# RECORDS

A LITERARY AND VISUAL ECONSTRUCTION OF THE "MOTHER" MONASTERY IN GU.GE

Roberto Vitali

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Monumental reconstruction and mapping of Tho.ling and branch monasteries by Bianca Visconti with the collaboration of Christophe Besuchet

Oral contributions by the Tho.ling notables: Jampa Dawa, Jampa Yonten, Bumdzin Lhagpa, Mey Daten, Tsering Chöphel, Tsöndru Chöphel and Dawa Lama Yugyal

> Visual work by Laura Boutwell, Robert Powell, Mukti Singh Thapa and Bianca Visconti

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# Preface

DURING THE AUTUMN OF 1996, as a follow-up to the celebration of the millenium of Tho.ling, it was decided that it would be a worthy effort to try to reconstruct its temple complex symbolically, basing the work on literary documents, since most of the monastery suffered destruction during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Hence the present work, given that the celebration of the thousand years during which Tho.ling has been a light of inspiration for generations is an event that belongs to the past, is grounded on the wish to see the culture of West Tibet revive to some of its ancient splendour. At the same time, this book is a homage to a legacy, that of Tho.ling, which cannot be wiped out with its destruction.

In rather more specialist terms, this work aims to show that Tho.ling, the main or "mother" monastery (*ma.dgon*) of a network of branch or "children" monasteries (*bu.dgon*) in Gu.ge, has been investigated in some detail from a perspective that is based on Tibetan knowledge of the temple found in the literature and in oral accounts; and that the records of the temples composing Tho.ling, contained in textual material and the traditional knowledge introduced in the following pages, are quite accurate.

This work is thus a timid attempt to preserve at least the memory of the monumental conception of Tho.ling before this becomes irreparably lost with the disappearance of those who have lived in its temples. The same reasons should apply to other monasteries located in the many regions of the Tibetan plateau. A simple rule holds that to restore a monument is to understand its history. Literary research could definitely help the rebuilding activities, for which it should be a precondition, pursued in many cases in Tibet during the recent years often with diverging motivation, competence and financial support.

The task of recording any significant oral information on any subject belonging to the traditional culture of Tibet is particularly urgent because, with a generational change approaching, the wealth of this knowledge is in danger of becoming unavailable.

The textual evidence at the disposal of the present author pertains to records of

#### 2 RECORDS OF THO.LING

the structure, religious properties and organization of Tho.ling, which were generously provided by the Tho.ling monks Mey Daten and Mey Dönyö.

Oral tradition has been mainly contributed by the few surviving monks and inhabitants of Tho.ling who frequented the temple before its destruction. Their testimony has proved very useful in double-checking information derived from the literary sources and in adding details on the organization and functioning of the monastery.

Hence, the present author dealt mainly with the written sources and related philological work. Jampa Dawa, Tsöndrü Chöphel and Dawa Lama Yugyal were so kind as to provide the oral accounts which have supplied many concrete aspects that otherwise would have been lost forever. Other elders of West Tibet who have given useful information are Bumdzin Lhugpa, Jampa Yonten, Mey Daten and Tsering Chöphel.

The work of a few persons, who have been so gracious as to involve themselves in this project, and various kinds of assistance given, must be acknowledged in detail.

The contributions of the Tho.ling elders to this slow and painstaking process of advancing towards a closer and closer assessment of the Tho.ling complex should not be forgotten. In particular, Tshöndrü Choephel was extraordinarily sharp in locating the buildings with utmost precision. In the long run, his assessments almost always proved correct. Jampa Dawa was no less brilliant, especially in the identifications temple by temple. Dawa Lama Yugyal did extremely well in helping us with mDa'.ba.rdzong, his place of origin. Roberto Vitali remembers him with particular devotion.

Tashi Tsering has been a major driving force in this work, contributing writings, research, material, bibliographical and critical advice, his share in the interviews, and logistics. He has thus involved himself on the frontline from the beginning to the end. Lobsang Shastri has been, much like Tashi Tsering, deeply involved in the project. He has assisted with research, bibliographical advice, work in the interviews and production of the Tibetan documents published in this book.

Tsering Chöphel, a respected monk from Tho.ling, and Jigme Tsering, the honorable outgoing and incoming presidents of the Ngari Welfare Association, have paved the way for this work to progress. They have provided many kinds of precious assistance, facilitating the gathering of people involved in this work from distant places around India for discussion and analysis of the available material. We are especially indebted for their friendship, contributions and ready help.

A special thank you goes to everyone at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamshala) for their proverbial openness in making all their material always available. The Library has a record of consistently giving way to any request by scholars, which is a sign of the Tibetan open-minded attitude towards sharing their culture.

Laura Boutwell has also done very well. Her voluntary work has been highly appreciated, especially since it was given during the earlier and more critical phases. The elevation views of Tho.ling, drawn by her, convey a meaningful vision *d'ensemble* from the interior of the complex.

Mukti Singh Thapa has painted the two *thang.ka-s* that, in this author's view, reveal how much he has entered into the spirit of Tho.ling and its ancient history. He has been considerably pestered with directions and explanations by Bianca Visconti and Roberto Vitali, but his two paintings show how much his artistry was able to combine with thematic requirements.

Robert Powell has contributed a noteworthy reconstruction of Tho.ling *gtsug.lag.khang*, combining his unique artistic technique with an understanding of Tibetan monuments also derived from his architectural training.

Alexander von Friesen has edited the first draft of this work. Subsequently, Felicity Dhumkhang has taken the pains to re-edit the final draft. They have both made a substantial contribution for a better reading, a demanding task, especially since they had to go through the long lists of temples and religious objects that the Tho.ling inventories contain.

Bianca Visconti has succeeded in converting the indications provided by the textual material, the accounts of the Tho.ling elders and a limited photographic documentation into a coherent reconstruction on paper of the monumental complex of Tho.ling. She laid the foundations of the visual work by means of a detailed analysis, building by building, and of the complex as a whole. This is a remarkable achievement, given that, at the beginning, it seemed almost impossible even to attempt a summary visual organization. Very little material was at her disposal and *in loco* inspection did not help much, since traces of the destroyed buildings have been obliterated by the construction of new edifices on the spots where they were located. She worked incessantly to obtain much deserved break-throughs.

Christophe Besuchet came into the picture at a subsequent stage, contributing a brilliant critical analysis of Bianca Visconti's work by means of perspective studies and computer simulations. The two of them are responsible for mapping Tho.ling, which the author of this work considers an achievement going beyond expectations. After completion, the final symbolic reconstruction of the monastery was submitted to the Tho.ling elders, who approved it, considering it faithful to the structure that the monastery had before its destruction.

What this author wishes to emphasize is the dedication shown by everyone to obtain results, which, at times, seemed difficult, but which, despite all odds, have corresponded to the intentions and aims set out at the beginning. A big thank you goes to all these friends behind the book.

Help has also come from other sources. Nancy Jo Johnson allowed us to study her pictures of present-day Tho.ling, which, together with reconnaissance *in loco* by some of the contributors, have been crucial for this work. This has been for us further proof of her love and dedication to Tibetan culture, which we had already learned to appreciate. Arya Maitreya Mandala, the foundation which is concerned with the legacy of Li Gotami and Lama Govinda, has been very generous in giving us some old photographs of Tho.ling before its destruction. These are especially appreciated given that this institution was so altruistic as to be willing to share its visual material for publication with us.

Initially IsIAO (formerly called IsMEO) had shown an enthusiastic interest in participating in the project by making the Tucci Photographic Archives, kept in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale Roma, available for study. Subsequently, they withdrew their interest in the project for reasons best known to them. I wish, however, to express to them my gratitude and to invite the reader to relate the references to the accession numbers of the Archives, found in this work, to the actual pictures when these are published.

It is important to remember here that the sketches of Tho.ling, found in this book, aim at giving an impression of how the complex and the temples, which composed it, appeared before their demolition rather than at depicting them with architectural exactitude.

Finally, my gratitude goes to Jamyang Norbu and Tashi Tsering of Amnye Machen Institute for accepting to publish the present work in its High Asia imprint.

This author regrets that the release of the present monograph on Tho.ling is late, since the millenium of the foundation of Tho.ling fell in 1996, but the documents

on which this exercise is based only became available shortly before the celebration of the thousand years of Tho.ling was held in India on September of the same year.

There could be no more appropriate beginning to a literary and partially visual reconstruction of Tho.ling<sup>1</sup> than the opening pages of the inventories of the religious properties kept in the Tho.ling Iha.khang-s, known as rten.deb (on which see below p.65-80), which were compiled before the temple complex was destroyed. because it is from these that the present work started. These pages, describing the state of decay in which Tho.ling, founded by Khri.lde Srong.gtsug.btsan known also as Srong.nge (mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs p.51 lines 7-8), the great king of Gu.ge Pu.hrang who became a monk under the name Ye.shes.'od, was languishing in the third quarter of the 19th century, are, however, symptomatic of a situation hardly comparable to the present condition of Tho.ling, which is dramatically worse. Most of its temples have been destroyed, their religious objects looted and the couple of lha.khang-s whose structure was not dismantled survive merely as empty shells, These have been hastily and superficially refurbished in the recent past with the few receptacles that were recovered from the debris or that have been clumsily made for the purpose, while some of the ancient images extracted from the rubble have found their way to the antiquarian market, where people do not even know that they are from Tho.ling.

The rten.deb (f.2b-f.3a) reads: "Concerning the present [condition of] the gtsug.lag.khang, the receptacles and the objects of this chos.sde chen.po Gu.ge mTho.lding dgon[.pa], which is attached to Sera.byes grwa.tshang, [lay in a state of decay], given that in iron ox (1841), 'Byor.ra.sing and his troops, possessed by a 'bung.po ("evil spirit") [and driven by] wrong intentions, brought [such] a fire into the land of sKor.gsum that it was as if it was competing with the light of the sun. Since they behaved ill by invading the territory and causing destruction, we cried into the golden ears of gong.ma mchod.yon chen.po (i.e. the Dalai Lama), [and a response] has come back. A favourable order was sent. A select group of the best troops, headed by a commander, came to the land of sKor.gsum, and the protagonist of many actions during the invasion, Wa.gzir, the actual leader, was repulsed without leaving a trace. Since [this enemy] was dispersed during a fierce battle, the land, people, rdzong-s and estates in sKor.gsum were taken back again. Since the sun of fortune, prosperity and peace shone in the sky, many signs of virtue became eminent, at the same time (f.3a) the excellent system of gtan[.deb-s] (sic for rten.deb-s), which are convenient to check, was introduced, but, at present, these registers are again in poor condition. The images, receptacles and objects for worship, whatever is in possession, large and small, are broken or cracked. This is a major problem, since the registers and the properties do not correspond".

Ibid. (f.3b): "In addition to this, the times [are bad]. In the long run, the images and the receptacles [and] the properties, large and small, will eventually be completely missing (*stong*, lit. "empty"). Since there will be no [possibility of] reclaiming them, it will certainly happen that one day there will be nothing virtuous left outside and inside the monastery, in any place, and it will be like an empty paradise. Since [Tho.ling] is unlike all [other] dGe[.lugs] *dgon*-s in the borderlands attached to our own [monastery, i.e. Sera.byes], given the great [and] extremely noble blessings it bestows, this is a very serious problem. Given that no one dares to leave it in such a serious condition, funds were taken from the *sbug.'dzin* ("treasury") of the precious Sera.byes grwa.tshang for the regular religious ceremonies [at Tho.ling], and a sum was allocated [for Tho.ling], taken from the fund for the renovation of all kinds of monasteries. The installation of *mantra*-s in the *gtsug.lag.khang* 

<sup>1.</sup> The spelling Tho.ling is the spelling found in the colophons of the texts translated in the temple premises during the beginning of bstan.pa phyi.dar. The notion that Tho.ling is the most ancient spelling of the name of Yeishes.'od's temple contradicts the assumption of sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, the author of Bai.ser (p.273 lines 6-9: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.1), when he narrates the well known legend behind the spelling mTho.lding ("flying high"), which he reads in an anachronistic way: "As Iha.bla.ma Yeishes, 'od said: "May I tame my people in the place where the gaddi which I throw into the sky will land!", he made it fly (Iding) high (mtho) in the sky. On the spot where it landed he founded a gtsug.lag.khang. It was called mTho.lding. In contemporary pronunciation it has become known as Tho.ling". Conversely, the documents show that the spelling mTho.lding became popular with the dGe.lugs.pa-s. The name Tho.ling should thus be used to address this monastery until soon after the dGe.lugs.pa advent in Gu.ge (15th century), that of mTho.lding from the 15th century until the present time, but, for reasons of simplicity, the spelling Tho.ling is adopted throughout the present work. Spellings of its name are retained as they appear in the passages quoted from Tibetan literature.

images and objects was thus offered and, at the same time, a renovation of the outside and inside [of the *gtsug.lag.khang*] was promptly made".

Ibid. (f.4a): "Custody must be undertaken in the best possible way. Records must be kept as if every single hair has been counted. A new *gtan.deb* (sic for *rten.deb*) has been prepared to make the record of what is there easier (*rtsa.'dzin*, lit. "holding the root") [to compile]".

But before passing to study the documents on the temple complex of Tho.ling from a monumental point of view and attempt a symbolic reconstruction based on the literary sources, an historical summary is included here to place the issue in its cultural context.

# Part One

The temples of Tho.ling An annotated reminder of historical events concerning them

## A description of Gu.ge, the land of Tho.ling

SUM.PA MKHAN.PO (*dPag.bsam ljon.bzang* p.6 lines 2-4) describes in the following mythological terms the people of Gu.ge and Cog.la (bordering on Gu.ge to the west): "In Lus dang Lus.phags<sup>2</sup>, the people are four-legged. To the north of here, in Gu.ge, the people are three-legged. Nearby in Co.la (sic Cog.la), the people are four-eyed".

The same work (ibid. p.7 line 7-p.8 line 4) adds a few notions regarding the religious geography of sTod: "In the north of Ma.gadha, beyond the Nine Black Mountain range is gangs.chen Ti.se, the abode of dBang.phyug chen.po (Shiva), and between the latter and the scented sPos.ngad is the holy place of Klu Ma.dros, praised in the summarized mDo-s as mtsho Ma.dros.pa, which measures fifty dpag.tshad<sup>3</sup> both in length and breadth. To the east of this, the rivers Gang.ga, Sin.du, Pakshu and Si.ti (sic for Si.ta) springing from [four] great rock formations which resemble a bull, a horse and a lion [respectively] in the four directions (sic, one missing), carry silver, gold, baidurya and rdo. rje sand into the 500 minor rivers. After encircling the Ma.dros.pa seven times, each flows into the ocean in its own direction. To the right of the lake is the 'Dzam.bu tree. When its fruits ripen, they fall into the lake. The sound [they produce when falling] sounds like 'dzam.bu and they transform into precious gold. On the left-hand side is [the area] with the special feature of the Shal.ma.la tree, which is the abode of the four Khyung races (rigs). To the north of the scented sPos.ngad is the rock gSer.gyi bya.skyibs.can ("having a golden nest"), which is square. Each side measures fifty dpag.tshad. Surrounding the latter are hundreds of thousands of small gSer.gyi bya.skyibs. To the north of this is the Sa.la rab.brtan tree which is surrounded by seven rows of sa.la [trees]. (p.8) To the east of the latter is a pond which flows slowly (dal.gyi 'bab.pa), surrounded by 500 smaller ponds. Near these three [trees?] it is said that [here] is lHa.dbang.gi glang.chen Sa.la rab.brtan ("the elephant of divine power standing firm upon the ground"). The four great mountains are, in the north, gangs.chen Kai.la.sha Ti.tse; in the south 'big.byed ("Himalayan range") Ma.la.ya...". The source of these descriptions that Sum.pa mkhan.po incorporated at the beginning

2. Tshig.mdzod chen.mo defines Lus 'phags.po as the continent in the ocean to the east of Ri rab otherwise known as 'Phags.pa'i yul, where seven banana trees grow, and where people have "superior" bodies (i.e. lus, 'body" and 'phags.po "superior"), from which its name derives.

3. Is one dpag.tshad equal to one mile?

of his *chos. byung* is not indicated by him. These concepts seem to be based on *Abhidharma* literature, and are often found in the opening sections of Tibetan historical works of all periods.

The morphology of the land of Gu.ge is described in a passage of Nyang.ral chos. byung together with the other two skor-s of mNga'.ris, when the conquest of the skor.gsum by Nyi.ma.mgon is discussed: "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] looked, he reported: "The land looks like the carcass of a slaughtered horse surrounded by snow mountains. The people resemble srin. po-s (in this case "demons" rather than "blood suckers"?)". [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 resemble 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 resemble frogs" (ibid. p.457 line 20-p.458 line 7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.2). 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, and Mar.yul by lakes<sup>4</sup>.

*mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam* resumes another three-fold grouping often found in the sources, that concerning the famous holy mountains and holy lakes of the land: "Likewise, gangs Ti.se, sMan.mo nag.snyil (lit. "dense forest of medicinal plants") and Ri.bo rtse.brgyad, these three, are called the *sa.yi 'bur.gsum* ("the three protuberances of the earth"). Ma.pang g.yu.yi mtsho.mo, which is the palace of Klu.rgyal Byang.chub sems.dpa' and possesses the eight qualities (*yan.lag*); La.ngag.mtsho, the palace of the great mGon.po Bing (sic for Beng) in *yab.yum*, in the shape of a human skin and bestowing the four prosperities (*g.yang.bzhi*); Gur.rgya khrus.kyi mtsho ("bathing lake"), these three, are called the *sa.yi 'khyil.gsum* ("the three coils of the land")" (ibid. p.174 lines 13-18: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.3).

A few classifications, dating from a late period, of the people, the administrators and the districts that made the three territories connected to Gu.ge, which were the *rdzong*-s ("administrative units") of the lHa.sa government, are introduced here. The three *rdzong*-s are those of rTsa.rang, mDa'.ba and Ru.thog. The latter is a territory attached to Gu.ge, although, strictly speaking, it is not part of it.

*mNga*'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam, when it briefly describes the divisions of rTsa.hrang, reads: "The five divisions (tsho) of subjects under rTsa.rang include the division of Chu.mur.ti; the division of mKhar.stod Byang.ngo (sic for Byang.ngos); the division of Gling together with rTsa.do, these two being grouped as mKhar.spur [note: the latter [division] is also known as IHo.stod]; the division of IHo.smad [note: also known as Ma.sbug]; and the division of Rong.chung, these five. The general head is rTsa.rang.rdzong [note: also known as Shang.rtse (sic)]"<sup>5</sup>. The association of rTsa.rang with Shang.rtse, obviously not one and the same place, rests on the fact that Shang.rtse was the summer seat of the *rdzong.dpon* while rTsa.rang was his winter capital.

The same text discusses the organization of mDa'.ba in the following terms: "Firstly, concerning the people under [mDa'.ba.]rdzong and the record of the successive *rdzongs* incumbents, the people under this *rdzong* are called mDa'.ba *cha.zhabs* ("subjects of mDa'.ba"). There are the general division (*tsho.spyi*) of Khyung.lung, the general division of gDong.po gzhung.chos, the entire territory

4. See, for instance, *rGya.Bod yig.tshang* (p.298 lines 15-17) for this classification at the time of the establishment of the *khriskor bcu.gsum*, or *Ngor chos.'byung* (p.327 line 3) for a treatment of the three *chol.kha* of Tibet during the Yuan/Sa.skya period.

5. See mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.116 lines 1-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.4). The same text (p.116 lines 7-17 Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.5) adds details of the system adopted to run the administration of the rTsa.rang district in the period before it was dismissed by the Chinese authorities: "Firstly, the three monastic communities, the internal leaders (nang.dpon) and [other] leaders, the government, the noblemen and the religious [institutions] (gzhung.sger.chos.gsum), these three, collect various kinds of taxes from the subjects who pay them with products from the land. They exercise authority in accordance with their own rank. Especially appointed representatives of rTsa.rang.rdzong are the rTsa.rang gzhis.gnyer ("estate manager"), the Phyi.dbang gzhis.gnyer, two headmen/collectors ('go.pa) of the crops, one headman of ha.la [also known as 'u.lag] ("compulsory work"), a headman/collector ('go.pa) of wood for the monastic community, one inspector (zhal.ngo) of rnga.brgyud (?), one yul.dpon. In each tax office/check-post a tax on the heads of sheep to be slaughtered, a tax on salt and a tax on wool are collected by one representative (sku.tshab), stationed at the office at sPu.ti la.sgo ("sPu.ti main passes", i.e. sPu.ling and Nyi.ti?), one at Za.rang zam.mo.che ("big bridge") (elsewhere called Gu.gum zam pa), which makes two localities; one at Srib.skyes rGya.zam ("Indian bridge of Srib.skyes") and one at Chu.mur.ti chags.ra.can"

(yul.spyi) of mDa'.gzhol (sic for zhol "at the foot of mDa'.ba"?), the entire territory of mDa'.mkhar, the people not included among (*snye.ba*, lit. "at the back") the administration (*gzhung.rgyugs*) of Ma.nam [note: *ri.ba* (?)], and the entire territory of Zur.khang" (*mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam* p.157 lines 8-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.6).

The text (ibid. p.158 line 17-p.159 line 11: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.7) adds: "Some [names of the people of mDa'.ba] are mentioned below for the sake of research, such as sMon.tsho.ba; 'Bo.khyang.pa, Mi.ro.skyabs, sMa.khams stod.pa, rGyang.mkhar nang.pa, (p.159) Zhol.pa grags.chen, Shes.dkar gling.pa; gDong.nag.sras, the representative (*ngo.tshab*) of rGyang.mkhar Tang.pa; IDan bya.tshang; 'Chum.po.gling; sNgon.lung *phyag.mdzod* ("administrator") Byams.pa Thub.bstan; gSang.jo, the representative (*ngo.tshab*) of gDong.nag; Tshe.'phel, the representative (*ngo.tshab*) of sMan.Zur; bSam.Zur rTa.mgrin tshe.dbang; Ye.shes, the representative (*ngo.tshab*) of Thub.bstan 'od.zer".

Concerning Ruthog, mNga'ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam says: "Ruthog dgon[.pa] is under Se.ra.byes grwa.tshang. A mkhan[.po] ("abbot") [and] a phyag[.mdzod] ("treasurer"), these two, are appointed [from Se.ra.byes] and the length of their tenure is six years. The four different representatives (sku.tshab), charged to help the work of the rdzong.dpon, are the Tshwa.ka sku.tshab, the Gul.pa sku.tshab, the lCags.khang sku.tshab and the Ru.thog lKog sde.pa. Since they were appointed [to these posts], they run the administration. In order to facilitate the collection of taxes by the rdzong.dpon and the bla.brang, the subjects are divided into five divisions (tsho). The five divisions of laymen and monks are the four divisions paying taxes to the government (gzhung.rgyug.pa), which are the division of mKhar.stod, the division of mKhar.smad, the division of Shar.sna, and the division of Nub.sna and one is known as Chos.gzhis 'go.pa ("leader of the monastic estates"). Under them are nine leb.tsho (i.e. tax-paying divisions?): rTing.smad leb.tsho, rTing.stod leb.tsho, (p.98) Ra.sang (Ra.bang?) leb.tsho, Rog.gsum byang.ma leb.tsho, lCags.khang leb.tsho, Ri.chos leb.tsho, dBo.byang leb.tsho, sDe.cho leb.tsho, sDe.'og leb.tsho. Likewise there are the so called zur.sdod leb.tsho.drug ("six tax-paying divisions dwelling at the margin?"). They are Byang.smad leb.tsho, Byang.stod leb.tsho, Bod.rong leb.tsho, Blo.gling leb.tsho, Ru.thor leb.tsho and Gul.pa leb.tsho. The dgon.pa grwa.tshang is lHun.grub chos.sdings grwa.tshang. Since the [monasteries] are classified into seventeen mother and branch [monasteries] (i.e a mother monastery and sixteen branch monasteries), soda is paid [to them] as tax" (ibid. p.97 line 13-p.98 line 7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.8).

### Valleys of Gu.ge

The heart of the Gu.ge territory is divided by the Glang.chen kha.'babs into two major areas: Gu.ge Byang.ngos and Gu.ge lHo (composed of lHo.stod and lHo.smad). Byang.ngos borders on the Glang.chen kha'.babs to the south, on Gu.ge Rong.chung to the west, on the area of Chu.mur.ti in the north and on the mountain range leading to the sGar.chu territory to the east. It comprises a number of valleys which are all more or less perpendicular to the course of the Glang.chen kha.'babs. Its valleys are:

	mDun.chu Valley	
	Preta. puri Valley	
	dPal.rgyas Valley	
5 Shang rtse Valley	Khyung.lung Valley	Khwa.tse Valley
ling Shang Valley	stod mDa' ba IDong.bo Valley	sPu.ling Valley
1.ge Byang.ngos A North Zha.ye Rab.rgyas.gling Valley Valley		Gu.ge lHo.smad ♦ North Chu.ze/Ri.sde.sgang Valley
Gu.ge Byang.ngos A North Zha.ye Rab.rgya Valley Vall	Gu.ge lHo.stod ♦ North Khyung.mgo mD: Valley	Gu.ge lHo.smad ♦ North Chu.ze/Ri.sde.sgang
Sung.ngur Valley	mDa',ba Valley	Za.rang Valley
Yi.ri dgon Valley	Mang.nang Valley	sTang Valley
	Tho.ling Valley	
	r Tsa.hrang Valley	
	gDo.sham Valley	

## **Synopsis**

### The Genealogy of the kings of Gu.ge

(mainly from mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs and Bai.ser)

sKvid.lde Nvi.ma.mgon bKra.shis.mgon Stong.nge who became known as 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 sPvi.lde.btsan (ruling in Gu.ge Byang.ngos) dPal.mgon.btsan (ruling in Gu.ge lHo.stod) rNam.lde.btsan [gap of some 50 years: no [Ho.stod king recorded] Nyi.ma.lde dGe.'bum bKra.shis.lde La.ga bKra.shis dbang.phyug dPal.mgon.lde Chos.rgyal grags.pa Grags.pa.lde (reunified IHo.stod and Byang.ngos) [Lacuna of about one hundred years] rNam.rgyal.lde Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde rNam.ri sangs.rgyas.lde Blo.bzang rab.brtan 'Phags.pa.lha 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde Ngag.gi dbang.phyug Nam.mkha'i dbang.phyug Nyi.ma'i dbang.phyug Grags.pa'i dbang.phyug.lde rNam.rgyal grags.pa bzang.po'i lde bKra.shis grags.pa (last ruling king of the Gu.ge dynasty) Seng.ge rnam.rgyal (king of La.dwags) Indra.bo.dhi mam.rgyal (from La.dwags) [dGa'.ldan pho.brang government] Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis (of Gu.ge mDa'.ba.rdzong under dGa'.ldan pho.brang) Building phases at Tho.ling

- 1. The foundation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in 996 and the expansion into dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, which occurred until 1028. This phase ended with the damage caused by the 1037 invasion of the Qarakhanid-s.
- 2. Foundation during the rest of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*: Padma rmad.du 'byung.ba (around 1037-1041?) and gSer.khang (1067-1071) followed by bSod.nams.rtse's restoration of the latter temple. gSung.chos ra.ba, frequented by Rin.chen bzang.po and Jo.bo.rje, belongs to this period. This phase ended in 1111 with Zhi.ba.'od's death. Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung belongs either to phase 1 or phase 2.
- 3. Grags.pa.lde's renovation (1265-1277) of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang.
- 4. Ngag.dbang grags.pa and lHa.dbang blo.gros' expansion of Tho.ling, i.e. the making of the so called *chos.sde gsar.ma* (15th century), comprising 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan, lha.khang 'Jig.rten.brgyan, the new gSer.khang and possibly by the gNas.bcu lha.khang, which had 15th or 16th century murals (early dGe.lugs.pa period in sTod).

It is not mentioned in the sources during which phase the Byams.khang, Bla.brang, rGyal.khang and Mani lha.khang were built.

Building phases at each of the main Tho.ling temples

Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang founded by Ye.shes.'od in 996; Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang expanded into the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang by lHa.lde (1028); renovated by Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277).

- Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at Shing.sgra rtse.mo founded by Byang.chub.'od (year unknown, but probably between 1037-1041).
- gSer.khang 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan built by Zhi.ba.'od (1067-1071); renovated by bSod.nams.rtse (late 11th-early 12th century).
- 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan founded by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa (15th century).

lHa.khang dkar.po founded by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa (15th century). gSer.khang founded anew by IHa.dbang blo.gros (late 15th century).

The restoration of the *gtsug.lag.khang* by Grags.pa.lde concerned the following *lha.khang-s* 

rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang; lHa.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar; sMan.lha.khang; rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang; Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang; 'Jigs.brgyad lha.khang (based on monumental evidence).

The phases which concerned the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang are the *bstan.pa phyi.dar* phase (literary evidence); the Grags.pa.lde's phase (monumental evidence) and Ngag.dbang grags.pa's phase (literary and monumental evidence).

Other temples existing during bstan.pa phyi.dar

gSung.chos ra.ba (earlier than 1042 given Jo.bo.rje's evidence?); Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung and the other *lha.khang*-s in which the statues of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, mentioned below on the same page, were installed.

Temples of difficult dating

Byams.khang (depicted in the 15th century (no longer extant) mural reproduced in the modern *thang.ka*) (see pl.111);

Ma.ni lha.khang (faint traces of murals may point to the fact that the temple was part of the 13th century phase);

Bla.brang mgon.khang;

mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung (belonging to the Bla.brang; the latter is mentioned in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*, thus predating the 1530s);

rGyal.khang (which could not predate the dGa'.ldan pho.brang period).

Documented images and structures put up at Tho.ling from its foundation to the end of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* 

dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang

a statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad (whose existence is not recorded in the *rten.deb*) and the other rGyal.ba rigs.bzhi to compose the rGyal.ba rigs.lnga (sponsored by Ye.shes.'od);

a statue of Shakyamuni (sponsored by lHa.lde);

- a statue of rTa.mgrin (of Gu.ru Hum.'bar fame, existing in the time of Ye.shes.'od);
- a statue of Thugs.rje chen.po (one of Rin.chen bzang.po's yi.dam);
- a statue (?) of rDo.rje chen.mo (in the bSrung.ma.khang built during the time of lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po);

rGyud.sde.bzhi ri.mo-s (existing in the time of Jo.bo.rje-Byang.chub.'od).

The location of the rGyud.sde.bzhi murals (*ri.mo*) is not clear. A suggestion is that the rGyud.sde.bzhi *ri.mo*-s, for which Jo.bo.rje, overcome by great emotion, improvised

verses, were the murals existing in the *gling.phran bcu.gnyis*, thus possibly including the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang as well as the *lha.khang*-s of the brGya.rtsa and the walls of the roofed corridors, which are the spaces linking the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang to the brGya.rtsa. But, on the authority of *Nyang.ral chos. byung*, it is more probable that they were either in the Thug.rje lha.khang of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang or in the Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung (see below p.27 and n.25).

gSer.khang

a statue of 'Jam.dbyangs chen.po; 'Jam.dpal smra.ba'i rgyal.po; the gods of the 'Jam.dpal mtshan.brjod dkyil.'khor; seventy-four clay statues and many minor *dkyil.'khor*-s (made by Zhi.ba.'od).

Building phases of the Gu.ge temples

There are various phases of temple building during the fertile season of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in West Tibet. The first phase recorded in the sources took place in 992. The second was that of 996.

Tho.ling, with the exception of the first phase in 992 when the record of only one foundation is preserved in the sources, is represented in almost all the other ones.

The temples built during the earliest phases

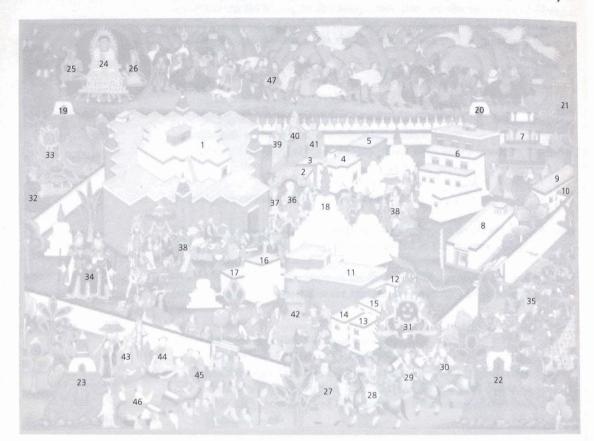
Ye.shes.'od's or Khor.re's Pa.sgam (992).

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 IHa.lde's completion of Kha.char with the making of the silver Jo.bo (around 996).

Temples built during the life of Ye.shes.'od or under his influence 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); IHa'i me.tog's Kre.wel, 'Od.lde's dPe.thub (1024) and IHa.lde's completion of Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa (1028).

- Others belonging to the phase of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* after Ye.shes.'od's death Byang.chub.'od's Mang.nang Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling, Kyin.re.gling, Ta.po lHa.khang dmar.po (all of them between 1037 and 1041) and Mang.nang Byams.pa.'phel, Tho.ling Shing.sgra Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba.
- Finally, a temple built in the later period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in West Tibet Zhi.ba.'od's Tho.ling gSer.khang (1067-1071), contributions to Tho.ling dBu.rtse.

A *thang.ka* depicting the temples of Tho.ling before destruction and the main events occurring during the first hundred years of its history



#### **Buildings**

- Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang
- Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzim.chung
- 3 gSung.chos ra.ba
- Byams.khang 4
- 5 gNas.bcu lha.khang
- 6 Bla.brang
- 7 gSer.khang
- 8. IHa.khang dkar.po
- 9 'Bri.g.yag
- 10 Grwa.tshang
- 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan
- sBug.pa
- 13 Rong.stod
- 14. gNyer.tshang
- 15 rGyal.khang
- 16 sPyi.khang 17
- Mani Iha.khang 18
- gDung.rten ring.mo dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i 19 gdung.rten
- 20 IHa.'bab mchod.rten
- Byang rta.sgo bridge 21.
- 22 Zangs gdung.rten
- mChod.rten khra.bo 23.

#### Events

mchod.gnas Ser.po, the officiating bla.ma of Iha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od was assassinated by the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s. IHa.bla.ma demanded compensation and he was granted the Dong.rtse gold fields, from which he extracted the gold to build Tho.ling

- 24. mchod.gnas Ser.po 25
- Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi 26 Ye.shes.'od (before taking monastic vows)

Rin.chen bzang.po leading rDo.rje chen.mo and her two retinue Re.ma.ti and Gar.dzad.ma from India to Tho.ling. rDo.rje chen.mo was chosen by lo.chen to be the protrectress of Tho.ling. Flying after Rin.chen bzang.po, the mGon.po'i 'chams.sku bse.'bag nag.po 'phur.shes ("the flying black leather mask being the dancing mask of Gur mGon.po") went to Gu.ge as well. This was the mask (including hands and upper part of the torso) made at Bodhgaya with the skin of an infidel king who had come to loot its tem-

- ples
- 27 Rin.chen bzang.po
- 28 rDo.rie chen.mo
- 29 Re.ma.ti
- 30 Gar.dzad.ma
- 31. the bse.'bag nag.po 'phur.shes of Gur mGon.po

rTag.sde Bon.ston Hum.'bar rediscovered a Bon.po gter.ma from back of the rTa.mgrin statue of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang. He gave it to sTag.sde Grags.pa rgyal.mtshan who passed it to lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od

32 Bon.ston Hum.'bar 33 the rTa.mgrin statue

> The Srib.skyes sisters, who came to Tho.ling to show their devotion, planted their walking sticks made of wild rose wood. The walking sticks became the wild rose tree which was the "soul tree" of rDo.rje chen.mo, the protrectress of Tho.ling. This proved that the sisters were transformations of rDo.rje chen.mo

34 the Srib.skyes sisters wearing the typical attire of Rong.chung, from which they were

> In 1037, the Gar.log invaded Gu.ge and damaged the temple of Tho.ling. A big black snake slithered in their camp Taken by awe, they rebuilt one of the Iha.khang-s

35 the snake and the Gar.log troops

> Before dying in the rat 1024, Ye.shes.'od broke his meditation and met his population, which organized five days of ceremonies, processions and dances

- 36 lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od IHa.lde (the king of Gu.ge at 37 that time)
- 38. the procession

On reaching Gu.ge in water horse 1042, A.ti.sha went to Tho, ling, Taken by great emotion on seeing the murals of the rGyud.sde.bzhi deities, he recited verses in their honour that he composed impromptu Rin.chen bzang.po A.ti.sha

40. lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od 41.

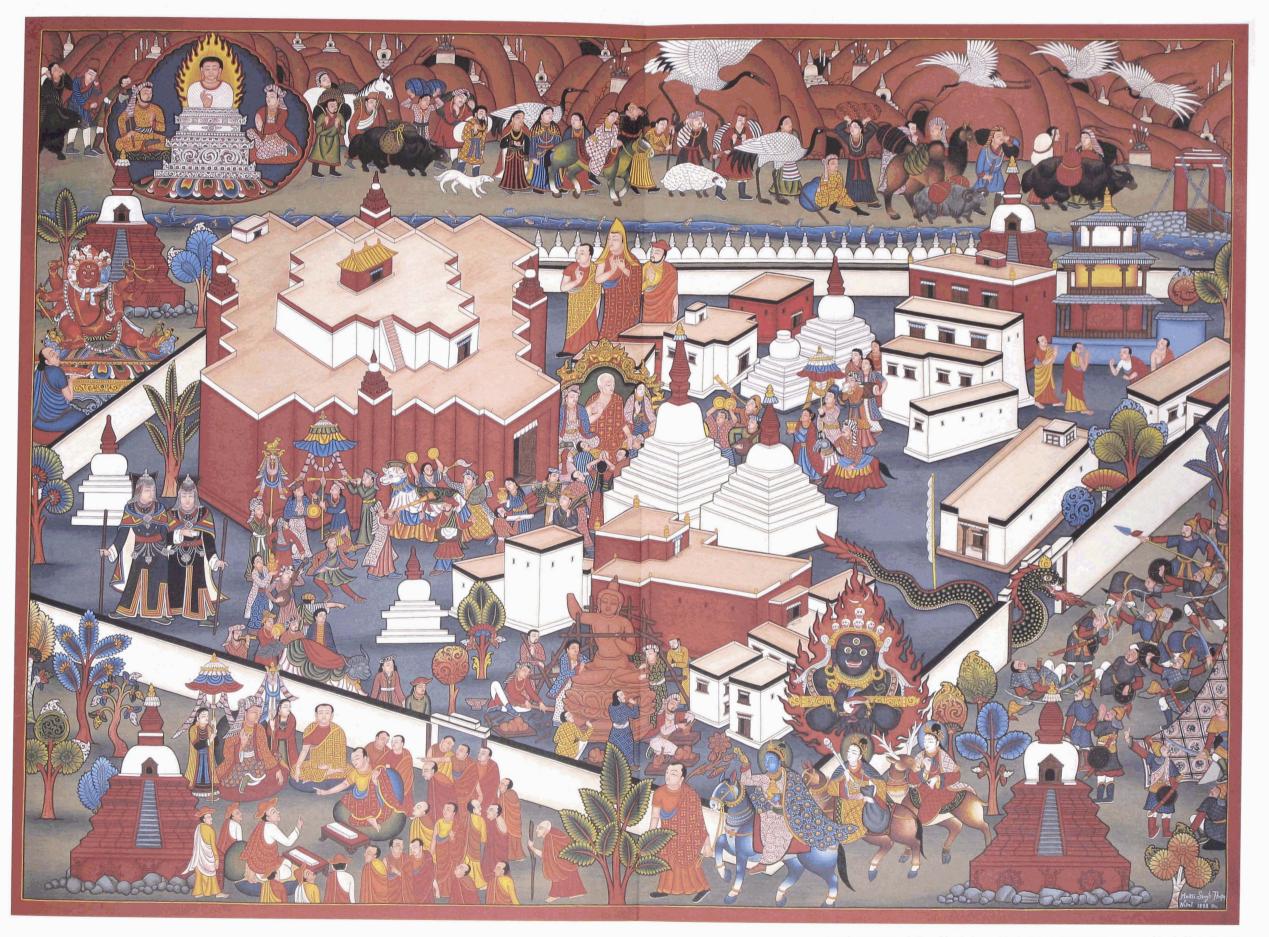
39

In fire sheep 1067, Zhi.ba.'od founded the three storeyed gSer.khang. Not only Kashmiri artist were active to make the gods of the temple but also artists from the Magadha region of India

the artists from Magadha mak-42 ing the 'Jam.dpal.dbyangs statue of the gSer.khang

> In fire dragon 1076, the king rTse.lde and his uncle, the royal monk Zhi.ba.'od, held the Tho.ling council. Master from all over Tibet and India came to partecipate to it

- 43 rTse.lde
- Zhi.ba.'od 44 45
- the Tibetan masters 46 the Indian masters
- a caravan approaching Tho.ling 47 bridge



### Section One

### Historical phases at Tho.ling A summary of the literary material (Ioth-15th centuries) (from R.Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*)

THE THOUSAND YEARS during which Tho.ling was, with varying fortunes, a light of inspiration in the lands of mNga'.ris.stod are here classified into phases relevant to the history of this temple and of West Tibet rather than into the typical phases in which the history of Tibet is divided. The material on which this historical treatment of Tho.ling is based derives mainly from the sources and the assessments used by this author in his *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*. Material from this work has been extracted and reorganized monographically with Tho.ling in mind. Since the same work extends its analysis only until the end of the 15th century, other material has been excerpted from sources dealing with Tho.ling from the 16th century.

#### The foundation<sup>6</sup>

Following the issuing of the 986 *bka*'.*shog chen.mo* ("great edict"), in which lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od fixed the interaction between secularism and religion in Gu.ge Pu.hrang, a phase of temple foundation took place. The year of the monkey 996, as is well known, marked the apex in the effort of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty, and the religious exponents connected to it, to give to the kingdom a network of important temples. Although Tho.ling was not the most ancient of the dynasty (Pa.sgam was founded in the dragon year 992), it was the most important.

On the one hand, *mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.55 line 4-p.56 line 12) provides an account of the legal organization introduced by the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royalty by means of authoritative *bka*'.shog-s, among which the most significant was the 986 *bka*'.shog chen.mo marking the definitive establishment of Buddhism as the preeminent force in mNga'.ris.stod. On the other, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* describes the circumstances which allowed the foundation of Tho.ling and the other temples in 996.

Nyang.ral chos. 'byung says: "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

6. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of *Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, from which they have been excerpted. On Pa sgam see ibid. p. 251-255; on the preliminaries of the foundations of Iha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od's temples, when he obtained the Dong.rtse gold mines see ibid p.249-251; on the temples *Iha.bla.ma* founded according to Nyang ral see ibid. p.261 and n.384; on *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* being the only known ancient source which gives the foundation date of Tho.ling see ibid. p.255; on the Ta.po inscription stating that Ta.po was founded in 996 see ibid. n.401. assassinated, lha.bla.ma said: "Since you have killed my *mchod.gnas*, I demand compensation" (ibid. p.461 lines 6-10: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.9). As he said that in a 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 (i.e. a large measure of capacity) of gold were extracted". The text adds that Ye.shes.'od built his major temples with large quantities of gold from the Dong.rtse.wang mines. The temples which he founded, according to this source, were Kha.char in sPu.rang, rTa.po in Pi.Cog, Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, Sha.ling in sPu.rig and Tho.ling in Gu.ge (*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* p.461 lines 10-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.10).

Other classifications concerning these foundations are found in sources, selected here for their significance

Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po: Tho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma (ibid. p.88 line 5-p.89 line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.11).

- *lDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung*: Tho.ling (built by Ye.shes.'od), Khwa.char (built by his brother Srong.nge)<sup>7</sup>.
- mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung: Tho.ling (built by Ye.shes.'od), Khwa.char (built by his brother Srong.nge)<sup>8</sup>.
- Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag: Kha.char, Tho.ling, Nyar.ma, Pi.ti Rong.chung, Ti.yag, Kha.tse, Zher.gling, Sle.mi, Mu.ku (ibid. f.9b line 6-f.10a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.14).
- Kho.char dkar.chag: mTho.ling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma, sPi.ti Rong.chung, Ti.yag, Kha.zang (Khwa.tse?), Pu.rang bZher, Sle.mi (ibid. f.16a = p.54 line 17-p.55 line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.15).

None of these texts fixes with precision when these temples were established.

*mNga'.ris rgyl.rabs* identifies in Tho.gling, Kha.char, Nyar.ma, Ta.po, Ka.nam lha.khang, Re.sag/Ro.pag, Mo.nang lha.khang, sPu lha.khang, Pi.war/Pi.wang dKar.sag lha.khang the temples founded under the impulse of Ye.shes.'od during this phase<sup>9</sup>.

*mNga' ris rgyal.rabs* is the only known ancient source which gives the date of the foundation of Tho.ling. This work fixes the foundation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang by Ye.shes.'od to 996 saying: "In fire male monkey (996), the foundations of Tho.gling gtsug.lag.khang in Gu.ge were laid out"<sup>10</sup>.

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. Therefore, the foundation of Tho.ling has been ascribed to the same year.

Further detail regarding the structure built at Tho.ling in 996 is provided by another passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*: "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" (ibid. p.54 lines 12-14 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.110: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.17).

From this passage one can evince that the main image placed at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang at the time of its foundation was rNam.par snang.mdzad (Vairochana), surrounded by the other four deities of the Rigs.lnga. The 1937 *rten.deb* confirms this fact, but it cannot be ruled out that the main image of the *gtsug.lag.khang* in the 20th century did not correspond to that of the end of the 10th century.

7. (*IDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* (p.146 lines 16-17: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.12): "Having seen the documents of the ancestors, [Ye.shes.'od] had faith in the teachings and built mTho.lding"; ibid. (p.147 line 2): "This one (Srong.nge) built Khwa.char gtsug.lag.khang in Pu.rangs".

8. mKhas.pa IDe'u chos.'byung (p.381 lines 6-7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.13): "Having seen the documents of his ancestors, Iha.bla.ma's faith in the teachings grew. He founded mTho.ling gtsug.lag.khang"; and ibid. (p.381 lines 13-14): "Srong.nge as well built Kha.char gtsug.lag.khang in sPu.rang".

9. Ngag.dbang grags.pa, mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.53 lines 7-8 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.109: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.16) and ibid. (p.54 lines 8-12 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.110): "Moreover, in Pulhrangs at Khalchar 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; the mtha'.'dul gtsug.lag.khang-s Nga.ra Ka.nam lha.khang, Re.sag (sic for Ro.pag) Mo.nang Iha.khang, Ro.chung sPu Iha.khang; Pi.war (sic for Pi.wang) dKar.sag Iha.khang, one hundred gtsug.lag.khang-s and countless mchod.rten-s were built".

10. *mNga<sup>+</sup>.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 7-8 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.109), see the note above.

In the theocratic organization of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang state, introduced with Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog chen.mo*, eminent attention was paid to Tho.ling and its support. Compulsory endowments to be made by farmers and nomads secured for Tho.ling a firm and lasting basis for the exercise of religious practice. Elsewhere, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* fixes at eighty monks the original community at this most important religious seat of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom, to whom the ordinance of the *bka'.shog chen.mo* attributes means of sustenance as follows: "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" (ibid. p.56 lines 3-7 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.111: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.18).

#### Antecedents: Tho.ling before the foundation of its temple<sup>11</sup>

The provision which secured the interchange of secular and religious power amongst the members of the royal family sitting on the throne of Gu.ge Pu.hrang gave Tho.ling an enhanced position in the kingdom after its temple was founded in 996. The fact that Ye.shes.'od built his main temple at Tho.ling indicates that he had moved the centre of the kingdom to Gu.ge (Tho.ling) from Pu.hrang, where it had been sited from the reign of Nyi.ma.mgon, and Tho.ling remained the capital of the kingdom for most of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

It thus became the capital of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, the *skor* of Ye.shes.'od's father bKra.shis.mgon, but it also became the capital of the *skor* of Zangs.dkar and sPi.ti, which passed under the successors of bKra.shis.mgon after the untimely demise of IDe.gtsug.mgon. This is gleaned from material originating from Zangs.dkar, which is documented to have been under the latter king.

An account in gDung.rabs zam.'phreng (in Joseph dGe.rgan La.dwags rgyal.rabs 'chi.med gter p.182 line 3) shows that Tho.ling was a royal residence before its temple was built by Ye.shes.'od in 996. This source says that bKra.shis.mgon was born in dBus (Central Gu.ge) mTho.ba. This is the earliest reference to mTho.ling/Tho.ling (ling being a localizer), albeit in an abridged form of its more common name. Being the birthplace 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.

There is a belief popular at Tho.ling that confirms the statement of gDung.rabs zam.'phreng and takes it to an even earlier period. It 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. Despite Ye.shes.'od being the first member of the dynasty universally acknowledged in the sources to have been active at Tho.ling, the oral tradition is, in all probability, historically correct.

An episode occuring at Tho.ling during bstan.pa phyi.dar12

An interesting event that took place at Tho.ling, which shows that the spiritual and temporal leadership of Gu.ge Pu.hrang was not so stubbornly opposed to religious 11. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the role of Tho.ling as the capital of Guige Pulhrang see ibid. p.239; on the incorporation of the skor of IDe.gtsug.mgon into that of Gu.ge Pu.hrang after his death see ibid. n.432, which is based on material published by E.Dargyay in "The Dynasty of Blang-La (Zangskar West Tibet) and its Chronology -A Reconsideration" p.25; on Tho.ling being the birthplace of bKra.shis.mgon, the father of Yelshes.'od, see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang n.210; on the choice of Tho.ling as a royal seat before the foundation of its temple see ibid. p.239, n.210 and p.315; on the localities built by Nyi.ma.mgon and bKra.shis.mgon on the hill in the south-west of the Tho.ling plain see ibid. p.314.

12. On the rediscovery of a literary treasure by Bon.ston Hum.'bar from Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.229. traditions different from that diffused by them in mNga'.ris skor.gsum during that period, is an episode involving the Bon.po *gter.ston* known as 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* ("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") from the rTa.mgrin statue in Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang. 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.

Guru bKra.shis chos.'byung reads: "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, 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" (ibid. p.504 line 24-p.505 line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.19). gTer.ston brgya.rtsa rnam.thar says: "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.rong king lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, who was pleased. He handed it over to gTsang sGyer.phu Klog.skya ston.pa" (ibid. p.481 lines 3-5: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.20. See also Kun.grol grags.pa bstan.'byung p.386 line 4-p.387 line 2).

Similar to another great temple of mNga'.ris.stod, i.e. Pra.dum.rtse in 'Brong.pa founded by Srong.btsan sgam.po, Tho.ling was a theatre of eclectic activities, which saw Bon.po-s as well as Buddhists undertaking religious work at its premises. Hence, the common idea that Tho.ling was a bastion of Buddhist practice and in particular of the *sngags gsar.ma* (New *Tantra*-s) seems not to be entirely correct.

The year in which Bon.ston Hum.'bar extracted his *gter.ma* from the statue of rTa.mgrin of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang is not fixed by any available source. This event must have taken place between 996, the foundation year of Tho.ling, and 1024, the date of the death of Ye.shes.'od, who was the second lineage holder of this *gter.ma* after Bon.ston Hum.'bar.

The completion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in 102813

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* records what the text defines as a renovation but which was probably the completion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang into the dPal.dpe.med khang.dmar lhun.gyis grub.pa<sup>14</sup>, the name for which the Tho.ling temple is famous: "In the earth male dragon year (1028), the great renovation (*zhal.bso* 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, manpower, goods and estates were regularly provided [to maintain Tho.ling]" (ibid. p.53 lines 8-10 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.109: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.21).

The name of the completed temple is confirmed by its appearance in the colophons of the works translated on its premises <sup>15</sup>. This name, which often applies to a *chos.skor*, would apparently indicate that Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang was expanded

13. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the assessment of the completion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in 1028 see ibid. p.255-258; on IHa.lde being involved in this completion as well as on the chronology of some events in IHa.lde's life during the reign of his son 'Od.Ide and following the death of Ye.shes.'od see ibid. p.257-258; on the death of Yelshes.'od at Tholling see ibid. p.185; on the dismissal of the legend according to which Ye.shes.'od died in captivity after he was captured by the Gar.log see ibid. p.281-291; on the dates of Ye.shes.'od see ibid. p.179-185.

14. 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. This was a period during which temples were named after the colour of their walls (e.g. Tsa.rang mChod.khang dmar.po, rDzong.dkar lHa.khang dmar.po).

15. 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 tibetaines de la Bibliothèque Nationale partie 2 (rGyud. 'grel) p.261 and S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Phobrang 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.ta sKal.ldan rgyal.po in Kha.che, in which the religious deeds of Zhi,ba, od and rTse.lde are recorded (Cordier, Catalogue de fonds tibetaines 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).

into such a temple structure in 1028, during the reign of 'Od.lde. In the absence of specific evidence, it is difficult to say which were the building phases that were completed in 1028.

*mNga'*.*ris rgyal.rabs* says that a statue of Shakya thub.pa was placed at Tho.ling during the 1028 expansion, but, given the material available at present, its location remains obscure.

A more extensive passage in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, concerning the expansion of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang which reached completion in 1028, reads: "He (IHa.lde) built 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. 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. Having obtained religious teachings, since he (IHa.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* (a "golden *thang.ka*") at She.ye in Mar.yul" (ibid. p.61 lines 8-14 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.115: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.22).

These notions have new and significant implications. The controversial assessment of Kha.char apart, they provide an insight into the historical sequence of IHa.lde's religious undertakings. While still a lay ruler, he sponsored Kha.char (*Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* states that IHa.lde established *yon.mchod* ("patron-*bla.ma* relation") with Rin.chen bzang.po around 996 for this purpose). Subsequently he invited Indian masters to sTod. He was ordained not later than 1024 when 'Od.lde is documented to have been ruling and when Ye.shes.'od died. After receiving the monk's name of Dharma.pra.bha, IHa.lde 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 gives substance to the first reference to it found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 7-8), in which it is left unattributed.

In a different passage from the one in which IHa.lde's donation of the Byams.pa gser.thang to She.ye in Mar.yul is mentioned, he is credited with the sponsorship of a Shakyamuni statue (ibid. p.53 line 10), but 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* gtso.bo ("master of the teachings", i.e. Shakyamuni) which, the same source says, was placed at Tho.ling when IHa.lde completed the expansion of the gtsug.lag.khang.

The statement of *mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* that Ye.shes.'od died at Tho.ling (ibid. p.59 lines 16-18 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.113: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.23) does not only serve historical accuracy but gives further important evidence to dismiss the legend of his death in captivity at the hands of the Gar.log-s.

Ye.shes.'od's dates can be fixed with the help of Tshe.dbang nor.bu's *Bod.rje lHa.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs*<sup>16</sup> and various passages in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. He was born in the sheep year 947 and died in the rat year 1024.

This shows that, despite the fact that Tho.ling remained his residence until his death, *lha.bla.ma* did not survive to see the completion of his most important temple. On these grounds, it is not surprising that *mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs credits lHa.lde with being the ruler who brought the major temple of Tho.ling to the stage that was deemed definitive in the period of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

16. Bod.rje Iha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs (p.74 lines 1-3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.24) says: "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): "Since it derives from the (same) Gung.thang *lo.rgyus* that Iha.bla.ma was born in a sheep year (and) lived for seventy-eight years, the difference between Iha.bla.ma and lo.chen's birth (dates) was no more than one year". 17. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of *Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, from which they have been excerpted. On rDo.rje chen.mo being appointed the protectress of Tho.ling by Rin.chen bzang.po and on 'Od.lde reappointing the same deity, after lo.chen, to be the guardian of Tho.ling see ibid. p.302 and n.467; on 'Od.lde's reign in La dwags see ibid. p.247, p.284-285, p.495-497 and n.451, n.833; on Nyar.ma, rDo.rje chen.mo as its supposed *srung.ma*, and chronological aspects concerning the foundation of this temple see ibid. n.398.

18. 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.

19. See Panglung's German translation of excerpts from the Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar written by the Khrig.se 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: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.28): "Having founded the gtsug.lag.khang at Khrigs.se Nyar.ma, [Rin.chen bzang.po built] eight Iha.khang-s [there]. The length of the largest Iha. khang is twenty-five steps on both sides. [The thickness] of the walls of this Iha.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'i rnam.thar p.17 lines 1-2: "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.

20. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of *Gu ge Pu hrang*, from which they have been excerpted. On the assessment of this sack of Tho.ling and its political consequence see ibid. p.289-291; on the death of 'Od.lde in Bru sha during the same campaign see ibid. p.281-287.

#### The protrectress of Tho.ling<sup>17</sup>

The appointment of the protectress of Tho.ling is discussed in *Jo.bo dngul.sku* mched.gsum dkar.chag (f.10a lines 1-2). The text says that rDo.rje chen.mo, a form of IHa.mo<sup>18</sup>, 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 along with her retinue Re.ma.ti and Garja.ma (otherwise known as Gar.dza.ma).

Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag says: "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.lding, [while] she rode a stag on the way. [With] blon.po Re.ma.ti and Garja.ma, these are the three *rje.blon-s* (i.e. the "queen" and her two companions)" (ibid. f.10a lines 1-2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.25).

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 after his second visit to Kha.che.

Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag adds that 'Od.lde appointed rDo.rje chen.mo as bsrung.ma ("protectress") (" 'Od.lde appointed bsung.ma (sic for bsrung.ma) rDo.rje chen.mo and her cycle as protectresses") (ibid. f.10a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.26). Two early phases of the rDo.rje chen.mo cult thus have to be recognized. A first appointment as protectress of Tho.ling by lo.chen in 1001 and a second by 'Od.lde some time before 1037. 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.

It seems that rDo.rje chen.mo also was the *bsrung.ma* of Nyar.ma, the great temple founded in Mar.yul by lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od in the same year of the monkey (996).

Blo.bzang bzod.pa, the present abbot of Khrig.se in Mar.yul, in his *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar*, states: "Since dPal.ldan lHa.mo rDo.rje chen.mo, the protectress of lo.tsa.ba, [was made] to reside at this holy place, she also became known as Nyar.ma rDo.rje chen.mo. Later, as the king of La.dwags summoned her to this region, she became the protectress of the king" (ibid. p.15 lines 3-5: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.27).

This account confusedly transfers to Nyar.ma the appointment of rDo.rje chen.mo by Rin.chen bzang.po to be the *bsrung.ma* of Tho.ling and her subsequent reappointment by 'Od.lde, who also ruled in La.dwags (see *Bai.ser* p.279 line 17p.280 line 1). 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 mistaken chronology derives from Blo.bzang bzod.pa's claim that Nyar.ma was founded in 1012<sup>19</sup>.

#### The 1037 sack of Tho.ling<sup>20</sup>

Jo. bo dngul. sku mched. gsum dkar. chag introduces a significant episode which shows that the existence of Tho.ling was threatened soon after its foundation. This incident is important because it adds further detail concerning the events that destabilized the kingdom and marked the end of 'Od.lde's reign. The episode involves a 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. Jo. bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag reads: "The Hor troops came to mTho.lding. 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" (ibid. f.10a lines 2-3. Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.29).

This event is the 1037 invasion of the Qarakhanid-s described in *Mar.lung.pa* rnam.thar<sup>21</sup>, which occurred after 'Od.lde had been taken prisoner during his campaign in Bru.sha (*mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs p.62 lines 1-2 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.115: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.31). Therefore, Tho.ling suffered its first major blow around 1037, soon after the grand plan of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa had been completed.

A hint of an early destruction of Tho.ling is found in an anecdote in *Ngor* chos. 'byung: "[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 indeed be beneficial for the teachings during these hundred years" (ibid. p.262 lines 2-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.32). Padma dkar.po chos. 'byung (p.359 lines 5-7) has almost the same wording.

No indication is given as to whether the major temple of Tho.ling was affected, but it must have been the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, given that all the other religious structures at Tho.ling were presumably built after 1037. If this is so, then the Hor.pa restoration of a *lha.khang*, which became known as Hos/Hor lha.khang, was focused on one of the *lha.khang*-s of the major temple. It seems rather doubtful that the Qarakhanid-s, who were Muslim observants, could have restored a Buddhist temple.

It is a pity that the memory of an alleged Hos/Hor Iha.khang is lost and that no confirmation of this legend is possible at present. On the other hand, Wa.gindra karma, the author of the *dkar.chag*, affirms that Hos/Hor Iha.khang still existed in his time, i.e. after earth pig 1539 (see Vitali, "Introduction to *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* by Wa.gindra karma" p.VIII-IX), this being the *terminus post quem* to assess the period of Wa.gindra karma in Pu.hrang. He wrote *Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* and the well known *Ti.se gnas.yig* (entitled *Gangs.chen Gangs.ri mtsho Ma.pham chu.bo bzhi dang cas.pa gtan.la phab.pa gyang.don snang.bar byed.pa'i me.long zhes.bya.ba bzhugs.so*) at Kha.char which he calls the Rigs.gsum mgon.po'i gandho.la.

The Hos lha.khang heavily damaged by the 1037 invaders is nowhere else mentioned by the sources. None of the Tho.ling *lha.khang*-s bore the name of Hos lha.khang. A suggestion, based on an argument *e silentio*, is that perhaps one of the two *lha.khang*-s incorporated into what became the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma (see below p.125) may have borne this name, which became forgotten following the fact that this holy chamber did not exist anymore. The name Hos lha.khang poses another problem, that of being remarkably different from the type of names given to the other Tho.ling *lha.khang*-s.

Byang.chub.'od's contributions to Tho.ling<sup>22</sup>

The successors to Ye.shes.'od followed the principle sanctioned in the latter's *bka'.shog chen.mo* ("great edict"), according to which it was their duty to perpetuate the Buddhist tradition and preserve the temples. Among all the descendants of Ye.shes.'od, Byang.chub.'od was one of those who did the most to keep the legacy 21. Mar.lung.pa'i mam.thar (f. 15a line 5-f. 15b line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.30): "His (Thon.mi rDzu.'phrul 'thu.stobs') son Thon Kun.dga' (gya.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.". See Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* n 439.

22. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of *Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, from which they have been excerpted. On Byang.chub.'od building the Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling see ibid. p.309-311; on the assessment that this gtsug.lag.khang stood on the Shing.sgra hill see ibid. p.310; on Byang.chub.'od assigning this temple to the care of the royal family and the court see ibid. p.211; on the dates of Byang.chub.'od see ibid. p.295-296.

#### 26 RECORDS OF THO.LING

of his paternal uncle alive. Hence, although other activities of his are more commonly mentioned in the sources, especially his invitation of Jo.bo.rje to Gu.ge Pu.hrang, he is remembered as a builder of temples. His building of Mang.nang (both religious and lay edifices) as the seat of Jo.bo.rje and his endowments at Ta.po are possibly his best known achievements in the sphere of the construction of religious and lay settlements.

Byang.chub.'od devoted his attention to Tho.ling as well. *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* is the only source recording his foundation of Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling (ibid. p.62 lines 15-16 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.116: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.33). Its identification poses problems *prima facie*. Especially useful in establishing the location of this temple are Byang.chub.'od's administrative grants providing support to the temples built during his secular and religious rule, which 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 (i.e. Ta.po) 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>23</sup>.

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 the south-western 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 below p.28-31), no temple other 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 thousands of golden coins and used much copper for the making of its statues (*mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs p.63 lines 2-3 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.116: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.34). The amount spent on the Padma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang teinforces 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.

A confirmation that Byang.chub.'od complied with Ye.shes.'od's wish to maintain, in what is a significant application of Ye.shes.'od's laws, the temples built during the latter's and his successors' times is provided by a passage of *mNga*'.ris *rgyal.rabs*. He entrusted the Tho.ling temples built during his time (i.e. Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba and gSer.khang) to the care of the royalty (i.e. *in primis* to himself) and its court (ibid. 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") (see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.211).

Reference to Shing.sgra hill during the time of Byang.chub.'od is the earliest found in the extant literature, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* included. 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, since it cannot be ruled out that the occupation of Shing.sgra hill goes back to an earlier period in the history of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum dynasty. While Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang is the first major religious edifice to have been located on this hill, accounts exist, which relate that lay buildings predated this temple (see above p.21).

<sup>23.</sup> In comparison to the limited provision for Ta.po, the considerable amount of gold Byang.chub.'od allotted 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.

While the other temples built by him (Mang.nang Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling, Mang.nang Byams.pa.'phel and Ta.po lHa.khang dmar.po) must be dated to the years 1037-1041, the only temple of Byang.chub.'od which cannot be chronologically assessed is Tho.ling Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba. An all too vague dating for it is that its contruction took place before earth horse 1078 when Byang.chub.'od died.

## Tho.ling and Jo.bo.rje<sup>24</sup>

Tho.ling is linked to Jo.bo.rje's sojourn in West Tibet from water horse 1042 to wood bird 1045 as one of the most important sites where he resided. Almost every source says that, on visiting Tho.ling, Jo.bo.rje was so impressed by the greatness of the images of the deities of the rGyud.sde.bzhi'i *dkyil.'khor-s* ("*mandala-s* of the Four Classes of *Tantra*") that he composed *impromptu* verses praising them. Given the cycles of deities known to be existing at Tho.ling some nine hundred years after Jo.bo.rje's visit (i.e. as recorded in the *rten.deb* of fire ox 1937), which do not specifically correspond to those which belong to the four classes of Tantra-s, and the successive renovations of the Tho.ling *lha.khang-s*, it is quite problematic to ascertain which were the rGyud.sde.bzhi deities praised by the Bengali master, or what was their location.

A significant clue comes from *Nyang.ral chos. 'byung*, which, in its account of the event, says that the paintings of the deities of the Tantric *mandala*-s (the text uses the term *sngags.kyi dkyil.'khor*-s ("Tantric *mandala*-s") rather than *rGyud.sde.bzhi dkyil.'khor*-s as in other sources, hence they did not necessarily belong to all four classes of Tantra) included an image of Mi.g.yo.ba and were in lo.chen's *gzim.khang* ("residence")<sup>25</sup>. Their possible location is thus reduced to two *lha.khang*-s. As is discussed below (p.88 and p.123), the *gzim.khang*-s ("residences") of Rin.chen bzang.po at Tho.ling were the so called Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung (in the north-western part of the Tho.ling complex) and the Thugs.rje chen.po lha.khang in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (i.e. the southern wing of the main temple of Tho.ling, for an assessment see below p.78-79) of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang.

According to some of his biographies, Jo.bo.rje was brought first to Tho.ling to meet lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od. *Jo.bo.rje rnam.thar rgyas.pa* (in Eimer, *Materialen zu Eine Biographie des Atisa (Dipamkarasrijnana)* p.251) is one of the many works which says that Jo.bo.rje, on his way to Gu.ge, first stopped at the bank of mtsho Ma.phang and then proceeded to Tho.ling to meet Byang.chub.'od.

*mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* is not very specific regarding Jo.bo.rje's movements after he had 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 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.117-118. Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.36).

It seems that Jo.bo.rje went first to Tho.ling and then later 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>26</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 24. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of *Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, from which they have been excerpted. On Jo.bo.rje's movements after he reached the heart of *Gu.ge* see ibid. p.297-298; on the two great offerings given to Jo.bo.rje in sTod see ibid. p.298-299.

25. Nyang.ral chos. 'byung (p.467 lines 14-19: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.35): "Since lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po invited ma.ha pan.di.ta Shri.dznya.na, [the latter saw that] many painted images of the *sngags.kyi dkyil.'khor-s* were in his *gzim.khang.* Since, above the door, there was the painted image of bcom.idan.'das Mi.g.yo.ba, [Jo.bo.rje] offered verses of praise composed from the depths of his heart. Then, having composed a *sho.lo.ka* each for the other *mandala-s*, he offered them [to their deities]".

26. rDo.rje mdzes.'od, *bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo* (p.270 lines 1-3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.37): "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): "Having stayed there (at Mang.nang) for less than one year, [Jo.bo.rje] was brought back [in order to return to India]". 27. 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: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.38): "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. IHa 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").

28. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.64 line 19-p.65 line 4 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.118: Tibetan tex in Appendix Eight, Tib.39): "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 polche ("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")"

29. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (ibid. p.65 lines 5-7 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.118: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.40): "As had happened previously, from Mang.nang gNas.brtan.khang as far as grag.tsha (sic for brag.rtsa, "the foot of the rock" at Mang.nang), supplies were offered as people regularly carried butter, cheese, several kinds of dry fruits, molasses, white sugar crystals, honey, etc. on their backs". The gNas.brtan.khang seems to be the residence of Jo.bo.rje at Mang.nang.

30. Khyung.po rnal. 'byor.gyi rnam.thar (p.104 line 4-p.105 line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.41): "Then, on the way to Tibet, as he made offerings of hundreds of tshogs.khor-s at rDo.rje.gdan on the tenth day, he went to Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in the company of lo.tsa.ba Glan Dar.ma Blo.gros and jo.bo Gha.ya.dha.ra. Since the text of some of his Indian books had become damaged, he thought that he would have to return to India. Having met pandi ta Di pam ka ra Shri dznya na, who was there [at that time], the latter said: "I have similar Indian texts". The latter talked to Rin.chen bzang.po so that he would translate them. Lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po and Glan Dar.ma blo.gros, these two, translated them. Then, [Khyung.po rnal.'byor] requested Jo.bo Di.pam.ka.ra to impart to him Sems.bskyed and the dbang of gSang.'dus. After receiving gSang.'dus, 'Jigs.byed, mNgon.rtogs.rgyan, mDo.sde.rgyan, rGyud bla.ma and, moreover, many gdams.ngag, he came to [his] land".

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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>27</sup>.

The colophon of the *Byang.chub lam.sgron* says that it was composed at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibetain de la Bibliothèque Nationale* partie 3 (*mDo.'grel*) p.327-328). It follows that Jo.bo stayed at Tho.ling during 1042 and 1043 and *Byang.chub lam.sgron* was written in either of these two years, for he spent the last year of his stay in sTod at Mang.nang, not long before he left for dBus.gTsang in 1045.

Another obscure aspect of the history of Jo.bo.rje in Gu.ge Pu.hrang concerns the episodes of devotion shown to him. They are the two great offerings given to Jo.bo.rje in sTod, which are recorded in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs. One was that by the Gu.ge lay and religious notables, who organized a grand procession, called mNga'.ris 'bul.mo.che<sup>28</sup>. This may have taken place at Tho.ling, given that this was the capital of the kingdom and was thus the place where most of the local notables resided. The other was by the general population<sup>29</sup> and took place at Mang.nang.

During the years Jo.bo.rje was in Tho.ling, Khyung.po rnal.'byor (996?-?) came to this great monastery of Gu.ge. He is the protagonist of a curious incident. Some books he had brought with him to Tibet from his most recent journey to India got damaged on the way and he was saddened by the circumstance. Jo.bo.rje interceded with Rin.chen bzang.po so that the latter would translate A.ti.sha's copies of the texts that Khyung.po rnal.'byor had lost. Hence, it seems that Khyung.po rnal.'byor was at Tho.ling in either one of the first two years of A.ti.sha's three year visit to mNga'.ris.stod (1042-1045)<sup>30</sup>.

While Khyung.po rnal.'byor was given at Tho.ling copies of the texts that became damaged on his return from India, Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba 'Phags.pa shes.rab (?-?), at an unspecified date afterwards, had an opposite experience. An episode, which concerns Tho.ling, is narrated in the bstan.rtsis, entitled Jo.bo yab.sras.las 'phros.pa'i skyes.bu dam.pa 'ga'.zhig.gi byon.pa'i tshul bstan.rtsis<sup>31</sup>. This could indicate that biographical information (if not an entire rnam.thar) on the latter master was available to lHo.brag.pa Byang.chub dpal.bzang.po, feasibly the master who composed, during the 13th century, the section on the lineage of transmission of Bai.shra.ba.na containing the account under scrutiny. The same section was (partially or entirely?) incorporated into his work by Kirti.badzra, the 15th century author of the bstan.rtsis. This account narrates that Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba left at Tho.ling an important text on Bai.shra.ba.na, which he had taken with him from Kha.che, and his early disciples g.Yag.sde'i gNyan.ston Tshul.khrims.'bar and dMyal.pa Nyi.ma shes.rab thus could not receive teachings on this chos.skyong 32. The narrative then becomes rather confused, but it seems that, in order to get his book back from Tho.ling, Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba opted for the stratagem of making a 'Bum written in golden letters on a scroll and, after going to gTsang, sending it to Tho.ling in exchange for the text on Bai.shra.ba.na. After receiving the latter work the following year, he was finally able to impart teachings on this chos.skyong. Incidentally, of the three disciples sent to Tho.ling to check whether the scroll of 'Bum had arrived there (g.Yor.po Byol.ston, 'Brom rDo.rje rtse.mo and Kyur.ra ston.pa Chos.kyi rgyal.po), it was g.Yor.po Byol.ston who was chosen to be the lineage holder of Bai.shra.ba.na by the casting of lots <sup>33</sup>.

# Tho.ling gSer.khang 34

The next great phase that modified the structure of the Tho.ling complex was the building of one of its most important temples. It is somewhat peculiar that the literary works, while recognizing the existence of what they call Tho.ling gSer.khang, often confuse it with the main temple built by Ye.shes.'od.

The epitome of this confusion in the literature between Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa and Tho.ling gSer.khang is the account of Ye.shes.'od's building of 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. Both texts say in the same words: "In particular, he (Ye.shes.'od) built a large mchod.rten in the east. When the sun rises and golden light is reflected by this [mchod.rten], all the lha.khang-s become wonderfully a radiant with golden glow. [This is why] it became known as mTho.lding gSer.khang"<sup>35</sup>.

It is only *mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* which assesses the foundation of the gSer.khang in detail. It is extraordinary in dating with accuracy the successive building phases that brought the gSer.khang to completion. This source provides ample evidence for the identification of the gSer.khang by describing its structure and the images placed in it, before passing to name the temple specifically, and eventually by its ornate denomination. Significantly, the text says that it was Zhi.ba.'od who founded it during the reign of rTse.lde, which helps, once and for all, to dismiss attributions of the gSer.khang to lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od, an oversight often met with in Western authors.

This work says: "On the 'og. khang ("ground floor"), Zhi.ba.'od made the complete cycle of gods of the 'Jam.dpal mtshan.brjod dkyil.'khor and, on the bar.khang ("middle floor"), the statue of rje.btsun 'Jam.dbyangs chen.po the size of Iha.bla.ma [Ye.shes.'od]'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, the castle on the hill above the monastery of Tho.ling) in the style of Central India ("rGya.gar dBus.kyi sku" i.e. Magadha), 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); altogether 223 [artists] and their assistants were gathered to [work on] the ground floor. In the sheep year (1067), the foundations were planned and laid. In the monkey year (1068), the walls and roof were raised (rtsigs shing thog phub). In the bird year (1069), the clay statues were made. In the dog year (1070), the murals were painted. In the pig year (1071), the great painting of the [gods'] faces was accomplished. The name 'Jam.dpal rnam.'phrul bla.med 'Dzam.gling.rgyan ("the ornament of the universe [which is] the supreme miracle of Manjushri") was given [to the gSer.khang]"36.

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. This work reads: "As for who is the lord of these people, this is king rTse.lde, the ruler 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" (ibid. p.190 lines 2-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.45). This is correct as far as it goes, but is incomplete in that it does not mention Zhi.ba.'od.

The identification of the five consecutive years from the sheep to the pig year during which the gSer.khang was built, according to *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, is made possible by evidence internal to the same source. It is based, as a starting point, on the fact that the construction predates the Tho.ling council, which began in fire 31. An analysis of the complex structure of this bstan.rtsis, which is not "just" a bstan.rtsis, and the problems arising from it concerning its paternity and conception must be postponed to another occasion. Given its relevance to the subject of this monograph, its analysis has to be restricted here to mentioning that this rare work has an interesting section dedicated to the lineage of transmission of Bai.shra.ba.na, from which the episode under scrutiny has been excerpted. The text identifies two traditions concerning the transmission of this deity. One is derived from a source called rGya.gar.gyi lo.rgyus, the other from that named Kha.che'i lo.rgyus. They have different Indian lineage holders but agree on the fact that the transmission reached Khalche dGon.pa.pa, who imparted it to Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba 'Phags.pa shes.rab. Interestingly, rGya.gar.gyi lo.rgyus documents Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba's secret name, given as Shri.badzra (see Jo.bo yab.sras sprod.pa'i skyes.bu'i bstan.rtsis f.12a lines 3-6).

32. Jo.bo yab.sras sprod.pa'i skyes.bu'i bstan.rtsis (f. 12a line 6-f. 12b line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.42): "When (Zangs.dkar lo.tsa.ba) went to Tibet, as he had left the book at Tho.ling, his early spiritual sons [note: g.Yag.sde'i gNyan.ston Tshul.'bar and dMyal.pa Nvi.ma shes.rab] were not able to receive excellent teachings on this chos.skyong. Then, at a later time, he pawned a horse, the king of animals (i.e. the best horse which normally heads the caravan). He placed a 'Burn in golden letters, made in scroll form, inside a leather bag [and] put it among his robes. Giving the justification of a course of teachings (f.12b), he left for gTsang, saying that he would come back. [Later], followed by three of dBus, after taking along the gSer. 'burn, he went upwards (i.e. westwards) thinking to stay at Tho.ling. As Chu.mig ring.mo.ba made him delay [the journey], he stayed there. He sent the gSer. 'Burn to be offered to Tho.ling. Later, in the following year, he received the book on the chos.skyong and after sending g.Yor.po Byol.ston, 'Brom rDo.rje rtse.mo and Kyur.ra ston.pa Chos.kyi rgyal.po to [Tho.ling] to see whether the aSer.'Burn had been brought there or not. they came back within a year. The texts of rDo.rje rtse.mo, dPal.mchog hor.khong.can and Chos.skyong being placed inside an iron ka.ba.li, lots were cast and the teachings of rNam.sras went to g.Yor.po Byol.ston".

33. After g. Yor.po Byol.ston, the lineage of transmission that originated from Zangs.dlkar lo.tsa.ba included Bur.ston bSod.nams rin.chen, 'Byi.phu.ba Pad.ma bkra.shis, rDo.rje chos.bzang of dPal.thang phug.mangs and then Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba. This brief account has an interesting note, which relates the many names that Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba received in his life. When he was a layman he was called Khro 'Dul; when he was ordained to the monk yow, he become known as Tshul.khrims

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shes.rab; while his secret name was Mi.bskyod rdo.rje. Pan.chen Buddha.shri gave him the name Byams.pa.dpal. Khro.phu lo.tsa.ba imparted the teachings on Bailshralbalna to IHo.brag.pa Byang.chub dpal.bzang.po (see Jo.bo yab.sras sprod.pa'i skyes.bu'i bstan.rtsis f.12b lines 3-5), who was another disciple of Kha.che pan.chen Shakya.shri (Deb.ther sngon.po p.952 line 3, Blue Annals p.1071) and the first abbot of dGe.'dun.sgang (rGya.Bod yig.tshang p.513 line 9). IHo.brag.pa Byang.chub dpal.bzang.po ordained 'gro.mgon 'Phags.pa to the bsnyen.rdzogs vow at the border between Tibet and China (ibid. p.513 lines 10-12), possibly in wood ox 1265.

34. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Guige Pulhrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the assessment of the foundation of Tho.ling gSer.khang by Zhi,ba,'od with the assistance of rTse.lde see ibid. p.311-313 and p.295-196; on fixing the dates of the foundation and completion of the gSer.khang see ibid. p.311-312; on the dates of Zhi.ba.'od see ibid. p.295-297; on the two IDe'u chos. 'byung-s attributing this foundation to 'Ob.'bar.lde, the next king after rTse.lde, see ibid. p. 345-346; on the struggle for the throne following the latter's assassination and the former's enthronement see ibid. p.335-345; on the artists working at the gSer.khang and on the Central Indian identity of some of them ibid. p.312-313; on the gSer.khang founded by Zhi.ba.'od being different from the one which survived until the recent past see ibid. p.525-526.

35. Ngor chos. 'byung (p.262 lines 4-5) and Padma dkar.po chos. 'byung (p.259 lines 9-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.43). Summing up the evidence descending from the sources, the name gSer.khang is found associated to Tho.ling in three different ways. It is referred to the temple founded by Zhi.ba 'od and rebuilt by IHa.dbang blo.gros in the 15th century (see below p. 38-40), which is the correct use of the name gSer.khang. The two other uses of the same name, i.e. that applied to the whole of the Tho.ling complex and the other, which addresses its gtsug.lag.khang, are both manifestly wrong.

36. mNga<sup>1</sup>.ris rgyal.rabs (p.66 lines 1-12 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu ge Pu.hrang p.119: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.44). A possible prototype for Tho.ling gSer.khang, which thus was not the earliest three-storeyed temple built in Gu.ge Pu.hrang, was Kyin.re.gling Iha.khang in Pu.hrang, one of the holy places where Rin.chen bzang.po resided and where he met Jo.bo.rje. The famous dialogue between the two took place here, during which A.ti.sha advised lo.chen not to perform separate meditations for different detites. Kyin.re.gling (spelt as in mNga<sup>2</sup>.ris rgyal.rabs p.63 line 1, but given as

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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 only sheep year falling during rTse.lde's reign before 1076.

As a matter of fact, *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that, following consultations between rTse.lde and Zhi.ba.'od, the two decided to promote a new phase of religious activities (which included the building of temples) (ibid. p.65 lines 12-15 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.118: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.46). Following the laying down of the gSer.khang foundation in fire sheep 1067, in the monkey year 1068 the walls, woodwork and 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 thus completed in five years from 1067 to 1071.

The name '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) was given to Tho.ling gSer.khang, which rarely appears elsewhere, not mentioned in the colophons of the texts translated on its premises in the time of Zhi.ba.'od.

Hence, while Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa was founded by Ye.shes.'od in 996 and subsequently completed in 1028, Tho.ling gSer.khang was built in the years 1067-1071 by Zhi.ba.'od with the help of rTse.lde, which confirms that the two temples should not be confused.

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>37</sup>.

The gSer.khang is included among the temples to which Byang.chub.'od provided support for their upkeep (see above p.23). This is consistent with the date of construction of this temple and that of the death of Byang.chub.'od (earth horse 1078). Byang.chub.'od's grant for its financial support fell sometime after the gSer.khang completion in 1071 and before 1078.

*lDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* and *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos. 'byung* say that 'Od.'bar.lde (i.e. 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, who usurped the throne of Gu.ge after the assassination of rTse.lde) built the 'Dzam.gling.rgyan gtsug.lag.khang at Tho.ling. *lDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* says: "rTse.lde's successor 'Od.'bar.lde is said to have built the *gtsug.lag.khang* called 'Dzam.gling.brgyan at Tho.lding" (ibid. p.149 lines 1-2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.47); *mkhas.pa lDe'u chos. 'byung* affirms: "His (rTse.lde's) successor 'Od.'bar.lde built the *gtsug.lag.khang* called 'Dzam.gling.brgyan at Tho.lding" (*mkhas.pa lDe'u chos. 'byung* (p.383 lines 12-13: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.48). 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 mistakenly 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 below (see p.33), has been attributed to 'Bar.lde by the two *lDe'u chos.'byung*-s.

*mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* records that a great number of artists and assistants worked in various techniques within the gSer.khang. Their provenance is not clarified by this text. The number of artists and artisans involved in the work was too great (223 of them) for them all to have come from far away.

A clue concerning the 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). 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 to Tho.ling from India.

This ambiguity is resolved by the fact that this statue of 'Jam.dpal is said to have been made at mkhar.sGra (*mkhar.sGra.nas* (i.e. *na*) *bzhengs.pa*). This was the castle of Shing.sgra 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, sPi.ti and La.dwags were dominated by Kha.che art during the late 10th and 11th centuries.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* says that the gSer.khang built by Zhi.ba.'od contained seventy-four clay statues on its middle floor. This seems to prove that its dimensions were sensibly larger than those of the temple that existed until the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when it was irreparably damaged.

Visual evidence collected by Tucci's photographer Ghersi 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. On art historical grounds, the works in the gSer.khang known to have existed until the recent past 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 smaller than it was in the 11th century as documented by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. This may be proof that the building was completely rebuilt during the 15th century and that the 11th century temple had been destroyed in the meantime.

### The Shing.sgra hill and its monuments 38

During the time of Zhi.ba.'od, the Shing.sgra hill of Tho.ling is again mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. The text records his contribution to Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo ("the castle on top of the Shing.sgra hill") (ibid. p.65 line 19-p.66 line 1), where he built a golden *mchod.rten* with a *'khor.lo* and the above mentioned making of the statue of 'Jam.dpal smra.ba'i rgyal.po at mkhar.sGra (ibid. p.66 lines 3-5). The Pad.ma rmad.du byung.ba'i gtsug.lag.khang, built by Byang.chub.'od, also stood on this hill.

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 endowments to Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang<sup>39</sup>

Zhi.ba.'od was also responsible for the making of the clay statues depicting the complete cycle of the Kun.rigs deities and Rigs.kyi gZhon.nu.ma at Tho.ling dBu.rtse (*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.

The fire ox *rten.deb* does not mention the latter group of images. As a matter of fact, it seems that they did not survive until the recent past.

Zhi.ba.'od added three ril.ba-s (i.e. cylinders in alloy with various Buddhist motifs

sKyin.ri.gling in Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam thar 'bring.po Dharamsala ed. p.29 line 14) was three-storeyed with the cycle of deities of gSang.ba 'dus.pa on the ground floor, the cycle of dGyes.rdor on the middle one, and that of 'Khor.lo sdom.pa at the top level. Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po (Dharamsala ed. p.29 line 13-p.30 line 4) says: "Having invited Jo.bo to sKyin.ri.gling, the holy place where he (Rin.chen bzang.po) [offered] his devotions, [lo.chen] paid him great respects. At that time, Jo.bo said: "Ma.ha lo.tsa.ba, do you know this, and this, and this?", thus guestioning him about all the sDe.snod, mDo and rGyud. Lo.tsa.ba replied: "This I know". [Jo.bo.rje] said: "Given that you know (all) this, then there was no need for me to come [here]". That evening, since they retired to their apartment, [Jo.bo.rje saw] that, inside the three-storeyed gtsug.lag.khang, the cycle of deities of gSang.ba 'dus.pa had been made on the ground floor, the cycle of deities of sGyes.rdor (had been made) on the middle floor and the cycle of deities of 'Khor.lo sdom.pa had been made on the top floor. At dusk, lo.tsa.ba performed meditation on the ground floor, at midnight on the middle floor and at dawn on the top floor. The following day, while they were having a meal, Jo.bo asked: "Ma.ha lo.tsa.ba, how was it that you performed meditation yesterday at dusk on the gtsug.lag.khang ground floor, at midnight on the middle floor and at dawn on the top floor?", lo.tsa.ba having replied: "In that way I can produce separately and reabsorb the different sets of deities", Jo.bo's face darkened as he retorted: "There was indeed need for me to come"

37. The colophon of Ka.la.pa'i 'grel.ba nyung.ngu las slob.ma.la phan.pa (mDo.'gref), 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 Tibetain de la Bibliotléque Nationale partie 3 (mDo.'gref) p.461-462).

38. On this subject see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.314-315.

 On Zhi.ba.'od making images and other decorations at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.315-316. found on temple roofs) on the 'jam.ri (sic for *lcam.ra*, i.e. a small cubic structure on the roof) of Tho.ling dBu.rtse around fire sheep 1067 when he built the golden *mchod.rten* with 'khor.lo at Shing.sgra'i rtse.mo (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.65 line 19-p.66 line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.49).

These passages in the work by Ngag.dbang grags.pa do not clarify whether the golden pagoda roof, for which the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa was famous in later times, already existed during *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. The 15th century mural depicting Tho.ling during that period, reproduced in a modern *thang.ka* (see pl.III), since the original wall painting has been destroyed, shows that the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa had a different pagoda roof at that time.

# The Tho.ling chos. 'khor40

One of the major events in the history of Tho.ling was, as is well known, the *chos.'khor* ("council") organized by pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od and the Gu.ge king rTse.lde. This council is widely covered in the literature. Quite a few *chos.'byung, rgyal.rabs* and *lo.rgyus* deal with it. However, the main primary source for the Tho.ling council is the colophon of the commentary to *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel*, where reference is made to this event. This colophon is an eyewitness description of the council, for it was written by rNgog Blo.ldan shes.rab, who attended the council, thus being a document contemporary to the convening of the council (see S.Karmay, "An Open Letter by Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od to the Buddhists of Tibet"). Among the secondary sources, the article by Lobsang Shastri entitled "The Fire Dragon *Chos 'khor* (1076 AD)" is the most accurate assessment of the Tho.ling council.

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* has a peculiar treatment of the council. It states that 121 masters were invited to the council (ibid. p.67 lines 8-10: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.50). As *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* refers to the local masters separately from the teachers invited from beyond the boundaries of mNga'.ris skor.gsum, the number 121 refers to those who came from outside sTod.

The most significant and controversial notion in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs concerning the council is that it lasted three years (ibid. p.67 lines 10-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.51). Lobsang Shastri gives an astrological explanation of this surprising length of the council provided by the late Prof. Dagthon Jampa Gyaltsen ("The Fire Dragon Chos 'khor (1076 AD)" p.879 n.33). All sources say that it took place in fire dragon 1076. Flatly following mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs, one would be led to believe that it ended in earth horse 1078. Shastri and Dagthon are in favour of a conclusion of the religious council at the end of the first six months of 1077. This calculation is based on the fact that two systems of reckoning years were adopted in Tibetan astrology. One, known as sgang.lo, counted twelve months in a year, while the other, known as bgrod.lo, counted only six months in a year. If the bgrod.lo system is applied to the length of the chos. 'khor, it follows that the three years mentioned in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs were actually one and a half years.

The period of obscurantism in Gu.ge and particularly at Tho.ling<sup>41</sup>

Although *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* fixes the end of the great *bstan.pa phyi.dar* in mNga'.ris skor.gsum to the death of Zhi.ba.'od in iron hare 1111 (ibid. p.67 line 18), the period of splendour of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom actually came to an end some time before that date, following the assassination of rTse.lde and the usurpation of

40. On Tho.ling chos. *'khor* and its duration see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.319-322.

41. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the usurpation of the throne by 'Bar.Ide, a member of a collateral branch of the royal family, following rTse.lde's assassination see ibid. p.335-345; on bSod.nams.rtse's restoration of Tho.ling gSer.khang see ibid. p.346-347; on Tho.ling losing its preeminent position as capital of the kingdom in favour of Dun, bkar (Dung, dkar) see ibid. p.343-344; on one Kum.'ug.pa occupying the religious throne of Tho.ling see ibid. p.352; on the devastating invasion of Guige in the second quarter of the 12th century see ibid. p.351; on Nyi.lde.btsan and IHa.btsun.lde, other religious members of the ruling family before Kum.'ug.pa, not indicated as holders of the religious throne of Tho.ling see ibid. p.360; on Tho.ling Dril.bu.rtse as a residence of king rTse. 'bar.btsan see ibid. p.355.

the Gu.ge throne by a collateral line of the royal family. The last major episode at Tho.ling was the building of the gSer.khang by Zhi.ba.'od.

It is noteworthy that the same source mentions what it defines in the concerned passage as a restoration of the same temple undertaken by bSod.nams.rtse, the son and successor of that 'Bar.lde who had usurped the throne of rTse.lde. The passage reads: "The husband and wife (bSod.nams.rtse and lHa.sgron)... renovated the *mes lha.rje bla.ma*'s (i.e. Zhi.ba.'od's) 'Dzam.gling.rgyan'' (*mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs p.75 lines 5-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.52). However, this work does not provide any insight into the reasons that urged bSod.nams.rtse and his wife to restore a monument which had been built only a few decades before their reign, such a restoration supposedly falling in the early 12th century.

Following the usurpation of the Gu.ge throne and then the death of Zhi.ba.'od, a period of obscurantism befell Gu.ge for the next one and a half centuries, during which Tho.ling almost disappears from the records. This darkness is occasionally dispelled by information often not dealing specifically with Tho.ling.

A reason that may partially explain why Tho.ling fell into such a state of oblivion is that the capital of the kingdom, which had been situated there for some one hundred years from the late 10th century, had been transferred by 'Bar.lde to Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) following rTse.lde's assassination<sup>42</sup>. On the other hand, the impression one gleans from mNga' ris rgyal.rabs is that not much evidence is preserved in the documents available to Ngag.dbang grags.pa concerning this period, which ultimately may have something to do with the decadence that the kingdom of Gu.ge experienced in those years.

An isolated fragment of information which sheds a little light on Tho.ling is that some time after the death of pho.brang Zhi.ba.'od in iron hare 1111, one lha.btsun ("royal monk") Kum.'ug.pa occupied the religious throne of Gu.ge, taking up residence in the ancient lay and religious seat of Gu.ge<sup>43</sup>.

Kum.'ug.pa's tenure of Tho.ling is linked by *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* to the reign of the Gu.ge king rTse.'bar.btsan, who began to rule in his youth (and was therefore nicknamed Bu.chung rgyal.po, the "child king"), after the devastating invasion of the Gar.log-s during the second quarter of the 12th century.

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 had moved their capital to Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar), Tho.ling retained its position as the 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. Kum.'ug.pa 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 before Kum.'ug.pa, are not manifestly indicated as holders of the religious throne of Tho.ling.

It seems that Tho.ling recovered some importance during the reign of rTse.'bar.btsan. This is indicated by the fact that he retained his capital at Dun.bkar (Dung.dkar) as before the Gar.log.pa invasion, but occasionally resided at Tho.ling Dril.bu.rtse<sup>44</sup>.

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 (a.k.a. Shing.sgra) is associated by the text with Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od, while Dril.bu.rtse is linked to rTse.'bar.btsan.

42. mNga'.ris rgyal rabs (p. 74 lines 17-18 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.126: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.53): "As his merit was burning like fire, he was given power over Gu.ge Zhang zhung IHo.Byang (IHo.stod and Byang.ngos). He established his residence at sku.mkhar Dun.mkhar". A metaphor with a burning ('bar) fire is introduced in this passage to echo 'Bar.Ide's name.

43. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.76 lines 5-6 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu ge Pu.hrang p.127: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.54): "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". The reading "kinman" rather than the more canonical "progeny" is preferable, for, earlier in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs, Ngag.dbang grags.pa refers to Ki.ti.mal as the gdung.mched (lit. "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.

44. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.76 lines 7-8 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.127: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.55): "During his reign, mnga'.bdag rTse.'bar.btsan selected Dun.bkar as his residence. At times he resided at Dril.bu.rtse of Tho.gling". 45. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the bKa' brgyud.pa period in mNga' instod see ibid. p.371-425; on the earliest 'Bri.gung.pa expedition to Ti.se in 1191 see ibid. n.564; on the Byang.ngos king La.ga building temples at Mang.nang and thus holding Tho.ling see ibid. p.427; on Tshal.pa control of Tho.ling granted to them by Grags.pa.lde (reigning 1265-1277) see ibid. p.442-444; on Grags.pa.lde reuniting Gu.ge IHo.stod and Byang.ngos see ibid. p.438-439 and on the division of these two territories which occurred in the mid 12th century see ibid. p.357.

46. The places controlled by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s during the 13th centuries are introduced in several passages of 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus. They are as follows:

ibid. (f.29a line 4-f.29b line 1): rGyang.grags, Kho.char lha.khang, Dam.pa.rdzong, Lag.phreng thod.kar, mGon.pa Ro.ma, 'Um.lo shing.phug, Ri.bo rtse.brgyad and Li.dur;

ibid. (f.30b line 6-f.31a line 1): Brag.la bSam.gtan.gling, Pu.rang rGod.khung dgon.pa and the land of Rong Yang.dkar; ibid. (f.31b lines 2-4): g.Yu.phug, Bar.pad.phug, mDa'.chos.phug in upper dKar.sdum, Za.lang stod.smad. ibid. (f.31b lines 4-5): Pu.rang Thang.yab stod.smad;

ibid. (f.31b line 5-f.32a line 2): rGyang.grags, 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, ICags.ye Ye.shes.rdzong, Gro.shod rKyang.phung, sPrag Li.dur, Pu.rang rGod.khung, Pu.rang Kho.char Iha.khang, Pu.rang Shang.khrang dpe'u, Pu.rang Brag sKa.rag and Khu.nu bSam.gtan chos.gling; ibid. (f.30a lines 5-6): gSer Ri.rtse.brgyad.

47. For the account of the circumstances under which the Chos.sku rin.po.che image was brought to Guige and the 'Brilgung pais later installed it 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: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.56): "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.rgval mnga'.bdag rTse.lde. Then, it remained in a Guige temple for a long time. Finally, on one occasion, as Tilse IHalbtsan 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, IHa.btsan went to bring the statue [and place it] above Nyan.ri dgon.pa. The Guigelba-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".

The events to come in Gu.ge led to a division of the kingdom into those of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod, which seems to imply that the area of lHo.stod, which includes Tho.ling, experienced a resurgence and that circumstances made it possible for it to severe links with the area of Byang.ngos, where Dun.bkar is located. rTse.'bar.btsan may have been obliged to reside at Tho.ling at times in order to keep a close watch on events in lHo.stod. In the next generation, this separation took place, for his sons divided the kingdom amongst themselves. sPyi.lde.btsan ruled in Gu.ge Byang.ngos, while dPal.mgon.btsan ruled in Gu.ge lHo.stod.

Tho.ling from the late 12th to the late 13th century, the period in sTod dominated by the bKa'.brgyud.pa-s<sup>45</sup>

After slipping to a marginal position following the usurpation of the throne by 'Bar.lde, and resurging to a minor importance with the division of Gu.ge into the kingdoms of IHo.stod and Byang.ngos, when it was part of IHo.stod, a long period of oblivion in literary sources again befell Tho.ling.

This silence is broken by a brief reference in *Deb.ther dmar.po*, which pertains to Tho.ling and the Tshal.pa-s of Pu.hrang during the third quarter of the 13th century. It is somewhat surprising that Tho.ling is not mentioned in the 'Bri.gung.pa sources during the period in which this sect exercised supremacy in West Tibet. It seems, therefore, that Tho.ling was not 'Bri.gung.pa during the period from iron pig 1191, the date of the earliest 'Bri.gung.pa expedition to Ti.se, until the third quarter of the 13th century, these being the decades in which the 'Bri.gung.pa exercised preeminence in sTod. In particular, it seems that the centre of the 'Bri.gung.pa activities was outside Gu.ge<sup>46</sup>.

Evidence of this state of affairs is provided by the account in 'Bri.gung Ti.se lo.rgyus that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s took the statue of Chos.sku rin.po.che away from what is called a Gu.ge dgon.pa in the same source<sup>47</sup>. This seems too vague an indication to allow an identification, which was not attempted in Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of Gu.ge Pu.hrang (n.491).

The fact that the 'Bri.gung.pa-s took away a very holy statue from Gu.ge to transfer it to Nyan.po.ri rdzong in the *skor.lam* of gangs Ti.se seems to imply that they had some ascendancy over Gu.ge but at the same time that they minimised its importance in favour of gangs Ti.se, their stronghold in sTod. It remains unclear whether the statue was kept at Tho.ling before its transfer. This is possible, given the importance this temple had in the territory, which makes it a candidate to have housed Chos.sku rin.po.che, but it is far from being proved.

An instance of the reappearance of Tho.ling in the literature, albeit indirectly, is gleaned from the fact that the Byang.ngos king La.ga built some temples at Mang.nang<sup>48</sup>. In order to do so, he must also have taken control of Tho.ling, for a king of Byang.ngos (the land of Gu.ge to the north of the Glang.chen kha.'babs) had to take hold of the latter place to be active at Mang.nang, which is located due south of Tho.ling.

Hence, some time in the second quarter of the 13th century when La.ga reigned, Tho.ling passed again under the ruler of Gu.ge Byang.ngos, as it had been from 'Bar.lde's usurpation (end of the 11th century) until the death of rTse.'bar.btsan (mid 12th century).

This situation did not last for long, for, a few years later, the lHo.stod king Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) was able to re-unite the whole of Gu.ge and take control of Pu.hrang. Grags.pa.lde had a significant part in the destiny of Tho.ling, as will be shown immediately below. As mentioned above, Tho.ling goes unnoticed in the 'Bri.gung.pa sources, which deal with the diffusion of *ri.pa*-s ("hermits") of this sect primarily in the retreats around gangs Ti.se and mtsho Ma.pham and farther away from them in several regions of sTod. Their sites centred especially in Pu.hrang and the bordering areas towards the Himalayan range rather than in Gu.ge, where it seems they did not settle.

Concerning the fact that no signs are available in the sources of 'Bri.gung.pa-s being active in Gu.ge, an interesting passage in *Deb.ther dmar.po* is significant. This source 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 3rd Tshal.pa *bla.mchod* ("officiating *bla.ma*") in Pu.hrang. *Deb.ther dmar.po* says: "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* 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" (ibid. p.148 lines 6-11: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.58).

No temple in mNga'.ris.stod other than Tho.ling is anywhere recognized to be the gSer.gyi.lha.khang founded by Rin.chen bzang.po. This is obviously a half mistaken assessment since *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* gives details of the fact that it was Zhi.ba.'od who built Tho.ling gSer.khang. As is stated above (see p.29), Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa is often confused with the gSer.khang in the sources. Hence, in the case of this passage in *Deb.ther dmar.po* as well, the foundation attributed to Rin.chen bzang.po refers to the Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang.

It has been shown elsewhere (see n.45) that the king who donated Tho.ling to the Tshal.pa-s was Grags.pa.lde, who was responsible for the reunification of Gu.ge Byang.ngos and lHo.stod after the kingdom had been divided into these two territories some time around the mid 13th century. He also took Pu.hrang under his control and thus, for the first time since the end of the 11th century, they were reunited.

The donation of Tho.ling by Grags.pa.lde to the Tshal.pa-s took place some time during the years 1265-1277, the latter being the date in which this king of Gu.ge died. An indirect hint that shows a specific connection of Grags.pa.lde to Tho.ling, which is absent in the case of his predecessors on the Gu.ge throne (both of Byang.ngos and lHo.stod), is that he undertook a renovation of Tho.ling, traces of which, on monumental grounds, remained until recently, and a few are still extant despite the irreparable damages of the Cultural Revolution.

The passage in *Deb.ther dmar.po*, apart from serving historical knowledge, explains the absence of Tho.ling from the 'Bri.gung.pa documents.

The restoration of Tho.ling by the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde<sup>49</sup>

*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*<sup>50</sup> treats somewhat succinctly the first major restoration of Tho.ling after *bstan.pa phyi.dar*, when it attributes it to Grags.pa.lde together with that of dPal.rgyas, a temple near Gur.gyam, thus being to the east of Khyung.lung and to the west of Pre.ta.puri.

The brevity of this treatment is, however, supplemented by monumental evidence provided by the pictures of the Tucci-Ghersi expeditions in 1933 and 1935. 48. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p. 77 lines 15-16 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p. 128: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib 57): "The middle brother La.ga was appointed to [exercise] the royal power (rgyal.srid). He built four qsug.lag.khang-s at Mang.nang".

49. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, *The Kingdoms* of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On this renovation phase see ibid. p.443; on Sa.skya.pa control of mNga'.ris.stod including Gu.ge see ibid. p.450-452; on one instance in which the Sas.kya.pa authority over this land was occasionally broken, when troops were levied by the 'Bri.gung.pa-s at Tho.ling, and on its dating see ibid. Addendum Three p.560-561.

50. *mNga'*.*ris rgyal.rabs* (p.78 lines 16-17 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.129: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.59): "[Grags.pa.lde] renovated Tho.gling and dPal.rgyas, which had been built by his ancestors (*yab.mes*)".

Elsewhere in this work (see below p.119-132), this monumental evidence is treated concisely, because the pictures of the Tucci-Ghersi expeditions cannot be published here. They would have been useful for a more articulated analysis.

The photographic material shows that the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa was conspicuously renovated during Grags.pa.lde's restoration, not so much in its structure but definitely as far as the painted and sculpted cycles of deities in its interior are concerned. This renovation concentrated on the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang (the core of the *gtsug.lag.khang*) and several of the central and side *lha.khang*-s of both the brGya.rtsa byang.ma and brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (i.e. the north and south wings of the main temple of Tho.ling, for an assessment of which see below p.78-79).

The documents do not clarify whether *lha.khang*-s other than the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa were either built or renovated during Grags.pa.lde's phase, since the available ancient sources do not mention the minor temples of Tho.ling. One of them which was built or renovated during this phase was the Mani lha.khang, on the south-eastern corner of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, since it still contains faded traces of murals dating to the period in which Grags.pa.lde was active.

Immediately after the end of Grags.pa.lde's reign, in the years 1277-1280, Gu.ge passed under the Sa.kya.pa-s, who ruled locally by means of their Khab Gung.thang and Zhwa.lu feudatories. This is the most obscure period in the history of mNga'.ris skor.gsum and other territories of sTod. Given this rather desolate absence of information for large tracts of the lands which were part of the culture of sTod, it is not surprising that almost nothing is known about Tho.ling for some seven decades.

An episode in the political history of Tho.ling helps to lift, in an isolated case, the veil of literary silence that covers Gu.ge during the Sa.skya.pa period and seems to indicate that the Sas.kya.pa control of this land was occasionally broken. *Si.tu bka*.*chems* in *rLangs Po.ti bse.ru* records an instance in which relations between the 'Bri.gung.pa-s and Gu.ge were tied when 'Bri.gung sgom.pa Kun.rin levied troops at Tho.ling to fight against the Phag.mo gru.pa-s as far away as Central Tibet.

Byang.chub rgyal.mtshan says: "There was no occasion to meet 'Bri.khung rin.po.che. Since *sgom.pa* (i.e. the lay chieftain of the 'Bri.gung.pa-s) [Kun.rin] levied troops at mTho.lding [and] went to rGya.ma, despite having forwarded a request [seeking permission to fight], he did not receive any response to his request. The troops of the 'Bri.khung.pa-s arrived at 'On.phu earlier and later on [that] day" (*Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* p.223 lines 16-20: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.60) (See also Sperling "Some Notes on the Early 'Bri-gung-pa *Sgompa*" p.38 and p.46 n.44).

On the basis of episodes taking place before and after the troop levy at Tho.ling, it is possible that this episode occurred between the winter of iron tiger 1350 and the late summer of water snake 1353.

This event is not a sign that Sa.skya.pa sovereignty had been removed from Gu.ge by then. As a matter of fact, 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 continued until after *Si.tu bka'.chems* in *rLangs Po.ti.bse.ru* was completed in 1361<sup>51</sup>. 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 (see Vitali, *The kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* Addendum Four). However, this does not directly pertain to the history of Tho.ling.

<sup>51.</sup> 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; Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.61): "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): "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")

## The second great phase of Tho.ling (15th century)52

With the end of the Sa.skya.pa predominance in Tibet, the local powers of sTod underwent a period of renewed flourishing. In particular, Gu.ge experienced a remarkable resurgence after centuries of decay. The earliest protagonist of this happy time, when lay and religious life prospered, was the king rNam.rgyal.lde (1372-1431).

In this period, Tho.ling was no longer the lay capital of the kingdom. rNam.rgyal.lde resided at Mang.nang. Later, his son Phun.tshogs.lde built royal palaces at Tsa.rang and resided there.

A few decades after the beginning of this period of renaissance, Gu.ge also experienced the phenomenon, introduced by the disciples of Tsong.kha.pa, of the diffusion of their master's teachings in the regions of their provenance. Profiting from the resurgence and prosperity in Gu.ge, these proto-dGe.lugs.pa-s were able to secure for their teachings a quick and thorough dissemination in this land. Tho.ling was retained as the main spiritual centre of the kingdom.

Before a new phase was started at the *dgon.pa*, an important piece of civil engineering, for which Tho.ling is famous, was accomplished. The Tho.ling bridge, known as Tho.ling zam.pa Byang tta.sgo ("the northern horse door", otherwise Byang[.ngos] rta.sgo or "the horse door to [Gu.ge] Byang[.ngos]"?) (see below p.105 and pl.x1), was originally built during the reign of rNam.rgyal.lde<sup>53</sup>. This took place around the early 1390s, for *mNga*?*ris rgyal.rabs* says that rNam.rgyal.lde (b.1372) personally helped to build it when "his body did not grow anymore", i.e. when he reached adulthood at the age of eighteen or twenty. The 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. Thang.stong rgyal.po went to La.stod in the same year. Soon after he was at Ti.se and proceeded to Gu.ge and then to other places in Pu.hrang, staying at rGyal.ti (*Thang.stong rgyal.po'i rnam.thar* p.172 line 19; p.176 line 2; p.177 line 10 and line 13; Tibetan texts in Appendix Eight, Tib.63). This journey of his thus took place after rNam.rgyal.lde had relinquished the throne to his son in 1424 (see below p.38). Moreover, the *Thang.stong rgyal.po'i rnam.thar*-s do not mention that he was involved in the construction of the Tho.ling bridge.

This is interesting, for it proves that the technique of building iron suspension bridges existed before its use by grub.thob lcags.zam.pa ("the great *mahasiddha*, builder of iron bridges") Thang.stong rgyal.po and was, therefore, not invented by him. The first iron bridge built by Thang.stong rgyal.po was made in iron (!) dog 1430 on the lHa.sa sKyid.chu after he had collected a large quantity of iron in Kong.po with the help of local patronage. *Thang.stong rgyal.po'i rnam.thar* says: "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: "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"(ibid. p.155 lines 2-3 and ibid. lines 8-10: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.64).

The sources attribute the impulse of the new religious phase to Ngag.dbang grags.pa, the disciple of Tsong.kha.pa from Gu.ge, who returned to his native land and undertook a major work of diffusion of his master's teachings during the renewed flourishing of this territory, engendered by rNam.rgyal.lde. *Yon.mchod* 

52. Concerning the issues treated in this paragraph, the reader can see Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang, from which they have been excerpted. On the renaissance of Guige under rNam.rgyal.lde see ibid. p.471-476; on the construction of the Tho.ling bridge by the same king and its dating see ibid. p.503; on the advent of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, a direct disciple of Tsong kha.pa from Gu.ge, and his religious activities in this land; his appointment as abbot of Tho.ling and rTsa.hrang Blos.stang and other monasteries see ibid. p.505-508, p.524-528 and n.894; for his appointment as supreme master in Guige see ibid. p.505; on his foundation of Tho.ling chos.sde gsar.ma see ibid. p.524-526; on IHa.dbang blo.gros' foundation of the 15th century Tho.ling gSer.khang see ibid. p.525-528 and n.896; on the latter temple being different from that built by Zhi ba'od in the late 11th century see ibid. p.525-526.

53. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.81 lines 5-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib 63): "Also when his body stopped growing, at the time when the Tho.gling bridge was built (rts/s sic for rtsigs), he could lift with a single hand stones which not many were able to lift at all". ("patron-*bla.ma* relation") was established between rNam.rgyal.lde and Ngag.dbang grags.pa<sup>54</sup>, which shows that Ngag.dbang gras.pa could have benefited from the resurgence established in Gu.ge by this king.

The successive steps in the early career of Ngag.dbang grags.pa at the Gu.ge court are of some significance to the aspect of his foundations of temples at Tho.ling, whose dates cannot be fixed with precision.

On his return to Gu.ge, Ngag.dbang grags.pa initially settled at Dung.dkar. He made a statue of rDo.rje 'jigs.byed<sup>55</sup>. Members of the Gu.ge royal family, including rNam.rgyal.lde, built a monastery for him<sup>56</sup>.

After Ngag.dbang grags.pa tamed a local 'dre ("a class of spirits") called bKra.pa dpon.mo, which the Sa.skya.pa-s and 'Bri.gung.pa-s had not been able to, 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). Ngag.dbang grags.pa was the abbot of Tho.ling, rTsa.hrang Blos.stang, Dung.dkar and Mang.nang (see Bai.ser passim).

Ngag.dbang grags.pa was the supreme master in Gu.ge by 1424 as *mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* calls him *mkhas.pa dbang.po* and records him presiding over the coronation of the king Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde in that year<sup>57</sup>. On that occasion, Ngag.dbang grags.pa held the highest ecclesiastic position in the assembly, inferior only to that of rNam.rgyal.lde, who abdicated in favour of his son at that time (ibid. p.84 lines 6-15).

Given that *Bai.ser* attributes the construction of rTsa.hrang Blos.stang to Phun.tshogs.lde and Ha.se 'Phags.pa Seng.ge brtson.'grus <sup>58</sup>, this source has a different chronology to that of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs. Bai.ser* thus holds that Ngag.dbang grags.pa became the abbot of Tho.ling after 1424, while *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* provides evidence that he was the abbot of Tho.ling before that date.

The building of the new Tho.ling chos.sde ("monastery") is credited to Ngag.dbang grags.pa by *bKa*.gdams gsar.rnying chos. byung. This text says: "After inspiring the Gu.ge king and his subjects with his charisma, [Ngag.dbang grags.pa] founded the new mTho.lding chos.sde. He made [the people] rejoice in the Theg.pa chen.po teachings" (ibid. p.195 line 6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.70).

On inspection, the extant temples dating to the time of Ngag.dbang grags.pa are Tho.ling 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan and lHa.khang dkar.po. Ngag.dbang grags.pa, in the view of bSod.nams grags.pa, the author of *bKa*.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung, 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. Another very important temple was founded during the same phase characterized by the presence of the early dGe.lugs.pa-s in Gu.ge. Inscriptions found in Ta.po dKyil.khang attribute the construction of a new Tho.ling gSer.khang and of various temples at Ta.po to lHa.dbang blo.gros, a disciple of mKhas.grub.rje.

The following inscription has been discussed in a note (n.896) of Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, and is given here in its entirety.

"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 rnams.kyi rgyal.po gtsug.gi rgyan.du gyur ... [three letters defaced] ... rje lHa.dbang

54. Bai.ser (p.460 lines 9-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.65): "mTho.Iding chos sde, founded by Iha.bla.ma Zhi.ba.'od, the reincarnation of Iha.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 pursts owing to the *mchod.yon* [established] between mnga'.bdag rNam.rgyal.Ide dpal.bzang.po and chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa".

55. Bai.ser (p. 272 lines 11-13: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.66): "He (Ngag.dbang grags.pa) returned to mNga'.ris. He stayed at the ancient (*snying* sic for *mying*) site of Dung.dkar. He made a statue of dPaI rDo.rje "jigs.byed complete with all faces and hands".

56. Bai.ser (p.277 lines 23-25: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.67): "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, granted it to chos.rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa".

57. mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.84 lines 10-11 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.133: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.68): "mKhas.pa'i dbang.po ("supreme master") Ngag.dbang grags pa [and] the congregation like an ocean of [monks] wearing red and yel-low robes were made to sit at the feet of khri rNam.rgyal.lde dpal.bzang.po".

58. Bai.ser (p.273 line 25-p.274 line 4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.69): "During the reign of Gulge bdag.po khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.phyug phun.tshogs.lde, Ha.se 'Phags.pa Yelshes 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" It thus seems that the original name of the sandy cliff, for which rTsa.rang is famous, was Bloistangs. This name is no more in use at present

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 the main image of 1Ha.dbang blo.gros reads: "Ta.po rgyan.gyi gtsug.lag.khang bkod.pa", "He (IHa.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 scenes 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 rTsa.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 been subjected to 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 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.

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 sponsors".

The style of the murals in the gSer.khang that existed until the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) (portions of which have escaped destruction) indicate that they were executed in the 15th century. This is confirmed by the Ghersi pictures in the Tucci Archives (see below n.124). Given that the gSer.khang, built by Zhi.ba.'od in the years 1067-1071 (see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.66 lines 1-12, p.311-313), was sensibly larger than the temple known to exist until recently, this reveals that the original temple was destroyed before the 15th century. Feeble evidence (a couple of pictures of murals in its interior; see Tucci Archives accession number 6571/3 and Tucci, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* fig.238) seems to show that gNas.bcu lha.khang as well may have been a temple built during the same period. Better proof is needed, since, on such grounds, this suggestion remains conjectural. Plate 11

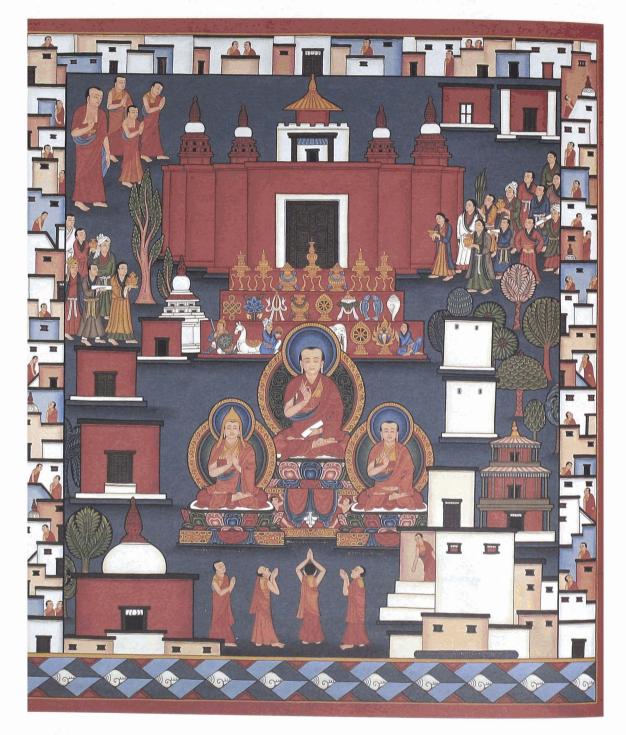
# sGrol.ljang

(after an ancient mural in Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang)



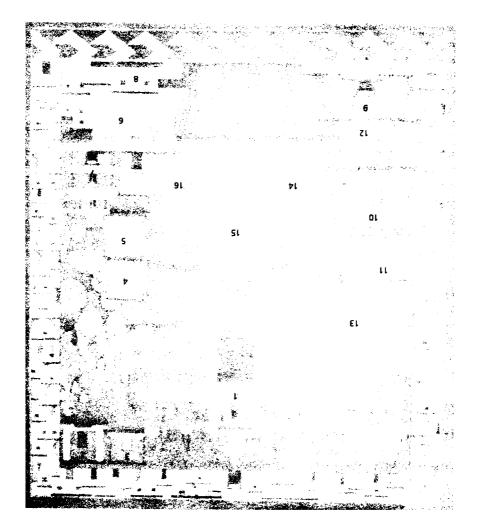
Pencil drawing by Bianca Visconti

PLATE III A *thang.ka*, replica of a 15th century mural depicting the Tho.ling complex



Painting by Mukti Singh Thapa

- 8. IHa.khang dkar.po
- 5. gVas.bcu lha.khang 6. Bla.brang 7. gSer.khang
  - 4. Byams.khang
- 2. gund.chen bzang.poʻi gzims.chung 3. Rinchen bzang.poʻi gzims.chung 3.
  - - Dueux.pel.guery
- i'eq.dung siyp.nuril bəm.əqb.le9b prii.oriT f
- oq.pnszd nado.niñ nado.ol °91
- Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa `†l
- proling the protections of Thouling
- 13. The wild rose tree, which was the "soul tree" of
  - om.poin nan.poulde
    - ٦Ľ pnenkl.edlineM .11
    - Dueuxikas 01



Section Two

# Further annotated reminders of events in the history of Tho.ling (16th-19th centuries)

(from several sources)

Tho.ling during the time of Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan (16th century)

The early 16th century was particularly proficuous for the relations between this land and the sect of the Dalai Lama, although the emphasis in building activities was shifted by the Gu.ge king 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde and the dGe.lugs.pa-s from Tho.ling to other localities of the kingdom <sup>59</sup> to expand the number of *dgon.lag*-s ("branch monasteries") of Tho.ling.

A figure of note was the master Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan (1487-1567), who was responsible for the foundation of the very important monastery mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po and was one of the most prestigious abbots of Tho.ling of the dGe.lugs.pa period. After going to Central Tibet in his youth (1499), he became the 7th abbot of bKra.shis lhun.po dKyil.khang, but he left its throne to return to Gu.ge and diffuse the teachings of Tsong.kha.pa.

Shanti.pa's arrival at Tho.ling is described at some length in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*: "Three days later (*phyi.nyin*), he went to Go.phug. Here he met chos.kyi rgyal.po Khri 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug [pad.dkar.lde], the lord and his subjects, who had come to welcome him<sup>60</sup>. Then, since a complete *mchod.yon* ("patron-*bla.ma* relation") was established (lit. "unlocked in front of everyone"), they proceeded to mTho.lding dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gling. Thereupon, the monks of both *gling* lHo [and] Byang (i.e. the two areas into which Gu.ge as well as the monastery of Tho.ling were divided) came in procession to accord him an elaborate reception, welcoming him with flags, spears, many musical instruments and dances. Then, he served tea to *gling* lHo.ma at 'Dzam.gling.rgyan and to *gling* Byang.ma at 'Jig.rten.rgyan. The sponsors, the lord and the subjects were elated, and sang and danced. (f.33a) On that occasion, at the dancing ground on the Tshig.mda' ("lower Tshig") road, youthful girls with white complexions like the moon, singing very melodious songs with words like nectar, performed the plays typical of Zhang.zhung" (ibid. f.32b-f.33a: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.72). 59. The two monasteries which are attributed to Shanti.pa and his family are:

Lang.ka chos.sde in Shangs.rtse built by Maitri.pa, who was the paternal uncle of Shanti.pa (1487-1567) (Bai.ser p.278 lines 13-16: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.71): "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 gtsug.lag.khang [there]. He gave the name Rab.brtan 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 ...

The second successor of Ngag.dbang grags.pa as the mTho.lding mkhan.po was Legs.grub dpal.bzang. He was the first abbot of Shang.rtse. Hence, in the absence of a date for the foundation of the latter *dgon.pa*, one should suggest that it was possibly built in the last part of the 15th or at the beginning of the 16th century.

mDa'.ba 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).

60. The copy of Shanti,pa'i rnam.thar used in Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang was largely defaced in this passage and the word "Ba.la" was wrongly read (ibid. n.901). The copy used here, generously supplied by the 19th Lo.chen sprul.sku bsTan.'dzin bskal.bzang rin.chen, to whom gratitude is due, is far more legible. The words under consideration clearly read bsu.ba ("to welcome him"). Apologies are due to the readers of the former work.

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It is noteworthy that, in earth pig 1539, when this episode took place (see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* n.901 for its dating), the monastic community at Tho.ling was divided into two groups: that known as lHo.ma and centred on the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan as their assembly hall, and that known as Byang.ma and centred on the 'Jig.rten.brgyan as their assembly hall. This division echoes that of the brGya.rtsa in brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and brGya.rtsa byang.ma (see below p.78-79) and may have a similar origin.

Another important implication is that the two temples mentioned in this passage of *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* existed by 1539, when Shanti.pa returned to Gu.ge after abdicating from the throne of gTsang bKra.shis lhun.po dKyil.khang and was offered the ceremony under examination. Given that no date is available for the foundation of these two temples, this is an imprecise confirmation of the fact that they preexisted Shanti.pa's period, being linked, as monumental inspection indicates, with the phase introduced at Tho.ling by Ngag.dbang grags.pa.

It remains to be seen whether the grouping of the monks resident at Tho.ling into gling lHo.ma and gling Byang.ma has something to do with their provenance from Gu.ge lHo.stod or Gu.ge Byang.ngos (South and North Gu.ge, the two major divisions of this land marked by the Glang.chen kha.'babs) and whether, at least in the 16th century, the monks from lHo.stod gathered at 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan, while those from Byang.ngos gathered at lha.khang 'Jig.rten.brgyan, otherwise known as lHa.khang dkar.po.

Shortly after, Shanti.pa's enthronement as the abbot of Tho.ling is described as follows. *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* relates: "On the occasion of *dbyar.chos* ("religious practice during summer"), he went to mTho.lding. *rJe* (i.e. Shanti.pa) came to mTho.lding dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtug.lag.khang as the *rgyal.tshab* ("successor") of lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po at the request of *Zhang.zhung.gi rgyal.blon* ("king and ministers") *mchod.yon* (i.e. given the patron-*bla.ma* relations between 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug and Shanti.pa)" (ibid. f.33a lines 6-7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.73).

The time of *dbyar.chos*, when Shanti.pa was made abbot of Tho.ling, was the summer of the same earth pig 1539 after he returned to Gu.ge from bKra.shis lhun.po. He abdicated from the throne of Tho.ling at an unspecified time leaving it to slob.dpon Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang. This is a major discrepancy with the Tho.ling *mkhan.rgyud* found in *Bai.ser* (see below p.51) which includes Seng.ge rgya.mtsho as the abbot of Tho.ling after Shanti.pa and before Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang.

Given that *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* was written by Ngag.dbang bsod.nams rgya.mtsho, a disciple of his who thus was close to the events taking place during his master's life and who was able to collect his words, the version contained in the *rnam.thar* may have to be favoured.

Some time after 1539 (*Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* does not specify when), during the abbotship of Shanti.pa, Gu.ge was shaken by a war waged by Gung.thang and Glo.bo and other lands of mNga'.ris.stod. The former two kingdoms were both traditional adversaries of Gu.ge despite ancient and recent family links, Glo.bo being especially hostile to Gu.ge from the 15th century. After forming an alliance with the Ru.thog.pa-s and the Byang.pa-s, who had previously been on good terms with Gu.ge, the troops of Gung.thang and Glo.bo intruded into Gu.ge Pu.hrang, damaging Tho.ling and attacking rTsa.rang.

Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar says: "When he was residing at mTho.lding, since the troops of the Byang.pa-s, Glo.bo, the Mon.pa-s, the Ru.thog.pa-s and the Mang.yul.ba-s were accurately levied [and] many [West Tibetan powers] joined forces as a single political faction, they attacked Gu.ge. They harmed the Byams.pa of sKyom [and] the receptacles of body, speech and mind. Although Be.la had been surrounded, [Shanti.pa] did not leave. Later he escaped to Dung.dkar. He encamped on the mountain behind Sa.snying ("essence of the earth", i.e. "ancestral locality", otherwise sic for Sa.rnying "the ancient site"?). A messenger being sent to see rie, since there was fear that harm could be caused to mTho.lding etc., founded by the ancestral lo.pan-s ("lo.tsa.ba-s and pandi.ta-s", i.e. translators and erudites) and ancestral chos.rgyal-s ("religious kings"), it was requested that rie should take part in a parley that had to be held. At this juncture (mtshams), since he sent two mTho.lding chos. khrims. pa-s ("followers of the religious law") as his own messengers, he said: "We wish to propose a peace parley. [In the meantime,] do not move the camp elsewhere. Keep it where it is". However, they did not listen to his order. As they damaged even the gtsug.lag.khang "essence of the earth" (sa.snying.gi'ang gtsug. lag. khang, this being Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, which, in the sentences above, faced risks of ravage at that time), they pitched the camp in the direction of the rgyal[.sa] ("capital, seat") of the three worlds" (ibid. f.34b lines 1-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.74).

Shanti.pa rnam.thar does not give a record of the damage that Tho.ling suffered at that time, and nothing can be deduced from this source. The rgyal[.sa] of the three worlds is, quite obviously, rTsa.hrang.

The war ended happily for Gu.ge. The attackers were repulsed from rTsa.hrang. *Shanti.pa rnam.thar* concludes: "Prior to this, the troops of Glo.bo etc. having gone towards Byang.ngos, a few troops of Gu.ge gave them battle at A.wang. Most of Glo.bo [troops] and the Ru.thog.pa-s fled. Whichever Byang.pa-s were there, they took the forefront and engaged [a battle]. Since the heroic archery of Gu.ge showered a rain of arrows, swords, spears and (f.35a) long spears, they defeated the enemies from outside. Despite sTag.rtse nang.so and gzim.dpon ("personal attendant chieftain") 'Ber.ma etc. and many people died in this battle, he (Shanti.pa) heard the news that victory in battle went to Gu.ge and much wealth (otherwise "much cattle") was obtained concomitantly" (ibid. f.34b line 6-f.35a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.75). His biography (f.35a lines 1-2) attributes the merit of the victory to Shanti.pa's powers. A detail of the battle (i.e. the shower of weapons) indicates that the invaders had laid siege to the citadel of rTsa.hrang.

Concerning the major part that Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan played in the establishment of dGe.lugs.pa temples during the 16th century, apart from mDa.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, which was his main foundation (see below p.141-143), he is popularly credited with those of Be lHun.grub chos.lding, mDa'.ba lDong.po Rab.brtan lhun.po, mDa'.ba 'Gram dgon.pa, Chu.ze dgon and a temple at Dung.dkar, whose name is not preserved in the memory of the elders (see below p.111-114 for lists of dGe.lugs.pa monasteries in Gu.ge). It is noteworthy that his main extant biography often mentioned in these pages does not mention any of these foundations.

During the reign of the king of Gu.ge 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde, a major event took place, which is not directly connected with Tho.ling, but whose importance in the relations between mNga'.ris.stod and the Dalai Lamas is conspicuous. This was the foundation of mNga'.ris grwa.tshang in iron ox 1541 at the entrance of the 'On valley of dBus. Monks from mNga'.ris skor.gsum stayed at this grwa.tshang ("monastic college") during their studies in Central Tibet<sup>61</sup>.

*dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho'i rnam.thar* by g.Yang.pa chos.rje reads: "Then, in the autumn of iron female ox (1541), (f.145a), the king of mNga'.ris 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde and the great cabinet minister (*bka'i blon.chen*) Ngag.dbang rnam.rgyal,

61. bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.102 line 19-p.103 line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.76): "During the time of mNga'.ris Gu.ge chos.rgyal 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde and blon.po Ngag.dbang rnam.rgyal, they became the patrons of thams.cad mkhyen.pa pan.chen dGe.'dun rgya(p.103) mtsho when the latter was sixtysix years old (i.e. in iron rat 1540). Many precious offerings were given (and) many ordained monks like a flock of ducks were sent [for studies to dBus.gTsang] from mNga'.ris skor.gsum. Consequently a grwa.tshang was established at rGyal, named mNga'.ris grwa.tshang".

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the king and minister, these two, in order to build one grwa.tshang at Chos.'khor.rgyal, the great holy place of the incarnation (i.e. dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho), sent the most brilliant among the subjects, who had been ordained in flocks like smoke, together with offerings such as gold, coral and pearls, and various precious things. Consequently, a request letter accompanied by precious gifts was sent with these people to *rje.btsun rin.po.che*. [Since the latter thought]: "E.ma, it is extraordinarily marvellous that [the ruler of Gu.ge] is the holder of the tradition of the ancestral religious kings such as lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od", he was utterly delighted and issued an order in favour of the king of Gu.ge. Chos.rje bsTan.pa dar.bzang, the holder of *sDe.snod*, was appointed as *slob.dpon*. Starting from that year, it seems that mNga'.ris grwa.tshang was established" (ibid. f.144b line 6-f.145a line 4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.77).

Tho.ling in the 17th century: the La.dwags-Gu.ge war and the advent of dGa'.ldan pho.brang

After the fertile 16th century, an important episode, preserved in the sources, brings Tho.ling back to cultural attention, when the monastery was lying in literary oblivion, removed as it was from the religious and political epicentre in a remote corner of the Tibetan territories during a time in which decadence in mNga'.ris.stod had started to be felt.

In order to preserve the tradition that linked the late rulers of Gu.ge with the main dGe.lugs.pa exponents of their period and in particular with the incumbent of bKra.shis lhun.po, which from its foundation had maintained steady relations with mNga'.ris.stod, the 4th Pan.chen rin.po.che Chos.kyi rgyal.mtshan was invited to Gu.ge. The visit he paid to West Tibet, and Tho.ling in particular, in earth horse 1618 is described by him at some length in his autobiography. He came to Tho.ling via gangs Ti.se and Ma.pham g.yu.mtsho, taking the road which follows the course of the Glang.chen kha.'babs. Pan.chen rin.po.che met the king of Gu.ge khri rNam.rgyal grags.pa bzang.po'i lde and his uncle lha.btsun Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od, who was the abbot of Tho.ling<sup>62</sup>. The Pan.chen's autobiography reads: "Then, as for many years continuously I had been requested to go, in the summer of the previous year, a delegation including people wearing yellow and red robes came from Gu.ge to invite me. Accordingly, thinking to go there, I arrived at bKra.shis lhun.po. After staying there more than half a month, by halting on the way, I received the service of the communities of monks and faithful people and gave teachings to the satisfaction of whoever wanted them.

On the twenty-third on the fourth month, after arriving at the bank of Ma.pham.mtsho, I performed ablutions and, on picking up a handful of pebbles from the lake, as I envisioned most of them as manifestations of deities, which I held to be an extraordinary event. Departing from there towards the front of Gangs.ri the next day, innumerable banners, hangings, objects in the shape of umbrellas and spread scarves appeared inside a five-coloured rainbow. As I walked along, I found this pleasant. The 'Bri.khung.pa *rdor.'dzin* was inspired [by these visions]. As he pursued them, I met him above Sha.la.rtsa. He said: "Today the most extraordinary signs have occurred in the ten years I have been here since I came to Gangs.ri", and showed respect [to me].

Then, on the thirteenth day, which is before the full moon of the fifth month, inside the valley of Zhang.zhung known as sPa'i sding, here *zhabs.drung chos.rje*, *jo.bo bdag.po*, the leaders of the religious and lay communities came to receive me

<sup>62.</sup> Bai.ser (p.273 lines 16-17: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.79) reads: "Around that time, pan.chen Blo.bzang chos.rgyan was invited [and] opened the door of religion by promoting it. Following [pan.chen's] return [to Central Tibet], Iha.btsun Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od sat on the throne (of Tho.ling) for twelve years"; ibid. (p.274 lines 22-25): "(The king of Gu.ge Nyi.ma'i dbang.phyug's sons were] khri Grags.pa'i dbang.phyug.lde and lha.btsun Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od. Khri rNam.rgyal grags.pa bzang.po'i lde, the son of the former, the uncle and nephew (i.e. together with Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od), founded (rTsa.hrang) chos.sde gsar.ma and greeted pan.chen Bio.bzang chos.rgyan"

in a group which filled the whole area with their horses and accompanied me. The gods annointed [us] with flowers and virtuous signs excellently appeared.

On the fifteenth day, the zhabs.drung mi.dbang of mTho.lding gSer.gyi lha.khang invited me to the throne of lo.tsa.ba Rin.chen bzang.po, the most excellent of human beings, and offered me a mandala of precious flowers. Abundant offerings were made to the assembly of the yellow robes like an ocean together with the recitation of Bla.ma'i rnal.'byor. Then I offered them the most profound and extensive religious instructions on the teachings such as the dbang and bskyed.rdzogs of gSang[.'dus] bDe[.mchog and] 'Jigs[.byed], these three; sNar.thang bgya.rtsa; 'Jam.dbyangs chos.skor, bKa'.gdams chos.'byung to the [monks and laymen, entertaining] mchod.yon, who were at chos.grwa (Tho.ling). In brief, the headmen such as the king of Gu.ge, his brother/brothers, his successors; all the religious and lay communities of that land found [in themselves an inspiration] born from the dancing ocean of their incomparable faith and offered in a pure way the flowers of their special respect that mind cannot grasp. They behaved to maintain the tradition of the chos.rgyal-s of the stainless lineage of Bu.ram shing.pa (i.e. the progenitor of the Solar race, to which the kings of Gu.ge belonged).

I also went to Mu.dkar, Mang.nang, mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po and Shangs.rtse. I gave people teachings as they requested. Even the householders were led to the path of virtue such as [the practice of] bsnyen.gnas ("fasting"). Since I could not go to fulfil the invitation of the Mang.yul (sic for Mar.yul) king, I established a virtuous link, as many leaders of the religious and lay communities of this land came to see me. Drung chos. rje, drung Blo.bzang rnam.rgyal etc. and over one hundred who wished to receive the bsnyen.rdzogs vow from Gu.ge, Mang.yul and Ru.thog, these three, came and empowered zhabs. drung chos. rje as the lord of the teachings in those lands. On the thirteenth of the ninth month I left Gu.ge. Those who entertained mchod.yon came to see me off until Gangs.ri. After the circumambulation of the mountain, in front of Gangs.ri, around noon, when I was giving an empowerment at the market, Gangs.ri appeared in a variety of forms such as in baidurya colour. When I questioned a monk near me: "How does this Gangs.ri look to you?", he answered: "It looks very much to be of indigo colour". This much was seen and it was wonderful" (Blo.bzang chos.kyi rgyal.mtshan, sPyod.tshul gsal.bar bstan.pa nor.bu'i phreng.ba (bKra.shis lhun.po ed.) p.63b line 4-p.65a line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.79) (See also Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston p.103 line 6-p.105 line 5).

## The La.dwags.pa period of Tho.ling

With the second quarter of the 17th century Gu.ge ceased to be the master of its fate. A new phase began, lasting until the present day, in which Gu.ge was under the control of external powers.

The king of La.dwags Seng.ge rnam.rgyal conquered rTsa.hrang in 1630 and took Gu.ge under his control. bKra.shis grags.pa, the last monarch of Gu.ge, was brought to La.dwags, where he remained in exile for the rest of his days, despite wishing to be banished to dBus.gTsang. His demise took place some time before fire pig 1647<sup>63</sup>.

Seng.ge rnam.rgyal ruled Gu.ge until his death in 1642. His wife bsKal.bzang rgyal.mo had an *interregnum*, after which she gave way to her sons. Concluding this lapse of six years, which is unaccounted for in *sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar*, the main source dealing with these events, Indra.bodhi rnam.par rgyal.ba (or 63. sTag. tshang ras pa'i mam. thar (f.33a lines 5-7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.80): "According to their decision to go to dBus, gTsang, *jo bdag po yab sras* having earnestly requested the king [Seng.ge rnam.rgyal to let them go there], ...[the king of Gu.ge and his retinue] comfortably [resided] at their dwelling place in La.thags having been accorded leniency. When the end of his life came, he was granted funeral rites without restraint. Later, in fire pig (1647), the princely brothers [of Gu.ge] were given the sisters of the queen in marriage". 64. sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.45a lines 1-3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.81): "On the first day of the rising moon, which is auspicious, of cho. phrul chen.po (i.e. the first month) of earth male rat (1648), the kun. dzin (year), amidst a gathering of chieftains, subjects, laymen and monks of mNga' ris skor.gsum, in front of the lion throne, with parasols and decorated symbols, [and] many precious things arranged [for the purpose] which are enjoyable to the sight, the lord of the land bDe.ldan mam.par rgyal.ba, who was made divine highness, Indra.bo.dhi rgyal.ba'i sde and bDe.mchog rnam.par rgyal.ba, the three brothers, were appointed to ascend the throne of royal power"; and ibid. (f.45a lines 5-7): "Gu.ge's bod. 'brog.rong.gsum were assigned to Indra mam.par rgyal.ba'i sde; Zangs.dkar and Pi.ti to bDe.mchog rnam.par rgyal.ba; Ma.gro, dByi.dgu and Pu.rangs to the queen. The king (bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal) ripened the merit of ruling the whole of mNga'.ris skor.gsum by means of the incomparable law". Concerning Guige bod. brog and Guige phyli. 'brog of sTag. tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.45a line 5 and f.32a line 4) (there is no reason to capitalise bod. 'brog, as Petech does (The Kingdom of Ladakh, respectively on p.45 and p.44), otherwise it would seem that bod is the proper name of Tibet), bod.'brog stands for villages (bod) and the normadic settlements and pastures ('brog) of mainland Guige, which are indeed met with in mainland Gu.ge, while phyi'i 'brog stands for the nomadic settlements and pastures ('brog) of external (phyi) Gu.ge. An event seems to prove this. The treason of a Chu.mur.ti.pa in 1630 opened the way of inner Guige to the La.dwags.pa-s led by Seng.ge rnam.rgyal (sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.33a line 3) says: "a Chu.mur.ti.pa subject, having revolted, gave king Seng.ge rnam.rgyal access to all the Guige bod. 'brog ("settlements and nomadic pastures")). As mentioned above, Chulmuriti borders inner Gulge to the north.

65. La.dwags rgyal.rabs (p.56 lines 12-14: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.82): "[Seng.ge rnam.rgyal's] sons bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal, In.dra.bho.ti rnam.rgyal and bDe.mchog rnam.rgyal, these three, were born to him. bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal was granted power (i.e. the throne of La.dwags)"; and ibid. (p.56 line 17-p.57 line 1): "In.dra.bho.ti rnam.rgyal was ordained by chos.kyi rje sMug.'dzin. He became the main disciple of sTag[.tshang] ras[.pa]. When He.mi and Theg.mchog were built, he supervised [the works). He became the most excellent monk to preach the teachings. According (p.57) to the instructions of slob.dpon sTag.tshang, he ruled Gu.ge"

66. sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (1.47b lines 3-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.83): "King Indra.bo.dhi invited [sTag.tshang ras.pa] to Gu.ge. He gave propitiatory offerings excellently, and bestowed empowerments and

(Continues on next page)

Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal), the middle son of Seng.ge rnam.rgyal, was enthroned as ruler of Gu.ge *bod.'brong.rong.gsum* ("the settlements, nomadic pastures and lower areas, these three") in earth rat 1648<sup>64</sup>. Tho.ling passed under his power. *La.dwags rgyal.rabs* also affirms that Indra.bodhi was appointed to rule Gu.ge<sup>65</sup>.

In the following year, earth pig 1649, Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal, who was the favourite disciple of sTag.tshang ras.pa, invited his 'Brug.pa master to Tho.ling.

Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal is again mentioned as the ruler of Gu.ge around 1652 by Yongs.'dzin Kun.dga' lhun.grub.gi rnam.thar (p.223 lines 1-2) in concomitance with a grievance expressed by the dGe.lugs.pa-s that their members and monasteries in mNga'.ris were been negatively discriminated against by their La.dwags overlords (p.221-223). It is noteworthy that the absence of a suitable residence for the Gu.ge bdag.po is also among the reasons that induced the dGe.lugs.pa-s of mNga'.ris.stod to manifest their discontent. From sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar one can glean that bKra.shis grags.pa, the deposed ruler of Gu.ge, living in exile in La.dwags, died before 1647 (see above p.47 and n.63). It would seem, therefore, that one of his sons, the Gu.ge.pa heir apparent who had lost his opportunity to rule after the conquest of Gu.ge by La.dwags, and had married, like a brother of his, a princess of the La.dwags.pa royal house, did not receive a residence appropriate to his rank.

The next event, significant to the history of Tho.ling, was the *bka*'.shog that Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal issued in favour of the main temple of Gu.ge in water snake 1653 (this edict is published on p.181-182). The *bka*'.shog is not greatly significant politically, but helps directly to confirm that he was the ruler of Tho.ling at that time.

The La.dwags.pa control of Gu.ge, and thus of Tho.ling, lasted from 1630 with the capture of rTsa.hrang<sup>67</sup> until 1679-1680 when dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang dpal.bzang ousted the La.dwags.pa garrison from rTsa.hrang and bKra.shis.sgang<sup>68</sup>. Hence, Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal ruled Gu.ge from earth rat 1648 to 1679-1680. By the latter date, the conquest of Gu.ge by the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government was a *fait accompli*.

After having lost Tho.ling and rTsa.rang, Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal is found organizing resistance against the troops of dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang in Zangs.dkar in water dog 1682. Ngag.dbang tshe.ring.gi rnam.thar says: "Later, in the autumn of the dog year (1682), the dKar.sha.pa elders invited the Sog.po-s. They went to Zangs.dkar. At that time, since rgyal.po Intra (i.e. Indra.bodhi) encamped with his troops at Thar.la, they stayed there. In order to defeat the troops of the [enemy], Seng.ge summoned Mon troops from Nyung.ti and joined [Indrabodhi]. Since No.no 'Brug travelled from place to place in order to negotiate between them (i.e. the two parties), with the pretension that a parley [was to be held], a lot of cunning was practised. The Mon [troops] noticed that. First, [No.no] 'Brug was arrested. He was tied with ropes. Then, since [the Mon.pa-s] had revolted against Intra.bho.ti, they captured him and his retinue at Thar.la. At 'Bar.gdan, chos.rje's dbu.mdzad (i.e. the head bla.ma of the king) and about 200 monks from He.mi and ICem. 'bras were captured and taken to prison. (p.72) At that time, some groups of the [Mon] people plundered anything valuable. Some people were bound by the Mon [troops] and beaten. On that occasion when everybody was out for his personal gain (thi.thor ko.thor), I (Ngag.dbang tshe.ring) took a rkang.gling ("femur trumpet") and a thod.phor ("skull cup") from the mgon.khang. I smeared my body with ashes. Since I had left as an ascetic about this time last year, everyone stared at me and laughed. The Mon [troops] amassed all the wealth in front of me. I laughed and left. Then, all the Tibetans [went] plundering and, the Mon [troops] having again snatched [valuables], took them away. Then, since all of us gathered together, we

went to Mu.ne. As we had no option other than to stay, we remained there. At that time, rgyal.po Inta.bhu.ti had 500 sheep (*dkar.rgya.ma*), 100 g.yag and 'bri, a group of horses etc., which were here at Ra.ru. A Mon with a sword in his hand seized the saddles and took [the animals] away"<sup>69</sup>.

The same biography adds: "At that time, since the Mon.pa-s slaughtered all the 500 goats and sheep belonging to the king, bleeding meat was scattered all around the ground and one could eat as much as one wished" (*Ngag.dbang tshe.ring.gi rnam.thar* p.73 lines 2-3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.87).

The passage of Gu.ge from La.dwags to dGa'.ldan pho.brang was officially ratified with the treaty of wood rat 1684 (Ahmad, "New Light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal War of 1679-1684" p.346-347 and p.349).

In 1685, following the ousting of the La.dwags.pa-s from Gu.ge, Khang.dmar Tshe.brtan rdo.rje, the first *rdzong.dpon* of dGa'.ldan pho.brang, was sent from IHa.sa. He was *de facto* the new ruler of the land.

It seems that the La.dwags.pa abbot of Tho.ling, bSod.nams dpal.grub, chosen by his fellow countrymen after they took Gu.ge, remained the *mkhan.po* of Tho.ling for some time after La.dwags lost Gu.ge. In 1687, the first abbot of Tho.ling appointed by dGa'.ldan pho.brang reached Tho.ling.

# Tho.ling as the secular seat of Gu.ge.pa power A summary

Tho.ling became the capital of the kingdom with Ye.shes.'od, who resided and died here. No evidence is extant to believe that the capital of Gu.ge Pu.hrang was transferred elsewhere until after the reign of rTse.lde.

Tho.ling lost its role as the capital of the kingdom with dBang.lde/'Bar.lde. It probably became the capital of Gu.ge lHo.stod, although it is never mentioned as a royal residence of the kings of lHo.stod when Gu.ge was divided into two kingdoms. However, the absence of any mention of Tho.ling in the sources dealing with the members of the lHo.stod dynasty may derive from the fact that the kings of lHo.stod are mainly recorded in the 'Bri.gung.pa sources because of their relations during the 13th century with this bKa'.brgyud.pa sub-sect. The 'Bri.gung.pa-s did not hold Tho.ling.

It is unclear whether Tho.ling retained its place of preminence in Gu.ge during the Sa.skya.pa period. The Gung.thang.pa feudatories of Sa.skya ruled Gu.ge Pu.hrang from dKar.dum at the border between Pu.hrang.stod.smad, a fort located at a considerable distance from Tho.ling.

With the renaissance of the Gu.ge dynasty with rNam.rgyal.lde, Tho.ling did not recover its role as capital of Gu.ge. rNam.rgyal.lde resided at Mang.nang. His son Phun.tshogs.lde founded Tsa.rang, which became the capital of Gu.ge until its downfall in 1630 at the hands of the La.dwags king Seng.ge rnam.rgyal. From the time of rNam.rgyal.lde, Tho.ling remained the chief monastic and spiritual centre of Gu.ge but its role as the main secular centre of Gu.ge was lost. blessing to the son of the previous king and his ministers. He diffused everywhere the flowers of blessing. He [then] went to mTho.lding".

67. sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.33a lines 2-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.84): "In iron male horse (1630), a Chu.mur.ti.pa subject, having revolted, gave king Seng ge rnam.rgyal access to all the Guige bod. 'brog ("settlements and normadic pastures"). As the Lathag.pa troops marched into Guige, when they surrounded the rTsa.rang palace, this rje (sTag.tshang ras.pa), the need for a peace parley having arisen, accordingly left together with a few disciples. Although jo bdag.po (i.e. the king of Guige) was advised by chosirje Alle to surrender, the merchants of Phyir.chung and Na.ga.rko.ta, which had earlier rebelled against La.dwags, resisted here. The fort was taken"

68. Mi.dbang rtogs.brjod (p.36 lines 10-13: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.85): "The remains of the nearly defeated enemy forces, which were in disarray in the desert plain, took refuge in the impenetrable forts of Pulrang sTagilalmkhar, rTsalbrang and bKra.shis.sgang"; and, concerning their surrender ibid. (n. 38 lines 1-2): "Given that a huge army was raised up and additional reinforcements were added on the way, rTsa.brang and bKra.shis.sgang spontaneously surrendered". For the dating to 1679 of the former event and to 1680 of the latter see Ahmad, "New Light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal War of 1679-1684" p.345-346 and p.349.

69. Ngag.dbang tshe.ring.gi rnam.thar (vol. 1 p.71 line 4-p.72 line 5: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.86). 'Khrul.zhig Ngag.dbang tshe.ring was born in a fire bird year. This year is wrongly given as 1717 in the introduction to the 1975 Delhi edition of his biography. He was born in fire bird 1657 otherwise he could not have witnessed the La.dwags-dGa'.ldan pho.brang war of 1679-1684. His death, given in the same introduction as 1794, is consequently one *rab.byung* too late. It took place in 1734.

### The dGa'.ldan pho.brang period

Soon after Tho.ling and the lands of Gu.ge became territories under the control of the lHa.sa government, the importance of Tho.ling was duly acknowledged. The 5th Dalai Lama had already recognised its great legacy when he used some of the religious depictions at Tho.ling as models for his renovations in the Jo.khang: "Then, the great rGyal.ba'i dbang.po, the 5th, as he made a renovation of the middle floor of 'Phrul.snang gtsug.lag.khang, thinking to have especially good wall paintings, since he took in consideration to use the murals of mTho.lding gtsug.lag.khang depicting the *dkyil.'khor*-s of the rGyud.sde.bzhi as authoritative models, he made similar *dkyil.'khor*-s on the middle floor and also composed a flower of praise to the murals of mTho.lding"<sup>70</sup>.

Two major decisions, made by dGa'.ldan pho.brang, were enacted by dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang and feasibly by sGar.dpon Khang.dmar Tshe.brtan rdo.rje in favour of Tho.ling, which reorganized the monastery in two different yet related aspects. The first was that, similar to other decrees, including that by Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal, promulgated before this ordinance, an edict was issued to the effect that the middle son in each family of Gu.ge had to become a monk at Tho.ling, thus securing the monastic re-population of the temple (for some details, as are described by sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, see below p.52-53).

Having settled matters within the sacred precinct of Tho.ling, the other order concerned the organization of the Tho.ling *dgon.lag*-s ("branch monasteries"), which consolidated a stable network of support from outside the monastery<sup>71</sup>. As mentioned below (p.110), the dGa'.ldan pho.brang classification of the Tho.ling branch monasteries may have been modelled after the dGe.lugs.pa organization when Gu.ge was ruled by its own royal dynasty, but this is conjectural and no exact chronology can be established regarding the introduction of this network (on this matter see bKra.shis tshe.ring, *Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston* p.112 line 6, where the classification of the *dgon.lag*-s is attributed to an unspecified period after the sth Dalai Lama).

The lineage of the early dGe.lugs.pa abbots of Tho.ling

Bai.ser discusses the lineage of the Tho.ling abbots: "Lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po was its abbot. Jo.bo.rje A.ti.sha visited [Tho.ling] and the rGyud.sde.bzhi lha.khang was also there (sic). Subsequently, after many generations of *bla[.ma-s*], following the same treatment adopted [for the other monasteries] mentioned above, the successive abbots after Gu.ge Ngag.dbang grags.pa were chos.rje Tshul.khrims bshes.gnyen; rJe.legs grub.pa; the Kun.spangs.pa bearing the name Nam.mkha'; rje Kun.dga' dpal.bzang; rje Rin.chen dpal.bzang; pan.chen Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan; slob.dpon Seng.ge rgya.mtsho; chos.rje Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang; chos.rje bDe.legs.dar; rje Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang; rje Grags.pa 'od.zer; rje Tshul.khrims rgyal.mtshan; lha.btsun Blo.bzang bstan.pa'i nyi.'od. Around that time, pan.chen Blo.bzang chos.rgyan was invited [and] opened the door of religion by his promotion of it. Following [pan.chen's] return [to Central Tibet], after lha.btsun Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od sat on the throne [of Tho.ling] for twelve years, La.dwags Seng.ge rnam.rgyal, who bound them with five arrows, brought under his own power the mkhan.po and the king of Gu.ge bKra.shis grags.pa, who were independent. He reduced Gu.ge under his dominion. Subsequently, those who were appointed [mkhan.po-s] were Dung.dkar bshes.gnyen bZang.po; Gu.ge Bye.dkar bZod.pa

70. See the article on Tho.ling by Ri. 'bur Ngag.dbang rgya.mtsho in *Bod.ljongs Nang.bstan* (p. 42-48: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.88). See also bKra.shis tshe.ring, *Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston* (p. 105 lines 7-13).

71. bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.105 lines 14-19: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.89): "In the later part of the life of the rGyal.dbang sku.phreng Inga.pa, sGar.dpon Bulchung (note: who was later promoted to the rank of bka'.blon] and, during the war, rgyal.po dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang dpal.bzang paid particular attention to mTho.lding dgon.pa. By gathering the middle sons in the families to become monks from the ten directions of Gu.ge phyi.nang ("external and internal"), they expanded the grwa.tshang. Since they appointed it the mother dgon[.pa] of the twenty-five branch monasteries, including Sa[.skya.pa and] 'Brug[.pa] monasteries, they not only expanded it but gave to it a stable organization. This is a sign of its greatness during the intermediate period"

rgyal.mtshan and rTsa.hrang.pa sku.skyes ("incarnation of rTsa.hrang.pa"?) Blo.bzang chos.'phel. Later, since in [mNga'.ris] skor.gsum [people] came under the cover of the white umbrella of the religious government of *rje bla.ma*, La.dwags bSod.nams dpal.grub and Byang.rtse chos.rje A.mdo sByin.pa rgya.mtsho [were abbots]. At present, it is ruled by Shar.rtse Khams sPo.'bor.ba Blo.bzang chos.'phel. He newly expanded in a great way the number of the monks and estates to keep up worship [at Tho.ling]. This will be discussed below. *sMon.lam* is performed in the same way as at lHa.sa. As for the religious system practised in the monastery quarters and the *dgon.pa*, the monks pursue further studies by going to Se[.ra], 'Bras[.spung], dGe (i.e. dGa'.ldan) and mNga'.ris grwa.tshang" (ibid. p.273 lines 9-25: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.90).

Those enumerated in *Bai.ser* are the dGe.lugs.pa abbots of Tho.ling. The first of them was obviously Ngag.dbang grags.pa, who ascended its throne before 1424. The abbots Tshul.khrims bshes.gnyen, rDo.legs grub.pa, Kun.spangs.pa Nam.mkha', Kun.dga' dpal.bzang and Rin.chen dpal.bzang have to be considered as sitting on the throne of Tho.ling in succession after Ngag.dbang grags.pa until pan.chen Shanti.pa. The latter's dates are documented in the sources as 1487-1567, with earth pig 1539 as the year in which he became the abbot of Tho.ling, when he returned from dBus.gTsang (see *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* f.33a lines 6-7), after he resigned from being the *mkhan.po* of bKra.shis lhun.po dKyil.khang grwa.tshang. Rin.chen dpal.bzang, the last of this group of abbots must have left the throne of Tho.ling vacant soon before 1539.

The successive abbots from some time after 1539 (but before 1567, the date of Shanti.pa's death, which is a *terminus ante quem* for Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang to have ascended the Tho.ling throne) were slob.dpon Seng.ge rgya.mtsho, Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang, bDe.legs.dar, Sangs.rgyas dpal.bzang, Grags.pa 'od.zer, Tshul.khrims rgyal.mtshan, lha.btsun Blo.bzang bstan.pa'i nyi.'od, who have to be accommodated in the period after Shanti.pa until 1618, the year in which pan.chen rin.po.che Blo.bzang chos.kyi rgyal.mtshan visited Tho.ling. It is noteworthy that Seng.ge rgya.mtsho is not mentioned in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*; Phyag.rdor dpal.bzang seems to have been Shanti.pa's successor as the former abdicated in his favour according to the latter source.

Twelve years later, in 1630, during the abbotship of Blo.bzang ye.shes.'od, the king of La.dwags Seng.ge rnam.rgyal seized rTsa.hrang and subjugated Gu.ge. The abbots from 1630 until 1687, the latter date being when Gu.ge passed under the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government, were Dung.dkar bshes.gnyen bZang.po, Gu.ge Bye.dkar bZod.pa rgyal.mtshan, rTsa.hrang Blo.bzang chos.'phel and La.dwags bSod.nams dpal.grub, who seems to have been the last abbot during the domination of Gu.ge by La.dwags.

The abbotship of Byang.rtse chos.rje A.mdo sByin.pa rgya.mtsho occurred after the La.dwags-dGa'.ldan pho.brang war began in 1679<sup>72</sup>. That of Shar.rtse Khams sPo.'bor.ba Blo.bzang chos.'phel was still continuing at the time of completing *Bai.ser* (i.e. in earth tiger 1698), (*Bai.ser* p.461 lines 2-4).

Tho.ling during the regency of sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho

Following the death of the 5th Dalai Lama Ngag.dbang blo.bzang rgya.mtsho, sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, who took his place by concealing his death, continued relations with the monks of Tho.ling. He ordered the dGa'.ldan pho.brang to bear the expenses of the various annual ceremonies. Keeping in mind the greatness

72. bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.107 line 14-p.108 line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.91): "What one knows at present is that, among them, Byang.rtse chos.rje sByin.pa rgya.mtsho, otherwise known as Ngag.dbang dpal.bzang of 'Bras.spungs sGo.mang bSam.blo (khang.tshan) became, as he was requested, the forty-sixth successive abbot. After him, Sera.smad sPom.'bor Shar.rtse chos.rje Blo.bzang chos.'phel otherwise known as Khri Yang.(p.108)steng.pa ascended the abbatial throne of mTho.lding" See mDo.sngags gzhung.brgya smra.ba Byang.rtse mTho.lding mkhan.po Ngag.dbang snyan grags kyi zhabs brtan in the gSung. 'burn of Rwa.sgreng Khri.chen bsTan.pa rab.rgyas (vol.IV p.401).

of Tho.ling and its lineage of masters and abbots, such as those issuing from the ancient royal family and more recently those issuing from the dGe.lugs.pa ranks, he decided to choose abbots worth of its past.

sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho introduced the system of sending the successive Shar.byang chos.rje-s to be the abbots of Tho.ling dgon.pa. The abbots of Tho.ling, after a period of incumbency at this temple, became the dGa'.ldan *khri.pa*-s. This was enacted from water monkey 1692. In that year, Byang.rtse chos.rje A.mdo sByin.pa rgya.mtsho, often mentioned in these pages, and, after him, Shar.rtse chos.rje Khams sPom.'bor Blo.bzang chos.'phel, these two in succession, ascended the throne of Tho.ling dgon.pa<sup>73</sup>. The newly established tradition of rGyud.stod was then introduced at Tho.ling dgon.pa and entrusted to the care of the La.dwags king, although he did not have any ascendancy over the greatest monastery in Gu.ge, which remained entirely under the control of dGa'.ldan pho.brang.

Around that time, the *rnam.thar* of the first kun.mkhyen 'Jam.dbyangs bzhad.pa Wa.shul Ngag.dbang brtson.'grus (1648-1721), who belonged to the line of abbots of A.mdo bKra.shis.dkyil, gives an indication of how important in the eyes of sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgyam.mtsho were the abbot and the throne of mTho.lding; "Concerning this, since the golden throne of mNga'.ris Tho.ling gSer.gvi gtsug.lag.khang was the throne of the incomparable Jo.bo chen.po, and, moreover, since a request was made many times that the successive [abbots], who ascended the golden throne of dGa'.ldan, the seat of chos.kyi rgyal.po Tsong.kha.pa chen.po, in particular the abbots of Shar.byang, should hold [the throne of mTho.lding], likewise, although there was a request from sKyor.mo.lung, since it was the seat of sBal.ti dGra.bcom.pa, the great spiritual son of 'Dul.'dzin Thag.ma.ba, who resided there, that teachings should be imparted [at the latter place], such as oral instructions on 'Dul.ba, the empowerment of rDor.phreng etc., extensive Tantric cycles, sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho did not accept [the latter request]" (dBal.mang dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan, bKra.shis.dkyil.gyi gdan.rabs p.19b lines 3-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.93) (See also bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston p.107 lines 4-11).

In the second volume of the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama by sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho (*Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa* f.277 line 3) a reference is made to the appointment of a *gnyer.pa* ("keeper") to what is defined as "mTho.lding, the newly established *dgon.pa* in mNga'.ris" (*Du.lu.ka'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa* f.231 line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.94).

Such a statement led Petech to think that Tho.ling had undergone a renovation. This was not the case. The year in which this alleged renovation took place was fire hare 1687 when other monasteries in sTod received the attention of the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government. Apart from the above mentioned passage (Khri.mkhar.ba Don.yod rdo.rje and sTag.sna.ba were appointed to be sent respectively as *gnyer.pa* of the newly established *dgon[.pa]* mTho.lding in mNga'.ris and as Pu.rang *gnyer.pa*), in another volume of the biography, the grants in favour of Tho.ling to fund the offerings for the worship of the deities are said to have been allocated in the same year <sup>74</sup>.

This becomes more evident if one reads other passages in the same section of *Bai.ser* dedicated to Tho.ling, which deals with the new organization set up for Tho.ling by the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government, including the change in the system of appointing the Tho.ling abbots mentioned above. sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho first says: "Although it seems that all the laymen and monks of Zhes.yul (i.e. the La.dwags.pa-s) had pure faith in the dGe.lugs, bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal was

73. bKra.shis tshe ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.106 lines 6-20: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.92): "The gracious regent ma.ha pandi.ta Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, after the death of the Dalai Lama, which he kept secret for a while by using himself the name of the omniscient Great Fifth, continued relations with the monks of mTho.lding dgon.pa and its religious estates. He bore the cost of the various annual sgrub.mchod. He protected it with compassionate attention and generosity. More than anything, sde.srid rin.po.che, who was experienced and far-sighted on both religious and secular matters, [as well as] having a vast command of historiography and documents, considered mTho.lding to be an extraordinary light of ultimate teachings for the sentient beings. The history of the dgon.pa and its lineage of incumbents, which is extremely important, covers a long period of time. Earlier, abbots, kings, ministers, pandi.ta-s, grub.thob-s and lo.tsa.ba-s, who interacted here, left magnificent and extensive hand-prints in terms of receptacles of body, speech and mind, which can be considered the right side of 'Dzam.gling ('Dzam.gling g.yas.gshag, i.e. the best part of 'Dzam.gling). Thinking about their power of bestowing blessings, starting from 1692, the system of sending the successive Shar.byang chos.rje-s to be the abbots of mTho.lding dgon.pa was introduced. Hence, when sde srid rin.po.che (Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho) was living, Byang.rtse chos.rje A.mdo sByin.pa rgya.mtsho and, after him, Sharirtse chosirje Khams sPom.'bor Blo.bzang chos.'phel, these two in succession, ascended the throne of mTho.lding.dgon.pa"

74. Du.lu ka'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod dang.po (f.277a lines 5-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.95): "In fire hare (1687), for the offerings (of butterlamps) to be made day and night without interruption at Gu.ge mTho.lding Iha.khang, the annual provisions given for worship, in terms of barley, altogether amounted to 1046 mkhar.ru'i khal and ten bre".

obscured by mischievous darkness and both the religious and secular powers [at Tho.ling] were reduced to the small extent of no more than thirty monks" (ibid. p.460 lines 13-15: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.96). To re-establish religious life at Tho.ling he summarizes a few measures taken for its benefit: "From fire hare (1687), at the beginning of the twelveth rab. byung, in addition to the original thirty monks, 160 new [Tho.ling] monks were gathered by means of ban.khral ("monk tribute", for which every family had to give its middle son to the monastery). The assembly of the pure tradition of the great 'jam.mgon rgyal.po Tsong.kha.pa [at Tho.ling] followed the model of the new[ly established] monasteries of dBus.gTsang in their recitations and religious practices such as that of sMan.bla" (ibid. p.460 lines 19-22: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.97). He then goes on to say (p.461 lines 2-4): "As to the mkhan.po, in that year [the system of appointment] was changed. [Bla.ma-s] from dGa'.ldan rTse.shar (i.e. Shar.rtse) went [to be mkhan.po] in turn. The first was Byang.rtse chos.rje sByin.pa rgya.mtsho. After he ascended the golden throne [of Tho.ling], Shar.rtse chos.rje Blo.bzang chos.'phel is the present [abbot]. The treatment of the history of the ancient dgon[.pa] and its monks is concluded at this stage. The monastic assembly [of Tho.ling] consists of about 200 monks" (ibid. p.461 lines 2-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.98).

In a few lines, sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho discusses the effects of the political situation created in mNga'.ris.stod with the taking over of Gu.ge by the La.dwags.pa-s. This is a showpiece of the close interdependence of political and religious affairs in the eyes of the dGa'.ldan pho.brang, but, more than that, of the strong religious implications involved in the earlier struggle between Gu.ge and La.dwags, which had brought the recently born dGe.lugs.pa and the 'Brug.pa theocracies into confrontation with each other. sDe.srid's judgment of the effects that bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal's rule had on Tho.ling are extremely negative. His criticism of bDe.ldan rnam.rgyal's mischievous obscurantism which left Tho.ling depopulate should be more appropriately addressed to Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal who ruled Gu.ge and hence Tho.ling as well. The pathetic situation in which Tho.ling was languishing when the dGa'.ldan pho.brang took over also shows how ineffective was Indra.bodhi's 1653 bka'.shog to the people of Gu.ge ordering them to bear the burden of supporting Tho.ling (see below Appendix Seven). The poor outcome of his order may have been due to his own pro-'Brug.pa stance 75 or to a defiant reaction of the Gu.ge.pa-s to a bka'.shog issued by a hostile authority which had usurped the right to rule. It is noteworthy that Indra.bodhi's order did not feasibly produce significant results while that of the dGa'.ldan pho.brang contributed sensibly to an increase in the monastic population of Tho.ling.

However matters may have been in the aftermath of the end of La.dwags.pa rule in Gu.ge, the fact remains that Tho.ling was on the verge of ending its centuriesold function of shedding spiritual and cultural light in mNga'.ris skor.gsum and elsewhere. By the evidence of the passages in *Bai.ser*, that undertaken in fire hare 1687 was a complete reorganization of the monastic community and of the religious practices rather than an actual renovation since it did not affect the structures of the temple complex. The taking over of Tho.ling by the dGa'.ldan pho.brang thus left the Tho.ling temples untouched. It is difficult to say how much the rule of the La.dwags.pa-s and in particular of Indra.bodhi, after that of his father Seng.ge rnam.rgyal, had changed religious practice at Tho.ling after the earlier dGe.lugs.pa period. It is possible that the state of abandon in which Tho.ling was languishing under the kings of La.dwags was related to an absence of religious practice rather than a substitution of the dGe.lugs.pa cults adopted at this monastery before Seng.ge rnam.rgyal's conquest. This seems to be confirmed as

75. He was the beloved disciple of sTag tshang ras.p.a, whose equanimous and impartial approach towards the dGe.lugs.pa-s and that of his patron Seng.ge rnam.rgyal, stressed in sTag.tshang ras.pai rnam.thar and whole-heartedly accepted by Petech (The Kingdom of Ladakh p.70) should be questioned, given that it goes against the course of events that led to the subjugation of pro-dGe.lugs.pa Gu.ge.

#### 54 RECORDS OF THO.LING

well by the dGa'.ldan pho.brang policy, undertaken by the great Fifth and the *sde.srid*, of taking charge of and controlling the activities (religious and secular) of all the monasteries, including those in flourishing state and those previously suffering neglect.

# Tho.ling under the dGa'.ldan pho.brang after sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho

From the period of the 48th dGa'.ldan *khri.pa* until that of the fifty-third, when these were the Byang.shar *chos.rje*-s, their available biographies do not permit one to ascertain whether or not they sat on the throne of Tho.ling.

Subsequently, Se.ra.byes bsam.blo Ngag.dbang mchog.ldan (1677-1751) became the abbot of Tho.ling for the years iron tiger 1710 to fire monkey 1716. He was obviously a figure of noteworthy prominence. After sitting on the throne of Tho.ling, he became the 54th dGa'.ldan *khri.pa*. Khri.chen Ngag.dbang mchog.ldan was the tutor of bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho (1708-1758), the 7th Dalai Lama, and the first Rwa.sgreng <sup>76</sup>. It is possible that, through the auspices of his tutor, the 7th Dalai Lama took an interest in the fate of Tho.ling, as the *bka'.shog* issued by him in fire dragon 1736 (see Appendix Seven) indicates. It is also possible that the end of the ancient and glorious dynasty of Gu.ge, which was unfolding before the eyes of the 7th Dalai Lama, made him take steps in favour of this land and its main temple.

Other abbots, who sat on the Tho.ling throne during the life of bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho, are mentioned in the autobiography of the Pan.chen rin.po.che Blo.bzang ye.shes and the biography of his successor dPal.ldan ye.shes. They were Ngag.dbang chos.ldan and Don.grub rgya.mtsho during the life of the former Pan.chen rin.po.che (*Blo.bzang ye.shes.kyi rnam.thar (stod.cha)* f.286a line 1 and f.387a line 2) and subsequently Don.grub rgyal.mtshan, who is documented to have sat on the Tho.ling throne in water dog 1742 (*dPal.ldan ye.shes.kyi rnam.thar* p.72 lines 3-4). He was probably succeeded by Blo.bzang 'phrin.las, who is mentioned as the abbot of Tho.ling in 1744 and 1752 (ibid. respectively p.97 line 6-p.98 line 1 and p.188 line 2). *dPag.bsam rin.po.che snye.ma*, the main biography of the 7th Dalai Lama, records the meeting of other two abbots with bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho. They were Chos rgya.mtsho and Rin.chen bskal.bzang. The second of the two was from Sera.byes and was appointed as the abbot of Tho.ling only for a brief period.

# The end of the royal lineage of Gu.ge

The 1653 *bka*'.*shog* by Indrabodhi rnam.rgyal to Tho.ling (see p.181-182) proves that La.dwags controlled Gu.ge, which is confirmed by *sTag.tshang ras.pa rnam.thar* and *La.dwags rgyal.rabs*. The 1736 *bka*'.*shog* by bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho, also addressed to Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis (see Appendix Seven), proves that, while another authority had been installed in Gu.ge (that of the Dalai Lama) following the La.dwags-dGa'.ldan pho.brang war, a restoration of the royal family of Gu.ge had been performed, albeit partial, since members of the Guge genealogy resided in Gu.ge, while, during the periods of Seng.ge rnam.rgyal and his son Indrabodhi they were in exile in La.dwags.

77. dPag. bsam rin.po.che snye.ma (smad.cha p.357 line 4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.99): and ibid. (smad.cha p.365 lines 4-5). This succession to the Tho.ling throne can be fixed with accuracy since the designation of Rin.chen skal.bzang took place among other events which fell in wood pig 1755 (ibid. p.361 line 2). My gratitude goes to Lobsang Shastri for addressing my altention to all the passages in the biographies of these Panchen and Dalai Lamas mentioned here.

<sup>76.</sup> Go.shul Grags.pa 'byung.gnas, *Khri.chen Ngag.dbang mchog.idan rnam.thar mdor.bsdus* (p. 164), a short biography of the fifty-fourth *khri.chen*, reads: "When he was thirty-four in iron male tiger of the twelfth *rab.byung* (1710), he became the *mkhan.po* of mNga' *ris* mTho.lding. He preached extensively *mDo.sNgags*, these two, while protecting the assembly of many thousand monks. He renovated thousands of *mchod.rten-s* erected during the time of lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po. He promoted the teachings up to the banner on the roof by spending seven years there".

The power that the last king of Gu.ge, Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis, exercised in his land was no more than nominal, for he depended on the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government, of which he was a representative in mNga'.ris.stod.

Oral tradition links Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis to mDa'.ba.rdzong as a local ruler. Dawa Lama Yugyal, a living authority on mDa'.ba.rdzong, often mentioned this king to the author of the present work as the last ruler of this locality. The same *bka'.shog* confirms his connection with mDa'.ba.rdzong. The notion in the edict that the mNga'.ris *no.yon*, who was an associate of Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis, was the protector of mDa'.ba.rdzong links Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis to this locality. Moreover, an allusion in earth monkey 1728 found in *dPag.bsam rin.po.che snye.ma* (*stod.cha* f.243b line 3) to a king of mNga'.ris mDa'.pa may only refer to Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis.

Not much more is known about Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis. Petech (*Kingdom of Ladakh* p.45) says that, in 1692, he was living in lHa.sa, which he did until his death. In the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama that I have consulted (the same used by Petech), there is no reference to the fact that he was a resident of lHa.sa. The biography affirms that he came to pay a visit and brought rich gifts as was his custom<sup>78</sup>, but does not imply that he had become a resident of the Dalai Lama's see. In fact, the *bka'.shog* issued by the 7th Dalai Lama shows that in 1736 Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis was active in mNga'.ris.stod.

His status in Gu.ge notwithstanding, Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis was the last member of the Gu.ge royalty before this line came to an end. Reference is made in the *bka*.shog to the fact that the royal genealogy of Gu.ge was facing extinction.

Tshe.dbang nor.bu (*Bod.rje lha.btad.po'i gdung.rabs*) confirms this fact: "In Gu.ge, which is in the centre of Zhang.zhung, the last king of the genealogy, which appeared in succession, was Padma blo.bzang bkra.shis. This one was born in the fire dragon year of the 11th *rab.byung* (1676). When he was sixty-eight, he died in the water pig year towards the end of the 12th *rab.byung* (1744), in a day of the *sbo* (sic for *dbo*) month. I did my share of offerings to various *bla.ma*-s in memory of the deceased on behalf of the central government when I was residing at rKong.yul gTsang.po mgo.dgu. Thereafter, the genealogy of Gu.ge came to an end. The younger of [his] two daughters married the king of Mar.yul La.dwags and had two sons" (ibid. p.75 lines 5-13: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.101).

Tho.ling in the period after the end of the Gu.ge dynasty

Then, from the fifty-fifth dGa'.ldan *khri.pa* until the sixty-fifth, when they were the Byang.rtse *chos.rje*-s, no evidence from their biographies, that have come into the hands of the author of this work, helps to prove whether or not they were the abbots of Tho.ling.

The system of ascending the throne of Tho.ling before that of dGa'.ldan is documented in the case of the next dGa'.ldan *khri.pa*, the 26th. As a matter of fact, Se.ra.byes bsam.blo Byang.rtse chos.rje Ngag.dbang snyan.grags became the 66th dGa'.ldan *khri.pa* after he was chosen to ascend the abbatial throne of Tho.ling.

The system of nominating the Tho.ling abbot from the ranks of the masters of Shar.byang seems to have lasted from 1692 until 1800, but no elements are at hand to ascertain who changed this custom.

78. Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gsum.pa (f.69b line 6-f.70a line 3: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.100): "Prince Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis, the authentic scion of khri sKyid.lde Nyi.ma.mgon of the lineage of mnga'.bdag dPal.'khor.btsan, who was the descendant of the Bod chos.rgyal-s, having arrived [from mNga'.ris], came to pay his respects to rje bla.ma. He was ceremoniously received. He brought respectful gifts. (When) he had come previously, his meeting gifts such as a large quantity of gold and silver as well as brocade, silk and cloths had been highly appreciated. We exchanged pleasantries according to (both) the elaborate and the simplified etiquette enquiring about each other".

# Tho.ling during the 19th century

Around 1800, it seems that Tho.ling dgon.pa became a branch monastery of the *grwa.tshang* ("monastic college") of the persons who became the successive Se.ra.byes' incumbent abbots.

According to the oral information of the elderly monks who lived in Tho.ling before its destruction, the *dgon.pa* passed under Se.ra.byes from the time of Rwa.sgreng khri.chen bsTan.pa rab.rgyas (1759-1815).

It seems that those who became abbots from then on were given the right of having a keeper and an administrator as main assistants, together with over twenty other attendants.

During this period, the lands of mNga'.ris skor.gsum underwent a long season of decline, as the officers sent by the Dalai Lama governments did not take an interest in making the land and its people prosper and did not keep the temples in their previous flourishing state. As a matter of fact, the higher and lower sTod sGar.dpon, the *rdzong.dpon-s* ("governors") of rTsa.hrang and mDa'.ba.rdzong and their representatives, the *gser.dpon* ("administrators of the gold mines") and the trade officers did not exercise their duties properly, often being biased in the way administration and taxation were run. The monasteries were abandoned to their fate and lay in a state of decay, with the monastic population reduced to a minimum.

Another blow was given by the invasion of Zoravar Singh in the years 1841-1842, often known to the Tibetans as La.sing but to the *rten.deb* as 'Byor.ra.sing, which caused severe damage to Tho.ling. The newly appointed plenipotentiary of the area, gNod.sbyin phun.tshogs, took great care of Tho.ling dgon.pa. During the period 1847-1849 he visited mNga'.ris sGar twice. On these occasions he saw the pitiful condition in which Tho.ling was lying. Similar to the ordinance issued in the period of sGar.dpon Bu.chung and dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang dpal.bzang, he issued an authoritative edict in fire sheep (1847) ordering all families of the region to give their middle sons to become monks at the *dgon.pa-s*, and not to create obstacles to those who had faith in the religion, so that they could renounce secular life (see Appendix Seven).

gNod.sbyin phun.tshogs was the one who, under the control of Se.ra.byes, made a restoration of the *dgon.pa* in water ox 1853. He also introduced the system of keeping records of the *dgon.pa*'s properties, of which the 1937 *rten.deb* is a later example.

# Part Two

A study of the buildings composing the Tho.ling complex

# Introduction The inventories of the Tho.ling receptacles of body, speech and mind

ONE DOCUMENT, whose front page and hence its title is missing, is a collection of inventories of the religious properties of the temple complex of Tho.ling, historically the most important monastery of Gu.ge. In the closing lines of its introductory section, which explains the reasons for compiling these inventories before listing them in detail (see above p.5), the document is defined as a *gtan.deb* ("book of properties"), which has to be corrected into a more consonant *rten.deb* ("book otherwise inventory of holy receptacles") (f.4a). The latter spelling will be used to identify it in the present work.

The document used for the reconstruction of Tho.ling is called the *me.glang rten.deb* (or "the fire ox (1937) inventory of holy receptacles") throughtout its text. It comprises eighty-five written folios, in beautiful *dbu.med* script, and one hundred and five altogether including its blank pages, many of them hand-written only on the front side, which seems to indicate that space was left for future records<sup>79</sup>, the last of which dates to water dragon 1952 (*rten.deb* f.25a). Its pages, measuring 60.5 by 28.5 cm, contain six lines of text. The manuscript has been marginally damaged by fire. The top and bottom lines of the first pages are unreadable. Classifications, corrections and additions are given legal status by means of the seal of the abbot of Tho.ling depicting a conchshell.



An extract of these official administrative papers has been previously made by bKra.shis tshe.ring in a document consisting of a few pages nervously scribbled in *khyug.yig* (for the translation of this document see below Appendix Three), which served as the basis for a preliminary short study by the present author before

79. But one should note that a line in cursive of the *rten.deb* (1.84a line 2) says: "From this folio on, which is from folio B5 until folio 98, twenty-four folios are missing (bston past tense of 'don pa, lit. "to take out")". bKra.shis tshe.ring obtained a copy of the original <sup>80</sup>. A first work using some parts of the available documents and the recollections of the Tho.ling elders was then penned by bKra.shis tshe.ring for the commemorative issue of Tho.ling's millenary, entitled *Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang nas mTho.lding dgon.pa'i bar.gyi chags.rabs shin.tu bsdus.pa sngon.'gro lam.ston* in the commemorative volume *Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang phyag.btab.nas lo gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.dran dus.deb*<sup>81</sup>.

These inventories are not very old. After the campaign of Zoravar Singh, called in this document 'Byor.ra.sing (ibid. f.2b), who invaded Gu.ge Pu.hrang in iron bird 1841, as the text correctly recounts, and meeting with his death in the same year, damage to the images of Tho.ling and the state of decay in which its properties in general were lying prompted the making of these inventories. They were introduced to improve the exercise of the functions delegated to the gNyer.tshang administrators of Tho.ling<sup>82</sup> in keeping track of the religious objects in the various *lha.khang*-s and to facilitate the transfer of the duties from one temple caretaker (*sku.gnyer*) to another (ibid. f.2b-4a).

Afterwards these inventories were undertaken frequently. Blank pages indicate that space was left so that they could be brought up to date. For instance, an update of the religious objects in one of the *lha.khang*-s (i.e. lha.khang 'Jig.rten.brgyan) was made in wood bird 1945 (ibid. f.72a)<sup>83</sup>.

Various other updates concerning several *lha.khang-s* of Tho.ling are found in the *rten.deb*, most of them stamped with the abbot's seal to give then legal validity, as follows:

'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan (f.24a-f.25a): "In fire ox 1937, mTho.lding mkhan.zur ("retired abbot") La.ba dge.bshes Byams.pa brtson.'grus and mdzod.pa ("treasurer") rGyal.byed Byams.pa thub.bstan, these two, offered a vase made of red copper with a silver mouth. Written (f.24b) on the twenty-first day of the ninth month.

On the fifteenth day of the second month of water horse 1942, Dwa.bla Byam.pa (sic for Byams.pa?) rgya.mtsho offered the thirty-eight volume gSung.'bum of rJe rin.po.che and his two spiritual sons to the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan, with red and multicoloured wrappers, labels, made of brocade depicting lotuses, and cases.

On the fifteenth of the second month of fire ox 1937, *mkhan.'dzin* ("present abbot") lHo.pa dge.bshes mkhyen.rab Dam.chos and mdzod.pa sBa.rti mkhyen.rab Ngag.dbang, these two, offered an umbrella made of silk-fringed orange brocade and a silver knob in the shape of a lotus, which is to be installed above the main image, the incomparable Thub.dbang Ghande.ma, the jewel of the crown bestowing peace and happiness. [They also offered] a banner to be used on the occasion of *gser.tshogs smon.lam* with hangings made of brown Chinese brocade with a red and yellow rainbow embroidery. Written on the second month of water sheep 1943.

(f.25a) In earth rat 1948, mkhan.po lHo.pa dge.bhes Blo.bzang don.yod and mdzod.pa bKra.shis bde.legs, these two, offered to the Dus.gsum Sangs.rgyas, the main images of the 'du.khang chen.po, and to [the statue of] Mar.me.mdzad, four aprons in Indian silk; a good throne table to be used during smon.lam; a rnam.rgyal bum.pa depicting the Rigs.lnga and weighing sixty-four silver coins; a las.bum ("ordination vase"), its body in copper and the mouth in silver, four gan.'byar-s ("under-robes") for the four statues mentioned above, and a mchod.stegs ("table for offerings"). Written on the third month. Sera.byes grwa.tshang offered a thang.ka of Chos.rgyal one floor in height with a brocaded frame.

80. Many thanks go to him for taking so much trouble to obtain access to a copy of this document, which records the inventories of the Tho.ling chapels, receptacles, various paraphernalia and books kept in the temple complex before it was destroyed.

81. This work was 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 rg.gzhung gces.skyong.khang at Dharamsala in 1996.

82. Apart from the gNyer.tshang-s, they were the 'Bri.g.yag zur.pa-s, the sBug.pa-s (their names sometimes spelled sBubs.pa-s as well), the Bla.brang-s and the Grwa.tshang-s.

83. In its pages the me glang rten deb (f.68b, f.71a and f.71b) also records renovations and subsequent updates in the years before 1937, such as those in fire hare 1927 (f.71a), water monkey 1932 (f.71b) and (ire rat 1936 (f.54b). On the eleventh month of water dragon (1952), in dedication of the late dge Byams.pa rgya.mtsho, a *thang.ka* of rJe yab.sras.gsum, the gzhi.bdag lCam.sring and rgyal.chen Shug.ldan with a complete brocade frame including its red and yellow veil and silver knobs; as well as two *ashi* ("long scarves") were offered by dge.gzhon Blo.bzang".

(f.25b) On the *lo.gsar* of wood sheep 1955, Khu.nu Dhar.ma dbang.phyug offered a slightly damaged silver butterlamp with lotus decorations, seven *gsor* high and four *gsor* wide.

In the fire bird year 1957, in memory of Chu.ti (Chu.mur.ti) dpon bsTan.'dzin, four silver lamps were offered to be used on the three occasions and on [other] special occasions, weighing nine Indian coins. Their height is one *khyi* (i.e. the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the little finger), their width being two and a half *gsor*, with carvings on the bottom part. Written on the fifteenth of the eleventh month.

A *snyan.shal* ("long scarf around the neck and touching the ears") with a name of a person written on it was offered to the main image Thub.dbang Ghandi.ma (i.e Ghande.ma) by bsKras.sgang (i.e bKra.shis.sgang) sNgags.ram.pa rThogs.med rgya.mtsho".

Thug.rje lha.khang (f.41a-f.42a): "In fire ox 1937, the recently restored Thugs.rje lha.khang was offered a vase made of red copper with silver mouth, which was made with the fund of the renovation. Written on the 21st of the ninth month.

In memory of the late dpon.dman sGrol.dkar, one hexagonal silver ga'u was offered to 'Jam.dbyangs ga'u.ma with a scarf, its attachment loop stamped with a seal.

In water horse 1942, mdzod.zur ("retired treasurer") Byams.pa thub.rtan (spelt as) offered an excellent *nang.mdzod* ("long horizontal hanging") to Thugs.rje lha.khang. Written on fifteenth of the second month.

(f.42a) A robe, composed of the *stod.lhe* ("collar garment") made of blue and red brocade and an apron made of Mongolian *spu.ma* ("striped material") with appliqués, was offered to Thugs.rje chen.po; a robe was offered to Kha.gsar.spa.ni (spelt as), composed of a *stod.lhe* and a *smad.lhe*; a robe composed of a *stod.lhe* and a *smad.lhe* was offered to Byams.pa lding.sku ("the flying statue of Byams.pa"). A similar set of robes was offered to another statue.

A ceiling hanging made of Chinese white silk and thirteen butterlamps were offered to the Rigs.lnga lha.khang. Written on the above mentioned day".

bSrung.ma.khang (f.64a-f.64b): "In fire ox (1937), mTho.lding mkhan.zur ("retired abbot") dge.bshes Byams.pa (f.64b) brtson.'grus and mdzod.pa rGyal.byed Byams.pa thub.bstan, these two, offered a new red copper *bum.pa* ("vase") with a silver beak... [Written in] fire ox (1937), twenty-first day of the ninth month".

rGyal.khang (f.68b): "In fire sheep 1907, bla.gnyer Thub.bstan bkra.shis offered one *snyan.shal* ("long scarf around the neck and the ears of the deity") with an inscription written on it".

(f.70b-f.71a): "In wood rat (1924), (f.71a) a beam cover (*gdung.kheb*) was given from the Grwa.tshang rin.po.che...".

(f.71b line 1): "In water monkey (1932), cymbals, which are slightly damaged, were offered with funds for the renovations and by sku.gnyer Ngag.tshul".

(f.71b-f.72): "In fire ox (1937), [several offerings were made] with the funds for the renovation..., [written on] the twenty-ninth day of the second month. In fire

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ox (1937), mTho.lding mkhan.zur La.ba dge.bshes Byams.pa brtson.'grus and mdzod.pa ("treasurer") rGyal.byed Byams.pa thub.bstan offered a new red-copper vase with silver beak. (f.72a) This should be kept well and added to the inventory. [Written on] the twenty-first day of the ninth month. In water monkey (1943), Gling Gra.rig 'Phrin.las offered one sword and its wooden scabbard. On the sixth day of the second month during *lo.gsar* of wood bird 1945, a butterlamp was offered. Its height is six gsor, its width three and a half gsor. *Li* water cups, two gsor high and with a diametre of seven gsor; two brass butterlamps, five gsor high; a *kapala* with lid; a sword with a metal scabbard; one gar.sogs; a golden *thang.ka* of Phyag.rdor; a curtain with a fringe [were offered]. Written on the same date as above.

On the seventh day of the fifth month of earth ox 1950, as a donation for the renovation of the rGyal.khang mGon[.po], one silver ladle weighing ten a half silver coins was offered by Thub.bstan blo.bzang.

In water dragon 1952, sKyed.lags rDo.rje offered one red copper plate, six gsor in diametre".

mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung (f.76b): "In fire hare (1927), mdzod.pa Blo.bstan offered a red copper *gser.skyems 'bab.gzhong* (i.e. a vessel) with a gilt brass mouth made [in the previous year] fire tiger (1926)".

Ibid. (f.76b-f.77a): "In water monkey (1932), a pair of cymbals was made with funds for renovations. [Written on] the twenty-ninth day of the second month. In fire ox (1937), mTho.lding mkhan.zur La.ba dge.bshes Byams.pa brtson.'grus and mdzod.pa rGyal.byed Byams.pa thub.bstan offered a copper vase with silver beak. This is entrusted to the successive caretaker and should be kept properly..., written on the twenty-first of the ninth month".

lHa.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan (f.80b): "The twenty-ninth of the second month. Seven *li* water cups were offered in wood bird (1945)".

The records of the religious properties in the *rten.deb* which has come down to us were written in the fire ox year 1937 by lDong.po bSod.nams stobs.rgyas during the abbotship of mkhan.'dzin lHo.pa (i.e. from Gu.ge lHo) dge.bshes Dam.chos while the treasurer was sBa.rti Ngag.dbang (f.24b). In 1937, they had succeeded mkhan.zur ("retired abbot") La.ba dge.bshes Byams.pa brtson.'grus<sup>84</sup>, who is mentioned in more than one case as the incumbent head of Tho.ling until the previous year (f.24a; f.64a-f.64b; f.71b; and f.77a) together with the treasurer during his tenure, i.e. mdzod.pa rGyal.byed Byams.pa thub.bstan (f.24a, f.64b, f.77a). lHo.pa dge.bshes Dam.chos and sBa.rti Ngag.dbang were still in charge of Tho.ling in water sheep 1943 (f.24b).

Although no murals are mentioned in the *rten.deb*, with the exception of a brief description of those in the gSer.khang and an isolated reference to one in the Srung.ma.khang, because the inventories could not be extended to the walls, the listing of the properties in each chapel is very meticulous. Their interest lies, apart from their accuracy, in the fact that the names of the various *lha.khang-s* composing Tho.ling at a late time are given. Their identification within the temple complex remains an arduous task given that Tho.ling has been destroyed and no extant *dkar.chag* of the temple, which could help to appraise them, is available to this author.

On the other hand, descriptions of the temples by early Western travellers are perforce very incomplete, because they were shown parts of the monastic complex with greatest reluctance by the incumbent monks. This is probably the major limitation of Tucci and Ghersi's documentation of Tho.ling.

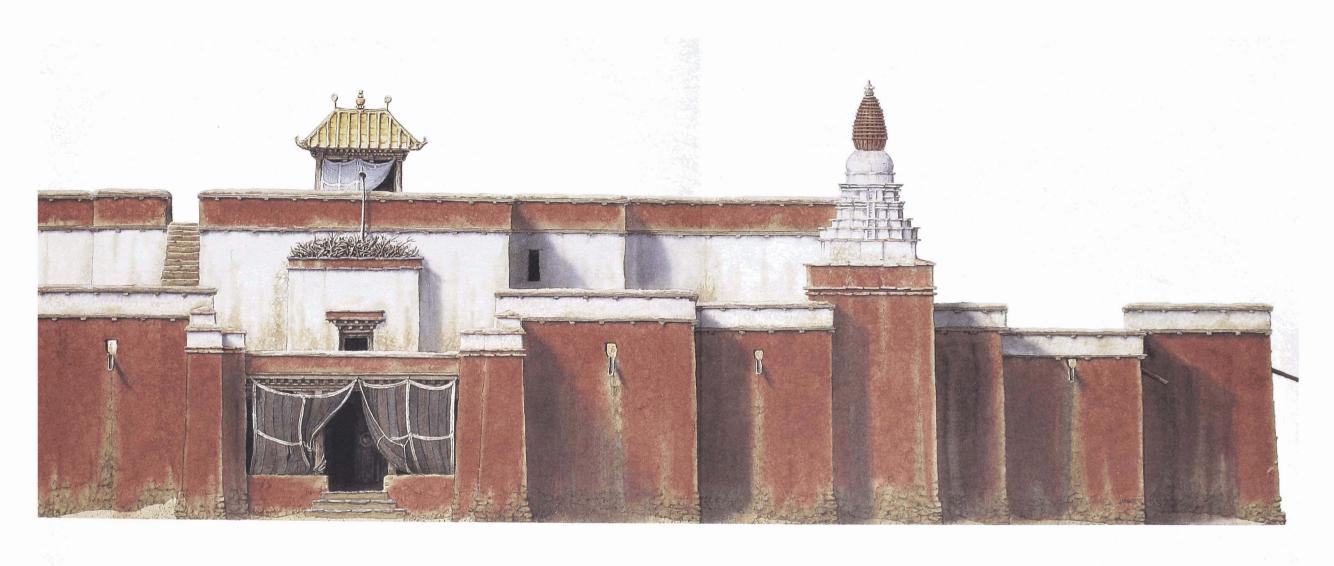
<sup>84.</sup> See rten.deb (f.24b), where he is indicated as mkhan.'dzin ("incumbent abbot" of Tho.ling) in fire rat 1936, the year before the rten.deb was written.

A few identifications of temples could be attempted by using passages of the *Rin.chen bzang.po* and the *Jo.bo.rje rnam.thar*-s. These *rnam.thar*-s refer to an ancient period (dates for the life of Rin.chen bzang.po are 958-1055 and for that of Jo.bo.rje 982-1054). This information cannot therefore elucidate the shape Tho.ling later took in the time when the *rten.deb*-s were written and updated until soon before the destruction of the monastery. The scanty information given by the travelogues of early Western visitors to Tho.ling such as Young ("Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet"), Tucci (*Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* translated into English under the title of *Secrets of Tibet*, as well as *Santi e Briganti del Tibet Ignoto*), Lama Govinda and Li Gotami (*The Way of the White Clouds*), although significant in some cases, is too brief to be conclusive<sup>85</sup>. Any identification would thus be extremely hypothetical and any such attempt has to be based on different grounds.

The oral contributions of the Tho.ling elders has thus proved to be crucial, given that they frequented the complex for many years before they left for exile and Tho.ling suffered irreparable damage during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

85. A few attempts can be made which have a slightly higher possibility of being realistic. The 'du khang described by Young in his "Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet" p.191) is probably 'Du.khang 'Dzam gling brgyan. The one Tucci calls the realist few changing brgyan.

main four-chapelled temple is the rNam.snang lha.khang. On them see below in the text. PLATE IV Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang



# Section One

# English translation of the significant parts of the *rten.deb*

# rten.deb

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The *lha.khang-s* of Tho.ling are recorded one after the other in the inventories. Lists are given of everything contained in each of them. The main images in every temple are here excerpted, since a complete catalogue of all properties would be too long and not overly significant (a good number of them being of very little interest such as the number of couches found in a specific *lha.khang*). Hence, only the passages of the fire ox *rten.deb* recording the major receptacles of body, speech and mind have been translated while those concerning minor objects of worship and the paraphernalia decorating the Tho.ling *lha.khang-s* have been omitted. Inclusion in the present text of the major images at Tho.ling is deemed necessary not only *per se* but also in view of some important historical implications.

'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan (rten.deb f.4a-f.5b):

"First of all, in 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan, the main images are a medicinal clay statue of Sangs.rgyas [known] as Thub.dbang Ghande.ma, wearing a red and yellow robe with rainbow patterns [and] with an umbrella over its head. To its right and left are statues in the same material of Byams.pa and 'Od.bsrung, (f.4b) each with a similar robe, holding a bowl and with a gilt copper torana. Each of them has a turquoise as large as an egg studded in the urna. The Buddha-s of the Three Times are truly magnificent. [In 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan there are also] a statue in medicinal clay of rGyal.dbang bSod.nams rgya.mtsho with a complete set of robes; two statues in medicinal clay of rJe rin.po.che [Tsong.kha.pa], the book cover of one of them being damaged; a statue in medicinal clay of Thub.dbang; a life-size statue in medicinal clay of Tshe.dpag.med with a complete set of robes including a gan.sbyar ("undershirt"), a stod.lhe ("collar garment") and a smad. lhe ("lower robe"); a clay statue of mkhan.chen Tre.bo mKhas.brtson wearing a robe and a pandi.ta hat; a life-size statue in medicinal clay of Rin.chen 'byung.ldan...[lacuna]...(f.5a)...[lacuna]... a gilt copper statue of rJe rin.po.che, one floor high, wearing a brocade robe, a patched smad. lhe and a hat; a gilt copper statue of rJe rin.po.che, a little more than one floor high, wearing a patched robe made of two garments, an apron mounted with a precious border, and a pandi.ta hat; ... a gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang Seng.ge sgra.nga.ro ("roaring with a lion's voice") on a lotus pedestal, six tho (sic for mtho)86 in height, one ear of which is missing".

<sup>86.</sup> One *mtho* corresponds to the distance between the tip of the thumb and the middle finger. The *rten deb* often mispells this term, writing *tho*.

Ibid. (f.6b-f.7b): "The inventory of the paintings is as follows. An appliqué thang.ka in multicoloured brocade of Thub.dbang and rGyal.ba Seng.ge nga.ro...[lacuna]...[a thang.ka of] [rDo.rje] 'Jigs.byed painted with blood from the nose of rje Tsong.(f.7a)kha.pa, the banner of religion; a thang.ka of mGon.po with a veil, cloth frame and knobs; a thang.ka depicting the rGya.chen tshogs.gnyis with a veil, cloth frame and knobs; five thang.ka-s depicting sGrol.ma according to the system of Bla.med, with complete cloth frames; an old thang.ka depicting the mandala of gSang.'dus; two thang.ka-s of [rDo.rje] 'ligs, byed with a yellow veil and orange-red cloth frames; an old gold-painted thang.ka of sGrol.dkar; a thang.ka of sPyan.ras.gzigs bCu.gcig.zhal Phyag.stong sPyan.stong with a veil [and] a frame of dark blue brocade with red and yellow [stripes]; a thang.ka of the Po.ta.la paradise with a veil [and] a frame of finest blue silk; a thang.ka depicting the g.Yu.lo.bkod paradise with a veil [and] a frame of blue silk; two small thang.ka-s depicting the mandala-s of [rDo.rje] 'ligs.byed and gSang.'dus; an old mandala thang.ka of Thugs.rje chen.po with (f.7b) a frame of black brocade ... ".

Ibid. (f.8a-f.8b): "Two sets of bKa'. gyur rin.po.che, one old and one new. One is in 199 volumes, with gleg.shing ("book covers"), gleg.thag ("book string"), with a bsgril.rdzas ("wrapper") in various colours. [The other] one is with red string and wrapper, similar to the one above, and blue labels (gdong.dar), whose inside flaps are yellow and red and with a lining. The other [set] (i.e. the new set?) is in ninety-four volumes, with ninety-five labels made in red and yellow jus.kham.pa (?) and five [others], whose colours do not match; a brGyad.stong.pa and 'Bum phal.chen written on blue paper in fifty-one volumes; twenty-five volumes of various mDo and 'Bum on white paper complete with gleg.shing and gleg. thag; a brGyad. stong. pa Ghan. dho. ma (sic for Ghande. ma), [previously] kept at the brGya.rtsa Byang[.ma], written in gold [and] in two volumes, with gleg.shing, gleg.thag, bsgril.rdzas and lung.dmar ("red string"); a sMan.mdo rgyas. brgya. pa, page fifty-two of which is missing, with gleg. shing [and] gleg. thag; (f.8b) a bKa'.thang shel.brag in 234 folios, the last folio being damaged, complete with a red and multicoloured border bsgril.rdzas, three volumes of Grwa.tog.gser with bsgril.rdzas; the 'Jigs.byed dpa'.bo gcig.pa sadhana in 177 folios and eighteen chapters offered by mkhan.chen Byams.pa dpal.ldan, with yellow bsgril.rdzas and the seal of the mkhan.po; a bsDom.gsum bslab.bya nor.bu'i phreng.ba; a dpal gSang.ba 'dus.pa bskyed.rims in sixty-five folios; a rDzogs.rims in eighty folios; a Rab.gnas dge.legs rgya.mtsho char.'beb in twenty-three folios. All these are put together in one bsgril.rdzas with a gdong.dar ("book label") and with a spen.rtse in three padded layers, the middle one in yellow brocade, including an index, [and] with gleg.shing and gleg.thag; a Zhol edition of gZungs.bsdus offered by Se.ra.byes phyag.zur ("ex-treasurer") with bsgril.rdzas,...[one line lacuna]; (f.9a)...[one line lacuna]".

Ibid. (f.9a-f.9b): "The [articles belonging to] the category of *thugs.rten* [are as follows]. A one-floor high *gdung.rten* made of gilt copper; a gilt copper *mchod.rten sgo.mang*, one *khru*<sup>87</sup> high, with studded stones, with the damage of missing sun and moon; a *pad.spungs mchod.rten* in *khro.li* ("mercurial bell metal" or "bronze") with the *bkra.shis rtags.brgyad* on the base; a sandalwood *mchod.rten*, about one *khru* high, with the sun, moon and stones missing; a life-size *gdung.rten* in clay studded with amber, some of which is missing; a *lha.'bab mchod.rten* in clay about one *khru* high; a *rnam.rgyal mchod.rten* in clay, about one *khru* high; a *byang.chub mchod.rten* in clay, two *tho* and seven *gsor* (sic for *sor*)<sup>88</sup> high; a *pad.spungs mchod.rten* made of *li.rag* ("brassy *li*"); (f.9b) another a

87. One *khru* corresponds to the distance between the elbow and the fingertips.

88. One sor corresponds to the length of one finger. The rten.deb has a plethora of mispellings of this, often occurring wrongly as asor.

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pad.spungs mchod.rten made of *li.rag*; again a *Pad.spungs mchod.rten* made of *li.rag*, ten gsor high; a pad.spungs mchod.rten made of *li.rag*, ten and a half gsor high; a gilt copper sgo.mang mchod.rten, two tho and ten gsor high, with one deity missing".

brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (rten.deb f.35a-f.41a)

lTung.bshegs (sic for bshags) lha.khang (rten.deb f.35a-f.35b):

"The category of the rten.gsum and the objects for worship in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud [is as follows]. The gilt copper statue of standing 'Jam.dbyangs ga'u.ma ("wearing a ga'u") on a lotus pedestal is, first of all, the main image here (i.e. in lTung.bshags lha.khang), which was in 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. This is one 'doms (sic for 'dom)<sup>89</sup> and three gsor in height, has a necklace made of three strings of crystal beads in the shape of flowers, twisted together, and an urna. In the centre of the gtsug.tor ("ushnisha") and all around are turquoises, the size of grains. It is wearing a stod. lhe ("collar garment") and a smad. lhe ("skirt"). Its large gau, in excellent condition, is hexagonal;...a gilt copper statue of rDo.rje.'chang on a lotus pedestal, two mtho and three gsor in size; [thirteen] statues of Thub.dbang made of gilt copper and other metals, which are little more than one *mtho* in size, slightly damaged; twenty statues of Thub.dbang made of *li.ma* and on a lotus pedestal, (f.35b) one *mtho* and one *gsor* in size, slightly damaged; fifty-eight statues of Thub.dbang, sPyan.ras.gzigs, 'Jam.dbyangs and Byams.pa in various sizes on lotus pedestals with a chakra, [some] standing and slightly damaged, altogether fifty-eight [of them] either broken (chag), with missing parts (grum), cracked (gas) or damaged (skyon); 142 statues, large and small, on lotus pedestals such as rDo.rje.'chang, 'Od.dpag.med, rDor.sems, Tshe.dpag.med, Phyag.rdor, 'Jam.dbyangs, Byams.pa, sPyan.ras.gzigs, sGrol.ma, Jo.bo, Bla[.ma'i] sku etc., in gilt copper and various other materials".

# lha.khang bKra.shis 'Od.'bar (rten.deb f.35b-f.36a):

"The main image is that of Jo.bo bKra.shis 'od.'bar.ma on a lotus pedestal, made of gilt copper, four *tho* high, including its damaged throne; six gilt copper statues of Thub.dbang on a lotus pedestal, over two *khru* in height; four gilt copper images of [Shakya] Thub[.pa] on a lotus throne, (f.36a) one *khru* high, some slightly damaged; fourteen statues of Thub.dbang in gilt copper with and without a lotus throne, one *khru* and over one *tho* high, some slightly damaged; a gilt copper *gdung.rten* ("reliquary *stupa*"), two *khru*, one *tho* and one and a half *gsor* high, slightly damaged".

# Thugs.rje lha.khang (rten.deb f.36a-f.36b):

"The main image is a *li.ma* ("bell metal") statue of bCu.gcig.zhal said to have been made by Sangs.rgyas 'Od.srung<sup>90</sup>, a little less than one 'dom high. A broken finger on its third left hand has been substituted with the present one, while two fingers on the fourth hand are missing. Likewise, the head crown and implements in many hands are missing. [The statue has] a golden *torana* with a depiction of the *rgyan.drug* ("six ornaments"). A standing statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs Kha.sar.pani in gilt copper wearing a crown of crystal beads, six *tho* high, [is located here]. Some of its hand implements are damaged or missing. [There are] also a *rdzi.khyim* statue of rgyal.tshab Mi.pham mgon.po sitting in Western posture, over two *khru* high, with a robe and a tasselled apron (f.36b), a scarf and

89. One 'dom corresponds to the length of two outspread arms.

90. Is this a sign that the statue was of the greatest antiquity? As will be mentioned below in the text, this *Iha*.*khang* was the bedroom of Rin.chen bzang.po. The statue of the Eleven-Headed sPyan.ras.gzigs thus may not date to later than the mid 11th century (lo.chen died in wood sheep 1055).

two rosaries of conchshell and a rosary of pearls, with one rosary of fish (?) shell, two rosaries of turquoise and coral, four silver ga'u, one sdig.ra ("pin"?); a statue of Thub.dbang on a lotus throne, over two tho high; another image of Thub[.pa] on a lotus throne, one khru, one tho and a half gsor high; a ldem.sku ("a standing image") on a lotus throne, two khru high; another [statue] but smaller, one khru high. All of them have damaged hands, feet and thrones. These [statues] number altogether ten. A gdung.rten ("reliquary") made of li, one khru and eight gsor in height [is also housed here]. There are also a white and red sandalwood statue of Thub.dbang, the statues of the gNas.brtan bcu.drug ("the sixteen Arhat-s"), and the statues of the rGyal.chen sde.bzhi ("the Guardians of the four directions"), but those of one gnas.brtan and of Ha.shang are missing. The place where they are kept is a wooden cabinet with seven columns and the mkhan.po's seal. One book cover with the carving of one thousand images of Sangs.rgyas with ju.rtse.ma ("a bright varnish"?), slightly cracked in the centre and very beautiful".

# sGrol.ma lha.khang (rten.deb f.36b-f.38b):

"Inside a wooden cabinet with an iron screen on the front, which is divided into three compartments (f.37a) that can be opened, with handles and a lock and key stamped by the *mkhan.po*'s seal, there is a silver statue of rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] on a lotus throne, one tho and eight goor high. Its urna is studded with a pearl surrounded by [a rim] of turquoises, some of which are missing, its slightly damaged lotus pedestal being two gsor high; a silver sPyan.ras.gzigs with four arms on a gilt copper pedestal, one the and almost four sor in height, with some stones missing in its belt at the waist; a gilt copper sPyan.ras.gzigs on a lotus pedestal, one tho and two and a half gsor high, some stones of which are missing; a silver statue on a gilt copper lotus pedestal, one the and half gsor in height, the knob of the crown and some stones being missing; a beautiful silver statue of standing Phyag.rdor, one tho and nine gsor high, with major damage to the *rdo.rje* and the crown and with some missing stones; a silver statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs 'gro.ba.drug sgrol ("which liberates the six classes of beings") standing on a lotus pedestal, one tho and seven gsor in height, the tips of the fingers of its first and third left hands being mutilated, damaged at the back and with some cracks; a silver statue of Kha.sar.pa.ni on a lotus pedestal, (f.37b) ten and a half gsor high; a Four-Armed sPyan.ras.gzigs, eight and a half gsor high, on a lotus pedestal which is a little less than eight gsor, two statues of sTon[.pa], three and a half gsor high with some stones missing, both on a golden throne; one silver statue of Thub[.pa] belonging to gNyer.tshang, ten gsor high; altogether there are twelve silver statues.

Gilt copper statues of sGrol.ma dkar.ljang ("White and Green Tara") on lotus pedestals and with various ornaments, one *khru*, one *tho* and two *gsor* in height, [are placed here]. The sGrol.dkar [statue] is decorated with forty-three pearls and 154 turquoises, which are missing in some cases, and wearing three *ga'u-s* decorated with precious stones as a necklace; a gilt copper statue of sGrol.ljang on a lotus pedestal measuring one *khru* and four and a half *gsor* in height; a gilt copper statue of sGrol.ljang on a lotus pedestal measuring one *khru* and three and a half *gsor* in height; a gilt copper statue of sGrol.ma on a lotus pedestal measuring one *tho* and ten *gsor* in height; a gilt copper gSang.'dus yab.yum embracing and kissing each othet, height of which is one *khru* and four *gsor* including its lotus pedestal, with [some] of the hand implements missing; a gilt copper rDo.rje.'chang statue on a lotus pedestal (f.38a), which is one *khru* and about one *gsor* high, with a grain-sized turquoise stone in the *urna*. [Some] stones of the prog.zhu ("crown") are missing;...a sitting statue in *li* metal of Sems.nyid Pad.'od, one *khru* and five gsor in height (see Tucci, *Cronaca della Missione Sci*entifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale fig.231);...altogether nineteen statues in gilt copper, *li.dmar* and *li.ser*,... a total of forty-three statues".

rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang (rten.deb f.38b-f.39a, also see f.39a-f.39b):

"The statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad made of *li.dmar* [is kept here], flanked by two statues of Thub.dbang on a lotus pedestal, both one khru and over six gsor in height; one *li.dmar* Thub.dbang statue on a lotus pedestal, one *tho* and two gsor high including the lion throne; a sPyan.ras.gzigs Kha.sar.pa.ni made of li and standing on a lotus pedestal, one khru, one tho and six gsor in height; a sPyan.ras.gzigs Kha.sar.pa.ni made of *li.gser* and standing on a lotus pedestal. one khru, one tho and two gsor in height; one li sPyan.ras.gzigs standing on a lotus pedestal, one khru, one tho and six gsor high, including the [throne with] a shining chakra and with some damage; one statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs standing on a lotus pedestal, one khru, one the high with damage; a statue of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse made of li (f.39a) and sitting on a lotus throne with a shining chakra, one khru and six gsor in height, slightly damaged; one li statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs standing on a throne, one khru and three gsor high and damaged at the hip; a statue of Byams.pa chu.snyer.ma (spelt as) ("protecting from the water") in mdo.li with a gilt copper throne, one khru and three gsor in height, its gtsug.tor ("usnisha") and prog.zhu ("crown") missing; a lha. bab mchod.rten in *li.gser*, one khru and one tho in height, its sun and moon missing; one li.rag pad.spungs mchod.rten with sun and moon, one tho and ten gsor high and damaged".

Statues in medicinal clay (*sman.sku*) in brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (*rten.deb* f.39a line 4-f.42 line 3)

rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed lha.khang (*rten.deb* f.39a):

"A magnificent medicinal clay statue of 'Jigs.byed dpa'.bo.gcig ("*ekavira*"), one floor high and with some hand implements missing, [is the main image of this *lha.khang* together with] the statues of Four-Armed sPyan.ras.gzigs and Chos.rgyal Ma.he gdong.can ("Buffalo-Faced"), both life-size".

# sMan.lha.khang (*rten.deb* f.39a):

"A large statue of Thub.dbang made of medicinal clay with the urna having a turquoise stone and wearing patched robes. To its right and left are the one-floor high standing statues of sMan.lha sde.gshegs.brgyad (i.e. the cycle of the eight Buddha-s of the Medicine), slightly damaged".

[rGyal.ba] Rigs.Inga'i lha.khang (again) (rten.deb f.39a-f.39b):

"Five life-size statues of the rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga in medicinal clay with slight damage [are the main images here] (see Tucci Archives accession number 6074/3)".

Byams.khang (*rten.deb* f.39b):

"The standing statue of rGyal.ba Byams.pa in medicinal clay, three floors high, wearing a collar garment (*stod.lhe*) [is the main statue in this *lha.khang*]" (see Tucci Archives accession number 6035/15 and the picture accompanying Tucci's article "Nel Paese dei Lama" on p.278, which shows this statue wearing the same garment). Phyag.rdor lha.khang (rten.deb f.39b):

"The statue of Phyag.na rdo.rje in medicinal clay, two *khru* and one *tho* high, has to the right and left the statues of gTum.po gos.sngon and bla.sku ("images of *bla.ma*-s") in relief with some cracks and damage, altogether twenty-two images".

brGya.rtsa byang.ma (*rten.deb* f.48a-f.64b):

'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan (again) (sic) (*rten.deb* f.48a)<sup>91</sup>:

"The rten.gsum and objects for worship within the premises of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma [are as follows]. The main receptacle is the supreme image, the gilt copper statue of Jo.bo Sha.kya.mu.ne on a lotus pedestal, four *tho* high, which is kept in 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. Its *urna* has a red turquoise stone the size of a thumbnail and an ivory crown with a magnificent multicoloured *rigs.lnga*, damaged at the top. [This statue is] flanked by those of Mi.skyod.pa and Rin.'byung, the latter with a cracked back. Their hair is studded with turquoises arranged in lotus shape, some of which are missing, and with three emeralds, encircled by turquoise, corals and pearls, some missing and with the seal [proper] to a *nang.rten* (i.e. a statue, in memory of a deceased person, to be kept indoors). [They wear] *na.bza'*, *stod.lhe*, *smad.lhe*, *snam.sbyar*, *dar.phyang*, *lhung.bzed*. The fingers, the *dhoti*-s (*gos.khyud*) [and] the thrones are slightly damaged. They are magnificent".

# Bla.ma.khang (rten.deb f.48a-f.49b):

"[The main image is] a gilt copper statue of *rje rin.po.che* (Tsong.kha.pa) on a lotus pedestal and lion throne, one khru, one tho and nine gsor in height, with robe, under-robe and a pandi.ta hat and without damage; another statue in gilt copper of rje (Tsong.kha.pa) on a lotus pedestal (f.48b) and lion throne with a shining chakra, one khru, one tho and two and a half gsor; a gilt copper statue of rje (Tsong.kha.pa) on a lotus pedestal and lion throne, one khru and nine and a half gsor high; a li statue of lHo.brag Nam.mkha' rgyal.mtshan with a pandi.ta hat and on a lotus pedestal, two khru and three and a half gsor in height; a statue of rje made of li on a lotus pedestal, one khru and one the in height; a statue of rje in li.rag on a lotus pedestal, one tho and five and a half gsor high; a li.ser statue of rje on a lotus pedestal, one tho and four gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang with those of Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs to its right and left, with torana and a shining chakra on their li thrones with a lotus pedestal, one khru, two and a half gsor in height, the foot of the statue of Byams.pa being damaged; ... a gilt copper statue of Rin.'byung on a *li* lotus pedestal, one *tho* and ten gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Jo.bo on a lotus pedestal, one tho and six gsor high; a gilt copper pad.spungs mchod.rten on a copper throne with the auspicious... (f.49a) symbols, one the and nine gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang rdor.gdan.ma on a lotus pedestal, one tho and five gsor high, and damaged".

# 'Jigs.brgyad [lha].khang (*rten.deb* f.49a-f.49b):

"A *li.dmar* statue of 'Jam.dbyangs standing on a throne and lotus pedestal in gilt copper, two *khru*, one *tho* and four *gsor* high, the throne of which is damaged; a gilt copper Thub.dbang on a lion throne, one *khru*, two *tho* and a little less than four *gsor* in height; a *li* statue of Thub.dbang Grong.'khyer.ma (sic) on a throne, two *khru* and two and a half *gsor* high; a *li* statue of Thub.dbang Grong.'khyer.ma

91. The placing of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan among the *lha.khang-s* of brGya.rtsa byang.ma is odd, to say the least, since this 'du.khang is located outside the brGya.rtsa complex. on a throne with a shining *chakra*, one *khru*, one *tho* and ten and a half goor high; a li.dmar statue of Byams.pa with throne, one khru, one tho and six gsor in height; a li.ser statue of standing Thub.dbang Grong. khyer.ma, one khru, one the and eight gsor high, with damaged toes; a li.dmar statue of Byams[.pa] on a throne. one khru, one tho and six gsor high; a li.ser statue of standing Thub.dbang grong. 'khyer.ma, one khru, one tho and eight gsor high with a substitute (?) (mdzud sic for rdzun?) foot; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal and with a shining chakra, one tho and eleven and a half gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one the (f.49b) and five gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one tho and a little over four gsor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one tho and five and a half gsor in height; altogether nine of them; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal with a shining lotus, a little over one khru high; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one tho and more or less four gsor high, with damage; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, a little over one khru high; a gilt copper statue of sNang.mtha' on a lotus pedestal, one tho and eight and a half goor high; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one tho and ten gsor high; a large sized (sic) gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, one tho and a half gsor high; a medium sized (sic) gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, a little over ten gsor high; a small sized (sic) gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa] on a lotus pedestal, nine gsor high; altogether nine large and small statues with damage; a sGrol.ljang statue in gilt copper with a lotus pedestal, one khru in height; a gilt copper statue statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs "who liberates the six classes of sentient beings", on a lotus throne, one tho and three gsor high...".

# gSung.chos lha.khang (*rten.deb* f.51b-f.53a):

"Inside a wooden cabinet with an iron screen which can be opened at the front (f.52a), with handles, and a lock and key stamped with the *mkhan.po's* seal, are gilt copper statues of Thub.dbang on lotus pedestals in various sizes, the larger ones being about eleven gsor in height, the middle ones seven gsor, the smaller ones almost five gsor, altogether fifty-three statues, slightly damaged; statues of Thub.dbang, rje rin.po.che (Tsong.kha.pa), rDo.rje. 'chang, sNang.ba mtha'.yas, Tshe.dpag.med, Byams.pa, 'Jam.dbyangs, rDor.sems, sPyan.ras.gzigs, Phyag.rdor, Jo.bo and bla.sku ("images of *bla.ma-s*") with lotus pedestals and in various sizes made of various alloys in three kinds of *li*, i.e. [*li*.] dmar, [*li*.] smug and [*li*.] gser ("red, dark and golden li"), mdo.li, khro.li ("mercurial bell metal", or "bronze"? as is given in the Dictionary of Das), copper, brass, in metals of good and poor quality, the larger ones each eleven gsor in height, the middle ones each five gsor, the small ones each four gsor, with slight damage, altogether (f.52b) fiftyseven; *li.dmar* [and *li.]smug* ("red and dark bell metal") statues of Thub.dbang Grong.'khyer.ma, Byams.pa, sPyan.ras.gzigs, standing on lotus pedestals, the larger ones on lotus pedestals, one tho and four gsor in height, the medium-sized ones on lotus pedestals, eight gsor high; the small ones, over two gsor high, damaged in various ways, altogether forty-three statues; a statue of sNang[.ba] mtha'[.yas] gtso.'khor.gsum ("a group of three images") made of *li.ma*, which [previously was] in the 'du.khang of brGya[.rtsa] lho[.brgyud], on a throne pedestal, eleven and a half gsor high with a torana, whose top left part is missing; fourteen statues, made of khro[.li], brass, ti.tsha ("zinc"), li etc., in different sizes; a gilt copper statue of Thub[.pa]; various gdung.rten-s in khro[.li], the larger ones,

each one *tho* and three *gsor* high, the middle-sized ones eight and a half *gsor* each, the smaller ones six *gsor* each, slightly damaged, altogether ten *gdung.rten-s*. [The images] classified according to the alphabetical system (*ka.rtags*) [are as follows]. Four large and small statues of sTon.pa, made of *khro.li*; one [*khro.li*?] statue of rDo.rje.'chang; two [*khro.li*?] statues of *slob.dpon*; (f.53a) one [*khro.li*?] standing statue of sPyan.ras.gzigs; one standing statue of Tshe.dpag.med in sandal wood; one gilt copper statue of Tshog.bdag Glang.sna (Ganesha), one and a half *gsor* high with two missing arms.

Concerning books, 187 volumes of 'Dul.ba, 'Bum, mDo.sde, Myang.'das, brGyad.stong.pa, gSer.'od, 'Khor.lo bDe.mchog.rgyud, dBu.ma'i rnams.bshad, the commentary on mNgon.rtogs.rgyan [are preserved here]. They are written in black ink on white paper and in silver or gold on dark blue paper, with and without wrappers, wooden book covers and ties, the number of folios of some of them are complete and of some incomplete. Fifty-two wooden blocks of Tshad.ma rnam.'grel, root and branches; one gilt copper incense holder in the shape of a lion's body.

Statues in medicinal clay (*sman.sku*) in brGya.rtsa byang.ma (*rten.deb* f.53a line 5-f.56 line 5):

'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma (i.e. the assembly hall adjoining the brGya.rtsa lho.rgyud) (*rten.deb* f.53a-f.54b):

"The one floor high statue of Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma in medicinal clay with a yellow cotton patched robe and a begging bowl, turquoise stones inlaid in the *urna* about a *rGya.tar*<sup>92</sup> [is the main image of the '*du.khang*]. To its right and left are the statues of Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs. On a surrounding earthen platform the statues of the Nyan.thos-s and Rang.rgyal-s stand in high-relief, a little larger than life-size. (f.53b) To either side of the door are the large statues of Mi.g.yo.ba and rTa.mgrin; the life-size statue of 'Jam.dbyangs ral.gri.ma ("brandishing the sword") with collar garment and a tasselled apron; the statues of Tshed.dpag.med and bla.sku ("images of *bla.ma*-s"), altogether nine life-size statues; the seated cycle of the Byams.pa deities [are in this '*du.khang*]. To their right and left are the over life-size statues of Byam[.pa] (sic for Byams.pa) and 'Jam.dbyangs; the seven Nye.ba'i sras; the statue which is a portrait of Ngag.dbang ye.shes; the life-size statue of Yum.chen.mo, altogether forty-nine statues, slightly damaged...".

# rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] lha.khang (rten.deb f.54a-f.55a):

"The main statue is the medicinal clay image of rNam.par snang.mdzad on a throne, one floor high. Inside the *blo.'bur-s* ("side *lha.khang-s*") in the four directions [of the room in which the main statue is placed] and to the right and left [of the same statue] are the root deities of the Rigs.lnga classes <sup>93</sup> as well as a onefloor high *sgo.mang mchod.rten.* (f.54b) In the central [room] is a *mchod.bshams*<sup>94</sup> with [the families of] the *pad.ma* ("lotus"), *'khor.lo* ("wheel"), *nor.bu* ("jewel") and *rdo.rje* [in relief], as large as the previous ones, in the respective directions. The *blo.'bur-s* [contain], as high-relief works protruding from the walls (*logs.'debs*), the fifty-four high-relief statues of the deities of the Rigs.lnga and of the deities of the Kun.tu rig.pa (i.e. Kun.rig), slightly smaller than life-size, with minor damage to their crown ornaments, hands, feet and implements, placed on relief-work lotuses. In fire rat (1936), during a renovation, new *stod.lhe, smad.lhe*  92. rGya.tar is a term which escapes my understanding. It may refer to a measurement and is perhaps used in rGya (possibly India?).

93. Reference to the deities of the Five Tathagata families being in the four directions and to the right and left of the rNam.par snang.mdzad statue has to be read in the sense that the deities of the rNam.par snang.mdzad cycle were to the right and left of the main statue, while the other four Tathagata families were placed inside the *blo. 'bur-s* in the four directions.

94. This could refer to a sort of altar, but from the context it becomes clear that it is the well known tridimensional mandala or blos.blangs dkyil. 'khor of this lha khang often mentioned by the Tho.ling notables in their accounts of the gtsug.lag.khang.

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and *nang.ldan* ("collar garment, lower garment and lining") made with shawls in multicoloured silk, coarsely painted in relief (*gzan.gru tshos.tshogs*), altogether fifty-four; the scarf around the ears (*snyan.shal*) of the main image made of a white silk shawl; one ceiling cover of blue cotton with thread decorations (*kha.ris*); four pillar covers in red *pho.la.li* [cloth], decorated, on the upper part, with four *kyi.sna*-s ("dog nose", i.e. an intricated motif) [and] *rgya.lcags* (?), [were added]".

The *rten.deb* continues with the classification of other *lha.khang*-s, disregarding whether they are part of the *gtsug.lag.khang* or located elsewhere.

# Mani lha.khang (rten.deb f.55a):

"A life-size statue of *rje rin.po.che* [Tsong.kha.pa] in medicinal clay; an old *thang.ka* of Thugs.rje chen.po; a *sa.gdung* ("an earthen reliquary") *byang.chub mchod.rten* almost one floor high; a *mani dung.bskor* ("prayer wheel"), one floor high, in red copper, with [bands] of yellow brass on top, in the middle and at the bottom and with a bell [are the main objects in this *lha.khang*]".

# bSrung.ma.khang (rten.deb f.61a-f.61b):

"[Here] is a mural of bstan.srung rDo.rje che.mo (sic for rDo.rje chen.mo) with her two attendants. The main image is a *zhal.thang* (i.e. a *thang.ka*) of lHa.mo, with a veil and frame. To the right and left stand two rten.mdung-s ("spears") with seals; a beautiful gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang rdor.gdan on a lotus pedestal, one tho and two gsor high; thirty-five statues of the lTung.ba bshags.pa (sic for bshegs.pa, i.e. "the Buddha-s of Confession") made of the five precious metals, on a lotus pedestal and with a shining chakra, one tho high; a gilt copper statue of Four-Armed mGon.po on a lotus pedestal, one tho and four gsor high, with the tops of the implements in the right and left hands missing; a gilt copper statue of Dam.can chos.rgyal on a lotus pedestal, two the high, which is magnificent; a gilt copper statue of Tsha.mundi, one tho high, which is magnificent; a khro.li statue of Four-Armed sPyan.ras.gzigs on a lotus pedestal, one of its left hands missing, four gsor high; two statues of Dzam.bha.lha (spelt as), [one in] li [and one in] brass, two gsor high; (f.61b) a pad.spungs mchod.rten on a base, made of khro[.li], a little less than eight gsor high; a medicinal clay statue of yi.dam dPa'.gcig (i.e. rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed in the ekavira form), the size of an arrow in height. To its left is the statue of Six-Armed mGon.po, the same size as the one above. The statue of Chos.rgyal, the size of an arrow in height; the statue of Four-Armed mGon.po and six old thang.ka-s with the complete cycle of the bstan.srung-s ("protectors of the teachings"); a bsKangs.rdzas thang.ka [and] a bla.med.kyi bum.pa ("Anuttara yoga initiation vase") with seal [are kept here]...".

# rGyal.khang (*rten.deb* f.68a-f.68b):

"[The main images are] the statue of a *bla.ma* in a painted cabinet with glass, a medicinal clay statue of rgyal.chen Shug.ldan (sic for Shugs.ldan), over one *khru* in size, with no damage and kept in a cabinet painted with a motif of skulls. To the latter's right and left is a motif of water lotuses. In the centre [of the panels] is the depiction of the face of a wrathful deity; [another] statue of Shugs.ldan in a box but without the lion throne, which was offered by 'A.chen mTsham.pa; a

statue of Shugs.ldan over one *tho* high, with damage on hands and feet; a large statue of Shugs.ldan with hand implements, *stod.lhe*, a red chest garment with yellow silk and green cotton lining, an apron made of brown silk and a rainbow motif, a blue chest garment and red lining; an iron *me.long* with gilt copper borders and the Hri letter in relief, a red and yellow Hor technique chest garment, with a rainbow frame in red, yellow and blue silk and green cotton lining, offered by dKon.mchog 'od.zer, and with silk tassels. (f.68b) In fire sheep (1907) bla.gnyer Thub.bkras (i.e. Thub.bstan bkra.shis) offered a scarf inscribed with prayers, a statue of mGon.dkar, three *tho* and nine *gsor* high; a statue of Six-Armed mGon.po; a statue of Dam.can chos.rgyal, three *tho* and ten *gsor* high; a *thang.ka* of Shugs.ldan *gtso.'khor*, with a cotton frame and a veil".

# Bla.brang mgon.khang (rten.deb f.75a-f.75b):

"The main image is a one-floor high statue in medicinal clay of 'Jigs.byed dpa'.gcig ('Jigs.byed "ekavira", or solitary form without yum). To its right and left are the statues in clay of rDo.rje.'chang, gSang.'du (sic for gSang.'dus), the cycle of gNod.sbyin Dam.can chos.rgyal, the Four and Six-Armed mGon.po, dMag.gzor.ma, rDo.rje che.mo (sic for chen.mo), Bya.rog gdong.can (i.e. Mahakala in his crow-faced form) and the portrait of lo.chen [Rin.chen bzang.po], the latter made of medicinal clay and in flowing robes. All of them are life-size. Moreover, there is a life-size statue of Ngag.dbang grags.pa wearing a [monastic] robe and a pandi.ta hat. [There is also] a brass statue of rje Tsong.kha.pa with the lotus stems made of khro.li ("mercurial bell metal" or "bronze"), three the and seven and a half ser in height. Its book implement is damaged. Its robe is yellow and [it] wears a pandi.ta hat. [Other] statues [are those] of Mar.me.mdzad on a lotus pedestal, over three the in height; the statues of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse, with slightly damaged fingers and bearing an inscription, and of mnga'.bdag Khri.sde (sic) with an inscription95; six large and small gilt copper images of sTon.pa (i.e. Shakyamuni); two images of bla.ma-s; (f.75b) rDo.rje.'chang; rDor[.rje] sems[.pa] and 'Jam.dbyangs, altogether three statues".

# mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung (rten.deb f.75b):

"[The main images are] the copper gilt statue of *ston.pa* (i.e. Shakya.mu.ne) with those of Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs to its right and left, with lotus pedestals and a shining *chakra*, two *tho* and two *gsor* in height, and wearing beautiful brocade robes. The *urna*-s have a turquoise stone as large as a pea; a *li* statue of *rje* on a lotus pedestal, one *tho* and seven *gsor* high, with a small hole in its knee, which is magnificent; a gilt copper statue of Byams.pa sitting on a lotus pedestal in Western posture, one *tho* and seven *gsor* high, with a *chakra* and robes. [There are also] an old *thang.ka* of the Thousand Buddha-s with a small fire spot; an old *thang.ka* of mGon[.po]; a *thang.ka* of 'Jigs.byed. Thirteen books, written in gold or silver on dark paper (*ngo.chos*) as well as in black ink on white paper (*skya.chos*), some [folios] of which are missing, with wooden book covers (*gleg.shing*), are kept on shelves. A gilt copper *gdung.rten*, over one *tho* in height, its sun and moon missing; a mask of dGra.lha; two large moulds for *tsha.tsha* and a [mould] for a statue; an old bsKangs.rdzas *thang.ka* [are kept here]...".

95. The presence of the statue of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse in Bla.brang mgon.khang is concrete proof that the genealogy of Guige found in mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs is accurate, or at least in the portion referring to this king, since it includes him in the lineage of the kings of Guide who ruled from around the end of the 11th century immediately after the great early dynasty was ousted. The name mnga'.bdag Khri.sde (sic for Khri.lde, a spelling peculiarity often found in works from West Tibet) of the other statue does not appear in the royal genealogies of West Tibet in the texts available at present, unless he is the Pulhrang king gNya.khri.lde, the son of dPal.mgon.lde, who both ruled in the 14th century (Vitali The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.458-460), but this is unlikely.

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lha.khang 'Jig.rten.brgyan (*rten.deb* f.80a):

"The main image is the medicinal clay statue of Thub.dbang, one-floor high, with the sMan.bla bde.gshegs.brgyad to its right and left, all three [groups of images] (i.e. the central one and the two groups at the sides) wearing robes; [also here are] the two statues of sGrol.dkar and [sGrol.]ljang, in medicinal clay; the statue of bCu.gcig.zhal; as *sgo.bsrung-s* ("door guardians") a large Chos.rgyal with hand implements on either side of the door; a *byang.chub mchod.rten* made of medicinal clay...".

'Bri.zur dge.slong bZang.po'i mchod.khang (*rten.deb* f.83a-f.83a):

"The main images are the over life-size medicinal clay statue of Thugs.rje chen.po according to the system of dPal.mo (i.e. dge.slong.ma dPal.mo, the well known exponent of the Thugs.rje chen.po tradition. On her see below p.101); [which is a statue of] Phyag.stong spyan.stong ("Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteshvara") without damage; a Thugs.rje chen.po *tshogs.zhing* ("genealogical tree"), with a fabric frame and veil; a *thang.ka* of bDe.can *zhing.bkod* (Sukavati) with a fabric frame and veil; a dGa'.ldan lha.brgya *tshogs.zhing* ("genealogical tree of the deities of dGa'.ldan") with a fabric frame and veil; a *skyabs.'gro* ("taking refuge") *tshogs.zhing*, with a fabric frame and veil; a *thang.ka* of dPal mGon bdun.bcu rtsa.lnga (i.e. Ma.ha.ka.la and the assembly of seventy-four deities) with a fabric frame and veil; on book shelves, one volume of *brGyad.stong.pa*, one volume of *gSer.'od*, one volume of *sNgags.rims chen.mo* with book covers, wrappers and ties [are kept here]...".

Byams.khang (rten.deb f.83b-f.84a)<sup>96</sup>:

"The medicinal clay statue of Byams.pa seated in Western posture, one-floor high [is the main image]. [There are also] one table with carvings and three book covers depicting Sangs.rgyas and Byang.sems in relief and decorated with gold leaves".

# gSer.khang (rten.deb f.85a):

"The core [structure of the] gSer.khang is tiered in four floors. At the base ('og.ma, lit. "the lowest level"), the successive births of Sangs.rgyas [and his] paradises are depicted. On the three upper floors, the murals of the rGyud.sde.bzhi dkyil.'khor-s and [their] assembly of deities have been painted with the gold water of the 'Dzam.bu.gling river. The four doors (i.e. the door of each floor) open to the east. Roundels with flames [and] syllables (gzung sic for gzungs) are executed on the doors. An excellent banner in gilt copper [completes] the rgya.phibs ("pagoda roof") above the brick building. Since damage by water leakages (chu.skyon) and minor cracks (gas) [occurred] in this area [of the building], the successive sku.gnyer-s must take special care of it. The tenth day of the third month of fire ox (1937)".

<sup>96.</sup> This is the *lha.khang* outside the brGya.rtsa and should not be confused with the two *lha.khang*-s by the same name within the brGya.rtsa.

# Section Two

# Critical considerations concerning textual evidence

THE INVENTORIES ARE divided into sections containing groups of *lha.khang*-s. Some of these sections seem to have been subdivided chronologically since their inventory was undertaken during different months of fire ox 1937. Others are clustered together since their inventories were completed in the same day of the same month. Hence, the prevailing structure of the *rten.deb* does not follow a criterion based on the sequence of *lha.khang*-s according to the physical location of the temples. The structural organization of the *lha.khang*-s in the *rten.deb* is as follows:

'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan

inventory completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.24a-f.24b).

brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (lTung.bshags lha.khang, lha.khang bKra.shis 'Od.'bar, Thugs.rje lha.khang, sGrol.ma lha.khang, rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed lha.khang, sMan.lha.khang, rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang, Byams.khang, Phyag.rdor lha.khang)

inventories completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.41a).

Part of brGya.rtsa byang.ma (Bla.ma lha.khang, 'Jigs.brgyad lha.khang, gSung.chos lha.khang) plus some *lha.khang-s* outside it ('du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan, 'du.khang Thu.dbang bDud.'dul.ma, rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, Mani lha.khang)

inventories completed on the twenty-ninth day of the second month of fire ox 1937 (f.55b).

bSrung.ma.khang

inventory completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.64b).

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rGyal.khang

inventory completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.72a).

- Bla.brang mgon.khang and mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung inventories completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.77a).
- lha.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan

inventory completed on the twenty-first day of the ninth month of fire ox 1937 (f.80b).

'Bri.zur dge.slong bZang.po'i mchod.khang and Byams.khang inventories completed on the twenty-ninth day of the second month of fire ox 1937 (f.84a).

# gSer.khang

inventory completed on the tenth day of the third month of fire ox 1937 (f.85a).

Another criterion adopted in the structure of the *rten.deb*, apart from chronology, is that the metal and the clay statues in the temple complex are classified separately, as in the case of the rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang, which contained both metal alloy and clay statues. Moreover, the existence of the 'Jigs.byed lha.khang, for instance, which is remembered by all the Tho.ling elders as one of the temples of the brGya.rtsa, is only hinted at in the *rten.deb* when the clay statues inventories mention the one storey-high stucco statue of rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed, which was the main image of this *lha.khang*.

Given that not all the *lha.khang*-s of the brGya.rtsa contained clay or metal statues, the inventories do not list the *lha.khang*-s of the brGya.rtsa in their actual sequence, but normally first exhaust the *lha.khang*-s with statues in various types of metal alloy and then those with clay statues. Finally, their location in the complex according to the circumambulation in the Buddhist processional order (i.e. clockwise) is the last criterion adopted in the *rten.deb* to introduce those *lha.khang*-s which were inventoried together and contained images in the same material.

The inventories of the *me.glang rten.deb* contain some omissions and inconsistencies, as will become apparent below. They start from the south-east of the complex where the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan is still found. They proceed from the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud ("southern wing") and then the brGya.rtsa byang.ma ("northern wing") (see immediately below for an assessment of these wings of the main temple of Tho.ling), interrupting the inventory of its *lha.khang*-s to deal with the central nucleus of the complex. Subsequently, they resume the classification of the northern wing and go on with the next temple on the northern side of the Tho.ling complex, which is the lHa.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan (exactly where the lHa.khang dkar.po still stands, which is another coincidence indicating that these are different names for the same temple). The inventories continue the catalogue of the religious properties of other temples and come to an end with a description of the gSer.khang, which is the *lha.khang* farthest from the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa or its external enclosure of *lha.khang*-s known as brGya.rtsa on its distant north-east.

The plan of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, which existed until the time of its destruction during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), had a central core made by a cruciform structure containing a central area to which four *lha.khang* were attached as arms in the four directions. This sacred nucleus was surrounded by an enclosure of *lha.khang-s* on all four sides in the shape of the citadel of the mandala (see pl.v11). This is the reason why Tho.ling came to be recognized by Tibetan tradition as a chos.skor. The enclosure of lha.khang-s is called brGya.rtsa, a name which is not applied to the central section of the temple as wrongly assumed by a Western art historian (Luczanits "A Note on Tholing Monastery", Orientations June 1996) and therefore did not refer to the entire main temple of Tho.ling. As is amply shown by the *rten.deb*, the brGya.rtsa enclosure is divided into brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and brGya.rtsa byang.ma or respectively "the southern and northern wings of the brGya.rtsa" 97. Each wing consisted of three major lha.khang-s and six minor lha.khang-s, altogether nine lha.khang-s. Two major lha.khang-s were located at the extremities of the wing, the third in its centre. Hence, the brGya.rtsa numbered a grand total of eighteen lha.khang-s before its destruction (but originally numbering twenty, see below p.125) 98.

Four *mchod.rten-s* are found in the four intermediate directions, surmounting the external wall of the brGya.rtsa, which is also the boundary wall of the main temple of Tho.ling. They are of different types: the south-eastern, the south-western and the north-western are *mchod.rten bkra.shis sgo.mang* (with doors arranged in two rows), while the north-eastern is a *lha.'bab mchod.rten* (*"stupa* with stairs") (for sketches of the *gtsug.lag.khang*'s interior and exterior see respectively pl.vII and pl.rv).

Inconsistencies in the inventories, which become apparent in a critical analysis of the *rten.deb* without the need for an inspection of the monument, amount to a few yet significant weaknesses.

The listing of the *lha.khang-s* contained in the surviving 1937 *rten.deb* is not exhaustive of all the chapels composing the brGya.rtsa.

- 1. The enumeration of the *lha.khang*-s in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud is complete, although not in the order in which they were physically located in the complex. This is evident from the mention of the assembly hall known as 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma, found at the entrance of the brGya.rtsa enclosure and normally included in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud, which is illogically positioned among the *lha.khang*-s of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma.
- 2. A number of *lha.khang*-s are missing from the inventories of the 1937 *rten.deb* for the brGya.rtsa byang.ma. In fact, four of its *lha.khang*-s are not inventoried in the extant copy of the *rten.deb*<sup>99</sup>.
- 3. The sequence of the *lha.khang*-s in the brGya.rtsa byang.ma is interrupted by the mention of the religious objects kept in the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang (i.e. the core of the temple). Immediately after the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, the Mani lha.khang is inventoried, which was outside the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa/ brGya.rtsa complex. The treatment of the *lha.khang*-s in the brGya.rtsa resumes with the bSrung.ma lha.khang, which was part of the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud, and is followed by the rGyal.khang, which was outside it. From this point on, the holy rooms listed in the inventories together with their belongings are located outside the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa complex.

97. The name dPal.dpe.med Ihun gyis grub.pa for the main temple of Tho.ling, founded by Ye.shes.'od, is not used at present. The elders are adamant in saying that the name brGya.rtsa refers only to the sacred precinct of *lha.khang-s* around the rNam.snang lha.khang and not to the latter, which was the nucleus of the temple. The term brGya.rtsa, standing for a large amount of anything, applies well to the conspicuous number of *lha.khang-s* composing the outer enclosure around the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa.

98. Tucci (Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale p. 316) says that the brGya.rtsa contained twenty temples. This was possibly based on the supposition that the temple had a symmetrical number of *lha.khang-s* on the four sides of the building. As will be shown below in the text (p. 125), two *lha.khang-s* were incorporated in the 'du.khang bDud 'dul.ma, which reduced the number of the *lha.khang-s* to eighteen. There is no ready explanation for this belief of Tucci's: either he calculated them incorrectly or, as is probable, was not allowed access to all of them and assumed, for reason of symmetry, that there were twenty.

99. A religious object of remarkable importance, recorded in the inventories as one of the main thang.ka-s, was a gos.sku (i.e. a thang ka for outdoor display), which, according to the Tholling elders, was unrolled on a single occasion during the year (see below p.116). It was three-storey high and its main image depicted rGyal.ba Seng.ge nga.ro ("Shakyamuni, the Lion's Roar"). It was kept in the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan (rten.deb f.6b) but did not survive the destruction of Tho.ling's religious objects. The way this gos.sku is inventoried in the rten.deb does not help to identify it manifestly as the most important thang ka for display outdoors. It rather communicates, at a first glance, the false notion that it has been omitted from the document

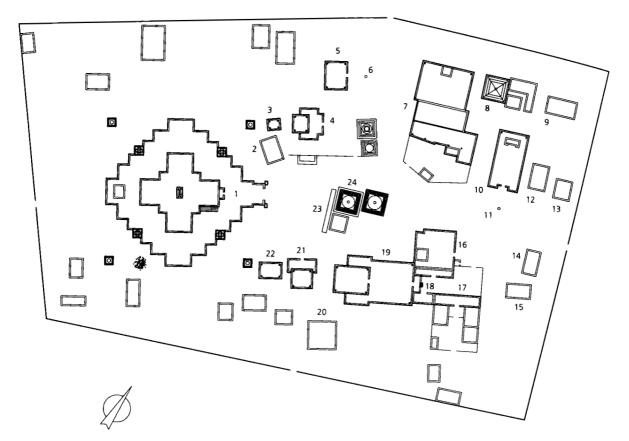
A hypothesis for the absence of some *lha.khang-s* of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma from the 1937 inventory is that they may have been recorded in some previous inventory and therefore, if the properties did not undergo changes in the meantime, the previous records must have remained valid. It would not be surprising to find that these *lha.khang-s* of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma missing from the 1937 *rten.deb* were included instead in one of the *rten.deb-s* made in 1907, 1927 and 1932. One *lha.khang* omitted in the 1937 *rten.deb* is the Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang, whose existence is confirmed by the elders of Tho.ling. This *lha.khang* is documented by the pictures in the Tucci Archives (accession numbers 6097/11, 6097/12 and 6097/13). The existence of individual inventories shows that some temples of Tho.ling were registered separately and therefore were not included in the *rten.deb* of fire ox 1937. An example is provided by the inventory of the objects of gNas.bcu lha.khang, whose partial translation is given in Appendix Four.

Otherwise some *lha.khang-s* may have been omitted from the inventories because they had been deserted in the meantime, but this hypothesis goes against the statement of the Tho.ling elders who say that religious practice was performed in all the *lha.khang-s* that existed in Tho.ling during their youth.

Hence, the way in which the *lha.khang-s* composing the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang are introduced in the *rten.deb* does not follow the sequence of their physical location in the complex when one tours them processionally.

This contradiction is confirmed after comparing the literary outline of these *lha.khang-s* contained in the *rten.deb* with the planimetry of the complex. In order to assess the complex in its entirety, one must supplement the information provided by the *rten.deb* with monumental evidence which is not easily available, given the dilapidated condition of Tho.ling at present. As will be shown in the following, fortunately this is not an impossible exercise, but it might have become hopeless had the task of symbolically reconstructing the temple complex been delayed any longer, in which case the present generation of Tho.ling elders would have disappeared (see Section Three immediately below for an analysis of how literary evidence combines with monumental evidence).

Plate v The monastery of Tho.ling (a tentative reconstruction)

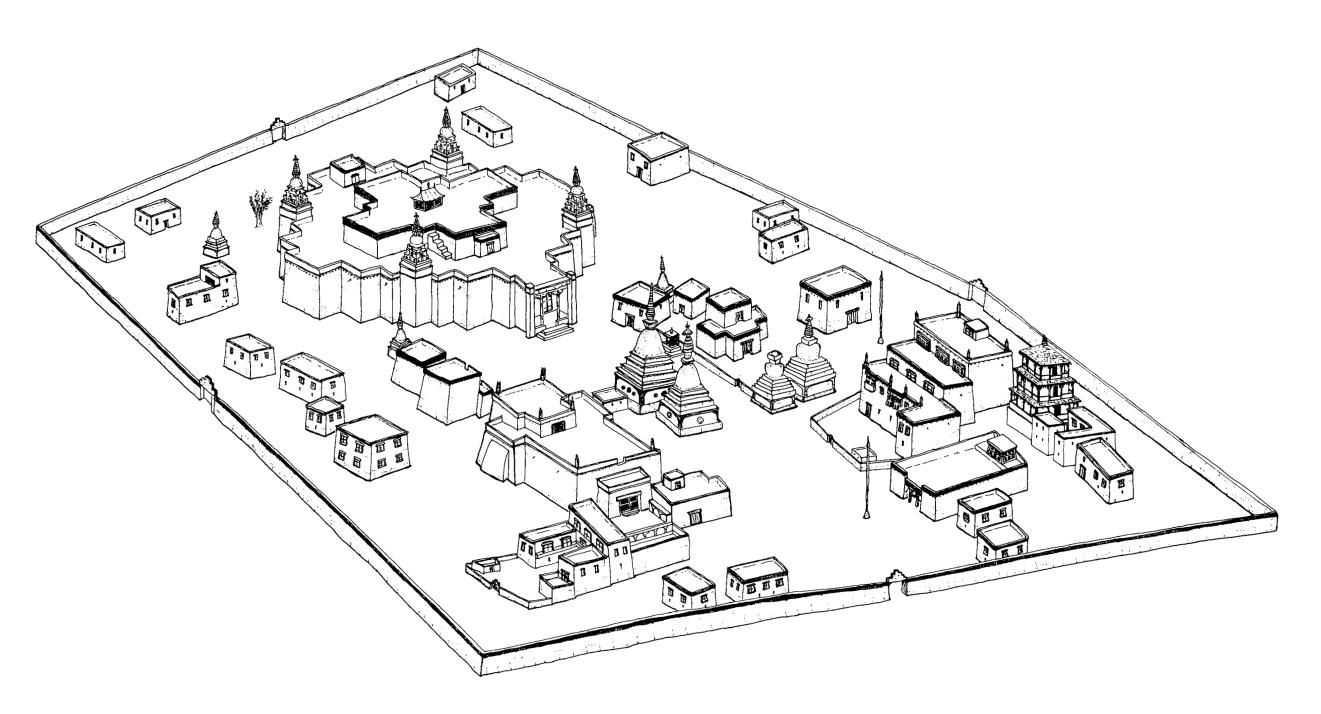


Plan by Bianca Visconti and Atelier Golok

- 1. gTsug.lag.khang
- 2. Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung ('Bri.zur dge.slong mchod.khang)
- 3. gSung.chos ra.ba 4. Byams.khang
- 5. gNas.bcu lha.khang
- 6. Dar.shing
- 7. Bla.brang
- 8. gSer.khang

- mNgon.dga'
- 10. IHa.khang dkar.po
- 11. Dar.shing
- 12. 'Bri.g.yag
- 13. gNyer.zur dge.slong lha.skyabs
- 14. Do.gsham
- 15. Grwa.tshang
- 16. sBug.pa
- 17. Rong.stod

- 18. rGyal.khang
- 19. 'Du.khang
- 20. gNyer.tshang
- 21. sPyi.khang
- 22. Ma.ni Iha.khang
- 23. Rol.mo'i.khang
- 24. gDung.rten ring.mo



# Section Three

# A classification of the Tho.ling temples based on both textual and oral evidence

THE TEMPLES OF Tho.ling according to oral accounts concerning the monumental conception of the temple complex, gathered in 1997, can be finally classified as follows 100.

Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gvis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, composed of

rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] lha.khang with four glo. 'bur-s (or "side chapels"): Mi.skyod.ba (east) Rin.'byung (south) 'Od.dpag.med (west) Don.yod grub.pa (north)

# brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud:

- 1. 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma
- 2. 'Jigs.byed lha.khang
- 3. ITung.bshags lha.khang
- 4. Iha.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar
- 5. sMan.lha.khang
- 6. Thugs.rje lha.khang
- 7. sGrol.ma lha.khang
- 8. rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang
- bSrung.ma.khang

brGya.rtsa byang.ma (some lha.khang-s which are missing in the 1937 rten.deb are here supplemented with the help of the accounts of the Tho.ling elders):

- 1. Byams.khang
- 2. Phyag.rdor lha.khang
- 3. Byams.pa ngal.gso lha.khang ("Sitting Byams.pa lha.khang").
- 4. Bla.ma lha.khang

100. A preliminary monumental reconstruction was attempted in 1996 in a series of meetings with the elders of Tho.ling. An outline of those findings follows, which is very close to the final recostruction of 1997. This indicates that there was ample and consistent convergence of opinions among them. The temples of Tho.ling were classified at that time as:

rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] Iha.khang with four glo. 'bur-s (or "side chapels"): Mi.skyod.ba (east) Rin. 'byung (south) 'Od.dpag.med (west) Don.yod grub.pa (north)

#### brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud:

- 1. Iha.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma
- 2. 'Jigs.byed Iha.khang
- 3. ITung.bshags lha.khang
- 4. Iha.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar
- 5. sMan.lha.khang
- 6. Thugs.rje lha.khang
- 7. sGrol.ma lha.khang
- 8. rGyal.ba Rigs.Inga'i Iha.khang 9. bSrung.ma lha.khang

brGya.rtsa byang.ma

1. Byams.khang

2. Phyag.rdor Iha.khang

- 3. Yum.chen.mo lha.khang
- 4. Bla.ma lha.khang
- 5. Byams paingal.gso ("sitting Byams.pa") lha.khang
- 6. Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang
- 7. 'Jigs.brgyad Iha.khang
- 8. gSung.chos lha.khang 9. 'Jam.dbyangs Iha.khang

#### Others

Byams.khang (north) gNas.bcu lha.khang (north) Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung, which became dge.slong 'Bri.zur mchod.khang (north-west) gSung.chos ra.ba (north-west) IHa.khang dKar.po otherwise known as Iha.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan (north-east) gSer.khang (north-east) Bla brang (north-east) containing: moon khang mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan otherwise known as 'du khang Thub dbang Ghande ma (south-east) rGyal.khang (south-east) Mani Iha khang (south) (for a grand total of thirty-four Iha.khang-s plus several mchod.rten-s)

- 5. Yum.chen.mo lha.khang
- 6. Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang
- 7. 'Jigs.brgyad lha.khang.
- 8. gSung.chos lha.khang
- 9. 'Jam.dbyangs lha.khang

These *lha.khang-s* composed the brGya.rtsa, to which a little wooden structure sustaining the *rgya.phibs* of the rNam.snang lha.khang has to be added. The Tho.ling elders say that it contained embalmed animals.

# Others

Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung, which became the dge.slong 'Bri.zur mchod.khang gSung.chos ra.ba Byams.khang gNas.bcu lha.khang lHa.khang dKar.po otherwise known as lha.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan gSer.khang Bla.brang containing: Bla.brang mgon.khang mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan otherwise known as 'du.khang Thub.dbang Ghande.ma rGyal.khang Mani lha.khang (for a grand total of thirty-four *lha.khang*-s plus several *mchod.rten-s*)

By cross-checking the indications from literature and oral information with monumental evidence, the temple complex can be ideally reconstructed with a fair degree of accuracy. The Tho.ling complex is introduced here starting with the major temple, followed by the other religious buildings. The way the *lha.khang-s* of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa are catalogued is in accordance to the processional circumambulation of the temple. The same processional order is respected for the rest of the sacred edifices.

# DPAL.DPE.MED LHUN.GYIS GRUB.PA'I GTSUG.LAG.KHANG

# brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud

("the south side of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa")

1. 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma

This is the main 'du. khang at the entrance of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, which is considered to be part of the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud. The main image was a medicinal clay statue of Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma over one floor high flanked by the life-size clay statues of Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs, and by the larger than life-size clay statues of the Nyan.thos-s and Rang.rgyal-s. To the right and left of the door were huge clay statues of Mi.g.yo.ba and rTa.mgrin. Other clay statues were those of 'Jam.dbyangs with the sword, Tshe.dpag.med, images of bla.ma-s, the cycle of Byams.pa chos.'khor.ma flanked by those of Byam.pa (sic for Byams.pa?)

and 'Jam.dbyangs, the Nye.ba.'i sras.bdun, Ngag.dbang ye.shes and Yum.chen.mo, all life-size.

At this stage the processional circumambulation was interrupted in order to enter the central *lha.khang* of the temple.

# rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] lha.khang

The main image was a medicinal clay statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad, one floor high, together with the root deities of the Rigs.lnga and a *sgo.mang mchod.rten*, all one floor high. A tridimensional representation (*blos.blangs dkyil.'khor*) of the families of the deities of *pad.ma*, *'khor.lo*, *nor.bu*, *rdo.rje* (i.e. the cycles of the other four Tathagata-s) in relief work covered the rest of the walls. In the side *lha.khang*-s, opening to the four directions, the complete cycle of life-size stucco images of the other deities of the Rigs.lnga (Mi.skyod.ba in the east, Rin.'byung in the south, 'Od.dpag.med in the west, Don.yod grub.pa in the north) and the Kun.tu rig.pa (i.e. Kun.rig) gods were placed.

#### 2. 'Jigs.byed lha.khang

A clay statue of 'Jigs.byed dpa'.bo.gcig ("*ekavira*"), one floor high, was the main image of this *lha.khang*, together with the statues of Four Armed sPyan.ras.gzigs and Chos.rgyal Ma.he gdong.can. The stairs leading to the roof of the building, which, in turn, brought one to the *rgya.phibs* ("the pagoda roof"), were located in front of the entrance of this *lha.khang*.

# 3. lTung.bshags lha.khang

The main image was a gilt copper statue of 'Jam.dbyangs ga'u.pa ("wearing a ga'u"), which previously was in the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. Some elders hold that this *lha.khang* was also named A.tsa.ra lha.khang, since it contained the robe of an *a.tsa.ra*, whom I am unable to identify, for *'cham*.

#### 4. lha.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar

The main image was a gilt copper statue of Jo.bo bKra.shis 'od.'bar.ma. Other receptacles were six gilt copper images of Thub.dbang and a number of similar statues in various smaller sizes, as well as a gilt copper *gdung.rten* ("reliquary *stupa*").

#### 5. sMan.bla.khang

The main image was a large size Thub.dbang made of medicinal clay flanked by the life-size statues of the sMan.lha (spelt as) sde.gshegs.brgyad.

#### 6. Thugs.rje lha.khang

The main image was a gilt copper statue of bCu.gcig.zhal, said to have been made by Sangs.rgyas 'Od.srung (is this a sign that it was of greatest antiquity?), with a golden *torana*. Another important image was a *rdzi.khyim* statue of rgyal.tshab Mi.pham mgon.po in the western posture and various others, such as Thub.dbang, the gNas.brtan bcu.drug and the rGyal.chen sde.bzhi.

#### 7. sGrol.ma lha.khang

The main images were the gilt copper statues of White and Green sGrol.ma. Other important images were statues of sGrol.ma, gSang.'dus yab.yum, rDo.rje.'chang, etc., and silver statues of rNam.snang and Four Armed sPyan.ras.gzigs inside a cabinet.

# 8. Rigs.Inga'i lha.khang

The main images were the life-size statues of the rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga in clay. Other images were a *li.dmar* statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad, flanked by statues of Thub.dbang; a *li.dmar* Thub.dbang; a *li* sPyan.ras.gzigs Kha.sar.pa.ni; a *li.ser* Kha.sar.pa.ni; a *li* sPyan.ras.gzigs; a *li* mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse with a throne (see above p.75); a *mdo.li* Byams.pa "which bestowed protection from the waters" and a *li.ser lha.'bab mchod.rten*.

# 9. bSrung.ma.khang

The main image is a *thang.ka* of the protector of the teachings rDo.rje chen.mo with her retinue<sup>101</sup>, which is a form of lHa.mo. On its right and left were *sten.mdung*-s ("spears"). A statue of Chos.rgyal (the size of an arrow) was also placed in this *lha.khang*.

At the back of Srung.ma.khang was a rose tree. Concerning this tree, a legend holds that two sisters from Srib.skyes (this is the place in Gu.ge Rong.chung with the well known pass by the same name), known as the Srib.skyes bu.mo spun.gnyis, appeared and planted here their walking sticks, which were both made of a shaft of rose tree, and the rose tree sprouted from these. The two sisters disappeared vanishing in what became the Srung.ma.khang. They are considered to have been the transformations of srung.ma rDo.rje chen.mo. This tree is the *bla.shing* ("soul tree") of the *srung.ma*.

Here it has to be noted that in *Zhang.zhung srid.pa'i gre.'gyur* (p.32-33), a source dealing with the popular traditions of West Tibet, the Hreb.skyid (spelt as) bu.mo spun.gsum rather than the bu.mo spun.gnyis are mentioned. This text narrates the legend of their coming to Tho.ling.

Zhang.zhung srid.pa'i gre.'gyur (p.32-33) reads: "There was a big wild rose soul-tree (*lha.shing* sic for *bla.shing*) to the south side of Gu.ge mTho.lding dgon lha.khang brGya.rtsa in mNga'.ris rTsa.mda'.rdzong. This was an unusually large wild rose tree, larger than any other. Many groups of local lay people and monks used to circumambulate and prostrate to it. Annually, when irrigation of the fields begins, the first bit of water is made to flow to this wild rose tree. Likewise, what is the reason for so much devotion and interest? In antiquity, in the place known as Hreb.skyid (sic Hrib.skyed) were *stod.smad.bar* settlements, these three, with some one hundred families. In this area also were many people (sic). This land is not too elevated, is warm and the wind blows mildly. Its crops are abundant. Each year it produces two crops.

In antiquity, in this land were three sisters. The youngest (p.33) advised and convinced [the other sisters]. They set out on their way singing a *rgyang.glu* ("song sung while leaving") in accordance with their conversation that there was a reason to go and see mTho.lding *dgon.pa* and give their prayers. Compassion had grown in them to obtain enlightment for the six classes of existence since people folded their two hands and shivered with their hair straightening up in faith for the triple door, the great dPe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang and the excellent *lo.tsa.ba*, the omniscent Rin.chen bzang.po, the ornament of the crown of the masters of the Snowland. Then, when they arrived at the place at some four kilometres [from their dwelling place], which is a plain ground known as Glang.thang.kha, the eldest sister had to go back from this place due to an obstruction. [The place] is known as Glang.shu thang.kha ("the plain of the miserable ox"), bearing punishment (*la.yog.can*). It is said that it is from this place that the eldest sister had to go back, [while] the two younger sisters proceeded on.

Subsequently, coming up, when they arrived at the top of the high pass Shing.rang, as the middle sister also had an obstruction, she had to go back. [The

<sup>101.</sup> See above (p.24). rDo rje chen.mo, a form of dPal Idan IHa mo, had a major place of importance at Tho ling. This deity was the protectress of the temple since the year 1000-1001 when Rin.chen bzang.po returned from his second visit to Kashmir and India. He brought the deity with him and chose it to look after Tho ling (see *Jo.bo dngul sku mched.gsum dkar.chag* 1.10a lines 1-2 and Vitali The Kingdoms of Gu ge Pu hrang p.302 and n 467). rDo rje chen.mo's retinue is commonly composed of Re.ma.ti and Gardaz ma

place] is known as Shing.rang pass, bearing punishment (la. yog.can). The elder [of the younger] sisters herself, since she thought about nothing else than the wish to fulfil the need of going to mTho.lding dgon.pa, by using a walking stick made of a wild rose tree and by carrying melted butter inside a brass vessel on her back, she went on [with the youngest sister]. Since at last they arrived at mTho.lding dgon.pa, they sang a song: "We take refuge in the triple jewel. Prostrating kyed kved kved we prostrate thrice. May the defilements of bad karma be cleansed. Prostrating kur kur we prostrate thrice. May the obstructions created by negative accidents be removed. Doing this well or not, we prostrate thrice. May the six classes of existence obtain enlightment. We forgot in Byang a small piece of yellow butter made of 'bri [milk]. We forgot in Rong white butter made of goat milk. We have a brass vessel full of melted butter. We each have a wild rose tree (p.33) walking stick which stands up [by itself] (ker). May these words be beneficial for the happiness of all the sentient beings of the three worlds. May they be free from suffering". Since this prayer was excellently offered, they (i.e. the two sisters) disappeared [from Tho.ling] like a rainbow in the sky. However, following their disappearence, the walking sticks held in their hands were found planted [in the soil] in the south of mTho.lding dgon.pa. The wild rose walking sticks, which had been not only seen but also recognized as such, miraculously started to grow leaves one by one. People, moved by great faith, introduced the custom of prostrating to and circumambulating [the wild rose tree]".

*mNga*'.ris skor.gsum.gyi lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.247 line 22-p.248 line 3) says that the main images of bSrung.ma.khang were a one floor high statue in clay of rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed, a gilt copper life-size statue of Chos.rgyal yab.yum, and a life-size statue in clay of rDo.rje chen.mo, but this statement does not find confirmation in the inventory of this *lha.khang* found in the 1937 *rten.deb* and in the accounts of the Tho.ling elders. However, from the fact that, in antiquity, Rin.chen bzang.po installed here an image of rDo.rje chen.mo one can assume that the statue of this deity was lost at an unspecified date.

brGya.rtsa byang.ma

("the north side of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa")

1. Byams.khang

The main image of this *lha.khang* is described in the *rten.deb* as a three-floor high standing statue of Byams.pa. Monumental evidence shows, though, that this temple, which was the tallest in the brGya.rtsa enclosure, was some one and a half to two storey high. It seems then the Byams.pa statue in its interior, which has been smashed into pieces, must have had a height close to that of the *lha.khang* in order to fit into it.

Phyag.rdor lha.khang

The main image was a statue of Phyag.na rdo.rje in medicinal clay (two *khru* and one *mtho* in height). On its right and left were various statues, including those of gTun.po gos.sngon-s, placed over the petals of tridimensional lotus flowers.

#### 3. Yum.chen.mo lha.khang

Its main image was a medicinal clay life-size statue of rje.btsun sGrol.ma. This *lha.khang* contained a number of small statues (information provided by the Tho.ling elders).

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# 4. Bla.ma lha.khang

The main image was the statue of *rje rin.po.che* (Tsong.kha.pa), together with a gilt copper statue of *rje rin.po.che*, another gilt copper statue of *rje rin.po.che*, *li* statues of lHo.brag Nam.mkha' rgyal.mtshan and *rje rin.po.che*, and a gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang, flanked by Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs, with *torana*.

5. Byams.pa ngal.gso lha.khang ("the *lha.khang* of the sitting Byams.pa") Its main image was an over one floor high statue of Byams.pa sitting on a throne (information provided by the Tho.ling elders).

# 6. Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang

Its main image was a statue of Tshe.dpag.med over one floor high with the cycle of his deities at his sides (information provided by the Tho.ling elders).

7. 'Jigs.brgyad.khang ("chapel of the eight fears") The main image was a *li.dmar* statue of standing 'Jam.dbyangs, a gilt copper statue of Thub.dbang, a Thub.dbang grong.khyer.ma and a *li.dmar* Byams.pa.

8. gSung.chos lha.khang (i.e. the library of the brGya.rtsa) 187 volumes of '*Dul.ba, 'Bum, mDo.sde, Myang.'das, brGyad.stong.pa, gSer.'od, 'Khor.lo bDe.mchog rgyud, dBu.ma'i rnams.bshad,* the commentary on *mNgon.rtogs.rgyan* as well as fifty-two volumes of *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel,* root and branches, were preserved in this *lha.khang* together with a group of fifty-three small statues, another of fiftyseven and a third of forty-three.

# 9. 'Jam.dbyangs lha.khang

Its main images were a statue of 'Jam.dpal.dbyangs, one floor high, as well as some three hundred smaller statues (information provided by the Tho.ling elders).

# Temples outside the gtsug.lag.khang

I. Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung ("residence"), which became the *mchod.khang* ("prayer room") of 'Bri.zur dge.slong bZang.po

The main image was a life-size clay statue of Thugs.rje chen.po according to the tradition of dge.slong.ma dPal.mo. Other important images were an over life-size statue of Phyag.stong spyan.stong and various *thang.ka*-s.

 gSung.chos ra.ba ("the walled area where religious discourses were usually given")

The throne of lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po was kept here. On the brick wall at the back of the throne the images of *rje yab.sras.gsum* (i.e. Tsong.kha.pa, rGyal.tshab.rje and mKhas.grub.rje) were painted.

# 3. Byams.khang

The main image was a one floor high medicinal clay statue of Byams.pa.

# 4. gNas.bcu lha.khang

The statue of Thub.pa dbang.po, surrounded by the gNas.brtan bcu.drug, was housed in this temple with four pillars, together with murals of the Buddha-s of the Bhadrakalpa, the history of Sadaprarudita and the kings of sTod. This temple is not included in the *rten.deb*, but a separate inventory exists, entitled gNas.bcu lha.khang.gi sprod.stong gcig.'thus.kyi deb, which concerns the statues and other objects kept inside it rather than its wall paintings, as is always the case of these records. The gNas.bcu lha.khang.gi rten.deb is published in Appendix Six.

#### 5. Bla.brang mgon.khang

The main image was the one floor high statue in medicinal clay of 'Jigs.byed dpa'.gcig with the life-size statues in clay of rDo.rje.'chang; gSang.'dus; the cycle of Dam.can; Four and Six-Armed mGon.po; dMag.gzor.ma; rDo.rje lHa.mo; Bya.rog gdong.can; Rin.chen bzang.po, made of medicinal clay. Moreover, a life-size statue of Ngag.dbang grags.pa, the statues of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse and mnga'.bdag Khri.sde (sic) both with inscriptions were kept in this *mgon.khang*.

# 6. mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung

A small triad composed of Shakya.mu.ne with Byams.pa and 'Jam.dbyangs on his right and left was the most sacred receptacle in this *lha.khang*. A few *thang.ka*-s and a number of books were also preserved here.

# 7. lha.khang 'Jig.brten.brgyan<sup>102</sup>

The main image is a clay statue of Thub.dbang one floor high flanked by the sMan.bla sde.gshegs.brgyad. Other images in clay were two statues of sGrol.dkar and sGrol.ljang, a bCu.gcig.zhal, a Chos.rgyal on each side as *sgo.srung-s*, and a one floor high clay *byang.chub mchod.rten*.

## 8. gSer.khang

The paradise of Sangs.rgyas and his twelve deeds were depicted on the walls of its basement. The murals of the rGyud.sde.bzhi *dkyil.'khor*-s were painted on the three upper floors.

# 9. 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan

The main image was the medicinal clay statue of Thub.dbang Ghande.ma flanked by those of 'Od.bsrung and Byams.pa. Among the other monumental statues (some of them cannot be included here since the document, in poor condition, has lines missing in these pages) were those in medicinal clay of bSod.nams rgya.mtsho, *rje rin.po.che* (Tsong.kha.pa) and another depicting him, Thub.dbang, Tshe.dpag.med, Tre.bo mKhas.brtson, Rin.chen 'byung.ldan, a one-floor high statue of *rje rin.po.che*, and a *rje rin.po.che* of similar size in gilt copper.

Another particularly holy image was the life-size statue of Sang.dar Jo.bo, in gilt copper on a lotus pedestal, which had a reddish turquoise the size of a nail in its *urna*, a multicoloured *rigs.lnga* and an ivory crown studded with precious stones.

The elders of Tho.ling describe the structure and contents that 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan had before the change in the political situation of Tibet in a way which is fundamentally similar to the inventory of the fire ox 1937 *rten.deb*. This '*du.khang* has thirty-six pillars. Its main images were a triad of the Dus.gsum Sangs.rgyas, each one floor high.

The central image (that of Shakya thub.pa), called Thub.dbang Ghande.ma, derived its name from the fact that it was decided to place it where a *ghande* ("gong") would land after been thrown in the sky.

In front of the Dus.gsum Sangs.rgyas triad were the life-size statues of rje Tsong.kha.pa *yab.sras* (i.e. with his two main disciples rGyal.tshab.rje and mKhas.grub.rje); a life-size statue of Mi.la ras.pa; a life-size statue of Guru Padma; 102. The identity between the only statue surviving at present in IHa.khang dkar.po (i.e. the seated Thub.dbang in stucco) and that described in the inventories as the principal image of this *Iha khang* confirms that Iha.khang 'lig.brten.brgyan is another name of IHa.khang dkar.po. It will be shown below in the text (p.97) that this fact seems to be confirmed from the topographical viewpoint. This identity is also confirmed by all the Tho.ling elders. a one-floor high statue of Mar.me.mdzad in *rdzi.khyim*; the so called Sang.dar Jo.bo; a life-size statue of 'Jam.dbyangs in gilt copper and a life-size statue in medicinal clay of Rin.chen bzang.po.

In the gtsang.khang, with six pillars, the main image was the so called rTse.lha Nyi.ma.mgon.gyi Shakya Thub.pa'i sku in gilt copper and fifteen khru in height, with a complete set of bKa'.gyur and bsTan.gyur placed inside it. Each finger joint contained a volume. As consecrational material, the statue of Shakya Thub.pa also contained the complete weaving set of Seng.lcam 'Brug.mo.

This statue was called so because Nyi.ma.mgon built a castle on top of the Tho.ling hill named Shing.sgra (i.e. on Shing.sgra rtse.mo) where he possibly founded a temple. Here he placed this statue, which became known as Nyi.ma.mgon's image of Shakya Thub.pa (Nyi.ma.mgon.gyi Shakya Thub.pa'i sku), which is the deity on the peak of the hill (*rtse.lha*). The statue was moved later to the Tho.ling plain and kept in the 'du.khang chen.mo. In front of this image was a mchod.rten in medicinal clay, one 'dom in height. Among the books kept in this 'du.khang, the most precious was a brGyad.stong.pa, consisting of 800 chapters written in golden letters. It became known as brGyad.stong.pa Ghande.ma, since it was placed on a stand next to Thub.dbang Ghande.ma after it was moved from its previous location in the brGya.rtsa Byang.ma. At the 'du.khang door were the rGyal.chen sde.bzhi, one floor high.

#### 10. rGyal.khang

Its main image was a statue of Shugs.ldan. A *bla.ma* statue in a glass cabinet and various statues of Shugs.ldan were placed here.

#### 11. Mani Iha.khang

The main image was a life-size statue of *rje rin.po.che* (Tsong.kha.pa) in medicinal clay. A *sa.gdung byang.chub mchod.rten* and a *mani dung.skor* (i.e. a monumental prayer wheel), both one floor high, were also placed here<sup>103</sup>.

103. The Mani Iha.khang was obviously located outside the brGya.rtsa. Its placement at this point of the inventories defies any explanation except that its inventory was completed in the same day of the same month as other *Iha.khang-s* which were in the brGya.rtsa. Tucci's description of this temple (*Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* p.318) is very useful since it mainly refers to the murals which are not classified in the *rten.deb*. He says that on the walls of this *Iha.khang* the depictions of Shakya thub.pa, Avalokitesvara, Tara and the Buddha-s of the Bhadrakalpa were painted.

### Plate VI The plain of Tho.ling

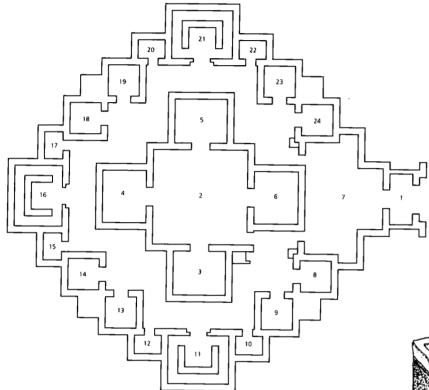


- The monastery of Tho.ling
   mChod.rten khra.bo
   dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i gdung.rten
   mChod.rten brgya.rtsa

- IHa.'bab mchod.rten
   Zangs.kyi gdung.rten
   Byang rta.sgo bridge
   Glang.chen kha.'babs

Map by Atelier Golok

Plate vii Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang





### 1. sGo.khang

- rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang with four glo.'bur-s (or "side chapels") 2. rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang 3. Mi.skyod.ba lha.khang

- Mi.skyou.da Ina.khang
   Rin.'byung Iha.khang
   'Od.dpag.med Iha.khang
   Don.yod grub.pa Iha.khang

- brGya.rtsa Iho.brgyud 7. 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma 8. 'Jigs.byed Iha.khang 9. ITung.bshags Iha.khang 10. Iha.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar

- 11. sMan.lha.khang

- Thugs.rje lha.khang
   sGrol.ma lha.khang
- rGyal.ba Rigs.Inga Iha.khang
   bSrung.ma.khang

- brGya.rtsa byang.ma 16. Byams.khang
- 17. Phyag.rdor lha.khang
- Hydgildor malknarg
   Byams.pa ngal.gso lha.khang
   Bla.ma lha.khang
   Yum.chen.mo lha.khang
- Ishe.dpag.med lha.khang
   Ishe.dpag.med lha.khang
   'Jigs.brgyad lha.khang
   gSung.chos lha.khang
- 24. Jam.dbyangs Iha.khang

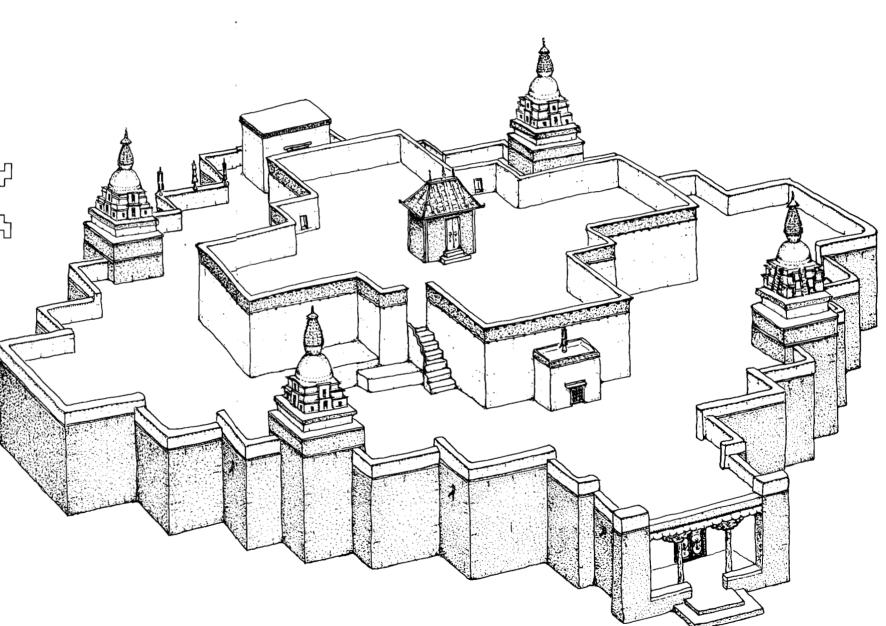
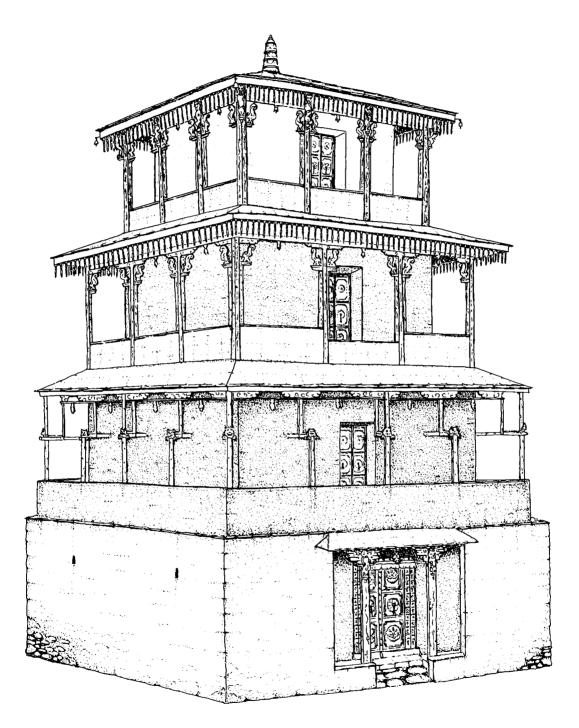


PLATE VIII Tho.ling gSer.khang (as it would have been without the attached monastic quarters at the front)



Drawing by Bianca Visconti

Section Four

## Final reconstruction of the temple complex (being a plan in words)

### Religious and lay edifices of Tho.ling

The religious buildings

BEFORE ITS DESTRUCTION during the Cultural Revolution, Tho.ling offered to the eyes of its residents and visitors a majestic view. The arrangement of its temples, which can be partially detected from the old pictures but which is elucidated with better precision with the help of the accounts of the Tho.ling notables and written sources, was roughly as follows.

On the western side of the complex stood:

The imposing dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (opening to the east) (destroyed), which was originally founded by lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od in fire monkey 996, consisting of:

the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang (opening to the east), being the cruciform core structure of the head temple, surrounded by:

the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and byang.ma, i.e. the enclosure of eighteen *lha.khang-s*, among them the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma and Thug.rje lha.khang, the latter being lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po's residence (*gzims.chung*). The statue of Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma, from which the '*du.khang* at the entrance of brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud derived its name, was two-storeys high and was enclosed inside a small room separating the statue from the rest of the assembly hall. There was also a small *zhal.ras.khang* which allowed a close view of the face of the Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma statue. This *zhal.ras.khang* can be seen in a photograph by Li Gotami (*Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.148). Its door was sited on the roof of the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud above the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma. In front of 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma stood the entrance room (*sgo.khang*) of the brGya.rtsa, where the monumental clay statues of the rGyal.chen sde.bzhi were located (see Tucci Archives accession number 6025/5).

Further details on the architectural features of the *gtsug.lag.khang* have to be added to its general conception outlined above (see p.78-79). The two structures, often referred to in this work, which composed the main temple (i.e. the inner cruciform building, conceived as four wings departing in the four directions from a central core, known as the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, and the surrounding enclosure of *lha.khang*-s, known as the brGya.rtsa) in the shape of the citadel of the *mandala* were joined together by means of a roofed area, the internal walls of which were covered with murals.

A door led from the brGya.rtsa to the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang. This door was situated in the south-western corner of the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma, which gave access to the roofed corridors in order to enter the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang from the side of the south-eastern corner of the latter's inner core. The same door in the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang led back into the roofed corridors.

Stairs to the roof of the building and to the small cubicular room under the giltcopper *rgya.phibs* ("pagoda roof") were located in the same south-eastern corner of the inner core of the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang. Inside the room and under its roof embalmed animals, for which Tho.ling is famous, were kept as relics. The 15th century mural depicting Tho.ling, reproduced in the modern *thang.ka* (pl.III), shows that the roof of the major temple was different from the gilt pagoda roof of later times. After having completed a full circumambulation of the *lha.lkhang*-s of the brGya.rtsa along the roofed corridors, a symmetrical door on the other side (i.e. the north-western corner) of the same 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma allowed one to return to it. The complex could be exited from 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma across the *sgo.khang* ("antechamber") (for the conception of the *gtsug.lag.khang* see pl.v11).

The '*cham.ra* ("courtyard for dances") was the open area in front of the main temple. Its boundaries were defined by a number of edifices which enclosed it, i.e. the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa in the west, the gSung.chos ra.ba in the north, the gDung.rten ring.mo and the Rol.mo'i khang in the east, the Mani lha.khang in the south (for some of these buildings see soon below in the text and the general plan of Tho.ling on pl.v)<sup>104</sup>.

In the north-western quarter of the complex were: Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung ("Rin.chen bzang.po's residence") (opening to the south-east), which later became the dge.slong 'Bri.zur mchod.khang ("the prayer room of 'Bri.zur dge.slong") (destroyed).

To the immediate west of the latter was the one-storey high gSung.chos ra.ba ("the walled area where religious discourses were usually given") (opening to the south), located at the north-eastern corner of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang. gSung.chos ra.ba was where lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po used to impart teachings. Jo.bo.rje also resided here (destroyed).

A small portico with a shrine where a pile of *tsha.tsha*-s was placed between the latter two temples (facing south). Two stone steps gave access to it (see the picture by

104. Indian sadhu-s were authorized to stay at the *khyams* of the 'du khang Thub.dbang bdud.'dul.ma, the Rol.mo'i khang of the gDung.rten ring.mo and the gSung.chos ra.ba without being obliged to obtain permission from the Tho.ling authorities. Rawling, Royal Geographic Society, accession number PR 073437). A curtain was often drawn across this portico entrance (see Tucci, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* fig.216) (destroyed).

On the northern side of the complex were:

Byams.khang (destroyed), located to the south of the gNas.bcu lha.khang. It had a *gtsang.khang* ("inner *lha.khang*") in its western side. Its *gtsang.khang* was taller than the rest of the building, which was one floor high. This temple opened to the east.

gNas.bcu lha.khang (i.e. the gNas.brtan bcu.drug lha.khang or "the *lha.khang* of the sixteen Arhat-s")<sup>105</sup> (destroyed), to the north of the Byams.khang. This was a structure with a height corresponding to at least two storeys, with the upper floor tapering from the lower one. This temple again opened to the east.

Bla.brang (destroyed), located to the east of the Byams.khang, containing:

Bla.brang mgon.khang (on the *stengs.khang* or "top floor" of the front side of the Bla.brang building, which was composed of three storeys) (facing south);

mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung (located on the *stengs.khang* or "top floor" at the back of the central section of the Bla.brang building, which was composed of four storyes) (facing south).

In the north-eastern quarter of the complex were:

lha.khang 'Jig.rten.brgyan or lHa.khang dkar.po (opening to the south), sited to the east of the Bla.brang towards the extremity of the temple complex in this direction. This temple has forty-two pillars. The medicinal clay statue of Thub.dbang was flanked by the sMan.bla sde.gshegs.brgyad. Other important statues were those of sGrol.dkar and sGrol.ljang, bCu.gcig.zhal and the door guardians. Its murals are extant as well as the main statue and a *byang.chub mchod.rten*, although damaged.

gSer.khang (opening to the east), sited to the north of lHa.khang dkar.po and to the north-east of the Bla.brang (destroyed). The gSer.khang, built in the 15th century in substitution of the original constructed by Zhiba.'od in 1067-1071, and existing until its destruction during the Cultural Revolution, did not contain statues, its religious cycles consisting exclusively of deities painted on the walls.

In the south-eastern quarter were:

'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan otherwise known as 'du.khang Thub.dbang Ghande.ma (opening to the east). This is the assembly hall located to the southeast of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. The temple is composed of an assembly hall proper and a spacious *gtsang.khang* opening to it. It is extant to this day but deprived of all its monumental sculpture, while the cycle of murals are preserved in the main with some damage and widespread signs of wearing.

rGyal.khang (opening to the north), a small *mgon.khang* located on the southern side of the *kyams.ra* ("courtyard") of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan (destroyed).

105. Tucci says that rough late statues of the Arhat-s were housed in the gNas.bcu Iha.khang together with murals of the Buddha-s of the Bhadrakalpa, the history of Sadaprarudita and the kings of sTod (*Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* p.320-322). This is unique information since the murals in the gNas.bcu Iha.khang are not inventoried in the separate 1926 *rten.deb* dedicated to it.

### 98 RECORDS OF THO.LING

In the south-western side of the complex was:

Mani lha.khang (opening to the north) (destroyed), located with the *sPyi.khang* (see below) in the area between the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa and the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan.

The foremost temple in use before Tho.ling was lost to Buddhist practice seems to have been 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan rather than the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma (the main *lha.khang* and only 'du.khang of the brGya.rtsa) or the lHa.khang dkar.po, by virtue of the evidence provided by the inventories that an extraordinarily large number of religious paraphernalia was contained in the premises of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. This 'du.khang is quite spacious and thus fit to house a conspicuous array of receptacles, but, despite its dimensions, the above mentioned quantity of objects kept there before the Cultural Revolution overwhelmingly outnumbers that of any other temple in Tho.ling. 'Du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma was only second to the 'Dzam.gling.brgyan in terms of religious activity commonly performed on its premises during the late period before its destruction.

### mChod.rten-s

A great number of *mchod.rten*-s populated the Tho.ling plain, both inside and outside the holy area, limited by the boundary wall (*lcags.ri*).

The most important *mchod.rten-s* were: The so called gDung.rten ring.mo (destroyed), which was a *mchod.rten* over five storeys high and having a seven-stepped *bang.rim*<sup>106</sup>. The Tho.ling elders recollect that, in the period before its destruction, the steps of the *mchod.rten* or *bang.rim* were painted in different colours. This large *mchod.rten* stood in the centre of the Tho.ling temple complex between the brGya.rtsa in the west and the group of the dGe.lugs.pa buildings in the east ('du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan, gSer.khang, Bla.brang etc.) (see Tucci *Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* fig.216, Gotami *Tibet in Pictures* vol.II, plate on p.147).

It would be historically significant to know whose gdung.rten ("funerary stupa") gDung.rten ring.mo was. Unfortunately no tradition is preserved about the relics contained in this stupa. Given the monumentality of the building and its central location in the complex, one would expect that the reliquary contained the remains of some very important personality linked to Tho.ling. Further research is badly needed on this matter.

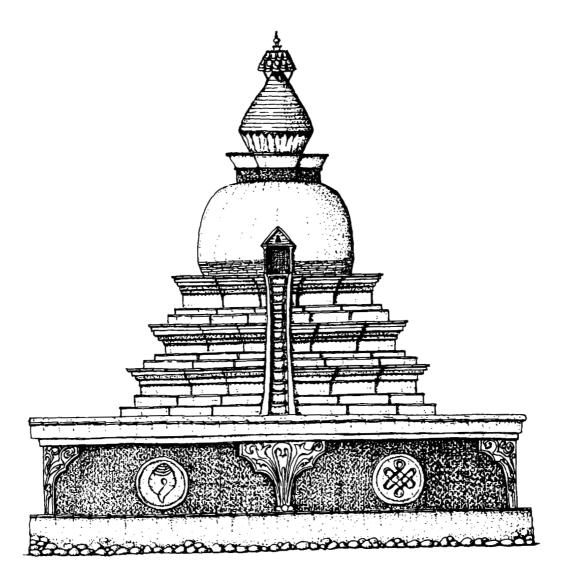
The Rol.mo'i khang of the gDung.rten ring.mo, which was a porch adjoining the west side of the *rmangs* ("base") of this *stupa*. The Rol.mo'i khang was an elongated portico extending from the Dung.rten ring.mo to the south. Music was played in the Rol.mo'i khang on the occasion of the '*cham* performed in the so called '*cham.ra*, i.e. the open space between the brGya.rtsa and the gDung.rten ring.mo. A curtain was often drawn along the length of the porch.

Another *mchod.rten* (destroyed), which had a four-stepped *bang.rim*, was adjoining the gDung.rten ring.mo to its eastern side (see Gotami *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.148).

Four *mchod.rten-s* were placed outside the four main corners of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa in the four intermediate directions.

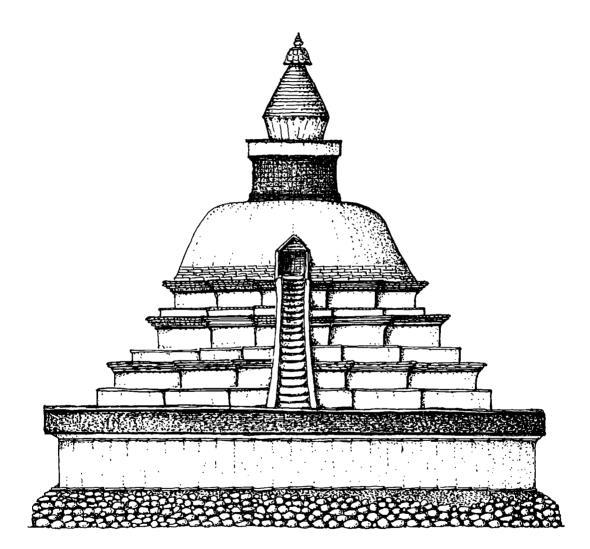
106. This statement of the elders finds corroboration in the external views of Tho.ling taken by Rawling in 1904 and by Li Gotami over forty years later.

PLATE IX IHa.'bab mchod.rten (the *stupa* outside the boundary wall of Tho.ling in the north-east)



Drawing by Bianca Visconti

PLATE X mChod.rten khra.bo (the *stupa* outside the boundary wall of Tho.ling in the south-west)



Drawing by Bianca Visconti

Two more *mchod.rten*-s of considerable size were located between the Byams.khang and gNas.bcu lha.khang to their west and the Bla.brang to their east. The two *mchod.rten*-s were aligned on the north-south axis. The rear (i.e. more northerly) *mchod.rten* was taller than the other even before the latter's top part above the *bum.pa* had been lost.

The most distinctive *mchod.rten-s* placed outside the boundary wall<sup>107</sup> were four big *stupa-s* at the intermediate points of the compass:

In the north-east is the IHa.'bab mchod.rten<sup>108</sup>. Various kinds of consecrational material were placed in the *bum.pa* of this *mchod.rten*. They included the relics of Sangs.rgyas which kept ever-forming as much as a *gan.dhe* ("gong") *bre*<sup>109</sup> ("the amount of a measure which can be contained in a gong"?), a statue of Sangs.rgyas in crystal the size of one *khru*, auspicious butterlamps and water cups. On propitious days, worthy people used to find relics of Sangs.rgyas inside its *bum.pa*.

In the south-east is Zangs gdung.rten ("the copper funerary *stupa*"), another *lha.'bab mchod.rten*.

In the south-west is mChod.rten khra.bo ("the multicoloured *stupa*"), which is again a *lha.'bab mchod.rten*.

In the north-west was dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i gdung.rten mchod.rten ("the *stupa* which is the funerary reliquary of dge.slong.ma dPal.mo"), a fourth *lha.'bab* mchod.rten. dGe.slong.ma dPal.mo was the well known nun from Kashmir who was particularly revered in the Kathmandu Valley, famous for being a major master who initiated a tradition of sPyan.ras.gzigs and *snyung.gnas* ("fasting") practices associated with it. The elders have no explanation for the fact that the robe of dge.slong.ma dPal.mo was preserved inside this mchod.rten. Her main biography<sup>110</sup>, which I have rather hopelessly consulted to ascertain this matter, has obviously nothing to say on the subject, since it is probable that, if ever anything is written on the matter, it must pertain to the successive holders of her lineage. The *rnam.thar*-s of those exponents I have consulted up to now do not contain any element which could be of some help. Further research is needed on this issue.

In the same area where dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i gdung.rten was located the elders remember a *seng.ge mchod.rten* (i.e. a *stupa* with a lion throne) of particular importance.

A mchod.rten brgya.rtsa ("row of a hundred and eight mchod.rten-s"), made of tsa.tsha-s, is located to the north-west of the temple complex, near the precipice giving way to the Glang.chen kha.'babs. It is said that the personal rosary of Rin.chen bzang.po is kept inside this row of stupa-s.

Three more *mchod.rten brgya.rtsa-s* are sited in various locations to the north of the boundary wall (see pl.v1).

Clusters of *mchod.rten*-s are close to the boundary wall, particularly in the southwest and north-east corners.

One more *mchod.rten* of some monumentality, whose top part above its *bum.pa* was already missing in the 1920s (see the picture by Ludlow [1923-1926] kept at the India Office Library, accession number 943/9 (241)) was located in front of the south-eastern corner of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa outside the boundary wall.

107. A traditional belief holds that Tho.lino gtsug lag khang was built on a sring mo sleeping supine. This is obviously a recurring theme initially adopted for the foundations of temples by Srong.btsan sgam.po and applied ubiquitously in Tibet in different periods of its history. The Tho.ling temple built on her forehead was the lha khang bDud. dul.ma, while that built on her heart was the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang. On the four limbs the four nang.gnon mchod.rten-s ("internal mchod rten-s to suppress [the srin.mo]", i.e those at the four corners of the dPal.dpe.med Ihun gvis grub pa) and the four phyi gnon mchod.rten-s ("external mchod.rten-s to suppress [the srin.mo], i.e. those outside the boundary wall") were built.

108. This is the stupa mistakenly considered by Tucci (Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale p.301) as the reliquary monument containing some remains of Rin chen bzang.po. This confusion is rather incomprehensible since this IHa.babs mchod.rten contained relics other than those of lo.chen. It is also unlikely that the relics placed inside the dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i gdung.rten (see immediately below in the text) have been attributed to this mchod.rten, since the two stupa-s cannot be easily confused.

109. Bre is a measurement for liquids, grains or powder.

110. See dGe.slong.ma dPal.mo'i rna.mthar nges: byung rgyud.la skyed.ba'i chos.gtam, and the account of the events in her life contained in sNyung gnas bla.ma rgyud.pa'i rnam.thar by lo.gdan bSod.nams bzang.po (1341-1431) recently published by the dPal.Idan phar.khang IHa.sa. I wish to thank Matthew Akester for giving me a photocopy of the latter text.

### The lay edifices

Inside the boundary wall of the religious complex was a number of secular edifices mainly located in the eastern side of the holy area. A few elements contributing to their identification help to complete a tentative mapping of the site, which is a very difficult enterprise in the present condition of Tho.ling, where these old buildings have been dismantled and obliterated by modern houses.

Here follows a list of monastic quarters and lay residences whose location in the complex can only be indicated with sound approximation rather than with certainty.

Buildings in the south-east of the holy area were:

sBug.mdzod grwa.tshang or the residence of the sBug.pa family of Tho.ling notables (rebuilt). It was two storeys high and located in the extreme south-east corner of the monastery, attached to the south-eastern wing of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan and overlooking the *khyams.ra* of this temple. It thus was part of the monumental complex of this '*du.khang*. It adjoined the house of the Rong.stod.pa-s (see immediately below) on its own south side. Attached to sBug.mdzod grwa.tshang were a storeroom and a kitchen belonging to it.

The house of the Rong.stod.pa-s ("people from the territory of Rong.chung", at the westernmost extremity of Gu.ge and bordering sPi.ti on the right bank of the Glang.chen kha.'babs) (rebuilt) was attached to the south-east side of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan, adjoining that of the sBug.pa administrators on its own north side (i.e. the south side of the latter building).

The residence of the sde.pa ("heads of the community") gNyer.tshang (destroyed) had three floors and sixteen rooms. It stood to the south of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan and to the south-west of the house of the Rong.stod.pa. Monks' quarters were found in this area.

### In the south:

The *sPyi.khang* (lit. "public house", i.e. a building for the lay community and the monks) (destroyed), known as sPyi.khang rgyan.brgya ("with one hundred decorations"), had three floors and was located towards the south side of the complex to the immediate east of Mani lha.khang and to the immediate west of the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.rgyan.

Buildings in the north-eastern direction within the boundary wall were: The Bla.brang grwa.tshang (destroyed). This was an imposing building articulated in two wings (i.e. the longer on the east-west axis and the shorter on the southnorth axis) joining at a ninety-degree angle. A picture of this edifice shows that it consisted of three floors (Tucci *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* fig.240). However, some elders are adamant in saying that it was threestoreyed in the front, four-storeyed in the central section (i.e. the longer wing on the east-west axis) and five-storeyed in the rear side (which again only existed in the longer wing). Others affirm that the *bla.brang* was four-storeyed. As a matter of fact, Tucci's picture frames only the front of this building. On the rear, the longer wing of the Bla.brang was more elevated, which lends credence to the elders' view. A very small portion of this further floor or floors can be marginally seen in the upper left corner of the same image. That it was a building with different levels, its tallest being five floors, is confirmed by a picture taken by Rawling in 1905 (Royal Geographic Society, accession number PR 073437). The front of the Bla.brang was painted white, while the back was painted red.

The various wings contained a number of rooms. Among them, the longer wing of the *bla.brang* contained a *mgon.khang* in its front section and the mKhan.po rin.po.che'i gzims.chung in the rear section, which later was the assembly hall of the *bla.brang*. They have both been mentioned above (see p.89). The shorter wing contained the quarter of the *gnyer.pa*-s ("keepers"), and the kitchen.

The residence of the sde.pa ("head of the community") 'Bri.g.yag (destroyed), which was in the north-eastern corner of the complex, to the south-east of the gSer.khang.

The mNgon.dga' residence for the monks (destroyed), placed to the immediate west of 'Bri.g.yag grwa.tshang and to the immediate east of the gSer.khang.

gNyer.zur dge.slong lha.skyabs (i.e. a sort of *dharamsala* for monks) (destroyed), to the east of lHa.khang dkar.po and the house of the 'Brig.g.yag people. Some other monks' quarters were placed in this area.

In the east:

The residential quarters of the people from Do.gsham (destroyed) was two storeys high and was found on the eastern side of the complex, sited to the north of the residence of the sde.pa Grwa.tshang.

The residential quarters of the Grwa.tshang notables of Tho.ling (destroyed). It was two storeys high and was located to the immediate north of the house of the sBug.pa-s. The house of the keepers (*gnyer.khang*), the storerooms (*mdzod.khang*) and the principal kitchen also were in this area.

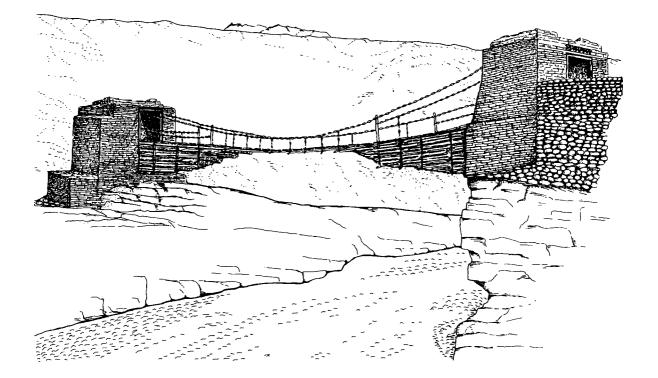
In fact, concerning the residences of the Tho.ling notables, the elders of Tho.ling say that there existed five *grwa.tshang-s* situated in four buildings. Bla.brang grwa.tshang, 'Bri.g.yag grwa.tshang, Grwa.tshang, and gNyer.tshang grwa.tshang had separate residences, the fifth being sBug.pa grwa.tshang, which was in the premises of 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. These buildings were the residences and offices of the four main notable families of Tho.ling and of the abbot as well as monastic colleges.

From the above outline of the buildings inside the sacred precinct of Tho.ling it becomes evident that the administrative quarters were concentrated in the eastern part of the temple complex, which was the more modern or dGe.lugs.pa section of Tho.ling, while the western part was occupied by the ancient dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang.

The *lcags.ri* or boundary wall (destroyed) had substantially a rectangular pattern or rather like a trapezoid. A gate was placed on every side of this wall. The Tho.ling elders say that their doors were closed at night.

### In the surroundings of Tho.ling

lHa.khang dkar.po, lHa.khang dmar.po, sGrol.ma lha.khang and 'Jigs.byed lha.khang (all destroyed) were, in later times, the temples located on the slopes of PLATE XI Byang rta.sgo (the bridge of Tho.ling)



the conglomerate Shing.sgra hill, which stands to the south-west of Tho.ling *dgon.pa* at a distance of a short horse ride.

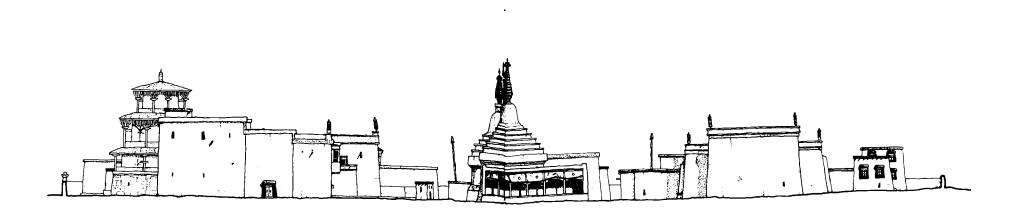
On top of Shing.sgra hill, where the palace of mNga'.ris chos.rgyal Nyi.ma.mgon was situated in antiquity, a locality subsequently known as the bDe.mchog blos.blang dkyil.'khor, were ruins of monasteries and houses.

In the area at the foot of this hill, routes lead to the four directions. Tradition believes that, near the hill, one can hear the echo of 100,000 men. This is the locality where the town of Tho.ling was established. From *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* one gleans that the area where the town was situated (and is still partially situated at present) was known in the 16th century as Tshig.mda'111.

Finally, the iron bridge of Tho.ling (located to the north-east of Tho.ling dgon.pa) (see pl.x1) is known as Tho.ling zam.pa Byang rta.sgo ("the northern horse door", i.e. Byang[.ngos] rta.sgo or "the horse door to [Gu.ge] Byang[.ngos]"?). The Tho.ling bridge, in fact, gives way to the road leading to Gu.ge Byang.ngos or Gu.ge's northern territory (see a picture of the bridge taken in 1904 by Rawling, Royal Geographic Society accession number PR 073416).

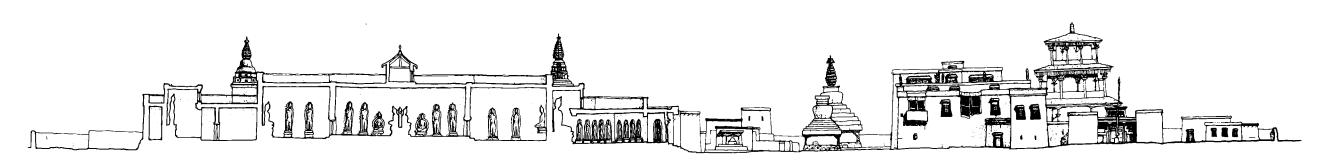
> 111. Shanti pa'i mam.thar (1.33a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.102): "On that occasion, on the dancing ground on the Tshig.mda' road, youthful girls with white complexion like the moon, singing very melodious songs with words like nectar, performed the plays typical of Zhang.zhung".

PLATE XII Inside the monastery of Tho.ling



:

Section from the west



1

Section from the south

Section Five

# A study of the organization of Tho.ling

The branch monasteries of Tho.ling

THE IDENTIFICATION OF the *dgon.lag* ("branch monasteries") of Tho.ling varies considerably in the sources dealing with them.

They are indicated in the collective volume mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.254) in a way similar to the enumeration found in Chos.dbyings rdo.rje's mNga'.ris skor.gsum sngon.byung.gi lo.rgyus (p.188), which has twenty-five of them. The only difference between the two lists is that the former source includes mDa'.ba 'Gram dgon.pa, while the latter contains mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, the famous dGe.lugs.pa monastery in Gu.ge. As for the rest of the list, the collective volume follows Chos.dbyings rdo.rje even in questionable spellings such as rTsa.rang Klu.steng, with very few deviations.

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po or, alternatively, mDa'.ba 'Gram dgon.pa Ma.nam Byang.chub.gling; gSer.ti Dam.chos.gling; rTsa.rang Klu.steng; Bye.dkar rNam.rgyal lha.rtse; Shang.rtse Rab.brtan Byams.pa.gling; Ri.dgon Byang.chub.gling (mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam: dGon.ri); bKa'.'phags bKra.shis bsam.gling (mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam: dKar.'phags); sNu bKra.shis chos.gling; Blugs Brag.steng mngon.dga' (mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam: Lugs); lDong.bo Rab.brtan lhun.grub; gZha.yas bKra.shis chos.gling; Shang dGa'.ldan rab.rgyas.gling; Khyung.lung dGa'.ldan lha.btsan (sic); mDun.chu dgon;

Dung.dkar bKra.shis chos.gling;
Bar.kyog Phun.tshogs rab.brtan.gling (mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam: Bar.skyog);
Rong.chung 'Phur.ri dgon;
Be lHun.grub chos.gling;
Do.shang Mu.dkar chos.rdzong (mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam: rDo.gsham);
Ri.ba bKra.shis dga'.'phel;
IHo sTeng Thub.dbang mtho.lding;
Za.rang sGrol.ma sgang.'og;
Ri.ti.sgang bKra.shis chos.gling;
Chu.ze dBu.rtse.mkhar.

Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston wisely warns that the lists of the Tho.ling dgon.lag-s, a version of which is also given in it, has to be read with due caution, since it is unclear when these monasteries passed under dGa'.ldan pho.brang. These lists cannot take into consideration the period and the circumstances in which this happened (in some case, the circumstances of their passage under the dGe.lugs.pa-s are unknown) and is, thus, a flat enumeration of dgon.pa-s without historical perspective. In fact, they are only meaningful in assessing the temples under Tho.ling at a time soon before the destruction of the head dgon.pa. Some of these monasteries had been dGe.lugs.pa since the time of their foundation. Given that Tho.ling was the head dGe.lugs.pa monastery in West Tibet from the early 15th century, some of its dgon.lag-s listed above, being founded after this period by proven dGe.lugs.pa exponents, were dGe.lugs.pa since their establishment. Some others were built in earlier periods and passed under the dGe.lugs.pa-s at an unspecified time.

These various unhistorical enumerations of the Tho.ling *dgon.lag*-s lead to an almost immediate shortcoming. After the land of Gu.ge was taken away from the kings of La.dwags and brought under the control of IHa.sa during the military campaign of 1679-1683, the number of *dgon.pa*-s composing the network of monasteries under Tho.ling, which retained its role of head *dgon.pa* in Gu.ge, was quite conspicuous. sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho in the second volume of his biography of the 5th Dalai Lama (*Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa*) says that alms and tea for the monastic assemblies were provided by the IHa.sa government for the twenty-eight [dGe.lugs.pa] *dgon.pa*-s in Gu.ge<sup>112</sup>.

No further detail is given in the passage, thus it is unclear whether one should include Tho.ling among them, and far from certain whether the organization of the Tho.ling *dgon.lag*-s was established at that time or dates to an earlier period. However, the number of monasteries under Tho.ling in the time of *sde.srid chen.po* was slightly greater than is recognized by modern literature which is unable to assess it to any specified period.

Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.112 lines 6-14) contains the names of monasteries not found in the list mentioned above.

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po; Khyung.lung dGa'.ldan lha.rtse; Mang.nang Byang.chub.gling; Be lHun.grub chos.lding; Ri.dgon bKra.shis dge.'phel; sTeng mThong.ba don.ldan; mDa'.ba lDong.bo Rab.brtan lhun.po;

<sup>112.</sup> Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa (f.43a line 4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.103). I wish to thank Lobsang Shastri for this reference.

Shang.rtse Lang.kar chos.sde and Rab.brtan Byams.pa.gling; rTsa.hreng Blos.steng; Shang dGa'.ldan lhun.po; Do.gsham Mu.dkar chos.rdzong; Bye.dkar rNam.rgyal.rtse; sNu dGa'.ldan lhun.po; lHug Brag.steng mngon.dga'.ba; Chu.ze dBu.rtse.mkhar; Gum.phug (or sGom.phug) dgon; Rab.rgyas.gling; Phyi.dbang rGya.gling.thang; Dung.dkar bKra.shis chos.gling; Yi.ri (or Yi.ti) dgon; Sung.ngur dgon.

Among the *dgon.lag*-s under Tho.ling listed in *Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston*, five of them did not belong to the dGe.lugs.pa-s. This seems to indicate that the authority of Tho.ling went beyond sectarian affiliation, a fact mentioned in the edict of earth horse 1738 (see below p.186). These non-dGe.lugs.pa monasteries were Phyi.dbang rGya.gling.thang (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); Gum.phug dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); Rab.rgyas.gling (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); Yi.ri dgon.pa ('Brug.pa); Sung.ngur dgon.pa ('Brug.pa). mKhar.rtse dgon.pa is another Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa monastery which has to be added.

Combining the information from different works mentioned above, one should count thirty-one rather than twenty-five monasteries, but this solution is merely a literary compilation which may not correspond to the actual situation of the past.

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, built by Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan (1487-1567) during the reign of 'Jig.rten dbang.phyug pad.dkar.lde in the first half of the 16th century;

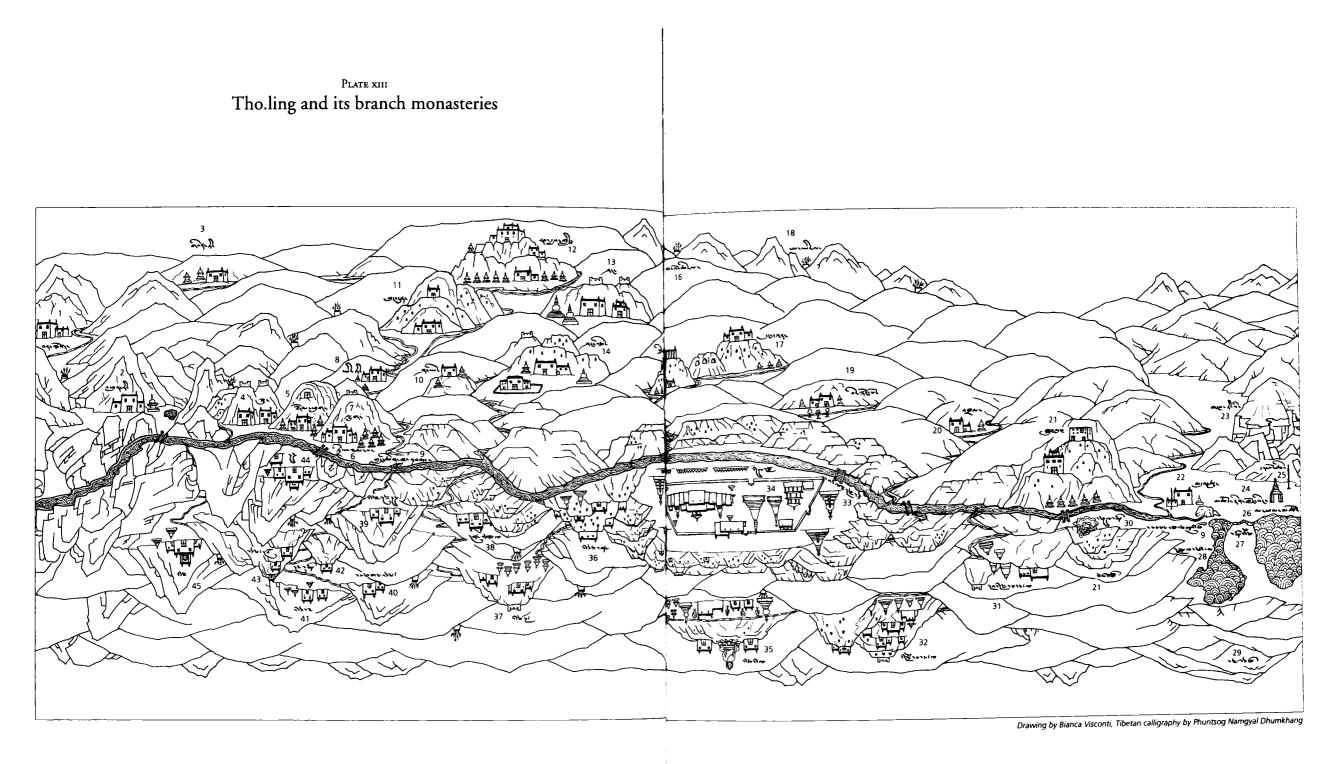
Khyung.lung dGa'.ldan lha.rtse;

Mang.nang Byang.chub.gling;

Be lHun.grub chos.lding;

- Ri.dgon bKra.shis dge.'phel (otherwise known as Ri.dgon Byang.chub.gling), possibly built by grub.chen rDo.rje.'bum;
- sTeng mThong.ba don.ldan (also spelled as sTang dgon.pa, famous for his Jo.bo), near Za.rang at the extreme western limit of lHo.smad close the present border with India;
- mDa'.ba lDong.bo Rab.brtan lhun.po (otherwise known as lDong.bo Rab.brtan lhun.grub);
- Shang.rtse Lang.kar chos.sde and Rab.brtan Byams.pa.gling, built by Maitri.pa who was the paternal uncle of Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan;
- rTsa.hrang Blos.steng otherwise known as rTsa.hrang bKra.shis bde.rgyas.gling, built by Ha.se 'Phags.pa brTson.'drus seng.ge during the reign of the Gu.ge king Khri Nam.mkha'i dbang.po phun.tshogs.lde (on the throne 1424-1449);
- Shang dGa'.ldan lhun.po (otherwise known as Shang dGa'.ldan rab.rgyas), built by Gu.ge Sang.thar.ba Seng.ge rgya.mtsho;
- Do.gsham Mu.dkar chos.rdzong, built by grub.chen dKon.cog dpal.mgon, a direct disciple of mKhas.grub.rje (1385-1438);
- Bye.dkar rNam.rgyal.rtse (otherwise known as Bye.dkar rNam.rgyal lha.rtse), converted to the dGelugs.pa sect by Ngag.dbang grags.pa's disciple slob.dpon Grags.pa bzang.po<sup>113</sup>;

113. mNga: ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.227 lines 8-10) says that this dgon.pa was founded by blon.po Tshe.dbang mgon.po, thus proposing a different assessment from that found in Bai.ser, which has been used in the present work as the authority to identify the founder of Bye.dkar.



1. Bar.loog 2. 'Phur.ri 3. gSer.ti 4. sNu 5. sGom.phug	6. Tres.zam.pa 7. IHug 8. Yi.ti 9. Glang.chen.kha.'babs 10. Sha.ye	<ol> <li>Sung.ngur</li> <li>Rab.rgyas.gling</li> <li>Shang</li> <li>Shang.rtse</li> <li>Shang.rtse</li> </ol>	16. La'o.che.la 17. Dung.dkar 18. A.yi.la 19. Be IDong.po 20. 'Gram	<ol> <li>21. Khyung.lung</li> <li>mDun.chu</li> <li>23. Gangs Ti.se</li> <li>24. mChod.rten Khong.seng</li> <li>25. Dar.po.che</li> </ol>	26. Ma.pham.n 27. Gangga.ch 28. La.ngag.mt 29. Gur.lha 30. Chu.mig	u 32. mDa'.ba.rdzong	36. rTsa.hrang 37. Do.shang 38. mKhar.rtse 39. Ri.sde.sgang 40. dKar.'phags	41. Za.rang 42. Chu ze 43. Bye.dkar 44. Ri 45. sTang
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sNu dGa'.ldan lhun.po (otherwise known as sNu bKra.shis chos.gling); lHug Brag.steng mngon.dga'.ba; Chu.ze dBu.rtse.mkhar; Gum.phug (or sGom.phug) dgon; (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); Rab.rgyas.gling, built by Ngor.chen Kun.dga' bzang.po in 1436 during his second stay in West Tibet (Jackson, Entrance Gate for the Wise p.136); (Sa.skya.pa/ Ngor.pa); Phyi.dbang rGya.gling thang; (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); Dung.dkar bKra.shis chos.gling, built by the king of Gu.ge rNam.rgyal.lde for Ngag.dbang grags.pa before 1424; Yi.ri (or Yi.ti) dgon.pa; ('Brug.pa); Sung.ngur dgon.pa; ('Brug.pa); mKhar.rtse dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa); mDa'.ba 'Gram.dgon.pa; gSer.ti Dam.chos.gling; dKar.'phags bKra.shis bsam.gling; Zha.ye bKra.shis chos.gling; mDun.chu dgon; Bar.lcog Phun.tshogs rab.brtan.gling; Rong.chung 'Phur.ri dgon.pa; Za.rang sGrol.ma sgang.'og; Ri.sde.sgang bKra.shis chos.gling. (see pl.xIII for a map of the branch monasteries of Tho.ling)

### The hierarchy of Tho.ling

The religious heads who were in charge of maintaining Tho.ling dgon.pa were the *bum.'dzin* (i.e. the regent abbot) and the *dbu.mdzad* (i.e. the head officiating *bla.ma*). Under them in the hierarchy of Tho.ling were three families of assistant administrators:

- the sde.pa gNyer.tshang-s, who were organized in a hierarchy of a chief and two assistant officers;
- the 'Bri.g.yag-s, who were organized in a hierarchy of a chief and an assistant officer, and
- the sBug.mdzod-s, who were organized in a hierarchy of a chief and two assistant officers.

Tho.ling bla.brang had a *mkhan.po* ("abbot") and various treasurers, altogether a chief and four assistant officers.

The *bla.ma*-s of the monasteries appointed to be under the authority of those of Tho.ling were:

the *bla.ma* of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po;

the bla.ma of Ma.nam (i.e. Mang.nang) Byang.chub.gling;

the bla.ma of Be lHun.grun chos.lding;

the *bla.ma* of Ri.pa;

- the *bla.ma* of Da.phan;
- the *bla.ma* of Chos.ze;
- the *bla.ma* of Bye.dkar;
- the *bla.ma* of sTengs;
- the *bla.ma* of IDong.bo;
- the *bla.ma* of Shang.rtse;

the bla.ma of rTsa.hrang Blos.stang; moreover: the lDong.bo zhing.gnyer ("administrator of the lDong.bo fields"), the Dung.dkar zhing.gnyer ("administrator of the Dung.dkar fields"), the latter two having to undertake their duties under the authority of Tho.ling.

The head *bla.ma*-s of Tho.ling *dgon.pa* were: the incarnation of lo.chen Rin.chen bzang.po, the incarnate from mDun.chu, and the incarnate from Be lHun.grub chos.lding.

### The annual ceremonies held at Tho.ling

The ceremonies held at Tho.ling during the course of the year are introduced in this section quoting bKra.shis tshe.ring, *Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston*, *verbatim:* "A presentation of the ceremonies of mTho.lding dgon.pa follows. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month on the occasion of the rTsa.hreng *lo.mjug* ("end of the year") at rTsa.hreng.rdzong, the castle of the king of Gu.ge, the three *dbu.chos-s* ("head religious instructors") of Grwa.tshang; the keepers and the monks responsible for tea, conchshell, *rgya[.gling]* ("telescopic trumpet") and service to the monastic assembly (*tshogs.rgyugs*) have to hold the ritual of *dgu.gtor gtor.rgyag* ("ritual of displaying and disposing of *gtor.ma-s*") annually on the first day of the first month, as prescribed by the government" (ibid. p.114 lines 6-10: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.104).

The same work continues saying: "The ceremonies and [related] expenditures are as follows. On the twenty-fifth of the ninth month, after completing their break, all monks must gather at the *dgon.pa* and accumulate lHa.mo *gtor[.ma-s]* for five days until the twenty-ninth [when] *gtor.rgyag* ("displaying and disposing of the *gtor.ma*") is performed. All expenses for these offerings have to be borne by sde.pa gNyer.tshang. Following this, when *dgun.chos* is started, the gNyer.tshang must offer two tea services while the assembly [is gathered] and debate sessions (*chos.ra*) are continuously held.

On the eighth day of the tenth month, the rituals of sGrol[.ma] and sMan.lha have to be held as prescribed by the government. (p.115) The Kun.rig sgrub.mchod has to be performed for eight days next to the Kun.rig blos.blang dkyil.'khor ("tridimensional Kun.rig mandala" in the central lha.khang of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa), including the offerings to the gNas.brtan-s. Means for the ceremony have to be excellently supplied as much as possible including all the instruments for the fire ritual [and] the worship [performed by] the five head bla[.ma-s]. Consequently, the gNyer.tshang and the Grwa.tshang, these two, must bear the cost of the dGa'.ldan bzhi.mchod and lnga.mchod. The gtor[.ma] accumulation for the chos.rgyal should be made for four days and gtor.rgyag should be held on the ninth day.

Until the eighth day of the eleventh month, the rituals of sGrol[.ma] and sMan.lha, *rdor.spyod* [and] *bzang.spyod* must be performed. Their cost must be borne by the Grwa.tshang. The appeasement of the various protectors, and thus the accumulation of *gtor*[.ma-s] for mGon.po, must be performed for six days and, on the twenty-ninth, *gtor.rgyag* must be held. The cost of the ceremony of the nine-teenth [day] must be borne by the Grwa.tshang.

The rehearsing of '*cham* should be started from the first of the twelfth month. The elders must perform the sGrol[.ma] ritual and sMan.lha. The *gtor.bzlog*  ("gtor.ma-s to avert incidents") to the king [should be made] and, on the twentyninth, gtor.rgyag must be performed. The cost of the accumulation of gtor.ma-s must be borne by the Bla.brang.

On the second of the first month, the religious ceremonies of *gser.tshogs smon.lam chen.mo* [are held]. On the occasion of [the gathering of] the great assembly of the monks of mTho.lding, the mother monastery, and of the twenty-five children monasteries, the *smon.lam chen.mo* is held every five times and the abbot [of Tho.ling] gives [his] religious sermon at gSung.chos ra.ba. At the time when the bestowing of vows is performed, the assembly of abbots [of the other *dgon.pa-s*] arrives and the ritual of bestowing purification to avert harm to others and the ritual of bestowing purification to grant auspiciousness are held, [which] each *bla.ma* must perform starting from the mDa'.ba *bla.ma*.

On the seventeenth of the first month, the accumulation of gtor[.ma-s] should be performed day and night to purify the sixteen iron *lcags.mkhar*-s ("walking sticks") as preparation for the preliminaries of '*cham*. As for the ceremony of the fifteenth day, the gathering of the abbots takes place at the assembly, which is fasting, in front of the bDud.'dul Thub.dbang chen.po. The ceremony starts at about seven in the evening and lasts until ten, during which an elaborate offering is made. (p.116) Prayers are offered [when] the conchshells and *rgya.gling*-s ("telescopic trumpets") are blown for a long time from the roof of the bDud.'dul, the roof of the *'du.khang* and the roof of the *bla.brang*. The *lha.khang*-s of the brGya.rtsa must be annointed and consecrated. Sixteen '*cham* performers must perform '*cham* for two whole days. On the twentieth day in the morning, only after the three-storey high gos.sku depicting rGyal.ba Seng.ge'i nga.ro ("Victorious Roaring Lion") is unrolled for display, the Byams.pa [image] is brought out. Around midday, horse races, annointments and consecrations are held in the four directions.

After the end of *smon.lam* on the twenty-third of the first month, the annual accounts are closed when ritual bestowing is performed on the thirtieth day, and the [new] duties of work are assigned by the Grwa.tshang.

On the eighth of the second month, as the *sa choga* and the *thig choga* of dpal gSang.ba 'dus.pa are performed for three days, the *sgrub.mchod* must be completed by the second Tibetan month. During this period, people trained to make the *thig.mtshon* ("sand *mandala*-s") and [to blow] conchshells and *rgya*[.gling-s] must show the results of their work. In this period, the results of the '*cham* training must also be shown.

During the third month, *sa choga* [and] *thig choga* of the thirteen deities of the 'Jigs.byed [cycle] [to be held] for three days and *sgrub.mchod* for one month must be completed [and], at the end, *dge.legs char.'bebs* ("the rain of excellent virtue falling") as well as the fire ceremony *zhi.rgyas.dbang* ("extensive empowerment of the peaceful deities") have to be offered. The cost of the above mentioned offerings to gSang.ba 'dus.pa must be borne by sde.pa 'Bri.g.yag.

During the fourth month the cost of the Thugs.rje chen.po *sgrub.mchod* [lasting for] twenty-six days must be borne by the Grwa.tshang.

During the fifth month the *bKa'. 'gyur rgyal.ba rin.po.che* must be correctly read. On the fourth day of the sixth month, elaborate offerings must be made to all the *lha.khang*-s. The cost must be borne by sde.pa gNyer.tshang.

From the fifteenth of the sixth month onwards, [the rules of] *dbyar[.gnas*] have to be administered and *Tantra* texts must be correctly read.

(p.117) On the thirtieth of the seventh month, *dbyar*[.*gnas*] is over and during the eighth month Grol[.ma] *cho.ga*, sMan.lha, gNas.bcu must be completed and their cost be borne by the Grwa.tshang.

On the occasion of the *lha.babs dus.chen* ("ceremony of the descent from heaven") during the ninth month, a sixteen day *Thugs.rje chen.po'i sgrub.mchod* should be performed and, on the occasion of *lha.babs dus.chen*, elaborate rituals should be given. The cost of these must be borne by the Grwa.tshang" (bKra.shis tshe.ring, *Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston* p.114 line 15-p.117 line 6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.105).

## Section Six

## Historical implications arising from the monuments of Tho.ling

Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang (i.e. the structure founded in 996)

THE STRUCTURE OF Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, laid out at its foundation in the year of the monkey 996, remained practically unchanged for over nine and a half centuries until its destruction. A few aspects of the phases that marginally modified this structure (especially in its interior) need to be discussed.

Its conception is briefly dealt with in a remarkable passage of *mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs, which mentions the main statues placed in its interior during the foundation phase. The passage reads: "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" (Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.17).

From this passage one can evince that the main image placed at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang at the time of its foundation was rNam.par snang.mdzad, surrounded by the other four deities of the Rigs.lnga. The 1937 *rten.deb* confirms that a statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad was the main image of the temple, but it cannot be ruled out that the main image of the *gtsug.lag.khang* in the 20th century did not correspond to that of the end of the 10th century.

The fact that five statues were made at Tho.ling at the time of its foundation suggests that they were intended for the famous *gling.bzhi* ("four temple divisions") and the central *lha.khang* of the Tho.ling temple. The deities to which the four wing *lha.khang*-s, opening to the central core of the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, were dedicated, were, according to the 1937 *rten.deb*, the other four Tathagata-s. Again, it remains to be ascertained whether these images, in the period when these inventories were written, were or not the original ones.

*Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* confirms that Ye.shes.'od established the twelve *gling.phran-s* ("temple divisions") of Tho.ling. This biography of lo.chen 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. *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* says: "Then bla.chen IHa.lde requested [Rin.chen bzang.po] to build Khwa.char gtsug.lag.khang. [The latter] went to Gu.ge and built the twelve mTho.lding *gling.phran-s* with lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. They built Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, these three [temples]. Their foundations were laid in one day" (ibid. p.88 line 5-p.89 line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.106; Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Ph.hrang* p.262).

This passage in *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* corroborates the notion found in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* that Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang consisted of four major *lha.khang-s* 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.

Combining the evidence of *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* with that of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, it ensues that the original structure of Tho.ling, consisting of twelve *gling-s*, had its centre in the cruciform *lha.khang* in which the statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad was centrally placed with those of the other rGyal.ba rigs.lnga in the four directions, amounting thus to four *gling-s* opening to a core space.

The other eight *gling*-s have to be traced within the roofed enclosure of *lha.khang*-s around the temple in the centre or rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, since, in the peculiar mandalic structure of Tho.ling *gtsug.lag.khang*, the surrounding *lha.khang*-s are part of the same structure of the temple core.

They thus symbolically complete the mandalic conception, according to which the four central *lha.khang*-s, opening to the four points of the compass like the fortress of the *mandala*, are surrounded by a further eight in the eight intermediate directions. The plan of the *gtsug.lag.khang* is too thoroughly rigorous in its mandalic shape to allow for any later intervention without disassembling its external structure, which, furthermore, is documented by *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* to have been mandalic from the time of foundation.

Given that the complex mandalic structure of the temple could not have been altered in the periods after its foundation without irremediably compromising its conception, it becomes evident that the idea of the twelve *gling*-s of Tho.ling is symbolical to refer to the *gtsug.lag.khang* as a tridimensional *mandala*.

The notion contained in the literature that Tho.ling was structured as a *chos.skor* or a temple in the shape of a *mandala* 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*.

On the grounds of the above mentioned considerations, the statement in the literature that bSam.yas purportedly is the conceptual and architectural model of Tho.ling<sup>114</sup>, hence hinting at a similarity in the ancient plans of Tho.ling and bSam.yas, does not seem to be based on an analysis of the structures of Tho.ling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang and bSam.yas dBu.rtse. The *gling-s* of Tho.ling were part of the same main edifice while those of bSam.yas were separate from its main edifice (e.g. see practically all the *chos. byung-s* and, for a planimetry, the map accompanying Buffetrille, "Questions soulevées par la restoration de bSam yas").

I rather think that, if an analogy exists, which is quite feeble, it may refer to the position of the central structure in relation to the four surrounding *mchod.rten-s*. In both cases, they were placed at the intermediate points of the compass. The names of the *mchod.rten-s* in Tho.ling have only been partially preserved since those in the south-east and south-west, respectively called Zangs.kyi gdung.rten and mChod.rten khra.bo, seem to be their actual ones, while the names of the *stupa-s* in the north-east and north-west, respectively called IHa.'bab gdung.rten

<sup>114.</sup> Ngor chos. 'byung (p.262 line 4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib. 107) says that Tho.ling was built "similar [in plan] to bSam.yas". Sum.pa mkhan.po, dPag.bsam ljon.bzang (p.357 lines 19-20) says: "He (Ye.shes.'od) built Tho.ling gSer.khang of Guige Zhangizhung in imitation of bSamiyas". Sum.pa mkhan.po makes a historical error in considering the gSer.khang as the temple built by Yelshes.'od. As has been shown above (pp.29-30 ), the gSerkhang was contructed 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: "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 Yelshes.'od is not credited with a journey to bSam.yas to visit the temple he allegedly considered a model

mchod.rten and dge.slong.ma dPal.mo'i gdung.rten, obviously are not. The two original names of the Tho.ling *mchod.rten-s* resemble those of the bSam.yas *mchod.rten-s*, named after their colour (dkar.po, dmar.po, sngon.po and nag.po)<sup>115</sup>.

The plans of Tho.ling and bSam.yas are conspicuously different. The most evident divergent points concern their main temples. While that of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang is a not particularly elevated tridimensional *mandala*, bSam.yas dBu.rtse is square and multi-storeyed. The boundary wall at Tho.ling was conceived more or less as a rectangle or rather like a trapezoid, while the boundary wall at bSam.yas was conceived as a circle. The most monumental *mchod.rten*-s at the intermediate points of the compass are placed at Tho.ling outside the boundary wall. At bSam.yas, in contrast, they are internal to the *lcags.ri*. However, more diminutive *stupa*-s are placed inside the boundary wall at Tho.ling in the four directions around the main temple, which remind those of bSam.yas.

As a whole, Tho.ling is a *mandala* twice, i.e. one *mandala* is inscribed inside another. One is the *gtsug.lag.khang* itself, the other is constituted by its general structure, in which the temple is surrounded by a *lcags.ri* with external *mchod.rten-s* in the intermediate directions. bSam.yas is a *mandala* once. Its central temple, with a rather squarish plan, is surrounded by a round *lcags.ri* with internal *mchod.rten-s* in the intermediate directions.

As mentioned above (p.29-30), the name gSer.khang or gSer.gyi lha.khang, which cannot identify any structure at Tho.ling but the gSer.khang originally built by Zhi.ba.'od and later rebuilt by lHa.dbang blo.gros, is often erroneously attributed to the Tho.ling complex as a whole otherwise to its major temple.

The IHa.'bab mchod.rten outside the boundary wall in the north-east is a likely candidate to be the *mchod.rten* on which the rays of the sun were reflected at dawn towards the main temple. The name gSer.khang for the main temple allegedly derives from this phenomenon according to *Ngor chos.'byung* and *Padma dkar.po chos.'byung*<sup>116</sup>. If the existence of this *mchod.rten* during the time of Ye.shes.'od can be credited in itself and apart from being at the origin of the misinterpreted denotation of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, then it would seem that at least one external *mchod.rten* existed at the time of the foundation of Tho.ling or soon after it, if not all of them.

A reference to the *mchod.rten* in the north-east of the boundary wall contained in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* seems to identify it beyond doubt, but it is definitely much later. *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* (f.33b line 5: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.110) reads: "Again in a dream [of Shanti.pa's], many monks carrying flags and parasols appeared between the *gdugs.rten* (sic for *gdung.rten*) *chen.mo* of the east and the table land with buildings (*thang.bteg*, lit. "plain" and "to pitch, to erect" or "high, elevated, raising up") of the west which was an indication that the Hor would not come".

Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar is thus useful to document its existence to some time before earth pig 1539, the year in which Shanti.pa returned to Gu.ge and the *terminus post quem* for this statement in his biography. The north-eastern *mchod.rten* known to the tradition as a *gdung.rten* and famous for having contained especially holy relics and statues in its *bum.pa*, thus predates the second quarter of the 16th century but its date cannot be fixed with any better precision. Its style, a criterion often too unreliable, does not point to an early time of making, but it cannot be ruled out that it was renovated at a late period, thus assuming a less ancient appearance. 115. IDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung (p.129 lines 8-14: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib. 108) describes the four mchod.rten-s of bSam.vas in the following way: "Concerning the four mchod rten-s, the (mchod rten) known as dkar.po dga'.ba ("white happiness") symbolises the Nyan thos-s. Since it contains four relics of rgyal.ba Shakya Thub.pa as much as [one] phul ("1/5 of a bre") placed inside the knob (rtog) [of the mchod.rten], it bestows great blessings. [It was entrusted to] chos.skyong gnod sbyin sKar mda' stong ("shooting star"). The [mchod.rten known as] dmar.po pad.ma brtsegs.pa ("the red pile of lotuses") symbolises the Byang chub sems.dpa'-s. It was entrusted to gZa'.mig.dmar (i.e. the planet Mars). The (mchod.rten known as) nag po bkra shis brtsegs.pa ("the black pile of auspiciousness") symbolises the Rang Sangs.rgyas-s (Pratyekha Buddha-s). It was entrusted to gnod.sbyin iCags mchu can ("with an iron beak"). The [mchod.rten known as] sngon.po yon.tan brtsegs.pa ("the blue pile of qualities") symbolises the Delbzhin gshegs pa-s. It was entrusted to good sbyin Nyi ma'i gdong ("with the sun face")'

mKhas.pa IDe'u chos.'byung (p.354 lines 9-20) says: "mChod.rten dkar.po is decorated with an ornamentation of lions. It is entrusted to chos.skyong dKar.zla.stong. mChod.rten dmar.po is decorated with one thousand lotuses. It is entrusted to mKha'.'oro ICags.mchu.can ("with iron beak"). mChod.rten sngon.po is decorated with one thousand Iha.khang-s (i.e. a bkra.shis sgo.mangs). It is entrusted to chos skyong gNod sbyin Nyi ma gdong can ("with a sun face"). mChod.rten dkar.po, in the south-east, symbolises the sNyan.thos-s. The [mchod.rten] in the south-west symbolises the Byang chub sems.dpa'-s. The (mchod.rten) in the northwest symbolises the Rang.rgyal-s. The [mchod.rten] in the north-east symbolises Sangs.rgyas

The white one is the dga'.ba brtsegs.pa'i mchod.rten ("pile of happiness"). The red is padma brtsegs.pa ("pile of lotuses"). The black is bkra.shis brtsegs.pa ("pile of auspiciousness"). The green is yon.tan brtsegs.pa ("pile of qualities").

Again, the way the white one [is made] is like the Ri.rab. The way the red [is made] is like one thousand lotuses. The way the black (is made] is with one thousand tsha.tsha-s. The way the green (sic blue) [is made] is in the shape of a sgo.mang rdo.rje.dbyings".

116. Ngor chos. 'byung (p.262 lines 4-5) and Padma dkar.po chos.'byung (p.259 lines 9-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.109) say in the same words: "In particular, he ('ve 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 Iha.khang-s are wonderfully radiant with golden colour. [This is why] it became known as mTho.lding q5er.khang".

### dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang (i.e. the same structure completed in 1028)

As said above (see p.22), *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.53 lines 8-10) is most valuable in affirming that Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang was completed in earth dragon 1028 to become known as the Tho.gling dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang, for which it was famous in antiquity. It has also been shown above (p.23) that the same source provides evidence to identify in lHa.lde the Gu.ge Pu.hrang king who had become monk by the time of the completion and was involved in this phase.

Given that the mandalic structure of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa was laid out in 996, it is hardly possible that it was achieved some thirty years later. It thus seems that the completion in 1028 concerned the interior of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. It cannot be ruled out that the 996 structure, called the gling.phran bcu.gnyis in Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po and thus consisting of twelve lha.khang-s, was completed with the opening of other lha.khang-s to make a total of twenty, which was the capacity of the mandalic structure in its interior.

In fact, if one examines the plan of the *gtsug.lag.khang*, the enclosure surrounding the central part in the shape of the fortress of the *mandala*, (later) known as brGya.rtsa, originally contained space to arrange twenty temples rather than eight. In total, the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa originally numbered twenty-five *lha.khang*-s, of which four were in the central core (plus the space for the rNam.snang on which they opened) and twenty were in the brGya.rtsa (ten in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and ten in the brGya.rtsa byang.ma).

That work on the temples was often resumed to make them more and more excellent houses of the gods is testified to by this great completion 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 (Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.271). *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* reads: "Six years after [Rin.chen bzang.po had left], he came [back from Kha.che] with thirty-two artists" (ibid. p.94 line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.111).

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. 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 bsdus.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 (Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* n.401).

The evidence on the circumstances that led Rin.chen bzang.po to appoint rDo.rje chen.mo as the *bsrung.ma* ("protectress") of Tho.ling and the installment of this deity in the *gtsug.lag.khang* helps to fix a tentative date for the establishment of the bSrung.ma.khang in the brGya.rtsa of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. This may have taken place soon after the cult of rDo.rje chen.mo was introduced to Tho.ling in the ox year 1001.

The opening of the *lha.khang* for rDo.rje chen.mo is an instance which proves that the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang had not been completed during the foundation phase

in 996 and that its expansion into dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa continued until it was completed in earth dragon 1028.

The location of the bSrung.ma.khang did not change any more, given that a tradition says that a wild rose tree grew in the south-west of the brGya.rtsa near the bSrung.ma.khang, on its outside, during the time of Rin.chen bzang.po. This is where the bSrung.ma.khang was located at least until fire ox 1937, as is documented in the *rten.deb*, and most probably until the destruction of the *gtsug.lag.khang* during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

The position of the bSrung.ma.khang was next to the Byarns.khang of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma in the south-west but it was still part of the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (see pl. VII).

Thus, two kinds of external evidence are available to prove that the statement of *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* concerning the completion of the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang in 1028 is correct. One pertains to Kha.che artists invited to Gu.ge Pu.hrang to work in its temples, the second that a *lha.khang* in Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang was built after the Kha.che artists reached this kingdom in the same year when the building of the Srung.ma.khang was probably planned (i.e. the ox year 1001).

The completion in earth dragon 1028 did not modify the original structure. It seems, from the evidence of the opening of the Srung.ma.khang in 1001, that the organization of the *lha.khang*-s in the interior of the *gtsug.lag.khang* underwent a modification, with the addition of holy rooms that had not existed before, so that the entire space inside the temple became a house of the gods.

The oral belief that the so called Thugs.rje lha.khang (one of the *lha.khang-s* of the sacred enclosure around the central nucleus) was the *gzims.chung* ("apartment/ bedroom") of Rin.chen bzang.po, apart from the building called Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung located outside Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, may bear the significant implication that Tho.ling was originally conceived as an Indian *vihara*. It could have been a structure in which cells for the monks were found much in the same way as in lHa.sa Jo.khang.

Given the location of Thugs.rje lha.khang, which the *rten.deb* and the elders of Tho.ling consider to be one of the two *lha.khang*-s immediately flanking the central *lha.khang* of brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud (i.e. sMan.lha.khang) (Thugs.rje lha.khang actually being the one to the west of sMan.lha.khang) (see pl.v11), it is possible that the location of the *gzims.chung*-s for the monks was next to the four central *lha.khang*-s on the four sides that the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and brGya.rtsa byang.ma form joining each other.

When the number of the *lha.khang-s* was expanded during the phase that ended in 1028, at least some *gzims.chung* became chapels (for instance the *gzims.chung* of Rin.chen bzang.po became the Thugs.rje lha.khang by installing here the ancient statue of bCu.gcig.zhal).

Given the documents presently available, it is very difficult to say when the enclosure of *lha.khang-s* around the inner core of the main temple of Tho.ling became known as brGya.rtsa. The name brGya.rtsa is not found in the colophons of the texts of the early period, which were translated at Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang, called dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa in them. On the other hand, the name dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa for Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang is never found in the *rten.deb*. Around the mid 16th century, during the time of Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang is still called mTho.lding dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gling in his biography (*Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* f.32b line 6). Hence, it seems that, with the advent of the dGe.lugs.pa-s, the ancient gtsug.lag.khang name was not forgotten.

117. West Tibetan tradition highly revers three religious masters collectively known as the three Grags pa-s of West Tibet or sTod kyi grags pa gsum, much along the same lines of the three ancient king of mNga' ris skor.gsum, the sTod.kyi mgon.gsum, who ruled a skor of mNga'.ris each. They were Ka.gling Ngag.dbang grags.pa, Zhang.zhung Chos.dbang grags.pa and sGom.lung Ngag.dbang grags.pa. While the first two are well known, especially after Ngag.dbang grags.pa was brought back to greater importance as an author, the third, sGom.lung Ngag.dbang grags.pa, is virtually forgotten. Research is needed to find out about him and his life as well as the reason for which the people of West Tibet have preserved his name so dearly. A minor notion concerns sGom.lung, which may have been his native place. This locality is sited beyond Dung.dkar in the northern direction, thus being in Guige Byang.ngos.

118. "Door in rhinoceros skin" (see Vitali *Early Temples of Central Tibet* p.109), otherwise, in a wider notion of this word, in any other kind of leather. The term bSe.sgo.ma is also applied to any kind of object made of papier-maché.

119. Tucci, Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tiber Occidentale fig.229; See the following pictures in the Tucci Archives. -rNam.par snang.mdzad and Rin.chen 'byung.ldan. Mural. (Accession number 6074/1 and 6074/44):

-IHa.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar in Tho.ling brGya.rtsa Iho.brgyud: Mural (a sPyan.ras.gzigs phyag.bzhi.pa to the extreme left, the other painted deity being unidentifiable) and *IHa.'bab mchod.rten* (in *li.gser*, one *khru* and one *tho* in height, its sun and moon are missing). (Accession number 6074/2); -sMan.lha.khang in Tho.ling brGya.rtsa Iho.brgyud: Thub.dbang and two of the sMan.bla sde.gshegs brgyad. Clay statues. (Accession number 6074/3);

-rGyal.ba Rigs Inga'i Iha.khang: a stucco statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad and images in various alloys. (Accession number 6077/5); -Tshe.dpag.med Iha.khang in Tho.ling brGya.rtsa byang.ma: Tshe.dpag.med and the deities of his cycle. Clay statues. (Accession number 6097/11, 6097/12 and 6097/13); -'Jigs.brgyad Iha.khang in Tho.ling brGya.rtsa byang.ma: SGrol.ma. Mural. (Accession number 6097/14):

-Location unidentified (but they must have been inside one of the following three *lha khang-s: 'jigs.brgyad, gSung.chos or* 'Jam.dbyangs lha.khang): a Kun.rig dkyil.'khor and a Rigs.lnga dkyil.'khor. (Accession number 6074/15 and 6074/16). A few comments on the religious works (mainly murals) contained in the *lha.khang*-s of Tho.ling have to be added here since they are meaningful as they offer clues to attempt a few historical considerations concerning renovation phases at Tho.ling.

Monumental evidence can be usefully cross-analysed on the basis of the historical treatment found in the recently recovered *mNga*'.ris rgyal.rabs written by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dbang grags.pa (see this text in Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*)<sup>117</sup>, which is the only hitherto known source systematically dealing with the history of Gu.ge Pu.hrang. In fact, this text contains most significant evidence on Tho.ling. While it is significant that no religious works sited in the major temple and dating to *bstan.pa phyi.dar* can be detected in the old visual documentation, two major renovations affecting the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa can be traced from the sources available at present and a few monumental hints dating to a time before the temples were destroyed:

the first is the renovation of Tho.ling by the king of Gu.ge Grags.pa.lde some time in the years 1265-1277;

the second is the one which coincided with the advent of the disciples of Tsong.kha.pa to diffuse their master's teachings in Gu.ge. As stated above, since it was Ngag.dbang grags.pa who was responsible for the renovation and expansion of the ancient temple complex of Tho.ling, which became known as *chos.sde gsar.ma* ("the new monastery"), he is a likely candidate to have been the protagonist of this activity.

Visual evidence documenting whether *lha.khang-s* of the main temple of Tho.ling contained, before destruction, wall paintings or monumental sculpture (i.e. any non-movable religious images) going back either to the 13th or the 15th century renovation, can establish during which of these two renovation phases they were restored.

By cross-checking with old pictures the inventories of the religious properties of the *lha.khang*-s of the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang classified in the *rten.deb*, it is possible to identify some of these holy rooms which had murals or sculptures in the Tibeto-Pala style popular in the 13th century.

The murals in these *lha.khang*-s were executed with remarkable influences of Newar origin. The rendition of the murals is close to that used in the bKa'.'gyur lha.khang, also known as bSe.sgo.ma<sup>118</sup>, inside Zhwa.lu gSer.khang in Myang.smad, which is the most conservative of all those employed at this temple around 1307 and thus closely following original Newar prototypes<sup>119</sup>.

The presence of these particular wall paintings in the main temple of Tho.ling is consistent with the statement in *mNga*'.*ris rgyal.rabs* that the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde (1230-1277) renovated the temple. This renovation phase at Tho.ling can be assessed to have taken place in the years between 1265 and 1277, which are the regnal years of this king (see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.437-445).

In fact, the Tibeto-Pala style of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang is close to that found on the western wall of Klu.ri dKar.'bum phug.pa, a bKa'.brgyud.pa cave in Glo.stod (probably painted soon after 1275). This makes it more likely that Grags.pa.lde's renovation at Tho.ling took place in the years between 1265 and 1277. Its closeness to the rendition employed at Klu.ri, which is purely Newar, reinforces the possibility that the murals patronized by Grags.pa.lde in the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa were also contributed either by artists from the Kathmandu Valley or by Tibetan disciples working in this idiom. The style of the renovation by Grags.pa.lde, for the years in which it took place, may be a not too distantly documented example of that brought by Aniko to Sa.skya in 1261.

Judging by the pictures in the Tucci Archives, it seems that the Tibeto-Pala style was lavishly employed, thus letting one presume that Grags.pa.lde's renovation affected almost the entire old temple. This is the the case with the picture of a mural depicting sGrol.ma (accession number 6097/14), which was located in the 'Jigs.brgyad lha.khang of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma. Moreover, other old photographs show that at least the main *lha.khang* of the brGya.rtsa byang.ma, i.e. the Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang, (accession numbers 6097/11, 6097/12 and 6097/13) was renovated during Grags.pa.lde's phase.

It is also significant that sMan.lha.khang, the major *lha.khang* of the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud, was the object of an intervention during the same phase, as shown both in terms of monumental clay statues (Thub.dbang and the sMan.bla sde.gshegs brgyad) and wall paintings by a picture in the Tucci Archives (accession number 6074/3).

Other *lha.khang-s* of the brGya.rtsa, which had images in a similar rendition, were:

lHa.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar in the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud, as shown by a mural of sPyan.ras.gzigs phyag.bzhi.pa and another painted deity, which is unidentifiable (ibid. accession number 6074/2).

rGyal.ba Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang, as proven by a stucco statue of rNam.par snang.mdzad and deities painted on the walls (ibid. accession number 6077/5).

One has to note that, on the basis of the stylistic evidence provided by the Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang and sMan.lha.khang, made in the 13th century Newar rendition, the restoration of the Gu.ge king Grags.pa.lde must have affected the *gling.phran bcu.gnyis* ("the twelve temple divisions") founded by Ye.shes.'od. Given the preeminent position that these *lha.khang*-s occupied in the building (see pl.v11), Tshe.dpag.med lha.khang and sMan.lha.khang must have been among the original holy rooms of *bstan.pa phyi.dar*.

By looking at the pictures documenting the temple before it was dismantled, one can attempt a suggestion concerning when the sacred enclosure of the *gtsug.lag.khang* took the shape it possessed until it befell destruction, but this problem will not be conclusively solved until better material shedding light on this issue will surface.

Murals in the Gu.ge style of the 15th century confirm that the dGe.lugs.pa-s expanded and renovated the ancient temple of Tho.ling founded by Ye.shes.'od.

A preliminary assessment of a group of pictures of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang indicates that the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'dul.ma (i.e. the 'du.khang of the brGya.rtsa) contained works in the Gu.ge style of the 15th century (Tucci Archives accession numbers 6035/11, 6035/12 and 6035/13)<sup>120</sup>. Given that this 'du.khang incorporated the space of the two *lha.khang*-s flanking it on both sides and that this expanded holy room contained the above mentioned 15th century images, it cannot be ruled out that it was conceived, following the advent of the disciples of Tsong.kha.pa, in the shape that existed until a few decades ago. This seems to imply that the number of the *lha.khang*-s, which seems to have been twenty until the period in which the dGe.lugs.pa-s took hold of Tho.ling, may have been reduced to eighteen in the 15th century.

This was the first structural modification that affected the (internal) walls of Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang from the year of the monkey 996, when it was founded. 120. The only likely candidate for the statue of rTa.mgrin, at the back of which Bon.ston Hum.'bar extracted gter.ma-5 (see above p.22), is that in the 'du.khang Thub.dbang bDud.'du!.ma, which, until recent times, bore evidence of being renovated by the dGe.lugs.pa-5. This does not rule out the possibility that the clay statue of rTa.mgrin, which, the *rten.deb* says, was located near the door, dated back to *bstan.pa phyi.dar*. Otherwise one has to surmise that the rTa.mgrin associated with the rediscovery of Bon.ston Hum.'bar did not survive until fire ox 1937 when the *rten deb* was written.

It has to be stressed here that the outer wall of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa also underwent a minor modification. Four *mchod.rten*-s at the intermediate points of the compass are placed on the external wall of the *gtsug.lag.khang* (see above p.100 and pls.1,v,v1).

On the basis of their architectural style, they cannot be of Kha.che origin and 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 the disciples of Tsong.kha.pa. At the latter 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 no earlier than the 15th century.

Probably, *mchod.rten*-s originally surmounted the same wall at the time when the *gtsug.lag.khang* was founded, however their typology, which makes them a product of the 15th century, indicates that the original ones were substituted with the advent of the dGe.lugs.pa-s in Gu.ge.

The exterior of the Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang seems thus to have been very marginally modified during the 15th century phase with the substitution of the *mchod.rten*-s placed on the four buttresses which were an integral part of the structure of the temple, laid out by the ancient members of the Gu.ge royal family at the time of the foundation. This 10th century feature bears the consequence that the two consecutive walls, which adjoins each buttress sustaining a *mchod.rten*, are shorter than the others and that a further angle in the highly angular structure of the temple is added (see pl.VII).

Hence, in the period during which disciples of Tsong.kha.pa were active diffusing their master's teachings in mNga'.ris.stod, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang underwent changes for the first time, although not too major, both on its inside and outside.

Other *lha.khang-s*, which were renovated during the dGe.lugs.pa phase, were:

The entrance room (*sgo.khang*) of the brGya.rtsa, as exemplified by a mural depicting Tho.ling in the 15th century, but which is no more extant (this wall painting is reproduced in the modern *thang.ka*) (see pl.111);

Byams.khang in the brGya.rtsa byang.ma, whose main image is, as said above, the monumental stucco statue of Byams.pa in the 15th century Gu.ge style (Tucci Archives accession number 6035/15, and the picture accompanying Tucci's article "Nel Paese dei Lama" on p.278)<sup>121</sup>.

Hence major *lha.khang-s* in both the brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud and brGya.rtsa byang.ma were adapted to the newly incoming needs of the proto-dGe.lugs.pa disciples of Tsong.kha.pa.

Finally, a statement in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*, referring to the activity of Shanti.pa, indicates that the 'Jigs.byed lha.khang existed at least in the 16th century<sup>122</sup>. It is difficult to assess whether this *lha.khang* was established by the dGe.lugs.pa-s, thus substituting some other deity previously occupying this holy space, given the importance rDo.rje 'jigs.byed has in their system, or whether it predated their period.

The changes that affected the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang were rather more complex. Again, a few old pictures illustrate that the statues in this group of *lha.khang-s* in the centre of the temple had definite 13th century traces, but, judging from their style, they underwent a renovation in the 15th century.

Of special importance is the fact that at least one of the *lha.khang*-s, which are the *glo.'bur*-s ("wing chapels") of the rNam.par snang.mdzad temple, had clay statues and murals in these two distinctive renditions. See, for instance the statue of Rin.chen 'byung.ldan and glimpses of murals in the southern *lha.khang* named

121. On the other hand, a few tridimensional images of wrathful and peaceful deities protruding from lotus medallions in the background testify that the Phyag.rdor Iha.khang in the brGya.rtsa byang.ma underwent a late renovation (Tucci Archives accession number 6097/7 and 6097/8).

122. Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar (f.39b lines 1-2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.112): "Once, when he was in the 'ligs.byed Iha.khang [of the brGya.rtsa], [Shanti.pa] imparted Dus.'khor bsdus.rgyud, 'Grel.chen Dri.med.'od and the great tika of Dus.'khor, written by mKhas.grub.rje, to a few slob.dpon-s such as slob.dpon Phyag.rdor dpal bzang". after this deity and containing it (Tucci Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale fig. 229)<sup>123</sup>. This stucco statue of Rin.chen 'byung.ldan shows a stylistic matrix dating to the 13th century and being Tibeto-Pala with Newar influences, but it is painted in the same way as the surrounding murals which are in that rendition of the 15th century. Its throne has feasibly assumed 15th century features. This significantly indicates that the nucleus of the entire complex underwent renovation first during the 13th century and then during the beginning of the dGe.lugs.pa phase in Gu.ge. Two other statues, manifestly belonging to the Kun.rig cycle placed in the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang, have similar characteristics (see fig.7 on plate XIII, wrongly identified as Tsaparang, in Tucci, "Tibetan Book Covers", and plate on p.275 in Tucci, "Le Vie del Mondo").

A passages in *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* allegedly illustrates the structure of Tho.ling during the time of Ye.shes.'od.

After reporting its foundation by Ye.shes.'od, *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* describes Tho.ling in the following exaggerated way, which nonetheless testifies to the complexity of its structure: "There are sixty-four *lha.khang*-s, ornamented with *gandzira-s* ("decorated finials on the roofs"), inside the *lcags.ri* ("boundary wall") of this *gssug.lag.khang*" (ibid. p.461 lines 10-12: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.113). Could this be a reference to the structure that Tho.ling had during the period in which *Nyang.ral chos.'byung* was written (late 12th century)? This is hardly tenable given that the temples of the Tho.ling complex, in its late days before it was destroyed, did not reach this number, although *lha.khang-s* were added during the dGe.lugs.pa period.

*bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* records what the text claims to be the structure of Tho.ling during the time of rTse.lde. This text says: "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 line-age. Inside the [Tho.ling] boundary wall are seven *lha.khang*-s with Khyung heads" (ibid. p.190 lines 2-4). As mentioned above, 'Dzam.gling.rgyan was the name of Tho.ling gSer.khang, the temple built by Zhi.ba.'od during the reign of rTse.lde.

If one has to read historically the combined information provided by these two sources, one should conclude that the number of *lha.khang*-s at Tho.ling was drastically reduced in the period from the end of the 12th century to the 15th century. This is hardly possible.

While the statement of *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* that Khyung heads decorated the *lha.khang-s* is a stereotype often applied to temples, that concerning the Tho.ling boundary wall needs to be discussed, since one has to discriminate between the external wall of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa and the wall surrounding the temple complex. On the one hand, the term *lcags.ri* commonly addresses a boundary wall. On the other, it is to be ruled out that reference is made to the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, since twelve *gling-s* rather than seven *lha.khang-s* composed the structure laid out at the time of foundation and further *lha.khang-s* were completed in the successive period within the same edifice.

It thus becomes evident that *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* does not refer to the external wall of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa but to the boundary wall of the complex and that the seven *lha.khang*-s are seven different temple structures, among which the ancient *gtsug.lag.khang* has to be included.

I think that the notion in *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* may refer to the shape Tho.ling assumed in the period in which this text was written (some time in the 15th century). This was the beginning of the dGe.lugs.pa period, marked by the presence at Tho.ling of the direct disciples of Tsong.kha.pa and further disciples. 123. Tucci (Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale p.312) says that this lha khang was the personal residence of Rin.chen bzang.po and that this link may have been built up by the similarity between the names Rin.chen bzang.po and Rin.chen 'byung Idan. The elders of Tho.ling, who still propagate an oral account similar to that which Tucci personally heard when he was in Tho.ling, are adamant in affirming that the "private apartment" of Io.chen was the so called Thugs.rge Iha.khang in the brGya.rtsa Iho.brgyud (see in the text p.4-5, p.8 and p.15). The number of *lha.khang-s* mentioned by *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* corresponds to that contained in a modern work (Chos.dbyings rdo.rje, *mNga'.ris skor.gsum sngon.byung.gi lo.rgyus* p.185 lines 18-21), which is, however, reductive. I hardly think that Tho.ling in the 15th century had only seven *lha.khang-s* inside its boundary wall, given the shape the complex took with the advent of the dGe.lugs.pa-s.

A sheer guess regarding the seven temples to which *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* refers is that they were the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, the gSung.chos ra.ba, the Rin.chen bzang.po'i gzims.chung, the 'Jig.rten.brgyan, the dGe.lugs.pa-s' gSer.khang, the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan, the seventh temple being more difficult to assess (the most probable candidate is the *Bla.brang* with its *lha.khang*s inside it, another one being the gNas.bcu lha.khang).

That *bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu* mentions the existence of the boundary wall is no cause for surprise, given its 15th century date. In order to surround so accurately the buildings erected by the dGe.lugs.pa-s, the Tho.ling *lcags.ri*, in the shape which had before destruction, could not have predated their construction.

### gSung.chos ra.ba

The same two renovation phases ascertained to have taken place in the rNam.par snang.mdzad lha.khang and the *lha.khang-s* of the brGya.rtsa in the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa are documented in the gSung.chos ra.ba, where tradition holds that Jo.bo.rje gave religious discourses, by cross-referenced monumental and literary evidence.

Some murals date to the 13th century renovation, as is proved by the row of masters, among them various Tibetan *lo.tsa.ba*-s who attended the 1076 Tho.ling *chos.'khor* (see above p.32). Legible inscriptions identify 'Bum.phrag gsum.pa, gSer.gling.pa, Myal lo.tsa.ba, Sa.skya lo.tsa and Ar Byang.chub (Tucci Archives accession number 6071/1, 6071/2 and 6071/3). In fact, inside this ruined structure it is still possible to read the name gSer.gling.pa in the same *dbu.can* calligraphy that can be seen in these pictures. Pale painted traces of the rows of masters earlier depicted on its walls can also be detected.

A mural of Tsong.kha.pa *yab.sras* at the back of Rin.chen bzang.po's throne and rows of masters on its main walls testifies to the second monumental phase that took place in the gSung.chos ra.ba. The latter wall painting cannot obviously be earlier than the 15th century given the depiction of Tsong.kha.pa between his two main disciples.

### gNas.bcu lha.khang

A picture of Tucci/Ghersi taken inside the gNas.bcu lha.khang and depicting the religious kings of Gu.ge Pu.hrang frames two accompanying inscriptions (accession number 6571/3). They read: "lha.btsun.pa De.ba.pra.bha'i zhal.nga.nas" and "Byang.chub sems.dpa' sems.spa' can.po (sic) lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od.kyi zhal.nga.nas". The third image (and related inscription) of what supposedly must have been a triad (the third personage is outside the picture) must have portrayed Na.ga.pra.bha. De.ba.pra.bha was the name that De.ba.ra.dza, the son of Ye.shes.'od, took when he received the *bsnyen.rdzogs* vows (i.e. the final monastic vows) (see *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* in Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.60 line 19-p.61 line 1 and p.113). This was also the case of Na.ga.ra.dza, who became known as Na.ga.pra.bha

when he took the same vows. Thus, they should not be identified, like Tucci does, as the 'od.gsum (i.e. the three members of the Gu.ge royal family bearing the word 'od in their name: Ye.shes.'od, Byang.chub.'od and Zhi.ba.'od) (Tucci, Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale p.169).

### 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan

At an unspecified period, the statue made by Nyi.ma.mgon, called rTse.lha Nyi.ma.mgon.gyis Thub.pa'i sku (see above p.90), was brought to the plain and placed in the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan. Given that this temple is a dGe.lugs.pa *opus*, the transfer of the statue to the 'Dzamg.gling.brgyan could not have taken place before the 15th century.

Another tradition says that the same Shakya Thub.pa statue was a *nang.rten* (i.e. a statue in his memory to be kept indoors) of gNam.lde 'Od.srung, the grandfather of Nyi.ma.mgon. Both these accounts, recounted by the majority of the elders, are useful to dismiss the belief according to which the throne of Nyi.ma.mgon was kept at Tho.ling, a mistaken notion which confuses the alleged existence of Nyi.ma.mgon's throne with the actual existence of the [Shakya] Thub.pa sponsored by Nyi.ma.mgon.

Another statue, that of Sang.dar Jo.bo, was one of the most sacred images of Gu.ge (see above p.89). This statue was originally kept at the temple of Sang.dar, located in the valley by the same name which adjoins the area of Tho.ling in the north-east. The sources available at present do not allow one to ascertain the period in which it was made.

This statue of Jo.bo was transferred to Tho.ling from Sang.dar at an unspecified time since no evidence is extant to establish when it was taken to the main temple of Gu.ge. One could assume that this transfer took place during the dGe.lugs.pa period since the image is housed in the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan but, as in the case of Nyi.ma.mgon's Shakya Thub.pa mentioned immediately above, there is no reason to rule out that it was placed elsewhere in Tho.ling before it was moved to the 'du.khang.

The style of the murals in the 'du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan is rather similar to that of the dGe.lugs.pa wall paintings of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa. As a matter of fact, all these religious works seem to have been executed according to the style diffused in Gu.ge during the 15th century and seem thus to belong to the same phase.

### gSer.khang

One phase is documented by monumental evidence. All its murals<sup>124</sup> appear to be in the Gu.ge style developed by the dGe.lugs.pa-s in the second half of the 15th century since it is consistent with the historical mentions of the reconstruction of Tho.ling gSer.khang, performed by IHa.dbang blo.gros, a disciple of mKhas.grub.rje (Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.525-528 and n.896).

The feature of *mantra*-s carved on the entrance door of each floor, recorded in the *rten.deb* for Tho.ling gSer.khang, is typical of 15th century wooden portals of temples in West Tibet. Extant examples are those of the mChod.khang dmar.po at Tsa.hrang built in the third quarter of the 15th century by Don.grub.ma, the wife of the Gu.ge king Blo.bzang rab.brtan, and of Thub.chen lha.khang at Glo sMos.thang, completed in water dragon 1472 (see Vitali, "On Byams pa and Thub chen lha khang of Glo sMos thang"). 124. gSer.khang ground floor: gSang.'dus dkyil.'khor. Mural. (Tucci Archives accession number 6004/27); bDe.mchog dkyil.'khor. Mural. (accession number 6004/28); a *dkyil.'khor.* Mural. (accession number 6004/29); Kye rdo.rje. Mural. (accession number 6004/30); 'Khor.lo sdom.pa. Mural. (accession number 605/32); mGon.po phyag.drug.pa. Mural. (accession number 6007/36); a *dkyil.'khor.* Mural. (accession number 6007/36); a *dkyil.'khor.* Mural. (accession number 6007/37); a *dkyil.'khor.* Mural. (accession number 6007/38). gSer.khang basement, northern wall. The notion of the fire ox *rten.deb* that the gSer.khang had four floors contradicts the information deriving from a view of this building found in an old picture taken in 1933, (see Tucci, *Cronaca della Missione Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* fig.239), which apparently documents that the gSer.khang in the 1930s, the same decade in which the *rten.deb* was written, was composed of three floors, a concept reiterated by Tucci in his text.

Given the authority of the *rten.deb*, a legally binding record of the monastery, the statement contained in the inventories dismantles a belief by now deeply sedimented in Western studies. As will be shown immediately below, the same statement does not go undisputed in the literature recently published in Tibet. One may surmise that the confusing pieces of information concerning the structure of the gSer.khang could depend on the fact that very often and especially in the late period the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa'i gtsug.lag.khang was wrongly considered to be one and the same as the gSer.khang and the name of the latter was applied to the former (Padma dkar.po chos.'byung p.259 lines 9-12 and Ngor chos. byung p.262 lines 4-5). This exchange of names and identities seems hardly acceptable in the light of the *rten.deb*, given the nature of this document, which is a thorough record of every religious object kept in the Tho.ling complex. The dPal.dpe.med lhung.gyis grub.pa never was, at any period of its history, a fourstoreyed structure. Photographic evidence provided by Li Gotami soon after that of the Tucci mission and before the gSer.khang underwent destruction would seem to confirm once more that the temple was three-storeyed (Li Gotami, Tibet in Pictures vol.11, plate on p.151).

The passage in the *rten.deb* (f.85a) stating that a pagoda roof (*rgya.phib*) and a banner in gilt copper surmounted the brick building should be read in the sense that a banner had the function of topping the pagoda roof of the building (see above p.76), otherwise this statement would add to the confusion existing in the literature between these two Tho.ling temples, given that the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa was surmounted by a *rgya.phib* as again documented by Li Gotami (*Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plates on p.147-148). Moreover, the location of the passage in the *rten.deb* rules out the possibility that the description refers to the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa since it is not included in the inventories of the *lha.khang*-s of this temple.

That, on the one hand, the gSer.khang had three floors is suggested by its description found in *sTod mNga*'.*ris skor.gsum.gyi lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam* (p.250 lines 4-10), given that this passage says that the murals of three classes of Tantric deities including those of *Bya.rgyud* were painted on the walls of the gSer.khang's top floor and that the *bar.khang* ("middle floor") contained the murals of the deities of the *Bla.med.rgyud*. The paintings in gold of the latter's deities were used as models by the 5th Dalai Lama Ngag.dbang blo.bzang rgya.mtsho to renovate the paintings on the middle floor of the lHa.sa Jo.khang (see above p.50). Given that *sTod mNga*'.*ris skor.gsum.gyi lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam* is a modern work, it cannot be ruled out that memory of the gSer.khang was not preserved with its authors in an entirely correct way.

On the other hand, the notables of Tho.ling are adamant in confirming the *rten.deb* version that Tho.ling gSer.khang was composed of four floors (actually three floors and a base). They add that each storey had its outer walls painted in a different colour (as can be gleaned by Tucci's 1933 picture). Describing them from the top floor to the base, they affirm that the top floor represented *Bya.rgyud* and was painted white; the second floor represented *sPyod.rgyud* and was painted yellow; the first floor represented *rNal.'byor.rgyud* and was painted blue <sup>125</sup>. However, the 15th century mural

125. In fact, concerning the gSer.khang, the Tho.ling elders list the deities of the four classes of Tantra according to an ascending sequence of floors as follows: 1. gSang.'dus, Mi.skyod.pa, rDo.rje 'Jigs.byed, dGyes.rdor, bDe.mchog He.ru.ka, Dus.'khor, 'Jam.rdor, dGra.nag, gShed.dmar, 'Khor.chen, mKha'.spyod, rTa.mgrin, gSang.grub, which belong to Bla.med rgyud.

 Kunirig, sDeigshegsibizhi, Yumichenibizhi, Semsidpa' bouldrug, mChodipa'i IHaimolbrgyad, sGolbalbizhi, mGronithabs drugibou, which belong to rNal.'byor.rgyud.

 mNgon.byang, dkhyil. 'khor gnyis.brtsegs gzhal.yas.khang, Rim.pa phyi.nang.bar.gsum bzhugs.pa'i rNam.snang glso.skor brgya dang bcu.bdun, which belong to sPyod.rgyud.

4. Thub.pa, Mi. 'khrugs pa, 'Phags.mchog, Tshe Iha rnams.gsum, gDug.dkar, Khro.bo Mi.g.yo.ba, 'Od zer.can, SGrol.sngon, Lo.gyon, Me.brtsegs, Gra.lnga, which belong to Bya.rgyud. on the wall of the dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa, reproduced in the modern *thang.ka* (pl.111), shows that the gSer.khang had a monochrome paint externally. It is unclear when, after the 15th century, the colours specific to the classes of *Tantra*-s were adopted.

The notion of the elders that the gSer.khang had four floors, each of them dedicated to a class of *Tantra*, is partially contradicted by the *rten.deb*, which makes it clear that the *rGyud.sde.bzhi* were illustrated on the walls of three floors, while the base of the gSer.khang contained the previous lives of the Buddha and the paradises of Sangs.rgyas. The wall painting of the previous lives of the Buddha must have been painted on the base's western wall. As a matter of fact, a photographic reconstruction of the murals on this storey, undertaken at IsMEO, shows that the other three walls in this holy chamber were occupied by the depiction of the paradises of Sangs.rgyas, thus leaving no alternative to the fact that the previous lives of the Buddha were painted on the above mentioned western wall<sup>126</sup>. The arrangement of the four classes of Tantra, distributed on three floors, is confirmed by Sangs.rgyas ye.shes, a well known A.mdo.ba expert of iconography, who affirms that the second floor *dkyil. khor-s* in the gSer.khang all belong to *rNal. byor.rgyud*.

An explanation is available for the contradicting notion that the gSer.khang was four-storeyed despite the fact that the available old pictures apparently show the gSer.khang to be three-floored. They have been taken from an angle which frames the gSer.khang as if its ground floor were a solid base. This would then remind one of the pagoda temples of the Kathmandu Valley, in which the multi-storeyed and multi-roofed structures often lay on solid bases or of the sKu.'bum at Cung Ri.bo.che, a monument roughly contemporary to the Tho.ling gSer.khang founded by lHa.dbang blo.gros in the 15th century, which has a solid base surrounded by a *skor.khang* ("processional corridor") with murals. But, in the case of the gSer.khang, this is not so and it is surprising that visitors to Tho.ling failed to realise the exact structure of the temple. The alleged solid base of the gSer.khang actually was its lowest level containing a holy room, as has been correctly mentioned in the *rten.deb*.

A part of the first floor of the gSer.khang is the only area of this temple which has escaped destruction. Here murals in the distinctive Gu.ge style of the 15th century are extant, in particular one of mGon.po Phyag.drug.pa and partially defaced *mandala*-s. What remains today of this storey is considerably raised up from the ground, indicating that the building had a level below it. In fact, in order to gain access to the small extant part of the gSer.khang, which belongs to what was once its first floor, one has to walk up on a little mound of plastered mud. At the foot of this protruberance, a diminutive modern door opens to a walled space with faint traces of murals in its interior, which makes one think that this was the lowest level of the temple.

A few conclusive considerations must be made in order to describe the monument according to the accounts of the Tho.ling elders who preserve a vivid memory of its structure, which is authoritatively corroborated in its broad lines by the description of this temple found in the *rten.deb*.

The building was made of four floors, with the first floor smaller than the base and each successive storey of more reduced dimensions than the one below it. On the gSer.khang's exterior, the base had, on the eastern side, a porch with two columns and intricated woodwork, while the other three storeys had balconies with similar colonnades and woodwork on all four sides. These balconies on all floors had a small parapet. Each door of the three floors and the base opened to the east 126. All the pictures of the gSer.khang found in Tucci's Archives refer to the two lowest floors in this temple. In detail, the three walls of a gSer.khang storey, which have recently been visually reconstructed at IsMEO, collating pictures of the Tucci Archives taken in 1935, belonged to the basement. The rest of Tucci's photographic documentation of the gSer.khang, mainly consisting of dkyil. 'khor-s, refers to the gSer.khang's floor above it. Some of these pictures (gSang.'dus dkyil.'khor (accession number 6004/27), bDe mchog dkyil. khor (accession number 6004/28), a dkyil. 'khor (accession number 6004/29), Kye rdo.rje (accession number 6004/30), 'Khor.lo sdom.pa (accession number 605/32) and another dkyil. 'khor (accession number 6007/36) can be identified with assurance since they are related to a painting of mGon.po phyag.drug.pa (accession number 6007/33), which is still extant and located on the first floor.

and ladders on the same side led to the storey above. The well known portal with mantric syllables inscribed in lotus roundels and a sculpted framework was the base entrance, which was reached by a flight of a few steps (see Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* plate on p.150).

Attached to the eastern side of the gSer.khang base (this being the side in which the entrance to the temple was placed) was a two-storeyed building, articulated in two parts, which housed monastic quarters (grwa-shag). However, the first floor of this annexe building was separated from the first floor of the gSer.khang given the stepped shape of this temple, in which every floor was smaller than the lower one, and thus the first floor was smaller than the base. Access to the gSer.khang door was through a narrow corridor which intersected the the two parts of the grwa.shag starting from the south and then turning at a right angle to the west straight towards the gSer.khang entrance (see pl.v).

### The plain of Tho.ling

The name of the plain on which the temple complex of Tho.ling, founded by lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od in 996, stood before it underwent irreparable damages during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) is mentioned in *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*, almost a hundred years after its establishment, in connection with the struggle for the throne following the developments of rTse.lde's assassination. rTse.lde's son and heir, lha.btsun dBang.'od, was assassinated at Tho.ling Thang.gi 'od ("the Light of the Plain") by bSod.nams.rtse, the son and successor of 'Bar.lde/dBang.lde, who usurped the throne after rTse.lde's death. lHa.btsun dBang.'od and bSod.nams.rtse are indicated in the text as *khu.dbon* ("the uncle and nephew"). *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* 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" (ibid. p.74 lines 13-14: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.114).

Another work, i.e. *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* (f.33b line 5), calls the Tho.ling plain *thang.bteg* or the plain where buildings stand (*thang.bteg*, lit. "plain" and "to pitch, to erect" otherwise "high, elevated, raising up") (see above p.121). This is obviously not the proper name of the plain but a description of the table land where the Tho.ling complex had been built.

# Appendixes

### Appendix One

## Records of Mang.nang A brief attempt at a literary and visual recontruction of its temples

A DOCUMENT WRITTEN in *dbu.med* is the inventory of Ma.nam (i.e. Mang.nang) Byang.chub.gling, which is the *'du.khang* of the Mang.nang monastic complex. This *'du.khang* should thus not be confused with Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling gtsug.lag.khang and its twin Byams.pa.'phel.gyi gtsug.lag.khang, which were the temples founded here by lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od for Jo.bo.rje in the years between fire ox 1037 and iron snake 1041 (*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 9-10, and ibid. p.62 lines 16-17: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.115. See Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, respectively p.115 and p.116).

As a matter of fact, it seems problematic that 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling was erected in the same period when the other two temples of Mang.nang were built by Byang.chub.'od, since no reference at all is made in any source to him being responsible for the foundation of this 'du.khang.

Although it seems that sDe.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, in a passage of *Bai.ser*<sup>127</sup>, wrongly considers Byang.chub.gling to be the same temple as that where Jo.bo.rje resided (i.e. the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling), this passage at least indicates that, by the time this work was written in earth tiger 1698, Mang.nang was known as Byang.chub.gling. It cannot therefore be ruled out that the '*du.khang* bearing the same name, which may have something to do with the fact that the entire temple complex became known as Mang.nang Byang.chub.gling, had been founded in the meantime.

A mere possibility is that 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling was built by the dGe.lugs.pa-s, but the silence in the sources concerning its foundation does not even allow one to propose this suggestion with a minimum of evidence.

The Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling and Byams.pa.'phel were located to the north of 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling. Both are at present in a dilapidated condition. Some receptacles are still preserved in 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling, whose structure, differently from the two above mentioned temples, has not undergone destruction. However, it is possible that some religious objects had been transferred from the Byang.chub.dge.gnas.gling and Byams.pa.'phel to the 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling before the inventories of the latter temple were undertaken.

127. Bai.ser (p.275 lines 16-17: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib. 116) says : "Ma.nang Byang.chub.gling. Formerly, it was founded by Iha.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]". The elders of Mang.nang ignore the names Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling and Byams.pa.'phel which refer to the two *lha.khang-s* built by Byang.chub.'od. They know them under the names lHa.dkang dkar.po and lHa.khang dmar.po, the former being the one to the west of the latter. This seems to be another instance of the 15th century habit of identifying temples in West Tibet by the colour of their outer walls, examples of which are given above (n.14). This is probably a dGe.lugs.pa notion, introduced when the first representatives of the sect reached sTod. It sadly obscures, in the case of Mang.nang, the physical identity of the two temples so that it is unclear which of the two names refers to the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling or Byams.pa.'phel. Judging by the traces of haloes behind the presently lost sculptures, it is possible that the Byams.pa 'phel.gyi gtsug.lag.khang (more probably housing sculptures such as the cycle of Byams.pa in its interior rather than the other temple) was to the west of the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling (see Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.304). This would make it the IHa.khang dmar.po, while the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling would be the IHa.khang dkar.po.

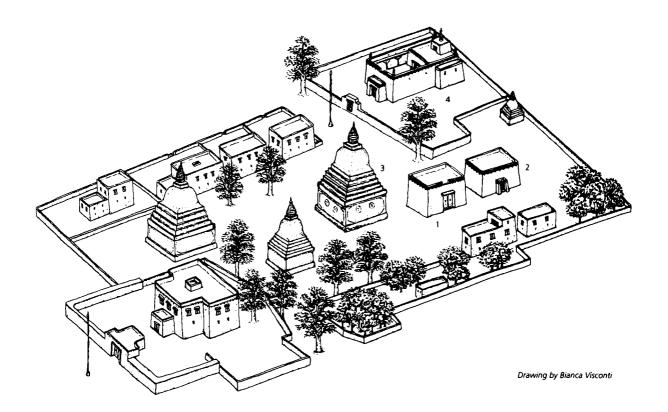
The elders hold a mistaken view that even 'du.khang Byang.chub.gling dates to the 11th century. This is denied not only by the conspicuous absence of a mention of the '*du.khang* in all the sources but also by the monumental contents of this assembly hall, which do not show any trace of such antiquity.

The temples built in the 13th century by La.ga, the king of Gu.ge Byang.ngos, have again been forgotten by the oral tradition of the local elders and it is not even possible to suggest an area of Mang.nang where they may have stood.

The large *mchod.rten* at Mang.nang village, which flanks to the east the temples of Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling and Byams.pa.'phel, is known as gSer.gyi mchod.rten. *Tsha.tsha-s* of the great pandi.ta sMri.ti Dznya.na were placed in this *mchod.rten*. It is unclear whether they are still preserved here. This is possible because, although the *mchod.rten* has suffered damage, it is not to the extent of having been dismantled like the two temples founded by lha.bla.ma Byang.chub.'od. Another *mchod.rten* of large dimensions (destroyed) was located in the village. Its identity and the circumstances, under which it was built, are nowhere to be traced.

Finally, another important religious and secular structure has to be remembered here. This was Seng.ge.rdzong, a famous fort with a *dgon.pa* annexed to it, which was located at the entrance of the Mang.nang Valley, where the Mang.nag.chu flows, coming from mDa'.ba.rdzong. Not even ruins of it are visible at present. The *rdzong* stood on the top of a sandy cliff at the south-east corner on entering the Mang.nang Valley (see Tucci, *Santi e Brigant nel Tibet Ignoto*).

Plate xiv The temples of Mang.nang (from the north)



- IHa.khang dkar.po (anciently known as Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling.gi gtsug.lag.khang)
   IHa.khang dmar.po (anciently known as Byams.pa 'phel.gyi gtsug.lag.khang)
   gSer.gyi mchod.rten
   'Du.khang Byang.chub.gling

#### MANG.NANG SPROD.DEB

entitled Me.byi Ma.nam dgon Byang.chub.gling.gis sku.rten 'dzin.dngos gang.ci sprod.len byed.pa'i gtan.deb (sic for rten.deb) dge "The fire rat (1936) inventory of the statues, receptacles and properties of Ma.nam dgon Byang.chub.gling to facilitate their handing over [from one sku.gnyer to another]"

A translation of the most relevant passages of the *Mang.nang rten.deb* follows. This is a manuscript numbering fifteen pages, measuring 31.5 by 17.5 cm, of which fourteen (i.e. until f.14a) are written in *dbu.med* with black ink on white paper. They bear the seal of the Tho.ling *mkhan.po* on important passages to give legal status to the work, which shows that Mang.nang was under the authority of Tho.ling at that time. Folio 11a confirms this when it says that the inventory was issued from Tho.ling Bla.brang. Folios 11b, 12b and 13b are blank, while folio 6a-b has been cut away. The *Mang.nang sprod.deb* is at present in the possession of Tsering Chömphel who was so gracious as to lend it to us. Our gratitude goes to him.

The Mang.nang inventory dates to fire rat 1936, one year before the *Tho.ling me.glang rten.deb* was written. Given that the Byang.chub dge.gnas.gling and the Byams.pa.'phel are not incorporated in the former inventory, the records of Mang.nang are not complete, unless these temples were no more used for religious practice during the period in which the *Mang.nang rten.deb* was compiled.

Mang.nang sprod.deb (f.2b-f5.6a) reads: "The old inventories of Ma.nam Byang.chub.gling dgon, a branch monastery of Gu.ge mTho.lding, the latter being under Se.ra.byes grwa.tshang, which catalogue the statues, receptacles and the religious decorations in its interior, are [at present] completely deteriorated. Moreover, some thoughtless *sku.gnyer*-s (f.3a) neglected the care of these objects and most of them are lying without consecration formulae [inside them], and the furniture and decorations are in a similar state [of abandonment]. No clue will remain to find out about the original possessions. On this occasion, the necessary consecration formulae have been installed in the various statues. [The objects] have been stamped with a seal in order to facilitate their handling by future *sku.gnyer*-s, the transfer of their responsibility [to the successive *sku.gnyer*], and to attract followers. The present inventory, which is in accordance with the former one, is as follows.

The main image is the medicinal clay statue of Mi.pham mgon.po, wearing a cotton robe, with earrings, two *kha.btag-s* ("scarves") around the neck, and a *snyan.shal kha.btags* ("long scarf around the neck and reaching the ears"), three of them; the *nang.rten* of Byang.chub.'od (i.e. a statue in his memory to be kept indoors) in medicinal clay with a *snyan.shal*; (f.3b) [and] a gilt copper *sku.gdung* ("reliquary *stupa*") of A.ti.sha with a shining red cloth and eight seals on it.

The nang.rten are as follows: the patched robe of Jo.bo.rje and a damaged woven [thang.ka] of the Rigs.lnga; one damaged ivory seal; the skull of Byang.chub.'od [known as] mThod.pa ris.mo.ma (sic for Thod.pa ris.mo.ma, "the painted skull"); four gnam.lcags rdo.rje-s ("rdo.rje-s in metheoritic iron") with some missing prongs; a shining conchshell, including its box; a nam.lcags statue bestowing great blessings; silver statues of Thub.dbang, Tshe.dpag.med, sGrol.ma and 'Jam.dbyangs; the stone statue of rDor.lha, which was Jo.bo.rje's thugs.rten ("receptacle of mind"); a li.ma statue of Thub.dbang (f.4a) and gilt copper statues in various sizes, slightly damaged, altogether eighty-two. Two of the bigger ones are wearing robes. Two statues of lTung.bshegs (sic for bshags) are made of ti.tsa (Tshig.mdzod chen.mo: "a bluish shining metal like silver", i.e. zinc). The li.gser image of rje bla.ma

(Tsong.kha.pa), and large and small statues of the Lam.rim bla.brgyud, altogether forty-seven; thirteen large and small statues of sPyan.ras.gzigs; twenty-three large and small statues of sGrol.ma; thirteen statues of 'Jam.dbyangs; twenty-two statues including those of the eight bDe.gshegs-s; seven statues of Byams.pa; four statues of Thub.dbang long.sku (samboghakaya); large and small statues of Thub(f.4b).dbang grong. 'khyer.ma (sic), sPyan.ras.gzigs Kha.sar.pani [and] bCu.gcig.zhal, Phyag.rdor, etc., altogether seventy-one; two statues of Tshe.dpag.med; statues of rDo.rie. chang, rNam.par 'jom.pa, Phyag.rdor, Mi.g.yo.ba, rDor.sems, altogether sixteen; the statues of 'ligs.byed, gSang.'du (sic), bDe.mchog, sKye.rdor, rNam.rgyal.ma, 'Od.zer can.ma, altogether eight; statues of slobs.dpon (sic) Padma, Dwags.po lHa.rje, rJe Mi.la, etc., altogether four; statues of sMan.bla and Kun.tu bzang.po, altogether two; statues of sGrol.dkar and 'Dzam.lha (sic), altogether five; four statues property of mDa'[.ba].rdzong; a variety of good and poor quality silver, gilt copper and (f.5a) li.ser statues from nos. 1 to 334 have the inventory seal attached to them. Among them, one Dzam. [bha.la] statue is the property of the spyi.pa ("public officer").

Concerning the gsung.rten ("receptacles of speech"), [they are] a bKa'.gyur rin.po.che in 115 volumes with book covers and ties. The rest of the assorted books of the dgon[.pa], the snyan.shal and necklaces of [Tho.ling?] Srung.ma.khang and a thang.sku, although they are not [here] inventoried in detail, have to be taken care of as much as the other ones.

Concerning the *thugs.rten*-s, [there are] four large and small *gdung.rten* in *li.gser* with damage".

Ibid. (f.11a): "The gtong.rtsa (i.e. funds given to the monastery to be administered by it in order to generate some yearly interest) of grwa.spyi (lit. "grwa.tshang and the spyi.pa", i.e. the monastic community and the officer taking care of public property), these two, in grain, cash and animals, have to be calculated on the basis of the separate earth snake 1929 'khod.deb ("inventory of assets") at the end of each year by the Grwa.tshang, which should assess income and expenses and submit them to the highest monk officer (mtho.bla). Therefore, each officer has to take good care of the receptacles and the other properties which have been mentioned above, the handover of whatever is there [from one sku.gnyer to another] has to be performed without negligence. Whatever loss or addition may occur, this has to be clearly mentioned [in this inventory] and a seal should be stamped on it. No other signature and seal are accepted. This has to be done without any negligence. [Issued] from mTho.lding Bla.brang in fire rat (1936), on the seventh day of the eleventh month [sealed]" 128.

The Mang.nang *rten.deb* (ibid. f.8a5-f.9a) also records the ritual objects, said to be the belongings of the Grwa.tshang, and other holdings (*'dzin.chas*) such as utensils and furniture (ibid. f.9a-f.11a) kept in the Byang.chub.gling. The inventories confirm that Mang.nang was subordinate to Tho.ling, which ensues from the list of the Tho.ling *dgon.lag*-s. They provide more specific evidence when they state that the sde.pa Grwa.tshang, the family of notables from Tho.ling, was the one which was in charge of the Byang.chub.gling.

128. Like the Tho.ling me.glang rten.deb, also in the Mang.nang sprod.deb several up-datings are found. They read as follows (Mang.nang rten.deb f.11a-f.14a): "In iron dragon (1940), the old (f.12a since f.11b is blank) spyr[.pa] ("public officer") offered a Newar made silver lamp, with its mouth in the shape of a rgya.gling ("trumpet") and a four petalled lotus, weighing twenty-two English coins; a set of silver water cups, weighing forty-one English coins; a yellow and multicoloured roam rum ("carpet") paved against a loan given by the Grwaltshang; a new curtain; a new big table with dragon designs; another table with dragon designs, but smaller in size; a La.dwags table; a big copper and brass vessel. These are added to the inventory and should be accounted for in the next handover

(f 13a, since f 12b is blank) In water snake 1943, at the time of the hand-over to a [new] sku.gnyer, a copper vessel, not included in the (previous) inventories, and another similar vessel, but bigger; a small brass vessel; a set of three copper vessels; a silver lamp with gold on its beak, gsor [not indicated] in height, which are not catalogued in the last inventory; three sets of seven big water cups, one khyi in diametre and gsor (not indicated) in height; a silver lamp in the shape of an egg received at the time of the handing over (of duties) in water snake 1943, (f.14a, since f.13b is blank) weighing six coins; a small silver lamp, weighing five coins; two aluminium sets of cooking pots; another aluminium cooking pot with lid are additions to the inventory to be brought to the attention of the next officer".

### Appendix Two

## Records of mDa'.ba.rdzong a brief attempt at a reconstruction of its temples based on literary and oral evidence

THE MONASTERY OF mDa'.ba.rdzong consisted of four different areas, which were mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po; a cave complex for meditation in an eroded hill known as mTshams.phug.ri; Jo.mo.rdzong, which was meant for lay occupancy; and mDa'.ba mKhar.rtse. All four of them were located on the range of sandy cliffs known as Rin.chen spungs.pa.

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po was the westernmost, while mDa'.ba mKhar.rtse was the easternmost. Jo.mo.rdzong was located between the two, while mTshams.phug.ri was slightly towards the back on the hill immediately behind mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po in the northern direction. Hence, these four areas consisted of three hills and a flatter zone, where mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po was built. It will be shown in the following that this is the way the site is described in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*, the biography of the founder of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po.

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, the most important temple of mDa'.ba.rdzong, was founded by Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan (fire sheep 1487-fire hare 1567), possibly the most prominent dGe.lugs.pa master of Gu.ge.pa origin who was active *in loco*. His biography reads: "The following day, all the *mchod.yon* (i.e. the king of Gu.ge, together with his entourage, and Shanti.pa together with his disciples) went there. As they inspected [the site], seeing that the peak of the central of the three mountains resembled the mouth of a conchshell, as they thought, having agreed, to build the *bla.brang* here, they planned it. All the *mchod.yon* sat here. *rJe dpon.slob* prepared tea. In the presence of *gong.ma yab.sras*, a big [white] flag in a single piece of cloth was unrolled and stretched around the edges [of the area], extending for a long distance. When *yab.sras* took it down from there to Tsa.hrangs (spelt as), since they offered this roll of cloth to many people as present, all of them cut it into pieces and it happened that the market became a white spot" (*Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* f.35b lines 4-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.117).

Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar continues: "[Shanti.pa] said that the idea [of building a monastery] was an auspicious conjunction of events. On the same day they laid the foundations of the *bla.brang* on the slopes of this protruding mountain (*ri. bur*).

129. Shanti pa'i mam.thar (f.40b line 7-f.41a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.119): "Then, when this rie was seventynine in wood female ox (1565), while he was residing only at gzim.khang bDe.ba.can, in the presence of my tutor (yongs. 'dzin) Kirti.rashmi, who was at the head of the row, he was so gracious as to impart profound teachings such as the theory of gZhi.lam 'bras.gsum.gyi dBu.ma, based on the minor IHag.mthong ("wider insight")... to a few of us, his direct disciples"

130. Shanti pa'i mam.thar (f.36a line 7-f.36b line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.120): "Then, as the building work, which was needed in general, was mainly completed, the *gong.ma yab sras* issued an order for the (collection of) wood necessary [for the construction], this was collected from Nyi.ri (i.e. Nyi.ti).

131. Shanti, pa'i mam thar (f.36a lines 5-6: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.121): "When the foundations of the *dgon, pa* were laid, this *ip* had a dream that a powerful protector holding a long spear in his right hand and a shield in his left appeared and said: "I want to stay here. It is important for me to protect this *dgon, pa*". He said: "This is a miracle of chos.skyong Bek.tse (sid)". ".

132. Shanti.pa'i mam.thar (f.36b lines 2-5: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.122): "Then, when this rje was thinking of making a golden statue of rje Blo.bzang grags.pa as the main image of the gtsug.lag.khang, he proposed this to gong.ma yab.sras and he was given much gold and copper. They also provided food and drinks for the Bal.po-s. The Bal.po-s made it quickly and in an ornamented way (zab.par), applying 130 zho of rin.po.che to the face. Since over 260 zho of gold were given as remuneration to the Bal.po-s, [the statue] was completed. [The statue] was brought to [mDa'.pa] bKra.shis lhun.po. A pandi ta hat (dbu pan), a silk shawl, the book (sku.chos), a patched robe (gos.bem), some thirty scarves around the neck (snyan.dar, lit. "ears"); and, on the right and left, his spiritual sons, these two, with pandi ta hats, each with a red silk patched robe, ten scarves around the neck; above the heads, a canopy beautifully made of brocade were wonderfully made"

133. Shanti, pa'i rnam.thar (f. 36b lines 5-7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib. 123): "The over life-sized statue of rje (i.e. Tsong.kha.pa) as the main image and statues of rje thams.cad mkhyen, pa during the earlier and later parts (of his life), which were placed in the mChod.khang with four pillars, are the cycle of its three main statues (gtso.'khor.gsum). Over 300 zho of gold having being used for the decoration of the faces and for the remuneration of the Bal.po-s, pandi.ta hats, robes, scarves around the necks etc., that mind cannot

(Continues on next page)

On the wide space connecting the two mountains, here [they built] the 'du.khang with sixteen pillars including the gtsang.khang; the mgon.khang with two pillars as well as the mchod.khang with four pillars and the kitchen. The slope of the mountain where the bla.brang is (bla.brang dang bstun.pa'i ri.ldebs), which is the right side of Rin.chen spungs.pa, and, in brief, all the sides of the three mountains were filled with buildings. To the dgon.pa (f.36a) the name bKra.shis lhun.po was given" (ibid. f.35b line 6-f.36a line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.118).

The year of foundation is not given in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*. No better approximation can be attempted than to consider it to have occurred in the period after 1539, when Shanti.pa returned to Gu.ge, and before 1565, the first available date in the *rnam.thar* following the foundation of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po<sup>129</sup>.

Subsequently in the text, *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* adds information that would seem to have been preliminary to the foundations. Wood for the buildings was fetched from the area of Garhwal immediately south of mDa'.ba.rdzong <sup>130</sup>.

Following the foundation of the *dgon.pa*, Beg.tse was chosen as the protector of the mDa'.ba temple complex because Shanti.pa had a dream, in which this wrathful deity appeared to him and offered himself to be the guardian of the new monastic establishment<sup>131</sup>.

A few details concerning the receptacles placed at mDa'.ba.rdzong by Shanti.pa and his royal supporters are given in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*. His biography concentrates on the main receptacles that were placed inside some of the *lha.khang*-s built by him. The text is not very clear in its description and leaves the reader with doubts on the actual location of some of the images it introduces.

Given that the *mgon.khang* was part of the 'du.khang complex, it is somewhat noteworthy that no description of its contents is found in the biography, which, instead, gives those of the 'du.khang and the *mchod.khang* with four pillars at some length.

The main image of the 'du.khang (or gtsug.lag.khang as it is called in the passage) was a statue of Tsong.kha.pa together with those of mKhas.grub.rje and rGyal.tshab.rje, made by Newar artists (for a picture see Tucci, Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto)<sup>132</sup>.

The main images of the *mchod.khang* were those of Tsong.kha.pa and two statues of the Dalai Lama in his youth and old age. Given that the 3rd Dalai Lama, bSod.nams rgya.mtsho (1543-1588), was then too young to be depicted as an old man (the 3rd Dalai Lama was twenty-five when Shanti.pa died in 1567), the statues placed in the mDa'.ba *mchod.khang* must have been those of the 2nd Dalai Lama, dGe.'dun rgya.mtsho (1475-1542). Other receptacles kept here were several books, a stone statue of dPa'.bo as a *brahmin* and a *thang.ka* of the deities of the *rGyud.sde.bzhi*<sup>133</sup>.

Subsequently, *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar* records the main wrathful images in the *mchod.khang*. They were a wooden mGon.po, another wooden image of dMag.zor.ma and a red sandalwood rTa.mgrin<sup>134</sup>.

The monastic population of the temples of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po soon after the death of its founder Shanti.pa amounted to over one hundred incumbents and over two hundred if the non-resident monks are included <sup>135</sup>. *Bai.ser* (p.276 line 6) says that around the time of writing this work (completed in 1698) there were 161 monks at mDa'.ba.rdzong, which means that over one hundred years after its foundation the size of the monastic population of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po had remained substantially unchanged.

While the foundation date of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po is surprisingly absent in *Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar*, a work which is seemingly not overly concerned with fixing the year in which events in the life of Shanti.pa occurred, this biography is more accurate in the case of the last building of which Shanti.pa laid the foundations at mDa'.ba just before dying: "When autumn of the same year arrived (1566), this great being went to dgon.pa dpal bKra.shis lhun.po. He spread [grains] from his hands (i.e. consecrated) the foundations of the new gtsug.lag.khang that had been laid. He supervised the making of the images and in particular since he gave detailed instructions concerning the way to prepare the material (rgyu cha.rkyen) for the receptacles, again he went to gzim.khang bDe.ba.can of rTsa.hrang, the palace of chos.rgyal" (ibid. f.41b lines 6-7: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.126).

Following Shanti.pa's death, Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar adds: "When a master artist was needed to make the nang.rten (i.e. a statue in memory of Shanti.pa to be kept indoors), while one of the best artists from Ne.pal was proceeding to Ngam.ring after leaving sKyid.grong 136, he met an a.tsa.ra (i.e. an acharya) on the way. The latter said: "Where are you Nepalis going?", when he answered: "We are considering whether to go to Ngam.ring", [a.tsa.ra] said: "This is not advisable. Since a great bla.ma has died in mNga'.ris.stod, there is much work to be done for his funerary rites. A great reward will come to you if you go there". Hearing this, some master Newar artists arrived exactly in time (skabs.su babs.par) without obstacles on the way. Then, in the central gtsang.khang of the new gtsug.lag.khang, which was excellently built as well (i.e. like the earlier ones), the statue of rgyal.ba Byams.pa made in gilt copper, which is the nang. rten of rje, with hundreds of zho of gold painted on its face and the body studded with precious stones as decoration, was completed quickly [and] without hindrance. In the upper and lower part of the statue various blessings, many books and the five kinds of jewels were placed. A great ceremony was held for the consecration. All the Newar artists were remunerated. Wages and gifts were given to their satisfaction" (ibid. f.44b lines 1-4: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.127).

This was the most important *lha.khang* at mDa'.ba. The beginning of the works for the new *gtsug.lag.khang* at mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po dates to fire tiger 1566 or soon after. Hence this new religious building was the brainchild of Shanti.pa, who did not see its completion. The monumental statue of Byams.pa dates to fire hare 1567, the year in which Shanti.pa died, because it was made as his *nang.rten* immediately after his death. It is then quite likely that the Byams.pa and the *gtsug.lag.khang* were completed not long after his demise, since the text says that it took less time than expected to finish the colossal statue.

The Newar workmanship of the colossal Byams.pa is noteworthy, especially in the light of the fact that, since the advent of the dGe.lugs.pa-s in West Tibet, a new Gu.ge style for religious works, introduced by members of this sect in Gu.ge and adjoining lands of sTod, had been flourishing. The choice of Newar artists seems to prove the high esteem in which they were held by the dGe.lugs.pa-s<sup>137</sup>.

As a matter of fact, the main statues of both the phases at mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po (the foundation phase and that which led to the construction of Byams.pa lha.khang) were both the *opus* of Newar-s. From the available visual documentation (see the pictures in Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto*) the murals of the various mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po temples were executed in the style which had been developed in West Tibet. Interestingly, the main statues were Newar, the murals were mNga'.ris stod.pa.

To sum up, the complex of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, soon after the death of its founder Shanti.pa, included the *bla.brang*, the *'du.khang* and the Byams.khang. Information derived from the literature is confirmed by the accounts of the mDa'.ba elders with a notable difference as follows.

conceive, and moreover many smaller statues in the styles of East and West India, Bal po, China etc. and a mandala thang( ka] depicting the cycle of deities of the rGyud. Sde. bzhi, a set of texts on mDo.sNgags by rje yab.sras (Tsong kha.pa and his two main direct disciples), and, moreover, very many manuscripts (phyag.dpe) of the commentaries to the doctrines of India and Tibet and the stone statue, self originated from the waters, of dPa'.bo in the body of a brahmin, the image of the thug.dam chos.skyong of this rje, which is extraordinary. [were placed here]".

134. Shanti, pa'i rnam. thar (f.36b line 7-f.37a line 2: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.124): "A statue of Ye.shes mGon.po phyag.drug.pa, seemingly self-originated and made of wood, which bestows blessings, a statue of dpal.Idan dMag.zor.gyi rGyal.mo, made of black a ka.ru, which is great for the signs and omens of bestowing blessings; a red sandalwood statue of rTa.mgrin gsang.sgrub, which bestows blessings, were placed here".

135. Shanti pa'i mam.thar (f. 36b line 1: Tibetan text in Appendix Eight, Tib.125): "At present those who continuously reside [here] are some sixty bsnyen.rdzogs.pa-s and each of them has at least one dge.tshul ("novice"), which makes over 100 residents. The general assembly numbers over 200 altogether (i.e. including residents and non-residents)".

136. The text wrongly reads: "sKyid.grong nas thon ting Ma.ring", but it is Ngam.ring.

137. See, inter alia, Jackson, Tibetan Paintings (especially Chapters One and Two) for an assessment of the presence and role of Newar artists in Tibet before the modern Tibetan styles were born; and Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* p. 133 and n.66 for an earlier reference in *dGe. 'dun grub mam.thar* (p. 268), according to which dGe. 'dun.grub (1391-1474) summoned in earth snake 1461 a Newar artist active at dGa'.ldan.

Plate XV A sketch of mDa'.ba.rdzong



Pencil drawing by Bianca Visconti

#### mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po

- 1. Byams.khang
- 2. 'Du.khang
- 3. Bla.ma.khang
- 4. Bla.brang
- 5. A row of five *mchod.rten*-s, the last of which, to the right, named rGyal.po'i mchod.rten

#### mKhar.rtse

- 6. Byarns.khang
- 7. Srung.ma.khang

mTshams.phug.ri 8. mTshams.phug.ri

Jo.mo.rdzong

- 9. Jo.mo.rdzong
- 10. rDzong.khang, the house of the mDa'.ba rdzong.dpon
- 11. Rab.brtan khang.sar
- 12. Houses

#### Religious buildings

mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po, the main area of the mDa'.ba.rdzong monastic complex, comprised before its destruction (from west to east) the Byams.khang, the 'du.khang, the Bla.ma.khang and the bla.brang. It seems, therefore, that the temple known as Bla.ma.khang was not contemporaneous with the others constructed in two phases (one during the lifetime of Shanti.pa; the second begun at the time of his death and completed soon after), but it was built at an unspecified date after the death of Shanti.pa.

The Byams.khang of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po was one storey high with a pagoda roof and had a *zhal.ras.khang* which allowed a close view of the face of its famous Byams.pa statue (see Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.126 and p.128; for a picture of the monumental Byams.pa see Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto*). Inside the Byams.khang of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po was a *gdung.rten* which contained the *bum.pa* ("sacrificial vase") of Jo.bo.rje A.ti.sha. The wooden door giving access to this Byams.khang was decorated with roundel motifs and other ornamental patterns (Tucci Archives accession number 6047/29), typical of West Tibet during the dGe.lugs.pa diffusion in these lands. Inside the Bla.ma.khang a statue of Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan was preserved.

A row of five *mchod.rten-s* of considerable size, two of them being of even larger scale, was located in the complex (see the picture in Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto*). One of these two *mchod.rten-s* was called rGyal.po'i *mchod.rten*, although it is unclear which of the larger two this was. Probably rGyal.po'i *mchod.rten* was the last in the row, which was the only *mchod.rten zlum.po* ("round") of the two larger *stupa-s* (for the other one see Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.129).

At mKhar.rtse, the sandy spur at the other extremity of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po to the east, was another Byams.khang and a bSrung.ma.khang (see Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.129).

This Byams.khang contained three *gdung.rten-s* ("funerary *stupa-s*"), all onestorey high. One of them was that of mDa'.ba chos.rgyal Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis (on him see above p.54-55), while the other two were of mDa'.ba exponents, whose identity is no longer documented. In the same temple a triad of statues of historical significance was preserved. They were about medium-sized and depicted the same mDa'.ba chos.rgyal Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis, a royal patron of mDa'.ba.rdzong; Shanti.pa Blo.gros rgyal.mtshan, the founder of mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po; and an unidentified member of Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis' royal family, said by some elders to be the latter's son<sup>138</sup>. This seems to prove that, again in the case of these three statues, the correct identity of these rulers is confirmed, for the sources do mention that Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis had male offspring (see below p.182).

The hill of mTshams.phug.ri is dotted with a number of caves on the eroded slopes, which were used for meditation as its name implies (for a portion of the hill see Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.128).

138. Tucci in his Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto (p. 119) says that the latter was the brother of an ancient king of Gu.ge; this assessment he collected at mDa'.ba.rdzong, and is not dissimilar to the one still held by the elders of this locality to this day.

#### Lay buildings

Jo.mo.rdzong. No religious buildings are reported to have existed here according to the information gleaned from the elders.

At the foot of the sandy spur, on top of which stood Jo.mo.rdzong, was the *rdzong.khang* or house of the mDa'.ba *rdzong.dpon* ("district officer").

At the foot of mTshams.phug.ri was *sPyi.khang* (lit. "public house", i.e. a building for the lay community and the monks) Rin.chen bum.pa ("Vase of Jewels").

Another edifice of some importance in mDa'.ba.rdzong was the residence called Rab.brtan khang.gsar, which was sited at the foot of the eroded mKhar.rtse hill (Li Gotami, *Tibet in Pictures* vol.11, plate on p.130).

In the vicinity of mDa'.ba.rdzong a few ruins of buildings, whose structure made Tucci conjecture that their plan was of the "Rin.chen bzang.po type", stand on the plain adjoining the mDa'.ba.chu and extend as far as mDa'.ba.rdzong.

The elders of mDa'.ba.rdzong had no suggestion to offer, these buildings having been destroyed long since, and did not attempt an identification, not even to the extent of whether they were lay or religious structures; nor did they express a view as to their antiquity. However, they provided the names of these localities with some hesitation. One, which raised some doubts, is sMan.lung (Tucci Archives accession numbers 6003/1 and 6003/6), the other, identified with assurance, is Kha.sar (rather than Khang.gsar as Tucci says in *Santi e Brigant nel Tibet Ignoto*).

### Appendix Three

## A document being a synopsis of the Tho.ling *rten.deb*

(compiled by bKra.shis tshe.ring)

This document reads as follows:

"brGya.rtsa lho.brgyud ("the south side of the temple complex"):

- 1. 'Du.khang 'Dzam.gling.brgyan: 235 images;
- 2. lHa.khang bKra.shis 'od.'bar: 26 images;
- 3. Thugs.rje lha.khang: 17 images;
- 4. sGrol.ma lha.khang: all kinds of receptacles of speech, altogether 188 volumes;
- rGyal.ba rigs.lnga'i lha.khang: a statue of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse, made of *li.ma* and inscribed on the base, with a lotus and a shining *chakra*, 1 khru and 6 sor in height, damaged: 15 images;
- 6. sMan.bla.khang: 9 images;
- 7. Rigs.lnga'i lha.khang: 6 images;

In fire rat 1936, a restoration (nyams.gsos) was carried out:

brGya.rtsa byang.ma (the north side of the temple complex):

- 1. Bla.ma lha.khang: 14 images;
- 2. 'Jigs.brgyad.khang ("chapel of the eight fears"): 85 images;
- 3. gSung.chos lha.khang (i.e. the library of the brGya.rtsa):

various collected works: 187 volumes; *Tshad.ma rnam.'grel rtsa.ba yan.lag*, woodblock edition vols. kha-nya: 52 volumes;

a statue of Ngag.dbang ye.shes;

- 4. rNam[.par] snang[.mdzad] lha.khang: 51 images;
- 5. Mani Iha.khang: 1 image;
- 6. bSrung.ma.khang ("chapel of the Protectors"): 35 Buddha-s of the Confession made of the five precious materials;

In water monkey 1932, a restoration (nyams.gsos) was carried out:

1. rGyal.khang: 'A.chen mTshangs.pa;

2. Bla.brang mgon.khang:

a life-size statue of rje Ngag.dbang grags.pa in medicinal clay wearing a set made of robes and a *pandi.ta*'s hat; a statue of mnga'.bdag bSod.nams.rtse inscribed with his name and having a finger with minor damage; a statue of mnga'.bdag Khri.lde inscribed with his name; 13 volumes, receptacles of speech;

- 3. lHa.khang 'Jig.brten.rgyan: 14 images;
- 4. mchod.khang ("prayer room") of 'Bri.zur dge.slong bZang.po: 1 image;
- 5. Byams.khang: 1 image;

The main gSer.khang has four floors. On the ground floor the paradise of Sangs.rgyas [and his] twelve deeds [are depicted]. On the three upper floors the murals of the rGyud.sde.bzhi *dkyil.'khor-s* and [their] Assembly of Deities are painted in gold water of the 'Dzam.bu.gling river. The four doors (i.e. the door of each floor) open to the east. Complete sets of auspicious *mantra-s* are executed on the doors. An excellent banner in gilt copper [having the function of a] *rgya.phibs* ("pagoda roof") is above the brick building".

### Appendix Four

## Tho.ling gNas.bcu lha.khang *sprod.deb*

entitled

gNas.bcu lha.khang.gi sprod stong gcig 'thus.gyis (sic) deb "The book that enables the handing over of the innumerable objects of gNas.bcu lha.khang"

THESE RECORDS ARE contained in a manuscript numbering ninety-two pages, which measure 33.5 by 12.5 cm. Seventeen of these pages are written in *dbu.med* only on their *recto* (their *verso* being blank) with black ink on white paper. Pages from eighteen to ninety-one are left blank for future use as well as page two. The most significant passages are translated here as follows.

gNas.bu lha.khang sprod.deb (f.3a-f.6a) reads: "In fire male tiger (1926), on auspicious consecutive days, a renovation of gNas.bcu lha.khang was made, and, on this occasion, (f.4a) an inventory was written which includes the medicinal clay statue of Thub.dbang, over life-size, as the main image. Its urna has a white stone about the size of a grain. To its right and left are the statues of the sixteen 'Phags.pa gNas.brtan chen.po, complete with their hand implements. To the north side of the door (i.e. to the right upon entering) is Nyan.thos chen.po, standing alone, and on the south side [of the door] is dGe.bsnyen chen.po in the same material as above. All these statues have received a coat (*bzo.bkod*) of fresh paint. This gtsug.lag.khang has four pillars. The entrance faces east. The fittings cast in fire, which are mounted on the door, were also made anew. Above (i.e. on the roof) are a banner and two thug-s ("roof decorations"). The sku.gnyer-s and the monks' inspectors, whoever is appointed [to this task], must look after the [receptacles] and take care of them without any negligence. Responsibility for the handing over and taking charge of duties without any lapse by each incumbent sku.gnyer and inspector must rest with the successive dbu.chos ("head instructors") of [Tho.ling] Bla.brang. Fire tiger (1926) (f.5a) month and day (illegible) [sealed].

The fire tiger year being over, in [the previous] fire dragon year (1917), as it was previously shown that [receptacles] were missing, three 'bru.khal-s and twelve 'bre-s of barley were given in compensation (stong.bsnon) to be kept with the dbu.chos as offerings to the gNas.brtan-s. The above capital [in grains] should be properly preserved".

Ibid. (f.6a): "In the tiger year (1926?), in dedication of Phyi.dbang bla.ma 'Phags.pa chos.'phel, one young female *'bri*, one male *g.yag* and one female calf were offered to fill the butterlamps continuously [sealed].

Ibid. (f.12a-f.13a): "In fire tiger (1926), during the renovation, some objects were received for the gNas.bcu lha.khang as follows. A sku.thang of Jo[.bo.rje], [rNgog] Legs[.pa'i shes.rab] [and] 'Brom[.ston.pa], these three, with a blue and rainbowcoloured frame including a veil in yellow and red as well as with orange strings and thang [.ka] knobs in yellow brass; and another one having the same subject [were given]. The fabric of its cloth frame is dark blue with yellow and red stripes, the veil being in yellow and red with orange strings and the thang ka knobs in yellow brass; a sku. thang of dGa'.ldan lha. skya with a brown synthetic (dzus sic for rdzus) brocade frame with red and yellow stripes (lja sic for 'ja) and blue go.skag (?), the veil as those above, this being an old thang ka without knobs; a sku thang of Thub dbang [Tung.gshegs (sic for gshags) with a Mongolian brocade frame and go.skag (?) in dark blue rgyan.gzhi brocade, the veil being in yellow synthetic silk and (f.13a) its strings in orange colour. The thread at the edge is red. The strings are red and the knobs are in iron. The latter [thang.ka] is neither old nor new. One volume of gZung.bsdus printed at Zhol, complete with wooden book covers, ties, wrappers and label; one volume of brGyad.stong.pa, complete with wooden book covers, ties, wrappers and label; of Ma.ni bka'. 'bum in one volume; Bai.dkar in one volume; one volume of bKa'.gdams Pha.chos Bu.chos, complete with wooden book covers. ties, wrappers and label; one set of seven small water cups, two of them with some damage".

Ibid. (f.15a-f.17a): "In memory of the late mes 'Grug.pa, one *li* metal butterlamp was offered. In memory of sKye.lag Ru.shod Padma, a *thang.ka* depicting *rje yab.sras.gsum*, Jo.bo chen.mo (sic) and *lo.tsa.pa* (sic) with a blue brocade frame with red and yellow stripes, a yellow veil and orange strings and a black lining. (f.16a) dGe.slong bsTan.'dzin shes.rab offered a complete *gNas.brtan rtog.brjod* ("biographies of the Arhat-s") with a white cloth wrapper.

In fire hare (1927), the old treasurer of mTho.lding Bla.brang, namely Tre.hor dge.zur Blo[.bzang] bstan[.'dzin], offered a copper butterlamp with an inscription.

In earth tiger (1938), the Gra[.tshang and] sBug[.pa families] offered 120 yellow butterlamps.

(f.17a) In wood bird (1945), on the sixth of the second month, on the occasion of handing over of [duties], two sets of a five-pronged *rdo.rje* and *dril[.bu*], one pair of tables, a butterlamp in red wood and a ceiling cover made of printed cotton were offered".

Ibid. (f.92): "This book has ninety-two pages".

### Appendix Five

## Temples in Gu.ge, Pu.hrang, sGar.rdzong, Ru.thog, dGe.rgyas, sGer.rtse and mTsho.chen

Temples of Gu.ge

In the area of lHo.stod (Tho.ling):

- 1. Tho.ling dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 2. rTsa.rang Blo.stengs (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 3. Bye.dkar dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 4. mKhar.rtse dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa);
- 5. Mang.nang dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of lHo.stod (mDa'.ba):

- 6. gDong.bo dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 7. Khyung.lung dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 8. mDa'.ba bKra.shis lhun.po (dGe.lugs.pa)
- 9. mDa'.ba 'Gram dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of lHo.smad (Za.rang):

- 10. Do.gsham dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).
- 11. La.yi dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 12. sTeng 'Phags.pa dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 13. Chu.ze dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 14. Ri.sde.sgang dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 15. Za.rang dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 16. Ri dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of Byang.ngos (Dung.dkar):

- 17. Be sDong.po dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 18. Dung.dkar dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 19. Phyi.wang dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa).

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In the area of Byang.ngos (Shang.rtse):

- 20. Rab.rgyas.gling dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa);
- 21. Ga.rtse dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 22. Shang.rtse dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 23. Shang dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 24. Shes.shod dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa);
- 25. gZha.yas bKra.shis chos.gling (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 26. Sung.ngur dgon.pa ('Brug.pa).

### In the area of Rong.chung:

- 27. Ti.yag dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 28. 'Phur.ri dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 29. Rad.nis lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 30. Yi.ti dgon.pa (Yi.ri dgon) (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 31. gSer.gong lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 32. lCug.pa lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 33. Srib.skyes lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 34. Rong.stod dgon.pa (rNying.ma.pa);
- 35. lHug 'Phags.dgon.pa (rNying.ma.pa);
- 36. Ma.yang klu.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 37. sGom.phug dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 38. sNu dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of Chu.gsum:

- 39. Byang.chub.gling dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 40. Bar.lcog (or Bar.skyog) Phun.tshogs rab.brtan.gling (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 41. gSer.ti dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 42. Tsho.rub lha.khang (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 43. Kha.rag dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 44. sMan.rtsa lha.khang (dGe.lugs.pa).

Temples of Pu.hrang

In the area of sTag.la.mkhar:

- 1. Kha.char dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa);
- 2. Zhi.sde dgon.pa (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa);
- 3. Khrus.sgo dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 4. 'Go.'dzugs dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa);
- dGung.phur dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 6. rTsa.bu lha.khang (Sa.skya.pa/Ngor.pa).

In the area of Bar.kha:

- 7. rGyang.grags (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 8. Nyan.po.ri rdzong (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 9. 'Bri.ra.phug (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 10. rDzu.'phrul.phug (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 11. Bye'u dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa/rNying.ma.pa);
- 12. Glang.sna dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

In the area of Hor.chu: 13. gSer.ra.lung (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

Temples of sGar.rdzong

In the area of Mon.mtsher:

- I. Pre.ta.puri (Bon.po/bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 2. Gur.gyam dgon.pa (Bon.po);
- 3. mDun.chu dgon.pa (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of sGar:

- 4. bKra.shis.sgang (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 5. Gyam.smug lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

Temples of Ru.thog

In the area of Ru.thog:

- I. lHun.grub chos.gling (dGe.lugs.pa);
- 2. O.byang btsan.khang (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of Ra.bang:

3. rTsa'u mani lha.khang (dGe.lugs.pa).

In the area of Rog.gsum:

4. mTshe.lung lha.khang (dGe.lugs.pa).

Temples of dGe.rgyas

In the area of Tshwa.kha:

1. bKra.shis chos.gling dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

In the area of 'Bong.pa:

- 2. Brag.skya dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 3. 'Phri.ra.phug dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

In the area of gShung.pa:

- Shang klu.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 5. sKya.bo lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

Temples of sGer.rtse

In the area of Mar.mig:

1. Mar.mig dgon.pa (rNying.ma.pa).

In the area of Khang.thog:

2. Brag.gyam dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

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In the area of Dung.mtsho:

- 3. Lo.bo bDe.chen dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 4. Dung.mtsho lha.khang (dGe.lugs.pa).

Temples of mTsho.chen

In the area of Tshi.phri:

- 1. sMan.sdong (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 2. mTsho.chen Jo.mo dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa);
- 3. sPen.bla lha.khang (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

In the area of mDa'.gzhung:

4. 'Bur.dkar dgon.pa (bKa'.brgyud.pa).

Appendix Six

## Tibetan text of the documents relevant to the reconstruction of Tho.ling

### Tho.ling rten.deb

. આ રિવાર્ય્વો ગયત કે વર્ષ ખેતરવ સાલ દાસુદા વાયે સાય જેવું એ દાસ જેવસ વર્તુ દાસ ગુરૂ સુવા કેવા વાયુયા વૃત્ય ୢୄ୰ୄୢୗ୶ଵୖୣ୕ୣୣୖ୶୳୕୳୶୶୵ଵୖ୕ୣୣୣୣ୵୕୳ଵୄୢଢ଼୕୵ୣଽ୶ୖଌ୷୲ୖ୶ୖୄଽଵୣ୲ୡ୶୰୰ଽଵୣୣ୩୲୴ୡ୳ୄୠ୶୳ଵୣ୶୲ୄୠୖ୳ୣଵ୷୶ୄୣଌଡ଼୲୶୰୳୶୲ଵୖୡ୶ ૧૪૧૧ કર વર્કે શ્ર વદેવા ફેન ફ્રેન્સ સંદર્ભ માટે સુર લ વાયળ વલ ભૂ ૬ ર વનુ દ મેવે છુ દેવાય પેંદ [Ib] શ્રે વદેવા ફેન્સ વલેવ કવા વનેવ વાંદેશ નાય છે. આ નાય સંસ્થાન સંસ્થાન સંસ્થાય છે. સંસ્થાય સંસ્થાન સ สิพารๆาจารารสูงาลีาจีพาพธังการสารกระพารกระพารกระพางกิจามีรายสารสุมาส์สาราสาร ૻૣૼઌઌ<sup>ૣ</sup>ૡ૾ૡ૽ઌૡૻૻ૾ઌૻૣૡૻ૱ઌૻૹ૽ૻઌૡૻૢૡૻઌઽૢઽૼ૾ૺૼૼૺૼૼૡૻૻૡૻૹૡૻૻૡૻૻ૱ૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૡૡૡૡ૽ૡ૽ૡૡૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻૺૡૼૡૻૡૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡૡ૽૿ૡૡૡ૽ૻૡ <sup>વા</sup>ર્ડવા મું વાલે ત્યાર્થે ત્યુર પ્રદે રાષ્ટ્રે સ્ટેવાય ગુમાં કે સાવવિષ સું પ્રવાર સ્ટેર પર વ્યુર પ્યયન્થસ સુવાય વિશ્વ સુવાય છે. અનુ ભૂન <sup>ઌ</sup>ૡૢ૿<sup>ૡ</sup>ૻૹૡ૽ૺ (2b) ફીઅ'ઘ'ૹ૾ૢૣૼઽઌ઼ૢૡ૾ઌૻૹૻ૾૱૾ૻઌઽઌૻ૾ૼ૾ૼૻઌૹૻ૾૱૽ૻૡ૽ૻૹૻ૽૱ઌૹ૾ૢૹૻૻ૽ૢ૽૽ૼઽ૽ૡૡ૾૾ઽૻઌ૽૾ૡૻ૽ૡ૽૾ૼઽૻઌ૽૿ૹૻૡૻ૽ૼૼૼૼૻઌ૽૿ૹૻૡૻ૽ૼૼૼૻ૽ૡ૽૿ૹૻૻૡૻ૽ૻૡ૽૿ૼૡૼૻ 

ॷॺॱॾॕऀॺऻ<sup>ॣ</sup>ॺॱय़ॱॿऺऀॺऻॱॺऻढ़ॺॱय़ऄॺॱॺॾ॔ॸॱॶ<sub>ॖ</sub>ऀॺऻॱड़ॖॖॸॱऻॖ ॸॖऺऀॸॱॷॺॺॱॷॺऻॱॸॆॺॱॺऺॺॺॱऒॱॴॸॱड़ॗऒऄ॔ॸॱॺॏॷॱढ़ॆॺॱॺॾॕॸॱॾॺ ૨૨૨ શ્રેનાય પદેવ ૧ન૨ છે.સ.૨૦૫.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૦૨.૨૨ શે.૨૨૨.૨૨ નાર્ફના ભગાગર ફેન ૧૮ ન વસુરાય મન વસ્તા ગોર છે. જે માં ગોર છે. જે મુંચ છે. જે આ પ્રાથમ છે. આ પ્રાથમ છે. આ પ્રાયમ છે. આ પ્ ราะหลุ่ณาสรายสายรายสายรายสายการที่พายศิสาราราราสุลารายสายการสายการบิชิาลีรายหิระสายงานย์สา ૾ઌ૽ૢ૽ૺૣઌૹૻૻૡઽૢ૾ૡૻૻઌૡ૾૾ૼ૾ઽૡૻૹઌૡૡૻૡ૽૽ઌ૽૿ૢ૽ૹૻૡૻૹૡૹૻ૽ૡ૾ૢૹૻૻઙૡૻૹ૽ૹ૽૽૱૽ૡૡૺૡૻૹૢૻૡૻૻૡ૽૾૱ૡૡૻૡૼૡ૿ૡૹ <u>વા</u>દ્રસા છે કુદા વૃદ્ધિ ગાઉ સાથે જે વાર્ષ છે વાર્ષ જે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ જે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ છે જે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ જે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે સાથ જે સાથ જે સાથ છે સાથ છે સાથ છે સાથ જે સાથ છે સાથ જે સાથ જે સાથ જે સાથ છે સ ๚ุลูกงานถูงมากกะจุณาผู้เล่าเหล่ามีราวสุณาดูสาร์สา ...... ปิสารสังกาสเราผู้มารัสมสารสา ...... สิตสาวสุณ ..... กญิญภูฏิภูฏิภัฏิรัฐีจุณา ..... ฏิณาจิณาสา [42] ..... กรุสายมาจาริมีสานกูณาฮิสานากรณาจาสณา ..... ณาณัสณาสา ૹઽઌૢઌૹઽ૾ઌૣઌ૾ૻૹૻૡૼૼૻ૱ઽૡ૽ૼૹૡ૱ઌૹૹૣૻ૾ૹૼઽૡૻૼૼ૱ૹૹઽૹઽૡૢૢૻ૽ઌૢ૱ૹૻૹ૾ૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૼૼૻૹૼઌ૿ઌૡ૾ૻ૱ૹૡ૾ૹૡ૾૾ૡૡ૽ ૢ૾ૢૢૢૹૡૻઙૣૢૼૼૢૡૢૹૡૻૻૼૼૼૡઽૡ૽ૻૣૡૼૡૢૢૼૹૻ૽૱ૢૡૻઌૻઌ૽ૻઌ૽ૻઌૻઌૻઌૻઌૻૻઌૻૻૡૻૻઌૻઌૻઌૻૻૡૻૻઌૻૡૻઌૡૡૢ૽ૡૻઌૡૡ૾ૺૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૡૻૡૡૡ૽ૺૡૻૻૡૡૡ नहेंदरनाईरर्द्रवीक्षः क्रुय्वरुक्षः द्युद्रः द्युर्द्रद्वर् यदेव यदे याहवरे दालकर्दर् ययीदर्यमा मेवा स्वरः दर्गावरः पहुं विरः पहेंद्र यदे याहव ้าสู่สารูาริสาติูณาที่ชีวัตาฐสาวามาณพาทูกานนิายุการกราตุธิามหาพรณาสู่ณาที่สาวอวามยณฑัณารมหาผ้หารระ รุสายรู้ๆพารราชยุ้าศพายิ์ ๆพพาศพัสารามู่ ซู้ ที่รามสูรพายิพาวีราชผูรารรายมพายน [4b] มู่าๆหรามีหาย ૱ૡ૱ૡ૽ૻૡૼૺૼઽ૱ૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૼૼઽ૱ૡૢઽૡ૽૱ઽૡૡૺ૱૱૱૾૽૽ૢૺ૽ૢ૱ઌૻૹ૱ઽૡ૽૽ૣ૽ૼૡૡ૱૱ૻૻૡૼ૱ૡૢૻૡૡૢૡૻૻ૱ૼૡૻ૱ૻૡૼૺૻ นาจอพารูพาฤผูมาพรพาฐพาฏิเวสู่ญาฤดูฤพาฏิสาธิสารวร รราฐสาวรมาพพาฐจาะน้ำขอญารจราจพิร าให้พรสพากอิการกิจารกิจารณา พร ผู้สะพีรา มีสาวรพาพพรกูจารกรรกา ผู้เราหรายอาเรา ุณฑาฐีนากรู หริเรลนปรามิเพี้นนชัง พ.ศ. 23 เพียง เพี พพาสูจานนิ พุศสาธิสาริ วันพุคพาส ซิสายิ พูกสุสาสารสาราสาราราชสาหาราวสิยุทศาราชิยา ๑ มีสาวรมาพพาสูจา ઘરિ 'દેલ હેલ' ત્વુદ પ્રયુ શું સું વક્ષ્ય છે. .... અર્દે દ સું વાલુ વિદ શ .... [52] .... બેંદ પા છેંદ છે સુદ જે સ્ટાર વેગ શ વાય વાય વાય વાય વાય વાય છે. 2S ····· શે:દેવે મેર ચેં જેવે સુ નક્ર ર દેવ ઢં ન્ય ર નક્રવ વેંચ નક્ર સુ ન્યુ દ ર ભૂર ન્વુ ચ ન્ય વે વ્ય ને વે વ गठेग १८ मर्शर बर् मी र देरे रे दे दे के मुनक्र के रि र परि र र मे हे रे खुमा र के रे खुमा र के र मिर र मे रे र ้ ๆฝ่างสรง ฏิ่ายู่จาหู่ เปราหู่ๆฟานี้ราวไข้ง ฏิ่าหมาน ยิ่าๆจายมีกายนั้นรายายุธิญ. 22 ๆฝ่างสรงเปล่าๆจานนี้. ๚ฬ.รี้ฐางเรือเวลาการสื่มห.มิ.มีพางพระน่าเป็นระบุริเราสายสายเป็นเรื่อเราสายผ่างเราสาย

รุสาตรฤพ. มีระเรียรระเหนือของ เลง อาศารรรม เมื่อเลือง เลง เมื่อเลือง เลง เมื่อเลือง เมื่อเลือง เมื่อเลือง เมื่อ નકેન ૨૬ કિંપોરે દેવે સુપર સુવાય મના ગુભ છું સુચાય કે નાન સુવા કંચા બેંદ્ર યાનકેના ૨૫ કિંપાય નુવાયવે સુસાકિ *ૡૢઽૹૢૢ૾૽ૡ*ૢ૱ૻૡૼઽૡૡ૽ૼૼઽૡૢ૾ૺૼૼ૱ૹૢૣઌૡઌ૽૿ૺૢૹ૱ઌૻૹૼૼૻૼૼૹૻઌ૾ૼૼૼૼૼઽ૱ૡૻૻૼૼૼઽૡૡૻૡૼૡ૽ૡૼૡ૽૿ૡૡૼ૱ૡ૽ૻૡૡૼૡ૱ૡ૽૾ૡૡૼૡ૱ૡૡ૽ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ ৾ঀঀ৽ৠৼ৽ঀঽয়৽ঀ৾৾৻ৼয়৻ড়ৢ৾৾ৼয়৽য়৾ঀ৾৾ৼঀ৾৾৾ঽৼ৾ঀ৾৾ঽঀ৾৾৽ঀঽয়৽ঀ৾ঀৢঀয়৽ড়ৢ৻য়৽য়য়য়৽ঀ৾য়য়৾য়ৼ৾ঀ৾ৼয়৾ ૹૻ૱ૼૻ૱ૼૼૼૹૡૻૻૻ૾૾ૼૡૼૻૢૻૢૢૢૢૻૹૻૻૻઌ૽ૻૡૼૼૺૡૻૡૻૡૺૡૻૡ૽ૺૡૻૺૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૡ૽ૼૡૻૡૼૻૡ૱ૡૡ૽ૺૡૻૻૡૼૻૡ૱ૡૡૻૻૡૻૻૡ૱ૡૡૻૻૡૻૻૡ૱ૡૡૻૻૡૻૻ૱૱ૡૻૡૻૻ ๆผูมาพีรายาศธิภา พิามูกาเพลาผูกายนิาผู้ญารกุหาฏิหูายร่าผูกลาฏิามูมานาร์ากราผุการมาพีรายาชิกา พะ สู่ ที่ระมสู่ร.พ.ลู้พานธระผู้ นราลู่ที่พาฏิ ลมาพาษิ ทระพัรามาทอิทา ขอ โร่ามาพพายุมานนิ ผูมามีมายระจัระทำ ૨

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<td ર્મવે:સું વક્ર્યયન ક્ષુવાય ગ્રૈ! ક્ષય ….. વાયન ….. ભૂન.ત. ….. જવ્યા ક્યવ્યા કરતા વક્ષય ૧૩ ૨૨ ૧ ટ્રેય સૈં.ચેયા มโร่ ์จุ้ม ซึ่ง ซึ่งเขามา อู้อานนิ ยูจารุจรรรรม อู่นาร พระจุนิรรร์ เริ่ ซึ่ง [72] ..... ซู้ ฮูนามธัส ซู้ อุ๊รร ..... อฟูลานพาละิตพาธิรารรามตั้สารัติ ผู้ หระตัราตุสมพาศณาต่อสารัตา ..... ตุลพามธ์รพาธาตุธิต ซู เธสา *ซี*กพ<sup>ุ</sup>สัจิพ.ฏิ.เดพ.ฆะ.สันาฤผมพ.ตพ.เวารักาวงพ.สันามชุมพ.เกษิท ข ฏ.มาง.พูกพ.ฏิ.มีราง ปสทน.พูปมายสุขามชุรพ.ตี ปพะเชวีพ.เม็บ.เละเร็ะ.พูรเปลม งรูปม.ตี.เวิ่ะเมื่.เม็เษพ.ฮูร.มีเษพ.สะปูะเปลทพ.ปูพ. <sup>ૡ</sup>ૺૹઽૻૹદૡઽ૱ઽૡૺઽૡઌૡૺઌ૱ૢૢઽૻૻૡૼૺૼૼૼૼૼ૱ઽઽૻૡૡ૽ૢ૿ૡૹૻૡૼૹ૾ૡૺૹૣૻૼૹૻઽૼૡૻઽ૾ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽૾૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ૡૼ૱ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽૿૱ૡૻ૽૱ૡ૽ૻૡ૾૾૱ૡૻ૽ૡ૽૿૱ <sup>૨</sup>શઃ વાંકેવાયઃ વરુ: વાંદેવાં લપ્પ સુવા સુંદ: સુત સુંદ: વાં સું શ્રદ: વૉદ: વાદ્ય શ્રથ: શર્ટ દ: વૉશ: શ્ર્ટ તવા ચદવ: દચ: સ. સ. લપ: વિવ: ૨૮: <sup>୵</sup>ସ୍ସି୩<sup>ୠ</sup>ୖ୩ଽୖ୶ୄ୵୰ୡୖ୶ଽ୕୶ୖ୶୵ୖ୶ଽ୕୶ୠ୶୶୶ୖଌୖଽ୵ୖୠ୶ୖୄୄଌ୕ଽ୶୲୶୰୲ଵୖ୶ୖ୲୶ଽ୕ଽ୕୰ସ୍ପି୩ୠୖ୴ୠୖୡୣୄୣୠ୲୷୴ୢୖୖ୶ୖ୷ୖୢ୷ୖୄ È'ฮิล'ชีนิ'รฏิณ'ยะ'สัค:'वात्तस्य 'สัพ' तवा तृदः'धृत' [7b] क्रैद' सॅन' वहेवा गुन' रेवास' ग्रे' 'ร ग्रीभ 'धर' विंग्' वत्त्र स्थ 'ह के संग्रें ' के स्थान के स्थ 'ह के संग्रें ' के स्थान 'स्थान के स्थान 'स्थान के स्थान के स 'स्थान स्थान के स्थान के स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान 'स्थान स्थान स 'स्थान स्थान स्थ 'स्थान स्थान स <sup>૱</sup>ૺૻૼૻૻૼૺૣૻૻૼઽઌૻઽૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૢૢૻઌૡૻઌૡૻ૱ૡૡૢૻ૱ૡ૽ૢ૿ૼૻૹૼ૾ૡ૽ૼૼઽૻૡૡૹૹૻૻૼૼૼૼઌૡ૽ૻૡ૾૽ૡ૽ૢ૿ૡ૽૿ૢ૽ૡૻૹૡૡૻૻઽૼ૱ૻૹ૾ૻૻૡૼૡૻૡ૽ૼ૱ૻૡ૽ૼ૱ૻ 

ูด<sup>ุ</sup>ญาฐัส: ฏิ: มู่ : ยะ : สันาทุมพาร์ : รูพาด นาทิจาร์ ตา พูล : ๆ อิตา - รูตา - รุตา : ลู่ : ยะ : สันาทุมพา พัธ - รัสพาษัส: นั้าพยัดเวลทั่งสามส์การที่ๆๆ ซิ่าดุณาศิกาสกา ..... การการที่ๆสายชิญ ..... อังสิ่ามุคลาวยิสาญาการที่างผู้ละ - สูมพานาจรัฐานฐณาสุณาชูณาจริานะิฤพาสิวารมณาจักฤธิฤาทิามูายารที่รายสมพาทัพา Lang kan [8a] x5 સંપ્તર્વ્વભાગચાર એર સરાષ્ટ્ર વાલિય અહેરય દેવાર બાદવા વસ્તુ વસ્તુ વિશે ક્યાવયા વર્ષ્ટ કરાય સાથે સ્વી વર્ષે દ્વા ૡૢૻઽૹઽૡૢૻૻ૱ઙૢૡ૽ૼૼૡૢૻઽઽઽૡૡ૾ૺૹૻૡૡૢ૽ૹૻૻ૾ૼૡૻૢૻૡ૱ૹٳૻૹ૾ૼૼૼૹૼઌ૱૱ૢૼૼૼૡૼ૱ૻઽઽૡૡૢૹૻૡઌ૽૾૱૱ૻૡૼૡૡૻૢૼૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૡ ભ્રાનરું ત્વારેન શું દેશ્યાવનુશ સેવાયા શર્ને લુવ શું દેવાયા શેન છે. વું સાવલે વરુ શાયા શું દેશ્યા શવા શન્ય વા શ ক্রুম্র'নক্রু'ন'র্র্বিণ'র্বৃৎম'শ'রদিম'ম'র্ম'র্ক্র'র্ন্ বিব্বিধা'ম'ল্লীবা'র্যুশ্রেরা'রবা'রবা'র্বা'র্বা'র্বা'র্বা ર્વે[ચારોમર્પે: ૬૫]માં છવાયા ૧૯૧૦ કર્યા સેવા, ધુદ્દ કોવા, કર્વા, ૧૯૧૦ કેવું, ૧૯૨૦ કેમ્પ્ર સાથે મુખ્યત્વે છે. દેવને સાથે છે. દેવને સાથે છે. સુધા સેવા, કેમ્પ્ શુત્લા ચર્કેર દેવ લગ્લા નેરવા તા સ્વાયા નગ્રી પે ભૂરા તા છે છે. કે સ્વાય છે જે ૡ૽ૼૺૢ૱ૻઌૹૻૹૢ૽ૻઌઌૻૹૻ૾૾૾ૼૼઽૺૡૢ૾ૡૻૡૢૻૻઌૡૻઌૢઌૻૻ૾ૹૻઌૻૻૼઽૼૡૻઌ૽૾૱ઌ૽ૻ૱ઌૻ૾ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽ૻૡ૽૾ૡ૾ૻૡ૾૾ૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻ૾ૻઌ૾૾ૡૻ [9b] พระพิ:รฤทิพระพูระพธัร รุสาฤธิฤ เช พิ:รฤทิพรารุฐระพธัร รุสายพานาฤพัร จรูพัร ฤธิฤ เท ૢ૱ઽૹઽઽૹ૱૽૽ૢ૿૾ૹ૾૾ૢ૾ૢૢૼૼૼૼઽૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૻ૱ૻૡૢૡૻૻૡઽ૾ૡૼ૱ૼૹૡ૽૾ૺૹૻૹૻૡૻૻૹૻ૽ૡૻૻઽૡૢૡૻૻૼૼૼૹૻ૾ૡ૽ૻૡૻૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻ ૡૺઽૻૹૻૻૡૻૹૻૻઽૻૻઌઽૢ૱ૡૢૡૻૻ૱ૹૻ૱ૻૻ૱ૻઌૻૼ૱ૡૻૡ૱ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽ૡ૱ૡૻૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡ พระจมู่งารราชุจพาสพราจมู่รารูงาที่รามีรายรัฐรายสายายาสจพารุณตรู เดา ผู้พาธรายร่า ..... [103] વર્સ્નેમ્પ્સ ક્યુન વેંમ્પ્યન અવે મેશ્ર બુધ શું ક્યા વા વર્ષે માણ સાવેલ કેસ નવા વિલે વા વર્ષે માં વિલે વેં ન દેવ <code><code>གଌིག ઙ</mark>ૢૻૢૡૢૻૹૻઽૻ૱ૹૡૢઌઽઌૹઽૢઽૢઌૻ૾૽ૼઽૡૢ૽ૺૹ૾ૣૼઽૡૹ૾ૢૹૻૻૹૻઽૼઽ૱ૡ૽૽ૢૼૡ૾ૢૺઽૡ૱ૡ૱ૹ૱૱ૹૻૻ૱૱ૡૻૻ૱ૻ૱ૻૡ૽ૼઽૻ</mark></code></code> 

ยงยะพธัรษิง นองน ซึ่รเซิ ซึ่ง เรา ๆ เจร (Iob) จึ เอยู่รารเชิรเงม จริจา แพ ๆ เน เ  $\mathcal{A}_{\mathcal{A}^{1}}$ દેશ ગાહ્ય મેં તે છે. આ પ્રાયમ તે સાથ છે. આ પ્રાયમ તે આ પ્રા ๆพาสุราพีราชาจอพ เกาดิราพาพีราๆผูมาพีราชาๆอิต จะระริราฐีราจรัพเกาดิราพาที่มีรารูญาญตารมาพีรา <sup>৻</sup>ॻॱॸ॔ॱॸ॒ଽ⋠ॺॱऄॣॖऀ॔ड़ॱѿ॔॔ॖॱॴॱॻऻॺॖऺॵऻॱऻॻऻॺ॓ॱॾ॒ऺॸॺॱज़ॺॱॻॖॖॖज़ॱय़ॺॱॻॖॖॱॺॱय़ॖॖਸ਼ॱॺॖॖॺॱॺॖॖॷॱॷॕॖॶॱॻॸॱक़ॖॱॸऀॱॸ॔ॱॖॖॖॻऻॱय़ऻॕॸॱॱ มลูสาวัลูสาอสิ่ามีทุพายิรามีริหาเอราซู้ รี่ตาลีสามีรายเราร์รารรายปีทุพานอีสาทธรายชิต พระทางพายุรา มธัร ····· [11a] ····· มลิณาๆลาลูัส นัรายาจอๆ ๆ ฮรรลุลาคมาลูๆรรลิราโรรสารผันลารโลรรมรติ વર્તા મેંદર્દે વુદય વર્તા વર્તા પર છે. જે વાયુયા મળા વા વા વા વા વિદય મેંદર કે દાવદય દેવા વરાય છે. વર્તા વા વા વ र्द्रग्रन्थःक्षे.सु.इ.वहिव) बन्धःग्री मन्द्रां ग्रीन्द्र्युः येवस्य न्युन् छन्तु दुः ग्रीन्द्र्या बन्धः ग्रीन्यन् म्ब्रेन् युव्य वहिव ୶ୣ୶୶ୄୠ୶ୄୢୠ୕୶୶ଽ୕୶ୡ୲ୖ୶ୄୖୠଽ୕୵୶୕ଵ୕ଡ଼୕୵ଽୖ୶୵୲୵୲ୖଵଽ୕୵୶ଡ଼ୖ୶ଽ୕୵୳ୠୄୖଡ଼୲ୖୖ୴ଽ୵୰ୠୖଡ଼୲ୖ୴ଽ୵୰ୠ୵୰ୄଽୡ୕ୖ୶ଽ୵୴ୠୖଡ଼୲ୡୡ୲୴୲ଡ଼ୖଌଡ଼୲୴୲ଌଡ଼୲ มานฉุ้ณารัณาฐางสาวด้าวธูาด้าญ ณางๆเข้างๆๆห้าายได้งานาศณีงผู้ราฐๆาษีรายมากรูราชงาจริยางๆ ๆธิฤ ฐริสรัฐสะ [11b] ศลีามาตาสิสาขาศลีสาขธูรฤธิฤามาณีสาชมาพีรายพารูฤาฮสาจธิฤารสาตาสิสาหาพาศลีสา ๆหิพานาทุพ ผู้สาพีรา นะระหิระเคราะนุญนามานารเครพ ผู้สายสาพีรารชพายาชารทิชา พารารายหน้า ณฑล์ราวุรุงารายาลิราณฑล์รายามณิตุณชมระมันนีรายาสุธิศ แรงารมราชิเษตรีรารศิลิ พิริรามีรา  $atilde{\mathbf{A}}^{\mathbf{a}}$ الله  $\mathbf{A}^{\mathbf{a}}$ กระเจก็ระยิ่างสมา ..... อญาสิ่งเหตุลง เอยู่รุญิ ..... รลายิ่าผูลลง ริงารกระสุพง มาจะสิ่ระจะ มีสราสุพระ <u>રર્ન્સ સ્વત્ર કું ચિત્ત છું ચિત્ત કું વિત્વ કું સ્વત્ કું સ્વત્ર કું સંસ્વત્ર કું સે સ્વયુત્વ સ્વ જે સે સે સ્વત્ર સ્વ જે સ્વત્ર સ્વ સ્વત્ર સ્વ જે સ્વત્ર સ્વ સ્વત્ર સ્વત્ર</u> <sup>૧</sup>૨ૹ"યશ શુગ્રા યા વાર્શે મ્પનડુ કુ ાવલ વકાર વે કે સ્વાયે સ્ક્રુપ્ત વિવા રંગ પેંદુ પ્રથા શુધ્વિય જ્ઞાપ્ત વાર્ષિય સ્ક્રુપ્ત વાર્દેવ ૧૬૦૫ શું અ૧૦૧ ગામવા ૧૬ કે વાયુદ્ધ ગુરાવલે ૧૬. ભા મેં ગા ૧૬ કે શુદ્ધ રવા ગા ગા શુરા સુચાળા ગામેં રાધુ ૧૬ દિવા સુગા રંચા ᢅᠱ᠋ᡪ᠋ᡃᡆᡧ᠋᠊ᠬᡰᡧᢩ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡆ᠋ᠺᡊᢆᡀᡷᠴ᠋᠋ᡷ᠂᠍᠊᠋ᢖᢩᠼ᠈ᡅ᠋᠊ᢩᢖ᠈ᡷᡆᢂ᠂ᡪᡄ᠉ᡪ᠙᠇ᡎᡅᡆ᠈ᡏᢆᡆ᠋᠋᠋ᡥ᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡎᡄ᠇ᡆ᠍᠆᠈ᢩ᠍ᡈ᠆ᡬᠯ᠆᠂᠋ᠲᡭᢂ᠋ᡭ᠂ᠵᠴ᠋ᢇᡄ <sup>ર</sup>શ<sup>,</sup>વલે ક્રીરાવાણાવા દે: હુન ચૂં ટેંનાય વાન્ય વક્ષા ૧૯ જે શું જ વાદેવા ૧૯ વિ રહે વક્ષા શું અયવે વા વાદેવા જ ગ્રુપ 

ๆเราที่มีระชิวุเปลี่ทางกับเราระขางกับเป็นเป็นเปลี่ยนเปลี่ยนเปลา ระพุเปลาเป็น เราเปลา เปลา า ซูลาพิศพาศธิศ ..... ยิเฮศาสูมาซิมาพรัมศารศพันาพ ..... [132] ..... สาพารมายิเลพาศักร ...... ศลิ વશ્ય અવિંચેર ભાદ્દે કર્યું લુવર શા ત્ર ભાદ સાં લુવર સાથ તે છું અવિં ખેંદર્સ સાથ કે દાવા માટે તે સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ યઃঋષિત કેત્ર તથા સુયા પથા દે વિયા જે ભૂગ્યા સુંતુ એ ૧ રૂ. વર્ષો ગાય ગાંઠળ ાયા વા આષત કેત્ર તથા સુયા પ્રથમે દેવવા જે ભૂગ્યા વર્ષીવાય વારુવા લવસ વસ્ત્ર વાવાય વસ્ય લુવા પર કે દ્વવા એક છે. અનુવ નું કે દાવેય દ્વે દાવે અ દેવ અદેવ છે. દાવે છે ้นั่วฮิ่นิพรูสรุรูริกรุโลพาศักรณสู่กพาศุธิศา ฏิัสานมาสิ่มาญัศมาศุธิศา ธิกรุโลพามรูสามุรูรัพาศทัศรามาศุธิศ าระริมาๆผูมาพีรุการิกา กิลาซีลากผู้กลามนิวยา ..... รราวกุ๊กลากริกา รุญารุมาๆผิมาณาผิรา .....ซีลาม ๆารสาวัสๆ สิราไลพาสิรา ..... [14a] ..... ๆรสาๆใหญ่ วัสๆ พธศพาสิพาศาศรายาราชราชราชราคริตา จรั અઢભાવિશ્વપદ્મચ્ચાપ્રશ્વાપ્રસ્થય સુરાવસ્યાવર્ષ્ટ્ય વસ્ત્ય વિદ્વેદ્વ ગો મે સ્ટેલે લુવા વૃત્ત્વ અલવ સુરાવવોં અઢભાવવિશ્વ હત ๆพระๆธิจา มัลานมายดูๆพาโร่พาศิจามษ์ระรุยูราชุสาชูรามระมาร์มูราชุสารระจัดเล่าที่ระจาฮูสา ૾ૣૼ૱ૼૹઽૡઽ૬ૹ<sup>ૣ</sup>ૹ૾ૻઽ૾૽ૢૻૹૻૻઌૹૻ૾૾૾ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻઌૻ૾ૡૻૻૹૡ૱ૡ૽ૢ૾૱ઌૻૡૡ૱ૻૻૡ૽ૻૡૻૹૻ૽૱ૡ૽ૻૡૻૹૻ૽૱ૡ૽ૻૡૼ૱ૡૻૻૡૼૡ૱ૡૻૡૼૡૡૻ૱ૡૻૡૼૡૡૻૻ૱ २५२९७३४४८९२१२३४१२३३९२१३२२ ๚ธิ์ๆ ····· [15a] ····· นาๆหลิการ์ มีเกากาลักร่อารูห์นักรมสายการ์สาร์ สีมายาลาร์ เราะรัง વ્યાચારવય ..... લાજીયોરૂથી શું સુવ ..... દ્વાર સેં લેવાયરાવાલેર બાર્જે વાર વાર્યર રહે સુવા દેશ ખેર વસ્તું તે ૺૡૺઌ<sup>ૣ</sup>ઌૻૹૼૹ૾૾૱ૡૻૻૹૢ૿ૣ૾ૣૻઽ૽૽૽ૢ૿ૢૻૡૡૺઽઌૻૹૼ૽ઌઽઌૼૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻઌૼ૱ૡૼ૱ઌ૽ૻૡૻઌ૱ૹૼૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૼૡૼૡૻ૽ૼ૱ૹૺૼૡ૾ૢૢૼૼૼૼૼ૱૱ૼૼૼૡ

<<<>><<<<>><<<<>><<<<>><<<<>><<<<>><<<<>><<</><<<>><</><<<>><</><</><</><</><</><</p> ๆธิฤ รีระพิณามาติามาๆเคิระ [Isb] ณาจังๆระๆที่มีระฐูๆาพีราราฐีสามราวบัฐีสาๆธระมูณามาคนเธาาธิฤ รีระ ระเลลุ๊ฤฟ.ฮ.ตริต ฟะา์ต์รามสู้รพาฏิ ริราสตารตาลตาเอรามาฮาตริต มิเมมิรายูรามายุตาองพาติจา ู่ผูงต่อต งุณามัยีราตอิต ผูตณาฏิเมอิเมนาน์จาตรงจังกาผูมายาตอิตารราชมาณาตณีงารอุรารราตุณี้จะ ૡૢ૰ૡૻઽૼૡઌૹ૱૾ૄૺઽૼૡૣઽઌઽૣઌ૱ૡૡૻૹૺઌૡૡૢૻૹૢ૾ૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡ૱ઽઌૡૢ૱ૡ૱ૹ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱૱ૡ૱ ๆธิฤ ๆรั้า หางผู้ๆพาสราราว เกิด เมื่อง ๆ ที่ร้างผู้ๆ ผู้ๆพาบิ เมร์ าดคิพามธ์ราว มีสา ๆ อาร์รา การรา รมาน พิระสูามู่ๆ ที่ ที่รังทุฐๆพามะจากุญมาผู้กุณาหูกุณาที่ เการมารางญี่ๆพาริการรายที่ เรา สสริวฏามนิาผูณนพาพาพาที่ทา มีพาคล่านามีรักษณ์มากุผูมาการผมาณากุผัมพักรายุผมเม้ารายามิก ริเป็นระก ····· эะพ.ฏิทาษีรรัฐ์สุเพิราตรัฐรรศุธิย ๗๙ร.ร.อรีร.เศฐระพิ.เอีร.ร.พูปมาร.ตมีปพ.อิร.รประบิ.นีอ..... [16a] ····· ซี้: รุรุณ ะพิระพิระพิมนายาม ต่อยา มณฑิยะ ยารสะรับยุญม พิมษิม พิมษิมายา ซะ เสพ สณาณิ ซู ะ เยา ···· ณฑพัระจดิาษุศาชมาพัราชาฏีสามารฐมาพิศพาศอิศ ฐาราศสุขามคราสราชาวิธิศ รูรารการอาสุขา ા ગુણર્ડ ગાયુરેવા નર રે દેવા વાયુવે ાગુ ગલે છું રુવે ાગુ ગાયુરા સું અક છું ાગુ ગારેવા કે સંગ છે ાગુ ગાયુરા ગાયુ <code>ਗ਼</mark>ᡲਗ਼੶ᡅ੶ਗ਼ੑੑੑੑੑ୴ૢਖ਼ੑਗ਼੶੩ਸ਼੶ਗ਼੶ૹૻૄૼ੶ਖ਼ੑੑਫ਼ੑੑੑੑੑਖ਼<sup>੶</sup>ਸ਼ਲ਼੶੶ਸ਼ਸ਼ਲ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਖ਼ੑ੶੶ਸ਼ਫ਼ੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑੑਸ਼੶ਸ਼ਸ਼੶ਗ਼੶ਗ਼ੑੑ੶ਗ਼੶ਖ਼ੑਗ਼੶ਖ਼੶ਗ਼੶ਗ਼ੑਖ਼ਸ਼੶ਖ਼੶੶ਖ਼ੵ੶ੑੑਲ਼੶ਖ਼੶</code> ๆลิพ ผู้ละลุณาฏิาฐาศุธิศ ผูามสาฏิาฐาศุธิศาจรณารุณาฏิณาณุราชีรายราคมีรามาระชัรารเวลุโพ จะเฮ่ตะหพากๆหญิพานจัณาจอพาสิตาจิานุธุจานูมาจลูตารุ่าพากต่อจา ผจังการจิจาะหลังหลานูมา ગઠેગ તુ∿ાવ તુ અઢેવે રેં અટેલ વેં ભાગે માં ગુેલ સૂચ સુમાય કે નરેં ગાં છે બાદ નગા વેલ સવાય વતા વિવાય વેં ન સું વર્ડ્યા વર્ડે ર ખેંત્ર જૂ.બી જાજીરે તતુ. તે આ વર્ડે આ વર્ડે આ વર્ડ જાય તે આ પ્રજ્ય છે. તે આ જાય આ પ્રજ્ય પ્રજ્ય સાથે પ્રજ્ય સાથે સંસ્થા જોય સાથે સાથે સંસ્થા જોય સાથે સાથે સંસ્થા સંસ્થા જોય સાથે સાથે સંસ્થા સંસ มช์ระสูส สิานิาหรานฐิตาริามาที่ราวาตสิญามสู้รงาญมายารราวทรารงาที่รัฐิตุญามนิาสรายุสาตุธิต มช์ราทีพา "" [172] สุมาลู สมายการสายสารณาผู้สาธิาราสุธิลา มรัรรสัมาชีงาสุริมามรณาสุมาผู้สามายสาสูสาพ <sup>૧</sup>૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ เวเล็จกลาฏิเฏเว้าเปลา ไว่ปลาสวีนเวลีเลาอุนเลาเนี้นานการเรื่องหาสู้เลิมเปลาไหนเล่นเลอีนเอริน อุนเลา વાંકેવા વરુલા વાર્ય વાર્ય સાથા ટેલા વાર્ષે જા સાંજ છેય. છે છે. ટેલા કે વાર્યે ટેલા છે. તાર્ય સાથર તાર્ય સાથ જા ૡૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૹ૾૱૱ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૢ૱ૡ૱ૻૻૼૼૻૡૻૼૼૼૼૼૡૢૻઽ૽ૡ૱ૻૡ૾ૢ૱ૡૢ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૻૻૼૹ૱૱૱ૻૼૼૻૻૼ૱૱૱૱ ๚ะเราะาลิ (I7b) สัพาราลิสาพาวารสัพาวพารพัวส์การพาลิเราะิพาษีเล็าเราะิพาษีเล็าเราะิพาสามารถเราะ શેર યુદ્ધ વર્ષિય ખુવા નુ અર્દિન વેંભ શઅર્દવા અવાખભ વર્ષિય યુ દ્વેવાભ ગુરુ વ્વવે કેં વળવા ર્શ્વ ચેંગ્રેન્ડ વારેવા વાયય <sup>ุ</sup>นที่ระฤพละฤพิสาจัละสุลิฆามานุรุละรูสาพีราชูลามิจางเจริๆ มรัระฮูลาลิรัยาสุจาระจำหระชูลา

ૹ૾ૢૢૡૻૡ૽ૺૹૣ૽ઌૻઌ૾ઽૻઌ૽ૼૼૼૼઽૻઌ૽૾ૼૼઌૼૡૻૻૡૼૻઽઽૻ૽૾ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૡૼ૱ૡૻૻ૱૱ૡૻૢૼૼૼૡૼ૱ૻૡૼ૱ૻૡ૱ૡૻ૱ૡૻ૱૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ ๆพพาศพัสามธิ์ราศิลารมราชิรามธตามธิราศิลาศิรามสู่ราชาสาวยุสามธสาษูราศศิรายาศิลามสมา [183] าลิณาฤพารภิษาโรงพูลารรฐณารมรายกลางสาวอีนรายกรมรายระสารภัณารัฐรายายายอายาย รมหาพิมาที่รายามพาพิราหาพาพิรามาที่ยามพาพิมาที่สายระบาที่มี ๆ และเวาสี่ เสียงเพละ ૻૼૻૹૹૡૡ૽૽ૡૢ૾ઌૹૻૻૻૼૼૼઽ<sup>ૻ</sup>ૡ૽ૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૹૻૻૡૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૻૼ૾ઌૡૻૻઽઌ૽ૢ૿ઌૻઌ૽ૢૻઌૻઌૢૻઌૡૢૻઌૡૢૻ૱ૡ૽ૢૻૡૻૡૢૻઌૡૻૻૡ૽ૡૢૡૻૻૡૻૡ૽ૢૡ ૹૢૢૺ૾ૡ૽ૻૼૼૼૼઽૻ૱ૡૢૼૼઽૻૼઽ૾ૡ૾ૻ૱ૻૡ૱ૻૡૼૼૼૼૼૻઌ૾ૺઽૻૼૼૼૼૻૻઌ૽ૻઽઽૻૡ૽૿ૣ૽૽૽ૼૡૹૻૻૹ૾૽ૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽૾૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ ๚ธิฤ ุลงฤลูมายาลาสูงเข้าปลายกันเว็บหลายกันเว็บหลายกาลเหลือเหลายาลาสุขายการจาก ผล นั้นๆ หัล หิ นี้สานี้ ๆ ๆ ที่พารมา มา (18b) ณๆ ที่พามา ๆ ผมา จิตุพาย สาน ๆ อิตา ผลานที่ (คริงมา นี้) ณๆ ฮูส ดิ ฮู มูๆ ระพิมพู พี่ๆพรัสพรัสามพรมรู รมระนี้ รอม ซีรามระทางระหาร์ รามาระเวทิ ๆ พระ ૽ૢ૿ૺૢૻૢૻૢૻ૽ૡ૱ૡૻૹ૾ૣૺૼૼૼૻૡ૾ૼૢૻ૱ૻૡૺૠૻૻઽૻૡૡ૽ૣ૿ૡૹૻૡૹૻૡૢ૿ઌૻૻૹૻૹૼ૱૽ૻઌ૾૱ૡ૽ૢૻ૱ૻૹૼ૱૽ૡૼૺૻ૱ૡ૽ૼૡૻૺ૱ૡૻૻ૱ૡૻૻ૱ૻ૱૱ૻ શેર'ગ્રુવ'યું'ડુવા'ર્બેન'રશ'ર'ગ'ર' રલ્યુર' વેન'રન' બેવાય છે વારેવા કું' સુર વેન્ટ' તે કું કે કે વેન વે સાર વધુન' સુર નથન ૼઽૼૼૼઽઽૹૻ૾૾ૼૼઽૻૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૹૻૻૹ૾૾ઽૻઌૼૡૼૼૹૻૹૣૺૐૼૼૼૡૻૹ૽ૺૢ૽ૺૡ૽ૢૺ૱ૡ૽ૢૺઽ૱૱ૡૹ૱ૹૻૻૡ૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ ૹૢ૽ૺઽૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૢૻઌ૱ઌૹૻૻઌૻૻઌૻૻૡઽૡૡ૱ઽૡૹૢ૽ૢ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૡ૽૾૱ૡૻૡૻ૱૽ઌૻ૽ૡૼઽઌઽૡૢઽૡૣૻ૱ૼૡૻૹૡૡૹ૽૾ઽૡૻૺઽ૱૱૱૱૱ૡૻ વાનુવાય દેવા હવ વાકવા લય જ વાકવા જીય અઢય જ વાકવા વકયા જીય સુધાર કરી છે. સુધાર સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથય સાથય ๆธิฤ สิๆาาราหาญฤพาผูารัฐานหารัฐาญฤพาฏิเมตราลิณาฤธิฤ สามราราระรัฐารีสาร์ไป สูาารารา વસું લે વાં કેવા ક્રેન્સ રાં છું સર અર્કે રાય સું રાવેવાયુ સર્ક્ત જો અર્કે રાક્ષ સાય વતું ક્ષેય રત્રે દે શું ગ્રથ છું જેવ ที่ 'द्ग्रीकार्णेंदरयावृहेवन क्षु 'दराक्षुवाकारकारदाववीवाकारक' [202] वृहिव मुखकायावाददातुका वितावतुवाका विकार्यव . ખેંપઃ સુંચાનકષા વર્ષિત્ર ખેંગવેલે ખેંદર સુંવાય વલેર ભુવાય છે જ ખેંદર વગ્રુદર પુરા સ્ટર વર્ષા વાય વાઈવા વાય સ ૡદૈ૱ૡઽૡઙૢ૱ઽ૾૱ૡૡૹૺૡૻૡૡ૾૾ૡ૾૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૾૽ૡ૽ૡ૱ૡ૾ૡ૱૱ૡૡ૱૱ૡૡ૱૱ૡૡ૱૱

<sup>૱</sup>ૡ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૹૣૻઌૹ૾ૻૹ૾ૼૼૹ૾૾૽ઌૡૢૹ૾૾ૡ૽ૢ૽ૢ૽૽૾ઽ૾ૼૹ૾ૡ૱ઙ૽ૺ૱ૻૢ૱ૻ૱૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ ૡૢૻૼ<sup>ૢ</sup>ૹૻઌઽૹૻૻૼૺૼૡૻૢૻૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૢૻૡ૽ૻૻઌૡ૾ૺૹૻૻૹૡૢૼઽૹૻૡ૽૽૾ૢૼૼ૱૽ૻૼૡ૾ૼૻૻ૾ૹૼૢૡૼૡૢૼૡ૿ૣઌૻૡ૾ૢઌ૽૿ૡૻૡ૾ૡૡૻૹૼૢૡૼૡ૾ૢૻૡૻૻૼૼૡૻ૽ૡ <sub>ૢૻૺ</sub>ૹૻૻઽઽ૾ૡૡ૽ૣ૾ઌૹૻૻઽઽૼઽૡૢૻૡૢૹૻૹૻૼૻૹૼઽૹઽૢૡૼૡ૾ૢૢૺૼૼૼૼઌૻૡૼૡૡૡૡૡૹૻૻૡૻૻઌૡૹૻૻ૱૾ઽૡૻ૾ઽ૾ૺૡૻૻૹૻૻૹૻૣૢૼૼૹૻઌ૾ૡૢઽૡૡ૽ૢઽૡૡ૽ૢઽૡૡ૽ૻ (20b) રહ્ય નગર કરાષ્ટ્ર વાર્કન સ્વાય વાલુ : 5 વેર નો માર વિશ્વ મેં નવે ગરળ વિર નવે છે. જે જે જે જે જે જે જે જે ૡૹ૾ૢૹૻૹૣૹૻૹ૾૾ૹ૱ૢૼૡૢઽૢૺ ૡ૾ૺઽૻૡ૽૽ૺઽ૱૽ૡ૽ૺૹૻૹૢ૾ૼૼ૱ઌૻઽૼૻૻૹ૾૾ૢૺૹૻૹૼૻૻૼૼૼૹૹૻૡૢૻૡૻ૱૽ૡ૽૾૱ૡૻૻ૾ૻ૱ૡૻૻ૾૽ૼૻ૾ૼૡૻૻૹૻૻૡૻૡૻ૱૱ૡ ามระธิมาตลิลาอาณาอาณาอาณามายาวมระจาญลาที่ราวายสาสสานสามระจามสามระจาย ลงลงระจรุ เกรารู เฉติ ผู้มาวร ผิตา ทิ ฑ เฉยูมาร ริราธาตุ อิตารา มิ [242] ริสาทุญมามธ์ราธณรารางง รต่าอุยุณ.อิทยาย.อ.รู้จ.งนี้พ.งณ์พ.ปะ.ทรูโป.ก.อิง.อิป.อิทยาย.ลิย.อดีจ.ปยุง.ร่พ.ระพ.ปทางพ.นี้ป. ๆธิลารมาร์สาอิรา สา @ [24b] ฮัลา 22 ฉละานี้านาราสูาอุมานาสูามชีสสารราตสารทาชราทุณฑาอิราวรากรา ૡદંશ ૿ૢ૽ૣ૽ૺૼૼૼઽ૾ૡ૾ૢૢૢૢૡઽૢૻ૾ૺઽ૾ૡૻૻૼૻ૾ૼૺૡ૾૾ૺ૾૽ઌૡૻૡ૾ૡૻૡૡૢૹ૾ૻ૽૿ૣૢ૽ૡૡૢૹૡૻૢૼૼૡ૾ૢૻૹૡૢૹૡૢૻૡૡૢૹૻ૾ૡૡૢૹૻ૾ૡૡૢૻૡ૾૾ૡૡ૽ૺૡ૽૾ૡૡૡૻૹ૽ ๆธิณารณารัฐเฏิณ ซ.ย.ซ. s ซฺณ x ณ มามามายนายธิมามีเกาปลามยิ่งเหล่งเรื่องเหล่ง ึงหาสู้ปากหาฐะเวลิเห็นเทรระเราไ บูเหเยินเหรามหารนเดียารนเสียงการจาเปล่า <sup>૧૬૮:</sup>૧૪૫.૨૧૪૫: ર્સુર પ્વુરાયુયા નુરાય ગેંદ વહેર વડવા દેશ જીય વહેર ખેંદ વ છેડા સ. ર જેલાયા અદ સેર છેલા 

ศูพายพายรถาม เองพารศัพษฐลิเรียพารัฐมาราสา 20 สีพาณา [25b] มีราญญาณีาพราวอีราเซาสู รมาราระยูญ ૡૻૡૻૹૢૡૻૡ૱ઽ૽ૹ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૻૹૣૻૼૼૼૼૻૡૼૼૻૡૼૼૻૡૼઌૡૻૹૻૡૼૡૻૡૼૻૹૢ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૡૼૻૹ૾ૢૹૻઌૻઌૻૻૡૻૼૡૻૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻૡૻ૽ૡ૽૿ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૼ૱ૹ ୶ୢୄୣୠ୶ୄୣୠ୕ଽୄୢୣୣ୰ଡ଼୶୳୵ଽ୶୲୳ୖଽ୶୕ୣ୶୶ୡୄ୵ୄୄୄୄୄ୶୲୶ୖୖୖୖୖୖୡ୶୳ୄ୳୰୳୵ୖୖୖୖୖ୳୕୵ୠୄୡୡୄୡ୲୰୶ଌ୕ୡୄ୲ୖଡ଼୕୵୳୲ଵୄୖୖୖଵୣ [ୢୢୢୢୢୢୢୢୢଽଽୢୖୄଌ୲୶ ଵାଧଽଽଌଽ୶୲୶୶୲ଗୣୣ୳୳୳୳ୖ୳ୄଌ୶୲୳ଽଌ୲୳ୄୠୢୄଽ୶୲ଡ଼ୄ୲ଽ୶୲୳ୠୄୢୣଌଡ଼୲୶ୄୖୄୄୄୠୄଌ୲୶୲୶୲୵ୖୄଽ୶୶୲ଡ଼ଽ୲୶ୖ୶ଽ୲ଡ଼ୡ୲ୖ୶୲ୖୄ୶୲ଡ଼ୖ୲ଽ ૬૬. ભા જીયા મા બે છે. છે. આ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રસાય પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ ๆธิยา ? ๆพิม ลาง พพายุการนิวัย และเข้าผู้เจลง เรา ผู้อาง ซิรมาน ซิรักาพัน อาง เรา เป็น เกา เรา เป็น เกา เรา เป็ ณร์ ตาร 20 สุณ. 27 พระการพิป จุณพระการพระการพระการพระการพระการพระการพระการพระการพระ ้สทาง...ปะ..ลิน...ปนะ..โล็น...นามูรปพโ แรพ..ปนิกพ..โลพพ.ก.เพ.พูปพ.กษู.เด็ท.พี...ตุ.เจ็ม.พี...ตุ.เจ็ม...ส..ไม้พ.ษู. นโล้ะเรียง รีพ. 65 ขนเมื่ามามหาพี่ให้การหรี่มีรายสังพระเมียงเด็นรังเลยีนไป และเรียงเรียงเรียง มดิ พู่ ๆ พูสายารฐกาลาฏิ พูมาณ สิาสติ พักายาลิงายุสาพิสาพิรากุธิการรด กุลราสามารถาบารราย યર સુવાય છે સચાયા લું દે ખુવા રંચ ખેર પા સુંચ ખેર દે દ્વા 220 વયા 202 વાયેર કરય છે શવા સું પર સુવાય છે સચ ૡ૽ૺૹૻૻઌૡૻૡૻૡૼૹ૽ૡૼૺ૾ૻઌ૽ૢ૿ૺૹ૾ૣૹૻઌૻૡૢૻૡૡૻૹૻ૽ૡૡૻૡૡ૽ૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૡૻૹ૾ૢૼ૱ૡૣ૱ૡૡૻૻૡૼૡ૱ૡ૾ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૱ૡૡ૽ૺ૱૱ૡૡ૽ૺ૱ สกลางหาฏิการน้ำตกูกลาหิสาซีพางาโอ๊าร์าซ์าตกาศพันาษิกำรับพัการาพิ๊สาพักาศชิตา 262 อิตาลาร์น้ำมีเคน ๚ิเชิรุเลียิ์ชิรุเซลี่ฟางการคมเมิราชกานไม่เชียพารกรุกานใจปี รอร งานทุรายสพ.มิเจ็นเพิ่มไว้ป่าระเ ้นปู่ปลา พรู้เปล่าผิมีพ.ทุปพ.มิ.ศีร. จ. ปยุร. ระพ.ทพ.มีป.ก.ศ. มีร.รพ.ปรุปพ.ป. นดิวของาชสามิเหมามที่สาติ ผู้เสมุล ครุสาครกาศศากรณ์ ผมาณาตูวัญทางมาพักรายงามกาศคระรา [36b] પૃષ્ઠ 'નમ્પ્યુન્સ્ન વર્ષોવાય' શું અનુય ક્રુપ 'નું 'નું સ્વેર્ય નાં જે અન્સ જોયુવ શું સેન્સ્વ નાં નાં પું છે સેન્સ્વ ગાંધુ ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ' શું સેન્સ નાં ગાંધુ સેન્સ સ <sup>,</sup> પ<sup>\*</sup>ર્કે નેં સુવા રંચ વરેવા. ૧૯૪. કેવ સેં તરે સે વર સેવા પ્રદેશ પાય છે. શેવા પાય છે. શેવા પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ સે ગામ છે. સે ગામ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ સે ગામ છે. સે ગામ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ પ્રદેશ સે ગામ છે. સે ગામ પ્રદેશ પ્ર પ્રદેશ પ ૹૣ૿ૡૹઌ૽ૢ૿૾ૹ૾ૢ૱ઌૡૢૻૻઽૼૡ૾ૻૼૼૼઽૡૡ૾૾૱ઌ૾ૡ૱ૹૢૡ૱ૡૡૹૹ૱ૡૡૻૹ૱ૡૡ૾ૢૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ

อุลุสามามกูรัฐ์อุณาษูอุณาซุรฏิกาศหมาพักร [372] กรางกรางรูรักษฐการที่สารกรรมสายเริ่าหารัฐานกระ ๆธิฤฯรุระ 220 ผู้สามหาศุลิทุพาศุภิมาสามารารัฐศุณฑ์ ซูเลียงเพริยศราศุภิมานี้ระศูลราศหลายเพราะพาตะ ગઢેવ<sup>,</sup> ૧૮૦ ૬૬, ભઃ સું વાલે×ઃ લ≤ લાવરા સુવાલ 'ગુે ક્ષચ' ભઃ કે વા⊂ વાર્લે માં કે ૬' દ્વારા લુક સુવા છે કે ' ગુમાલ જ દાસે કાર્બે ૬' ય ગાંદેવા ૧૮૧ નદુત્ય સું ખેંચ હવા દેંચ તર્વેલ નવર શેવા તા કુ તાન તાંદા તાંદા તાંદા તાંદા તે વિવર્ણ તે તે તે તે ત ุฐะสะรมสายุธิยา 242 55 เกามี มียางหายอย่างเอยู่เอาร์ยม ผู้เกากะเพื่อเหาอุมีเมานอย่างเอย่างเป็นสายเป็นเป็นเป็นเป યયાલવા ગુે ૧૮૨૨ વાર્ષે મારી વાર્ષે જા સાથ છે. તાર સાથ છે તાર સાથ છે. તાર સાથ જે તાર સાથ છે. તાર સાથ જે તાર સાથ છે. તા મંદ્રેપ્પરસુવાય મુંગ્સમ [37b] પાવર્ષિ પ્લેર વેરુવા સ્વાપ્ય સ્થાવે પ્રાપ્ત પાવસ્થા પ્રાપ્ત પાર્થ સુવાય પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત સુવાય પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ ยมพาศสั้ระสู่รารุญาพีราชาติธศารราชราฐศณฑิษยมพาศสั้รายสู่รามาลัราชมาติธิศา ศลัตรุษายมพาศสั้รา શ્રું.તરસુંત્રાય.ગ્રી.શિય.ન.ત્રાબ્રૂ.સ.તર્ક.ભૂર.ત. ૧૦૦ તકૃતા.તઙબ.તર્ણુર.૨૮.ન.સે.દૂ.તં.ત્રે.વ.૪.૧૭.બ.બૂ. વાંબ્રસ્ટ ક૮બ. ૠ૾ૺૡઙૢૻૡૡ૾ૺૡૢૹૻૡૡૢૡૻૡૡૢ૾ઽૡૻઌ૱ૢૹૻૡૡ૾ૺૡૻૻૼઽૡૡૡૢૻૹૼૡૹ૾૱૾ૼૹૻ૾૱ૹૡૢ૾ઌૡ૽ૻૡૡૡ૽ૻૡૡૡૻૻૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ ๆผูมาร่าพีรานชามูาๆผูมา 202 202 ๆผ่างสามาร์กาญรี่มีการการมู่ๆหายิ่ายมากเลื่องกาญกาญการการการการการการการการการ <sup>શ</sup>ર્પેન્ડ્રિય વૃદ્ધના ૧૯૯ વાયેન્ડ ૩૬. તા છું. સુંગ સુંગ વડ્સુવાય છું સુયાય લુંગ વર્ષે સંઘુડ્ડ વાયે પ્રદેવ. ૧૯૧ વાયેન્ડ ระลาฏิ สิ้นาษีะเป ฟีเกะเพียนหามิเมีหางามูาปลางานรูเกะเมริการเปลา 568 ประระหามิเปลาะเชวิลเพอ. พูมาดขาผู้ระยุกามธัสายระจะบราสูกหาติเลียงเกเน็เปละประกูษภูริการเหล่าการเล่าการเรา ประเยาหน้าระระจะการเรา ૿૽ૺૹૢૢ૾ૺૺૺૺૺૺૡ૾ૢ૾ૡ૾૾ૼૡઽૺૹૢ૾ૣઌઌ૾ૻૺૼૼૼૺૻૹૺ૱ૺઌ૽ૢૺૡૢૻૺ૾ૡૻૻૡૻ૽ૡૻૻૡૻ૽ૡૻૻઌૻૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻૡૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽૱ૡ૽ૡ૽ૡૻ૽ૻૡૼ૱ૻૺૡૻૡૺ ชู้ราจรู ๆ ดิพาพีรามพามีๆ (คุณรัฐาศุธิศายานายาสะาพิสาศุธิศา 200 พิเพพายุจามนิาพิพาดิรามพาพิศา ฬูนราวีรุมิเลขางาติเปละเปลารักษฐานรายเหล่ามระจะหางหามีอากระพี่งารกษฐานกะมีพารักษฐานเมิพีเรา ้- เป็นหายริเปนี้, 303 ชพ. 336 ปิยุระสะพ.ปะเทราชารญราชานาชิเปละมีเนื้อมหายหายริเปน้ากระ ระรู รุง ภู.ต วิทยาสารริชาม ที่สารทางปอนเบ็ลไม่ เป็นเราส์ เกิม เราส์ เราส์ เราส์ เรา เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็ રક્ષ પોર્ડસર શૈયા કેવારે વરતર તરી શ્રેયાય પ્રે. શ્રેયા ગા કે દુર્દ પ્રુટ રાજે રાજે રાજી સાર ત્વીયા ચરતા કેવા. કરા બાંદુ શ્રિય <sup>ાર અન</sup>્ય કે ખેત્રા તારે જેવેયા ત્યું ચિત્ર ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર ત્યાર્થ ત્યાય ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર્થ ત્યાર ત્યાર

นารลูกุลาฏิเลลานาตารลูเปลาเลาสารร์เปลาเการ์เราไปเราะ भु'ख़ेब'द्विश' [39a] धर'र्दर'यदिंग्:चुे'श्वब्र'य'द्वि'न्नर'गर्सेंग्:दुन'र्थेर'धर्भुंद'र्थेर'गठेन' २७० श्वेरे'श्वुद'म्स'न्वेन्नर ક્રદભ દ્વિભ સુવાય શે શયા પાંતુ વાર વાર્યર વસુય ઘર રાય વાર્સવા વાર્કર કરા હવા હવા વાર્ટ કરા છે. આ આ આ આ આ આ આ આ ૽ુેઽ'ઽધ'ૡ' વેં' વાંદેવા' વી' સુ' વક્રુ 4 વિંગ & ૬' પૃલ પ્ય ' લુવા' શ્ર & 4 & દેવ' દેવ' દેવ' દેવ' દેવ' દેવ' દેવ' ૨૮૬ શુૈ 'ધેચ' સું' ર્વેવા & ન 'ધેવ' તા સુંવ સવ ન કલા મે વાવ 'ધેવ' [39b] ભ્રુ વિન ના શુધા તે વાય પ્રાયત્વ સાય સ્વાય. સંગય ૡૢૺૻૻૻઽૼૻૡ૽૾ૼૡ૽૾ૼૹૻૻઌ૾ૻૡ૽ૻ૱૱ૡૢૡૻૻ૽૾ૼઽૼૻૡૢૻૡઽૼૢૺૢૡૢૡૻ૱ૼૼૼૼૻ૽ૼ૾૾ૼઽ૽ૺૹ૾ૣ૱ૹૢૢૻૹ૱ૻૡૡૢૼૼૼૼૻૼ૱ૼૡૻૻૼ૱ૡૻૡૡૡૡૻૡૼૼૻૢ ૽ ୩૬ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻૻ૾૽ૼૡૻૼૹૻ૾૾ૣૼૼૼૼ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૼૻ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻૹૢ૾ૢૢૢૢૢૡૻઌૢૻૡૡૢૻૢૻૻઽૢૻૻૡ૱ૡૻૻૻૼૼૡૢૻઽૡ૾૾૾૾ૡૢૺૼૻૹ૾૿ૡૢ૾ૡૡૡૡૻૻૡૡૡૡૻૻૻ૽ ૡ૽ૼૼઽૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૹઌ੶ઌ੶ૹૢૢૢૢૢૻૡઽ૾૾ૣૢૢૢૢૢ૽ૺઽૻૹૐૼઽૻૹૹૻઙૼૡૻૼૼૹૼૡૻ૽ૡૼૹ૾૾ૣૢૡૺૹૻૹૻૻ૱ૡૻૹૼ૱ૹૻૹ૾ૡૡ૾ૻ૱૱ૡૻ૾ૡ૾૾ૡૹ૱ૡ૾ૢૡ ๆารส รีรรูจุ จัฬาจลรางพาสูจานนิทานส ริกาพีรรัสรรรสูงรรสูญาพธัสรัรฐรณษา อิการมานี้พากุลมะ ๆพูมาพีรายหาผู้สามรายรูสาฮราๆอิๆ ที่รายราพิริราศศิพามา [40a] หลุ่มาผู้สามรารักฎรพายอังอุรารา ૹ૾ૢૼૼૼૼૼૡઌૻઽૼૡૹ૾૾ૡૺઌ૽૾ૡ૽૿૱ૡ૱ૡૻૹ૾ૢૼ૱ૡૻઽૼૻૼ૽ઌૡ૽ૺઽઽૼૹૢૢ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૡ૾૾૱ઽૻ૾ૡૡૢ૱૱ૡ૱ૹ૾ૢૼ૱ૡૻઽૺૡૡ૾૱ૹ૾૾ૣ૱ૡ૱ <sup>ૢ</sup>ૹૡૢૻ૽ૼૻઌૻઌૻૻઌૹૻ૾ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢ૾ૼૡૡૢૡૻઌૻ૽ઽૡ૾ૻ૱૽૽૽૾૱ૢૻૼૼઽૡૣૻૢૹૻૹ૾ૢૢૻૡૻઌૻૼઽૡૻૻઌ૾ૻૡ૽૾૱૽૾ૡૡ૾૾ૡ૽ૻૡૡ૾૾ૡૡ૾૽ૡૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૽ૡૼૡૡ૽ૼૡૡ૽ૻૡ ઽચરઃ શુૈૹઃ ચર્ઢેઽ઼ ર્ગેઽઃધઽ઼ ૨૱ૼ૱ૻૡૡઌૹ૽ૡૹઃ ૡૹઃ ૡૹઃ ૡ૱ૡૡ૽ૢૡ૽૽ૡ૾ૣૹૺૡૢ૽ૺ૾૾ૹૣ૾ૼૹઃ સુંચઃ સુંચઃ વૃદ્ધ ઽઽ ૡૣ૾ૼૼૼૼૠૼૡદૡઃ વ&વા વો ૡ૽ૄ૿ઽૺ ૡૻઽૼઽધૹૡૢૹૻૻૹૡૻૻૹૡૻૡૡૻ૾ૼૻ૾ઽૡૡૢઽૻઽઽૡૡ૽ૡૺઽૡૻૹ૽૾ૹૡૡૡૻૹૻૻ૱ૡૻૡૡૻૹૻ૱ૻ૽ૡૻઽૡૹૡૢૹઌ૽ૡૹૡ૽ૡૡૡૡૡ૽ૺ૱ૹૡૻૹૹૡ૽ૺૡૢ૱ૡ ૻ ગાઢેસ ૬૮ ત્વેરા ૬ સ કેવા સે સેર કે સ ક્યું ૬ તેરા સંવાય વ્યુય હત્ર કે સ્વય વ્યુવે અદ્વા અર્વે વ વ્યય છે કે આ ઐર્વે શૈળવર્ષે માય છે. તે પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય છે. તે પ્રાપ્ય છે. તે પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્ ๗ัสฺ ฮิสฺฯ๙ ฯลีุลีฆ๙ ๆดูรารรธร ฏิัส ฮูร ณีๆ๙ ฯร ๒๖ เลิร หรือ ซิซิมมรณ (41a) หรือ๙ หรือ เลิร ๆจำรดิจา ปลายการสาย สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสาย สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสาย สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสาย สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการ สายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการส ายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสายการสา การสายการสายการ

<sub>สตา</sub>ผู้ระดุณาราฏิเพลร์จพาอาจาจริณาฏิรา สิเสิพานา ซารา ยุจาณายายากราชา พยัรายุรพานา ยูๆ ห้างสุ่งเช่าเกาง งะเร็ร ซูงเพิ่าจาง ๆ อิๆ ยู้ระเวองเดงเรายู่เพลร์ เพารรุญ เมื่อง เราร์งเนี้ยา เรายู่รา สิ. 2 สีพ พ กละนั่นไป [422] ยิปพรรฐานสน ยิ่นเนาล์ เลี้นเนาล์ เล่านาย์ เรานาย์ยา ยี่เนาล์ เล่านาย์ เล่านี้เป็นเนา ู<sub>้ยส</sub>ะฤธิฤ มิ:พี่พี่พาจรู:ฤหูมาศี้พาฮิพาญ (48a) จสู:ชาอูหมณิที่พี่พาหิสาทุญมามธิ์ตามพา นพ.ส.เวลน. แห่งเวลา เป็นเป็น เป็นเหลือ เป็นเหลือ เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็น เป็นเป็นเป็นเป็น <u>વ</u>વાં સ્ત્રા આવય શાયા અઢસ શિ.સું પર 'સુવાસ' શે સ્ત્રા ત્યા શું રેં 'વાર્સે ર છે ર પક્ષે પર નવું પર ર પર વા વા વે વા જ બેવે : *દે*વે:ક્ષુપર;ક્ષુવાય:ગ્રું:ક્ષુચ:પ:વિ:વાર:ર્ક્રે:વાર:બેંડ્'ય:વાઠેવા: ૭ બે:રવા:વી:દેવે:ક્ષુપર;ક્ષુવાય:ગ્રે:ક્ષુચ:પ:ર્ક્રે:વાર:વાર્સે:ર ઙૢ૾ઽઽૣૢૢૣૡૢૡૻઽૡૻ૾ૡ૱ઌ૾૾૾૾ઌ૾૾૱ૡ૽ૢ૽ૺ૾ૺ૾૾ૡ૾ૺૹૢૻૡઽૹૢૢૡૡ૾ઌ૽ૢ૽ૺૹૢૹૡૻૹૼૡઽૡૹૻ૾ૼૹૡ૾ૡ૽ૡૻઽૡૡ૾ૡૻઽૡૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૽ อูลง ๆส่างลาสงญิงริสาวอูราผู้เข้ามนิวยารผู้ๆลงผูมานาร์าๆราศมีราวราพีรุยารรดิศา 22 ๆส่างลาสงญาร์า ้จัดิ์ ผู้เนราผู้ฤกฬ ซู้าซีมาณ ฮิ้าฤกาศมัน รุฤท นี้รุณ ๆธิฤ วร ฤดินายรหาซู้านรายู่รุณ มธิ์รารุสายรณาซิพ <sup>.</sup> ૧૧૮૨ માં આ પાર્ટ્સ આ પ્રે. આ પ આ પ્રે. આ 2S વાયેમ: 3K.સ. છે કુવ: 5 વર: એર: વ્રિસ: 45 સુવાય: છે કુસર: બાલુ: વાર: કે રેં: વાર્યેમ: વલે સ: બેંદ: ઉસ: બેંદ્ર 29 યોવે કુવ ૧૧૦૨ વેંદ રાષ્ટ્રીય સાવિય સુવાય ગુિ સુયાય વિંદ્ર નાયું સ્વેર વાયુય પ્લય સુંધ પેંદ વાયુવા ૨૮ યોવે કુવ ૧૧૦૨ ี่มีพลู่ๆพ.มิ.มีพ.พ.เอ็.ปะ.ย.เป็.ปะ.ย.ป.พ.พ.เอ็.ป.พ.พ.ยิ.ยิม.พ.พ.ยิ.ยิม.พ.พ.ยี.เพิ่ม.พ.เป็.พ.พ.มี.พ.เป શયાયાં શે વારા વાર્ય રાવતા ચેરા વેરા તે રાવે રાવે સુધ ચેરા કરતા છે. શે રાવે સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ 

કુેદર્પ્વા, ભૂટે તા પ્રકૃતા, ૩૦ તોયુ રા વળ છી. કેવ. સે તર સૈવોજા, છી. સંજ્ઞાન, ત્રા હા તા જૂર, તર જી છી. ૩૦ વોયુ าต์] 24 สุล. พว ปลุราละล.มิ.มี.สังเลี้ยะมีเก่ะสีปลาญ.มีมรางเป็.ปลาเกเป็.ปลาย.ก.ปลามรณ. และเปลา ઽૡઃવૢ૱૽ૻૢૡઌૡૼૼૻૡૼૢૼૣૣૣૢૢૡૻૢૡૺ૾૽૽ૢ૾ૺૹૢૢૻૡઽૹૢૢૡૡ૾ઌ૽૽ૺૹ૱ૡૻૹૼૡઽૡૡૼઽૡૡૹૢ૱ૡૻઽૡૡૹૢૹૢ૽ૺૼૢૡૢ૿ૣ૽ૡૢૡ૱ૡ૱ૡૻ [503] ปตระสะพ.พพ.ปีปากรูโลพพ.ปะชา.ปีโหลามีเมืองเหล่าประเทศรายที่หลายเหล่ามาเป็นสีม.พ.พ. ี้ ๆราศส์หาลฏราพีรายายูมสานสาดสสาญฏหลีสาพีราสสสา พอ พพ พร ศลิหาสรสาฏาณสสารกรณนุต વલે<sup>,</sup>યાયર, ક્ષેત્રયાબ.ગ્રી. ગ્રિંગા, હીં.વોર, <u>ક</u>્રા, વોર, ક્ષેયો, વ્યત્ર, તબ. પ્રત્યુ, ગ્રી.પ. યાયકુવો. ૫.૧ જ. જ. યાયુ, પ્ર ๆสึงนุโจ้าะๆผูมายารผูตพานี้รานโจ้ารัฐามมาพรักร้าๆพี่จารๆกันรายาติชา พอ ๑๐ ๑๐ ตุมจายระหาฏิ้ยูล કઽૹૻ૾ઌ૽ૢ૿ૺૡદૹઽૡૢઽૹૻૡ૱ૹૻૡ૽૽ૺૹૻૡઽૻૡૻૼઽૼૡૡ૽ૼૼૼઽૼૡૢ૽ૼૹૢૻૹૻૻૡૻૻૹૻ૽ૻઽૼૼૡૻૹૻૼઽૼૡૻ૾૾ૻૡૻૼઽૻૡૻૡૼૡ૱ૹ૾ૢ૱ૡ૱૱૱ sr વાલેમ: ક્રેન્સ છે) દે વિવર્ષ્યુ વક્રુ વર્ષ્ય સુવાલ છે સુચાય કે ને વાલેમ છેનું સ્પેન યાવેલા ss [sob] વાલેમ કરત <sup>.</sup> બાર્કોર્ને વાર્શે માધુને ત્વલે ખેત- ધાવા કેવા. ૭૮ જે વુષા મત્ત વેદ્યો વાર્શ્વ વાર્ષ્ય વાર્ષ્ય વાર્શ્વ વાર્ષ્ય વાર્ષ્ય વાર્શ્વ વાર્ષ્ય વાર્ષ્ય વાર્શ્વ વાર્ષ્ય વાર્ષ્ય ๆได้ระผู้รุ่านี้รุ่านาๆธิฤ ๑๐ ๆไม้ระสะพายุจารจะรั้ระๆรุสามารรฐกุณฑิ สมพาร์รัราศส์ระผู้รุ่รับนี้รุ่น ้ ๆธิๆ' ขอ พิ่งพิราฏิ หูสาพู ไว้พายา ผู้ๆ คำหูมาพาร์ รับษีรายาคริกา ขว พิ่งมาพพายุสายนิ ภูมพายาลละ ่าดุๆณาสิ่ง ผู้ๆณาฏิ ผมานาร์ โ าศมัน าลูรานั่ง นาศุธิศา 22 นามินาฏิ อูมมาผู้ สิ่ง ผู้ๆณาฏิ ผมานร์ ๆก <sup>.</sup> ભ<sup>.</sup> કે રે વર્ષે ર વતે ખેં ર વ વ રે વ . *૫*૯ બે સે ર શું સુર ર લ વ કે વ લ સુર ર શું બ ર સુર ર સુવ જ શું સ્વર સુવ છે સુર <sup>,</sup> યા. ફ્રાંન્ટ્રે. ના બુજર તાલુ ના પ્રાયય છે. બુજર પ્રાયય છે. આ બુજર તાલુ આ બુજર તે બુજ ้ ยูมานาร์รัราศพีรา [51a] ผู้รานีรายาศธิศา ขข น้ำผ้ละตู้านุ้มายุการกระตุ้รายกรามเศกพามธุ์การจะเยมานา ૾ૹૼૻૼૻૼૼૼૼૻૻૼૼૼૡૻૻૹૼૼૼૻૡૢૺ૱ૻઌૻૻૺૼૢૼૼૻૻઌ૽ૻ૱ઌ૾ૺૡૻૻૻઌ૾ૡૺૼ૾ૻૹ૾ૢ૱ૻૹૢ૱ૻઌૻૹૻૻૡૻૻ૱૱ૡૻૹ૱ૻૻૡૻૻૼૼૼૼ૱ૡૻ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૡૼ૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ૻૻ૱ ૽ૢૢ૱ૹૡૡઽૡૢૣૡૹઌ૽૿ૢ૽૾ૹૣ૱ૡૻૹૼૼૻૼૻૡૼૹૼૻૻઌ૾ૻૼૼૻૡૹૡૢૡૡઌૹઌ૽૽ૢૺ૱૱ૢૡૡૡૡૻૡૡૡૻૡૻ ณ ฮิ่าๆ ราศพีรายาพีรายาลีสาพีราศพิพา LY Lo ณิามูตาลิ มูจารจรายราลูๆพาซิามพาซิ่าๆ ราศพีราราศที่ระรับทั้นรา శశాషలి ग्रेमा २४ २८ ई. बार वर्षे र खेर राज्य विषेत्र १८ के र वा (SIP) वी खेर रवर तर खेर्वा वी सेवा कर होता र ब พีรายาสุริพา 20 00 พิเสพิราซิเซิมาสูมามหาสุมหาสิมหาสิมายราชีรายุโรมชาพามีสมาน มีสายาสมัราชิราสุรา สายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความ สายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสา สายความสา สายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความส สายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสา สายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความสายความส น้ำพัร ฏิเษิม ฏิมมามีมามี อาราศมัร ผู้กรุสุท มักราย สุมิศา ๔३ น้ำมัก ฏิเยลา รุสราย เล็มสม รูป เป็น ผู้ ญมาณาร์าๆกาศพังาร์านักายา ee er ฤลิณาสุณาศริตาทิ นักาศพังาร์ตา ตุมานักๆ พิงาศาศา ยูสางงา ગોલેવાયા સુવા ગઢી પારે સું ગઢ્ઠ ન પર સુવાયા વેંદ્ર વાવે મહાયા પાર્ક વા⊂ વાર્ય મરેંદ્ર ભૂવા રહ્યા પેંદ્ર પા વરેવા ૯૭ વાયે <sup>દ</sup>ાવવ્યા ૻઽૼૼૡૻઽૼૠૻૡૼ૱ૡ૽ૻ૾ૡૢૡ૽ૡ૽ૺ૱૱ઽ૱ઽૡૢૡૡ૾ૻઌ૾ૻ૱૾ૢૡૻૹૻઌ૾૱ૡ૽ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ

શ્વ રશ વી વાય છે સુ યત્ર સુવાય પેર વાર્ષે ર છે સાથ યા કે વાર પેર ય વારે વા ચરય આ પણ દે દેશ સુવર ન ญู้สุณาฏายุสายณายิกาญี้มีเฉพามารูสาฏิกาณฐา [52a] ณฏิกาลสุการกับเกษสามีกายสายมาณภูมา ระณีรุนามสุ 202 สุพ. 283 นฏิรายายาเพ็ปเพ็มเพาปมูรมาเกาประการสาราญรายพายา พระเพา <sup>ૻ</sup><sup>ઌ</sup>ૼ૱ઽૹૣૣૣૣૣઌૢૻ૾૱ઽૡૹૢૼૻ૾૾૾૾ૻૡૻૺૼ૾૾૱ઽૹઽઽૡૺૻૹૼૡૹૡૢ૿ૡ૽ૢ૿૽૱૱ઽઽ૱ૹૣૼૹૼૺૡૹૡૡ૽ૣૡઽૡ૾ૺૡૢ૱ઽૡઽઽૣઽ૽૾ इश्रेयुः छ। हे हि ज्यकटा सैंटरच ज्यवरत्ताला छ. रेतचे जुरी विषयत्ती तहन्न रेवेटला हे र जुनला से रेस चड्डवेला विव र्द्र हिंनी ज्वासु आर्थेवायायदे सु नक्र के के किवाया के कर पर सुवाया गी सुधाया वार्थे रावरु वाहेवा रे पिर पा खर १४० AN 200 વર્વે દેવના તે દેવના છે. સંગ્રા તા તો બુદ્દ રાખે દેવના તે પ્રાથવ સામ સંગ્રા તો બુદ્દ દેવના છે. સંગ્રા તે સંગ્ર अँग स्वर प्रत्य कर के स्वाय के स्वर राज कर कर कर के स्वाय อู้มลาม ยู่สารสาคาลิศลาพิศาลาษิมามู่ ธิเธรายมานายรายุศาลาชิโรราศราศลังษราย เพราะ 200 สุลา 212 ๛ุริ๛านารูลูกุณฑิ ูลมานาที่ xาออานี้ xาออานี้ xานายานายามาลมามากลั่น x xานาลมานายามายามายามายามายามายามายามีสา વસુયઃૡૻઽ'વિસ'ક્ષુવાસ'ગ્રૈ'ક્ષય'ભ'વર્સિંદ'લેઽ'વર્ફ'વર્કસ'ભેઽ'લ'ક્રીવ'ખેંભ'વૈ?વર્ખેલ'વૈ:વર્ખેલ'ફે'ગ્રુપ'વ'વર્કવ'ઽદ' જેન્દ્ર વિંદ્રવ' ૬ે.સ. તુ.શૂનય.પુ.શેન.સીં.સનીંગ.તૂનો.તુષ.તુ.શ.તુ.સી.વુ.સી.વુ.સી.વુ.સી.વીર્ચ.સ.વીર્સ.ટૂ.વીર્ચ.ત્ય.વર્ચ. વધુ. ૩૫૫ થય. ૩૦૧ ๆผ้างสรงาฏิเมลาผู้เจริๆ เรอ โร้เนพาญจานน้ำๆรูรพาริสาธิเฮราผู้มานาร์าๆราศพี่มากุผมาว่า เรอ 200 . पकर वी'श्रु' रु वरिवा श्रेंव 'न्देंब' चुे' श्रु' वहिल' क द धेरुंग' [532] श्रुव रु रु वहिवा श्रु श्रु 'वरेव ह रंदव चुं कें 'दवव' શેરનાદેવા નાલેમ: કરલ છે. દુવા વરવા ક ગ્રાર ક્રુવે ક્રુવા સંગ હેર કે ભારત કેવા નાદેવા નાદેવા નાદેવા નાદેવા આ આ ଶ୍ୱଶ୍ୱଙ୍କେସଂଶ୍ୱାବ୍ୟୁଦ୍ୟା ବସ୍ତ୍ରା ଅନି ଛି। ଶ୍ରୁଙ୍କ୍ରୋ ସଶ୍ରୁମ ହିଁଙ୍କା ଗର୍ଷ୍ୟର୍ଦ୍ଦିମ ବାହିଁ କରି ଶିଂ ଅନ୍ତିଗାସ୍କୁ ମିମ୍ବା ଅନ୍ତି ମିଶ୍ର ଅନ୍ତି ଶ୍ରୁ यम्री अर्ट्य हेंगल कुर्र की जनेज ज रूपाल के किंग न रही के ज निर्म के ज के लाग के का की ज की की का का รรารสายการสารณ์รายรายสัมสานีรายอารายอารารอารายรายรายราย อาราสารสารการสารการ ઽ<ઽ૱ઙૹઽૡૺ૾ૹૢઽ૾ૢૢ૽ૣઽઽૻૡ૽ૼઽૹૡૢૻઽ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૻઽૡૡૢ૾ૹઽ૱ૹૻ૾૾ૡૡૺૠૻૹઽૹૻ૾ઌ૽૾ૢૺૹ૾ૣૼૹૡૻઽૺ૱ૡ૽ઽૡૢૡ૽ૻ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ વર્શ્વેમ્પ્સ દ્વેત્ય કેન્દ્ર પ્રેય ક્ર્ય સ્ટર્ ચૈયા સ્ટર્ ચૈયા છીયા વર્ગ્ય સું છેયા છે. ૨ થયા ૨૦ [23b] જ્વા સ્થા ટ્રેય વિશ્વ સંસ્વાય ત્વે છેય. รู้าล้าๆพ้าการกา 20 กระหามฏิสา 22 ฤริณาผู้ สราชาวรชมารการเกลมารการและสารการที่มีเมลาผู้ 78 สร้า มิ:ธีรามาผู้ราษิ:พระโคลายระเษลา ฮิ:รณฑามรารรา 23 ส.พ. 32 ฏาพู้าพี่ตุณามิ:ฮรามารตุ อูมพานาฮิพาตุโรามา ૨૫ નવાનગરમાં દ્વેષા ર્જી ગ્વર સું ૨૮ ખુરા કે સંવે સું સે કરાયા ૨૯ ગરમ સું વ વ પ્રતા સું વ વ પ્રતા સું ગર ગ વે ગર છે. <sup>ઽ</sup>ૡૢૻ<sup>૾</sup>૽૱ૹૺૢ૱ૹૻ૾૾૾ૼઽ૽૱ૹ૾૾૽૽ૡૢૻૹૺૡઽૢઽ<sup>૾</sup>ૡઽૢૡૡ૽૽ૢ૿ૹૻ૿ૹૻ૾૱ૡૢ૾ૡૻૹ૾૾ૼઽૼૡ૱ઽૻૹૻૣૼૼઽૼૡઽઌૻૡૼૼઽૡ૱ૹૡઽૡઽૡૼ૱ૼૹ ๆฬั้ะรูๆ รระยุฆาณฑพีระอิราสติาพีรายพาสรูสาฮะกๆผูมารราพารูๆ ะจาที่รายราทุศมามาชุมาณาฑพีะา

ૻ૱ૼ<sub>ૡ૾૾</sub>ૹ੶ઌઽ੶ૹૣઽ੶ૹૡૼઽ૾ઌ૽ૢ૿ૺ૾ૢૢૹૢૡૹૢૢૺ૾ૺ૽૾ૢૺૹ੶ઌ૱ૹૻ૾ૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૻઌ૾ૻ૱ૻૡ૽ૺૡ૽ૼૢૼૼૺૼૡૡૢઽૻઽૼઽૼઃૼૡૢઌૹૻૡૼૡૼ૱૾ૺૹ૽ૡ૽૽ૡ૽ૡ૽ૡ จจลงารารส์ มารามส์ราริสาษีจาสรามาชีอาณา [54b] มสมเลาสูายารามา เกลี้มานั้ว สัมษา รับยามักลาสราจักา ૹૡૢૼઽૹ੶ઌ૽ૢ૾ૺ૽ૻઌઽૻૹૹૼૹૹૻૻૡૢૻૻૹૡ૾ૼૼૼૼૢૻૻ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૹૹૻૻૻઽૻૻૡૹ૽ૣ૿ઌૢૹૻૻૻ૽ૢૼૼૼૡૻઌ૽૾ૢૻૻઌ૱ૹૡૻૡઽૡઽૼૻૹૻૡૡૢ૱ૻૹૼ<sub>ૡ</sub>ૡ૽ૢ૽ૹ શ્રેન્ દેવાય હૃતે બ્રુ દેવાય ૧૬ ٧૦ વય ૧૦૨ ગુરૂ કું દેવા મંદે ભ્રુ દ્વય શે દર્દ નાય દુદ રંશ વલુવાય મંત્ર ન્દુ કુર બુ ୲ଵଵ୶ୄଌଡ଼ୣ୲୶ଌୡ୶ୖୖ୶ଵ୶୕୲୶ୄୖୄୠ୕୶ୡ୶୕ୣ୵ଽ୕୳ଵଌ୳୕୳୶୕୳ୠଽୄୠୄୄୖୄ୴ୄ୰୰ୠୄଽ୵ଽ୶ୖୖଵ୲୶୲ୖ୶ୖୖୄୠ୶୶୲ଵୖ୶୕୶୲ୖଡ଼ଽ୶୲ଵ୶ଽ୲ଵୖ୶ ઽઽૻઽઽઙૡૻૢૼ૱ૢૻઽૻૡઽ૾૾૾ૹ૽૽૽૽ૢૺ૽ૻ૽ૼૡ૱૱ૡઽ૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ૡૻૻૡૼૡૻૻૡ૾ૻૡૻૹૻૻૡૼૡૻૻૹૻૻૡૼૡૻૻૹૻૻૡ૾૾ૡ૾૽ૡ૾ૢ૱ૡ૽ૼૼૻ૱ૡ૽ૢ૿ૡૢૻૡ૽ૢૡૢ૽ૡૢૡૡૡૡ૽ૡૡ ૬૬. ભાગેનિ સુંત વર્કે આ સાચા ભાગે ચેંગ વર્ડ સુવા રંચ ૬૮. ભાગે લેન ભાગે ચેંગ છે. જે આ સાચા સાચા સાચા સાચા સાચા સ ณาตุณั้ง-เยู่รายามูตา ฮมาพ์รายพายรูสาฮงาตุธิต พิเริรานตุตาร์ล์ามาตาสิรายาตั้ง-เยู่รา [55a] อรูสาราพัร યયાવ ર્યું રુક્ષ છે. સ્ટાર્ગ સ્ટાર્ગ છે. મ્યાં વા સર્કે ને પ્રેન્ટ સેન્ટ ન સાથ પ્રેન્ટ સે સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સ ૾૾ૣૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૢૻ૱૿ઽ૾ઌૻ<sup>ૢ</sup>ૹૼૼૺૺૺૺૼૼૼૼૹૻ૱ૻઌઽૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૹૻ૾૾ૻૡ૽ૢ૾ૼ૱ઌ૾ૺૻૡ૽૿૱ૻઽૻૡૡ૽ૼૺૺૼૼૡૹૻૻ૱ૻ૱૾૾ૼૼૻૻ૱૱૱ૡૻ૾ૼ૱ૻ૱૽ૢ૿ૡૻ ઽૡઽ૾ૡૢઌઌૡૻૡૡૢૹૻૡૻૼઽૻૡ૱ૹૻૻૹૼૡૼૻૻૻૼૼૢૺૻ૱ૢૹૻૹ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૻૻૡૢૻૻૡઽૻઙૢૻૣ૾ૢૢૡૻૡઽ૱૿ઌૹૻૡ૽૿ૣઌૻૡ૾ૻઽ૽ૡ૽ૺૻ૾૱ૹૻૣ૽ૡ૾ૢ૱૿૱ ฮรามาจริจา 2 ลูจุณารัชสาลีสาลีราจราจริจา สาจกุรายารสิราสสังส์ พี่สามีราชีจาสราม ๎๚๖๚ ฆา฿ารูการผู้การ์ตา๕ฦามาผู้านสูมาสกุฬารมหาณากฤาษหาสู่าที่การฤลมหารผู้ฦาศจิกหาสูการุ่งการก ગફિભારના ફેરાનાલે ચાયવેલા રેંદ્વા ત્રવા વો છ્યું ટ્રાનરેના ક્ષચાવિભા ગરેના કાર્યા છે એ ફેરારે દન્યું ક્ષે ગ્રુનથા છે વઠવા <sup>.</sup> ગયા ચ્રે'શું'૧૮-૧અ૮તા વત્ય નુ'શું'અર્વેવ'શું વાર્યે સ્વત્તુન<sup>5</sup> '૧૫ <sup>3</sup>ર્વેન્ એન'ર્કેવા સુ'વારે સ્વાયર ક્રેન્ વર્યે યા બેવ' સહયય ૡૻઽૼૼૹૹ੶ૡૻૼૼૼઽૼ૾ૻૼૼૼૺૡૹ૾ૡૻૡૼૼૻૡૹૡ૽ૼૼૡ૽ૻૹૢ૽ૺ૽ઽૺૹૡઌ૽૽ૼૼૡૼૻૡૼૹૡૢ૽ૡ૱ૹૡૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૱ૹૡૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૡ૽૾ૡૡૻૡૡ૽ૢૼૼ૱ૡૢૻૣૡૡ૾ૻૡૡૻૡૡ૽ૻૡૡૻઌૡૻ૽ૡૻૡૡૻઌૻૡૡૻ૱ૡૻૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻ มาพี้สาสน้ำนน้ำๆผมเขามีมามาที่สาพีสามาร์สา อาการ์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สามาร์สา શ્નુ નક્ષ્ર પર સુવાય હેર તવર છીય શય તા કે વાર કે ખેટ તથ શ્રુ વાર બ બેથ કે ખે છી ક કયા કર વાય સ્વાપ્તી <sup>ૢ</sup>ઐૼૼૡઽૻૡ૿ૻૡ૽ૻૡૡૺૡૡૺ૾ૹૢૢ૿ૡૹ૾ૢૡૡઽૹૢ૿ૡઌઌ૽૽ૺૹ૱ૡૻૹૼૡઽૡૡૻૺૼૼૻૡૡૺૡૻૻૼઽૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૼૡ૽૿ૡૻ૱ૡૻૡૼૡૡ૽૿ૡ૽ૻ૱૱ૡૻૡ૽ૼૡ૽૿ૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ ๛พาสูจานนิายารูฐาณาๆสี้ นาสูฐามาณี้ราชมาๆอิตา 🛩 ผู้สานามหาณหาสูจานนิายานนิายารุณาๆอิตาศี ผู้ नक्रु रा अन्तर के ता आ नहेना २०० अर्मे द रा सुना नहे भरे क्रु नक्रु त नहेना २४ नह सा नक्षु र न मुत् भें त मा मे <sup>ક્</sup>રાવર્ક્કેન્ડ્વ વસ્નુન્સરસ્ય છે.લેન્સ્ક્રિન્સ્વે <sup>ગ્</sup>રીજ્રો પ્રેન્સિન્સર્સ્સ પ્રેન્સ્સ્ય વ્રજી સૈંચરજ્ય day

ระสมัธรรมาญญาญญาญาริสามรูราวรุญามานี้เจองาวรีมากราทพี่มาจรูเนีรารารายุสาทอิก ณาผูณาสุณ નંદ્રેલાં વે∺વાં સંગ્રે અર્થે વ્વરૂચ્ટે દેવે સ્વરં દેવે શુવાય શે. નંદ્રેલા રે. નાલું નાદેલાં અવ્યાલન દેવાં નરજાવર દેવને સેવ [62a] มีลิชัญรุราษตาซุณานาตริต ตาลิตาณารุยตาตริต สูานอนามานักรายสามานี้รายสามานักรายสายริต ୶ୡ୳୲ଵଽ୶୶ୣଽଽ୶୳ଽ୶ୖ୶୶ୖଽୄୖଌ୲ଽ୳୶୶ୄୖୄୠୄ୲ୠୢୖ୲ୠ୵ୠ୶୷ୄଡ଼୶ୄୡ୶ୄୠ୶ୄୠ୰ୄ୶ୄ୳୵୶ଽ୶୳ଽଽ୲ୡୣୠ୶୶ୠ୶ୖୢୢଽୖ୲ୖୖଢ଼ୄଽ୳୲୶ୖୡ୶ <sup>นา</sup>ฮาจิจิๆ ราจจิจา [63a] ซูาผู้าหมณาจาณีณามาผู้ราสณาชุณาจณาฮูาผูจาหาติราณามีาจาราจณีรารีามานี้รารสมา *า*5ูงาที่การกรัฐเขาซูขางาทพี่จะชิวาตกุสารการติกาต์จะกาทพี่จะหาตาสังจะพี่รายสายเรื่องกาทพาพู้สารกาศจะ ๆสี้ระชิราๆผูลเริ่านี้รายผาตามาสราคมาพิรายาอรูสาธระตุอิต รตาที่รายราคสีมาชุมามาๆสี้ระชิราอรูสารร <sup>(คาดิราณ</sup>าๆพี้รายา [63b] พีรายาลูรายสาๆธิอา รอาทัศายรายุสมายาพี่รายิรายอิรายาดิราณาๆพี่รายิรายรูสา <sup>૧</sup>ઠે૧ ૨૧ ર્ગેન્ડવૃદ્ધાર્યત્રે આયત્રે આયું સંગ્રેન્ડ્રેન્ડ્ર વ્યુન્આયું અંગુ અંગુ આ પ્રેન્ડ્ર પ્રચ્ચે આ પ્રચાય વર્ષે રહેન્ડ ન્ટ્ર <sup>ૡ</sup>ૺૡૺઽૼૡઃઌૣૹૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૹૢૺ૱ૢૼૢૣૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૻૡૻૡૼૢૹૻ૱ઌૢૼ૱ૐૻઌૢ૾૱ૢ૽૾૾ૡ૽૾૱૿૾ૢ૽ૡૻૹ૾૱ૡૻૹૼ૱ૡ૽ૻૡૼૻૡ૽ૡૻૻ૱ૡ૽૿ૡૻૻૡૡ૽૿ૻૡૼૻૡ૽૿ૡ૽ૻૡૼ <sup>[64a]</sup> ગ્રીંસ્ ગર સુંત ખેંડ નારેના કરતા ગ્રી ગલ સુંના નેવ પૂર નારેના કે ડુડ નારેના ડુડ ડ નારે સુંત ખેંડ ના નેરન <sup>ঀ</sup>ઽૻ<sup>ૡ</sup>ૹૻૻૡ૱ૡૺ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ <sup>544:35:40</sup>:535:124 ญี่จายนิ: ฤลิะเวลู้ลมงานจูณาส์ระนฤ ลิะเวลู้ณาผูส ผู้สามิรามานี้สานโจ้รายาจึงๆ รระที่ระ

กุรณ์มีระเวชิตาเชียาลรีเพรีะพารพาร์ชาอานาปรุชาอิป น. 6 24. 50 อาสะรูบเพ (68a] આ શાળાવર વીય દેવ વાલય માર્જે ર જ્યા નાય સિંધ વાલવાય સાથે દુર છે. (68a) ามาระกาพสายสา พูสางานพาสูงานนิวยุสางาลงามวันการหราสางกัญมากรณ์การผู้การรัฐานิการสารการ વરુલ શે અર્કેન કેંગ દુલ વચરા લેગ વર્તા સુવચર વે અર્થે સાથવા અર્દેવ વેલા વચરા લેગ ફેંસ વાલુયા ગુલા ગરલા હુવ . ૧૦૫ ફ્રેંસ દેવા ગોવેન યાવે કેવા શ્રવે સંત્વન મુંચીય સુપ્વક્ર સુશ્રાપ્ય કેવા સુશ્ર વાર્ય સ્વત્ય મેં સુવા દુવા યાનન સ્થ ้ๆเสมารรรษฎีๆเขาต่านเป็นหานองเรรรายกรรรมหารูสามารู้ไข่ ส่งกับรายายองไป นั่งเพราะไม่นายจะเป็นเป็นเป็นเป็นเป็นเป ้ๆโร้ๆ ฮูณานี้น้ำรุฐาร์ตา รู ตั้ดเฮูสาดิ พิราร์าัฐ์ตุณาตดีราฮูสาดิ รพราสตารินิาตุณณาตุณีสารู เตุดิณฑัตรามรา สูสาดิ ซู้าฐารุราษราสมาสูาพรารมราสราษสารณาผู้สาพรายาศธิก สาชีราฐา [69a] มากอิก รรับรายาศีราร ๆรสาๆอิๆ ที่ราวาลัสามัรสามารสายสาๆอิท ๆรูราคิวาทีรายาลาลังลังสูงสะนามรีราที่ผารมรายร ঀয়৻ঀৢ৽৲ৼ৾৾ৼৄ৾য়৾ৼ৵ৼ৾৾ৼৼৢ৾য়৾৾৾৾৾য়৾য়৾য়৾ঀয়৾৾৾ৠ৾ঀ৽৾ঀৢ৾ড়ৄ৽ঀ৾৾ৼঀয়৾ঀয়৾ঀয়৾য়য়৾৾য়ৼ৾৾৽৻৾ঀ৾৾৶৶৾য়৾৾য়৾য়৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾য়৾৾ યશ્વ રુચ્ચરે સાથે કે સ્ટેર સુવાર્ દ્વેયા છે. જે સંસ્થાત વેર સાથે તે વ્યત્સ સાથે તે સાથે સાથે સાથે સાથે સાથે સાથ ગઠેવ ૬૬.ભર્ગેન્ડવાયેમ્ડવર્કે અજીઆવાયે સંસ્વર્ડ્ડ અભેડરક્સાર્ડ્ડવાયે લેડ બાલે સંસ્વયુક્ષા દ્વારા વિદ્યા ะพงสุพงจุราศุธิศายระจรัฐสาศธรรฐพาณิศพาศุธิศา รรณายิเธศายระทศัพราศยารัพรายาศุธิศา รรุณาที่ระสัร વર્કે સાક્ષરા બા વાર્ષે માકે દેવના વેરે તે છે. તે પ્રાયમ પ્રાયમ છે. તે પ્રાયમ પ્રાયમ પ્રાયમ છે. તે પ્રાયમ પ્ર ર્শેન્:સુંન્:પર્વે:અ:ક્ષચાળાનાર્બે.રાબુ:૨:બેન્ડિંગ તે:ફેન્ડનાંલે:ચાવવેલાનનું કરાનાદેવાવીલાબાનાદેવાવાર્સુંને

हेःग्रॅन देवरहेवर मनु र. मु. मये मार्थ [702] मडल कर्ड कर महिमा रमा में कम खुर महेमा रमा में खाये मा के म ผู่ๆลาฏิเมริเขมาๆมั่า:รูๆานั่า:นาๆอิๆ ธิสามรู่าาราเยสาๆอิๆ ผู่ๆลาฏิเยลานั้าเาลุมม มีนั้นเาลม สูงนา มละยิ่มเละรมเลอีร) พระผู้เรามีเพริมเลานี้ (10) และเมื่องเลาเรามาเลอีร. [20] ปรุป เอาเพระพื้ปลาเวิร สุธิส มยัรายาลัานผิณาสุญญายางการสุกภายางชี้สารามารสุดภาทาริรัสการสามารีการมอการสงามูารัสรัชงา ଌୄୖ୶୶ୄଢ଼ୣୣଡ଼ୖଡ଼ୣ୲ୠ୶୳ୡ୶୳ଽଽ୳ଽଽ୶୲୶ଌ୶ୣ୲ୖ୶୲୵ୖୢଽ୶୳ୣୄୠ୶ଽୡ୶ୣୠ୶୲୶୶ୖଽୖୣୖ୳୶୲ୖଽୄ୴୳୲୳୲ଢ଼୲୷୷୲ୠୖ୶ଽ୶୲ୠ୶୲ ୢୣ୶୶୪୶୲୴ୖ୳୳୳ୖୄୢୠ୕ଽ୲୶ଽ୕୳ୗୖଽ୶ୖ୶ଽ୷୳ୠ୶ୄ୳୷୲୳୶୲ୖୄୄୄୄୡ୲ୖଡ଼୵ୖୄୠ୲ଵ୲୳୳୶୲ୡ୵ୄୢ୴ୡ୲ୡୖୣୠ୷୲୳ଌ୶୲୶ୖୡଵ ୶ୠ୕ଽୄଌଽୄୢୖଈ୶୴୶୶ୡ୶ୄୠ୴୳୶୕ଽ୶୲୳ୗ୕୲ୄ୷ୖଽଽ୕୵୲୵ୖଌୣ୕ୠୣ୲୰୶ୖୡ୕ଽୄୢୖ୴ୖ୴ୖ୷ଽୄ୵ଡ଼ୖ୴୵ୣଌୢଽୄୢଌଽୄ୶୶ୠ୕୶୲ୄୠ୶୲ୢୖୠ୶୲୵ୡୄୡ୶ รต้าอูมพาลพุณาสุณายุณายณามาที่การๆสาวรูสาวรูสาวราสาณาที่การูณามิตามาตองๆ คราฐาณาณายุรติ ลูสามาราชอิย ลิราฏิ ญ ซีราริสามีชื่อ [71a] สุขาสาขานิ ขารูรายินาทีราช แลง พระพระพระพระพระ ้ปปทนเรียงเด็ะเอียงเกณอรูปเป็นเป็นเป็นเหลายานกลามีประหามีหายที่หายที่หายเป็นเหลายนเนนเ นาสุริศารระพูมารมระชิสานี้า สานนั้นานอาสุริศา ผู้สาญี่สามาสุริศา มัลามรณราราสมารรณญี่สุณาผู้ระมพา ୩ୡ୶୶୶୳ୣୖୠ୶ୖଽ୕ୣୢୠ୲ଽ୶୳ୠୄୢଽ୶ୄୠ୶୳ୣଽୖ୶ଽୖ୶ଽ୕୶ୖୠ୶୕୲୶ୄୄୄୄୄ୶ୄୢୖ୶ୡୖୡୖ୲୵ୖ୕ଽ୷୲ୠ୶୲ୖ୶ୖୖୄୡଽୄୢ୴ଽୄୄୠୡ୲୳ୄୢୖୄୠ୶ୖଢ଼୵୕୶ୖୠ୶୲ୣଽଽ ર્શ્નુક્રંગ્લેર'ગર્રગ વે'સ્વા'વે'સુ-'ર્વેસ્પ્યુ'વ્વૃસ્ચ'વર્ઠવા વકુવા'વેક્ષ'વેલ'ક્ષર'વૃદ્ધ'ક્ષેં'-'ર્ડચ'વર્ઠવા વર્દે-'-'વાસ' <sup>વેદે</sup>ચે ચંદ્ર વર્ષ જેવા દેદ તે છે. પ્રત્યુ છે છે છે. આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ છે છે. આ પ્રત્યુ છે છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ આ પ્રત્યુ છે. આ પ્રત્યુ આ આ પ્રત્યુ આ ୢଌୄୖୠଽ୕୰ୢଌଽ୕୵ୢୗୣ୕ଊ୲୵ଽ୵୳ଵୖୢୣ୶୶୲୴୶୶ଽ୶ୠୖ୶୲୷ଌ୶୲୶ୖ୶ଽ୷୶୶୲୷୶୲ୖ୴୵ୄଽୡ୶୶୵ୢ୶୶୲୴ୢଌଽୄୣୠ୲୴ୢୖ୶ଽୖଽୡ୲୳ୢୖୢଌ୶ นี้เพ่ หามีร. พระตั้ระสโตร สรางเอเปล่าอยู่หาอิทพเอเอรูรเงนี้หางเปล่าไรเลรูรเงอิงเอิเอิเอิ <sup>8ुवन्</sup>यधूर्वगहेश्वः दश्यः दश्यः दश्यः य्वीशः रूचः नुश्यः श्रुरुः हेः ८५ुः शः वहद्यः दयुः ध्रेयः [७२२] चठसः यः वि ग्वसः वाईवाः ध्रुरः <sup>३८:स</sup>र्के९/वेनरुग्ध्रुर्ग्रहेन चैःख्रुतारुः शुनारुः तन्तरं र्यसः नासुः नः मुरुगः यं नहेन नारः र्स्तनारुः नहेन क्षुनारः ईरः नासेरः <sup>ยนิเ</sup>คลรารณระซิพาสิคาซิาคาศิราณาพีรารูฤาชพาพีรายาศซิศาณฐิราณศูณาศูณา [75a] สารรณศิลาครารู|

รัสา ศรีระชล์ เองสา ผูสาวรมานสาญาายนิ่านี้เฮิสาวราผู้เพิ่มฮา หาสาวอารราวที่ยุคมายชิญ 2 ธิรายารอง ૱ઽૻૹ૽ૺૻ૱ૼૼૼૢઌ૽ૢ૿ૺૢૡૢ૿ૻૡૼૢૡૢૢ૾ૡૻઌૻઌ૽ૢ૿ૡૢ૱ૻઌૻૹૼ૽ૡૢૡૢ૱ૻૡૢઌૼૻૡૼ૱ૻઌૼૼૼૼૼૻૡૻૻૡૼ૱ૡ૽ૻ૾૾ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻૡ૾ૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૡૡ૽ૡ૽ૻૡૡૡ ચઢં કાયુદ્ધ વર્ષે દેવા જે છે. જે જે છે. જે છે. જે છે. જે જે છે. જે જે ૯ નાલેમ ૩૧. લા છે શ્રેક સું છે સુન દુન ૫ ૮ ૯ ૦૦ ૦૦ ૦૦ ૧૦ સું સું નારેલા ૦૦ ૦૦ (f. 75b) દેદે પત્ર ન દન દ્વર દેવ લાય વદયા ୣଽୄୠ୷୶୳ଌଽ୶ୄୠ୲୕୩ୄୠ୶୲*୵*୳୵୵ଌ*୵*୰୶୲୳୶ୖଽ୶ୖଽ୲ଌୖୖୖୖୖୖୖ୶୕୳ୖୗଌ୕ୣ୕ୗ୶୳ୠୄ୷ୄୖୢୠୖୖୖୖୖ୰ୠୖ୳୷ୠୄ୴୷ୠ୷୶୲୷୲୷<sub>୶</sub> นายุสาพัรานอู้สาๆสราๆอิๆ १९ ๆผ้างสรณาฏิเว็ทหากอองอย่านชื่อมหากอองอานิยามากอิตามาอานิยามากอินานสาว พีรายาวีราชที่ราชาอาจชพารราชปุ๊ฟพาตุธิศา 20 พร.พาฮูพาผู้ราติเดณาสรามาชิศาพัรายาผู้ราพีราตุธิศ અર્વિત કર ફેર સેંદ વાંકેન બદેવાય શેર છે. લાગ કર વાંકેન વાસ મ્વ હેં દેવા રહે છે. આ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સ શ્વેર શ્રુ દેવાય સેવા દોત્ર ર ગ રત્વવીવાય. વાયેર વત્ય છે વર્તે ત્યાક કરાય છે. થયે વાર છે. ચૈ.વી ર ત્યાં છે વ્ય หูนิ·เดณานากๆาๆอิन) ฮะนะาฮิ·नาๆวิจาราะพูานะาๆอิन) नक्षरकाष्ट्रकाण्चिः। ดณายาะक्रेन्य्रेन्य्यन्त्रकी नक्रिंग [76a] ×વાપ્યું અગ્વરુવા સુવાય શું અર્ટ્ટ જે જીન્દનવિર્દ્ર થયું અગ્ર સ્વાય વિવાય વર્ષે વાય વિષય વિષય છે સ્વાય સાથે સ્વ ู่ ซูมาณ [76b] ๆสั้ราชามาณีราชมารราคาดิราณาๆส์ราชิราชีาภูริป ได้เราสายสายการการการการการการการการการการการการก ૡૺઽ<sup>੶</sup>઼઼઼પઃર્ક્રૺ૽ૼૼૼૡઽૡૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૡૺ૱ૡ૱૱૱૱ૡૡૼ૱ૡૡ૾૽ૡૡ૱૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ *વા*સુય્રા મે!ફેઽ/વ'લેઽ'મ'ર્ન્નોર્સરસેૄઽ'વર્ત્તુઽ'મૅઽ'રાસ'વર્ડ્ન \*૪૨'વૃદેવ કો મેંખેસ'યર્દેડ'મ'ર્ગ્ને'વક્ષુર'ર્સ્સ'સુસ'યસ' કરસ' ું માર્કેવા ર્શેન બેય સંવાય વધુન વધુર વેન વલેય પેન વનેને શ્રે ર કેલા ૧૦ વગન મેળા એ ગ્રુન સર્કે (772) પેન થાય [80a] ญาตราวะโตาหัสาออสารา หัสาๆชี้รัฐสาวรณานสายูจานนิยยารจราติหญาจรูสาร์ตาฮรายสามาจิตา ? ঀाभसः नार्भेदः नुः झुद्रा द्वा यने भावेनासः वक्तुनः १३२४ ८७८० वठसः सुधायः दा यवतः स्टार्थनीनासः नृत्तः द्वीयायः नगरः पहनः 

อาเลี 2 ชิง. 20 อละนั้นที่ ณี่ ระเปล้างเกรียนอี้ง หน้ามี ระเปลา อะเอินสี่อง อะเอิน อี้น อิเซี ซีลาเปลี (835) บรู้ ૡૡૡૡૻૡૻૡૢૡૻૻૹૻૢૡૼૹૣૻૡૼ૾ૡ૽૿ૺૢૣૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻ૱ૢ૾૱૾ૺૹ૾૾૱ૼૡૢૡૻૻૻ૱ૹૻૹૢ૽ૢૼૼૡૼૹ૽૾૾ૻૡ૱ૼૡ૱ૼૡૡ૽ૻૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ มูจลางส์สิ่งสีสลาติระตณาศิจสารรางส์สุสาวาริสารราชส์สาวรุสารราชสาคา ระส์ระสารสารสารสาร ะระวลุกิศพาศริศาจรพา ศพูระ พ.ศ. จายา รัฐราชริศา ศพิพานิราชีราศริศา ชุศพานิพพาธิ มีรัฐราศริศา ุจรลาณฑิลา ลิระพิลา สลาสาวสลายเกลลา เพิ่า เพิ่ ุศฺลิสฺาพๆพัพาลลิพัศานาๆธิศา ซู้สามหาฏิเพธิ์ราที่ศาสูมา [83b] หลามหลมาพๆพัพาษิราฐุศาคาสิสาพาศพัพ ุ่จดิญฤาชมพักรนรู้ผู้สามกรฐมาณจามกรุสาธรรกอิฤ จารุกิรรัฐรายสีรมายมาณาจามีระยุกรรุจารุรายาศราน *ગ*યાલુક્ રુક્ ગઢે ગાઢ પ્રસ્ટેન સુવા ટે ભૂર<sup>-</sup>દે ગાફે ભ ન દ સામ દેવા સ્યાયું સ્ટેનાય છે. ગાક ચાન ક ગાદ સામ દેવા સ્યા ૡૢૻૡ૾ઌૡૡૢ૾ૹ૾ૢૢૢ૽ૡ૾ૺૡૡઌઌૻૻૻઽૼૼૼૼૼઽૼ૱ૡઽૡૼૡૼૹૡૢ૾ૢૡ૱ૡૢૻ૱૱ૡ૱૱ૡૡ૱૱ૡૢૼૹ૾ૣૡ૱૱ૡૡૼ ચેર'શૈયાવનુદાવશુરા [84a] રચાર્રે વર્ષોદાવાનું રા કે જ્યા ૧૯ વક્રદાવાના વદે વચાર્યે ગાળવાના વસે છે. આ પ્રાયક્રિય ૻશ્વા સેંગ્રેસ યાવલે ખેંદુ જી રેવા સમ અદસ કુસ જી વાલુદ મન લેદ ને ગેંદુ કરા ગાસુરાય વસુદ શે વલે વે કજી યા ૹૼ<sup>ૢ</sup>ઽૡૼઌ૽ૢૼૼૼૹૻૡ૽૿ૡૢ૽ઽૺ૱ૢૡઌૹૻઌૡૺ૱ઽ૱ઽઌ૿ઌ૽ૢ૿૾૱ૢઌૻઌૹ૱ૼૡૢૣઌ૽ઌ૽ઌઌૻૼૼઽૼૡ૱ૡ૾ૢૺૡૹ૱ૢૢૢૼૼૡૼ૱ૢૹૻૣ૱ૢૢૹૻૣ૱ૹૢૻૣૡૼૡૻૡૼૡૻૡૻ૱ઌૡૢ૿ૺ ๆริระพังพีพากฤศาฤธิพากรายกพารกัญเกาะพับไ ทายเรียง 3. เช่ง 30 เก่

[12] नार्यस्य परु भ्रापित् में मुन् र्युत् में त्य के ना रख्य मुर्थ के स्व קראימיקאמיינישדו משבי שמי באירבאריבאין ביצימישבין מבאימשר מישר מישרי מדר אי מישרמיינים איקיקי *વારૂવાય સ*.અ.શુ.મ. રે.સે. વક્ત માંથે જી. વર્દે રે. દેવ અ.વડે અ.સે. સે સે મે વ્યવ સ્વયંત્ર સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ર સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્યયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્વયંત્ય સ્યયંત્ય સ્યયંત્ય સ્યયંત્ય સ્યયંત્ય સ ধপ্র:প্রদ্রাদ্রস্থা કેન રેવ કેંગ વુવે એ બેંદ વરે ન સુગ લેવ ગ્યું અ બે જેવા વા અદેન સુલ કો એ મેં સુવા બેવે વાય છેલ રવા વરે છેવા વાન વદુઃભ્રાવઽઃયુચરાવર્ષેશરઽઽઃવવેવઃ [42] ક્લરાવઽચાવ્યુવરાયવે વર્ષે વેંચ્યુવરાદ્વરાવર્ષે સુંસ્થાર્થરા હુવા સ્થા… <u>વ</u>િવા'ઽ"]ર`શ્રુભ<sup>,</sup>અદેંઽ'તુઃલસ્ ર્ફેસ ઇચઃઽઽ:૧ઽેવેઃવાબભ:વાર્બેસ વલવાભ:ચવેઃવાકભ:કેસ છેક'ર્સ વરુ 'ડુવા'ચ:ક્ષુ'ચર્રવાકુવા ૹૹ૾૱૾ઌઙૹૻૻ૾ૹ૾ૻૹ૾ૻૻ૾ૹૼ૾૾૾ૡૺ૾ૺૡૢૻૺ૾ૻૡૼૺ૾ૡૢૻૺ૾ૻૡૼૺ૾ૡૢૻ૾૽ૡ૽ૢૼૻૹૡૢૼઽૹઌ૽૿ૢ૽ૹૻૹ૱ૻૹૼૹૻૹૺ૱ૻૡૼૺ૿ૹ૾ૢૢ૽ૣ૽ઽૻઌૡૺઽૻઽઽ૾૾ૺૡ૾ૢૻૺ૾ૺૼૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૻૺ૱૾ૺૡ૽ૼૹ૾૾૱ વસુભા ઝેશ્રશ્વા જોટ! તેનું આ છે. શે છે. આ ગુ જો દ્વારા છે. છે. આ ગુ ঀঀয়৾৽৵ড়ৢ৽ড়ৢ৾৽ঀ৾৽৾৾ঢ়৾৾৽য়৾ৼয়ৼয়ৢ৾৽৵৾৾৾৾য়৾৾য়৽৾ৡ৾য়৾৾৾ঀঀ৾৽ঀ৾৽ঀ৾৾৽ঀ৾৾ড়ঀ৾ঀ৾৽ঀ৾য়ঀ৾য়৾ড়৾য়৾ড়য়৾য়য়৾য়য়৾য়৾ঀৼৼ৾ঀ৾ঀয়য় ગાર્કેન્ડર્વોશ્વ ખવા વર્ષેસ્ડર્વોશ્વ કેવાશ દાવવું વાકેશ્વ કવા છા દાર્કેસ્ચર વે કેવા વવશાવે કો વે લિવવો વશે વશે મે [7a] ๆธิ| สูระติจะริเจาะๆ ๆณ์พามระริเจาะๆ มธิราชมาระๆ จองชมาจอัมพาชมาริเจรู| สูามธิราจธิจาซิ่า มธิ์รามระรรา อูสามระจษัพาพระวิายา อิราวฎหาผู้านยึมพาวิายรา ยารรพูเพิ่สาสมาริกรา ยามรยาจพูณ ई <sup>८</sup> : र्श्वे ८<sup>-</sup> न से हे र न में हर न में हर र में भारत के र र में भारत की भार ઝમ"મેન ફ્રીન વનુભ નવીં ભાર્ શુવા ક્રા દેવ ના [11a] મે સુન નન પ્રયુક્ષ ક્રીન્વા સે માળવા સમજ સવા સુન વન છે. જે આ ๆสุพาจรูลิ ยุจารจะ ริสามี ซิสาจัสาจัง พระศาสมาจอรา เจาจาง ๆ ธิศาสเน อรูงาอรุงาม พระมาจา ๆ จารา รัสา रेश्रमापर्युत्तर्वसंधुत्तिये, अग्रमा खेत्त्त्रीय कुरा क्व. क्रेमा (122) व्य.क्षेत्रा अग्रमा वार्षाते वित्ता दया पादया प्र ાપઽ૽૾૾ૢૺ૽ૻૡૻઌઽૻૡૢૢૻૼૺૻૡૢ૾ઌૻ૽૽૽ઌૣઌૺૻૡૻૢૼૼ૱ઌૡૢ૾૱૽૽ૢૢૺૹૢ૽૽૱ઽૡૢ૽ઌ૾ૺઽૡૢૢ૱ૡૼ૱ૡૻૼ૱ૡ૽ૼૼઽૡ૱ૡૄઽ૱ૡ૽ૺ૱ૡ૾ૼ૾ૻ ૹ૾ૢૺૡૼ૽૾ૹ૾૾ૡૡૻૻ૾ૡૡૻૻૹૻૢૢૢૼૼૼૼઽૡ૾ૡઽૡૹઽઽઽ૾ૺૢ૱ૢૻૢૢૼૼઽૡૡૼૡૼૻૡ૽૾ૡઽૡૹઽઽૡૻ૿ૡ૾૱ૹ૱ૡૻૡ૽ૼૡૻૹ૱ૡૡૡૻૡ૱ૡૡ કું જ શું ' રહ્યુવા' વો' વૈત્ર મથા હૃ ' રશ્ય ર શે ર વે ' શ્રવા હિંગ થા લગાવન વેત્ હું ર શાવ શ્રે ર કર કે વા એ ર યા વરેવા કુવ ' રવર' ย. [133] มีระเทรารพรา มีระเปฐระบริสมภูมิปละเห็นเอรพากเกลาของ เป็นเพราะประเบริมา

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୶ଽୄଈୖ୵୶ଌ୶୕୶ୖୄୠୣ୷ୄୖୠ୷ୢଌୠୢ୶୶୶ୣ୶ୡ୶ୣଌ୲ଡ଼ୖୣୖଽଽଢ଼ଽ୷୰ଌ୶ଌ୶୶ଽ୶ୡଽ୷ୠଌ୕୶ୢୄୠୄ୵ୖୄୢ୶ଽ୷ୖୢୄୢୠୣ୵୶ଌୖ୶୕ଊ୲ୢୠ୷ୖୠ୷ ลู่สะผสาสมาลาศรีราวรักษรพาซาศรราศธิศ มาติกาศการมีราศธิศ คิวาศราษีราศธิศ สทุวารมายา ملَقَحَ تَوْسَ تَوْعَامَ مَعَامَ اللَّهُ عَامَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهُ مَا مَعَامَ اللَّهُ المَعَامَ المَعَام المَعَام المَعَام المَعَام المَعَام المُعَام المُعام المُ <sub>ู่</sub>สุง ฺ๋ฮฺ`กีฺตาฺษฺลฺ ํฮ๎๛าๆธิๆ `ผู้๛ๅํ๚ัฬฺ ํฮ๛า๛ฺฉู๛า`ผู้๛ๅ๛๛ฺฉูฌาๆธิๆ `พัฬฺ ํ๛๛รุํตาฺ`ผู้ๅๅ๏๛๛ๅ๛๛๛฿๚๚๚฿ูา <sup>มานน</sup>ายังเสียงเขาขนเป็นเสียงไนามอนานเปอน รนเสียงไนามอนานอน ระหาไหนาดีเลี้ยงไนามอน แนะประห ู่<sub>ช่าผู้จะผล</sub>ังกระที่ ซึ่งเพรีร์ะเนูตุงาสุสามาตริตุ รณิฏิพธิ์รามูมาพีรายาตริตาจรงาผู้ระเวลูญาลูงานลิ <sup>મુ</sup> 'ગઠેંગર્સે' સેંવે 'સું' ' બેન' ' નગર્' નેં ' નગેંન' રહી સું' દેસ ' બા બર' જ્ય ' ગર્લેવે' અ' સેર' નગર નગર પ્રચંદે નગેં નર સ્ટેર દેસ' વરુ જ્યયાયા મધ્ય દુવા કેન [152] શુર્યો ચેંગો જેથા કલ ક્રિંમ વવુભાલુય મધે નગમ મેય શુર્ય ચર્કેન કેવયા સુર્ નર્વેય શ્ચયવયુભાવયા વેત્વિત શ્રેતિ ખેત્ર છેની શ્વા ક્રયાળી [17a] શેન્દ શા ર ક્રયા ૯ ભા નબન શ્રેતિ ઉત્તા દેદ્વે ભાવજ્ઞે છે. นซะสางาทุจิงๆ ผู้ทาเชิวบูญี่ทาะเทอิก ผู้สารมาเฏิงเริ่าไวทั่างาทุธิก รงเสนาสุนาสุนทุธิก [92a] ઽૺ<sup>ઌ</sup>૾ૡઽ૾ૼૻ૱ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૻૻૡૢૻૢૻૢૢૻૻઌ૱૱ૡૻૻૼૼૻ૾ૡૻ૽ૼ૱ૡૻૻૼૼૼૼૡ

الفاتو العاجمة حقم والمعالية المعالية <u>ે</u>ગ્રન્સું સ્ટરુવા શુભા માર્કેવા છે માવે વાહેવા છે શું વેંગ્ર માર્કેના ક્ષરા માણિત જ્ઞાન્સે વાય સ્વય વાય વાય વ્યવસાય ક્ષરા મન્યુના સાથન બુન વી.નટતા.છેટ.ટજા.તતુ.જૂજા જ્ઞાતોજીજા. [1p] હત્તનોજા.તતુ.જર.નહેનોજા.જોતજા.નદેવ.નકટા જ્ઞાત્વરેવે.ડ્રાંજુ્ય ગ્રવાયા સુર સૂર વરે ય વાલુયા વવે ત્યા અદંદ દા છકાયા ન વાકે યાય કે દાવ ન દે માલ્દુના ગુર્સ સુવયા ગઢાય કે યા ગભભા અદ્દ ' કેન્ ) ગુરૂ દેવાબ વર્ષિ નવે સુર વ ગવિભા ગવે ગાયે તા ગુરૂ અવિર ગાન્ જે દુન્ અ અર્વે કે વે સુ સુવ વદે ગાય [2a] વડ્ડે ર રેશ પર ર રેંગ્ ન ર ર જીવા વા બુબા લું રેં દેવા શ કો વા જાય ર શે જીવા પર રે ગુરુવા ગરે વા જેવા સાથે ર રે જે ર ર ર ર જાય છે. ડ્રાંગ રુક્ષા નર્ગુતા મુત્રે ભેંના ભયા સુકાય એવા અદરદો શુપ્તવે જ્ઞાન ગુરુ જુવા વેંડ્રે ને સુભા વદય અર્થેક ગ્રસ્ *લેષપવે* પ્રશ્ન પૂર્વ સુંગ્ન અર્જે અર્જે છે. ત્યુરા સુધ પ્રયુપ સુધ સુધ સુધ સ્વર્ખે સ્ટેટ ૡુવાયઃલુ એર વદેશ મન વદેશ વનુ શે ગુન્દ હત જ્ઞેન્ડ નિંદ સુવ ગોના મન અન્દ લે સન્દ્રે સન્દ્ર વાયુય અર્જેન અયર્થે વાયા મન <code>ਗ਼</mark>୶ଊ୲୵୩୵ଌ୶୶ୢୣ୶ଽ୵୶ୢୢୡ୶୲୶ଌୄ୵ୄୢୖୢଌୗ୲ୢୖ୶୶୲୴ଌ୕ୖଽ୵୳୵୵୳ୖୄଽ୵୵୳୶ୖଌ୶୲୶ୖୄୖ୴ୡ୶୳ୠ୶୲ୡ୲୴୵୲୶ୢୖୢ୰ୠ୲ୣୢୢୢ୶୲ଽ୰</code> વર સુવયા સુ વાકેર વયચા એવ (32) રે સુર કરા દે વિદ્વેર વવવા વાકેય એવ જીવ સું દેવ વાસ્તા અને ગામ વાદ વાદ વાદ વાદ ન ર્જેઅ'૬૬' ક્ષુક સુરાગવાદ્ય વેદિ બુરાવાદે જે સુરાગ વિદ્યુવર સાથા વિદ્યુવર સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સ &ન'ર્વેર'શે ર્કેલ' અર્કેર' વાંકેવા અર્કેર' ધ'રેલ' સેંગ્યા વાઢે ચાયુવાલ શો રેં' દેં 'રૂ' શુરુપવેલી કે' ગુરપ્વદેવા વઠલ' ભાવદુવાલ ૱ઽૹ<sup>੶</sup>ઌૹૻૡૢૢ૿ૣૣૣૣૢૢૣૢઌ<sup>ૣ</sup>ૡૻ૽૾૾ૡૢૻૡૻૡૻઌૡૡઽ૽ઽઽૻૹૻૢૢૢૢૢૢૼૼૡૢૡૻૡૻઌૼૻઌ૱ૹૡૡ૽ૢૼૼૼૼૼૡૹૢૡૻ૾ૻૡ૱૱ૡૡૢૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼ૱૱ૡ૾૾ૡ૾૾ૡ૾૽ૡ૾૾ૡ૽ૡ૾૽ૡ૽૾ૡ · ૫૪૱૱ૡઽૻૼઽૡૡ૾૽ૼૡૢૻ૾૾ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૺઌૡૡૢૢૢૣૡૡૡ૾ૺૡૢઽૡૡૣ૽ૡૡ૾૽૽૽ૺૹૢૻૡૡ૾ૡૡ૽ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ ૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡ૱ૡૢૻૡ૱૱ૡૢ૾ૡ૱૱ૣૻૻ૾ૹ૾૾૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱ ૡદય: નવુન્સ.પ્રે.સું. વરુ. વાલયા વને. વાલેવાય. વર્શન. સંવાય.સું. દ્વાન્સ. કે. વાં કરવા વેશ્વય. તતે સું. વાક્ય. વનું સા કવ. ୍ ମଦମ୍ମ୍ୟିନ୍ ଅଞ୍ଚେନ୍ ମିଂସାଣ୍ଟି ଶ୍ରସଂ [4b] ମସମ୍ମୁମିଂସାପ୍ରିମୟାମମା ଶ୍ରୁଣ୍ୟୁ ଅନ୍ୟାସାର୍ଥ୍ୟା ସଂଶ୍ୟୁନା ସନ୍ତ ସ୍ୱରିସା ଶ୍ୟା ଖ୍ୟା ગાર્પેંગ દેંમ મેચાવરય શે સુવરું દુવ વદેવા છેના ગયન વને અર્દ્ધવ સુંદે માં માં જાય વેંદા કે મેચા જીયા વેંદા કે મે સંગભાશ્નુ ગ્વના શ્રેનભાર્ય્ય વરાયા ગુગાર્ય ભૂદો દે શે ભાવરથ છે શુ નહી શ્વરા કરવા ગુરા ગુરા છુ ન કર્ય લે શુ ગાઉભા <sup>ૣ</sup>ૹૻૺૻૡૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૹૡૢૻૡ૱ઽઽ૱ૹૣૻૐૼૼૼૡૹઌ૽૿ૢૺૼૡૼૼૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૹૡઽઽઽૻૡૼૡૹઌઽૡૡૢ૱ૡૡૢ૱૱ૢૼૡૼ૱૱ૡૡ૱ૹ૱ૡ૱ ૧૬૬ વદ્દી વિદય કે ત્યા છે. ત્યા જે ત્યા છે. ત્ય છે. ત્યા છે. 

MANG.NANG SPROD.DEB

6a-b missing [7a] ผู้หรับบุลาณานธุตาลูมาระเนติตุณา ริสาธิสาวรรรรเพิ่ตาวองป อะพารตาศีรพาทร์สรษฐะเขา ณ શેર વલું સિંગારેવા નલું ર્ક્સુવા વાસુઓ વેંચિ છે સર દરા મથે છે સું કે દેવમાં ગરુ વલી ગાય સર છે વચા યો લું સુર દે จลูก ี้มูลสารมายนิรัฐ์สาหาสารสาสริส เพณาอูนิาสมานั้ณาสริส สักรารมาสารมูราสหูมาอุณาสนิา ทาวกฤณฑูสาริาพักณารัฐก กับรามรายสายสายก็จายโกร [7b] การกณารัฐก กัณาอยุยินสาริเฮาร มูสสูลิราสหริสฟ รพาธ์ศาษาธ์สา พริ้าจสูราสูาสามา การุส สูญาพธัส กลุกาลสิราสหาศลิ กลูรารรรณากรูรา ર્શ્વેયબેંડનાફવા શ્વે.ધંતા,સુંધરાંભુટનાફવા ત્રવા,વા,ત્રક્રો, હ્યુ, હુલા, હુવાય, ગુ.જાકુ, ત્રફવા, વાયત્ર સુગ્રથ, હુર, હુવ, દ્વે, પ્રુવ, કુ ะระจะที่ฤหาศริศ รุรุณาฏิเสรามธิราจภูณามรีราคิกาษสาผิศาครณาคาศพระชิามีราญมาธรณีกรรมีรา *કેઃકુર<sup>-</sup>ર્સુર<sup>-</sup>પેર-પેર-પેર-સ*-જન્ડુયા વર્ષભપક્ષર વરેવા ચર્ટ્સ ન્ટ્યા ક્ષર-વ્રક્રસ્તુવાવરુભક્ત જાણેભ [8b] નરા ભાવરુવ યર કેવ વાસુયા છુ. વર્કક લુર વ રહુ ર દા કેવુ વાસુયા થર્ટેક દય વરેવા ગાર્કર છે છુ. દા છું દા છું દા છે વાસ્ય સાવર વરૂળ નાર્યેજા કેંદર વર્ષ છે ના છે ના છે ના છે ના છે ના છે છે. તે છે ના છ พาผมาจริตางระทัศง ธิง ยิพ ธงาที่พารๆ ระบุระบุรพ ที่พาจริต ยารควาจริต และ ที่พาจริตางระพ ที่พาจรา ๆธิ์ๆ จฐลาสุทุพาธาฤธิ์ๆ เจาหุกุพาซูาซ์กุพาร์าจรูารู่กุ ผู้พาคธิ์ทุสาร์ราหิราหิราชิกุพา ..... จรูารู่ๆ ૡૺ'વરુ વચાયામના વનાવા છે. હુદ દે . વાદ ભા છે. શું જ દુવ અર્દેદ ગાંદ સુંવ ખેદ એક વર્ષે અય દે વાદ ભા વર્ણ થયાયા વુચાયા શ્રીંગ<sup>ર્</sup>ભેરવાયુષ્યાં શ્રાષ્ટ્રપ્યાવાયુષ્યાં એ'નચાવાયુષ્યાં ક્ષેટ્સિવા વાંકેવા 'શ્રુ'ગ્રીંનર છે. વાંકેવા 'સેવાય' સેવાય સ ર્ગેલ'ગ્રે'ગરૂચ'નરેના કુ'નુંચ્:કુન'ચન'ચરુચ'વરેન સુ'વે કુન્ય નરેલા ગાયત અને ના સ્ટેન્ગ્રે'ગ''યર્જન સુવ ૡ૾ૺૡૻઽૻૼૼૼૼૹૻૻઌ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૻઌૻૹૼ૱ૡ૾ૢૻૺ૾ૺઽૡૢ૾ૡૻ૽ૼૡૻ૱ૡૻૹૡૡૻૹૣ૾ૡૡ૱ૹૻૹૡૡૻૡૻૡ૾૾ૡ૾૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻૡ૾૽ૡ૽૽ૡ <sup>૧૮</sup>૧૬<sup>,</sup> તાલે કે સાર સુવા છે. તાલે પ્રાપ્ત છે. તે પ્રાપ્ત છે. તે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત છે. તે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત છે. તે સાથ પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ પ્રાપત પ્રાપ પ્રાપત પ્ર વૈ<sup>દ</sup>્યરે ગયુઆ કરતા છે રાગરે વ્યુપાય સાથવા છે. તે આ પ્રાપ્ય સાથ છે આ પ્રાપ્ય સાથ છે આ પ્રાપ્ય સાથ છે. આ પ્રાપ્ય સાથ છે આ પ્ર <sup>૧</sup>ાર્કેભા ર્સુંગાવાર્કેભાગ્રઽત્યાર્ધેવ વાદેવા ક્ષાર્ય્વેવ વાદેવા દાવે સુંત બેંદ વાસુયા રેંદ પ્રેવા છે વાદેવા વ <sup>ๆ</sup>โล้"น์นั้น"ฮาวรุล เห็นมานานานายุรามรูล สีมาร์สา. พี่มามีปลา เป็นสาย (Ioa) ไล ซู้กามรูนามรามรามรามรามรามรามราม વિવજ્ય ગાંકેના નાકલ્સ્ચ એમ્ટ્રાયે મું કે કે સંત્ર નાકેના સેવા સુધ એમ્ટ્રાયે માર્કેને કે કે સંત્ર નાકેના કલ્ય સ્થય સ્થય સ્થય સ્થય સંત્ર નાકેના સુધ સ્થય સંત્ર સ્થય સ્થય સંત્ર નાકેના સુધ સ્થય સંત્ર સ્થય સંત્ર સ્થય સંત્ર સંત્ર સ્થય સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર સંત્ય સંત્ર <sup>୩</sup>୵୶ୖ<sup>୵</sup>ୄଌୗ ୩ୢୡ୩ฺ୕ଋ୕ଽୄଵୄୖୖୢ୲ୖୢୠୖୠ୵୩ୖଌ୩ สูเ๚ผๅ ผู้รานทศาธิ ศูเนอพๅ ୩ิลิมพ.ซูร:ผู้ระทุสม.୩รุส.รรไ

## षस्र क वहिवा से केंवा प्रवया कें न केंवा कें कें

<sup>વ</sup>ા સુરાવયા શ્વવૃાય જીવા શર સુપ્ર ગઢ સ્યાય લેવ વા સ્વયા સ્થાવે દે 'ગુ ર સુવ સ્વયા વા વા વે સ્વયા સુધ્ર સ્વયા સ્વય સ્વયા સ્વય સ્વયા સ્વય સ્યા સ્વયા સ્યા સ્યયા સ્યા સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્યા સ્વયા સ્યાયાયા સ્યાયા સ્યા સ્યાયા સ્યાયા સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્યાયા સ્યાય સ્ય સ્યાય સ્ય સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્યાય સ્ય સ્યાય સ્ય

## สู้รารจั ฮูลิ สู ซั เง

કુર [10b] म हेर परिष ह 'पद हूँब में र पहे भार भार के भ २. धुम्पार्यत्य के वार्यत्य के वार्य र प्रायत्य के प्राय प्रायत्य के प्र प्रायत्य के प्रायत्य प्रायत्य के प्रायत्य प्रायत्य के प्र र्ग् र्स्नेनानहेन र्रेन्द्र्येत्यानयन्यहेन् गहुंग्'त्रस्यद्विंस्ट्रिंग्रेन् स्रेन्द्रेन्स्रक्रापर्यय्यः [11a] नद्द्यनहेन्युय्वरुषः ૹૻૻૼૼઽૻૹૻૹૻૼૼૢૢૢૢૢૢૡ૾ૺૻઌઽૻૹ૾૾ૹૡૢૻઽૡ૽ૼૼૼૡ<sup>ૻ</sup>ૡૻૻૻઌ૱ૹૡ૽ૻૼૼઽૡઌઌૡૻૹૢૺૡૢ૾ૺ૱ૻૹૻ૽ૡૼઌૡૻૡૼ૱૱ૻૼૹૻઌૡૻ૱૱૱૱ૹ ୶ଽଵ୲ଵ୲ଌ୶ୄୖଢ଼ଽୖଽ୶ଽୄୖୄ୰ୖଽ୶ୄୢୖୢଌଽୖ୶୶୶ୖ୶ଵ୶ୖ୶ୖଽଵ୕୶୶ଵୄୠୄୖ୶ୖୠ୕ଡ଼ୣୠୄ୰ଡ଼ୢୄୠୖ୰ଡ଼ୢ୷ୖଌଡ଼୷ଌ୶ୖୡୄଽୢୄଽ୷ୣୠଵ୶ୖଽଽଡ଼ୄଽ୷୶ ૪ૡ. ૧ વર્ક્સર્સાળી અભી ક્લિયાતર્વે હો શે. ૧૩૪ કી. [153] ક્રેટ્સ લાત્માત્વે બાર્ટે બાહી જ. મૂટ્ટ નળા હો શે કીર્ટ ૡ૾૾ઽૺૢૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૡઽઽઽઃૡઽઃૹૣૻ૾ૹૼૼઽ૾ૹ૽ૺ૾ૣૣૼૼૢૺૡૼૼઽૡૢ૱ૻૹૼૡૻૻૢૻૻૢૻૻૹૻૻ૱ૢૢૻઽ૾ૡૹૻૻૡૻ૾૱ૡૹૻૻૻૹૻ૾૱ૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡ वडिव रत्वा गईव के जाव अभ्य के व रे रे पेंद र र वुवा में हेवा नहेवा रे रेवा भर्द वा वा के व के राज के वा के राज भ વાં કેવા મ્વા વા લા લા છે. જે આ પ્રા મુક્ત સુધ ના માર્ગ છે આ પ્રા મુક્ત મુદ્દે મુક્ત મુદ્દે મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુક્ત મુદ્દ મુદ વાંદેવા યા ન્વયા યા સેંગ નુનુ યા સેંદ ખુ વા મુદ વાદેવા યા સેંગ છુ છુ નુ શુક વાદેવા યા નવા યા સેંગ ક ખદ વર છે વા 

# Appendix Seven

# A few edicts concerning Tho.ling issued during the late period of the Gu.ge dynasty and afterwards

THE 1653 EDICT OF THE LA.DWAGS KING INDRA.BO.DHI TO THE PEOPLE OF GU.GE entitled Chos.rgyal.nas khral.rigs.skor rtsal.ba'i bstan.tshig "A word of instruction from the chos.rgyal on the types of taxation"

THE EDICT ISSUED by Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal in water snake 1653 confirms the statement of other sources (see above p.47-49) that he was the member of the royal family of La.dwags, to whom control of Gu.ge was assigned. From the viewpoint of the contents of the *bka'.shog*, two legal clauses are given special emphasis. The first is that the burden on the people of Gu.ge *phyi.nang* of maintaining Tho.ling was retained. The second is that Indra.bodhi rnam.rgyal abolished a number of collateral burdens imposed on his Gu.ge subjects before his time. It is not clear whether these had been enforced during the reign of his father Seng.ge rnam.rgyal in Gu.ge (1630-1642), after he had conquered this kingdom and brought the rule of the Gu.ge dynasty to an end. That it was the new La.dwags.pa order which imposed them seems to be proved by the statement in the *bka'.shog* that "this practice is an unpleasant and oppressive burden not existing before" and thus that it had recently been introduced.

Another significant notion of the edict is a reference to Gu.ge *phyi.nang*, often found elsewhere, which needs thorough investigation in the future. A possibility is that the term stands for the quite neat morphological division of its land. *Nang* ("internal Gu.ge") seems to be the lower and more rugged territory of mainland Gu.ge composed by four main areas, two of them to the north of the Glang.chen kha.'babs (Rong.chung in the west and Byang.ngos in the east), the other two to the south of the same river (lHo.smad in the west and lHo.stod in the east). Chu.mur.ti and Chu.gsum, the area were Bar.skyog is located, are the two northernmost districts of Gu.ge *nang*, respectively to the north-west and north-east of Rong.chung. *Phyi* ("external Gu.ge") seems to correspond to the higher wasteland to the east of mainland Gu.ge and adjoining Men.rtser in the south to bKra.shis.sgang in the north, thus being, principally, the huge and long valley of the sGar.chu which opens, in the south, into the plain in front of gangs Ti.se.

ાર્શવાં વાર્ષે સાચને પ્લાયા અપ્યું ર્સું ત્વા સાચ્ય સાય સુધ્ય સંગ છે સાચ્ય પ્યું પ્રચ્ય સાય સુધ્ય સંગ છે સુધ્ય સુધ્ય સંગ છે સુધ્ય સ્વય સ્વય સ સાય સુધ્ય સાય સ સાય સુધ્ય સુ

#### The edict of fire dragon (1736) issued by the 7th Dalai Lama bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho

#### A few points arising from the 1736 edict are worth emphasizing.

Possibly the most significant notion of the edict is the evidence that the Gu.ge royal lineage was restored to a nominal degree of authority under the control of lHa.sa. The rule of the local king Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis (1676-1744) was limited by a few officers who had local duties. Given that Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis' power was conferred upon him by dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang dpal.bzang, he was the sole ruler of Gu.ge appointed after the removal of the La.dwags.pa control of this land and before the extinction of the Gu.ge dynasty (according to Kah.thog rig.'dzin Tshe.dbang nor.bu in his Bod.rje lha.btsad.po'i gdung.rabs, the royal family of Gu.ge came to an end with his death in 1744 (see above p.55)). This makes the statement found in the biography of Panchen Lama Blo.bzang ye.shes that the abbot of bKra.shis lhun.po was visited by Gu.ge chos.rgyal yab.yum.sras.gsum (Blo.bzang ye.shes.kyi rnam.thar f.384b line 4) particularly significant. It seems from the passage mentioned above that Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis and his wife Tshe.ring bu.khrid (for her name see ibid. f.384b line 5) had a son, but he must have met an untimely death, given that he is no longer mentioned in 1744. Feasibly, Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis had a long spell in Gu.ge under the dGa'.ldan pho.brang. Given that he was empowered by dGa'.ldan Tshe.dbang dpal.bzang (d.1687; see Petech, The Kingdom of Ladakh p.79) following the taking of Gu.ge by the troops of lHa.sa in 1679-1690, he may have been the member of the royal family of Gu.ge delegated with restricted power by the Dalai Lamas from some time before 1687 to 1744.

The organization of the dGa'.ldan pho.brang government in Gu.ge, at least in 1736, seems to have consisted of a nominal king (Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis residing at mDa'.ba.rdzong rather than at one of the historical capitals of this land: Tho.ling, Dung.dkar, Mang.nang, rTsa.hrang); a senior *no.yon*, namely 'Gyur.med ye.shes tshe.brtan rgya.mtsho, who was the supreme officer in charge of Gu.ge appointed by the dGa'.ldan pho.brang; an *u.ching nang.so*, who was higher than the king in the local hierarchy; and the sGar.dpon named O.pa.shi. One point is adamant in the edict and pertains to the fact that the local authorities, including king Blo.bzang padma bkra.shis, were ordered to support, the latter even financially, the diffusion and prosperity of the Yellow Hats.

The *bka*'.shog is structured in an interesting way. Every time a matter of important concern, such as that of trading rights and the taxes to be collected, the regulation of grazing lands, compulsory labour, the duties of the monastic community etc. arises, it is interspersed in the text with the indications of the places, which marked the extension of the lands belonging to the various localities of Gu.ge.

The *bka*'.shog states that it was issued from sGar.thog near the great monastery of bKra.shis lhun.gyi grub.pa, and signed and sealed by the 7th Dalai Lama at gZhis.[ka.]rtse. If, as it seems, bKra.shis lhun.gyi grub.pa is dPal.dpe.med lhun.gyis grub.pa (i.e. Tho.ling) and sGar.thog the well known seat of the sGar.dpon, then it would ensue that the edict was issued locally and given authority in distant gTsang. That the contents of the edict, extremely detailed in terms of local knowledge, were outlined in mNga'.ris skor.gsum is not surprising since knowledge of the people and the territories they inhabited seems to be *prima manu*.

The edict contains several classifications of areas inhabited by local clans and their rights. Their minute treatment often poses insurmountable problems of identification. Even in the case of better known localities of Gu.ge, the indication of their land defies an understanding for anyone who is not aware of the individual names of fields, streams, passes, mountains etc. in these specific localities <sup>139</sup>. Other (less well known) people, territorial divisions and place names are even more obscure<sup>140</sup>.

Further important items pertain to issues of local interest such as trade, dwelling places for horses during winter, compulsory allocation of people from different localities to attend to the horses, obligatory loading service, the concern that the religious community must have for the lay community. A few are abridged in the following.

It seems that, in two separate cases, the people called Hor.Sog-s proved to be a problem for the local administration. In one case, they were granted the land of Phun.rtse khang.rgyas, a mere name to me (possibly a *'brog* or "pasture land"), while the Hor.pa nomads, who previously had held rights over it, were assigned a new land called Zha.ti (unidentified). The passage is significant in establishing a differentation between the well known Hor.pa-s and the Hor.Sog-s. In the other instance, the *skor.pa-s* of the Hor.Sog-s, who worked under nomad owners by moving from place to place [to graze their animals?] (this is how I tentatively decode the obscure use made in the *bka'.shog* of this term), did not have a place to stay. In a further instance, regulated by the *bka'.shog*, the localities assigned to some *skor.pa-s* are sanctioned, which indicates that they were people in charge of cattle.

The sites of Men.rtser, Rab.bzang, Brag.rtsa, Gang.sag and Chod.bzhi 'brog.bsam.pa were off-limits (possibly for the people of Khyung.lung; in fact this locality is near Men.rtser to its west), but the reasons behind their impracticability remain obscure since no explanation is given for the prohibition.

The edict discusses numerous terms of trade. Especially interesting is the trade between West Tibet, including Byang.thang, where salt was extracted from its fields, and the Mon.pa lands across the passes of Nye.ri (i.e. Nyi.ti, the pass to the south of mDa'.ba.rdzong), sKyo.nam (Kumaon) and Sha.'og (Garhwal). These traders, who dealt in goods from India against the products of the 'brog.pa lands, used to come to Gu.ge lHo.Byang for commerce.

A case of '*u.lag* ("corvée work") is regulated in the edict. It pertains to the people called Ka.ru.ba who were inhabitants of Ho.'dra, helping with agricultural work 139. The *bka'* shog gives the borders of the land inhabited by the Khyung lung pa-s as follows: in the north, rTsal byang ma, Gad, rgyal, gyi Itag, Phan.po'i Gong, po and gTso.ma Ze. brgyud; in the east, rKam.lung.gi lung.brgyud, Grog, po'i gong, ra, Brag, dkar sna.lung, [Shod.]ri gnam khung, Rin.chen chu.mdas, sTag.tshab, Gur.chu.phug, dPa'.bo.mkhar and IHo.phye ma.mchod; in the west, 'Khri.dgos gnam gsum until Shib.kyi Chus, 'Ag.khyu.ba, IJags.lung.pa and Su.'bu dar.

According to the *bka'*.*shog*, the borders of mDa'.ba are, in the east, until Da.ram.pa blo.ma'i la; in the south, until Khyu.rtse [and] Blo.po 'Os.ti; in the north, from Gyog.nag sDing.ba, Sha.po'i sgang and 'Bru.gu g.yu.bya.

The land of the Zur, khang, pa-s is located in Gu. ge IHo. stod under mDa', ba. rdzong (see above p. 11). Their borders are Ring, khung Iha mo, che until sGam, po. gdong on the upper side; bTsan, po. pa gong, ga [and] Bya.rug, pa gong, 'og as far as Mar.cang, mkhar, gyi gong kha, above Chog, dod dkar, po and sMan, chu can as far as the 'Bur.gsum, pa'i sgang and until Zha'i 'gag, Kha ba. sgang and Ze.lung, which is in the middle of Cog; until the foot of Ngu.ring.mo pass; Gru.sngon and Long.mo, che; above Gyad.rdo of Shing Gu.gling; as far as Pong.rtse ze, Bram.rtse gong kha and Yag.ru, khongs, and sNya.ło.

140. The *bka'.shog* records the borders of dGe.thang in the following way: until Gras.spong spong rtse; Chargyi Ze.brgyud; until Hor.lam of Khe.bug; the Sag.san stables, until Ting.shang.gi g.yag and sMigs.pa gyam, rTsa.dar.sgang, Sho.ma.chur mar.sang. Moreover, the land inhabited by the 'An.le.ba is delimited by the following borders: in the north, until Tshang.rag gong.ga, in the east. until rGya.chu.rag; in the south, until 'Brong.pa myam.za; in the west, until sPang.sgo.

The localities available to the *skor.pa-s* (i.e. people moving from place to place to graze cattle) are as follows. In summer, they occupy Zha ti khung until the Tshe rings.ma river, and until Brag.dkar; as far as Ma.byang.mkhar.gyr gong.ga; in winter, they occupy half Glang.chu ling, half Ring.'thung and sPang.dmar; in the south Gru.gu and Ngang.ril; in the west above Chu.'og dmar.po; in the north, until the range of the 'Brang.rgya pass; in the east, Brag Ga'u.ma, Lgong, La.med, Tshams.seb, rTsa khang, Phyur.khang, Na gong.'og, ITe.lo.gong and Mar.gu nyin.grub.

The bka'.shog says that the common (spyi.ma) border of Byog and Zur is as follows: above sNya.lo until Zha'i mkhar.sgang; from the central section of the Hor.lam until the edge of the sGang.ru.gdong plain. One third of these lands belonged to the Zur.khang.pa and two thirds to the Byog rtse.ba. Hence, Byog, being contiguous to the land of the Zur.khang.pa-s, must also be in IHo.stod. at Phyi.wang and rTsa.brang during spring and autumn. Ho.'dra, spelt as Hor.'dra, appears in other sources. The context of the latter passages seem to imply that Hor.'dra addressed some sort of warriors or special troops, but the use of Ho.'dra in the *bka'.shog* could not be more different. Elsewhere, the terms of the compulsory loading service in the area of the dGe.thang.pa-s and Be IDong.po are fixed by means of a *bka'.shog*.

The edict also sanctioned the summer and winter *chibs.'brog-s* ("grazing grounds for horses") within the divisions of Gu.ge lHo.stod and Byang.gnos, where *skor.pa-s* of these territories had to take the animals. The situation was more difficult for those of sGar, belonging to the Hor.Sog-s, since the *'brog.pa* owners of the animals had no specific place in which to keep their animals.

Curiously, the *bka'.shog* also fixes military duties. The soldiers in charge of the security of Gu.ge were recruited from the ranks of servants and nomads and a tax corresponding to 129 *rkang*-s ("a tax levied according to the dimensions of one's plot of land", which is a remarkably large tax) was collected to maintain them.

The confirmation made in the edict of the grant of the *sa.lam* and *sa.brgyud* (lit. "the road of the land" and "the range of the land": are they place names?), which are rather mysterious localities for an outsider, to A.la.lang.dar and the lineage of the three Kha.che Dza.yid brothers in the territory seems to indicate that a Muslim enclave inhabited an area of very difficult identification.

ารสมาฏิราพรณานนิ ๆดิมาวที่รานนิ ลู่พาว จุ้ามิ รารอิ สุจา ..... อมาวที่รานนิ สามาร์สามาร์สา สารรัสสา รัร พาริตาพาตระพัราณาฉริาธาสุราตุพณาตลิสาษิสาวะธิตพาตสุราจจิ้าฮูจาจจิ้มูสาตุรสาชีจาพารรา ...... จัราพาพูจพา ୖୠ୵୲୰୲ଵୄୢ୩୵୲୳ୖଌ୕୶୲୵ଽୄ୲ୢୣୣଌଡ଼୕୲୳ଽ୲ଡ଼ୄ୵ଽୖୄୠୡୄୄୄ୳୕ୄୠଡ଼୲ୣୣୣୣ୳୲ଵୄୖୡ୶୲ଌ୵ୡୖ୲୳ୖୡ୲୳ୖୖୡ୶ୢୖୢଢ଼୕ୖ୕ୄୢ୲ୖୢଌ୲୰୲ଡ଼ୄୠଌ୲ୄୢ୵୲୶ଽ୶ୖୡ୲ พัสาๆเรติเตาครัสา ..... พัตุพาษัราตูรพาทู้าพาพูญาษิรายาผูสาช เตราภูพาพัตุพาญาพารัสาพัตาษัรารศึพาษุจพา ર્વેવા ધેવે વેંદરના વવા નગાન સૂગ્યુના …..રે વાયજા હિના કુલ છે શાય જોય જોય જોય છે. તે વાર્ય સંસ્થત ના ત્રાત્ર સુર્વે કું છે. พิสานาทุสุพาร์ที่พายา ผสาสิวา กลายสาว รูกาสาทสา พิรานติ เลรีกา จพมายา ..... มานี้พายน้ำพาผู้ร่า भारता के रे क्रिंका शर्वेषाया पश्चिम क्रुं भाषा करा के राजे का प्रायम के स्वार्थ के स्व स्वार्थ के स स्वार्थ के स्वार स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ क स्वार्थ के स्व स्वार्थ के स . <sup>5</sup>. <sup>5</sup>. <sup>2</sup>. તેને બાદીયારી જાય છે. તે જે બાદ પ્રાયમ છે. તે પ્રાયમ છે. તે પ્રાયમ છે. પ્રાયમ છે પ્રાયમ છે. ี่ ยูารารพีรามรายมางสังพรายีพารา จิระชา ซิเซี ซิเซี ซิเซี พารรงพัยพาย่างเรียนตาย เริ่า เปล่าเหล่านาร ..... શ' ન માર છે. ગ્રે ર બા & ર બ ..... હ . બ જ

นาลติสาสรุญ ซู้ ราย การพาคราม ซีรารา สุมพารัฐรารรามจุม มีอาริราชิรา เกา การิหาสาชีรารรายาาพการ รภูพริณร์ณร์สัญญาพาพิสาสณร์ ไว้รัสาลูกามารทานรานรานรูปๆ ภูมาไรมิสาณาสมาย สมายามนิวมรู้เพิ่มรรรงๆ <sub>ૹ૾૾ૡ</sub>ૹ૽ઽ૽<sub>ૺ</sub>૽ૡૹૹૻૼ૱ૡૡ૽ૢઽૡૻ૱૽ૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌ૽ૢૻૺૡૡ૾ૺૹઽૡ૽ૼૼૼૼૡ૱ૹૹ*ૻ*ઌૻૹૼૼૼૼૡૡૡૼૹૻૻૡૼૡૡ૾ૻ૱ૡૡ૾૱ૡૡ૾૱ૡૡૹ ૡૻૼૣઌ૽૾૾ૡઌૹૻૡૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૢૻૡૼૻૻૡૼૻૻૡૼૻૻૼૡૡૻૻૡૡૻૻૡૻૻૡૻૻઌૻઌૻૡ૽ૻૻઙૺ૱૱૽૽ૢ૿ૡૼૼઌૻઽૢૼ૿૽ૢ૾ૢ૽ૢ૾ૼઽૹ૾ૣૡૻૹૹૻૻ૱ૡ૾ૡૻૹ૾ૡૡૻૹૻ૽ૼૡૹ૽૽૽ૺ ๚<sub>้</sub>รู้ ร<sup>ั</sup>้นสัมพาณาสพิราธราษิสามจะ หิสารุธิราศุริษาที่ริพาศีรราง เพิ่า เพิ่ม વયુક્સ બિંદ વ્યુક્સ દેવાયા છે. આ પ્રિયમ સાથ પ્રાયમ સાથ મુદ્દ સાથ પ્રાયમ સાથ પ્રાયમ સાથ પ્રાયમ સાથ પ્રાયમ સાથ પ્ ଽଽଽଽୢୖୠ୶ୄୖଈଽ୳୶୲ଈ୲୶ୄଽଡ଼୲୳ଽଽୄ୵ୣଌ୲ଡ଼୲ଢ଼୲ଽ୶ଽୖଡ଼୲ୢୖୄଢ଼୲ୠଽୖଌଵ୶୲୶ଡ଼ୖୢ୕୕ଵଡ଼୲ଡ଼୲ଽୖ୴ଽ୵୶୲ୡ୲ଽଽଽୢୖୢ୶ଽ୳୲୶ୠ୶୲ଌ୲ଽ୵୲ୡ୲୷ ଽঀঀৼ৾ড়ৄ৾ৼ৻ড়ৢ৾৽৽ড়ৢ৽য়ৢঀ৾৽ঀ৾ৡ৾য়৽৾৾য়য়৾৽৽ৼঀ৾৽৽৽৽৽৾ড়৾৾৽য়৽য়৾৽ড়ৢৼ৾ঀ৾৽ঀ৾ঀঀ৾ঀ৾ৠৼ৾ঀ৾য়৽৾য়য়ৼ৾ঀ৾য়৾৽য়য়য়৾ঀ৾য়য়৾৾য়য়৾৾য়য়৾৾য়য়৾৾য়য়৾ ୄ୳ୄଽ୶ୄୖୢ୶୶୶ଵ୕ଽଵ୲ୖଌ୕ଵୄୄଌ୕ୖ୵ୄୖୢୠ୕ୖ୵୲୴୶ୢୠଵ୕୶ୄୖୢ୶ଽ୵ଽ୴ଽ୳ଽୖୖ୶ୖୖୖୖୖୖୖୖୖୖୖ୶ୖଌଡ଼ୢ୲୰ଢ଼ଡ଼୲୴ୖୖଌୖୖଽୡ୲୰ଢ଼ୡ୲୰ୖୄୣୡ୕୶ୖୡଽୄୠୢୖ୶୶୶୳୰ <u>કે</u>વા કુવાર્થવા વ્વચ્ચ કુરાય છે. અને આ કુરાય ક ા કે દેવામાં વા વરુષા સુષય સુર સુર વા તેર વર્તે ત્વર્તે ત્વા ન ત્વા ગામ તે ત્વા ગામ તે તે તે સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ સાથ *યય.જ્ઞ.તા.*લુ< £.વયુવલ.તા સૈવાંબ.ત. <sub>ઈ</sub>. ೩.તયુવાંબ.તા ર્જ્ય.જુટ.વાંબ∡.સ્ટ્રિંબ.<u>જ</u>્યાબ.વોય્ય.વૈબ.<u>જ</u>્ય.વૈ.જી. કુટ.! ૮તુ. <sup>ૹ</sup>ઽૡૢૺૹઌૡૹૹૡૼઽૡૢૼઽૺૡૻૹૡૢૻૢૻૻઙૢૢૻૻઙૢૡૺ૾૽ૹ૱ૡ૽ૢ૾ૺ૱ઌૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૺ૱ૺૡૼૡ૾ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ <sup>યવે '</sup>ર્તે ગલેવ 'દુન અનવ થવે અ વહેસ જ વદુન કુ વર ગલેવ વસ્ત સ્પાન સ્થાન કું અવે ભા હું વા બ્રેંગ્સ્થ ..... จริงซีราพูณอูราฮรารศาศัราส สราอาชีรสถานี้รายเพลมาส สุจาสพายราสีซีสรมพาจรศาจารา ૹ૾ૢૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣઌૡૢૢૢૢૢૢૡૡ૱ૡ૱૱૱૱૱ૡૡૡ૱ૡૡૡ૱૱ૡૡ૱ૡૡ૱૱૱૱૱૱ <sup>3</sup><sup>5</sup>। श्वेरायर्नेवासः सुरः पर्वायः रः इत्यायः व्युद्धः देवासः वगावाः से रः सेवासः वारः सः ३ः घर पुः प्युते गाम् कः र्रेकः स्पर พี่มาๆสุขารที่ลาสู่ๆ สูมากนายนิาพาพสมพานินาตนาผู้เพิ่มได้ ผู้ร่าสุขาผู้มาน้ำทรั้นามสุขาน้ำน้ำนาที่นายาสู่เริ่ม 

### The edict of earth horse (1738)

The edict of earth horse 1738 was issued by the 7th Dalai Lama bsKal.bzang rgya.mtsho in order to enforce *ban.khral* ("monk tribute") among the population of mNga'.ris skor.gsum so that each family had to send their middle son to the monastery to become a monk. The duty of enforcing the orders contained in the edict was assigned to the abbot of Tho.ling and to the senior sGar.dpon, in charge of secular affairs in Gu.ge on behalf of the dGa'.ldan pho.brang.

The bka'.shog issued by gNod.sbyin phun.tshogs in fire sheep 1847

The *bka'.shog* issued by gNod.sbyin phun.tshogs in fire sheep 1847 is another instance in which, some one hundred years after that of 1738, orders were issued that

the families of mNga'.ris skor.gsum must send their middle sons to the monasteries to become monks.

The difference in the two dates recorded in the edict (one being fire sheep 1847, the other wood monkey 1884) is accounted for by the fact that the edict was again circulated years after it was issued. Is this proof that the order issued in 1847 had not been wholeheartedly honoured by the population?

This edict has an interesting initial part, in which people and localities of mNga'.ris skor.gsum are indicated. This is relevant to the issue of the ancient geography of these lands which is especially obscure in the early period of its history <sup>141</sup>.

While it is almost impossible to identify a number of ancient localities going back to the early history of West Tibet, a few remarks can be attempted concerning the localities mentioned in documents in the later periods.

With the *bka*'.shog of 1847 one reaches more familiar ground. A few remarks can be attempted concerning the localities mentioned in this document, as its place names are closer to the notions of the cultural geography which have survived to this day, although some of them included in this edict are by no means easy to identify. It seems that the localities and people of Gu.ge, to which the edict is addressed, are grouped in it according to territorial divisions typical of the land, in a sequence based on reasons of contiguity, although this is not openly stated. Two names are the exception, since they are those of two of the highest authorities in this land (the *sgar.dpon* of mNga'.ris skor.gsum and the *rdzong.dpon* of rTsa.'mda'.rdzong).

The first grouping includes Khyung.lung, IDong.po, mDa'.ba, the sGra.ma.ba-s, Phyugs.tshang.ba-s, Ma.nam.pa-s, Gling.skyed lag.pa-s and Khris.pa-s, and rTsa.hreng sger.gzhung ("noblemen and government officers"). This area stretches from south-east to north-west along the Glang.chen kha.'babs. Hence, some of the less known localities and people included in this classification are within this tertitory, which has, at its extremities, Khyung.lung and rTsa.hrang, being thus the land of Gu.ge lHo.stod.

Another group comprises Do.gshams, mKhar.rtse, sPur, Ri.sgang, Ri, Chu.ze, dKar 'Phags, rTsa.hreng (otherwise known as Za.rang), sTeng 'Phags.pa, and Bye.dkar. These localities are all in IHo.smad, which is the part of Gu.ge to the south-west of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, extending from beyond rTsa.hrang to the border with Khu.nu and sPi.ti.

Rong.chung yul.tsho.drug ("six divisions"), sNu, lHug and Rong.stod are in Rong.chung, which is the region of Gu.ge to the north of the Glang.chen kha.'babs, bordering on the Shib.pe.la in the west and Gu.ge Byang.gnos in the east.

Another subdivision includes the district of Chu.rti (i.e. Chu.mur.ti) as well as sTeng.rag, Ri (i.e. gSer.ti?), Bar.skyogs and Shar.lang, which are in the area of Chu.gsum, the district north-west of Rong.chung proper.

The localities of Rab.rgyas.gling, Jog.zur, Dra'ud, Sarga, A.btsan, Khyim.sbug, Ru.khyims, Shang.rtse, Zha.ye and Shang are in north-west Byang.gnos, which has Shang.rtse in its centre.

Phyi.dbang and Dung.dkar, and Be lDong.po.ba-s are located in central Byang.gnos. 141. Hence, the present author felt unable to attempt to locate sites of relevance for the early history of these lands since too many escape even the faintest approximation, while those which could be identified would have been too obvious. This is the main reason why this author did not envisage the possibility of including a map of West Tibet in his The Kingdoms of Guige Pu Inteng.

#### 188 RECORDS OF THO.LING

The gNam.ru.ba-s, sGar.khongs chu.spe, Ga.ga, bKra.shis.sgang chos.sde.ba-s, gTso.gtso.ba-s and rGya.smug have to be classified as belonging to the area of sGar and farther north until the Seng.ge kha.'babs.

Ma.mtshan is in sGer.rtse, while 'Brong.stod is part of dGe.rgyas.

Finally, the location of Ru.thor (i.e. Ru.thog) IHo.Byang is self-evident.

A geographical concept, referring differently to the same territory, i.e. that of Rong.chung.brgyad ("eight divisions") found in *sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar* (f.34a line 1) and that of Rong.chung yul.tsho.drug ("six divisions of the land") in the edict by gNod.sbyin phun.tshogs under examination need to be cross-analysed by means of better evidence, not available at present.

ર્શે વર્ગ્સ વર્સેન ઉટ્પેની પ્રેટ્સેની શ્રેટ તેને શે સાથી શે સાથી સૈનીય સ્ટેટ તેને સાથે સાથી સીટ સૈટે તેને સાથે સ્ટેટ શેર พิโ ยะได้เว้าได้กะกาม และการ์เป็น เป็นเป็น તર્વોયા વશ્વેતા બેર્યા માર્ગ્યા મુંદ્ર મું મુંદ્ર મું મુંદ્ર મુંદ્ર મું મુંદ્ર મું મું મુંદ્ર મું મું મું મું મુંદ્ર મું મું મું મું મ ૡઃમ્વાૡૢૹઃવફિશ્વ ૡદશઃઽ્વૻૣૼ૱ૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૢૹૻૹૼૹૻઌ૽ૢ૿ૺ૽ઌૄૢઌૡૻૻ૽ૡૻઙ૾ૺૼૼૼૡૡૻૡૻૡ૾૾૱ૻ૾ૡ૿ૡ૾૽ૡ૾૽ૡ૾ૻૡૻૡ૾ૹૻ૽ૼૻ૽૾ૣૡૻઽઽૡ૽ૼૼ૱૿૽ૄ ุณมาณี้ นี้นิวิมีรายารุมมาสุมาสาวานนิวิญาณาสู่สาวรูมมาสาวารุโรกรูมาสาวารุโรกรูมาสาวารุโรมราวาทๆ ୳ୄୡୖ୶୶ୖଈୖଽଌ୕୕୕୕୕୕୕୕୕୕୳ୖଽୖ୕ୡୣ୷୶ୄ୰ୄୠୣୠ୶୶ୖ୶ଵୄ୕୶ୄ୰ୄୠ୷୲ୣ୵୷ଽ୕୲ଽୡ୶୰ଌ୵୕୶୲ୖୄୠ୵ଵୖୢଌ୕ୣୄଵ୶ୖଌୡୖଽୖ୲ୄୠ୲୳ୣୖୡ୲ଽୖଽୡ୲୳ୖ୳ଽ୶୲୷ଽୡ୲ ୢୄ୶ୖ୕୵ୖୖ୕ୖୖ୶୕୳୰୳ଽୄୠ୲୳୶୳ୠ୲୳ୄୠ୶୲୶ଽ୳୳ୖୖଢ଼ୣଽ୲ଵୢୄଽ୲୵ଽ୲୲ୡ୶୲୶ଽୖଽ୶୶୲ୄଌଽ୲୶୶୲ଈୖଽ୲ୄୄୡ୕୶୲ୖ୶୶୶୶ୖ୶ଽ୕ଽୡ୶୶ યખેંદ્ર રેવાર્ષા શ્વર બચાર્સે સેવે 'દ્વેંદ્વ વિંદસ સુ ગ્રેદ એક કેસ બદુવાર દ્વેંસ કુ ચા કદા કાર્ય સુ શાકા છે. ઙૺ૱ૡ૱ઽૢઽૻૠૹ૽ૼૼૹ૾ૄઽૻ૱ૡ૱ૡૻૺૻઽઽ૾ૢૻ*ૹ*ૻૡ૱ૡૻૻૢૼૼૼઽૻૡૻૢૼૼઽૻઌ૱ૹૡ૱ૹૡ૾૾૱૾૾ૼ૱ૹૣ૱ૡૡ૽૾ૡઌ૽ૼૼઽૡૢ૱ૡ૽૽ૢ૾ૼૹ૿ૡૻૻ 

ધર-છે.ધ.જ્રુનાના

Appendix Eight

# Tibetan text of the passages translated in the present work

(documents other than those published in Appendix Six and Seven)

Tib.3: mNga'.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.174 lines 13-18) (see p.10): "ને'ગ્લૈલ" ୩૬୯୬ ନି'સે'૬૬' શ્રુ કાર્સે' સવા શ્રેભા મે' મેં 'કે 'વસુન' વાસુસા'ભાષા બે' ભવુમ' વાસુસા'૬૬' શ્રુ ગુણ ગુદ-સુન સેસસ' દ્વાર્થ સે ગુદ 'શ્રે' ભાર ભવા નસુન' ૬૬ નારે સે બા ના છે. આ કે સે કરા ના સે ભ્વાવા વાય દાવે સુધા પા સાથે કરા છે. "ને 'ગ્લેવ ગુી 'સે ગુદ ભાષ્ટ વાસ સુધા છે. આ કે સે બા ના છે. આ કે સે બા ના છે. આ કે સાથ ગાય કરા છે. આ કે સાથ ગાય કરા છે. આ ક

Tib.4: mNga:ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam (p.116 lines 1-6) (see n.5): " $\mathfrak{F}^{*x+x+x+q-q}$   $\mathfrak{F}^{q+q+1}$ يَّ آتَدَمَّ مِنْ مَا مَعْدَ تَقْدَ مَا مَعْ مَعْدَ مَعْنَ مَا مَعْد مَعْنَ مَا مَعْد مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْد مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْد مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مُعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مَعْن مَا مُعْن مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُعْن مَا مُعْن مَا مَا مَعْن مَا مُعْن مَا مُعْن مَا مُعْن مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُوْمَا مُوْما مُ مَا مَا مُعْمَا مَا مُحْما مُوْما مُ

Tib.5: *mNga`.ris skor.gsum lo.rgyus 'bel.gtam* (p.116 lines 7-17) (see n.5): "أَجْرَبُوْا عَرَبُرُوْع

શ્રે. મ. (૪.૫.) કરાવરા ખુબા શે ગઢલા ખેતુ "

Tib.7: mNga'.ris skor.gsum bel.gtam lo.rgyus (p.158 line 17-p.159 line 11) (see p.11): "٩" લચ્ચ ન્દ્રાન્ડન વાલેવે સંચ્ય નુ ગર્મેનિ ચ વાલચ વાલચા શ્રેં સ અર્કે ચા વર્ચે દ્વિત્ત્વા એ મેં સ્ટ્રાનુઅલા શ્રુ વિચલ શ્રેન્ડ ચા સુર અલ્વ સ્ટ્રાન્ડ સ્ટ ચા (p.159) લેવ્ય ચ વાવા એ તેલા લેવ્ય ન ગરે સ્ટ્રાન્ડ ચા વાર્ડેન્ડ લવા લુગ લુગ લુગ સાથ માં વિચલ શ્રેન્ડ સ્ટ્રાન્ડ શ્રેન્ડ શ્રે કે વ્યુ સ સ્ટ્રાન્ડ સ્ટ્ર સ્ટ્રાન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ સ્ટ્રન્ડ

Tib.11: Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po (p.88 line 5-p 89 line 2) (see p.20): "रे' इल्.सु-केइ र्ये'सु-सूरे पु-कर-ग्रील-पाईना-पान-पान-पाने-ल-जु-कॉल्प- (p.89) व-८८-। गु-नो-ट्र-हेवल-प-८८------------ Tib.12: *IDe'u Jo.sras chos. 'byung* (p.146 lines 16-17) (see n.7): "ฟู'ลู'ม๙"พ๙"ม้๙"ปี้าพิๆ ธะรอนูลุฟ ธังาณาราหิ'งมั่าผู้รายศิรง" ibid. (p.147 line 2): "๙ริงาฏรายูารรางางูาๆ ธราญิ'ๆงู้ๆาณๆ (ครายศิรงางี้"

Tib.13: *mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung* (p.381 lines 6-7) (see n.8): "ผู สู ผสามสามสาชิาพิศ ธะเศาสิตสายสาชัสาณารรารีโ มรัชนิราติเศารู้ศาณศาคราชศิรสาช ibid. (p.381 lines 13-14): "ผู้รารีาชูราชู รรารูาศาธราชิาศรู้ศาณศาศราชศิรสาชี"

Tib.16: Ngag.dbang grags.pa, mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.53 lines 7-8 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.109) (see n.9): "शे वें क्षेत्रवे ले जा नु वोर के क्षेत्र वी नाडु वा जवा लग वी क्षं रूप देखा

ibid. (p.54 lines 8-12 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.110): "ગલ્*તપ્*રપ્પ: કર્ષ્ય:શું/વર્જ્સ:બૈ/વલેત્ર'બ્રુલ ગ્રુલ ગુસ્વ પરે વર્કુ વાયવા ભર્ડ્ય ગુરુષ પર્ય ક્રિય વ્યેટ્સ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ્ય વર્કુ વાયવા ભર્ડ ડું<sup>-</sup>ચર ચે અર્થર 'ગ્રુ'સુ પલેડ થ! ચે 'ફેર' ફર્ચે' કેવા યા કુલ ચાલ્ય ડ્યુ પાર્ટ્સ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ્ય પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ (<sup>ભર</sup>! રે 'અવા વો ચેં સ્ટર વો 'બ્રુ'વિડ' કે 'સું વે 'બ્રુ'વિડ' કે વાય કુલ ચાલ્ય ડ્યુ પાર્ટ્સ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ ગ્રુલ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્સ ગ્રુલ પ્રાપ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્સ ક્રમ્ય વ્યવ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય વ્યવ્ય ક્રમ્ય ગ્રે ક્રમ ક્રમ્ય ક્રે ક્ર્ય ક્રમ્ય ક્રમ્ય

Tib.17: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.54 lines 12-14 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.brang p.110) (see p.20): " $\frac{1}{3}$ י  $\frac{1}{3}$   $\frac{1}{3}$ 

Tib.22: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.61 lines 8-14 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.115) (see p.23): "[ગર્ઝરર્નુ`ર્?સ'કેસ્ડરસ્ટેવાયપ્વે'વાર્ડવાય્યવા'[ગર્ડ્ડનર'ને' વદ્ધ્ય-દ્વે' દ્વ્યું' દ્વર્યું વર્ષ્ટ્યું વર્ડુવાય' છે] ન્દ્રું ચાર્ટ્ય વ્યું વર્ષ્ટ્ય ક્રેસ્ડર્સ્ટ્રેવાયપ્વે' ન્દ્રું ચાર્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય ક્રેસ્ડર્સ્ટ્રેવાય છે] ન્દ્રું ચાર્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ છે. ''ગ્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ન્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ વર્ષ્ટ્ય ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેડ્ય ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેટ્ટ વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ય વર્ષ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર વર્ય સ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્રેસ્ટ ક્રેસ્ટ્ર ક્ર

Tib.23: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.59 lines 16-18 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.113) (see p.23): "श्वरूष्णरन्भुकॅ अवदधुदप्रिंग्यर्? विश्वर्यर्? विश्वर्य्, विर्यव्यूद्र्य्य्, विर्यव्यूद् रुद्र ग्रेजिंद्र्य्यहर्त्य प्रेद्र्व्ये

Tib.25: Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag (f.10a lines 1-2) (see p.24): "จรูระพาจริ" พระณี ธิส ฏิพาฒ ๆ ราสพาสูส ุรรพานมาณ ภาณ ธิจพามามัย มิรารู ราสๆ จิาจตัส นาสูญ สัส นี้ ราม ริ รราๆ เพราะ รีร์ส ๆ ๆ สุมามี"

Tib.26: Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag (f.10a line 1) (see p.24): "ব্র'ষ্ট্র্ম'ব্জুর্ব' ম'র্' দ্রির'র্ম'র্'ব্বা'ণ্বি'বজুর্ন্মম্বর্মুম্ Tib.27: Blo.bzang bzod.pa, *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar* (p.15 lines 3-5) (see p.24): "વૃષ્ય વેરપ્લે કે વવે સુદ શ્વ વ્યુપ્લે મું મેં મેં દે છે કે સે ગવતુ ગયા પ્રયા અગ્ર સ્થવે મેં દે છે કે સે બે જા ગુલ્લ ગુ ગુલ્લ ગુલ્લ

Tib.29: Jo.bo dngul.sku mched.gsum dkar.chag (f.10a lines 2-3) (see p.25): "र्जेस्ट्रस्यवास्त्रम् भूस्ट्राञ्चवान्वनुश्चन्त्र्यवाम्त्रिन्ट्र्वा स्रुपाळेक् ये कुवायाया संयवायार्क्ते व्युपाव्ययुवायया कृराद्वस्य भूवा केत्वर्क्त्या कुवाया क्रि वयन्यायायाया व्याप्तः क्रियाया क्रियाया वित्याया क्रियाया क्रियाया क्रियाया क्रियाया क्रियाया क्रियाया क्रियाया

Tib.30: Mar.lung pa'i rnam.thar (f.15a line 5-f.15b line 2) (see n.21): "ને'ભ'સ્વર્સ્વ સ્વેન્"નુન નગાવ શુંચર્કે 'વલ્નમ્યા નેવે' નુસ ર્કેન્સ વાર્ચે 'ભ'વ્યન્વ શું શુન 'સ્ટર્મ (f 15b) નન નુસ્ કેમ્પ્લ અર્થે 'શુન્સ' કેન્સ્ટન અને 'નેન્'નુ શુન ક્વય ચેન્સ્ટર્મ્સ સ્થય એ સેન સાલુણા ગણિવ સાથે વાર્ષ કે 'સુનાય નેન્ટ્ર 'સ્ટર્મ્સ કેમ્પ્લુ 'સેન્સ' સેન્સ ના ' વર્ષ શુવ્ય 'સેં 'સુચ્ય' 'સે 'સેન' સાલ નો બેન્સ્ટર્મ્સ 'સેન્સ' 'સેન્સ ના 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર સેન્ટ્ર' સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' સેન્ટ્ર' સેન્ટ' સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ્ર' 'સેન્ટ' 'સેન્ટ

Tib.31: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.62 lines 1-2 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.115) (see p.25): "จรุตา กู ฐาสถิ เมูจา 5 ารมตา มีสรารสารมี วิจารสารมี"

Tib.34: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.63 lines 2-3 and Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang* p.116) (see p.26): "ฮิ ฏิ่า-รู ฮิ- ลู ราราจุณัราคะจำภิสาริณาณารูณามัธิร สมมาณาๆณัรสม จิณาอยู เจลิ จรู จรูชาม"

Tib.35: Nyang.ral chos. 'byung (p.467 lines 14-19) (see n.25): "นับสิ่ง"ริง สิง จละ จัด พร <sup>43</sup> ร้าร์ มิ สิ ง มูง รุรรง รุง เด้าจา้า จามิมง เจาะ รุ ยุ จาง ซิ งา ซิ งา ซิ งา ซิ รุรรง รุง จะ จัง พร งา รั้ง เช่ง เจา ซึ่ง จาม เจา ซิ จาม เจา รัฐณาสัง เจา จาม เจา จา เป็ณ เจา จัง เจา จาม Tib.37: rDo.rje mdzes.'od, bKa'.brgyud rnam.thar chen.mo (p.270 lines 1-3) (see n.26): "ને' વસ"સુ' વર્ड् द' यत्रे' र्ज्ने स्थानी ' ज्ञार के द' स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थ यस' र्ज्ने स' या गुद्दा ने ' वस' नु' ज्व स्था ' ज्या के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स्थान के स ' यस' र्ज्ने स' या जुद्दा ने स्थान के स ' यह के स्थान स्थान के स्थान क स्थान के स्थान

Tib.38: Nyang.ral chos. byung (p.467 lines 4-11) (see n.27): "ને રેન્ડ્સ્ સું મ્પ્લ્'નું ઉંગ વસુ વગ્રુષ કે પેવરનું ઉંગ્રેન્ડ્સન્યા દે મેં બાગ્રુ વરન્યો ગ્રુપ્ત સ્થય ગ્રુપ્ત સ્ટ્રેન્ડ્ વગ્રે સ્ટેન્ડ્સન પ્રસ્ટન્સ વર્ષ્ટ્ર સ્ટ્રન્યુ સ્ટ્રન્ડ્સન પ્રિંગ્ ગ્રુપ્ત સ્ટ્રન્સ સ્ટ્રન્યુ સ્ટ્રન્સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય સ્ટ્ર્ય્ય્ય્ય સ્ટ્ય્ય્ય્ય સ્ટ્રન્ય્ય્ય સ્ટ્ર્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય સ્ટ્ર્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય સ્ટ્ર્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય્ય

Tib.39: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.64 line 19-p.65 line 4 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.118) (see n.28): "รัสพาส์าฐารารัฐสามพุ รุงารุรัสมัน รุงารัสมาร์สามาณาลูโลมา ราวา สีงาฐารารัสท สีสามีาราวา ธุรามราวารัฐสามีาร์สานี้ สินาลูกลางเขาสู่สามาร์รัฐสามทุ รุงาร์รัสานี้ สามาร์รัฐสา

Tib.40: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.65 lines 5-7 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.118) (see n.29): "નર્મસમ્પ્યન્ શ્વરમ્વનિયરનન્ વો'ગાનન્ ગર્મના વાય કરે વાય વાય કરે વ્યાપ્ય કરે વ્યાપ્ય વસાવાન વવે અરાકુન વ્યવસા વિન્ કેવા વો રેવાયા નુમ્પ્સા ગામ કુન્દરે વાય વાય વિવય વિવય વિવય વિ

Tib.42: Jo.bo yab.sras sprod.pa'i skyes.bu'i bstan.rtsis (f.12a line 6-f.12b line 3) (see n.32): "વિંદર્ગેવર્ડ્ કુંદ્ર રાવે ડ્યાસ કુંપે કે પેલ્ટર્ડ્ પુસ્ત સ્વર્ગ કે પ્રે કે પેલ્ટર્ડ્સ કે પ્રાયમ કે પ્રે કે પ્રાયમ કે પ્રાયમ

Rin.chen bzang, poir mam.thar 'bring, po (Dharamsala ed. p. 29 line 13-p. 30 line 4) (see n. 36): વિંગ્સર્ગે અર્કેર ચારે વાયુ અ વાયુ છે 'સ્ટ્રે પ્લે પ્રેસ્ટ્ર પ્લુ ગાય છે 'સ્ટ્રે પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ પ્લ પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ પ્લ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ સ્ટ્ર સ્ટ્ર પ્લુ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ સ્ટ્ર પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ પ્લ સ્ટ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ સ્ટ પ્લ સ્ટ સ

Tib.45: bShad.mdzod yid.bzhin nor.bu (p.190 lines 2-4) (see p.29): "શે`ને` ફ્રૅસ્સ્ય વત્વાવન્ ભેરૂંગ્ફા ખુબઃ ક્ષું પ્રતઃવી કુબઃ ર્ચે ચત્વત્વત્વા કે ખે વિંદન્વી કુવાસ દ્વચા છું ખદ ગ્રુદ્દ વ્વેદન્ય દ્વા હદય ગ્રુદ્દ કુવ છું વાર્ડવા ભવાવતા બુવાસ દે જેવા વા વદન્ય છું વિદ્દ અર્વે જ્યું વદ્દ ક્

Tib.47: *IDe'u Jo.sras chos.'byung* (p.149 line 1-2) (see p.30): "\$'ૡ૾ેવે'સુષ'ર્વેડ્'વર્વરું હેષ'nુદ ક્રેંગ્લેડ્'ડ્'વર્દચ'ગ્નેર'જીર'સુરું નહેવાર્ડવા'બવા'વર્ડ્ડવા'બવા'વર્ડ્ડ હેર્ટ્સ્ટ્રે

Tib.48: mKhas.pa lDe'u chos.'byung (p.383 line 12-13) (see p.30): "देवे'सुरू र्वत'यत्र' खेर गुर्ग सर्वे येर'र्नु 'वह्रस' ग्नेर'कुर वर्गे दियरे वर्षु वायवागर व्यक्त राष्

Tib.49: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.65 lines 19-p.66 line 1) (see p.32): "ને'ખર્~ર્કે'ગ્લેર્~નુ'ન્દુ'ફે' બે'વદ્યર 'રેવે'રેવા'ન વસુય્રાવ્યા શેર'ક્લા ફે'ચેંગ્ર'વાયેર'શું' (p.66) થર્કેન' ફેય'વર્ષિર'ર્વે' ઠ્ય'ન્ડ-વઠ્યાગ વલેડ્ય'

Tib.50: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.67 lines 8-10) (see p.32): "નેવે' के' જી' ગમ્મામ છે ત્રયાગત નું ગુમ્પ્ર યવે 'યદ્દે' 'દુ ક્રચ્ય 'નન' વોં છે કર્તું 'પૂર્વ' વેય 'મન'નન' નું 'નુમ્પ્ર 'ક્રેન્સ' 'ક્રેમ્પ્ર'નન' નુચ્ય 'ગુરં બે' વેય 'યો 'શેં વાય નુજી' ના કેમ 'ગુમ્પ્ર' નુમ્પ્ર' ને ''મન' નું ''નુમ્પ્ર' નુમ્પ્ર' નુમ્પ્ર' નુમ્પ્ર' નુમ્પ્ર

Tib.51: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.67 lines 10-12) (see p.32): "ศุรฯ ศูรฯ สูงาาร สิงารราชาวาร พัทธุง นางู ฤฤาณรานูงาาร สุมพา ซิพาร ฤโต สิงาม เคงาร สูง รมมงาร ราชาร ราชาร กับ ๆ มูมารู ซัพาซิ างโรร พับ ๆ คราชมีรา

Tib.52: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.75 lines 5-6) (see p.33): "સુઢા વાળ વધેલ' ગુેલ' ગુેલ' …. એલ લુ' દે દ્વ અવે વદંશ દ્વાન- ગુંસ વ્યુત્ર ન્યું લ

Tib.53: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.74 lines 17-18 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.126) (see n.42): "กัร:ผู้เจะพังรุ่ม หูราคจรงสุญ ๆ ๆ ดำตรเดูราษัฐรราง พรคง ตุณัณริ) ผู้ มกระรูง มกราวง ตุลามาราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกราว เป็นกร

Tib.54: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.76 lines 5-6 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.127) (see n.43): "สูรสูราฐณาลักฎรกฎมาลูตามาหานูาสูรัสาธุมาสมาษิสิสาราราศุภณ"

Tib.55: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.76 lines 7-8 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.127) (see n.44): "अदय वत्रषा डे प्यवस वर्डव ग्री क्षु से दिया पुरुष व्यवस्य देश हैं क्षेद्र षी देवर जु डे स्वत्य ब्य

Tib.57: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.77 lines 15-16 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.128) (see n.48): "จะเจาลาสูญจาลิราณารจะเจลสูงเลล พะเสะเราไม่สาวจากสิ่า จศิรถ"

Tib.59: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.78 lines 16-17 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.129) (see n.50): "พรามิพาฏิ รลุ่ระหาร์วิ รัฏ่ระระบุ ระจาสูงานาลักลุงานนี้ เดิญาร์ มีมะระ

Tib 62: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* (p.81 lines 5-6) (see n.53): "મ્નું વચ-ત્ર~ખેંબ-નુચ-ગુ~ ર્કે ગ્નેન્ગે ક્રમ મુ~રેફેશ-પવે કે) ક્રેં બે અન્યેસ્ મુબ્ર એ તુમ-ચતુવા ખારેસ-વાર્શેબ કુવ-પાર્ખેન"

Tib.63: Thang.stong rgyal.po'i rnam.thar (p.172 line 19) (see p.37): "विद्यां पॅलायाया मुंद् धुंग्राया कुंद्र"

ibid. (p.176 line 2): "ને વસ વાર છે સે સ્વેગ્સ" ibid. (p.177 line 10): "વુ વે સુ સ્ટેન્ જો સું તે સ્વેગ્સ"

ibid. (p.177 line 13): "મુપ્તર્તવોર્થ વર્ત્ત તુવ્ય ઉત્તર્ગુવ

Tib.64: Thang.stong rgyal.po'i rnam.thar (p.155 lines 2-3) (see p.37): "ભુષ્યમ્પ્યેવથા દ્વુવાર ભેંગ્વનુક્ષરુ વક્ષેષ્ઠા રાભુવાય ર્વે દ્વિવે ભેં ક્ષે કું ભાભુવાય ક્રયા વદ્ધવાય દ્વવાય દ્વવાય સ્વાપ્ત્ય ibid. (lines 8-10): "ક્ષે પાર્ટ્સ વાર્ષ્પવા દર્દા ક્ષે વેંદ્ર છે કું સે સંગુ સ્વાપ્ત્ર છે કર્યું સંગળદે ભાભુવાય છે ક્રયા સાવ વર્દ્ધવાય

Tib.66: Bai.ser (p.272 lines 11-13) (see n.55): " શ્વરંચરવ રેશ્વ સુંદેશ દુદ્દદ્વાર શેદ્દ વુવાય દ્વવાર્ટ દેવદેવાય દુદ્દ લગ્ય દુવા પેંદ્દ શાસ્ત્ર સુંદેવાય વર્ષ સુંદ્વાય વર્ષ સુંદ્વ વેદ્દ શ

Tib.67: Bai.ser (p.277 lines 23-25) (see n.56): "ๆรั้งจังงาลสง อิลเซียงสร ผู้ๆาเจ้างาลงกูา มหารงาลาลีเราจารยุราษารา ไล้ สมาชาวยุ่งาลสง อิลเซียงสง อิลเซียงสรรษารา

Tib.68: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.84 lines 10-11 and Vitali, The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang p.133) (see n.57): "มุเจพาะนิวรุจระวันารุจระวุญจุญหายาวเพิ่งสุมาณ์สุมาณ์ กรุณาระสูมม์ชีวยูารูเรา (ปีรุมาสูญาษิเรนญาสารเว้นนิวตุจระรุณาๆรุระสุมาณร์สุมาณ์

Tib.70: bKa'.gdams gsar.rnying chos.'byung (p.195 line 6) (see p.38): "ๆ"ๆ`สาสูญานั้า นุจะพ ระวจรลายารจะรู้วาลุยูลาสุณ มรัญญาที่สัญญาที่สัญญาที่สามารถายกายางสาวอยู่ระมะเรา นุรูณานารุมสามิๆาา สิสานีนิรัสาญิลารุญิลายนามสรุว"

ibid. (p.276 lines 1-2): "गु'गेरि'ग्ने'यग्रन्दर्या सरायग्रा'मेश्र'भ्रुदर्या'देश्वस्थर ठन'अव्वित्यान्यो'वनुदायुन' ग्री'गन्दर्या मन्द्रायायदाकेदा वह्रीयशायम्ब

Tib.76: bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.102 line 19-p.103 line 3) (see n.61): "અદવર્ગ્સ ગુવોવરે કૅસ્મ સુવયવર્દ્ધ વૃત્ત વિદ્યાસ્થ વૃત્ય વિદ્ય વિદ્યાસ્થ વૃત્ય વિદ્યાસ્થ વૃત્ય વિદ્ય વિદ્યાસ્થ વૃત્ય વિદ્ય વિદ્ય

Tib 79: Blo.bzang chos.kyi rgyal.mtshan, *sPyod.tshul gsal.bar bstan.pa nor.bu'i phreng.ba* (bKra.shis lhun.po ed. p.63b line 4-p.65a line 2) (see p.46-47): "देवस्य क्रॉस्ट्रॉन्स्ट्रॉन्

นะ.จิพ.น.พฐป.ปห์ทาม.จิพ.สูป.มิ.เมิ.พ.ปละ.ฉพี่ะ..

Tib.81: sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.45a lines 1-3) (see n.64): "199 (28) 5 10 ૾ૼૼૡૡૢઌઃઢ૱ૻઌ૽ૼૡ૾ઌઌઽૻૻૻૹ૾ૡ૾૽ૡૢઌૡ૱ઽઽૻઌ૽ૼૡ૽૿૽૱ૢૡ૱ૹૻૹૻ૽ૡૡૹ૱ૹ૽ૢ૽ૺઽ૾ૡૡૡૹ૱૾૽ૢ૽ૡૺ૱ૹ૽૾ૡ૽૾ૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ૿ૡૻૻૡ૽ૻૡૻ < નુસ્ય સા એ< નોવે 'च્चि 'ન< ननु नाथ 'कुर अळ र ॲनाय 'कुर 'चे नाथ 'ॲન क' क्वें 'र पर्य 'र यो 'न में 'र 'य' 'र 'य का कर् र के 'र 'य' 'र 'य का कर्य के 'र 'य' 'र 'य' 'र 'य' के 'र के 'र के ' 

## <sup>ૡ</sup>ૺઌૻૼઃ૱ૢઌૻૡૻૹ૱૱ૡૢ૱ઌ૱૱ૡ૽ઌ૱ૻ૱૱૱૱

Tib.80: sTag.tshang ras.pa'i rnam.thar (f.33a lines 5-7) (see n.63): "Ē'əqq" v wa wa ૡૢૡૼૠ૾ઽૻૡૻૼઽૻૡઽૺૡૡૹ૾૾૽૽ૢૺૡઽૡૻૡૼૻૹૢ૾ૣૻૹ૾૾૱ૡૢૢૻૹૻ૾ૻૹ૱ૻૹ૾ૼૡૻૡઽઽૡ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઽૹૻૡૼૡૹૻૡૼૼૻૹ૾૾ઽૻૡૡ૾ૢૡૹૻૡ૽ૡૻ

## र्श्रे न विनायनुना बेमा (f 65a) दे र इंग रेना अर्थेन वर्ग आर्थक र नु मुने र छेन यनुना में "

าติสุ กลุ้านนายสมพริเวที สีพ.หีจานาเมืองไป นี้เริ่าเสี่ปางสี่มานวิปเชทา รูสาร์ યરે '૬વો' વડ્ત શે છે કે '૬૮' ૬૮' ૧૮' અને સમય શે અને સે કે 'કે દરવગુ ર' વ' અને '૬' સુદ અ 'સે દ' કે 'વર્દે દે અ' ฏาพายพายณาฮินาซูนิ สุมายนาษูกายพาร์เมฮนารูานโลายนานรูๆเพกาๆกพาร์นิ มรุสาสาชนาชิสารูพาๆกพาร์นิ ૢૢૡઽૹૢૡ૽ૺૡ૽૿ૢૡૡૺૹૡૢૻઌ૱ૡઌૹૡૢૼૡૻૹૼૼૼૼૼૹૻૻ૱ૡૡ૽ૻૡ૽ૼૡ૽ૺૡ૽ૻૡૢૻૡ૾ૺ૾ૹ૾ૺૹ૾ૣૡ૽ૺ૾ૹૺૼ૾૾ૡ૽ૼ૾ૻૡૼૡ૽ૻૡ૽૽ૡ૽ૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ สมพาณฑพราจร่านธิฤพาทุผูมาฏิเรจราจผู้ระับพุท จระเยรสุบรรท นรมารุธูรพรษัพาผู้รา จากุณ *ঀঀয়য়ৼ৾৾৾ড়য়৽ঀঀৣৼ৾৽ঀ৾ঀড়ৼ৾৽য়ৼ৾ঀয়ৼয়ৼয়ৼ৾ঀৣ৾ৼ৾ড়ৼঀয়ঀৼয়ৼৼ৾ৼৣঀ*ঀ৸য়৾ৼ৾ৼৼৼ৾ঀৢ৾ঀ৾৽ঀৼঀৼ৾৾৽ৠয়৾৾৶ৼঢ়ৼ৾ঀ ચેર પવે રહેલ ગુૈ સુવ મેવે ક્ષા કર સુંદ વર અદં રેવે ખત્ર સુવગરા અન્યતા અન્ય વ્યવસ્થી સુવ મેવિ સુવ મેવિ શુક્યો વન્ય *રે`* ર્શેવૃત્ય સુધ્ધેર રહ્યા દે ભૂમ પર્વે ૬ 'બંદે' ર્કેસ વક્ષુદ્ધા વિશ્વ પા કુશલ ગુદ્દ ન સ્ક્ષેર વાર સાંભય પંચ વેવા સાથ પ્રાયમ્બ વર્ગે દા શ્રદ ઽવઃગુઽઃવક્ષેક્ષ`દ્વાયાવક્ષીવઃત્રાવર્ષગીઽઃવર્થા:ર્સવા:ચાળાવગીઽઃક્રઽઃ| લેવબઃટીઽઃ<u>ક</u>્ર્યબ઼કૃં.ક્રેટ.સી્તીબઃટુઽઃવર્ક્ષક્ષ.તુડુ. ุกรุตาร์โรงมรุณฑลัณาก็ สูากรุตารณ์เซ้พารธูรตุญมาณฑาที่สุพากรุตา ตรุพาร์นิกระรูรตุณร์ระมธ์ราพีสา ક્રચલ 'ગૃહ્ય ગૃદ સ્ક્રુપાયમ લેવલા વાદ લ વર્સે માનુલ વાદ લ મેવે અનુ સુદ 'કે સ વાદ દિયાદ વાદ લેવા નુંદ સુવલા વાદ લ  ibid. (f.33a line 3): "ฮู'มูx หินพากจามายิสานีตาติมาตาติมาตาติมาตาตามายางกับกาตาสุมาชานายูณ"

Tib.82: La.dwags rgyal.rabs (p.56 lines 12-14) (see n.65): "દેવે સુષ્ય વદ્દે પ્ર્વે સ્થયનુવા બે ક્ર્રોક્સ દે ક્રે શ્ર નુવા વદ્દે સ્થયનુવા વદ્દે સ્થયનુવા વદ્દે સ્થયનુવા બે ક્રોક્સ ibid. (p.56 line 17-p.57 line 1): બે ક્રોક્સ ક્રે દે કે કે કે શ્ર નુવા સ્થર્ત જે ગુદ્દે સુવા વદ્ધ દુદ્દ દુદ્દા સુવા સ્થ નું સેવ થવે વર્ષ દે કે સ્વર્ગ્ય કે સે દુદ્દ સ્થવ સ્થયનુવા સ્થર્ સ્થાનુવા સ્થર સ્થયનુવા સ્થર સ્થયનુવા સ્થર સ્થયનુવા સ્થ તે સેવ દુદ્દા સ્થય વર્ષ સ્થયને સ્થયનુવા સ્થર સ્થયનુવા સ્થર સ્થયનુવા સ્થર સ્થયને સ્થર સ્થયને સ્થયનુવા સ્થય સ્થયને સ્

Tib.85: Mi.dbang rtogs.brjod (p.36 lines 10-13) (see n.68): "ને'સ્થ'લ'ર્મ્સ્ય'શે'ન્શુન્દર્જેવાય'કે'વર્મ્સ વર્કેશ્વ'યરિ'શ્વનાચા દ્વચાય કે શુન્દર્શ 'શું' શ્વન્દું' વસ્વે 'વર્મ્સ' દેવાય ઘયા શુન્દર છુવા 'શુન્દર્શ વ્ય' શુન્દર્વા કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શું શુન્દર્વા કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્શ કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્શ કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા કે 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા' 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્ધર' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા' 'શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર' શુન્દર્વા' શુન્દર વર્યા' સુર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા શુન્દર' કે 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર્વા' 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' શુન્દર' શુન્દર્વા' 'શુન્દર' શુન્દર્વ વર્યા' સુર્વા 'શુન્દર' શુન્દર્વા 'શુન્દર્વા' 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' 'શુન્દર' શુન્

Tib.87: Ngag.dbang tshe.ring.gi rnam.thar (vol.1 p.73 lines 2-3) (see p.49): "ริ'มุจจ" มัสรฐมลาฏิจาฐณามีสำราญฤลาญารฐาราชมลางธรารสราสุกๆ สารมราชิาณิ มีรายสมสางธรารการสุดาฤราช มาฐลางกรุศา"

Tib.89: bKra.shis tshe.ring, Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang sngon.'gro lam.ston (p.105 lines 14-19) (see n.71): "ภูณารุจะพูเล้ะพาส อิสานีนิ พูเอิรินี พูเอรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอิรินี พูเอรินี พูเอริน พ

Tib.90: Bai.ser (p.273 lines 9-25) (see p.50-51): "મેંગ્રેફ રેક્ર હેક્ વક્રવ્સ્સ્યેશ્વ અર્ગ્યુશ્વર્સ્ય શ્રીવર્ક્સ છેક્ વક્રવ્સ્ છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય શ્રીવર્ક્સ છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય શ્રીવર્ક્સ છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય શ્રીવર્ક્સ છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય શ્રીવર્ક્સ છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય છે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય પ્લે સ્વર્ગ્સ્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વરય્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વર સ્વર છે સ્વર્ય સ્વર છે સ્વરય્ય છે સ્વર્ય છે સ્વર સ્વર છે સ્વર ચ્લર છે સ્વર ચ્લર્ય છે સ્વર સ્વર છે સ્વર સ્વર છે સ્વર સ્વ

รถสะ ८७ ลิตลา दे हे स. से म झ द से स. पर्य म दे कि म हे 'त्रे प व म कि प्रताय का कि लग . (p. 108) झे म्यतम कु ग अर्थ के म्याप्र विम्यतम ...

Tib.93: dBal.mang dKon.mchog rgyal.mtshan, *bKra.shis.dkyil.gyi gdan.rabs* (p.19b lines 3-6) (see p.52): "ને'ખર છે સેનુ'સર શક્ય કુચાર્કે સાચર વર્ગ્સ કેંગ્વેર વાયે રહી વાયે વાયે કુચાર વાયે કુચાય કુચાર વાયે કુચાય વાયે કુચાય કુ સંગળ વાયે કુચાય ક વાયે કુચાય કુ વાયે કુચાય કુચાય કુચાય કુચાય કુચાય વાયે વાયે કુચાય ક

Tib.94: Du.lu.ka'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa (f.231 line 3) (see p.52): "अदवर्द्र अ'सु' र्गीय'ग्रयर्ग्यर्ग्यर्ग्य्यं क्रिय्यां माहेर्य्याद्वे यावरंग्यर्द्व व्यार्ग्यर्ट्व द्वार्थ्य द्वे द्वार्थ्य व्य

Tib.97: Bai.ser (p.460 lines 19-22) (see p.53): "મવ સુદ વર્ષ વર્ષ શ્વ મારે પ્રેવ સ્થાયો પ્રેપ્ય સ્થ વું ફેન્ડ સુચ સુવે કેવા વર્ષુ વ વર્ષ વ સ્ટ્રા વ સ્ટ્રા વ સ્ટ્રા વ સ્ટ્રા સું કે સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્રા વ સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્ર કે સ એડ પવે સ્ટ્રેવ વ સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્ર કે સ એડ પવે સ્ટ્રેવ વ સ્ટ્રા સ્ટ્ર Tib.98: Bai.ser (p.461 lines 2-4) (see p.53): "અગ્વર્ને ચેંમ્ડન્વવર્વ્યુસ કે વમ્પ્સે ચેંચા ગ્રુપ્વેવચા ક્રુપ્તવમ્પે વૈવાચ ગુમ્સ કે દેશ દેશું કે વા ગુમ્સ કે નિ બેંન્ડ વા વે માં ગ્રેપ્સ વચ પ્રત્ય ક્યાં કે કે સ્વાર્થ કે સાથ કે સાથ તે વ્યુ ગુરૂ ન વોંત કે દેવો તે ગુરૂ સાથ વચ કે સાથ કે તે કે તે વા વ્યુપ્ત ગુપ્ત બે આ વતુ કે સાથ કે સાથ કે સાથ કે

Tib.99: dPag.bsam rin.po.che snye.ma (smad.cha p.357 line 4) (see n.77): "ઍર્કોપ્ટ્રેપ્ચાવર ર્યેપ્સ્વત્વતુચ્ચર્સ રેંગ સુચર્સ રેંગ વિચયા ચાલર્સેને ખૂનવર્ય વર્ષે લું દ્વેર વધા વર્ષે સંગ્રુવયા વર્ષે દેશ સુવયા વદ્વ વ્યા ચંદ્ર ibid. (smad.cha p.365 lines 4-5): "અપ્લાપ્ત્રે સાથે પ્રેટ્સ વિચાય રેંગ લેપ્પ્લે પ્લે પ્રેટ્સ સુવયા વર્ષે સંગ્રે વર્ષ્ટ્ર વર્ષે વર્ષે વર્ષે વર્ષે વર્ષે વર્ષે છે.

Tib.102: Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar (f.33a line 1) (see n.111): "શ્लવચ'નેર કેવાચનવે પચ છું નેં ર ૨૬ રન દ્વાર વૃદ્ધ સુરા સે વર્ષ સુરા સે વદ્દ કે દેવે કે ર છું સું દ્વાર બાય સું વૃદ્ધ સુરા સુરા સુરા સુરા સુરા સ દ્વાવદ દુદ"

Tib.103: Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa (f.43a line 4) (see n.112): "गु'गेने' न्वींद' [१९१] श.र नकुन् प्रमद्द प्रकृन् प्रमदा के प्रमाण के

ะข้องเวอะพายองเขาสามาร์ สิ่งเราย์ เราย์ จรณ ฤดาร์ณ ผู้มานขุจ ดู (p.115) าจัญ ฤสุณ จรุส ซูตามอี้การสง ๆ สร้าง เลือง เกลา เกลา เกลา เกลา เกลา เกลา เกลา เ *ગુન* દેવા સુવ અર્ફેન 'જેન વર્જીન' 'દીન 'સેવા & & ન્સુ 'સું' સું' ખેં 'અર્કેન કેવ 'બેવાના 'વનુબ' વાન કવ ખેંન' | નેવે 'દેના નવાવ ભૂન' ૢૢૡૢૢૢૢૺૹ૱ૼૻૣૹૄૻૹ૱ૼૻૹૼઌૹૻૻઌૻૻઌ૽ૻૹ૽૾૱ૻૹ૾૾૱ૻઌૺ૱ૡૻૹ૾૾૱ૡૻૹ૱૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ૡૼ૱ૡૼ૱ૡૼ૱ૡૼ૱ૡ૽૾૱ૡ૽૾ૺૡ૾૾ૡ૽૾ૡૡ૽૾ૡૡ૽૾ૡૡૡ พารๆจิ่าหิสาทธิราฐๆาฏิรารที่พา จีราสี 22 ธัญ + กระลังเรือกรระมีสามา รัฐมีรายสะรัฐราชาพา ลูจาร์จั๊ณ วิารๆาจิณซ์ลายูสายูซราสาชานาลที่พารจั๊ณ จนูรามาจา จารสุรพารฤฤณารรา วิจิรัยพามพ์สา ૻૼૼૺૡ૽૿ૡૢૻૼૼૼૼૼઽૺૡૢૻૣઌૼ૾૾ૢ૾૱ૢૣૻઌૺ૿૾ૠૠૼ૾ૹ૾૾ઽૺઽૡૣૻઽૻૡૢૻૼઌૼૻૡ૾ૢઌૼૻઽૺૣઌ૽૾ૼ૱ૹ૾૾૱ૼૻ૾૱૱ૡૻૻ૾૽ૺ૱ૼૡૻૡૢૻ૱ૡૢૻ૱ૡૣૻૻ ร์ลัง นี้ระสา 22 ชิง. 2 สง. นอง. มีระร์ลัง สง. สง. เริ่ม เริ่า เริ่ม เริ่า เรา เริ่า เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา गर्हर हेवा छेर र गुर गर्हर कुवा छेर र की शा के श कुवा गर्हर सुन छे श्र के र कुव छ र दा र कुर कि श के र हा १ के श ๆผ่าะชั่งๆผาลัง เขามาอสามันิ อัญาญญามาส์ ผิวามาร์ ที่สาย รังที่สา มา จรยาที่ รายาวรุงาร์ สายาอสานีนี้ ૾ર્વવાં શ્રેંદ્ર ભગ્ન દેવ એ દેવાય કેવ્યા છું તે વાશુવર્દ્ય આ વયુવાય વિષય વાશુવર્દ્ય અવરાય વિષય સુવયા ચાવસ વે. มัลงยิรารศัลป วีราสู. 2 ธัล. 20 จิสาวสมายิ่ายัสาวนี้าย่านั้งเมื่าสืบติเลืองสาวมีเล่ามีบุมีเมืองเย่าย่ามันเย่าย ูนกั้ระพูกากกรีระสูก อิรารกัพ กรัญพธิรามริ กรุรานรูณ สูการกระสง นี้ติ ผู้พรุง ผูมชื่อพางพุทธ นั้ (p.116) น.เด็พ่ ปฐพ.ก.ออี้ป.เร.มีอย่ายเประ เ เร.โยะเ ฮูป.เร. ซีป.เร. ฮูป.เร. อูป.เร. อูป.เร. อูป.เร. อูป.เร. อ น.ศิรารภูษท์ เห็เปอะเอจิเริยาเรื่อนรัสทนเมียน.ปหูบารอาปร่พ.กรพ.ศิรารภูษท์ เจรารเปลา 38 ลุป.ยูง. ર્વેંગ ટ્રી ? કેલ રર કેન ફ્રેન બાય વેંભાવત કેલ ૨૦ કેન નુન દેવ ગયા કું નવું કેન વાય કે કે જાય છે. તેન સંસ્ าศตาพิ์จางเฏิราร์ตั้งเ อีราสูา 2 ธังา 4 สุงารุยณายุพรายาญรายนิเพาธ์ตารราชิตาธ์ตาริสายผู้มาสุงาสูนา Marin Taran and the second state of the second state of the second s ริระฟิสะขูจามธุตา การตินิตพาธราวจิจพารรา ผิสะผิตาลิ ฮูพารจรารราจสพาศารที่ผ่า ที่ราตพนาตพราจา <sup>9</sup>वग्गुः हत्रः विश्वत्तरः द्यूषां द्र्यः म् रेटः भित्रः वय्ये वय्ये वय्ये द्यं द्युः द्युः द्युः स् द्याः भुत्या स् द्युः द्युः त्या भु <sup>ઽૡૺ</sup>ૻ૱ૼૹ૾ૣૻૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻ૾ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૢૻૼૼૼૼૡૻૻૡૻૻૢ૽ૻૡૢૻ૱ૡૻૢ૱ૡૢૻ૱ૡૢૻ૱ૡૻૢૺૼ૱ૡ૽ૼ૱ૻ૱ૻ૱ૡૻૡ૽૾૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ ५मेंगि दे:५मामी कुं पर्वे कुं कंटर कर के के किंगा के कि के किंगा के क के किंगा के क का के किंगा क का किंगा के क का का किंगा के के किंगा के किंगा के किंगा के किंगा के किंगा के क का के किंगा के क का किंगा के क का के किंगा के क

Tib.107: Ngor chos. 'byung (p.262 line 4) (see n.114): "ସ୍ୟୟ"ୟୟ" ନିଂହ୍ୟୁଂସ" Sum.pa mkhan.po, dPag.bsam ljon.bzang (p.357 lines 19-20): "୩୩୩୩୮ କ୍ରେମ୍ କ୍ରିମ୍ ଶିଂଶ୍ୱିଙ୍କ୍ରେମ୍ କିଂଶ୍ୱିଙ୍କ୍ ୩୬୬୯୮୧୮ ସେଷ୍ଟ ସେଷ୍ଟ ସେମ୍ବ୍ୟୁ ଅନ୍ୟୁ ଅନ୍ୟ

Padma dkar.po chos.'byung (p.259 lines 12-15): "ઉત્યન્યશ્વર્યયાખયાના વેનુના રેતે.ખવન્યેશ ર્વેન્ જીન્સાયાન્યન્વન્ સુરાધ વેનુવા દેશાયશ્વ પ્રથવ વર્ષિન શે નુવા લેવા વે સુવા વ્યય છે. જે તે તે તે તે તે તે વ

mKhas.pa IDe'u chos. 'byung (p.354 lines 9-20): "અર્જેન્ દ્વેત્ર નગર પેંગ્લેન્ગવે સુત્ર ગ્રીમ નસુત્રા દેશ સુંદરનગર સુચ્લેન્ગવે અર્દ્ધને દ્વેત્ર નચર પેંગ્લન ચાર્યુન્ગ સાવર વર્ત્તું ભુષત્ર ચસુ કરા બધા અર્દ્ધને દ્વેત્ર છે કરે બધા સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ગ સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ગ સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ગ સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ગ સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ગ સ્ટ્રેન્ડ ચ્લેન્ડ ચ્લેન

Tib.111: *Rin.chen bzang.po'i rnam.thar 'bring.po* (p.94 line 2) (see p.122): "พัรูรุจางสะ ษาร์ลังงุมารรูงสังจุรงัง จุรงาน 24จง ซาวิชางง สัง

Tib.113: Nyang.ral chos.'byung (p.461 lines 10-12) (see p.127): "નાર્डुवा'ભના'મિન્ડ'નેવે'ગ્રુવાય'<sup>દ્</sup>રે નાર્કેવા'વા'મિન્દર્ભ' (ત્રાફ્ટ્રોસ'નર્ફુવાય'ધવે'ગ્રુ'વિન્ડ' નુવાનકુ જ નાલે'ર્બેન' ર્ને''

Tib.114: mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs (p.74 lines 13-14) (see p.132): "ચદુવામું વિગ્વેસ વવુવાય અવે' તુષ સા તર્વેસ અન્વ વગવતા વર્ષે ત્ર સથય દેવે કે જોવ વે વે સ્ટર્ને વે સ્ટર્ને તે ત્ર ત્ર ત્ર ત્ર ત્ર ત્ર ત્ર વ્યુ Tib.115: *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.62 lines 9-10) (see p.135): "નેપ્પન્સ્સન્સ્સન્ડનું **નુન્સ્કુન**્તનો નુસ્સ ગ્રેન્ડનાફુંવાપ્યનાવન્તલેન્સ" ibid. (p.62 lines 16-17): ""અન્સ્સન્ડનું નુસ્રસ્યપ્ય વ્યવપાનું નાફુંવાપ્યનાવન્ત્વલેન્સ"

Tib.116: Bai.ser (p.275 lines 16-17) (see n.127) : "શ્ર' वद्यचुर हुव द्वीद दे स्विय्य द्वार हुद रहुव रेंद् ग्रेथ वहवा वयवाय खुया ग्री यहे ह केव ये द्वे पंग रख खुद रेंद दु चतुवाया क्यु केव गा र सेवाय वद हेव दु ख चतुवाय वेय इंग

Tib.120: Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar (f.36a line 7-f.36b line 1) (see n.130): "ने दर्भ भ्रेक्सिंग ग्रेग्नर Nबर दबबर मुन के न न न ) दीन क न में बिर क न में बाद सब ग्रान्त के स्वर्थ के सब में कि स्वर्थ के स्वर्थ के स्वर् (f 36b) दबर न न अ

Tib.121: Shanti.pa'i mam.thar (f.36a lines 5-6) (see n.131): "२र्वेद धवे'વવાચ વર્ત્તર-દુત્ત્ર' દે'વર્ને ધવે' ચરવાયચ દુ'વગાવ સુરાચ શર અકુ 'લેવા છુવા વાખ અક ચર્ડુ રુ રે રે રે રે રે વ્યુવ વ્યુચ અક સ્થાર વર્ત્ત પ્રાટે વર્ટે રે વેંદ્ર ધ્ય વર્ત્ત વ્યુર વાખ વર્ત્ત ગા વાદ્ય કરે છે. વર્ત્ત વર્ત્ત વાખ કરે છે. વર્ત્ત વ્યુર વ્યુય બહા વર્ષ્ટ વ

Tib.125: Shanti.pa'i rnam.thar (f.36b line 1) (see n.135): "5'ૹ઼'રેૅસ્પ્વનુવાયાયાવર ગુર્ન્સનુર્વુ, પુ વગ્ને વર્ષે વર્ષે દેવાયાય ગુવા સુગર રંગ્ર વયા રંગ રેગ્વા સેંગ્લે પ્રવો સ્ટ્રબા રેગ્સ્ટ્ર વર્ત્તુ ગ્રુવાયાયાવર અન્ય ગ્રેટ્સ્ બેંદ્ર પેંદ્ર સ્ટ્રિય સેંગ યાય ગ્રેશ્વ વર્ત્તુ ગ્રુવા ચારે ખેંદ્ર "

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- Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang 'phros.pod gnyis.pa: sde.srid Sangs.rgyas rgya.mtsho, Drin.can rtsa.ba'i bla.ma Ngag.dbang blo.bzang rgya.mtsho'i thun.mong phyi'i rnam.thar Du.ku.la'i gos.bzang legs.bam bzhi.pa'i 'phros Inga.pa bzhugs, xylograph.
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