

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	1
-----------------------------------	---

### INTRODUCTION

1. Prologue .....	7
1.1 The Present Study and its Historical Context .....	7
1.2 Previous Studies and a Note on the Methodological Approach .....	9
2. Hegemony and Patronage: Strategies of Survival and Expansion .....	10
3. The <i>Gung thang dkar chag</i> : Its Sources and the Structure of the Present Book .....	13
4. sKyid-shod – A Key District of Northern Central Tibet. A Brief Historico-Geographical Delimitation .....	17
4.1 Tshal-pa District in Narrow and Wider Perspectives .....	25
5. Historical Background .....	26
5.1 The Religious Communities in Northern Central Tibet in the 11 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	26
5.2 Rulers of the lHa-sa Valley in the Pre-Tshal-pa Period .....	27
6. Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang: Yogi, Warlord and Monastic Founder .....	29
6.1 Origin and Religious Career .....	29
6.2 “In the world, [except for] me, no one exists” – Strategies of a Charismatic Ruler and Warrior Saint .....	35
7. Dar-ma gzhon-nu: Pioneer of Tshal-pa .....	38
8. Tshal-pa Hegemony in the 13 <sup>th</sup> and 14 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	40
8.1 The Religious and Secular Thrones of Tshal Gung-thang and the Expansion of the Monastic Seat .....	40
8.2. The Tshal-pa Branch Schools Outside Tshal Gung-thang .....	44
9. Times of Transition: Tshal Gung-thang during the 15 <sup>th</sup> and 16 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	46
9.1 The sNe’u-pa / sNel-pa: Pioneer Patrons of the dGe-lugs-pa in sKyid-shod and the Interregnum of the Rin-spungs-pa in lHa-sa .....	48
9.2 In sKyor-mo-lung – Powerful Patroness of the ’Bras-spungs <i>chos rje</i> .....	51
9.3 The dGa’-ldan sKyid-shod-pa: The Figures behind the Rise of the dGa’-ldan Pho-brang State .....	52
9.3.1 The mGar and the Tshal <i>sde pa</i> .....	55
10. Changing Fortunes: The History of Tshal Gung-thang in the Period of the lHa-sa Central Government .....	57
10.1 The Gung-thang bla-brang as a Monastic and Private Estate: Transition and Survival of a Patronized Institution .....	57
10.2 The Last Centuries: An Estate in Search of Stable Patronage and Survival .....	58

### PART I

#### DETAILED OUTLINE AND TRANSLATION OF THE TIBETAN TEXT

A Descriptive Inventory of the Glorious Gung-thang Temple including its History of Origin, [also called] The Exhortation of Jagannātha [Bla-ma Zhang], [Resembling] A Current of Ambrosia

#### CHAPTER I

[A Brief Introductory History of Buddhism in Tibet] .....	72
---	----

#### CHAPTER II

[II.1] [Biography of the Tshal-pa Founder and his Disciples and the Split of the School into Bar-Tshal and sTod-Tshal] .....	74
---	----

[II.1.1] [The Outer, Inner and Secret Biography of 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-che] .....	74
[A] [The Outer Biography] .....	75
[B] [The Inner Biography] .....	85
[C] [The Secret Biography] .....	88
[II.1.2] [The Successive Lords of the [Main] See ( <i>gdan sa</i> ) of Tshal Yang-dgon and its Affiliates Bar-Tshal and sTod-Tshal] .....	91
[II.1.2.1] [The Successive Lords of Tshal Yang-dgon] .....	91
[II.1.2.2] [The Monasteries of the Middle Bar Tshal-pa School] .....	117
[A] [Ro-skam and the Lineage of Ro-skam-pa] .....	117
[B] [Kha-rag and its Branches] .....	119
[C] [The Bar-Tshal Branches Stemming from Ru-thog-pa and his Disciples] .....	123
[II.1.2.3] [The Monasteries of the Upper / Western sTod-Tshal School] .....	128
[A] [The West Tibetan Tshal-pa School in the Territory of Mang-yul Gung-thang] .....	128
[B] [Patronage of the Tshal-pa Branch Establishments in the Kingdom of Pu-rang] .....	139
[II. 2] [History of the Secular Lords ( <i>srid skyong</i> [and <i>khri dpon</i> ]) of Tshal] .....	142
[Excursus: The Tshal-pa Presence in Eastern Tibet, Mongolia and the Xia State] .....	146
[Lay Communities ( <i>mi sde</i> ) under Tshal-pa Myriarchy] .....	153
CHAPTER III [Description of the Temple and Its Monastic Complex]	
[1.] [Preamble: Bla-ma Zhang's Visions of Tshal Gung-thang] .....	220
[2.] [A Survey of the Gung-thang Temple Complex] .....	224
[3.] [The History of the Teaching Institutions at Tshal and Gung-thang].....	228
[A] [sGom-sde gZims-khang shar-ma: The Meditation College [also called] The Eastern Residence] .....	228
[B] [Chos-'khor-gling: The Dharma-Wheel College] .....	230
[C] [Tshal dBus-gling: The Mantra College] .....	233
[D] [Chos-khri lho-lcog] [The Southern Tower [College] of the Dharma-Throne] .....	251
[4.] [The Seven Chambers of Worship ( <i>mchod khang</i> ) in the gTsug-lag-khang] .....	258
[A] [The Northern Annexe, [later called] The Central Sanctuarium: Glo-'bur byang-ma <i>alias</i> gTsang-khang dbus-ma] .....	258
[B] [The Western Annexe, [later called] Western Sanctuarium]: Glo-'bur nub-ma <i>alias</i> gTsang-khang nub-ma] .....	262
[C] [The Eastern Annexe, [later called] Eastern Sanctuarium]: Glo-'bur shar-ma <i>alias</i> gTsang-khang shar-ma] .....	264
[D] [The Chapel of Amitāyus: Tshc-dpag[-med] lha-khang] .....	265
[E] [The Chapel of Maitreya: Byams[-pa] [lha-]khang] .....	266
[F] [The Grand Chapel for the Protective Deity Mahākāla: mGon-khang chen-mo] .....	267
[G] [The Chapel of Vaiśravaṇa: [rNam[-thos]-sras lha-khang] .....	269
[5.] [The Great Stūpa and its Satellite Stūpa-s] .....	270
[A] [The Great Stūpa: sKu-'bum chen-mo] .....	270
[B] [The Sri-gnon mchod-rten <i>alias</i> Khyi-'bum] .....	272
[C] [The Tshc-sgrub 'bum-pa, rTa-'bum and Nor-'bum] .....	273
[6.] [The Western [Chapel of the] Dharma-Throne <i>alias</i> the Western Residential Cave: Chos-khri nub-ma <i>alias</i> gZims-phug nub-ma] .....	274
[7.] [The Assembly Hall ('Du-khang) of the Chos-khri and the gZims-khang-shar [Chapels] .....	275
CHAPTER IV	
[The Sacred Objects of Veneration] .....	278
[A] [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang dbus-ma] .....	279
[B] [The Objects of Veneration of the gTsang-khang nub-ma] .....	280
[C] [The Objects of Veneration in the gTsang-khang shar-ma <i>alias</i> Glo-'bur shar-ma] .....	281
[D] [The Objects of Veneration in the Tshc-dpag-med lha-khang] .....	282

[E] [The Objects of Veneration in the Byams[-pa] [lha-]khang] .....	282
[F] [The Objects of Veneration in the mGon- khang] .....	283
[G] [The Objects of Veneration in the rNam-sras lha-khang] .....	283
[H] [The sKu-'bum chen-mo] .....	284
[I] [The Sri-gcod 'bum-pa or Khyi-'bum] .....	285
[J] [The Objects of Veneration of the gZims-chung nub-ma] .....	285
CHAPTER V	
[The Virtuous Benefits ( <i>phan yon, anuśamsa</i> ) Accruing from Visiting the Objects] .....	287
[Colophon, Acknowledgements, Benedictory Prayers and Dedicatory Transference of Merit] .....	289
ILLUSTRATIONS (Maps and Photographs) .....	297

## PART II – APPENDICES

### Appendix I

#### Icons of lHa-sa Rulers: Embodied Buddhas, Political Power and Ancestral Authority:

The Bla-ma Zhang and the gNyos Patriarch <i>thangka</i> .....	353
Per K. Sørensen	
1. The Gung-thang Bla-ma Zhang <i>kesi</i> Tapestry – Icon of Empowerment: Transition of Power and its Investiture	
1.1 Historical Presupposition and Ideological Background .....	354
1.2 The Dual Function of an Icon as Emblem of Spiritual and Political Authority .....	359
1.3 Patronage and the Legacy of Time: In Search of its Origin and a Reappraisal of its Artistic Background .....	363
1.4 Tangut Interlude: Common Origin of the Zhang <i>kesi</i> and the Blue Acala <i>kesi</i> .....	367
1.5 The Bla-ma Zhang Icon: Proto-typical Buddha Portrait and Idealized Hierarch .....	376
1.6 Icon of a Lost Empire: An Attempted Reconstruction of its Odyssey .....	378
2. Ancestral Legacy: The gNyos Patriarch Icon .....	281
2.1 Hybrid Lineage Construction: The Esoteric <i>Guhyasamāja</i> and <i>Vajrabhairava</i> Transmission and their Commemoration .....	281
2.2 The gNyos Scroll: Ruler in Religious Garb and his Lineage Esoterica .....	385
3. The Many Faces of Bla-ma Zhang .....	392

### Appendix II

#### Control over the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone:

Geo-political Schemes, National Monuments, Flood Control Politics and Ideological Battlefield .....	401
Per K. Sørensen	
1. The Four Religious Communities ( <i>sde bzhi</i> ): Factional Struggle for Supremacy and the Control of a National Sanctuary .....	401
1.1 Circumscribing the Ra-sa <i>Sanctum</i> : The Four Local lHa-sa Communities as Model of Representation or the Question of Shared Custodianship .....	410
1.2 The gNyos Clan: Old Rulers of lHa-sa District and Predecessors of Bla-ma Zhang's Tshal Hegemony .....	413
1.3 The Cintāmaṇi Skull of gNyos and its Legacy: Clan <i>Trouvaille</i> or Victory's Trophy .....	428
1.4 The lHa-pa Ruling House of the Gye-re Valley in sKyid-smad – Clan Loyalty and Ancestral Prestige .....	442
2. Water Monster's Wrath – Nature's Curse: lHa-sa Diluvium – Concentric Cosmology, the Birth of Flood Control Politics and the Survival of a Holy Site .....	449
2.1 Genesis of lHa-sa: Ocean's Drainage, Cosmos' Dramaturgy and the Sanctification of Space .....	451

2.2 Divine Foresight: Providence and Prophecies of Guru Rinpoche and Pre-emptive Strategies .....	456
2.3 Royal Legacies: The Avalokiteśvara Cult and the Invention of Ancestral and Spiritual Genealogies .....	463
2.4 Taming the Nāga: The Construction of the lHa-sa Embankment or Water Dikes ( <i>chu rags</i> ) .....	471
2.5 The Tshal-pa Rulers: lHa-sa's First Grand Architects .....	483
2.5.1 Imperial Mongol Ancestor Cult in Gung-thang .....	484
2.6 In the Service of Jo-bo Śākyamuni: Merit-building from Environmental Repair, Borrowed Identities and the Dialectics of Prophecies .....	486
2.7 Disputed Legacies and Political Conflict: Flood Control and Natural Disaster Management as Instrument and Cause of Sectarian Rivalry .....	494
2.8 Portents and Mirabilia: lHa-sa as Ideological Battleground – Hegemonic Designs among Rival Families and Powerful Hierarchs .....	511
2.9 <i>Chos rje</i> bSod-nams rgya-mtsho: The Virūpa of Tibet – Master over the Waters and Architect of Alliances .....	526
2.10 Battered Hopes: Contested Embodiments and New Identities – The Drama behind the Dalai Lama Succession .....	530
2.11 Narratives of Triumph and Submission: The Long-forgotten “Phun-tshogs” Dynasty – A Reappraisal .....	533
3. Welfare and Prosperity Programme for Tibet: State Rituals Staged for Nation and People .....	542

### Appendix III

#### The Tshal-pa Myriarchy: Territory, Appanage Grants and Mongol Patronage

Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod

1. The Mongol Conquest: Tibet as Vassal under the Great Mongol Empire ( <i>yeke mongyol ulus</i> ) ...	553
2. The Tshal-pa Myriarchy .....	557

### Appendix IV

#### In the Garden of the White Mare – Encounters with History and Cult in Tshal Gung-thang

Guntram Hazod

1. Introduction .....	571
2. Grib and the lHa-sa Maṇḍala Zone .....	573
2.1 Grib rDzong-btsan Marries the Gung-thang lha-mo – The Gung-thang Flower Offering .....	585
2.2 The lHa-mo Sisters .....	594
3. Tshal and Gung-thang .....	596
3.1 The Tshal Gung-thang District: A Brief Description .....	596
3.2 Traces of Yore: Old Names of Tshal Gung-thang: 'Bum-thang, Tshal[-thang] Bye-ma-can, [Ngan-lam] Tsha-ba-gru and rTa-mo-ra .....	600
3.2.1 Wandering Toponyms: Ngan-lam [Ral-gsum] in 'Phan-yul and sKyid-shod and the <i>rdo ring</i> of [Ngan-lam] Sri .....	602
3.3 Khri-srong lde-btsan Seeks Vairocana and Arrives at Tsha-ba-gru .....	611
4. Divine Patrons .....	615
4.1 Dar-ma gzhon-nu and the “Gung-thang Project” .....	615
4.2 The White Mare .....	619
4.3 The <i>klu</i> Family .....	625
5. The Fire of Gung-thang .....	627
5.1 Pehar and the Demise of Tshal-pa .....	627
5.2 The Gung-thang me-shor .....	631

## Appendix V: Tables

1. The Two Thrones of Tshal-pa: The Religious Throne of the Yang-dgon <i>gdan sa</i> and the <i>dbon sa</i> -Throne of the Secular Rulers ( <i>srid skyong</i> , [ <i>khri</i> ] <i>dpon</i> ) .....	635
1.1 The Clan Affiliations of the Abbots of Tshal Yang-dgon .....	637
1.2 The Lineage of the <i>dbon sa</i> and the Relation to the Yang-dgon <i>gdan sa</i> .....	638
2. The Main Branches of the Tshal-pa School Established in the 12 <sup>th</sup> and 13 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	639
2.1 The <i>gdan sa ba</i> Lineages of the Main Branches of the Tshal-pa School .....	640
3. The Principals of the Colleges in Tshal and Gung-thang .....	644
4. Bla-ma Zhang's Teachers .....	645
5. The Groups of Bla-ma Zhang's Disciples .....	647
6. Religious Settlements of the Early <i>phyi dar</i> Communities in dBus .....	659
7. The gNyos Clan of Central Tibet and the Abbatial Succession of the Gye-re lha-khang .....	671
7.2 The G[y]e-re lHa-khang <i>khri dpon</i> .....	682
7.3 G[y]e-re gSang-sngags pho-brang .....	683
8. The Abbatial Succession of the Monastic Seats and Seminars of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog and sKyor-mo-lung .....	685
8.1 The Abbatial Succession of the gSang-phu Ne'u-thog Seminar .....	685
8.2 The Abbatial Succession of the sKyor-mo-lung <i>chos sde</i> .....	688
9. The lHa-sa Ra-mo-che bzhi-sde / sde-bzhi Institution .....	704
10. The Abbatial Succession of rGya-ma Rin-chen-sgang .....	707
11. The Abbatial Succession of the Monastic Main Seats: 'Bri-gung and sTag-lung .....	717
11.1 The Abbatial Succession of 'Bri-gung dgon-pa .....	718
11.2 The Abbatial Succession of the sTag-lung dgon-pa .....	740
12. The Governor seats ( <i>sde pa</i> ) and <i>rdzong</i> of the Phag-mo gru-pa Rule: The sNel-pa (~sNe'u <i>rdzong</i> ), Brag-dkar and dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod <i>sde pa</i> .....	759
12.1 The Governors of sNel-pa / sNe'u .....	761
12.2 The Governors of Brag-dkar .....	764
12.3 The dGa'-ldan sKyid-shod-pa .....	766
13. A Short Chronology of the History of Tshal Gung-thang .....	775

## Appendix VI

*Gung thang dkar chag* and *sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar*

VI.1 <i>Gung thang dkar chag</i> (1b1–76b6) .....	779
VI.2 <i>sMon lam rdo rje rnam thar</i> (1b1–69a6) .....	805
VI.2.1 The Collected Works of Tshal-dpon sMon-lam rdo-rje (1284–1347) .....	828

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tibetan Sources .....	833
Primary Sources .....	833
Secondary Sources .....	873
European Language Sources .....	882

## INDEX

Tibetan Index .....	917
Personal Names .....	917
Place Names .....	970
Sanskrit Index .....	1007
Chinese Index .....	1009
Mongolian Index .....	1011
Note on the Illustrations .....	1011

