



西藏宗谱：  
纪念古格·  
次仁加布藏学  
研究文集

Tibetan Genealogies: Studies  
in Memoriam of Guge Tsering  
Gyalpo (1961-2015)

主编 [奥] 恭特朗·哈佐德  
沈卫荣

Edited by Guntram Hazod and Shen Weirong

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## 前言

དཀར་ཡི་ལ་ཆག་གུང་རི་མོ་སྒྲོ་ལ་ངེས།།

瓷杯碎了，花纹却印在人们心中。

——西藏民间谚语

今天西藏阿里地区札达县的中心，有一座举世闻名的寺庙托林寺。寺的北边不远处，沿着象泉河支流的上游，人们可以找到一个叫古格的地方。这片小小的区域却对西藏历史有着重要的意义：这里诞生的三位“觉沃主”是形成统治古格王朝的13位核心联盟君主的重要人物；而从古格王朝的兴起到这座佛教王国的全盛时代，重要的宗教场所均坐落在此；更有可能与历史关联的，这片区域就是藏西地区闻名遐迩的矿产区。值得注意的是，古格的西边有座名为“梅乌”（意为“牛祖”）的山，与之相关在当地流传着一个“牛祖神”的故事。这块神奇的岩石传说是曾经冲刷了整个高原的大洪水褪去后出现的。这样的洪水与定居起源的故事在整个喜马拉雅地区均有流传，只是地方的版本有着些许的不同。这一切都是次仁加布告诉我们的。他发现了为什么这片小小的地方会把自己的名字借给一个更大的古格王国来命名，而这样的转变显然发生在古格王国建立之前，因为大古格作为“下象雄”的五区之一在吐蕃王朝时期（公元7—9世纪）就已有记载。

2015年6月，去世前不久，次仁在柏林的一次讲座上首次讲述了这段不为人知的小古格的历史，而在这次公开场合上（同时他私下也说过），他提到了是什么促使自己踏上了这片土地，走上了研究藏西地区历史与民族的：他是在追寻他外公的足迹，而他母亲就是来自这片“小古格”地区。在20世纪20年代，她嫁给了郎楚周边的牧民人家的父亲。所以，“古格·次仁加布”的笔名正是次仁对这段与大小古格相连的准家族血缘关系的情感表达。

次仁出生于朗久村（意为“十牛”），位于今天阿里地区行政总署噶尔县的狮泉河镇以南。朗久这个名字来源于朗久湖，这是牧民夏季放牧安置黑帐篷的点（分有十个“措瓦”小组）；而到了冬季，他们将牧营会搬到山后与湖的西岸交接的地方，这里靠近繁忙的公路。一路上人们可以看到郎楚“梅拉赞”神的象征——牦牛角装饰的地标。这样一种空间与季节的组织结构是印度河上游（即狮泉河）典型的放牧形式。次仁在家中九个孩子里排名老四。他无忧无虑的童年大多是在广袤无边的草原上放牛度过的。他常说放



古格·次仁加布 (Guge Tsering Gyalpo, 1961-2015)



图 1 在朗久景区 (In the landscape of Langchu. Photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2007)



图 2 次仁加布和姐姐 (Tsering Gyalpo with his elder sister. Photo: C. Jahoda, 2007)



图 3, 4 1997 年次仁加布在雅桑寺, 与住持绛巴格勒和恭特朗·哈佐德 (Tsering Gyalpo in Yasang 1997, with Abbot Byams pa Dge legs and G. Hazod)

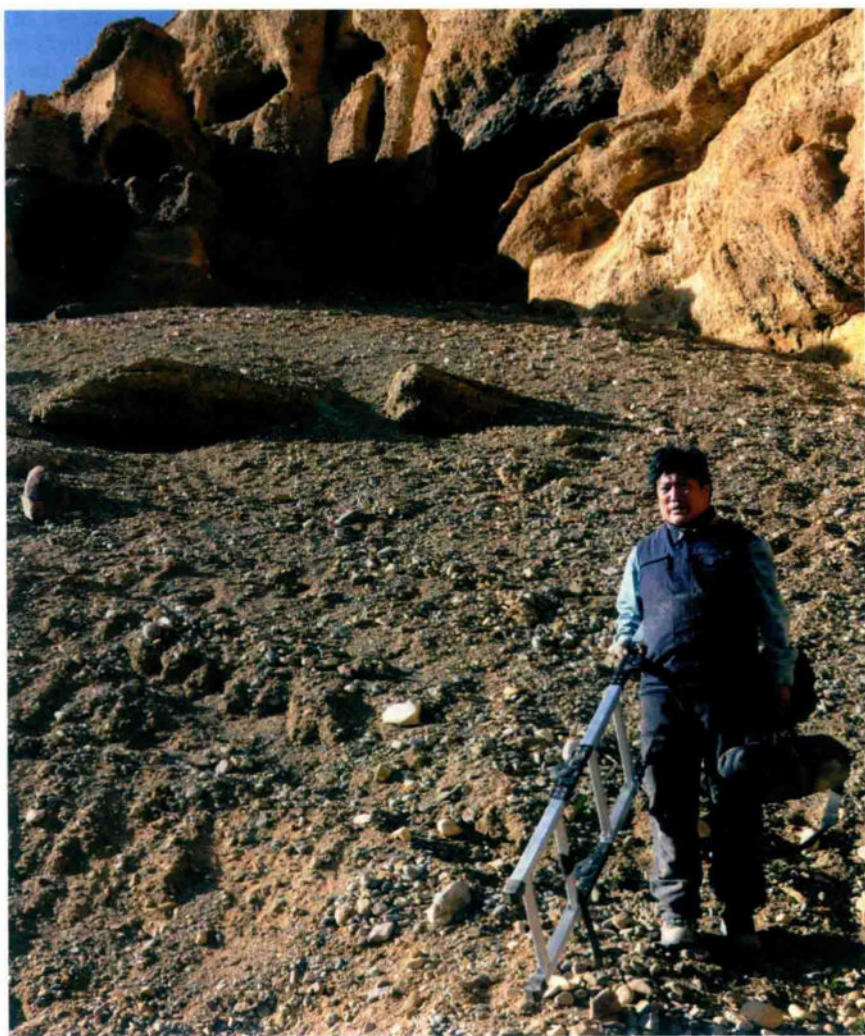


图 5 2010 年在喀孜 (In Khartse 2010. Photo by Huang, Tsering's driver and assistant)

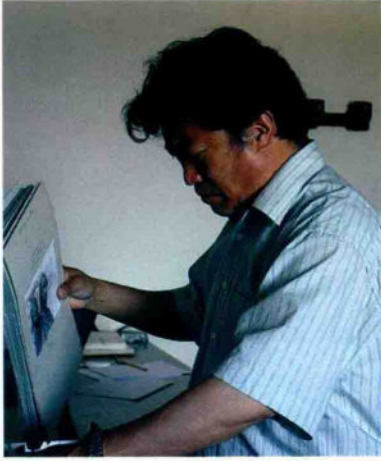


图 6 2008 年在罗马图齐档案室 (At the Tucci archive, Rome 2008. Photo: Christiane Kalantari)



图 7 2015 年 1 月，与恭特朗·哈佐德（左）和沈卫荣（右）在柏林高等研究院 (With Guntram Hazod (left) and Shen Weirong (right) at the Institute for Advanced Study Berlin, January 2015. Photo: Maurice Weiss)

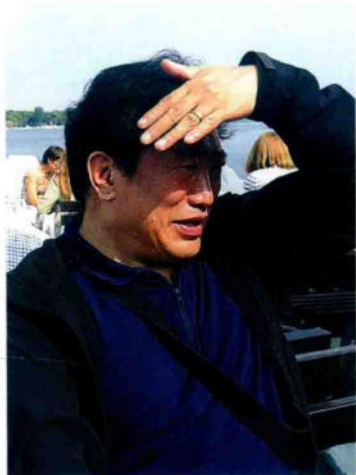


图 8 2015 年 6 月 26 日，在柏林游船上 (On a boat trip in Berlin, June 26 2015)



图 9 从擦擦洞俯瞰廓迦寺，次仁加布最后的安息地 (View of the Khorchag monastery from the *tsha tsha* cave and last resting place of Tsering Gyalpo. Photo by a monk from Khorchag, December 2015)

## 前言

དཀར་པོ་ལ་ཆག་གུང་རི་མོ་སློལ་ངེས།

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牛是一种理想的人生技能打基础的方式。所以我们发现他在简历“教育”一栏的第一行里写道：“1961—1974年：放牛、放羊”，第二栏才是“1974—1976年：噶尔县上小学”。他经常告诉我们他的老师是怎样建议他的父母把他送去拉萨继续学习的，他们愿意这样做因为家里需要懂汉语的人作为家族的生意谈判（诸如卖羊等）代表与新成立的地区政府沟通交流。

实际上，他从来没有得到这份工作。拉萨学校（1976—1981年）毕业后，他去了北京中央民族大学，然后分到了中国社会科学院民族所工作（1981—1988年）。而后，他回到了拉萨，娶了自己的江孜籍学生彭宗，在西藏人民政协编辑办找到了一份工作。1994年，在当时西藏社科院院长平措次仁的推荐下，次仁到了西藏社科院工作，于2001年起担任宗教所所长，直至去世。

次仁对宗教所研究工作的影响是巨大的。不仅仅是他与西方学界的紧密学术联络，从1995年起他承接了一大批国内和国际的教学与研究项目，使得他作为客座教授常常出现在内地的大学里，作为研究员到访国际知名学术机构。例如，次仁多次到访奥地利维也纳（1996、1998、1999/2000、2010、2011年），美国弗吉尼亚大学（2001年）、哈佛大学（2004年）、普林斯顿大学（2006年）和最近的柏林高等研究院（2014—2015年）。他著的书，以合著者和合作人身份写的文章、卫藏民族志（2000，2005，2007年）和诸多其后研究和合作的作品（2006，2009，2011，2012，2013，2015年）都与藏西历史紧紧相关。

在这些研究项目和国际访问中，次仁是代表着西藏社科院宗教所，能促成这些国际交流合作是需要极大的个人努力和付出的。理想的情况是，任务各方互帮互助、取长补短。在20世纪90年代，西藏社科院接到普查登记西藏自治区的文物保护单位的任务，优先方式是驻地调查。在90年代末社科院近百所苯教寺庙调查的苯教普查大项目中，次仁作为平措次仁的助理参与其中，并尝试实践自己的民族志研究调查方法。一系列与拉萨雪地区生活的老人关于这片地区的历史或拉萨河谷与雅隆王朝早期相关的信仰崇拜的访谈（部分有录像）体现了这些项目中独特的案例（次仁加布，2005）。而次仁指出，这些研究方法都是受到了自己的西方同事的启发。他们分享着一个重大的意识：保护文化遗址区原住民的口述历史传统的迫切性。在这个过程中，他同时学习到了大多通过书本去了解西藏的藏族同胞不知道的事。那些田野生活的每一天都在带来意想不到的对于过去遗迹的发现。即使在西藏自治区的核心区域，也时常能发现一片有过和仍在经历着变革的地方。这些文物遗址的记录，从仅仅有限的技术层面记载开始，因此成为西藏研究者离开办公桌去从另一个不为人知的历史角度探寻藏土的当务之急。

从2000年初，次仁开始致力于藏西地区的调查，特别是古格王朝的旧土。他常说他

的目标就是在有生之年尽可能地发掘藏西的文化遗产。他相信，这些遗产瑰宝超越了特定的文化、历史和族群的纽带，应该属于全世界。这也是次仁作为一名西藏研究者提出的学术中心思想之一。

在次仁的方法中，有一点很不寻常：他是如此的博学、儒雅，但同时他又如此接地气。当有人咨询他相关信息与历史资料时，他总是温和地为人们打开门。事实上，次仁的研究领域涉及范围十分广阔。不仅从他的出版物可以得知，还有很大部分未经处理的资料等待他的同事和后继者们继承其在民族学、历史学和艺术学上的遗产，有朝一日将之公布于世、发扬光大。同时，还需要后人能够追随次仁未尽的发现探索，特别是藏西寺庙古籍调查搜集工作。次仁最后的一次发表（2015年）记述了他于2014年常驻西藏东南地区的重大发现：一座高达4米的吐蕃晚期的大日如来石刻像。虽然仅仅是对遗址点的首次勘定，但为后来研究者提供了一个可展开长达数年的课题。

在驻留柏林高等研究所期间，次仁手上有好几个任务：一篇有关噶玛噶举支派的文章（主要是基于18世纪大司徒确吉穹乃所著《噶举金鬘》里的描述），和计划中一本有关藏西的书的章节写作。这些作品均反映和展现了次仁对古格王朝核心区域民族学与艺术史、历史调查研究的最新成果，其中一章还包括古代象雄的政治地理。而他的研究路径相较于当代中国国内与西方的象雄研究更具有批判眼光。他常说很多研究都是杜撰的无稽之谈，更确切地说：“象雄，跟苯一样，就像一个瓶子。大家把这片高原上所有古老却又无法立刻得以解释的东西都扔进去。”他的计划是更精确地定位象雄。根据15世纪古格班智达扎巴坚赞所著的《日月族王统记》的一章所述，这正是藏西王国的奠基人吉德·尼玛衮来到的地方。

在次仁的研究中有一个特别的关注点与札达县的石窟寺有关。他首次照相记录了其中很多石窟壁画，包括喀孜河谷的佛教洞窟，并为其勾勒了历史背景。这些田野工作的共通点在于探寻10—11世纪阿里地区先驱灵魂人物大译师仁钦桑布的活动足迹。这也让次仁追到了普兰：众所周知，这是藏西王国的雏形“阿里三国”的发源地，也是尼玛衮与其部队10世纪初从北边的“然拉卡玛”南下驻扎定居的地方。

在普兰，次仁与奥地利科学院合作的项目工作主要集中在廓迦寺，普兰地区早期皇家（仁钦桑布）遗址和宗教场所。其中发现了一大批珍贵的历史文物和独特的宗教仪式庆典仍被保留了下来。次仁与普兰结下了不解之缘，直到在他生命的最后时期，在柏林，他仍与廓迦寺的前任主持保持着密切联系，请教问学，为了开展中的学术研究，也为了自己的信仰。

廓迦寺会成为他最后的安息之地。在那里，寺院后山的山洞里擦擦像堆积着，守望着廓迦和孔雀河的山水。

\*

这部《西藏宗谱：纪念古格·次仁加布藏学研究文集》集合了次仁加布生前一些同事密友的文章。从拉萨的社科院、内地的各大学术机构，到来自西方的同仁，他们有些与次仁一起共事过多年，有些则是学术上有过交流切磋，保持着联系。

“西藏宗谱”也是柏林高等研究院的一个藏学研究小组课题。本书的两位主编在次仁加布过世前与其一同工作学习数月。我们的课题调查围绕西藏历史中不同传承的建构现象：从小范围的特定血亲关系到宗教传承（包括转世）的不同理念，它们已经成为了藏传佛教和苯教在雪域高原喜马拉雅地区创建的特征。我们关心的是，例如在谱系自身的变动性中传承的超验设计与特殊的追溯视角（因为我们发现藏人在传播特定的传承形式时，并不具有地域或者族群的界限），或者到底是怎样的视角主导着不同时期西藏历史中谱系的建立（参见柏林高等研究院 2015 年 5 月期《人物与思想》[Köpfe und Ideen] 中，Michael Oppitz 对柏林高等研究院“西藏视角”小组的评论）。

另一方面，我们要在一个更广的语境当中理解谱系，将之视为历史显现中可触摸和过程性的一部分。这样的话，那些遗迹、政治文化的建构、文物，甚至还有思想与身份认知都具有自己的谱系。

对于“西藏宗谱”这个概念的更广泛用法还可为提炼总结这本大多为历史研究文章的纪念文集找到一把支撑伞。然而更重要的是，贯穿全集的 21 篇研究仍是对杰出的西藏学者、我们的挚友次仁加布的深切悼念之情。

恭特朗·哈佐德 沈卫荣

2017 年 12 月于维也纳和北京

（姚霜 译）

## Foreword

དཀར་ཡི་ལྗང་གུང་རི་མོ་སྐོ་ལ་རེས།།

(The cup may have broken yet the  
image lingers on in the mind)

Tibetan Proverb

Not far north from Tholing, the famous temple and monastery in the centre of today's Tsamda County (Ngari Prefecture, TAR), on the upper reaches of a tributary of the Langchen River, there is the small district called Guge (Gu ge). The area was obviously of some regional-historical significance: it once saw the seats of three of the 13 Joba ("lords") who formed the core alliance of the rulers of the Guge Kingdom (10th-16th cent.), several significant religious sites from the founder period and heyday of this Buddhist Kingdom were situated here, and – probably historically connected to all these – the area also included one of the productive goldmines for which Western Tibet was widely known. Notable is the story of the local Guge deity Me Bau (Mes Ba'u, "Ancestor Calf"), which is associated with the eponymous mountain situated in the western part of this district. The prominent rock is described as having been the first to emerge after the retreat of the Great Flood that once covered the entire Highlands, a local variant of the flood and settlement origin stories as can be found throughout the Himalayan region. In this prominence, Tsering Gyalpo, to whom we owe this information, saw a key indication why the area had lent its name to the greater Guge area, a transfer that apparently happened long before the founding date of the Guge Kingdom, since a greater Guge is already recorded for the imperial period (7th-9th cent. CE), as the name of one of the five districts of "lower Zhang zhung."

In a lecture which Tsering gave in Berlin shortly before his death in June 2015, he first addressed the history of this otherwise unknown lesser Guge, and on this occasion (as also in private conversations) he also mentioned the personal motives that led him to this place, which formed the starting point for his extensive historical and ethnographic West Tibetan studies: he was following the footsteps of his grandfather on his mother's side, who came from this lesser Guge district and who eventually married into a family from the

neighbourhood of the nomadic settlement of Langchu sometime in the 1920s. The fact that Tsering adopted the penname of “Guge Tsering Gyalpo” is the emotional expression that underlines this quasi-genealogical connection of his family with the lesser and greater Guge.

Langchu (Glang bcu, “Ten Bulls”), Tsering’s birthplace, is located south of the Ngari’s capital Senge Khabab (Chin. Shiquanhe 狮泉河) in present-day Gar County. It is named after Lake Langchu, where the black tents of the summer place of the pastoral community (divided into ten *tsho ba* groups) are located; the houses of the winter place situated on the other side of the mountain ridge bordering the lake area in the west can be reached via the busy route that goes past the central, yak-horn-decorated cairn of the representative Langchu god Me Lhabtsen (Mes Lha btsan) – here reflecting a spatial and seasonal organisation pattern typical for the nomadic communities in this region around the upper reaches of the Indus (Tib. Seng ge kha ’bab). With his siblings – he was the fourth of altogether nine children – Tsering spent an untroubled childhood, often for days cattle herding in the far-flung pastures, as he says, an activity that he also used to describe as an ideal learning ground for life’s skills. Thus in his CV under the heading “education” we find as the first entry the words: “1961-1974 – grazing of sheep and goats;” this is followed by the entry “1974-1976: attendance at primary school in Gar.” He often told us how his teacher recommended his parents to send him to Lhasa for further education, which they welcomed, because there should be someone from the family who was literate in Chinese when it came to adequately representing the family in business negotiations (e.g. selling goats) with the then newly established district administration.

He actually never got this job. After graduating from school in Lhasa (1976-1981) his education led him to Beijing, with studies at the Minzu University and the Ethnology Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1981-1988). Back in Lhasa, he married his fellow student Pendzom, a native of Gyantse, and got a job in the editorial department of the Tibetan People’s Political Consultative Conference. In 1994, on the recommendation of Phuntsok Tsering, the then new president of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS), Lhasa, Tsering came to the TASS, where for the last 15 years he served as director of its religious department.

Tsering greatly influenced the research work of this institute, not least through his intensive academic contacts with Western colleagues and institutions. From 1995 he was

involved in a number of national and international teaching and research programmes, with guest professorships at universities in China, and as a research associate at several prominent academic institutes abroad – in Vienna (1996, 1998, 1999/2000, 2010, 2011), Virginia (2001), Harvard (2004), Princeton (2006) and most recently in Berlin (Institute for Advanced Study, 2014-15). Widely known are the books – where he essentially participated as co-author or collaborator – text- and ethnography-based studies on medieval Central Tibet (2000, 2005, 2007), and his numerous later studies and co-authored publications (in Tibetan, several also trilingual Tibetan/Chinese/English) related to the history of Western Tibet (2006, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015).

It required an enormous personal effort to realise these international sojourns as did the projects that resulted from these activities, since they usually were carried out on the back of his job at the TASS. In an ideal situation the different task areas complemented each other. In the 1990s the TASS programmes were often designed to survey and inventory the historic sites in the TAR, priorities that were associated with longer stays in the field. The “Bon inventory project” of the late 1990s with the visit of more than 90 Bon monastic sites was one of such larger TASS programmes, in which Tsering was involved (in this case as assistant to the TASS president Phuntsok Tsering). In this connection Tsering used to try out the ethnographic methods he adapted for his own purposes. The series of (partly video recorded) interviews with representatives of the older generation on the history of Lhasa Zhol, or on certain cultic traditions related to early Yarlung and the Lhasa Valley (Gyalpo 2005) represent unique examples of such projects, which, as he noted, were methodically inspired by his Western colleagues. With these colleagues he also shared an important awareness: the urgency to follow the remnants of still living oral traditions at historical sites; in this process he at the same time learned something that the majority of Tibetologists – this refers to those who know Tibet primarily from texts – do not know: namely that every day in the field can bring the unexpected discovery of significant relics of the past, even in the core areas of the TAR which had been and still are affected the most in terms of loss and changes. The documentation of sites – initially merely in terms of the available technical means – thus became a priority among the tasks of a Tibet researcher who regularly feel urged to leave his desk to explore his hometown from its lesser-known historical angles.

From the early 2000 Tsering increasingly dedicated himself to his research on Western Tibet,

especially the area of the former kingdom of Guge. He often said that his aim was to reveal as much as possible of the cultural heritage of his West Tibetan hometown to the world during his lifetime. He believed that, beyond their specific cultural and historical bonds and national affiliations, these treasures have to be considered as belonging to the whole world. This was in fact one of his central messages as a Tibet researcher.

There was something quite unusual in Tsering's approach, which had to do with his known prudent, gentle and at the same time highly captivating nature. He was a gentle door opener when it came to establishing contacts in order to get access to information and historical material. In fact the range of his findings has been enormous. A number of these are known from his publications, but much more material is still unprocessed, and it remains for his colleagues and successors to make his ethnographic, historic and art-historic heritage accessible to the scientific public, but also to pursue remaining traces leading to discoveries that Tsering was unable to record any longer (this relates, among others, to his discovery of large collections of ancient texts held in West Tibetan monasteries). His last publication (2015) describes the exceptional discoveries in south-east Tibet where Tsering stayed for an extended period in 2014, above all the monumental, four-metre-high stone relief of the Buddha Vairocana with his entourage, a work from the late imperial period. Yet this paper is actually only a first recognition of sites that are expected to occupy the researchers for a fairly long period.

During his stay at the Berlin Institute for Advanced Study, Tsering worked on several projects: a contribution related to the branches of Karma Bka' brgyud (mainly based on Si tu pan chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas' detailed *Bka' brgyud gser phreng*, 18th cent.) and various chapters of his planned book on Western Tibet. This was intended to reflect and highlight the latest results of his ethnographic and (art-)historical surveys to the core areas of the Guge Kingdom, also including a chapter on the political geography of the older Zhang zhung. Tsering's approach was here characterised by a rather critical attitude towards contemporary Zhang zhung studies in Western, Tibetan and Chinese works. Many of them were pure fables, he used to say, or more prosaically: "Zhang zhung (like Bon) is a pot into which everything found in the Highlands that appears to be old and is not instantly explainable is thrown." The plan was to more accurately identify Zhang zhung, which the founding father of the West Tibetan Kingdoms, Skyid lde Nyi ma mgon, came upon on his arrival in the

western regions as described in one chapter of Gu ge pandita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's 15th-century *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs dang zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*.

A particular focus in Tsering's Guge surveys was related to the cave temples in Tsamda County, of which he photographically documented many (such as those of Khartse) for the first time, and also outlined their historical contexts. The common element of these and other visits was to follow the historical traces of the Great Translator Rinchen Sangpo (Rin chen bzang po), the pioneering teacher and outstanding founding figure of the 10th-11th-century Ngari region. This also brought Tsering to Purang; as we know, this area was the actual starting point in the formation of the West Tibetan kingdoms (Mnga' ris skor gsum), where Nyi ma mgon and his group settled down in the early 10th century, arriving from their first stop in the north, i.e. the site of Ra la mkhar dmar.

In Purang, Tsering's work (in connection with projects based at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna) was mainly concentrated on the Khorchag ('Khor chags) monastery, the early royal (Rinchen Sangpo) foundation and religious centrepiece of Purang, where a rich treasure of historical artefacts and also much of the impressive regional festival tradition has survived. Tsering developed a close relationship with this place. Until the last (while in Berlin) he was in constant contact with the former head of Khorchag – in connection with certain questions related to Tsering's ongoing studies, but also in personal matter, regarding questions of faith.

Khorchag was to become his last resting-place, with many of the *tsha tsha* relics placed in the mountain caves behind the convent walls – facing the monastery and the landscape of the Peacock River.

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This *Tibetan Genealogies* anthology brings together contributions by some of Tsering Gyalpo's closer colleagues – companions from the environment of his home institute in Lhasa and other institutions in China, as well as colleagues from the West who were in regular scientific contact with Tsering or worked with him over a longer period.

“Tibetan Genealogies” was also the title of the Tibet-centred programme at the Berlin Institute for Advanced Study (Wiko) where the editors worked together with Tsering Gyalpo