Articles

TWO EARLY SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF SDE-DGE

Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp

Much of the history of the royal house of Sde-dge, which ruled over what was arguably one of the most prestigious kingdoms in Khams, now included in Sichuan Province, is still little understood. To be sure, a great step forward was the publication of the Tibetan text-in-transliteration of the *Sde-dge'i rgyal-rabs*, the *Royal Annals of Sde-dge*, in Kolmaš (1968), which also included a brief study of this work that was completed in 1828.[1] Tshe-dbang rdo-rje rig-'dzin (1786–1842), its author, belonged to the family's forty-third or forty-fifth generation.[2] Both the colophon and the considerations of the origins of this family in Kolmaš (1968:81, 3a; 162, 55a–b) inform us that he had made use of a number of sources. These included the index-volume (*dkar-chag*) of the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (*'Bum*), and those of the Kanjur (1733) by Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas (1699–1774) and the Tanjur (1743–1744) by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697–1774).[3] Of course, all three go back to sources that still need to be ascertained. Worthy of mention is that he does not draw attention to the existence of family chronicles.

The first thing one observes while perusing the last two is that while ZHU 324ff. is substantially based on the former, SI 201ff., it nonetheless contains a number of details that are not found in Si-tu

Paṇ-chen. Si-tu Paṇ-chen, in turn, apparently took as his point of departure the account of the family that had been compiled from what he calls 'authentic documents' (*yig-tshang khungs-ma*) by a certain 'Jam-dbyangs Dga'-ba'i blo-gros who is styled as a secretary (*drung-yig*) of Bstan-pa tshe-ring. 'Jam-dbyangs—he is followed in this by Si-tu Paṇ-chen and Zhu-chen—apparently began his chronicle [?] by placing his employer's family within the clan structure of "greater Tibet" (*bod chen-po*), that is, eastern and north-eastern Tibet. SI 201 [ZHU 324] writes that, from among the five "patrilineal lines (*rigs*) of man"—this includes the four great-clans (*rus-chen*) of Sbra, 'Bru, Sdong and Sga, and the patrilinear line of Sgo[4] Lha-sde-dkar-po—the origin of the house of Sde-dge should be sought in the 'Gar sub-*rigs*[5] which appertains to the Sgo Lha-sde dkar-po. 'Gar itself is one of the eighteen tribes (*tsho*)[6] of Rngu-chen rgyal-mo which Stein (1961:21) has identified as referring to the Sino-Tibetan frontier in and around Rgyal-rong/Jinchuan. Instead of Si-tu Paṇ-chen's bare "the patrilineal line of the Lha-sde dkar-po [of] Sgo" (*sgo lha-sde dkar-po'i-rigs*), Zhu-chen writes "the Sgo Lha-sde dkar-po patrilineal line suitable to be 'maternal uncle' of all these four [great clans]" (*de-rnams kun-gyi zhang-por 'os-pa sgo lha-sde-dkar-po'i rigs*), the reading of which returns in the *Royal Annals* [Kolmaš 1968:81, 2b–3a].

Tshe-dbang provides several other scenarios on the origins of his family,[7] the first of which, by Zhe-chen Drung-yig, is omitted by Stein (1961:21) in his survey of the *Royal Annals'* introductory matter. Both he and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho may bear ultimate responsibility for explicitly linking the king's ancestors to the famous minister Mgar Stong-btsan/rtsan yul-bzung (?–667) and several of his forefathers, a notion not found in either SI or ZHU, and this no doubt accounts for Tshe-dbang tracing the history of his family to Tibet's imperial (and pre-imperial) period by taking his progenitors to belong to the famous Mgar/'Gar sub-*rigs*. For, in contradistinction to the *Royal Annals*, Si-tu Paṇ-chen [SI 201–202] and Zhu-chen [ZHU 324–325] commence their genealogies with the two brothers 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po and 'Gar Dam-pa (1180–?1240)[8] [or: Dam-pa 'Gar], alias Dam-pa 'Gar Gzhon-nu rdo-rje, alias Chos-sdings-pa, alias Shākya-dpal, whom the *Royal Annals* hold to be representatives of the twenty-third generation, and therefore, curiously, refrain from tracing the family of these two men to such prominent and more ancient origins. Fortunately, two early biographies have precisely done this.

The year 1972 saw the publication of a prototype of "golden rosary" (*gser-'phreng*) hagiographical writing, a genre apparently peculiar to

the Bka'-brgyud-pa school, together with a few other texts. The first collection of handwritten manuscripts deals with a branch of the 'Bri-gung-pa sect of this school, from among which the editor-publisher mistakenly attributes at least two works to U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230–1309) who, if for anything at all, is best known for his affiliation with two other lines of transmission within this school, namely those of the [upper/western] 'Brug-pa and the Kam-tshang or Karma sects.[9] It is true that at the end of both hagiographies, at U 561–562 and U1 634, the author's name is given as "U-rgyan-pa", and that Rin-chen-dpal is frequently styled in this manner. However, an "U/O-rgyan-pa" who is not identical with the former is registered as a nephew of Dam-pa 'Gar[10] so that at least two individuals can be provisionally considered as likely candidates for the authorship of the two works in question. Aside from the problem of doctrinal and transmissional affiliation, there is another fact that argues strongly, if not convincingly, against identifying him with Rin-chen-dpal, inasmuch as neither Chos-sdings monastery nor Dam-pa 'Gar are mentioned in his extant biographies. Indeed, the most detailed biography of Rin-chen-dpal, by his student Bsod-nams 'od-zer, does not even locate him in the vicinity of Chos-sdings for the years 1295 and 1304, whereas the colophons of the two hagiographies in question quite explicitly indicate that they were written in that monastery in those years.

These handwritten manuscripts provide rather essential information on the kinds of sources Tshe-dbang or, more likely, 'Jam-dbyangs may have been working with, and for this reason deserve our close attention. Although the "Preface" to the volume in which these appeared observes that the two works are "a two-part life of Dam-pa 'Gar", this is manifestly the case for only the first of these.[11] Its title page names it as the *Hagiography of the Great Lord Chos-lding-pa (sic) (Rje-btsun chen-po chos-lding-pa'i rnam-thar)*. It is divided into thirty-three chapters, and the final remarks of the author's colophon state at U 561 that it:

> "... was composed by U-rgyan-pa, a monk of the highest [tantric] vehicle on the fifteenth day of fourth [or: fifth] month (*dbyar-zla ra-ba*) of the wood-female-sheep year [May 1295] in the monastery (*dgon-pa*) of Chos-sdings rin-chen-spungs-pa, the religious institution (*chos-grwa*) of the illustrious Chos-sdings-pa."

Chos-lding[=sdings]-pa is of course none other than Dam-pa 'Gar. Of great significance, therefore, is the second chapter of this work, U 414–416, which is entitled "family descent" (*gdung-brgyud*); for, as it

turns out, it is a crucial source for the early history of Sde-dge's royal family, inasmuch as the *Royal Annals* [Kolmaš 1968:82–83, 3b–4a] is either partly based, directly or indirectly, on U-rgyan-pa's work or else its genealogical tables derive from a source common to both. The text of U 414–416 is reproduced below, orthographic warts and all, for the sake of convenience. In it we learn *inter alia* that the Mgar/'Gar clan let itself be divided into four different sub-clans, each of which had the following progenitor:

1. Lha-rje Dpal-byams: Religious line (*chos-rgyud*).[12]
2. Srungs-btsan-yul-bzungs: Magical line (*'phrul-rgyud*).
3. Btsan-pa dred-po: Warrior line (*dpa'-rgyud*).
4. Snye-rang-phag-mdzug: Significant [?] line (*kal[?gal]-rgyud*).

The first were found in Yangs-pa-can, Dol-zor, and Li-yul Khotan;[13] the second throughout central Tibet, Mon and Dol-po;[14] the third in Rgya and 'Dzang [or: Rgya-'dzang] up to Sa-mda'; and the fourth in Brag-ra gling-chen, upper and lower/western and eastern (*stod-smad*) Mu [Mi]-nyag. The ancestors of Dam-pa 'Gar belong to the first subclan.

On the other hand, the second work, penned by the same U-rgyan-pa, which is divided into twenty-one chapters, has no title page and its colophon reads in U1 633:

> "This hagiography of the lama who includes [in himself] all the Victorious Ones was compiled by U-rgyan-pa on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth [or: sixth] month (*dbyar-zla 'bring-po*) of the wood-male-dragon year [May/June 1304] in the monastery of Dpal Rin-chen-spungs."

The postscript in U1 634 essentially restates this but adds that "the hagiography of the precious lama [whose] nature [is] inclusive of all the Victorious Ones" was compiled in the retreat of Dpal Rin-chen-spungs-pa which, too, is another way of referring to Chos-sdings. Of course, the subject of this work cannot be Chos-sdings-pa, whose biography is briefly alluded to in U1 567, since it mentions 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280) as residing in Shing-kun [Lintao or Taozhou]. We know from the colophons of 'Phags-pa's writings that he sojourned in this border town in present-day Gansu province from 1271 to 1273; he himself styles the area as "the Sino-Tibetan border". In actual fact, it is simply a hagiography of Dar-ma-'bum (1222–1293), also known as Dar-ma yon-tan, Chos-sdings-pa's nephew and an erstwhile inkeeper of the abbatial throne of Chos-sdings. His

father was Sgom-ston Gtsug-tor-'bum (?–ca.1235),[15] the first son of Sgom-ston Dpal-gyi-rtse-mo and Rko-bo-za Dge'-ma-thar, and his mother Lha-mgon-za Dge'-ma-sprang-lod, for whom he was the youngest of eight children; see below, U1 567. Presumably, he was born in the ancestral home at Dme[or: Rme]-'dor, which is located not far from Gnas-drug.

Kolmaš (1968:28–29, 84–85, 5a) indicates that Tshe-dbang signals a point of conflict between [or among] his sources regarding the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth generations; he states:

de'i gcung 'gar chen ye shes bzang po dang //
sgom ston gtsug tor 'bum zhes bya ba gnyis //

gtsug tor 'bum sras dar ma yon tan zhes //
. . . de'i gcung //
ston sgom dpal gyi rgyal mtshan..//
de la sras gsum byon pa'i o rgyan par //

de'i gcung dge slong bsod nams rin chen dang //

yang ni 'gar chen ye shes bzang po der //
sras gnyis byung ba dge slong rdo rje 'dzin //
sgom ston bsod nams rin chen dpal bzang po //
rngu pa sgu ru mched gnyis yin par gsungs //

"His ['Gar Gzhon-nu rdo-rje, alias Chos-sdings-pa] younger [brothers] were 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po and Sgom-ston Gtsug-tor-'bum. . . .

The son[s] of Gtsug-tor-'bum were Dar-ma yon-tan
. . . his younger brother
[was] Ston-sgom Dpal-gyi rgyal-mtshan..
He [had] three sons; to O-rgyan-pa . . .

His [O-rgyan-pa's] younger brothers are said to have been the monk Bsod-nams rin-chen and Rngu-pa Sgu-ru.

However, it is said [in a reliable source] (*gsungs*) that two sons accrued to 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po, the two brothers Bsod-nams rin-chen dpal-bzang-po, the tantric practitioner-monk, [and] Rngu-pa Sgu-ru."

We thus obtain:

[23] 'Gar Gzhon-nu rdo-rje
'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po
Sgom-ston Gtsug-tor-'bum

[24] Dar-ma yon-tan
Ston-sgom Dpal-gyi rgyal-mtshan
[25] O-rgyan-pa
Bsod-nams rin-chen
Rngu-pa Sgu-ru
or

[23] 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po

[24] Bsod-nams rin-chen [dpal-bzang-po]
Rngu-pa Sgu-ru

Si-tu Paṇ-chen relates in SI 202 that U[or: O]-rgyan-pa was 'Gar Gzhon-nu rdo-rje's nephew, and that when the latter passed away after he had laid the foundation for Rin-chen-gling, a monastery in Phu-lung in Spo/Spu-bo, his nephew and others took charge, beginning thereby a line of uncle-nephew hierarchs at this religious institution which continued at least well into the eighteenth century.[16] He then says that Bsod-nams rin-chen, major domo (*gsol-dpon*) of 'Phags-pa, was one of 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po's two sons, and that emperor Qubilai had granted him an important posting (*chen-po'i go-sa*) which, to be sure, was accompanied by an imperial decree (*'ja'-sa* < Mongol: *ǰasaγ*) and a seal of office (*dam-ga* < Mongol: *tamγa*). Towards the end of his life, he "cared for" about a thousand people in the branch monastery (*yang-dgon*) of Sa-dmar.[17] Without mentioning the other son, he goes on by saying that the major domo's nephew was Rngu R[or: S]gu-ru, who had nine sons, one of whom was Zla-ba bzang-po, the chiliarch (*stong-dpon*) of Sa-dmar and the direct ancestor of Bstan-pa tshe-ring. We therefore arrive at the following table:

[1] 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po
[?2a] U-rgyan-pa [= O-rgyan-pa]
[2a] Bsod-nams rin-chen
[3a] Rngu R/Sgu-ru
[4a] Zla-ba bzang-po

There are a lot of gaps in Si-tu Paṇ-chen's scenario. Fortunately, Zhu-chen is a trifle more clear on this score, as can be ascertained from the table below. Like Tshe-dbang, he too already attributes the post of *stong-dpon* to Bsod-nams rin-chen, adding that the seal of office was one with(!) a triple-bejewelled tiger's head (*stag-mgo nor-bu gsum dang dam-ga*).[18] Moreover, he writes that Zla-ba bzang-po, alias Rngu-rje, was appointed *stong-dpon* of [or better: within] the territory from Sa-dmar to the boundary with Ljang.[19] His genealogy can be tabulated as follows:

[1] 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po
[2a] [Sgom-ston] Bsod-nams rin-chen
[3a] Dpal-ldan seng-ge
Rgyal-ba bzang-po
[4] Sangs-rgyas bzang-po
Padma-bstan-srung
[2b] Rngu Rgu-ru[-can]
[3b] Zla-ba seng-ge

Whereas Tshe-dbang's second alternative is thus in part corroborated by Zhu-chen,[20] neither scenario is alluded to by Si-tu Paṇ-chen.

Another earlier source not explicitly referred to by Tshe-dbang is the rather lengthy discourse on the house of Sde-dge in Gu-ru Bkra-shis' aforementioned history which, woven around a succinct and uninformative biography of king Bstan-pa tshe-ring [GU 351–355], does not differ substantially from those by Si-tu Paṇ-chen [SI 205 ff.] and Zhu-chen [ZHU 339ff.] He places him within the forty-third generation, but there are some problems with his account. While he does not articulate the sources he was working from, a significant portion of his genealogy of the early generation of the Sde-dge family does in the main, albeit with several departures, correspond to what we find in the two chapters in U and U1. However, unlike the latter and unlike SI and ZHU, but like Tshe-dbang, the Gu-ru begins his genealogy in GU 343 with a description of the family's divine ancestry which parallels the one Tshe-dbang attributes to Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho:

> "Since, after a Luminous-on-High (*steng-'od-gsal*) deity descended from Heaven to atop Mount Bzhag-ra dkar-po in Mi-nyag [in] the East, people called him "Mgar-gnam-tsha-'brug"; it is well-known that in his line [there appeared] Mgar Bla-ma Mkhyen-chen-po, his son Mgar Stong-mes khri-chags, his son Mgar Stong-btsan yul-bzung . . ."

Moreover, in his opinion, it was only with Lha-rje Dpal-gyi-byams that the family migrated to Khams proper, setting themselves up at Brag-ra gling-chen in Ldan/'Dan. With Mgar Dpal-gyi rtse-mo, the family shifted to Me-shod Dme-mdo, and Mgar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po, whom both U and U1 know only as Ye-shes-'bum, settled in Mdo-drug, a scenario also met with in SI 202 and ZHU 325. GU 346 writes that he had two sons, but only mentions Bsod-nams rin-chen and his nephew (*dbon-po*) "Rngu-rgu-ru" from whom issued the subsequent line of the rulers of Sde-dge.

It is widely rumored that the archives of Sde-dge have been preserved in their entirety, and are now located in or near Chengdu. In

addition, an indeterminate number of official documents sent by the Sde-dge court to Beijing, *via* Chengdu, are also extant in the Beijing libraries, which go to show that Sde-dge was very much involved in supporting the Manchu suppression of the Sichuan borderlands.[21]

APPENDIX

The Text of U 414–416

da ni bod kha can gyi rgyal khams 'dir / ji ltar byon pa'i tshul ni / mang du gsungs pa yod de gzhan rnams res cig bzhag la / tshu rol mthong gi snang ba dang bstun pa gdul bya skor cig la ltos na / dpal ldan Pad-ma-'byung-gnas / ra tsa Khri-srong lde-brtsan gyis gdan drangs / bsam yas lhun gyis grub pa bzhengs / bod mun pa'i smug rum du / chos kyi sgron ma chen po bltams / sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan chen po tshugs ste / de'i lo rgyus zhib [415] *pa ni / sprul sku pad-ma la slob ma mang du byung ba'i nang nas / nye ba'i sras brgyad / de'i nang nas / sprul sku Rgyal-mchog-dbyangs dang / Khon Na-ga-bho-rdhi dang / Gyu'-sgra snying-po dang gsum / grub pa thob pa dang / mkhas pa g.yer thon rtsod pa dang bral ba gsum byon / de gsum la dbra kar kyi dangs ma / 'ghar Lha-rje-dpal-gyi-byams-pas gtugs so / 'gar la'ang rgyud bzhi' ste / Lha-rje-dpal-byams kyi chos rgyud / srungs-btsan-yul-bzung gi 'phrul rgyud / btsan-ba dred-po'i dpa' rgyud / snye rang phag mdzug gi kal rgyud / dang bzhi'o / 'phrul rgyud ni / dbus rtsang / mon / dol po tshun la byung / dpa' rgyud ni rgya 'dzang nas / sa mda' rnams su / kal rgyud ni brag ra gling chen / mu nyag stod smad kun las byung / chos rgyud ni yangs pa can nas / dol zor nas / li yul kun la byung la /*

{ [1] *Lha-rje Dpal-gyi-byams-pa* }

khyad par du Lha-rje ni / 'dan du byon sgrub pa byas pas / yi dam lha'i zhal mthong / mgon po byams pas byin rlabs / byams pa'i chos lnga gsan / mtshan yang / 'Gar A-mye-dpal-gyi-byams-pa zhes bya bar thogs / 'jig rten gi drag byed thams cad bran du bkol / rigs 'dzin gyi srungs ma gser khrab can gyis bran byed / dri nu ser po rta skad 'tsher bskrol ba'i dus na / zhi khro'i dkyil 'khor mdun du 'byon / dril bu nag po hūṁ sgra bsgrogs pa bskrol ba tsam gyis / dgra sdong gi mig thang la 'brul ba tsam byung / byin rlabs dang nus pa / mthu dang rdzu 'phrul phyag na rdo rje la 'gran ba cig byon ste / dgung brgyad dang brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi lon pa na / dril bu ser po rta skad 'tsher 'a snams nas / phung po lhag med du mkha' 'ro spyod du bzhud do //

[2] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi yon-tan /*[a]
[3] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi-phur-bu /*

[4] *de'i sras Dpal-gyis-'byung-gnas /*
[5] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi-shes-rab /*[b]
[6] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi bkra-shis dang lnga'o //*

dpal lnga'i tshe / dril bu nag po hum sgrogs kyang yod do // mthu dang nus pa'ang gong dang 'dra / de nas Dpal-gyi-bkra-shis kyis / dril bu nag po hum sgra sgrogs bsnams nas / lcang lo can du bzhud do //

[7] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi-bla-ma /*
[8] *de'i sras Bkra-shis-bla-ma /*[c]
[9] *de'i sras Yon-tan-bla-ma /*
[10] *de'i sras Shes-rab-bla-ma /*
[11] *de'i sras Byang-chub-bla-ma dang lnga'o //*
[12] *de'i sras Grags-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan /*
[13] *de'i sras Dkon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan /*
[14] *de'i sras Dge-'dun-rgyal-mtshan /*
[15] *de'i sras Byams-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan /*
[16] *de'i sras Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan dang lnga'o //*
[17] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi-byams-pa ni*

bya rgod kyi thul ba mnabs nas / dgung rgya' dang bcu lon pa ni / dga' ldan du bzhud zer ro //

[18] *de'i sras Dpal-'bum /*
[19] *de'i sras Dpal-grags /*
[20] *de'i sras Dpal-gdor /*[d]
[21] *de'i sras Dpal-ldan-ma dang lnga'o //*[e]
[22] *de'i sras Dpal-gyi rtse-mo /*

dei' sras bzhi' /

[23a] *Gtsug-tor-'bum /*[f]
[23b] *Ye-shes-'bum /*
[23c] *Bsod-nams-'bum /*[g]
[23d] *Phur-bu-'bum dang bzhi'o //*[h]

de la Ye-shes-'bum ni gnas drug tu shi skad / Bsod-nams-'bum ni rje btsun pa nyid do //[i]

(a) He should probably not be identified with his well-known namesake, the minister-monk of Khri-gtsug lde-brtsan.
(b) He is omitted by mistake in U; U1 566 lists him as does GU 344.
(c) GU 344 reads here "Dpal-gyi bkra-shis bla-ma".
(d) GU 345 reads here "Dpal-gyi rdo-rje".
(e) GU 345 has instead "Dpal-gyi bsod-nams".
(f) GU 345 omits him.
(g) A note at the bottom of the page states that he was "also called Klu-'brug", but this should refer to Phur-bu-'bum, who is styled "Sgom Phur" at U1 567.

(h) GU 345 omits Phur-bu-'bum.
(i) "Ye-shes-'bum died in Gnas-drug", a locality which some sources place in Stod-smad. Bsod-nams-'bum was the original lay-name of Dam-pa 'Gar.

Text of U1 567–568

[22] Dpal-rtse
[23a] Sgom-ston [Gtsug-tor-'bum]
[24a] Sangs-rgyas-'bum
[24b] Rdo-rje-'bum
[24c] Sangs-rgyas-skyab[s]
[24d] Dkon-mchog-'bum
[24e] Phur-bu-'bum
[24f] Dar-ma-'bum
[24g] Phur-bu-lcam (daughter)
[24h] Nags-'dzib (daughter)
[23b] Sgom-phur
[23c] Klu-brug or Bsod-nams-'bum

NOTES

1. For a survey of earlier research done on this text, see Kolmaš (1968:18–19), and for a brief analysis Smith (1969:48–50). It was also recently used by Gele (1984:81 ff.). Chinese sources invariably refer to the kings (*rgyal-po*) of Sde-dge by the rather derogatory *tusi*. Unknown during the period when the Tibetan cultural area was dominated by the Mongols, it raised its head as a loan word under the Ming. Stag-tshang-pa Dpal-'byor bzang-po writes in his compilation of 1434 that the [?first] Ming emperor granted the position (*las-kha*) of *du-si* (<*tusi*) to Rin-chen 'phags-pa, a scion of a branch of the family which ruled over Rgyal-mkhar-rtse from the second half of the fourteenth century onward; see RGYA 384 [RGYA(t)2 116, Chen 1986:237]. To my knowledge, this is the earliest attestation of this title in written Tibetan. Another "early" instance of *tusi* is found in the biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po (?1364–?1485), for which see 'Gyur-med bde-chen, *Thang-rgyal rnam-thar* [*Dpal grub-pa'i dbang-phyug brtson-'grus bzang-po'i rnam-par thar-pa kun-gsal nor-bu'i me-long*], Chengdu, 1982, 254. There it is used as an epithet of one referred to as "Bdag-po du-si" whom Thang-ston met in Rtse-chen. Indeed, it is not mentioned in Tibetan biographical and historical documents that date from the period of Mongol domination, i.e., from 1240 to 1368, and it is at least equally unmentioned in the official annals of the Yüan period when they speak of the Tibetans.

2. He is also known as Byams-pa kun-dga' sangs-rgyas bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, the name that was given to him after he had taken his monk's vows in 1826 and had become the tenth abbot (*khri-chen*) of Lhun-grub-steng monastery in Sde-dge. The year of his death is given as the year previous to the water-female-hare year [1843] in Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1820–1870), *Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-'dzin bkra-shis grags-pa'i rgyal-mtshan [1776–1862] rnam-thar*, in *The Slob-bshad Tradition of the Sa-skya Lam-'Bras*, Vol. VII, Dehra Dun, 1983, 271. While Kolmaš counts him as a representative of the forty-third generation, the phenomenal four-volume work on the history of the Rnying-ma school of Ngag-dbang blo-gros, alias Gu-ru Bkra-shis, written between 1807 and 1809, describes him as being of the forty-fifth generation; see GU 345. The genealogy of the house of Sde-dge in 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po's (1820–1892) *Dam-pa'i chos-kyi 'byung-ba brjod-pa-las gtso-bor brtsams-pa'i-gtam skal-bzang rna-ba'i bcud-len*, in *Collected Works*, Vol. DA, Gangtok, 1977, 524–531, adds virtually nothing to the earlier dossier. It does add, in an interlinear note on 530, anent Dam-tshig brtan-pa'i rdo-rje, Tshe-dbang's son, that he belongs to the forty-sixth generation, counting from the "religious minister" (*chos-blon*) 'Gar Dam-pa onwards. On 524, he writes, taking the latter as a representative of the first generation, that 'Gar-chen Ye-shes bzang-po belonged to the twenty-eighth generation. Its phrasing strongly suggests dependence on GU.

3. The index to this separate edition of the *'Bum* is not available to me. It may be "the catalogue by Drung-yig U-rgyan ye-shes" to which Tshe-dbang refers in his concluding remarks in Kolmaš (1968:162, 55b). The origins of the House of Sde-dge are discussed by Si-tu Paṇ-chen in SI 201–202 and by Zhu-chen in ZHU 323. Kolmaš (1968:24, 3a) has misunderstood the passage which reads: ". . . a statement of the genealogy from Ye-bzang-pa onwards is made in . . ." (. . . *ye bzang pa // man chad rim smros . . . su gsung . . .*), for he conjectures that *man chad rim smros 'bum* could be the title of a book. "Ye-bzang-pa" should be interpreted as "Ye-shes bzang-po", the name of the individual with whom the genealogical considerations of Si-tu Paṇ-chen, Zhu-chen and the catalogue of the *'Bum* commence.

Tshe-dbang also mentions three other authors in connection with the diffusion of Tibetan clans and the place occupied by the ruling house of Sde-dge, namely, a certain Zhe-drung-pa, Tsho-byed Mkhas-dbang Gu-ru-'phel and Grub-dbang Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The first of these is Zhe-chen Drung-yig Bstan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, who is mentioned elsewhere by Tshe-dbang [Kolmaš 1968:162, 55b] and sev-

eral times in Zhu-chen's autobiography; see for instance his *Chos-smra-ba'i bande tshul-khrims rin-chen-du bod-pa'i skye-ba phal-pa'i rkang-'thung dge-sdig 'dres-ma'i las-kyi yal-ga phan-tshun-du 'dzings-par bde-sdug-gi lo-'dab dus-kyi rgyal-mos re-mos-su bsgyur-ba* [*The Autobiography of Tshul-khrims rin-chen*], New Delhi, 1971, 548, 584. 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po considers Zhe-chen Drung-yig to have been a disciple of Zhu-chen which, to be sure, does not necessarily imply that he was his junior in years; see his *Gangs-can-gyi yul-du byon-pa'i lo-pan rnams-kyi mtshan-tho rags-rim tshigs-bcad-du bsdebs-pa* [1851], in *Collected Works*, Vol. DA, Gangtok, 1977, 461. Tibetan *drung-yig* means something like "secretary to a VIP". The VIP in question may very well have been 'Gyur-med kun-bzang rnam-rgyal blo-gsal rgya-mtsho (1712/1713–1769), who founded the new Zhe-chen bstan-gnyis dar-rgyas-gling monastery in 1734, and who was the reembodiment of Rdzogs-chen Rab-'byams-pa Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1652–1709). Accounts of the succession of the abbots can be found at GU 323–341, and in 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po's useful *Gangs-can bod-kyi yul-du byon-pa'i gsang-sngags gsar-rnying-gi gdan-rabs mdor-bsdus ngo-mtshar padmo'i dga'-tshal*, in *Collected Works*, Vol. DA, Gangtok, 1977, 349–351. The latter evidently knew (and made use of) GU, for he refers to it on p. 358 of this work. (Zhe-chen Drung-yig is the author of the well-known *Prajñā* lexicon.)

A "'Tsho-byed Mkhas-dbang" is mentioned by Kolmaš (1968:144, 43b) as having been Tshe-dbang's tutor from 1806 to 1808.

Kolmaš (1968:24), presumably following Stein (1961:21), suggests that Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was "a celebrated Lama of the Sa-skya-pa monastery at Ngor". The latter reappears in Kolmaš (1968:113, 23b; 126, 32b) as a contemporary of the most famous son of the House of Sde-dge, king Bstan-pa tshe-ring (1678–1738), himself the sixth abbot of Lhun-grub-steng. Smith (1969:49) correctly writes that he was the first "Shar bla-ma of Sde-dge dgon-chen".

4. For Sgo and its host of variants, see Stein (1961:Index, 95) and also Yamaguchi (1971:8ff.). On the Tibetan clans in general see now also, aside from Stein (1961), Ma-grong Mi-'gyur rdo-rje, "Bod-rigs-kyi rus-kyi ming dang mi ming skor-bshad-pa", in *Bod-rig-pa'i ched-rtsom gces-btus*, ed. Ngag-dbang, Lhasa, 1987, 36–85, which on p. 42 enumerates a number of prominent sons of the Mgar clan. On pp. 63–64 Mi-'gyur rdo-rje draws attention to the fact that the districts (*rdzong-khongs*) of Khang-dmar and Rgyal-rtse are respectively called "Mgar valley" and "Mgar country", but he conjectures that this was not because members of the Mgar clan lived there, but rather because one of them was either the birth place of Mgar Stong-btsan, or because

these were localities that had stood under his protection. He also indicates a passage in Brag-dgon-pa Dkon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas' (1801–?) religious history of Amdo to the effect that Nyang Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po issued from the *gdung-brgyud* of Mgar dam-pa, the minister under Srong-btsan sgam-po [BRAG 592, BRAGnd 105]. These questions need to be looked into in detail.

5. There is a considerable amount of literature on this sub-clan. See, for instance, H. Satō, *A Study on the Ancient History of Tibet* [in Japanese], Vol. 1, Kyoto, 2nd ed., 1977, 300–388; R.A. Stein, *Deux notules d'histoire ancienne du Tibet*, in *Journal Asiatique* CCLI (1963), 330–333; and most recently H.E. Richardson, "The Mgar Family in Seventh Century Tibet", in *Reflections on Tibetan Culture. Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, eds. L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne, Lewiston, 1990, 49–57.

6. The remaining seventeen are: Ke and 'Gol[/r], the three of Gsung, Gser and 'Brom, the three of Ci, 'Bu and Gzhag, the three of Shol, Stag and ['']Phyang, the three of Gce, Sing and Ram, and the three Phyug-po bu. For further details, see especially BRAG 771 ff. [BRAGnd 520 ff.].

7. Gu-ru-'phel linked the family to the great Sbra clan. For Sbra, see Stein (1961:25–31)—via the 'Phen['Phan]-po Rlangs (for the latter, see, again, Yamaguchi [1971:3ff., 8ff.])—and maintained that they descended from Stong-dge. Stein (1961:21) refers to the chronicle of Dalai Lama V as quoted in Tucci (1949:643), where we read that Stong-dge was the fifth descendant of the Rlangs subclan. The **Lha-rigs rlangs-kyi rnam-thar tshig-rgyud*, a brief genealogy of the Rlangs written by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374–1440), himself a Rlangs scion, considers him to be a representative of the fifth generation from Mang-ldom stag-btsan, but of the eleventh generation from Bse-khyung-'bras and his wife Btsan-za Gel-ldan-ma; see RL 100, *Kha-rag gnyos-kyi gdung-rabs and Rlangs-kyi po-ti bse-ru bsdus-pa*, Dolanji, 1978, 368. Stong-dge's father and mother were Rgod-lding and Ye-za Rgyal-ne-ma, and his [principal] sons Stong-khri and Stong-khram. In fact, his descendants spread throughout the Mdo-Khams area; see the **Lha-rigs rlangs-kyi skye-rgyud* [RL 18, 21, 28 and RL1 40, 46]. In the eulogies to members of the Rlangs who distinguished themselves by their military prowess, the *Rlangs-kyi po-ti bse-ru* [RL 31, RL1 62–63, RL2 164–165] writes anent Stong-dge:

> *rlangs stong dges lha ru gnyan chen thang lha [RL1 63 bla] de mchod nas btsad po dang 'khrugs pa'i dus su [RL, RL2 omit] / btsad po [RL2 pa] la dmag byas pas 'bro'i [RL2 'gro'i] rgyal khams de cham la phab / de'i dpa' rtags su li rje thod dkar gyi*

dngul gyi thor tshugs de thob / 'bro btsad po'i [RL2 mo'i] zas nor la skyas kyi lam byas / btsad po spun bzhi de bran du bkol / btsad po'i bu mo shel thig ma la chung ma bcol /

"After Rlangs Stong-dge had worshiped Lha-ru Gnyan-chen thang-lha, [he], by going to war with the ruler [of 'Bro] during a struggle with the ruler [in question], conquered the 'Bro kingdom (*rgyal-khams*). As an emblem of his bravery (*dpa'-rtags*), [he] obtained the silver head ornament of Li-rje Thod-dkar.<+> [He] confiscated the food and wealth of the 'Bro ruler. [He] reduced the four brothers [of] the ruler to slavery. As for Shel-thig-ma, the ruler's daughter, [he] committed [her as his] junior wife (*chung-ma*)."

+ Tibetan *thod-dkar* is met with as part of the name of Srong-btsan sgam-po's mother, namely Tshe-spong-b/gza' 'Bri-ma-thod-dkar. For other instances, see E. Haarh, *The Yar-lung Dynasty*, Copenhagen, 1969, 241.

++ A similar phraseology is found in [RL 34, RL1 67, RL2 170] where we read that when Rlang-rje Stag-'bar conquered Gtsang he obtained "the lion[-like shaped] turquoise of Gtsang-rje Thod-dkar as an emblem of his bravery".

This passage is also translated in R. A. Stein, "Une source ancienne sur l'histoire de l'épopée tibétaine le *Rlangs Po-ti bse-ru*", in *Journal Asiatique* CCL (1962), 96. For the mountain god [Lha-ru] Gnyan-chen thang-lha, see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*, s'Gravenhage, 1956, 203ff. This divinity presides over the mountain range that stretches across northern Tibet. The "emblem of bravery" is an interesting expression with an ancient history, for which, see R.A. Stein, "Tibetica Antiqua II", in *Bulletin de l'École d'Extrême-Orient* LXXIII (1984), 258, 267. Very important notes on such emblems and related affairs are also found in Mkhas-pa Lde'u, *Rgya-bod-kyi chos-'byung rgyas-pa*, Lhasa, 1987, 269ff.

8. The date of his birth is uncontroversial. As for the year of his death, U-rgyan-pa states in his biography in U 557 that he died at the Ldong river in Spu[Spo]-bo aged sixty in the wood-male-hen year; that is, 1264! On the other hand, a postscript in U 562 provides the following chronology: "The Lord Dam-pa: One hundred and seventeen years have passed from [his] birth in the iron-male-monkey [year, 1180] up to the present fire-male-monkey year [1296]. It has been fifty-seven years from his death in the iron-male-hen [year, 1240] up to the fire-monkey [year]. One hundred and two years have passed since he met with 'Jig-rten mgon-po [1143–1217] . . . " Hence, "wood-male-hen" is undoubtedly a mistake for "iron-male-hen." See also the notes below for further comments on this work. Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-

ba (1504–1556) relates a brief biographical note on him in DPA'(p)1 843 [DPA'828]; see also below note 10.

9. See the *Grub-chen O-rgyan-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa byin-brlabs-kyi chu-rgyun*, Gangtok, 1976, 1–211. The publisher wrongly attributed this work to Zla-ba seng-ge, another one of his students. On him and his oeuvre, see my forthcoming "U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal and His Audiences with Qubilai Qaγan in 1292".

10. See 'Gos-Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal's (1392–1481) *Deb-ther sngon-po*, New Delhi, 1976, 525 [G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, New Delhi, 1976, 603].

11. The text was used in L. Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and with the Mongols", in *China Among Equals*, ed. M. Rossabi, Berkeley, 1983, and cited on p. 198, note 37, which refers to U 553 in connection with the unsuccessful military campaigns in Sichuan by the Mongol prince Köden in 1236. However, the passage in question deals with events of the year 1239. The other reference in his note also requires modification. The subject of the biography that is cited is not generally known as Stag-lung-pa—this seems to have been largely reserved for Bkra-shis-dpal (1142–1210), the founder of Stag-lung monastery who is also known as "the great Stag-lung-pa"—but rather Rin-chen mgon-po (1190–1236). Tibetan New Year's day(?) (*lo-tshes* < *lo-gsar tshes-gcig[?]*) of 11 January 1236 witnessed several events such as an earthquake and a rainbow appearing in the sky. Rin-chen mgon-po was asked whether these portended the coming of the Mongols, to which he replied: "[They] will not come during my lifetime." He died less than a half a year later! For this, see Stag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1571–1626), *Chos-'byung ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho*, Vol. 1, Tashijong, 1972, 371–372. The biographical sketch of Rin-chen mgon-po was based on an earlier work by 'Ga'-pa Blo-ldan shes-rab. Dam-pa 'Gar's hagiography is of immense importance for the information it provides on the Xixia and the movements of the Mongols on the Sino-Tibetan frontier.

12. Another branch of the 'Gar family is briefly alluded to in U 423–424 by way of a line of precept transmission anent Vajrabhairava (Rdo-rje-'jigs-byed):

Rwa Rdo-rje grags (11th cent.)
'Gar-ston Ra-'bos-pa
'Gar Sgom Spen-thar
'Gar Sgom Cug [= ?Sgom-ston Gtsug-tor-'bum]
'Gar Sgom-ston Sangs-rgyas rnal-'byor-pa

A Mgar A-tsa (< A-tsa-ra < *acārya[?]*) is mentioned as one of Rwa's students in 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje I's (1648–1722) history of the Vajrabhairava cult; see his *Dpal rdo-rje 'jigs-byed-kyi chos-'byung khams-gsum-las rnam-par rgyal-ba dngos-grub-kyi gter-mdzod*, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, New Delhi, 1973, 184.

13. The only 'Gar mentioned in connection with Khotan is the 'Gar minister Btsan-nyen-gung-ston; see F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan, Part I: Literary Texts*, London, 1935, 125, and R. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London, 1967, 39. Outside confirmation of the presence of the Mgar in Li-yul is provided by way of the genealogy of Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub, the fourth governor of the Tshal-pa estates and himself a Mgar, in the anonymous *Rgyal-rabs sogs bod-kyi yig-tshang gsal-ba'i me-long*, in *Sngon-gyi-gtam me-tod-gi phreng-ba . . .*, Dharamsala, 1985, 110. The genealogy is found in the chronicle of Dalai Lama V that is quoted in Tucci (1949:629) and *Table Two* between 706 and 709; Tucci once has "Sangs-rgyas dngos-grub" but twice the wrong "Sangs-rgyas don-grub"! This branch of the family may have to be included in the so-called *'phrul-rgyud*. According to GU 344, it issued from Khri-gnyen khri-lcags, the brother of A-myes Dga-ba-dpal. The comment of Kolmaš (1968:26) that "Khri-gnyer khri-lcags is said to have held the office of *tshal-pa khri-dpon . . .* " is an oversight.

14. In his chronicle of 1376, Yar-lung Jo-bo Shākya-rin-chen-sde writes that the line of rulers of Ya-tshe (= Semja) derives from 'Gar/Mgar Srong-btsan; see the *Yar-lung jo-bo'i chos-'byung*, ed. Dbyangs-can, Chengdu, 1988, 72. This line terminated with Pratapamalla, after which Bsod-nams-lde, alias Chos-rgyal chen-po, the ruler of Spu-rangs, was invited to Ya-tshe and then ruled as king under the name of Puṇyamalla sometime around the 1330's. His son was Pṛthvimalla whose minister was Dpal-ldan grags-pa; see also L. Petech, "Ya-tshe, Gu-ge, Pu-rang: A New Study", in *Papers on Asian History*, Rome, 1988, 379 ff. He cannot he identified as the Bsod-nams-sde of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698–1755), whose dates are the "iron-pig year" (*lcags-phag lo*), 1371, and the "wood-monkey year" (*shing-sprel lo*), 1404; see his recently published genealogy of the descendants of the imperial family in western Tibet via the House of Gung-thang, the *Bod-rje lha-btsad-po'i gdung-rabs mnga'-ri[s]-smad gung-thang-du ji-ltar byung-ba'i-tshul deb-gter dwangs-shel 'phrul-gyi me-long*, in *Sngon-gyi-gtam me-tog-gi phreng-ba . . .*, Dharamsala, 1986, 648, 651. See also D. P. Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang*, Dharamsala, 1984, 114. His father was Khri Phun-tshogs-sde dpal-bzang-po, born in 1338,

who met with a violent end in 1370, and his grandfather was Khri Bkra-shis-lde, for whom the only date given is the year of his death, 1365 (*shing-sbrul*).

15. U 423 states that his parents died when he was ten years old, that is, in 1190. The date given in a preceding note glosses the year as *mye-pho-khyi*, "fire-male-dog" (1166, 1226), which presumably is an error for "iron-male-dog". Sgom-ston Gtsug-tor-'bum himself died shortly before Dar-ma yon-tan had taken his first set of vows at the age of thirteen under Dpal-ldan Dmang-phu-ba and Dge-bshes Kam-pa Grags-pa seng-ge, upon which occasion he received the name of "Dar-ma yon-tan"; see U1 577–579.

16. Dpa'-bo relates in DPA'(p)1 843 [DPA'828] and DPA'(p)2 200 [DPA'1047] that Phu-lung monastery was the [principal?] see of 'Gar Dam-pa. He writes this in connection with the visit of the young Karma-pa VII Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454–1506) in a "dragon year" which must be the year 1460.

17. We may have to reckon with several places called Sa-dmar ("Red Earth"). An interlinear note in the biography of Rab-brtan kun-bzang 'phags-pa (1389–1442), governor of Rgyal-mkhar-rtse, suggests that Sa-dmar is located in the Ldan/'Dan country; see *Rab-brtan kun-bzang-'phags-kyi rnam-thar*, Lhasa, 1987, 6 [Dharamsala ed., 1978, 12]. According to R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris, 1959, 238, note 20, the monastery of Sa-dmar is located south of Dpal-yul on the Ba-thang frontier. P. Kessler, *Die Historische Königreiche Ling und Derge*, in *Laufende Arbeiten zu einem Etnohistorischen Atlas Tibets (EAT), Lieferung 40. I*, Rikon, 1983[?], map, Blatt XXVII, places it about one hundred and fifty kilometers south-south-west of Sde-dge and about sixty kilometers north of Ba-thang. Gele (1984:83), who obviously used the *Annals* [Kolmaš 1968:85, 5b], writes that Bsod-nams rin-chen " . . . made Sa-dmar monastery his official palace-cum-temple (*guandian*)", adding that some unnamed scholars ventured that the *Yuanshi*'s "military-civilian myriarchy (*junmin wanhufu*) of Yisima'ergan" may indicate Sa-dmar; see *Yuanshi*, Vol. 7, Beijing, 1976, 87:2198. This is the only place in the Yuan annals to record the name "Yisima'ergan". It has it that at some unspecified time, this office was staffed by one "government agent" (*daruγači*) and two myriarchs—for various meanings of "*daruγači*", see E. Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China. Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, 17ff. This passage was also briefly addressed in L. Petech, "Yüan Organization of the Tibetan Border Areas", *Tibetan Studies*, eds. H. Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung, München, 1988,

375, note 28. He suggests its "theoretical reconstruction" as "Smar-gam" (< Smar-khams) "which, however, seems to lie too far West to suit our context." Kolmaš (1968:66, note 34) writes that "Sima'ergan junmin wanhufu . . . used in the Yuan period to denote an officer in charge of [the] Amdo region . . . [which] suggests that this post was named after the monastery (*sima'ergan = sa-dmar-dgon*)." *Dgon*[*-pa*] means "monastery", but "Sima'ergan" does not occur in the *Yuanshi;* "Yisima'ergan" would indicate the presence of the prothetic vowel "i", so common with Mongolized Tibetan. Lha-rje Dpal-gyi-byams-pa, on whom see below, is also associated with this place. For other local rulers, descendants of the union of a local "pretty girl" and a "Mongol prince", see Hor Chos-rje Dbyangs-can snyems-pa'i lang-tsho's (1797–?), *Hor chos-rje sku-'phreng gong-ma rnams-kyi rnam-thar mdor-bsdus 'dzam-bu'i gser-gyi snye-ma* [1849], New Delhi, 1983, 33ff.

18. Of course, the reading of *dang* in this passage is rather curious. The *Royal Annals* [Kolmaš 1968:85, 5b] is grammatically more apt in having *rtag-'go* [read: *stag-mgo*] *nor-bu gsum-pa*, and Tshe-dbang adds to Zhu-chen that he was also given a jade seal (*shel-tham*) characterized by "having nine *tshe*" (*tshe-dgu-pa*), and that he was a *stong-dpon* of (i.e., within) Mdo-smad. The second phrase may very well be a corruption of *rtse-dgu-pa—tshe* and *rtse* can be easily confused in certain types of cursive *dbu-med* scripts—where *rtse* may have the same meaning as *gling*, namely "edge"; for an instance of the latter, see RGYA 272 [RGYA(t)1 387–388, Chen 1986:166]. Except for his being a *stong-dpon*, none of these items are recorded in the paraphrase by Ren Naichang, "Genealogy of the Chieftains of Sde-dge" [in Chinese], in *Chinese Studies on Tibetan Culture*, comp. J. Kolmaš, New Delhi, 1983, 390. Gele (1984:83) also omits this.

19. The Chinese translation of 'Phags-pa's *Shes-bya-ba rab-gsal* by Shaluoba (1259–1314), done in 1306, renders "the land of 'Jang/Ljang" (*'jang-gi yul*) by "Dali country" (*dali guo*); see the *Zhang suozhi lun*, in Taisho Issaikyo, Vol. XXXII no. 1654, 231b 13. See also T. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad*, Rome, 1962, 99.

20. In his catalogue of the Sde-dge print of the collected works of the five patriarchs of the Sa-skya school, Zhu-chen simply has it that king Bstan-pa tshe-ring, the patron for this undertaking, was a descendant of the chiliarch (*stong-dpon*) Zla-ba bzang-po; see his *Dpal sa-skya'i rje-btsun gong-ma-lnga'i gsung-rab rin-po-che'i par-gyi-sgo 'phar-byed-pa'i dkar-chag 'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, in *Sa-skya-pa'i bka'-'bum*, Vol. 7, ed. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, Tokyo, 1968, 340/3/4.

21. I am thinking here of, among other things, a letter requesting a title (and other honors) as a *quid pro quo* for services rendered against the "Rjes-rong, Lcags-mdud, Mgo-log and Sa-ngan", which Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, the commissioner of the Pacification Office (*bsan-yu-si* < *xuanweishi*) of Sde-dge, sent to the Qianlong emperor. This document, replete with the scorpion seal of Sde-dge, was brought to my attention by Wu Shuhui. The official document is dated "the eighth day of the third lunar month of the thirty-eighth year of Qianlong". (The text reads: *chen-lung dgung-lo so-brgyad zla tshes.)*

CHINESE EXPRESSIONS

Dali guo 大理國

guandian 官殿

Jinchuan 金川

junmin wanhufu 軍民萬户府

Lintao 臨洮

Sima'ergan junmin wanhufu 思馬兒甘軍民萬户府

Taozhou 洮州

tusi 土司

Yisima'ergan 亦思馬兒甘

xuanweishi 宣慰使

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GU • Ngag-dbang blo-gros, *Bstan-pa'i snying-po gsang-chen snga-'gyur nges-don zab-mo'i chos-kyi 'byung-ba gsal-bar byed-pa'i legs-bshad mkhas-pa dga'-byed ngo-mtshar gtam-gyi rol-mtsho,* Vol. IV, Paro, 1979.

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RGYA • Stag-tshang-pa Dpal-'byor bzang-po, *Rgya-bod yig-tshang chen-mo*, Chengdu, 1985.
RGYA(t) • Ibid., 2 Vols., Thimphu, 1979.
RL • *Rlangs-kyi po-ti bse-ru rgyas-pa*, ed. Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phuntshogs, Lhasa, 1986.
RL1 • *Lha-rigs rlangs-kyi rnam-thar*, New Delhi, 1974.
RL2 • *Rlangs-kyi gdung-rgyud po-ti bse-ru*, in *Kha-rag gnyos-kyi gdung-rabs and Rlangs-kyi po-ti bse-ru bsdus-pa*, Dolanji, 1978, 97–337.
SI • Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas, *Bde-bar gshegs-pa'i-bka' gangs-can-gyi-brdas drangs-pa'i phyi'mo'i-tshogs ji-snyed-par-du bsgrubs-pa'i tshul-las nye-bar brtsams-pa'i gtam-bzang-po blo-ldan mos-pa'i kunda yongs-su kha-bye-ba'i zla-'od gzhon-nu'i 'khri-shing*, in *The Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur*, Vol. 103, New Delhi, 1977.
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U1 • U-rgyan-pa, *Rgyal-ba thams-cad 'dus-pa'i ngo-bo bla-ma rin-po-che'i rnam-par thar-pa*, in *Bka'-brgyud yid-bzhin nor-bu-yi 'phreng-ba*, Leh, 1972, 562–634.
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