

The Dynasty of Bzang-La (Zanskar, West-Tibet) and its Chronology—A Reconsideration

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Introduction

The history of Ladakh, and of the dynasty ruling the territory surrounding Leh in particular, has long been the object of scholarly studies. Beginning with the brothers Schlagintweit, who came to Ladakh in the second half of the 19th century, and A.H. Francke, the Moravian missionary who became the pioneer of Ladakh Studies *per se*, there have been many scholars who devoted much of their endeavor to the exploration of “West Tibet”, most prominent among them Giuseppe Tucci, the first Tibetologist to examine the written records of this region, and his pupil L. Petech, who elaborated on the work of his teacher and who revised many of the statements made by A.H. Francke to bring them up to the state of the art, and most recently, D.L. Snellgrove and his pupil P. Skorupski.

Thus, it may seem that we are well informed regarding the chronology of the West Tibetan principalities, and we may ask what is the point of another study on this subject. Such doubt may be justified to some extent with regard to our knowledge of the Leh dynasty, but not with regard to the so-called “minor principalities” of this area, which stretch for thousands of square miles across the various mountain ranges of the Western Himalaya. Although the area might seem a small segment of the entire Himalayan arch, nevertheless, when travelling in the traditional way, either on horseback or by foot, it takes months to cross the mountains between Kashmir and Guge. How limited our knowledge of these “minor principalities” actually is was demonstrated by L. Petech in his recent article on the dynasty of Gu-ge.¹

In the present article I am going to investigate the dynasty of Zangla (Bzang-la), one of the small principalities located in the Zanskar (Zangs-dkar) valley, a southern tributary of the river Indus. The importance of the Bzang-la Dynasty cannot be measured by the extension of its dominion, which is by any standard insignificant (the domain never comprised more than several villages), but by the role the dynasty played as an heir to the Central Tibetan dynasty and its cultural and religious legacy. Even today the villagers of Bzang-la greet their sovereign as “descendant of Glang-dar-ma”. Illiterate though

they may be, they still cling to a strong feeling of historical continuity reaching back into the early centuries of Tibetan history. In a way, we may say that time became fossilized in this remote and almost forgotten mountain valley, thus making it an ideal object for scholarly investigations.

Above all, Csoma de Kőrös, whose 200th birthday we celebrate with this symposium, spent more than a year in the castle of the King of Bzang-la, the name of which is given as “Yangla” in Csoma’s correspondence. Dr. Gerard, a physician touring the Western Himalaya in order to vaccinate a part of the local population, met Csoma de Kőrös there. In a document preserved by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Gerard describes the deprivation endured by Csoma while pursuing his studies in Bzang-la:

There he sat, enveloped in a sheep-skin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep upon, and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigors of the climate. The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn the pages.²

Although Csoma de Kőrös himself was apparently not much interested in history, it seems suitable to re-examine on this special occasion the dynasty under whose protection he completed some of his most valuable studies.

Being less brave than Csoma de Kőrös, I stayed a few days in summer 1978 and two more weeks in 1979 in Bzang-la, where I gratefully accepted King Bsod-nams don-grub rnam-rgyal-ldé’s hospitality. This was part of two expeditions to Zanskar sponsored by the University of Munich, Department of Indian Studies, and financed by the Volkswagenwerk Foundation (Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, Hannover, West-Germany). My husband, a native Tibetan who was trained in the monasteries of his country before he had to leave it due to political developments, accompanied me, and it was this fact which opened many doors for me and put me in a somewhat privileged position enabling me to carry out the kind of research whose results I present here.

The present article is organized into three parts: Part 1 describes and examines a type of document called *chab brjod*. They are to be found in Zanskar, where they were added to embellished manuscripts of Buddhist sutras in order to tell the history of the family ordering the copying of the sutra. The *chab brjod* record, among other events, the presently ruling members of the royal house and name the most important figures of the monastery nearby as well. For this reason the *chab brjod* is a contemporary document whose reliability is similar to that of an eye-witness report.

Part 2 will survey our knowledge regarding the history of the Bzang-la Dynasty as it was before the discovery of the *chab brjod*, that is to say the

Zanskar Chronicle and the genealogy of the Bzang-la dynasty as published and translated by A.H. Francke and similar material.

In part 3 the various sources will be compared and suggestions for a redrafted chronology will be presented. Mainly I shall contrast the data derived from the *chab brjod* which I take as primary, i.e. contemporary historical documents, with those derived from “the historical works” which were written at a time much later than the events recorded.

Part 1: The *Chab brjod* of Bzang-la

Before I describe the individual documents photographed by me at Bzang-la in 1979 during the second Zanskar expedition as part of the “Ladakh Project”, I shall introduce the type of document which we are talking about here. The name *chab brjod* was given to these documents by the natives of Zanskar, when I asked them what they called these records. This name may be understood as “declaration of might”, in the sense of a genealogy recording the mighty deeds of a noble house. For mere convenience I prefer to call them donor chronicles, because these documents tell the genealogy and the history of a donor (Skr. *dānapati*, Tib. *sbyin bdag*) performing a meritorious deed generally for the benefit of his deceased parents, for purging his own evil deeds, and for the benefit of all sentient beings. Thus the donor chronicle ought to be understood within the framework of merit-making as a major means for proceeding on the Buddhist path to enlightenment.

The existence of these documents was unknown to me before I set out for Zanskar, and even then it took many months till I finally, just a few weeks before my final departure—and the beginning of winter—discovered them incidentally. As soon as I had learned of their existence I tried to photograph as many as possible, but the circumstances were more than adverse. First, the documents are owned by individual families who are proud of their ownership. This means that I had to deal with numerous families, some cooperative, but most initially hostile, when I approached them asking to be shown the documents. Secondly, the documents are, in the view of their owners, sacred texts, there being thus a significant reluctance to let me see and photograph them. Thirdly, as I had to visit each individual family, this meant a lot of walking, crossing rivers, renting horses, missing people at their homes, and searching for them while working in their fields. The photographing and recording was done in much haste, because the threat that the owner might reconsider his permission for photographing was always imminent. For this reason the technical quality of the photographs is not as good as it could be. Furthermore my photographic equipment was not tailored for recording documents, because I had not expected to discover such material.

Investigations in other parts of Ladakh, such as the Markha valley and the surroundings of Leh, have shown that the habit of adding a *chab brjod* to a newly copied sutra does not exist in these areas. From my conversations with the people outside of Zanskar I got the impression that the habit was actually confined to Zanskar proper. Occasionally some *chab brjod* could be discovered outside of Zanskar, either through marriage or other family ties.

The donor chronicles are composed according to a well established pattern which is only slightly modified in each individual case. In the following I shall outline the most common model found in the old *chab brjod* of Bzang-la. Inevitably the document starts with a praise to the lama and the Three Jewels (Buddha, dharma, sangha), including therein also the hierarchs and masters of a specific lineage and school of Tibetan Buddhism (*chos lugs*). In general the leading figures of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra in India are mentioned, followed by the early Tibetan masters of the Bka'-brgyud School and the Bka'-gdams, or Dge-lugs School. Only occasionally is Padmasambhava mentioned. The paragraph sometimes ends with a eulogy of the specific text to which the donor chronicle is attached.

The next passage records the beginning of the world and its order: from a whirl of wind the physical world evolves, while the sentient beings are descendants of the Gods of Clear Light. The centre of the world is Vajrāsana where Śākyamuni achieved enlightenment. From there one must cross the Nine Black Mountains in order to reach Mt. Ti-se. The river Indus originates from its western face and to the left of the river Indus, there is Zanskar.

After Zanskar, the author's native land, has been located within a sacred cosmos (the hub of the universe is the place of Buddha's enlightenment), the document records the presently ruling monarch's genealogy. The ruler is described as the embodiment of a powerful, yet pious king. The sway of his power is untarnished, his morality beyond the faintest doubt. For historical studies this is the most valid paragraph within the entire document. In my subsequent study I will focus mainly on the data reported therein.

The paragraph following in the *chab brjod* praises the meritorious act, the motivation for performing it, and the participants. The meritorious act consists mainly in copying a Buddhist sutra (most frequently the *Prajñāpāramitā*), but also in casting bronze statues of Buddhist deities, or in painting a scroll. The motivation for such a deed is to dedicate the merit generated through this act to the benefit of the donor's deceased parents, in some cases to ensure the prosperity of the living (and ruling) members of the family, to purge one's own wrong deed, and in general to the benefit of all sentient beings. Usually a list follows, giving all the names of people who somehow contributed to the performance of this meritorious act.

Sometimes the scribe has added a sentence speaking of his own feelings and motivations. A short wish concludes the document.

This literary pattern is applied in all four donor chronicles recorded by me at the “new castle” (*mkhar so [gsar] ma*) of the royal family of Bzang-la in summer 1979. I found the chronicles added to the *Vajrachedikā*,³ *Mdzang blun*,⁴ and *'Dul ba*,⁵ although in two cases the chronicles mention texts to which they were originally added which are other than those to which they are presently attached. But it was my impression that the collection of Buddhist texts housed in the shrine room of the “new castle” was in a state of disorder.

In the following I shall describe each chronicle briefly. Only those parts which are relevant to our examination of chronological and genealogical problems will be translated.

*Chronicle issued under the Rule of king Khri-dpal-lde*⁶

The document starts with a eulogy of the Three Jewels, Shakyamuni's deeds, and the most popular bodhisattvas (Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi), before referring to the compilation of Buddhist scripture and its most prominent specimens together with the masters associated with this task.

The masters who brought the light of the dharma to Tibet are commemorated in gratitude, after which the document refers to the early masters and hierarchs of the Bka'-gdams school: Atiśa, Brom-ston, Rngog Legs (for: Legs-pai shes-rab), and Sras (?). The only other tradition named here is that of the Bka'-bryud referred to with its prominent yogis, Mar-pa and Mi-la ras-pa.

The next passage introduces the reader to the dominant figures of Zanskar. First the royal house [of Bzang-lha]⁷ is praised as the scion of the illustrious Ikṣvāku family which traces its origin back to the first king to rule men, Mang-po'i bskur-ba. Secondly, the kings and ministers of Tibet who lit the lamp of the dharma in the darkness of their own country are commemorated. They are said to have established their people in happiness. Thirdly, the Dge-lugs tradition is praised as being manifest in Zanskar through some of [Tsong-kha-pa] Blo-bzang grags-pa's outstanding disciples, such as Byang-sems Shes-rab bzang-po and Mdo-sde rin-chen and their present embodiment, Blo-bzang nam-rgyal. They, together with their entourage of hundreds of thousands (!) of monks, are venerated.

The next paragraph describes the position of Zanskar within the cosmos, as already outlined above. The ruling house is introduced as follows:

In the land born from the centre, Zangs-dkar, the land of religion, at the vital point of the earth, there is the palace (read *pho brang* for *kho rang*) of Bzang-la. It is placed upon a seat of mountains which are known as an auspicious place, resembling a garuda with his wings wide-spread and baring his teeth and claws. This is the place where skillful scholars [trained] in the five disciplines emerge. *e ma ho*. To

this imperishable palace (read *pho brang* for *pho rang*) came Gnya'-khri btsan-po of the Śākya family due to the merit perfected by [the people of] Tibet. (ca. 4 syllables erased) Gradually from this [origin] came forth Skyid-lde nyi-ma mgon who, turning his horse toward Mnga'-ris, invaded the Upper Land. From him came the three *lde*, The three rulers of the Upper Land (*stod kyi lde gsum mgon gsum*). But in particular, the great King Gshegs-lde came to Zangs-dkar whose son Seng-ge-lde established the royal throne. [He was] of a dynasty whose "golden wheel"⁸ was never interrupted in its course, and whose yoke of the legal code was never shaken off. The treasure-vase of prosperity⁹ was never disturbed. The realm of his power never shrank, like a garuda's wings. The mighty *chos rgyal* Khripal-lde terrifies the enemies abroad like an iron meteorite from the sky, but with his dear kinsmen he is gentle like chinese silk (read *rgyal mo dar* for *rgya dar*). By virtue of the union of religion with secular [power] he protects his sons and subjects. At a time when his helmet was high, under the power of your¹⁰ gracious rule the drum of your fame resounded from the sky and the banner of your reputation unfolded over the mountain peaks. Ga-dun rgyal-mo, the pious wife of the donor, the embodiment of Tārā, beautiful and sweet like the personification of a goddess, venerates the [Three] Jewels and the Lamas. She is very gentle with the royal parents and the friends. She lives in harmony with the princes, minister, and magnates. She silences the mighty ones. She advises her entourage, servants, and sons.

After praising the meritorious deed the chronicle mentions the royal children and expresses the desire and hope that they may enjoy the same power and prosperity as their parents obviously did:

The best prince *no no* Nam-mkha' dpal-lde and . . . (3-4 syllables erased), the best princess No-bu dpal-'dzom, may [they] gain authority over wealth [limitless] like the sky by virtue of their pure attitudes. May the realm of their might expand like a lake during summer! May their lives be firmly grounded like the Lord of Mountains (i.e. Mt. Meru)!

The chronicle then resumes the praise of the queen who is said to be assisted by *slob dpon* Blo-bzang, *a pa* Dpal-'byor tshe-yang, and the monk, Dkon-mchog tshe-stan (sic).

Supplementary donations, consisting mainly of beer and "some money", were made by members of the royal family, all identified by the title *no no*, by several monks, and by subjects of Pid-mo, a village on the western shore of the Zanskar river, opposite of Bzang-la. This village was under the jurisdiction of the Bzang-la kings till 1842 when the last one had to surrender to the

invaders from Jammu. The scribe has added a sentence saying that he had carried out his task in an appropriate manner.

*Chronicle Issued during the Rule of no no Nam-mkha' dpal-lde*¹¹

The document starts like the previous chronicle with a praise of the Three Jewels, Buddha Śākyamuni, and some of the most popular Bodhisattvas. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* is praised as the best collection of the Buddhist scripture, understandably when we know that the chronicle was attached to a copy of the *Vinaya*. The prominent “hearers” [of the Hinayana tradition], as well as the masters of the Mahayana are venerated, in particular for their contribution to the Buddhist canon.

The dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet during the era of *phyi dar* (starting with the 10th cent.) is presented as mainly the work of Atiśa, 'Brom-ston, Rngog Legs[pa'i shes-rab] and the Bka'-brgyud masters Mar-pa and Mi-la ras-pa. Somewhat out of context the chronicle mentions briefly the Indian dynasty, and in particular the Ikṣvāku family, and their descendants, the Tibetan rulers (this claim is in accordance with the view of Tibetan historians solely).

The next paragraph praises Tsong-kha-pa and those of his disciples vital in establishing the Dge-lugs tradition in Ladakh and Zanskar: Shes-rab bzang-po, Mdo-sde Rin-chen, but also Dben-sa-pa, his disciple Blo-bzang rnam-rgyal, and his present follower Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan.

The cosmography in this chronicle is similar to that in the previous document. The praise of the Zangla dynasty and its link with the Yar-lung dynasty are given in the same words as in the previous chronicle. However, the present chronicle inserts a sentence whose meaning is not clear to me. Therein Zanskar, the land of religion, is apparently compared to India, “the land of astrology”; to China, “the land of Ge-sar's army”; and to Tibet, which is abundant in grain. For this reason, the document seems to say, this is the hub of the earth (*sa'i lte ba*), resembling the eternal knot. At this extraordinary place scholars trained in the five disciplines flock together like ordinary people at the market.

The final paragraph describes the donors and their meritorious act. The donors are *no no* Nam-mkha' dpal-lde and his brother Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-tsan (sic). They had ordered the painting of four “golden scrolls” (*gser thang*) for the benefit of the deceased 'Bad-pa Rnam-rgyal; a *snul gdung*, perhaps a term for a kind of silver reliquary, was made for the deceased Ga-ga Drung-pa Blo-bzangs (sic) rnam-rgyal. In commemoration of the royal parents, Ga-tun rgyal-mo and her husband (this is the exact wording of the document), Buddha statues were erected and volume *U* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* copied.

The document concludes with a list of supplementary donors, among them being several clergymen with the title of *dka' bcu ba* and others characterized as *dge slong*. Among the laypeople a certain “Hu-sen” (for: Husain) should

be mentioned as he was obviously a Muslim. Donors from Tsha-zar, Stong-lde, and Sa-ni are listed.

*Chronicle Issued under the Rule of no no Tshe-ring rab-brtan*¹²

The document begins with praise of the lama and the Three Jewels as the foundation of all good. The lay patrons of early Buddhism are mentioned as soliciting the prominent disciples of Buddha to teach them the sutras, and also the masters involved in compiling the Buddhist scripture. Next, Asaṅga and Nāgārjuna are referred to as the masters shaping the formation of religious practice, or Madhyamaka.

Thon-mi Bsam-bhota (sic) is praised for studying grammar, logic, metric, etc., with a South Indian brahmin, and he is also credited with introducing these disciplines to Tibet.

Turning to the political authorities, the text honours first the Indian kings, starting with praise of the Ikṣvāku family, and secondly the Tibetan kings and their ministers as patrons of the dharma, because they brought the light of the teaching to the darkness which hovered at this time over the Tibetan country.

Tsong-kha-pa is addressed as a second Buddha who intentionally chose to be born in Tibet at a time when the Buddha-doctrine existed there only as a name. Those who follow Tsong-kha-pa's tradition are honoured and praised, starting with Byang-sems Shes-rab bzang-po and Mdo-sde Rin-chen and continuing to the present abbot Blo-bzang bkra-shis and his monks.

The description of Zanskar and the royal palace at Bzang-la are given as in the previous documents. Also, the royal ancestors, starting with [G]nya'-khri btsan-po and leading to "the great king" Gshegs-lde who is claimed to have established the monarchy in Zanskar, are praised with the same words as in the first document. With respect to the present ruler the chronicle says the following:

Because of the merit accumulated in previous existences *no no* Tshe-ring rab-brtan, who is faithful and whose heart is the doctrine, was born in the family of the religious kings (*chos rgyal*).

Together with the queen, whose name is not given, he installed a Buddha statue and 21 images of Tārā, as well as an icon of the White Protector (*mgon dkar*).¹³ As "vocal support" (*gsung rten*) of the buddha-nature they had the *Mdo mangs* copied. As their children are mentioned "the lovely daughter" (*gces ma*) Lha-dzom dbang-mo, the younger *no no* (whose name is not given), and "the lovely daughter" Tshe-ring dpal-'dzom dbang-mo. Their future fate is prayed for as follows:

May their rule spread as it did during the life of their parents, and may their lotus feet be firmly grounded as on diamond!

In performing this meritorious deed the members of the royal family were assisted by servants of their household, such as the steward (*gnyer pa*), cook (*byan byed*), and brewmaster (*chang ma*) who by tradition is a woman.

It is striking that the usual list of supplementary donors is missing in this document. The reason for this may perhaps lie in the fact that Tshe-ring rab-brtan was not fully recognized as king at this time, which may be concluded from his title *no no* commonly reserved for members of the nobility. But on the other hand he is praised in the same manner as the ruling kings usually are.

*Chronicle Issued under the Rule of King Don-'grub dpal-lde*¹⁴

The document starts with 15 verses praising the eminent objects of devotion and prominent Buddhist masters. Among them are mentioned Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Tilopa, Padmasambhava, Atiśa, 'Brom-ston, Dpal-grub Rdo-rje Lha, whose activity is said to have concentrated upon the southern Mon, Tsong-kha-pa and his disciples Byang-sems sher-bzang, Dpal-ldan shes-rab, and Mdo-sde rin-chen. Finally, Mkhas-btsum bzang-po is referred to in such a way that I assume he was the contemporary Dge-lugs hierarch in Zanskar.

The universe and its origin are described in the usual way and so is Zanskar and the castle of Bzang-lha (such is the spelling of the place name in this document), located "at the summit of the centre of Zang-dkar".

Beyond the mountains there are the "outsiders", i.e. the enemies, while "inside", between the mountains, there are the loving kinsmen.

[There live] the great ruler of men, Don-grub dpal-lde, who belongs to the lineage of 'Jam-sher [and has his ancestral] origin [in this] lineage, and 'Dzom-pa rgyal-mo who is an embodiment of Tārā.

They perform the meritorious deed of writing the *Śatasahāsrīkā* three times in gold for the benefit of their deceased father, Dpal-lde, and for purging their own misdeeds. Furthermore, they had erected a stupa of the *byang chen* type, and statues of the Buddha.

In performing these deeds the donors were assisted by *a ma co* 'Dzoms-rgyal bzang-mo, the cousin Chos-skyabs dpal-lde, and *a ce* 'Gu-ru rgyal-mo. Other participants were *slob dpon* Don-grub dpal-bzang, [*a*] *khu* Bsod-nams rab-brtan, *no'o* 'Dzom-lde don-bzang, and Rin-chen-'dzom. There the list of dignitaries seems to end and the remaining names belong to common people, subjects of the royal family, who had to contribute beer, etc., for the entire ceremony.

The four scribes, Rol-ma bkra-shis, Dkon-mchog skyabs-pa, Tshe-ring dpal-'byor, and another one, have copied the sutra in the way of the earlier scholar Khyung-po Gyu-khri.

Finally, the merit resulting from this act is devoted to all sentient beings, but in particular to this valley so that "men's diseases and cattle's diseases will be quiet".

Part 2: The Zangla Genealogy as Recorded in Historical Works

A. *The Chronology of the Bzang-la Ruler in the Zangs dkar chags tshul gyi lo rgyus*¹⁵

The chronicle records the great war during which the Tibetans seized Zanskar and destroyed all the native castles and fortresses. In the aftermath of this disaster Tibetan (?) clans occupied the habitable areas of Zanskar: the Zhang-rung clan settles in Dpa'-gtum, the Skya-pa takes the north (byang ngos), which might be interpreted as the territory of later Bzang-la, three clans (Lha-sa, Gung-blon, and Khyi-shang) occupy Stong-sde. The chronicle continues as follows:

Because many thieves and robbers have come at this time, and because of the great [difference between] the learned and the common people, from Gu-ge, [a part] of Spi-ti, the great King (lit. god) named Shakya thub-pa was invited and was chosen by all men of Zangs-dkar to be [their] king. They brought for him a queen from 'Bru-shal. Next year, when Yab-sgod had set out on a bridal tour, he abducted the queen, and the King Shag-thub went to heaven. Subsequently when the queen gave birth to a son she nourished him for as long as he was small. [When the boy was] at an age of five Yab-sgod said: this is not my son. Because he did not recognize him as his own [the son] went to Kashmir. [There he] lived among black men.¹⁶

Due to the unusual behavior of an elephant, the young man is recognized as king and receives the name Seng-ge-ldor. He is married to a daughter of the ruler of Kashmir. The land of Ka-skra-bar¹⁷ is given to him where her resides henceforth. Three sons are born to him. The eldest succeeds his father on the throne of Ka-skra-bar. Blo-bzang-lde, the next son, is granted rule over the southern region [of Zanskar] on the other side of the Dpon-tse Creek¹⁸ up to Mar-khyim. Khri-nam-lde is given the land to the north, such as Tsa-zsar, Bzang-la, and what is on this side of the Me-ltse Creek.¹⁹

Blo-bzang-lde has three sons: the eldest, known as Tshang-rgyal-po, receives more or less the same land that Blo-bzang-lde held previously. The following passage is distorted, so that one can only extract the names of the two younger sons: the middle one had the name Ra-dug rgyal-po, and youngest was known as Bde-mchog-skyabs. Subsequently, the document is mainly concerned with recording the rulers of Ste-sta and their relationship with Phug-thal, but it introduces the story of the founding of the later Phug-thal monastery in the following manner:

Rgyal-bsam Rin-chen-dpal-lde, son of Khri-nam-dpal-lde, and [his] mother 'Dzom-pa rgyal-mo, both at this time became patrons of Byang-sems [Shes-rab bzang-po]. They donated to him Dags-rkang, Kar-lang, and Tsha-zar as premises of the religion (*chos gzhi*). Subsequently, they established the great monastery as Tsha-zar.²⁰

B. *The Genealogy of the Bzang-la Rulers According to Zangs bzang la'i rgyal brgyud kyi dkar chags*²¹

A.H. Francke reports that the existence of this document was first indicated to him by the Ven. Bakula Rin-po-che, abbot of Dpe-thub monastery near Leh. Later, a copy of the document was made by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh and sent to A.H. Francke together with its Urdu translation.

The *BzangBrgyud* (line 1/2) records that Seng-ge-lde was the son of Bde-gtsug-mgon, whose elder brother, Dpal-mgon, seized Ladakh, while he took possession of Zanskar. Later (line 6/7) it states that Nam-mkha' dpal-lde's elder son was Khri-dpal-lde, and his son in turn was Tshe-dbang rab-brtan dpal-lde. The remaining members of the royal house of Bzang-la as mentioned in the *BzangBrgyud* are of no concern at this moment.

*C. The Genealogy of the Bzang-la Dynasty According to the Ma yig as recorded by the present bka' chen Blo-bzang bzod-pa*²²

The *MaYig* is obviously a paraphrase of the same document used by A.H. Francke's assistant to produce the *BzangBrgyud*. As Blo-bzang bzod-pa is the de facto hierarch of Tikse monastery and all its branch monasteries in Zanskar, I assume that he had direct access to the original document, a privilege never granted to a foreigner. For this reason his version deviates in several points from the *BzangBrgyud*, thus supplementing it in a most welcome manner. This gives the *MaYig* almost the validity of another source. Therefore, not surprisingly, the *MaYig* presents Seng-ge-lde as son of Lde-gtsug-mgon, and Khri-dpal-lde as Nam-mkha'-dpal-lde's son, while Tshe-dbang rab-brtan dpal-lde, elder son of Khri-dpal-lde, succeeded him on the throne of Bzang-la. King Don-grub tshe-dbang dpal-lde is introduced as *mag pa*, a husband chosen from another family in order to live with the princess of Bzang-la and to continue the lineage there, as her parents did not have a suitable son to succeed as king. His wife had the name Zla-mdzes dbang-mo.

BzangBrgyud mentions princess Zla-mdzes dbang-mo as the mother of three sons, but the document does not disclose who had been their father, whom the *MaYig* identifies as *mag pa*. This inconsistency raises of course the question of the fidelity of both sources. As the situation stands at the moment, I feel unable to make any assessment.

Part 3: A revised Genealogy of the Bzang-la Rulers

In this part I shall compare the information on the Bzang-la rulers as given in the donor chronicles with that derived from *ZangLo*, *BzangBrgyud*, and *MaYig* supplemented with further sources. For the sake of historical accuracy we have also to consider the information on the non-ruling members of the royal house of Bzang-la and not just those of the kings. This might give further clues with regard to the reliability of our sources.

The first era we shall examine is that of the establishment of the kingdom of

Zanskar. This achievement is commonly attributed to King Gshegs-lde (this is the name given in the donor chronicles). In *ZangLo* his name is spelled both Shakya thub-pa and Shag-thub.²³ The situation is further complicated by the information recorded in the biography of 'Khrul-zhig Ngag-dbang tshe-ring (1717-1794), a famous tantric of the Bka'-bgyud tradition in Zanskar. There we read:²⁴

Later they (the "three brothers, the lords") were succeeded by three Kings: Mgon-lde, Khri-lde, and Gshegs-lde. The elder [King], Mgon-lde, seized Gu-ge; the middle [son], Khri-lde, captured Mar-yul, i.e. Ladakh; the younger [son], Gshegs-lde, occupied Pu-rangs. Subsequently [they all] became known as kings. Later this succession lineage expanded [its influence] to Spi-ti. From Spi-ti the great King Shakya Thub came to Zangs-dkar, and he seized Dpal-gtum (sic). He also built a castle in the north [of Zangs-dkar] and he established monarchies in the north and south as well. His son, Seng-ge-lde, succeeded him in power. . . . Sen-ge-lde's son was Tshe-ring dpal-lde, whose son was Seng-ge-lde alias Dzo-gi rgyal-po. At this time Tshe-ring dpal-lde was king . . .

Apparently the biography differentiates between an earlier King Gshegs-lde who captured Pu-rangs, and a later King Shakya Thub, who came from Spi-ti to Zanskar. The later king is said to be the father of Seng-ge-lde who in the *chab brjod* is presented unanimously as Gshegs-lde's son. As the "three brothers, the lords" who are commonly accredited with the seizure of West Tibet, are well documented in the major historical works, we may easily recognize that the biography deviates significantly from the main stream of Tibetan historical writings.²⁵ It seems to me that *ZangLo* has misspelled the name of King Gshegs-lde as Shak[ya] Thub-[pa], and that Ngag-dbag tshe-ring's biography has attempted an unreasonable compromise, since all the donor chronicles—and I have documented more than 50 different chronicles—give the name of the ruler who became the first king of Zanskar as Gshegs-lde. At least some of the donor chronicles were written at a time closer to that when King Gsheg-lde lived than *ZangLo*, whose actual date of composition is still under discussion,²⁶ or the biography written at the beginning of the 19th century. For this reason I am willing to give a higher degree of validity to the *chab brjod* than to the other historical works.

According to the donor chronicles, King Gsheg-lde "came to Zangs-dkar" as stated in the donor chronicles issued under the Kings Khri-dpal-lde and Tshe-ring rab-brtan. In the latter document he is accredited with establishing the monarchy in Zanskar, while in the other chronicles his son, Seng-ge-lde, is praised as the one who "founded the throne". In donor chronicles which were not related to the royal house of Zangla the same statement is found. The

BzangBryud (line 1/2), however, knows him as the son of Bde-gtsug-mgon, who—for obvious reasons—must be seen as a member of the *Ide gsum mgon gsum* group of rulers so frequently referred to in the donor chronicles. It is noteworthy that the *MaYig* also records similarly. In other words, the Bzang-la donor chronicles and the genealogy of the Bzang-la rulers (in the two available versions *BzangBryud* and *MaYig*), although stored in the same castle and known to the same people, recorded the beginning of the royal house of Bzang-la in two different ways.

In the *ZangLo* Shag-thub's son bears the name Seng-ge-ldor and one might speculate either that Seng-ge-lde and Seng-ge-ldor are two variations of the same name, or that because of the similarity in name two different persons were confused. I am inclined to believe that Seng-ge-lde and Seng-ge-ldor are two versions of one and the same name relating to one person, the son of Shag-thub, alias Gshegs-lde. The latter was a native of Gu-ge before he became the first king of Zanskar. There are various indications that during the 10th/11th cent. and perhaps for a short time afterwards the rulers of Gu-ge extended their influence also over parts of Mnga'-ris, which includes Zanskar.²⁷

May we speculate that when in the aftermath of the breakdown of the Central Tibetan dynasty riots broke out in Zanskar, a scion of the powerful Gu-ge dynasty was solicited to come there to re-establish order and peace? This assumption is supported by the *BzangBryud* (line 1/2), where Seng-ge-lde's father is given as Bde-gtsug-mgon, one of the "three brothers, the lords" who were the first Tibetan rulers to come as refugees to West Tibet to establish there a new principality after their family had lost its power over Central Tibet.²⁸ Because of the dates derived from the chronology of the Central Tibetan dynasty we may surmise that these events took place in the 10th cent. Although we have no means to decide how correct the information is, nevertheless both streams of historical records, i.e. the donor chronicles and the *ZangLo* vs. the *BzangBryud* and *MaYig* relate the beginning of the Bzang-la monarchy with the 10th century. The historical situation prevailing at that time makes the recorded events highly likely.

Basically the confusion found in the historical works such as the *ZangLo*, *BzangBryud*, *MaYig*, and *KhrulRnam* is confronted with the unanimous record of the donor chronicles. The donor chronicles were—to my notion—never mutilated or copied, once they had been written and included in the main manuscript.

The first period requiring a re-examination is the time of King Khri-dpal-lde and Nam-mkha' dpal-lde. In the donor chronicles Khri-dpal-lde is Nam-mkha' dpal-lde's father; however, in the *BzangBryud* this succession is reversed.²⁹

First let me examine Khri-dpal-lde's family. In the donor chronicle (79-33, 10/17) the queen is portrayed as closely associated with *slob dpon* Blo-bzang

[legs-pa] who heads also the list of supplementary donors. In the *ZangLo*³⁰ a Blo-bzang-lde is endowed with land on the southern shore of the Dpon-rtse Creek, while his brother Khri-dpal-lde receives the northern part of the valley, i.e. the territory surrounding Bzang-la. The *BzangBrgyud*³¹ reports that Khri-dpal-lde had two sons, i.e. Tshe-dbang rab-brtan dpal-lde and *zhabs drung* Blo-bzang ye-shes rgyal-mtshan who became appointed as *bla ma*. Is he identical with *slob dpon* Blo-bzang? Rather not, but perhaps a relative of him. We might think that, *slob dpon* Blo-bzang legs-pa was his uncle and like him the nephew became a monk. Do we have here the same pattern as in the Gu-ge dynasty that the brothers share for a while the royal power till one of them joins the sangha and assumes a leading position within the Buddhist clergy? It seems plausible that the Blo-bzang-lde of the *ZangLo* is the same person as the Blo-bzang legs-pa of the donor chronicle. This would explain his close affiliation with the queen and his guiding and counselling her in planning the meritorious act. Furthermore, *slob dpon* Blo-[bzang] legs-pa is mentioned in the *Vaidūrya ser-po*³² as the second abbot of Stong-sde since the monastery became incorporated into the Dge-lugs School under *bla ma* Rgyal-mtshan-pa Klu-sgrub dpal-bzang-po.

In order to use this information as an aid for dating King Khri-dpal-lde we have to get an idea of when the monastery of Stong-sde was transferred to the Dge-lugs School. This event we have to conceive within the framework of the Dge-lugs School's growth in Mnga'-ris in general. The *VaiSer* accredits Tsong-kha-pa's personal disciple, Stod Shes-rab-bzang-po, a native of Ladakh, with this achievement:

In his own (i.e. Tsong-kha-pa's) works it is said: To the right of the river Si-ta my teaching will grow. In accordance with this forecast the Venerable [Tsong-kha-pa's] personal disciple, Stod Shes-rab-bzang-po founded the Stag-mo lha-khang at Khri-sa (modern Thikse).³³

Shes-rab-bzang-po is also mentioned as transferring the Dkar-sha (modern Karcha) monastery into the control of the Dge-lugs school. In his recent publication, *Zangs dkar gyi rgyal rabs dang chos 'byung, bka' chen* Blo-bzang bzod-pa credits Shes-rab bzang-po, alias Bla-ma Byang-sems with establishing the Dge-lugs system in Stong-sde.³⁴ Therefore we may conclude that the first Dge-lugs abbot of Stong-sde, Klu-sgrub dpal-bzang-po, was a contemporary with Shes-rab bzang-po. If this assumption is correct then we may surmise that Blo-bzang legs-pa lived a few years after Shes-rab bzang-po, who had seen Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419). Thus we may assume that Blo-bzang legs-pa was alive during the latter part of the first half of the 15th cent.

Based upon these considerations and assumptions King Khri-dpal-lde must be dated into the latter part of the first half of the 15th century. He seems to

have succeeded his father Rin-chen-dpal-lde who is mentioned as Stod Shes-rab bzang-po's patron.³⁵ This would make Rin-chen dpal-lde a contemporary of King Grag-s-'bum-lde, acclaimed for re-establishing the Dpe-thub monastery (modern Spituk.)³⁶ At the same time as the first Dge-lugs strongholds were established in Upper Ladakh, i.e. in the vicinity of Leh, the ruler of Bzang-la in Zanskar did the same. King Khri-dpal-lde of Bzang-la had Buddhist sutras copied, religious icons established, and appointed his brother(?) as abbot of Stong-sde monastery which, we may assume, received royal endowments and protection at the same time. Thus, by and large the reign of King Khri-dpal-lde marks a culturally creative era in Zanskar.

King Khri-dpal-lde was succeeded by his son Nam-mkha' dpal-lde. This succession is clearly stated in the *chab brjod* issued under the reign of King Khri-dpal-lde where his son, *no no* Nam-mkha' dpal-lde and his daughter, Nor-bu dpal-'dzom, are named. This record is supported by the second donor chronicle found in the castle of Bzang-la, that is, the one issued under the rule of *no no* Nam-mkha' dpal-lde and his brother Blo-bzang chos-kyi rg[y]al-[m]ts[h]an. Concluding from the title *no no* added to the ruler's name, we learn that Nam-mkha' dpal-lde had not yet been crowned at the time when the meritorious act was performed. The main reason for making the donations described in the donor chronicle was the death of 'Bad-pa mam-rgyal and Ga-ga *drung pa* Blo-bzangs (sic) mam-rgyal. Both were obvious clergymen; the first of them I was unable to trace in any other source. But the latter is mentioned in the *ZangLo*³⁷ as the brother of Nam-mkha' dpal-lde; his name is given there as "*drung pa* Phug-pa Blo-bzang rgyal-mtshan," which might indicate a certain affiliation with the Phug-tal monastery, although his name does not occur in the list of the Phug-tal abbots.³⁸ But above all, the first anniversary of the death of Ga-tun Rgyal-mo, the king's mother, caused her sons to perform an act of pious devotion in order to dedicate to her the generated merit. Ga-tun Rgyal-mo must have been an impressive character overshadowing her husband, King Khri-dpal-lde, who is only marginally mentioned in the donor chronicle. In the light of the *chab brjod*'s validity the references to King Nam-mkha' dpal-lde found in the *BzangBrgyud* (line 1/2) and the *MaYig* become questionable.

The donor chronicle written at the time of Nam-mkha' dpal-lde portrays him as emulating his parents' meritorious deed when he performed his own pious act. This shows that King Khri-dpal-lde, and, perhaps even more so, Queen Ga-tun Rgyal-mo, were devoted patrons of the new religious movement dawning upon Mnga'-ris: the Dge-lugs School. Their son had then the sole intention of following his parents. In his attempt he could count upon the support given to him by his subjects, as the donor chronicle lists numerous additional donors, including residents of the villages of Tsha-zdar, Stong-lde, and Bi-shu (under Bzang-la jurisdiction until recent times), but also from the distant Sa-ni. Among the clergymen participating in the donation *slob dpon*

Blo-bzang leg-pa is mentioned again, thus documenting that he survived his royal brother, Khri-dpal-lde, for some years. Several others bear the titles *bka' bcu pa* or *dge slong*. Among the donors from the village Bi-shu a certain "Hu-sen" is named demonstrating that some of the people of Zanskar had adopted Muslim names at this time.

This event leads us to consider the first raid by Muslim Kashmiris into area bordering on Zanskar. The first campaign to cross the Zoji La, the main pass entering Ladakh, was carried out by Rai Madari at the turn of the 14th century. At this time his target was Baltistan, not Ladakh. When Sultan Zain al-Abidin (1420-1470) ascended the throne of Kashmir he personally led a raid against Tibet. Invading Ladakh, he sacked Sheh, and stipulated tributes from districts as distant as the Manasarovar.³⁹ But we have to bear in mind that the regions of Mt. Ti-se and the Manasarovar Lake were connected with Ladakh by means of a popular pilgrimage trail leading through Zanskar. Many Buddhist monks and tantrics chose this path when they headed for areas in Central or Southern Tibet; later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the patriarchs of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa travelled along this route. May we assume that Zain al-Abidin's army took the same trail? Was Hu-sen (Husain) of Bi-shu a representative of the Sultan, or was he merely a Zanskari who had joined the Sultan's army and adopted a Muslim name? We may never know the precise circumstances which caused this man to change his name, but it seems certain to me that he was a Buddhist and therefore a Zanskari or Ladakhi, otherwise we would fail to explain his participation in a Buddhist devotional act. It is unlikely that a Muslim would contribute to the casting of Buddhist icons and the copying of Buddhist scripture. The fact that Zain al-Abidin's campaign might have crossed Zanskar during the 3rd decade of the 15th century supplements independent reasons for dating the rule of Nam-mkha' dpal-lde. If my assumption is correct that a Zanskari would adopt a Muslim name only after the successful execution of the first Muslim raid into Zanskar, then we ought to date the rule of Nam-mkha' dpal-lde into the years after 1420, the year when Zain al-Abidin set out on his campaign. By and large, this would agree with the presumptive date derived from examining the donor chronicles. In the light of this data it seems plausible to date Nam-mkha' dpal-lde into the early part of the 2nd half of the 15th century.

A.H. Francke's suggestion that Nam-mkha' dpal-lde be dated into the latter part of the 17th century (1650-1680) loses evidence through the data disclosed in the *chab brjod*.

The third *chab brjod* was issued under the rule of *no no* Tshe-ring rab-brtan. In the document Blo-bzang bkra-shis is mentioned as the present representative of Tson-kha-pa's lineage in Zanskar. This is the sole hint in the entire document that helps us to date it tentatively. Among the abbots of Karcha monastery a certain Tsha-zar *dka' chen* Blo-bzang bkra-shis is mentioned.⁴⁰

During his tenure the *bla brang* of Karcha was built. In Blo-bzang bzod-pa's list the abbot under consideration was the 20th head of the Karcha congregation. The 9th abbot is said to be a contemporary of the Ladakh King Seng-ge nam-rgyal, dated by L. Petech to 1616-1642.⁴¹ Tempting though it might be, it would be unwise to use this information to calculate the approximate date of abbot Blo-bzang bkra-shis, because we do not know how long each abbot ruled: some might have been in power only for a few years, while others ruled life-long. Moreover, the compiler of the list admits that after the 14th abbot the succession becomes doubtful. The *VaiSer* mentions as last abbot "Zangs-mkhar (sic) Blo-bzang rdo-rje"⁴² corresponding to "Zangs-dkar-pa Blo-bzang rdo-rje" of Blo-bzang bzod-pa's list where he occupies position 14. In other words, Blo-bzang rdo-rje ruled a few years before 1698, the year when Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho completed his chronicle of the Dge-lugs School.⁴³ Thus we may guess that abbot Blo-bzang bkra-shis ruled during the third or fourth decades of the 18th century. This assumption allots about 5 to 7 years to each of the 5 abbots ruling since Blo-bzang rdo-rje, whom I dated shortly before 1698.

These assumptions allow us to date *no no* Tshe-ring rab-brtan tentatively into the latter part of the first half of the 18th century. May we speculate that Tshe-ring rab-brtan was identical with Tshe-dbang rab-brtan dpal-lde who is mentioned in the *BzangBrgyud*?⁴⁴ In this source, however, Tshe-dbang rab-brtan dpal-lde is recorded as the son of Khri-dpal-lde, who according to the donor chronicles has to be dated into the latter part of the first half of the 15th century. A Tshe-ring rab-brtan is also mentioned in a document issued from Ba-sgo in 1717, a date which would roughly agree with my present suggestion; however, I am unable to decide whether or not we deal here with the same person.⁴⁵

The last donor chronicle I recorded was issued under the rule of King Don-grub dpal-lde who is praised as member of the 'Jam-sher clan. The dominant clergyman of the Dge-lugs tradition at the time is given as Mkhas-btsum bzang-po. Because the lineage of the Dge-lugs school includes such figures as Mdo-sde rin-chen and Byang-sems Shes-rab bzang-po, we have to conclude that this donor chronicle was issued after the Dge-lugs tradition had become the dominant religious force in Zanskar; however, I am unable to trace in any other source the persons mentioned in this document. This makes it impossible for me to date King Don-grub dpal-lde at the present.

Based upon the data disclosed in the donor chronicles and the correlation references found in other sources, as discussed here, I tentatively suggest that the chronology of the Bzang-la rulers be modified as follows:

Rin-chen dpal-lde: Contemporary of Grags-pa 'bum-lde (beginning of 15th century); beginning of the growth of the Dge-lugs tradition in Zanskar. His son was Khri-dpal-lde.

Khri-dpal-lde: Ruled during the latter part of the 1st half of the 15th century. He was married with Gatun rgyal-mo. Both were devoted patrons of Buddhism. *slob dpon* Blo-bzang legs-pa, second abbot of Stong-sde, was the leading cleric and continued to marshall the religious activity at the court during the reign of the son Man-mkha' dpal-lde as well.

Nam-mkha' dpal-lde: His sister was Nor-bu dpal-'dzom, his brother Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, a cleric. The king's sovereignty was even accepted in distant Sa-ni, not only in the villages in the vicinity of Bzang-la. He ruled supposedly during the first decade(s) of the 2nd half of the 15th century.

Tshe-ring rab-brtan: Tentatively dated into the latter part of the first half of the 18th century.

Don-'grub dpal-lde: No dating possible.

Conclusion

The fact that the donor chronicles record contemporary events limits the possibility that they falsify the names or positions of the presently ruling king, or alter the names of the members of his family. Therefore their validity is superior to that of the historical works (*ZangLo, BzangBrgyud, MaYig, etc.*). Furthermore, scrutinizing the events recorded in the historical works by comparing them with the records given in the donor chronicles, it becomes evident that the historical works are unreliable for chronological and genealogical studies.

Unfortunately, however, the historical works were in a way "public property", kept in the archives of the monasteries or castles, while the *chab brjod* were private documents and thus - in general - not accessible to historians, either native or western. Thus the "historical works" issued a tremendous influence upon shaping our understanding of the history of the western Himalayan kingdoms.

It remains to be explained why the "historical works" present the events in the way they do. In order to address this problem, we may guess that the archival records constituting the sources for the local historians were in a state of utter disorder, which might not be surprising when we consider the many raids and campaigns devastating the area of the Western Himalayan principalities. We can only hope that through intensifying our search we shall discover more contemporary documents, thus enabling us to come to a more accurate understanding of West Tibet.

NOTES

1. L. Petech, Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-rañ: A New Study. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 24, 1980, pp. 85-111.
 2. Th. Duka, *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. New Delhi: Manjushri Publishing House, 1972, p.83.
 3. Sendai Catalogue no. 16.
 4. Sendai Catalogue no. 341.
 5. Sendai Catalogue no. 1-7.
 6. Archive no. 79-33, 10/17, which refers to the yet unpublished photographic reproduction of these documents.
 7. Square brackets indicate that these words do not occur in the document and were added by me for contextual reasons.
 8. The golden wheel is a symbol for the realm of the king's power.
 9. The treasure vase contains the grain used for forecasting the next harvest, but also used later as seed for the king's field.
 10. Every chronicle uses at this place the pronoun of the second person.
 11. Archive no. 79-33, 18/20.
 12. Archive no. 79-33, 8/9.
 13. His iconographic appearance is described briefly by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 64.
 14. Archive no. 79-33, 6/7.
 15. Hereafter *ZangLo*. ed. and tr. by A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. 1926, rpt. New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1972, vol. 2, pp. 151-162; D. Schuh, *Historiographische Dokumente aus Zans-dkar*, *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. D. Schuh and M. Weiers, St. Augustin, Germany: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1983, pp. 209-283. The latter work was not available to me at the time this article was written.
 16. *ga rog* is identical with *pho rog* according to my informant, the *blon po* of Karcha; both words mean black people.
 17. A.H. Francke, p. 157: Kashtawar.
 18. Dpon-tse is the written form of the place name "Pensi" as in Pensi-La, the main pass leading into Zanskar from the Kargil area. Thus we may assume that Blo-bzang-lde was entrusted with land south of the creek coming down from the Pensi-La, i.e. the area of Ag-sho, Bra-dkan, etc.
 19. Me-ltse'i grog-po is the name of the torrent running down from the mountains east of Bzang-la and flowing by beneath the castle of Bzang-la.
 20. This monastery was known as Ba-mo dgon, which does not exist anymore. Information by Karcha Blon-po.
 21. Ed. and tr. by A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, pp. 163-171; hereafter *BzangBrgyud*.
 22. In *Zangs dkar gyi rgyal rabs dang chos 'byung*, in Tibetan, publ. in Benares, 1979, p. 9-10, hereafter *MaYig*.
 23. A.H. Francke, p. 153.
 24. *Dpal ldan bal ma dam pa 'Khrul-zhig rin po che Ngag-dbang tshe-ring gi rnam thar kun tu bzang po'i zlos gar yid kyi bcud len*, ed. by Topden Tshering. Delhi: n.p., 1975, vol. I, p. 9f.; hereafter *KhrulRnam*.
 25. For further details s. L. Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh*. Rome: S.O.R., 1977, p. 17. The rulers given in the biography as successors of the "three brothers, the lords" are in other sources identical with these three rulers.
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26. D. Schuh, *Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica III.2 St. Augustin, Germany: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976, p.54.
27. L. Petech, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1980, p. 87.
28. L. Petech, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1980, p. 86; *ibid.*, *Kingdom*, p. 17.
29. A.H. Francke, p. 163, line 6/7.
30. A.H. Francke, p. 153, line 16.
31. A.H. Francke, p. 163, line 8.
32. Ed. by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: *International Academy of Indian culture*, 1960, p. 226, line 20; hereafter *VaiSer*.
33. F.N. *VaiSer* p. 225, line 6-7.
34. L. Petech, *Kingdom*, p. 168, n. 1.
35. Blo-bzang bzod-pa: *Zangs-dkar chos 'byung*, p. 33f., hereafter *ZangsChos*.
36. L. Petech, *Kingdom*, p. 22.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 163, line 6/7.
38. *VaiSer* p. 226, line 16.
39. Cf. L. Petech, *Kingdom*, p. 22f.
40. Blo-bzang bzod-pa, *ZangsChos*, p. 25.
41. L. Petech, *Kingdom*, p. 171.
42. *Ibid.* p. 226, line 15.
43. *VaiSer*, Foreword by L. Petech, p. xiii.
44. A.H. Francke, p. 163, line 7.
45. L. Petech, *Kingdom*, p. 81, no. 9.
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