནས། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་རྩ་འགྲེལ་  
མན་ངག་དང་བཙས་པ་དང་། ཉེའི་རྩི་རྩི་བསྐྱུར། ཁ་ཆར་དུ་རིན་ཆེན་བཙེགས་པའི་  
བཅུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། འཇུག་དཔལ་གྱི་དཔལ་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། མཚོད་པའི་རྩི་མང་  
པོ་བཅུགས་སོ། མཚོད་གནས་ཀྱི་དབུ་སྤེ་བཅུགས་ཏེ། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པརྩི་དྲ་དང་། དགེ་བའི་  
བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ལ་འབུལ་བ་མཛད་ཏེ། ཚོས་གསན་པས་འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོད་  
པའི་བདེ་ལེགས་ལ་ཡིད་བརྟན་མཛད་པར་གཟིགས་ནས། རབ་དུ་གཤེགས་པའི་མཚན། རྣམ་  
པ་རྩ་ལ་ཞེས་བྲ། ཁོང་གིས་ཐོ་སྤོང་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། མར་ཡུལ་དུ་ཤེ་ཡེར་བུམས་པ་  
གསེར་ཐང་བཞེངས། ཐུབ་པ་གྲོང་ཁྱིམ་སྐྱེ་བུ་རྩི་བུས་ཤིན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཁྱུ་དོ་ལྷག་ཙམ་ཁྱི་རྒྱབ་  
དང་བཙས་པ་བཞེངས་སོ། གཙུང་ལྷ་ར་ཟ་ནི་རྒྱུང་དུ་ནས་དགུང་དུ་བཤེགས་སོ། མངའ་  
བདག་ལྷ་ལྷའི་སྐས་འོད་ལྷེ་བཙན། བྱ་ཤིས་འོད། ཡོངས་སྤོང་ལྷེ་དང་གསུམ་ཡོད་པའི་  
གཙེན་འོད་ལྷེ་བཙན་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་ཤིན་དུ་ཆེ་བས་སྐྱེ་ནས་གཞོན་ལུ་ནས་སྐྱབས་རྒྱལ་ཙན་དུ་  
འབྲུངས་པ། འབྲུག་པ་ལ་འཇུག་ཐེངས་གཅིག་མར་ཡུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་དཔེ་ཐུབ་  
ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་ལྷེ་བཅུགས། པརྩི་དྲ་པུ་ནི་བྱི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་རྩི་སངས་

རྒྱལ་སྐྱེས་ལྷོ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས། རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱབས་དམ་བལ་རེ་ཡང་མེད། འཇུག་དུ་བྱ་  
 བའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་མཛད་པས། དེར་དབུ་འཇམ་སོ། གཙུང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱ་སྐྱས་པས། ཁོང་  
 ཉིད་དང་སྐར་བའི་གསེར་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས། མ་ཁུགས་ཏེ་རེ་བཞིག་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་བཞུགས་སོ།  
 ཡུམ་གྱིས་སྐྱེས་ལྷོ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། རྒྱལ་གྱི་མི་ལམ་དུ་གར་ཕྱོགས་ནས་དགོས་  
 བརྒྱད་བྱོན་ནས། ལྷགས་བཀོལ་ཏེ་ཕུག་ནས་དྲངས་པ་མི་བས་ལྷགས་དྲང་གོལ་ནས་བྱོས་  
 པས་ཕྱོན་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་ལྷགས་དུག་བྱང་ནས། བའུལ་དཀར་གྲོང་སོ་ཟེས།

\* བར་པ་བཀྱིས་འོད་ནི་དགུང་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་རྒྱ་མོ་པག་གི་ལོ་ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནས། མོ་  
 བྲང་བྲང་རྒྱལ་འོད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ། དགུང་ལོ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་བཞིར་སྐྱབས་དམ་མཛད་ནས་  
 བསྐྱེད་པ་བསྐྱངས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་མང་ནང་དུ་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་དགོ་གནས་སྤྱིང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་  
 བཞེངས་ནས་དེར་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན། མོ་སྤྱིང་གསེར་ཁང་ནག་དུའི་ཕྱ་རིང་མོ་བཙུགས།  
 ཕུ་དྲང་གི་རྒྱུ་རེ་སྤྱིང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལྗེ་པ་གསུམ་ཆ་རྒྱུ་དང་བཅས་པ་བཙུགས་སོ། ལྷ་  
 བོ་རྩེ་བ་ར་ཇ། ཆེས་སྐྱེ་ཚབ་དུ་ལྷ་སྐྱ་མས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ཏེ། མེས་དང་ལྷའི་ཞབས་གནས་ནས་  
 མཛད། ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་བཅགས་ཤིང་མཐར་དབྱུང་། རྩེ་བ་ར་ཇའི་  
 སྐྱེ་ཚོད་དངུལ་གྱི་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་ལྷུ་ཕུག་བཞི་པ་བཞེངས། གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱུ་ཕུག་གང་པ་བཞེངས། གསུང་  
 གི་རྟེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱུ་ཡུམ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས། ཡང་མོ་སྤྱིང་གི་དུ་པད་མ་མཛད་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་  
 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། ཡོ་བྱུད་གསེར་ཞོ་བྱི་ཚོ་ཟེངས། མང་ནང་དུ་དཔལ་བུམས་པ་  
 འཕེལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། གཟེམ་མལ་སྤོ་ཅན་གྱི་དགོན་ཚོགས་སུ་ལྷ་ཁང་དམར་  
 པོ་བཞེངས། རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་གསུམ་སྐྱུ་སྐྱུར་བའི་ཚོགས་སུ་མཚོད་རྟེན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཅན་གསུམ་  
 བཞེངས་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་མོ་བཞེངས། ཡོ་བྱུད་གསེར་ཞོ་བྱི་རྒྱངས། གཅེན་མངའ་

བདག་སྐྱེ་བསྐྱེར་བའི་གདུང་ཁང་། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གདུང་ཁང་གསེར་  
 ཁང་རྒྱུ་དུ་བཞེངས། དེ་དག་གི་ཡོ་བྱད་ལ་རྩིས་མེད་པར་རྒྱུ་ལ། ཐོ་སྲིང་དུ་བྲིང་བྲུ་དང་  
 གསེར་ཁང་གི་རྒྱུ་རིས་ལ་དུས་མཚོན་རྣམས་ལ་གསེར་ནས་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་བརྒྱུ་གས།  
 བཅུན་པ་གཅིག་གི་འཚོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱུ་ཁལ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཅུ་དགུ་བརྒྱུ་གས། ཅེ་དགོར་དང་བཅས་པའི་  
 ཡིན། ལྷ་ཁང་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱུ་ས་རྣམས་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཁལ་ཕྱིད་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་བཅུ་གསུམ་དུས་  
 ཚོན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་དཔྱ་ཁལ་བཞི་བཅུ་བཞི་བཅུ་བརྒྱུ་གས། མང་ནང་གི་བྱང་རྒྱུ་དགེ་གནས་སུ་  
 བཅུན་པ་བཞི་བཅུ་ལ། དངུལ་གྱི་སང་གི་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་ཁ་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཀ་ལྷ་ལི་བཞི་བཅུ་  
 བྱ་མ་བུམ་རྒྱ་གར་མ་བཞི་བཅུ། ལྷུང་བཟེད་བཞི་བཅུ། ལུགས་ཁྲི་བཞི་བཅུ། ཐུགས་དམ་མདོ་  
 རྩེ་ཚར་བྱང་། ལུམ་ཚར་བྱང་ཆ་གསུམ། གསང་ཟངས་གསང་སྤེར། བསང་རིས་ལ་སོགས་  
 པ་ནང་གི་ཐ་ཆ་ཐམས་ཅད་བཅུ་གས་སོ། ལྷ་འབངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གྲོང་ཉི་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་  
 བཅུ་གས་སོ། གཞན་ཡང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། ལྷོགས་བམ་རྣམས་ལ་མཚོན་པའི་ཆ་རྒྱུ་  
 གསུམ་གསུམ། མཚོན་པའི་ཞབས་བསིལ། མེ་ཏོག་ནས་རྩལ་མོའི་བར། གདུགས། ཇ་  
 གཡབ། བ་དན། བན་ལ་སོགས་པ་རེ་རེ་ཡང་རྣམ་གངས་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་པོ་དང་། མཚོན་  
 པའི་ཡོ་བྱད་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བཅུ་གས་སོ། བཅུན་པ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་། ལོ་གཅིག་གི་འཚོ་བ་  
 གོས་རྣམས་དང་ནང་གི་རྒྱུ་སྤྲོད། གཡོག་གི་ཆས་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷུང་དགོར་ཡང་མང་པོ་  
 བཅུ་གས་སོ། ཡོ་བྱད་ཀྱི་དགོར་ཡང་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བཅུ་གས་སོ། རྒྱས་པར་རང་རང་གི་  
 རྒྱུ་ལས་ཤིས་པར་བྱའོ།

མཇུག་དུ་གཅེན་སྐྱེ་བའི་གསེར་བསྐྱེད་དུ་དབུས་ཀྱི་ན་སྤྱེ་གསེར་ཁ་རྒྱུ་དུ་ཐེབས།  
 གསེར་མང་པོ་གཟེགས་སོ། གཅེན་གྲོངས་པ་གསན་ནས། དེར་ཐུགས་དགོངས་རྒྱུ་ལས་པས།

གཅིན་ནི་གྲོང་ས་ཁོང་གི་དོན་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་པ་རྗེ་ཏ་མཁས་པ་གཅིག་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་བོད་  
 དུ་སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱི་བསྐྱོན་པ་ལྟར་བས་ཀྱང་དར་བར་མཛད་དགོངས་ནས། རྒྱ་ཆོ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་  
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་མས་རྒྱལ་བ་དཔོན་གཡོག་ལ། རྒྱ་བཙོན་སེང་ལ་ཐིག་པོ་ཤིང་སྤང་བཅུ་གཅིག་འཁོར་  
 བ་ཅིག་དང་། གསེར་གྱི་ཕྱེ་མ་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་ནས་རྒྱངས་པས། རོ་བོ་རྩི་པ་མ་ཀར་གྱི་རྩུ་ན་  
 གདན་དྲངས་ནས་ཕེབས་པ་ན། ཕོ་བྲང་བཙུན་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཉི་མ་ཕྱིད་ཞབས་ཐང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་  
 བསྟུ་བ་མཛད། ཞབས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཏེ་སྤྱང་བྱིས། གསེར་སྤང་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་མཚུ་ཏལ་དུ་  
 བྱས་ནས་ཕུལ་ཏེ། བདག་ཅག་བོད་རྣམས་སྤྲོ་མ་དང་བྲལ་བས། སྤྲོ་སྤྲོ་ཆོས་མ་བསྐྱེད་ས་  
 པས་དད་པ་དང་ཤིས་རབ་ཞན་པས་བསྟུ་བ་དང་། བཀྱར་སྤྱི་ངན་པས་བཟོད་པ་མཛོད་ཅིག་  
 ཅིས་བཟོད་གསོལ་བྱས་ནས། སྤི་བ་ལྡེ་བྱས་པས། ཚ་ལི་པ། རྱིད་ཀྱིས་བྱིས་པའི་སྤི་བའི་ཆོས་  
 འདི་ལས་ཟབ་པའི་ཆོས་མེད། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཡིན་པ་བདེན་པར་  
 འདུག་གསུངས་ནས། ཨ་ཏེ་ག་ཤིན་དུ་མཉེས། དེ་ནས་མང་ནང་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་མན་  
 ངག་གི་བཀའ་བསྐྱོ་ཅིག་མཛད་པར་ཞུ་ཞུ་པས། སྤྲོ་བ་དཔོན་སྤྲོ་བྱེད་ཀྱིས་མཛོད་པའི་རིན་ཆེན་  
 འཕྲེང་བ་བསྐྱར་རམ་གསུང་། འགྱུར་ལགས་ཞུས་པས། འོ་ན་ངས་བྱེད་ཅི་དགོས། དེ་ཆོག་  
 གསུང་། ཅིས་ཀྱང་མཛོད་པར་དགོས་ཞུས་པས། བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལམ་སྤྱོན་མཛོད་ནས་གནང་། དེ་  
 རྒྱུ་ཕོ་སྤྱིང་དུ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་མཛེལ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྤྱིང་  
 མང་དུ་མཛོད་པས་ལོ་ཙ་བ་དད་ནས་ཆོས་ཞུས། ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་གེར་བཞུགས་ནས་ལས་གྱུ་  
 འབྲས་དང་། བྱང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སེམས་ལ་གཙོ་བོར་མཛོད་ནས་གསུངས་པས་ཕལ་ཆེར་དད་དེ།  
 ཆོས་རྣམ་དག་ལ་ཞུགས། རྟེན་བཅས་བརྟེན་མེད་ཀྱི་ཙོད་པ་དང་། ལྷགས་ལོག་པ་དང་།  
 ལོག་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་པ་རྣམས་སུ་ཕུང་ནས་བཀག་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་ཕོ་བྲང་བཙུན་པས། དར་དང་

རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་། རྣམ་བུ་བཅོས། སྒོན་པོ་དང་། བུད་མེད་བཅུན་  
མོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འི་ཆ་ལུགས་སུ་བཅུག སྐང་པོ་ཆེ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བཅོས། ཉ་དང་དམག་དཔོན་  
རྣམས། རང་རང་གི་ཆ་ལུགས་སུ་བཅུག་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལྷན་བདུན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཡོ་བྲང་  
ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་འབྲུལ་བ་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བྱས་ཏེ། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབྲུལ་མོ་ཆེ་ཞེས་གྲུ་སོ།

ནུ་མར་ཡང་སྤར་བཞིན་མང་ནང་གི་གནས་བདེན་ཁང་ནས་གྲག་ཚེའི་བར་ཁྲར་ཆ་  
བས་གང་བའི་མར་བུད་འབྲས། ཤིང་ཐོག་གི་རིགས། བུ་རམ། ཀ་པ། སྤང་རྩི་ལ་སོགས་  
པའི་ཆས་ཀ་སྤུལ་ལོ། དེ་ནས་འབྲོམ་སྒོན་པས། དབུས་སུ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། བཀའ་  
གདམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུར་གསུངས་པས། སློབ་མ་ཁྲཾླ་ཏེ་ག་འབྲོམ་གསུམ་དང་། གསང་སྤྱ། ར་  
སྤྱང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དགོ་འདུན་དང་། གནས་སྒྲོར་མང་དུ་སྤྱེལ་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་  
ཕྱི་མ་དེ་དར་བར་མཛད་པ། ཐོ་བྲང་བྲང་རྒྱུ་འོད་དང་། རོ་བོ་རྗེའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཡིན་ནོ།

གཙུང་པོ་སྤྱང་ལྗེ་ནི་མེ་ཐོ་སྤྱེའུ་ཡི་ལོ་ལ་ རབ་དུ་བཞེགས་ཏེ་ཞི་བ་འོད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་  
ནས་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་རྩ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། གཅེན་འདས་ནས་སུམ་རུ་རྩ་བཞི་བཞུགས། དེའི་ཆེ་  
དབོན་མངའ་བདག་རྩི་ལྗེ་དང་། མོ་ལ་སྤྲུམས་གཅིག་དུ་མཛད་ནས་ཡབ་མེས་འབྲུལ་བག་  
ཅན་གྱི་མཛད་སྤྱོད་བཟང་པོའི་སྲོལ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་དང་། བསྟན་པ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་སྤྱང་  
དར་བར་མཛད་པའི་ཕྱིར། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུར་བར་མཛད་ཅིང་། དཀོན་མཚོ་ག་གསུམ་གྱི་  
རྟེན་བཅུགས། སྤར་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་ཞབས་ལ་སྤུགས་ཏེ། ཚོས་  
མང་དུ་གསན་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་དགོ་ལེགས་སྤྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་བསོད་ནམས་དང་།  
ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་རྗེས་པར་མཛད་དེ།

དེ་ཡང་ཐོ་སྤྱང་དུ་དབུ་རྩི་ཡི་འཇམ་རིའི་རིལ་བ་གསུམ་ལ། ཤིང་སྤྱི་རྩི་མོར་གསེར་གྱི་

མཚན་རྟེན་འཁོར་ལོ་ཅན་དང་བཅས་པ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། འོག་ཁང་དུ་འཇམ་དཔལ་མཚན་  
 བཟོད་ཀྱི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཚང་བ་དང་། བར་ཁང་དུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་འཇམ་དབྱེངས་  
 ཚེན་པོའི་སྐུ་ལྷ་སྤེལ་རང་གི་སྐུ་ཚད། རྒྱ་གར་དབུས་ཀྱི་སྐུ། མཁར་སྐུ་ན་བཞེངས་པའི་རིན་  
 པོ་ཆེ་སྐུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲུས་པའི་འཇམ་དཔལ་སྐུ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལྷེར་སོ་བདུན་  
 བཙུ་ཅ་བཞི། གཞན་ཡང་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་ལྷན་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་ཏེ་གསེར་ཁང་དུ་མཛད། དབུ་  
 ཅེ་ཀུན་རིགས་ཅུ་བའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་ཚང་བ་དང་། རིགས་ཀྱི་གཞོན་ལྷ་མའི་དགྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་  
 ལྷ་ཚོགས་ལ་སོགས་པ། ལྷེར་གསོ་ཞེངས་སོ་གསོལ་ཏེ་འོག་ཁང་དུ་ཅིགས་མཁན། བེད་  
 མཁན། ཞལ་མཁན། རི་མོ་མཁན། ལྷེར་གསོ་མཁན། གསེར་བཟོ། ལྷགས་བཟོ། ཟངས་  
 བཟོ་མཁན། འབྲུར་མཁན་ལ་སོགས་ལ། ཉི་བརྒྱ་ཉི་བུ་ཅུ་གསུམ་གཡོག་དང་བཅས་པ་  
 བསགས་ནས་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་ལ་མངས་བྲེས་ནས་ཅིགས་སྤྱེད་ཡི་ལོ་ལ་ཅིགས་བེད་ཐོག་ལུག་ཀྱི་  
 ལོ་འི་ལོ་ལ་ལྷེར་སོ་བཞེངས། བྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་རི་མོ་བྲིས། བག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཞལ་སྐྱོ་ཚེན་པོ་མཛད།  
 འཇམ་དཔལ་རྣམ་འཕུལ་སྤྱི་མེད་འཇམ་སྤྱིང་རྒྱན་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་བཞུན་  
 བཅོས་འགྱུར་རོ་ཅོག་དང་། ཡུམ་རྒྱས་འབྲིང་བསྐྱུས་གསུམ་གསེར་ལ་བཞེངས། སྤེལ་པརྗེ་  
 ཏེ་མཁས་པ་ཚེན་པོ། འཇམ་བུ་སྤྱིང་གི་གཙུག་གི་ནོར་བུ་མཁས་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མི་  
 ར་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ནས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཨ་ཏི་ག་བྱི་མི་བྱ་དང་དེ་ལྟ་རྣམས་དང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་  
 མཁས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ར་ཏུན་ཏེ་དང་། མཁས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་གག་ཏེ་ཀ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། ཁ་  
 ཆེའི་པརྗེ་ཏེ་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པ་དང་། མཁས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཨ་ཏི་ག་རྗེས་ལ། གསེར་བྲེས་  
 བཅལ་ནས་སྤུལ། སྤེལ་ཉིད་ལོ་རྩ་མཛད་ནས། དཔལ་མཚན་གི་ཅུ་འགྲེལ་དང་། བུད་རྩ་ཅ་  
 རི་དང་། ཚ་འགྲེལ་དང་ཚད་མ། དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་བསྐྱུས་པ་འགྲེལ་འཇམ་དང་བཅས་པ། ཚད་མ་





ལ་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ། ཡན་ཚད་སྒྲ་མ་ཞི་བ་འོད་སྒྲ་གཤེགས་ཡན་ཚོད་ལོ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ  
 བདུན་སོང་། ལྷ་སྒྲ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས་མེ་པོ་བྱི་ལོ་ལ་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབངས་གྲ་པ་རྣམས་  
 ལ། ལྷོད་མངའ་རིས་སུ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དར་བ་བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅ་དུག་སོང་།  
 ལྷ་བཅུན་པ་ཞི་བ་འོད་སྐྱོངས་པའི་ལོ། ལྷགས་མོ་ཡོས་ཡན་ཚོད་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ངན་  
 ལས་འདས་ནས་བལྟན་པ་ལོ་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་པ་ལྷག་བཅུར་གནས་པའི་སྤོང་ནས་ལོ་གསུམ་སྤོང་ཉིས་  
 བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་བཞི་སོང་། ལོ་སྤོང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ང་དུག་གྲ་གེ་བལྟན་ཚོས་པ་ངག་  
 དབང་གྲགས་པའི་ལྷགས་སོ།

།ངས་འབྱུང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིམས་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད།  
 །ལྷ་སྤྱོད་སྤེར་འཛིན་སོ་བྲང་བྲང་རྒྱལ་འོད།  
 །བཙེ་ལྷན་མཁས་པ་ལྷན་བལྟགས་ཞི་བ་འོད།  
 །མེས་དཔོན་གསུམ་ལ་བོད་རྣམས་ལྷག་འཚལ་ལོ།  
 །དགོས་གདུང་ཚ་སྤོང་ཅན་གྱི་གནག་རྗེས་དཔུང་།  
 །ཞུ་དུམ་ལྷ་རའི་མེ་དོག་ཤར་བ་བཞིན།  
 །ལྷ་བསམ་སྤོབས་ཀྱིས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་འབྱུངས།  
 །སྤྱི་མཐའི་བར་དུ་འབྲལ་བར་མ་འགྱུར་ཅིག

༥ མངའ་བདག་འོད་ལྷེ་བཙན་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྤེ་སོ་སོ་སྤོག་ཅ་བཙན་སྤོང་། ལྷ་ཚ་ཅི་  
 ལྷེ། ལྷེ་ཅི་སྤོང་ལྷེ་གྲགས་བཙན་ཅི་ཡང་ཟེམ། དེ་ལ་ལུ་ཤངས་ཀྱི་མངའ་མཇེད་ནི་བཙན་  
 སྤོང་། ལྷ་གའི་མངའ་མཇེད་ནི་ཅི་ལྷེ།

༥ བཙན་སྤོང་གི་སྲས་ནི་སྤོང་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་བཙན་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་གྲགས་

བཅན་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་སྤྱི་བཟླ་ཤིས་བཅན་སྟོབས་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་སྤྱི་འབར་བཅན། དེའི་སྲས་སྤྱི་  
བཟླ་ཤིས་དངོས་གྲུབ་མགོན་པོ། དེ་ལ་མངའ་བདག་སྤྱི་བཅན་ལྷེ། ཡང་ཅེ་ནན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་  
ཁང་དང་། ཁ་ཆར་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། དབུ་ལྷེ་བཞི་བཅུ་བཅུགས།

༥ སྲས་བཅན་སྤྱུག་ལྷེས་ཀྱང་། ཤ་རྩེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། བཞེད་ཚོས་སློར་རྒྱུ་  
དུ་བསྟོད། དཀོར་ནོར་མང་དུ་སྤུལ་ནས་ཞིག་བསོས་མཛད་དོ།

༦ གྲགས་བཅན་ལྷེས་རིན་ཆེན་བཅུགས་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། ཡབ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་འདུང་  
ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ཉི་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ལ་སའི་དག་སྟོར་རེ་རེ། གསེར་ཞེ་རེ་སྤུལ་ལོ།

༧ དེའི་སྲས་བཅན་སྟོབས་ལྷེའི་རིང་ལ་ཞང་ཞུང་དང་འབྲུགས་པ་བྱུང་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་མ་  
གྲུབ།

༨ དེའི་སྲས་སྤྱི་འབར་བཅན་གྱིས་ཁ་ཆར་ཀུན་མཆེད་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས། གསེར་གྱི་མདོ་  
མང་། རྒྱུད་འབུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསེར་ལས་བཞེངས། ཚོས་གྱི་རྩེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་  
དད་གུས་མཛད་པས་ཡུད་ཙམ་ཞིག་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བྱོན་ཞལ་མཛེལ། གདམས་ངག་བསྟན།

༩ དེའི་སྲས་བཟླ་ཤིས་དངོས་གྲུབ་མགོན་མངའ་བདག་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱེད། ཡབ་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་  
མཛད་པའི་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་ལྷག་ཆར་གྲགས། བྱང་སེམས་རྩེ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་གྱི་སྤུལ་པར་  
གྲགས་སོ།

གངས་རི་མཚོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རི་པའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་དང་། ཚོས་གྱི་རྩེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་  
སྤུལ་བ་ཞབས་ཏོག་མཛད་ནས། དཀར་རྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤོག་ཤིང་མཛད་དོ།

༡༠ དེའི་སྲས་གཉིས་པ་རྣམས་ལྷེ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་ས་ཅེ་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས། ཡབ་གྱི་མཛད་  
སྤོད་སྤུར་ལྟར་གྲུབ་པ་མཛད་གྱིན། མཁའ་གོང་ན་བཞུགས་དུས་ཇོ་མ་ལྷ་ལའི་ཞལ་གཟིགས།

ཐོངས་གཅིག་ཚོང་པ་མང་པོ་བྱང་ནས་ནོར་རྣམས་ཁོང་ལ་བཅོལ་ནས་ལོ་གསུམ་ནས་ངེད་  
 མ་སླེབས་ན་ཁྱེད་རང་བསྐྱམས་ཟེར་ནས་སོང་ངོ། ཕྱི་དུས་ལའང་མ་སླེབས་པའི་ཁ་ཕྱེན་སྐ  
 བཞིགས་པས་ནོར་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་བྱུང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་དངུལ་གྱི་སྤང་ཁ་ཐེབས་པ། འཇམ་  
 འཇམ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁ་ཅིག་ཅན་བྱུང་། རྣམ་ལྗོངས་འཇམ་པ་ལའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་དུ་དགོངས་ནས་  
 ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ལ། སྤོང་པོ་སྤངས་པའི་ཕྱིར་ལྷ་ལྗོངས་ཞེངས་པའི་དངུལ་སྤྱིའི། གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་  
 དེ་དང་མ་འདྲིས་པའི་སྤྱུ་རས་གཞིགས་དང་། ཕྱག་རྩོམ་བཞེངས། མདོ་མང་རྒྱས་འབྲིང་  
 བསྐྱུས་གསུམ་གསེར་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར་དངུལ་མ་བཞེངས། རོ་རྗེ་གདན་གཉིས་ལ། འབྲི་  
 ཁྲངས་ཐེལ་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་བཞེངས་པའི་པོ་དྲི་བརྒྱ། དངུལ་གྱི་ཐ་ལི་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དངུལ་  
 སྤྱོད་པ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་འབྲིང་བ་བརྒྱ་ལ་སོགས་པ་འབུལ་བ་མང་དུ་མཇེད་དོ།  
 དགོད་ཁྲུང་གི་ཚོས་སྒྲོར་ལྗོངས་པ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅ་བཞི་བཅུ་གསུ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་དུས་མཚོན་ལ་བསྐྱུ་པ་ནམ་  
 འཇིགས་དུ་བཅུ་གསུ། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་མ་མང་དུ་མཇེད་དོ། སྤྱི་མོ་མེད་དོ།

བཅེན་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་  
 ཆད། ལུ་བ་གསེར་གདུང་གིང་། ཚུན་ཆད་མངའ་འོག་དུ་བསྐྱུས་དེ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲགས་  
 པས་ཁྱབ་པར་མཇེད། པོ་བྱང་ལ་ལྷགས་རི་མཇེད། གསེར་གྱི་འབུམ་བཞེངས། དྲི་སེའི་རི་པ་  
 ལ་ཞབས་རྟོག་སྤྱུ་སྤྱུ་ཚོགས་པ་མཇེད།

རྩེ་དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་  
 ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་  
 ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་

རྩེ་དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་

དཀར་དུམ་གྱི་མཁར་སོལ་བཞུགས་ནས། བདུང་རྒྱུད་ལྷ་བཙུན་རྩོམ་སངས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་  
བསྐྱེད་སོ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷེ། ལྷོ་སྤང་དུ་སྐྱེ་འབྱུངས་ནས།  
སྐྱེ་བསོད་ཤིན་དུ་ཆེ་བས་གཞོན་ནུ་ནས། སུ་བྱང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱེད་སོ།  
གོན་གོ་སྤལ་སོགས་པ་བདུལ། ཁ་ཆར་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་པལ་ཆེ་བལ་ཞིག་  
བསོས་མཛད། དགུང་ལོ་བདུན་ཅུ་པ་ལ། ཡ་ཙཱེ་རྒྱལ་སལ་མངའ་མཛད། ལྷ་སར་ཇོ་བོ་  
རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་དབུའི་སྤེང་དུ་གསེར་ཐོག་ གསེར་སྤོང་། གཞན་ཡང་གདན་ས་ཐེལ། ས་སྐྱུ་  
འབྲི་ཁང་། ཚལ་གུང་ཐང་རྣམས་ལ་གསེར་ཆབ། གསེར་རྟོག་ལའང་། དངུལ་སྤོངས་  
འབུལ་རྒྱུན་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་མཛད་དོ། སུ་སྤོན་ལ་སོགས་ལ་འབུལ་བ་མང་དུ་མཛད།  
གསེར་གྱི་བཀའ་འབྲུང་དང་། བསྐྱེད་འབྲུང་ཅུ་ནས་བཞེངས་ནས་འདིར་གདན་བྱངས། དེ་  
ལ་སོལ་པ་ཚོས་འཛིན་ཏེ་ཆེན་གྱི་མཛད་པ་ཤིན་དུ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དུ་རྒྱ་བོད་གཉིས་ཀར་དུ་  
བྲགས་སོ།

༦ དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་སྤེ། དཔལ་མགོན་ལྷེ་དང་། ཀྱིར་ཏི་མེལ། དཔལ་མགོན་ལྷེ་སུ་བྱང་ལ་  
མངའ་མཛད་ནས་གསེར་གྱི་འབུམ་ཆ་གཉིས། གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་མདོ་མང་སོགས་སྐྱེ་གསུམ་  
བྲགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། དབུས་གཙང་དུ་འང་འབུལ་བ་མང་པོ་མཛད་དོ།

༧ དེའི་སྲས་གཉེན་ཁྲི་ལྷེ། སུ་བྱང་ཡ་ཙཱེ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས། སྐྱེ་ནས་གཞོན་  
ནུ་ནས་བྱོངས། བདུང་མཆེད་ཀེ་ཏི་མལ་གྱིས་ཡ་ཙཱེ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་པའི་འཕྲོ་སྐྱེདས། ལྷོ་  
པར་དུ། རྒྱ་གར་གར་རྒྱལ་གྱི་པརྟེ་ཏ་མང་དུ་སྤྱན་བྱངས། རྩོམ་གདན་ལ་མཚོད་པ་མང་དུ་  
མཛད།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་ཚོད་ལམ་ལྷེ་ནས་གདུང་ཆད། ཡུ་རྫུངས་ཀྱི་གྲེས་རབས་སྒྲེ།

༥ གཙུང་གྲགས་བཅན་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྱི་གྲགས་ལྷེ་བཅན། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྱི་གྲགས་པ་ལྷེ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་སང་ལྷེའི་སྐྱེ་རིང་ལ་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ར་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་  
བསྐྱུངས་སོ། དེའི་སྲས་མཛེ་ཏ་རི་མལ། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་བྱི་མལ། ཨ་རྩ་མལ་ཏེ། གཅེན་གདུང་  
གསུམ། གཙུང་གི་སྲས་ཀ་མལ་ལྷེ་རྣམས་ཡ་ཅེའི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་དོ།

༥ དེ་ལ་གྲུ་གེའི་མངའ་བདག་སྐྱ་ཆེན་ཅེ་ལྷེ་ནི་ཆེས་ཁྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
ཡིན་ཏེ། ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སློན་པོ་ནི་ཐོད་དུ་ཟངས་ཁ་བ་རྗེ་སློན་གཏག་ཟིག ཞང་རུང་ལྷིད་ལྷན་  
རིང་མོ། ཅོག་རུ་དལ་བ་བྱ་གིས། དཔལ་འབར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཛད། དུམ་ཆེ་ཆེན་མས་  
གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཁ་རང་སྐྱེམ་ཆེན་པ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུ་རུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ལུས་པས། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་  
རོ་པོ་ཆེ་ཆེན་བའི་མངའ་དུ་གནོད་སྦྱིན་དེགས་པ་ཅན་ཅོག་ལུགས་པ་རྗེ། སྲས་གཅིག་ཡོང་བ་  
འདུག དེ་མང་དུ་གདུང་རྒྱུད་གང་གི་ཀྱང་འདུན་དུ་མེད་པ་ཅོག་འོང་གསུངས་ཏེ། ཕྱིས་ཏེ་  
ལྟར་བྱུང་དོ།

གནམ་ལྷ་བབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་གྱི་མངའ་བདག་ བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བཅན་པོ་ཅེ་ལྷེའི་  
ཞལ་མངའ་ནས། ལུ་པོ་ཕག་གི་ལོ་ལ། གྱེ་སར་འདུལ་བའི་དབུས་བྱང་ངེས་པ་ཐང་ནས་  
གདན་སྟེགས་ནས། རྒྱའི་དུ་རམ་ཐང་དུ་རྒྱ་དང་སྟོལ་ཐབས་མཛད་པའི་ཆེ་སང་ནང་ན་སློན་  
ཆེན་དབང་གྲུབ་དང་། སང་ནང་བ་ཆེབས་དཔོན་སྐྱང་གྲགས་དང་། སང་ནང་བའི་སྐྱ་ཆ་པོ་  
རོ་སྲས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྗེ་རྗེ། གཤེན་སློན་གཡུང་རྗེ་ར་དང་། སང་ནང་བ་གསེར་རྗེ་ལུ་རུ་དང་  
ལུས་དཔའ་བའི་དར་མཛད་པའི་འབྲུལ་སློན་ནས། རྒྱའི་རྒྱན་པོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་སྐྱེམ་ནས། ཆབ་  
སྲིད་ཕྱག་དུ་སྐྱུལ། དེ་ནས་གདན་གཏེགས་ཏེ། བྱང་གོ་ལ་གོངས་སུ། གདན་གཏོང་ནས་

བཞུགས་པའི་དཔུང་། གྱི་སར་གྱིས་ཕྱག་སྐྱེལ་ནས་སྤོང་གི་མི་བཞི་ཕྱག་ལ་བཏང་དེ་ཕྱག་  
 འབུལ་གྱི་སྐྱོར་ལེན་དུ་འབྲེངས་པ་ཞུ་ཞུས་པས། སྤྱན་རླུང་མཛད་ནས་སང་ནང་བ་སློན་ཆེན་  
 དབང་གྲུབ་དང་ལྷན་གྲགས་གཉིས་རྒྱུངས་ནས། གྱི་སར་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཁྱུ་ཁྱེད་ཟེལ་པ་མ་མོའི་བདུན་  
 སྤོངས། ལྷ་ཁྱེད་དཀར་པོ་མགོ་བྱས། ཁྱེད་བཙོ་བརྒྱད། གཡུ་འོད་ལྷན་དཀར་པོ། དཀར་ཆེན་  
 སྤངས་ས་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཡུ་གྲགས་པ་ཅན་ཉི་ལུ། སྤྱི་སྐྱོར་ཆེ་བྱུང། གཟུང་བརྒྱད། སྤྱི་སྐྱོར་  
 ལེགས་ཅོར་བུ་རྒྱུངས་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འགྲུ་ཆ་བཅུ་ལྟེན། ཅོར་གྱི་གཟུང་ཅེ། སྤྱི་གཟུང་  
 ཅེ། འཕུལ་གྱི་གཟུང་ཅེ་གསུམ་དང་། རལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་མོ་ཁྱེད་ལྷག་ལྷག་འབྲོང་ཅེ་རིང་། སྤོངས་དམར་  
 མི་བསོད་ལ་སོགས་པ་རལ་གྱི་བཙོ་བརྒྱད། རྒྱུང་ཁྱེད་དང་། བདུད་གྱི་ཅན་པོ། དམུ་གྱི་གཞུང་  
 བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མགོ་བྱས་པའི་སྤྱི་གྱི་བཙོ་བྱ། སྤྱི་མ་འཛི་བྱི་སྤོང། བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཞི་འདེགས་  
 ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱི་ཉི་ལུ། ཆེ་བས་བྱོ་བོ་ལྷ་བཅུ། རང་པ་ལྷ་བཅུ། འོལ་བ་ཉི་ལུ། བྱ་བོ་གསུམ་ཅུ།  
 འབྲི་ཟེལ་མོ་ཉི་ལུ། ཁམ་པ་བཅུ། གཞན་ཡང་ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཅོར་མང་པོ་སྤྱེད། ཁྱེད་  
 བཅའ་འབུལ་བ་མང་པོ་བསྐྱམས་ནས། བར་ཕྱོགས་མདོ་སྤོང་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱི་གསུམ་བརྒྱའི་  
 མོང་ཁ་དམག་རུ་རྒྱུ་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་དུ་བསྐྱས། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་བྲེ་སྤོང་གི་ཡུལ་དང་། ཡ་ཅེ་རྒྱ་  
 ལ་མི་འབར་སོགས་ཆང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྩི་རིང་རྒྱུ་ཆོད་དག། བོད་ཤིང་ཆེར་མ་འགོར་པོ་བདུན་  
 སྤོང་ཤིང་བཅུ་གས། ར་གན་གྱི་འབྲེང་ཤིང་། ཆོང་འདུས་འབའ་ལ། ཁ་ཆེ་ཅེ་སྤོང་རྒྱུ་ཆོད།  
 བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ལ་འཛིངས་ལ་གནས། དེའི་མཚོད་རྟེན་རྒྱུ་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་དུ་བསྐྱས། སྤོང་ཤིང་  
 ཀོ་ཅེ་ཕྱང་བཅུ་གས། ལོ་གཉིས་གཉིས་ནས་ཕྱག་དང་། སྤྱི་འབུལ་ཞིང་ཞལ་ལྷ་རུ་འོང་། ཡབ་  
 མེས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སློལ་ལྷ་ལ། དཀོན་མཚོག་ལ་ཤིན་དུ་དད་པ། ཁ་ལྷ་རྩི་སྤོང་མའི་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་  
 དང་། དབུ་སྤོང་མཛད་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་བདག་ཉེན་དང་གཞི་ལེན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤོང་ཆེན་

པོ་ཅི་ལྷེས་མཛད་དོ།

ལྷ་རྗེ་སྤྱི་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་ཀྱང་ཅི་ལྷེ་ལན་ཉེ་རྟེ། ངའི་དགོངས་པ་བཟང་ངོ། མ་གྲུབ་གསུང་  
ངོ། སྤྱི་ཆེན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཕུ་བྱངས་སུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། ཚོས་སྐོར་  
རྒྱུན་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡང་བཙུགས་སོ། ཁ་ཆེ་རྣམས་བྱི་སྤྱན་བྱངས་ཏེ། བྱུང་པོ་ཚོས་བཙོན་གྱིས་  
ལོ་རྒྱུ་བྱས། ལྷུང་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཅེ་མོ། ལྷུང་ལྷུང་། ཚད་མ་རྣམས་ངེས། དེའི་ཏེ་ཀ་ཚོས་མཚོག་གིས་  
མཛད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྐྱུས། ཅན་ཏེ་ར་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྱན་བྱངས་ནས། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བཙོག་རོ་ཏེ་ངེ་  
འཛིན་བཟང་པོས་བྱས་ཏེ་ཚད་མ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྐྱུས། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་  
ཤེས་རབ་ཁ་ཆེ་ར་རྗེ་དང་ས་པའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་མཛད། སྤྱགས་དམ་ཡང་སྤྱན་སྤྱུ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་  
འདེབས་པ་མཚོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཙོ་བོར་མཛད། མཇུག་དུ་འབངས་མོ་ལ་འཁྲུས་ནས་  
དགྲོང་སྤེལ་ཁའི་སྤོན་ལ་དགུང་ག་ཤེགས་སོ།

༥ དེ་ལ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་བཞི་སྤེལ། སེང་གུག། བྱང་མཁར་ལ་བཞུགས། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤེལ་ཅི་འོད། དེའི་  
སྤྱི་སྤེལ་ལོ་ཅི། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤེལ་རྗེ་རྗེ་གདན་དང་གདུང་གསུམ། ལྷ་བཙུན་དབང་འོད། གདུང་ཚབ་ལ་  
བཞག་ཏེ། དཀར་པོའི་ཏེ་ལྷེར་བཞུགས། མཇུག་དུ་ཁྲུ་དཔོན་འཁྲུགས་པའི་དུས་སྤེལ། དཔོན་  
མངའ་བདག་བསོད་ནམས་ཅེས། ཐོ་སྤྱིང་གི་ཐང་གི་འོད་དུ་དགྲོང་ངོ།

༦ ཅ་མེ་དྲི་ཏེ་ཅི་རྒྱུང་དུ་ནས་གོངས།

༧ ཟངས་ཁ་ཆེ་སྤྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབར་ལྷེ་བཙན་ཏེ། དབང་ལྷེ་ཡང་ཟེར། ཁོང་སྤྱི་བསོད་མེ་  
ལྷར་འབར་ནས། གུ་གི་ཞང་ཞུང་ལྷོ་བྱང་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་ཏེ། སྤྱི་མཁར་དུན་མཁར་ལ་  
གདན་ཆགས། དེའི་སྤྱི་སྤེལ་ལ་སྤོན་པོ་ཟངས་ཁ། རྗེ་སྤོན་དགའ་སྤྱིད། མདའ་པ་རྗེ་སྤོན་  
སྤྱགས་དཔལ་གྱིས་བྱས། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་སྤོན་པོ་བཞིན་མཛད་དོ། ལོ་ཅ་བསྐྱེད་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས།



ཚད་མ་རྣམ་འབྲེལ་དང་། རྒྱུ་བསྐྱར་བའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་མཛད་དེ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱོད་ལ་བྲོངས་སོ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་ཆེ་ཆེན་ཚ་བསྟོན་རྣམས་ཅེའི་རིང་ལ། སློན་པོ་རྒྱུན་ཏོར་བ་སྒྲི། སྲུང་གི་  
བྱས། ལྷ་དབོན་འབྲུགས་པ་བྱུང་ནའང་། བར་བདེ་བས་རྒྱལ་ཏེ་ལྷུ་མ་ལྷ་སློན་དང་མོལ་བ་གང་  
དུ་འགྲོ་ནས་རྒྱ་མར་ཐོ་སློང་དགྲ་བོར་རིན་ཆེན་སློང་གསུམ་ཐོན་པ་བཞེངས། སློལ་མ་ཡིད་  
བཞིན་རེ་སློང་། ལུ་མ་མོས་བཞེངས། ལུ་མ་གྲལ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དགེ་འདུན་བཞི་བཅུའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་  
མེས་ལྷ་རྗེ་སྲ་མའི་འཛམ་སློང་རྒྱུན་དུ་སྲོལ་སོ།

ཡབ་དབང་ལྷེ་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཅེ་ལྷེའི་ཀྱི་དངས་མ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་མགོན་པོ་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་མངའ་  
གསོལ་ནས་སྐྱ་གཞོན་རྒྱ་མ་ལ་གཤེགས་པ་དང་། མངའ་བདག་བསྟོན་རྣམས་ཅེའི་ཞལ་  
མངའ་ནས། ཅིག་དུ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ཆགས། གཉིས་སུ་འཁོར་བ་ལ་ཐུགས་སྐྱོ་ནས། རབ་དུ་  
གཤེགས་དགོངས་པ་ལ། འབངས་དགོན་སྐྱས་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ནས། མངའ་བདག་མཛད་ནས་མེས་  
ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གཞོན་མོ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཅེ་དངས་བསད། གཞན་ཡང་ནག་ཅན་ཕལ་ཆེར་བསད། ནག་ཅན་  
གྱི་ལྷག་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་བྱ་དགོས་དགོངས་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་དབོན་གྱི་ནང་འབྲུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་  
གྱིས་ཡངས་སུ་འདུག་དགོས་བྱུང་།

༦ དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྒྲི། བཀྱ་ཤིས་ཅེ། རོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་པོ། འོད་འབར་ཅེ། དང་པོ་ནི་གུ་གེ་  
ལྷོ་བྱང་ལ་མངའ་སྐྱངས་ཏེ། དུན་བསྐྱར་ལ་གདན་ཆགས་པའི་དེ་ལ་སྲས་ལྷ། ཨ་ཀ་ར་ཅ།  
ཅན་ཏེ་སློ་དེ། ཨ་མི་སོགས་ཅ། ཕྱོགས་ཅ་ཅེ་འབར་བཅན་ལོ། བར་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་  
བསྐྱོས། རུང་བ་འོད་འབར་ཅེ་རོང་རུང་ལ་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ་སྐྱ་མཆེད་གསུམ་ནས་སྲུང་གི་ཡབ་  
མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མ་དང་། ཕུག་བཞིས་ཐུགས་ལ་མངའ་ནའང་། དུས་ཀྱི་གྲིབ་དུས་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་  
སྤོངས་སུ་དུས་ལ་བབས་པས། བར་ལོག་གེ་དམག་སྟོན། གཉི་གོང་གི་ཕུ་རོགས་བཀྱ་ཤིས་ཅེ་

དགོང་། གཙུང་འོད་འབར་ཚེ་སོག་པོའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དབུ་འཇམ་ནས་ཇོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་པོས་གཞི་  
མངའ་མཛད་ནས་ཕྱི་ཡི་དབང་བདུལ། རང་གི་ཁམས་ཉམས་ཤིང་། བུ་རྒྱུང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་  
བསྐྱེད་ས་སོ། དེའི་བཟང་ལན་ལ་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་བྱི་གསུམ་སུལ་ལོ།

༥ དེ་ནས་མངའ་བདག་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེའི་སྲས་ཚེ་འབར་བཅན་མངའ་གསོལ། ཇོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་  
པོ་སྲས་གཙུང་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཞོང་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཇོ་སླ་མ། བུ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱལ་པོ་གདུང་ཀུམ་ཏུག་པ་  
ལྷ་བཙུན་བྱས་ནས་ཐོ་སློང་དུ་བཞུགས། འོད་འབར་བཅན་གྱི་སྲས་ལེ་ལོ་མི་དང་གདུང་ཆད།  
མངའ་བདག་ཚེ་འབར་བཅན་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་དུན་བཀར་དུ་གདན་ཆགས། རེས་ཐོ་སློང་གི་  
དྲིལ་བུ་ཚེར་བཞུགས། དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིམས་དང་། བཞིན་བཅོས་མཛད་དོ། ཕྱིའི་དབང་  
འདུལ། རང་གི་ཁམས་སྤོམས་སྤེ། མངའ་རིས་སྐྱེད་ས་སོ།

༦ དེ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྟེ། པེ་དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལ་སྤྱིད་ལྷེ་བཅན། ཚེ་ལྷན་ངལ། ཚོ་  
ཆེན་སློ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལ། དཔལ་འོད་བཅན། འདུལ་སྤྱིད་འདུལ་བཅན། སྤྱད་ནས་ཡབ་ཚེ་  
འབར་ཚེ་གོང་ས་ནས་སྐུ་འདས་ཆེན་མོ་ཐོ་སློང་དུ་མཛད་པས། ཆང་བཅོས་པའི་སྤང་མ་མ་  
སྐམ་ལ་བྱང་ངོས་ཀྱི་བཙུན་པ་འགའ་དང་། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མི་འདུས་སྐྱུགས་ནས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལྷ་  
རྒྱན་དང་། སློ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྟེ། ཇོ་མོ་གཉིས་མ་འཆམས་པའི་རྒྱུན་བྱས་ནས་འབྲུགས་ཏེ་  
མངའ་རིས་བཟང་དཔེ་གཅིག་ལ་ཕྱོགས་རིས་ངན་པ་གཉིས་སུ་བྱེས་ནས་བྱང་ངོས་ལ་མངའ་  
སྤྱི་ལྷེ་བཅན་གྱིས་མཛད། མོལ་མི་མཁྱེན་ཡང་ཟེམ། ལྷོ་སྤྱོད་ལ་དཔལ་མགོན་བཅན་གྱིས་  
མངའ་མཛད། བྱང་ངོས་མངའ་བདག་ཁྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤྱི་ལྷེ་བཅན་གྱིས་གསུང་མོལ་མི་མཁྱེན།  
ཐུགས་གང་ནས་བཀྲ། སླ་སློན་མོལ་བ་མཛད་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཡི་གེ་བསྐྱེད་ས་ནས་མོལ་བར་  
མཛད། ཕྱིས་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་དམ་སྤྲོན་ལྷ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས་གསུང་གྲོལ་ནས།

ཐུགས་རྒྱུང་ས་ནས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་བྲགས་སོ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། ཉི་ལྡེ་བཙན་དང་།  
རྣམ་ལྡེ་བཙན་མོ། ཉི་ལྡེ་བཙན་ཐུགས་རྒྱུང་ས་ཏེ། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ལ་དད་པས་མངའ་བདག་  
དུ་དབང་མ་སྐྱུར། ཐུགས་དམ་ལ་ཅི་གཅིག་དུ་མཛད་ཅིང་མངའ་རིས་ཚོས་བཞིན་དུ་  
བསྐྱུངས་སོ།

༥ ཁྱི་བྱ་གིས་རྣམ་ལྡེ་བཙན་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྟེ། བྱང་ལྡེ་བཙན། ཉི་མ་ལྡེ། ལྷ་བཙན་ལྡེ་  
གདུང་ཆད། ཉི་མ་ལྡེ་དབང་སྐྱུར་བ་སྐྱུ་བསོད་དང་། དཔལ་འབྱོར་གིན་དུ་ཆེ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་མར་  
གསེར་གྱི་སྟོང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་པ་དང་། གསེར་དངུལ་སྟེལ་བའི་མདོ་མང་ཆང་བ་བཞེངས།

༦ དུ་བྱང་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་ཚ་བཞེངས་པ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྟེ། དགོ་འབུམ། དུམས་པ།  
སེམས་དཔལ། དགོ་འབུམ་དབང་སྐྱུར་བས། རྒྱ་གར་བཙན་པའི་གཙོ་བོ། ཐོ་རི་བརྒྱ་རྩ་  
བརྒྱད། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་བརྒྱད། ལྡོལ་མའི་སྐྱ་གཅིག་གསེར་གྱི་སྟོང་ལ་མའི་  
སྐྱ་ཐོ་ཕྱིད་དུ་སྟེབས་པ་ཅིག་བཞེངས། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་ཡུམ་རྒྱས་འབྱེང་གཉིས་གསེར་ལ་  
བཞེངས་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཚོས་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་མཛད་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་མཛད་ནས། ཚོས་  
སྟོངས་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་བྱུར་ཏེ། དབྱང་ལོ་བདུན་བཙུ་པ་ལ་བྱོངས་སོ།

༧ དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་སྟེ། ཀྱེ་རྟོ་པ། ལ་ག། ཐོས་པའོ། ལྷ་སྟེ་གཉིས་གདུང་གུམ་ནས།  
བར་པ་ལ་ག་རྒྱལ་སྟིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་ནས། མང་ནང་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞི་བཞེངས།  
སྟིའི་དབྱ་བདུལ། རང་གི་སྟིད་སྟོངས། བར་གྱི་ཕྱག་སྟོང་གོ་གསུམ། པུ་བྱང་གཉིག་དང་།  
མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུམ། མངར་བསྐྱུས་ཀྱང་ཟེཔ།

༨ དེའི་སྲས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བྲགས་པ་དབང་བསྐྱུར། འདི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་གིན་དུ་མཐོ་གིང་།  
ལོན་པོ་རྒྱུད་དཔལ་དར་མན་གྱི་བྱས་ནས། བར་གྱི་སྐུ་མ་དཔོན་ཆེན་ཐམས་དང་ཐུགས་

མཐུན་པས། མངའ་རིས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་བསྐྱངས་སོ། ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་བདུན་པ་ལ་དགའ་ལ་  
གཤེགས་སོ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་སྲ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་སྟེ། དབང་རྒྱུར་ཏེ། རྒྱ་བསོད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། དཀོན་  
མཚོག་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དད་དོ། དེའི་ཆེ་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སློན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡར་དཀར་གུང་ཕྱོག་བཅིས་  
ནས། དུ་གུག་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། མངའ་རིས་ལ་གྲགས་དགོངས་བྱམས་ཤིང་། དཔེ་  
བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་དད་པས། མངའ་རིས་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ལ། རྟེན་  
འབྱེད་རིམ་པར་མཛད་ཅིང་། རྒྱད་པར་དུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོའི་དབོན་རབ་དུག་  
པ་གུ་རུ་རྩ་མི་ར་འཇོའི་དུང་དུ་གཅེས་སུ་ག་བརྒྱ་གསེར། ཟངས། རྩུན་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཏོང་  
འབྲུལ་བཅས་ཏེ། འབྲུལ་དུ་རྒྱངས། བ་མེས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་གནས་ལོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་དུང་དུ་  
མཚོད་རྗེས་མང་པོ་དང་མི་བརྒྱ་ལ་སུག་བརྒྱ་མཛད་ནས། མི་རེ་རིས་ཀྱང་རྗེ་བོའི་དུང་དུ་  
སུག་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱ་སུལ་བ་སུག་གི་བཀུར་བ་དང་། སློན་ལམ་འདེབས་སུ་བཅུགས། སྲ་མ་མཁས་  
པ་ཆེན་པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་ནས་རྒྱུན་དྲངས་ནས་ཕར་ཕྱིན་གྱི་བཤད་བྲུ་བཅུགས་ཤིང་། དཔུ་རྩེ་  
གོ་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་མཛད། སྲ་མ་མཁས་བཅུན་མང་པོ་ལ་དབང་དང་  
གདམ་ངག་ཞུས་ཞིང་། རྒྱད་པར་ཡི་དམ་ལོ་བོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞུལ་ལ་གྲགས་དམ་མཛད། རིན་  
པོ་ཆེ་ལས་སྟོལ་མའི་རྒྱ་བཞེངས་པའི་ཚད་ཅམ་དང་། ཡུམ་རྒྱས་འབྲིང་བསྐྱུས་གསུམ་  
གསེར་ལས་བཞེངས། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་གསུང་གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མང་པོ་དང་། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་  
བཞེངས་པའི་ཕྱོ་སྒྲིང་དང་། དཔལ་རྒྱས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཞིག་བཟོ་མཛད། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱང་  
དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་ལ། ཡ་ཅི་རྩུ་ལ་མི་འབར་རྩུན་ཆད་མངར་བསྐྱུས་པ་གསུམ་པས་བདུད་ཅིང་  
གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཆབ་རེ་གནང་བའི་ཞུ་འབྲུལ་བྱེད་པ། དེ་དག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱལ་

ཞིང་། མངའ་རིས་གར་རྒྱུ་གྱི་རྗེ་སྒྲོ་རྣམས་ཟིལ་གྱིས་གནན་ཅིང་། ཀྲཱོམ། ཉི་དི། བུམ་  
གཉིས། ཏུང་རྣམ། སང་ལྷང་། ཨང་རུ་རྣམས་བདུལ་ནས། རྩར་གུད་འཇུག་ཁུལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་  
ཁུལ་ཡང་བཟུས་ནས་འགྲམ་རྩེ་མེད་པར་བྱས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དགུང་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞི་བརྒྱད་པ་མེ་  
མོ་སྐང་གི་ལོ་ལ་སྐྱུ་གཤེགས་ཤིང་། སྐྱོང་ས་རྟགས་ཀྱང་བཟང་པོ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་། རྩད་པར་  
གདུང་ལ་རིང་བསྐལ་ཅོད་མེད་དུ་བྱུང་།

།བྱང་སེམས་རྣམས་དང་སེམས་དཔའ་སྡིང་རྗེ་གསུམ།  
།ཚོས་སྐྱོད་མ་ཚོས་ཚོས་བཞིན་གྲུབ་པ་འདྲ།  
།ཡུལ་མཚོག་གང་ཡིན་ཐོག་མར་ཕྱག་འོས་འདྲ།  
།ཀུན་ལ་དང་བས་མཉམ་དུ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།  
།རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ལ།  
།སྐྱབས་ཤིང་གཟིགས་ནས་རྩོས་གར་མང་བཞིན་བྱུང་།  
།ཆ་ལགས་མདོག་དབྱིབས་གར་སྐྱམས་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས།  
།རང་ཅོ་དཀྱིས་ནས་བཞོག་ལྟར་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།  
།དམན་མོས་གཟའ་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྡིང་སྟོབས་ཅན།  
།འོད་སྡིང་ཅན་དེ་ཉི་མ་གཅིག་ཡིན་པས།  
།འཇིག་རྟེན་པད་ཚལ་སྐྱེང་ས་ནས་རྒྱས་པར་མཇེད།  
།རྒྱལ་པོ་འོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་འདི་ལྟར་ལགས།

༥ མངའ་བདག་གཤམ་པ་ལྷེའི་སྲས་བདག་མོ་སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ་ལ་འཁྲུངས་པ་མངའ་བདག་ཁྱི་  
རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷེ། མོན་ཡུལ་སྐྱོང་ཁྱི་ལྷ་ཉི་ཤུར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྲས་མོ་ལ་འཁྲུངས་པ་དང་གཉིས་

སོ། དེའི་གཅེན་དཔལ་འབར་ལྡེ་ནི། དགའ་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་དགའ་དུ་གཤེགས། མངའ་  
 བདག་ཁྱི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ་འབྲུངས་པའི་སྲིས། དགེ་མཚན་དང་། དཔལ་དང་། ཡོན་ཏན་མངའ་  
 ཐང་། མི་ཚོས་ལྷ་དམ་གྱི་མཛད་པ། བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། དེ་འཛིན་པའི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་  
 གྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག ཉེ་འོག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་པོས་ལྷ་ཅི་སྟོན། ཡབ་མེས་རབས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་པས་  
 སྤུན་སྲུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། སུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། རྒྱད་པར་འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་མཐུན་ལྷན་དུ་  
 བྱུབ་པ་ཡིན་ཅོ།

དེ་ཡང་མངའ་བདག་གཤགས་པ་ལྡེའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ། ལྷོ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཀ་སྒྲིང་ན། མར་ཡུལ་གྱི་  
 མངའ་བདག་རས་ཚེན་གྱི་གཙུང་པོ་རས་ཀྱི་སླ་མ་བཟང་པོ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལམ་ལ།  
 བདག་མོ་ལ་སྲིས་མཚན་དང་། བསོད་ནམས་དང་ལྡན་པ། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་ཕན་  
 པ། མངའ་རིས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མགོན་སྐྱབས་སུ་གྱུར་པ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མངའ་ཐང་སྤུན་སྲུམ་  
 ཚོགས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་པ་ཅིག་འབྲུངས་པར་ལྷུང་བསྟན། དེའི་རྗེས་ཀྱི་པོ་བྱི་བལ་སྲིས་  
 གཅིག་ལྷམ་པ་དེའི་དབུ་གདུགས་དང་འབྲུ་བ། དཔལ་བའི་དབྱེ་ཕྱེ་བ། ལྷན་འཚམས་རིང་ག།  
 ཕྱག་རིང་ཞིང་། སོར་མོ་བྱིན་གྱིས་སྤྲུབ། ཕྱག་མཐེལ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་རི་མོ་ཡོད་པ། ལྷན་མ་  
 གཉེས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་མཛོད་སྤུ་དཀར་པོ་སོར་བཞི་པ་འབྱིལ་ནས་གནས་པ། སྤུན་དང་ལྷགས་  
 པའི་མདངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་དངས་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་གོ།

འདི་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ་ཞིང་། དགའ་སྟོན་དང་། སླ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་སྐབས་  
 དང་། ལྷ་རིམ་དང་། སྤུང་བ་སྤུང་ཚོགས་པ་མང་པོ་དང་ཡུམ་འཁོར་བཅས་དང་། དུང་འཁོར་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་བྱས་པས། ལྷ་སྐྱེད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་དང་། ལྷ་བསོད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱབས་ཀྱིས་བར་  
 ཆད་མེད་པར་གཞོན་རྒྱུར་རྒྱུར་ནས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་མཁན་ཚེན་ཚོས་དཔལ་གཤགས་པའི་དུང་དུ་ལྷ་

བཅུན་མཛད་ནས་མཚན་རྣམ་གྱལ་ལྷེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ཅེས་གསོལ་དེ། ཞལ་སྒྲོབ་མཛད་ནས་  
སྐབས་འགྲོ་དང་བསྐྱེས་པ་རྣམས་ཚེན་པོ་བཞིན་མཛད་དོ།

རྒྱལ་དུའི་དུས་ཉིད་ནས་སྐྱེས་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆེ་བས། གཞན་སྒྲོབས་ཆེ་བར་གྲགས་པའི་  
བྱིས་པ་བཞི་བཞིས་དྲངས་པས་མི་ཐུབ་པ། གཞོན་ལྷོ་དུས་སུ་གཞུ་རྒྱུད་ཐེངས་རེ་ཅམ་ཕྱག་  
སོར་ལ་བཀའ་པ་ཅམ་གྱིས་སྐྱུད་པ་གཅོད་རྒྱས་པ། སྐྱེ་ནས་དར་ཡོལ་དུས་ཀྱང་མཐོ་སྒྲིང་གི་  
ཟམ་ལུང་རྩིས་པའི་ཆེ། རྩོལ་མང་པོས་སྐྱལ་མི་རྣམས་པ་ཕྱག་ལ་རེས་གསོལ་ཐུབ་པ་ཡོད།  
མདོར་ན་གྲུང་དང་། བང་དང་། མཚོངས་དང་། མདའ་དང་། སྐྱུ་རྩལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་  
ཡོད་དོ། ཐུགས་ལྷོ་དུ་རྩོ་ཞིང་། ཐུགས་ཞིབ་པ། ཐུགས་རབ་ཆེ་བས། གསུང་མཁྱེན་ནས་  
ཡི་གེ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ལ་ལྷོ་དུ་བཞུས། ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་ནས་དེའི་དོན་དང་། དབྱིབས་དང་། ཐ་  
སྐྱུད་དང་། ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཐམས་  
ཅད་ལ་བཅོམ་ཞིང་། སྐྱུ་དང་གསུང་གི་མཛད་སྤྱོད་ཐམས་ཅད། དམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་མཐུན་  
པར་དགོ་ཞིང་། དེས་པས་སླ་མ་དང་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཅི་སྒྲོས་དེ། གཞན་ལ་ཡང་ཕལ་པའི་  
ཆེག་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་གསུང་། བྱིས་པར་བཞུགས་ཀྱང་། རང་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱོད་པ་  
དང་། རོ་མཚར་ཅན་དང་། ལུགས་དང་། མཐུན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་ཅེས་པ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་  
གནོད་པ་དང་། ཅེད་མོ་དང་། ཆེག་རྩལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་མཛད། སྐབས་སུ་མ་བབས་པ་  
དང་། ཞན་རྩི་རྒྱུང་ཅོ་འདྲི་བ་དང་། མཐོ་འཆམ་པ་དང་། ལྷག་ཅོར་དང་། རྩུན་དང་། ཐ་  
མ་དང་། བྱ་དང་། རི་དྲུགས་གཤོར་བ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་སྐྱུད་འཚོལ་དང་། བག་མེད་ཀྱི་  
སྤྱོད་པ་གང་ཡང་མི་མཛད། ཆང་ལ་མི་དགེས་པས། ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ་ཅམ་གྱི་བར་དུ། ཆང་  
ཁང་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱ་ཡང་མི་གསོལ་ཞིང་། དམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་འབའ་ཞིག་གིས་བཞུ་སོ།

སྐབས་ཤིག་དུ་གཅིན་མངའ་གསོལ་ནས། སུ་དྲང་ལ་སྐོ་བར་བཞིན་ནས། བཟ་ཤིས་ཀྱི  
ཆས་དང་། ཡོ་ཆས་ཐམས་ཅད་བསགས་ནས། མངའ་གསོལ་བྱིད་གྲབས་བྱིད་པའི་  
མཚམས་སུ་བཟུང་བས་ཀྱང་མ་ཐུབ་པར། ཅི་བ་ལ་བྱོན་པ་དང་ཡབ་.....

(འདིའི་མཚམས་ནས་ཤིག་བུ་གཅིག་ཚང་གི་མི་འདུག)



མཐའ་དབུས་ཀུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་དང་། བསྐྱེད་ཐབས་དང་། རྩོམ་བའི་རྩོག་ཐབས། དམག་  
 བོ་འབབ་ཚིག། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ། བོ་དོང་། མཚོན་གྱི་གྲངས་དང་། འཐབ་རྩོམ་གྱི་དཔེ་མཛད།  
 ཞལ་ཏེ་བཀའ་ལུང་སྲིམས་པར་མཛད། གཞན་ཡང་སྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡབ་  
 མེས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སྲིམས། བྱ་དུ་རྒྱུང་བཞིན་བརྟན་དུ་བརྟུག་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་པས། དེ་ནས་  
 བརྩུངས་ཏེ། མངའ་རིས་ཡུལ་འབྲོག་ཐམས་ཅད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་ལ་ལེགས་པ། ཀྱང་འབྲོས་  
 ཀྱི་བྱ་འཕེལ་བ། རྒྱུ་བོ་འདུ་འཚོགས་མང་བ། ཅད་དང་། ལུ་གེ་མེད་པ། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཚོང་ཟོང་  
 མེད་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་འབྲུག་པ་མེད་པ། བེན་ཏུ་བདེ་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཅོ།

ས་མོ་རྟའི་ལོ་ལ་ཁབ་སའི་ནང་རྫོང་རྒྱལ་དང་། དཀོན་མཚོག་མགོན་པོ་རྒྱལ་ནས་རྒྱལ་  
 ཏེ་བརྩུང་ནས། སུ་རྒྱང་ལ་ཁ་འཇུག་པའི་གྲུབས་བྱས་པ་ལ། དམག་མཛད་པ་ལ་ཁབ་པ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་བརྟོན། སུ་རྒྱང་ལ་རྩོད་པའི་མངའ་ཞབས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཀར་བཏགས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་ཚབ་  
 བསྐྱོནས་བཞག་གོ དེའི་ཕྱི་དེ་ས་མོ་ཡོས་ལ། མར་ཡུལ་གྱི་མངའ་བདག་སྲི་བཅན་ལྷེ་ལ། སྲི་  
 ཡེའི་ཇོ་བོ་ལྷ་བརྟན་དང་། འོད་ལྷེ་སྐྱེ། བེ་ཡེ་བ་དང་ལྷོང་ནས་ངོ་ལོག་བྱས་པས། མངའ་  
 བདག་སྲི་བཅན་གྱིས་ཞུ་ཡུལ་ན་མངའ་མཛད་པས། ལུ་གེའི་དམག་གིས་ས་སྲོལ་འི་བར་དུ་  
 བརྒྱབ། སྲི་ཡེ་ནས་བརྩུང་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བབས་བྱས་ནས། མངའ་བདག་སྲི་བཅན་གྱི་  
 འོག་ཏུ་གཏུག་གོ དེ་ལྟར་སྲིམས་བཅན་ཞིང་། མངའ་རིས་སྲིང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ། ཟངས་  
 བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དང་། འགལ་བར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཇག་རྒྱན་བྱས་ཏེ་དེ་ལ་དམག་མཛད། བཟང་  
 བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་ལ་བརྒྱབ། དེ་ལྟར་བས་སྲུ་སྐྱེགས་ནས་གསུམ་རྒྱ་ཁ་བཞུར་འགལ་བར་བྱེད་པའང་།  
 ངན་རྒྱུང་བྱས་ནས། བཀའ་དང་འགལ་བར་བྱས། དམག་ལན་གསུམ་བྱས་ནས་མངའ་འོག་  
 ཏུ་བསྐྱུས། མདོར་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། ལུ་གེ་དང་འབྲུག་པ་མེད་པ་

སོགས་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ལྡན་པར་བྱས་ནས། གཙོ་ཆེར་མ་རྣམ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕོ་བྲང་མཛེད་ནས་དེར་  
གདན་ཆགས། དགུང་ལོ་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་བརྒྱད་ཚོགས་པའི་ཆེ། ཉུགས་དང་མཚན་མ་བཟང་པོ་  
དང་བཅས་ཉེ་ཞིབ་གཤེགས་སོ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་སྤྱི་རྣམ་མཁའི་དབང་པོ་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལྷེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ནི། ཡབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་  
ལྷའི་དྲུང་ནས་ལྔ་པ་བཅུ་མོ་གསུམ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་སྲས་མ་བྱང་། སྤྱིས་ལྷོ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བདག་མོ་ལྷ་  
འཛོམས་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། ས་མོ་སྤང་གི་ལོ་ལ་བཀྲ་གིས་དགེ་མཚན་དང་། བཅས་པའི་  
སློ་ནས་ལྷོ་སྤྱོད་དུ་འབྱུངས། རབ་ལྡན་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལྷེར་མཚན་གསོལ། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ་  
ལ་བྱང་ངོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མང་དུ་སྤྱུན་དྲངས། ས་སྤྱོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷེས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡོད། ལུ་གེ་ཉི་དགེ་སྐྱེ་  
བཀའ་གོས་ལ་དབང་བ་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ནས་མར་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྤྱི་ལྷུ་མ་རྒྱལ་མོར་བཞེས།  
མཁའ་པའི་དབང་པོ་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་ར་མིག་འཛིན་པའི་འདུས་པ་རྒྱ་  
མཚོ་ལྷ་བྱ་དང་། སྤྱི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྷེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞབས་དྲུང་ནས་གདན་ཆགས། ལྷོ་མོ་  
འདུན་ན་འདོན། དྲུང་འཁོར་སྤྱི་བོའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་ནས་གང་བའི་དབུས་སུ་མེས་ལྷ་སྤྱི་མ་  
ཡི་གེས་འོད་ནས་གཙོས་ཉེ་ཉི་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་མཐའ་དག་གི་ཞབས་ཀྱི་དུལ་དང་།  
འགྲོགས་པར་འོས་པའི་གཉིས་འབྲུང་དབང་པོའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་དུ་ཡངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལེགས་  
པར་སྤྱོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དབང་ལྷུག་ལ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐྱུང།

དེ་ནས་བཟུང་ཉེ་ཡངས་པའི་ལྷོངས་འདི་དགེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་གོས་དཀར་དང་། ལྷན་པར་  
འགྱུར་ཞིང་ཚོས་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་མཛེད་པ་ནི་ངོ་མཚར་བ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ལ། སྤྱི་ལྷུ་མ་རྒྱལ་མོས་  
ཀྱང་ཚོས་འཕྲུལ་ཆེན་མོའི་དུས་མཚོད་ལ། ཞལ་འབྱེད་ལྷ་བུའི་སྤོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གོས་  
འཕན་ཆེན་མོ་སོགས་རྒྱ་མ་མང་དུ་མཛེད་དོ། དེ་ནས་ཞེ་གཙོག་པ་ལ་ཁ་ཆར་དུ་དདུལ་སྤྱི་

མཚན་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ། བར་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཞེས། ལྷ་རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲུ་འོད་དུ་མཚན་  
གསོལ། དོན་གཉིས་པ་ལ། ཅ་རང་གའི་ཕོ་བྲང་རྩེར་ཞི་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།

༥ དེའི་སྲས་སྲི་རྣམ་རི་སང་རྒྱས་ལྷེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ནི། མར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཁྲང་མ་སྲི་ལྷུ་མ་  
རྒྱལ་མོ་ལ་འབྲུངས། མངའ་རིས་སྲི་སྐྱོར་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། བདག་མོ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མོ་  
ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་སྲས་མ་བྲུང་། ཕྱིས་ཕུ་རྒྱང་སྲུ་དཔོན་པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་དཔལ་བཟང་གི་  
སྲས་མོ་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱབས་གི་ལོ་དྲག་ལ་སྦང་དུ། ལྷ་རིག་བདག་པོ་སློབ་བཟང་  
རབ་བརྟན་འབྲུངས།

དེའི་མཛད་པ་ནི་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་ངོ་མཚར་བ་ཡོད་དོ། ལོང་མ་སློབ་བཟང་གི་སྲ་སོར་  
བཙུན་མོ་གསུམ་བཞེས་ཀྱང་གདུང་ཚབ་མ་བྲུང་། ཕྱིས་སྟོད་ཆ་གོང་མ་འཕགས་པ་ལ་  
འབྲུངས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དགོ་ལེགས།



PART ONE

The extant manuscript of  
*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*



# The author and date of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

## *The manuscript*

The text of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* published here is incomplete. The original ornate title is lost, and that appended to the text is merely an abridgement thereof. Three major lacunae, the first two presumably longer, the third more likely shorter, affect the outlines of both the Yar.lung and the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasties, while the least important section, that of the Indian kings, is preserved in its entirety. The first lacuna, possibly covering two pages of the available hand-copied *khyug.yig* manuscript, extends from the episode of the duel between Gri.gum and Lo.ngam (included) all the way to the Yar.lung king gNya'.bzung.btsan (excluded). The second begins after the assassination of Glang.dar.ma and unfortunately includes the entire period of the reigns of gNam.lde 'Od.srung, dPal.'khor.btsan, sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon and most of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum, as only a fragmentary part pertaining to bKra.shis.mgon, Nyi.ma.mgon's middle son, is found. This is a highly regretted shortcoming, especially in the case of Nyi.ma.mgon and his three sons, as the beginning of the history of the royal lineages of Gu.ge Pu.hrang<sup>1</sup> is missing in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Another lacuna affects information on the Gu.ge king rNam.rgyal.lde (1372-1439), who played a major role in establishing a renaissance in his country. The manuscript has no colophon, if ever was written, but its absence does not preclude identifying Ngag.dbang grags.pa as the author of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, since the brief *bstan.rtsis* closing the section on *bstan.pa phyi.dar* (p.67 line 19-p.68 line 7) is canonically concluded with the year of completion of the work and the attribution of the text to its author. Finally, another weakness of the *khyug.yig* copy of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is the absence of the original page breaks.

## *Biographical notes concerning Ngag.dbang grags.pa*

Not much is known about the life of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, author of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. As a matter of fact, even less can be said of Ngag.dbang grags.pa the writer. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* apart, not a single work by him has been traced so far.

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(1) Among its many variants, I adopt the spelling Pu.hrang throughout the present work because this is one of the two spellings appearing in the earliest mention I know of this territory (i.e. Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* sent to the dBus *sngags.pa-s*), the other being Pu.hrangs.

The significant events of his life are briefly outlined in two very short biographical notes found in *Bai.ser* and *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung*<sup>2</sup>. He was a direct disciple of Tsong.kha.pa and played a leading and active role in the diffusion of his master's teachings in Gu.ge. Having been the major protagonist of the earliest efforts to spread the freshly formulated system of Tsong.kha.pa in West Tibet, he was more than a witness of the religious and secular events taking place in Gu.ge during that seminal period. He was personally involved in the activities he engendered with the patronage of the Gu.ge royalty. His contribution thus transcended the literary field.

In the time of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, Gu.ge was brought back to a third great period of flourishing Buddhist culture. After the lands of sTod had been forcibly incorporated into the Yar.lung kingdom in the mid 7th century once and for all, it is well known that the first major period of Buddhist diffusion occurred during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* after the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty had been founded by sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon, while a second renaissance took place in the years of the apogee of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s (from the late 12th-early 13th century), when the *ri.pa-s* of the sect were active especially in the Ti.se area and Pu.hrang.

Ngag.dbang grags.pa is commonly included in the group of six disciples of Tsong.kha.pa who diffused the teacher's tenets in the lands beyond dBus.gTsang. They are collectively known as the *bstan.pa phyogs.mthar spel.ba'i dar.chen drug* ("the six great diffusers of the teachings to the borders"), and also as the *phyogs.mthar skyong.ba-s* ("the protectors of the teachings at the borders")<sup>3</sup>. They were sTod mNga'.ris Khri.gse Sher.bzang, sMad Chab.mdo Byams.gling Sher.bzang, Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa, lHo.pa gNas.thang bla.ma rGyal.mtshan seng.ge, bla.ma dPal.lidan shes.rab, 'Dan.ma Zas.dkar bla.ma Yon.tan.dpal<sup>4</sup>. The early diffusion of Tsong.kha.pa's doctrines in sTod is preeminent in this

(2) See the opening part of the section on the mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples in *Bai.ser* (p.272 line 8-p.274 line 6) and *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung* (p.195 line 5-p.196 line 1). Further sparse information is found passim in the same section of *Bai.ser* (p.272 line 8-p.273 line 6; p.274 lines 4-6) and *ibid.* (p.460 lines 9-13).

(3) For these disciples of Tsong.kha.pa from peripheral territories referred to as the *bstan.pa phyogs.mthar spel.ba'i dar.chen drug* see *Klong.rdol bla.ma gsung.'bum* (lHa.sa ed. p.366 lines 17-20): "sTod mNga'.ris Khri.gse Sher.bzang/ sMad Chab.mdo Byams.gling.geng Sher.bzang/ Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa/ lHo.pa gNas.thang bla.ma rGyal.mtshan seng.ge/ bla.ma dPal.lidan shes.rab/ 'Dan.ma Zas.dkar bla.ma Yon.tan dpal.ba drug ni/ bstan.pa phyogs.mthar spel.ba'i dar.chen drug". For them known as the *phyogs.mthar skyong.ba* see *Bai.ser* (p.72 lines 10-11) and for their collective name given as *bstan.pa phyogs.mthar skyong.ba'i dar.chen drug* see the modern work *Khri.gse rnam.thar* (p.12 lines 3-6).

(4) I wish to thank Tashi Tsering and Lobsang Shastri for drawing my attention to Zang.zang Ne.rings.pa 'Chi.med rgyal.mtshan's treatment of Tsong.kha.pa's disciples appended to his *Tsong.kha.pa rnam.thar nor.bu'i bang.mdzod*. He introduces one of the many cases of disputed identity found in the literature concerning masters whose names and activities were confused. He says (p.22 lines 6-18): "Grags.pa rnam.gnyis tel/ sTod.kyi Ngag.dbang grags.pa dang/ sMad.kyi Ngag.dbang grags.pa gnyis yin/ dang.pos ni/ Gu.ge phyogs.su 'phrin.las chen.po byung.ba dang/ nga.rang.gi mes.po rin.po.che bDe.legs mgon.po.grub la chos.cung.zad tsam gsan



classification, since at least three (sTod mNga'.ris Khrig.se Sher.bzang, Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa, bla.ma dPal.lidan shes.rab) of the six *dar.chen*-s are documented to have been natives of West Tibet<sup>5</sup>.

Ngag.dbang grags.pa was born in Gu.ge at a place known as Ka.gling on the southern bank of the river Gangga. Tucci ("Tibetan Notes" p.485 n.15) could not reconcile the fact that he was born in West Tibet with the notion that his birth place was sited along the bank of the Gangga and did not attempt an identification. Petech ("Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.103 n.79) considers this reference odd and wonders if Ka.gling is Kalinga. At a first glance, one might assume that a corruption has found its way into the passage, yet this piece of information is reliable in the light of the old-time association of the four rivers springing from the Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho region with the great rivers of India and Central Asia. In the sources where the mythical geography of Gangs Ti.se and Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho is described, Glang.chen kha.'babs is often associated with the

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'dug.pa de yin zer/ la.la na.re/ de.ga'i mtshan.la Chos.dbang grags.pa zer zhing/ Ngag.dbang grags.pa mi.zer zhes dang/ de.la rten.nas sTod Chos.dbang grags.pa dang/ sMad Ngag.dbang grags.pa zhes brjod.par 'dug/ mtshan gang yin kyang Gu.ge rgyal.po sogs.kyi bla.ma mdzad.pa dang/ 'phrin.las chen.po byung.ba ni bden.par 'dug/ la.la zer.dus Zhang.zhung.pa Chos.dbang grags.pa zhes.pa rje Tsong.kha.pa'i bu.chen de.nyid.la sTod.du phebs.nas 'phrin.las chen.po byung.ba dang/ de.nyid sTod.kyi Grags.pa ru ngos.'dzin. zer.ba.'dug/ ci.cha/ la.la ni Nags.shod Khams na yod.pas sTod.kyi bu.chen ma.yin zer.ba 'dug lags/ de.tsho'i rtsad.gcod gsal.po rang mi.byed.pa'i yu.ba phud 'dug/ on.kyang de.tsho bsams.tsa.na sTod Chos.dbang grags.par ngos.'dzin bde.bar 'dra', "The two Grags.pa-s were sTod.kyi Ngag.dbang grags.pa and sMad.kyi Ngag.dbang grags.pa. It happened that the former performed great deeds in Gu.ge. He is said to have been the one who received some religious teachings from my own ancestor (*mes.po*) rin.po.che bDe.legs mgon.po.grub. As for his name, some say that he was known as Chos.dbang grags.pa and that he was not called Ngag.dbang grags.pa. For this reason, these [two masters] are addressed as sTod Chos.dbang grags.pa and sMad Ngag.dbang grags.pa. Whichever was his name, it is certain that he was the *bla.ma* of Gu.ge *rgyal.po* and it happened that he performed great deeds. When some say that Zhang.zhung.pa Chos.dbang grags.pa was rje Tsong.kha.pa's direct disciple who went to sTod and performed great deeds, and that he has [thus] to be recognized as the true sTod.kyi Grags.pa, this a doubtful [statement]. Some say that [Chos.dbang grags.pa] was not a direct disciple [of Tsong.kha.pa] from sTod, because he resided at Nags.shod Khams. Since these [two masters' identities] have not been clearly distinguished, the grounds [on which identification is based] have to be dismissed. However, as a [last] thought on these [two], it is likely that it was easy [to confuse him, i.e. Ngag.dbang grags.pa] with sTod Chos.dbang grags.pa". Although this discussion may seem sterile, for the identities of Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa and Zhang.zhung Chos.dbang grags.pa are obviously different, it nevertheless provides an insight into the teacher who introduced Ngag.dbang grags.pa to religion before he became a disciple of Tsong.kha.pa.

(5) Apart from Ngag.dbang grags.pa, sTod Sher.bzang and his nephew dPal.lidan shes.rab were from Mar.yul. It is unfortunate that the sources dealing with them and their activities do not provide any further detail regarding their origin (dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring, *Zangs.dkar rgyal.rabs dang chos.byung* p.32 line 1-p.44 line 8; *Ladwags rgyal.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.45 line 15-p.46 line 9; dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring shag.po, *lDum.ra rgyal.rabs dang chos.byung* p.31 line 8-p.32 line 16; Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Khrigs.rtse rnam.thar* (p.13 line 14-p.20 line 6).

Gangga, which have to be considered one and the same river<sup>6</sup>. One has thus to search for Ngag.dbang grags.pa's birth place along the Glang.chen kha.'babs. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* also contributes to the notion that Ka.gling is to be found on the southern or left bank of this river when it says that the site is located in lHo.stod, the land in Gu.ge, often referred to in the present work, whose northern limit touches the same bank (p.80 line 7). Hedin's map (pl.26) included in the cartographical volume appended to his *Southern Tibet* wrong-

(6) A conspicuous number of literary works relate that Glang.chen kha.'babs, mythically springing from the east side of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho and circling the lake underground, but flowing in reality from its sources sited to the west of Ma.pham mtsho, is in most cases also called Gangga, although variants are often met with (among the conspicuous number of *gnas.yig-s* on Ti.se and mtsho Ma.pham I would like to draw the reader's attention to a couple of well known works which are nonetheless interesting. They are Wa.gindra karma bi.dza.ya (Ngag.dbang 'phrin.las rnam.rgyal) *Ti.se gnas.yig* and Gangs.ri.ba Don.rgyud bsTan.'dzin *Ti.se gnas.yig*). The association of Gangga and Glang.chen kha.'babs seems to derive from the fact that the small river flowing in the isthmus between the Ma.pham and the La.ngag lakes, where Bye'u dgon.pa is sited, is called Gangga.chu and is considered the ideal source of the Glang.chen kha.'babs. I favour the spelling Bye'u instead of Byi'u because it appears in the early work *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* in reference to the *gser.kha* located in its vicinity. The text reads Bye'u ser.kha ("the gold mine of fine sand") (p.64 lines 6-7: "Sos.ka drag.nas Bye'u ser.kha.na phar.phyin", "In summer, having recovered, [rGod.tshang.pa] went over to Bye'u ser.kha"). Among the sources dealing with the mythic geography of the area, here I wish to confine myself to dKar.ru Bru.chen bsTan.'dzin rin.chen, *Ti.se dkar.chag* (p.514 line 5-p.515 line 2), where the identity of Glang.chen kha.'babs and Gangga is explained: "Glang.chen kha.'babs.kyi chu.bo Gangga la nas bab.pa'i tshul ni/ mtsho Ma.pang.gi shar.phyogs chu.mig 'thung.ba rang.grol.gyi mgo.bo.ru ri Glang.chen lta.bu'i gdong.nas chu.bo Gangga mtsho Ma.pang du babs/ mtsho Ma.pang nas zangs.kyi sbu.gu'i nang.du rgyud.nas La(p.515).ngag gser.mtsho'i nang.du babs/ La.ngag.gi nang.nas lcags.kyi sbu.gu rgyud te/ Zhang.zhung Khyung.lung.gis yul.du la.nas 'bab.pa'ang srid.ces.so", "The account of how river Glang.chen kha.'babs flows from Gangga is as follows. To the east of mtsho Ma.pang above a self-originated spring of drinkable water is a mountain. River Gangga springs from its face that looks like an elephant into mtsho Ma.pang. Through a copper pipe it flows from Ma.pang into La.ngag ser.gyi.mtsho. From within La.ngag it flows through an iron pipe to Zhang.zhung Khyung.lung yul". Chu.bo Gangga is thus considered to be one and the same river as the Glang.chen kha.'babs, whose sources actually lie in the vicinity of La.ngag.mtsho. A confirmation of the reading Gangga as the Glang.chen kha.'babs, which does not derive from the classification in the literary sources of the rivers issuing from Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho, derives from *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* (p.514 lines 4-5), according to which, a local bKa'.brgyud.pa named bla.ma Legs.pa was born in water pig 1263 at sMug.yu on the bank of the Gangga, which is significantly mentioned as flowing to the west of Ma.pham mtsho and Ti.se. In the hydrography of the same area the lHa.chu is also found, having its sources at the foot of Ti.se and flowing from east to west in the direction of the lakes. The lHa.chu is considered by the same text to be the origin of the river Na.ra.dza.ra, which becomes, in bsTan.'dzin rin.chen's view, the rMa.byā kha.'babs (*Ti.se'i dkar.chag* p.515 line 5-p.516 line 1): "De.ltar.du chu.bo Na.ra.dza.ra de.ru 'babs.pa'i tshul ni/ Gangs Ti.se g.yas.kyi lHa.chu zhes.byā.ba de La.ngag gser.mtsho ru babs/ de.yang lcags.kyi sbu.gu'i rgyud.nas ri Bya.ri gtsug.ltan.gyi mdun.du 'babs/ de.nas brag tshe.bum lta.bu'i nang.nas rgyud.de [rGya.gar.gyi chu yin zer.ba brag.gi dkyil.nas thon.pa yod] rMa.byā (p.516) kha.'babs rGya.gar.gyi yul.du 'babs.pa'o ces.so", "Similarly, the account of how river Na.ra.dza.ra flows in this area is as follows. To the west of Gangs Ti.se is the lHa.chu. This one flows into La.ngag gser.mtsho. Moreover, it flows in front of Bya.ri gtsug.ltan through an iron pipe. Then it passes through a rock in the shape of the vase of plenty. This is rMa.byā kha.'babs, [which] flows to the land of India [note in the text: this is known as the river of India originating from the centre of the rock]".

ly places Ka.gling.thang at the northern extremity of Sang.dar/Sang.wang, the valley opening to the north-east of Tho.ling<sup>7</sup> on the northern bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs. I believe that Ka.gling must have been located somewhere 'along the left bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs upstream from Tho.ling, for it is not found to the west of the latter locality (see below p.357-358 and n.568).

Ngag.dbang grags.pa went to bBus.gTsang where he became a personal disciple of Tsong.kha.pa<sup>8</sup>. This is corroborated by the fact that Tsong.kha.pa was never in sTod, so that Ngag.dbang grags.pa could have not met him in his own land.

The question needs to be asked whether Ngag.dbang grags.pa was among Tsong.kha.pa's first disciples who accompanied the master from lHa.sa to 'Ol.kha for a period of retreat in water dragon 1392. An inscription on a West Tibetan *thang.ka* depicting Tsong.kha.pa with his followers identifies Ngag.dbang grags.pa among his first disciples (Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.III, *thang.ka* n.10 pls.8-12). On the basis of its style, this *thang.ka* can safely be dated either to the end of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's life or soon after, since it shows features in common with wall paintings that can be dated to the late 15th century with the help of literary evidence<sup>9</sup>. However, no written information is available to confirm this local claim. In fact, his name is not included by the dGe.lugs.pa literature among those of the early disciples who went to 'Ol.kha with their master.

On his return to Gu.ge, he initially settled down in Dung.dkar and subsequently became the abbot of Tho.ling and Tsa.rang Blos.btangs. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* holds that he was already the supreme master in Gu.ge by 1424 as the text calls him *mkhas.pa dbang.po*

(7) I adopt the spelling Tho.ling throughout the present work since it is the earliest spelling found in the colophons of the texts translated in the temple premises during the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. I retain its alternative spellings only in the translations of passages I quote from the Tibetan literature because respecting variant spellings in my own text would be confusing. The notion that Tho.ling is the most ancient spelling of the name of Ye.shes.'od's temple contradicts the assumption of De.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, the author of *Bai.ser* (p.273 lines 8-9), when he narrates the well known legend behind the spelling mTho.liding ("flying high"), which he reads in an anachronistic way: "lHa.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.kyis gaddi nam.mkhar 'phangs.nas bdag.gi gdul.byā 'du.sar bobs.shig ces smos.spar.bas nam.mkhar mthon.por lding zhing sa.phyogs.der babs.sar gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.pas/ mTho.liding zhes 'bod.pa la/ deng.sang sgra.thol te Tho.ling du grags", "As lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od said: "May I tame my people in the place where the *gaddi* I throw in the sky will land!", he made it fly (*lding*) high (*mtho*) in the sky. On the spot where it landed he founded a *gtsug.lag.khang*. It was called mTho.liding. In contemporary pronunciation it has become known as Tho.ling".

(8) *bKa'gdams gsar.rnying chos.byung* (p.195 line 5): "dBus su byon.nas rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa chen.po la Theg.pa chen.po'i chos mang.po gsan", "After going to dBus, he received many teachings on *Theg.pa chen.po* from rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa chen.po".

(9) This painting is stylistically similar to the murals found inside Tho.ling lHa.khang dkar.po, Tsa.rang lHa.khang dmar.po, Ta.po gSer.khang and especially Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po, which is the only one of these temples to be chronologically documented in the sources. It was built by Don.grub.ma, the wife of the Gu.ge king Blo.bzang rab.brtan, who ruled in the last quarter of the 15th century (*Bai.ser* p.274 lines 4-9).

and records him presiding over the coronation of Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde in that year. On that occasion, Ngag.dbang grags.pa held the highest ecclesiastic position in the assembly, only lower to that of rNam.rgyal.lde, the king who abdicated in favour of his son at that time (ibid. p.84 lines 6-15). Ngag.dbang grags.pa is also credited with the construction of Tho.ling chos.sde gsar.ma, i.e. some 15th century Tho.ling temples<sup>10</sup>, which is not recorded in *Bai.ser*. Ngag.dbang grags.pa's success in securely establishing Tsong.kha.pa's teachings at the Gu.ge court is confirmed by the letter written in iron dog 1430 by the king and queen of Gu.ge, Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde and Khri.lcam rgyal.mo, extending an invitation to mKhas.grub.rje (1385-1438) to visit Gu.ge, an offer which the 'Dus.'khor master declined.

The case of Ngag.dbang grags.pa reflects a diffusive pattern peculiar to Tsong.kha.pa's disciples. These proto-dGe.lugs.pa exponents were assigned the task of returning to their respective native lands and establishing their master's new doctrines, favoured in this effort by their local origins. Proselytism in La.dwags was undertaken by sTod Sher.bzang, who introduced Tsong.kha.pa's tenets to his native land as well as to Zangs.dkar and lDum.ra, where he laid the foundations of several monasteries<sup>11</sup>. lHa.dbang blo.gros, another teacher from mNga'.ris skor.gsum who followed the same system, also has a prominent

(10) *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung* (p.195 line 6): "Gu.ge rgyal.po 'bangs dang bcas.pa dbang.du bsdu nas/ mTho.liding.gi chos.sde gsar.ma btab", "After inspiring the Gu.ge king and his subjects with his charisma, he founded the new mTho.liding chos.sde".

(11) In lDum.ra he founded the temples bDe.skyid dGa'.ldan bkra.shis chos.gling, lCags.ra.sa and dBen.sa with the patronage of the lDum.ra king Nyi.ma grags.pa (*lDum.ra rgyal.rabs dang chos.'byung* p.32 lines 4-10: "De.nas Nub.rar byon.nas bDe.dgon dGa'.ldan bkra.shis chos.gling 'debs.pa dang/ der bstan.pa'i gzhi.ma gzhi.gsum btsugs.par grags.so/ Nub.ra'i rgyal.po Nyi.ma grags.pas kyang bka'.bzhiin sgrub.nas zhabs.zhus legs.par gyis/ lCags.ra.sa sogs Nub.ra'i chu phan.tshun.gyi yul rnam.su zhabs.kyis bcag.nas byin.gyis brlabs/ dBen.pa'i dgon.pa btab.nas rten.gyi gtso.bor rje bla.ma'i snang.brnyan bzhangs". "Then, having gone to Nub.ra, he founded bDe.dgon dGa'.ldan bkra.shis chos.gling. It is known that he established the three foundations of the teachings there. The king of Nub.ra Nyi.ma grags.pa excellently supported him according to [Sher.bzang's] wish. He blessed lCags.ra.sa and localities on both sides of the Nub.ra river. As he founded dBen.pa dgon.pa, he installed the statue of *rje bla.ma* (Tsong.kha.pa) as the main image"). Owing to the kindness of Blo.bzang tshul.khrims, one of the great layman of lDum.ra, I was able briefly to read an untitled draft of the ground breaking article written by his brother rtsis.mkhan O.rgyan rig.'dzin in 1994, which sheds some light on the obscure period in lDum.ra before the advent of the dGe.lugs.pa-s. All that was confusedly known about this period was that rGod.tshang.pa mGon.po rdo.rje (1189-1258) visited Nub.ra and his disciples continued his tradition, but rGod.tshang.pa is not credited with a sojourn in lDum.ra in his biographies. The article by O.rgyan rig.'dzin introduces more convincing elements because it credits the master curiously named Pi.rang ras.chen (b.1325), a native of Yar.ma in Nub.ra who went to dBus.gTsang to study 'Brug.pa teachings, with returning to his land and establishing the 'Brug.pa-s locally at the hermitage still known to this day as Yar.ma mGon.po. He thus introduced the 'Brug.pa tradition in lDum.ra during the 14th century. For the temples founded by Byang.sems Sher.bzang in Zangs.dkar see *Zangs.dkar chags tshul gyi lo rgyus* (in Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* vol.II p.153 line 29-p.154 line 9); and dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring, *Zangs.dkar rgyal.rabs dang lo rgyus* (p.33 line 22-p.35 line 7).

place in this diffusion, for he founded major *lha.khang-s* in Gu.ge, Pi.ti and La.dwags (see below p.525 and p.527)<sup>12</sup>.

### *Dating mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

The end of the section on pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is followed by the above mentioned brief *bstan.rtsis* (p.67 line 19-p.68 line 7). A calculation is introduced, according which 3244 years elapsed between Buddha *nirvana* and fire dog 986 when Ye.shes.'od established *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod by ordering his subjects to adopt Buddhism. The *bstan.rtsis* adds that between Buddha *nirvana* and the year in which Ngag.dbang grags.pa completed his *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* 1756 years elapsed. This is an obvious mistake, otherwise one would be confronted with the paradox that Ngag.dbang grags.pa had lived millennia before Ye.shes.'od, and 1756 has to be corrected to 3756.

Another obvious reason for this much needed change is the fact that, by the calculation of the date concerning Ye.shes.'od, the fourth millennium after Buddha *nirvana* is entered, for 3244 years had elapsed from his death. The following date pertaining to Ngag dbang grags.pa and thus falling some five hundred years after that of Ye.shes.'od must still belong to the fourth millennium and not to the second millennium as the calculation states (1756).

Such a correction establishes the year of completion of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as fire snake 1497<sup>13</sup>. This is consistent with the fact that 'Phags.pa.lha, the last king (*gong.ma*) of the Gu.ge royal family, mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.85 lines 9-10), is documented to have been active precisely around that time. In fact, *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* records him as been involved in political affairs in earth sheep 1499<sup>14</sup>.

(12) See Thub.bstan dpal.lidan *dPe.thub chags.rabs* (p.289 line 7-p.291 line 15) for brief biographical notes on lHa.dbang blo.gros, a direct disciple of mKhas.grub.rje. Grub.chen dKon.cog dpal.mgon was another personal disciple of mKhas.grub.rje, whose foundation of a temple dedicated to the Tsong.kha.pa tradition at Do.shang Mu.dkar chos.rdzong has been preserved in the list of the dGe.lugs.pa monasteries of *Bai.ser* (p.276 lines 10-11). It is unclear to me whether he was a *mNga'.ris stod.pa*, as his presence in Gu.ge might lead one to assume. Another diffuser of Tsong.kha.pa's teachings in sTod, this time from Gu.ge, was rGyal.mtshan bzang.po, whose contributions are not specified in *Bai.ser* (p.273 lines 3-5).

(13) Its date of completion is calculated in the following way. Since 3244 years had elapsed between Buddha *nirvana* and the year 986, and 3756 years had elapsed between Buddha *nirvana* and the year when Ngag.dbang grags.pa finished writing *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, the differential between these two figures is 512. Adding 512 years to 986 comes to fire snake 1497.

(14) *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.5b lines 4-5): "De.nas lug.lo'i lo.gsar thon.phral mi.dbang rgyal.sras 'Phags.pa.lha sku.mched.kyi dgongs.pa.la gZhis.kha Rin.spungs phyogs.su gser.yig.pa zhig rdzong grab 'dug.pa de dang mnyam.du dBus.gTsang la phebs rtsis mdzad", "Then, *lo.gsar* of the sheep year (1499) being over, as decided by mi.dbang rgyal.sras 'Phags.pa.lha and his brothers, preparations to send a *gser.yig.pa* ("messenger") to gZhis.kha Rin.spungs were made [and Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan] planned to go to dBus.gTsang with him".

From the facts that Ngag.dbang grags.pa had returned from dBus.gTsang after studies with Tsong.kha.pa by 1424, when he attended the marriage and coronation of the Gu.ge king Phun.tshogs.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 6-15), and that he worked in Gu.ge as the main local exponent of the Tsong.kha.pa's teachings under five kings (rNam.rgyal.lde, Phun.tshogs.lde, rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, Blo.bzang rab.brtan, 'Phags.pa.lha) to eventually write *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in fire snake 1497, it follows that he had an exceptionally long life, much like Rin.chen bzang.po. Ngag.dbang grags.pa must have been almost a hundred years old when he completed his *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

It might therefore be doubted that the author of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* was Ngag.dbang grags.pa. The possibility that it was written by a disciple of his, who derived his work from material gathered by Ngag.dbang grags.pa, should be taken into consideration. The absence of the colophon in the extant manuscript seriously complicates the matter. Some considerations follow, which help to solve the problem.

On the negative side, an indication which could reinforce doubt regarding Ngag.dbang grags.pa's authorship, is the way his presence at Phun.tshogs.lde's marriage and coronation ceremony in 1424 is recorded (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 10-11). The eulogistic nature of this description, in marked contrast to the typical professions of humility of Tibetan literary formulas, gives the impression that the author is not writing about himself.

A second negative indication is the fact that, with the exception of the reign of rNam.rgyal.lde, which Ngag.dbang grags.pa only partially witnessed, the treatment of the period in sTod during which Ngag.dbang grags.pa was a protagonist is peculiarly restrained in his work. This is surprising given the degree of his personal involvement. Other periods of the history of Gu.ge going back to antiquity are, on the other hand, described in much greater detail. It is evident that, despite their restrained treatment in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, Ngag.dbang grags.pa's times were not devoid of important incidents.

Evidence provided by various passages in *Bai.ser* (p.273 line 25-p.274 line 6 and p.460 lines 9-13) confirms that Ngag.dbang grags.pa had a long life since he interacted with rNam.rgyal.lde, Phun.tshogs.lde and, especially relevant to the question of authorship, Blo.bzang rab.brtan (reigning until almost the end of the 15th century according to *dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho rnam.thar*, see below p.513), who is said to have been a follower of Ngag.dbang grags.pa. The date of writing appended to the *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs bstan.rtsis* is thus in accordance with *Bai.ser*, since the year in which *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* was completed falls, as was said above, towards the end of Blo.bzang rab.brtan's reign and around the time when his heir 'Phags.pa.lha entered the political arena.

Finally, authorship is unambiguously established since the same passage in the *bstan.rtsis* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.68 lines 6-7) reads: "1756 (sic for 3756) years [after Buddha's nirvana, I myself, Gu.ge *bstan.chos.pa* ("the Gu.ge author") Ngag.dbang grags.pa, wrote [this work]".

# Outline of the Yar.lung section in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

(all spellings as in the text)

The subjects dealt with in the Yar.lung dynasty section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* are structured as follows<sup>15</sup>:

1. gNya'.khri btsan.po: his descent on lHa.ri gyang.tho and his settling down at Ching.bar stag.rtse, wrongly identified with Yum.bu bla.mkhar.

Enumeration of the gNam.khri.bdun.

2. Gri.khum btsan.po: the appearance of a youth from 'On, known as gShen.rabs mi.bong, during his time, and his appeasement of the *lha.'dre*-s of Tibet, performance of funerary rites, and making of *glud* and *gto*.

Brief remarks concerning gNya'.bzung.btsan, 'Bro.snyan lde.ru, sTag.ri snyan.gzigs.

gNam.ri srong.btsan: his residence at pho.brang Byams.pa mi.'gyur.gling. His conquests and the myth of the killing of 'Brong Ne.le bong.zan.

3. Srong.btsan sgam.po (sub-section based on *bKa'.chems ka.khol.ma*): his enthronement, his sending of Thon.mi Sambhota to study with bram.ze Li.byin and to prepare a (new) alphabet, modelled after the Kha.che Na.ga.ra script. The first Buddhist temple ever built in Tibet: the stone gtsug.lag.khang Byen.gyi khog.sna. The final revision of the Tibetan script made at sku.mkhar Ma.ru. The ten noble virtues. Srong.btsan sgam.po's marriage to Bal.po Khri.btsun. The military campaign waged to obtain 'Un.shing Kong.jo in marriage, resulting in the conquest of the Thu.yu.hun-s and tracts of China. The *ru.gnon gtsug.lag.khang*-s (dBu.ru Ka.tshal, g.Yu.ru Khra.'brug, g.Yas.ru gTsang.gram, g.Yon.ru Grom.pa rGyang); the *mtha'.dul* (lHo.brag Kham.thing, Kong.po Bu.chud, sKa.brag, Pra.dum.rtse) and *yang.'dul gtsug.lag.khang*-s (Byang.tshal.gyi rlung.non, Khams.kyi Klong.thang sGrol.ma, Mang.yul Byang.sprin, Mon Bum.thang) as well as sPa.gron sKyer.chu. The foundation of Ra.sa 'Phrul.snang and the images housed therein. The building of Ra.mo.che. Further marriages

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(15) Dates proposed by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for the Yar.lung kings are similar to those given among later historians. They do not correspond with the chronologies found in the Tun-huang documents and the Chinese sources, which substantially corroborate one another. The dates of the kings of the Yar.lung dynasty in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* are manifestly too late and therefore are not taken into consideration in the present work, for they have to be dismissed in the light of the more reliable evidence from the earlier sources.

and temple constructions. The invitation of masters from India and China. The introduction of the *stong.sde* system and of the *ru.bzhi*. His conquests in the four directions. His death by disappearing with his two foreign wives into the statue of bCu.gcig.zhal. The alternative version of his death according to which he was buried in a *bang.so*.

4. Mang.srong mang.btsan's rule under the authority of blon.po 'Gar. Warfare against China and the seizure of the lands of the Yu.gur-s.

Gung.srong gung.btsan.

'Du.srong mang.po.rje rLung.gi thog.btsan (?): his conquests in the four directions. The Bod *rtal.po.che mi.bdun* ("the seven strong men of Tibet").

5. Khri.lde gtsug.brtsan Mes Ag.tshom: the foundations of lHa.sa Kho.brag, Ching.bu rNam.ral, the castle at Dar.phu. The construction of mDo.smad Ling.bcu Khri.rtse, Brag.dmar Ka.chu, Phang.thang Ka.med, bKa'.bcu, Brag.dmar mGrin.bzang gtsug.lag.khang-s. Translations undertaken during his time.

His son lJangs.tsha lHa.dbon. Gi.shing Kong.jo's discovery of lJang.tsha's death, to whom she was betrothed, and her marriage to Ag.tshom.

6. Khri.srong lde.btsan: Sang.shi's mission to China. The death of Mes Ag.tshom and the persecution of Buddhism in Tibet. The bringing of lHa Shakya.mu.ne to sKyid.rong. Buddhist texts hidden by Sang.shi. sBa gSal.snang sent to sKyid.rong as *mkhar.dpon* and then to India. The persecution of the ministers who were against Buddhism. Ye.shes dbang.po sent to invite Bo.dhi.sa.twa to Tibet. The invitation of Pad.ma sam.bha.wa to Tibet. His subjugation of the *lha.srin-s* of Tibet and consecration of the land where bSam.yas was to be built. Its plan modelled after that of O.tan.pu.ri gtsug.lag.khang. The various bSam.yas temples constructed by Khri.srong lde.btsan's queens. The completion of bSam.yas in thirteen years. The ordination of the *sad.mi.bdun* by Bo.dhi.sa.twa and Pad.ma sam.bha.wa. Laws in favour of Buddhism. Khri.srong lde.btsan's conquest of China. Miracles performed by Pad.ma sam.bha.wa. The collection of Buddhist texts prepared at pho.brang lDan.mkhar.

7. The prophecy by Pad.ma sam.bha.wa that a debate between exponents of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment and exponents of the gradual path would occur. Exposition of the doctrine of Ha.shang Ma.ha.ya.na. Ka.ma.la.shi.la's invitation to the debate. The bSam.yas council. Ha.shang and Ka.ma.la.shi.la's explanation of their views. dPal.dbyangs and Ye.shes dbang.po's participation in the debate. The verdict. Ha.shang sent back to China and his books hidden as treasures. Verses in praise of Khri.srong lde btsan, Padma 'byung.gnas, Zhi.ba.tsho and Ka.ma.la.shi.la.

8. The establishment of a school of debate at bSam.yas and a school of meditation at 'Ching.bu. The building of new settlements in the rLung.tshub area. Ngag.dbang grags.pa's proposal of an archaeological campaign to study their remains. The ministers of Khri.srong lde.btsan. His conquests in the four directions. The persecution of Bon and the diffusion of dam.pa'i Chos during his reign.



9. Mu.ni btsan.po: his three land reforms. His proposition to promote Buddhism. Census of the lands. Demarkation of the border with China. The conflict between the queens. Mu.khri btsan.po's condemnation for his crime.
10. Khri.lde srong.btsan: the building of sKar.chung. The erection of a *rdo.rings* inscribed with his orders on religion. The sons of Sad.na.legs: lHa.sras Tshang.ma's ordination and his activity in favour of Buddhism. His foundation of a *gtsug.lag.khang* at Khra.sna. His expulsion to Gro.mo.
11. Ral.pa.can: his queens and ministers. The building of 'U.shang.rdo town and temple. The preparation of the *sGra.sbyor bam.po gnyis.pa*. Monetary and measurement systems adopted from India. His theocratic order. His conquests in the four directions. The peace treaty with China. Other details of his theocratic order. The revolt against the order introduced by him. *bsTan.pa snga.dar* concluded with Ral.pa.can.
12. Glang.dar.ma: his *the'u.rang* minister. The *gtsug.lag.khang* built by him and his Buddhist studies in the earlier part of his life. His being a good king for eight months. Subsequent persecution of Buddhism. His establishment of a jail in lHa.sa and the order to cast the lHa.sa Jo.bo into the river. Statues saved by pious ministers. The walling-up of doors and white-washing of the murals at Ra.sa 'Phrul.snang, Ra.mo.che and bSam.yas. Monastic communities disbanded and practice opposed. The loss of territories at the borders and the unjust punishment of their people. All kinds of calamities taking place. lHa.lung dPal.gyi rdo.rje and the assassination of Glang.dar.ma.

*References to sTod before the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom in the Yar.lung dynasty section of mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.18-19, 21, 22-23, 26, 27, 29, 41, 45)*

Scanty references to West Tibet from the proto-historical period of the Yar.lung dynasty to *bstan.pa snga.dar* are found in the work of Ngag.dbang grags.pa. They are as follows:

1. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.18 line 18-p.19 line 7) has some interesting notions regarding the boy from 'On with donkey's ears. The text makes him a contemporary of Gri.gum btsan.po and associates him with the practices of rDol.Bon. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.18 line 18-p. 19 line 1) says: "In 'On, a place in dBus, one [boy] was born having donkey ears. His lineage was gShen and, as it happened that he had wisdom (*shes.rab*), he was known as Shes.rab. Due to his donkey ears (*bong.rna*), he was known as gShen.rabs mi.bong"<sup>16</sup>.

(16) The etymology of the name gShen.rabs mi.bo in this passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is peculiar, with gShen.rab spelled gShen.rabs, i.e. in the ancient manner of the Tun-huang manuscripts, which refers to a class of practitioners and not to a single personage. See R.Stein's study and classification of gShen.rabs/gShen.rab mi.bo in the Tun-huang documents ("Tibetica Antiqua V" p.43-45).

The existence of gShen.rabs mi.bo is linked to the reign of Gri.gum btsan.po by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, when the text says that a primordial form of Bon was introduced, known to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as rDol.Bon but spelled rDor.Bon in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.160 line 19). As for the term *rdol* in rDol.Bon, the expression rDol.Chos is also found, which is translated as “vulgar behaviour” in Goldstein’s dictionary. Does *rdol* thus stand for “rough, rudimentary, unrefined”, hence, “primordial”? If so, it seems that the term implies a later appraisal of practices popular during the rDol.Bon phase, made at the time when Bon was organized into a comprehensive system. A similar debased usage is found in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.494 line 15) for the term rDol.Chos, applied by the followers of the *lo.tsa.ba/pan.di.ta* tradition to the practices of the six groups of black *yogin-s* (rNal.'byor nag.po drug) during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* who displayed highly magical powers, while the rNal.'byor nag.po drug considered themselves holders of authentic lineages (see below n.315). A secondary (historically more appropriate) meaning is “primordial” or “initial”. Finally rDol.Bon stands, in my view, for primordial Bon cults, in which a rudimentary religious form was practised.

Differently from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, another Buddhist source (*'Jig.rten mgon.po'i gsung bzhi.bcu.pa*, put into written form by 'Bri.gung.gling.pa Shes.rab 'byung.gnas), which is almost contemporary with *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, relates that rDol.Bon was established by the 'On youth with donkey’s ears during the reign of Khri.lde btsan.po and came to an end at the time of Gri.gum’s death, when another type of Bon was introduced. After Gri.gum’s death, according to the latter work, 'Khyar.ba'i Bon was brought to Bod from Kha.che, Bru.zha and Zhang.zhung. Historical appraisals in the Buddhist texts of gShe.rab mi.bo’s appearance are therefore drastically different from those proposed in the Bon.po sources, according to which ston.pa gShen.rab lived aeons ago.

A necessarily very succinct outline of the phases of Bon in *'Jig.rten mgon.po'i gsung bzhi.bcu.pa* (f.20a line 1-f.22a line 3) is as follows:

1) rDol.Bon (“Primordial Bon”) introduced by the boy of 'On called gShen.rab mi.bo during the time of Khri.lde btsan.po. He could identify the gods inhabiting each place, the harm or benefit they could cause, and knew how to appease them (ibid. f.20a lines 1-4: “Bon ji.ltar byung.ba'i gzhung.lugs.la gsum ste/ spyir dang.po Bon.la gShen.rab mi.bo'i rDol.Bon dang/ mu.stegs.kyi grub.mtha' ngan.pa 'Khyar.ba'i Bon dang/ bstan.pa'i phung 'dres bsGyur.ba'i Bon dang gsum.mo/ de.la rje gNya'.khri btsan.po nas rgyal.rabs drug.pa Khri.lde btsan.po'i dus.su/ dBus Ngam.shod 'On bya.bar rus bShen yin.pa'i byis.pa lo bcu.gsum lon.pa cig/ 'dres lo bcu.gsum.gyi bar.du/ Bod.khams thams.cad.du khrid nas/ lo nyi.shu rtsa.drug.la mi'i nang.du tshud.pa la/ mi.ma.yin.gyi nus.pas yul.'di dang 'di.na lha.'dre 'di dang 'di lta.bu yod.pas/ phan.gnod 'di dang 'di lta.bu byed.pas/ de la.sogs mchod dang yas btags gton.g.lugs.kyi cho.ga byed.lugs thams.cad shes.pa cig byung”). “Concerning the way in which the doctrinal system of Bon took shape, this [has to be classified] into three phases. To begin with, Bon [has to be divided] in general into rDol.Bon of gShen.rab mi.bo, 'Khyar.ba'i Bon [based] on corrupt views of the Hindus and bsGyur.ba'i Bon [originated] by the 'dre-s opposers of Buddhism, these three. As for the [first], during the time of Khri.lde btsan.po, six royal generations after rje gNya'.khri btsan.po, in Ngam.shod 'On of dBus, when he was thirteen, a child of the bShen (sic for gShen) clan was taken around the whole of Bod by the 'dre-s for thirteen years. Having returned to human society when he was twenty-six, as he had the power of the *mi.ma.yin-s* to say: “In such and such a place is such and such a *lha.'dre* and such and such [a *lha.'dre*] is beneficial or harmful, it happened that he knew the ritual system to appease them”).

2) 'Khyar Bon ("Corrupt or Debased Bon") introduced at the death of Gri.gum btsan.po by three Bon.po-s from Kha.che, Bru.zha and Zhang.zhung and deriving from heretical Shaivism. The first Bon.po, having mastered the practices of Ge.khod, Khyung and Me.lha, was able to fly in the sky on a drum, cut iron with a feather (all powers ascribed to 'A.zha Bon.po, see below). The second, by means of *ju.thig* ("thread"), *lha.kha* ("oracular trance") and *sog.dmar* ("shoulder blade") divinations, predicted the future and discriminated between good and ill. The third Bon.po knew how to perform all rites for the dead (ibid. f.20b lines 1-6: "Mu.stegs.kyi grub.mtha' ngan.ba 'khyar.ba'i 'Khyar Bon ni/...mu.stegs dBang.phyug.pa'i grub.mtha' 'khyar.ba yin/...rgyal.po Gri.gum btsan.po'i gri.ba shid/ gShen.rab mi.bos ma.shes nas/ Kha.che dang/ Bru.sha/ Zhang.zhung dang gsum nas/ Bon.po gsum gri.ba shid.la bos.pa la/ gcig.gis Ge.god Khyung dang Me.lha bsgrubs.pa.la brtan.nas/ rnga zhon.nas nam.mkha'.la 'gro.ba dang/ gtar.ba len.pa dang/ bya.sgros lcags gcod.pa la.sogs nus.pa cung.zad ston nus.pa dang/ gcig.gis ju.tig dang/ lha.bka' dang/ sog.s.dmar la.sogs.pa mos legs nyes.kyi tangs gcod.pa dang/ gcig.gis gshin.po 'dur.ba dang/ gri.dul.ba la.sogs.pa bshid.kyi bye.brag rnamshes.pa gcig dang gsum byung", "As for 'Khyar Bon, [which is] a corruption of the debased views of the Hindus,...this is corruption of Shaivism of the Hindus...Since [the class of] gShen.rabs mi.bo-s did not know how to perform funerary rites for Gri.gum btsan.po, who died by a knife, three Bon.po-s from Kha.che, Bru.sha and Zhang.zhung, these three, were summoned to perform rites for the dead [killed] by a knife. One, who had meditated on Ge.god (sic), Khyung and Me.lha, could show some of his powers such as the power of flying in the sky on a drum, letting blood bleed and cutting iron with a bird's feather. One could discriminate between good and bad by performing *ju.tig*, interrogating the *lha*-s, and giving red scapula predictions. One knew in particular how to perform funerary rites and tame those who died by the knife, these three).

3) bsGyur.Bon ("Plagiarist or Camouflaged Bon") to be subdivided into three phases:

3a) The first took place when pandi.ta Sham.sngon.can ("wearing a blue robe"), who had been punished by king Indra.bo.dhi for his immoral behaviour, conspired to plagiarize Buddhist works into Bon. He hid them inside a reliquary which he gave to the king (ibid f.21a lines 1-3: "bsGyur Bon la gsum ste/ dus dang.po bsgyur.ba dang/ bar.du bsgyur.ba dang/ tha.mar bsgyur.ba dang gsum.mo/ dang.po ni/ pan.di.ta Sham.sngon.can 'dod.chags.kyi dbang.du song.ba.la brten te/ rgyal.po Indra.bo.dhi'i ching.ba phog.pas/ nang.ba'i bstan.pa.la gnod.pa bya.ba'i ched.du/ nang.ba.la byed.pa'i drung.du song.nas/ rgyal.po'i bla.mchod byas/ rab.tu byung.ba'i rke bca'd na/ rnam.par grol.ba'i 'bras.bu thob bya.ba dang/ Chos mang.po Bon.du bsgyur.nas rgyal.po de.la rten.cig yod rgyal.po drung.du sbas.nas bzhag", "bsGyur Bon was in three [phases]: the first plagiarism, the intermediate plagiarism and the last plagiarism, these three. The first is as follows. As pan.di.ta Sham.ngon.can ("wearing a blue robe") was punished by king Indra.bo.dhi because he indulged in sensual practices, having gone to the adversaries of the Buddhists in order to harm the Buddhist teachings, he became the *bla.mchod* ("officiating bla.ma") of [their] king. He said: "If you cut the neck of the monks, you will obtain liberation". He converted many Buddhist teachings into Bon and, in front of the king, hid those [plagiarized texts] in a receptacle owned by the king").

3b) The second occurred in the time of Guru Padma and Khri.srong lde.btsan when Bon was banned. rGyal.ba byang.chub was ordered to become a Buddhist and, to avenge himself, plagiarized Buddhist works into Bon and applied Bon.po names to Buddhist deities and religious concepts (ibid. f.21a line 3-5: "Bar.du bsgyur.ba ni/ mnga'.bdag Khri.srong lde.btsan.gyi dus.su/ slob.dpon Padma la.sogs.pa'i lo.pan rnamshes dang/ blon.po mGos rgan la.sogs.pa'i ban Chos.la 'ga'.ba rnamshes g.yas.gral mdzad/ gshen Dran.pa nam.mkha' dang/

Khyung.po Dun.rtse la.sogs.pa Bon.po rnam dang/ Ngam sTag.ra glu.gong la.sogs.pa Bon.la 'ga'.ba rnam g.yon.gral mdzad/ rgyal.pos gung.bkab nas/ rtsod.pa byed bcug.pas Chos.pa rgyal/ de.nas phyis rgyal.pos khyed nus.pa 'gron dang gsungs", "As for the intermediate plagiarism, in the time of mnga'.bdag Khri.srong lde.btsan, slob.dpon Padma [and] the *lo.pan-s*, the minister mGos, the elders [and] a few monks in favour of Buddhism, occupied the right row. gShen Dran.pa nam.mkha', Khyung.po Dun.rtse, [some] Bon.po-s [and] Ngam sTag.ra glu.gong, a few in favour of Bon occupied the left row. The king sat in the middle. As they were made to debate, the Buddhists were victorious. Then, the king said: "You have to show your powers" and *ibid.* (f.21b lines 1-2): "Bon.po skyengs.pa dang/ slob.dpon.gyis bstan.pa'i zhabs.tog.du bsgyur/ rgyal.po'i zhal.nas rtsod.pa yang khong rgyal/ nus.pa yang khong.che/...da thams.cad Chos.la zhugs gsung", "The Bon.po-s were ridiculed. sLob.dpon rendered a [marvelous] service to the Buddhist teachings. The king said: "He (slob.dpon Padma) won the debate. He was also great in the display of powers...Now everybody has to adopt Buddhism". This passage is followed by a long list of classes of Buddhist deities and religious principles, which were allegedly camouflaged by the Bon.po-s under Bon.po names (f.21b line 3-f.22a line 1). Having recast Buddhist works in this guise, these were hiddhen as *gter.ma-s*.

3c) gShen.sgur ("crippled gShen") Glu.dga' in the period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* plagiarized Buddhist works into Bon, hid them and pretended he rediscovered them as *gter.ma-s* (*ibid.* f.22a lines 1-3: "Tha.mar bsgyur.ba ni/ dus.phyis bstan.pa'i me.ro mDo.smad nas slangs.khar/ gTsang Nyang.stod na/ gShen.sgur Glu.dga' bya.bas/ gTsang Chu.mig ring.mo'i dkon.gnyer dang yun.ring.du 'dris.par byas nas/ bya.dga'.che thang.du bst-sal.bas/ Dar.yul sGro.lag bya.ba dBus.gyi Bon.gnas gcig.tu bsgyur te/ rGyas.pa la Kham.chen/ Nyi.shu.ma la Kham.chung/ gTan.la phab.pa la Bon.mDo/ gZungs.sde.lnga la Klu.'bum dkar.nag la.sogs.par bsgyur nas/ mTsho.lnga dre'u.chung.gi Brag.dkar.po la gter.du sbas nas/ phyis.kyang khong.rang.gi thon.pa ltar byas.nas bton", "As for the last plagiarism, in the time of the restoration from mDo.smad of the extinguished fire of the teachings, in gTsang Nyang.stod the one called gShen.sgur ("crippled gShen") Glu.dga', greatly profiting from the long time he spent posing questions to the *dkon.gnyer* of Chu.mig ring.mo, converted Dar.yul sGro.lag to a Bon.po holy place. As he converted *rGyas.pa* to *Kham.chen*, *Nyi.shu.ma* to *Kham.chung*, *gTan.la phab.pa* to *Bon.mDo*, *gZungs.sde.lnga* to *Klu.'bum dkar.nag*, having hidden them as *gter* at Brag.dkar.po of mTsho.lnga dre'u.chung, he pretended to have rediscovered them"). For these phases also see Tu'u.bkwan Blo.bzang chos.kyi nyi.ma, *Tu'u.bkwan Grub.mtha'* (p.380 line 8-p.383 line 2) and the appraisal by R.Stein in "Tibetica Antiqua V" (p.31-33).

Expanding the analysis to other Buddhist works, *Deb.ther dmar.po* says that, during the time of the father Gri.gum btsan.po and his son sPu.de gung.rgyal, sGrung and lDe'u were introduced to Bod (p.34 lines 4-5: "rGyal.po yab.sras de.gnyis.kyi ring.la sGrung dang lDe'u byung"). *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.byung* says that the dispute between Gri.gum and Lo.ngam was instigated by the Zhang.zhung king! See *ibid.* (p.41 line 7): "Dus.der Zhang.zhung.gi rgyal.pos 'bangs rbad kyang zer"). *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* says that, in the time of sPu.de gung.rgyal and Ru.la.skyes, gYung.drung Bon was introduced from Zhang.zhung and gained popularity. It consisted of nine classes: four classes of rGyu'i Bon and five classes of 'Bras.bu'i Bon (*ibid.* p.57 lines 14-17: "Zhang.zhung.gi yul.nas bsgyur te/ dar zhing rgyas.par mdzad/ Bon.la rigs.dgu.ru phye ste/ rGyu'i Bon.po la rigs.bzhi/ 'Bras.bu'i Bon.po la rigs.lnga"). Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.292 lines 16-20) (see below n.317) talks about Dur.Bon being introduced from Zhang.zhung and Bru.zha during the reign of Gri.gum btsan.po, while sGrung lDe'u gNam.Bon were introduced to Bod in the time of his son sPu.de gung.rgyal.

2. gNam.ri srong.btsan's subjugation of gNya'.shur rgyal.po, the king of Zhang.zhung whose kingdom was taken over by Yar.lung Bod (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.21 lines 13-14)<sup>17</sup>.

To sum up, the chronology of the rDol.Bon phase varies considerably among the Buddhist works to the point that it ends in one source (*'Jig.rten mgon.po'i gsung bzhi.bcu.pa*) roughly at the time when in others (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* etc.) it begins. Buddhist sources could not be more confused concerning the historical phases of Bon.

Another relevant topic is the geographic origin of rDol.Bon. This is significant for it helps to clarify the controversial location of sTag.gzig in at least one literary instance. Various Buddhist *chos.'byung*-s subscribe to the opinion that rDol.Bon was established during the time of Gri.gum btsan.po by Bon.po 'A.zha of sTag.gzig. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.160 lines 19-21) says that gNam.gyi rDol.Bon, introduced by Bon.po 'A.zha, was practised in what the text calls 'Gyur.snang.ba in the middle of sTag.gzig, which was between the near border of U.rgyan and the far border of Kha.che ("gNam.gyi rDol.Bon byung ste U.rgyan.gyi tshu.rol/ Kha.che'i yul.gyi pha.rol/ sTag.gzig.gi bar.na yul 'Gyur.snang.bar snang bya.ba.ru Sa.zha'i Bon.po/ mu.stegs nyi.tshe.ba'i ston.pa..."). This is the area of Chilas and nearby valleys. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* also places it at the same border and names it Gyur.rna.pa (p.103 lines 2-3: "'Di'i sku.ring.la rGya.gar dang sTag.gzig.gi 'tshams.nas yul Gyur.rna.pa zhes.by.a.ba nas/ Ba.zha'i Bon.po zhis byung", "During his life, one Ba.zha Bon.po came from the land called Gyur.rna.pa, [which is] on the border between India and sTag.gzig"), while *mkhas.pa lDe'u* (p.244) calls him Wa.zha and makes him come from Yu.gur. Ne'u pan.di.ta, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.5 lines 13-15) locates the land from where the Bon.po *mu.stegs.pa* came on the border between Sog.po (Iranic tribes?) and sTag.gzig, and calls it Ghurna.parna. The territory from which 'A.zha Bon.po came is located by dPa'.bo on the border between sTag.gzig and rGya.gar, and is called Gu.ra.wa.ta (*mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* p.160 lines 19-20: "De.tshe rGya.gar.yul dang sTag.gzig mtshams/ Gu.ra.wa.ta ces.by'a'i yul.khams nas/ mu.stegs Bon.po 'A.zha zhes.pa byung", "At that time, from the country called Gu.ra.wa.ta, which is on the border of India and sTag.gzig, a *mu.stegs* Bon.po called 'A.zha came").

A final remark pertains to certain implications of the legend. The boy's physical peculiarity (his donkey's ears) is an Iranic trait that is also present for instance in the Kushan statuery made at Mathura, where the Yaksa protector of the town is portrayed with donkey's ears. Donkey-morphic traits are also encountered in the legends of kings of Dardic stock from the Indo-Iranic borderlands (La.dwags, sBal.ti, Nub.ra). See the myth of jo Bong.khang, i.e. Bong.rkang ("the lord having donkey's legs"), the legendary Dardic ruler of Nub.ra (Vohra, "Mythic Lore and Historical Documents from the Nub.ra Valley in Ladakh" p.236-237), and that of rGya.po Bum.kang, i.e. rGya.po Bong.rkang ("the lord of rGya (in La.dwags) having donkey's legs") (Kaplanian, "Analyse de nouvel an populaire au Ladakh" p.521-523). See also Schuler ("The "Story of the Creation of the Shigar" of Wazir Ahmad" p.106-108 and p.113) for the early dynasty of Shigar in sBal.ti bearing the ethnonym *khang*, a corruption of *rkang*. The names of its kings are phoneticized by Schuler as follows: Giakhang, Giapakhang, Testay jo, Yoktham, Yokmatham, Sherkhang, Markhang, Chakhang, Chapakhang. The territorial provenance ascribed by Bon.po sources to the ancient rituals defined in Buddhist texts as rDol.Bon, together with recurrent donkey features, testifies to the Indo-Iranic cultural matrix of this form of Bon and its diffusion into Bod.

(17) As is well known, the *Tun-huang Chronicles* (Chapter VI in Bâcot-Thomas-Toussaint [transl.], *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, (p.111 (Tibetan text) and p.147 (transl.)) contribute to the matter by saying that, at the time of gNam.ri's death, Zhang.zhung revolted, which indicates that some unspecified Yar.lung.pa domination of Zhang.zhung was established before his death.

3. The well known account of gNam.ri srong.btsan going to Byang and killing 'grong (sic for 'brong, i.e. "wild *g.yag*") Ne.le bong.zan (*bong.zan*, i.e. "having donkey limbs") (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.22 lines 9-10)<sup>18</sup>.
4. Thon.mi Sam.bho.ta based the script he introduced to Bod on Kha.che Na.ga.ra (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.22 line 19-p.23 line 1).
5. Ngag.dbang grags.pa rejects the statement found in *bKa'.chems ka.khol.ma* that when Weng.cheng Kong.jo was requested in marriage by the headmen of many countries, Ge.sar and the lord of sTag.gzigs had to go through trials of dexterity (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.26 lines 2-4).
6. Srong.btsan sgam.po married Li.thog.sman (i.e. Lig.tig.sman), the daughter of the Zhang.zhung king Lig.mi.ksha (i.e. Lig.myi.rhya) and Bod.mo Mong.za Khri.lcam. In their time, the settlements (*grong*) at dMar.po.ri and lCags.po.ri were established (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.27 lines 6-7)<sup>19</sup>.
7. Srong.btsan sgam.po conquered Zhang.zhung in the west (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.27 lines 18-19).
8. 'Du.srong (sic for 'Dus.srong) mang.po.rje conquered Glo.bo gad.ring ("long precipices, canyons") and sBal.yul nang.gon (i.e. sBal.ti, *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.34 lines 3-4 has sBal.ti srang.gi nang.gong) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.29 lines 12-13).

(18) This is another donkey-morphic feature often encountered in the myths of Dardic kings from sBal.ti, La.dwags and Nub.ra. The episode, as treated in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.169-171), *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.139-140) etc., seems to indicate Iranic presence in Byang.thang, against which gNam.ri, the Yar.lung king, displayed hostility. J.Panglung suggests that the killing of the wild *g.yag* is an allegory for gNam.ri's enmity towards people at the border of his kingdom ("On the Narrative of the Killing of the Evil Yak and the Discovery of Salt in the *Chos.'byung* of Nyang.ral" p.661-667). If this line of thinking is pursued in terms of the ethnic origin of the people against whom gNam.ri fought, they must have been of Iranic stock, given the Iranic undertones of the mythical donkey-morphic traits. The subsequent death of gNam.ri after eating too much salt and drinking too much cold water may suggest, as Panglung says, a poisoning of the king, whose abrupt death is also recorded in the *Tun-huang Chronicles* (Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.111 (Tibetan text), p.147 (transl.)). It cannot be ruled out that he was poisoned by Iranic people with whom he clashed on the northern border of his kingdom, in Byang.thang. gNam.ri's expedition in Byang.thang took place the late 6th-early 7th century. Soon after, Sogdian cultural elements reached lHa.sa during the reign of his son Srong.btsan sgam.po.

(19) It may be purely coincidental, but this passage links marriages and settlements. Does this mean that dMar.po.ri *grong* (not a *mkhar*, thus a settlement and not a castle) was established for Li.tig.sman (a settlement of Zhang.zhung.pa-s?) and lCags.po.ri *grong* for Mong.za Khri.lcam?

9. Khri.srong lde.btsan took over sBal.ti and 'Bru.sha (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.41 lines 10-11).
  
10. Khri Ral.pa conquered the sTag.gzigs frontier, bordering the ocean (sic), called Bye.ma dgang.rings (sgang.ring?, i.e. "long precipitous sandy range") (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.45 lines 9-10).





# *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa: translation of the mNga'.ris section

(p.49 line 4) (Two pages are missing)...

(p.51): "sPu.hrang sku.mkhar Nyi.zung, 'Brog.mtsho Mu.rGyud.gsum, Bar.ska (sic) dang Bo.langs, rGya dang Nyi.ma, as far as Bud.pu, which is like a black snake slithering down-hill<sup>20</sup> is the g.yas.skor.ba ("skor on the right hand"). The snyan.g.yu chid.chen dang chid.chung<sup>21</sup>, the phyag.shan 'grong.rtse ('grong sic for 'brong) ring.mo<sup>22</sup>, the sku.khrab 'bu.e. zil.zhin<sup>23</sup>, the dbu.rmog Khrom.thog dkar.ru<sup>24</sup>, the chibs.byag ro.tsal ring<sup>25</sup>, these are the treasures given to him (bKra.shis.mgon) from all over mNga'.ris.skor.||

This one (bKra.shis.mgon) made the Byams.pa statue in the centre of g.Yu.sgra lha.khang [and] the wall paintings, all these. He provided many receptacles (rten) for the monks' worship.||

The sons [born] to mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.mgon taking btsun.mo Zangs.kha.ma in marriage were Kho.re and Srong.nge, these two.||

Srong.nge was also known by the name Khri.lde Srong.gtsug.btsan. The elder brother Kho.re ruled sPu.hrang. The younger brother Sron.nge ruled Gu.ge. The sons [born] to the divine incarnation (lha'i sprul.pa) Srong.nge taking btsun.mo Seng.dkar.ma in marriage were De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza, these two. They are also known by the names Khri.sde mgon.btsan (sic for Khri.lde mgon.btsan) and lHa.'khor.btsan. The father and the sons, these three, one after the other, were reputed to have been the incarnations of Byang.chub sems.dpa'-s, radiant like the sun and shining like the moon.||

[Srong.nge] had a daughter from another wife; she was known as lHa'i me.tog.||

Furthermore (de.yang), rgyal.po Glang.dar.ma persecuted the teachings.||

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(20) i.e. adjoining lower lands.

(21) "the turquoise earrings heavy in weight and light in weight", if snyan.g.yu chid.chen dang chid.chun are corrected to ljid.chen ("heavy in weight") dang ljid.chung ("light in weight").

(22) "the sword with a long wild g.yag tip".

(23) "the armour magnificently shining like silk", if sku.khrab 'bu.e. zil.zhin is corrected to 'bu.ras ("silk") zil.chen ("greatly shining").

(24) "the crowned helmet with white horns made of Khrom lightning", i.e. "Iranic meteoritic metal"? This is a more meaningful interpretation of Khrom.thog, which usually stands for "outstanding, extraordinary".

(25) "the long horse-whip with a ro.tsal", is ro.tsal a "wooden handle"?

Given that the kingdom was in a state of turmoil, the teachings were abandoned for five generations<sup>26</sup>. For 146 years<sup>27</sup> the [religious] doctrine (gtsug.lag) in this sTod mNga'.ris was Bon, funerary rites (gshin) were black<sup>28</sup>, the living ones were practising heretical religion, dead bodies were carried to cemeteries, the impure dead bodies were cast away<sup>29</sup>. [These practices] did not belong to the realm of the dkon.mchog[.gsum] ("the triple jewel"). During the time when Chos was discarded, after 47 generations [of rulers], the incarnated (p.52) king Srong.nge was born, like a second<sup>30</sup> Pun.ta.ri.ka flower, as a son in the line of the protectors (kings). It is said that, owing to Zhi.ba.'od's previous prayers and the power of his compassion, the incarnation of the divine race of Byang.chub sems.dpa'-s, the manifestation of the king of kings on earth, who abandoned worldly life in order to protect human beings, bla.ma Byang.chub sems.dpa' Ye.shes.'od was born to emancipate human beings in this very mNga'.ris.stod.ll

Furthermore (de.yang), because of [his] great [inborn] knowledge, he had the ability [to find] means of protecting living beings. Because of his great compassion, as his activity was only concerned with ways of benefitting others, since he struggled [to provide] means only for the peace and happiness of all human beings, in the earth male dog year (sa.pho.kyi) (sic for sa.pho.byi, i.e. earth male rat)<sup>31</sup>, in the time of Tsang dKar.se.nag<sup>32</sup>, Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung, being the guiding authority in all directions (phyogs.phyogs.kyi sna'o.las.pa), gathered the leaders, the elders (rgan.pa) and the most notable subjects ('bangs.grags.pa) of every land [in the kingdom]. He said: "In antiquity, thanks to lha.sras mes Tho.tho.ri snyan.btsan, mes Srong.btsan sgam.po, mes Khri.srong lde.btsan, mes Ral.pa.can, in the land of Tibet where darkness reigns, in this place where one does not [know how to] discriminate between good and bad, in order to translate the noble religion from India, they proclaimed that they highly respected those among the population blessed with faith and wisdom, who stood on the path of liberation. They invited many pan.di.ta-s from India. Since many Buddhist texts were translated, all the subjects were ordered to personally practice with [greatest] devotion. The teachings of Sangs.rgyas having shone like the sun (p.53), owing to rgyal.po Glang.dar.ma's persecution of the teachings, they were discarded for many years. Since both chos.khrims and rgyal.khrims were declining, as also all the black headed [people] were lacking in excellent virtue and were suffering, since it was difficult to match the virtuous deeds of the ancestors (yab.mes), the subjects were embittered. Laws (bka'.khrims) enforced by a chos.rtsigs ("religious edict") did not exist, [but] nonetheless they tried to follow the orders. Since the Buddhist teachings are to

(26) i.e. Glang.dar.ma, 'Od.srung, dPal.'khor.btsan, Nyi.ma.mgon and bKra.shis.mgon.

(27) i.e. 841-986.

(28) i.e. "were heretical".

(29) if rdzong.'debs is corrected to rdzongs.'debs.

(30) if gnyis is corrected to gnyis.pa.

(31) for the reasons behind the substitution of earth male rat for earth male dog see below p.189-191.

(32) dKar.ser.nag?

be disseminated in sTod mNga'.ris<sup>33</sup> now as well as in the future, [I Zhang.rung] am issuing an order (bka'.stsal) to diffuse this kind of Chos and the nobles virtues". [Consequently,] as many copies of the text (yi.ge) of chos.khrims and rgyal.khrims was prepared, they were widely circulated in order to become well known in [all] the districts of the kingdom (mnga'.ris skor).ll

In the fire male monkey year<sup>34</sup>, the foundations of Tho.gling gtsug.lag.khang in Gu.ge were laid out. In the earth male dragon year<sup>35</sup>, the great renovation (zhal.sro sic for zhal.gso) of the gtsug.lag.khang was completed and the name Tho.gling Khang.dmar dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang was given to it. A statue of the lord of the teachings (bstan.pa'i gtso.bo) was made. Materials for worship, man-power, goods and estates were regularly provided [to maintain Tho.ling].ll

Lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po and [other] intelligent boys, altogether twenty-one, as their fathers and mothers were compensated in gold, [these twenty-one youths] having been sent to Kha.che to study to be translators, nineteen died of fever. After returning to Tibet, lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po and lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab, these two, earlier and later invited many pan.di.ta-s, pandita Shra.dha.ka.ra.warma among them, [and] gave [them] many offerings of gold. Since sDe.snod.gsum and rGyud.sde.bzhi dgongs.'grel as well as Lugs.kyi bstan.bcos [and] many [others works] were translated, the teachings were greatly diffused.ll

According to lo.tsa.ba's biography, after his return from Kha.che, as lo.tsa.ba was accompanied by five knowledgeable youths, it is said that he was sent [again] to Kha.che. This was the second time he was sent to Kha.che.ll

Of those five, two died (p.54). Since Mang.wer Rin.chen shes.rab, rMa dGe[.ba'i] blo[.gros] and brDzangs (sic for 'Dzang) Rin.chen gzhon.nu, these three, also learned to be expert translators, they became the lo.chung-s ("minor translators") of lo.chen (Rin.chen bzang.po).ll

These three also translated many works, such as dBu[.ma] and Tshad[.ma].ll

At that time<sup>36</sup>, the Gu.ge sPu.hrang Mar.yul dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s, the btsun.chen-s, the bla.zhang.blon-s<sup>37</sup>, these three, [and] the most notable subjects were gathered. [Ye.shes.'od] made a great assignment of duties (bskos.chen) to [these] knowledgeable people. As each of them was given the responsibility for the laws (bka'.khrims) appropriate to those circumstance as well as for [those of the earlier]<sup>38</sup> bka'.shog chen.mo, [these orders] were circulated in every direction. A major investigation of [the extent of the observance of the] chos.khrims was also carried out in all directions.ll

(33) otherwise: "in the kingdom of sTod".

(34) i.e. 996.

(35) i.e. 1028.

(36) i.e. at the time of of Rin.chen bzang.po's departure on his second journey to Kha.che in 996 see below p.188 and p.233.

(37) "chief maternal uncles/ministers".

(38) issued in 986 by Ye.shes.'od, to which reference is made in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* on p.68 lines 2-3.

Moreover, in Pu.hrangs at Kha.char Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang a statue of Byams.pa was made. At Mar.yul Nyar.ma gtsug.lag.khang a statue of Mar.me.mdzad was made. Pi.ti Ta.po Cog.la.rgyan<sup>39</sup>; the mtha.'dul gtsug.lag.khang-s Nga.ra Ka.nam lha.khang, Re.sag (sic for Ro.pag) Mo.nang lha.khang, Ro.chung sPu lha.khang; Pi.war (sic for Pi.wang) dKar.sag lha.khang, one hundred gtsug.lag.khang-s and countless mchod.rten-s were built.||

As for sku.rten, [the statue of] the supreme lord (gtso)<sup>40</sup> [surrounded] by [statues of] the four great Keepers of the Precepts (bka'.skyong)<sup>41</sup>, was made for the Tho.gling monks. The head division (bla.tsho) of eighty monks was appointed to be incumbent. As for gsung.rten, three sets of bKa'.gyur [and], moreover, many [other] texts (legs.bam) were prepared. As for thugs.rten, many of them were also made. Indestructable faith was [firmly] established.||

From the land of Kha.che, pan.di.ta Dha.ma.shi.la (sic for Dha.na.shi.la) [and] many [other pan.di.ta-s] were invited. Since lo.chen and Pang.kung lo.tsa.ba translated several religious works, many communities of ordained monks were established, subdivided into communities devoted to learning and debating and to meditation. Since the Bon teachings were widespread in Zhang.zhung, all Bon.po-s were gathered, thrown inside a house (p.55), which was set on fire. As all Bon texts were collected, they were thrown into rivers. Since the existing custom of burying the dead in cemeteries with riches was abandoned, a righteous practice<sup>42</sup> was introduced. The system of reciting formulas<sup>43</sup> and saying prayers, as well as that of women becoming nuns, was established throughout Tibet. Given that in antiquity there had been a law by which, unless the king had died, the heir apparent (rgyal.sras) could not be enthroned, a custom was introduced according to which, if his (the heir apparent's) father became a monk (bla.chen), [his] son was to be appointed mnga'.bdag. In general, [Ye.shes.'od] greatly diffused the Buddhist teachings and in particular (dgos sic for sgos) he prepared many [copies of] the text (yi.ge) of chos.khrims and rgyal.khrims [as follows]: "How is the law to appoint the king? If there are many [king's] sons, [all] have to become monks except the heir apparent (rgyal.tshab)<sup>44</sup>. If the btsan.po is ordained (rab.tu.byung.ba), he has to protect the sangha<sup>45</sup>. If the line (gdung) of lay rulers (btsan.po skya.bo) is interrupted, it is to be restored from the monks' side [of the royal family]. All lay people and monks (skya.ser) have to safeguard the stability of the

(39) "ornament of Cog.la".

(40) i.e. rNam.par snang.mdzad.

(41) i.e. the other four Tathagata-s.

(42) lit. "a practice of virtues".

(43) mtshan stands for mantra-s in this case.

(44) a few instances of the use of rgyal.tshab to mean "successor" rather than "representative" or "regent" are found in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. This is likely to be a West Tibetan custom for in at least one other case (the generations of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom from Ye.shes.'od to 'Od.lde in *Deb.ther sngon.po* p.299 lines 14-16) rgyal.tshab is used in the same way.

(45) 'dul.zhing, i.e. the "Vinaya realm", otherwise the "realm of ordained monks".

Buddhist teachings (chos.skor). From now onwards, the latest developments in terms of teachings and written sources, which are recommended by the monks of high knowledge<sup>46</sup> and the full time keepers of religious vows (sdom.brtson), all of them, as well as medical (sman) and technical science (go.cha), if they do not exist, should be brought from elsewhere. All monks and laymen have to stand as guards against the hazards [created by] people at the borders of the kingdom. The population (skye.bo) [has to learn] to shoot arrows, to run and to jump and to wrestle [in various] techniques<sup>47</sup>, to swim and to perform exercises of dexterity on horses, to read and write and make calculations, [i.e.] the nine kinds of male training. Moreover, all kinds of exercises of bravery have to be learned.

How to behave in order to be a virtuous man among the population? After anyone from among the subjects has become ordained, none of the subjects can object [to his decision]. Casting, painting and carving techniques have to be learned in order to make receptacles of body, speech and mind. These [works] must not to be coarsely made. How are these [fine works] to be rewarded? Casting must not to be coarsely done, and [adequate] reward will be given. How must you, khu.dbon, behave? (p.56) If any subject, monk or layman, contravene the chos.rtsigs, the king and ministers are not to use whatever high authority they have, but must rather attempt a reconciliation regardless of the circumstances. In brief, no one is allowed to break the great laws (bka'.khrims chen.mo) of chos.khrims.

Since estates requiring one thousand khal-s and ten nyag.ma-s<sup>48</sup> to be cultivated are to be awarded to the head monastery Tho.gling for the provision of the monks' meals and for worship as well as the provisions of clothing and money, and since the nomads of the land have to give, from their own resources, salt and the equivalent of [such] field crops to the monks, no one can avoid these duties, which have been assigned for as long as the sun and moon will exist.

As Ha.se 'Phags.pa stands as witness, chos.skyong Be.dbon.blon.gsum (sic for Pe.dpon.blon.gsum), the incarnations of virtue and power, are here invoked as impartial witnesses. All [of us] take a solemn oath. We are also bound [by this oath] in the future (chis sic for physis). [We] the brothers-sons, the queens, the ministers, all of us, in our turn, take a solemn vow not to contravene the chos.rtsigs. We [swear] not [to fail] to tell our future generations [to do] the same. So it is declared. We all take a solemn oath".||

Then, since he (Ye.shes.'od) realised that secular power (rgyal.srid) and royal fame, all these, are illusions devoid of substance, he renounced his secular power (rgyal.srid) for religion and since he left the kingdom, the royal power (rgyal.srid) and [his] subjects, all that had to be safeguarded, to his elder brother Kho.re, he did not care even for his body and wealth, he uncompromisingly [longed for] Buddhism, which [frees] the mind from wandering in this [materialistic] realm. Having thus earnestly striven for [such a] faith, he developed his own inner strength. "While I associate with the dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s

(46) mang.tu thos.pa, see Das dictionary.

(47) spyad.kyi.stangs sic for gyad.kyi.stangs?

(48) sic for nya.ga?: "scale"? a "weight"?

(spiritual masters), in order not to be un-compassionate to me, accept the secular power”, as he prayed to [his brother] in this way [and] also gave this order to [his] three offspring, the [two] brothers and the sister, these three (lcam.sring.gsum), placed this order on the crown of their head. Although he (Ye.shes.’od) held secular power in the palm of his hand as well as having noble origins, wealth, a following, youth and charisma since his early days, (p.57) he did not care for them and abandoned them all. As his mind was trained [in this way] since his childhood, this noble man regretted seeing the outcome of [worldly] actions to be as [useless] as they are<sup>49</sup>.

Seen from his perspective, [which was that] of a spiritual master, in order to cleanse the common people’s household, besieged as it is by the army of pettiness, where [people’s] lust like ripples on water is dwelling in their ignorant selves shaken by the rough waves of hatred, as he was frightened like the bird who fears water, he rushed with his sons from the royal palace to the monastery. As he revered religion more than royal status, his subjects also followed in the footsteps of this great man. [This] lha.rgyal bla.ma (Ye.shes.’od) paved a great path for Buddha’s teachings. Since lha.bla.ma was in this way the chief architect of the spread of the teachings, he was so gracious as to accomplish its diffusion from mNga’.ris<sup>50</sup>. As he (Ye.shes.’od) banned the practitioners of whatever was heretical, such as liberation through sexual union, meditation on corpses, and in particular all practitioners of Bon, he brought [practice] back to the true path. His fame became widespread in all directions by word of mouth.||

For the sake of the greatness of Chos, he did not allow those leaning in favour of Bon to contaminate Chos by blending it with the old doctrines of Bon but [permitted just a little] proximity [of Bon to Chos].||

Since he gave all sorts of wordly instruction (’jig.rten.gyi lung) to his subjects (p.58) and [religious?] orders (bka’.lung) regarding practice according to [their] needs, [and] he also did much that was extremely useful [and] well suited to [his] land and [his] time to enable his people to accomplish their aspirations, he was even superior to slob.dpon Klu.sgrub.||

“lHa.rgyal lha.ma (sic) Ye.shes.’od came to perform the deeds Sangs.rgyas performed”, so it has been said; and “the king whose name ends in ’od and the dge.slong who has a bird face”, so it has been said, are prophecies relating to lha.bla.ma and lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po, these two.||

Similarly, as he resided at his personal (thugs.dam) [temple] [Tho.]gling after he was ordained, he practised the Byang.chub sems.dpa’ path in a way that no mind can grasp and brought his meditation to the highest stage.||

Then, as lo.chen, the notables and the common people, in agreement with their own wishes, received teachings suited to whatever [was required], they were emancipated.||

Earlier and later (snga.phyi thams.cad), he laboured in accordance with the orders he gave and the duties [he assigned] for the expansion, renovation and worship of the ancestral

(49) ’di.’dra, lit. “to be so”.

(50) does mnga’.ris stand for “mNga’.ris skor.gsum” or for “his kingdom” in this case?

gtsug.lag.khang-s. He renovated and expanded the [temples] according to the appointments and instructions (bka'.lung) he had received, and he also issued similar binding instructions (bka'.lung nan.can mdzad) to his descendants (dbon.rabs). Even when he was very old he performed many bskor.ba-s around his own thugs.dam.gling<sup>51</sup> using his walking stick, and, moreover, he promoted all sorts of worship and benefitted himself and others without discrimination.||

At about that time, as no one was around to see except one attendant (nye.gnas), as he announced: "Since my life will end in three years, I wish to devote myself to the practice of meditation (thugs.dam mdzad)", and, when his death was approaching, as he interrupted his meditation, he showed his face to the common people, who need to be tamed, [and] behaved like a subject for a while. When he went to the place of public assembly to give his last instructions (bka'.lung) on the chos.rtsigs, as each [person communicated] matters of general importance with devotion, respect and pleasure [to see him], everyone offered prostrations (p.59). A great ceremony was organized for him to appear [in public] and issue his orders (bka'.lung). As regards this (de.yang), the ceremony was held for five days without interruption, [in which] the ordained monks in their full yellow robes first participated, and after them also all the sngags.pa-s in their He.ru.ka dress, followed by a performance of innumerable dances, music and shi.rdo (?), and, after them, by all the queens and the royal ladies, who had taken lay and nun's vows (btsun.mo mo.btsun skya.ser), and, after them, by each land headman adorned with various kinds of ornaments, and by songs and dances performed in groups, physical games, laughter and prayers, followed by a gathering of male and female elders and their people. As he saw the gathering of the population, each offering prostrations, circumambulations, reverence and prayers, bla.ma (Ye.shes.'od) said: "I am pleased to say that the chos.rtsigs is excellently diffused and safeguarded throughout the kingdom". In antiquity, king gZas.gtsang gave five hundred youths of Shakya race to gZhon.nu don.grub. Similarly, from mNga'.ris skor.gsum, as two hundred youths were gathered, who had considerable wisdom, bright intelligence, diligent mind, good heart, faith in Buddhism and fondness for the triple jewel, altogether two hundred, they were delivered on the path of liberation in the footsteps of [Ye.shes.'od's] two sons (De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza). Consequently, one hundred from Gu.ge, forty from sPu.hrang, thirty from Mar.yul, thirty from Pi.ti, altogether two hundred, were gathered.||

Again, until the end of his life he (Ye.shes.'od) resided at Tho.gling and laboured for the benefit of the teachings and sentient beings.||

In the fire male monkey year<sup>52</sup>, his (Ye.shes.'od's) elder son Khri.lde mgon.btsan, rje (De.ba.ra.dza) and [many] subjects, eighty-eight [altogether], were ordained at Par.sgam Byams.snyon.gling (sic for Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling) (p.60) and the name Dhe.ba.pra.bha was given to him.||

(51) "locus of his meditation" otherwise "his personal temple", i.e. Tho.ling.

(52) i.e. 996.

For twenty-eight years<sup>53</sup>, following his father's order (bka'.lung), he made offerings to the gtsug.lag.khang-s of the ancestors (yab.mes) and their incumbents, made renovations [of these temples] and protected the teachings. He also established dKar.sag chos.sde and [its monks] quarters<sup>54</sup>.ll

In the earth male dog year<sup>55</sup>, [lHa.'khor.btsan] was ordained to the dge.snyen vow and he was given the name Na.ga.ra.dza. When he was twenty-nine years old, as he was fully ordained (rab.tu.gshegs), he was given the name Na.ga.pra.bha. After his elder brother died, he protected the teachings for four years according to his father's order (bka'.lung) and, according to the custom of [his] ancestors, he renovated the gtsug.lag.khang-s, made offerings [to them], gave stability to the laws (bka'.khrims) of the chos.rtsigs. He also established dPe.pa chos.sde and dbu.sde ("dPe.pa monastery and its monastic community"). He made a silver statue of rje.btsun 'Jam.pa'i dbyangs decorated with 250 to.lo (sic for to.la) of gold, diamonds and thousands of various small precious stones, similar to the central 'Phags.pa image of Kha.char; a silver statue of 'Jam.dbyangs dkar.po one rtsi.khru (?) in size; and the complete cycle of the rDo.rje.dbyings deities made of silver; [another] complete set of the rDo.rje.dbyings deities made of brass; and also the statue of Thub.pa grong.khyer.ma from Gar.sha<sup>56</sup> seated cross-legged, in extraordinary li.ma ("bell-metal alloy") and bestowing great blessings, many [images were sponsored by him]. He [thus] performed extraordinary deeds.

[Ye.shes.od's] daughter lHa'i me.tog was also ordained. She built Kre.wel dbu.sde as if this gtsug.lag.khang lha'i me.tog<sup>57</sup> was her sras.tshab ("adopted child")<sup>58</sup>. As she established a community of nuns [there], she provided all that was required for its maintenance.ll

mNga'.bdag chen.po bKra.shis 'Khor.re<sup>59</sup> established Tsha.tsa.sgang dgos.skor (sic for chos.skor), g.Yu.sgra and Khri.lde (sic for sde) (p.61) chos.skor, these three, and accomplished many great works. He subjugated [territories] from gTsang Tshong.'dus mgur.mo as far as the 'Khor.lo.la.ll

'Khor.re's sons were bsTan.ldong Cog.re and [his] younger brother Tsha.la sDe.nag.po (sic for lDe.nag.po) 'dzum.med also known as lHa.sde (sic for lde) bkra.shis.btsan. This one was, first of all, devoted to the dkon.mchog[.gsum] ("triple jewel") and greatly honoured [objects of] worship. Secondly, he was very kind and compassionate to the subjects under his rule. Thirdly, he had great respect and liking for his father's objects of worship. In particular, as Kha.che pan.di.ta Dznya.na.dha.na was invited [by him]

(53) i.e. 996-1023.

(54) if gnas.bzhi is corrected to gnas.gzhi.

(55) i.e. 998.

(56) Ga.sha.na'i Thub.pa seems to be corrupt for Gar.sha.nas Thub.pa.

(57) i.e. "divine flower": Ngag.dbang grags.pa poetically plays with her name in this instance.

(58) i.e. paraphrasing her condition of Ye.shes.'od's daughter (sras.mo).

(59) this a variant of the spelling Khor.re commonly adopted in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.



[and] lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po was the translator, the Yan.lag rgyud.pa'i zhung.rtsa, 'grel and man.ngag, all of them, were translated as well as a medical treatise on curing horses. He (lHa.lde) built the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char and the great silver statue of 'Jam.dpal. He provided many means of support for [their] worship. He established an dbu.sde ("monastic community") of officiating incumbents [at Kha.char]. He invited pandi.ta-s and dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s of India. Having obtained religious teachings, since he realised that worldly well being is without any foundation and regretted in his mind dwelling in the karmic cycle, he was known by the monk's name Dharma.pra.bha. He made a gtsug.lag.khang in Tho.gling and a Byams.pa gser.thang at She.ye in Mar.yul. He made a statue of Thub.pa grong.khyer.ma, bestowing great blessing, about two khru in size<sup>60</sup> [and] complete with throne and torana.ll

His younger brother U.ra.za died at a tender age.ll

mNga'.bdag lHa.lde's sons were 'Od.sde.btsan (sic for lde), bKra.shis.'od, Yongs.srong.lde, these three. The eldest 'Od.lde.btsan was born with a short temper, and from his youth he had great physical strength. He was fond of fighting. On one occasion, when he went to Mar.yul, he founded dPe.thub gtsug.lag.khang. He established [there] a community of monks. He invited pan.di.ta Pu.ni.shri. He addressed his prayers to Sangs(p.62).rgyas sMan.lha (sic for bla). He performed a little (bag.re) Tantric meditation (sngags.kyi thugs.dam). At the end, as he waged a military campaign in the land of Bru.sha, he was taken prisoner there.ll

As his two younger brothers, [wanting to] ransom him, were told that gold [weighing] as much as himself ['Od.lde] was demanded, they could not obtain it and ['Od.lde] remained [a captive] for some time. As his mother prayed to sMan.lha (sic for bla), in [her] son's dream he dreamt that from the east<sup>61</sup> eight dge.slong-s came, untied his chains (lit. lcags, "iron") [and] led him away by the hand<sup>62</sup>. Having [actually] freed himself from the chains [and] escaped, it happened that, due to his previous karma, he was poisoned by iron, [and] he is said to have died at bShul.dkar.

[lHa.lde's] middle [son] bKra.shis.'od, as he was ordained (rab.tu byung) in the water male (sic for female) pig year when he was forty<sup>63</sup>, was given the name pho.brang Byang.chub.'od. As he kept his religious vows<sup>64</sup> until he was fifty-four<sup>65</sup>, he protected the teachings.ll

Furthermore, as he built the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling gtsug.lag.khang at Mang.nang,

(60) a measure corresponding to the distance from the elbow to the tip of the fingers.

(61) Gu.ge is to the east of Bru.zha.

(62) otherwise "his hands were taken out [of the chains]".

(63) i.e.1023.

(64) thugs.dam mdzad, lit. "he meditated".

(65) in 1037.

(66) attached to the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling or inside it?

he made there<sup>66</sup> a golden mchod.rten Tho.gling gSer.khang nag.tu'i wa.ring.mo<sup>67</sup>. He made the three clay statues (lde.pa.gsum sic for ldem.po.gsum) of Pu.hrang Kyin.re.gling gtsug.lag.khang and [provided] the means for their support. ||

lHa.bla.ma [Ye.shes.'od] appointed him to be a later<sup>68</sup> successor of his (Byang.chub.'od's) khu.bo (paternal uncle) Dhe.ba.ra.dza. He followed in the footsteps of [his] mes ("ancestor") (Ye.shes.'od) and khu (De.ba.ra.dza). He was [always] ready to deal with matters personally<sup>69</sup> and to exert himself to the utmost for the sake of all kinds of teachings. He erected an image of Phiyag.bzhi.pa (sPyan.ras.gzigs), which was the life size (sku.tshad) silver incarnation (dngul.gyi sprul.sku) of Dhe.ba.ra.dza. He made a statue in gold the size of a hand. As for gsung.rten, he made a golden Yum in eighteen volumes. He also built the Padma rmad.du byung.ba gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.gling. As for the materials [employed for these images], [he used] tens of thousands of zho of gold, and copper. At Mang.nang he built the dPal Byams.pa 'phel gtsug.lag.khang. He built the lHa.khang dmar.po attached to the monastery of the bright (blo.can) gZim.mal [community]. He built three mchod.rten-s with cakra ('khor.lo.can) attached to the tombs (sku.sgyur.ba, lit. "body transference") of the sras.yum.gsum<sup>70</sup>. He built a large golden mchod.rten. As for [their] materials, he used ten thousand zho of gold. He built a gdung.khang<sup>71</sup>, the tomb (sku.sgyur.ba) of his elder brother mnga' (p.63).bdag ('Od.lde), and a gdung.khang of the twelve dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s in the shape of a small gSer.khang. As for the materials employed to make the latter, he used incalculable [quantities of precious materials].

He set 240 grains (nas) of gold as [the grant] for the support of Shing.gra (sic for sgra) at Tho.gling and of the gSer.khang, as well as for the dus.mchod<sup>72</sup> [to be held there]. He set thirty-nine khal-s as the tax<sup>73</sup> for the maintenance of a single monk. [These taxes] were to be paid by the palace (i.e. the royalty) and the courtiers<sup>74</sup>. He set twelve and a half khal-s as [the duty] imposed on each land providing maintenance to lHa.khang dmar.po and forty khal-s as the duty imposed [on each land] to arrange means of support for [the performance of] dus.mchod. He provided the forty monks of Mang.nang Byang.chub

(67) the sentence is corrupt, making its translation difficult. Does the phrase mean that this golden mchod.rten had a wa.ring.mo, i.e. a gutter along the edges of the roof, similar to that in wood which can be seen in the Ghersi's picture of Tho.ling gSer.khang (Tucci, *Transhimalaya* pl.68) before the temple recently underwent destruction? For the function of a wa.ring.mo see *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos 'byung* (p.371 lines 2-3): "Brag.gzung lha.lod dang/ Cang A.pos blon.po byas.../ yab.mes.kyi bang.so.la thigs.tshags byas.nas wa.btsugs.so", "Brag.gzung lha.lod and Cang A.po were [dPal.'khor.btsan's] ministers... They repaired the leaking roofs of the ancestors' tombs by installing a gutter".

(68) chis sic for physis.

(69) lit. "to go on foot".

(70) i.e. two sons and a mother or wife, otherwise a son and two mothers or wives. I thought of De.ba.ra.dza, Na.ga.ra.dza and lHa'i me.tog, but yum seems to rule out the possibility that it refers to lHa'i me.tog, who was their sister.

(71) "funerary chambers".

(72) ceremonies held at fixed times.

(73) if spya is corrected to dpya.

(74) if rtse.dgor [sic] is corrected to rtse.'khor, i.e. rtse.mo'i 'khor: "the palace court".

dge.gnas.gling with forty ka.wa.li-s (kapala), each decorated with eight silver lions around the rim; forty Indian vases with lid (bya.ma bum); forty begging bowls; forty cast thrones (lugs.khri); complete sets of mDo.lde (sic for sde) that he greatly revered (thugs.dam), and Yum, altogether three<sup>75</sup>; a copper cauldron for cooking rice (gsang.zang sic for bsang.zangs) and rice plates, various kinds of kitchen utensils, all of these. He established 208 households of subjects under his divine rule (lha.'bangs) [at Mang.nang].ll

Furthermore, he provided to each [monastic community] three sets of paraphernalia for the worship of books and gtsug.lag.khang-s, [consisting of] the mchod.pa'i zhabs.bsil ("the seven water cups") [and including items ranging] from flowers to rol.mo ("ritual musical instruments"), umbrellas, rnga.g.yab ("g.yag tails"), ba.dan ("hangings"), phan ("pillar hangings") in great numbers, as well as innumerable implements for worship.ll

He also provided each monk with meals for one year, personal necessities, robes, lodging and medicines, and clothing for all their servants, as well as many public resources (spyi'i dkor).ll

He also allocated vast resources for the implements [of worship] (yo.byad.kyi dkor).ll

One can [come to] know exhaustive [details] [about these grants, by reading] the individual scroll [documents]<sup>76</sup>.ll

Lastly, he went all the way to the rich gold mines of dBus to collect gold to ransom [his] elder brother ('Od.lde).ll

He saw great quantities of gold.ll

On hearing of the death of his elder brother, a thought came to his mind. (p.64) He thought to spread the teachings even more than before for the benefit of his brother by inviting a master pan.di.ta from India [and thus] sent Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba Tshul.khrims rgyal.ba at the head of the mission with four subordinates (dpon.yog.lnga). He entrusted rGya brTson.seng with a piece of gold weighing eleven shing.srang<sup>77</sup>, and a large quantity of gold dust. After they went to invite Jo.bo Dhi.pam.kha.ra.shri.dznya.na, when the latter arrived, pho.brang btsun.pa (Byang.chub.'od) personally travelled half a day on foot [to meet him and] gave him a reception. He prostrated himself at [Jo.bo.rje's] feet and enquired about his health. He offered him a mandala made of three hundred gold srang-s ("coins"). Since he begged forgiveness [by saying]: "We Tibetans do not have a bla.ma. Despite the fact that we do not practice Kla.klo'i Chos, we are poor in faith and knowledge. Forgive us if anything was wrong in the way we welcomed [you] and payed our respects". He asked [Jo.bo.rje] five questions. [Jo.bo.rje] answered: "Cha.li.pa! There is no more profound Chos than that you wrote in the form of questions [to me]. It is true that the Tibetan king is a Byang.chub sems.dpa". A.ti.sha was extremely pleased. [Jo.bo.rje] being invited to Mang.nang, on being requested to give instruction, he asked if there was a translation of the Rin.chen 'phreng.ba written by slob.dpon Klu.sgrub (Nagarjuna).

(75) two *mDo.sde*-s and one *Yum*? otherwise one *mDo.sde* and two *Yum*-s?

(76) i.e. the administrative scroll-documents issued for each temple.

(77) lit. "wooden coins" (?), I am unaware of this weight.

Since [Byang.chub.'od] said that it had been translated, [Jo.bo.rje] exclaimed: "If so, what need is there of my instruction? This is excellent". As he was begged [by Byang.chub.'od, who told him]: "There is need of more", he wrote the Byang.chub lam.sgron [and] gave [this work to Byang.chub.'od]. Then he was invited to Tho.gling. He met lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po [and,] as they discussed Chos at length, faith grew in lo.tsa.ba and [the latter] asked him for [more] religious instruction. Having stayed three years in Gu.ge, he chiefly gave instruction on cause and effect and Byang.chub.sems. Most people had faith in him, [and] adopted pure Chos. As the practices derived from baseless doctrines (rten.bcas brten.med.kyi rtsod.pa sic for rtsa.ba), heretical Tantra-s (sngags.log.pa) and heretical religion (log.Chos) were refuted, they were abandoned. Then pho.brang btsun.pa (p.65) made [to him] innumerable offerings [such as] the rgyal.srid snga.bdun ("the seven symbols of royalty"), [i.e.] the 'khor.lo and the nor.bu were manufactured; the blon.po ("minister"), the bud.med btsun.mo ("queen") in their precious costumes as well as the glang.po.che ("elephant") were manufactured; the rta ("horse") and the dmag.dpon ("chief of the army") in their own attire, furthermore all kinds of implements were made. This [donation] became known as the mNga'.ris 'bul.mo.che' ("the great offering of mNga'.ris").||

As had happened previously, from Mang.nang gNas.brta.khang<sup>78</sup> as far as brag.tsha<sup>79</sup>, supplies were offered as people regularly carried butter, cheese, several kinds of dry fruits, molasses, white sugar crystals, honey, etc. on their backs.||

Then, 'Brom.ston.pa invited him to dBus, where he (Jo.bo.rje) gave bKa'.gdams.kyi chos.skor ("teachings"). [Jo.bo.rje's] disciples Khu, rNgog and 'Brom, these three, greatly increased the number of monks and hermits at gSang.phu and Ra.sgreng. The culmination of the later diffusion was due to pho.brang Byang.chub.'od and Jo.bo.rje.||

[Byang.chub.'od's] younger brother Srong.lde was ordained (rab.tu bshegs sic for gshegs) in the fire male monkey year<sup>80</sup> [and] was given the name Zhi.ba.'od. He was forty-one [at that time]<sup>81</sup>. He survived thirty-four years after his elder brother's (i.e. Byang.chub.'od's) death. At that time (i.e. at the time of his ordination), since, jointly with<sup>82</sup> his nephew mnga'.bdag rTse.lde, he decided to follow the tradition of the noble deeds of their extraordinary ancestors ('phrul.bag.can sic for 'phrul.ba.can) and to disseminate the teachings in an enduring way, he worked at translations of dam.pa'i Chos, and together they established receptacles of the triple jewel. As he had previously invited many Tibetan masters, he payed his respects to them. As he received many teachings, in order to

(78) this is the residence of Jo.bo.rje, decribed as an Arhat, at Mang.nang.

(79) sic for brag.tsha, i.e. "the foot of the [Mang.nang] rock".

(80) i.e. 1056.

(81) this interpretation is favoured because the literal translation of this passage ("he lived forty-one years after his ordination") does not correlate with the internal evidence on Zhi.ba.'od's dates provided by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* later in the text.

(82) mo.la sic for mu.la: "together", "in conjunction with".

transfer excellent virtue to all human beings, he perfected an unlimited amount of merit and wisdom. Furthermore, he made the three ril.ba-s of the 'jam.ri of the dBu.rtse in Tho.gling (p.66) and a golden mchod.rten with a 'khor.lo ('khor.lo.can)<sup>83</sup> at Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo ("Shing.sgra palace, castle").

In the 'og.khang ("ground floor"), he made the complete cycle of gods of the 'Jam.dpal mtshan.brjod dkyil.'khor and, in the bar.khang ("middle floor"), the statue of rje.btsun 'Jam.dbyangs chen.po the size of lha.bla.ma's own body, the statue of 'Jam.dpal smra.ba'i rgyal.po, studded with all kinds of jewels, which was made at mkhar.sgra (i.e. Shing.sgra mkhar) in the style of Central India<sup>84</sup>, seventy-four clay statues and many minor dkyil.'khor-s; [all these] were placed in [Tho.ling] gSer.khang. In the dBu.rtse, he made the complete Kun.rig rtsa.ba'i ("root") dkyil.'khor, the assembly of gods of the Rigs.kyi gzhon.nu.ma'i dkyil.'khor, which were of clay. Masons (rtsigs.mkhan); carpenters (shing.mkhan); plasterers of the walls (zhal.mkhan); painters of the murals (ri.mo.mkhan); sculptors in clay (lder.gso.mkhan); casters in gold, iron and copper alloys (gser.bzo, lcags.bzo, zangs.bzo.mkhan); all together 223 [artists] and their assistants were gathered to [work on] the 'og.khang. In the sheep year<sup>85</sup>, the foundations were planned and laid. In the monkey year<sup>86</sup>, the walls and roof were raised (rtsigs shing thog phub). In the bird year<sup>87</sup>, the clay statues were made. In the dog year<sup>88</sup>, the murals were painted. In the pig year<sup>89</sup>, the great painting of the [gods'] faces was accomplished. The name 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan was given [to the gSer.khang]. As for gsung.rten, all the works he translated, and the long, middle and short versions of Yum, were written in gold. The jewel in the crown of 'Dzam.gling, the supreme of all learned masters, Dznya.na.shi.mi.tra, the great master A.ti.sha.shri.mi.tra and De.wa.dznya and the great master of Kha.che Ra.han.ta and the great master Gag.tra.ka, [and] many rGya.gar and Kha.che pan.di.ta-s were invited. He (Zhi.ba.'od) gave to the great master A.ti.sha in particular a full bre of gold [dust]. As this bla.ma (Zhi.ba.'od) was the translator, they together translated dPal.mchog rtsa.'grel; Bud.dha.tsa.ri cha.'grel; Tshad.ma; De.ko.na.nyid bsdus.pa 'grel and tig (ti.ka); Tshad.ma(p.67).rgyan 'grel and tig.ka (ti.ka) [and] many major and minor esoteric and exoteric works. As he thought of translating rDo.rje 'phreng.ba, which was a secret Tantra (gsang.sngags) [only] transmitted orally (bshad.rgyud) [in mNga'.ris.stod], he sent [someone] to search for it above Kha.che of India (Kha.che thod, i.e. somewhere in the mountainous area overlooking the Vale) [but] it was not found. Later, he provided Man.triga.ka.la.sha with four hundred zho of gold. The latter was sent to search for [rDo.rje 'phreng.ba], [and] found it in the direction of

(83) with a cakra on its base?

(84) "rGya.gar dBu.kyi sku" i.e. Ma.ga.dha.

(85) i.e. 1067.

(86) i.e. 1068.

(87) i.e. 1069.

(88) i.e. 1070.

(89) i.e. 1071.

dBu.rgyan. As [Zhi.ba.'od] acted as lo.tsa.ba for this bla.ma (Man.triga.ka.la.sha), the work was translated and he [thus] performed many great deeds.||

He established the means of support for the forty monks of the dbu.sde ("monastic community") at Sang.dar. He established [the grant of] thirty [measures] of supplies in favour of Tsha.tsa.sgang chos.skor in Pu.hrang. He completed [supplying] innumerable implements for these [temples].

At that time, he summoned pan.di.ta-s from rGya.gar and Kha.che, and Blo.ldan shes.rab, sGrang.ti Dar.ma snying.po, dBus.gTsang.gi dge.bshes Ar Byang.chub ye.shes, altogether 121 [masters] including their own disciples<sup>90</sup>. Zhang.zhung.ba rGyal.ba shes.rab was invited [together with] all the dge.bshes-s and mkhas.btsun-s from Pu.hrang, Gu.ge and Mar.yul<sup>91</sup>. For three years (lo.gsum.du), the wheel of Buddhism was turned in Gu.ge. Moreover, since he invited A.ti.sha himself and lo.tsa.ba-s and dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s, he was the patron of the translations. He was a recipient of religious teachings, a donor, a maker of religious books (chos), gtsug.lag.khang-s and mchod.rten-s; he allocated public funds for each member of the dbu.sde-s ("monastic communities"), innumerable [deeds were performed by him]. Bla.ma Zhi.ba.'od was a great patron of offerings to the teachings and the holders of [those] teachings. As he personally carried the banner of the teachings, he safeguarded Buddhism for forty-four years and died in the iron female hare year<sup>92</sup>.||

A general outline of the diffusion of the teachings in Tibet is as follows. 347 years elapsed between Khri.srong lde.btsan's orders in the wood female snake year<sup>93</sup> (p.68) and the death of bla.ma Zhi.ba.'od<sup>94</sup>. 126 years elapsed between lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od's order to diffuse the noble religion (dam.pa'i Chos) in sTod mNga'.ris to the most eminent subjects ('bangs gra.pa sic for 'bangs dra.ma) of his kingdom in the fire male dog year<sup>95</sup>, and the death of lha.btsun.pa Zhi.ba.'od in the iron female hare year. Given that the teachings will last for ten phases of five hundred years each from Buddha's nirvana, 3244 years elapsed [between Buddha's nirvana and Ye.shes.'od's bka'.shog chen.mo]. 1756<sup>96</sup> years [after Buddha's nirvana] I myself, Gu.ge bstan.chos.pa ("the Gu.ge author") Ngag.dbang grags.pa, wrote this [work].||

To Ye.shes.'od, who had the moral strength of renunciation; to pho.brang Byang.chub.'od, who was the holder of the treasure<sup>97</sup> of philosophical views (lta) and practice (spyod); to Zhi.ba.'od, who bowed to the greatness<sup>98</sup> of masters possessing compassion,

(90) lit. 'khor: "retinue".

(91) lit. Su (sic for Pu[.hrang]).Gug.Mar.yul.ba rnam.

(92) i.e. 1111.

(93) i.e. 765.

(94) i.e. 1111.

(95) i.e. 986.

(96) sic for 3756.

(97) ster is a spelling for gter according to the West Tibetan dialect.

(98) lit. "mountain".

to the mes.dbon.gsum Tibetans pay homage.||

As it was badly needed, this dynasty [of mes.dbon] was born in Kha.ba.can owing to the power of their superior (lha sic for lhag) thought like blossoming u.dum.wa.ra flowers [to defeat] the hordes of evil doers (gnag.rjes sic for gnag.byed)<sup>99</sup>, belonging to the endless chains of rebirths<sup>100</sup>. Let us not be separated from them ('gral.ba sic for 'bral.ba)<sup>101</sup> until the end of the future.

mNga'.bdag 'Od.sde.btsan (sic for lde) had three sons: Blog.rtsa (sic for tsha) bTsan.srong, Phye.tsha (sic for Che[.chen].tsha)<sup>102</sup> rTse.lde, lDe.rtsa (sic for tsha) Khri.srong.lde otherwise called Grags.btsan.rtse. Of these [three], bTsan.srong ruled Pu.hrangs, rTse.lde ruled Gu.ge. bTsan.srong's son was Khri.btsan.lde. The latter's son was bTsan.phyug.lde. The latter's successor was Grags(p.69).btsan.lde. The latter's son was khri bKra.shis bTsan.stobs.lde. The latter's successor was Khri.'bar.btsan. The latter's son was khri bKra.shis.dNgos.grub mgon.po.

Of these, mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde built Yang.rtse<sup>103</sup> Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang and a gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char. He established an dbu.sde of forty [monks]. His son bTsan.phyug.lde built Sha.rdza'i gtsug.lag.khang. He organized the minor bZhed (sic for bZher) chos.skor. He renovated what was decaying by his offering of many treasures.||

Grags.btsan.lde built Rin.chen brtsegs.kyi gtsug.lag.khang. At the time of his father's funerary rites ('dang sic for 'dad), he gave to about two hundred ordained monks the price of a plot of land and one zho of gold each.||

During the time of bTsan.stobs.lde, since it happened that Zhang.zhung was in disarray, he could not accomplish anything [worthy of a king]. The latter's successor Khri.'bar.btsan made the Kha.char kun (sic for sku).mched chen.po<sup>104</sup>. He sponsored a golden mDo.mang and a rGyud.'bum made of gold. As he had faith and respect in chos.rje 'Jig.rten mgon.po, he saw him for about an instant when the latter appeared in the sky, and he was given teachings. [Khri.'bar.btsan's] son bKra.shis dNgos.grub.mgon was enthroned [as king of Pu.hrang]. The name of his father, when the latter became bla.chen ("monk"), was bla.chen sTag.tsha. He (sTag.tsha) was recognized as the incarnation of Byang.sems Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan.||

As [sTag.tsha] provided the means of support to the ri.pa-s of Gangs.ri.mtsho.gsum and patronage by means of offerings to chos.rje 'Jig.rten mgon.po, he became the "life tree" of the dKar.rgyud (i.e. bKa'.brgyud).||

His second son rNam.lde.mgon, while he was residing at rgyal.sa rtse.rGyal<sup>105</sup> [and] was trying to accomplish what his father had in the past, he had a vision of Dzam.bha.la at

(99) otherwise "forces of darkness".

(100) lit. "egg-births".

(101) i.e. "to be separated".

(102) see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 8-9.

(103) sic for Ya.rtse?

(104) i.e. "Kha.char main silver jo.bo" (sic!).

(105) i.e. rtse.mo rGyal.ti, the rGyal.ti castle.

mkhar.gong<sup>106</sup>. (p.70) Once several traders appeared and entrusted him with many treasures, saying: “If we do not come back in three years, you may use [these]”, and departed.||

Later, since they did not return, he opened the boxes and looked inside. [Inside them] were innumerable treasures. In particular there were struck silver coins, some of them bearing [a formula] saying Dzam.dzam. As rNam.lde thought this was a miraculous gift from 'Dzam.pa.la (sic), in order to make good use of these treasures he commissioned [the statues of] sPyan.ras.gzigs and Phyag.rdor to the right and left of the silver statue erected by lHa.lde. He made the long, middle and short versions of a mDo.mang in gold, and a bKa'.gyur in silver. To 'Bri.khungs.thel, which is a second rDo.rje.gdan, he made many offerings including hundred volumes written with precious jewels, silver tha.li (“plates”) and silver ladles (skyog), altogether eighty, [and] one hundred rosaries in precious stones.||

He established twenty-four ldeng.pa<sup>107</sup> for dGod.khung chos.skor (sic for rGod.khung). He established regular ceremonies in memory of his deceased father (yab.kyi dus.mchod) [to be performed] as long as the teachings will last. Moreover, he performed many great deeds [but] did not have a son.||

In the time of [his] elder brother dNgos.grub's son, rGyal.stabs.lde, the latter brought under his dominion [lands] from Gye.khod (sic for Ge.khod) tsha.kha.la in the east<sup>108</sup> to gSer.gdung.shing in the west<sup>109</sup>. As he became famous in all directions, [his renown] was spread far and wide. He built a lcags.ri (“boundary wall”) around the palace. He made a 'Bum in gold. He awarded a noble patronage to the Ti.se ri.pa-s. His son was khri bKra.shis rGyal.lde. The latter's son was khri bKra.shis sTobs.liding.btsan. During the time of the father and son (rGyal.lde and sTobs.liding.btsan), as they intruded into Byang, they seized the territory tax house<sup>110</sup>. They subjugated the Byang.pa Pi.ling.pa-s and imposed tribute. He (sTobs.liding.btsan) built the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char. His sons were Ar.lde, Chos.btsan.lde and lHa.btsan (sic for lHa.btsun), these three. Since the first two (Ar.lde and Chos.btsan.lde) (p.71) resided at dKar.dum.gyi mkhar.so, gdung.rgyud (“preserver of the lineage”)<sup>111</sup> lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge held the royal power (rgyal.srid).||

The latter's son was chos.rgyal chen.po bKra.shis bSod.nams.lde, who was born at Gro.spang. As he was gifted with great merit since his youth, he virtuously held the royal power (rgyal.srid) of Pu.hrang.||

He conquered Gon.go.phra. He restored most of the ancestral (yab.mes) Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang-s. When he was seventy years old, he took over the Ya.rtse throne. He made many contributions such as the golden canopy above the head of Jo.bo rin.po.che in

(106) i.e. “upper castle”, otherwise “older castle”.

(107) I am unable to decipher the meaning of ldeng.pa.

(108) if the grammatically untenable Shar.tsha.gyi Gye.khod kha la is corrected to Shar.gyi Ge.khod tsha.kha la.

(109) sic for gSer.brdung.zhing?, i.e. “fields where gold is extracted”?

(110) kha.gong.khang; kha: i.e. “territory”; gong: i.e. “price, value”; khang: i.e. “house”. I prefer this reading to that of a place name.

(111) a royal monk who had to take up secular duties.



lHa.sa and a golden butter lamp; moreover a golden parasol as well as a golden canopy and silver butterlamps to gDan.sa.thel, Sa.skya, 'Bri.khung and Tshal Gung.thang.||

He made many offerings to Bu.ston. A complete set of [Bu.ston rin.po.che's] bKa'.gyur and bsTan.gyur in gold, that he commissioned, was brought here (to Pu.hrang). All this made him an extremely great performer of religious and secular deeds. He was famous in both rGya[.gar and] Bod as a chos.rgyal ("religious king").||

He (bSod.nams.lde) had five sons. [Two of them] were dPal.mgon.lde and Kyir.ti.mel. dPal.mgon.lde ruled in Pu.hrang. He made two sets of 'Bum in gold, a mDo.mang in gold and silver as well as many receptacles of body, speech and mind. He also made many offerings in dBus.gTsang.||

His son was gNya'.khri.lde. He ruled both Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse [and since he] died in his youth, his kinsman (gdung.mched)<sup>112</sup> Ki.ti.mal occupied the empty throne by ruling in Ya.rtse. In particular, he invited many pan.di.ta-s from East and West India and made many donations to rDo.rje.gdan. (p.72) On [the death of] [gNya'.khri.lde's] son rGod.lam.lde, the [Pu.hrang] lineage came to an end.

The branch genealogy (gyes.rabs) of Pu.hrangs is as follows. The younger brother (gcung) Grags.btsan.lde. His son was khri Grags.lde.btsan. His son was khri Grags.pa.lde. During the time of his successor A.seng.lde, the latter greatly expanded his dominions (mnga'.thang) and ruled many kingdoms (rgyal.srid).||

His son was mDzi.ta.ri.mal. His sons were A.khyi.mal and A.dznya.mal. The elder brother (A.khyi.mal) had three offspring. The younger brother's (A.dznya.mal's) son was Ka.mal.lde. This is the Ya.rtse rgyal.rgyud ("royal lineage").||

As for Gu.ge mnga'.bdag bla.chen<sup>113</sup> rTse.lde, he was an extraordinarily noble king. His State Council ministers (chab.srid.kyi blon.po) were headed by Zangs.kha.ba rje.blon gTag.zig, Zhang.rung lJid.ltan ring.mo and Cog.ru (sic for Cog.ro) Dal.ba bKra.shis dpal.'bar. Yum (his mother) Che.chen.ma went to ask grub.thob Kha.rang sgom.chen.pa for a prediction concerning her delivery, [and] having asked for this, grub.thob replied: "I dreamt that a wrathful (dregs.pa.can) gnod.sbyin entered into the womb of Jo.bo Che.chen.ba (sic for Jo.mo Che.chen.ma). You will have a son. No one from now onwards will appear in the lineage who can compare [with your son]". Later, it happened exactly in this way. This king, who descended from the sky, the mnga'.bdag ("lord") of the fertile land, Bod.kyi lha.btsan.po rTse.lde related: "In the water male pig year<sup>114</sup>, as we proceeded (gdan.stegs sic for gdan.btegs) from the plain of the Byang.nges.pa (sic for Byang.ngos.pa-s), which was the centre [of the lands] captured by Gye.sar (sic for Ge.sar) (Gye.sar 'dul.ba'i dbus Byang.ngos.pa thang.nas gdan.btegs.nas), when [the kingdom of] rGya was defeated at Ram.thang of rGya<sup>115</sup> as Sang.nang.na (sic for ba) blon.chen

(112) gdung.mched, lit. "brother in the lineage". He was gNya'.khri.lde's uncle.

(113) I do not think that bla.chen in this instance implies that rTse.lde was a monk.

(114) i.e. 1083.

(115) rGya is in Mar.yul, south-west of dBu.bzhi and Me.ru, north of Rum.rtse.

dBang.grub, Sang.nang.ba chibs.dpon<sup>116</sup> sNang.grags, Sang.nang.ba'i sku.tsha.bo<sup>117</sup> Jo.sras rGyal.mtshan rdo.rje, gShen.blon<sup>118</sup> g.Yung.rdor, Sang.nang.ba gser.rje<sup>119</sup> Mu.ru, these five, exhibited miraculous performances of bravery, the thirteen headmen of rGya (rGya'i rgan.po bcu.gsum) withdrew [from the conquered area], [and] political power (chab.srid) was surrendered [by rGya Ge.sar]. Then, we proceeded further (gdan.gtegs sic for gdan.btegs). As the troops posted on the top of Byang.go.la (p.73) were surrendered over by rGya Gye.sar, four men of the territory (gling.mi.bzhi) were sent as envoys. As they earnestly requested [me, rTse.lde] to hold a session of talks, a plan<sup>120</sup> was made. Since Sang.nang.ba blon.chen dBang.grub and sNang.grags were sent, many treasures were obtained as tribute, such as the Gye.sar.gyi rMu.khrab zil.pa (sic for zil.ba) ma.mo.bdun (sic for mum).sgribs (sic for sgrib)<sup>121</sup>, the lha.'khrab dkar.po<sup>122</sup>, being the most important among the eighteen suits of armour; the g.yu 'od.lidan dkar.po<sup>123</sup>, the dkar.chen (sic for skar.chen) spangs.sa (sic for spang.sa)<sup>124</sup>, the twenty renowned turquoises; the sgyu.skazla.brgyad<sup>125</sup>, the gza'.brgyad<sup>126</sup>, the skus.legs nor.bu chung phyangs.ma<sup>127</sup>, the ten sets of necklaces; the nor.gyi gab.rtse, phya'i gab.rtse and 'phrul.gyi gab.rtse<sup>128</sup>, these three; the ral.gri srin.mo khrag.ldag 'brong rtse.ring<sup>129</sup>, the [sword] glog.dmar me.bsod<sup>130</sup>, the eighteen swords; the rdzing.khung bdud.gri nag.po<sup>131</sup>, the eight main dMu knives, which are the most important among the fifteen knives; the sga.ma 'ji.khri.steng (sic for gzi?)<sup>132</sup>, the bkra.shis bzhi.'degs<sup>133</sup>; fifty grey horses; fifty light brown horses; twenty ponies; thirty piebald (bra.bo) horses; twenty light brown 'bri-s ('bri zal.mo); ten fox coloured ['bri-s]; moreover, [an unspecified number of] sheep, i.e. many riches".

As much was given in tribute, mDo.smad in the east as far as Gong.kha dmag.ru [with its] three hundred sna ("divisions"?) was brought under [rTse.lde's] dominion. In the south, Bre.srang.gi yul and Ya.rtse Chu.la me.'bar as far as the tshang.lcags rdo.ring<sup>134</sup>,

(116) "chief of the horsemen".

(117) "Sang.nang.ba nephew".

(118) lit. an improbable "minister of the gShen-s".

(119) lit. "lord of gold".

(120) spyan[honorific].'jus: "plan".

(121) "the shining rMu armour of Ge.sar, which is obscured by the ma.mo-s".

(122) "the divine white armour".

(123) "the turquoise emitting white light".

(124) "the great [turquoise] star shining on the meadow land".

(125) "the constellation of the eight sGyu stars?"

(126) "the eight planets".

(127) "excellent necklace with jewel pendants".

(128) "charts for predicting wealth, charts for divination and magic".

(129) "the sword with a long wild g.yag tip, which makes the srin.mo-s drip blood".

(130) "the sword which extinguishes the red lightning fire".

(131) "the demons' black knife with a hollow whetstone [to sharpen its blade]".

(132) "the saddle in gzi stones, [which is] a glittering throne".

(133) "the auspicious four legged saddle".

(134) "pure iron pillar".

[these] nine territories [were added to his dominions]. [In order to mark the border] he planted seven [kinds of] thick headed thorny trees of Tibet. [In the west] Ra.gan.gyi 'bren.g.shing (sic for zhing?)<sup>135</sup>, Tshong.'dus 'ba'.ra<sup>136</sup> as far as Kha.che Tse.steng [were brought under his control]. In the north, he took the La.'jings.la. [The lands] up to its mchod.rten were brought under his dominion. [In order to mark the border] he planted the short bla.shing ko.rtse (sic for ko.tse? "soul-tree tea plants"?)<sup>137</sup>. Every two years [envoys from these countries] would come to see him and to pay homage and tribute. In accordance with the wish of his ancestors (yab.mes), having extraordinary faith in the dkon.mchog[.gsum], bla.chen.po rTse.lde provided all basic needs and support for the gtsug.lag.khang-s of his paternal uncles, who were the lha.rje bla.ma-s, dbu.sde-s ("monastic communities"), and everything [else] established [by them].

(p.74) lHa.rje bla.ma (Byang.chub.'od) exclaimed: "It is now rTse.lde's turn, ha.hi!<sup>138</sup>, to bring to completion my noble enterprises which remain unfinished".||

Bla.chen himself (rTse.lde) provided full support for the religious teachings (chos.skor) and the chapels of the gtsug.lag.khang-s in Pu.hrangs<sup>139</sup>.||

Kha.che Dznya.na.shri was invited. Khyung.po Chos.brtson was the translator. They translated rgyud rDo.rje rtse.mo, sByong.rgyud (sic for sPyong.rgyud), Tshad.ma and its ti.ka written by Chos.mchog. When Tsan.dra.ra.hu.la was invited, Cog.ro Ting.nge.'dzin bzang.po was the translator. They translated Tshad.ma kun.las btus.pa. He (rTse.lde) was the sponsor who sent lo.tsa.ba Blo.ldan shes.rab [to study] in Kha.che. As for his thugs.dam (yi.dam), he principally worshipped and addressed prayers to sMan.lha (sic). Finally, having had a dispute with a subject, he was murdered. He died before his paternal uncle (khu)<sup>140</sup>.||

As a matter of fact, his four sons were as follows. His (rTse.lde's) son was rTse.'od. His (rTse.lde's) son was Jo.rtse. His (rTse.lde's) son rDo.rje.gdan. These three offspring resided at Sang.grag<sup>141</sup> Brang.mkhar. lHa.btsun dBang.'od was designated the heir apparent (gdung.tshab). He resided at dKar.po'i Te.lde. Finally, when there was a dispute between khu.dbon<sup>142</sup>, dbon mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse assassinated him at Tho.gling Thang.gi 'od<sup>143</sup>.||

(135) if Ra.gan.gyi 'bren.g.shing is corrected to Ra.gan 'brel.zhing, it means "adjoining fields where [ores for] brass[-making] are extracted".

(136) "walled trade mart".

(137) what kind of tree is this?

(138) expression of joy.

(139) the passage has an oddly formulated Pu.hrang su gtsug.lag.khang.gi gtsug.lag.khang, which has the air of a tautology.

(140) Zhi.ba.'od.

(141) sic for Seng.brag?

(142) "paternal uncle and nephew", i.e. lha.btsun dBang.'od and bSod.nams.rtse.

(143) "Tho.ling plain of light", otherwise but more improbably Tho.gling.gi thang.gi 'og.du ("below the Tho.ling plain"). This is unlikely for below the Tho.ling plain the Glang.chen kha.'babs flows through a rather impracticable area.

Tsa.me.dwi.ta (Jamaditya?) died at a tender age. Zangs.kha.tsha<sup>144</sup> khri bKra.shis 'Bar.lde.btsan was also known as dBang.lde. As his merit was burning<sup>145</sup> like fire, he was given power over Gu.ge Zhang.zhung lHo.Byang (lHo.stod and Byang.ngos). He established his residence at sku.mkhar Dun.mkhar. During his reign, blon.po Zangs.kha, rje.blon dGa'.skyid and mDa'.pa rje.blon Grags.dpal were [his ministers], [and] he followed in the tradition of his ancestors [yab.mes].||

He provided funds for lo.tsa.ba Blo.ldan shes.rab's (p.75) translation of Tshad.ma nram.'grel and rgyan. He died before his father.||

During the reign of the latter's son bSod.nams.rtse, blon.po Kyin Hor.ba behaved patiently<sup>146</sup>. At the time of the dispute between khu.dbon (paternal uncle and nephew, lha.btsun dBang.'od and bSod.nams.rtse), he pitched a camp [for a battle?] and was victorious. As he (bSod.nams.rtse) followed whatever advice<sup>147</sup> lcam lHa.sgron gave, he (bSod.nams.rtse) built the three storeyed Rin.chen.gling similar to (dgra.bor sic for 'dra.bor) Tho.ling [gSer.khang] as his main accomplishment. lCam.mo [lHa.sgron] made [the statue of] sGrol.ma which fulfills all wishes. The husband and wife (bSod.nams.rtse and lHa.sgron) provided support for forty monks of [the Rin.chen.gling] and renovated the mes lha.rje bla.ma's (Zhi.ba.'od's) 'Dzam.gling.rgyan<sup>148</sup>.||

His father dBang.lde, who was the true successor of lha.chen rTse.lde, was enthroned when he was thirteen [but] died in his youth. mNga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse affirmed: "On the one hand, I was the successor [designated] by my father, on the other hand, as I grew tired of samsaric life (thugs.smyo sic for thugs.skyo), I thought of being ordained, but as the subjects, elders (dgen sic for rgan), and laymen earnestly pleaded with me, as I became mnga'.bdag, I killed in revenge thirty personal kinsmen of my mes (rTse.lde)". Moreover, he murdered most of his enemies (nag.can sic for nag.chen). Although he thought it necessary to exterminate the rest of his enemies, due to the dispute between khu.dbon<sup>149</sup>, it happened that he had to concede a light punishment.

As a matter of fact, he (bSod.nams.rtse) had three sons: bKra.shis.rtse, Jo.bo rGyal.po and 'Od.'bar.rtse. The eldest (bKra.shis.rtse) ruled Gu.ge lHo.Byang. He established his residence at Dun.bstar (sic for Dun.bkar otherwise Dung.dkar). His five sons were A.ka ra.tsa, Tsan.dra.bho.di (sic for bo.dhi), A.mi.sogs.tsa, Phyogs.tsa and rTse.'bar.btsan. The middle son [Jo.bo] rGyal.po was appointed [king] in Khu.nu, the youngest 'Od.'bar.btsan was appointed [king] in Rong.chung. Although the three brothers had clear in their minds the feats (rgya.ma) and accomplishments (phyag.bzhes) of their ancestors (yab.med sic for

(144) "progeny of the Zangs.kha clan".

(145) 'bar: Ngag.dbang grags.pa is here paraphrasing his name 'Bar.lde.

(146) sran.gyi byas, i.e. "acted with patience [sran]", "was a spectator", i.e. he waited to see the developments of the struggle between uncle and nephew.

(147) mol.ba, lit. "speech".

(148) i.e. Tho.ling gSer.khang.

(149) "paternal uncle and nephew", lha.btsun dBang.'od and bSod.nams.rtse.

yab.mes) of earlier time, as a time of darkness (grib)<sup>150</sup> befell those kings at that time, Gar.log troops invaded [Gu.ge]. bKra.shis.rtse was killed at gNyi.gong phu<sup>151</sup>. (p.76) Since the youngest brother 'Od.'bar.rtse was kept in captivity<sup>152</sup> in Sog.po'i yul, Jo.bo rGyal.po ruled Gu.ge and defeated the enemies from outside (the Gar.log-s). Internally, he restored the stability in the kingdom[, which had been disrupted] and supported Bu.chung's<sup>153</sup> party (Bu.chung rnam).ll

In return for his nobility, he (Jo.bo rGyal.po) was given three bre of Zhang.zhung<sup>154</sup>.ll

Then mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.rtse's son rTse.'bar.btsan was enthroned. Jo.bo rGyal.po's son was gCung.lde<sup>155</sup>. His son was Zhong.lde. His son was Jo bla.ma. Bu.chung rgyal.po's (rTse.'bar.btsan's) kinsman (gdung)<sup>156</sup> Kum.'ug.pa, since he became a lha.btsun ("royal monk"), resided at Tho.gling. 'Od.'bar.rtse's son was idle<sup>157</sup> and the line came to an end. During his reign, mnga'.bdag rTse.'bar.btsan selected Dun.bkar as his residence. At times he resided at Tho.gling.gi Dril.bu.rtse. He (rTse.'bar.btsan) observed monastic moral laws and behaved in accordance with those [laws].ll

He defeated the enemies from outside and internally restored the stability in the kingdom. [Therefore] he protected the kingdom.ll

[rTse.'bar.btsan] had four sons. From rgyal.mo lHa.rgyas (sic for lHa.rgyan: see below) in Pe.ti (sic for Pi.ti) [he had] sPyid.lde.btsan (sic: see below) and rTse.ltan.ngal. From Cho.chen (sic for Che.chen) Blo.ltan rgyal.mo [he had] dPal.'od.btsan [and] 'Dul.srid 'dul.btsan. Later, as a grand funeral ceremony was held at Tho.gling for their father rTse.'bar.btsan who had died, chang had not even been served when a quarrel broke out between some Byang.ngos monks and some men of lHo.phyogs. Owing to the enmity between the two queens, rGyal.mo lHa.rgyan and Blo.ltan rgyal.mo<sup>158</sup>, a struggle [for the throne] broke out. The kingdom, which was a single noble example, was divided into two antagonistic territories. sPyi.lde.btsan<sup>159</sup> ruled Byang.ngos. He was also known as

(150) lit. "shadow".

(151) "upper gNyi.gong", if gNyi.gong.gi phu.rogs is corrected to gNyi.gong.gi phu.ru.

(152) dbu.'jam, lit. "made prisoner".

(153) i.e. rTse.'bar.btsan.

(154) sentence possibly incomplete, bre implies a reward in powder, probably gold. Furthermore, it implies a special measure known as Zhang.zhung bre.

(155) his name gCung.lde shows that he was the youngest son; his brother is not mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

(156) I favour this reading rather than the more canonical "progeny", for, earlier in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 17), Ngag.dbang grags.pa refers to Ki.ti.mal as the gdung.mched (brother in the lineage, in the family) of gNya'.khri.lde. Ki.ti.mal was gNya'.khri.lde's uncle and thus could not be his descendant (see also below p.458-459 and n.770-771).

(157) did he have no offspring?

(158) the sentence is closed by the particle lde. It reads Blo.ltan rgyal.mo.lde, which makes little sense in the case of a queen. lDe has thus to be corrected to the terminative particle ste.

(159) This is curious. His name stands for "overall king, sovereign", while the Gu.ge kingdom was fragmented during his rule.

Mol.mi.mkhyen<sup>160</sup>. dPal.mgon.btsan ruled lHo.stod. Byang.ngos mnga'.bdag khri bKra.shis sPyi.lde.btsan was unable to speak but his mind was otherwise very sharp. When he had to communicate with bla.ma-s and ministers (bla.blon), as he wrote messages, he was able to communicate in this way. Later, as he prayed to his ancestral protective deity (yab.mes thugs.dam) sMan.lha (sic), he recovered [his] speech. (p.77) As his mind was extraordinarily brilliant (thugs.rdzangs sic for thugs.mdzangs), he was regarded as a 'phrul.gyi rgyal.po.ll

[sPyi.lde.btsan] had two sons, Nyi.lde.btsan and rNam.lde.btsan.ll

Nyi.lde.btsan was very wise. As he had faith in dam.pa'i Chos, he was not appointed mnga'.bdag. He meditated all the time. He protected the kingdom as far as Chos is concerned.ll

Khri bKra.shis rNam.lde.btsan's three sons were Gung.lde.btsan, Nyi.ma.lde and lHa.btsun.lde. The lineage was interrupted [and] Nyi.ma.lde was enthroned. His personal merit and wealth were extremely great. As for his main feat, he made a sTong.phrag brgya.pa in gold and a complete [set of] mDo.mang in gold and silver. Having appointed a jo.bo in Pu.hrang as royal successor (rgyal.tsha sic for rgyal.tshab), he had three descendants (sras), dGe.'bum, Byams.pa and Sems.dpa'. As dGe.'bum was enthroned, he made a statue of the lord of the Indian teachings (Shakyamuni), one hundred and eight [statues of Shakyamuni] each one tho in size<sup>161</sup>, eight statues of the eight bDe.bar gshegs.pa-s, one statue of sGrol.ma, a statue of sGrol.ma in gold the size of one half tho. As for gsung.rten, he made a long and middle version of Yum in gold, the two. As he performed virtuous deeds in both secular and religious affairs, he became a Chos.skyong.ba'i rgyal.po<sup>162</sup>. He died when he was seventy.ll

[dGe.'bum] had three sons, Kyi.rdor, La.ga and Thos.pa.ll

As the first (Kyi.rdor) and last (Thos.pa) and their progeny died, the middle brother La.ga was appointed to [exercise] the royal power (rgyal.srid). He built four gtsug.lag.khang-s at Mang.nang. He defeated the enemies from outside<sup>163</sup> and safeguarded power internally. It is also said that he brought under his control Phyag.stod go.gsum, Pe.Khyung.gNyag (sic for Se.Khyung.gNyag) and mNga'.ris skor.gsum [which are] in the east. The latter's successor Chos.rgyal grags.pa was enthroned. His mind and thoughts were extraordinarily elevated. Since [his] minister was instrumental in setting up a noble association, as he (Chos.rgyal grags.pa) became a strategic ally of the shar.gyi bla.ma dpon.chen<sup>164</sup>, (p.78) all of them (Sa.skya.pa-s), he ruled a vastly expanded kingdom. He died when he was twenty-seven.ll

(160) "unable to speak".

(161) if tho.ri is corrected to tho.re.

(162) "king-protector of religion".

(163) the text says spyi'i dgra ("general enemies"), but since, immediately after, it says nang.gi srid.skyong, a correction into phyi'i dgra ("enemies from outside") seems preferable.

(164) the [Sa.skya] bla.ma and dpon.chen in the east (Sa.skya in gTsang being to the east of Gu.ge).

His (Chos.rgyal grags.pa's) successor bla.chen<sup>165</sup> Grags.pa.lde was enthroned. He had extraordinary merit and faith in the dkon.mchog[.gsum].||

During his reign, since his State Council (chab.srid) great minister (blon.po chen.po) Yar.dkar (sic for Yang.dkar?) engineered an insurrection in the middle (gung.ldog), he (Grags.pa.lde) brought under [his] control both Pu[.hrang and] Gug[.ge]. Since he was compassionate in his care for the kingdom and had also great faith in the dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s, he made regular donations of horses to the monasteries in the kingdom. In particular, he sent as an offering one hundred beloved sons, gold, copper and medicine to Chos.kyi rje 'Jig.rten mgon.po's sixth dbon.rabs Gu.ru Dharma.ra.dza<sup>166</sup>. He sent [these] as offerings. As he prostrated one hundred times to the one hundred men and the many objects [offered to] Jo.bo rin.po.che (the 'Bri.gung abbot), who was the mchod.gnas ("officiating bla.ma") of his paternal ancestors (pha.mes, i.e. the Gu.ge lHo.stod kings, who were supporters of 'Bri.gung), the custom that each man had to offer prayers and pay homage by making one hundred prostrations each time to Jo.bo (the 'Bri.gung abbot) was introduced. Since he invited bla.ma mkhas.pa chen.po Sangs.rgyas from rGya<sup>167</sup>, the school of teachings on Phar.phyin was established, and he (Grags.pa.lde) provided support for dbu.sde Go.gsum. He obtained empowerments (dbang) and instruction (gdams.ngag) from many bla.ma mkhas.btsun-s. In particular, he meditated on yi.dam bCu.gcig.zhal. He made [a statue of bCu.gcig.zhal] about the size of the sGrol.ma image in precious materials (rin.po.che) and the long, middle and short versions of Yum in gold. Moreover, he made many receptacles of body, speech and mind, and renovated Tho.gling and dPal.rgyas, which had been built by his ancestors (yab.mes). Having also greatly expanded his kingdom, he brought Ya.rtse Chu.la me.'bar under his control. As they (the subjugated people) bowed with reverence (gus.pas bdud.cing sic for gus.pas btud.cing), they asked him to give each [of their lands] a successor (rgyal.tshab) from his (Grags.pa.lde's) lineage (gdung.rgyud). He issued orders in accordance with these [requests]. (p.79) As he took control by his might of the doors of trade (rje.sgo) to the east and west of his kingdom and subjugated Kya.nom, Nyi.ti, Grum.gnyis, Hrang.nam, Sang.wang, Ad.ru, [and] also extracted tribute from Khur.shud 'jug.khul (sic for Khun.nu.shod 'jug.khul?)<sup>168</sup>, he became unrivalled.||

Then, he died in the fire female ox year<sup>169</sup> at the age of forty-eight. Furthermore, many noble signs took place at his death. In particular, innumerable (rtsod.med sic for tshod.med) relics appeared from his bones.

(165) this is another case where bla.chen has no religious implications in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

(166) this is untenable because the sixth 'Bri.gung dbon.rabs was Grags.pa bsod.nams (1238-1286); he was abbot after Grags.pa.lde's death (from 1284 to 1286). See below in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and my commentary entitled *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs: its contribution to the history of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.437.

(167) rGya in Mar.yul, or India?

(168) i.e. the "land-entrance to lower Khu.nu"?

(169) i.e. 1277.

To Byang.sems (“Bodhicitta”), the Sems.dpa’ (“Bodhisattva-s”) and sNying.rje (“Compassion”), these three, symbolizing the Voice of Buddhism, the Noble Teachings and Religion Perfected, these being the foremost among the excellent objects worthy of our devotion, to all of them let us together pay homage.||

By means of their royal feats one reads about and witnesses, which are like numerous dramatic plays performed in a variety of dancing postures and costumes in different colours and patterns, as parts [in a play] have to be acted, [similarly] all the kings and princes did not leave anything undone. The sun, which has the might of victory triumphing over the planets subordinate to it and which shines with thousand rays in a single day, pervades the lotus garden of human life to protect it, so is the royal method of the ‘Od kings<sup>170</sup>.||

mNga’.bdag Grags.pa.lde’s son, born from bdag.mo sKu.rgyal, was mnga’.bdag rNam.rgyal.lde [and] the one born from the daughter of the king of Mon.yul grong.khyer U.ti.pur, altogether two [sons]. (p.80) [The former’s] elder brother dPal.’bar.lde died when he was thirteen years old. mNga’.bdag rNam.rgyal.lde was the surviving son (’khrungs.pa’i sras, lit. “born son” sic)<sup>171</sup>. He [was gifted with] virtue, glory, [good] qualities and power. He performed deeds in accordance with mi.chos (“civil law”) and lha.dam (i.e. lha.chos dam.pa, i.e. “religious vows”). He patronized the teachings and their holders, the dge.ba’i bshes.gnyen-s. It happened that he made [great] contributions and [practised] the three virtues [even] more than [many of his] ancestors [and], needless to say, than many [contemporary] kings under the sun. It is universally agreed that his feats were particularly noble.||

Furthermore, according to the dream of Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po, the younger brother of Mar.yul.kyi mnga’.bdag Ras.chen, [when] the former was at lHo.stod Ka.gling in the rgyal.srid<sup>172</sup> of mnga’.bdag Grags.pa.lde, he (Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po) predicted that a son was going to be born to the queen, who would have [excellent] qualities and [great] merit, who would be beneficial to the teachings of Sangs.rgyas [and] become the protector of the entire kingdom, [who] would rule the kingdom (rgyal.srid) [and exercise] royal power (mnga’.thang) in accordance with the three virtues. Later, in the water male rat year<sup>173</sup>, a son was born. His head was like a parasol. His forehead was distinguished (?) (dpral.ba’i dbye.phye.ba). His eyebrows were elongated. [His] hands were long with lean fingers. In the palms was an auspicious mark. A four sor (“fingers”)-high coiled urna of white hair was between the two eyes. His eyes and complexion were peculiarly radiant.||

(170) “the shining kings”, i.e. a reference to the name common among the early Gu.ge kings.

(171) mnga’.bdag rNam.rgyal.lde ’khrungs.pa’i sras is a quite obscure and meaningless sentence (his birth being introduced immediately before), which seems corrupt or maybe indicative of doubts whether considering rNam.rgyal.lde as the son of Grags.pa.lde was correct in Ngag.dbang grags.pa’s view.

(172) I favour in this instance the secondary reading “kingdom” rather than the main one of “political power”, for the latter interpretation would lead to an anachronism, which is discussed below p.438.

(173) i.e. 1372.



Everyone was extremely delighted at his birth<sup>174</sup>. A feast [was held], bla.ma-s' blessings [were given]. Rituals (sku.rim) [were performed]. As all kinds of attendants (srung.ba), [the women] in the mother's retinue, [and] the body of secretaries (drung.'khor) took care of him. By virtue of the absence of obstructions due to the strength of his personal merit, when he entered puberty, as he was made lha.btsun in the presence of yongs.kyi mkhan.chen Chos.dpal grags.pa (p.81), he was given the name rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po. After he became his personal disciple, he recited the refuge formula (skyabs.'gro) and mantra-s (bzlas.pa) like an adult.||

He was gifted with extraordinary bodily strength from his childhood. Even if four children at a time, famous for their strength, would [try] to drag him away, they could not. When he was a youth, pulling a bow a little with the tips of his fingers, he had the strength to break its string. Also when his body stopped growing<sup>175</sup>, at the time when the Tho.gling bridge was built (rtsis sic for rtsigs), he could lift with a single hand stones which not many were able to lift at all. To sum up, in displays of strength, running, jumping, archery and all [other] physical exercises (sgyu.rtsal) he was equally [outstanding]. He was extraordinarily quick in understanding and discriminative. As he was very rigorous [and] a fluent speaker, he rejoiced<sup>176</sup> in reading and writing. He strove hard [to promote] all the religious activities of the gtsug.lag.khang-s and [to follow] the principles of ethics. When a text was written [to him], he [evaluated] it in terms of its meaning, calligraphy and implications. All his words and physical acts were in accordance with noble behaviour and virtues. Needless to say [he greatly respected his] bla.ma, and father and mother, these two. He would not use ordinary words to speak to others, not even to address them with "khyod"<sup>177</sup>. It is said that even when he was a child, his simple acts were extraordinary and always in conformity with good manners. He did not use nasty words, jokes or behaved harshly to others. He never performed such actions as doing things at the wrong time, looking down on others, criticising [others], being proud, chatting senselessly, lying, slandering, hunting birds and wildlife, teasing others, being dishonest. Since he did not like chang, for about twenty-five years he did not even drink water brought from the chang house (chang.khang). He dwelled only in noble acts.||

(p.82) On one occasion, as [rNam.rgyal.lde's] elder brother (dPal.'bar.lde) was [selected to be] enthroned, he was chosen to be appointed over Pu.hrang. When all the auspicious paraphernalia and implements had been prepared [and] arrangements had been made to enthrone him, it was not possible to bring him [to the coronation, because] he had left for rTse.ba<sup>178</sup>, and the father...[lacuna]...

(174) lit. "because of him".

(175) i.e. "when he reached the age of a fully grown man".

(176) bgyes sic for dgyes?

(177) khyed sic for khyod, because khyed is honorific while khyod is colloquial. Therefore the sentence should be read "not even with a colloquial "you"", i.e. he always addressed everyone with respect.

(178) rtse rGyal.ti? A cautious assessment, in the absence of further evidence, is that he left for a place where he could not be found.

(p.83) A system was devised at the borders and at the centre [of the kingdom and] everywhere, combining royal strategy (rgyal.thabs), a protective strategy (srung.thabs) and a strategy to repulse invasions (rgol.ba'i zlog.thabs). A defensive system consisting of military assignments and underground passages (go.dong)<sup>179</sup> filled with weapons was arranged. His (rNam.rgyal.lde's) advice (zhal.ta) and orders (bka'.lung) were followed to the letter. Moreover, [as for] the issuing of laws, he updated the corpus of laws enforced by his ancestors (yab.mes.kyi bka'.khrims) by revising them [and] exercised political power (rgyal.srid) [in this way]. Thereafter he held control (bzungs sic for bzung) [of his kingdom]. The prosperity of all nomad lands in the kingdom greatly increased. The herds multiplied. People often freely got together. There were no plagues or famines. Local trade [prospered] with an abundance of goods (zong.mod.pa sic for zog.'bol.ba)<sup>180</sup>. The times were free from unrest. (p.84) Extraordinary peace and prosperity were widespread.||

In the earth male horse year<sup>181</sup>, since rDor.rgyal and dKon.mchog mgon.po, who [were] among the [Gung.thang] Khab.sa-s (sic for Khab.pa), were victorious, they captured rGyal.ti. While they were making preparations to invade Pu.hrang, troops were despatched [by Gu.ge] and all the Khab.pa-s were ousted. Pu.hrang was entirely brought under the control of the sTod.pa-s (i.e. Gu.ge) and a sku.tshab ("regent or representative") was appointed.||

After that, in the earth female hare year<sup>182</sup>, when the Ble.ye'i jo.bo lha.btsun and 'Od.lde's spun (kinsmen) the She.ye.ba-s jointly revolted against the Mar.yul mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde, as mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan ruled [only] in Zhu.yul<sup>183</sup>, Gu.ge fought [its way] as far as Sa.spo.la. As [the rebels] were captured from Ble.ye [onwards], after all of them were subjugated, they were brought under [the control of] mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.||

In this way, while the strict law (khrims.btsan) was the necklace of the kingdom, [some people] disobeyed the orders of the noble lineage (zangs.rgyud sic for bzang.rgyud). When looting and stealing occurred, troops were sent [and] they reinstated the community (lde sic for sde) of the noble lineage (bzang.rgyud). As taxes had been raised higher than previously, despite having been decreased (kha.bzhur) to three hundred, a minor (sic) revolt arose, as [people] opposed the orders. After troops were sent three times, [those people] were brought under control.||

In brief, he (rNam.rgyal.lde) ruled the length and breadth (mtha.dag) of the kingdom. No obscurity and unrest occurred [anymore] and happiness reigned in [his lands]. As he mainly used the rgyal.po'i pho.brang at Ma.nam (Mang.nang), he resided there. When he had completed sixty-eight years of age he passed away amidst all sorts of auspicious signs.||

(179) go: "locality", dong: "underground".

(180) zog: "goods", 'bol.ba: "being abundant".

(181) i.e. 1378.

(182) i.e. 1399.

(183) Rub.zhu.yul.

His son was khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde dpal.bzang.po. His father rNam.rgyal.lde had previously married three wives but had no son. Later, having married lHo.stod bdag.mo lHa.'dzoms, in the earth female ox year<sup>184</sup>, amidst auspicious and noble signs, he (Phun.tshogs.lde) was born in lHo.stod. He was named Rab.ldan (sic for Rab.brta) phun.tshogs.lde. When he was sixteen years old<sup>185</sup>, he was summoned to Byang.ngos Phyi.wang. The protector of earth (sa.skyong) rNam.rgyal.lde was the principal authority [presiding over the ceremony]. When the monks and laymen of Gu.ge (Gu.ge.ti sic for Gu.ge'i), who had the right to give [public] advice, were gathered, he married Mar.yul rgyal.mo Khri.lcam rgyal.mo. mKhas.pa'i dbang.po ("supreme master") Ngag.dbang grags.pa [and] the congregation like an ocean of [monks] wearing red and yellow robes were made to sit at the feet of khri rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po. The ministers were sitting in front. He (Phun.tshogs.lde) was enthroned (dbang.bskur) as king<sup>186</sup>, excellent protector (legs.par skyong.pa) of the vast kingdom, to sit on the elephant throne (gnyis.'thung dbang.po'i khri), which is the worthy companion, dust of the feet of the endless successors of the solar race (nyi.ma'i rigs) [descending] from the ancestor lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, the greatest [of the Gu.ge kings], [which was placed] in the centre of the entire assembly of secretaries and retainers filling the [space around the throne].

[Thus] from then on, this vast kingdom came to wear the white robe of virtue and the feats in religious and lay life were extraordinary and numerous. Khri.lcam rgyal.mo, at the dus.mchod of chos.'phrul chen.mo (sic for cho.'phrul chen.mo)<sup>187</sup> made a gos.'phan chen.mo<sup>188</sup> of ston.pa Sangs.rgyas, which seemed as though he had open eyes (zhal.byed)<sup>189</sup>, [and] many [other] contributions [to the ceremony].||

Then, when he (Phun.tshogs.lde) was forty-one years old<sup>190</sup>, he held the banner of liberation in the presence of the Kha.char dngul.sku (p.85) mched.gsum<sup>191</sup>. He was given the name lha.rje.btsun (i.e. lha.btsun) Shakya.'od. When he was seventy-two<sup>192</sup>, he passed away at Tsa.rang.ga'i (sic for Tsa.rang.gi) pho.brang.rtse<sup>193</sup>.||

His son was khri rNam.ri sang.rgyas.lde (sic for sangs.rgyas) dpal.bzang.po. He was born to Mar.yul khrang.ma<sup>194</sup> Khri.lcam rgyal.mo. He ruled mNga'.ris khri.skor. He (rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde) married bdag.mo Nam.mkha' rgyal.mo [but] they had no son. Later, in Pu.hrang, lha.rig (sic for lha.rigs, i.e. "divine race") bdag.po Blo.bzang rab.brta

(184) i.e. 1409.

(185) in 1424.

(186) rgyal.srid dbang.phyug, lit. "lord of power".

(187) i.e. the regular ceremony to celebrate Buddha's cho.'phrul chen.mo.

(188) gos.'phan is equivalent to gos.sku, i.e. huge patchwork thang.ka-s displayed outside.

(189) i.e. as if Sangs.rgyas was truly living.

(190) in 1449.

(191) the silver statues of the Kha.char three brothers.

(192) in 1480.

(193) "the peak palace", i.e. the palace on top of Tsa.rang's eroded hill.

(194) sic for brang.ma?, i.e. "resident of...?"

was born to bSod.nams bzang.mo, the daughter of dpon.po Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang.po at Drag.la.sgang. His deeds were innumerable and extraordinary.||

Earlier, gong.ma (“king”) Blo.bzang rab.brtaṅ married three wives, but they had no issue. Later, sTod.cha (sic for sTod.tsha)<sup>195</sup> gong.ma ’Phags.pa.lha was born. dGe.legs!”

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(195) I favour the reading “of [lHo].stod descendance” rather than a more vague “of West Tibetan descent”.

# Structural analysis of the mNga'.ris section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* would be more aptly named *Gu.ge Pu.hrang rgyal.rabs* for it deals almost exclusively with the royal genealogies of these two territories, while the third *skor* of mNga'.ris, that of Mar.yul La.dwags, is omitted, except for occasional references which do not amount to a systematic assessment of its lineages and historical phases.

The treatment of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogies is preceded by those of the Indian lineages and the Yar.lung *lha.sras btsan.po-s*. Inclusion of these chapters is canonical in Buddhist literature, according to which the kings of mNga'.ris skor.gsum descended from those of Yar.lung, who, in turn, originated from the Licchavi dynasty of India. Ngag.dbang grags.pa adopts this custom without questioning its validity.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is organized in a sound historical structure as far as the Gu.ge Pu.hrang section is concerned, on which I intend to concentrate for the importance and the painstaking detail with which Ngag.dbang grags.pa treats it and, last but not least, for reasons of space.

The extant West Tibetan section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* covers the period from bKra.shis.mgon of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum until the Gu.ge king 'Phags.pa.lha (end of the 15th century), i.e. from the beginning of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty until the end of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's life. The Ya.rtse royal line is attached to the Pu.hrang genealogy, for Ngag.dbang grags.pa treats it as a branch of the latter.

The Gu.ge Pu.hrang section is divided into four main parts, two of them concluded by verses in praise of the major figures discussed in each of them.

These sub-sections are organized in the following way:

- 1) From the beginning of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty until the end of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* with no distinction being made between the kings of the pre-*phyi.dar* period and those of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

- 2) The Pu.hrang genealogy.

- 3) The Gu.ge genealogy from rTse.lde until Grags.pa.lde.

4) The Gu.ge genealogy from rNam.rgyal.lde until 'Phags.pa.lha, the king contemporary with the time of completion of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

These four main parts are composed of further subdivisions:

1) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* divides *bstan.pa phyi.dar* into three major sub-sections dedicated to Ye.shes.'od, which is the most comprehensive, Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od. Between Ye.shes.'od and Byang.chub.'od a brief treatment of De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza is inserted. In good historical sequence it is followed by shorter section concerning the rulers who held the secular throne: Khor.re, lHa.lde and 'Od.lde. The treatment of Zhi.ba.'od, whose death marks the end of the *bstan.pa phyi.dar* section, is concluded with the chronological table (*bstan.rtsis*) mentioned above, fixing the beginning and the end of the later diffusion of Buddhism in sTod, and with verses celebrating the 'Od.gsum. This is historically correct, for the great period of Gu.ge Pu.hrang came to an abrupt end after Zhi.ba.'od, and decline followed. Peculiarly, rTse.lde's religious contributions made with Zhi.ba.'od are found in the *bstan.pa phyi.dar* section, while his secular activity appears later in the text.

2) The Pu.hrang genealogy is divided into parts, the first dealing with the lineage from rTse.lde's brother bTsan.srong until sTag.tsha Khri.'bar; the second with sTag.tsha, his sons, and the genealogy after them; the third with bSod.nams.lde and the fourth with the end of the dynasty. This section is concluded with an outline of the rulers of Ya.rtse descended from the Pu.hrang dynasty.

3) The Gu.ge lineage from rTse.lde to Grags.pa.lde begins with a sub-section dedicated to the secular accomplishments of rTse.lde, followed by the usurpation of the throne by a branch of the royal family ('Bar.lde, bSod.nams.rtse), the Gar.log invasion, the division of the Gu.ge kingdom into Byang.ngos and lHo.stod, the subsequent Byang.ngos lineage, and finally Grags.pa.lde, whose treatment is concluded with verses in his praise<sup>196</sup>.

4) The account of the Gu.ge royal lineage from rNam.rgyal.lde to 'Phags.pa.lha focuses on rNam.rgyal.lde and, to a lesser extent, on his son Phun.tshogs.lde. Concise information on the subsequent rulers brings the Gu.ge Pu.hrang section to an end.

(196) The two prayers at the end of the sections on *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and on Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde are meaningful because they close a historical phase before introducing a new one. They conclude the treatment of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogy and the subsequent Gu.ge line ending with Grags.pa.lde, for after him there is a one hundred year gap in the text. Hence, one could also come to the conclusion that the chapter on the Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogy is divided into three sections: the first dealing with *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, the second including the Pu.hrang and the Ya.rtse lines as well as the Gu.ge dynasty from rTse.lde to Grags.pa.lde, and the third concerning the Gu.ge kings from rNam.rgyal.lde to 'Phags.pa.lha.

# Remarks concerning some features of the *mNga'ris* section

The major virtue of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* perhaps derives from its literary formula, that of being a *rgyal.rabs*. The effort to establish continuity in the genealogies of Gu.ge Pu.hrang is admirable, and it succeeds in restoring to historical memory a number of royal generations and facts unrecorded elsewhere. It is noteworthy that all sources except *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* ignore the entire Gu.ge Byang.ngos lineage, whose outline is another of the conspicuous and unique contributions found in the text by Ngag.dbang grags.pa. Regrettably, in the form that it has come down to us, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* does not contain any reference to the sources its author used in to write his *rgyal.rabs*. This is probably accidental since the last pages of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's work may be missing. In the present condition of the text, no one cannot say whether Ngag.dbang grags.pa listed his sources in his concluding folios, as is customary in Tibetan historical literature.

Reading through the pages, it soon becomes evident that Ngag.dbang grags.pa had at his disposal ancient original documents that other authors did not, from which he extracted material for his *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. Such a wealth of information on West Tibet, hardly found in other sources, could have not have been drawn only from texts known at present. In the historical works earlier than *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (see Nyang.ral, Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan and 'Phags.pa historiographies, the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*, Ne'u pan.di.ta's *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba*, *Deb.ther dmar.po*, *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, *Deb.ther sngon.po*, *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* etc.), *Chos.la 'jug.pa'sgo* by bSod.nams rtse.mo being perhaps the only exception, which has brief but fundamental information on the Gu.ge Pu.hrang rulers, reference to the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom is made neither with the same depth of detail nor with the same quantity of facts. As none of the above mentioned authors was in sTod or was a *mNga'ris.pa*, Ngag.dbang grags.pa evidently had access to sources in West Tibet which were not available elsewhere. His appointment as abbot of Tho.ling in particular may have been quite helpful in his search for ancient documents. One passage in particular (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 16-17) proves that ancient documents had been consulted by Ngag.dbang grags.pa, and thus must have been extant in 15th century sTod. It records Byang.chub.'od's provision of maintenance to the temples founded during his time. Ngag.dbang grags.pa invites the reader to consult the scrolls, one for each temple, which were issued for the purpose of fixing the terms of those grants. Ngag.dbang grags.pa's penchant for textual archaeology is substantiated by his quotation of the text of the *chos.rtsigs* issued by Ye.shes.'od to introduce religious and civil laws in his country<sup>197</sup>.

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(197) Another example of his interest in the culture of ancient Tibet is his wish to have archaeological investigations made at rLung.tshub, where he mentions the existence of ruins of its ancient settlement, to look for evidence of its establishment during the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.41 lines 3-5): "Pho.brang rLung.tshub.tu grong.khyer sKyid.pa'i 'byung.gnas dang/ Tshangs.pa'i 'byung.gnas gnyis thabs/ de.dag grong mang zhing shin.tu rgya.che.bas/ srang.khyim 'di.tsam yod ni mi.shes/ srang.mig mang.ris.la yun.ring.du ma.'dri.s.na srang.gi mtshams yang mi.shes", "In [the vicinity of the] rLung.tshub palace, he

Ngag.dbang grags.pa's account of 'Od.lde's imprisonment, his attempted ransom in gold and death is a novel and stunning narrative of events customarily attributed to Ye.shes.'od and shows that he had access to ancient documents containing a different version of the incident, unknown or forgotten thereafter.

That Ngag.dbang grags.pa was able to consult local documents, not accessible to other authors of various periods, is confirmed by the fact that even the great later historian Kah.thog rig.'dzin Tshe.dbang nor.bu, who stayed in sTod for some time, did not use the documents that Ngag.dbang grags.pa incorporated into his *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. It is, however, curious that Tshe.dbang nor.bu, who spent more than a few words on the genealogies of mNga'.ris.stod and smad (*Mar.yul bdag.po'i deb.ther* (this text is an almost verbatim copy of the more famous *Ladwags rgyal.rabs*), *Gung.thang gdung.rabs*, *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs*), did not or could not consult the mNga'.ris section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. This may have been because he was a rNying.ma.pa and thus more in contact with the literature of his own sect than that of the dGe.lugs.pa-s, as well as because some of his works on the genealogies of mNga'.ris (La.dwags and Gung.thang) were commissioned by notables of these lands, while this did not happen in the case of Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

Concerning the diffusion of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* outside sTod, late indications are found in the catalogues of historical rarities of Tibetan literature by Brag.dgon.pa dKon.mchog bstan.pa rab.rgyas in the opening section of his *mDo.smad chos.'byung* (*Deb.ther rgya.mtsho* Zi.ling eed. p.3-15) and by A.khu.cing Shes.rab rgya.mtsho (see his *dPe.rgyun dkon.pa 'ga'.zhig.gi tho.yig*). Both authors do not include *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* by Ngag.dbang grags.pa in the list of historical works which they consider to have been rare for a long time. It is beyond doubt that the absence of this work is not due to an excess of popularity of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* during the 19th century when these catalogues were written, but rather shows *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to be an even rarer text.

The most ancient *chos.'byung*-s are satisfied to introduce the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal succession, without extending their analysis to times later than the end of the 11th century or the early 12th, although they were written some time after the events they record.

On the other hand, most of the later *chos.'byung*-s, even those written before *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, start their treatment of the kingdom of mNga'.ris skor.gsum with the outline of its early dynasty, but mistakenly continue by appending kings extraneous to the Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogy (i.e. those of Ya.rtse) as though they were the true successors of

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(Khri.srong lde.btsan) founded the towns sKyid.pa'i 'byung.gnas ("the place where happiness arises") and Tshangs.pa'i 'byung.gnas ("the place where purity arises"), these two. Since they were very extended with many settlements (*grong*), one cannot tell how many lanes and households (*srang.khyim*) were there. Unless one becomes acquainted with the types of foundations and the layout of the lanes, [by inspecting] many of them and for a long time, one cannot assess their urban plan". This proposal sounds surprisingly *ante litteram* in the light of the system of beliefs prevailing in late Tibet, when such activities were disapproved of.



this lineage. *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* is the only later source other than *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to expressly state that the Ya.rtse royal lineage issued from the Pu.hrang king bTsan.phyug.lde. Its author Shakya Rin.chen.sde was the only historian after the 13th century who understood this genealogical relationship correctly.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* contains a correct genealogy of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings and the rulers of the following centuries, who reigned when the two territories were no longer a single political entity.

As is often the case in Tibetan historical texts, some phases of the history of the petty kingdoms of Tibet or culturally related areas are left in complete literary darkness, while others are dealt with in the sources, corresponding to flourishing periods of these territories. Despite the more than remarkable profusion of detail pertaining to single members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasties and their affiliates, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* fails to solve the great historical enigma of mNga'.ris.stod, i.e. the obscure period of roughly a century in the history of Gu.ge between 1277 and 1372. This is a great pity, since the few and scanty pieces of evidence available elsewhere shed hardly more than a dim light on those hundred years.

Ngag.dbang grags.pa's work is a *rgyal.rabs* paying to religious events an attention worthy of a *chos.'byung*. The most extensive and accurate treatments are, in the Yar.lung dynasty section, the outline of the bSam.yas council, and, in the mNga'.ris skor.gsum section, that devoted to *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. As regards the prominence accorded to personages populating the history of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, the treatment of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* gives emphasis to the religious members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family.

In fact, the secular rulers of the early period (Khor.re, lHa.lde, 'Od.lde) are treated in a similar way as the later less charismatic kings of the lineage. Their deeds, religious and secular alike, are shortly but accurately dealt with. Of the secular rulers of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, rTse.lde is given a place of distinction by virtue of an account, otherwise unrecorded, of a military campaign he undertook. Grags.pa.lde is treated as the major Gu.ge king during the intermediate period (12th to 13th century). Another Gu.ge king whom *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* regards as preeminent is rNam.rgyal.lde, being, in the author's view, the greatest of the later rulers of Gu.ge. The accounts of the Pu.hrang kings are more concise, possibly because they often had a subordinate role to that of the kings of Gu.ge, with the exception of sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and, to a lesser extent, rNam.lde.mgon and bSod.nams.lde.

Among the members of Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* gives prominence to Ye.shes.'od. Great importance is also accorded to Byang.chub.'od. The treatment of Zhi.ba.'od's activities in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* indicates that his role was greater than it appears to be from other sources, including the colophons of the works he translated and those in which reference is made to him.

While Ye.shes.'od's deeds are greatly stressed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, lHa.lde's importance is only hinted at. Rin.chen bzang.po also receives very little attention from Ngag.dbang grags.pa. On the other hand, special importance is given to lHa.lde in

*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, while Ye.shes.'od is a rather more marginal figure. Thus, the two texts treat these personages rather differently. Khor.re is ignored in this *rnam.thar*, while his reign is recognized in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Byang.chub.'od is equally well acknowledged by both sources.

Typical of Tibetan historical literary tradition, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* includes straightforward facts together with lengthy digressions into storytelling and eulogies of the most significant figures. It is difficult to say whether these historically less meaningful passages are a personal contribution by Ngag.dbang grags.pa or were found by him in his sources. As is the case in every other work, it is crucial to disentangle genuine facts from successive layers of interpretation, interpolated accounts, and more or less arbitrary additions and deviations from the original.

In this regard, some elements appearing in the text betray links with 15th century proto-dGe.lugs.pa stereotypes. Throughout *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* special importance is given to the cult of sMan.bla (always spelled sMan.lha in the text), ascribed even to the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings as their *yi.dam*<sup>198</sup>. By the monumental evidence that can still be found locally in sTod, mainly consisting of murals dating from the 15th century onwards, sMan.bla was a deity especially popular in West Tibet as a result of the dGe.lugs.pa diffusion in mNga'.ris skor.gsum<sup>199</sup>.

The improbable account (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 line 19-p.55 line 1) of a ferocious persecution of Bon by Ye.shes.'od, according to which all Bon.po-s were burned alive and their books thrown into rivers, does not correspond to my understanding of the religious situation prevailing in sTod during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, and is, in my view, another case of a 15th century vision applied to earlier times. Moreover, little of Bon was there to be persecuted during that period, because little of Bon and the Zhang.zhung culture was left in sTod at

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(198) References to sMan.bla as *yi.dam* of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* are numerous. 'Od.lde is made a follower of sMan.lha (sic) (p.61 line 19-p.62 line 1). Thanks to his mother's prayers to sMan.lha (sic), he freed himself from captivity in Bru.zha (p.62 line 4). rTse.lde also had sMan.lha (sic) for *thugs.dam* (*yi.dam*) (p.74 lines 8-9). The Byang.ngos king sPyi.lde.btsan prayed to sMan.lha (sic) and recovered his speech (p.76 line 19).

(199) Since sMan.bla was a deity particularly sacred to the dGe.lugs.pa-s in sTod, it seems that he had great importance to Ngag.dbang grags.pa. A modern La.dwags.pa author (Sa.phud.pa Thub.bstan dpal.lhan in *dPe.thub chags.rabs* p.20 lines 12-16) relates an oral account, according to which Nyi.ma.mgon was also a follower of sMan.bla: "rGyal.po 'di sMan.bla'i mdo.chog.gi bla.brgyud.pa'ang yod cing/ khong.gis sMan.bla'i mdo.chog.la gtsor mdzad/ Shel sMan.bla zhes.pa'i brag.la rkos yod.pa'i Sangs.rgyas sMan.bla'i sku.brnyan de.yang de.dus.su yin.par bshad", "This king belonged to that lineage of masters who worshipped sMan.bla, and mainly performed the ritual of sMan.bla. It is said that the image of Sangs.rgyas sMan.bla carved on the rock known as the Shel sMan.bla was made during his time". The royal cult of sMan.bla in sTod would thus go back to the foundation of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. Significantly, during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod, sMan.bla is mentioned as royal *yi.dam* in the cases of 'Od.lde and rTse.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 line 19-p.62 line 1 and p.74 lines 8-9) but never in the case of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang *lha.btsun-s*. The evidence on which the statement that Nyi.ma.mgon was a devotee of sMan.bla is based is possibly far-fetched because the dating of Shel rock carving to the early 10th century is debatable.

that time<sup>200</sup>. Having largely disappeared after the Yar.lung.pa intervention (infrequent or isolated cases of Bon.po presence continued *in loco* afterwards), Bon had been marginalized in the lands in which it had originated.

A claim that Ye.shes.'od abhorred funerary rites in the cemeteries (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 1-2), which is likely to be another sign of the ideas prevailing in the 15th century, is denied by the evidence of Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog*, in which, on the contrary, lha.bla.ma regrets the abandonment, due to malpractices, of such rites during his time (see below n.470). Such a consideration gives rise to the feeling that in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* Ngag.dbang grags.pa has applied some religious views of his day to more ancient periods during which they were quite possibly not held.

Some chronological assessments of Ye.shes.'od, Khor.re and lHa.lde can be deduced from various passages in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Dates are given for Ye.shes.'od's successors on the religious throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang (Byang.chub.'od, Zhi.ba.'od), while 'Od.lde's death date can be derived from that of Byang.chub.'od's accession. It seems that Ngag.dbang grags.pa or his sources have treated with greater accuracy the dates of the religious rulers of the early dynasty than those of the corresponding secular rulers.

Finally, a number of expressions are found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* typical of the West Tibetan dialect. Some of them are transcribed in the text according to their local pronunciation. Many clerical errors derive from the copyist's uncertainty in deciphering the original *khyug.yig* when words occur whose spelling cannot be clarified by lexical evidence, such as years, proper and place names.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides excellent material for a researcher looking for facts. Entire genealogical sections for both Gu.ge and Pu.hrang are introduced, religious activities, foundations of temples and monuments, wars, codes of law etc., whose existence was previously unknown, are recorded. The text also contributes evidence concerning the great game of West Tibet: that of the interaction between the Zhang.zhung.pa, Dardic, Indian, Central Asian and Tibetan cultures, which is revealed in a few accounts. A more comprehensive treatment of this most tantalizing aspect of the history of West Tibet exceeds the scope of this *rgyal.rabs*.

(200) Also the fact that in the third quarter of the 10th century, the young Rin.chen bzang po, who was from a Zhang.zhung clan, went to Kha.che, one of the lands from where ancient Bon is credited by the Bon.po texts to have derived its religious inspiration, searching for Chos (*Rinchen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.65 line 3-p.67 line 1) and not for Bon, seems to indicate that the Bon.po tradition had suffered a setback in sTod. The identity of lands considered by Buddhists and Bon.po-s alike to be sources of their teachings is one of several topics raising the vexed question of the points of contact and divergence between the two religions in the periods before Bon was reformed around the time of Buddhist *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and thereafter, which is too large a subject to be discussed here. Among several others, I wish to mention here some references used in the present text. They show that Bru.zha was a religious source not only for Bon.po-s, but also for the Buddhists of *bstan.pa snga.dar* (*gNubs.chen Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar* in Padma 'phrin.las, *bKa'.ma mdo.dbang.gi bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.162-163), and had some role in the establishment of Buddhism in sTod during the same period (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,1 lines 4-5; see below p.166 and n.224). This evidence contributes to the problem of Bon and Chos being misunderstood as different and antagonistic religious traditions and their relationship needs to be thoroughly examined.



# The Gu.ge Pu.hrang section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*: synopsis

## THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF GU.GE

(sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon)

bKra.shis.mgon

Srong.nge/Ye.shes.'od

Khor.re

lHa.lde

'Od.lde

Byang.chub.'od

rTse.lde

'Bar.lde otherwise known as dBang.lde

bSod.nams.rtse

bKra.shis.rtse

(Jo.bo rGyal.po's regency)

rTse.'bar.btsan

sPyi.lde.btsan (ruling in Gu.ge Byang.ngos) - dPal.mgon.btsan (ruling in Gu.ge lHo.stod)

(follows the Byang.ngos lineage; the lHo.stod lineage is omitted in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*)

rNam.lde.btsan

Nyi.ma.lde

dGe.'bum

La.ga

Chos.rgyal grags.pa

Grags.pa.lde (reunified lHo.stod and Byang.ngos)

(Lacuna of about a hundred years)

rNam.rgyal.lde

Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde

rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde

Blo.bzang rab.brtañ

'Phags.pa.lha

## THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF PU.HRANG

(Nyi.ma.mgon)  
 bKra.shis.mgon  
 (the same as that of Gu.ge until Byang.chub.'od)  
 bTsan.srong (rTse.lde's brother)  
 Khri.btsan.lde  
 bTsan.phyug.lde  
 Grags.btsan.lde (the younger brother of bTsan.phyug.lde)  
 bTsan.stobs.lde (the son of Grags.btsan.lde)  
 Khri.'bar.btsan otherwise known as sTag.tsha Khri.'bar  
 dNgos.grub mgon.po  
 rNam.lde.mgon (the brother of dNgos.grub mgon.po)  
 rGyal.stobs.lde (the son of dNgos.grub mgon.po)  
 rGyal.lde  
 sTobs.lde.btsan  
 rDo.rje seng.ge  
 bSod.nams.lde  
 dPal.mgon.lde  
 gNya'.khri.lde  
 rGod.lam.lde (with him, the Pu.hrang lineage came to an end)

## THE GENEALOGY OF THE YA.RTSE KINGS BRANCHING FROM THE PU.HRANG LINEAGE

Grags.btsan.lde (ruled both Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse; with him the Pu.hrang.pa  
 lineage of Ya.rtse branches off from that of Pu.hrang)  
 Grags.lde.btsan  
 Grags.pa.lde  
 A.seng.lde  
 mDzi.ta.ri.mal  
 A.khyi.mal - A.dznya.mal  
 A.khyi.mal's three Sons - Ka.mal.lde (the son of A.dznya.mal)  
 Vacancy on the Ya.rtse throne filled by bSod.nams.lde, king of Pu.hrang  
 gNya'.khri.lde (king of Pu.hrang also ruling in Ya.rtse)  
 Ki.ti.mal (with him, the Ya.rtse lineage came to an end)

MEMBERS OF THE GU.GE ROYAL FAMILY  
(in chronological order)

The first recorded king is bKra.shis.mgon (p.51 lines 1-7). His two sons were Khor.re and Srong.nge otherwise known as Khri.lde Srong.gtsug.btsan (p.51 lines 7-8). The latter had two sons, De.ba.ra.dza (otherwise known as Khri.lde mgon.btsan) and Na.ga.ra.dza (otherwise known as lHa.'khor.btsan), as well as a daughter lHa'i me.tog (p.51 lines 10-14). Khor.re's sons were Cog.re (the eldest), mTshar.la sde.nag.po 'dzum.med lHa.lde bkra.shis.btsan (the middle son) (p.61 lines 3-4) and U.ra.za (the youngest) (p.61 line 15). lHa.lde's sons were 'Od.lde.btsan (the eldest), Byang.chub.'od (otherwise known as bkra.shis.'od) (the middle son) and Zhi.ba.'od (otherwise known as Yongs.srong.lde) (the youngest) (p.61 lines 15-16). 'Od.lde.btsan's sons were Blog.rtsa (sic for tsha) bTsan.srong (the eldest), Phye.tsha (sic for Che.chen.tsha) rTse.lde (the middle son), lDe.tsha Khri.srong.lde (otherwise known as Grags.btsan.rtse) (the youngest) (p.68 lines 16-17). rTse.lde's four sons were rTse.'od, Jo.rtse, rDo.rje.gdan and lha.btsun dBang.'od (p.74 lines 11-13)<sup>201</sup>. dBang.'od did not ascend the throne, which, instead, went to Khri bkra.shis 'Bar.lde otherwise known as dBang.lde. 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde's son was bSod.nams.rtse (p.75 line 2). bSod.nams.rtse's three sons were bkra.shis.rtse, Jo.bo rGyal.po and 'Od.'bar.rtse (p.75 line 14). bkra.shis.rtse's sons were A.ka.ra.dza, Tsan.dra bo.dhi, A.mi sogs.tsa, Phyogs.tsa and rTse.'bar.btsan (p.75 lines 15-16). Jo.bo rGyal.po's lineage ruling in Khu.nu was as follows: his son gCung.lde, his son Zhong.lde, his son Jo bla.ma, after whom the lineage went into a decline. rTse.'bar.btsan's sons born from rgyal.mo lHa.rgyan were sPyi.lde.btsan, who was nicknamed Mol.mi.mkhyen, and rTse.ltan.ngal, while from Blo.ltan rgyal.mo were born dPal.mgon.btsan and 'Dul.srid 'dul.btsan (p.76 lines 10-11). The lineage of the Byang.ngos kings was derived from sPyi.lde.btsan, while the lHo.stod lineage was originated by dPal.mgon.btsan. sPyi.lde.btsan's two sons were Nyi.lde.btsan and rNam.lde.btsan (p.77 line 1). rNam.lde.btsan's three sons were Gung.lde.btsan, Nyi.ma.lde and lHa.btsun.lde (p.77 lines 5-6). After Nyi.ma.lde came dGe.'bum, Byams.pa and Sems.dpa', dGe.'bum being the king (p.77 lines 8-9). The next generation consisted of Kyi.rdor, La.ga and Thos.pa (p.77 line 14). After La.ga's reign, Chos.rgyal grags.pa ruled for a brief period (p.77 line 18). Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) succeeded Chos.rgyal grags.pa (p.78 line 3). After the former's death, a period of obscurity veils the history of Gu.ge until rNam.rgyal.lde (1372-1439), the next king recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, son of rgyal.mo sKu.rgyal, and his step-brother dPal.'bar.lde, son of the daughter of the Mon.yul U.ti.pur king (p.79 line 18-p.80 line 1). rNam.rgyal.lde's son was Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde (p.84 lines 3-7). His son was rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde born from Mar.yul rgyal.mo Khri.lcam (p.85 lines 2-3). rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde's son was Blo.bzang

(201) The case of lha.btsun dBang.'od is one of the several lay members of the Gu.ge royal family who was murdered. In general, the religious rulers of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty lived considerably longer than the temporal rulers, some of whom died untimely deaths.

rab.brtan born from bSod.nams bzang.mo, daughter of Pu.hrang dpon.po Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang.po (p.85 lines 5-7). Blo.bzang rab.brtan's son was sTod.tsha 'Phags.pa.lha (p.85 lines 8-10).

#### MEMBERS OF THE PU.HRANG ROYAL FAMILY (In chronological order)

The lineage was the same as that of Gu.ge until Byang.chub.'od. The next king of Pu.hrang was bTsan.stong, son of 'Od.lde and brother of rTse.lde (p.68 lines 16-18). bTsan.stong's son was Khri.btsan.lde (p.68 line 19). His sons were bTsan.phyug.lde and Grag.btsan.lde, the latter succeeding bTsan.phyug.lde (p.68 line 19-p.69 line 1). Grags.btsan.lde's son was bTsan.stobs.lde (p.69 line 1). The next Pu.hrang king mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is Khri.'bar.btsan (otherwise known as sTag.tsha Khri.'bar) (p.69 line 1). His sons were dNgos.grub mgon.po and rNam.mgon.lde, both kings of Pu.hrang (p.69 lines 13-18). dNgos.grub mgon.po's son was rGyal.stobs.lde, who succeeded his uncle rNam.lde.mgon (p.70 line 12). rGyal.stobs.lde's son was rGyal.lde (p.70 line 16). His son was sTobs.lde.mgon (p.70 line 16). His three sons were Ar.lde, Chos.btsan.lde and lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge, the last ascending the throne (p.70 line 19). rDo.rje seng.ge's son was bSod.nams.lde (p.71 line 3), who in turn had five sons. Two of them are named in the text: dPal.mgon.lde (king of Pu.hrang) and Ki.ti.mal (p.71 line 13). dPal.mgon.lde's son was gNya'.khri.lde (p.71 line 16). His son was rGod.lam.lde (p.72 line 1). Later, around the mid 15th century, Pu.hrang dpon.po Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang.po ruled the territory on behalf of Gu.ge (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.85 lines 5-6)<sup>202</sup>.

#### ASCERTAINED DATES OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE GU.GE PU.HRANG DYNASTY

- Ye.shes.'od (947-1024) (calculated on the authority of *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs*, *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo*, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*)
- De.ba.ra.dza (?-1023)
- Na.ga.ra.dza (988-1026)
- Byang.chub.'od (984-1078)

(202) The lineage of Pu.hrang *jo.bo-s* of the early 13th-early 14th century in *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b = p.55 lines 10-14) is recorded on the whole along the same lines as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The *dkar.chag* confirms that dNgos.grub.mgon and gNam.mgon.lde were the sons of sTag.tsha. The next *jo.bo* cited in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, rGyal.stobs.lde, the son of dNgos.grub.mgon, is unrecorded in *Kho.char dkar.chag*. The next ruler mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, rGyal.lde, is called rGyal.po.lde in the *dkar.chag* and the next is khri bKra.shis sTobs.btsan.lde, who built Kha.char bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i lha.khang. He is sTobs.lde.mgon of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. He had three sons, the youngest of them was lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge, succeeded on the throne by his son khri bKra.shis bSod.nams.lde.



'Od.lde (995-1037) (birth date derived from *Bai.ser*)  
 Zhi.ba.'od (1016-1111)  
 Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277)  
 rNam.rgyal.lde (1372-1439)  
 Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde (1409-1480)  
 Blo.bzang rab.brtan (1458-?)

INCUMBENTS OF THE RELIGIOUS THRONE OF GU.GE INCLUDING  
 MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

Ye.shes.'od  
 De.ba.ra.dza  
 Na.ga.ra.dza  
 Byang.chub.'od  
 Zhi.ba.'od  
 Kum.'ug.pa  
 (gap)  
 Nyi.lde.btsan (?)  
 lHa.btsun.lde (?)  
 (long gap)  
 Chos.dpal grags.pa (not a member of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family)  
 Ngag.dbang grags.pa (not a member of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family)

THE KINGS OF GU.GE LHO.STOD (MID 12TH TO MID 13TH CENTURY)  
 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* supplemented by 'Bri.gung.pa sources)

dPal.mgon.btsan (mid 12th century; establishment of the lHo.stod kingdom)  
 (gap of some fifty years: no lHo.stod king recorded in the sources)  
 bKra.shis.lde (known to have been ruling in 1215)  
 bKra.shis dbang.phyug (ruling from the late 1230s?) and his son dPal.mgon.lde  
 Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) (end of the lHo.stod kingdom, as he reunified Gu.ge)

A CLASSIFICATION OF THE TEMPLES BUILT DURING *bstan.pa phyi.dar*  
 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* supplemented by various sources)

A subdivision of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples into the phases during which they were built is herewith included. Such building phases should be considered with due flexibility given that works were often in continuous progress at the religious sites, a feature typical

of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod. Some building activities at several temples, therefore, although of later completion, have to be ascribed to an earlier phase as they conceptually belonged to it. The temples built during the earliest phase were:

1) Ye.shes.'od's or Khor.re's Pa.sgam (992).

2) Ye.shes.'od's Tho.ling, Nyar.ma and Ta.po; Khor.re's Kha.char; and also Ka.nam, Ro.pag Mo.nam, sPu, Pi.wang dKar.sag (all dating to 996), and lHa.lde's completion of Kha.char with the making of the silver Jo.bo (around 996).

Although not systematically treated in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, the text places the building of the following temples in the period of Ye.shes.'od's life or under his influence:

3) Kho.re's Tsha.tsa.sgang, g.Yu.sgra and Khri.sde chos.skor; De.ba.ra.dza's dKar.sag chos.sde (after 996 and before 1023); Na.ga.ra.dza's dPe.pa chos.sde (after 1016 and before 1026); lHa'i me.tog's Kre.wel, 'Od.lde's dPe.thub (1024) and lHa.lde's completion of Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa (1028).

After Ye.shes.'od's death a new phase of temple foundations was inaugurated (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.95 line 4-p.96 line 4), when lHa.lde and Byang.chub.'od assigned to Rin.chen bzang.po twenty-one minor locations for the purpose. According to *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.108 line 4-p.109 line 2):

4) the foundation of twenty-one minor temples occurred, starting from 1024.

Others belonging to the phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* after Ye.shes.'od's death cannot be classified among the minor temples:

5) Byang.chub.'od's Mang.nang Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling, Kyin.re.gling, Ta.po lHa.khang dmar.po and Mang.nang Byams.pa.'phel (all of them between 1037 and 1041), Tho.ling Shing.sgra Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba.

6) Zhi.ba.'od's Tho.ling gSer.khang (1067-1071), contributions to Tho.ling dBu.rtse. (Sang.dar, to which Zhi.ba.'od dedicated his care, is a monastery which is not accounted for). Ta.po lHa.khang dmar.po, renovated by Byang.chub.'od in 1041, is the only inclusion of a major temple of the post Ye.shes.'od era in the list of the minor temples of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*.

#### BUILDING AND RENOVATION PHASES OF THE MAIN GU.GE PU.HRANG TEMPLES

##### Tho.ling

Ye.shes.'od: foundation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang (996) (p.53);

lHa.lde: extensive expansion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang into the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (1028) (p.53 and p.61);

Byang.chub.'od: foundation of Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at

Shing.sgra rtse.mo (year not given) (p.62);  
 Zhi.ba.'od: foundation of gSer.khang 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med  
 'Dzam.gling.rgyan (1067-1071) (p.66);  
 bSod.nams.rtse: renovation of (Tho.ling gSer.khang) 'Dzam.gling.rgyan (year not  
 given) (p.75);  
 Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277): renovation at Tho.ling (year not given) (p.78).

#### Kha.char

Khor.re: foundation of Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (996) (p.53);  
 lHa.lde: foundation of Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (year not given) (p.61);  
 Grags.btsan.lde (12th cent.): renovation of Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang  
 (year not given) (p.69);  
 rNam.lde.mgon (early 13th cent.): addition of the two Jo.bo sku.mched statues (after  
 1219-1220) (p.70);  
 sTobs.liding.btsan (mid 13th cent.): construction of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang  
 (year not given) (p.70);  
 bSod.nams.lde (late 13th-early 14th cent.): renovations at Kha.char (year not given)  
 (p.71).

#### Mang.nang

Byang.chub.'od: foundation of Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling gtsug.lag.khang (p.62)  
 and dPal Byams.pa 'phel gtsug.lag.khang (p.62) (both between 1037 and  
 1041);  
 La.ga (second quarter of the 13th century): construction of four *gtsug.lag.khang-s*  
 (year not given) (p.77).

#### MINISTERS

Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung (in 988) (Ye.shes.'od's minister) (p.52).  
 Zangs.kha.ba rje.blon gTag.zig (sic), Zhang.rung lJid.lidan ring.mo and Cog.ro  
 Dal.ba bKra.shis dpal.'bar (rTse.lde's ministers) (p.72).  
 Blon.po Zangs.kha, rje.blon dGa'skyid and mDa'.pa rje.blon Grags.dpal  
 ('Bar.lde/dBang.lde's ministers) (p.74).  
 Kyin Hor.ba (bSod.nams.rtse's minister) (p.75).  
 Chos.rgyal Grags.pa had an unnamed pro-Sa.skya minister (p.77).  
 Blon.po Yar.dkar (Yang.dkar?) (Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's State Council minister) (p.78).



PART TWO

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs:*  
its contribution to  
the history of Gu.ge Pu.hrang



## Gu.ge Pu.hrang before *bstan.pa phyi.dar*

*The three skor-s held by the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum (fragmentarily covered in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51)*

The dominions under bKra.shis.mgon are fragmentarily indicated in the text (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 1-2), for a lacuna obliterates many of them, while those of dPal.gyi.mgon and lDe.gtsug.mgon are missing. The few remaining territories attributed to bKra.shis.mgon are sku.mkhar Nyi.zung (sic for Nyi.bzung), 'Brog.mtsho Mu.rgyud.gsum, Bar.ska (sic for Bar.ka) and Bo.langs (i.e. the well known site to the south of Ti.se and to the north of Ma.pham.mtsho)<sup>203</sup>, rGya.dang.Nyi.ma (i.e. rGya Nyi.ma, the trade mart to the south-west of the lakes), all the way to Bud.pu (unidentified), which looks like “a black snake slithering downhill”. All these areas, located within the boundaries of Pu.hrang, formed the *g.yas skor.ba* (“the territory on the right hand”).

A few words of comment need to be added on Ngag.dbang grags.pa's assessment of Pu.hrang in bKra.shis.mgon's day. 'Brog.mtsho Mu.rgyud.gsum stands for the “Mu and rGyud Lakes, these three”<sup>204</sup>. They are the three major lakes at the foot of Ti.se, according to their Zhang.zhung.pa appraisal. The two Mu lakes are Mu.le.khyud mtsho, which

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(203) Bar.ka and Bo.langs must have been nearby if not contiguous, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* associates them in its outline of Pu.hrang. In *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* mention is made of Bar.ka Bong.la as one and the same place, whose cultivated fields in the steppe lands of Pu.hrang.stod supported the meditators at Ti.se in the 13th century (*O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* p.41 lines 3-4: “Ti.se'i sa.cha Bar.ka Bong.la bya.ba'i thang gcig yod.pa thams.cad zhing.du 'dug.pas la.la bzung.po 'dug/ kha.gcig ngan.par 'dug/ la.la tha.ba rengs.par 'dug/ zhing de.rnams sgom.chen.pa rnams.kyi dge.sbyor.gyi bla.ru 'dug gsung”, “There is a plain called Bar.ka Bong.la in the Ti.se area, which is well cultivated with fields. Some are fertile, some are arid, some are difficult to cultivate because the [earth] is hard. These fields are said to be meant for the virtuous practices of the meditators”). The understanding of Bar.ka and Bo.langs as a single locality is confirmed by the occurrence in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* of rGya.nyi.ma treated as rGya dang Nyi.ma, which refers to the well known trade mart and not to two different places. I am inclined to favour the spelling Bar.ka Bong.la over Bar.ska Bo.langs, for *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* is an earlier source than *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (it was dictated by O.rgyan.pa (1230-1309) to his disciple rTogs.Idan Zla.ba seng.ge, thus dating to not later than 1309), and the spelling Bar.ska dang Bo.langs in Ngag.dbang grags.pa's text is corrupt.

(204) The notion that the 'Brog.mtsho.gsum are part of Pu.hrang is confirmed by a cross reference between *Nyang.ral chos.byung* and *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*. *Nyang.ral chos.byung* (p.462 line 7) says: “sPu[.rang].gi lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab”. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.217 lines 8-9) says: “'Brog.mtsho'i 'gram.pa Ri.nang.pa Legs.pa'i

is Ma.pang g.yu.mtsho, and Dug.mtsho Mu.le'i do.gling, which is La.ngag gser.mtsho, while the rGyud lake is Gung.rgyud dngul.mtsho in Hor.ba<sup>205</sup>. The area of 'Brog.mtsho Mu.rgyud.gsum is the stretch of land extending from Hor.ba, the easternmost area of Pu.hrang.stod, to Bar.ka at the foot of Ti.se in the west. rGya dang Nyi.ma is farther to the west, still in the highlands of Pu.hrang.stod, although at a lower altitude, with Bud.pu possibly marking the limit of the highlands either towards Indian Mon.yul or Pu.hrang.smad.

As is well known, bKra.shis.mgon's father Nyi.ma.mgon founded sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung as the capital of his mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom according to most sources, while textual exceptions attribute it to bKra.shis.mgon<sup>206</sup>. The inclusion of sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung in the subdivision called *g.yas skor.ba* provides a pale clue to its otherwise

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shes.rab" "Legs.pa'i shes.rab from Ri.nang on the bank of 'Brog.mtsho". Hence, as stated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, 'Brog.mtsho has to be considered as being in Pu.hrang.

Concerning lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* holds that he was a cousin of Rin.chen bzang.po, for, according to this text, lo.chung was born to gung.blon g.Yu.thog.sgra, the younger brother of ban.chen gZhon.nu dbang.phyug, who was Rin.chen bzang.po's father (p.57 lines 3-4: "mTshan ban.chen.po gZhon.nu dbang.phyug ces.bya'o/ cung.po ni gung.blon.chen.po g.Yu.thog.sgra ces.bya.ba yin.no/ ban.chen.po gZhon.nu dbang.phyug la/ lo.tsa.ba la.sogs.pa/ sras lcam.sring.bzhi 'khrungs" and *ibid.* (p.58 line 1): "Gung.blon g.Yu.thog.sgra la/ lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab la.sogs.pa sras.gsum 'khrungs").

(205) See bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *Bod.yul gnas lam.yig* for references to Ma.pham (p.40 lines 17-18: "Mu.le khyud.kyi mtsho [dkar.chag las mtsho Ma.phang yin.zer]", "Mu.le khyud mtsho is mtsho Ma.phang according to the *dkar.chag*"), La.ngag (p.41 lines 2-4: "Dug.mtsho Mu.le'i do.gling [deng.song La.ngag gser.mtsho'i do]", "Dug.mtsho Mu.le'i do.gling is at present [known] as La.ngag gser.mtsho") and Gung.rgyud.mtsho (p.37 line 13-14: "Gung.rgyud dngul.mo mtsho"). *mDo.'dus* gives a little Bon.po geography, connected to that of Indian Buddhism (p.15 line 4-p.16 line 1: "De.yang khyad.par 'Dzam.gling dbus/ ri.bo Gang.che Ti.tse ni/ g.yung.drung dgu.brtsegs.ri zhes.bya/ chu.zhing dpag.tshad lnga.brgya'o/ ri.ni sPos.ri ngad.lidan dang/ bar.na mtsho ni Ma.dros.pas/ chu.zhing dpag.tshad lnga.bcu'o/ phyogs.bzhi mtsho.bzhi yod.pa ni/ Ma.pham mo.bya g.yu.mtsho/ La.ngags gser.mtsho/ Gung.chung dngul.mtsho (p.16)/ Zom.shang lcag.mtsho"). Ti.se, which is seen as the centre of 'Dzam.gling, sPos.ri ngad.lidan and the four lakes of the Bon.po tradition (Ma.phang mo.bya g.yu.mtsho, La.ngag gser.mtsho, Gung.chung dngul.mtsho, Zom.shang lcags.mtsho) are enumerated. The phrasing of the passage creates some confusion because it seems to suggest the erroneous notion that mtsho Ma.dros.pa, located between Ti.se and sPos.ri ngad.lidan, should be considered a different lake from mtsho Ma.pham. This is untenable for various reasons. Ma.dros is another name for Ma.pham, and furthermore, considering Ma.dros to be a different lake from Ma.pham is manifestly not the intention of the *mDo.'dus* author, as a fifth lake is not found in the Bon.po tradition, not even as a *locus mentis*.

(206) An almost complete consensus among sources attributes the foundation of sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung to Nyi.ma.mgon, although in a number of variant spellings. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 line 14) names it Nyi.zung; *lDe'u Jo.sras* (p.146 line 8) and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* (p.380 line 17) call it Nyi.phug; *Bu.ston rin.po.che chos.'byung* (p.193 line 6) has Nyi.gzungs; *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.68 line 13) writes Nyi.bzungs; *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p. 41 line 3) and *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.434 lines 20-21) opt for Nyi.bzung; *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.73) says Nyi.ma.gzungs. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.216 lines 5-6) has an unconventional bKra.shis Nyi.ma.mgon, who resided at sku.mkhar Nyi.gzungs ("bKra.shis Nyi.ma.mgon/ sku.mkhar Nyi.gzungs du bzugs"), while *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* propounds Nyi.ma.bzung (p.73 lines 6-8): "Yang mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan.gyi sras chung.ba sKyid.lde



unknown location. Ngag.dbang grags.pa's location of the original mNga'.ris skor.gsum capital of sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon in the large area of the lakes, Bar.ka and rGya.nyi.ma indicates that Nyi.bzung was built in the more inhospitable higher lands of Pu.hrang.stod rather than in lower and greener Pu.hrang.smad. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* refers to sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung and rGya dang Nyi.ma separately in the *g.yas skor.ba*, ruling out the possibility that they are one and the same place<sup>207</sup>.

From what remains of this part of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, it seems that bKra.shis.mgon's dominions were restricted to Pu.hrang, and that the *g.yas skor.ba* mentioned in the text was Pu.hrang.stod otherwise known as Lang.ka Pu.hrang<sup>208</sup>. If the fragmentary classification of Pu.hrang *g.yas skor.ba* in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is taken at face value without any further corroboration, it would appear that Pu.hrang *g.yas skor.ba* was situated along an east-west axis and comprised the lands along such an axis located immediately north of the Ma.pham-La.ngag area, the two holy lakes being included. Furthermore, Pu.hrang.smad would have to be tentatively considered to be the other *skor* (*g.yon skor.ba*, i.e. "the division on the left hand"), for no clear picture of the territorial arrangement of the rest of Pu.hrang can be gleaned from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

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Nyi.ma.mgon mNga'.ris phyogs.su phebs/ Pu.rong du sku.mkhar Nyi.ma.gzungs brtsigs", "Also, mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan's younger son sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon went to mNga'.ris. He founded sku.mkhar Nyi.ma.gzungs in Pu.rong"). The name given to the castle by Tshe.dbang nor.bu seems to reveal its etymology ("capturing the sun", i.e. the castle first struck by the rising sun). Padma 'phring.las, *'Jam.dbyangs rin.chen rgyal.mtshan rnam.thar* (p.172) is the source which credits sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung to bKra.shis.mgon in its treatment of jo.jo rGod.lde/Nyi.ma.mgon (see Addendum Two), while *Kho.char dkar.chag* unconventionally attributes the building of a nine-storeyed palace (probably a Tibetan stereotype) at sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung to lDe.gtsug.mgon, (f.4a = p.39 lines 11-13: "Sras chung.ba lDe.gtsug.mgon.gyis Pu.rang sku.mkar Nyi.gzung du sku.mkhar dgu.thog btab.nas gdan.chags"). The only other reference I have found to another sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung different from that founded by Nyi.ma.mgon is contained in the colophon of a *khrid* text on gShed.dmar (*bShed* (sic).*dmar lha'i shin.du spros.med.kyi khrid.yig zab.mo* f.28a), where it is said that rDar.pana a.tsa.rya, who received gShed.dmar teachings in the city of Bha.ga.la (sic for Bengala), gave them to [Glo.bo] lo.tsa.ba Shes.rab rin.chen at rgyal.po sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung. Its location is not clear. However, since the two met in the Kathmandu Valley, it cannot not be excluded that it was in Bal.po.

(207) Any association of Nyi.bzung with rGya.nyi.ma on the grounds that they are somewhat homonymous must therefore be rejected. Ruins of a castle are found at rGya.nyi.ma, colloquially called *mkhar.lkog* by the locals. Oral tradition maintains that it was a castle of rgyal.po dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang. I am unable to judge the antiquity of these ruins, and thus a 17th century date is not absolutely certain.

(208) Among the *gnas.yig* literature see *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.10a lines 6-f.10b line 1): "sNgon srin(f.10b).po Lang.ka mGrin.bcü byung.ba'i yul Lang.ka Pu.rang.gi sa'i cha srin.yul dug.mtsho nag.po'i pho.brang.du dpal.lidan Ye.shes.kyi mGon.po beng.chen lcam.dral zhes.byabzhuks", "Formerly, the mighty dpal Ye.shes mGon.po.beng and [his] consort inhabited the palace of the black poisonous lake in the country of the *srin.po-s*, sited in the land of Lang.ka Pu.rang of srin.po Lang.ka mGrin.bcu (Dasagriva)". Chos.dbyings rdo.rje, (*Gangs Ti.se lo.rgyus* p.18 lines 3-5) has a similar passage possibly derived from the same source. Ascertaining the mythology of the poisonous lake and its identification in turn with Ma.pham and La.ngag mtsho goes beyond the scope of the present work.

This interpretation is hardly tenable for a few reasons. On the basis of the classification in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, bKra.shis.mgon's tenure of sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung makes him the successor of Nyi.ma.mgon among the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum. One can safely assume that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* also classified him as the ruler of Gu.ge in the missing part of this section, as, more often than not, the literature, while disagreeing on the territories constituting the kingdoms of each of Nyi.mam.mgon's sons, makes the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum ruler who held sway over Pu.hrang the king of Gu.ge<sup>209</sup>. While dPal.gyi.mgon is in most cases considered to be the ruler of Mar.yul and adjoining lands, the Gu.ge Pu.hrang *skor* and the other division comprising Pi.ti Pi.Cog and Zangs.dkar are attributed to bKra.shis.mgon and lDe.gtsug.mgon respectively, although this attribution is often reversed. In a later passage (p.51 lines 7-9), *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* credits bKra.shis.mgon with being the lord of Gu.ge Pu.hrang when it says that Khor.re, the next ruler of Pu.hrang, and Srong.nge, that of Gu.ge, were his sons.

To clear doubts further on the *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* treatment, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* provides evidence to supplement *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which completes information on the division of the *skor.gsum* of mNga'.ris assigned to the three sons of Nyi.ma.mgon. Its account is strikingly similar to the fragmentary classification of bKra.shis.mgon's dominions in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, it being therefore more than likely that the two works based their treatment of the mNga'.ris *skor.gsum* territories on a common source, unless one of the two was derived from the other. *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* attributes Mar.yul including 'Bod.log.rtse (an ancient name of Gle and adjoining lands), 'Brog Ru.shod (Rub.zhu in La.dwags at the border with Ru.thog and sDe.mchog districts), sKags Chu.shod to dPal.gyi.mgon; Gar.zha, Zangs.dkar, Pi.ti Pi.Cog to lDe.gtsug.mgon; Gu.ge, Pu.hrang sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung, 'Brog mtsho.mo rGyud.gsum, rGya dang Nyi.ma, Par.ka dang Po.langs as far as Bud.pu, which compose the *g.yas bskor.ba*, to bKra.shis.mgon<sup>210</sup>. This

(209) Uebach ("dByar.mo.thang and Gong.bu ma.ru. Tibetan Historiographical Tradition on the Treaty of 821/823" p.519) quotes Shab.kha.pa's assessment of Gong.bu ma.ru and the description of the area in which the locality is supposed to have been sited. In its vicinity is found a cave called A.khu gu.ge. This is the only other appearance of the name Gu.ge that I have seen in the literature apart from that of this ancient Zhang.zhung heartland. Application of the term *gu.ge* to a cave in A.mdo might be helpful in deciphering the meaning of Gu.ge the region. Given that A.khu gu.ge is a cave, Gu.ge may have the meaning of an area where caves are found. The Gu.ge region in mNga'.ris.stod is proverbial for its cave complexes, whose formation was facilitated by the sandy composition of its canyons.

(210) *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.181 line 7-p.183 line 5): "gCen dPal.gyi.mgon la mNga'.ris Mar.yul gzhu.nag.can/ 'Bod.log.rtse'i (1) La.dwags.kyi yan.chad/ 'Brog Ru.sho (2)/ sKags Chu.shod (3)/ snyan.g.yu tshe.g.yu dmar.po/ sku.khrab zil.chen/ de la.sogs.pa'i dkor.nor/ Mar.yul la.sogs.pa'i mtshams ni/ shar.gyi Glad.kyi (4) bDe.mchog dkar.po/ mtshams.kyi Ra.ba dmar.po/ Yi.mig.gi pha.bong g.yag.lde/ nub Kha.che'i la.rtsa'i rdo bug.pa.can yar.bcas/ byang gSer.kha mGon.po tshun.gyi sa.rgya la gtogs.pa rnam yin.no". "mChan.bu: (1) 'Bod.log.rtse'i La.dwags bya.ba'i ri.sgang 'di ni deng.sang Bla.dwags Gong.ka bya.ba de yin.par snang/ Gong.ka 'di'i ming ni phyis.su rMa.yul.gyi spyi.ming dang Gle'i ming.du gyur.ro (2) Ru.shod. (3) sKags.gzhung. (4) Glad Klad yin te/ mgo'i don.no Yo.seb dGe.rgan".

classification proves that Gu.ge and Pu.hrang together composed the *g.yas bskor.ba* of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, possibly because Gu.ge Pu.hrang is located to the east of the other two *skor-s*, and that the *g.yas bskor.ba* was not an internal division of Pu.hrang.

Among the early classifications of the three *skor-s* of mNga'.ris, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (lHa.sa edition) provides a significantly different appraisal of the territories received by each of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum as their share of the kingdom, although the names of

“The eldest brother dPal.gyi.mgon [received] mNga'.ris Mar.yul, [where] black bows are used, as far as La.dwags of 'Bod.log.rtse (1), 'Brog Ru.sho (2), sKags Chu.shod (3) [as well as] the *snyan.g.yu tshé.g.yu dmar.po* (“the turquoise earrings with the red life-turquoise”) [and] the *sku.khrab zil.chen* (“the armour shining magnificently”), these treasures. The borders of Mar.yul are as follows: in the east bDe.mchog dkar.po of Glad (4), the Red Range at the border as far as the place where the boulder of Yi.mig [is found], as big as a *g.yag* in the west as far as the stone with a cave at the foot of the Kha.che pass; in the north as far as gSer.kha mGon.po. This is the extent of the [Mar.yul] lands”. “Legenda: (1) La.dwags of 'Bod.log.rtse is the mountain range which seems to be at present Bla.dwags Gong.ka. The name Gong.ka refers to rMa.yul (i.e. Mar.yul with a *ra.ta* metathesis) as a whole, which [later] became a name for Gle. (2) Ru.shod. (3) sKags.gzhung. (4) Glad: this is Klad. Joseph dGe.rgan”.

Ibid. (p.182 lines 1-6): “gCung lDe.gtsug.mgon la/ Ka.ge gtsang.po man.chad/ sPen.tse gong.'go yan.chad/ yul Gar.gzha' dang/ Zangs.khar skor.gsum (1)/ sPi.ti sPi.Cog (2)/ 'bangs dol.mangs/ snyan.g.yu lde.mdongs/ sku.khrab mu.men/ 'brog.nga dur.phu/ de.kha nor.bu phe.sa/ de la.sogs.pa'i dkor.nor dang mnga'.ris dang bcas.pa gnang.ba lags.so”. “mChan.yig: (1) Lung.nag dang sTod dang gZhung bcas lung.khag gsum ste/ spyir Zangs.dkar sgo.gsum zer.ro/ (2) sPi.ti sPi.lCogs.kyi don ni kyog dang 'dra ste/ sPi.ti'i lung.pa de'i yul Lo.sar [der nyi.ma lho.nas 'char.ba ltar mthong stabs.kyis lHo.shar thogs.pa yin zhes sPi.ti.pas bshad.do] nas kyo dro.bar lung.pa de nub.nas shar dang de.nas.kyi bar thug shar.lho dang 'khor.bas na/ sPi.ti ni lung.pa Kyog tshang.ma zer.ba'i don.no/ sPi.Cog ni tshang.ma'i don.no”.

“The youngest brother lDe.gtsug.mgon [received the lands] from Ka.ge gtsang.po to sPen.tse gong.'go, the territories of Gar.gzha' (sic), Zangs.khar (sic) skor.gsum (1), sPi.ti sPi.Cog (2) and their *'bangs dol.mangs* (“subjects of low caste”) [as well as] the *snyan.g.yu lde.mdongs* (“the turquoise earrings [looking like] a divine eye (?)”), the *sku.khrab mu.men* (“the armour in purple precious stone”), the *de.kha nor.bu phe.sa* (“*de.kha* (?) [inlaid with] tiny stones”), these were the jewels and the kingdom given to him”. Legenda: (1) The three districts of Lung.nag, sTod and gZhung are said to [be] Zangs.dkar sgo.gsum in general. (2) The reason [for the name] sPi.ti sPi.Cog is [that] it looks like a *kyog* (“ladle”). Since the locality Lo.sar of the country of sPi.ti [Lo.sar is [so called] because here the sun is seen rising in the south, therefore the people of sPi.ti call it by the name lHo.shar] looks like a ladle with a handle, being narrow from west to east and wide in the south-east, the land sPi.ti is called Kyog, and altogether as sPi.Cog”.

Ibid. (p.182 line 7-p.183 line 5): “Bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon ni lag.pa'i sor.mo'i gung.mdzub dang 'dra ste/ dBus mTho.bar 'khrungs/ dung g.yas.su 'khyil.ba dang 'dra ste/ mkhyen.pa dkyil.nas rgya.che.bar 'khrungs/ rigs.btsun zhing spyod.pa bzang zhing/ yab.mes.kyi bka'.srol skyong.bar shes nas/ mnga'.ris ni/ g.Ya'.ru gtsang.po yan.chod/ Ke.ke gtsang.po yan.chod/ yul Gu.ge/ Pu.rangs sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung/ 'Brog mtsho.mo rGyud.gsum/ rGya dang Nyi.ma/ Par.ka dang/ (p.183) Po.langs Bud.pu/ sbrul.nag thur.du rgyug.pa 'dra.ba yan.chad g.yas bskor.ba/ snyan.g.yu ched.chen dang/ chid.chung/ sku.khrab 'bu.se zi.chen/ chibs.byag do.mtshal.rings dang de la.sogs.pa'i dkor.nor mnga'.ris skor dang bcas.pa gnang.ba lags.so”

“The middle brother bKra.shis.mgon was like the middle finger of the hand (i.e. the preeminent person). He was born at dBus mTho.ba, which looks like a conchshell coiling to the right (i.e. a rare and most precious object). As he was very talented, he was destined for greatness. Being aware of his noble lineage, its meritorious actions and the orders left by his ancestors, the kingdom [given to him] was from the g.Ya'.ru gtsang.po to the Ke.ke gtsang.po, the territory of Gu.ge [and] Pu.rangs sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung, 'Brog mtsho.mo

these lands are rather improbable<sup>211</sup>. dPal.gyi.mgon's lineage is said to have ruled Yar.lung and sPu.lugs, which the editors of this version identify as sPu.rang. Both names are corrupt. They refer to Mar.yul and sPu.rig. In the case of sPu.lugs, the reading sPu.rig rather than sPu.rang is obvious for reasons of territorial contiguity, and also because, a few lines below in the text, bKra.shis.mgon's line is credited with having reigned over Zhang.zhung, sPu (i.e. sPu.rang) and Ya.rtse, and various tribes living in Mon.yul, whose location is not made clear (lowlands adjoining the territories bKra.shis.mgon and his successors controlled?). Zhang.zhung is defined as Zhang.zhung phyi.nang ("inner and outer"), which is an unconventional and obscure notion. This idea of an external and internal Zhang.zhung might mean that the heart of Zhang.zhung (normally called *khri.sde* in the Bon.po literature), otherwise Gu.ge, and adjoining Zhang.zhung territories were given to him. lDe.gtsug.mgon received Khum.bu.ba (i.e. Khu.nu), Ding.ri.ba (i.e. Pi.ti) and various tribes dwelling in an equally mysterious Mon.yul (lowlands in the direction of the territories lDe.gtsug.mgon and his alleged successors controlled?)<sup>212</sup>.

rGyud.gsum, rGya and Nyi.ma, Par.ka and Po.langs as far as Bud.pu, looking like a black snake slithering downhill, which constitute the right hand *bskor*; as well as the *snyan.g.yu ched.chen* and *chid.chung* ("the turquoise earrings heavy in weight and light in weight"), the *sku.khrab 'bu.se zi.chen* ("the armour magnificently shining like silk"), the *chibs.byag do.mtshal.rings* ("the long horse-whip with a two-pronged tip (?)"), these were the share of the kingdom and the treasures awarded to him".

(211) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 lines 16-p.459 line 1): "Che.ba dPal.gyi.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Yar.lung dang sPu[.rang].lugs.kyi btsad.po rnam yin.no/ bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon.gyi rgyud.pa rnam ni/ Zhang.zhung phyi.nang dang/ sPu[.rang] dang/ Ya.rtse'i rgyal.po'i rgyud rnam yin zer.ro/ Mon.yul na ci.rigs.pa yod.do/ chung.ba lDe.gtsug.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Khum.bu.ba/ Ding.ri.ba/ Mon.yul na ci.rigs.pa yod(p.459).do zer.ba rnam lags", "The descendants of the eldest brother dPal.gyi.mgon are the kings of Yar.lung (sic for Mar.yul) and sPu.lugs (sic for sPu.rig). The descendants of the middle [brother] bKra.shis.mgon are the lineage of kings of Zhang.zhung phyi.nang ("external and internal"), sPu[.rang], Ya.rtse and whatever races are in Mon.yul. The descendants of the youngest lDe.gtsug.mgon [are the kings of] the Khum.bu.ba-s (sic for Khu.nu.ba-s), the Ding.ri.ba-s (sic for Pi.ti.ba-s) and whatever races are in Mon.yul". Nyang.ral's belief in the existence of a lineage descended from lDe.gtsug.mgon shows that he was unaware of the fact that lDe.gtsug.mgon died without issue and that his dominions passed to the rulers of Gu.ge Pu.hrang (see below n.432).

(212) Other early classifications of mNga'ris skor.gsum are those of rje.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan and 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa. rje.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan (*Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.296,3 lines 5-6) says: "Khri sKyid.liding.gi bu.gsum.gyi che.ba/ dPal.gyi.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Mar.yul la lags/ bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Zhang.zhung phyi.nang dang/ Pu.rong/ Ya.rtse.ba lags/ chung.ba lDe.gtsug.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Khu.bu la.sogs.pa Mon.yul rnam na yod.do", "The progeny of dPal.gyi.mgon, the eldest of sKyid.liding's (i.e. sKyid.sde Nyi.ma.mgon's) three sons, is in Mar.yul. The descendants of the middle son bKra.shis.mgon are in Zhang.zhung phyi.nang ("external and internal"), Pu.rong, and [are] the Ya.rtse.ba-s. The lineage of the youngest son lDe.gtsug.mgon is in Khu.bu (sic for Khu.nu) and various Mon lands". 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa (*Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.286,4 lines 2-3) says: "dPal.gor.btsan.gyi sras chung.ba sKyid.lde'i sras che.ba dPal.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Mar.lungs.kyi btsad.po rnam yin.no/ 'bring.po bKra.shis.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Zhang.zhung phyi.nang dang/ Pu.rangs.pa dang/ Ya.tshe.ba rnam yin.no/ chung.ba lDe.gtsug.mgon.gyi rgyud ni/ Khu.'bu.ba dang/ Mon.yul na'ang ci rigs.pa yod", "The progeny of dPal.mgon, the eldest son of sKyid.lde, who was dPal.gor.btsan's younger son, are the kings of Mar.lungs (sic for Mar.yul). The descendants

The classification of the *skor.gsum* of mNga'.ris found in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* written by Wa.gindra karma (otherwise known as Ngag.dbang 'phrin.las rnam.rgyal), which is derived from documents unavailable at present, is possibly the most interesting of those proposed by the later sources<sup>213</sup>. Its peculiarities pertain to: 1) the identification of the paternal capital which the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum left in order to go to rule in their respective dominions. 2) the division of the *skor.gsum*. 3) an allegorical treatment describing the assignment of the three *skor*-s among the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum, which is not found elsewhere, the other sources having a rather dry list of territories. The first two aspects are especially controversial. 1) sKu.mkhar Nyi.bzung (never mentioned in this *dkar.chag*) was not the capital of the kingdom before it was divided among the three sons of Nyi.ma.mgon according to this source, but an otherwise unrecorded castle g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che, which creates even greater problems for its identification, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* giving at least a rough location for Nyi.bzung. All one can say is that the g.Yu.gong area, where sPe.mo.che was supposedly located, is finally assigned to the brother who was given Gu.ge. It must be added, however, that sPe.mo.che was not necessarily located in Gu.ge because *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* groups Gu.ge proper with Pi.ti and Pi.sKyog to compose a single territorial entity defined *khri.skor* (sic) in the text, while the same *skor*

of the middle son bKra.shis.mgon are [the kings of] Zhang.zhung phyi.nang ("external and internal"), the Pu.rangs.pa-s and the Ya.tshe.ba-s. The lineage of the youngest, lDe.gtsug.mgon, are the Khu.'bu.ba-s (sic for Khu.nu.ba-s) and also whatever races are in Mon.yul". According to *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*, a later work (completed in 1434), dPal.kyi.mgon ruled Mar.yul and Nub.ra. bKra.shis.mgon ruled Zhang.zhung and Ci.Cog (sic for Pi.Cog); sNyi.gong and Ru.thog; sPu.rangs ma.tsho ("mother divisions"); six territories in all. lDe.gtsug.mgon ruled Gar.zha and Zangs.dkar (p.215 line 18-p.216 line 4; see below p.349-350 and n.556).

(213) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.6a lines 4-5): "Der rgyal.po sras che.ba dPal.lde Rig.pa.mgon la g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che.mkhar sprad.pas/ nga 'dir mi.sdod sprin.zhig Mar.yul song.ba der 'gro zer/ Mar.yul La.thags.su song.ba de.la mnga'.zhabs La.thags Zangs.dkar/ Gar.zha/ 'Brog Chu.shod/ sa gong.'og dang bcas.pa [phog]", "Hence, the king's eldest son dPal.lde Rig.pa.mgon, having been assigned the castle g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che, said: "I am not going to stay here. That cloud is moving towards Mar.yul. That is where I will go". He went to Mar.yul La.thags (sic). There, La.thags (sic), Zangs.dkar, Gar.zha and 'Brog Chu.shod, the upper and lower lands, were given to him to rule"; *ibid.* (f.6a lines 6-7): "Bar.pa bKra.shis lde.mgon la g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che'i mkhar sprad.pas/ nga 'dir mi.sdod sprin.zhig Pu.re [Pu.rang] 'dug.pa de.las 'gro zer sras de.la mnga'.zhabs Pu.rang Brad/ Ya.rtse Glo.bo Dol.po/ 'Brog Gro.shod/ rGya Nyi.ma Bar.ka dang bcas.pa byang.gi skor [phog]", "The middle son bKra.shis lde.mgon, having been assigned g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che mkhar, said: "I will not stay here. That cloud is in Pu.rang. That is where I will go". Pu.rang, Brad, Ya.rtse, Glo.bo, Dol.po, 'Brog Gro.shod, rGya Nyi.ma, Bar.ka [which are the] *byang skor*, were given to this son to rule" and *ibid.* (f.6b lines 1-2): "Chung.ma lDe.gtsug.mgon la g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che'i mkhar sprad.pas/ nga 'dir mi.sdod sprin.zhig Gug.ge 'dug.pa de.ru 'gro sung/s/ sras de.la mNga'.ris Gug.ge/ Pi.ti Pi.sKyog dang bcas.pa khri.skor gcig/ 'Brog Mur.la mtsho.skyes/ Phun.rtse/ g.Yu.gong/ gSer.kha gSur.ngur rin.chen 'byung.gnas [phog]", "The youngest son lDe.gtsug.mgon, having been assigned the castle g.Yu.gong sPe.mo.che, said: "I will not stay here. That cloud is in Gug.ge. That is where I will go". mNga'.ris Gug.ge, Pi.ti Pi.sKyog, which constitute one *khri.skor*; 'Brog Mur.la mtsho.skyes, Phun.rtse, g.Yu.gong and gSer.kha gSur.ngur rin.chen "byung.gnas were given to him". I am most grateful to Tashi Tsering for taking so much trouble to give me a copy of the original *dbu.med* manuscript of *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*.

also encompassed territories outside Gu.ge including g.Yu.gong. 2) The assignment of the lands of West Tibet to the various *skor*-s is also rather unconventional because:

- a) Mar.yul La.thags (sic), Zangs.dkar, Gar.zha, 'Brog Chu.shod were assigned to dPal.gyi.mgon.
- b) Pu.rang, Brad, Ya.rtse, Glo.bo, Dol.po, 'Brog Gro.shod, rGya Nyi.ma, Bar.ka which were the *byang skor* were awarded to the middle son bKra.shis.mgon.
- c) mNga'.ris Gug.ge, Pi.ti, Pi.sKyog (sic), all these making one *khri.skor*, 'Brog Mur.la mtsho.skyes, Phun.rtse, g.Yu.gong, gSer.kha gSur.ngur rin.chen 'byung.gnas were granted to lDe.gtsug.mgon.

The classification of the three *skor*-s in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* is unusual, since it keeps Gu.ge and Pu.hrang separate and assigns them to two different brothers, while most sources do not. This is significant because in the next generation *Jo.bo dngul.sku dkar.chag* groups Gu.ge Pu.hrang together under the same branch of the royal family, thus being a sign showing that one of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum had died without issue and that his dominions were incorporated into those of one of his brothers. Other evidence, discussed below, confirms that one division of mNga'.ris was merged into another (see n.432). Furthermore, the *skor* which is traditionally composed of Pi.ti, Zangs.dkar and Mon.pa lands is divided and incorporated into those of Gu.ge and La.dwags.

Some of the territories assigned by *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* to the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum are difficult to identify. 'Brog Chu.shod is a corruption for 'Brog Ru.shod and refers to the land commonly known as Rub.zhu in La.dwags Byang.thang, where the localities of Wam.lde, Chu.mur.ti, dKor.mdzod and mKhar.nag are also found.

Localities of the Pu.hrang *skor* are all well known with the exception of Brad, which I take to be a different transcription of Bre/Bre.srang (see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.73 line 13; also below p.331 and n.525). The definition of the Pu.hrang *skor* as *byang skor* is unfamiliar in geographical terms, and also in the light of the fact that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* places some localities (rGya Nyi.ma, Bar.ka) in the Pu.hrang *g.yas bskor* that are included in the *byang.skor* by *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*. I suggest interpreting the term *byang.skor* in restrictive terms as only referring to Glo.bo, Dol.po, 'Brog Gro.shod, rGya Nyi.ma and Bar.ka, which are lands belonging to the area of South Byang.thang often called Byang<sup>214</sup>, Bar.ka and rGya Nyi.ma being the steppe lands adjoining the territories of Byang to the west.

By far the most problematic of the three *skor*-s is that of Gu.ge. Apart from defining Gu.ge, Pi.ti and Pi.Cog as a *khri.skor*, which is an anachronism, for the term only became popular in the 13th century, I am unable to identify the other lands of this *skor* ('Brog Mur.la mtsho.skyes, Phun.rtse, g.Yu.gong, gSer.kha gSur.ngur rin.chen 'byung.gnas). It cannot be ruled out that at least a few were located to the north of Gu.ge proper, given

(214) See my paper entitled "Nomads of Byang and mNga'.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century", read at the 7th IATS Seminar in June 1995 at Schloss Segau Gratz.

that, in the way that they are indicated in the text, they are outside the Gu.ge Pi.ti Pi.Cog nucleus. In particular, 'Brog Mur.la mtsho.skyes and gSer.kha gSur.ngur rin.chen 'byung.gnas ("expanse of land where gems are found", an apt name for a land with gold-mines) may have been in the Ru.thog district, filled with lakes and gold-fields. g.Yu.gong, the area the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum left in order to go to the *skor*-s they received, which I consider, in the light of the allegory introduced in the *dkar.chag*, to be an alternative assesment of the paternal house of most texts, is placed in the Gu.ge *skor* by *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*, while Nyi.bzung was in Pu.hrang.

### *bKra.shis.mgon's royal insignia (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51)*

Some royal insignia formed the treasure of bKra.shis.mgon, Ye.shes.'od's father (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 2-5)<sup>215</sup>. His horned helmet crown called *dbu.rmog Khrom.thog dkar.ru*

(215) The royal insignia bKra.shis.mgon received were the *snyan.g.yu chid.chen dang chung* (sic for *ljid.chen dang chung*, "the turquoise earrings heavy and light in weight"), the *phyag.shan 'grong.rtse.ring* (sic for *'brong.rtse.ring*, "the sword with a long wild *g.yag* tip"), *sku.khrab 'bu.e zil.chen* (sic for *'bu.ras?*, "the armour magnificently shining like silk?"), *dbu.rmog Khrom.thog dkar.ru* ("the Khrom [i.e. Iranian] lightning crown with white horns"), *chibs.phyag ro.tshal.ring* ("the horse whip with a long handle?"). The lists of treasures bKra.shis.mgon received as his share of power in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.183 lines 2-5; see above n.210) are extremely similar.

As is well known, other personal treasures owned by kings before bKra.shis.mgon were those mythically assigned to gNya'.khri btsan.po before descending on Yar.lha sham.po and the eighteen treasures shared between 'Od.srung and Yum.brtaṅ when the Yar.lung kingdom was divided between the two step-brothers mentioned by the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.141 line 19-p.142 line 1: "Yab.mes.kyi nor.sna bco.brgyad la.sogs.pa Yum.brtaṅ(p.142).gyis khyer skad", "It is said that Yum.brtaṅ took away the eighteen kinds of treasures of the ancestors"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.370 lines 2-3: "Yum.mes.kyi nor.sna bco.brgyad lags.pa rje'i can.dgu Yum.brtaṅ.gyis khyer.ba lags skad", "It is said that nine of the eighteen kinds of jewels of the ancestral queens, which are the [royal] heritage (*lag.pa*), were taken away by Yum.brtaṅ"). The double value of these royal treasures as extraordinary objects granting magical power and symbols of royal status is an interesting subject, which needs to be explored.

*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* attributes insignia to the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum different from those assigned to them by *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and to bKra.shis.mgon by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The latter is considered to be Ye.shes.'od's father by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, while *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* states that lha.bla.ma was the son of lDe.gtsug.mgon. dPal.gyi.mgon received (f.6a lines 5-6): "mChibs gling.zhi nyin.skor/ rna.g.yu dgos.'dod 'od.'phro gnam.ral bdud.po ske gcod", "The horse which makes the tour of the four continents in one day; the turquoise earrings emitting the light fulfilling wishes; the sky-sword which cuts the necks of the demons"; bKra.shis.mgon received (f.6a lines 7): "mChibs Gyi.gling gnam.rta dkar.po/ rna.g.yu 'Dzam.gling 'od.'phro/ gnam.ral nam.mkha'i spu bcad", "The white sky-horse Gyi.gling; the turquoise earrings emitting light that pervades 'Dzam.gling; the sky-sword that cuts the top of the sky"; lDe.gtsug.mgon received (f.6b lines 2-3): "mChibs spyang.shes rlung gshog/ rna.g.yu skar.chen 'od.'phro/ gnam.ral srin.mo khrag.'dag", "The pony with wind-wings; the turquoise earrings emitting light [like] a great star; the sky-sword that makes the blood of the *srin.mo*-s drip".

The descendants of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal, the brother of Nyi.ma.mgon, also received royal insignia in

(“the Khrom [i.e. Iranian] lightning crown with white horns”) is particularly interesting since this emblem recalls the *bya.ru* (“bird-horned crown”) traditionally worn by the Zhang.zhung kings, one of whose dynasties was characterized by such headgear<sup>216</sup>.

This distinctive feature of the Zhang.zhung kings was not exclusively a sign of secular power, but, being a symbol of authority, was also worn by Bon.po masters<sup>217</sup>. It seems that the *bya.ru* was of Iranian origin. The widespread use of this crown in Zhang.zhung is one of the many cases in which Iranian traits were transferred to Zhang.zhung and associated lands before this ancient West Tibetan kingdom lost its cultural identity. On the basis

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the same way as bKra.shis.mgon. This is documented by an episode concerning the unnamed middle son of sKyid.lde, who was in turn the youngest son of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal (*IDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.150 lines 4-5: “Biing.pos yab.kyi stag.g.yu brkus.nas khyer te/ Nya.lde'i snga.ris.la srus.pas sras.dgu yab dang bcu byung.ba da.lta btsad.po rGyal.ba.'od la thug.go”, “[sKyid.lde's] middle son, having stolen his father's tiger turquoise, took it with him. Having established the Nya.lde (sic for sde) kingdom, there were nine successors, and with his father altogether ten, before the present king rGyal.ba.'od”. Furthermore, Pha.ba.the.se, the son of 'Od.lde (bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal's middle son), obtained a silver ladle when he went to dBu.ru (ibid. p.150 lines 6-10) (on the episode see below n.346).

(216) On the dynasty of the Zhang.zhung *bya.ru.can* kings see, among others, dKar.ru Bru.chen bsTan.'dzin rin.chen, *Ti.se dkar.chag* (p.599 line 2-p.601 line 4); bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *Bod.yul gnas lam.yig* (p.34 line 7-p.36 line 18); Nam.mkha'i nor.bu, *The Necklace of gZi* (p.23-25).

(217) *Kun.grol grags.pa bstan.'byung* credits the use of the *bya.ru* to Bru.zha gNam.gsal sPyi.rdol, who was the originator of the Bru clan and of Bon in Bru.zha as well as being the personal teacher of the Bru.zha king and of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum (sic) ruler nicknamed rTsod.sde (p.418 lines 2-3: “Bru.sha gNam.Bon sPyi.rdol lam Bru.sha Nam.gsas sprul.skyes te/ gser.gyi bya.ru.can lgar sprul/ phyag.cha g.yu.rnga bcibs.nas byon/ brtsod.pa rTsod.sde'i gus.btud nas/ rgyal.po bla.yi mchod.gnas mdzad”, “Bru.sha gNam.Bon sPyi.rdol otherwise known as the incarnation Bru.sha Nam.gsas manifested as five golden *bya.ru.can*-s (“wearers of the *bya.ru*”) and came riding on a turquoise drum. He won the reverence of the enemy rTsod.sde [and] became the *bla.yi mchod.gnas* (“officiating *bla.ma*”) of this king”). For a slightly different Tibetan wording of this passage see Hoffmann, “An Account of the Bon Religion in Gilgit” (p.139 and p.142). *Kun.grol grags.pa* also mentions a Bon.po master summoned by sPu.lde gung.rgyal to perform the funerary rites for his father Gri.gum btsan.po. He was g.Yas.kyi Bon.po *bya.ru.can*, an expert of *'Dur.phugs gsum.brgya drug.bcu*, and belonged to the ancient line of the Zhu.g.yas clan (ibid. p.42 lines 1-3: “Lo.ngam rta.rdzis gri.ru bsad/ rgyal.sras sPu.sde gung.rgyal.gyis/ Bon.gshen mang.po gdan.drangs nas/ 'dur dang 'dren.chog byed.pa'i dus/ kun.gyi nang.nas khyad.'phags.pa'i/ g.Yas.kyi Bon.po *bya.ru.can*/ 'Dur.phugs gsum.brgya drug.bcu mkhyen/ sems.can grangs.med 'dren.pa del/ Zhu.g.yas bka'.rgyud thog.ma yin”). Another case is that of the ancestor of the sPa clan (*Kun.grol grags.pa* p.425 line 5-p.426 line 1). He was lHa.bu sPa.la mdzes.pa. When he spent three years meditating at Ti.se Sangs.kyi shel.phug, he was known as Khri.men *bya.ru.can*. He is called Khri.mon lcags.kyi *bya.ru.can* in *Legs.bshad rin.po che gter.mdzod* (see S.Karmay, *Treasury of Good Sayings* p.10).

*Ya.ngal gdung.rabs* includes a golden *bya.ru* among the paraphernalia worn by 'Tshe, bCho and Ya.ngal (spelled as in the source), the *sku.gshen*-s of gNya'.khri btsan.po (f.22a line 5-f.22b line 1: “Bya.rgyal rgod.kyis ldem phod tsugs.pa dang/ gser.gyi bya.ru dang g.yu'i (f.22b) ldem mdongs”, “On top [of the head] they wore the feathers of the eagle, the lord of the birds, and a golden *bya.ru* with turquoise feathers on the forehead”). Various other examples of Bon.po-s wearing *bya.ru*-s are found in the literature, which I cannot cite here for reasons of space.



of its attribution to bKra.shis.mgon, the use of the *bya.ru* evidently survived the downfall of Zhang.zhung and the “Bod-ization” of West Tibet to remain a symbol of royal status at least until the first rulers of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty<sup>218</sup>.

Given the influence of the royal cults of the Sassanids, whose kings wore zoomorphic crowns, on most Central Asian kingdoms, it is not surprising that Iranian contributions, such as the horned crown of bKra.shis.mgon, survived in sTod considerably after the downfall of Zhang.zhung, at least until the 10th century. The mNga'.ris skor.gsum court also followed Iranian standards as is depicted in the early murals at Ta.po and later in the painted caves at Dung.dkar (Dung.dkar), as well as in the “drinking scene” in Al.lci 'du.khang. These murals testify to the persistence of these standards in the Buddhist period of mNga'.ris, although, in all probability, in ideal rather than in literal terms, as the West Tibetan court of that day is not portrayed in these paintings. However, royal depictions, such as those of Al.lci, do not show horned headresses. It cannot be ruled out that,

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For an instance showing that the ancient nobility and not only religious masters wore the *bya.ru* during the time of the Yar.lung dynasty (i.e. possibly outside Zhang.zhung) see *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.112 lines 8-10), which introduces a list of objects owned by the high ranking members of the Yar.lung kingdom: “Che.dgu ring.bcu ni/ sBas Che.btsan bya.ru.can sNang.bzher lha.btsan la/ nor.bu ke.ke.ru dang stag.gi gong.thong yod.pa che”, “As for the *nine great* and the *ten long* [signs of rank], sBas Che.btsan bya.ru.can sNang.bzher lha.btsan owned the *ke.ke.ru* jewel and the tiger skin collar. This was the sign of his greatness”.

(218) It should be asked whether the use of the crown with white horns inherited by bKra.shis.mgon persisted after Ye.shes.'od steadily introduced Buddhism in sTod. Relevant to this question is the reference in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* that Byang.chub.'od, a member of the gSang.'dus transmission, had one mchod.gnas Cha.ru.ba (i.e. Bya.ru.ba) as next lineage holder (f.62b lines 2-5: “dPal gSang.'dus.kyi rgyud.pa ni/ rDo.rje.'chang chen.po/ des Phyag.na rdo.rje/ des klu.las gyur.pa'i mkha'.gro.ma/ des rgyal.po Bi.su.ka la/ des slob.dpon Klu.grub la/ des Zla.ba grags.pa/ des Rig.pa'i kho.phyug la/ des A.ba.'du.dhi la/ des Jo.bo.rje la/ des lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od la/ des mchod.gnas Bya.ru.ba la/ des sPu.hrangs lo.chung la/ des sKo.brag.pa la/ des Yer.pa la/ des Zhang rin.po.che la/ des bdag Mar.lung lha.btsun la'o”, “The lineage of dPal gSang.'dus is as follows. rDo.rje.'chang chen.po. From him to Phyag.na rdo.rje. From him to a *naga* transformed into a *mkha'.gro.ma*. From her to king Bi.su.ka. From him to slob.dpon Klu.grub (sic for Klu.sgrub). From him to Zla.ba grags.pa. From him to Rig.pa'i kho.phyug. From him to A.ba.'du.dhi. From him to Jo.bo.rje. From him to lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od. From him to mchod.gnas Cha.ru.ba (sic for Bya.ru.ba). From him to sPu.hrangs lo.chung. From him to sKo.brag.pa. From him to Yer.pa. From him to Zhang rin.po.che. From him to myself Mar.lung lha.btsun”). It is noteworthy to find a most rare case of a transference of the *bya.ru* as a religious implement to a Buddhist milieu. Such a late instance of its use falls well after the initial phases of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom, during which the dynasty had manifested its Buddhist sympathies while still following customs typical of the ancient cultures of sTod. It is especially significant, therefore, to find this crown also worn by Buddhists as a religious emblem quite some time after dam.pa'i Chos had become the dominant religion of the territory. Another case of its adoption, almost contemporary with that of mchod.gnas Bya.ru.ba, is provided by a disciple of Mi.la ras.pa, who is called Ling.gor Cha.ru (sic for Bya.ru) by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.493 line 4). There is no indication as to whether he was from mNga'.ris stod. Traces of the Zhang.zhung culture, such as the *bya.ru*, thus survived the Tibetanization of the land and were incorporated into the new royal (bKra.shis.mgon) and religious establishment (mchod.gnas Bya.ru.ba), preserving its dual (royal and religious) function.

in a Buddhist milieu, the most characteristic traits of the ancient Zhang.zhung culture were omitted. If so, either the secular use of the *bya.ru* by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings was lost between the 10th and the 11th century, or it was not considered to be worthy of depiction in temples.

*Religious activity in mNga'.ris skor.gsum before Ye.shes.'od*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51)

A rare and significant insight into royal patronage of Buddhism in sTod during the period preceding Ye.shes.'od and *bstan.pa phyi.dar* is provided by the passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51 lines 5-6) in which bKra.shis.mgon, the father of Ye.shes.'od, is recorded as having sponsored a statue of Byams.pa and murals at the temple called g.Yu.sgra lha.khang<sup>219</sup>. It follows that bKra.shis.mgon promoted Buddhism before his celebrated sons. His support to dam.pa'i Chos was minimal in comparison with the activity of Ye.shes.'od and even that of Khor.re, because the literature does not contain more than one other reference to Nyi.ma.mgon's and the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum's religious inclinations. The information in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that Buddhism was actively supported by bKra.shis.mgon is authoritatively corroborated by evidence found in the Tun-huang text, dating in all likelihood to the 10th century, published by Hackin (Hackin (transl.), *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du Xe siècle*), where the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum are indicated as followers of Mahayana<sup>220</sup>. This document was possibly written during the period in which bKra.shis.mgon devoted his attention to g.Yu.sgra lha.khang, or, at the latest, before 1038

(219) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* mentions g.Yu.ra lha.khang in Pu.hrang, where gTsang.smyon went with some disciples. This temple is g.Yu.sgra, its alternative spelling deriving from West Tibetan pronunciation (*ra* for *sgra*). Here gTsang.smyon was visited at night by the goddess of the rMa.byā river, on whose bank the temple was located (ibid. p.180 line 7): "De.nas nub.gcig srod.la shin.tu gsang.bar mdzad.de/ g.Yu.ra'i lha.khang du dpon.slob lnga.tsam phebs.nas gzhus", "Then when night was falling, at the time when the master and disciples, five of them, went secretly to g.Yu.ra lha.khang, they halted [there]" and ibid. (p.181 lines 2-3): "Rigs.sngags.kyi rgyal.mo rMa.byā chen.mo de.nyid mtshar.bdug lha'i bu.mo 'chi.byang.can/ rin.po.che dang me.tog.gyi rgyan du.mas sgeg cing mdzes.pa/ rMa.byā'i sgro.thul gyon.pa/ a.ka.ru dang ga.bur lta.bu'i dri gsung.ldan.pa 'khor du.ma dang bcas.pas mchod.pas bzung zhing gya.nom.pa bshams", "rMa.byā chen.mo, the queen of the Tantric classes, the pleasantly scented daughter of the gods, carrying a 'chi.byang (?), together with many acolytes, made abundant offerings [to gTsang.smyon], gracefully beautiful with many jewel and flower ornaments, wearing the feather gown typical of rMa.byā, fragrant with the perfumes of a.ka.ru and camphor").

(220) Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du Xe siècle* (p.18 lines 7-13): "bTsan.po Khris.kyi.ling dang/ sras che.ba Pal.byin.mgon dang/ bKra.shis.mgon dang/ Leg.gtsug.mgon/...de.dag thams.cad kyang Theg.pa chen.po'i dbang thob.pa yin.no", "The king Khris.kyi.ling, his eldest son Pal.byin.mgon, bKra.shis.mgon and Leg.gtsug.mgon...all of them were those who realised the power of Mahayana".

when the Tun-huang library in which it was found was walled up<sup>221</sup>. The same text adds that Nyi.ma.mgon was also a religious king. Here sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon is called btsan.po Khri.kyi.ling and his three sons have the names Pal.byin.mgon, bKra.shis.mgon and Leg.gtsug.mgon.

No further details are provided by Ngag.dbang grags.pa on g.Yu.sgra lha.khang, so that one has to assume that this temple was either founded during the period immediately preceding the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod (i.e. during the reign of bKra.shis.mgon), or had survived from earlier times. Given that the foundation date of g.Yu.sgra lha.khang is not known, the existence of at least one temple predating *bstan.pa phyi.dar* may imply that the religious influence of *bstan.pa snga.dar* reached the lands of West Tibet at an unspecified period after it had been introduced by Khri.srong lde.btsan in dBus.gTsang.

As a matter of fact, *bstan.pa snga.dar* was officially enforced in Zhang.zhung by Khri.srong lde.btsan. His bSam.yas edict proclaiming dam.pa'i Chos the state religion was also circulated in this ancient kingdom, which had been incorporated in the dominions of Yar.lung Bod<sup>222</sup>. This shows that Zhang.zhung, in Khri.srong lde.btsan's view, was also bound to adopt Buddhism according to the system of *bstan.pa snga.dar*. No clear picture is available as to whether Khri.srong lde.btsan's order to Zhang.zhung was followed. There is only scanty evidence in the literature to suggest that the early Buddhist diffusion, promoted by him, encompassed the lands of sTod, and it cannot be ruled out that its hold on

(221) The text ends with a colophon fixing the date of composition to an ox year (Hackin, *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du Xe siècle* p.27 lines 4-8: "Glang.gi lo dpyid.zla.ra.ba'i tshes nyi.shu gsum.gyi gdugs.la/ 'Bog rDo.rje rgyal.po dang/ sKya.phud yang A.dge dang/ rnal.'byor slob.dpon sde.la/ rDo.rje.rgyal.po'i dbang.lung rdzogs.par stsal/ sNgags dang Phyag.rgya man.ngag gtan.la phab.pa/ rdzogs/ 'Bro dKon.mchog.dpal.gyis bris", "On the twenty-third day of the spring month of the ox year, teachings following the empowerment of rDo.rje rgyal.po were imparted in full to 'Bog rDo.rje rgyal.po, sKya.phud and also to A.dge and the rnal.'byor slob.dpon-s. Instruction on sNgags and Phyag.rgya have been given. Completed. Written by 'Bro dKon.mchog.dpal").

(222) The text of the deposited version of the bSam.yas edict proclaiming Buddhism as the state religion records the distribution of its copies as follows (*mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* p.372 lines 7-15, see also Richardson, "The First Tibetan Chos.'byung" p.66 and p.69-70): "dPe 'di.'dra.ba bcu.gsum bris te/ gcig ni phyag.sbal.na bzhag.go gnyis ni phyag.rgyas btab ste/ Ra.sa'i 'Phrul.snang gtsug.lag.khang/ Brag.dmar.gyi bSam.yas lhun.gyis grub.kyi dge.'dun.la re.re bzhag.go/ bcu ni mthar phyag.rgyas ste/ Ra.sa'i 'phrul.snang gtsug.lag.khang dang/ bSam.yas lhun.gyis grub.kyi gtsug.lag.khang dang/ Kha.'brug.gi bKra.shis lha.yul gtsug.lag.khang dang/ pho.brang 'khor.gyi dge.'dun dang/ Ra.sa'i rGya.btags Ra.mo.che dang/ Brag.dmar.gyi Khams.sum mo.ldog.sgrol dang/ Bru.sha.yul dang/ Zhang.zhung.yul dang/ mDo.smad dang/ sde.blon ris dang/ 'di.rnams.kyi gtsug.lag.khang.gi dge.'dun.la dpe re.re 'chang.du stsald.do", "In all, thirteen copies [of the bSam.yas] edict have been made and distributed. One has been placed in the archives. Two have been sealed and one each has been deposited with the religious communities of the Ra.sa 'Phrul.snang temple and the Brag.dmar bSam.yas lhun.gyis grub temple, the temple of Khra.'brug bKra.shis lha.yul, the religious community of the palace, Ra.sa rGya.btags Ra.mo.che, Brag.dmar Khams.sum Mi.ldog.grol, in the land of Bru.sha, in the land of Zhang.zhung, mDo.smad [and assigned] to the jurisdiction of the sde.blon-s".

these territories was somewhat precarious<sup>223</sup>. One hypothesis is that Zhang.zhung resisted the diffusion of Buddhism after Bon had been persecuted (on the persecution of Bon predating the foundation of bSam.yas see below n.285).

That *bstan.pa snga.dar* put down more stable roots in sTod after Khri.srong lde.btsan is proved in the *bstan.rtsis* found in bSod.nams rtse.mo's *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* by the record of the meeting of two personages who must have played an important part in its establishment. The text reads: "In the fire male dragon year (836), Shib.pe Cog.la.tshal was the assembly place of Bru.zha.yul ("the land of Bru.zha", i.e. people of Bru.zha?). [There] the introducer of sTod.kyi Chos, bande Chos.kyi blo.gros, and zhang sKyid.sum.rje joined forces (*bsdus*)"<sup>224</sup>. This is, in my view, the better reading of the verb *bsdus* in the passage rather than the more conventional "met", which would make the episode rather insignificant and unworthy to be recorded. In the case of this entry and every other incident discussed in bSod.nams rtse.mo's *bstan.rtsis*, knowledge of the events recorded in his chronological treatment is taken for granted by its author, but is not so obvious to a modern reader less acquainted with these distant incidents. Thus, the significant implication of each entry has to be extracted from rather bland statements. This event of 836 is important, otherwise it would not have been preserved by historical memory, for this joining of forces seems either to have engendered the introduction of *bstan.pa snga.dar* in sTod, or to have been its consequence. An alternative reading of the entry is: "In the fire male dragon year, the council (religious or political?) of Bru.zha.yul [was held]. At Shib.pe Cog.la.tshal, the introducer of sTod.kyi Chos, bande Chos.kyi blo.gros, and zhang sKyid.sum.rje joined forces". The latter reading has the advantage of not introducing the rather awkward fact that the Bru.zha council was held at Shib.pe Cog.la, a location quite far from Gilgit.

(223) An isolated event of religious activity in Pu.hrang, dating to the years after bSam.yas was built (i.e. in the last quarter of the 8th century), is found in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.313 line 14-p.314 line 4: "De.nas sNubs Nam.mkha'i snying.po la slob.dpon Hum.ka.ras/ Yang.dag sgrub.pa rtsa.rgyud Ita.bu la 'grel.chen sgron.me Ita.bu mdzad.nas bshad/ yang.dag lus.kyi khog.pa dang 'dra.ba la de'i srying dang 'dra.ba'i me.gcig ma.gnang nas/ lo.gcig gSer.gyi brag bya.skyibs.can du grub.pas dPal.chen.po'i zhal mthong dngos.grub thob.nas rtags kyang bris.sku bzhad.pa dang/ bdud.rtsi mu.tig dri.ma med.pa ltar gyur.pa dang/ rakta khol.ba dang/ gtor.ma 'dod.yon.kyi lha.mos dngos.su 'bul.ba dang/ tshe 'phar.ba dang/ bsnyen.phur 'tshag.pa dang/ 'phar.ba la.sogs.pa dang/ rDzogs(p.314).rim ma.byas.par phyi.nas mar byon", "Then slob.dpon Hum.ka.ra imparted to sNubs Nam.mkha'i snying.po the great commentary on *Yang.dag sgrub.pa rtsa.rgyud*, which is like a lamp [dispelling ignorance]. As he did not develop fire in his pure inner body, which is the essence of this [practice], he meditated for one year at gSer.gyi brag bya.skyibs.can (i.e. the meditation cave on the northern shore of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho). Having obtained the power [deriving from] the visualization of dPal.chen.po, as a sign [of it], the *bris.sku* (the painting on which he was meditating) smiled, *amrita* dripped like spotless pearls, blood boiled (in his skull cup?), *gtor.ma*-s were actually offered by the 'dod.yon lha.mo-s, his longevity was extended, his ritual *phur[.pa]* danced and soared. He then went downwards (to dBus.gTsang) without performing *rDzogs.rim*").

(224) *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,1 lines 4-5): "Me.pho.'brug.gi lo la Bru.zha.yul.gyi mdun.sa Shib.pe Cog.la.tshal du/ sTod.kyi Chos.kyi gzhi.'dzin.pa bande Chos.kyi blo.gros dang/ zhang sKyid.sum.rje la.sogs.pas bsdus.pa'i dus.su brtsis na/ mya.ngan las.'das nas lo nyis.stong dgu.brgya drug.cu rtsa.dgu lon.no".

This passage clarifies the location of Cog.la. This reference is also the earliest occurrence of this territory I have found so far in the sources, given that *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* was written in fire pig 1167<sup>225</sup>. Cog.la being associated with Shib.pe, which is the well known pass linking Rong.chung of Gu.ge in the east to Pi.ti in the west along the northern bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, the ancient West Tibetan territory of Cog.la included Rong.chung and Pi.ti, as the name Pi.Cog indicates. Along the southern bank of the same river, Cog.la adjoined the limit of Gu.ge lHo.smad<sup>226</sup> in the east and Khu.nu in the west<sup>227</sup>. Shib.pe is an ancient Zhang.zhung name.

In a subsequent statement, bSod.nams rtse.mo connects the establisher of sTod.kyi Chos, Chos.kyi blo.gros, with Mar.yul, where it seems that he was active<sup>228</sup>. The activity of Chos.kyi blo.gros being linked to Mar.yul suggests that he first established sTod.kyi Chos in Mar.yul, but the role of the Bru.zha council remains obscure, unless its hidden significance is that sTod.kyi Chos was introduced from Bru.zha to Mar.yul through the auspices of Chos.kyi blo.gros<sup>229</sup>. It should not be forgotten that, according to *mkhas.pa lDe'u* and *gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar*, Bru.zha appears to have been a major Buddhist centre, to which gNubs.chen and his Indian masters went for religious practice some decades after 836<sup>230</sup>.

(225) *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,2 lines 4-5): "Me.mo.phag.gi lo'i 'jug.tu/ Na.la.rtse gnas.po.che'i gtsug.lag.khang du Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo 'di bris te/ de'i dus.su brtsis.pa.na Sangs.rgyas mya.ngan las.'das nas phag.gi lo 'di yan.chod lo sum.stong sum.brgya tham.pa lon.no", "Finally, in the fire female pig year (1167), I (bSod.nams rtse.mo) wrote this *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* at Na.la.rtse gnas.po.che gtsug.lag.khang. As for the calculation of when this event happened, 3300 years elapsed between Buddha *nirvana* and this pig year".

(226) On the geography of Gu.ge lHo.smad see below n.549 and 567.

(227) Cog.la, an expanse of land in Gu.ge, must not be taken for a specific pass as its name apparently suggests. Cog.la renders well the peculiarity of Gu.ge's morphology, where eroded canyons lead to passes, which are long table-lands (Cog.la: "table-land pass").

(228) *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,2 line 3): "Mar.yul du bande Chos.kyi blo.gros.kyis brtsis.pa man.chad ma.mthun.pas gzhung nga.ma btsan.par bgyis.so", "Since the calculations until that made by bande Chos.kyi blo.gros in Mar.yul are not accurate, I (bSod.nams rtse.mo) have corrected [these] earlier notions to make them authoritative".

(229) Ral.pa.can's support of Buddhism was still in full swing in the year 836, in which this episode took place. It cannot be ruled out that patronage, intended to introducing Buddhism in the western territories, was brought to sTod from Yar.lung by sKyid.sum.rje, one of the dynasty's *zhang* and most probably a member of the 'Bro clan, not only because the 'Bro-s were among the clans having the right to inherit the title *zhang* but also because they were the actual *zhang*-s of khri Ral.pa, the Yar.lung king ruling at that time, who had a 'Bro mother. Finally, the 'Bro-s were the only clan in sTod which could boast the title *zhang*.

(230) *mkhas.pa lDe'u* (p.321 lines 17-20): "De.nas rGya.gar Chos.skyong.ba'i rgyal.po Bru.shar gshegs.pa thos nas/ Bru.shar byon.pas yul.der chos.srid byed.pas dang mjal nas/ lo.tsa.ba Che.rtsan.skyes.kyi zhal mthong skad/ gsung yang thos.nas Bru.sha nas dGongs.'dus bsgyur.nas Bod du spyen.drangs", "Then, as he

What is clear from bSod.nams rtse.mo is that dam.pa'i Chos was introduced in sTod some time before 836, a period falling during the reign of khri Ral.pa<sup>231</sup>. bSod.nams rtse.mo's statement is instrumental in dismissing the possibility that Khri.srong lde.btsan's attempt to extend the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion as far as Zhang.zhung had met with any enduring success.

(Sangs.rgyas ye.shes) heard that rGya.gar Chos.skyong.ba'i rgyal.po had gone to Bru.sha, after going to Bru.sha, he met the *chos.srid byed.pa* ("the ruler of religion") in this locality. As it is said that he saw Che.rtsan.skyes [and] listened to his preaching, he translated *dGongs.'dus* from the Bru.sha [language] [and] brought it back to "Tibet"; Padma 'phrin.las (*gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar in bKa'.ma mdo.dbang.gi bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.162 lines 4-5) says: "Dus nam.zhig.gi tshe mkhan.po Chos.rgyal.skyong Bru.sha'i yul du byon te/ Dha.na.rakshi.ta'am Shakya seng.ge ste O.rgyan chen.po/ Dharma.bo.dhi gsum.la Bru.sha'i mkhan.po Che.btsan.bskyes.kyi lo.tsa mdzad de Bru.sha'i khrom.du mDo 'gyur.mdzad.pa mos.chung ste ma.'gyur", "At that time, mkhan.po Chos.rgyal.skyong went to Bru.sha. Bru.sha mkhan.po Che.btsan.bskyes was the translator for Dha.na.rakshi.ta otherwise known as Shakya seng.ge, O.rgyan chen.po and Dharma.bo.dhi, these three. There was little accord at Bru.sha town concerning the translations of *mDo*, therefore they were not translated" and *ibid.* (p.162 line 6-p.163 line 1): "De.yang Bru.sha'i mkhan.pos Dha.na.rakshi.ta'i bka' dang sbyar te (p.163) slar.yang Bru.shar bsgyur.ba'i tshe bskyar te gsan", "He (Sangs.rgyas ye.shes) obtained [teachings] when Bru.sha mkhan.po was working again at the translations conforming to Dhana.rakshi.ta's order". On gNubs.chen living in the 9th-10th century see Addendum One.

(231) An inscribed stone *rdo.rings* in Pu.hrang, bearing a relief of sPyan.ras.gzigs, is located in a field between Zhi.sde in the east and Cog.ro in the west (Tshe.ring chos.rgyal and Zla.ba tshe.ring, "gSar.du brnyed.pa'i Pu.hreng.gi sPyan.ras.gzigs.kyi rdo.ring las byung.ba'i gtam.pyad" p.4-20, text of the inscription p.4-6). The inscription on its east face reads: "rTa'i lo'i/ ston.zla.ra.ba'i ngo la/ Seng.ge zhang chen.po 'Bro Khri.btsan.sgra/ mGon.po.rgyal gyis/ mtha'.yas.pa'i sems.can thams.cad dang/ thun.mong du bsngos.te/ 'Phags.pa/ sPyan.ras.gzigs/ dbang.phyug.gi/ sku.gzugs/ rdo.'bur.du bgyis nas/ bzhengs.gsol.pa/ dge.ba'i rtsa.ba 'di skye.'gro ma lus.pa kun.gyi don.du bsngo", "In *ston.zla.ra.ba* (the mid autumn month) of the horse year, [I] Seng.ge zhang chen.po 'Bro Khri.btsan.sgra mGon.po.rgyal requested the making of this statue of 'Phags.pa sPyan.ras.gzigs dbang.phyug carved in stone generally dedicated to limitless sentient beings. May this root of virtue benefit innumerable human beings!"; and the west face: "Na.mo 'Phags.pa sPyan.ras.gzigs dbang.phyug.gi spyan.sngar/ sdig.pa thams.cad ni 'chags.so/ bsod.nams thams.cad.kyi rjes.su.yi rang.ngo/ nyon.mongs.pa dang shes.bya'i sgrib.pa rnam.gnyis ni byang/ bsod.nams dang/ ye.shes.gyi tshogs chen.po rnam.gnyis ni/ yongs.su rdzogs.nas bdag zhang 'Bro Khri.btsan.sgra mGon.po.rgyal dang/ mtha'.yas.pa'i sems.can thams.cad/ dus.gcig du/ bla.na myed.pa'i Sangs.rgyas su grub.par gyur.cig", "Na.mo! In the presence of 'Phags.pa sPyan.ras.gzigs dbang.phyug all defilements are cleansed. All merit is consequently earned. Misery and false knowledge are removed. The great conjoining of merit and [true] knowledge having been thoroughly perfected, may I zhang 'Bro Khri.btsan.sgra mGon.po.rgyal and limitless sentient beings, all of us, realise supreme Buddhahood".

Paleographic signs in the inscriptions suggesting an early date for the making of the *rdo.rings* (possibly in the time of the Yar.lung dynasty) are the double *tsheg* dividing the sentences, the type of heading found in related Yar.lung dynasty *rdo.rings*-s, the use of the letter 'a in its genitive form separated from the preceding syllable by a *sbrang.bsad* ("dot"), the reversed *gi.gu*, frequent use of *ya.ta*, the *da.drag* appended to names ending

with *na*, *ra*, *la*, plus some archaic spellings. The authors of this article make a very interesting point that *dbu.can* paleography was reformed by Khyung.po g.Yu.khri, the great calligrapher of the 9th century (p.10). His most important contribution was writing the horizontal strokes of the letters thick, while the vertical strokes were kept thin. The authors note that the Pu.hrang *rdo.rings* has the closest paleographic similarity with the bSam.yas and mTshur.phu stone pillars and conclude that, in their view, the Zhi.sde-Cog.ro *rdo.rings* may date from the reign of khri Ral.pa (p.16-17). They also maintain that the term *seng.ge* in the name of 'Bro zhang Khri.btsan.sgra is a mark of honour, and cite a passage in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* where a collar made of a white lioness fur was awarded to 'Bro Khri.zungs ra.shags (p.379 lines 2-3: "'Bro Khri.zungs ra.shags seng.ge dkar.mo'i gong.slag.gis che"). To this instance another found in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* has to be added (p.112 lines 8-12): "Che.dgu ring.bcu ni/...'Bro.khrom mDa'.cung.pa la/ seng.ge dkar.mo'i gong.glag yod.pas che", "As for the *nine great* and the *ten long* [marks of rank],...'Bro.khrom mDa'.cung.pa owned the white lioness fur collar. This was the sign of his greatness".

I believe that the white lioness fur, being a sign of distinction inherited by the members of the clan, denotes the 'Bro clan, which had also settled in sTod. It may suggest that further sub-groups existed, for one is confronted with names such as Seng.dkar, which show that the *seng.ge* group of the 'Bro-s was possibly further classified in divisions according to a colour scheme (e.g. *dkar.ser.nag*) typical of ancient Tibetan tradition. A few other cases testify to the existence of members of the 'Bro clan in sTod bearing the same title. This applies to dge.slong 'Bro Seng.dkar Shakya.'od (see the colophons of the commentary on the *'Phags.pa shes.rab.gyi pha.rol.tu phyin.pa stong.phrag nyis.shu lnga.pa'i man.ngag* and on *bCom.ltan.'das yon.san rin.po.che sdud.pa* translated by Shakya.'od upon a request by Byang.chub.'od in *mDo.'grel*) (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* partie 3 (*mDo.'grel*) p.274 and p.277-278); and 'Bro Seng.dkar sTod.pa Ye.shes, an 11th century member of the 'Dul.ba tradition active in dBus (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.106 lines 17-18: "De.la sTod du Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab/ 'Dzims su gZhon.tshul/ dBus su 'Bro Seng.dkar sTod.pa bla.ma Ye.shes", "From him ('Dzims.pa Shes.rab.'od) [descended] Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab in sTod, gZhon.tshul at 'Dzims and 'Bro Seng.dkar sTod.pa bla.ma Ye.shes in dBus". See also *Blue Annals* p.78, *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* p.483 lines 14-15; Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.377 lines 10-12). Seng.dkar.ma, the wife of Ye.shes.'od, is another member of this clan (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 line 10).

Lacking further information to establish the identity of Seng.ge zhang 'Bro Khri.btsan.sgra mGon.po.rgyal, a few rather obvious points can be made from the existence of his *rdo.rings* in Pu.hrang and its inscriptions. Archaeological evidence shows that Pu.hrang was controlled by the 'Bro clan. The diffusion of Buddhism in Pu.hrang during the Yar.lung period or soon after the Yar.lung kingdom broke up into principalities is confirmed by the pillar epigraphs. It was made possible by the 'Bro-s, as the entry of the *bstan.rtsis* in *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* also seems to reveal, for the clan affiliation of zhang sKyid.sum.rje probably has to be considered to have been the same as that of the only early Buddhist exponent of the 'Bro clan so far known in sTod, Khri.btsan.sgra mGon.po.dpal. Thus, given bSod.nams rtse.mo's authority in affirming that Buddhism was introduced in sTod by sKyid.sum.rje not later than 836, I am inclined to think that the making of the Pu.hrang *rdo.rings* was a consequence of this introduction.





# Gu.ge Pu.hrang during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*

*Ye.shes.'od: his original names, family relations and dates*  
(*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51)

At this stage I wish to introduce the vexed question of the names and the identities of the two sons of bKra.shis.mgon, which is confused in the sources, without intending to propose a definitive appraisal of the matter simply because no solution is at hand. No exhaustive treatment will follow. Only a few significant quotations from relevant sources will be introduced, since even an accurate statistical analysis of all the texts would not be conclusive.

According to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51 lines 7-9), bKra.shis.mgon had two sons from his queen named Zangs.kha.ma in the text. They were Khor.re and Srong.nge. Srong.nge, considered to be Ye.shes.'od, was also called Khri.lde Srong.gtsug.btsan, while Khor.re (also spelled as 'Kho.re in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*) has no other name<sup>232</sup>. The text assigns Gu.ge to Srong.nge and Pu.hrang to Khor.re.

*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* makes Cog.ro Zangs.kha.ma one of the two queens given in marriage to Nyi.ma.mgon by the ministers Pa.tshab Nyi.ma rdo.rje and Cog.ro Phag.sha lha.legs, who accompanied him as far as Bye.ma g.yung.drung (near the sources of rTa.mchog kha.'babs in Gro.shod) on his way to found his kingdom. On the other hand, *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* attributes one 'Bro wife from Pu.hrang ('Bro.za 'Khor.skyong) to him<sup>233</sup>. Cog.ro Zangs.kha.ma of *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* was the mother of the sTod.kyi

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(232) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not attempt to rationalize the names Srong.nge and Kho.re in the way Tshe.dbang nor.bu or his source in his *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (p.73 line 21-74 line 3) does: ("Srong.nge dang 'Khor(p.74).re'i ming dngos.gzhi Drang.srong.lde dang 'Khor.lo.lde yin zhes", "Srong.nge and 'Khor.re's true names were Drang.srong.lde and 'Khor.lo.lde"). The syllable Srong in Srong.nge, in particular, appears in the names of ancient Tibetan kings (for instance Khri.srong lde.btsan and Khri.lde srong.btsan) and in those of various later members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty. Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtsho (*bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* p.71 line 20-p.72 line 2) has a more trivial assessment of these names: "bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras Khri.lde Srong.nge dang/ Khri.dpal 'Khor.lde gnyis byung.pa'i/ Khri(p.72) 'Khor.lde rab.tu byung.ba'i mtshan ni/ lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od ces.byā", "bKra.shis.mgon's sons were Khri.lde Srong.nge and Khri.dpal 'Khor.lde, these two. Khri 'Khor.lde's name as an ordained monk was lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od".

(233) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 lines 15-16): "De.nas zhang.blon gnyis.kyis bu.mo gnyis btsun.mor phul.lo/ Pa.tshab.ma la tsha.bo ma.byung/ Cog.ro Zangs.kha.ma la sras.gsum byung", "Then the two *zhang.blon-s* (Pa.tshab and Cog.ro) gave him two daughters in marriage. Pa.tshab.ma (his Pa.tshab wife) did not bear offspring. Cog.ro Zangs.kha.ma bore [him] three sons". *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 7-8; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 10-11): "De'i tshe dGe.bshes.btsan [note in the text: dGe.bshes bKra.shis.btsan].gyis Pu.hrangs su zhu ste/ 'Bro.za 'Khor.skyong btsun.mor phul.ba khab.tu.bzhes",

mgon.gsum. The two-page lacuna in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, obliterating the treatment of Nyi.ma.mgon, does not allow one to learn Ngag.dbang grags.pa's opinion concerning the identity of Nyi.ma.mgon's queens. It must have been more than coincidental that one Zangs.kha.ma was the mother of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum and another Zangs.kha.ma was the mother of Khor.re and Srong.nge, but the background of matrimonial relations, which has significant political implications, is nowhere outlined and no explanation can be attempted.

A reference to Zangs.kha.ba rje.blon gTag.zig (sic), a minister who served under rTse.lde (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 line 7), contributes to an understanding of the name Zangs.kha.ma. The case of rTse.lde's minister helps to clarify that Zangs.kha has to be read as a clan name, and its belonging to Cog.ro ultimately makes Zangs.kha a subdivision of the Cog.ro clan<sup>234</sup>. Finally, since Zangs.kha was a sub-clan of Cog.ro and Cog.ro is a territory found in Pu.hrang.smad, people belonging to Zangs.kha were Pu.hrang.pa-s. Evidence from various sources prove that the Cog.ro clan was thus closely associated with the mNga'ris skor.gsum dynasty from the time of its earliest kings.

Both *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* make a confusion concerning the royal generations of Gu.ge Pu.hrang after Nyi.ma.mgon that is hardly possible to disentangle. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* reads: "The eldest brother (*ched.po*) dPal[.gyi].mgon's son was dPa'.tshab 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. He was also known as elder brother (*gcen*) Kho.re. He had three sons, [of whom] the eldest was Bla.ma.lde. lHa.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od (i.e. Kho.re), after his two elder [sons] died, had [two further sons] De.ba.ra.tsa, the elder, and Na.ga.ra.tsa, who were ordained". *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* has: "The son of the eldest brother dPal[.gyi].mgon was sPa.tshab.tsha 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan; he and bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan, these two. The elder was also known as Kho.re. He had three offspring,

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"At that time, he (Nyi.ma.mgon) was invited to Pu.hrangs by dGe.bshes.btsan [note in the text: dGe.bshes bKra.shis.btsan]. He was given 'Bro.za 'Khor.skyong in marriage". *Kho.char dkar.chag* makes a major blunder in attributing to lDe.gtsug.mgon his father Nyi.ma.mgon's marriage with 'Bro.bza' 'Khor.skyong (f.4a = p.39 lines 13-14): "Des 'Bro.bza' 'Khor.skyong khab.tu bzhes.pa.la sras.gnyis tel' 'Khor.re dang Srong.nge byung". The ministers and wives of Nyi.ma.mgon, according to the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*, which both have the same wording (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.146 lines 9-10 and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.380 lines 17-18), are as follows: "bTsun[.mo] Zangs.dkar.bza' dang sTag.gzig.bza' gnyis bzhes/ blon.po Mang.dkar dang Khyung.pos byas", "He married bTsun.mo Zangs.dkar.bza' and sTag.gzig.bza'. Mang.dkar and Khyung.po were the ministers". Is Mang.dkar a sub-group of the clan Mang.dber (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.7b line 2; see below n.889)? I wish to express my gratitude to Franz-Karl Ehrhard for his kindness in giving to me a copy of *btsun.pa Chos.legs rnam.thar*.

(234) When the name Zangs.kha appears in the forms Zangs.kha.ma and Zang.kha.ba, these are gender suffixes attached to the clan name to identify its members. The instance of another lady bZang.dkar (so spelled in the text), bearing the clan affiliation Zur bdag.mo is different. She was the wife of the Gung.thang king Khri.rgyal bSam.grub.lde (b.1459) (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.130 lines 9-10: "rGyal.po de'i btsun.mor Zur.tsho.bza' bdag.mo bZang.dkar khab.tu bzhes"). He had a long reign as he is still found ruling in the first quarter of the 16th century (ibid. p.141 line 21-p.142 line 9). Since she belonged to the Zur clan, bZang.dkar is a proper name.

[including] Bla.ma.lde. He was lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. After them, he had De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza. Both were ordained"<sup>235</sup>. The expression *de'i 'og.ma* ("after him or them") in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* may betray a persistence of the concept propounded in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* that De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza were born after two of the earlier three sons of Ye.shes.'od had died, a notion which *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* partially preserves.

The first evident corruption is the attribution to dPal.mgon (i.e. dPal.gyi.mgon, the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum king of Mar.yul for practically every source) of two sons, who, though bearing different names, are in fact Srong.nge and Khor.re (*mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.381 lines 2-3). In no other work are Srong.nge and Khor.re considered to be the sons of dPal.gyi.mgon. Sources are divided in assigning Srong.nge and Khor.re to either bKra.shis.mgon or lDe.gtsug.mgon, most being in favour of the former, which is probably the correct assessment.

The highlight of the remarkably corrupt treatment of the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty in the two *lDe'u chos.'byung*s is the introduction of an additional generation between the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum and that of Ye.shes.'od in the form of the otherwise unknown 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. The greatest contradiction in the texts is found when they equate 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan to Khor.re (identified as Ye.shes.'od), which seems to be an effort to restore the correct number of generations in the Gu.ge Pu.hrang line, for the two *lDe'u* historiographies, by inserting 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan between bKra.shis.mgon and his sons elsewhere in their text, propose an outline of the early royal family of mNga'.ris skor.gsum with one redundant generation<sup>236</sup>. Both *lDe'u* texts thus make a terrible genealogical confusion regarding their placement of Ye.shes.'od. They make him move

(235) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.146 lines 13-16): "Ched.po dPal.mgon.gyi sras ni dPa'.tshab 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan stel/ gcen Kho.re zer.ro/ de.la sras.gsum chen.po lHa.ma.lde ste/ lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od gong.ma.gnyis grongs.nas rjes.la btsas/ gong.ma De.ba.ra.tsa dang Na.ga.ra.tsa ste rab.tu.byung yang zer". *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 2-5) has: "Che.shos dPal.mgon.gyi sras.la sPa'.tshab.tsha 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan tel/ de dang bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan gnyis tel/ gcen Kho.re yang zer.ro/ de.la sras.gsum lHa.bla.ma.lde ste/ lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.do/ de'i 'og.ma De.ba.ra.dza dang/ Na.ga.ra.dza'o/ de.gnyis rab.tu.byung".

(236) The passage in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, which does not identify 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan with Ye.shes.'od, reads (p.141 lines 1-3): "De.nas Dar.ma'i sras 'Od.bsrungs/ de'i sras dPal.dgon/ de'i sras Nyi.ma.dgon/ bKra.shis.mgon/ 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan/ de'i sras lha.ba.ma'i bar.du gdungs.rabs drug.tu Chos snubs skad", "Then Dar.ma's son was 'Od.bsrungs. His son was dPal.dgon. His son was Nyi.ma.dgon. [His son] was bKra.shis.mgon. [His son?] was 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. It is said that, until the latter's son lha.bla.ma, Buddhism was abandoned for six generations". *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, instead, has seven generations without Buddhism. The text says (p.368 lines 19-21): "Chos.kyi me ni gdung.rabs bdun.du sbas zhes.pa/ de'i sras 'Od.srung/ de'i sras dPal.mgon/ Nyi.ma.mgon/ bKra.shis.mgon/ 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan/ de'i sras lha.bla.ma'i bar.du Chos snubs skad", "The fire of Buddhism is known to have been hidden for seven generations. His (Glang.dar.ma's) son was 'Od.srung. [His son] was dPal.mgon. [His son] was Nyi.ma.mgon. [His son] was bKra.shis.mgon. [His son?] was 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. It is said, that until the latter's son lha.bla.ma Buddhism was abandoned". Calculations in the two texts are not accurate. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* includes in its list one

from one generation to the next, since, equating him with Kho.re, Ye.shes.'od is 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan in one instance and in the other his son<sup>237</sup>.

The translation I propose of the passages in *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* quoted above is somewhat different from that by van der Kuijp in his valuable "Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles"<sup>238</sup>. The first and foremost point of divergence is his identification of Kho.re and Bla.ma.lde. It is evident that *lDe'u Jo.sras'* treatment of the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty identifies Ye.shes.'od with Kho.re, who is also known as 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. The otherwise unknown Bla.ma.lde was a son of Ye.shes.'od, who is forgotten by all sources except *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*. The reason for this is revealed by the same text in the following sentence, for, among the three elder sons of Ye.shes.'od, he and another son died before De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza were born<sup>239</sup>.

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more king than *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, but affirms that Buddhism was not practised for one royal generation less than in *mkhas.pa lDe'u's* view. The cause of these contradictory statements is the different ways in which the two authors calculated the period when Buddhism was apparently not practised. Despite mentioning Dar.ma, *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* does not include him in the royal generations without Chos. *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* does not mention Dar.ma but includes him in the generations of this period. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51 lines 15-18) says that the practice of Buddhism was interrupted for five generations (i.e. Dar.ma, 'Od.srung, dPal.'khor.btsan, Nyi.ma.mgon and bKra.shis.mgon), for 146 years altogether (841-986).

(237) Both Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtsho (*bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* p.71 lines 19-20: "bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan/ de'i sras 'Khor.re dang Srong.nge gnyis zer.ba'ang mdzad 'dug", "bKra.shis.mgon's son was 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan. His sons were called 'Khor.re and Srong.nge") and Padma dkar.po, in his *chos.'byung* (p.259 lines 4-5), include 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan in the genealogy. The first says that he drew information on the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings from *Bla.ma dam.pa gsung.ngag chos.'byung ngo.mtshar snang.ba*. Both chose to keep 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan distinct from the other members of the lineage by placing him between bKra.shis.mgon and his sons Srong.nge and Khor.re.

(238) van der Kuijp ("Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.476) translates the passage in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* in the following way: "The son of Dpal[-gyi]-mgon, the eldest, was Dpa'-tshab 'Od.kyi rgyal-mtshan, [he] is also called Gcen Kho.re. He had three sons [of whom] the eldest [was] Lha Bla-ma-lde [, that is,] Lha Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od. After the two "supreme ones" (*gong.ma*) were killed, [he] became cherished in [their] wake; it is also said that *gong.ma*[?] De-ba-ra-tsa (\*Devaraja) and Na-ga-ra-tsa (\*Nagaraja) were religious renunciates (*rab-byung*)" and adds that the passage is better clarified in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (an idea I do not share), which he translates as follows (p.477-478): "As for the son[s] of the eldest Dpal[-gyi]-mgon, [there were] two, Spa-tshab tsha (?) 'Od.kyi rgyal-mtshan; him and Bkra-shis lha-lde.btsan. The eldest [one] was also called Kho-re"; and (p.478): "He [had] three sons: Lha Bla-ma-lde [, that is,] Lha Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od; after [him] \*Devaraja and \*Nagaraja. These two were renunciates."

(239) Two more of van der Kuijp's interpretations in his translation of the passages contained in *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* regarding the genealogy of mNga'.ris skor.gsum (van der Kuijp "Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.475-480) do not correspond to my reading. In particular, a difference between his interpretation and mine of this sentence in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* is that the two sons of Ye.shes.'od, who died prematurely (*grong*) before De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza were born, were not killed as van der Kuijp maintains (*ibid.* p.476). Furthermore, they are not to be defined as "supreme ones", as he opines; they were rather

Another major weakness of these two texts is the equation of Ye.shes.'od's brother, who is Srong.nge for the two sources, with bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan, so that the father (more commonly considered Khor.re in the sources) and son (lHa.lde) become one and the same person<sup>240</sup>. The identification Srong.nge with lHa.lde of *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* is obviously wrong<sup>241</sup>. I believe that this confusion derives from the uncertainty on 'Khor.re and lHa.lde's roles in the construction of Kha.char and its central silver statue (see below p.258), which is an event occurring in the two *lDe'u* works just before their mistaken identification of these two kings. By this classification one is confronted with the reverse of the genealogical mistake made regarding 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan, since one generation (that represented by lHa.lde) is omitted in this case. Paradoxically, by failing to include lHa.lde among the Gu.ge Pu.hrang secular kings, for he is considered to be one and the same as his father Khor.re, the two *lDe'u* texts ultimately

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Ye.shes.'od's two eldest sons (*gong.ma*). Vague and not entirely reliable criteria can be proposed to attempt an approximation of the period in which Ye.shes.'od's two sons died, for De.ba.ra.dza's birth date is not known. Judging by the long interval (eleven years) between the taking of full monk's vows by the two (De.ba.ra.dza in 996, Na.ga.ra.dza in 1016), if the same year differential is kept between the birth dates of the two brothers, De.ba.ra.dza would have been born in 978 (Na.ga.ra.dza b.988). Bla.ma.lde and his unnamed brother must have died some time before that year. I wish to drop the matter at this point since this is hardly more than speculation. The term *dpa'.tshab* met with in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* is in all probability corrupt in the light of its preferable spelling sPa.tshab found in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*. A literal rendering of *dpa'.tshab* ("successor hero?") is hardly admissible.

(240) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 1-4) states: "gCung.po Srong.nge'i bKra.shis.lde.btsan zhes.pa Kho.re'i gcung.po Srong.nge'ol 'dis kyang Pu.rangs su Khwa.char.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.so/ mtshan gsha'.ma bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan.no/ de.la sras.gnyis te 'Od.lde Byang.chub.'od zer", "His younger brother Srong.nge was known as bKra.shis.lde.btsan. He was Srong.nge, the younger brother of Kho.re. He also built Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang in Pu.rangs. His real (*gsha'.ma*) name was bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan. The latter's sons were 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od". *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 12-15) says: "gCung.po Srong.nge'i ming bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan dang gcung.po Srong.nge'ol bKra.shis lHa.lde la sras gnyis te/ 'Od.lde dang Bvang.chub.'od.do/ Srong.nges kyang sPu.rang du Kha.tshar.gyi gtsug.lag[.khang] bzhengs.so", "The name of [Ye.shes.'od's] younger brother Srong.nge was bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan; he was younger brother Srong.nge. bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan had two sons: 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od. Srong.nge also built Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang in sPu.rang".

, *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* states that 'Khor.re and lHa.lde are often confused in the documents its author had at his disposal to the extent that some of them consider 'Khor.re and lHa.lde as different names for the same person, while many others correctly hold that lHa.lde was the son of Khor.re. Due to the confusion on the matter, the author of the *dkar.chag* felt compelled to say that most sources consider lHa.lde to be the son of 'Khor.re (f.7a line 7-f.7b line 1: "Kha.cig...de dang lHa.lde (f.7b) don.gcig mtshan.gyi rnam grangs.su 'dod.pa.../lHa.lde ni 'Khor.re'i sras.su tshad.ltan mang.pos bshad.pa'o").

(241) The term *gsha'.ma*, referring to bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, should not be left untranslated as van der Kuijp ("Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.477) does, considering it to be some sort of clan name, but means something like "noble, good, pure" and thus stands for "true, real" and combines well with *mtshan* to mean that lHa.lde.btsan was the real name of Srong.nge (although this is a mistaken assessment).

attribute lHa.lde's sons to Khor.re<sup>242</sup>. Concerning them, there is another corruption in these texts, as, shortly after, *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* attribute only two sons, 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od, to lHa.lde, while Zhi.ba.'od is omitted<sup>243</sup>. The entire treatment of the genealogy is so confused that some lines appear to be missing from the original manuscript of *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, from which *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* derived its own treatment.

Interestingly, Wa.gindra karma, the author of *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*, recognizes three traditions concerning the father of Khor.re and Srong.nge. One tradition holds that Khor.re and Srong.nge were the son of lDe.gtsug.mgon; another that they were the sons of 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan, who was in his turn the son of lDe.gtsug.mgon; the third that Khor.re and Srong.nge were the sons of bKra.shis.mgon<sup>244</sup>. Wa.gindra karma is for the first of them. I am also inclined to dismiss the second tradition on a genealogical basis, since a redundant generation has been added to the canonical lineage of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty. There is no way to establish whether Khor.re and Srong.nge were the sons of bKra.shis.mgon or of lDe.gtsug.mgon, the only possible hint being that, statistically, the literature favours bKra.shis.mgon. Having had access to documents unknown at present, it is regrettable that the author of this *dkar.chag* does not further elucidate the origin of the tradition which includes 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan in the Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogy. The mystery of 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan's presence in the lineage remains unsolved for the time being.

Given the detailed information provided by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* regarding Ye.shes.'od and his family relations, I am inclined to favour Ngag.dbang grags.pa's view that Srong.nge

(242) van der Kuijp ("Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.479-480) has also dropped lHa.lde from genealogical succession in his table outlining the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal lineage according to the *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*. This is an omission forced on him by the treatment of the dynasty contained in the two sources he analyses.

(243) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 3-4): "De.la sras.gnyis te 'Od.lde dang Byang.chub.'od zer", "He (lHa.lde) had two sons: 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 line 13): "bKra.shis lHa.lde la sras gnyis tel 'Od.lde dang Byang.chub.'od.do", "bKra.shis lHa.lde had two sons: 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od". The only plausible reason for the otherwise inexplicable neglect of Zhi.ba.'od might be the remarkable age difference between him and his two elder brothers, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* proves that Zhi.ba.'od was considerably younger than them (p.65 lines 11-12 and p.67 line 18; see also below p.296).

(244) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.6b lines 3-5): "lDe.gtsug.mgon la sras.gnyis 'khrungs.pa 'Khor.re dang Srong.nger bzhed.pa dang/ yang bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan/ de'i sras 'Khor.re dang Srong.nger bzhed.pa dang/ yang de.gnyis bKra.shis.mgon.gi sras.su bzhed.pa sogs yig.cha rnam gung 'grig ma.chis.pas kha.mtshon gcod dka'.ci mchis na'ang/ yul.dus.kyi khyad.par 'ga'.zhig.la rjes.su dpag.na lugs dang.po de.nyid 'thad.par sems.so", "It is believed that the sons born to lDe.gtsug.mgon were 'Khor.re and Srong.nge. It is also believed that bKra.shis.mgon's son was 'Od.kyi rgyal.mtshan [and] that the latter's sons were 'Khor.re and Srong.nge. It is further believed that these two were the sons of bKra.shis.mgon, but, the documents [on this matter] not being reliable, it is somewhat difficult to appraise [these different traditions]. However, if I have to express an opinion after consulting some of them especially [those] of different periods and provenance, I favour the first tradition".

was lha.bla.ma<sup>245</sup>. In some works, Khor.re is not considered to be Ye.shes.'od and he is associated with the foundation of Kho.char, possibly because his name echoes that of this temple. Had Khor.re been Ye.shes.'od, since he would have been ordained before the foundation of Kho.char (996), he could have not given his lay name to the temple.

Where opinion in the literature is divided is as to whether Srong.nge or Khor.re was the elder brother. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* identifies Srong.nge with Ye.shes.'od and makes him the younger brother (p.51 lines 9-11). While most sources including *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* do the opposite, Tshe.dbang nor.bu, in his *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs*, says that Srong.nge was the elder brother, while agreeing with *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that he was Ye.shes.'od. *Lo.pan bka'.thang* shares the same view, making Ye.shes.'od's brother, nicknamed Khri.dpal, the younger of the two<sup>246</sup>. In my view, this is the correct assessment in the light of the evidence of Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* to the dBus *sngags.pa-s*, in which lha.bla.ma signs the *bka'.shog* as king of Pu.hrang (see below p.237 and n.335). This is significant, as he is

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(245) Sources saying that Srong.nge was Ye.shes.'od are *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.69 lines 2-5: "bTsan.po Srong.nge'i sku.tshe'i stod.la khab.bzhes te/ sras Na.ga.ra.dza dang/ Dhe.ba.ra.dza'o/ sku.tshe'i smad la/ yab.mes.kyi bka'.tshigs.kyi yi.ge gzigs.pas thugs.skyo nas/ yab.kyi gdung.gsob.pa'i phyir/ rab.tu.byung.nas mtshan Ye.shes.'od ces.byā", "In the earlier part of btsan.po Srong.nge's life, he married and had the sons Na.ga.ra.dza and Dhe.ba.ra.dza. In the later part of his life, as he consulted the documents [recording] his ancestors' wills, as he was saddened, in order to restore the lineage of the ancestors [devoted to religion] he became ordained and was known as Ye.shes.'od"); *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (p.41 lines 7-9: "Srong.nge'i sku.tshe'i stod.la Na.ga.ra.dza dang/ De.wa.rwa.dzwa sras.gnyis byung smad.la rab.tu byung.ba lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od ces.grags", "In the earlier part of his life, Srong.nge had two sons: Na.ga.ra.dza and De.wa.rwa.dzwa (sic). In the later part, he became ordained and was known as lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od"); *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po gdung.rabs* (p.74 lines 3-4: "Drang.srong.lde.yi sras Na.ga.ra.dza dang De.wa.ra.dzar grags", "Drang.srong.nge's (Srong.nge/Ye.shes.'od's) sons were called Na.ga.ra.dza and De.wa.ra.dza"); *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.261 lines 1-2: "Khong.rang mkhan.slob med.par bsnyen.par rdzogs/ mtshan Ye.shes.'od"; "Srong.nge ordained himself since there was neither *mkhan.po* nor *slob.dpon*. His name [was changed to] Ye.shes.'od").

Works identifying Ye.shes.'od as Khor.re are *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.459 lines 1-9); *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.42 lines 9-10: "bKra.shis.mgon la sras.gnyis/ 'Khor.re dang/ Srong.nge/ 'Khor.re la sras.gnyis/ Na.ga.ra.tsa/ De.ba.ra.tsa'o", "bKra.shis.mgon [had] two sons: 'Khor.re [and] Srong.nge. 'Khor.re [had] two sons: Na.ga.ra.tsa [and] De.ba.ra.tsa"); *rGya.Bod.yig.tshang* (p.216 lines 6-12); *bsTan.rsis gal.ba'i nyin.byed* (p.72 line 1, which states that Khri.dpal 'khor.lde ('Khor.re) was Ye.shes.'od); *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.79 lines 1-2: "lDe.gtsug.mgon la sras Kho.re dang/ Srong.nge gnyis byung.ba'i/ gcen.gyis rab.tu byung.ba'i mtshan Ye.shes.'od du grags", "lDe.gtsug.mgon's sons were Kho.re and Srong.nge, the name of the elder, as he took vows, was Ye.shes.'od").

(246) Tshe.dbang nor.bu, *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (p.74 lines 14-15) says: "sKu.tshe smad rang.gi rgyal.srid gcung 'Khor.rer grad.del/ yab.sras gsum.ka rab.tu.byung", "In the earlier part of his life [Ye.shes.'od] passed his own royal power to his younger brother 'Khor.re, and the father and sons (Ye.shes.'od, De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza), these three, became ordained". *Lo.pan bka'.thang* (p.407 lines 20-23): "Ye.shes.'od.kyi mKho.mthing bzhangs/...de'i gcung.po Khri.dpal.gyis/ gTsang.khar gtsug.lag.khang bzhangs.so", "Ye.shes.'od built mKho.mthing (sic for Tho.ling)...His younger brother Khri.dpal built gTsang.khar (sic for Kha.char) gtsug.lag.khang".

universally acknowledged to have ruled Gu.ge. Had he only ruled Gu.ge before taking vows, he would have not signed himself as king of Pu.hrang. Had he not been the elder brother, he would not have had the hereditary right to rule Pu.hrang either, the main seat of his father bKra.shis.mgon's kingdom. He thus left both these dominions to his brother Khor.re when he became a monk.

This fact derived from a document as authoritative as his *bka'.shog* sheds light on the view contained in most sources that Khor.re was the ruler of Pu.hrang. Khor.re was indeed the king of Pu.hrang, but only after his brother took vows. Had Srong.nge been the younger brother, it is hardly credible that Khor.re would not have received any share of the kingdom. Had Khor.re been Srong.nge's elder brother, he would have had a right to rule at least in Pu.hrang, the land most sources traditionally recognize as his kingdom, rather than ruling it only after his brother became a monk. Thus the sources, including *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51 lines 8-9), which state that Srong.nge ruled in Gu.ge while Khor.re simultaneously reigned in Pu.hrang, have simplified the dynastic relationship and overlooked this aspect of the succession to the thrones of the lands composing one of the *skor-s* of mNga'.ris.

Srong.nge, before becoming Ye.shes.'od, had two wives. From Seng.dkar.ma he had De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 10-11). As briefly discussed above (n.231), Seng.dkar.ma is not a proper name but a title deriving from a symbol of rank peculiar to the 'Bro-s (the *seng.ge dkar.mo'i gong.slag*, i.e. "the white lioness fur collar"), which some members of the clan wore as a sign of their greatness. The title was also used by the 'Bro-s of sTod. The clan affiliation of Ye.shes.'od's wife is doubly significant because, on the one hand, it confirms the close association of the 'Bro-s with the mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal family in no lesser a case than that of the great Ye.shes.'od, and, on the other, it is the earliest instance around *bstan.pa phyi.dar* documenting the presence of the Seng.dkar group among the 'Bro-s of sTod.

From another queen, whose name is not indicated, Srong.nge had a daughter, lHa'i me.tog (ibid. lines 13-14), who became a nun (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 17). Ye.shes.'od's women are otherwise hardly mentioned in the sources, but while the names of Zangs.kha.ma and Seng.dkar.ma, respectively the mother and the wife of Ye.shes.'od, were hitherto unrecorded, the very existence of a daughter was completely unknown<sup>247</sup>. The passage in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.byung* (p.146 lines 13-16) quoted above provides an important, though confused, insight into Ye.shes.'od's progeny. The text says that Ye.shes.'od had three offspring, the first two of which died young. Later, he had De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza. The notion that he had issue before De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza would sound controversial and unreliable were it not for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which records that

(247) *Bai.ser* is another work which mentions lHa'i me.tog, but does not identify her as the daughter of lha.bla.ma nor qualify her in any way (p.277 lines 22-23). Before having access to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, when I first read this passage, I never imagined that this personage was a forgotten daughter of the celebrated lha.bla.ma.



he had lHa'i me.tog from another wife. She is evidently the only one of the three earlier offspring who did not die prematurely. One other woman of Ye.shes.'od's household is recorded in the literature. Curiously, the '*Brom.ston.pa'i lam.yig*, a text of doubtful authorship and date<sup>248</sup>, in which many accounts sound more like pious legends, introduces in its narrative an improbable sister of Ye.shes.'od called lHa.gcig.ma Chos.'bum, who is also described as a paternal aunt of lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od (ibid. p.284 line 4).

Tshe.dbang nor.bu in his *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* says that he found an old document in a crumbling *mchod.rten* in Gung.thang, which stated that Ye.shes.'od lived seventy-eight years and that he was born in a sheep year<sup>249</sup>. The dates given by Tshe.dbang nor.bu (959-1036), on the basis of Ye.shes.'od being one year younger than Rin.chen bzang.po, are biased by his implicit acceptance of the well known legend of the ransom in gold for lha.bla.ma's life and his subsequent death at the hands of the Gar.log-s, which led

(248) Eimer, ("The Development of the Biographical Tradition Concerning Atisa Dipamkarasrijnana" p.41-42) has pointed out that the work could have not been written by 'Brom.ston.pa rGyal.ba'i 'byung.gnas (1017-1076) as its colophon claims, because Muslim invaders of East India are mentioned in the text (an event which could not have taken place before 1200). I also believe that the various boastful and eulogistic expressions applied to 'Brom.ston.pa in the *lam.yig*, especially those contained in the colophon, hardly conform to the practice of profession of humility found throughout Tibetan literature. I am also not entirely reconciled with the reliability of much of the information contained in the *lam.yig*, which, in my view, often has the air of embellished storytelling. I especially refer to episodes such as Jo.bo.rje's visits to certain unlikely temples in sTod, e.g. the Padmo.gling lha.khang, nowhere mentioned in other sources (p.287 line 4: "mGon.po A.ti.shas Padmo.gling na phyags.phebs"), and the improbable journey by swift walking back to the Kathmandu Valley, interrupting Jo.bo.rje's sojourn in West Tibet after six months and twenty-five days, to return immediately to Tho.ling gSer.khang (which did not exist at that time) by the seventh month, having consecrated a royal temple in Bal.yul (p.289 lines 2-3: "Zla.ba drug dang zhag nyi.shu rtsa.lnga tsam.du lha.btsun.pa Byang.chub.'od.kyi thugs.dgongs thams.cad yongs.su rdzogs.pa mdzad nas/ Bal.po'i rgyal.po pan.di.ra dang bcas.pas gtsug.lag.khang bzhangs tshar.ba'i zhu.ba byung ste/ zla.ba bdun.pa.la Yang.gling gSer.gyi lha.khang du 'phags.pa dang/ bla.ma dang yi.dam.gyi lha.tshogs dpag.tu med.pas lung.bstan.pa'i u.pa.si.ka dang mjal"). Also the dates of Jo.bo.rje's stay in West Tibet found in '*Brom.ston.pa'i lam.yig* are unconventional to say the least, for it is said that he came to Tibet in 1042 and stayed altogether nine months in sTod (p.294 line 3: "Chu.pho.rta.la Kha.ba.can du byon/ zla.ba.dgu mNga'.ris.stod du bzhugs").

(249) Tshe.dbang nor.bu says that his assessment of the names Srong.nge and 'Khor.re as Drang.srong.lde and 'Khor.lo.lde derives from the fact that (*Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* p.74 lines 1-3): "mNga'.ris Gung.thang du dpe.hrul Ka.ni.ka rnying.par brdzangs.ba zhis.tu 'dug.pa 'thad nges.su snang", "They are mentioned in a fragment of a document I discovered thrown inside an old Ka.ni.ka *mchod.rten* in mNga'.ris Gung.thang", and continues (p.74 lines 9-11): "lHa.bla.ma lug.lo.pa dgung.lo don.brgyad bzhugs zhes mNga'.ris Gung.thang lo.rgyus.su drangs.pas/ de.tshe lha.bla.ma dang lo.chen lo.khyad gcig las ma.byung", "Since it derives from the [same] Gung.thang *lo.rgyus* that lha.bla.ma was born in a sheep year [and] lived for seventy-eight years, the difference between lha.bla.ma and lo.chen's birth [dates] was no more than one year". Tshe.dbang nor.bu is keen to stress the importance and authority of the document he discovered. The dates proposed in Tshe.dbang nor.bu's work have therefore to be given due attention. Since in the Tibetan calendar the sheep year is the next year after that of the horse and Rin.chen bzang.po was born in the horse year 958, the dating proposed by Tshe.dbang nor.bu for Ye.shes.'od's birth is the following year 959.

to the mission sent to invite Jo.bo.rje<sup>250</sup>. I believe that Tshe.dbang nor.bu chose his set of dates in order to accommodate the chronology of Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba's departure for India at the head of the mission to summon Jo.bo.rje, which is invariably fixed to fire ox 1037 by every Tibetan author.

(250) A king of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, who was born in iron male tiger 930, is prophesied in *bTsun.mo bka'.shang* (p.295 lines 13-14). In another passage of the same work (p.298 line 17-p.299 line 3) it is said: "lHa.dbang brGya.byin.gyi bu dge.gnas gtsang.ma lus rigs.bdun rgyud.du mi.lus blangs.pa/ sTod mNga'.ris Gu.ge Pu.rangs su 'byung/ mtshan ni ra.dza Kirti.lde.btsan zhes.by'a'o/ lo ni lcags.pho.stag.gi lo.pa 'byung/ dpung.pa gnyis.su sme.ba lha'i.mig 'dra/ 'di.yi gdung.brgyud 'dzin.pa'i btsun.mo ni/ lHa.mo Punda.ri.ka tsh.e.'phos.pa/ Kha.che dge.'dun bzang.po Nga.ra.thang.du gum/ sa.pho.spre'u'i lo.la mi.lus blangs/ sGrol.ma'i sprul.pa Khri.rgyan zhes.by'a'o/ de.las Phun.sum.tshogs.pa lde.btsan zhes.by.a.ba/ 'Od.grags lha.khri btsan.pa mched.gnyis 'byung/ de.gnyis Sangs.rgyas dang Byang.chub sems(p.299).dpa' ste/ bstan.pa.la phan.pa'i bya.ba byed.do/ yab ni 'Jam.dpal sprul.par rig.go/ sras che.ba me.pho.stag lo.pa/ sPyan.ras.gzigs.kyi sprul.par rig chung.ba ni rta'i lo.pa 'ong/ Phyag.na rdo.rje'i sprul.par rig/ 'di.la btsun.mo bzhi 'byung.ngo/ glang lug khyi 'brug.gi lo.pa 'byung.ngo", "The son of Indra will take human form in a lineage of seven families with pure body. He will be born in sTod mNga'.ris Gu.ge Pu.rangs. His name will be ra.dza Kirti.lde.btsan. He will be born in the iron male tiger year (930). He will have two moles on his shoulders like the eyes of the gods. His wife who will bear his descendants will be lHa.mo Punda.ri.ka [who] transferred [herself to a new] life [after] a noble monk from Kha.che died at Nga.ra.thang. She will take a human body in the earth male monkey year (948). She will be known as Khri.rgyan, the incarnation of sGrol.ma. From her will be born Phun.sum.tshogs.pa lde.btsan and 'Od.grags lHa.khri.btsan, two brothers. They will be [like] Sangs.rgyas and Byang.chub sems.dpa'. They will struggle for the benefit of the teachings. The father will be the incarnation of 'Jam.dpal. (His) elder son, who will be born in the fire female tiger year (966), will be the incarnation of sPyan.ras.gzigs, [while] the younger will be born in a horse year (970 or 982). The latter will have four wives born in the years ox, sheep, dog and dragon". Ra.dza Kirti.lde.btsan and Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan are again met with in the same work, which repeats their years of birth and the deities they incarnated (p.301 lines 8-12). Kirti.lde.btsan and Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan have the appearance of nicknames. *Kirti* is rendered as *khang.bzang* in Tibetan according to rNam.rgyal tsh.e.ring (*Sam.Bod.rGya gum shan.sbyar.gyi tshig.mdzod* (Tibetanized Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary p.39b). *Khang.bzang* means "a noble building", i.e. a temple. "The king of the temples" (Kirti.lde.btsan) is an apt nickname for a great builder of temples such as Ye.shes.'od. The birth dates of all these members of the royal family are rather improbable. In particular Ye.shes.'od's in 930 is not only wrong *per se*, but also given the period (after 910) in which his grandfather Nyi.ma.mgon married after founding the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom (see Addendum One p.548).

In *Lo.pan bka'.shang*, btsun.pa Byang(.chub)'.od is referred to as the *sras* of Ye.shes.'od (p.407 line 23: "De sras btsun.pa Byang(.chub)'.od"). This is a small step forward in deciphering the identity of Kirti.lde.btsan's two alleged sons in the prophecy of *bTsun.mo bka'.shang*, for it is proof that the term *sras* is used in the text in its looser meaning of "successor". It is likely that Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan and 'Od.grags lHa.khri.btsan were among his successors rather than his real progeny. In fact, both Ye.shes.'od's sons (De.bara.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza) did not bear the name 'Od ('*Od.grags*) even before becoming monks, as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* shows. None of the known birth dates of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty corresponds to a fire tiger year. Furthermore, it will be shown later in the present text that none of the members of the royal family whose name ended with 'od, was born in a horse year, as 'Od.grags lHa.khri.btsan was (refer to the Synopsis Section of the present work). The identification of the two sons *bTsun.mo bka'.shang* attributes to Ye.shes.'od remains problematic. An attempt can be made using the members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, whose dates are unknown. A candidate for Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan is lHa.lde. A birth date for him in 966 is not unreasonable, but no evidence is at hand to support such a claim. Hence, all the information in *bTsun.mo bka'.shang* is more than

The attribution of the legend of the ransom in gold to Ye.shes.'od's death has to be dismissed on the authority of the account in the *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 8-10; see below n.429), reporting the death of a Gu.ge king in Bru.zha at the hands of Yab.sgod.pa (Yabgu), an apt title for the lord of the Gar.log-s, which is corroborated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 1-6). The latter text affirms that it was 'Od.lde who died in fire ox 1037, after an unsuccessful campaign against Bru.zha (for a more in depth treatment see p.281).

Moreover, no hint of a legendary death of Ye.shes.'od is found in the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar-s* by lo.chen's direct disciple, Gu.ge Khyi.thang Ye.shes.dpal, a fact that has led a tibetologist such as S.Karmay in the recent past (S.Karmay "The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" p.158-159 n.26) to doubt the authenticity of the legend, and I find myself in agreement with him. Two passages in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* show that, as late as at the end of the 15th century, Ngag.dbang grags.pa had at his disposal documents proving that the legend of the ransom in gold and the death of Ye.shes.'od in captivity was not related to him and had to be dismissed. The first is the account of a popular celebration in his honour, during which Ye.shes.'od gave a last will to his people before his death with no mention of his imprisonment at the hands of the Gar.log-s (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.58 line 16-p.59 line 1). The other is the statement that Ye.shes.'od died at Tho.ling (p.59 lines 16-18).

Thus, two sets of dates are feasible: 935-1012 and 947-1024. The choice of these dates is based on the evidence found in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* proving that Rin.chen bzang.po's return to sTod in the ox year 1001 from his second trip to Kha.che was not soon followed by Ye.shes.'od's death, as S.Karmay claims ("The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" p.158-159 n.26). His demise was preceded by that of Rin.chen bzang.po's mother. A *terminus post quem* for the death of Ye.shes.'od is found in 'Jig.rten mig.gyur *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa* from *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung*, where it is said that Rin.chen bzang.po, on his return in 987 to sTod after his first sojourn in Kha.che and rGya.gar, made *dkyil.khor-s* for his late father and to prolong the life of his mother, who lived for eighteen more years<sup>251</sup>. Immediately afterwards the same *rnam.thar* deals

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doubtful. It is not evident that Khri.rgyan was Seng.dkar.ma, the wife of Ye.shes.'od according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, although the names Khri.rgyan and Seng.dkar.ma are not mutually exclusive, for the former can be a proper name while the latter is a clan name. However, De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza cannot be Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan and 'Od.grags lHa.khri.btsan, and therefore Khri.rgyan cannot be identified as Seng.dkar.ma. All in all, I am in no position to conclude that any member of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty in particular is concealed behind names such as Phun.sum.tshogs.pa.lde.btsan and 'Od.grags lHa.khri.btsan. *Lo.pan bka'.thang* (p.407 lines 22-23) calling the brother of Ye.shes.'od Khri.dpal is another case of this attribution of unconventional names to members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family in *bKa'.thang sde.lnga*. Finally, 965 is given as the birth date of Ye.shes.'od by *bsTan.rtsis kun.las brus.pa* (p.148), and also by Chab.spel Tshe.brtan phun.tshogs and Nor.brang O.rgyan in *Bod.kyi lo.rgyus g.yu'i phreng.ba (stod.cha)* (p.551 lines 11-12): "Bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras.su Srong.nge spyi.lo 965 shing.glang lor 'khrungs", "Srong.nge (i.e. Ye.shes.'od) was born in the in the wood ox year (965)".

(251) 'Jig.rten mig.gyur *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa* (p.175 lines 1-5): "Bla.ma lo.tsa.bas lo.chung

with the foundations of the earliest West Tibetan temples in 996. By adding eighteen years to the period between 987, when Rin.chen bzang.po returned to sTod, and 996, when the temples were built, one deduces that Rin.chen bzang.po's mother died between 1004 and 1013. Following his mother's demise, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* introduces several events, some of considerable length, before the death of Ye.shes.'od. After she died at Khyu.wang, lo.chen's native area, her son embarked on the construction of a temple in her memory, consecrated it and carried out appropriate initiations. Only after these incidents did Ye.shes.'od become sick and die<sup>252</sup>. Various other events are recorded in lo.chen's *rnam.thar* occurring between Rin.chen bzang.po's return in 1001 from his second sojourn in Kha.che and Ye.shes.'od's death<sup>253</sup>. After he returned sTod with the thirty-two Kha.che artists, many *pandi.ta-s* were summoned from Kha.che to West Tibet. This being no isolated instance, the effort to bring *pandi.ta-s* to sTod must have been protracted. Later, Rin.chen bzang.po taught sPang.khyud lo.tsa.ba to translate, which must have taken a considerable time. They worked on the translation of many religious works with the *pandi.ta-s* invited by lo.chen. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* adds that during that phase *pandi.ta* Dha.na.shi.la, with whom Rin.chen bzang.po worked, was invited from Kha.che. This

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Legs.pa'i shes.rab sogs bu.slob.kyi tshogs du.ma dang bcas.pas sKyung.wang du sngar bshad.pa bzhin yab.kyi don.du Ngan.song sbyong.pa'i dkyil.'khor bdun bzhengs/ yum sku.tshe bsring.ba'i don.du Tshe.dpag.med.kyi dkyil.'khor bdun bzhengs.pas/ yum snyung.gzhi.med cing dgung.lo bco.brgyad sku.tshe bsrings.so", "As agreed before, bla.ma lo.tsa.ba, lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab [and] a large group of disciples made at Khyung.wang seven *Ngan.song sbyong.pa dkyil.'khor-s* for the benefit of [lo.chen's late] father and seven Tshe.dpag.med *dkyil.'khor-s* to prolong the life of his mother. His mother's life was prolonged for eighteen years without diseases".

(252) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.95 lines 2-5): "De.nas Kyu.wang du yum grongs.nas byon te/ dPal Ngan.song sbyongs.ba'i dkyil.'khor.gyis zhal.gsum phye/ yum.gyis don.du gtsug.khang gcig bzhengs.nas rab.gnas zhal.spros mdzad.pa dang/ lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od snyung.bar gnas nas/ myur.du zhal.mjal.du byon.pas la/ snyung.gzhi drag.po gcig.gi zin.nas zhal ma.mjal.lo", "Then, since his mother died, he went to Kyu.wang. He consecrated three *dPal Ngan.song sbyongs.ba dkyil.'khor-s*. Having built a *gtsug.lag.khang* in memory of his mother, he consecrated it, and, since lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od had fallen ill, having gone quickly to see him, he could not meet him because he had been seized by a fatal disease".

(253) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.94 line 2-p.95 line 2): "De.nas lha.chen.po bla.ma Ye.shes.'od dang mjal.bar dgongs.nas mTho.liding byon.pa dang/ Kha.che nas pan.di.ta mang.po spyang.drangs.pa dang gdan.'dzom.pas/ lha.bla.ma'i zhal.nas/ lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po nyid spyang.drangs.pa gtung.stabs byas.pa la/ nyid byon.pa legs/ da 'di.ru nyid.nas sPang.khyu dge.slong 'di yang lo.tsa slob.du 'jug.pa.yin gsung nas/ lo.tsa slabs.pa sgra(p.95).tshad byang.mor gyur nas/ sPang.khyu lo.tsa zhes.byao/ khong.pa dpon.slob gnyis.kyis kyang pandi.ta de.rnams.nas kyang chos mang.du bsgyur.ro", "Then as he (Rin.chen bzang.po) thought to meet lha.chen.po bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, he went to mTho.liding. [Rin.chen bzang.po] having invited and brought together many *pandi.ta-s* from Kashmir, lha.bla.ma said: "It is lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po, who has found the way for [these] invitations. It is excellent that you came. On this occasion, you should introduce this monk sPang.khyu to the *lo.tsa* studies". Having said so, as the latter became proficient in grammar and learned translating, he was known as sPang.khyu lo.tsa. The master and disciple, these two, translated many religious texts with many *pandi.ta-s*".

allows a better understanding of the chronology of those years<sup>254</sup>. Later in the text, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* somewhat adds that lo.chen and Pang.kung lo.tsa.ba translated many Buddhist works (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 16-18)<sup>255</sup>.

In brief, the death of Ye.shes.'od followed many events involving Rin.chen bzang.po after his second return from India. Hence, on the basis of the evidence provided by Rin.chen bzang.po's biographies, lha.bla.ma's death did not take place soon after lo.chen's return from Kha.che in 1001.

Of the two feasible sets of dates for Ye.shes.'od, 947-1024 seems preferable on the basis of a few elements available in the sources regarding events in his life<sup>256</sup>. Of great importance is the entry in *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo*, which dates Ye.shes.'od witnessing his younger son Na.ga.ra.dza taking monk vows (*rab.tu.byung*) to fire dragon 1016<sup>257</sup>.

Later, in 1023, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.60 lines 6-7) documents that lha.bla.ma

(254) According to the contextual order of the episodes outlined in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, Dha.na.shi.la was called to West Tibet after the group of early *mNga'ris skor.gsum* temples was built in 996, Shra.dha.ka.ra.warma's invitation (*ibid.* p.53 lines 13-15) apparently having been extended before that to Dha.na.shi.la. Shra.dha.ka.ra.warma, the main teacher of Rin.chen bzang.po in Kha.che, was probably the first foreign master lo.chen felt worthy of summoning to sTod to diffuse the freshly introduced *gSang.sngags gsar.ma* and *sTod.'Dul* (on the invitation of Shra.dha.ka.ra.warma see below p.187).

(255) From this laconic indication that Pang.kung was a *lo.tsa.ba* it might seem that other translators were trained in sTod apart from those normally associated with lo.chen and lo.chung. This is denied by the evidence of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (see above n.253), where sPang.khyu is said to have studied with lo.chen at the express request of Ye.shes.'od. Concerning Pang.kung lo.tsa.ba, the name of this translator derives either from a local ethnonym whose identification is lost or is a place name. In the latter case, it may be linked to places such as Pang.gong mtsho and gNyi.gong (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 19-p.76 line 1), otherwise sNyi.gong (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.216 line 2) or gNye.gong (*'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* p.23 line 4-p.24 line 2), both in the Ru.thog territory. sPang.khyu/Pang.kung is an interesting local (non-Tibetan) spelling.

(256) *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.58 lines 13-14) pictures an elderly Ye.shes.'od circumambulating his personal temple (*thugs.dam*) Tho.ling, with the help of his walking stick. If the account is taken *ad litteram*, his old age proves that Ye.shes.'od could not have died in the early years of the 11th century, otherwise he would have been born far too early during the 10th, his birth and life consequently overlapping the periods of Nyi.ma.mgon and his father bKra.shis.mgon. Regarding the length of Ye.shes.'od's life, the *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* account is consistent with that proposed in the ancient document found by Tshe.dbang nor.bu (seventy-eight years). Both assessments of the date of Ye.shes.'od's birth (that of Tshe.dbang nor.bu in 959 and the one I propose in 947) make his death considerably later than 1000 rather than soon after that year as S.Karmay maintains ("The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" p.158-159 n.26) in his interpretation of the passage concerning Ye.shes.'od's death in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.95 lines 2-5; also see above n.252).

(257) bSod.nams rtse.mo, *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345.2 line 1): "Me.pho.'brug.gi lo.la lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od yab.sras dben.gnas Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling 'dzom.mo/ lha.sras gcung lHa.'khor rab.tu gshegs", "In the fire male dragon year (1016), lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, the father and sons, gathered at the dben.gnas ("hermitage") Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling. [Ye.shes.'od's] younger son lHa.'khor was ordained". For the identity of Ye.shes.'od's son lHa.'khor as elucidated by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* see below p.241.

appointed Na.ga.ra.dza to the religious throne at the time of his elder son De.ba.ra.dza's death. This passage in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, according to which Na.ga.ra.dza took on the religious duties by order (*bka'lung*) of his father, proves that Ye.shes.'od was still alive when his son De.ba.ra.dza died in 1023.

A few additional comments need to be made regarding the use of the term *bka'lung* ("order") in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, which contribute to the issue. The work says that De.ba.ra.dza obeyed his father's *bka'lung* for twenty-eight years after his ordination in fire monkey 996 (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 1-3) and took care of the ancestral *gtsug.lag.khang-s* (ibid. lines 2-3). It is self-evident that his father Ye.shes.'od was alive and active in that year. This instance of *bka'lung* refers to a direct order issued by Ye.shes.'od when he was still living, and not to a will left by him on his death. The word *bka'lung* meaning an order issued by Ye.shes.'od during his own lifetime appears in another passage. The text says that Ye.shes.'od set a personal example, following the orders (*bka'lung*) and the assignment of duties that he personally established, by committing himself to worship, renovate and expand the ancestral temples (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.58 lines 10-12). This case is highly indicative since the first person to obey this *bka'lung* was he who issued it. Also in the case of the *bka'lung* issued to Naga.ra.dza, this was an act Ye.shes.'od found himself compelled to give following the vacancy on the religious throne resulting from by De.ba.ra.dza's death, and not a previously arranged succession that Ye.shes.'od had planned before dying<sup>258</sup>.

Further evidence that Ye.shes.'od was still alive in 1023 derives from the episode in which he designated Byang.chub.'od, on the latter's ordination in that year, as a future successor of De.ba.ra.dza on the Gu.ge Pu.hrang religious throne (i.e. to succeed Na.ga.ra.dza) (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 11-12). Only after Byang.chub.'od's ordination could Ye.shes.'od have chosen him to be the religious successor to Na.ga.ra.dza.

Thus, the rat year 1024 is confirmed to be the right date for Ye.shes.'od's death. Fire rat 1036 is too late a year, given that, during the time of 'Od.lde, Ye.shes.'od is no longer mentioned in the sources<sup>259</sup>. The dates 935-1012 would also have the disadvantage,

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(258) The only exception in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* to the use of *bka'lung* referring to orders personally issued by Ye.shes.'od during his lifetime is a *bka'lung* issued by his predecessors, the ancestral kings, to protect Buddhism and its temples, which lha.bla.ma strove to follow (p.58 lines 10-12). Petech ("The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.651-652) translates the word *bka'lung* as "edict" in reference to a document from Tshal.byi in Lob-nor (Thomas vol.II p.121), in which the 'Bro and Cog.ro clans are mentioned as having established themselves locally. This is not the primary meaning of the word nor the way it is used in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*.

(259) The dates of Ye.shes.'od's sons De.ba.ra.dza (before 988-1023) and Na.ga.ra.dza (988-1026) are also significant in evaluating the validity of the set of dates I propose for their father (947-1024). In the absence of a precise birth date for De.ba.ra.dza, if the eleven year differential between the ordination of De.ba.ra.dza (996) and Na.ga.ra.dza (1016) (see above n.239) is applied to the difference between their birth dates, De.ba.ra.dza would have been born around 978, and Ye.shes.'od would have fathered him when he was thirty-two, after he had had his three earlier offspring.

improbable as they are, of being a little too early and compressing the lives of bKra.shis.mgon and Nyi.ma.mgon. The dates I propose for Ye.shes.'od (947-1024) leave enough time (some thirty-six years) between Nyi.ma.mgon's escape to sTod (horse year 910; see Addendum One p.548) and Ye.shes.'od's birth to accommodate Nyi.ma.mgon's reign and marriages and bKra.shis.mgon's birth and marriages.

Ye.shes.'od died at Tho.ling (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.59 lines 16-18). No funerary monument is recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to have been built in his honour<sup>260</sup>.

### *The date of introduction of bstan.pa phyi.dar in sTod* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 and 67-68)

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* states that *bstan.pa me.ro.bslangs* (or the dark period of Tibetan history, during which the traditional view holds that no Buddhist activities took place) lasted for 146 years (p.51 lines 15-18). Elsewhere (in its brief *bstan.rtsis* on p.68 lines 2-6), the text says that *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod was introduced by lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od in fire dog 986, when he ordered his subjects to adopt Chos. Subtracting 146 years from 986, one reaches the year 841, which is a conventional date in Tibetan literature for Glang.dar.ma's suppression of Buddhism (see Addendum One). The validity of the 986 date is therefore reinforced<sup>261</sup>. It is reassuring that the date of the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod is so clearly stated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, whereas most of the other authors not having access to the local documents available to Ngag.dbang.grags.pa did not attempt to fix its date. Chronological uncertainty is even more evident in the case of the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in dBus.gTsang, whose dating is particularly erratic<sup>262</sup>.

(260) This is surprising. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 line 19-p.63 line 2) testifies to the custom of erecting tombs for the deceased members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty, when it relates that Byang.chub.'od made a funerary monument for his brother 'Od.lde. Reliquaries were also built by him for certain lay religious practitioners of sTod, somewhat obscurely named the twelve *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s*. On them see below p.303.

(261) Very few sources attempt to fix the year in which the later spread of Buddhism began in West Tibet. One work which does so is *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* (p.73 lines 12-16), which makes a major chronological mistake: "Des.na lha.bla.ma rab.tu byung.ba'i me.pho.'brug.gi lo 'di/ bstan.pa phyi.dar shin.tu dar zhing rgyas.par byed", "Therefore, the fire male dragon year (1016), in which lha.bla.ma [Ye.shes.'od] took vows, is [when] *bstan.pa phyi.dar* [in sTod] was actually diffused". Evidence is provided in the present text (p.183 and n.257) that Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtso, the author of this text, has misunderstood the entry for 1016 in the *bstan.rtsis* of *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* by bSod.nams rtse.mo referring to the ordination of one of lha.bla.ma's sons. Furthermore, the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod did not coincide with any member of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family entering religion.

(262) Among the replies given by 'Gos lo.tsa.ba in his *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.1263 line 1-p.1265 line 9; *Blue Annals* p.1084-1086) to the questions regarding his work, the answer concerning the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in dBus.gTsang is a sufficient example of the state of confusion reigning among Tibetan scholars on this matter.

The introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod was marked by the issuing of an official document, the *bka'.shog chen.mo* mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which is the 986 order of Ye.shes.'od exhorting his people to follow Buddhism. An important passage in the text (p.54 lines 3-7) reads: "At that time, the Gu.ge sPu.hrang Mar.yul *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s*, the *btsun.chen-s*, the *bla.zhang.blon-s*, these three, [and] the most notable subjects were gathered. [Ye.shes.'od] made a great assignment of duties (*bskos.chen*) to [these] knowledgeable people. As each of them was given the responsibility for the laws (*bka'.khrims*) appropriate to those circumstance as well as for [those of the earlier] *bka'.shog chen.mo*, [these orders] were circulated in every direction". The foundation of the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples follows in the text.

This reference to the *bka'.shog chen.mo* is useful in assessing how *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was introduced in West Tibet. The *bstan.rtsis* in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 2-3) does not indicate the kind of document that promulgated the order issued by Ye.shes.'od instructing his subjects to adopt dam.pa'i Chos. The passage referring to the circumstances of the 996 temple foundations says that orders to construct them were accompanied by the earlier *bka'.shog chen.mo*. This cannot be other than the ordinance with which Ye.shes.'od proclaimed the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in 986, given that the only other legal act issued by lha.bla.ma in this period was the 988 implementation of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* by means of a *chos.rtsigs* ("a religious edict") (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 5-7; see below p.193) rather than a *bka'.shog chen.mo*.

The year of the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod fell immediately before Rin.chen bzang.po's return to West Tibet from Kha.che. Born in 958, Rin.chen bzang.po went to Kha.che when he was eighteen (in pig year 975) to return to West Tibet after thirteen years (in pig year 987), according to an original manuscript of the *rnam.thar* I was able to consult in Pi.ti, rather than after ten years as the published version of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* says<sup>263</sup>. This is one year after *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was introduced in sTod. His return seems so coincidental with the new turn of religious events in his land that one cannot avoid thinking that it was influenced by them. This date of Rin.chen

(263) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.66 line 5-p.67 line 1): "De.nas rang.re'i a.po bKra.shis rtse.mo bya.ba'i dge.bsnyen gcig sa.sna grogs bcol te/ dgung (p.67).lo bco.brgyad phag lo yul.nas chas te thon". "Then a *dge.bsnyen* of his own relative bKra.shis rtse.mo was appointed as guide to the places and [travelling] companion. In the pig year (975), when he (Rin.chen bzang.po) was eighteen, after leaving their area, they set out [on their journey]" and *ibid.* (p.86 lines 2-3): "De yan.chod rGya.gar dang Kha.che ru lo bcu song skad", "Until then it is said that he had spent ten years (sic for thirteen) in India and Kashmir". Thirteen years spent in India and Kashmir after his departure from sTod in 975 fixes his return to 987. That he spent thirteen years (975-987) in Kha.che and India rather than ten (975-984) is also confirmed by other reasons. *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdu.s.pa* (p.175 line 1) says that he stayed ten years in sTod after his return from India and then left again for Kha.che. This happened in 996 when Ye.shes.'od ordered him to go to Kha.che and summon artists, for lha.bla.ma had laid the foundations of Tho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma etc. in the same year. Having spent ten years in sTod by 996 fixes to 987 Rin.chen bzang.po's return to his native lands from his first sojourn in Kha.che and India (see below n.409).



bzang.po's return helps to confirm that, on a chronological basis, *bstan.pa phyi.dar* has to be credited to Ye.shes.'od, who was the actual driving force behind this new religious phase rather than Rin.chen bzang.po. It also helps to prove once more that Rin.chen bzang.po left independently to study Buddhism in Kha.che before Ye.shes.'od was able to establish Chos in his kingdom, as *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* does when it describes his sojourn in India and Kha.che without a single mention of patronage given by the mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal family (p.66 line 5-p.86 line 3)<sup>264</sup>.

In fact, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 11-14) contains the well known account of the twenty-one intelligent boys, including Rin.chen bzang.po, sent by lha.bla.ma to Kha.che for their studies. Ngag.dbang grags.pa associates this episode with Rin.chen bzang.po's first journey to Kha.che and rGya.gar. It continues conventionally, saying that Rin.chen bzang.po and lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab survived, while the other nineteen died<sup>265</sup>. They returned to sTod and invited pandi.ta Shra.dha.ka.ra.warma. Rin.chen bzang.po thus put his freshly acquired knowledge at the service of *bstan.pa phyi.dar sTod.lugs*. Rin.chen bzang.po was later appointed head *mchod.gnas* and *rdo.rje slob.dpon* by the Gu.ge ruler lHa.lde<sup>266</sup>. Texts such as *sDe.snod.gsum*, *rGyud.sde.bzhi* root Tantra-s and commentaries,

(264) Sog.bzlog.pa in his *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* contributes an interesting insight into the location of the main Buddhist sites in India during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* (p.386 lines 1-2: "Yang bstan.pa phyis.dar gsar.'gyur la/ Na.ro Mai.tri Shanti dang/ Dam.pa rGya.gar Jo.bo.rje/ dbus.'gyur Kha.che Bal.po'i yul/ O.rgyan yul.du byon.pa.yi/ pan.chen mkhas shing grub.pa brnyes", "Furthermore, as regards the new translations [made] during *bstan.pa phyis.dar* (sic), the lands Kha.che [and] Bal.po were the main centres of translation [during the times of] Na.ro, Mai.tri, Shanti and [later] Dam.pa rGya.gar [and] Jo.bo.rje. As [the focus of these activities] reached O.rgyan, master *pan.chen-s* achieved [important] results [there]"). Two phases have thus to be distinguished: the first in Bal.po and Kha.che from the time of Na.ro.pa until that of Dam.pa rGya.gar, and the second in O.rgyan during a less clearly defined period. Sog.bzlog.pa presumably wished to mean that the diffusion of what was known in Tibet as *sngags.gsar.ma* went from Bal.po and Kha.che to O.rgyan. A vague trace of the first phase is found in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*. As a youth in his native village, Rin.chen bzang.po realised that he was destined to be a translator when he saw an Indian book of a master from O.rgyan (p.63 lines 2-4). For the entire treatment of the events leading him to India for his studies see *ibid.* (p.63 line 2-p.66 line 5). Significantly, Rin.chen bzang.po later left for Kha.che and not for O.rgyan to study Buddhism (including *sngags.gsar.ma*). It would seem that in that period (Rin.chen bzang.po was eighteen at that time, corresponding to 975) Kha.che was a major centre of Buddhist teachings, whereas O.rgyan was not. It is not easy to establish when O.rgyan became, in its turn, the great centre of Buddhist teachings. While for the Buddhist apogee in Kha.che a historical framework is available, deriving from the reference to the masters of the epoch, Sog.bzlog.pa is silent regarding the masters of the O.rgyan phase. Kha.che, in the years of Kha.che pan.chen's sojourn in Tibet (1204-1213) was facing dark religious times, so much so that Shakya.shri made a point of returning there to revitalise its Buddhism. In the early 13th century, Kha.che was therefore no longer shedding Buddhist light on the lands of South and Central Asia.

(265) This passage recording lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab's going for studies to rGya.gar and Kha.che with Rin.chen bzang.po is the only reference to him in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 13-14).

(266) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.88 lines 2-3): "Bla.chen.po lHa.lde dbu'i mchod.gnas dang/ rdo.rje slob.dpon mdzad".

and *Lugs.kyi bstan.bcos* were translated with the help of this *pandi.ta* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 14-17). Immediately afterwards, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 line 18-p.54 line 3) introduces the account found in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, according to which five intelligent disciples from a group of fifteen youths accompanied Rin.chen bzang.po during his second journey to Kha.che (beginning in 996)<sup>267</sup>. The three surviving intelligent disciples of Rin.chen bzang.po (Mang.wer Rin.chen shes.rab, rMa dGe.ba'i blo.gros, ['Dzang] Rin.chen gzhon.nu) translated works pertaining to *dBu.ma* and *Tshad.ma* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 2-3). The way these episodes are introduced in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* shows that they are faithfully reported by Ngag.dbang grags.pa one after the other as alternative interpretations of the same event, which actually occurred during Rin.chen bzang.po's second visit to Kha.che. The former is the version popular in the later literature, while the latter is the older and probably more reliable account of the events<sup>268</sup>.

Rin.chen bzang.po's quest for the teachings, which caused him to leave his native land when he was a youth in the pig year 975, testifies to the fact that Buddhism was prospering in the Indo-Iranic borderlands and by no means completely neglected in the territories of the West Tibetan frontier. Young Rin.chen bzang.po's search for Chos was part of a pioneering effort, undertaken by individuals at that time, which was later given a firm foundation by Ye.shes.'od<sup>269</sup>. Journeys to the various territories of the Indo-Iranic

(267) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.107 lines 2-5): "Rig.pa.can khye'u Inga la/ gnyis tshad.pa'i grongs/ gsum yod.pa la/ Mang.wer lo.tsa.ba Byang.chub shes.rab/ rMa lo.tsa.ba dGe.blo/ 'Dzang lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen gzhon.nu dang gsum.mo de.gsum yang lo.tsa.ba chen.po'i bu.chen yin", "Of the five intelligent young men, two died of fever. The three who survived were Mang.wer lo.tsa.ba Byang.chub shes.rab, rMa lo.tsa.ba dGe.blo and 'Dzang lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen gzhon.nu, these three. These three became his (Rin.chen bzang.po's) great disciples".

(268) I believe it is both more logical and likely that lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab went to Kha.che with Rin.chen bzang.po during lo.chen's second journey to Kha.che rather than during his first, for the sources affirm that Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba 'Phags.pa shes.rab studied with Legs.pa'i shes.rab and his assistant An.ston Grags.rin because Rin.chen bzang.po had passed away in the meantime (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.432 lines 6-8: "Zangs.dkar 'Phags.pa shes.rab.kyis lo.chen.la ma.zin.par lo.chung dang/ de'i zur.chos.pa An.ston Grags.rin la brten"; *Blue Annals* p.354). Had lo.chung gone to Kha.che with Rin.chen bzang.po during the latter's first journey, Legs.pa'i shes.rab would have lived longer than Rin.chen bzang.po, who reached the respectable age of ninety-eight, which is improbable. Furthermore, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* nowhere mentions Legs.pa'i shes.rab accompanying lo.chen during his first journey to learn Buddhism.

(269) On the other hand, the presence in West Tibet of masters from the cultures of the Indo-Iranic borderlands, with which Zhang.zhung interacted according to Bon.po sources, is recorded in a Buddhist instance documented in the colophon of the *dPal 'Khor.lo sdom.pa'i dkyil.'khor.gyi cho.ga de.ko.na.nyid la 'jug.pa zhes.byab* (*rGyud.'grel*), which mentions the Tho.gar master dGe.mdzes, who was active in sPyil.Cog (sic for Pi.Cog) (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale partie 2* (*rGyud.'grel*) p.33). I adopt the term Indo-Iranic borderlands in the present work in place of North-West India to indicate the territories of Kha.che, O.rgyan, Bru.zha etc. as a whole as kindly suggested to me by Michael Walter during the 7th IATS Seminar in June 1995. Collectively calling these territories Indo-Iranic borderlands is more appropriate to the cultural and political reality of ancient times, while the term North-West India has later and colonial implications.

borderlands to obtain religious teachings was an enduring tradition attributed by practically every Bon.po historiography to ancient Bon masters from Zhang.zhung, who saw lands such as Kha.che, O.rgyan, Bru.zha, as well as Tho.gar and Li.yul, as sources of literature, ideas and instruction (works and instances are too numerous to be quoted in this brief treatment). It seems therefore that the practice of turning one's attention to the territories in the west was still a religious custom in the third quarter of the 10th century, long after Zhang.zhung had ceased to exist as a kingdom.

*Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung's contribution to the introduction of dam.pa'i Chos (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.52-53)*

An episode reported in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.52 line 11-p.53 line 7) referring to the effort to reintroduce dam.pa'i Chos in mNga'.ris skor.gsum creates a major historical problem. In an earth dog year, Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung gathered headmen and elders from all over the kingdom as well as anyone holding power in his own area, and expounded the terms of the reestablishment of Buddhism in sTod based on the earlier religious activities of the Yar.lung dynasty *chos.rgyal-s*.

In his historical outline of Buddhism in Tibet, blon.po Zhang.rung extended his review until the time of Glang.dar.ma and the decay of religion, which resulted in the degeneration of moral customs among Tibetans. His speech concluded with the communication to the elders of the decision made to reintroduce Buddhism in sTod and an exhortation to abide by it.

The identification of the earth dog year in which this event took place is somewhat problematic.

Earth dog 938 would make the episode a distant and abortive incident intended to introduce Buddhism long before Ye.shes.'od, to whom such an introduction is universally credited, and would also place this event considerably earlier than *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in dBus.gTsang.

A consideration, deriving from the structure of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, helps to eliminate the possibility that the gathering assembled by blon.po Zhang.rung took place as early as 938. It is based on the brief *bstan.rtsis* preceding the Zhang.rung episode (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 15-18), in which it is stated that 146 years elapsed between Glang.dar.ma's persecution and the restoration of Buddhism in sTod (986). As mentioned above, in the other *bstan.rtsis* included in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 2-3), the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod is fixed to fire dog 986. Furthermore, the events of the earth dog year involving Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung are introduced by an eulogy of Ye.shes.'od, who engendered them. This shows that the episode occurred during Ye.shes.'od's reign.

Earth dog 998 falls after the foundation of Tho.ling and the other major temples in sTod (996) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 7-8 and p.54 lines 8-12; see below p.255-270), by when *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was already fully established.

All in all, these various pieces of evidence prove that the *sa.pho.khyi lo* (“earth dog year”) is a miscopying or a misreading for *sa.pho.byi* (“earth rat year”), *khyi* and *byi* being easily confused in the original *khyug.yig* in which the *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* manuscript was written, or is a mistranscription of *me.pho.khyi* (fire male dog). The latter alternative has the weakness of being a correction without any justification, despite the fire dog year being historically significant, for it corresponds to 986, the year in which *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was introduced by Ye.shes.'od in *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*.

Earth rat year is 988, a reasonable date for *blon.po Zhang.rung's* effort to make the royal decision known to the entire population, as it fell soon after Ye.shes.'od's introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*<sup>270</sup>. In fact, the outcome of the gathering headed by *blon.po Zhang.rung* is found in the concluding lines of *Zhang.rung's* speech (p.52 line 13-p.53 line 6), according to which the text of the *chos.rtsigs* (“religious edict”) (briefly been discussed above on p.186),

(270) Another clue helpful in assessing this earth dog year is that the meeting organised by *blon.po Zhang.rung* occurred during the time of *Tsang dKar.se.nag (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.52 line 11). This name poses major difficulties. *Tsang* is an alternative spelling for *Cang* (see below). However, there is no clear indication whether *Cang dKar.se.nag* is a proper name or a collective term denoting a clan and its subdivisions.

Regarding the first hypothesis (i.e. that it is a proper name), *Cang dKar.se.nag* must have been an important personage in Tibet around the end of the 10th century, but he is no more than a name to me, not met with, to my knowledge, in any other source. A faint trace is found in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* concerning a minister of *dPal.'khor.btsan* named *Cang A.po* (p.371 lines 2-3: “*Brag.gzung lha.lod dang/ Cang A.pos blon.po byas*”, “*Brag.gzung lha.lod and Cang A.po were [dPal.'khor.btsan's] ministers*”). He is called *Tsang.rgyan* (sic for *rgan*, i.e. “headman, elder”) *A.bo* in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.142 line 18: “*Bro Tsug.sgra lha.ldong dang/ Tsang.rgyan A.bo blon.por bskos*”, “*Bro Tsug.sgra lha.ldong and Tsang.rgyan A.bo were appointed [dPal.'khor.btsan's] ministers*”). Soon after, *lDe'u Jo.sras* calls him *Cang.rgyan A.o rgyal.po* (p.143 line 8: “*Der Cang.rgan A.o rgyal.po de lo.gsum bskyangs kyang ma.skyongs.par rgyal.sa shor*”). Apart from the variant spellings of his clan name introduced in this sentence, describing him as *rgyal.po* possibly derives from the fact that he, with 'Bro *gTsug.dgra lha.gdong*, tried to protect *dPal.'khor.btsan's* throne in *gTsang* from final catastrophe, but after three years they abandoned the attempt. Given *Cang/Tsang A.bo's* association with *gTsang*, it cannot be ruled out, given the chronic weakness of the rule exercised by the descendants of royal *Yar.lung* blood in the same region, that *Tsang dKar.se.nag* was a powerful figure in *gTsang* during the nineties of the 10th century. This needs strong corroboration, considering that the role and even the name of *A.bo blon.po* have been misunderstood in other Tibetan works such as *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* (p.65 lines 2-3), which makes *A.bo blon.po* the spiritual master of *dPal.'khor.btsan*, calling him *slob.dpon Cang A.bo* (“*De.yang chu.mo.glang la dPal.'khor.btsan 'khrungs/ khong.gi slob.dpon Cang A.bo yin zhes*”). *rGod.lDem.can rnam.thar* contains another reference to *A.bo blon.po*, who has otherwise seldom been recorded by literary memory. The spelling *Cang* of the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* has been changed to *dPyang* (ibid. p.82 line 3: “*De.nas rje dPal.gor.btsan dang/ blon.po lHa.dbang rGya.byin.gyi sprul.pa dPyang A.po byon*”, “*Then, came [the time of] rje dPal.gor.btsan (sic) and blon.po (“minister”) dPyang A.po, the incarnation of lHa.dbang rGya.byin*”).

Concerning the second hypothesis (i.e. that it is a collective name), I have been able to find a single corroboration in the sources. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, when it introduces the account of 'Dus.srong mang.po.rje's death in 'Jang, killed by the Hor-s, obscurely relates the refusal to return 'Dus.srong mang.po.rje's body by two people called *Cang.dkar* and *Khong.khri*, who dismembered the corpse so that it was only possible to bring the right thigh to *Yar.lung* and bury it in 'Dus.srong's *bang.so* (p.119 lines 14-16: “*Nyi.shu rtsa.dgu 'brug lo.la 'Jang.gi yul.du Hor.gyis skrongts te Cog.ro Khong.khri dang Cang.dkar sor.bzhis spur bzung.nas tshur.la*

was widely circulated throughout mNga'.ris skor.gsum (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 6-7). Blon.po Zhang.rung's speech is a contemporary and direct reference to the enactment of laws by means of a *chos.rtsigs* and a final proof that the year in which blon.po Zhang.rung gathered the notables of the land could not have been earlier than 988, the year in which the *chos.rtsigs* was issued (see below p.193). The great assembly was summoned in connection with this formal act.

bla.sha g.yas.pa.las ma.log zer", "When he was twenty-nine in the dragon year (704), ['Dus.srong mang.po.rje] was killed by the Hor-s in 'Jang. As Cog.ro Khong.khri and Cang.dkar, having dismembered it into four parts, did not release his corpse, it is said that no more than his right thigh was brought back [to Yar.lung]". An alternative translation derived from reading *sor.bzhi* as *sogs bzhi* is as follows: "As Cog.ro Khong.khri and Cang.dkar etc., four men, did not release his corpse, it is said that no more than his right thigh was brought back [to Yar.lung]"

This account offers rare insight into 'Dus.srong's fate. *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* has a similar but simplified version of the incident (p.299 line 21-p.300 line 2: "Lag.ris.su Hor dang Ga.gon btul/ (p.300) byang phyogs.su yul rgya bskyed/ 'brug lo.la lJang du sku.gshegs/ Cog.ro Khong.khro dang Cang.dkar sor.bzhis rgyal.po'i spur bsrungs", "As for his [military] legacy, ['Dus.srong mang.po.rje] subjugated the Hor-s and Ga.gon (?). He expanded his dominions in the north. In the dragon year (704), he died in lJang. Cog.ro Khong.khro and Cang.dkar did not release the corpse of the king, which was dismembered into four parts", otherwise "Cog.ro Khong.khro and Cang.dkar etc., four men, did not release the corpse of the king"). This narrative also has interesting implications regarding the customs of sharing the dead body of a prestigious enemy as a war trophy and of burying the king in the 'Phyong.rgyas royal *dur.sa* (his funerary rites lasted for two years after his death (i.e. 705 and 706) according to the *Tun-huang Annals* in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.19 (Tibetan text) and p.40-41 (transl.)), although the divine body of the *lha.sras btsan.po* had been profaned and the preparations typically made in the *spur.khang* were possibly altered (R.Stein "Du récit au rituel dans les manuscrits tibétaines de Touen-houang"; Haahr, *The Yar-lung Dynasty* p.327-397). A discussion of the custom of burying the *lha.sras btsan.po*s in a tomb when his mortal remains had been profaned is beyond the scope of this note. More relevant to the problem created by the name Tsang dKar.se.nag in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which most likely stands for a more correct Cang dKar.ser.nag, is the laconic reference to Cang.dkar in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* that suggests that Cang was a clan divided into sub-groups, among them the Cang.dkar or "white Cang". With the help of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* one may deduce that the Cang clan was divided into "white, yellow and black (*dkar.ser.nag*)", according to a typical tripartite classification (e.g. rGya.dkar, rGya.ser and rGya.nag and the *dkar.gser.nag* demons of the Yu.gur-s, from which Pe.har was chosen: see Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.340 lines 3-6; see below n.293). No conclusion can be drawn as to whether Cang.dkar was a clan originally from 'Jang. As is well known, the people of 'Jang appear under the name of White and Black Myava tribes in the *Tun-huang* documents. See the references in the *Tun-huang Annals* to the Myava nag.po for the year 742 (Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.26 (Tibetan text) and p.51 (transl.)) during the time of Khri.lde gtsug.rtsan Mes Ag.tshom and in Chapter VII of *Tun-huang Chronicles* during the time of 'Dus.srong (ibid. p.112 (Tibetan text) and p.149-150 (transl.)). References to the Myava dkar.po are found in the same chapter VII (ibid p.112 (Tibetan text) and p.149 (transl.)) and in Chapter VIII during the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan (ibid. p.115 (Tibetan text) and p.154 (transl.)). It is also difficult to say whether the Cang clan was confined to 'Jang or was found in various areas of Tibet. Judging by the rarity with which the name appears in Tibetan literature, its importance seems to have been limited to a brief period of Tibetan history, from the time of Cang A.bo, given the role he played in gTsang during the time of dPal.'khor.btsan according to the two *lDe'u chos.'byung*s, until the late 10th century.

Glimpses that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* offers of Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung himself are significant. He held especially great powers during the reign of Ye.shes.'od. He is described as the leading authority in the entire territory (*phyogs.phyogs.kyi.sna'o.las.pa*), which may have been due to his belonging to the Zhang.rung clan<sup>271</sup> and to his status as a prominent minister of Gu.ge in the last quarter of the 10th century. His position gave him preeminence over the notables of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, which reinforces the understanding that Gu.ge in the days of Ye.shes.'od was the centre of power in the kingdom. The taking charge of religious affairs by Zhang.rung shows that ministers were also called on by Ye.shes.'od to take part in the diffusion of Chos and did not limit themselves merely to secular activity. The episode is also consistent with the Buddhist aspirations of the other high ranking people of mNga'.ris skor.gsum and their determination to disseminate Chos in their respective districts. One finds in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* an atmosphere of ready general support for this new phase of Buddhist diffusion, which is surprising in view of the statement found elsewhere in the text (p.51 lines 15-18 and p.54 line 18) that Bon and other ancient cults were still predominant in West Tibet soon before the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

One may well ponder the real motivation of Zhang.rung's Buddhist enthusiasm and whether this conversion was not pursued for political reasons. As will be suggested below, the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty was originated by central Tibetans, albeit with local support, as something of a recreation of the late Yar.lung order, of which Buddhism was a fundamental component<sup>272</sup>.

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(271) The Zhang.rung clan was part of the pre-Nyi.ma.mgon ethnic stratum in the lands of West Tibet, for the clan is mentioned in *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* together with others of sTod, which came to repopulate Zangs.dkar after it was devastated at an unspecified date during the period of the Yar.lung dynasty by the advance of the Yar.lung.pa-s (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 5-7) (see below n.431). The Zhang.rung clan took over dPa'.gtum, the sKya.pa clan ruled Byang.ngos (northern Zangs.dkar), while the lHa.pa (for its spelling see Schuh, *Historiographische Dokumente aus Zangs-dkar* p.231-233), Gung.blon and Kyi.shang clans settled in sTong.sde. sTong.sde is an evocative name (see the often discussed organization of the Yar.lung army in *stong.sde*), which may imply that the military outpost of the Yar.lung.pa-s in Zangs.dkar was in that area. The edition of *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* published by Schuh (*Historiographische Dokumente aus Zangs-dkar*) has no mention of the area the Zhang.rung clan came to recolonise and to control (on p.231 line 9), thus being less meaningful.

Another occurrence of the clan in the literature may be found in the 1016 entry of the *bstan.rtsis* appended to *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* by bSod.nams rtse.mo, when a Zhang.zhung subject from Gu.ge undertook a *khos.chen.po* (a major appointment of duties) on behalf of De.ba.ra.dza (see below p.276). It is likely that Zhang.zhung is bSod.nams rtse.mo's misunderstanding of Zhang.rung.

(272) A text in *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* (*rDzogs.pa chen.po Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud.kyi Bon ma.nub.pa'i gtan.tshigs*) significantly elucidates the anti-Yar.lung.pa stance of the Bon.po-s and their view of the subjugation of Zhang.zhung and the persecution of Bon, although the latter are not historically correct since these two separate incidents are combined as a single event. On the other hand, the Yar.lung.pa dislike for Zhang.zhung is exemplified by the episode of Srong.btsan sgam.po's sister Sad.mar.kar, who resided at Khyung.lung as wife of the local king Lig.mi.hrya (see Chapter VIII of the *Tun-huang Chronicles* in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.115-117 (Tibetan transl.) and p.155-158 (transl.) and also Uray, "Queen Sad-mar-kar's Song in the Old Tibetan Chronicle").

*The oath on Ye.shes.'od's chos.rtsigs (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.55-56)*

To ensure that *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was long lasting in sTod, Ye.shes.'od issued the above mentioned *chos.rtsigs* ("religious edict"), outlined in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.55 line 7-p.56 line 12), in which religious and lay laws (*chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims*) mutually conformed. The deposited legal code introduced by Ye.shes.'od became the inspirational principle of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom and a model followed on various occasions in Tibetan history. It sanctioned the priority to religion over secular affairs, which became the dominant trait of Tibetan culture from then on.

The type of ritual adopted to enact *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* has some similarities with that used during *bstan.pa snga.dar*. In *primis*, the *chos.rtsigs* recalls the Yar.lung documents carved in stone<sup>273</sup>. The term *chos.gtsigs*, of which *chos.rtsigs* is a variant spelling, is used on *rdo.rings* inscriptions of the Yar.lung dynasty to refer to the edict engraved on them<sup>274</sup>.

The section in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.56 lines 7-12) recording the terms of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* concludes with these words: "As Ha.se 'Phags.pa stands as witness, chos.skyong Be.dbon.blon.gsum (sic for Pe.dpon.blon.gsum), the incarnations of virtue and power, are here invoked as impartial witnesses. All [of us] take a solemn oath. We are also bound [by this oath] in the future (chis sic for physis). [We] the brothers-sons, the queens, the ministers, all of us, in our turn, take a solemn vow not to contravene the *chos.rtsigs*. We [swear] not [to fail] to tell our future generations [to do] the same. So it is declared. We all take a solemn oath".

Similarly to the ancient custom still practised by the Yar.lung kings during *bstan.pa snga.dar*, all members of the royal family and people of rank were called on to take a solemn oath on Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs*<sup>275</sup>. Instead of the old system of oath-taking practised

(273) While the text of the edicts of Khri.srong lde.btsan and by Khri.lde srong.btsan, the former king proclaiming Chos as the state religion, are preserved in an abridged form engraved on *rdo.rings*-s and formulated *in extenso* according to their authoritative exposition (*bka'.mchid*) in *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* (p.370 line 12-p.376 line 17 for Khri.srong lde.btsan; p.409 line 6-p.413 line 10 for Sad.na.legs), this is not the case with the *chos.rtsigs* of Ye.shes.'od, since no *rdo.rings*, on which it might have been engraved is extant and no detailed exposition of its content is found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.55 line 7-p.56 line 12), which only records a paraphrased version of the document.

(274) For example, this is how the lCang.bu inscription (line 8) refers to the religious edict on its *rdo.rings* (see Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* p.93-94).

(275) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 line 2) reads: "Chos.rtsigs.kyi dbu.snyung.ba yin.no", "[During the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan,] a *chos.rtsigs* was sworn". No other source attributes to dPal.'khor.btsan such a formal act in favour of Buddhism, which, in the other known instances (Khri.srong lde.btsan's bSam.yas *rdo.rings*, see Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* p.26-31; and Khri.lde srong.btsan's sKar.chung *rdo.rings*, see *ibid.* p.72-81) amounted to a proclamation of the preeminence of

during the period of the Yar.lung dynasty, when *jig.rten lha-s* and *myi.ma.yin-s* were invoked as witnesses, in the case of Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs*, deities summoned to be protectors of Buddhism were invoked as impartial witnesses. The ceremony was based on a deity, namely Ha.se 'Phags.pa, which permanently stood as witness of the oath, and on the summoning, on that occasion, of the *chos.skyong-s* for the purpose of attending the act of swearing. Ha.se 'Phags.pa was therefore a statue supremely revered by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty. The term 'Phags.pa commonly applies to holy images (e.g. 'Phags.pa Wa.ti, 'Phags.pa Lokeshwara), the name of the territory to which they belong often accompanying their name (e.g. Gar.zha 'Phags.pa).

Documents in Tibetan from Tun-huang, dating to after its loss by the Yar.lung dynasty in 848<sup>276</sup>, shed light on the term Ha.se, which is a Tibetan transcription of the

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Buddhism. On the contrary, the literature attributes limited religious activity to dPal.'khor.btsan. If taken *ad litteram*, this statement may imply that Buddhism had been officially revived by means of an authoritative royal act during the period of darkness of the Buddhist teachings without much success, since sources do not testify to a renaissance of dam.pa'i Chos in the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan, apart from isolated cases mentioned in some *rnam.thar-s*. On the contrary, in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* great importance is given to Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs*, and all sources concur in saying that it was lha.bla.ma who reintroduced Buddhism in sTod, while Klu.mes and his companions were responsible for its reestablishment in dBus.gTsang. Hence, there is little basis for the notion that dPal.'khor.btsan officially revived Buddhism in his kingdom. *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 1-2) adds: "De'i sras lDe dPal.'khor.btsan/ rgyal.po 'di'i ring.la/ sTod mNga'.ris.kyi gtsug.lag.khang sogs.pa gtsug.lag.khang brgyad bzhengs.sol 'Bum la.sogs.pa'i gsung.rab kyang mang.du bzhengs", "His ('Od.srung's) son was lDe dPal.'khor.btsan. During the reign of this king, the sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum gtsug.lag.khang etc., eight *gtsug.ga.khang-s* were founded. Also many collections of books such as a 'Bum were made". The reference that, of the eight temples founded by dPal.'khor.btsan, at least one was in sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum differs from evidence of other sources, according to which no temple in sTod was built by dPal.'khor.btsan. *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p. 68 line 10): "sMan.lung la.sogs.pa'i lha.khang brgyad bzhengs", "[dPal.'khor.btsan] built sMan.lung etc., eight *gtsug.lag.khang-s*"; *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.215 line 2): "Nyang.smad/ sGrol.bu'i sMad.lung la.sogs/ gtsug.lag.khang brgyad bzhengs", "He built sGrol.bu sMad.lung in Nyang.smad etc., [altogether] eight *gtsug.lag.khang-s*"; *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* (p.434 lines 10-11): "sMan.lung la.sogs.pa'i lha.khang brgyad bzhengs", "[dPal.'khor.btsan] built sMan.lung etc., eight *lha.khang-s*"; *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.69 line 4): "gTsug.lag.khang brgyad bzhengs", "[dPal.'khor.btsan] built eight *gtsug.lag.khang-s*". Reference to mNga'.ris skor.gsum sounds questionable, given that the kingdom of this name was founded by dPal.'khor.btsan's son Nyi.ma.mgon. *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has, in all probability, shifted some events (the swearing of the *chos.rtsigs*, the foundation of a temple in sTod) that marked Ye.shes.'od's reign backwards in time.

(276) Beckwith (*The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* p.170) and Uray ("New Contributions to Tibetan Documents from the post-Tibetan Tun-huang" p.515) favour the date 851 for the return of Tun-huang to Chinese hands. For evidence in favour of 848 see Petech ("The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.658 n.17). He quotes Hsiang ("Amendements au Pou T'ang-chou Tchang Yi-tch'ao de Lo Tchen-yi"), who shows that Tibetans lost Tun-huang in 848, while the news of its fall reached the Chinese court only in 851; and also Yamamoto-Dohi (*Tun-huang and Turfan Documents Concerning Social and Economic History*). In the latter work the validity of the date 848 is corroborated by information deriving from a census undertaken in 850, which proves that Tun-huang was already under Chinese control in that year.



Chinese Ho-si<sup>277</sup>. This name referred to the military district of Kan-su during T'ang times, established in 710 (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.171 and *ibid.* n.1, p.264-267 n.2). It was taken over by the Yar.lung Bod.pa-s during the reign of Khri.srong lde.btsan (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.171-172 n.3; Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* p.148-149; R.Stein "Mi-nyag et Si-hia. Géographie historique et légendes ancestrales" p.249-250; Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.643a). Chinese sources relate that 'Bro Khri.sum.rje sTag.snang was the conqueror of Tun.huang in 787<sup>278</sup>, which fell within Ha.se/Ho-si. This is confirmed by the fact that Chang I-ch'ao, the Chinese governor of Tun-huang, was known by the title of Ho-si commissioner after ending the Tibetan occupation of the town (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.167-168 and note at these pages; G.Uray, "New Contributions to Tibetan Documents from the post-Tibetan Tun-huang" p.515). Soon after, during the period in which the Tibetans had already left Kan-su, the same Tibetan documents reveal that Ho-si/Ha.se still identified Tun-huang and its neighbouring areas<sup>279</sup>. This is an important point because, as I will try to show, it is possible

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(277) *Pelliot Tibétain 984* (a text relating to a request made by the imperial military commissar of Ho-si, governor of Sha-chou (Tun-huang): see Uray "New Contributions to Tibetan Documents from the post-Tibetan Tun-huang" p.518); *Pelliot Tibétain 1188 V°*, IX (Uray "L'emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des états du Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieurs à la domination tibétaine" p.83); *Pelliot Tibétain 1189* recto (*ibid.*); *Pelliot Tibétain 1284*, III (*ibid.* p.84). From the first of these documents, which profusely lists the titles of its author, the identity of the role of governor of Tun-huang and military commissar of Ho-si is established, the two positions overlapping and coinciding.

(278) Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* (p.173-174). 'Bro Khri.sum.rje sTag.snang must have been extraordinarily young when he conquered Tun-huang in 784 or 787, which is something that makes me doubt that he was responsible for it (but I bow to the authority of the sources). Given the date of his conquest of Tun-huang, he must have been an old man when the enemies of khri Ral.pa's theocracy made him a scapegoat, for 'Bro Khri.sum.rje was killed in the *kheng.log* against this king (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.139 lines 13-14: "'Bro Khri.gsum.rje bsad.pas dkor.nor.gyi khungs subs", "Owing to the assassination of 'Bro Khri.gsum.rje, the source of wealth dried up"). His murder occurred some time around 838, when khri Ral.pa died during the rebellion against his social and religious order (*New T'ang Annals* in Pelliot (transl.), *Histoire ancienne du Tibet* p.183). This proves that he had settled in dBus.gTsang, where he contributed a new building phase to the temple of Kwa.chu in the 'On Valley (Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* p.17-22). dBus.gTsang was where the revolt against Ral.pa.can's political order took place, showing that he was no longer in the eastern provinces of the empire as Stoddard proposes ("The Nine Brothers of the White High. Mi nyag and "King" Pe dkar Revisited" p.3). The fact that in the meantime 'Bro Khri.sum.rje had relinquished his post as Tibetan governor of Tun-huang derives from the letter written in 810 by Po Kiu-yi, a Chinese governor whose jurisdiction was on the border of Tibet, to the Tibetan military governor of Ho-si called Luan Tsan-po-tsang in Chinese (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.225 n.3).

(279) An information on the territorial composition of the military division of Ho-si in 739 says that it comprised Lan-chou, Kan-chou, Sou-chou, Kua-chou and Sha-chou (Tun-huang) (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* Addenda p.359 in reference to p.171 n.2; and Uray, "New Contributions to Tibetan Documents from the post-Tibetan Tun-huang" p.515-516. The latter author says that after the Tibetans were removed from Tun.huang, Ho-si from being a military district of China became an independent state with its own local

that it was around this period or some time later that Ha.se 'Phags.pa was transferred from Tun-huang to West Tibet. Ye.shes.'od's religious edict was not sworn with a barbarous ritual such as smearing one's lips with blood from animal sacrifices as in the case of the 821-822 peace treaty with China (the only edict recorded in the sources to have been sworn this way, which was possibly a Chinese custom; see R.Stein, "Les serments des traités sino-tibétains (8e-9e siècles)" p.119-138), but rather on a Buddhist image from Tun-huang (the otherwise obscure Ha.se 'Phags.pa), which must have been among the holiest Buddhist receptacles of mNga'.ris skor.gsum of that period, as its name ('Phags.pa) and place of preeminence suggest<sup>280</sup>.

Historically, the 'Bro clan provided Tibetan governors of Tun-huang during its occupation by the Yar.lung dynasty, while other 'Bro.pa-s had been active as generals in north-eastern Tibet during the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan<sup>281</sup>. Presence of the 'Bro clan in mDo.smad and the Kan-su corridor was thus continuous throughout the period during which the Yar.lung dynasty played a predominant role in the political events affecting the Ha.se/Ho-si district.

Another aspect of the history of the 'Bro clan is helpful in deciphering the origin of Ha.se 'Phags.pa and its presence in West Tibet. After Tun-huang was lost to the collapsing Yar.lung dynasty, the 'Bro clan was the main ally of Nyi.ma.mgon, as is indicated by his marriage to a 'Bro princess from Pu.hrang according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 7-8; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.30 lines 10-11), when he established the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty (see above p.171 and n.233). Earlier, the headmen of the clan had been loyal to Nyi.ma.mgon's forebears Ral.pa.can (e.g. 'Bro Khri.sum.rje sTag.snang),

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dynasty. One has to stress that the Tibetan stronghold in Ho-si was Tun-huang (which may be at the basis of Uray's association of Ho-si with Tun-huang) and that references to Ho-si in Tibetan documents concern their centre at Tun-huang.

(280) In the second quarter of the 15th century one Ha.se 'Phags.pa Seng.ge brtson.'grus founded two monasteries at Tsa.rang during the reign of Nam.mkha' dbang.po'i phun.tshogs.lde (*Bai.ser* p.273 line 25-p.274 line 4; see below p.524 and n.893), but nothing more is known about him. Does the unconventional use of the term Ha.se in the name of the founder of the Tsa.rang monasteries mean that Ha.se 'Phags.pa Seng.ge brtson.'grus was associated with the image? If so, the statue must still have been extant in the first half of the 15th century.

(281) 'Bro Khri.sum.rje sTag.snang was also the Tibetan governor of Tun-huang at an early stage of his career. He relinquished his post and must have been promoted to the rank of the supreme military commander of Ral.pa.can some time before 821-822, as he was the second most important signatory of the peace treaty with China. He must have been its governor before 810, when he is addressed as "great minister" in a letter from the emperor of China requesting the restitution of three prefectures in the hands of the Tibetans. On him see Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, in particular the letter praising 'Bro Khri.sum.rje's patrilinear ancestry (p.287) and Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* p.17-18 and 21-22. His father Zhang bTsan.ba, who took part in the conquest of Ch'ang-an during the reign of Khri.srong lde.btsan, had been nominated commissary of the East with special powers in Ho-si and the Tun-huang area (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.290 and n.3). For a resumé of Khri.sum.rje's life see Demieville (*ibid.* p.281-282).

possibly 'Od.srung<sup>282</sup>, and after him to Nyi.ma.mgon's father dPal.'khor.btsan<sup>283</sup>. His minister 'Bro gTsug.dgra lha.gdong together with the other minister Cang A.bo laboured to safeguard dPal.'khor.btsan's throne for three years<sup>284</sup>. A continuous association of the 'Bro clan with Ye.shes.'od's royal predecessors is thus explicitly documented, culminating in lha.bla.ma's marriage with 'Bro Seng.dkar.ma before he took vows (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 line 10; see above p.178). According to *sPa.ston sgron.me*, the 'Bro-s are also confirmed

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(282) On Zhang Pi.pi, who belonged to the 'Bro clan, and his possible but not definitely proven support for 'Od.srung's faction in north-eastern Tibet bordering on Kan-su see Richardson, "Who Was Yum.brtan?"; Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (p.168-172); Richardson, "The Succession to Glang Darma" (p.1225-1226); Petech, "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" (p.651-652). After the works of these authors, his history is too well known to be discussed here.

(283) *gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.shar* records the deeds of Ngam.lam rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs in relation to an incident which involved dPal.'khor.btsan and his 'Bro associates. He was allegedly the first monk ordained in Tibet and received his vows from mkhan.po Bo.dhi.sa.twa. The passage (p.327 lines 1-3) reads as follows: "Tshe'i rig.'dzin brnyes.pas/ mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan.gyi dus/ rMa.ban Byang.chub blo.gros sTod.du 'Bro rnam.kyis mi.sha.la bkum.pa rgyal.por skyes te mnga'.bdag la gnod.pa la/ rGyal.ba mChog.dbyangs.kyis rgyal.po rtse.mdos mdzad nas/ btsan.po bsnyun las grol.bar mdzad", "[rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs] obtained the power of long life. rMa.ban Byang.chub blo.gros was killed in revenge by the 'Bro-s in sTod during the reign of mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan. He manifested as a *rgyal.po* [and] was harmful to *mnga'.bdag* (dPal.'khor.btsan). As rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs performed the ritual of ransom called *rgyal.po rtse.mdos*, he freed the king from his illness". The consequences of the assassination of rMa.ban Byang.chub blo.gros by the 'Bro-s are directly linked to dPal.'khor.btsan, so that one is led to think that the 'Bro-s of sTod were acting on behalf of the king. The passage shows also that by the time of dPal.'khor.btsan's reign, the 'Bro-s were active in sTod. In fact, according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 10-11), the 'Bro-s are found soon after as the foremost allies of dPal.'khor.btsan's son Nyi.ma.mgon, siding with him when he established the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom. See S.Karmay, "L'homme et le bœuf: le rituel de glud (rancon)" (p.358) for an assessment of *rgyal.rtse.mdos*, which was a ritual commonly performed from the time of dPal.'khor.btsan onwards in order to appease *rgyal.po* Pe.har, invoking him to stand as protector of the late Yar.lung kings (ibid. p.361-362).

Concerning rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs' long life, this is another case, similar to that of sNubs.chen Sangs.rgyas ye.shes, of a rNying.ma.pa master of *bstan.pa snga.dar* attributed with an extremely long existence, which purportedly extended from the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan to the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan. Although no circumstantial clues are at hand to dismiss this possibility, as in the case of sNubs.chen, it is likely that Ngam.lam rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs also was merely a contemporary of dPal.'khor.btsan, rather than a monk who had a very long life under as many Yar.lung kings as Khri.srong lde.btsan, Mu.ne btsan.po, Khri.lde srong.btsan, khri Ral.pa, Glang.dar.ma, 'Od.srung and dPal.'khor.btsan (for a treatment of the alleged long life of sNubs.chen see Addendum One).

(284) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.143 lines 8-9): "Der Cang.rgan A.o rgyal.po de lo.gsum bskyangs kyang ma.skyongs.par rgyal.sa shor", "At that time, having also guarded [dPal.'khor.btsan's throne] for three years, Cang.rgan A.o rgyal.po could not protect it [any longer and therefore] the throne was lost". *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.371 lines 2-3): "Brag.gzung lha.lod dang/ Cang A.pos blon.po byas/ lo.gsum bskyangs", "Brag.gzung (sic) lha.lod and Cang A.po were the ministers. They guarded [dPal.'khor.btsan's throne] for three years".

to have held dominions in sTod from the time of Ral.pa.can, at least in Pu.hrang<sup>285</sup>, the land which played a crucial role in the foundation of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom<sup>286</sup>.

(285) The lineage of transmission of *Me.ri Bon.skor* passed from Tshe.spungs Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan to Zhang.zhung Bon.po Kha.yal med.phud and from him to Mes This.pa lHa.legs, who was the son of brTsan.sgra Byin.rlabs.dpal. During his time, Mes.this.pa lHa.legs witnessed the war in Pu.hrang waged by the members of the 'Bro clan (spelled 'Dro in the source). In his wanderings during the war, he went through 'Bro.yul (spelled 'Dro.yul) (*sPa.ston sgron.me* p.705 lines 2-6: "Yang Me.ri'i Bon.skor cig ni/ Tshe.spungs Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan yan.chad spyir gcig cing/ de.la Zhang.zhung.gi Bon.po Kha.ya me.phud.kyis zhus/ des Mes.this.pa lHa.legs la/ de'i yab bTsan.sgra Byin.brlabs.dpal bya.ba yin/ gdung.rus dPang yin/ sku.mched.gsum.gyi bar.pa yin/ khong.gi Zhang.zhung.gi yul.du byon nas/ Zhang.zhung.gi Bon.po Kha.ya me.phud la/ Me.ri'i skor.this dang bcas.par zhus nas/ sgrub.pa mdzad.pas/ grub.rtags bsam.gyis mi.khyab.pa yod/ grub.rtags brjod na/ 'Dro'i dmag.gi Pu.rang bcom nas/ khong.gi phyag.rgya.mo khyer.bas/ de'i rting bzhin shes.nas byon.pas/ lam.du rgyags.med.nas/ rgod g.yag sha.ba dang ri.dwags la.sogs.pa la nyungs.dkar 'phangs.nas sgral.bas/ gzha'.tshon.du 'phros.nas Sangs.rgyas/ sha gsol.gyin byon.no/ der 'Dro'i yul.du slebs/ sha.grang snang.du 'Gro cig dgod.gyi bsad.pa'i dri.'dur la/ Bon.po mang.po 'dug...". "Also, concerning the cycle of *Me.ri Bon*, [it was transmitted from] Tshe.spungs Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan onwards in general. Zhang.zhung Bon.po Kha.ya me.phud received it from him. [It was passed] from him to Mes.this.pa lHa.legs. The latter's father was known as bTsan.sgra Byin.brlabs.dpal. His clan was dPang. He (Mes.this.pa lHa.legs) was the middle of three brothers. He went to the land of Zhang.zhung. He received *Me.ri.skor.this* from Zhang.zhung Bon.po Kha.ya me.phud. As he meditated, he exhibited inconceivable signs of [his] achievements. To talk about the signs of [his] achievements, as the troops of the 'Dro-s (sic for 'Bro-s) conquered (*bcom*) Pu.rang [and] took his mystic consort away with them, he followed their footprints and left. As he ran out of food on the way, he killed eagles, *g.yag*-s, deer and wild animals by throwing sesame seeds. They transformed into rainbows and were liberated. He went on by living on their flesh. At that time he arrived at 'Dro'i yul (sic for 'Bro'i yul). At a place where meat was distributed one 'Dro (sic for 'Bro) was killed by a violent [person]. Hence, many Bon.po-s gathered to perform the funerary rites of [someone] killed by a knife...").

The calculation of the time in which the war took place, which helps to establish when the 'Bro-s were present in Pu.hrang, derives from the period of Tshe.spungs Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan's life. He was the teacher and thus an elder contemporary of Gyer.spungs sNang.zher lod.po, who cursed the Yar.lung king Khri.srong lde.btsan because the latter had persecuted Bon (see *rDzogs.pa chen.po Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud.kyi Bon ma.nub.pa'i gtan.tshigi*).

*sBa.bzhed* links the persecution of Bon to events occurring in a pig year before the foundations of bSam.yas were laid in a hare year (*sBa.bzhed* p.34 lines 12-19: "De.nas phag.gi lo.la btsan.po pho.brang Zur.phud skyang.bu tshal.na bzhugs.pa'i tshel/ chos.kyi kha.'dzin zhang Nya.bzang dang/ gNyer rTag.btsan ldong.gzigs dang/ Seng.mgo lHa.lung.gzigs dang/ Nyang Sho.ma dang Zhi.po de Bo.dhi.sa.twa'i kha.'dzin dang shags.'debs.su bskos/ Bon.gyi kha.'dzin Ngam sTag.klu.gong dang/ rtsis.pa chen.po Khyung.po Dum.tshugs dang/ Khyung.po rTse.ba dang/ Tshe.mi dang/ lCog.la sMon.lam.'bar la.sogs.pa bskos te rtsod.pa las/ Bon.khungs ngan.la gran.tshigs chung/ lha Chos.khungs bzang.la rgya.che", "Then, in the pig year, at the time when the king (Khri.srong lde.btsan) was at the Zur.phud skyang.bu.tshal palace, zhang Nya.bzang, gNyer rTag.btsan ldong.gzigs, Seng.mgo lHa.lung.gzigs, Nyang Sho.ma and Zhi.po, who had to speak in favour of Buddhism, were appointed to be the representatives of Bo.dhi.sa.twa. Ngam sTag.klu.gong, the great astrologer Khyung.po Dum.tshugs, Khyung.po rTse.ba, Tshe.mi and lCog.la sMon.lam.'bar were appointed to speak in favour of Bon. As they debated, the reasons adduced in favour of Bon, being bad, were without meaning, while the reasons of divine Buddhism, being noble, were great"). dPa'.bo has published the *bka'.gtsigs* of the bSam.yas edict, a document contemporary with the construction of the temple, where it is said that its receptacles (*rten*) were installed in a sheep year, on the tenth day of the spring month (*mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* p.371 lines 4-5: "Lug.gi lo.la spyid zla.ra.ba'i tshes bcu.bdun.la rten gtsugs"). This sheep year has been assessed

by Richardson as 779. It has to be considered the year of bSam.yas' completion (Richardson, "The First Tibetan Chos.'byung" p.63). The following passage in *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* confirms bSam.yas' completion, for dPa'.bo adds that the king and his people took an oath to introduce Buddhism as the state religion and then quotes verbatim the deposited version of the bSam.yas edict on which they swore. The choice of a hare year for the foundation of bSam.yas might be another of the various symbolic occurrences of the hare year in *sBa.bzhed* concerning events during the life of Khri.srong lde.btsan, including his birth (p.4 lines 8-15), the foundation of bSam.yas (p.35 lines 12-14) and its completion (p.40 lines 11-16). *sBa.bzhed* (p.40 lines 11-16) is also the earliest of many works, including *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which assign thirteen years for its completion. The duration of the work at bSam.yas, which has the air of a symbolic length, would date its foundation to not later than 767. On these grounds, the date of the persecution of Bon, which preceded the foundation of bSam.yas, would have been slightly earlier than this year. The *sBa.bzhed* chronology did not go undisputed. lNga.pa chen.po had doubts about the dates found in it. In particular he focused his attention to the hare year of the king's birth, which he considered unacceptable (*dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* p.68 lines 1-3: "sBa.bzhed du yos.la 'khrungs.pa'i bzhed.pa bsgyur.ba sogs gang dang yang mi.'grig.pa'i nang.'gal.gyi tshig.mngon sum.du ston"). However, dPa'.bo also opts for a pig year as the time when the persecution of Bon occurred (see S.Karmay, *A Treasury of Good Sayings* (n.2 to p.94-95), where he cites *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston*, *Kha.byang chen.mo* and *rGyal.rabs Bon.gyi 'byung.gnas* all giving a pig year as the date of the persecution. These sources seemingly derived this date from *sBa.bzhed*). Either one has to reject the *sBa.bzhed* chronology *in toto*, also dismissing the pig year in which Bon was allegedly defeated, or one has to look for a credible pig year before 779. The first pig year before 779 is 771; the next is 759, which is too early. Collating the reliable evidence derived from the document published by dPa'.bo and the less reliable dating of *sBa.bzhed*, one can suggest a conjectural 771 for the persecution. S.Karmay opts for the pig year 783 on the authority of *rGyal.rabs Bon.gyi 'byung.gnas*. Two appraisals of this pig year are thus possible: the first 771, based on the bSam.yas *bka'.gtsigs*, the second 783, which S.Karmay pushes to 784 on the basis of evidence from the life of Dran.pa nam.mkha'.

The date of the persecution of Bon is relevant because it is a *terminus post quem* for what the Bon-po-s hold to be the conquest of Zhang.zhung by Yar.lung attributed to Khri.srong lde.btsan, which engendered Gyer.spungs' magical performance against the Yar.lung king. Since Gyer.spungs was a younger contemporary of Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan being active around the last quarter of the 8th century and Mes This.pa lHa.legs lived two generations after him, the time of the war of the 'Bro-s in Pu.hrang occurred some time in the reign of khri Ral.pa. According to bSod.nams rtse.mo (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,1 lines 4-5), this is the period of the meeting in sTod between sKyid.sum.rje (most probably a member of the 'Bro clan) and Chos.kyi blo.gros, who introduced Buddhism in sTod around 836 (see above p.166). Although 'Bro.pa presence in sTod is twice documented in the time of khri Ral.pa, this does not prove that 'Bro.pa sway over the lands in Pu.hrang was the result of the war they waged in the early decades of the 9th century, for their control could have been established long before. Chinese sources dating from the T'ang period (*T'ang-shu*) record the Zhang.zhung.pa origin of the 'Bro clan, describing it as a tribe from Yang-t'ung (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* n.3 to p.25-32). On Yang-t'ung see the section under the heading "Femeles" in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* vol. II p.707-710, where Pelliot's appraisals need corroboration in the light of the evidence contained in the Tibetan literature. It seems therefore that the 'Bro clan belonged to an early Zhang.zhung.pa substratum that sided with the later Yar.lung Bod.pa-s after the latter conquered Zhang.zhung.

(286) See Addendum Two for the account of Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest of mNga'.ris skor.gsum as treated by *Nyang.ral*

Unique information is provided by *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* when it documents a migration of people from the north of mNga'.ris skor.gsum to sTod that took place in a period preceding Nyi.ma.mgon's foundation of his kingdom<sup>287</sup>. Was the migration from the north into the lands of West Tibet due to the return of the 'Bro-s from Central Asia to mNga'.ris.stod, which was one of their strongholds? This north-south movement occurred during the time of Thon.mi Nyi.ma 'od.zer, a Bon.po exponent active in sTod, who was the grandfather of slob.dpon Nyi.ma.'bum, a contemporary of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum<sup>288</sup>. Two generations earlier than the reign of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum was the time of dPal.'khor.btsan, when the old Yar.lung order in Tibet was suffering its final collapse, after the 'Bro-s had lost Tun-huang and before the advent of Nyi.ma.mgon in sTod. On the authority of *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, it follows that the final retreat to sTod from the Yar.lung.pa outposts in the southern regions of the Tarim basin occurred under local (Hor.pa) pressure during the time of dPal.'khor.btsan after the loss of the main Tibetan strongholds in Central Asia (e.g. Khotan in 851: Hamilton "Les regnes khotanais entre 851 et 1001" p.49-50). The 'Bro-s are likely to have been involved in this conclusive defeat because they still had a limited presence in Central Asia during the time when they held territories in West Tibet<sup>289</sup>.

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*chos.byung* (p.458 lines 8-14), in which Pu.hrang is considered to be the starting point of his military campaigns against Gu.ge and Mar.yul and *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which record his marriage with the 'Bro princess 'Bro.za 'Khor.skyong of Pu.hrang (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 line 11: "'Bro.za 'Khor.skyong btsun.mor phul.ba khab.tu bzhes"), though other sources make him marry the daughters of the Cog.ro and sPa.tshab ministers.

(287) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.14a lines 3-4): "De'i.dus sKal.gyi ri.bo.bzhi/ Mon stong.sde bcu.gsum/ Byang.gi mi yin.pa Hor.gyis yul ston lho.ru sleb/ yul so.so brab/ mkhar chen.po rtsigs/ sKal.Mon.gyi rgyal.po g.Yu.khas dbang.lung zhus/ Bon khams.chen gser.ma zhengs", "At that time, the thirteen Mon *stong.sde* [of the] four great mountains in sKal[.Mon and] the people from the north, whose outposts had been ransacked by the Hor-s, arrived in the south (i.e sTod). They established their own settlements [and] founded a large castle. The sKal.Mon king g.Yu.kha received empowerments and instructions [from Thon.mi Nyi.ma 'od.zer]. He made Bon.po texts [written] in gold". This narrative testifies to a major change in the political situation in West Tibet. A two-pronged movement from outside, one from the Mon.pa lands and the other from the Turkestan border to the north, converged on West Tibetan lands. A power vacuum in sTod must have favoured these contemporary influxes. As will be shown immediately below in the text, this happened at the time when the Yar.lung dynasty suffered the final disintegration of territories they controlled in Tibet proper.

(288) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.14a line 5) says: "De.la sras slob.dpon Nyi.ma.'bum 'khrungs/ de'i dus Bod.kyi rgyal.po sTod na mGon.gsum/ sMad na lDe.gsum zhugs", "His (Thon.mi g.Yu.lo gser.ljang's) son slob.dpon Nyi.ma.'bum was born. During his time the kings of Tibet were the mGon.gsum in sTod [and] the lDe.gsum in sMad". The period in which Nyi.ma 'od.zer lived, despite not being elucidated in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, can be deduced by calculating two generations back from the reign of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum. The sons of Nyi.ma.mgon were active around the mid 10th century, since bKra.shis.mgon fathered Ye.shes.'od in 947 (see above p.183), decades after Nyi.ma.mgon had left for West Tibet to found the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom after 910 (see Addendum One).

(289) Presence of the 'Bro and Cog.ro clans at Car.chen of Tshal.byi in Lop-nor is documented by a wooden

His eulogy credits 'Bro Khri.sum.rje with having built a *lha.khang* in Tun-huang during the period of its occupation by the Tibetans of Yar.lung (Demieville, *Le concile de Lhasa* p.283). This construction testifies to the Buddhist contributions made by the 'Bro-s at Tun-huang, which is relevant to the issue of Ha.se 'Phags.pa. Support of Buddhism by the 'Bro-s, a clan historically in favour of it, is also documented locally in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during the last period of *bstan.pa snga.dar* in sTod (see above p.166, and n.228 and 231). Inscriptions at Al.lci record the establishment of the 'Bro-s in La.dwags and their religious activity, including the foundation of Al.lci in the same territory<sup>290</sup>.

tablet (M.I i, 3: see Thomas *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* vol.II p.121; also Petech "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.651-652): "Tshal.byi Car.chen na/ mthong.khyab byang srungs.pa nyung.shas shig mchis.pa/ bka'.lung rnying dang/ khri.sde gsar btsugs.kyi bka'.lung dang sbyar na/ rtse.rgod lta.bur myi nga.gis kha myi bstan zhing myi gtor.bar 'byung [lacuna] las/ mnga'.ris.su 'khrug.pa byung.gnas/ Tshal.byi khams.su yang 'Bro.Cog lastsogs stel glo.ba rings.pas/ ma.legs dgu zhig bgyis", "In Car.chen of Tshal.byi are too few guards for the northern watch towers. The new orders, which derive from the establishment of the new ruling community (*khri.sde*), having been added to the old orders, it ensued that the highest-ranking warriors have neither been following nor disregarding the orders without a command issued by me. Since the conflict occurred in the [Yar.lung] kingdom, as in Tshal.byi the 'Bro-s [and] Cog-s were disloyal, all kinds of unworthy [actions] have been occurred". The document is undated. The period described in this missive is that of the internecine strife among the successors of Glang.dar.ma, when, according to the sources, the contention at the centre of the kingdom involved the 'Bro clan against the dBas in dBu.ru (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.144 lines 10-11, *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.372 lines 17-19). Presence of the 'Bro and Cog.ro clans in Lop-nor seems to indicate that, by occupying a strategic post in the Southern Tarim basin, the two clans were still in contact with the nomadic belt of the northern Tibetan lands, of which West Tibet was part in the time of kingdom of Zhang.zhung. In those catastrophic days for the Yar.lung.pa dominions in Central Asia, holding sway over Tshal.byi in Lop-nor might indicate a possible route for the retreat of the 'Bro and Cog.ro clans to their strongholds in sTod and for the conveying of Ha.se 'Phags.pa to their dominions in West Tibet after Tun-huang was lost by the 'Bro-s.

(290) There is no evidence to show whether support of Buddhism in sTod by the 'Bro clan continued without interruption from *bstan.pa snga.dar*, when the 'Bro-s erected a Buddhist *rdo.rings* in Pu.hrang (see above n.231). See Denwood's English translations in Snellgrove-Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (vol.II p.144-146 and p.148) for inscriptions in the Al.lci temples, which attribute the foundation of the '*du.khang* to 'Bro sKal.ldan shes.rab and that of the gSum.brtsegs to 'Bro Tshul.khrims.'od (Inscriptions n.2, 3, 7, 8). An inscription (n.7 in Snellgrove-Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* vol.II p.138-139 (Tibetan text) and p.148 (transl.)) among those in Al.lci gSum.brtsegs is particularly significant, for it contains a brief outline of the activities undertaken by members of the 'Bro clan in La.dwags. One 'Bro sTag.bzang is mentioned as having come from Gu.ge sPu.rangs to establish his control in what is likely to be Mar.yul, for he was the ruler of Nyar.ma. His deeds closely echo the account of Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest of La.dwags in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, which is the most exhaustive available narrative of his campaigns (see Addendum One). The way 'Bro sTag.bzang's feats are treated in this inscription make him the establisher of the 'Bro lineage in this territory. Nyar.ma, the earliest temple in La.dwags (built in 996), is recorded as the place where he settled and exercised his rule from pho.brang dBang.lnga, which seems to have been his seat of power. His son, whose name is half defaced in the inscription, only the first part Byang.chub... being decipherable, had a son in his turn, whose name is again partially defaced, its last part reading ...ldan.'od, who is described as a great local master of Buddhism. His nephew, whose name is not mentioned in the epigraph, is the last member of this 'Bro line. Identifying

On this basis, it seems likely that Ha.se 'Phags.pa was brought to West Tibet by members of the 'Bro clan who left Central Asia in various stages for sTod during the disintegration of the Yar.lung empire, when the 'Bro clan sided with the lineage from which the kings of mNga'.ris skor.gsum descended. The association of Ha.se 'Phags.pa with Central Asia reveals a hitherto unexplored link between mNga'.ris skor.gsum and Kan-su, while other Central Asian points of contact substantiated in some of the religious monuments in sTod are well known<sup>291</sup>. This is a fascinating hint of a thread connecting Tunhuang with Tho.ling.

The expression chos.skyong Be.dbon.blon.gsum is once again a case of corrupt copying in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which stands for Pe.dpon.blon.gsum. It refers to chos.skyong Pe.har and his retinue: dregs.pa'i sde.dpon rGyal.chen bSod.nams.dpal (Nebesky-Vojkowitz, *Demons and Oracles of Tibet* p.97) and blon rDo.rje grags.lidan (ibid. p.98 and 123 ff.)<sup>292</sup>.

Pe.har, as is well known, was brought to Tibet from the land of the Bha.ta Hor-s (Kan-su, occupied during that period by the Yu.gur-s) in Khri.srong lde.btsan's time in order to be the protector of the bSam.yas treasure. He was selected from a cycle of three demon kings of the Yu.gur-s (Yu.gur.gyi 'dre.rgyal dkar.ser.nag)<sup>293</sup>. The legend which relates how Pe.har

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him with 'Bro Tshul.khrims.'od, the founder of Al.lci gSum.brtsegs, is highly conjectural, especially if one tries to detect Tshul.khrims.'od's name in the ornate verses later in the inscription. This brief outline says that four generations of the 'Bro clan are mentioned in Al.lci gSum.brtsegs (sTag.bzang to Byang.chub..., ...ldan.'od and his nephew).

(291) On themes in the murals at Al.lci allegedly recognized as Manichean see Klimkeit, "Vairocana und das Lichtkreuz". While Manichean elements at Al.lci have probably to be dismissed (in particular the presence in the murals of monks clad in white has been taken by Klimkeit as a sign that Manichean monks were in Mar.yul), Sogdian/Iranic influences are more evident. Costumes with Sassanid roundels worn by the royal personages depicted in the murals at Na.ko in Pi.ti, inside the Dun.bkar caves in Gu.ge and, in particular, at Al.lci, were typical of Iranic court standards. Other Iranic elements such as the court ritual depicted in the famous "drinking scene" in Al.lci 'du.khang, of probable Sogdian origin, are too obvious to be discussed here. Concerning the persons dressed in white cotton robes in some Al.lci murals, bSod.nams rtse.mo (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,2 line 3) says: "De.nas sTod du mnga'.bdag 'Od.lde.btsan.gyis/ btsad.po bKra.shis Khri.lde.btsan phyag.nas spyang.drangs.pa'i tshel/ sTod.kyi chos.nyan.pa'i ras.'dzims.su brtsis.pas lo sum.stong chig.brgya dgu.bcu tham.pa lon.no", "Then, in sTod when mnga'.bdag 'Od.lde.btsan handed over [the throne] to bKra.shis Khri.lde.btsan, cotton clad practitioners were listening to sTod.kyi Chos. As for the calculation [of this event], 3190 years had elapsed from Buddha *nirvana* [i.e. in 1057]". Their Buddhist affiliation rules out the Manichean origin proposed by Klimkeit.

(292) S.Karmay "L'homme et le bœuf: le rituel de glud (rançon)" (p.358) talks about three iconographic aspects of Pe.har found in the ritualistic literature of the *rgyal.mdos* (e.g. see *bsKal.bzang gzhon.nu'i mgul.rgyan* f.10b).

(293) Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.340 line 3-6): "Yu.gur.gyi 'dre.rgyal dkar.nag.ser sogs yod.pa'i nang.gi gcig Bod du 'ong.ba de dkor.bdag.la bskos zer.ba ni bden zhing Bi.ha.ra zur.chag Pe.har ram Pe.dkar zhes grags.so", "The one who was appointed among the '*dre.rgyal dkar.nag.ser*' ("the white, black and yellow 'dre.rgyal") of the Yu.gur-s to come to Tibet as the lord of the treasures, the true [name] of this one was



was brought to bSam.yas conceals a historical truth. In the subjugation and summoning of Pe.har from the land of the Yu.gur-s/Bha.ta Hor-s one has to see the conquest of the territories in the Kan-su corridor north-east of the mDo.smad border<sup>294</sup>.

In these events would lie the basis of a first hypothesis that Pe.har came to sTod from bSam.yas, the temple most cherished by Ye.shes.'od according to some sources<sup>295</sup>, after Pe.har was made to come to the Brag.dmar area from the land of the Bha.ta Hor-s.

Tibetan textual evidence customarily credits the campaign against the Bha.ta Hor-s and the binding and bringing of Pe.har to bSam.yas to Khri.srong lde.btsan's troops, after consultations between Guru Padma and Khri.srong lde.btsan (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.342 line 21-p.344 line 14; *Sum.pa mkhan.po chos.'byung* p.339 lines 8-9), or between Guru Padma, Khri.srong lde.btsan and Bo.dhi.sa.twa (*sPyid.kyi rgyal.mo glu.dbyangs* p.65 lines 2-3). It cannot be ruled out that 'Bro Khri.sum.rje's brother lHa.bzang klu.dpal was the commander sent to summon Pe.har to bSam.yas, hence the conqueror of the Bha.ta Hor-s. One of the few sources to credit him with the enterprise is lNga.pa chen.po's biography (*Tucci Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.734a-735a), while it is remarkable that his *chos.'byung* does not mention his involvement in the campaign (*Tucci Tibetan Painted*

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Bi.ha.ra, which was corrupted into Pe.har otherwise Pe.dkar". See R.Stein "Mi-nyag et Si-hia. Geographie historique et légendes ancestrales" (p.249-252) for a treatment of Pe.har's summoning to Tibet as the protector of the bSam.yas treasure, and in particular p.249 and n.11 for the cycle of the three demon kings of the Yu.gur-s. See Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (vol.II p.734a-737a); and below n.299-300. See also S.Karmay, "L'homme et le boeuf: le rituel de glud ("rançon")" (p.354-355).

(294) These campaigns began after the conquest of Ch'ang-an in 762 and continued even after the capture of Tun-huang, which took place in 784 according to Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (p.148-151), since southern Ordos was taken over in 786. Demieville, on the other hand, favours 787 on the evidence provided by the *History of T'ang* that the siege of Tun-huang lasted for eleven years (see *Le concile de Lhasa* p.174 for how these eleven years are calculated), after it had started in 777, as documented by an inscription concerning a Chinese dignitary, Song Heng, who left Tun.huang in the same year (777) because it had been attacked by the Tibetans (*ibid.* p.174-175).

(295) *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.262 line 4) says that Tho.ling was built "bSam.yas ji lta.ba", "similar [in plan] to bSam.yas". *Sum.pa mkhan.po, dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.357 lines 19-20) says: "Gu.ge'i Zhang.zhung.gi Tho.ling gSer.khang bSam.yas 'dra.ba de.yang brtsigs", "He (Ye.shes.'od) built Tho.ling gSer.khang of Gu.ge Zhang.zhung in imitation of bSam.yas". *Sum.pa mkhan.po* makes a historical error in considering the gSer.khang as the temple built by Ye.shes.'od. As will be shown below (p.311), the gSer.khang was constructed several decades later and lha.bla.ma's temple at Tho.ling was the one which later became known as dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.259 lines 12-15) reads: "Phyis bSam.yas gzigs.pa na/ de'i yab.mes Bod tshang.ma.la dbang.sgyur.pa'i phyag.rjes las nga mtha'.khob.gyi rgyal.phran zhig.gi sug.las mi.chung.bar 'dug gsungs", "Later, when he saw bSam.yas, he (Ye.shes.'od) exclaimed: "My ancestors verily left a sign of their power over the whole of Tibet, while mine is nothing more than an establishment of a small barbarian kingdom". This narrative has the air of pious storytelling because Ye.shes.'od is not credited with a journey to bSam.yas to visit the temple he allegedly considered a model.

*Scrolls* vol.II p.643a)<sup>296</sup>. There is thus no general agreement on the participation of the 'Bro clan in the expedition<sup>297</sup>, and it is therefore uncertain whether they were responsible for the summoning and appointment of Pe.har to bSam.yas<sup>298</sup>.

As will be discussed below (see p.216), Pe.har is the symbol of the heresies formulated during *bstan.pa snga.dar*, which persisted during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and were opposed by the religious exponents of mNga'.ris.stod. The noxious character of Pe.har and the heresies

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(296) See also Thomas *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* (vol.1 p.286, p.288 and also p.300-302) for an excerpt from *bKa'.gyur lde.mig* written in 1731 recording the role played by lHa.bzang klu.dpal in the summoning of Pe.har to bSam.yas. It seems that lHa.bzang klu.dpal's taking part in the episode and also its link with the expulsion of Mu.tig btsan.po were introduced at a late period (see the excerpt of the Fifth Dalai Lama's biography in Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.734a-735b and *bKa'.gyur lde.mig*), for in earlier sources they are not found. For a useful resumé of his life and deeds see also Demieville, (*Le concile de Lhasa* p.280 n.5), where his campaigns are reported, including his victories over China and the Dru.gu-s (see the Tibetan fragment *ibid.* p.247), and also his role as Mu.khri btsan.po's *zhang* (based on Thomas *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* *ibid.*) and finally the quotation of a Chinese text containing his eulogy (*Le concile de Lhasa* p.280 n.5).

(297) It is also not clear that 'Bro Khri.sum.rje sTag.snang was responsible for bringing Pe.har to Tibet as Stoddard maintains ("The Nine Brothers of White High. Mi nyag and "King" Pe dkar Revisited" p.12). No evidence in favour of this notion is found in his eulogy or in *Nyang.ral chos.byung* (p.342 line 21-p.344 line 15), which Stoddard introduces in support of 'Bro.pa (not necessarily Khri.sum.rje's) involvement in the expedition. No mention of 'Bro-s is found in the episode recorded by Nyang.ral. Furthermore, if the 'Bro-s were in favour of the Chinese exponents of the sudden enlightenment theory, as it seems they were, it is not likely that one of them led the expedition against the Bha.ta Hor *sgom.grwa*, a temple where the sources say that the sudden enlightenment theory was practised (*Nyang.ral chos.byung* p.344 lines 1-2; *Blue Annals* p.65; see below n.300).

(298) Stoddard also sees in a passage of 'Bro Khri.sum.rje's eulogy in Chinese a hint of his conquest of the lands from where Pe.har was legendarily summoned to bSam.yas ("The Nine Brothers of White High. Mi nyag and "King" Pe dkar Revisited" p.4-5). The text says that 'Bro Khri.sum.rje defeated the Nine Clans of the Hu, whose location she takes to be the land of the Tangut-s. Her translation of the eulogy does not establish, in my view, that he conquered the Tangut-s, since she bases her argument on the statement that the noblemen of the Hu land used to shoot at wild birds, on one of which Pe.har rode to Tibet (see also Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.339 lines 12-15: "Phyi.ma de Bha.nggha.la nas rGya.nag tu byon te Gan.gru phyogs.kyi Bha.ta Hor.gyi sgom.grwa bzhugs.pa.las brgyud.pa'i Dharma.pa.la phyi.ma zhiig dang g.yu'i Thub.pa rang.byon bse.'bag shel.seng gsum khyer 'ong.ba'i mi dang nor.rdzas.kyis rjes.su 'brang.nas shing.byā zhon 'ong.ba'i rgyal.po Pe.dkar yin", "Later, he (Dharma.pa.la) went from Bengala to China. Having resided at the meditation school of the Bha.ta Hor-s in Gan.gru (Kansu), Dharma.pa.la the younger, [who belonged to] his lineage, brought [to Tibet] the self-grown turquoise Thub.pa, the mask of rhinoceros skin and the crystal lion, these three. rGyal.po Pe.dkar was the one who came [to Tibet] following [this] man and [these] treasures flying on a wooden bird"). These hunting practices are a rather feeble point of contact with the myth of Pe.har. Evidence adduced by Demieville (*Le concile de Lhasa* Addenda p.368-369) denies Stoddard's identification of the Nine Clans of the Hu as the Tangut-s in zhang Khri.sum.rje's eulogy: Demieville considers the Nine Clans of the Hu to be Sogdians on Pulleyblank's authority. See Pulleyblank "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia" for a convincing identification of the Hu-s as Iranian people settled in Central Asia.

he fostered are represented by the spread of diseases such as leprosy (*mdze*) and madness (*smyo.'bog*), these heresies and diseases possibly caused by his possession of people during trances (S.Karmay “L’homme et le boeuf: le rituel de glud (rançon)” p.357). *sMyo.'bog* is the disease Pe.har caused after he was summoned to bSam.yas to be the protector of its treasure (*dkor.bdag*), so that he had again to be appeased<sup>299</sup>. His dual nature is the typical feature of Pe.har’s character, extremely noxious but useful when properly appeased (stressed by Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.735b-736a; Stoddard “The Nine Brothers of the White High. Mi nyag and “King” Pe dkar Revisited” p.21), for the conspicuous number of his manifestations and his demonic/mischievous/heretic nature are coupled with his role as protector of the teachings. His noxious nature is also implied in the text of Ye.shes.'od’s *chos.rtsigs*, where he is invoked to exercise impartiality. S.Karmay has stressed the difficulty of appeasing Pe.har (ibid. p.356-357), but his need to be summoned as protector of the teachings and the treasure of bSam.yas against the degeneration of the times and false religious views is well testified to by the advice given by slob.dpon Padma to Khri.srong lde.btsan, which led to the military expedition to the land of the Bha.ta Hor-s<sup>300</sup>.

On textual grounds (the Tun-huang manuscripts do not mention the *rgyal.po* class of spirits while *sBa.bzhed* does so), S.Karmay connects the introduction of the *rgyal.po* spir-

(299) *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.65 lines 2-10): “De.nas gtsug.lag.khang.gi srung.mar mkhan.slob.chos gsum bka'.bgros te/ rgyal.po'i dmag.gis Bha.ta Hor.gyi sgom.grwa bcom.pa'i ka.ca'i rjes.su dPe.har 'brangs te byung.bar dkor.srung bcol/ 'ga'.zhig.tu mkhan.slob.chos gsum.gyis pho.nya 'phrin.yig mngags.pa lta' / g.yu'i Thub.pa/ bse.'bag/ Za.hor rgyal.rigs Dharma.pa.la rnam.kyis sna.drangs.pa'i rjes.la dPe.har byon.par bshad.pa 'di skye.'gro rnam.la smyo.'bog sogs 'tsha.ba.che drags.par/ slob.dpon.gyis ar.la gad.pas Bha.ta Hor.gyi yul.du bro.par bshad.pa dang go.rim 'grig.par mngon.no”, “Then, *mkhan[.po]* *slob[.dpon]* and *chos[.rgyal]*, these three, held talks in order to appoint a protector of the *gtsug.lag.khang*. The troops of the king having raided the meditation school of the Bha.ta Hor-s, it happened that dPe.har followed its “things” [and] was appointed the guardian of the [bSam.yas] treasure. Others maintain that *mkhan[.po]*, *slob[.dpon]* and *chos[.rgyal]*, these three, sent an envoy with a message [and] Dharma.pa.la, [who belonged to] the royal family of Za.hor, brought [to Tibet] the turquoise Thub.pa and the rhinoceros mask which dPe.har followed. Having caused great harm to the people such as madness, since *slob.dpon* performed the *ar* [ritual], he escaped to the Bha.ta Hor-s' land and everything truly returned to normality”. See also Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.339 lines 5-15).

(300) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.343 line 9-p.344 line 4): “Slob.dpon.gyis bka'.stsal.ba/ e.ma.ho/ dus.kyang je.ngan je.ngan 'gro/ rje'i thugs.dam bSam.yas kyang/ rgyal.po'i snying.du 'gong.po 'jug/ 'bangs rnam nang.'thab dme.khrug/ gtsug.lag.khang.la 'thab.khang 'cha'.../ chos.ngan chad.lta'i stong.nyid ston/ bstan.pa 'jig.pa'i lta.ngan yin/ de.tshe gtsug.lag dkor.srung.ba/ dkor.srung rgyal.po dPe.har dgos/ Bha.ta Hor.gyi sgom.gra nas/ ka.cha'i phyr ni 'brangs 'ong/ de.tshe nga.yis dkor.srung bcol/ gsungs.so”, “Slob.dpon [Padma] said the following authoritative words: “E.ma.ho. Times are going from bad to worse. Despite bSam.yas [having been built to be] the personal temple (*thugs.dam*) of [yourself] the lord, a 'gong.po (“a spirit”) has entered the heart of the king. The subjects quarrel among themselves [and] have internecine struggles. The *gtsug.lag.khang*-s are houses of disputes...The empty nihilist views of the bad religion are taught. These are signs of the destruction of the teachings [caused] by [these] views. At this time rgyal.po dPe.har, the protector of wealth, is needed to be the protector of the *gtsug.lag[.khang]* treasure. Go and fetch his “things”. I will then appoint him to be the protector of the treasure”.

its to the period around the mid 9th century, during the reigns of the late rulers of fragmented Tibet descended from the Yar.lung dynasty (“L’homme et le bœuf: le rituel de glud (rançon)” p.361-362). He also attributes the origin of the practice of the *rgyal.rtse.mdos*, which brings about the appeasement of Pe.har (ibid. p.343), to the episode involving the ’Bro-s and dPal.’khor.btsan in the murder of rMa Byang.chub blo.gros and subsequent removal by rGyal.ba mchog.dbyangs of the harm caused to the king by rMa, who manifested himself as a *rgyal.po* spirit (ibid. p.358) (see above n.283). S.Karmay adds that the origin of Pe.har may derive from the same episode dealing with a threat to dPal.’khor.btsan’s survival (ibid. p.358). I read his statement as referring to the origin of the *mdos* practice appeasing Pe.har rather than to the introduction of his cult to Tibet. In fact, later in the text, he stresses that Pe.har and Khri.srong lde.btsan were considered in some way to be mutual *alter egos*. I think that the episode from which the custom of performing *rgyal.rtse.mdos* descended marks the adoption by dPal.’khor.btsan of the Pe.har cult, the latter being the *srog.bdag* of the former, and that Pe.har’s protection was extended to dPal.’khor.btsan’s successors. If this notion holds good, finding Pe.har as witness to the swearing of the most important act of Ye.shes.’od, dPal.’khor.btsan’s great-grandson, should not come as a surprise.

A few final remarks have to be made. The role of the ’Bro clan in all the events discussed here looms large. The Tibetan conquest of Ho-si and the summoning of Pe.har to be protector of the treasures at bSam.yas, which are at the root of the transference of the Ha.se ’Phags.pa and Pe.har cults to West Tibet, are two events that must be regarded as distinct. Furthermore, *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* does not provide any clue to establish an identity between the image of Ha.se ’Phags.pa and chos.skyong Pe.har. No manifest connection exists in *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* between the two. Pe.har is not linked to Ha.se/Ho-si, Pe.har and Ha.se ’Phags.pa are co-witnesses to the oath of Ye.shes.’od’s *chos.rtsigs*, and no reason is given to consider Ha.se ’Phags.pa a statue of Pe.har.

The transference of the Pe.har cult to West Tibet cannot be linked to the presence of the Ha.se ’Phags.pa statue in the same land, although both have to be credited to the ’Bro clan. This coincidence is meaningless since the transfer of Pe.har and Ha.se ’Phags.pa to sTod was the outcome of two separate activities. Ha.se ’Phags.pa in all likelihood came to sTod following the withdrawal of the ’Bro clan from Central Asia in a movement from north to south (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*). The cult of Pe.har in sTod has little to do with the appointment of this deity to be the protector of the bSam.yas treasure, despite bSam.yas purportedly being the conceptual and architectural model of Tho.ling. Therefore, the hypothesis that Pe.har was taken from bSam.yas by Ye.shes.’od has to be rejected. The only apparent relation between bSam.yas and West Tibet is less than vague, for choosing Pe.har to be the protector of bSam.yas transformed Pe.har, a foreign deity, into a local protector, thus making its cult available to subsequent generations. Pe.har came to sTod in a movement from east (Central Tibet) to west, following the disintegration of Yar.lung Bod in the time of dPal.’kor.btsan, or later during the reign of his son Nyi.ma.mgon, when the ’Bro-s’ presence in sTod paved the way for the foundation of the mNga’.ris skor.gsum kingdom.

The adoption of the cult of appeasing Pe.har (*rgyal.mdos*) occurred in the days of dPal.'khor.btsan as a consequence of events taking place in sTod. Even if the involvement of 'Bro Khri.sum.rje's brother lHa.bzang klu.dpal in the capture of the Bha.ta Hor *sgom.grwa* is accepted as certain, this fact is rather inconclusive as regards this topic since his participation in the summoning of Pe.har to Tibet testifies at best to the persistence of links between the 'Bro-s and Pe.har from *bstan.pa snga.dar* to *phyi.dar*. The coincidence of the two events (the bringing of Pe.har and Ha.se to mNga'.ris.stod) in terms of the period and the clan responsible for them testifies instead to the convergence of the 'Bro-s on a stronghold of theirs from other areas where they previously wielded great power. Their resettling in sTod was the basis of a strategy to recreate a regional kingdom along the lines of the previous political order they had been unable to maintain, routed on principles of ancient royalty and Buddhism. Hence, it came about that the son of their old ally dPal.'khor.btsan was chosen for the task and *bstan.pa phyi.dar* ensued.

Returning to the *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* passage recording the formula of the oath, it testifies to the fact that the practice of erecting *rdo.rings* engraved with edicts (*rtsigs/gtsigs*) was also adopted in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during the period of its early dynasty. The habit of erecting *rdo.rings* in sTod during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* is confirmed by the sPu stone pillar, the one surviving example, although later. This pillar records an undecipherable foundation *in loco* by a descendant of Ye.shes.'od, whose name has however become illegible<sup>301</sup>.

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(301) Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet* vol.I p.19) records only the first lines of the inscription in which the name of Ye.shes.'od and an allusion to his time are found. He did not check the epigraph in full, and thus gives the impression that the inscription must have been written in the time of lha.bla.ma. This is incorrect, for in the remainder of the inscription, although difficult to decipher in parts due to its poor condition, a reference to a member of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal house who followed in the footsteps of Ye.shes.'od shows that the *rdo.rings* was erected after Ye.shes.'od's death. Opening *rdo.rings* inscriptions with a passage referring to the ancestors was common epigraphic practice in the period of the Yar.lung dynasty, from which the kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang drew inspiration.

Francke's idea that the *rdo.rings* was erected and its inscription carved during the life of Ye.shes.'od has been again proposed by Thakur in his article ("A Tibetan Inscription by lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od from dKor (sPu) Rediscovered"). This is dismissed by Richardson who has subsequently stressed ("The Tibetan Inscription Attributed to Ye.shes.'od: a Note") the same view which I expound here that the inscription was written after the time of lha.bla.ma. The ancestral part of the inscription is more or less clear and readable and this is probably why Francke confined his treatment to these lines of the text. Where serious complications arise is in its second part referring to the actual event that led to the erection of the *rdo.rings*. Although the reading I attempted in the field of dKor at sPu differs from that of Thakur and Richardson, I prefer not to suggest another interpretation of this part of the inscription simply because the epigraph is too defaced to be meaningful. Entire passages are unreadable and some letters defy sound proposal. A reconstruction is not given here since the name of the successor of Ye.shes.'od originally mentioned in the inscription is completely missing. The foundation he laid is also effaced and the circumstances that led to this foundation and the making of the *rdo.rings*, if they ever were mentioned in the text of the edict, are also missing. The condition in which one finds the inscription on the *rdo.rings* (it seems to me that it has worsened between 1986 and 1995, the two occasions in which I went to see it) does not allow one to assess it historically. Apart from the fact that a successor to Ye.shes.'od went to the locality of sPu where a royal palace existed at that time (probably at dKor,

In his effort to connect his activity to that of the *chos.rgyal mes.dbon.gsum*, often reported by the sources, Ye.shes.'od adopted the ancient system of carving edicts on stone practised in Yar.lung Bod for his major act of government. Inspiration from the Yar.lung dynasty, stressed in Zhang.rung's speech to the notables of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, was not exclusively religious but also legal and epigraphic (*chos.rtsigs*). I imagine that in the late 10th century a *rdo.rings* stood at a major site of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom.

The remarkable similarity between the swearing formulas used on Khri.srong lde.btsan's *rdo.rings* at bSam.yas as well as Khri.lde srong.btsan's at sKar.chung and the text of the oath in Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs* recorded by mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.56 lines 7-12)<sup>302</sup> leads me to believe that Ngag.dbang grags.pa or his source had access either to the deposited

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which is not surprising given that a temple had been built at sPu during the 996 phase; see mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.54 line 11 and the present text p.268), the only historically significant aspect of the inscription is that it was written in a dragon year after the lifetime of Ye.shes.'od. The identification of this dragon year is difficult. The proposal of Thakur that the pillar dates to 1004 has to be refuted, for the edict was issued after the death of Ye.shes.'od. I have shown that lha.bla.ma died in 1024 (see above p.183). Richardson's hypothesis that this dragon year has to be dated to 1076 in connection with rTse.lde's *chos.'khor* is also probably to be rejected because there is no evidence that it was written at the same time when the *chos.'khor* was held or began if Ngag.dbang grags.pa's assesment that the *chos.'khor* lasted for three years has to be accepted (see below p.320, and n.500 and 502). In particular there is no link between the *chos.'khor* and sPu, since the *chos.'khor* took place at Tho.ling as every source says and definitely not at sPu, which makes their association groundless.

A possible other means for dating the pillar is visual and is based on the style of the *mchod.rten* depicted on one of its faces. The type of *stupa* seems to be consistent with those popular with *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod. Therefore, any dragon year after 1024 and before 1111 (this is the date of Zhi.ba.'od's death, which marks, according to Ngag.dbang grags.pa, the end of *bstan.pa phyi.dar sTod.lugs*; see mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.67 lines 17-18 and p.136 in the present text) could be the year in which the *rdo.rings* was inscribed. The first dragon year after 1024 is earth dragon 1028, which fell after the reform of the Tibetan calendrical system into the sixty-year cycle begun in 1027. However, the date on the pillar is still given in the old system of the twelve-year cycle. This is surely not a point in favour of predating the *rdo.rings* to before 1027, which, as said above, is untenable. Hence, the dragon year in which the *rdo.rings* was made could have been any dragon year beginning with 1028 until 1102. Another clue, that the person responsible for it is called *dPal lha.btsan.po lha.sras*, is again too vague to be helpful. All the kings of Yar.lung were *dPal lha.btsan.po*-s and any successor to Ye.shes.'od, connecting himself with his alleged ancestors of Yar.lung Bod, could have boasted this title. Hence, candidates to have erected the *rdo.rings* are no less than 'Od.lde, Byang.chub.'od, rTse.lde, 'Bar.lde and bSod.nams.rtse, who were the secular rulers during this period (see mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs and the present text *passim*), as well as any religious ruler of that time since the normally secular term *dPal lha.btsan.po* is given to a monk such as lha.bla.ma. His successor called *dPal lha.btsan.po lha.sras* may also have been a monk. Hence, Na.ga.ra.dza (d.1026) and Zhi.ba.'od are also likely to have commissioned the pillar. In conclusion, the sPu *rdo.rings*, although of undisputable royal patronage, cannot be assessed either in terms of its date or of the identity of its royal sponsor.

(302) The bSam.yas *rdo.rings* inscription of Khri.srong lde.btsan (lines 15-20) says: " 'Da's.pa' dang/ 'jig.rten.gyi lha dang/ myi.ma.yin.ba' thams.cad kyang dphang.du/ gsol.te/ btsan.po yab.sras dang rje.blon gun.gyis dbu.snyung dang bro.por.ro" (Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* p.30 (Tibetan text) and p.29-31 (transl.)). The sKar.chung *rdo.rings* inscription of Khri.lde srong.btsan (lines 53-55) ends with: "Jig.rten.gyi lha dang myi.ma.yin.pa thams.cad kyang/ dpang.du gsol.te/ btsan.po/ rje.blon kun.gyis kyang/

version of the *chos.rtsigs* or to the inscription on the *rdo.rings*. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* offers an insight into this question when it says that the text (*yi.ge*) of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* was widely circulated in the kingdom (p.55 lines 6-7), and immediately afterwards introduces the wording of the *chos.rtsigs*, making it probable that the text published by Ngag.dbang grags.pa derives from that of the *yi.ge* and not from the *chos.rtsigs*.

Among the various virtues of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is therefore an antiquarian interest in the documents of the past, although it is not exercised with the same accuracy as that of other textual archaeologists such as dPa'.bo gtsug.lag 'phreng.ba or Kah.tog rig.'dzin Tshe.dbang nor.bu, since the wording of the text of the *chos.rtsigs* leaves something to be desired.

I believe that the *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* section from p.55 line 7 (i.e. from the description of the law whereby when a king becomes a monk his son is called to the throne) until p.56 line 12 (i.e. to the concluding swearing formulas) records a rather free version of the *chos.rtsigs* issued in 988 by Ye.shes.'od.

### *Ye.shes.'od's code of laws (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.55-56)*

According to its outline recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.55 line 7-p.56 line 12), the *chos.rtsigs* was divided into sections:

1. a general introduction (p.55 lines 3-7);
2. the laws which appoint the *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* secular and religious rulers (p.55 lines 7-9);
3. the laws for the protection of the noble religion (p.55 lines 9-12);
4. the laws for the subjects (education, crafts) (p.55 lines 12-19);
5. the laws fixing the terms of the patronage of religion, which the *khu.dbon* were called on to safeguard (p.55 line 19-p.56 line 7);
6. the concluding swearing formulas (p.56 lines 7-12).

For convenience I wish to categorize the code of laws of Ye.shes.'od according to the scheme outlined above.

1) The text of the *chos.rtsigs* is preceded by some details on the religious conditions prevailing in those days. Communities of ordained monks and meditators were established. Bon and the tradition of burying riches with the dead in the cemeteries were discarded. The custom of reciting the names of the deities and prayers was adopted. The system of women becoming nuns was introduced. While in ancient times as long as the *btsan.po* was alive

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dbu.snyung dang/ bro.bor.ro" (ibid. p.80 (Tibetan text) and p.81 (transl.)). They vary from the concluding section of the text of the edict recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.56 lines 7-12) as far as the deities invoked to attend the oath are concerned, those of the Yar.lung dynasty going back to an ancestral past.

his *rgyal.sras* could not ascend to the throne, a law was issued according to which, were the father to become *bla.chen*, his son was appointed *mnga'.bdag*.

2) The section on the principles regulating the interaction between the lay and religious members of the royal family is as follows. All the king's sons except the heir apparent were to be ordained. The *btsan.po* who had taken religious vows had the responsibility of safeguarding the religious realm (*'dul.zhing*). If the lay lineage were interrupted, it was to be restored by the monks of royal blood.

3) The laws for the protection of the noble religion are as follows. Lay and especially religious members of the royal family had the responsibility of preserving the religious teachings. Recently developed religious, scientific and medical ideas that seemed sufficiently important were to be adopted after an evaluation of their validity by various knowledgeable people.

4) The section of the laws for the population is divided into a subsection on social duties and education, and another on respect for religion and learning artistic skills. The first consisted of the following. The entire lay and religious population were to protect the kingdom if it was attacked by invaders. The population was to be trained in nine fields of learning: to shoot arrows, run, jump, wrestle, swim, perform various exercises while riding a horse, read, write, and calculate. All sorts of heroic skills were encouraged. The second sub-section enjoined the population to practise virtue in the following ways. No one could reverse another's decision to become a monk. Casting, painting and embossing techniques were to be learned in order to make receptacles of body, speech and mind. They were to aim at perfection. If artistic perfection were achieved, special prizes were to be awarded.

5) The laws fixing the terms of the patronage of religion, by which the *khu.dbon* were bound are as follows. Members of the royal family could not decide punishment for breaches of the laws of the *chos.rtsigs* at their discretion, but reconciliation had first to be attempted. Punishment was to be given according to established laws.

To provide supplies for the monks, farmers were required to give to the monasteries, and in particular to Tho.ling, the main temple, a piece of land that needed 1000 *khal-s* and 10 *nyag.ma-s* (lit. "scale", i.e. a weight?) of seeds to be cultivated. The nomads of the country had to provide various types of their produce equivalent to such a piece of land.

6) The text of the *chos.rtsigs* is concluded by the swearing formulas which have been discussed above (p.193).

The system introduced in West Tibet by the laws of Ye.shes.'od shared a few traits with that of *bstan.pa snga.dar*. During the early and late diffusion preeminence was obviously given to religion. *bsTan.pa phyi.dar* in West Tibet was theocratic, but the system enforced



by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings was less so than the religious order adopted during *bstan.pa snga.dar*. It was promoted in sTod with a good deal of flexibility and some notable differences.

Religion and secularism were kept separate although they were interdependent and interchangeable, so that mutual assistance was guaranteed in time of need. The burden of sponsoring religion weighed most heavily on the nobles and the wealthy, in particular on the members of the royal family who had taken vows. The case of Byang.chub.'od entrusting the Tho.ling temples built during his time to the care of the royalty (i.e. *in primis* to himself) and its court is a significant application of Ye.shes.'od's laws (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 4-5, where *rtse.dgor* has to be corrected to *rtse.'khor*, i.e. *rtse.mo 'khor*. "the palace and the court"). The remainder of the population was called on to contribute collectively to the support of the monks (e.g. 'Brog.pa-s with their produce). This was different from khri Ral.pa's theocracy, under which every seven families were required to support one monk. The episode of the youths taken from their families and sent by Ye.shes.'od to India to study Buddhism, whose parents were compensated with riches, is emblematic of his more equitable approach (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 11-12)<sup>303</sup>.

Moreover, the personal role the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty carved for itself within *rgyal.khrims* and *chos.khrims* to foster Buddhism in sTod during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* did not correspond to the position of the Yar.lung kings during *bstan.pa snga.dar*. In sTod, the royalty spearheaded its diffusion by personal example (embracing religion) to be followed by the population (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 8-10), while the Yar.lung *btsan.po*-s maintained the traditional *lha.sras* role of the ancient Tibetan tribal order. Some of the Yar.lung kings were *chos.rgyal*-s merely because they promoted Chos, whereas the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kings were *chos.rgyal*-s because they were royal monks. Remarkably different from khri Ral.pa's theocratic order was the law issued by Ye.shes.'od according to which it was the main duty of the royal monks of sTod to take care of Buddhism and its establishments in the kingdom (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 line 8).

Perhaps rather eulogistically, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* attributes to Ye.shes.'od a constant care for his people, to whom he gave religious instruction (p.57 line 19-p.58 line 3). He is said to have tried to anticipate their needs and help them to accomplish their aims. If this is true, Ye.shes.'od would have achieved a perfect balance between royal power and the aspirations of his subjects. This is something conspicuously lacking in the theocratic period of the kings of *bstan.pa snga.dar* such as khri Ral.pa, whose downfall was caused by the nature of his system which gave rise to much discontent among the laity.

An important aspect of the *rgyal.khrims* enforced in sTod was that the population was given access to education and skills. Basic education, the teaching of professional skills and

(303) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 line 21-p.462 line 1): "Nyer.gcig pha.ma la nor.gyis blus/ rgyal.khrims btsan(p.462).pas mi.gtang.du ma.thub", "The parents of the twenty-one [youths] were compensated with riches. The royal law, being authoritative, did not allow [these youths] not to leave [for Kha.che]".

military training to defend themselves were sanctioned by law to improve the condition of the population. The Gu.ge Pu.hrang *rgyal.khrims* was not exclusively a set of laws issued by the king to his subjects but a far-sighted *mi.chos*, which put its traditionally exemplary and theoretical approach into practice for the benefit of all.

The principle by which all members of the royalty other than the heir apparent had to take vows, and the other by which, were there no lay member of the royal family to occupy the secular throne, a royal monk had to supplement the secular side, were a practical method to guarantee continuity in both religious and secular institutions (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 7-9). The case of Byang.chub.'od, a royal monk who had to become *mnga'.bdag* on the death of 'Od.lde, demonstrates this principle.

It should be asked whether the law establishing the system whereby, should the *btsan.po* enter religion, the heir apparent was to be enthroned (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 4-5) brought about the wider consequence that practically all secular lords of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty (i.e. Ye.shes.'od, Khor.re and lHa.lde, with the notable exceptions of 'Od.lde and rTse.lde, who both died sudden deaths; see below p.281 and 335), became monks when they started aging. This is especially relevant in the less well known cases of Khor.re (see below p.262) and lHa.lde (see below p.243). Their decision to become *lha.btsun-s* ensured a smooth succession. In the light of this fact, reports in the literature that these two kings also followed in the more widely recognized footsteps of Ye.shes.'od seem to be trustworthy<sup>304</sup>.

In every field of knowledge the guiding principle was to search for and to become acquainted with the newest and most important advances (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 10-12). This policy was pursued by means of the system of invitations extended to great masters and of sending people in search of knowledge. This cultural pattern became a consistent feature of *bstan.pa.phyi.dar*. Tibetans seeking *dam.pa'i Chos*, mainly in India, made of this period one of the most religiously fertile and seminal in the entire history of Tibet.

Particular interest was taken in the artistic creation of the receptacles of body, speech and mind (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 17-19). The peculiar artistic inclination of the *mNga'ris skor.gsum* dynasty, which promoted the making of a considerable number of monuments, is illustrated by the law that encouraged artistic endeavour, which in turn favoured the creation of local workshops<sup>305</sup>.

(304) See *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.8a = p.44 lines 4-5): "mnga'.bdag 'Khor.re rab.tu.byung"; and *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 11-13) for lHa.lde.

(305) The inscriptions in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang, which are among the earliest records from sTod concerning royal sponsorship of this temple by Ye.shes.'od and later by Byang.chub.'od, do not offer any hint as to who were the artists responsible for its murals and statues. Literary sources such as *Kho.char dkar.chag* state that foreign artists were in sTod prior to those brought by Rin.chen bzang.po after his second journey to Kha.che, for the main image at Kha.char made during the 996 building phase was a foreign work (*Kho.char dkar.chag* f.5b = p.41 lines 4-11; see below n.390). This evidence combined with the clause of the *chos.rtsigs* exhorting the subjects of the kingdom to contribute religious works of artistic beauty, testifies to a cosmopolitan artistic situation with local and foreign artists at work in the temples.

Among the laws of *rgyal.khrims* prominence given to the defence of the kingdom, to which all people (monks and laymen alike) were called on to contribute, is historically noteworthy (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 12-13), and was the consequence of the political situation with which Ye.shes.'od and his population had to come to terms with around 988, when the advancing menace of Islam started to make its presence felt.

To the west of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*, the crushing of the Hindu Sahi kingdom and the first Ghaznavid-s' devastating inroads into the Indo-Iranic borderlands began in that period. Mahmud undertook seventeen invasions of India from 1000 (for a summary of these expeditions see Mishra, *The Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab A.D.865-1026* p.66-67), preceded by those of his father Subuktigin, which began in 986, a few years before Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs*, and continued until the conquest of Lahore in 991 (*ibid.* p.103-115).

To the north of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* but still not on its borders, Qarakhanid advance in Southern Turkestan was opening in those decades a new and potentially troubled front not far from the kingdom's frontier<sup>306</sup>. The appearance of the Qarakhanid-s in South Turkestan, who were new and hence zealous converts to Islam and thus even more dangerous neighbours, soon afterwards posed a major threat to the security of *sTod*, which was a country with natural riches and, in Muslim eyes, a land populated by unbelievers.

The warlike Dards were also an ever present danger. This alarming situation in the lands surrounding West Tibet compelled Ye.shes.'od to call on his people to take part in the defence of the kingdom.

Given that the major potential threat to *sTod*, that of the Qarakhanid-s, became actual after the latter's occupation of Khotan in 1006<sup>307</sup>, when they settled on the very borders of the kingdom, the law requiring the population of *sTod* to protect the kingdom became even more vital for Gu.ge Pu.hrang<sup>308</sup>.

(306) On their conquest of western South Turkestan (Kashgar) in the mid 10th century see the old but still valid Grenard, "La légende de Satok Bogra Khan et l'histoire"; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (p.1113b) under the entry "Ilhek-Khans or Karakhanids", where Bosworth says that, after the Qarakhanid-s converted to Islam, South Turkestan was conquered and Islamized with the conquest of Khotan in the early 11th century, while the western territories of their Turkestani *khanate* had been taken over before 955. See also Pritsak, "Von der Karluk zu den Karachaniden" and "Die Karachaniden" (p.25).

(307) On the Qarakhanid conquest of Khotan see Grenard, "La légende de Satok Bogra Khan et l'histoire" (p.64 ff.), which fixes 1006 as the year in which Khotan was annexed by this Turkic tribe.

(308) In general, it happened the kingdom of Gu.ge Pu.hrang was rarely the aggressor, while more often it had to suffer at the hands of others. After the campaigns of Nyi.ma.mgon, who, through his conquests, established his dominion over a remarkable expanse of land, the borders of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* remained substantially unchanged throughout the phases of Tibetan history with the exception of *mNga'.ris.smad* which was lost and never reconquered (see below n.826 and 804). Its desolate lands suffered frequent foreign raids and the domination of other Tibetan powers, for its gold deposits and its strategic location in terms of inter-regional trade attracted external interest. Another interest, that taken by mystics and pilgrims in its sacred geography, was definitely less dangerous but often had political implications.

The urgent need for defense of the kingdom became a constant preoccupation of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang rulers. History amply proves that this concern was more than justified, especially since it was a country based on religious principles rather than military might.

*The alleged annihilation of Bon in sTod at the beginning of bstan.pa phyi.dar (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.54-55 and 57)*

According to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51 lines 15-18), ancient practices such as Bon and rites for the dead performed in cemeteries were still current in West Tibet before the introduction of Chos in various stages from 986. The text (p.54 line 19-p.55 line 2) adds that Bon and the ancient rituals were persecuted during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, allegedly to the unprecedented extent that Bon.po-s were killed and their literature cast into rivers.

The persecution of Bon and purported assassination of Bon.po-s (ibid p.54 line 19-p.55 line 2) appears in the text after the description of the foundation of the early temples and religious communities, thus occurring later than 996 (ibid. p.53 lines 7-8 and p.54 lines 8-12). I am unable to estimate the historical significance of the location in the text of this episode. In other words, the appearance of the episode at that juncture of the text does not establish beyond doubt that the virulent phase of the persecution, when this alleged extermination took place, was a consequence of the definitive religious takeover of the Zhang.zhung lands by means of a network of new temples that might have created the confidence for such a drastic move. Reliable historical signs contradict this view.

I maintain that the heinous crime of burning Bon.po-s alive and casting their literature into rivers is a literary fabrication which found its way into the text for reasons that Ngag.dbang grags.pa must have considered historically sound. My understanding of the matter is reinforced by another passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.57 lines 14-19), which invalidates the earlier. It states: "As he (Ye.shes.'od) banned the practitioners of whatever was heretical, such as liberation through sexual union, meditation on corpses, and in particular all practitioners of Bon, he brought [practice] back to the true path. His fame became widespread in all directions by word of mouth. For the sake of the greatness of Chos, he did not allow those leaning in favour of Bon to contaminate Chos by blending it with the old doctrines of Bon but [permitted just a little] proximity [of Bon to Chos]".

That Ye.shes.'od had doctrinal disagreements with those he considered *chos.log.pa-s*, prompting him to write at least his extant *bka'.shog*, is a well known fact which needs to be discussed in the present work. The notion that Ye.shes.'od was also active in eradicating Bon is another commonplace which is not confirmed by documents contemporary with the events. As *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* shows, the authoritative act of conversion of the *chos.log.pa-s*, which reveals that freedom of religion was not permitted, did not amount to open and systematic extermination. Lack of evidence that Ye.shes.'od destroyed Bon, coupled with the historical considerations pertaining to the status of Bon and the culture of

Zhang.zhung in the time of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* I have very briefly outlined above (see p.140) do not attest to such a drastic crushing of Bon.

A textual exception, which could point to an *a posteriori* assessment of a single instance of Bon conversion, is the episode of the heretic defeated by Rin.chen bzang.po in Pu.hrang after he returned from his first trip to Kha.che and rGya.gar in 987. He is not indicated as a Bon.po but simply as a *dge.bshes* defeated by Rin.chen bzang.po in Pu.hrang by Khyi.thang.pa Ye.shes.dpal, the author of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, the earliest source dealing with him<sup>309</sup>. In later literature he is named Klu sKar.rgyal and is described as a Bon.po<sup>310</sup>. An early identification, though later than *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, of the *dge.bshes* defeated by Rin.chen bzang.po in Pu.hrang is found in *sDom.gsum rab.dbye* (p.316 f.2). Sa.skya pandi.ta names him Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal. Sa.pan is unequivocal in describing him as a *chos.log.pa* rather than a Bon.po<sup>311</sup>. Sa.pan

(309) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.86 line 5-p.87 line 4): “De.nas Pu.hrangs su 'phebs.tsa.nas dge.bshes gcig 'jag.ma'i steng.nas dkyil.krung bcas.nas sdod.pa gcig byung.ba la/ thams.cad mo.gus byed ngo.mtshar skyes.pas/ bla.ma lo.tsa.ba dgongs.pa mdzad.pa la/ dPe.dkar.gyi cho.'phrul mkhyen nas/ zla.ba gcig bsgrub.pa zab.mo la bzhugs/ de.nas kho.bo'i tsar byon.nas sdigs.'jub gcig stan.pas/ kho.bo spyi bting log/ ste sa.la 'kyel.nas song.bas/ de man.chod bla.ma lo.tsa.ba la bzod.mo.par gyur”, “Then, after he went to Pu.hrangs, there was a *dge.bshes*, who happened to sit on a single stem in lotus posture. Everybody payed him devotion and respect as astonishment was produced [in them]. Bla.ma lo.tsa.ba gave thought [to the matter]. As he realised that he was a manifestation of dPe.dkar, he stayed [absorbed] in deep meditation for one month. Then, having gone to him, as he pointed his threatening finger at him, he was turned upside-down and fell on the ground. From then on, bla.ma lo.tsa.ba was treated with utmost reverence”.

(310) Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal's identity as Klu sKar.rgyal, a *naga*, proposed in the sources later than *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* has favoured his association with a lake in bSe.rib Kyi.rong (i.e. Se.rib sKyid.grong) or a lake in Gu.ge ('*Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdu.pa* in *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung* p.227 line 4-p.228 line 5; for the text of the relevant passage see below n.312). Klu sKar.rgyal is made to inhabit the Gu.ma lake in Mang.yul (Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.359 lines 3-6: “Mang.yul Gu.ma'i klu.tsho'i klu Sangs.rgyas slar.rgyal zhes.pa btul zhing sngags.log spyod.pa rnam sun [chos Chos.min rnam.'byed las] 'phyung ste bstan.pa dag.par mdzad”, “He (Rin.chen bzang.po) subjugated the so called Sangs.rgyas slar.rgyal (sic for skar.rgyal) of Mang.yul Gu.ma klu.tsho (sic for mtsho) and led the practitioners of the heretical Tantra-s (*sngags.log*) to [convert to] the orthodox teachings by refuting [their earlier tenets] [note: this is according to the text *Chos.min rnam.'byed*]”). Though a precise identification of the ancient location of Se.rib remains a thorny problem, its whereabouts were in vicinity of Glo.bo, an area traditionally a Bon.po stronghold. It cannot be excluded that the link with Se.rib depends on the alleged Bon.po background of Klu sKar.rgyal, who, being considered a *naga*, was attributed a lake as his dwelling place. On the contrary, his association with Mang.yul comes as a surprise. The identity of Gu.ma.mtsho is not clear to me.

(311) Bu.ston Rin.chen.sgrub has the same appraisal in his *chos.'byung* (p.202 lines 3-4) when he says: “Lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po'ang mNga'.ris su Klu sKar.rgyal btul/ sngags.log spyod.pa rnam chos.kyi sun.phyung”, “Lo.tsa.ba chen.po Rin.chen bzang.po defeated Klu sKar.rgyal in mNga'.ris. He refuted the heretical Tantra-s by means of his religious teachings”. In the collection of polemic criticism by various Buddhist masters of what were considered heretical practices (*sNgags.log sun.'phyin skor*), a refutation of deviant Tantra-s is also found purportedly penned by Bu.ston rin.po.che (ibid. p.25 line 5-p.36 line 3). It attacks *gang.sngags rmying.ma*, the practices of the Pe.har bu.bzhi (on them see below n.315), the cult of the *lha.'dres*

believes that he disguised his heretical teachings in a Buddhist style. He adds that he was a transformation of a *klu.chen*, namely *Klu.chen sKar.rgyal*, but he called himself as *Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal* because he disguised himself as *Sangs.rgyas*, a Buddhist. From this interpretation the misunderstanding that he was a *Bon.po* may have arisen. In a later work, *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa*, which incorporates excerpts from *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung*<sup>312</sup>, *Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal* is treated in a way similar to that of *sDom.gsum rab.dbye*. He is considered to be an incarnation of a *klu* and, in particular, a *chos.log.pa*. However, the heresies practised by people like him are associated with those of the *Bon.po*-s. The former text is also quite resolute in affirming that *Rin.chen bzang.po* took care of the correct diffusion of *Tantra*-s and opposed the *sngags.log*-s.

A clue to the reason why later authors regarded the teachings of *Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal* as *chos.log* (a question D.Martin raises in his tantalizing paper “Lay Religious Movements in the 11th and 12th Century Tibet: A Survey of Sources” read at the 7th IATS Seminar) comes from the narrative concerning a *Bal.po ka.ru.'dzin*. He was at *bSam.yas* after *Guru Padma* had introduced his religious system and had left for *India*. *Pe.har* was embodied in this *ka.ru.'dzin*, who practised an allegedly heretical form of *Padmasambhava's* teachings. The narrative concerning the heresy practised at *bSam.yas* by this *Bal.po ka.ru.'dzin* identifies the origin of the debased *Tantric* practices as deriving from the teachings of *Guru Padma*<sup>313</sup>. *Pe.har* is thus the symbol of alleged heresies and their aberrant practices, includ-

and *Bon*. I have some doubt as to the authorship of this work. The mediocrity of the arguments in the text, coupled with the poverty of its language, is far from typical of the articulate thinker and writer *Bu.ston rin.po.che*.

(312) *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa* (p.227 line 4-p.228 line 6): “*bsTan.pa phyi.dar.gyi thog.ma lta.bur song.bas Bon.po gdug.pa.can rnam.kyis/ Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa la gnod.'tshé byed.pa dang gong.du dPe.dkar.gyi cho.'phrul yin nam kyang zer.ba gzhan.dag bSe.rib Kyi(p.228).rong ngam/ sa.yul Gu.ge'i mtsho.la gnas.pa'i nag.phyogs.la dga'.ba'i klu gdug.pa.can zhig.gi rgyud.pa bzhugs.pa Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal zhes.byab/ lus.la 'od.zer 'phro zhing nam.mkha' dang 'jag.ma'i rtse sogs.su skyil.khrung byas/ chos.log 'ba'.zhig bstan.pa sogs lo.tsa.ba chen.pos chos.skyong 'di.nyid.kyi sgo.nas btul te ming.med.par byas/ de.rjes sngags.log sun.'byin brtsams/ mdo.sngags.kyi bstan.pa dri.ma med.pa dar zhing rgyas.par mdzad.pas/ Bod.kyi bstan.pa phyi.dar.la bsten.nas skye.dgu rnam.bde.bar 'tsho...*”, “In early *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, the mischievous *Bon.po*-s were causing harm to the Buddhist teachings. At its beginning [one practitioner] recognized as the incarnation of *dPe.dkar* [or] however else one may define him, who was a resident of *bSe.rib Kyi.rong*, otherwise of the lake in the land of *Gu.ge*, was in favour of black [practices] and belonged to a lineage of mischievous *naga*-s. He was called *Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal*. He emitted light from his body and could soar in the sky or sit on a single stem in the lotus posture. He exclusively practised heretical doctrines (*chos.log*). Led by this *chos.skyong* (*Gur mGon.po*), *lo.tsa.ba chen.po* defeated him and ruined his reputation. Then he wrote *sNgags.log sun.'byin* (“the refutation of the heretical *Tantra*-s”). He diffused a correct interpretation of the *mDo.sNgags* teachings. By adopting *bstan.pa phyi.dar* of Tibet, people lived their life righteously...”.

(313) *sNgags.log sun.'phyin skor* (p.13 lines 3-6) reads: “*De.rjes.su rgyal.po Pe.kar Bal.po ka.ka.ru.'dzin bya.ba'i spungs.su zhugs.nas mgo.la sgom.zhu byon/ de.la bya.spu btsugs.lus.la za.ber gyon nas/ bSam.yas su Padma yin zhes.sgrags nas/ chos.log dpag.med bshad/ de'i rjes.su chos.log dpag.med dar.te gter.yig zhes.zer*”, “After him (*Guru Rin.po.che*), as *rgyal.po Pe.kar* entered *Bal.po ka.ka.ru.'dzin* through his shoulder, the latter placed

ing spirit possession. The attribution of heresies to Pe.har (including those of the Pe.har bu.bzhi) possibly derives from the deceptive nature of his character, but the question of his heterodoxy is not dealt with in the sources and remains to be investigated<sup>314</sup>. The fact that the *dge.bshes* defeated in Pu.hrang by Rin.chen bzang.po was an embodiment of Pe.har has, in my view, led authors to emphasise the heretical nature of this *dge.bshes*' teachings and the need for Rin.chen bzang.po to oppose them. Finally, these authors expressed their gratitude to lo.chen for stopping debased practices<sup>315</sup>. A reference to malpractices by village

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feathers on a meditation hat, put it on his head and wore a nettle robe. As he said at bSam.yas: "I am Padma", he preached innumerable heresies. After him, innumerable heresies named *grer.yig* ("treasure documents") became diffused". Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.757 lines 3-6) has a similar version: "Shul.du Bal.po Ka.ru.'dzin zhes.pa'i rgyud.du the'u.rang Pe.kar zhugs.nas mgo.ldir zhwa.la bya.phru btsug lus.la za.ber gyon.pa byung te Gu.ru Padma yin zer.nas bSam.yas sog.su chos.log de.dag dar bcug", "After a while, as one named Bal.po ka.ru.'dzin was possessed by Pe.kar, who belongs to the *the'u.rang* class, it happened that he put feathers on his hat and wore a nettle cloak. As he said: "I am Gu.ru Padma", he introduced the diffusion of heretical teachings at bSam.yas".

(314) The many names and forms of Pe.har, which is a feature specific to this deity, were first stressed by Tucci (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.734a-737a). The considerable number of his manifestations, coupled with his demonic characteristics, makes him the perfect archetype to embody the deceptive and heretical features of the Pu.hrang *dge.bshes* (Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal) defeated by Rin.chen bzang.po. The heretical nature of Pe.har becomes evident in the Rin.chen bzang.po biographies and the other sources isolated by D.Martin, while Pe.har's role as protector of the teachings, stressed by Jo.bo.rje, is found in his biography written by Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba according to Stoddard ("The Nine Brothers of White High. Mi nyag and "King" Pe dkar Revisited" p.20 and n.100, p.21 and n.104). I apologize to the reader but I have never come across a *Jo.bo.rje rnam.thar* written by Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba. I did not have the chance to discuss the matter with Heather Stoddard after she was so kind as to give me a preliminary copy of the article she had written, in which bibliographical data are not yet complete.

(315) Apart from the heresies collectively known to have been caused by Pe.har and those attacked in Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog*, other cults during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, opposed by what *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* defines the *lo.pan* tradition (i.e the literary tradition of Indian Buddhism), were those performed by the rNal.'byor nag.po drug ("six groups of black *yogin-s*"), who displayed magical powers, and the Pe.har bu.bzhi ("the four children of Pe.har") mentioned in the chapter on them in *sNgags.log sun.'phyin skor* (p.25 line 5-p.35 line 4). The classification of the groups of the rNal.'byor nag.po drug and the Pe.har bu.bzhi overlaps in a few cases.

*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.494 lines 9-15) says: "Dus.de tsa.na Zar sTag.sna'i zhang.po rGya.'thing las rnal.'byor smyon.tsho dang/ rTsi.ri 'O.la.'ba'.su las rnal.'byor byar.med dang/ ru.mtshams.kyi rGyal.ba Sro.kha 'thams las me.chu go.log.pa dang/ dBus.kyi She.mo rGya.lcam las/ glong nag.po rgya.'dzam/ de.la 'phur.tsho zhes zer te/ Shangs.kyi rnal.'byor stag.tsho dang/ rDzi.lung.gi mgos.tshos kha bskangs.pa 'di.rnams la rnal.'byor nag.po drug zer/ khong.rang.gis sgrub.rgyud bzang.por byed/ lo.pan.gyi rjes.su 'brenng.ba rnams ni khong.gi de.rnams rDol.chos su byed", "Around that time, the mad *yogin-s* originating from zhang.po rGya.'thing of Zar sTag.sna (Zar is located to the south of gTing.skyes and to the north of mChod.rten nyi.ma. Its dGe.lugs.pa monastery is in ruins at present); the *yogin-s* completely still, originating from rTsi.ri 'O.la.ba.su; [the *yogin-s*], who could turn fire into water [and vice versa?], originating from rGyal.ba Sro.kha 'thams ("the victorious [*yogin*], holder or seizer of the expanse of land") at the border area; [the *yogin-s*] originating from rGya.lcam of She.mo (sic for sNye.mo) in dBus, who could spread out their bowels and put them back [in

Tantrists, as S.Karmay evocatively translates, is already made in a Tun-huang document (*Pelliot Tibétain 848* in S.Karmay “King Tsa/Dza and Vajrayana”). They are also attacked in Ye.shes.’od’s *bka’.shog*. From the combined evidence offered by the narratives relating to the Bal.po *ka.ru.’dzin* and the *dge.bshes* of the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar-s* it follows that the Pe.har *chos.log-s* (“heresies”) amounted to deviant practices of the *sngags.rnying.ma* during early *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

place] (if *rgya.’dzam* is corrected to *rgya.’dzom*); these [four] are known as the flying groups (i.e. “the groups of flying *yogin-s*”). Adding [to them] the group of *yogin-s* from Shangs wearing tiger skins and the group of *yogin-s* from rDzi.lung smeared with ashes, [all] these were known as the rNal.’byor nag.po drug (“the six groups of black *yogin-s*”). They considered themselves to be of authentic meditation lineages. Those who are followers of the *lo.pan-s* considered them to practice *rDol.Chos*”.

The *lo.pan* tradition has to be assessed as the literary tradition of Indian Buddhism, while rDol.Chos (i.e. “vulgar behaviour”: see Goldstein’s dictionary) stands for rough, rudimentary, debased, or corrupt Buddhism. *sNgags.log sun.’phyin skor* (p.33 line 2-34 line 1) reads: “Ding.sang chos.par brdzus.pa dPe.dkar bu.bzhi’i chos.brgyud yod/ Zhang.mo rGyal.mthing nas brgyud.pa/ smyon.tsho.pa ru grags.pa dang/ ’Od.la bab.tu nas brgyud.pa/ byar.med.pa ru grags.pa dang/ sNyi.mo rGya.lcam nas brgyud.pa/ sbyor.sgrol.pa ru grags.pa dang/ srog.khang thabs.shes nas brgyud.pa/ bstan.bcos rte’u skor.bdun dang/ Ita.ba rigs.pa’i mdud.skor dang/ gtan.tshigs me.chu go.log sogs/ log.pa sde.tshan mang.po yod/ de.dag ding.sang so.sor gyes/ mDo.Khams yar.bcad dBus.gTsang khengs/ ’di.dag Sangs.rgyas bstan.pa min/ dPe.dkar (p.34).gyi ni chos yin.pas/ skye.bo rnams.kyis ring.du spangs/ dPe.dkar bu.bzhi’i le’u ’o”, “Now concerning the religious lineages of the dPe.dkar bu.bzhi who disguised themselves as Buddhists. The lineage descending from Zhang.mo rgyal.mthing is known as the group of *smyon.tsho.pa* (“those belonging to the class of madmen”). The lineage descending from ’Od.la bab.tu (“the one falling down in rays of light”) is known as the group of *byar.med.pa* (“those always still”). The lineage descending from sNyi.mo (sic for sNye.mo) rGya.lcam is known as the group of *sbyor.sgrol.pa* (“those obtaining liberation through sexual union”) as well as the lineage descending from *srog.khang thabs.shes* (“wisdom and method”). *bsTan.bcos rte’u skor.bdun*, *Ita.ba rigs.pa’i mdud.skor*, *gtan.tshig me.chu go.log* are various types of heresy. Nowadays, they have branched off individually and they are diffused in mDo.Khams and in dBus.gTsang on the upper side. These are not Buddhist teachings. In time, people have abandoned them because these are religious forms of dPe.dkar. This is the chapter on the dPe.dkar bu.bzhi”.

Other masters regarded as heretics of *phyi.dar* by some authors, such as Pha.dam.pa Sangs.rgyas and La.stod dMar.po, lived too late to be included in the deviations refuted by Ye.shes.’od and his followers. For a negative assessment of Pha.dam.pa and La.stod dmar.po see the sections on them written by Chag lo.tsa.ba in *sNgags.log sun.’phyin skor* (respectively p.14 lines 2-4 and p.14 line 6-p.15 line 3). For a positive appraisal of the former master see *Nyang.ral chos.’byung* (p.494 lines 3-5: “rJe.btsun Dam.pa dmar.por grags.pa’i grub.thob byon/ de.la slob.ma chung.gsum dang brgyad.tshan.gsum la.sogs.pa byon/ sprang.po’i ded.dbon mdzad.de ’gro.ba mang.po grol.bar mdzad.do”, “A *grub.thob* appeared named rje.btsun Dam.pa dmar.po. He had three minor disciples and three groups of eight [disciples]. [By] acting as the leader (dbon sic for dpon) of the beggars, he emancipated many sentient beings” and ibid. lines 13-17: “De.nas sgrub.brgyud.kyi gdams.pa rnams ni/ Dam.pa Sangs.rgyas las brgyud.pa/ bka’.babs rnam.gsum ste/ snying.po rMa So Kam gsum.du grags.pa dang/ rje.btsun Seng.ge las brgyud.pa.nas Zha.ma lcam.sring dang/ zhang dGon.pa.ba la/ gSang.sNgags Lam.skor.ba dang/ Dam.pa rin.po.che nas rgyud”, “Then, [concerning] the teachings [transmitted] along the meditation lineages. The lineage originating from Dam.pa Sangs.rgyas. There were three entrusted with his preaching: the ones known in brief as rMa, So and Kam. The lineage originating from rje.btsun Seng.ge [and continued by] Zha.ma lcam.sring. From zhang dGon.pa.ba [descended] the *gSang.sNgags* Lam.skor.ba-s. These were the lineages originated by Dam.pa rin.po.che”). For a biography of La.stod dmar.po see *Deb.sher sngon.po* (p.1195 line 3-p.1200 line 10; *Blue Annals* p.1025-1029).



*Ka.ru.'dzin* does not seem to be a proper name or a single person as Martin maintains. The appearance of *'dzin* in the name shows that it refers to a group of practitioners (“holders of *ka.ru*”) in much the same way as, for instance, the term *rdor.'dzin*. Considering Bal.po *ka.ru.'dzin* to be a master belonging to a specific group of Tantrists helps to explain the identity proposed by *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* between a *ka.ru.'dzin* (where he is named Ka.ru che.ba or “Ka.ru the elder”) and the *dge.bshes* defeated by Rin.chen bzang.po, known as Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal in the sources written after Rin.chen bzang.po’s biography<sup>316</sup>. The heretical practices of *sngags.rnying.ma* of the *ka.ru.'dzin*-s who were embodiments of Pe.har were also performed by the *dge.bshes* in Pu.hrang in the period after Rin.chen bzang.po had returned from his first sojourn in India. This *dge.bshes* is treated as a *ka.ru.'dzin* in *dGongs.gcig yig.cha*. *Ka.ru.'dzin*-s are described as having the power to soar in the sky in the same way as the *dge.bshes* in Pu.hrang of the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar-s*. Another *ka.ru.'dzin*, named Ka.ru chung.ba (“Ka.ru the younger”), was a master of the same technique known as gNam.Chos (“cult of the sky”), which enabled him to fly according to *dGongs.gcig yig.cha*<sup>317</sup>. From a historical viewpoint, the transference of *chos.log.pa* elements to the teachings of this *dge.bshes*, proposed by Sa.pan in *mDo.gsum rab.dbye*, and

(316) *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* (p.436 lines 6-7): “gNam.chos ni/ grub.chen Ka.ru.'dzin che.chung gnyis snga.phyir byung.ba la/ Bal.mo Glang.ru grub.pa yin yang zer.bar 'dug.pa la/ Ka.ru che.ba ni/ lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.pos lta stags.kyi sdigs mdzub mdzad.pas nam.mkha' nas sa.la lhung”, “gNam.chos is as follows. Grub.chen Ka.ru.'dzin the elder and the younger having existed at an earlier and later time, who are said to have also meditated at Bal.mo (sic for Bal.po) Glang.ru, Ka.ru the elder was the one who was brought down from the sky to the ground by lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po by a glance and pointing his ring finger [at him]”.

(317) *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* (p.436 line 7-437 line 3): “Ka.ru 'dzin chung.ba ni/ Zhang Shar.ba tshogs.pa sky-ong.ba'i dus.na/ btsun.chung gcig chos nyan.pa.la brtson.pa yin.pa la/ phyis yong ma.nyan.pas grogs.po kun.gyis/ khyod sngon chos nyan.pa.la brtson.'grus che.ba yin na/ da tsug song bya.pas/ kho na.re nga dad.pa chung.du song.ba men/ chos dung byang.ba'i dus.na nam.mkha'.nas mi dkar.po gcig 'ongs.nas nga'i chos nyon dang/ ngas nam.mkhar 'khrid.par byed zer.ba yin/ nga.la dbang.med zer.ba la/ de'i.dus.su Zhang Shar.bas brul te/ nga men.pa'i dge.bshes cig yin na/ dpon.slob kun kho'i dbang.du 'gro.ba.la tshogs.med gsung.ngo”, “As for Ka.ru.'dzin the younger, when Zhang Shar.ba (Zhang rin.po.che?) was protecting the assembly [of monks], there was a young monk who previously was very keen to attend the teachings. Later, as he did not attend the teachings [any longer], all his friends said: “Previously you were very keen to attend the teachings. What is going on now?”. He replied: “It is not that my faith has diminished. Whenever the conch is blown [to call for the teachings], a white man comes in the sky saying: “If you listen to my teachings, I will take you to the sky”. I said: “It is not in my power [to accept your offer]”. At that time Zhang Shar.ba vanquished him. If it were [any] *dge.bshes* other than me, the *dpon.slob*-s could have been easily brought under his spell”.

Is *ka.ru* a white dress as the account of Ka.ru chung.ba, described as a man dressed in white and able to soar in the sky in *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* (p.436 line 7-437 line 3) suggests? Is it from this ability to fly that the definition of his and Ka.ru che.ba’s heresy as gNam.chos (“sky cults”) in *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* derives? Sum.pa mkhan.po talks about Dur.Bon being introduced from Zhang.zhung and Bru.zha during the reign of Gri.gum btsan.po, while sGrung lDe'u gNam.Bon was introduced to Bod when his son sPu.de gung.rgyal had to perform rituals for his death (*dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.292 lines 16-20: “Gri.gum.btsan dus Zhang.zhung dang Bru.sha'i Dur.Bon dar.../ Gri.gum.gyi sras.spun gsum.gyi Bya.khri'am sPu.de gung.rgyal dus sGrung lDe'u gNam.Bon gshen.po.che byung”). Was there any relation with the much later gNam.Chos of the *ka.ru 'dzin*-s?

the identity between him and Ka.ru che.ba found in *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* written by 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas (1187-1241) collecting the parables and views of his master and uncle 'Jig.rten mgon.po (1143-1217), can both be explained on the grounds of a common chronological link between the above mentioned 'Bri.gung.pa work and the Sa.skya.pa polemic texts written by Sa.pan Kun.dga rgyal.mtshan (1184-1251) (*sDom.gsum rab'dbye*) and Chag lo.tsa.ba Chos.rje.dpal (1197-1265) (*sNgags.log sun.'phyin skor*), in which the heresies of these personages are discussed. These ideas concerning the *chos.log-s* flourishing during *bstan.pa snga.dar* and early *bstan.pa phyi.dar* were seemingly common property of the scholasticism popular in the period in which these authors lived.

Even if Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal was a Bon.po who disguised himself as a Buddhist, which cannot be denied *a priori*, even though it is contradicted by no less an authority than Sa.pan, this is not enough to affirm that Ye.shes.'od persecuted Bon.

The *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* passage mentioned above denies that Ye.shes.'od eliminated the Bon.po-s by virtue of the fact that it says he dealt with their heresy from a doctrinal point of view. If no Bon.po-s were left alive, there would not have been occasion to discuss and rectify their beliefs. Their works were not destroyed if it was prohibited to attempt a synthesis of old Bon with the new religious tenets from Kha.che and rGya.gar. Furthermore, if an act even more dramatic than Khri.srong lde.btsan's persecution of Bon had taken place, it would undoubtedly have been recorded in the Bon.po literature. Not a word is found in Bon.po sources concerning Ye.shes.'od's alleged persecution by casting their books into rivers, let alone by murdering them. Great emphasis is given in these sources to Khri.srong lde.btsan's persecution, which did not exterminate anyone, while no mention is made of the much more of this heinous alleged action of Ye.shes.'od.

One of the most important principles of Ye.shes.'od's laws sanctioned by the *chos.rtsigs* was the preeminence given to the adoption of teachings formulated and texts written in that period (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 10-12). This principle favoured the incorporation of *sngags gsar.ma* into the religion of West Tibet and was exemplified by people such as Khyung.po rNal.'byor, and especially by Rin.chen bzang.po, who originally belonged to the old Zhang.zhung.pa establishment but embraced the new traditions flourishing in India when he left the plateau to study in 'Phags.pa'i yul<sup>318</sup>. This clause gave legal status to *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and conferred on the notables of the land the right to make the final judgement regarding new tenets, urging everybody to adopt the new religious ideas, which amounted to the *sngags.gsar.ma* in the main, given the period in which these events were taking place and the territories from which these teachings came. On the one hand, priority was given to the new doctrines, on the other orthodoxy was scrutinized by the depositories of the *verbum*.

(318) The case of Khyung.po rNal.'byor (b.990 in sNye.mo), to whom an extraordinarily long life is attributed, is a case in point. He belonged to a Bon.po family, became a Buddhist and travelled often to and widely in India. He typified the trend of that time, when a number of masters adopted the new traditions, which were taking shape in India and Tibet. See *Khyung.po rnal.'byor rnam.thar* (p.59-143).

The ultimate reason for the paucity of Bon.po activities in sTod during the time of the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty lies in the heavy-handed treatment meted out by the Yar.lung.pa-s to the religion of Zhang.zhung and its way of life. The two most famous and definitive acts of the suppression of Zhang.zhung and its culture were the military campaign by Srong.btsan sgam.po in 643-644 (*Tun-huang Annals* in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.12 (Tibetan text) and p.29 (transl.)), which ended Zhang.zhung.pa autonomy, and the persecution of Bon by Khri.srong lde.btsan. They were preceded by inconclusive conquests of Zhang.zhung undertaken by the Yar.lung dynasty before Srong.btsan sgam.po. The well known occupation of Zhang.zhung during the reign of gNam.ri srong.btsan (*Tun-huang Chronicles* Chapter VI in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.111 (Tibetan text) and p.147 (transl.)), was in its turn preceded by a campaign, hitherto unnoticed by modern scholars, taking place in the time of 'Bro.gnyen lde'u<sup>319</sup>. Following the subjugation of their lands by Yar.lung, Zhang.zhung.pa-s/Bon.po-s left this land. With the exception of individual Bon practitioners and the limited presence of isolated lineages in sTod continuing their own tradition<sup>320</sup>, Bon had already been driven from sTod at the

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(319) A hitherto unnoticed conquest of Zhang.zhung by Yar.lung during the time of 'Bro.gnyen lde.ru is recorded in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.byung* (p.107 lines 19-21): "rGyal.phran bcu.gnyis.kyi srid brlag.par byas nas/ Zhang.zhung sde dang bcas.pa/ 'A.zha 'khor dang bcas.pa/ Dwags.po g.yog dang bcas.pa mngar 'dus", "As he crushed the power of the *rgyal.phran bcu.gnyis*, he brought the whole of Zhang.zhung and its communities under his control, the whole of 'A.zha and its satellites and the whole of Dwags.po and its subordinates". Occurring around the mid 6th century, this is a reference to the earliest recorded conquest of Zhang.zhung by Yar.lung Bod.

(320) Apart from hermits belonging to the meditative tradition of Bon.po *rDzogs.chen* of the *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* (see below n.323), rare instances of religious activity in sTod occurring during *bstan.pa snga.dar* and *bstan.pa me.ro.bslangs* (the intermediate period often but not necessarily considered to be the time of no *dharma* between *snga.dar* and *phyi.dar*) are mainly contained in the sections of *rnam.thar-s* which deal with the *mes.rabs* ("lineage of ancestors") of the personage who is the subject of the biography. This is the case with the *rnam.thar* of Mar.lung.pa Byang.chub seng.ge (1153-1241), a Tshal.pa from sTod, who studied at Tshal Gung.thang with Zhang rin.po.che and returned to his native nomadic land in southern Byang.thang, where he was active for the rest of his life. The Mar.lung.pa line of masters, belonging to the Thon clan, became Bon.po with their exponent Dharma dbang.phyug around the third quarter of the 9th century after 'Thon.'dren mKhor.spungs migrated to sTod following the persecution of Bon by Khri.srong lde.btsan. The lineage was Bon.po until the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, when it converted to Buddhism (Dad.pa shes.rab met Jo.bo.rje and founded a Buddhist temple) (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.19a lines 3-4 and also below n.441).

The case of his ancestors is, however, anomalous for, instead of fleeing West Tibet, Thon Sang.rgyas grags.pa migrated from Central Tibet to sTod some time after Khri.srong lde.btsan disbanded the Bon.po-s (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.12b lines 3-5. "Kha.che sKyes.zang.gi bu A.nan.ra zer.ba de/ lHa.sa na tshong.byed yong.pa bos nas/ lo.tsa col te Bon dang Chos gnyis rtsod.pa byas.pas/ Chos khung btsun.par 'dug.go zer nas/ Bon la.la Brag.dmar la.sogs.par gter.tu sbas/ la.la chu.la skyur/ Bon.po rnam.s rnga.bshang re skur/ ra.lpag.s re skons/ mNga'.ris dang mDo.Khams cug.go", "A.nan.ta, the son of Kha.che sKyes.zang, was summoned when he had come to lHa.sa to trade. Lo.tsa-s were appointed [for the purpose] and they held a debate on Bon and

Chos, these two. It is said that Chos was victorious. Some Bon [texts] were concealed as *gter-s* at Brag.dmar, some were thrown into rivers. The Bon.po-s were each given drums and cymbals. As they were each made to wear a goat skin, they were expelled to mNga'.ris and mDo.Khams"; and *ibid.* (f.13a lines 1-4): "De.nas Thon.'dren mkhor.dpung.gi sras Thon Sang.rgyas grags.pa zhes kyis.pas/ Gangs.ri mtsho.gsum skor.du byon.pa Mar.lung du phebs/ de'i dus Mar.lung.gi sman.sras skyi na/ brag.gdong gsum.na rkyang bsrugs/ phu.ne rkyang gye/ Zeb.gog gdong.na 'tha' byas te/ ri.dags mang.po/ bsod.pa'i srog kyob phyir/ brag.skyed.du sdan.sa phab rims.kyis dgon.pa chags/ 'brog.pa'i lhas brag.rtsa.na yod.pa/ der nyung.ma'i sa.bon stab.pas nyung.ma skyes.so/ rims.kyis zhing tul.nas yul chags/ de.la sras Seng.dkar rgyal.mtshan khro'o 'khrungs/ de'i yang zhing mang.po tul/ brag Sog.po 'phros.pa 'dra'i phyi.bor pho.brang btab", "Then, Thon.'dren mkhor.dpung's son Thon Sangs.rgyas rgyal.mtshan went to Gangs.ri mtsho.gsum on pilgrimage. He went to Mar.lung. At that time, *rkyang-s* appeared at Mar.lung sman.sras skyi.sna, where three rocks [are located]. The *rkyang-s* moved to the upper part [of the valley]. In order to save the life of the many wild animals that were killed, he established his residence at Zeb.gog.gdong. Subsequently, the *dgon.pa* was founded. At the foot of the rock was an open air cattle pen of the nomads. Here, as he had planted turnip seeds, turnips were growing. Subsequently, as fields were cultivated, a settlement was established. His son Seng.dkar rgyal.mtshan was born. He also cultivated many fields. He then built his palace on the rock looking like an angry Sog.po"). The myth of the foundation of Mar.lung echoes, particularly regarding the appearance of *rkyang-s*, that of Zhang.zhung.pa origin found in *Pelliot Tibétain 1136* (Spanien-Imaeda, *Choix des documents* tome II pls.470-471), in which members of the Zhang.zhung clan named Hos seized extraordinary horses. *Pelliot Tibétain 1136* is an extremely interesting document of great complexity, whose treatment has to be reserved for another occasion.

The lineage is as follows:

1. 'Thon.'dren mkhor.dpungs (*ibid.* f.12a line 5-f.12b line 5) (living around the third or the last quarter of the 8th century; during his time Khri.srong lde.btsan persecuted Bon);
2. Thon Sangs.rgyas grags.pa (he went on pilgrimage to Ti.se and established his residence at Mar.lung) (*ibid.* f.13a lines 1-4);
3. Thon Seng.dkar rgyal.mtshan (*ibid.* f.13a line 4);
4. Thon Dharma dbang.phyug (living ca. 850-875; he was the Bon.po who stayed at rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, when the Khu.nu king O.ru.bha.tra had sovereignty over Ti.se and Pu.hrang) (*ibid.* f.13a line 4-f.14a line 3);
5. Thon.mi Nyi.ma 'od.zer (living ca. 875-900; in his period people from the north were driven to the south by the Hor-s. Foundation of the thirteen sKal.Mon *stong.sde-s* took place at the same time and sovereignty in sTod was exercised by the sKal.Mon-s) (*ibid.* f.14a lines 3-4);
6. Thon.mi g.Yu.lo gser.ljang (*ibid.* f.14a lines 4-5);
7. slob.dpon Nyi.ma.'bum (living ca. 925-950; contemporary with the sTod.kyi mGon.gsum, he went to the court of the Tangut king Se'u) (*ibid.* f.14a line 5-f.15a line 5);
8. Thon.mi rDzu.'phrul mthu.tobs (*ibid.* f.15a line 5);
9. Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho (ca. 1037; Bhara dan.dur, belonging to the lineage of Hor.nag.mo A.lan, conquered mNga'.ris.stod) (*ibid.* f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2);

time when the mNga'ris skor.gsum dynasty was established<sup>321</sup>. This explains why, at the time of the Bon.po reform (more or less contemporary with Buddhist *bstan.pa phyi.dar*), Bon.po presence in Zhang.zhung had become marginal, their strongholds being located in both neighbouring and distant regions. In fact, if one checks the considerable number of

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10. and 10 bis) Thon.mi Lha'i dbang.po and lo.tsa.ba Dad.pa shes.rab (the latter met Jo.bo.rje in 1045) (ibid. f.15b lines 2-3 and f.19a line 3-f.19a line 5);
  11. Mes.po Kun.thub seng.ge (son of the former, met Myang.ral (sic), Sa.skya founded in 1071) (ibid. f.20a lines 1-4);
  12. dPal.Idan lung.chen (married Gu.ge So.rta lhun.grub, daughter of rTse.lde) (ibid. f.20a line 4-f.20b line 2);
  13. rGyal.tshwa dbon.po Sang.rgyas rdo.rje (nephew of rTse.lde) (ibid. f.20b line 2-f.21b line 1);
  14. mkhas.btsun Cun.chen (ibid. f.21b line 1);
  15. Mar.lung Se.bo (ibid. f.21b line 1-26a line 2);
  16. Mar.lung Byang.chub seng.ge (b.1153).

(321) Mar.lung.pa's lineage thus filled the gap left by the disappearing Bon.po-s of Zhang.zhung. For example, *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* records the presence of a Bon.po master, Thon Dharma dbang.phyug from Mar.lung, at rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs in Pu.hrang after the collapse of Zhang.zhung and the persecution of Bon. Dharma dbang.phyug asked klu.rgyal.po Ma.dros, who used to appear to him in the form of a young boy grazing cattle on the shores of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho, to show himself in his real form, a request which the boy tried to refuse. The Bon.po master boasted of his unshakeability and the boy vanished, appropriately leaving a blue scarf with the Bon.po. Dharma dbang.phyug put it on his eyes but removed it from his right eye to see klu.rgyal.po Ma.dros in his true shape. The lord of Ma.pham manifested as a *naga* whose head was in the sky and his tail in the lake. Dharma dbang.phyug's eye was blinded by that vision (ibid. f.13a line 5-f.14a line 4: "Thon Dharma dbang.phyug 'khrungs/ de rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs su zhugs/ kyi'u dgar.po cig 'tsho.ba dang gtor chu 'bul.du rgyun.du yong.gin 'dug.pa/ de.la Thon.mis kyi'u khyod su (f.13b) yin/ ming ci zer/ rang.gzugs ji.'dra yod ston.cig gsungs.pas/ kho na.re/ nga klu Ma.dros rgyal.po bya.ba yin/ rang.gzugs stan.na slob.dpon.la bar.chad yod.pa zer.ro/ Thon.mis nga Bon.sku Kun.ru bzang.po'i ngang.la dus nam yang mi.g.yo'o/ de'i phyir bar.chad yong mi.nus.pas ston gsung.ngo/ de.ltar.na spyen.la 'di 'khri.bar zhus zer/ chu.dar sngon.po phul.nas mi.gnang gyur.ro/ re.zhig.nas sdug.sbrul nag.po kha.sna me dang du.ba 'phro zhing/ mgo'i nam.mkha'.la reg mjug.ma rgya.mtsho.nas ma.thon.pa cig byung.ngo/ der sbrul.gyi rkang.lag gzigs.na dgongs spyen.g.yas.gyi dar gsal.bas/ spyen.g.yas.pa shor.ro", "Thon Dharma dbang.phyug was born. He resided at rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs. A little white boy used to come to graze [cattle] and to fetch water for the *gtor.ma*-s. Thon.mi asked him: "Who are you? What is your name? Show me your true form", he said: "I am klu Ma.dros rgyal.po. If I show [myself in] my true form, this will cause [some] obstruction [to you], *slob.dpon*". Thon.mi said: "I have attained the sphere of Bon.sku Kun.ru bzang.po, [therefore] I am unshakeable. Hence, it is not possible that an obstruction will be caused [to me]". "If [you think] so, you better cover your eyes", [the boy] said [and] vanished, leaving behind a blue scarf. After a while, a vicious black snake with fire and smoke coming out of its mouth and nostrils appeared, the head reaching the sky and the tail into the lake. As [Thon.mi] removed the scarf from his right eye in order to see the true form (lit. *rkang.lag*: "legs and arms") of the serpent, his right eye was blinded"). *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* also sheds light also the political situation in Pu.hrang.stod during the same period (ibid. f.13b line 4-f.14a line 1): "De'i dus Mon Kho.nu'i rgyal.po/ O.ru.bha.tra ras zer.ba cig Ma.spang skor.du byon.pa/ sbrul.nag thug nas/ nad.du 'dze byung/ mo.rtsis byas.pas/ rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs na Bon.po cig zhugs 'dug.pas de bdan.drangs.na phan zer/ Thon.mi bdan.drangs/ (14a) Klu.'bum mdzad.pas mdze.nad.las grol.lo/ dbang yon.la rta.shab/ sPu.hrangs na chu.dags bcu.gnyis/ Gangs.ri na sTod.kyi gnas.gsum la.sogs.pa phul", "At that time, since Mon Khu.nu king O.ru.bha.tra ras (*raja*), who had gone for the circumambulation of Ma.spang, came across the black snake, he

caught the disease of leprosy. *Mo* (divination) [and] *rtsis* (astrology) were made. He was told to invite a Bon.po, resident of rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, who could be useful. He invited Thon.mi (Dharma dbang.phyug). Since [Thon.mi] performed Klu.'bum, [the king] was healed of the disease of leprosy. In gratitude for the *dbang* [he had received], [the king] awarded [Thon.mi] good horses, twelve watermills in sPu.hrang, the sTod.kyi gnas.gsum (i.e. gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, gSang.ba mchod.phug and mchod.rten Khong.seng) at Gangs.ri (Ti.se)". This episode shows that the king of Khu.nu had sovereignty over Ti.se and Pu.hrang, otherwise he could not have given hermitages and mills to Thon Dharma dbang.phyug. Mills in Pu.hrang were also donated to Tshal.pa Dharma bsod.nams, the second rTa.sga *gdan.sa*, by a king of Pu.hrang (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10b line 1): "Pu.rangs.su sa.cha mang.po phul/ c'u.thags rang yang bcu.bdun tsam.gyi sbad phul skad", "He (Dharma bsod.nams) was offered many places in Pu.rangs. It is said that he was also offered the ownership (*sbad* sic for *rbad*) of about seventeen of our own water mills"). This is a curious coincidence. Little can be deduced from it except that the mills must have been highly valued in Pu.hrang.smad, quite rare in the higher altitude 'Brog.pa lands of Pu.hrang.stod and Byang.thang, where cultivation seldom occurs. Mills were, as one can glean from both texts, a source of maintenance for religious exponents (the Bon.po master Dharma dbang.phyug) and communities (Tshal.pa rTa.sga.ba-s), and a major economic establishment in the area.

The sovereignty of Kho.nu (Khu.nu) rgyal.po O.ru bha.tra ras (*raja*) in Pu.hrang can be dated to around the third quarter of the 9th century, since this Khu.nu king met Thon Dharma dbang.phyug (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.13a line 4-f.14a line 3) who lived three generations before slob.dpon Thon Nyi.ma.'bum, a contemporary of the sTod.kyi mGon.gsum (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.14a line 5), and four generations after 'Thon.'dren mKhor.spungs, during whose life the persecution of Bon by Khri.srong lde.btsan occurred (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.12b lines 3-5; see the preceding note). A *terminus post quem* for the sovereignty of Khu.nu in Pu.hrang is the power vacuum left in sTod by the Yar.lung dynasty after Glang.dar.ma. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.441 line 21-p.443 line 6) confirms that mNga'.ris skor.gsum was still under the control of Glang.dar.ma when the *mkhas.pa mi.gsum* (dMar Shakya.mu.ne, g.Yo dGe.ba'i 'byung.gnas and gTsang Rab.gsal) fled his alleged persecution of Buddhism: "bTsun.pa gsum.pos gos.re.bas dril.nas sprang (p.442) chas.su zhugs.nas bros te/ chos 'Dul.ba dre'u'i khal.gcig bkal.nas mNga'.ris.stod nas lam.byung/ rgyal.khrims mi.gcig.pa'i sa.cha.nas bstan.pa dar.bar bya bsams nas/ gang.du yang ma.nus nas/ nyin.mo gab cing nub.mo byon/ dge.bsnyen Shes.rab go.cha bya.ba gcig.la ming Shakya shes.rab tu brags/ de.g.yog.la khrid.nas mDo.smad lho.ngos Be.ri'i sa.cha/ De'u.tsa tsho nas lam byas", "Having rolled up their robes and disguised themselves as beggars, the three monks went on the road to mNga'.ris.stod after loading a mule with a *khal* of 'Dul.ba books. They thought to reestablish the teachings in a land with a different *rgyal.khrims* ("secular order"), but were unable to do it anywhere. They hid by day and travelled by night. They changed the name of one Shes.rab go.cha into Shakya shes.rab. Bringing this one along as guide, they took the road to De'u.tsha district of the Be.ri region at the southern border of mDo.smad". The time when the Khu.nu king held sway over Ti.se and Pu.hrang probably occurred during the reign of 'Od.srung, but Khu.nu control of Pu.hrang did not last long. During the subsequent generation of the Thon.mi clan, a new political situation was established in sTod with the birth of the sKal.Mon communities and the arrival of people from the north (South Turkestan) (see above p.200 and n.287).

foundations of Bon.po temples and meditation retreats during the period of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty and thereafter, these are not found in sTod, for the Bon.po-s fleeing Yar.lung.pa oppression had long since left West Tibet proper to reestablish their tradition to the east of sTod (Byang.thang, g.Yas.ru Byang, gTsang, Glo.bo and Dol.po, and Khams)<sup>322</sup>.

The Bon.po-s who had remained in the lands of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, central Byang.thang and Glo.bo amounted to hermits belonging to the *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud*, who transmitted the meditative tradition of Bon.po *rDzogs.chen* through their lineage holders from Gyer.spung sNang.bzher lod.po in the second half of the 8th century onwards without interruption. The establishment of Bon.po monastic or meditation com-

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(322) dPal.Idan tshul.khrims in the twenty-second and last chapter of his *bstang.'byung* examines the holy places and monasteries of Bon, enumerating them in order of antiquity. He classifies the Bon.po institutes of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* according to the major Bon.po clans responsible for their construction. The earliest monasteries of the Bru clan were Ga.ra ngo.mang Bon.gnas in gTsang.stod, built in 996 in the time of Bru.chen Nam.mkha' g.yung.drung, and the main Bru gdan.sa g.Yas.ru dBen.sa.kha in water rat 1072, founded by Bru rje.btsun g.Yung.drung bla.ma (*dPal.Idan tshul.khrims bstang.'byung* p.495 lines 9-11: "Dang.po rgyal.rigs Bru.yi gdan.sa snga.ba yul La.stod gTsang.gi Gram.pa Ga.ra ngo.mang.gi Bon.gnas ni/ spyi.lo 996 skor Bru.chen Nam.g.yung.gi dus.na sngon.du chags.bzhin yod" and *ibid.* lines 18-19: "gTso.bo Bru.yi gdan.sa chen.mo gTsang g.Yas.ru'i Ba.gor dBen.sa.kha ni Bru rje.btsun g.Yung.drung bla.mas rab.byung dang.po'i chu.byi lor btabs"). They were in g.Yas.ru and gTsang. The earliest monastery of the dMu clan was 'Brig.gnyan.rtse Gad.dmar lha.khang, already existing in 960 during the time of dPal.mgon 'phrin.las, and 'Brig.tshams Mang.la.rtse dgon.pa connected with the textual rediscovery of gShen.chen Klu.dga' (*ibid.* p.497 line 21-p.498 line 2: "dMu.rigs gshen.gyi gdan.sa snga.ba g.Yon.ru'am Ru.lag lHo.yi gnas/ 'Brig.gnyan.rtse Gad.dmar.gyi lha.khang ni/ bstan.par phyi.dar thog.gshen dPal(p.498).mgon 'phrin.las.kyi.dus spyi.lo 960 su bzhugs.../ 'Brig.mtshams Mang.la.rtse'i dgon.pa ni sprul.pa'i sku.mchog gShen.chen Klu.dga'i gter.gnas yin"). They were in g.Yon.ru or in Southern Ru.lag. Later, Dar.liding was built in the Bo.dong E area by Ye.shes blo.gros in 1233 (*ibid.* p.498 lines 15-18: "gTso.bo gshen.gyi gdan.sa chen.mo gTsang g.Yas.ru'i bZhad dPal.Idan Dar.liding gser.sgo khra.mo'i gzhai.yas.khang ni/ gshen kun.mkhyen Ye.shes blo.gros.kyis spyi.lo 1233 rab.bzhi'i chu.sbrul lor phyas.btabs mdzad"). Nyi.ma bstan.'dzin in his *bstan.rtsis* dates its foundation to 1173, one *rab.byung* earlier (p.32 lines 15-17; see Kwaerne, "A Chronological Table of the Bon po" p.231). In 1016 Zhu.yas Legs.po established the earliest meditation place of his clan at sKyid.mkhar.brag in Nyang.stod (*ibid.* p.499 lines 13-16: "dBang.dan Zhu'i gdan.sa snga.ba Ru.lag Nyang.stod sKyid.mkhar.brag.gi sgrub.gnas ni bstan.pa phyi.dar.gyi mgo.bor dBang.Idan Zhu.g.yas Legs.po'i dus spyi.lo 1016 nas sgrub.gnas tshugs te ta.la'i bar lo dgu.brgya lnga.bcu lhag.skor song"). The earliest rMe'u temple was Gur.zhog dgon, constructed by rMe'u.ston lHa.ri gnyan.po in g.Yas.ru Shangs during the first *rab.byung* (1027-1086) (*ibid.* p.500 line 22-p.501 line 2: "mKhas.grub rMe'u tshang.gi (p.501) gdan.sa snga.ba ni/ g.Yas.ru Shangs Gur.zhog dgon.pa ni rab.byung dang.po'i nang rMe'u.ston lHa.ri gnyan.pos btabs"). The sPa-s made their first establishment sNye.nam Dwags.kyi Yang.dben in 992 (*ibid.* p.502 lines 10-11: "Grub.thob sPa.yi gdan.sa phyi.dar snga.ba sNye.nam Dwags.kyi yang.dben dang 'das.lo 922 skor"). As for the Khyung.po clan, Sog lCags.zam g.Yung.drung.gling monastery in Bar.Khams was constructed during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* at an unspecified date (*ibid.* p.503 lines 8-10: "Dam.pa Khyung.gi gdan.sa ni sTod.sMad.Bar gsum.la shin.ru mang.bas thams.cad smos mi.shes mod/ 'on te bstan.pa phyi.dar dus Bar.Khams la chags.pa'i dgon.sde che.ba gcig ni gong.smos Sog lCags.zam g.Yung.drung.gling yin").

munities belonging to the *Zhang zhung snyan.rgyud* occurred after the early period of Buddhist *bstan.pa phyi.dar*<sup>323</sup>.

The religious-cultural gap in Zhang.zhung was filled by people such as Rin.chen bzang.po, who, following the patterns of the ancient Zhang.zhung.pa regional culture, consisting in the system of relying on the major cultural centres of the Indo-Iranic borderlands in the west (Kha.che, O.rgyan, Bru.zha etc., collectively called sTag.gzigs by Bon.po sources), brought back to sTod the latest doctrines, such as *gsang.sngags gsar.ma*, well established in the cultural centres of the latter region (*in primis* Kha.che) during the late 10th and the early 11th century.

Thus external (the cultural situation in Zhang.zhung) an internal evidence (the study of relevant passages in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*) shows that Ye.shes.'od and the mNga'.ris skor.gsum intelligentsia undertook a campaign that pursued the goal of establishing their vision of pure religion and eradicating teachings they judged to be heretical.

That Ye.shes.'od and his major partners were in principle not ideologically opposed to doctrines of earlier times is apparent from the few examples that I wish to introduce at this stage. Proof that the attitude of the supreme masters of sTod, including that of the members of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty, was not as hostile towards the ancient culture of sTod as often is believed is found in an episode involving Rin.chen bzang.po. The episode is recorded in *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa* from *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung*, as well as in others sources, e.g. *gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.thar* and *Guru bKra.shis chos.'byung*<sup>324</sup>.

(323) Both the ancient *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* lineages (*stod.rgyud* and *smad.rgyud*, i.e. "upper or lower or western and eastern transmissions") continued uninterrupted from the 8th to the end of the 11th-early 12th century, when they were reformed by Yang.ston Shes.rab rgyal.mtshan (1077-1141) into the *byang.rgyud* and *lho.rgyud* ("southern and northern transmissions") with the participation of monks organized in meditation communities (see *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar passim*). bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag (*sNga.rabs Bod.kyi byung.ba brjod.pa'i 'bel.gtam lung.gi snying.po* p.48 line 14-p.50 line 4) lists the names of early *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* masters and their meditation caves, mainly located in the lands of West Tibet, which are derived from *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar*. Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan meditated at Brag.dmar chad.gshig, Ra.sangs Klu.rgyal at sPo.dmar, Ta.pi hri.tsa at sTag.thabs seng.ge'i brag, Ra.sangs Ku.ma.ra at Ne.rings, Gu.rib Lha.sbyin at Bya.tshang.gi gnas, Zhang.zhung Sad.ne ga'u at Dwang.ra g.Yu.bun, Gu.rib dPal.bzang at sGro.tsa.can.gyi brag. These are places in the nomadic lands known as 'Brong.pa [to the east of Gangs Ti.se]. Khyung.po bKra.shis rgyal.mtshan meditated at Sa.ti.phug in Zhang.zhung, Khyung.po Legs.sgom at mTsho.ri.do, Ma.hor sTag.gzig at Gangs Ti.se, Tshe.spungs Zla.ba rgyal.mtshan at Brag.rong dkar.po to the west of yul Ma.mig, Gyer.spungs sNang.bzher lod.po at Do.brag sha.ba.can of Dwa.rog mtsho.gling and at Sha.ba brag of sGo.mang ru.ba to the west of Byang gNam.mtsho, Pha.wa rGyal.gzig gsas.chung at Me.rgyung dkar.nag, dMu.shod Tram.chen.po at Shod.tram phug of rTa.sgo, dMu rGyal.ba blo.gros at Dwa.rog lcags.phug and Zang.zang Lha.brag, dpon.chen bTsan.po at Dwa.rog brag.

(324) *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdus.pa* in *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung* has the following account, in which the fact that *Pu.tra* was given to him by Byang.chub.'od is omitted (p.224 line 2-p.225 line 1): "Lan.gcig Bon.po dang 'gras te/ lo.chen.gyis Pu.tra la las bcol.bas 'gor ma.btub cing khog.la khad byung.ba



Byang.chub.'od gave the *Pu.tra ming.sring sgrub.thabs 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum* that he had rediscovered in bSam.yas to Rin.chen bzang.po. The latter devoted his attention to the work because it was in the language of Zhang.zhung. He considered the work to be of the greatest interest and translated it, except for the *mantra*-s, which he left in the ancient language of West Tibet.

la/ sngags rnam Zhang.zhung.gi skad.du bsgyur te/ las.sbyor byas.pas las.de 'grub.par byung/ de.phyin 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum Zhang.zhung.gi skad.du yod.pa yin gsung/ dus.phyis slob.dpon Padma bSam.yas su gter.du sbas.pa thon.pa la'ang de.bzhin.du byung.bas phyis.rab.la de.ltar byas.pas (p.225) phan.par mkhyen.pa yin ces gsungs", "For once he (Rin.chen bzang.po) [payed attention to] Bon.po [works], which [in general] he disliked. Lo.chen, as he was entrusted with them, deemed they were not worth spending time on, with the exception of *Pu.tra*. As he dedicated himself [to it], he achieved its translation except the *mantra*-s, as they were almost incomprehensible, having been [previously] translated [from Sanskrit] into the Zhang.zhung language. This is why it is said that '*Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum* are in the language of Zhang.zhung. Later, as it happened that [the copy] hidden as *gter* by slob.dpon Padma at bSam.yas was rediscovered, it thus became accessible. Having been similarly practised by the subsequent generations, it was considered to be particularly useful".

*Guru bKra.shis chos.'byung* (p.493 line 21-p.494 line 17): "lHa.btsun 'dis bSam.yas.kyi ka.ba'i chol.nas/ Pu.tra ming.sring.gi sgrub.thabs 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum gcig.tu dril.ba'i gdams.pa khyad.par.can.gyi skor rnam gter.nas sryan.drangs te/ 'di'i lo.rgyus Sa.skya'i mGon.po'i chos.'byung du/ slob.dpon Padma Bod du byon dus.su Pu.tra ming.sring.gi sgrub.skor rnam slob.dpon nyid dang/ btsan.po Khri.srong lde.btsan dang/ mkhan.po Bo.dhi.sa.twa dang/ slob.dpon (p.493) Bi.ma.mi.tra/ rGya.nag Ha.shang Ma.ha.ya.na/ blon.po Bran.ka dPal.seng la.sogs.pa bka'.bgros te/ ma.'ongs.pa.na bstan.pa srung.ma'i mtshon.char bse.sgrom smug.po'i nang.du bcug.nas smon.lam bka'.rgya dang bcas.pas bSam.yas.kyi ka.ba'i 'og.tu gter.du sbas/ Pu.tra ming.sring bSam.yas.kyi sgo.srung.du bskos.pas/ dus.phyis las.'phro dang skal.pa ldan.pa bka'.rtags 'dzin.pa'i rgyal.rigs.su sku.'khrungs.pa'i lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od.kyi khu.bo'i don.du dBus.gTsang na mar gser slong.la byon.pa'i dus/ gter.gyi kha.byang phyag.tu byung.bas/ dKon.mchog Ra.spung.ma la mchod.gtor chen.po phul zhing gsol.ba btab.nas btsal.bas/ Pu.tra'i sgrub.thabs ka.khol.mar grags.pa 'di gter.nas thon/ lo.tsa.ba chen.po Rin.chen bzang.po la gzig.su phul.bas mnyes.nas gzhan.la ma.spel.bar gdams/ phyis Dha.rma.pa.la la zhus.pa dang mthun.pa byung zhing/ 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum Zhang.zhung.gi skad.du 'dug.pa sogs.la nges.shes khyad.par.can skyes/ zhes dang/ yang lo.chen.gyis lan.gcig Bon.po dang 'gras te/ Pu.tra la.las bcol.bas 'gror ma.btub cing tshur.log.la khad byung.ba.la sngags rnam Zhang.zhung skad.du bsgyur te las byas.pas des 'grub.pa byung/ dus.phyis slob.dpon Padmas bSam.yas su gter.du sbas.pa thon.pa.la de.bzhin.du byung.bas phyi.rabs.la de.ltar byas.pas phan.par mkhyen.pa yin 'dug ces gsungs.so/ zhes.'byung/ deng.sang Mon.bu Pu.tra'i sgrub.thabs ka.khol.mar grags te/ lha.btsun.la lo.chen.gyis gsan de.la bla.ma Brag.steng.pas zhus/ des Mal.jo lo.tsa dang/ Mal.jos Sa.skya.pa brTse.ba.chen la gnang ste de.nas Sa.skya gong.ma lnga sogs.nas deng.sang bar.du bka'.lung rgyun ma.chad.par Sa.Ngor rnam.su bzhugs.so", "This *lha.btsun* (Byang.chub.'od) rediscovered from a pillar of bSam.yas the cycle of extraordinary teachings '*Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum* [written] on one scroll [which are] the *sadhana* of *Pu.tra ming.sring*. Its history is found in *Sa.skya mGon.po chos.'byung*. When slob.dpon Padma came to Tibet, *slob.dpon*, btsan.po Khri.srong lde.btsan, mkhan.po Bo.dhi.sa.twa, slob.dpon Bi.ma.mi.tra, rGya.nag Ha.shang Ma.ha.ya.na and blon.po Bran.ka dPal.seng (sic) discussed the *sadhana* cycle of *Pu.tra ming.sring*. In order to be a weapon for the protection of the teachings in the future, after putting [*Pu.tra*] inside a dark rhinoceros[-hid] box and sealing it with a prayer, they hid it as a treasure under a pillar at bSam.yas. As *Pu.tra ming.sring* was chosen to be the guardian of the door of bSam.yas, some time afterwards, lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od, who was born in a royal family and possessed the signs of a fortunate being and a karmic bond, when he went to dBus.gTsang to search downwards (eastwards) for gold for the sake of his uncle, having come across the *kha.byang* of the treasure, he made an

The episode has significant implications. *In primis*, it shows that neither the literature of Zhang.zhung nor of *bstan.pa snga.dar* were rejected by the exponents of *bstan.pa phyi.dar sTod.lugs*. The value of *Pu.tra* had been endorsed during *snga.dar* by masters no less than Guru Padma, Khri.srong lde.btsan, mkhan.po Bo.di.sa.twa, slob.dpon Bi.ma.la.mi.tra, Ha.shang Ma.ha.ya.na, and blon.po Bran.ka dPal (sic), who had all selected it to be the protector text of the door of bSam.yas and concealed it as *gter* there.

The fact that *Pu.tra ming.sring sgrub.thabs 'Bod.rbad.sad.gsum* was finally recognized to be derived from an orthodox tradition in Sanskrit as well as in other languages<sup>325</sup> reveals that ancient Zhang.zhung culture had access to classical Sanskrit literature.

The period in which Rin.chen bzang.po worked on the *Pu.tra sgrub.thabs* is equally significant. Guru bKra.shis says that Byang.chub.'od extracted *Pu.tra* from a pillar in bSam.yas when he came to dBus.gTsang to collect gold to ransom his *khu.bo Ye.shes.'od*. Byang.chub.'od's mission to dBus.gTsang took place in a time during which the royalty and head *bla.ma-s* of sTod again felt an urgency to introduce what was, in their view, the true spirit and letter in religious practices that led to the invitation of Jo.bo.rje. Despite the

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offering of big *gtor.ma-s* to dKon.mchog Ra.spung.ma and offered his prayers. As he looked around, he rediscovered this one called *Pu.tra'i sgrub.thabs ka.khol.ma*. As he gave it to lo.tsa.ba chen.po Rin.chen bzang.po to read, the latter was pleased and did not give its teachings to anyone else. Later, Dha.rma.pa.la requested them and was given them accordingly. He (Rin.chen bzang.po) was especially interested [in them] because *'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum* were written in the language of Zhang.zhung. Lo.chen also payed attention to Bon.po works for some time, which [in general] he disliked. As he was entrusted with them, he considered that they were not worth spending time on, with the exception on *Pu.tra*. He returned to it, having [worked] a little on it, this one (lo.chen) achieved its translation except its *mantra-s* which had been [previously] translated into the Zhang.zhung language. Since [the copy] which had been hidden as *gter* by slob.dpon Padma at bSam.yas was later rediscovered, it thus benefitted the subsequent generations. Therefore it is said that [this work] provided beneficial knowledge. At present, it is known as *Mon.bu Pu.tra'i grub.thabs ka.khol.ma*. Lo.chen received it from *lha.btsun*. Bla.ma Brag.steng.pa received it from the former. [It was given] by him to Mal.jo lo.tsa. Sa.skya.pa brTse.ba.chen obtained it from Mal.jo. [It was given] by the former to the Sa.skya gong.ma lnga. Until present, these teachings are found without interruption among the Sa[.skya.pa-s] [and] Ngor[.pa-s]".

The episode, possibly derived from an ancient source, seems to testify to the existence of the old Zhang.zhung language, a fact stubbornly denied in the Buddhist literature of later times. See also *gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.thar* (p.482 lines 1-2): "bSam.yas.kyi ka.ba'i chol.nas Pu.tra ming.sring.gyi sgrub.thabs 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum gcig.tu dril.ba'i gdam.pa khyad.par.can spyang.drangs.pa.la sgrub.thabs Ka.khol.mar grags te lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po nas rim.par brgyud", "[Byang.chub.'od] extracted from a pillar of bSam.yas the *sadhana* of *Pu.tra ming.sring* [called] *'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum*, which is an extraordinary instruction written on a single scroll. This is known as *sgrub.thabs Ka.khol.ma*. It was transmitted from master to master from lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po on".

(325) *Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdu.pa* in *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung* (p.225 lines 1-2): "Deng.sang Pu.tra'i 'Bod.rbad.bsad.gsum las Sam.si.kri.ta'i skad.kyi dag.lugs byed.pa dang/ skad.rigs du.ma byas", "At present, an authentic version of *Pu.tra'i 'Bod.'bad.bsad.gsum* is available in Sanskrit and in many related languages".

insistence on orthodoxy in West Tibet during this period, Rin.chen bzang.po for once did not refrain from working on a Bon.po text, as the sources say (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* in *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung*, *Guru bKra.shis chos.'byung*), and showed a scholarly interest in *Pu.tra* which guaranteed the preservation of the text.

Another example of the interaction between the old and new traditions in sTod is an episode involving sTag.sde Bon.ston Hum.'bar. He extracted the *gZa' Mon.pa Ke.ti gdams.skor shin.tu.zab.cing rno.myur tshan.che'i drag.sngags* from the rTa.mgrin statue in Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang<sup>326</sup>. This work was passed on to sTag.sde Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, who gave it to Pu.rang btsad.po lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, who was pleased to receive it, and continued its transmission<sup>327</sup>.

(326) See *Guru bKra.shis chos.'byung* (p.504 line 24-p.505 line 3): "sTag.sde'i Bon.ston Hum.'bar.gyis/ Gu.ru Padma 'byung.gnas.kyis mNga'.ris Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang.gi dPal rTa.mgrin.gyi thugs.kar gter.du sbas.pa'i gZa' Mon.pa Ke.ti'i gdams.skor shin.tu zab(p.505).cing rno.myur tshan.che'i drag.sngags rnam.sgdan.drangs.nas sTag.sde Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan la gnang/ des Pu.rang.gi rtsad.po lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od la phul.bas mnyes/ des gTsang sGyer.phu'i Klog.skya ston.pa.la gnang.ba yin 'dug.go", "As sTag.sde Bon.ston Hum.'bar rediscovered *gZa' Mon.pa Ke.ti'i gdams.skor shin.tu zab.cing rno.myur tshan.che'i drag.sngags* ("especially profound cycle of instructions on the planet Mon.pa Ke.ti, [containing] the wrathful *mantra-s/Tantra* of the great section on being sharp and swift"), which had been hidden by Gu.ru Padma 'byung.gnas in the heart of the dPal rTa.mgrim of mNga'.ris Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, he gave it to sTag.sde Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan. He [in turn] gave it to Pu.rang rtsad.po lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, who was pleased [to receive it]. He gave it to Klog.skya ston.pa from gTsang sGyer.phu"; *gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.thar* (p.481 lines 3-5) says: "Gu.ru Hum.'bar ni sTag.sder Bon.gshen.gyi rigs.su 'khrungs/ rten sngags.pa/ des mNga'.ris Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang.gi dPal rTa.mgrin.gyi thugs.ka.nas gZa'.bdud Mon.pa Ke.ta'i gdams.skor shin.tu zab.cing rno.myur tshan.che'i drag.sngags rnam.sgdan.drangs.nas sTag.sde'i Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan la gnang/ des Pu.rang.gi btsad.po lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od la phul.bas mnyes/ des gTsang sGyer.phu'i Klog.skya ston.pa la gnang", "Gu.ru Hum.'bar was born at sTag.sde in a family of Bon *gshen-s*. He was a *sngags.pa*. Having rediscovered the *gZa'.bdud Mon.pa Ke.ta'i gdams.skor shin.tu zab.cing rno.myur tshan.che'i drag.sngags* from the heart of the dPal rTa.mgrin statue of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, he gave it to sTag.sde Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan. He [in turn] gave it to the Pu.rang king lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, who was pleased. He handed it over to gTsang sGyer.phu Klog.skya ston.pa". See also *Kun.grol grags.pa bstan.'byung* (p.386 line 4-p.387 line 2).

(327) The next lineage holder was gTsang sGyer.phu Klog.skya ston.pa, who is described in *Deb.ther sngon.po* as the sponsor of lHo.brag Mar.pa. Klog.skya helped Mar.pa lo.tsa.ba to go to India for the first time saying that, being very old, he would not see him again (ibid. p.484 lines 7-11: "Las.stod du Klog.skya Jo.sras.kyis zhwa.lham tshun.chad.nas gser dang bcas.pa'i rdzong.ba mdzad/ nga rGya.gar nas log.dus sna.len mdzad.dgos gsungs.pas/ nga rgas.pas khyed dang e.mjal mi.shes", "In Las.stod, Klog.skya Jo.sras donated gold and even a hat and a pair of shoes [to Mar.pa lo.tsa.ba]. As [Mar.pa] said: "When I return from India, you must receive me", [he replied]: "I am old. I do not know if I will see you again"."; *Blue Annals* p.399-400). Mar.pa, however, met him upon his second return (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.487 lines 9-10: "De.nas Las.stod du Klog.skya ston.pas bsnyen.bkur byas", "Then in Las.stod, Klog.skya ston.pa payed his respects to him"; *Blue Annals* p.402). I do not have the date of Mar.pa's first departure for India, but a brief comment can be made. Mar.pa (b.1012) returned from his first trip to India when he was forty-two, i.e. in 1053 (ibid. p.486 lines 13-14: "De'i tsho lo bzhi.bcu rtsa.gnyis.pa yin"; *Blue Annals* p.402). Klog.skya was already old when Mar.pa left for 'Phags.pa.yul. In all likelihood, this makes Klog.skya a younger contemporary of Ye.she.'od and thus it is possible that Ye.shes.'od gave him texts.

This is a rare case in the literature of a Bon.po *gter.ston* transmitting his rediscoveries to a lineage which included lha.bla.ma. Ye.shes.'od actually showed interest in the preservation of material rediscovered by Bon.ston Hum.'bar which had enriched the Zhang.zhung culture, showing once again that there was no absolute intolerance of its tradition.

Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* to the *sngags.pa-s*, which outlines his religious position, indicates that the underlying principle applied by *bstan.pa phyi.dar sTod.lugs* was the re-establishment of the true spirit of the Tantra-s and to eradicate what was opined to be corrupt practices derived from *bstan.pa snga.dar*. In fact, Sog.bzlog.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan felt it necessary to clarify that Rin.chen bzang.po objected to the malpractice of the Tantra-s and never opposed *rDzogs.chen per se*. In Sog.bzlog.pa's opinion, *rDzogs.chen* was not rejected by Ye.shes.'od and Zhi.ba.'od either, even though they refuted what were in their view heretical interpretations of the Tantra-s. In Ye.shes.'od's view, these practitioners disguised *sngags.log* as *rDzogs.chen*<sup>328</sup>.

To sum up my view of the supposed assassination of the Bon.po-s by the Gu.ge establishment, the religious intolerance of members of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum family led to a persecution, but it was directed against any heretical practitioners, Bon.po-s and *chos.log.pa-s* alike. Their alleged heresies were dealt with in the same way, in as much as their exponents had to be brought back to what was believed to be the true sense of the practices in a period when new Tantric views were formulated in India and introduced to Tibet. Bon.po works deemed appropriate were studied and transmitted, proving that it was not an indiscriminate persecution. Bringing heretics back to the right path, to which the other passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* refers when discussing the Bon.po-s and *chos.log.pa-s*

(328) Sog.bzlog.pa *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* (p.388 line 5-p.389 line 1): "Yang mkhas.grub Rin.chen bzang.po.yis/ rDzogs.pa chen.po'i grub.mtha' bkag/ zhes.pa.la/ 'di.yang brdzun.tshig 'ba'.zhig ste/ lo.chen sngags.log bsun.'byin du/ gsang.sngags 'chol.par spyod.pa rnam bkag.pa ma.rtoqs rDzogs.chen la/ dgag.pa ci.yang mi.snang.ngo/ yang Jo.bo.rje chen.po A.ti.sha/ Bod.yul gdan.drangs zhus.nas ni/ pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od dang ni/ lha.btsun Ye.shes.'od.kyis kyang (p.389) da.lta las.zad rgyal.po'i khirms nyams.pas/ sems.can mang.po log.pas bslus.pa 'dra/ log.lta phyin.ci log.gi sar 'thogs.pas/ rDzogs.chen ming brags sngags.logs Bod.du dar".

Sog.bzlog.pa's statement that Ye.shes.'od did not oppose *rDzogs.chen*, but the heretical Tantra-s disguised as *rDzogs.chen*, comes from a correct reading of the passage concerning this in the *bka'.shog* issued by Ye.shes.'od to the *sngags.pa-s* of dBus (*Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.441 line 1: "sPyir rDzogs.chen ming brags chos.log Bod.du dar"), which S.Karmay translates: "False doctrines called rDzogs-chen are flourishing in Tibet" ("The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" p.156 line 32 and p.154 line 6. In this article he has painstakingly reconstructed Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* from Sog.bzlog.pa's *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* in what seems to be its original form). One should read: "In general, heresies are flourishing in Tibet under the name *rDzogs.chen*". Karmay's translation of the passage and his dismissive interpretation of the *bka'.shog* as a whole led tibetologists in the past to see Ye.shes.'od as a bigot. I believe that the real sense of the *bka'.shog* as a pledge to avoid dubious practices in favour of a correct interpretation of the Tantra-s has been overlooked. Sog.bzlog.pa informs the reader that it was Jo.bo.rje who opposed *rDzogs.chen* (*Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.473 line 2: "Khyad.par.du rDzogs.pa chen.po lta.ba mu.stegs.pa dang 'dres.pas mi.rung zhes gsung.pa 'di", "[Jo.bo.rje] declared that since the doctrinal system of *rDzogs.pa chen.po* derives from *mu.stegs.pa* [views], he held it to be inappropriate").

(this time mentioned together), rules out the alleged mass-murder. Bon.po sources do not record any such destruction of Bon at the hands of the Buddhists. On this basis, it is unlikely that this alleged extermination ever took place.

*The sequence of phases of bstan.pa phyi.dar promoted by Ye.shes.'od*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51-59, and 68)

The section concerning *bstan.pa phyi.dar* is not well structured in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*<sup>329</sup>. Events previously introduced recur in the text without any indication being made of the fact that they have already been mentioned, making the assessment of the phases of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* a complex task. Gathering references from different parts of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* allows one to outline them in historical sequence. This reconstruction is based on evidence provided by the text and on arguments based on other sources. In chronological order, they were as follows.

1) In 986 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.68 lines 2-3), Ye.shes.'od issued a *bka'.shog chen.mo* instructing those of all walks of life in his kingdom to follow dam.pa'i Chos (ibid. p.54 lines 3-7). The event marked the beginning of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in mNga'.ris skor.gsum.

2) In 988, the text (*yi.ge*) of the *chos.rtsigs* (*gtsigs*) which introduced *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 line 3-p.56 line 12) was circulated by Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung (by Ye.shes.'od in another passage, ibid. p.55 lines 6-7) to every district in the land. This proves that the *chos.rtsigs*, which Ye.shes.'od's entourage sworn to uphold with a solemn oath (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.56 lines 7-12), was issued in the same year. By the laws he issued, it became mandatory for Ye.shes.'od to leave the throne. The major part played by Zhang.rung on that occasion may be explained by Ye.shes.'od's entering religion and consequent abdication (see below p.234). Thus the minister's contribution has two significant implications: one institutional, showing that some acts were delegated to the high ranks of the administration, the other exceptional, deriving from the situation of the day.

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(329) The phases of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod are here listed according to the sequence found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in order to show that they are not arranged chronologically: 1) In 988, blon.po Zhang.rung announced the plan to reintroduce Chos to sTod to the local notables. The text of the *chos.rtsigs* was widely circulated to the population to make known the laws outlined in the edict (p.53 lines 6-7). 2) In 986, Ye.shes.'od issued the *bka'.shog chen.mo* to his subjects instructing them to follow Buddhism (p.54 lines 3-7 and p.68 lines 2-3). 3) In 996, temples (Tho.ling etc.), monastic and meditation communities were founded (p.53 lines 7-8 and p.54 lines 8-18). 4) Bon.po-s were murdered and their books cast into rivers (p.54 line 19-p.55 line 2). 5) *Chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* were enforced by means of the *chos.rtsigs* sworn on Ha.se 'Phags.pa (p.55 line 7-p.56 line 12) and its text was circulated among the population (p.55 lines 6-7). 6) *Chos.log.pa* (*sngags.log.pa*) heresies were dealt with (p.57 lines 15-19).

3) The next phase was the tackling of the *chos.log.pa* heresies. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* records the promulgation of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* after dealing with the assassination of the Bon.po-s. Does this mean that they were implemented after the crushing of the Bon.po-s? Even if the account of the extermination of the Bon.po-s is considered reliable, which is highly questionable, the chronological sequence in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is especially faulty when the text discusses these events.

The assessment of the period in which the effort to eradicate heretical Buddhism took place has to be based on *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, which is enlightening on the subject. Lo.chen's defeat of the *dge.bshes* in Pu.hrang who indulged in heretical practices occurred between 987, when Rin.chen bzang.po came back from his first sojourn in Kha.che and rGya.gar, and 996, when the temples are said to have been founded<sup>330</sup>. The episode is a clear instance of the conversion of a *chos.logs.pa*, and furthermore provides an indication of the period in which such events took place. Thus it was only after the laws were issued that deviant practices were dealt with.

4) The phase concluding the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was the foundation of the early temples of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 7-8 and p.54 lines 8-12).

Monastic communities were established, divided into those devoted to learning and debating as well as those devoted to meditation (ibid. p.54 lines 17-18). This is a statement showing how a fundamental principle of *phyi.dar* in sTod was put into practice, according to which Tantrists had to follow *Vinaya* rules to maintain the purity of the tradition<sup>331</sup>.

(330) Rin.chen bzang.po's defeat of the heretic master in Pu.hrang is placed in his biography after his return to sTod and his discovery that his father had died during the thirteen years he spent in Kha.che and rGya.gar (975-987). *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.86 lines 3-5) says: "Kha.che nas Khyu.wang du rkang.gyogs.kyis byon.pa zhag.drug.la sleb.bo/ yab ni sngon.du grongs.nas mi.bzhugs", "He went from Kha.che to ([his native place] Khyu.wang by swift-walking. He arrived in six days. As his father had died earlier, he was not there [to attend his death]". His victory over the levitating *dge.bshes* is followed in the biography by various episodes which eventually led to the foundation of the first temples in 996.

(331) Sog.bzlog.pa *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* (p.472 line 6-p.473 line 1) says: "Rab.tu byung.ba dang sngags(p.473).pa rnam.s.kyi kyang 'Dul.ba'i khrims bsrungs", "Monks and *sngags.pa-s* were to follow the laws of 'Dul.ba". Under Dharma.pa.la's direction, his three disciples Sa.dhu.pa.la, Gu.na.pa.la and Pradznya.pa.la launched a campaign of ordinations to the *dge.slong* vow"; *Ngor chos. 'byung* (p.264 lines 3-4) reads: "Khong.gis mkhan.po mdzad nas/ dge.slong Sa.dhu.pa.la dang/ jo.bo Gu.na.pa.la dang/ dge.slong Pradznya.pa.la gsum bsnyen.par rdzogs", "He (Dharma.pa.la) was the *mikhan.po* [and] dge.slong Sa.dhu.pa.la, jo.bo Gu.na.pa.la and dge.slong Pradznya.pa.la carried out ordinations to the *dge.slong* vow". Ordinations were deemed to have been the necessary step in promoting the establishment of sTod. 'Dul and the restoration of orthodoxy in Buddhism. In this light, Ye.shes.'od's taking vows to set an example and favour the diffusion of 'Dul.ba in accordance with his *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* conforms to the religious climate that he himself had created.

The temples and the activity which led to their construction are more or less common knowledge. A few further facts regarding these temples will be discussed below, but a passage in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 line 3-7) already cited, has to be reintroduced here for the insight which it provides into the earliest building phase undertaken by Ye.shes.'od: "At that time, the Gu.ge sPu.hrang Mar.yul *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s*, the *btsun.chen-s*, the *bla.zhang.blon-s*, these three, [and] the most notable subjects were gathered. [Ye.shes.'od] made a great assignment of duties (*bskos.chen*) to [these] knowledgeable people. As each of them was given the responsibility for the laws (*bka'.khrims*) appropriate to those circumstance as well as for [those of the earlier] *bka'.shog.chen.mo*, [these orders] were circulated in every direction... Moreover, in Pu.hrangs, at Kha.char Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi (sic) grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang a statue of Byams.pa was made..."

To promote the foundation of the earliest mNga'ris skor.gsum temples, Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog.chen.mo* of 986, marking the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, was again circulated, accompanied by new orders and assignments.

In this passage, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* shows that a community of spiritual masters and monks of Gu.ge Pu.hrang and Mar.yul was already existing in 996. Were they survivors of *bstan.pa snga.dar* or pioneers of *phyi.dar*? Given the *bstan.pa phyi.dar* reform of the Buddhism prevalent in Tibet, it is likely that they were pioneers of the new doctrines since they had already found fertile ground in sTod following the 986 *bka'.shog.chen.mo*.

The date of this episode derives from the fact that, immediately before this passage, the text (p.53 lines 18-19) says that Rin.chen bzang.po was again sent to Kha.che, this time to collect literature and to summon artists. Lo.chen left for the second time in 996. The authoritative assignments of duties that led to the building of the early temples were therefore made by Ye.shes.'od in that year. This indirect evidence corroborates Ngag.dbang grags.pa's statement that the early mNga'ris skor.gsum temples were founded in fire monkey 996, for he dates Tho.ling to this year and provides enough information for one to do the same for the others.

A subsequent phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was marked by another appeal of Ye.shes.'od to his subjects (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.59 lines 10-18): "Bla.ma (Ye.shes.'od) said: "I am pleased to say that the *chos.rtsigs* is excellently diffused and safeguarded throughout the kingdom". In antiquity, king gZas.gtsang gave five hundred youths of Shakya race to gZhon.nu don.grub. Similarly, from mNga'ris skor.gsum, as two hundred youths were gathered, who had considerable wisdom, bright intelligence, diligent mind, good heart, faith in Buddhism and fondness for the triple jewel, altogether two hundred, they were delivered on the path of liberation in the footsteps of [Ye.shes.'od's] two sons (De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza). Consequently, one hundred from Gu.ge, forty from sPu.hrang, thirty from Mar.yul, thirty from Pi.ti, altogether two hundred, were gathered".

Given that the flower of the youth of mNga'ris skor.gsum had to follow the example set by De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza, the two sons of Ye.shes.'od who had been ordained, a conservative time frame for this new phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* is that it started after the dragon year 1016, which is when the younger brother Na.ga.ra.dza took the

*dge.slong* vow (see below p.241). This date serves as a *terminus post quem* for Ye.shes.od's appeal to the youth of his kingdom to adopt Chos.

Greater precision is, however, possible. The episode is introduced in the text at the time when Ye.shes.'od approached death and wished to bequeath his last orders before dying. The text says that Ye.shes.'od, feeling that death was upon him, gave his last *bka'.lung* ("order") pertaining to the *chos.rtsigs* to his subjects. Elsewhere (p.60 lines 6-9), *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that Na.ga.ra.dza received, at the time of his elder brother De.ba.ra.dza's death (in 1023), a *bka'.lung* from his father instructing him to safeguard Buddhism in his brother's stead. Both references to an order that Ye.shes.'od gave to Na.ga.ra.dza and to his subjects exhorting them to become monks pertain to the same *bka'.lung* issued by lha.bla.ma before he died. I have already assessed the date of Ye.shes.'od's death as wood rat 1024. Since the last *bka'.lung* of Ye.shes.'od and his death occurred in the years 1023 and 1024, the new phase of temple foundations has to be placed not long after these years.

The time of these foundations shows that the early phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was over and that, just before his death, Ye.shes.'od was preparing to inaugurate a new phase of temple building in his lands, which *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* confirms as having taken place soon after his death, when lHa.lde and Byang.chub.'od assigned minor localities to Rin.chen bzang.po for that purpose<sup>332</sup>. Although not explicitly stated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I believe that the two hundred young men entering religion must have been connected with this new phase of monastic foundations planned by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family, and that they were intended to be the incumbents of these establishments. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not indicate to which temples these youths were assigned.

### *The date of Ye.shes.'od's abdication and becoming lha.btsun* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.56-57)

The date 988 for the issuing of Ye.shes.'od's *chos.rtsigs* helps to fix the year in which he left the secular throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang and took vows<sup>333</sup>. Ngag.dbang grags.pa (*mNga'.ris*

(332) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.95 line 4-p.95 line 2): "lHa.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od snyung.bar gnas nas/ myur.du zhal.mjal.du byon.pas la/ snyung.gzhi drag.po gcig.gi zin nas zhal ma.mjal.lo/ gdung.mchod Ngan.song sbyongs.ba la.sogs.pa ni/ lo.tsa (p.96).ba khong.rang.gis mdzad.do/ 'bul.ba ni bla.chen.po lHa.lde/ bla.chen.po Byang.chub sems.dpa'i yul chung.ngu nyi.shu rtsa.gcig phul", "Since lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od had fallen ill, having gone quickly to see him, he could not meet him because he had been seized by a fatal illness. As for the funerary rites, lo.tsa.ba himself performed the *Ngan.song sbyongs.ba*. As for donations [he received in those circumstances], bla.chen.po lHa.lde and bla.chen.po Byang.chub sems.dpa' (Byang.chub.'od) gave him twenty-one minor localities".

(333) When sources specify the period in which lha.bla.ma left the secular throne, they do so by introducing the same formula. See, e.g., *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.69 lines 2-5 and above n.245); *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*



(p.216 lines 7-10): “Yab 'Khor.re'i sku.tshe.smad la/ yab.mes.kyi yig.tshang gzigs.pas/ thugs.skyo nas/ gong.ma'i cha.srol bzhin/ Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa dar.bar bzhed.pa la/ rab.tu.byung”, “In the later part of his life, the father 'Khor.re, having read the documents of his ancestors, became ordained in order to diffuse the Buddhist teachings according to the tradition”; *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (p.243 lines 15-17: “Srong.nge sku.tshe'i stod.la btsun.mo khab.tu bzhes.pas sras.gnyis 'khrung.pa'i Na.ga.ra.tsa dang/ Dhe.ba.ra.tsa'o/ sku.tshe'i smad.la rab.tu.byung nas/ lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od du mtshan gsol”, “In the earlier part of his life, since Srong.nge took a queen in marriage, the two sons born to them were Na.ga.ra.tsa and Dhe.ba.ra.tsa. In the later part of his life, as he became ordained, he took the name lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od”); *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.435 lines 2-4): “Srong.nge dang.por khab.zhes.pa'i sras Na.ga.ra.dza dang De.wa.ra.dza gnyis yin/ phyis yab.mes.kyi yig.tshang gzigs.pas thugs.skyo.nas rab.byung mdzad”, “The sons of Srong.nge, who first married, were Na.ga.ra.dza and De.wa.ra.dza. Later, after reading the documents of his ancestors, as he was tired [of wordly life], he became ordained”; *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po gdung.rabs* (p.74 lines 14-15) has a similar formula. These sources, therefore, do not help to date the event.

Normally the reason given for Ye.shes.'od's ordination amounts to his wish to practise Buddhism and revive the customs of his ancestors. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* and the *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* provide two less conventional versions. The former text refers to debased morality in Mon.yul which caused him to reject wordliness (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.459 lines 1-9: “bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras Kho.re dang Srong.nge byon/ Kho.re sku.tshe stod.la btsun.mo bzhes rgyal.srid bskyangs/ de.la sras De.ba.ra.dza dang/ Na.ga.ra.dza gnyis 'khrungs/ sku.tshe smad.la Mon.yul na bslu.rkun yod zer/ des rkyen byas.nas thugs zhen.pa log ste/ 'jig.rten.la skyo.ba skyes/ dam.pa'i chos.la dad.pa skyes.nas sngon mes.dbon rnam.s.bzhis dam.pa'i chos dar.bar byas.pa/ Glang.dar.mas snubs.pa gso.ba dang yab.mes.kyi rjes snyegs.pa Bod.la phan gtags.pa'i phyir rgyal.srid gcung.po Srong.nge la grad nas/ khong.rang.gis khong.rang rab.tu.byung”, “Kho.re and Srong.nge were born as bKra.shis.mgon's sons. In the earlier part of his life, Kho.re had wives and ruled the country. He had two sons: De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza. In the later part of his life, it is said that cheating and stealing were [prevalent] in Mon.yul. He was appalled [to hear] about this. He became disenchanted with wordly matters. Faith in religion grew in him. His four (?) *mes.dbon-s*, who had faith in Buddhism, diffused the noble teachings, which were [later] persecuted by Glang.dar.ma. In order to restore [them and] to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors for the benefit of Tibet, he gave power to his younger brother Srong.nge and became ordained by himself”). The reference to cheating and stealing in Mon.yul roughly corresponds to the debased ethics of the Tibetans during the period before *bstan.pa phyi.dar* criticised in blon.po Zhang.rung's speech to the mNga'.ris skor.gsum notables found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 1-5). A very different assessment is met with in the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*. *lDe'u Jo.sras* (p.146 lines 20-p.147 line 1) reads: “sKu.tshe stod.la sras mi.mnga'.nas skyo.ba skyes te cung.po.la rgyal.srid byin nas/ bslab.pa mchod.rten dang gsung.rabs.la blangs.nas rab.tu.(147)byung”, “Since he did not have any issue in the early part of his life, he was disheartened and left royal power to his younger brother. As for his ordination, he took vows [by himself] after assembling *mchod.rten-s* and collections of books”. *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 9-11) has: “sKu.tshe stod.la sras mi.mnga'/ skyo.ba skyes.nas rgyal.srid gcung.la byin/ bslab.pa gsum.rab mchod.rten.la blangs nas/ rab.tu byung”, “Since he did not have any issue in the early part of his life, he was disheartened and left royal power to his younger brother. As for his ordination, he took vows [by himself] after assembling *mchod.rten-s* and collections of books”). This is a historical oddity. If Ye.shes.'od had abdicated in favour of his brother before the birth of his sons, he could not.

*rgyal.rabs* p.56 lines 12-17) says that Ye.shes.'od set a personal example to his subjects by abdicating in favour of Khor.re to encourage the giving of priority to religion, as sanctioned by the code of laws of the *chos.rtsigs*. According to what is gleaned from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, Ye.shes.'od was thus succeeded by Khor.re in the rat year 988<sup>334</sup>.

The fact that his younger son Na.ga.ra.dza was born in the rat year 988 (see below p.241) is useful in confirming the year of Srong.nge's leaving the secular throne and becoming lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. All sources agree that he took vows after his sons were born (see below n.333), which cannot have been before the rat year 988.

After promulgating his *chos.rtsigs*, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* adds that "as he (Ye.shes.'od) gave this order [that he was abdicating] to [his] three offspring, the [two] brothers and the sister, these three (*lcam.sring.gsum*, i.e. De.ba.ra.dza Na.ga.ra.dza and lHa'i me.tog), placed this order on the crown of their head" (p.56 lines 17-18). This is significant, for Ye.shes.'od's abdication removed his sons from the succession to the secular throne, which passed to Khor.re and his progeny. It is unknown whether the inclination of Ye.shes.'od's offspring for religion was spontaneous. All sources say that they preferred Chos to secular power. As a matter of fact, I am unable to say to what extent their diminished status, resulting from Ye.shes.'od's decision to become a monk, denying them the opportunity to rule, led to their taking vows.

It is said that Ye.shes.'od's offspring followed him when he left the throne for the *dgon.pa* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.57 lines 8-9). This would make De.ba.ra.dza, Na.ga.ra.dza and lHa'i me.tog's entering religion contemporary with Ye.shes.'od's abdication in 988. This cannot be the case, for Na.ga.ra.dza was only ordained to the *dge.bsnyen* vow eleven years later in 998 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 5-6).

Khor.re must have reigned for some ten years since *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* says that lHa.lde was performing actions typical of a king around 996 (see below p.262).

as a monk, have had them later on. If the passage were to be interpreted in a different way (that he abdicated because his sons did not rule, which is in any case an incorrect reading), it would lead to another absurdity, i.e. that his two sons were ordained before him. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides ample indication that Ye.shes.'od's ordination predated that of his sons.

(334) A few texts, among them *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* (p.73 lines 12-13), wrongly assign Ye.shes.'od's ordination to 1016 ("Des.na lha.bla.ma rab.tu.byung.ba me.pho.'brug.gi lo.di", "Therefore this fire male dragon year (1016) [is when] lha.bla.ma became monk"). As said above (see n.261), adoption of this mistaken date, which comes too late in lha.bla.ma's life, is due to a wrong assessment of the entry in bSod.nams rtse.mo's *bstan.rtsis* in *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo*, in which it was not Ye.shes.'od who took vows, but his son lHa.'khor.btsan/Na.ga.ra.dza (see above p.183 and n.257). A modern work contains the same appraisal without mentioning its source (Chab.spel Tshe.brtan phun.tshogs and Nor.brang O.rgyan, *Bod.kyi lo.rgyus g.yu'i phreng.ba (stod.cha)* p.551 line 21-p.552 line 1: "dGung.lo lnga.bcu.pa spyi.lo (p.552) 1016 lo yab.sras gsum.ka rtags rang.gis blangs", "When he was fifty in 1016, the father (Ye.shes.'od) and his sons, the three of them, took vows by themselves").

*Ye.shes.'od's bka'.shog to the sngags.pa-s of dBus*

The well known *bka'.shog* sent to the *sngags.pa-s* of dBus is signed by Srong.nge under the name of lha.bla.ma, king of Pu.hrang, proving that he had already become a monk when he wrote it<sup>335</sup>. If the reference to himself as king of Pu.hrang is taken *ad litteram*, Ye.shes.'od would have been a ruling king-monk and thus would have retained secular power for some time after he took vows. This would have manifestly contravened the laws of the *chos.rtsigs* that he issued, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.55 lines 7-9) says that the code of laws of lha.bla.ma proclaimed the separation of secular and religious rule in *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*, and that different members of the royal family had to hold the two thrones. Only the heir apparent to the secular throne was not to enter religion, and only were there no successor to the secular throne did a royal monk have to become the secular ruler. This was not the case during the time of lha.bla.ma, since these rules were implemented by his abdication from the secular throne in favour of Khor.re. In this light, it is hardly possible that Ye.shes.'od could have held both thrones simultaneously for any length of time.

The signing of the *bka'.shog* as the king of Pu.hrang seems thus to be a matter of pure prestige, and indicates a wish to attribute more authority to his views. It is evident that he retained his royal status after taking vows and that he was regarded as the religious king of his land. Like his successors, he was respected in secular matters despite having become a monk. Thus, his describing himself in the *bka'.shog* as the king of Pu.hrang, despite his abdication, comes as no surprise.

A glimpse of the religious situation in the days of Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* is given by the fact that he addressed his ordinance to the *sngags.pa-s* of dBus. It is significant that the *bka'.shog* was not issued to those of sTod. This shows that the debased Tantric practices condemned by Ye.shes.'od had already been refuted in sTod at the time of issue of his ordinance, for otherwise Ye.shes.'od would have also addressed his appeal to the heretics of his kingdom. This leads me to believe that, by the time Ye.shes.'od issued his *bka'.shog*, *bstan.pa phyi.dar* had already been introduced in sTod, superseding the allegedly degraded interpretation of the old Tantra-s. It is therefore likely that the *bka'.shog* was issued after 986 and more precisely after 988, since Ye.shes.'od, signing it under his ordained monk's name, could not have done so before the year in which he took vows.

The possibility that heretical practices were confined to dBus and did not affect sTod has to be discounted on the basis of the evidence provided by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.51

(335) Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog* opens with the following words (Sog.bzlog.pa, *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.438 lines 1-2): "Pu.hrang.kyi rgyal.po lha.bla.ma'i zhal.mnga'.nas/ Bod.yul dBus.kyi sngags.pa rnam.sla brdzangs", "By order of the Pu.hrang.kyi king lha.bla.ma sent to the *sngags.pa-s* of dBus [in] the land of Tibet". It is signed as follows (ibid. p.443 line 6): "Pu.hrang.gi rgyal.po lha.bla.mas Bod.kyi sngags.pa rnam.sla brdzangs.pa rdzogs.so", "[The *bka'.shog*] sent to the *sngags.pa-s* of Tibet by the Pu.hrang.kyi king lha.bla.ma is concluded"; see also S.Karmay, "The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" (p.155 and p.157 (Tibetan text), p.153 and p.155 (transl.)).

lines 15-18) and the famous episode of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring po* (p.86 line 5-p.87 line 4) mentioned above, in which Rin.chen bzang.po, after returning to sTod in 987, defeated the *chos.log.pa dge.bshes* in Pu.hrang, which indicates that heretical cults were still popular in sTod after lha.bla.ma had introduced *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in 986. The invitation of Jo.bo.rje, called to West Tibet by Byang.chub.'od to reintroduce orthodoxy more than fifty years later, the reason for his invitation according to almost every source dealing with the Bengali master's activity in sTod, indicates that cults deemed heretical by the leadership of mNga'.ris skor.gsum were far from eradicated by then<sup>336</sup>.

(336) As is well known, the alleged misdeeds of A.tsarya dmar.po gSang.ba shes.rab, who was a Shivaite adept from Udiyana converted to Buddhism by the Kha.che master Rin.chen rdo.rje, are said to have been behind the eagerness of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty to invite a great master to restore orthodoxy. A.tsarya dmar.po translated *gSang.sngags Thig.le'i skor* and is claimed to have caused many ordained monks to adopt the life of householders. Practices deriving from the system of A.tsarya dmar.po, which were those criticised by Ye.shes.'od in his *bka'.shog*, were still popular in the days of Byang.chub.'od, in particular *shyor.sgrol*. Sources vary from condemnation of A.tsarya dmar.po's activity as in the case of Las.chen Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, author of *bKa'.gdams rnam.par thar.pa bKa'.gdams chos.'byung gsal.ba'i sgron.me*, to endorsement in the case of 'Gos gZhon.nu.dpal (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.1221 lines 5-9: "Jo.bo.rje mNga'.ris su byon.pa'i snga.rol nye.bar A.tsa.ra dmar.po zhes kyang byal O.di.yan.gyi pandi.ta Shes.rab gsang.ba zhes.by.a.ba Kha.che Rin.chen rdo.rje'i slob.mar gyur.pa zhid.la brten.nas Phyag.rgya chen.po thig.le la.sogs.pa Thig.le skor.gyi rgyud dang 'grel.pa cha.lag dang bcas.pa byung.ba 'di.dag kyang Bod la drin.du gyur", "Soon before Jo.bo.rje went to mNga'.ris, one called A.tsa.ra dmar.po, who was the O.di.yana pandi.ta Shes.rab gsang.ba, since he became the disciple of Kha.che Rin.chen rdo.rje, propagated the *Phyag.rgya chen.po thig.le*, [which is] a Tantra of the *Thig.le* cycle, its commentaries and branches. They also became beneficial to Tibet") and Blo.bzang rgya.mtsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama (*dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo glu.dbyangs* p.81 line 23-p.82 line 7), who says that the heretical abuses in the moral behaviour of the monks derived from their own mistaken practice of his teachings, whose essence they could not grasp. The borderline between heresy and orthodoxy was subject to personal interpretation and sectarian orientation. The first to focus scholarly attention on A.tsarya dmar.po have been dGe.'dun chos.'phel and George Roerich with their seminal note in *Blue Annals* (p.1049-1050), their translation of *Deb.ther sngon.po*, followed by the enlightening article by D.S.Ruegg ("Deux problèmes d'exégèse et de pratique tantrique" p.213-226) and also R.Stein, "La langue Zhang-zhung du Bon organisé" (p.240 and n.2).

The historical perspective, as applied in the present study, may reveal that A.tsa.rya dmar.po has been depicted in the literature as more of a stereotypical heresiarch than he actually was, despite the Fifth Dalai Lama having considered him the scapegoat for other people's mistakes. In fact, if the heresies of which he was a leading exponent were to be eradicated by Jo.bo.rje, who reached West Tibet in 1042, A.tsarya dmar.po's only historically ascertainable appearance on the Tibetan plateau must have occurred around 1042 or even later. Dates in the life of 'Brog.mi lo.tsa.ba are useful in evaluating the reliability of the statements concerning the activity of A.tsarya dmar.po. 'Brog.mi met Ga.ya.dha.ra for the first time in 1042 (*bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i snyin.byed* p.83 lines 14-15: "Phyis zhe.dgu lon.pa lcags.mo.'phrul la/ Ga.ya.dha.ra dang thog.mar mjal", "Then, when he was forty-nine, ['Brog.mi] met Ga.ya.dha.ra for the first time"). *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* places the arrival of A.tsa.rya dmar.po in Tibet after it records the first meeting of 'Brog.mi and Ga.ya.dha.ra in the section dedicated to 'Brog.mi and the religious exponents with whom he interacted (this meeting is dealt with on p.474 lines 14-21, while the arrival of A.tsa.rya dmar.po in Tibet is found immediately afterwards on p.475 lines 1-2). *Nyang.ral* dedicates pages of his *chos.'byung* to dismissing common views on heretical Tantric practices, proposing a different understanding of a number of Tantric masters who, in his opinion, were holders of genuine *sgrub.rgyud* ("meditation lineages") (see the paper by D.Martin entitled "Lay Religious Movements in 11th and 12th Century Tibet: A Survey of Sources"). In the case of A.tsa.rya dmar.po, *Nyang.ral* helps to undermine another common place regarding a master conventionally considered heretical.

In his “Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-’od” (p.152), S.Karmay holds that Ye.shes-’od’s *bka’.shog* to the dBus *sngags.pa-s* was issued before Rin.chen bzang.po’s return from his first stay in Kha.che and rGya.gar (987), for he found lHa.lde on the throne. This is not so because *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar ’bring.po* does not say that lHa.lde was ruling in 987. Various episodes in lo.chen’s life fall between his return and lHa.lde’s appearance in the text. In fact, as shown above, other evidence denies the notion that lHa.lde was on the throne in 987. Were this the case, it would follow that the *bka’.shog* to the dBus *sngags.pa-s* was issued earlier than the 986 *bka’.shog chen.mo* and the 988 edict introducing his code of laws. S.Karmay’s assessment thus leads to the contradiction that the *bka’.shog* to the dBus *sngags.pa-s* would have to precede the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod, and thus has to be dismissed.

Finally, that Ye.shes-’od built his main temple at Tho.ling indicates that he moved the centre of the kingdom to Gu.ge (Tho.ling) from Pu.hrang, where it had been sited during the reign of Nyi.ma.mgon. Tho.ling remained the capital of the kingdom for most of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. According to *gDung.rabs zam.’phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs ’chi.med gter* p.182 line 3; see above n.210), bKra.shis.mgon was born in dBus (Central Gu.ge) mTho.ba. This is the earliest mention of mTho.ling/Tho.ling (*ling* being a localizer), albeit in an abridged form of the more common name. This account shows that Tho.ling was a royal residence before its temple was built by Ye.shes-’od in 996. Being the birth place of lha.bla.ma’s father, an association of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty with Tho.ling existed before the time of Ye.shes-’od. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the earlier choice of Tho.ling as a royal seat resulted in the establishment of the major temple of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty at this locality.

Furthermore, the capital of Pu.hrang was shifted to dKar.dum in the same generation, during the rule of his brother Khor.re<sup>337</sup>. Ye.shes-’od’s signed his *bka’.shog* as king of Pu.hrang before he moved the capital of the kingdom to Tho.ling. It is not sure when exactly this occurred, but a reasonable approximation is that it took place after the *chos.rtsigs* issued in the rat year 988 and before the building of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in the monkey year 996. This has the advantage of falling well after the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* (986), since it seems that the *bka’.shog* was a consequence of this introduction.

As said above (p.178), the evidence provided by his *bka.shog* that Ye.shes-’od was the king of Pu.hrang is instrumental in dismissing a view common to almost every historical work, including *mNga’ris rgyal.rabs*, that Gu.ge and Pu.hrang had been assigned to

(337) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.41 lines 1-2): “rGyal.pos kyang sngon.gyi thugs.skyed rjes dran.gyis dKar.dung du mkhar gong.’og dang/ gSer.mkhar grags.pa’i gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs”, “Hence, the king (Khor.re), due to the fact that he followed the advice previously [given to him by his *bla.ma*], built the upper and lower castle at dKar.dung as well as the *gtsug.lag.khang* known as gSer.mkhar”. The events took place in the monkey year 996, which is the date of the construction of Kha.char built to house the silver Jo.bo statue.

Srong.nge (Ye.shes.'od) and Khor.re respectively. Given that Ye.shes.'od is invariably indicated in the literature as the king of Gu.ge, he must have ruled both Gu.ge and Pu.hrang before abdicating in favour of Khor.re who received both territories at the same time.

*Some details regarding Rin.chen bzang.po*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.53, 54, 58 and other sources)

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not treat Rin.chen bzang.po as a major figure of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod. Little is said about lo.chen in the text, while the members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal line are given priority, probably because this work is a *rgyal.rabs*, not focusing on religious exponents as would a *chos.'byung*, although *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* gives a prominent role to the members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal house who became monks<sup>338</sup>.

An episode in the life of lo.chen, rarely found in the literature despite its importance, is recorded in *Ngor chos.'byung*. This source makes a few insignificant remarks concerning Rin.chen bzang.po, such as that he went thrice to Kha.che, which is untenable, for in none of his biographies are three journeys attributed to him, and that he invited Indian *pandi.ta-s* to Tibet, which is rather vague. Finally, *Ngor chos.'byung* introduces the valuable information that when Rin.chen bzang.po was forty-nine (in the horse year 1006), the *pandi.ta-s* Zla.'od bzang.po, Bhi.na.se[.na] and Ka.ma.la.rakshita ordained him to the *bsnyen.par rdzogs.pa* vow<sup>339</sup>. The same information is included in the later *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* by Sum.pa mkhan.po in which his ordination is said to have taken place in the same year<sup>340</sup>. The *pandi.ta-s* who performed the ordination are not commonly included among the Indian masters who went to West Tibet.

Both *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* and *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* qualify Rin.chen bzang.po as *lha.bzo*<sup>341</sup>. This is rather surprising since no other details are given in the sources to con-

(338) For details on the life of Rin.chen bzang.po, called Zhang.zhung.pa rJe.lhu (?) (*Jo.bo.rje rnam.shar rgyas.pa* in Eimer, *Materialen zu Eine Biographie des Atisa (Dipamkarasrijnana)* p.205), and his activity the reader is referred to the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.shar 'bring.po* by Gu.ge Khyi.thang.pa Ye.shes.dpal.

(339) *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.263 lines 2-3): "Kha.cher len.gsum byon te bla.ma mang.du bstan/ Bod du yang pandi.ta mang.po sryan.drangs/ dgung.lo zhe.dgu.pa.la pandi.ta Zla.'od bzang.po dang/ Bhi.na.se dang/ Ka.ma.la.rakshita las bsnyen.par rdzogs".

(340) Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.358 lines 13-14): "dGung.lo zhe.dgu'i steng bla.chen brgyud.du bsnyen.par rdzogs", "When he had just turned forty-nine, he was ordained to the *bsnyen.rdzogs* vow by *bla.chen*".

(341) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.462 line 6): "Zhang.zhung.gi lha.bzo Rin.chen bzang.po", "The Zhang.zhung *lha.bzo* ("artist") Rin.chen bzang.po"; *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 5-6): "g.Yo.ru.gzhung du skyes.pa'i lha.bzo Rin.chen bzang.po la/ 'di.la yang lung.bstan yod", "A prophecy exists concerning *lha.bzo* Rin.chen bzang.po, who was a native of g.Yo.ru.gzhung ("Central g.Yo.ru")".

firm that lo.chen was an artist. I suggest, instead, that term *lha.bzo* refers to his activity in providing Kha.che artists for the sTod temples<sup>342</sup>. Another curiosity concerning Rin.chen bzang.po is found in a prophecy of the future existence of Ye.shes.'od and lo.chen (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.58 lines 4-6). Rin.chen bzang.po is described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (*ibid.* lines 4-5) and in other works as having a "bird face"<sup>343</sup>. Some early murals probably portraying Rin.chen bzang.po at Al.lci and Mang.rgyu in La.dwags do not depict him with ornithomorphic traits.

### *De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51 and 59-60)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* records the names of Ye.shes.od's two sons before they were ordained, which are not explicitly mentioned in any other source. The text also provides the names they received on initiation to higher vows. The elder son of Ye.shes.'od was called Khri.lde mgon.btsan (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 line 19-p.60 line 1). He received the name De.ba.ra.dza presumably after taking the *dge.bsnyen* vow. Although this is not clearly stated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, it is deduced from the case of his younger brother, who was given the name Na.ga.ra.dza when he took the same vow. De.ba.ra.dza received the name Dhe.ba.pra.bha after he was ordained to the *dge.slong* vow with eighty-seven subjects at Par.sgam Byams.snyon.gling (sic for Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling) in fire monkey 996 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.59 line 19-p.60 line 1). This was the year in which Tho.ling and other early temples of mNga'.ris skor.gsum were built.

The younger son of Ye.shes.'od was called lHa.'khor.btsan before taking vows. He took the *dge.bsnyen* vow in earth dog 998 and the name Na.ga.ra.dza was given to him. When he was twenty-nine, he took the vow of a fully ordained monk and his name was changed to Na.ga.pra.bha (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 5-8). bSod.nams rtse.mo (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,2 line 1; see above n.257) assesses the latter event as taking place in fire dragon 1016. By combining the information from Ngag.dbang grags.pa and bSod.nams rtse.mo, it follows that Na.ga.ra.dza was born in the rat year 988.

De.ba.ra.dza's birth date, on the other hand, cannot be deduced from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and thus remains unknown. The date of his death can be deduced from the pas-

(342) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.94 line 2): "Lo.drug nas lha.bzo sum.bcu so.gnyis dang bcas.pa 'phebs.so", "Six years after [he had left], he came [back from Kha.che] with thirty-two artists".

(343) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.56 lines 2-3), *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 6-7): "Di.la yang lung.bstan yod de/ dge.slong bya'i gdom.pa.can zer.ro", "There is a prophecy concerning him (Rin.chen bzang.po), which says that there will be a monk with a bird face"; see also *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.9b lines 4-5) and *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.217 lines 6-7), which says: "mDo.sde nas lung.bstan.pa'i g.Yas.ru gzhung.pa lHung.bzor Rin.chen bzang.po/ dge.slong bya'i gdong.pa.can.du grags", "According to the prophecy in *mDo.sde*, lhung.bzor Rin.chen bzang.po, from central g.Yas.ru, will be a monk with a bird-face". The use of the term *lhung.bzor* seems to be a corruption of the equally inexplicable *lha.bzo*.

sage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.60 lines 1-3) which says that he gave offerings to the *yab.mes.kyi gtsug.lag.khang-s* for twenty-eight years after he was fully ordained in 996, revealing that he died in water pig 1023. The year of the death of his brother Na.ga.ra.dza is deduced from that of De.ba.ra.dza. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (ibid. lines 6-7) documents that Na.ga.ra.dza protected the teachings for four years after his elder brother had passed away; hence Na.ga.ra.dza died in 1026.

### *Khor.re and his expansion of Gu.ge Pu.hrang (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.60-61)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* indicates bTsan.ldong Cog.re and Tsha.la sde.nag.po 'dzum.med, also known as lHa.sde (sic for lde) bkra.shis.btsan as the sons of 'Kho.re (spelled as in the passage) (p.61 lines 2-3). This is the only reference to bTsan.ldong Cog.re found in the literature; otherwise only one son of Khor.re is recorded in the sources. lHa.lde is called "the never smiling descendant from the black community", a curious nickname<sup>344</sup>. *Kho.char dkar.chag* is also aware of it (f.7b = p.43 line 16: "lHa.nag.po-'dzum.med"), but applies it to Khor.re. The spelling in the *dkar.chag* is different and betrays another reading (the "never smiling one, [incarnation of] the black deity"). It is not easy to establish which one of these two attributions is trustworthy. That Khor.re and lHa.lde are confused in the sources regarding their nicknames is another sign of the authors' uncertainty as to which of these two kings was the builder of Kha.char and the maker of its main image (see below p.259).

Khor.re is credited with the expansion of Gu.ge Pu.hrang dominions as far as gTsang Tshong.'dus mgur.mo (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 1-2). This is a confirmation of the evidence provided by the Zhwa.lu documents that sTag.gi rgyal.mtshan, a member of the lCe clan of Zhwa.lu, fought like a tiger against the troops of Gu.ge and Cog.la, his name deriving from this extraordinary performance in support of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal, ruler of gTsang and brother of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum king Nyi.ma.mgon, in a fratricidal war<sup>345</sup>. On the authority of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which attributes this expansionist campaign to

(344) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.465 lines 10-11) attributes another nickname to lHa.lde. This is lHang.nge.gzigs bKra.shis.lde (bKra.shis.lde "who sees clearly").

(345) *Zhwa.lu lo.rgyus* (p.18 lines 11-14): "De'i sras lCe sTag.gi rgyal.mtshan sogs byung/ 'dis mnga'.bdag khri Ral.gyi gdung.rgyud rgyal.po bKra.shis.dpal la Gu.ge dang Cog.la.ba'i dmag byung.skabs stag.ltar mtshongs.pa dang/ rta.dar.la stag bris.pas lCe sTag.gi rgyal.mtshan du grags", "One of his sons was lCe sTag.gi rgyal.mtshan. Since this one fought like a tiger against the troops of the people from Gu.ge and Cog.la who had attacked rgyal.po bKra.shis [brtsegs.pa.]dpal, the descendant of mnga'.bdag Ral[.pa], and painted a tiger on his horse flag, he became known as lCe sTag.gi rgyal.mtshan ("lCe [who bears] the tiger banner)".



Khor.re, the reference to bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal contained in the Zhwa.lu documents should be loosely read as referring to his lineage, as one generation separated Nyi.ma.mgon from Khor.re<sup>346</sup>.

### *lHa.lde's reign (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.61)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides the hitherto unknown information that lHa.lde also was ordained to the *dge.slong* vow and that his name was changed to Dharma.pra.bha (p.61 lines 11-13). After his abdication, his son 'Od.lde was chosen to be the next king. *Bai.ser* records the latter engaged in activity typical of a king in wood rat 1024 (see below p.292-293 and n.451).

1023 and 1024 were hectic years for the royal genealogy of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. De.ba.ra.dza passed away in water pig 1023 and his father Ye.shes.'od in the following year (wood rat 1024). lHa.lde left the throne and took vows around that time. It is significant that lHa.lde entered religion around the period when the death of the two most prestigious royal monks of the kingdom occurred. The religious throne was not entrusted to a neophyte, but rather to Na.ga.ra.dza.

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(346) A calculation by *mi.rabs* denies the possibility that it was bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal from whom Khor.re captured dominions. Khor.re's campaign took place in the following generation when bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal's territory was fragmented among his successors, thus making it difficult to ascertain at the expense of which of them Khor.re increased his power. The involvement of a member of the lCe clan makes it likely that Khor.re's conquest extended to Nyang.smad, traditionally a fiefdom of this clan. This is confirmed by reference in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to Tshong.'dus mgur.mo as the limit of Khor.re's conquest. 'Khor.lo.la, the other limit of his dominions, is unknown to me (Is 'Khor.lo.la, to which Khor.re's conquests extended in gTsang, evocative of Khor.re's name?).

The sources offer some clues as to which of the descendants of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal was defeated by Khor.re. Among them *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.150 lines 6-14) contributes a clear genealogical account: "Sras 'Bro.tsha mched.bzhi byung ste Pha.ba.the.se/ Khri.lde/ Khri.chung/ btsan.po Nyag.lde'o/ gcen.po dang cung.po gnyis.po dBU.rur gcen dgu.'dod.ru 'ongs.pa la/ gcen.po Pha.ba.the.ses dngul.skyogs khyer.nas log.ste Ru.lag gTsang.gi kho.re na bzhugs.so/ Pha.ba.de.se'i sras Dar.ma.ra.tsa/ de'i sras Dar.ma btsan.po/ de'i sras Shri.'bar/ de'i sras Srong.btsan.'bar/ de'i sras bTsan.srong.lde/ de'i sras lDe.'bar ste/ gNubs.yul.rong dang g.Yag.lde (sic for sde)/ Myang.stod sTag.tshal rGya.ra Khyung.po rnames.su mnga'.mdzad", "[ 'Od.lde's] four sons of 'Bro origin were: Pha.ba.the.se, Khri.lde, Khri.chung, btsan.po [and] Nyag.lde. The eldest and the youngest, these two, went to dBU.ru as was earnestly wished by the eldest. Having taken with him a silver ladle, the eldest, Pha.ba.the.se, returned. He settled down at Kho.re of Ru.lag gTsang. Pha.ba.de.se's son was Dar.ma.ra.tsa. His son was Dar.ma btsan.po. His son was Shri.'bar. His son was Srong.btsan.'bar. His son was bTsan.srong.lde. His son was lDe.'bar. They held sway over gNubs.yul.rong and g.Yag.lde (sic for sde) as well as Myang.stod, sTag.tshal, rGya.ra and Khyung.po". The area where sTag.tshal (later called sTag.rtse) was located is known as Myang.smad, in the vicinity of which Tshong.'dus mgur.mo is found (*Myang chos.'byung* p.145 line 1-p.148 line 18; Tucci *Indo Tibetica* vol.IV, 1 p.68-69). Khor.re extended his control as far as the area ruled by the descendants of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal's middle son 'Od.lde, who had links with the 'Bro clan similar to those of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang rulers. It cannot be ruled out that Khor.re, the grandson of Nyi.ma.mgon, waged this war against Pha.ba.the.se, the grandson of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal, or his son Dar.ma.ra.tsa.

If an estimate of the end of lHa.lde's reign has been established, this is not yet the case with its beginning. According to the account provided by many sources, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* included, it was lHa.lde's father, Khor.re, who took the place of Ye.shes.'od, while lHa.lde ruled after Khor.re. Another version of the succession after Ye.shes.'od is that of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, which records instead that lHa.lde was ruling in Gu.ge Pu.hrang some time after Rin.chen bzang.po returned to sTod in 987 (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.mthar 'bring.po* p.88 lines 2-5)<sup>347</sup>.

Neither of these two versions can be dismissed, and in fact it is possible to reconcile them. *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* can be considered authoritative since it was written not long after the events of those years, for the author of this main extant biography of lo.chen, Khyi.thang Ye.shes.dpal, was a direct disciple of Rin.chen bzang.po, but the treatment of this period in the history of Gu.ge Pu.hrang found in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* is equally reliable as it is based on ancient sources.

It is noteworthy that *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* does not mention Khor.re's rule, since emphasis is given to the events of Rin.chen bzang.po's life, to which a possible reign of Khor.re was perhaps irrelevant, but this is not sufficient evidence to deny that he occupied the throne<sup>348</sup>.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* provides sound evidence that *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was introduced in the lands of sTod in the dog year 986 and that Ye.shes.'od abdicated from the secular throne in the rat year 988. *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* adds details to this chronology. The text introduces a few episodes in the life of Rin.chen bzang.po before mentioning lHa.lde's royal enterprises<sup>349</sup>. The last of them, that of lHa.lde's and

(347) According to *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, Rin.chen bzang.po was born in 958 (p.61 line 1-p.62 line 1). He left for Kha.che when he was eighteen (975) (ibid. p.66 line 5-p.67 line 1). He returned to sTod thirteen years after his departure (987) (ibid. p.86 lines 2-3). For these passages in his biography and the calculations of the years of his life see above n.263. For lHa.lde supposedly being active in the period in which Rin.chen bzang.po was in sTod between his two sojourns in Kha.che see n.266, 349 and 350.

(348) Most sources are silent regarding the succession to Ye.shes.'od, limiting themselves to listing the members of each royal generation after him. The works which deal with it are mainly in favour of Ye.shes.'od's brother being his successor. See *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.459 line 7); *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.146 lines 20-21) and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 9-11) (see above n.246 and 333); *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.42 lines 14-15): "rGyal.srid gcung.la grad/ yab.sras gnyis.ka rab.tu byung", "[l'Khor.re, i.e. Ye.shes.'od] left the royal power to his younger brother. The father and the two sons took vows".

(349) For these events see *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.86 line 4-p.88 line 5; see above p.181 and n.251-254), to which a few more incidents of those years have to be added. They are: 1) the making of seven *Ngan.song sbyongs.ba dkyil.'khor-s* for his late father (ibid. p.86 lines 4-5: "Yab.gyis don.du Ngan.song sbyongs.ba'i dkyil.'khor bdun mdzad.do"), followed by the previously discussed defeat of the *dge.bshes* in Pu.hrang; 2) the invitation of pandi.ta Prad.dznya.ka.ra.shri.mi.pra, pandi.ta Su.bha.shi.la and many other masters by lHa.lde (ibid. p.87 line 4-p.88 line 2: "De.nas bla.chen.po lHa.lde.btsan.gyis/ pandi.ta Prad.dznya.ka.ra.shri.mi.pra dang pandi.ta Su.bha.shi.la la.sogs.pa mkhas.btsun du.ma (p.88) spyan.drangs"), lHa.lde's choice of lo.chen to be his head *bla.ma*, and the subsequent founding of the three major temples in 996.

Byang.chub.'od's donation of twenty-one minor localities to lo.chen on the death of Ye.shes.'od (for a brief analysis see above p.234, and below p.278 for the names of these sites), indicates that lHa.lde's reign has been mistakenly included too early in the life of Rin.chen bzang.po<sup>350</sup>. This donation must have occurred in 1024 rather than during the period immediately preceding the early temple foundations in 996, for Byang.chub.'od was not yet active at that time. The event recorded in this passage and the *de facto* occurrence of these land grants in 1024 should, therefore, not be seen as two different incidents.

However, the same biography records an order given by lHa.lde to lo.chen instructing him to participate in the construction of Kha.char in the monkey year 996, which helps to establish the date of his succession to Khor.re. Given that Khor.re ascended the throne in 988 and was initially responsible for laying the foundations of Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang in 996, and that lHa.lde completed the work (see below p.262), lHa.lde succeeded in 996<sup>351</sup>.

### *The affiliation of Shel in La.dwags with Gu.ge* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54, 61 and 83-84)

The next endowment in Mar.yul by a Gu.ge king after the foundation of Nyar.ma (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 line 9), attributed to Ye.shes.'od by *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.89 lines 1-2), was lHa.lde's donation of a *gser.thang* depicting Byams.pa to She.ye gtsug.lag.khang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 13-14), which has important historical implications. She.ye is Shel, not far from Gle/Ble<sup>352</sup>, a Gu.ge stronghold in Mar.yul, which is also regarded as the castle of dPal.gyi.mgon, the Mar.yul king of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum,

(350) The episode is recorded as follows (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.88 lines 2-5): "Bla.chen.po lHa.ldes dbu'i mchod.gnas dang/ rdo.rje slob.dpon mdzad nas Pu.hrangs.kyis gnas.gzhi phul nas/ gnas.gzhi dang dkon.mchog.gi zhabs.rtog mdzad.pa'i lugs la/ Pu.hrangs bZher nas Ho.bu lang.ka'i bar.du gtsug.lag.khang brgya.rtsa bzhengs.pa'i zhal.bzhes mdzad.do", "As bla.chen.po lHa.lde made him head *mchod.gnas* ("incumbent *bla.ma*") and *rdo.rje slob.dpon*, having been offered sites in Pu.hrangs, he (Rin.chen bzang.po) personally founded a hundred *gtsug.lag.khang*-s from bZher to Ho.bu lang.ka as a way of [using these] sites to serve the [triple] jewel". S.Karmay ("Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" p.158-159 n.26) rather vaguely says that Rin.chen bzang.po became the *mchod.gnas* of lHa.lde after 985.

(351) Hence, Khor.re's campaign in Nyang described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 1-2), which enabled him to expand his dominions as far as Tshong.'dus mgyur.mo at the expense of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal's successors (see above p.242), took place before 996.

(352) I would think that the suffix *ye.ba* appearing in the obscure terms Ble.ye.ba and She.ye.ba stood for people of Ble and She as is suggested by another passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 lines 11-12), were it not for the above passage, in which lHa.lde donated a Byams.pa *gser.thang* to She.ye. This proves that *ye* does not indicate people or inhabitants, but is in fact part of the place name.

by a modern La.dwags.pa author<sup>353</sup>. The donation of a *gser.thang* to She.ye by lHa.lde indicates that a temple stood at Shel, possibly attached to the castle, the foundation of which is nowhere recorded in the extant literature. lHa.lde's donation testifies to the fact that Nyar.ma was not the only temple built in Mar.yul during the early period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. It follows that the hill at Shel where dPal.gyi.mgon's palace had been built (traces of which are still visible) was endowed with a temple some time during the three generations from dPal.gyi.mgon to lHa.lde. As Ye.shes.'od's establishment of Nyar.ma is acknowledged in the sources to have been the earliest in Mar.yul, the temple at She.ye must have been a later foundation<sup>354</sup>. It is likely that the She.ye temple was built by lHa.lde, his donation possibly implying that he controlled Mar.yul<sup>355</sup>.

(353) Thub.bstan dpal.lidan, *La.dwags* (p.27 lines 5-6): "dPal.gyi.mgon ni La.dwags.kyi rgyal.po thog.ma yin/khong.gis Shel du sku.mkhar zhig gсар bzhengs.mdzad", "dPal.gyi.mgon was the earliest king of La.dwags. He built a new *sku.mkhar* ("capital or castle") at Shel". In another work, the same author records an oral account according to which the taking over of Shel is attributed to bKra.shis.mgon's father Nyi.ma.mgon, who received it from the local ruler (Sa.phud.pa Thub.bstan dpal.lidan, *dPe.thub chgas.rabs* p. 20 lines 10-12: "rGya.pa jos Shel dang Khrig.rtse'i 'khor.gyi sa.stong kun sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon la bka'.dṅin legs.pa gso'i tshul.du phul.ba yin yang zer", "It is also said that rGya.pa jo gave Shel and Khrig.rtse to sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon, which were all uninhabited areas [at that time], in return for his excellent support").

(354) *Khrig.rtse rnam.thar* (p.20 lines 3-4): "dPal.lde Rig.pa.mgon.gyi skabs Khrigs.se mkhar dang lha.khang chags.nas rab.byung bcu.drug.pa'i lcags.byi lo bar.du chig.stong sum.cu song.bar grags", "It is well known that one thousand and thirty years have elapsed between the foundation of Khrigs.se castle and temple in the time of dPal.lde Rig.pa.mgon and the iron rat year of the sixteenth *rab.byung* (1960)". This statement has a few significant implications: 1) The alleged date for the foundation of a temple at Khrig.se by dPal.gyi.mgon (931) seems doubtful because it would mean that this temple predated the introduction of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* by Ye.shes.'od in 986, making it the earliest religious building in mNga'.ris skor.gsum (Pa.sgam founded in 992, see below n.361). 2) There is doubt as to whether the castle and the temple were at Khrig.se rather than at Shel/She.ye, which local tradition more commonly holds to have been the seat of dPal.gyi.mgon. A *lha.khang* built either at Khrig.se or at Shel was among the temples established by Srong.btsan sgam.po (*ru.gnon, yang.dul, mtha'.dul*) (see the next note). 3) dPal.gyi.mgon being recorded as active in 931 is in accordance with the date I propose for the beginning of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty (see Addendum One), providing enough time for him to have succeeded his father. It denies the less reliable assessment of Nyi.ma.mgon's period based on the "long chronology" of 'Od.srung and dPal.'khor.btsan's reigns proposed by Sa.skya.pa authors and favoured by Petech (see *Kingdom of Ladakh* p.14-15 and "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.653-654).

(355) Ne'u pan.di.ta, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (Dharamsala ed. p.93 line 3) includes a temple called Mang.yul She.ber gtsug.lag.khang among Srong.btsan sgam.po's *yang.dul gtsug.la.khang-s*, while the lHa.sa edition of the same work (p.18 line 21-p.19 line 1) has Shel.ber ("Mang.yul Shel.ber.gyi gtsug.lag.khang/bsTan.ma bcu.gnyis bran(p.19).du bskol.ba'i don.du bzhengs", "Mang.yul Shel.ber gtsug.lag.khang was built to bind the twelve bsTan.ma-s"). This is, in my view, a mistaken reading of an original She.ye with a locative suffix to indicate where the *gtsug.lag.khang* was sited. Mang.yul is a common variant of Mar.yul. *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.byung-s* substitute Ne'u pan.di.ta's Mang.yul She.ber with Mang.yul Khri.dpe otherwise Khri.se in their classifications of eighteen *yang.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* (p.117 lines 2-3: "dBang.phyug sgrub.pa'i don.du Mang.yul Khri.dpe lha.khang", "In order to propitiate dBang.phyug (Shiva), Mang.yul

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 line 11-p.84 line 1) records an episode taking place in 1399 involving the Mar.yul king Khri.btsan.lde in which the Ble.ye.ba-s and She.ye.ba-s (the people of Ble and Shel) rebelled against him. The She.ye.ba-s are indicated in this passage as 'Od.lde's *spun* ("kinsmen"), which confirms that Shel was related to Gu.ge by blood since at least the first half of the 11th century (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 13-14, *Bai.ser* p.279 line 19-p.280 line 1; see p.292-293 and n.451). It is likely that 'Od.lde chose Shel as his local residence around 1024 (*bsTan.rtsis kun.las btus.pa* p.154)<sup>356</sup>, but lHa.lde's donation shows that contact predated 'Od.lde's reign.

Khri.dpe lha.khang [was built]"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.286 lines 19-20: "Mang.yul Khri.se'i lha.khang dBang.phyug sgrub.pa'i don.du bzhengs"). The latter is the name of the well known monastery, standing to the south of nearby Shel, whose foundation traditionally dates to the 15th century (see below n.830).

Inclusion of Khrig.se among the *yang.'dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* and the reading I propose for She.ber/She.ye raise the issue of the date of Srong.btsan sgam.po's temple organization. The lists of his *ru.gnon*, *mtha'.'dul* and *yang.'dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.242 line 6-p.243 line 20), *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* (p.115 line 15-p.117 line 5 and p.285 line 21-p.286 line 21 respectively) as well as Ne'u pan.di.ta's *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.16 line 14-p.19 line 6) may amount to a compilation and an attribution to Srong.btsan sgam.po of temples built at different periods. The chronological assessment of these lists of temples is a subject in need of a scholarly treatment, which is beyond the scope of this note. The cases of She.ber/She.ye and Khrig.se may reveal that temples as late as *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and the dGe.lugs.pa period were included in these authors' lists, or else that one is confronted with a rare reference to the foundations of temples in Mar.yul in the seventh century when Buddhism started to make its influence felt in Yar.lung Bod. They may also point to a flourishing of Buddhism in Mar.yul independent of the later intervention of Yar.lung Bod during the reign of Kri Ral.pa mentioned by bSod.nams rtse.mo (see above p.166). If so, one would be faced with the possibility that Buddhism existed in La.dwags before its occupation by Yar.lung Bod and that it was brought from non-Tibetan territories of the Indo-Iranic borderlands, as is documented by Huei-ch'ao in 726 (Fuchs "Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwestindien und Zentral-Asien um 726" p.443; see below p.325).

(356) A few points make me question the existence of the *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* lineage of Mar.yul kings descended from dPal.gyi.mgon, an important topic discussed *in extenso* below (p.494). Ye.shes.'od is credited with the building of Nyar.ma in Mar.yul by *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.89 line 2: "Mar.yul du Nyar.ma bzhengs.pa), which shows that his jurisdiction extended to La.dwags. A generation after lha.bla.ma, another temple, that at Shel, was closely connected with lHa.lde, and the possibility that he was responsible for its construction cannot be dismissed. As a matter of fact in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, after dPal.gyi.mgon's son 'Gro.mgon, one finds lha.chen Grags.pa.lde and then lha.chen Byang.chub sems.dpa', a typical epithet for the Gu.ge Pu.hrang lha.bla.ma-s. lHa.chen Byang.chub sems.dpa' was followed by lha.chen rGyal.po, another title rather than a proper name (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* in Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 19-22: "Che.ba dPal.gyi.mgon.gyi sras 'Gro.mgon dang/ Chos.mgon gnyis/ 'Gro.mgon.gyi sras lha.chen Grags.pa.lde/ de'i sras lha.chen Byang.chub sems.dpa'/ de'i sras lha.chen rGyal.po"). Correspondence between the Gu.ge rulers and those recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* is not ascertained. In *Bai.ser* 'Od.lde is documented as the king of Mar.yul in 1024 (see below n.356), the year when lha.bla.ma died. By what name could 'Od.lde be known in the genealogy of *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*? Significantly, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gser* p.339 lines 2-9) records 'Od.lde ruling in Mar.yul after dPal.gyi.mgon's son 'Gro.mgon.



# The mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples founded during the time of Ye.shes.'od

## *Ye.shes.'od's obtaining gold for temple building (not in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs)*

An account is preserved in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* of the circumstances by which Ye.shes.'od obtained the gold that he used to build his temples. After his *mchod.gnas* named Ser.po was killed by the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s, Ye.shes.'od demanded compensation in gold, and was given the Dong.rtse.wang gold-fields<sup>357</sup>. The text says that Ye.shes.'od built his major temples with large quantities of gold from these mines. Does the episode imply that Ye.shes.'od did not control the gold mines prior to the fatal incident that befell *mchod.gnas* Ser.po and that his control of some area of the Sa.sgang territory made the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty wealthy? I am inclined to favour this interpretation, since the acquisition of this land marked a turning point for the prosperity of the kingdom.

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(357) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 lines 6-10): "Khong.gi mchod.gnas Ser.po zhes.byab dang/ Sa.sgang.gi 'Brog.mi bgras tel/ des Ser.po.can bsad.pa la/ lha.bla.mas nga'i mchod.gnas bkrongs.pas stong.'dod gsungs tel/ mnal.lam.du gser rta.stan tsam.gcig dbul lags.kyis zer nas/ Dong.rtse.wang.gi gser.sa bya.ba phul.bas/ bug.pa re.nas gser bre.khal.gyis bcu.ru byung", "His (Ye.shes.'od's) *mchod.gnas* ("officiating *bla.ma*") called Ser.po was killed by the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s. Hence, Ser.po.can having been assassinated, lha.bla.ma said: "Since you have killed my *mchod.gnas*, I demand compensation". As he said that in his dream he was offered a piece of gold as big as a horse-saddle cushion, he was compensated with the gold-fields called Dong.rtse.wang. From each mine ten *bre.khal-s* of gold were extracted".

Where was Dong.rtse.wang *gser.sa* located? Places having *wang* in their name are commonly found in Gu.ge. In *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* a place called A.wang is mentioned in reference to troops attacking Gu.ge, who had reached Tho.ling and were heading towards Tsa.hrang (spelled as in the *rnam.thar*) (f.34b line 7: "Gu.ge'i dmag nyung.shas zhig.gis A.wang du g.yul sprad", "A few Gu.ge troops gave battle at A.wang"). A.wang was therefore located in the heartland of Gu.ge. Phyi.wang is the well known place in Gu.ge Byang.ngos (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-8) and another, Sang.wang, also called Sang.dar (see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.79 line 2 with reference to the 13th century Gu.ge king Grag.pa.lde), is the area extending to the south of Phyi.wang. This could possibly indicate that these gold-fields were located in the vicinity of the same area. On the other hand, *wang* may be a geographical term applied to different places regardless of territorial contiguity (in this case *wang* could be a term denoting a specific function or a feature of the landscape). That the latter is the correct interpretation is proved by Khyu.wang, the birth place of Rin.chen bzang.po, sited to the west of Shib.pe.la (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po passim*). The assessment of the location of Dong.rtse.wang therefore depends on the identification of the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s and their territory.

*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* also records a speech of dubious authenticity made by dPal.'khor.btsan to his son Nyi.ma.mgon at the time of the latter's departure for sTod to found his mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom, warning him of the dangers posed by various local tribes in West Tibet. These were the 'Brog.mi-s of Bru.sha, sBal.ti and Sa.sgang, and the people of lHo.Mon<sup>358</sup>. I take Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s (i.e. "Brog.pa-s, Dards from a precipitous land") as an ethnonym associated with a territory outside the plateau and populated by a tribe of the Indo-Iranic borderlands<sup>359</sup>. As the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s are associated with the populations of Bru.zha, sBal.ti and lHo.Mon, they were, in all likelihood, not Tibetan, but belonged to the ethnically diverse tribes inhabiting those lands prior to the Tibetan colonisation of sTod initiated by Nyi.ma.mgon.

Association of the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s with Bru.zha and sBal.ti, as well as the episode of the compensation Ye.shes.'od obtained from them shows that they had control of a territory where gold was found. Since the Indus, which flows through these lands, is considered to have been rich in it, I am inclined to believe that the Sa.sgang.pa-s were a Dardic tribe living near the Seng.ge kha.'babs, although I cannot say how far downstream they were located. Dardic territories were known as the Land of Gold to the ancient epic and Puranic literature of India and to the classical Greek and Latin authors<sup>360</sup>. Evidence of a bloody resistance to Nyi.ma.mgon's campaign in Mar.yul, again recorded by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 lines 11-14, see Addendum Two), which was the most violent of those undertaken to establish the three skor-s of mNga'.ris, helps to assess the Sa.sgang.pa-s. It

(358) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.457 lines 10-16): "Khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon chibs.kha gyen.la bskyod.nas mNga'.ris.stod du gshegs.pa.la yab.kyi zhal.nas/ lHo.Mon dong kha.phye.ba 'dra.ba dang/ Bru.sha dang/ sBal.ti dang/ Sa.sgang.gi 'Brog.mo la.sogs.pa mi dang mi.ma.yin.pa'i gnod.pa mang.po yod.pas/ yi.dam dang srung.mar mDo.sNgags.kyi cho.ga 'di.rnams.gyis shig gsungs.nas gnang.bas/ mnga'.ris.kyi btsad.po rnams chab.srid dang/ mnga'.ris mtho.bar byin.rlabs che.ba yin", "When khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon was turning the head of his horse upwards (westwards) to go to mNga'.ris.stod, his father said: "The inhabitants of the hollow land of lHo.Mon, the 'Brog.mo-s (sic for 'Brog.mi-s) of Bru.sha, sBal.ti and Sa.sgang, men and *mi.ma.yin-s* ("ghosts"), are extremely dangerous. Perform *mDo.sNgags* rituals [to propitiate your] *yi.dam* and the protectors". [Nyi.ma.mgon] having consented, [the subsequent] kings of the [mNga'.ris skor.gsum] kingdom [also] possessed great secular power and dignity in their kingdom". This piece of advice would have been possible only if the plan to exile Nyi.ma.mgon to sTod was conceived before dPal.'khor.btsan's death, but the sources maintain that Nyi.ma.mgon was expelled to the west after his father's assassination (see below Addendum One p.548). However, they do not comment on the fact that the expulsion order was not applied to his brother bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal.

(359) The designation *'brog.mi* given to the people of Bru.sha, sBal.ti and Sa.sgang in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* is equivalent to the term *'brog.pa* applied to the Dards in La.dwags and neighbouring territories to this day.

(360) The earliest to document the Dards (III, 91 and VII, 66) and the gold-digging ants (III, 102) was Herodotus. He was followed by Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, and by Meghastenes, who links the Dards with gold-digging. Pliny (Natural History VI, 67) states that the land of the Dards was especially rich in gold ("fertilissimi sunt auri Dardae"). Ptolemy (VII, I, 41) had knowledge of the Dards, whom he located near the sources of the Indus.



seems that Sa.sgang was associated with the indigenous people inhabiting Mar.yul before Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest in terms of ethnos and political alliance, but was located outside Mar.yul as the name Sa.sgang indicates.

*Pa.sgam, the first foundation of bstan.pa phyi.dar (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.59-60)*

bSod.nams rtse.mo provides an important insight into the early religious activity of the members of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty which modifies the conventional chronology of the temples founded in sTod. He states that Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling was built in water dragon 992 at sPeg.mkhar<sup>361</sup>, which makes this temple the earliest founded during the reign of Ye.shes.'od, rather than Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, Kha.char, Nyar.ma or Ta.po, as is customarily believed. This fact is indirectly confirmed by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.59 line 19-p.60 line 1) when it states that De.ba.ra.dza's ordination to the *dge.slong* vow took place at Pa.sgam in 996, the year in which Tho.ling and the other temples of the same phase were built, indicating that Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling already existed when they were founded. Chronologically, the establishment of the first temple in sTod in 992 is consistent with the sequence in which *bstan.pa phyi.dar* was introduced from 986.

bSod.nams rtse.mo in his *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* says that a religious structure (the Byams.snyoms.gling) was established at the *dben.sa.gsar* ("newly built hermitage") of Pa.sgam in water dragon 992, suggesting that two building phases took place there, the first, the establishment of a hermitage before this year, and the second, the construction of the major religious edifice in 992<sup>362</sup>. The identity of the 992 temple is ascertained from

(361) bSod.nams rtse.mo, *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,1 line 6-p.345,2 line 1): "Chu.pho.'brug.gi lo.la Cog.la.yul sPeg.mkhar du sTod.sMad.kyi yab.mched bying gdan.'dzom.pa'i dus.su mol.ba chen.po mdzad/ Rum.yul Pa.sgam.gyi dben.gsar du gtsugs.pa'i dus.su brtsis na lo sum(p.345,2).stong chig.brgya nyi.shu rtsa.lnga lon.no", "In the water male dragon year (992), when the sTod.sMad fathers-brothers and the rest [of the family] gathered at sPeg.mkhar in the land of Cog.la, they had a great discussion. The calculation [of the year] when they founded [a religious establishment] at the newly built hermitage of Rum.yul Pa.sgam is as follows: 3125 years elapsed from Buddha *nirvana*".

(362) *Bai.ser* (p.275 lines 8-10) says: "Bye.dkar du chos.sde rNam.rgyal.rtse ni grub.chen dBang.phyug dpal.lidan.pas btab/ bar.skabs.su 'Bri.khung.pa'i chos.lugs dar/ de.nas rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa'i slob.ma slob.dpon Grags.pa bzang.pos dGe.lugs.par bsgyur". sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho thus attributes the earliest foundation at sPeg.mkhar, known to the text as Bye.dkar, to grub.chen dBang.phyug dpal.lidan, without stating when it took place. The text adds that the tradition of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s was practised at the temple during the intervening period before it became dGe.lugs.pa under Ngag.dbang grags.pa's disciple Grags.pa bzang.po. Given that the 'Bri.gung.pa period in sTod started at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, *Bai.ser* does no more than suggest somewhat vaguely that its foundation took place during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

the same text (p.345,2 line 1), when it is said that in fire dragon 1016 Ye.shes.'od and his two sons gathered at Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling<sup>363</sup> (see above n.257).

The meeting and the consequent great *mol.ba* ("consultation") at sPeg.mkhar, which led to the construction of Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling in 992, involved the sTod.sMad.kyi yab.mched.byings (sic for byings) (ibid. p.345,1 line 6), whose identity is not immediately clear. The hypothesis that they were the sTod.kyi and sMad.kyi mgon.gsum is both anachronistic (the year 992 fell after their period) and improbable (sPeg.mkhar is too far from gTsang and adjoining areas, where the sMad.kyi mgon.gsum ruled). The decision to build the temple at Pa.sgam cannot have been made by anyone other than Ye.shes.'od and his brother Khor.re, indicated as *yab.mched* ("fathers-brothers") who must have represented sTod and sMad within the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, together with unspecified members of the family (*byings*, i.e. "rest, reminder").

In the same passage (p.345,1 line 6), bSod.nams rtse.mo adds that sPeg.mkhar was in Cog.la. Since sPeg.mkhar is to the west of Tsa.rang some distance down the Glang.chen kha.'babs, it is sited not far from the eastern side of the Shib.pe.la, colloquially called Shib.skyid.la (for the location of sPeg.mkhar in a Western travelogue see Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds* p.263). As discussed above (see p.166), the name of the area where the Shib.pe pass is located is given as Shib.pe Cog.la in bSod.nams rtse.mo's entry for fire dragon 836 (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,1 lines 4-5), in which he records that the establisher of sTod.kyi.Chos, bande Chos.kyi blo.gros, and Zhang sKyid.sum.rje joined forces. Since the location of the ancient West Tibetan land of Cog.la is associated with the Shib.pe pass, sPeg.mkhar was sited to the south of the Glang.chen kha.'babs at the extreme eastern edge of the Cog.la territory.

In the same entry for 992, bSod.nams rtse.mo adds the information that the Pa.sgam temple at sPeg.mkhar was in Rum.yul of Cog.la. The name Rum is also found in a short historical inscription on a wall of the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang in Pi.ti. The inscription mentions the gZi'.mal.la-s of Rum Gu.ge. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 17-18) treats the gZim.mal-s (so spelled in the source) as a community to whom Byang.chub.'od donated a temple. The gZi'.mal.la-s of the Ta.po inscription correspond to the gZim.mal-s of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, and Rum Gu.ge is the area they inhabited.

Rum.yul might be a geographic term rather than a place name, as it can mean "ancestral land, heartland, original land" (literally: "womb land"), but this is not the case here. *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* records a rare classification of Zhang.zhung, whose context shows that it has to be read as referring to Gu.ge exclusively<sup>364</sup>. Gu.ge is divided into three

(363) Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling is the correct reading of the temple name rather than *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs's* Par.sgam Byams.snyon.gling.

(364) *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* (p.189 line 5-p.190 line 1): "De.yang sTod.kyi mNga'.ris skor.gsum ni/ Zhang.zhung yul dang Pu.rang Mang.yul gsum/ Da.pa'.bo gangs.kyi skor.ba dang/ Rum.bu rdza.su skor.ba dang/ Gu.ge g.yas.su (p.190) skor.ba gsum", "mNga'.ris skor.gsum [is composed of] the lands Zhang.zhung, Pu.rang and Mang.yul (Mar.yul), these three. Da.pa'.bo (sic for Da.pa') is the *skor* of snow mountains, Rum.bu is the *skor* of barren mountains [and] Gu.ge is the *skor* on the right hand, these three".

*skor*-s, one *skor* being Rum.bu, and the others mDa'.pa and the heartland of Gu.ge (i.e. the Tho.ling area). mDa'.pa *skor* is described as the *skor* of snow mountains, which is true of its western and southern sides. Rum.bu is a land of barren hills, while the heartland of Gu.ge is the *g.yas.su skor.ba* ("the territory on the right hand", i.e. to the east)<sup>365</sup>. The latter indication is valuable as it helps to define the location of Rum.bu, which, being to the left (i.e. to the west of Tho.ling), corresponds to the Pi.Cog area.

The territorial classification of central Zhang.zhung contained in *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* is corroborated by a passage in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 5-6; see also above n.341), which would be incomprehensible were it not elucidated by the corresponding passage in *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu*. According to the system of classifying lands of the Tibetan geographical tradition, *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* locates Rin.chen bzang.po's birth place in g.Yo.ru.gzhung (i.e. in "the centre of the left horn", which is obviously not one of the dBus.gTsang ru.bzhi). Lo.chen, as is well known, was born in Rad.ni of Khyu.wang near the Shib.pe.la<sup>366</sup>. Central Gu.ge (or the Tho.ling area) is the *g.yas.su*

(365) These characteristics of the three districts of Gu.ge recall the conventional description of the morphology of the *skor.gsum* found in the literature, according to which Pu.hrang is surrounded by snow mountains, Gu.ge by barren hills, Mar.yul by lakes. See, *inter alia*, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.457 line 20-p.458 line 7), which, when discussing the conquest of the *skor.gsum* by Nyi.ma.mgon, says: "Blon.po shes.rig che.ba gsum sTod.bskor gsum blta.ru btang.bas blon.po sPu[.rang] du (p.458) blta.ru btang.ba 'khor.nas byung.bas/ rje.la phyag.byas mnyes.dris.pa dang/ ji.ltar 'dug gsungs.pa la/ lung.pa rta bshas.kyi khog.pa gangs.kyis bskor.ba 'dra.ba na mi srin.po 'dra.ba zhig mchis zer/ Gu.ger phyin.pa na.re/ lung.pa nya ltar dkar.gyi khog.pa 'dra.ba g.ya'.yis bskor.ba zhig la mi lug 'dra.ba gda' zer/ Mang.yul du phyin.pa na.re/ yul ko.mog chab.kyis gang.ba gangs.kyis bskor.ba 'dra.ba zhig gda' mi sbal.pa 'dra.ba gcig gda'", "As three greatly knowledgeable ministers were sent to survey the territory of the three *skor*-s of sTod, the minister who had been sent to inspect sPu[.rang], on returning from his tour, prostrated to the king. Having been asked how [the land] looks, he reported: "The land looks like the carcass of a slaughtered horse surrounded by snow mountains. The people look like *srin.po*-s". [The minister] who had gone to Gu.ge reported: "The land looks like the white carcass of a fish surrounded by barren canyons. The people look like sheep". [The minister] who had gone to Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul), reported: "The territory looks like a hollow land filled with lakes and surrounded by snow mountains. The people look like frogs". Since the holy lakes are not mentioned, the description of Pu.hrang only refers to Pu.hrang.smad, which is near to the Himalayan range. More interestingly, Mar.yul in this case refers to the Ru.thog area, where lakes and snow mountains are found, rather than to La.dwags. Stressing the whiteness of the Gu.ge landscape, which is a peculiarity of its canyons, shows that the reports were based on actual exploration. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.298 lines 15-17) has a similar classification when it discusses the territories of Tibet at the time of the establishment of the *khri.skor bcu.gsum*: "sTod.kyi mNga'.ris skor.gsum.po/ Pu.rangs gangs.ris skor.ba dang/ Gu.ge g.ya'.yi bskor de dang/ Mang.yul chu.yis yongs bskor.ba", "sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum [is composed of] Pu.rangs surrounded by snow mountains, Gu.ge surrounded by barren mountains, Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul) entirely surrounded by lakes". For a similar classification appearing in the treatment of the three *chol.kha* of Tibet during Yuan/Sa.skya period see *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.327 line 3): "'Ga'.zhig Mal.yul yul.mtsho/ Gu.ge g.ya'/ Pu.hrangs gangs.kyis bskor.bas mNga'.ris skor.gsum chol", "Some say that the mNga'.ris skor.gsum *chol*[.kha is composed of] Mal.yul (sic for Mar.yul) surrounded by lakes, Gu.ge by barren mountains, Pu.hrangs by snow mountains".

(366) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.58 lines 3-4): "'Khrung.yul ni/ spyi.me g.Yu.sgra sTong.btsan.gyi mchod.pa'i yul Khyu.wang Rad.ni zhes.byab.ru", "As for his birth place this was Khyu.wang Rad.ni established

*skor.ba* while Rum.bu, and consequently Cog.la, is in g.Yo.ru (“the territory on the left hand”), which is correct in terms of the location of the Gu.ge lands<sup>367</sup>. The classification of Gu.ge in which the mDa'.pa area (more or less bordering on the eastern side of lHo.smad) is considered to be the *skor* located between those of Rum.bu and the heart of Guge is therefore complete with the identification of g.Yo.ru.

Thus Rum.bu is Rum.yul, where sPeg.mkhar is sited, on both linguistic and territorial grounds. It includes Pi.ti and Cog.la (Pi.Cog), the areas on both sides of Shib.pe.la, to the west of Tho.ling along the Glang.chen kha.'babs. Pi.ti is to the west of the Shib.pe pass, and Cog.la is the name of the lands on both sides of the pass.

Finally, if the spelling Pa.sgam (Par.sgam of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*) is changed to Ba.gam, it has the meaning of a dome<sup>368</sup>. Pa.sgam, in the sources quoted here, is a place name and seems therefore to stand for a dome-like locality, obviously a hill. The name Pa.sgam/Ba.gam well describes the shape of the spur at sPeg.mkhar where Byams.snyoms.gling was sited.

Pa.sgam Byams.snyoms.gling is not the only temple which sources claim to be earlier than the religious edifices established in that momentous fire monkey 996 (Tho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma, Ta.po etc.). *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.41 lines 1-2) records that Khor.re built the dKar.dung castle to be his residence and the gSer.mkhar gtsug.lag.khang in its premises to house the silver Jo.bo statue he had intended for this new temple. Later in the text, *Kho.char dkar.chag* says that the statue refused to be moved from the plain (i.e. Bye.ma'i thang) at some distance from where it had been cast<sup>369</sup>. Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang

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by spyi.me (?) g.Yu.sgra sTong.btsan". Rin.chen bzang.po belonged to the g.Yu.sgra family of Kha.tse, a gShen lineage (ibid. p.56 line 4: "Rigs ni Kha.tse g.Yu.sgra'i gShen.rgyud yin"). His Bon.po origin recalls that of bla.chen dGongs.pa Rab.gsal, the other great initiator of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. It is highly significant that both masters, who originated the two traditions of the later spread of Buddhist teachings (*sTod.lugs* and *sMad.lugs*), were of Bon.po descent.

(367) A contradictory sign concerning the location of Rin.chen bzang.po's birth-place, which confirms, however, the notion that central Gu.ge was territorially classified according to the *ru* system, is held by *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.217 lines 6-7), when it says: "mDo.sde nas lung.bstan.pa'i g.Yas.ru gzhung.pa" ("[Rin.chen bzang.po] was from central g.Yas.ru, according to the prophecy in *mDo.sde*"). *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* inverts the location of the *ru*-s of Central Gu.ge.

(368) See, for instance, *mNga'.ris pan.chen rnam.thar* in Padma 'phrin.las, *bKa'.ma mdo.dbang bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar*, where a rock in Glo.bo is called Ba.gam.can ("dome-shaped") in a reference to the miracles that mNga'.ris pan.chen performed (p.310 line 4): "Ba.gam.can brag.la byi.ltar 'dzul", "He entered like a little bird inside the rock Ba.gam.can".

(369) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.7a-b = p.43 lines 7-14): "gSung dang.po byon.tshul mnga'.bdag rgyal.pos rten 'di.nyid rang.gi bsti.gnas (f.7b) dKar.dung.gi gtsug.lag.khang chen.por spyan.drang.ba'i phyir shing.rta 'khor.lo'i steng.du bzhugs.su gsol.nas drang.pas sa rdo ri chu.rtsi shing nags.tshal gang.la'ang thogs thug.med.par thal.ler byon bzhin.pa.la Bye.ma'i thang dkyil.kyi rdo A.mo.li.ka 'di.la thogs.pa'i rnam.pas gsung byon/ [lacuna].pa dang lhan.gcig rten.'di nyid.kyi zhal.nas/ nga 'dir 'khor zhing/ 'dir chags.so zhes.gsung".

was consequently built there for the silver image (f.7b-8a = p.43-44). On the basis of this account, gSer.mkhar gtsug.lag.khang would also be earlier than the 996 temples. This is not all. *Kho.char dkar.chag* also states that on the hill to the east overlooking Bye.ma'i thang, where Kha.char was later built, was a *dgon.pa* called bDe.lidan, the residence of chos.rje Dzam.gling Grags.pa, the guru of Khor.re<sup>370</sup>. As the *dkar.chag* does not attribute it to any secular or religious lords of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum family, one may wonder if this was a *bstan.pa snga.dar* temple, given that remains dating to that time are found in the area.

### *Tho.ling and Kha.char* (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.53,54,61 and 69-71)

#### THO.LING

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 7-8) is the only known source which dates the first foundation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang by Ye.shes.'od to fire monkey 996<sup>371</sup> and adds (ibid. lines 8-10) that in earth dragon 1028 a major renovation and extension was completed and the name for which the Tho.ling temple is famous, dPal.dpe.med khang.dmar lhun.gyis

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"The account of how it happened that [the statue] spoke the first time is [as follows]. In order for the king to bring this statue to his own holy residence of dKar.dung gtsug.lag.khang, as he loaded it on a cart to transport it, having smoothly crossed a rugged area of rocks, mountains, water courses and forests without stumbling against any obstacle, when it bumped against the stone A.mo.li.ka in the middle of Bye.ma'i thang, it happened that [the statue] spoke [lacuna] [as if the statue and the stone were made] to be together. This statue said: "This is the place" and "Here I stay".

(370) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.6a = p.41 lines 15-17): "Dus.de.tsam nas sa.phyogs 'di.bzhin Bye.ma'i thang shig yod.pa las 'Khor.chags zhes.pa'i ming yang med la/ shar.rir dgon.pa dDe.lidan na chos.rje bla.ma shig rgyun bzhugs", "In those days, when the [place] named 'Khor.chags (Kha.char) did not [yet] exist in this area, [where] Bye.ma'i thang is, on [its] eastern mountain chos.rje bla.ma (Dzam.gling Grags.pa) was residing at dgon.pa bDe.lidan".

(371) No other work records the year of the foundation of Tho.ling. Among many others see *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 line 12): "Gu.ger Tho.ling.gi gtsug.lag.khang chen.po bzhengs", "He founded the imposing Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in Gu.ge"; *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.146 line 17): "Chos.la dad te mTho.ling bzhengs", "[Having] faith in the teachings, [Ye.shes.'od] built mTho.ling"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 6-7): "lHa.bla.mas yab.mes.kyi yig.tshang gzigs.pas Chos.la dad.do/ mTho.ling.gi gtsug.lag[.khang] bzhengs", "Having seen the documents of his ancestors, lha.bla.ma's faith in the teachings grew. He founded mTho.ling gtsug.lag.khang". In the past, the date of its foundation has been extrapolated from the fact that Tho.ling was built at the same time as Kha.char, Nyar.ma and Ta.po. As is well known, an inscription at Ta.po documents the establishment of this temple to 996 (see below n.401). Therefore, the foundation of Tho.ling has been ascribed to the same year.

*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.18a line 1) includes a *Tho.ling dkar.chag* among its sources. Finding this work could be of crucial importance for the history of Tho.ling and the classification of its *lha.khang-s*.

grub.pa, was given to it<sup>372</sup>. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 7-10) says: "In the fire male monkey year, the foundations of Tho.gling gtsug.lag.khang in Gu.ge were laid out. In the earth male dragon year, the great renovation of the gtsug.lag.khang was completed and the name Tho.gling Khang.dmar dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang was given to it. A statue of the lord of the teachings was made". The name of the completed temple is confirmed by its appearance in the colophons of the works translated in its premises<sup>373</sup>. This name, which often applies to a *chos.skor*, would apparently indicate that Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang was expanded into such a temple structure. The peculiar mandalic shape (*chos.skor*) for which it is famous would thus have been laid out not at the time of its foundation (996) but, later, in 1028, during the reign of 'Od.lde. A statue of Shakya thub.pa was placed in the Tho.ling temple during the 1028 expansion.

Further detail regarding the structure built at Tho.ling in 996 is provided by another passage in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 lines 12-14): "As for *sku.rten*, [the statue of] the supreme lord [surrounded] by [the statues of] the four great Keepers of the Precepts was made for the Tho.ling monks. The head division of eighty monks was appointed to be incumbent".

Given the prominence accorded to this deity in the temples of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, I believe that the main image placed on that occasion in Tho.ling was rNam.par snang.mdzad, surrounded by the other four deities of the Rigs.lnga. The fact that there were five Tho.ling images suggests that they were intended for the famous *gling.bzhi* ("four divisions") and the central *lha.khang* of the Tho.ling temple. This arrangement might have been adopted at the time of the great completion of the *gtsug.lag.khang* in 1028, but *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* confirms that Ye.shes.'od established the twelve *gling.phran-s* of Tho.ling<sup>374</sup>. Hence, the temple was conceived as a *chos.skor*

(372) The name Tho.ling khang.dmar dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyi grub.pa, as far as the term *khang.dmar* is concerned, is probably a 15th century notion. As said elsewhere (see below n.476) when dealing with gZim.mal lHa.khang dmar.po, which may also be a 15th century notion, this was a period during which temples were named after the colour of their walls (e.g. Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po and also mChod.khang dkar.po, Tho.ling lHa.khang dkar.po, Gle lHa.khang dmar.po, rDzong.dkar lHa.khang dmar.po).

(373) For instance, the name Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa is mentioned in the colophons of the translations of *dPal.mchog dang.po'i rgya.cher bshad.pa* begun by Rin.chen bzang.po and continued by Zhi.ba.'od and mkhan.po Man.tra.ka.la.sha (Cordier, *Catalogue de fonds tibétains de la Bibliothèque Nationale* partie 2 (*rGyud.'grel*) p.261 and S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od to the Buddhists of Tibet" p.6); of *rDo.rje 'phreng.ba'i rgyud* by Zhi.ba.'od with mkhan.po Su.dza.na.shri.dznya.na (S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od to the Buddhists of Tibet" p.4-5); and also of *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel.gyi rgyan* made by Blo.ldan Shes.rab with the help of pandi.ra sKal.lidan rgyal.po in Kha.che, in which the religious deeds of Zhi.ba.'od and rTse.lde are recorded (Cordier, *Catalogue de fonds tibétains de la Bibliothèque Nationale* partie 3 (*mDo.'grel*) p.441-442 and S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od to the Buddhists of Tibet" p.7-9).

(374) A passage in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.89 lines 1-2; see below n.386) confirms that Tho.ling, as early as its foundation, comprised various *gling-s* (*gling.phran bcu.gnyis*, i.e. a temple complex composed of various religious edifices) rather than a single building. It also corroborates the notion found in *mNga'ris*

from the time of its foundation in 996<sup>375</sup>. That the rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga were installed in the Tho.ling temple during the earliest construction phase is confirmed by the fact that the text appends the record of their placement at Tho.ling to that of the construction of the other 996 religious edifices. The making of the rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga may have taken place soon after the mandalic temple was built in 996, since the record of the installation of these images does not accompany that of the temple foundation, but occurs immediately following the references to the construction of the other 996 temples.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 8-11) reads: "He (lHa.lde) built the Rin.chen brt-segs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char and the great silver image of 'Jam.dpal. He provided many means of support for [their] worship. He established a monastic community of officiating incumbents [at Kha.char]. He invited *pandi.ta-s* and *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s* of India". In fact, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* documents lHa.lde as having invited Kha.che pandita Dznya.na.dha.na. Rin.chen bzang.po was the *lo.tsa.ba*, and the *Yang.lag* root Tantra and commentary were translated as well as various *man.ngag-s* and a treatise on curing horses (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 6-8).

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 11-14) continues: "Having obtained religious teachings, since he (lHa.lde) realised that worldly well being is without any foundation and regretted in his mind dwelling in the karmic cycle, he was known by the monk's name Dharma.pra.bha. He made a *gtsug.lag.khang* in Tho.gling and a Byams.pa *gser.thang* at She.ye in Mar.yul".

These passages have new and significant implications. The controversial assessment of Kha.char apart, which will be discussed below, they provide an insight into the historical sequence of lHa.lde's religious undertakings. While still a lay ruler, he sponsored Kha.char (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* states that lHa.lde established *yon.mchod* with Rin.chen bzang.po around 996 for this purpose). Subsequently he invited Indian masters to sTod. Later he was ordained, in my view entering religion not later than 1024 when 'Od.lde is documented to have been ruling and when Ye.shes.'od died (see p.292-293 and p.183). After becoming Dharma.pra.bha, he built a temple in Tho.gling. The 1028 accomplishment of the transformation of the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang into the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa is left unattributed in the first reference to it found in

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*rgyal.rabs* that Tho.ling consisted of four major edifices around a central *lha.khang*, because the *gling.phran bcu.gnyis* plan is conceived as four buildings forming the wings of a central structure, to which eight lesser buildings are attached. The notion that Tho.ling was structured as a *chos.skor* may have given rise to the opinion found in later sources that Tho.ling was shaped after the plan of bSam.yas, the great *chos.skor* of *bstan.pa snga.dar* (*Ngor chos.'byung* p.262 line 4; see above n.295).

(375) After reporting its foundation by Ye.shes.'od, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 lines 10-12) describes Tho.ling in the following exaggerated way, which nonetheless testifies to the complexity of its structure: "gTsug.lag.khang de'i lcags.ri gcig.gi khongs.na gandzira btsugs.pa'i lha.khang drug.bcu rtsa.bzhi yod.do", "There are sixty-four *lha.khang-s*, ornamented with *gandzira-s*, inside the *lcags.ri* ("boundary wall") of this *gtsug.lag.khang*".

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 8-9)<sup>376</sup>. The identity of its last patron can be derived from the passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* mentioned above<sup>377</sup> and is confirmed by the sequence of events. After becoming a monk, lHa.lde was responsible for the completion of the great expansion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in earth dragon 1028. His importance, duely stressed in the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar-s*, is somewhat understated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, but, reading between the lines, it becomes evident. The temple that lHa.lde completed at Tho.ling was one of the most grandiose of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom, a religious establishment rivalled in the history of mNga'.ris.stod only by the Tho.ling gSer.khang.

The narrative sequence of the episodes in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* suggests that Tho.ling was constructed before the others of the 996 building phase (Kha.char, Nyar.ma, Ta.po, Ka.nam, Re.sag Mo.nang, sPu, Pi.wang dKar.sag) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 8-12). This is contradicted at least in the case of Ta.po by the statement in the inscription found in this *gtsug.lag.khang*, dating its foundation to 996 (see below p.266 and n.401). The foundations of Kha.char and Nyar.ma *in primis* took place in the same year on the basis of the evidence found in most *chos.'byung-s*, and in particular in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*.

## KHA.CHAR

Confusion reigns in the sources, including *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, regarding the patron of Kha.char and its silver statue. The epitome of the doubts regarding the sponsorship of Kha.char is found in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*. After saying that Ye.shes.'od's brother, considered by the text to have been Srong.nge, built Kha.char, the text adds that

(376) It is far from clear whether the mandala-shaped boundary wall (standing to this day, albeit in a dilapidated condition), for which Tho.ling is famous, dates to this building phase. Passages in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 lines 10-12; see the previous note) and *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* (p.190 lines 2-4; see below n.483) records the existence of a boundary wall during the time of Ye.shes.'od and rTse.lde respectively. The wall, nevertheless, underwent changes in later times, as is proved by the presence of four *mchod.rten-s*, placed at its cardinal points, which, on the basis of their architectural style, cannot be of Kha.char origin dating to the late 10th-early 11th century, but are significant examples of the type of *stupa* that became popular throughout Gu.ge with the advent of Tsong.kha.pa's disciples. At that time, mud *mchod.rten-s* were often surmounted by a *chos.skor* (the spire of a *stupa* composed of thirteen discs above the *bre*) in fired clay. The four *mchod.rten-s* therefore date to not earlier than the 15th century.

(377) In the passage where lHa.lde's donation of the Byams.pa *gser.thang* to She.ye in Mar.yul is mentioned, he is also credited with the sponsorship of a Shakyamuni statue (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 14-15), although details of the temple in which it was housed are not given. It cannot be ruled out that this is the image of the *bstan.pa'i gts'o.bo* ("master of the teachings", i.e. Shakyamuni) which was placed at Tho.ling when lHa.lde completed the expansion of the *gtsug.lag.khang*.



he was one and the same as lHa.lde.btsan<sup>378</sup>. I believe that this mistake is the result of the difficulty of discriminating between the roles of Kho.re and lHa.lde at Kha.char, on the assessment of which the correct understanding of lHa.lde's succession to Khor.re also depends. The confusion reaches its climax when lDe'u Jo.sras, before introducing the passage on the king responsible for Kha.char, says that Ye.shes.'od's brother was also known as bKra.shis lde.btsan.

*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* attributes Kha.char to lHa.lde, Tho.ling and Nyar.ma to Ye.shes.'od, somewhat eulogistically adding that they were all built with the collaboration of Rin.chen bzang.po (p.88 line 5-p.89 line 2). Ye.shes.'od's brother, oddly named Khri.dpal, is considered by *Lo.pan bka'.thang* to be the builder of Kha.char, which it calls gTsang.khar (p.407 lines 22-23; see n.246).

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has a version of the construction of Kha.char which is partly accurate and partly unreliable. It associates Kha.char Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (so spelled in the source) with the 996 phase (implying that its founder was Ye.shes.'od), and records that a Byams.pa statue was its main image (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 8-9), while the passage (ibid. p.61 lines 8-10) previously quoted says: "He (lHa.lde) made the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char and the great silver image of 'Jam.dpal. He provided many means of support for [their] worship". Ngag.dbang grags.pa seems to be of the opinion that lHa.lde built the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char to house the silver 'Jam.dpal (so spelled) that he sponsored (ibid. p.61 lines 8-9). *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* thus proposes the untenable notion that two temples at Kha.char (Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa and Rin.chen brtsegs.pa) existed in the time of lHa.lde. Most sources recognize that the silver Jo.bo was housed in the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa, and that no other temple existed at that time. In fact this temple contained the silver Jo.bo in the recent past, and even at present, although both have been reconstructed, this statue is still to be found in the same *lha.khang*. In the context of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang has to be provisionally understood as one and the same as the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa of the same text, while the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang is recognized by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, *Kho.char dkar.chag* and *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* as the temple built at Kha.char during the 13th century.

*Kho.char dkar.chag*, based on the ancient accounts of the temple *sku.gnyer-s*, despite the late date of its composition<sup>379</sup>, discriminates well between these two Kha.char temples

(378) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.byung* (p.147 lines 1-3): "gCung.po Srong.nge'i bKra.shis lde.btsan zhes.pa 'Khor.re'i gcung.po Srong.nge'ol 'dis kyang Pu.rangs su Khwa.char.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.so/ mtshan gsha'.ma bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan.no", "The younger brother Srong.nge was known as bKra.shis.lde.btsan. Srong.nge was the younger brother of Kho.re. He also built Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang in Pu.rangs. His real (*gsha'.ma*) name was bKra.shis lHa.lde.btsan".

(379) *Kho.char dkar.chag* was completed by Ngor Khang.gsar.pa Ngag.dbang bsod.nams rgyal.mtshan in *chu.stod zla.ba* (the sixth month) of iron dragon 1880 (f.20a = p.60 lines 6-7) (also see the biographical note by Jackson

and the periods in which they were built. *Kho.char dkar.chag* ascribes the making of the Jo.bo to Khor.re on the advice of his guru dKar.dung chos.rje Dzam.gling Grags.pa<sup>380</sup>, the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa to Khor.re<sup>381</sup>, and the Jo.bo's base and *torana* to lHa.lde<sup>382</sup>.

(p.31-32) appended to the Dharamsala edition of the *dkar.chag* published by Bod.ljongs mNga'.ris rig.gzhung gces.skyong.khang). However, its author says (f.19b = p.59 line 18-p.60 line 1): "sKu.gnyer lnga.rabs.pai' gsung rgyun.rim (p.60) rgyud.rnam dag.la zhib.tu dpyad", "I have thoroughly investigated the accounts left in succession by the ancient lineage (*lnga.rabs* sic for *snga.rabs*) of the *sku.gnyer-s* ("keepers of the statues")".

(380) Dzam.gling Grags.pa prompted the king to sponsor the Kha.char silver jo.bo statue after a legendary donation of silver by Dzam.bha.la. *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5a = p.40 lines 13-14) says: "A.tsa.ra lus.stobs dang ldan.pa bdun byung zhing/ dngul mi.khur bdun rgyal.po la phul.du byung", "Seven huge-bodied *a.tsa.ra-s* appeared and it happened that they offered seven man-loads of silver to the king [Khor.re]"; *ibid.* (f.5b = p.40 line 18-p.41 line 1): "'Gro.ba bsod.nams bsog.pa'i rten bzang.po bzhengs (p.41) shig gsung.par rgyal.pos kyang sngon.gyi thugs.skyed rjes dran.gyis..."", "[Dzam.gling Grags.pa] having said: 'Make a statue to accumulate merit for sentient beings!', the king (Khor.re), owing to the fact that he followed the advice previously [given to him by his *bla.ma*]...""; *ibid.* (f.5b = p.41 lines 3): "Nang.rten du sngon.mar a.tsa.ra'i dngul mi.khur bdun phul rgyu de bsnam..." and *ibid.* (lines 10-12): "Shes.rab.kyi lha dpa'.bo chen.po 'Phags.pa 'Jam.dpal ye.shes sems.dpa'i gzugs.kyi sku bzhengs", "As for *nang.rten*, he possessed the material [for it, consisting of] the seven man-loads of silver previously offered by the *a.tsa.ra-s*..." "the statue of 'Phags.pa 'Jam.dpal ye.shes sems.dpa', the hero-god of wisdom, was made". Attribution to Khor.re or lHa.lde notwithstanding, the absence of a reference to the local Kha.char master in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is excusable since the text is a *rgyal.rabs*. Dzam.gling Grags.pa's highly legendary contribution recorded in the narrative of the *dkar.chag* does not find corroboration in other sources. Indeed no other *rgyal.rabs* or *chos.byung* mentions Dzam.gling Grags.pa in its attribution of Kha.char to Khor.re or lHa.lde.

(381) Eventually, the silver statue of Jo.bo was placed in the temple purposely built at Kha.char (*Kho.char dkar.chag* f.7b-8a = p.43 line 18-p.44 line 4: "Der gtsug(p.44).lag.khang Yid.bzhin lhun.grub zhes.byaba bzo khyad sna.tshogs dang ldan.pa 'di gsar.du bzhengs (f.8a) shing/ rdo chen.po A.mo.li.ka 'di.yi steng.du Jo.bo bzhugs.su gsol.ba lags", "Here (at Kha.char), the gtsug.lag.khang Yid.bzhin lhun.grub was built anew with a variety of artistic works, and the Jo.bo [statue] was placed on the great stone A.mo.li.ka"). The temple was founded because the statue spoke and said it did not want to move from Kha.char (see above n.369). The variant spelling 'Khor.chags ("in this place I stay!") for Kha.char, used in the *dkar.chag*, derives from this.

(382) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.8a = p.44 lines 8-11): "lHag.par Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje'i bzhugs khri rdo.chen A.mo.li.ka ri.rab.kyi tshul.du bzhugs nas/ gling.bzhi gling.phran.brgyad longs.spyod dang bcas.pa'i bskor.ba'i bzhugs khri ngo.mtshar.can shig bzhengs.pa dgong", "In particular, as the great stone throne A.mo.li.ka, on which Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje stood, was like Ri.rab (Sumeru), he (lHa.lde) thought to make an extraordinary throne with the magnificent *gling.bzhi gling.phran brgyad* ("four major and eight minor continents")". A lengthy description of the throne and the *torana* lHa.lde sponsored follows in the text (f.8a-f.10a = p.44 line 11-p.47 line 3).

*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* records the making of Jo.bo dngul.sku chen.po and the foundation of Kha.char in much the same way as *Kho.char dkar.chag*, albeit in an abridged form (f.7a line 7-f.9b line 1). Therefore, it considers 'Khor.re, who is named dPal.'khor.lde, to be the sponsor of the Jo.bo dngul.sku chen.po (f.7b line 3: "Gang.ltar Jo.bo rin.po.che'i dbus.ma bzhengs.pa'i sbyin.bdag ni mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.lde yin", "However it may be, the sponsor of the central Jo.bo rin.po.che was mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.lde"), probably arriving at this conclusion on the basis of the same sources as were used by the author of *Kho.char dkar.chag*.

A sign that the patronage of Kha.char and its silver statue were a bone of scholarly contention is the attribution of the nickname lDe.nag.po 'dzum.med ("the never smiling one, [incarnation of] the black deity") to Khor.re by *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.7b = p.43 line 16), and Tsha.la sde.nag.po 'dzum.med (sic for mtshar.la lde.nag.po 'dzum.med, i.e. "the never smiling descendant from the black community") to lHa.lde by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 3-4), which has been discussed in the section concerning the dates of lHa.lde. The *dkar.chag* version of the nickname associates its bearer with Dzam.bha.la and reveals awareness of the following legendary account, which is only hinted at in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The former text links the making of the silver Jo.bo, named 'Jam.dpal ye.shes sems.dpa' (ibid. f.6a = p.41 line 11) and 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje (f.8a = p.44 line 8), to the supernatural patronage of Dzam.bha.la, who made a donation of silver and sponsored the temple built to house the silver statue<sup>383</sup>. The support of Dzam.bha.la is a formula traditionally applied to major monastic foundations. However, the similarity of these nicknames shows that Ngag.dbang grags.pa and Ngag.dbang bsod.nams rgyal.mtshan, the author of *Kho.char dkar.chag*, had at their disposal at least one source in common, but their treatments are considerably different.

*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* contributes decisive information concerning Kha.char and the silver Jo.bo, which also clarifies the issue of the succession to the Gu.ge Pu.hrang throne. This text first credits Ye.shes.'od with the impulse that led to the foundations of Kha.char in sPu[.rang], rTa.po in Sil.chog (sic for Pi.Cog), Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, Sha.ling in dBu.rig (sic for sPu.rig) and Tho.ling in Gu.ge<sup>384</sup>. It then attributes the making of the silver Jo.bo image at Kha.char to lHa.lde (nicknamed lHang.nge gzigz bKra.shis.lde but subsequently identified as lHa.lde), saying: "Some time later in the life of lha.bla.ma and lo.chen, Srong.nge's son lHang.nge gzigz bKra.shis.lde (i.e. lHa.lde) made the great silver image at Kho.char. Pan.di.ta Sum.bha.shri (sic) was invited"<sup>385</sup>.

(383) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.40 lines 15-17): "Bla.ma Dzam.gling Grags.pa'i zhal.nas/ rgyal.po chen.po khyed.la gnod.sbyin Arya Dhambha.lhas thun.mong.gyi dngos.grub (f.5b) ster.ba'i sbrul.pa yin.par 'dug", "Bla.ma Dzam.gling Grags.pa said: "Great king! gNod.sbyin Arya Dham.bha.la has bestowed on you his ordinary power [of wealth]". The spelling Dzam.gling (instead of 'Dzam.gling) in the name *chos.rje* Dzam.gling Grags.pa, deriving from Dzam.bha.la's divine patronage of Kha.char, has an obviously literary flavour.

(384) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 lines 10-12), after introducing the episode of Ye.shes.'od obtaining the Dong.rtse.wang gold-fields from the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s, records the founding of his main temples: "sPu.rang du Kho.char dang/ Sil.Cog tu rTa.po dang/ Mar.yul du Nyar.ma dang/ dBu.rig tu Sha.ling dang/ Gu.ger Tho.ling.gi gtsug.lag.khang chen.po bzhengs.so".

(385) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.465 lines 10-12): "lHa.bla.ma dang/ lo.chen.gyi sku.tshe'i gzhug.la Srong.nge'i sras lHang.nge gzigz bKra.shis.lde/ Kho.char du dngul.sku chen.po bzhengs.so/ pan.di.ta Sum.pa.shri spyang.drangs.so/ lHa.lde la sras.gsum/ lha Byang.chub.'od/ Zhi.ba.'od/ lHa.zhal". The name lHa.zhal, who is presumably 'Od.lde, is a corruption. Furthermore, the following sentence (p.465 line 13) is manifestly wrong when it says: "lHa.zhal.gyis rgyal.srid chos.phul.nas rab.ru byung.ngo", "Having left secular power for religion, lHa.zhal was ordained". In fact, 'Od.lde was the only son of lHa.lde who did not become a monk.

Kho.char was thus built in the same 996 phase as the other early mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples, as *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* confirms: "Then bla.chen lHa.lde requested [Rin.chen bzang.po] to build Khwa.char gtsug.lag.khang. [The latter] went to Gu.ge and built the twelve mTho.liding *gling.phran*-s with lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. They built Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, these three. Their foundations were laid in one day"<sup>386</sup>.

On the basis of *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, it follows that the silver Jo.bo statue was added to the temple not long after it was built. This is also the view held by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which states that a statue of Byams.pa was originally installed at Kha.char as its main image. How much later was the silver Jo.bo statue placed in the temple?

According to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, lHa.lde succeeded Khor.re after the silver statue of Kha.char Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje was made but before the temple was completed, since the text says that lHa.lde was responsible for the Jo.bo's throne and *torana*. In fact, the *dkar.chag* says that at the time of the ceremony of Khor.re's ordination, lHa.lde conceived the idea of making an extraordinary throne for the silver Jo.bo<sup>387</sup>. Hence, lHa.lde succeeded when Khor.re became a monk and Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang was still unfinished. The remarkable confusion in the sources concerning the king responsible for Kha.char arose from the complexity and simultaneity of all these events.

I am inclined to credit lHa.lde with the making of the statue and not only with that of the miraculous throne in the light of the mutual corroboration provided by *Nyang.ral* and *Ngag.dbang grags.pa*<sup>388</sup>, while the sponsorship of the Kha.char temple has in my view to be attributed to Khor.re. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*, after a rather corrupt passage in which it

(386) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.88 line 5-p.89 line 2): "De.nas bla.chen.po lHa.ldes/ Khwa.char.gyis gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.su gsol(p.89).ba dang/ Gu.ge ru phebs.pa dang lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.kyis mTho.liding.gi gling.phran bcu.gnyis bzhengs.pa dang/ Mar.yul du Nyar.ma bzhengs.pa dang gsum.gyis smang zhag.gcig.la btsugs.pa yin.no".

(387) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.8a = p.44 lines 4-5): "mNga'.bdag 'Khor.re rab.tu ma.byung gong sras De.wa..." and *ibid.* (lines 10-11): "Khri ngo.mtshar.can cig bzhengs.par dgong...", "Before the ordination of king 'Khor.re, his son De.wa (lHa.lde)..." "thought of making an extraordinary throne [for the Jo.bo statue]".

(388) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 5-6) says: "Thirdly, he had great respect and liking for his father's recipients of offerings (*yab.mchod.rnams*)". *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.8a = p.44 lines 5-11) has: "Sras De.wa/ rang.gi yab.mes.kyi bzhengs.pa'i rten spyi dang/ mchod.gnas lo.pan dge.'dun.gyi sde dang bcas.pa la bkur.bsti dang/ rim [lacuna: phun?].gsum tshogs.par mdzad", "His (Khor.re's) son De.wa (lHa.lde) highly revered all the receptacles made by his father, the *mchod.gnas*-s, the *lo.pan*-s and the monks' communities, and righteously made donations". This seems to be another case proving that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and the *dkar.chag* had access to the same sources despite their having been written in different periods. Is this a hint that lHa.lde completed Kha.char after his father Khor.re had founded it? If so, to suppose that he only added the throne and the *torana* to the Jo.bo statue, as the *dkar.chag* elsewhere states, seems to attribute too little to him.

Concerning Khor.re's founding of the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa, both *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.69 lines 13-14) and *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.434 lines 9-10) have the same wording: "gCung Khor.res kyang Kha.char.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs", "The younger brother Kho.re built Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang". No reference is made in these two sources to the silver Jo.bo.

enumerates Khor.re's three sons including lHa.lde, says that Khor.re and lHa.lde built Kha.char lha.khang together<sup>389</sup>.

*Kho.char dkar.chag* is especially valuable in assessing the year in which the throne passed from Khor.re to lHa.lde. This took place in 996 after the foundations of Kha.char Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang were laid by Khor.re and his guru, and not long before the work at the temple approached completion, when lHa.lde had the silver Jo.bo statue made by the artists Bal.po A.shwa.dharma and Kha.che Wang.ku.la<sup>390</sup>. Finally, *Kho.char dkar.chag* has second thoughts about its identification of the Pu.hrang ruler responsible for Kha.char Jo.bo chen.po 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje, for in another passage it says that the central silver statue was made by 'Khor.re and lHa.lde<sup>391</sup>.

Therefore, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, although not explicitly dating the period of his reign, anticipates lHa.lde's rule by some years, placing it roughly between 987 (too early a date since Ye.shes abdicated in 988) and 996<sup>392</sup>. A more extreme version of this assessment is found in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* and in *Padma dkar.po*

(389) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.222 lines 7-9) reads: "gCung Srong.nge la sras lHa.lde dang/ gNam.la 'Od.chen/ U.pa dang gsum byung stef/ yab.sras de.pas Kha.char.gyi lha.khang bzhengs", "lHa.lde and gNam.la 'Od.chen, U.pa, these three, were born to the younger brother Srong.nge. The father and son, these ones, built Kha.char lha.khang". *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* is the only text which is similar to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in its treatment of Khor.re's offspring, for both these texts attribute three sons to Ye.shes.'od's brother. In the view of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, Khor.re's sons were Cog.re, lHa.lde and U.ra.za (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 1-2 and line 15). The differences between the two sources are obvious. While the mysterious U.ra.za may correspond to U.pa, no link at all exists between Cog.re and the awkward name gNam.la 'Od.chen, unless the latter is a nickname for the former. Both Cog.re and U.ra.za are only names since nothing regarding their lives and deeds is to be found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* or *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*.

(390) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.41 lines 5-7): "bZher mgar.tshang.gling zhes.by.a.ba'i sa.stod gangs.ri/ sa.smad rdza.ri/ bar shug.pa'i nag.khrod chen.po zhig yod.pa der/ Bal.po.yi gzo.bo A.shwa.dharma dang Kha.che bzo.bo Wang.ku.la..." and *ibid.* (f.5b = p.41 line 11): "'Phags.pa 'Jam.dpal ye.shes sems.dpa'i gzugs.kyi sku bzhengs", "At bZher mgar.tshang.gling ("the bZher camping ground"), which has a snow mountain on the upper part, a barren mountain on the lower side and a large forest of juniper trees in the middle, here, the Bal.po artist A.shwa.dharma and the Kha.che artist Wang.ku.la..." "made the statue of 'Phags.pa 'Jam.dpal ye.shes sems.dpa'".

(391) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.10b-11a = p.47 line 18-p.48 line 2): "mNga'.bdag 'Khor(p.48).re dang/ lHa.lde yab(f.11a).sras.kyis bzheng.pa'i Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje...", "Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje, which was made by mnga'.bdag 'Khor.re and lHa.lde, the father and son..."

(392) This text does not clarify whether the title *bla.chen.po* applied to lHa.lde when it mentions his association with Rin.chen bzang.po (p.87 lines 4-5 and p.88 line 5) identifies him as king, for the term is not as definitive as *mnga'.bdag, rgyal.po* or *khri*. Like Byang.chub.'od, who was not the ruler by then, lHa.lde is again called *bla.chen.po* at the time of Ye.shes.'od's death (1024) in the same source (p.96 lines 1-2, see above n.332). Combining the evidence found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *Bai.ser*, lHa.lde was no longer the king of Gu.ge Pu.hrang in 1024 as he had already taken vows. In the latter case, *lha.chen.po* may refer to his monks status.

*chos.'byung*, for these works say that Ye.shes.'od left the kingdom to lHa.lde<sup>393</sup>, so that Khor.re's rule of Gu.ge Pu.hrang is entirely ignored.

*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*'s inclination to predate events to lHa.lde's reign appears again in its chronological assessment of pandi.ta Shu.bha.shi.ta's invitation in the years before 996. According to *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, this occurred after lHa.lde had installed the silver Jo.bo in Kha.char, a view shared by Ngag.dbang grags.pa (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 8-9). *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*-s are more vague, since they say that he was invited after either the *khu.dbon* or the *yab.sras* gathered, which does not contribute any useful insight into the time when this invitation occurred<sup>394</sup>. The identities of these royal dignitaries can be guessed at but not established with any certainty.

To sum up, Kho.re reigned from 988, when Ye.shes.'od abdicated, to 996, when he left the throne to lHa.lde, who in turn ruled until some time around 1024.

According to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, Kha.char underwent the following building phases until the first half of the 14th century, some of which have still to be discussed and will be dealt with below:

- 1st) the building of the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang with the patronage of Khor.re (*Kho.char dkar.chag* f.7b = p.43 line 18-p.44 line 2);
- 2nd) the making of the silver 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje statue by A.shwa.dharma and Wang.ku.la, and the miraculous throne and *torana* for the 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje statue, sponsored by lHa.lde (ibid. f.5b = p.41 lines 5-7 and 11);
- 3rd) the addition of the two silver side statues by rNam.lde.mgon (known as gNam.mgon.lde to *Kho.char dkar.chag*) to compose the famous triad of the Jo.bo.dngul.skumched.gsum (ibid. f.10a-11a = p.47 line 7-p.48 line 5; see below n.658);
- 4th) the building of the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang by the Pu.hrang king bTsan.stobs.lde (sic for sTobs.lding.btsan) (ibid. f.16b = p.55 lines 12-13; see below n.730);
- 5th) the expansion and restoration of the Kha.char temple complex by the Pu.hrang king bSod.nams.lde (ibid. f.17a-b = p.56 lines 3-10; see below n.762).

(393) Both *Jo.bo dngul.skumched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.7a line 2: "rGyal.srid gcung.gi sras lHa.lde la gtab") and *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.261 lines 2-3: "rGyal.srid gcung.gi sras lHa.lde la gtab", "He (Ye.shes.'od) abdicated in favour of lHa.lde, the son of his younger brother") have the same wording, and therefore it is likely that one is derived from the other.

(394) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.147 lines 7-8) reads: "Khu.dbon nam yab.sras 'dzom.pa'i dus der/ pandi.ta Su.bhag.shi.ta skad.pa de.yang spyang.drangs", "When either the *khu.dbon* (the paternal uncle and nephew: Ye.shes.'od and Byang.chub.'od) or the *yab.sras* (the father and sons: Ye.shes.'od, De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza?) gathered, at that time a *pandi.ta* called Su.bhag.shi.ta was invited". *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 15-16) says: "Khu.dbon dang yab.sras 'dzom.pa'i dus.der pandi.ta Su.bha.shi.ta spyang.drangs", "When the *khu.dbon* (paternal uncle and nephew: Ye.shes.'od and Byang.chub.'od) and the *yab.sras* (the father and son: lHa.lde and 'Od.lde?) gathered, at that time a *pandi.ta* called Su.bha.shi.ta was invited". The different conjunction (*dang* and *nam*) used in the two works makes their assessment different.

The first phase of building at Kha.char recorded in the *dkar.chag* dates to 996 and is also mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The second phase, occurring during lHa.lde's reign, is again mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The next building phase recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 6) is not found in the *dkar.chag* and other sources. It consisted of the renovation of the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa (i.e. the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa) by Grags.btsan.lde (ruling in the 12th century). The subsequent phase is found in both texts and involves the addition of the two silver side Jo.bo-s by rNam.lde.mgon. The next phase found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is the building of the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa (mid 13th century) by sTobs.liding.btsan, called bTsan.stobs.lde in *Kho.char dkar.chag*<sup>395</sup>. The last phase is recorded in both sources and is ascribed to bSod.nams.lde (late 13th-early 14th century)<sup>396</sup>.

It follows from Ngag.dbang grags.pa's mistaken view that two temples (the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa and the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa) were built at Kha.char during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* that three temples would have existed there in the 13th century, after sTobs.liding.btsan added the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa. This has to be dismissed since only two ancient temples stood at Kha.char before bSod.nams.lde's reign.

### *The other temples built during the 996 phase (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.54 and 60-61)*

The foundation of Nyar.ma, the major mNga'.ris skor.gsum temple in Mar.yul, is implicitly attributed to Ye.shes.'od by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, when it records the impulse that he gave to the construction of the group of temples in 996. The text adds that the main statue put up at Nyar.ma was an image of Mar.me.mdzad (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 line 9)<sup>397</sup>. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* and *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* are more explicit in

(395) The fact that bTsan.stobs.lde lived before rNam.lde.mgon (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 lines 8-9), to whom the previous phase at Kha.char is attributed by both sources, shows that he was not the king responsible for the building of the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang. sTobs.liding.btsan, therefore, was the Pu.hrang king who sponsored this temple. According to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, bTsan.stobs.lde was not able to contribute anything important because his reign was disrupted by unsettled times in Zhang.zhung.

(396) The possibility that the authors of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *Kho.char dkar.chag*, as said above in n.388, had some common sources at their disposal is reinforced by their similar references to bSod.nams.lde's patronage of the restoration and expansion of Kha.char. In this case the two works are in accordance, while they differ considerably in their interpretations of the early building stages at Kha.char.

(397) *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.338 lines 15-18) says: "Lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po phebs Nyer.ma'i gtsug.lag.khang chen.po/ Sangs.rgyas Mar.me.mdzad.kyi gtsu.byas gtsug.lag.khang nang gsang.sggags lha la/phyi'i lcags.ri rnam.yo.ga'i tshul.du bzhengs", "Lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po went [to Mar.yul]. He [built] Nyer.ma (Nyar.ma) gtsug.lag.khang chen.po. He made [the images] of the gods of the Secret Tantra-s inside the *gtsug.lag.khang*, with Sangs.rgyas Mar.me.mdzad as the main [deity], [and] a boundary wall on its outside. He built [this *gtsug.lag.khang*] to symbolize *yoga*".

attributing the temple to Ye.shes.'od, with the latter source adding that Rin.chen bzang.po was also responsible for its construction<sup>398</sup>, while Nyar.ma is nowhere attributed to a Mar.yul ruler of the genealogy of dPal.gyi.mgon. This notable lack of local patronage raises the question of whether the royal lineage of La.dwags descended from the eldest of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum enjoyed any autonomy (see below p.495).

Interesting information concerning the religious and architectural conception of Nyar.ma is provided by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*: "At Mar.yul sum.mdo chos.skor Nya.ma (sic), as the pan.di.ta-s Buddha.shi.shan.tam.ba, Buddha.pa.la and Ka.ma.la.gub.ta, these three, met, a request was made to them. They translated many religious texts"<sup>399</sup>. No evidence is available to date the period of this event and thus when during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* Nyar.ma was recognized as a *chos.skor*. Given that the ruins of Nyar.ma and dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa have a similar plan and that they belonged to the same building phase, it cannot be ruled out that Nyar.ma was originally conceived as a *chos.skor* in the same way as Tho.ling (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.53 lines 8-10).

Ta.po Cog.la.rgyan ("ornament of Cog.la")<sup>400</sup> in Pi.ti is the next in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*'s list of early foundations to be credited to Ye.shes.'od<sup>401</sup>. Ta.po owes its fame to

(398) See *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 line 11): "Mar.yul du Nyar.ma [bzhengs]"; and *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.88 line 5; also above n.356). See Panglung's German translation of excerpts from the *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* written by the Khri.gs. mkhan.po, dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa, where he reports the present condition of the temple to the extent of detailing the measurement of its ruins (p.14 lines 1-6: "Khri.gs.de'i Nyar.mar gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.par lha.khang che.chung brgyad/ lha.khang che.ba'i dkyus bzhengs gnyis.la gom.khru nyer.lnga re/ lha.khang.gi rtsig bzhengs.la lag.khru gsum/ rtsig.pa'i tho.tshad lag.khru bcu.gsum/ phyi lcags.ri'i phyogs.re.la gom.pa nyi.brgya lnga.bcu re/ lcags.ri'i rtsig bzhengs.la lag.khru phyed.gnyis/ mtho.tshad.la lag.khru brgyad lhag.tsam yod", "Having founded the *gtsug.lag.khang* at Khri.gs.se Nyar.ma, [Rin.chen bzang.po built] eight *lha.khang*-s [there]. The length of the largest *lha.khang* is twenty-five steps on both sides. [The thickness] of the walls of this *lha.khang* is three *lag.khru* ("cubit"). The height of the walls is thirteen *lag.khru*. On the outside, the *lcags.ri* ("boundary wall") is 250 steps on each side. [The thickness] of the walls of the *lcags.ri* is one and one half *lag.khru*. Its height is over eight *lag.khru*"; see Panglung "Die Oberreste des Klosters Nyar ma in Ladakh" and the latter author's exploration of the site on p.283 ff). I am not reconciled with the foundation date proposed in *mkhan.po*'s work (Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* p.17 lines 1-2: "gNas.der gtsug.lag.khang chags.nas spyi.lo chig.stong dgu.brgya don.drug bar.du lo dgu.brgya re.lnga song", "965 years have elapsed between the establishment of the *gtsug.lag.khang* at this holy place and the present year 1976"). According to Tibetan calendrical calculation, this is the rat year 1012 rather than 1011 as Panglung says (p.283 n.8). 1012 is too late by seventeen years.

(399) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.463 lines 13-15): "Mar.yul sum.mdo'i chos.skor Nya.mar/ pan.di.ta Buddha.shi.shan.tam.ba dang/ Buddha.pa.la dang/ Ka.ma.la.gub.ta gsum dang mjal.nas zhu.ba phul/ chos mang.po bsgyur".

(400) The name Cog.la.rgyan, by which Ta.po in Pi.ti is known in Ngag.dbang grags.pa's work, is useful to confirm that Pi.ti and Cog.la corresponded, being either the same land or adjacent to one another. This proximity or identity is indicated by the term Pi.Cog often found in the literature.

(401) The long inscription in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang begins with the following well known



the fact that it is one of the few surviving monasteries in sTod dating to *bstan.pa.phyi.dar*. Several other chapels were built after the dGe.lugs.pa-s came to occupy the temple.

Another is Nga.ra Ka.nam gtsug.lag.khang defined as a *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang*. This is the well known temple in Khu.nu which has survived to this day<sup>402</sup>. Although the expression *mtha'.dul* recalls the temples founded by Srong.btsan sgam.po to subdue the Bod *srin.mo*, Ka.nam gtsug.lag.khang is obviously not one of them, and here *mtha'.dul* refers instead to the location of this temple, standing at the border of mNga'.ris skor.gsum and Mon.yul<sup>403</sup>. I have no comments to offer on the name Nga.ra, also cited in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* in reference to Ka.nam (p.110 line 1: "Nga.ra'i Ka.nam").

and relevant historical information (line 1): "sPre'u'i lo la sngon mes Byang.chub sems.dpas/ gtsug.lag.khang 'di bzhengs nas/ lo bzhi.bcu rtsa.drug 'og.tu dbon lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od.kyis byang.chub.kyi thugs sngon.tu 'gro.bas/ gtsug.lag.khang 'di gso'.ba mdzad", "Since earlier in the monkey year this *gtsug.lag.khang* was built by the ancestor (*mes*) Byang.chub sems.dpa' (i.e. Ye.shes.'od), forty-six years later, his nephew lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od, moved by a steadfast thought of enlightenment, undertook a renovation of this *gtsug.lag.khang*".

(402) Ka.nam was where Csoma de Koros, the pioneer of Western interest in Tibetan literature, studied.

(403) On Srong.btsan sgam.po's *yang.dul* temples in sTod (Gangs.bar, Pra.dum, Khyung.lung, Shing.sa otherwise Shel.ber or Khri.g.se, dPal.rgyas, sKar.chung, 'Thon.'thing and Hab.zhang) see various sources. *Nyang.ral chos.byung* (p.243 lines 15-19): "mTsho Ma.pham.gyi kha.gnon la Gangs.bar bzhengs.so/ Gangs Ti.se'i kha.gnon la 'Phrang.dum.rtse bzhengs.so/ Sangs.rgyas 'das.pa'i rten.du Nub.ri'i gnam.sa gra.zur gnon.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung dngul.dkar bzhengs.so/ dBang.phyug chen.po sgrub.pa'i gnam.sa Mang.yul Shing.sa [bzhengs]"; Ne'u pan.di.ta, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.18 lines 15-18): "Gang.bar/ 'Thon.'thing gnyis Gangs Ti.se [note: mthong.na ri.gzhan.la dngos.so med.pas] gnon.pa'i don.du bzhengs/ Pra.dum dang dPal.rgyas.kyi lha.khang gnyis mtsho Ma.'phang ma.lud.pa'i don.du [note: lud.na Bod du sKyin.thang.gi chu.chen yas (sic for rgyas) bzhengs]" and *ibid.* (p.18 line 21-p.19 line 2): "Mang.yul Shel.ber.gyi gtsug.lag.khang/ bsTan.ma bcu.gnyis phran (p.19).du bskol (sic for bkol).ba'i don.du bzhengs"; *ibid.* (p.19 lines 1-2) gNam.sa'i zur mnan.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung.gi lha.khang bzhengs". Also *ibid.* (p.19 lines 3-6): "sKar.chung gling.bzhi dpe.brgyad.kyi gtsug.lag[khang] Bal.po dang Li.yis bzo.byas te slad.kyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.pa'i dper/ gTsang Lu.ma mgo.dgu'i rgyab Pu.rang dang Gro.shod.kyi 'tshams.su bzhengs"; *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.byung* (p.116 lines 18-21): "De.shang lha.khang Hab.shang lha.khang gnyis mtsho Ma.pham lud.nas Bod la sKyin.thang byung.gis dogs.pa'i ched.du/ Gangs.bar lha.khang [bzhengs]/ Gangs.ri Ti.se mthong.na ri thams.cad.la gnod.kyis dogs nas/ Gangs.ri Ti.se mi.mthong.pa'i ched.du 'Phra.dum.gyi lha.khang [bzhengs]" and *ibid.* (p.117 lines 2-3): "gNam.sa gnyis zur gnon.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar/ dBang.phyug sgrub.pa'i don.du Mang.yul Khri.dpe'i lha.khang [bzhengs]"; *mkhas.pa De'u* (p.286 lines 13-16): "Gangs.bar.gyi lha.khang ni mtsho Ma.pham ma.lud nas Bod la rkyen byung dogs.pa'i ched.du bzhengs/ sPra.dun.rtse'i lha.khang ni gangs Ti.rtse mthong.nas ri thams.cad la dngos.bzhi med dogs.pa'i ched.du Gangs mi.mthong.ba la bzhengs" and *ibid.* (p.286 lines 17-19): "Khyung.lung dngul.dkar.gyi lha.khang ni gnam.sa gnyis zur gnon.pa'i ched.du bzhengs/ Mang.yul Khri.se'i lha.khang (ni) dBang.phyug grub.pa'i ched.du bzhengs". Both the names of the temples and the reasons for building them vary considerably in these sources, with the exception of Khyung.lung. It is notable that the authors mentioned above record *yang.dul* temples in the central locations of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, while the *yang.dul gtsug.lag.khang*-s of mNga'.ris *rgyal.rabs* and *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* are located at the limit of the Tibetan world bordering the Mon.yul lands.

Verifying the identity of Re.sag Mo.nang is a more difficult proposition. The possibility that Mo.nang may refer to Mang.nang is unconvincing as Mang.nang and the Re.sag temple are never associated in the sources. A sounder proposal is that Re.sag is a copyist's misreading for Ro.pag, the site in Khu.nu, for the consonants *sa* and *pa* as well as the vowels *'greng.bu* and *na.ro* appear very similar in the *khyug.yig* script of the original text of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. If so, the little temple at Ro.pag, where some beautiful statues in the style of Kha.che stand, has to be recognized as the Mo.nang temple built in 996.

Ro.chung sPu gtsug.lag.khang follows in the list. This is the small *lha.khang* located in sPu, the present capital of Khu.nu, which does not show any signs of antiquity (perhaps these have been obliterated), but houses two clay statues of Kashmiri workmanship dating to the period of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. On the basis of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, one can assume that the statues belong to the time of Ye.shes.'od, although no other source credits this king with founding this temple. It is likely that Ro.chung should be corrected to Rong.chung<sup>404</sup>. Rong.chung customarily refers to a different mNga'.ris skor.gsum territory, to the north-east of Khu.nu, in the land in Gu.ge along the Glang.chen kha.'babs downstream from Tho.ling, extending to the north from the right bank of the river. Maps confirm its location. However, it is noteworthy that *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* also locates sPu in Rong.chung (p.110 line 1: "Rong.chung.gi sPu"). In a classification of early mNag'.ris skor.gsum temples, *Kho.char dkar.chag* and *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* separately classify Ti.yag, a foundation by Rin.chen bzang.po in Gu.ge Rong.chung, and another temple of the same phase called sPi.ti Rong.chung in the sources<sup>405</sup>, which confirms the existence of another Rong.chung to the west of that in Gu.ge. It seems therefore that two areas named Rong.chung existed in antiquity, one in the Khu.nu/Pi.ti area, the other in Gu.ge.

(404) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.30b lines 1-2): "Mon.gyi dgon.pa rTa.shab yin/ Ro.stod gang.dkar 'tsho.la yod") contains another instance of Rong written Ro (called Ro.stod in the passage, where the monastery named Mon.gyi dgon.pa rTa.tshab was owned by the Mar.lung.pa family). On the basis of these occurrences, it seems that Ro is a term of the West Tibetan dialect which stands for Rong.

(405) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16a = p.54 line 17-p.55 line 1): "Gu.ge mTho.ling lha.khang/ Mang.yul Nyar.med lha.khang/ sPi.ti Rong.chung/ Ti.yag Kha.zang/ Pu.rang bZher/ Sle.mi sogs (p.55) yul chung nyi.shu rtsa.gcig.tu lha.khang brgya dang brgyad bzhengs.pa gsol", which I classify on the basis of territorial evidence as follows: "Gu.ge mTho.ling lha.khang, Mang.yul Nyar.med (sic for Nyar.ma) lha.khang, sPi.ti Rong.chung, Ti.yag, Kha.zang (Khwa.tse?), Pu.rang bZher, Sle.mi [and temples in] twenty-one minor localities, altogether 108 *lha.khang-s*, were built". The inclusion of the latter two temples while others of importance are not cited, amounts to regional favouritism, given the proximity of bZher and Sle.mi to Kha.char. The appearance of Ti.yag among the first *lha.khang-s* built during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* is also noteworthy, for this temple is not customarily listed among them. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.9b line 6-f.10a line 1: "mKho.chags 'di.nyid.du lha.khang chen.mo Ka.ma bzhengs/ gzhan.yang Gu.ger mTho.liding lha.khang/ Mar.yul Nyar.ma'i lha.khang/ Pi.ti Rong.chung/ Ti.yag Kha.se/ Zher.gling/ Pu.rangs Sle.mi sogs Mu.ku chos.'khor.gyi jo.bo Mi.skyod rdo.rje dang mtshungs gtsug.lag.khang yul.chung nyi.zhu rtsa.cig.tu lha.khang brgya.rtsa bzhengs", "lHa.khang chen.mo Ka.ma was built at mKho.chags (sic for Kha.char). Moreover, mTho.liding lha.khang in Gu.ge, Nyar.ma lha.khang in Mar.yul, Pi.ti Rong.chung, Ti.yag, Kha.se (Khwa.tse?), Zher.gling, Pu.rangs

The next temple in the list is Pi.war dKar.sag lha.khang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 11-12). Pi.war is a copyist's mistake for Pi.wang, given the similarity between *ra* and *nga* in the *khyug.yig* script. In West Tibet, Pi.wang and Phyi.wang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-8) are pronounced in exactly the same way, much as Pi.ling.ba and Phyi.gling.ba (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 lines 17-18). Phyi.wang, found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* with reference to the activity of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, seems to be a 15th century literary variant of Pi.wang.

Pi.wang/Phyi.wang is the well known place in Gu.ge Byang.ngos mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* where the Gu.ge king Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde was crowned in 1424. This place, where conspicuous ruins of monasteries and an extensive cave complex are found, lies to the north of the Glang.chen kha.babs and south of Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar)<sup>406</sup>.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 line 12) fixes in one hundred the number of the temples built in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during the time of Ye.shes.'od and Rin.chen bzang.po, while *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* has one hundred and eight *gtsug.lag.khang*-s. They are classified differently in the two sources. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has eight major and ninety-two minor temples, whereas the *rnam.thar* (p.88 line 5-p.89 line 2 and p.108 line 4-p.109 line 2) has three major and twenty-one minor temples whose names are listed, while those remaining are unrecorded.

A detailed analysis of the various lists of these temples contained in the sources is not attempted in the present text, for almost every source records a different (and often incomplete) classification of them, a single comparison being offered here as an example.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 lines 8-12) considers Tho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma, Ta.po, Ka.nam, Mo.nag of Re.sag, sPu and Pi.wang dKar.sag to be the eight earliest temples built in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during the time of Ye.shes.'od. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* lists them as Kho.char, rTa.po in Sil.Chog' (i.e. Pi.Cog), Nyar.ma, Sha.ling in dBu.rig (i.e. sPu.rig) and Tho.ling (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.461 lines 10-12; see above p.261 and n.384)<sup>407</sup>. The temples common to the two sources are Tho.ling, Kho.char, Nyar.ma and Ta.po. Those

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Sle.mi etc., the jo.bo Mi.skyod rdo.rje of Mu.ku chos.'khor, [various] *gtsug.lag.khang*-s were established in twenty-one minor localities, altogether 108 *lha.khang*-s were built") enumerates the temples constructed during the 996 phase in much the same way as *Kho.char dkar.chag*. In this list, *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* calls the temple built at Kha.char in 996 lha.khang chen.mo Ka.ma. This is most peculiar since it is consistently called Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa in the literature. Mu.ku chos.'khor may have been in Mugu, presently in the Nepalese territory.

(406) Fragments of wall paintings found in a decaying chapel sited in the eroded rockface at Pi.wang may go back to an early time, although it is far from certain that they belong to the 996 phase as no extant historical account is left to corroborate stylistic impressions, and their classification has to be attempted on purely artistic grounds. Other murals definitely date to a later time, possibly not before the late 15th-early 16th century, when the Sa.skya.pa-s were controlling Phyi.wang.

(407) *Kho.char dkar.chag* goes so far as to attribute the early temples of mNga'.ris skor.gsum of the 996 phase to the *mchod.yon* established by Kho.re and lHa.lde with Rin.chen bzang.po (f.16a = p.54 lines 15-17:

not found in both texts are Ka.nam, Mo.nang, sPu, dKar.sag of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and Sha.ling of *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*. Sha.ling can tentatively be identified as the temple at Cig.tan in sPu.rig visited by Francke during his travels in La.dwags, where a structure similar to the so called Rin.chen bzang.po temples contained faded traces of murals in Kashmiri style in his days (*Antiquities of the Indian Tibet*, vol.I, p.99-101). Either Cig.tan was anciently called Sha.ling, or the latter site was located in its vicinity.

Three of the four temples built during the 996 building phase (Nga.ra'i Ka.nam, Ro.pag Mo.nam, Rong.chung sPu and Pi.wang dKar.sag) cited by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 lines 10-12), together with Tho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma, Ta.po, are those recorded as the *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* (lHo De.gar, dPag, Drug.phag Mon, Nga.ra Ka.nam, Rong.chung sPu) in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* after the list of the twenty-one minor temples<sup>408</sup>. Two temples, Nga.ra Ka.nam and Rong.chung sPu, are defined *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* in both sources, and possibly a third if Re.sag/Ro.pag Mo.nam, inserted between them in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, is Drug.phag Mon. The list of the four *mtha'.dul* temples of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* is in any case incomplete in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, since the last *lha.khang* of the eight listed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 lines 11-12) is Pi.wang dKar.sag, which, given its location in the heartland of Gu.ge rather than in a border area, cannot be classified as a *mtha'.dul* temple. This is another case of the same material being differently assessed in these two sources. It is uncertain whether Ngag.dbang grags.pa considered them to be part of the 996 building phase merely because they are not clearly classified in the *rnam.thar*, or on the basis of specific evidence. There is no ready answer to this question, and only future research can elucidate the reliability of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's classification of the 996 temples. The subject is of great importance, for three of the four *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* were built in the 996 phase according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, while, according to *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, as has been mentioned above (p.245), the *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s* belonged to a subsequent building phase undertaken after the death of Ye.shes.'od in 1024.

It is significant that the 996 building phase was characterised by the work of foreign artists, who may have come to sTod independently. The Kha.char silver 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje is credited to the combined skills of Newar A.shwa.dharma and Kha.che Wang.ku.la. This proves that foreign artists were busy in West Tibet before Rin.chen bzang.po's return to

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"Lo.chen 'di dang/ mnga'.bdag Kho.re dang/ de'i sras lHa.lde ste/ mchod.yon 'di.rnams.kyi sku.dus...", "When *mchod.yon* [was established] between this lo.chen and mnga'.bdag Kho.re as well as his son lHa.lde...", the major temples were built).

(408) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.109 line 5-p.110 line 2): gZhan.yang mtha'.dul.gyis (p.110) gtsug.lag.khang la/ lHo'i De.gar/ dPag/ Drug.phag.gi Mon/ Nga.ra'i Ka.nam/ Rong.chung.gi sPu/ 'di rnams dang/ mdor.na Rong.chung nas bzhengs.tshad.kyis gtsug.lag.khang thams kyang/ bla.ma lo.tsa.bas chen.po'i bzhengs.pa lags.so", "Furthermore, the *mtha'.dul gtsug.lag.khang-s*, which are lHo De.gar, dPag, Drug.phag Mon, Nga.ra Ka.nam, Rong.chung sPu, were in brief the *gtsug.lag.khang-s* built in Rong.chung. All of them were also built by bla.ma lo.tsa.ba chen.po".

sTod with the thirty-two Kha.che *lha.bzo.ba-s* in the ox year 1001<sup>409</sup>. Statues were also placed in the other temples as early as the time of their foundation in 996, notably the Rigs.lnga at Tho.ling, a Mar.me.mdzad at Nyar.ma and a Byams.pa at Kha.char. While Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang and the other temples were founded in fire monkey 996, work on their painted and sculpted cycles must have continued until later than ox year 1001. As recorded by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.55 lines 17-19), artists were consistently at work, since Ye.shes.'od had committed himself to renovate and expand the temples (ibid. p.58 lines 10-13) and had also bound his successors to the same task. Ample evidence is offered by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* on the way this commitment was put into practice even after his death. However, these works were not exclusively foreign. As said above, the making of the divine images was considered to be of greatest importance to the extent that aesthetic perfection was to be rewarded under the terms of one of the laws of the *chos.rtsigs* Ye.shes.'od issued in 988. This legal act promoted the creation of local workshops to produce images for the temples, which integrated the foreign output and assured a local supply.

That work on the temples was often resumed to make them better and better houses of the gods is testified to by the hitherto unknown great renovation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang. The temple reached its complete form, for which it has become famous, some thirty years after its foundation. Building and artistic activity possibly continued between 996 and 1028, the dates mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, a new impetus arriving with the thirty-two Kha.che artists in 1001.

This assumption has to be extended to other early mNga'.ris skor.gsum temples, where local evidence corroborates the official renovation stages recorded in literature. Although smaller and less ambitious, Ta.po also underwent renovation only forty-six years after its foundation (see n.401). One has to wonder whether Nyar.ma was also a *chos.skor* from the time of its foundation or was the result of a subsequent expansion.

In the next building phase some new foundations occurred, as well as renovations of earlier temples. Those previously established on which further work was carried out were g.Yu.sgra lha.khang, the earliest of them all, renovated by bKra.shis.mgon (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 5-6) and then by his son Khor.re (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1); Pi.wang dKar.sag (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 line 11), belonging to the early group of temples built during the 996 phase and then renovated by De.ba.ra.dza (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 3-4); Tsha.tsa.sgang founded by Khor.re and later renovated by

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(409) The calculation of the year in which Rin.chen bzang.po came back to sTod with his Kha.che artists is as follows. He returned with them six years after he had left sTod (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.94 line 2). He spent ten years in sTod before leaving for Kha.che for the second time (*'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdu.s.pa* p.175 line 1). This ten years' sojourn in West Tibet began in 987, on his return from his first journey to Kha.che and rGya.gar. Adding ten years to 987 comes to the monkey year 996, the year of his second departure for Kha.che. Having stayed there for six years, he finally came back to sTod in the ox year 1001.

Zhi.ba.'od (positively for *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, possibly for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 lines 6-7). These temples among others are discussed below.

*Further mNga'.ris.stod temples built at an early stage of bstan.pa phyi.dar (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.60-61)*

Khri.lde mgon.btsan/De.ba.ra.dza founded dKar.sag chos.sde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 3-4). The name corresponds to that of the temple founded in 996 at Pi.wang during the time of Ye.shes.'od. The difference is that the one erected, according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, during the latter's time is referred to as a *lha.khang*, while that of De.ba.ra.dza is a *chos.sde*. De.ba.ra.dza's contribution to the dKar.sag monastery must obviously have occurred before the pig year 1023, the year of his death (see p.241-242). The Pi.wang temple therefore underwent two early building phases, the first in 996, the second, at the latest, some thirty years later. The statement in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that De.ba.ra.dza also established Pi.wang *gnas.bzhi* ("four holy places") is noteworthy. In all likelihood, it has to be corrected to *gnas.gzhi*, i.e. an estate or else quarters for monks. In my view, the latter interpretation is sounder, for it is more consistent with the concept of a *chos.sde*, where a community of monks is customarily found.

lHa.'khor.btsan/Na.ga.ra.dza, after he was ordained and became known as Na.ga.pra.bha, established dPe.pa chos.sde<sup>410</sup> and dbu.sde<sup>411</sup>. He placed in its premises a

(410) A rather different use of the term *dpe* is found in Ne'u pan.di.ta, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.19 lines 3-6) referring to one of the *yang.'dul* temples attributed to Srong.btsan sgam.po: "sKar.chung gling.bzhi dpe.brgyad.kyi gtsug.lag(.khang) Bal.po dang Li.yis bzo.byas te slad.kyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.pa'i dper/ gTsang Lu.ma mgo.dgu'i rgyab Pu.rang dang Gro.shod.kyi 'tshams (sic for mtshams).su bzhengs", "sKar.chung dpe.brgyad gtsug.lag.khang, made in the style of Bal.po and Li, was built at the border between Pu.rang and Gro.shod behind gTsang Lu.mo mgo.dgu [to be] a model for future *gtsug.lag.khang-s*". Here *dpe* is not treated as a proper name but as a term denoting the major structural components of the temple. Indicating the sub-divisions of an edifice, dPe.pa may be some form of dependence, in the case of dPe.pa chos.de built by Na.ga.ra.dza, a branch monastery of a principal one, in the same way as *yang.lag* is normally used. This is merely a weak suggestion which awaits strong corroboration. Otherwise, the name dPe.pa more probably refers to a locality in Gu.ge Pu.hrang. The location of sKar.chung gtsug.lag.khang between Pu.hrang and Gro.shod, said to be at the back of (i.e. beyond) the nine divisions of gTsang Lu.ma, may have been close to the Ma.yum.la. Reference to the temple having been built in the Newar and Khotanese architectural styles with the purpose of being a model for future *lha.khang-s* testifies to the spread of Newar and Khotanese influence in the lands of West Tibet, if the information is reliable. Therefore, what is commonly called Bal.Bod in the Tibetan sources would have to be extended farther west than the area bordering Mang.yul Gung.thang in the early historical period. If taken *ad litteram*, the passage would also testify to the fact that a Khotanese model was used in sTod over a century before bSam.yas was built, where one of the dBu.rtse four storeys was made in the latter style.

(411) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* makes frequent use of the term *dbu.sde*, which, in the context it is employed, has to be kept conceptually separated from the term *chos.sde*, the former standing for a monastic community, the

silver statue of rje.btsun 'Jam.pa'i dbyangs similar to the central 'Phags.pa image of Kha.char with a *brgyan* (*torana*) made of 250 *to.lo* (sic for *to.la*) of gold, adorned with diamonds and thousands of small jewels; a silver statue of 'Jam.dbyangs dkar.po one *rtsi.khru* in size; the complete cycle of the deities of the rDo.rje.dbyings dkyil.'khor in silver; the complete set of deities of the rDo.rje.dbyings dkyil.'khor in *ra.gan* ("brass": does this mean that they were made in Kha.che style, given that brass is the typical alloy of Kashmir of the period?); and the image of Thub.pa grong.khyer.ma dkyil.krung.ma ("sitting in a cross-legged position") of Ga.sha.na (sic for Gar.sha.nas, i.e. from Gar.sha), in an extraordinary alloy and bestowing blessings (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 9-16)<sup>412</sup>.

Regarding Gar.sha, from where the statue of Shakyamuni was brought to dPe.pa chos.sde, this territory has important artistic signs surviving to this day. The Markuladevi temple, located in the village of Udaipur, has beautiful Kashmiri woodcarvings that are syncretic in as much as both Buddhist and Hindu scenes are depicted.

Gar.sha is not far from Ta.po, where Kha.che art was introduced in 996 during the early temple building phase in mNga'.ris skor.gsum. Furthermore, several clay statues and a few tiny fragments of murals in Kashmiri style are preserved in the Gung.rang temple near Kye.lang in Gar.sha. The images are important since they testify to the variety of idioms of Kashmiri art in this land, for the Kashmiri style found at Gung.rang differs from both that of Udaipur and that of Ta.po. Given the proximity of Gar.sha to Pi.ti, idiomatic elements belonging to the art of Kha.che may have been transferred from the former territory to Ta.po. This hypothesis can only be verified by an art historical evaluation, which would exceed the scope of the present work. Gar.sha was therefore a major centre of Kashmiri art and it is likely that the image Na.ga.ra.dza placed at dPe.pa chos.sde was a statue in that style brought from there to sTod during the first quarter of the 11th century.

Literary evidence testifies that Kashmiri artistic influence came to West Tibet within a period of less than twenty-five years in the early 11th century along two routes; the first directly from Kha.che with Rin.chen bzang.po's thirty-two artists in 1001 (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring po* p.94 line 2; see above n.409), the second from Gar.sha in the shape of at least one important image (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 14-15).

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latter for a monastery. The instance of *mchod.gnas.kyi dbu.sde* (lit. "head community of incumbents") (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 line 10) proves beyond doubt that *dbu.sde* stands for a monks' community. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* suggests an etymology of *dbu.sde* when it deals with Ral.pa.can (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.46 lines 1-2). The well known episode of the king's respect and devotion for the *sangha* is narrated, in which khri Ral.pa.can untied his mane of hair and let the *sangha* sit on it. The [monastic] community (*sde*) khri Ral.pa set above his head (*dbu*) was called *dbu.sde*.

(412) Another statue connected to Na.ga.ra.dza is the well known Kha.che style image of a standing Shakyamuni, which is currently at the Cleveland Museum, bearing an inscription with Na.ga.ra.dza's name that describes it as his personal image ("lHa.btsun Na.ga.ra.dza'i thugs.dam"). Na.ga.ra.dza chose it as the object of his devotion between 998, when he received the *dge.bsnen* vow and the name Na.ga.ra.dza, and 1026, when he died.

The detail that the silver statue of 'Jam.pa'i dbyangs at dPe.pa was modelled on that of Kha.char shows that dPe.pa chos.sde was built later than the silver Kha.char Jo.bo was made, i.e. between 996 and 1026, when Na.ga.ra.dza died. However, a better approximation can be attempted.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.60 lines 6-9) introduces the construction of dPe.pa chos.sde and the making of its main statue after mentioning that Na.ga.ra.dza took on the duty of protecting Chos and the temples following the death of his elder brother. This seems to indicate that the foundation of dPe.pa chos.sde must have occurred in the four years after De.ba.ra.dza's demise and before Na.ga.ra.dzas death in 1026. If so, its construction coincided with the expansion of Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, completed in 1028. The identity of dPe.pa chos.sde remains unclear. Its location is unknown and there is no trace of a temple, that could be confidently identified as dPe.pa chos.de<sup>413</sup>. dPe.pa chos.sde should not be confused with dPe.thub lha.khang, despite the similarity of their names, for the obvious reason that it was established by Na.ga.ra.dza, whereas dPe.thub was built by 'Od.lde.

lHa'i me.tog founded Kre.wel dbu.sde (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 17-18). The passage concerning her foundation creates some difficulty in understanding the relationship she had with her temple. The passage has to be interpreted as meaning that she regarded her *gtsug.lag.khang* as though it were her adopted child (*sras.tshab*). She also established a community of nuns, but it is not clear whether it was at Kre.wel dbu.sde or elsewhere, although Kre.wel seems likely. This is the first and only reference to a nunnery in Gu.ge Pu.hrang in those early times. By virtue of her foundation, lHa'i me.tog fulfilled one of the principles of *chos.khrims* in sTod, by which women were encouraged to take vows (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 lines 3-4). Given the early period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in which lHa'i me.tog lived, this could be one of the earliest establishments of a nunnery in the time of the reintroduction of Buddhism in Tibet. This seems to have been another way of connecting religious activities in sTod to those of the Yar.lung dynasty, for female members of the royal family became nuns and sponsored temples and holy objects in the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan. Kre.wel, a temple unknown to me, is a distinctive Zhang.zhung.pa name.

*Bai.ser* is the only other source mentioning a temple associated with lHa'i me.tog. She built a monastery at Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar), which is however unnamed in that work<sup>414</sup>. She constantly took care of its thirty resident monks. The brief description of her consistent

(413) On inspection, ruins of an isolated temple sited to the south of Mang.nang on the way to mDa'.pa.rdzong show signs of remarkable antiquity. Nothing significant of its religious cycles has survived, which makes the matter even more difficult. One can only say that its plan may be ancient, but it is odd that no elements are found in the sources to suggest an identification. Tucci visited the site decades ago (*Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* p.123-124), but did not attempt to classify it either in terms of its name or period.

(414) *Bai.ser* (p.277 lines 22-23): "Dung.dkar du bKra.shis chos.gling ni/ sngon lcam lHa'i me.tog.gis mchod.gnas dge.slong rnam.dag sum.bcu tsam.la zhabs.tog rgyun 'dzugs mdzad", "bKra.shis chos.gling at Dung.dkar. Formerly, lcam lHa'i me.tog established uninterrupted support to about thirty spotless incumbent



patronage of Dung.dkar echoes the reference according to which she treated Kre.wel dbu.sde as her child, but this clue is too meagre to allow one to identify Kre.wel with Dun.bkar. The account in *Bai.ser* reporting lHa'i me.tog's sponsorship of a monastery at Dung.dkar is the only known early reference to a religious establishment at this site, which later became a major lay seat of the Gu.ge kings (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs passim*: see below). In fact, this is also the only mention of a religious settlement at this locality before the time when Ngag.dbang grags.pa was awarded Dung.dkar by the Gu.ge royalty and the bKra.shis chos.gling temple was built for him by members of its dynasty (*Bai.ser* p.277 lines 23-25; see below p.471 and n.794)<sup>415</sup>.

'Kho.re (spelled as in the passage) founded Tsha.tsa.sgang chos.skor (unidentified) and g.Yu.sgra (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1). The latter is the same temple that was endowed by Khor.re's father, bKra.shis.mgon, with a Byams.pa statue and murals (*ibid.* p.51 lines 5-6). These facts indicate that neither bKra.shis.mgon nor Khor.re were the original founders of g.Yu.sgra<sup>416</sup>.

Khor.re also established Khri.lde (sic for Khri.sde) chos.skor (*ibid.* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1). Khri.sde, as is well known, was the ancient territorial centre of Zhang.zhung, comprising Khyung.lung and Bya.ri gtsug.ldan<sup>417</sup>. The territory possibly also included the area

monks". Dung.dkar bKra.shis chos.gling was the name of the temple built centuries later in the period in which the teachings of Tsong.kha.pa were brought to Gu.ge by Ngag.dbang grags.pa. On the possibly original spelling Dun.bkar for Dung.dkar see below n.543.

(415) No mention is found in the sources of the caves at Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) containing ruins of statues and wall paintings. Dung.dkar was first visited by the Schlagintweit brothers and by Strachey around the mid 19th century. Its caves were later described and photographed by Tucci (*Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* p.135-138).

(416) g.Yu.sgra was along the course of the rMa.bya kha.'babs in the heart of the area in Pu.hrang inhabited by the 'Bro and Cog.ro clans, their control dating to the time of Ral.pa.can (see above n.231). g.Yu.sgra recurs in the name of Rin.chen bzang.po's family, whose dwelling place was, in lo.chen's days, at Khyu.wang near Shib.pe.la (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.56 line 4; Tucci *Indo Tibetica* vol.II p.57), very far from Pu.hrang.smad. It follows that g.Yu.sgra was employed both as an ethnonym and a toponym.

(417) For the classification of Zhang.zhung into Khri.sde.stod.smad.gsum with Khri.sde being for its centre in contrast to upper and lower (*stod.smad*) Zhang.zhung, see, *inter alia*, *dPal.ldan tshul.khrims bstan.'byung* (p.35 lines 10-11: "Zhang.zhung Khri.sde.stod.smad gsum skor gcig"). For a more specific identification of the Khyung.lung area as Zhang.zhung Khri.sde see *sPa.ston sgron.me* (p.681 lines 1-2: "gTer.sgo Bod.du sbas.pa'i sa.rgya ni/ nub.phyogs U.rgyan dang Bod.kyi 'tshams/ Zhang.zhung Khri.sde Khyung.lung la bya'o...", "The great areas where the *gter*-s were concealed were: at so called Zhang.zhung Khri.sde Khyung.lung in the west, at the border between U.rgyan and Tibet..."). On a wooden tablet from Tshal.byi in Lop-nor inscribed with a message of military content (Thomas *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* vol.II p.121), reference is made to *khri.sde* (which Petech, "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.651-652 proposes to change into Khri.lde). *Khri.sde* is a term which cannot address a person (Khri.lde). Meaning "seat of power" (lit. "ruling community"), as the case of Zhang.zhung *khri.sde* proves, the appearance of the term in relation to Tshal.byi shows that *khri.sde* is not a name exclusively designating Zhang.zhung, but rather a general term, and that *khri.sde* was therefore used outside Zhang.zhung.

of the Shib.chu and the region of Ti.se. Khri.lde chos.skor therefore stood in this stretch of land, but its identity and precise location cannot be ascertained. The ancient temple of dPal.rgyas was located in Zhang.zhung *khri.sde*. Its foundation dates back to the time of Srong.btsan sgam.po, when it was built to prevent mtsho Ma.pham from overflowing. Traces of a *chos.skor* are still extant *in loco*, although in a more than dilapidated condition<sup>418</sup>. On the authority of *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* and *Ne'u.pa pan.di.ta*, a temple in Khyung.lung was also established in the time of Srong.btsan sgam.po to keep sky and earth together<sup>419</sup>. Although more plausible than in the case of Khyung.lung, identification of Khri.lde chos.skor with the ancient religious structure at dPal.rgyas cannot be corroborated and remains therefore unavoidably uncertain.

The second part of an entry listed in the invaluable *bstan.rtsis* of bSod.nams rtse.mo's *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* may offer hints concerning the circumstances which gave rise to the foundation of temples in Gu.ge Pu.hrang after the 996 building phase. This important passage appended to the ordination of Na.ga.ra.dza in fire dragon 1016 and to the gathering of Ye.shes.'od and his sons says: "A Zhang.zhung subject, resident of Gu.ge, was the '*khos chen.po*' ("great governor") of the elder brother (De.ba.ra.dza)"<sup>420</sup>. Its alternative reading is: "A Zhang.zhung subject, resident of Gu.ge, made a '*khos chen.po*' ("a great assignment of duties") of the elder brother (De.ba.ra.dza) (i.e. ordered by the elder brother)". The second reading of this entry has significant implications.

(418) *Ne'u pan.di.ta*, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.18 lines 17-18): "Pra.dum dang dPal.rgyas.kyi lha.khang gnyis mtsho Ma.'phang ma.lud.pa'i don.du [note in the text: lud.na Bod du sKyin.thang.gi chu.chen rgyas] bzhengs", "He (Srong.btsan sgam.po) built Pra.dum and dPal.rgyas, these two, in order to prevent mtsho Ma.'phang from overflowing [note in the text: if it overflows, it will make the great sKyin.thang river in Tibet swell]". *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.132 lines 7-8) proposes a different historical framework when it attributes the foundation of dPal.rgyas (and also that of Pra.dum) to Khri.srong lde.btsan, both temples having the same function (see above n.403).

(419) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.243 lines 17-18): "Sangs.rgyas 'das.pa'i rten.du Nub.ri'i gnam.sa gra.zur gnon.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung dngul.dkar bzhengs.so", "Because of the passing away of Buddha, Khyung.lung dngul.dkar was built to control the horizon between sky and earth of the west mountain"; *Ne'u pan.di.ta*, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.19 lines 1-2): "gNam.sa'i zur mnan.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung.gi lha.khang bzhengs", "Khyung.lung lha.khang was built to control the horizon between sky and earth"; *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.117 lines 2): "gNam.sa gnyis zur gnon.pa'i ched.du Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar [bzhengs]", "Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar was built to control the horizon between sky and earth"; *mkhas.pa De'u* (p.286 lines 17-18): "Khyung.lung dngul.dkar.gyi lha.khang ni gnam.sa gnyis zur gnon.pa'i ched.du bzhengs", "Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar was built to control the horizon between sky and earth".

(420) *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,2 lines 1-2): "Gu.ge'i.yul na gnas.pa'i 'bangs Zhang.zhung zhi.gis gcen.gyi khos.chen.po mdzad". That *gcen.po* ("elder brother") was De.ba.ra.dza is ascertained by the fact that the entry of the year 1016, to which this episode is appended, refers to his younger brother lHa.'khor otherwise known as Na.ga.ra.dza.

An interpretation of this event, which bSod.nams rtse.mo does not elucidate further, may be attempted on the basis of the episode, outlined in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.54 lines 3-7), in which duties were assigned by Ye.shes.'od to the worthiest of his subjects in order to build the temples of the 996 phase (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 4-5). The term *bskos.chen* used for such an assignment of duties in 996 may show that the '*khos.chen.po* of 1016 was intended to further a religious undertaking<sup>421</sup>.

(421) In the English translation of his *sGrung lDe'u Bon.gsum* (Clemente transl., *Drung, Deu and Bon* p.147-148) Nam.mkha'i nor.bu stresses the meaning of *skos* (also spelled '*khos, mkhos, khos, bskos, bkod*) similarly to the way in which I read the term, although he derives its meaning from different examples and contexts, as he deals with this term as it is found in Bon.po cosmogony and rituals, while I assess its use on the basis of historical sources. I read '*khos, skos* as an act of appointment from which both duties and authority devolve on the appointee. The term can apply to a wide range of appointments from religious to administrative and military. This is why in the past tibetologists, referring to various occurrences of the term or even to the same one, proposed related but nonetheless different interpretations. See the instances in the entries for the years 662 and 724 translated as "inspection" by Bacot and Toussaint (*Tun-huang Annals* in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.13 and p.23 (Tibetan text), p.32 and p.47 (transl.)) and as "settlement" by Tucci (*Preliminary Report* p.105 and p.106); for the year 673 translated as "inspection" by Bacot and Toussaint (*ibid.* p.15 (Tibetan text) and p.33 (transl.)); for the year 675 translated by Bacot and Toussaint as "inspection" (*ibid.* p.15 (Tibetan text) and p.34 (transl.)), by Beckwith as "troop levy" (*The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* p.42 n.23) and as "settlement" by Tucci (*ibid.*); for the year 693 translated by Bacot and Toussaint as "troop levy" (*ibid.* p.17 (Tibetan text) and p.37-38 (transl.)); for the year 746 translated as "troop levy" by Thomas (*ibid.* p.55 (Tibetan text) and p.62 (transl.)); while in a note on p.67 Thomas proposes "appointment". Chab.spel Tshe.brtañ phun.tshogs and Nor.brang O.rgyan, *Bod.kyi lo.rgyus g.yu'i phreng.ba (stod.cha)* (p.95 line 10-p.96 line 4) opt for two meanings of the term deriving from its different spellings. When spelled *khod*, it means issuing equal laws to everyone, while, when spelled *khos*, it stands for giving an order. *Khod-s* and *khos.dpon-s*, which were respectively government duties and ministers of Srong.btsan sgam.po in the military and bureaucratic organization of Yar.lung Bod, are mentioned in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos 'byung* (p.270 lines 9-11): "Khod.drug.la Bod.kyi khod dang gcig/ Zhang.zhung.gi khod dang gnyis/ Mon.gyi khod dang gsum/ chibs.dpon.gyi khod dang bzhi/ Inga.pa chad/ mthong.skyab.kyi khod dang drug.go", "Concerning the six *khod*, the first is the *khod* of Bod, the second is the *khod* of Zhang.zhung, the third is the *khod* of Mon, the fourth is the *khod* of the *chibs.dpon* ("the cavalry chief"), the fifth is missing, the sixth is the *khod* of *mthong.khyab* ("military outposts in the Yar.lung dominions"), and by dPa'.bo (*mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* p.185 lines 11-16): "Dang.por Khri.rtse 'bum.zher nas srid.pa dang khos.ston.pa.las rgyal.pos blon.po rnam.sor bkas bsgos te Bod.kyi khos.dpon mGar sTong.btsan yul.bzung, Zhang.zhung.gi khos.dpon Khyung.po Bun.zung.tse, Sum.pa'i khos.dpon Hor Bya.zhu ring.po, chibs.kyi khos.dpon dBang bTsan.bzang dpal.legs, mthong.skyab.kyi khos.dpon Cog.ro rGyal.mtshan g.yang.gong rnam.skor", "First, according to the exercise of power (*srid.pa*) and the government duties (*khos*) deriving from [the law called] *Khri.rtse 'bum.zher*, the king enforced it on each minister by his order. mGar sTong.btsan yul.bzung was appointed *khos.dpon* of Bod, Khyung.po Bun.zung.tse (sic) was appointed *khos.dpon* of Zhang.zhung, Hor Bya.zhu ring.po was appointed *khos.dpon* of Sum.pa, dBang bTsan.bzang dpal.legs was appointed *chibs.khos.dpon*, Cog.ro rGyal.mtshan g.yang.gong was appointed *khos.dpon* of the *mthong.skyab*"). The term *khos.spon* applies to the governors of the concerned lands and holders of the administrative and military duties, for their appointment made them responsible for their functions to the king and, at the same time, gave them the power concomitant to their position (see Thomas' similar interpretation in the note to *ibid.* p.67 cited above). '*Khos* and its variants thus identify several duties, whose precise definition derives from the context.

The 988 episode in which Zhang.rung promoted the circulation of the *chos.rtsigs*, and the 1016 '*khos.chen.po*, by which an unidentified Zhang.zhung (Zhang.rung?) subject assigned duties, indicate that, despite control of Gu.ge Pu.hrang having passed to the lineage of Khor.re and lHa.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.56 lines 12-14 and p.61 lines 3-6), acts of government concerning religion were authorized by the *lha.btsun-s* (Ye.shes.'od in 988 and De.ba.ra.dza in 1016) and implemented by ministers delegated by the members of the royalty who had renounced their secular power. It seems that the king concerned himself with secular acts of government, while the ministers were in charge of the administrative and practical aspects of the decisions regarding religion, over which the king had no jurisdiction<sup>422</sup>.

Another aspect has to be highlighted. If the similarity of the 996 and 1016 assignments of duties is an acceptable proposition, it cannot be ruled out that, much as the 996 *bskos.chen.po* inaugurate the great phase when Tho.ling and other temples were founded, the administrative act of 1016 was intended to introduce another phase of religious construction. In fact, the events of this year (the ordination of Na.ga.ra.dza and the order issued by De.ba.ra.dza) may have been the preliminary steps leading to the foundation of the temples ascribed to Ye.shes.'od's offspring (i.e. dKar.sag, dPe.pa, Kre.wel). More evidence is needed to shed light on this matter.

### *The phase of temple foundations soon after Ye.shes.'od's death*

A new phase of building subsequently occurred, although its temples were of more limited importance than those founded in 996. It goes unrecorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* but is dealt with in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.95 line 4-p.96 line 4). It took place after Ye.shes.'od had passed away, when lHa.lde and Byang.chub.'od assigned to Rin.chen bzang.po twenty-one minor places, where he built, according to the same *rnam.thar* (p.108 line 4-109 line 4), twenty-one minor temples, whose foundation began in 1024. They were Zher, Kha.tse Go.khar and Pur.khar, Bo.ri, g.Yang.skur, Ti.yag, Tsang.med, sNe'u, Nye.vang, Zho.ling, rGyu.lang, Ro.pag, Cog.ro, Ri.khri, Hrang.trang, La.ri, Ta.pho, Shangs, rTsa.rang, Dril.chung and Ho.bu lang.ka<sup>423</sup>. They are among the 108 temples built in the territories from Kha.char and bZher to Ho.bu lang.ka attributed to lo.chen by his biography<sup>424</sup>.

(422) lHa.bla.ma's appointments of his religious successors also seem to prove that decisions concerning religion were left to the *lha.btsun-s* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 lines 8-9 and p.61 lines 11-13; see above in the present text p.210). This reinforces the possibility that the 1016 '*khos.chen.po* of De.ba.ra.dza promoted by a Zhang.zhung subject pertained to religion, as this was the royal monks' prerogative.

(423) The twenty minor temples become twenty-one if Ho.bu lang.ka is added to them. This is what is proposed in Snellgrove-Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (vol.II, p.95 n.37).

(424) The location of Ho.bu lang.ka of *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* is difficult to ascertain. Tucci was

in favour of a location in sBal.ti (*Indo Tibetica* vol.II p.63), while Snellgrove-Skorupski (*The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* vol.II p.95) offer no proposal. *sKyabs.ston Khro.'grel* identifies Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar as Om.bo sgo.bzhi, followed in this assessment by bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *Bod.yul gnas lam.yig* (p.40 line 6): "Om.po sgo.bzhi zhes.kyang bya", "It also known as the four doors of 'Om.po". *sKyabs.ston Khro.'grel* (p.56 line 2) reads: "dBus.kyi dNgul.mo'i mkhar dang/ mkhar 'Om.bo sgo.bzhi yang zer te/ Bu.rong.gi yul/ Zhang.zhung Kha.yugs.yul spyi'i ming...", "In the centre is dNgul.mo'i mkhar (i.e. Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar), also known as Om.bo sgo.bzhi, which is in the land of Bu.rong (sic: sKyabs.ston here uses a Khams.pa spelling!) altogether called Zhang.zhung Kha.yug...". Since Pu.hrang is often called Lang.ka Pu.hrang (i.e. Pu.hrang.stod), 'Om.bo/Ho.bu lang.ka would be sited in the Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar area. However, Ho.bu lang.ka cannot be Om.bo of the Bon.po sources if the opinion of Tucci that Ho.bu lang.ka marked the extreme limit of the diffusion of Rin.chen bzang.po's foundations is regarded as valid. In this light, an alternative appraisal of Ho.bu lang.ka would be 'Om.blo, a locality in the Pu.hrang borderland near Sle.mi often mentioned by rDo.rje mdzes.'od (*bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo passim*), and also in *sKyabs.ston Khro.'grel* (see bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *sNga.rabs Bod.kyi byung.ba brjod.pai 'bel.gtam lung.gi snying.po* p.34 lines 2-4) and *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.31a line 5-f.31b line 1). An episode in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.110 line 4-p.112 line 1) is of some help. At Ho.bu lang.ka, lo.chen gave his disciples a box and instructed them not to open it until they reached Kyu.wang. However, they opened it twice on the way, the first time at Dra.ti of Sum.nam, and again at sPu. The journey from Ho.bu lang.ka to Kyu.wang with sPu in Khu.nu along the route places Ho.bu lang.ka somewhere near Khu.nu.



# The Gu.ge Pu.hrang genealogy after Ye.shes.'od

## 'Od.lde's death (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62)

One episode in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is crucial to the assessment of the outline of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang lineage after Khor.re and lHa.lde. It refers to the circumstances of 'Od.lde's death (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 1-6). 'Od.lde died after he managed to escape from captivity in Bru.sha (spelled as in text), where he had fought an unsuccessful military campaign. He freed himself from prison, but died soon after of iron poisoning at bShul.dkar (i.e. Shi.gar, the ancient capital of sBal.ti, which is found on the way from Bru.zha to La.dwags)<sup>425</sup>. Was his demise the result of his imprisonment or did he fall again into hostile hands? The latter seems more likely<sup>426</sup>. The famous episode, in which the dramatic quest for gold to provide a ransom follows, is associated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* with 'Od.lde's captivity (p.62 lines 1-3 and p.63 lines 18-19). Its treatment of the episode is novel and unconventional in that the entire incident of Ye.shes.'od's legendary death is applied to 'Od.lde<sup>427</sup>. The text adds that when Byang.chub.'od heard the news of his brother's death he ceased amassing

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(425) bShul.dkar is sited to the east of sKar.do in the wide alluvial plain at the confluence of the Indus, the Sarparu and Shigar rivers. On its role as the ancient capital of sBal.ti and its early dynasty see Schuler, "The Story of the Creation of Shigar" of Wazir Ahmad" (p.106 ff). See Soehen, "On Reflections of Historical Events in Balti Folk-Songs" (p.582-601) on sBal.ti but not necessarily on bShul.dkar, for the article deals with times later than the period in which bShul.dkar/Shigar was its capital.

(426) 'Od.lde's poisoning and death have similarities with the episode of rNam.ri srong.btsan's death by poisoning following his campaign in Byang.thang. This is too well known to be recounted in full (for an appraisal see J.Panglung, "On the Narrative of the Killing of the Evil Yak and the Discovery of Salt in the Chos.'byung of Nyang.ral" p.661-667; and also above n.18). Are these accounts of poisoning concealing warfare and subsequent death in battle?

(427) Virtually every work of the later historical literature relates the legend of the alleged imprisonment and subsequent death of Ye.shes.'od at the hands of the Gar.log-s after Byang.chub.'od had amassed as much gold as the former's body weight but had failed to find the last amount equivalent to his head (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.43 lines 1-3: "Khong.rang yang rGya.gar.du byon.pas/ lam.du Gar.log.gi dmag.gis bzung ste/ Bod.kyi gser bsdus.nas blu.bar brtsams.par na'ang/ sku.lus tsam.cig rnyed.pa.la dbu.tsam ma.rnyed.par bkrongs", "As he (Ye.shes.'od) also went to India, he was captured by the troops of the Gar.log-s on the way. As gold of Tibet was collected to ransom him, although this was carried out, [gold] having been found as much as his body but not as much as his head, he was killed". See also *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (p.244 lines 8-21); *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.299 line 19-p.301 line 4); *Pad.ma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.2-64 line 19-p.268 line 13); *Sum.pa mkhan.po*, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.363 lines 3-14) and other late works.

gold and entrusted it to Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba, who he sent to India to invite Jo.bo.rje to sTod. The assessment of the year of 'Od.lde's death, like Tshe.dbang nor.bu's dating of the alleged assassination of Ye.shes.'od at the hands of the Gar.log-s to the year 1036 (*Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.74 lines 9-11) (on this see p.179), is based on Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba's departure in 1037<sup>428</sup>. Following the transference of this legend to the circumstances of 'Od.lde's death authoritatively proposed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I am inclined to fix it to 1037.

It is not clear whether Ngag.dbang grags.pa used an earlier source containing this revolutionary attribution, although it seems likely. It is possible that Ngag.dbang grags.pa, or the source on which he relied, considered 1036 to be too late a date for Ye.shes.'od's death, in contrast to Tshe.dbang nor.bu's view. However, the matter needs to be better elucidated.

The account of 'Od.lde's capture in Bruzha, and subsequent escape and death (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 1-6) finds confirmation in the *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 8-10), which records that the king of Pi.ti and Gu.ge called lha.chen Shakya thub.pa, while accompanying his Bru.zha wife to her homeland, was killed by Yab.sgod.ba (see also above p.181)<sup>429</sup>. Details in the two accounts differ (a war in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, a tour in *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*)<sup>430</sup>, yet the main events correspond<sup>431</sup>. I suggested above that Ngag.dbang grags.pa may have

(428) Sources are unanimous in saying that Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba Tshul.khrims rgyal.ba (1011-?) was given the task of bringing Jo.bo.rje to West Tibet and that he left for India in fire ox 1037 (see among others Tshe.mchog.gling Yongs.'dzin Ye.shes rgyal.mtshan *Lam.rim bla.ma rnam.thar* p.361; Las.chen Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, *bKa'.gdams rnam.thar* p.197; 'Jam.dbyangs bzhad.pa rdo.rje, *bsTan.rtsis re.mig bkod.pa* under fire ox 1037; Tshe.brtan zhabs.drung, *bsTan.rtsis kun.las btus.pa* p.157).

(429) *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 8-10). "De'i skabs.su rkun.zag la.sogs.pa byung.ba la rten/ mkhas.dman chen.po byung.ba la rten.pa/ sPyi.ti'i Gu.ge'i phyogs nas lha.chen Sha.kya thub.pa zer.ba zhig gdan.zhus nas/ Zangs.dkar.ba kun.gyis rgyal.por khur/ de.la rgyal.mo 'Bru.zhal nas khyongs/ nang.bar bag.tshags.la byon.bas lam.du Yab.sgod.bas/ rgyal.mo phrog nas/ rgyal.po Shag thub.pa grongs.su bzhugs", "At that time, since thefts and robberies [often] occurred [and] great unjustices arose, the one known as lha.chen Sha.kya thub.pa having been requested to come from sPyi.ti (sic) [and] Gu.ge, all the people of Zangs.dkar enthroned him as king. A queen was brought for him from 'Bru.shal. Subsequently, they went on a nuptial tour [to Bru.zha]. On the way, as Yab.sgod.ba abducted the queen, king Shag thub.pa died".

(430) Despite the idiosyncrasy of the narrative in *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*, according to which 'Od.lde blindly set out on a nuptial tour in a hostile land, the unexpected presence of Yab.sgod.ba in Bru.zha, which cost 'Od.lde his life, suggests that the region had been occupied by a foreign power not long before 'Od.lde reached it.

(431) The identification of lha.chen Shakya thub.pa with 'Od.lde is significant in assessing the sequence of the historical phases found in *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*. The history of Zangs.dkar can be classified into three major periods preceding the foundation of its dynasty:

1) the Yar.lung dynasty period. *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153



lines 5-7) says: "De rgyas.su song.ba'i skabs.su Ka.chul.gyi g.yog byas/ Drang.rtse'i mkhar Kham.pas zin.ba'i dus.su/ phar.tshur.nas rta.shor mi.shor mang.du byung.bas/ [..two defaced syllables..]/ bar.la gnod.pa sna.tshogs byas.bas/ lan.du Gu.ge'i khri dmag khyongs nas/ Zangs.dkar.gyi yul rnam.s dang/ mkhar thams.cad me.yis sreg/mi mang.po bsad/ lhag lus khyer nas/ yul stong.du song/ de'i rjes.su phyogs.phyogs.nas mi mang.po yong.ba la rten/ yul chags.pas/ dPa'.gtum Zhang.rung.gis bzung/ Byang.ngos sKya.pas bzung/ sTong.sde lHa.sa dang Gung.blon Khyi.shang gsum.gyis bzin", "At the time when the [territorial] expansion [of Yar.lung] took place, Zangs.dkar was under Kha.chul (i.e. Kha.che.yul). When the Kham.pa-s seized Drang.rtse mkhar, it happened that many horses and men were lost here and there. Various kinds of harm were done [in the lands] between [Zangs.dkar and Drang.rtse]. In revenge, troops were sent from Gu.ge *khri* (i.e. the Gu.ge capital). The whole of Zangs.dkar and its castles were destroyed by fire. Many people died. What was left was taken away. The land became empty. Thereafter, due to the fact that many people came from all directions, the land was repopulated. The Zhang.rung [clan] ruled dPa'.gtum; the sKya.pa-s ruled Byang.ngos; the lHa.sa-s (sic for lHa.pa-s), the Gung.blon-s and Khyi.shang-s, these three, held sTong.sde".

The identification of lha.chen Shakya thub.pa as 'Od.lde makes it unlikely that the warfare occurred in the time of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. No major war is recorded in the sources between the kings of Gu.ge and Zangs.dkar during this time; on the contrary, *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* says that Gu.ge was instrumental in reestablishing law and religion in Zangs.dkar (see below). Furthermore, it is unlikely that the episode refers to the time of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty since the kings of Gu.ge would hardly have ravaged one of their own dominions. The warfare and subsequent repopulation of Zangs.dkar, occurring before the reign of lha.chen Shakya thub.pa, predate the establishment of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty and go back to that of Yar.lung, when the conquest of Zhang.zhung paved the way for the Yar.lung.pa advance into Central Asia.

My understanding of the passage is that, following an insurgence of non-Yar.lung.pa people of West Tibet, an army (*dmag*) was sent from the centre of Gu.ge (Gu.ge *khri*) to Zangs.dkar by the Yar.lung.pa-s, and Zangs.dkar was destroyed. It is a pity that this tantalizing passage, a unique account of the conquest of a territory in Zhang.zhung, does not help to establish its period with better accuracy. Gu.ge *khri* recalls similar expressions such as Zhang.zhung *khri* or better *khri.sde*, the capital area of Zhang.zhung, found in Bon.po sources (see above n.417). This rules out the interpretation Gu.ge *khri.dmag* (Schuh, *Historiographische Dokumente aus Zangs-dkar* 1983 p.231 n.17), which led Schuh to think of the *khri.dpon/khri.skor* system and thus to place the episode during the Sa.skya.pa/Yuan period, which is untenable. The expedition from Gu.ge *khri* took place some time after 643-644, when the definitive conquest of the Zhang.zhung heartland (*khri*) was accomplished, during the reign of Srong.btsan sgam.po (*Tun-huang Annals* in Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.13 (Tibetan transl.) and p.29 (transl.)). This is corroborated by the episode in Chapter VIII of the *Tun-huang Chronicles* concerning to Srong.btsan sgam.po's sister Sad.mar.kar, who resided at Khyung.lung (see Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.115-117 (Tibetan transl.) and p.155-158 (transl.) and also Uray, "Queen Sad-mar-kar's Song in the Old Tibetan Chronicle"). Drang.rtse mkhar in this passage of *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*, the seizure of which prompted Yar.lung.pa retaliation, can either refer to the site of the same name in Zangs.dkar or to Drang.rtse near the eastern extremity of Pang.gong, historically a strategic transit point. Its control was crucial, since it was the most practicable gateway to Mar.yul and adjoining lands, the Indo-Iranic borderlands and Central Asia.

attributed the legend of Ye.shes.'od's death at the hands of the Gar.log-s to 'Od.lde for reasons of chronological coherence. *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* contributes evidence which makes the dating of 'Od.lde's death to 1037 valid *per se*.

The identity of lha.chen Shakya thub.pa with 'Od.lde is supported by *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, which states that 'Od.lde married 'Bru.shal (spelled as in the text) rgyal.mo rGyan.ne and that they had a son called 'Bru.shal.tsha otherwise known as sGyur.chen<sup>432</sup>. In the same passage, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* also says that 'Od.lde became the king of Mar.yul.

2) *bsTan.pa phyi.dar*, during which lha.chen Shakya thub.pa lived.

3) A dark period from the 11th to the late 13th century, followed by the establishment of the royal lineage of Zangs.dkar. This gap of some three centuries in the genealogy of Zangs.dkar falls after lha.chen Shakya thub.pa and his alleged son Seng.ge.lde, for one finds the ruler of Zangs.dkar named rGyal.bsam rin.chen dpal.lde, who extended his patronage to Byang.sems, three generations after Seng.ge.lde. *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 10-15) reads: "De'i rjes.su rgyal.mo'i sras.bu zhig bltam nas/ chung.ba'i dus.su bsos/ lo nga.pa'i dus.su Yab.sgod.bas/ nga'i bu min zer nas/ bdag ma.byas.ba'i rkyen.gyis Kha.chul du song nas/ ga.rog kun.gyi seb.tu bsdad.bas/ byad.gzugs ngan.pa'i stab.kyis rigs bzang.ngan ma.shes te/ glang.po.che.la drag.tu bzhugs.pas/ tshul.ba bstan nas/ bus.mo btsug ste de.nas Shag.thub.kyi bu.la bus.mo btsugs.pas/ de kun.gyis rigs.can yin.par shes nas/ ming Seng.ge.lde rtags te/ Kha.chul rgyal.po'i bu.mo btang/ Ka.skrwa.bar.gyi rgyal.srid sbyin.nas der bzhugs", "Later, since the queen delivered a son, he was taken care of when he was an infant. When he turned five, Yab.sgod.ba said: "This is not my son". As he was not adopted, he went to Kha.chul (Kha.che yul). Since he stayed with low caste people, it was not known whether he was from a good or bad family because his appearance was ugly. A wild elephant, which had been trained to kneel down, knelt in front of Shag.thub's (Shakya thub.pa's) son. Everybody having realised that he belonged to [a good] family, he was given the name Seng.ge.lde. The daughter of the Kha.chul king was given to him in marriage. As he went to the kingdom of Ka.skrwa.bar (Kishtwar) he settled down there" and *ibid.* (p.153 lines 29-30): "Khri Nam.dpal.lde'i sras rGyal.bsam rin.chen dpal.lde dang a.ma 'Dzom.pa rgyal.mo gnyis.kyi dus.su/ Byang.sems.kyi sbyin.bdag mdzad", "During the time of khri Nam.dpal.lde's son rGyal.bsam rin.chen dpal.lde and a.ma 'Dzom.pa rgyal.mo, they were the sponsors of Byang.sems". The latter was none other than sTod Shes.rabs bzang.po often called Byang.sems Shes.rab bzang.po, the diffuser of Tsong.kha.pa's teachings in La.dwags, lDum.ra and Zangs.skar around the first half of the 15th century, for he was active in Mar.yul while one of its kings was Gags.'bum.lde (see below p.493).

I am inclined to distrust the historicity of Seng.ge.lde, who may have been a fictitious member of the genealogy, useful to create a link with rulers of non-Tibetan areas in the North-Western Himalayas. According to the text, Seng.ge.lde was made king of Ka.skra.war (Kishtwar) after his royal origin was miraculously revealed by an elephant in the same way as the *gdung.rgyud rgyal.po-s* of India were commonly appointed according to practically every Tibetan historiography. Seng.ge.lde is a Tibetan restitution evocative of similar Indian names found among petty lords of the Himalayan lowlands. I am thus in favour of the hypothesis that, rather than Seng.ge.lde, the kings who established the Zangs.dkar lineage after the sTod.gyi mgon.gsum were Blo.bzang.lde, who ruled the northern part of Zangs.dkar (Byang.ngos), and Nam.dpal.lde, who ruled the southern region (lHo.ngos) (*Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* in Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 16-19).

(432) *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.339 lines 2-6): "De'i sras 'Od.lde/ rgyal.po mdzad rgyal.srid bzung nas/ 'Bru.shal rgyal.mo rGyan.ne bya.ba khab.tu.bzhes/ nub.phyogs U.rgyan 'khor.nas mkhas.grub U.rgyan du phebs/ lha.chen yab.yum.gyi bla.ma mdzad/ de.la sras gcig 'khrungs.pa la/ 'Bru.shal.tsha yang zer/ sGyur.chen yang zer", "His ('Gro.mgon's) successor was 'Od.lde. As he

was the king [and] ruled the country, he married 'Bru.shal rgyal.mo rGyan.ne. mKhas.grub U.rgyan went [to Mar.yul returning] from his pilgrimage in U.rgyan in the west. He was the *bla.ma* of the royal couple. A son was born to them. He was known as 'Bru.shal.tsha ("of Bru.zha origin") as well as sGyur.chen".

E.Dargyay ("The Dynasty of Blang-La (Zangskar West Tibet) and its Chronology -A Reconsideration" p.25) proposes that gShegs.lde and lha.chen Shakya thub.pa are one and the same king, based on cross-references derived from various Zangs.dkar documents. A source she calls *chab.rjod* ("donors' document") or "Chronicle Issued Under the Rule of King Khri.dpa.lde" without recording its title (ibid. p.17-18) and '*Khrul.zhig Ngag.dbang tshe.ring rnam.thar* (f.9b) (ibid. p.24) have Seng.ge.lde as the son of a king named gShegs.lde. Seng.ge.lde is instead considered the son of lha.chen Shakya thub.pa by *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*. Finally gShegs.lde (and consequently Shakya thub.pa according to Dargyay) is identified as lDe.gtsug.mgon by *Zangs(.dkar) bZang.la'i rgyal.brgyud.kyi dkar.chags* (Dargyay p.23), since the same Seng.ge.lde is considered to be the son of lDe.gtsug.mgon by the latter source. The identification of gShegs.lde as lDe.gtsug.mgon is, in my view, beyond doubt, gShegs.lde being a name evocative of the untimely death of lDe.gtsug.mgon. This helps to explain one of the most obscure pages in the history of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty, i.e. the absence of his descendants and the reason for the passage of lDe.gtsug.mgon's dominions to the successors of his brother bKra.shis.mgon, as indicated by Ye.shes.'od's building of Ta.po in Pi.ti. lDe.gtsug.mgon's line came to an end and his kingdom was incorporated into Gu.ge Pu.hrang. Does his untimely death indicate local rebellion? No clue is available, and the matter needs investigation. The *chab.rjod* and '*Khrul.zhig Ngag.dbang tshe.ring rnam.thar* quoted by Dargyay (p.24) are the only sources which elucidate the fate of lDe.gtsug.mgon and explain the reason for the passage of his dominions under Gu.ge Pu.hrang when they call him gShegs.lde. This important event in the history of mNga'.ris skor.gsum is ignored by the other sources dealing with West Tibet, and thus the succession to lDe.gtsug.mgon and the ownership of his lands after his death has to be gleaned from indirect hints.

I am less reconciled with the correspondence between gShegs.lde and Shakya thub.pa proposed by Dargyay for two rather obvious reasons. The first is that, while gShegs.lde was lDe.gtsug.mgon, lha.chen Shakya thub.pa is proven to have been 'Od.lde on the basis of information contained in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *gDung.rabs zam.phreng*, the other is that it seems highly unlikely that lDe.gtsug.mgon would have been addressed as Shakya thub.pa, given that the great reintroduction of Buddhism in the lands of West Tibet was undertaken a generation after him at the time of his nephew lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.

An account in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* refers to an otherwise unknown son of 'Od.lde, born from an unidentified wife. This son, named 'Bum.lde.mgon, is a second unrecorded brother of rTse.lde. The narrative in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* holds that 'Bum.lde.mgon was sent to dBus.gTsang to perpetuate an unspecified royal lineage at a critical time. The text also records a daughter born from a queen other than 'Bum.lde.mgon's mother (f.10a lines 3-5: "De'i sras 'Bum.lde.mgon/ dus.skabs de.dag.tu dBus.gTsang.gi gdung.rgyud nyag.phra.nas spyen.dren.pa 'byor/ 'Od.lde'i btsun.mo zhig sbrum.mar.yod.pa.la sras.yod.pa'i re.ba mdzad.de 'Bum.lde.mgon dgung.lo bco.brgyad.kyi steng gzhan.gi rig.dogs nyer.dgu'i srod.la rta.nag.la skyon/ phring.nag.gi na.bza' gsol.nas dBus.su bzhud/...btsun.mo de.la sras.mo zhig 'khrungs"). Not only are these facts nowhere else recorded in the history of sTod but also no royal line of dBus.gTsang is recognized to have descended from a son of 'Od.lde, something that would have caught the attention of historians. The name 'Bum.lde.mgon raises some doubts, since the Gung.thang king who brought his kingdom to its apogee

Interestingly, dPal.gyi.mgon's dominions, which included Mar.yul and the territory west of Ru.thog according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*<sup>433</sup>, are described in *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* as bordering Bru.zha<sup>434</sup>. If 'Od.lde, as seems to be the case, became the king of Mar.yul, the notion that he undertook a military campaign against Bru.zha is corroborated, since his dominions<sup>435</sup> extended as far as the latter territory<sup>435</sup>.

The fact that 'Od.lde's captivity in Bru.zha was at the hands of Yab.sgod.ba is historically significant. The latter name is a Tibetanized spelling of *yabgu*, a Turkic term for headman, aptly applying to the head of the Qarakhanid-s, the Turkic tribe which controlled neighbouring Southern Turkestan at that time<sup>436</sup>, suggesting that some time before 1037

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during the time of his uncle 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa bore the same name, so it cannot be ruled out that one is confronted with some corruption. If the account is trustworthy, 'Bum.lde.mgon's destiny would have been the reverse of that of his ancestor Nyi.ma.mgon, who left dBus.gTsang to establish his dynasty in sTod, while 'Bum.lde.mgon would have left sTod to establish a dynasty in dBus.gTsang.

(433) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 14-19; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 14-17): "Che.ba dPal.gyi.mgon la/ mNga'.ris Mar.yul/ 'bangs gzhu.nag.can/ shar Ru.thog dang gser.kha 'gog.lad.gyi lDe.mchog dkar.po/ mtshams.kyi ra.ba dmar.po/ Wam.le.yi mig.gi pha.bong.la mgo bar/ nub Kha.che'i la.rtsa/ rdo.bug.pa.can yan.chad/ byang gser.kha 'gog.po tshun.chad.kyi sa.rgya.la gtogs.pa rnam yin.no", "The extent of the lands assigned to the elder brother dPal.gyi.mgon is as follows: mNga'.ris Mar.yul [where] the subjects carry a black bow; in the east as far as Ru.thog, lDe.mchog dkar.po [and] its gser.kha 'gog.lad ("exhausted gold-mine"), mtshams.kyi ra.ba dmar.po ("Red Range at the border") [and] the entrance of Wam.le's mig.gi pha.bong ("big boulder [looking like an] eye"); in the west as far as the foot of Kha.che.la [where] rdo bug.pa.can ("the rock with a cave") is [located]; in the north as far as gser.kha 'gog.po ("the exhausted gold-mine")".

(434) *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (p.73 lines 15-16): "Che.ba Rig.pa.mgon.gyis Mar.yul 'Bru.sha'i bar dang/ 'bring.ba bKra.shis.mgon.gyis Zhang.zhung Ya.rtse dang cas.pa/ chung.ba lDe.gtsug.mgon.gyis Pi.ti Cog 'ang Zangs.dkar sgo.gsum bcas bzung zhes", "It is well known that the eldest Rig.pa.mgon ruled Mar.yul as far as 'Bru.sha, the middle bKra.shis.mgon [ruled] Zhang.zhung [and] Ya.rtse, the youngest lDe.gtsug.mgon [ruled] Pi.ti Cog[.la and] Zangs.dkar sgo.gsum".

(435) 'Od.lde's marriage to a Bru.zha princess and his subsequent war against that territory is a sign that his matrimonial alliance was a consequence of friendly relations and that the situation deteriorated with the conquest of Bru.zha by Yab.sgod.ba. The well known allegories of much earlier days referring to Sad.mar.kar, sister of Srong.btsan sgam.po married to the Zhang.zhung Lig.myi.rhya, and Kong.jo, the Chinese wife of Khri.lde gtsug.rtsan Mes Ag.tshom, betray instead the existence of tense relations between kingdoms allied by marriage.

(436) Secondary sources on the Qarakhanid-s mainly amount to the work of O.Pritsak. His articles remain the most systematic and comprehensive treatment of the subject. See, for instance, Pritsak, "Karachanidische Streitfragen 1-4", "Von der Karluk zu den Karachaniden" and "Die Karachaniden". For a synopsis of the dynasty and the division into two *khanates* (those of Transoxiana and Kashgaria) see Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook* (p.111-114). A few other works by various authors will be referred to in the notes below when matters concerning the Qarakhanid-s will be introduced in the text.

the Qarakhanid-s had reached Bru.zha<sup>437</sup>. 'Od.lde's military campaign against Bru.zha<sup>438</sup> is therefore not surprising and does not necessarily imply that he had a natural propensity for war as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 18-19) states, since he may have been compelled to protect his north-western border from aggressive Muslim neighbours.

Further developments were to come. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* says, that during the time of Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho, a member of the Thon Mar.lung.pa family residing in sTod, Bhara dan.dur, who belonged to the lineage of Hor.nag.mo A.lan, subjugated mNga'.ris<sup>439</sup>. That the invasion reached the southern regions of West Tibet is shown by the fact that the local population escaped to neighbouring areas farther south.

Hor.nag.mo is a literal Tibetan translation of the name Qarakhanid, the Turkic tribe ruling Southern Turkestan from the mid 10th century. A.lan is a Tibetan phonetic spelling for Arslan, the senior of the two rulers of the Qarakhanid tribe<sup>440</sup>. The period of this foreign incursion into mNga'.ris is not indicated, but it can be estimated with some degree of confidence. Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho's son lo.tsa.ba Dad.pa shes.rab met Jo.bo.rje in 1045, on the latter's way to dBus.gTsang<sup>441</sup>. Given that the conquest of Bhara dan.dur

(437) The most likely Qarakhanid khan to have extended control over Bru.sha is recorded under his Muslim name Abu Soga Sulaiman b.Yusuf, ruling 1031-1056/7 (Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden" p.39).

(438) This is another sign that Shakya thub.pa cannot be identified with lDe.gtsug.mgon, for the latter's period fell too early to allow his death to have taken place at the hands of the Yab.sgod.ba (the *yabgu* of the Qarakhanid-s), who had not yet appeared on the West Tibetan scene.

(439) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2): "De.la sras Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho 'khrungs/ de'i dus Hor.nag.mo A.lan.gyi rgyud Bhara (f.15b) dan.dur zer.bas mgo.byas Hor.dmag Bod du blug/ sKal.Mon rnams Se.reb Mu.khum/ gTi'.cu sogs Rong du cugs/ Bod mNga'.ris Hor.gyi 'og.tu cud/ Ye.tshe la.sogs.pa'i rgyal.po byas", "His (Thon.mi rDzu.'phrul 'thu.stobs') son Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho was born. During his time, Bhara dan.dur, who belonged to the lineage of Hor.nag.mo A.lan, at the head of the Hor-s' army, invaded Tibet. He drove [people] to various sKal.Mon lands (sKal.Mon rnams), [such as] Se.reb, Mu.khum, gTi'.cu in Rong. mNga'.ris of Tibet was overrun by the Hor-s. He (Bhara dan.dur) was the sovereign of Ye.tshe (Ya.rtse) etc."

(440) A.lan restitutes Arslan khan (Arslan is equivalent to A.rslan, phonetically rendered in Tibetan as A.lan), a title referring to the highest rank among the Qarakhanid-s, the other being Bhogra khan. The Qarakhanid-s had a system of dual kingship. From 1034, the lords bearing the title Arslan khan ruled the eastern dominions in Southern Turkestan (including Kashgar) from Balasaghun. Their subordinates, those of Bhogra khan rank, ruled the western dominions of Transoxiana from Ozkand and later from Samarkand. Beneath the two supreme leaders was a complicated tribal hierarchy of minor rulers. After their conversion to Islam they adopted Muslim names while retaining their Turkic names and titles (for an outline of their organization see the entry "Ilek-Khans or Karakhanids" p.1113-1117, by Bosworth, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

(441) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.19a lines 3-4): "Slar.yang Jo.bo dBus su gdan.drangs byon lam Mar.lung la mdzad/ der lo.tsa.ba Dad.pa shes.rab.gyi gnyen.bskur phul/ ston.pa'i dngul.sku mda'.tshad rtsam.cig zhengs yod.pa.la rab.gnas zhus", "Furthermore, Jo.bo.[rje] went on his invitation to dBus, taking the Mar.lung road. Here lo.tsa.ba Dad.pa shes.rab offered him hospitality. He (Dad.pa shes.rab) asked [Jo.bo.rje] to consecrate the

took place some time before lo.tsa.ba Dad.pa shes.rab met with Jo.bo.rje, 'Od.lde's campaign against Bru.zha was intended to counter the Qarakhanid advance from the northern border of mNga'.ris.

After 'Od.lde was routed in Bru.sha in 1037, the door to mNga'.ris was open to the Gar.log-s and their leader Bhara dan.dur. Byang.chub.'od had to take on the duties of his brother 'Od.lde after the latter was captured. He struggled alone to find gold in dBus.gTsang according to *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung, Padma bka'.thang* as well as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.63 line 18)<sup>442</sup>. Elsewhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 2-3), it is said that

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silver statue of the master (Shakyamuni) the size of an arrow". There is universal agreement in the sources on wood bird 1045 as the year in which Jo.bo.rje went to dBus.gTsang after the three years he spent in West Tibet, with the exception of the apocryphal *'Brom.ston.pa'i lam.yig*, which records incorrect dates and events. The length of Jo.bo.rje's sojourns in West Tibet is stated in the latter work to have been nine months altogether, after his arrival in water horse 1042 (p.294 line 3; see above n.248). He then stayed in gTsang for one year and three months, he was eight months in Thang.chen and spent four months here and there. He spent three years in all in these wanderings. He went thrice to sNye.thang, spending six months there altogether. He then passed two months in Yer.pa, he stayed one month in lHa.sa and sTod.lung. He spent nine years with 'Brom.ston.pa, eight months with Khu, four months in various other places. He was almost two years in gTsang. He died in the horse year 1054. On these calculations see *'Brom.ston.pa'i lam.yig* (p.294 line 3-p.295 line 2). It is difficult to double-check the reliability of every one of Jo.bo.rje's sojourns and the periods of his visits to each locality of dBus.gTsang proposed by the *lam.yig*. His stay in West Tibet is definitely too short in the light of the evidence of other works. Consequently, the period Jo.bo.rje spent in Central Tibet would have begun earlier than 1045, i.e. around the end of 1042 or the beginning of 1043, and would be longer than is suggested by all other evidence.

(442) *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* tells an unconventional story concerning Byang.chub.'od's quest for gold in dBus.gTsang (p.392 lines 17-21): "De.nas yar byon.pa'i dus.su/ sde dang ma.lag khyu.ris dang rkyang.tshan/chad.lugs so.sor med.pa las/ sPu.rangs nas btsad.po lha.bla.ma'i gser slong byung.ba'i dus.su/ khral.kha so.so dang ris.ris.su gyes te/ 'Dre.tsho sTag.nag bye.tshang nas gyes/ Tshong.tsho Myang.ro 'Dre.brdas nas gyes/ Lo.tsho rGyan.gong ri.phug nas gyes/ rBa.tsho dBu.rag nas gyes/ Rag.tsho dGe.rgyal nas gyes/ Klu.mes Ko.chu nas gyes/ Sum.pa Klu.mes.kyi phyir 'brangs(p.393).pas/ 'Bring te bya.ba gda'o", "When the men of dBus.gTsang went upwards (to Central Tibet), there were no main and branch communities, districts, divisions or separate traditions. When *btsad.po lha.bla.ma* (Byang.chub.'od) came from sPu.rangs to collect gold, the various taxation areas and districts were partitioned. 'Dre.tsho ("the 'Dre division") was established [with its centre at] Tag.nag Bye.tshang. Tshong.tsho was established [with its centre at] Myang.ro 'Dre.brdas. Lo.tsho was established [with its centre at] rGyan.gong Ri.phug. rBa.tsho was established [with its centre at] dBu.rag. Rag.tsho was created [with its centre at] dGe.rgyal. The Klu.mes [division] was established [with its centre at] Kho.chu (Khwa.chu?). The Sum.pa [and] Klu.mes [division] was established later [than the others]. Their division was known as 'Bring". This account is hardly credible because the texts dealing with the network of the *'Dul.ba* communities in dBus.gTsang trace their establishment to the period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* before Byang.chub.'od. The same account of Byang.chub.'od's search for gold in Central Tibet is preserved in the rNying.ma.pa literature, probably deriving from one of the prophecies given by Guru Padma in chapter 92 of *O.rgyan gling.pa's gter.ma Padma bka'.thang* (p.563 line 15-p.564 line 3): "De.nyid mi.gnas mya.ngan.'das 'og.tu/ sPu.rangs rgyal.pos dBus la gser 'dod byung/ sde.pa gyes shing gnas.bzhir thob bsha'.byed/ Grom.pa rGyang (p.564) la sbas.pa'i gter.ka 'di/ mi.bzhag 'don.pa'i rtags der bstan.nas byung/ gter.ston dPon.gsas Khyung.thog ces.byu byung", "He will not last. After his *nirvana*, the king of sPu.rangs will come to dBus in

both 'Od.lde's brothers went to Central Tibet in search of gold for his ransom. The latter effort, which otherwise seems surprising, is explained in the light of the Gar.log.pa occupation of mNga'.ris. Their mission to Central Tibet to secure their brother's ransom implies that Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od were unable to do so in their own land, famous for its gold fields.

The 1037 invasion of mNga'.ris skor.gsum is confirmed by another source. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* introduces a significant episode during the reign of 'Od.lde, which shows that Wa.gindra karma, the author of the *dkar.chag*, was familiar with ancient accounts concerning him. The incident is important because it adds further detail on the events that destabilized the kingdom at the end of 'Od.lde's reign. The episode involves a hitherto unknown sack of Tho.ling, which was raided by the troops of the Hor-s and must have undergone considerable destruction since the text says that the Hor-s felt compelled to restore a *lha.khang* after the miraculous appearance of a big black snake<sup>443</sup>. The event is the same 1037 invasion of the Qarakhanid-s occurring after 'Od.lde was taken prisoner during his campaign in Bru.sha. Therefore, Tho.ling suffered a first major blow around 1037, soon after the grand plan of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa had been completed<sup>444</sup>. No indication is given as to whether the major temple of Tho.ling was affected, but it must have been since all the other religious structures at Tho.ling were built after 1037. The Gar.log invasion evidently did not last long. It was a typical Muslim raid without any intention of long term occupation. In fact, following 'Od.lde's death, Byang.chub.'od sent Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba in the same year to invite Jo.bo.rje to mNga'.ris with the gold he had collected for his brother's ransom.

The legend of Ye.shes.'od's death at the hands of the Gar.log is trustworthy as far as the identity of the torturers is concerned. It is not reliable in terms of the identity of the

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search of gold. The leaders of the communities will be established and power divided in four localities. Signs will indicate without fail that it is time to rediscover the treasure hidden at Grom.pa rGyang. gTer.ston dPon.gsas Khyung.thog will appear [for the purpose]".

(443) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10a lines 2-3): "Hor.dmag mTho.liding du lhag bdus.dmag khrod.du dug.sbrul chen.po rgyugs.pa sogs cho.'phrul bstan.pas Hor rnam.skrag cing 'gyod.nas bshad.pa.la lha.khang zhig gsos.pas Hos lha.khang grags.pa da.ta'ang yod.do", "The Hor troops came to mTho.liding. A big black snake slithered among the troops who had assembled [there]. Since the Hor-s were frightened and repented at [this] miraculous appearance, according to an oral account, they restored a *lha.khang*. It became known as the Hos (sic for Hor) *lha.khang*, which is standing to this day".

(444) A hint of an early destruction of Tho.ling is found in a story in *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.262 lines 2-4): "Gu.ger Tho.ling.gi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.ba'i bkod.pa mdzad.pas/ sa.pra mkhan.po na.re/ brtsigs kyang lo.brgya na 'jigs.par 'dug zer/ 'o.na bzhag.gam gsungs.pas/ lo.brgya.po de bstan.pa.la nan.tar phan.pa zhig 'ong.ba 'dug zer", "[Ye.shes.'od] thought of founding Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in Gu.ge. His architect said: "We can build it, but it will be destroyed within a hundred years". He replied: "Nonetheless, it will be indeed beneficial for the teachings during these hundred years". *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.359 lines 5-7) has almost the same wording.

Gu.ge king involved. What remains, in my view, debatable is the veracity of the story of the ransom in gold equivalent to the weight of the king's body.

The most authoritative sources of early times on Gu.ge Pu.hrang (bSod.nams rtse.mo, Grag.s.pa rgyal.mtshan, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*, 'Phags.pa) are all conspicuous in that they do not introduce the well known legend of Ye.shes.'od's death and the demand for gold. As a matter of fact, as has been shown above, Ye.shes.'od died in different circumstances. Leaving aside the evidence proving that Ye.shes.'od passed away at Tho.ling, the version of the events proposed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which links this legend to 'Od.lde's death, is chronologically and factually more reliable in the light of the history of sTod during that period. Factually since 'Od.lde was more likely to have led military campaigns than Ye.shes.'od, given Ye.shes.'od's retirement from wordly affairs, and chronologically since 'Od.lde's death fell close to the invitation of Jo.bo.rje whereas that of Ye.shes.'od did not.

Exemplary legends told to disciples spoke of tortures endured by Buddhists to prove their unshakable faith, as in the case of the king of Khotan, who went through unimaginable suffering inflicted on him by Muslim (Gar.log) conquerors in the hope to convert him in much the same way as was Ye.shes.'od, were common lore known to 'Jig.rten mgon.po<sup>445</sup>. Accounts of ransoms in gold demanded by infidel marauders is not unknown to the Bon.po literature and the stories of Ge.sar's feats<sup>446</sup>. It is uncertain when and by which source the legend of the ransom in gold was attributed to Ye.shes.'od, although it is possible that it was first introduced by Jo.bo.rje's biographies<sup>447</sup>. The oldest extant *chos.'byung*

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(445) On the tortures of the Li.yul king gZhon.nu rdo.rje at the hands of the Gar.log-s see *bsKyabs.gro bslab.byā phan.yon dang bcas.pa* in the collection of parables addressed to his disciples in sKyob.pa 'Jig.rten mgon.po's *gSung.'bum* vol.Nga (4) (p.422 line 4-p.423 line 3) and Gene Smith's Introduction to the same edition of 'Jig.rten mgon.po *gSung.'bum* (vol.4 p.1-2), where this account is excerpted and translated. The Gar.log king asked gZhon.nu rdo.rje to convert to Islam, which he refused, and consequently suffered the most cruel tortures. Differently from the myth of lha.bla.ma's death, this king found himself miraculously freed by praying to the *dkon.mchog.gsum*. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* also confusingly reports that 'Od.lde was freed by the miraculous intervention of his yi.dam sMan.bla in the circumstances preceding his death.

(446) The narrative of ransom in gold asked by infidel captors is also found in the Bon.po literature, for *Kun.grol grags.pa bstan.'byung* interestingly recounts a similar episode involving the king of Bru.sha and foes coming from the border of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. He says (p.417 line 5-p.418 line 2): "mNga'.ris skor.gsum sa(p.418).mtshams nas/ dmag.'dren len.bzhi.tsam byas mthar/ Bru.sha gNam.gsas rgyal.khab thob/ rTsod.sde rgyal.po btsan.du bzung/ de.la 'khor 'bangs.sde bcas.kyi/ gser dang rgyal.po mnyam.bkyag bslus", "Troops were sent four times from the border of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. Eventually the capital of Bru.sha gNam.gsas was conquered [and] king rTsod.sde ("antagonistic community") took its ruler prisoner. The courtiers and the subjects had to give gold equivalent to his weight to ransom their king". Could the reference to mNga'.ris skor.gsum apply to the period following the 10th century after its establishment by Nyi.ma.mgon? If so, it cannot be ruled out that the account of 'Od.lde's end has been confused and possibly even reversed.

(447) The dates of the Bengali master's various biographies are difficult to ascertain and consequently the time when the legend was introduced into the works dedicated to the events of his life. Eimer ("The Development



doing so is *Deb.ther dmar.po*, but the legendary death of Ye.shes.'od is reported in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, a *rnam.thar* written approximately a century earlier<sup>448</sup>. The earlier section of the *rnam.thar*, which corresponds to the first part of the biography and contains the account of the legend, was completed soon after the death of Mar.lung.pa in 1241, while the latter part of the work is dated to water dragon 1292<sup>449</sup>.

Another similar story is that concerning mchod.gnas Ser.po killed by the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s and Ye.shes.'od's requiring gold in compensation, with which he built his early temples (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.461 lines 6-14; see above p.249 and n.357).

### *The dates of 'Od.lde (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.62)*

While *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* offers enough clues to fix 'Od.lde's death to fire ox 1037, his birth date cannot be deduced from the same source. *Bai.ser*, on the other hand, is invaluable

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of the Bibliographical Tradition Concerning Atisa (Dipamkarasrijnana)", p.42-43) says that Bya 'Dul'dzin (1100-1174 or 1091-1166) may have composed the earliest biography soon after 1150. It is noteworthy that Padma dkar.po cites later works as his sources for the episode of Ye.shes.'od's ransom for gold (Eimer p.44), while early historiographies do not mention it.

(448) For the account of Ye.shes.'od's captivity, the ransom and his death in *Deb.ther dmar.po* see above n.427. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.18b lines 1-5) contains the conventional narrative of Ye.shes.'od's imprisonment, but with a major difference. The text (lines 1-3) says: "De'i dus lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.kyi Jo.bo.rje gdan.dren.du byon.pa lam.du mus.stegs.kyi bzung nas/ yang.na mu.stegs.pa byed dgos/ yang.na gser khyed.rang dang ma.nyam.pa 'dod zer/ gser bster.bar byas.nas yul.du 'phrin.stang ste/ lha.rtsun.gyis gser mang.po khyer.nas glur.rdzangs.pa dbu'i tshad rtsam.cig ma.thim.pas stong ma.nyan", "At that time, since Ye.shes.'od was captured by the *mus.stegs.pa-s* (sic) on his way to invite Jo.bo.rje, he was told: "Either you become *mu.stegs.pa* or you have to provide a ransom in gold the equivalent of your body [weight]". As it was agreed to give gold, having striven hard to collect it in the land, *lha.rtsun* (Byang.chub.'od) assembled a lot of gold as much as his body, but [Ye.shes.'od] was not released, [Byang.chub.'od] having failed to provide gold as much as his head". The customary story of Ye.shes.'od's selfless sacrifice to invite Jo.bo.rje follows. The deviation from most of the later sources resides in the fact that the Gar.log-s are not mentioned in the episode, but rather unspecified *mu.stegs.pa-s*.

(449) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* was personally dictated by Mar.lung.pa (1153-1241) to his son Thon Kun.dga' rin.chen and to his disciple Byang.chub.'bum, who put it into written form (f.354a line 3). As is often the case in Tibetan literature, it is rather more autobiography than biography. Apart from the songs he sings, in many instances the text refers to episodes in which Mar.lung.pa talks in the first person. The colophon (f.361a lines 1-4) declares that passages, written by Thon Kun.dga' rin.chen and Byang.chub.'bum in 1241, were anonymously interpolated into the text in water dragon 1292. I am in no position to say which additions have been introduced into the text other than some cases of blatant anachronism such as historical references to 'Bum.lde.mgon (1253-1280), the Gung.thang king who reigned decades after Mar.lung.pa's death in 1241 (ibid. f.354a line 3) and that of an impossible meeting with O.rgyan.pa, after the latter returned from O.rgyan in 1257-1258 (an event taking place later than Mar.lung.pa's death) (ibid. f.260a-b and 302a-306b).

able when it says that in a rat year, when he was thirty years old, 'Od.lde went to Mar.yul and founded dPe.thub (p.279 line 19-p.280 line 1; see above n.451). This rat year is assessed in *bsTan.rtsis kun.las btus.pa* (p.154) as wood rat 1024. On this basis, it seems that 'Od.lde was born in wood sheep 995.

This evidence shows that 'Od.lde was younger than Byang.chub.'od (b.984), an opinion shared by the authors of *Deb.ther dmar.po*, *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* and *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* who are in favour of this interpretation<sup>450</sup> and contrary to the opinion of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 17-18) and many other sources. He was lHa.lde's middle son since Zhi.ba.'od was considerably younger.

As mentioned above, *gDung.rabs zam.phreng* makes 'Ol.lde the king of Mar.yul. *Bai.ser* adds that he "went" to Mar.yul in wood rat 1024<sup>451</sup>, an expression referring to his

(450) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.43 lines 5-6) inverts the typical genealogical order of Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od making the latter the eldest of the three brothers, while 'Od.lde is considered the youngest (ibid. p.43 lines 5-6: "De'i sras gsum/ pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od/ lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od/ 'Od.lde'o", "His (lHa.lde's) sons were pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od, lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od and 'Od.lde"). *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (p.74 lines 16-19) states: "De.la sras gsum/ da.lta'i lo.rgyus spyir bar.pa Byang.chub.'od yin.smas la/ des Jo.bo.rje Bod.du spyan.drangs.pa sogs bstan.pa la bka'drin shin.tu che/ gcung 'Od.lde's kyang pandi.ta Dznya.na.shri sogs spyan.drangs", "He (lHa.lde) had three sons. According to contemporary *lo.rgyus-s*, Byang.chub.'od is considered to be the middle son. He invited Jo.bo.rje to Tibet, being [therefore] a great patron of the teachings. His younger brother 'Od.lde also invited pandi.ta Dznya.na.shri". These statements show that Tshe.dbang nor.bu was not completely reconciled to the idea that Byang.chub.'od was the middle son, while he held that 'Od.lde was younger than him. He is followed by *Kho.char dkar.chag*, in which 'Od.lde is untenably indicated as the youngest (f.10a = p.47 line 4), while, elsewhere in the same text, Byang.chub.'od is made lHa.lde's middle son (ibid. f.5a = p.40 lines 6-7). *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* classifies Zhi.ba.'od as the eldest, Byang.chub.'od as the middle, and 'Od.lde as the youngest (p.244 line 5-7: "lHa.lde.po la sras.gsum 'khrungs.pa'i che.ba Zhi.ba.'od/ 'bring.ba lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od/ chung.ba 'Od.lde'o") and adds (p.245 lines 9-10): "lHa.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od.kyi gcung.po 'Od.lde's pandi.ta Kha.che Dwa.na.shri spyan.drangs", "'Od.lde, the younger brother of lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od, invited pandi.ta Kha.che Dwa.na.shri". The rest of the main sources are consistent in considering 'Od.lde to be the eldest, while they vary regarding the other two brothers. *Bu.ston rin.po.che chos.byung* (p.201 lines 8-9) lists them as follows, presumably in order of age: 'Od.lde, pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od, btsun.pa Byang.chub.'od; *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.byung* (p.69 lines 15-16) says: "'Od.lde dang/ pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od dang/ btsun.pa Byang.chub.'od". *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* mistakenly treats De.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza as Zhi.ba.'od and Byang.chub.'od (p.216 lines 16-17: "Sras.gnyis kyang rab.tu byung ste/ mtshan Zhi.ba.'od dang/ Byang.chub.'od", "[Ye.shes.'od's) sons were also ordained. [They took] the names Zhi.ba.'od and Byang.chub.'od"). In a later passage, the same text describes 'Od.lde as the eldest and the ruler of the country, followed by Byang.chub.'od and 'Od.zer go.cha (sic) (p.222 lines 10-11: "lHa.lde'i sras/ 'Od.lde's/ rgyal.srid skong/ lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od dang/ gcung.po 'Od.zer go.cha gsum.mo"). *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* has 'Od.lde, Zhi.ba.'od, Byang.chub.'od (lHa.sa ed. p.41 line 20-p.42 line 1: "De.la 'Od.lde/ Zhi.ba.'od/ Byang.chub.'od dang sras(p.42).gsum byung"). *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* classifies them in the following order: 'Od.lde, Zhi.ba.'od and Byang.chub.'od, the latter considered to be the youngest of the three (p.80 lines 21-22: "lHa.lde la sras 'Od.lde/ Zhi.ba.'od/ Byang.chub.'od dang gsum las/ chung.ba dge.slong Byang.chub.'od bya.ba"). *Padma dkar.po chos.byung* lists them in succession as 'Od.lde, Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od (p.261 lines 3-4: "De.la sras.gsum/ 'Od.lde/ Byang.chub.'od/ Zhi.ba.'od.do").

(451) In *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 18-19), 'Od.lde is made by the text to go "one time" to Mar.yul, where

taking over of that kingdom in that year<sup>452</sup>. After 'Od.lde became the king of Mar.yul, he built dPe.thub, which was another Gu.ge contribution to this land after lHa.lde's grant to Shel. The latter was the place where 'Od.lde settled down since at the end of the 14th century his descendants were still found living in this locality according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 line 12). These events show that Gu.ge had extended its sovereignty over Mar.yul from at least 1024. Control of Mar.yul by Gu.ge was presumably preceded by a phase of unspecified influence going back to the reign of lHa.lde. 'Od.lde's rule in Mar.yul helps to assess the years of his reign in Gu.ge, which thus lasted from some time before 1024 until 1037.

This sheds light on the way the political situation in the kingdom founded by Nyi.ma.mgon evolved during the reigns of its early kings. After the untimely death of lDe.gtsug.mgon, two *skor*-s of mNga'.ris coalesced (Pi.ti, Khu.nu and Zangs.dkar were merged into Gu.ge Pu.hrang), while Mar.yul apparently remained independent according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which lists an interrupted genealogy of local kings during this period (lHa.sa ed. p.42 ff.; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.30 ff.). On the basis of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, *Bai.ser* and *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, however, the autonomy of Mar.yul did not last long. 'Od.lde ruled all the *skor.gsum* of mNga'.ris as did Nyi.ma.mgon. Later, rTse.lde in his turn gained control of the *skor.gsum*, a fact confirmed by evidence discussed below (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 line 14-p.73 line 11 for rTse.lde's campaigns and the borders of his kingdom).

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he founded dPe.thub. *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.339 line 2) confirms that he ruled in Mar.yul: "De'i sras 'Od.lde/ rgyal.po mdzad rgyal.srid bzung", "His (the Mar.yul king 'Gro.mgon's) successor was 'Od.lde. He was the king [who] ruled the country". *Bai.ser* (p.279 line 17-p.280 line 1): "Lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.pos phyogs.der chos.sde dpe.thub.pa gcig byung zhes gsungs.pas dPe.thub tu grags/ lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od.kyi gcen.po 'Od.lde zhes.byab.dgung.lo sum.bcu.pa byi.ba lor Mang.yul (p.280) du phebs dPe.thub.kyi lha.khang bzhengs", "As lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po said: "In this area an exemplary (*dpe.thub.pa*) *chos.sde* will exist", it is known as dPe.thub. When he was thirty in the rat year, lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od's elder brother 'Od.lde went to Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul). He founded dPe.thub lha.khang". For the dating of this rat year to 1024 see *bsTan.rsis kun.las btus.pa* (p.154).

(452) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* offers another example of the use of the expression "went" (*byon*) to imply ruling in a territory, when it says that Nyi.ma.mgon's middle brother bKra.shis.mgon "went" to Pu.hrang (p.70 lines 11-13: "Bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon.gyis sPu.rangs su byon.pa dang/ bTsan.phyug.lde nas brgyud.pa/ Ya.rtse'i rgyal.rgyud chad.pas/ sPu.rangs nas gdan.drangs", "The middle son bKra.shis.mgon went to sPu.rangs and since the lineage originating from bTsan.phyug.lde, which was the Ya.rtse royal line, was interrupted, [another lineage] was invited from sPu.rangs"). The most typical case of such usage in the history of West Tibet is obviously the reference to bTsan.phyug.lde, who "went" to Ya.rtse in almost every later *lo.rgyus* and *chos.'byung* that describes him taking that kingdom. *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* does not differ from this common historical treatment, but immediately after its appearance in the text the word is clarified by its author Shakya Rin.chen.sde, when he adds that the lineage issued from bTsan.phyug.lde became the Ya.rtse *rgyal.rgyud*.

*The succession to the Gu.ge Pu.hrang throne after 'Od.lde*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.62)

Another merit of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is that it offers a rare insight into the succession to the secular throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang after 'Od.lde, something not clearly elucidated in any other source. In the view of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, Byang.chub.'od (b.984) added secular responsibilities to his exclusively religious practice at the age of fifty-four in fire ox 1037, the year 'Od.lde died. Thus Byang.chub.'od succeeded his elder brother 'Od.lde on the secular throne of Gu.ge.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 8-9) reads: "As he (Byang.chub.'od) kept his religious vows (*thugs.dam*) until he was fifty-four, he protected the teachings", which implies that afterwards he also protected the kingdom. The term *thugs.dam* employed in reference to Byang.chub.'od's protection of the religious sphere has to be translated in this context as "vow" rather than "meditation", which is lexically admissible and also more appropriate to his status as *lha.btsun*, who was bound to protect the monastic communities. The passage does not imply that he renounced his vows, but simply that he also took charge of the political affairs of Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

*mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* contributes significantly to the recognition of Byang.chub.'od as secular ruler of his kingdom since it refers to him as *mnga'.bdag* when it introduces the genealogy of the kings after 'Od.lde in a rather confused passage<sup>453</sup>. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* has the same wording with the exception of the title *mnga'.bdag* in reference to Byang.chub.'od, which appears elsewhere in the text<sup>454</sup>. The inclusion of Byang.chub.'od in the line of Gu.ge Pu.hrang secular rulers shows that the two *lDe'u chos.'byung*-s subscribe to the opinion that he was also a king<sup>455</sup>. In fact, when Jo.bo.rje, who was invited to sTod by Byang.chub.'od, reached Tho.ling in 1042, he found Byang.chub.'od on the throne.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not record the year of rTse.lde's succession to Byang.chub.'od as ruler of the kingdom. The only available date contained in this work relevant to rTse.lde's succession is fire sheep 1067, when *mnga'.bdag* rTse.lde, together with

(453) *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.384 line 1) says: "gCen.po rTse.lde zhes.pa mnga'.bdag Byang.chub.'od.kyi phu.bo te 'Od.lde'o", "The elder brother rTse.lde was [the son of] *mnga'.bdag* Byang.chub.'od's elder brother 'Od.lde". Another passage in *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, referring to Byang.chub.'od's amassing of gold in dBus.gTsang, recognizes him as a secular ruler (for this quotation see above n.442).

(454) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 lines 10-11): "gCen.po rTse.lde zhes.pa Byang.chub.'od.kyi phu.bo te/ 'Od.lde", "The one known as elder brother rTse.lde was [the son of] Byang.chub.'od's elder brother 'Od.lde". The sentence in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, which refers to Byang.chub.'od as *mnga'.bdag*, reads as follows (p.147 lines 4-5): "Cung thar.pa la gshegs.pa mnga'.bdag Byang.chub.'od", "The younger brother who went on the path of liberation was *mnga'.bdag* Byang.chub.'od".

(455) van der Kuijp ("Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.478-479), despite translating the same sentence of *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* and examining the twin passage in *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* for spelling emendments, does not include Byang.chub.'od in his genealogical table of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings (ibid. p.479).

Zhi.ba.'od, was busy promoting a new grand phase of religious building (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.65 lines 12-18) (see below p.311). In that year rTse.lde was occupying the secular throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. bSod.nams rtse.mo dates the enthronement of rTse.lde as 'Od.lde's successor to 1057 (3190 years after Buddha *nirvana more* Sa.skya.pa)<sup>456</sup>. Given that only *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides evidence to fix the death of 'Od.lde to 1037, bSod.nams rtse.mo must have been unaware of the fact that it was Byang.chub.'od who ruled the kingdom after 'Od.lde. Byang.chub.'od, a monk, covered the temporary absence of a successor to the secular throne and abdicated in favour of rTse.lde, the heir apparent, presumably when the latter came of age. rTse.lde's date of birth is not indicated in any source<sup>457</sup>.

An indication in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that the secular throne of Gu.ge passed from Byang.chub.'od (and not from 'Od.lde) to rTse.lde in 1057 (*bSod.nams rtse.mo* p.345,2 lines 3-4) is the speech of Byang.chub.'od (p.74 lines 2-3) in which he says: "It is now rTse.lde's turn, ha hi! (i.e. an expression of joy), to bring to completion my noble enterprises which remain incomplete"<sup>458</sup>. It is evident that Byang.chub.'od was speaking about secular enterprises, since, on his death, his successor in things religious was Zhi.ba.'od.

### *The dates of Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62, 65 and 67)

The dates of Zhi.ba.'od are introduced in the present work before those of Byang.chub.'od because they are instrumental in fixing the chronology of the main events of Byang.chub.'od's

(456) bSod.nams rtse.mo, *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,2 line 3): "De.nas sTod du mnga.'bdag 'Od.lde.btsan.gyis/ btsad.po bKra.shis Khri.lde.btsan phyag.nas spyan.drangs.pa'i tshel/ sTod.kyi chos.nyan.pa'i ras.'dzims [dus.]su brtsis.pas lo sum.stong chig.brgya dgu.bcu tham.pa lon.no", "Then, in sTod when mnga.'bdag 'Od.lde.btsan handed over [the throne] to btsad.po bKra.shis Khri.lde.btsan, cotton clad practitioners were listening to sTod.kyi Chos. As for the calculation [of this event], at that time 3190 years had elapsed [since Buddha *nirvana*"]". In this passage, bSod.nams rtse.mo uses the name btsad.po bKra.shis Khri.lde.btsan for rTse.lde. The identification of Khri.lde.btsan as rTse.lde is established in *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung*, since the text says that Khri.lde's successor was 'Bar.lde, who ruled after rTse.lde according to every other source (ibid. p.70 line 19: "mNga'.bdag Khri.lde'i sras 'Bar.lde", "The successor of mnga.'bdag Khri.lde was 'Bar.lde"). Another indication that Khri.lde.btsan was rTse.lde is the statement in the same entry of *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* that Khri.lde.btsan was a *btsad.po*. Apart Byang.chub.'od, who did not succeed in 1057, no king other than rTse.lde could have ascended the throne in that year.

(457) Grub.thob Kha.rang sgom.chen.pa, when he was requested by rTse.lde's mother for a prophecy on her delivery, foretold the birth of her extraordinary son, a king whose greatness would be unsurpassed in the future (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 8-12). Kha.rang is a place located in Tsho.srib gsum.dkyil (also colloquially known as Tsho.tsho), the Gu.ge area to the north of Rong.chung and to the east of Chu.mur.ti.

(458) This passage does not openly quote Byang.chub.'od, but it soon becomes evident that he is the one who is talking. The speech in question is attributed by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to *lha.rje bla.ma*, but there is no doubt that this *lha.rje bla.ma* is Byang.chub.'od rather than Zhi.ba.'od, the other *lha.rje bla.ma* of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty of the same period, since Zhi.ba.'od lived longer than rTse.lde (see below in the text). Zhi.ba.'od could have not entrusted rTse.lde, who died before him, with the completion of his enterprises.

life. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that the youngest of lHa.lde's three sons ('Od.lde, Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od) Yongs.srong.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 15-16) was ordained in fire monkey 1056 and his name was changed to Zhi.ba.'od, adding in the following two sentences that Zhi.ba.'od lived for forty-one years after his ordination and for thirty-four years after his brother Byang.chub.'od's death (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.65 lines 11-12). Given that the death of Zhi.ba.'od is fixed by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to iron hare 1111 (p.67 line 18), Byang.chub.'od must have died in earth horse 1078.

If the claim in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.65 line 12) that Zhi.ba.'od lived forty-one years after taking vows, is accepted without question, Zhi.ba.'od would have been ordained as late as 1071, which is in blatant contradiction with the statement in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that his final ordination took place in fire monkey 1056. Hence I prefer a different interpretation of the passage, according to which Zhi.ba.'od was ordained in 1056 when he was forty-one, which has the advantage of making his chronology consistent with his death date. Had Zhi.ba.'od survived for forty-one years after his ordination in 1056, he would have died in 1096. As said above, the date of his death is fixed to 1111. Being forty-one in 1056, he must have been born in 1016, the dragon year in which Na.ga.ra.dza was ordained.

bKra.shis.'od, the middle son of lHa.lde, was fully ordained when he was forty years old in water pig 1023 and received the name pho.brang Byang.chub.'od (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 7-8)<sup>459</sup>. He was thus born in wood monkey 984. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62

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(459) A peculiarity of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is that Byang.chub.'od is referred to as *pho.brang* (p.62 lines 7-8, p.64 line 5 and line 19, p.65 line 10, p.68 line 9), while this title is also applied to Zhi.ba.'od in other works (e.g. rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* p. 262 line 4: "De.la sras.bzhi ste 'Od.lde dang/ pho.brang lha.btsun Byang.chub.'od dang/ pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od dang/ brang.chung gcig.go). Zhi.ba.'od is never called *pho.brang* in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Tucci held that *pho.brang* designated the second brother in a lineage (*Preliminary Report* p.52). This idea does not conform to the well known case of *pho.brang* gNam.lde 'Od.srung. According to the *rgyal.rabs-s* and *lo.rgyus-s*, the bone of contention between his faction and that of Yum.brtan was the question of which of the two was the elder and had the consequent right to reign. For example see *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.byung* (p.369 lines 1-8). Pho.brang 'Od.srung received such a designation, in Richardson's view ("Succession to Glang.dar.ma" p.1223-1224), because he was not a true heir apparent and was not entitled to rule, although he actually did after he was adopted. The case of Byang.chub.'od does not help to solve this long standing problem. One may be led to think that application of the term *pho.brang* to him derived from the fact that he was not originally entitled to rule, but was forced to by 'Od.lde's death. This assessment would make some sense if Zhi.ba.'od, the other *pho.brang* of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, had ruled, but he did not. Furthermore, according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 7-8), Byang.chub.'od was given the title *pho.brang* in 1023, long before he was obliged to take on secular duties in 1037. The statement in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that he was ordained and thereupon received the title *pho.brang* suggests that, at least in the case of Byang.chub.'od, *pho.brang* was a religious title. If so, both Richardson's and Tucci's interpretations have to be dismissed. However, this is an assessment based solely on *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* since other sources do not connect the attribution of the term *pho.brang* to Byang.chub.'od's ordination. Since there is no clear instance of its use, I am in no position to propose an interpretation. Before coming across the application of the title *pho.brang* in religious sense in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I would have been inclined to think that Byang.chub.'od was born from a different queen than 'Od.lde, and that he and Zhi.ba.'od were step brothers

line 12) says that, in the same way as De.ba.ra.dza, who succeeded Ye.shes.'od in religious matters, Byang.chub.'od occupied the religious throne of Gu.ge. On the basis of the date of Na.ga.ra.dza's death, his accession must have occurred in 1026. He held this position until his death and secular power from 1037 until his abdication in favour of rTse.lde. Both Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od are said to have died when they were ninety-five, but the notion of the two brothers having an equal and unusually long life span is perhaps slightly doubtful.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* thus confirms that Zhi.ba.'od was much younger than Byang.chub.'od, as is suggested by the colophons of the works which Zhi.ba.'od translated and by the date of his *bka'.shog* (water monkey 1092)<sup>460</sup>.

In 1023, Byang.chub.'od took vows to ensure the continuity of the religious succession, since De.ba.ra.dza was dead and Ye.shes.'od very old, and, in 1037, he ascended the secular throne left vacant by 'Od.lde's death. His case confirms that becoming monk was not always discretionary for the members of the dynasty but depended on the genealogical situation within the royal family<sup>461</sup>. Therefore, Byang.chub.'od dedicated his life to the service of the kingdom. In his turn, Zhi.ba.'od ascended the religious throne of Gu.ge, succeeding his brother Byang.chub.'od in earth horse 1078 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.65 line 12), and occupied it until his death.

### *Byang.chub.'od's invitation to Jo.bo.rje (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.63-65)*

Byang.chub.'od's main act of promoting Buddhism in his kingdom was obviously his invitation to Jo.bo.rje. It is well known that Jo.bo.rje wrote *Byang.chub lam.sgron* at the request

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of the latter. This is also untenable. The above mentioned passage in *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* contributes another obscure notion, which adds to the already considerable confusion surrounding the term *pho.brang*. In this text four sons are improbably attributed to lHa.lde instead of the usual three. A hitherto unknown son referred as *brang.chung* is included among lHa.lde's issue. *Brang.chung* is obviously not a proper name but rather a term pertaining to his status in the royal family similar to *pho.brang*, from which it derives. *Brang.chung* seemingly refers to a rank lower than *pho.brang*, but both remain unexplained. I am indebted to Tashi Tsering for drawing my attention to rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*.

(460) Leaving aside the evidence provided by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* on their birth dates, another indication shows that a considerable age distance separated the two brothers. The year water monkey 1092, in which Zhi.ba.'od issued his *bka'.shog* (Sog.bzlog.pa, *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.462 line 3-p.467 line 3; also S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba.'od to the Buddhists of Tibet" p.13-14), shows that Zhi.ba.'od was active quite some time later than Byang.chub.'od, given that the latter was already absorbed in secular and religious work during the years when Jo.bo.rje was invited to mNga'.ris.stod, some fifty years before the issuing of Zhi.ba.'od's *bka'.shog*.

(461) lHa.lde's case was different from that of Byang.chub.'od. Though he entered religion at the time of some deaths in the royal family of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, he was following the principle of taking monastic vows at a mature age rather than filling any vacancy.

of Byang.chub.'od. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is not very specific regarding Jo.bo.rje's movements after he reached the heart of Gu.ge since it does not clarify whether he went first to Mang.nang or to Tho.ling. The text states somewhat vaguely that Jo.bo.rje was somewhere else with Byang.chub.'od before going to Mang.nang, where he apparently wrote *Byang.chub lam.sgron*, after which he returned to Tho.ling (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.64 lines 11-15). Other sources say that he was brought first to Tho.ling to meet lha.bla.ma<sup>462</sup>. It seems therefore that Jo.bo.rje went first to Tho.ling and later went to Mang.nang, his chosen residence. rDo.rje mdzes.'od (*bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*) is helpful in establishing the sequence of actions of the Bengali master in mNga'.ris.stod after his arrival at Tho.ling. Following his sojourn at Tho.ling, Jo.bo.rje resided at Mang.nang for one year<sup>463</sup>. The same source adds that after staying at Mang.nang, the three year period that Jo.bo.rje was allowed to stay in sTod was over and, on his way back, he went to Pu.hrang where he was met by 'Brom.ston.pa (1017-1076) at rGya.zhing (ibid. p.272 line 6-p.273 line 1)<sup>464</sup>. The colophon of the *Byang.chub lam.sgron* says that it was composed at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale partie 3 (mDo.'grel)* p.327-328). It follows that the work was written at Tho.ling either during 1042 or 1043, for he spent the last year of his stay in sTod at Mang.nang, not long before he left for dBus.gTsang in 1045.

Two great offerings were given to Jo.bo.rje in sTod. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* records one donated by the Gu.ge lay and religious notables with a grand procession, called *mNga'.ris*

(462) See, among many other works, *Jo.bo.rje rnam.thar rgyas.pa* in Eimer, *Materialen zu Eine Biographie des Atisa (Dipamkarasrijnana)* (p.251), where it is said that Jo.bo.rje, on his way to Gu.ge, first stopped at the bank of mtsho Ma.phang and then proceeded to mTho.liding to meet Byang.chub.'od.

(463) rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* (p.270 lines 1-3): "De.nas lha.btsun.pa'i sgos.kyi bla.mcho' Mang.nang du byon.nas Gung.thang.bas 'dir lo.gcig.las bzhugs.su myed.pas chos.pa kun/ de bar.du zhus.la lo.gcig.nas rGya.gar.gyi gNas.brntan chen.po phar spyang.dren.pa'i chad byas.pa yin.pas phar spyang.dren.par zhu.'tshal zhus", "Then, [Jo.bo.rje] went to Mang.nang, [the temple which] *lha.btsun.pa* (Byang.chub.'od) patronised. Gung.thang.ba (i.e. Nag.tsho lo.tsa.ba) pleaded: "Since [Jo.bo.rje] can stay less than one year here, all the religious practitioners, according to the agreement, are requested to bring him back after one year, since our invitation to the great Indian Arhat will have expired [by then]" and ibid. (p.272 line 6): "Der lo.gcig.las ma.bzhugs.par tshur spyang.drangs", "Having stayed there (at Mang.nang) for less than one year, [Jo.bo.rje] was brought back [in order to return to India]".

(464) rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* stages at Mang.nang the famous episode in which Byang.chub.'od asked Jo.bo.rje questions on religion. In reply Jo.bo.rje wrote the *Byang.chub lam.sgron* (ibid. p.270-272). This is definitely mistaken (see *Nyang.ral chos.byung* p.467 lines 4-11: "De.nas sPu.rang du byon/ bsu.ba byas/ Tho.ling du byon nas/ Jo.bos lha.khang.gi lha rnam.lha bstod.pa mdzad.do/ der chags.phab/ lha Byang.chub.'od.kyis zhu.rten.du gser.srang drug.brgya phul.nas thog.mar zhu.ba gsum byas.../ Lam.rim lam.sgron mdzad", "Then he went to sPu.rang. He was given a welcome [there]. Having gone to Tho.ling, Jo.bo. praised the gods of the *lha.khang*. He sojourned there. lHa Byang.chub.'od, after giving [him] six hundred gold coins as a token of request, first of all asked three questions,...[and consequently Jo.bo.rje] wrote the *Lam.rim lam.sgron*").



*'bul.mo.che* (ibid. p.64 line 19-p.65 line 4), which may have taken place at Tho.ling, and another by the general population (ibid. p.65 lines 5-7). Concerning the second, the text says that gifts were offered to Jo.bo.rje by the local people starting from Mang.nang gNas.brta.n.khang all the way to Grag.tsha. The latter offering must have taken place at Mang.nang and did not extend to any other site of its area, because the somewhat mysterious Grag.tsha, which is a dubious place name that has to be changed to a more probable *brag.rtsa*, is the foot of the sandy rock on the south-eastern edge of the Mang.nag plain, where ancient Mang.nang was located near the Mang.nang.chu. This is where the ruins of its 11th century temples are to be found. gNas.brta.n.khang should be read, in my view, as a specific building in Mang.nang which was the residence of Jo.bo.rje, the palace sanctified by the presence of the Arhat (i.e. Jo.bo.rje, who is often called *gnas.brta.n.chen.po*). I assume that the gNas.brta.n.khang was in the same plain near the temples. The crowd of mNga'.ris.pa-s who brought gifts to Jo.bo.rje filled the entire plain all the way from the foot of the sandy rock to where the ruins of its temples are sited.



# Temple construction in the time of 'Od.lde, Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od

(*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61-63 and 65-67)

*dPe.thub, the only temple attributed to 'Od.lde*

'Od.lde is not indicated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 line 19-p.62 line 1) as the *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* king who did the most for the diffusion of Buddhism, although *Ngag.dbang grags.pa* says that he received teachings and also did some religious practice, which is confirmed by *Sog.bzlog.pa*<sup>465</sup>. A single invitation is credited to him, that of the Indian *pandi.ta Pu.ni.shri* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 line 19). 'Od.lde was not an active builder of temples since no foundation is anywhere attributed to him other than that of *dPe.thub* in *Mar.yul* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 18-19, also *Bai.ser* p.279 line 19-p.280 line 1), which has already been mentioned. The cave hermitage of *Brag.khung kha.bo.che*, which has escaped literary attention, seems to belong to the same period given the stylistic features of its murals. Its nearness to *dPe.thub* reinforces the possibility that *Brag.khung kha.bo.che* has to be associated with the temple founded by 'Od.lde, possibly being the hermitage of the *dPe.thub* monastic community<sup>466</sup>

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(465) *Sog.bzlog.pa* in his *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* has a different appraisal of the religious instruction that 'Od.lde received (p.384 lines 4-5: "Grub.thob chen.po A.byi.shis/ Pu.hrangs btsad.po 'Od.lde dang/ Mi.nyag lo.tsa.ba gnang.ba/ grub.thob brgyad.cu rtsa.bzhi.yi/ dbang dang rjes.gnang sgrub.thabs dang/ rDzogs.rim rtogs.brjod la.sogs.pa/ chos.tshan dgu.la pu.sti gnyis", "Grub.thob chen.po A.byi.shri gave the empowerment, the [related] *rjes.gnang* teachings and the *sadhana* of the eighty-four *mahasiddha*-s; explanations of *rDzogs.rim* etc., nine types of teachings in two volumes to *Pu.hrang btsad.po 'Od.lde* and *Mi.nyag lo.tsa.ba*").

(466) The phase of temple foundations in *La.dwags* (*Al.lci 'du.khang*, *Mang.rgyu*, *gSum.mda'*, *Brag.khung Kha.bo.che* and *Bla.ma g.yu.ru*) may date from 1024, i.e. from the year in which 'Od.lde is documented in *Bai.ser* (and partially also in *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng*) to have been active in *La.dwags*, when he also founded *dPe.thub*, of which no 11th century traces are extant. The nearby *Brag.khung Kha.bo.che* caves have to be associated with *dPe.thub* on stylistic grounds. The faded traces of murals in its caves indicate in all likelihood that they were painted close to time when *dPe.thub* was founded in 1024. *Brag.khung Kha.bo.che*, sharing features of *Kha.che* art similar to those found in *Al.lci 'du.khang*, *Mang.rgyu*, *gSum.mda'* and *Bla.ma g.yu.ru* *Seng.ge.sgang* (the shrine and a few remaining *mandala* murals in the latter temple), is thus the key monument in dating this group of temples.

Although a minor establishment, the presence of Brag.khung kha.bo.che in its vicinity gives support to the claim that the dPe.thub area was a Buddhist stronghold during *bstan.pa pnyi.dar* and may point to the fact that 'Od.lde, after becoming ruler of Mar.yul, chose Shel, a site connected with his father lHa.lde, as his residence and made dPe.thub the religious centre of his kingdom in Mar.yul.

As for other contributions to religion, 'Od.lde is mentioned in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10a lines 1-2) in connection with *bsrung.ma* rDo.rje chen.mo, a form of dPal.lidan lHa.mo. The *dkar.chag* says that it was 'Od.lde who appointed rDo.rje chen.mo as *bsrung.ma*. Immediately afterwards the text adds that rDo.rje chen.mo was originally brought to Tho.ling from Ma.ga.dha by lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po and installed as the protectress of the temple with her retinue Re.ma.ti and Garja.ma<sup>467</sup>. Given the foundation date of Tho.ling (996), the summoning of rDo.rje chen.mo to the main temple in Gu.ge took place at the time of Rin.chen bzang.po's return to sTod in 1001. Two early phases of the rDo.rje chen.mo cult have thus to be recognized. A first appointment by lo.chen to be the protectress of Tho.ling in 1001 and a second by 'Od.lde some time before 1037<sup>468</sup>. rDo.rje chen.mo stood guard over the Tho.ling temples from the beginning of the 11th century until recently, when the religious complex at Tho.ling was destroyed.

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(467) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10a lines 1-2): "'Od.lde bsung.ma rDo.rje chen.mo de.dag.gi bsrung.mar bskos/ bsrung.ma 'di.yang lo.chen.gyis Ma.ga.dha nas spyang.drangs lam.la sha.ba.la chibs.pa mTho.liding du rta.nag.gi bzhon.pa phul/ blon.po Re.ma.ti dang Garja.ma ste rje.blon.gsum.mo", "'Od.lde appointed bsung.ma (sic for bsrung.ma) rDo.rje chen.mo and her cycle as protectresses. This protectress was [originally] summoned by lo.chen (Rin.chen bzang.po) from Ma.ga.dha. He installed [rDo.rje chen.mo] riding on a black horse at mTho.liding, [while] she rode a stag on the way. [With] blon.po Re.ma.ti and Garja.ma (otherwise known as Gar.dza.ma), these are the three *rje.blon-s* (i.e. the "queen" and her two companions)". rDo.rje chen.mo is depicted riding a horse, and holding the vase of long life in her left hand and a *rdo.rje* in her right, while Re.ma.ti rides on a mule and Gar.ja.ma/Gar.dza.ma on a stag, the same animal used by rDo.rje chen.mo as a mount on her ride to Tho.ling. On them see Nebesky-Vojkowitz, *Demons and Oracles of Tibet* (p.36), who also says that rDo.rje chen.mo was the *yi.dam* of lo.chen.

(468) Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar* (p.15 lines 3-5) says: "gNas.der lo.tsa.ba'i srung.ma dPal.lidan lHa.mo rDo.rje chen.mo bzhugs.pas Nyar.ma'i rDo.rje chen.mo zhes.kyang grags/ rjesu La.dwags rgyal.pos rDo.rje chen.mo shed.ru spyang.drangs.nas rgyal.po'i srung.ma mdzad", "Since dPal.lidan lHa.mo rDo.rje chen.mo, the protectress of lo.tsa.ba, [was made] to reside at this holy place, she became also known as Nyar.ma rDo.rje chen.mo. Later, as the king of La.dwags summoned her to this region, she was the protectress of the king". This account confusingly transfers to Nyar.ma the appointment of rDo.rje chen.mo by Rin.chen bzang.po to be the *srung.ma* of Tho.ling and her subsequent reappointment by 'Od.lde, who also ruled in La.dwags. Blo.bzang bzod.pa's version of these events is anachronistic, for rDo.rje chen.mo cannot have been chosen to preside over Nyar.ma at the time of its foundation in 996. This wrong chronology derives from Blo.bzang bzod.pa's claim that Nyar.ma was founded in 1012 (see above n.398).

*The temples of Byang.chub.'od* (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.62-63)

Byang.chub.'od founded the Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling gtsug.lag.khang at Mang.nang<sup>469</sup>. In Pu.hrang he made the Kyin.re.gling gtsug.lag.khang and its three clay statues. He sponsored a silver statue of Phyag.bzhi.pa (i.e. sPyan.ras.gzigs) in memory of De.ba.ra.dza which was the size of his deceased uncle. He built the lHa.khang dmar.po in the premises of the monastery of the gZim.mal community (described as *blo.can*, i.e. “brilliant”). He constructed the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling. After the first foundation at Mang.nang of the Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling, he built another temple, the Byams.pa 'phel.gyi gtsug.lag.khang, at the same site (on these establishments see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 9-18).

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 line 18-p.63 line 2) adds a few minor building activities undertaken by Byang.chub.'od. Among them was the construction of three *mchod.rten-s* at an unspecified location, but near the tombs of the *sras.yum.gsum*. This expression poses a problem of identification as such a term cannot apply to lHa'i me.tog and her brothers Dhe.ba.ra.dza and Na.ga.ra.dza, as she was their sister. Until names and family relations of other members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal family become known, the identity of these three personages will not be clear.

Byang.chub.'od also built a *gdung.khang* (“a funerary monument”) for his deceased brother 'Od.lde and a *gdung.khang* in the shape of a small *gser.khang* for the twelve *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s*<sup>470</sup>. The latter are unknown, but it is noteworthy that a tradition of local unidentified spiritual masters is documented in Gu.ge Pu.hrang as early as about the mid 11th century, when Byang.chub.'od was active. The location of these funerary structures is not revealed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and there is no relevant contextual evidence.

(469) For a meticulous list of religious paraphernalia and tools of daily use, such as kitchen utensils, for the monks of the Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling included in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.63 lines 9-10) see p.117 of the translation.

(470) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not describe the types of the tombs built on that occasion, that of 'Od.lde's *gdung.khang* being particularly obscure. His *gdung.khang* may have contained a funerary *mchod.rten*. The making of a *gdung.khang* in the shape of a small *gser.khang* for the twelve *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s*, unnamed in the text, seems to prove that it was a single funerary monument, otherwise one would be confronted with the rather improbable notion of twelve *gser.khang-s* being built for the purpose. I suggest it was a monument in the form of a *gsum.brtsigs* containing twelve *gdung.rten-s*, as the reference to a *gser.khang*-shaped structure like Tho.ling gSer.khang (i.e. three-storeyed) suggests. If so, the building of *gser.khang*-type structures in sTod would thus predate the Tho.ling gSer.khang built by rTse.lde and Zhi.ba.'od, given that Byang.chub.'od was several years older than Zhi.ba.'od and that the erection of a funerary monument for 'Od.lde would have soon followed his death in 1037.

The building of *gdung.khang-s* is a Buddhist custom. Byang.chub.'od, a religious successor of Ye.shes.'od, no longer performed the ancient rituals in cemeteries which his uncle had favoured (see Sog.bzlog.pa, *Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.441 lines 3-4 for the relevant line in Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog*: “Bam.sgrub dar.bas dur.sa'i mchod.pa stongs”, “As rituals of the corpses are becoming popular, offerings in the cemeteries are abandoned”; see

Therefore a consistent phase of temple works was promoted by Byang.chub.'od soon after he added secular duties to his religious practice (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 8-9). His enterprise was a major accomplishment, no less meritorious than the 996 building phase of lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. A few words must be said about these temples which benefitted from Byang.chub.'od's munificence.

### MANG.NANG

The two small *lha.khang*-s built side by side, depicted in photographs taken by Ghersi, Tucci's companion in his trips to West Tibet (see Tucci, "Indian Paintings in Western Tibet"), when the *lha.khang*-s at Mang.nang were still in good conditions, are the two temples founded by Byang.chub.'od. Due to their presently ruinous condition, it is difficult to distinguish the Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling from the Byams.pa.'phel. Since halos remain on the dilapidated walls of the western temple, it can be conjectured that it once contained statues, thus making it possible that it housed the Byams.pa cycle (normally a Byams.pa *lha.khang* has sculpted rather than painted depictions), allowing one to hazard that it was the Byams.pa.'phel.

On the secular side, he established 208 *grong*-s ("households") of subjects under his divine rule (*lha.'bangs*). The location of this major settlement is not given in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, but it seems that this was at Mang.nang since reference to this village is appended

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also S.Karmay, "The Ordinance of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od" (p.156 line 39 (Tibetan text) and p.154 line 16-17 (transl.)).

The mortal remains of Byang.chub.'od, who is documented to have taken great care of the tombs of his predecessors, were profaned during the Gorkha war by the invaders from Nepal who looted his silver tomb placed in the *'du.khang* of rDzong.dkar gtsug.lag.khang. *rDo.ring pan.di.ta rnam.thar* (p.599 lines 15-17) narrates: "lHag.don chos.sde 'di.la Bod chos.rgyal gong.ma rim.can.nas sbyor.'jags mdzad.pa'i dngul.gdung 'du.khang thog.tshad.ma che.legs khag mang.gi nang.du lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od...", "In particular, in this *chos.sde* (rDzong.dkar) among the one floor-high silver tombs of the old religious kings of Tibet, [who had ruled] in a lineage, which had been assembled in great numbers inside the *'du.khang* was that of lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od..." and *ibid.* (p.600 lines 11-18): "bsTan.dgra Gor.dmag.gi rdzong srung.pa rnam.s nas gong.gsal dngul.gdung rnam.kyi phyi.bstums dngul dang/ phra.rgyan gang.yod shus 'khyer byas.pas 'dod.pa ma.tshims.par da.dung dngul.gdung gong.gsal sgrom.shing rnam.kyang mer.bsregs byas 'dug.skabs Bod chos.rgyal gong.ma rim.byon.gyi sku.gdung hril.mo nang gzungs.su yod.pa rnam.a.ru.sder thon.byung dus mi.ro 'dug zhes skyug.bro snang.gis lam.gyi gzhi.mdo sogs.la phyr.bsgyur byas", "The guards of the castle belonging to the Gor[.kha] troops, who were the enemies of the teachings, were excited to loot the silver and whatever precious decorations were on external sheets of the above mentioned silver tombs. Not content with that, they threw the wooden inner frames of the above mentioned silver tombs into the fire. At that time, as soon as the written formulas placed in layers of medicinal preparations inside the core of the silver tombs of the old kings of Tibet, [who ruled] in a lineage, were exposed, as [the Gor.kha troops] were overcome with nausea [realising that] there were human bodies, they abandoned them at [some] locality lower down along the road". I wish to thank Matthew Akester for drawing my attention to this episode. Tucci (*To Lhasa and Beyond* p.124) says that Byang.chub.'od's tomb was at the Po.ta.la when he was in lHa.sa during his last visit to Tibet.

to various grants Byang.chub.'od issued in favour of Mang.nang (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 10-11). It is interesting to note that Byang.chub.'od was responsible for the establishment of the latter site, both temples and village. Given the period in which Mang.nang was founded by Byang.chub.'od, the enterprise was possibly conceived with Jo.bo.rje's arrival in mind and was intended to provide him with a suitable residence.

#### KYIN.RE.GLING

The Kyin.re.gling temple remains unidentified. Only faint traces of it are found in the sources. According to a brief biography of Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba contained in *Deb.ther sngon.po*, he went to Pu.hrang from Bal.yul via Gung.thang and Gro.shod at an unspecified date<sup>471</sup>. In the absence of a more extensive *Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba rnam.thar* and of dates referring to events in his life including his sojourn in Pu.hrang, I assume that he was in West Tibet before water horse 1102, when he became the regent abbot of Sa.skya on the death of 'Khon dKon.mchog rgyal.po<sup>472</sup>. He visited the temple to which the statues of Thugs.rje chen.po, 'Jam.dpal and sGrol.ma had previously been brought by Rin.chen bzang.po. He restored the big toe of the sGrol.ma image. I wonder whether the statues mentioned in this episode are those composing the Kyin.re.gling triad sponsored by Byang.chub.'od, since no other reference to three statues in Pu.hrang during the 11th century is found in the literature. The possibility that they were the most famous Pu.hrang triad, that of Kha.char, has to be dismissed, given that the two side images at Kha.char date to the early 13th century when they were added to the central Jo.bo. Furthermore, the identities of the statues composing the two groups (that of Kha.char and that which Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba restored) do not correspond. Although the period in which Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba was in Pu.hrang fell soon after the making of the sKyin.re.gling triad, he did not visit this temple since Ba.ri lo.tsa used sandalwood to repair sGrol.ma's toe, while the Kyin.re.gling statues were of clay. The triad of sandalwood images was therefore located in a temple other than Kyin.re.ling.

(471) *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.1191 lines 2-5): "Bal.yul nas Gung.thang du byon/ de.nas Gro.shod nas sPu.hrangs su byon.nas pandi.ta la Rigs.tshogs gsan/ sngon lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.pos spyang.drangs.pa'i Thugs.rje chen.po 'Jam.dpal sGrol.ma rnam.bltar phyin.pas/ de.nub rmi.lam.du sGrol.ma'i zhabs.kyi mtho.bong sogs nyams.pa gsos zer.ba rmis.pas/ gser.gyis gor.shi.sha nyos.nas gsos", "From Bal.yul he went to Gung.thang. Then, since he went from Gro.shod to sPu.hrangs, he received *Rigs.tshogs* from a *pan.di.ta*. He went to [see the images of] Thugs.rje chen.po, 'Jam.dpal and sGrol.ma, which had earlier been brought [there] by lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po. That night, in his dream he dreamt that sGrol.ma was telling him: "Repair my big toe". Having bought *gor.shis.sha* ("sandalwood") with gold, he repaired it".

(472) *Sa.skya gdung.rabs* (p.25 line 19-20: "De.nas dgung.lo bcu.gcig lon.pa.na yab bde.bar gshegs...", "When [Sa.chen Kun.dga' snying.po (1092-1158)] was eleven (i.e. in 1102), his father ('Khon dKon.mchog rgyal.po) died..." and *ibid.* (p.26 lines 2-3): "gDan.sa yang Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba la gta", "The [Sa.skya] throne was given to Ba.ri lo.tsa.ba").

## THE gZIM.MAL TEMPLE

The passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* recording Byang.chub.'od's temple construction does not indicate the location of the gZim.mal community and its monastery. The gZim.mal community must have had an important role in Gu.ge linked to the activity of Byang.chub.'od, given the evidence of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and of epigraphy. As a matter of fact, the "long inscription" adjacent to a mural in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang, which dates the temple foundation (fire monkey 996) and its subsequent renovation by Byang.chub.'od (iron snake 1041)<sup>473</sup>, is accompanied by two much shorter epigraphs referring to the same wall painting, which are crucial to solving the problems concerning the identities of the gZim.mal-s and the lHa.khang dmar.po. The two inscriptions read: "The Rum Gu.ge community of the gZi'.mal.la dBang.phyug castle [is depicted here]"; "Byang.chub.'od, the great *arhat* (*gnas.brtan*), [who] perfectly accomplished (*byang.chub*) 'Dul.ba [and] the great community of Ta.po monks [are depicted here]"<sup>474</sup>. The accompanying painting shows the gZi'.mal.la community on one side and the Ta.po monastic community on the other flanking a central figure wearing monk robes and depicting the great *gnas.brtan* whose discipline is perfected (*byang.chub*). This should not be identified as Shakyamuni, who is never described as an *arhat*, but rather as Byang.chub.'od, to whom the text of the epigraph refers<sup>475</sup>. These

(473) According to this epigraph lha.bla.ma founded Ta.po in fire monkey 996 and Byang.chub.'od renovated it forty-six years later, which, in the Tibetan way of reckoning years, fell in iron snake 1041 and not in 1042 as calculated in some western works of the past. For an excerpt of the relevant first line of this inscription recording these historical events see above n.401.

(474) The two short inscriptions read: "gZi'.mal.la dBang.phyug.mkhar/ Rum Gu.ge'i sde" and "gNas.brtan chen.po 'dul.ba Byang.chub.'od/ Ta.po.yi dge.'dun sde chen.po". I venture to suggest that dBang.phyug mkhar, an apt name for a seat of power, was the main castle of the community in the Ta.po area. The second inscription poetically plays around the name Byang.chub.'od and his status as a royal monk, which led to his adoption of 'Dul.ba discipline. As the term *byang.chub* (i.e. "accomplishment") in his name implies, Byang.chub.'od had perfected monastic discipline ('Dul.ba).

(475) Tucci (*Indo Tibetica* vol.III,1 p.74) still found a few brief inscriptions in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang, which have deteriorated in the meantime to the point of becoming illegible. He transcribes the inscriptions as follows: "Khrom U.chung.ma"; "Mag.pa'i tsa.za brTen.dge' yon.bdag" ("the donor brTen.dge' born as son to the *mag.pa* (i.e. "son-in-law")") (see R.Stein, "La langue Zhang-zhung du Bon organisé" p.251-252 for *tsa.med*, i.e. daughter and *hri.tsa*, i.e. son, e.g. Ta.pi hri.tsa); "Rum.za rTan.po.sug" ("rTan.po.sug from Rum"); "Hug.ar.za Ye.shes" ("Ye.shes from Hug.ar"), "sGron.dngos 'di'i yon.bdag Rum.za gNyen.ting" ("gNyen.ting from Rum, the patron of this true lamp [of the teachings]"). This epigraphic evidence testifies to consistent sponsorship of Ta.po by people from Rum together with the gZi'.mal.la-s. The appearance of a lady's name of Khrom origin, proper to the local ethnos populating Mar.yul, is also interesting. Another short undated epigraph to the right of the door leading to the 'du.khang of Ta.po gtsug.la.khang says: "gNas.brtan chen.po 'dul.ba Byang.chub rnyel.'or". On stylistic grounds, the mural accompanying this inscription is later than 1041; which is when the wall paintings and epigraphs concerning Byang.chub.'od in the *skor.khang* were made. This suggests that the epigraph near the 'du.khang door drew inspiration from the latter. In fact, Byang.chub rnyel.'or is treated as a second Byang.chub.'od because it is claimed that his 'dul.ba was perfected to same extent as that of Byang.chub.'od.



inscriptions are proof that the tenets of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims*, issued in 988 by Ye.shes.'od, were still alive in the mind of the people in Byang.chub.'od's day, for he is described as the holder of perfect 'Dul.ba. The 988 *chos.rtsigs* states that a king who became *lha.btsun* had to protect the 'dul.zhing or religious realm (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.55 line 8). The expression *gnas.brtan chen.po* who had perfected 'Dul.ba has to be understood as meaning the immaculate protector of religion and its exponents.

The mural depicting the gZi'.mal.la-s with the Ta.po monks and the inscriptions identifying them show that Ta.po, renovated by Byang.chub.'od, was the temple of the gZim.mal community<sup>476</sup>. Even if the central image is identified as Shakyamuni rather than Byang.chub.'od (although it is without question Byang.chub.'od), this would not change the substance of the above assessment, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and in loco evidence offer cross-evidence that Byang.chub.'od was responsible for building the gZim.mal lHa.khang dmar.po and that Ta.po was the temple of this community.

Geographic factors corroborate this assessment. The location of Rum.yul, the land referred to as Rum Gu.ge and the territory of the gZi'.ma.la community in one of the Ta.po inscriptions cited above, can be identified with the help of evidence provided by bSod.nams rtse.mo (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,1 line 6). He says that the Byams.snyoms.gling temple was built at sPeg.mkhar (downstream from Tho.ling) in Rum.yul of Cog.la and that Cog.la included the Shib.pe.la (ibid. p.345,1 line 4). *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* (p.189 line 5-p.190 line 1) calls Rum.yul Rum.bu and places it in the same area when it says that it is located to the west of Central Gu.ge (the Tho.ling-Tsa.rang area) (see above p.252 and n.364). Rum.yul is therefore another name for Cog.la, and refers to more or less the same region. It is a large territory encompassing the land to the west of Tho.ling farther down the Glang.chen kha.'babs, where sPeg.mkhar is sited, including Pi.ti in the west, and being the region on both sides of the Shib.pe.la.

*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.461 line 11) says that rTa.po (a variant spelling of Ta.po) is in Sil.Chog (sic for Pi.Cog). In another passage, it adds that a new community was established in Pi.Cog during the time of Byang.chub.'od. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* first lists the three sons of lHa.lde: Byang.chub.'od, Zhi.ba.'od and the rather obscure lHa.zhal, which is an otherwise unrecorded name for 'Od.lde. The temple foundations follow, i.e. Tsha.ba.sgang in Pu.hrang, Mang.nang in Gu.ge, and the new community (*sde.gsar*) in Yil.Chog (another misspelling for the same territory)<sup>477</sup>. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides cross-

(476) The name lHa.khang dmar.po attributed to Ta.po after Byang.chub.'od's renovation in 1041 is possibly a 15th century idea, since at that time temples were known by the colour of their outside walls much like Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. See above n.372.

(477) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.465 lines 14-15): "De.gsum.gyis lha.khang bzhengs.pa sPu[.rang] du tsa.ba.sgang/ Gu.ger Mang.nang dang sde.gsar Yil.Chog ru la.sogs.pa'o", "These three (Byang.chub.'od, Zhi.ba.'od and lHa.zhal, i.e. 'Od.lde) built *lha.khang*-s: Tsa.ba.sgang in sPu.rang, Mang.nang in Gu.ge and the [temple of the] new community in Yil.Chog (sic for Pi.Cog)".

references when it documents Zhi.ba.'od's involvement in Tsha.tsa.sgang (p.65 lines 6-7) and credits the making of the two early temples at Mang.nang to Byang.chub.'od (p.62 lines 9-10 and lines 16-17). The allusion to the new community of Pi.Cog confirms the information coming from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that Byang.chub.'od patronized the gZim.mal-s and the inscriptional evidence in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang. Collating all this evidence shows that the lHa.khang dmar.po sponsored by Byang.chub.'od, being the old Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang founded in 996 and renovated by Byang.chub.'od in 1041, had become the monastery of the gZim.mal community, who had settled in Pi.Cog (otherwise known as Rum.yul/Rum.bu) not later than 1041<sup>478</sup>.

The indication that Ta.po was established as the temple of the new gZim.mal community in Pi.Cog has political implications going beyond the borders of the land in which they had settled. After the Qarakhanid invasion around 1037, the political situation in sTod was disrupted to the extent that even the kings of Ya.rtse had to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Qarakhanid-s, despite 'Dzum.lang being located in the region of mNga'.ris skor.gsum farthest from Turkestan (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2; see above p.286 and n.439)<sup>479</sup>. The establishment of the gZim.mal community took place during the period of Byang.chub.'od's secular rule (from 1037) and was a *fait accompli* by 1041 when the gZi'.mal-s of the Ta.po inscription are documented. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* adds that, under Qarakhanid pressure, people from the plateau fled to distant regions. This may not apply to the gZim.mal-s, whose name seems to document a non-Tibetan origin.

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(478) Concerning the extent of Byang.chub.'od's contribution to Ta.po, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.62 lines 17-18) reads: "He (Byang.chub.'od) built the lHa.khang dmar.po attached to (*tshogs.su*) the monastery of the brilliant (*blo.can*) gZim.mal-s". This is one of the many instances where *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* fails to discriminate between foundations and renovations. The "long inscription" in the *skor.khang* of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang confirms that Byang.chub.'od renovated the temple. Therefore the only part that can definitely be attributed to Byang.chub.'od is the *skor.khang*, while careful scrutiny is required to determine which parts of the *gtsug.lag.khang* and related images date from 996 and which from 1041.

(479) At the time of the Qarakhanid raid, Mar.lung.pa's ancestor Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho is called *ti.shri* ("royal preceptor") of Hor sKal.Mon (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.29b line 1: "Hor sKal.Mon.gyi ti.shri Kun.dga' rgyam"). Elsewhere he is said to have given teachings to the Ye.tshe king (spelled as in the biography, i.e. Ya.rtse) and other local rulers (ibid. f.15b lines 1-2: "Ye.tshe la.sogs.pa'i rgyal.po byas/ de.rnams dbang.lung zhus", "He (Hor.nag.mo Bhara dan.dur) was the sovereign of Ye.tshe (Ya.rtse) and other territories. They (i.e. the local rulers of these territories) asked [Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho] for empowerments and [related] instructions". Estates were given in exchange. The identification of the Ya.rtse.pa-s as people belonging to the tribes collectively known as Hor sKal.Mon is thus established, this being an instance where the term sKal.Mon loosely referring to populations recognized by the Tibetans as Mon.pa-s dwelling on the borders of West Tibet is concretely substantiated. For a survey of sKal.Mon ruins in Gu.ge Rong chung (far to the north-west of Ya.rtse) see Tucci *Secrets of Tibet* (p.103 and p.106), who talks about ruins of castles he came across that were attributed to the sKal.Mon-s by the locals. He saw a ruined castle at sNu not far from Shib.pe.la, on its eastern side, and another fortification of the Mon-s at Luk (spelled Lugs?) farther to the east in the same area (p.112).

However, the passage in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* reveals that the gZim.mal-s had recently settled down in the area and had taken over the care of Ta.po, suggesting that they may have migrated to Pi.ti during the early rule of Byang.chub.'od<sup>480</sup>.

#### THO.LING PAD.MA RMAD.DU BYUNG.BA

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is the only source recording Byang.chub.'od's foundation of Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling (p.62 lines 15-16). This may lead one to believe that it was one more phase of transformation of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. I think, however, that the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba was another of the many temples built at Tho.ling, all of them known by ornate names (dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, gSer.khang 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan etc.). Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang ("the temple which is an excellent lotus") is no exception.

An indication that the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba was a separate foundation is that, had it been another renovation, it would have been described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as one more foundation related to the pre-existing dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang. This is normal practice in this text, in which renovations of various temples are listed as foundations. The ornate name given to the Byang.chub.'od's temple, different from those of all other Tho.ling temples, stands as evidence that he built a new religious edifice.

Byang.chub.'od's administrative grants providing support to the temples built during his secular and religious rule are listed by Ngag.dbang grags.pa in territorial sequence (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 2-10). The temples at Tho.ling (Shing.sgra and gSer.khang) are introduced first, followed by the lHa.khang dmar.po of the gZim.mal community in Pi.ti and then by those at Mang.nang. Ngag.dbang grags.pa subsequently acknowledges the existence of specific scrolls sanctioning an individual grant for each temple built during the time of Byang.chub.'od, to which he draws the reader's attention<sup>481</sup>.

(480) Tucci (*Indo Tibetica* vol.III,1 p.73-74) proposes a link between the gZi'.mal.la-s of Rum and the Malla-s of Ya.rtse but does so by connecting the gZi'.mal.la-s to the later Malla-s of Ya.rtse, whose dynasty ruled much later than the mid 11th century. The Malla kings of Ya.rtse ruled later than the third quarter of the 13th century (A.sog.lde, the last Calla king, reigned in the period around 1255-1278: see Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.91-92). The gZim.mal-s' patronage of Ta.po in 1041 is chronologically quite close to the reign of Punyamalla, the earlier of the two kings bearing the family name Malla (the other being Srimalla), who occupied the Ya.rtse throne three and four generations before Naga.lde respectively (see Tucci's transcription of the reverse side of the Dullu inscription and his genealogical table in *Preliminary Report* p.48-50). Naga.lde ruled around the early 12th century, for he was succeeded by bTsan.phyug.lde according to the Tibetan chronicles, who was the grandson of bTsan.srong, rTse.lde's brother (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.68 lines 16-19). No evidence is at hand to suggest that the earlier Malla kings of Ya.rtse had any link with the gZi'.mal.la community of Rum Gu.ge, except for the mere identity of their names.

(481) In comparison to the limited provision for Ta.po, the considerable amount of gold Byang.chub.'od allot-

The only temple to which no royal grant seems to have been awarded was Tho.ling Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba. Ngag.dbang grags.pa records that Byang.chub.'od issued one in favour of Shing.sgra, which is the name of a Tho.ling hill. The grant issued by Byang.chub.'od indicates that a temple was built on the hill, possibly near its castle. Apart from Tho.ling gSer.khang, which was also provided for by a grant (for its appraisal see p.311), no other temple than the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba was built at Tho.ling during the time when Byang.chub.'od was occupying the secular or religious throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. The administrative endowment in favour of Tho.ling Shing.sgra shows that the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba was built by Byang.chub.'od on the Shing.sgra hill and was the object of his concern. He spent tens of thousand of golden coins and used much copper for the making of its statues (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 2-3). The amount spent on the Padma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang reinforces the notion that this temple was not the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, as too many new statues were made for it merely to have been a renovation.

Reference to Shing.sgra hill during the time of Byang.chub.'od is the earliest found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The importance of this locality may not only derive from the fact that Byang.chub.'od built the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang there, because it cannot be ruled out that occupation of Shing.sgra hill goes back to an earlier period in the history of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. This topic will be discussed below.

In conclusion, a few chronological remarks need to be made. Byang.chub.'od built several temples, all which have to be dated to after 1037, because his building phase occurred after he took over the secular throne according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Mang.nang Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling is treated by *Bai.ser* as the temple of Jo.bo.rje<sup>482</sup>. It was thus built between 1037 and 1042, for Jo.bo.rje, on the invitation of Byang.chub.'od, also resided at Mang.nang during the three years of his stay in sTod between 1042 and 1044. Mang.nang dPal Byams.pa.'phel.gyi gtsug.lag.khang has to be associated with the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* attributes both temples to the same building phase. The Byams.pa.'phel may have been built after the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling for the contextual reason that the dGe.gnas.gling is quoted as first among Byang.chub.'od's enterprises.

The other major temples built by him fell in the same period of his rule. The phase of temple foundations Byang.chub.'od inaugurated in 1037 was thus determined by two

ted to the temples built at Tho.ling during his lifetime (Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba and gSer.khang) reveals that he concentrated his support in favour of the latter rather than Ta.po, which the gZim.mal-s were sponsoring.

(482) sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, the author of *Bai.ser*, has this to say on the foundation of Mang.nang Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling (p.275 lines 16-17): "Ma.nang Byang.chub.gling ni sngon lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od.kyis brab/ 'Phags.yul.gyi pandi.ta chen.po Di.pamka.ras yun.ring.du bzhugs/ sku chos ka.ca sogs nang.rten du.ma bzhugs shes thos", "Ma.nang Byang.chub.gling. Formerly, it was founded by lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od. The great pandi.ta Di.pamka.ra resided [there] for a while. I hear that images, texts and [religious] objects, many nang.rten-s, are placed [there]".

factors: his ascension to the secular throne and the invitation he extended to Jo.bo.rje, both events occurring in that year.

As for his other temples, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* places the making of Kyin.re.gling and its three clay statues in the phase during which the Mang.nang temples were constructed. According to *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (ibid p.113 lines 3-5), lo.chen invited Jo.bo.rje to sKyin.ri.gling (spelled as in the source). The dating of the other temples of Byang.chub.'od to the same years is corroborated by the renovation of Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang undertaken by him in iron snake 1041. Hence the only temple of Byang.chub.'od which cannot be chronologically assessed is Tho.ling Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba.

### *The temples of Zhi.ba.'od*

#### THO.LING gSER.KHANG

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.66 lines 1-12) introduces the description of Zhi.ba.'od's main temple, built with his nephew rTse.lde, the king of Gu.ge of that time, by saying that he placed the statues of the deities of the 'Jam.dpal dkyil.'khor in the 'og.khang ("ground floor") and seventy-four clay statues in the bar.khang ("middle floor"), including a statue of 'Jam.dbyangs. The passage adds that all those images were made in the gSer.khang. Soon after, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* adds that in a sheep year, Zhi.ba.'od traced out and laid the foundation of the 'og.khang. The architectural details mentioned in the passage confirm that *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* is referring to the foundation of Tho.ling gSer.khang, famous for its peculiar three-storeyed structure. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* thus provides the valuable information that the construction of the gSer.khang has to be credited to Zhi.ba.'od during the reign of rTse.lde. *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* is the other source which comes close to this assessment when it attributes the gSer.khang to rTse.lde<sup>483</sup>. This is correct as far as it goes, but is incomplete in that it does not mention Zhi.ba.'od.

The identification of the sheep year in which the foundations of Tho.ling gSer.khang were laid is based on evidence provided later in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.67 lines 8-12), where it discusses the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* which began in fire dragon 1076. The only useful sheep year between fire monkey 1056, when Zhi.ba.'od became a fully ordained monk and received his religious name, and fire dragon 1076, is fire sheep 1067. Moreover, this is the

(483) *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* (p.190 lines 2-4): "Mi.de rnams bdag gang.yin na/ yul sPu.rang.gi rgyal.po mnga'.bdag rTse.lde khong.gi thugs.dam.gyi yang.snying bzheng.pa de/ 'Dzam.gling.rgyan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang/ lcags.ri cig.gi nang na/ lha.khang khyung.mgo.can bdun yod", "As for who is the lord of these people, this is mnga'.bdag rTse.lde, the king of the land of sPu.rang. He built the 'Dzam.gling.rgyan gtsug.lag.khang as the innermost essence of his ancestral lineage. Inside the [Tho.ling] boundary wall are seven *lha.khang*-s with Khyung heads". For the gSer.khang known as 'Dzam.gling.rgyan see below p.313.

only sheep year falling during rTse.lde's reign before 1076. The text adds that in the monkey year 1068 the walls, the woodwork and the roof were finished; in the bird year 1069 the clay statues (including the seventy-four images on which see above) were made; in the dog year 1070 the murals were executed; in the pig year 1071 the faces of the deities were painted. The gSer.khang was completed in five years from 1067 to 1071. A reference to Tho.ling gSer.khang in the colophon of a translation by Zhi.ba.'od as the place where this work was carried out reconfirms the link of Zhi.ba.'od with this temple<sup>484</sup>. On the authority of bSod.nams rtse.mo (p.345.2 lines 3-4), who states that rTse.lde ascended the throne of Gu.ge 3190 years after Buddha *nirvana*, i.e. in 1057, evidence external to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* confirms that rTse.lde was the king of Gu.ge in whose reign Tho.ling gSer.khang was built. Given the date of the completion of Tho.ling gSer.khang, it is evident that the grant for its financial support issued by Byang.chub.'od fell sometime after 1071 and before 1078 (the year of Byang.chub.'od's death)<sup>485</sup>.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* contributes the detail that 223 masters and assistants working in various artistic techniques were summoned to build Tho.ling gSer.khang and make its sculpted and painted cycles of deities (p.66 lines 7-10). Their provenance and their artistic affiliation are not recorded<sup>486</sup>. The number of the artists and artisans involved in the work was too great for them all to have come from far away, but it cannot be ruled that the masters of the various workshops were foreigners. A clue concerning the foreign provenance of some of them derives from the fact that the main statue in the *bar.khang* at Tho.ling gSer.khang was a rGya.gar dBus.kyi sku ("a statue from Central India", i.e. Ma.ga.dha).

(484) The colophon of *Ka.la.pa'i 'grel.ba nyung.ngu las slob.ma.la phan.pa* (*mDo.'grel*), translated by Zhi.ba.'od, names Tho.ling gSer.gyi gtsug.lag.khang as the place where he carried out his work as *lo.tsa.ba* (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale partie 3* (*mDo.'grel*) p.461-462).

(485) Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa (the temple founded by Ye.shes.'od in 996, subsequently expanded and attaining its final shape in 1028) and Tho.ling gSer.khang (built in the years 1067-1071 by Zhi.ba.'od with the help of rTse.lde) are often confused in the literature, for the first of the two temples is sometimes mistaken for the other. The epitome of this misunderstanding is the account concerning Ye.shes.'od building Tho.ling dPal.dpe med lhun.gyis grub.pa wrongly taken to be the gSer.khang found in *Ngor chos.'byung* and *Pad.ma dkar.po chos.'byung* (see below n.737).

(486) Very few names of the artists called to work in the temples of sTod are recorded either in inscriptions or in the literary sources. Apart from the artists who made the central silver Jo.bo at Kha.char, who have been frequently mentioned in the pages of this work, hardly any names have been preserved. A single case is that of the artist from Kha.che named Bhi.dha.ka, mentioned in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po*, who made a statue of Thugs.rje chen.po as a *nang.rten* for lo.chen's late father (p.92 lines 2-4): "Kha.che ru yab.kyi brten khyad.par.can cig bzhengs dgos dgongs nas/ gser.srang nyi.shu tsam snams byon.no/ Kha.che ru ra.gan.gyi slongs mdzad.pa mang.du gzigs te/ lha.bzo mkhas.pa Bhi.dha.ka bya.bas yab.kyi sku.tshab.ru Thugs.rje chen.po yab.kyis sku.tshad dang mnyam.pa gcig bzhengs", "Having thought it was his duty to make an extraordinary statue of his father in Kha.che, he left taking with him twenty golden coins. He was busy gathering brass in Kha.che. He collected plenty. He asked the artist Bhi.dha.ka to make a statue of Thug.rje chen.po as a substitute [for his father] the size of his father").

This reference can either be taken to mean that artists from the Sarnath/Bodhgaya area were called to Gu.ge, or that the statue was brought from India to Tho.ling. This ambiguity is resolved by the fact that this 'Jam.dpal statue is said to have been made at mkhar.sGra (*mkhar.sGra.nas* (i.e. *na*) *bzhengs.pa*). This was the Shing.sgra castle on top of the hill (Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo) (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.65 line 19) overlooking the Tho.ling plain where the gSer.khang was built. The statue was therefore made at Tho.ling by an Indian artist. This is a revelation, since it was hitherto unknown that artists from Ma.ga.dha were active at Tho.ling, and it was commonly believed that the lands of Gu.ge, Pi.ti and La.dwags were dominated by Kha.che art during the late 10th and 11th century.

Tho.ling gSer.khang was named 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan ("supreme miracle of 'Jam.dpal, ornament of the universe") (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.66 line 12), a name which rarely appears elsewhere, not mentioned in the colophons of the texts translated on its premises in the time of Zhi.ba.'od. Its name may derive from the fact that the 'Jam.dpal cycle was the main object of worship in the 'og.khang, from which it follows that the entire building was dedicated to this deity.

In order to contain no less than seventy-four clay statues in its *bar.khang*, Tho.ling gSer.khang must have been a much larger building than the gSer.khang known until recently, of which few traces remain. Visual evidence collected by Tucci's photographer Gherzi shows that painted cycles (no statues were there at that time) completely covered all the walls and that nothing from the 11th century was extant<sup>487</sup>. On art historical grounds, the works in the gSer.khang of that time have to be assigned as a whole to the 15th century. More significantly, Tho.ling gSer.khang known to us from Tucci's pictures was much more smaller than it was in the 11th century as documented by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. This may be proof that the building was completely re-built during the 15th century and that the 11th century temple had been destroyed in the meantime. No reference to such a tragic fate is found in any source. A meagre and unreliable clue is found in Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.100), in which the author claims that Tho.ling gSer.khang was burned down by unspecified Hor invaders and re-built at some later time, basing such a claim on the authority of one *Sham.ba.la'i lam.yig*. The *Sham.ba.la'i lam.yig*-s I have consulted do not contain anything on the matter<sup>488</sup>.

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(487) In the Tucci Archives at the Museo d'Arte Orientale in Rome are preserved unpublished pictures of its murals photographed by Gherzi during Tucci's expeditions before the temple underwent destruction. I am most grateful *in primis* to Gabriella and Rai Boenni for first suggesting the idea of consulting the Archives, and to Giovanni Verardi for giving me the possibility of briefly looking at this documentation, as well as to Oscar Nalesini, who has been most kind in spending time to show me the images, and to Deborah Klimburg Salter for discussing the pictures with me.

(488) *Sham.ba.la'i lam.yig* by the third Pan.chen rin.po.che dPal.lidan ye.shes and that by Rin.spungs.pa Ngag.dbang 'jig.grags.

## THE SHING.SGRA HILL AND ITS MONUMENTS

The otherwise unknown Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo ("the castle on top of the Shing.sgra hill") and mkhar.sGra, possibly referring to one and the same castle standing on the Shing.sgra hill at Tho.ling, are mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* with reference to Zhi.ba.'od, who built a golden *mchod.rten* with a 'khor.lo at Shing.sgra rtse.mo (p.65 line 19-p.66 line 1) and had the 'Jam.dpal smra.ba'i rgyal.po statue made at mkhar.sGra (p.66 lines 3-5).

The various religious buildings on Shing.sgra hill, including the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang erected by Byang.chub.'od, make of this an important site in the Tho.ling landscape. Collective memory of the name Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo is lost, but its literary record is not. It was obviously a site located on top of one of the eroded hills around Tho.ling. Two hills are likely candidates. One is the hill to the south of the present Tho.ling village, on whose slopes ruins are found but not on the summit. The other is the more famous hill to the south-west of Tho.ling, where conspicuous ruins of monasteries are located halfway up the hill and on its top, which was reached through a tunnel that nowadays is hardly negotiable.

Unless Shing.sgra was on the dry hill to the south, on the top of which no traces of habitation are to be found, the other hill to the south-west of Tho.ling is likely to be the location of Shing.sgra. The name Shing.sgra (i.e. "sound of trees", produced when the wind was blowing) is evocative of a grove sited on its summit, where the castle and temple stood. This is a literary confirmation that the dry lands of Gu.ge must have been more fertile in antiquity, as was assumed by early Western travellers to mNga'.ris skor.gsum<sup>489</sup>.

That mkhar.sGra was located on the Shing.sgra hill is significant. This is the only reference in the sources to a castle at Tho.ling during the time of the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. I think that it was a major royal seat of power in Gu.ge, given that Tho.ling was the centre of the kingdom. How early royal residence was established on this hill remains to be ascertained. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* testifies to the existence of this castle at the time of rTse.lde and Zhi.ba.'od, but it cannot be ruled out that mkhar.sGra was built before then.

There is a belief popular at Tho.ling which holds that Nyi.ma.mgon established his site on top of the hill to its south-west, that bKra.shis.mgon built his own halfway up the same hill (roughly at the spot where later ruins are found), and that Ye.shes.'od built his temple on the Tho.ling plain. This account would make Tho.ling a site inhabited by the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty before Ye.shes.'od moved the capital of Gu.ge Pu.hrang there,

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(489) The progressive desertification of the West Tibetan lands and the Tibetan plateau at large is a commonly held view among foreigners, shared by Tucci when he describes the sites he visited. Geologists with whom I have spoken have confirmed that the hypothesis is likely, but I never had the chance to discuss the matter with them *in loco* during my sojourns in sTod.



although the main seat of Nyi.ma.mgon and bKra.shis.mgon was sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung. Despite Ye.shes.'od being the first member of the dynasty universally acknowledged in the sources to have been active at Tho.ling, oral tradition is in all probability historically correct.

As discussed above (p.239 and n.210), bKra.shis.mgon was born in dBus (Central Gu.ge) mTho.ba (i.e. Tho.ling, where *ling* is a localizer) (*gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.182 line 3), which proves that Tho.ling was a royal residence before the time of Ye.shes.'od. Collating literary and oral accounts, the hypothesis that Nyi.ma.mgon was the founder of mkhar.sGra, which did not then have the status of capital of the kingdom, is reinforced.

Tho.ling, in the days of Zhi.ba.'od, when most of its monuments had been built, must have been an impressive sight. On its plain stood the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang and the gSer.khang 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan. On the Shing.sgra hill were the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang, the mkhar.sGra and a golden *mchod.rten*.

### *Zhi.ba.'od's contributions to other temples*

Apart from building the gSer.khang, Zhi.ba.'od also endowed Tho.ling dBu.rtse with clay statues depicting the complete cycle of the Kun.rigs deities and Rigs.kyi gZhon.nu.ma (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.66 lines 5-7). The dBu.rtse, or dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, is the major temple at Tho.ling. It was known for short as the dBu.rtse, a term for the main temple in a *chos.skor*, in the same way as the major temple of bSam.yas is called dBu.rtse, as is that of Grwa.thang in lHo.kha. Tho.ling dBu.rtse was decorated with three *ril.ba-s* (cylinders in alloy with various Buddhist motifs found on temple roofs) on the 'jam.ri (sic for *lcam.ra*, i.e. a small cubic structure on the roof), placed there by Zhi.ba.'od around fire sheep 1067 when he built the golden *mchod.rten* with 'khor.lo at Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo. The reference to the dBu.rtse confirms that Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang had been conceived as a *chos.skor* prior to Zhi.ba.'od and thus the plan for which it is famous was laid out at the time of its foundation brought to completion by lHa.lde in 1028.

Zhi.ba.'od established a system of providing means of support to the *dbu.sde* ("monastic community") in Sang.dar and the supply of barley to the Tsha.tsa.sgang chos.skor in Pu.hrang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 lines 5-7). No clear reference is made in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to any foundation by Zhi.ba.'od at these two places, implying that the two temples predated him. The passage concerning Zhi.ba.'od's involvement with Tsha.tsa.sgang locates the temple in Pu.hrang, information not found in the passage dealing with its foundation by Khor.re (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1). It is not clear to whom the foundation of an *dbu.sde* at Sang.dar should be attributed. Sang.dar is the valley opening to the north-east of Tho.ling, above the right bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, where ruins of *mchod.rten-s* as well as *tsha.tsha-s* were found by Tucci, which no

longer exist<sup>490</sup>. The northern extremity of Sang.dar is mistakenly named Ka.ling in one of Hedin's maps (see above p.92). Sang.dar is at the entrance of this valley after leaving the bank of the river. It is a spectacular valley, joining Tho.ling with Pi.wang and Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar), thus being historically important as it linked major sites of ancient Gu.ge. Sang.dar is thus found in Gu.ge Byang.ngos, not far from Pi.wang.

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(490) Sang.dar Jo.bo, mentioned by mkhas.pa bKra.shis tshe.ring (*Kho.char dkar.chag.gi gleng.brjod* in *Kho.char dkar.chag* p.3 lines 12, spelled Sang.thar), was originally placed at Sang.dar and later moved to Tho.ling at an unspecified period, where bKra.shis tshe.ring says it was until the Chinese invasion, after Sang.dar perhaps decayed or was destroyed in antiquity.

# Gu.ge in the time of rTse.lde

## *Lay and religious activity during the reign of rTse.lde*

rTse.lde is not credited with religious establishments by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, except for a hint that he co-sponsored the construction of Tho.ling gSer.khang with Zhi.ba.'od<sup>491</sup>. As for his acts in favour of Buddhism, he is laconically said in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 lines 3-4) to have assured regular support to the temples in Pu.hrang and the religious teachings at their premises.

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(491) Five statues were legendarily brought to mNga'.ris.stod by a Gar.zha *grub.thob* during the reign of rTse.lde, as is popularly believed by West Tibetans (Chos.dbyings rdo.rje, *Gangs Ti.se lo.rgyus* p.50 line 8-p.51 line 5). Chos.dbyings rdo.rje identifies these five statues as follows (Chos.dbyings rdo.rje, *Gangs Ti.se lo.rgyus* p. 50 lines 15-16: “Gar.zhwa 'Phags.pa/ bTang 'Phags.pa/ Kra.dum rNam.lha dkar.po/ Khyung.lung 'Od.dpag.med/ Ti.se Chos.sku 'Od.dpag.med bcas lnga byung.bar grags”, “Five [statues] are known to have existed: Gar.zhwa 'Phags.pa, bTang 'Phags.pa, Kra.dum rNam.lha dkar.po, Khyung.lung 'Od.dpag.med, Ti.se Chos.sku 'Od.dpag.med”). The legend has to be given due credit, because, on inspection, Gar.zha 'Phags.pa and Chos.sku rin.po.che are very similar in style and material (white marble). A Bon.po version of the five marble statues of sTod is found in dKar.ru Bru.chen bsTan.'dzin rin.chen *Ti.se dkar.chag* (p.537 lines 6-7): “Gangs.ri chen.po de'i sku.yi rten.du yang/ Zhang.zhung Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar du/ bde.gshegs rGyal.ba rigs.lnga'i sku ka.ma.ru.pa la.las sgrub.pa'i sku/ Bru.sha'i Kun.bzang rgyal.'dus, Kra.thum rNam.snang dkar.po, Gangs.ri sNang.ba mtha'.yas, Khyung.lung Mu.men Dung.dkar sku, Gar.sha'i 'gro.ba.drug sGrol dang yin”, “As for the *sku.rten*-s of this Gangs.ri chen.po, at Zhang.zhung Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar are the statues made of *ka.ma.ru.pa* (“white marble”) of the bde.gshegs rGyal.ba rigs.lnga. They are Bru.sha Kun.bzang rgyal.'dus, Kra.thum (sic for dum) rNam.snang dkar.po, Gangs.ri sNang.ba mtha'.yas, Khyung.lung Mu.men Dung.dkar sku and Gar.sha 'gro.ba.drug sGrol[.ma] (“the sGrol.ma presiding over the six classes of existence”)”. For a different version of this legend, which reports that this *grub.thob* brought only one marble image from Lahul, i.e. the Chos.sku rin.po.che image later installed by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s at Nyan.po.ri rdzong (probably in the early years of the 13th century), see *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.42b lines 1-5): “gNas.de'i rten.gyi gtso.bo rang.byung Chos.sku rin.po.che'i lo.rgyus ni/ de.yang sngon nub.phyogs Gar.zha 'o.ma'i mtsho.nas rang.byung sprul.pa'i sku 'di.nyid/ Thugs.rje chen.po'i sprul.pa'i rnal.'byor.ba zhig.gis Gar.zha nas gdan.drangs nas/ Gu.ge chos.rgyal mnga'.bdag rTse.lde la phul/ de.nas Gu.ge'i dgon.pa zhig.tu yun.ring.du bzhugs.pa'i mthar/ dus.nam.zhig Ti.se lHa.btsan.gyis rGya.gar dzwa.ki bdun.du sprul nas/ dgon.pa de.nyid.kyi sgo.'gag.nas bsod.snyoms blangs.pa la/ dge.'dun de.rnams.kyis slong.mo ma.sbyin zhing cung.zad brngan.chen lta.bu byas.pas/ de.ma.thag dzo.ki bdun.po spyang.ki bdun.du 'gyur.nas mi.snang.bar song/ de.nas zhag.bdun.pa'i nying sku 'di.nyid lHa.btsan.gyis gdan.drangs.nas Nyan.ri dgon.pa gong.du phebs.pas Gu.ge.ba rnams.kyi gar phebs.ma.shes.nas yun.ring.du rtsad.bcad kyang ma.chod”, “The history of the self-originated Chos.sku rin.po.che, the main image of this holy place (Nyan.po.ri rdzong) is as follows. As regards this, formerly, a *rnal.'byor.ba*, the incarnation of Thugs.rje chen.po, having brought this miraculous self-originated image from the Gar.zha milky lake, offered it to Gu.ge chos.rgyal mnga'.bdag rTse.lde. Then, it remained in a Gu.ge temple for a long time.

rTse.lde invited Kha.che Dznya.na.shri and Khyung.po Chos.brtson was the translator. *rGyud rDo.rje rtse.mo*, *sByong.rgyud* (sic for *sPyong.rgyud*), *Tshad.ma* and the *tika* written by Chos.mchog were translated (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 4-6). Moreover, Tsan.dra Ra.hu.la was invited and worked with lo.tsa.ba Ting.nge.'dzin bzang.po on the translation of *Tshad.ma kun.las btus.pa*. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* also says that rTse.lde sponsored lo.tsa.ba Blo.lidan shes.rab's studies in Kha.che (i.e. during the earlier years of the latter's sojourn there) (ibid. lines 7-8). This is a statement which is not universally accepted in the sources (see below p.337 and n.533).

rTse.lde is credited in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* with a single instance of a secular construction. He is said to have built the castle called Mu.rang mkhar.po.che, which corresponds to the Mu.dkar of more recent times (Mu.dkar is equivalent to Mu.mkhar, i.e. Mu.mkhar.po.che), in the area of Gu.ge where Do.shang is sited (see Tucci "Tibetan Notes" p.480; and Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.107)<sup>492</sup>. This is the Gu.ge lHo.smad area, where, *Chos.legs rnam.thar* adds, three hundred subordinate settlements called sTod snyel.gru.pa (sic for sTod bsnyil.gru.pa, i.e. "the three hundred subordinate settlements of those living in the forgotten corner of sTod") were located, which were under the king of Khu.nu in the first quarter of the 16th century<sup>493</sup>.

Presumably during the reign of rTse.lde, Zhi.ba.'od invited Dznya.na.shri.mi.tra, the supreme master of 'Dzam.bu.gling; A.ti.sha.sri.mi.tra and De.ba.znya.na from rGya.gar; Ra.han.ta and Gag.tra.ka from Kha.che. A.ti.sha and Zhi.ba.'od together translated the *dPal.mchog* root Tantra and its commentary; *Buddha.rtsa.ri* root text and its commentary;

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Finally, on one occasion, as Ti.se lHa.btsan transformed into seven Indian *yogin-s*, having being turned away from the door of this temple (Nyan.ri) when [they came] to collect alms, the monks did not give any alms and did not honour them even a little. At that moment, the seven *yogin-s* transformed into seven wolves and disappeared. Then, on the seventh day, lHa.btsan went to bring the statue [and place it] above Nyan.ri dgon.pa. The Gu.ge.ba-s, who had pitched a camp [there], did not notice [this fact and] searched [for the statue] for a long time but could not find it".

(492) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.7a line 6-f.7b line 1): "Tho.ling nas mi rkyang.gi dgongs.lnga tsam lho.nub.tu phyin.pa.na Mu.rang zhes.byab.a'i yul.cig yod/ de dang.po Gu.ge.pa'i 'og yin.pas de.na mnga'.bdag (f.7b) rTse.lde's brab.pa'i Mu.rang mkhar.po.che zhes.byab.a yod", "If a man goes on foot for five days from Tho.ling to the south-west, there is a land called Mu.rang. Since this was originally under the Gu.ge.pa-s, here is the so called Mu.rang mkhar.po.che built by mnga'.bdag rTse.lde". Concerning Mu.rang in the Do.shang area, Do.shang is reached in two or three days on foot from Tho.ling (also one or two days on foot from Tsa.rang) and not in five days as stated in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*. In antiquity, the Mu.rang territory must have extended beyond Do.shang, and thus encompassed Pu.ling towards Sa.rang.la, all these locations being sited in Gu.ge lHo.smad.

(493) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.7b lines 1-2) reads: "De.na da.lta sTod.snyel gru.pa zhes.byab.a g.yog grong.khyer sum.brgya tsam dang cas.pa yod de/ deng.sang Khu.nu'i 'og.tu gtogs.pa yin.pa 'dug". *Chos.legs rnam.thar* was composed in 1520 by dBang.phyug dpal.lidan (ibid. f.117b lines 5-6) and completed in 1524 by Chos.dbang rgyal.mtshan (ibid. f.143b line 4-f.145a line 3).

*Tshad.ma*; the *De.ko.na.nyid bsdus.pa* commentary and *tika*; *Tshad.ma rgyan* including its commentary and *tika* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.66 line 13-p.67 line 1).

Interestingly, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.67 lines 1-5) reports Zhi.ba.'od's search for a text: "As he (Zhi.ba.'od) thought of translating *rDo.rje 'phreng.ba*, which was a secret Tantra (*gsang.sngags*) [only] transmitted orally (*bshad.rgyud*) [in *mNga'.ris.stod*], he sent [someone] to search for it above Kha.che of India, [but] it was not found. Later, he provided Man.triga.ka.la.sha with four hundred *zho* of gold. The latter was sent to search for [*rDo.rje 'phreng.ba*], [and] found it in the direction of dBu.rgyan. As [Zhi.ba.'od] acted as *lo.tsa.ba* for this *bla.ma* (Man.triga.ka.la.sha), the work was translated and he [thus] performed many great deeds (*rgya.ma*)"<sup>494</sup>.

### *The Tho.ling chos.'khor* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.67)

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that one hundred twenty-one masters and disciples were invited to the great council of Indian and Tibetan savants known as *Tho.ling chos.'khor*, organized by rTse.lde and Zhi.ba.'od<sup>495</sup>. Among them were *pandi.ta-s* from rGya.gar and Kha.che, lo.chen Blo.ldan shes.rab, sGrang.ti (spelled as in the passage) Dar.ma snying.po, dBu.gTsang dge.bshes Ar Byang.chub ye.shes and many others. Local masters including Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab, *dge.bshes-s* and *mkhas.btsun-s* from Pu.hrang, Gu.ge and Mar.yul were also summoned to the council (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 lines 8-12)<sup>496</sup>. As *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* keeps the indication of the local masters separate from that of the teachers who were invited from beyond the boundaries of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*, the number one hundred twenty-one refers to those who came from outside sTod.

(494) The term *thod* is here employed in a rather different way from its only other occurrence found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 line 7), which refers to the ministers of rTse.lde's State Council, thus assuming the meaning of "headman, leader". Zhi.ba.'od's translation of *rDo.rje 'phreng.ba* is associated by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* with a newly translated version of *Dus.'khor* made by Zhi.ba.'od with Kha.che pandita Dha.na.ta.la (p.465 lines 16-17: "Zhi.ba.'od.kyis Kha.che pan.di.ta Dha.na.ta.la spyang.drangs.nas Dus.'khor bsgyur/skad.gsar bcad byas/ rDo.rje 'phreng.ba bsgyur", "As Zhi.ba.'od invited Kha.che pan.di.ta Dha.na.ta.la, *Dus.'khor* was translated by adopting a new lexicon. *rDo.rje 'phreng.ba* was [also] translated"). This version of the *Kalacakra* is ignored in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Finally, the translation of *rDo.rje 'phreng.ba'i rgyud* is credited in its colophon to Zhi.ba.'od and mkhan.po Su.dza.na.shri.dznya.na (see above n.373).

(495) rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab, who participated in it, credits rTse.lde and Zhi.ba.'od with the organization of the *chos.'khor*. In the colophon of his translation of *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel rgyan* (*Pramanavarttikalamkara*) (S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba.'od to the Buddhists of Tibet" p.7-9) he says that a gathering of masters from India and Kha.che as well as Tibetan *lo.tsa.ba-s* from dBu.gTsang, Khams and *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* took place at Tho.ling, without saying directly that they were invited to attend the *chos.'khor*. On the *chos.'khor* held at Tho.ling see the paper by Lobsang Shastri entitled "The Fire Dragon Chos 'Khor (1076 AD)" read at the 7th IATS Seminar Schloss Segau Gratz.

(496) I have some doubts concerning the participation of Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab in the Tho.ling

The most significant remark made by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* concerning the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* is the controversial assessment of its length. Ngag.dbang grags.pa says that the *chos.'khor* continued for three years, but does not specify the years in which it was held (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 line 12). Almost every *chos.'byung*, *lo.rgyus* and *rgyal.rabs* record that it was held in fire dragon 1076. However, its duration was hitherto unknown. According to Tibetan calendrical peculiarities, any part of a year is reckoned as a whole. Hence, a period consisting of the last day of one year, the entire subsequent year and the first day of the next (i.e. one year and two days) can legitimately be considered to be three years<sup>497</sup>. Therefore the *chos.'khor*, which is said to have lasted for three years, may in fact have begun on the last day of 1075 and ended on the first day of 1077<sup>498</sup>.

Details of the life and activities of rNgog lo.tsa.ba Blo.lidan shes.rab (1057-1107) are instrumental in identifying the years during which the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* was held, since few other clues are available. rNgog lo.tsa.ba, after attending the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* in his youth, went to study in India, under the patronage of rTse.lde according to *mNga'ris*

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*chos.'khor*. He was a disciple of the three Pala masters, who were in their turn the disciples of Dharma.pa.la. The Pala masters were among the *pandi.ta-s* called to West Tibet in the early phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod. In order to have attended the 1076 Tho.ling *chos.'khor* Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab must have had an extraordinary long life much like Rin.chen bzang.po. In fact, no indication is found in other sources of his presence at the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*. He is not mentioned in the treatments of the *chos.'khor* in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.470 lines 11-18); *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.148 line 19-p.149 line 1); *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.382 line 19-p.383 line 4); *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.70 lines 3-6); *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.222 line 17-p.223 line 14); *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.399 lines 9-12); *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.435 lines 16-18); *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.81 line 22-p.82 line 5).

(497) For a discussion of methods for the calculation of the Tibetan calendrical peculiarities see Yamaguchi, "Methods of Chronological Calculations in Tibetan Historical Sources".

(498) The surprisingly novel dating of the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* reported by Ngag.dbang grags.pa leads to a few considerations concerning Zhi.ba.'od's *bka'.shog*, to which no reference is made in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. It needs to be asked whether Zhi.ba.'od's *bka'.shog* was the result of current ideas deriving from the religious position adopted during the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*, rather than his own, since his *bka'.shog* of water monkey 1092 was issued quite some time after the *chos.'khor*. In the light of rNgog Blo.lidan shes.rab's return to sTod from Kha.che in the same year found in the literature, it is also possible that rNgog lo.tsa.ba had some influence on the list of texts banned by Zhi.ba.'od for their non-Indian origin. In the unlikely event that rNgog Blo.lidan shes.rab had returned in 1094, he would have not been unable to exercise any influence on Zhi.ba.'od's list of texts to be banned. rNgog lo.tsa.ba's role in the *bka'.shog* has to be directly explored by checking in detail the works that were banned and his position regarding them.

The list of banned texts in the *bka'.shog* suggests a knowledge of the bibliographical situation in India at that time and thus a direct contact with the sources prevalent or at least available in India and the Indo-Iranic borderlands. Zhi.ba.'od could not have had such direct contact unless he was either informed by the Indian *pandi.ta-s* with whom he was working at translations or by the Tibetan *lo.tsa.ba-s* who had gone to India for their studies.

*rgyal.rabs*. He returned to sTod after seventeen years<sup>499</sup>. His arrival in sTod from Kha.che is commonly fixed to 1092, which suggests a shorter duration of the Tho.ling *chos.khor* than the three full years documented in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*<sup>500</sup>.

It is not possible to determine whether the year 1092 was arrived at by adding seventeen years to 1076, the alleged date of Blo.lidan shes.rab's departure for India, or whether accurate information existed to date his return to that year<sup>501</sup>. It has to be remembered that the span of seventeen years spent by rNgog.lo in India must not to be taken *ad litteram*,

(499) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.byung* (p.127 lines 4-10): "dGung.lo bcu.bdun lon.pa'i dus.su mNga'ris.stod.kyi lha Byang.chub.'od.kyi dbon.po mnga'.bdag rTse.lde rGya.gar du lo.tsa slob.pa.la brdzangs nas/ yul.dBus dang/ Kha.che la.sogs.par byon/ pandi.ta Pad.dza dang/ 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa dang/ Pa.ra.ha.de dang/ Ma.ha.dza.na dang/ Su.ma.ti.kirti dang/ sKal.lidan rgyal.po la.sogs.pa mkhas.grub du.ma bsten/ rGya.Bal du lo bcu.bdun.gyi bar.du bzhugs nas/ mNga'ris.stod du phebs", "When he was seventeen, as he was sent to India to study to be a translator by mnga'.bdag rTse.lde, the nephew of lha Byang.chub.'od of mNga'ris.stod, he went to the central [Indian] land (Magadha) and Kha.che. Pandi.ta Pad.dza, 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa, Pa.ra.ha.de, Ma.ha.dza.na, Su.ma.ti.kirti and sKal.lidan rgyal.po, many masters, gave him teachings. After spending seventeen years in rGya[.gar] [and] Bal[.po], he went to mNga'ris.stod" and *ibid.* (p.128 lines 3-4): "dBus.gTsang du lo bcu.bdun 'gro.don mdzad", "In dBus.gTsang, he benefitted the sentient beings for seventeen years"; *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.482 lines 8-11): "Lo bcu.bdun.gyi bar.du khu.bo dang Ka.chu'i sBo.chung Tshul.khrims shes.rab drung.du/ klog.yig skad.rigs/ 'dul.ba la.sogs.pa'i bstan.bcos legs.par sbyangs", "Until the age of seventeen, he excellently learned to read and write, languages and 'Dul.ba with his paternal uncle (Legs.pa'i shes.rab) and Kha.chu sBo.chung Tshul.khrims shes.rab" and *ibid.* (lines 12-18): "Bal.po dang/ rGya.gar dBus.phyogs dang/ Kha.che'i yul.du byon te/ pandita Dznya.na dang/ 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa dang/ Sa.ra.he.ta dang/ Ma.ha.dznya.na dang/ Su.ma.ki.rti dang sKal.lidan rgyal.po la.sogs.pa mkhas shing grub.pa brnyes.pa du.ma bsten te/ lo bcu.bdun.gyi bar.du/ Lung/ Rig.pa/ bKa' mDo.rGyud/ 'grel.ba man.ngag la.sogs.par sbyangs shing mnga'.brnyes.par mdzad/ (p.483) mthar Bod du byon.nas de.dag rnam.ma.lus.par bsgyur", "He went to Bal.po, Central India and Kha.che. For seventeen years he mastered instruction on *Lung, Rig.pa, bKa' mDo.rGyud* and 'grel.ba-s from pandita Dznya.na, 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa, Sa.ra.he.ta, Ma.ha.dznya.na, Su.ma.ki.rti and sKal.lidan rgyal.po. He listened to many accomplished masters. Eventually, he returned to Tibet and thoroughly translated [the texts he had studied]" and *ibid.* p.483 (lines 5-6): "Des dBus.gTsang du/ lo bcu.bdun 'gro.don mdzad.do", "Thereafter, he laboured for the benefit of mankind for seventeen years in dBus.gTsang"; *Bu.ston rin.po.che chos.byung* (p.203 line 1): "Kha.cher lo bcu.bdun bzhugs", "He stayed in Kha.che for seventeen years". See also Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtsho's *bsTan.rsis gsal.bai'nyin.byed* (p.112 line 21-p.113 line 1).

(500) If the council of Tho.ling had lasted for three whole years (1076-1078), an assessment with which I am not entirely reconciled, and Blo.lidan shes.rab had left for Kha.che at the end of the council, the date of his return would be an unlikely 1094. Supposing that the *chos.khor* had continued until earth horse 1078, its conclusion would have coincided with the year in which Byang.chub.'od died (see above p.296). If so, was the Tho.ling *chos.khor* disbanded to mourn Byang.chub.'od?

(501) *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.399 line 12-p.400 line 2): "Kha(p.400).cher lo.bcu.bdun sbyangs.pa mdzad.nas chu.pho.spre'u sum.cu rtsa.lnga.pa.la Bod du phebs", "After studying in Kha.che for seventeen years, he returned to Tibet in the water male monkey year (1092) when he was thirty-five". See also *Blue Annals* p.328; *Re'u.mig* in Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* (p.835); *bsTa.rsis kun.las btus.pa* (p.165); *Tshig.mdzod chen.mo* (p.3218). Blo.lidan shes.rab was thirty-six in water monkey 1092.

for the periods into which the life of Blo.ldan shes.rab are divided are somewhat approximate<sup>502</sup>. However, no authority is available to dismiss the 1092 date and, in the absence of further corroboration, I am provisionally inclined to favour a duration of the Tho.ling chos.'khor shorter than three full years. This dating does not preclude rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab's return to sTod in 1092, but information that he stayed in India for seventeen years should be regarded with some suspicion.

*Political events occurring during the reign of rTse.lde: Gu.ge ruled by rTse.lde and Pu.hrang by his brother bTsan.srong (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.68)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has a lengthy section on rTse.lde's secular activities. The text shows that rTse.lde recovered control over lands that his ancestor Nyi.ma.mgon had first conquered. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that rTse.lde was the king of Gu.ge, but that his elder brother bTsan.srong ruled Pu.hrang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.68 lines 16-18)<sup>503</sup>. This statement

(502) rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab's life is conventionally divided into three sections of seventeen years each. See, inter alia, Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtsho (*bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* p.112 lines 16-21: "Lo.chen 'di lo bcu.bdun phrag.gsum bzhugs.pa'i/ lo bcu.bdun phrag dang.po la/ khu.bo dang gzu.s.kyi slob.ma sBo Tshul.khrims shes.rab sogs.kyi drung.du gsan.pa mang.du mdzad/ bcu.bdun phrag gnyis.pa la/ Kha.cher byon/ bram.ze Sadza.na Sa.rang.he.ta sogs.kyi drung.du sbyangs.pa mdzad/ bcu.bdun phrag gsum.pa la Bod du nyon bstan.pa'i bya.ba rgya.cher mdzad", "[The life of] this lo.chen is divided into three periods of seventeen years. In the first period of seventeen years, he obtained many teachings from his uncle (rNgog Legs.pa'i shes.rab) and the latter's disciple sBo Tshul.khrims shes.rab. In the second period of seventeen years, he went to Kha.che and developed his knowledge with bram.ze Sadza.na [and] Sa.rang.he.ta. In the third period of seventeen years, he went to Tibet and made a great contribution to the teachings"). One source reports that he attended the 1076 Tho.ling chos.'khor and went to Kha.che when he was seventeen (*Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* p.127 lines 4-6), while 'Gos lo.tsa.ba and Mang.thos Klu.sgrub rgya.mtsho say that he left for Kha.che when he was eighteen (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.399 lines 9-12: "Des lo bco.brgyad song.ba mnga'.bdag rTse.lde'i me.pho.'brug.gyi chos.'khor.la...sleb", "Hence, when he was eighteen he arrived to attend mnga'.bdag rTse.lde's chos.'khor of the fire male dragon year (1076)"; *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* p.113 lines 8-9: "Lo.chen 'dis dgung.lo bco.brgyad.pa.la Kha.cher byon.pa'i tshel/ Gra.pa mNgon.shes.kyi mkhan.bu bTsan Kha.bo.ches kyang byon", "When he was eighteen years old, this lo.chen went to Kha.che. Gra.pa mNgon.shes' disciple bTsan Kha.bo.che also left [with him]"). Both versions are inaccurate, for he attended the chos.'khor when he was twenty (b.1057). In water monkey 1092, he returned first to sTod and then to dBus.gTsang, where he is said to have spent the last seventeen years of his life, which in fact cannot have been more than sixteen since he died at the age of fifty-one in fire pig 1107. It is evident that the division of his life into these three periods of seventeen years is merely academic and does not correspond to reality.

(503) An important point derives from the sentence of *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* in which the succession to the secular throne from 'Od.lde onwards is outlined (p.384 line 1; see also above n.453). The statement that rTse.lde was *gcen.po* implies the existence of a younger brother, who is referred to as lDe.tsha Khri.srong.lde (otherwise known as Grags.btsan.rtse) in no text other than *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 16-17). Ngag.dbang grags.pa, however, makes rTse.lde the middle of the three brothers, with bTsan.srong being the eldest.



apparently contradicts information concerning the extent of rTse.lde's dominions including Pu.hrang found elsewhere in the text, as will be shown below (p.331) when dealing with the end of rTse.lde's reign. bTsan.srong's control of Pu.hrang is the first instance of separate rule of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang since the establishment of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty<sup>504</sup>. Unity of the two territories, which are the heart of sTod, was never restored except during the reign of Grags.pa.lde in the third quarter of the 13th century (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 4-5). Later still, the two lands partially were reunited in 1378 (*ibid.* p.83 lines 8-11), but on a different basis as Pu.hrang was subordinated to Gu.ge. This state of affairs continued during the 15th century, although other powers of sTod captured Pu.hrang on various occasions (see below p.533).

### *rTse.lde's campaign against rGya (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.72-73)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 line 13-p.73 line 11) uniquely records an episode of a military campaign undertaken by rTse.lde to remove the threat posed to his kingdom by foes from within mNga'.ris skor.gsum, which can be outlined as follows. In water pig 1083, rTse.lde's troops proceeded from the plain of the Byang.ngos.pa-s (Byang.ngos.pa thang), the centre of the lands captured by Gye.sar (spelled as in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, sic for Ge.sar), to Ram.thang in the land of rGya, to where the rGya leaders, described as thirteen headmen (*rgyan* sic for *rgan*, i.e. elders, headmen), had withdrawn from the area of Gu.ge Byang.ngos they had conquered, and rGya surrendered. As rTse.lde's campaign continued, rGya Ge.sar handed over the troops posted on the top of Byang.go.la to Gu.ge. Four local notables from rGya were sent as envoys. They requested a parley. rTse.lde despatched Gu.ge ministers to the talks, and a large tribute was given by rGya Ge.sar.

The episode needs to be discussed in some detail to assess rGya and its Ge.sar. rGya cannot be either rGya.gar or rGya.nag, otherwise Gu.ge would have been improbably engaged in a war with India or China, nations too imposing not to be defined with greater accuracy. A simple but conclusive consideration to rule out a reading of rGya as rGya.gar or rGya.nag is that no ruler of either is defined as Ge.sar.

The first known usage of Khrom Ge.sar refers to the king of Kabul, who in 718 struck coins under such a name to celebrate Byzantium's defeat of the Arabs<sup>505</sup>. This is a

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(504) Mi.la ras.pa was at Ti.se in water bird 1093 (see, for instance, the *Re'u.mig* in Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.835; *bsTan.rtsis kun.las brus.pa* p.165). The most likely candidate to have been the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* who met him is bTsan.srong, rTse.lde's brother, rather than the former's successor Khri.btsan.lde.

(505) See Harmatta, "Late Bactrian Inscriptions" (p.409-412 and p.431-432); Humbach "Phrom Gesar and the Bactrian Rome"; Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaeler* (p.20-23 and p.64-65); and also Stang, "Arabic Sources on Amdo and A Note on Gesar of gLing" (p.170-171).

definite link between populations of the Indo-Iranic borderlands and the title Khrom Ge.sar, which they adopted from 718. Such a date is a documented *terminus post quem* for the adoption of the term Ge.sar in the Indo-Iranic borderlands. According to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, a local ruler having this title controlled La.dwags.stod at least in the first quarter of the 10th century, while La.dwags.smad was fragmented into principalities during the same period<sup>506</sup>. This combined evidence helps to assess the 1083 campaign of rTse.lde against Ge.sar and the origin or ethnic stock of the people against whom rTse.lde led his expedition<sup>507</sup>. The people who invaded Gu.ge during rTse.lde's reign, eventually defeated and made to pay tribute<sup>508</sup>, were of Iranic stock from the Indo-Iranic borderlands, most likely Dards, and thus belonged to the pre-Tibetan local ethnic substratum<sup>509</sup>. As a contemporary La.dwags.pa author adds<sup>510</sup>, rGya was the kingdom dominant in La.dwags

(506) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 9-10): "De'i dus.su Mar.yul La.dwags.stod Ge.sar.gyi brgyud.pas 'dzin/ smad rnam rang.dga'i sil.bur yod.pa yin.no", "At that time (i.e. before Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest), the lineage of Ge.sar ruled in Mar.yul La.dwags.stod. [La.dwags.]smad was divided into a few local principalities".

(507) Islamic literature dating to not long before rTse.lde's war with rGya contributes the notion that the Dards were also found in the lands to the north and the west of the Vale of Kashmir at that time (Sachau ed., *Alberuni's India* p.206, where Alberuni locates various kings, among them the Bolor shah, i.e. the ruler of the Dards. For a geographical note concerning Bolor see Minorsky (transl.), *Hudud-al-'Alam* (p.121).

(508) For the list of riches given by the Ge.sar of rGya to rTse.lde see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.73 lines 3-11) and below n.882.

(509) Gya.pa Bunkang, quoted in Kaplanian's article ("Analyse de nouvel an populaire au Ladakh" p.521-523), is to be read as rGya.pa Bong.rkang, headman of rGya. The donkey-morphic traits he bears (*bong*: "donkey", *rkang*: "limbs") make him a Dard and confirm that the rGya people were of Dardic ethnic stock, for this physical peculiarity accompanies the Dards coming from an ancestral home in Bru.zha and occupying the stretch of lands of the North-Western Himalayas from Gilgit to sBal.ti, Nub.ra and Mar.yul. It is noteworthy that the La.dwags.pa-s hold this belief to this day (Kaplanian "Mythes et legendes sur l'origine du peuplement du Ladakh" p.259-268, quoting oral accounts recorded by dge.rgan bSod.nams and Thub.bstan dpal.lidan). See also a reference to a Ge.sar ruling in La.dwags at an unspecified time but undoubtedly in an early period in Schuler ("The "Story of the Creation of Shigar" of Wazir Ahmad" p.107) as well as a reference to the originator of the Shigar royal lineage called rGya.khang (sic for *rkang*) of probable rGya origin (ibid. p.106-107).

(510) See Sa.phud Thubs.bstan dpal.lidan, *dPe.thub chags.rabs* (p.17 line 17-p.18 line 2): "De.dus rnam La.dwags ljongs.'dir jo.rabs yod.par mngon/ de.yang sTod.phyogs.su rGya.pa (p.18) jo'i rgyud.pa dang/ sMad.phyogs.su jo 'Bhag.dar.skyabs.kyi rgyud.pas bzung ste yod.par bshad", "At that time it seems that there were lineages of jo-s ("rulers") in this land La.dwags. Concerning them, it is said that there was the rGya.pa jo's lineage, which ruled in [La.dwags.]stod and the lineage of jo 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, [which] ruled in [La.dwags.]smad". It is noteworthy that these traditional accounts centred on rGya and its local power find confirmation in the events involving rTse.lde's warfare against them. Thub.bstan dpal.lidan maintains that La.dwags.gsham, in the period prior to the conquest of Nyi.ma.mgon, was ruled by the lineage of jo 'Bhag.dar.skyabs. This does not correspond to my assessment of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs as a rGya ruler of La.dwags.gsham and sPu.rig in the 13th century, recorded as the founder of Wan.la gSum.brtsesg in the

when Nyi.ma.mgon made his conquest: La.dwags.stod was ruled by a dynasty of rGya petty lords bearing the title Ge.sar<sup>511</sup>.

Huei-ch'ao contributes the much quoted information that, in the days of his pilgrimage to the Indo-Iranic borderlands in 726, "north-east of Kashmir over the great mountains are the kingdoms of Great Bolor (Baltistan), Yang-t'ung (Zhang.zhung) and So-po-tz'u. They are under the rule of the Tibetans. Their people believe in the triple jewel and [in these kingdoms] are monks and monasteries. Their dress, language and customs are

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inscription placed in its interior (see below p.388). I can hardly believe that Wan.la gSum.brtsegs dates to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th (no signs of such an early date are extant), unless 'Bhag.dar.skyabs is a collective name addressing a high ranking family of non-Tibetan people of La.dwags.

*dPe.shub chags.rabs* goes on to say that, following an invasion of unspecified Hor-s in Mar.yul, rGya.pa jo allied himself with Nyi.ma.mgon to free the country from the invaders (p.20 lines 4-10): "'Di.gsum.la mNga'.ris.kyi mgon.gsum zhes.grags snyan che.ba byung/ dus.der gong.du zhus.pa bzhin La.dwags 'dir sTod.phyogs.su rGya.pa jos dbang.bsgyur bzhin yod.pa yin/ de.skabs La.dwags la Hor.gyi dmag slebs/ rGya.pa jos sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon las dmag.rogs zhus/ Hor dang 'thabs.pas Hor.dmag pham", "It happened that these three enjoyed great fame as the mNga'.ris mgon.gsum (sic). At that time, as mentioned earlier, rGya.pa jo was ruling in La.dwags.stod. During his time, Hor troops came to La.dwags. rGya.pa jo requested sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon to assist him with troops. As they fought against the Hor-s, the Hor troops were defeated". This is in sharp contrast to *Nyang.ral chos.byung's* account that Nyi.ma.mgon fought a bloody war in order to gain control of Mar.yul (p.458 lines 8-14) (see Addendum Two).

*bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* (p.179 lines 2-3) has a classification of West Tibetan clans called *sTod khams.sum rus.rigs.gsum* ("the three clans of sTod"), which are rGya, Gu.ge and Co.ge ("sTod khams.sum na rus.rigs.gsum/ rGya dang Gu.ge Co.ge gsum"). This tribal scheme seems rather an identification of kingdoms in West Tibet at least in the case of Gu.ge, which nowhere appears as an ethnonym, while rGya can be both an ethnonym and a toponym. Co.ge is an obscure name, which could be either a corruption or a variant spelling for the more familiar Cog.la, Cog.ro or even Cog.re (an area bordering on Cog.ro: see *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.106 lines 1-4 and below n.522), for Co.ge otherwise never appears. This scheme is not linked to any period of West Tibetan history, but the mention of rGya may push it back to a time before Nyi.ma.mgon or to around *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

(511) Vohra, "Ethno-Historicity of the Dards in Ladakh-Baltistan: Observations and Analysis" (p.543) quotes an inscription in ancient Tibetan script: "rGyal.po chen.po rGya Shin[.sk]u gzhon of Kha.la.[rtse]", which refers to a rGya ruler. This epigraph indicates that, at an unspecified period, the rGya rulers also controlled La.dwags.gsham. See below n.618 for the Wan.la inscription providing additional evidence that La.dwags.gsham was controlled by locals around the first half of the 13th century. I doubt that the middle syllable of his name should be restored as *sku*. Given that Dardic names, in the instances which are extant (see below n.519), often end with the vowel *u*, it cannot be ruled out that one is here confronted with a defaced proper name.

I am inclined to believe that the sKya.pa cited in *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.153 lines 5-7; see above n.271 and 431) as one of the clans which repopulated Zangs.dkar after the Yar.lung.pa devastation is nothing more than a late Buddhist literary reading of the name rGya.pa. This notion is reinforced by the location of Zangs.dkar Byang.ngos that the sKya.pa-s repopulated, whose eastern area borders La.dwags.stod, in which the rGya principality was located. I cannot identify the other clans, lHa.pa (see Schuh, *Historiographische Dokumente aus Zangs-dkar* p.231-233), Gung.blon (looking more like a rank than a clan name) and Kyi.shang.

completely different from those of the Tibetans. The Tibetans do not follow the Buddhist teachings and there are no monasteries in Tibet. Hu [tribes] are the population inhabiting these three countries" (Fuchs "Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwestindien und Zentral-Asien um 726" p.443). In a following passage Huei-ch'ao adds that the language, dress, customs and eating habits of Little Bolor (Gilgit) are the same as those of Great Bolor (ibid. p.444). Pulleyblank has shown that the Chinese term Hu stands for Iranian peoples of various types ("A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia"). As often repeated in the past, So-po-tz'u is the name of a region which defies identification, but the notion of Hu people occupying the lands from Gilgit to Baltistan and Zhang.zhung testifies to the extent of the territories inhabited by Iranian peoples at the time of Khri.lde gtsug.brtsan, when one of the major Central Tibetan offensives was taking place. Huei-ch'ao's record that Iranian tribes lived in the stretch of lands from Gilgit to Zhang.zhung predates by almost two centuries the information in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* that people led by a Ge.sar were in La.dwags when it was conquered by Nyi.ma.mgon. The same ethnic characterization of the people inhabiting Mar.yul is confirmed over one and a half centuries after Nyi.ma.mgon by the narrative of rTse.lde's war against rGya Ge.sar.

rGya was the kingdom in La.dwags.stod having its centre to the north-north-east of the present site of rGya, where ancient ruins still exist, and included the villages of dBu.bzhi and Me.ru to the north-west and Rum.rtse to the south<sup>512</sup>. The rulers holding sway over rGya bore the title rGya.pa jo according to the same modern La.dwags.pa author (see n.353 and 510). *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 lines 18-19) offers evidence that thirteen headmen (*rGya.rgyan bcu.gsum*) were the rulers of rGya under the sovereignty of their Ge.sar at the time of the 1083 campaign<sup>513</sup>. Did all have the title rGya.pa jo? The fact that the

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(512) The ruins of a castle at rGya are rather unimposing and not so ancient as to lead one to believe that this was the centre of ancient rGya. According to current La.dwags.pa oral tradition, gSer.khri was the name of the ancient Dardic capital of Mar.yul before the advent of Nyi.ma.mgon. See Blo.bzang brtson.'grus, "gSer.khri dang lCe.bde.yi glo.sar" (p. 98 line 2-8): "Yul de.la gser.khri ci.phyir brjod.pa yin zer/ sngon La.dwags.kyi chos.rgyal rnam bzhugs.dus gser.khri yul.gyi sKyid.phug dgon.pa'i thog.la yod.pa'i mkhar.rnying.gi nang.la gser.gyi khri mdzes.po zhig yod.pas na yul de.la gser.khri zhes ming thogs.pa yin", "There is an account which says that in this locality there was a golden throne (*gser.khri*). When the La.dwags *chos.rgyal*-s existed in antiquity, at that time there was a beautiful golden throne inside the ancient castle situated above sKyid.phug dgon.pa of the locality of gSer.khri. Therefore, this locality received the name gSer.khri". This passage holds that gSer.khri was sited at some distance north-north-east of present rGya, towards Khrig.se. I wonder whether the reason for locating the earliest seat of the mNga'ris skor.gsum dynasty in La.dwags not far from there at Shel was due to the fact that this was the heartland of Mar.yul before Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest, contrary to the opinion of Thub.bstan dpal.lidan (*dPe.thub chags.rabs* p.20 lines 10-12; see above n.353). On inspection, ruins found in this area are more imposing than those at rGya and are a concrete testimony supporting oral accounts, but I have no clues to explain why the village of rGya retained the name of the kingdom. In *Srid.pa rgyud.kyi kha.byang chen.mo* (p.62 line 7) a castle in sTod is called rGya.la gNam.mkhar ("gNam.mkhar in rGya"). It was definitely a stronghold of the rGya kingdom, but it remains to be seen whether its location was at gSer.khri yul.

(513) This statement that rGya had thirteen headmen confirms that rGya is to be read as the name of the kingdom, ruled by chiefs called rGya.pa jo in *dPe.thub chags.rabs* (p.17 line 17-p.18 line 2 and p.20 lines 4-16).

rGya headmen were thirteen is consistent with the confederative system of the Dards, amply illustrated in sources such as Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*<sup>514</sup>.

Subjugated Dardic rulers occasionally rebelled against the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kings. Their acceptance of a new wave of Tibetanization resulting from Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest was not wholehearted, judging by the description of Nyi.ma.mgon's military expedition against Mar.yul in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, which says that this was the bloodiest of his campaigns to conquer the three skor-s of mNga'.ris (see Addendum Two).

Among the significant implications of this war, the foremost is that prior to rTse.lde's final campaign in 1083, rGya invaded and held Byang.ngos, which is in the heart of Gu.ge.

The Dards' attack prior to 1083 must have caused great havoc in Gu.ge since they were able to advance and hold Byang.ngos (a land of canyons, where the two important sites Phyi.wang and Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) are located) on the northern side of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, very near Tho.ling, the capital of Gu.ge at that time. Byang.ngos.pa thang ("the plain of the Byang.ngos.pa-s") of mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs is the huge elevated plain between the Dun.bkar canyon to the south and Shangs to the north.

rTse.lde's campaign took place in two stages. The first resulted in the recovery of the Byang.ngos territory as well as his victory over the thirteen headmen of rGya. The defeat of rGya on its own ground, resulting in the subjugation of its kingdom, was not all rTse.lde accomplished with his expedition. He also succeeded in removing the military threat posed by rGya by securing control of Byang.go.la.

Byang.go.la ("the pass gateway to Byang") is the well known Byang.la between Brang.rtse to the west of Pang.gong mtsho and Shag.ti in Mar.yul, connecting, like a natural door (as its name suggests), Mar.yul with the upper course of the Seng.ge kha.'babs<sup>515</sup>. It is not surprising that rGya Ge.sar's troops were posted at this pass as it controls the route linking upper La.dwags with the Byang.thang area of Ru.thog north of Gu.ge.

The Dardic expansion of Utpala is recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*<sup>516</sup> around the period when rGya Ge.sar's occupation of Gu.ge Byang.ngos took place some time before

(514) *Kalhana Rajatarangini passim* (A.Stein trans. and comment.) contains evidence indicating the Dards more as warlike tribes of similar ethnic stock rather than a single nation. For another brief assessment of this subject see Vohra, "Ethno-Historicity of the Dards in Ladakh-Baltistan: Observations and Analysis" (p.542 n.36), where he attributes the fragmentation of power to the rugged nature of the Hindukush and Karakorum. Although the term Ge.sar is used in rather loosely terms in Tibetan literature, it often refers to the kings of Iranian tribes who held a position of *primus inter pares*, as proven by this account of mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs. See also Jettmar "Bolor" (p.46-47).

(515) Strachey ("The Physical Geography of Western Tibet" p.48), records the existence in his days of a site he calls Kesar gidpo (sic) in the vicinity of Pang.gong.mtsho. Does the name of this locality reveal control of Iranian ethnic tribes from Mar.yul over this northern part of mNga'.ris skor.gsum at some time?

(516) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Fiancke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 25-30): "De'i sras lha.chen Ut.pa.la/ rgyal.po de'i dus.su/ La.dwags stod.gsham gnyis.kyi dmag bsdongs nas/ Nyung.ti la brgyab/ Nyung.ti'i rgyal.pos/ Ti.se nam.zhu dang/ Ma.pham nam.skams bar.du/ mdzo dang lcags la.sogs.pa'i khral

1083<sup>517</sup>. Utpala conquered a huge expanse of land from sBal.ti and Nyung.ti as far as Glo.bo and Pu.hrang. Although Gu.ge is not expressly indicated, it fell within the limits of his advance. It is not certain that rGya.pa control of Byang.ngos and Utpala's campaign correspond, but it is suggestive that they were broadly contemporary. It is probable that Utpala's conquest was short-lived as Petech says (*Kingdom of La.dwags* p.18). There are various factors to support this view. Utpala is not recorded in the genealogy of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. If he had had a stable hold over this land, he would have been recorded in the line of its kings as was at least one later foreign ruler (see below p.426). Furthermore, Utpala is mentioned in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* to have only held Nyung.ti for any length of time. This was not the case in Gu.ge Pu.hrang. In the opposite direction, towards the west, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* records a period of Dardic aggression affecting Kashmir before and after 1083<sup>518</sup>. The presence of rGya Ge.sar in Byang.ngos, Utpala's campaigns and Dardic threat on the borders of Kashmir all testify to a phase of resurgence of local tribes belonging to the Indo-Iranic borderlands and sTod.

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dang dpya 'bul.ba'i mna'.byas nas/ dus da.lta'i bar.du'ang yod.do/ gzhan.yang/ Blo.bo/ Pu.hrangs man.chod/ lho.phyogs Bre.srang.gi yul/ Chu.la me.'bar tshun.chod/ nub.phyogs Ra.gan 'greng.shing [L MS. Ra.gan 'greng.zhing]/ sTag Khu.tshur yan.chod/ byang.phyogs Ka.zhus (L MS. Brus) yan.chod mnga'.og.tu bsdu ste/ lo.re.la khral sogs 'bul shing/ zhal.rgyu yong.ba yod.do", "His son was lha.chen Ut.pa.la. During the reign of this king, as he gathered the troops of La.dwags stod.gsham, these two, he invaded Nyung.ti. The king of Nyung.ti had to pay a tribute of *mdzo-s* and iron until Ti.se and Ma.pham [cease to] exist, [which] is still payed to this day. Also, he brought under his dominion [the territories] from Glo.bo and Pu.hrangs to Bre.srang.gi yul [and] Chu.la me.'bar in the south; as far as Ra.gan 'greng.shing [L MS. Ra.gan 'greng.zhing] as well as sTag [and] Khu.tshur in the west; as far as Ka.Zhus (L MS. Brus) in the north. They gave tribute every year and [their representatives] came to pay homage".

(517) La.dwags passed from Ye.shes.'od to 'Od.lde (via lHa.lde?) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, *Bai.ser* and *gDung.rabs zam.phreng*; see above p.292 and n.356) and later to Utpala. It cannot be ruled out *a priori* that, after 'Od.lde's defeat in Bru.zha, Mar.yul was lost by the dynasty of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. The revival of local (Dardic) power in La.dwags must have been a *fait accompli* before its occupation of Byang.ngos, since it must have previously consolidated his power within the boundaries of Mar.yul. Little is known of the history of Mar.yul from 'Od.lde's death in 1037 until 1083. Unrecorded events took place, which, from the evidence of rGya's campaign against rTse.lde's Gu.ge, suggests that in those forty years or so the Dards had grown enough aggressive to reverse the situation to their advantage.

(518) *Taranga* vii, 167-176 (A.Stein (transl. and comment.), *Kalhana Rajatarangini*, p.281), documents a Dardic invasion during the reign of Ananta in Kashmir (ruling 1028-1063). *Taranga* vii, 1171-1198 (p.359-362), records another invasion of Dards at the time of the Kashmiri king Harsa (ruling 1089-1101). In the light of the evidence from Tibetan and Kashmiri sources, the Dards attacked Kashmir twice in the second half of the 11th century, while the rGya campaign against Gu.ge fell in a period between the two, when the Dards may not have been active on the Kha.che front. From Kalhana (*Taranga* vii 576-594, p.314-315) one deduces that in the years around 1083 Dards were threatening the border of Kashmir, but, with a wise and determined policy, Kalasha, king of Kashmir (1063-1089), managed to avoid trouble from restless neighbours in the hills and secured stability on his frontiers. The Dards of La.dwags undertook the invasion of Gu.ge Byang.ngos and various other Tibetan lands at a time when tribes of their federation found their western antagonist difficult to deal with.

*rTse.lde's ministers (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.72)*

The protagonists of rTse.lde's eventual victory over rGya were five ministers (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 15-19), who all bore the name Sang.nang.ba and sided with Gu.ge against the Dards contributing their heroism to defeat rGya Gye.sar's (Ge.sar's) thirteen headmen in 1083.

The names of these Sang.nang.ba-s recorded by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* are all Tibetan except one. These were (the name Sang.nang.ba is omitted in the following list for reasons of simplicity): blon.chen dBang.grub, chibs.dpon ("headman of the cavalry") sNang.grags, sku.tsha.bo ("nephew") Jo.sras rGyal.mtshan rdo.rje, gshen.blon ("minister of the gShen-s") g.Yung.rdor (a Bon.po?), gser.rje ("lord of the gold") Mu.ru. The latter is the Sang.nang.ba having a non Tibetan name, possibly of Zhang.zhung.pa origin<sup>519</sup>.

Assessing the identity of the Sang.nang.ba-s ("people of Sang.nang") is complicated by the largely mysterious ethnic geography of ancient West Tibet. Sang.dar (spelled Sang.thar in *Bai.ser* p.278 line 7) is in the canyon on the right bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, north-east of Tho.ling on the way to Phyi.wang in Gu.ge Byang.ngos, and is where an *dbu.sde* ("monastic community") was located during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, to which Zhi.ba.'od provided regular supplies (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 lines 5-6) and where the Sang.thar Jo.bo was possibly placed originally. Among the territories controlled by the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde in the mid 13th century is Sang.wang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.79 line 2), which is phonetically quite close to Sang.nang. Sang.wang is to be regarded as the area in which Sang.dar is located, therefore not far from Phyi.wang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-8). It cannot be ruled out that the Sang.nang.ba warriors/ministers were associated with both Sang.dar and Sang.wang, and that they were people of Zhang.zhung.pa origin from the heart of Gu.ge.

(519) Two instances of names linguistically resembling that of gSer.dpon Mu.ru may betray an ethnic origin in the Indo-Iranic borderlands. They are the name of the Ta.zig king La.mer.mu in *rGyal.po bka'.thang* (p.118 lines 15-17) ruling in the late 8th-early 9th century ("Nub.phyogs Ta.zig rgyal.po bzhugs.pa yang/ rgyal.po La.mer.mu dang Hab.gdal gnyis/ Bod.kyi bka'.la gces.par bzung.nas ni/ rin.chen nor dang sman.gyi lnga.dos dang/ kha.zas gces.pa dus.las ma.yol phul", "The Ta.zig kings who resided in the west, rgyal.po La.mer.mu and Hab.gdal, these two, as they were forced to be obedient to the will of Bod, they payed unhesitatingly [and] without delay [a tribute of] precious items, riches, loads of the five [kinds of] medicinal herbs and food"). The other, perhaps dating to between the end of the 2nd and the end of the 4th century A.D., is contained in an inscription on a rock at Chilas in the Gilgit area (Fussman, "Inscriptions de Gilgit" p.18-19). The person mentioned in the epigraph is possibly a local ruler bearing the name Merekhisu, which the inscription describes as the king of the Dards. His name may be of Burushaski origin in Fussman's view. See also the reference to a "Lha.chen Mahabahu" in the inscription accompanying the Satpur bas-relief near sKar.do in sBal.ti (Vohra, "Ethno-Historicity of the Dards in Ladakh-Baltistan: Observations and Analysis" p.543). Finally, regarding his official position, does Mu.ru's title Sang.nang.ba gser.rje ("lord of gold") mean that a minister was appointed to supervise the extraction of gold from the gold-fields of mNga'.ris skor.gsum? Later, during the 14th century, Gung.thang khri.dpon Byir.ma was appointed *ger.dpon* of the gold-fields found to the east of Ti.se, a territory controlled by the Gung.thang king bKra.shis.lde (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.115 lines 5-10) (see below n.812).

The *chab.srid.kyi blon.po*-s of rTse.lde mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 lines 7-8) were the ministers "taking part in the highest Council of State"<sup>520</sup>, while the Sang.nang.ba-s, by virtue of the role they played in the rGya war, were also rTse.lde's chiefs of the army<sup>521</sup>. At the head (*thod.du*) of rTse.lde's *chab.srid blon.po*-s were Zangs.kha.ba rje.blon gTag.zig (sic), Zhang.rung lJid.ldan ring.mo, Cog.ru (sic for Cog.ro) Dal.ba bKra.shis dpal.'bar.

Cog.ro<sup>522</sup> is a well known clan whose land in sTod is located in Pu.hrang.smad, west of Zhi.sde, and Zangs.kha was the clan of Ye.shes.'od's and Khor.re's mother (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.51 lines 7-8)<sup>523</sup>. Zhang.rung was another clan which played a significant part in the political events of West Tibet since the early mNga'ris skor.gsum dynasty. Gu.ge blon.po Zhang.rung had a major role in the introduction of Chos in mNga'ris skor.gsum during the time of Ye.shes.'od (ibid. p.52 line 11-p.53 line 7). The recurrence of the term Zhang.rung rules out the possibility of it being a misspelling for Zhang.zhung. The reference to blon.po Zhang.rung being from Gu.ge precludes any such reading, which would

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(520) This is the reading Richardson (*A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* p.129) favours when he translates the lines 4-5 of the inscription engraved on the north face of khri Ral.pa's *rdo.rings*, sanctioning the 821-822 peace treaty with China.

(521) Although the five Sang.nang.ba-s had a vital role in the defence of Gu.ge and the expansion of the kingdom, they did not hold the highest rank in rTse.lde's administration as they are not listed among his senior ministers in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*.

(522) A description of this land, awarded to lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty, is found in *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.106 lines 1-4: "Lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab 'di ched.drung yin.pa thugs.grad thub cing/ lus.ngag.gis zhabs.tog srog dang sdo.pa mdzad.pa'i bka'drin la/ Cog.re Go.ge Ku.shu yar bcad.pa/ Ti.ma.la smad gSum.kha.dar.gyi 'babs.chu dang bcas pa/ shar Te.thang.gis bcad.pa/ lhor gangs.kyis bcad.pa/ nub sNga.ma myong.gi bcad.pa/ byang gtsang.pos bcad.pa/ yul.zhing gzang shing.'brog dang bcas.pas/ lha.bla.ma me.dbon.gyis bka'.rtags dang/ lo.tsa.ba'i phyag.rtags dang bcas.pa btab nas lo.chung (p.107) Legs.pa'i shes.rab la rtal.ba yin.pas/ sde che.chung gang.gi yang bzhes thang mi.'bab/ kha mi.rgyab/ rgya mi.tib.bo", "The Cog.ro [land] with all its settlements, fertile fields, forests and grazing lands, bounded by Ku.shu in Cog.re Go.ge (Gu.ge?) on the upper side, by the Ti.ma pass on the lower side including the gSum.kha.dar waterfall, bounded by Te.thang ("Te plain") in the east, by the [range] of snow mountains in the south, by sNga.ma.myong in the west, [and] by the river in the north, is awarded with the seal of the lha.bla.ma-s, the uncle and nephew, and the seal of lo.tsa.ba to lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab, this one, in gratitude for his zeal in rendering service with his body and speech, for his sacrifices, and the pain and hardship he went through. Lo.chung Legs.pa'i shes.rab being a well versed [master], no one can even temporarily take possession of whatever small or big communities [are there], no one can occupy [his land], no one create disturbance"). The passage is interesting because it describes the localities comprising the land of Cog.ro, and seems to be derived from the actual document by which it was granted to lo.chung. In particular, the concluding formula indicates a direct access to the official document issued in his favour.

(523) Note the variation of suffixes in the clan name (Zangs.kha.ba for the minister, Zangs.kha.ma for the mNga'ris skor.gsum queen, wife of bKra.shis.mgon) denoting gender.



be an unjustified duplication. The position of the term Zhang.rung in his name also proves that it cannot refer to Zhang.zhung; the title *blon.po* precedes the term Zhang.rung, making it a clan name.

### *The boundaries of rTse.lde's kingdom (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.73)*

The extent of the Gu.ge kingdom during the reign of rTse.lde described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* are difficult to assess (p.73 lines 12-17), since various place names marking its boundaries remain unidentified. It is only possible to attempt a rough estimate of the limits of his kingdom. It must have encompassed a huge expanse of land if the indication of its eastern boundary is reliable, which is highly improbable, as it would have extended as far as Gong.kha dmag.ru (spelled as in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*), the well known border of China and Yar.lung Bod, where a *rdo.rings* of the Sino-Tibetan peace treaty was placed in 821-822<sup>524</sup>. In the south, rTse.lde's kingdom reached Bre.srang yul, Ya.rtse and Chu.la me.'bar (Muktinath)<sup>525</sup>. The lands included in his dominions to the west (Ra.gan

(524) See Uebach, "dByar.mo.thang and Gong.bu ma.ru. Tibetan Historiographical Tradition on the Treaty of 821/823" (p.502-522 and especially p.516), where she assesses the location of Gong.bu ma.ru on the basis of a gloss in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, which says that the area of Gong.bu ma.ru is in Tsong.kha to the south-east of mtsho sNgon (p.425 lines 10-11: "...Pha.bong.la nyi.zla'i gzugs byas.pa 'di Tsong.kha mtsho sNgon.gyi lho.shar.na yod.do", "...[Gong.bu ma.ru] is to the south-east of Tsong.kha mtsho sNgon, where there is this huge rock bearing the carving of sun and moon").

(525) An area named Bre.bo.che is located in Pu.hrang by rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.180 lines 6-7: "De.nas yang sPu.rengs Bre.bo.che'i nas khal bdun.brgya.tsam dang/ gzhan.yang 'bras sha mar.thud gsum/ bu.ram/ ka.dan sman gser zangs sogs ni grangs.med.pa byung.ngo", "Then, seven hundred loads arrived from sPu.rengs Bre.bo.che consisting of innumerable quantities of rice, meat and cheese, these three; molasses, white scarves, medicinal herbs, gold and copper"). Elsewhere in the work it is called Bre (p.188 line 4: sDe.pa bDe.rgyam.pas/ rje grub.pa'i dbang.phyug sku.kham nam.bzang bar.tu Ti.ser lo.re bzhin sgrub.rgyags sPu.rangs Bre'i nas khal brgya.brgya dang/ gzhan.yang 'bul.ba zhabs.rtog phul", "sDe.pa bDe.rgyam.pa (i.e bDe.legs rgya.mtsho the king of Glo.bo) offered to the lord of meditation (i.e. gTsang.smyon) a hundred loads of provisions from sPu.rangs Bre each year and other services [to support] his meditation at Ti.se as long as he (gTsang.smyon) lived"). The notion that Bre is a local usage for 'bras ("rice") cannot be dismissed. If so, Pu.hrang Bre.srang.yul may be the southernmost and lowest area of Pu.hrang towards Mon.yul. The location of Bre.srang.yul is hinted at in the same passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, when Ya.rtse is mentioned between this area and Chu.la me.'bar. The latter territory being to the east of Ya.rtse, Bre.srang.yul must have been west of it, located towards Kumaon, which borders the southernmost area of Pu.hrang. The notion that a great deal of provisions were coming from fertile Bre favours this interpretation.

The border marker of rTse.lde's dominions in the south, extending to Ya.rtse and Chu.la me.'bar, was an iron pillar (*tshang.lcags.kyi rdo.ring*) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.73 lines 13-15). Pillars were traditionally erected at the frontiers. Here I will not mention well known historical boundary *rdo.rings-s*, but I wish to draw the reader's attention to a passage proving that building pillars to mark the borders of Tibetan territory was a deeply rooted tradition that gave rise to legends. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* records that four *rdo.rings* marked Tibet's borders

'brenḡ.shing, Tshong.'dus 'ba'.ra, Kha.che Tse.steng) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.73 line 15) defy any exact territorial location<sup>526</sup>. They extended as far as Kha.che since the border was fixed at Kha.che Tse.steng (does this name refer to the well known Kha.che.la?). I cannot locate the La.'jings pass which marked the northern limit of the kingdom and was where rTse.lde established Bla.shing Ko.rtse.thung<sup>527</sup>. The populations of the territories which had been subdued by rTse.lde payed tribute to him every two years.

in the four directions. In the east, a *rdo.rings* made of conch-shells stood at the border with rGya.nag.po at Sha.phud gangs.dkar lha'i.yul ("the white snow mountain land of the *lha*-s to whom flesh is offered"). In the south, a *rdo.rings* made of turquoise stood at the border with rGya.dkar.po at sMug.ma bu.kur srin.gyi.yul ("the land of the *srin*-s who take children away in the darkness"). In the west, at the border with sTag.gzig a *rdo.rings* made of reddish silver stood at rKang.ma rkang.gcig klu'i.yul ("the land of the *klu*-s who, concerning their legs (sic), have a single leg (sic)"). In the north, at the border with Khrom Ge.sar a *rdo.rings* made of brassy gold stood at Ma.rma'i lu.rgyud sman.gyi.yul, the translation of the name of this "land of the *sman*-s" being particularly awkward. See *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.14 line 13-p.15 line 8: "Bod kha.ba.can rgyal.khams dang/ phyogs.bzhi'i rgyal.khams.kyi sa.mtshams na/ srid.pas bkod.pa'i rdo.rings chen.po bzhi yod de/ shar.phyogs rGya.nag.po dang/ Bod.kyi so.mtshams na/ sha.phud gangs.dkar lha'i yul du/ 'dron.bu dung.gi rdo.rings (p.16) gtsugs.pa yan.chad/ lho.phyogs rGya.dkar.po dang/ Bod.kyi so.mtshams/ smug.ma bu.khur srin.gyi yul du/ mthing.zhun g.yu'i rdo.rings gtsugs.pa tshun.chad/ nub.phyogs sTag.gzig dang/ Bod.kyi so.mtshams/ rkang.ma rkang.gcig klu'i yul du/ sha.rtse dngul.gyi rdo.rings gtsugs.pa man.chad/ byang.phyogs Khrom Ge.sar dang/ Bod.kyi so.mtshams/ ma.rma'i lo.rgyud sman.gyi yul du/ ra.rgan gset.gyi rdo.rings gtsugs.pa tshun.chad/ de.rnams Bod gangs.can.kyi rgyal.khams.su rtogs.pa'i sa.tshad yin"). These *rdo.rings*-s were inscribed by the rulers who erected them. A roof in the shape of a pagoda (*rgya.phigs* sic for *rgya.phibs*) was placed on top of them.

(526) Ra.gan.gi 'brenḡ.shing literally means an improbable "brass straps tree", which I am inclined to change to Ra.gan.gi 'brenḡ.zhing, i.e. "adjoining fields where [ores for] brass[-making] are extracted". On 'brenḡ meaning "adjoining, connected" see, for instance, the expression *phyag.phyir 'brenḡs.pa*, "to become associated, to become a follower". *Ra.gan* is the typical alloy of Kha.che metalwork during that period. Mines are found to the north of Kha.che not far from the Indus in what were Shina lands, where raw materials for brass making were extracted. If this suggestion concerning the location of Ra.gan.gi 'brenḡ.zhing is acceptable, it follows that rTse.lde extended his dominions quite far to the west along the Indus. Discussing the borders of the lands controlled by the La.dwags king Utpala, *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.43 line 17) has Ra.gan 'brenḡ.zhing, while the two version of *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* published by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 line 28) have Ra.gan 'grenḡ.shing ("standing brass trees") and Ra.gan 'grenḡ.zhing. The place is associated with sTag and Khu.tshur (Gu.sur), considered to be two villages in sBal.ti west of sKar.do by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II p.96) and Petech (*The Kingdom of Ladakh* p.18). If this association is correct, given the proximity of the above mentioned mines to sBal.ti, the reading Ra.gan 'brenḡ.zhing would seem preferable and the notion that the site was far to the west in Shina territory becomes more likely.

(527) *Srid.pa rgyud.kyi Kha.byang chen.mo* (p.60 lines 1-5) records the *la.tshigs chen.po dgu* (only four of them are actually listed) which marked the borders of the ancient kingdom of Bod. Among them, in the north, is the Hor la.tshigs named Cags.so gangs.dkar. It must be asked whether La.'jings.la is a corruption or a mis-reading for *la.tshigs* of the Bon.po work. *Tshigs* means "junction", and "joining" (see Das Dictionary), and hence a *la.tshigs*, i.e. a pass linking two territories, is a pass leading to a foreign land. If La.'jings is read as *la.tshigs*, as seems reasonable in the light of its location according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, this is not the name of the pass. Did it mark the boundary between mNga'.ris skor.gsum and Turkestan?

It is noteworthy that the southern extremity of the lands conquered by the Mar.yul king Utpala according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* corresponds to the southern border of rTse.lde's dominions recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, as they both included Bre.srang yul and Chu.la me.'bar (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* in Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 25-30; Petech *The Kingdom of Ladakh* p.18; see above n.525). This is also the case of their boundaries in the west, as both kingdoms extended as far as Ra.gan 'brengh.shing. This coincidence may be purely fortuitous, but it is at least possible that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*'s record of rGya Ge.sar's invasion from Mar.yul to the heart of Gu.ge during the reign of king rTse.lde actually describes Utpala's incursion. This does not necessarily explain the parallelism between the southern territories ruled by these two kings, since *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not say that rGya Ge.sar conquered the lands controlled by rTse.lde beyond Byang.ngos, but it cannot be ruled out that rTse.lde's entire kingdom including Pu.hrang is considered by *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* to have been under Mar.yul simply on the basis of the latter's conquest of Byang.ngos.

Furthermore, according to the extent of rTse.lde's territories reported in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, Gu.ge took the whole of La.dwags. rTse.lde must have expanded his kingdom as far as Kha.che and possibly lands to its north with his 1083 victory over rGya. If this assessment is corroborated by further evidence, it would follow that rGya controlled lands as far as the same border (this is what *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* holds when it discusses the border of Utpala's dominions) and rTse.lde's victory enabled him to establish his western boundary at Ra.gan 'brengh.shing.

The extent of rTse.lde's kingdom makes the rule of his brother bTsan.srong in Pu.hrang documented in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 16-18) anachronistic. In fact, bTsan.srong could not have held its throne during the period of rTse.lde's reign, given that the latter's dominions included Pu.hrang, a fact confirmed by his support of its temples and religious communities stressed elsewhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 lines 3-4).



# Gu.ge after rTse.lde

*rTse.lde's assassination and the subsequent lineage of the Gu.ge kings*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.74-75)

A first blow to the political stability of Gu.ge before the Gar.log invasion (see below) was the murder of rTse.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 9-14)<sup>528</sup> and the subsequent ousting of the heir to the throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. rTse.lde's assassination was the result of internal political unrest at the end of the 11th century, while the subsequent devastating event affecting Gu.ge came from beyond its borders at the hands of its turbulent Muslim neighbours to the north.

Later historiographies recognize 'Bar.lde as rTse.lde's successor<sup>529</sup>. It is noteworthy that nearly all the earlier texts (written not later than the 14th century), with the exception of *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, inaccurately record the succession to rTse.lde<sup>530</sup>. Sources on rNgog lo.tsa.ba Blo.ldan shes.rab document dBang.lde as rTse.lde's

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(528) The reliability of this hitherto unknown information is confirmed, albeit in a rather obscure manner, by *Rwa lo.tsa.ba rnam.shar*, which says that during the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* Rwa lo.tsa.ba foresaw that rTse.lde's life would be in danger (p.182 line 2): "Rwa.chen.gyis rgyal.po'i sku.tshe la bar.chad 'ong.bar mkhyen.nas de.la phan.pa'i gdams.pa gnang.bar dgongs kyang/ Zangs.mkhar lo.tsa.bas sel.bcug ste ma.grub", "As Rwa.chen realised that an obstruction would be caused to the life of the king (rTse.lde), he thought of giving instruction useful [to prevent it], but Zangs.mkhar (sic) lo.tsa.ba objected [and] he could not do it". *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* clarifies the nature of the obstructions to rTse.lde's life, for he was among the few kings of the early dynasty of Gu.ge Pu.hrang who were murdered.

(529) Among these later works which record 'Bar.lde as rTse.lde's successor but then attach the Ya.rtse genealogy as though it were the Gu.ge royal line are *Deb.sher dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 4-6: "De'i sras 'Bar.lde/ de'i sras bKra.shis.lde/ de.nas rim.pa.bzhin Bha.e/ Na.ga.lde/ bTsan.phyug.lde", "His (rTse.lde's) successor was 'Bar.lde. His successor was bKra.shis.lde. Then, in succession, Bha.e, Na.ga.lde, bTsan.phyug.lde"); *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.86 p.86 lines 8-9: "rTse.lde'i sras 'Bar.lde/ de'i sras bKra.shis.lde/ de'i sras Bha.ne/ de'i sras Na.ga.de.wa", "rTse.lde's successor was 'Bar.lde. His successor was bKra.shis.lde. His successor was Bha.ne. His successor was Na.ga.de.wa"); and *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.435 lines 18-20: "rTse.lde'i sras 'Bar.lde/ de.nas rim.bzhin bKra.shis.lde/ lHa.lde/ Na.ga.de.wa rnam nas mNga'.ris.kyi btsan.po phal.cher byung", "rTse.lde's successor was 'Bar.lde. Then, in succession, bKra.shis.lde, lHa.lde, Na.ga.de.wa. These were most of the mNga'.ris kings").

(530) Authors who do not mention the rulers after rTse.lde are Nyang.ral Nyi.ma 'od.zer, Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, bSod.nams rtse.mo and 'Phags.pa. Those who inaccurately record the name of rTse.lde's successor and continue with the Ya.rtse dynasty, are *Deb.sher dmar.po* (p.43 lines 10-11: "De'i sras Bha.le/ de.nas

successor (see below n.538). *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 line 16) sheds light on the identity of the Gu.ge king after rTse.lde when it says that 'Bar.lde was also known as dBang.lde. These two names refer to one and the same person.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* seem to have had access to the same ancient documents pertaining to the end of the early Gu.ge dynasty and its immediate successors, i.e. the few generations between rTse.lde and the Gar.log invasion, which will be discussed below. In particular *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* is a little more detailed than *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* but not necessarily correct in its assessment of this genealogical period in Gu.ge<sup>531</sup>. It calls rTse.lde's successor 'Od.'bar and his successor dBang.lde, treated as one and the same person in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 line 16). *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* names 'Od.'bar.lde the successor of rTse.lde. This is correct, although the variant 'Od.'bar.lde for 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde's name is not found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Both *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* consider bSod.nams.lde to be the successor of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, the only difference from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* consisting in the spelling of his name (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has bSod.nams.rtse).

Events in the life of rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab are instrumental in fixing the period of the succession from rTse.lde to 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde. rTse.lde sent rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab to Kha.che for his studies (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 7-8), dBang.lde sponsored rNgog lo.tsa.ba's translation of *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel rgyan* (p.74 line 19-p.75 line 1), which sources

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rim.bzhin bKra.shis.lde/ Bha.lde/ Na.ga.lde.ba rnam byon", "His (rTse.lde's) successor was Bha.le. Then bKra.shis.lde, Bha.lde, Na.ga.lde.ba came in succession"); *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.224 lines 11-14: "mNga'.bdag rTse.lde'i sras/ Bha.lde/ de.nas rim.pa bzhin/ bKra.shis.lde/ Ba.lde/ Na.ga.lde.ba rnam byon/ 'di yan.chad.la/ Gu.ge Pu.rangs/ Mar.yul la.sogs.kyi rtsad.po rnam chad.par 'dod", "mNga'.bdag rTse.lde's successor was Bha.lde. Then in succession bKra.shis.lde, Ba.lde, Na.ga.lde.ba. Until [the last] they were the kings of Gu.ge Pu.rangs and Mar.yul"); *rGyal.rabs gyal.ba'i me.long* (p.245 lines 10-11: "De'i sras bTsan.lde/ de'i sras Bha.lde/ de.nas rim.pa bzhin.du bKra.shis.lde Bha.re Na.ga.lde rnam byung.ba 'di rnam.kyis Gu.ge/ sPu.rangs Ma.yul la.sogs.pa'i rgyal.khams la dbang byas.pa yin.no", "His son was bTsan.lde. His son was Bha.lde. Then in succession bKra.shis.lde, Bha.re, Na.ga.lde followed. They held control of the Gu.ge, sPu.rangs and Mang.yul kingdoms"). *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* is the 14th century source which give the name of rTse.lde's successor correctly, substituting the name 'Bar.lde for the corrupt Bha.le (p.70 line 18-p.71 line 1: "mNga'.bdag Khri.lde'i sras 'Bar.lde/ de.nas rim.pa bzhin bKra(p.71).shis.lde/ Bha.lde/ Na.ga.lde.ba rnam byon", "mNga'.bdag Khri.lde's (i.e. rTse.lde's) successor was 'Bar.lde. Then bKra.shis.lde, Bha.lde, Na.ga.lde.wa came one after the other"). It is noteworthy that, in the main, the later texts are those which state 'Bar.lde's name without mistake. The correction of the name of rTse.lde's successor to 'Bar.lde probably occurred with *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* which compelled later authors to revise the name of this king.

(531) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 lines 11-12): "De'i sras rTse.lde/ de'i sras 'Od.'bar/ de'i sras dBang.lde/ de'i sras bSod.nams.lde", "His son was rTse.lde. His successor was 'Od.'bar. His son was dBang.lde. His son was bSod.nams.lde". *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* has a more convoluted order of succession. It first identifies 'Od.'bar.lde as the successor of rTse.lde (p.383 line 12: "De'i sras 'Od.'bar.lde"). The text omits 'Od.'bar.lde in its subsequent outline of the royal generations after rTse.lde, but his inclusion in the lineage is deduced from the previous sentence. In fact, after discussing rTse.lde's relationship with 'Od.lde and Byang.chub.'od, *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* continues by saying (p.384 line 2): "De'i sras bSod.nams.lde".

agree to have taken place on his return to sTod<sup>532</sup>. This is a mistaken assessment, for the revised translations of *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel tshig le'ur byas.pa* and *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel rgyan* (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* respectively partie 3 (*mDo.'grel*) p.436-437 and p.441-442) were carried out by sKal.lidan rgyal.po and rNgog lo.tsa.ba chen.po Blo.lidan shes.rab at 'Khor.lo.'dzin (Cakradara) near grong.khyer chen.po dPe.med (Anupamamahapura) in Kha.che according to their colophons.

If Tibetan historical sources are wrong in assessing the place where *Tshad.ma* was translated by rNgog chen.po, they are unanimous that patronage was granted to Blo.lidan shes.rab by 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde in water monkey 1092 when rNgog chen.po returned from Kha.che and found 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde on the Gu.ge throne<sup>533</sup>. 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was, therefore, the king of Gu.ge at that time. The succession must have taken place sometime between 1083, when rTse.lde is found fighting against rGya, and 1092.

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(532) rNgog.chen.po's family was very wealthy according to his *rnam.thar* written by his disciple Gro.lung.pa (Jackson, "An Early Biography of rNgog lo.tsa.ba Blo.lidan shes.rab" p.377). Was hence the patronage of the Gu.ge rulers more prestigious and authoritative than financial? It does not seem to have been so because *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* says that 'Bar.lde gave gold to rNgog lo.tsa.ba after rTse.lde refused to comply with the latter's request (p.148 lines 11-16; see below n.538). rTse.lde did not see why rNgog chen.po should go to Kha.che for his studies, since all the greatest masters from Kashmir were in sTod in those days.

(533) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.471 lines 5-7): "Bum.phrag gsum.pa Bod du spyang.drangs.nas sbyon/ rTse.lde'i sras dBang.lde 'gyur.gyi yon.bdag byas te chos rnam.sbsgyur.ro", "Having invited 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa to Tibet, they left [together for this destination]. dBang.lde, the successor of rTse.lde, was the sponsor of the translations. They translated many religious texts". *Yar.lung jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.127 lines 9-12): "rGya.Bal du lo bcu.bdun.gyi bar.du bzhugs nas/ mNga'.ris.stod su phebs/ mnga'.bdag dBang.lde dang/ khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug.btsan.gyis yon.bdag mdzad nas/ Tshad.ma.rgyan la.sogs.pa chos mang.po bsgyur", "After staying seventeen years in rGya.Bal, he (rNgog lo.tsa.ba) returned to mNga'.ris.stod. mNga'.bdag dBang.lde and khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug.btsan were the sponsors of the translations. He translated *Tshad.ma.rgyan*, many religious texts".

Petech's interpretation of the passage in *Bu.ston rin.po.che chos.'byung* concerning rNgog Blo.lidan shes.rab's translation of *Tshad.ma* should be dismissed on the basis of this passage under study in *Yar.lung jo.bo chos.'byung*. Petech proposes a reading that dBang.lde and khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug nam.mkha'.btsan sponsored Blo.lidan shes.rab's translation when the latter was still in Kha.che ("Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.86 n.4). The passage in *Bu.ston rin.po.che chos.'byung* does not go so far, simply saying that Blo.lidan shes.rab made this translation without specifying where (p.202 line 23-p.203 line 2: "rTse.lde's rNgog Blo.lidan Kha.cher brdzangs te gZhan.phan bzang.po dang sKal.lidan rgyal.po la Tshad.ma bslabs/ bram.ze Sad.dza.na dang/ Go.mi 'chi.med la.sogs.pa.la Byams.chos bslabs/ dBang.lde's yon.bdag byas te Tshad.ma.rgyan la.sogs.pa bsgyur/ khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug (p.203) nam.mkha'.btsan.gyis kyang 'gyur.gyi yon.bdag byas/ Kha.cher lo.bcu.bdun bzhugs/ Bod du bcu.bdun phrag.gnyis bzhugs", "He (rNgog lo.tsa.ba) was sent to Kha.che by rTse.lde. He received *Tshad.ma* from gZhan.phan bzang.po and sKal.lidan rgyal.po. He received *Byams.chos* from bram.ze Sad.dza.na and 'Go.mi 'chi.med. dBang.lde was the patron [and rNgog lo.tsa.ba] translated *Tshad.ma.rgyan*. Khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug nam.mkha'.btsan was also the sponsor of the translations. He (rNgog lo.tsa.ba) spent seventeen years in Kha.che. He twice stayed seventeen years in Tibet").

The appearance of khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug nam.mkha'.btsan, who is unrecorded in the royal lineages of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang, apparently poses a major genealogical problem. The name bKra.shis dBang.phyug

Another useful contribution to the assessment of the period of 'Bar.lde's succession comes from the biography of Rwa lo.tsa.ba rDo.rje.grags in Taranatha's *gShing.rje.gshed chos.byung*<sup>534</sup>. After attending the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*, during which he was supported by rTse.lde, Rwa lo.tsa.ba went back to Bal.yul. He stayed in the Kathmandu Valley for about fifteen years without returning to Tibet. During this period, he sent an envoy to mNga'.ris rgyal po dBang.phyug.lde (i.e. dBang.lde) to ask for gold. dBang.lde provided him with plenty, which Rwa lo.tsa.ba gave to his masters in Bal.po. Rwa.lo.tsa.ba's fifteen year sojourn in Bal.yul fell between some time after 1076 and 1090, if a briefer assessment for Tho.ling *chos.'khor* is favoured, otherwise between around 1078 and 1092, if the *chos.'khor* lasted for three full years (1076-1078) (see above p.320). dBang.lde's ascent to the Gu.ge throne must have occurred some time before Rwa lo.tsa.ba's request for gold.

That rTse.lde's death was the result of internal unrest is proved by the reference to rTse.lde's murderer, indicated as an unspecified subject in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 lines 9-10). rTse.lde's death was followed by a typical struggle for the throne. rTse.lde's son and heir, lha.btsun ("a monk of royal blood") dBang.'od, was assassinated at Tho.ling Thang.gi 'od (the plain on which Tho.ling is sited)<sup>535</sup> by bSod.nams.rtse, the son and successor of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, the king of Gu.ge who ruled after rTse.lde. lHa.btsun dBang.'od and

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nam.mkha'.btsan otherwise dBang.phyug.btsan, who is prefixed by the title *khri*, is a corrupt assessment which has slipped into Bu.ston Rin.chen.sgrub's treatment. I agree with Petech that this is one more misunderstanding of dBang.lde's identity and that dBang.phyug nam.mkha'.btsan otherwise known as dBang.phyug.btsan is the same dBang.lde who is called dBang.phyug.lde in Rwa lo.tsa.ba's biography by Taranatha (*gShing.rje.gshed chos.byung* p.45 line 1; see the next note). As said elsewhere in the present work, colophons prove, however, that the translations of *Tshad.ma* by rNgog lo.tsa.ba were undertaken in Kha.che and Petech's idea ultimately proves to be correct, while Bu.ston and Shakya Rin.chen.sde are wrong in placing them in Tibet.

(534) Taranatha, *gShing.rje.gshed chos.byung* (p.94 line 2-p.95 line 1): "De.nas Rwa chen.pos Pu.rangs su mnga'.bdag rTse.lde la/ chos.bsgyur.ba'i mthun.rkyen zhur byon/ gser sogs yo.byad mang.po rang.byung stel/ slar.yang Bal.yul du phebs/ Rin.chen.tshul.gyi gtsug.lag.khang.du dge.slong mdzad/ sngar.gyi bla.ma nam.gnyis dang/ gzhan.yang rGya.Bal.gyi pan.grub mang.po sten/...Bal.por lo bco.lnga.tsam bzhugs/ skabs.der Bod la ma.byon kyang/ mNga'(p.95).ris.kyi rgyal.po dBang.phyug.lde la gser slongs.kyi pho.nya btang.ba la/ gser mang.du byung.bas phal.cher bla.ma rnam.kyi zhabs.tog mdzad", "Then, in Pu.rangs he went to ask mnga'.bdag rTse.lde for suitable support for the diffusion of the teachings. Gold and many supplies materialized. He went again to Bal.po. He was a monk at Rin.chen.tshul gtsug.lag.khang. His two previous *bla.ma*-s and many *pan[.di.ta-s]* and] *grub[.thob-s]* gave him teachings...He stayed in Bal.po for fifteen years. During this time, he did not go to Tibet, instead he sent an envoy to ask mNga'.ris rgyal.po dBang.phyug.lde for gold. As a great quantity of gold materialized, he mostly used it to render service to the *bla.ma*-s".

(535) This is the ancient name of the Tho.ling table land where the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa and gSer.khang were built among other edifices. Tho.gling Thang.gi 'od ("the light of the plain of Tho.ling") could be emended to a more improbable Tho.gling.gi Thang.gi 'og.du ("below the Tho.ling plain"). The latter interpretation is somewhat untenable not only because there is no apparent reason to correct this name but also because below the Tho.ling plain the Glang.chen kha.'babs flows through a rather impracticable area, unless the stretch of land below the Tho.ling plain was deemed appropriate for carrying out dBang.'od's execution.



bSod.nams.rtse are indicated in the text as *khu.dbon* (“the uncle and nephew”). The text says: “Finally, when there was a dispute between *khu.dbon*, *dbon mnga'.bdag bSod.rnams.rtse* assassinated him [*lha.btsun dBang.'od*] at *Tho.gling Thang.gi.'od*” (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 13-14). This reference helps to clarify the nature of the struggle, as a branch of the royal family, to which 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde and bSod.nams.rtse evidently belonged, usurped the throne. On this basis, 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde and the lineage on the Gu.ge throne that succeeded him were not the direct descendants of the *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* dynasty, although they were closely related.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* nowhere says that 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was the son of rTse.lde. When other sources do so, it is possibly due to the need for introducing genealogical continuity, often disregarding the actual relation between two successive kings. Elsewhere (p.74 lines 11-13), *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that rTse.lde had four sons, rTse.'od, Jo.rtse, rDo.rje.gdan and *lha.btsun dBang.'od*<sup>536</sup>. There could be no more direct proof of the fact that 'Bar.lde was a usurper of royal blood.

Another fact relevant to the assessment of the nature of 'Bar.lde's accession is found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.75 line 1) which states that “'Bar.lde/dBang.lde died before his father”. This helps once again to rule out the possibility that 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was rTse.lde's son. In fact, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* nowhere says that rTse.lde abdicated, but simply

(536) Ngag.dbang grags.pa is extremely laconic concerning rTse.lde's sons. Not a word is spent on the life and deeds of rTse.'od, Jo.rtse and rDo.rje.gdan. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* contributes some information on one more member of rTse.lde's family. During the period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, dPal.ldan lung.chen, a member of the Thon clan from Mar.lung, married the daughter of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang king 'Od.lde. She was *bdag.mo So.rta lhun.srang* and her father 'Od.lde is described as *thar.po* (“old”). This may be a clue to when the marriage took place, given that 'Od.lde died in 1037. The source adds that since his *zhang.po* (“maternal uncle”) was rTse.lde, the king of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, the son of dPal.ldan lung.chen and *So.rta lhun.srang*, rTse.lde's sister, despite his real name being *Sangs.rgyas rdo.rje* (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.21b line 1), was called *rGyal.tshwa dbon.po* (*ibid.* f.20b lines 1-3: “De'i brtsun.mo.la Gu.ge thar.po mnga'.bdag 'Od.lde'i sras.mo bdag.mo So.rta lhun.srang slang/ de.la mnyam.med rGyal.tshwa dbon.po 'khrungs/ zhang.po mnga'.bdag rTse.lde yin.pas rgyal.tshwa/ Thon.mi lha.brtsun.gyi dbon.rgyud yin.pas dbon.po/ gzhan dang mnyam.pa med.pa'i mnyam.med zhes grag-so”, “His (dPal.ldan lung.chen's) wife was *bdag.mo So.rta lhun.srang*, the daughter of Gu.ge thar.po 'Od.lde. *mNyam.med* (“incomparable”) *rGyal.tshwa dbon.po* (“royal nephew”) was born from her. He was *rgyal.tshwa* (“royal nephew”) because his maternal uncle was *mnga'.bdag rTse.lde*. He was *dbon.po* (“paternal nephew”) because he was descendant of the Thon.mi *lha.brtsun-s*. He was *mnyam.med* (“incomparable”) because he was second to no one”). This seems to prove that the child was born when rTse.lde was already on the throne, i.e. after 1057. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* reports him to have studied with *Khung.lung.pa Yon.tan rgya.mtsho*, who was a disciple of *gNubs Sang.rgyas ye.shes* (f.20b lines 2-3: “Yab.gyis spyir rNying.ma Swa Zur bsNubs nas rgyud.pa Khung.brtsun.pas/ bsNubs Khung.lung.pa Yon.tan rgya.mtsho'i drung.du rdzangs”, “He (*rGyal.tshwa dbon.po*) was sent by his father [to study] with *bsNubs Khung.lung.pa Yon.tan rgya.mtsho*, since the latter was a *Khung.brtsun.pa* (a *Khung* monk) hailing from the *rNying.ma* lineage of *Swa, Zur* and *bsNubs*”). *gNubs Sang.rgyas ye.shes* was a contemporary of 'Od.srung and dPal.'khor.btsan, hence still alive in the early 10th century (see Addendum One). His disciple *Yon.tan rgya.mtsho* could not have given teachings to the *Mar.lung.pa* nephew of rTse.lde. Some later *Khung.lung.pa* master in the lineage of *rNying.ma.pa bKa'.ma* transmission must have had *rGyal.tshwa dbon.po* as disciple.

that he died at the hands of a subject (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 9-10). rTse.lde thus ruled until the end of his days. Had 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde ruled and died before him, one would be confronted with a different and genealogically untenable succession to the Gu.ge throne. In other words, had 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde been rTse.lde's son and died before his father, the paradox that 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde ruled in the same years as rTse.lde would result. Therefore 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde cannot have been rTse.lde's son otherwise he would never have reigned.

Another minor clue suggesting that 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde usurped the Gu.ge throne is found soon after in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.75 line 7), where Ngag.dbang grags.pa or his source felt compelled to state that dBang.lde was the authentic successor to rTse.lde, thus betraying the fact that his right to rule had not gone undisputed by historians.

The indication that 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was crowned to rule Gu.ge Zhang.zhung lHo.Byang, i.e. the entire Gu.ge kingdom, is the first of several entries found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 lines 16-17) hinting at the division of Gu.ge into its two main regions, lHo.stod and Byang.ngos, separated by the Glang.chen kha.'babs. It is also a sign that the factions struggling for the throne had their own spheres of territorial influence. The factions and their lands were only temporarily brought under 'Bar.lde's sway for, some time later, Gu.ge was divided into these two territories for a considerable period.

A terse passage (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 7-8) not only indicates in 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde the immediate successor of rTse.lde, but also states that he was enthroned when he was thirteen and that he died at a young age. The death of rTse.lde resulted in the coronation in Gu.ge of a king who was little more than a child. 'Bar.lde's rule was short lived since he died in his teens<sup>537</sup>.

Since 'Bar.lde was crowned when he was thirteen not long before 1090 or 1092, he was far too young to sponsor rNgog lo.tsa.ba personally at the end of the Tho.ling *chos.'khor* (begun in 1076), as *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s* state<sup>538</sup>. These texts say

(537) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.75 lines 7-8) says: “[bSod.nams.rtse's] father dBang.lde was the authentic royal successor to lha.chen rTse.lde. He was enthroned when he was thirteen [and] died in his teens (*gzhon.nu*)”. The use of the verb *mnga'.gsol* rules out the reading that dBang.lde reigned for thirteen years. Elsewhere, when discussing a later Gu.ge king, rNam.rgyal.lde (1372-1431), *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.80 line 18-p.81 line 2) says: “When he entered puberty (*gzhon.nur gyur*), as he (rNam.rgyal.lde) was made *lha.btsun* in the presence of yongs.kyi mkhan.chen Chos.dpal grags.pa, he was given the name rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po. As he became the latter's personal disciple, he recited the refuge formula (*skyabs.'gro*) and *mantra-s* (*bzlas.pa*) like a grown man”. This passage concerning rNam.rgyal.lde proves that the term *gzhon.nu* is used in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to refer to a person still in his teens, and this reading has to be applied to the case of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde.

(538) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.148 lines 11-15): “rNgogs lo.tsa.ba yang byon.pas/ khong.gis Kha.cher bzhud byas.pas/ mnga'.bdag rTse.lde zhal.nas/ Kha.cher 'gro mi.dgos/ mkhas.pa 'di.la chos gson byas.pa/ bdag cis.kyang Kha.cher 'gro.bas rgyags.zhad gcig zhu zer.nas 'dug.tu ma.gnang/ de.nas rTse.lde'i sras dBang.lde's rgyags bskur.nas Kha.cher slebs”, “Having also gone [to the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*], rNgogs (sic) lo.tsa.ba asked to be sent to Kha.che. mNga'.bdag rTse.lde said: “You do not need to go to Kha.che. You'd better receive teachings from these masters”. As [rNgog lo.tsa.ba] insisted: “I must go to Kha.che by all means. I beg your support”.

that after rTse.lde refused to support rNgog lo.tsa.ba's wish to go and study in Kha.che, it was 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde who provided rNgog lo.tsa.ba with the funds he needed<sup>539</sup>. Is this a sign that also in matters religious members of the royal family of Gu.ge were not in complete accord? 'Bar.lde's young age, which precluded him playing any major role in the struggle, testifies to the existence of a faction antagonistic to rTse.lde and responsible for his death. His enthronement at the age of thirteen may point to a regency by members of his faction until he came of age. This custom was common practice during the time of the ancient Yar.lung dynasty (e.g. the case of 'Bro Khri.ma.lod and Khri.lde gtsug.rtsan Mes Ag.tshom). The application of the term *mi.yi bdag.po* to 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde in the colophons of the translations by sKal.ltan rgyal.po and rNgog Blo.ltan shes.rab in Kha.che that he sponsored leaves some room for doubt as to whether dBang.lde was the king at that time, or a child appointed as ruler by the faction opposing rTse.lde's designated successor, as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* indicates. Ngag.dbang grags.pa rather cryptically says that Tsa.me.dwi.ta died at a tender age and 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was crowned king of Gu.ge Zhang.zhung lHo.Byang (p.74 lines 15-17). Tsa.me.dwi.ta's identity is shrouded in deepest obscurity<sup>540</sup>. The text seems to suggest that his premature death led to the enthronement of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde. It cannot be ruled out that he was the chosen candidate of the faction which usurped the throne, and that after his death 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde was selected as his substitute on the throne.

Combining the elements of *Rwa lo.tsa.ba rnam.thar* concerning the beginning of 'Bar.lde's rule and the information in the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* regarding the sponsorship

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he was refused it. Consequently, rTse.lde's successor dBang.lde provided him support [and] he arrived in Kha.che"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.382 line 21-p.383 line 4): "rNgog lo.tsa.ba byon.pas/ khong Kha.cher bzhud (p.383) zer/ mnga'.bdag rTse.lde'i zhal.nas Kha.cher bzhud mi.dgos/ mkhas.pa 'di.la chos gson byas.pas/ ma.gsan.par bdag cis.kyang Kha.cher 'gro.bas rgyags.shas gcig zhu gsungs nas/ rTse.lde'i sras dBang.lde rgyags bskur.nas Kha.cher slebs", "Having gone [to the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*], rNgog lo.tsa.ba said he [wished to] leave for Kha.che. mNga'.bdag rTse.lde said: "You do not need to leave for Kha.che. You'd better receive teachings from these masters". Having been refused [patronage, rNgog lo.tsa.ba] insisted: "I must go to Kha.che by all means. I beg you for some support". rTse.lde's successor dBang.lde provided him support [and] he arrived in Kha.che".

(539) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.471 lines 5-7) prudently omits any reference to 'Bar.lde as Blo.ltan shes.rab's sponsor at the time of the *chos.'khor*, while for the rest of the account of the support for rNgog lo.tsa.ba's journey to Kha.che, the text has a similar version, probably derived from the source consulted by the lDe'u authors.

(540) The only fact that can be ascertained about Tsa.me.dwi.ta (possibly restituting Jamaditya?) is that he was not 'Bar.lde's father, because the text, a few lines below, says that 'Bar.lde died before his father (p.75 line 1). The way *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* links the untimely death of Tsa.me.dwi.ta to 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde's coronation, who, owing to his merit burning like fire (being a literary allusion to his name 'Bar.lde), was enthroned, leads one to think that this mysterious personage Tsa.me.dwi.ta may have been related to dBang.lde. Did Tsa.me.dwi.ta have some right of primogeniture? This is the only likely hypothesis which can be provisionally proposed on the basis of extant information.

to rNgog chen.po awarded by dBang.lde's faction at the time of the Tho.ling *chos.'khor*, it follows that 'Bar.lde could not have succeeded rTse.lde later than 1088, for he was thirteen at the time of his enthronement. If the "long chronology" of the *chos.'khor* proposed by Ngag.dbang grags.pa is accepted without reservation, 'Bar.lde's coronation could have not taken place before 1090.

It is far from certain, but 'Bar.lde's premature death might be a sign that he was assassinated by rTse.lde's faction. If he came to the throne some time before 1088, as it seems, his reign must have ended around the mid 1090s. Given the shortness of his reign, he must have died very soon after rNgog lo.tsa.ba Blo.lidan shes.rab returned from Kha.che in water monkey 1092 (*Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* p.127 lines 9-12), since he was the Gu.ge king who patronized Rwa lo.tsa.ba before the 1090s.

Thus 'Bar.lde was probably succeeded by his infant son bSod.nams.rtse in the mid 1090s. After 'Bar.lde's death, the internecine strife reached another climax. The ongoing struggle of two factions at court is confirmed in bSod.nams.rtse's own words when he admits that he eliminated a number of high ranking people, kinsmen of his *mes* ("ancestor", i.e. rTse.lde) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 10-11)<sup>541</sup>. This was his first sweeping action against rTse.lde's establishment. It was followed by a second thorough purge of rTse.lde's people, described as "enemies", which could not be completed, as the struggle between bSod.nams.rtse's faction and his paternal uncle lha.btsun dBang.'od absorbed bSod.nams.rtse completely (*ibid.* p.75 lines 11-13). The killing of thirty kinsmen of rTse.lde and their associates at the hands of bSod.nams.rtse's faction, which had the upper hand, prompted a reaction of dBang.'od's faction and the struggle became an open confrontation, since the elimination of rTse.lde's people was opposed by lha.btsun dBang.'od. The next stage of the dispute was the defeat and assassination of dBang.'od.

rTse.lde was the son of a Che.chen.ma ("a lady of Che.chen clan") (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 8-9)<sup>542</sup>. She belonged to the clan who took control of Byang.ngos when Gu.ge was divided into two kingdoms around the mid 12th century (see below p.358).

For bSod.nams.rtse to have had rTse.lde's son dBang.'od as *khu* ("paternal uncle"), bSod.nams.rtse's father 'Bar.lde must have been the son of a brother of rTse.lde, either of bTsan.srong or lDe.tsha Khri.srong.lde otherwise known as Grags.btsan.rtse (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.68 lines 16-17). Since 'Bar.lde is not indicated as the son of bTsan.srong in the

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(541) The use of *mes* in reference to Ye.shes.'od in the long Ta.po gtsug.lag.khang inscription (line 1) recording the renovation by Byang.chub.'od who identifies himself as the *dbon* of lha.bla.ma (being his *mes*), is a good example, helpful in interpreting the instance of *mes* used by bSod.nams.rtse in this passage as referring to rTse.lde. bSod.nams.rtse was separated from rTse.lde by the same number of generations (two) as Ye.shes.'od and Byang.chub.'od.

(542) rTse.lde is described as Phye.tsha elsewhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 16-17). That it is a spelling mistake for Che.tsha or better Che.chen.tsha is shown by rTse.lde's clan affiliation in this passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

genealogy of the Pu.hrang kings in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, he must have been the son of Grags.btsan.rtse, whose descendants are not listed in this text. Grags.btsan.rtse must have married a woman of the Zangs.kha clan, for 'Bar.lde is indicated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.74 line 16) as the son of a Zangs.kha lady. bSod.nams.rtse was of the Che.chen clan (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 2 describes bSod.nams.rtse as Che.chen.tsha), thus proving that his father 'Bar.lde had married a woman of the Che.chen clan. This collated evidence proves that Che.chen provided queens to the ruling lineage of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom for a few generations during that period. Its bonds of relationship with the rulers of Gu.ge might have enabled the Che.chen clan to influence the succession and to stage a coup d'état with the collusion of the Cog.ro Zangs.kha-s of Pu.hrang, one of the great clans of sTod associated with the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty since Nyi.ma.mgon.

The clan affiliation of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde's ministers betrays the composition of the faction that supported him and the Che.chen-s. They were blon.po Zangs.kha, rje.blon dGa'.skyid and mDa'.pa rje.blon Grags.dpal (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 18-19). The rank *rje.blon* may imply rule of a specific area in Gu.ge (e.g. Grags.dpal at mDa'.pa) under the king and, thus, since the *rje.blon*-s were feudatories, a rank for them as petty lords as well as ministers at the court.

I believe that bTsan.srong ruled Pu.hrang only after rTse.lde died, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.73 lines 13-15), when discussing the borders of rTse.lde's dominions, provides evidence that Pu.hrang was included among them. Yet *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 lines 16-18) also affirms that bTsan.srong reigned in Pu.hrang. He could therefore have ruled only after rTse.lde's death. The unity of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom came to an end with 'Bar.lde's usurpation of the throne of Gu.ge. After rTse.lde's assassination, the lineage of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde took control of Gu.ge but did not extend its authority over Pu.hrang, which was ruled by another branch of the royal family. With bTsan.srong the lineage of the Pu.hrang *jo.bo*-s came into being. This was the first time the unity of the two territories was broken, although earlier, according to sources such as *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (see above p.160 and n.213) Pu.hrang had been apparently allotted to a son of bKra.shis.mgon other than the one ruling in Gu.ge (which is doubtful in my view).

It is significant that bTsan.srong is found ruling in Pu.hrang after the fratricidal struggle at the Gu.ge court and his brother's death. This dynastic situation shows that the coup d'état paved the way for the loss of both territories to rTse.lde's lineage and resulted in the formation of two dynasties descended from rTse.lde's two brothers and ruling separately over each territory. The separation of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang, the most tragic consequence of the usurpation, weakened the power of the old kingdom to the extent that soon after the Gar.log-s were able to invade Gu.ge. Given the approximate date of rTse.lde's death, the division of Gu.ge Pu.hrang took place in the years after 1083 and before 1090-1092.

After rTse.lde's assassination the Gu.ge kings no longer resided at Tho.ling, the capital of the early dynasty of Gu.ge (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 17-18). This is one more sign of the major changes that took place in Gu.ge. dBang.lde left Tho.ling and chose

Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) as his *rgyal.sa*<sup>543</sup>. Dun.bkar became the capital of Gu.ge and possibly remained so until the late 14th century (although of only Byang.ngos for quite a long time), when the Gu.ge king rNam.rgyal.lde resided at Mang.nang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 1-2). His son Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde later built a *pho.brang* to be his royal residence on the peak of Tsa.rang (see below p.503 and n.848). The ousting of lha.btsun dBang.'od, rTse.lde's heir, from the throne is indicated by the fact that he settled down at dKar.po'i Te.lde (unidentified), a name, however, that has little air of a toponym<sup>544</sup>. That the other three of rTse.lde's four sons resided at Brang.mkhar (in Pi.ti) proves once again that they were ousted from Tho.ling and deprived of power.

bSod.nams.rtse, king of Gu.ge and son of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, had a minister called Kyin Hor.ba (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 2). Kyin sounds non-Tibetan. Hor.ba can stand for a nomad of the lands towards Byang.thang. Hor.ba is the nomadic district in Pu.hrang bordering the Gang.ri.mtsho.gsum area in the west and Ma.yum.la in the east. Interestingly, Kyin.re.gling gtsug.lag.khang, a temple having a name similar to that of the minister, was founded in Pu.hrang by Byang.chub.'od (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 line 11).

His role during the troubled years of bSod.nams.rtse's reign, marred by the struggle between two factions for the Gu.ge throne, needs to be discussed, for it is enigmatically dealt with in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.75 lines 2-3: "During the reign of the latter's son bSod.nams.rtse, blon.po Kyin Hor.ba behaved patiently. At the time of the dispute between *khu.dbon* ("paternal uncle and nephew", lha.btsun dBang.'od and bSod.nams.rtse),

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(543) Three different spellings appear in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for the capital established by 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde. They are: Dun.mkhar (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 lines 17-18, in reference to 'Bar.lde), Dun.btar (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 15, in reference to bKra.shis.rtse), Dun.bkar (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 line 7, in reference to rTse.'bar.btsan). All three variants show that Dun is correct for the first syllable of this place name. The site was called Dun.mkhar from the late 11th century. This may already have been an alteration of the ancient and original Zhang.zhung name Dun.bkar/Dun.btar. I favour the spelling Dun.bkar in the present work because this is the one which, in my view, seems original. Its variants seem to be either Tibetanized (Dun.mkhar) or corrupt (Dun.bstar). The literary spelling Dung.dkar was preferred at least from the 15th century with the arrival of Tsong.kha.pa's disciples in sTod (*Bai.ser* p.272 line 12 and p.277 line 22, *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* f.3a line 5).

(544) dKar.po'i te.lde seems corrupt. It has to be corrected, perhaps to mkhar.pa Te.lde (i.e. "the castle dweller Te.lde", Te.lde presumably being a proper name), or otherwise to dKar.po Te.sde (thus becoming a reference to a Te community whose clan colour was white). dKar.po'i Te.lde is difficult to identify. If understood as a place name, a vaguely similar occurrence is found in *sKyabs.ston Khro.'grel*, which has a Te.de'i ri at Dang.ra g.yu.mtsho (spelled as in the source) in reference to the religious activity of the great Bon.po master sTong.rgyung mthu.chen in the Nag.tshang region. The relevant passage in this text (p.93 line 8) reads: "rDzu.'phrul.pa ni mgo Dang.ra ni Te.de'i ri mgo mdud zer.ba'o", "[sTong.rgyung mthu.chen's] miracle [was] to tie the peak of mount Te.de to the tip of Dang.ra"). If dKar.po'i Te.lde is considered to be Te.de'i ri in the area of Dwang.ra g.yu.mtsho, then lha.btsun dBang.'od must have been exiled far from Gu.ge, which seems rather improbable.

he pitched a camp [for a battle?] and was victorious”)<sup>545</sup>. The way I read this passage, referring to otherwise forgotten events which are not clearly elucidated, is perforce hypothetical, for no clue is given either to the origin and role of Khyin Hor.ba or to details of the struggle from which he eventually emerged victorious. I suggest that Kyin Hor.ba waited for the outcome of the internecine struggle in Gu.ge and struck only when the time was ripe. Given his status as minister, it is likely that Kyin Hor.ba’s was another subversive action, which disrupted the reign of bSod.nams.rtse. It seems, however, that the succession to the throne was unaffected.

Before examining the subsequent genealogies of Pu.hrang and Gu.ge, *mNga’ris rgyal.rabs* concludes the section on Zhi.ba.’od with the brief *bstan.rtsis* (*mNga’ris rgyal.rabs* p.67 line 19-p.68 line 7) discussed above (see *The Author and Date of mNga’ris rgyal.rabs* p.89). This arrangement of the structure of the text is significant for it shows that, in Ngag.dbang grags.pa’s opinion, the period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in sTod and the related early dynasty of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, which promoted its introduction, came to an end with Zhi.ba.’od. Given that Zhi.ba.’od survived the death of his nephew rTse.lde (ibid. p.74 line 10) and that, on the latter’s death, the ruling Gu.ge lineage was ousted by a branch of the family, Zhi.ba.’od was the last surviving leading member of the great dynasty of mNga’ris skor.gsum. The brightest period of West Tibet was over both in religious (after Zhi.ba.’od no major royal monk belonging to *sTod.lugs* was left) and secular terms (rTse.lde was the last member of the early dynasty).

### *Temple activity in Gu.ge after the reign of rTse.lde (mNga’ris rgyal.rabs p.75)*

No temple is attributed to ’Bar.lde/dBang.lde in *mNga’ris rgyal.rabs*, while *mkhas.pa lDe’u chos.byung* credits ’Od.’bar.lde (i.e. ’Bar.lde/dBang.lde of *mNga’ris rgyal.rabs*) with the building

(545) In brief, Kyin Hor.ba was a late 11th-early 12th century figure, perhaps from Pu.hrang, and active in Gu.ge, possibly a member of a Zhang.zhung clan ancestrally belonging to the nomadic tribes of the North Tibetan belt and occupying Zhang.zhung prior to its conquest of by the Tibetans of Yar.lung Bod. That Hor.ba may stand for Hor.’dra, a military rank, is an alternative not supported by linguistic correspondence, yet it cannot be ruled out that Hor.ba may imply something like Hor.’dra (“mercenary soldier”) and that Kyin Hor.ba possibly was a non-Tibetan who took advantage of the internecine struggle in Gu.ge for personal gain. The matter needs further investigation. See *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.24a lines 4—5) for the use of Hor.’dra in the sense of warrior (“Phyis.rjes ma.byung/’de man.chad sMos.thang.pa stobs.chen.por song nas/ gTso.tsho.ba rnam thabs.kyis ’og.tu ’dzud.par bzhed de/ gTso.tsho.ba’i thog.tu Hor.’dra brang nas/ res.’ga’ dmag grogs dgos”, “Not long after, since the sMos.thang.pa-s became very powerful from then on, they intended to subjugate the gTso.tsho.ba-s. As they sent Hor.’dra-s against the gTso.tsho.ba-s, sometimes [the gTso.tsho.ba-s] were obliged to [resort to the help of] fellow troops”). See ibid. (f.31a line 6, f.31b line 3, f.30a line 6-f.30b line 1, f.32b line 1 etc.) for an uncle of btsun.pa Chos.legs, called A.khu Hor.’dra.ba, who was the head of the army of the former’s clan.

of the 'Dzam.gling.rgyan gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling<sup>546</sup>. The name of the *gtsug.lag.khang* supposedly established by 'Od.'bar.lde is strikingly similar to that of Tho.ling gSer.khang ('Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul 'Dzam.gling.rgyan) founded by Zhi.ba.'od. The passage is clearly mistaken when it attributes Zhi.ba.'od's major temple to 'Od.'bar.lde. The fact that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not credit 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde with any temple foundation supports this view, unless an early renovation of Tho.ling gSer.khang, discussed immediately below, has been attributed to 'Bar.lde by the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*.

The building of the Rin.chen.gling, a three storeyed temple similar in structure to Tho.ling gSer.khang, is credited by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to bSod.nams.rtse, son of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, and his wife lcam lHa.sgron (p.75 lines 3-5). They provided regular support to its forty monks. The passage does not give its location and hence identification remains difficult<sup>547</sup>. In this regard the name Rin.chen.gling is not helpful. One extant three-floored structure is obviously Al.lci gSum.brtsegs, which is known from an inscription in its interior as Rin.chen brtsegs.pa and not Rin.chen gling.pa, but the difference is minor<sup>548</sup>. Another candidate is the triple-floored temple at Wan.la, which has traces, such as its doorframe and wooden lion decorations, predating the 'Bri.gung.pa phase of the 13th century (see below p.385). Yet it cannot be ruled out that other temples in the form of a *gsum.brtsegs* existed in antiquity in West Tibet. In conclusion, it is more likely that Rin.chen.gling was a *gsum.brtsegs* which has been destroyed and forgotten, apart from this isolated reference in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

bSod.nams.rtse and lHa.sgron renovated Tho.ling gSer.khang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 5-6). In all probability, their admiration for the gSer.khang induced them not

(546) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 line 1-2): "rTse.lde'i sras 'Od.'bar.lde's kyang Tho.ling du 'Dzam.gling rgyan skad.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs skad", "rTse.lde's successor 'Od.'bar.lde is said to have built the *gtsug.lag.khang* called 'Dzam.gling rgyan at Tho.ling"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.383 line 12-13): "De'i sras 'Od.'bar.lde's kyang/ mTho.ling du 'Dzam.gling rgyan bkod.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs", "His (rTse.lde's) successor 'Od.'bar.lde built the *gtsug.lag.khang* called 'Dzam.gling rgyan at Tho.ling".

(547) In the sentence reporting the foundation of Rin.chen.gling *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says: "rGya.mar Tho.gling dgra.bor Rin.chen.gling gsum.thon.pa bzhengs". The locative suffix accompanying the word *rgya.ma* may make *rgya.ma* a place name. Various places called rGya.ma are found in different districts of Tibet (e.g. rGya.ma in dBus; and rGya.ma nye.kha in the biography of La.stod dMar.po found in *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.1198 lines 11-12; *Blue Annals* p.1029)), but nowhere, to my knowledge, in mNga'.ris skor.gsum, unless rGya.ma is changed to rGya in La.dwags, which is unlikely to be correct. The occurrences of the obscure term *rgya.ma* in the text (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 15; p.61 line 1; p.67 line 5; p.69 line 8; p.70 line 11; p.75 line 18; p.77 line 6) make it clear that the term is used in the sense of "main accomplishment" or "major contribution", ruling out its being a place name in this sentence. The same term is also found in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 line 19) with this meaning. This may be an idiomatic expression in West Tibetan dialect.

(548) For a reference to Rin.chen brtsegs.pa as the name of Al.lci gSum.brtsegs see Snellgrove-Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (vol.II, Inscription 7, p.148). See also the inscription (p.114) in Goepper, "The 'Great Stupa' At Alchi".



only to sponsor the construction of the Rin.chen.gling but also to take care of the temple built by Zhi.ba.'od.

If my assessment of the period of bSod.nams.rtse's reign is correct, he must have begun to rule and may have thus worked on Tho.ling gSer.khang before Zhi.ba.'od's death (1111). If so, Zhi.ba.'od must have witnessed the renovation of his great temple.

*The Gar.log invasion of Gu.ge in the first half of the 12th century*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.75-76)

bSod.nams.rtse had three sons. The eldest bKra.shis.rtse reigned in Gu.ge lHo.Byang, the middle son Jo.bo rGyal.po in Khu.nu, and the youngest 'Od.'bar.rtse in Rong.chung (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.75 lines 14-17)<sup>549</sup>. Their control of these Gu.ge lands is a sign that, after bSod.nams.rtse had defeated the heir apparent's faction and killed lha.btsun dBang.'od, the struggle for the throne came to an end and bSod.nams.rtse's authority was no longer disputed.

The kingdom of Gu.ge was divided into principalities assigned to the brothers of the heir apparent under the sovereignty of bKra.shis.rtse, who probably resided at Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar). Apart from Khu.nu, the notion that different lords ruled in Gu.ge lHo.Byang and Gu.ge Rong.chung is noteworthy. The fragmentation of Gu.ge during the reign of bSod.nams.rtse's successors was a new politico-territorial arrangement since it is nowhere recorded during the time of the early dynasty.

Apart from Nyi.ma.mgon's campaign against Mar.yul and the later re-expansion of the borders of Gu.ge Pu.hrang accomplished by rTse.lde, the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom never showed a strong military inclination. The kingdom's adoption of Buddhism gave it a quality quite different from the militaristic control of the lands in sTod by the Yar.lung dynasty in earlier times. Awareness of the precarious political situation caused by the presence of warlike neighbours forced Ye.shes.'od to pay the greatest attention to the protection of his borders. The events that took place one generation after bSod.nams.rtse showed that his preoccupation was justified.

While internal strife no longer occurred, bSod.nams.rtse's sons had to face a more dangerous external threat. During their time, a devastating Gar.log.pa invasion took place. bKra.shis.rtse was killed at gNyi.gong.phu, while 'Od.'bar.rtse was taken to the land of the Gar.log-s in captivity. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs adds that Jo.bo rGyal.po ensured the continuity of the lineage by temporarily occupying the throne of Gu.ge. He briefly ruled the kingdom

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(549) The three sons controlled between them the whole of Gu.ge and beyond. Gu.ge lHo.Byang consists of Byang.ngos and lHo, to the north and south of the Glang.chen kha.'babs respectively. lHo is divided into lHo.stod and lHo.smad, the latter being to the west of the former. Rong.chung is to the west of Byang.ngos, and Khu.nu to the south-east of lHo.smad. For a more detailed identification of Rong.chung see above p.268.

as regent, restored the sovereignty of Gu.ge by dislodging the Gar.log-s and then left the throne to bKra.shis.rtse's son rTse.'bar.btsan (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 17-p.76 line 3).

The generation of the Gu.ge royal family after bSod.nams.rtse is also dealt with in *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung-s*, albeit with variances in the names of the three rulers. They are called bKra.shis.rtse, mNga'.thang.skyong (i.e. "protector of power", obviously not a proper name) and 'Od.'bar.lde. Although they do it more succinctly, the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* introduce the episode of the Gar.log invasion in a way remarkably similar to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, but with one major difference<sup>550</sup>. In the former texts, all three members of the Gu.ge dynasty were unable to rule in the territories they controlled, as two of them were killed (bKra.shis.rtse and Jo.bo rGyal.po) and the third ('Od.'bar.brtse) was made prisoner and was taken to the lands of the Gar.log-s. According to the version of the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*, the Gu.ge royal lineage came to an end after these events, while for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* it did not.

The name mNga'.thang.skyong, evidently applied by the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* to Jo.bo rGyal.po, is a term which aptly describes this Khu.nu king in his role as defender of the power of Gu.ge after the Gar.log.pa invasion. The occurrence of this alternative name for Jo.bo rGyal.po in the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s* contradicts the account of his fate narrated in these historiographies, which deny his survival. It favours the version of the events proposed by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, according to which he did not die but rather helped to preserve the kingdom of Gu.ge and left it to rTse.'bar.btsan.

The name Gar.log refers to the Muslims settled in a territory bordering Gu.ge. The indication in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.76 line 1) that 'Od.'bar.rtse was brought as a prisoner to Sog.po yul proves it beyond doubt. They were not western neighbours of Gu.ge since Islam was not fully established in the Indo-Iranic borderlands by then. This is indicated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* when it says that Khu.nu was not taken by them as the invasion did not reach that territory. This evidence again points to the region north of Gu.ge as the land from which the invasion came and hence to the Qarakhanid Turk-s<sup>551</sup>. The different fates

(550) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 lines 11-15): "De.la sras.gsum te bKra.shis.rtsegs Gar.log.gis bskrong/ 'bring.po mNga'.thang.skyong yang bskrong/ chung.dag 'Od.'bar.lde Gar.log.gi yul.na bzhugs te/ sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum.gyi btsad.po chos.la rka.sla mdzad", "[bSod.nams.lde] had three sons. bKra.shis.rtsegs (sic for bKra.shis.rtse) was killed by the Gar.log-s. The middle son mNga'.thang.skyong was also killed. The youngest 'Od.'bar.lde was held prisoner in the land of the Gar.log-s. The kings of sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum were assiduous in continuously following religion"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.384 lines 2-4): "De'i sras bSod.nams.lde/ de.la sras.gsum ste gcen.po bKra.shis.rtse dang/ de.'og mNga'.thang.skyong gnyis Gar.log.gis bskrong/ chung.ba 'Od.'bar.lde Gar.log.gi yul.na bzhugs", "His ('Od.'bar.lde's) son was bSod.nams.lde. He had three sons, the elder bKra.shis.lde and, younger than him, mNga'.thang.skyong, these two were killed by the Gar.log-s. The youngest 'Od.'bar.lde was held prisoner in the land of the Gar.log-s".

(551) The supreme Qarakhanid lord or Arslan khan under whom this invasion of Gu.ge took place was possibly the ruler known by his Muslim name Ahmad b. al.Hasan, on the throne at least in 1105 and ruling until around 1128-1140 (Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden" p.42).

of the three ruling brothers of Gu.ge indicates the territorial extent of the Gar.log incursion (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 19-p.76 line 3)<sup>552</sup>.

The Qarakhanid-s were an aggressive warlike tribe trying to assert themselves in the region as is proved by their earlier relations with Ghaznavid-s of Mahmud, which oscillated between alliance and confrontation<sup>553</sup>. The Gar.log.pa invaders of Gu.ge during the reign of bKra.shis.rtse were the same enemies who had defeated 'Od.lde and raided mNga'.ris in 1037 (see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 1-6 and *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2 and above p.286). In the early 12th century the Qarakhanid-s still had considerable might, while soon after they were no longer the major power in Southern Turkestan. In particular, they started to show signs of political and military decline, possibly due to continual internal discord, when they were forced to recognize Seljuk sovereignty. The Qarakhanid-s were still able to defeat the menacing Qarakhitay-s in 1128 and temporarily block their advance eastward<sup>554</sup>. In 1137, ten years after their first attempt, the Qarakhitay-s conquered Balasaghun and the Qarakhanid-s lost their kingdom<sup>555</sup>.

*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.215 line 16-216 line 4) offers some insight into the location of gNyi.gong.phu, the place where the Gu.ge king bKra.shis.rtse was killed while trying to block the Gar.log-s' invasion (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 19-p.76 line 1), when its author dPal.'byor bzang.po (Shribhutibhadra) records the lands inherited by the three sons of Nyi.ma.mgon. The sTod.kyi mgon.gsum each received one *skor*, the eldest dPal.kyi.mgon ruled Mar.yul and Nub.ral; the middle brother bKra.shis.mgon ruled Zhang.zhung and Ci.Cog (Pi.Cog), sNyi.gong and Ru.thog, sPu.rangs ma.tsho ("divisions", i.e. stod and smad?); the

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(552) The invasion reached the bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, since Rong.chung, which includes Ti.yag, is the land stretching from the right bank of this river, downstream from Tho.ling, to the north. The Gar.log must have previously captured the area of Tho.ling in order to reach Rong.chung, unless they came to Rong.chung from the north, i.e. from the Shangs/Rab.rgyas.gling area.

(553) On the mistrustful and opportunistic contacts between these two, who were the major Muslim powers in southern Central Asia in the 11th century, see Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (p.273-286).

(554) See Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden" (p.42); Bosworth, "Ilhek-khans or Karakhanids" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (p.1116) and also the resumé on the Qarakhanid-s in Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook* (p.111-114).

(555) On the Qarakhitay-s and the date of their conquest of South Turkestan see the chapter on them in Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches* (vol.1 p.231-233) and, in particular, Juvaini (Boyer transl., *History of the World Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini* vol.1 p.354-361) for an authoritative account of both their conquest and their lineage, which is given as follows: Ye-luh Ta-shin (ruling 1124-1143, conquers Khotan and Kashgar in 1137); his widow T'a-pu-yen (1144-1150); Yi-lieh (1151-1163); his sister P'u-suwan (1164-1177); Yi-lieh's son Chih.lu.ku (1178-1211) deposed by Kuchlug (ruling 1211-1221); Mongol conquest (1218-1221). See also Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (vol.1 p.102), where, on the basis of Juvaini, the conquest of East Turkestan is said to have been completed in 1137, and also the entry "Ilhek-Khans or Karakhanids" (p.1114) by Bosworth in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

youngest lDe.gtsug.mgon ruled Gar.zha and Zangs.dkar<sup>556</sup>. Its association with Ru.thog indicates that sNyi.gong/gNyi.gong is to be found in the area north of Gu.ge<sup>557</sup> and adjoins Ru.thog, which makes good territorial sense, as the Gar.log-s (Qarakhanid-s) invaded Gu.ge from Turkestan, to the north of the kingdom<sup>558</sup>. This is confirmed by the fact that in the first quarter of the 12th century 'Bri.gung gling.pa Shes.rab 'byung.gnas went to gNyi.gong to meet a high minister and other representatives of the king of the Gar.log-s and Sog.po-s, who had come from the border of the Tarim basin to attend the gathering<sup>559</sup>. It seems therefore that gNyi.gong marked or was near the northern extremity of the Gu.ge Ru.thog area.

bSod.nams rtse.mo concludes his chronological table in *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* with an entry for iron tiger 1110, when a 'du.ba chen.po was made<sup>560</sup>. The term may refer to a great alliance which united the people of sTod, and may testify to the common resistance of West Tibet (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 line 19-p.76 line 3, the three brothers, kings of Gu.ge, Rong.chung and Khu.nu, all took part) to the Gar.log.pa invasion of the early 12th

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(556) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.215 line 18-p.216 line 4): "Sras che.bas/ Mar.yul dang/ (p.216) Nub.ral la mnga'.byed/ bar.pas/ Zhang.zhung/ Ci.Cog gnyis/ sNyi.gong/ Ru.thog gnyis/ sPu.rangs ma.tsho gnyis/ drug.la mnga'.byed/ chung.bas/ Gar.zha dang/ Zangs.dkar la mnga'.byed.du bcug".

(557) Inclusion of Ru.thog and neighbouring districts among the territories ruled by bKra.shis.mgon is rare and elucidates which of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum controlled this region, for otherwise one would be led to believe that dPal.gyi.mgon controlled lands in Mar.yul as far as its bordering area sDe.mchog and that Ru.thog was not included among the dominions of Nyi.ma.mgon's sons. Reference to the control of Gar.zha by the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty is also significant. Did it continue after lDe.gtsug.mgon's premature death? After the lands of lDe.gtsug.mgon passed to Gu.ge Pu.hrang, was Gar.zha's lamaist art in Kha.che style patronized by lDe.gtsug.mgon's successors, possibly by his nephew Ye.shes.'od? The temple of Gung.rang in Gar.zha is locally credited to Rin.chen bzang.po.

(558) Pang.gong.mtsho is also found in the land of Ru.thog, which seemingly borders gNyi.gong according to *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.216 line 2), the term *gong* possibly being a common territorial term in these lands.

(559) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar (p.23 line 4-p.24 line 2; see below p.415 and n.687). gNye.gong (spelled as in the text) was evidently south of what the *rnam.thar* calls "the bank of the ocean in the north", because the Gar.log and Sog.po ministers came from there to gNye.gong to meet 'Bri.gung gling.pa. The "ocean of sand" is reminiscent of a similar expression in Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, where the myth of the ocean of sand to the north of Kashmir is discussed in the time of the great Kashmiri king Lalitaditya Muktapida (*Taranga* iv, 277-305; see A.Stein (transl. and comment.), *Kalhana Rajatarangini* p.148-150) and where he legendarily disappeared according to one of the two versions of his end (*Taranga* iv, 369; see *ibid.* p.156).

(560) bSod.nams rtse.mo, *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,2 line 4): "lCags.pho.stag.gi lo.la 'du.ba chen.po byas.pa'i dus.su brtsis na lo sum.stong nyis.brgya bzhi.bcu rtsa.gsum lon.no", "The calculation of when the so called 'du.ba chen.po ("great alliance") was made is [as follows]: 3243 years elapsed [between Buddha *nirvana* and that event] (i.e. in 1110)".

century. There are two reasons for this assessment. In the *bstan.rtsis* of his *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo*, bSod.nams rtse.mo focuses on events concerning sTod<sup>561</sup> from 836 onwards, with the exception of the funerary rites performed by dPal.'khor.btsan for his late father, and, in particular, all entries during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* refer to mNga'.ris skor.gsum except the date of rNgog lo.tsa.ba's death. A second reason is that the meaning of the term 'du.ba is not far from that of the verb *bsdus.pa* (i.e. "to join forces, to form an alliance") bSod.nams rtse.mo uses in a previous passage (ibid. p.345, 1 line 4). There could not be a more appropriate concluding entry for a *bstan.rtsis* based mainly on sTod than the event which gave a deadly blow to the Gu.ge kingdom, from which it never completely recovered. In fact, after the time of Zhi.ba.'od (d.1111), religious activity and major acts of enlightened patronage in Gu.ge did not regain their momentum for quite some time<sup>562</sup>. A clue that makes an early date for the Gar.log.pa invasion preferable is, as noted above, the fact that the Qarakhanid-s were soon after to be weakened by Seljuk pressure, to the extent of losing their kingdom in 1137 to the Qarakhitay-s.

The dates of the reigns of bKra.shis.rtse's predecessors are useful to approximate the period of his rule. As said above, bKra.shis.rtse was preceded on the Gu.ge throne first by 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde and then by bSod.nams.rtse, who was bKra.shis.rtse's father. As dBang.lde was ruling at the time when rNgog lo.tsa.ba Blo.ldan shes.rab returned to Tibet from Kha.che in water monkey 1092 (*Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* p.127 lines 9-12) but died in his teens (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 7-8), he did not reign long thereafter. Although bSod.nams.rtse had a reign of normal length (he was crowned when he was still a child but it seems that his rule was disrupted), the possibility that bKra.shis.rtse was sitting on the throne of Gu.ge by iron tiger 1110 has to be dismissed.

A reason against this early date for the Gar.log.pa invasion is that it does not allow enough years for him to have become king after bSod.nams.rtse and have had his son rTse.'bar.btsan (the Bu.chung rGyal.po or "child-king" who was enthroned by Jo.bo rGyal.po after the latter's regency) before been killed. In conclusion, the year 1137 is the *terminus ante quem* for the Gar.log.pa invasion of Gu.ge, while the year 1110 appears to be inconsistent with the evidence outlined above.

(561) There are two reasons for his concentrating on events concerning West Tibet. bSod.nams rtse.mo wrote his *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* in fire pig 1167 soon after the incidents to which he refers. As the facts he records are not found elsewhere, he must have had access to early and subsequently lost documents concerning significant events in the history of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. He also focused on mNga'.ris skor.gsum because this was the major kingdom in Tibet during the time preceding his own, its historical role being of even greater importance in bSod.nams rtse.mo's days than in later periods. Are the entries in *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* and similar *bstan.rtsis*-s evidence that the practice of writing annals, typical of Yar.lung Bod (e.g. the *Tun-huang Annals*), was continued well after the Yar.lung dynasty but linked to Buddha *nirvana* to place it in a Buddhist milieu?

(562) Practically no great religious events are recorded after Tho.ling *chos.'khor* and no great masters (Indian or Tibetan) are said to have been active in sTod for quite some time thereafter. Religious exponents from sTod, such as sBal.ti dGra.bcom.pa, instead of staying *in loco* to receive teachings, went to dBus.gTsang.

*The status of the Gu.ge lha.btsun-s after bstan.pa phyi.dar*

Following these events, one lha.btsun Kum.'ug.pa occupied the religious throne of Gu.ge after Zhi.ba.'od, taking up residence in Tho.ling (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 lines 5-6)<sup>563</sup>. He was thus responsible for the temple chosen by Ye.shes.'od to be the seat of the supreme royal monk. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.76 lines 2-6) reads: "Internally, he (Jo.bo rGyal.po) restored the stability in the kingdom[, which had been disrupted] and supported Bu.chung's party (Bu.chung rnam). In return for his nobility, he (Jo.bo rGyal.po) was given three *bre* of Zhang.zhung<sup>564</sup>. Then mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.rtse's son rTse.'bar.btsan was enthroned. Jo.bo rGyal.po's son was gCung.lde. His son was Zhong.lde. His son was Jo bla.ma. Bu.chung rgyal.po's (rTse.'bar.btsan's) kinsman (*gdung*) Kum.'ug.pa, since he became a *lha.btsun* ("royal monk"), resided at Tho.gling".

Kum.'ug.pa is defined in the text as the *gdung* ("progeny or relative") of Bu.chung rGyal.po and thus belonged to the branch of the royal family which had usurped the throne. The account quoted above seems to prove that, despite the fact that the Gu.ge kings after rTse.lde moved their capital to Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar), Tho.ling retained its position of spiritual centre of the kingdom until Kum.'ug.pa; thereafter no other royal incumbent of Tho.ling is found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for quite some time. He is the only clear case of a member of the Gu.ge dynasty begun by 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde being appointed abbot of Tho.ling according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Nyi.lde.btsan and lHa.btsun.lde, other members of the same family who devoted themselves to religion, are not manifestly indicated as holders of the religious throne of Tho.ling (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 lines 1-6; see below p.360).

After Zhi.ba.'od's death in iron hare 1111, the old *chos.khrims* of Ye.shes.'od was abandoned. Kum.'ug.pa's relationship to rTse.'bar.btsan described as *gdung* does not preclude the possibility that he belonged to the immediate family of rTse.'bar.btsan. Nevertheless, nowhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is Kum.'ug.pa included in the genealogies of the rulers of Gu.ge and their brothers. After the position of supreme monk of Gu.ge was lost to the

(563) The clan names of mNga'.ris skor.gsum are a *terra incognita* needing thorough research and study. In the light of present knowledge, or lack of it, there is no apparent reason to deny that, at face value, Kum.'ug is a clan name of this region. On the other hand, the name Kum.'ug.pa may be corrupt and might have to be corrected to Khu.nu.pa. If this is the case, he may have been an abbot of Tho.ling from Khu.nu. Pursuing this line of thinking, the fact that rTse.'bar.btsan's uncle Jo.bo rGyal.po was from Khu.nu may have favoured his becoming the Tho.ling *lha.btsun*.

(564) rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* mentions a donation of three hundred golden *Gug.srang-s* ("Gu.ge coins") given by Byang.chub.'od to Jo.bo.rje (p.270 lines 3-4: "lHa.btsun Byang.chub.'od.kyis gser Gug.srang sum.brgya phul"). The existence of the *Gug.srang* proves that mNga'.ris skor.gsum had its own currency (see Das Dictionary) and thus makes it more probable that the *bre* of Zhang.zhung (was it gold dust, since *bre* is a measure of volume?), received by Jo.bo rGyal.po (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 line 3), is a measure specific to West Tibet.

descendants of Ye.shes.'od and Khor.re, it was abandoned by the new royal dynasty of Gu.ge started by 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, who did not keep the role of Tho.ling *lha.btsun* within the main lineage from which the kings were appointed.

Was *lha.btsun Kum.'ug.pa* the next religious throne holder after *Zhi.ba.'od*? This order of succession has to be ruled given the date of *Zhi.ba.'od*'s death (1111), the year I propose for the *Gar.log* invasion (before 1137), and the subsequent intervention of *Jo.bo rGyal.po* to restore stability in Gu.ge (see above p.350).

### *Gu.ge after the Gar.log invasion*

The same passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.76 lines 4-6) also sheds important light on some members of the *Khu.nu* dynasty. No reference is made to the section of the *Khu.nu* royal genealogy recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in any other Tibetan sources, which only mention isolated rulers of Kinnaur<sup>565</sup>. Four generations of *Khu.nu* kings, starting with *Jo.bo rGyal.po*, are recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.76 lines 4-5). The lineage is as follows: *Jo.bo rGyal.po*, his son *gCung.lde*, his son *Zhong.lde* and his son *Jo Bla.ma*. The name of *Jo.bo rGyal.po*'s successor *gCung.lde* ("younger son") suggests that *Jo.bo rGyal.po* had an unidentified elder son and that *gCung.lde* was his younger brother. The members of the *Khu.nu* royal family mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* after *gCung.lde* were therefore not his brothers, for, had they been so, they would have been listed before him since *gCung.lde* would have been the youngest. Hence they were *gCung.lde*'s successors on the *Khu.nu* throne. Given that *Jo.bo rGyal.po* reigned in the early 12th century, his three successors must have existed in the same century. This proves that *Khu.nu* was under Gu.ge sovereignty at least for most of that century.

It is unclear whether *Jo.bo rGyal.po* was the first *Khu.nu* king from Gu.ge after *lDe.gtsug.mgon*, who is often considered to have received *Khu.nu* from his father. In their respective *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs*, both *rje.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan* and '*Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa* assign *Khu.bu* (sic for *Khu.nu*) and other lands in *Mon.yul* to *lDe.gtsug.mgon* (see above n.212). *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 line 20-p.459 line 1; see above n.211) says that *lDe.gtsug.mgon* was the *sTod.kyi.mgon.gsum* king who ruled *Khum.bu.ba* (i.e. *Khu.nu*) and *Ding.ri.ba* (i.e. *Pi.ti*).

(565) The record of local kings in *Khu.nu* is only occasionally preserved in the sources, coinciding either with Tibetan rule in this land or with the relations that the kings of Kinnaur had with the Tibetan territories of *sTod*. They are *O.ru.bha.tra ras* (sic for *raja*), the king who went to *Ma.pham* in the late 9th century, and perhaps, in the next generation, the *sKal.Mon* king *g.Yu.kha*, who was ruling when people were expelled from the north by the *Hor-s* and came to settle in the south (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.14a lines 3-4; see also p.200). However, he is not specified as the king of *Khu.nu*. A later reference to a *Khu.nu* king who controlled people called *sTod snyel.gru.pa* (sic for *sTod bsnyil.gru.pa*) ("the people inhabiting the forgotten corner of *sTod*") in the first quarter of the 15th century is found in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.7b lines 1-2) (see above p.318 and n.493), but his name is not given.

The territory was definitely under Gu.ge Pu.hrang in the days of Ye.shes.'od, for the temples of Ka.nam and sPu were built by him within its borders. On the other hand, it is uncertain whether Gu.ge controlled Khu.nu after the late 12th century, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not mention any other ruler of the dynasty. Hence it is possible that Khu.nu was lost to Tibetan control after Jo Bla.ma. Judging by the alternation between Tibetans and Mon.pa-s ruling in the borderlands adjoining Khu.nu, found in non-Tibetan sources such as *Kulu Vamshavali*, although they shed no light on this particular subject, this possibility should not be ruled out<sup>566</sup>.

The lineage of the third brother 'Od.'bar.rtse which ruled in Rong.chung was even shorter lived (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 line 6). 'Od.'bar.rtse had a son, unnamed in the text, who could have been the next king of Rong.chung, but he is not said to have held the throne. He is described as somewhat uninterested in and detached from royal concerns. After him the lineage came to an end, since no further reference to any petty lord of Rong.chung is found, and it is likely that the territory returned to the rule of the senior lineage of Gu.ge.

rTse.'bar.btsan's reign was also troubled, although *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not go into detail. The major events of his rule are described in the text (p.76 lines 8-9) with the same formula used to describe Jo.bo rGyal.po's effort to restore the Gu.ge kingdom after the Gar.log.pa invasion ("Jo.bo rGyal.po ruled Gu.ge and defeated the enemies from outside (the Gar.log-s). Internally, he restored the stability in the kingdom"). Like Jo.bo rGyal.po, rTse.'bar.btsan had to deal with a foreign invasion and had to reorganize his kingdom after expelling the invaders. It is difficult to identify these invaders of Gu.ge since *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not do so in any way. Given that the period of rTse.'bar.btsan's rule can be roughly estimated as occurring in the second quarter of the 12th century, the Qarakhanid-s are less likely to have been responsible for this incursion into Gu.ge. With the passing of the years their power weakened. Hence it is improbable that those whom *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* describes as "the enemies from outside", defeated by rTse.'bar.btsan, were the Gar.log-s again. Unless

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(566) *Kulu Vamshavali* records the interaction between Kulu and Pi.ti at various times in their history, which unfortunately cannot be even approximately dated. *Kulu Vamshavali*, following the custom of this literary genre popular in the Himalayan states, is in the form of a list of rulers of Kulu without any ascertainable historical sequence in the genealogies. A few kings of Pi.ti bear the dynastic name Sen in the *Vamshavali* (Hutchinson-Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hills* p.484). Hutchinson-Vogel believe that they were a Sena family ruling before the Tibetanization of the Western Himalayas. I would prefer to suggest that Sen restitutes Seng.ge, which would make them Tibetan. An invasion of Kulu by the king of Pi.ti and its consequent subjugation at the time of these Sen rulers is recorded in the *Vamshavali*, which Hutchinson-Vogel consider to have occurred before the advent of Yar.lung Bod's domination of sTod due to their interpretation of Sen. I am in no position to say more on this vexed question. *Kulu Vamshavali* also records an invasion of Kulu by people called rGya mur orr in the text, which is very interesting. The name stands for rGya.mur Hor ("Hor-s from the border of rGya"). Was this the Gar.log.pa invasion of the first half of the 12th century, or were they from rGya in La.dwags? Evidence that Khu.nu Jo.bo rGyal.po was unaffected by the Gar.log.pa invasion makes me favour the rGya-Mar.yul hypothesis. The period in which this event took place cannot be ascertained.



the second invasion of Gu.ge took place after 1137, the possibility that it was undertaken by the Qarakhitay-s must be dismissed since they had not yet taken control of Southern Turkestan by then (see above p.349 and n.555). It cannot be ruled out that the invaders came from the west. The fact that *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* does not describe the invasion in the same devastating terms as that which occurred during the reign of bKra.shis.rtse may suggest that they were not the Muslim neighbours of Gu.ge.

rTse.'bar.btsan retained his capital at Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) as before the Gar.log.pa invasion, but occasionally resided at Tho.ling Dril.bu.rtse (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 lines 7-8). A castle stood on Dril.bu.rtse, a hill in Tho.ling (probably the sandy cliff to the south of the main temple complex on the plain where ruins are still extant) not later than the 12th century. Hence, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* mentions two royal residences at Tho.ling. mKhar.sGra is associated by the text with Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od, while Dril.bu.rtse is linked to rTse.'bar.btsan. There is no sign that there was a palace on Dril.bu.rtse going back to the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty.

bDun.bkar and Tho.ling were the main seats of power of the rulers of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod. Neither 'Bar.lde nor bSod.nams.rtse, the kings who ruled from Dun.bkar before rTse.'bar.btsan, resided at Tho.ling. Was rTse.'bar.btsan compelled to keep a close watch on lHo.stod, where Tho.ling is located? Events which took place after his death show that there was sufficient political reason to do so.



# The division of Gu.ge into the kingdoms of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod

(*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76-77)

## *The circumstances of the division*

The division of Gu.ge into the kingdoms of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod took place after the death of rTse.'bar.btsan. Given the chronological assessment of the Gar.log invasion I propose, the separation must have occurred around the mid 12th century. The cause was the enmity between the two queens of rTse.'bar.btsan. One, called lHa.rgyan originated the Byang.ngos lineage, the other, named Blo.ldan rgyal.mo, that of lHo.stod. sPyi.lde.btsan (who was deaf and was nicknamed Mol.mi.mkhyen) and rTse.ltan.ngal were born to rGyal.mo lHa.rgyan. dPal.mgon.btsan and 'Dul.srid 'dul.btsan were born to Blo.ldan rgyal.mo (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 lines 10-11).

The strife is well described in the text. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.76 lines 11-15) suggests that the enmity had roots of old: "Later, as a grand funeral ceremony was held at Tho.gling for their father rTse.'bar.btsan who had died, *chang* had not even been served when a quarrel broke out between some Byang.ngos monks and some men of lHo.phyogs. Owing to the enmity between the two queens, rGyal.mo lHa.rgyan and Blo.ltan rgyal.mo, a struggle [for the throne] broke out. The kingdom, which was a single noble example, was divided into two antagonistic territories".

Thus, the two queens nurtured a bitter enmity for one another from before the death of their husband rTse.'bar.btsan that went far beyond their own persons. The fact that their antagonism flared up into open confrontation during the funerary rites of rTse.'bar.btsan indicates that the factions of the two queens began vying for the throne. Neither faction prevailed, and the kingdom was divided.

The clans of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod clearly had a major part in the political life of Gu.ge since queens and ministers of the kingdom were chosen among them. In the passage reporting the fighting during the rites for the dead king, one faction is indicated as that of lHo.phyogs. Soon after, the text calls the territory of the same faction lHo.stod (although obviously Gu.ge lHo also comprised lHo.smad). These place names are thus used in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to refer to the part of Gu.ge extending from the left bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs to its southern border<sup>567</sup>. A reference to Ka.gling being sited in

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(567) The Gu.ge territory south of the Glang.chen kha.'babs named Gu.ge lHo is customarily divided into lHo.stod and lHo.smad, which should not be confused with the wider division of Gu.ge into lHo.stod and

lHo.stod (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.80 line 7) is useful to confirm the location of lHo.stod established above. Ka.gling was Ngag.dbang grags.pa's birth place, said to be on the south bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs by *Bai.ser*<sup>568</sup>. The location of Byang.ngos is indicated by the reference to Phyi.wang being included in it (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-8), making it the land extending from the right bank of the river to the northern limits of Gu.ge.

The Che.chen clan, whose queen originated the Byang.ngos dynasty, was related to rTse.lde on his mother's side. Che.chen was also the clan of bSod.nams.rtse's mother. It is significant that, after rTse.lse's death, the capital of Gu.ge was moved from lHo.stod to Byang.ngos. That 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, who was of the Zangs.kha clan (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 line 16), married a Che.chen.bza' to father bSod.nams.rtse, and a further reference to the Che.chen clan as being associated with Byang.ngos around the time of the division of Gu.ge into two kingdoms, indicates not only Che.chen dominance of Byang.ngos, but also direct influence on the succession to the throne. Was the 12th century division the result of an old rivalry among royal clans of Gu.ge going back to the struggle for power that led to rTse.lde's assassination and later to the killing of his son dBang.'od? Rancour between

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Byang.ngos adopted in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, where lHo.stod stands for the entire lHo territory. The location of Khwa.tse is important since it marks the boundary between Gu.ge lHo.stod and lHo.smad. Khwa.tse is in Gu.ge lHo.smad (mkhas.pa bKra.shis tshe.ring, *Kho.char dkar.chag.gi gleng.brjod*, p.3 line 10 in *Kho.char dkar.chag*; Tucci, *Secrets of Tibet* p.184). The demarkation of the lHo.stod and lHo.smad divisions lies to the west of Tsa.rang along a roughly north-south line linking Khwa.tse, in the north, to Do.shang, to its south-east, and Pu.ling, to its south. Snellgrove-Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (vol.II p.85 n.3) locate this Khwa.tse in Pi.ti (as did Tucci), where another locality of the same name is found. lHo.stod is the Gu.ge heartland, where Tho.ling is found, to the east of the above mentioned Khwa.tse-Do.shang demarkation, whereas lHo.smad lies to the west, its territory becoming lower and cut by deeper ravines towards the mountain range to the south and west. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*'s use of the term lHo.stod to identify the whole kingdom south of the Glang.chen kha.'babs is justified in the light of the fact that lHo.stod had a far greater importance in the history of Gu.ge than lHo.smad, which was and still is minor and peripheral.

Khwa.tse is the site where Rin.chen bzang.po built the Go.khar temple and where his patrilinear ancestry (*pha.sgo*) had its origin (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.96 line 4-p.97 line 5: "Khwa.tse Go.khar du lha.khang rnam bzhengs lugs la/ pha.sgo bcu.gsum.gyis lha.khang bcu.gsum bzhengs.pa'i gros.byas nas/ rmang zhag.gcig la tshar.ba'i gros.byas.pa la/ lo.tsa(p.97).ba chen.po'i gtsug.lag.khang.gi rmang sngon.la bcas nas/ phyis gtsug.lag.khang thams.cad brtan.par dgongs nas/ lo.tsa.ba rmang zhag.gcig sngon.la cha.bar mdzad.pas/ pha.spun rnam phra.dog byas nas/ lo.tsa.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang.bas spun.mtshan rnam.kyis gtsug.lag.khang rnam mtho.bar byas.sol/ de.nas lha.bzo.ba thams.cad dgos.nas phyogs.phyogs.su bzhengs", "The way the *lha.khang*-s at Khwa.tse Go.khar were built is as follows. As the thirteen divisions of his paternal ancestry proposed to build thirteen *gtsug.lag.khang*-s, having planned to lay their foundations all at one time, as he (Rin.chen bzang.po) decided first to lay the foundations of [one] *gtsug.lag.khang* and then [to use this one as a model for] all the [other] *gtsug.lag.khang*-s to be constructed, since lo.tsa.ba first laid the foundations of one of them, his paternal relations became jealous and built the *gtsug.lag.khang* of his relatives higher than the lo.tsa.ba's *gtsug.lag.khang*. Then, all the artists were assigned to work at each of them as required").

(568) *Bai.ser* (p.272 lines 8-9): "Yul Gangga'i lho'i 'gram dang nye.bar 'khrungs.pa'i Ka.ling.pa Ngag.dbang grags.pa", "The birth place of Ngag.dbang grags.pa from Ka.ling was near the southern bank of the Gangga" (see above p.93 and n.6).

the lHo.stod and Byang.ngos factions erupted again during the reign of rTse.'bar.btsan, and lHo.stod recovered some lost ground and a part of the kingdom on his death. The outcome of the division of the kingdom was that sPyi.lde.btsan, who recovered his speech by praying to sMan.lha (sic for sMan.bla), reigned in Byang.ngos<sup>569</sup> and dPal.mgom.btsan ruled in lHo.stod (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 lines 15-17)<sup>570</sup>.

The lineage of Byang.ngos possibly did not have the same right to rule as that of lHo.stod, which was, in all likelihood, historically entitled to hold sway over the whole kingdom<sup>571</sup>. Old rights of royalty were re-established with Grags.pa.lde in the late 13th century, who reasserted the power of lHos.stod over the entirety of Guge (see below p.439). The division of Gu.ge into Byang.ngos and lHo.stod lasted for more than one hundred

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(569) The name sPyi.lde.btsan, meaning "overall ruler, sovereign", is almost paradoxical, given that the king who bore it was the first lord of one division of Gu.ge. His name implies that sPyi.lde.btsan claimed sovereignty over all Gu.ge, as, being from Byang.ngos, he belonged to the line descended from 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde and was thus more closely related to the last Gu.ge kings before him.

(570) Since sPyi.lde.btsan was born in Pi.ti (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.76 line 10), it seems that Pi.ti fell within the Byang.ngos sphere of influence, whereas the lHo.stod kings gravitated towards Pu.hrang, as is amply proved by 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (see below p.406 and n.666) and *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.11b-12a = p.49 lines 4-10). The crucial Shib.pe.la, the gateway to India, was thus probably controlled by the lineage of Byang.ngos. *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* records a flourishing of religion in the years when rGod.tshang.pa was in sTod after Gu.ge had split into two kingdoms. rDzogs.chen.pa-s and other masters were meditating in Pi.Cog in this period of Byang.ngos.pa control (ibid. p.71 lines 16-18: "De.nas Zhang.zhung.gi yul brgal nas/ Pi.ti Pi.lCog.gi stod.nal/ grub.thob.chen.po Kha.rag.pa bya.ba/ lo sum.cur dkyil.krung ma.zhig.par rDzogs.pa chen.po'i dgongs.pa.la mnyam.brje med.pa/ Kun.tu bzang.po'i dgongs.pa dang khyad.med.par bzhugs.pa zhig dang (p.72) mjal", "Then, having crossed the land of Zhang.zhung, he met grub.thob.chen.po Kha.rag.pa, who had been meditating on *rDzogs.pa chen.po* completely still in the lotus posture for thirty years in the upper part of Pi.ti Pi.lCog and who was not different from Kun.tu bzang.po, on whom he was meditating"). *Deb.sher sngon.po* provides a resumé of the dates in rGod.tshang.pa's life allowing the calculation of the years in which he was in the Ti.se area, where he met grub.thob.chen.po Kha.rag, and Dza.lan.dha.ra. 'Gos lo.tsa.ba says: (p.803 lines 2-5: "Chos.rje 'dis dgung.lo bcu.dgu.la rab.tu byung.nas lo.ngo.gsum gTsang.pa'i drung.du bzhugs/ nyer.gcig.la sgrub.pa'i khongs.nas gzhan.don dum.re mdzad/ mKhar.chur lo.gsum dang nyi.shu rtsa.lnga/ Ti.se dang Dza.landha.rar lo.bzhi ste nyi.shu rtsa.dgu...", "As this *chos.rje* (rGod.tshang.pa) was ordained when he was nineteen, he stayed with gTsang.pa [rgya.ras] for three years. When he was twenty-one, as he was absorbed in meditation, he was slightly beneficial to others. He stayed at mKhar.chung for three years until he was twenty-five. He stayed at Ti.se and Dza.landha.ra for four years until he was twenty-nine...". rGod.tshang.pa, who was born in earth bird 1189, was in sTod and the Indo-Iranic borderlands between 1214 and 1217. Better precision derives from calculations based on Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdo.rje, *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* (see below n.671), which allow one to date rGod.tshang.pa's sojourn at Ti.se from 1214 to late 1216, when he left for Dza.lan.dha.ra. He met grub.thob.Kha.rag.pa either in late 1216 or in early 1217.

(571) Indications that the lHo.stod.pa-s had a historical right to the Gu.ge throne are that the capital of the kingdom was transferred to Byang.ngos when 'Bar.lde became king, and that the Byang.ngos.pa-s, in order to gain power, had to seize the throne.

years (i.e. from around the mid 12th century to the third quarter of the 13th century, when the kingdom was reunited). The throne of Gu.ge was occupied by the usurper and his descendants for four generations ('Bar.lde, bSod.nams.rtse, bKra.shis.rtse and rTse.'bar.btsan). The rule of their successors in Byang.ngos continued for six generations (sPyi.lde.btsan, rNam.lde.btsan, Nyi.ma.lde, dGe.'bum, La.ga and Chos.rgyal grags.pa) (see below *passim*) and this dynasty survived for some one hundred and seventy years.

### *The kings of Byang.ngos after the division of Gu.ge*

rNam.lde.btsan, sPyi.lde.btsan's successor in Byang.ngos, is the king most laconically treated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. His rule is deduced from the fact that his only brother Nyi.lde.btsan was not appointed king as he devoted himself to religion (ibid. p.77 lines 2-3). Another sign that he was king is the fact that Nyi.ma.lde, the middle of his three sons, was the next ruler of Byang.ngos.

Nyi.lde.btsan, instead, is treated with due reverence, for he must have been a figure of considerable importance in the otherwise deserted religious panorama of 12th century Gu.ge. He had the same role as the great *lha.btsun*-s of the early dynasty, which had fallen into oblivion with the end of the lineage of the great kings and *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. He preferred to rule in the religious sphere rather than to occupy the secular throne. In this way he revived one of the most treasured tenets of Ye.shes.'od's *chos.khrims*. It should be asked whether the reintroduction of the abandoned religious law was perpetuated after him. It continued for at least one subsequent generation, but, thereafter, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not elaborate on the matter. Information in the text that Nyi.ma.lde reigned because his elder brother Gung.lde.btsan died prematurely and the younger lHa.btsun.lde, who was apparently a monk, did not rule is significant. lHa.btsun.lde thus followed the ancient custom of sTod reintroduced by his *khu.bo* Nyi.lde.btsan, by which siblings of the heir apparent had to embrace religion.

### *The absence of religious foundations in Gu.ge during the 12th century* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75-77)

After the isolated foundation of the three storeyed temple Rin.chen.gling by bSod.rnam.rtse in the late 11th century or at the beginning of the 12th, no religious monuments were built in Gu.ge for a long time. Times of instability and destruction resulting from invasion, weaker kings, possibly less attention payed by the royalty to religion, which emerges from the fact that the old laws of Ye.shes.'od were hardly practised, did not help dam.pa'i Chos to prosper.

As a matter of fact, bSod.nams.rtse's three sons bKra.shis.rtse, Jo.bo rGyal.po and 'Od.'bar.rtse are not attributed with any foundation in Gu.ge, Khu.nu and Rong.chung,

where they ruled. During their time, the devastating Gar.log invasion prevented them from supporting Buddhism (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 17-19). Similarly, from rTse.'bar.btsan on, no temple endowments were made by the subsequent kings of Gu.ge Byang.ngos (sPyi.lde.btsan, rNam.lde.btsan and Nyi.ma.lde).

*Pu.hrang from the late 11th to the late 12th century: lineal continuity and religious patronage (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs passim)*

Gu.ge therefore experienced three episodes, which disrupted, or at least threatened to disrupt the smooth succession to its throne: rTse.lde's assassination; the Gar.log.pa invasion of the first half of the 12th century and the killing of bKra.shis.rtse (the lineage continued with the succession of his son rTse.'bar.btsan); the division of Gu.ge on rTse.'bar.btsan's death. While troubles continued to affect Gu.ge (later, Gu.ge Byang.ngos was taken over by foreigners, whose rule, however, is not described by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as disruptive to the kingdom), in Pu.hrang the succession continued smoothly from the reign of rTse.lde's brother bTsan.srong on, and the country apparently did not face difficult times<sup>572</sup>. The lineage of the Pu.hrang kings from the late 11th to the late 12th century is treated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* laconically. Very few details are included in the text, and they refer mainly to religious works sponsored by bTsan.srong, Khri.btsan.lde, bTsan.phyug.lde and Grags.btsan.lde, the kings of Pu.hrang of this period (ibid. p.68 line 19-p.69 line 7). No genealogical interruptions are recorded in Pu.hrang by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* until the late 12th century.

Times were prosperous, although the great cultural momentum, which characterised the rule of the early dynasty, was also lost in Pu.hrang. This peaceful period favoured a few religious foundations in Pu.hrang.

Khri.btsan.lde, bTsan.srong's son, built Yang.rtse Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 lines 2-3). Is Yang.rtse equivalent to Ya.rtse? The name of the temple (Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang) implies an act of taking control (*nan* otherwise *gnon*) reminiscent of Srong.btsan sgam.po's temples (*ru.gnon*), which applies well to a location of the temple in Ya.rtse, a non-Tibetan area. Is Khri.btsan.lde's foundation of the Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang a sign of Pu.hrang sovereignty over Ya.rtse before bTsan.phyug.lde took it over and the Pu.hrang.pa lineage of Ya.rtse began? The name Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang is, however, not conclusive in establishing its whereabouts.

Khri.btsan.lde also founded a *gtsug.lag.khang* in Kha.char. This is one of the many contributions to Kha.char made by the kings of Pu.hrang throughout the centuries. Sim-

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(572) Peace in Pu.hrang during the first half of the 12th century confirms the fact that troubles in sTod were coming from the northern and western frontiers of Gu.ge in those years, quite far from Pu.hrang, which remained unaffected by these invasions.

ilar to cases mentioned elsewhere (p.363), this was probably an addition or restoration rather than a foundation<sup>573</sup>.

bTsan.phyug.lde, the king of Pu.hrang and grandson of bTsan.srong, is recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 lines 4-5) to have organized (*bskod*) the bZhed *chos.skor chung.ngu* ("minor religious council"), which, to be meaningful, has to be corrected to bZher *chos.'khor*<sup>574</sup>. bZher was located not far to the south of Kha.char. This is the place called bZher mgar.tshang.gling (i.e. "camping ground") in *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.41 lines 4-6 and lines 10-12, see also above n.390), where the silver image of the Kha.char Jo.bo 'Jam.dpald rje was cast. bZher is also the site Rin.chen bzang.po chose to be one of his residences when he was in Pu.hrang. According to his *rnam.thar* (p.117-118), Jo.bo.rje visited him here and asked him to be his interpreter. Rin.chen bzang.po did not comply with the request, saying that he was so old that his speech had become too confused to do such work<sup>575</sup>. bZher was also the place where Rin.chen bzang.po wrote the famous three inscriptions pertaining to the practice of his meditation<sup>576</sup>.

(573) A certain amount of interest in Bon in Pu.hrang and other areas of sTod during the same period, or not long before, is revealed by the interaction of various rulers and religious communities with Bru.ston Khyung.gi rgyal.mtshan (b.1040) (*dPal.ladan tshul.khrims bstan.'byung* p.357 lines 6-8: "De.nas mNga'.ris.stod du gdan.zhus te/ Se.rib rgyal.po Shang.pa'i rgyal.po dang/ sPu.rang rgyal.po rnam.kyi dbu.bla mdzad/ Ya.ngal Ru.thog Gu.rib la.sogs.pa'i/ bu.slob grwa.sde grangs.'das smin.grol mdzad", "Then, he was invited to mNga'.ris.stod. He was the head *bla.ma* of the Se.rib king, the Shang.pa (i.e. Men.Zhang.pa) king and the sPu.rang king. He emancipated innumerable monastic communities of disciples in Ya.ngal, Ru.thog and Gu.rib"; see also Jackson, "Notes on the History of *Se-rib*, and Nearby Places in the Upper Kali Gandaki Valley" p.201 and n.18). Ya.ngal and Gu.rib are ethno-toponyms of Byang.thang.

(574) This is more than likely, as the shapes of *ra* and *da* are remarkably similar in the *khyug.yig* script in which the original manuscript of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* was written.

(575) This is the correct interpretation of Rin.chen bzang.po's answer. On that occasion, Rin.chen bzang.po was not asked by Jo.bo.rje to translate with him as Snellgrove-Skorupski assume (*The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* vol.II p.96), which may give the false impression that Rin.chen bzang.po was reluctant to cooperate with Jo.bo.rje on textual work.

(576) *Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.118 line 5-p.120 line1): "De.nas Pu.hrangs.kyi Zher.pa ru/ gtsug.lag.khang.la rgya.rim(p.119).pa gsum brab te/ dam bcad.pa ni/ phyis.sgo.la dung.gi yi.ge bris nas/ bdag sang.phod da.sang.gi bar.du nyon.mongs.pa'i yid.skad.cig skye.nas mKha'.gro.mas chad.pa chod cig/ ces bris.so/ de'i nang rim.du dngul.kyi yi.ge cig.la/ bdag sang.phod da.sang.gi bar.du Byang.chub.gyi sems dang skad cig.tsam bral.nas mKha'.gro.mas chad.pa chod cig/ ces bris.so/ lha.khang.gi nang logs.su gser.gyi yi.ge.la/ bdag sang.phod da.sang.gi bar.du lung.ma.bstan.gyi sems.skad cig.tsam skyes.nas mKha'.gro.mas chad(p.120).pa chod cig/ ces rgya.rim.pa gsum cig.la cig.dam.pa bris", "Then, at Pu.rangs Zher he made a vow placing it in the three parts of the *gtsug.lag.khang*. On the outside door he wrote in conch-shell letters: "If, in a year from tomorrow, even a single ill thought will arise in me, may the mKha'.gro.ma-s punish me!". In [the *gtsug.lag.khang*] interior he wrote in silver letters: "If, in a year from tomorrow, the thought of enlightenment will leave me even for an instant, may the mKha'.gro.ma-s punish me!". On the wall inside the [inner] chapel he wrote in golden letters: "If, in a year from tomorrow, a thought against the precepts will arise in me even for a moment, may the mKha'.gro.ma-s punish me!". So he wrote his vow in each of the three parts of the [*gtsug.lag.khang*]".



Given the chronological place bTsan.phyug.lde held in the Pu.hrang dynasty, the minor *chos.khor* he organized at bZher must have taken place around the middle of the 12th century. This *chos.khor* in Pu.hrang is a rare case of a religious council recorded in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during that period, particularly obscure in terms of Buddhist practice<sup>577</sup>.

A single religious foundation is ascribed to Khri.btsan.lde's son bTsan.phyug.lde, who was responsible for the expansion of Pu.hrang.pa rule to Ya.rtse according to most sources. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 4) states that he built Sha.rdza gtsug.lag.khang (unidentified).

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 3) holds that Grags.btsan.lde, younger brother of bTsan.phyug.lde, built the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa gtsug.lag.khang. In Ngag.dbang grags.pa's view, this was the temple originally built by lHa.lde to house the silver Jo.bo statue of Kha.char, in which he is mistaken, for the Rin.chen brtsegs.pa he mentions is in fact the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa founded in 996. This alleged foundation by Grags.btsan.lde is another case of the indiscriminate use of the verb *bzhengs.pa* in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for any act of building, be it foundation, renovation or expansion.

A lineage of 'Dul.ba was established in sTod, which must not to be confused with the more famous *Vinaya* genealogy introduced by Zhang.zhung rGyal.ba'i shes.rab in the period of early *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. The former is a line of transmission which continued uninterrupted from late *bstan.pa phyi.dar* until the advent of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in sTod, showing that the *Vinaya* tradition was perpetuated in West Tibet from the 11th at least until the end of the 12th century, a period marked by invasions and genealogical conflicts, especially in Gu.ge, which affected religious practice. Its outline is as follows: Bal.yul 'Dul.ba 'dzin.pa, dge.bshes Slungs and sKyogs, (the latter's disciple) dge.bshes gZus, dge.bshes Sog, dge.bshes Zhe, dge.bshes Ku.ma.ra and O.brgyad, Chos.kyi brtson.'grus and Mang.rum Tshul.khrims g.yung.drung, lHing.lo, Zhi.ldan, Kun.dga' brtson.'grus and Grags.mdzes brtson.'grus, (Kun.dga' brtson.'grus' disciple) sTag.sgo.ba (a master active in Pu.hrang)<sup>578</sup>. No dates are known for these masters, but there is some evidence to assign them to the

(577) Not much is known about other *chos.khor*-s in sTod. There is obviously the one held at Tho.ling in 1076, and bSod.nams rtse.mo (*Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* p.345,2 lines 4-5) mentions a gathering of cotton-clad practitioners at rTse.lde's enthronement in 1057 (see above n.456). No other councils are recorded in the sources to my knowledge.

(578) rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.shar chen.mo* (p.136 lines 1-6: "Slob.ma Bal.po.yul ni/ bram.ze 'Dul.ba 'dzin.pa yin/ de.la sLungs.sKyogs gnyis/ de.la dge.bshes gZus.kyis gsan/ de'i slob.ma dge.bshes Sog/ Sog.gi mkhan.po dge.bshes Zhe/ Ku.ma.ra zhes.byab.ba dang/ dge.bshes 'O.brgyad gnyis.po ni/ mNga'.ris.stod.gyi rgyal.khams.su/ mDo.Khams sgang.nas spyang.drangs.so/ de'i mkhan.bu lHing.lo.yi/ Chos.kyi brtson.'grus byab.ba dang/ Mang.rum Tshul.khrims g.yung.drung yin/ lHing.lo.ba.yi mkhan.bu ni/ dge.bshes chen.po rnam.gnyis yin/ de'i mkhan.bu Zhi.ldan yin/ de'i mkhan.bu mkhan.po ni/ Kun.dga' brtson.'grus byab.ba dang/ Grags.mdzes brtson.'grus byab.ba yin/ mkhan.po Kun.dga'i mkhan.bu ni/ yongs.kyi mkhan.po rin.po.che/ sTag.sgo.ba zhes.byab.ba yin [chos.rje rin.po.che 'Bri.gung.pa dang Dus.mtshungs.pa yin/ mkhan.po de.la chos.rje zhal.nas/ de dGra.bcom.pa dngos.gcig yod.par 'dug gsung.nas nan.tar mnyes skad/ dGu.zur.phug.gi rGyam.po.cher gdan.chags.pa yin]").

above mentioned period. The key figure in assessing the chronological sequence of this lineage is dge.bshes Sog. rGya 'Dul.'dzin (b.1047) studied with him before reaching perfect accomplishment at the age of thirty-four (i.e. in 1080) (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.107 line 19-p.108 line 2; *Blue Annals* p.79). Sog's other disciple dge.bshes Zhe had as his disciples dge.bshes Ku.ma.ra and O.brgyad, who were invited to mNga'.ris skor.gsum from mDo.Khams, and the sTod.pa lineage originated from them. By a calculation of *mi.rabs*, their arrival in sTod must have fallen around the end of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in West Tibet (end of the 11th century: was it when bSod.nam.rtse and bTsan.srong were ruling in Gu.ge and Pu.hrang respectively?), because Sog is documented to have imparted teachings to rGya 'Dul.'dzin around the third quarter of the 11th century. sTag.sgo.ba, a contemporary of 'Jig.rten mgon.po (1143-1217) lived six *mi.rabs* after dge.bshes Ku.ma.ra and O.brgyad. It is probable that sTag.sgo.ba was 'Jig.rten mgon.po's younger contemporary, judging by the protective attitude sKyob.pa adopted towards him, which is described in a note by rDo.rje mdzes.'od (*bKa'.gyur rnam.mthar chen.mo* p.136 lines 5-6). I am inclined to believe that the lineage of sTod.'Dul that came down to sTag.sgo.ba found fertile ground in Pu.hrang not only because sTag.sgo.ba and his disciples were Pu.hrang.pa-s, but also since Pu.hrang enjoyed more peaceful times than Gu.ge during the 12th century with the exception of a single event which affected the whole of Zhang.zhung.

These apparently happy times in Pu.hrang came to an end in the late 12th century, when the peace of the country was disrupted. A discussion of this first interruption in the genealogy of Pu.hrang follows.

### *Gu.ge restoring a king in Pu.hrang at the end of the 12th century* (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.77)

A typical trait of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is to treat major events of the history of sTod with extremely brief statements often of obscure reading, perhaps because they were also obscure to Ngag.dbang grags.pa or because, in the sources used by him, they were similarly abridged, as these facts were too well known to justify an in depth treatment. They may have been difficult to interpret in Ngag.dbang grags.pa's days, while they are virtually unknown at present.

Among those dealt with in this way is an important event involving the royal line of Pu.hrang. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* states that a king of Gu.ge appointed a *jo.bo* ("ruler") to reestablish royal succession in Pu.hrang. The appointment of this Pu.hrang *jo.bo* is connected to the Byang.ngos king Nyi.ma.lde by the text, which somewhat oddly reads (p.77 lines 8-9): "Having appointed a *jo.bo* in Pu.hrang as royal successor (*rgyal.tsha* sic for *rgyal.tshab*), he (Nyi.ma.lde) had three descendants (*sras*): dGe.'bum, Byams.pa and Sems.dpa". In fact, none of these was the new lord of Pu.hrang.

The period of these events can be assessed with some precision, despite the fact that the work does not provide direct evidence to date the reign of either this Pu.hrang *jo.bo* or

the Byang.ngos king Nyi.ma.lde. Nyi.ma.lde must have occupied the Byang.ngos throne from the last decades of the 12th century, because the subsequent lords of Byang.ngos (dGe.'bum, who possibly had a long reign, and La.ga) ruled in the first half of the 13th century, before Chos.rgyal grags.pa, the next king who strengthened links with the rising Sa.skya.pa-s.

*Missing generations in the Pu.hrang lineage between the late 11th and the early 12th century? (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69 and 77)*

It cannot be ruled out that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* omits some generations in the royal lineage of Pu.hrang during the late 11th century and the early 12th century, i.e. between bTsan.srong, brother of rTse.lde, and Khri.'bar.btsan otherwise known as sTag.tsha Khri.'bar (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 lines 10-15). In fact, the text lists only six generations in Pu.hrang for this period including bTsan.srong and sTag.tsha, while in Gu.ge, during the same period, between rTse.lde and dGe.'bum inclusive, who was probably sTag.tsha's contemporary, nine kings are found (ibid. p.72 line 6-p.77 line 9). This may be purely fortuitous, the lengths of reigns obviously varying dramatically and never being a fixed number of years<sup>579</sup>.

The kings of Pu.hrang of that period may have simply lived longer than those of Gu.ge, yet it is noteworthy that Pu.hrang jo.bo Ngam Klu.rgyal, mentioned in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, whom Mar.lung.pa met in iron monkey 1200<sup>580</sup>, is missing from

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(579) See, for instance, Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*) and Petech (*The Kingdom of Ladakh*), who have introduced a uniform length (the former thirty years, the latter twenty-five) for the reigns of the kings mentioned in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. This system, still used by modern La.dwags.pa authors, is clearly unrealistic.

(580) This date is calculated from events in Mar.lung.pa's biography. It says that Zhang rin.po.che died in the autumn of wood tiger 1194 (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.90b lines 2-3: "De.nas dgung.lo bdun.bcu don.gnyis stag.lo ston zla.ra.ba'i tshes.bcu skar.ma nag.pa rgyu.ba'i dus nam.phyed yol.rtsam.la dag.pa mkha'.spyod phebs", "Then, when he was seventy-two, in the tiger year (1194), on the tenth day of the autumn month around midday, he (Zhang rin.po.che) passed to pure *mkha'.spyod*"). This is unconventional, for normally his death year is said to have occurred in the preceding year water ox 1193 (see below n.584). At that time Mar.lung.pa hesitated to return to Mar.lung, his native place (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.93b lines 2-3: "Mar.lung du phyin yang/ 'jig.rten.gyi skyong.ran ni Hor.gyi brlag nas med/ de.bas 'di.phyogs dBus.gTsang du bsdad nas/ sgrung.pa 'dra yod.byas.pa drag.pa 'dra dgongs", "There was no longer any reason to go back to Mar.lung since all the impermanent belongings had been taken by the Hor-s. Therefore, he thought to remain in dBus.gTsang [and] to make a living by something like telling *sgrung.pa-s* ("bards' legends")"). Mar.lung had just been destroyed by the Hor Sog.po-s (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.91a line 4-f.91b line 2). Soon after he decided to return there (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.95a line 2-f.96b line 1; see also below n.590 for the text of the passage referring to his departure and the description of the destruction caused to his native place). Hence he came back to Mar.lung in 1195. He meditated for six years (1195-1200) at Mar.lung Byang.chub.ri (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.98b line 2: "De.nas lo.drug bsgoms", "Then he meditated for six years"), and left for Ti.se imme-

the *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* genealogy<sup>581</sup>. This hitherto unknown ruler of Pu.hrang lived in the period of the restoration of a *jo.bo* to the Pu.hrang throne by Gu.ge indicated in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, so that it is likely that Ngam Klu.rgyal was the successor to bTsan.stobs.lde, placed on the Pu.hrang throne by Gu.ge Byang.ngos.

There are various possible reasons for the absence of Ngam Klu.rgyal from the list of the kings of Pu.hrang in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. He may have had insufficient dignity to be included among the rulers of Pu.hrang because he was a minor lord, or because he held the throne *ad interim*, for *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* says that Gu.ge Byang.ngos was instrumental in appointing a *rgyal.tshab* ("successor") in Pu.hrang (p.77 line 8). The possibility that Ngam Klu.rgyal is a name concealing a king of the Pu.hrang lineage recorded in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* is unlikely, given that the king of Pu.hrang chronologically closest to him, Khri.'bar.btsan, was sTag.tsha, their clan affiliation (Ngam and sTag) being different. His right of accession to the Pu.hrang throne is not elucidated by *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*. Describing him as Pu.hrang *jo.bo*, as *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* does, is not sufficient reason to considering him the heir apparent to the Pu.hrang throne after bTsan.stobs.lde, but simply that he ruled in Pu.hrang as its *jo.bo*<sup>582</sup>. In other words, someone not belonging to

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diately afterwards (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.104b lines 1-2: "Khor.ba las thugs sun ste/ nye.gnas Byang.chub.'bum phyag.phyir brnoms ste/ dpon.slob gnyis.kyis/ ri.'i rgyal.po Gangs.dkar Ti.se la byon.par zhed ste/ sTod.phyogs.la phebs.pas sPu.hrangs su bsleb", "He (Mar.lung.pa) became tired of dwelling in the cycle of rebirths. Nye.gnas Byang.chub.'bum accompanied him [and] the master and disciple, these two, decided to leave for the king of the mountains Gangs.dkar Ti.se. As they went to sTod, they arrived in sPu.hrangs"). He thus reached Pu.hrang and Ti.se in late iron monkey 1200 (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.106b line 5-f.107a line 1: "De.nas Mar.lung Byang.chub.seng.ge dpon.slob rnam.kyis sPu.hrangs.kyi dgon.pa Mog.rom du zhugs dus/ yid skyo.ba'i rnam(f.107a).pa byung", "Then, when Mar.lung. Byang.chub.seng.ge, the master and disciple (Byang.chub.'bum) were at sPu.hrangs dgon.pa Mog.rom, he felt [some] grief in [his] mind" and *ibid.* f.108a line 5: "De.nas Gangs.dkar.gyi rgyal.po Ti.ser phebs ste", "Then, he (Mar.lung.pa) went to the king of mountains Ti.se").

(581) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.125b line 3) reads: "sPu.hrangs su zhugs/ de'i dus.na sPu.hrangs jo.bo Ngam Klu.rgyal.gyi bu bar.pa jo.bo Rin.chen.'bum phyag.phyir 'brengs.pa yin.no", "He (Mar.lung.pa) stayed in sPu.hrangs. At that time, Rin.chen.'bum, the middle son of sPu.hrangs jo.bo Ngam Klu.rgyal became his follower". The name Ngam Klu.rgyal bears resemblance with that of Klu sKar.rgyal, the latter being explained as an epithet applied to Sangs.rgyas skar.rgyal rather than its real name in as much as it explains the fact that he camouflaged his teachings in Buddhist guise (on him see above p.215-216). The similarity of the two names may betray a common clan origin from Pu.hrang, which has little to do with *naga-s* and the lake Klu sKar.rgyal allegedly inhabited (in Se.rib of Kyi.rong (sic) or in Gu.ge according to *'Jig.rten mig.gyur Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar bsdu.s.pa* in *Gur mGon.po chos.'byung* p.227 line 4-p.228 line 5; otherwise Gu.ma in Mang.yul according to Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.359 lines 3-6. For the text of these passages see above n.312 and n.310), which would be just a late and erudite polemic exercise on the subject of heresies. In other words, I suggest that the appearance of Klu in the names of Klu sKar.rgyal and Ngam Klu.rgyal might refer to a clan proper to Pu.hrang, in which the variants in the two names represent sub-clan distinctions. Sounder evidence is required to elucidate the matter.

(582) Examples of the occurrence of the term *jo.bo* to indicate the ruler of Pu.hrang are numerous in the lit-

the line of the Pu.hrang kings could be a Pu.hrang *jo.bo* simply by virtue of the fact that he ruled the kingdom.

*The war in Zhang.zhung during the reign of bTsan.stobs.lde  
(end of 12th century) (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 lines 8-9) records a major destructive episode in the history of Pu.hrang. A war broke out creating disarray in Zhang.zhung which affected the rule of the Pu.hrang king bTsan.stobs.lde so severely that he could achieve little for his kingdom<sup>583</sup>. The identity of the foreign invaders of Zhang.zhung is not documented. The most significant historical notion concerning bTsan.stobs.lde is that, according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, he was the predecessor of sTag.tsha Khri.'bar, who was reigning by earth dragon 1208 (see below p.374 and n.596-597). bTsan.stobs.lde must have ruled in the last quarter of the 12th century around the time when Nyi.ma.lde was the king of Byang.ngos. Ngam Klu.rgyal's reign has to be placed between those of bTsan.stobs.lde and sTag.tsha.

*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* records a devastating invasion of mNga'.ris during the summer of water ox 1193, affecting Gro.shod, where the Men.Zhang castle of gSang.ba'i yang.rtse was also raided, as far as Mar.lung, to the east of 'Brong.pa<sup>584</sup>. The account in

erature. *Lo.rgyus-s* and *rgyal.rabs-s* apart, see, e.g., *Mi.la ras.pa rnam.mthar* (p.369 lines 16-17 and p.372 lines 12-13), *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.125b line 3), *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* (p.78 line 5), etc.

(583) dPa'.bo gtsug.lag tells a rather fanciful story about Karma.pa Dus.gsum mkhyen.pa, who, after founding mTshur.phu in 1189, allegedly went to India and on the way passed by Kha.che and Pu.hrang (*mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* p.865 lines 18-20: "Tshur.lam yud.tsam.gyis Kha.che dang Pu.rangs nas lam.phyung ste La.stod Thang.chung du dge.bshes gTsang.so.ba la Indra.bo.dhi bar.ba la gsan.pa'i rNam.bzhi rgyud.grol gsungs", "On his way back, [Dus.gsum mkhyen.pa] covered the road from Kha.che and Pu.rangs in an instant. At La.stod Thang.chung, he imparted *rNam.bzhi rgyud.grol*, which he had received from Indra.bo.dhi the middle, to dge.bshes gTsang.so.ba"). Sperling ("Lama to the King of Hsia" p.41) quotes Si.tu pan.chen Chos.kyi 'byung.gnas, who says that this journey took place in a dream. However, dPa'.bo's account indicates that the holy places of Pu.hrang, a *locus mentis* for all bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, were far from forgotten by them in the years when Pu.hrang was languishing without much religious patronage and royal authority under bTsan.stobs.lde.

(584) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.91a line 4-f.91b line 2): "Rang.yul Mar.lung du phebs.par dgongste/ Myang.stod rTsis.kyi lha.khang du phebs.pa/ Nyi.ma Las.stod.kyi phyogs.nas yongs.pa'i ban mnga[g].kyi tshong.pa cig dang 'phrad/ gleng.mo dris.pas/ na.ning dbyar.sos/ Hor.dmag (f.91b) mNga'.ris su lug/ dpal.thang yan bcom/ Men.mkhar gSang.ba'i yang.rtse/ la.sogs.pa phab/ mi nor sTod la lus.pa'i rjes ma.byung.ngo zer", "He (Mar.lung.pa) thought of going to his own place Mar.lung. He went to Myang.stod rTsis lha.khang. He met a trader, sent by monks, who had come from the direction of Las.stod (i.e. La.stod) [where] the sun [sets]. As he made enquiries during a conversation, the latter said: "During the summer of last year, Hor troops invaded mNga'.ris. Power and property have been taken away. They took Men.[Zhang] mkhar gSang.ba'i yang.rtse. They did not leave men or riches behind in sTod". The "summer of last year" can be fixed with accuracy with the help of another passage in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.90b lines 2-3; see above

*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* seems to be an articulate description of the disruption caused to the reign of bTsan.stobs.lde by foreign invaders recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Similarly, the reign of Ngam Klu.rgyal fits well into the historical sequence of events following the invasion. Ngam Klu.rgyal was met by Mar.lung.pa some six years after the last effects of the invasion, which lasted until 1194, were felt<sup>585</sup>. After 'Gro.mgon Phag.mo gru.pa, who had 'Jig.rten mgon.po among his followers, had been unable to open the Tise pilgrimage himself and had to assign the task to his disciples, sKyob.pa 'Jig.rten mgon.po could only establish stable relations with the rulers of sTod, which allowed the final establishment of the Tise pilgrimage, decades after the 1193-1194 invasion<sup>586</sup>. This was also the case of the 'Brug.pa-s.

The statement that the devastating invasion of 1193 recorded in detail in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* affected mNga'.ris and the area of Byang (where Mar.lung was sited on its eastern side), which includes Gro.shod, indicates that the invaders came from the south or south-west, for the invasion was confined to Pu.hrang and Byang, i.e. all the southern belt of mNga'.ris. Gu.ge Byang.ngos was not affected, since the next Pu.hrang jo.bo was enthroned by the king of this land, proving that Byang.ngos retained its power

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n.580), where the death year of Zhang rin.po.che is unconventionally given as the autumn of 1194 instead of the conventional 1193. The meeting of Mar.lung.pa with the trader from the west took place very soon after the death of Zhang rin.po.che. The "summer of the last year" was thus the summer of water ox 1193. The accuracy with which the date of Zhang rin.po.che's death is recorded in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* deserves consideration.

(585) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.93a line 5): "gTsang Mar.lung dBu.rtse dkar.po de/ dar.rgyas che yang snying-po med/ ding.sang mtha'.mi Hor.gyis brlag", "gTsang Mar.lung dBu.rtse dkar.po, although very prosperous [beforehand], has lost its importance. These days it is filled with mtha'.mi Hor-s ("Hor-s from the borders)". This is how the account of the destruction of Mar.lung in the Byang (southernmost Byang.thang) and mNga'.ris.smad area is summed up in a song by Mar.lung.pa after listening to the account of the trader coming from La.stod. The episode, which took place at Tshal Gung.thang after Zhang rin.po.che's death in the autumn of tiger year 1194 (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.90b lines 2-3), reveals that the marauders were still dwelling in Byang during late 1194 or little before, when the trader presumably left the western regions for Central Tibet.

(586) *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.23a lines 3-6): "'On.kyang rje Phag.grus nyid.kyi slob.ma 'Bri.gung.pa 'Jig.rten mgon.po dang grub.thob Gling.rje ras.pa gnyis.la gnas.gsum.la ri.pa gtong dgos.tshul dang/ sngon.byon rgyal.ba nyid.kyis lung.bstan.pa.../ gnas Ti.se gangs.su sgom dga'/ Ti.se gangs.su 'byon.pa skyid/ ces.sogs gsungs.pas slob.ma gnyis.kyis kyang ri.pa gtong.bar dam.bcas.nas Gling.ras.kyis nyid.kyi slob.ma rje 'Brug.pa rGya.ras.pa Ye.shes rdo.rje la bka'.btsal.bas/ rGya.ras.kyis bla.ma'i bka'.bzhin Ti.ser byon", "However, rje Phag.gru's disciples 'Bri.gung.pa 'Jig.rten mgon.po and grub.thob Gling.rje ras.pa, these two, were instructed that it was necessary to send *ri.pa-s* to the three sacred places. He (Phag.mo.gru.pa) said: "This is the holy place prophesied by [our] earlier masters...: "One will rejoice to meditate at Ti.se gangs, [thus] it will be rewarding to go to Ti.se gangs". Also the two disciples promised to send *ri.pa-s* [there]. Gling.ras' disciple rje 'Brug.pa rGya.ras.pa Ye.shes rdo.rje was ordered [by him to do so]. rGya.ras went to Ti.se according to his *bla.ma's* order" and *ibid.* (f.23b lines 1-2): "De'i rje.su de.nyid.kyi slob.ma rgyal.ba rGod.tshang mGon.po rdo.rjes chu'i bcud.len.la brten.nas sgrub.pa yun.ring.du mdzad", "After him, his disciple rgyal.ba rGod.tshang mGon.po rdo.rje meditated there for some time by living on water".

while Pu.hrang did not. No evidence is at hand to show whether Gu.ge lHo.stod suffered from this invasion. Given the Byang.ngos intervention to restore a ruler in Pu.hrang, it cannot be ruled out that lHo.stod was weak at that time.

This makes an invasion from Southern Turkestan unlikely, as attackers from the north of Gu.ge would have had to conquer Byang.ngos before reaching southern mNga'.ris. The same holds true for Dardic invaders from the western border. The invasion of mNga'.ris in the summer of 1193 was carried out by people whom *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.93a line 5 and *passim*) calls mtha (sic for mtha').mi Hor ("Hor-s from the border": raiders or real Hor-s?). Elsewhere, the same work describes the king of the Ye.tshe.pa-s (i.e. Ya.rtse.pa) as *mtha'i rgyal.po*<sup>587</sup>. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* also records a raid by foreigners that took place some time before 1168, witnessed by Mar.lung.pa, who calls them Hor Sog.po-s<sup>588</sup>. The latter invasion cannot have been very destructive. Mar.lung.pa does not lament devastation, in contrast to the later instance in 1193-1194 when Mar.lung was destroyed. He indulges in describing the clothes worn by the prince and princess as well as the decorations of the horses of the invaders of before 1168. Their artefacts are said more than once to have been in the Chinese style as regards both material and manufacture<sup>589</sup>. This description helps to rule out that the invaders were Muslims from the south.

(587) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.127a lines 4-5): "sPyi.'thun.gyi las.gyis/ mtha'i rgyal.po stobs che.ba rGya.zhwa dkar.po rgyon.pas sa.stengs khyab.pa/ Ye.tshe dmag Gung.thang du blug", "Owing to the general karma, the *mtha'i rgyal.po* ("king of the border"), who was very powerful and wore the white rGya hat, filled the surface of the land [with his warriors]. He [led] the Ye.tshe (Ya.rtse) troops to intrude into Gung.thang". The Ya.rtse.pa-s are called Ye.tshe Hor-s a few times in the same work (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.128a line 2, f.140a line 2, f.140b line 1), while the Ya.rtse king is also called Hor Ye.tshe Mon.gyi rgyal.po (f.135b line 2).

(588) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.33a lines 4-5): "De.nas Gro.shod du Hor.gyis spong 'dzom.pa'i dus/ glu.'di slangs.so/ Thon mkhas.pa Se.bo'i zhabs.la 'dud/ Gro.shod phyugs.kyis gzhung.chen du/ Hor Sog.po'i spong.la 'dzom.pa'i dus...", "Then when the Hor-s concentrated troops in Gro.shod, he sang the following song: "I prostrate to the feet of Thon mkhas.pa Se.bo. When the Hor Sog.po-s concentrated troops in the great central area of Gro.shod, rich in cattle,..." The 1168 *terminus ante quem* derives from Mar.lung.pa's meeting with the father of Re.la mGon.po, whose grandfather Men.Zhang dPal.drung had died at that time (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.56a line 4-f.56b line 1: "Ring.po ma.lon.par/ Re.la mGon.po'i pha/ sPag ban.dhe Ring.mo/ nge'i pha Men.Zhang dPal.drung zhes.byab.ba 'das te/ gdan.'dren.pa yongs.nas Gro.shod.smad du chas phyin.pa/ lHas.sgong.khar sleb.pa dang/ thag zer.ba'i sgra chen.po cig byung/ ci yin ltas.pas/ chibs.sga'i ya.ru.la yung.kar phog 'dug.go/ slar.log de sPe'u.thod dkar.ba'i rtse ru/ bzlog mkhor(f.56b).gyi rim.pa.la zhugs.pas/ byi.ba'i lo/ bya.rbo zla.ba'i tshes.brgyad/ skar.ma Lag.sor la bab.pa'i mtshan phyed.rtsam la/ 'od dmar.po srin.bu me.khyer lta.bu byung", "Not long after, sPag ban.dhe Ring.mo, the father of Re.la mGon.po [came]. His father Men.Zhang dPal.drung had died. As he came to invite [Mar.lung.pa], [the latter] went to Gro.shod.smad. He arrived at lHas.sgong.kha [and] a big sound roared "thag". As he wondered what it was, sesame seeds hit the front of his horse-saddle. He went back. As he stopped at sPe'u.thod dkar.ba'i rtse [to perform] various stages of the ritual for the removal [of obstacles], it was the rat year (1168), the eight day of *bya.rbo zla.ba* under the star *Lag.sor* around midnight [when] a red light appeared like a firefly"). These events follow the reference to the invasion of the Hor Sog.po-s in the text.

(589) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.34b line 5-f.35a line 1): "bTsun.mo yob.chen khrol.tshags rgar/ 'bur.tshags

Thus, the incursion into sTod (Gro.shod and then to Mar.lung) occurring before 1168 must have come from the north, implying that Muslim tribes from Central Asia intruded into Tibetan territory. They must have crossed Gu.ge and Pu.hrang.stod in order to reach Gro.shod and beyond.

A hypothesis concerning the identity of the 1193 mtha'.mi Hor-s and whence they came needs to be explored, based on the fact that the territories they devastated were located along the southern belt of Byang.thang. That the invaders advanced from the west to beyond 'Brong.pa in eastern Byang may mean that they were Mon.pa *mu.stegs.pa-s* from somewhere to the south or south-west of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. From another angle, it is possible that, since the Ya.rtse.pa-s are called *mtha'.mi* in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, these mtha'.mi Hor-s were also from the southern borderland. In fact, the Himalayan border has historically been the only real border of the southern region of Byang.thang separating lands inhabited by Tibetan and non-Tibetan peoples.

Tribes originally located in more distant areas such as those adjoining Gangetic India and exerting pressure on the Himalayan borderlands are also likely candidates. The ravages that marked the invasion (total destruction, the slaughter of people and animals, and the survivors being taken away in captivity) resemble the type of raids made by Muslims<sup>590</sup>. I do not mean to suggest, given the silence of the sources on the matter, that the army which gave this devastating blow to mNga'.ris was Muslim. Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that the 1193 invasion occurred a year after the fall of Kanauj to the Muslims invaders

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sbrul.ris rGya.tshems.can/ rGya.sag gong.smed za.'og khabs/ (f.35a) kha.'bral 'chu.'khur rGya.mo'i dar/ ldum.tshigs me.tog ha.lo.ris/ Hor Sog.po'i yul.nas byung.ba'i nor", "The princess' stirrups are forged in intricate inlaid relief work depicting a snake motif in Chinese style. The girths [and] the saddle cloth [are made from] glossy Chinese fabric. The bit [is decorated with] hangings in Chinese silk depicting foliate motifs and holly flowers (berries?). These are the marvels coming from the land of the Hor Sog-po-s".

(590) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.95a line 2-f. 96b line 1): "Yar.lam.la sTod la phyas byon te/ Mar.lung du phebs.so/ der dang.po'i khar dkar.po dBu.rtse rnying.ma la.sogs.pa ri.bong.gi sna ltar ral/ ston.pa'i dngul.sku la.sogs.pa byung.ba'i rjes kyang med/ Chos Yum.cha gser.gyi rgad.chung la.sogs.pa sbrul.nag.gi lpags shun.ltar sregs/ skya.spod rnam sha.pho'i spu.ru ltar bsrang kha.nan tor/ bu.slob rnam ri.dwags khyis stor.ba ltar song/ yon.dag rnam dpyid.kyi khron.pa ltar zad/ yul.mi la.la Hor.yul du btson.la khrid.nas bar.do'i 'phrang.du chas.pa (f.36b) ltar song", "He went to sTod by taking the road going upwards (i.e. towards West Tibet). He reached Mar.lung. Here the original mkhar dkar.po dBu.rtse rnying.ma was destroyed like the nose of a rabbit [is split]. No trace was left of the silver statue of the master (i.e. Shakyamuni) either after [the Hor-s] came. The set of *Yum* [written] in gold was burnt [to the point of] looking like the skin of a black snake. The texts [written] on light [coloured paper] were dispersed in the lanes like deer skins. The disciples had fled like [when] a dog makes the wild animals flee. The benefactors had evaporated like water in a well during springtime. Having been taken as captives to the land of the Hor-s, all the people of the area were as though they had entered the gorges of *Bar.do*". The invasion recorded in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* recalls that by the Gar.log-s into Gu.ge in the first half of the 12th century, especially since the latter resulted in 'Od.'bar.rtse being taken to Turkestan as a prisoner. Other raids of later times by the Mongols had similar devastating effects on life and property (for a case of the slaughter of any form of life including animals during the Mongol conquest of Khorasan see Boyle, "The Mongol World Empire" p.616a-b).



from Khorasan led by Qutb-ud-din, the future sultan of Delhi, which consigned a major Hindu territory to iconoclast marauders. The latter destabilized lands far from the Gangetic plain and also affected the Himalayas, for the displaced peoples fled to the mountains and put pressure on indigenous populations. It cannot be ruled out that the calamity visited on the Tibetan plateau in 1193 was the result of the Muslim conquest in the plains. Another major military campaign in the same years affected the Himalayan hill states more directly. In 1191 Kumaon and Garhwal were invaded by Anekamalla from Nepalese territory<sup>591</sup>. None of the possible identities for the mtha'mi Hor-s of 1193 should be ruled out given the situation of great turmoil prevalent at that time.

After the dynasty founded by Nyi.ma.ngon ceased to exist as a bastion against destructive invasions of sTod, West Tibet and its Buddhist temples fell prey to the pillage of iconoclastic foreign armies. This is the historical situation of the 12th century testified to in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, in which devastating invasions are recorded. The Gar.log-s attacked Gu.ge in the reign of bKra.shis.rtse and unidentified marauders during that of rTse.'bar.btsan. To these, the two above mentioned raids recorded in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* have to be added, the first before 1168, the other in 1193-1194.

In these conditions it is evident that the permanent opening of the pilgrimage to Ti.se by the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s was impossible. Thus in the late 12th century, the custom of going to Ti.se for meditational purposes was exclusively the enterprise of individual hermits of the sect.

### *sTag.tsha Khri.'bar (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69)*

In the generation following the appointment of the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* by Byang.ngos, cooperation and friendly relations existed between the kings of lHo.stod and Pu.hrang, when they jointly patronized the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* in sTod according to 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.27b line 6-f.28a line 2; see below p.406 and n.666).

This indicates that, after the interregnum of Ngam Klu.rgyal, the rise of pro-lHo.stod Pu.hrang.pa-s occurred during the reign of Khri.'bar.btsan, the next ruler, whose political and sectarian inclinations are testified to in the above mentioned source. Given the bitter rivalry between lHo.stod and Byang.ngos, the latter's restoration of a *jo.bo* in Pu.hrang and the subsequent appearance of a number of rulers who openly sided with lHo.stod shows that a change of orientation in Pu.hrang occurred with the accession of Khri.'bar.btsan. This turn of events may point to a direct and decisive role played by Gu.ge lHo.stod in resurrecting the Pu.hrang dynasty and the renewal of its greatness.

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(591) On the inscriptions of the Barahat and Gopeswar tridents referring to this invasion see Atkinson, *Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces* (p.511-514); and Goetz, "The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon" (p.174).

With Khri.'bar.btsan, rights of succession were restored, Pu.hrang leaned towards lHo.stod, the rival of Byang.ngos in Gu.ge, and, after Ngam Klu.rgyal's *interregnum*, the latter's name was removed from the genealogy of the Pu.hrang kings<sup>592</sup>.

With sTag.tsha Khri.'bar a new phase of the history of Pu.hrang was inaugurated, with implications that were not exclusively political. A period of religious resurgence gained momentum through his support of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, who were thus able to secure a firm foothold. This phase had been preceded by the pioneering efforts to meditate at Ti.se in Mi.la ras.pa's footsteps by masters belonging to their sub-sects. Among these masters was Mar.lung.pa, the Tshal.pa who, as previously mentioned, met the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* Ngam Klu.rgyal a few years after the 1193-1194 war.

Hence, Ngam Klu.rgyal was the lord of Pu.hrang who first had contact with the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. He was almost certainly the Pu.hrang ruler met by the other early Tsha.lpa bKa'.brgyud.pa-s in West Tibet, these contemporaries of Mar.lung.pa being Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa<sup>593</sup> and rTogs.ltan g.Yung.sa.ba, who became the first Tshal.pa *bla.mchod* of the Pu.hrang ruler according to *Deb.ther dmar.po* (see below p.399 and n.650).

The earliest 'Bri.gung.pa expedition to Ti.se was organized by 'Jig.rten mgon.po in 1191<sup>594</sup>. The departure of the first Tshal.pa-s on pilgrimage to the holy mountain in 1195

(592) As will be shown below (p.425), the Gu.ge Byang.ngos king La.ga and his predecessor dGe.'bum, are not omitted from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* despite their doubtful right to rule. La.ga differed from Ngam Klu.rgyal in that he was a foreign ruler in a conquered kingdom. Tibetan literature, in the case of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and many other works, did not indulge in concealing periods of foreign dominance, a common practice in ancient Chinese literature, and therefore does not compel later scholars to make points based on arguments *e silentio*.

(593) On Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa being contemporary with Mar.lung.pa see *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.94a lines 4-5): "sTod.phyogs.su yong.bar chas.pa'i dus/ slob.dpon lHa.phyug mkhar.pa'i nye.gnas/ mched.grogs Sangs.rgyas mTshal.chung.ba la.sogs.pa'i mched.grogs rnam.kyi skyel.ma mdzad.pa'i dus/ rnal.'byor 'gro glu.'di gsungs.so", "At the time of his (Mar.lung.pa's) coming to sTod, when his travelling companion Sangs.rgyas mTshal.chung, who was the *nye.gnas* ("personal disciple") of slob.dpon lHa.phyugs mkhar.pa, and other travelling companions were appointed as escort, he sang the following song of a liberated *yogin*" and *ibid.* (f.149a line 4-f.150a line 1): "De'i dus Zhang 'gro.ba'i mgon.po g.Yu.brag.pa'i dngos.slob mTshal.pa chen.po Nyi.zla.'od yin/ de'i nye.gnas Sangs.ryas Tshal.pa bya.ba yin.pas de'i bla.ma mya.ngan.las 'das.pa dang/ sTod.phyogs Mi.la'i rdzong(f.149b).drug la sgom.du byon", "At that time, Zhang 'gro.ba'i mgon.po g.Yu.brag.pa's direct disciple was mTshal.pa chen.po Nyi.zla.'od. His *nye.gnas* was Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa. [When] the former's *bla.ma* (Zhang rin.po.che) died, he (Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa) went to meditate at Mi.la rdzong.drug in the direction of sTod" and *ibid.* (f.149b lines 3-4): "De.nas bdag.gis mched.grogs nye.gnas mTshal.chung.ba/ dBus nas byon.pa'i phebs", "Then, my (Mar.lung.pa's) travelling companion, (lHa.phyug mkhar.pa's) *nye.gnas* mTshal.chung.ba, who came [with me] from dBus, arrived". *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9b line 2-f.10a line 4) deals with Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa along the same lines. For his treatment in *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.141 line 17-p.142 line 4) see below n.637.

(594) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas, *'Jig.rten mgon.po rnam.thar* p.376 (lines 4-6): "De.nas dgong.lo bzhi.bcu zhe.drug bzhes te/ Tsha.yug du skyo.pa bsangs byon.ba.la phyir.la byon.bar ma.gnang nas/ dPal.chen Tsa.ri nas tshur.bos.nas yod.pa khong phyir btang/ na.bza' dang bzhugs.gdan dge.'dun.gyi spyi mdzo/ sbyil.po

(Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, and Mar.lung.pa who did not go as far as Ti.se at that time) (see p.393-395 and n.580, 593, 637 and 638), was almost contemporary with the expedition sent by 'Jig.rten mgon.po, as if the time was finally ripe to open the pilgrimage. The introduction of the 'Bri.gung.pa pilgrimage started on the wrong foot since Zhang.zhung was shattered by the devastating foreign inroad of 1193-1194 soon after the first group of 'Bri.gung.pa-s had been sent. A proof that the opening of the pilgrimage had again become difficult is that Mar.lung.pa and other Tshal.pa-s delayed going to sTod because of the invasion.

The second wave of 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s*' reached Ti.se in earth dragon 1208, and was led by Gar.pa Byang.rdor and Nyos.chen.po<sup>595</sup>.

tshun.chad sbong.dag.du mdzad/ der dge.'dun thams.cad Tsha.yug du phyin/ zhu.ba yang.yang phul.ba dang/ bla.ma Mal.gyis 'byon.pa'i zhu.rten du.nas khal brgya phul.bas dgon.par byon/ de.nas dge.'dun thams.cad ri dang gra.sa gzhan dang yul phyogs tha.dad.pa thams.cad du song gsungs", "Then, when he was forty-nine (i.e. in 1191, b.1143), he ('Jig.rten mgon.po) went to Tsha.yug in search of solitude and purification. As he did not come back [from there], [someone] from dPal.chen Tsa.ri was sent, but, soon after, he was sent away. ['Jig.rten mgon.po] donated robes and carpets to the monks. He even renounced the hut [in which he was meditating]. Hence, all the monks went to Tsha.yug. They repeatedly pleaded with him [to come back]. As bla.ma Mal went [there] and offered one hundred *khal-s* of barley, he ('Jig.rten mgon.po) returned to the *dgon.pa*. Then, he said that all the monks had to go to the mountains, other monasteries and lands in different directions". 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* records three occasions on which 'Jig.rten mgon.po sent pilgrims to Ti.se, two of them being preliminary to the final establishment of the pilgrimage. The first group to Ti.se was led by Ngad.phu.pa ('Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.26a lines 3-4: "Dang.por dge.bshes Ngad.phu.pa chen.po gtsos.pa gzhi.khrod thon cing sems.ngo 'phrod.pa'i dbu.che brgyad.bcu skor re.re Tsa.ri/ La.phyi/ Gangs.ri gsum.du brdzangs", "The first time, [they] went [to lay] the foundations of the hermitage led by dge.bshes Ngad.phu.pa chen.po and those endowed with a superior mind were sent in groups of eighty each to Tsa.ri, La.phyi, Gangs.ri". This first dispatch of pilgrims, the circumstances of which 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas, the author of 'Jig.rten mgon.po *rnam.thar*, does not elucidate, has thus to be fixed to iron pig 1191 on the basis of the passage above. This silence of the biography may be a sign that the first expedition was not successful. In fact, two years after the departure of the hermits, mNga'.ris.stod was ravaged by the devastating invasion of the Hor-s, which has been discussed at length in the present work.

(595) 'Jig.rten mgon.po *rnam.thar* is again instrumental in fixing the date of the expedition. It says (p.388 line 2): "Dus.der dgong.lo drug.bcu rtsa.drug...", "At that time he ('Jig.rten mgon.po) was sixty-six (in 1208)..." and *ibid.* (p.390 line 5-p.391 line 1): "Bu.slob tshogs skyong.ba yang rnam.pa drug byung ste/ stong ngam/ lnga.brgya 'am/ brgya 'am/ lnga.bcu 'am/ bcu'i skor yas.chad skyong.ba yang thar mi.ngon.no/ ri.khrod.pas ni sa.chen.po khyab ste/ U.rgyan nam/ Dznya.lan.dha.ra 'am/ Gan.dha.la/ Ti.se 'am/ rDo.rje.gdan nam/ Bal.yul lam/ (p.391) A.su.ra 'am/ La.phyi 'am/ Chu.bar ram/ Tsa.ri lag.pa gnas khyad.par.can mams.su/ Ti.ser ni sum.brgya re.re/ Tsa.rir ni brgya.tsho re.re/ La.phyi Chu.bar du brgya.tsho re.re", "It happened that he took care of his disciples [divided] into six groups in the following way: groups of one thousand, five hundred, one hundred, fifty, ten. These divisions he took care of are not discussed [here]. The hermits were scattered to the great places of U.rgyan, Dznya.lan.dha.ra (sic for Dza.lan.dha.ra), Gan.dha.la, Ti.se, rDo.rje.gdan, Bal.yul, A.su.ra, La.phyi, Chu.bar, Tsa.ri, to all these extraordinarily holy places. At Tise [was a group of] three hundred, at Tsa.ri a group of one hundred, at La.phyi Chu.bar a group of one hundred". 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* mentions that, on the second occasion, the group of *ri.pa-s* was led by gNyos.chen.po and Gar.pa Byang.rdor.

A few significant facts are found in *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar*. This biography, although historically difficult to assess, for some episodes in gNyos lHa.nang.pa's life are not treated in sequence and are revisited later in the text, indicates that gNyos lHa.nang.pa was at Ti.se twice, a notion that 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus does not clearly elucidate. Both sojourns are undated in *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar*, but correlating the information of his biography with 'Jig.rten mgon.po rnam.thar and 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus, a sounder chronology of his sojourns at Ti.se can be achieved. The statement of 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus that Gar.pa Byang.rdor (spelled Gar.pa Byang.stor throughout *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar*) led the Ti.se *ri.pa*-s in 1208 is confirmed by external evidence, for *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* testifies to the presence of Gar.pa Byang.rdor at the Pu.hrang court at the same time as gNyos lHa.nang.pa<sup>596</sup>. The gNyos chen.po of 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus, who led the second expedition to Ti.se with Gar.pa Byang.chub rdo.rje in earth dragon 1208, was gNyos lHa.nang.pa (called Rad.na in his biography and also gZi.brjid.dpal, Kha.rag tsa.pa and slob.dpon Jo.sras), because he is indicated in his *rnam.thar* as the headman of the expedition, in which Gar.pa Byang.dor also participated.

They met sTag.tsha Khri.'bar on the throne of Pu.hrang in the same year. Hence, the latter was the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* in 1208, several years before the hitherto earliest known date for sTag.tsha's reign. This is consistent with the sequence of rulers of Pu.hrang during that period, for Ngam Klu.rgyal is found ruling in 1200. gNyos lHa.nang.pa has to be thus classified among the earliest 'Bri.gung.pa-s who reached the mountain during the reign of sTag.tsha Khri.'bar.

*gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* also mentions that one of the Pu.hrang *ra.dza*-s wished to receive teachings from lHa.nang.pa, but Gar.pa Byang.stor's jealousy prevented it<sup>597</sup>.

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The second time, the conditions for the opening of the pilgrimage seemingly improved (ibid. f.26b line 1): "Bar.pa.la dge.bshes gNyos chen.po dang Gar.pa Byang.rdor la.sogs.pa Ti.ser dgu.brgya/ La.phyir dgu.brgya/ rTsa.rir dgu.brgya bcas brdzangs.pa yin", "The intermediate (i.e. second) time, nine hundred [*ri.pa*-s] led by dge.bshes gNyos chen.po and Gar.pa Byang.rdor were sent to Ti.se, nine hundred to La.phyi, nine hundred to rTsa.ri (sic)" (also Petech, "The 'Bri.gung.pa Sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh" p.315). The number of *ri.pa*-s sent to the hermitages varies in that *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* has seven hundred of them (see the following note). The third and definitive wave was in 1215, (its circumstances being duely acknowledged by 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus), which is dealt with immediately below in the text. I wish to thank Tashi Tsering for his kindness in searching out and giving me a copy of *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar*.

(596) *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* (f.35a lines 6-8): "gZhan.yang mu.ge chen.po gcig.la dpon.g.yog bdun.brgyas Ti.ser byon.pa'i dus.na/ lam.du o.brgyal zhing/ Pu.rangs su Gar.pa Byang.stor.gyis 'phra.dog byas zhing/ rgyal.po sTag.tshas zhabs spyi.bor len.pa rtsa.bkag", "Also, when *dpon* (gNyos lHa.nang.pa) and seven hundred followers went to Ti.se when a major famine occurred, the journey was exhausting. In Pu.rangs, Gar.pa Byang.stor (sic for Byang.rdor) was jealous of [gNyos lHa.nang.pa]. rGyal.po sTag.tsha ceased putting his (gNyos lHa.nang.pa's) feet on the crown of his head".

(597) *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* (f.84b line 2-f.85a line 2): "sNgar.ma yar byon.pa'i shul.lam.du dpon.g.yog bdun.brgya tsam yod.pa la/ mi.gzhan.la gnod.kyis dogs nas/ rang.rang.gi rgyags.la pris ma.bcug ste/

Another king of Pu.hrang had been thus coopted to the throne, as both *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* indicate. There is no way to tell whether the other ruler of Pu.hrang met by lHa.nang.pa in 1208 was sTag.tsha's elder son dNgos.grub mgon.po before he became the king of Mar.yul, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that he ruled Pu.hrang when his father took vows, or whether it was his younger son rNam.lde.mgon who was ruling with his father some eight years later in 1215, as *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* says (see below p.406 and n.666).

Subsequently, sTag.tsha also received Kha.che pan.chen in water bird 1213<sup>598</sup>. *Yar.lung jo.bo chos.'byung* and *lHo.rong chos.'byung* both identify him as the king of Pu.hrang who gave patronage to Shakya.shri.bha.dra on the latter's way back to Kha.che<sup>599</sup>. Shakya.shri.bha.dra spent his *dbyar.gnas* of water bird 1213 in Pu.hrang, which is confirmed

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dpon.g.yog thams.cad shin.tu 'phong.par byung.pa'i dus.na/ sdug.bsngal de.dag ngas lam.du gtang.pas/ lam.du 'bras.bu 'di.rnams byung.pa yin.pas/ da dge.'dun rnams ci bde.bar long.spyod.la 'o mi.rgyal.bar gyis gcig gsung nas/ dge.'dun sdug.sran chung.pa gyes.pa lhag.ma gsum.brgya tsam.la/ zas.gos dang/ mi.re.la rta.re byung ste/ dpon.g.yog rtsos Pu.rangs su byon/ Ra.dza 'khor.bcas.kyis kyang sna.len byas/ ra.dza gcig dbang zhu.bar 'dod.pas/ Gar.pa Byang.stor.gyis rtsa.bkag.pas/ ra.dza phyis shin.tu (f.85a) 'gyod.par gyur nas/ Rad.na'i slob.ma Jo.sras lHo.brag.pa la gSang.ba 'dus.pa'i dbang zhus rgyud bsnyan skad", "Previously on the way up (to sTod), as *dpon* and seven hundred disciples, fearing that other people could be harmful to them, relied on their own supplies, which caused great suffering to *dpon* and all his disciples. He said: "As I have not avoided these sufferings as they happened [to us] on our way, some [positive] events have to occur [on the rest of our] journey. [You] monks can do whatever is easy for you to do". The monks who could bear little suffering went back. It happened that the remaining three hundred odd [received] food, clothes, and each man a horse. *dPon* and his disciples arrived in Pu.rangs. The *raja* and his court received them [well]. One *raja* wished to receive empowerments [but] Gar.pa Byang.stor objected. Since the king later repented, it is said that he received Tantric teachings and the empowerment of *gSang.ba 'dus.pa* from Rad.na's (i.e. gNyoos lHa.nang.pa's) disciple Jo.sras lHo.brag.pa".

(598) Apart from Kha.che pan.chen, the religious exponents active during the reign of sTag.tsha (i.e. not before 1200) were bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. The 'Bri.gung.pa-s were gNyoos lHa.nang.pa; Gar.pa Byang.rdor; brTson.'grus seng.ge; Seng.ge ye.shes; 'Bri.gung gling.pa and his companions on his journey to Ti.se (rDor.blo, rDo.rje and 'Dan.ma Chos.seng); rDo.rje mdzes.'od. The 'Brug.pa-s were Ye.shes rdo.rje; rGod.tshang.pa and his companions rDo.rje sang.rgyas, Dam.pa gTsang and Yon.btsun 'Bum.dpal; and probably Tshal.pa Dharma bsod.nams.

(599) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* says (p.179 lines 9-11): "Chu.mo.byai lo.la sPu.rangs su bzhugs nas/ chos.kyi rgyal.po sTag.tsha'i bla.ma mdzad cing/ de.nas rims.kyis Kha.cher bzhud.do", "In the water female bird year (1213), he (Kha.chen pan.chen), having sojourned in sPu.rangs, was the *bla.ma* of chos.kyi rgyal.po sTag.tsha. Then he went to Kha.che in stages". In the biography of Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba Byams.pa.dpal (1172-?), the author of *lHo.rong chos.'byung* discusses his invitation to Kha.che pan.chen Shakya.shri.bhadra and the latter's sojourn in Tibet from 1204 to 1213. In reference to a bird year, which must be water bird 1213 because this is the only bird year Kha.che pan.chen spent in Tibet, he says (p.334 lines 5-7): "De'i phyi.ma byai lo.la sPu.rang du bzhugs.nas chos.kyi rgyal.po sTag.tsha'i bla.ma mdzad", "In the following [year], the bird year (1213), as he stayed in sPu.rang, he (Kha.che pan.chen) was the *bla.ma* of chos.kyi rgyal.po sTag.tsha".

by *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed*, when it says that Kha.che pan.chen passed by Pu.hrang in the same year<sup>600</sup>.

sTag.tsha Khri.'bar definitively established relations between Pu.hrang and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in 1215 on the occasion of the third expedition sent by 'Jig.rten mgon.po to the holy mountain (see below p.406 and n.666). The two major 'Bri.gung.pa expeditions to Ti.se in 1208 and 1215 are said in *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* to have been caused by famines<sup>601</sup>. *Ri.pa-s* were not sent to meditate at the holy mountain solely for spiritual reasons. Ensuring the survival of members of the 'Bri.gung.pa community necessitated the stable occupation of meditation places, but this was only possible when political conditions were suitable for the *ri.pa-s* to settle in sTod.

It is noteworthy that sTag.tsha Khri.'bar chose religious life (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 lines 13-15), while, on the whole, the kings of Pu.hrang, after it was separated from Gu.ge, did not do so and did not follow the custom previously established in sTod by which kings often took vows in their maturity. In fact, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not credit any Pu.hrang ruler other than rDo.rje seng.ge, described as a *lha.btsun* (p.71 lines 1-2), with entering religion. rDo.rje seng.ge, to whom *Kho.char dkar.chag* also attributes this title, was active in the third quarter of the 13th century (see below p.452)<sup>602</sup>. While

(600) *bsTan.rtsis gsal.ba'i nyin.byed* (p.157 lines 14-15): "Rim.gyis Khro.phu nas mNga'.ris su phebs te/ bya.lo'i dbyar.gnas Pu.rangs su gnang", "He went in stages from Khro.phu to mNga'.ris. He had his *dbyar.gnas* of the bird year (1213) in Pu.rangs". Kha.che pan.chen Shakya.shri's purpose in coming to Tibet is not difficult to understand. He was the last abbot of Vikramashila. His monastery lost, he decided to return to his native land, where much was needed to be done to ensure the survival of Buddhism, as he declared in Tibet, along the route to Kha.che safest in those days, which crossed the highlands of Tibet. Travelling through the Gangetic plain, infested with hostile Muslims holding sway over Northern India, would have been a hazardous undertaking. After a long sojourn in dBus.gTsang at Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba's invitation, he passed through sTod and reached Kha.che ten years after his departure from India (*lHa.rong chos.byung* p.332 line 20-p.333 line 1: "Byin.'bebs thams.cad pan.chen nyid.kyis mdzad.nas gTsang du lo.bzhi/ dBus su lo.bzhi/ yar.lam gTsang dang mNga'.ris su (p.333) lo.gnyis bzhugs", "As [Kha.che] pan.chen personally gave all [sorts of] blessings, he stayed four years in gTsang, four years in dBus, two years on the way up (to the West) between gTsang and mNga'.ris").

(601) For the famine which obliged 'Bri.gung.pa-s to go to Ti.se in 1208 (*gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* f.35a lines 6-8) see above n.596. For the famine that occasioned the third expedition see *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* (f.80b lines 1-4): "sNgon mu.ge chen.po gcig byung.pa'i dus.su/ sngon La.phyi na bzhugs.pa'i dus.su/ dpon.g.yog mang.pos Gangs Ti.se dang/ mtsho Ma.'phang la byon.pa'i dus.su/ ru.ba.tshan ched.po yod.pas ltad.mo.ba mangs.nas glags ma.byung/ nyi.ma phyi.ma.la 'khrus.sgo de.bas dben.pa gcig.du byon", "When there was a great famine while he was staying at La.phyi, *dpon* and many disciples went to Gangs Ti.se and mtsho Ma.'phang. The group of ['Bri.gung.pa-s] being very large, many onlookers [came to see], who could not be turned away. In the following days they (the 'Bri.gung.pa-s) went to a more secluded bathing door".

(602) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b = p.55 lines 13-14): "De.la sras.gsum byung.pas chung.ba lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge'i sras khri bKra.shis bSod.nams.lde", "As he (sTobs.btsan.lde sic for sTobs.liding.btsan) had three sons, khri bKra.shis bSod.nams.lde was the son of the youngest, lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge". According to *mNga'.ris*

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* states the sTag.tsha Khri.'bar left the throne to his son dNgos.grub.mgon when he took vows, the text does not clarify whether rDo.rje seng.ge's religious status was assumed before or after he ascended the throne. In the latter case, he must have abdicated, but, since rDo.rje seng.ge was a *lha.btsun* who had to fill the vacancy left by his brothers' captivity at dKar.dum (see below p.445), it seems more likely that he occupied the throne after becoming a monk.

The political preeminence of Pu.hrang was reinforced by the religious patronage accorded to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and, it should not be forgotten, to the equally powerful Tshal.pa-s. An alliance with the related dynasty of Ya.rtse contributed to the political strengthening of the kingdom. Pu.hrang underwent a period of splendour only matched by that of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

A clue to the date of sTag.tsha's death is an episode in the biography of 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas (1187-1241) in which the latter gave teachings to the Pu.hrang royal family, i.e. jo.bo A.tig.sman, jo.bo (sic for jo.mo) 'Bum.rgyan and mnga'.bdag sTag.tsha's *sring.mo* ("sister") jo.jo dGe.slong.ma<sup>603</sup>. Particularly given his faith in Buddhism, the absence of sTag.tsha, A.tig's father who had renounced the throne to become a monk, from the list of members of his family who received instruction, is remarkable (on the identity of jo.bo A.tig.sman see below p.381). It is proof that sTag.tsha was not there to attend 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's teachings. Thus sTag.tsha Khri.'bar's death probably occurred before iron dragon 1220, for a few statements in rDo.rje mdzes.'od's *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*, containing the biography of Ri.khrod dBang.phyug ('Bri.gung.gling.pa's travelling companion to sTod) help to assess the time in which 'Bri.gung.gling.pa imparted religious teachings to the Pu.hrang royal family<sup>604</sup>. After

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*rgyal.rabs* (p.70 line 19-p.71 line 2), *lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge* was not the son of sTobs.btsan.lde, who must not be confused with bTsan.stobs.lde (ruling in the late 12th century), but of sTobs.liding.btsan. This is confirmed by the fact that rDo.rje seng.ge's son bSod.nams.lde was active in the second half of the 13th century and in the first half of the 14th.

(603) *'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* (p.22 lines 1-4): "Dus.der ni dgung.lo so.gsum bzhes.sol de.nas Byang lam brgyud sTod du phebs.pas/ jo.bo A.tig.can du phebs/ jo.bo 'khor bcas.la/ Sems.bskyed dang dbang.bskur gnan/ Phyag.rgya'i chen.po khrid btab.pas. ro.cig.gi rtogs.pa 'khrungs tel/ mi.phyed.pa'i dad.pa brtan.po dang ldan.par gyur.do/ gzhan.yang jo.bo 'Bum.rgyan dang/ mnga'.bdag sTag.tsha'i sring.mo/ jo.jo dGe.slong.ma la.sogs la'ang dbang.bskur zhing gdams.pa yang gnan", "At that time ['Bri.gung.gling.pa] was thirty-three (1219). Then he went to sTod via the Byang route. He went [to see] the *jo.bo* bearing [the name] A.tig. He gave empowerments and *Sems.bskyed* to *jo.bo* and his court. He gave them basic instruction on *Phyag.rgya chen.po*. Consequently, awareness was born in them, which became a single hearted and steadfast faith. Furthermore, he also gave empowerments and teachings to *jo.bo* (sic for *jo.mo*) 'Bum.rgyan and *jo.jo dGe.slong.ma*, the sister of *mnga'.bdag sTag.tsha*".

(604) The biography of Ri.khrod dBang.phyug, partly written by his disciple Don.mo.ri.pa (ibid p.473 line 3), and contained in rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*, (p.458 lines 2-4) reads: "Mya.ngan las.'da' ka.na sku'i mdun drang.por bzhugs ste rin.po.che.la spyang.gzigs.pa'i ngang de.nyid.la mya.ngan.

las.'das.so/ de.nas spur dang gdung.gi nyer.ka...mdzad.pa'o", "At the time of his ('Jig.rten mgon.po's) passing away, he (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) sat straight in front of him and looked at *rin.po.che* ('Jig.rten mgon.po). At that moment he passed away. Thereafter, he took care of his body and the tomb"; *ibid.* (p.458 line 5-p.459 line 1): "Chos.rje mya.ngan las.'das.pa'i de'i dbyar.mchod.par 'Bri.gung du bzhugs de.la gSer.khang du zla.ba phyed dang gnyis bzhugs/ de.nas rTa.rar dpon sgom.pa'i bla.mchod mdzad/ slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung dang bKra.shis rin.chen rnam.kyang bzhugs/ dbyar(p.459).mchod thon.nas Byang.ngan phar byon/ dpon sgom.pas kyang zhag.gnyis.kyi bar.du bskyal", "He (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) stayed at 'Bri.gung for the performance of practices during the summer in which *chos.rje* passed away. He stayed at the gSer.khang for one and a half months. Then he became the *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma*") of *dpon sgom.pa* ("head meditator") at rTa.ra. Slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung and bKra.shis rin.chen were also there. After completing the summer practices, he went on to Byang, [which is] a rough [land]. *dPon sgom.pa* accompanied him for the distance of two days [journey]"; *ibid.* (p.459 lines 2-3): "gNam.mtsho Se.mo.dor byon/ de'i rgun mChog.gi dgon.pa dar.sna.can du bzhugs nas/ sa.ma.dhi'i rol.rtsed mang.po mdzad", "He went to gNam.mtsho Se.mo.do. That winter, as he stayed at mChog.gi dgon.pa dar.sna.can ("which has a variety of flags"), he performed many dances of *samadhi*" and *ibid.* (p.459 line 4-p.460 line 1): "De.nas dbyar Ti.ser byon.pa'i lam.du/ rta lnga.drug 'bul.ba yang byung/ Ti.ser dbyar.mchod.kyi zla.ba'i nyi.shu.gsum la phebs/ bzhi.la bzhugs/ gde.'dun.la mang.bskol mdzad rta.gcig phul/ rta.gsum yar.la 'grog.pa'i dge.'dun grogs.po.tsho la gngang/ rta.gcig sgom.pa Don.blo bya.ba slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung.gi nye.gnas kho rta 'dod.pa 'dug.pas de.la gngang/ rta.gnyis lam.du lus.pa physis sos.nas 'Bri.gung du phul/ de(p.460).nas Ti.se'i Shel.'dra ru dbyar.rgun.gsum bzhugs te mthun.rkyen bla.bzhang.gis [note in the text: Pu.rang chos.rgyal yab.sras] phul", "Then in summer, on the way to Ti.se, it happened that he (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) was offered five or six horses. He arrived at Ti.se on the twenty-third day of the *dbyar.mchod* month. The four of them (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug and his companions) stayed there. He offered one horse to the monk who served him tea [throughout the journey]. He gave three horses to the monk companions who had accompanied him upwards (to Ti.se). To sgom.pa Dor.blo, the *nye.gnas* of slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung, who wished to have a horse, to him he gave one horse. He offered to 'Bri.gung the two horses which were left behind after [properly] feeding them. Then he stayed two summers and one winter at Ti.se Shel.'dra. His upkeep was sponsored by *bla.zhang-s* [note in the text: they are the Pu.rang *chos.rgyal-s*, the father and son]".

The text continues with the description of his visions at Ti.se and one of his dreams. After the dream it says (*ibid.* p.460 line 4-p.461 line 3): "Nangs.par gTsang.pa dang slob.dpon.la gdan bag.tsam mi.mthun.pa 'dug.pa.la dum.par mdzad.do/ de.nas ston Dol.por byon.pa'i dus.su slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung bsdud.gyin yod.pas mjal.du byon.nas da Pu.rangs su mi.sdod Sle.mi na phar 'gro gsungs.pas de ma.dga' zer/ ngas Dwags.po mang.po'i dpon mi.yong gsungs.pas/ de.bden khyod (p.461) graI.mgo bya dgos.nyen zer te cang mi.gsung de.ka.la bzhengs te byon.no/ Pu.rangs su byon.pa dang bla.bzhang.gis bshol.bas ma.gsan.pas/ jo.bo A.tig na.re nyid.la mi.nyan yang slob.dpon dbon.po.la ma.dris.par 'gro'am zer.bas/ ngas dris zin gsungs.pas physis khong.pa thams.cad.kyis 'bar.bas/ slob.dpon dbon.po na.re de.tsam snang.thom song.nas smra.ba ma.byung gsung skad.do", "The following morning, gTsang.pa and *slob.dpon* having had a little disagreement over [who had] to stay [there to be the leader], he (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) settled the dispute. Then in autumn, when he was leaving for Dol.po, as he went to see slob.dpon dbon.po Sher.'byung, who was staying on, he told him: "I am not going to be in Pu.rangs at present. I am going to Sle.mi". [Sher.'byung] said:



'Jig.rten mgon.po died in *sa.ga zla.ba* of fire ox 1217, his nephew (*dbon.po*) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas performed his last rites. In 1218 he stayed meditating for one year in a cave at gNam.mtsho.do<sup>605</sup> and then travelled to sTod with Ri.khrod dBang.phyug<sup>606</sup>. Shes.rab 'byung.gnas, Ri.khrod dBang.phyug and their companions arrived at Ti.se in the summer of earth hare 1219. Ri.khrod dBang.phyug spent more than one year meditating at Ti.se (the text describes his sojourn in terms of a period covering two consecutive summers), which means that he was absorbed in this activity until around the end of the summer of 1220. His meditation was supported by the *bla.zhang*, who, in a note to the same passage in *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*, is identified as Pu.hrang *chos.rgyal yab.sras*, a term referring to sTag.tsha and his son A.tig (see above n.604)<sup>607</sup>. *Bla.zhang yab.sras* ("the royal father and son") identifies sTag.tsha and rNam.lde.mgon/A.tig not only because they ruled jointly in those years, but also since rNam.lde.mgon had no issue (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 line 11). After the year spent at Ti.se, Ri.khrod dBang.phyug went to Pu.hrang where he met 'Bri.gung.gling.pa and the Pu.hrang *bla.zhang*, named A.tig in the next sentence. sTag.tsha's death seems to have occurred during the year spent by Ri.khrod dBang.phyug at Ti.se between the summer of 1219 and the summer of 1220, while his reign had begun some time after 1200.

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"I am not happy about this". [Ri.khrod dBang.phyug added]: "I did not come [here like you] to be the headman of many Dwags.po (bKa'.brgyud.pa-s)". [Sher.'byung admitted]: "This is true". [Ri.khrod dBang.phyug concluded]: "You might be obliged to sit at the head of the row (i.e. to be the local headman of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s)". [Sher.'byung] did not say anything more. [Ri.khrod dBang.phyug] got up and left. He [first] went to Pu.rangs[.smad]. The *bla.zhang* (jo.bo A.tig) tried to postpone [his departure] but he did not comply. As jo.bo A.tig said: "If you do not listen to me, you should not leave without at least asking *slob.dpon dbon.po* [for permission]", as he replied "I have [already] asked him", then all of them (A.tig and everybody else) were furious. It is said that *slob.dpon dbon.po* exclaimed: "At that time I was dizzy and I did not hear what he said".

(605) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas *rnam.thar* (p.21 lines 3-4): "De.ltar gNam.mtshor lo.gcig bzhuks.nas Ti.ser 'byon.par bzhed", "In this way, having stayed one year (1218) at gNam.mtsho, he decided to go to Ti.se".

(606) Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' companions were Dor.blo, rDo.rje and 'Dan.ma Chos.seng according to 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas *rnam.thar* (p.21 line 6-p.22 line 1): "De.nas nyid.kyi phyag.phyir Dor.blo dang/ rDo.rje dang/ 'Dan.ma Chos.seng dang/ slob.dpon bzhi gshegs". From the combined evidence of 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas *rnam.thar* and *Ri.khrod dBang.phyug rnam.thar* it is beyond doubt that Shes.rab 'byung.gnas and Ri.khrod dBang.phyug travelled together. Unless one recognizes the latter in 'Dan.ma Chos.seng, which is probably incorrect, Ri.khrod dBang.phyug is not included by 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas *rnam.thar* among 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's travelling companions because he was not part of his closest entourage during the journey.

(607) For a clearer occurrence of this identification, written "sTag.tsha A.tig yab.sras bla.zhang", see 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.31a lines 5-6): "rJe Seng.ye 'dis Pu.rang.gi rgyal.po sTag.tsha dang/ A.tig yab.sras bla.zhang.blon gsum dang bcas.pa.la Byang.chub sems.bskyed.kyi sdom.pa gnang", "This rje Seng[ge] ye[shes] gave the *Byang.chub sems.dpa'* sems.bskyed vow to the Pu.rang king sTag.tsha and A.tig, father and son, the *bla.zhang* (lit. "uncle bla.ma", a term identifying the Pu.hrang rulers) and their minister, these three".

*dNgos.grub mgon.po and rNam.lde.mgon (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69-70)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 lines 13-18 and p.70 line 12) says that dNgos.grub mgon.po was sTag.tsha Khri.'bar's son and the brother of rNam.lde.mgon. He is assessed by Ngag.dbang grags.pa as the king who ruled Pu.hrang after sTag.tsha became a monk, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 lines 13-14) says that when Khri.'bar.btsan became *bla.chen*, dNgos.grub.mgon was made *mnga'.bdag*. In *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, a king of Mar.yul who patronized the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in the same period is named dNgos.grub<sup>608</sup>. 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.27b line 6-f.28a line 2) mentions a dNgos.grub.mgon, king of Mar.yul, who, together with the Pu.hrang jo.bo-s sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and gNam.lde.mgon, gave patronage to the 'Bri.gung ri.pa-s at Ti.se in wood pig 1215 (see below p.406 and n.666). dNgos.grub.mgon is also recorded in *Kho.char dkar.chag* as the son of sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and a ruler of Pu.hrang<sup>609</sup>.

Information on dNgos.grub mgon.po in all these sources seems equally reliable although contradictory. The coincidence of two contemporary kings of Pu.hrang and Mar.yul having the same name and both being staunch supporters of the 'Bri.gung ri.pa-s at Ti.se can hardly be fortuitous.

An additional important insight into the role these alleged two rulers had in the kingdoms of sTod is offered by a passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 lines 18-19), which says that dNgos.grub.mgon was succeeded by his brother rNam.mgon.lde (known as gNam.mgon.lde to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, he was actually one of its greatest kings) on the Pu.hrang throne. It seems that, by the time when sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and his younger son rNam.lde.mgon, both indicated in the 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus as kings of Pu.hrang, and the elder son dNgos.grub.mgon, indicated as the king of Mar.yul by the same source, supported Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, the first 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se, in 1215, dNgos.grub mgon.po had left the Pu.hrang throne to his younger brother to rule Mar.yul. These two dNgos.grub.mgon-s were thus one and the same king, who reigned briefly in Pu.hrang

(608) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.44 lines 8-12; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 lines 9-11): "De'i sras lha.chen dNgos.grub/ rgyal.po de'i dus.su/ rab.tu byung.ba dBus.gTsang du 'gro.ba'i strol.btsugs nas/ yab.mes.gyi gtsug.lag.khang rnam.s zhig gsos mdzad.pa dang/ khyad.par.du chos.kyi rje 'Jig.rten gsum.gyi mgon.po'i drung.du/ gser dngul zangs byi.ru mu.tig la.sogs.pa'i brgya 'bul", "His successor was lha.chen dNgos.grub. During the reign of this king, the custom of sending ordained monks to dBus.gTsang was established. He restored the *gtsug.lag.khang*-s of the ancestors and, in particular, he donated much gold, silver, copper, coral and pearls to chos.kyi rje 'Jig.rten mgon.po".

(609) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.10a = p.47 lines 6-7): "De'i sras khri bKra.shis dNgos.grub.mgon dang/ gNam.mgon.lde gnyis byung", "His (sTag.tsha's) sons were khri bKra.shis dNgos.grub.mgon and gNam.mgon.lde, these two". The use of the title *khri* given to dNgos.grub.mgon makes him an enthroned king, which is confirmed by the fact that the *dkar.chag*, after dealing with the members of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal family of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, only includes the members of the Pu.hrang royal family who occupied its throne.

before ascending the Mar.yul throne, for rNam.lde.mgon is found ruling the former kingdom by 1215.

The increase of Pu.hrang.pa power, demonstrated by dNgos.grub.mgon's rule of Mar.yul, is confirmed by the fact that a king of Pu.hrang donated monasteries to the Tshal.pa-s in Byang, showing that the kingdom had extended control over lands on its eastern side (see below p.413). This must have created the conditions of stability which contributed to the expansion of 'Bri.gung.pa influence from Byang.thang as far as La.dwags before the power of this sect was sanctioned by the Mongols (*Si.tu bKa'.cnems in rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.113 lines 11-13) (see below p.418-420 and n.698).

A few remarks have to be made here concerning the identity of A.tig.sman, the ruler of Pu.hrang also known as A.tig, who is not mentioned by this name in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. A.tig.sman appears in a few 'Bri.gung.pa documents, including *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* by 'Jig.rten mgon.po/'Bri.gung.gling.pa (f.23a line 7; see below n.779), in which he is considered senior to the Ya.rtse king Grags.pa.lde (ruling in 1223) (see below p.462). This restricts the possible identities either to dNgos.grub.mgon or to rNam.lde.mgon, as no other succession had taken place in the meantime on the Pu.hrang throne. A.tig.sman must have been one of these two brothers. Given that in 1215 the elder brother dNgos.grub.mgon had already left the throne of Pu.hrang to his younger brother to occupy that of Mar.yul, rNam.lde.mgon must have been the king of Pu.hrang at that time. According to '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus*, a few years later, in earth hare 1219, when 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas is found in Pu.hrang meeting the Ya.rtse king Grags.pa.lde, the ruler of Pu.hrang is named A.tig.sman<sup>610</sup>. A.tig.sman, lord of Pu.hrang when dNgos.grub.mgon was on the Mar.yul throne, was thus rNam.lde.mgon. Further evidence, instrumental in confirming A.tig.sman's identity and the time frame for his reign in Pu.hrang, which coincided with the rule of rNam.lde.mgon (see below n.666), making them one and the same king, is offered by the episode found in other sources of the meeting of A.tig.sman with the same 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas soon after the latter arrived at Ti.se in the summer of earth hare 1219<sup>611</sup>.

(610) '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.29a line 4-f.29b line 1): "De'i rjes.su 'Bri.gung spyan.snga Shes.rab 'byung.gnas sam 'Bri.gung.gling.pa zhes.grags.pa de.nyid 'khor rab.byung lnga.brgya dang bcas.pa byon zhing bzhugs.yul Bya.skyibs dang/ Dar.lung.gi phu'i sgrub.phug sogs.su bzhugs.pas rtogs.pa'i yon.tan dpag.tu med.pa brnyes/ rje 'dis Pu.rang rgyal.po jo.bo A.tig.sman la bDe.mchog.gi dbang.mo.che dang rDo.rje theg.pa'i bskyed.rdzogs.kyi sgom btab.pa'i yon.du Pu.rang Kho.char lha.khang dang/ Dam.pa.rdzong/ Lag.phreng thod.dkar/ (f.29b) mGon.pa Ro.ma/ 'Um.lo shing.phug, Ri.bo rtse.brgyad/ Li.dur bcas rGyang.grags.pa'i lha.'bangs.su phul", "Then, 'Bri.gung spyan.snga Shes.rab 'byung.gnas otherwise known as 'Bri.gung.gling.pa came with a retinue of five hundred monks. While staying at Bya.skyibs and the meditation cave in upper Dar.lung, he obtained innumerable signs of wisdom. This lord (Shes.rab 'byung.gnas) gave the great initiation of bDe.mchog and the basics for the meditation stages on *rDo.rje theg.pa* to the Pu.rang king jo.bo A.tig.sman. In return, he was awarded the religious and secular properties of the rGyang.grags.pa-s including Pu.rang Kho.char lha.khang and Dam.pa.rdzong, Lag.phreng thod.dkar, mGon.pa Ro.ma, 'Um.lo shing.phug, Ri.bo rtse.brgyad and Li.dur".

(611) '*Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* (p.22 lines 1-4); rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar*

Nowhere is it stated whether dNgos.grub.mgon ruled the whole of La.dwags or only a part of it. *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* and *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* record that he was king of Mar.yul without any further elaboration, while *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* does not mention him at all since this text has a gap of over two hundred years from the second quarter of the 11th century until the mid 13th century (see below p.497 and n.836)<sup>612</sup>. Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan in his *'Bri.gung gser.phreng* says that 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas renovated Bla.ma g.yu.ru<sup>613</sup>. Given the year in which dNgos.grub.mgon is documented to have ruled in Mar.yul (1215) and the period in which Shes.rab 'byung.gnas resided in sTod (1219-1225), it is probable that dNgos.grub.mgon sponsored this renovation, not least because of his close association with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. A sign which may indicate that dNgos.grub.mgon supported Shes.rab 'byung.gnas when he was active at Bla.ma g.yu.ru can be derived from the reference in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* that dNgos.grub.mgon renovated temples of the ancestors (lHa.sa ed. p.44 lines 9-10; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.31 lines 9-10) (see above n.608). Inspection of the Seng.ge.sgang shows it to be the Bla.ma g.yu.ru temple that Shes.rab 'byung.gnas worked on, since it contains murals dating to the 13th century and also sculpture and wall paintings to the time of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, and is therefore a temple of the ancestors<sup>614</sup>. That dNgos.grub.mgon ruled in La.dwags.gsham, where Bla.ma g.yu.ru is located, is

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*chen.mo* (p.461 lines 2-3); *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.712 line 11): "mNga'.bdag A.dig la Phyag.rgya chen.po'i khrid gnang", "He (Shes.rab 'byung.gnas) gave instruction on *Phyag.rgya chen.po* to mnga'.bdag A.dig (sic)". 'Bum.rgyan, one of the ladies to whom 'Bri.gung.gling.pa gave teachings (*'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* p.22 line 3) is called Jo.'bum rgyal.mo, the wife of the Pu.hrang king rNam.lde.mgon/gNam.mgon.lde in *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.10b = p.47 lines 15-16): "rGyal.po gNam.mgon.lde rang.nyid dang lcam rje.btsun sGrol.ma'i rnam.'phrul Jo.'bum rgyal.mo gnyis zhal.gros", "King rNam.mgon.lde and his wife Jo.'bum, the incarnation of rje.btsun sGrol.ma, these two, conferred". The association of Jo.'bum with A.tig.sman reinforces the notion that Jo.bo A.tig was rNam.lde.mgon.

(612) Immediately after dealing with 'Od.lde (p.339 lines 2-6), *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.339 lines 9-10) discusses the Dard king of Mar.yul known as De.khyim to *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar*: "De.nas Mar.yul lung phyogs.su phyin/ lha.chen gZi.di.khyim.gyis mchod.gnas byas", "Then he (O.rgyan.pa) went to the land of Mar.yul. He was the *mchod.gnas* ("officiating *bla.ma*") of lha.chen gZi.di.khyim"

(613) Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, *'Bri.gung gser.phreng* (p.100 lines 2-3): "Ti.se dang/ g.Yu.ru sog.s.kyi dgon.gnas kyang 'debs.par mdzad", "[Shes.rab 'byung.gnas] also founded monasteries and holy places at Ti.se and [Bla.ma] g.yu.ru".

(614) Wall paintings in the Tibeto-Pala style of the 13th century are still found in the Seng.ge.sgang together with relics dating to the Kha.che artistic period in West Tibet (i.e. the sculpted cycle composing its shrine and some murals depicting *dkyil.'khor-s* on the left wall). Some *mchod.rten-s* of the *Byang.chub chen.po* type, also called *Ka.ni.ka mchod.rten-s* in the literature (i.e. *stupa-s* with a passageway), are located near to the Seng.ge.sgang below the sandy spur on which the later Bla.ma g.yu.ru monastery was built. These *mchod.rten-s* are to the south-west of the spur, while the Seng.ge.sgang is near its bottom to the south. At least one of them

thus highly probable on the basis of the cross-reference provided by these two sources. This does not conclusively confine dNgos.grub.mgon's rule to a part of La.dwags. On the other hand, the literature, including *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which has a genealogical gap after dNgos.grub.mgon, does not make clear the succession to dNgos.grub.mgon in Mar.yul. Nevertheless, hints in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* help to shed light on the issue.

dNgos.grub.mgon's son rGyal.stobs.lde (missing in *Kho.char dkar.chag*)<sup>615</sup>, who succeeded his uncle rNam.lde.mgon on the throne of Pu.hrang in the second quarter of the

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contains murals painted in the 13th century Tibeto-Pala style. I wish to add here a word on the nature of the *Ka.ni.ka stupa*. The well known *Ka.ni.ka stupa* at Sa.ni in Zangs.dkar is traditionally believed in La.dwags to be a stupa erected either by Asoka, or by the Kushan emperor Kaniska, presumably because of the similarity between the name of the *mchod.rten* and that of the latter emperor (dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring, *Zangs.dkar rgyal.rabs dang chos.'byung* p.68 lines 1-4 for Asoka; Snellgrove-Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* vol.II p.9 for Kaniska). The latter belief is far-fetched, for several *Ka.ni.ka mchod.rten*-s are found in Tibetan literature, built at the most disparate places in the vast expanse of lands of the Tibetan world, and at all periods. One example of a *Ka.ni.ka stupa* relevant to the present issue is the *mchod.rten* in Gung.thang from which rig.'dzin Tshe.dbang nor.bu extracted the ancient document relating to the early kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang that he used in *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs* (p.74 lines 1-3) (see also above p.179 and n.249). I doubt one can say that these *mchod.rten*-s were all built by Kaniska since he would have had to have lived for about a thousand years and travelled all over Tibet. A *mchod.rten Ka.ni.ka* is a type of *stupa* and, as said above, is a *stupa* with a passageway. This is the case of *mchod.rten Khong.seng* along the *Ti.se skor.lam* also called *Ka.ni.ka mchod.rten*.

(615) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b = p.55 lines 11-12): "Khri bKra.shis dNgos.grub.mgon.gyi sras khri bKra.shis rGyal.po.lde", "Khri bKra.shis dNgos.grub.mgon's son was khri bKra.shis rGyal.po.lde". This succession in the *dkar.chag* is faulty because, on the basis of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.70 line 12), the son of dNgos.grub.mgon was rGyal.stobs.lde, who is omitted in the former text, because rGyal.po.lde of the *dkar.chag* corresponds to rGyal.lde of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, the subsequent Pu.hrang *jo.bo*.

*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* has lineage of Pu.hrang kings after dNgos.grub.mgon similar to that found in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, since it includes the son of dNgos.grub.mgon missing from *Kho.char dkar.chag*. It calls him sTobs.rgyal.lde (ibid. f.10b line 5: "gCen dNgos.grub.mgon.gyi sras sTobs.rgyal.lde"). However, differently from *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* does not record that gNam.mgon.lde had no issue.

rDo.rje mdzes.'od (*bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo*), in his biography of Ri.khrod dBang.phyug, mentions jo.jo lHa.gcig queen of Pu.hrang on the occasion of a visit by the former master (p.471 lines 2-4): "Dus.de jo.bo'i btsun.mo jo.jo lHa.gcig.gi mthong.snang la/ Byang.chub sems.dpa' Ma.dros.pa la.sogs.pa Pu.rangs.kyi mi.ma.yin.pa thams.cad.kyis phyag dang mchod.pa chen.po 'bul.ba dang/ chos dang sems.bskyed zhu.ba dang/ khyad.par.du klu'i rgyal.po Byang.chub sems.dpa' Ma.dros.pas sKyid yan.chad bar mi.skyod zhu.ba la.sogs.pa mthong skad", "At that time, jo.jo lHa.gcig, the wife of the [Pu.hrang] *jo.bo*, had a vision that all the *mi.ma.yin.pa*-s of Pu.rangs were offering prostrations and great worship to Byang.chub sems.dpa' Ma.dros.pa, receiving teachings and *Sems.bskyed*. In particular, it is said that she saw klu'i rgyal.po Byang.chub sems.dpa' Ma.dros.pa pleading with them not to move beyond sKyid (sKyid.thang near bZher)". The date of this episode is gleaned from another passage to have been dragon year 1244 (p.468 line 3: "'Brug.gi lo ston.zla 'bring.po tshes.gsum la..."), "On the third day of the middle autumn month of the dragon year...". She is mentioned nowhere else. The likely candidates to have been her husband are rGyal.stobs.lde, the son of dNgos.grub.mgon.po, or the next Pu.hrang king rGyal.lde. No clues are available to determine which events prevented Ri.khrod dBang.phyug going farther than bZher, near the present border of Nepal.

13th century, brought his kingdom to a new peak. It extended as far as Shar.tsha.gyi (sic) Gye.khod kha.la in the east and, in the west, as far as gSer.gdung.shing (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 lines 12-13).

Both these locations, marking the borders of rGyal.stobs.lde's dominions, are difficult to identify, but a few points deserve attention. The place name identifying the eastern limit of rGyal.stobs.lde's kingdom is badly corrupted. It is obvious that the use of the genitive particle *gyi* following the name Shar.tsha goes against all rules of grammar. I suggest that the entire place name should be reorganized in a different sequence, i.e. Shar.gyi Gye.khod tshwa.kha.la, which means that the border of rGyal.stobs.lde's dominions reached "in the east the pass of the Gye.khod (sic for Ge.khod) territory, where salt deposits are located". Ge.khod is one of the highest gods of the Bon.po pantheon, whose origin is often associated with Ru.thog. The Ge.khod territory is the Ru.thog area, frequently referred to as Ge.khod gNyan.lung in the Bon.po literature<sup>616</sup>. Hence, rGyal.stobs.lde controlled lands as far as the Ru.thog area, where numerous salt deposits are found<sup>617</sup>.

The name of the place marking the western boundary of rGyal.stobs.lde's lands is also worthy of discussion. gSer.gdung.shing ("the tree of the golden tomb" (sic)) seems to be a later mistranscription for gSer.rdung.zhing, which is more geographically meaningful, especially appropriate for a territory in mNga'.ris skor.gsum, since it stands for "the fields where gold is extracted". Gold fields were traditionally found along the Seng.ge kha.'babs (see above p.250 and n.357 for the episode in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* on Ye.shes.'od, the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s and the latter assassinating lha.bla.ma's *mchod.gnas*). They were located downstream from the area called rGod.tshang in north-western Gu.ge, where the infant

(616) *Srid.pa rgyud.kyi kha.byang chen.mo* (p.60 lines 5-7) lists Ge.khod gNyan.lung rong (ibid. line 6) among the *Rong.la kha.brgyad* ("the eight Rong territories"). bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *Bod.yul gnas lam.yig* (p.37 line 18-p.38 line 5) has a passage on Ru.thog: "Od.zer gcig 'Dzam.gling nyi.ma nub.phyogs.kyi/ Ru.thog ri.yi. rtse(p.38).mor 'phros/ lha.chen Kun.thog ring.nam dang/ Shel.bza' 'Phrul.chen bshos.pa'i sras/ dregs.pa dBal.chen Ge.khod ni/ zhes.pas sTod Ru.thog.gi gnas.su yang dBal.chen Ge.khod.kyi byin.gyi brlabs.pa'i gnas.shig kyang nges.par.du yod.par 'dug kyang 'dir gsal.por bshad.dka'", "A ray of light illuminated the top of the Ru.thog mountain, [where] the sun sets in the west of 'Dzam.gling. The son born from the union of lha.chen Kun.thog ring.nam and Shel.bza' 'Phrul.chen was dregs.pa dBal.chen Ge.khod. In the region called sTod Ru.thog is definitely [located] the sacred place which was blessed by dBal.chen Ge.khod, although it is not clear exactly where"; *dPal.ladan tshul.khrims bstan.'byung* (p. 488 line 13) indicates four holy places in the Ru.thog area sacred to the Bon.po-s: "Ru.thog Khyung.tshang brag/ sKu.lha sTag.ri sbug/ Ge.khod gNyen.lung gangs/ Byang.ra bzhi", "The rock of Ru.thog Khyung.tshang, the cave of sKu.lha sTag.ri, the snow mountain of Ge.khod gNyen.lung and Byang.ra, these four", and elsewhere (p.474 lines 3-5) gives the location of Ru.thog gNyan.lung as follows: "Zhang.zhung dBal.lung ngam gNyan.lung ni Ru.thog.gi Ge.khod gNyan.lung la'ang bzhed", "Zhang.zhung dBal.lung otherwise known as gNyan.lung is indentified as the Ru.thog Ge.khod gNyan.lung mountain".

(617) For the location of the area of the salt deposits in Ru.thog see Trotter, "Account of the Pundit's Journey in Great Tibet from Leh in Ladakh to Lhasa, and of his Return to India via Assam" (p.86-136), which records the mission of Nain Singh; see also the map accompanying the article drawn after Nain Singh's journey.

river begins its journey through West Tibet and the Indo-Iranic borderlands. Yet rGyal.stobs.lde's control of areas such as rGod.tshang has to be ruled out, for *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* provides evidence that the Gu.ge Byang.ngos dynasty at that time was ruling its own territory without conceding sovereignty to any other lord of West Tibet. I am inclined to believe that gSer.rdung.zhing is a collective term referring to the lands towards sBal.ti, Bru.zha and other Dardic areas, rather than to a specific location. This also seems to apply to the name of the eastern border of his dominions, where again no particular locality is indicated. The limits of rGyal.stobs.lde's territory included a greater Mar.yul La.dwags, from near the Indo-Iranic borderlands as far as the Ru.thog region in the east, and possibly even farther into the adjoining areas of Byang.thang. The notion that Pu.hrang extended its control over distant lands to the north-west of central Gu.ge during the reign of rGyal.stobs.lde has to be dismissed for the reason adduced above, namely that Gu.ge Byang.ngos would have had to have been brought under the sway of Pu.rang. In fact, it enjoyed independent status during that period. The limits of rGyal.stobs.lde's kingdom are proof that he succeeded his father dNgos.grub.mgon as the king of Mar.yul. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* says that he also succeeded his uncle rNam.lde.mgon in Pu.hrang, when the latter died without issue. Pu.hrang.pa control of Mar.yul thus continued for one generation after dNgos.grub.mgon.

It is unclear whether rGyal.stobs.lde held both the thrones at the same time or, supposing that the resurgence of local power in Mar.yul discussed in the following occurred during his reign, he ruled in Pu.hrang after Mar.yul ceased to be held by the Pu.hrang.pa-s. The period of rGyal.stobs.lde's conquests (first to second quarter of the 13th century) precedes the taking over of sTod by the Sa.skya.pa-s (1277-1280). Sa.skya.pa control of Byang Ru.thog *khri.skor* occurred several decades later (See Addendum Four).

An inscription on the ground floor of the three-storeyed temple of Wan.la in La.dwags.gsham testifies to the expulsion of an alien dynasty by a local named 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, which may correspond to the rise of indigenous rulers at the expense of the Pu.hrang.pa-s. Only a few lines from the Wan.la inscription dedicated to 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, considered by the same epigraph to be the founder of the Wan.la temple (although he may have only thoroughly renovated it, see above p.346), which are the most relevant to this indigenous resurgence, are excerpted here, because it cannot be quoted in its entirety for reasons of space.

Combined evidence of different passages in the inscription reveals that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs was powerful enough to change the political situation in La.dwags drastically. The epigraph says that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs became ruler when he reached thirty years of age, after his father held the post of minister. He is praised for his victories in wars against enemies, which shows that he became master of his land after defeating his foes. He recovered the territory of Wan.la previously lost to strangers. The area of Wan.la, named rGya.shing.lung ("the rGya woodland") in the inscription, is indicated as the land held by his ancestors<sup>618</sup>. That 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' belonged to the non-Tibetan stratum of

(618) The Wan.la inscription (lines 5-6) says: "sKu.mched bzhi'i gcen.po khri.dpon 'Bhag.dar.skyabs / (lacuna)

La.dwags is almost beyond doubt. Apart from implications of its possibly having been less arid in the past, its name suggests that rGya.shing.lung was another area originally controlled by the people of the rGya kingdom, who were of Iranian stock (see above p.324). 'Bhag.dar.skyabs also brought under his control Wa.kha mkhar.po.che, Kan.ji and Su.ru, En.sa, A.li and Mang.rgyu<sup>619</sup>. He was thus able to rule La.dwags.gsham including parts of sPu.rig.

The inscription adds that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs levied taxes in La.dwags Byang.thang, called Byang ru.ba.bzhi in the inscription<sup>620</sup>. His sphere of influence encompassed sBal.ti, where he exempted its 'Brog.pa-s (i.e. the sBal.ti Dards) from taxation, and the border of

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sngon.tshe bsod.nams bsags.pas dal.'byon mi.lus thog/ (line 6) las.kyi mtshams.su 'brang.pas blon.sras gong.ma 'khrungs", "The eldest of four brothers khri.dpon 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, having earned merit in his previous lives, obtained this unique human body. Having perfected his *karma*, he was born as the minister's eldest son". The inscription (lines 11-12) adds: "sKye.bo mi.chos phyogs.su lda.par phun.sum tshogs/ pho.lo gsum.bcu lon.pas yab.mes.kyi rgyal.srid ni/ Wan.la'i gts'o byas rGya.shing.lung thams.cad kyang/ (line 12) gzhan.la shor la 'khrugs.nas rang.srid legs.par gnan", "[This] great man, who righteously stood in favour of *mi.chos*, when he reached thirty years of age, after a conflict, excellently brought under his own dominion the rGya.shing land [and] *in primis* Wan.la, which was the land of his ancestors lost to others".

(619) The Wan.la inscription (line 12) says: "Wa.kha dkar.po.che dang Kan.ji nam Su.ru/ En.sa A.li Mang.rgyu mnga.'og mdzad", "He brought Wa.kha dkar.po.che, Kan.ji otherwise Su.ru, En.sa, A.li, Mang.rgyu under his dominion". Su.ru, the western extremity of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' domains, is at the border of the Tibeto-La.dwags.pa world, towards Kishtwar and Kashmir; while Mang.rgyu, the easternmost locality under his sway, is almost at the limit of La.dwags.gsham (farther east in La.dwags.gsham are Al.lci and Sa.spo.la, the latter pass-area marking the limit of La.dwags.gsham). Wa.kha mkhar.po.che is unknown to me. It may have been located along the banks of the Wa.kha.chu, which flows across sPu.rig. Finally, a castle in sTod called Wa.la dBang.mkhar ("dBang.mkhar in Wa") by *Srid.pa rgyud.kyi kha.byang.chen.mo* (p.63 line 1) may have some connection with Wa.kha mkhar.po.che.

(620) The Wan.la inscription (line 13) says: "Byang.gi ru.ba bzhi nas khal.thud mang.du sdus", "He collected many taxes and much cheese from Byang ru.ba.bzhi". People of La.dwags invariably call those from La.dwags Byang.thang Byang.pa-s, despite the latter location not being north of La.dwags proper. This custom is also typical of Tibet at all times: Byang and Byang.pa-s denote Byang.thang and its inhabitants to the extent that virtually every area of Byang.thang can be called Byang. See my paper entitled "Nomads of Byang and mNga'.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century". A geographical classification of the four La.dwags Byang.thang districts is found in Thub.bstan dpal.ladan, *La.dwags* (p.4 line 9): "sTod Byang.thang.gi lte gnas ni Nu.ma [Nyo.ma] yin", "The central area of sTod Byang.thang has [its main site at] Nu.ma [also called] Nyo.ma". Byang.thang is composed of three other districts: Byang.thang, Rong and La.log. The main areas in Byang.thang are Ku.yul, Wam.lde, Chu.mur.ti, dKor.mdzod, Ru.shod (i.e. Rub.zhu) and mKhar.nag. The main areas in Rong are Lig.tse, Hem.ya, Ke.re and gTer.ri (Ti.ri). The main areas in La.log are rDo.khul, Grang.rtse (Brang.rtse), Shar.kul, Klungs, Bar.ma, Chu.shul, Man.mi.rag, sPang.gung (Pang.gong) and Pho.brang (ibid. p.5 lines 4-10: "Byang.thang Rong dang La.log zer.nas khag.gsum yod/ Rong.gi yul khag che.ba kun ni Lig.tse/ He.n.ya/ Ke.re/ gTer.ri [Ti.ri]/...Byang.thang.gi yul khag kun ni Ku.yul/ Wam.lde/ Chu.mur.ti/ dKor.mdzod/ Ru.shod/ mKhar.nag kun yin/ La.log.gi yul.che khag ni rDo.khul/ Grang.rtse/ Shar.khul/ Klungs/ Bar.ma/ Chu.shul/ Man.mi.rag/ sPang.gung/ Pho.brang sogs yin").



Gu.ge Pu.hrang<sup>621</sup>. A reversal of the people who had to pay taxes and those who were exempted was thus instituted by 'Bhag.dar.skyabs. The dispensation of the Dards from sBal.ti was balanced by the taxes levied on the people of La.dwags Byang.thang. This change has significant political implications. It seems that, prior to 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, the burden of taxation was borne by his fellow Dards, while, with the advent of his rule, it passed to the non-indigenous (i.e. Tibetan) people of Byang.thang. This is another indication that a major ethno-political change had taken place with 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' taking power.

Collating the information in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* and the Wan.la inscription on the extent of the territories controlled by rGyal.stobs.lde and 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, it follows that the reign of dNgos.brub.mgon's son rGyal.stobs.lde predated that of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, since the dominions of the former partially overlapped those of the Wan.la lord, ruling out the possibility that they reigned at the same time. In fact, the Wan.la inscription indicates that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, apart from ruling La.dwags.sham, controlled Mar.yul (La.dwags.stod), when it says that his power reached the border of Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

'Bhag.dar.skyabs was therefore more than a minor local ruler. His *gsum.brtsegs* at Wan.la, a jewel with beautiful statues and murals in the 13th century Tibeto-Pala style, testifies to this fact<sup>622</sup>. His royal status in La.dwags.gsham was acknowledged when he was recognized as *khri.dpon*<sup>623</sup>. The inscription also mentions the activity of his four sons in

(621) The Wan.la inscription (lines 14-15) says: "sBal.ti 'Brog.pa la.sogs khral cag/ (line 15) gsil.gyis ma.nan/ Gu.ge Pu.hrang mtshun.chad mNga'ris bskor.gsum la/ ci bsam.don.du grub.pa bstan.pa byad.pa grags", "He exempted the sBal.ti Dards from taxation [and] did not subdue them. It is well known that he made his influence felt in mNga'ris skor.gsum as far as Gu.ge Pu.hrang, achieving whatever he planned".

(622) Cosmopolitanism was in vogue at Wan.la. Its inscription states that Newar prototypes were used as models for the complex three-dimensional decoration of the *gsum.brtsegs* roof, which no longer survives (lines 20-21: "rTse.mo yid.bzhin nor.bu'i thog gis nya.bar brgyan/ skyes.bu g.yas.g.yon gnyis dang a.them ma.them dang/ dkon.mchog (line 21) lha.mo rnam dang rin.chen shar.ru dang/ rta.babs chos.kyi 'khor.lo bkra.shis rdzas.brgyad rnam/ rkos dang 'bur.ma la.sogs Bal.po'i dpe dang mtshungs", "The roof is decorated with *gandzira*-s having wish-fulfilling gems. To their right and left are various mythological beings and *kinnara*-s and triple jewels, various *lha.mo*-s and deer in precious material [flanking] the wheel of *dharma* and the eight auspicious symbols. [These] sculptures and three-dimensional works were made after Newar prototypes"), while the artists working in its interior were Tibetan (ibid. lines 30-31: "Bhir.sho.kar.ma'i sprul.pa Legs.pa'i blo.gros dang/ 'Jam.dbyangs sprul.pa lha.bzo bSod.nams [lacuna]/ (line 31) lha'i sprul.pa dKon.mchog rdor.pa pha'u.gsum...", "Legs.pa'i blo.gros, the incarnation of Bhir.sho.kar.ma; artist bSod.nams...[lacuna], the incarnation of 'Jam.dbyangs; the divine incarnation dKon.mchog rdor.pa, the father and sons, these three..."). These artists did not necessarily work following Newar models, for no clue is given in the inscription to support such a notion.

(623) The Wan.la inscription (line 12-13) says: "Ka.che'i (line 13) yul.du sTod nas khri.dpon mnga'gsol byas", "He was appointed *khri.dpon* [of the lands] from sTod to Kha.che". The meaning of sTod in this case is unclear. It may either refer to the land of Gu.ge Pu.hrang or to La.dwags.stod. Evidence offered by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* of independent kings reigning in Gu.ge and Pu.hrang rules out the first option. The second hypothesis is also territorially more probable. However the passage is interpreted, it proves that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs ruled both La.dwags.gsham and La.dwags.stod.

favour of religion typical of members of a noble family without stating that they were rulers of the country<sup>624</sup>. It would seem that the title *khri.dpon* was not yet used at the time of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' conquests and religious building works at Wan.la but was in use during that of his sons and was retrospectively attributed to him to acknowledge his conquests and his holding sway over a large expanse of La.dwags, since the *khri.skor* system was introduced in 1268<sup>625</sup>. However, the adoption of the title *khri.dpon* is recorded by *Si.tu bka'.chems* to have occurred by 1240, when it was granted to the Tibetan notables by the Mongol emperor O.go.ta in order for them to undertake various duties associated with its rank<sup>626</sup>.

The dates of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' reign are not known. His reconquest of the lands held by his ancestors probably occurred in the period around 1240, when the title *khri.dpon* was already applied to notables of Tibet empowered by the Mongols. Judging from the artistic evidence of his Wan.la gSum.brtsegs, its images are stylistically close to those of Bla.ma g.yu.ru Seng.ge.sgang and a date to about 1240 is sound. Thus the reign of rGyal.stobs.lde has to be accommodated before 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' conquest. On the basis of the time in

(624) In its bottom part, the text of the Wan.la inscription is extensively defaced. The concluding lines have been affected by centuries of people passing by and rubbing their shoulders against it. The following lines hint at the activity of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' sons (lines 40-41): "lHa'i bu.chung 'dra.ba'i sras.po bzhi yod kyang/ yab.kyi dri.lan gsob phyir lha rim.bzhin...[lacuna]/ (line 41) [lacuna]... sDug.lung.pa ru sgrub.khang steng du yang/ mchod.rten bzhengs mchod.pa'i [lacuna]... btsugs", "He had four sons, who are like the children of the gods. To reciprocate the graciousness of their father...[lacuna: one of them?, they?] made a *mchod.rten* above the meditation building at sDug.lung...[lacuna] [and] introduced worship" and *ibid.* (line 41): "Nu.bo Don...[lacuna] bKra.shis...[lacuna] (line 42) sman bzhengs", "The youngest son Don...[lacuna] built bKra.shis...[lacuna] sman".

(625) On the *khri.skor bcu.gsum* system introduced in 1268 see *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.298 lines 7-9): "Sa.pho.'brug lo shar.ba na/ gong.nas mngags.pa'i gser.yig.pa/ A.kon Mi.gling gnyis yong.nas/ mi.sde sa.cha dang bcas.pa/ chen.po Hor.gyi ming brags", "In the earth male dragon year (1268), the envoys A.kon and Mi.gling, these two, who had been directly sent by the imperial court, came. All the human communities and the lands [of Tibet] took the name of the great Hor-s"). *Ngor chos.byung* (p.326 line 7) says: "So.bzhi.pa sa.pho.'brug la dpon.chen Shakya bzang.pos khri.skor bcu.gsum bskul", "When ['Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa] was thirty-four, in the earth male dragon year (1268) dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po established the *khri.skor bcu.gsum*". See also Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted" (p.125), where the establishment of the *khri.skor* system is connected with the Mongol census of Tibet in the same year.

(626) A confirmation that the title *khri.dpon* either predated the introduction of the *khri.skor bcu.gsum* or that this title was retrospectively attributed to Tibetan chiefs before the inauguration of the system in 1268 derives from the *bstan.rtsis* appended to *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.447 line 21-p.448 line 10). The text records the appointment of various Tibetan headmen by the Mongol emperor O.go.ta in 1240, among them lDan.ma sgom brTson as the Phag.gru *khri.dpon* (see below p.418 and n.694). Another example is provided by a different passage in the same text, where the various bKa'.brgyud.pa groups were entrusted to the care of Mongol princes during the reign of Mon.gor rgyal.po. The territories controlled by these bKa'.brgyud.pa families are called *khri.skor*-s (see below p.418 and n.696). This appointment occurred in 1250.

which Bla.ma g.yu.ru was renovated by 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas with the sponsorship of dNgos.grub.mgon, a period from some time around 1225 to around 1240 seems to be reasonable for rGyal.stobs.lde's rule of La.dwags.

Among the activities attributed to the four sons of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs by the inscription, the relationship they had with a 'Bri.gung.pa master is noteworthy<sup>627</sup>. Similar patronage is not ascribed to 'Bhag.dar.skyabs in the inscription. Is this a sign that the rGya family of Wan.la established its association with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s one generation after 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, or during the later part of his rule, when his sons were engaged in acts of royal patronage? This is what the inscription seems to suggest.

It follows that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, who had also settled in La.dwags through the intense diplomatic activity of 'Bri.gung.gling.pa, the 'Bri.gung ambassador who was in sTod to strengthen alliances with Gu.ge lHo.stod, Pu.hrang, La.dwags, sTod.Hor, Gar.log and Ya.rtse<sup>628</sup>, were able to maintain their influence in the same territories of La.dwags under a new (indigenous) leadership. They granted to the latter (rGya) power their religious and temporal protection, as the inscription adds, on the occasion of their empowerment by the Mongols in 1240, which was confirmed in 1250 (see below p.418). In fact, at the time of the 1250 patent issued in their favour by Mon.'gor rgyal.po, the lands of sTod under 'Bri.gung.pa influence extended to the western limit of sPu.rig, which corresponded to the border of the domains whose control had been recovered by 'Bhag.dar.skyabs. In this light, it also seems that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs accomplished the reconquest of one of the ancestral rGya lands where Wan.la is sited, as well as other territories, some time before that year 1250, when lands as far as sPu.rig were reassigned to 'Bri.gung.pa authority. The establishment of relations between the dynasty of the indigenous rulers of Wan.la and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s occurring in the late part of 'Bhag.dar.skyabs' reign or one generation after him confirms that 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's patronage at Bla.ma g.yu.ru cannot be attributed to 'Bhag.dar.skyabs.

*O.rygan.pa rnam.thar* documents that, in the 1250s, another Dard ruler was on the Mar.yul throne, namely bla.chen De.khyim, known as gZi.di.khyim to *gDung.rabs*

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(627) This line in the Wan.la inscription is not easily readable. It says (line 42): "Phun.sum tshogs.gyi rgyal.mtshan 'Bri.gung...[lacuna] chos.rje'i zhabs.la gtugs, "[He or they] threw himself [or themselves] at the feet of 'Bri.gung...[lacuna] chos.rje, the banner of the three virtues".

(628) Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, *'Bri.gung.gser.phreng* (p.99 line 22-p.100 line 2): "De.nas gNam.mtsho brgyud sTod.phyogs su phebs/ Mang.yul/ Gu.ge sPu.rangs rnam.kyi btsad.po dang/ sTod.Hor/ Gar.log/ Ya.tse.ba zhes.pa da.lta 'Dzum.lang du grags.pa dang bcas.pa'i (p.100) rgyal.po rnam.kyis gus.pas btud.de/ sTod.phyogs.kyi 'phrin.las.kyi rgyun yang rje.'di bka'.drin.las byung.ba yin", "Then ['Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas] went to sTod via gNam.mtsho. He brought the kings of Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul), Gu.ge sPu.rangs to his side as well as the kings of sTod.Hor, Gar.log and Ya.tse, known at present as 'Dzum.lang, who revered him. It happened that the steady flow of ['Bri.gung.pa] activities in sTod was due to the grace of this rje".

*zam. 'phreng* (p.399 line 10)<sup>629</sup>. He was ruling when O.rgyan.pa was briefly his *bla.mchod* at least in 1257 and 1258, the latter being the date when O.rgyan.pa left West Tibet for the east on hearing that his *bla.ma*, rGod.tshang.pa mGon.po rdo.rje (1189-1258), had died<sup>630</sup>. De.khyim is not mentioned in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. Although it still remains to be conclusively proved, it is probable that 'Bhag.dar.skyabs was the predecessor of bla.chen De.khyim met by O.rgyan.pa in Mar.yul.

The fact that a Tibetan king was no longer ruling in Mar.yul around the mid 13th century, after rGyal.stobs.lde's reign, is significant. On the authority of *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* and *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa*, the resurgence of local power was sufficiently consistent to secure control of its territories, and no Pu.hrang.pa ruler is found in the subsequent generations listed by the former source.

### *A digression on the castles of Pu.hrang (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69)*

rGyal.sa rTse.rGyal, where rNam.lde.mgon resided (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 line 18), is rGyal.ti and was the capital (*rgyal.sa*) of Pu.hrang during his reign. The famous legend of the merchants, manifestations of Dzam.bha.la, is set at rGyal.ti by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.70 lines 1-7).

(629) *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (p.76 line 2): "De.nas mNga'.ris.kyi Mar.yul du 'byon.pa'i tshel U.rgyan 'khor.ba'i grub.pa thob.pa'i rnal.'byor.pa gnyis 'dug.go zhes grags.pa gyur te bla.chen De.khyim zhes.byabai khab.du gdan.drangs.so", "Then, when they [O.rgyan.pa and his companion dPal.ye] reached Mar.yul of mNga'.ris, the fame of the two *mahasiddha yogin-s*, who had gone for pilgrimage to U.rgyan, was spread and they were invited to the castle of bla.chen De.khyim".

O.rgyan.pa was in Mar.yul at least from fire snake 1257 to earth horse 1258 since he was with the Mar.yul king De.khyim in earth horse 1258, when rGod.tshang.pa died, and, prior to this, he procured by his power sons to De.khyim and saw their birth (ibid. p.77 line 2: "rJe grub.thob rin.po.che shig.gnyis gngang.nas 'di.gnyis bzung mdzod/ sras.po yong.gi gsung.pas/ gsung.bzhin sras.po gnyis byung", "As *rje grub.thob rin.po.che* (O.rgyan.pa) gave her (the Mar.yul queen) two leeches, he said: "Keep these two. You will have sons". In accordance with his words, twins were born"). De.khyim is proven to be a king of Mar.yul because *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* stresses his royal rank in this episode (called *btsad.po* on p.76 line 7 and on p.77 lines 1, 2, 6 and 7; called *jo.bo* on p.78 line 5). The fact that he was ready to renounce his throne to become a monk also reveals this to be the case (p.77 line 6: "De.nas btsad.po 'khor.ba'i chos.la yid.byung.nas rgyal.srid spang.nas rab.tu 'byung.bar zhus", "Then, having become tired of worldly life, he asked [O.rgyan.pa] to ordain him as he [wanted] to renounce his royal power").

(630) *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (p.78 line 5): "Nam.par jo.bo.la mdangs rmi.lam cung.zad ngan/ chos.rje rin.po.che.pa mi.bzhugs.pa yin.par 'dra/ jo.bo sku.'khor yar log.pa 'thad.pa gsungs", "He (O.rgyan.pa) told *jo.bo* (De.khyim) about the slightly bad dream he had the previous night: "I have the impression that *chos.rje rin.po.che* is no more" and ibid. (p.78 line 7): "De.nas gSer.khar phyag phebs.pa'i tshel/ chos.rje rin.po.che mya.ngan las 'das.pa'i gleng slang.gsan.pa", "Then, when they reached gSer.kha together, he received the news that chos.rje rin.po.che (rGod.tshang.pa) had passed away".

rGyal.ti remained the Pu.hrang capital at least for most of the 13th century. The Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde, who is recorded in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.78 lines 3-5) to have extended control over Pu.hrang, was residing at rGyal.ti when he met Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, the third 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se in the 1260s (see below p.410 and n.676).

The castle did not cease to play a major role at least until the 15th century, when it was under the control of the Gu.ge king Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde, since he invited Ngor.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po there in 1436<sup>631</sup>. rGyal.ti was again at the centre of political events towards the end of the same century, when Pu.hrang.pa-s and Glo.pa-s fought a battle there (rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.kar nam.thar* p.184 line 4 ff.; Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.109-110).

Two other major castles of Pu.hrang were dKar.dum and Zhi.sde (bZhi.sde). dKar.dum, located to the south of the holy lakes, was founded by 'Khor.re in the late 10th century (*Kho.char dkar.chag* f.5b = p.41 lines 1-2; see also above n.337). It became the Gung.thang stronghold in the late 13th century in order for the Sa.skya.pa alliance to keep control over Gu.ge Pu.hrang<sup>632</sup>. dKar.dum took the place of rGyal.ti as the Pu.hrang rgyal.sa in 1277-1280, when Gung.thang established its military headquarters there as part of the network of forts called *glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum* that it organized<sup>633</sup>. Hence,

(631) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.539 lines 2-3): "Lan bar.ma'i skabs.'dir... rGyal.de'ur zla.ba gsum.gyi bar bzhugs", "On the occasion of his second visit, he (Ngor.chen) stayed at rGyal.de'u (rGyal.ti) for three months". Later, the biography says that he stayed at rGyal.ti to give teachings to the king of Gu.ge, who had invited him there (see below n.865).

(632) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (IHa.sa ed. p.108 lines 8-9): "Gu.ge Pu.rong kha.non du/ dKar.dum gNam.gyi khyung.rdzong brtsigs", "In order to keep Gu.ge Pu.rong (sic) under control, dKar.dum gNam.gyi khyung.rdzong was built". Obviously, the construction of the dKar.dum castle considerably predates the Sa.skya.pa alliance's control of Pu.hrang, but it cannot be ruled that an *ad hoc* fortification was erected when the Gung.thang.pa-s extended their dominion over it.

(633) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (manuscript f.8a-b = p.37 line 8-p.38 line 10, IHa.sa ed. p.108 line 8-109 line 2). The forts are collectively called *glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum* ("thirteen districts established by the campaigns of the ox") in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.537 lines 2-3) and *Chos.legs rnam.thar*. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* gives an account which explains the origin of this term. It derived from the fact that the young 'Bum.lde.mgon, the future king of Gung.thang, witnessed the parade of 'Phags.pa's horses at Sa.skya while seated on an ox. Subsequently, his association with the ox persisted in the name collectively identifying the lands over which he established control by means of a network of forts. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.350b lines 1-3) says: "Sa.skya khrom.la mnga'.'bangs 'gro.mgon chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa'i chibs.khyu bded.pa/ der 'gab.mis khyebs.nas tshwa.bo glang.rgan chibs ma.krog zer.ba la/ glang.gi las.bstabs bcu.gsum sgrigs.pa'i snyan.grags.kyis sa.stengs khyab.pa byung.ngo", "[Some] subjects were attending the group of horses of 'gro.mgon chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa in the military encampment at Sa.skya. At that time, some people offered to help ['Phags.pa's] maternal nephew ('Bum.lde.mgon), who was seated on an old ox. They told him: "Do not scare the horses [with the ox]!". Since [his dominions] were established, which became known as the *glang.gi*

dKar.dum was the castle of Gung.thang.pa domination on behalf of Sa.skya. It was again the centre of the intruders in Pu.hrang during the late 14th and sporadically during the 15th century, when Gung.thang.pa-s and Glo.pa-s controlled it. Zhi.sde was in Pu.hrang.smad south of sTag.la.mkhar, where remains of a massive castle are still extant. Zhi.sde, a place held by the Tshal.pa-s in the third quarter of the 13th century<sup>634</sup>, and by the Ngor.pa-s from the mid 15th century<sup>635</sup>, goes back to antiquity, as traces dating to the period of the Yar.lung dynasty are found in its area.

The location of Nyi.bzung, the earliest capital of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, on the other hand, is not given by any source and remains somewhat mysterious. In my treatment of the territorial subdivisions of Pu.hrang ascribed to the reign of bKra.shis.mgon by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* I have suggested a vague location for this ancient seat of power (see above p.154).

The occupation of rGyal.ti or dKar.dum assured control of Pu.hrang.stod (see the 1378 Gu.ge-Gung.thang episode in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 8-11; and below p.477). Owing to the territorial peculiarity of Pu.hrang, which is divided into the highlands of Pu.hrang.stod and the lowlands of Pu.hrang.smad, it did not necessarily imply that control of them automatically conferred power over the latter sub-division. It is difficult to identify the capital of Pu.hrang.smad throughout the centuries in the absence of any reference in the sources. Among the possible candidates are sTag.la.mkhar and Zhi.sde.

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*las.bstabs bcu.gsum*, their name became spread on the surface of the land". *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9a lines 5-6) is briefer: "dBon.chen de.nyid.kyis kyang rDzong.dkar brab.pa la.sogs.pa glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum la.sogs.pa yang mdzad 'dug", "This great nephew (i.e. 'Bum.lde.mgon, the nephew of 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa) also founded rDzong.dkar and furthermore established the *glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum*".

(634) Under Shes.rab 'phel.ba, the fourth Pu.hrang Tshal.pa *bla.mchod*, Zhi.sde became Tshal.pa in the late 13th century before passing under the Sa.skya.pa-s (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.148 lines 10-11): "bZhi.sde'i gtsug.lag.khang sde dang bcas.pa phul", "[Shes.rab 'phel.ba] was offered bZhi.sde gtsug.lag.khang [and] its [monastic] community [by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang king]".

(635) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.539 lines 4-5): "bZhi.sde ru mKha'.gro rgya.mtsho'i sgrub.mchod btsugs", "He (Ngor.chen) established *mKha'.gro rgya.mtsho sgrub.mchod* at bZhi.sde". *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 line 20-p.43 line 1): "mNga'.zhabs.nas [Sa.]skya.pa'i chos.sde rGya.gling.thang dang bZhi.sde (p.43) sogs yod.pa rnam rang.babs.su 'jog", "The *chos.sde*-s of the [Sa.]skya.pa-s, which were under them (the Gu.ge kings), such as rGya.gling.thang (i.e. Rab.rgyas.gling) and bZhi.sde, were abandoned to their own fate". *Chos.sde dGa'.byed.tshal* is indicated as the main monastery of the Ngor.pa-s in Pu.hrang by Shakya mchog.lidan, *Chos.kyi skor* (p.471) (see D.Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise* p.136). This name, obviously referring to the monastery and not to the place where it was sited, does not rule out a location at Zhi.sde. The same text continues by saying that the main Ngor.pa monastery in Gu.ge was Rab.rgyas.gling. A.myes.zhabs in his *bDe.mchog chos.'byung* mentions early Ngor.pa monastic communities in Glo.bo (numbering 1000 monks), Chu.'dus (500 monks), sTing.khebs (200 monks) and Gu.ge (100 monks) (p.541 line 6: "dGe.'dun.gyi sde gsar.du btsugs kyang/ Glo.bor dge.'dun stong.phrag 'du.ba'i chos.sde/ Chu.'dus su lnga.brgya 'du.ba/ sTing.khebs su nyis.brgya 'du.ba/ Gu.ge brgya.phrag sogs").

Regarding rGyal.ti, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 19) adds that rNam.lde.mgon resided in the *mkhar.gong*, thus implying that at that time two castles existed there. This was also the case of dKar.dum, indicated in *Kho.char dkar.chag* as composed of *mkhar.gong.'og* (f.5b = p.41 lines 1-2; see above the same n.337). Their assessment can lead to a complication as the terms *gong* and *'og* refer both to time and space, and thus the two rGyal.ti and dKar.dum castles may have been either an earlier and a later castle or an upper and a lower. Given that the two dKar.dum castles are documented by *Kho.char dkar.chag* to have been built by Khor.re in the early period of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty, it follows that both consisted of a higher and a lower castle<sup>636</sup>.

Examining the castles of Pu.hrang from a historical perspective, the earliest centre of the territory was sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung, which, however, was the capital of all the three *skor-s* of mNga'.ris. After the lands conquered by Nyi.ma.mgom were divided among his three sons, Nyi.bzung ceased to be its centre because, when the capital of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom was transferred to Gu.ge some time before 996, Khor.re built dKar.dum, which became the first capital of Pu.hrang alone. No evidence is available to say for how long dKar.dum retained this role. Later, during the period when the bKa'.brgyud.pa sects were powerful in sTod, rGyal.ti was the main castle of the Pu.hrang.pa resurgence.

### *On the early Tshal.pa-s in sTod*

Among the early Tshal.pa-s, who are documented to have first reached sTod from Central Tibet in 1195 after they left Tshal Gung.thang, were Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa (also called Sangs.rgyas.'od, Sang.rgyas Tshal.chung and sNang.sgom ras.pa)<sup>637</sup> and Mar.lung.pa Byang.chub seng.ge<sup>638</sup>, and possibly g.Yung.sa.ba. But, while Mar.lung.pa stayed behind

(636) See *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.5b = p.41 lines 1-2) and above n.337. According to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, the Kha.char silver Jo.bo was originally intended for the *gtsug.lag.khang* at dKar.dung gong.'og, but the legend says that the statue spoke and refused to leave Bye.ma'i.thang. In that location Kha.char temple was built and the statue was installed as its main image. It follows that dKar.dum was the castle of Khor.re and, thus, a very early one. Chronologically it is the second earliest castle of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty in Pu.hrang, after sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung.

(637) *Deb.sher dmar.po* (p.141 lines 17-20): "rTa.sga'i sNang.sgom ras.pa zhes grags.pa des/ dPal lHa.phyug.pa'i drung.du Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa la rab.tu.byung mtshan.yang Sangs.rgyas.'od ces brags", "The one known as rTa.sga sNang.sgom ras.pa, this one was ordained by dPal lHa.phyug.pa and was also given the name Sangs.rgyas.'od" and *ibid.* (p.141 line 22-p.142 line 1): "gDul.byai 'phen.pa.la brten.nas Ti.se dang rDzong.drug la sgrub.pa.la byon/ Brag.skya rDo.rje.rdzong du thugs.dam.gyi rtsal sbyangs/ rTa.sga'i dgon.pa btab", "To convert sentient beings, he went to Ti.se and the rDzong.drug to meditate. He practised meditation at Brag.skya rDo.rje.rdzong. He founded rTa.sga [there]".

(638) The date of the departure of Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa and Mar.lung.pa is deduced from the date of Zhang rin.po.che's death discussed above (n.580). Since the two left for sTod after Zhang rin.po.che's death, which took

in his native Mar.lung, which had been destroyed by the foreign invasion of 1193-1194, Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa went on pilgrimage to Ti.se and Pu.hrang, stopping on the way at the Mi.la rdzong.drug. On his return from Ti.se, he laid the foundations of rTa.sga in the years after 1195 and before 1200<sup>639</sup>. He is the earliest documented Tshal.pa to have gone to

place in the autumn of 1194 according to *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.90b lines 2-3), they arrived in sTod in early wood hare 1195.

(639) A *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of rTa.sga can be fixed with good approximation with the help of rTogs.ldan mDzes.pa snying.po's brief biography found in *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.140 lines 8-20) The text says (ibid. lines 8-12): "rTogs.ldan mDzes.pa'i 'khrungs.yul mNga'.ris Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho'i 'gram Za.'og gle.g.yang chung.kha.rut/ Mal.dgos.pa mGon.gyi bu 'bring.po g.Yu.rung byin.brlabs.kyi sras.su 'khrungs/ Khyi.ra ras.pa'i skye.bar grags shing La.stod rTa.sgar mkhan.po sPrug.gcer.ba la.sogs.la bsnyen.par rdzogs.nas mDzes.pa snying.por btags"; ibid. (lines 13-15): "dBus su chos 'tshol 'ong/ Mal.gro sgang.bu dgon.gsar.du rTogs.ldan Ru.thog.pa la phyag.tu chen.mo zhus.nas bsgrub.pa lo.gsum byas" and ibid. (lines 18-20): "De.nas Byang.gi Phyi.'Brong.bu sPyil.khung du ri mi.'babs.par lo bcu.gsum byas/ shing.mo.phag lo.la Za.lung btab", "rTogs.ldan mDzes.pa's birth place was Za.'og gle.g.yang chung.kha.ru on the banks of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho. He was born the son of g.Yu.rung byin.brlabs, the middle son of Mal.dgos.pa mGon. He was considered to be the incarnation of Khyi.ra ras.pa. After having been ordained to the *bsnyen.par rdzogs* [vow] by mkhan.po sPrug.gcer.ba at La.stod rTa.sga, he was given the name mDzes.pa snying.po", "He went to dBus in search of teachings. As he requested [them] of rTogs.ldan Ru.thog.pa with the greatest reverence at the new monastery of Mal.gro sgang.bu, he meditated for three years", "Then, he practised [meditation] for thirteen years on the mountain at Byang Phyi.'Brong.bu sPyil.khung, without ever leaving it. In the wood female pig year he founded Za.lung". rTog.ldan mDzes.pa snying.po founded Za.lung in wood pig 1215 after having meditated at sPyil.khung in Byang sPyi.'Brong.bu for thirteen years (1202/3-1214/5). Prior to that, he meditated for three years on the teachings received from Ru.thog.pa in dBus (1200/1-1202/3). Earlier, he was ordained by mkhan.po sPrug.gcer.ba at rTa.sga. This means that rTa.sga was built after 1195 and before 1200. Therefore rTa.sga was not founded in 1188, as *Tshig.mdzod chen.mo* (p.3225) claims in its *bstan.rtsis*. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9b line 2-f.10a line 3) recounts the foundation of rTa.sga dgon.pa in the following terms: "Bla.ma Zhang rin.po.che'i bu.chen 'Od.gsum bya.ba byung.ba'i/ lHa.phyug.pa Nyi.zla.'od.kyi dngos.slob/ ding.sang Sangs.rgyas mTshal.pa zhes.grags.pa de.nyid/sngon.gyi smon.lam.gyi dbang.gis yar.byon nas/ Brag.skya nas mthur.la mda'.rgyang tsam.gyis sleb.pa'i sa na/ phug.pa cig yod.pa der thugs.dam mdzad.kyin bzhugs.pas/ phug.pa de.la da.lta mTshal.phug ces.grags/ de'i dus.su Brag.skya 'di 'Bri.khung.pas 'dzin.kyin yod.pas/ 'Bri.khung.pa'i ri.pa rnam.kyis tshogs.'khor mdzad.pa'i lhag.ma rnam Ku.co la.kha zer.ba'i mchod.rten chung.chung zhig yod.pa'i sa.de nas/ mTshal.chung.ba zhes bos nas/ 'di.na nged.kyi lhag.ma rnam yod.pas long.cig ces.skad gtong/ khong.pas kyang de.tsho (f.10a) blangs.nas 'tsho.ba mdzad cing thugs.dam mdzad.pas/ thugs.rgyud.la yon.ran pag.tu med.pa 'khrungs/ 'Bri.khung.pa rnam.kyis kyang de.ltar zhes nas/ da.phyin.chad gnas.'di'i bdag.po khyed.rang mdzod.cig zer.nas shar.phyogs.la thegs.skad/ de.nas da.lta rTa.sga'i dgon.pa yod.sa de na/ dGun.rung.ba'i gnag.rang pyed.pa'i sa.cha/ pha.bong rta.sga 'dra.ba'i lhas.chung zhig yod.pa der/ khong.pas dang.por bla.brang btab", "The one known at present as Sangs.rgyas mTshal.pa, the direct disciple of lHa.phyug Nyi.zla.'od, who was one of Zhang rin.po.che's spiritual sons known as the 'Od.gsum, having gone upwards (westwards), due to the accumulation of his prayers, he stayed, in order to meditate, in a cave at a place sited at the distance of about an arrow shot from Brag.skya. This cave is at present known as mTshal.phug. At that time, since Brag.skya was held by the 'Bri.khung.pa-s, they used to perform *tshogs.'khor*, whose remains were brought to [the place] known as Ku.co la.kha, where a small *mchod.rten* stood. From here they used to call mTshal.chung (Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa): "Here are the left-overs of our *tshogs!* Come and have them!". By accepting them, he lived on them while he was meditating [there]. He developed



Ti.se, thus belonging to the few bKa'.brgyud.pa-s reaching the mountain before 1200<sup>640</sup>. The great bKa'.brgyud.pa wave sent on pilgrimage to the mountain occurred only after the beginning of the 13th century. As mentioned in various passages of the present work, Mar.lung.pa went to Ti.se and Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho a few years later in iron monkey 1200.

Apparently *yon.mchod* between the sTod Tshal.pa-s and the rulers of Pu.hrang was not fully established in those years, despite Mar.lung.pa having accepted Ngam Klu.rgyal's son Rin.chen.'bum as his disciple (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.125b line 3; also above n.581). Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa was the abbot of rTa.sga for a brief period. The episode in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*<sup>641</sup> of the meeting between Sangs.rgyas Tshal.chung and Mar.lung.pa (the two old friends who travelled together to sTod in 1195) taking place after Mar.lung.pa returned from the Ti.se area does not help to fix when Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa renounced the office of abbot of rTa.sga. Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa had already left rTa.sga to Dharma bsod.nams on Mar.lung.pa's return from Ti.se in the first years of the 13th century<sup>642</sup>, for *Deb.ther dmar.po* states that very soon after he had founded rTa.sga, Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa chose Dharma bsod.nams as the new rTa.sga *gdan.sa*<sup>643</sup>. Since rTa.sga

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innumerable signs of his meditation. Since the 'Bri.khung.pa-s knew about this, as they said: "Accept to become the holder of this place", he is said to have gone to the east [and] on the land where the present rTa.sga dgon.pa was subsequently [built], which was a grazing ground of the dGun.rung.ba-s, where a small cattle pen [stood next to] a huge rock in the shape of a horse saddle, he initially founded a *bla.brang* ("residence for monks)". Franz-Karl Ehrhard, in a personal communication, has pointed out to me the correct location of rTa.sga to the north of Nub.ris, which is to the east of Ma.nang in the Gorkha area.

(640) The presence of early bKa'.brgyud.pa hermits at Ti.se may have gone unrecorded in the sources. Silence in the literature may reveal the actual condition of the pilgrimage during those years. As a matter of fact, only 'Bri.gung.pa Ngad.phu.pa, the Tshal.pa-s Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, Mar.lung.pa, probably g.Yung.sa.ba, who may have reached Pu.hrang before 1200 (see below n.650), and a few disciples, are documented to have sojourned in Pu.hrang.stod during the rule of Ngam Klu.rgyal.

(641) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.150a lines 2-3): "De.nas bla.ma'i nye.gnas mTshal.chung.ba mTshe.rkyen du bdan.drangs/ zhag bco.lnga.rtsam zhugs/ de.nas brag.phug rTa.sgar phebs", "Then, mTshal.chung.ba, the personal attendant of bla.ma (lHa.phyugs mkhar.pa), was invited to mTshe.rkyen. He stayed for about fifteen days. Then he went to brag.phug ("rock cave") rTa.sga"; see also above n.593.

(642) I favour the spelling Dharma bsod.nams of *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.173a line 3) rather than that Dar[.ma] bsod[.nams] found in *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.142 lines 5 and 6) because Mar.lung.pa met him personally and must have thus dictated his name correctly to his son Thon Kun.dga' rin.chen and to his disciple Byang.chub.'bum, who both put Mar.lung.pa's biography into written form.

(643) Though *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* does not provide a time frame for the succession to the office of abbot of rTa.sga, the sequence of episodes introduced in the text, according to which Mar.lung.pa first met his old friend Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa after the former had come back from Ti.se (f.149a line 4-f.150a line 3) and subsequently Dharma bsod.nams (ibid. f.173a line 3-f.174a line 4), confirms that the latter was its new abbot. *Deb.ther dmar.po*, although not giving a date for the succession, elucidates the time frame of this change.

was founded between 1195 and 1200, Dhar.ma bsod.nams' succession occurred before the 1200 *terminus ante quem*<sup>644</sup>.

It seems that *yon.mchod* with the Pu.hrang.pa-s was officially established when Dhar.ma bsod.nams healed the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* whose name is mentioned neither in *Deb.ther dmar.po* nor in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*<sup>645</sup>. I venture to suggest that this *jo.bo* was sTag.tsha and not Ngam Klu.rgyal, despite Dharma bsod.nams having possibly been the rTa.sga abbot during the reigns of both, because sTag.tsha was the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* who established *yon.mchod* with other bKa'.brgyud.pa groups such as the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. Dharma bsod.nams' pilgrimage to Ti.se and the holy lakes including a visit to Pu.hrang resulted in a donation of temples by the Pu.hrang *jo.bo*. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* reads as follows: "When he (Dharma bsod.nams), on his way for the pilgrimage to the mountain and the lakes, the master and a few disciples, went to Pu.rangs for alms, at that time, this came to the notice of the Pu.rangs king, [the latter] being very sick and in great pain for a long time, almost to the point of dying. After [Dharma bsod.nams] gave a *dbang* [to the king] which gave him relief, the latter was healed from the disease. Faith was born in the king. He (Dharma

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because it says that, soon after he had founded rTa.sga, Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa was no longer its *gdan.sa*. This text says (p.142 lines 2-8): "Rin.po.che gdan.sa.yi drung du/ nged.kyi dgon.chung gcig btab yod.pa'i nged.kyi tsha.bo Jo.sras.kyi mgo.byas btsun.pa gsum.bzhi.pa cig rdzong.pa zhu zer.ba'i zhu.ba byung.ba'i Jo.sras dang/ Tshang.'dur.ba chen.po/ bSam.gtan rdzong.pa/ rTogs.ldan Dar.bsod rnam brdzongs ya.kir slebs.nas zla.ba gnyis lon.pa dang/ Jo.sras grongs/ khong.rang bgres nas/ rTogs.ldan Dar.bsod la khyod.kyis dgon.pa 'dir sdod dang/ sems.can.la phan.thogs.par yong.gis gsung nas/ khong.gis gdan.sar bzhugs", "He (Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa) entreated *rin.po.che gdan.sa* saying: "I have founded a small monastery. I request [you] to send three or four monks with my maternal nephew Jo.sras as their leader". As the request was met, Jo.sras, Tshang.'dur.ba chen.po, bSam.gtan rdzong.pa and rTogs.ldan Dar.bsod were sent. Two months elapsed after their arrival and Jo.sras died. As he (Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa) said: "Since I am old, you Dar[.ma] bsod[nams] must stay at this *dgon.pa* and be useful to sentient beings", he (Dharma bsod.nams) held its throne".

(644) Dharma bsod.nams is credited with the expansion of rTa.sga dgon.pa. He is described as an enterprising new abbot (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10a lines 4-5: "De.nas gdan.sa gnyis.pa rTogs.ldan Dar.ma bsod.nams zhes.byab/ rnal.'byor.ba chen.po/ 'phral.snang.la Sangs.rgyas mTshal.pa.bas kyang 'ur.ches che.ba cig byon", "The second *gdan.sa*, rTogs.ldan Dar.ma bsod.nams by name, was a great *yogin* and proved to be greatly enterprising in practical matters, rather more so than Sangs.rgyas mTshal.pa"). What is gleaned from the sources is that the foundation of Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa was quite minor and unassuming, while the full scale rTa.sga monastery was developed by his successor. *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.150a lines 3) says: "De.nas brag.phug rTa.sgar phebs", "Then, [Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa] went to brag.phug ("rock cave") rTa.sga" and *ibid.* (f.173a lines 3-4): "Des rTa.sga'i dgon.pa rgya.che.bar btab", "This one (Dharma bsod.nams) founded rTa.sga dgon.pa on a larger scale"; *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.142 lines 9-10) reads: "rTa.sga'i dgon.pa dar", "He (Dharma bsod.nams) expanded rTa.sga dgon.pa".

(645) *Deb.ther dmar.po* says that, by means of the foundation of rTa.sga, Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa was beneficial to Buddhism in Nub.ris (p.141 line 23-p.142 line 1: "rTa.sga'i dgon.pa btab.nas (p.142) sku Nub.ris la gdul.byai mthil mdzad"). The period in which the foundation of rTa.sga took place was still too early for the Tshal.pa-s to have established themselves in mNga'.ris.stod (Pu.hrang etc.). This confirms that *yon.mchod* with the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* did not yet exist, despite Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa's pilgrimage to Pu.hrang.

bsod.nams) was offered many places in Pu.rangs. It is said that he was also offered the ownership (*sbad* sic for *rbad*) of about seventeen of our own water mills, these ones and most of the monastic centres (*dgon.sde*) [including] Phyi.'Brog dgon.pa Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs and Chos.lung, dGon.go.gsum, and Yang.brag and bSam in Glo.bo, these two. All these are the possessions of the Tshal.pa-s. Similarly, this is also the reason why the rTa.sga.ba-s are known at present as the sTod.Tshal *dpon*-s ("leaders")<sup>646</sup>.

This passage is significant for several reasons<sup>647</sup>. Firstly, in all likelihood, the Tshal.pa-s were among the earliest bKa'.brgyud.pa-s to establish *yon.mchod* with the Pu.hrang king. Secondly, the donation of monasteries in Glo.bo and the Gro.shod-Pra.dum area by the Pu.hrang king to Dharma bsod.nams in the early 13th century proves that Pu.hrang controlled at least some tracts of land in these territories. Thirdly, rTa.sga was the Tshal.pa-s' main centre in sTod<sup>648</sup>. The predominance of the rTa.sga.ba-s over other sTod Tshal.pa-s

(646) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.10a line 5-f.10b line 3): "Khong.pa Gangs.mtsho bskor.ba'i zhor.la/ Pu.rangs.su dpon.slob shas.cig.gis bsod.snyoms.la pyon.pas de.dus Pu.rangs.kyi rgyal.po'i snyan khung.du bab.la zhugs nas/ yun.ring.po'i bar.du bsnjung.zug.che zhing 'grongs.thug.pa yod.pa la/ dbang.cig gngang.ba tsam.gyis bab la/ (f.10b) phyir thon.nas bsnjung.ba.las grol.bas rgyal.po mos ste/ Pu.rangs.su sa.cha mang.po phul/chu.thags rang yang bcu.bdun tsam.gyi sbad phul skad/ de.la.sogs te Phyi.'Brog.gi dgon.pa Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs dang Chos.lung la.sogs.pa dGon.go.gsum dang/ Glo.bo nang.gi Yang.brag bSam gnyis la.sogs.pa'i dgon.sde phal.cher/ mTshal.pa'i 'og.tu gtogs.par byas/ ding.sang rTa.sga.ba sTod mTshal.gyi dpon yin zer.ba'i rgyu.mtshan yang de.ltar yin.pa 'dug". The way sentences are structured and the place names are kept separate in the text when it records the various monasteries donated by the Pu.rangs ruler to the rTa.sga.ba-s classifies these *dgon.pa*-s in a significant order. In particular, Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs and Chos.lung are associated with Phyi.'Brog. The location of gSer.gyi bya.skyibs is well known, it is found on Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho's northern shores, while Chos.lung was in Byang. They thus did not belong to the same territory. This obliges one to understand the association between Phyi.'Brog and gSer.gyi bya.skyibs on non-territorial grounds. It has to be ruled out that gSer.gyi bya.skyibs was included in the Phyi.'Brog lands (Gro.shod and 'Brong.pa, see below p.433). gSer.gyi bya.skyibs was, instead, a holy place supported by the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s of Byang. In fact, given that it was a stronghold of the Tshal.pa rTa.sga.ba-s, who exercised their authority in the Phyi.'Brog.pa lands, the sponsorship of the Byang 'Brog.pa-s came as a natural consequence of the politico-religious situation of that time.

(647) The fact that the Pu.hrang *jo.bo*'s grant of Chos.lung, located in the 'Brog.pa lands of Byang, to Dhar.ma bsod.nams was followed, some time later, by the donation of the same Chos.lung to Tshal.pa Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer by another king of Pu.hrang (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.148 line 21-p.149 line 1; see also above n.741), proves that Pu.hrang controlled (perhaps intermittently) territories in Gro.shod and possibly beyond, from ca. 1200 until around the time when the Sa.skya.pa alliance took control of sTod in 1277-1280. Furthermore, a few details in this passage in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.10a line 5-f.10b line 3) indicate that the account of these donations was written locally at the time when Dharma bsod.nams was given them. One finds mention of the seventeen of "our own" (i.e. Pu.hrang.pa) water mills and that "at present (*ding.sang*)" the rTa.sga.ba-s have to be considered the *dpon* of the sTod Tshal.pa-s. Furthermore, their becoming the lords of the sTod Tshal.pa-s by means of royal patronage indicates that these donations allowed them to raise to a predominant status.

(648) An interesting list of the six great *sTod.Tshal btsan.po* or main Tshal.pa monasteries in mNga'.ris is found in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*. The text (f.174a line 4-5) says: "De.phyin.cad sTod.mTshal btsan.po cha.drug zhes.byab.ba sTod du che.ba Chos Gon gnyis [note in the text: Chos.lung Chos.dzom]/ Bar du che.ba Brag

implies that different Tshal.pa groups in West Tibet existed at that time. The latter were not the Tshal.pa-s associated with Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, summoned to rTa.sga soon after the monastery was founded, and who diffused the sect's teachings in the lands of Byang, Glo.bo and Mang.yul Gung.thang, as these also are called rTa.sga.ba-s<sup>649</sup>. No other group than the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s was in sTod, proving that rTogs.lidan g.Yung.sa.ba had found-

bSam gnyis [note in the text: (first name defaced) bSi.tse]/ sMad du che.ba Mar rTa gnyis [note in the text: Mar.lung rTa.sga] byung.ngo", "From then on, it happened that the so called *sTod.mTshal.bsan.po cha.drug* (sic for *che.drug*) were Chos[.lung] and dGon[.go.gsum] [note in the text: Chos.lung and Chos.dzom] in sTod; [Yang.]Brag and bSam[.gtan rdzong.gi dgon.pa] [note in the text: (first name defaced) and bSi.tse] in Bar; and Mar[.lung] and rTa[.sga] [note in the text: Mar.lung and rTa.sga] in sMad". sTod has to be recognized as the Byang district comprising Gro.shod and the Pra.dum area. Bar is Glo.bo, for this is the region where bSam[.btan rdzong.gi dgon.pa] was located according to *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.147 lines 15-17: "bSam.gtan rdzong.pa chen.po'i Glo.'or/ bSam.btan rdzong.gi dgon.pa de btab.nas bshad.nyan dang sgom.bsgrub.kyi gdul.byabskyangs", "The great bSam.btan rdzong.pa, having founded bSam.btan rdzong.dgon.pa in Glo.'o, protected the people to be tamed by [establishing] a school of debate and a meditation place") and *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.10a line 5-f.10b line 3). The easternmost area of Byang towards Mang.yul-Gung.thang corresponds to sMad. The passage is a good summary of the main Tshal.pa temples in the territory and confirms the evidence sparsely offered by *Deb.ther dmar.po* and *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, yet it is a pity that no time frame is given to assess the date of their establishment. It is also unclear when this temple network became complete. It is significant that no mention of Tshal.pa monasteries in sTod proper (Gu.ge Pu.hrang) is given in the classification above. Sources (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.148 line 20; *Chos.legs rnam.thar* *ibid.*; also see above n.741) say that gSer.gyi bya.skyibs and the Tshal.pa-s of Pu.hrang were under rTa.sga. Being a dependency of rTa.sga, gSer.gyi bya.skyibs does not appear in the classification, which only records the major temples of the sTod.Tshal.pa-s, otherwise its exclusion rests on the fact that it was not steadfastly controlled by them. The Tshal.pa temples in sTod depended on lHa.phyug mkhar.pa and Tshal Gung.thang (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.149 lines 2-3: "Tshal.Gung dang lHa.phyug tu'ang gsung.rab dang/ nor zang.zing gi 'bul.ba skyal", "Collected works and material goods were provided as donations also to Tshal Gung[.thang] and lHa.phyug [mkhar.pa]").

(649) Among the Tshal.pa-s sent to rTa.sga to assist Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, Dharma bsod.nams engineered the establishment of the Tshal.pa-s in Pu.hrang, the Men.Zhang lands (the Byang district of Gro.shod and the one where Pra.dum is sited), Nub.ris, Glo.bo and Dol.po (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.142 lines 8-9: "Nub.ris dang/ Men.Zhang sPu.rang Dol.po/ Glo.bo rnam.su 'gro.don 'phrin.las rgyas"). Tshang.'dur.ba chen.po was active in the area which *Deb.ther dmar.po* calls lHo.Nub.Gung.gsum (p.143 lines 10-12: "Khal.glang mi/ g.yog mGon.po/ ston.pa Be.chung/ khong yon.bdag gsum.gyis Tshang.'dur.gyi lung.pa de phul/ dgon.pa btab/ dgon.pa'i ming yang lHa.ldings su brags nas/ sPyan.ras.gzigs dngos yin.pa'i lung.bstan.la brten.nas sNang.sgom zhig.po zhes.par grags/ lHo.Nub.Gung.gsum/ jo.bo sku.rgyal.gyi sa.cha yan.chad gdul.byai mthil.du gyur", "The men carrying loads on oxen, the servant mGon.po and the master Be.chung, these three sponsors donated [him] the land [named] Tshang.'dur. He founded a monastery. As the name lHa.ldings was given to the monastery, due to the true prophecy of sPyan.ras.gzigs, he became known as sNang.mgon zhig.po. He converted the people to be tamed in lHo.Nub.Gung.gsum, as far as the area of the jo.bo sku.rgyal (unidentified)"). sNang.mgon zhig.po founded a number of monasteries in many localities, but his activity was concentrated in sKyid.grong of mNga'.ris.smad and in the area of Byang. These are the territories corresponding to lHo.Nub.Gung.gsum.

ed this group prior to the donations to Dharma bsod.nams<sup>650</sup>. g.Yung.sa.ba has thus to be placed in a period more or less contemporary with the arrival of Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa and Mar.lung.pa in sTod.

The seat of the Tshal.pa-s in Pu.hrang is not mentioned in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, while *Deb.ther dmar.po* says that g.Yung.sa.ba was given a meditation place by the king of Pu.hrang (see above n.650), which *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* identifies as Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs when it records Mar.lung.pa's sojourn in the Ma.pham/Ti.se area in iron monkey 1200<sup>651</sup>. This is consistent with the statement in the above mentioned passage of

(650) On rTogs.ldan g.Yung.sa.ba see *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.147 lines 18-23): "Rin.po.che'i slob.ma rTog.ltan g.Yung.sa.ba'i Mi.la'i rdzong.drug dang Ti.se la byon/ Mi.la rDo.rje.phug gzhu.gs.nas thams.cad.kyi rtsal sbyangs/ 'gro.don dang phyis dpag.tu med.pa byung nas/ sPu.rang rgyal.po'i thad.sor bzhugs nas/ rgyal.po yab.yum.gyi nang.gi bla.mchod mdzad/ dad.gus dpag.tu med.pa.la brten.nas sgom.sder yang gser.gyi 'bul.ba skyel 'dug", "rTog.ltan g.Yung.sa.ba, the disciple of [Zhang] rin.po.che, went to the Mi.la rdzong.drug and Ti.se. After residing at Mi.la rDo.rje.phug, he performed [meditation] practices at all of them. Having subsequently laboured for the benefit of sentient beings, since he stayed with the sPu.rang king, he became the personal *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma*") of the king and his wife. Due to their inestimable faith and reverence [in him], they provided [g.Yung.sa.ba] with donations of gold and a meditation place".

(651) The places belonging to the Tshal.pa-s in sTod were rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, which was their *sgrub.pa'i gnas* ("meditation site"); gSang.ba mchod.phug, which was their *mchod.pa'i gnas* ("place for offerings"); and mchod.rten Khong.seng, which was their *gnal.bso'i gnas* ("place for prostrations") (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.30b line 4-5: "mChod.rten Khong.seng ngal.bso'i gnas/ gSer.gyi bya.skyibs sgrub.pa'i gnas/ gSang.ba mchod.phug mchod.pa'i gnas/ sTod na skor.ba'i gnas.gsum yin"). These sites are called *sTod.na skor.ba'i gnas.gsum*, and elsewhere in the same text *Gangs Ti.se sTod.kyi gnas.gsum* (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.14a line 1). The cave and the *stupa* are located along the *Gangs Ti.se skor.lam*.

The passage in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* quoted above says that the three *gnas*, as well as watermills in Pu.hrang, were given to the Bon.po master Thon Dharma bsod.nams by Khu.nu rgyal.po O.ru.bha.tra in the late 9th century (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.13b line 4-f.14a line 1; see above n.321). The correspondence between the donation of watermills to Dharma dbang.phyug by the Khu.nu king and the similar grant given by the Pu.hrang king to rTa.sga gdan.sa Dharma bsod.nams (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10a line 5-f.10b line 1), and also the correspondence of the circumstances of the donations (both Khu.nu and Pu.hrang kings were healed of their disease) appear to be more than a coincidence. The matter is further complicated by the identity of the sTod.Tshal.pa sites called *sTod.na skor.ba'i gnas.gsum* with the *sTod.kyi gnas.gsum* of the Bon.po master. If the account of the donation to Thon Dharma dbang.phyug is reliable, certain implications follow. The three holy places given to the Thon.mi clan of Mar.lung perhaps remained their property until Mar.lung.pa resided there. With Mar.lung.pa, a Tshal.pa of the Thon clan, gSer.gyi bya.skyibs at least passed to the Tshal.pa-s. The fact that Thon Dharma dbang.phyug, a Bon.po from the Thon.mi clan, went to meditate at gSer.gyi bya.skyibs indicates that this place retained its Bon.po identity until the late 9th century, since the Bon.po tradition regards it as an ancient Zhang.zhung meditation site. It passed from the Bon.po-s to the Buddhists during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, when several places of ancient Zhang.zhung became strongholds of the religion predominant in that period (i.e. Buddhism reformed by the new Tantra-s) under the newly established local power. After the days of gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka who took gSer.gyi bya.skyibs away from the dGe.lugs.pa-s (sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* p.178 line 7-p.180 line 4), the caves collapsed ('*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.59b line 6-f.60a line 1: "De.rjes grub.thob gTsang.smyon.pa phebs.nas sgrub.sde btsugs.pas shin.tu dar.bar gyur kyang/ phyis mtha'.dmag gdug.pa.can g.yos.pa'i grib(f.60a).kyis phug.pa pal.cher mtsho nang.du lhungs.nas sgrub.sde stongs zhes zer", "Then, grub.thob gTsang.smyon went [to

*Chos.legs rnam.thar* that gSer.gyi bya.skyibs was given to the rTa.sga.ba-s, on whom the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s depended during that period. The absence of a monastery of the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s and their occupation of this cave hermitage seems to indicate that g.Yung.sa.ba's group was rather small. His activity in Pu.hrang was also similar to that of the early 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se discussed in 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.26a lines 3-4 and f.26b line 1).

Tshal.pa presence during the early period of bKa'.brgyud.pa diffusion in the lands of West Tibet was thus twofold. The activity of the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s was initially confined to Pu.hrang (and possibly Gu.ge lHo.stod) for reasons deriving from the state of affairs prevailing in the area at that time (Gu.ge being fragmented into two kingdoms, with Byang.ngos hostile to lHo.stod), and from royal patronage (lHos.stod's support of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s). On the other hand, the rTa.sga Tshal.pa-s exercised their influence on a large expanse of land, including Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa and territories towards the lowlands, and Pu.hrang.

Without the concern of the Pu.hrang kings for religion (as said in both *Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10b lines 1-2 and *Deb.ther dmar.po* p.147 lines 18-23, see above n.646 and 650), the Tshal.pa-s would not have established a foothold in the territory. This was also the case of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and the 'Brug.pa-s. The patronage of the new local Pu.hrang dynasty begun by sTag.tsha was crucial for the successful diffusion of the Tshal.pa-s in Pu.hrang, while in the period when Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa and Mar.lung.pa went to Ti.se, the political situation in Pu.hrang did not favour any large scale religious activity at the holy places. Perhaps Ngam Klu.rgyal, a ruler without hereditary rights, was unable to support them to the same extent as his successor.

The grant of a *dgon.pa* in Pu.hrang, nowhere identified in the sources<sup>652</sup>, to the

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gSer.gyi bya.skyibs]. Since he established a meditation community [there, the teachings] were greatly diffused. It is said that, later, due to the fact that a harmful army from the border contaminated it with their cooking, most of the caves fell into the lake [and the place] is empty [now]). At present, gSer.gyi bya.skyibs has a few small meditation caves, inhabited by 'Bri.gung.pa monks. Mention of a large cave called Phug.mo.che in the period when gTsang.smyon was meditating at gSer.gyi bya.skyibs in the late 15th century testifies to the collapse of the caves in later times (sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* p.183 lines 1-2: "Bya.skyibs su Phug.mo.cher rje'i drung.du/ dpon.btsun Og.med.pa dang/ chos.mdzad A.bha.yam phud.zhus/ de.dus sGrub.tshan.pa sku.'khris na gzhugs", "In the Phug.mo.che of Bya.skyibs, dpon.btsun Og.med.pa and chos.mdzad A.bha.yam were asked to leave [briefly] the presence of rje. sGrub.tshan.pa was sitting near him (gTsang.smyon) at that time").

(652) A possible candidate for the Tshal.pa temple in Pu.hrang is Mog.rom, founded by Mar.lung.pa's ancestor Dad.pa shes.rab during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* (he met Jo.bo.rje in 1045 at Mar.lung) (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.19b line 5-f.20a line 1. "sPu.hrangs su dgon.pa Mog.rom (f.20a) stab te yang gtsug.lag.khang dang cas.pa bzhenngo", "He (Dad.pa shes.rab) founded dgon.pa Mog.rom in sPu.hrangs. He also established a *gtsug.lag.khang* [there]"). Nowhere in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* is Mog.rom identified as a Tshal.pa temple, but its frequentation by Mar.lung.pa, his disciples and associates, who were all Tshal.pa-s, probably makes it a temple of this sect. Nothing remains of Mog.rom. It must have crumbled into oblivion long ago, for no locals had the slightest idea of its existence when I mentioned it to them.

Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s occurred while they were headed by Tshul.dar.ba<sup>653</sup>, g.Yung.sa.ba's successor, after *yon.mchod* was established between the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* and the rTa.sga abbot Dharma bsod.nams<sup>654</sup>. Earlier, the presence *in loco* of the first Pu.hrang Tshal.pa g.Yung.sa.ba, who became the *bla.mchod* of the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* (Ngam Klu.rgyal?), must thus have been somewhat similar to that of Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, i.e. still limited to hermitic practice and not yet soundly established in terms of support by the local authorities.

A change in the fortunes of the sTod Tshal.pa-s later took place under Shes.rab 'phel.ba, the third leader of the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s, when he was given Tho.ling by Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) (see below p.442).

### *Temples founded by the kings of Pu.hrang in the early 13th century* (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.69-70)

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 10) records that Khri.'bar.btsan built Kha.char kun (sic for sku).mched chen.po ("great brother of Kha.char", i.e. its central image). This apparent revelation is in fact mistaken. Elsewhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.61 lines 8-9), the central *jo.bo* of Kha.char, depicting 'Jam.pal rdo.rje, is credited to lHa.lde, while *Kho.char dkar.chag* holds that the temple was sponsored by Khor.re. That sTag.tsha Khri.'bar was responsible for the casting of the central silver *jo.bo* is not even a remote possibility. His contribution was rather a restoration<sup>655</sup>. Once again, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* confuses renova-

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(653) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.148 lines 2-5): "De'i rjes.la bla.ma Tshul.dar.ba yar gdan.drangs.nas dgon.pa dang grwa.pa bu.slob.kyi bskyangs bran dang thad.sor bzhugs.nas rgyal.po yon.mchod.kyi nang.gi bla.mchod mdzad cing gzhan.pa mos.gus.kyi 'gro.don dpag.tu med.pa bskyangs.nas gshegs", "After this one (i.e. g.Yung.sa.ba), since bla.ma Tshul.dar.ba was invited upwards [to Pu.hrang], he took care of protecting the *dgon.pa* and the disciples. By staying with the [Pu.hrang king], owing to their *yon.mchod*, he became the personal *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma*") of the king and protected sentient beings with devotion and reverence. He then died".

(654) The lineage of rTa.sga Tshal.pa abbots (rTa.sga *mkhan.rgyud*) is as follows. sNang.sgom ras.pa also called Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa; rTogs.lidan Dharma bsod.nams; gZhon.nu seng.ge; bla.ma gCung.po.ba; Shes.rab bla.ma; dKon.mchog gzhon.nu; rTogs.lidan Brag.dkar.ba Rin.chen seng.ge; bla.ma bSod.nams; bSod.nams shes.rab (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.141 line 17-p.146 line 19). These nine *gdan.sa* of rTa.sga dgon.pa must have held office briefly because they have to be accommodated in little more than one hundred and fifty years between the foundation of rTa.sga (1195-1199) until not later than 1346 when *Deb.ther dmar.po* was written. The lineage of the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s, who were the *bla.mchod*-s of the Pu.hrang *jo.bo*-s and subsequently also of the kings of Gu.ge is as follows: g.Yung.sa.ba; Tshul.dar.ba; Shes.rab 'phel.ba; Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.147 line 18-149 line 1).

(655) Corroboration that sTag.tsha restored the Kha.char *Jo.bo* and that he did not make a new image comes from *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*, when it says that the main image at Kha.char is colloquially called *Jo.bo dngul.sku chen.po* (f.7b line 7-f.8a line 1: "Shes.rab.kyi lha 'Jam.dbyangs dang dngul.sku chen.po (f.8a) zhes.grags", "It became known as 'Jam.dbyangs, the god of wisdom, otherwise known as *dngul.sku chen.po*").

tion with a foundation. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* does not attribute the making of the two side statues to sTag.tsha, for, later in the text, his son rNam.lde.mgon is recorded to have added the two side “brothers” (the statues of sPyan.ras.gzigs and Phyag.na rdo.rje) when he became king of Pu.hrang. sTag.tsha’s renovation of the central image of Kha.char is the only one recorded in the sources. Old pictures of the Jo.bo, before it was destroyed, show how the silver statue looked after sTag.tsha’s restoration, which did probably not affect its most salient original features<sup>656</sup>.

Concerning rNam.lde.mgon’s patronage of the silver statues of sPyan.ras.gzigs and Phyag.na rdo.rje, the well known account of the legendary circumstances which enabled rNam.lde.mgon to add the two side statues to the Kha.char Jo.bo is found in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.70 lines 1-7). The Sog.po merchants approached rNam.lde.mgon and left their merchandise in his care for three years on the condition that, if they had not returned by then, the king could make use of it. It turned out to be a considerable amount of silver, which rNam.lde.mgon used to make the two side statues for the Kha.char Jo.bo<sup>657</sup>. The narrative includes a brief historical remark on the time when they were created. It says that, in order to emulate his father, he had the two silver images made. Hence, they were cast after the death of sTag.tsha Khri.'bar, which occurred between the summer of 1219 and the summer of 1220. *Kho.char dkar.chag* also relates that Sog.po merchants left their goods to rNam.lde.mgon, which consisted of much silver<sup>658</sup>. This detail testifies to Mongol patronage

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The use of this name in this passage in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* proves that, since the statue of the late 10th century has remained unchanged until recent times, sTag.tsha’s contribution was merely a renovation of the ancient most sacred statue of Pu.hrang.

(656) Judging by Tucci’s and Pranavananda’s pictures, the only extant visual documentation of the central silver Jo.bo before its destruction, it seems that sTag.tsha’s restoration was confined to some peripheral parts of the statue, for the image had retained its late 10th century facial features until modern times. Restorations to its body cannot be detected because the statue was covered with bulky robes (see Tucci’s picture from *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* published in *Kho.char dkar.chag* p.33 and Swami Pranavananda’s photograph in his *Kailas-Manasarovar* pl.61). Bal.po Ashwa.darma had a larger role than that of Kha.che Wang.ku.la, since the statue was in Newar style rather than *Kha.che lugs*.

(657) Interestingly, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* adopts the spelling rNam.lde.mgon instead of the more common gNam.lde.mgon. This is, in my view, due to a wish of Ngag.dbang grags.pa or his source to link the etymology of the name of the Pu.hrang king to the legend of Dzam.bha.la and the deity’s miraculous gift. The spelling rNam.lde.mgon suggests rNam.thos.sras, a manifestation of Dzam.bha.la.

(658) See *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.10a-11a = p.47 line 7-p.48 line 5): “gNam.mgon(f.10b).ldes sku.mkhar.gong.du Dzam.bha.lha.yi bsnyen.pa mdzad.pas·Dzam.lha'i zhal yang gzigs shing/ thengs.gcig Sog.po'i tshong.pa mang.po byung nas/ nor rnam.khong.sar bcol zhing/ lo.gsum.nas khong rnam.yong.bar bshad/ gal.te ma.slebs tshe nor thams.cad khyed.rang.gis dbang.mdzod zer shing tshong.pa log/ de.nas lo.dus.la tshong.pa ma.slebs.pas nor rnam.kha.phye.nas gzigs.pas nor dpag.tu med.pa yod cing lhag.par dngul.gyi tam.ka mang.po.la yi.ge Dzam.Dzam zhes.pa'i kha.yig gzigs te/ Dzam.bha.lha.yi dngos.grub gnang.bar mkhyen te/ rgyal.po gNam.mgon.lde rang.nyid dang lcam rje.btsun sGrol.ma'i rman.'phrul Jo.'bum rgyal.mo gnyis



of Kha.char, the earliest in Tibet of which I am aware. This was the time when the 'Bri.gung.pa-s established relations with the Mongols. Owing to these contacts, it is not surprising that their sponsorship, ascribed in legendary terms to Mongol merchants, was granted to Kha.char, since his *rnam.thar* records that Kha.char was the residence of 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas<sup>659</sup>, who was responsible for these newly established links during his sojourn in sTod (see above p.389)<sup>660</sup>. The possibility that, by way of 'Bri.gung.gling.pa, the Mongols of South Turkestan encouraged rNam.lde.mgon to be the *sbyin.bdag* of the side statues is thus reinforced. The 1219-1220 *terminus post quem* for the making of the side statues of Kha.char is also useful to confirm the time of 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's visit to the Mongols at the border of the Tarim basin (see below p.415 and n.687).

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.70 line 10) says that rNam.lde.mgon granted twenty-four measures of provisions (?) to dGod.khung chos.skor (sic for rGod.khung: see 'Bri.gung

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zhal.gros/ bzo.bo Bi.shwa.karma'i rnam.'phrul lha.bzo mkhas.pa 'ga'.zhig yod.pa dang rten.'brel 'grigs te/ mnga'.bdag 'Khor(p.48)re dang/ lHa.lde yab(f.11a).sras.kyis bzhengs.pa'i Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje'i g.yas.su rgyal.kun snying.rje'i rang.gzugs 'Phags.pa sPyan.ras.gzigs dbang.phyug dang/ g.yon.du rgyal.kun nus.pa'i rang.gzugs gsang.bdag Phyag.na rdo.rje gnyis dngul.sku gtsbo dang sku.tshad mnyam.par dngul.gar blugs.su bzhengs", "As gNam.mgon.lde meditated on Dzam.bha.lha (sic) at *sku.mkhar.gong* ("upper rGyal.ti castle"), he had the vision of Dzam.lha (sic) and, once, since many Sog.po traders appeared, they entrusted their merchandise to him, saying that they would return in three years, adding: "In case we do not come back, you will own all these goods", the traders left. Then, the traders having not returned within those years, he opened the boxes of merchandise [and] looked [inside]. He saw that there were innumerable treasures and, in particular, many silver coins minted with the letters Dzam.Dzam. He realised he had obtained the power of Dzam.bha.lha (sic). King gNam.mgon.lde and his wife Jo.'bum rgyal.mo, the incarnation of rje.btsun sGrol.ma, these two, conferred. There were some master artists, the incarnations of artist Bi.shwa.karma, with whom they were on good terms. To the right of the Jo.bo 'Jam.dpal rdo.rje, made by mnga'.bdag 'Khor.re and lHa.lde, the father and son, the statue of the all-compassionate 'Phags.pa sPyan.ras.gzigs dbang.phyug and, to the left, the statue of the all-powerful lord of secrets Phyag.na rdo.rje, these two, were made in silver the size of the central image cast in silver". *Kho.char dkar.chag* thus associates rNam.lde.mgon's wife, Jo.'bum rgyal.mo, and her husband with the making of the two silver images. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10a line 2-f.10b line 5) has the same account as *Kho.char dkar.chag*.

(659) 'Bri.gung.gling.pa had murals painted on the walls of Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang ('*Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* p.22 lines 3-4; see also below n.687). This was carried out before he went to meet the Mongols. Hence, if, as it seems, the making of the two side "brothers" was sponsored by the Mongols, another sub-phase of donation to Kha.char has to be recognized (that of 'Bri.gung.gling.pa), which took place before the two side statues were added to the central Jo.bo. Mongol patronage of Kha.char occurred in the years before the Mongols started to found Buddhist temples. Works on O.go.ta's Karakorum palace began after Genggis established the town in 1220, and its Buddhist structure was completed by Mon.gor rgyal.po (Shatzman Steinhart, "Imperial Architecture along the Mongol Road to Dadu" p.60).

(660) '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.29a line 4-f.29b line 1) says that Kha.char was among other temples given to Shes.rab 'byung.gnas by the Pu.hrang jo.bo A.tig (see above n.610). The text adds that while he was residing there he was met by Ya.rtse Grags.pa.lde at Ma.pham, implying that Shes.rab 'byung.gnas went to the lake to see the king.

*Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.31a line 6). No precise date for its establishment at sTag.la.mkhar is found in the sources. One can say conservatively that it was functioning around 1215, when rNam.lde.mgon is found sponsoring the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at *Ti.se*<sup>661</sup>.

The founder of this *chos.skor* is nowhere recorded, but a few indications in 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* confirm this patronage. The 'Bri.gung grub.thob chen.po Seng.ge ye.shes meditated for three years at *Ti.se Shel.'dra* and met rGod.tshang.pa at that time. Seng.ge ye.shes was given bSam.gtan.gling and Pu.rang rGod.khung by the Pu.rang kings sTag.tsha and A.tig. Afterwards, he dwelled for three years at lCags.ye Ye.shes.rdzong<sup>662</sup>. Seng.ge ye.shes resided in sTod for six years altogether. Since his sojourn was contemporary with that of rGod.tshang.pa (at *Ti.se* 1214-1216 and in the Indo-Iranic borderlands until 1217) and no trace of Seng.ge ye.shes is found in the sources at the time 'Bri.gung gling.pa arrived at *Ti.se*, he must have dwelled in sTod around 1214-1219. The grant of sTag.la.mkhar rGod.khung *chos.skor* occurred during the first three years of his visit to sTod<sup>663</sup>. The episode is also valuable in that it confirms the period of the reigns of sTag.tsha

(661) The foundation of rGod.khung lha.khang is attributed to nang.so mGon.po and his brother in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.11b line 1: "Nang.so mGon.por sku.mched.kyi dGod.khung lha.khang sogs brab", where the locative attached to the name mGon.po is doubtful and the genitive *kyi* rather than an instrumental *kyis* definitely wrong. This passage in the original *dbu.med* manuscript of the *dkar.chag* could also read: "Thang.po mGon.por sku.mched.kyi dGog.khung lha.khang sogs brab", in which Thang.po mGon.po would stand for a locality. As said in the present text, rGod.khung was in the sTag.la.mkhar area). In the following passage, the *dkar.chag* records a large scale renovation of Kha.char (f.11a line 1-f.12a line 1), which took place at the same time as nang.so mGon.po's foundation of dGod.khung (sic for rGod.khung) lha.khang. Among the many statues and murals added at Kha.char, a portrait of Ngor.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po was painted. Thus the restoration at Kha.char and nang.so mGon.po's building enterprises could not have taken place earlier than the second quarter of the 15th century (Ngor.chen was in sTod for the first time in 1427). This reveals that the undated alleged foundation of rGod.khung by nang.so mGon.po took place not earlier than the 15th century, and was thus a renovation. The kingdom nang.so mGon.po served as minister remains obscure, since control of Pu.hrang passed through various hands during the 15th century.

(662) 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.30b line 6-f.31a line 1): "De'i rjes.su grub.thob chen.po Seng.ge ye.shes byon/ rje 'dis *Ti.se Shel.*(f.31a).dra'i brag.la lo.gsum sgrub.pa mdzad cing bzhugs skabs/ rgyal.ba rGod.tshang.pa chen.po dang mjal", "After him ('Bri.gung gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas), grub.thob chen.po Seng.ge ye.shes came. This rje meditated for three years at *Ti.se Shel.'dra'i brag* and, while residing there, he met the great rgyal.ba rGod.tshang.pa" and *ibid.* (f.31a line 5-f.31b line 1): "rJe Seng.ye 'dis Pu.rang.gi rgyal.po sTag.tsha dang/ A.tig yab.sras bla.zhang.blon gsum dang bcas.pa la Byang.chub sems.bskyed.kyi sdom.pa gnang.ba'i yon.du Brag.la bSam.gtan.gling dang/ Pu.rang rGod.khung (f.31b) dgon.pa rten mchod.cha dang bcas.pa dang/ *Ti.se'i ri.pa rnam.skyi 'tsho.thebs.su Rong Yang.dkar yul zhes.bya.ba phul*", "This rje Seng[.ge] ye[.shes] gave the *Byang.chub sems.dpa' sems.bskyed* vow to the Pu.rang kings sTag.tsha and A.tig, the father and son, the *bla.zhang-s* (lit. "uncle *bla.ma-s*", a term identifying the Pu.hrang rulers) and their minister, these three. In return, he was awarded Brag.la bSam.gtan.gling and Pu.rang rGod.khung dgon.pa including their receptacles and religious objects, and the land of Rong Yang.dkar in order to assure a living for the *Ti.se ri.pa-s*".

(663) rGod.tshang.pa met a 'Bri.gung.pa called brTson.'grus seng.ge at Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs. They had a competition in magical skills and the 'Bri.gung.pa was defeated. *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* in *lHo.rong*

and A.rig.sman/rNam.lde.mgon. *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* mistakenly says that Seng.ge ye.shes resided at Ti.se after Shes.rab 'byung.gnas<sup>664</sup>. The meeting with rGod.tshang.pa shows that his sojourn in Pu.hrang preceded the arrival of 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas, who resided in sTod from earth hare 1219 until wood bird 1225<sup>665</sup>.

*The kings of Gu.ge lHo.stod (early 13th century to 1277)*  
(not in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs)

Analysis of the royal genealogies of Gu.ge has to be resumed at this point with an appraisal of the royal line of Gu.ge lHo.stod, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* only documents the

*chos. 'byung* (p.696 lines 5-9) says: "Ti.ser byon Gad.pa gSer.gyi skyibs su 'Bri.gung.ba'i sgom.chen brTson.'grus seng.ges mandala tshom.bu bdun.pa'i dbus.kyi tshom.bu.la tha.ma rnam.kyis bskor.ba byed.pa zhin.tu sprul nas/ khyod.kyis kyang sprul.pa zhig ston zer.ba la/ tshom.bu bcu.gsum.ma bDe.mchog lha bcu.gsum.du sprul", "He (rGod.tshang.pa) went to Ti.se. At Gad.pa gSer.gyi [bya.]skyibs, as the 'Bri.gung.pa sgom.chen brTson.'grus seng.ge performed the miracle of causing the seven outer discs of the piled *mandala* (*mandala tshom.bu*) to turn around the central disc, he told him: "You too should show a miracle!". He performed the miracle of manifesting the thirteen gods of the bDe.mchog cycle on the thirteen discs [of the *mandala*"]. Given the year in which rGod.tshang.pa arrived at Ti.se (wood dog 1214), brTson.'grus seng.ge was a 'Bri.gung ri.pa, who resided at Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho before the arrival of rdor.'dzin Ghu.ya.sgang.pa and the establishment of *mchod.yon* with the local rulers. He is known to rDo.rje mdzes.'od (*bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* p.432 line 4), who says he was a master already active in the late 12th century: "rGung.lo bcu.bzhi dus.ma rab.tu byung.bar bzhed.pa la...", "When he was fourteen (1194), as he (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) planned to be ordained..." and *ibid.* (p.433 lines 2-3): "Slob.dpon gTsang.zhig dang sgom.pa brTson.'grus seng.ge gnyis.kyis thos.nas khong mtshams cad.pa yin yang/ rab.tu byung.bar bskul.ba'i phyir gnyis.ka byon.nas 'grogs te Tshal Gung.thang du byon", "Hearing that, slob.dpon gTsang.zhig and sgom.pa brTson.'grus seng.ge, these two, interrupted their meditation. As these two left [their meditation] to ordain him, they accompanied him to Tshal Gung.thang". Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdorje, (*rGod.tsang.pa rnam.thar* p.65 lines 4-15) record the same competition in miracles, but hold that it took place between rGod.tshang.pa and Seng.ge ye.shes. Their meeting occurred some time after the summer of 1215.

(664) There is a confusion in *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* between two 'Bri.gung.pa-s with the same name. Ri.khrod dBang.phyug's *dge.slong* name was Seng.ge ye.shes (rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.mthar chen.mo* p.434 lines 4-5: "sTag.gi lo rta.zla.ba'i tshes.gsum.la rab.tu gshegs te/ dge.tshul mdzad nas mtshan Sengge ye.shes bya.ba gsol.lo", "He (Ri.khrod dBang.phyug) was ordained in the tiger year (1194), on the third day of ~~na.zla.ba~~. As he became a monk, he was given the name Sengge ye.shes"). Since he travelled to Ti.se together with 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas reaching it in earth hare 1219, he had nothing to do with the other Seng.ge ye.shes, who was at Ti.se and Pu.hrang earlier than him. *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* attributes to the later Seng.ge ye.shes some deeds of the earlier.

(665) For 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's arrival at Ti.se and the dates of his sojourn in West Tibet see *'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* (p.31 line 1: "De.ltar Ti.ser lo.bdun bzhugs nas/ bya.lor 'Bri.gung du byon". "Hence, having stayed at Ti.se for seven years, he returned to 'Bri.gung in the bird year (1225)"). See also rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* (p.459 line 6-p.461 line 3; and above n.604); and *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.29a line 4-f.30b line 6).

Byang.ngos lineage and omits the lHo.stod royal family almost entirely.

The kings mentioned by 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus as rulers of Gu.ge are none other than the lords of lHo.stod, since they did not belong to the Byang.ngos lineage recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, and no other division of the Gu.ge kingdom existed during that period. They are found in 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus because they sponsored the 'Bri.gung ri.pa-s at Ti.se.

dPal.mgon.btsan, the first king of Gu.ge lHo.stod, is the only ruler of this dynasty included in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for many generations (p.76 lines 16-17) since the division of Gu.ge into two kingdoms gave rise to the formation of the Byang.ngos line. The last lHo.stod king in 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus is Grags.pa.lde, described as a staunch supporter of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. He appears in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* because he also became king of Byang.ngos (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 3-5).

The location of lHo.stod (South Gu.ge) favoured the relations of its kings with Pu.hrang and the rising bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, who had installed themselves in sTod with the opening of the pilgrimage to Ti.se after their pioneering efforts to establish the sect in the area during the late 12th century.

According to 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus, the Gu.ge king bKra.shis.lde was one of the royal patrons of Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, the first 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se<sup>666</sup>. As said above, the others were sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and gNam.lde.mgon of Pu.hrang (the rNam.lde.mgon of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*), and dNgos.grub.mgon of Mar.yul. He is the first of several kings of the lHo.stod dynasty who supported the 'Bri.gung.pa-s during the 13th century<sup>667</sup>. The

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(666) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.27b line 6-f.28a line 2): "Chos.rje (f.28a) Ghu.ya.sgang.pa zhes grags.pa byung/ rdor.'dzin chen.po 'di dang/ Gu.ge chos.rgyal khri bKra.shis.lde.btsan/ Mang.yul rgyal.po lha.chen dNgos.grub.mgon/ Pu.rang rgyal.po bla.chen sTag.tsha Khri.'bar dang/ gNam.mgon.lde yab.sras rnam.s dang mchod.yon.du 'brel zhing mNga'.ris skor.gsum du 'phrin.las shin.tu rgyas", "The one who became known as chos.rje Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, this great ['Bri.gung] rdor.'dzin, and Gu.ge chos.rgyal khri bKra.shis.lde.btsan, Mang.yul rgyal.po lha.chen dNgos.grub.mgon, Pu.rang rgyal.po-s bla.chen sTag.tsha Khri.'bar and gNam.mgon.lde, the father and sons, became associated by *mchod.yon*. [Religious] activities were extraordinarily expanded in mNga'.ris skor.gsum".

(667) In another episode relating the construction of a dam at Kha.char to prevent inundations of the rMa.byā kha.'babs, *Kho.char dkar.chag* confirms that the Gu.ge king bKra.shis.lde was a contemporary of rNam.lde.mgon. After a lengthy description of the making of the two side statues at Kha.char by rNam.lde.mgon, the *dkar.chag* (f.11b-12a = p.49 lines 4-10) says: "Dus.de tsam.na Gu.ge chos.rgyal.gyi gdung.rgyud khri bKra.shis.lde/Pu.rang 'Khor.chags su phebs/ gtsug.lag(f.12a).khang.la chu.yi 'jigs.pa sky-obs.pa'i thabs bka'.khyab bstsal/ bye.ris brgyud.byang byas/ skye.bo 'jigs te/ chu.la dbyug.pa rgyab.pas chu kha.gyur/ chu.la rags.rgyab.pa'i lugs srol bzang.po btsugs.pa'i bka'.drin che", "At about that time (i.e. of rNam.lde.mgon), khri bKra.shis.lde, who belonged to the lineage of the Gu.ge *chos.rgyal*-s, went to Pu.rang 'Khor.chags (Kha.char). He issued orders to arrange an effective method to protect the *gtsug.lag.khang* from the fear of the river. The range of the sandy dunes had been washed away. The population was frightened. Having blocked the flood of the river, he diverted the course of the waters. Due to his instructions, an efficient system of controlling the river [by means of] an embankment was introduced".

year in which Ghu.ya.sgang.pa arrived at Ti.se and the period he spent in the area are instrumental in approximating the dates of bKra.shis.lde's reign<sup>668</sup>. Given that Ghu.ya.sgang.pa was the 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se for twenty-five years starting from wood pig 1215<sup>669</sup>, bKra.shis.lde was the lHo.stod king during at least some of the period the former spent at Ti.se.

The arrival of Ghu.ya.sgang.pa in 1215 marks a turning point in the history of sTod, being the time when the pilgrimage was instituted in a stable and organized way<sup>670</sup>. This is the reason that led the author of 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus to record in detail the various kings of mNga'.ris skor.gsum who granted their support to the 'Bri.gung ri.pa-s. It seems that the coming of Ghu.ya.sgang.pa at that time and his appointment as rdor.'dzin was the outcome of an official act of recognition in favour of the sect's hermits.

(668) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.27a lines 5-f.27a line 2): "De lta.bu'i sgo.nas rje.nyid dgung.lo don.gsum bzhes.pa'i tshе gzhi.khrid thob.pa'i gsar.bu phal.che.ba ri.la gtong.ba gnang ste/ de.yang bla.ma rdo.rje 'dzin.pa pan.chen Ghu.ya.sgang.pa zhes sam mtshan.dngos chos.rje Phun.tshogs rgya.mtsho zhes grags.pa gTsang Bo.dong du sku.'khrungs zhing bla.ma mkhas.grub du.ma.la bsten.nas mDo.sNgags rig.pa'i gnas kun.la mkhyen.pa (f.27b) brgyas.pa'i sten chos.rje rin.po.che nyid.kyi bka'.drin.las rtogs.pa'i yon.tan phul.du phyin.pa brnyes.pa de.nyid.kyis gtsos zhan.yang grub.thob Ri.pa Nag.po dang/ Ri.pa sNgon.po sogs mgon.chen lnga.khri lnga.stong lnga.brgya nyis.shu rtsa.lnga Ti.se..." and ibid. (f.27b lines 4-5): "...rdzong.bar mdzad.do", "In this way, when the lord ('Jig.rten mgon.po) was seventy-three (1215), he sent most of those who had recently received basic teachings to the hermitages. Concerning this, bla.ma rdo.rje 'dzin.pa pan.chen Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, otherwise his true name being chos.rje Phun.tshogs rgya.mtsho, was born at gTsang Bo.dong. Having received teachings from many learned bla.ma-s, he mastered all knowledge of mDo.sNgags. Moreover, due to the favour of chos.rje rin.po.che ('Jig.rten mgon.po), he obtained an outstanding quality of wisdom. 55,525 meditators, headed by him and also by grub.thob Ri.pa Nag.po and Ri.pa sNgon.po, ...were sent to Ti.se". Wood pig 1215 was, therefore, the year in which Ghu.ya.sgang.pa established himself at Ti.se with his community of meditators and was sponsored by Gu.ge bKra.shis.lde and the other rulers of sTod.

(669) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.29a line 2): "rDo.rje 'dzin.pa 'dis Ti.ser lo nyi.shu rtsa.lnga ri.pa bskyangs nas bstan.pa'i rtsa.ba chugs.par mdzad.do", "This rdo.rje 'dzin.pa protected the ri.pa-s at Ti.se for twenty-five years. He thus established the foundations of the teachings". In a prayer written by 'Jig.rten mgon.po reference is made to "Rigs.gsum mgon.po'i gdung.rgyud rje/ mNga'.ris.stod du sku.'khrungs pa'i/ rgyal.po rTse.lde'i dbon.sras dang/ mnga'.bdag rgyal.po Kun.grags.lde", "The descendants of rgyal.po rTse.lde, [who] was born in mNga'.ris.stod [and belonged] to the lineage of the Rigs.gsum.mgon.po [kings], and mnga'.bdag rgyal.po Kun.grags.lde" (Nyin.byed mun.bral snang.gsal p.380 line 5). These people of royal blood were contemporaries with 'Jig.rten mgon.po (d.1217), being thus active in the decades between the last quarter of the 12th and the early 13th century. Given the period in which he presumably ruled and the absence of records concerning the dynasty of the kings of lHo.stod after the reign of dPal.mgon.btsan until that of bKra.shis.lde, one should wonder whether Kun.grags.lde could have been bKra.shis.lde's predecessor on the lHo.stod throne. However, the use in the sentence of the conjunction dang separating Kun.grags.lde from the successors of rTse.lde is enough evidence to dismiss the possibility that Kun.grags.lde was a descendant of rTse.lde and therefore a ruler of Gu.ge lHo.stod. He must have reigned elsewhere.

(670) The second visit of gNyos lHa.nang.pa to Ti.se is not fixed with precision in the sources. 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus places it after the arrival of Ghu.ya.sgang.pa in 1215 and before that of 'Bri.gung gling.pa in 1219. He performed the miracle of flying in the lotus posture to the centre of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho and visiting the

When rGod.tshang.pa reached Ti.se in 1214<sup>671</sup>, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s were trying to establish their own undisputed authority around the mountain before the arrival of Ghu.ya.sgang.pa. They were exercising pressure on freshly arrived meditators at the holy

palace of klu'i rgyal.po Ma.dros.pa, to whom he gave teachings. Subsequently, he again met the Pu.hrang jo.bo sTag.tsha, who supported him (*gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* f.83b lines 7-8: "Lo.ga'i khams thams.cad.du rin.po.che gNyos.kyis mtsho Ma.'phang la dkyil.krung byas nas/ klu'i ra.dza Ma.gros.pa'i pho.brang.du byon.no", "gNyos, the *rin.po.che* of all the *loka* realms, as he sat in the lotus posture [on the centre of] mtsho Ma.'phang, went to the palace of klu'i ra.dza Ma.gros.pa (sic)". The episode is briefly recorded in '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.29a lines 2-4). *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* adds (f.84a lines 1-7): "De'i dus.su Gangs Ti.se bstan.pa'i rtso.bor zhal.gzigs.sol/ gangs.'phran rnam.s mchog.zung gcig.gis rtso byas.pa'i dGra.bcom.pa lnga.brgyar gzigs/ rgyal.po sTag.tshang dpung.gi tshogs dang bcas.pa/ lha dBang.phyug chen.po 'khor bcas.su gzigs/ skad.do// sngar yar byon.pa'i lam.du ra.dza sTag.tsha bla.zhang kun yang/ yongs.grags.la Gar.pa Byang.stor.gyis 'du.shes bsgyur zer ste/ spyan.snga na.nas kho.men gzhan.gcig yin gsung/ sna.len.du ma.brub kyang/ de'i snyan.pa thos.pa'i skabs.su/ nas dang sran.ma dang sran.chung.gi phye brgya la.sogs.pas bkur.ti dpag.tu med.pa mdzad", "At that time he (gNyos lHa.nang.pa) truly saw Gangs Ti.se as the main symbol of the teachings and the minor mountains as the pair of excellent [disciples of Buddha] leading the five hundred Arhat-s. It is said that king sTag.tshang (sic for sTag.tsha) and his retinue of guards truly saw lha dBang.phyug chen.po (Mahashiva) and his cycle. At the time of his previous journey (in 1208), when they were coming up (to Ti.se), it is said that on the way Gar.pa Byang.stor (sic for rdor) influenced the attitude of raja sTag.tsha bla.zhang [and] also of all [the king's entourage for gNyos lHa.nang.pa] in general. sPyan.snga (gNyos lHa.nang.pa) said: "It cannot be him. It must be someone else". Although [during his earlier visit] it became improper to receive him [due to Gar.pa's jealousy], on this occasion, realising his reputation, [sTag.tsha] payed him innumerable [acts of] homage [by offering him] one hundred [measures] of barley, beans and peas". A report of his miracles was given to *chos.rje* ('Jig.rten mgon.po) by one of his disciples, who attended his performance (*gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* f.85a line 3-6: "De'i tsho 'Bri.khung.pa'i Kham.pa sGom.chen Rad.na la yang chos.bsnyan.pa gcig Pu.rangs na yod.pa/ Rad.na'i sku'i skod.pa de ngo.mtshar.du gyur nas/ dga'.ches te nyin.rgyugs mtshan.rgyugs.su 'Bri.khung du phyin te/ chos.rje'i spyan.sngar/ rje rin.po.che gNyos.kyis mtsho Ma.'phang du byon/ mtsho Ma.'phang dkyil.du dkyil.krung mdzad.de/ klu'i rgyal.po Ma.gros.pa'i pho.brang du byon", "At that time, 'Bri.khung Kham.pa sGom.chen who had received religious teachings from Rad.na (i.e. gNyos lHa.nang.pa) in Pu.rangs [and] had been amazed at Rad.na's astonishing performance, went to 'Bri.khung travelling day and night. He [reported] to *chos.rje* that rje rin.po.che gNyos went to mtsho Ma.'phang, sat cross-legged in the middle of mtsho Ma.'phang and proceeded to the palace of klu'i rgyal.po Ma.gros.pa (sic)"). Hence, gNyos lHa.nang.pa's second sojourn at Ti.se took place before 1217, when 'Jig.rten mgon.po died. No clear mention of the 1215 major expedition led by Ghu.ya.sgang.pa is found in his biography. However, reference therein to the great number of *ri.pa-s* in the expedition in which he participated and to the famine which induced it (see above n.596 and 601) shows that he was among the leaders of the large group that went to Ti.se in 1215.

(671) Relations between the local rulers, the 'Brug.pa-s and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s are better understood if events involving rGod.tshang.pa are seen from a chronological perspective. His *rnam.thar* mentions the seasons in which the incidents at Ti.se took place, but nowhere gives any year. However a dating is made possible by following the succession of these events season after season. Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdorje, *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* (p.70 lines 10-1) say: "gNas de.ru lo.ngo.gsum bzhugs", "He stayed three years in this holy place (Ti.se)". Since rGod.tshang.pa arrived at Ti.se in wood dog 1214 (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.803 lines 2-5; see above n.570), he stayed at Ti.se until fire rat 1216. He was at mchod.rten Khong.seng in the summer (of 1214) after his arrival in Pu.hrang (*rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* p.60 lines 16-18; also see the next

places in Pu.hrang<sup>672</sup> such as rGod.tshang.pa, although the 'Brug.pa-s had settled down in a few important places at Ti.se and Ma.pham and, as late as 1214, were controlling them<sup>673</sup>. The 1215 recognition that established 'Bri.gung.pa authority over the local rulers also gave them supremacy over fellow bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. It is significant that after the arrival at Ti.se of the 1215 expedition of *ri.pa-s* from 'Bri.gung, the three sites of gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, Nyan.po.ri.rdzong and Dar.lung, which were places of the 'Brug.pa-s according to *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar*, became strongholds of the former group of bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. In fact, at least two of them, gSer.gyi bya.skyibs and Dar.lung (where rGyang.grags, the main 'Bri.gung.pa monastery, was built by Ghu.ya.sgang.pa) are documented by '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.28a line 5-f.28b line 2; and f.29a lines 4-f.29b line 1) to have belonged to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s after 1215 (see below n.610)<sup>674</sup>.

note). He spent the winter (of 1214-1215) at Ma.pham (ibid. p.64 lines 2-3: "Nged slob.dpon Yon.btsun gnyis.kyis Ma.pham.gyi Gad.skyibs shig.tu dgun.rgyags bsdad", "Myself (rGod.tshang.pa) and slob.dpon Yon.btsun, the two of us, spent the winter at Gad.skyibs (i.e Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs) of Ma.pham"). The *rnam.thar* next records the episode of a 'Bri.gung.pa sending him away from gSer.gyi bya.skyibs (see the following note). He spent the summer (of 1215) at Ma.pham curing the illness which was tormenting him (p.64 line 19-p.65 line 1: "dByar bred ni mi.bred gnas de.kar chu.rde'u (p.65) gsol cing zla.ba lnga bzhugs", "It was summer, there was nothing to fear. He spent five months at this holy place (Ma.pham), drinking water with tiny pebbles"). During that time he met Seng.ge ye.shes. The episode of sTag.tsha's rebuke to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s follows (in autumn 1215) (see below n.674). In the late part of the winter (beginning of 1216), rGod.tshang.pa's companion Dam.pa gTsang went for a circumambulation of Ti.se (p.67 lines 8-9: "De'i dgun.smad Dam.pa gTsang skor.ba la byon"). Then, having spent the summer (of 1216) at Ti.se, rGod.tshang.pa thought of going to Dza.lan.dha.ra in the autumn (of 1216), which he did (p.70 lines 3-4: "dByar.thog de.kar bzhugs.nas ston Dza.lan.dha.rar gshegs dgongs").

(672) In *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* by Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdorje (p.60 lines 16-18), rGod.tshang.pa explains in his own words that: "Nged.rang.gyis phug.pa 'Bri.khung.pa la ma.khugs.par dbyar Ti.se'i mchod.rten Khong.seng bya.bar bzhugs", "Having not requested a cave from the 'Bri.khung.pa-s, I spent the summer (of 1214) at mchod.rten Khong.seng"). 'Bri.gung.pa intolerance towards fellow bKa'.brgyud.pa-s is exemplified by the fact that rGod.tshang.pa was turned away in winter of 1214-1215 by another 'Bri.gung.pa, who did not want to let him stay at Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs (*rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* p.63 lines 8-11: "Ma.pham du chab.gsol cing lo.gsum 'di.kar bzhugs dgongs.pas/ 'Bri.khung.pa'i sgom.chen zhig na.re/ 'di nged.khyi phug.pa yin dgun.bsad.du mi.'ong zer", "He thought of staying three years at Ma.pham to drink its water, but a 'Bri.khung meditator said: "This is our cave and you are not allowed to spend the winter [here]").

(673) Immediately after the episode in which rGod.tshang.pa was driven away from gSer.gyi bya.skyibs by a 'Bri.gung.pa, an important statement is made by his *rnam.thar* (Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdorje, *rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* p.63 lines 13-15): "Cir Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs Dam.pa lHa.zhig.gis bzung/ rDzong Tsa.re sngon.pos bzung/ Dar gTer.khung.bas bzung.nas de.gsum 'Brug.pa'i phug yin", "In general, Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs was held by Dam.pa lHa.zhig, [Nyan.po.ri] rDzong was held by Tsa.re sngon.po and Dar.[lung] was held by gTer.khung.ba. These were the caves of the 'Brug.pa-s". This shows that around the winter of 1214, the 'Brug.pa-s held these major holy sites.

(674) 'Bri.gung.pa dislike of having other bKa'.brgyud.pa-s at the holy places in the Ti.se-Ma.pham area, is

After the reign of bKra.shis.lde, the Gu.ge king bKra.shis dBang.phyug and his son dPal.mgon.lde sponsored Nyi.ma gung.pa, the second 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se, who succeeded Ghu.ya.sgang.pa in 1239<sup>675</sup>. It is likely that bKra.shis dBang.phyug was the king of the lHo.stod dynasty who succeeded bKra.shis.lde. mNga'.bdag bKra.shis dBang.phyug, together with dPal.mgon.lde, probably ruled lHo.stod not after the late thirties of the 13th century, but it is possible that one of them also reigned during the following decade.

Subsequently Gags.pa.lde and his wife bSam.grub rgyal.mo sponsored Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, the third 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se<sup>676</sup>.

also revealed by a speech of sTag.tsha in favour of the 'Brug.pa-s. Sangs.rgyas dar.po and rGyal.thang.ba bDe.chen rdorje, (*rGod.tshang.pa rnam.thar* p.66 lines 6-19) say: "De'i dus.su bla.chen sTag.tsha khong.rang.gi sku.mkhar.gyi rtsa.na sgrub.gnas khyad.par.can zhig 'dug/...bla.chen.gyis Dam.pa Mang.zhig bya.ba.la bka'.bsgo mdzad de/ dPal Phag.mo gru.pa'i sras.rnams.kyi nang.nas mchog.tu gyur.pa/ shar.chu.bo Gang.ga tshun.chad.na rtogs.pa tho.bar grags.pa'i rnal.'byor.gyi dbang.phyug grub.thob.chen.po Gling.ras.pa'i slob.ma chos.rje gTsang.pa rGya.ras bya.ba'i rnal.'byor.gyi dbang.phyug.gi yod/ de'i slob.ma 'di.rnams snyom.chung jo.bo bzang.ba/ chos.rang.shes dag byed.cing.nga'i ri.khrod.na sgom.zhing.yang 'dug.pa.la/ khyed 'Bri.khung.ba.chos.bton.yong.bar 'dug.pas/ ci.la 'don/ sa.cha.ni.nga'i sa.cha.yin/ ri.ni.nga'i ri.yin", "At that time at the foot of the residence of bla.chen sTag.tsha there was an important meditation place...[Here] bla.chen (sTag.tsha) told Dam.pa Mang.zhig: "Among the disciples of dPal Phag.mo gru.pa the most excellent was the lord of the *yogin-s* grub.thob.chen.po Gling.ras.pa (1128-1188), whose fame of supreme spiritual attainments reached as far as the eastern side of river Gangga. His disciple chos.rje gTsang.pa rGya.ras (1161-1211) was a lord of the *yogin-s*. His disciples are humble and noble. They [assiduously] expand their own knowledge of religion and meditate in hermitages. Since you, 'Bri.khung.ba-s, went to 'send them away, why did you do that? This land is my land, this mountain (i.e. Ti.se) is my mountain..."). Unless this speech is a pious 'Brug.pa apology, one should conclude that the authority of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s was taking the upper hand over that of the local king earlier than the summer of 1216 (see above n.672). Subsequently, rGod.tshang.pa was allowed to stay at Nyan.po.ri rdzong while his companion Dam.pa gTsang was permitted to stay at Dar.lung.

(675) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.31b lines 2-4): "De'i rjes.su rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Nyi.ma gung.pa byon.zhing/ rje 'di.la Gu.ge rgyal.po khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug dang/ dPal.mgon.lde yab.sras.kyis chos.zhus.zhing/ Pu.rang dKar.sdum.gyi phu.g.Yu.phug/ Bar.pad.phug/ mDa'.chos.phug bcas dang Za.lang.stod.smad rnams rGyang.grags.kyi chos.gzhis.phul.bar.grags", "After him, rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Nyi.ma gung.pa came. The kings of Gu.ge khri bKra.shis dBang.phyug and dPal.mgon.lde, the father and son, received teachings from this rje. It is well known that they awarded [him] g.Yu.phug, Bar.pad.phug and mDa'.chos.phug in upper dKar.sdum of Pu.rang, and Za.lang.stod.smad which was a religious estate of rGyang.grags".

(676) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.31b lines 4-5): "De'i rjes.su rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan.pa byon/ rje 'di Gu.ge rgyal.po khri Gags.pa.lde dang/ lha.lcam bSam.grub rgyal.mo yab.yum.gyis Pu.rang rGyal.ti mkhar.du.gdan.drangs.nas chos.zhus.pa'i yon.du Pu.rang Thang.yab.stod.smad.la.sogs.pa.phul.lo", "After him, rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan came. Having invited this rje to Pu.rang rGyal.ti mkhar, Gu.ge rgyal.po khri Gags.pa.lde and lha.lcam bSam.grub rgyal.mo, the husband and wife, received teachings. In return, they awarded [him] Pu.rang Thang.yab.stod.smad". bKra.shis dBang.phyug, dPal.mgon.lde and Gags.pa.lde gave sacred sites and estates in Pu.hrang to the rdor.'dzin-s of their times. This seems to corroborate the evidence that close relations existed between the lHo.stod kings and the Pu.hrang genealogy of jo.bo-s, at least since the time when sTag.tsha was ruling.



The succession of the 'Bri.gung *rdor.'dzin*-s at Ti.se during this period is consequently as follows:

The first, Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, is the only one with known dates. He was the headman of the 'Bri.gung hermits at the mountain from 1215 to 1239.

He was followed by Nyi.ma gung.pa, evidently from 1239.

The third *rdor.'dzin* was Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, a contemporary of the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde. Petech ("Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.100), says that Grags.pa.lde accorded patronage to Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan at rGyal.ti in the 1260s. This is possible, given that Grags.pa.lde became king of unified Gu.ge and Pu.hrang soon after 1265 (see below p.441)<sup>677</sup>.

His successor was Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan, who, according to '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus*', was a contemporary of gCung rin.po.che rDo.rje grags.pa, the fourth 'Bri.gung gdan.sa (abbot from 1255 to 1278)<sup>678</sup>.

Three *rdor.'dzin*-s have therefore to be accommodated between 1239, when the second *rdor.'dzin* Nyi.ma dgung.pa succeeded Ghu.ya.sgang.pa, and 1278, when gCung rin.po.che, with whom the fourth *rdor.'dzin* Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan was contemporary, died.

The 'Bri.gung.pa sources and *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* thus complement each other. Their combined reading allows a reasonably clear understanding of the genealogies of the two Gu.ge kingdoms. Given that the bKa'.brgyud.pa pilgrimage to Ti.se was not yet opened and thus contacts with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had not been established, what remains sadly obscure is the lineage of the immediate successors to dPal.mgon.btsan, the first king of lHo.stod, from the second half of the 12th century to the early 13th.

Scanty literary interest of the 'Bri.gung.pa texts in the other Gu.ge kingdom proves that the Byang.ngos kings took little interest in the sect's *ri.pa*-s in the Ti.se area and that there was no interaction with the sect's main monastery in dBus.

A few remarks have to be introduced concerning events in the last quarter of the 13th century. Gu.ge was taken over by Sa.skya in the years between 1277 and 1280 (see

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(677) Grags.pa.lde's patronage to Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan cannot have taken place around the mid 1250s since *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* records that Grags.pa.lde conquered Pu.hrang at the same time as Gu.ge Byang.ngos (see below p.439). This occurred after 1265, when Grags.pa.lde overcame Chos.rgyal grags.pa in Byang.ngos (see below p.441).

(678) '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.31b line 5): "De'i rjes.su rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan.pa byon", "After him, rdo.rje 'dzin.pa Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan came" and *ibid.* (f.32a lines 2-3): "rDor.'dzin 'di'i.dus 'Bri.gung.gi gdan.sa.la gdan.rab lnga.pa chos.rje gCung rin.po.che bzhugs.pa'i dus yin", "During the time of this *rdor.'dzin*, the 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa* was held by the fifth abbot chos.rje gCung rin.po.che". gCung rin.po.che was in fact the fourth 'Bri.gung abbot.

Addendum Three)<sup>679</sup>. Grags.pa.lde, a supporter of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, from whom Gu.ge was taken by Sa.skya, died in 1277. No royal sponsorship is recorded to have been granted to Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan. Being a contemporary of gCung rin.po.che may be proof that he came late to Ti.se, close to 1278. After Grags.pa.lde no king of Gu.ge is recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* for some time. After Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan, no *rdor.'dzin-s* are mentioned in '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* for a considerable period<sup>680</sup>. These facts point to a collapse of local power in Gu.ge and to the loss of 'Bri.gung.pa preeminence in sTod. According to bKa'.brgyud.pa literature, such as *lHo.rong chos.'byung* and Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan's '*Bri.gung gser.phreng*, the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* in sTod, apparently only suffered a temporary setback after their head monastery was devastated by the Sa.skya.pa-s during the 'Bri.gung *gling.log* of 1290. In the accounts of these sources, the temples in mNga'.ris skor.gsum and elsewhere continued prospering under the eighth 'Bri.gung gdan.sa bCu.gnyis.pa rin.po.che rDo.rje rin.chen (1278-1314, in office 1296-1314)<sup>681</sup>. He sur-

(679) Among the *glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum* (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* manuscript f.8a-b = p.37 line 8-p.38 line 10; lHa.sa ed. p.108 line 8-109 line 2) was dKar.dum gNam.gyi Khyung.rdzong, from where control was exercised over Gu.ge Pu.hrang (ibid. p.108 lines 8-9). This network of fort was established during the reign of the Gung.thang king 'Bum.lde.mgon some time between fire ox 1277 and iron dragon 1280. Tshe.dbang nor.bu introduces the classification of the forts after the completion of the rDzong.dkar gtsug.lag.khang (1277) and before 'Bum.lde.mgon's death (1280). *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.107 lines 4-7) says: "gTsug.lag.khang rten dang brten.par bcas.pa dgung.lo nyi.shu rtsa.lnga.pa me.mo.glang la legs.par 'byongs shing/ lo.der 'gro.ba'i mgon.po chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa yang chen.po Hor.gyi rgyal.khab.nas slar.yang Bod du phebs", "He ('Bum.lde.mgon) completed the *gtsug.lag.khang* including its images and religious paraphernalia in the fire female ox year (1277) when he was twenty-five. This was also the year in which 'gro.ba'i mgon.po chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa returned again to Tibet from the great kingdom of Hor" and ibid. (p.110 lines 8-11): "dGung.lo nyi.shu rtsa.bdun.pa'i mthar son.pa rtsa.brgyad lcags.'brug.gi lo mgor sngon.gyi las.kyi rgyu.bas 'bangs mi.srūn.pa zhig.gi gsol ngan.gyi sbyor.bas sku.thim ste gnam.gyi lhar gshegs.so", "When ['Bum.lde.mgon] completed twenty-seven years and was entering his twenty-eighth, at the beginning of the iron dragon year (1280), due to his previous *karma*, as a wicked subject put poison in his food and served it to him, he joined the gods of heaven".

(680) Among the 'Bri.gung.pa exponents of the 13th century, *lHo.rong chos.'byung* mentions one *rdor.'dzin Rin.rgyal* (p.414 lines 3-5: "gZhan.yang grub.thob Ti.tse.ba/ Khams.kyi rDo.rje snying.po/ *rdor.'dzin Rin.rgyal.ba/ Ri.ba nag.po/ Byams.Khams Shag sogs rtogs.ldan.gyi skyes.bu mang.du byon.par gda*", "Furthermore, grub.thob Ti.tse.ba, Khams rDo.rje snying.po, *rdor.'dzin Rin.rgyal.ba, Ri.ba nag.po, Byams.Khams Shag*, many emancipated beings, existed"). He is unrecorded in '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus*, and is also not listed among the *La.phyi rdor.'dzin-s* in bsTan.'dzin chos.kyi blo.gros *La.phyi gnas.bshad*. There is also no evidence to say that he was a *rdor.'dzin* at Tsa.ri. His inclusion in a group of 'Bri.gung *gru.thob-s*, among them *Ti.tse.ba* and *Ri.ba nag.po*, the latter being active during the time of the 1290 'Bri.gung *gling.log*, makes *Rin.rgyal* a contemporary of the latter 'Bri.gung.pa-s (on *Ri.ba nag.po* see below n.705). His association with these two 'Bri.gung.pa-s, who manifestly had been at *Ti.se*, makes the possibility that he was the successor of *Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan*, the *rdor.'dzin* who went to *Ti.se* around 1278, worthy of future investigation. Provisionally considering him a *Ti.se rdor.'dzin* is highly conjectural.

(681) *lHo.rong chos.'byung* (p.416 lines 14-18): "Nyer.drug.la tshogs.su byon.nas chos gsungs.nas tshogs.pa

vived the *gling.log* in his youth when sNubs rDo.rje ye.shes was the 'Bri.gung abbot and apparently restored the fortunes of his *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se, Tsa.ri and La.phyi from wood snake 1305<sup>682</sup>. 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus claims that the Ti.se *ri.pa-s* were unaffected by the defeat of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in Central Tibet, but this has the air of self-indulgent exaggeration<sup>683</sup>.

### *sTod, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and the Mongols (a recapitulation)*

1) The first phase of bKa'.brgyud.pa (especially 'Bri.gung.pa and Tshal.pa) diffusion in sTod was inaugurated by the opening of the Ti.se pilgrimage supported by the kings of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. The donation to Dharma bsod.nams of properties in Pu.hrang and

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bskyangs/ sku.gsung.thugs.kyi rten.mchod dpag.tu med.pa bzhengs.nas bstan.pa'i dar.rgyas dang/ 'Bri.gung.ba la gtogs.pa'i Ti.rtse/ La.phyi/ Chu.bar/ Tsa.ri sog.s.kyi ri.pa rnam.kyang thugs.dam 'phel", "When he was twenty-six (in 1303), as he (bCu.gnyis.pa rin.po.che) took part in the assembly [of monks] and gave them teachings, he led the assembly [from that time]. As he made innumerable offerings and receptacles of body, speech and mind, he diffused the teachings and created [the conditions for] the prosperity of the meditation of the *ri.pa-s* of Ti.rtse, La.phyi, Chu.bar and Tsa.ri, which [were places] belonging to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s"; Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, 'Bri.gung gser.phreng (p.127 lines 19-24): "De.nas dgung.lo nyer.brgyad.pa.la sngon.gyi dus.ltar/ Gangs Ti.se/ La.phyi/ Tsa.ri.tra sog.s.la sgom.chen stong.las mi.nyung.ba brdzangs shing/ dge.'dun rnam.kyang thos.bsam sgom.gsum.kyi bya.ba.la brtson.pa sha.stag.gis khyab.par mdzad.pa sog.s.bKa'.brgyud spyi bye.brag.la bka'.drin bsam.brjod las 'das.pa rje 'di.nyid yin", "Then when he was twenty-eight (1305), as before, [bCu.gnyis.pa rin.po.che] sent no less than thousands of meditators to Gangs Ti.se, La.phyi and Tsa.ri.tra. He promoted, with unique diligence, the diffusion of the practices of learning, discriminative thinking and meditation, these three, among the monks. This rje devoted unsurpassed care to all bKa'.brgyud[.pa-s] and in particular [the 'Bri.gung.pa-s]".

(682) The eighth 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa*, bCu.gnyis.pa rin.po.che rDo.rje rin.chen, is credited with the subsequent reconstruction of 'Bri.gung in wood sheep 1295 after it was destroyed during the *gling.log* (*IHo.rong chos.byung* p.416 line7-p.417 line 5; Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, 'Bri.gung gser.phreng lHa.sa ed. p.124 line10-p.128 line 2). He became abbot of 'Bri.gung in water hare 1303 and died in wood tiger 1314.

(683) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.31b line 5-f.32a line 2) talking about the time of rdor.'dzin Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan, who led the Ti.se *ri.pa-s* after the taking over of mNga'.ris.stod by the Sa.skya.pa alliance, says: "Di.'i dus.kyang ri.pa stong.du long.s.par byung zhing/ mNga'.ris.stod.kyi ri.sul thams.cad 'Bri.gung.gi sgom.chen.gyis khyab.pa dang/ rGyang.grags.kyi dgon.lag tu/ Nyan.ri/ rDzu.'phrul.phug/ Ri.bo rtse.brgyad/ Sle.mi Til.chen/ Sle.mi Kun.'dzom/ (f.32a) Mum ri.khrod/ Do.bo Shes rdo.rje.rdzong/ Glo Chu.mig brgya.rtsa/ lCags.ye Ye.shes.rdzong/ Gro.shod rKyang.phung/ sPrag Li.dur/ Pu.rang rGod.khung/ Pu.rang Kho.char lha.khang/ Pu.rang Shang.khrang dpe'u/ Pu.rang Brag sKa.rag/ Khu.nu bSam.gtan chos.gling/ rnam.rGyang.grags.pas 'dzin.pa yin skad", "Also, during his (Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan's) time, the 'Bri.gung meditators were spread throughout the mountainous ravines of mNga'.ris skor.gsum in thousands. The branch monasteries of rGyang.grags, i.e. Nyan.ri, rDzu.'phrul.phug, Ri.bo rtse.brgyad, Sle.mi Til.chen, Sle.mi Kun.'dzom, Mum ri.khrod, Do.bo (Dol.po?) Shes rdo.rje.rdzong, Glo Chu.mig brgya.rtsa, lCags.ye Ye.shes.rdzong, Gro.shod rKyang.phung, sPrag Li.dur, Pu.rang rGod.khung, Pu.rang Kho.char lha.khang, Pu.rang Shang.khrang dpe'u, Pu.rang Brag sKa.rag and Khu.nu bSam.gtan chos.gling are said to have been held by the rGyang.grags.pa-s (i.e. the 'Bri.gung.pa-s residing at Ti.se)".

beyond (in the 'Brog.pa areas of Byang) by the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* (sTag.tsha Khri.'bar?) proves that Pu.hrang already enjoyed considerable power (including the alliance with Ya.rtse, deriving from the blood relationship between the two dynasties) (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10a line 5-f.10b line 3; see above p.397 and n.646). The bKa'.brgyud.pa-s' initial inability to establish the Ti.se pilgrimage on a firm footing shows how crucial was the consolidation of local power in sTod. Later, after the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s became the undisputed holders of the holy places in sTod, the terms of their relationship were reversed. bKa'.brgyud.pa presence, supported by the Mongol princes, was instrumental in shaping local politics, so that the kings of sTod (including Ya.rtse) favoured the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and were hostile to Sa.skya, a state of affairs which continued until the arrival of the disciples of Tsong.kha.pa in sTod during the first quarter of the 15th century.

2) The second phase consisted of the expansion of the relations between the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and foreign (Mongols) or semi-foreign (Ya.rtse) powers in sTod undertaken by the 'Bri.gung emissary Shes.rab 'byung.gnas<sup>684</sup>. Soon after the 'Bri.gung.pa-s became firmly established at Ti.se<sup>685</sup>, he went on a diplomatic mission to sTod to promote the 'Bri.gung.pa

(684) After the death of 'Jig.rten mgon.po, when the 'Bri.gung order had to be organized without its founder, it is likely 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas was delegated with diplomatic duties, while dBon rin.po.che bSod.nams grags.pa (1199-1247) was appointed abbot in 1222 after the brief regency of mkhan.chen Gu.ra.ba Tshul.khrims rdo.rje in the years 1217-1220. Later, on dBon rin.po.che's death in 1247, Shes.rab 'byung.gnas was chosen to be his successor. He held the 'Bri.gung throne until his death in 1255 (for a useful synopsis of this line of succession see the modern work by Nor.brang O.rgyan, *dPyid.kyi rgyal.moi glu.dbyangs 'grel.pa yid.kyi dga'.ston* p.299 line 22-p.300 line 13).

(685) A sign of the fact that the 'Bri.gung.pa sect and the authority of its 'Bri.gung *rdor.dzin* had been locally accepted is, apart from the official recognition by the kings of Pu.hrang, Gu.ge lHo.stod and Mar.yul in 1215, the allegory of Ti.se lha.btsan (the Ti.se *sa.bdag*, who in my view represents the local establishment, the episode thus confirming local support of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s) (*'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.28a line 5-f.28b line 2: "rDo.rje 'dzin.pa de.nyid skabs.shig Ti.se Shel.'dra'i rgyab brag.ri sgom.zhwa 'dra.ba'i 'og.gi brag.phug.tu bzhugs.pa'i dus.shig tshe nyin.gcig Ti.se zhing.skyong.gis rGya.gar.gyi dzwa.ki bdun.du sprul.nas mdun.du yongs te phyag.byas nas/ gser sha.ba'i mgo tsam.zhig 'bul.du byung.ba la/ rdo.rje 'dzin.pas/ bya.ba btrang.ba'i rnal.'byor la/ rin.chen gser.gyi dgos.pa med/ gsungs(f.28b).nas ma.bzhes.pas/ de'i dus sKyob.pa 'Jig.rten gsum.gyi mgon.po seng.ge dkar.mo.la chibs.pa zhig mngon.sum.du mdun.gyi nam.mkhar byon.nas 'di.skad gsungs/ bu the.tshom spongs.shig rnal.'byor.pa/ lha dam.tshig ldan.pa'i zhing.skyong.gis/ yon.'bul.ba'i rten.'brel dang du longs", "Once, when this *rdo.rje 'dzin.pa* (Ghu.ya.sgang.pa) was staying in the rocky cave below the rock looking like a meditation hat at Ti.se Shel.'dra, one day it happened that Tise *zhing.skyong* ("local protector"), having transformed himself into seven Indian *yogin*-s, after coming to prostrate in front of him, offered him [a piece of] gold as large as a deer's head. *rDo.rje 'dzin.pa* said: "I am a *rnal.'byor*, who has renounced worldly life, therefore I do not need any precious gold" [and] did not accept it. At that time, sKyob.pa 'Jig.rten gsum.gyi mgon.po actually appeared in the sky in front of him riding a white lioness and spoke the following speech: "Son, remove your doubt, *rnal.'byor.pa!* Accept the auspiciousness of this offering [given by] the *zhing.skyong*, the god who has pledged [support]"). The donation, offered by the local secular rulers, with whom the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had established *yon.mchod*, was accepted, and was used to build rGyang.grags.

alliances with Gu.ge lHo.stod, Pu.hrang, La.dwags, sTod.Hor, Gar.log and Ya.rtse<sup>686</sup>. After reaching the Ti.se area in earth hare 1219, 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas met *gung.blon* ("council minister") Sin.thig.bheg, the representative of the Turkestan Mongols<sup>687</sup>. 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's mission to gNye.gong (otherwise gNyi.gong), probably the northern border of sTod with the Tarim basin (the latter described as *byang.phyogs rgya.mtsho'i 'gram*, i.e. "the shore of the ocean in the north"), took place at an unspecified time during the seven years of his residence in sTod<sup>688</sup>. The indication that the overlord of Sin.thig.bheg and other ministers was the king of the Gar.log-s (Turks) and Sog.po-s (Mongols) seems to refer to Gínggis khan, and to imply that his conquest of Southern Turkestan was already a *fait accompli*. Ri.khrod dBang.phyug met 'Bri.gung.gling.pa in

(686) See Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, *'Bri.gung.gser.phreng* (p.99 line 22-p.100 line 2) and above n.628. *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* portrays his diplomatic activity in a religious light (f.30a lines 5-6): "rJe.btsun 'Phags.ma sGrol.ma'i bzhugs.gnas gSer Ri.rtse.brgyad ces.pa'i bsti gnas.su bzhugs nas/ rGya.gar/ Kha.chef/ Gar.log/ Hor sogs mi.rigs skad.rigs mi.gcig.pa du.ma la/ chos.kyi 'khor.bzhin bzhugs", "He rested at gSer Ri.rtse.brgyad, the holy place [which is] abode of rJe.btsun 'Phags.ma sGrol.ma. By staying at this holy place he established the turning of the wheel of the law in favour of many people of different races and languages from rGya.gar, Kha.che, Gar.log and Hor".

(687) *'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* (p.23 line 3-p.24 line 2): "De.nas sPu.rangs Kho.char du bzhugs.pa'i dus.su/ rNam.thar Phyogs.bcu Dus.gsum.ma'i lha bris thugs.la 'khrungs.pas gtsug.lag.khang.gi gyang.log skya.bris.su btwab.nas bzhags.pas phyis 'Bri.gung du yang dar.ro/ Dus.der Gar.log dang Bod.kyi mtshams Byang gNye.gong du 'byon.pas/ Gar.log.gi gung.blon Sin.thig.bheg.gis/ bsu.brgya chen.po dang bcas.nas spyang.drangs te mjal.ba'i tshel/ Byang.phyogs rgya.mtsho'i 'gram.nas Gar.log dang Sog.po'i rgyal.po'i bla.mchod pandi.ta dang/ blon.po la.sogs (p.24) pa rnam.s mjal.bar 'ongs.pa dang 'dzom.pa la chos.kyi gnam.gyis tshim.par mdzad.pas/ shin.tu dad.par gyur te 'bul.ba dang rgya.gyis.so", "Then, when he was residing at sPu.rangs Kho.char, as the depiction of the gods of the rNam.thar Phyogs.bcu Dus.gsum.ma came into his mind, he made murals of them on the clay walls of the *gtsug.lag.khang*. As they were painted [there], they were later copied at 'Bri.gung. At that time, as he went to Byang gNye.gong on the border between [the land of the] Gar.log-s and Tibet, he was invited by Sin.thig.bheg, the council minister of the Gar.log-s, who gave him a great reception. At the time of the meeting, from the shore of the ocean in the north (i.e. the Tarim basin) the ministers and the *pandi.ta*-s, who were the officiating ecclesiastics of the king of the Gar.log-s and the Sog.po-s, came to meet him. At the time of their gathering, as he satisfied them with an exposition of Buddhist parables, great faith was born in them and they made large donations". Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' biography also treats the meeting in a religious way, but the presence of Sin.thig.bheg and other ministers suggests political implications.

(688) There is no apparant explanation for 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' choice of the long exhausting route across Northern Byang.thang to go to sTod in 1219 (*'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar* p.21 line 3-p.22 line 2), rather than the more convenient southern route preferred by fellow bKa'.brgyud.pa-s before (Sangs.rgyas Tshal.pa, Mar.lung.pa, rGod.tshang.pa) and after him (O.rgyan.pa). His biography is laconic concerning his activity *en route* to Ti.se. Nothing can therefore be said regarding the possibility that he had to have an initial contact with the representatives of the sTod.Hor-s on his way. His biography, however, records his meeting with the Mongol minister and his entourage as taking place after he had settled down in Pu.hrang (see the preceding note).

Pu.hrang on his way to Dol.po in 1220 (see n.606). 1220 is thus a reliable *terminus post quem* for this meeting in gNyi.gong, which helps also to identify Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' foreign interlocutors. The conquest of Khotan and Southern Turkestan had been undertaken by Giggis khan's general Jebe Noyan in 1218 and was definitively consolidated in 1221<sup>689</sup>. Those met by 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas were probably Jebe's Mongols. With Sin.thig.bheg and the other ministers were ecclesiastics of the king of the Gar.log-s and Sog.po-s, to whom he explained Buddhist parables, although this may be a pious fabrication concealing more mundane affairs. It has to be ruled out that those he met were the sTod.Hor-s, who did not yet exist during the time of Giggis khan.

I believe that the contacts established by 'Bri.gung.gling.pa planted the seed of the friendship which the 'Bri.gung.pa-s developed with the holders of the northern border of sTod until, decades later, they and their sTod.Hor allies were defeated by Se.chen rgyal.po and the Sa.skya.pa-s. The establishment of friendly relations with ministers in Southern Turkestan allowed the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s of West Tibet (Gu.ge Pu.hrang Ya.rtse) to secure their northern border from the type of devastating invasions that had threatened and occasionally overthrown local political control and disrupted religious life throughout most of the 12th century. Proof of the friendly relations established at that time with the Turkestani Mongols is the latter's patronage of Kha.char discussed above (p.403).

During his seven years in sTod, 'Bri.gung.gling.pa undertook another major mission, when he met the mighty Ya.rtse king Grags.pa.lde, before the establishment of relations with the Mongols in Southern Turkestan<sup>690</sup>. It is odd to learn from '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus*

(689) For a description of Giggis khan's conquest of Southern Turkestan at the expense of the Buddhist ruler Kuchlug, who had previously dispossessed the Qarakhitay-s, i.e. the lords of Kashgar and South Turkestan, see Juvaini (Boyer transl., *History of the World Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini* vol.1 p.66-69). The general to whom Giggis khan delegated the campaign against Kuchlug, the lord of Southern Turkestan, is named Jebe Noyan in the Secret History and Rashid-ad-din, while he is called Yeme in Juvaini. He pursued the fleeing ruler of Khotan and Kashgar all the way into the mountains of Badakhshan, where the latter was seized and beheaded (also Boyle, "The Mongol World Empire" p.616a-b). The conquest of Southern Turkestan and Khorasan was accomplished between 1218-1221. Kuchlug was killed in the latter year. For the date of Jebe Noyan's conquest of the Qarakhitay-s, useful to date the Mongols' conquest of Southern Turkestan, which enabled them to come into contact with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, see Walker, *Jenghiz khan* (p.75-77 and especially p.78). This is a secondary sources helpful in calculating the year in which it took place. It occurred five years after events dating to 1213, which fixes the defeat of Kuchlug to 1218.

(690) '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.29b lines 1-3): "Yang spyan.snga Pu.rang Kho.char du bzhugs.skabs stobs.kyi 'khor.lo bsgyur.ba Mon Ya.rtse 'Dzum.lang.gi rgyal.po mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde bya.ba zhabs.phyi Mon khri.tsho.bzhi dang bcas.pa mtsho Ma.pham du yum.gyi dur.'debs.su byon dang mjal/ lo.tsa'i sgo.nas lo.rgyus dang chos.kyi gsung.glang zhib.du mdzad.pas rgyal.po thugs dad.pa skyes", "Also, when *spyen.snga* ('Bri.gung.gling.pa) was staying at Pu.rang Kho.char, as the cakravartin Mon Ya.rtse 'Dzum.lang king called mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde came with forty thousand Mon.pa-s to mtsho Ma.pham for the funerary rites of his mother, they met [there]. As they conversed on history and religion with the help of a translator, faith grew in the king". The conversation on "history" reveals that spiritual matters were not 'Bri.gung.gling.pa's only concern during the talks.

that the Ya.rtse king apparently talked to him through an interpreter. A different version of the meeting is provided by 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar<sup>691</sup>. Both sources assert that they met on the shore of mtsho Ma.dros for the funeral of the king's mother, but the biography of Shes.rab 'byung.gnas further records that two *pandi.ta-s*, masters of Tantra and Metaphysics, who were accompanying the king, had conversations on religion with 'Bri.gung.gling.pa through an interpreter. I am inclined to favour the version contained in the earlier 'Bri.gung.gling.pa rnam.thar<sup>692</sup> on the basis of the corroboration found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 lines 1-5) that the royal family of Ya.rtse had branched off from its main line ruling in Pu.hrang in the time of bTsan.phyug.lde's younger brother Gags.btsan.lde<sup>693</sup>. It is therefore unlikely that, three generations after the Pu.hrang.pa dynasty of Ya.rtse had been established, the Ya.rtse king Gags.pa.lde no longer knew his ancestral tongue, especially given the contacts he had with Pu.hrang. The two *pandi.ta-s* with him at court were therefore non-Tibetan.

I do not wish to downplay the religious aspect of the meeting between Shes.rab 'byung.gnas and Gags.pa.lde, emphasized in the sources, but the political side of the encounter should not be underestimated, for Ya.rtse and 'Bri.gung formed an alliance that endured for quite some time.

(691) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar (p.22 line 4-p.23 line 3): "De.nas sPu.rangs Kho.char du dpon.slob bzhugs.pa'i tshel mnga'.bdag Ya.rtse.ba lcam.'dral 'khor.g.yog tu bcas.pa rnam/ mtsho Ma.dros.pa la yum.gyi dur 'debs.su 'ongs.pa dang mjal/ de'i tshel jo.bo'i phyags.phyir sNgags dang mTshan.nyid la mkhas.pa'i pandi.ta gnyis 'byung.ba dang/ lo.tsa'i sgo.nas 'bel.gtam mdzad.pas shin.tu yang dad.par gyur cing (p.23) jo.bo Ya.rtse rang.yang chos.la shin.tu mkhas.pas/ dri.med 'phul.ba'i lan gnang.ba tsam.gyis mi.phyed.pa'i dad.pa brtan.po dang ldan.par gyur.pa la/ Sems.bskyed dang/ bDe.mchog.gi dbang.bskur mang shin.tu rgyas.par gnang.ba'i tshel sngon sKyob.pa nyid.kyi lung.bstan.pa thugs.kyi dgongs te/ rJe.gsum ldan.ma gsol.'debs.kyang dus.der mdzad.pa yin.no", "Then, when the teacher (Shes.rab 'byung.gnas) and his disciples were residing at sPu.rangs Kho.char, mnga'.bdag Ya.rtse.ba and his wife, their retinue and servants, came to mtsho Ma.dros.pa to perform the funerary rites of [his] mother. They met. At that time, two *pandi.ta-s*, masters of *sNgags* and *mTshan.nyid*, came together with the king. As they had discussions [on religion] through an interpreter, great faith grew [in the *pandi.ta-s*]. Since jo.bo Ya.rtse (sic) was also an expert of religion himself, he asked him [religious] questions. Being astonished at his replies, he developed a single-minded and steadfast faith. At the time when he imparted *Sems.bskyed* and many and extremely extensive empowerments of *bDe.mchog* [to the king], he remembered the prophecy earlier [given] by sKyob.pa ('Jig.rten mgon.po). He composed the *rJe.gsum ldan.ma* prayer on that occasion".

(692) 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar *bsdus.pa* was written by 'Bri.gung.pa Ratna in a wood monkey year at gTer.sgrom ('Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas rnam.thar p.48 lines 1-4). He is not to be confused with gNyos lHa.nang.pa, often called Rad.na in his own biography, since gNyos lHa.nang.pa was an elder contemporary of 'Bri.gung.gling.pa and could have not have written on the later stages of Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' life. 'Bri.gung Ratna was the 17th 'Bri.gung.gdan.rabs Rin.chen Phun.tshogs (1509-1557, in office 1529-1557) mentioned by Petech (*The Kingdom of Ladakh* p.29). He was a precocious author since the wood monkey year in which the biography was completed must be 1524 (the only useful wood monkey year in Rin.chen Phun.tshogs' life), when he was only sixteen.

(693) *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 line 2) has Gags.btsan.lde and Gags.lde.btsan ruling in Ya.rtse before Gags.pa.lde, while other sources makes bTsan.phyug.lde the Pu.hrang king who took over Ya.rtse.

3) The third phase began with the accession of O.go.ta to the Mongol throne (ruling 1229-1241), during which the authority of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and the Phag.mo gru.pa-s, who had religious and family bonds, was officially recognized in West Tibet. The *bstan.rtsis* appended to *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* says: "In the iron male rat year (1240), by Hor rgyal.po O.ko.ta's order, Hor.dmag Li.byi.ta and Dor.ta, these two, as they had been sent earlier and later, made two censuses of the population's tents (*dud*). The Hor law was established. [The Hor.pa-s] supported gdan.sa Phag.gru and 'Bri.khung.thel. Local lords were chosen to establish *rgyal.khrims* and *chos.khrims* in Bod.yul dBus.gTsang [and] mNga'.ris skor.gsum. As the emperor made 'Bri.khung the main territory of dBus.gTsang, sgom.pa Shaka rin[.chen] was nominated *spyi.dpon* ("supreme headman"). The emperor appointed rDo.rje.dpal.ba to be the gTsang.pa-s' *dpon*, gZhon.nu.'bum to be the g.Yor.po Yar.'brog lho.pa-s' *dpon*, [and] a *rnam.pa* (sic for *gnam.sa*) *dpa'.shi* to be the mNga'.ris skor.gsum *dpon*. They were appointed leaders to administer the law in their own [territories]. In the same year, the lord appointed lDan.ma sgom brTson to be the Phag.gru's *khri.dpon*"<sup>694</sup>.

4) The fourth phase was ushered in by Mon.gor rgyal.po (on the throne 1249-1259)<sup>695</sup> reconfirming the authority of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.mo gru.pa-s in West Tibet. The *bstan.rtsis* appended to *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* adds: "In the iron male dog year (1250), which was the seventy-sixth year [after Grag.pa 'byung.gnas' birth], in the presence of Mon.gor rgyal.po, each monk, *lo.tsa*, great community and division of Tibet, each high and low ranking representative [at court], who were the *bla.mchod* of the emperor and his brothers, made a petition. rGyal.bu Go.dan having received Tibet, the system of assigning [the Tibetans] to some leaders was introduced in the following way. The 'Bri.khung.pa-s were assigned to Mon.gor rgyal.po; the Sa.skya.pa-s to Go.dan himself; the Tshal.pa-s to Se.chen Go.pe.la; the Phag.mo gru.pa-s, g.Ya'.bzang.pa-s [and] Thang.po.che.pa-s to sTod.Hor rgyal.po Hu.la.hu; Rab.btsun, Gru.gu.sgang and Kha.rag, these three, to rgyal.bu sBo.lcog; lHa.sa, the 'Brug.pa-s [and] La.stod Thang.chung, these three, to rgyal.bu Mo.gha.la; except the rGya.ma family, the Bya.yul.pa-s were assigned to Si.ga gan (i.e. khan); the Ki.kam.pa-s [and] Khra.sa ngab.pa-s to Gal.du.la. As requested

(694) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.447 line 21-p.448 line 10): "O.ko(p.448).ta.yi lung.gis Bod.yul du/ Hor.dmag Li.byi.ta dang Dor.ta gnyis/ snga.phyi mngags.nas mi.rtsa dud.grangs rtsis/ Hor.khrims 'jags.bcug gdan.sa Phag.gru dang/ 'Bri.khung.thel.gyi zhabs.tog sgrub.par phul/ Bod.yul dBus.gTsang mNga'.ris skor.gsum la/ rgyal.khrims chos.khrims 'jags.pa rje.yi drin/ de gong dBus.gTsang mgo.lung 'Bri.khung la/ byas.nas sgom.pa Shaka.rin spyi.dpon byed/ gTsang.pa'i dpon.la rDo.rje.dpal.ba.pa/ g.Yor.po Yar.'brog lho.pa gZhon.nu.'bum/ mNga'.ris skor.gsum rnam.pa dpa.shi rnam.s/ so.sor khrims gcod la ni rje.yi bskos/ de.lo rje.yis Phag.gru'i khri.dpon la/ lDan.ma sgom brTson bskos".

(695) For the date of accession of Mon.gor rgyal.po to the throne of the Mongols as 1249, preceding his final coronation in 1251, see Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (p.228 n.124 and also p.224 n.96). He died in 1259.



to Mon.gor, each of [these princes] was entrusted with protecting a land. The lands of 'Jang, brKyang and Phag.mo.gru, each of these three, were requested of Mon.gor by rgyal.bu Hu.la. A 'ja'.sa ("patent") was issued"<sup>696</sup>. Elsewhere ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan adds in his *Si.tu bka'.chems*: "[The lands] in mNga'.ris from sKo.ron.mdo to the foot of the sPo.rig pass were assigned to Hu.la.hu"<sup>697</sup>. The same text again says: "From mNga'.ris Ko.ron.mdo all the way to sPo.rig la.rtsa, [these West Tibetan territories] were included [among our possessions] by the authority of Mon.'gor rgyal.po's 'ja'.sa. As the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* was appointed as *dpon*, we (i.e. the Phag.gru-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s) are their owners"<sup>698</sup>.

This material on the empowerment of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.mo.gru.pa-s to control West Tibet shows that the authority of the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* over mNga'.ris skor.gsum was established as early as 1240, during the reign of O.go.ta, when the first Mongol intervention in Tibetan affairs is recorded in Tibetan literature<sup>699</sup>. That the appointment of a

(696) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.449 lines 3-17): "lCags.pho.khyi.yi lo/ Mon.gor drung.du Bod.kyi ban.dhe dang/ lo.tsa sde.pa chen.po tshan.po so.so rnams/ 'brel.so che.chung so.sos zhus.ngos nas/ rgyal.po sku.mched rnams.kyi bla.mchod la/ rgyal.bu Go.dan la blangs Bod rnams la/ bgo.bsha' byas.pa'i gtogs lugs 'di.ltar yin/ 'Bri.khung.pa ni Mon.gor rgyal.por gtogs/ Sa.skya.pa ni Go.dan rang.la gtogs/ Tshal.pa Se.chen Go.be.la la gtogs/ Phag.mo.gru.pa g.Ya.bzang Thang.po.che/ sTod.Hor rgyal.po Hu.la.hu la gtogs/ Rab.btsun Gru.gu.sgang dang Kha.rag gsum/ rgyal.bu sBo.lcog ces.pa de.la gtogs/ lHa.sa 'Brug.pa La.stod Thang.chung gsum/ rgyal.bu Mo.gha.la la gtogs.pa byas/ rGya.ma mi.rigs ma.gtogs Bya.yul.ba/ Si.ga gan la gtogs shing Ki.kam.pa/ Khra.sa ngab.pa Gal.du.la la gtogs/ Mon.gor drung.du zhus yul bsrungs so.sor bzhag/ lJang brKyang Phag.mo.gru zhing ya.gsum ni/ rgyal.bu Hu.las Mon.gor drung.du zhus/ 'ja'.sa bcad". The assignment of the various *khri.skor*-s to Mongol princes is again mentioned in another passage of *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.110 lines 1-6): "Mon.'gor rgyal.po rgyal.sar bron 'dug cing/ de.dus Bod.phyogs 'dir rgyal.bu Go.dan Byang.ngogs.pa bdag.par 'dug.pa la/ Go.dan A.ka.la bla.mchod blangs.pas/ 'Bri.khung Mon.'gor rgyal.po shes/ Tshal.pa Se.chen rgyal.po shes/ Phag.mo.gru.pa rgyal.bu Hu.la.hu shes/ sTag.lung.pa A.ri.bho.ga shes.par 'dug cing/ rgyal.rgyud bzhi.pos/ khri.skor so.sor sgos.bdag byas.par 'dug". "The throne was given to Mon.'gor rgyal.po and, at that same time, rgyal.bu Go.dan was made lord of Byang.ngogs (sic for Byang.ngos, not to be confused with Gu.ge Byang.ngos) in the direction of Tibet. Since [Tibetan] *bla.mchod*-s ("officiating *bla.ma*-s") were appointed to Go.dan A.ka.la, the 'Bri.khung.pa-s were assigned to Mon.'gor rgyal.po, the Tshal.pa-s were assigned to Se.chen rgyal.po, the Phag.mo.gru.pa-s were assigned to rgyal.bu Hu.la.hu, the sTag.lung.pa-s were assigned to A.ri.bho.ga, to these four royal lineages. A leader at the head of each *khri.skor* was chosen".

(697) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.111 lines 1-2): "mNga'.ris nas sKo.ron.mdo yar.bcad/ sPo.rig la.rtsa mar.bcad rnams Hu.la.hu la gtogs.par 'dug".

(698) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.113 lines 11-13): "mNga'.ris Ko.ron.mdo yar.bcad/ sPo.rig la.rtsa mar.bcad zer.ba Mon.'gor rgyal.po'i 'ja'.sa'i nang tshud.pa/ gnam.sa dpa'.shi dpon.la bskos nas/ rang.re bdag.pa".

(699) The Mongol domination of Tibet began before the *khri.skor bcu.gsum* were awarded to 'Phags.pa, i.e. before the so called Sa.skya.pa period and also before the dubiously authentic letter sent by Sa.pan to the Tibetan authorities, the time when it is traditionally considered to have begun (Jackson, "Sa-skya Pandita's Letter to the Tibetans: A Late and Dubious Addition to His Collected Works").

*gnam.sa dpa'.shi* in mNga'.ris skor.gsum meant that local authority was granted to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s is confirmed by their loss of the region on the assassination of the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* some time between 1277 and 1280 (*Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.113 line 11-p.114 line 8) (see below Addendum Three p.557 and n.952).

This is again proved by the affiliation of the officials appointed by O.go.ta in 1240, including the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* governing mNga'.ris skor.gsum, since they all were 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.gru-s. Eleven years later, in 1250, during the time of Mon.gor rgyal.po, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s were assigned to him. Since, at an unspecified date between 1249 and 1259 (the years of Mon.gor's reign), a *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* was again appointed over mNga'.ris.stod from Ko.ron.mdo in mNga'.ris.smad<sup>700</sup> to the sPo.rig la.rtsa (the foot of the sPu.rig pass, which is at present known as Pho.to.la)<sup>701</sup>, his authority over West Tibet and consequently that of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s was thus consistently recognized by the Mongol kings of those years. Despite the loss of La.dwags by the Pu.hrang.pa-s, old allies of 'Bri.gung, and the resurgence of local power (De.khyim, and 'Bhag.dar.skyabs probably before him), which occurred earlier than Mon.gor's reappointment of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s over sTod in 1250, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s continued to exercise authority over the whole of La.dwags. Local support for the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s and in particular the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, acknowledged in the sources (mainly bKa'.brgyud.pa), was also formally recognized by the Mongols<sup>702</sup>.

(700) Ko.ron.mdo marking the eastern limit of mNga'.ris under 'Bri.gung.pa control can be approximately located with the help of *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, for Mar.lung.pa, when he was at mTshe.rkyen in the vicinity of Mar.lung, sent his *nye.gnas* Byang.chub.'bum to Ko.ron.mdo to borrow an ox from Ko.ron slon.tsho.ba (sic for blon.tsho.ba, "district officer") mDo.sde gser.chen (f.149b lines 4-5: "Byang.chub.'bum khyod longs.la Ko.ron slon.tsho.ba mDo.sde ser.chen.du rgyug"). It follows that Ko.ron.mdo was near mTshe.rkyen, and therefore in the area of mNga'.ris.smad where Mar.lung.pa was active, i.e. in the easternmost stretch of Byang not far from Mang.yul.

(701) Pho.to.la is the spelling adopted by the modern La.dwags.pa author Thub.bstan dpal.lidan (*La.dwags* p.9 line 11). The western extent of the lands under the influence of 'Bri.gung probably comprised Mang.rgyu, Kan.ji and Su.ru during that time (i.e. the first half of the 13th century), for the Wan.la inscription (line 12) documents that they were taken from intruders (probably Pu.hrang.pa-s, who were sponsors of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s).

(702) This support for the 'Bri.gung.pa authority in sTod, especially after it was officially recognized by the Mongols before the time of Se.chen rgyal.po, may have been less spontaneous than it appears. However, the nobility of West Tibet traditionally sided with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. The episode, falling in the years between 1350 and 1353 when the 'Bri.gung.pa-s relied on Gu.ge troops for their struggle in dBus.gTsang against their Phag.mo gru.pa kinsmen (*Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.223 lines 16-20) (see Addendum Three), seems to reveal the political sympathy of at least the royal house of Gu.ge. The prophecy in *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* (see below p.480) considers the freeing of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang from Sa.skya.pa control in the late 14th century as a true act of liberation. This statement seems to demonstrate the true inclination of the mNga'.ris stod.pa-s, but aversion for the Sa.skya.pa-s is a recurrent theme in *bKa'.thang sde.lnga*, especially in *bTsun.mo* and *Lo.pan bka'.thang-s*.

That imperial 'ja'sa-s did not do more than confirm the prevailing religious and political situation in West Tibet is shown by the reference to the extent of 'Bri.gung.pa territorial control, which reached the foot of the sPo.rig pass. It thus included the westernmost part of La.dwags.gsham, where Bla.ma g.yu.ru is located, which was an area controlled by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s as early as between 1219 and 1225, as 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas' renovation of Bla.ma g.yu.ru indicates (Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, *'Bri.gung gser.phreng* p.100 lines 2-3). This renovation predates by over fifteen years the legal document acknowledging the previous expansion of the 'Bri.gung.pa authority to the western limit of the Tibetan world.

Mongol recognition of 'Bri.gung.pa control of mNga'.ris.stod, begun in iron rat 1240, probably fell during the time when bKra.shis dBang.phyug or his son dPal.mgon.lde (ruling in the 1230s) was on the throne of Gu.ge lHo.stod (*'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.31b lines 2-3), La.ga on the throne of Gu.ge Byang.ngos (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 lines 14-15), rGyal.stobs.lde (son of dNgos.grub.mgon) on the throne of Pu.hrang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 line 12), and Grags.pa.lde on the throne of Ya.rtse.

Following the acknowledgement of their power by the Mongols, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s continued monopolizing Ti.se and were doing so at the time of O.rgyan.pa's visit in water ox 1253, to the extent that they did not allow O.rgyan.pa, a fellow bKa'.brgyud.pa, to meditate at the mountain<sup>703</sup>. The same *rnam.thar* testifies that the 'Brug.pa-s were at Bar.ka Bong.la and therefore at some distance from the Ti.se *skor.lam*<sup>704</sup>. The ostracising

(703) *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (p.40 line 7): "gNas.der lHa Dar rDzong gsum.la bzhugs.pa'i 'Bri.khung.pa'i sgom.chen 'ga're na.re/ rGya.ras.pa 'dir ma.sdos zer.nas 'don.du byung", "In this holy place (Ti.se) some meditators of the 'Bri.khung.pa-s, who were residents of lHa[.lung], Dar[.lung] and [Nyan.po.ri] rdzong, told [O.rgyan.pa]: "rGya.ras.pa! (disciple of gTsang.pa rGya.ras, i.e. 'Brug.pa) you cannot stay here" and came to send him away".

The events which led O.rgyan.pa (b.1230) to Ti.se and then farther west are described in his biography. He left for the west in water rat 1252, when he was twenty-three, after his father Jo.'phan's death (*O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* p.18 line 2: "De.nas dgung.lo gnyis.shu rtsa.gsum.pa la yab Jo.'phan yang grongs"). This is the last useful date in his biography before he went to see rGod.tshang.pa and then moved to Ti.se at his master's suggestion. He travelled by the southern route and stayed nine months in southern Byang.thang (ibid. p.40 line 3: "Byang mi.med.kyi thang.la zla.dgu phyin", "For nine months he crossed the Byang plain where no man is"). This territory is called Byang.kha earlier in the text (ibid. p.36 lines 4-5: "De.nas sPa.tshab.pas Byang.kha la bgrod.par phyag.gi ru.ba'i khrod.la song", "Then, sPa.tshab.pa left together with the group, which was going to Byang.kha"). He halted in Dol.po (ibid. p.40 line 4: "De.nas Dol.po nas lam thon te/ chu.bo bzhi 'dus.kyi mgo.bo 'jig.rten.na Gangs Ti.se zhes.grags.pa der byon.no", "Then, from Dol.po, he took the road and went to Gangs Ti.se, which is at the head of the junction of the four rivers"). Hence, he did not arrive at Ti.se before water ox 1253. He stayed at Ma.pham and went briefly to Ru.thog (ibid. p.42 lines 4-5). After another sojourn at sPu.rangs gDong.dmar, he spent the winter at Ru.thog, which must have been that of 1253-1254 (ibid. p.43 line 2). For his sojourns at sPu.rangs gDong.dmar and Ru.thog see below n.965. He then proceeded to Ma.ru (i.e. the Dril.bu.ri-Triloknath area) and Ku.lu.ta after the winter of 1254 (ibid. p.43 lines 4-5: "Nyin.re nyi.ma bdun.bdun lam bgrod te/ Ku.lu.ta dang Ma.ru'i gnas.su byin", "Covering in one day the distance of seven days walk, he went to the holy places of Ku.lu.ta and Ma.ru").

(704) *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (p.41 lines 3-4): "Ti.se'i sa.cha Bar.ka Bong.la bya.ba'i thang gcig yod".

of O.rgyan.pa by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s residing at lHa.lung, Dar.lung and Nyan.po.ri rdzong, i.e. in the Ti.se area, proves that, during the Mongol period, 'Bri.gung.pa-s' antagonism was not only directed towards Sa.skya but still towards meditators belonging to their own sect, who were seen as potential rivals. This competitive attitude was a consistent feature of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s throughout the Mongol period<sup>705</sup>. In the following century, for instance, they are found struggling for predominance against the Phag.mo gru.pa-s headed by Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan (*Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.223 lines 16-20) (see below Addendum Three p.560; and n.956 and 958). 'Bri.gung.pa relations with the Tshal.pa-s of Pu.hrang and rTa.sga, other bKa'.brgyud.pa-s active in sTod, are nowhere outlined in the sources, but one can imagine that they were less than congenial, given the uncompromising stance of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s<sup>706</sup>. Even before their defeat at the hands of

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"There is a plain called Bar.ka Bong.la in the Ti.se area"; *ibid.* (p.41 lines 4-5): "De'i dus.su rGya.ras.pa'i sgom.chen bDe.mchog bcu.gsum.ma'i tshogs.'khor lag.len shes.pa rnam.kyis rje rin.po.che la shes.rgya med", "At that time, the meditators of rGya.ras.pa, who were knowledgeable in performing *tshogs.'khor* [ritual offerings] to *bDe.mchog bcu.gsum.ma*, criticised rje rin.po.che (O.rgyan.pa) saying that he did not know [how to perform them]" and *ibid.* (p.41 line 7): "Yang ci.yang ma.gsungs.par tshogs.khang khyams.smad.du gzims.nas bzhugs", "Without saying a single word he laid down to sleep in the *khyams.smad* ("lower courtyard" or at the bottom of the courtyard near the entrance?) of the *tshogs.khang* ("room for ritual offerings") [at Bar.ka]". It is significant that, some forty years after rGod.tshang.pa had been prevented from staying along the Ti.se *skor.lam* during his visit in 1214-1216, the situation had not changed for the 'Brug.pa-s.

(705) Ri.pa nag.po is the epitome of the bKa'.brgyud.pa of the thirteenth century. He lived the life of a hermit, developed mystical powers, and concerned himself with politics. He embodied the principles typical of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Tshal.pa-s, whose sects combined meditation practice with a keen attention to political affairs, as opposed to the 'Brug.pa-s, who took little interest in temporal matters in the early times of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. Ri.pa nag.po was meditating at Ti.se when the 'Bri.gung *gling.log* erupted (1290). He immediately returned to Central Tibet in order to offer assistance (*lHo.rong chos.byung* p.443 lines 16-20: "gCung rin.po.che'i slob.ma Ri.pa nag.po ni/ Ti.ser sgrub.pa.la byon.pa'i tshe 'Bri.gung gling.log byung.ba thugs.kyis ma.bzod.nas dBus su byon/ rDzong.khams.pa ja.khur sogs sa.mtshams bzung nas/ gong.gi gser.yig.pa dang rgyu.'grul bcad nas/ 'dis drag.po'i 'phrin.las.la brten.nas bstan.pa'i me.ro gzhi tshugs.pa yin", "When Ri.pa nag.po, the disciple of gCung rin.po.che, went to meditate at Ti.se, the 'Bri.gung *gling.log* had broken out [in his absence]. As he could not bear this, he went back to dBus. As rDong.khams.pa and other attendants (lit. "tea servers") were controlling the borderland, the envoy of the emperor having halted [there] during his mission, by means of his bold actions, he reestablished the foundation of the interrupted ['Bri.gung.pa] teachings"). His mystic practices laid aside, he organized the rebels into an army and marched all the way to the Chinese border. Ri.pa nag.po wrote many fiercely abusive messages to Se.chen rgyal.po, while, in the meantime, sgom.pa dBon.po went to sTod to lead the sTod.Hor-s against Sa.skya (Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, *'Bri.gung gser.phreng* lHa.sa ed. p.125 lines 10-17. "dGung.lo bcu.gcig.pa.la gong.du smos.pa ltar/ gling.log byung te/ rje.nyid sku.mched dang bcas.pa jo sNubs.pas Kong.por gdan.drangs lo.gsum bar bzhugs/ de'i tshe Ye.shes.kyi mGon.po'i rnam.'phrul.'Tsa.ri.tra'i Rj.pa nag.po zhes dpa.brtul des/ mi.log rnam.sbsdus te rGya.mtshams bar phyin/ dmag.gi thams.cad srog dang phral/ Se.chen rgyal.por blor.mi.shong.ba'i springs.yig drag.po mang.du btang.ba dang/ sgom.pa dBon.po bya.bas sTod.phyogs.su phyin/ Hor.gyi dmag drangs").

(706) Different values were held by the various bKa'.brgyud.pa groups at Gangs Ti.se in that period, and also by members of the same sect. Tshal.pa-s (see the *Deb.ther dmar.po* section on the Pu.hrang *bla.mchod-s*;

the Sa.skya.pa-s in the 1290 *gling.log*, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s' control of mNga'.ris.stod must have weakened, as the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde is found granting Tho.ling to the Tshal.pa-s (see below p.442).

*lHo.rong chos.'byung* records the existence of two groups of Karma.pa-s active in sTod: the Karma.pa Zhwa.can.gsum, i.e. Zhwa.dkar Thugs.rje ye.shes, Zhwa.dmar Thugs.rje nyi.ma and Zhwa.ser Thugs.rje rgyal.mtshan; and the Karma.pa mGo.can.gsum, i.e. rTogs.ldan g.Yag.mgo.ba ("who used to wear a *g.yag* head [as headress]"), rTogs.ldan sTag.mgo.ba ("who used to wear a tiger head [as headress]") and gZig.mgo.ba ("who used to wear a leopard head [as headress]")<sup>707</sup>. In the absence of dates in this work, a weak clue

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*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.174a line 3-5 and also above n.648; *Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.10a line 5-f.10b line 3, where the rTa.sga.pa-s are referred to as the headmen of the sTod.Tshal.pa-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s ('*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.27b line 5-f.32a line 3; rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* p.460 line 4-p.461 line 1) were more stably organized in a structure led by a leader of the hermits. There was no single head of the community of the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se. Apart from the *rdor.'dzin*, who has received greater literary attention because of his role as spiritual guide of the hermits, there was a leader who took care of more worldly affairs such as the relations with secular powers. Ghu.ya.sgang.pa and 'Bri.gung gling.pa, one devoted to religious matters, the other mainly to diplomacy, are stated in the sources to have carried out these tasks in the first half of the 12th century. The centre of the 'Brug.pa-s, despite their being settled at Bar.ka (*O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* p.41 line 3-p.42 line 2), was at Gar.zha ri.bo Gan.dha.la, far from the main pilgrimage area. Gan.dha.la attracted other bKa'.brgyud.pa-s. *'Jig.rten mgon.po rnam.thar* says that the founder of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s sent his *ri.pa-s* to Gan.dha.la in 1208 (p.388 line 2 and p.390 line 6-p.391 line 1; and above n.595). Hence, Gan.dha.la was also a place where the 'Bri.gung.pa-s went on pilgrimage in the early 13th century. For Karma.pa presence at Gan.dha.la see immediately below in the text and the next note.

(707) *lHo.rong chos.'byung* (p.279 lines 11-12) mentions some disciples of rin.po.che Karma.pa who were active in sTod, Southern Turkestan and Kha.che: "Rin.po.che.pa Karma.pa'i bu.slob ni/ Zhwa.can gsum/ mGo.can gsum...", "The disciples of rin.po.che Karma.pa are as follows: the three Zhwa.can ("wearing a hat"), the three mGo.can ("wearing a head")". *lHo.rong chos.'byung* (p.279 line 20-p.280 line 8) adds: "Zhwa.dkar Thugs.rje Ye.shes la ri.bo Gan.dha'i gnas.yig dang/ gnas.de grub.pa.po rnam.kyi (p.280) nyams.len dang spyod.lam.gyi yig.chung/ lung.bstan gnang.ba ltar Zhang.zhung dang Kha.che'i yul brgyud.nas slar ri.bo Gan.dha ru'i gnas.sgo phyas/ da.lta'i bar.du ri.pa dang dgon.pa yod.par grags.so/ Zhwa.dmar Thugs.rje nyi.ma/ Zhwa.ser Thugs.rje rgyal.mtshan/ rTogs.ldan g.Yag.mgo.ba rnam.kyis sPu.rang dang/ Gu.ge/ sTod.Hor.gyi yul.du gsung yi.ge drug.pa'i bstan.pa sgrog.pa dang/ Thugs.rje chen.po'i nyi.ma 'char.bar byas.so/ rTogs.ldan sTag.mgo.ba dang gZig.mgo.ba/ mNga'.ris nas rGya.gar gnas.rnam.la gshegs.so", "Zhwa.dkar Thugs.rje ye.shes came into possession of the ri.bo Gan.dha[.la] *gnas.yig* ("guide") and a brief text describing its meditators' experiences and practising techniques. According to the prophecy he received, by way of the lands Zhang.zhung and Kha.che, he opened again the door of the holy places in Gan.dha[.la]. It is well known that *ri.pa-s* and monasteries are existing [at Gan.dha.la] to this day. Zhwa.dmar Thugs.rje nyi.ma, Zhwa.ser Thugs.rje rgyal.mtshan and rTogs.ldan g.Yag.mgo.ba preached the teachings of the "six-lettered *mantra*" in sPu.rang, Gu.ge and the land of the sTod.Hor-s and made the sun of *Thugs.rje chen.po* rise. rTogs.ldan sTag.mgo.ba and gZig.mgo.ba went from mNga'.ris to the holy places of India". See also Si.tu pan.chen Chos.kyi 'byung.gnas and 'Be.lo Tshe.dbang kun.khyab *Karma Kam.tshang rnam.thar* (vol.1 p.159 line 3): "Grub.thob chen.po Karma.pa'i sku.dngos.kyi gdul.byar gyur.ba'i slob.ma tshogs bsam.gyis mi.khyab kyang rags.par rnam.thar rnam.su skod.pa ni/...rTogs.ldan Zhwa.dkar.ba/ Zhwa.ser.ba/ Zhwa.dmar.ba ste Zhwa.can.gsum/ rTogs.ldan g.Yag.mgo.ba/ sTag.mgo.ba gZig.mgo.ba ste mGon.can.gsum".

to their period derives from their association with rin.po.che Karma.pa as his disciples. *Deb.ther sngon.po* clarifies to which Karma Zhwa.nag.pa these disciples have to be attributed when it gives a neat classification of the early Karma.pa-s. Among the followers of Karma Pakshi (1204-1283) one finds a slightly modified version of the same group<sup>708</sup>. These were Zhwa.gser.ba, Zhwa.dmar.ba and Zhwa.khra.ba (instead of Zhwa.dkar.ba) and again sTag.mgo.pa, gZig.mgo.pa and Dom.mgo.pa (instead of g.Yag.mgo.ba) as well as g.Yag.ru ras.pa.

The period in which they were in West Tibet is not revealed in the sources. They may have been active in sTod after the death of their master and after the 1290 'Bri.gung *gling.log*. If so, their presence would be a sign of bKa'.brgyud.pa persistence *in loco* after the Sa.skya.pa-s had taken over the lands of sTod. This uncertainty is a great pity, for it would be interesting to know whether the Karma.pa-s were able to increase their presence in sTod after the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had been defeated by their arch-rivals.

A few further remarks need to be made: 1) they are living proof of a hitherto underrated if not forgotten Karma.pa presence in Gu.ge and the other lands of mNga'.ris.stod including ri.bo Gan.dha.la (i.e. Dril.bu.ri). Reference in *lHo.rong chos.'byung* to the fact that Zhwa.dkar Thugs.rje ye.shes, after receiving a prophecy and recovering a *dkar.chag* to Gan.dha.la, reopened its pilgrimage proves not only a major role for the Karma.pa-s at Dril.bu.ri but also that some unrecorded disturbance at this traditionally 'Brug.pa holy place occurred after O.rgyan.pa's sojourn there ca.1253 (see above n.704), unless he reopened the pilgrimage for the Karma.pa-s in particular. The latter possibility has two implications: firstly that the Karma.pa-s were at Dril.bu.ri earlier than Zhwa.dkar.ba, and secondly that it was the Karma.pa-s who were affected by some disruptive event. 2) The Zhwa.can.gsum's practice of Thugs.rje, a Tantric system<sup>709</sup>. 3) Despite the scarcity of literary references to Karma.pa-s in West Tibet, which suggests that their presence was sporadic, Karma.pa-s had relations with the sTod.Hor-s (see above n.707). Therefore such relations were not exclusive to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.mo gru.pa-s, indicating that

(708) At the beginning of a long list of Karma Pakshi's disciples, 'Gos lo.tsa.ba (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.613 lines 4-9) says: "Kar.ma Pa.shi'i slob.ma ni/ Ye.shes dbang.phyug/ Rin.chen.dpal/...g.Yag.ru ras.pa/ rTogs.ldan Zhwa.ser.ba/ Zhwa.dmar.ba/ Zhwa.khra.ba/ sTag.mgo.ba/ gZig.mgo.ba/ Dom.mgo.ba/ spyen.snga sTag.shod.pa/ 'Jam.dbyangs blo.gros seng.ge"; see also *Blue Annals* (p.517).

(709) Some practitioners of the six lettered *mantra* (*Om ma.ni pad.me Hum*) and *Thugs.rje chen.po* such as La.stod dMar.po were considered heretics (*sNgags.log sun.phyin skor* p.14 line 6-p.15 line 3: "Yang La.stod dMar.po bya.ba gcig.gis (p.15) gser 'dod.pa'i phyir.du Thugs.rje chen.po'i yi.ge drug.pa sgra.log.par bsgyur nas/ Om la Am du bos.pas dang/ Bya.sPyod.kyi lha bla.med Ma.rgyud.kyi rtsa.'khor bzhi btags.pa Zhi.byed stong.rim bsres nas/ Thugs.rje chen.po A.ma lugs yin zer.ba'i chos.log brtsams.so", "Also, one called La.stod dMar.po, as he heretically debased the six-lettered mantra of Thugs.rje chen.po by his desire for gold, formulated the heresy called *Thugs.rje chen.po* [according to the] *A.ma* (sic for *Am*) system, by pronouncing *Am* instead of *Om* and by combining the deities of the *Bya* and *sPyod* classes with the *nadi*-s and the four *cakra*-s of *Ma.rgyud* and mixing them with *Zhi.byed stong.rim*").

other bKa'.bryud.pa-s were associated with the Mongols of Southern Turkestan. 4) The mGo.can.gsum wore zoomorphic crowns (*g.yag*, tiger, leopard: probably entire animal heads) in the same way as did Sassanid kings and rulers of peoples influenced by Sassanid culture. The wearing of zoomorphic crowns is an Iranian trait transferred to Tibet. Bon.po literary tradition does not document that Bon.po-s wore such crowns in antiquity. They wore headdresses with birds' feathers and the *bya.ru*. The expression sTag.gzig (often separated into two different but nonetheless associated terms) also points to Iranian values popular in the culture of Zhang.zhung. I ignore the origin of the mGo.can.gsum. Proposing West Tibetan roots is appealing, but no evidence is available to support such a hypothesis.

*Foreign rule in Gu.ge Byang.ngos (early to mid 13th century)*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.77)

Two successive kings, dGe.'bum and La.ga, are found ruling in Gu.ge Byang.ngos after Nyi.ma.lde and before Chos.rgyal grags.pa (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 lines 8-17). Byams.pa and Sems.dpa' were dGe.'bum's brothers, whose names, similarly to that of dGe.'bum, are Tibetan, but, nevertheless, they are quite different from those of most of the Gu.ge dynasty. Their shortness is striking in comparison with the length of the kings' names of later times, such as Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde or rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde. No similarity can be found with those of the early kings of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* and the subsequent period. Furthermore, absence of the terms commonly appearing in the names of the kings of Gu.ge such as *khri*, *lde*, *bkra.shis* or *btsan* deviates from royal custom in Gu.ge. They are also noticeably different from those of the Byang.ngos line ruling before dGe.'bum. It seems that an old tradition, which had characterized the Gu.ge royalty, was suddenly abandoned. No clues, however, are found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to appraise dGe.'bum's ancestry and his right to rule. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that he died when he was seventy (p.77 line 13). This may be an indication that he had a long reign.

The case of La.ga, the next king of Gu.ge Byang.ngos, is different. La.ga is not a Tibetan name, nor do those of his brothers, Kyi.rdor and Thos.pa, seem so. The occurrence of such names seems to suggest that a foreign intrusion took place in one generation of the line of Byang.ngos. As is well known, alien presence in La.dwags for a few generations (Utpala, Nag.lug, possibly dGe.bhe) is recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.43 line 10-p.44 line 2; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 line 25-p.36 line 3). Roughly appraising the periods of the reigns of the Byang.ngos kings around the time of La.ga's rule indicates that the foreign presence in La.dwags documented in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* was not contemporary with the non-Tibetan presence on the Gu.ge Byang.ngos throne, and that these were two different political phenomena. The La.dwags king Utpala ruled in the late 11th century (see above p.327). He was succeeded by Nag.lug and then by dGe.bhe, whose reigns thus fell at the latest during the first half of the 12th century. dGe.'bum, who possibly had a long reign, ruled during the first and the early second

quarter of the 13th century, followed by La.ga during the second quarter, since Chos.rgyal grags.pa, the subsequent Byang.ngos king, was on the throne when Sa.skya was becoming the dominant power in Tibet. dGe.'bum and La.ga were contemporary with bKra.shis.lde, bKra.shis dBang.phyug and possibly the latter's son dPal.mgon.lde, kings of lHo.stod and supporters of the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that La.ga brought Phyag.stod go.gsum, Pe.Khyung.gNyag and mNga'.ris skor.gsum under his sway. Ngag.dbang grags.pa adds the detail that these territories were located to the east (p.77 lines 16-17). Reference to La.ga's conquest of mNga'.ris skor.gsum is especially significant since it shows that mNga'.ris skor.gsum was annexed by La.ga, and hence that he did not belong to the line of succession to the Byang.ngos throne. This is proof that La.ga was a conqueror of the Gu.ge Byang.ngos kingdom. In other words, inclusion of mNga'.ris skor.gsum among his conquests is proof that La.ga was a foreigner. Had he not been a usurper, he would not have needed to conquer that to which he was entitled by right of succession. It is also significant that La.ga is not included by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, or any other source dealing with the history of West Tibet, in the lineage of other mNga'.ris skor.gsum rulers such as those of Ya.rtse and Pu.hrang. Furthermore, while La.ga is not listed in *gDung.rabs zam.phreng* among the kings of Mar.yul, it cannot be ruled out that he reigned in some district of La.dwags, for *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which records a different line of rulers than *gDung.rabs zam.phreng*, has a long genealogical gap after dNgos.grub.mgon (early 13th century) or somewhere else in the Western Himalayas. La.ga's absence from the above mentioned lineages of sTod proves that his conquest of mNga'.ris skor.gsum was confined to Gu.ge.

Given that La.ga is included by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* among the kings of Byang.ngos and, at the same time, is said to have conquered mNga'.ris skor.gsum, these apparently contradictory notions imply that he came from elsewhere to take lands in mNga'.ris skor.gsum. The indication that mNga'.ris skor.gsum was located to the east clarifies La.ga's provenance. It follows that La.ga may have belonged to the people of non-Central Tibetan stock populating the Western Himalayas before the Tibetanization of these lands, although his name does not conclusively prove his origin. La.ga presumably repeated the Dardic conquest of Byang.ngos centuries after the military campaign of rGya Ge.sar, which took place around 1083 during the reign of rTse.lde, when lHo.stod did not fall into alien hands. Foreign domination of Byang.ngos in the 13th century did not go unopposed. A time of considerable unrest in sTod must have affected La.ga's reign since *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* states that both his brothers Kyi.rdor and Thos.pa died and that he was the only one left to rule.

As discussed above (p.385), Dardic rule in Mar.yul is documented by the Wan.la inscription around 1240 and by *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* in the 1250s, when O.rgyan.pa was briefly the *bla.mchod* of the Dardic king De.khyim. De.khyim controlled Mar.yul some time after 'Bhag.dar.skyabs, who probably ended the rule of Pu.hrang.pa-s, which had lasted for at least two generations. Local resurgence had therefore gained enough ground to control the lands of La.dwags in a stable way at the expense of the



Tibetans of Pu.hrang. The loss of Pu.hrang.pa control of La.dwags had wide-ranging consequences. At the time of this erosion of Pu.hrang.pa power, Byang.ngos passed under foreign rule. Evidence of foreign control in Gu.ge Byang.ngos may suggest that the Dards were also able to reverse the situation to their own advantage. The obscure origin of La.ga prevents the making of a conclusive assertion that the resurgence of indigenous power in La.dwags expanded beyond its boundaries, but this possibility has to be taken into serious consideration. It is likely that the Dardic resurgence that took place in Mar.yul around the mid 13th century had the characteristics of an inter-regional movement encompassing lands at least from Mar.yul as far as the heart of Gu.ge in the east. Unlike Utpala, whose rule of the lands as far as Chu.la me.'bar in the south-east, thus including Gu.ge and Pu.hrang, was short-lived, for he is nowhere mentioned in the royal genealogies of these lands, La.ga had stable control of Gu.ge, indicated by his inclusion in the Byang.ngos ruling line.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* adds that La.ga built four temples at Mang.nang (p.77 line 15). This has implications that go beyond the obvious religious ones. When Gu.ge broke into two kingdoms during the 12th century, the Byang.ngos lineage ruled the lands to the north of the Glang.chen kha.'babs from Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar), while the lHo.stod lineage, whose capital is not mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, controlled the part of Gu.ge south of the same river. Given the location of Mang.nang in lHo.stod, the border between Byang.ngos and lHo.stod during La.ga's reign was no longer the Glang.chen kha.'babs, its natural demarkation, but some distance south of the river. La.ga had therefore annexed territories in the heart of lHo.stod.

A few remarks need to be made concerning Phyag.stod go.gsum and Pe.Khyung.gNyag, the other lands subjugated by La.ga (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 lines 16-17), despite great difficulty in assessing the second. Phyag.stod go.gsum refers to a location in the southernmost stretch of Byang.thang otherwise known as Byang, which includes Gro.shod and Pra.dum, since the name Phyag is found in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* among the sub-clans which constituted the Men.Zhang tribe of Byang<sup>710</sup>. *Go* is a term denoting a territorial entity, an expanse of land (e.g. dGon.go.gsum in Gro.shod), hence Phyag.stod go.gsum means "the three territorial divisions of Phyag.stod or the upper Phyag clan".

(710) The Phyag-s are one of the Men.Zhang clans who suffered a setback around 1375 after the Men.Zhang-s were ousted from the throne of Gung.thang (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.12b line 6-f.13a line 2: "De'i (f.13a) dus.su dus.cung.zad mi.bde.bas/ Men.Zhang rGya.tshang dang Sum.gnyis.pa dang/ bZang.rgyud.pa dang/ Phyag rnam.s.kyi mi.sde mang.po 'thor.ba gTso.tho.pa la 'dus.pas sde chen.po chags", "At the time there was a little unrest. The Men.Zhang rGya.tshang-s and the Sum.gnyis.pa-s and the bZang.rgyud.pa-s and the Phyag-s were disrupted. They regrouped under the gTso.tsho.pa-s, who became the greatest tribe"). In a speech of Men.Zhang Bu.mo btsun.ma, A.me.dpal's first wife, she despises her husband and expresses her wish to stay with her Phyag.pa *a.zhang-s* ("maternal relatives") (ibid. f.21b lines 5-6: "Blo gong sba skye.ba 'di min.na a.zhang Phyag.pa dang gdong/ zer.ba'i glu yang blangs skad", "It is said that she sung this song: "If it were not for this king of Blo[bo] with the goitre, I would stay with my uncles the Phyag.pa-s").

Nyag, a variant of gNyag in Pe.Khyung.gNyag, is documented by *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* as being another clan inhabiting Byang<sup>711</sup>. It is significant that this biography mentions Nyag together with the Phyang clan of Byang, the latter known to the same work by the alternative spelling Chag (for another occurrence of the variant Chag see *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.78 lines 5-6 and below n.813). Despite the Nyag clan being nowhere indicated as belonging to the Men.Zhang-s, occupation of lands by the Nyag and Phyang clans in the same region shows that their association is not fortuitous<sup>712</sup>. In fact, *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* mentions Chag and Nyag together on the occasion of a devastating incursion they both suffered. This narrative, relating a number of catastrophes which took place at the time of gNyos chen.po's death in 1224, is of great historical interest<sup>713</sup>. Apart from one of the attacks of Hor-s (Ginggis khan?) against the

(711) gNyag must not be confused with gNyags, which is the name of one of the ancestral clans connected with gNya'.khri btsan.po, who settled in g.Yo.ru and were long after transferred by dPal.'khor.btsan to gTsang, where they are found for many centuries. Despite the link between the rebellion against dPal.'khor.btsan led by the gNyags and the expulsion of Nyi.ma.mgon to sTod, to where he was escorted by Khyung Se.Nyag.pa A.ka.badzra according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (see below p.429 and n.716), no association should be made between gNyags and Nyag, to which A.ka.badzra belonged, the latter being a 'Brog.pa clan.

(712) gNyag was also connected with the Ya.ngal clan of g.Yas.ru Byang. See the biographies of Yang.ston Shes.rab rgyal.mtshan's son 'Bum.rje.'od in *Tong.Mang.Gur.gsum rnam.thar*, where it is said that his mother was gNyag.mo bKra.shis.lcam (p.210 line 14). She bore both 'Bum.rje.'od and Klu.brag.pa, masters of the *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* like their father. Association of the gNyag clan with La.stod Byang is found in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, where an army of La.stod Byang, which intruded as far as the nomadic lands of Gro.shod, is found headed by a gNyag *mi.dpon*. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.15a lines 1-2) reads: "gZhan.yang skabs.shig.gi tshel/ gNyag mi.dpon.gyis byas.pa'i Byang.pa'i dmag.chen 'ongs nas/ Pu.rangs man.chad cham.la phab.pa'i dus...", "Moreover, on one occasion, as gNyag *mi.dpon* led a huge army of [La.stod] Byang.pa-s, when they intruded as far as Pu.rangs...". Below in the text (ibid. lines 3-4), the association of the gNyag *mi.dpon* with La.stod Byang is confirmed: "gNyag mi.dpon.gyi gsung.gis/ khyed.rang.gi byed.lugs 'di legs.po yin/ ngas kyang zhu grogs.su 'gro.ba byed.pas/ khyed.rang.gi yang mi.'dra Ngam.rings su phyag.'bul.la shog gsungs", "gNyag *mi.dpon* said: "Your behaviour is excellent, I will strive to support your reasonable request, [but] your best men should plead [your] cause in Ngam.rings", so said he".

(713) *gNyos lHa.nang.pa rnam.thar* (f.107b line 7-f.108 lines 7): "'Bri.sTag gnyis nang.'khrug byas stel bstan.pa'i rgyal.mtshan bsnyal.bas/ sems.can pag.tu myed.pa du.kha (108a) la bkod.de/ chos.pa.la log.lta skyes.pa'i rten.'brel.gyis gling/ dmad.du Gangs.kyi ra.ba ral nas/ Hor.gyi rgyal.po'i bu'i dmag rdol/ Mi.nyag rgyal.po'i pho.brang bcom.pas/ rGya.Bod gnyis.kyi mi ya.rabs rtso'i 'tsho.ba 'gribs/ bTsong.kha yog.chen bco.brgyad la.sogs.pa 'Kams.kyi Byang.smad tso bcom.pas/ Bi.ru dBus su don nas/ rTsang.po man.chad Byang.gi ru.sde thams.cad brdungs.pas/ gser dang tsha bal dang/ sha.mar.gyi rgyun chad/ sTod du gangs ral nas/ Hor rgyal.po Bu.mo'i dmag rdol te Blo.bo man.chad brdungs/ sTod.kyi ru.sde Chag Nyag la.sogs.pa ma.lus.par brdungs.pas/ Byang 'khris.re khyim.la brten.pa'i 'Brog.pa rtsa.ba chad", "An internal dispute broke out between 'Bri[.khung] and sTag[.lung]. Since the banner of the teachings was laid down, sorrow affected innumerable human beings. Because of the karmic bonds deriving from heretical views of the religious practitioners, the troops of the Hor king's son invaded the eastern/lower side of the snow mountain ranges, which was laid waste. Since they took the palace of the Mi.nyag king, the people and nobles of China and Tibet, these two, suffered a food shortage. The eighteen *yog.chen* of bTsong.kha (sic) [and] the divisions of Byang.smad of

Tangut kingdom and the seizure of the palace of the Mi.nyag king, the text records other invasions affecting A.mdo and Khams. Finally, an incursion in sTod is especially relevant to this issue. Hor.rgyal.po Bu.mo (a foreign name difficult to decipher) destroyed the settlements of the 'Brog.pa-s of Byang and crushed the two local clans Nyag and Phyang, those over which La.ga subsequently extended his control.

It is not clear whether the term Pe in Pe.Khyung.gNyag is a misreading of Se in the original manuscript of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* written in *khyug.yig*. The reading of the name Pe as Se seems preferable because Se is associated with Khyung as an integral part of the Khyung clan, for Se and Khyung.po belonged to the 'A.zha tribe of the *mi'u.rigs* and also because the presence of Khyung.po groups in the lands of sTod goes back to antiquity<sup>714</sup>. The name Khyung.lung may derive from the occupation of its area by the Khyung.po clan. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* reports a classification of the ancestral tribe Se.Khyung.dBra' (spelled as in this text) in a region which corresponds to areas of West Tibet. This classification has the advantage that the terms Khyung.po and Nyag, referring normally to clans, are used, instead, in a territorial sense. According to *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*, "the six great [divisions] of Se.Khyung.dBra' are: in sTod, Zhang.zhung and Khyung.po, these two; in Bar, Mar.pa and sPu.rang, these two; in sMad, Re.khe and Nyag.le, these two"<sup>715</sup>. The passage refers to a geographical classification of West Tibet which is probably earlier than that of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum*. A vague location of Khyung.po derives from its association with familiar territories such as Pu.hrang and Zhang.zhung, despite the latter referring to an ill-defined region. The connection of Mar.pa with Pu.hrang in Bar suggests that it may have to be corrected to mDa'.pa, which is the district in Gu.ge closest to Pu.hrang.stod, but more often Mar.pa is Mar.yul. This seems to locate Zhang.zhung in the heart of Gu.ge, on which Khyung.po must have bordered. Nyag.le must have been east of Pu.hrang.stod, but how far to the east I am unable to say.

According to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*<sup>716</sup>, among the rebels who escorted Nyi.ma.mgon to

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'Khams (sic) were raided. As Bi.ru intruded into dBus, all communities to the north of the rTsang.po were disrupted. The supply of gold, salt and wool as well as meat and butter was stopped. The troops of the Hor king Bu.mo invaded the snow mountains of sTod, which were laid waste. They disrupted [territories] as far as Blo.bo. The communities of sTod, Chag (i.e. Phyang) and Nyag, were completely disrupted. The 'Brog.pa-s, who occupied the settlements on each side of Byang, were destroyed from the roots".

(714) On the 'A.zha clan, to which Se.Khyung.dBra belonged, see the classifications of the *mi'u.rigs* in sources such as *rLangs Po.ti.bse.rig*; *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*; *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*; *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter*; *bKa'.chems ka.khol.ma* etc. See S.Karmay "Les petits hommes têtes noires" for the so called Hermann manuscript and, for a general treatment, Stein *Les tribus anciennes des marches Sino-Tibétaines*.

(715) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.13 lines 16-18): "Se.Khyung.dBra'i che.drug de/ stod.na Zhang.zhung Khyung.po gnyis/ bar.na sPu.rang Mar.pa gnyis/ smad.na Re.khe Nyag.le gnyis".

(716) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.41 lines 15-19; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 4-6): "sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon ni Bod khing.log.gi/ 'Bal.ma Zug.btsan/ Khung.mo Nyag.pa/ A.ka.badzra

sTod was A.ka.badzra, who, in my reading of the passage, was of the Khyung.Se.Nyag clan. This section of *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* is marred by spelling mistakes of the rebels' names in both versions published by Francke. These rebels are called 'Bal.ma Zug.btsan and Khung.mo Nyag.pa A.ka.badzra in one version of this work and, remarkably, are considered to be three (sic) different people. The other version has dPal.ma Zug.gar, Khyung dPal.ldan.grub and Me.Nyag A.ka.badzra, who are, equally remarkably, regarded as two (sic) persons. In the first of the two versions I read the names of two rebel leaders for the simple reason that the misspelled Khung.mo is a clan name, while the spellings of the other version strike me as literary renderings of ancient names in more modern style and thus are a further corruption of the original. Combining the names of the two versions it becomes apparent that Khung.mo Nyag.pa of the first version is the Khyung Me.Nyag.pa of the second, and that a sounder Khyung.Se.Nyag has to be preferred in the light of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*<sup>717</sup>.

The clan name of A.ka.badzra, Khyung.Me(Se).Nyag contains all the names by which one of the territories conquered by La.ga is indicated in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Finding all three names compacted together in this instance of what is manifestly a clan name shows that Khyung.Se.Nyag indicates a single entity. The term Se.Khyung.Nyag refers to the Nyag clan, Se.Khyung perhaps being the Nyag's ancestral tribal affiliation to one of the *mi'u rigs*. Evidence deriving from the discussion of Phyag.stod go.gsum and Se.Khyung.gNyag indicates that La.ga took over mNga'.ris skor.gsum including parts of Byang<sup>718</sup>. Finally, the corrupt name Pe.Khyung.gNyag seems to stand for a Byang clan whose lands were overrun by La.ga.

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gsum.gyis gtso byas.pa'i rta.pa brgya [S and L MMS. dPal.ma Zug.gar/ Khyung dPal.ldan.grub/ Me.nyag.pa A.ka.badzra gnyis.kyi gtso.byas.pa'i rta.pa brgya] sTod mNga'.ris su byon", "sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon went to sTod mNga'.ris with 'Bal.ma Zug.btsan, Khung.mo Nyag.pa A.ka.badzra, these three leaders of a hundred horsemen [S and L MMS. dPal.ma Zug.gar, Khyung dPal.ldan.grub and Me.nyag.pa A.ka.badzra, these two leaders of a hundred horsemen], [who participated] in the *khing.log* (sic for *kheng.log*) of Tibet".

(717) Before reading *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I was inclined to believe that the minister A.ka.badzra was a Me.nyag.pa. On the basis of the appearance of the ethnonym Se.Khyung.gNyag in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I am now more inclined to consider the minister Me.Nyag.pa, who travelled with Nyi.ma.mgon, as a minister of the Nyag/gNyag clan.

(718) The alternative hypothesis that Se.Khyung.gNyag might be related to the term Se.dpag (also Ser.spang in *Deb.ther dmar.po* p.148 lines 21-22), which identifies the Men.Zhang groups as a whole, should also be explored if more information becomes available. A passage in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.350a line 3-4) classifies the entire Men.Zhang tribe as Se.dpag: "De'i nang.nas yang dpon.po Gung.thang Khab.pas mdzad/ bla.mchod 'Tshal.pa sgo.drug.gis byas/ yon.dag Med.Zhan Se.dpag.gi byed.pa byung", "Among these (the communities forming the backbone of mNga'.ris.srnad) the Gung.thang Khab.pa-s were the chiefs, the 'Tshal.pa sgo.drug (the six Tshal.pa main monasteries) were the bla.mchod, the Med.Zhan (sic for Men.Zhang) Se.dpag were the patrons". Se.dpag in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* refers to the two sub-divisions of the Men.Zhang-s which occupied Gro.shod (the Sum.gnyis.pa-s in west Gro.shod and the gTso.tsho.ba-s in east Gro.shod) (see below p.434 and n.724).

As said above, the lord of Byang.ngos after La.ga was Chos.rgyal grags.pa. He associated with *shar.gyi bla.ma* and *dpon.chen* (i.e. bla.ma 'Phags.pa and dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 line 18-p.78 line 1), a manifest indication of his political leaning towards the Sa.skya.pa-s. The statement of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, according to which "since his minister was instrumental in setting up a noble association, as he (Chos.rgyal grags.pa) became a strategic ally of the *shar.gyi bla.ma dpon.chen*, all of them (i.e. the Sa.skya.pa-s), he ruled a vastly expanded kingdom" (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.77 line 19-p.78 line 1), shows, with very little ground for doubt, that this ruler of Byang.ngos was helped by Sa.skya to recover the throne from foreign control (i.e. from La.ga?). The fact that Chos.rgyal grags.pa increased the extent of the lands under his control makes one assume that, previously, he or his kinsmen were confined to a part of Byang.ngos or to a subordinate role. The alliance with Chos.rgyal grags.pa was Sa.skya's first attempt to intervene in Gu.ge and influence events there. The passage saying that the recovery of large parts of the kingdom was achieved by Chos.rgyal grags.pa with the support of 'Phags.pa and Shakya bzang.po helps to date this event to not earlier than the empowerment of 'Phags.pa as the imperial preceptor at the Mongol court in 1261, when he also began to exercise supreme authority in secular affairs (see below p.440). The text does not explicitly say whether the unnamed minister who was instrumental in the birth of the alliance was a Sa.skya.pa or whether he was a Byang.ngos.pa. Owing to his expansionist ambitions, he was backed by Sa.skya and engineered the restoration of the Byang.ngos lineage. The plan to make Gu.ge a land of the Sa.skya.pa-s did not succeed because, as will be shown below, the other Gu.ge kingdom, that of lHo.stod, took the upper hand over Byang.ngos. Soon after, Sa.skya was, nevertheless, able to take control of Gu.ge and rule it by means of its Gung.thang feudatories (see below p.450).

*The foundation of temples in Gu.ge Byang.ngos from the beginning to the third quarter of the 13th century (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.77)*

For many generations of kings in Gu.ge, following the building of the Rin.chen.gling by bSod.nams.rtse in the late 11th century, no temples were built in this land. It was in the times of the Byang.ngos rulers of the first half of the 13th century that the complete abandonment of religious foundations came to an end and the construction of temples was resumed, albeit on a minor scale. dGe.'bum, the king after Nyi.ma.lde, had many statues made, but the temples in which they were housed are not recorded. This was enough to secure him the nickname *Chos.skyong.ba'i rgyal.po*.

As said above, his successor La.ga is said to have built four *gtsug.lag.khang-s* at Mang.nang, where it is well known that Byang.chub.'od had previously founded two such temples. It seems reasonable to suggest that La.ga added only two new temples to the pre-existing *gtsug.lag.khang-s* at Mang.nang, and that he restored the earlier two.

Chos.rgyal grags.pa, the king after La.ga, did not construct any *lha.khang*. Despite

religion being once again promoted in Byang.ngos during the 13th century, the period of these kings was far from a religious golden age. Weak rule and alternation of kings of different origin on the throne contributed to their lack of attention to the type of religious works that the earlier kings of Gu.ge are famous for. Remaining aloof from the patronage of masters, mostly bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, active in lHo.stod and Pu.hrang during that period, Byang.ngos must have been isolated from the current of contemporary religious activity.

*The expansion of Pu.hrang during the reign of rGyal.lde and sTobs.lding.btsan (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.70)*

During the reign of rGyal.lde<sup>719</sup> and his son sTobs.lding.btsan, Pu.hrang intruded into Byang and imposed tribute on the Byang.pa Pi.ling.ba-s. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.70 lines 16-18) states: "During the time of the father (rGyal.lde) and son (sTobs.lding.btsan), as they intruded into Byang, they seized the territory tax house. They subjugated the Byang.pa Pi.ling.pa-s and imposed tribute".

Byang.pa Pi.ling.ba is merely a tribal name belonging to Byang, unless it is corrected to a more familiar non-West Tibetan spelling. The name of this nomadic clan is one example of the use in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* of West Tibetan terms and expressions. Pi.ling.ba is a phonetic transcription of Phyi.gling.ba/sPyi.gling.ba according to West Tibetan dialect and pronunciation.

Phyi.gling.ba is equivalent to Phyi.'Brog.pa, a name which comprehensively refers to the nomads of Byang.thang<sup>720</sup>. These are elusive terms: in some cases references to the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s are rather general, devoid, as they are, of specific territorial and historical links<sup>721</sup>. To make references to the Phyi.gling.pa-s and Phyi.'Brog.pa-s meaningful, one has to examine the historical and geographical context in which their names appear.

(719) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* has a slightly different version of his name, for it says (f.10b line 6): "De'i sras khri bKra.shis rGyal.ba.lde", "His (sTobs.rgyal.lde's) son was rGyal.ba.lde".

(720) Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* vol.I p.300-302) has published material on the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s contained in a *bKa'.gyur lde.mig* that also records the legend of the summoning of Pe.har to bSam.yas. A detachment of troops, called the Phyi.'Brog regiment, was left in Byang.thang, where the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s live, to guard the border between Bod and China at the time of Khri.srong lde.btsan. Their leader belonged to the dBas clan. The text claims that this was the earliest occurrence of the name of this clan. This seems untenable, for the dBas clan appears in events recorded in the sources as predating the reign of Khri.srong lde.btsan. This also applies to the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s, for the same passage offers evidence that they occupied lands in Byang.thang before the detachment of troops was deployed in their territory.

(721) The use of the name Phyi.'Brog made by *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.417 line 15) in relation to the land called Phyi.'Brog Byang.kha refers to all Byang.thang 'Brog.pa-s otherwise, given that this passage is appended to the history of the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s, the Shangs valley lords, it may be read as referring to the stretch of

Some relevant information is found in the sources. The name Byang.pa Phyi.gling.pa-s recalls sPyi.gTsang<sup>722</sup>, belonging to the five *stong.sde*-s of Zhang.zhung.smad during the time of the Yar.lung dynasty. sPyi.gTsang is paired with Yar.gTsang, both lands being located along the upper course of the gTsang.po or rTa.mchog kha.'babs in Byang.

A passage which provides sufficient information to identify the territory of the Byang.pa Phyi.gling.ba-s and consequently the people inhabiting it is found in *Deb.ther dmar.po* in the brief biography of rTog.ldan mDzes.pa snying.po, a Tshal.pa master discussed above where the foundation of rTa.sga is dealt with (ibid. p.140 lines 7-21; see p.394 and n.639). He built Za.lung in wood pig 1215 after having meditated at sPyil.khung in Byang sPyi.'Brong.bu for thirteen years (1202/3-1214/5). This account contains two significant facts. Firstly that the area 'Brong.bu (i.e. 'Brong.pa) is located in the wider territorial entity of Byang; and secondly that the term sPyi of sPyi.'Brong.bu, where rTog.ldan mDzes.pa snying.po's cave was sited, is preserved in the name of the Pi.ling/sPyi.gling people.

*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* also contains important material referring to the time soon after rGyal.lde and sTobs.liding.btsan's campaign, as will be shown below, and to the location (bordering on Pu.hrang) of the people who were overcome by the Pu.hrang kings. This reference identifies the Phyi.'Brog.pa-s (or Pi.ling.ba-s of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*) with the Men.Zhang-s, mentioned in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* when the text examines the *glang.gi las.stabs bcu.gsum* organized by the Gung.thang king 'Bum.lde.mgon. Two of these forts were intended to control the Phyi.'Brog Men.Zhang-s of Byang. They were Bya.rtsi rnam.rgyal thar.po in the Phyi.'Brog land and Ni.ri g.yag.rdzong dkar.po in Glo.stod near mTsho.dbar<sup>723</sup>.

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Byang.thang close to g.Yas.ru. The latter interpretation is less likely as the term Phyi.'Brog Byang.kha in this section of *rGya.Bod jig.tshang* is part of a general description of Byang.thang and its features.

(722) This is the spelling adopted in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.187 line 23-p.188 line 2): "Bod dang Sum.pa'i (p.188) mtshams.na Gug.ge Cog.la gnyis/ sPyi.gTsang Yar.gTsang gnyis/ Ci.de stong.bu.chung ste Zhang.zhung.smad.kyi stong.sde lnga", "Bordering on Bod and Sum.pa are Gug.ge and Cog.la, these two; sPyi.gTsang and Yar.gTsang, these two; Ci.de [which is] the *stong.bu.chung*. These are the five *stong.sde* of Zhang.zhung.smad". It is found as sPyir.rTsang in *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, when the *stong.sde*-s of Zhang.zhung.smad are listed (p.259 lines 6-8): "Bod dang Sum.pa'i so.mtshams na/ Zhang.zhung.smad.kyi stong.sde lnga yod te/ Gug.ge Gu.Cog gnyis/ sPyir.rTsang Yar.rTsang gnyis/ sPyi.ti stong.bu.chung dang lnga'o", "The five *stong.sde* of Zhang.zhung.smad are bordering on Bod and Sum.pa. They are Gug.ge and Gu.Cog, these two; sPyir.rTsang and Yar.rTsang, these two; sPyi.ti [is] the *stong.bu.chung*, altogether five of them". See also Yamaguchi, "Localisation de rTsang-yul" and Yamaguchi, "Su-p'i and Sun-po" (p.92).

(723) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.108 lines 9-13): "Phyi.'Brog Men.Zhang kha.non du/ Bya.rtsi rnam.rgyal thar.po dang/ mTsho.dbar nye.ba'i Glo.stod du/ Ni.ri g.ya'.rdzong dkar.po brtsigs/ Glo.bo mtsho.bzhi kha.gnon la/ gTsang.rong Bya.pho'i ze.ba brtsigs", "In order to keep the Phya.'Brog Men.Zhang-s under control, Bya.rtsi rnam.rgyal thar.po and Ni.ri g.ya'.rdzong dkar.po, which is in Glo.stod near mTsho.bar, were built. In order to keep the four divisions of Glo.bo under control, gTsang.rong Bya.pho'i ze.ba was built". *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (*khyug.yig* manuscript f.8a-b) has Ni.ri g.yag.rdzong dkar.po; *Gung.thang gdung.rabs*

The Men.Zhang-s, otherwise known as the Byang.pa Pi.ling.ba-s/Phyi.gling.pa-s, a nomad clan with a complex kinship structure<sup>724</sup>, had their ancient seat at Pra.dum<sup>725</sup> in 'Brong.pa, also known by its ancient name Byang.kha.brgyad 'Brong.pho as well as sPyi.'Brong.bu mentioned above<sup>726</sup>. Gro.shod, another major region of Byang, has Bar.yang

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(dbu.can manuscript f.8a-b) Ni.ri g.yab.ljongs dkar.po. *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (*khyug.yig* manuscript f.8a) has mTsho.dbar, while the *dbu.can* manuscript (f.8a) has mTsho.dmar. There is no reason to correct these variants (mTsho.dbar, mTsho.dmar) to Tsho.bar (i.e. Glo.bo tsho.bar, the middle district of Glo.bo where Tsa.rang/gTsang.rang is located) because it was gTsang.rang Bya.pho'i ze.ba, the castle in Glo tsho.bar from which the power of Gung.thang was exercised, while the Gung.thang.pa forts intended to control the Men.Zhang-s were located north of Glo dMos.thang.

(724) See my paper entitled "Nomads of Byang and mNga'.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century". Information is available on one of the main tribal groups composing the Men.Zhang-s, i.e. the gTso.tsho.ba-s who occupied Gro.shod. When they were originally organized into the Sum.gnyis.pa-s and gTso.sho.ba-s before the mid 12th century, *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9a line 6-f.9b line 1) explains: "Pha.sgo gnyis.su gyes nas/ phu.bos Ku.rtse gdong.gi rdzong dang/ nu.bos Re.la'i rdzong bzung ste/ (f.9b) phu.bo'i rgyud.pa.la Sum.gnyis.pa zer.ba 'di dang/ nu.bo'i rgyud.pa.la gTso.tsho.ba zhes.grags.pa 'di byung ste/ de.gnyis.la Se.dpag gnyis zhes kyang zer.ba yin", "The paternal clan divided. The elder brother ruled from Ku.rtse gdong.rdzong, the younger from Re.la rdzong. The lineage of the elder brother is known as Sum.gnyis.pa, the lineage of the younger as gTso.tsho.ba. These two [lineages] are also known as the two Se.dpag". The old two-fold gTso.tsho.ba organization was superseded by a new division into four groups (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* 13a-b). They were the sGar.mo che.ba-s and the sTod.ru.ba-s, who composed the gTso.tsho stod.pa-s, and the sDang.bu bar.ba-s (the group to which btsun.pa Chos.legs' family belonged) and another division, unnamed in text, which together formed the gTso.tsho smad.pa-s. The Glo sMos.thang.pa-s descended from the unnamed division, headed by dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan.

(725) In the words of btsun.pa Chos.legs (1437-1521), to whose life *Chos.legs rnam.thar* is dedicated, (f.9a lines 1-2): "De.nas kyang nged.kyi rigs 'di yar.yar 'ongs te/ rim.gyi Khra.rum dang/ Mar.lung.gi gtso.tsho rnams bzung", "Then this [Men.Zhang] tribe of mine moved upwards and upwards (i.e. westwards). It ruled, one after the other, the Khra.rum and Mar.lung main divisions". Khra.rum is a literary transcription for the pronunciation of this place name in the dialect of West Tibet.

(726) The variant 'Brong.pho for the early name of 'Brong.pa appears in a passage of *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (written in 1241 and revised in 1292), referring to a controversy between Mar.lung.pa Byang.chub seng.ge and the Yang.thog.pa-s, when Mar.lung.pa boasted of his family prestige and control of monasteries and estates (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.32b lines 4-5: "'Brog.mi tsha rta 'gyogs.ma 'dod.yon grogs/ Byang.kha.brgyad 'Brong.pho sha'i yul". "Nomads ('brog.mi) are fond of salt and swift horses. Byang.kha.brgyad 'Brong.pho ("the eight Byang territories of 'Brong.pho") is the land of meat [where they obtain them]"). There is substantial consistency between *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* and *Deb.sher dmar.po* on the antiquity of the names 'Brong.pho and 'Brong.bu found in the latter text (see above n.639). Despite being later than *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, *Deb.sher dmar.po* (written in 1346) applies the name 'Brong.bu to the early 13th century, which is the period covered by *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, and it cannot be ruled out that its author Kun.dga' rdo.rje, a Tshal.pa like Mar.lung.pa, drew it from earlier original documents on his family and sect.



at its centre<sup>727</sup>. Upper Mustang in the south was also part of the territory inhabited by the Men.Zhang-s. The western border of Gro.shod was the Ma.yum.la, while to the east the boundary with Gung.thang was somewhere near *yul.phran* (“minor locality”) dGe.zhing, for *Chos.legs rnam.thar* says that in that location the Gung.thang kings used to receive taxes from the gTso.tsho.ba-s, a sub-division of the Men.Zhang-s. dGe.zhing is not far from rDzong.mkhar<sup>728</sup>. Another clue to how far east Byang extended comes from *Shanti.pa rnam.thar*, where a Gu.ge mission is recorded to have come to rDzong.dga’ (spelled as in the text) to escort Shanti.pa to the west via the Byang.la<sup>729</sup>. Hence, eastern Byang reached the border of Gung.thang. However, this does not mean that Pu.hrang controlled areas all the way to the border of Gung.thang, but merely a part of this huge expanse of land.

The passage in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* concerning the Phyi.gling.pa-s/Phyi.’Brog.pa-s is also significant because the organization of the network of castles in the years between 1277 and 1280 is chronologically close to the campaign of the two Pu.hrang kings who imposed tribute on them. *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* confirms therefore that the territories conquered by Pu.hrang, held by the Byang Phyi.gling.pa-s according to *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs*, were controlled soon after by the same people also known as the Men.Zhang-s.

The combined power of Pu.hrang and the ’Bri.gung.pa-s, which reached its peak before the first return of ’Phags.pa to Tibet in 1265, and the period of the joint rule of rGyal.lde and sTobs.liding.btsan (late in the reign of the former *jo.bo* and early in that of the latter) show that the subjugation of the Byang.pa-s occurred before that year. This can also be derived from the periods of the reigns of the subsequent Pu.hrang kings rDo.rje seng.ge and bSod.nams.lde. The latter took over Ya.rtse when he was seventy years old around 1336. Since *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* says that he began to rule in Pu.hrang in his youth,

(727) This is the spelling adopted in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, the biography of btsun.pa Chos.legs, a native of this place (f.16a line 2-3: “lHo.phyogs Gro.shod nas byang.du ’gro.ba’i bar.lam/ Bar.yang.gi sa.cha/ Nya.kyul zhes.byabar/ me.mo.’phrul.gyi lo/ Hor zla.ba bcu.gcig.pa smal.po mgos nya.ba’i zla.ba’i nyer.gsum.gyi nu.mo/ skar.ma Bya.ma la bab.pa.na btsas.pa yin zer/ de.dus ma.la gnod.pa yang ma.byung ’dug”, “Along the route which leads from Southern Gro.shod to the north, in the Bar.yang area, at a place known as Nya.kyul, I was born without hindrance in the fire snake year (1437) on the evening of the twenty-third day of the eleventh month [called] *smal.po mgos nya.ba’i zla.ba* under the *Bya.ma* star”). The biography offers ample insight into the history of Gro.shod, where Bar.yang is sited, a subdivision of Byang.

(728) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.33b lines 1-2): “De.nas rDzong.dkar dang nye.ba’i yul.phran dGe.zhing na/ sngar gTso.tsho.ba Khab.pa’i bsud.la rgyun.du ’ongs...”, “Then near rDzong.dkar at the minor locality dGe.zhing, where, earlier, the gTso.tsho.ba-s used to come regularly to [bring] the tax collection in favour of the Khab.pa-s (i.e. the Gung.thang kings)...”

(729) *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.31a line 4): “De.nas rDzong.dgar phebs.dus Gu.ge nas bcu.dpon bSam.’grub.’phel sogs rta.pa bzhi rol.bzhi dang bcas.pa Byang.la brgyud sleb byung.bas mgyogs khyad.du song”, “Then, [Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan] went to rDzong.dga’. bCu.dpon bSam.’grub.’phel [accompanied by] horsemen [riding] in four lines of four [riders each], arrived from Gu.ge via the Byang pass and they left [with Shanti.pa] in great haste”.

his reign there must have started during the last quarter of the 13th century. The reign of bSod.nams.lde in Pu.hrang was preceded by that of lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge. Subjugation of the Byang.pa Phyi.gling.pa-s can be roughly estimated to have taken place before rDo.rje seng.ge was on the throne of Pu.hrang and after the Byang.ngos king La.ga had conquered lands in Byang some time in the second quarter of the 13th century.

*Temple foundations by the kings of Pu.hrang in the 13th century after the reign of rNam.lde.mgon (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.70)*

rGyal.stobs.lde, son of dNgos.grub.mgon, made a *lcags.ri* (“boundary wall”) around the palace of the Pu.hrang *jo.bo-s* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 line 14). This castle was rGyal.ti, from where rNam.lde.mgon, his predecessor on the Pu.hrang throne, had ruled.

sTobs.liding.btsan, grandfather of bSod.nams.lde, built bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang at Kha.char (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 line 18). sTobs.liding.btsan was the Pu.hrang king who ruled two generations after rNam.lde.mgon. His reign therefore occurred around the third quarter of the 13th century. bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang was the second major temple at Kha.char according to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, which calls the Pu.hrang *jo.bo* responsible for it sTobs.btsan.lde instead of sTobs.liding.btsan<sup>730</sup>.

Given the period when the temple was built, the beautiful wooden doorframe of the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, despite being an early example, is not one of the most ancient of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. The doorframe of the little temple above Kan.ji in sPu.rig is possibly the most ancient surviving in the whole of sTod apart from that of Al.lci 'du.khang.

(730) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b = p.55 lines 12-13): “De'i sras khri bKra.shis sTobs.btsan.lde/ 'di.yi 'Khor.chags su bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i lha.khang bzhengs”, “His (rGyal.po.lde's) son was khri bKra.shis sTobs.btsan.lde (sic, i.e. sTobs.liding.btsan). This one built bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i lha.khang at 'Khor.chags (Kha.char)”. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* says that rGyal.ba.lde's son was named sTobs.btsan.lde (sic, i.e. sTobs.liding.btsan), to whom the foundation of the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa at Kha.char is attributed, but with the variation that his wife and son also took part (f.10b line 6: “De'i sras khri bKra.shis sTobs.btsan.lde 'di yum sras.kyis bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i lha.khang bzhengs”). Any assessment is complicated by the fact that sTobs.liding.btsan had three sons (Ar.lde, Chos.btsan.lde and lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge). Given that the first two were kept as involuntary guests at dKar.dum, one may infer that it was rDo.rje seng.ge who participated in the construction of Kha.char bKra.shis brtsegs.pa. However this has no firm basis since it was not during the reign of sTobs.liding.btsan that dKar.dum was controlled by the Gung.thang.pa-s but later, and therefore all three sons are equally possible candidates.

# The reunification of Gu.ge under Grags.pa.lde

*The Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde's relations with 'Bri.gung: an inconsistency*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.78)

Grags.pa.lde's dates do not create much difficulty. He died in a fire ox year when he was forty-eight. Given his association with the sixth 'Bri.gung *dbon.rabs*, which is a historical confusion on the part of Ngag.dbang grags.pa (on which see immediately below), and more significantly, his support to the third 'Bri.gung *rdor.'dzin* at Ti.se in the 1260s ('*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.31b lines 4-5; and Petch, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.100), his death cannot have taken place in any fire ox year other than 1277 and hence he was born in iron tiger 1230.

A major inconsistency in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.78 lines 7-9) pertains to the donations made by Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) to the sixth *dbon.rabs* of 'Bri.gung. The latter was mTshams.bcad.pa Grags.pa bsod.nams (1238-1286, in office 1284-1286). As Grags.pa.lde died in fire ox 1277, he could not have sent gifts to Grags.pa bsod.nams when the latter was 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa*. Either Grags.pa.lde sent them before Grags.pa bsod.nams became abbot or he gave them to the 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa* of his day, the fourth *dbon.rabs* gCung rin.po.che (1210-1278, in office 1255-1278)<sup>731</sup>.

The inconsistency of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* concerning Grags.pa.lde's patronage of the sixth 'Bri.gung *dbon.rabs* is further proved by '*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* when it says that Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan, the *rdor.'dzin* who came to Ti.se around 1278 after Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, (the latter sponsored by Grags.pa.lde in the 1260s) was contemporary with the fifth (sic for fourth) 'Bri.gung *dbon.rabs* gCung rin.po.che. This is contradictory as Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan would have been at Ti.se two abbots before the one who allegedly interacted with Grags.pa.lde.

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(731) See, *inter alia*, his biography in Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, '*Bri.gung gser.phreng* lHa.sa ed. (p.112 line 18-p.117 line 21). The years in which the various 'Bri.gung *gdan.rabs* were abbot, after 'Jig.rten mgon.po founded 'Bri.gung in 1179 and took care of it until his death in 1217, are as follows: Gu.ra.ba Tshul.khtrims rdo.rje (1217-1220); dBon rin.po.che bSod.nams grags.pa (1220-1247); 'Bri.gung.gling Shes.rab 'byung.gnas (1247-1255); gCung rin.po.che rDo.rje grags.pa (1255-1278); Thog.kha.ba Rin.chen seng.ge (1278-1284); mTshams.bcad.pa Grags.pa bsod.nams (1284-1286); sNubs rDo.rje ye.shes (1286-1295); bCu.gnyis.pa rDo.rje rin.chen (1295-1314); Nyer.gnyis.pa Chos.kyi rgyal.po (1314-1350). On all these *gdan.sa-s* see Kun.dga' rin.chen, '*Bri.gung gser.phreng* (f.33b-73a); Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, '*Bri.gung gser.phreng* (p.106 line 15-p.139 line 14); '*dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.109 line 12-p.112 line 13), *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.1346 line 8-p.1350 line 12). Also Sperling, "Some Notes on the Early 'Bri-gung-pa *Sgom.pa*" (p.34-35).

*Grag.s.pa.lde and his reign (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.78-79)*

A prophecy regarding the birth of rNam.rgyal.lde was made by Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po, the younger brother of Mar.yul jo.bo Ras.chen, at lHo.stod Ka.gling, during the *rgyal.srid* of Grags.pa.lde. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.80 lines 7-11) says: "Furthermore, according to the dream of Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po, the younger brother of Mar.yul.kyi mnga'.bdag Ras.chen, [when] the former was at lHo.stod Ka.gling in the *rgyal.srid* of mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde, he (Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po) predicted that a son was going to be born to the queen, who would have [excellent] qualities and [great] merit, who would be beneficial to the teachings of Sangs.rgyas [and] become the protector of the entire kingdom, [who] would rule the kingdom (*rgyal.srid*) [and exercise] royal power (*mnga'.thang*) in accordance with the three virtues". If the expression *mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde'i rgyal.srid.la* is read in its customary sense of "during Grags.pa.lde's royal power", the statement is an anachronism: Mar.yul Ras.chen and his brother lived some one hundred years after Grags.pa.lde (see below p.450). It would also be a lexical oddity, for Tibetan authors would more correctly write *mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde'i sku.ring.la*, *mnga'.bdag Grags.pa.lde'i dus.su* or some similar wording.

A variant and more uncommon reading of *rgyal.srid* is that the prophecy by jo.bo Ras.chen's brother Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po (a term of respect rather than his real name) (see n.754), was made "at lHo.stod Ka.gling, located in the kingdom (*rgyal.srid*) of Grags.pa.lde". The latter reading, apart from making chronological sense, reveals that lHo.stod was the dominion of Grags.pa.lde's family<sup>732</sup>.

As said above, Grags.pa.lde is mentioned in both *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus*. The latter work associates him with patronage of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, a work historically undertaken by the kings of Gu.ge lHo.stod. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* includes him in the lineage of kings of Byang.ngos (p.78 line 3-p.79 line 5), which shows that he controlled both kingdoms and that he reunited them under his rule.

This is a notion corroborated elsewhere in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.79 line 2), since the text includes Sang.wang among the lands conquered by Grags.pa.lde. Sang.wang/Sang.nang is the area extending from the northern bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs towards Phyi.wang and beyond, which is the heartland of Byang.ngos. This shows that Grags.pa.lde took over Byang.ngos and, therefore, that he was originally a king of Gu.ge lHo.stod.

The circumstances which brought Grags.pa.lde to extend control over Byang.ngos are briefly discussed in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.78 lines 4-5), when it says: "During his

(732) Although there are many cases of Ngag.dbang grags.pa using *rgyal.srid* in the sense of "royal or political power", another passage confirms his usage of this term to mean "kingdom" found in the record of Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po's prophecy. Ngag.dbang grags.pa says that A.seng.lde, king of Ya.rtse, controlled many *rgyal.srid*-s, which must stand for kingdoms (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 3-4).

(Grags.pa.lde's) reign, since the State Council (*chab.srid*) great minister (*blon.po chen.po*) Yar.dkar engineered an insurrection in the middle (*gung.ldog*), he (Grags.pa.lde) brought under [his] control both Pu[.hrang] [and] Gug[.ge]"<sup>733</sup>.

The passage documents Grags.pa.lde's simultaneous conquest of Pu.hrang and Gu.ge Byang.ngos. It manifestly testifies to the reunification of Gu.ge when it says that Grags.pa.lde, the king of Gu.ge, conquered Gu.ge. The statement would be paradoxical had he not reunited lHo.stod and Byang.ngos. Had he been ruling both kingdoms by right of succession, it would not have been necessary for him to conquer either.

The passage also reveals that these annexations "came from the middle", i.e. from an area between the two conquered lands. In fact, lHo.stod lies between Pu.hrang and Byang.ngos, thus confirming that Grags.pa.lde was originally a lHo.stod king and that he took control of Byang.ngos.

His patronage of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, during a period in which Chos.rgyal grags.pa, who preceded him on the throne of Byang.ngos, favoured the Sa.skya.pa-s, substantiates the notion that Grags.pa.lde belonged to the lHo.stod lineage and unified Gu.ge from there. The lHo.stod kings traditionally supported the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, while Byang.ngos sided with the Sa.skya.pa-s around the time of Grags.pa.lde. His belonging to the lHo.stod lineage is further corroborated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* when the text says that he sent donations to the 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa* as well as youths from his land to be monks at the latter's monastery (p.78 lines 7-9), and established a custom of offering prayers and prostrations to the 'Bri.gung abbot as the latter's predecessors were the *bla.ma*-s of his forefathers (ibid. p.78 lines 9-11).

The correct assessment of the time when the post of *dpon.chen* was introduced is crucial to the understanding of the developments which first brought the Sa.skya.pa-s to strengthen relations with the king of Byang.ngos Chos.rgyal grags.pa and later led to the reunification of the two kingdoms of Gu.ge. It is by no means clear when Sa.skya Shakya bzang.po was appointed the first *dpon.chen*<sup>734</sup>. Wylie ("The First Mongol Conquest of

(733) In all likelihood, the name of the minister has to be corrected to blon.po Yang.dkar, since a land called Rong Yang.dkar was donated to Seng.ge ye.shes for the maintenance of the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se by the Pu.hrang Kings sTag.tsha and A.tig.sman in the years when the former was in sTod (1214-1219) ('*Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.31b line 1: "Ti.se ri.pa rnam.kyi 'tsho thebs.su Rong Yang.dkar yul zhes.byab.phul", "[Seng.ge ye.shes] was offered the land of Rong Yang.dkar for the maintenance of the Ti.se *ri.pa-s*"). Hence, Rong Yang.dkar was associated with Pu.hrang during the 13th century.

(734) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.53 lines 1-4): "Sa.skya'i dpon.chen.la snga.ba Shakya bzang.po la/ bla.ma chos.rje Byang.ngos la byon dus/ bla.ma 'U.yug.pa dang/ bla.ma Sher.'byung ma.grogs/ dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen thams.cad phyag.'tshal.du bcug.nas gdan.sa lta.bur bskos", "Concerning the earliest *dpon.chen* of Sa.skya, when chos.rje (Sa.pan) went to Byang.ngos, since all the *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s* except bla.ma 'U.yug.pa and Sher.'byung were made to prostrate to Shakya bzang.po, he was appointed to [hold] the *gdan.sa*"; *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.357 lines 2-11): "Thog.mar/ dpon.chen.la snga.ba/ Shakya bzang.po/ de.la chos.rje Sa.pan/ dgung.lo drug.cu re.gsum.pa/ shing.pho.'brug lo.la/ Hor rgyal.po E.chen Go.don.gyis/ Byang.ngos sprul.pa sde'i pho.brang.du/

Tibet Reinterpreted” p.123-124) has proposed that this appointment was the consequence of the sudden death of Phyag.na rdo.rje in 1267, for the latter was supposed to rule Tibet (see also Wylie, “Khubilai Khaghan’s First Viceroy of Tibet”; and Petech, “Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols”). However, Shakya bzang.po was chosen to hold Sa.skya and its secular affairs by Sa.pan long before (in 1244), when the latter left for Byang.ngos (not to be confused with Gu.ge Byang.ngos) to meet the Mongols. It is therefore unclear whether the term *dpon.chen* in *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* refers to his role as Sa.skya *dpon.chen* or dBus.gTsang *dpon.chen*, titles given to Shakya bzang.po in 1244 and 1267 respectively.

In order to date Grags.pa.lde’s reunification of Gu.ge, it is important to assess the other hint provided by *mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* on Sa.skya’s support of Chos.rgyal grags.pa, his predecessor on the Byang.ngos throne, which is that the Sa.skya *bla.ma* was also involved in the alliance. In the years in which these events took place, the Sa.skya *bla.ma* was *bla.ma* ’Phags.pa (i.e. Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan). In 1261 he was made imperial preceptor by the recently enthroned emperor Se.chen rgyal.po (Petech, “Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols” p.184). This year has to be considered as a conservative *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the alliance between Chos.rgyal grags.pa and the Sa.skya.pa-s, because it was in 1261 that ’Phags.pa started to exercise secular authority, deriving from his appointment at court.

Given Grags.pa.lde’s dates (1230-1277) (*mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* p.79 lines 3-4) and the evidence from *’Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* that, being the next king of lHo.stod after bKra.shis dBang.phyug, he reigned in the 1260s (f.31b lines 3-4; Petech, “Ya-ts’e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study” p.100), Chos.rgyal grags.pa ruled at the same time as Grags.pa.lde. The contemporaneity of the two Gu.ge kings’ rule is thus confirmed and consequently the fact that Grags.pa.lde ousted Chos.rgyal grags.pa from the throne of Byang.ngos, the latter being a rival contemporary king rather than his father. The additional information that Chos.rgyal grags.pa died when he was twenty-seven (*mNga’.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 1-2) indicates that his reign came to an abrupt end.

This first appearance of Sa.skya in the affairs of mNga’.ris skor.gsum occurred more than ten years before the final take-over of sTod by Sa.skya recorded by *Si.tu bka’.chems* in

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gdan.’dren la/ gser.yig.pa rDo.tha.shri byung.gnas/ gshegs.pa’i dus/ bla.ma ’O.yug.pa dang/ Shar.pa Yes.’byung ma.gtogs/ dge.ba’i bshes.gnyen thams.cad kyang/ phyag.’tshal.du bcug/ Sa.skyar gzhi.gan.pa.la bskos bzhag/ bla.ma ’Phags.pa’i dus/ Se.chen rgyal.po’i lung.gis/ zam.glu.gun.dben.hu’i ming dang/ tham.kha gngang nas/ dBus.gTsang.gi dpon.chen.la bskos”, “Initially, concerning the *dpon.chen*, the earliest was Shakya bzang.po. When chos.rje Sa.pan was sixty-three in the wood male tiger year (1244), as he (Sa.pan) was invited by Hor rgyal.po E.chen Go.don to Byang.ngos sPrul.pa’i sde palace, gser.yig.pa rDo.tha.shri arrived [at Sa.skya]. At the time of departure, except for bla.ma ’O.yug.pa and Shar.pa Yes.’byung, all the *dge.ba’i bshes.gnyen-s* were made to prostrate to him (Shakya bzang.po). As he was appointed *gzhi.gan.pa* (“elder/headman of Sa.skya’s properties?”), he resided at Sa.skya. During the time of bla.ma ’Phags.pa, by command of Se.chen rgyal.po, Shakya bzang.po was given the title *zam.glu.gun.dben.hu* and the seal, and was appointed dBus.gTsang *dpon.chen*”.

*rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru*, which is discussed in Addendum Three. While *rGyal.ba rin.po.che* (d.1267, in office 1236-1267) was the Phag.mo gru.pa abbot, a request was sent to him by Sa.skya (possibly by 'Phags.pa himself after his return to Tibet in 1265) to intercede with his fellow 'Bri.gung.pa-s so that the latter would relinquish their control of *mNga'.ris.stod*. The request was refused. This episode is indicative of the situation which had been developing in Gu.ge Byang.ngos in those years, when a pro-Sa.skya king (Chos.rgyal Grags.pa) was ruling within a wider political scenario dominated by Sa.skya's arch-rivals the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, who had started to manifest their resentment of Sa.skya's swift rise to a position of *primus inter pares* in Tibet<sup>735</sup>. The beginning of the hostility between Sa.skya and 'Bri.gung, which later erupted in a bitter clash, is likely to have been a cause of the struggle between the Gu.ge factions that led to the eventual reunification of the two territories. Conflict between Byang.ngos, emboldened by the rising Sa.skya.pa-s, who were demanding a larger role in sTod for themselves, and the other kingdoms of the area, Pu.hrang and Gu.ge lHo.stod, which sided with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, must have been almost inevitable. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.78 lines 4-5) says that pro-'Bri.gung Grags.pa.lde of lHo.stod had the upper hand. *Si.tu bka'.chems* adds that Sa.skya's plan was thwarted. In this light, I propound a date for Grags.pa.lde's conquest of Byang.ngos around or soon after 1265, when 'Phags.pa returned to Tibet for the first time and Phag.gru *rGyal.ba rin.po.che* was still alive, i.e. before the request by Sa.skya to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had been refused following the defeat of Chos.rgyal grags.pa, the ally of the Sa.skya.pa-s, by Grags.pa.lde.

The invitation to *rGyal.ti* extended by Grags.pa.lde, the king of unified Gu.ge, to Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan, the third 'Bri.gung rdor.'dzin at Ti.se, proves that the former had already taken control of both Gu.ge Byang.ngos and Pu.hrang as stated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, because the fact that Grags.pa.lde held *rGyal.ti* was the result of his control of unified Gu.ge and Pu.hrang, achieved by a single campaign. Thus, the *terminus post quem* for the conquest of Byang.ngos (i.e. around 1265) also applies to that of Pu.hrang. This date for Grags.pa.lde becoming the undisputed sovereign of unified Gu.ge and Pu.hrang is consistent with Petech's proposal that Grags.pa.lde met Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan in the 1260s.

Grags.pa.lde unified Gu.ge Pu.hrang for the first time in more than a hundred and seventy years, i.e. since *rTse.lde's* death, when his brother *bTsan.srong* succeeded him in Pu.hrang while the throne of Gu.ge was usurped.

(735) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.404 lines 1-4) records the first event of the Sa.skya-'Bri.gung dispute in the following way: "De.'tshams Sa.'Bri 'khrugs.pa'i 'go tshugs/ gong.du/ khrims.kyi brtugs.gsher la/ phyogs.phyogs.nas/ mi.drag.pa 'gro.dgos byung dus/ dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po dang/ dge.bshes Rin.chen brtson.'grus/ rin.po.che sTon.tshul gsum.mo", "On that occasion, the beginning of the confrontation [between] Sa[.skya and] 'Bri[.gung] took place. When the need arose to send to the imperial court the most distinguished people from every locality to settle matters by law, dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po, dge.bshes Rin.chen brtson.'grus and rin.po.che ston Tshul, these three, [were selected to represent Sa.skya]". The account is interesting because it shows that trouble between the two sects and their lay members began some time before 1275, the year of Shakya bzang.po's death.

*Deb.ther dmar.po* states that a king, whose name and dominions it does not record, gave the gSer.gyi lha.khang founded by Rin.chen bzang.po to Shes.rab 'phel.ba, the third Tshal.pa *bla.mchod* in Pu.hrang<sup>736</sup>. No temple other than Tho.ling is anywhere recognized to be the gSer.gyi.lha.khang founded by Rin.chen bzang.po<sup>737</sup>. Therefore, the king who gave Tho.ling to the Tshal.pa-s could not have been a Pu.hrang *jo.bo*, but was in fact a ruler of Guge. His identification is quite difficult since no details are found in *Deb.ther dmar.po* to establish the years or even the periods when the various Tshal.pa *bla.mchod*-s were in Pu.hrang. Moreover, *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* does not record the years of reign of the Byang.ngos kings, but a valuable chronological framework can be extracted from 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus* concerning the rulers of lHo.stod. A likely candidate is Grags.pa.lde who unified Gu.ge Byang.ngos and lHo.stod and particularly since he extended his control over Pu.hrang, thus coming into direct contact with the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s as their overlord.

The possibility that the grant of Tho.ling to the Tshal.pa-s took place during the reign of the Gu.ge lHo.stod kings before Grags.pa.lde has to be dismissed, since bKra.shis dBang.phyug, his immediate predecessor on the throne of lHo.stod, did not hold Tho.ling, despite the temple being in lHo.stod. La.ga, the foreign king ruling Byang.ngos before Chos.rgyal grags.pa, and thus a contemporary of the lHo.stod king bKra.shis dBang.phyug, controlled lands in lHo.stod at least as far as Mang.nang (south of Tho.ling), for he built temples there. Only by conquering Byang.ngos, under which Tho.ling had passed in the meantime, could a lHo.stod king come into possession of Tho.ling.

Grags.pa.lde was the only king during this period who simultaneously controlled Pu.hrang (confirmed by the donation of bZhi.sde to Shes.rabs 'phel.ba found in the same

(736) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.148 lines 6-11): "De.nas bla.ma Shes.rab 'phel.ba yar gdan.drangs/ khong.gis dgon.pa dang grwa.pa bu.slob.kyi bskyang bran mdzad/ thad.sor bzhugs.nas rgyal.po yab.yum.gyi bla.mchod mdzad/ rgyal.po yon.mchod.kyi lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.pos bzhengs.pa'i gSer.gyi gtsug.lag.khang chen.po sde dang bcas.pa phul/ bZhi.sde'i gtsug.lag.khang sde dang bcas.pa phul.nas 'gro.don 'phrin.las dpag.tu med.pa mdzad nas/ zhi.bar gshegs", "Then, [after Tshul.dar.ba's death,] Shes.rab 'phel.ba was invited upwards (to sTod). He took care to protect the *dgon.pa*, the monks and the disciples. Having stayed with [the king of Gu.ge Pu.hrang], he became the *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.md*") of the king and his wife. Owing to the *yon.mchod* [established with] the king, he was offered the great gSer.kyi gtsug.lag.khang built by lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po [and] its [monastic] community. As he was given bZhi.sde gtsug.lag.khang [and] its [monastic] community, he performed innumerable deeds for the benefit of sentient beings. He then died".

(737) This is obviously a half mistaken assessment since it was Zhi.ba.'od who built Tho.ling gSer.khang according to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, but most sources of different periods, presumably not having had access to the documents Ngag.dbang grags.pa had to hand, credit Ye.shes.'od and Rin.chen bzang.po with this foundation. *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.262 lines 4-5) and *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.259 lines 9-12) say in the same words: "Khyad.par shar.phyogs.su gser.gyi mchod.rten chen.po zhig bzhengs.pas nyi.ma shar.ba'i tshel/ de'i 'od nang.na yar phog.pas lha.khang thams.cad gser.gyi mdog.tu lhag.ger 'char.bas mTho.liding gSer.khang du grags", "In particular, he (Ye.shes.'od) built a large *mchod.rten* in the east. When the sun rises, as golden light is reflected by this [*mchod.rten*], all the *lha.khang*-s are wonderfully radiant with golden colour. [This is why] it became known as mTho.liding gSer.khang".



passage of *Deb.ther dmar.po*), where the Tshal.pa-s had settled, and the whole of Gu.ge including Byang.ngos, under whose rulers Tho.ling was at that time. Grags.pa.lde's *yon.mchod* with the Tshal.pa-s was established between 1265 (the *terminus post quem* for his conquest of Byang.ngos) and 1277 (the date of his death).

Grags.pa.lde renovated Tho.ling and dPal.rgyas (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 16-17)<sup>738</sup>. No king after those of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty other than him is credited with restorations at Tho.ling by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. His support of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s in the best tradition of the lHo.stod and Pu.hrang kings led Grags.pa.lde to entrust Tho.ling to the care of the Tshal.pa-s. It is also probable that the king of Gu.ge who established *yon.mchod* with Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer, the Tshal.pa *bla.mchod* in Pu.hrang after Shes.rab 'phel.ba<sup>739</sup> and before Gu.ge Pu.hrang passed under the control of Sa.skya, was again Grags.pa.lde.

A final confirmation of Grags.pa.lde's patronage of the Tshal.pa-s is the fact that he supported dbu.sde Go.gsum (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 12-13). This is dGon.go.gsum in Gro.shod, a well known Tshal.pa monastery<sup>740</sup>. The expansion of his kingdom to Pu.hrang and his support of the Tshal.pa-s, also active in Byang, contributed to his coming into contact with this important monastery in the 'Brog.pa lands.

(738) A reference to dPal.rgyas lha.khang is found in rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol (*gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* p.182 lines 4-5). It shows that at the end of the 15th century, when gTsang.smyon was in sTod, dPal.rgyas was still an active temple.

(739) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.148 lines 12-18): "De.nas bla.ma Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer.ba gdan.drangs.nas dgon.pa dang grwa.pa bu.slob yon.bdag dang bcas.pas bskyang bran dang thad.sor bzhugs/ rgyal.po yab.yum.gyi bla.mchod mdzad nas/ yab.yum dang rje.blon rnam.s la dbang.bskur/ de.nas Gu.ge rgyal.pos gdan.drangs.nas Gu.ge rgyal.po yab.yum rje.blon rnam.s la dbang.skur mdzad/ 'bul.ba longs.spyod dpag.tu med.pa byung zhing/ 'gro.don dang 'phrin.las rgya.chen.po byung 'dug", "Then, [after Shes.rab 'phel.ba.] since Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer was invited, he took care of protecting the *dgon.pa*, the monks, the disciples and the sponsors, and stayed [with the Pu.hrang king]. As he became the *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma*") of the [Pu.hrang] king and his queen, the [royal] husband and wife, the chiefs and the ministers revered him. Then, as the king of Gu.ge invited him, he gave empowerments to the king of Gu.ge, his wife and the *rje.blon-s*. He received innumerable splendid donations and performed great deeds for the benefit of sentient beings".

(740) On dGon.go.gsum see *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.174a line 3-5), where it is included in the neat classification of the main Tshal.pa monasteries in Byang divided by areas, and above n.648. Another interesting but later reference is found in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, where dGon.go.gsum is described as a monastery of the gTso.tsho.ba-s, who inhabited Gro.shod, on the occasion of the funerary rites of their headman Thugs.rje, the father of btsun.pa Chos.legs, performed in iron monkey 1440 (f.22b line 5-f.23a line 3: "De.nas nga lo.bzhi lon.pa spre'u'i lo nga'i pha bzang.po.de Bar.yang.gi sa.cha gNam.gyi ka.ba bya.bar/ sa.ga zla.ba'i tshes.brgyad.la cham.pa kha.shor.gyis 'das/...De.nas shid.ngos gzhi dGon.go.gsum.pa la byed", "Then, when I (Chos.legs) was four, my noble father died of complications of a cold in the monkey year (1440), on the eighth day of *sa.ga zla.ba*, at the locality called gNam.gyi ka.ba of Bar.yang...The funerary rites were actually performed by the dGon.go.gsum.pa-s").

With Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) and his grant of Tho.ling to them, a change took place in the internal situation of the sTod Tshal.pa-s, which coincided with the arrival of Shes.rab 'phel.ba as the third leader of the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s.

Their fortunes improved at the expense of the rTa.sga Tshal.pa-s. Some of the holy places and temples including gSer.gyi bya.skyibs which were occupied by the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s under the supreme authority of rTa.sga were given to Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer, the following (i.e. fourth) Pu.hrang Tshal.pa *bla.mchod* of the local kings (probably again by Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde)<sup>741</sup>. Hence, the Tshal.pa-s of Gu.ge Pu.hrang were less subordinated to rTa.sga than in the previous period, which may well be a sign of worsening relations between rTa.sga and the king of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, indicating that uninterrupted favour was accorded to the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s. Soon after, Tshal.pa fortunes declined with the advent in 1277-1280 of Gung.thang.pa sovereignty on behalf of Sa.skya.

(741) *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.148 lines 18-p.149 line 1): “De.nas sPu.rang thad.sor bzhugs.nas sems.can.gyi don dpag.tu med.pa mdzad.kin yod.par gda'/ rTa.sgang.pa'i Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyib dang/ sPu.rang na dgon.pa 'ga' yod.par dga'/ Men.Zhang.gis yon.bdag byed.pas Bla.ri.pas btab.pa'i dgon.pa Ser.spang/ mkhan.pos btab.pa'i Chos.lung/ sMan.khrod/ Mar.lung rnam la'ang grwa.pa dang/ 'bu.slob yon.bdag bsam.gyis mi.khyab.pa rnam.kyis dgon(p.149).pa dar.rgyas mdzad”, “Then, as he (Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer) stayed with the sPu.rang king, he rejoiced in performing innumerable deeds for the benefit of sentient beings. He rejoiced in having control of Gad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs of the rTa.sgang.pa-s (sic for rTa.sga.pa-s) and some monasteries of sPu.rang. In a manner that mind cannot grasp, he greatly expanded dgon.pa Ser.spang founded by Bla.ri.pa under the patronage of the Men.Zhang-s; Chos.lung founded by *mkhan.po*; sMan.khrod; Mar.lung as well as [the number of] their monks, the disciples and the sponsors”. Ser.spang, Chos.lung, sMan.khrod and Mar.lung were in the 'Brog.pa lands of Byang and thus in the rTa.sga sphere of influence. In particular, inclusion of Chos.lung is noteworthy, because Chos.lung had been donated by a Pu.hrang *jo.bo* to the second rTa.sga *gdan.sa*, Dharma bsod.nams, presumably around 1200. Ser.spang, founded by Bla.ri.pa with the patronage of the Men.Zhang-s (the rTa.sga *yon.bdag-s*) echoes Se.dpag, which is a collective term referring to the Men.Zhang clan. On Se.dpag see *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.350a lines 3-4), *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9a line 6-f.9b line 1) and above n.718 and 724. I wonder if Men.Zhang.pa patronage of Se.spang and its apparent correspondence with Se.dpag indicate that Ser.spang (lit. “golden meadow” but possibly a mistranscription for Se.dpag) was the clan temple of the Men.Zhang-s, but I have no grounds to confirm or reject such a claim. From evidence offered by *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar passim*, Mar.lung was held by Byang.chub seng.ge until his death in fire ox 1241 (ibid. f.356a lines 3-4: “dGung.snying brgyad.bcu rtsa.dgu me.mo.glang.gi lo Hor zla.ba bzhi.pa Sangs.rgyas mya.ngan las 'das.pa'i dus.chen”), which is confirmed by a song sung by his son Kun.dga' rin.chen after his passing away (ibid. f. 357a lines 1-2: “sTod Mar.lung dBu.rtse dkar.po ru/ mThon.mi'i Byang.chub seng.ge zhes/ snyan.grags dkar.po'i rgya.na che”, “The one known as mThon.mi Byang.chub seng.ge spread the greatness of his fame [by residing] at sTod Mar.lung dBu.rtse dkar.po”). Thus, direct control of gSer.gyi bya.skyibs, Chos.lung, sMan.khrod was transferred from the Tshal.pa rTa.sga.ba-s to the Tshal.pa-s of Gu.ge Pu.hrang in the period after this 1241 *terminus post quem*. This evidence broadly confirms the period of Sang.rgyas 'od.zer and the establishment of *yon.mchod* between him and the king of Pu.hrang (i.e. Grags.pa.lde, the king of united Gu.ge, who was also the sovereign of Pu.hrang). If the granting to the Pu.hrang Tshal.pa-s of temples previously under the rTa.sga.ba-s depended on the expansion of Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's domains to Pu.hrang, the above mentioned monasteries were taken over by the Tshal.pa-s of Gu.ge Pu.hrang after 1265. This is when, as said above, Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde became the ruler of unified Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

The two temples renovated by Grags.pa.lde (Tho.ling and dPal.rgyas) are both described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as built by his ancestors (p.78 lines 12-13)<sup>742</sup>. This reference to dPal.rgyas, where a temple was constructed by Srong.btsan sgam.po, is the only one found in the text. It is possible that another temple was added by Khor.re (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1), if his Khri.sde chos.skor is identified as dPal.rgyas, otherwise, since dPal.rgyas is nowhere included among the *bstan.pa.phyi.dar* temples, the ancestor of Grags.pa.lde to whom *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* attributes dPal.rgyas must be Srong.btsan sgam.po. If the latter possibility is true, Grags.pa.lde's would have been the first restoration of the temple since its establishment by Srong.btsan sgam.po in the 7th century. The foundation of dPal.rgyas, ascribed to Srong.btsan sgam.po in Ne'u pan.di.ta's *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba*, is oddly attributed to Khri.srong lde.btsan in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*<sup>743</sup>.

At a first glance, lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 lines 1-2) appears to be the king of Pu.hrang defeated by Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 lines 4-5), for they ruled during roughly the same period. Moreover, rDo.rje seng.ge is not credited with any substantial contribution to his kingdom, while his predecessors rGyal.lde and sTobs.liding.btsan and his successor bSod.nams.lde are credited in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* with major expansions of Pu.hrang (p.70 lines 16-18 and p. 71 line 5 respectively). If the reign of Grags.pa.lde, who brought Pu.hrang under Gu.ge, had been contemporary with that of rGyal.lde and sTobs.liding.btsan, to which it was probably close in time, one would be confronted with the fact that sTobs.liding.btsan both extended his borders and lost his kingdom. However, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that rDo.rje seng.ge was chosen to be Pu.hrang *jo.bo* because his brothers were kept captive by the Gung.thang.pa-s at dKar.dum (see below p.452). Hence, rDo.rje seng.ge's weak rule derived from Gung.thang sovereignty. Thus there are two possibilities.

(742) Very little is said in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* concerning Grags.pa.lde's support to religious masters of his day. The text (p.78 lines 11-12) reports that he invited an otherwise mysterious Sangs.rgyas from rGya, who gave teachings to the Gu.ge king not later than 1277, when Grags.pa.lde died. rGya normally refers to China rather than to India, although in this case such a reading is improbable. rGya also applies to the Tibetan clan of the same name anciently associated with the kings of the Yar.lung dynasty (e.g. the master rGya 'Jam.dpal gsang.ba the founder of gNas.rnying in Myang.stod during the time of Ral.pa.can), but the use of the term as a place name found in this sentence of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* rules out such a possibility. No presence of foreign Buddhist teachers in sTod is recorded since the time when Kha.che pan.chen was in Pu.hrang during the summer of 1213.

(743) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.132 lines 7-8): "Nub.phyogs klu Ma.dros.pa'i kha.gnon.du Pra.dun.rtse dPal.rgyas.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs", "In the west, he (Khri.srong lde.btsan) built Pra.dun.rtse [and] dPal.rgyas gtsug.lag.khang-s in order to [provide] protection against klu Ma.dros". One might interpret this passage as if reference is made to a single temple called Pra.dun.rtse dPal.rgyas, so that it would apply to Pra.dun.rtse exclusively, but Ne'u pan.di.ta, *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* (lHa.sa ed. p.18 lines 17-18; see also above n.403), discussing the matter in reference to Srong.btsan sgam.po, talks about two temples, Pra.dun.rtse and dPal.rgyas, which were intended to prevent Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho from overflowing. They are obviously not a single temple since the two *lha.khang-s* are sited at a great distance from one another.

The first is that rDo.rje seng.ge was the king defeated by Grags.pa.lde, who thus would have been responsible for his lack of substantial contribution to the prosperity of his kingdom. Were this the case, there would have been no reason for rDo.rje seng.ge to occupy the throne at all. Given that Grags.pa.lde died in 1277, rDo.rje seng.ge's brothers would have been free to rule since they were kept captive at dKar.dum only after Grags.pa.lde's death, as Gung.thang.pa control of dKar.dum did not start until 1277-1280.

The second is that sTobs.liding.btsan was the king defeated by Grags.pa.lde after the former's successes in Byang and his foundation of the other major temple at Kha.char. This seems to be the correct assessment since it has the advantage of being consistent with the statement in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* that rDo.rje seng.ge's rule (a *lha.btsun*) followed his brothers' captivity at the hand of the Gung.thang.pa-s.

"Having also greatly expanded his kingdom, he (Grags.pa.lde) brought Ya.rtse Chu.la.me.'bar under his control. As they (the subjugated people) bowed with reverence, they asked him to give each [of their lands] a successor (*rgyal.tshab*) from his (Grags.pa.lde's) lineage. He issued orders in accordance to these [requests]. As he took control by his might of the doors of trade (*rje.sgo*) to the east and west of his kingdom and subjugated Kya.nom, Nyi.ti, Grum.gnyis, Hrang.nam, Sang.wang, Ad.ru etc., [and] also extracted tribute from Khur.shud 'jug.khul, he became unrivalled" (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.78 line 17-p.79 line 3). Grags.pa.lde took over the main trade routes to neighbouring lands; control of trade gave him unrivalled prosperity. The kings of West Tibet who were able to control trade with their Mon.pa neighbours were those whose lands flourished to the greatest extent. Rarely after the early mNga'ris skor.gsum dynasty were the kings of Gu.ge able to control trade with the lowlands. According to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, only Grags.pa.lde and, later, rNam.rgyal.lde managed to do so (see below p.500).

Among the areas in the Mon.pa borderlands incorporated into Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's kingdom Kya.nom is the land adjoining Pu.hrang to the south, and corresponds to Kumaon; Nyi.ti is famous for the Nyi.ti.la, which leads to Garhwal; Grum.gnyis, which *sKyabs.ston Khro.'grel* (quoted in bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *sNga.rabs Bod.kyi byung.ba brjod.pa'i 'bel.gtam lung.gi snying.po* p.33-4) spells as Gru.nyi, is the pass joining Jhoshimath in upper Garhwal with Pu.ling in Gu.ge<sup>744</sup>; Hrang.nam (probably a Zhang.zhung.pa

(744) bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag, *sNga.rabs Bod.kyi byung.ba brjod.pa'i 'bel.gtam lung.gi snying.po* includes Kya.nom, Nyi.ti, Gru.gnyi among the lands composing the southern stretch of Zhang.zhung (p.34 lines 2-4: "La.dwag Zang.mkhar Gar.zha Nyung.ti sPi.ti/ Khu.nu Tshangs / Drug.nyi Nyi.ti Kyo.nam Sha.khog mGhar.yang Tshad.ro/ Ti.dkar/ Sle.mi dang/ Wom.glo Se.rib Dol.po Krug.skyes sogs"). It is evident that these lands at the border of the Tibetan plateau or in the Himalayan range are listed according to territorial contiguity, first from north to south (La.dwag (sic), Zang.mkhar (sic), Gar.zha, Nyung.ti, sPi.ti, Khu.nu, Tshangs), and then from west to east (Drug.nyi, Nyi.ti, Kyo.nam, Sha.khog, mGhar.yang, Tshad.ro, Ti.dkar, Sle.mi, Wom.glo, Se.rib, Dol.po, Krug.skyes). A section of this classification (Tshangs, Drug.nyi, Nyi.ti, Kyo.nam, Sha.khog, mGhar.yang, Tshad.ro) comprises the lands of Garhwal and Kumaon and corresponds to most of the areas to which trade routes were taken over by Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde.

name as much as Ka.nam in Khu.nu) is the area east of Rong.chung (on the northern bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, east of Shib.pe.la), north of Pi.ti and south of Rub.zhu, thus neighbouring the ancient territory of Cog.la; Ad.ru cannot be easily identified<sup>745</sup>; Sang.wang is in Byang.ngos. Regarding the name Khur.shud.'jug.khul, should Khur be corrected to the Khun of Khun.nu (a common variant of Khu.nu), since in *khyug.yig*, in which *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* was originally written, *ra* and *nga* are remarkably similar? The term 'jug stands for entrance, while *shud* standing for *shod*, i.e. lower?. Hence, does the name mean "the land, entrance to lower Khu.nu"? For reasons of contiguity of some of these territories to Kinnaur, it cannot be ruled out that the king of Gu.ge was able to impose tribute all the way to the entrance to lower Khu.nu.

Events which affected Ya.rtse and other Mon.pa areas have to be examined before discussing the campaigns of Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde in the lowlands. Scanty information is available to shed light on this rather obscure period in the Himalayan hills. According to *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, sKyo.nam (spelled as in the text) was controlled by the Ya.rtse rgyal.po, for he invited Mar.lung.pa to that territory<sup>746</sup>. The invitation was extended after the two had met when the king of Ya.rtse was on his way to invade Gung.thang during the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war<sup>747</sup>. This conflict occurred in all probability some time between 1235 and 1239<sup>748</sup>. The period of Ya.rtse.pa control of Kya.nom is confirmed by the dates of Mar.lung.pa, who died in 1241, which is, however, an obvious but imprecise *terminus ante quem* for his invitation to Kya.nom.

(745) In the same list of countries of *sKyabs.ton Khro.'grel* quoted by bsTan.'dzin rnam.dag (*sNga.rabs Bod.kyi byung.ba brjod.pa'i 'bel.gtam lung.gi snying.po* p.34 lines 2-4), a land with which I am not familiar named Tshad.ro is located between East Kumaon and West Nepal. The identity of Ad.ru and Tshad.ro is not certain.

(746) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.140a line 5-f.140b line 1): "De.nas (f.140b) Hor Ye.tshe rgyal.pos Mon.yul Sha.khog sKyo.nam du gdan.drangs nas/ chos.dbang zhus.pa'i dus.su/ Ye.tshe rgyal.pos dogs.pa skyod.pa'i glu.'di ltar zhus", "Then, since the Hor Ye.tshe (Ya.rtse) rgyal.po invited [Mar.lung.pa] to Mon.yul Sha.khog [and] sKyo.nam, at the time when he received religious empowerments, the Ye.tshe rgyal.po sang the following song to clear his doubts".

(747) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.127b line 5-f.128a line 1): "De'i dus.na (f.128a) Ye.tshe dmag Gung.thang du 'gro.ba'i lam Mar.lung la byas", "At that time, the Ye.tshe troops took the Mar.lung road on their way to Gung.thang".

(748) Some hints help to date this war approximately. They relate to the intermarriages between the Sa.skya.pa-s and the Gung.thang.pa-s. Lha.cig mdzes.ma, sister of mGon.po.lde, the Gung.thang king assassinated by the Ya.rtse.pa-s during the first war, went to marry Zangs.tsha bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan before the war (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.127b lines 2-3: "mNga'.bdag mGon.po.lde'i lcam.mo lHa.gcig mdzes.ma bya.bas/ Sa.skya.pa Zang.tshwa bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan.gyi btsun.mo mdzad", "lHa.gcig mdzes.ma, the sister of mnga'.bdag mGon.po.lde, became the wife of Sa.skya.pa Zang.tshwa bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan"; *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.94 lines 9-11: "gCen.mo lHa.gcig mdzes.ma bdag.nyid chen.po Sa.pan.gyi gcung Zangs.tsha bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan.gyi btsun.mor yod", "[mGon.po.lde's] elder sister lHa.gcig mdzes.ma married Sa.pan's younger brother Zangs.tsha bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan"). The latter was assigned, in his maturity, the task of producing descendants to the 'Khon lineage. The earliest marriage gave him his first

The date of the beginning of Ya.rtse control over Kumaon is unknown, but the inscription recording the grant of Kracalla (the Ya.rtse king Grags.pa.lde of the Tibetan sources) to the Baleswar temple documents the rule of Ya.rtse over Kumaon, or at least over the eastern part of its territory where Baleswar is located, in Saka era 1145, i.e. 1223<sup>749</sup>. Little can be gleaned from Kumaoni evidence other than a vague but significant reference that the territory was in political disarray from 1191, when Kumaon and Garhwal were overrun by Anekamalla, who came from Nepal (see above p.371 and n.591), until Nara Chand accomplished an ill-defined reunification of the territory, possibly in 1285 but more likely in 1297 on the basis of the inscriptions left by him<sup>750</sup>. The fragmentation of political power in Kumaon, exacerbated by the pressure applied on the Himalayan hills by the *rajput-s* and *brahmin-s* fleeing from the 1192 Muslim conquest of the Gangetic plain, favoured foreign intervention in this land. It is likely that the Ya.rtse.pa-s took advantage of the unsettled political condition in Kumaon to seize territories there some time before 1223<sup>751</sup>, which they still held in the 1230s. This situation of instability persisted throughout the following decades. The loss of Kya.nom by the Ya.rtse rulers is nowhere recorded in Tibetan sources. After the end of Ya.rtse.pa predominance in mNga'.ris.stod and adjoining Himalayan territories, a major local power was removed from the political scenario in West Tibet. Events favoured Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde. Another catastrophe affected the Himalayan hills in those years when Sultan Balban (ruling 1266-1278) devastated the areas to the east of the sources of the Gangga (Goetz, "The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon" p.174). Following this further destabilization, the

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son, 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa, in wood sheep 1235 when Zangs.tsha was fifty-two (b.1184). Zangs.tsha died in 1239. Probably during those five years, or slightly earlier, he also married the Gung.thang.pa princess, who was a queen junior to 'Phags.pa's mother. It follows that the first Gung.thang-Ya.rtse war, occurring soon after his marriage with Lha.gcig mdzes.ma, took place between around 1235 and before 1239.

(749) Atkinson, *Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces* (p.516); Goetz, "The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon" (p.174); Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" (p.90).

(750) See Goetz, "The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon" (p.175) and Appendix (p.180), where Nara Chand's inscriptions at Chanayagaon, dating to 1297 and 1321, are quoted, as well as that at Ganganaou, the reading of whose date as 1285 is hypothetical.

(751) A telling sign of the unsettled political conditions in Kumaon during this period, in which people from the plain, adventurers as well as *brahmin-s* and *rajput-s* displaced from their lands, put pressure on the Himalayan districts, is found in a passage of *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* relating the presence of mercenaries in the army that the Ya.rtse rgyal.po led to invade Gung.thang during the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war. A minister by the name Gli Thi.mur is mentioned (ibid. f.135b line 3), indicating that foreigners were enrolled in the Ya.rtse army. The war occurred in the period when Ya.rtse held sway over Kumaon, bringing it into closer contact with the Indian plains, from where Muslim mercenaries could be recruited.

entire Himalayan range from Garhwal to Kumaon was left in disarray and was vulnerable to invasion from the northern border.

It is likely that Gu.ge control over the trade routes of the Himalayan range began after Grags.pa.lde reunited Gu.ge and Pu.hrang (see p.441), extending his dominions as far as the passes leading to India. Control of Pu.hrang gave him access to the lowlands to the south. Hence, his conquests fell in the years after Ya.rtse, defeated in the second Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war<sup>752</sup>, a military and human disaster for the former, lost its hegemony in sTod and before Gung.thang, emboldened by Sa.skya.pa support, took control of sTod between 1277 and 1280. This scenario made the situation ripe for Gu.ge Pu.hrang under Grags.pa.lde to extend its control to the limits of the Tibetan world. Taking advantage of the power vacuum, he overcame enfeebled Ya.rtse and other Mon.pa areas of great commercial importance.

The Gu.ge advance into the lowlands occurred during the reign of A.sog.lde, the Ya.rtse king who signed two inscriptions at Bodhgaya in 1255 and 1278 (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.91-92)<sup>753</sup>. The same king is credited by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* with major successes in extending his dominions. This is contradictory because the years to which A.sog.lde's inscriptions date encompass Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's reign, indicating therefore that he was the king who suffered the conquest of his kingdom by a king of Gu.ge, with which Ya.rtse had historical links. He had also to witness Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's

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(752) A few remarks have to be added on the date of this event. The second Ya.rtse-Gung.thang conflict was engendered by the increased power of Gung.thang, following the marriage of the Gung.thang king bTsun.pa.lde with bSod.nams.'bum, his cousin from Sa.skya born to Zangs.tsha bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan and the Gung.thang princess lHa.gcig mdzes.ma (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.94 lines 11-13: "De'i sras.mo tsha.bo bTsun.pa.lde'i khab.tu gnyen.brtsegs te/ Sa.skyar phyag.rten btang zhing phrin.las bcol.nas dmag.khyer chen.pos Ye.tsho'i phyogs.la mi.sha blan phyir mi mang.du bsad", "Their daughter (bSod.nams.'bum) married the nephew bTsun.pa.lde. Bonds of matrimonial relation were established. As a gift was sent to Sa.skya, whose support was sought, a large army was dispatched to take revenge in the land of Ye.tsho (sic for Ya.rtse). Consequently, many people were killed"). No date is anywhere given for the marriage and the subsequent war. However, both of them preceded, in quick succession, the birth of their son 'Bum.lde.mgon in water ox 1253. No indication is available in the sources concerning the identity of the Ya.rtse ruler, during whose reign the second Ya.rtse-Gung.thang conflict took place. On a merely conjectural basis, the second Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war might still have occurred during the reign of the Ya.rtse king Grags.pa.lde, for the first extant date of A.sog.lde, his successor on the Ya.rtse throne, is 1255 (see the inscription of A.sog.lde/Asokacalla at Bodh Gaya of 1255 in *Indian Epigraphy* XII p.39). A.sog.lde, called A.seng.lde in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, is attributed by this text with the conquest of many kingdoms (p.72 lines 3-4). It cannot be ruled out that the bloodshed, stressed in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs*, which the war caused in Ya.rtse, brought Grags.pa.lde's reign to an end and that the 1255 inscription of Bodhgaya may have been written soon after A.sog.lde's succession.

(753) The account in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* that subjugated peoples requested Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde to appoint his own progeny to rule in their own lands conquered by him has an indisputable air of eulogy. In the case of Ya.rtse at least, this notion is untenable since the Malla dynasty of Ya.rtse began after the reign of A.sog.lde, the last king of the Calla lineage.

seizure of most of the passes leading to Mon.yul, Kumaon included, a territory previously held by Ya.rtse. In this light, the statement of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that A.sog.lde expanded his dominions may have to be interpreted as meaning that he turned his attention towards the lowlands since Ya.rtse's supremacy on the plateau was definitely over.

The enmity between Ya.rtse and the other kingdoms of sTod, somewhat surprising since only a few decades before in the early 13th century Gu.ge lHos.stod, to whose line Grags.pa.lde belonged, Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse jointly supported the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, may have been caused by the bold and assertive policy Ya.rtse developed in the following decades.

Gu.ge control over the entrance to such a large stretch of Mon.pa lands was short-lived since Gu.ge soon after passed under the control of the Sa.skya-Gung.thang alliance (see above p.391). The fact that Gu.ge's domination of the lowlands did not last long is a possible explanation for the silence in the Kumaoni documents concerning this episode of foreign intrusion into their land.

Grags.pa.lde's death occurred in fire ox 1277, the year in which Gung.thang began to organize its network of castles to control the lands it ruled in mNga'.ris on behalf of Sa.skya, including Gu.ge Pu.hrang (see above n.633 and 679). The two events may have been purely coincidental but the passage of Gu.ge under the Sa.skya.pa alliance and the almost contemporary death of its king, who defeated the Byang.ngos king Chos.rgyal grags.pa, helped by Sa.skya to recover his throne, may betray a deeper truth.

*A gap of approximately one hundred years in the genealogy of Gu.ge (1277-1372)*  
(*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.79)

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.79 line 18-p.80 line 1) has a gap of about a hundred years in the lineage of Gu.ge between Grags.pa.lde and rNam.rgyal.lde, the next Gu.ge king recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, flatly described in the source as father and son, but in fact separated by almost a century. This period more or less corresponds to the Sa.skya.pa rule of Gu.ge. The length of this chronological gap is calculated on the basis of the date of Grags.pa.lde's death (1277) and that of rNam.rgyal.lde's birth (1372). Were *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* mistaken statement that Grags.pa.lde patronized the sixth 'Bri.gung *dbon.rabs* Grags.pa bsod.nams true, while, in fact, he sponsored the fourth 'Bri.gung *dbon.rabs*, gCung rin.po.che, this would still not make Grags.pa.lde's reign one *rab.byung* later. Hence this statement does not invalidate the assessment of the fire ox year of Grags.pa.lde's death as 1277.

rNam.rgyal.lde's birth was predicted by Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po, the brother of jo.bo Ras.chen (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.80 lines 7-11)<sup>754</sup>, who is documented by *Yar.lung Jo.bo*

(754) Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po was the fifth of the six offspring born to the Mar.yul king gNyan.po. He is laconically called *lha.btsun chen.po* in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med*



*chos.'byung* (completed in fire dragon 1376; see below n.773), to have been the Mar.yul king contemporary with the time of writing of the latter source<sup>755</sup>. This is confirmed by a passage in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* stating that jo.bo Ras.chen sent his daughter in marriage to mChog.grub.lde, the king of Gung.thang ruling in the years when *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* was written<sup>756</sup>. This combined evidence helps to fix the year of birth of rNam.rgyal.lde, given as a water rat year, to 1372<sup>757</sup>.

gter p.339 lines 17-p.340 line 1). According to the same text, mnga'.bdag gNyan.po's children were: jo.bo Ras.chen, mnga'.bdag bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan, Jo Kham.log.ge, khri rGyal.dpal.'bum, lha.btsun chen.po and Jo Bu.mo (a daughter). bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan succeeded his elder brother jo.bo Ras.chen on the Mar.yul throne (ibid. p.340 lines 7-8), while it is not made clear which territory rGyal.dpal.'bum ruled, given that he is referred to as *khri*, i.e. "enthroned king".

(755) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.70 lines 9-11): "sKu.mched.gsum.gyi che.ba dPal.gyi.mgon.gyis Mang.yul bzung ces byung.bas/ da.lta'i jo.bo Ras.chen khu.dbon.gyi bar.du brgyud", "As it happened that the eldest of the three brothers, dPal.gyi.mgon, ruled Mang.yul (sic), its lineage [continued] until the present jo.bo Ras.chen, the uncle and nephew (*khu.dbon*)". Ngag.dbang bsod.nams rgyal.mtshan, the author of *Kho.char dkar.chag*, was acquainted with the passage of *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* concerning jo.bo Ras.chen, for he uses the same wording employed by Shakya Rin.chen.sde, author of the *chos.'byung*, when the former states that dPal.gyi.mgon's lineage, ruling in Mar.yul, continued until jo.bo Ras.chen (f.4a = p.39 lines 8-9: "Sras che.ba dPal.gyi mgon.pos Mang.yul bzung/ de.nas jo.bo Ras.chen bar.du brgyud"). *gDubg.rabs zam.'phreng*, which lists the names of jo.bo Ras.chen's successors, shows that the lineage was not interrupted after jo.bo Ras.chen. That *Kho.char dkar.chag*, composed in iron dragon 1880, ends its outline of the dynasty with jo.bo Ras.chen is proof that its information was derived from Rin.chen.sde's work.

(756) bDag.mo Ras.chen, the daughter of jo.bo Ras.chen, was disowned by mChog.grub.lde for a reason recurring throughout the history of Tibetan royal families: that of failing to bear a successor to the throne (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.118 lines 12-15: "Mi.yi dbang.po mChog.grub.lde.yi btsun.mor Mar.yul nas mnga'.bdag Ras.chen.gyi sras.mo bdag.mo Ras.chen du grags.pa blangs kyang sras med.pas rang.yul.du ldog.par mdzad", "bDag.mo Ras.chen, the daughter of mnga'.bdag Ras.chen from Mar.yul, was given in marriage to mi.dbang.po mChog.grub.lde. She did not bear any issue, therefore she was sent back to her own country"). For the dating of mChog.grub.lde's reign (1375-1390), which is useful to identify the period during which mnga'.bdag jo.bo Ras.chen ruled in Mar.yul and the Guge king rNam.rgyal.lde was born, see below in the present text (p.478 and p.486).

(757) The way the section on rNam.rgyal.lde is introduced in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.79 line 18-p.80 line 2) seems a little erratic and marred by a major doubt. Ngag.dbang grags.pa first introduces rNam.rgyal.lde as the alleged son of Grags.pa.lde, then another son without giving his name and subsequently assesses their two different mothers. He next identifies this son as dPal.'bar.lde, rNam.rgyal.lde's step brother, adding that he died when he was thirteen. He then abruptly reintroduces rNam.rgyal.lde saying: "mnga'.bdag khri rNam.rgyal.lde 'khrugs.pa'i sras" ("the son, who was born, was rNam.rgyal.lde"), which looks like an incomplete sentence and seems rather out of context, as though he had pieced together two accounts from different sources without being able to reconcile their statements.

*Signs of the expansion of Gung.thang power over Pu.hrang  
in the late 13th century (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.70-71)*

In order not to break the genealogical sequence of the Pu.hrang kings, the royal generation after sTobs.liding.btsan has to be discussed here, despite having been shortly introduced above (see p.445). The members of the Pu.hrang royal family, Ar.lde and Chos.btsan.lde, brothers of lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge, who fathered bSod.nams.lde, resided at dKar.dum mkhar.so (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 line 19-p.71 line 1)<sup>758</sup>. Given that the period of bSod.nams.lde's reign can be assessed (see below p.453), Ar.lde and Chos.btsan.lde, who did not rule, were at dKar.dum in the later part of the 13th century, when the castle was held by Gung.thang. The time frame of rDo.rje seng.ge's occupation of the throne of Pu.hrang approaches and most probably includes the fatal years 1277-1280, during which Gu.ge Pu.hrang passed under the sway of Gung.thang.

The presence of Ar.lde and Chos.btsan.lde at dKar.dum does not seem to have been spontaneous since this was the castle from where Gung.thang exercised its control over Gu.ge and Pu.hrang (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* manuscript f.8a lines 8-9, lHa.sa ed. p.108 lines 8-9).

The text states that since Ar.lde and Chos.btsan.lde resided at dKar.dum, lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge was enthroned (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 lines 1-2). This shows that Gung.thang influenced the succession to the Pu.hrang throne in favour of rDo.rje seng.ge, who, although a monk, had to fill the vacancy on the Pu.hrang throne and supplement the secular line in accordance with the ancient laws. His being described as *gdung.rgyud* ("perpetuator of the lineage") in the passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* would otherwise seem somewhat gratuitous. In conclusion, it appears that rDo.rje seng.ge's lack of achievement was the consequence of Gung.thang.pa presence in Pu.hrang.

(758) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10b lines 6-7) enumerates them in a way similar of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*: "De'i sras Ar.lde/ Chos.btsan.lde/ lha.btsun dang gsum/ lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge'i sras...", "His (sTobs.btsan.lde's) sons were Ar.lde, Chos.btsan.lde and lha.btsun, these three. lHa.btsun rDorje seng.ge's son...". *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b = p.55 lines 13-14) is more laconic as it only lists the ruling members of the Pu.hrang royal family: "De.la sras.gsum byung.bas chung.ba lha.btsun Do.rje seng.ge...", "Of his (sTobs.btsan.lde's) three sons the youngest was lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge".

# The last rulers of Pu.hrang and the lineage of Ya.rtse

*bSod.nams.lde, king of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.71)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 lines 3-6) says that the career of bSod.nams.lde was marked by four major events: his coronation as king of Pu.hrang; his conquest of Gon.go.phra; his major renovation of all the ancestral *gtsug.lag.khang-s* at Kha.char; and his appointment to the throne of Ya.rtse.

According to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 3), bSod.nams.lde was born at Gro.spang ("Gro meadow"). This place is unknown to me, but must be located in Gro.shod, the nomadic area to the east of Ti.se and the lakes. The term *spang* increases the likelihood of its being located in Gro.shod (Gro.shod.spang), a proverbial grassland. In all probability, the assessment of his birth place is mistaken. In fact, the Gung.thang king bSod.nams.lde is recorded in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (manuscript f.11b lines 1-2, lHa.sa ed. p.117-118) to have been born in Gro.spang in 1371. He was thus a later monarch than the bSod.nams.lde of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse. The fact that Gung.thang bSod.nams.lde was the son of a Men.Zhang queen, the major clan of Byang, of which Gro.shod is part, shows that Ngag.dbang grags.pa consulted local documents later used later by Kah.thog rig.'dzin Tshe.dbang nor.bu, and confused the two bSod.nams.lde-s.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 6) says that when he was seventy, bSod.nams.lde, king of Pu.hrang, also became king of Ya.rtse, although the text does not provide any detailed description of the circumstances surrounding this event. The dates of his life can roughly be assessed from this remark, taking into consideration the extant documents concerning his rule in Ya.rtse (on them see Petech "Ya-ts'e Guge Purang: A New Study" p.95-96). Three were issued by him, one in 1336 and two more in 1337, another being a letter sent to him by Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub (1290-1364) in 1339 (Bu.ston rin.po.che, *gSung.'bum* vol.La (26) f.90b line 7-f.96a line 4= p.322-333). Given that bSod.nams.lde was called to the Ya.rtse throne when he was seventy and that he started ruling in Ya.rtse between 1328 (Adityamalla was still the king of Ya.rtse in that year, during which he invaded Patan) (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.95; Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal 750-1480* p.117, Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal 750-1480* p.95), and 1336 (the issuing of his first extant document in Ya.rtse)<sup>759</sup>, he was born between 1259 and 1267.

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(759) Ka.mal.lde, the son of A.dznya.mal/Adityamalla and the three sons of the latter's brother A.khyi.mal

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 4) states that bSod.nams.lde ascended the Pu.hrang throne in his youth. The beginning of his reign must have fallen soon after Gung.thang extended its supremacy to Pu.hrang. In this light, bSod.nams.lde's leaning towards the Sa.skya.pa-s, which is documented in various sources, finds an explanation in the political situation of his day, although he did not neglect the other great religious traditions in his territory, such as those of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and gDan.sa.thel.pa-s and Tshal Gung.thang.pa-s (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 lines 7-9).

In particular, he was a supporter and disciple of Bu.ston Rin.chen.sgrub, as is well known from a few sources including *Kho.char dkar.chag*, which records that he was a follower not only of the great Zhwa.lu abbot but also of Dol.po.pa<sup>760</sup>.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* stresses that bSod.nams.lde was especially devoted to Bu.ston rin.po.che, and adds the episode in which bSod.nams.lde ordered a copy of *bKa'.gyur* and *bsTan'.gyur*, which was brought to him in Pu.hrang (p.71 lines 9-10)<sup>761</sup>. The edition of the *bKa'.gyur* and *bsTan'.gyur* was completed and installed in Zhwa.lu by Bu.ston rin.po.che in wood pig 1335 (Bu.ston rin.po.che, *bsTang'.gyur dkar.chag* f.119b; *Bu.ston rin.po.che rnam.thar* f.119a-120a in Ruegg, *The Life of Bu.ston.rin.po.che* p.33-34; Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* p.101). bSod.nams.lde had his copy made and delivered at that time or soon after. Given the year in which it was completed, it is likely that bSod.nams.lde received it after he had become the king of Ya.rtse.

Concerning his patronage of the religious monuments in his kingdom, bSod.nams.lde renovated most of the Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang-s built by his ancestors

(mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.72 lines 4-5 and the Dullu inscription: see Tucci, *Preliminary Report* p.48 and p.50), evidently did not rule as too few years elapsed between A.dznya.mal's military campaign against Patan and the first dated document of bSod.nams.lde. Since almost every Tibetan *lo.rgyus* and *chos'.byung* of later times says that the lineage of Ya.rtse was interrupted and then restored from Pu.hrang by bSod.nams.lde, the fate of these four royal princes of Ya.rtse must have been tragic.

(760) Apart from the letter written to bSod.nams.lde by the great Zhwa.lu abbot, the *bla.ma*-patron relationship between the two is recorded by *Bu.ston rin.po.che rnam.thar* (f.20b and f.23a in Ruegg, *The Life of Bu.ston rin.po.che* p.114 and p.121). *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.16b-17a = p.55 lines 14-16) says: "Yongs.kyi mkhas.pa chen.po Bo.Dol rnam.gnyis la sogs.pa dBus.gTsang.gi dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen(f.17a).por bsnyen.bkur", "He revered the universal masters Bo.Dol, these two, [and] the *dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen-s* of dBus.gTsang". "Bo.Dol rnam.gnyis" has to be corrected to "Bu.Dol rnam.gnyis", which stands for Bu.ston Rin.chen.sgrub (1290-1364) and Dol.po.pa Shes.rab rgyal.mtshan (1292-1361/2), the two supreme masters of *Kalacakra* during bSod.nams.lde's time.

(761) *Kho.char dkar.chag* also credits him with ordering a copy of the *bKa'.gyur* and *bsTan'.gyur* compiled by Bu.ston rin.po.che and the *Sa.skya gong.ma lnga bka'.bum*, which proves his sectarian affiliation (f.17a = p.55 line 17-p.56 line 1): "lHag.par rGyal.ba'i bKa'.gyur rin.po.che dang bsTan'.gyur rin.po.che gTsang phyogs.su bzhengs shing/ 'dir spyen.drangs (p.56) shing bzhugs.su gsol/ Sa.skya rje.btsun gong.ma lnga'i bka'.bum...", "He (bSod.nams.lde) installed [here (at Kha.char)] the *bKa'.gyur rin.po.che* and *bsTan'.gyur rin.po.che*, which had been made in gTsang and brought there as well as the *bka'.bum* of the Sa.skya rje.btsun gong.ma lnga..."

(*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 lines 5-6). This king undertook a major restoration campaign concentrated on both the Yid.bzhin lhun.gyi grub.pa and the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa temples, and also added further temples. *Kho.char dkar.chag* records this renovation in detail<sup>762</sup>, but does not give the name of the *lha.khang* built by bSod.nams.lde at Kha.char to house the *bKa'gyur* and *bsTan.gyur* prepared by Bu.ston rin.po.che which *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* calls mDo.rGyud lha.khang<sup>763</sup>. mDo.rGyud lha.khang was therefore not built before 1335. Kha.char became Sa.skya.pa during the reign of bSod.nams.lde, a staunch supporter of this sect, when he renovated its old temples and added new ones.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 5) says that bSod.nams.lde subjugated Gon.go.phra<sup>764</sup>. This is reference to a hitherto unknown military campaign by this Pu.hrang king, normally

(762) The Kha.char temples belonging to this phase are introduced in *Kho.char dkar.chag* immediately after the enumeration of bSod.nams.lde's other major religious activities. bSod.nams.lde built lha.khang Ka.brgya.ma Yid.bzhin lhun.grub attached to the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa'i lha.khang complex and various other chapels, some of which no longer exist. *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.17a-b = p.56 lines 3-10) reads: "gZhan.yang gtsug.lag.khang 'di'i 'dabs.su lha.khang ka.brgya ma Yid.bzhin lhun.grub zhu.bas/ lho.ngos.su Phyogs.bcu'i Sangs.rgyas.kyi lha.khang/ nub.ngos.su Byams.khang/ byang.ngos.su Sangs.rgyas rab.bdun lha.khang/ mgon.khang bDud.dpung zil.gnon/ steng.du bKa'gyur lha.khang ka.drug.ma'i rten.gtso rje.btsun.ma Seng.ldeng nags.kyi sGrol.ma sku.rgyu dzekshim.las grub.pa ngo.mtshar byin.rlabs che zhing gzi.'od.'bar.ba/ phyi.nang Kun.tu chos.sku'i (f.17b) mchod.rten ring.bsrel.gyis bkad.ba rtsam bcas zhugs.pa lags", "Furthermore, in the premises of this *gtsug.lag.khang* (Kha.char bKra.shis brtsegs.pa) he added the lha.khang Ka.brgya.ma Yid.bzhin lhun.grub (lha.khang Ka.brgya.ma Yid.bzhin lhun.grub, i.e. "the one hundred pillared lha.khang Yid.bzhin lhun.grub"), on [its] south side the Phyogs.bcu'i Sangs.rgyas lha.khang ("temple of the Buddha-s of the Ten Directions"), on [its] west side the Byams.khang, on [its] north side the Sangs.rgyas rab.bdun lha.khang and the mgon.khang bDud.dpung zil.gnon, upstairs (i.e. above the lha.khang Ka.brgya.ma) the image of rje.btsun.ma Seng.ldeng nags.kyi sGrol.ma made of *dzekshim* (sic for *rdzi.khyim*) as the main statue of the bKa'gyur lha.khang as well as Kun.tu chos.sku mchod.rten-s filled with relics which stood inside and outside". Upstairs, the bKa'gyur lha.khang was manifestly sponsored by bSod.nams.lde to house the *bKa'gyur* he had ordered in gTsang together with a *bsTan.gyur* and other collections of texts (ibid. f.17a = p.55 line 17-p.56 line 1). That a bKa'gyur lha.khang stood at Kha.char during the time of bSod.nams.lde confirms that these temples were part of bSod.nams.lde's renovation quoted in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*.

(763) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.11a lines 1-3): "Bu.ston rin.po.che dang kun.mkhyen sogs dBus.gTsang.gi dge.ba'i bshes.gnyen rnam.sla 'bul.skyel yang.yang mdzad/ bKa'gyur ro.cog gTsang.du bzhengs.nas spyen.drangs/ Kha.char 'd'nyid.du dPal mDo.rGyud lha.khang.du grags.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang bzhengs.pa der bzhugs.so gsol", "He (bSod.nams.lde) repeatedly made offerings to Bu.ston rin.po.che and *kun.mkhyen* (Dol.po.pa?), to the masters of dBus.gTsang. He brought [to sTod] the complete set of the *bKa'gyur* made in gTsang [by Bu.ston rin.po.che]. He built a *gtsug.lag.khang* at Kha.char known as mDo.rGyud lha.khang. Here he installed it". This chapel is the *lha.khang* housing the *bKa'gyur* and *bsTan.gyur*, located upstairs in the bKra.shis brtsegs.pa complex according to *Kho.char dkar.chag*.

(764) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.10b line 6-f.11a line 3) treats bSod.nams.lde, considered to have been the son of rDo.rje seng.ge, in the same way as in *Kho.char dkar.chag* and *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. Similarly to *Kho.char dkar.chag*, no mention is made of his conquest of Gon.go.phra, which shows that Ngag.dbang grags.pa obtained this information from a document not used by either *Kha.char dkar.chag*.

associated, at least by Tibetan sources, with religious rather than military undertakings<sup>765</sup>. Gon.go.phra is Gangotri, the famous Hindu holy place in Garhwal<sup>766</sup>. It is unlikely that bSod.nams.lde's expedition was concentrated on this sacred site rather than on more politically important targets in Garhwal. I take the reference to Gangotri in a broad sense, indicating a wider territory rather than a single holy place.

A few geographical considerations follow. If a Pu.hrang king wished to attempt a conquest of lands in Garhwal, he had to go either through Kumaon or Gu.ge lHo.smad, which gives access to the Gangotri region from the north. If bSod.nams.lde conquered no part of Garhwal other than the area in which Gangotri is located from Gu.ge lHo.smad, he must also have held areas of Gu.ge adjoining Pu.hrang.stod.

It is a pity that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says nothing concerning almost a century (1277-1372) of Gu.ge history, for one cannot know whether bSod.nams.lde, who ruled in Pu.hrang during the period in which the Gu.ge royal line is not recorded in the sources, controlled territories in Gu.ge. I am inclined to dismiss this hypothesis for the simple reason that bSod.nams.lde would have been credited with this achievement in the section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* dedicated to the Pu.hrang kings no less than for his campaign against Gangotri. I am in favour of crediting bSod.nams.lde with a conquest which included areas of Garhwal, symbolised by Gangotri, by way of Kumaon.

No better estimate of the period in which bSod.nams.lde conquered lands in Garhwal can be attempted than saying that it followed the death of the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde in 1277, who also controlled Pu.hrang, and preceded the renovation of the Kha.char temples. Documents from the southern Himalayas do not record his campaign. One possibility is that the repeated revolts in the area of Uttarakhand east of the Ganga sources in the early years of the 14th century inaugurated a new phase of chaos in Garhwal<sup>767</sup>. This was the most favourable period during the reign of bSod.nams.lde to intervene in Garhwal and undertake the conquest of Gon.go.phra.

It cannot be ruled out that the invitation extended to bSod.nams.lde to rule Ya.rtse was not a spontaneous Ya.rtse.pa decision but was rather forced on them. The Sa.skya.pa-s

(765) Nepali documents record an incursion of Ya.rtse into the Kathmandu Valley in 1334, which Petech says may have taken place during the reign of bSod.nams.lde in Ya.rtse (*Mediaeval History of Nepal 750-1482* p.117-118; *Mediaeval History of Nepal 750-1480* p.113-114). This is quite probable, but by no means certain.

(766) Gon.go.phra, which bSod.nams.lde is said to have conquered (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 line 5), is not to be confused with dGon.go.gsum in lower Byang.thang. Difference in the names apart, a possible intrusion of Pu.hrang into the latter land has to be ruled out, for it would be odd for bSod.nams.lde to have made a single monastery, located in a territory whose name (Byang) is well known (and would presumably have been used in this passage), the object of a military campaign.

(767) Goetz ("The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and the Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon" p.176) says that a period of political instability affected the hill territories east of the Ganga, following A'la-ud-din's conquests and oppression and repeated revolts in Katehir, which occurred during the time of bSod.nams.lde.

may have extended their control to Ya.rtse by means of bSod.nams.lde, as they were already dominant in Gu.ge Pu.hrang. There are a few hints of a long term effort by the Sa.skya.pa-s to exercise their influence on Ya.rtse, much as they did in other lands of sTod. After the 'Bri.gung *gling.log* of 1290, the first tentative intervention in Ya.rtse was an attempt to overthrow Anandamalla, the king of Ya.rtse who helped to rebuild 'Bri.gung (see the reference to the 1299 inscription near Dullu mentioning Ajitamalla, Anandamalla's unsuccessful rival for the throne, in Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.94). Anandamalla's son Ripumalla reigned until at least 1314<sup>768</sup>. The latter's son Sangramamalla either had a very short reign or never ruled at all, and Ajitamalla is found reigning after him. Ajitamalla's connection with Sa.skya's subversive activity is the fact that he was a *lha.btsun* at Sa.skya before becoming the king of Ya.rtse<sup>769</sup>. Was he sent in exile to Sa.skya after his failed attempt to overthrow Anandamalla and his 'Bri.gung.pa allies? Was he later crowned in Ya.rtse by means of Sa.skya.pa intervention? In any case he ruled until 1328 (Petech *ibid.* p.95). Kalyanamalla and Pratapamalla may have succeeded him, but, if the latter two ever ruled, theirs were very short reigns, for bSod.nams.lde, well known to have been loyal to Sa.skya, is found on the Ya.rtse throne not later than 1336. It may be that, with Kalyanamalla or Pratapamalla, Sa.skya lost its control of the local situation, which was restored with the help of bSod.nams.lde. The reign of bSod.nams.lde in Ya.rtse was perforce short-lived, given that he was seventy when he ascended its throne (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.71 line 6). This can also be deduced by collating the dates of the previously mentioned documents (1336, 1337, 1339), after which no others ascribed to him are

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(768) *Lo.pan bka'thang* (p.408 lines 6-7): "Chu.glang Ya.tse rgyal.po.yis/ lHa.sar gser.thog bkal", "The king of Ya.rtse endowed lHa.sa (Jo.khang) with a *gser.thog* ("golden canopy") in water ox (1313)". From other sources, one gleans that the king of Ya.rtse responsible for the donation was Re'u.mal (*Deb.ther dmar.po* p.44 lines 3-5: "A.nan.gyi bu Re'u.smal.gyis...lHa.sa gser.thog phul", A.nan[.mal]'s son Re'u.mal...donated a *gser.thog* in lHa.sa"). His reign fell in the years around 1313 (Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu.ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.93-94).

(769) The case of A.dznya.mal (Ajitamalla) (dates in his reign are 1321, 1324 and 1328: see Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.95-96) who was in his early years a *lha.btsun* at Sa.skya before he was given the throne of Ya.rtse, is significant (see, e.g., *Deb.ther dmar.po* p.44 lines 5-7: "'Dzi.dar.smal.gyi bu A.byid.smal.gyis gser.dkar bcu.gcig.la sGrol.ma'i sku bzhengs/ rgyal.sa ma.thob gong.du Sa.skyar lha.btsun byas", "'Dzi.dar.smal's son A.byid.smal made a statue of sGrol.ma with eleven gold ingots. Before he could take hold of the [Ya.rtse] throne, he was a *lha.btsun* at Sa.skya"; *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* p.436 lines 7-9: "Ji.thar.smal.gyi bu A.'dzid.smal.gyis Sa.skyar lha.btsun byas/ phyis rgyal.sa byas shing gdung.rabs gnyis.nas Ya.tse'i rgyal.rgyud chad", "Ji.thar.smal's son A.'dzid.smal was a *lha.btsun* at Sa.skya. Later, he ascended the throne and after two generations the royal line of Ya.rtse came to an end"). His example makes it possible that princes of that period were educated at Sa.skya in some sort of compulsory hospitality to be future puppets of Sa.skya in their native lands once their right to rule had been duely backed. This system was not always successful, the instance of ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan, who received education at Sa.skya, is exemplary for the degree of its failure to secure a loyal ally to the Sa.skya.pa-s. The case of Pu.hrang lha.btsun rDo.rje seng.ge's brothers, whose hospitality at dKar.dum does not have the air of an act of free-will, was somewhat different because they were never granted the possibility to rule in their land.

found. The line of the Pu.hrang.pa rulers of Ya.rtse, reestablished by him, was able to retain control of Ya.rtse for several decades.

*The succession to bSod.nams.lde (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.71-72)*

The succession to bSod.nams.lde on the thrones of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse is not explicitly treated in either *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* or *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.71 line 13-p.72 line 1) reads: "He (bSod.nams.lde) had five sons. [Two of them] were dPal.mgon.lde and Kyir.ti.mel. dPal.mgon.lde ruled in Pu.hrang. He made two sets of 'Bum in gold, a *mDo.mang* in gold and silver as well as many receptacles of body, speech and mind. He also made many offerings in dBus.gTsang. His son was gNya'.khri.lde. He ruled both Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse [and since he] died in his youth, his kinsman (*gdung.mched*) Ki.ti.mal occupied the empty throne by ruling in Ya.rtse. In particular, he invited many *pan.di.ta*-s from East and West India and made many donations to rDo.rje.gdan. On [the death of] the [gNya'.khri.lde's] son rGod.lam.lde, the [Pu.hrang] lineage came to an end"<sup>770</sup>.

Hence, dPal.mgon.lde succeeded bSod.nams.lde in Pu.hrang, but did not rule in Ya.rtse. dPal.mgon.lde's son gNya'.khri.lde succeeded his father in Pu.hrang and his grandfather in Ya.rtse in circumstances that are not recorded. He was the only king of that period other than bSod.nams.lde who held both the Ya.rtse and Pu.hrang thrones. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that his reign was short lived, and this is confirmed by the fact that he is not mentioned as a ruler of Ya.rtse either in Tibetan sources (except for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*) or in Jumli documents (e.g. the Dullu inscription: see Tucci *Preliminary Report* p.46-51). Continuity on the Ya.rtse throne was assured by

(770) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.11a lines 3-5) has a similar appraisal, although with some difference in the number of bSod.nams.lde's sons and in the name of a successor of his: "De.la sras dPal.mgon.lde dang Kirti.mal gnyis/ dang.po'i sras Manju.shri ste Pu.rangs dang Ya.rtse gnyis.ka.la mnga'.mdzad kyang mi.ring.bar gshegs/ Kirti.mal.gyis Ya.rtse la mnga'.mdzad/ 'di.yang chos.ltan.gyi mdzad.pa rgya.che/ sras.kyi ring.la Pu.rangs su gdung.rgyud chad", "His (bSod.nams.lde's) sons were dPal.mgon.lde and Kirti.mal, these two. Manju.shri, the son of the former, ruled both Pu.rangs and Ya.rtse, but died not long after [ascending the throne]. Kirti.mal ruled in Ya.rtse. His deeds in favour of religion were also especially great. During the time of [Manju.shri's] son, the [royal] line in Pu.rangs came to an end". The royal generations after bSod.nams.lde are missing in *Kho.char dkar.chag*. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* says that bSod.nams.lde had two sons, who correspond to those named by Ngag.dbang grags.pa. They were dPal.mgon.lde and Kirti.mal, the latter being a better spelling than that found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The throne occupied by dPal.mgon.lde is not indicated in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*. His son is called Manju.shri in the same text. He corresponds to gNya'.khri.lde of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. In fact, Manju.shri is recorded to have ruled both Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse and to have died young, as is gNya'.khri.lde in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* confirms the statement in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that Kirti.mal filled the vacancy on the Ya.rtse throne and that, with gNya'.khri.lde/Manju.shri's son rGod.lam.lde, whose name is not recorded in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*, the lineage of Pu.hrang came to an end.



Ki.ti.mal, his kinsman (*gdung mched*: he was in fact gNya'.khri.lde's uncle) who ruled in Ya.rtse only<sup>771</sup>. All these events took place between not later than 1336 and 1354, the latter being the date of the earliest extant document of Ki.ti.mal/Prithivimalla (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.97).

rGod.lam.lde, the son of gNya'.khri.lde, succeeded his father in Pu.hrang, and with him the Pu.hrang lineage came to an end. Several reasons favour the interpretation that rGod.lam.lde was gNya'.khri.lde's son and thus the last heir apparent to the Pu.hrang throne. rGod.lam.lde is not included in the line of the kings of Ya.rtse for, after Prithivimalla, the last king of Ya.rtse of this period, one Shriman Abhayamalla, is mentioned in a Jumli document dating to 1377 as his successor, but without a royal title (Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.98 and n.52). Another reason is contextual, for in the section in which rGod.lam.lde is included by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not deal with the Ya.rtse lineage, but rather with that of Pu.hrang. Furthermore, if rGod.lam.lde did not belong to the Pu.hrang royal family, no successor to the Pu.hrang throne after gNya'.khri.lde would have been recorded in this section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Again, the fact that Ki.ti.mal filled the vacancy on the Ya.rtse throne and not on that of Pu.hrang means that rGod.lam.lde was the heir apparent in Pu.hrang.

A few further remarks can be made about this confused genealogical record. The peculiar succession to bSod.nams.lde (followed on the Pu.hrang throne by his son dPal.mgon.lde and in Ya.rtse by the latter's son gNya'.khri.lde) may indicate predominance of Pu.hrang and a subordinate status of Ya.rtse, for the senior heir apparent (dPal.mgon.lde) ruled in Pu.hrang while the junior (his son gNya'.khri.lde) reigned in Ya.rtse before ascending the Pu.hrang throne.

Since bSod.nams.lde was seventy when he was also crowned in Ya.rtse, his son dPal.mgon.lde was probably a mature man when he succeeded him in Pu.hrang. gNya'.khri.lde's reign was brief because he died young, according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. In fact, his father also did not rule for very long. gNya'.khri.lde occupied the throne of Ya.rtse from some time after 1339 (the last available date of bSod.nams.lde in Ya.rtse) until some time before 1354 (the first available date of Pri.ti.mal, gNya'.khri.lde's successor). He must have reigned for a shorter time in Pu.hrang, given that his father's rule there has to be accommodated in those same years, unless dPal.mgon.lde had already succeeded bSod.nams.lde

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(771) In the Dullu inscription it is recorded that Punyamalla, the bSod.nams.lde of the Tibetan sources, married Sakunamala, who bore Prithivimalla, the Ki.ti.mal of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. Another son, Candramala, was born from this marriage (Tucci, *Preliminary Report* p.48 and p.50). The other sons of bSod.nams.lde to whom *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* refers remain unknown. The pro-Sa.skya stance of bSod.nams.lde was adopted by Ki.ti.mal. A sign of his patronage of the Sa.skya.pa-s is the *chos.khri* donated by him to the great monastery of the 'Khon family. *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.44 lines 7-9) and *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.436 lines 10-11) have almost the same wording. The latter says: "De'i bu Pri.ti.smal dang blon.po dPal.ltan grags.pas Sa.skya'i chos.khri dang/ lHa.sar bCu.gcig.zhal la gser.thog phul.lo", "His (bSod.nams.lde's) son Pri.ti.smal and blon.po dPal.ltan grags.pa donated the Sa.skya *chos.khri* ("religious throne") and the golden canopy over the bCu.gcig.zhal [statue] at lHa.sa [Jo.khang]".

in Pu.hrang when the latter became king of Ya.rtse. It is far from certain that gNya'.khri.lde ascended both thrones at the same time and held them for the same number of years. The fact that gNya'.khri.lde succeeded his grandfather in Ya.rtse may imply that the Pu.hrang throne was occupied by his father, and his taking over in Pu.hrang may suggest that his father dPal.mgon.lde had died in the meantime and that he had to ascend the vacant throne.

Dated documents of Ki.ti.mal/Prithivimalla show that he began to rule before 1354 and that he was still on the throne of Ya.rtse in 1358 (there are seven extant documents issued by him between 1354 and 1358, see Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.97). gNya'.khri.lde was dead by then, and since he had ruled both territories, rGod.lam.lde must have been enthroned in Pu.hrang at the same time, thus ruling during the reign of Ki.ti.mal in Ya.rtse.

### *The end of the royal lineage of Pu.hrang (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.71-72)*

The period in which the Pu.hrang dynasty came to an end can be gleaned from the succession to bSod.nams.lde on the Pu.hrang throne recorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. rGod.lam.lde is recorded to have reigned three generations later. As mentioned above, bSod.nams.lde's occupation of the Ya.rtse throne must have begun close to 1336, since his first document from Ya.rtse dates to that year (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.96). He was followed in Pu.hrang by dPal.mgon.lde, the latter by gNya'.khri.lde, who died young, and finally by rGod.lam.lde, who was its last king. The end of the Pu.hrang dynasty must have occurred around the third quarter of the 14th century. This can be precisely dated with the help of *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung*. An important summary of the end of the royal lineages of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse is contained in this source. The text reads: "Since the royal line of Ya.tshe was interrupted, [a successor, i.e. bSod.nams.lde] was invited from Pu.rangs. Since his [line] is also interrupted at present, I understand that both the Ya.tshe and Pu.hrang lines came to an end. I will write [more] on this matter after consulting someone better informed"<sup>772</sup>. Its author, Shakya Rin.chen.sde, was contemporary with the events taking place in sTod, for he completed *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* in fire dragon 1376<sup>773</sup>. He confirms that the new lineage summoned from Pu.hrang to rule in

(772) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.70 lines 12-15): "Ya.tshe'i rgyal.rgyud chad.pas/Pu.rangs nas gdan.drangs/ de'ang da gdung chad nas/ Ya.tshe dang Pu.rangs gnyis.ka'i gdung chad.par sems te/ blo dang ldan.pa gzhan.la drin.nas skabs.'dir bri.bar bya'o".

(773) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.190 lines 7-9): "Chos.rgyal Byang.chub sems.dpa' rnam.kyi dbon.sras rnam.kyi tha.shal.du gyur.pa Shakya'i [note: Rin.chen ste] ming.can.gyis yi.ger bkod.pa'o"; "The one bearing the name Shakya [note: this is Rin.chen[sde]], who is the humblest among the descendants of the religious kings Byang.chub sems.dpa'-s, wrote this work" and *ibid* (p.196 lines 6-8): "Me.pho.'brug.gi lo chu.stod.kyi dkar.po'i tshes.gnyis gza'.phur.bu skar rGyal la bab.pa'i tshe rdzogs.par bris.pa'i yi.ge.pa ni lHag.ru.ba

Ya.rtse was also disrupted and that the dynasties of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse no longer existed at the time of completion of his work<sup>774</sup>. Events seem to have been so contemporary with the time of writing that Shakya Rin.chen.sde proposed to obtain confirmation from persons who were informed of the latest developments.

The reliability of Shakya Rin.chen.sde's information is confirmed by the above mentioned Jumli document, which does not consider Shriman Abhayamalla to be a ruler of Ya.rtse. This was issued in 1377, only one year after *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* was completed. Some unrecorded events must have caused the abrupt and practically contemporary disappearance of both royal houses.

### *The Pu.hrang.pa royal lineage of Ya.rtse (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.72)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 lines 1-5) contradicts the notion contained in most of the later historical works dealing with the Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty that the Ya.rtse kings became the rulers of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, succeeding the early dynasty of mNga'.ris skor.gsum<sup>775</sup>. The latter mistaken understanding of the dynasties of West Tibet has been accepted in the past by western tibetologists with the exception of Petech and van der Kuijp<sup>776</sup>. *mNga'.ris*

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Tshul.rgyal.lo", "In the fire male dragon year (1376), on Thursday, the auspicious second day of the *chu.stod* [month] under the star rGyal, [the writing of this work] was completed by the scribe lHag.ru.ba Tshul.rgyal".

(774) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.11a lines 4-5) contains a major anachronism when it says: "Sras.kyi ring.la Pu.rangs su gdung.rgyud chad/ dus.der Gu.ge nas chos.rgyal Grags.pa.lde Pu.rangs Gug.ge gnyis.ka'i srid.bskyangs", "During the reign of the son (i.e. rGod.lam.lde), the [royal] lineage came to an end in Pu.rangs. At that time, chos.rgyal Grags.pa.lde [came] from Gu.ge to rule Pu.rangs [and] Gug.ge". Although this sentence still has a grain of truth, being a confused testimony that Grags.pa.lde reunited the two Gu.ge kingdoms, Wa.gindra karma, the author of this *dkar.chag*, fails to appraise the period of Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde's reign correctly, much like *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, but with a major difference. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* is even more confused since it dates the reign of Grags.pa.lde to the second half of the 14th century by linking it with the end of the Pu.hrang royal line.

(775) Notable exceptions are the earlier sources. The two *lDe'u chos.'byung*s are the only works which record the succession after rTse.lde in the same way as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. bSod.nams rtse.mo's *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo*, Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan's *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs*, Nyang.ral chos.'byung, 'Phags.pa's *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs*, Ne'u pan.di.ta's *sNgon.gyi me.tog.gi phreng.ba* do not include the succession to the Gu.ge Pu.hrang throne after rTse.lde. *Deb.ther dmar.po* is the earliest text to append the lineage of Ya.rtse to that of Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

(776) Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet* vol.I p.36) was an early western writer, who, basing himself on accounts from Tibetan sources, published a reference to the genealogy of Gu.ge Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse telescoped together, in which he says that the lDe (Calla) and rMal (sic) (Malla) dynasties ruled one after the other without realising that they both belonged to Ya.rtse. This is the view held by Young ("Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet" p.180). Tucci also postulated that the Ya.rtse dynasty succeeded the early mNga'.ris skor.gsum line in his *Preliminary Report* (p.51 and p.70-71). He also opined that the capital of Gu.ge was moved to Ya.rtse (p.70-71).

*rgyal.rabs* proves beyond doubt that the lineages of Gu.ge Pu.hrang were different from that of Ya.rtse, and consequently that the latter did not rule in Gu.ge Pu.hrang. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* reveals, instead, that the dynasty of Ya.rtse was a branch of that of Pu.hrang for some generations<sup>777</sup>.

bTsan.phyug.lde is said in many historical sources to have been the king who “went” to Ya.rtse, i.e. who took control of it<sup>778</sup>. His being king of Pu.hrang is not recorded in any of these works, which prevents them from recognizing the advent of the Pu.hrang.pa-s on the Ya.rtse throne. Although *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* records this dynastic change, it introduces a different assessment when it says that it was from Grags.btsan.lde, described as *gcung.po* (“younger brother”), that the Pu.hrang.pa lineage of Ya.rtse branched off and ruled Ya.rtse.

Collating this evidence, and given that bTsan.phyug.lde and Grags.btsan.lde are listed in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* as successive kings of Pu.hrang, one can deduce that bTsan.phyug.lde, king of Pu.hrang, took hold of Ya.rtse and delegated his younger brother (*gcung.po*) Grags.btsan.lde to rule it. On bTsan.phyug.lde's death or abdication, Grags.btsan.lde also ascended the Pu.hrang throne. This happened sometime in the second half of the 12th century, since Grags.btsan.lde's grandson Grags.pa.lde, well known to the 'Bri.gung.pa sources, was a younger contemporary of jo.bo A.tig.sman (otherwise

(777) *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* has two assessments of the Ya.rtse kings' origin: firstly as descendants of the mGar clan (p.72 lines 6-9), and secondly of the Pu.hrang.pa-s (p.70 lines 11-13) (see above n.452). The former is stated as follows: “Ya.tse'i rgyal.rabs 'di.rnams Bod.kyi chos.blon 'Gar Srong.btsan.gyi rgyud/ gtsug.lag gnyis.la mnga'.mdzad.pa'i Se.ru dGe.ba'i blo.gros.bas gSer.thog.pa Rin rdo.rje la dris.nas yi.ger bkod.pa yin gsung” “The royal line of Ya.tse descends from Bod.kyi chos.blon (sic: he was a famous warrior) 'Gar Srong.btsan (sic for sTong.btsan). It is believed that Se.ru dGe.ba'i blo.gros, who mastered the two sciences, after having investigated [the matter] with gSer.thog.pa Rin do.rje, put [this statement] into written form”, but does not speculate when and how blon.po mGar's descendants reached Ya.rtse and settled there. The same text does not help to fit this claim into the Ya.rtse line. The Dullu inscription lists at least three Ya.rtse dynasties (the Pala, going back fourteen generations before the 11th century, the Calla and the Malla), while *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* only provides details on its Pu.hrang.pa lineage which began in the mid 12th century. The only way to accommodate the alleged mGar.pa origin of the Ya.rtse rulers in the dynasties of this kingdom would be to consider it to predate the Pala lineage of the Dullu inscription, which is unlikely. On this alleged origin of the Ya.rtse royalty from the mGar clan see also van der Kuijp, “Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles” (p.476 n.14), who quotes the revised version of Petech's article “Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study”. bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan, the author of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, says that he consulted a document by gSer.thog.pa on the Ya.rtse kings of sTod, but it is noteworthy that there is no mention of their mGar.pa origin (p.246 lines 10-12: “sTod na bzhus.pa'i rgyal.rgyud 'di.rnams/ gSer.thog.pa Rin.rdor.gyis yig.tshang las zur.tsam bris.pa yin.gyis rgyal.po re.re bzhin.gyi mdzad.pa 'phrin.las rnams zhib.par shes 'dod.pa de.nyid.kyi yig.tshang.la gzigs.shig”).

(778) Texts saying that bTsan.phyug.lde “went” to Ya.rtse (“bTsan.phyug.lde Ya.rtser byon”) are, among others, *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.43 line 14); *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.71 lines 1-2); *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (p.245 lines 12-13); *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.86 line 10). The issue is clarified by *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.435 line 20), which says: “bTsan.phyug.lde Ya.tse'i mnga'.bdag mdzad”, “bTsan.phyug.lde was the king of Ya.tse”.

known as rNam.lde.mgon)<sup>779</sup>, who was active at least by 1215 (see above p.406-407)<sup>780</sup>.

The Pu.hrang.pa kings of Ya.rtse adopted local 'Dzum.lang customs wholeheartedly. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 lines 3-5) offers more than one example of their names being changed to local ones. gNya'.khri.lde's successor in the 14th century is a particular good example. He is only referred to his Jumli name Ki.ti.mal in the text (ibid. p.71 line 17)<sup>781</sup>.

A curious sign of the assimilation of Ya.rtse customs is found in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*. The text describes in length how, on the meeting with the Ya.rtse king, who was on his way to invade Gung.thang through Byang, Mar.lung.pa considered him and his troops to be Mon.pa and thus unfit to attempt a military venture in the highlands<sup>782</sup>. The king dressed in cotton and was vegetarian, Mar.lung.pa opined, while on the plateau one wears wool and eats meat. The Byang.thang wind, Mar.lung.pa added, was too cold for him since his land was hot and green<sup>783</sup>.

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(779) 'Jig.rten mgon.po/'Bri.gung.gling.pa, *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* (f.23a line 7): "bTsad.po.tsho yang rgan.pa gral.mgor sdod de/ jo.bo A.tig dang Ya.rtse.ba bzhin.no", "When there is more than one king, the elder sits at the head of the row. This is the case with jo.bo A.tig in relation to the Ya.rtse.ba [king]". Since Ya.rtse Grags.pa.lde is found ruling in 1223 (see below p.467 and n.788), the Ya.rtse king, who left the head of the row to jo.bo A.tig of Pu.hrang was him.

(780) It is obvious that Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse were on good terms at the time of the beginning of the Pu.hrang dynasty of sTag.tsha and his sons during the peak of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s' activity in sTod (13th century), since the two dynasties were related and jointly supported them. This may also have been the case before sTag.tsha, but no record is left. These relations began to be documented with the opening of the bKa'.brgyud.pa pilgrimage. The 'Bri.gung.pa-s were also instrumental in making the local kings participate in the political affairs of Greater Tibet and consolidating their power. It cannot be ruled out that the authority that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had over the local rulers prompted sTod to side with them in their struggle against Sa.skya.

(781) On one occasion *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has Kyir.ti.mel (p.71 line 13), and on another, Ki.ti.mal (ibid. line 17). The name of this king in Tibetan sources is commonly spelled Pri.ti.mal, which restitutes Prithivimalla, with numerous variants which, however, do not confute the issue. Of the two spellings found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, I favour Ki.ti.mal, which more closely renders his Jumli name.

(782) Grags.pa.lde is likely to have been the king of Ya.rtse whom Mar.lung.pa met when the former was on his way to invade Gung.thang during the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.127a lines 4-5 and f.128a lines 2-4). As outlined above in n.748, the first Gung.thang-Ya.rtse war probably took place in the years between 1235 and 1239, or slightly earlier. The first available date of A.sog.lde, the successor of Ya.rtse Grags.pa.lde, is 1255 (Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.91-92). This assessment is provisional, as it requires further corroboration from sources which may become available. Grags.pa.lde may have been the Ya.rtse king who invited 'Bri.gung.gling.pa Shes.rab 'byung.gnas, of whom Grags.pa.lde was a follower, between 1234 and 1241, meeting with a refusal (*Deb.ther sngon.po* p.714 lines 6-7: "Jo.bo Ya.tse.ba'i gdan.'dren slar.yang byung kyang ma.thegs", "He refused jo.bo Ya.tse.ba's invitation, which came once again"; see also Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.91).

(783) *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.128a lines 2-4): "Khyed nyon dang Ye.tshe Hor.gyi dpon/ khyod Mon du

The earliest historical divide in Ya.rtse, relevant to Tibet, was the taking over of the kingdom by Nagaraja/Naga.lde. He is not mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, which does not discuss the non-Tibetan kings ruling locally before the Pu.hrang.pa dynasty<sup>784</sup>. Before Naga.lde, two names of kings, difficult to assess, follow the list of the Pala dynasty in the Dullu inscription<sup>785</sup>. Prior to Naga.lde, almost every Tibetan source, instead, first introduces the genealogy of the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang kings, to which two mysterious rulers are appended, i.e. bKra.shis.lde and Bha.le (also spelled also Bha.lde, Bha.e, Bha.ne) (see above n.530 and n.531). Since the outline of the dynasty is artificially compiled in these sources by combining two different genealogies (the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty and the Ya.rtse dynasty), the list contained in most Tibetan sources offers minimal historical evidence on which to base the beginning of the new Ya.rtse dynasty and the reign of Naga.lde. Given the obscurity surrounding the earlier dynasty of Ya.rtse (the Pala), the Dullu inscription does not help to date Nagaraja's period even approximately.

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mug.ri tshad.pa'i yul/ Byang.thang skya.mo lhags.pa'i yul/ ding.sang Bod du byon.pa na/ lus ras.dkar gon.pa Mon.gyi lugs/ de ma.gon Mon.gyi cha.lugs shor/ zas shim.po 'bras.dkar sa.lu gso/ Mon sha.khrag za.ba grib.kyi zhi", "Listen chief of the Ye.tshe (Ya.rtse) Hor-s! Your land in Mon is hot with green mountains. Byang.thang is the dry land of wind. You are at present going to Tibet [and] your body is dressed in white cotton in the style of Mon. I do not mean you should not wear it since this is the attire of Mon. You are fond of eating white rice and oranges. Mon[.pa-s] are contaminated by eating meat and blood".

(784) The provenance of Naga.lde remains a vexed question. I wish here to suggest a hypothesis, which needs to be explored much more thoroughly than the documents which are available at present allow, that Khari pradesha, from where Naga.lde came according to the Dullu inscription, might be linked to the salt deposits found around the Hu.gri and Na.hu.gri mountains. The Hu.gri/Na.hu.gri territory was a stage in O.rgyan.pa's journey to Swat (*O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* p.51 lines 5-7: "Hu.gri zer.ba sman.tsha'i ri.bo chen.po 'dug/ ri.de.nas Kha.che dang O.rgyan dang Ma.la.bho zhes.byabang/ Gho.dznya.ra zhes.byabang/ rDo.ku.ra zhes.byabang/ Dza.lan.da.ra rnam.kyi ni tshwa 'gro.ba yin/ Dza.lan.da.ra yang ri.bo Na.hu.gri nas tshwa 'tshong.ba mang.po yong.gi 'dug ste/ de.rnam.dang 'grog.nas phyin.na tshwa.kha der yong.ba 'dug/ tshwa.pa yong.ba de gzhung.lam du 'dug", "[Here] is a big mountain of medicinal salt known as Hu.gri. Salt is brought from this mountain to Kha.che, O.rgyan, Ma.la.bho, Gho.dznya.ra, rDo.ku.ra and Dza.lan.da.ra. Many salt traders from Dza.lan.da.ra also come with salt from the mountain Na.hu.gri. I (O.rgyan.pa) could have also brought salt had I gone with them. This is the main route on which the salt traders move"). This proposal has the small advantage of pushing the provenance of Naga.lde towards the Indo-Iranic borderlands, which is rather fragile since it is by no means certain that Naga.lde was of Khassa origin, the ethnos of the kingdom of Ya.rtse as is documented in A.sog.lde's inscription at Bodhgaya (Inscription of A.sog.lde/Asokacalla at Bodhgaya in *Indian Epigraphy* XII p.39; Tucci, *Preliminary Report* p.67; Tucci "On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems" p.82), and thus the establisher of this tribe's dominions in the territory south of Pu.hrang.

(785) The outline of the rulers in Ya.rtse before Naga.lde is unfortunately marred by various lacunae in the Dullu inscription (for its text see Tucci *Preliminary Report* p.46-49). The last kings whose names are still readable in this part of the text are those of Mahipala succeeded by a ruler whose name is defaced but which ends in "dhi", and by Jakakhya (lines 14-27), who may have not belonged to the same dynasty. The conquest of Naga.lde, called Nagaraja in the inscription, followed. For the list of the fourteen Pala kings see Tucci (*ibid.* p.49-50).

The placement of Bha.le/Bha.lde before Naga.lde in the list of the Ya.rtse kings in most Tibetan sources remains a major problem. The name Bha.le/Bha.lde seems foreign, although certainly not Indian. He is preceded in the lineage by bKra.shis.lde. Both are obscure. In fact, 'Bar.lde is the last fully recognizable Gu.ge king in this list and is followed by the above mentioned bKra.shis.lde, who cannot be the Gu.ge king killed by the Gar.log-s, for *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *lDe'u Jos.sras chos.'byung*, which are texts containing specific treatment of that period, despite differences in the spellings of various members of the names of the Gu.ge ruling family of those times, provide mutual corroboration on the name bKra.shis.rtse rather than bKra.shis.lde, found in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, for the ruler who suffered the consequences of the Gar.log.pa invasion. Unless bKra.shis.lde is a reliable alternative for bKra.shis.rtse, Bha.le cannot be considered a foreigner ruling temporarily in Gu.ge during the invasion of the Gar.log-s.

A final and decisive point which rules out the possibility of bKra.shis.rtse and bKra.shis.lde being one and the same, and consequently, the combining of the Gu.ge and Ya.rtse lineages after Bha.le/Bha.lde, is that one generation would have been omitted in the classification of the Gu.ge royal lineage contained in most Tibetan historical sources, since 'Bar.lde's son, bSod.nams.rtse, is not included between his father and bKra.shis.rtse.

Another possibility to be explored is the joining of the lineages after 'Bar.lde. Such an interpretation has the consequence that bKra.shis.lde and Bha.le/Bha.lde were not connected with Gu.ge, which is what is deduced from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. It cannot be ruled out that they were the last two rulers of the Dullu inscription before Nagaraja. They seem to have been outsiders intervening in Ya.rtse much like Nagaraja, and I am inclined to believe that the latter interpretation is the more reliable.

A further conclusive proof that they cannot be considered rulers of Gu.ge who extended control over Ya.rtse is that they would have to have taken control of Pu.hrang in order to hold sway over Ya.rtse. This is denied by the existence of an active and flourishing lineage of Pu.hrang *jo.bo*-s during that period, and by the fact that *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* nowhere mentions any subjugation of these rulers. It is uncertain when the lineage of Pu.hrang lost control of Ya.rtse after rTse.lde's death, who is documented by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to have controlled it, to recover it some generations later.

Despite not containing dates for the reigns in Pu.hrang during this period, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is useful to assess the time in which the generations immediately following Nagaraja/Naga.lde ruled in Ya.rtse and, consequently, the period in which his reign occurred. Nagaraja/Naga.lde must have ruled in the early 12th century, as he was succeeded in Ya.rtse some time in the second quarter of the same century, according to most Tibetan sources, by bTsan.phyug.lde, the Pu.hrang king also known to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.68 line 19 and p.69 lines 4-5), who ruled in Pu.hrang two generations after rTse.lde's brother bTsan.srong.

Naga.lde's time was soon before that of the Gar.log.pa invasion of Gu.ge. Should Naga.lde still be considered the foreign ruler of Ya.rtse who took advantage of the collapse of Gu.ge? Or was Ya.rtse lost by the mNga'.ris stod.pa-s beforehand, during the time of

the unknown ruler bKra.shis.lde? The establishment of the line of Pu.hrang *jo.bo*-s with bTsan.srong after rTse.lde's death must have made Gu.ge control of Ya.rtse geographically difficult. On both these grounds, the taking over of Ya.rtse by outsiders is not to be connected with Gu.ge's disaster. This association is implicitly made by the Tibetan sources, which is a weak point of their genealogical classification.

If Yang.rtse is equivalent to Ya.rtse (which is likely), the building of Yang.rtse Nan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang by Khri.btsan.lde, son of bTsan.srong (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.69 lines 2-3), may be a sign that Ya.rtse was subsequently lost by the same king, only to be regained by the Pu.hrang.pa-s one generation later by his son bTsan.phyug.lde.

To sum up, the historical phases of Ya.rtse during the time of the early kings of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty can be enumerated as follows: 1) Ya.rtse passed under mNga'.ris skor.gsum during the reign of Nyi.ma.mgon, for, among others, the Sa.skya.pa authors and Nyang.ral among others credit bKra.shis.mgon with receiving it from his father<sup>786</sup>. 2) Following the Qarakhanid invasion of 1037 (when 'Od.lde died and the Hor.nag.mo-s invaded sTod, also capturing Ya.rtse: see *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2), Ya.rtse was lost to Gu.ge Pu.hrang for some time. 3) Ya.rtse is subsequently found as part of rTse.lde's dominions (was Gu.ge Pu.hrang power over Ya.rtse restored by Byang.chub.'od or by rTse.lde? *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* offers evidence in favour of rTse.lde). 4) Ya.rtse was subsequently ruled by Naga.lde after bTsan.srong and Khri.btsan.lde of Pu.hrang seem to have controlled it. 5) The Pu.hrang.pa-s recovered control of Ya.rtse under bTsan.phyug.lde.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs's* identification of a section of the lineage of the Ya.rtse kings as descended from the Pu.hrang royal family has some important implications. The length of the Pu.hrang.pa royal line of Ya.rtse needs to be clarified. The text says that the lineage of the Ya.rtse kings branched off from the Pu.hrang dynasty in the 12th century (i.e. those bearing the name Calla in the Dullu inscription), followed by kings called Malla in the same inscription, and that, later, bSod.nams.lde came from Pu.hrang to rule in Ya.rtse, and was succeeded by a few members of his family. The section ends by saying that the dynasty just outlined is the Ya.rtse *rgyal.rgyud*. In other words *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not prove that the entire dynasty derived from Pu.hrang. Thus nowhere does *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* explain whether both the Calla and Malla kings of the Dullu inscription were Tibetan.

Although Petech has drastically changed the perspective on the importance of the Ya.rtse dynasty since he has dismissed its control over Gu.ge Pu.hrang<sup>787</sup>, the first detailed

(786) An early reference to Ya.rtse under bKra.shis.mgon, the middle brother of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum, is found in *Nyang.ral chos.byung* (p.458 lines 18-20); rJe.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* (p.296 line 3); 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* (p.286 line 4) (see above n.212) and, later, in *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.byung* (p.70 line 11: "Bar.pa bKra.shis.mgon.gyis sPu.rangs su byon.pa").

(787) Petech, "The Bri-gung-pa Sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh"; Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study".



treatment of Ya.rtse's kings among Western scholars, that by Tucci (*Preliminary Report* p.43-71), has to a large extent remained the backbone of subsequent elaborations, but a few remarks have to be added.

Examining this topic from the linguistic viewpoint, I am not completely reconciled with the Tibetan restitutions of the names of the Calla lineage of Ya.rtse (first proposed by Tucci in *Preliminary Report* p.66 and p.69-70). Correspondence between Capilla and bTsan.phyug.lde is far from being established since linguistic support is practically non-existent, while Capa apparently has no Tibetan restitution. If bTsan.phyug.lde is Capilla, then who among the Tibetan kings was Capa? In other words, there is no correspondance between the list of Ya.rtse kings of the Dullu inscription and that found in the Tibetan chronicles: the former includes one more king, the latter allegedly omit Capa. Only *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* provides evidence instrumental in establishing absolute correspondence between its list and that of the Dullu inscription in terms of the number of kings recorded. This is achieved by inserting Grags.btsan.lde, considered by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* to be the first Pu.hrang.pa king of Ya.rtse, after his brother bTsan.phyug.lde. The latter is recognized by all other works, which append the rulers of Ya.rtse to the early Gu.ge Pu.hrang dynasty, to have established this new dynastic line in Ya.rtse. The fact that the lineage of kings of Ya.rtse does not correspond in the Tibetan historical works with that of the Dullu inscription is another proof that the genealogy of the former sources is faulty, combining, as it does, different royal lineages. The inconsistency of all later Tibetan sources is confirmed by the evidence provided by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. To make the correspondence between the Dullu inscription and *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* work, bTsan.phyug.lde has to be identified as Capa and his younger brother Grags.btsan.lde as Capilla. This has no less linguistic validity than the above restitution of Capilla as bTsan.phyug.lde. The identification I propose, though linguistically unreliable, has the modest advantage of restoring parallelism between the number of generations of Ya.rtse kings of the Dullu inscription and *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, and of respecting the evidence provided by Tibetan works that Naga.lde was succeeded by bTsan.phyug.lde. Linguistic correspondence between the royal names in Tibetan and Jumli begins with A.sog.lde/Asokacalla.

While restitutions of the kings' names do not help to solve the problem, Grags.pa.lde has to be considered as one and the same king as Kracalla, since there is a substantial correspondence in the periods of these two kings in the 'Bri.gung.pa literature (Grags.pa.lde active around 1219-1225) and the Baleswar inscription (Kracalla signing it in 1223)<sup>788</sup>. This identity proves that the lineage of Ya.rtse begun by bTsan.phyug.lde after the foreign rule of Nagaraja/Naga.lde, which *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* documents as being of Pu.hrang.pa origin, corresponds to the Calla kings of the Dullu inscription.

(788) The copper plate in the Baleswar temple at Sui Bisung in the Almora territory (Petech, "Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-rang: A New Study" p.90), provides external proof that Grags.pa.lde, who met 'Bri.gung.gling.pa Shes.rab 'byung.gnas (in sTod 1219-1225) on the shores of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho, was Kracalla.

It remains to be established for how long the Pu.hrang.pa lineage of Ya.rtse lasted. One may doubt a Pu.hrang.pa origin for the Malla kings of Ya.rtse, since their names, ending in Malla, have no Tibetan original equivalents: in Tibetan sources their Indian style has been clumsily Tibetanized.

A few considerations support the view that the Malla dynasty of Ya.rtse was Pu.hrang.pa. The first is somewhat inconclusive. It derives from the high degree of assimilation of Ya.rtse customs by its Pu.hrang.pa rulers outlined above, and from the later example provided by Ki.ti.mal. Ki.ti.mal was definitely a Pu.hrang.pa for the simple reason that he was the son of bSod.nams.lde. He is a good example because he is nowhere recorded under a true Tibetan name, but rather as Pri.ti.mal and other variants, which all reconstitute Prithivimalla. This case does not indicate *per se* that the Malla kings were foreign rulers disguised in local Jumli style. The second consideration is specific to the kings of the Malla dynasty and consists in their uninterrupted interest in major Tibetan holy places, demonstrated by their sponsorship of the Jo.khang and other temples<sup>789</sup>. Does sponsorship of Tibetan religious institutes show that the Ya.rtse kings of that period were Tibetan? This evidence is again inconclusive, for the Ya.rtse kings also sponsored places such as Bodhgaya without being Indian<sup>790</sup>. Another point is that A.sog.lde/A.seng.lde calls his kingdom the Khasa kingdom in his Bodhgaya inscription<sup>791</sup>. This is again a rather weak argument because this statement does not specifically refer to the ethnic origin of the royal line but rather to that of its subjects, unless one assumes that the kingdom was Khasa because its royalty was Khasa, a notion with which I am not completely reconciled.

Apart from Grags.pa.lde's close association with the Pu.hrang jo.bo A.tig ('Jig.rten mgon.po/'Bri.gung gling.pa, *dGongs.gcig yig.cha* f.23a line 7), the change in the name of the dynasty suggests that the Pu.hrang.pa line of Ya.rtse continued until Grags.pa.lde's successor A.sog.lde/A.seng.lde, but this too is far from being conclusive.

Studying the political situation in the Mon.pa lands of Ya.rtse, Kumaon and related territories that followed the second Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war, which ended in a catastrophic defeat for Ya.rtse, is a future task, for which new material is needed regarding both the date and the consequences of this war. This might enable one to understand whether the first

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(789) The Ya.rtse kings of the Malla dynasty patronized Tibetan temples. Anandamalla supported 'Bri.gung (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.93). Ripumalla made a donation to the Jo.khang (p.93). In the case of Adityamalla, the link with Sa.skya was established before he took over the throne (p.94).

(790) As is well known, A.sog.lde made donations to Bodhgaya (Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.92 and n.23). This was also the case of his successor Anandamalla (ibid. p.93). Ripumalla made a pilgrimage to Lumbini (ibid.). Thus the Malla kings supported both India and Tibet, hence their patronage does not clarify their origin.

(791) See the inscription of Asokacalla at Bodhgaya (*Indian Epigraphy* XII p.39; Tucci, *Preliminary Report* p.67; Tucci "On Swat. The Dards and Connected Problems" p.82; Petech, "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.92 and n.23), where Asokacalla styles himself the king of the Khasa country of Sapadalaksha.

signs of the weakening of the Calla dynasty appeared after this war as some indications seem to suggest, although *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* says that the Calla king A.sog.lde was a powerful ruler, and whether this unsettled situation eventually gave rise to the change of dynasty in Ya.rtse<sup>792</sup>.

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(792) Following Ya.rtse's defeat in the second war against Gung.thang, which possibly occurred before 1253 (see above n.521), lands such Glo.bo and Dol.po, which were under Ya.rtse in the first half of the 13th century, were lost. For a reference to Dol.po under Ya.rtse in that period see *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* (f.128a lines 4, where Mar.lung.pa, talking to the Ya.rtse king on his way to invade Gung.thang during the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war, says: "g.Yog Mon.dmag Ko brDol.khri.ru 'dren", "Servile people brought [your] Mon troops to [occupy] the throne of Ko and brDol[.po]"). Someone called Chos.grags brought the Ya.rtse.pa-s to invade Gung.thang according to *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (p.93 lines 11-12: "rGyal.po de'i sku.ring.su sPang.bzhod Chos.grags.kyis Ye.tsho'i yul.nas Mon.gyi dmag drangs", "During the time of this king (i.e. Gung.thang mGon.po.lde), sPang.bzhod Chos.grags brought the Mon troops from the land of Ye.tsho (Ya.rtse)"). Was he among the servile people who helped Ya.rtse to take Ko and Dol.po? Glo.bo and Dol.po were conquered by Gung.thang and became part of its districts called the *brgya.tsho bcu.gsum* not later than 1268 because the constitution of the *brgya.tsho bcu.gsum* is recorded in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (manuscript f.5a-b, lHa.sa ed. p.99-100) after 'Bum.lde.mgon's enthronement in 1267 and before a reference to the *khri.skor* system introduced by the Mongols in 1268. The same two lands were also incorporated into the Gung.thang *khri.skor* as *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.277 line 18-p.278 line 1) says: "mNga'.ris rDzong.kha'i 'og.gi/ Blo.Dol.rDzong (p.278) gsum khri.skor gcig", "Blo[.bo] Dol[.po] and rDzong[.dkar] make one *khri.skor* under mNga'.ris rDzong.kha (sic for rDzong.dkar)". Similarly Kya.nom, which was also controlled by Ya.rtse, was lost sometime after the 1230s and not long before 1265, when the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde extended his control over the trade routes to that territory. Combining these facts, the end of Ya.rtse hegemony occurred in the time of A.sog.lde (reigning at least by 1255). Hence, the change of dynasty did not result from Ya.rtse's political and military disaster in the second war against Gung.thang, but from subsequent events.



# The resurgence of Gu.ge under rNam.rgyal.lde

*rNam.rgyal.lde's birth, marriages and offspring (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.79-84)*

rNam.rgyal.lde was born in water rat 1372 to bdag.mo sKu.rgyal and a king of Gu.ge, wrongly identified as Grags.pa.lde by a corrupt passage in the extant copy of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.79 line 18-p.80 line 2; see above n.171 and also n.757) since the latter king died a century before the birth of rNam.rgyal.lde<sup>793</sup>. An alternative identification of the king ruling Gu.ge prior to rNam.rgyal.lde (i.e. some time in the third quarter of the 14th century) is found in a brief passage of *Bai.ser*<sup>794</sup> that records the granting of Dung.dkar to Ngag.dbang grags.pa (see below p.505). In those circumstances, rNam.rgyal.lde is correctly called *khri* (“enthroned king”) by *Bai.ser*. The other member of the Gu.ge royal lineage indicated as having given Dung.dkar to Ngag.dbang grags.pa with *khri* rNam.rgyal.lde was *khri* dBang.phyug.lde. Together they founded bKra.shis chos.gling chos.sde at Dung.dkar, which was entrusted to Ngag.dbang grags.pa after he returned to sTod some years before 1424. This and the chapel in which Ngag.dbang grags.pa made a statue of rDo.rje

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(793) Evidence useful to establish that rNam.rgyal.lde was born in water rat 1372 and not in water rat 1252 derives from references to: 1) Mar.yul mnga'.bdag jo.bo Ras.chen (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.80 lines 7-8), who was ruling in 1376 at the time of rNam.rgyal.lde's birth, which has been discussed above (p.438, p.450 and n.799); 2) the donation of Dung.dkar to Ngag.dbang grags.pa by rNam.rgyal.lde during the first quarter of the 15th century. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* derives the same mistake from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in that it considers rNam.rgyal.lde to have been the successor of Grags.pa.lde (f.11a line 5: “De'i sras *khri* bKra.shis rNam.rgyal.lde's kyang sngar.bzhin bskyang”, “His (Grags.pa.lde's) successor *khri* bKra.shis rNam.rgyal.lde ruled as before”). The hundred obscure year in the history of Gu.ge are therefore overlooked, although the notion “as before” hints at the restoration of an earlier *status quo*, which no longer existed in the period prior to the rule of rNam.rgyal.lde, therefore implying some unrecorded difficulties experienced by the royal line of Gu.ge.

(794) *Bai.ser* (p.277 lines 23-25): “gTso.bor Sangs.rgyas.gyi mtshan sgrog.pa mi.rabs du.mar dar.bas *khri* dBang.phyud.lde dang/ *khri* rNam.rgyal.lde's chos.sde btsugs.nas chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa la phul”, “Since the [practice] of reciting the name of Sangs.rgyas in particular was performed [at Dun.bkar/Dung.dkar] for many generations, [finally] *khri* dBang.phyug.lde and *khri* rNam.rgyal.lde, having built a *chos.sde* [there], granted it to chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa”.

'jigs.byed, possibly before the bKra.shis chos.gling was built, were the earliest religious establishments of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's time<sup>795</sup>.

*Bai.ser* is fairly accurate in its treatment of the family relationship in the Gu.ge royal line from the 15th century on. It enumerates the various generations of the Gu.ge royal family including the rulers, their brothers, and occasionally a wife (*Bai.ser* p.273 line 25-p.274 line 11 and 460 lines 9-12; see p.502, 505, 511 and n.848, 851, 866 and 869). In some cases the identification of the rulers derives from them being called *khri* or *mnga'.bdag*. The indication that dBang.phyug.lde was *khri.pa* makes him a member of the family who held the throne of Gu.ge. dBang.phyug.lde does not appear in the lineage of Gu.ge rulers after rNam.rgyal.lde listed with careful precision in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.84 line 7-p.85 line 10). It cannot be ruled out that he was the king preceding rNam.rgyal.lde on the Gu.ge throne, and possibly his father.

rNam.rgyal.lde had a step-brother, dPal.'bar.lde, born to his father's other queen, who was the daughter of Mon.yul grong.khyer U.ti.pur rgyal.po (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.79 line 18-p.80 line 1). U.ti.pur is Udaipur in Gar.zha, where the temple of Markuladevi is located. I have discussed above (p.273) an artistic link with Gar.zha during the time of Na.ga.ra.dza (11th century). In this instance of restored contact, one has to stress that, centuries later, a marriage alliance was established with an area, that of Udaipur, known to Tibetans as Ma.ru. Historically, Ma.ru has been a place of pilgrimage for masters coming from the plateau, among them rGod.tshang.pa and O.rgyan.pa, partly due to the presence in the territory of the famous statue of Gar.zha 'Phags.pa, housed in Triloknath, another temple sacred to Buddhists and Hindus alike.

### *rNam.rgyal.lde, a ruling monk (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.80-84)*

rNam.rgyal.lde was a *lha.btsun*, ordained by yongs.kyi mkhan.chen ("general abbot") Chos.dpal grags.pa. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.80 line 18-p.81 line 1) reads: "By virtue of the absence of obstructions due to the strength of his personal merit, when he entered puberty, as he was made *lha.btsun* in the presence of yongs.kyi mkhan.chen Chos.dpal grags.pa, he was given the name rNam.rgyal.lde dPal.bzang.po".

Centuries later, rNam.rgyal.lde observed the custom of taking vows adopted by the early kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. However, events in his life brought him to exercise his role

(795) *Bai.ser* (p.272 lines 11-13): "Slar mNga'.ris su byon/ Dung.dkar sa.snying bzhugs/ dPal rDo.rje 'jigs.byed zhal.phyag yongs.su rgzogs.pa'i sku bzhengs", "He (Ngag.dbang grags.pa) returned to mNga'.ris. He stayed at the ancient (*snying* sic for *rnying*) site of Dung.dkar. He made a statue of dPal rDo.rje 'jigs.byed complete with all faces and hands". The account of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's settling down at Dung.dkar seems reliable, for the ancient site at Dung.dkar is a little to the south-west of the ruins of the dGe.lugs.pa complex, which are on the barren hill overlooking the village. Ruins of a temple stand on a low hill not far from the Dung.dkar caves containing early murals and sculptures in a dilapidated condition. These ruins are all that remains of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's rDo.rje 'jigs.byed lha.khang.

of *lha.btsun* in a way deviating somewhat from the principles of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* issued by Ye.shes.'od, as will be shown below.

Since he was ordained when he reached puberty, this happened, in all probability, when he was thirteen, an age which traditionally marked this event. It is well known that, during the epoch of the Yar.lung dynasty, puberty was fixed at that age, when an heir apparent became entitled to rule. On this basis I suggest that he became *lha.btsun* around 1384 (b.1372).

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that for twenty-five years he disliked *chang* to the extent that he would not even drink water brought from a *chang.khang* (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.81 lines 18-19). He thus followed strict monastic rules. He ceased to abide by them in 1396, indicating that he, a monk, took up secular duties. In fact, rNam.rgyal.lde is found acting as a *mnga'.bdag* in 1399, when he put down a rebellion in Mar.yul to reinstate the legitimate local king Khri.btsan.lde (see below p.491). This implies that his father possibly abdicated in his favour in earth hare 1396. Abdication in favour of a *lha.btsun* amounted to a major deviation from the rules of *chos.khrims* introduced by Ye.shes.'od (the cases of Byang.chub.'od and rDo.rje seng.ge were dictated by death and imprisonment of the lay members of the family), but was at the same time consistent with the rule that, were there no other heir apparent, a *lha.btsun* had to rule. It is possible that his father took vows in his maturity, as did many kings of sTod before and after him. If so, it seems that priority was given to the monastic status of the father over the son's.

There are further signs of deviation from the ancestral practice of *chos.khrims*. Having been ordained, rNam.rgyal.lde subsequently had to marry to ensure the continuity of the lineage. rNam.rgyal.lde married three times, but had no son. He again married, this time with lHo.stod bdag.mo lHa.'dzoms, who at last gave him an heir, Rab.ldan (sic) phun.tshogs.lde, who was born in lHo.stod (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 4-7). The name Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde was given to him after he was crowned, for it is accompanied in the text by the term *khri*. The fact that rNam.rgyal.lde married several times before he finally had Phun.tshogs.lde suggests an urgency to produce a heir.

It will be shown below that rNam.rgyal.lde reigned until 1424, and was thus a ruling monk. His double role was far removed from the system enforced by the code of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* of Ye.shes.'od. rNam.rgyal.lde embodied the dual status of monarchs of West Tibet existing for quite some time before him. mGon.po.lde, the ruler of Gung.thang, was ordained by Kha.che pan.chen Shakya.shri and Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba in water monkey 1212<sup>796</sup>. Being a monk did not prevent him from involving himself in worldly matters. He fought the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war, resisting Ya.rtse.pa aggression, which cost him his life<sup>797</sup>.

(796) See Jackson, *Two Biographies of Sakyasribhadra* (f.49a = p.45 and f.51a = p.46). He is named Gung.thang jo.bo mGon.po.dpal in the text.

(797) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.93 lines 11-14): "rGyal.po de'i sku.rings.su sPang.zhod

The hypothesis that rNam.rgyal.lde filled the vacancy on the throne of Gu.ge after the untimely death of his step-brother dPal.'bar.lde, complying with the ancient *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims*, according to which a monk had to occupy the secular throne if the lay side of the lineage could not provide a successor, has to be rejected for a few sound reasons. Firstly, his step-brother dPal.'bar.lde, who in any case did not accept royal duties, was chosen to rule only over recently recovered Pu.hrang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.82 lines 1-3) (see above p.131), thus indicating that the throne of Gu.ge was reserved for rNam.rgyal.lde (see immediately below). Secondly, since dPal.'bar.lde was older than him, rNam.rgyal.lde would have had to fill the vacancy on the throne probably before he was ordained. His appointment as the Gu.ge heir apparent following the untimely death of his step-brother dPal.'bar.lde, which removed the only potential rival to the throne and made him the undisputed successor, did not prevent him from becoming a monk. According to the laws issued by Ye.shes.'od, no heir apparent could enter religion. Thirdly, his taking on secular affairs occurred long after his step-brother's death.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.82 lines 1-3) says: "On one occasion, as [rNam.rgyal.lde's] elder brother (dPal.'bar.lde) was [selected to be] enthroned, he was chosen to be appointed over Pu.hrang. When all the auspicious paraphernalia and implements had been prepared [and] arrangements had been made to enthrone him, it was not possible to bring him [to the coronation, because] he had left for rTse.ba<sup>798</sup>, and the father...[lacuna]..."

The episode recording dPal.'bar.lde's rejection of regal responsibilities in Pu.hrang has political implications. The fact that dPal.'bar.lde refused at such a tender age to reign in Pu.hrang is sufficient proof that it was not him but his Mon.pa faction that rejected a minor role within the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom. It is possible that the U.ti.pur faction felt deprived of power over Gu.ge, the main seat of the kingdom, which may have been its by right of primogeniture, given that dPal.'bar.lde was older than rNam.rgyal.lde. It is also likely that the U.ti.pur faction and dPal.'bar.lde were regarded with some suspicion, for they were of Mon.pa origin, while rNam.rgyal.lde was a true Gu.ge.pa, being born from a lHo.stod mother, and thus more suitable to reign in Gu.ge. The decision to restrict the

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Chos.grags.kyis Ye.tsho'i yul nas Mon.gyi dmag drangs.pa dang 'thab.pas ma.thub/ mnga'.bdag sKyid.grong du bros.pa mtshams.nas zin/ Khab.kyi sku.mkhar mthong.sar bkrongs", "During the life of this king (mGon.po.lde), sPang.zhod Chos.grags brought Mon troops from the land of Ye.tsho (Ya.rtse). As they fought, [mGon.po.lde] could not defeat them. mNga'.bdag (mGon.po.lde) fled towards sKyid.grong, but was captured at the border and executed in the open space in front of the castle of the Khab[.pa]-s (i.e. the Gung.thang.pa-s) (in rDzong.dkar)".

(798) Is this rtse rGyal.ti called rTse.rGyal in another passage of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.69 line 18)? All that can be said in the present state of knowledge of the episode, which derives exclusively from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, is that dPal.'bar.lde abruptly left the coronation ceremony and went to an unidentified place, probably a castle, since castles are often called *rtse.mo*.



U.ti.pur faction's rule to Pu.hrang may have been dictated by such a consideration<sup>799</sup>. In this light, dPal.'bar.lde's death at tender age seems somewhat suspicious. The Pu.hrang *dpon.po* rank was instituted to govern Pu.hrang following dPal.'bar.lde's refusal to rule<sup>800</sup>. It is a pity that the extant copy of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has a lacuna in the passage referring to dPal.'bar.lde's rejection of the offer to reign in Pu.hrang, for without it a controversial page of Gu.ge Pu.hrang history might not be so obscure.

(799) *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* ascribes the making of an embankment to prevent rMa.byā kha.'babs from flooding Kha.char to a king of West Tibet in a way which is remarkably similar to the description of the contribution made by the Gu.ge lHo.stod king bKra.shis.lde in the early 13th century to save Kha.char (*Kho.char dkar.chag* f.11b-12a = p.49 lines 4-10; see above n.667). A reading of this passage in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.11a lines 5-7) is conjectural since these lines of the original *dbu.med* manuscript are difficult to decipher. It is as follows: "Kha.char du jo.bo Jam.dpal bar phebs.pas/ gtsang.po gtsug.lag.khang.gi 'gram.na rgyug.pa gzigs.pas chu.la bka'.lung stsal bye.ring bsgyur sbyangs byas/ skya.bo 'jigs.sdes chu.la dbyug.pa sangs rgyab.pas chu 'gyur.bar grags". The syntax of the first sentence is evidently wrong. The passage translates as: "After going all the way to jo.bo Jam.dpal (sic) in Kha.char, having seen that the river was flowing [dangerously] near the *gtsug.lag.khang*, he issued an order concerning the river. A sand embankment was made to prevent the flood. The population in fear threw logs into the river. It is understood that the waters were diverted". Since the Gu.ge king rNam.rgyal.lde is dealt with in the *dkar.chag* immediately before this passage, it would seem that it was rNam.rgyal.lde who went to save Kha.char from the fury of the waters. A more syntactically correct reading would then be: "Kha.char du jo.bo radza dPal.bar phebs.pas/ gtsang.po gtsug.lag.khang.gi 'gram.na rgyug.pa gzigs.pas chu.la bka'.lung stsal bye.ring bsgyur sbyangs byas/ skya.bo 'jigs.sdes chu.la dbyug.pa sangs rgyab.pas chu 'gyur.bar grags", "After going to Kha.char, having seen that the river was flowing [dangerously] near the *gtsug.lag.khang*, jo.bo radza dPal.bar (sic) issued an order concerning the river. A sand embankment was made to prevent the flood. The population in fear threw logs into the river. It is understood that the waters were diverted". If this interpretation is favoured, it follows that radza dPal.bar is a misspelling for dPal.'bar[.lde]. Despite difficulties in assessing this episode, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* documents that Gu.ge took control of Pu.hrang after it was captured from Gung.thang during its 1378 campaign (see below p.476), which suggests that this new intervention by Gu.ge at Kha.char recorded in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* took place after this date. In the passage immediately following, *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* abruptly mentions a few temple foundations (f.11a lines 6-7: "De.nas sna.tshogs chu.rta.lo chos.rje dbon.por bZhi.sde bSam.grub khyung.rtse grabs/ lcags.stag.lor khyim.byi.po che.ba chos.mdzad Rab.'byams.pas sTag.las.mkhar btob", "Then in the *sna.tshogs* water horse year, chos.rje dbon.po founded bZhi.sde bSam.grub khyung.rtse. In the iron tiger year, khyim.byi.po che.ba chos.mdzad Rab.'byams.pa founded sTag.las.mkhar (sic)"). I am at odds to assess chos.rje dbon.po's foundation, as he is unknown to me. I am aware of two periods in which bZhi.sde became historically and religiously prominent. One was in the 13th century bKa'.brgyud.pa period and the other in the time of Ngor.chen. Contextual evidence again contributes to establish a time frame. The foundation of bZhi.sde bSam.grub khyung.rtse occurred after the episode of a member of the Gu.ge royal family protecting Kha.char from the fury of the river. The water horse year is likely to have been 1402 or 1462. Dating the foundation at sTag.la.mkhar is also problematic. As is well known, sTag.la.mkhar was a Zhang.zhung site going back to great antiquity. The name of the temple founded in the sTag.la.mkhar area is not given, which makes matters more difficult. For the same contextual reasons adduced above it seems that the iron tiger year when khyim.byi.po che.ba Rab.'byams.pa founded his temple seems to have been 1410 or 1470.

(800) *dPon.po* and, more rarely, *sde.pa* are the terms adopted in the sources to identify the governor of Pu.hrang under Gu.ge sovereignty.

Chos.dpal grags.pa, who ordained rNam.rgyal.lde, is called *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen*, a term which stands for general abbot (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.80 line 19-p.81 line 1). This is the expression used for the grand abbot of the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s in sTod during the 13th century<sup>801</sup>. Does the title *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen* make him a bKa'.brgyud.pa, in particular a 'Bri.gung.pa, as 'Bri.gung.pa presence at the court of Gu.ge is documented by *Bai.ser*<sup>802</sup> at the time when Ngag.dbang grags.pa returned to sTod? While it is certain that Chos.dpal grags.pa was one of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's predecessors, it is unclear whether he was the immediate predecessor of Ngag.dbang grags.pa as general abbot of Gu.ge<sup>803</sup>. This hypothesis has, in all probability, to be dismissed, bearing in mind that rNam.rgyal.lde was probably ordained around 1384, quite some time before *Bai.ser* records the presence of a 'Bri.gung.pa *bla.ma* at court. The periods as Gu.ge *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen* of Chos.dpal grags.pa and Ngag.dbang grags.pa are thus separated by some decades.

### *Gu.ge's conquest of Pu.hrang.stod of 1378 (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.83)*

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 lines 8-11) reads: "In the earth male horse year (1378), since rDor.rgyal and dKon.mchog mgon.po, who [were] among the Khab.pa-s (the text has Khab.sa for Khab.pa), were victorious, they captured rGyal.ti. While they were making preparations to invade Pu.hrang, troops were despatched [by Gu.ge] and all the Khab.pa-s were ousted. Pu.hrang was entirely brought under the control of the sTod.pa-s (i.e. Gu.ge). A *sku.tshab* ("regent or representative") was appointed".

The 1378 campaign undertaken by the troops of Gu.ge, which resulted in the capture of rGyal.ti and the removal of the *mkhar.dpon-s* rDor.rgyal and dKon.mchog mgon.po, who had previously conquered it, was intended to oust the Khab.pa-s. The term Khab.pa is an expression used to identify the kings of Gung.thang and consequently

(801) Given the use of the term *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen* referring to the general abbot in sTod, introduced by the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s in the 13th century (rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud.kyi rnam.shar chen.mo* p.494, 498, 504) and later identifying Chos.dpal grags.pa (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.80 line 19), *ad extenso* Ngag.dbang grags.pa, although not a bKa'.brgyud.pa, should also be called *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen* on the authority of *Bai.ser* (see below n.894), in which he is described as the supreme abbot of Gu.ge, holder of the throne of its main monasteries.

(802) *Bai.ser* (p.272 lines 15-16): "bKra.pa dpon.mo zer.ba 'drer skyes.pa gnod.tshabs che.ba Sa.'Bri sogs.kyi bla.mas ma.'thul.ba rje.'dis btul.bar grags", "It is well known that this *rje* (Ngag.dbang grags.pa) tamed a very wicked [and] harmful [being] incarnated in the '*dre* called bKra.pa dpon.mo, whom the *bla.ma-s* of Sa[skya and] 'Bri[gung] could not tame".

(803) This hypothesis is only credible if rNam.rgyal.lde became a monk after fathering Phun.tshogs.lde, i.e. after 1409. If so, it is likely that Chos.dpal grags.pa was the direct predecessor of Ngag.dbang grags.pa as *yongs.kyi mkhan.chen*. But this has to be ruled out because rNam.rgyal.lde was ordained in his youth.

their officers<sup>804</sup>. It proves that the two *mkhar.dpon*-s were heading a detachment of troops from Gung.thang, which had reasserted its control over the castle in yet another episode of Gung.thang.pa aggression against Pu.hrang. Occupation of rGyal.ti, which was located a little to the south of the two lakes, shows that Gung.thang only captured Pu.hrang.stod. The passage suggests that Gung.thang's seizure of rGyal.ti had been recently accomplished, and that the campaign of Khab.pa rDor.rgyal and dKon.mchog mgon.po was not over, as they intended to conquer Pu.hrang (i.e. Pu.hrang.smad). The episode significantly reveals that at that time the seizure of rGyal.ti was a prerequisite for the conquest of Pu.hrang.smad, as though the fate of this land depended on control of rGyal.ti. The plan of the Gung.thang Khab.pa-s to take the richer lowlands of Pu.hrang, and thereby to establish control over the entire territory, prompted a reaction from Gu.ge that removed Gung.thang.pa presence from Pu.hrang.stod.

Gu.ge acted fast to free rGyal.ti, possibly taking advantage of the fact that the ongoing internecine crisis in Gung.thang had further deprived that kingdom of the might it had enjoyed during the Yuan period. Shortly before the events of 1378, Gung.thang and adjoining areas of Byang had been torn by a struggle for supremacy between a Glo.pa/Men.Zhang.pa faction and the enfeebled Sa.skya.pa faction of Gung.thang supported by the gTso.tsho.ba-s, a sub-group of the Men.Zhang nomads. In fact, in the years preceding 1378, the Men.Zhang-s had become more assertive in Byang and mNga'.ris.smad, and aimed to destabilize Gung.thang to their advantage. The Men.Zhang-s first temporarily usurped the Gung.thang throne in the five years between iron pig 1371 and wood sheep 1375<sup>805</sup>. Glo.bo managed to become partially independent

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(804) Throughout Tibetan literature the kings of Gung.thang are called Khab.pa. See, for example, *Deb.sher dmar.po* (p.44 line 11), which calls them Khab Gung.thang.pa-s when it says that they were descended from dPal.lde, eldest son of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.9a lines 2-3) has the same assessment: "Khyam.mgo bzung man.chad/ Gung.thang Khab.pa'i 'bangs.su zhugs te khral.dmag rgyugs.pas/ Men.Zhang Khab.pa'i rtsa.ba'i mi.sde yin zer.ba yang de.nas byung.ba 'dra", "From [the time] when they ruled Khyam.mgo on, [the Men.Zhang-s] were the subjects of Gung.thang. As they had to [pay] taxes and [to enlist in the] army, the Men.Zhang-s are known as one of the *rtsa.ba'i mi.sde* of the Khab.pa-s ("root communities" of Gung.thang). Subsequently, it was in the same way [as before]".

(805) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.117 line 18-p.118 line 1): "Gyod.po rTa.dben.gyi log.pa'i bsam.pas phra.na gcug.nas Zhang sNa.tshags.pa sMon.lam rgyal.mtshan.gyis khri Phun.tshogs.lde dgung.lo sum.bcu so.gsum lcags.khyi lor bkrongs.pa'i lo phyi.ma lcags.phag lor rTa.dben.gyi sras.mo.la khri.rgyal bSod(p.118).nams.lde sGro.spangs su 'khrungs", "[Phun.tshogs.lde's] father-in-law [Men.Zhang] rTa.dben (sic for Ta.dben), having plotted a revolt, slandered [the king]. Hence, [Men.]Zhang sNa.tshags.pa sMon.lam rgyal.mtshan assassinated khri Phun.tshogs.lde in the iron dog year (1370), when the latter was thirty-three. In the following year, iron pig (1371), the daughter of the Ta.dben gave birth to khri.rgyal bSod.nams.lde at sGro.spangs". Soon after (p.118 line 6), the text adds: "De.skabs Ta.dben.gyis Gung.thang.gi rgyal.srid lo.lnga bzung", "At that time (1371), Ta.dben usurped the Gung.thang throne for five years".

from Gung.thang in the meantime<sup>806</sup>. The Gung.thang conquest of rGyal.ti occurred a few years after the Men.Zhang usurpation.

The faction which conquered rGyal.ti and held it in 1378 before being ousted by Gu.ge was the Sa.skya Gung.thang.pa-s for, after the 1371-1375 Men.Zhang.pa usurpation, gTso.tsho restored the Sa.skya.pa lineage on the Gung.thang throne<sup>807</sup>. They were the Gung.thang Khab.pa-s of 1378 mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*. Control of Gung.thang by the same Sa.skya.pa court faction continued until 1390, when mChog.grub.lde, the Gung.thang ruler born from a Sa.skya.pa mother, who had been enthroned in 1375, was assassinated, and his step-brother bSod.nams.lde, a Men.Zhang sNa.tshags.pa from his mother's side who was in exile in Pu.hrang, was enthroned in Gung.thang<sup>808</sup>. This means that, in order to be able to give sanctuary to the dissident

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(806) Glo.bo provided sanctuary to the Men.Zhang faction which had usurped the Gung.thang throne when it was ousted from Gung.thang by the gTso.tsho.ba-s in 1375. *Chos.legs nam.shar* (f.14a lines 2-5) says: "De.dus rgyal.bu sku pang.du bzhugs.su gsol.nas Zhang.pas sa.'ja.li.la bzhugs.pas/ de.la brten.nas gTso.tsho.bas sngar 'di.'dra'i lugs med.pa la/ da.lta 'di.bzhin gyed.pa.'di khad.kyis Khab.pa'i mnga'.thang 'phrog.pa.'dug zer.nas dmag bton te/ Zhang.pa Glo.bor log.'byon.pa'i rjes.la bcug/de'i tshe Zhang.pa'i dmag mTsho.bar mda'i Sangs.po snying.ri.la btab yod.pa la/ gTso.tsho.ba'i dmag.gis bskor.nas Zhang.pa la bshums.dgos byung", "At that time, as he (Zhang Kun.spangs.pa Tshul.khrims rgyal.mtshan) lifted the little prince (bSod.nams.lde) onto his lap and sat on [the throne], the Zhang.pa-s held the *sa.'ja.li* (i.e. the Gung.thang throne). The gTso.tshoba-s, having said: "A similar custom did not exist earlier. Now, entangled in this strife, the royal power of the Khab.pa-s (Gung.thang kings) has been taken away", raised an army. The Zhang.pa-s withdrew to Glo.bo and then counterattacked. At that time the Zhang.pa troops being deployed at [Glo.bo] mTsho.bar.mda' Sangs.po snying.ri, after the gTso.bo.ba troops surrounded them, it happened that the Zhang.pa-s shed tears". See also my paper entitled "Nomads of Byang and mNga'.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century".

(807) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.118 lines 7-12): "Gung.thang la shin.tu 'tshe.ba che zhing mthar kho.rang yang sKyid.rong du phyin.par Rong.pa rnam.dang 'khrug ste mda'.dgu lus.la zug.nas mtshams.su tshe'i dus byas.par grags/ Gung.thang.gi blon.po lHa.rje chos.skyong dang/ chen.po sNang.mdzad sogs bsam.pa che.ba bzhis 'bad.pas Byang.pa bton.nas lha.btsan.po'i sras sku.mched rgyal.sar bzhugs.su gsol.ba yin", "He (Zhang Tshul.khrims rgyal.mtshan) caused great harm to Gung.thang, and, when finally he also went to sKyid.rong [to cause harm], he had a struggle with the Rong.pa-s. It is well known that he was eventually killed, for his body was hit by nine arrows. The Gung.thang ministers lHa.rje chos.skyong and chen.po sNang.mdzad etc., four very thoughtful men, having struggled to remove the Byang.pa-s, they enthroned *lha.btsan.po's* son, the brother (mChog.grub.lde)". In the following sentence, *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* reports the marriage of mi.dbang mChog.grub.lde with a Mar.yul.pa princess (see above n.756), which proves that it was mChog.grub.lde who was chosen by his faction to be king.

(808) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.118 line 15-19): "sKabs.der bSod.nams.lde dang sku.mched.gnyis kyang cung.zad thugs mi.mthun.pas/ gcung khri.rgyal bSod.nams.lde sPu.rang du 'byon.pa bzhed.de yar.la phebs.pa na/ khri mChog.grub.lde chibs.bcag.par Tho.le thang.khar byon.pas chibs.kyis skyur te sku.gshegs/ gcung sTod du phebs.pa zhabs.bskyil.nas spyang.drangs.pa'i slad.du pho.nya btang.pas Gro.shod.kyi 'dabs Shri.dkar.mo dang nye.ba'i Re.lar rjes zin.nas tshur.phebs te gcen.gyi gshegs.rdzongs rnam.legs.par bsgrubs/ rgyal.po de ni thugs(p.119).dgongs zab.cing shes.rab rno.ba phyir rgol.ba 'dzoms.pa la dpa' zhing srid.skyong

Men.Zhang.pa faction, Pu.hrang was under Gu.ge rather than Gung.thang after 1378. It continued to be under Gu.ge at least until 1390, when bSod.nams.lde left Pu.hrang to become king of Gung.thang.

The fact that Pu.hrang was able to give sanctuary to Men.Zhang bSod.nams.lde after the Sa.skya.pa lineage recovered the Gung.thang throne in 1375 proves that Pu.hrang had previously freed itself from alien control after the downfall of Sa.skya in 1354 and that of the Yuan in 1368. Pu.hrang found itself in a position to protect the Men.Zhang sNag.tshags.pa faction of Gung.thang, a concrete act of opposition to the Sa.skya.pa-s and in particular their Gung.thang feudatories who had held Pu.hrang for a long time.

The antagonistic stance of Pu.hrang may have prompted the further attack of Gung.thang in 1378. In particular, the detail provided by *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* that the Khab.pa-s were preparing to extend their occupation from rGyal.ti to the rest of Pu.hrang (i.e. Pu.hrang.smad, which most likely was where Men.Zhang bSod.nams.lde had sought refuge) should receive due consideration. It is likely that the 1378 Gung.thang.pa campaign was intended to eliminate the rival Men.Zhang.pa faction exiled in Pu.hrang. Gu.ge's intervention was to prevent Gung.thang removing two of the latter's major rivals, the Men.Zhang-s and Pu.hrang, with a single military action.

A prophecy of Guru Padma found in *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* refers to the events which led Gu.ge to free Pu.hrang from the Sa.skya-Gung.thang alliance. The incident foretold dates to after 1363, as reference is made in the prophecy to Phag.ri.mkhar<sup>809</sup>, founded in that year by the rGyal.rtse prince 'Phags.pa rin.chen<sup>810</sup>. The time of writing of *bTsun.mo*

shin.tu mkhas", "At that time, bSod.nams.lde and his brother (mChog.grub.lde, who had been enthroned in Gung.thang) had a small disagreement. Hence, it was decided that the younger brother bSod.nams.lde had to leave for Pu.hrang. After the latter went upwards [to Pu.hrang], khri mChog.grub.lde, having proceeded to Tho.le thang.kha in order to test a horse, fell from the horse and died. A messenger was sent with the task of inviting from exile the younger brother, who had gone to sTod. He went to fetch him (bSod.nams.lde) at Re.la, which is near Shri.dkar.mo, located in Gro.shod, and brought him back. He excellently completed the funerary rites of his elder brother. This king (bSod.nams.lde) was extremely gifted with a thoughtful mind, profound thinking, sharp intelligence, bravery to vanquish enemies, and power". mChog.grub.lde had a right of primogeniture. He belonged to the lineage of the Gung.thang rulers who were blood relations of the Sa.skya.pa-s since lHa.gcig mdzes.ma, sister of Gung.thang mGon.po.lde, married Zangs.tsha in the 1230s (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.94 lines 9-11; *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.127b lines 2-3).

(809) *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* (p.302 lines 4-7): "Phag.ri.mkhar zhes.byab.ba nyid.du/ dge.slong Ko.ka.li zhes.byab.ba/ skye.ba brgya'i mtha' nga'i chos.kyis bstan.pa 'dzin.skyong.spel.gsum byed.pa/ bsam.gtan pho.mo lnga.brgyas bskor.ba/ 'Khrul.zhig chen.po zhes.byab.ba 'byung.ngo" "At the castle known as Phag.ri, a monk called Ko.ka.li will practise, protect and diffuse my teachings in these three [ways] until the end of a hundred lives. Five hundred *samadin*-s and *samadhini*-s will be his retinue. This one known as 'khrul.zhig chen.po ("great meditator") will appear".

(810) *Myang chos.'byung* (p.90 lines 2-3): "Yos lo.la Phag.ri rNam.rgyal dkar.po brtsigs", "[Phags.pa rin.chen] built Phag.ri rNam.rgyal dkar.po in the hare year (1363)" and not in 1360, as Tucci says (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.663a), because 1360 was a bird year.

*bka'.thang*, i.e. in the years between 1384-1393 according to Blondeau ("Le lHa.'Dre bka'.thang" p.39-42), fell close to the incident prophesied. "Pu.rangs will be in turmoil [and will experience] the eight types of fear. As Gu.ge will not follow the law, obstructions will arise. The Zhang.zhung.pa-s will dwell on the path of revolt"<sup>811</sup>. The prophecy shows a remarkable acquaintance with the dynamics of the episode, which must have been a major incident in this period of Tibetan history to attract the attention of an anti-Sa.skya contemporary in dBus.gTsang like O.rgyan gling.pa and not only the interest of later writers on local history such as Ngag.dbang grags.pa. The prophecy confirms that the aggression was centred on Pu.hrang. Pu.hrang was in disarray, and Gu.ge took the initiative to remove the rule of Gung.thang. By recovering Pu.hrang.stod, Gu.ge broke the Sa.skya/Gung.thang "law", whose oppressive terms are a recurrent theme in *bKa'.thang lde.lnga*. In this way the Zhang.zhung.pa-s (Gu.ge and Pu.hrang) rebelled against a domination imposed from the outside.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that local power was restored in Pu.hrang under the sTod.pa-s, i.e. Gu.ge. In the turmoil of those years, when a bitter struggle at the Gung.thang court was influencing the fate of the lands that it controlled, Pu.hrang went through alternating periods of subjugation and limited autonomy<sup>812</sup>. In particular, after the 1378 campaign,

(811) *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* (p.302 lines 8-10): "Pu.rangs mi.bde 'jigs.pa.brgyad rnam dang/ Gu.ge khirms ma.zin.pas bgegs rnam ldang/ Zhang.zhung.pa rnam log.pa'i lam.la zhugs". The possibility that Guru Padma's prophecy refers to another period of turmoil in Gu.ge, that which resulted in a troop levy in the years between 1351 and 1353 at Tho.ling (*Si.tu bka'.chems in rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.223 lines 16-20, p.205 line 12 and p.227 line 19; see also Addendum Three) has to be dismissed, for the events of the rebellion in Zhang.zhung cannot have occurred before 1363.

(812) An episode occurring previously under the Gung.thang king bKra.shis.lde (ruling in 1355: see *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.114) and concerning the discovery of a gold mine, is a sign of the political situation prevailing in the areas adjoining Pu.hrang.stod during the period before 1378. *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.115 lines 5-10) says: "De.skabs mnga'.thang yang gong.du 'phel zhing lhag.tu sTod Gangs.ri Ti.se'i shar.phyogs Dra.la nye.bar Dra.lung ring.mor bud.med rgan.mo shing thun zhi.gis dra.ma'i sdong.po 'then.pas gser.thig chen.po gcig rnyed.pa la brten gser.khung bzang.po rnyed/ lHo.sde khri.dpon Byir.ma gser.dpon.du bskos", "At that time, his (bKra.shis.lde's) power increased mightily. In sTod, at Dra.lung ring.mo near Dra.la to the east of Gangs.ri Ti.se, an old woman who had gone to fetch wood, while pulling away a bush she had cut, discovered a huge nugget of gold. Because of this, a rich gold mine was discovered. lHo.sde (sic for Glo.sde) khri.dpon Byir.ma was appointed *gser.dpon*". In water hare 1363, bKra.shis.lde sponsored a revision of the *bsTan.gyur* (ibid. p.116 line 20-p.117 line 1: "Chu.mo.yos.kyi lo dbyar zla.'bring.po sa.ga zla.ba'i yar.ngo gza'.skar bzang.po.la rab.tu gnas.pa dang bcas.pa legs.par grub.par mdzad(p.117).do/ de.ltar bsTan.gyur gser.gyi gad.pa grub", "In the first half of *sa.ga zla.ba*, being the middle month of summer, of the water female hare year (1363), under an auspicious star, [the newly produced books] were consecrated. [The work] was completed. Similarly, the *bsTan.gyur* [written] in pure gold was completed"). This event is a *terminus ante quem* for the occurrence of the discovery of gold at Dra.lung ring.mo. This is thus another instance of Gung.thang.pa control of Pu.hrang.stod in the fluctuating political situation of that period, in which Pu.hrang more than once passed under Gung.thang only to regain its autonomy some time after. Gung.thang.pa rule of Pu.hrang.stod had already been established in the years preceding the episode of this discovery (1355-1363). Subsequently, Gung.thang lost control of Pu.hrang.stod, to recapture it and lose it again in 1378.

Pu.hrang remained in the sTod.pa sphere of influence exercised by Gu.ge, and did not regain full independence.

This episode marks the first case of the appointment of a Pu.hrang *dpon.po*, i.e. Gu.ge's governor of Pu.hrang. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* is silent as regards his name. In the biography of Glan.ston bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan, a Bon.po master who belonged to the *byang.rgyud* lineage of the *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud*, a Pu.hrang governor (referred in the source by the old Pu.hrang royal title *jo.bo* rather than *dpon.po*) met with this Bon.po master. He is named A.ya jo.bo in *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar*. The period in which this event occurred fell close to the 1378 campaign and in all likelihood makes A.ya jo.bo the first Gu.ge governor in Pu.hrang<sup>813</sup>.

(813) The assessment of the period when A.ya jo.bo was the Pu.hrang *dpon.po* depends on fixing the time of Glan.ston's presence in the same territory. No dates are available for Glan.ston's sojourn in Pu.hrang. A Bon.po master of historical relevance is sPa.ston bsTan.rgyal bzang.po, who was ordained by Glan.ston (*dPaLldan tshul.khrims bstan.'byung* p.393 lines 13-14: "sPa.ston bsTan.rgyal bzang.po ni/...Glen.ston bSod.nams.rgyal las rab.tu.byung"). sPa.ston's dates are useful to assess the period in which Glan.ston lived. sPa.ston is the author of *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* and *bsTan.pa'i rnam.bshad dar.rgyas gsal.ba'i sgron.me*. S.Karmay ("A gZer.mig Version of the Interview between Confucius and Phyva Keng-tse lan-med" p.577) says that the *rnam.thar* was written in 1539. Blondeau ("Le "découvreur" du Ma.ni bka'.bum était-il bon-po?" p.102-103) proposes 1465 or 1525. In *The Treasury of Good Sayings* (p.24 n.4) S.Karmay was led to consider sPa.ston a contemporary of Bru rGyal.ba g.yung.drung (1242-1290) by *Nyi.ma bstan.'dzin bstan.rsis* (p.32 line 22 and p.33 line 8; see Kwaerne, "A Chronological Table of the Bon-po" p.231 and 232). In *A Catalogue of Bon.po Publications* (p.117) S.Karmay proposes 1285 or 1345 for the date of completion of *Pa.ston sgron.me*. Blondeau ("Identification de la tradition appelée bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs" p.51 n.55) introduces a decisive argument to place sPa.ston in historical perspective. In *sPa.ston sgron.me* (p.766 line 4), sPa.ston cites Bon.spyod g.Yung.drung gling.pa among the eclectic *ger.ston-s*, the rDo.rje gling.pa of the Buddhists, who was his contemporary. Blondeau ("mKhyen-brce'i dbang-po: La biographie de Padmasambhava selon la tradition du bsGrags-pa Bon, et ses sources" p.126) makes another significant contribution by fixing rDo.rje gling.pa's dates. He was born in fire dog 1345, and died in wood bird 1405. Evidence for this dating is offered by Kong.sprul when he says that he was the master of the fourth Karma Zhwa.nag.pa Rol.pa rdo.rje (1340-1383). In some cases, safe grounds are reached when dates of Bon.po masters are cross-checked with those of Buddhist exponents. sPa.ston being a contemporary of rDo.rje gling.pa, the date of completion of *sPa.ston sgron.me*, indicated as a wood bird year, cannot be other than 1405, since 1465 is too late for the two masters to have been contemporary. *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar*, completed in an earth pig year, was finished in 1419. The fact that the death of rDo.rje gling.pa is not mentioned in the former text confirms the date of completion of *sPa.ston sgron.me* in 1405. Further evidence instrumental in dating *sPa.ston sgron.me* comes from the genealogy of the Gung.thang kings included in the work (p.696). The genealogy is closed with a reference to khri lHa.dbang rgyal.mtshan, born in wood monkey 1404 at sGro.spangs according to *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.122 lines 15-16). No later member of the Gung.thang line is indicated.

At this point of the assessment another Bon.po master, Khyung.po Rang.grol bla.ma rGyal.mtshan, is helpful in establishing Glan.ston's period, and consequently that of A.ya jo.bo's rule in Pu.hrang. *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* records some remarks made by Khyung.po to Glan.ston regarding the latter's refusal to perform ceremonies for the dead to raise alms since he adhered to a strict ascetic discipline (p.78 lines 4-5: "Tshe.das.kyi byang.bu mi.mdzad yod.pa la/ Khyung.po Rang.grol.gyis dngos.bzung/ Khyed 'brel.pa don.lidan zhig 'dug.pas/ cis.kyang byang.bu mdzod gsungs/ de.man 'gro.don phyogs.med mdzad.do", "Since he used to refrain from making effigy tablets for the funerary rites, this was noted by Khyung.po Rang.grol.

As shown above (p.460), the end of rGod.lam.lde's reign and that of the Pu.hrang dynasty occurred not long before 1378. Thus, the statement in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.72 line 1) that the Pu.hrang lineage came to an end after the reign of rGod.lam.lde is consistent with the fact that a governor was appointed by Gu.ge in Pu.hrang after 1378, since there was no longer a local king. It seems that Gu.ge's action was induced by the fact

who told him: "You have a compassionate karmic predisposition. Why are you not making effigy tablets for the funerary rites?". Apart from this, he dispassionately laboured for the benefit of sentient beings"). This proves that the two Bon.po masters were contemporary and were in personal contact. Khyung.po Rang.grol bla.ma rGyal.mtshan was born in a dragon year (*Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.105 line 3: "dgung.snying 'brug yin", "His birth year was dragon"). *Nyi.ma bstan.'dzin bstan.rtsis* (p.33 lines 10-11; Kwaerne, "A Chronological Table of the Bon-po" p.232) fixes his birth to earth dragon 1328. *dPal.lidan tshul.khrims bstan.'byung* corrects this date to a wood dragon year, which could be either 1304 or 1364 (p.392 lines 15-17: "Ri.pa Sher.blos bla.ma rGyal.mtshan la/ brgyud de de.nyid gdung.rus Khyung.po ste/...shing.'brug lo.la 'khrungs", "Ri.pa Sher.blos gave the lineage transmission to bla.ma rGyal.mtshan. His clan was Khyung.po...he was born in the wood dragon year"). Once again, safe grounds are reached by virtue of the evidence deriving from Buddhist masters, for Khyung.po personally met Blo.bzang grags.pa in dBus.gTsang (*Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.107 line 6: "dBus.gTsang du lan.gnyis byon/ chos.rje Blo.bzang grags.pa dang shag.bdun.du sgrog.gling mdzad", "He went twice to dBus.gTsang. He spent seven days having [religious] discussions with chos.rje Blo.bzang.grags.pa"). No clues are available to ascertain when exactly Khyung.po Rang.grol met Tsong.kha.pa. The latter, as is well known, came to dBus in 1372 (*bsTan.rtsis kun.las btus.pa* p.206, *Re'u.mig* in Sum.pa mkhan.po, *dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.867). At that time Tsong.kha.pa was a promising young man who came to Central Tibet for his studies. A turning point in his career was the three years retreat in 'Ol.kha with his first disciples starting from 1392, which established him as a teacher. I assume that the meeting of Khyung.po Rang.grol with Tsong.kha.pa occurred later, possibly in the early 15th century, when Tsong.kha.pa was an acclaimed *chos.rje*. All this rules out the possibility that Khyung.po could have been born in 1304. If *dPal.lidan tshul.khrims'* correction is trustworthy, then the wood dragon year of Khyung.po's birth was 1364. By virtue of the fact that Glan.ston ordained sPa.ston, who was a younger contemporary of rDo.rje gling.pa (1346-1405) and that sPa.ston bsTan.rgyal bzang po wrote *sPa.ston sgron.me* in 1405 and *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* in 1419, Glan.ston must also have been an older contemporary of Khyung.po, since the latter met Tsong.kha.pa after the latter's retreat of 1392-1394, probably in the early 15th century (Tsong.kha.pa d.1419).

Glan.ston had a long life: he lived for ninety-seven years (*Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.80 line 5). When he was twenty he obtained the *Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* transmission from his master Bya.btang.pa. This happened at Pu.hrang Bye.phug.mkhar (ibid. p.78 lines 2-3: "Nyi.shu.pa la Pu.hrang Bye.phug.gi mkhar thabs su/ bla.ma Bya.btang.pa la rDzogs.pa chen.po Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud zhus", "When he was twenty, he received *rDzogs.pa chen.po Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud* from his bla.ma Bya.btang.pa at Pu.hrang Bye.phug.mkhar") (has this cave connection with Bye.ma g.yung.drung?). He then became highly respected by all Bon.po masters in sTod and the local lords including Pu.hrang A.ya jo.bo (ibid. p.78 lines 5-6: "sTod.phyogs.kyi Bon.chos.kyi dge.bshes rnam.dang/ Pu.hrang.gi A.ya jo.bo/ yul stod.smad/ bZang.rgyud/ Chag/ Glo.Dol.'Brog gsum.gyi rgya.dpon drag zhan rnam.kyis/ spyi phud.du bkur.ba'i zhing.du byed", "The Bon.po masters of sTod and Pu.hrang A.ya jo.bo, the great lords as well as superior and inferior people of yul [mNga'ris.]stod.smad, bZang.rgyud, Chag, Glo[.bo] Dol[.po] and 'Brog[yul], these three, highly revered him"). His presence in Pu.hrang at the beginning or in the earlier part of his life (ca 1350-1400) is thus confirmed. This is a first clue to identify the time of his contacts with A.ya jo.bo and therefore to establish the latter's ruling period. Reference to the respect he earned in Glo.Dol.'Brog.gsum applies to the later part of Glan.ston's life (ca 1400-1450), when he went to those



that Pu.hrang was left at the mercy of any aggressive undertaking from outside. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* suggests that Gu.ge's intervention was somehow protective of Pu.hrang.pa interests.

At the time of Gu.ge's take-over of rGyal.ti and Pu.hrang.stod in 1378, the Gu.ge king rNam.rgyal.lde, in whose section of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 lines 8-11) the event is introduced, was seven years old (b.1372). It is evident that the conquest of Pu.hrang.stod was not undertaken by him, but probably by his predecessor on the throne of Gu.ge, who is wrongly indicated in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, his identity possibly being reconstructed with the help of *Bai.ser*. That rNam.rgyal.lde was a child when Pu.hrang was reconquered and that he could not have been responsible for its recapture is confirmed by the same passage in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* marred by a lacuna (p.82 lines 1-3), which says that his elder brother dPal.'bar.lde, also still a child, was designated to rule it. He refused the Pu.hrang throne and, later the text (p.83 lines 10-11) records the appointment of the Gu.ge representative. The establishment of the office of Pu.hrang *dpon.po* governing locally on behalf of Gu.ge was thus determined by the peculiar situation at the Gu.ge court at that time. The episode involving dPal.'bar.lde definitely took place before 1384, for he died when he was thirteen, and he was older than rNam.rgyal.lde, who turned thirteen in 1384. Hence, the introduction of the office of Pu.hrang *dpon.po* occurred in the years between earth horse 1378 and wood rat 1384.

After the 1378 campaign, Pu.hrang did not fully recover its independent status at least for the whole of the 15th century and the early part of the 16th. The land and its local ruler passed at times under the authority of Gu.ge and others under that of Glo.bo. The nature of the control of these two territories could not have been more different. Pu.hrang struggled to remove Glo.pa presence, while it had more relaxed relations with Gu.ge, with which they had ancestral ties<sup>814</sup>.

The appointment by Gu.ge of a representative to govern Pu.hrang was soon followed, according to *Gung.thang gdung.rabs*, by the first instance of Glo.pa control. Tshe.dbang nor.bu refers to the capture of Pu.hrang by Chos.skyong.'bum, who was a headman of the

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lands. In fact, in the later part of his life he resided in Mustang at the invitation of the Glo dMos.thang.pa-s (*Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.79 line 5: "sKu.tshe'i smad.la dMos.thang.pas mkhar brtsigs/gdan.drangs gnas chen.po Gad.kyi Byi.ba.mkhar du bzhugs", "In the later part of his life, the dMos.thang.pa-s built a castle and invited [him there]. He resided at the great place Gad.kyi Byi.ba.mkhar"). From the facts that Glan.ston was in Pu.hrang during the early part of his life while in the later half he was in Glo.bo, Dol.po and the nomad lands of Byang, it follows that he won the respect of A.ya jo.bo of Pu.hrang in the period before the end of the 14th century. A.ya jo.bo obviously ruled Pu.hrang after the end of the Pu.hrang royal line, for *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* does not make him the last ruler of the lineage. On the basis of his association with Glan.ston and the latter's spiritual links with sPa.ñton, as well as the evidence provided by cross-reference concerning Khyung.po Rang.grol, A.ya jo.bo ruled after Gu.ge freed Pu.hrang from Gung.thang in 1378.

(814) The relations between Gu.ge and Pu.hrang in that period were certainly not on equal grounds. rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol (*gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* p.187 lines 3-4; see below p.535

rising Glo sMos.thang.pa-s<sup>815</sup>. *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* describes the event as if it were an enterprise of the Men.Zhang king of Gung.thang, carried out by his lieutenant Chos.skyong.'bum, for the text says that in gratitude for the reconquest of Pu.hrang, bSod.nams.lde granted Glo.bo and Dol.po to Chos.skyong.'bum. This cannot have been the case since the latter already had *de facto* control of Glo.bo<sup>816</sup>. The Men.Zhang ruler of Gung.thang actually acknowledged the passage of Pu.hrang under the Glo.pa-s. Glo.bo had already achieved semi-independent status under other members of Chos.skyong.'bum's family and Gung.thang power had been weakened by factional struggles for its throne. At that time, Pu.hrang nominally passed under the control of the Men.Zhang clan of Byang, which had successfully taken over Gung.thang, but actually passed under that of the Glo sMos.thang.pa-s. In fact, Glo.bo continued to be a semi-independent kingdom under a rather loose Men.Zhang.pa sovereignty until 1441, when Glo.bo finally destroyed the Men.Zhang-s, and subsequently crushed the gTso.tsho.ba-s in 1446 to become the major power in West Tibet<sup>817</sup>.

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and n.916) records payment of tribute by the Pu.hrang.pa-s to Gu.ge at the end of the 15th century, which may have also occurred earlier, while Glo.pa control was never accepted by Pu.hrang.pa-s since it was often marked by violence (see, e.g., rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* p.188 lines 2-3; and below p.535 and n.918).

(815) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.119 line 6-10): "gSar.du Pu.hreng yang mnga'.og.tu chud/Pu.hreng dbang.du mdzad.pa'i dmag.dpon khri.dpon Byir.ma'i gcung Chos.skyong.'bum.gyis byas.pas de.yi bya.dgar Glo.bo Dol.po'i mi.dpon.du bskos.pa'i rigs.rgyud Glo.bo rgyal.por grags.pa da.lta'i bar rgyun ma.chad.pa 'di'o", "Pu.hreng was newly brought under control. In gratitude for the conquest of Pu.hreng accomplished by Chos.skyong.'bum, the younger brother of dmag.dpon khri.dpon Byir.ma, he (Chos.skyong.'bum) was appointed *mi.dpon* ("chief") of Glo.bo [and] Dol.po. His lineage, known as that of the Glo.bo kings, has continued to this day without interruption".

(816) Glo.bo had raised itself to semi-independent status during the nomads' revolt of 1371-1375 when it sided with the Men.Zhang-s against Gung.thang. Glo.bo severed its links with Gung.thang when the gTso.tsho.ba counter-revolt broke out against the Men.Zhang-s and Glo.bo gave sanctuary to the Zhang.pa faction (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.14a lines 2-5; see also above n.806). The Men.Zhang-s, however, still retained a right of sovereignty over Glo.bo. The notion of unquestioned Zhang.pa sovereignty over Glo.bo during the initial stages of the Glo sMos.thang dynasty is confirmed by *Tsa.rang mol.ba*, according to which Shes.rab bla.ma established the Glo sMos.thang line, while being subordinate to the Zhang.pa-s (*Tsa.rang mol.ba* f.8b in Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang* p.146 and p.163). After him, his son Chos.skyong.'bum is referred to as a Zhang.pa. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.21b line 1) says that he was a Zhang.pa *nye.gnas*, i.e. a follower or attendant of the Men.Zhang-s.

(817) On Glo.bo's subordination to the Men.Zhang-s before it became a major power in West Tibet see *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.22a line 5): "A.ma.dpal khu.tsha gnyis kyang 'Phred.mkhar.ba stobs.che.bar byung.ba'i skabs.sul spyir gnyis.ka'i dpon.po Zhang.pa yin", "When the 'Phred.mkhar.ba-s (Glo sMos.thang.pa-s' kins-

Reference to the recapture of Pu.hrang during bSod.nams.lde's reign in Gung.thang, contained in *Gung.thang gdung.rabs*, is useful because it helps to approximate the period in which Chos.skyong.'bum accomplished its conquest. Since Gu.ge lost Pu.hrang to Chos.skyong.'bum after the Gung.thang throne had passed under the Men.Zhang-s, assessing the date of the succession to the Gung.thang throne at the end of the 14th century is essential to ascertain in which years this loss occurred.

men) became the more powerful of the two paternal nephews, A.ma.dpal [and themselves], yet, in general, the Zhang.pa-s were the overlords of both of them". On Glo.bo's defeat of the Men.Zhang-s in 1441 see *ibid.* (f.24a lines 1-4): "De.nas lo.gcig tsam.nas Zhang.pa dang/ sMos.thang.pa yang sngar chang.mdo byas.pa la ma.gnas.par/ phan.tshun 'khrug.gin yod dus/ Zhang sNa.tshags.pa dGe.legs rgyal.mtshan zer.ba de Nyi.ri bya.ba'i rdzong.na bzhugs dus/ dang.po Khab.pa'i dpon.skya yin yang/ physis Zhang.pa'i 'og.ru bzhugs.pa'i Shi.tsha.ba dpon Dar zer.ba gcig.gis nang.nas bslus/ phyi.nas sMos.thang.pa'i dmag.gis bskor.nas rdzong phab ste/ yab bkrogs sras.po gnyis yod.pa Gung.thang du thar.ba.tsam byung ste/ physis.rje ma.byung/ de man.chad sMos.thang.pa stobs.chen.por song", "Then about one year later (1441), the Zhang.pa-s and sMos.thang.pa-s not having kept their previous agreement, when a struggle broke out, Zhang sNa.tshags.pa dGe.legs rgyal.mtshan, who originally was a lay leader under the [Gung.thang] Khab.pa-s and, later, under the Zhang.pa-s, when he was at [Glo.bo] Nyi.ri bya.ba'i rdzong, was deceived by one Shi.tsha.ba chief called Dar inside [the fort]. On its outside, having surrounded it, the sMos.thang.pa-s captured the rdzong. The father (i.e. Zhang sNa.tshags.pa dGe.legs rgyal.mtshan) was killed, [his] two sons escaped to Gung.thang. No one pursued them. From then on, the sMos.thang.pa-s became very powerful." Many pages of *Chos.legs rnam.thar* are devoted to the final defeat and persecution of the gTso.tsho.ba-s at the hands of the Glo.sMos.thang.pa-s, in which detail of their miserable fate is given at length (*ibid.* f.24a-28b). These long passages cannot be included here and I have to confine my treatment to the main event, which marked the turning point of gTso.tsho.ba fortunes and the final assertion of Glo.pa power after the Glo.pa-s slandered them. *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.27b line 2-f.28a line 1) says: "gTso.tsho.ba la da 'u.cag.la bka'.bgros bya.rgyu mang.po yod.pas mi.drag.pa rnam byon gsung.ba byung bas/ de'i lugs bzhin Rig.'dzin.'bum.gyis gso.mdzad mi.ngo drag.pa bcu.tsam g.yog dang bcas.pas Glo.bor byon/ de.dus drung.chen A.mgon ni mtshams.bcad/ dmag.dpon.pa dang mjal.bas de ma.thag tsha.bo mar.byon/ Byi.wa.mkhar.gyi rul.'dri.de sangs.gda' lags.se gsung/ de.nas dga'.mo cig mi.'ong.bar mkhyen yang/ sbal.pa rdza.mar lhung.ba ltar byed.thabs ma.byung/ de.nas zhag mang.po zhig ma.thogs.bar srod.cig.la gshed.ma mang.po so.sor bkye nas/ Rig.'dzin.'bum sku.mched.gnyis/ nga'i snga.tshang jo.co gcig/ Ar.dpon/ dpon rGyal zer.ba.cig ste mi.ngo drag.pa lnga/ Rig.'dzin.'bum.gyi (f.28a) blon.po dge.bsnyen dPal.zis rnam bsad", "As it happened that they (A.mgon bzang.po and dmag.dpon A.mo.gha) told the gTso.tsho.ba-s: "There are many reasons why we and the gTso.tsho.ba-s have to hold talks. Come with [your] headmen [to discuss them]," accordingly [gTso.tsho] Rig.'dzin.'bum led about ten headmen together with their assistants and went to Glo.bo. At that time drung.chen A.mgon remained behind as he went to see the dmag.dpon. [His] tsha.bo (A.mgon's maternal nephew), who was not far [from the gathering place], went downwards [to the meeting]. He said: "Is Byi.wa.mkhar's rotten smell still around? (this was a derisive formula to announce that the Glo.pa-s were going to avenge the siege that Gung.thang and the gTso.tsho.ba-s had earlier laid against Byi.wa.mkhar, the headquarters of the Glo.pa-s, when a great number of cattle of the Glo.pa-s died)". As he knew that nothing good would ensue, [Rig.'dzin.'bum] was like a frog in a pot [and] no way out was left. Then, not many days after, as many butchers were each given a task, Rig.'dzin.'bum and his brother; Ar.dpon, a chief from my own household; one called dpon rGyal; five notables; and Rig.'dzin.'bum's minister dge.bsnyen dPal.zis were murdered". More atrocities against the gTso.tsho.ba-s followed on that occasion. This event occurred between wood ox 1445 (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.26a line 3) and fire tiger 1446, when, immediately after the bloody episode of the death of the gTso.tsho leaders,

*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* is inaccurate when it places the grant of Ri.bo dPal.'bar in favour of rig.'dzin rGod.ldem.can during the time of the Gung.thang king bSod.nams.lde<sup>818</sup>.

*rGod.ldem.can rnam.thar* attributes the grant to mChog.grub.lde. It does so with remarkable precision, going on to state that the document establishing this grant was issued in the morning of the tenth day of the eighth month of earth snake 1389<sup>819</sup>. *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* adds that in iron horse 1390 bSod.nams.lde built sixteen *grwa.tshang*-s of the Gung.thang chos.sde<sup>820</sup>. bSod.nams.lde had returned from exile and succeeded his brother. mChog.grub.lde's death has the air of a murder, since it is described in

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the widowed mother of btsun.pa Chos.legs was asked to remarry, which she refused, subsequently becoming a nun. A time frame for the latter episode is provided when the text (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.28a lines 4-5) says: "Nga'i ma de byi lo.ma yin.pas lo sum.bcu.so.dgu lon.pa cig yod.pa de", "My mother, who was born in a rat year (1408), was thirty-nine (1446) by then".

(818) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.119 lines 14-16): "dGung.lo bcu.dgu sa.sbrul.la Gu.ru Pad.ma'i rgyal.tshab gter.ston rig.'dzin chen.po rGod.ldem.can spyan.drangs.nas Mang.yul Ri.bo dPal.'bar.gyi dgon gnas.gzhis bcas phul", "When he (bSod.nams.lde) was nineteen in the earth snake year (1389), as Guru Padma's successor gter.ston rig.'dzin chen.po rGod.ldem.can was invited, he was awarded the monastery, the monks' quarters and the estates of Mang.yul Ri.bo dPal.'bar".

(819) *rGod.ldem.can rnam.thar* (p.125 line 1-3): "De.nas sa.mo.sbrul.gyi lo mnga'.bdag mChog.grub.lde spyan.drangs te/ Ri.bo dPal.'bar/ Physis.kyi bde.chen la.sogs.pa'i dgon.gzhi phul/ dbu'i mchod.gnas.su sten/ tsan.dan.gyi dam.kha dang/ bka'.khrims bcas.pa'i bka'.yig 'di.ltar phul", "Then, in the earth female snake year (1389), mnga'.bdag mChog.grub.lde invited him (rGod.ldem.can). He awarded him Ri.bo dPal.'bar, Physis.kyi bde.chen, monasteries and estates. He was appointed *dbu'i mchod.gnas* ("head *bla.ma*"). He was granted a sandalwood seal and a written order [containing] all commands [in his favour]". The text of the edict granting Ri.bo dPal.'bar to rGod.ldem follows (ibid. p.125 line 3-p.127 line 5), from which a few passages are here excerpted (p.126 line 1-4: "U.rgyan Padma 'byung.gnas dang/ chos.rgyal Khri.srong lde.btsan.gyi thugs.rjes/ rgyal.rgyud la dgos.pa'i chos.gter.du bzhag.pa/ bla.ma Ri.bo bKra.bzang.pa'i bton.pa/ nged rgyal.po'i gdung.rgyud.la 'phrod.pas/ ding.sang chos.skyong rgyal.po'i lha.rgyud dang/ bla.ma rig.'dzin.pa'i rgyud/ Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa gnas.kyi ring.la yon.mchod byed.pas/ Ri.bo dPal.'bar dang/ sbas.yul gsum.gyi gts'o byas.pa'i/ nged.kyi mnga'.og.du/ khong.gi gnas.gzhi dben.dgon/ Bod.'Brog.gi gzhis/ bu.slob byung.pa thams.cad/ bla.mchod gtsang.mar ston.pa yin", "[Owing to] the compassion of U.rgyan Padma 'byung.gnas and chos.rgyal Khri.srong lde.btsan, bla.ma Ri.bo bKra.bzang.pa rediscovered [texts] hidden as religious treasures, which were needed by the royal lineage. [These treasures] being suitable to our royal line, from now on, the divine heritage of the *chos.skyong rgyal.po*-s and the line of bla.ma Rig.'dzin [rGod.ldem.can] are bound by *yon.mchod* for as long as the Buddhist teachings will last. Ri.bo dPal.'bar, the three *sbas.yul*-s, which are under our control, as main [donations], including their quarters, hermitages [and] monasteries, and nomad pastures, are, all of them, awarded to [rGod.ldem, our] *bla.mchod* and his disciples who will appear [in the future]" and ibid. (p.127 lines 3-5) "Sa.mo.sbrul.gyi lo zla.ba brgyad.pa'i tshes.bcu'i snga.gro/ Mang.yul.gyi Gung.thang.gi gnas/ rgyal.po'i pho.brang/ bKra.shis sgo.mangs.kyi gtsug.lag.khang.du bris.pa'i/ rgyal.po bka'i yi.ge rin.po.che 'od.'bar.ba zhes.byab/ phyogs.dus thams.cad.du dge.bzhing bkra.shis.par gyur cig", "In the morning of the tenth day of the eighth month of the earth female snake year (1389), may the king's document called *Rin.po.che 'od.'bar.ba* ("the precious flaming document"), which has been written at bKra.shis sgo.mangs gtsug.lag.khang, this being the royal palace in the land of Mang.yul Gung.thang, auspiciously create virtue".

(820) *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.120 lines 5-9): "Lo.de'i phyi.ma lcags.rta lor mnga'.bdag

*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (manuscript f.12a, lHa.sa ed. p.118; see above n.808) with the conventional expression (“he fell from a horse”) used in Tibetan literature to imply an assassination<sup>821</sup>. Combining these pieces of evidence, one can approximate with better precision

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bSod.nams.lde dgung.lo nyi.shu.par mkhan.chen Grags.rgyal.gyi gsung.gyis bskul zhing mnga'.bdag rang.gi dgongs.bzhed khyad.par.bas Gung.thang du bshad.grwa dang 'brel.ba'i chos.sde chen.po grwa.tshang bcu.drug.gi khungs btsugs”, “In the following year, iron horse (1390), when he was twenty, mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.lde, at the request of mkhan.chen Grags.rgyal and as wished by *mnga'.bdag* himself in particular, founded in Gung.thang the sixteen *grwa.tshang-s* of the *chos.sde chen.po*, to which the *bshad.grwa* was attached”.

(821) Hence, in 1390, the Men.Zhang-s were able to overthrow the Sa.skya.pa faction occupying the Gung.thang throne, recall their heir apparent bSod.nams.lde from Pu.hrang and crown him (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* manuscript f.11b-12a = p.56 lines 3-9, lHa.sa ed. 117 line 15-p.118 line 2). Use of the formula “he fell from a horse” as a euphemism for assassination is often met with in the sources. Khri.gtsug lde.rtsan's death is so described in *sBa.bzhed* (p.8 lines 16-17: “Bod du yab rgyal.po Mes Ag.tshom Yar.'brog rBa.tshal du chibs sgron.pas grongs”, “In Bod, the father Mes Ag.tshom died at Yar.'brog rBa.tshal, for he fell from a horse”). It is well known that Khri.lde gtsug.btsan was murdered. On his assassination see *T'ang Annals* (Bushell transl.) p.473; Pelliot (transl.), *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* 1961 p.27 (*Old T'ang Annals*) and p.106 (*New T'ang Annals*). The *Tun.huang Annals* have a lacuna covering the entries for 748-754, the latter being the year in which he died, but record the prosecution of his assassins in the following year (Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatif à l'histoire du Tibet* p.56 (Tibetan text) and p.63 (transl.)). lJang.tsha lHa.dbon is said to have died in the same way (*sBa.bzhed* p.3 lines 4-5 and most later sources). Another version of his death, according to which sNyags Khri.bzang yan.ton murdered him because lJang.tsha preferred to marry Kong.co than his daughter, is found in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.295 lines 11-12): “Shul.du rgyal.bus mtshan.la rta.bcags.pas 'Phang.thang dGe.rar sngags.pa'i zor.mda' 'phangs.pas phog ste grongs”, “In the meantime, at night the *rgyal.bu*, while riding a horse, was accidentally hit by an arrow used in Tantric rituals at 'Phang.thang Ge.ra and died” and *ibid.* (lines 14-15): “La.lar gNyags Khri.bzang yang.ston.gyis kho.rang.gi bu.mo ma.blangs.pas khros.nas rgyal.bu bkrongs zhes kyang snang”, “According to some others it seems that gNyags Khri.bzang yang.ston killed *rgyal.bu* because he was angered that [lJang.tsha lHa.dbon] did not marry his daughter”. See also *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* (p.50 lines 19-20). The proposition in this narrative is untenable. *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.byung* says that lJang.tsha lHa.dbon was assassinated in order to remove him from the succession to the throne and to pave the way for Khri.srong lde.btsan's rule (p.375 line 21-p.376 line 1: “lJang.tsha lHa.dbon sNyags Khri.bzangs yang.ston.gyis bkrongs tel rgyu(p.376).mtshan Khri.srong lde.btsan la mnga'.ris gtod.pa'i phyir”, “lJang.tsha lHa.dbon was assassinated by sNyags Khri.bzangs yang.ston. The reason [that he was killed] was to give the kingdom to Khri.srong lde.btsan”). Other murders of Yar.lung royalty concealed by incidents involving horses are found in the literature. One such case is the death of bTsan.srong, Srong.btsan sgam.po's brother assassinated by latter's faction (*mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.byung* p.375 lines 19-20), as recorded in the damaged entry opening the Tun-huang Annals. See Richardson “A Fragment From Tun-huang” (p.33-38), where he has reconstructed the text of this entry: “...lTa mKha's Sregs 'khuste/ mNyal.gyi gzen tu/ gcung bTsan.srong/ zhugsu...”, Richardson translates: “mKha's Sregs, the servant of the younger brother bTsan.srong betrayed him, and the younger brother died in his bed by fire”). See also *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.byung* (p.118 lines 4-6), which is evidently derived from the Tun-huang narrative: “De'i gcung.po Tshes.spong.tsha zhugs ni dMyal du bzhag.pas me.griir bkrongs tel thang.mtshams.su phab.pa'o”, “As for the death of the younger brother, who was of a Tshe.spong mother, as he was residing at dMyal, he was assassinated by a flaming knife. [In this way], he was removed [from the succession]” and *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.byung* (p.375 lines 19-20): “bTsan.srong bzhugs.nam lHo.khar rta.griir bkrongs tel rgyu.mtshan.la rta.rgod

the period in which Pu.hrang passed again under the control of outsiders. It therefore took place around 1390<sup>822</sup>.

Later, according to *bsTan. 'dzin ras.pa rnam.thar*, it was A.ma.dpal, son of Chos.skyong.'bum and king of Glo.bo sMos.thang, who held Pu.hrang by appointing his own *rdzong.dpon*, Rab.brtaṅ mgon.po, at dKar.dum after A.ma.dpal's dynasty had become predominant in sTod while still loosely acknowledging enfeebled Men.Zhang sovereignty<sup>823</sup>. There is no sign to indicate whether Pu.hrang remained under Glo.bo from the time of Chos.skyong.'bum until that of his son A.ma.dpal. The text says that the Glo.pa *rdzong.dpon* Rab.brtaṅ mgon.po ruled dKar.dum for six years and was then killed by the *sde.pa* (i.e. A.ma.dpal). Glo.bo's control of Pu.hrang.stod during this period must have occurred before 1427, since in this year A.ma.dpal was ordained<sup>824</sup> and thereby left the

ma.thul.bas.so", "As for the death of bTsan.srong, he was killed with an ax (*rta.gri* sic for *sta.gri*) in lHo.kha. The explanation [given] was that he could not control a wild horse" (see also Chayet, "Les frères écartés: questions sur l'ordre successoral dans la monarchie tibétaine" p.120 and 125 n.32). The case of Khri.lde srong.btsan's death is similar (*mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.376 lines 4-5: "Khri.lde srong.btsan srag.gis mun.mda' brgyab.nas bkroṅgs te/ rgyu.mtshan 'bangs rnam.s me sgron 'gyog.tu bcug.nas rta bcags.pas.so", "Khri.lde srong.btsan was assassinated because a flaming dark arrow was shot at him. The pretence was that, as subjects [lit] a fire, he suddenly fell from the horse he was riding").

(822) Another passage from *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.122 line 21-p.123 line 4) on the 1390 succession, useful to assess the *terminus post quem* for the return of Pu.hrang to foreign control (this time under the Glo.pa-s), has to be examined at this stage: "Bla.ma dam.pa bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan.gyi nye(p.123).gnas chen.po Rin.rgyal zhes Rwa.lo'i rigs de'i sras.su lcas.phag.la Sa.skya ru sku.'khrungs/ lo bcu.bdun skor.la Gung.thang du byon/ lo shas.nas mChog.grub.lde gshegs.nas slar Sa.skya Bo.dong sogs.su chos.kyi phyr bzhud", "The son of bla.ma dam.pa bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan's *nye.gnas* called Rin.rgyal, who belonged to the Rwa.lo's family, was born in Sa.skya in the iron pig year (1371). When he was about seventeen, he went to Gung.thang (1387). A few years later, after mChog.grub.lde had passed away, he again went to Sa.skya and Bo.dong to receive teachings". This is a less precise confirmation that mChog.grub.lde died around 1389 or 1390.

(823) *bsTan. 'dzin ras.pa rnam.thar* (f.2b line 5-f.3a line 2): "dPon(f.3a)drung Khro.rgyal rdo.rje'i sras chung.ba Rab.bstan mgon.pos/ Gu.ge sPu.rang Kar.dum.gyi rdzong.dpon.la phebs lo.drug bzhug.nas sMon.thang rgyal.mo.la bags.nas sde.pas kroṅgs", "Rab.bstan (sic for Rab.brtaṅ) mgon.po, the younger son of dpon.drung Khro.rgyal rdo.rje, went to be the *rdzong.dpon* of Gu.ge sPu.rang Kar.dum. After he stayed [there] for six years, he was murdered by *sde.pa* [A.ma.dpal] because he had an illicit relationship (*bags* sic for *bag* or *phag*) with the sMon.thang queen".

(824) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.537 line 6): "Lug.lo'i ston rje Mus.chen Shaka.bzang du sku.tshab.la bzhag.nas chos gsungs/ rje rin.po.che dpon.dlob rnam.kyis zla.ba drug.la 'khor.bar mdzad", "In the autumn of the sheep year (1427), as he made Mus.chen Shaka.bzang the regent [of Ngor], he (Ngor.chen) gave him teachings [and left for Glo.bo]. rje rin.po.che and his disciples returned after six months" and *ibid.* (p.538 line 3): "bsTan.pa'i sbyin.bdag A.me.dpal yang rab.tu.byung mtshan bZang.po rgyal.mtshan du btags", "A.me.dpal, the sponsor of the teachings, was also ordained. He was given the name bZang.po rgyal.mtshan".

Glo.bo *sde.pa* rank to his son A.mgon bzang.po, although he continued to involve himself in secular affairs.

It is again unclear whether, following the assassination of *rdzong.dpon* Rab.brta mgon.po, dKar.dum and Pu.hrang.stod were lost to the Glo.pa-s, but in 1436 Pu.hrang.stod was definitely once again under Gu.ge, since the Gu.ge king Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde was controlling rGyal.ti in that year (see below n.631 and n.865).

Gu.ge's control of Pu.hrang was reinforced when Phun.tshogs.lde's son, rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, married bSod.nams bzang.mo, the daughter of the Pu.hrang dpon.po Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang.po in the third quarter of the 15th century (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.85 lines 5-7).

Pu.hrang dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang was on unfriendly terms with Glo.bo. His offer in iron horse 1450 of sanctuary to fugitive members of the nomadic gTso.tsho clan fleeing Glo.pa persecution confirms that Pu.hrang was not under Glo.bo in those years<sup>825</sup>. This is one more proof of the long-standing enmity between Pu.hrang and Glo.bo, which is confirmed by the war fought between them decades later at the end of the 15th century, witnessed by gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka. It is possible that in those years Pu.hrang was controlled by Gu.ge, which also harboured ill feeling towards Mustang, since the term *dpon.po* does not imply independent rule but governorship on behalf of Gu.ge.

### *The persistence of hostility between Gu.ge Pu.hrang and Gung.thang throughout the centuries*

Despite the fact that their royal families were related, hostility between Gu.ge Pu.hrang and Gung.thang was recurrent throughout their history. At the time when Nyi.ma.mgon held the lands which were to become the kingdom of Gung.thang<sup>826</sup>, the Gung.thang

(825) bTsun.pa Chos.legs says in his own words (*Chos.legs rnam.shar* f.30a line 5-f.30b line 1): "rTa lo'i dbyar de Byang dGon.gyi dgon.gsar du chos.dbar byas/ de.dus Pu.rangs.pa'i dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang gTso.tsho.ba'i mag.pa yin zhing/ Glo.bo dang mthun.po med.pa dang/ gTso.tsho stod.pa'i bzhi.tsho gcig.gi dpon.po Hor.'dra bya(f.30b).ba spun gnyis dang/ Ar.dpon.gyi nu.bo rTog.med bya.ba dang pha.sgo gnyis/ g.yog grong.khyer sum.bcu bzhi.bcu re dang cas.pa Sle.mi na yod" and *ibid.* (f.30b lines 3-4): "Pu.rangs.pa dang/ rang.gi pha.tshan rnam.sla blo.rtse gtang.nas yar 'gro dgos byung", "In the horse year (1450) during summer, I (btsun.pa Chos.legs) had a break in the religious practice at the new monastery of Byang dGon[.go.gsum]. At that time Pu.rangs dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang, the son-in-law of the gTso.tsho.ba-s, who was an enemy of Glo.bo; the one called [A.khu] Hor.'dra, who was the chief of one of the four divisions of the gTso.tsho stod.pa-s, and a relative of his, these two; also the one named rTog.med, who was the younger brother of Ar.dpon, [and another] member of the paternal clan, these two; [and the members of] thirty or forty subordinate settlements, each of them, were at Sle.mi", "As advised by the Pu.rangs.pa-s and my own paternal clan, it was decided that it was necessary for me to go upwards (i.e. westwards to Pu.hrang)".

(826) *bsTan.'dzin ras.pa rnam.shar* (f.2b lines 2-3): "sNgon.la snga.ba Byams.pa thob.rgyal yin bzhes.pa'i

dynasty was not yet founded. Its establishment occurred one generation after bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal, the brother of Nyi.ma.mgon, when dPal.lde, the elder son of the former, became king of the area. It is evident that, in order to found his dynasty in Gung.thang, dPal.lde had to take this land from the kingdom of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. Later, during the reign of Khor.re, Gu.ge Pu.hrang went to war against the successors of bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal in gTsang, but in all likelihood this was not the consequence of the establishment of dPal.lde's kingdom, since it was not fought against Gung.thang (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.61 lines 1-2, *Zhwa.lu lo.rgyus* p.18 lines 11-14).

Relations were also troubled during the 13th century. Two wars were fought between Ya.rtse and Gung.thang, at the time when Ya.rtse was ruled by the Pu.hrang.pa-s and benefitted from the support of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s also accorded to Gu.ge lHo.stod and Pu.hrang. In the same century, under rGyal.stobs.lde, the son of dNgos.grub.mgon, Pu.hrang's dominions were expanded to the east into lands within the Gung.thang.pa sphere of influence. The 13th century did not end without a phase of Gung.thang.pa dominance in Gu.ge Pu.hrang. The lords of rDzong.dkar continued to rule the two kingdoms during the Sa.kya/Yuan period of Tibetan history from their stronghold at dKar.dum. The second half of the 14th century was no less turbulent, a phase of intermittent Gung.thang.pa rule being followed by the conquest of Pu.hrang by Glo.bo. This turmoil persisted in the 15th century. The Glo.pa-s, no longer mere lieutenants of Gung.thang, again extended their dominion over Pu.hrang. The first half of the 16th century was no better, with Gung.thang and Glo.bo again very aggressive, intruding into Gu.ge Pu.hrang, damaging Tho.ling and attacking Tsa.rang<sup>827</sup>.

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gdung.bzang rgyud.dpon.du grags.pa de yin gsungs/ sNga.ri Gung.thang chab.'og.nas bsKyid.sde Nyi.ma.mgon.gyi phyag.g.yog.la bstod Gu.ge' r'phebs nas/ Gu.ge Pher.chung.gi 'brog.pa zhes.par chags.so", "In antiquity, the earliest was Byams.pa thob.rgyal, who enjoyed a [great] fame as the headman of the noble lineage (i.e. bsTan.'dzin ras.pa's family). After [Nyi.ma.mgon] conquered sNga.ri (sic) Gung.thang, he was chosen as personal assistant of bsKyid.sde (sic) Nyi.ma.mgon. After going to Gu.ge, he established the so called 'Brog.pa-s of Gu.ge Pher.chung".

(827) *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.34b line 1) says: "mTho.liding na bzhugs.dus shing Byang.pa sKre'o/ Mon.pa/ Ru.thog.pa/ Mang.yul.pa sogs.kyi dmag rnam.s zhib.bskul byas te srid mi.gcig.pa mang.du 'dus nas Gu.ge la bcug", "When he (Shanti.pa) was staying in mTho.liding, the troops of the Byang.pa sKre'o-s, Mon.pa-s, Ru.thog.pa-s and Mang.yul.pa-s were brought together. As a man from every family was recruited [and therefore] many were gathered, they invaded Gu.ge". The war ended happily for Gu.ge. *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.34b line 7-f.35a line 1) concludes: "Gu.ge'i dmag nyung.shas zhig.gis A.wang du g.yul sprad/ Glo.bo dang Ru.thog sogs phal.cher bros/ Byang.pa dang Bod.gyis gdong.len byas gzhud 'dug ste/ Gu.ge.pa'i 'bangs.phran dpa'.bo rnam.s gyis/ nyag.bran dang/ ral.gri dang/ mdung dang/ (f.35a) mdung.chen.gyi sbyor.pas pha.rol.gyi dgra.bo rnam.s bcom", "A few troops of Gu.ge gave battle at A.wang. Most of the [troops of] Glo.bo and Ru.thog ran away. Byang.pa-s and the [troops] of Tibet (sic) confronted them [but] they stepped back. Since the heroic Gu.ge.pa subjects and servants [attacked them] with arrows, swords, spears and long spears, they defeated the enemies from outside".



To sum up, the only major period of Gu.ge Pu.hrang aggression against Gung.thang coincided with the peak of 'Bri.gung.pa fortunes in sTod, but was short lived, as by the second half of the 13th century Gung.thang, backed by Sa.skya, took the upper hand. Apart from this, throughout the history of West Tibet after *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, Gu.ge Pu.hrang suffered almost continuously from the aggression of Gung.thang and its allies.

*rNam.rgyal.lde's campaign in Mar.yul (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.83-84)*

During the lifetime of rNam.rgyal.lde, Gu.ge helped to reestablish local power in troubled regions of mNga'.ris skor.gsum with two military campaigns in the late 14th century. While the 1378 campaign in Pu.hrang.stod against Gung.thang did not see rNam.rgyal.lde's personal involvement since he was too young (b.1372) to head it, as said above, during the second, which took place in earth hare 1399, rNam.rgyal.lde paved the way for the Mar.yul king Khri.btsan.lde to regain his throne by advancing deep into La.dwags. Thus, in a brief span of less than twenty-five years, Gu.ge expanded its dominion over two major regions in sTod, namely Pu.hrang and Mar.yul.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 lines 11-15) says: "In the earth female hare year (1399), when the Ble.ye'i *jo.bo lha.btsun* and 'Od.lde *spun* ("kinsmen") the She.ye.ba-s jointly revolted against Mar.yul mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde, as mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan ruled [only] in Zhu.yul, Gu.ge fought [its way] as far as Sa.spo.la. As [the rebels] were captured from Ble.ye [onwards], after all of them were subjugated, they were brought under [the control of] mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan". The passage indicates that Khri.btsan.lde had to concede most of Mar.yul to the rebels and, being able to retain power only in Zhu.yul, he took refuge there. This is Rub.zhu (sometimes spelled Ru.shod and Rub.shod in Tibetanized form). Given Khri.btsan.lde's alliance with Gu.ge, it is not surprising that Rub.zhu was the last place of which he could retain control. In fact, it was Gu.ge which reconquered the lost lands and returned them to Khri.btsan.lde. Rub.zhu borders northern Gu.ge on the latter's western side, with the areas of Tsho.srib gsum.dkyil and Chu.mur.ti being to its south. When Khri.btsan.lde was ousted, the rebels were unable to push him further east. It is unclear whether Rub.zhu was under Gu.ge at that time, although it is certain that it was not held by the rebels.

The rebellion of Ble.ye (i.e. Ble) and She.ye (i.e. Shel) against Khri.btsan.lde in 1399 was a typical case of a rising against too despotic a king (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 15-19). Khri.btsan.lde imposed exorbitant taxes on his people. They resorted to looting and stealing, and troops were despatched to deal with them. Taxes, which had been raised higher than ever before, were reduced to "three hundred" according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The situation improved only marginally, since another rebellion, albeit minor, broke out. Finally, revolts for food and against exploitation provided the pretext for a full scale rebellion against Khri.btsan.lde in 1399. Altogether the population rose three times, including the revolt of 1399, and three times they were crushed.

Given the fragmented political situation in La.dwags of that period, during which several petty lords were ruling in different parts of the territory (see below p.493), I believe that the insurrection became political and was an attempt by other local lords to oust Khri.btsan.lde. This derives from the evidence that the initial turmoil, caused by intolerable exploitation of the subjects, diminished to some extent after the king reduced his demands, only to burst out again on a larger scale, indicating that this time high taxes were merely a pretext.

In order to return the lost territories to Khri.btsan.lde, Gu.ge had to conquer Mar.yul territory as far as Sa.spo.la. The fact that the Gu.ge army had to go as far as Sa.spo.la and that the rebels were defeated from Ble.ye onwards helps to fix the eastern border of Khri.btsan.lde's kingdom in the area not far from Al.lci, which is roughly the boundary between present time La.dwags.stod.gsham. Sa.spo.la had marked the border since earlier times, but it remains unclear which political entities it separated and in which periods. Judging by inscriptions left on the rocks in its area by Tibetan soldiers, a military garrison was once posted here, possibly in the time of the Yar.lung dynasty<sup>828</sup>.

It is noteworthy that rNam.rgyal.lde had a right of sovereignty over Mar.yul following this campaign, for the text, after outlining the narrative of the 1399 events which provoked it, concludes: "In brief, he (rNam.rgyal.lde) ruled the length and breadth of the kingdom. No obscurity and unrest occurred [anymore] and happiness reigned in [his lands]" (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 line 19-p.84 line 1). Mar.yul was thus considered to be part of the Gu.ge kingdom during the reign of rNam.rgyal.lde.

The narrative also contributes the significant notion that Khri.btsan.lde was the king of She.ye by virtue of the fact that he imposed taxes on the She.ye.ba-s. Ble.ye is a similar case, for the text says that the Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* was among the rebels. The expression Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* shows that he was the lord of Ble.ye. The rebellion of the Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* and the indication that Khri.btsan.lde was the *mnga'.bdag* suggests that, in all probability, Khri.btsan.lde was also the overlord of the former.

Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* was a royal monk much like the monk-rulers exemplified by Gu.ge rNam.rgyal.lde, who had been a monk for many years (ordained in the 1380s) when he set out on the Mar.yul campaign. The war fought between two antagonistic royal monks from Gu.ge and Ble testifies to the widespread custom of having a royal monk in charge of secular affairs in sTod at that time (Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun*, rNam.rgyal.lde and, later, in Pu.hrang, dpon.btsun sNyan.grags) (on the latter see below p.535).

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(828) On the rock inscriptions in the Sa.spo.la area see in particular Francke "Archaeology in Western Tibet, Saspola and Alci" (December 1906) and, in general, on the petroglyphs of La.dwags, Francke "The Rock Inscription at Mulbe" (March 1906); "Archaeology in Western Tibet, Khalatse" (September 1906); "Archaeology in Western Tibet" (April 1907); "Archaeology in Western Tibet" (May 1907); Vohra "Ethno-Historicity of the Dards in Ladakh-Baltistan" (p.543); Orofino, "A Note on Some Tibetan Petroglyphs of the Ladakh Area" (p.173-200).

*Khri.btsan.lde and the genealogical situation in Mar.yul*  
(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.83)

The struggle between antagonistic rulers in Mar.yul is significant for it reveals that a complex political situation existed in La.dwags at that time with a few local petty lords controlling different areas, contrary to what is found in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which records a single realm extending over its territory.

In fact, in earth hare 1399, while the lord of Mar.yul was Khri.btsan.lde according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.83 lines 11-13), the king reigning over an unspecified territory in La.dwags (including Sa.bu) in the same period was Khri.gtsug.lde according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*<sup>829</sup>. According to the latter source, Khri.gtsug.lde was the predecessor of Grags.'bum.lde, who ruled from the early 15th century, since he met the first emissaries of Tsong.kha.pa to Mar.yul<sup>830</sup>. Therefore, Khri.gtsug.lde must have lived at the end of the 14th century.

Nowhere is Khri.btsan.lde mentioned in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. Khri.gtsug.lde is not recorded from *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, unless he was the Ble.ye jo.bo lha.btsun who rebelled with the She.ye.ba-s, the *spun* of 'Od.lde, against Khri.btsan.lde. This contradiction is one of the several existing between *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* and various other sources including *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*<sup>831</sup>.

(829) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.44 lines 18-19; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 lines 16-17): "De'i sras lha.chen Khri.gtsug.lde/ rgyal.po des sLel du mchod.rten brgya.rtsa bzhengs/ Sa.bu ru brgya.rtsa.gnyis bzhengs.so", "His son was lha.chen Khri.gtsug.lde. This king built [a row of] a hundred *mchod.rten-s* at sLel (i.e. Ble). He built two [rows of] a hundred *mchod.rten-s* at Sa.bu". The text continues by introducing Grags.'bum.lde as his successor.

(830) The fifth Khrig.se *gdan.rabs* Chos.rje 'Jam.dbyangs rin.chen (*Khrig.rse rnam.thar* p.24 line 5) built the Tshul.khrims rnam.par dag.gling gtsug.lag.khang at Khrig.se in fire hare 1447 (ibid. p.27 lines 4-6: "Rab.byung brgyad.pa'i thog.ma me.mo.yos.kyi lor/ Khrig.se'i gtsug.lag.khang ka.ring drug dang ka.thung zhe.bzhi bcas.pa sdoms ka.ba lnga.bcu'i rgya.khyon.can dang/ rung.khang ka.ba bzhi dang bcas.pa legs.par bzhengs/ gtsug.lag.khang.gi mtshan.du Tshul.khrims rnam.par dag.gling zhes gsol", "In the fire female hare year (1447), which is the beginning of the eighth sixty-year cycle, he ('Jam.dbyangs rin.chen) excellently built the Khrig.se gtsug.lag.khang with six tall pillars, forty-four short pillars, altogether fifty pillars, and a kitchen with four pillars. He chose the name Tshul.khrims rnam.par dag.gling for the *gtsug.lag.khang*"). Khrig.se was founded at an unspecified date by dPal.lidan shes.rab, the son of a minister of the Ble king Grags.'bum.lde. He enthroned as abbot his master and uncle sTod Shes.rab bzang.po, who had studied with Tsong.kha.pa and the latter's closest followers in dBus.gTsang before returning to his native La.dwags to diffuse his teachings. If the fifth Khrig.se *gdan.rabs* built a *gtsug.lag.khang* in fire hare 1447, sTod Sher.bzang must have come back to La.dwags quite early in the 15th century, not much after Ngag.dbang grags.pa returned to Gu.ge (see below p.505). Given the location of Khrig.se, this indicates that Grags.'bum.lde controlled an area in La.dwags.stod that encompassed Shel.

(831) According to *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.340 lines 9-10), Khri.btsan.lde was succeeded by mnga'.bdag bTsan.dar, who is not listed in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*.

On the basis of this evidence and various other indications, I have serious doubts regarding the genealogy of the dPal.gyi.mgon dynasty of La.dwags found in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. There are few points of contact between the list of kings of the La.dwags dynasty found in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* and external evidence. Such disagreement extends to various periods of the history of La.dwags. With a few exception<sup>832</sup>, the rest of the literature is silent regarding almost the entire *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* genealogy until the 15th century and later. The only other systematic treatment of a genealogy which ruled in one territory of La.dwags (*gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter*) records a drastically different lineage.

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* provides an invaluable information when it says that the She.ye.ba-s who rebelled against their king were the *spun* of 'Od.lde. Their ruler Khri.btsan.lde was thus a descendant of 'Od.lde. 'Od.lde's rule in Mar.yul, discussed above (p.293 and n.451), is indirectly confirmed, since the royal line of She.ye, being his *spun*, descended from him. The fact that Khri.btsan.lde was the king of She.ye is of the utmost importance as it helps to assess a hitherto unidentified lineage of Mar.yul rulers going back to early times. Most sources mention some kings of this dynasty rather than those of the royal line recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* in their scattered and non-systematic references to the lords of Mar.yul.

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bTsan.dar's acts of government are eulogistically treated. The text records bTsan.dar's two struggles against the Hor-s, the outcomes of which may well have been altered from routs to victories (for the passage in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* see below n.881). As a matter of fact, the claims that bTsan.dar vanquished the Hor-s and seized Yar.gyen (Yarkand) notwithstanding, the text shows a certain degree of accuracy. Reference to his two conflicts with the Hor-s finds confirmation in external evidence, according to which two foreign invasions affected his kingdom. They will be dealt with below in the text (p.518).

According to *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, bTsan.dar's authority in Tibet increased to such an extent that he obtained gifts from as far as Sa.skya, which requested his protection. I see in the episode an effort by Sa.skya to strengthen links with a king of sTod whose line was historically close to the Sa.skya.pa-s at a time when most kings of sTod were starting to side with the emissaries of Tsong.kha.pa. Links between the lineage of bTsan.dar and the Sa.skya.pa-s had existed at least since the time of jo.bo Ras.chen (ibid. p.339-340), when the latter was connected with Zang.zang Ne.rings, a dependency of Sa.skya. This monastery was founded by bDe.legs rgyal.mtshan in fire sheep 1247 (*Ngor chos.'byung* p.337 line 5: "Me.lug.la Zang.zang Ne.ring bDe.legs rgyal.mtshan.gyis brab", where it is spelled Zang.zang Ne.ring).

Another obvious case in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* of an assessment which reverses the actual course of events is the reference that bKra.shis.mgon, a later king of the same line, defeated Sog.po invaders who had intruded into Mar.yul, whereas in fact he was defeated. The invasion was that of Mirza Haidar, well known for his conquest of La.dwags, who intruded into Gu.ge and nurtured the extravagant dream of destroying the temple of the infidels in lHa.sa, meeting with a miserable adventure in the harshness of the Tibetan climate.

(832) Unanimous agreement among sources concerning kings in La.dwags recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* pertains to dPal.gyi.mgon, recognized by works as the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum ruler of the territory, his sons 'Gro.mgon and Chos.mgon, and, subsequently, dNgos.grub mgon.po, whose authority in Mar.yul is corroborated by the episode in which he sponsored the 'Bri.gung *ri.pa-s* at Ti.se in the early 13th century with the kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang ('*Bri.gung.pa Ti.se lo.rgyus* f.27b line 6-f.28a line 2).

The lineage of the She.ye kings is the genealogy found in *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.338 line 11-p.341 line 2), which includes 'Od.lde and Khri.btsan.lde. As said above, *Bai.ser* confirms that 'Od.lde ruled in Mar.yul. The Gu.ge.pa rulers of Mar.yul at She.ye descended from 'Od.lde reigned from the second quarter of the 11th century, losing and regaining the throne until the end of the 14th or early 15th century (Khri.btsan.lde), and then stably until at least around the end of the 16th century<sup>833</sup>.

Historiographies other than *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, such as *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma*, see in the She.ye (Shel) lineage the descendants of dPal.gyi.mgon<sup>834</sup>. The same opinion is expressed in *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos. 'byung* (see above p.450 and n.755), a text earlier than *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma*, when it says that the lineage of Mar.yul continued from dPal.gyi.mgon until jo.bo Ras.chen and his nephew (Khri.btsan.lde), who, as *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* jointly prove, belonged to the Gu.ge.pa lineage descended from 'Od.lde<sup>835</sup>. All this seems to indicate that the lineage issued from dPal.gyi.mgon either lost

(833) The genealogy of Mar.yul Shel preserved in *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* is as follows: dPal.gyi.mgon; 'Gro.mgon; 'Od.lde; gZi.di.khyim (alias De.khyim); rDzi.de.gin; bKra.shis.mgon; lha.chen Di.gin; De.mur; Nyi.'od rdo.rje; Go.de.khyim; mnga' Jo.btsun; mnga'.bdag bTsan.pa.lde; lha.chen sKyob.pa chen.po also called sPyi Se.rgan; mnga'.bdag gNyan.po jo; mnga'.bdag Ras.chen; his brother mnga'.bdag bSod.rnams rgyal.mtshan; mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde; mnga'.bdag bTsan.dar; mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde; his brother mnga'.bdag rNam.rgyal grags.pa; Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan; bKra.shis.lde's son mnga'.bdag Don.grub rgyal.po; mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.mgon; mnga'.bdag Blo.bzang mgon.po grags.pa; mnga'.bdag Gangs.can mgon.po. See *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.338 lines 11-13): "dPal.gyi.mgon la sras.gnyis 'khrungs.pas/ mtshan yang mnga'.bdag Chos.mgon dang 'Gro.mgon du gsol"; *ibid.* (p.339 line 2): "De'i sras 'Od.lde"; *ibid.* (p.339 line 11): "lha.chen gZi.di.khyim"; *ibid.* (p.339 line 13-p.340 line 1): "De'i sras rDzi.de.gin/ de'i sras bKra.shis.mgon/ de'i sras lha.chen Di.gin/ de'i sras De.mur/ de'i sras Nyi.'od rdo.rje/ de'i sras Go.de.khyim/ de'i sras mnga' Jo.btsun/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag bTsan.pa.lde/ de'i sras lha.chen sKyob.pa chen.po yang zer sPyi.Se.rgan yang zer/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag gNyan.po jo/ mnga'.bdag gNyan.po la sras.drug mnga'o/ mnga'.bdag Ras.chen/ mnga'.bdag bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan/ Jo Kham.log.ge/ khri rGyal(p.340).dPal.'bum/ lHa.btsun chen.po/ Jo.bum'o"; *ibid.* (p.340 lines 7-11): "rGyal.srid mnga'.bdag bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan.gyis bskyangs/ de'i sras Jo.lde/ mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde/ Jo.mda' dar.'bum dang gsum/ mnga'.bdag Khri.btsan.lde'i sras mnga'.bdag bTsan.dar dang/ Drung.rgyal gnyis"; *ibid.* (p.340 lines 18-20): "De'i sras che.ba mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde/ chung.ba mnga'.bdag rNam.rgyal grags.pa"; *ibid.* (p.341 lines 3-4): "De'i sras mnga'.bdag Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan dang bdag.mo gnyis.kyis rgyal.srid chos.bzhin bskyangs/ de'i rjes.la mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde.yi sras mnga'.bdag Don.grub rgyal.pos rgyal.srid bzung/ de.la sras.gnyis 'khrungs.pa la/ gcen bKra.shis.mgon/ gcung Grags.pa.mgon" and *ibid.* (p.341 lines 14-18): "mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.mgon.gyi sras mnga'.bdag Blo.bzang mgon.po grags.pa dPal.bzang.po/ dByangs.can rnam.sprul 'Od.lcam rgyal.mo gnyis.kyis srid bzung ste bstan.pa rgyas.par mdzad/ de.gnyis.la sras mnga'.bdag Gangs.can mgon.po".

(834) *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 14-15): "De.yang Mang.yul na Shel [note in the text: Rig.pa.mgon.gyi rgyud] dang Nub.rang rgyal.po gnyis", "As regards this, in Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul) are the kings of Shel [note in the text: this is the lineage of Rig.pa.mgon] and Nub.rang (i.e. Nub.ra), these two".

(835) The succession in *gDung.rabs zam. 'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.340

control of Mar.yul at least partially, if not completely, or that the line founded by the eldest of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum was interrupted soon after it began. Whatever happened, this took place in the time of 'Od.lde, who ruled some generations after dPal.gyi.mgon. *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* makes 'Gro.mgon, the son of the latter, the ruler of Mar.yul before 'Od.lde (p.338 line 14-p.339 line 1). The former's autonomous rule is questionable when the circumstances in which the main early temple in La.dwags was established are taken into consideration, for Ye.shes.'od rather than 'Gro.mgon was the founder of Nyar.ma (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.88 line 5; *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.461 line 11; *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 line 9). Attributing the foundation of Nyar.ma to Ye.shes.'od suggests links between him and the area of Shel where the extant ruins of Nyar.ma are located. Thus Nyar.ma has to be assessed as a Gu.ge.pa temple in Mar.yul. Later, it was lHa.lde who renewed contacts with She.ye. His donation may have been an isolated instance, but not so trivial as to go unrecorded in local documents from which Ngag.dbang grags.pa seems to have derived this information.

A number of non-Tibetan names appear in the Shel lineage outlined in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*. They are mainly of local (Dardic) origin. At least one of these kings, gZi.di.khyim, is recorded as De.khyim in *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa*. Indigenous rulers are not the only non-Tibetans found in the lineage of the She.ye lords. Muslim intervention in Mar.yul, possibly from Southern Turkestan, is indicated by a single occurrence of a ruler named De.mur (refer to the genealogy in n.833). Alternation of ethnically different kings testifies to the fact that the rulers of She.ye descended from Gu.ge were often unable to retain power, which was lost time and again to others. Presence in the She.ye lineage of a number of indigenous rulers in Tibetan dominated La.dwags is not surprising given that, for instance, rGya, historically a non-Tibetan stronghold, was located on the western border of the She.ye kingdom.

This genealogy, however fascinating in its succession of Tibetan and autochthonous rulers, has to be treated with caution. Historical sequence is, in at least a portion of the lin-

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lines 1-10) for this period has jo.bo Ras.chen, described in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* as king of Mar.yul, reigning in 1376 and leaving the throne to his brother bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan, because the former's unnamed son died prematurely and he, overcome by grief, abdicated. bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan was succeeded by his son Khri.btsan.lde, ruling in 1399 on the authority of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*.

Shakya Rin.chen.sde, the author of *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung*, wrote a neat and extremely succinct excursus on the royal houses of sTod (p.70 lines 8-15). He attributes Mar.yul to dPal.gyi.mgon, the eldest of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum, whose lineage continued until the time of writing (1376) in the reign of jo.bo Ras.chen *khu.dbon* ("the uncle and nephew", i.e. jo.bo Ras.chen and Khri.btsan.lde) (*gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.339 lines 17-p.340 line 9; see n.754). Does this imply that by 1376 jo.bo Ras.chen had coopted his nephew into ruling the kingdom? *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* gives contradictory information. If the statement of *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* is to be considered as having dynastic implications, it would follow that by 1376 jo.bo Ras.chen's *dbon*, Khri.btsan.lde, was associated with the throne while his uncle was still alive and ruling, and that the reign did not pass to bSod.nams rgyal.mtshan, jo.bo Ras.chen's brother, as *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* maintains. Otherwise that of Rin.chen.lde's is merely a brief remark concerning the ruler of Mar.yul of his day and one of his most important relatives.

eage, somewhat doubtful since 'Od.lde's immediate successor is considered to be gZi.di.khyim. O.rgyan.pa was appointed De.khyim's *bla.mchod* according to both *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and his *rnam.thar*, but with the difference that, in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, O.rgyan.pa is also made 'Od.lde's spiritual master. It means that some two centuries are disregarded in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*<sup>836</sup>. This mistaken assessment is followed by a compression of the lineage after De.khyim, who is documented by *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* to have reigned in the mid 13th century. Ten rulers crowd the hundred-odd years between him and jo.bo Ras.chen, the next historically documented king of Mar.yul She.ye in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, who reigned in the third quarter of the 14th century.

Since a number of autochthonous rulers of Shel is included by the *gdung.rabs* in little more than one hundred years, one might be led to believe that some of them must have held tracts of territory simultaneously, which conforms to the confederative principles established among the Dards. This was not so, for, with the exception of the local resurgence in the second and third quarter of the 13th century, from the second quarter of the 11th century, a king bearing a Tibetan name was almost invariably succeeded in the lineage by another of Dardic origin. This state of affairs must have changed some time around the mid 14th century or soon after. Starting with jo.bo Ras.chen's father, gNyan.po jo, the She.ye rulers were all Tibetan until Gangs.can mgon.po, the last recorded king in the lineage, who must have reigned around the end of the 16th century. He was the grandson of bKra.shis.mgon, who fought against Mirza Haidar<sup>837</sup>.

(836) *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.339 lines 6-9): "Yab.sras 'di.gnyis.kyi dus.su mkhas.grub U.rgyan.pas nyi.ma re.la rab.tu byung.ba lnga.brgya re.la bslab.pa gnang zhing dbu.skra bcad/ Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa la bya.ba cher byas.sol/ de.nas Mar.yul lung.phyogs.su phyin/ lha.chen gZi.di.khyim.gyis mchod.gnas byas", "During the time of the father and son ('Od.lde and 'Brul.shal.tsha, sic), mkhas.grub U.rgyan.pa ordained and tonsured five hundred [persons] every day. He did great service to the Buddhist teachings. Then he went to the land of Mar.yul. He became the *mchod.gnas* ("officiating *bla.md*") of lha.chen gZi.di.khyim". The reason for quoting this passage again is not to discuss its highly corrupt statements, according to which O.rgyan.pa lived during the time of 'Od.lde (the first half of the 11th century) and gZi.di.khyim/De.khyim (mid 13th century), proving that the author of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* somehow misread *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa*, but that, due to this mistake, two centuries of the history of Mar.yul are omitted in this text.

(837) See Petech (*Kingdom of Ladakh* p.26-27) for a discussion of bKra.shis.mgon, who has to be assigned to Mirza Haidar's period and not to the mid 15th century as Petech does, on the authority of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, which places bKra.shis.mgon four generations after Khri.btsan.lde (ruling in the early years of the 15th century). On bKra.shis.mgon see the latter text (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.341 lines 8-10: "Sog.po kha.gnon/ Hor Sog.po.yul sprad.pa'i dus.su chibs.kyi sna.las du.ba 'ongs/ ral.gri'i rtse.la me.'bar.ba sogs Hor.Bod.kyi mi rnams.kyis mngon sum.du mthong.bar gsal", "He (bKra.shis.mgon) subjugated the Sog.po-s. When he waged a war in the Hor Sog.po land, people of Hor and Bod clearly saw smoke coming from the nose of his horse and the tip of his sword emitting tongues of fire").

Even after identifying the She.ye lineage, the kings recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* during the period before and after Khri.btsan.lde, and the Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, remain obscure.

After a long genealogical silence, *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* introduces a lineage of La.dwags kings with a dubious reference to rgyal.bu Rin.chen, who reigned in Kha.che from 1320 until 1323, as a true ruler of Mar.yul. He is followed by lha.chen Shes.rab and Khri.gtsug.lde, who were possibly the first members of a royal line ruling from Sa.bu. The first of the two, lha.chen Shes.rab, was the founder of Sa.bu, for he is credited with the building of sPyan.mkhar adjoining the settlement of Seng.ge.sgang at Sa.bu Hang.rtse.mo<sup>838</sup>. His successor Khri.gtsug.lde made a row of a hundred *mchod.rten*-s at Slep (Ble) and two rows of a hundred *mchod.rten*-s each at Sa.bu. Given the location of Sa.bu between She.ye to its south-east and Ble.ye to its north-west, this principality territorially limited the power of Shel since its establishment. It subsequently took Ble.ye from Khri.btsan.lde's lineage, since Khri.gtsug.lde's successor, Grag.s.'bum.lde is indicated in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* as the king of Slep (Ble). In the absence of precise information, one can only surmise that the Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* was not an independent ruler and that he might have been Grag.s.'bum.lde's predecessor, but identification of Khri.gtsug.lde as the Ble.ye *lha.btsun* needs corroboration before any conclusive statement can be made. On the basis of the available evidence, it is likely that the Ble.ye *jo.bo lha.btsun* was unconnected with Sa.bu and Khri.gtsug.lde, for the simple reason that the line of Khri.gtsug.lde took stable control of Ble.ye under the latter's successor.

Rule of Ble by the line of Khri.btsan.lde, who had been assisted in the recovery of his dominions by Gu.ge rNam.rgyal.lde in 1399, was therefore short lived. The subsequent events are very briefly recorded in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which, as said above, only states that Grag.s.'bum.lde captured Ble<sup>839</sup>. Nothing is said in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* about earlier control of Ble by Khri.btsan.lde's lineage, although the fact that Grag.s.'bum.lde seized it shows that some other royal line held it before him.

*Deb.ther dmar.po gсар.ma* says that no less than five kings of Mar.yul supported the

(838) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.44 lines 14-17; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 lines 13-15): "De'i sras lha.chen rgyal.bu Rin.chen/ de'i sras lha.chen Shes.rab/ rgyal.po de'i ring.la/ Sa.bu Hang.rtse.mo zhes.pa'i kha.la/ grong.khyer Seng.ge.sgang zhes.pa rtsigs nas/ Mar.yul Sa.bu sPyang.mkhar tu brags.so".

(839) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.44 line 20-p.45 line 5; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 lines 18-20) says: "De'i sras lha.chen Grag.s.'bum.lde dang/ Grag.s.pa.'bum gnyis/ Grag.s.'bum.lde sLel la.sogs.pa la mnga'.mdzad nas/ rgya.ma phyag.rjes.su gtsug.lag.khang dMar.po bzhengs nas/ rgyal.ba Byams.pa mgon.po dgung.lo bryad.pa'i sku.tshad dang/ g.yas.g.yon gnyis.su 'Jam.dbyangs Phyag.na rdo.rje gnyis thog.tshad re bzhengs", "His (Khri.gtsug.lde's) sons were lha.chen Grag.s.'bum.lde and Grag.s.pa.'bum, these two. Having brought Slep (Ble) under his control, Grag.s.'bum.lde's main achievement was the building of the gTsub.lag.khang dMar.po. He made the statue of rgyal.ba Byams.pa mgon.po, the same size as he was when he was eight. To its right and left he made the statues of 'Jam.dbyangs and Phyag.na rdo.rje, these two, each [one] storey high".



dGe.ldan.pa-s<sup>840</sup>. They were the lords of Shel, Nub.rang, La.stag (sic)<sup>841</sup>, Zangs.dkar and Ble. The treatment found in this work seems reliable, since the lords of these areas are credited with this patronage of the dGe.lugs.pa-s by various other sources<sup>842</sup>, indicating that this religious phase in La.dwags occurred during Grags.'bum.lde's reign in Ble.

Since *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* does not identify any of these five kings, the periods of their reign cannot be deduced from this passage. The work, however, implicitly suggests that they were contemporary. There is some evidence internal to the text useful in assessing the period in which support of the dGe.lugs.pa-s by the lords of Mar.yul was granted. Later, the source details the religious situation in Gu.ge, Gung.thang and Glo.bo<sup>843</sup>. In the case of Glo.bo, it takes into consideration the period from A.ma.dpal to bKra.shis.mgon,

(840) *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 14-18): "De.yang Mang.yul na Shel [note in the text: Rig.pa.mgon.gyi rgyud] dang Nub.rang rgyal.po gnyis/ Glo.ba La.stag Zangs.dkar gsum.gyi rgyal.po ste lnga.ka nang dGe.ldan.pa kho.na bla.mchod.du bkur zhing/ mnga'.zhabs.kyi chos.sde rnam.s na'ang chos.lugs gan.'dzin mi.byed", "As regards this, in Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul) are the kings of Shel [note in the text: these are the decedents of Rig.pa.mgon] and Nub.rang (i.e. Nub.ra), these two. The kings of Glo.ba (sic for Gle), La.stag and Zangs.dkar, these three, altogether these five kings appointed the dGe.ldan.pa-s as their *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma-s*"). No exponents of the old sects are permitted in the *chos.sde-s* under their authority".

(841) This irregular spelling is found both in Tucci's version (*Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* p.169) and in the lHa.sa edition.

(842) dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring, *Zangs.dkar rgyal.rabs dang chos.'byung* (p.32 line 1-p.44 line 8); *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 line 25-p.37 line 2; see n.845); *dGe.'dun.grub rnam.thar* (p.264 lines 10-16; see n.879); dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Khri.rg.rse rnam.thar* (p.24 line 5; see n.830); dKa'.chen Blo.bzang bzod.pa and Ngag.dbang tshe.ring shag.po, *lDum.ra rgyal.rabs dang chos.'byung* (p.31 line 8-p.32 line 16; Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Khri.rg.rse dkar.chag* (p.13 line 4-p.20 line 6).

(843) *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 line 18-p.43 line 10): "Gu.ge'i dPal lHa.btsan.po yang dGe.ldan.pa nyag.gcig mchod.yul du mdzad.nas nor.zog.gis mnyes.par byed cing/ mnga'.zhabs.nas [Sa.]skya.pa'i chos.sde rGya.gling.thang dang bZhi.sde (p.43) sogs yod.pa rnam.s rang.babs.su 'jog/ rDzong.kha bdag.po ni Sa.skya.pa la phyogs.mos.kyi steng.nas gtsobor Bo.dong.ba la zhabs.tog byed cing/ chos.sde.na dGe.ldan.pa'i grwa.tshang yod.pa'ang mnyam.skyong lta.bu byed/ Blo'o ni rDzong.kha'i dpon Sa.skya 'Phar.ba'i sde.dpon.du 'dug la/ de.yang dpon A.ma.dpal.gyi ring.la snga.sor chos.rje Phyogs.las.pa dang/ phyis Ngor.pa Kun.bzang.pa spyang.drangs.pa rtsa.ba'i bla.mar khur te/ mnga'.zhabs.kyi chos.sde rnam.s spyir Sa.skya.pa dang dgos Ngor.pa yin.na min.na byed.du bcug ste/ dGe.ldan.pa la sdang.zur re.tsam yang ston/ de.rjes dpon bKra.shis.mgon.gyi ring.la yang chos.lugs sngar.bzhin.la dge.las stobs.che", "As the Gu.ge dPal lha.btsan.po-s also exclusively supported the dGe.ldan.pa-s, they pleased them with riches and merchandise. The *chos.sde-s* of the [Sa.]skya.pa-s under them, such as rGya.gling.thang and bZhis.de, were abandoned to their fate. The rDzong.kha kings, besides favouring the Sa.skya.pa-s, mainly revered the Bo.dong.ba-s. Inside their *chos.sde* is also a dGe.ldan.pa *grwa.tshang*, which is equally well maintained. As for Blo'o, since the dpon of rDzong.kha was the Sa.skya 'Phar.pa *sde.dpon*, during the time of A.ma.dpal, the latter earlier invited chos.rje Phyogs.las.pa and later Ngor.pa Kun.bzang.pa and appointed them his root *bla.ma-s*. In general, the *chos.sde-s* under his authority were made to become either Sa.skya.pa or Ngor.pa, were they or not [belonging to these sects]. He showed some unfriendliness towards the dGe.ldan.pa-s. Later, during the time of dpon bKra.shis.mgon, the [*chos.sde-s*] belonged to these sects as before and virtuous deeds were at their highest".

and their religious inclination. The support of the five Mar.yul kings for the dGe.lugs.pa-s occurred during a period of over fifty years, corresponding to about the second and third quarters of the 15th century, when the two Glo.bo kings were active<sup>844</sup>. Given that he was the local king who sponsored the first disciples of Tsong.kha.pa in Mar.yul<sup>845</sup>, Grags.'bum.lde had already taken Gle when he met them.

This passage in *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* reveals that La.dwags during that time was divided among different royal houses struggling for supremacy. It confirms that the list of kings in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* is limited and partial as it does not mention all the royal lines present in La.dwags. Evidence from sources other than *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* thus provides a better insight into the seats of power in the region.

### *The return of Gu.ge to peace and prosperity (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.83)*

It seems that the restoration of Gu.ge to its ancient splendour was achieved by rNam.rgyal.lde (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 1-7), with whom a new phase began.

Prosperity prevailed in the kingdom. People travelled without fear and visited one another, famine and disease did not occur, trade prospered and the times were free from unrest. An unusual peace was established in a land historically menaced by foreign incursions (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 line 19-p.84 line 1). Defense against invaders was strengthened by means of a system of fortification perfected by rNam.rgyal.lde and consisting of underground passages stocked with weapons (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 1-2).

(844) *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* (p.309 line 17-18) talks about two rulers reigning in La.dwags around 1447-1448 whom *grub.thob lcags.zam.pa* met during a visit to mNga'.ris skor.gsum (see below n.873).

(845) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 line 25-p.37 line 2): "sNyigs.dus.kyi kun.mkhyen Tsong.kha.pa chen.po Blo.bzang grags.pas/ rang.gi shangs.khrag.la 'khrungs.pa'i Tshe.dpag.med/ mteb.tshigs tsam yod/ bya.bral gnyis.la bskur nas/ yang.na Grags.pa'i mtshan.can/ yang.na lDe'i mtshan.can phyag.tu phul gsung.ba la/ khong.gnyis Mar.yul du bsleb nas/ Nub.ra na Grags.pa zhes.by a yod.pa la/ khong.gi drung.du phyin.pas/ bya.bral gnyis.la spy an.mig tsam kyang ma.gzigs.par/ sLel du yong/ de'i tho.rangs rgyal.po zhal.nas/ de.ring nga'i zhal lta.ba la/ bya.bral/ Bhe.da/ Mon.ti.shi/ su yang ma.bkag gsungs.pas/ bya.bral gnyis byung.bar/ rgyal.po bzhengs nas/ bya.bral gnyis bsu.ba mdzad/ bya.bral (p.37) gnyis kyang sku.skyes phul.bas/ rgyal.po shin.tu dges te/ Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa rin.po.che.la dpes nas/ dPe.thub.kyi dgon.pa/ Ma.rtsigs lhun.gyis grub.pa de rtsigs nas/ dge.'dun.gyi sde mang.po btsugs.so", "The omniscient master of this degenerate age, Tsong.kha.pa chen.po Blo.bzang grags.pa, gave an image of Tshe.dpag.med the size of a thumb, made with the blood from his nose, to two ascetics. Having said: "Offer it either to someone by the name Grags.pa or by the name lDe", those two left for Mar.yul. In Nub.ra there was one called Grags.pa. They went to meet him, but as he did not even open his eyes to look at the two ascetics, they went to sLel (Ble). That morning, after the king (Grags.'bum.lde) said: "Today, two ascetics, Bhe.da [and] Mon.ti.shi, whoever they are, will come to visit me. Do not turn them away", two ascetics appeared. As was wished by the king, they were welcomed. The king was pleased that the two ascetics offered him the image. As the precious Buddhist teachings were introduced, many monastic communities were established following the building of dPe.thub dgon.pa Ma.rtsigs lhun.gyis grub.pa".

This indicates that immediately before this period Gu.ge must have suffered a time of uncertainty, requiring a radical defensive organization to keep enemies from the interior of Tibet at bay and the borders with foreign lands secure, although it is veiled in deepest obscurity.

The land did not enjoy autonomy from the third quarter of the 13th century (in the years between 1277 and 1280) as it had passed under the control of the assertive Sa.skya/Yuan hegemony, which was exercised over most of Tibet through its allies. It probably went through difficult times again in the period before rNam.rgyal.lde, coinciding with the advent of the Phag.mo gru.pa-s as leaders of Tibet, at a time when various Tibetan factions began vying for predominance. On the basis of *Si.tu bka'chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.223 lines 16-20, see Addendum Three p.560 and n.956), Gu.ge sided with the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in their violent and unsuccessful struggle against ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan.

During the time of rNam.rgyal.lde, Gu.ge faced another peril, this time in the shape of the reorganization of the local clans of mNga'.ris.smad, ex-feudatories of Gung.thang, especially the new dynasty of Glo.bo, which was establishing itself as a major power in West Tibet.

When lasting security was finally achieved by means of an adequate defensive system and increased military strength, renewed prosperity gave rise to a phase of religious activity that led to a renewal of Buddhist practice and temple foundations<sup>846</sup>.

I believe that the resurgence of West Tibet in the late 14th-early 15th century was the result of the recovery of some form of independence from the dBus.gTsang powers which had held Gu.ge for hundreds of years. The end of the rule of the Sa.skya.pa-s and their feudatories (Zhwa.lu.pa-s, Gung.thang.pa-s; see Addendum Three) created an opportunity for the rebirth of local principalities (Gu.ge, La.dwags, Glo.bo). The existence of records of local dynasties in these regions during that time, and their absence for the preceding period, testifies to local resurgence.

Reference to the renewed prosperity of trade is noteworthy. This has always been, in my view, a crucial issue in the political balance of sTod, given the location of the territory in relation to India and in general to the lowlands on the one hand, and to Central Asia on the other. Most of the struggles for supremacy between the petty kingdoms of sTod in later times (i.e. after *bstan.pa phyi.dar*) were over the control of trade. Instability at the bor-

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(846) rNam.rgyal.lde's calling on everyone in Gu.ge to cooperate in the defence of the kingdom as well as his invention of a system of underground tunnels stocked with weapons indicate that he still had to cope with potential enemies after alien rule had been brought to an end. Which foreign threats had rNam.rgyal.lde still to fear? Of course, Islam had a foothold in Kha.che by then, but it is known from *Dwitya Rajasharangini* that it did not yet harbour aggressive intentions. Throughout the centuries Gu.ge's northern border remained exposed to looting and pillage by the peoples (mostly Islamic) who successively inhabited Southern Turkestan. A further threat was advancing in sBal.ti, where the first steps of Islamization had taken place (Rovillé, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Islam au Baltistan et au Ladakh").

ders also affected commercial transactions dramatically. Supremacy of one kingdom over another, such as Gung.thang's dominance of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang with Sa.skya's support, not only meant diverting trade through the lands of the dominant power, but also the control of commercial traffic through the conquered lands and thus access to more distant markets<sup>847</sup>. I believe that the enmity between Glo.bo and Gu.ge Pu.hrang marking the 15th and the early 16th centuries was caused by reasons connected with the control of trade.

Among his great achievements, rNam.rgyal.lde is reported to have revised the corpus of laws laid down by his ancestors (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 3-5). He updated the ancient code to meet the requirements of his time, but no details are given as to the content of the laws he issued. However, the text seems to convey that the revision gave legal status to his rule and helped to remove obstacles to the exercise of his power. That of rNam.rgyal.lde was the first and only reform of the code of laws introduced by Ye.shes.'od at the end of the 10th century, the foundation of the kingdom and the basis on which Buddhism gained a foothold in Tibet.

In the light of the statement that rNam.rgyal.lde built underground tunnels for defence (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.83 lines 1-2) and the existence of such tunnels at Tsa.rang (spelled as in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.85 line 2), in which great quantities of armour are still found, testifying to their use in later times, it should be asked whether rNam.rgyal.lde also adopted his defensive system at Tsa.rang and consequently whether he was the king who founded it. Sadly, a lacuna before this passage (p.82 line 4) precludes any safe assessment. Again, the fact that rNam.rgyal.lde was still ruling in 1424, when he abdicated in favour of his son Phun.tshogs.lde on the occasion of the latter's marriage, does not rule out the possibility that rNam.rgyal.lde was its founder. This notion is denied by the evidence of *Bai.ser*, according to which Phun.tshogs.lde was responsible for Tsa.rang. This text states that Phun.tshogs.lde was the king under whom the two monasteries at rTsa.hrang (so spelled in this source), Bre.lidan and Blos.stangs, were established<sup>848</sup>. Further evidence found in *Bai.ser* and *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* provides sufficient clues to assess the matter with better confidence.

(847) This is what *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.537 lines 2-3) says about A.ma.dpal, who carved out an unprecedented role for the kingdom of Glo.bo: "A.me.dpal 'di mkhyen.pa yod.pas/ Bod chos.rgyal.gyi gdung.rgyud dri.ma med.pa mNga'ris rDzong.kar.gyi chos.rgyal 'Bum.lde.mgon.gyis glang.gi las.thabs bcu.gsum yod.par bshad.pa'i Glo.bor gTsang.rang Bya.pho'i ze.ba zhes.pa'i rdzong.rgyab yod.pa'i rdzong.dpon.la brkos.pa las/ phyis Glo.bo khong.gis sger.du tshong/ Dol.po Pu.hrangs/ Gu.ge sogs.la'ang lung 'gro.ba byung", "Since this A.me.dpal was resourceful, he was appointed *rdzong.dpon* of the previously existing gTsang.rang Bya.pho'i ze.ba rdzong in Glo.bo, which belonged to the so called *glang.gi las.thabs bcu.gsum* established by chos.rgyal 'Bum.lde.mgon, the *chos.rgyal* of mNga'ris rDzong.kar, the undisputed descendant of the religious kings of Bod. Subsequently, he established his personal trade marts in Glo.bo, which he was able to extend to the lands of Dol.po, Pu.hrangs and Gu.ge".

(848) *Bai.ser* (p.273 line 25-p.274 line 4): "Gu.ge bdag.po khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.phyug (p.274) phun.tshogs.lde'i dus Ha.se 'Phags.pa Ye.shes brtson.'grus.kyis rTsa.hrang du Bre.lidan dang bKra.shis

*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* records that the *rgyal.po'i pho.brang* of rNam.rgyal.lde was at Ma.nam (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 1-2). This is an alternative spelling of Mang.nang, as can be deduced from a passage referring to the meeting of Rin.chen bzang.po and Jo.bo.rje at this locality (*Rin.chen bzang.po rnam.thar 'bring.po* p.112 line 5-p.113 line 114 line 2), where the latter resided while he was in Gu.ge (*Bai.ser* p.275 lines 16-17). The location of rNam.rgyal.lde's palace at Mang.nang proves that he did not make Tsa.rang his seat. *Bai.ser* (p.274 lines 1-4), when dealing with the two monasteries Bre.ldan and Blos.stangs at Tsa.rang, says that they were built in the vicinity of the *rgyal.po'i pho.brang*. This shows that the palace of the Gu.ge king had been built in the meantime. Given that rNam.rgyal.lde's palace was at Mang.nang and that he had abdicated before the two Tsa.rang monasteries were built, for his son is credited by *Bai.ser* with their construction, the king Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde was responsible for the establishment of Tsa.rang as the capital of Gu.ge. The palaces and monasteries of Tsa.rang cannot have been built before 1424, since Phun.tshogs.lde was crowned in that year.

The famous Tho.ling bridge was built during the reign of rNam.rgyal.lde (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.81 lines 5-6). This iron bridge stands to this day, although in rather poor condition. Thang.stong rgyal.po, the great builder of iron bridges, was not involved in its construction as is popularly believed, since his first journey to sTod, including Gu.ge and Pu.hrang, took place in wood hare 1435<sup>849</sup>, thus after rNam.rgyal.lde had left the throne to his son in 1424. Moreover, no reference to Thang.stong rgyal.po's involvement in the construction of the bridge is found in his *rnam.thar*.

The time when the bridge was constructed can be appraised with a good deal of accuracy. *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* says that it was built at the time when rNam.rgyal.lde "stopped growing", hence, around 1390 when he was about eighteen or twenty years old. This is interesting, for it proves that the technique of building iron suspension bridges existed before its use by *grub.thob chen.po lcags.zam.pa* and therefore was not invented by him<sup>850</sup>.

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bde.rgyas sam Blos.stangs.kyi chos.sde gnyis btab/ dbyar.sa rgun.sa'i khyad.par.las khyon.gcig yin.la/ rgyal.po'i pho.brang dang nye.ba'i Blos.su sa.'bur.kha'i stengs.su yod.pas/ Blos.steng zer yang deng.sang ni Blos.stangs su 'bod.do", "During the reign of Gu.ge bdag.po khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.phyug phun.tshogs.lde, Ha.se 'Phags.pa Ye.shes brtson.'grus built two *chos.sde-s*, Bre.ldan and bKra.shis bde.rgyas otherwise called Blos.stangs, at Tsa.hrang. They were built to be the summer residence (Blos.stangs) and winter residence (Bre.ldan). Since one of them is built at Blos above (*stengs*) an earthen spur near the *rgyal.po'i pho.brang* ("royal palace"), it is also known as Blos.steng. At present it is called Blos.stangs".

(849) Thang.stong rgyal.po went to La.stod in wood female hare 1435 (*Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* (p.172 line 19): "Shing.mo.yos la La.stod phyogs.la byon..."). Soon after he was at Ti.se (ibid. p.176 line 2: "De.nas Gang Ti.ser phebs"). He proceeded to Gu.ge and other places in Pu.hrang (ibid. p.177 line 10: "Gu.ge Pu.rong la byon"), staying at rGyal.ti (ibid. line 13: "Pu.rang.gi pho.brang rGyal.tir byon").

(850) The first iron bridge built by *grub.thob lcags.zam.pa* Thang.stong rgyal.po was made in iron (!) dog 1430 on lHa.sa sKyid.chu after *grub.thob chen.po* collected a large quantity of iron in Kong.po with the help

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of local patronage (*Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* p.155 lines 2-3: "lHa.sar phebs/ dgung.lo bdun.cu bzhes.pa lcags.pho.khyi'i lo/ sKyi.chu la lcags.zam 'dzugs dgongs", "He went to lHa.sa. When he was seventy in the iron dog year, he thought of building an iron bridge on the sKyi.chu". A few lines below, it is Thang.stong rgyal.po himself who affirms in his own words that the task was embarked upon (ibid. lines 8-10): "sNe.pa dpon.g.yog dang/ sKyi.shod.kyi skya.ser kun.la nged.kyis chu sngon.mo 'di.la/ lcags.kyi zam.pa 'dzugs", "The sNe.pa chief and his servants, the laymen and monks of sKyi.shod, all of them and myself, built the iron bridge on this blue river").

# The successors to rNam.rgyal.lde

*Dating Ngag.dbang grags.pa's presence in Gu.ge (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.84)*

When he was sixteen in wood dragon 1424 (b.1409), Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde married and was crowned on the same occasion. The ceremony, which was held at Byang.ngos Phyi.wang, was presided over by his father rNam.rgyal.lde, who abdicated on this occasion, and *mkhas.pa'i dbang.po* Ngag.dbang grags.pa (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-15). This proves that Ngag.dbang grags.pa was in Gu.ge by 1424, after studying with Tsong.kha.pa (d.1419) in dBus.gTsang.

This event, recorded in some detail by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, corroborates the statement in *Bai.ser* that, at the time of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's return to sTod to diffuse the new doctrines of Tsong.kha.pa, the king of Gu.ge was rNam.rgyal.lde. *Bai.ser* says that *yon.mchod* was established between rNam.rgyal.lde, called *mnga'.bdag* in the passage, and Ngag.dbang grags.pa<sup>851</sup>, confirming the above mentioned account in the same text, which credits rNam.rgyal.lde, described as *khri*, with the grant of Dung.dkar to Ngag.dbang grags.pa. An earlier king could not have been ruling at the time when Ngag.dbang grags.pa returned to Gu.ge, since rNam.rgyal.lde was crowned around 1396 and undertook a military campaign in 1399. rNam.rgyal.lde died when he was sixty-eight (i.e. in earth sheep 1439) (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 2-3), quite some time after he had abdicated. Although unrecorded in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, it is possible that he devoted the last sixteen years of his life (1424-1439) to religion<sup>852</sup>.

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(851) *Bai.ser* (p.460 lines 9-12): "Bod chos.rgyal.gyi gdung dri.ma med.pa lha.sras Mu.tig btsan.po'i skyes.sñid lha.bla.ma Zhi.ba.'od.kyis btab.pa'i mTho.liding.gi chos.sde 'di.nyid mnga'.bdag rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po dang chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa mchod.yon.nas dGe.lugs rnam.dag.pa'i tshos mdog yin rung", "mTho.liding chos.sde, founded by lha.bla.ma Zhi.ba.'od, the reincarnation of lha.sras Mu.tig btsan.po belonging to the stainless line of the Bod *chos.rgyal*-s, was pervaded with the colours of the dGe.lugs purists owing to the *mchod.yon* [established] between mnga'.bdag rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po and chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa".

(852) Very little is known about rNam.rgyal.lde's patronage of Buddhism. Apart from building a temple at Dung.dkar and granting it to Ngag.dbang grags.pa, only one instance is met with in the sources. rNam.rgyal.lde showed concern for the major temple of Pu.hrang, after Gu.ge had recovered it. *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.17a lines 1-3) records his care for Kha.char in the following way: "Chos.rgyal chen.po rNam.rgyal.lde dngul.kong chen.po gnyis phul/ gzhan.yang mchod.kong brgya.rtsa.ma dang phan gdugs/ bla.bre/ rgyal.mtshan sogs phul.ba dang/ gtsug.lag.khang.gi nang.gi zhig.gso dang/ phy'i'i rdo.rags sogs da.lta'i

In the only passage found in the sources recording the events immediately following Ngag.dbang grags.pa's return to sTod, *Bai.ser* does not clearly indicate rNam.rgyal.lde as the king of Gu.ge king at that time. Ngag.dbang grags.pa was first invited to the court by other members of the royal family who had heard of his fame, rather than by rNam.rgyal.lde. *Bai.ser* states that the members of the royal family, whom Ngag.dbang grags.pa met on his return, were bKra.shis 'od.lde, khri rNam.rgyal.'od and Shakya.'od<sup>853</sup>. These three are described as *sku.mched.gsum* and relatives (*gdung*) of the Gu.ge *chos.rgyal* (who *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* identifies as rNam.rgyal.lde) in the text<sup>854</sup>. The first evident consequence of this statement is that none of the three can be considered to be the ruler of Gu.ge. Furthermore, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* explains that rNam.rgyal.lde had only one son, Phun.tshogs.lde, and only one step-brother, dPal.'bar.lde, who was long dead. bKra.shis 'od.lde, khri rNam.rgyal.'od and Shakya.'od were neither his sons nor his brothers, and although they were part of the royal family, they did not belong to rNam.rgyal.lde's direct line. The fact that rNam.rgyal.'od's name is prefixed by the title *khri* makes him a ruler of some kind. He must have held a division of the Gu.ge kingdom as a feudatory of rNam.rgyal.lde, but nowhere is any indication found as to where he had his seat<sup>855</sup>. After Ngag.dbang grags.pa tamed a local 'dre called bKra.pa dpon.mo<sup>856</sup>, which the Sa.skya.pa-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s could not, the royal family of Gu.ge appointed him to be their *bla.mchod* ("officiating bla.ma") and abbot of the major monasteries in Gu.ge (Tho.ling and rTsa.hrang Blos.stang) (see below p.524 and n.894).

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bar.du bsgrubs", "Chos.rgyal chen.po rNam.rgyal.lde donated two large silver butter lamps [to Kha.char]. He also donated a set of one hundred butter lamps, temple hangings, parasols, canopies [and] banners. He accomplished the restoration of the *gsug.lag.khang's* interior and the making of a stone embankment on [its] exterior (sic), which is [standing] to this day".

(853) *Bai.ser* (p.272 lines 13-16): "Gu.ge chos.rgyal.gi gdung bKra.shis 'od.lde dang/ khri rNam.rgyal.'od/ Shakya.'od dang mched.gsum.kyi nyan.du lhon.pas spyang.drangs", "bKra.shis 'od.lde, khri rNam.rgyal.'od [and] Shakya.'od, the three brothers, kinsmen of the Gu.ge *chos.rgyal*, invited him [Ngag.dbang grags.pa] as they heard of his fame".

(854) In this light, Petech's proposal ("Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.104) that it is rNam.rgyal.lde who is called rNam.rgyal.'od in this passage of *Bai.ser* (p.272 lines 9-11) is untenable not only because Nam.rgyal.lde ruled at least from 1396 until 1424, but also by virtue of the simple fact that their names are different.

(855) This was conceived much in the same way as the organization of Gu.ge implemented at the time of the three Gu.ge.pa brothers catastrophically defeated by the Gar.log-s in the first half of the 12th century (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.75 lines 14-17; see above p.347).

(856) The myth of conversion to the new tenets of Tsong.kha.pa's doctrine bears a point of similarity with the legend relating Nyi.ma.mgon's taking over of Khyung.lung (see Addendum Two p.552). This holds valid in as much as the outline of the two accounts is concerned, but not in terms of the names of the local gods involved.



The religious resurgence under rNam.rgyal.lde gave a new impetus to bKa'.brgyud.pa activities at Ti.se. The custom of building golden memorial *stupa*-s (*gser.gdung*) for the 'Bri.gung *gdan.sa*-s was introduced in 1407 on the death of the tenth *gdan.rabs* Nyer.gnyis.pa rin.po.che Chos.kyi rgyal.po (1334-1407, in office 1351-1407)<sup>857</sup>. Religious practices were therefore carried out in the old 'Bri.gung.pa centres around the mountain, including rGyang.grags, the head 'Bri.gung.pa monastery at Ti.se, in the vicinity of which these funerary monuments were built. Relations between rNam.rgyal.lde and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s are confirmed by the above cited passage in *Bai.ser*, in which Ngag.dbang grags.pa found Sa.skya.pa and 'Bri.gung.pa exponents at the Gu.ge court.

An incident recorded in *Deb.ther sngon.po* testifies to the existence of less well known participants in the religious activities of West Tibet in those days. The work says that, during his time as abbot at gDan.sa.mthil (fire bird 1417- wood tiger 1434), Phag.mo gru.pa bSod.nams grags.pa pronounced a *mantra* from afar (he was in dBus at that time) and thereby was able to remove from Pu.hrang a Bon.po called dKar.gdum.pa who was creating trouble for the meditators (*sgom.chen*) of the sect<sup>858</sup>. More significant than the presence of a Bon.po residing at dKar.dum during the years in which Ngag.dbang grags.pa started to diffuse the teachings of Tsong.kha.pa in sTod (individuals or small communities of Bon.po-s were found in the ancient Zhang.zhung lands from the period of their Tibetanization onwards), is the evidence of Phag.mo gru.pa meditators in Pu.hrang. The way *Deb.ther sngon.po* describes the episode suggests that the Phag.mo gru.pa-s were established in this land. Further research on this topic could better prove that bKa'.brgyud.pa-s in the area of Ti.se in the 15th century were not only 'Bri.gung.pa-s. It is difficult to say whether Phag.mo gru.pa presence in sTod derived from their preeminence in Tibet from the second half of the 14th century.

There is no reason to believe that, after the strained times of the previous century when Gu.ge and the Phag.mo gru.pa-s were on less than good terms (on the troops levied by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s at Tho.ling against Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan, see *Si.tu bKa'.chems* in

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(857) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.32a line 6-f.32b line1): "rDo.rje 'dzin.pa Tshul.khrims mgon.pos/ Ti.se'i sku.sked.kyi brag 'og.tu spyang.snga Nyer.gnyis.pa'i gser.gdung bzhengs.pas/ de.phyin de dang mnyam.du 'Bri.gung gdan.rab/ (f.32b) rim.byon gser.gdung re bzhengs.pa'i srol da.lta bar byung.ngo", "rDo.rje 'dzin.pa Tshul.khrims mgon.po built a golden memorial for spyang.snga Nyer.gnyis.pa below Ti.se. From then on, the custom of building golden memorials for each 'Bri.gung abbot one after another has existed until this day". For a biography of Nyer.gnyis.pa see, *inter alia*, Che.tshang bsTan.'dzin padma'i rgyal.mtshan, 'Bri.gung gser.phreng (p.131 line 18-p.139 line 14).

(858) *Deb.ther sngon.po* (p.698 line 19-p.699 line 3) reads: "De.bzhin.du Pu.hrangsu su dKar(p.699).gdum.pa bya.ba'i Bon.po rang.re'i sgom.chen.pa rnam.s la gnod.pa chen.po byed.pa zhig byung.ba.la yang dge.'dun.gyi tshogs.su bden.pa brjod.pas de.rnam.s mi.tshang dang bcas.pa yul don", "Similarly, there was in Pu.hrang a Bon.po called dKar.gdum.pa, who was greatly harmful to our own [Phag.gru] meditators. Since [bSod.nams grags.pa] pronounced a curse during the assembly of the monks, this man and his family left the land [of Pu.hrang]"; see *Blue Annals* p.594.

*rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.223 lines 16-20; and Addendum Three), the relationship between the Gu.ge royal family and the Phag.mo gru.pa-s were not amicable. In fact, the royal family of Gu.ge, who granted great honours to Ngag.dbang grags.pa, and the Phag.mo gru.pa-s in dBus.gTsang both supported the early dGe.lugs.pa-s<sup>859</sup>.

*Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde* (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.84-85)

Phun.tshogs.lde was born in earth ox 1409 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 6-7), and in 1424 was given Mar.yul rgyal.mo Khri.lcam in marriage (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-9). The literature does not help to establish to which royal line of Mar.yul she belonged. Many years had passed since 1399, when rNam.rgyal.lde, Phun.tshogs.lde's father, reestablished the Mar.yul king Khri.btsan.lde on his throne, yet earlier bonds of alliance may have favoured a marriage between a princess of She.ye and the heir apparent of Gu.ge. Was Khri.lcam the daughter of Khri.btsan.lde?

Another point of contact between Gu.ge and Mar.yul in that period was the common adoption of Tsong.kha.pa's disciples as *bla.mchod*. Common religious affiliation increases the number of royal houses in Mar.yul from which rgyal.mo Khri.lcam may have come, for the above mentioned passage in *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 14-18) says that five kings of Mar.yul supported the dGe.lDan.pa-s (Shel, Nub.ra, Gle, La.dwags(.gsham?) and Zangs.dkar).

Phun.tshogs.lde followed in the footsteps of the early Gu.ge kings and became a monk at Kha.char under the name Shakya.'od when he was forty-one years old (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 line 19-p.85 line 2)<sup>860</sup>. His age at that time shows that he took vows in earth snake 1449 (b.1409). The *Ngor.chen rnam.thar-s* state that Phun.tshogs.lde was ordained in fire dragon 1436 by Ngor.chen Kung.dga' bzang.po<sup>861</sup>. The last of Ngor.chen's three visits to

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(859) See Wylie, ("Monastic Patronage in 15th-Century Tibet" p.319 and 322-324) on Phag.mo gru.pa support of the dGe.lugs.pa-s from the days of Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, who was a bKa'.brgyud.pa mentor of Tsong.kha.pa. On Hor dPal.'byor bzang.po, another Phag.mo gru.pa, who was the sponsor of dGe.'dun.grub, see *ibid.* (p.323), where the authority of lNga.pa chen.po is invoked. The Fifth Dalai Lama (*sPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* p.160 lines 5-8) says: "Thams.cad mkhyen.pa dGe.'dun.grub.kyis bKra.shis.lhun.po 'debs skabs/ bSam.grub.rtse'i rdzong.dpon 'Phyong.rgyas.pa Hor dPal.'byor bzang.po yin zhing/ 'di.nyid.kyis rje dGe.'dun.grub.kyi sbyin.bdag mdzad", "When the omniscient dGe.'dun.grub was founding bKra.shis.lhun.po, the *rdzong.dpon* of bSam.grub.rtse was Hor dPal.'byor bzang.po from 'Phyong.rgyas. He was the sponsor of rje dGe.'dun.grub".

(860) Phun.tshogs.lde's monastic name may allow him to be confused with a relative of his also called Shakya.'od, who was among the three brothers belonging to the previous generation first greeting Ngag.dbang grags.pa upon the latter's return to sTod in the first quarter of the 15th century. They were obviously two different persons.

(861) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.539 line 5) says that during Ngor.chen's second sojourn to sTod (1436): "Gu.ge rgyal.po rab.tu.byung zhing chos.sde chen.po gsar.du btsugs", "Gu.ge rgyal.po was ordained [by Ngor.chen] and built a new *chos.sde chen.po*".

sTod ended in 1448, when his biographies say that he had returned to gTsang. Thus, Ngor.chen would have been unable to ordain Phun.tshogs.lde even if his alleged ordainment of Phun.thogs.lde were arbitrarily assigned to Ngor.chen's last visit to sTod in 1447-1448. There is no confirmation of either assessment of the date of his ordination in the literature. The issue remains unresolved, although *mNga'.ris rgyal.rab's* date seems more reasonable on the grounds that, if the version of Phun.tshogs.lde's ordination proposed in the *Ngor.chen rnam.thar-s* were correct, his son rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde would have ascended the throne when he was a child of twelve or possibly younger as Phun.tshogs.lde married in 1424. Ngor.chen is described in dGe.lugs.pa literature as a teacher who had an uncompromising approach that did not leave much room for other religious masters<sup>862</sup>. If this is true, his biographers' account of him leading Phun.tshogs.lde into religion seems eulogistic and therefore questionable. However, this attitude of his towards other religious masters is not explicitly confirmed by impartial sources<sup>863</sup>.

(862) His allegedly strict sectarian attitude is deduced from two passages in *Deb.sher dmar.po gsar.ma*. The first is a comment of its author, bSod.nams grags.pa, who says that Ngor.chen did not allow other sects to practise their doctrines in Glo.bo (see above n. 843 and 862). The other is a request of Ngor.chen to the Rin.spungs.pa lord Nor.bzang not to permit the dGe.lugs.pa-s to stay in gTsang.smad, near his seat at Ngor E.wam, and to stop the construction of bKra.shis.lhun.po (ibid. p.106 line 3-9: "Khrid thon.pa na/ bla.mas mnga'.zhabs.kyi dGe.ldan.pa rnam Sa.skya.par sgyur.ba dang/ bka'.bcu.pa dGe.'dun.grub dgon.pa 'debs.pa'i mkhar.las 'di 'gog...dgos zhes.gsungs/ de.la Nor.bzang.pas/ spyir chos.lugs bsgyur.ba dbang.yod sus kyang bya mi.'os shing/ khyad.par nged.kyis chos.rje rGyal.tshab.pa la chos.'brel zhus.pas khong dGe.ldan.pa la dam.tshig srung dgos.pa'ang yod", "After the teachings had been imparted to [Rin.spungs Nor.bzang by Ngor.chen], the *bla.ma* said: "There is a need... that the dGe.ldan.pa-s under your authority should be converted to Sa.skya.pa-s and the construction of the *dgon.pa* by bka'.bcu.pa ("holder of ten vows") dGe.'dun.grub should be stopped". To which Nor.bzang [retorted]: "In general, no chief should oblige [anyone] to change sect; in particular, since I requested chos.rje rGyal.tshab to have a religious bond [with me], I have to honour my vow to him, the dGe.ldan.pa"). INga.pa chen.po in his *dPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* denies that Ngor.chen made such a request (*sPyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyangs* p.160 lines 2-8: "Chos.rje bSod.grags.pas/ chos.rje Ngor.chen.pas Rin.spungs Nor.bzang.pa la/ rje dGe.'dun.grub.kyis dgon.pa 'debs.pa 'gog.dgos tshul gsungs.pa ni ngag.rgyun ma.dag.pa'i 'chal.gtam zhig bris.par snang ste/ thams.cad mkhyen.pa dGe.'dun.grub.kyis bKra.shis.lhun.po 'debs skabs/ bSam.grub.rtse'i rdzong.dpon 'Phyong.rgyas.pa Hor dPal.'byor bzang.po yin zhing/ 'di.nyid.kyis rje dGe.'dun.grub.kyi sbyin.bdag mdzad", "That chos.rje Ngor.chen is believed to have told Rin.spungs Nor.bzang to prevent rje dGe.'dun.grub from building bKra.shis.lhun.po, as claimed by chos.rje bSod.grags, is a false account based on an unreliable fancy. When the omniscient dGe.'dun.grub was founding bKra.shis.lhun.po, the *rdzong.dpon* of bSam.grub.rtse was Hor dPal.'byor bzang.po from 'Phyong.rgyas. He was the sponsor of rje dGe.'dun.grub"). The attribution of a sectarian behaviour to Ngor.chen in *Deb.sher dmar.po gsar.ma* may derive from bSod.nams grags.pa's staunch dGe.lugs.pa stance.

(863) A case which testifies to the support extended by Ngor.chen to fellow members of his sect, but not to his dismissive style in his relations with exponents of other traditions, is found in the autobiography of Glo.bo mkhan.chen bSod.nams lhun.grub, a master who was not a dGe.lugs.pa but rather a lineage holder of the Ngor.pa teachings. *Glo.bo mkhan.chen bSod.nams lhun.grub rnam.thar* records that Ngor.chen forced the appointment of his disciple Ratna.shri as the new abbot of rNam.rgyal chos.sde in Mustang (*Glo.bo*

Nevertheless the fact that Phun.tshogs.lde became *lha.btsun* at Kha.char places his ordination in a Sa.skya.pa milieu, for the temple had become Sa.skya.pa in the time of the Pu.hrang king bSod.nams.lde<sup>864</sup>.

In 1436, during his second visit to sTod, Ngor.chen was invited to Pu.hrang, where he resided at rGyal.te'u (spelled as in the text, i.e. rGyal.ti) for three months, by Phun.tshogs.lde and Gu.ge mkhan.chen Chos.nyid seng.ge on a suggestion made by the bZhi.sde.pa drung Nam.rtse. Various religious exponents (bla.ma sPrul.sku.ba from Gu.ge, mkhan.po Rin.bsod from Pi.ti, *dge.bshes-s* from Mar.yul) attended his teachings<sup>865</sup>.

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*mkhan.chen bSod.nams lhun.grub rnam.thar* f.5a line 5-f.5b line 2: “Jam.pa'i.dbyangs nyid yin.gyi/ 'Gig mkhan.po Ratna.shri.pa yin zer.ba ni gtam ma.dag.pa yin te/ Ratna.shri.pa gSang.phu'i 'chad.nyan.nas thon te rGyang 'Bum.mo.che na bzhugs.pa'i dus.su 'o.rgyal.po byung nas/ chos.rje rin.po.che.pa gdan.sa.na bzhugs.dus/ dam.pa nyi.ma Kun.bzang de drung.du/ padmo rgyas.pa lta.bu'i khang.bu nas/ longs.spyod sbrang.rtsi'i bcud.kyi sa.dben.pa.yis rkang.drug Ratna.shris don.'di zhu/ zhes.pa dang/ mNga'.ris phyogs.su 'byon.snying 'dod.pa la.sogs.pa'i sdug.skad mang.po zhig phul.bas/ rje'i drung.nas kyang/ khong.pa mkhan.chen g.Yag.pa'i grwa.rigs sku.yon.can (f.5b) yin.pa dang/ chos.rje rang.gi'ang slob.bu yin.pa.la dgongs nas/ 'dir drung dge.sbyong.la sri.thabs.kyi phyag.dam mdzad/ de.dus rNam.rgyal chos.sde rnying.pa 'di Zhang.pa rnam.s.kyi yin.pas/ khong dbang.che.bar yod kyang/ rje'i phyag.dam.la brten.nas dge.sbyong.pas Zhang.pa la zhus.nas dgun.thog cig.tsam chos.sde rnying.pa'i mkhan.po mdzad.nas bzhugs lags.so”, “Ratna.shri, who was a true 'Jam.pa'i.dbyangs, is wrongly recognized as the 'Gig *mkhan.po*. Ratna.shri, who had completed his studies at gSang.phu, had a difficult time during his stay at rGyang 'Bum.mo.che. When *chos.rje rin.po.che* (Ngor.chen) was at *gdan.sa*, Ratna.shri made this plea to the “noble sun” Kun.bzang: “I am [like] a bee, which is unable to suck the nectar of life from the heart of a blossoming lotus flower”. So he said, and made many statements of his ambition to go to mNga'.ris. *rje*, considering that he was an educated [master] belonging to the group of mkhan.chen g.Yag.pa's monks and that he was also a disciple of *chos.rje* himself, awarded to [this] monk an edict of appointment in those circumstances. At that time the old rNam.rgyal chos.sde belonged to the [Men.]Zhang.pa-s, since they were the most powerful. Owing to *rje's* edict, this monk extended the request to the [Men.]Zhang.pa-s and was the abbot of the old chos.sde for one winter”). See also Jackson (“Notes on the History of *Se-rib*, and Nearby Places in the Upper Kali Gandaki Valley” p.216 n.76-77 and *The Mollas of Mustang* p.42 n.6), where he interprets the episode of Ratna.shri's appointment in less coercive terms than I, but I maintain that the edict issued by Ngor.chen compelled the [Men.]Zhang.pa-s to comply with the request, given the authority Ngor.chen had gained in Glo.bo.

(864) Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde's support of Kha.char is recorded in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*, which says that this Gu.ge king donated a large silver butter lamp (f.17a line 1): “mNga'.bdag Nam.kha'i dbang.po dang 'jo.jo 'Od.kyi rgyal.mos dngul.kong chen.mo phul”, “mNga'.bdag Nam.mkha'i dbang.po [Phun.tshogs.lde] and jo.jo 'Od.kyi rgyal.mo donated a large silver butter lamp”). Much like that of his father rNam.rgyal.lde (see above n.852), Phun.tshogs.lde's donation to Kha.char is a sign that Gu.ge ruled Pu.hrang at that time. The account of this donation shows that Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde had at least two wives.

(865) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.539 lines 2-4): “Lan bar.ma'i skabs 'dir bZhi.sde.pa drung Nam.rtses/ Gu.ge rgyal.po khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.po dang bka'.bgros te/ Gu.ge'i mkhan.chen Chos.nyid seng.ge dpon.slob rnam.s gdan.'dren.par rdzangs/ chos.rje rin.po.che dpon.slob brgya.tsam zhig Pu.hrangs su spyen.drangs/ rGyal.de'ur zla.ba gsum.gyi bar bzhugs/ Gu.ge nas bla.ma sprul.sku sogs dang/ Pi.ti

As none of these masters is included in the list of the abbots of the dGe.lugs.pa monasteries in sTod found in *Bai.ser*, I presume that they were all Sa.skya.pa-s, including Nam.rtse, for bZhi.sde was a Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa stronghold. More significantly, this account precedes Phun.tshogs.lde's alleged ordination by Ngor.chen in *Ngor.chen rnam.thar*. Hence, according to Ngor.pa literature, the king became a monk at rGyal.ti and not at Kha.char. In 1436, Ngor.chen ordained A.ma.dpal of Glo.bo to the *bsnyen.rdzogs* vow (Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* p.538 lines 4-5). Given Ngor.chen's sojourn at rGyal.ti in the same year 1436 where he met Phun.tshogs.lde, it cannot be ruled out that his biographers have decided to credit him also with the ordination of the Gu.ge king, linking it with that of A.ma.dpal. In conclusion, I am inclined to favour the version of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and thus 1449 for the date of Phun.tshogs.lde's ordination, and its having taken place at Kha.char, rather than 1436 and rGyal.ti.

*The royal line of Gu.ge from Phun.tshogs.lde to Blo.bzang rab.brtan and 'Phags.pa.lha (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.84-85)*

*Bai.ser* claims that many generations intervened between the reigns of Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde and Blo.bzang rab.brtan, but does not document the identity of these kings of Gu.ge<sup>866</sup>.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.85 lines 3-7), on the other hand, asserts that only one king ruled between Phun.tshogs.lde and Blo.bzang rab.brtan, which is logical, given that *Bai.ser* reports their faith in the same master, Ngag.dbang grags.pa. The identity of the "many royal generations of Gu.ge" of *Bai.ser* is elucidated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.85 line 3), which lists rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde after Phun.tshogs.lde and before Blo.bzang rab.brtan. He was the son of the former and the father of the latter.

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nas mkhan.po Rin.bsod/ Mar.yul.pa'i dge.bshes 'ga' sogs Pu.hrangs dang bcas.pa'i dge.'dun mang.po la/ Dus.'khor mKha'.gro rgya.mtsho gur.rigs bsodus sogs.kyi dbang gnang", "On the occasion of [Ngor.chen's] intermediate visit (1436), bZhi.sde.pa drung Nam.rtse held talks with Gu.ge rgyal.po khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.po. Gu.ge mkhan.chen Chos.nyid seng.ge was sent to invite [Ngor.chen]. Chos.rje rin.po.chen [Ngor.chen] and about a hundred disciples were invited to Pu.hrangs. He stayed at rGyal.de'u for three months. He gave empowerments of *Dus.'khor, mKha'.gro rgya.mtsho gur.rigs* in short form to bla.ma sprul.sku from Gu.ge, mkhan.po Rin.bsod from Pi.ti, a few Mar.yul.pa *dge.bshes*-s and many monks from all over Pu.hrangs".

(866) *Bai.ser* (p.274 lines 4-6): "De.nas rgyal.rabs du.ma zhig song rjes/ chos.rgyal Buddha'i sras/ Blo.bzang rab.brtan.pas rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa'i zhabs.pad sphyi.bos bsten cing 'jam.mgon chos.kyi rgyal.po'i ring.lugs dar.bar mdzad", "Then, after many generations, Blo.bzang rab.brtan, the son of chos.rgyal Buddha, bowed to the crown of rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa and the lotus of his feet and diffused the tradition of 'jam.mgon chos.kyi rgyal.po [Tsong.kha.pa]".

The letters Phun.tshogs.lde and his wife exchanged with mKhas.grub.rje (1385-1438) confirms that Phun.tshogs.lde's reign began in 1424<sup>867</sup>. Phun.tshogs.lde refers to himself as the king of Gu.ge in this correspondence, which is not dated but took place when mKhas.grub.rje was at gNas.rnying between 1427 and the spring of 1430<sup>868</sup>. In all likelihood, Phun.tshogs.lde ruled until he was forty-one in earth snake 1449 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 line 19-p.85 line 2), when he took monastic vows. This helps to fix the chronology of the succession on the Gu.ge throne. rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde succeeded his father in that earth snake 1449, but no information is available to ascertain the end of his reign. His successor Blo.bzang rab.brta ruled in the third quarter of the 15th century. He is no longer found on the Gu.ge throne around the end of the century. The assessment of Blo.bzang rab.brta's dates, including his birth, stated by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.85 lines 5-7) to have occurred in a tiger year, derives from some chronological acrobatics.

One has to resort to the dates of his grandfather Phun.tshogs.lde to approximate those of Blo.bzang rab.brta, given that the chronology of the main events in the life of his father rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde can only be guessed at. A starting point is Phun.tshogs.lde's birth in earth ox 1409 and his marriage with Mar.yul rgyal.mo Khri.lcam in 1424 at Byang.ngos Phyi.wang. In the absence of a precise indication, it is obvious that the birth of rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde took place after 1424 and probably before 1430. The fact that rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde succeeded his father in 1449 shows the rough assessment of his birth year to be reasonable. rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde first married Nam.mkha' rgyal.mo, but they had no son. He then married bSod.nams bzang.mo of Pu.hrang, and Blo.bzang rab.brta was born in the tiger year mentioned above. This tiger year can hardly be 1446, as only twenty-three years had passed since the marriage of his grandfather Phun.tshogs.lde. It cannot have been the tiger year 1470 because 'Phags.pa.lha, the son of Blo.bzang rab.brta (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.85 lines 9-10) and of

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(867) The wife of Phun.tshogs.lde who also signed the invitation letter to mKhas.grub.rje and exchanged other letters with the dGe.lugs.pa master was Khri.lcam rgyal.mo (mKhas.grub.rje *gSung.'bum* vol. Ta f.20a and 88b; Petech "Ya-ts'e Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.102-103). Her identity, found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.84 lines 7-9), is thus corroborated by documents written by her.

(868) On the calculation of the years in which mKhas.grub.rje was at gNas.rnying see *Rab.brta kun.bzang 'phags rnam.thar* (note on p.226 lines 3-7): "rje mKhas.grub.pa lCang.ra chos.sder chu.mo.sbrul la phebs.nas lcags.pho.byi lo phan lo.brgyad/ lcags.mo.glang.gi dgun.chos thog.nas bzung/ lo.drug chos.sde 'di'i mkhan thog.tu bzhugs/ de.nas lo.bzhi'i bar rDo.rje.gdan sogs ci.bder bzhugs rjes/ lcags.pho.khyi lo dpyid chos.rjes la dGe.ltan.gyi gdan.sa.la thegs.par 'dug", "As rje mKhas.grub.pa went to lCang.ra chos.sde in the water female snake year (1413) [he stayed there] for eight years until the iron male rat year (1420). Starting from the winter practices of the iron female ox year (1421), he held [the throne of rGyal.rte dPal.'khor chos.sde]. He was its abbot for six years (1421-1426). Then, after staying four years at [gNas.rnying] rDo.rje.gdan (1427-1430), chos.rje (mKhas.grub.rje) ascended the throne of dGe.ltan (dGa'.ldan) in the spring of the iron male dog year (1430)".

the latter's wife Don.grub.ma<sup>869</sup>, was already involved in political activity in earth sheep 1499, when he sent a *gser.yig.pa* to Rin.spungs according to *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.5b lines 4-5) (see above p.95 and n.14). Thus the tiger year in which Blo.bzang rab.brtan was born was earth tiger 1458.

Blo.bzang rab.brtan is found reigning in Gu.ge in wood dragon 1484, since *dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho rnam.thar* says that he was the king of Gu.ge who went to gTsang when dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho was nine years old (b.1476)<sup>870</sup>. 'Phags.pa.lha's political activity in earth sheep 1499 provides an approximate date for the end of Blo.bzang rab.brtan's reign, since the former's biography describes him as *mi.dbang rgyal.sras*, proving that 'Phags.pa.lha was ruling in that year. In *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.85 lines 9-10), completed in 1497, 'Phags.pa.lha is referred to as *gong.ma* ("king"). In fact, he is the last lord of Gu.ge included in Ngag.dbang grags.pa's genealogy, and was thus contemporary with the completion of the work. This proves that 'Phags.pa.lha had succeeded or had been coopted to the throne (is this the meaning of the expression *mi.dbang rgyal.sras* found in *Shanti.pa rnam.thar*?) before that year.

*The political situation and foreign presence in sTod during the reigns of Phun.tshogs.lde and gNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde (not in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs)*

Times were not entirely peaceful in Gu.ge during the reign of Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde. Despite a new phase of religious splendour resulting from the introduction

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(869) *Bai.ser* (p.274 lines 9-10) says: "Yab.yum de'i sras 'Phags.pa.lha", "The son of the father [Blo.bzang rab.brtan] and mother [Don.grub.ma] was 'Phags.pa.lha". In *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.5b lines 4-5), when the sending of the *gser.yig.pa* to Rin.spungs is recorded, 'Phags.pa.lha is referred to as 'Phags.pa.lha *sku.mched* ("Phags.pa.lha and his brothers") (see above n.14). Tucci omits 'Phags.pa.lha and only mentions Shakya.'od and Shakya rin.chen as sons of Blo.bzang rab.brtan ("Tibetan Notes" p.484 and 487). Petech, on the other hand, makes 'Phags.pa.lha the only son of Blo.bzang rab.brtan ("Ya-tshe Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.105). While that of Tucci is manifestly wrong, Petech's assessment derives from his interpretation of a passage in *Bai.ser*, the only source dealing systematically with the genealogy of Gu.ge of that period, which led him to conclude that Shakya.'od and Shakya rin.chen were the sons of 'Phags.pa.lha. His is a perfectly legitimate reading. After attributing 'Phags.pa.lha to Blo.bzang rab.brtan and Don.grub.ma as quoted above, *Bai.ser* (p.274 lines 10-11) flatly adds: "De'i sras Shakya.'od dang/ Shakya rin.chen/ de'i sras 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde dang/ 'Jam.dbyangs.pa/ Phyag.rdor dang gsum byung". The passage allows another legitimate interpretation, however, according to which they were step-brothers of 'Phags.pa.lha: "His (Blo.bzang rab.brtan's other) sons were Shakya.'od and Shakya rin.chen. His ('Phags.pa.lha's) sons were 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde, 'Jam.dbyangs.pa [and] Phyag.rdor". In this case, 'Phags.pa.lha would have been the father of 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde, 'Jam.dbyangs.pa and Phyag.rdor, who were the next royal generation of Gu.ge. More evidence is needed to corroborate either point of view, yet the statement of *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* is fairly convincing.

(870) *dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho rnam.thar* (p.353 lines 3-4) says: "De.nas lo.dgu lon.pa'i tshe Gu.ge bdag.po Blo.bzang rab.brtan.pa gTsang phyogs.su byon", "When he (dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho) was nine years old (1484), Gu.ge bdag.po Blo.bzang rab.brtan went to gTsang".

of Tsong.kha.pa's tenets by his disciples such as Ngag.dbang grags.pa, the land was threatened by foreign pressure. Gu.ge had to endure a Hor.pa offensive from Mar.yul in the years 1447-1448<sup>871</sup>.

Mar.yul had to suffer more lasting consequences of this foreign intrusion than Gu.ge, which was affected by no more than sporadic raids. Mar.yul was under foreign control for a considerable period. A fairly precise dating of the Hor-s' conquest of Mar.yul can be derived from *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, which records that in wood rat 1444 the Hor-s were summoned by the Glo.pa-s from their headquarters in Mar.yul to attack Glo.bo's adversaries, the gTso.tsho.ba nomads of Byang. The Hor-s were defeated and the Hor.dmag chief Pi.la.ri was killed in battle<sup>872</sup>. This information reveals that the 1447-1448 invasion of Gu.ge,

(871) *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* (p.258 line 12): "Me.mo.yos.kyi lo grub.chen dgung.lo gya.bdun...", "In the fire female hare year (1447), when *grub.chen* (Thang.stong rgyal.po) was eighty-seven..." and *ibid.* (p.261 lines 1-6): "...de'i dus Mar.yul dang Gu.ge/ g.Yas.ru Byang.pa'i gser.dpon/ Byang 'Brog.pa Shi.pho.ba rnam.sla Hor.dmag yang.yang byung.bas/ da Bod la Hor yong.ba 'dug zer kun 'jigs shing skrag.pa la/ grub.thob chen.pos/ rNga.yab.gling du phebs.dus/ U.rgyan dus.gsum mkhyen.pas Hor dang Bod mtshams.kyi sa'i me.btsa'/ mchod.rten zhig gsos sa.'brug dbyar.zla dang.po tshes.bcu tshun.la grub.pa gyis gsungs.pa'i dus.la bab.par dgongs", "...At that time, the Hor troops having repeatedly appeared in Mar.yul and Gu.ge, [and attacked] the *gser.dpon-s* ("gold officers") of g.Yas.ru Byang and the Byang 'Brog Shi.pho.ba-s, people said: "Now the Hor-s will come to Tibet". Everybody was in fear. When *grub.thob chen.po* went to rNga.yab.gling, he thought that the time was ripe to fulfil what had been said by U.rgyan, who had the knowledge of the three times, that a *mchod.rten* had to be restored at the *me.btsa'* ("geomantic point") at the border between Hor and Tibet by the tenth day of the first summer month of the earth dragon year (1448)".

(872) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.26b line 4-f.27a line 2): "De'i lo rjes.ma/ gTso.tsho'i Grong.stod.na gnas.pa la/ Blo.bos bang.chen go.chod gnyis Hor 'bod.pa.la Mar.yul.stod du btang/ de.nas Hor Bod tshang.ba shas che.ba Mar.yul stod.pa dang bcas.pas/ gTso.tsho.ba la rgyugs.nas/ Nyi.ma g.yung.drung zer.ba'i mi.mgo cig.gis mgo byas/ rgan.rgon shas che.ba'i mi lnga.bcu tsam bsad/ nor mang.po khyer.nas phyin.pa la/ gTso.tsho (f.27a).bas ra.da' byas nas/ Hor gNam.gyi ka.ba zer.ba'i ri.brtsan.po zhig.la brab yod.pa.la 'khrugs.pas/ Hor 'pham.nas g.yul nang.du Pi.la.ri bya.ba'i dmag.dpon zhig.gis mgo byas.pa'i mi lnga.bcu tsam bsad", "Later in the same year (1444), having settled at Grong.stod of gTso.tsho, Glo.bo sent two competent emissaries to Mar.yul.stod to summon the Hor-s. Then, Hor-s, some Tibetans and mainly Mar.yul stod.pa-s, having attacked the gTso.tsho.ba-s, some fifty men, mostly old people, with one Nyi.ma g.yung.drung as their headman, were killed. They (the Hor-s) left taking away a great quantity of riches. Since the gTo.tsho.ba-s [came] to rescue [them], after the Hor-s encamped at [a place] called gNam.gyi ka.ba ("pillar of the sky"), [where stands] a majestic mountain, a fight ensued. As the Hor-s were defeated, during the battle Pi.la.ri, the *dmag.dpon* at their head, [altogether] some fifty men were killed". Evidence that the occupation of Mar.yul, which was functioning as the base for the military campaigns of the Hor-s, had already taken place before 1447-1448 also derives from the developments of the episode dealt with in the preceding note, in which Thang.stong rgyal.po sent a nun, a nomad and a bitch to a remote area in Byang to restore a *mchod.rten* for the purpose of stopping the advance of the Hor-s, which was achieved. *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* (p.267 lines 6-10) tells: "Khong.gsum.gyis rgyang ring.po.nas mi.zhig yong.ba mthong/ Hor yin.nam bsam.blta.sas/ Bod.kyi bud.med cig yin.par shes.nas sgugs bsad/ rtsar sleb.byung/ gleng.mo byas.pas Mar.yul du Hor.dmag byung.dus/ Mar.yul.gyi pho.mo mang.po btson.du khrid/ da.lo bar Hor.du lus/ de.ring shing 'thu.ba.la btang.ba yin", "The three of them (the nun, the nomad and the bitch) spotted a person coming [towards them]



recorded in *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar*, was not the first incursion affecting its territory. Hor.pa encroachment extended well beyond the boundaries of Gu.ge. In order to reach Gro.shod, the land of the gTso.tsho.ba-s, the Hor-s had to cross Gu.ge and Pu.hrang. The account in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* also shows that Hor.pa rule in Mar.yul was already established by 1444. Hor-s were still in Mar.yul at the time of a later visit of Thang.stong rgyal.po to La.dwags during earth hare 1459 after he finished working at Cung Ri.bo.che (1449-1459)<sup>873</sup>.

Evidence of protracted foreign control of La.dwags, which lasted until after the end of Phun.tshogs.lde's reign in Gu.ge, is also provided by *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, which says that lHa.chen Bha.gan deprived Blo.gros mchog.lidan, son of the Slep (Ble) king Grags.'bum.lde, of his throne<sup>874</sup>. Bha.gan is said to be the second successor to Grags.'bum.lde's brother

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from a great distance. They wondered if it was a Hor.pa. As they realised it was a Tibetan woman, they stayed [there] waiting for her. She arrived and joined them. As they talked, [she said]: "When the Hor troops appeared in Mar.yul, many men and women of Mar.yul were taken away as prisoners. I was kept in the Hor land until this year. Today I was sent to fetch wood". The deportations following this Hor.pa invasion of Mar.yul remind one of those carried out by the Gar.log-s when they conquered Gu.ge in the first half of the 12th century, and those resulting from the Hor Sog.po invasion of West Tibet in 1193-1194.

(873) *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* (p.309 lines 12-p.310 line 5): "mNga'.ris skor.gsum la 'bul.sdud grub 'tshams/ grub.thob chen.pos slar.yang Hor.gyi kha.gnon.la 'gro.dgos gsung.pa'i bka'.shog phebs/ Hor.gyis bsad.yong zer kun.gyis zhu.phul yang gzhan mi.'gro na'ang nga.rang dang dPal dPyad gnyis 'gro gsung/ gzhan.yang tshe blos.btang.ba'i dpon.slob nyi.shu Mar.yul du byon/ Mar.yul stod.smad.kyi rgyal.po gnyis mngon.shes dang rdzu.'phrul.gyis rtsod.pa zhi.bar mdzad/ Mar.yul na gzhis phab.pa'i sTod.Hor grong.khyer drug.cu tsam.la/ ma.ni'i lung gngang/ sdig.pa spong zhing dge.ba sgrub.pa spang.blang bstan/ grub.thob chen.po'i dgongs.bzhed 'gengs.pa'i slad.du/ Hor.dmag zil.gyis gnon.pa'i thugs.dam mdzad.pas/ Hor.yul du byi.ba'i char phab 'bru.brlags.pas mu.ge dang nad.yams chen.pos sTod.Hor.gyi dmag.dpung Kha.ba.can.gyi rgyal.khams.la 'jug.pa'i go.skabs med.par mdzad.do", "Having finished collecting alms in mNga'.ris skor.gsum, grub.thob chen.po again sent a bka'.shog saying that he wished to go and tame the Hor-s. Everybody begged him not to go since the Hor-s could kill him. He said: "If you do not wish to go [it is fine], I will go with dPal dPyad, the two of us". Moreover, the master and about twenty disciples, who [were prepared to] sacrifice their lives, went to Mar.yul. He settled the dispute between the kings of Mar.yul.stod.smad, these two, by making prophecies and performing miracles. In Mar.yul, he imparted *Ma.ni'i lung* (teachings) at about sixty settlements of sTod.Hor-s, who had invaded the estates in Mar.yul. He gave them instruction on how to refrain from sin and achieve virtue. In order to put his plan into action, as grub.thob chen.po meditated to subjugate the Hor troops by his might, he caused a rain of rats in Hor.yul. Crops were destroyed, famine and epidemics broke out, which resulted in the sTod.Hor troops never again having the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Tibet".

(874) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.47 lines 3-7; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.37 lines 11-14): "De'i sras lha.chen Bha.ra/ de'i sras lha.chen Bha.gan/ rgyal.po de 'khrug.pa la shin.tu dga'.ba cig yod.pas/ Shel.pa dang bsdongs nas/ sLe'i rgyal.po Grags.'bum.lde'i sras Blo.gros mchog.lidan/ drung.pa A.li/ sLab.bstan dar.rgyas rnams phab nas/ mnga'.og bsdus", "His (Grags.pa.'bum's) successor was lha.chen Bha.ra. His successor was lha.chen Bha.gan. As a struggle [broke out], this king took the upper hand. The Shel.pa-s (i.e. the She.ye.ba-s) joined forces [with Bha.gan]. Since Blo.gros mchog.lidan, the son of the king of sLe (Ble) Grags.'bum.lde drung.pa A.li [and] sLab.bstan dar.rgyas were defeated, they were brought under [Bha.gan's] power".

Grag.s.pa.'bum, the ruler of gTing.sgang (otherwise known as gTing.mo.sgang) in La.dwags. Bha.gan thus extended his control from Ting.sgang to Slep (Ble). According to the same text, Grags.pa.'bum was succeeded by Bha.ra and then by Bha.gan. This shows that the Hor-s had already settled in Mar.yul at the time when they took Ble, since Bha.ra, Bha.gan's predecessor, did not rule in Slep.

Petech does not consider the possibility that the succession to Grags.pa.'bum was disrupted, for he says that the throne went to a branch family of the same dynasty (*Kingdom of Ladakh* p.25). He considers Bha.ra to be related to Grags.pa.'bum. The names Bha.ra and Bha.gan have an unmistakably non-Tibetan flavour<sup>875</sup>. The name Bha.ra corresponds exactly to that of another marauder in sTod during the 11th century, that of Bhara dan.dur of the lineage of Hor.nag.mo A.lan, who subjugated mNga'.ris (*Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2). He was a Qarakhanid convert to Islam (see above p.287 and n.439).

Similarities exist between the account of the war waged against Mar.yul by Zain ul-Abidin<sup>876</sup>, the Muslim king of Kashmir, and that of Bha.gan's conquest. Details of Zain ul-Abidin's military expedition, which touched Gu.ge (the Goggadesha of *Dwitya Rajatarangini*), correspond with the account that a large tribute was extracted from Gu.ge by Blo.gros mchog.lan, who was under Bha.gan's sovereignty, found in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (IHa.sa ed. p.46 lines 10-20; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.37 lines 3-8; see below n.874). Moreover, Bha.gan's alliance with Shel is consistent with the account in *Dwitya Rajatarangini* that, despite great looting by the invading troops in Mar.yul, Zain ul-Abidin saved the image of Shel from the hands of his soldiers. *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* says that Bha.gan formed an alliance with Shel to oust Blo.gros mchog.lan from the throne of Ble<sup>877</sup>. All this seems to suggest that these military expeditions recorded by *Dwitya Rajatarangini* and *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* are one and the same.

However, not all available evidence is in favour of this hypothesis, for there are major chronological inconsistencies. Given the years of Zain ul-Abidin's reign (1420-1470) and the fact that *Dwitya Rajatarangini* says that he embarked on his campaign against Tibet

(875) Another Bha.gan is mentioned by Mirza Haidar, the Yarkand adventurer who invaded La.dwags in 1532 and again in 1545. This Bha.gan was a petty lord of Su.ru (Petech *The Kingdom of Ladakh* p.26). It is likely but not proven that Su.ru had undergone Islamization by then (Rovillé, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Islam au Baltistan et au Ladakh").

(876) On the campaign of Zain ul-Abidin see *Dwitya Rajatarangini* (vv.1106-1109); Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* (vol.IV p.459 and 469-474); Francke, "References to the Bhattas or Bhauttas in the Rajatarangini of Kashmir", *Indian Antiquary* (p.188); Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh* (p.23).

(877) Their siding with foreign enemies reveals that the She.ye rulers had not come to terms with their loss of Ble.ye to Blo.gros mchog.lan's father Grags.'bum.lde after the She.ye king Khri.btsan.lde was helped to recover his throne by Gu.ge in 1399.

after he was crowned (v.1106; Petech *Kingdom of Ladakh* p.23), the periods of the two foreign interventions do not correspond<sup>878</sup>. In all likelihood, Zain ul-Abidin's campaign preceded Bha.gan's rule in La.dwags.

*dGe.'dun.grub rnam.thar* provides a valuable chronological contribution when it states that Grag.s.'bum.lde was still ruling in Mar.yul in the years between earth hare 1459 and water snake 1461, when he sponsored the founder of bKra.shis.lhun.po<sup>879</sup>. Thus Grag.s.'bum.lde had a long reign. *Bai.ser* adds that his son and successor Blo.gros mchog.ldan also sent gifts to dGe.'dun.grub<sup>880</sup>. Blo.gros mchog.ldan must have ascended the throne some time after 1461 and before 1474, the year when dGe.'dun.grub died. Bha.gan's conquest of Slel and imposition of sovereignty over Blo.gros mchog.ldan must have occurred after 1461.

Petech (*Kingdom of Ladakh* p.23) says that no foreign invasion of Tibet after that of Zain ul-Abidin is recorded for several decades in any source. However, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* records that the She.ye king bTsan.dar, son of the Mar.yul king Khri.btsan.lde,

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(878) *Shrivara Rajatarangini* proposes a different appraisal of Zain ul-Abidin's military expeditions, for it says that various other campaigns preceded that against Tibet (Dhutt *Rajatarangini of Jonaraja* p.103). That of *Shrivara Rajatarangini* is a short general assessment of his warfare against foreign lands, which amounts to a single sentence without any detail concerning the territories against which he fought. In the case of the campaign against Tibet mentioned in this passage of *Shrivara Rajatarangini* nothing is said about La.dwags and the outcome of his campaign. Hence, *Shrivara Rajatarangini* does not seem to be especially useful in detailing the chronology of Zain ul-Abidin's invasion of La.dwags, and the version of the events found in *Dwitya Rajatarangini* has to be favoured.

(879) *dGe.'dun.grub rnam.thar* relates events occurring between those years. It first records a visit of dGe.'dun.grub's to gNas.rnying for the winter practices of earth female hare 1459 (p.262 line 20-p.263 line 1: "Sa.mo.yos lo'i dgun.chos.la (p.263) gNas.rnying la byon"). Then it recounts the sending of a disciple to La.dwags to collect alms from its king Grag.s.'bum.lde and his return in 1461 (p.264 lines 10-16): "De'i tshé bdag grogs.mched rnam.s.kyi nang.nas sge.bshes Blo.bzang zhes.pa Byang.chub sems.dpa'i brtul.zhugs.la gnas.pa zhig yod.pa de grogs.mched gnyis mNga'.ris.stod la 'bul sdud.la brdzangs/ de'i tshé khong.rnam.s.la mNga'.ris rgyal.po jo.bo Grag.s.'bum.lde zhes.byas srang mang.po ri.ba'i g.yu.mo.ches thog.drangs 'bul.ba mang.po dang/ gzhan.yang de.phyogs.kyi bu.slob sbyin.bdag rnam.s.kyis dad.'bul bsam.gyi mi.khyab.pa dang bcas te/ lcags.mo.sbrul lo'i ston.dus nyes.skyon med.par 'dir slebs", "At that time, among the main fellow [monks] affiliated [to the sect], dge.bshes Blo.bzang, who attained steady Byang.chub sems.dpa' status, was sent to collect alms in mNga'.ris.stod together with two companions. At that time, mNga'.ris rgyal.po jo.bo Grag.s.'bum.lde made many donations, the most important being a great turquoise worth many coins. Furthermore, disciples and sponsors of this territory faithfully gave offerings that mind cannot even conceive. He safely arrived here (to bKra.shis.lhun.po) in the autumn of the iron female snake year (1461)".

(880) *Bai.ser* p.280 (lines 11-13): "Mang.yul stod.pa'i rgyal.po Blo.gros mchog.ldan.pas mkhas.pa lHa.dbang blo.gros.pa'i sbyin.bdag mdzad/ gTsang du rje bla.ma'i yang.srid gong.ma pan.chen dGe.'dun.grub la 'bul.chen phul", "The Mang.yul.stod (sic for Mar.yul.stod) king Blo.gros mchog.ldan was the patron of mkhas.pa lHa.dbang blo.gros. The former sent a great donation to gTsang for gong.ma pan.chen dGe.'dun.grub, who was the further reincarnation of rje bla.ma".

well known to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, fought twice against the Hor-s, and adds, somewhat eulogistically, that he also conquered Yarkand<sup>881</sup>. On the basis of *Thang.stong rgyal.po rnam.thar* and *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, this triumph has to be considered a defeat, but the statement of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* is of the utmost importance as it proves that Mar.yul suffered two attacks by the Hor-s during bTsan.dar's reign, corresponding well to the invasion of Zain ul-Abidin and Bha.ra's take-over, the only two recorded instances of foreign presence in La.dwags during that period, while Bha.gan reigned after these events. Thus from this angle it also seems that they were two separate invasions.

The name Bha.ra, of South Turkestani origin, and the reference to Yarkand may indicate Bha.gan and his predecessor's provenance. They may have been Muslims from South Turkestan who invaded sTod according to a persistent pattern of aggression against their Buddhist neighbours to the south. To sum up, I am inclined to believe that Zain ul-Abidin's invasion does not correspond to the long-term subjugation of La.dwags by Bha.ra and Bha.gan. The remarkable similarities between the accounts found in *Dwitya Rajatarangini* and *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* may be due to a confusion of the two events by the author of *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*.

In conclusion, foreign occupation of a portion of Mar.yul under Bha.ra began not later than 1444 on the authority of *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, the year in which it records the summoning of the Hor-s from Mar.yul by the Glo.pa-s. Bha.ra's control was confined to the tracts previously ruled by Grags.pa.'bum (i.e. gTing.mo.sgang). During that time, the land was divided between a foreign ruler reigning somewhere in La.dwags.gsham and Grags.'bum.lde, who ruled from Slel over Mar.yul proper at least until 1461. This confirms the fragmentation of Mar.yul into different principalities recorded by *Deb.ther dmar.po gsar.ma*. Some time after 1461 Blo.gros mchog.ldan, who had succeeded his father in Slel in the meantime, was defeated by Bha.gan, who thereafter ruled the entire territory.

The great tribute allegedly taken from Gu.ge by the La.dwags king Blo.gros mchog.ldan according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* also merits attention. That this invasion of Gu.ge may actually have been a military success for the Hor-s is suggested by the same source when it records that Bha.gan took Blo.gros mchog.ldan's kingdom. The conquest of Gu.ge occurred after 1461, the *terminus post quem* for the beginning of Blo.gros mchog.ldan's reign.

It is curious that the tribute which was taken by rTse.lde from rGya Ge.sar in 1083 according to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* was almost identical to that seized by the La.dwags king

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(881) *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.340 lines 11-13): "rGyal.po 'di'i dus.su Hor la dmag lan.gnyis byas.nas nor mang.po thob/ Yar.gyen yang jo.bo bTsan.gyi bdag yod zer.nas zhogs dgos byung.bar gleng", "During the time of this king (bTsan.dar), having twice waged war against the Hor-s, he captured a large quantity of riches. Since it is said that jo.bo bTsan was also the lord of Yar.gyen, there exists a saying that circumstances arose obliging [him?] to relinquish it".

Blo.gros mchog.ldan according to the somewhat dubious account in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*<sup>882</sup>. It may not seem surprising that the same tribute taken by rTse.lde from rGya Ge.sar should have been captured and brought back from Gu.ge to La.dwags centuries later, perhaps because their importance and value had remained intact in the eyes of the people of these lands. However, after similar armour, swords, turquoises and saddles, reference to the same number of horses and other animals is made, corresponding even as regards their colour<sup>883</sup>. The coincidence is more than suspicious. It cannot be ruled out that *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, having used the same source as Ngag.dbang grags.pa, interprets the event differently. An alternative hypothesis is that Blo.gros mchog.ldan demanded the same tribute

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(882) According to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, the tribute consisted of the following (p.73 lines 3-11): the divine armour "Ge.sar.gyi rMu.khrab zil.pa (sic for ba) ma.mo.bdun (sic for mun) sgribs (sic for sgrib)" ("the shining rMu armour of Ge.sar which is hidden by the obscurity caused by the ma.mo-s") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has dMu.khrab zil.pa'i ma.mo'i mum.sgrib (sic for mun.sgrib), as well as one khrab.chung dkar.ru), altogether eighteen suits of armour (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has roughly the same); g.yu 'od.lidan dkar.po ("the turquoise emitting white light") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has again roughly the same), dkar.chen (sic for skar.chen) spangs.sa (sic for spang.sa) ("the great star shining on the meadow land") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has lha.g.yu dkar.po) etc., altogether twenty famous turquoises (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has only fifteen); sGyu.skaz zla.brgyad ("the constellation of the eight sGyu stars?"), gza'.brgyad ("eight planets"), skus.legs nor.bu chung.phyangs.ma ("the excellent necklace with jewels as small pendants") etc., ten sets of necklaces (no reference in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*); nor.gyi gab.rtse (sic for gab.tse), phya'i gab.rtse and 'phrul.gyi gab.rtse ("the charts for prognosticating wealth, for divination and magic") (no reference in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*); ral.gri srin.mo khrag.ldag 'brong.rtse ring ("the sword with a long wild *g.yag* tip which makes the *srin.mo-s* drip blood") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has nam.mkha' khrag.ldag 'brong.rtse.rings, i.e. "the sword with a long wild *g.yag* tip which makes blood drip from the sky"), glog.dmar me.bsod ("the sword which extinguishes the red lightning fire") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), altogether eighteen swords (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto); rdzing.khung bdud.gri nag.po ("the black demon knife sharpened by the hollow whetstone") and the eight dMu knives are the most important among the fifteen knives (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto); sgam.ma 'ji (sic for gzi?) khri.steng ("the saddle which is a glittering throne") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), bkra.shis bzhi'degs ("the auspicious saddle with four supports") (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has bkra.shis 'od.lidan, i.e. "the auspicious luminous saddle"); fifty grey horses (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), fifty light brown horses (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), twenty ponies (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), thirty piebald horses (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto), twenty light brown 'bri-s (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto) ten fox coloured 'bri-s (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* has twenty *g.yag-s*) and [an unspecified number of] sheep (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs*: ditto). For the list of riches purportedly taken from Gu.ge by Blo.gros mchog.ldan see *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.46 lines 10-20, Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.37 lines 3-7).

(883) It is interesting to note that some of the objects (the miraculous armour providing invisibility, and eight knives), part of the tribute rTse.lde took from rGya Ge.sar, are described as originally belonging to the dMu. The term identifies the class of gods mentioned in the cosmogony of the Bon.po literature and at least on Tun-huang document (*Pelliot Tibétain* 126.2 in Spanien-Imaeda, *Choix des documents tibétains* tome I pl.134 136), or else one of the well known ancestral tribes of *mi'u.rigs* lore, both pointing to Zhang.zhung and its ancient culture. I do not wish to discuss the dMu here as it is a subject exceeding the scope of this work, but one point needs to be made. The fact that most valued weaponry of rGya Ge.sar (the Dardic ruler of rGya i| Mar.yul) is described as once belonging to the dMu establishes a link between these gods or the ancestral tribe associated with Zhang.zhung and groups of Dardic origin inhabiting Mar.yul.

as had been taken by rTse.lde centuries earlier, even to the same number of horses and other animals. I am reluctant to accept this second thesis because the 15th century campaign was probably a Hor.pa enterprise and had little to do with the settling of old scores.

Thus, three Hor.pa offensives against Gu.ge are recorded in this period. The first in 1444 and the second in 1447-1448 both occurred during the reign of Phun.tshogs.lde, and the third during the time of his son rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, on whom more will be said in the following.

*Internal events affecting political stability in sTod at the end of the reign of Phun.tshogs.lde and during that of rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde*

Around the end of Phun.tshogs.lde' reign and the beginning of that of rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, the internal political situation in sTod was also uneasy, for the powers of West Tibet were struggling for dominance and survival.

In those years the gTso.tsho.ba nomads of Byang were crushed by the brutal persecution of the Glo sMos.thang.pa-s (see my paper entitled "Nomads of Byang and mNga'.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, 'Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century"). Both Gu.ge and Pu.hrang sided with the nomads, giving them protection against Glo.bo, which had been their enemy for some decades.

Evidence that Gu.ge and Pu.hrang were autonomous at least during the period from the mid 1430s to the mid 1450s, the latter territory having freed itself from Glo.pa subjugation, derives from some sources. On his arrival in Pu.hrang in 1436, Ngor.chen was given hospitality for three months by Phun.tshogs.lde at rGyal.ti, a major seat of power in Pu.hrang during the 15th century, showing that Gu.ge controlled Pu.hrang in 1436 and was able to promote religious teachings in this land independently from Glo.bo. 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus maintains that A.mgon bzang.po gave Kha.char to Ngor.chen<sup>884</sup>. This is an assessment of the activity of Ngor.chen in sTod with which one cannot be reconciled. As a matter of fact, his *rnam.thar* confirms that Ngor.chen was in Pu.hrang in 1436, but it also says that A.mgon bzang.po sponsored his third and last visit to sTod in 1447-1448, during which he was not in Pu.hrang<sup>885</sup>.

(884) 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.32b line 4): "Glo.bo chos.rgyal A.mgon bzang.pos Kho.char lha.khang Ngor.pa rDo.rje.'chang la phul".

(885) Sangs.rgyas phun.tshogs, *Ngor.chen rnam.thar* (p.539 line 6-p.540 line 1): "De.nas theng.gsum.gyi rjes me.yos lo.la/ bstan.pa'i sbyin.bdag chen.po A.mgon bzang.pos spyan(p.540).drangs", "Then, on the occasion of his third visit, in the fire hare year (1447), he (Ngor.chen) was invited by the great sponsor of the teachings A.mgon bzang.po". The same text records a visit of Ngor.chen to Kha.char in 1436 (p.539 line 6): "Kha.char Jo.bo'i drung mar.me'phreng.ba grangs.med.pa phul.nas Sangs.rgyas.kyi bstan.pa dar.ba'i smon.lam mdzad", "Since he (Ngor.chen) offered a set of innumerable butterlamps to Kha.char Jo.bo, he prayed for the diffusion of Buddhism".

Ngor.chen may have received Kha.char without going to Pu.hrang, yet evidence in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* seem to rule out that Pu.hrang had been recaptured by Glo.bo before 1447-1448.

Pu.hrang was manifestly independent from Glo.bo at least in iron monkey 1440, for, at the beginning of the hostilities between Glo.bo and the Men.Zhang-s, when Glo.bo became a real threat to its nomad relatives, a group of gTso.tsho.ba-s, including the young btsun.pa Chos.legs, fled in that year and found shelter with Ra.nag.pa, the Pu.rangs *khyim.po.che* (“chamberlain”) and a relative of the gTso.tsho.ba-s<sup>886</sup>. The episode indicates that Pu.hrang was not aligned with Glo.bo and that it was sufficiently autonomous to assist Glo.bo’s enemies.

Support for the ’Brog.pa-s also came from fellow nomads opposed to Glo.bo holding important posts in the lands of mNga’.ris.stod. sNa.tshags slob.dpon Dar.ma seng.ge was Pu.rangs *blon.po* in the horse year 1450, during the period when Pu.hrang supported the Zhang.pa-s much as it had earlier<sup>887</sup>.

In iron horse 1450 Pu.rangs.pa dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang, who is said in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* to have been on unfriendly terms with Glo.bo, helped the gTso.tsho.ba-s who were fleeing from the Glo.pa-s. He was related to the Byang ’Brog.pa-s by marriage, as he was the *mag.pa* (“son-in-law”) of the gTso.tsho.ba-s<sup>888</sup>. This is an

(886) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.23a line 6-f.23b line 1): “De’i dus.su Dol.po na Pu.rangs khyim.po.che.ba dang pha.tshan yin.pa’i/ Ra.nag.pa bya.ba’i dpon rnam.pa cig yod.pa de.tsho la/ sngar nga’i a.ni cig dang/ de’i mna’.ma la (f.23b) pha.spun ma.cig khyim.thab.la gtang yod.pa’i ’brel.gyis/ nged mi.ngo shul.ma rnam Ra.nag tu ’bros dgos byung”, “At that time (1440), the chamberlain of Pu.rangs, called Ra.nag.pa *dpon* who belonged to our paternal clan, was in Dol.po. Previously, one of my aunts, otherwise linked to me by an oath, who was a member of my paternal lineage, went in marriage to this district. Due to this relation, myself (btsun.pa Chos.legs) [and] other notables of my family were compelled to escape to Ra.nag”.

(887) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.31a lines 1-3) talks about the escape of btsun.pa Chos.legs from Glo.pa-s’ reach: “rTsa.ba sNa.tshags.pa’i g.yog yin.pa’i dka’.bcu.pa Nam.blo bya.ba sku.mched gnyis dBu.legs na bzhugs.pa la/ khong.gi phu.bo slob.dpon Dar.ma seng.ge bya.ba cig/ Pu.rangs.pa’i blon.po.la yod.pa.la brten nas/ dka’.bcu.pa sku.mched gnyis ’dzin.pa la/ sMos.thang nas Hor.’dra btang.pas ma.zin”, “dKa’.bcu.pa (“holder of ten vows”) Nam.blo and his brother, who were the attendants of the root [clan] sNa.tshags.pa, were staying at dBu.legs. Due to the fact that their elder brother slob.dpon Dar.ma seng.ge was the minister of the Pu.rangs.pa-s, *dka’.bcu.pa* and his brother having taken care [of us] (Chos.legs and his people), the Hor.’dra-s (“mercenary troops”?) sent by sMos.thang could not seize [us]”. Had old resentments existed from an alleged control of Pu.hrang by the Men.Zhang sNa.tshags.pa-s at the time when bSod.nams.lde was sent there in exile in the late 14th century, I feel that Pu.hrang would not have appointed a Men.Zhang sNa.tshags.pa to the post of minister.

(888) See (f.30a line 5-f.30b line 1) and above n.825. rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang’s case proves that the interpretation found with western anthropologists (possibly derived from Goldstein’s dictionary), of the term *mag.pa* as a son-in-law appointed to fill the gap created by the absence of an heir in a noble family in which only daughters were born, is wrong, since rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang did not become a gTso.tsho.ba headman, but was the *dpon.po* of Pu.hrang.

example of the practical aspect of such marriages, in which family ties had significant political implications. A list of sTod peoples with whom the gTso.tsho.ba-s intermarried is given in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, which includes Pu.hrang.pa-s, Ru.thog.pa-s and Gu.ge blon.bla bskor.ba-s (“head ministers”)<sup>889</sup>, proving that the Byang ’Brog.pa-s could count on a widespread network of alliances<sup>890</sup>.

Apart from the Men.Zhang-s, Pu.hrang also supported gTso.tsho.ba-s fleeing Glo.pa persecution, despite the fact that the gTso.tsho.ba-s had ousted the Men.Zhang-s, with whom Pu.hrang had sided, from the Gung.thang throne after the Men.Zhang.pa usurpation of 1371. Old hostilities forgotten, the various powers of sTod were united against Glo.bo, the common enemy of that day, and its overwhelming power. Men.Zhang, gTso.tsho and Pu.hrang had all already suffered at the hands of the Glo.pa-s by 1450. The two nomadic clans had already been tyrannized by Mustang, while Pu.hrang had previously conceded sovereignty to Glo.bo.

(889) Before dealing with the final defeat of the gTso.tsho.ba-s, *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.24a line 6-f.24b line 1) says: “De.tsam.gyi dus.na gTso.tsho.pa yang stobs.che ste/ (f.24b) gnyen.bzla yang/ sTod.kyi Pu.rangs.pa dang/ Ru.thog.pa dang/ Gug blon.bla.bskor.ba...”, “Around that time (i.e. 1441, when the Men.Zhang-s were defeated by Glo.bo), the gTso.tsho.pa-s were also greatly powerful. Their family relations in sTod were with the Pu.rangs.pa-s, the Ru.thog.pa-s and the Gu.ge blon.bla bskor.ba-s...”.

Some years later, a daughter of Rig.’dzin.’bum, the gTso.tsho king of Byang murdered by the Glo.pa-s in 1446 (see *Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.27b line 2-f.28a line 1 and also n.817), went in marriage to a minister of the Gu.ge king, since, later, her son, the *yang.tsha* (“grand nephew”) of Rig.’dzin.’bum, was the *blon.chen* of Gu.ge (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.28b lines 1-2: “mDor.na ding.sang Rig.’dzin.’bum.gyi yang.tsha cig/ Gu.ge.pa’i blon.chen byed gsol.kha yang gcig.nas ’don.pa gcig yod.pa ’dug de.tsam ma.gtogs”). The clan name of these Gu.ge ministers was Mang.dber.ba. The Mang.dber.ba-s are said in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* to have been the ministers of the Gu.ge king at the time this biography was written (f.7b line 2: “Bar.pa’i brgyud.pa ni/ da.lta Gu.ge rgyal.po’i blon.po’i rigs Mang.dber.ba zhes.grags.pa ’di.tsho yin”). (bTsun.pa Chos.legs dictated the account of his life to his disciple ’Jigs.med bzang.po in iron dragon 1520). The Mang.dber.ba-s were descended from the middle of the three ancestral brothers, the youngest of whom was the originator of the Men.Zhang-s (see my paper entitled “Nomads of Byang and mNga’.ris.smad. A Historical Overview of Their Interaction in Gro.shod, ’Brong.pa, Glo.bo and Gung.thang from the 11th to the 15th Century”). *Chos.legs rnam.thar* provides no further insight into the status or the location of the Mang.dber.ba clan in Gu.ge in other periods.

(890) Matrimonial alliances for political purposes were an old custom dating from the Yar.lung dynasty, a few instances of which (such as those of Sad.mar.kar, sister of Srong.btsan sgam.po married to the Zhang.zhung king Lig.myi.rhya, as well as the Chinese wives of Song.btsan sgam.po and Khri.lde gtsug.rtsan Mes Ag.tshom) are well known and have been mentioned above (see n.435). Later, they were adopted by the Sa.skya.pa-s to strengthen ties with the Zhwa.lu.pa-s, Gung.thang.pa-s etc. Political marriages were possibly an old custom in Gu.ge Pu.hrang, but literary traces of its adoption only exist for the period of rNam.rgyal.lde’s reign or that of his predecessor until that of rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, i.e. from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century until the mid 15th century, apart from an isolated earlier instance, that of rTse.lde’s sister So.rta lhun.srang who married a member of the Thon Mar.lung.pa family. Some such marriages show that they were intended to consolidate existing alliances. That of an unnamed Mang.dber.ba *blon.chen* from Gu.ge with a princess of gTso.tsho (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.28b lines 1-2) and that of the Pu.hrang dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang, who was the *mag.pa* of the gTso.tsho.ba-s (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.30a line 5-f.30b line 1) have already been discussed.

However, some political marriages seem to have been the result of unfriendly relations. Certain instances of



In water bird 1453 Gu.ge offered to give sanctuary to a group of gTso.tsho.ba-s, including btsun.pa Chos.legs, who were still fleeing the Glo.pa-s<sup>891</sup>. Gu.ge was therefore antagonistic or at least not aligned with Glo.bo's aggressive policy.

All these incidents, occurring before and after 1447-1448, demonstrate that Glo.bo, however powerful it may have been in those years, did not control either Pu.hrang or Gu.ge. The political situation during this period and the active role exercised by the Pu.hrang *dpon.po* seems to suggest that the old arrangement of Pu.hrang as a "satellite ally" of Gu.ge was still functioning.

The 'Brog.pa-s were helped by various powers in sTod mainly because unity against the increasingly assertive Glo sMos.thang.pa-s was the political necessity of the day.

Pu.hrang, however, was eventually taken over by A.mgon bzang.po, for *Kho.char dkar.chag* says that he renovated the holy receptacles in the Kha.char temples and built a new embankment to protect them from the river<sup>892</sup>. Thus A.mgon bzang.po's control of Pu.hrang must have occurred in the years after 1450, for Pu.hrang is known to have been independent in this year.

Gu.ge princesses who married into the Gung.thang royal family are a good example. The wife of the Gung.thang king bSod.nams.lde, under whom Chos.skyong.'bum recovered Pu.hrang, was mnga'.bdag.ma Chos.skyong rgyal.mo from Gu.ge (*Gung.thang gdung.rabs* lHa.sa ed. p.121 lines 20-21: "mTshan.don dang ldan.pa khri mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.lde de'i btsun.mo Gu.ge nas mnga'.bdag.ma chen.mo Chos.skyong rgyal.mo"). Given that her husband bSod.nams.lde (b.1371) was only one year older than the Gu.ge king rNam.rgyal.lde (b.1372), was she a sister of the latter? Later, around the time of rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde's marriage with the Pu.hrang princess bSod.nams bzang.mo, Gu.ge bdag.mo dKon.mchog bzang.mo became the wife of Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan of Gung.thang (ibid. p.132 lines 14-15 and p.135 lines 7-8). Subsequently, she married bKra.shis dpal.'bar (ibid. p.139 lines 16-17). These matrimonial arrangements did not help to improve political relations between Gu.ge Pu.hrang and Gung.thang, which remained strained. Hostility between Gu.ge and Gung.thang by no means precluded marriages between their royal houses, and quite possibly gave rise to them. This was also the case of Gu.ge and Glo.bo in the third quarter of the 15th century, when a princess from Gu.ge was the wife of the Glo.bo king A.seng (rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon rnam.thar* p.153 line 6: "Klo.bo phyogs.su 'bul bsdud.la phebs/ sMon.thang rgyal.sar Klo.bo rgyal.po A.seng 'khor bcas.kyis kyang/ rje don.slob rnam phebs.pa thos", "[gTsang.smyon and his disciples] went to Klo.bo to raise alms. Klo.bo rgyal.po A.seng, [who was] on the sMon.thang throne, and his court heard about the arrival of rje (gTsang.smyon) and his disciples" and ibid. (p.154 line 1): "De.dus bdag.mo Gu.ge.ma snyung.ba'i skur", "At that time bdag.mo Gu.ge.ma was sick").

(891) bTsun.pa Chos.legs (*Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.32b line 1) says: "sTon.de A.khu Hor.'dra.ba tsho sngar Bla.kor.ba dang gnyen yin.pa'i 'brel.gyis Gu.ge phyogs.su thegs", "That autumn (1453), owing to previous marriage ties between A.khu Hor.'dra.ba (a relative of btsun.pa Chos.legs) and the *bla.kor.ba-s*, we left towards Gu.ge". On the *blon.bla bskor.ba-s*, ministers of Gu.ge, see above in the text and n.889.

(892) *Kho.char dkar.chag* (f.12a = p.49 lines 10-14): "De.rjes.su chos.rgyal A.mgon bzang.po bstan.'gro'i bde.skyid.la dgongs te/ rten.gsum.la nyams.gso dang/ chu.la rags.rgyag dgos.pa'i bka'.lung bstsal zhing/ chu.rags rgyang.grags rdo.rje rab.brtañ zhes da.lta'ang yod.pa 'di lags", "Later, chos.rgyal A.mgon bzang.po cared about the happiness of sentient beings and the teachings. He restored the three receptacles [at Kha.char] and ordered an embankment to be built at the river. The embankment "rgyang.grags rdo.rje rab.brtañ" stands to this day".

*Religious foundations in the reigns of Phun.tshogs.lde, gNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde and Blo.bzang rab.brtan*

The only religious donation mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to have occurred in sTod during the 15th century is a rather minor patronage by Phun.tshogs.lde's wife Mar.yul Khri.lcam, who had a large *gos.'phan* (i.e. *gos.sku*: a "patchwork *thang.ka*") made, depicting ston.pa Sangs.rgyas (p.84 lines 17-19). *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not say where it was housed.

One has to look to other sources for information about the temple foundations in sTod during the reigns of these rulers. Since rNam.rgyal.lde was the king of Gu.ge when Ngag.dbang grags.pa returned to sTod (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.84 lines 7-15 and *Bai.ser* p.460 lines 9-11) and the Tsa.rang monasteries were built during the reign of his son Phun.tshogs.lde (*Bai.ser* (p.273 line 25-p.274 line 4), the building of these monasteries was contemporary with Ngag.dbang grags.pa's pioneering work in Gu.ge. Their construction is attributed to the otherwise unknown Ha.se 'Phags.pa Seng.ge brtson.'grus<sup>893</sup>. Nevertheless, given Ngag.dbang grags.pa's authority, it was he who gave impulse to the systematic establishment of Tsong.kha.pa's monasteries in Gu.ge, as the accounts in *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung* and *Bai.ser* reveal<sup>894</sup>, and, therefore, the foundations at Tsa.rang were also part of the intense religious activity inaugurated by him.

Ngag.dbang grags.pa is credited with the building of the new Tho.ling chos.sde by *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung*<sup>895</sup>. On inspection, the extant temples dating to the time

(893) Was Ha.se 'Phags.pa Seng.ge brtson.'grus the *sku.gnyer* of the Ha.se 'Phags.pa statue, one of the most ancient and revered in sTod, on which the royal oath to respect the laws of *chos.khrims* and *rgyal.khrims* was sworn by Ye.shes.'od and his entourage? Was there a line of *sku.gnyer-s* attending the Ha.se 'Phags.pa image all identified by the name Ha.se 'Phags.pa?

(894) *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung* (p.195 line 5-p.196 line 1) has: "sKya.gser thams(p.196).cad.kyi yid.kyi mun.pa rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa chen.po'i 'phrin.las.kyi 'od.kyis bsal.ba'i dge.mtshan rgyas.par gyur", "He (Ngag.dbang grags.pa) diffused the virtues which clear the obscurity dwelling in the mind of all monks and laymen by the light of rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa chen.po's deeds". *Bai.ser* (p.273 lines 3-6): "rJe Ngag.dbang grags.pa gdan.drangs chos gsan zhing gzhan.yang sTod Sher.bzang dang Gu.ge rGyal.mtshan bzang.po sogs.kyis bstan.pa spel te mNga'.ris bdag.po 'bangs bcas.pa 'jam.mgon chos.kyi rgyal.po'i ring.lugs.su gyur cing Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa mTho.liding dang Blo.sbtang.gi gdan.sar bskos", "[The king] invited rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa [and] heard [his] preaching. sTod Sher.bzang and Gu.ge rGyal.mtshan bzang.po also diffused the teachings. The king of mNga'.ris and [his] subjects were converted to the tradition of 'jam.mgon chos.kyi rgyal.po [Tsong.kha.pa]. Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa was appointed abbot of mTho.liding and Blo.sbtang".

(895) *bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung* (p.195 line 6): "Gu.ge rgyal.po 'bangs dang bcas.pa dbang.du bsdu nas/ mTho.liding.gi chos.sde gsar.ma btan.pa las rab.byung mang.du 'dus.pa rnam.s Theg.pa chen.po'i chos.kyis dgyes.par mdzad", "After inspiring the Gu.ge king and his subjects with his charisma, he founded the new mTho.liding chos.sde. He made them rejoice in the Theg.pa chen.po teachings" (see above p.94 and n.10).

of Ngag.dbang grags.pa are Tho.ling 'Du.khang and lHa.khang dkar.po. Ngag.dbang grags.pa, in the view of bSod.nams grags.pa, the author of this work, was responsible for what may amount to the core of 15th century Tho.ling, yet he was not the lone founder of Tsong.kha.pa's establishments in the ancient capital of Gu.ge. Inscriptions found in Ta.po dKyil.khang attribute the construction of Tho.ling gSer.khang and of various temples at Ta.po to lHa.dbang blo.gros<sup>896</sup>. Tho.ling gSer.khang is the three-storeyed temple

(896) Tsong.kha.pa (left wall) and lHa.dbang blo.gros (right wall) are glorified on the side walls of Ta.po dKyil.khang, the first as founder of the dGe.lugs.pa-s, the second as founder of temples at Ta.po. The inscription (written in *dbu.can*, as are all the others in the dKyil.khang murals), accompanying the main painted image on the left wall, reads: "rJe.btsun chos.kyi rgyal.po thams.cad mkhyen.pa Blo.bzang [grags.pa]..."; that accompanying the main image on the right wall: "'Gro.ba rnam.kyi rgyal.po gtsug.gi rgyan.du gyur...[three letters defaced]...rje lHa.dbang tshan (sic).can la", "The one bearing the name rje lHa.dbang, ...who became the ornament of the crown, the lord of sentient beings". Immediately below the image of lHa.dbang blo.gros is a depiction of temples, accompanied by inscriptions, both connected to lHa.dbang blo.gros' portrait. The inscription near to the main image of lHa.dbang blo.gros says: "Ta.po rgyan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bkod.pa", "He (lHa.dbang blo.gros) founded the *gtsug.lag.khang* ornament of Ta.po" (Ta.po is called Cog.la rgyan, i.e. "ornament of Cog.la" in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.54 lines 9-10). A depiction of the temples composing the Ta.po complex in the days when the dKyil.khang mural was painted accompanies the latter inscription. It shows five temples in a row. Their names are given as follows (from left to right). The first temple has no related inscription, while the temple next to it is identified as 'Brom.ston lha.khang. In the centre of the scene is the temple named gSer.khang, followed by the temple called dGon.chen gtsug.lag.khang together with three *mchod.rten*-s. This is the ancient *bstan.pa phyi.dar gtsug.lag.khang*, although the *mchod.rten*-s are probably not contemporary (no extant *mchod.rten*-s at Ta.po of some antiquity bore any sign of dating back to the 11th century before they were replastered a few years ago). Finally, the depiction of the temple called dKar.chung by its inscription is on the extreme right, next to that of the *gtsug.lag.khang*. Painting images of temples was common practice in West Tibet from the 15th century (see the depiction of the construction of temples during *bstan.pa phyi.dar* on the walls of Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po). The scene illustrates the temples at Ta.po predating the dKyil.khang, which is not included among them. In order for the gSer.khang, 'Brom.ston lha.khang and dKar.chung to be depicted on its mural, the dKyil.khang must have been erected after these three temples. It is noteworthy that the gSer.khang is given the central position in the scene, although it is not the central temple in the Ta.po plan. Its centrality, I believe, derives from the fact that, on inspection, the gSer.khang is the most important of the early Tsong.kha.pa temples at Ta.po. Among the three temples which predate the construction of the dKyil.khang, Ta.po gSer.khang has murals painted in the same style of those of Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po, sponsored by Don.grub.ma, the wife of the Gu.ge king Blo.bzang rab.brtan, thus dating to around the third quarter of the 15th century, i.e. to the period when lHa.dbang blo.gros was active in Pi.ti (Ta.po). The *dgon.khang* attached to the ancient *gtsug.lag.khang* built in the time of Ye.shes.'od has to be associated with the gSer.khang on stylistic grounds. On the other hand, both 'Brom.ston lha.khang and dKar.chung have gone through a number of restorations, to the extent that 15th century works are now obliterated. These two temples have later wall paintings, possibly conceived as imitations of the gSer.khang murals or of their own 15th century originals. The dKyil.khang as well as all the other Ta.po sacred structures not included in the mural in this temple have to be dated to later than the last quarter of the 15th century.

Below the depiction of the Ta.po temples, the wall painting is completed by a few personages headed by Tsong.kha.pa. He is flanked, to his right, by one called Chos.nyan.pa in the accompanying inscription and, to his left, by one named gNas.brtan chen.po Chos.'phags. Below them the court of Pi.ti of those years is depicted. rGyal.po bSod.nams.'bum has to his left jo.co lHas.lham.'joms, his wife, and next to her blon.po

originally built by Zhi.ba.'od in the years 1067-1071 with rTse.lde's participation (see above p.311). The description of Zhi.ba.'od's gSer.khang in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (p.66 lines 1-2; see p.313 in the present text) shows that the temple underwent destruction before the 15th century. Ngag.dbang grags.pa's text suggests that the original temple was much larger than the structure which existed until recently. The style of the few murals surviving the recent irreparable damage suffered by the gSer.khang, as well as the pictures taken by Tucci's companion Gherisi, confirms a 15th century date for the temple. Nothing as old as the 11th century remains. Again on stylistic grounds, lHa.dbang blo.gros' gSer.khang appears slightly later than Tho.ling 'Du.khang and lHa.khang dkar.po. From an art historical viewpoint, this in accordance with the evidence provided by literature and epigraphy<sup>897</sup>.

Apart from the epigraphs found in Ta.po dKyil.khang, two rock inscriptions copied by Francke at Hor.gling in Pi.ti mention lHa.dbang blo.gros and are useful (one of them in particular) to approximate his period of activity in sTod (Petech *Kingdom of Ladakh* p.23 n.3). The first celebrates Tsong.kha.pa, mKhas.grub.rje and lHa.dbang blo.gros (Francke's *Collection of Inscriptions* F.166 and Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* vol.I p.37). It is an accurate record of lHa.dbang blo.gros' lineage of masters (Tsong.kha.pa was the teacher of mKhas.grub.rje, who had lHa.dbang blo.gros as disciple). *Bai.ser* confirms that gSang.phu.ba lHa.dbang blo.gros was a disciple of mKhas.grub.rje<sup>898</sup>. The second

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Rin.rgyan. Below them is depicted blon.po Grang.dkar dpon.btsun, his name indicating that he was a junior religious minister of royal descent from Grang.dkar (spelled Brang.mkhar in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.74 line 11), the well known monastery on a spectacular barren hill crest not far to the north of Ta.po. It was a residence of the Gu.ge royalty in the 11th century, when three sons of rTse.lde went in exile to its castle (see above p.344).

To the right of Ta.po monastery and court is a symmetrical scene near the portrait of lHa.dbang blo.gros and related to him in the same way as the depiction of the Ta.po temples. An inscription accompanies the image of another temple. It is of the utmost importance, for it says: "Tho.gling gSer.khang.gi bkod.pa", "He (lHa.dbang blo.gros) founded Tho.gling gSer.khang". Below them another image of Tsong.kha.pa is flanked, to its left, by a vertical row of four personages, the first of them identified as dpon Ti.rta.puri (the reading of the last syllable is uncertain). Below Tsong.kha.pa is an unidentified personage and another called Byang.sems bDag.med...[the rest of the inscription is illegible]. It cannot be ruled out that the presence of dpon Ti.rta.puri (?) and Byang.sems bDag.med... in the mural implies that they were involved in the rebuilding of Tho.ling gSer.khang as *yon.bdag-s*.

(897) In a *thang.ka* dating to not earlier than the third quarter of the 15th century, being similar in style to the murals of Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po built by Blo.bzang rab.brta's wife Don.grub.ma, collected by Tucci from West Tibet (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.348-351 and vol.III pls. H and 23), temple structures are painted having small wooden pendants hanging from the roof gutters similar to those which decorated Tho.ling gSer.khang, as can be seen from Gherisi's pictures (Tucci, *Transhimalaya* pl.68). The period of the gSer.khang's reconstruction by lHa.dbang blo.gros (see the Ta.po inscription mentioned above) is thus consistent with that in which this *thang.ka* was painted.

(898) *Bai.ser* (p.280 lines 1-2): "Gogs.pa'i skabs.su mKhas.grub.rje'i slob.ma gSang.phu.ba lHa.dbang blo.gros.pas dPe.thub zhig.gso mdzad", "When it was in ruins, mKhas.grub.rje's disciple gSang.phu.ba lHa.dbang blo.gros rebuilt dPe.thub".

inscription celebrates a different trio: mKhas.grub.rje, lHa.dbang blo.gros and dGe.'dun.grub (Francke's *Collection of Inscriptions* F.167 and Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* vol.I p.35-36). The mention of dGe.'dun.grub in this inscription and the reference found in *Bai.ser* to lHa.dbang blo.gros' rebuilding of dPe.thub during the reign of the Mar.yul king Blo.gros mchog.lidan are historically significant<sup>899</sup>. As said above, *dGe.'dun.grub rnam.thar* (p.353 lines 3-4) documents that Grags.'bum.lde was still ruling in Mar.yul in the years between earth hare 1459 and water snake 1461, when he sponsored the founder of bKra.shis.lhun.po. *Bai.ser* states that his son and successor Blo.gros mchog.lidan also sent gifts to dGe.'dun.grub (see above p.517 and n.880). Blo.gros mchog.lidan must have ascended the throne some time after 1461 and before 1474, when dGe.'dun.grub died. lHa.dbang blo.gros was in all likelihood in Mar.yul, Khu.nu and Pi.ti during that span of fourteen years (1461-1474)<sup>900</sup>. While lHa.dbang blo.gros' work at

(899) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.36 line 25-p.37 line 2) has a different account of the rebuilding of dPe.thub during the 15th century. This work attributes it to the Ble king Grags.'bum.lde after two ascetics, Tsong.kha.pa's emissaries to Mar.yul, had reached his court (for the text of the passage see above n.845). One of the two ascetics, who are known by bizarre names to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, must have been lHa.dbang blo.gros, for these are associated by *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* with the reconstruction of dPe.thub. The modern *La.dwags* author Thub.bstan dpal.lidan also believes that lHa.dbang blo.gros built the new dPe.thub monastery, after studies in dBus.gTsang with mKha.sgrub.rje (*dPe.thub chags.rabs* p.289 line 15-p.290 line 8: "De.nas mNga'.ris su phebs/ Gu.ge.ru 'jam(p.290).mgon bla.ma Tsong.kha.pa chen.po'i zhal slob.ma rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa'i dpal dang mjal/ zab.rgyas.kyi bdud.rtsi'i thugs.rgyud legs.par gams shing/ rDo.rje.'chang dang dbyer.med.pa'i dad.pa dang ldan.pas/ rjes.'dis khyed.kyi gdul.bya/ Mang.yul La.dwags su yod/ der ri glang.po.che 'dra.ba kha.lhor bstan.pa sna.bug g.yon.du khyil.ba/ Sengge kha.'babs.kyi dal.'gro'i ri.'di'i g.yas.phyogs.su yod.pas der dgon.pa Thob ches lung.du bstan.pa ltar/ mkhas.pa lHa.dbang blo.gros La.dwags su phebs", "Then, he went to mNga'.ris. In Gu.ge he met rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa, who was the direct disciple of 'jam.mgon Tsong.kha.pa chen.po. The former had been excellently entrusted with the responsibility of transmitting the nectar of [Tsong.kha.pa's] profound and extensive teachings and since he had faith [in him] inseparable [from that he had] in rDo.rje.'chang, this rje told [lHa.dbang blo.gros]: "The people you have to tame are in Mang.yul La.dwags. There is a mountain looking like an elephant facing to the south and having his trunk turning to the left. This mountain is to the right of where Sengge kha.'babs flows. Here there is a monastery called Thob". According to the prophecy, mkhas.pa lHa.dbang blo.gros went to La.dwags" and *ibid.* (p.290 line 15-p.291 line 2): "rGyal.po Grags.pa 'bum.lde sbyin.bdag mdzad.nas mnga'.zhal rnam bskul te/ sngar chos.rgyal 'Od.lde gzhengs.pa'i chos.sde zhig gso dang che.rgyas.su mdzad/ nang.rten.du 'jam.mgon bla.ma Tsong.kha.pa chen.pos bskur.gnang.ba'i (p.291) shangs.mtshal.la 'khrungs.pa'i Tshe.dpag.med mthab.tshags tsam byin.can de bzugs.su gsol", "As rgyal.po Grags.pa 'bum.lde was the sponsor, he put his subjects [to work]. The *chos.sde* formerly built by chos.rgyal 'Od.lde was renovated and expanded. The Tshe.dpag.med [image], about the size of a thumb, made with the blood from the nose of 'jam.mgon Tsong.kha.pa chen.po was installed as *nang.rten*". If these accounts are trustworthy, then the presence of lHa.dbang blo.gros and the new foundation of dPe.thub would have occurred earlier. The combined evidence of *Bai.ser* and the rock inscriptions in Pi.ti shows that lHa.dbang blo.gros was a disciple of mKhas.grub.rje and came to La.dwags during the reign of Blo.gros mchog.lidan, Grags.'bum.lde's son, some time later than that recorded by *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* and Thub.bstan dpal.lidan.

(900) Was the hitherto unknown Pi.ti king bSod.nams.'bum, portrayed in a mural in Ta.po dKyiil.khang, contemporary with the building of the gSer.khang, 'Brom.ston lha.khang and dKar.chung depicted in the same

dPe.thub has been acknowledged in the literature and therefore duly recognized, his activity at Tho.ling and Ta.po, the record of which has survived to this day in short inscriptions, needs to receive credit.

After the reign of gNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde during the third quarter of the 15th century (crowned in 1449), the next major temple foundation, that of the mChod.khang dmar.po built at Tsa.rang, is attributed by *Bai.ser* to btsun.mo Don.grub.ma, the wife of his son Blo.bzang rab.brtañ. Given the assessment of the period of Blo.bzang rab.brtañ's reign, Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po was built in the last quarter of the same century<sup>901</sup>.

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wall painting? This is likely to be the case. If so, Pi.ti bSod.nams.'bum ruled in the third quarter of the 15th century, for the period between 1461 and 1474 was that when lHa.dbang blo.gros, credited with these foundations, was active in the area.

(901) *Bai.ser* (p.274 lines 7-9) describes this foundation in the following way: "De'i btsun.mo Don.grub.mas mChod.khang dmar.po ka.ba sum.cu'i khyon.ldan dang/ mnyam.med Grub.pa'i dbang.po/ Byams.pa/ Rigs.gsum mGon.po/ rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa yab.sras rnam.kyi sku.brnyan dang/ gsung.rabs sogs sku.gsung.thugs.rten brtan.par bcas.pa bzhengs", "His (Blo.bzang rab.brtañ's) wife Don.grub.ma made mChod.khang dmar.po with an area of thirty pillars and the statues of the incomparable Grub.pa'i dbang.po, Byams.pa, Rigs.gsum mGon.po, rje.btsun Tsong.kha.pa with his disciples, as well as collections of written works, [i.e.] receptacles of body, speech and mind". This reference is also interesting because it briefly lists the principal cycles of deities in the temple. While the murals are still extant, the description in *Bai.ser* is useful to ascertain the main statuary, now destroyed, originally housed in the mChod.khang dmar.po.

A number of major religious edifices were built in Gu.ge after btsun.mo Don.grub.ma's temple:

Tsa.rang mChod.khang dkar.po and 'Jigs.byed lha.khang founded during the time of 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde and his brothers, actively sponsoring dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho and the latter's construction of mNga'.ris grwa.tshang in 1541 (*Bai.ser* p.274 lines 10-14: "De'i sras 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde dang/ 'Jam.dbyangs.pa/ Phyag.dor dang gsum byung/ sku.mched 'di.rnam.kyis rTsa.hrang du mChod.khang dkar.po dang/ 'Jigs.byed lha.khang sogs sku.gsung.thugs.rten mang.du bzhengs/ thams.cad mkhyen cing gzigs.pa chen.po dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho'i dpal.la 'bul.tshan dang/ mNga'.ris grwa.tshang 'dzugs.pa'i mthun.rkyen phul", "His sons 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde, 'Jam.dbyangs.pa and Phyag.rdor, these three, were born. These brothers made the mChod.khang dkar.po and 'Jigs.byed lha.khang at rTsa.hrang, many receptacles of body, speech and mind. They made an offering to the omniscient and great visionary dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho and provided patronage to establish mNga'.ris grwa.tshang"). The same king is found ruling in Gu.ge by the dGe.lugs.pa master Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, a native of Gu.ge, upon his return to sTod in 1539. Shanti.pa left gTsang bKra.shis.lhun.po for Gu.ge via rDzong.dkar in a pig year (*Shanti.pa rnam.thar* f.31a lines 4-5: "Phag.lo Hor.zla dang.po.la rDzong.dga' nas phyag.bteg", "In the first month of the pig year (1539) he left rDzong.dga' [for Gu.ge]"). On his arrival, he met 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug on the Gu.ge throne (f.32b lines 5-6: "Phyi.nyin Go.phug tu phebs/ mi.dbang chos.kyi rgyal.po khri 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug rje.'bangs.bas Ba.la phebs dang der mjal/ de.nas yon.mchod kun bye.la mdzad nas/ mTho.lding dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gling du phebs", "The following day, he went to Go.phug. Mi.dbang chos.kyi rgyal.po khri 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug and his subjects went to Ba.la. They met there. Then having established *yon.mchod* in every detail, they went to mTho.lding dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gling"). The pig year of his return is calculated on the basis of another passage in *Shanti.pa rnam.thar*, according to which Shanti.pa gave teachings in Central Tibet for twenty-one years (f.23a line 3: "Lo nyis.shu rtsa.gcig ring.la thang.mar brdal nas skal.bzang gdul.byā rnam.la legs.par 'doms.par mdzad", "For twenty-one years he gave teachings to the fortunate beings

*Pu.hrang dpon.po-s*

The *Pu.hrang dpon.po-s* recorded in the literature are here listed in chronological sequence from the creation of this post until the end of the 15th century, but it cannot be ruled out that the record is incomplete and that other governors of *Pu.hrang* held the territory during the same period, although no trace of them is available at present. References in various sources help to identify at least some of them as follows:

to be tamed by excellently expounding them”). This period of twenty-one years has to be calculated from some time after he was ordained to the *bsnyen.rdzogs* vow when he was thirty in a bird year (f.21b lines 2-3: “Bya.lo Hor.zla bcu.gcig.pa’i tshes.brgyad de rje thams.cad mkhyen.pa dGe.’dun.grub.kyi dus.mchod chen.mo rang yin.pas de’i nyin dKyil.khang.gi ’chad.nyan.la bkod.pa lags gsung.nas dgung.lo sum.bcu.pa zhes.pa’i dus der rje thams.cad mkhyen.pas mkhan.po dang zhal.snga.nas Nub.ra.bas las.slob/ mkhas.mchog Shanti.pas gsang.ston mdzad te bsnyen.par rdzogs.pa mdzad”, “On the eighth day of the eleventh month of the bird year on the occasion of rje thams.cad mkhyen.pa dGe.’dun.grub’s anniversary, that day he said he was going to introduce the *’chad.nyan* (“teaching classes”) of (bKra.shis.lhun.po) dKyil.khang. He was thirty at that time and in the presence of rje thams.cad mkhyen.pa being the *mkhan.po*, Nub.ra.ba, being the *las[.kyi] slob[.dpon]*, mkhas.mchog Shanti.pa gave a feast and was ordained to the *bsnyen.par rdzogs.pa* vow”). *Bya.lo* (the bird year) has to be corrected to *byi.lo* (the rat year) 1516, for Shanti.pa (1487-1567) was thirty by then. The first useful pig year in which ’Jig.rten dbang.phyug was ruling after Shanti.pa gave teachings in dBus.gTsang for twenty-one years was earth pig 1539.

Bye.mkhar chos.sde (i.e. sPeg.mkhar) converted to the dGelugs.pa sect by Ngag.dbang grags.pa’s disciple slob.dpon Grags.pa bzang.po (*Bai.ser* p.275 lines 8-10) (“De.nas rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa’i slob.ma slob.dpon Grags.pa bzang.po dGe.lugs.par bsgyur”).

Lang.ka chos.sde in Shangs.rtse built by Maitri.pa, who was the paternal uncle of Shanti.pa (1487-1567) (ibid. p.278 lines 13-16: “Shangs.rtser rgyal.sras Maitri.pas Lang.ka chos.sde btab cing/ gdan.sar Legs.grub dpal.bzang bskos.pa chos.rgyal ’Jig.rten dbang.phyug.gi dbu.blar gyur te/ slar Shangs.rtse’i pho.brang ’khris.su spos.nas *gsug.lag.khang* bzhengs/ chos.sde’i ming Rab.brta byams.pa.gling du btags/bla.ma rim.pa bzhin Legs.grub dpal.bzang/ rgyal.sras Maitri.pa’i dbon.po Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan...”, “rGyal.sras Maitri.pa built Lang.ka chos.sde at Shangs.rtse. He appointed Legs.grub dpal.bzang as its abbot [and] became the head *bla.ma* of chos.rgyal ’Jig.rten dbang.phyug. Moving nearer to the Shang.rtse palace, he also built a *gsug.lag.khang* [there]. He gave the name Rab.brta byams.pa.gling to this *chos.sde*. The succession of the abbots is as follows: Legs.grub dpal.bzang, Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, [who was] rgyal.sras Maitri.pa’s patrilinear nephew ...”).

mDa’.pa bKra.shis.lhun.po built by Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan during the reign of ’Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde (ibid. p.276 lines 1-2: “Gu.ge’i bye.brag mDa’.pa sar bKra.shis.lhun.po ni thams.cad mkhyen.pa dGe.’dun.grub.kyi gdan.sa bdun.pa pan.chen Shanti.pas btab”).

Do.shang Mu.dkar chos.rdzong built by grub.chen dKon.cog dpal.mgon, a direct disciple of mKhas.grub.rje (1385-1438) (ibid. p.276 lines 10-11: “Do.shang Mu.dkar chos.rdzong ni/ mKhas.grub.rje’i dngos.slob grub.chen dKon.mchog dpal.mgon.gyis btab”).

Temples whose foundation periods cannot be established are:

Shangs.pa chos.sde dGa’.ldan lhun.po built by Gu.ge Sang.thar.ba Seng.ge rgya.mtsho (*Bai.ser* p.278 lines 7-8: “Gu.ge’i Shangs.par chos.sde dGa’.ldan lhun.po ni/ Gu.ge Sang.thar Seng.ge rgya.mtshos btab”).

A.ya jo.bo (late 14th century) (*Zhang.zhung snyan.rgyud bla.ma'i rnam.thar* p.78 lines 5-6);

dpon.po Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang.po, who ruled in the early 15th century, for he belonged to the same generation as Gu.ge Phun.tshogs.lde. His daughter bSod.nams bzang.mo married the latter's son gNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde (*mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* p.85 lines 5-6);

dpon.po rGya.mtsho dpal.bzang, known to have been active in iron horse 1450 (see *Chos.legs rnam.thar* f.30a line 5-f.30b line 1; and above p.489 and n.825);

dpon.po Kun.bsam, who governed Pu.hrang in the third quarter of the 15th century, being a contemporary of Gu.ge Blo.bzang rab.brta<sup>902</sup>;

dpon.btsun sNyan.grags, who was active at the end of the 15th century, for he was a contemporary of the Glo.bo king dDe.legs rgya.mtsho, given the date of the war fought by Pu.hrang and Glo.bo and witnessed by gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka, which is discussed in the following section.

*The political situation in sTod during the reigns of Blo.bzang rab.brta and 'Phags.pa.lha (not recorded in mNga'ris rgyal.rabs)*

The reigns of the last Gu.ge kings mentioned in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* were marred by a difficult political situation for, more than once, they found themselves at war with Gu.ge Pu.hrang's aggressive neighbours. In particular, the last thirty years of the 15th century were a dramatic time for these two Tibetan kingdoms. Several major incidents took place in those years which are not recorded in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*.

When a religious council was held in Glo sMos.thang in the dragon year 1472, a war broke out between Gu.ge and La.stod lHo at the end of the seventh or at the beginning of

Seng.ge.rdzong at Ri.rtse built by grub.chen rDo.rje.'bum (ibid. p.276 line 7: "Grub.chen rDo.rje.'bum.gyis Ri.rtser Seng.ge.dzong brab").

La.go.spal (Na.ko?) in Pi.ti built by Rang.rig Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer (ibid. p.277 line 11: "La.go.spal ni Rang.rig.pa Sangs.rgyas 'od.zer.gyis btab").

(902) *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.33a lines 3-4): "Gu.ge rgyal.po bSod.nams lhun.grub dang Gu.ge chos.rgyal Blo.bzang rab.brta/ Gu.ge rgyal.po bKra.shis.mgon/ Pu.rang sde.pa Kun.bsam rnam.gyis 'tsho.rten sogs zhabs.tog sgrubs", "Gu.ge rgyal.po bSod.nams lhun.grub and Gu.ge chos.rgyal Blo.bzang rab.brta, Gu.ge rgyal.po bKra.shis.mgon, Pu.rang sde.pa ("governor") Kun.bsam laboured to sponsor the sustenance [of the monasteries]". Hence, dpon.po Kun.bsam of Pu.hrang, who was contemporary with Blo.bzang rab.brta, governed in the third quarter of 15th century. As already stressed by Petech ("Ya-tshe Gu-ge Pu-rang: A New Study" p.104), the mention of bSod.nams lhun.grub and bKra.shis.mgon as rulers of Gu.ge is a mistake, for they were well known members of the Glo.pa royal family. Both sons of A.mgon bzang.po, the first was a religious master, the second a king.



the eighth month<sup>903</sup>. The war continued until 1473, for the course of teachings and debate in Glo sMos.thang, scheduled to last for three years, was effectively interrupted for the first two because the masters who took part in it were busy mediating between the combatants. I am at a loss to propose an explanation of this war. Gu.ge and La.stod lHo are very distant from one another. The possibility that enmity between the two kingdoms was the result of the territorial contiguity of their dominions in those years has to be rejected, for it would imply that either Gu.ge or La.stod lHo had taken over Byang' and mNga'.ris.smad. I consider this to be unlikely, for taking control of mNga'.ris.smad would have involved defeating two powerful kingdoms of the area, namely Glo.bo and Gung.thang. There is no evidence in any source to suggest that such event occurred. The only possible clue to the cause of the Gu.ge-La.stod lHo war of 1472-1473 comes from *Chos.legs rnam.thar*, when the work says that, after a marriage alliance with Gung.thang, La.stod lHo sent an army to Glo.bo two or three times. The La.stod lHo.pa-s were related to Gung.thang from 1461 and fought against Glo.bo on Gung.thang's behalf around the years 1465-1466<sup>904</sup>. If the war between Gu.ge and La.stod lHo was another case of the latter's military support of Gung.thang, the animosity between Gu.ge and La.stod lHo was ultimately a renewal of hostility between Gu.ge and Gung.thang, and it may be that La.stod lHo fought on Gung.thang's behalf against Gu.ge, crossing the Gung.thang territory.

(903) *Glo.bo mkhan.chen bSod.nams lhun.grub rnam.thar* (f.8b line 6-f.9a line 2): “De.nas 'brug.lo Hor.zla drug.pa'i tshes.bzhi.nas brtsams te/ zhag.grangs gsum.gyi bar.du/ Thub.chen rna.par rgyal.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang du/ mkhan.chen Yon.tan chos.rgyal.gyis gtso.mdzad dge.'dun 'dus.pa dgu.brgya lhag.gcig byung.ba'i sar/ Phar.phyin/ rNam.'grel/ sDom.gsum/ dBu.ma shes.pa'i springs.yig te/ po.ti bzhi.la rang.lugs.kyi sgros dang 'thun.pa'i bshad.pa yang phyogs.tsam grub.par byas.pa lags/ de.nas (f.9a) lo de.nyid.kyi zla.ba bdun.pa dang/ brgyad.pa tsam.gyi dus.nar/ chos.rje 'Jam.dbyangs chen.po dpon.slob rnams kyang phebs.byung/ de dang 'brel.chags.su La.stod lHo.pa'i dmag.chen dang/ Gu.ge nas.kyi dmag la.sogs.pa dus gzings kyang.cher lags/ dpon.slob rnams kyang bar.zhugs la.sogs.pa mdzad.pa'i brel.bas g.yengs te/ 'chad.nyan la.sogs.pa ni mi.'dug/ de'i dgun.chos.nas bzung ste lo.gsum.gyi bar.du yang 'dir bzhugs/ lo.gnyis.pa la yang lHo.pa dang/ Gu.ge'i dmag.gzings chen.po byung.bas/ dpon.slob rnams.kyis 'chad.nyan ril.po lo.gcig tsam mdzad.rgyu byung”, “Then, in the dragon year (1472), from the fourth day of the sixth month for three days at Thub.chen rnam.par rgyal.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang, mkhan.chen Yon.tan chos.rgyal completed giving exhaustive teachings to over nine hundred monks concerning the commentaries on *Phar.phyin*, *rNam.'grel*, *sDom.gsum*, *dBu.ma shes.pa*, these four texts, according to his own tradition. Then, in the seventh or eighth month of the same year, chos.rje 'Jam.dbyangs chen.po came with his disciples. At that juncture, a huge army of La.stod lHo.pa-s and troops from Gu.ge fought a major battle. The master and his disciples were disturbed [from devoting themselves to the teachings], since they were busy mediating [between them]. There was no teaching and learning [at that time]. ['Jam.dbyangs chen.po] stayed [there] for three years starting from the beginning of the winter practices of that [year] (1472). Again there was a major battle between the troops of the lHo.pa-s and Gu.ge during the second year. It happened that the master and his disciples had the opportunity to teach and learn for [only] one full year”.

(904) For the marriage of the Gung.thang princess Khri.lcam with the La.stod lHo lord sGrol.ma.skyabs occurring after events of 1461 see *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.45b lines 3-5). For the military support of Gung.thang

Gu.ge was involved in another conflict during the same period. A Glo.bo-Gu.ge war occurred during the reign of the Glo.bo king bKra.shis.mgon<sup>905</sup>. *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* written by rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol says that, on gTsang.smyon's arrival at Glo sMos.thang on his way to Ti.se for his first visit, the severed heads of Gu.ge.pa-s killed in battle were hanging on the gate of the town. Another *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar*, that of Rin.chen rnam.rgyal (p.55 line 7-p.57 line 6), relates the episode of gTsang.smyon's first visit to Ti.se, at the time of which the war between Glo.bo and Gu.ge erupted. This text, which chronologically assesses the episodes of gTsang.smyon's life, fixes the date of the meeting of gTsang.smyon with his disciple Rin.chen dpal.bzang at La.phyi when gTsang.smyon was thirty years old (b.1452)<sup>906</sup>. Immediately after this event, gTsang.smyon proceeded swiftly towards Ti.se via Gung.thang and Glo.bo<sup>907</sup>. Given the date of the meeting between gTsang.smyon and his disciple Rin.chen dpal.bzang, he would have witnessed the outcome of the war between Glo.bo and Gu.ge in iron ox 1481 or soon thereafter. Following the display of the war tro-

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by La.stod lHo see *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.46a lines 3-4: "bDag.mo Khri.lcam bdag.po'i btsun.mor bzhes.nas lHo.pa dang.gnyis gnyen.sring.du song.bas/ mNga'.ris.pa'i ched.du Glo.bor lHo.pa'i dmag.chen lan gnyis.gsum brgyab.pa la.sogs.pa/ mNga'.ris.pa'i sde.srid phan.chen.po byung", "Since bdag.mo Khri.lcam (the daughter of the Gung.thang king rNam.rgyal.lde) was chosen to be the wife of the [La.stod lHo.pa] lord, the lHo.pa-s and [the Gung.thang.pa-s], these two, having become related by marriage, a huge army of the lHo.pa-s intruded into Glo.bo twice or thrice for the sake of the mNga'.ris.pa-s (i.e. the Gung.thang.pa-s). [This] proved to be very useful for the power of the mNga'.ris.pa-s"). These campaigns took place before incidents assessed in *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.48b lines 1-2) to have taken place in the pig year 1467.

(905) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.67 lines 5-6): "De.dus.su rje dpon.slob rnam.s Klo'o sMon.thang du phebs tshel/ Klo.bos Gu.ge'i mi mang.po gsad.pa'i mgo rnam.sgo.snya.la rtags", "At that time, when rje (gTsang.smyon) and his disciples went to Klo'o sMon.thang, [people] were tying the severed heads of many men from Gu.ge, killed by Klo.bo, on the [Klo sMon.thang] gate" and *ibid.* (line 7): "De.nas dpon.po bKra.shis.mgon.kyis bsnyen.bkur bzang.po phul/ Grags.mchog bya.ba'i gra.pa.cig lam.sna.la btang dpon.slob 'ga'.shas.kyi phebs", "Then dpon.po bKra.shis.mgon offered him a good reception. He sent a monk called Grags.mchog to be their guide on the way. The master and a few disciples left [for Ti.se]".

(906) Rin.chen rnam.rgyal, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.54 line 7): "dGung.lo sum.cu'i tshe slob.ma rnam.s La.phyi dang Chu.bar.gyi gnas.phran rnam.su lo.sgrub.la bcug.dus thugs.sras Rin.chen dpal.bzang la gnas.lugs 'khor.'das dbyer.med.kyis mgur gsungs", "When he was thirty (in 1481), at the time when he sent his disciples to the various holy places at La.phyi and Chu.bar for their annual meditation, he sang a song on the non-dualism of Reality and Impermanence to his disciple Rin.chen dpal.bzang".

(907) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.67 lines 4-5): "Gung.thang du rje.yi grags.pa chen.po byung.bas/ der rgyal.po rnam.s.kyis kyang gNya'.nang phyogs.na mtshon.gyis mi.tshugs.pa'i rnal.'byor.pa smyon.pa gcig 'dug/ myur.por Ti.se phyogs.pa 'byon.par 'dug zer", "rje's (gTsang.smyon's) great fame reached Gung.thang. Here, the king and his subjects said: "There is a mad rnal.'byor.pa, who was not hurt by weapons at gNya'.nang. He is heading swiftly to Ti.se".

phies in Glo sMos.thang, which provided him with the opportunity to give a performance on impermanence worthy of the *mahasiddha* he was<sup>908</sup>, at Bye.ma g.yung.drung gTsang.smyon, on his way to Ti.se, encountered Gu.ge horsemen heading eastwards who might have attacked his party coming from Glo.bo. The threat was averted since gTsang.smyon went into meditation, which made the members of his group invisible<sup>909</sup>. The episode is interesting for it shows that Gu.ge troops were active in Hor.ba, the easternmost territory of Pu.hrang, and western Gro.shod, in the vicinity of which Bye.ma g.yung.drung is located. This means that Glo.bo did not have control of Pu.hrang.stod at that time, but it is not certain that Gu.ge held it either.

On the basis of the years in which they occurred, the wars fought by Gu.ge against La.stod lHo and Glo.bo took place during the reign of the Gu.ge king Blo.bzang rab.brtan.

The next conflict to affect the lands of sTod was the Pu.hrang-Glo.bo war at the end of the 15th century, which took place during the rule of the last kings of Gu.ge (Blo.bzang rab.brtan otherwise 'Phags.pa.lha) mentioned in Ngag.dbang grags.pa's work. The outbreak of hostilities occurred when the Pu.hrang.pa-s seized rGyal.ti from Glo.bo<sup>910</sup>. The Pu.hrang.pa-s also captured a load of arrows from the Glo.pa-s, which were returned in

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(908) gTsang.smyon ate the flesh of the dead Gu.ge.pas' heads and incited the sMos.thang.pa-s to do the same in order to obtain prosperity. rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.67 lines 6-7) says: "Glad.pa 'bus g.yengs zhing rul.nas sa.la lhung.ba rjes phyag.tu bzhes.nas sha dang klad.pa bzhes tshe/ mi mang.po 'dus.pa rnam.s.la dngos.grub dgos.na sbyin.gyi gsung klad.pa thur.mgo.re snang.ba zos.pa rnam.s'byor.pa dang ldan.par gyur", "Since the brains were rotting and writhing with worms, after making them fall on the ground, he grabbed and ate them. While he was eating the flesh and the brains, many people gathered. He said: "If you want material power, I will give it to you!". He offered half a spoon of brain to each. Those who ate it became wealthy".

(909) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.67 line 7-p.68 line 2): "De.dus Klo.bo dang Gu.ge ma.'cham.pas lam.la 'jigs(p.68).nyen che.ba las Bye.ma g.yung.drung.gi mdo Krag bya.ba na rta.pa mang.po yong zhing 'dug/ 'khor rnam.s shin.tu 'jigs.pa'i tshe/ rje'i zhal.nas 'jigs mi.dgos kha.tshum sdod gsungs dgongs.pa la bzhugs.pas/ rta.pa rnam.s.kyis dpon.slob rnam.s ma.mthong.par 'khris rang.nas mar song.ngo", "In those days, since Klo.bo and Gu.ge were on unfriendly terms, the route [to Ti.se] was very dangerous. At Krag of Bye.ma g.yung.drung mdo, many horsemen came and rested. As the group [of gTsang.smyon's disciples] was in great fear at that moment, rje said: "There is no reason to fear: keep quiet". As he sat in meditation, the horsemen left downwards (i.e. to the east), passing by without seeing them".

(910) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.184 line 4-5): "De.nas spyir sPu.rangs lungs.pa thams.cad nyi.mas mun.du khrigs/ mig mthong.mas lung.pa khrag.tsher mthong/ mo.rtsis thams.cad ngan.pa lung.pa mi.chags.bar thag tshod/ mi thams.cad sems.las dang mya.ngan.gyi non/ rGyal.ti'i rdzong sPu.rangs.pa spyis bzung/ Klo.bo sMon.thang.pas dmag rnam.s zhib.rtsis byas te/ rdzong.gi mtha'.ma.la sgar skongs byas", "Then the sun was obscured over the whole of the land of sPu.rangs. Eyes which could see saw the land filled with blood. All *mo* and divination were negative. They indicated that the land would soon be in a state of instability. All the people were overcome with sorrow. Later, the sPu.rangs.pa-s seized rGyal.ti rdzong. The Klo.bo sMon.thang.pa-s counted their troops and camped at the edge of the *rdzong* area".

exchange for a ceasefire negotiated by gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka that was broken by inconclusive skirmishes<sup>911</sup>. The Glo.pa-s, headed by their king named bDe.rgyam.pa in the *rnam.thar* (i.e. bDe.legs rgya.mtsho)<sup>912</sup>, laid siege to the castle and the Pu.hrang.pa-s suffered from a shortage of water<sup>913</sup>, the Glo.pa-s having grown tired of the truce and thinking that they would be victorious<sup>914</sup>. A battle was eventually fought and the Glo.pa-s were defeated<sup>915</sup>.

(911) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.185 lines 1-3): “rGyal.ti’i rdzong du gdan.drangs dus Klo.bo rgyal.po’i mda’thung grel.khal lnga/ sPu.rangs.pa rnam.kyi phyogs tel/ rje.yis da nged bar.zhugs.la sleb.nas phrogs.par mi.yong stong dgos gsung tshel/ sPu.rangs.pa rnam.na.re gzhan bka’.la nyan.par zhu/ ’di stang.na mi.la gnod.pa ches grags yod.pas mi.stong zhu tshel/ rje.yi zhal.nas mda’thung ’di tshos khyad.kyi mi.la mi.gnod.pa ngas khag.mkhur ma.stang.na mi.yong gsung/ de.nas mda’thung grel.khal lnga rnam.te sMon.thang la phebs”, “When [gTsang.smyon] was summoned to rGyal.ti rdzong (controlled by the Pu.hrang.pa-s), the sPu.rangs.pa-s had taken five mule loads of “short arrows” of Klo.bo rgyal.po. When *rje* said: “Since I have come now to be the mediator, there must not be any plundering: you must return [the weapons]”, the sPu.rangs.pa-s maintained: “We beg to bow to this other point of view, [but], if we return them, it is obvious that great harm will be caused to [our] people”. When they begged not to release them, *rje* promised: “I stand as guarantee that these “short arrows” will not harm your people. There is no reason why they should not be given back”. Then, the five mule loads of “short arrows” went [back] to the sMon.thang[.pa-s]”.

(912) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.185 line 4): “De.nas sgar.du phebs mda’ rnam.stang/ rgyal.po bDe.rgyam.pa dang khriks.kyi bka’.sgros rnam.mdzad”, “Then [gTsang.smyon] went to the [Klo sMon.thang] camp [and] returned the arrows. He discussed the terms of the agreement with rgyal.po bDe.rgyam.pa”.

(913) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.185 lines 5-6): “sPu.rangs.pa rnam.yid.ches shing shin.du smos.par gyur/ de.nas yang rGyal.tir phebs tshel/ char ming cing chu dkon.pas kun nyams.thag cing khyad.par dud.’gro rnam ’chi.ba la thug.pas/ rje grub.thob chen.po’i drung.du char phebs zhus”, “Since the sPu.rangs.pa-s trusted him, they developed faith [in him]. When [gTsang.smyon] went back to rGyal.ti, since everybody was suffering [because] there was no rain and a shortage of water to drink, and, in particular the animals were almost dying, they begged *rje grub.thob chen.po* to bring rain”.

(914) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.186 lines 2-3): “De.nas khriks.la phan.thun gnyis.ka nas nyan.pa’i lugs.su byas/ sMon.thang.pa’i sgar du phebs tshel/ sPu.rangs.pa’i mi.ngan zhi.gis ngo.log byas/ grub.thob gTsang.smyon.pa med na kha.sang nas rdzong phebs.pa yod”, “Then since a truce was accepted by the two factions, they followed his advice. When he went to the camp of the sMon.thang.pa-s, one wicked sPu.rangs.pa, who had changed sides [said]: “The *rdzong* could have been taken yesterday, had it not been for gTsang.smyon”.

(915) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.187 lines 1-2): “De.nas khriks.pas sPu.rangs.pa rgyal/ Klo.bo’i mi.tsas mang.po bzung zhing gsad”, “Then, a battle was fought and the sPu.rangs.pa-s were victorious. Many men of Klo.bo were taken prisoner and killed”.

This victory of Pu.hrang did not prevent rGyal.ti returning to Glo.pa possession one year later. The Pu.hrang.pa-s were defeated and were obliged to give Glo.bo the same tribute that was imposed on them by the Gu.ge king<sup>916</sup>. Therefore Glo.bo added its supremacy to the existing Gu.ge sovereignty over Pu.hrang.

The circumstances under which Glo.bo had regained control of Pu.hrang before the rGyal.ti battle are nowhere elucidated, for *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* only says that the Pu.hrang.pa-s, prior to the battle, were able to take rGyal.ti from the Glo.pa-s. Control of Pu.hrang.stod may thus have been lost to Gu.ge and regained by Glo.bo at an unspecified date after 1481, assuming that Gu.ge was controlling Pu.hrang.stod during this war against Glo.bo. Pu.hrang.stod possibly remained under Gu.ge for a period of some fifty years from Phun.tshogs.lde's rule in rGyal.ti in 1436, when he invited Ngor.chen to this castle.

After Glo.bo recovered Pu.hrang despite defeat at rGyal.ti, Pu.hrang dpon.btsun sNyan.grags rebelled against the Glo.pa-s<sup>917</sup>. *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* says that sNyan.grags and his family were brutally slain by the Glo.bo king bDe.rgyam.pa, their properties confiscated and the revolt bloodily put down, and Pu.hrang remained under Glo.bo<sup>918</sup>. This statement seems to imply that, after the latest rebellion, Pu.hrang was no

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(916) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.187 lines 3-4): "Lo.gcig khrigs.la gnas cing/ de.nas rdzong Klo.bo la sprad.pa sogs phan.tshun gnyis.ka nas bka'.la nyan nas/ sPu.rangs.pa rnam.s.la khral 'u.lag sogs Gu.ge rgyal.pos ji.ltar bkod.pa las mi.'da' zhing/ sPu.rangs.pa rnam.kyis kyang Klo.bo'i chags.phyi 'bul.bar byas", "This situation lasted for one year. Then, the rdzong (rGyal.ti) returned to Klo.bo. As an agreement was made between the two factions, the sPu.rangs.pa-s had to give to Klo.bo the same tribute and forced labour that was also imposed on them by the Gu.ge rgyal.po".

The Gu.ge rgyal.po, unnamed in *gTsang.smyon rnam.thar*, to whom Pu.hrang was paying tribute must have been either Blo.bzang rab.brtan or his son 'Phags.pa.lha, since the latter is indicated as *gong.ma* in *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs* (completed in 1497) and *mi.dbang rgyal.sras* in 1499 by *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* (f.5b lines 4-5) (for the date of the war see below p.536). There is no basis on which to favour either, for the year when 'Phags.pa.lha succeeded Blo.bzang rab.brtan or was coopted to the throne is not recorded in the sources.

(917) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.187 lines 4-5): "De.nas sPu.rangs.pa'i dpon.btsun sNyan.grags bya.bas rje.yi bka' dang sna.la ma.rtsis.par slo.log byas Nya.tshe Ri.sbug.pa dang gnyis.kyis mtsham.pa las 'gal zhing/ Klo.bo rgyal.po zhabs.'dren dang/ rje grub.thob chen.po la yang mi.mtsham.pa'i bkur.ba mang.po btab", "Then, the sPu.rangs.pa dpon.btsun sNyan.grags rebelled, for he disobeyed rje's orders and did not allow himself be guided by them. He and Nya.tshe Ri.sbug.pa, these two, violated the agreements and on many occasions abused the Klo.bo king and also rje grub.thob chen.po, as they did not respect the accords".

(918) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.188 lines 2-3): "De.nas ring.po ma.lon.par Klo.bo rgyal.po'i dmag.gis sNyan.grags 'khor.bcas pham.par byas/ nor.gzhis.khang gsum rtsa.ba.nas rlag/ kho.rang rgyun.bras.su btang/ bu.gnyis kyang gcig chu.la sgyur/ gcig mkhar.gyi rtse.nas mis.rgyang.la 'phangs/ chung.ma sogs 'khor.gzhan rnam.kyang shan.pa dang ya.pho sogs rigs.ngan.gyi bran.du phyin/ kun dus.gcig.la rtsa.ba.nas rlag cing rabs chad.do/ de.dus sPu.rangs.kyang Klo.bo rgyal.po'i 'og.du song.bas dus bde.bar gyur", "Not long after, Klo.bo rgyal.po defeated sNyan.grags and his supporters.

longer under joint Gu.ge-Glo.bo sovereignty, and also that Gu.ge was on the side of Pu.hrang and may have contributed to its revolt against Glo.bo. With the final crushing of Pu.hrang, the authority of Gu.ge in that land was probably lost to Glo.bo.

The establishment of the Rin.spungs.pa-s of gTsang gZhis.ka as overlords of Tibet at around the same time as the subjugation of Pu.hrang affected Gu.ge and its political status. Although not to the same extent as that of Pu.hrang, Gu.ge's autonomy was also diminished. In fact, Gu.ge passed under Rin.spungs.pa supremacy soon after Pu.hrang was brought under the exclusive control of Glo.bo.

The extension of Rin.spungs.pa sovereignty over Gu.ge followed an administrative request made by Gu.ge to Rin.spungs to confirm Gu.ge and Glo.bo's duty to support the hermits at Ti.se and the right to rule the lands they controlled<sup>919</sup>. The mission headed by a *gser.yig.pa*, sent by Gu.ge mi.dbang rgyal.sras 'Phags.pa.lha after *lo.gsar* of the sheep year 1499, brought this appeal to Rin.spungs (*Shanti.pa rnam.thar* f.5b lines 4-5) (see above p.95 and n.14). The king of Gu.ge who had to acknowledge ultimate control of the Rin.spungs.pa-s over his territory in 1499 was therefore 'Phags.pa.lha.

The year in which the mission took place is external evidence that confirms the dating of the Pu.hrang-Glo.bo war derived from gTsang.smyon's biographies. One finds gTsang.smyon briefly in Glo dMos.thang after the war<sup>920</sup>. This sojourn in Mustang took place in earth horse 1498 according to the *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* by lha.btsun Rin.chen rnam.rgyal<sup>921</sup>. 1498 is a *terminus ante quem* for the conflict in Pu.hrang. Working

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He destroyed from the roots his wealth, estates and residence, these three. He (sNyan.grags) was cut into strips (?) (*rgyun.bras.su btang*). One of his two sons was cast into the river, the other was thrown down by a man from the top of the castle. His wife and other members of his clan were sent as servants of [people of] low caste such as butchers and vagabonds. Everything [of his] was destroyed from the roots at one time and his lineage was cut. At that juncture, since sPu.rangs passed under Klo.bo rgyal.po, the times became peaceful".

(919) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.198 lines 2-3): "Ti.se gnas.'dzin grags.pas Klo.bo Gu.ge sogs nas sgrub.rgyags dang/ sngar.gyi sa.cha rnam.yod.pa'i phyag.brtags sogs gZhis.dga' Rin.spungs nas zhu.dgos zhu.ba ltar/ gZhis.dga' nas.kyi phyag.rtags sogs gnang sbyin lung.bstan bzang.po dang bcas.pa te Ti.ser bsgrub.sde 'dzugs zhing bstan.pa dpel.ba la rdzangs zhing byon te/ bka'.bzhin bsgrubs.pas/ Gu.ge rje.'bangs.'khor dang bcas.pa dbang.du 'dus", "It became compulsory to request an authorization from gZhis.dga' Rin.spungs to confirm Klo.bo and Gu.ge's duty [to supply] provisions to the dwellers of the Ti.se holy places and [their] previous rule of [their] lands. The request was accordingly [made]. The authorization from gZhis.dga' was obtained. A favourable order concerning the patronage came [saying] that the introduction of meditation communities at Ti.se and the diffusion of the teachings were allowed. The orders having been followed, the lord of Gu.ge, [his] subjects and satellites passed under [Rin.spungs'] control".

(920) rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.195 line 2): "rJe dpon.slob rnam Klo.bo sMon.thang du phebs".

(921) Rin.chen rnam.rgyal, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.104 line 5): "De.nas dgung.lo zhe.bdun.pa'i tshu Chu.bar du 'byon.par chas.pa.la mar.lam sMon.thang du zla.gcig bzhugs", "Then, when he was forty-

backwards from this date, the subjugation of Pu.hrang by Glo.bo and the rebellion of dpon.btsun sNyan.grags that resulted can be dated to around 1497. Previously, there was a year of peace following the Phyrri Pu.hrang.pa victory in the rGyal.ti battle, which must have occurred around fire dragon 1496. Finally, the hostilities witnessed by gTsang.smyon are confirmed by the *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* by Rin.chen rnam.rgyal to have broken out in 1496, for gTsang.smyon reached Ti.se in the late spring of that year<sup>922</sup>.

seven (1498), while he was going to Chu.bar, on the way down (towards Chu.bar) he stayed one month at sMon.thang". gTsang.smyon's return to Glo.bo is placed by rGod.tshang ras.pa sNa.tshogs rang.grol in *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* after the end of the Pu.hrang-Glo.bo war and the final subjugation of Pu.hrang. The episode of the request to Rin.spungs immediately follows. Given that gTsang.smyon's sojourn in Glo.bo is fixed to 1498 and the mission sent to Rin.spungs by Gu.ge 'Phags.pa.lha dates to the beginning of 1499, the validity of the date of the passage of Gu.ge under the sovereignty of Rin.spungs is reinforced.

(922) Rin.chen rnam.rgyal, *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar* (p.102 lines 1-2): "dGung.lo zhe.lnga bzhes tshé dpyid.la bab.pa.na Bod.la thugs.phyogs.nas 'byon.par btsams.pas/ Bal.po nang.'dzing.ba dus chings", "When he was forty-five (1496), at the beginning of spring, as he was ready to set out for Tibet, at that time an internal struggle occurred in Bal.po, which he mediated" and *ibid.* (lines 3-4): "dPyid.smad Ti.se la phyag.phebs.nas sMon.thang sde.pa la.sogs.pa lam.gyi skye.bo rnam.'brel.pas rjes.su bzung/ Gangs.dkar.gyi rgyal.po Ti.se la bstan.pa dang sems.can.gyi don.du lo.gsum.gyi sgrub.pa'i dam.bca' mdzad", "In late spring (1496), he went to Ti.se. On the way, he established relations with the sMon.thang sde.pa ("king") and other people, on whom he subsequently exercised his influence. He made a vow to spend three years meditating at Ti.se, the lord of the white mountains, to benefit the teachings and sentient beings".

*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* (f.12a line 4-f.14b line 3) contains a veritable history of the struggle against the floods caused by the rivers flowing near Kha.char. An almost constant effort was made from the later part of the 15th century until the early 16th, proving that abundant information was available on Kha.char during that period. Some details are of historical significance, in particular, the statement that the *sde.pa sku.mched* (the king of Mustang and his brother or brothers) were also involved in saving Kha.char from the floods. The name of the *sde.pa* who went to Pu.hrang to supervise the works in the autumn of the water ox year is not given in the text (*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* f.12a line 6: "Khyad.par chu.mo.glang lor glang.gi lo gShel.chu ches.pas sngar.gyi chu.rags rnam.zhul.med.pa khyer", "In particular, in the water female ox year being the ox year (sic), the gShel.chu was swollen and washed the old embankment away" and *ibid.* f.12b lines 1-2: "De'i ston.ka sde.pa sku.mched khung blon.por bcas.pa'i Hab.rtser sgar.chen bzhugs.gral thag.du lo.rgyus rnam.zhib.tu zhus.pas/ thugs dges.dges mdzad cing rjes.su bsngags.pa dang gzengs.bstod mang.du mdzad", "That autumn, the *sde.pa sku.mched* and their senior (khung sic for gung) ministers pitched a large camp at Hab.rtse. On that occasion they were informed in detail [by the locals about the work on the embankment]. They praised and rewarded them in many ways". One may be led to think that the Glo.bo *sde.pa* was A.mgon bzang.po, on the authority of *Kho.char dkar.chag*, which records his intervention to protect Kha.char from floods (f.12a = p.49 lines 10-14; see above n.892). The assessment of the *rab.byung* in which this work of building embankments was undertaken, allowing a precise dating of these events, is made possible by a few indications in *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag*. One of them is that Blo.bo.pa mkhan.po Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, the direct disciple of gSer.mdog.can Shakya mchog.lidan, was involved in restoration work at Kha.char during the same years. His stay at Kha.char is associated with the work at the river in the wood hare year (*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* f.12b line 5: "De.rjes shing.yos dpyid snga.ba rang.nas Kha.char.ba rnam.kyis rags.rdo bsags.pa gtso.bor bzung", "Then, from early spring of the wood hare year, the Kha.char.ba-s were mainly busy collecting stones for the embankment" and *ibid.* lines 6-7: "Dus.der pan.chen

*A last word on mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

Ngag.dbang grags.pa's analysis of the royal genealogies of Gu.ge Pu.hrang from the establishment of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom to the time of his return to his native Gu.ge is concluded in the late 15th century, corresponding to the end of his life. Surprisingly, Ngag.dbang grags.pa does not introduce a single reference to the temple foundations (Dung.dkar, Tsa.rang, Tho.ling etc.) and the events which led to their establishment and the highly successful diffusion of his master Tsong.kha.pa's teachings in sTod. The long years of his life in Gu.ge saw the patronage of no less than five kings (rNam.rgyal.lde, Phun.tshogs.lde, rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde, Blo.bzang rab.brtan and the beginning of the reign of his son, 'Phags.pa.lha), but *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says very little about their religious

gSer.mdog.can.pa'i dngos.slob Blo.bo.pa mkhan.po Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan.pas phyogs kun.tu 'bul sdud mdzad nas/ dPal Yid.bzhin lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang gso.bzhengs mdzad", "At that time, the direct disciple of pan.chen gSer.mdog.can, Blo.bo.pa mkhan.po Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, who was collecting alms from everywhere, made a renovation of [Kha.char] dPal Yid.bzhin lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang"). This rules out the possibility that the year in which Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan was active at Kha.char was wood hare 1435 because this is too early a date in the life of Shakya mchog.lidan (1428-1507) for Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan to have been his disciple. The year was thus wood hare 1495. On the basis of *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar-s*, the Glo.bo sde.pa who went to Kha.char to inspect the works at the river in the autumn of water ox 1493 was therefore bDe.legs rgya.mtsho and definitely not A.mgon bzang.po. This is confirmed by a reference to the following year (fire dragon) that the construction of the embankment at Kha.char was halted because a conflict occurred. Fire dragon 1496 was the year when the hostilities between Pu.hrang and Glo.bo erupted at rGyal.ti according to the *gTsang.smyon He.ru.ka rnam.thar-s*. Therefore the dating of this strife derived from the biographies of *gTsang.smyon* is confirmed by external evidence. Glo.bo's victory in the war against Pu.hrang is also corroborated because, when the problem of protecting Kha.char became so desperate after the flood of water pig 1503 that the Pu.hrang.pa-s thought of moving the Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum elsewhere, the final decision rested with Glo.dMos.thang, indicating that Glo.bo held sovereignty over Pu.hrang following the end of the hostilities in 1498 (*Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* f.13a lines 3-4): "Chu.phag.lor gShel.chu shin.tu che.bar brten rags dang lung.pa 'di'i gad.pa thams.cad thang.mar brdal/ lha.khang chen.mo zur.sna'i 'dom gang.tsam.du chu slebs", "In the water pig year, due to a major swelling of the gShel.chu, the embankment and all the precipitous cliffs of the area were torn down to the plain" and *ibid.* (f.13a line 6-f.13b line 1): "De.nas rje.blon drung.du gnas.tshul rgyas.par zhus.pas/ gtsug.lag.khang mi.spo dka'.med.du 'dug kyang de'i ring da.dung rags.las kyang byed dgos gsung/ Rin.chen brtsegs.pa'i pho.brang bla.med rgyal.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang.la thig.rtsa blangs/ dbyar.ston mtshams.su gtsug.lag.khang.gi zugs.sa brtsams (f.13b) stabs.der Mon.mthang du zhal.ta zhu.bar pho.nya.ba mngags.par/ da.rung rags.la rang.la 'bad.na spo ma.dgos tsam los.yong gsung.par brten nas/ yul stod.smad.kyi bla.mas gtso mdzad.pa'i las.tshan so.sor phyag thams.cad gnang", "Then, a detailed report having been made, the lord and his ministers said: "Although the *gtsug.lag.khang* has to be shifted, in the meantime you still have to work at repairing the embankment". The leaking [roof] of the supremely victorious *gtsug.lag.khang* Rin.chen brtsegs.pa was renovated. The work at the *gtsug.lag.khang* lasted from the summer until the end of autumn. Meanwhile, a messenger having been sent to Mon.mthang (sic) to ask for advice, due to the answer saying: "There is most probably no reason to move the *gtsug.lag.khang* if you continue to repair the embankment", rewards for the various working tasks, supervised by the notables of the upper and lower localities, were fixed".



patronage of the newly founded tradition, of which he was the leading representative in Gu.ge. Typical of the historian, he may have concentrated his attention on the events of antiquity, giving priority to the early kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. Nevertheless, the absence of any treatment of the religious events in Gu.ge of which he was a major protagonist suggests that he may have reserved the record of his time to another work, or that he dictated it to disciples in accordance with Tibetan biographical tradition. It is the task of future research to look for one more historical text written by him, a text ideally being the completion of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*.



# Addenda: a few topics on the history of mNga'.ris.stod not covered by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*

## ADDENDUM ONE

### *Dating dPal.'khor.btsan's reign and the establishment of the kingdom of mNga'.ris skor.gsum*

The fact that two pages are missing from the mNga'.ris skor.gsum section of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* precludes the knowledge of Ngag.dbang grags.pa's assessment of the reigns of khri gNam.lde 'Od.srung, dPal.'khor.btsan, sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon and most of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum. An attempt to establish the exact period when the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty was founded by Nyi.ma.mgon follows, based on other sources. It depends on the dates of dPal.'khor.btsan, since, at his death, Nyi.ma.mgon fled to sTod and founded his kingdom (see below p.547 and n.935), and on those of 'Od.srung as the periods of the father and son are inextricably intertwined.

The dates of 'Od.srung and dPal.'khor.btsan vary according to different authors, but they can be classified into three sets (for these traditions see mKhar.me'u bSam.gtsan rgyal.mtshan, *bTsan.po lha.sras Dar.ma dang de'i rjes.su byung.ba'i rgyal.rabs mdor.bsdus*; Richardson "The Succession to Glang.dar.ma"; Petech, "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Empire" p.653-654). The dating popular among Sa.skya.pa authors and *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* prolongs 'Od.srung's life until his sixties, thus pushing dPal.'khor.btsan's reign into the early 10th century<sup>923</sup>. The second is based on a calculation of a shorter life for

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(923) According to the Sa.skya.pa authors Glang.dar.ma died in 842, after a rule as a righteous king for six months and as an evil king for six months and a half (Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.296.1 lines 5-6: "lCags.mo.byā la Khri.gtsug lde.btsan 'das", "In the iron female bird year (841) Khri.gtsug lde.btsan died" and ibid p.296.2 lines 2-3: "gCung 'das de.nas rgyal.srid bzung.nas ni/ zla.ba drug.tu tshul.ngan rgyal.po byas/ lcags.mo.byā'i mjug.tu dam.chos bsnuvs/ de.nas zla.ba phyed dang bdun dag.tu/ sdig.rgyal byas te de.dag spyir bsdams nas/ lo.gcig dang zla.ba phyed bgyis te khyi 'lo.la/ Byang.chub sems.dpa' dPal.gyi rdo.rje bsad", "After the death of his younger-brother (Khri.gtsug lde.btsan), as [Glang.dar.ma] took royal power, he was a righteous king for six months. In the iron female bird year (841) he persecuted Buddhism. Then he was a wicked king for six and a half months. Altogether he ruled for one year and half a month. In the dog year (842), he

was assassinated by Byang.chub sems.dpa' dPal.gyi rdo.rje"; 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.286,3 lines 4-5: "Ral.pa.can.gyi gcen.po Glang.dar.ma chu.mo.lug lo.la skyes/ sum.cu rtsa.dgu lcags.mo.byai lo gzhus.la rgyal.sar bton/ zla.ba drug tshul.bzhin rgyal.po byas/ de.nas zla.ba phyed.bdun.du sdig.rgyal byas/ spyir bsdams.pas lo.gcig dang zla.ba phyed rgyal.po byas nas/ chu.pho.khyi'i lo.la bsad", "Ral.pa.can's elder brother Glang.dar.ma was born in the water female sheep year (803). He ascended the throne in the later part of the iron female bird year (841) when he was thirty-nine. He was a righteous king for six months, he was a wicked king for six and a half months. Altogether, he was king for one year and half a month. He was killed in the water male dog year (842)". His son 'Od.srung was born in 843 and died in 905, when he was sixty-three (Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.296,2 lines 3-4: "'Od.srungs chu.mo.phag la sPur.phur skyes/...shing.mo.glang la Yar.lungs 'Phangs 'das", "'Od.srungs was born at sPur.phu in the water female pig year (843)...He died at Yar.lungs 'Phangs in the wood female ox year (905)"; 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.286,3 lines 5-6: "De'i sras 'Od.srungs rmug yin te/ chu.mo.phag la 'khrungs/ de.ma.thog rgyal.srid bzung nas/ lo drug.cu rtsa.gsum shing.mo.glang la Yar.lungs 'Phang.mdar 'das", "His son 'Od.srungs was indolent. He was born in the water female pig year (843). Not long after [his birth], he held royal power [and] died at Yar.lungs 'Phang.mda' in the wood female ox year (905) when he was sixty-three"). Sa.skya.pa sources agree on his son dPal.'khor.btsan's relative chronology. He succeeded his father when he was thirteen and ruled for eighteen years. In the view of the Sa.skya.pa authors, he died in 923 (Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.296,2 lines 4-5: "dPal.'khor chu.mo.glang la 'Phangs.dar 'khrungs/ bcu.gsum bzhes.nas yab 'das.nas ni/ bco.brgyad rgyal.srid bzung.ba'i bar.la/...so.gcig chu.lug Yar.lungs Shar.por grongs", "dPal.'khor was born at 'Phangs.da (sic) in the water female ox year (893). He held royal power for eighteen years after his father died when the former was thirteen (905)...He died at Yar.lungs Shar.po when he was thirty-one in the water sheep year (923)"; 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa, *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.286,3 line 6-p.286,4 line 1: "'Od.srungs.kyi sras dPal.gor.btsan chu.mo.glang la 'khrungs/ lo bcu.gsum la rgyal.sar bton/ rgyal.po lo bco.brgyad mdzad nas/ (p.286,4) chu.mo.lug la 'das", "'Od.srungs' son dPal.gor.btsan was born in the water female ox year (893). He ascended the throne when he was thirteen (905). After being king for eighteen years, he died in the water female sheep year (923)". *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* proposes the dates 843-905 for 'Od.srung, and 893-923 for dPal.'khor.btsan (p.447 lines 4-7): "Tshe.spong.bza'i sras khri gNam.lde 'Od.srung yin.no/ chu.mo.phag la 'khrungs.so/ de dang Cog.ro.bza' lHa.btsun rje.legs su bshos.pa'i sras rje dPal.mgon.btsan yin.no/ de chu.mo.glang la sku.'khrungs/ lo bcu.gsum la rgyal.sar bton", "Khri gNam.lde 'Od.srung was the son of Tshe.spong.bza'. He was born in the water female pig year (843). rje dPal.mgon.btsan (dPal.'khor.btsan) was the son born from his union with Cog.ro.bza' lHa.btsun rje.legs. He was born in the water female ox year (893). He ascended the throne when he was thirteen (905)" and *ibid.* (p.456 line 21-p.457 line 2): "Lo bco.brgyad rgyal.po (p.457) mdzad.do/ rim.gyis gTsang du byon/ Grom.pa lHa.rtse'i brag.la pho.brang mdzad.nas bzhus.so/ lo sum.bcu so.gcig chu.mo.lug la sku 'das.so", "He was king for eighteen years. He was [compelled] step by step to go to gTsang. He resided at the palace he built on the Grom.pa lHa.rtse rock. He died when he was thirty-one in the water female sheep year (923)".

'Od.srung, thus pulling dPal.'khor.btsan's reign back to the late 9th-early 10th century. The main texts expressing this view are the two *lDe'u chos. 'byung-s*, although they have different dates<sup>924</sup>. The third is an even shorter chronology found in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston*<sup>925</sup>.

*Pelliot Tibétain 999* documents that a donation of Sad.na.legs' at Tun-huang was renewed by 'Od.srung and his mother jo.mo btsun.mo 'Phan in the rat year 844 (Spanien-Imaeda tome II pl.308; see Richardson "The Succession to Glang.dar.ma"; Petech "The

(924) *lDe'u Jo.sras* gives 'Od.srung a life of fifty-five years. Given Tibetan calendrical peculiarities, he places his birth in a monkey year and his death in an ox year, the latter being 893, leading to 840-893 as his dates (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* p.141 lines 9-10: "sPre lo.la Yum.bu bla.sgang du sku bltams", "[ 'Od.bsrungs] was born in the monkey year (840) at Yum.bu bla.sgang" and *ibid.* p.142 lines 11-12: "'Od.bsrungs de tshe.lo lnga.bcu rtsa.lnga bzhes nas/ glang lo.la Yar.lung 'Phang.dang du sku.gshegs", "'Od.bsrungs, after reaching the age of fifty-five, died in the ox year (893) at Yar.lung 'Phang.dang (sic)"). The years of dPal.'khor.btsan's reign are 893-910, having been born in 881 (*lDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* p.142 lines 16-17: "mNga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan ni glang lo.la 'Phang.dang du sku bltams/ lo bcu.gsum nas yab gung.du gshegs.nas chab.srid lo bco.brgyad.du bzung", "mNga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan was born in the ox year (881) at 'Phang.dang (sic). When he was thirteen (893), [he took over] political power at his father's death: [and] ruled for eighteen years (893-910)"). *mKhas.pa lDe'u* has a faulty chronology, according to which 'Od.srung lived for forty-five years and died in an ox year corresponding to 881. This is untenable, for forty-five years after 840 comes to 883 or 884. *mKhas.pa lDe'u* consequently gives the dates 881-898 for dPal.'khor.btsan's reign (*mKhas.pa lDe'u chos. 'byung* p.370 lines 4-5: "mNga'.bdag 'Od.srung sprel.lo la Yum.bu bla.sgang du ltams/ tshe.lo zhe.lnga bzhes.nas glang lo.la yar.stod 'Phang.thang sku.gshegs", "mNga'.bdag 'Od.srung was born in the monkey year (840) at Yum.bu bla.sgang. He died in the ox year (881) at 'Phang.thang when he was forty-five in early summer" and *ibid.* (p.370 line 20-p.371 line 2): "rGyal.po de.yang 'Phang.thang du sku.blams/ lo bcu.gsum.na yab gung(p.371).du gshegs/ chab.srid lo bco.brgyad bzungs/ lug.lo Sham.po mchu.nag.gis bkrongs.so", "This king (dPal.'khor.btsan) was born at Phang.thang. His father died when he was thirteen. He ruled for eighteen years. In the sheep year Sham.po mchu.nag killed him").

(925) dPa'.bo gtsug.lag says that Glang.dar.ma's reign began in 841. He ruled righteously for two years and wickedly for three and a half, after which he was murdered in 846. 'Od.srung was born in 847 and died in 885 when he was thirty-nine. dPal.'khor.btsan succeeded him in that year and ruled until his death in 895. On these calculations see *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.430 lines 4-5): "De.ltar btsan.po Glang.dar.mas rgyal.sa lo.drug byas te zhe.bzhi.pa me.stag.la 'das", "Similarly, rgyal.po Glang.dar.ma held the throne for six years. He died when he was forty-four in the fire tiger year (846)") and *ibid.* (lines 8-10): "Phyi.lo me.mo.yos la btsun.mo chun.ma Tshe.sponge.bza' btsan.mo 'Phan la lto.bor.gyi sras.gcig byung.ba chen.mas bsad dam phrogs.kyis dogs.nas 'od dang ma.bral.bar bsrungs pas gNam.lde 'Od.srung du thogs", "The following year, fire female hare (847), a son was born to the junior queen Tshe.sponge.bza' btsan.mo 'Phan. Since she feared that the senior queen might kill or take him away, she guarded (*bsrungs*) him under the light ('od) of the butter lamps. He was [therefore] known as 'Od.srung" and *ibid.* (p.434 lines 8-11): "So.dgu.pa shing.sbrul.la pho.brang 'Phang.thang du 'das/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan yab.kyi bcu.dgu.pa shing.byala 'khrungs/ lo gnyer.gcig.la yab 'das.nas rgyal.sa mdzad/ sMan.lung la.sogs.pa lha.khang brgyad bzhegs/ so.gcig.la 'das", "[ 'Od.srung] died at 'Phang.thang in the wood snake year (885) when he was thirty-nine. His son dPal.'khor.btsan was born in the wood bird year (865), when his father was nineteen. He ascended the throne when he was twenty-one at the time of his father's death (885). He founded sMan.lung etc., eight *lha.khang-s*. He died when he was thirty-one (895)".

Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom” p.651). This valuable piece of evidence is useful in dismissing the tradition found in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston*, according to which 'Od.srung was born in 847. Thus only the long and medium length chronologies are acceptable on the basis of ancient evidence on 'Od.srung.

A further shortcoming of dPa'.bo gtsug.lag's treatment is that he has transferred an abridged version of the *kheng.log-s* (“rebellions”) of the subjects from the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan to that of his father 'Od.srung. Consequently, dPa'.bo dedicates no more than a few sentences to dPal.'khor.btsan. Earlier than *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston*, the Sa.skya.pa authors proposing the long chronology (beginning with Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan in *Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.286,2 lines 5-6, also followed by *Deb.ther dmar.po*), oddly fixed the earth ox year mentioned by dPa'.bo, and also considered by them to be when the *kheng.log* took place, to earth ox 929<sup>926</sup>. This has been assessed to one *rab.byung* after the dating found in *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* to accommodate this event in the genealogical sequence they adopt. Earth ox 929 falls after the death of dPal.'khor.btsan, which they assess as having occurred in 923. Both datings are equally untenable, since they contradict the notion held by practically all other sources that this period of turmoil took place during the time of the sons of 'Od.srung and Yum.bratan, as is also stressed by Petech (*ibid.* p.654). In particular, the two *lDe'u chos.byung-s*, the works containing the lengthiest and most accurate account of this period of transition when the old order of the Yar.lung dynasty was superseded, state that three *kheng.log-s* took place (this view is shared by dPa'.bo), which are assigned to the time of dPal.'khor.btsan. Furthermore, the sources discussed up to now do not elucidate which of the three *kheng.log-s* occurred in the ox year. The Sa.skya.pa dating is thus too late while that of *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* is too early in fixing the rebellion to earth ox 869, followed by the profanation of the tombs in fire bird 877, both said to have occurred during the reign of 'Od.srung by the latter source<sup>927</sup>.

(926) Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, (*Bod.kyi rgyal.rabs* p.296,2 line 6) immediately after introducing the death of dPal.'khor.btsan, says: “De.nas Bod.kyi khirims 'khrugs.dus nyams te/ sa.mo.glang la khyeng.log byung.ngo skad”, “Then, when the law of Bod was violated, it deteriorated. It is said that in the earth female ox year (929) the *khyeng.log* took place”; *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.40 lines 9-10): “rGyal.po 'di.gnyis.kyi sras.kyi rting.lal/ sa.mo.glang la kheng.log byung”, “The rebellion took place in the earth female ox year (929) during the time of the sons of these two kings ('Od.srung and Yum.bratan)”.

(927) *mKhas.pa'i dga'ston* (p.431 lines 13-14): “bTsan.po gnyis lo nyer.gsum re lon.pa'i sa.glang.nas bzung ste 'bangs.kyi kheng.log rnam.par byung”, “Starting from the earth ox year (869), [during] the rule of the two kings ('Od.srung and Yum.bratan), when they were both twenty-two, the *kheng.log-s* of the subjects took place one after the other” and *ibid.* (p.433 lines 4-5): “Kheng.log.nas lo dgu.pa me.byala Shud.pu sTag.rtse sogs bzhis gros.byas.nas bang.so rnam.bgo.bsha byas phal.cher brus”, “In the fire bird year (877), [which was] the ninth year after the *kheng.log*, Shud.pu sTag.rtse etc., four people having held a discussion, divided [the task among them] and profaned most of the tombs”.

The desecration of the tombs in the royal *dur.sa* at 'Phyongs.rgyas could not have happened during the reign of 'Od.srung, for he is the last ruler who was buried there<sup>928</sup>. One has only to consider the complex rituals connected to the worship of the 'Phyongs.rgyas royal cemetery (see e.g. *rGyal.po bka'.thang* p.146 line 1-p.147 line 7) to realise that the desecration of the sacred precinct of the dead marked the end of the cult of the *Bod.rje lha.btsan.po-s*. The profanation of the tombs testifies to the abandonment of the ancient system of tribal Tibet, which the *chos.rgyal-s* of the Yar.lung dynasty continued to follow even after they had adopted Buddhism.

As Petech (*ibid.* p.653) says, confusion in dating incidents in the period of the Yar.lung dynasty derives from the fact that these dates are given according to the calendrical system of the twelve year cycle. It is probable that the year of one of the *kheng.log-s* (given as an ox year) was originally recorded only by its animal name as was customary before the *rab.byung* system was introduced in 1027. This is confirmed by *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, which does not say more than that one of the *kheng.log-s* broke out in an ox year<sup>929</sup>. Other authors of later times have added one of the five elements in order to date the event with better accuracy according to the sixty-year cycle. From Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan or his source onwards, historiographers assessed the year of one of the rebellions to the earth ox year, which has to be dismissed for the reasons outlined above.

One has to look for a better appraisal of this ox year to establish conclusively the year in which this rebellion took place. Returning to the dates of dPal.'khor.btsan, with whom the *kheng.log-s* are associated, some indications support the chronology proposed in the *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*. Two points lead me to believe that the best dating of dPal.'khor.btsan's reign derives from *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*. *lDe'u Jo.sras* is the author who deals most extensively with the three *kheng.log-s*, thus providing the best insight into the events of that period. Accounts of the *kheng.log-s*, their protagonists and the reasons for their occurrence are more detailed in *lDe'u Jo.sras* than in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*, the only other source to deal satisfactorily with the revolts (Nyang.ral's account is succinct, while dPa'.bo's work on the *kheng.log* has the air of having been based on the source used by the two *lDe'u chos.'byung-s*).

The second point is more precise. The only other source I have found providing external evidence to date one of the *kheng.log-s* is a short *gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar* (in Padma

(928) *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.371 lines 2-3): "Brag.gzung lha.lod dang/ Cang A.pos blon.po byas/ lo.gsum bskyangs.nas yab.mes.kyi bang.so.la thigs.tshags byas.nas wa btsugs.so", "Brag.gzung lha.lod and Cang A.po were the ministers. Having guarded [dPal.'khor.btsan's throne] for three years, they repaired the leaking roofs of the ancestors' tombs by installing a gutter". Is this an indication that the inner chambers had been opened and therefore that the tombs had been profaned during the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan?

(929) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.142 line 21-p.143 line 1): "rGyal.khrims rmang.nas (p.143) zhi/ glang lo.la kheng.log byung".

'phrin.las, *bKa'.ma mdo.dbang.gi bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.160-176). gNubs.chen was witness and a victim of the *kheng.log*-s, a fact confirmed by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*<sup>930</sup>. This biography contains a narrative of events related to the revolts, correctly numbered as three, for the incidents which are dealt with took place during the rebellion defined as the "intermediate *kheng.log*", corresponding to those of the two *lDe'u chos.'byung*-s. In one passage, gNubs.chen is made to narrate his vicissitudes during the same intermediate *kheng.log* (that of dBu.ru) when he was sixty-one in a wood rat year<sup>931</sup>.

There is a major chronological problem regarding gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes' dates. On the whole, Tibetan authors resolved it by attributing an exceptionally long life to him. gNubs.chen was obviously born in the wood rat year of the previous *rab.byung* to be sixty-one in the following wood rat year, when the second *kheng.log* broke out. The literature, including this biography, makes him a contemporary of Guru Padma and Khri.srong lde.btsan<sup>932</sup>. This is a pious fabrication to increase his prestige. Were he to have been born

(930) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.447 lines 8-15: "rje.la khengs.log.pa'i 'khrug.pa byung ste/ dang.po Khams su byung/ de.nas Bod 'bar mChims su byung ste/ Dar.rje dPal.gyi grags.pa Khams su bros/ de.nas dBu.ru/ g.Yo.ru/ g.Yas.ru/ Ru.lag dang gsum.du byung/ de.nas dBu.ru'i khengs.log byung/ de'i dus.su sNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes la sras.drug yod.pa.las bzhi khengs.log.gis bkrongs/ gcig zla.yar/ gcig khrel.med.du shor/ de'i dus.su sNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes.kyis sprang.por brdzus.nas Bal.yul du bla.ma rnam.s la mjal 'gro dgongs", "It happened that the rebellion of the petty lords created disarray. It first took place in Khams. Then it happened [to spread] as far as ('bar sic for bar) Bod, in mChims. Dar.rje dPal.gyi grags.pa fled to Khams. Then [it took place] in dBu.ru, g.Yo.ru, g.Yas.ru and Ru.lag, these three (sic). Then, the *khengs.log* of dBu.ru took place. At that time, four of the six sons of sNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes were killed in the *khengs.log*. One died naturally, while one was shamefully useless. At that time, sNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes planned to go to see the *bla.ma*-s in Bal.yul disguised as a beggar").

(931) Padma 'phrin.las, *gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar* (in *bKa'.ma mdo.dbang.gi bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.168 lines 2-3): "De.nas drug.bcu rtsa.gcig shing.pho.byi.ba'i lo/ bdag.gi skeg.la babs.nas kheng.log bar.pa byung/ sGrags su ma.chags gNubs.yul rong.du bros/ bzhes dang/ der yang ma.chags sNye.mo Bye.mkhar bzung/ zhes gsungs", "[gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes] recounted: "Then, when I was sixty-one in the wood male rat year, as the sKeg [constellation, which is unfortunate] for me, befell, the intermediate *kheng.log* took place. I could not stay at sGrags [any longer and] fled to gNubs.yul rong". He added: "I could not stay there either, [therefore I went to] occupy sNye.mo Bye.mkhar".

(932) Padma 'phrin.las, *gNubs Sangs.rgyas ye.shes rnam.thar* (in *bKa'.ma mdo.dbang.gi bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.173 lines 3-4): "gNubs.kyi ban.chung Sangs.rgyas ngas/ lo ni brgya dang sum.cu lon/ zhes gsungs.pa btsan.par 'dug cing/ rgyu.mtshan mnga'.bdag Khri.srong.gi dus.nas dPal.'khor.btsan.gyi bar.du bzugs.pa'i lo.rgyus snang", "Having said: "I Sangs.rgyas, the humble monk of gNubs, had lived for [the last] hundred and thirty years", [this statement] stands as authoritative. This is because in the historiographies it is found that he lived from the times of Khri.srong [lde.btsan] to those of dPal.'khor.btsan". bSod.nams don.grub sNga.'gyur rnying.ma'i brjod.pa goes to the extent of attributing the improbable dates 770-883 to him (p.79 line 22-p.80 line 2: "gNubs.chen 'di mi.yul.du lo 113 bzugs/ chu.stag lo spyi.lo 883 (p.80) lor rang.bzhin rdzogs.pa chen.po'i lam.las lhun.grub 'od.kyi phung.por mya.ngan 'das.so"). S.Karmay, *The Great Perfection (rDzogs.chen)* (p.100) holds that gNubs.chen lived in the 10th century, while Ruegg, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective* (p.66 n.129) limits himself to saying that gNubs.chen is reputed to have lived in the time of Padmasambhava.



in a wood rat year during the 8th century to be contemporary with Guru Padma, he could have not been sixty-one in the wood rat year of the second *kheng.log*, as this took place during dPal.'khor.btsan's reign. Hence, he was born in wood rat 844, and, when he was sixty-one in wood rat 904, the second *kheng.log* broke out.

In order for it to have occurred during dPal.'khor.btsan's reign, the only acceptable dates for the latter's rule are those found in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*. It proposes the dates 840-893 for 'Od.srung's life. All sources agree that dPal.'khor.btsan ascended the throne on his father's death at the age of thirteen, thus in 893 according to *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*, which gives 881 as the year of his birth. Again, sources agree that he ruled for eighteen years, from 893 to 910 in lDe'u Jo.sras' view, and that he was then assassinated<sup>933</sup>. Thus the second *kheng.log* of 904 falls within the set of dates proposed by *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*. The *kheng.log* that broke out in an ox year according to this *chos.'byung* dates to 905, and is the rebellion that erupted in gTsang leading to dPal.'khor.btsan's loss of its throne, thereafter guarded for three years by his ministers 'Bro Brag.gzung lha.lod and Cang A.po (*mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* p.371 lines 2-3; *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* p.143 line 8; and above n.270, 284 and 928).

The dates given by the Sa.skya.pa authors are too late to accommodate the second *kheng.log* in 904 (dPal.'khor.btsan performed funerary rites for his father 'Od.srung at Grom.pa lHa.rtse in 905 according to bSod.nams rtse.mo)<sup>934</sup>. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* proposes the years 905-922 for dPal.'khor.btsan's reign, which are also too late for the second *kheng.log* to have taken place while he was on the throne, and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* the faulty dates 881-898, which are too early.

Finally, *lDe'u Jo.sras* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung*-s prove to be especially enlightening regarding Nyi.ma.mgon's departure to West Tibet. The first text says that

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(933) Given this general agreement, the entire chronology of dPal.'khor.btsan proposed by dPa'.bo (he ruled for eleven years starting from when he was twenty-one) is a notable deviation.

(934) *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* (p.345,1 line 5): "Shing.mo.glang.gi lo.la gTsang dang g.Yon.ru'i btsad.po khri dPal.'khor.btsan gTsang Grom.pa lHa.rtse na bzhugs nas yab.kyi mdad mdzad.pa'i dus.su brtsis na/ lo sum.stong sum.cu rtsa.brgyad lon.no", "In the wood female ox year (905), when the king of gTsang and g.Yon.ru khri dPal.'khor.btsan, while residing at Grom.pa lHa.rtse, performed the funerary rites of his father, the calculation is that [until this event] 3038 years elapsed [from Buddha *nirvana*]". The entry for the year 905 in the *bstan.rtsis* of *Chos.la 'jug.pa'i sgo* is in accordance with the "long" chronology. This applies to the dates of 'Od.srung, while dPal.'khor.btsan's reign is unassessed by bSod.nams rtse.mo. van der Kuijp ("Dating the Two lDe'u Chronicles" p.474-475 note 11) misunderstands this entry in bSod.nams rtse.mo's *bstan.rtsis*, for he reads it as if dPal.'khor.btsan made the calculation concerning 905. It remains to be ascertained whether bSod.nams rtse.mo was responsible for this dating or whether he adopted the "long" chronology for 'Od.srung and dPal.'khor.btsan's lives from another author belonging to the Sa.skya.pa tradition. In fact, he and his brother rje.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan are the first Sa.skya.pa-s to make use of it and one of them must have introduced the "long" chronology into the sect's literature.

dPal.'khor.btsan's two sons escaped to gTsang at the time of one of the *kheng.log*-s and that Nyi.ma.mgon went on to Pu.hrang. The second text says that, at the time of this *kheng.log*, Kra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal left for gTsang, while Nyi.ma.mgon fled to sTod<sup>935</sup>.

*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* states that, on his way to sTod, Nyi.ma.mgon founded Ra.la (i.e. Re.la) mKhar.dmar in a horse year and rTse.sho rgya.ri in a sheep year<sup>936</sup>. This is absolute evidence for the validity of the treatment in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* of dPal.'khor.btsan's dates and events in his life relevant to the chronological assessment of the foundation of Nyi.ma.mgon's kingdom.

The only horse year after 904 occurring during the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan is 910. This horse year mentioned in *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* cannot be any other, for the third *kheng.log*, which began in 905 and manifestly lasted until 910, since it caused Nyi.ma.mgon's departure to West Tibet in that year, would otherwise have occurred after the reign of dPal.'khor.btsan. The horse year 910 is the year of dPal.'khor.btsan's death according to the chronology of *lDe'u Jo.sras*, showing that the third *kheng.log* was fatal to him. Collating these statements, it follows that Nyi.ma.mgon went to sTod following his father's assassination. In the following year, being the sheep year 911, Nyi.ma.mgon built rTse.sho rgya.ri, the next step of his establishment of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom. Thus Nyi.ma.mgon was not in Pu.hrang before 912 or thereabouts, the *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom.

*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* has a different way of assessing the historical events affecting the fate of dPal.'khor.btsan's sons after their father's death: "Nyi.ma.mgon was the son of his (dPal.'khor.btsan's) queen Tshe.spong.bza'. He stayed in g.Yo.ru. Khri bKra.shis

(935) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.146 lines 5-8): "De.ltar mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.gyi sras che.ba khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon.gyi sras sTod.kyi mgon.gsum.gyi gdung.rabs ston te/ de.yang rje.yis kheng.log.pa'i 'khrug.pa byung.bas/ sras.gnyis gTsang du bzhud.pa las/ gcen.po khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon/ Pu.rangs su gshegs te mkhar Nyi.phug bya.ba brtsigs", "Similarly, the lineage of the sTod.gyi mgon.gsum, who were the sons of mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor's elder son sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon, is to be outlined as follows. Concerning this, the conflict [called] the *rje.yis kheng.log* ("the rebellion of the petty lords") having broken out, [dPal.'khor.btsan's] two sons escaped to gTsang [and] consequently the elder brother khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon fled to Pu.rangs, where he founded mkhar Nyi.phug"; *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.380 lines 15-17): "Kheng.log 'khrug.pa byung.bas sras.gcig gTsang du bzhud.de/ gcen.po khri Nyi.ma.mgon sPu.rang du Nyi.phug bya.ba brtsigs", "The *kheng.log* having broken out, one son left for gTsang, his elder brother khri Nyi.ma.mgon founded Nyi.phug in Pu.rang".

(936) *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.42 lines 1-4; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 7-8): "De.nas Ra.la'i rgyud du phebs/ rta lo.la Ra.la mkhar.dmar rtsigs/ lug.gi lo.la rTse.sho rgya.ri rtsigs". For a passage establishing the equivalence of Ra.la and Re.la see the account of Mi.la ras.pa's life in *Pad.ma.dkar.po chos.'byung* (p.368 lines 14-15), which states: "Ra.la'i phu Za.'og.phug tu bzhugs dus/ yul.de'i phyugs.rdzi rnams drung.du byung", "When he was staying at Za.'og.phug on the upper side of Ra.la (Ra.la'i *phu*), many shepherds came to see him". *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.93 line 16) also spells it Ra.la when introducing the relationship of the Gung.thang king mGon.po.lde (active in the first and second quarter of the 13th century) with btsun.ma Byang.chub.dren, who was from this locality.

brtsegs.pa.dpal was the son of his junior queen 'Bal.bza' 'Phan.rgyal. He stayed in U.ru (sic). As most of the power was taken by the Yum.brtan's family, the two brothers escaped by stages towards mNga'.ris.stod"<sup>937</sup>.

Therefore *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* makes dPal.'khor.btsan's sons to occupy the territories held by their father even after his death. The term "by stages" (*rim.pa*) that *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* uses for the territorial losses of the two brothers does not conform well to the evidence of the two *lDe'u* texts. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* confuses Nyi.ma.mgon and bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal with 'Od.srung and Yum.brtan, who were born in g.Yo.ru and dBu.ru respectively<sup>938</sup>. However, it is still interesting that Nyi.ma.mgon is assigned g.Yo.ru, the troubled land where the revolt of the gNyags clan caused dPal.'khor.btsan's death at the hands of the sTag.rtse gNyags<sup>939</sup>. The hostility the local clan had against dPal.'khor.btsan

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(937) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.215 lines 9-14): "De'i btsun.mo/ Tshe.spong.bza' g.Yo.ru ru bzhag.pa'i sras sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon/ chun.ma/ 'Bal.bza' 'Phan.rgyal U.rur bzhag.pa'i sras/ khri bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal.lo/ de.gnyis.kyi srid phal.che.pa/ Yum.brtan tshang.gis khyer.bas sku.mched de.gnyis rim.pas/ mNga'.ris.stod phyogs.la bros". The corruption U.ru (to be corrected to an obvious dBu.ru) creates a problem, for bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal controlled g.Yas.ru, a dominion of his father dPal.'khor.btsan. dPal.'khor.btsan's senior wife, who was the mother of his younger son sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon, is named sNa.nams.bza' Legs.btsun by Tshe.dbang nor.bu in *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po gdung.rabs* (p.70 lines 18-21), while the junior queen, who bore the elder son khri bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal, is named 'Chims.bza' bTsun.ne in the same text.

(938) This confusion in *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* extends to the designation of the mothers of Nyi.ma.mgon and khri bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal. Tshe.spongs.bza' g.Yor.mo yum.chen btsan.mo 'Phan was the mother of 'Od.srung and 'Bal.bza' 'Phan.rgyal of Yum.brtan according to *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.141 lines 6-7 and line 11 respectively), while they are called Yor.mo btsan.mo 'Phan and 'Phan.bza' 'Phan.rgyal in *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.369 lines 10, p.370 line 1 and p.369 line 14 respectively). The name of 'Od.srung's mother is confirmed by the authority of the same *Pelliot Tibétain 999* recording the donation at Tun.huang by 'Od.srungs and his mother named jo.mo btsan.po 'Phan (Spanien-Imaeda, *Choix des documents tibétains* tome II pl.308; Richardson "The Succession to Glang.dar.ma"; Petech, "The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom" p.651).

(939) This is the view expressed in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.142 line 21-p.143 line 2: "rGyal.khrims rmang.nas (p.143) zhig/ glang lo.la kheng.log byung/ mtha'i rgya.drug rgod.du shot/ lha.sras nyid sTag.rtse'i sNyags.kyis bskrong/ lha.sras mched.gnyis gTsang du bros/ dus.'khrug mtshang dar.nas gong.ma gongs.ma'i nongs.so", "The foundations of *rgyal.khrims* were demolished. The *kheng.log* took place in the ox year. [Subsequently] the rgya.drug of the borders, having rebelled, were lost. *lHa.sras* (dPal.'khor.btsan) was murdered by the sTag.rtse sNyags. The two *lha.sras* brothers (dPal.'khor.btsan's sons) escaped to gTsang. Since the core of the fight spread, the king (dPal.'khor.btsan) erred in [his] royal duties"). *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.371 lines 1-2) has a different assesment: "Lug.lo la Sham.po mchu.nag.gis bkrongs.so", "In the sheep year, Sham.po mchu.nag murdered him". Given that *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* does not indicate the member of the sTag.rtse gNyags clan who assassinated dPal.'khor.btsan, it cannot be ruled out that Sham.po mchu.nag was his name, unless the sentence in *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* is corrupt and Sham.po mchu.nag is the place where he was murdered according to this text. Elsewhere *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* records the name of the clan responsible for his murder (p.376 lines 12-14): "mNga'.bdag dPal.'khor sTag.rtse sNyags.kyis bkrongs/ rgyu.mtshan sNyags.phyed gTsang du bshug.par byas.pa dang/ gTsang.gi 'Dre.phyed mar Yar.lungs su dbab.par byas.pas.so", "mNga'.bdag

was behind the summoning of Yum.brtan's successor Khri.lde mgon.btsan to rule in g.Yo.ru, which was a fief of dPal.'khor.btsan before he was assassinated by the sTag.rtse gNyags<sup>940</sup>. The attribution of dBu.ru to khri bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal is another mistake, since it was under the control of the Yum.brtan family. bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal received g.Yas.ru from his father, which is confirmed by the diffusion of his descendants in its various districts<sup>941</sup>, and nowhere in the sources is it stated that he fled to West Tibet.

Textual evidence does not allow one to evaluate which of the two extant narratives of Nyi.ma.mgon's journey to West Tibet is the more reliable. *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* and dPa'.bo's *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* record him going to sTod in the friendly company of the Cog.ro and sPa.tshab ministers, all the way to Bye.ma g.yung.drung at the border of Pu.hrang, while *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* holds that he was deported to the west by an escort of rebels<sup>942</sup>.

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dPal.'khor was murdered by the sTag.rtse sNyags-s. The reason was that he deported half of the sTag.rtse sNyags [clan] to gTsang and that he banished half of the 'Dre [clan] down to Yar.lungs". *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.215 lines 4-6) has: "Sum.cu rtsa.gsum.pa la/ sNyegs sTag.rtse.bas Yar.lungs Shor.por dkrongs.so", "When he was thirty-three, he (dPal.'khor.btsan) was assassinated by the people of the sNyegs sTag.rtse [clan] at Yar.lungs Shor.po".

(940) *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.143 lines 9-14): "rJe.'bangs thams.cad skyid.pa'i g.yu.rung zad.nas sdug.pa'i re.mongs.la bab te mnga'.bdag ni dPal.'khor/ jo.mo ni skyid.'khor/ bshos zhing lan.'khor zer.nas gleng skad/ der 'bangs rnam gros nas/ sras.gnyis gTsang nas spyan.drang ngam byas.pa la/ Yum.brtan rgyud.kyis thugs.gnag byas.kyi dogs.nas dBu.ru nas rje Khri.lde mgon.btsan spyan.drangs", "The happiness of the king and subjects, all of them, being exhausted, a time of sorrow came. It is said that the fortunes of this king dPal.'khor and the queens came to an end and a time of retribution [drew near]. [His authority] was disregarded. At that time, as the subjects discussed whether [it was convenient] to invite [dPal.'khor.btsan's] two sons from gTsang, since the Yum.brtan lineage suspected that wickedness [would continue], rje Khri.lde mgon.btsan was invited"; *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.371 lines 10-15): "rJe.'bangs thams.cad skyid.pa'i g.yung.drung zad.nas sdug.pa'i res.mos.la babs te/ mnga'.bdag.gi sras dPal.'khor/ jo.mo ni skyid.khrod dang bshos shing lan.'khor/ mtshan.nas grangs gleng skad/ de.nas 'bangs rnam gros byas nas/ sras.gcig gTsang nas spyan.drang ngam byas.pas/ Yum.brtan rgyud.kyis thugs.nag byas dogs.nas dBu.ru nas rje Khri.lde mgon.btsan spyan.drangs", "The happiness of the king and subjects, all of them, being exhausted, a time of sorrow came. It is said that the happiness of the king's son dPal.'khor and the queens came to an end and retribution [drew near]. The people were reviling their names. Then, as the subjects discussed whether [it was convenient] to invite one of [dPal.'khor.btsan's] sons from gTsang, since the Yum.brtan lineage suspected that wickedness [would continue], rje Khri.lde mgon.btsan was invited from dBu.ru".

(941) On the diffusion of brTsegs.pa.dpal's descendants in various districts of g.Yas.ru among other territories in Central Tibet see *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.457 lines 3-9), *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 line 17-p.152 line 6), *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.384 line 7-p.388 line 10), *Deb.ther dmar.po* (p.44 line 9-p.45 line 12), *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* (p.72 line 9-p.78 line 7), *mKhas.pa'i dga'.ston* (p.436 line 14-p.439 line 3) and many other works.

(942) The ministers accompanying Nyi.ma.mgon to Bye.ma.g.yung.drung (known to *Nyang.ral.chos.'byung* as Pa.tshab.Nyi.ma.rdo.rje and Cog.ro.Phag.sha.lha.legs, while *mKhas.pa'i.dga'.ston* has Pa.tshab.Rin.chen.sde and Cog.ro.Legs.sgra.lha.legs) are indicated as *zhang* in these sources. They thus belonged to the establishment of dPal.'khor.btsan. In fact, the Cog.ro clan was often associated with the Gu.ge.Pu.hrang royal family, as has been shown a few times in the present text. *La.dwags.rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.41 lines 15-19) says instead that Nyi.ma.mgon was banished to sTod and that the expulsion was effected by the rebels themselves, while no reference to such an expulsion is found in the works of Nyang.ral and dPa'.bo. See *Nyang.ral.chos.'byung* (p.457 lines 16-20): "Blon.po.gnyis.kyis.gTsang.Bye.ma.g.yung.drung.bar.du.bskyal.nas/ zhang.Pa.tshab.Nyi.ma.rdo.rje.yis.dre'u.gcig.phul/ Cog.ro.Phag.sha.lha.legs.kyis.spyang.khu'i.thul.pa.gcig.phul/ rje.khri.sKyid.lde.Nyi.ma.mgon.gyi.zhal.nas/ ngas.Stod.phyogs'dir.rgyal.sa.zin.na.khyed.gnyis.la.bslang.rgyu.re.yod.do.gsungs.nas.so.sor.byon", "After the two ministers accompanied him as far as gTsang.Bye.ma.g.yung.drung, zhang.Pa.tshab.Nyi.ma.rdo.rje gave him a little mule. Cog.ro.Phag.sha.lha.legs gave him a coat made of wolf skin. rJe.khri.sKyid.lde.Nyi.ma.mgon said: "If I get hold of a kingdom here in sTod, I will ask the two of you to give me in marriage [a daughter] each". After saying so, they went their separate ways"; and *mKhas.pa'i.dga'.ston* (p.434 lines 14-17): "Nyi.ma.mgon.mNga'.ris.su.byon.pa.na/ blon.po.zhang.Pa.tshab.Rin.chen.sde.dang.Cog.ro.Legs.sgra.lha.legs.gnyis.kyis.Bye.ma.g.yung.drung.du.bskyal.nas.Pa.tshab.kyis.spyang.thul.gyi.na.bza'dang.Cog.ros.dre'u.gcig.phul.nas.ngus/ rjes.nga.mNga'.ris.su.rgyal.srid'dra.zin.na.khyed.gnyis.kyi.bu.mo.re.brdzang.par.zhu.zer.nas.byon", "When Nyi.ma.mgon went to mNga'.ris, blon.po.zhang.Pa.tshab.Rin.chen.sde and Cog.ro.Legs.sgra.lha.legs accompanied him as far as Bye.ma.g.yung.drung. Since Pa.tshab gave him a coat [made of] wolf [skin and] Cog.ro a mule, he wept. After saying: "I ask the two of you to send me a daughter each in marriage, if I take power in mNga'.ris", he went on". *La.dwags.rgyal.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.41 lines 15-19; Francke *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol.II, p.35 lines 4-6) says: "sKyid.lde.Nyi.ma.mgon.ni.Bod.khing.log.gi/ 'Bal.ma.Zug.btsan/ Khung.mo.Nyag.pa/ A.ka.badzra.gsum.gyis.gtso.byas.pa'i.rta.pa.brgya [S and L MMS. dPal.ma.Zug.gar/ Khyung.dPal.lDan.grub/ Me.nyag.pa.A.ka.badzra.gnyis.kyi.gtso.byas.pa'i.rta.pa.brgya] sTod.mNga'.ris.su.byon", "sKyid.lde.Nyi.ma.mgon went to sTod.mNga'.ris with 'Bal.ma.Zug.btsan, Khung.mo.Nyag.pa.A.ka.badzra, these three leaders of a hundred horsemen [S and L MMS. dPal.ma.Zug.gar, Khyung.dPal.lDan.grub and Me.nyag.pa.A.ka.badzra, these two leaders of a hundred horsemen], [who participated] in the *khing.log* (sic for *kheng.log*) of Tibet".

## ADDENDUM TWO

*Nyi.ma.mgon and Jo.jo rGod.lde*

In his *'Jam.dbyangs rin.chen rgyal.mtshan rnam.thar* (*bKa'.ma bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar*) Padma 'phrin.las includes a brief account of one royal scion named jo.jo rGod.lde. The passage says that jo.jo rGod.lde went to Gu.ge, conquered Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar, established his capital there, bound bdud Re.ti 'gong.yag, and Khyung.lung rDo.rje spyang.gcig.ma became his secret wife. He had three sons, of whom the middle one built sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung<sup>943</sup>. This account corresponds to sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon's deeds and family relation (he fathered three sons, the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum), apart from few idiosyncrasies such as the notion that his middle son (bKrashis.mgon) built Nyi.bzung. Jo.jo rGod.lde is therefore a name of the founder of the kingdom and dynasty of mNga'.ris skor.gsum.

Re.ti 'gong.yag is a *dregs.pa* deity, belonging to the *bdud* class (Nebesky-Vojkowitz, *Demons and Oracles of Tibet* p.274), while rDo.rje spyang.gcig.ma is likely to represent the local ethnic substratum with which Nyi.ma.mgon/jo.jo rGod.lde had to come to terms in order to take control of the centre of Zhang.zhung<sup>944</sup>. In *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus*, a

(943) Padma 'phrin.las, *'Jam.dbyangs rin.chen rgyal.mtshan rnam.thar* (in *bKa'.ma bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar* p.272 lines 5-6): "lDe.dgu las/ jo.jo rGod.lde Gu.ger byon/ Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar.gyi rgyal.sa btab/ bdud Re.ti 'gong.yag sogs btul/ Khyung.lung rDo.rje spyang.gcig.mas gsang.yum byas/ slar Glo.bo byon g.Yu.ri sngon.po'i rtser dgongs.pa mdzad/ sa.dpyad gzigs.nas Glo.bo Ma.thang stod.du rgyal.sa bzung/ rGod.lde la sras.gsum byung.ba'i bar.pas Bal.po dbang.du bsdus/ sPu.rang du sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung btab", "Jo.jo rGod.lde, who was among the nine *lDe*-s, went to Gu.ge. He established [his] capital at Khyung.lung dngul.mkhar. He subjugated bdud Re.ti 'gong.yag. Khyung.lung rDo.rje spyang.gcig.ma was his secret wife. He also went to Glo.bo [and] meditated on the top of g.Yu.ri sngon.po ("the blue mountain of turquoise"). After looking at the landscape [around g.Yu.ri sngon.po], he occupied the capital on the upper side of Glo.bo Ma.thang. The middle of the sons born to rGod.lde conquered Bal.po. He founded sku.mkhar Nyi.bzung in sPu.rang". These statements are of the utmost interest. Those pertaining to his taking over of Gu.ge and to his progeny leave little doubt as to their interpretation, although some of the claims are obscure or controversial. The notion that jo.jo rGod.lde was among the nine *lDe*-s is especially troublesome. It may either mean that he is alleged to be descended from the Yar.lung *lha.sras btsan.po*-s, who, however, are never numbered as nine, or that he belonged to a family of petty lords ruling in Tibet after its fragmentation into principalities, but I wish to drop the matter at this stage as there is no clue to suggest a more precise reading. The conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by his middle son is a controversial topic that exceeds the scope of the present work.

(944) Concerning Re.ti 'gong.yag, who may have to be considered a local protectress in mNga'.ris, Re.ti must not be corrected to Re.ma.ti. Such an interpretation has also to be dismissed in the light of the fact that Zhad.btsun Dar.ma rin.chen, while visiting mNga'.ris Pu.hrang, rediscovered the *Re.ti rang.byung rgyal.mo'i gsang.sgrub* in the period when Jo.bo.rje was in Tibet (*gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.thar* p.483 lines 6-p.484 line 1:

jo.mo sPyan.gcig.ma is indicated as the protectress of Zangs.dkar and its treasures who was subdued by Guru Padma<sup>945</sup>. The equivalence of the two goddesses indicates a common tribal substratum (evidently Zhang.zhung.pa) inhabiting Zhang.zhung *khri.sde* (the Khyung.lung area) and Zangs.dkar. Zangs.dkar and Zhang.zhung were populated by a common Zhang.zhung.pa ethnic stock prior to the two phases of Tibetanization of Zhang.zhung, the first involving Zangs.dkar sPyan.gcig.ma and taking place during the time of the Yar.lung dynasty (the association with Padmasambhava seems to testify to an intervention by Yar.lung during the reign of Khri.srong lde.btsan in the 8th century), the second involving Khyung.lung sPyan.gcig.ma and pertaining to the advent of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom according to Padma 'phrin.las.

After founding a castle in Ra.la/Re.la according to *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*, the first site occupied by Nyi.ma.mgon when he reached mNga'.ris skor.gsum, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* says, was to the north of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho<sup>946</sup>. *Nyang.ral* does not specify the name of the place, and therefore it is impossible to locate it with more precision on the basis of the available sources. The statement may be somewhat legendary, since Buddhist and Hindu mythology associate 'Dzam.bu'i.shing with Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho. An account of the cutting down of a tree to the north of the lake, symbolizing the conversion of local deities, in order to build Kha.char is a possible analogy for Nyi.ma.mgon's case<sup>947</sup>. His occupation of the area to the north of Ma.pham.mtsho may represent control of local peoples.

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"sKabs.'di tsam.du mNga'.ris (p.484) Pu.hrang du byon.pa'i Zhad.btsun Dar.ma rin.chen.gyis Re.ti rang.byung rgyal.mo'i gsang.sgrub.kyi skor sphyan.drangs"). This work became the protector text of the Karma.pa-s from Dus.gsum mkhyen.pa onwards.

(945) *Zangs.dkar chags.tshul lo.rgyus* (Francke ed. p.152 line 7-p.153 line 1): "De'i dkor.bdag.tu jo.mo sPyan.gcig.ma/ Sa.ni tshog dang bya rnams dur.shing (p.153) dang dur.bya ru lung.bstan", "He (Guru Padma) prophesied that jo.mo sPyan.gcig.ma would be the protectress of the treasures of these [Zangs.dkar lands and] that the surroundings of Sa.ni and its birds would be the cemetery and the cemetery birds".

(946) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.457 line 20): "mtsho Ma.pham.gyi byang.du bzugs".

(947) Sog.bzlog.pa tells another version of the mythical circumstances leading to the foundation of Kha.char (spelled Kha.pyar in the text). He says (*Nges.don 'brug.sgra* p.471 line 5-p.472 line 2): "Rang.gi yab lha.bla.mas Pu.hrang Kha.phyar.gyi lha.khang bzhengs dus/ mtsho Ma.dros.pa'i byang.ngos na/ shugs.pa zheng.du 'dom.brgyad yod.pa cig bcad.pas shing.de.las krag zag/ byang.phyogs.nas sdom g.yag.tsam gcig byung/ nub.phyogs.na sbal.pa phyar.ba.tsam/ shar.nas (p.472) sdig.pa glang.tsam/ lho.nas sbrul mdung.tsam gcig byung.ba dang/ mi thams.cad ha.las/ de.rnams kyang lha.'dre'i zhud yin.pas thon.pa dang yal song/ shing gcod.pa'i mi rnams mdzes zin.pas/ lha.bla.mas pandi.ta.la 'bul.ba gser mang.po bskur.nas zhur btang/ Kha.chen nas byung.ba'i Phyang.na rdo.rje'i chos.skor yin", "When our ancestor lha.bla.ma was building Kha.phyar lha.khang, he felled a juniper tree eight 'dom-s [in height] at the northern extremity of mtsho Ma.dros.pa. When the tree was cut, it dripped blood. From its northern side a spider as big as a *g.yag* appeared. From the western side a frog as big as a flag, from the eastern [side] a scorpion as big as an ox, from the southern [side] a snake as big as a spear appeared and all the people were surprised. These signs, given by the offended *lha.'dre-s*,

The account of jo.jo rGod.lde's taking of Khyung.lung as his capital might be a transference of the earlier conquest by Srong.btsan sgam.po to the later accomplished by Nyi.ma.mgon, but evidence concerning Nyi.ma.mgon's campaigns in sTod provided by Nyang.ral, the author having the most extensive treatment of this king, rules out such a possibility.

The account in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* identifies three phases of Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest of mNga'.ris skor.gsum<sup>948</sup>. The first phase pertains to the peaceful taking over of Pu.hrang, which may confirm the *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* account of Nyi.ma.mgon's marriage with 'Khor.skyong, a 'Bro of Pu.hrang (Francke ed. p.35 lines 10-11; see above p.171 and n.233). Nyi.ma.mgon established trade links which ended a chronic shortage of food in Pu.hrang. This is surprising, given that Pu.hrang.smad, with Nub.ra and, to a lesser extent, La.dwags, is the greenest and most fertile land of sTod. A food shortage must have occurred in Pu.hrang.stod, a desolate land. Thus the introduction of trade links also was crucial to the establishment of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom. The importance given to trade is a persistent trait of West Tibetan culture, something I have attempted to emphasize on a few occasions in the present work.

The second phase was the taking over of Gu.ge after the despatch of troops to that land. The third phase, i.e. Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest of Mar.yul, followed that of Gu.ge. Control of Pu.hrang, where Nyi.ma.mgon settled down peacefully with the help of the 'Bro-s, led to the conquest of Gu.ge and Mar.yul. However, the influence of 'Bro-s did not

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disappeared. People caught leprosy because the tree had been cut down. lHa.bla.ma sent a request to *pandi.ta* with an offer of a great quantity of gold. The cycle of *Phyag.na rdo.rje* teachings [under discussion] is that which came from Kha.che [at that time]". It is noteworthy that while the tree of the Indian Buddhist cosmogonies, which place the *axis mundi* at Ti.se and the lakes, is canonically sited in the centre of Ma.pham, the tree of Sog.bzlog.pa is to the north of the lake. Felling the tree in Sog.bzlog.pa's account seems to signify an act of suppression or conversion of earlier traditions. The tree being juniper may also be symbolic. The offending of the *lha.'dre-s* testifies to the subversion of the local order represented by them. In fact, the tree bled and malignant animals appeared in the four directions. From a lay-political viewpoint, although the taking over of Pu.hrang by Nyi.ma.mgon is described by *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* in amicable terms (especially his good relations with the 'Bro-s of Pu.hrang.smad) while the subsequent conquests of Gu.ge and Mar.yul were achieved by military campaigns, Nyi.ma.mgon's settling down to the north of Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho may imply the suppression of existing local powers in Pu.hrang.stod.

(948) *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p.458 lines 8-14): "Dang.po sPu.rang du byon.nas tshong mang.po mdzad/ mi rnams zas.kyis brid/ thams.cad dad.par byas.nas khirms.bcas dbang.du 'dus.pa dang/ dmag.bshams Gu.ge la brgyab/ mnga'.og.tu bcug/ de.nas Mar.yul du byon/ rgyal.khirms bcas nyes.pa shor.ba rnams la nyes.pa blangs/ mgo bregs.nas de.ltar sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum rgyal.khirms gser.gyi gnya'.shing 'dra.bas mnan", "First, as he went to sPu.rang, he established many trade links. [In this way], he ended shortage of food. Since everybody trusted him, he brought them under his rule. Having assembled troops, he invaded Gu.ge [and] brought it under his control. Then he proceeded to Mar.yul. Punishments were inflicted on those who had broken the law he had established. Heads were cut off. In this way, sTod mNga'.ris skor.gsum was brought under [his] *rgyal.khirms* ("royal law"), which is like a golden yoke".



extend to Gu.ge and Mar.yul, for he had to take these lands by means of military campaigns. The presence of the 'Bro clan in Mar.yul, documented by inscriptions in the territory (see above p.168 and n.231), must thus have been the result of Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest. The sequence of the latter two phases recalls the similar pattern of advance towards the Indo-Iranic borderlands (Zhang.zhung, sBal.ti, Bru.zha) of the Yar.lung dynasty, when the conquest of Zhang.zhung was the key to the Hindukush. In Nyi.ma.mgon's case, establishing himself in Gu.ge made his campaign against Mar.yul strategically possible. The conquest of Mar.yul was definitely far more bloody. Heavy punishments were meted out, and heads rolled. The sequence of taking control of the *skor.gsum* of mNga'.ris saw a progressive increase in intensity, from peaceful in Pu.hrang and military in Gu.ge to harsh in Mar.yul.

The way the conquests were achieved sheds light on the political situation in those three lands before the advent of Nyi.ma.mgon. Pu.hrang was ruled by the loyal 'Bro-s, allies of Nyi.ma.mgon's father. Support for Nyi.ma.mgon was possibly arranged before he left gTsang. Gu.ge had suffered long periods of Yar.lung.pa domination, but local identity was still not completely eroded in the 10th century. Finally, Mar.yul was populated by fierce, warlike and loosely organized tribes traditionally hostile to the Central Tibetans<sup>949</sup>. This terse description of the three phases of Nyi.ma.mgon's conquest shows that jo.jo rGod.lde's subjugation of bdud Re.ti and rDo.rje spyang.gsig.ma's becoming his secret consort, which symbolize the establishment of Nyi.ma.mgon's rule in Khyung.lung, took place during the second phase.

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(949) The account in *dPe.thub chags.rabs* (p.20 lines 10-12) (see above p.324 and n.353 and 510), according to which the king of La.dwags.stod, rGya.pa jo, gave the area of Shel and Khrig.se to Nyi.ma.mgon in gratitude for the help provided by the latter to defeat unspecified Hor invaders of La.dwags, is one example of the widespread custom of claiming a Yar.lung.pa ancestry for local lords after an alleged descendant of this dynasty had been invited to rule. In this way the majesty of the Yar.lung kings was also kept alive. This episode in *dPe.thub chags.rabs* concerning rGya.pa jo and Nyi.ma.mgon is a dramatically different from the assessment of the latter's taking of La.dwags.stod in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung*, unless La.dwags.smad was conquered while La.dwags.stod was taken through alliance.

## ADDENDUM THREE

*The obscure hundred years in the history of Gu.ge*

The silence of the sources on the events of some one hundred years in Gu.ge (1277-1372) is almost complete, as if the land had disappeared from Tibetan history in that period. Western authors dealing with West Tibet such as Tucci and Petech, when analysing the history of Mongol sovereignty in Tibet, strangely do not really include mNga'.ris skor.gsum among the Mongol/Sa.kya.pa dominions, preferring to speak about a loose dependence of mNga'.ris skor.gsum on the Mōngols. Tucci believes that mNga'.ris was practically independent and that the Mongols exercised only nominal control (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.687a-688b n.111 and 702a n.792), followed in this by Petech, who says that Sa.skya.pa authority in West Tibet was largely theoretical ("Relations with the Mongols" p.190), despite the fact that a Mongol census was carried out in West Tibet in the same way as in any other land under the Hor-s. Mongol sovereignty over sTod is proved by the evidence I have adduced above (p.418), and also by the information concerning the 'jams.mo system found in *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*, which also describes in detail the two Mongol censuses of Tibet in 1268 and 1287 (Petech, "The Mongol Census in Tibet" p.233-238). The network of postal relays ('jams.mo) and censuses were the two pillars of the Mongol organization in Tibet. Locations and details of the 'jams.mo-s of mNga'.ris skor.gsum are included by dPal.'byor bzang.po in his *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*, which confirm that Pu.hrang and Gu.ge (both lHo.stod.smad and Byang.ngos) were under the control of Sa.skya, and therefore under Mongol sovereignty<sup>950</sup>.

(950) A few passages (p.302 lines 7-15) from the *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* section on the 'jams.mo system (p.302 line 7-p.304 line 8) read: "'Jams.chen 'dzin.lugs 'di yin.no/ gTsang.phyogs mi.sde mnga'.ris dang bcas.pas/ 'jams.chen bzhi 'dzin 'jams.re mgo brgya/ de.la lHo.Byang mNga'.ris dang bcas.pas/ dpal.lDan Sa.skyar 'jams.chen gcig dang ni/ lHo.pas Mar.la.thang du 'jams.chung gcig/ mnga'.ris mi.sdes Zhab.khar 'jams.chung dang Gyam.rings 'jams.chung sPong.len dmag.'jams 'dzin/ Ma.phang 'jams.chung Pu.rangs.pas 'dzin cing/ Gu.ge lHo.Byang gnyis.kyi 'jams.chung gcig/ Me.tog Se.ru 'dzin yin.no shes.lDan.dag", "The system of being in charge of the 'jams.chen ("main postal relays") is as follows. All communities of men in the kingdom in the direction of gTsang are in charge of four main postal relays, each 'jams ("relay") consisting of one hundred men. Among these ['jams.chen-s] are [those of] lHo.Byang and mNga'.ris, and one 'jams.chen at dPal.lDan Sa.skya. The lHo.pa-s are in charge of the 'jam.chung ("sub-relay") at Mar.la.thang. The communities of men of the kingdom [in the direction of gTsang] are in charge of the Zhab.khar 'jams.chung, Gyam.rings 'jams.chung and sPong.len dmag.'jams. The Pu.rangs.pa-s are in charge of the Ma.phang 'jams.chung and there is one 'jams.chung of Gu.ge lHo.Byang, these two, [whose people] are in charge of it at Me.tog Se.ru. This is the information [on them]". It is not clear under which 'jams.chen the two 'jam.chung-s of Gu.ge Pu.hrang were. The text suggests that the sub-relays at Ma.phang and Me.tog Se.ru (a place in Gu.ge that I have not encountered in other sources) were subordinate to the 'jams.chen-s of gTsang in the same way as presumably the four

After the establishment of the Yuan dynasty, the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s lost mNga'.ris skor.gsum, which they had received from the Mongol emperors ruling before the Yuan dynasty<sup>951</sup>. This loss and its circumstances are discussed in *Si.tu bka'.chems* written by ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan and included in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru. Si.tu bka'.chems* provides irrefutable evidence that mNga'.ris skor.gsum was taken over by Sa.skya from the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, who were associated with the Phag.mo gru.pa-s.

I believe that the Sa.skya.pa-s conceived and put into practice a design to take West Tibet from the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s, since the 'Bri.gung.pa-s were particularly obnoxious foes. They were those who controlled sTod, where the 'Bri.gung.pa-s' Ya.rtse allies had caused great hardship to Sa.skya's Gung.thang protegés during the first Ya.rtse-Gung.thang war. Taking sTod from the 'Bri.gung.pa-s not only meant weakening them but also their aggressive local allies. This is sufficient reason for the Sa.skya.pa-s to have been eager to take sTod. A further reason was that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s had strengthened ties with the sTod.Hor-s, being thus instrumental in bringing the sTod.Hor-s, detested by the Yuan, the Sa.skya.pa-s' overlords, to intervene in Tibetan politics.

Ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan writes: "From mNga'.ris Ko.ron.mdo all the way to sPo.rig la.rtsa, [these West Tibetan territories] were included [among our possessions] by the authority of Mon.'gor rgyal.po's 'ja'.sa. As the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* was appointed as *dpon*, we (i.e. the Phag.gru-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s) are their owners. When bla.ma 'Phags.pa went to Tibet (in 1276), *dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po*, the *dpon* and his officers, [told 'Phags.pa], when the late *gong.ma* ('Phags.pa) was in Sa.skya: "You have some acquaintances of yours who control mNga'.ris. We must exchange Yar.'brog sNa.dkar.rtse [with mNga'.ris]". As they spoke so, ['Phags.pa retorted]: "I do not consider this proposal feasible, but I will send this request down [to the Phag.mo gru.pa-s]". As the [same] request

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*'jams.chung-s* of the Mang.yul Gung.thang-La.stod lHo.Byang area (those of Mar.la.thang, Zhab.khar, Gyam.rings and sPong.len, which was a military relay (*dmag.'jams*)), were under the four main postal relays at Sa.skya and in [La.stod] lHo.Byang and mNga'.ris[.smad] (i.e. Mang.yul Gung.thang).

(951) Did Pi.ti share the same fate as Gu.ge Pu.hrang, being annexed to the Sa.skya.pa dominions? Not much is known. I wish to introduce a brief resumé of its history. Most sources say that Pi.ti was under lDe.gtsug.mgon after the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom was founded. At his death, it passed under Gu.ge Pu.hrang either during the reign of bKra.shis.mgon or Ye.shes.'od. That it was under the control of Gu.ge is shown by the fact that Ye.shes.'od built Ta.po there in 996 (Ta.po skor.khang "long inscription" line 1; see above n.401). After him, it was under 'Od.lde (who is called Shakya thub.pa in *Zangs.dkar chags.sshul lo.rgyus*) and then under Byang.chub.'od, who renovated Ta.po in 1041 (Ta.po skor.khang "long inscription" line 1). It is unclear but probable that it was ruled by rTse.lde. With the division of Gu.ge into two kingdoms it is likely that it was under Byang.ngos for some time. Following the reunification of Gu.ge, Grags.pa.lde possibly ruled it before Sa.skya took control of mNga'.ris skor.gsum. It cannot be ruled out that afterwards it went its own way for an unspecified period.

During the Sa.skya.pa/Yuan period, Khu.nu enjoyed separate status, for 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus (f.32a lines 3-6; see below n.960) says that its kings supported the 'Bri.gung.pa-s.

had been [previously] addressed to bla.ma rGyal.ba rin.po.che and dpon rDo.rje.dpal, they had [previously] said: “sNa.dkar.rtse used to belong to the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. As it happened that the Sa.skya.pa-s took it away from them, the 'Bri.gung.pa-s were not happy. We also have to say that the mNga'.ris.pa-s are our own community, as [they are our own] disciples bound to us by *yon.mchod*. Owing to these considerations, we are not going to relinquish it”. This reply referring to the [previous] refusal given [by 'Phags.pa], after the [new] attempted exchange came to nothing, dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po incited the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*'s *gnyer.pa* (“keeper”), called 'Dam.pa Rin.tshul, the eighteen year-old monk who had opted for lay life, to poison him. The *dpa'.shi* was killed. [Rin.tshul] was given Mal.gro dPe.tshal in reward. On the occasion of the head *bla.ma*'s death, he (Rin.tshul) [and] his children were [still] residing there. Elders saw him accompanying the body of the deceased. After *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*' death, mNga'.ris *khri.skor* passed under the Sa.skya.pa-s. Until the present time it has not been brought [again] under [Phag.mo gru.pa and 'Bri.gung.pa] control”<sup>952</sup>.

A *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*, to whom ample reference is made in this episode, was first appointed in 1240 by the Mongol emperor O.go.ta as the 'Bri.gung.pa/Phag.mo gru.pa plenipotentiary of mNga'.ris skor.gsum (*bstan.rtsis* appended to *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.447 line 21-p.448 line 10) (see above p.418 and n.694). The office was confirmed by Mon.gor rgyal.po in 1250 (*ibid.* p.449 lines 3-17; see above p.419 and n.698), which is the appointment mentioned by Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan, when he introduces the Kun.dga' bzang.po-*gnam.sa dpa'.shi* incident.

At first glance, the episode might appear to have occurred during the years of 'Phags.pa's first return to Tibet (1265-1267), for 'Phags.pa could not have interacted with both Phag.gru rGyal.ba rin.po.che (1203-1267, in office 1236-1267) and rDo.rje.dpal (d.1266) at the time of his second return to Tibet<sup>953</sup>. The outline of the episode indicates

(952) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.113 line 11-p.114 line 8): “mNga'.ris Ko.ron.mdo yar.bcad/ sPo.rig la.rtsa mar.bcad zer.ba Mon.'gor rgyal.po'i 'ja.sa'i nang tshud.pa/ gnam.sa dpa'.shi dpon.la bskos nas/ rang.re bdag.pa/ bla.ma 'Phags.pa Bod du byon.pa'i dus.su/ dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po dang/ dpon.slob.kyis/ sku.gshegs gong.ma Sa.skya na bzhugs.pa la/ khyed shes.pa'i mi ste mNga'.ris la yod.pa la/ Yar.'brog sNa.dkar.rtse brje.dgos gsungs 'dug.pas/ nged.kyis thag mi.chod mar zhu.ba btong zhus nas/ bla.ma rGyal.ba rin.po.che dang/ dpon rDo.rje.dpal la zhu.ba btang.bas/ sNa.dkar.rtse khri.skor/ 'Bri.khung.pa'i yin.pa Sa.skya.pas blangs.par song.bas/ 'Bri.khung.pa mi.dgar yin.pas blos mi.thongs/ mi.brje gsung.ba'i lan.bskur.nas ma.brjes(p.114).pa'i don la/ dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.pos/ gnam.sa dpa'.shi'i gnyer.pa 'Dam.pa Rin.tshul zer.ba/ mi.chos 'dam.pa yin.pa/ ban.dhe bco.brgyad.pa yin.pa gcig yod 'dug.pa.la dug gtong.du bcug nas/ gnam.sa dpa'.shi bsad 'dug/ de'i rngan.pa la Mal.gro dPe.tshal byin 'dug.pa/ zhi.bar gshegs.pas bla.dpon sBrag.pa'i dus.su/ kho bu.smad dang bcas.pa/ dPe.tshal na 'dug.pa/ zhi.bar gshegs.pa'i phyag.phyi bgres.pa rnams.kyis mthong 'dug/ gnam.sa dpa'.shi 'das rting/ mNga'.ris khri.skor Sa.skya.pas bdag byas.nas da.lta bar.du kha ma.tshud.pa 'di yin”.

(953) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.111 lines 3-4): “sPyan.snga rin.po.che'i dbon.po/ rGyal.ba rin.po.ches gdan.sa 'dir bla.ma dgun.lo sum.cu so.bzhir smos.pa zhig mdzad 'dug”, “sPyan.snga rin.po.che's

that an earlier request had been made by the Sa.skya.pa-s to rGyal.ba rin.po.che and rDo.rje.dpal at the time of 'Phags.pa's first return to Central Tibet (1265-167), which had been refused by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.mo gru.pa-s<sup>954</sup>. In fact, the role played by dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po in these incidents place them, instead, during 'Phags.pa's second visit (1276-1280). The plan to swap mNga'.ris skor.gsum with sNa.dkar.rtse, a district that had already been taken from the 'Bri.gung.pa-s by the Sa.skya.pa-s, and the assassination of the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* were organized by Kun.dga' bzang.po when he was *dpon.chen*, as the text declares. Kun.dga' bzang.po was Sa.skya *dpon.chen* for six years from 1275 to 1280, when he was put to death by Sang.gha, following the sudden demise of 'Phags.pa, in which he probably had a conspicuous part<sup>955</sup>. This passage in *Si.tu bka'.chems*

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nephew rGyal.ba rin.po.che (1203-1267) is said to have become *gdan.sa* when he was thirty-four (1236)". For a resumé of his life, see *inter alia* *Padma dkar.po chos. byung* (p.421 line 16-p.422 line 19), where it is said that he became the abbot of gDan.sa.thel when he was thirty-three (p.421 lines 20-21: "dGung.lo so.gsum.pa la Thel.gyi gdan.sar 'Bri.gung nas bskos te brdzangs").

*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* records that rDo.rje.dpal was the Phag.mo gru.pa *khri.dpon* for the thirteen years 1254-1266 (p.545 lines 12-17: "rGya.yul la rdzangs.pas/ gong.ma yon.mchod.kyi thugs.la btags nas/ Phag.gru khri.skor mai.rabs.kyi bar.la 'jags.pa'i bka'.lung bzang.po dam.rtags dang bcas.pa gnang/ yar slebs nas/ de.'phral/ shing.pho.stag lo.la/ khri.khang Yar.lungs rNam.rgyal dang s'Ne brtsigs/ khri.dpon lo bcu.gsum byas", "He (rDo.rje.dpal) was sent to China. As he established *yon.mchod* with the emperor, he was given a patent and the seal, which assigned the Phag.gru *khri.skor* to him [and] to his future generations. He returned upwards (to Tibet) [and] at that juncture built the *khri.khang* ("the *khri.skor* seat") Yar.lungs rNam.rgyal and s'Ne.[g'dong] in the wood male tiger year (1254). He was *khri.dpon* for thirteen years").

(954) The episode is another instance testifying to the close and friendly ties between the Phag.mo gru.pa-s and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in the late 12th and 13th century, and probably to a nominal pre-eminence of the Phag.mo gru.pa-s over the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. A passage in *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar*, where Mar.lung.pa says that gSer.gyi bya.skyibs was Tshal.pa, Bri.ra.phug was 'Brug.pa, rGyang.grags was 'Bri.gung gDan.sa.thel.pa, stresses the closeness between the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Phag.mo gru.pa-s in succinct terms (f.125a line 5-f.125b line 2: "De'i.dus na/ 'Bri.khung gDan(f.125b).sa.thel.pas rGyang.gragsu gnas zung/ 'Brug.pa'i ban.rgan ser.po zhes.by.ba/ rGod.tshang.pa mGon.po rdo.rjes lHa'i.lung.pa'i 'Bri.ru.phug tu gnas zung/ rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs dang/ gSang.ba mchod.phug tu Mar.lung Byang.chub seng.ges mTshal.pa'i gnas bzung.pa yin.no", "In these days, the 'Bri.khung gDan.sa.thel.pa-s control the holy place at rGyang.grags, rGod.tshang.pa mGon.po rdo.rje, known as the old monk of the 'Brug.pa-s wearing yellow robes, controls the holy place at lHa'i.lung.pa 'Bri.ru.phug [and] Mar.lung Byang.chub seng.ge is the one who controls the holy places of the mTshal.pa-s at rGad.pa gSer.gyi bya.skyibs and gSang.ba mchod.phug"). Reference to rGod.tshang.pa as an old monk, while he resided at Ti.se in his youth, has the air of being a later interpolation introduced into *Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar* at the time of its revision in 1292.

(955) See *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.358 lines 16-18): "dPon.chen Shakya bzang.po'i rjes la/ nang.gnyer.ba/ Kun.dga' bzang.pos dpon.chen tshang.ma lo.drug byas", "After dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po (d.1275), Kun.dga' bzang.po, who was in charge of internal affairs, was general *dpon.chen* for six years" and *ibid.* (p.359 lines 13-14): "Se.chen.gyi lung.gis/ Sang.gha ching.sang.gis 'go byas/ rtsa.ba'i Hor.dmag 'bum.phrag.gcig gtang nas/ dmag lam/ sTag.tshang lung.pa la zhugs/ Khang.dmar.gyi sa.mkhar.la mtshon.kha blangs/ de.rting/ Bya.rog.tshang la skor rgyag.byas nas/ lcags.pho.'brug lo.la dpon.chen khirms.la bsgral", "By command of

documents that the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* and consequently the 'Bri.gung.pa-s held mNga'.ris skor.gsum (all the way to sPo.rig la rtsa, "the foot of the sPu.rig pass") until no later than 1280. It is highly improbable that the first *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*, appointed in 1240 to be in charge of mNga'.ris, was the same who was assassinated around 1280.

It is noteworthy that the killing of the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi* took place around the time of the death of the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde, who is said to have been a supporter of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s by mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.78 lines 7-11). This coincidence may be fortuitous but the almost simultaneous disappearance of the two highest authorities in sTod might point to the overthrow of the local government to pave the way for Sa.skya.pa domination of these lands. The events are also contemporary with the establishment of the Gung.thang.pa-s over dKar.dum in 1277-1280. All these events and dates point to the same years (1277-1280) for the taking over of mNga'.ris skor.gsum by the Sa.skya.pa-s.

Despite Sa.skya obtaining control of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, later ties between the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Gu.ge are illustrated by 'Bri.gung sgom.pa Kun.rin's troop levy at mTho.liding (spelled as in *Si.tu bka'.chems*)<sup>956</sup>. This incident occurred after the winter of iron tiger 1350 and before the late summer of water snake 1353<sup>957</sup>, for the events occurring in *Si.tu bka'.chems* are treated in strict chronological sequence by Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan, and the gathering of troops in Tho.ling is placed during this span of less than four years. Following the defeat of 'Bri.gung in the 1353 war against the Phag.mo gru.pa-s, for which troops had been collected at Tho.ling, the Phag.mo gru.pa-s' power increased<sup>958</sup>. These incidents occurred after Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan had taken dBu

Se.chen, one hundred thousand select Hor troops having been sent with Sang.gha at their head, they halted at sTag.tshang on their way. They captured the armoury at Sa.mkhar of Khang.dmar. After they besieged and took Bya.rog.tshang, *dpon.chen* (Kun.dga' bzang.po) was sentenced to death in the iron male dragon year (1280)".

(956) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.223 lines 16-20): "'Bri.khung rin.po.che.pa la ni 'jal ma.byung 'dug/ sgom.pas mTho.liding du dmag bsags nas/ rGya.ma la thegs 'dug.pas/ rGya.mar phyin.nas zhu.'bul byas kyang/ zhu.'bul len ma.btub.par/ 'Bri.khung.pa'i dmag dang nyi.ma snga.phyi byas 'On.phur slebs", "There was no occasion to meet 'Bri.khung rin.po.che. Since *sgom.pa* (Kun.rin) levied troops at mTho.liding [and] went to rGya.ma, despite having forwarded a request [seeking permission to fight], he did not receive an answer to his request. The troops of the 'Bri.khung.pa-s arrived at 'On.phu earlier and later on [that] day". See also Sperling "Some Notes on the Early 'Bri-gung-pa *Sgom-pa*" (p.38 and p.46 n.44).

(957) Before this episode, *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.205 line 12) introduces events by saying: "lCags.stag lo.de'i dgun.stod", "In early winter of the iron tiger year (1350)...". After recording the internal struggle between the Phag.mo gru.pa-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s, Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan discusses other events, beginning with (ibid. p.227 line 19): "Chu.mo.sbrul lo zla.ba bdun.pa", "In the seventh month of the water female snake year (1353)...".

(958) *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* (p.224 lines 10-11): "'Bri.khung.pa'i dmag rnams 'On.phu la bcug.nas byung.ba/ Bra.sgor du lag thug.pas/ rang.re rgyal", "The troops of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s, who had been sent against [us] at 'On.phu, arrived. Since we [the Phag.mo gru.pa-s] fought against them at Bra.sgor, we were

(1349), and the troop levy at Tho.ling was a 'Bri.gung.pa effort to rely on their old ally to assert themselves in dBus after the situation had become politically critical for them. Was the joining forces of Gu.ge and 'Bri.gung around 1350-1353 a sign that Sa.skya.pa sovereignty had been removed from mNga'.ris skor.gsum in the meantime, since Phag.gru Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan had already weakened Sa.skya's power?

Concluding the episode of the poisoning of the *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*, Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan says that Gu.ge was still under Sa.skya at the time of writing his *bka'.chems*. Sa.skya's rule lasted until the time *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* was completed in 1361<sup>959</sup>. Given the authority of the writer of the *bKa'.chems* and his contemporaneity with the episodes he relates, the troop levy at Tho.ling must have been an isolated episode in favour of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and not a real liberation from Sa.skya.pa control, which took place later, probably not before the revolt by the people of West Tibet prophetically treated by O.rgyan gling.pa in *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* (see above p.480). The Tho.ling incident is useful to show that by 1350-1353 the Sa.skya.pa alliance had become enfeebled in sTod and that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s again had some authority at Tho.ling. Following the defeat they inflicted on the 'Bri.gung.pa-s in dBus not later than 1353 and the subsequent removal of Sa.skya as the dominant power in Tibet, the Phag.mo gru.pa-s possibly exercised some predominance in sTod, which lasted until 1406 at least in Ru.thog, as will be shown in the following addendum. However, this does not fall within the hundred years of darkness in the history of Gu.ge.

The obscure period in the history of Gu.ge corresponds to the rule of Sa.skya over mNga'.ris skor.gsum so closely that Sa.skya.pa control, which removed the 'Bri.gung.pa *gnam.sa dpa'.shi*, might have been instrumental in what amounts to the disappearance of the royal family of Gu.ge from historical memory. The absence of strong local power in Gu.ge corresponding to the dark hundred years in the history of the land is also documented by 'Bri.gung *Ti.se lo.rgyus*, which says that after *rdor.dzin* Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan,

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victorious" and *ibid.* (p.225 lines 8-9): "Yi.ge 'ba'.gal dang bcas.pa bcug.pa'i rting.la/ sgom.pa Kun.rin 'das", "Following [his] breach of the written treaties, sgom.pa Kun.rin died". sGom.pa Kun.rin was actually put to death for his violation of the accords between the Phag.mo gru.pa-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s.

(959) van der Kuijp, ("On the Life and the Political Career of Ta'i-si-tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan (1302?-1364)" p.278 n.2), convincingly dates the completion of *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* by quoting passages from it in which Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan introduces some remarks concerning his life ensuring a time frame for the conclusion of the writing of his work. I hereby translate them (p.345 lines 9-11): "sNgar khyi.lo zla.ba dgu.pa.la dpon.sar bsdad nas/ da lcags.mo.glang lo zla.ba bcu.gnyis.pa phar.bcad la/ mi.lo bzhi.bcu 'gro.bar 'dug", "Forty years have passed from when I (Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan) occupied, in the beginning, the seat of *dpon* in the ninth month of the dog year (1322) until the present iron female ox year (1361)" and *ibid.* (p.365 lines 15-17): "Lo nyi.shu'i bar.du bsnyen.pa dang sgrub.pa mthar bskyal/ lo nyi.shu'i steng.du/ dpon.sa 'dir yong nas/ da drug.bcu la slebs 'dug", "In the [first] twenty years [of my life] I finished my personal prayers and meditation. Since I obtained the rank *dpon* after these twenty years, sixty [years of my life] have elapsed until now").

who arrived at Ti.se around 1278, until the time of the *rdor.'dzin* Tshul.khrims mgon.po when Chos.kyi rgyal.po was abbot at 'Bri.gung (in office 1351-1407), the *ri.pa*-s at Ti.se were patronized by the kings of Khu.nu and Ya.rtse (is this proof that the Khu.nu kings were also Tibet-oriented during the same period?)<sup>960</sup>. The lack of patronage by a Gu.ge king is conspicuous. The situation seems to have changed after the tenure of this *rdor.'dzin*. His period fell close to the resurgence of power of Gu.ge Pu.hrang during the second half of the 14th century, as prophesied in *bTsun.mo bka'.thang* (i.e. after 1363).

The existence of a hitherto unknown king reigning in Gu.ge during the dark hundred years in the history of the land is gleaned from the combined evidence of Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub and Klong.rdol bla.ma Ngag.dbang blo.bzang. The latter, in his catalogue of Bu.ston rin.po.che *gSung.'bum*, mentions a letter written in a hare year by Bu.ston rin.po.che to rNam.rgyal grags.pa, called *ti.shri.pa* ("spiritual preceptor") of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang king<sup>961</sup>. Among his letters grouped in chronological sequence in Bu.ston rin.po.che *gSung.'bum*, one is addressed to a king of Zhang.zhung (i.e. Gu.ge), whose name is not given, and not to his *ti.shri* (see the most common edition of his *gSung.'bum* at present, i.e. the Zhol edition vol.La (26) f.72b line 6-f.74b line 1 = p.286-290). In both the collection of Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub's letters and Klong.rdol bla.ma's catalogue, the letter to the Zhang.zhung king or his *ti.shri* written in a hare year is preceded by another sent to a different king of mNga'.ris.stod, bSod.nams.lde/Punyamalla, king of Pu.hrang and Ya.rtse (see above p.454 and also n.760). The letter to bSod.nams.lde dates to earth hare

(960) *'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus* (f.32a lines 3-6): "De.nas bzung gdan.rab bcu.gcig.pa 'Dzam.gling Chos.kyi rgyal.po'i slob.ma rdor.'dzin Tshul.khrims mgon.po'i bar lung.rtog.kyi yon.tan phun.sum tshogs.pa mnga'.ba'i rdo.rje 'dzin.pa mu.tig tsar.la brgyus.pa bzhin byon zhing/ ri.pa yang nyung.mtha' lnga.brgya.las ma.lhung.ba byung.ba'i sbyin.bdag ni mNga'.ris skor.gsum Khu.nu bcas.kyi rgyal.blon rnams dang/ lhag.par yang Ya.rtse 'Dzum.lang.gi chos.kyi rgyal.po rim.phebs rnams.kyi mdzad.nas rten.gsum bzhengs.pa dang/ dge.'dun ri.khrod.pa rnams.la 'tsho.rten rgya nom.pa sbyor.ba dang/ mtha'.dmag.gi 'jigs.pa srung.ba sogs mdzad". "Since then (i.e. the time of Dar.ma rgyal.mtshan) until rdor.'dzin Tshul.khrims mgon.po, the disciples of the eleventh ['Bri.gung] abbot 'Dzam.gling Chos.kyi rgyal.po, *rdor.rje 'dzin.pa*-s possessing righteous qualities of well understood teachings came like a string of pearls. That the *ri.pa*-s never decreased in number to less than five hundred was due to the patronage of the kings and ministers of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, in particular Khu.nu, and, especially, to that of the lineage of the Ya.rtse 'Dzum.lang religious kings, who made the three kinds of receptacles, took pleasure in providing sustenance to the monks and the hermits and stood as defenders against the fear of the armies from the borders". The statement concerning the patronage of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s by the Ya.rtse kings during this period seems to be only partially correct, for some of them (e.g. A.dznya.mal otherwise known as Ajitamalla) ruling before bSod.nams.lde, who was a well known supporter of the Sa.skya.pa-s, favoured this sect.

(961) *bKa'.gdams.pa dang dGe.lugs.pa'i bla.ma rags.rim.gyi gsung.'bum dkar.chag*, in Klong.rdol bla.ma *gSung.'bum* vol.Ra (lHa.sa ed., vol.2 p.508 line 3-4): "Su.Gug.gi rgyal.po'i ti.shri.pa rNam.rgyal grags.pa la gdams.pa'i phrin.yig skyes.bu bzhi.yi don.'grub rnams.so", "The letter of instructions to rNam.rgyal grags.pa, the *ti.shri.pa* of the Su (sic for Pu.[hrang]) and Gug[ge] rgyal.po-s, which satisfies the queries of the four worthy beings".



1339. There are a few useful hare years in the life of Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub (1290-1364) after he became abbot of Zhwa.lu. The most likely hare year for the letter sent to the unnamed Zhang.zhung king is the same earth hare 1339, for reason of sequential contiguity between the two letters. The difference between them is that the letter to bSod.nams.lde was written in *chu.stod zla.ba* (the sixth month of the Tibetan year, i.e. more or less August), while that to the Zhang.zhung king was written in *zla.ba brgyad.pa* (the eighth month, i.e. more or less October). The absence of the king's name in the letter leaves room for speculation, which ranges from the possibility that a member of the Gu.ge royal line was on its throne to the possibility that the dynasty of Pu.hrang (perhaps bSod.nams.lde?) was exercising control over Gu.ge, the latter hypothesis being unlikely because bSod.nams.lde would have been credited with this dominion by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (see above p.455). This is another of the many obscure issues concerning the history of the Sa.skya.pa-s in sTod which awaits elucidation. Presence of this king on the throne of Gu.ge in earth hare 1339 is a little too early for him to have been the ruler during whose reign renewed contacts between Gu.ge and the 'Bri.gung.pa-s led to the levy of Gu.ge.pa troops at Tho.ling between 1350 and 1353. The letter testifies, on the contrary, to a religious affiliation of this king to the Sa.skya.pa/Zhwa.lu.pa alliance, which may have been politically motivated. Another letter was written by Bu.ston rin.po.che to an unnamed king of Zhang.zhung, on the same day of the same month of a hare year (Bu.ston rin.po.che *gSung.'bum* Zhol edition vol.La (26) f.96a line 4-f.96b line 3 = p.333-334). Unless one envisages another fragmentation of the Gu.ge kingdom, so that the letters were written by Bu.ston rin.po.che at the same time, it must have been sent a full twelve years cycle before or after 1339. The recurrence of the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the hare year in both letters to the Zhang.zhung king or kings may indicate that this day was held as a special occasion in Gu.ge.

While the identity of the king of Zhang.zhung who interacted with Bu.ston rin.po.che remains to be ascertained, the existence of an exchange of letters with the rulers of Gu.ge and Pu.hrang/Ya.rtse testifies to the religious authority of Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub over the *mNga'.ris.pa-s*. That his religious influence was based on the temporal power of Zhwa.lu in West Tibet is revealed by the appointment of sku.zhang Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan to be the overlord of *mNga'.ris skor.gsum* by Ol.ja.tu not later than 1307, when this Yuan emperor died<sup>962</sup>. This is the earliest available date for such a power. Subsequently, Zhwa.lu's control of West Tibet was confirmed by an edict issued in favour of Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan's

(962) *Myang chos.'byung* (p.168 lines 4-9): "sKu.zhang Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan.gyis rGya.yul la byon/ Ol.ja.tu rgyal.po'i phyag.nas shel.gyi 'on.rtse rma.byama gsol.chang.gis bkang.nas gngang/...dBus.gTsang mNga'.ris skor.gsum.gyi bdag.po hu.shi du.dben.shas mdzad", "sKu.zhang Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan went to China. Ol.ja.tu rgyal.po gave him the crystal peacock cup filled with *chang*...He (sku.zhang Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan) was appointed lord of dBus.gTsang and mNga'.ris skor.gsum, *hu.shri* [and] *du.dben.sha*".

son, sku.zhang Kun.dga' don.grub, by rgyal.bu Chos.dpal in the bird year 1333<sup>963</sup>, conferring on him the *swon.wi.si* rank, which gave Kun.dga' don.grub power over mNga'.ris skor.gsum and the territories in dBus.gTsang held by the Zhwa.lu.pa-s (Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.672b and p.754,X). Bird year 1333 is the year when Kun.dga' don.grub became *sku.zhang* and his new status was endorsed by the Mongols, as this document indicates<sup>964</sup>. A conservative appraisal of Zhwa.lu's involvement in West Tibetan affairs is that it lasted from 1307 to the documented date 1333, but it is likely that Zhwa.lu.pa control of sTod continued for a few decades after rgyal.bu Chos.dpal's edict was issued. Fire sheep 1307 was therefore the year in which Zhwa.lu joined Gung.thang in controlling mNga'.ris.stod.

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(963) rGyal.bu Chos.dpal was the son of Temur Buqa, who raided 'Bri.gung with Sa.skya dpon.chen Ag.len rDor.rje.dpal during the 1290 'Bri.gung *gling.log*. Chos.dpal is found managing Tibetan affairs especially in the borderlands with China for many years. The reader is referred to Petech ("Princely Houses of the Yuan Period Connected with Tibet" p.265-267), who has a useful survey of those of Chos.dpal's activities he could trace in Tibetan and Chinese sources. His appearances in Central Tibet create more than one historical problem, and some of Petech's assessments need further examination (see for instance the following note). The episode dealt with in Addendum Four (see below n.971) has to be added to those involving rgyal.bu Chos.dpal listed by Petech.

(964) He was not the Zhwa.lu *sku.zhang* in 1321 as Petech ("Princely Houses of the Yuan Period Connected with Tibet" p.266) says, because the Zhwa.lu *sku.zhang* at that time was Kun.dga' don.grub's father Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan. For an assessment of the date of Kun.dga' don.grub's appointment as *sku.zhang* see Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (p.101), where a few relevant facts are assembled. In 1334 Kun.dga' don.grub was Zhwa.lu *sku.zhang* (*bsTan.gyur dkar.chag* f.4a). His father Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan was still the *sku.zhang* in 1332 when Bu.ston rin.po.che had a vision of rJe.btsun Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan (*Bu.ston Rin.po.che rnam.thar* f.20b in Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che* p.112). Soon after *Bu.ston Rin.po.che rnam.thar* records that Kun.dga' don.grub had succeeded his father (f.21a in Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che* p.114). This evidence is thus useful to fix the date of the succession to around water bird 1333. On the *swon.wi.si* or the "pacification commissioner" rank, conferred on Kun.dga' don.grub by the same edict, see Petech, "Yuan Official Terms in Tibetan" (p.669) and "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols" (p.192-193).

## ADDENDUM FOUR

*Some Remarks on the History of Ru.thog, and a reference to the authority of the Shangs sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s in this region*

Information on the history of Ru.thog is so scanty that it almost seems that Ru.thog had a peculiar cultural and historical place among the lands of West Tibet. Its almost complete neglect by the literature makes it an especially tantalizing but very difficult subject (among the very few works dealing with Ru.thog see Shastri, "The Marriage and Customs of Ru-thog (Mnga'-ris)").

Ru.thog was often the territory where struggles between its neighbours took place. Ru.thog passed under the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom at the time of Nyi.ma.mgon, since *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* records that its central area (Ru.thog and sNyi.gong) was allotted to his middle son bKra.shis.mgon (see above p.349 and n.556), while its westernmost part, bordering La.dwags Byang.thang and including sDe.mchog, was assigned to his eldest son dPal.gyi.mgon, the ruler of Mar.yul (*La.dwags rgyal.rabs* in Francke ed. p.35 line 14-17, see above n.433). *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (in Joseph dGe.rgan *La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter* p.181 lines 7-16; see above n.210), classifies dPal.gyi.mgon's dominions in the same way as *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*.

Combining this evidence shows that the border between these two *skor-s* of mNga'.ris divided Pang.gong mtsho, assigning its western part to dPal.gyi.mgon's Mar.yul, and its eastern part to the Gu.ge *skor* (the settlement of Ru.thog included) under bKra.shis.mgon. Therefore, at least in the early period of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty, Mar.yul extended a little farther to the east than its modern limit. There is no way to know whether the land was deliberately divided between two of the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum in order to break the tribal unity of Mar.yul/Ru.thog, possibly implying that Mar.yul/Ru.thog was a single entity before Nyi.ma.mgon, or along a demarkation which existed before his conquest. Discussing the division of this region in antiquity, which amounts to an assessment of the lands of Zhang.zhung and Mard mentioned in the entry for the year 719 of the *Tun-huang Annals* (Bacot-Thomas-Toussaint (transl.), *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* p.22 (Tibetan text) and p.45 (transl.)) goes beyond the scope of this addendum (but see Uray's assessment in his "The Old Name of Ladakh" p.219-220).

The evidence in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* and *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* that 'Od.lde had to undertake a military expedition to Bru.zha, further to the west, shows that this land was affected by the first Gar.log.pa invasion of not long before 1037, but does not rule out the possibility that the Gar.log-s had also advanced to Ru.thog.

Ru.thog was evidently lost to rTse.lde before 1083, for rGya Ge.sar is found occupying the lands all the way to Gu.ge Byang.ngos in that year. rTse.lde had to retake the lands of Ru.thog in order to reach the Byang.go.la and cross it, intruding into the territory of rGya as far as Ram.thang.

Soon after, the Ru.thog territory and its surroundings were again a sensitive border area and the battlefield on which the Gu.ge king bKra.shis.rtse lost his life during the devastating Gar.log.pa invasion of the first half of the 12th century. The ill-fated resistance of bKra.shis.rtse to the advancing Gar.log-s, leading to his death at gNyi.gong, may imply that Ru.thog was under Gu.ge at that time. In the second quarter of the 13th century, rGyal.stobs.lde (called rGyal.po.lde in *Kho.char dkar.chag*), the king of Mar.yul and later of Pu.hrang, extended his kingdom as far as Ge.khod tshwa.kha (“the area of the Ge.khod salt deposits”) (see *mNga’ris rgyal.rabs* p.70 lines 12-14 for the limits of his dominions), which is another name for the lands of Ru.thog often called Ru.thog Ge.khod gNyan.lung in the Bon.po literature (see p.384 and n.616).

Soon after this, local lords called Bla.mkhar *jo.bo sku.mched* are documented as ruling in Ru.thog by *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa*. Some time after 1252, when his father died (ibid. p.18 line 2), O.rgyan.pa set out to meet rGod.tshang.pa, and then went on pilgrimage to Ti.se. After leaving Pu.hrang, and on his way to Gan.dha.la, Dza.lan.dha.ra and O.rgyan, O.rgyan.pa was the *bla.mchod* of these Ru.thog rulers during the winter of 1253-1254<sup>965</sup>. The most significant fact deriving from this information is that Ru.thog had its own rulers, but this isolated reference to them does not help to establish whether a lineage of local lords known as Bla.mkhar *jo.bo*-s existed in Ru.thog for any length of time and, if so, when it was originated. Nothing can be said regarding the political status of these Ru.thog leaders in the 1250s, but the possibility that they enjoyed some degree of autonomy cannot *a priori* be dismissed.

The extension of the authority of the Shangs sTag.sna.rdzong.pa-s to the Byang *khri.skor* marks the next phase in the history of Ru.thog (see the section in *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*

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(965) *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (p.42 lines 4-5): “Ma.pham mtsho.la chu.’thung/ dka’.thub dang sPu.rangs gDong.dmar zhes.byar spyod.pa mdzad/ Ru.thog ru ni Bla.mkhar jo.bo mched/ rnams.kyis bsnyen.bkur du.mas mchod.do”, “He drank the water of Ma.pham mtsho. He performed his austerities at sPu.rangs gDong.dmar. At Ru.thog, Bla.mkhar *jo.bo* and his brothers respectfully gave him excellent offerings”. Soon after this brief visit, O.rgyan.pa returned to Ru.thog and spent the winter of 1253-1254 there (ibid. p.43 lines 2-3: “De.nas dgun Ru.thog du byon.nas bzhugs/ Bla.mkhar jo.bo mched.gsum.gyis ’bul.ba byes te breg/ de’i gzhi.bdag drag.po gcig dbang.du ’dus.pa’i nus.mthu yin.par ’dug gsung”, “Then, in winter he went to Ru.thog and remained there. Bla.mkhar *jo.bo*, the three brothers, made him offerings. He said this was due to the fact that he was able to subdue the *gzhi.bdag* of that [place]”). The way in which O.rgyan.pa won the favour of the Ru.thog *jo.bo*-s echoes the typical formula adopted in the literature to indicate a territorial take-over both in political and religious terms, instances of which are also found in sTod. A political case is jo.jo rGod.lde’s conquest of Khyung.lung, a religious case is the taking over of Gu.ge by Ngag.dbang grags.pa. In both cases (this is the formula), they were able to subdue a *gzhi.bdag*.

*O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar* in *lHo.rong chos.byung* (p.721 line 20-p.722 line 1) confirms O.rgyan.pa’s relations with Bla.mkhar *jo.bo*: “De.nas Ma.pang.gi mtsho.la bcud.len mdzad.nas Pu.rang du byon/ dgun Ru.thog tu phyin nas/ Bla(p.722)mkhar jo.bo’i bla.mchod mdzad”, “Then, after he obtained the *amrita* of Ma.pang mtsho, he went to Pu.hrang. As he went to Ru.thog in winter, he became the *bla.mchod* of Bla.mkhar *jo.bo*”. For the calculation of winter 1253-1254 as the period spent by O.rgyan.pa in Ru.thog see above n.703.

on the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s p.400-419). *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* introduces a historical excursus on the family of sTag.sna rdzong, originally from the mtsho sNgon area and descended from the bKa'.ma.log<sup>966</sup>, who became the *khri.dpon*-s of Shangs also known as Byang *khri.skor*<sup>967</sup>. The text records their genealogy, their major lay and religious activities, the various phases of their territorial expansion and the acts of empowerment in their favour.

The fortunes of the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s derived from their association with the Sa.skya.pa-s established by Rin.chen brtson.'grus when he left A.mdo for dBus.gTsang to study religion, and met 'Gro.mgon 'Phags.pa, who was on his way to dBus.gTsang in 1265<sup>968</sup>. Rin.chen brtson.'grus was a contemporary of dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po at Sa.skya (d.1275) (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.404 lines 1-4; see above n.735). Being a married *dge.bshes* and a minister of Sa.skya ruling lands in Shangs, he was the originator of the line of Shangs princes who later in the 14th century were known as the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s from the name of the castle where they resided<sup>969</sup>.

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(966) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.401 line 7-p.402 line 6) opens the section on the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s with an interesting and rather extensive treatment of the bKa'.ma.log. In the time of Khri.lde srong.btsan, nine brave soldiers were left with a garrison at the border between Bod and Hor, after the Yar.lung army had destroyed the meditation place of the Bha.rta Hor-s (spelled as in the text). They were instructed not to return without an order (*bka'.ma.log*). In fact, they settled down in the territory and took bKa'.ma.log as their clan name. The ancestor of the A.mdo.ba family of sTag.sna rdzong descended from them. I owe many thanks to Tashi Tsering and Lobsang Shastri for drawing my attention to the history of the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s in *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*.

(967) Tucci (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.687a-b n.106) quotes excerpts from the *Blo.gsal rgya.mtsho grags.pa rgyal.mtshan rnam.shar*, based, he says, on this chapter of *rGya.Bod yig.tshang*. He has misunderstood some aspects of the Shangs *khri.skor* genealogy and its territories. For instance, he confuses the life and activity of dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po with those of his cousin dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan, as well as misreading Byang as rGya (considered by Tucci to be China, of which rGyal.ba bzang.po would have been an improbable *khri.dpon*), and a failure to identify Dang.ra g.yu.mtsho as being among the lands controlled by the Shangs princes. Gross spelling mistakes in his treatment indicate that the copy of the biography Tucci had at his disposal must have been somewhat illegible.

(968) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.403 lines 4-8): "'Gro.ba'i mgon.po chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa/ gong.nas yar phebs.du/ 'Brong du dGon.pa.bas spyen.drangs/ bsnyen.bkur zhus/ de.thog.du/ khong rnam.gnyis.bas kyang mjal/ rab.byung zhus/ Rin.chen brtson.'grus bya.bar btags", "When 'gro.ba'i mgon.po chos.rgyal 'Phags.pa went upwards (to Tibet) from the imperial court, he was invited by dGon.pa.ba to 'Brong. He was well attended. Those two (Rin.chen brtson.'grus and Hor.che ston Tshul, the latter's companion) met him also. He asked to be ordained [and] the name Rin.chen brtson.'grus was given to him".

(969) The name sTag.sna rdzong.pa is retroactively applied by *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* to the line of the Shangs rulers, because it was only in fire tiger 1386 that rGod.po rin.chen took control of sTag.sna rdzong (called sTag.sna dong.grub.rtse in the source) (ibid. p.413 lines 17-18: "Me.pho.stag lo.nas rdzong sTag.sna don.grub.rtse bzung").

The seat of the family was established by dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po at Shangs mThong.smon (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.409 lines 10-14: "Yar phebs nas/ Shangs mThong.smon.kyi sa.'di na/ chu gnas.pa'i rdzong gcig

Rin.chen brtson.'grus was subsequently appointed *khri.dpon* authorized to collect taxes from Byang Ru.thog<sup>970</sup> by rgyal.bu Chos.dpal<sup>971</sup>. This event took place sometime after the birth of his three sons (Ban.rgan Blo.gros rin.chen; the middle Dharma dkon.mchog,

'dug.pas/ ming dang/ gang.sa nas rten.'brel legs.pas/ 'di khongs.su chug.pa gyis gsungs/ lcags.ri/ sbel.cog rnam/ dkyil.du khang.leb chen.mo dang bcas.pa btab", "[rGyal.ba bzang.po] having gone upwards (i.e. from the imperial court to Tibet), in this place Shangs mThong.smon, since there was water and he found it excellent from every point of view including the name, he said: "I wish to include this [place] among [my possessions]". He built a boundary wall with turrets and in the middle [of it] a huge flat building". He then constructed Nyug rgyal.khang as his residence (ibid. p.409 lines 17-18: "Lung 'phebs nas/ Nyug rgyal.khang/ rgyal.po'i pho.brang.la dpe blang.pa bzhengs", "As the [imperial] authorization came [from China], he built Nyug rgyal.khang taking the imperial palace as model"). He built Nyug chos.sde there (p.410 lines 1-6) and the *sku.'bum chen.mo* at g.Ye.dmar sgang.stod which was consecrated by Bu.ston rin.po.che (p.410 lines 7-10: "Yab.yum.gyi phyi.rten.la g.Ye.dmar.sgang stod.du sku.'bum chen.mo bzhengs/ Zhal.lu Bu.ston rin.po.che gdan.drangs/ rab.gnas dBus.gTsang dpe.thub.pa mdzad", "He built a *sku.'bum chen.mo* in the upper part of g.Ye.dmar.sgang as *phyi.rten* for his parents. He invited Zhal.lu Bu.ston rin.po.che, [who] performed a consecration [which] became the standard in dBus.gTsang"). rGyal.ba bzang.po's son Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan constructed mThong.smon sPel.chen (ibid. p.412 lines 2-3: "Di'i ring.la mThong.smon sPel.chen bzhengs"). Among the Shangs.pa strongholds was sTag.tshang rdzong, called rdzong Shangs (p.412 line 6) and rdzong bShang (p.413 line 4) by rGya.Bod yig.tshang. rGyal.ba bzang.po's nephew rGod.po rin.chen built sNa.dmar.rdzong at Thag rTa.nag (ibid. p.413 lines 14-15: "Thag rTa.nag.gi gnyer.kha gnang/ sNa.dmar.rdzong rtsig").

(970) rGya.Bod yig.tshang provides some evidence that the Shangs.pa-s of sTag.sna rdzong were the *khri.dpon-s* of Ru.thog. In two different passages, dKon.mchog 'od.zer, who was active around the mid 14th century, is indicated as the *khri.dpon* of Byang and that of Byang Ru.thog. The contemporary tenure of the two posts by the same person indicates that the rulers of Shangs, being the *khri.dpon-s* of Byang, were also those of Ru.thog.

rGya.Bod yig.tshang, in the version published at Chengdu, has a number of misspellings. One of these is found in a few references to Re.thag in its sTag.sna rdzong section. This place name is unknown to me and has prompted me to study its occurrences against those of Ru.thog to ascertain whether one is confronted with a single place (i.e. Ru.thog) or with two (i.e. Ru.thog and Re.thag).

A sequence of quotations (see n.971, 973, 977, 979 and 981) proves that the post of Byang Re.thag *khri.dpon* was transmitted from Rin.chen brtson.'grus to his middle son Dharma dkon.mchog, who passed control of Byang Re.thag to his son Chos.rgyal. He was replaced by dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan, whose son dKon.mchog 'od.zer was appointed *khri.dpon* of Ru.thog. As the latter is indicated as the ruler of Ru.thog, which was a role he inherited via his father from his great-uncle Chos.rgyal, who ruled Re.thag, this genealogical cross-checking proves that Ru.thog and Re.thag are the same place and thus that Re.thag is a misspelling of Ru.thog. Therefore, the original grant to Rin.chen brtson.'grus by Chos.dpal also refers to Ru.thog.

(971) rGya.Bod yig.tshang (p.405 lines 9-18): "Di'i dus.na/ Hor rgyal.bu Chos.dpal/ Bod 'chos.pa la byon.pa'i/ bsu.skyel zhabs.tog dgos la/ dge.bshes chen.po de.pas/ 'bad.rtsol bskyed.pas/ nyi.ma nub.phyogs.kyi bya.ba rnam legs.par grub nas/ phyir byon dus/ Sog.sa.mdo bar/ skyel.thung.la byon.par/ rgyal.bu mnyes nas/ Byang Re.thag phyir.then gang 'dug/ Rin.chen brtson.'grus mi.rgyud dang bcas.pa shes.su chug cing/ khyod.kyis gshe.mong 'dab.pa bzhin/ bu.tsha.bo rnam.kyis kyang/ gong.ma yon.mchod chen.po la gshe.mong 'dab.chug

born in 1268<sup>972</sup>; and Kun.dga' rdo.rje) and his mission to the Yuan court with dpon.chen Shakya bzang.po. Petech ("Princely Houses of the Yuan Period Connected with Tibet" p.265) produces evidence from *Yuan-shih* that Chos.dpal was active in Kan-su in 1306 and that he was in East Tibet in 1309. The grant to Rin.chen brtson.'grus predates by quite some time the first references to Chos.dpal in Kan-su and Tibet, for Rin.chen brtson.'grus was dead when his son Ban.rgan Blo.gros rin.chen became a subordinate of bDag.nyid chen.po bZang.po.dpal at Sa.skya in 1306<sup>973</sup>, the year in which the latter was appointed its ruler.

After the beginning of his association with bDag.nyid chen.po in 1306, Ban.rgan.pa went to the Yuan capital where he met Ol.ja.du not later than in 1307 when Ol.ja.du died. In the same fire sheep 1307, Zhwa.lu sku.zhang Grag.s.pa rgyal.mtshan and the Gung.thang king Khri.lde.'bum are recorded in different sources to have travelled to China, so that no alternative is left for the time in which Ban.rgan.pa went to receive various appointments from the emperor with the delegation of the above mentioned dignitaries from Tibet<sup>974</sup>. At court, he was given a patent by 'Ol.ja.du, which confirmed his

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zer.ba'i lung ji bzang.po gngang", "In those days, since rgyal.bu Chos.dpal came to Tibet for the settlement [of disputes], [people] wished to welcome him. As this *dge.bshes* [Rin.chen brtson.'grus] excellently accomplished all [this] in the so called western direction of the sun (i.e. in the direction where the sun sets, which is Tibet with respect to China), on [rgyal.bu's] way back, since *dge.bshes* went to see him off all the way to Sog Sa.mdo (north Shangs?), *rgyal.bu* was pleased and announced: "[The duty of collecting] whatever has to be taxed from Byang Re.thag is awarded to Rin.chen brtson.'grus and his lineage. Similarly to the protection you are seeking [with me, your] descendants [should] seek the protection of the great *yon.mchod* with the emperor". He [then] issued an order in his favour".

(972) He was born in the same year, month and day as 'Gro.mgon Phyag.na's son Dharma.pa.la rakshi.ta (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.405 lines 7-9), so that he was nicknamed Dharma dkon.mchog.

(973) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.406 (lines 1-4): "Sras che.ba/ Ban.rgan.pas/ yab.kyi rjes.su zhugs nas/ khirms.gnyis.kyi bya.ba dang/ Sa.skya.pa'i zhabs.tog/ nang.so'i mthil len/ sgos.su bla.ma bDag.nyid chen.po'i zhabs.la gtugs", "His (Rin.chen brtson.'grus') eldest son, Ban.rgan.pa [Blo.gros rin.chen], having followed in the footsteps of his father, made judgments on the basis of the two laws, served the Sa.skya.pa-s and obtained [the rank of] chief *nang.so* ("interior minister"). In particular, he was admitted to the service of bDag.nyid chen.po (bZang.po.dpal)".

(974) On the visit of Zhwa.lu sku.zhang Grag.s.pa rgyal.mtshan to Ol.ja.tu's court see *Myang chos. byung* (p.168 lines 4-9) and above n.962. On Khri.lde.'bum of Gung.thang see *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (lHa.sa ed. p.113 lines 9-12: "mNga'.bdag 'di yab.kyi bcu.drug.pa sa.'brug.la 'khrungs.nas bzhi.bcu me.lug.lor Hor.gyi rgyal.po Ol.je.thu'i rgyal.srid lo bcu.gsum mdzad.pa'i dus mthar mnga'.bdag.la lung.las gngang.ba mngon", "This *mnga'.bdag* (Khri.lde.'bum) was born when his father was sixteen. When he was forty in the fire sheep year (1307), which was the thirteenth year of the reign of the Hor king Ol.je.thu, he was officially appointed *mnga'.bdag* by [imperial] order"). On Zhwa.lu sku.zhang Grag.s.pa rgyal.mtshan see also Vitali *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (p.100-101) and related notes based on *Myang chos. byung*; *Bu.ston rin.po.che rnam.thar*; Blo.gsal ston.skyong, *Zhwa.lu rnam.thar*, *The Chronicles of Zhwa.lu* in *Tucci Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II; *Zhwa.lu dgon.gyi lo.rgyus*.

power over the Shangs territory encompassing the lands as far as Dwang.ra g.yu.mtsho. Dharma dkon.mchog was made Byang *khri.dpon* (including Ru.thog) by the emperor in 1307, because his elder brother Ban.rgan.pa, a monk, did not involve himself in secular affairs<sup>975</sup>.

rGyal.bu Chos.dpal's appointment of Sa.skya.pa feudatories, the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s, to rule Shangs including the district of Ru.thog, shows that this territory was no longer under the control of the rival 'Bri.gung.pa-s. It follows that rgyal.bu Chos.dpal's grant must have been awarded after 1277-1280, when the Sa.skya.pa alliance took mNga'.ris skor.gsum from the 'Bri.gung.pa-s. Having taken over mNga'.ris skor.gsum, it was possible for the Yuan and the Sa.skya.pa-s to delegate another territory of sTod, that of Ru.thog, to their feudatories, much as they did with Gung.thang and Zhwa.lu in the case of Gu.ge Pu.hrang.

It cannot be ruled out that these territorial assignments were the result of a single political design. rGyal.bu Chos.dpal delegated power over Ru.thog to his protégé Rin.chen brtson.'grus and his clan the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s after the larger scale plan of his subordinate Sa.skya dpon.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po to control the whole of mNga'.ris skor.gsum had been successfully accomplished.

Dharma rin.chen was briefly succeeded as tax-collecting *khri.dpon* of Ru.thog by his elder son khri.dpon Chos.rgyal, while his younger son rGyal.ba bzang.po became one of the most powerful Sa.skya *dpon.chen-s*<sup>976</sup>. Chos.rgyal held the post for a single year before

(975) On the confirmation of power to the Shangs.pa-s given to Blo.gros rin.chen in 1307 *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.406 lines 4-10) says: "rTa'i.tu'i pho.brang du byon nas/ bla.ma'i sku.drin la/ Ol.ja.du rgyal.pos/ lHa.rgod mdung.rtse yan/ Dang.ra g.yu.mtsho man 'di/ Blo.gros rin.chen rgyud.pa dang bcas.pa shes.su chug gsungs.pa'i/ 'ja'.sa gtsang.ma gngang/ gcung gnyis.po/ phyogs.ris med.par bskyangs/ gcen.la Byang.gi khri.dpon dang/ gcung.la du.dben.sha'i mtshan zhus.nas bskos", "[Blo.gros rin.chen] having gone to rTa'i.tu pho.brang, due to the favour [this] *bla.ma* [enjoyed], Ol.ja.du rgyal.po announced: "Let people know that the lineage of Blo.gros rin.chen, all of them, [is awarded the lands] from lHa.rgod mdung.rtse (unidentified) to Dang.ra g.yu.mtsho". [Blo.gros rin.chen] was given an authentic patent. The two younger brothers ruled impartially. The elder of the two (Dharma dkon.mchog) was appointed Byang *khri.dpon* and the younger (Kun.dga' rdo.rje) *du.dben.sha*".

(976) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* devotes the major part of the sTag.sna rdzong.pa section to rGyal.ba bzang.po (p.408 line 6-p.410 line 12). He held the post of Sa.skya *dpon.chen* for two terms and that of Byang *khri.dpon* for one (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.410 lines 10-12: "Lung.gis bkod.pa'i dpon.chen gnyis/ Byang.pa'i chag.tshad gcig dang bcas.pas/ Gong.du dBus.gTsang du dpon.chen thengs.gsum mdzad", "He was twice *dpon.chen* by appointment of the imperial order. He was once the Byang.pa *chag.tshad* (i.e. "governor"?). Altogether, in the Upper Side and in dBus.gTsang he was *dpon.chen* thrice"). He served under ti.shri Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan and went with him to the imperial court in 1327. This year is deduced from the death date of the previous ti.shri Kun.dga' blo.gros. A document issued by Kun.dga' rgyal.mtshan in favour of Zhwa.lu dates to 1336 and confirms the period in which he was the imperial preceptor (Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.672a and 752.VIII). rGyal.ba bzang.po returned a second time to the court. It was in this occasion that he obtained the grant of fiefs in Shangs, where he established his seat at mThong.smon. He was thus twice at the capital of China for eighteen years in all. His struggles against t'ai.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan are described at length in *Si.tu*



his untimely death. Since he had no issue, his cousin dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan, the son of Ban.rgan.pa's youngest brother du.dben.sha Kun.rdor, was made *khri.dpon*<sup>977</sup>. He went to the imperial court of China with Kun[.dga'] blo[.gros] (1299-1327)<sup>978</sup>. dKon.mchog

*bka'.chems* written by the same Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan. His sons were Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan (briefly on him see Petech "Princely Houses of the Yuan Period Connected with Tibet" p.261), dbon.po Hor.tsha and Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan (*rGya.Bod yig.tshang* p.408 lines 13-16 and p.410 line 18-p.411 line 5 respectively).

An episode involving dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po confirms that Ru.thog was under the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s. rGyal.ba bzang.po is found at the shores of the lake called mtsho.mo Ru.khyung in 'Brog *khri.skor* Ru.thog, evidently a land he inspected either in his capacity as lay head of Sa.skya or as governor of the Byang *khri.skor*. The episodes continues with the mysterious disappearance of his horse, which was found at a camp pitched at Sog.la.skyo (a pass leading to Southern Turkestan?) and supernaturally populated by Ma.sangs, Ge.sar, and lGu.lidi, who foretold the birth of an incarnation of Ma.sangs in the sTag.sna rdzong.pa family. The following year rGod.po rin.chen was born. *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.407 line 7-p.408 line 5) reads: "Di'i skabs.su/ dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po.ba de.nyid/ 'Brog khri.skor.gyi Ru.thog/ mtsho.mo Ru.khyung.gi bskor na/ sgar.chen bzhugs.pa'i dus/ nang.gcig chibs sGar.ba stobs.chen bya.ba bor nas/ lha.'dre.mi gsum la/ bca' hu.sgram/ rtsad.gcod mi phyogs.bzhir btang.ba'i/ shar phyogs.ba'i mi.gnyis.kyis/ kha.ba skya.ri.ba bab.pa'i steng la/ rta.rjes 'dug.pa mthar ded.pas/ zhag.gsum la/ Sog.la.skyo'i zhol na/ sgar.chen gcig 'dug.par slebs/ de'i khrod.na chibs.pa yang 'dug nas/ mgron.gnyer la rgyu.mtshan snyad/ sgar.'di su'i yin dris.bas/ Ma.sangs.kyi sgar yin/ Ge:sar dang/ lGu.lidi la.sogs yod zer/ gur nang.du khrid/ bza'.brtung sna.tshogs byin/ lGu.lidi yin zer de na.re/ nged.kyis khar.sring nas/ Byang.stod (p.408) la yong/ dpon.chen.pa dang mjal rtsis/ da.lan ma.'phred/ rta 'di/ 'di bar g.yer.ba yin/ da.gzod khyod.kyi dpon.po gcig yod.pa/ de dang yang.yang 'phrad zer.ba gyis la/ rta dang mda' rgod sgro.ma 'di phul zer nas/ khyer yong/ dpon.chen.pa la phul.bas/ de.rting dbon.po rGod.po rin.chen.pa 'khrungs.pa'o", "At that time, when dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po pitched a great camp in the surroundings of mtsho.mo Ru.khyung in 'Brog *khri.skor* Ru.thog, one night, as his horse sGar.ba stobs.chen was lost, he consulted the *lha-s*, *'dre-s* and men, these three. As men were sent in the four directions to search for [the horse], two men, who had gone to the east, [having found] its hoofprints on a light-coloured snow mountain, continued their search for three days. They arrived at a great camp pitched at the foot of Sog.la.skyo. In its precincts was the horse. They blamed its keeper [wanting] explanations. They asked: "Whose camp is this?". He said: "This is the camp of the Ma.sangs-s. Ge.sar and lGu.liti stay here". [The two men] were accompanied inside a tent. A variety of food and drink were brought in. The one who was said to be lGu.liti told them: "I came to Byang.stod ages ago. I planned to meet *dpon.chen*, but the opportunity did not arise. This horse has been roaming as far as here. Tell [*dpon.chen*] that next year a *dpon.po* ("leader") of yours will be born and that we will meet time and again. Offer the horse and this arrow with eagle feathers". As he spoke [in this way], they went back to deliver [them]. Having given them to *dpon.chen*, later, [his] nephew rGod.po rin.chen was born".

(977) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.406 line 14-p.407 line 2) says: "Khri.dpon Dharma dkon.mchog la sras/ khri.dpon Chos.rgyal dang/ dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po byung/ du.dben.sha Kun.rdor la/ sras khri.dpon dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan byung/ khri.dpon Chos.rgyal.gyis/ yab.kyi shul.du/ Byang Re.thag 'then.pa'i khri.dpon thog.gcig byas/ sku.gshegs/ sras med.pas/ dKon(p.407).mchog rgyal.mtshan khri.dpon la bskos/ bla.chen Kun.blo phyag.phyir/ gong.du byon", "Khri.dpon Dharma dkon.mchog had khri.dpon Chos.rgyal and dpon.chen rGyal.ba bzang.po as his sons. Du.dben.sha Kun.dga' rdo.rje had khri.dpon dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan as his son. Khri.dpon Chos.rgyal was made tax-collector of Byang Re.thag for one crop (i.e. one year) in his father's place. He died. Since he had no sons, dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan was appointed *khri.dpon*. He went to the imperial court with Kun[.dga'] blo[.gros]".

(978) Kun.dga' blo.gros held the post of *ti.shri* at least from 1316 until his death. This is his earliest known

rgyal.mtshan was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, dKon.mchog 'od.zer, who was made *khri.dpon* of Ru.thog<sup>979</sup>.

Before a dispute arose between him and his younger brother dKon.mchog rin.chen, dKon.mchog 'od.zer conceived a son, Glang.po rin.chen, who was born after his father's death and was protected by his uncle rGod.po rin.chen<sup>980</sup>. It cannot be ruled out that his other uncle dKon.mchog rin.chen had prevailed in the struggle. Neither Glang.po rin.chen nor his uncle dKon.mchog rin.chen is indicated in *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* as *khri.dpon*. Given the silence of this text, it is quite possible that Ru.thog was lost to the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s. In fact, the Phag.mo gru.pa-s had extended their sovereignty over Shangs when Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, the younger son of rGyal.ba bzang.po, was handed over by the Sa.skya.pa-s to ta'i.si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan, presumably after the downfall of Sa.skya in 1354<sup>981</sup>. The end of the Sa.skya.pa sovereignty over the Byang *khri.skor* of Shangs, Dwang.ra and Ru.thog is marked by this act of formal capitulation. Its last *khri.dpon* was thus dKon.mchog 'od.zer. dKon.mchog rin.chen, dKon.mchog 'od.zer's youngest brother, took over sTag.sna rdzong in fire tiger 1386. This is the year when dKon.mchog 'od.zer presumably died and Glang.po rin.chen must have been born.

To sum up, the *khri.dpon*-s of Byang Ru.thog during the period from about the last quarter of the 14th century to around 1354 were Rin.chen brtson.'grus (d. before 1306);

date as imperial preceptor, deriving from the edicts he issued to the Zhwa.lu prince (Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.671a-b and 750,V). Another edict issued by him to Zhwa.lu dates to 1325 (Tucci *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.II p.671b-p.672a and 752,VII).

(979) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.407 lines 4-6) reads: "Sras.bzhi byung.ba'i che.ba dpon.po dKon.mchog 'od.zer dang/ dKon.mchog rin.chen/ mkhan.po bSod.nams blo.gros/ chung.ba rGod.po rin.chen rnam byung.ngo", "Four sons were born [to dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan]. The eldest was dbon.po dKon.mchog 'od.zer, then dKon.mchog rin.chen, mkhan.po bSod.nams blo.gros, and the youngest was rGod.po rin.chen".

Again *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.408 lines 14-15) says: "dPon.chen.pas/ dbon.po dKon.mchog 'od.zer/ Byang khri.dpon du bskos", "dPon.chen (rGyal.ba bzang.po) appointed his nephew dKon.mchog 'od.zer as Byang *khri.dpon*" and *ibid.* (p.412 line 13-14): "Khri.dpon dKon.mchog 'od.zer.gyis Byang Ru.thogs.kyi khri.dpon byed", "Khri.dpon dKon.mchog 'od.zer was *khri.dpon* of Byang Ru.thogs (sic for Ru.thog)".

(980) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.414 lines 12-16): "Khri.dpon dKon.mchog 'od.zer.ba sku.mched/ phyogs.gcig.pa'i dus.kyi sras.po gcig byung.ba/ drung.chen Glang.po rin.chen.pa/ de.nyid/ yab grong.pa'i rjes.la/ sTag.tshang rdzong.khar 'khrungs/ dpon.po Bla.brang dang/ khu.bo rGod.po rin.chen.pas/ 'tsho.skyong mgo.'don yang dag mdzad", "When khri.dpon dKon.mchog 'od.zer and his brother were [still] one faction (i.e. their dispute had not yet broken out), a son was conceived. Drung.chen Glang.po rin.chen was born at sTag.tshang rdzong.kha after his father (dKon.mchog 'od.zer) died. dPon.po Bla.brang and [his] paternal uncle rGod.po rin.chen provided him sustenance, protection and guidance".

(981) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.411 line 16-p.412 line 1): "Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan.pas/ si.tu'i ming dang/ las.kha thob/ dpon.chen.pas/ dbon.po 'di dang/ mThong.smon sbrags nas/ ta'i si.tu Byang(p.412).chub rgyal.mtshan la sprad", "Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan received both the name and the rank of *si.tu*. [Sa.skya] *dpon.chen* handed over both this nephew (Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan) and mThong.smon to ta'i si.tu Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan".

Dharma rgyal.mtshan (appointed in 1307 by the Yuan emperor Ol.ja.du); khri.dpon Chos.rgyal, who ruled for one year; dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan (cousin of the latter), ruling from 1316 when he went to the Yuan capital with the Sa.skya ti.shri Kun.dga' blo.gros; dKon.mchog 'od.zer (until around 1354). rGyal.ba bzang.po has to be added to them, for he was Byang *khri.dpon* (including Ru.thog) at an unspecified time.

Phag.mo gru.pa control of Shangs lasted until fire dog 1406, when Phag.gru Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan was defeated at the siege he had laid to sTag.sna rdzong<sup>982</sup>. With the end of Phag.mo gru.pa rule, at least in the areas controlled by the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s in sTod (Ru.thog), following the siege of sTag.sna rdzong, *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* says that a new phase of Sa.skya.pa influence was spread towards the west<sup>983</sup>. It is not clear whether it reached mNga'.ris.stod, but a Sa.skya.pa *bla.mchod* is documented to have been at court in Gu.ge when Ngag.dbang grags.pa returned to his homeland some time before 1424<sup>984</sup>.

Finally, an isolated literary reference to a nobleman from Ru.thog, who may well have been its ruler, living some ninety years after the loss of Ru.thog to the sTag.sna rdzong.pa-s is found in *Chos.legs rnam.thar*<sup>985</sup>. At the funeral ceremony of Khri.rgyal.'bum, the chief-

(982) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.415 lines 3-9): “Khyad.par/ dBus.pa/ bdag.po Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan.pas/ Phag.mo gru.pa srid.pa'i gtogs.pa'i/ dBus.gTsang.gi dmag.dpung stobs.che.ba bsdus nas/ me.pho.khyi lo ston/ sTag.sna.rdzong la bskor rgyag yun.ring.ba byas/ Nang.yan/ 'Tshag.skyel/ Brod.sdigs ji snyed.cig byung na'ang/ yab.sras dpon.g.yog rnam.kyis legs.par bsra.bcas/ phur.btsugs”, “In particular, the dBus.pa lord Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan, who wielded the political power of the Phag.mo gru.pa-s, having gathered a mighty army of dBus.gTsang, in the fire male dog year (1406) laid siege to sTag.sna rdzong for a long time. This also happened to many [other places such as] Nang.yan, 'Tshag.skyel, Brod.sdigs. The father and son (Glang.po rin.chen and rGod.po rin.chen, actually the uncle and nephew), leaders and servants all stubbornly resisted”.

(983) *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.415 lines 9-12): “'Thab.rol sprad.pas/ dBus.gTsang du mkhregs.pa'i tshad thub.pa byung zhing/ sTag shar/ gTsang srid.du grags.pa'i 'go de.nas tshugs.pas/ Sa.skya.pa'i bstan.byus yar 'phel.du byung”, “As they repelled the attack, they were able to challenge the might of dBus.gTsang and the beginning of what is known as the dTsang power was established to the east of sTag.[sna.rdzong and] the strategic role of the Sa.skya.pa-s spread upwards (westwards)”.

(984) *Bai.ser* (p.272 line 20): “De.dus rgyal.po'i sar Sa.skya.pa'i dge.bshes sprul.sku yod.pa.la/ rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa'i gsung.lugs (p.273) rnam.brjod.pas/ chos nyan.pa.la de.ltar los dgos zer”, “At that time, since rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa's tradition of teachings had been reported to him, a Sa.skya.pa *dge.bshes sprul.sku*, who was staying with the king, said: “You must definitely listen to his teachings”. This is another instance of the favour with which the Sa.skya.pa-s saw the advent of Tsong.kha.pa's doctrines, which is summarized in the proverb, according to which there would not be dGe.lugs.pa-s had there not been Sa.skya.pa-s.

(985) *Chos.legs rnam.thar* (f.24b lines 2-6): “Khyad.par Khri.rgyal.'bum.gyi sras.po/ bcu.dpon Rig.'dzin.'bum.gyis yab grongs.dus/ dGon.go.gsum bla.ma dge.'dun dang bcas.pa'i gtso.bo la/ rTa.sga nas bla.chen Shakya.pa dpon.slob nyi.shu rtsa.gcig spyang.drangs/ de'i.tshe bla.chen.pa'i drung.du 'bul.ba ji.tsam byed.kyi gros byung.dus/ Khri.rgyal.'bum.gyi yab mDo.sde grongs.pa'i dus.su/ rTa.sga bla.chen.pa.la rta bcu.bdun.gyis mgo.byas phul 'dug.pa la/ Rig.'dzin.'bum.gyi a.khu dKon.mchog.'bum na.re/ nga'i 'a.pha dang khyod.kyi 'a.pha yang cung mi.'dra/ nga dang khyod kyang cung mi.'dra.bas rta.gnyis chog.la bco.lnga phul zer nas/

tain of the various gTso.tsho.ba nomad groups of Byang, which took place between iron monkey 1441 and water pig 1442, one of the donors was Ru.thog Gra.bo. He was on an equal footing with the gTso.tsho members of the deceased Khri.rgyal.'bum's family, and, since he made a donation of fifteen horses to rTa.sga bla.chen Shakya, Khri.rgyal.'bum's son Rig.'dzin.'bum felt compelled to make a similar gift. The episode seems to suggest that Ru.thog Gra.bo was the local ruler who held power during the second quarter of the 15th century<sup>986</sup>. All one can say in conclusion is that Ru.thog had its own rulers, but it remains unclear whether they belonged to fully established dynastic lines.

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Ru.thog Gra.bos mgo.byas rta bco.lnga/ ras.zong dang/ gser.dngul sogs.kyis brgyan.pa phul", "In particular, when his father died, bcu.dpon Rig.'dzin.'bum, the son of Khri.rgyal.'bum, invited the dGon.go.gsum *bla.ma* and his monks as chief [performers of the funerary rites]. From rTa.sga he [invited] bla.chen Shakya and his disciples, twenty-one [of them altogether]. At that time, when he was advised what donations he had to give to *bla.chen.pa*, since seventeen horses had been given to rTa.sga *bla.chen.pa* as main donation when Khri.rgyal.'bum's [father] mDo.sde had died, Rig.'dzin.'bum's a.khu dKon.mchog.'bum said: "Your father and mine were more or less the same men [in terms of wealth, and] you and I are more or less the same men [in terms of wealth]. Let us offer fifteen horses [keeping] two [for ourselves]". Ru.thog Gra.bo gave fifteen horses as main donation, [and] cotton shoes, gold and silver". The dating of this episode derives from the fact that it is placed between events occurring in the biography in 1441 (ibid. f.24a line 1) and 1442 (ibid. f.25b line 6).

(986) Ru.thog again appears on the stage of West Tibetan history during the 16th century. *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* records an attack on Gu.ge in which Ru.thog took part, amongst other powers of sTod. The Ru.thog.pa-s and the other invaders were routed (ibid. f.34b line 1 and f.34b line 7-f.35a line 1; see above n.827). No name of its ruler is indicated.

# Postscript

## *A note on the genealogy of Shel in Mar.yul*

A few days before submitting the present work for printing, Tashi Tsering has once again kindly drawn my attention to another work, the gNam.rtse (Sikkim) version of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, which contains a lineage of rulers of Mar.yul significant to the assessment of the genealogical history of this territory which I have discussed above (see p.493-497 and n.833-837)<sup>987</sup>. This document records a royal line of Mar.yul which is remarkably similar to that of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*<sup>988</sup> and has therefore to be included among the sources providing evidence that deviates from that of *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. The lineage discussed in the following originates from dPal.gyi.mgon, which, on the authority of *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and *Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* corroborating one another (see above p.494 and n.833-835), should be recognized as that ruling from She.ye (Shel). As will be shown below, the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* also lists, although in a less clear manner, a few kings ('Od.lde, Ras.chen, Khri.btsan.lde) who must be associated with the latter seat of power in Mar.yul on the basis of the three texts mentioned above.

A short comparison with the royal line contained in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* is here attempted. In the same way as this source, the treatment found in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* can be divided into three periods. The first covers that of

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(987) The gNam.rtse version of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* contains a "tail document" not found in other editions of the latter work. It deals with the ancestors in Mar.yul of the king sTag.sham.can, with this ruler and his descendants in various districts of Central Tibet and in Sikkim. This document is however incomplete, for the last pages including its colophon and that of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* are missing. In the classical version of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* known to this day, a section on the lineages descending from bKra.shis brtsegs.pa.dpal is the last chapter. In the gNam.rtse version, this chapter has been substituted with the document under consideration, which extends its treatment to a period much later than the 14th century when *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* was written. sTag.sham.can is also briefly mentioned in Tshe.dbang nor.bu's *Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs*. This reference has induced mkhas.pa bKra.shis tshe.ring to search for more facts on him and thus to read the gNam.rtse version of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*.

(988) Similarities between the two sources do not include the assessment of the sTod.kyi mgon and the territories they ruled, which is considerably detailed in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* while it is short and stereotyped in *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* and neglected in the document appended to it, so that one is led to conclude that information on the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum has been extracted from different sources.

dPal.gyi.mgon and the early dynasty<sup>989</sup>. The second refers to the time when a number of rulers of different origin reigned, some of them bearing non-Tibetan names and therefore testifying to the fact that the kings issuing from the mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal house had lost control of the kingdom<sup>990</sup>. In the third period the lineage includes only names of Tibetan rulers, indicating that Tibetans recaptured the throne of Mar.yul and occupied it for a long period<sup>991</sup>.

This genealogy of the rulers of Mar.yul is as follows (see n.833 for that of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*):

dPal.gyi.mgon; 'Gro.mgon and Chos.mgon (his sons); lHa.chen.po ('Od.lde); Kyi.di.mgon; bKra.shis.mgon; Di.win; Di.mur; Mo.gol; La.lدان; mnga'.bdag Jo.'tsun; mnga'.bdag bTsan.'bar.lde; mnga'.bdag sKyobs.pa sKyob.pa chen.po; rTsa.rgan; Nyan.po jo; mnga'.bdag Ras.chen (and an other three: bSod.nams, lHa.btsun chen.po and Cu.dgu.rtsad); mnga'.bdag bSod.nams (the brother of Ras.chen); Khri.btsun (the son of bSod.nams); bTsan.dar; bKra.shis.lde; rNam.rgyal grags.pa (the brother of bKra.shis.lde); mnga'.bdag Grags.chen (the son of rNam.rgyal grags.pa); Don.grub rgyal.po (the son of bKra.shis.lde); bKra.shis.mgon (and his brother Grags.pa.mgon).

(989) *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (gNam.rtse ed. p.548 line 2-p.549 line 2): "Gong.du bshad.pa'i/ che.ba dPal.gyi.mgon.gyi sras 'Gro.mgon/de'i sras Chos.mgon de'i.srid bzung.dus lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po byon te Nya.mar gtsug.lag.khang chen.po zhing bzhengs zhing/ de.dag.du Kha.che'i pandi.ta mang.po dbyar.gnas mdzad.pa sogs rgyal.ba bstan.la srid.zhu che'o/ de'i lha.chen.po yin lags/ des.kyang grub.thob U[.rgyan.pa] U.rgyan yul.nas phyir byon.pa dang 'jal.nas zhabs.kyi padmo gtsug.tu bstan/ grub.chen.pas kyang rgyal.po yab.yum/ sras Gru.sha tsha.bor (p.549) grags.pa bcas.la Theg.pa chen.po'i chos.kyi tshim.par mdzad cing nyin.re.la rab.tu byung.ba lnga.brgya.re bslab.pa gso.ba/ gsar.du 'bogs.pa sogs bstan 'gro'i.don brlabs che.bar mdzad", "The son of the above mentioned eldest brother dPal.gyi.mgon was 'Gro.mgon. During the time when his (dPal.gyi.mgon's other) son Chos.mgon was ruling, lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po came and founded the great *gtsug.lag.khang* at Nya.ma (sic for Nyar.ma). In their time, many Kashmiri *pandi.ta-s* had their *dbyar.gnas* [in Mar.yul]. They were requested to diffuse the victorious teachings. His successor was lHa.chen.po ['Od.lde]. This one bowed to the lotus of the feet of grub.thob U.rgyan, whom he met on the latter's way back from U.rgyan. Grub.chen (O.rgyan.pa) satisfied the king, his wife and son known as Gru.sha tsha.bo with Mahayana teachings and ordained five hundred [people] to the monk vow every day. He greatly laboured to emancipate sentient beings by means of a new wave of ordinations". It is noteworthy that *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* has Rin.chen bzang.po founding Nyar.ma during the reign of 'Gro.mgon rather than Chos.mgon.

(990) *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (gNam.rtse ed. p.549 lines 2-3): "De'i sras Kyi.di.mgon/ de'i sras bkra.shis.mgon/ de'i sras lha.chen Di.win/ de'i sras Di.mur/ de'i sras Mo.gol/de'i sras La.lدان", "His (lHa.chen.po's) successor was Di.mgon. His successor was bKra.shis.mgon. His successor was lha.chen Di.win. His successor was Di.mur. His successor was Mo.gol. His successor was La.lدان".

(991) *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* (gNam.rtse ed. p.549 line 3-p.551 line 3): "De'i sras mnga'.bdag Jo.'tsun/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag bTsan.'bar.lde/ dei sras mnga'.bdag sKyob.pa sKyobs.pa chen.po/ de'i sras rTsa.rgan/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag Nyan.po jo/ de.la sras.bzhi 'khrungs te/ mnga'.bdag Ras.chen/ mnga'.bdag (p.550) bSod.nams/ lHa.btsun chen.po/ tha.chung nu.mo Cu.dgu.rtsad yin/ de'i Nub.ra mnga'.mdzad/ mnga'.bdag Ras.chen sras.gcig snga.ba yab.kyi gong.du gshegs/ rgyal.srid mnga' bSod.nams.kyi rkyang/ de'i sras Khri.btsun/ de'i sras

A first major point of variation from *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* is that the latter text records that 'Od.lde was a king of Mar.yul and mentions his marriage with the Bru.zha princess named rGyan.ne and the birth of a son called 'Bru.shal.tsha otherwise known as sGyur.chen. This information is followed by a corrupt passage which makes O.rgyan.pa the *bla.mchod* of 'Od.lde and his Mar.yul.pa family. The same anachronism is met with in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, according to which O.rgyan.pa became the *bla.mchod* of lHa.chen.po, his wife and their son called Gru.sha (sic for Bru.sha) tsha.bo, who is the same as 'Bru.shal.tsha, otherwise known as sGyur.chen, of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (see above n.432). The presence of 'Od.lde in the lineage of the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* is thus established.

This has significant genealogical consequences. While *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* also associates O.rgyan.pa, after wrongly saying that he was the *bla.mchod* of 'Od.lde, as personal *bla.ma* to the Dardic ruler gZi.di.khyim (known as De.khyim to *O.rgyan.pa rnam.thar rgyas.pa* and active in the mid 13th century), which is true on the authority of this *rnam.thar*, and thus introduces a gap of some two centuries in its outline, the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* ignores the latter event. One could think that by wrongly making O.rgyan.pa the *bla.ma* of 'Od.lde and not of De.khyim, as is correct, this document at least contains a more correct lineal succession after 'Od.lde, despite being historically wrong. It would follow that the gap of some two hundred years of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* does not exist in it, requiring a different reading of the genealogy I have proposed in reference to *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* (see above p.496 and n.836), were it not for the fact that subsequently in the lineage of the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i*

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bTsan.dar khri rgyas/ bTsan.dar.gyi dus Hor.yul la dmag lan.gsum khyer zhing/ gTsang.stod yan.la dpa'.ba dang rtul.phod.pa'i grags.pa chen.po thob/ de'i sras mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde dang/ rNam.rgyal grags.pa gnyis/ bKra.shis.lde rab.tu.byung/ rNam.rgyal grags.pa'i sras mnga'.bdag Grags.chen/de'i dus bla.ma Bu.rang.pa bya.bas yul Ga.ram.go.thag.ri las Sangs.rgyas glang.po'i gdung brnyed.pa/ mnga'.bdag.la phul.ba sogs (p.551) ngo.mtshar.ba'i gтам dang ldan.no/ mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde'i sras Don.grub rgyal.po/ de'i sras bKra.shis.mgon dang/ Grags.pa.mgon/ bKra.shis.mgon.gyis rgyal.srid brkyang te/sTod.Hor dang g.yul skrad.pas ral.gri.la me 'bar.ba/ chib.kyi sna.la du.ba 'thul.ba", "His (La.ldan's) successor was mnga'.bdag Jo.'tsun. His successor was mnga'.bdag bTsan.'bar.lde. His successor was mnga'.bdag sKyob.pa sKyobs.pa chen.po. His successor was rTsa.rgan. His successor was mnga'.bdag Nyan.po jo. Four offspring were born to him: mnga'.bdag Ras.chen, mnga'.bdag bSod.nams, lHa.btsun chen.po and the youngest, a female [known as] Cu.dgu.rtsad. He (Ras.chen) brought Nub.ra under his control. The son of mnga'.bdag Ras.chen died before his father. mNga'.bdag bSod.nams ruled. His son was Khri.btsun (sic for Khri.btsan.lde). His son bTsan.dar expanded his dominions (lit. "his throne"). In the time of bTsan.dar, troops were brought thrice to Hor.yul. He obtained great fame for his bravery and boldness as far as gTsang.stod. His sons were mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde and rNam.rgyal grags.pa, these two. bKra.shis.lde took vows. rNam.rgyal.grags.pa's son was mnga'.bdag Grags.chen. In his time, bla.ma Bu.rang.pa (sic for Pu.rang.pa) obtained a relic of the elephant of Sangs.rgyas from Ga.ram.go.thag.ri [and] offered it to the king. An account exists of this extraordinary event. The son of mnga'.bdag bKra.shis.lde was Don.grub rgyal.po. His sons were bKra.shis.mgon and Grags.pa.mgon. bKra.shis.mgon ruled. Having fought a battle against the sTod.Hor-s, flames came out of his sword and smoke from the nostrils of his horse".

*me.long* there is no trace of the 13th century king *gZi.di.khyim/De.khyim*. The only possible candidate for *De.khyim* is the ruler mentioned after 'Od.lde, named *Kyi.di.mgon*, which may correspond to *rDzi.de.gin*, the king listed after *gZi.di.khyim* in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*. If this analogy is accepted (which is far from being established), this could lead to the possibility that *rDzi.de.gin* is an alternative spelling for *gZi.di.khyim/De.khyim* in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and the same anachronism and genealogical gap of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* would also exist in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*. Hence, both genealogical treatments are marred by a major historical mistake and a long lacuna.

After the early kings of Shel, a number of names with a non-Tibetan air appear in the document. Several Dardic names demonstrate, as said above (see p.496), that the Dards were never prone to Tibetan domination<sup>992</sup>. Among them, *Di.mur* (the *De.mur* of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, see n.833) is definitely non-Dardic and non-Tibetan and seems to testify to Turkestani occupation of *Mar.yul*. In the following generation, the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* records *Mo.gol* as the ruler, while *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* records *Nyi.zla rdo.rje*, a Tibetan. The hypothesis that *Nyi.zla rdo.rje* was the Tibetan who freed *Mar.yul* from foreigners has to be ruled out, otherwise he would have been indicated as the successor of *Mo.gol*. Combining the two sources, I am more inclined to believe that he was the local ruler who had to acknowledge the sovereignty of foreigners and that during that time *Mar.yul* had to face episodes of alien domination rather more enduring than indicated in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*.

Genealogical correspondence between the two sources is reestablished in the main during the third period. The rulers of *Mar.yul* all bear distinctive Tibetan names, as if the threat posed by the Dards and the invaders from the borders had been successfully tackled. The period of undisputed Tibetan control of *Mar.yul* extended for several hundred years from approximately the end of the 13th century until the time of *bKra.shis.mgon* (around the mid 16th century), for the first Tibetan king of *Mar.yul* of this period reigned five generations before *mnga'.bdag Ras.chen*, a historically documented ruler of the *dPal.gyi.mgon* lineage of Shel active at least in 1370s on the authority of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs, Yar.lung Jo.bo chos.'byung* and *Gung.thang gdung.rabs* (see above p.130 and n.755-756). This means that when the Tibetan genealogy of Shel returned to be the undisputed ruler of *Mar.yul*, the two sources are in agreement. However, a major genealogical discrepancy is met with in the treatment of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* at the third generation of these rulers. The king *sKyob.pa sKyobs.pa chen.po* of the latter text is followed by another, *rTsa.rgan*, while

(992) The two works have some different assessments and spellings for the Dardic rulers. Apart from the case of *rDzi.de.gin/Kyi.di.mgon*, *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* has *Di.gin* after *bKra.shis.mgon*, while the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* records the name *Di.win*. Three generations later (following *Di.mur* and *Mo.gol* of the latter source), *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* records *gZi.di.khyim* (the king *De.khyim* met by *O.rgyan.pa*), while the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* has a mysterious *La.ldan*.



*gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* considers *Phyi.Se.rgan* (a probable alternative for *rTsa.rgan*) as another name for *sKyob.pa chen.po*. This adds one generation to the lineage of the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*.

After this king, the genealogies of the two works correspond almost completely, a minor variation being that *Khri.btsan.lde* (ruling in 1399 according to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*) is wrongly called *Khri.btsun* in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*<sup>993</sup>.

A few different accounts regarding the kings of this period are recorded in the two sources, of which a couple contained in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* are particularly interesting. The first refers to the conquest of *Nub.ra* by *mnga'.bdag Ras.chen*. This is especially noteworthy given that the pre-*dGe.lugs.pa* history of *Nub.ra* is remarkably obscure (for a hint at the religious situation prevailing in *IDum.ra* before the advent of *Tsong.kha.pa's* disciples in *sTod* see above n.11). It seems that some time around the third quarter of the 14th century *Nub.ra* was a vassal of *Mar.yul*. This situation lasted for approximately half a century, since, when *sTod Sher.bzang* went to *Nub.ra*, his *yon.bdag* was the local ruler *Nyi.ma grags.pa* (see *ibid.*).

The second account refers to the donation of a relic of the elephant of *Shakyamuni* (?) (*Sangs.rgyas glang.po'i gdung*) by a *bla.ma* called *Bu.rang.pa* (sic for *Pu.rang.pa*), of whom nothing else is known at present. He donated it to the king *Grags.chen* (the *Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan* of *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng*, possibly active some time in the second half of the 15th century). *Bla.ma Pu.rang.pa* obtained the relic from a locality named *Ga.ram.go.thag.ri* (i.e. *Karankotari*?) in the text, its name manifestly indicating that it was somewhere in *Mon.yul*, but the identity of which escapes my understanding.

These accounts are not only significant on their own, for they refer to unknown events of political and religious importance, but also because they testify to the fact that *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, despite containing a remarkably similar genealogical outline of the *Mar.yul* kings ruling from *Shel*, made use of different sources. This fact reinforces the validity of this genealogy indicating that at least some of its kings are recorded in various accounts and that the assessment of the lineage of *Mar.yul* contained in *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* and the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* was not based on a single common text. The *gNam.rtse* version of *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* is another work which provides evidence that the political situation in *La.dwags* throughout the centuries was more complex than *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* allows one to presume.

(993) A few minor discrepancies in the two works pertain to the number and names of *Nyan.po jo's* offspring, indicated as four in the document appended to *rGyal.rabs gsal.ba'i me.long*, while *gDung.rabs zam.'phreng* has six of them, and to his daughter called *Jo.'bum* in the latter source while she is weirdly named *Cu.dgu.rtsad* (a nickname of no clear decodification) in the former. *bTsan.dar* is made to have waged two campaigns in the territory of the *Hor-s* according to the latter text, while in the former his military expeditions amount to three. A point of agreement is that *Ras.kyi bla.ma bzang.po*, the brother of *Ras.chen* well known to *mNga'ris rgyal.rabs*, is called *lHa.btsun chen.po* in both sources.



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## Errata Corrige

An apology is due to the reader for printing mistakes of various kinds. Among them the reader is requested to note the following:

- p. X line 22: in place of **Gu.ge Pu.hrang** section read **The Gu.ge Pu.hrang** section.
- p. 89 line 8: in place of **gNya'.gzung btsan** read **Khri.gnya' bzung.btsan**.
- p. 219 line 16: in place of *mDo.gsum rab.dbye* read *sDom.gsum rab.dbye*.
- p. 364 line 14: in place of *bKa'.'gyur* read *bKa'.brgyud*.
- n. 635 line 5: in place of **Rab.rgyas.gling** read **Phyi.wang**.
- n. 922 (on line 9 of p. 538): in place of **bDe.legs rgya.mtsho**  
read **A.seng rdo.rje brtan.pa** (d. not later than 1495).