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## Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's Chapter on the History of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*: Notes on the Author and the Content\*

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in his *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* is an important source on the early history of Western Tibet that has come to light in recent years. This text was published as a facsimile edition in 2011 by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang in volume 36 (Chi) of the series *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011). This manuscript was originally written in *dbu med* script and is not easily readable, which is also due to the frequent use of contracted words (*skung yig*), abbreviations (*bsdus yig*) and old (partly also "unorthodox") spellings.

The account given in the following section presents some biographical data on the author Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan and mainly gives information contained in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's contribution "Relating the History of mNga' ris as Written in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan Text" (this volume, pp. 89ff.).<sup>1</sup>

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The ensuing sections are dedicated to paraphrasing the content of the text and providing further information in footnotes in order to highlight and discuss new information on various matters that are essential for research from the perspective of a historical social anthropology of Western Tibet.

### The Author

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po<sup>2</sup> was born in the Female Wood Sheep year 1415 during the seventh sixty-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar in the area of sGyu (rGyu 'gul) which belonged to the territory of the Dharma King (*chos rgyal*) of mDa' ba in Gu ge lHo stod of mNga' ris. His family line was sKyi nor, from among the five Zhang chung *rus*<sup>3</sup> and [his] paternal ancestors were even venerated as being related to the Sun lineage (*nyi ma'i* [...] *gdung rgyud*). His father's name was Rig 'dzin rdo rje and his mother's was sKyid pa. Being eminently intelligent from a very young age, with the greatest diligence and without any difficulty he became engrossed in reading

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<sup>2</sup> In his *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (*Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*), the title preceding his name is *gnas lnga rig pa'i paṇḍita* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 355/f. 41a; see also Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 168), that is, a scholar with mastership in the five branches of Buddhist learning.

<sup>3</sup> On these Zhang chung *rus*, see below the section *Paraphrase Section I: On Zhang chung. Rus* (literally "bone") which is often translated and explained as "clan" should be understood in this context as descent group based on patrilineal descent. The name of his family lineage (*gdung*) which is given as sKyi nor, is phonetically very close to sKyin wer, one of the five Zhang chung *rus*. Both names are very close phonetically to Kinnaur, the name of the wider area along the upper Sutlej valley.

and writing. By the time he was a little older, even though he caught a severe illness, after having received spiritual instruction from the eminent master Chos dpal 'dzin on the Lord of Life (Tshe bdag) and Hayagrīva (rTa mgrin) and having performed the respective meditation he was healed of this illness. He then received numerous religious empowerments (*dbang khrid*), oral religious teachings (*man ngag*), and reading transmissions (*lung*) of the Dwags po bKa' brgyud pa (school), and from his father concealed treasures and pronouncements (*gter bka'*) by Guru Rinpoche [Padmasambhava], and many teachings (*chos*) of his paternal ancestors.

At the age of eleven, even though it was forbidden to ask his father and mother to leave for a religious life he went to Chos rje Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan. He was ordained amid eleven monks, Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo and others. At that time he received many teachings (*chos*) from Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo and *sprul sku* Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, [such as] on 'Dul ba 'od ldan,<sup>4</sup> *mDzang blun*,<sup>5</sup> Klu sgrub's (Nāgārjuna's) *mDo kun las btus pa*,<sup>6</sup> and on the seven lineages of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya,<sup>7</sup> etc. He studied and stayed as an attendant until he reached the age of twenty-one.

At the age of twenty-one, when the king of Gu ge sent Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo to invite Chos rje rDo rje 'chang Kun dga' bzang po (Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po) to reside in Glo bo he came along as an attendant of this master (*rje*; that is, Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo). In Glo bo he [Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan] met with Chos rje Kun dga' bzang po. From Ngor chen rDo rje 'chang he received instructions from a follower of the Sa skya pa school in the monastery (*gtsug lag khang*) of Brag dkar,<sup>8</sup> at first religious empowerment (*dbang bskur*) on dPal kye yi rdo rje (Śrī Hevajra), and acted for around seventeen years as an attendant to Ngor chen. Throughout his life he took care of countless disciples to whom he faultlessly and well explained grammar and logic, technology and the fine arts, medicine and so on, all branches of Buddhist learning, in terms of the real meaning of the words.

In the field of epistemology (*tshad ma*), he wrote on the property of the subject. He also wrote on Sanskrit and produced a written work related to the four classes of Tantra, of greatest benefit for the

<sup>4</sup> A work on the Vinaya (see also Martin 2001: 103).

<sup>5</sup> *mDzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* (Tibetan translation of \**Damamūkasūtra*), *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*.

<sup>6</sup> Skt. *Sūtrasamuccaya*, *Compendium of Scriptures*.

<sup>7</sup> *gSang 'dus mi bskyod pa rgyud pa bdun*.

<sup>8</sup> Brag dkar monastery was established by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po either during his first sojourn in Glo bo (1427–28) or during the second one (1436–1437) (see Heimbel 2017: 284–299).

many series of (re-)births, and it is also said that he authored a work primarily focused on poetry.

In the Earth Horse year 1498 in the eighth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar he was absorbed into the ultimate sphere of an enlightened mind. At that time he had arrived at the age of eighty-three.<sup>9</sup>

***Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes: Notes on the Content of the Chapter on the History of mNga' ris***

The full text of Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's work *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* consists of 137 folios. The part dealing with the history of mNga' ris which is of concern here is contained in the final folios. These may be divided into six sections according to their content. The following overview is based on the divisions made by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po in his edition (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes: The Tibetan text*", this volume, pp. 90ff.) and shows the respective headings used by him in parentheses.

*Contents*

Section I (428/f.124b6–432/f.126b6): On Zhang chung (*Zhang chung gi skor*)

Section II (426/f.123b6–428/124b6; 432/f.126b6–438/f.129b7): On the Rule of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in mNga' ris (*sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon mNga' ris rgyal po byed pa'i skor*)

Section III (440/f.130b1–444f.132b1): On the Three sTod kyi mgon (*sTod kyi mgon gsum gyi skor*)

Section IV (444/f.132b2–447/f.134a7): On the Ruler lHa lde (*mnga' bdag lHa lde'i skor*)

Section V (448/f.134b5–451/f.136a2): On the Ruler Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan (*mnga' bdag Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan gyi skor*)

Section VI (451/f.136a2–454/f.138a5): On the Ruler 'Od lde's son bTsan srong and His Lineage (*mnga' bdag 'Od lde'i sras bTsan srong dang de'i rgyud pa'i skor*)

<sup>9</sup> van der Kuijp (2013: 325) gives his dates as 1415–1486.

*Paraphrase Section I: On Zhang zhung*

At first<sup>10</sup> the countries of Upper and Lower Zhang zhung<sup>11</sup> were held by those known as "rtse".<sup>12</sup> Among these was one called sNya shur Mu pu ring nge ged, of great intelligence and bravery, who, as he became a famous person, was designated as lord by agreement of all subjects of these countries.<sup>13</sup> Then, after eleven generations, one known as sNya shur La khwa ged rtse appeared endowed with great strength. His daughter married the great king of the country of dBus, Srong btsan sgam po. Then, six generations later, the king of sNya shur is said to have been Li byin mu pad khya, an incarnation (*sprul sku*) of gShen rabs mi bong (*sic!*)<sup>14</sup> and a king who attained mastery over Bon, letters and figuring (*yig rtsis*) as well as divination (*mo*). At that time through accomplished masters adhering to Bon<sup>15</sup> oral and written traditions of Bon became more and more popular in Zhang zhung.

Simultaneously [with Li byin mu pad khya, the king of sNya shur,

and the popularisation of Bon], descending from a lineage (*rigs*) at the time of king Ru pi ni, the "Five Zhang zhung Siblings" (Zhang zhung *mched lnga*)—that is to say, Mang wer Od tshad swa ged tshe, Mol wer, sKyin wer sDong gyed tsha, Hrugs wer sPrud gzher sto ged tsha and Rum wer Sha zher rtse—emerged in Gu ge from India.<sup>16</sup> As for their gods (*lha*), the most powerful ones among these 360 *gye god*<sup>17</sup> were: the god (*lha*) bDud rje btsan po ho of the Mang wer ba, the god (*lha*) Rol btsan stag ral gtsug—altogether eight siblings (*spun brgyad*)—of the Mol wer ba, the god (*lha*) Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo mu tsa med<sup>18</sup> of the sKyin wer ba, the god (*lha*) sGyugs khyung sheng rtse of the Hrugs wer ba, the god (*lha*) Srin po gnam ro po of the Rum rtse wer ba. Moreover, there were the three places (*yul*)<sup>19</sup> of the Mang wer ba: Phyi wang, rMe los sgyung and Sad mkhar. The sKyin wer ba held Sribts kyi lha rtse, the Hrugs wer ba mKhar bDu lang khyung rtse, and the Rum (rtse wer) ba mKhar She la khyung.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan does not give any specific chronologic indication regarding the origin of Zhang zhung but just starts with "at the beginning" (*dang po*), that is, at an unspecified point in time. Nevertheless, he makes use of a kind of relative chronology by relating the names of kings to genealogical information and in two cases to historic personages, Srong btsan sgam po and gShen rabs mi bo.

<sup>11</sup> In topographic or geographic terms Zhang zhung is mentioned as consisting of an upper and lower country (*yul stod smad*). However, the whole of Zhang zhung is reported to have been ruled by one dynasty, referred to throughout the text as sNya shur (also the spellings gNya' shur and rNya shur occur). The rulers were titled "rtse". Their appointment and legitimation as lords (Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan uses the word *jo bo*) seems to have been based on outstanding personal qualities and achievements (great intelligence, bravery and fame) and took place by way of a general assignment that sheds some light on the political system and the prevailing notion of rulership.

<sup>12</sup> In Tibetan, this word means the point, top, peak, summit, etc. It is not clear if Grags pa rgyal mtshan intends to use the word with its meaning in Tibetan or renders a homophonous word belonging to a different language in a way readable and understandable to Tibetans. In Dan Martin's *Zhang zhung Dictionary*, the word *rtse* is listed belonging to the Zhang zhung language, meaning powerful among other things (see Martin 2010: 183).

<sup>13</sup> sNya shur is mentioned also as part of the names of other Zhang zhung rulers in Dunhuang documents and in Bon po sources (see Namgyal Nyima Dagkar 2002: 429f.).

<sup>14</sup> The person obviously referred to is sTon pa gShen rab or gShen rab Myi bo, commonly known as the founder of the Bon religion (see Blezer 2008 and Bellezza 2010 for works on the historicity of this figure).

<sup>15</sup> The Bon religion or belief system is first mentioned in relation to a king who was recognised as an incarnation of gShen rabs mi bo, the semi-historic founder of the Bon religion. The popularisation of Bon religion is specifically seen as a phenomenon of this (later) period in Zhang zhung history. Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's account makes it possible to understand the sNya shur dynasty of the Zhang zhung kingdom at least at this time as a kind of sacred kingship and one that was based on concepts of the Bon religion. Some parallels with Buddhist notions of kingship are recognisable in this account.

<sup>16</sup> The expression *mched lnga* can mean five siblings (brothers and sisters) but also five sisters or five brothers. In my view the latter presumably applies, as in the following passages only men are mentioned as leading figures of these groups and there is no indication of any female leader. I therefore understand Mang wer, Mol wer, sKyin wer, Rum wer and Hrugs wer as designations of forefathers (perhaps mythical) from whom these groups descended or claimed descent. The designation as Zhang zhung *mched lnga* does not necessarily indicate that their origins lay in Zhang zhung but that they constituted five population groups related by descent who occupied certain places in Gu ge and played a certain role in Zhang zhung.

The meaning of the second part of these names and their classificatory value is far from clear. The repeated *ge tshé / ged tsha / gyed tsha* may be identical with *ge tsa* which is listed in Martin (2010: 60) as a Zhang zhung word (synonymous with the Tibetan *bdud btsan*) meaning "a group of gods or demons".

<sup>17</sup> It is clear from Grags pa rgyal mtshan's text that *gye god*, a word of seemingly non-Tibetan origin, corresponds to the Tibetan word *lha*, commonly translated as god or deity. Due to the phonetic consonance and agreement in the number of the gods, some form of historical linguistic relationship can be assumed to exist between *gye god*, most probably a word of the Zhang zhung language, and *ge khod*, perhaps a Tibetan loan word from the language of Zhang zhung. This is supported by Kvaerne (1996: 40), according to whom—based on studies by Tucci (1949 II: 724, 1970: 240) and Hoffmann (1950: 166, 269)—the "word *gekhö* (*ge khod*) designates a class of ancient Tibetan gods. The etymology of the word is entirely obscure, but it may be taken to be a loan from the language of Zhangzhung. The *gekhö* are said to number 360 and to reside on Mount Tise (Ti se, i.e. Mount Kailash), the sacred mountain of Zhangzhung."

<sup>18</sup> This seems to be a female deity and perhaps identical with Mu la tsa med, explained as a goddess of Zhang zhung (Martin 2010: 169). *Tsa med* is listed as the Zhang zhung language word for woman, which corresponds to the Tibetan *bu med* (see *ibid.*: 178; Haarh 1968: 38; Kvaerne 1996: 14; 81).

<sup>19</sup> One can perhaps conceive of these places (*yul*) in this context as smaller territories in the sense of residence areas.

<sup>20</sup> Some of the population groups who are named in this text as Mang wer ba, sKyin wer ba, Hrugs wer ba, Rum (rtse wer) ba and Mol wer ba are known from historical texts and inscriptions where these group affiliations precede their personal names.

At Tabo monastery one of the monks depicted in the *sgo khang* of the *gtsug lag khang* is identified as rHugs 'or *dge slong* dBig gi bsod nams (*i = gi gu log*) in the accompanying caption. In another instance also *rhugs 'er* occurs (see Luczanits 1999: 106, 107 who assumed that these designations were identical with Hrugs wer which appears in the mid-length biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po). Over twenty inscriptional occurrences of Hrugs/Rugs wer and one of Mang wer were documented by Chinese archaeologists in the 1990s in a *mchod rten* from the 11<sup>th</sup>-century at Tholing (see Heller 2010).

Also one Mo lo *dge slong* Shes rab snying po is named for example in a caption at Tabo (Luczanits 1999: 107). Mol lo (obviously corresponding to Mol wer) occurs in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* f. 125b4 (in the form of *skung yig*) (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes: The Tibetan text*", this volume, p. 92). In addition, monks from the Mang wer ba are also named in captions: for example, Mang wer *dge' slong* Sod nams rin cen and Mang 'er *dge' slong* Rin cen brtson grus (Luczanits 1999: 108).

Also the Rum (rtse wer) ba occur: Rum *dge' slong* Drang ba shes rab. Luczanits notes on this name that "beside the surname Rum, denoting a clan or locality, in the captions in Tabo [...] there also exists a region of Rum (*rum yul*), which is located somewhere west of Tholing (cf. PETECH 1997: 233, n.21 and VITALI 1996: 307). Logically Rum alone would be a place within this region, but here it might also denote the region the person stems from. Evidently the Rum people were the most prominent donor group for the renovation. According to THOMAS (1951: 149-50, M.I.xxviii,002) Rum denotes a clan name." (Luczanits 1999: 108). In the case of nuns who are identified by inscriptions at Tabo, a *za* (*bza'*, woman) is added to indicate their gender: for example, Rum *za* or Rhug 'or *za* (see *ibid.*: 146).

To conclude: of the five above-mentioned population groups four occur in historical inscriptions at Tabo and Tholing. Only the sKyin wer ba do not occur. However, there are a number of additional names of groups that are mentioned in inscriptions at Tabo and also in colophons of manuscripts other than those listed as constituting the Zhang chung *mched lnga*. For example, sNyel 'or / sNyal 'or / sNyel wer / sNyes wer who appear quite often in the early inscriptions at Tabo (and also in manuscripts) and Mag pi/pi tsa.

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's account of the Zhang chung *mched lnga* seems to address or reflect information about their origin and appearance in Gu ge stretching back considerably to a time before the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. Their names seem to be Tibetanised to some degree, in particular perhaps in the case of the sKyin wer ba (taking *skyin* as the Tibetan word for ibex).

As to the linguistic affiliation of these names the designation Zhang chung *mched lnga* itself suggests that they may belong to the Zhang chung language (whatever that may be). Mang wer is listed as a Zhang chung word meaning pale, white, grey, layman or female spirit (see Martin 2010: 160). According to the same source, the syllable *wer* corresponds to the Tibetan *rgyal*, *rgyal ba*, *rgyal po*, *rgyal mo*, that is, conqueror, victor, king, queen, ruler (*ibid.*: 189).

The main gods or goddesses mentioned by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan have names that appear to have a "Zhang chung" core (at the end) to which a Tibetan component seems to have been prefixed. For example, the god (*lha*) Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo mu tsa med of the sKyin wer ba has a Zhang chung name (*mu tsa med*) which is preceded by a Tibetan name and classificatory designation (Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo). It is thus clear that the names of these gods were Tibetanised and integrated into a Tibetan concept of deity (*ma mo*).

The appearance of some of these gods as groups of siblings (brothers, brothers and sisters, etc.) is a wide-spread phenomenon which seems to be a particularly strong characteristic of deities in areas of Kinnaur until the present, also in the Tibetan-speaking areas of Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu).

Later the five *rus*,<sup>21</sup> united by friendly ties and under a unified rule, nominated in turn one, who acted as great minister and governed during four generations of gNya' shur kings. The deeds of the five acting in this way were: Mang wer Khams gsum bsher btsan 'das, who, after subduing the king of 'Gru sha Thang la nag po in an act of bravery, marked the border of Byang lam skya'o (the "White Northern Path?"); through skilful military strategies Mol lo<sup>22</sup> Klu thon rje dpal sdang defeated gNya' khri'i mgon, the king of sPu hrangs, and held Shar Seng ge dkar mo as prisoner. After seizing Grang la ti tsa, the castle (*mkhar*) of Nyi ti, Kyin wer rDo rje zher rgyal po overthrew king So na ra dza. Drawing on skill and writings, Hrugs wer gTsong sgra gzher lha gngang

The places named as (main) residential areas of these five populations groups seem to indicate that they were located not far from the upper Sutlej valley. The places of the Mang wer ba may be identified with present-day Phyi dbang and nearby places. Srib kyi lha rtse, the place of the sKyin wer ba, may refer to an area in the vicinity of Nako and Shalkhar in Upper Kinnaur. The Hrugs wer ba's places can be assumed to be mKhar rtse and other places in or adjacent to the mKhar rtse valley, and the Rum (rtse wer) ba's place may be identified with Rum yul and the area around sPeg mkhar. Looking at the map this defines a quite coherent territory within the larger realm of Gu ge. A characteristic element of these places seem to have been fortifications (*mkhar*).

There is no indication of anything Buddhist in the religious life of the population groups of the Mang wer ba, sKyin wer ba, Mol wer ba, Hrugs wer ba and Rum (rtse wer) ba. As stated above Bon is mentioned as having made an appearance in Zhang chung at some point in time but it is not stated that any of the five groups adhered to this. What we can conclude, however, based on the inscriptional evidence from Tabo and Tholing is that from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century the residential areas of these groups were the places for the propagation of Buddhism by the royal lineage. The examples from Tabo and Tholing show that this happened with strong participation from the Hrugs wer ba, the Rum (rtse wer) ba, the Mol wer ba and the Mang wer ba. Taking the sNyel wer ba as another name of the sKyin wer ba or in some way related to the above-mentioned groups, a major turn in the religious affiliation of these population groups becomes manifest.

The first significant indication of a royal dynastic activity within the area of one of the Zhang chung *mched lnga* seems to have been an assembly by members of the royal lineages which took place in 992 at sPeg mkhar, a place on the upper course of the Glang chen kha 'babs/Sutlej river. On this occasion again a great oration (*mol ba chen po*) was delivered and the hermitage of Pa sgam in the Rum region was renovated (see Petech 1997: 233). This also shows that by this time the relationship between the royal lineage and these populations groups must have been firmly established and that royal patronage of Buddhist temples in these clan territories began to play an important role.

<sup>21</sup> It is necessary to stress that Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's usage of *rus* must certainly have been in agreement with the contemporary (late-15<sup>th</sup>-century) concept of this word. Thus, we can assume that it relates to patrilineal descent groups, who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In addition, subsets of these groups known as *pha spun* or *pha spad* (which also include affinal relatives who give up their affiliation to their father's guardian deity but retain their father's bone) were linked by common residence, a common ancestral deity (*pha lha*) and joint cult of the dead (see dGe rgyan 1976: 324–325; Jahoda 2017).

<sup>22</sup> In a later passage, the spelling Mo lo is used.

destroyed the Zhang zhung priest by an evil spell of the Black Cow (*ba nag po*), after which the priest paid respect to the *bla ma*, so that the tongue of the Western Red Bull (*nub glang dmar po*) was cut out.<sup>23</sup> When Rum wer A rgyal gsum gzher ceased trusting Glang g.Yu rge 'bar ma, the daughter of the ancestral king of rNya shur, the established relationship with the five *rus* was lost. Then the five daughters of sTong lHu bzher were accepted in marriage by the five *rus*; they had five sons and five daughters. lHu bzher became old and after leaving his last words to the five daughters and five sons-in-law he passed away. After this, they were called the "five *rus* and the maternal uncle sTong, six altogether" (*rus lnga zhang po stong dang drug*).

At that time, the kings of sNya shur, the three brothers Li bin khya, Ngad bzangs khya and dPung dmar khya, in a deviation from reality, annually sacrificed one person of the Khyung po family. When the discussions between the ministers Gu gu Khyung, Khyung dpung ring mo, Khyung dpung Tang su ze, and dGe shin Tang mi ring mo failed, the blame was ascribed to the five Zhang zhung *rus*. As for the five nephews and brothers of the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) sTong, they were loyal and rendered useful service to the Lord. This being the case, Mang wer Khams gsum tshan dhas captured the White Vulture (Thang dkar rgod po) of the skies in a trap; Kyin wer rDo rje sher overcame the White Lioness of the Snows (Gangs kyi seng ge dkar mo) with an iron chain; Hrugs wer gTsug bzher captured the Children of the Gods ('Dod khams kyī lha phrug); Mo lo Klu thog bzher tamed the Tiger of the Forest (*nags kyī stag*); the king of Rum, gSum bzher, put sunlight (*nyi zer*) into an amulet box (*ga'u*) with a magic lasso.<sup>24</sup> Due to this, his (sTong lHu bzher's) fame (*dbu rmog*, literally 'helmet') was higher than the mountains and his political authority (*chab srid*)<sup>25</sup> grew enormously, so that there was no other greater king than ours, with tigers as watchdogs, peacocks as poultry and a wild ass (*rkyang*) as a horse.

*Paraphrase Section II: On the Rule of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in mNga' ris* sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon was born in a Pig year.<sup>26</sup> At (the age of

<sup>23</sup> The meaning of these characterisations is unclear.

<sup>24</sup> The meaning of these characterisations is unclear.

<sup>25</sup> These two, *dbu rmog* and *chab srid*, are described as being key qualities of the Tibetan emperors (*btsan po*). See Ramble 2006: 129; Dotson 2011: 85.

<sup>26</sup> A possible Pig year (that also fits with the chronological data of his son bKra shis mgon (born ca. early second quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century) and his grandson Srong nge/Yeshe Ö (947–1024 according to Vitali 2003: 55, 61; 947–1019 based on Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 149) may be 879. On this and further dates mentioned in the text, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 291f.

twenty-eight, in the year of the Tiger,<sup>27</sup> he went to mNga' ris stod. Bringing all the territories belonging to Western Tibet under his control in a Sheep year,<sup>28</sup> after seizing the castle of Nyi zung he ruled the kingdom. He passed away at the age of fifty-nine in a Bird year.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's father dPal 'khor btsan gave him the Medicine Buddha as meditative practice support (*thugs dam*)<sup>30</sup> and he (sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon) made offerings and prayers in this regard. Since he was very impatient to root out the revolt in Tibet<sup>31</sup> and as in mNga' ris the teachings of the Buddha shone like the sun, dependent on their flourishing and blessed by the Buddha and Bodhisattvas he went to sTod mNga' ris. Moreover, the Mighty Sage and his children dwelt on the Fragrant Mountain; Kinnaras and Nāga King Ma gros (commonly Ma dros) (Anavatapta) and others were satisfied, because of the dharma, flocks of eagles soared in the air and lived in the land of snows on top of Ti se, the king of the Himalayas. As has been taught in the teaching of the *Sangs rgyas bdun pa (sūtra)*,<sup>32</sup> the Victorious One is here all over the land of the sTod country and the spreading of the teaching is to come about due to the blessings. Here in 'Dzam bu gling<sup>33</sup> there is no higher ground. To spread and make the teaching of the Buddha flourish, it is in particular the sacred place where the blessed Great Elder (*gnas brtan chen po*)<sup>34</sup> Yan lag 'byung<sup>35</sup> surrounded by his retinue of 1,500 arhats (*dgra bcom pa*) resides. Next to Ti se, the great king of the Himalayas, four great rivers gently flow in the four directions and, as for Ma pang g.yu mtsho,<sup>36</sup> very famous throughout India and Tibet, if one washes oneself with its water and leaves a tooth, nail, hair, etc. this purifies one's negative actions. Because of the period of spreading the teaching of the Sage of the Śākyas to the vast area of sTod mNga' ris and due to the power of general merit for all sentient beings, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon gradually turned his horse riding upward.

<sup>27</sup> The Tiger year in which he left for mNga' ris stod could have been 906, when he was twenty-eight years old.

<sup>28</sup> The Sheep year could have been 911.

<sup>29</sup> The Bird year may refer to 937.

<sup>30</sup> That is, *yi dam*, personal tutelary deity.

<sup>31</sup> Indicating perhaps why he left for mNga' ris before the revolt (*kheng log*) in Tibet had come to an end in 911(?).

<sup>32</sup> Sanskrit (*Ārya-*) *Saptabuddhaka(mahāyānasūtra)*.

<sup>33</sup> Sanskrit Jambudvīpa, the Continent of the Rose-Apple Tree which is inhabited by human beings according to Buddhist cosmology (see Gethin 2004: 184).

<sup>34</sup> Sanskrit *mahāsthavira*.

<sup>35</sup> Sanskrit Aṅgaja, one of the Sixteen Arhats.

<sup>36</sup> Also: Ma pham g.yu mtsho (Lake Manasarovar).

In the middle autumn of the Tiger year the five sTong grandsons (*tsha spun*)<sup>37</sup> and minister Khyung sent Khyung po Khri lhen skyu se and dGe shing A ring mo to invite dPal lHa btsan po Khri bKra shis sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, then residing at *sku mkhar* lHa rtse Brag mkhar, with a petition from Khyung spung sTang ring mo of sTod urging him to come to mNga' ris. This made a strong impression on the emperor, and after having reflected on it, he and Cang Legs skyes, the son of the Great Minister (*blon po chen po*) Cang A po, Phyang tshang ba 'Bro kham bu, gZims mal ba So pa lu and others, planned to go to sTod mNga' ris. Up there, the holy Buddhist dharma (*lha chos*) was not prospering while Bon was widespread.

For this reason, due to the possibility of malicious gods and demons and malevolent spirits of the Bon practitioners (*bon po*), two Great Monks (*ban dhe*) with excellent qualifications—the Great Monk (*ban dhe*) Dha gu na pra bha of the Cog ro 'Bring 'tshams family, in addition one with wisdom and power, being capable of binding into servitude gods and demons of the phenomenal world, the Great Monk (*ban dhe*) rGyal ba Shes rab of the 'Chims family—were given official orders to come with him. The two monks said that the order of the king was heavier than a mountain, so tears could not dislodge it. However, if tears were able to change it when the whole dominion, power, and people were established, except for his dominion, the fields, castles, fortresses, etc. which were located in between the farming and the nomadic areas, should be given back to the people.

At the age of twenty-eight, in the year of the Tiger, the Lord himself, Cang Legs skyes, the son of the Great Minister Cang A pho, Phyang tshang ba 'Bro kham bu, dGe bzher bKra shis btsan, Cog gru Lhag leb, gZims mal ba Chos kyi lha, Ma zhang ban dhe, these two Great Monks (*ban dhe*), and the Great Minister Pa tshab, the Great Minister Rin chen sTod and the Great Minister's two sons Zhang rGyal ba Yon tan and mDog g.Yung ba Zhang Me chen po, gZims mal ba So pa lu and others left the g.Yo rung (g.Yung drung) palace at lHa rtse. The lord and subjects, altogether fifty people, took the northern route (*byang lam*). Fifty-one horsemen came from Zhang zhung to welcome them. They arrived at the Srid pa Fortress of Ra la mkhar dmar in the summer of the year of the Rabbit (*yos lo*).<sup>38</sup> Then Khyung dpung sTong ring mo reported to the king of gNya' shur, Li byin kya: "Great king! sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the prince of the Sun (lineage) of dBus, is becoming an obstacle to the political authority of the Lord," and after he was requested, the king came down from

<sup>37</sup> Based on the earlier narrative it seems to be more probable to assume that these relatives are the second generation following sTong, therefore grandsons (and not cousins).

<sup>38</sup> The Rabbit year may have been 907 which followed the year of the Tiger (906).

the crystal throne and left the castle of Khyung lung dngul dkar for Ra la, together with soldiers from the ten-thousand district (*khri sde*) of Zhang zhung, with full accoutrements. All the soldiers from the ten-thousand district (*khri sde*) of 'Khrugs<sup>39</sup> revolted. The king of sNya shur having covered himself in armour (*go bgo*) arranged the cushions by rank in the shade and as he disguised himself as a single man of iron, a copper needle was poked into the top of his head, killing him. dPung Ngad mar Bya stag and La ling returned out of fear and took control of the castle of rTsa rang;<sup>40</sup> sDad bZang khya controlled the land of A ru;<sup>41</sup> Gu gu Khyung took over Wem mo, the lower part (*smad*) of Purang.

At that time, the kingdom (*rgyal srid*) was offered to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon. The five sTong tsha brothers<sup>42</sup> were also asked for five different services:<sup>43</sup> as for the Mang wer ba, the posture will be broad and noble, like a majestic banner swinging in the wind; as for the Mo lo ba the speech will be powerful, like a rock rolling down from a steep mountain; as for the Kyin wer ba, the posture will be broad, dignified and firm, like three straps bound tightly, opened and flung to the sky (*gnam*); as for the Rum wer ba, they will be as solid as a needle sticking in a ball of yarn; as for the Hrugs wer ba, they will be as honest and innocent like a strong waterfall.

Many people came from Mar yul and other principalities, paid reverence and bowed down. After that, a great appointment was made: according to the Six Gods of the Desire Realm (*'dod khams*),<sup>44</sup> the eight small gods of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar snang*), and the Four Wrathful Guardians of the Gate (*sgo bsrungs kyi khro bo bzhi*), Jo sras Nyang tsa Li ba as Guardian of the East, Lhe phyug gi jo sras Cog ro mda' pa as Guardian of the South, the black Tshong sa ba la be sa as Guardian of the West, the black sTar pa as Guardian of the North. First of all, the five sTong grandsons (*tsha spun*) and the son of lHu gsum zher were appointed according to the Six Gods of the Desire Realm (*'dod khams*) and given one by one decrees with a stamp along with distinct emblems of rank. dGe shin pa of Khyung lung, Cog ro of sGe thang, Krung shin pa of Dun mkhar, Seng dkar of Bag wang, sNya shur of Thang, lHa 'brong of lHag bag, Tog sgyung of Sang nang, and Khyung po of Tang, these eight, were appointed as the Eight Gods of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar snang*). The three Families of Faith were

<sup>39</sup> Not yet identified.

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps identical with Tsaparang(?).

<sup>41</sup> Not yet identified.

<sup>42</sup> In terms of generation grandsons of sTong tsha.

<sup>43</sup> The following is rendered in poetic language.

<sup>44</sup> Sanskrit *kāmadhātu*.

Be gar ba, sGyung du la pa and Dang stod pa from Dun mkhar. Cang legs skyes, the master and the servants, altogether seven, none other than these were appointed to [serve at] the palace.

At that time, Dha gu na pra bha wa performed the ritual *rNam 'joms kyi 'chi blu* and a longevity empowerment ritual known as *Yang dag me gcig thod gcig*.<sup>45</sup> So sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's life was prolonged by thirteen years and it was also prophesied that he would generally live to the age of fifty-nine. In the year of the Dragon, on the fifteenth day of the autumn month, after having been invited by dGe bzher bKra shis btsan to sPu hrangs, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon went to the north of Gu ge and made a circumambulation of Kailas (Gangs Ti se) and Lake Manasarovar; going to the valley of sMan nags he went to sKyid lde gling. As from year of the Snake<sup>46</sup> until year of the Horse<sup>47</sup> it was not managed to suppress mNga' ris by way of a speech, he built two temples at sKyid lde gling and established the rituals for the Medicine Buddha. In the year of the Sheep,<sup>48</sup> 'Bro Seng dkar<sup>49</sup> offered the Nyi bzungs palace to him and he got married to his daughter, 'Bro za 'Khor skyong, upon which mNga' ris kor gsum<sup>50</sup> was brought under his power.

*Paraphrase Section III: On the Three sTod kyi mgon*<sup>51</sup>

'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong,<sup>52</sup> the daughter of dGe zher bKra shis btsan, was given by him to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon<sup>53</sup> in marriage. They then

<sup>45</sup> A life-saving, healing and purifying ritual related to the deity rDo rje nam par 'joms pa (Skt. Vajravīdāraṇa) and a longevity empowerment ritual One Fire and One Skull (*Yang dag me gcig thod gcig*).

<sup>46</sup> This Snake year may refer to 909.

<sup>47</sup> This Horse year may refer to 910.

<sup>48</sup> This Sheep year may refer to 911.

<sup>49</sup> This reference denotes a male member of a clan (or sub-clan according to Vitali 1996: 169) whose personal name is not given. His possible identity with the commissioner of the ICog ro stela is discussed in Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 50–51.

<sup>50</sup> Literally, "the three circles of the upper [western] subject territories".

<sup>51</sup> The rendering of the content of Section III (On the Three sTod kyi mgon), Section IV (On the Ruler lHa lde), Section V (On the Ruler Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan) and Section VI (On the Ruler 'Od lde's son bTsan srong and His Lineage) is based on an unpublished draft translation into English by the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po dating to mid-December 2014. This work (referred to as GTG 2014) is entitled "The Lineage of the Kingdom of sPu-rang" and contains many remarks on historical names (persons and places) as well as a genealogical chart (see p. 87).

<sup>52</sup> "Most historiographical texts do not write 'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong but 'Bro za 'Khor skyong, that is, she is a daughter of 'Bro (the 'Bro clan). The expression here means that dGe zher bKra shis btsan let her marry to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (not implying that she is his daughter)." (GTG 2014: n. 1).

<sup>53</sup> "His father is dPal 'khor btsan who is the grandson of Glang dar ma. sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and his brother Khri bKra shis brtsegs pa dpal fled to Western

had three sons called the Three Lords of sTod or Upper/Western Tibet (*stod kyi mgon gsum*).<sup>54</sup> The elder son was dPal gyi mgon, the second (middle) son was bKra shis mgon and the youngest lDe gtsug mgon. The father divided the land into three parts.<sup>55</sup> The elder brother dPal gyi mgon received the Mar yul<sup>56</sup> valley plain, with the subjects having black hats, and the territories of 'Bod log rtse up to La dags (La dwags),<sup>57</sup> high-lying pasture lands, the Ru shod lKags chu valley, Chud shod, a Crescent Moon Turquoise earring (*g.yul snyan g.yu zla tshes*), the White Turquoise (earring), the Red Turquoise (earring), extremely powerful<sup>58</sup> body armour, a helmet of radiant brilliant light (*'od dkar gsal ba*), a sharp sword,<sup>59</sup> a grand horse entrance and so on; countless treasures were given to him.

The youngest, lDe gtsug mgon, received the territory upto the Ke ko river, subordinates<sup>60</sup> upto sPen rtse gong, the agricultural areas (*yul*) of Gar zhwa,<sup>61</sup> Zang mkhar (Zangs dkar), all kinds of caste subjects (*'bangs dol mangs*), a *ldem thongs*<sup>62</sup> turquoise earring, a suit of armour

Tibet and built two kingdoms. One is in the upper part of mNga' ris (accordingly called mNga' ris stod), the other one is the lower part of mNga' ris (mNga' ris smad). Since then Western Tibet has been called mNga' ris or territory in the sense that it is the last territory of the Tibetan empire which continued to exist in western Tibet while the whole territory in central Tibet was lost." (GTG 2014: n. 2).

<sup>54</sup> "The Three Lords of Upper mNga' ris/mNga' ris stod) is related to the three kingdoms of sTod (Upper/Western Tibet) or mNga' ris skor gsum—La dwags, sPu rang and Zangs dkar. In the history of mNga' ris, dependent on the historical period, the territory of mNga' ris skor gsum relates to different meanings. For example, in particular after the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when dGa' ldan pho brag documents mention mNga' ris skor gsum this relates to Ru thog, Gu ge and sPu rang because since these times the mNga' ris skor gsum territory is much smaller than that from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century." (GTG 2014: n. 3).

<sup>55</sup> "This is the starting point of the system of enfeoffment in the history of mNga' ris (which did not exist before)." (GTG 2014: n. 4). A more literal translation would be: "the father gave each one a territory (or territories) [of his own]" (CJ).

<sup>56</sup> "According to *'Chi med gter* [dGe rgan 1976], Mar yul being located in a lower area got the name because of the earth is red. It is also a general word for La dwags." (GTG 2014: n. 5). (On Mar yul, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*", Ladakh, this volume, p. 280.)

<sup>57</sup> "In the language of Western Tibet, this is pronounced La rag, never La dwags [Ladakh]." (GTG 2014: n. 6).

<sup>58</sup> Literally, "highly majestic or magnificent".

<sup>59</sup> Tentative meaning: a sword as sharp as cutting in a twinkle a leaf (*phyag spyan 'dab chod*).

<sup>60</sup> Or subjects (*mnga' zhabs*).

<sup>61</sup> "In mNga' ris, Gar zhwa used to be referred to as Gar zhwa phyug po, meaning 'rich people of Gar zhwa', because they took best quality cloth, hats and rice. Gar zhwa businessmen always used to ride on horses or mules and they dressed very well, looking much more elegant than other businessmen coming from the Indian side." (GTG 2014: n. 7).

<sup>62</sup> Meaning unclear.

that elucidates darkness, a glistening round helmet, a horse as fast as the radiant light of a flying bird, a knife shaped like a wild yak's horn, high-lying pasture lands, valley plains with abundant grassland and other great features, as well as plentiful military camp grounds.

Later when conflict broke out between the elder and the youngest, the middle-born son bKra shis mgon arranged an agreement, consisting of a reciprocal exchange of territories. The elder son was given Gar zhwa and Zangs skar (dkar), the youngest was given Mar yul. Later, after dPal gyi mgon had passed away the royal tomb was haunted.

The middle-born bKra shis mgon, like the middle finger of the hand, was born standing high in the centre, coiling to the right like a white conch-shell. The extent of this knowledge was ever increasing and he was already born as a great one. The wisdom of his mind was far higher than that of all the other kings and ministers, and being of manlike demeanour, straightforwardness, nobility, benevolence and magnanimity, his whole territory flourished. Being dedicated to the triple jewel (*dkon mchog [gsum]*) and faithful to the Buddhist teaching and in keeping with the heritage of the great ancestors, he built the temple of g.Yu sbra.<sup>63</sup> In the centre, an image the size of an eight-year-old Lord Maitreya (*rje btsun byam pa*) filled with medicinal herbs was made. In each of the different parts of the temple murals of many Buddha images were painted and many ritual objects were founded. As for the territories, he received in the east those up to the g.Yas ru river, in the west those up to the Ke ke river, the agricultural areas (*yul*) of Gu ge and sPu hrangs with the Nyi bzungs palace,<sup>64</sup> the pasture lands in the vicinity of the three lakes, Gya and Nyi ma,<sup>65</sup> Bar ka<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Not yet identified.

<sup>64</sup> “*sku mkhar* Nyi zungs is a very famous castle which was located in the present-day Rin gong municipality [Tibetan *shang*, from Chinese *xiang*], dKar dung village, on top of the Elephant Hill (*glang chen ri bo*). There used to be three lines of strong fence, the outer fence encompassing all four directions had four sturdy doors which looked very majestic. Except for the door on the east, the other three doors were always closed. Only when the king or a very important minister went out was the western door opened. In the southern part of the hill are gigantic ruins of ca. one hundred family houses and chapels.” (GTG 2014: n. 8).

<sup>65</sup> “rGya nyi ma was a very important place during the Zhang zhung kingdom period. There used to be a gigantic castle called rGya nyi ma mkhar gog, located in the southern part of Khyung lung dngul mkhar. Ruins of the castle are still there, on the top of a hill, with a huge boundary wall, allowing to assume that it was a ruler's castle. From east to west the measurements are 370 m, from north to south 35 m. Since the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century, one of the the biggest markets in Western Tibet, rGya nyi ma tshong rwa, was held here on the flatlands on the lower western side of the castle. It was visited by some thousand businessmen from eastern and central Tibet, as well as from India and Nepal. Surrounded by a massive swampland, in summer hundreds of cranes and yellow ducks roost here.” (GTG 2014: n. 9).

<sup>66</sup> “Bar kha is a huge grassland located between Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar. The gZhung pa people live to the south of Kailas. They are

and Bong langs, up to sBrul nag thur la rgyug pa in Rong bud, the area surrounded by slate mountains, a *chid/ching chen*<sup>67</sup> turquoise earring and a *chid/ching chung*<sup>68</sup> turquoise earring, a knife shaped like a wild yak's long horn, a suit of armour as tight and resplendent as an insect, an outstanding white helmet, a kind of swift horse,<sup>69</sup> and many other things, so that he acted endowed with a very powerful dominion.

The middle-born bKra shis mgon had two sons from his marriage with Queen Zangs kha ma—the elder son 'Khor re and the younger son Srong nge.<sup>70</sup> The elder 'Khor re ruled over Pu hrangs,<sup>71</sup> the younger Srong nge ruled over Gu ge. The elder, the great ruler (*mnga' bdag chen po*) Kho re ('Khor re) completed all his father's remaining construction work at the *gtsug lag khang* of g.Yu sbra and established in g.Yu sbra the great *chos 'khor*<sup>72</sup> of Tsha tsha sgang and the *gtsug lag khang* and *chos 'khor* of Khri Ide.<sup>73</sup> In support

indigenous nomads (*'brog pa*) and famous for their folk music and dancing which belongs to the Gro shod traditions.” (GTG 2014: n. 10).

<sup>67</sup> Meaning unclear.

<sup>68</sup> Meaning unclear.

<sup>69</sup> *phyibs byeg to tshal rings* (exact meaning unclear).

<sup>70</sup> “There are many different historical records regarding the two sons of bKra shis mgon, 'Khor re and Srong nge and the question of who is the elder and who is the younger one. Some sources hold 'Khor re as the elder one, others Srong nge. In particular chronicles published after the 14<sup>th</sup> century by authors from Central Tibet, many different kinds of data were used. In contrast to this, authors and scholars who are natives of mNga' ris share the view that 'Khor re is the elder brother and Srong nge the younger. On account of the fact that they had the opportunity to use the oldest historical sources from the archives of the king's family or sources kept in Tho ling monastery such as the *Zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, and others for their chronicles, such as the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od (kyi) rnam thar (rgyas pa)*, *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, *Tshang dbyang yid 'phrog*, etc., in this regard the views of authors like Ngag dbang grags pa, Grags pa rgyal mtshan, dPal 'byor bzang po and so on need not be disputed any more.” (GTG 2014: n. 11).

<sup>71</sup> “There are many different spellings of this name, for example, sPu hrang, sPu hrangs, sPu rangs, sPu rang, sPu hreng and so on. The earliest chronicle, *Zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* and *lDe'u jo sras chos 'byung*, write sPu hrangs. From the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the chronicles write sPu rang or sPu rangs. After the 17<sup>th</sup> century all government documents write sPu hreng. Based on the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century account by dGa' ldan tshe dbang to *sde srid* Sang rgyas rgya mtsho where he said that, the fighting in sPu rang was quite easy like using a sharp knife to cut a piece of hair, since that time all dGa' ldan pho brang documents only used to write sPu hreng.” (GTG 2014: n. 12).

<sup>72</sup> The designation as *chos 'khor* was used for monasteries where the teachings of the Buddha were spread which included the translation of the words and related commentaries in newly erected temples which were decorated with uptodate religious cycles (*chos skor*).

<sup>73</sup> “Khri Ide, in the present a village with two thousand inhabitants, is located to the south of the rMa bya gtsang po [Peacock River, known as Karnāli in Nepal], three km from the main city of sPu rang district, one kilometre from sTag la mkhar castle.” (GTG 2014: n. 13).



of the butter lamps and offerings at all these temples and for all the livelihood of all monks, he established their funding from the taxes of agricultural households, in the form of gold, horses and other livestock in an inconceivably generous way surpassing all description. After 'Khor re had annexed areas across the borders of rTsang (gTsang) and Rong he established the market of 'Gur mo<sup>74</sup> in Tsang (gTsang) and proclaimed a comprehensive text of laws and in each country the outer limits and internal divisions (*khor [dang] ru chung*) were established.

The elder 'Khor re had three sons: lHa lde bKra shis btsan, Prince (*lha sras*) Dhama (Dharma) Slas, Prince (*lha sras*) U da ra' dza' (Udarāja). With the elder bKra shis btsan having a singular faith in the triple jewel (*dkon mchog [gsum]*) and affection for the subjects under his power, the dominion of Pu hrangs Gu ge entrusted to him by his father, outside and inside, and also the borders in the east never being withdrawn, the whole kingdom was appropriately taken care of. The middle-born Dharma lHas became a monk while still an infant. U da ra' dza' (Udarāja) passed away at the age of fourteen.

#### Section IV: On the Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) lHa lde

lHa lde bKra shis btsan, the one with a gloomy face never showing a smile, built a temple in Khwa char in rGya ma(r). In the course of laying the foundation (for this) at the foot of a mountain in sTod, hearing the sound of a bell (*ghaṇḍe*)<sup>75</sup> not far from where the Jo bo resided, he built the *gtsug lag khang* there and gave it the name Rin chen rtsegs pa dpal *gtsug lag khang*. At the centre, a throne which had been built for a silver image, fell down and split into three parts. When he saw this a smile appeared on the face of lHa lde. Thereafter on the left and right where it had split, workmanship and casting were renewed and turned out to be excellent. Since it was cast by a metalworker from Kha che (Kashmir) at Me tog zlum sdzings,<sup>76</sup> this is also beyond comparison in 'Dzam bu gling. The image of the central Lord Mañjuśrī (rJe btsun 'Jam dpal [dbyangs]), made by casting pure silver, with a throne with an ornate back, and to the right and left of this an image of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs)

<sup>74</sup> "The market place [*tshong 'dus*] of 'Gur mo is one of the most famous in Tibetan history. Starting in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the organization and measurement system of all of markets in Tibet at the time was promulgated in this market by decree. The standard weight of gold and silver of this market was followed everywhere. Because of its great importance and also great reputation, traces of this market can still be located in the present-day sNye mo ma byang village." (GTG 2014: n. 14).

<sup>75</sup> Presumably for Sanskrit *ghaṇṭā*, bell.

<sup>76</sup> Not yet identified.

and of Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje) made of brass,<sup>77</sup> each one equal to the measurements of his [the ruler's] body were made. No image of better quality than the principal central figure was accomplished anywhere in India, China, Mongolia, Nepal and the Snowland of Tibet and no silver image of such good material was ever seen anywhere else and it is unheard that an image with such an appearance was ever accomplished. Once the image was completed the consecration was carried out. When he saw that it had turned out excellently, he was delighted and a second smile fell on his face. The butter lamps and offerings need not be mentioned here.

Once when he arrived at Khri sde and one evening crossed the rMa bya kha 'bab (Peacock) river, just when he was about to arrive at the royal caste (*sku mkhar*), his horse was tired and sweating and he saw that the horse's hair and saddle had hollows all filled with gold powder. Thinking that the horse might have fallen into the water or met a mongoose,<sup>78</sup> he used it as a gift to pay for an artisan working with gold and as offerings to a *paṇḍita*. In addition, he established Khwa char and as branch monasteries of this Brang drang, etc., fourteen temples with a mandala shape (*chos skor*). At Tho gling (Tholing) he built a great *gtsug lag khang* with eighty pillars. In Mar yul he built the temple of She wer Byams pa gser thang. At the age of thirty-six, amid the great *paṇḍita* Dznya na dha ra and the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po and many other monks, he became an ordained monk and took the name Dharma pa bha, meaning Radiance of Dharma (*chos kyi 'od zer*). Furthermore, throughout the whole period learned *paṇḍitas*, such as Dznya na dha ra and others were invited. Rin chen bzang po translated the medical book *sMan dpyad yan lag brgyad* (Eight Branches of Medical Treatment, Sanskrit *Aṣṭāṅgharḍaya*).<sup>79</sup> Its commentary, the *Zla zer* written by Kha che zla [ba mngon] dga', and others were translated, the Treatise on Norms (*Lugs kyi bstan bcos*)<sup>80</sup> made by Khyab 'jug sbas pa (Viṣṇugupta), the

<sup>77</sup> "At this period the two statues to the left and right of 'Jam dpal dbyangs were made of bronze but in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, during the time of King bSod nams lde, they were changed to pure silver statues. Since then the three statues have been referred to as "three silver brother statues" (*dngul sku mched gsum*)." (GTG 2014: n. 15).

<sup>78</sup> Read: *ne'u* (instead of *snal*).

<sup>79</sup> "This work was written by the great Indian master dPa' bo [Ācārya Śūra, that is Vāgbhaṭa] and translated into Tibetan by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po. Altogether it consists of eight parts: *sPyi'i nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for General Diseases), *Byis pa'i nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for Children's Diseases), *Mo nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for Female Diseases), *gDon yi yan lag* (Branch for Evil Disease), *mTshon gyi yan lag* (Branch for Weapon Injury), *Dug gyi yan lag* (Branch for Poisoning), *rGyas pa gso ba'i yan lag* (Branch for Keeping Fit), *Ro tsa'i nad gso bar bya ba'i yan lag* (Branch for Arteries)." (GTG 2014: n. 16).

<sup>80</sup> Sanskrit *Nītiśāstra*.

Five (Kinds of) Mandalas (*dKyil 'khor lnga pa*), the Great Treatise on General Horse Diagnosis made by Drang Srong Sha li ho bras and the Treatise on Medicinal Treatment of Horses composed by his son Legs stobs, the Great Horse Diagnosis composed by rGyal sras Seng ge byin, all these early translations (by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po) were supremely accomplished and highly detailed.

The *Abhiṣkramaṇasūtra* (*mNgon par 'byung pa'i mdo*), the Noble Deeds of Kuṇāla (*Ku na la'i brtogs brjod*),<sup>81</sup> the Noble Deeds of Suvarṇaprabhāsa (*gSer 'od kyi rtogs brjod*), the Superior Verses in Praise [of Buddha Śākyamuni] (*Khyad par 'phags bstod*),<sup>82</sup> the *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* (*sNgags par 'os pa la bstod pa*), the *Buddhābhiṣekanāmastotra* (*Sangs rgyas dbang bskur ba'i bstod pa*), the *Desanastavavrtti* (*bShags pa'i bstod 'grel*) by Sangs rgyas zhi ba, the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus pa*) by Jo bo rje (Atiśa), the Commentary on the Navaśloka (*Tshigs sub cad pa dgu pa'i 'grel*)<sup>83</sup> by Kumārakāśyapa ('Od bsrungs gzhon nu), the *Yon tan bcu brjod pa'i gtam*<sup>84</sup> and the *Śīlaparikathā* (*Tshul khriims kyi gtam*) by Vasubandhu (dByig gnyen), the *Supathadeśanāparikathā* (*Legs [pa'i] lam bstan pa'i gtam*) by (Ārya-)Śūra ([Phags pa] dPa' bo), the fundamental conditions for the translation of these and many other teachings of the Buddha and many other treatises were granted [by lHa lde]. He also invited many Indian and Tibetan Buddhist masters (*mkhas grub*) and donated (the funding) for a big religious council in Kho char ['Khor chags]<sup>85</sup> and received abundant respect. At this time, seeing many monks together with the manifestation of great faith and respect, he was delighted and for the third time a smile appeared (on his face). The teachings of the Buddha flourished greatly. Again as troops from sTod Hor and other border areas gathered, he went to the north as the main leader of a big army and he passed away at Lag myug tsha myug<sup>86</sup> in the north.

<sup>81</sup> Sanskrit \**Kuṇālāvadāna*.

<sup>82</sup> Sanskrit *Vīśeṣṭava*.

<sup>83</sup> Nine Stanzas on *Prajñāpāramitā*.

<sup>84</sup> A text with this title does not seem to be contained in relevant catalogues (see, for example, Ui 1934). Or should we read *Yon tan bdun yongs su brjod pa'i gtam* (Skt. *Saptaguṇaparivaraṇākathā*) or *Yon tan bdun bstan pa'i gtam* (*Saptaguṇavivaraṇākathā*)? These texts are only known in Tibetan translations (personal communication by Horst Lasic, January 2020).

<sup>85</sup> "This place name is written with different spellings, such as Kha char, Khwa char, Kho char and 'Khor 'chags. The earliest one is found in *lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung*. After the 16<sup>th</sup> century the works by the Sa skya masters use the spelling 'Khor chags." (GTG 2014: n. 17).

<sup>86</sup> As yet unidentified place.

*Paraphrase Section V: On the Ruler (mnga' bdag) Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan*

The first-born 'Khor re had three sons: the eldest was lHa lde bKra shis btsan to whom three sons were also born; the eldest was the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) 'Od lde. He was born in a Sheep year,<sup>87</sup> physically strong, powerful, and brave. From a young age he was very proud and delighted to do battle and fight. At the age of fifteen, in a Bird year, he waged war on Hu pu.<sup>88</sup> Again, when he was twenty-six, in a Bird year, he waged war on 'U then<sup>89</sup> and brought it under his control. In the same year, the Gar log<sup>90</sup> and many other invading armies came. After skilfully defeating a multitude of enemies and expelling them, he obtained realisation of dGra lha.<sup>91</sup> Again he went to 'U then and initiated a great meeting among the lay communities. That same year, he laid out the foundation of a *gtsug lag khang* at Nyar ma, from the second year, he was able "to sit on it", so he established a community of monks (*dge 'dun gyi sde*, Sanskrit *saṅgha*) and a school for religious instruction (*chos grwa*). In the third year, in a Mouse year, he went to Mar yul and built the temple of dPe dug (dPe thub),<sup>92</sup> founded a monastic community. He provided a great number of holy objects (*lha rten*) and offering items (*mchod rkyen*) and many agricultural estates, fields, households and so on for the livelihood of monks. Paṇḍita Puṇyaśrī was invited and *sūtras*, the Buddha's words and their commentaries, were translated. He himself received the teachings of the Vajrayāna (*sngags kyi chos*), did some spiritual practice and made material offerings. In particular, his practice was directed towards the Medicine Buddha (Sangs rgyas sman bla) and he prayed to him. Finally, he made war in the country of the Gar log for a second time and he was taken prisoner there.

The younger brothers Byang chub 'od and Zhi ba 'od, trying to pay ransom—it was said with gold equal to the weight of his body—resided there until the gold was gathered. At that time as their mother made offerings and prayers to the Medicine Buddha, in the son's dream eight monks appeared in the east, released his iron chains and departed. After freeing himself from the iron chain

<sup>87</sup> On this and further dates of his activities see Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 293–296.

<sup>88</sup> Region along the Sotlej valley in present-day Kinnaur.

<sup>89</sup> Khotan.

<sup>90</sup> "Gar log is the name of a kingdom in the far west of mNga' ris during the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In Chinese it is called Ga luo lu. It had a strong military, was often involved in warfare and invaded neighbouring countries." (GTG 2014: n. 18). For further references, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 295–296.

<sup>91</sup> Deity of war, one of the five kings (*sku'i rgyal po*).

<sup>92</sup> Present-day Spituk monastery in Ladakh.

he escaped with two subordinates. Owing to former karma he was poisoned by iron and passed away just before arriving in Gu ge. At that time, the younger brother Byang chub 'od looked for gold in order to ransom his elder brother and went to Na kra gser kha in Central Tibet (dBus) and to lJangs yan<sup>93</sup> and brought back a great deal of gold. As he was making a circuit back up, going to Gung thang<sup>94</sup> and to see the Jo bo<sup>95</sup> in sKyid grong of Mang yul, he heard there that his elder brother 'Od lde had passed away. After bestowing the gold on Nag tsho lo tsā ba<sup>96</sup> and rGya brTson seng,<sup>97</sup> they were sent with this to invite Jo bo rje.

The ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan had three sons:<sup>98</sup> So lon tsha bTsan srong, Cho chen tsha rTse lde, lDong rtsa khri srong, also known by the name Grags mtshan lde.

*Paraphrase Section VI: On the Ruler (mnga' bdag) 'Od lde's Son bTsan srong and His Lineage*

The eldest (son) bTsan srong ruled over Pu hrangs; the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) rTse lde<sup>99</sup> ruled over Gu ge. The son of bTsan srong

<sup>93</sup> Not yet identified.

<sup>94</sup> "Right now Gung thang belongs to the sKyid grong District (*rdzong*) in the western part of gZhis ka rtse. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century the brother of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, Khri bKra shis brtsegs pa dpal, established the famous Gung thang kingdom. Its capital was located in rDzong kha." (GTG 2014: n. 20).

<sup>95</sup> "Here Jo bo refers to the sKyid grong Jo bo which is called 'Phags pa wa ti bzang po, one of the four 'Phags pa images in Tibet. During the 7<sup>th</sup> century these were made from one block of sandalwood (a highly treasured wood from southern Nepal), cutting it into four pieces and making four 'Phags pa images of the merciful Buddha. One is referred to as *wa ti* [Wati], the other three are [known as] dBu khang [Bhukham], 'Ja' ma li [Jamali], and Lo ke shar [Lokesvara]." (GTG 2014: n. 19). See also Ehrhard 2004 and Decler 2006.

<sup>96</sup> "Nag tsho lo tsā ba (1011–1064) was born in Mang yul. In 1037 he was sent by Byang chub 'od to invite Atiśa to Guge. In 1042 he came along with Atiśa to Mang nang. At the age of fifty-four he passed away in mNga' ris." (GTG 2014: n. 21). (The sources for these dates are not given. See Vetturini 2007: 84–85 for a brief account on Nag tsho and rGya lo tsā ba brTson 'grus seng ge. [Editor's note/CJ.]

<sup>97</sup> "rGya brTson 'grus seng ge (d. 1040) was born in sPu rang. In 1031, he went to India to invite Atiśa to mNga' ris." (GTG 2014: n. 22). (No sources for this date are given. In particular also the source relating to the year 1031 when he is said to have gone to India to invite Atiśa to come to mNga' ris is missing. [Editor's note/CJ.]

<sup>98</sup> "These three brothers represent a turning point in the history of mNga' ris. From this time on the sPu rang kingdom was divided into three kingdoms. The one called Gu ge was held by rTse lde, sPu rang was inherited by bTsan srong, the third one, Ya rtse, was conquered by Grags btsan." (GTG 2014: n. 23).

<sup>99</sup> "rTse lde was the greatest king in the history of Gu ge. When he came to Gu ge he stayed in the royal castle (Jo bdag po'i mkhar gog) and acted like the king. During his rule the whole Gu ge territory was united. The influence of his power extended to the kingdom of Gung thang and even to central Tibet. Many Tibetan chronicals therefore call him the king of Tibet (*bod gyi rgyal po*). For

was Khri btsan; his son was dBang phyug;<sup>100</sup> his son was (*dwe sras?*) Grags btsan lde; his son was Khri bKra shis bTsan stobs lde; his son was sTag tsha Khri 'bar btsan; his son was the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri btsan dPal lde; he built a temple in Ya rtse and founded four monastic communities (*dbu sde*). His son bTsan phyug lde built the temple of Shang za. He made many offerings to Zher chos 'byung and renovated another temple. His son was bTsan grags lde. He built the Rin chen brtsegs pa dpal temple with three wooden stories at Khwa char ('Khor chags) and established eight monks (*mchod gnas*). His son was bTsan stobs lde. His son was Khri 'bar btsan. He built the Kun spyod chen mo [temple?] at Kha char ('Khor chags) and wrote miscellaneous *sūtras* in pure gold. This one, when Chos rje 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po [1143–1217] had appeared in the world of humans, met Chos rje Rin chen dpal<sup>101</sup> after his arrival at Nam mkhar and as he held faith so strong he was sure he (Chos rje 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po) was indeed a Buddha. When his son Khri bKra shis dNgos grub mgon was appointed to [the throne of] mNga' ris, his father Khri 'bar btsan acted as "Great Superior One" (*bla chen po*). When sTag tsha was in this function he was called "Great Superior One" (*bla chen po*) sTag tsha. He was reputed to be an incarnation of Byang chub sems dpa' Zla ba rgyal mtshan.<sup>102</sup> Many powerful realized yogis and masters, most of the time five-hundred, at other times fewer, around three-hundred, stayed at Kailas and the holy lakes, altogether three. The supplies for their livelihood were ceaselessly donated.

Those of the followers of the Secret Mantra (gSang sngags), expert in all the old and new schools of the Secret Mantra, in particular those being very severe and effective, bound into service gods and spirits, performed the highest practices at Ti se and rGod lung, etc. At 'Bri khung thel (thil) monastery donations in great extent were perfectly established. His son gNam mgon lde, like his father of great conduct and wisdom, while residing in mKhar gong, engaged in spiritual practice, was graced with a vision of Dzam bha la upon which at one

example the *lHo rong chos 'byung* said: 'If you want to find the greatest king in Tibet you should go to king rTse lde; if you want to render homage to a great master then you should go to Mi la ras pa. The king was like the sun and the master like the moon (*nyi zla 'dra ba*). This means they were the most important people all over Tibet and that king rTse lde was an extraordinary Tibetan king." (GTG 2014: n. 24). See Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh" (this volume) for a discussion of the title "Great Superior One".

<sup>100</sup> bTsan phyug.

<sup>101</sup> Another name of 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po, the founder of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud pa school.

<sup>102</sup> Also known as Byang sems Zla ba rgyal mtshan (active in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), Sanskrit Candradhvaja.

time many Mongolian traders appeared. They entrusted him with a great amount of non-marketable riches, and stated “if we do not return after three years you are allowed to take (all of this) away” and went back (to their country). As they did not arrive after three years, the loads from Kashmir were inspected, upon which incalculable material things of greatest wealth emerged, in particular silver coins (*tang ka*) on all of which was inscribed *dzam dzam*. Owing to this he thought that they had been given the magical power by Dzam bha la. In order to take full advantage of this wealth, to the right and left of the silver image erected by the ancestor lHa [Ide], he built massive<sup>103</sup> cast silver (images) of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs) and Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje) equal to the one in the middle. He produced miscellaneous *sūtras* written in gold and also extended, mid-length and abbreviated *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*. The entire bKa’ ‘gyur was written in pure silver. One hundred Buddhist scriptures written in gold and silver, one hundred plates, scoops, etc. of silver, one hundred pearls and one hundred rosaries were offered. With the expenditure of twenty-four *srang* he established the *chos ‘khor* of rGod khung.<sup>104</sup> He instituted permanent religious memorial services for his father.

The elder brother dNgos grub mgon had the son sTobs rgyal Ide. This one brought areas in the east under his control as far as Gye god kha la bya ba and in the west as far as gSer ‘dud shing. He also established the supplies for the livelihood of many great masters of meditation at Ti se. His son was Khri bKra shis rGyal ba Ide, his son was Khri bKra shis rTogs Ide btsan. This one brought Byang la phub<sup>105</sup> under his power. He built the bKra shis rtsegs pa temple at Khwa char (‘Khor chags). His son was lHa btsun rDo rje seng ge. His son was Khri bKra shis bSod nams Ide. This son ruled over the whole kingdom of Pu hrangs and conquered Mon ko phral drug (the six divisions of the Mon ko country?). He renovated many temples at Khwa char<sup>106</sup> and so on. At the age of thirteen he assumed the power

<sup>103</sup> Read *gar* (*po/mo*) instead of *ga ra*.

<sup>104</sup> “rGod khung is more commonly known as dGung ‘phur. rGgod khung means “eagle’s nest”. It was so named because in earlier times many eagles lived in this cave. The other name, dGung ‘phur, means “fly to the sky”. A legend says that it was from this cave that the queen of King Nor bzang flew to heaven. rGod khung/dGung ‘phur is located in the west of sPu rang County and near the southern bank of the Peacock River.” (GTG 2014: n. 27).

<sup>105</sup> “Byang la phub is located in southern sPu rang. At that time it belonged to the territory of sPu rang, but a part of this area belongs to Nepal. Byang la is a very important pass (*la*) leading to Nepal and India. In winter time it is usually blocked by snow.” (GTG 2014: n. 25).

<sup>106</sup> “In ‘Khor chags or Kha char the two most important Buddhist monuments are the *gtsug lag khang* and the Jo khang. During the time of king ‘Khor re the *gtsug lag khang* was built. His son lHa Ide built the Jo khang where the three silver statues are housed.” (GTG 2014: n. 26).

of the king of Ya rtse. In Central Tibet (dBus) he put the golden roof on the lHa rje rin po che temple, he also instituted golden offering bowls. At Sa skya he offered a golden roof for the lHa khang chen mo and much gold for large copper water containers. For the big assembly hall he established a golden roof with golden ornaments. For the lHag chen (temple?) at ‘Bri khung thel he donated a golden roof. He also put a golden roof on the Tshal Gung thang temple. To all these monasteries he made offerings and a huge amount of donations. In the later part of his life he made extensive offerings of gold, silver, pearls, corals and so on to many *dge bshes* of dBus and gTsang, such as Bu (ston Rin chen grub), Dol (po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan) and Sher (?)<sup>107</sup> and others and because of the great merit resulting from this he made a bKa’ ‘gyur and treatises (*bstan bcos*)<sup>108</sup> written in pure gold. A whole grove [...] is of great service for the Buddhist teachings. His sons dPal mgon Ide and Kirti mal; the latter’s son was Manydzu shri (Mañjuśrī)<sup>109</sup> Kirti, made Mal ya tse [...]. This son offered a holy thang ka to Bodhgayā (rDo rje gdan) and repaired it. Many *paṇḍitas* were invited, many Buddhist teachings were made and services accomplished. All this is (related) to the lineage of Pu hrangs.

Proofread once. [...] this [copy/work?] was written by the chief disciple of rJe btsun rDo rje ‘chang,<sup>110</sup> the great *paṇḍita* Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po.<sup>111</sup> Some intermediate lines were completed by myself;<sup>112</sup> may any errors be forgiven! Manga lam.

### Closing Words

In his chapter on the history of mNga’ ris in *Nyi ma’i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu’i cod paṇ nyi zla’i phreng mdzes*, Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal

<sup>107</sup> According to van der Kuijp (2013: 330) perhaps another Shes rab rgyal mtshan active in Tshal Gung thang at this time.

<sup>108</sup> Sanskrit *śāstra*, that is, works contained in the canon attributed to various Indian masters.

<sup>109</sup> As for Manydzu shri (Mañjuśrī), his name also appears in an inscription in the assembly hall of the lHa khang chen mo (Great Temple) at ‘Khor chags; see Tropper 2012: 67 (GTG 2014: n. 28). [See also Tropper 2019 for an edition of this inscription.]

<sup>110</sup> “rJe btsun rDo rje ‘chang refers to the most important teacher of Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po (1382–1456), the founder of the Ngor school tradition, one of the three main schools of the Sa skya pa order. In 1429 he built Ngor chos sde [Ngor E waṃ chos ldan] monastery.” (GTG 2014: n. 29).

<sup>111</sup> “Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1498) was born in rGyu ‘gyul (N30.09, E80.03, altitude above sea-level: 4,135 m) which is located in mDa’ ba County. One can still find ruins of magnificent castles, *stūpas*, temples, *maṇi* walls, etc. there. It is 70 km from there to mTho ling, to Mang nang it is 40 km.” (GTG 2014: n. 30).

<sup>112</sup> Obviously, this note refers to the minor additions in small script which appear on a number of folios. Whether this note was written by an (unnamed) scribe or the author himself is unclear.

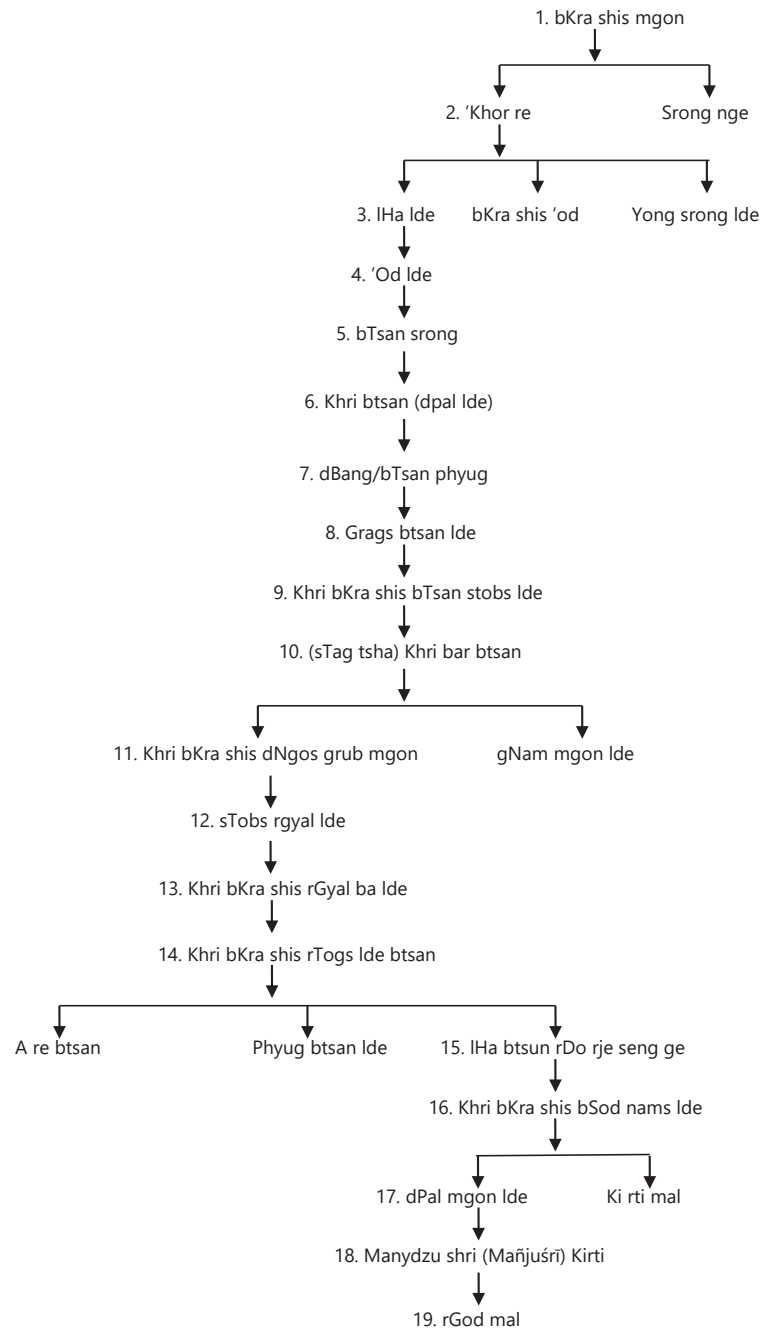
mtshan sketches in some detail the history of Zhang zhung prior to the arrival of the dynasty of the emperors (*btsan po*) of Tibet in the upper western side of Tibet and in a meticulous way the order how sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon came to Western Tibet (sTod) and became established as king (*rgyal po*) of mNga' ris (literally, "the subject territories"). Clear accounts are given about the "Three Protectors of Upper/Western Tibet" (*stod kyi mgon gsum*), how their respective subject territories came into being and were then ruled by them; how division of the precious property of the paternal ancestors between each of them happened; likewise of the ruler 'Khor re and his son the ruler lHa lde btsan, and his son, the ruler 'Od lde btsan, and the royal lineage of Pu rangs until the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Now I conclude that, exactly in this way, as everything written in various chronicles on the early history of mNga' ris is very scarce, what is written in this book is of great value for research on the history of mNga' ris. Therefore, in the future this book will make it possible to make additions to many lacunae in the vague history of sTod mNga' ris. At the same time it is an indispensable key that opens a large door of the storeroom of the history of mNga' ris.

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1. Genealogy of the kings of Purang (based upon a sketch by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2014: 15–16; for an earlier version see also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005a: 70).

Genealogy according to the inscription in the entrance area of the lHa khang chen mo at 'Khor chags (Kurt Tropper 2019: 87–91):

4. 'Od lde
5. bTsan srong
6. Khri [Song (lde) grags] btsan lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bTsan lde (Vitali 1996: 68, 121)
7. bTsan phyug lde
8. Grags btsan lde (uncertain reading); *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Grags btsan lde (Vitali 1996: 69, 121)
9. inscription damaged; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis bTsan stobs lde (Vitali 1996: 69, 121)
10. Khri 'bar btsan
11. dNgos grub mgon
12. rGyal stobs lde
13. rGyal ba lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis rgyal lde (Vitali 1996: 70, 122)
14. Khri bKra shis sTobs btsan lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis sTobs lding btsan (Vitali 1996: 70, 122)
15. lHa btsun rDo rje seng ge (elder brothers Ar lde and Chos [btsan] lde)
16. Khri bKra shis bSod nams lde
17. dPal mgon lde (younger brother Ki rti mal)
18. Manydzu shri
19. rGod mal (died in his youth)