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An Indian Classic in 19th-Century Tibet and beyond: Rdza Dpal sprul and the Dissemination of the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra**

Markus Viehbeck
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his paper highlights a particular episode in the entangled transmission history of the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra* (BCA). This prominent Indian Buddhist work outlines the path of a *bodhisattva*, the religious ideal of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and is nowadays considered among the world classics of religious literature. While it occupied a special position within many traditional Buddhist contexts—and in Tibet in particular—, it is only in the nineteenth century that it gained importance in the Rnying ma tradition and hence permeated *all* of the Tibetan Buddhist schools. As will be shown, Rdza Dpal sprul (1808–1887),¹ a charismatic yogin and scholar, can be placed at the centre of this development. His focus on a practice-oriented approach and a wide dissemination of the BCA's content not only fostered increasing interest within his own surroundings, but also opened up avenues for approaching this text that have come to be relevant in modern settings.

Introduction: the Bodhicaryāvatāra and its contemporary significance

The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has been widely acclaimed and respected for more than one thousand years. It is studied and praised by

* In preparing this article I have been greatly indebted to the kind help of a number of individuals: Andreas Kretschmar and Kurtis Schaeffer for concrete advice and the inspiration that their own research instils; Blo gros 'phel rgyas for valuable assistance in reading through Dpal sprul's hagiography (*rnam thar*); Birgit Kellner, Christian Bernert, and Katharina Weiler for substantial feedback on the final article; and Philip Pierce for painstakingly correcting my English. Further I wish to thank the team of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (Cambridge) for providing many of the sources that I used in the present research.

¹ Here and in the following, the dates of Tibetan personalities are based on the TBRC database, if not specified otherwise.

all four schools of Tibetan Buddhism. I myself received transmission and explanation of this important, holy text from the late Kunu Lama, Tenzin Gyaltzen, who received it from a disciple of the great Dzogchen master, Dza Patrul Rinpoche. It has proved very useful and beneficial to my mind.²

These words, written by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso (Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho), are to be found in a foreword to a popular English translation of the BCA published in 1997. By that time, this work had not only become known widely within the traditional domain of Buddhism spread out over various cultural contexts across Asia, but had also received attention on a global scale, in academic as well as religious circles.

Within the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the philological interest that arose against the backdrop of British dominion in South Asia had brought manuscripts of numerous Buddhist works to the attention of European scholars. The subsequent canonization of these treatises in the form of critical editions laid the foundation for their academic investigation. In 1889, the Russian Indologist Ivan P. Minaev produced the first critical edition of the BCA,³ which was then replaced by a new edition (1901–1914) of his Belgian colleague Louis de La Vallée Poussin.⁴ The latter was also the first person to translate parts of the text into a European language (in 1892)⁵ and to explore its content in more detail. Since then, numerous translations and scientific publications that investigate individual aspects of the BCA emerged, exhibiting an academic interest that has continued up to the present. This interest must also be seen in connection with the significance that the text had acquired within religious contexts, both traditional and modern. In fact, the BCA can be regarded as an important vehicle that enabled the transmission of Buddhist teachings from a traditional (mainly Tibetan) setting to the arena of globalised religions, as the following examples aptly illustrate.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Ekai Kawaguchi, a Zen monk from Tokyo, left his country in search of not only concrete manuscripts but also the origins of the Buddhist religion in more general terms. He was the first Japanese to enter Tibet and Nepal, and managed to study for some time at Sera (*se ra*) Monastery in the

² Padmakara 1999a: VIII.

³ Minaev 1889; for brief descriptions of the background of this edition, see Liland 2009: 73f. and Stender 2014: 149.

⁴ La Vallée Poussin 1901–1914; this edition also contained the influential commentary by Prajñākaramati. In 1894, Haraprasād Śāstri also published an edition of the text, which did not, however, receive much attention, given the work of Minaev and La Vallée Poussin.

⁵ For some details on these translations, see Gómez 1999: 270.

vicinity of Lhasa.⁶ Having surely been exposed to the BCA during that period, he later (1921) became the first person to translate it into Japanese.⁷ The BCA is also among the first works that were translated from Tibetan into English by a Tibetan: when the Indian polymath Rahul Sankrityayan returned to his homeland from his search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, he was accompanied by Dge 'dun chos 'phel, a gifted if controversial scholar-monk from Drepung (*bras spungs*) Monastery. Becoming acquainted with Western knowledge during his travels, the latter came to enjoy a unique position in being trained under the traditional monastic education system, but also having access to modern science and global flows of information. He put his newly acquired knowledge of various languages to use to produce an English translation of the BCA in the 1940s.⁸ The text further gained the interest of European converts to Tibetan Buddhism, many of whom learned about its details in direct interaction with Tibetans who had settled in the district of Darjeeling and Kalimpong in North-East India. As an interface between Tibet and modern global flows of goods and information, this area became a major hub of intellectual discourses about Buddhism at the beginning of the twentieth century. The English-born Sangharakshita (Dennis Philip Edward Lingwood), for example, had practised and studied various forms of Buddhism in Kalimpong for fourteen years, and then returned to England to found the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (1967). While this organisation aimed to promote a decidedly "Western approach," its very first study group focused on a very traditional text: Śāntideva's BCA.⁹ This work was, and continues to be, used widely as a basic introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism and psychological transformation in most of the Buddhist centres with a Tibetan orientation that are mushrooming across the globe—a phenomenon rooted in the political tensions within Tibet and, even more so, in the search for alternative religious views and practices at the

⁶ Ekai Kawaguchi published an account of his time in Tibet under the title *Three Years in Tibet*; see Kawaguchi 1909.

⁷ Some remarks on that translation are provided by Liland 2009: 55f.

⁸ Several articles dealing with the modern translation history of the BCA refer to an English version produced by Dge 'dun chos 'phel, under the title "To Follow the Virtuous Life," a manuscript of which is likely to be preserved at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA); see Padmakara 1999a: 213, Liland 2009: 101, and Martínez Melis 2005: 6. Tibetan biographies of him mention that Dge 'dun chos 'phel translated the text or at least parts of it, but do not provide any further details; see Mengele 1999: 105f., and the short biography in Mi nyag mgon po 1996–2000. It seems that the original copy of this work was located by Kirti Rinpoche in his inquiry in the life and works of Dge 'dun chos 'phel in the early 1980s, see Kirti Rinpoche 2013: 10.

⁹ See Triratna 2012: 1. Sangharakshita's explanations of the BCA were published as "The Endlessly Fascinating Cry" (Sangharakshita 1978).

receiving end. In his role as both the political and religious leader of many Tibetans, and many sympathisers around the globe as well, Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, has been most instrumental in popularising the teaching of the BCA. Not only has he inspired many of the translation projects relating to the text,¹⁰ but he has also taught it himself on various occasions. Published in the form of broadly accessible books for personal development, these explanations aim to convey aspects of the BCA to a vast and varied audience, one interested in Buddhism foremost as a means of spiritual practice.¹¹

The possibility of engaging with the text through so many channels seems to be indeed one reason for its popularity. As Luis Gómez has pointed out, people have engaged with the BCA in various ways: it can be viewed as either a spiritual text that addresses the “universal longings” of mankind, a practice manual that teaches meditation, a philosophical treatise that explicates the intricacies of Madhyamaka thought, or as a ritual and devotional text. In addition, most of its readers recognise the BCA’s poetical qualities.¹² Such a variety of approaches, however, is not only an effect of the diversity within the audience that this text encountered in its global spread in the twentieth century; as I will show in the following, it was also an important factor governing its transmission within traditional settings.

The Bodhicaryāvatāra in premodern contexts

Modern scholars commonly accept that the BCA was composed by Śāntideva at the monastic university of Nālandā at the beginning of the eighth century CE.¹³ Based on the number of Indian commentarial works that are included in the Tibetan Bstan ’gyur, one can assume that it became a rather popular work quite soon after its appear-

¹⁰ See Batchelor 1998, Padmakara 1999a, and Padmakara 1999b, for a few examples of such efforts.

¹¹ See Liland 2009: 56–58 and (for a synopsis of a teaching relating to the BCA by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama) pp. 59ff.

¹² Gómez 1999: 266f. See also Viehbeck 2005: 5f., for some examples of common approaches to the BCA.

¹³ Some details regarding the determination of Śāntideva’s precise dates are provided in Viehbeck 2005: 6. One should bear in mind that our knowledge of the details surrounding the composition of this work stands on very shaky ground, being based, most importantly, on the legendary material that has accompanied this text within its tradition of transmission. And while we tend to speak of the BCA as one text, attributed to a single author, one should realize that this again is a problematic assumption, as the existence of various, quite divergent versions of the work demonstrates. On the differences and relations between these versions, see Saito 1993.

ance.¹⁴ Along with the pan-Asian spread of Buddhism, this work was translated and adopted in various local contexts: it was translated into Tibetan for the first time as early as the beginning of the ninth century (by Ska ba Dpal brtsegs and Sarvajñādeva), into Chinese in the late tenth century (by Tiān Xīzāi), and into Mongolian in the early fourteenth century (by Nom-un gerel, Tib. Chos kyi 'od zer).¹⁵ While the BCA, as a late import from Buddhist India, did not attain to any major significance in China,¹⁶ and therefore not in the wider sphere of East Asian Buddhism either that developed from there, it became an extremely influential text in other local traditions, particularly in Tibet.

Its first translation into Tibetan by Ska ba Dpal brtsegs and Sarvajñādeva was found in Dunhuang, and has recently been made available to a wider audience through the research of Akira Saito.¹⁷ The text was then retranslated—on the basis of different manuscripts—by the trio of Dharmasrībhadrā, Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), and Śākya blo gros, and revised a last time by Sumatikīrti and Rngog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109).¹⁸ Blo ldan shes rab not only created the final Tibetan rendering of the BCA that was included in the Bstan 'gyur—and which also formed the standard basis for Tibetan scholars' engagement with this text—but he also augmented the Tibetan tradition of writing commentaries on the BCA. The enormous production of commentarial literature on this text indeed represents a good measure of its importance in Tibet and of the interest it triggered, beginning with the early Bka' gdams pa masters and later spreading to all other Tibetan Buddhist traditions.¹⁹

¹⁴ A list of these commentaries, ten in number, is provided in Dietz 1999: 35ff. Tibetan scholars even speak of over a hundred Indian commentaries on the BCA (see Kretschmar 2004: 11), a number that certainly must be taken figuratively.

¹⁵ See Liland 2009: 26ff., for an overview of the translation process in the respective contexts.

¹⁶ According to Liland (2009: 37ff.), the historical situation provides the most important reason for the lack of influence of this work in China. While many translation projects were carried out under governmental support during the Northern Sòng dynasty, these seem to have been politically motivated and had only little influence on Chinese Buddhism itself, which had already developed its own schools of Buddhist thought and practice. Another factor that is commonly mentioned is the poor quality of this particular translation of the BCA, see Gómez 1999: 263 and Nakamura 1996: 288.

¹⁷ See Saito 2000.

¹⁸ For the translation history of the BCA in Tibet, see Saito 1993: 14ff.

¹⁹ The commentaries of several masters achieved the status of a standard reference for the respective scholastic traditions. Rdza Dpal sprul, for example, mentions Bsod nams rtse mo (1142–1182), Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432), Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (1504–1564/66), and Dngul chu Thogs med bzang po (1295–1369) as most influential (see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 805.1–3). According to Kretschmar 2004 (pp. 22–24), the following scholars can be

One notable exception to this general pattern is the Rnying ma school, where increased interest in the text surfaced only in the nineteenth century. It is possible, as I will show in the following, to trace back this change essentially to the activities of a single religious figure, O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po (1808–1887), a charismatic yogin and scholar, known better under his short title Rdza Dpal sprul.

The Bodhicaryāvatāra in the Rnying ma tradition

The argument for a considerable change in the significance ascribed to this work within the Rnying ma school can again be based on the observation of the production of—in a wide sense—“commentarial” literature. It is rather astonishing that there seems to be no commentarial work on the BCA written by a Rnying ma author prior to Dpal sprul. Even Dpal sprul himself produced no full-fledged commentary, but is acknowledged as the author of three rather short treatises on the BCA: *Spyod 'jug brgyud 'debs* (a supplication to the transmission lineage of the text), *Spyod 'jug sa bcad* (a detailed structural outline of the content of the BCA), and *Spyod 'jug sgom rim* (a short practice manual in which he picks out various contents of the BCA and arranges them into a set of contemplative exercises).²⁰ He further gave oral explanations of the text in various contexts, as will be elaborated below.

Two generations after Dpal sprul, this state of initial curiosity had changed completely. Students of Dpal sprul and their students in turn would go on to write a considerable number of commentaries on the BCA. Thereby they created an independent and compelling scholastic tradition relating to the text, which they were also willing to defend against differing interpretations. In my investigation of this development, I will start by drawing a precise picture of the textual production related to the BCA among Dpal sprul and his peers by

added to this list: Lho pa Kun mkhyen rin chen dpal, Bu ston (1290–1364), Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1312–1375), Sa bzang ma ti pañ chen (1294–1376), 'Brug pa Pad ma dkar po (1527–1592), Mi pham (1846–1912), Mkhan po Gzhan dga' (1871–1927), Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa, Mkhan po Kun dpal (1862–1943), Zhe chen Rgyal tshab (1871–1926), and a certain Blo gros rgyal mtshan (given the bibliographical details in the TBRC database, the name of the latter should probably be corrected to Blo gros rgya mtsho, the seventh abbot of Rdzong (g)sar). Certainly many more works on the BCA were written, but their influence was limited to their more immediate surroundings.

²⁰ Critical editions of these texts along with English translations are provided in Viehbeck 2005.

addressing the individual works and their interrelations.²¹ In an attempt to explain this phenomenon, I will further include hagiographical material²² and consider some theoretical approaches to the investigation of intellectual development.

Textual production in the 19th century

That Dpal sprul's teaching activity indeed sparked an avalanche of interest in the BCA can best be grasped by looking at the number of works that were produced in this period.²³ To start with, there are the three short works that Dpal sprul himself composed on the BCA. Further, we have testimony of his teaching activity in the form of records that students produced on the basis of his oral explanations. The notes of his close disciple Mkhan po Kun dpal (1862–1943), for example, are preserved in a lengthy manuscript that is now kept at the Zhe chen Monastery in Kathmandu.²⁴ Lecture notes were also taken on Dpal sprul's explanations of the fourth chapter of the BCA by a certain 'Jig med chos 'phel bzang po, apparently over a period of

²¹ In many cases, my analysis of the texts is limited to a close investigation of the colophons and introductory passages, and a cursory reading of selected passages from the texts; a detailed enquiry into the content and interrelations of individual works will have to come later, as a follow-up to these tentative remarks.

²² I will for the most part be considering the *rnam thar* of Dpal sprul written by his close disciple Mkhan po Kun dpal (see *Dpal sprul rnam thar*). For working with this source, the following two prints were used: the edition included in one version of the collected works of Dpal sprul (*Dpal sprul bka' 'bum*), referred to as A, and the edition in the *Gsung 'bum* of Kun dpal (*Kun dpal gsung 'bum*), referred to as B. The default reference is according to edition A, whose readings I found in general more reliable, even if the print quality of B is better. Variants in reading are indicated by the respective abbreviations (A, B). Mention must be made of yet another block print of this text, contained in vol. 4, pp. 783–879 in another version of Dpal sprul's collected works (*Dpal sprul gsung 'bum*), with the slightly misspelled title *O rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang po'i rnam thar dad pa'i gsol smon bdud ris'i'i bum bcud*. The precise textual relation of these three versions to one another needs to be investigated.

²³ A list of these works is provided in the appendix; the relation of individual items to one another will be addressed in detail below.

²⁴ I would like to thank Matthieu Ricard who provided me with a provisional transcript of this text in 2004, titled: *Spyod 'jug la dpal sprul rin po che'i zhal rgyun zin bris* (see *Kun dpal zin bris*). It does not contain any details about the context of its composition, and later attempts to access the original manuscript (which was apparently written in Kun dpal's own hand) were not successful. This text was printed by Yeshe De Dharma Publishing and distributed at a *smo lam* gathering, but unfortunately cannot be purchased from the publisher.

nine sittings.²⁵ This text is included in one version of Dpal sprul's collected words, but no further details are known about the note taker.²⁶

The most systematic continuation of Dpal sprul's teaching tradition is probably found in Kun dpal's extensive commentary on the entire BCA. The colophon of this text explicitly states the wish of the sponsors and the more immediate initiators of this composition, such as the third Kaḥ thog Situ, Chos kyi rgya mtsho (1880–1923/25), that it should be written according to the “instructions of the Lama” (*bla ma'i zhal rgyun*), that is, Dpal sprul—a request that Kun dpal dutifully followed.²⁷ Kun dpal writes that he based his commentary on notes that he took during lectures on the BCA and refers to one occasion when he received teachings from Dpal sprul over a period of six months at his religious centre in Dge gong, called Rig 'dzin 'chi med grub pa bshad sgrub dga' tshal. He also mentions this event in the introduction to his commentary,²⁸ where he points out that Dpal sprul was using the commentary of Dngul chu Thogs med bzang po (1295–1369), in such a way that it could be applied to personal practice and experience (*nyams len*). These explanations are of particular importance since they must be considered as Dpal sprul's last major teaching activity.²⁹ It is very likely that this is related to the notes that are preserved in the above-mentioned manuscript from Zhe chen

²⁵ See *Spyod 'jug le'u bzhi ma'i zin bris* 179.3: *mdo kham smad kyi paṇḍita chen po dpal dge sprul ba'i sku rin po che'i zhal snga nas spyod 'jug gis khrid lan grangs dgu tsam thob pa'i skabs* [...].

²⁶ Considering that the person in question received teachings from Dpal sprul so many times, it is quite surprising that he is not more commonly known. It could of course simply be a case of reference under a secondary name. The name that is provided is not found in common databases or the list of students provided in Kun dpal's *rnam thar*. For bibliographical details, see *Spyod 'jug le'u bzhi ma'i zin bris*.

²⁷ The colophon is included in the translation of the entire commentary published by the Padmakara Translation Group (Padmakara 2008). Translations of the first five chapters along with a detailed introduction have also been produced by Andreas Kretschmar and are openly available at his homepage <http://www.kunpal.com> (accessed October 29, 2015). For the Tibetan text of the colophon, see *Kun dpal 'grel pa* 813.10ff.

²⁸ See Kretschmar 2004: 188f., for a translation as well as the Tibetan text.

²⁹ Further details are provided in Kun dpal's *rnam thar*, where it is stated that the teachings were given in an intimate setting with an audience of eight or nine monks, including Kun dpal and Tshe dbang grags pa, a son of the famous *gter ston* Mchog gyur gling pa (1829–1870). Instruction lasted for six months, beginning in the eighth Tibetan month and running up to the first Tibetan month of the Fire-Dog year 1885–86, just one year before Dpal sprul died; see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 838.4–5: *de skabs mchog gyur gling pa'i sras chung ba tshe dbang grags pa phebs nas | de dang mkhan kun dpal sogs grwa pa bryad dgu la thog 'grel steng nas spyod 'jug rgyas pa ston 'bring po nas me khiyi zla ba dang po'i phyed kyi bar zla ngo drug tu gsungs*.

Monastery.³⁰ Kun dpal took further notes during a forty-day series of lectures on the BCA given by Dbon rin po che O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu (b. 1851), another close disciple of Dpal sprul, which he was able to attend twice. In addition, Kun dpal's commentary was also informed by notes and oral explanations provided by other close students of Dpal sprul. The fidelity of the student's written notes to the master's oral explanations can be seen by comparing the structural outline of Kun dpal's commentary and Dpal sprul's own *sa bcad*, which diverge only in minor details.³¹ To say that Kun dpal's work provides the exact words of his master,³² however, would be jumping to conclusions, as an investigation of another commentary of one of his students will show.

'Ju Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912), known as the foremost philosophical thinker of the Rnying ma tradition, and probably Dpal sprul's most famous disciple, wrote a commentary on the ninth chapter of the BCA, a chapter that was particularly important for the development of Madhyamaka thought. As stated in its colophon,³³ the work, completed on September 9, 1878, was composed not only after all available Indian and major Tibetan works on this topic had been consulted, but also after the oral teachings of Dpal sprul had been imbibed. A *rnam thar* of Mi pham specifies that he had received explanations of the text for a period of five days.³⁴ In the years to follow, this commentary would become famous across Tibet for igniting disputes with several Dge lugs scholars—controversies that continued, through an exchange of polemical writings, until Mi pham's death.³⁵ While it is often commonly assumed that this commentary reflects his master's reading of the ninth chapter, a comparison of structural frameworks may force a reconsideration of the matter. Mi pham deviates not only in the headings he gives to individual passages, but also, at least occasionally, in how the BCA is structured overall. His commentary must therefore be understood as an important inde-

³⁰ See Kretschmar 2004: 40, 189, and 379. Given the precise dates of the teaching, it seems, however, Kretschmar's interpretation of the textual sources must be corrected in its assumption that Mchog gyur gling pa was among the audience; rather, it is his son Tshe dbang grags pa, to whom Kun dpal is referring.

³¹ For Dpal sprul's *sa bcad*, see Viehbeck 2005: 91–157; for the outline of Kun dpal's commentary, see *Kun dpal 'grel pa*: 1–21.

³² Such an assumption, however conditionally phrased, is found, for instance, in Padmakara 2008 (xviii): "It could perhaps be said that *The Nectar of Manjushri's Speech* is the commentary that Patrul Rinpoche so often gave by word of mouth but never actually wrote."

³³ See *Nor bu ke ta ka* 94.5ff.

³⁴ See Pettit 1999: 24.

³⁵ For a detailed analysis of the historical development of these controversies and, specifically, the debate between Mi pham and one of his Dge lugs pa opponents, Dpa' ris Rab gsal, see Viehbeck 2014b.

pendent work rather than as a record of his master's words.³⁶ In this regard it is interesting to see that Kun dpal seems to have chosen a middle way between his two predecessors. While he follows the *sa bcad* of Dpal sprul for, among others, the ninth chapter of the BCA, the actual phrasing is closely modelled after Mi pham's explanations. Often the latter's text is quoted almost verbatim without, however, including the idiosyncratic passages in Mi pham's commentary that were important for delineating the boundaries of his specific Rnying ma outlook. Written in sharp contrast to the philosophical system of the Dge lugs school, these were heavily criticised by the latter. Kun dpal's commentary lacks these scholastic edges and is more general in tone, and therefore also applicable to divergent scholastic traditions of Madhyamaka thought.³⁷

A more general approach is also taken in the commentary of another student of Dpal sprul, Gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba (1871–1927), known more widely under his short title Mkhan po Gzhan dga'. He became famous in particular for his composition of concise "annotation commentaries" (*mchan 'grel*) on a collection of thirteen Indian texts (*gzhung chen bcu gsum*) widely perceived as encapsulating the fundamentals of Buddhist doctrine. Along with his explanations, these texts have constituted the basis for the scholastic education purveyed in "commentarial institutions" (*bshad grwa*), which had sprung up by the middle of the nineteenth century as an alternative to the "debating institutions" (*rtsod grwa*) of the Dge lugs school.³⁸ Gzhan dga' was instrumental in this development, inasmuch as he was involved in the educational programme of several such institutions belonging to different schools of Tibetan Buddhism.³⁹ His collection of core texts contains a commentary on the BCA, which is—like his other treatises—very general in nature and avoids specific

³⁶ I have discussed the relation between Mi pham's commentary and Dpal sprul's explanations in more detail in previous writings; see Viehbeck 2009: 4 and Viehbeck 2014b: 31.

³⁷ Viehbeck 2014b: 88f. describes in more detail how Kun dpal proceeded with regard to individual passages.

³⁸ See Dreyfus 2003 on the differences between the two educational systems practised in the respective institutions, and Dreyfus 2005 on the origin of "commentarial institutions." We will address this topic in more detail below.

³⁹ Most famously, his collection of textbooks served as the basis for the curriculum of the *bshad grwa* at Rdzong (g)sar, opened in 1918—which later influenced other institutions. A brief overview of the history of this *bshad grwa* is given in Kretschmar 2004: 97ff. According to Kretschmar (2004: 99), Gzhan dga' was also responsible for the educational programme at Śrī Siṃha bshad grwa at Rdzogs chen Monastery, taught at La si sgang in Sde dge, and founded *bshad grwas* at the Bka' brgyud monastery of Dpal spungs and at Skyed dgon don 'grub gling, a monastery in the Sa skya tradition.

topics that had interested the different scholastic traditions.⁴⁰ As stated in its colophon, it is based primarily on Indian treatises, but he also makes explicit reference to the teachings he had received from Dpal sprul, whom he praises for diligently putting the content of the BCA into actual practice during his entire life.⁴¹

As the example of Gzhan dga's activities in institutions of the Rnying ma, Sa skya, and Bka' brgyud traditions shows, Eastern Tibet in the nineteenth century was a network of close ties and interaction among the various religious traditions—a phenomenon that is often summed up by the expression “*ris med* (‘non-sectarian’) movement.”⁴² It therefore ought not to seem very surprising that Mi nyag Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa (1823–1905), a scholar steeped in the Dge lugs tradition, was among Dpal sprul's students who wrote important commentaries on the BCA. He was especially prolific and produced altogether three commentaries: a lengthy composition of 915 pages that deals in detail with the first eight chapters of the BCA and provides only the original text of the tenth chapter as a conclusion of the text, and two separate works—a detailed commentary and a work dealing with pertinent general issues (*spyi don*)—solely on the ninth chapter.⁴³ The colophon of the first provides hardly any information about the details of composition, but in his introduction Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa clearly refers to Dpal sprul as his master, and we therefore can safely assume that the latter's teachings must have been a significant source.⁴⁴ The colophon of the general discussion (*spyi don*) is more informative about sources. Thub bstan chos grags again makes direct reference to his master Dpal sprul,⁴⁵ and notes that he had occasionally received two-month-long stretches of formal expla-

⁴⁰ While Gzhan dga' certainly was aware of Mi pham's interpretation and the discussions it had triggered, his explanations of crucial passages (see his commentary on BCA IX.1 or IX.2 in *Gzhan dga' mchan 'grel* 411 and 412, respectively) show that he not only did not adopt the explanations of Mi pham, but that he generally seems to have attempted to present a non-controversial reading of the text, based on Indian material.

⁴¹ See *Gzhan dga' mchan 'grel* 474.6f.: ‘*phags pa'i yul gyi gnas lnga mthar son pa'i pañdi ta chen po rnams kyi legs par bshad pa la gzhi byas | sku tshes ril por byang chub sems dpa'i spyod 'jug gi nyams len la brtson pas chos dang rang rgyud gcig tu 'dres pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen dpal sprul chos kyi dbang po'i zhal rgyun drin can bla ma [...]*.

⁴² A critical evaluation of this term will follow below; see note 74.

⁴³ For bibliographical details, see *Kun bsod 'grel bshad*, *Kun bsod sher le gzhung 'grel*, and *Kun bsod sher le spyi don*, respectively. A complete translation of the *Kun bsod sher le gzhung 'grel* is found in Padmakara 1999b.

⁴⁴ See *Kun bsod 'grel bshad* 5.2. Others who have followed in Dpal sprul's teaching tradition point out the very close relationship here between student and master; see Kretschmar 2004: 24, 40, 127, 379. It seems rather surprising, then, that Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa is not mentioned in Kun dpa'l's biography of Dpal sprul.

⁴⁵ See *Kun bsod sher le spyi don* 303.2.

nations of the text from him, and also had heard scattered teachings of it in other contexts. These teachings were based mainly on Thogs med bzang po's commentary, and to lesser degrees on the work of other scholars—for example, the commentary of Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432) for the ninth chapter of the BCA. Accordingly, Thub bstan chos grags lists these and the famous Indian commentary of Prajñākaramati as his main sources. Several other Indian Madhyamaka works are mentioned as additional inspiration.⁴⁶ Rgyal tshab's commentary and certain “shorter and longer notes” are also mentioned as sources for his second work on the ninth chapter. While no explicit reference to Dpal sprul is made in the colophon, we can assume that this text, too, was written under the influence of his teachings.⁴⁷ The exact relation between Dpal sprul's teaching tradition as expressed in commentaries by other (non-Dge lugs) scholars and Thub bstan chos grags's works still needs, however, closer investigation. This issue is especially important in the light of the differences between the Rnying ma and the Dge lugs traditions that surfaced in the debates between Mi pham and a number of Dge lugs scholars.⁴⁸

It seems that these very controversies sparked new interest in the BCA, especially when it came to explaining its ninth chapter. Several scholars with close ties to the scholastic circles surrounding Dpal sprul and his disciples engaged in building up a Rnying ma scholastic tradition of its own of explicating this important Madhyamaka

⁴⁶ These details are provided in the colophon to his work; see *Kun bsod sher le spyi don* 304.1–5. Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen's commentary draws heavily on previous notes made by his master Tsong kha pa and became the standard reference source for the BCA in the Dge lugs tradition. Prajñākaramati's commentary is used widely by all Tibetan scholars as the most authoritative Indian commentary on Śāntideva's work. The additional Madhyamaka works Thub bstan chos grags mentions are: the collection of logical works (*rigs tshogs*) of Nāgārjuna, such as his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*; further, Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*, Śāntideva's *Śikṣasamuccaya*, and Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvātāra*.

⁴⁷ See *Kun bsod sher le gzhung 'grel* 447.4ff. The text was composed at Bkra shis lha rtse at Rdzong (g)sar, at the request of Lung rtogs bstan pa'i nyi ma (1829–1901/02), one of the main students of Dpal sprul, and one frequently mentioned in Kun dpal's *rnam thar*.

⁴⁸ Interestingly, Mkhan po Bkra shis dpal ldan from Skyabs rje Monastery, as a member of Dpal sprul's teaching tradition, explains the differences between Thub bstan chos grags on the one hand and Kun dpal and Mi pham on the other in terms of general *styles* that could be applied to approaching the content of the BCA. While the former favoured a “scholastic explanation style,” the latter two embody the “practice instruction style” (see Kretschmar 2004: 127f.). Given, in turn, the differences in style between Kun dpal and Mi pham—the latter drawing much more on scholastic details than the former—we also need to consider the distinct scholastic backgrounds, especially when comparing Mi pham's and Thub bstan chos grags's work.

text. Glag bla Bsod nam chos 'grub (1862–1944), for example, wrote several works on the BCA, of which his commentary on the ninth chapter is the most extensive.⁴⁹ His remarks in the author's colophon seem to hint at a controversy in the interpretation of the BCA, and Mi pham, as the figurehead of tensions between Dge lugs and Rnying ma interpretations of the text, is mentioned explicitly in the printer's colophon.⁵⁰ Further, Zhe chen rgyal tshab Padma rnam rgyal (1871–1926), a student of both Dpal sprul and Mi pham, composed two separate commentaries on the ninth chapter. His “word-by-word commentary” (*'bru 'grel*) is basically a subcommentary on Mi pham's *Nor bu ke ta ka*,⁵¹ and his “annotation commentary” (*mchan 'grel*) also follows along the lines of this work. It places itself in a lineage of oral instructions of “knowledge holders of the Earlier Translation [tradition],” thus leaving no doubt that the increasing interest in teaching and debating this text contributed to developing a compelling scholastic identity of relating its content for Rnying ma pas.⁵² Another short text, composed by 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma (1865–1926), the Third Rdo grub chen, who is also listed among Dpal sprul's close students in Kun dpal's *rnam thar*,⁵³ follows this trend, addressing as it does fundamental doctrinal differences in the understanding of the ninth chapter of the BCA.⁵⁴ This activity continued into the next generation of Rnying ma scholars, as aptly demonstrated by two brief works on the BCA by Thub bstan bshad sgrub rgya mtsho (1879–1961), another commentary on the ninth chapter by Blo gros rgya mtsho, the seventh abbot of Rdzong (g)sar, and an extensive commentary on the entire work by 'Jigs med rdo rje (1879–1940/41).⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Besides his commentary on the ninth chapter (*Bsod chos sher 'grel*), he also wrote a text that brings together Indian sources that support the content of the BCA (*Spyod 'jug lung btus*), along with a brief explanation of the opening passage of the BCA (*Spyod 'jug klad don*) and a brief discussion of a thorny issue in the sixth chapter of the text (*Bzod le dgag pa*).

⁵⁰ See *Bsod chos sher 'grel* 327.1–4.

⁵¹ This is very clear from comparing the actual content of the two works. Padma rnam rgyal expounds especially on points criticised by Dge lugs authors, and his efforts must obviously be seen as an attempt to defend the commentary of his master Mi pham, whom he addresses as a *kun mkhyen bla ma*, “omniscient teacher.” In the colophon (*Rgyal tshab 'bru 'grel* 704.2–5), he refers to the work of his master as *Sher tika chen mo*.

⁵² See *Rgyal tshab mchan 'grel* 825.2–4.

⁵³ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 846.5.

⁵⁴ See *Spyod 'jug dka' gnas gsal byed* 311, where the differences among the Sa skya, Dge lugs, and Rnying ma traditions regarding how the selflessness of arhats is to be understood are discussed.

⁵⁵ These texts are listed in the appendix below; bibliographical details are provided in the TBRC database.

*Evaluating and explaining intellectual significance—
some theoretical remarks*

While this list of works is only tentative and more works on the BCA were doubtless produced within the narrow confines of Dpal sprul's sphere of influence (and may come to light eventually), these texts already are striking testimony to the enormous change the BCA underwent in this short period. What, then, are we to make of this development? How can we go about looking for explanations?

In the following, I will not propose a comprehensive theoretical framework for doing so, but merely hint at some issues that might be worth looking at if we conceive of the described interest in the BCA as an intellectual development that is shaped in *social interaction*. In doing so, I will draw in a very general sense from some notions that were highlighted by the American sociologist Randall Collins in his ambitious attempt to write a social history of global intellectual change.⁵⁶

As Collins has noted, intellectual change and significance can be viewed as being created through processes of interaction between basically two different groups, a network of intellectually like-minded persons—students or disciples, so to speak—and a group of intellectual rivals. In both cases, interaction leads to increased public attention. This publicity is created in so-called “interaction rituals,” which may take the form of instructions or debate, depending on the principal intellectual identities and ties. Collins emphasises the performative power of personal encounters, but these are closely linked to the production of texts insofar as oral statements are meant to be seen as temporal and situational “embodiments” of contents preserved in written form.⁵⁷

By compiling a list of commentarial works on the BCA produced by Dpal sprul's peers (many of whom were his direct students), I had already adopted this perspective of looking for significance in the activities of a social network of allies. Once a broad impression is established of a network that emerged within a specific field of interest—in this case, texts relating to the BCA among a selected social group—we can proceed towards a more close-up perspective and try to specify the role that an individual—Dpal sprul—played in this development. And if references by students are accepted as one indi-

⁵⁶ Collins 2002; I am indebted to Kurtis Schaeffer for pointing out Collins's work.

⁵⁷ As indicated above, here I am referring in a very general sense to Collins's work, focusing on its theoretical considerations, esp. pp. 1–79. I do, however, agree with the assessment put forth by some of his critics that his approach—especially in its psychological dimensions—seems to be shaped heavily by present-day North American intellectual practice.

cator of the significance of their master, it seems plausible that their image of him or the role they attributed to him, if ascertainable, would provide a reason for this significance.

Each of the individuals mentioned earlier certainly had his own particular story to tell of direct or second-hand contact with Dpal sprul, and hence of very personal ways of relating to him. It may be worthwhile, however, to provide only one, albeit particularly detailed and consequential, case as an example of how Dpal sprul's engagement with the BCA was perceived by his students.⁵⁸ In the following, then, I will present passages from the *rnam thar* of Mkhan po Kun dpal. And while Kun dpal's account is very personal (I have made no attempt to validate individual assertions on the basis of independent sources), it offers at least one version of the historical background to Dpal sprul's engagement with the BCA.⁵⁹

An account of Dpal sprul's life

Mkhan po Kun dpal (1862–1943) was a close disciple of Dpal sprul and of the latter's student Mi pham. As noted earlier, he was present at Dpal sprul's last teachings of the BCA and contributed to a large extent—through the notes that he took on those occasions, his extensive commentary on the text, and his description of Dpal sprul's ac-

⁵⁸ Apart from an account of Dpal sprul's life that was compiled only recently, on the basis of information supplied by Smyo shul Mkhan chen (1931–1999) (see *Rnam thar ngag rgyun ma*), Kun dpal's remains the most detailed report of these events, and is also heavily drawn on by Smyo shul Mkhan chen.

⁵⁹ Texts of the *rnam thar* genre cast a very specific light on history, most importantly by drawing attention to their main subject. But given the fact that *any* historical account is determined by certain linguistic choices and conventions (as demonstrated most famously in Hayden White's *Metahistory*; see White 1987), we should probably not be exceedingly suspicious in regard to the basic elements Kun dpal's report includes. As Kun dpal explains in the colophon of his work, he based his account on the earlier notes taken by Grub chen Rin po che—most likely the Third Rdo grub chen 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma (1865–1926)—and A mchod Bsod tshé (*Dpal sprul rnam thar* 852.2f.), which he combined. The overall structure is modelled after an encomium of Dpal sprul by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892), which is attached at the end of the text and commented upon at the beginning of it. This encomium, Kun dpal emphasises, is “free from the faults of partiality [in the form of] exaggeration or depreciation, and therefore has become an object of well-founded trust” (*Dpal sprul rnam thar* 777.4: *sgro skur phyogs zhen gyi nyes pa dang bral bas yid ches khungs btsun gyi gnas su 'gyur phyir*). Further, Kun dpal stresses that his report represents an “ordinary general *rnam thar*” (*thun mongs spyi'i rnam thar*) that describes common events as witnessed by Kun dpal himself and other students, in contrast to the extraordinary events that might be addressed in an “inner” (*nanng*) or “secret” (*gsang ba*) *rnam thar*; see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 848.6–849.4.

tivity in his *rnam thar*—to the preservation of his master's legacy. In many details that Kun dpal reports about Dpal sprul's engagement with the BCA in this last account, he leaves no doubt that this work was of special importance to his master. While it is repeatedly emphasised, for example, that Dpal sprul abstained from gathering any possessions and making provisions for the future, a copy of this text was among the very few things that he did in fact keep.⁶⁰ Also, when Dpal sprul's students inquired in an intimate moment about the character of their master, he referred to this text as the key shaper of his mental outlook and behaviour.⁶¹ And in the same way as the BCA was cherished by Dpal sprul, he in turn was vital to the text—that is, to its content being spread among the people: Kun dpal reports numerous occasions when Dpal sprul engaged in teaching the text, and indeed such activity led his contemporaries to believe that he actually had been Śāntideva himself in a previous life.⁶²

While Kun dpal makes no attempt to be comprehensive in his listing of Dpal sprul's teachings, his account is not only impressive for the sheer number of these events, but also revealing regarding the location, the audience, and the form of the teachings. As we are informed, Dpal sprul, rather than taking up the duties at his monastic seat Rdza skya dgon, where he was recognised as a "tulku" (*sprul sku*), opted for an unsettled lifestyle,⁶³ roaming the land, studying, practising, and teaching at both secluded places and established monastic institutions. The geographical scope of his activity is therefore considerable: mainly he taught in the wider area of Rdza chu kha and Sde dge, ranging from places like Khri 'du in the north-east, to Gser thal in the west, and Kaḥ thog in the south. And, in many cases, this included teachings of the BCA.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 814.2f.

⁶¹ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 824.5.

⁶² According to Kun dpal, such was also implied in predictions by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po and the *gter ston* Bdud 'dul rdo rje, see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 786.2. The connection between Dpal sprul and Śāntideva is also highlighted in Mkhyen brtse'i dbang po's prayer to Dpal sprul included in version B of the *rnam thar*, see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* (B) 480.2f.

⁶³ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 792ff., for a description of the crucial situation when Dpal sprul decided to give up his position at Rdza skya dgon and abandoned all his possessions and responsibilities. It is this image of Dpal sprul as a wandering yogin that first will come to mind in later generations.

⁶⁴ As tradition has it, Dpal sprul taught the text more than a hundred times (Kretschmar 2004: 2). Kun dpal's *rnam thar* mentions concrete teaching situations in the following places and monasteries: Wa shul & Gser thal (p. 795.3f.), Dhi chung & A ri (p. 796.1), Rdo yul (p. 800.3f.), various places in the vicinity of Rdzogs chen such as Śrī sengha'i chos grwa, Padma'i thang, and Nags chung ma'i ri khrod (p. 800.4–801.1), Kaḥ thog (p. 802.4), Ser shul dgon, La ba, Khri 'du,

Thus the settings and audiences of the teaching varied widely. These included intimate bestowals of the teachings upon single students, such as the telling episode when Dpal sprul spent a couple of months in the forest instructing his closest disciple Smyo shul Lung rtogs (1829–1901/02):⁶⁵

Once both he (i.e., Dpal sprul) and Lung rtogs were residing in either Dhi chung forest or A ri forest. When it was time to eat, they would eat only a little from the bags of *tsam pa* they had, and then put the *tsam pa* bags up in a tree. [Then Dpal sprul] explained to him two four[-line] verses of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. With nothing to wear but a white woollen cape, [Dpal sprul] would take a stick and walk into the forest, bursting forth in loud laughter. Lung rtogs said that he did so also on the following days. Continuing on in this way for a couple of months, [Dpal sprul] was cheerful and said that this was what is meant in the words (of the BCA) “lonely and lovely forest spots.”⁶⁶

But Dpal sprul also taught the BCA to huge gatherings. Kun dpal emphasises that even laypersons were drawn to these teachings, during which Dpal sprul managed to convey the basic core of Mahāyāna Buddhist thought to what can be assumed to have been a less receptive audience:⁶⁷

Even laypersons, ordinary men and women, listened for a while to [his] explanations of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in the Dharma assembly. Hence they understood the [general] outlook that the lifeline of the Dharma of the Great Vehicle is a virtuous attitude, that is, *bodhicitta*.

Various scholars in Dpal sprul’s tradition stress this point and claim that Dpal sprul was indeed the first to open up this text to a non-

and Sgrub brgyud dgon (p. 803.4f.), Rdza dgon (p. 804.4f.), Dge gong (p. 804.5), Rdza rgyal dgon (p. 806.2f.), and Sko ‘or (p. 838.5).

⁶⁵ Dpal sprul *rnam thar* 796.1–4: *dhi chung nags sam a ri’i nags su khong dang lung rtogs gnyis bzhuks skabs rtsam pa khug ma gang yod pa gsol tshigs dus cung zad gsol nas rtsam khug de shing la btags (A btags) | khong la spyod ‘jug tshig bzhi re gnyis gsungs | lwa ba dkar po zhig las mnabs rgyu med dbyug pa zhig bsnam nas ha ha zhes pa’i ‘ur sgra chen po mdzad de nags nang du byon bzhuks mdzad | yang phyi nyin de ltar mdzad par lung rtogs gsungs | de ‘dra ‘i tshul gyis zla ba kha shas bzhuks te | nags tshal sa phyogs dben zhing nyams dga’ dang | zhes pa de ‘di ‘dra la zer ba yin zhes thugs spro nyams mdzad |*

⁶⁶ Here, Dpal sprul quotes a line of the third verse of the second chapter of the BCA, where the adept is encouraged to mentally gather everything pleasant imaginable, including a lovely and secluded piece of forest, and prepare these as a perfect offering to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha.

⁶⁷ See Dpal sprul *rnam thar* 818.1-2: ‘*jig rten mi nag gi skye bo pho mo rnam kyang spyod ‘jug bshad pa’i chos grwal du bag tsam re nyan pas | theg pa chen po’i chos kyi srog rtsa bsam pa bzang po byang chub kyi sems yin pa’i ‘gro phyogs shes shing |*

monastic audience—an assumption that can only be confirmed by further study of the social history of this work.⁶⁸ That these teachings did often attract a larger, more general audience can probably be concluded from the custom of propagating the text that Dpal sprul introduced: teachings were not just given once; rather, explanations and practical exercises were combined into a seminar devoted to the BCA conducted on an annual basis. Kun dpal mentions only three occasions when Dpal sprul established such a tradition: a twenty-day “Dharma session” (*chos thun*) at Ser shul dgon, a three-month seminar at Rdza dgon, and an unspecified “custom” (*srol*) relating to the BCA at Dge gong⁶⁹, but it is safe to assume that these were not the only such cases.⁷⁰

It is further stressed that Dpal sprul’s teaching was not confined to his own Rnying ma circles, but that it included institutions that belonged to other traditions of Tibetan Buddhism:⁷¹

He went to many large and small monasteries of the Sa [skya], Dge [lugs], Bka’ [brgyud], and Rnying [ma traditions] and gave extended explanations of such [texts] as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Zhīng sgrub*.⁷² Most of these [teaching traditions] have continued on [there] unimpaired up to the present day.

This point appears to be particularly important, especially when we consider that in each of the major Tibetan schools specific scholastic traditions of explaining the text had developed, revolving around commentaries of earlier scholars of the respective traditions. The specific allure of Dpal sprul for Kun dpal was that he had managed to acquire not only the necessary prestige to be invited by institutions of other traditions, but also the knowledge and openness to see the benefit of these individual scholastic traditions and to model his teaching accordingly:⁷³

⁶⁸ This point was stressed, for example, by Mkhan po A pad and Mkhan po Chos dga’, both of whom were interviewed by Andreas Kretschmar (Kretschmar 2004: 118 & 464).

⁶⁹ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 804.3., 804.4, and 804.5, respectively.

⁷⁰ Kretschmar mentions, for example, a three-month seminar that was established at Rdzogs chen (Kretschmar 2004: 39).

⁷¹ *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 803.5–6: *sa dge bka’ rnying gi dgon sde che phra mang por byon nas | spyod ’jug dang zhīng sgrub sogs kyi bshad pa rgya cher stsal ba phal cher da lta’i bar du ma nyams par gnas la |*.

⁷² This seems to be a work of the type that became popular in Tibet from the seventeenth century onward that deals with the attainment of rebirth in the realm of the Buddha Amitābha. For details of this development, see Kapstein 2004, esp. pp. 32ff.

⁷³ *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 805.1–3: *gsar rnying gi gzhung gang bshad thams cad de dag gi lugs ltar ma ’dres par bshad pa dang | khyad par spyod ’jug ni | sa skya pa’i nang du rje btsun bsod nams rtse mo’i ’grel pa ltar dang | dge lugs pa la zin bris dang dar tika (A*

All [his] explanations of scriptures of the Gsar [ma] and Rnying [ma traditions] were given according to the respective traditions, without mixing them. In particular, he (i.e., Dpal sprul) explained the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* according to the commentary of Bsod nams rtse mo among Sa skya pas, according to [Tsong kha pa's] "notes" (*zin bris*) and the commentary of Dar [ma rin chen] for Dge lugs pas, according to the commentary of Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba for Bka' rgyud pas, and according to the great commentary of Prajñākaramati and the commentary of [Dngul chu] Thogs [med] for Rnying mas.

It is this idea of tolerance and mutual respect that—under the *ris med* ("nonsectarian") label—is sometimes and rather too simplistically identified as the unifying characteristic of a group of nineteenth-century Eastern Tibetan religious luminaries who are said to have exemplified it. Such an attitude, to be sure, seems to have been embraced by many scholars of that time and area, but we should be aware that these features were appreciated and propagated—as general qualities—by most Buddhist authors. And while there obviously was close interaction between scholars who belonged to different religious traditions, it seems to be more appropriate to think of them as a complex network of individuals with varying agendas than to postulate a conscious, well-defined, and unified *ris med* movement.⁷⁴ More interestingly, the passage above shows that while the other schools had managed many centuries earlier to create a specific scholastic tradition of interpreting this text, such was not the case with the Rnying ma. Inspired by Dpal sprul's teaching, however, his students would eventually close this gap: for generations of Rnying ma students of the BCA to come, Gzhan dga's and Kun dpal's commentaries will be used as a basic exposition of the whole text, while Mi pham's commentary will be crucial for understanding its ninth chapter.⁷⁵

tākra) ltar | bka' rgyud pa la dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba'i 'grel pa ltar dang | rnying ma'i nang sher 'byung blo gros kyi 'grel chen dang | thogs (A thog) 'grel ltar bshad par mdzad la |.

⁷⁴ In earlier writing, I have tried to bring more clarity to this issue by distinguishing ideological and sociological considerations; see Viehbeck 2014b: 68ff. Alexander Gardner has argued insightfully that the idea of a well-defined *ris med* movement is essentially a fantasy of Western scholars and translators (Gardner 2006: 112ff.). While I find that his discussion of the term and its development addresses many crucial aspects, I think that it will be fruitful for further research to consider more carefully the role that Tibetan scholars played in shaping its meaning—for example, the late Sde gzhung rin po che (1906–1987), the teacher and a main source of information for Gene Smith, who in turn was among the first to introduce *ris med* as a topic to Western academia.

⁷⁵ Such is evident, for example, in the educational training as described by different Rnying ma scholars in Kretschmar 2004 (pp. 59ff.), and corresponds with my own

For Kun dpal, Dpal sprul's success depended of course on his skills as a commentator, but also on the qualities gained by him through spiritual practice. As the continuation of the previous quotation illustrates, one of these qualities is impartiality, which not only provides a reason for the status accorded to the commentaries of the other scholastic traditions, but which is also postulated and valued in Dpal sprul's own engagement with the text:⁷⁶

During the time of these [earlier scholars], too, there was no taking sides [for or against] the system of the Gsar [ma] and the Rnying [ma traditions], or empty talk of refutation and ascertainment, that is, [mere] self-praise or disparagement of others; and he (i.e., Dpal sprul) explained [the text] according to the tradition of [individual] "commentator-scholars" ('grel pa mkhan po), without mixing in even a bit of talk that would have caused attachment or anger in specific contexts. He clarified their respective positions in an honest way (*kha gtsang*) and aimed at a correct [representation]; he steered [explanations] towards the essential point, did not fall into the extremes of too extensive or too condensed [an explanation], and based [his] explanations on [first-hand] experience. Whence even many Rab 'byams pas⁷⁷ from the prayer festival (*smon lam*) in Lhasa spread flowers of rejoicing and bowed down respectfully [before him].

In short, Dpal sprul is depicted as the ideal instructor. Not only did he know the different scholastic traditions and was able to present them faithfully, but he also was versed in putting the contents of the BCA into practice. This last aspect of Dpal sprul's teaching is indeed often presented as his particular "style."⁷⁸ His practice-oriented inclination not only is stressed in remarks made by his contemporaries,⁷⁹ but also comes out in Dpal sprul's own writing. We should not forget, after all, that it is a practice manual that stands out among the short treatises Dpal sprul authored in regard to the BCA. His *Spyod 'jug sgom rim*, a guide that proceeds through the original text step by step,

experience in various contemporary scholastic institutions within the Rnying ma tradition.

⁷⁶ *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 805.3–5: *de dag gi tshe yang gsar rnying gi grub mtha'i phyogs 'dzin dang | dgag bzhas gi zer mchu rang bstod gzhan smad (B smrad) sogs skabs su ma babs pa dang | dus kyi dbang las chags sdang gi rgyur 'gro ba'i gtam rnam cha shas tsam yang ma 'dres par 'grel pa mkhan po'i lugs ltar bshad pa de dang de'i rang bzhed kha gtsang gsal zhing | dag la zur phyin pa | don gyi gnad thog tu 'dril zhing | ha cang rgyas bsdu kyi mthar ma lhung ba nyams len gyi steng du bskor nas gsungs pas lha ldan smon lam rab 'byams pa mang pos kyang yi rangs kyi me tog 'thor zhing gus pas btud |.*

⁷⁷ These are scholars who have received a Dge lugs education and been awarded the highest academic title of Dge bshes Rab 'byams pa.

⁷⁸ See Kretschmar 2004: 41.

⁷⁹ See the previous remarks in Kun dpal's and Gzhan dga's commentaries, notes 28 & 41.

draws out individual elements, and arranges them into a set of spiritual exercises, must be clearly seen as an attempt to make the BCA's content immediately relevant to personal religious practice, rather than establishing a specific scholastic tradition.⁸⁰ And it is probably not too farfetched to assume that exercises similar to the ones described in the *Sgom rim* also featured in the aforementioned seminars on the BCA.⁸¹

From what we can gather from Kun dpal's account, it seems to be a combination of all these features that account for the enormous success of Dpal sprul's teaching activity. His zeal in spreading the teachings of this particular text meant that Dpal sprul was confronted with a highly diverse audience—diverse in terms of geographical origin, social standing (of both monastics and laypersons), and scholastic orientation. This required him to be able to adapt to the immediate context, and to cultivate a method of teaching that could satisfy a wide range of expectations. By focusing on making the content of the BCA accessible through spiritual *practice*, Dpal sprul managed not only to avoid the controversies that had evolved in Tibetan scholastic history, but also to make the text relevant to a wider audience. It is thus, as his biographer describes in the following colourful quote, that he was able to arouse unprecedented interest:⁸²

At places other than the great dialectical institutions, only the names of [texts] like the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* were known in earlier times, much less [their] meaning. Even having a copy [of the texts] was rare. But later, through the kindness of this venerable lama (i.e., Dpal sprul) alone, the teaching and study of Madhyamaka, the [Five] Dharmas of Maitreya, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Sdom gsum*, *Yon tan mdzod*, etc. spread to every single place (*sa lang rdo lang*) in all three [areas]—upper, lower, and central—and it happened many times that the throats of little monks, from the age of ten onwards, were embellished by [the sound of reciting] the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

⁸⁰ See my recent article “Performing Text as Practice: Rdza Dpal sprul's Practice Manual on the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*” (Viehbeck 2014a) for an overview of the content of the *Sgom rim* and its approach of focusing on practice-related aspects of the BCA.

⁸¹ Such seems to be true at least of the seminars conducted at Rdzogs chen Monastery, as described in Kretschmar 2004: 39 & 48.

⁸² *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 817.1–3: *sngon dus mtshan nyid kyi chos grwa che ba 'dra ma gtogs* (B *gtog*) *gzhan du spyod 'jug sogs mtshan tsam las don shes pa lta ci | glegs bam 'chang ba tsam yang dkon pa las slad nas rje bla ma 'di kho na'i drin gyis stod smad bar gsum kun tu | dbu ma | byams chos | spyod 'jug | sdom gsum | yon tan mdzod sogs kyi 'chad nyan sa lang* (B *om. lang*) *rdo lang du dar zhing btsun chung lo bca' bcu pa yan chad kyi nang na spyod 'jug gis mgrin pa brgyan pa ches mang du thon pa dang |*.

Clearly, Kun dpal does not hold back when it comes to praising the achievements of his master. And while one may wonder about the historical accuracy of the details of his depiction (Were the BCA and other texts really not known at all? Is it justified to ascribe the change to the effort of one single person?, etc.), Kun dpal's account provides striking testimony for the image Dpal sprul's peers had of him, and this in turn can provide some idea of how important a force he was in the dissemination of the BCA in that particular time.

Allies & others: Dpal sprul and his socio-religious context

Up to now we have approached the increasing interest in the BCA as a process of rising significance that was produced in social interaction among Dpal sprul's followers. We may, however, also direct our attention in the opposite direction, to see what kind of reaction this development evoked amongst adversaries, and thereby also to explore the socio-religious context in which his activity needs to be placed. To follow Kun dpal's lead in this regard would be to believe that Dpal sprul simply had no opponents. While this, again, is not surprising in an account that generally emphasises the amicable character of its main protagonist, precisely such assurances may have been a sign of possible opponents. At various places in his *rnam thar*, Kun dpal insists that Dpal sprul's activities were appreciated by members not only of his own school, but also of other traditions. Here it is highly interesting that Kun dpal singles out the Dge lugs side to demonstrate just how universally accepted Dpal sprul was: when Kun dpal emphasises, for example, that Dpal sprul was generally venerated by people of various social status—scholars, lamas, tulkus, ordinary monks, and even laypersons—of both the Gsar ma and the Rnying ma traditions, he makes an extra effort to point out that this included members of the Dge lugs school.⁸³ He provides concrete examples of a supposedly controversial explanation being accepted against all odds. When, for instance, Dpal sprul propounded his explanation of the *Uttaratantraśāstra* (*Rgyud bla ma*)⁸⁴ in front of an assembly of Dge lugs scholars, who took a different approach to explaining this text, his charisma led even the highest scholars of this tradition to succumb.⁸⁵ Elsewhere, Kun dpal points out that the *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*—probably Dpal sprul's most famous work,

⁸³ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 834.3f. and 843.5.

⁸⁴ This work is more commonly known under the Sanskrit title *Ratnagotravibhāga* and is one of the core texts attributed to Maitreya, which explores the *tathāgata-garbhā* doctrine.

⁸⁵ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 803.6–804.3.

which introduces adepts to the foundational practices of the Klong chen snying thig system—was also very popular among members of the Dge lugs tradition throughout Tibet, and many are said to have kept a copy of it and to have secretly practised it.⁸⁶ And in an earlier quote we have already heard that such was also the case with Dpal sprul's explanations of the BCA, when "[...] even many Rab 'byams pas from the prayer festival in Lhasa spread flowers of rejoicing and bowed down respectfully" under the sway of Dpal sprul's qualities and his practice-oriented teaching style.

Clearly, these passages indicate that if one were to look for adversaries, then these would most likely have been found among members of the Dge lugs school. This point of view is hardly surprising if we consider the larger context of Dpal sprul's endeavours. The increasing religious activity in the nineteenth century in Eastern Tibet, of which Dpal sprul and his teaching of the BCA formed such a significant part, points in various ways to an atmosphere of tension between the Dge lugs school and other traditions. Dpal sprul and his contemporaries tended to have close ties with traditions other than the Dge lugs pa, the school which had gained not only religious but also political dominance in Central Tibet, and in most other culturally Tibetan areas as well. As a social group, Dpal sprul, his peers, and royal supporters in Khams may therefore have appeared to be a threat to Dge lugs pa supremacy, especially after the former had started to explore new areas of religious interest. As George Dreyfus has pointed out,⁸⁷ it is precisely in the middle of the nineteenth century in Khams that members of the non-Dge lugs traditions began to promote a new system of education in the form of institutionalised *bshad grwas*—institutions that focused on textual exegesis—to counter the predominance of the debate-based system practised in the Dge lugs tradition. These institutions admitted only monks, and hence started building up a stronger body of monastics in circles that had previously consisted to a large extent of non-ordained and less formally integrated tantric adepts—another point that could have been seen as a strategy to meet the Dge lugs school on its own terms (of “mass monasticism”). Beginning with the foundation of the Śrī Siṃha bshad grwa at Rdzogs chen Monastery in about 1848,⁸⁸ this model was implemented at various religious centres of non-Dge lugs traditions—for example, at Kaḥ thog (1906), Rdzong (g)sar (1918), Dpal yul (1922), Zhe chen, and Dpal spongs.⁸⁹ The scholastic curricula at

⁸⁶ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 816.3–5.

⁸⁷ See Dreyfus 2005, esp. pp. 286ff.

⁸⁸ According to Dreyfus 2005: 288; Kretschmar 2004: 27 judges that the foundation occurred in about 1842.

⁸⁹ See Kretschmar 2004: 27.

these institutions focused on varying sets of Indian Buddhist core texts, particularly on *sūtra* material, a field that previously had been perceived as the domain of the Dge lugs school, and certainly was not the traditional stronghold of the more tantric-orientated Rnying ma. And while figures like Mkhan po Gzhan dga' and Mi pham are most famous for having provided the educational standards for later generations, we should not forget that Dpal sprul, too, was a luminary of such institutions,⁹⁰ his teaching skills being indeed reflected in his writing. Among his many works we find “structural outlines” (*sa bcad*)—tools that are commonly used to aid oral exposition of the contents of texts—of many Indian works that display a form of scholastic interest quite similar to the one cultivated in the Dge lugs tradition.⁹¹ In particular, Dpal sprul's engagement with the BCA must be certainly seen in this light. After all, if Kun dpal's depiction in a previous quote holds true, then this text was commonly studied *only* in the “great dialectical institutions,” that is, in the institutions of and within the educational system promoted by the Dge lugs tradition, and it was only through the effort of Dpal sprul that it became more widespread in other environments.

In the face of these larger institutional and political tensions, which the BCA as a core text of monastic culture was part of, we easily understand why Kun dpal emphasises that no major opposition to Dpal sprul had arisen. And again, the practical orientation of Dpal sprul's teaching style may be seen as a plausible reason for that. Explanations in the form of contemplative exercises, as found in Dpal sprul's *Sgom rim*, clearly aim not only at a wider, more general audience, but also place the text within the framework of personal practice, thus putting it to some extent beyond the reach of, or making it immune to, the complexities of a more scholastic-oriented discourse.

This situation changed completely in the next generation. Though inspired by Dpal sprul's explanations, his student Mi pham wrote a detailed commentary on the ninth chapter of the text, in which he

⁹⁰ Kun dpal mentions, for example, that Dpal sprul taught at the Śrī Siṃha bshad grwa at Rdzogs chen Monastery; see *Dpal sprul rnam thar* 800.4f.

⁹¹ The second volume of his collected works (*Dpal sprul gsung 'bum*) contains *sa bcads* for Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Uttaratantraśāstra*, and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (all attributed to Maitreya), and Mnga' ris Paṅ chen Padma rnam rgyal's *Sdom gsum rnam nges*. Apart from the preference for works connected with the *tathāgataḡarbhā* doctrine and the neglect shown to logical works, these texts exhibit an interest that covers the same principal topics as in the Dge lugs school, which traditionally focuses on the “five great treatises” (*gzhung chen bka' pod lnga*): the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* attributed to Maitreya, Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, and Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (see Dreyfus 2005: 276f.).

touches upon many of the philosophical intricacies that had emerged in regard to this topic in the different scholastic traditions. He thereby developed a specific philosophical stance for his own tradition that is formulated often in sharp contrast to, and even with direct criticism of, the Dge lugs school. As one might expect, he was heavily criticised by various Dge lugs pa scholars, and a debate on this matter was conducted over a period of almost thirty years through the medium of critical treatises. These events certainly heightened the significance of the BCA, not simply within the two principal parties, but in the Tibetan intellectual world as a whole. In fact, the production of the many commentaries specifically on the ninth chapter of the BCA in this period must be seen as a direct result of the controversies, as an attempt, that is, of their various authors to contribute their fair share to the debate and help to defend their own scholastic traditions. And although Mi pham and other later scholars were the focal point of the controversies, these certainly added to the reputation of Dpal sprul, who was regarded as the principal initiator within the Rnying ma tradition of the increasing engagement with the BCA.

*Concluding remarks:
a “Rnying ma” Bodhicaryāvatāra for modern times?*

To be clear, Rdza Dpal sprul was certainly not the first Rnying ma scholar to plumb the depths of the BCA. Given the broad Tibetan interest in this work, it is safe to say that the text must have earlier been taught in Rnying ma circles, at least to some extent. Indeed, in Kun dpal’s *rnam thar*, we are informed that Dpal sprul received explanations of this text from three different persons:⁹² Rdo bla ’jigs med skal bzang, who had recognised the young Dpal sprul as the reincarnation of the previous lama of Dpal dge;⁹³ ’jigs med ngo mtshar, a direct student of ’jigs med gling pa; and Gzhan phan mtha’ yas ’od zer (1800–1855). These last two are also mentioned in the transmission lineage that Dpal sprul lists in his *Spyod ’jug brgyud ’debs*.⁹⁴ This supplicatory prayer, however, does not trace the transmission of the BCA back to the “earlier translation period” (*snga dar*) exclusively through Rnying ma scholars (such is only the case for the period of the seventeenth century onward), but is rather similar to a transmission lineage defined by Bu ston in the fourteenth centu-

⁹² See *Dpal sprul rnam thar*: 790.4f.

⁹³ See *Dpal sprul rnam thar*: 788.6

⁹⁴ For an edition and translation of this text, see Viehbeck 2005: 20ff. The text is included in the fifth volume of the *Dpal sprul gsung ’bum*; see *Spyod ’jug brgyud ’debs*.

ry.⁹⁵ This suggests that the BCA was only of marginal importance in Rnying ma circles—which, if true, must have permitted Dpal sprul considerable freedom in his engagement with the text. Dpal sprul's decision to promote an approach that focuses on religious practice, however, is not an utter novelty. Even prior to Dpal sprul, practice-oriented texts on the BCA were frequently produced,⁹⁶ and the whole genre of *blo sbyong* literature, too, draws heavily on the BCA. This native Tibetan genre gained importance in all Buddhist traditions on the plateau, and surely must be seen as a model for Dpal sprul's *Sgom rim*.⁹⁷ In his efforts, this practical focus proved particularly successful; it enabled him to spread the teachings of the BCA in a variety of contexts that included laypersons and monastics from different traditions alike. While he clearly must be placed in the general context of an increasing interest in the scholastic matters of his own tradition, the actual formulation of such intricacies remained the task of his disciple Mi pham. With him, the Rnying ma tradition found its way to a definitive philosophical stance vis-à-vis the BCA, and his commentary earned the right to be placed next to the corresponding works of the Sa skya, Dge lugs, and Bka' brgyud traditions. While important as signature moulds of a school's thought, these commentaries speak to a very narrow scholarly audience, within traditional

⁹⁵ See Saito 1997 for a discussion of the lineage listed by Bu ston, and Kretschmar 2004: 48ff., for a discussion of various transmission lineages of the BCA.

⁹⁶ There is only one *sgom rim* text that was written on the BCA prior to Dpal sprul. This work, by Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367–1449), is so different from Dpal sprul's exegesis that a direct influence can be excluded; see *Rong ston sgom rim*. There are, however, many other works that relate to the BCA in a practice-oriented way, of which I will mention just two examples from Dpal sprul's time, produced by adherents of the Dge lugs school. Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823) composed a text on the practices of “exchanging oneself and others” (*parātmaparivārtana*) and training in “equality of oneself and others” (*parātmasamānā*), exercises that are described in the eighth chapter of the BCA—practices also central to Dpal sprul's *Sgom rim* (see *Bdag gzhan mnyam brje sgom tshul*). Mkhyen rab Bstan pa chos 'phel (1840–1907/8) wrote a text that incorporates chapters one to three along with the tenth chapter of the BCA into a meditation manual relating to deities of the Bka' gdams tradition. The author acknowledges a certain Grub dbang Dpa' dge rin po che for having inspired the composition (see *Dngos grub yongs 'du'i snye ma* 592.1 & 631.2); according to the entry in the TBRC database, this is an allonym of Dpal sprul Rin po che, but this attribution seems to be doubtful.

⁹⁷ A general introduction to the history and features of this genre is provided in Sweet 1996. As I have described elsewhere (Viehbeck 2014a: 563ff.), a close relation of Dpal sprul's text to the *blo sbyong* genre is indicated not only by similarities in both style and concrete contents, but also by the text's own self-presentation. Indeed, it is referred to explicitly as a *blo sbyong* text in the *dkar chag* of Dpal sprul's *gsung 'bum* (see *Dpal sprul gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, p.17.4-5).

settings where the teachings of the BCA are transmitted, most prominently, in monastic institutions.

In the process of becoming a leading player on the stage of globalised religions in the twentieth century, however, Tibetan Buddhism was confronted with an audience that harboured radically divergent expectations. Consisting mostly of laypersons, these devotees responded more positively to practical instructions of use in daily life and personal spiritual practice than to lengthy scholastic studies. It is this state of affairs that needs to be considered as a further factor for the widespread and lasting fame that Dpal sprul achieved. Free from scholastic intricacies and rich in practical outlook, his teaching tradition caters very much to the needs of a modern audience, and it is hence not surprising when recent popularisers of the BCA like the Dalai Lama speak very highly of Dpal sprul, as we have seen at the beginning of this paper. The outstanding position and universal acceptance of Dpal sprul's role in the dissemination of the BCA must therefore be seen not only as the outcome of his engagement with the text, but also of the temporal conditions surrounding it—those of the nineteenth, as well those of the twentieth century.

**Appendix: a tentative list of BCA-related
works produced by authors with links to Dpal sprul**

Relevance	Author	Work	Abbreviation	Content
1) BCA-related works by Dpal sprul				
	Rdza Dpal sprul (1808–1887)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i sgom rim rab gsal nyi ma</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug sgom rim</i>	Practice manual on the BCA
	Rdza Dpal sprul (1808–1887)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i sa bcad don gsal me long</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug sa bcad</i>	Structural outline of the BCA
	Rdza Dpal sprul (1808–1887)	<i>Spyod 'jug brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug brgyud 'debs</i>	Supplication to the transmission lineage of the BCA
2) Lecture notes on Dpal sprul's explanations				
	Mkhan po Kun dpal (1862–1943)	<i>Spyod 'jug la dpal sprul rin po che'i zhal rgyun zin bris</i>	<i>Kun dpal zin bris</i>	Notes on Dpal sprul's lectures taken by Kun dpal
	'Jig med chos 'phel bzang po (?)	<i>Spyod 'jug le'u bzhi pa'i 'grel pa dpal ldan bla ma'i zhal rgyun rab gsal</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug le'u bzhi ma'i zin bris</i>	Notes on Dpal sprul's explanations of the fourth chapter of the BCA
3) Commentaries of contemporaries who explicitly refer to Dpal sprul				
	Mkhan po Kun dpal (1862–1943)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i tshig 'grel 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i zhal lung bdud rtsi'i thig pa</i>	<i>Kun dpal 'grel pa</i>	Extensive commentary on the entire BCA
	'Ju Mi pham (1846–1912)	<i>Shes rab kyi le'u'i tshig don go sla bar rnam par bshad pa nor bu ke ta ka</i>	<i>Nor bu ke ta ka</i>	Commentary on the ninth chapter of the BCA
	Mkhan po Gzhan	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa</i>	<i>Gzhan dga' mchan 'grel</i>	General "annotation commen-

	dga' (1871– 1927)	<i>la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i mchan 'grel</i>		tary" on the BCA
	Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa (1823– 1905)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i 'grel bshad rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i yon tan rin po che mi zad 'jo ba'i bum bzang</i>	<i>Kun bsod 'grel bshad</i>	Detailed com- mentary on the first eight chap- ters of the BCA; includes also the verses of chapter ten
	Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa (1823– 1905)	<i>Spyod 'jug shes rab le'u'i spyi don rim par phye ba zab mo rten 'byung gi de kho na nyid yang gsal sgron me</i>	<i>Kun bsod sher le spyi don</i>	Work address- ing general issues raised in the ninth chap- ter of the BCA
4) Other works of contempo- raries likely to be influenced by Dpal sprul				
	Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa (1823– 1905)	<i>Spyod 'jug shes rab le'u'i gzhung 'grel zab mo rten 'byung gi de kho na nyid gsal ba'i sgron me</i>	<i>Kun bsod sher le gzhung 'grel</i>	Detailed com- mentary on the ninth chapter of the BCA
	Glag bla Bsod nams chos 'grub (1862– 1944)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa shes rab le'u'i dka' 'grel lung rigs 'od snang</i>	<i>Bsod chos sher 'grel</i>	Commentary on difficult issues raised in the ninth chapter
	Glag bla Bsod nams chos 'grub (1862– 1944)	<i>Spyod 'jug tu drangs rgyu'i lung btus rin chen phreng ba</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug lung btus</i>	Assemblage of Indian sources in support of the content of the BCA
	Glag bla Bsod nams chos 'grub (1862– 1944)	<i>Spyod 'jug klad don</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug klad don</i>	Brief explana- tion of the opening of the BCA
	Glag bla Bsod nams chos 'grub (1862– 1944)	<i>Spyod 'jug bzod le'u'i gtso bo dgag pa</i>	<i>Bzod le dgag pa</i>	Brief refutation of a controver- sial issue in the sixth chapter
	Zhe chen rgyal tshab Padma	<i>Spyod 'jug sher le'i 'bru 'grel kun mkhyen bla ma'i</i>	<i>Rgyal tshab 'bru 'grel</i>	Subcommentary on Mi pham's <i>Nor bu ke ta ka</i>

	rnam rgyal (1871– 1926)	<i>gsung las btus pa rab gsal nor bu'i sgron me</i>		
	Zhe chen rgyal tshab Padma rnam rgyal (1871– 1926)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i shes rab le'u'i mchan 'grel don gsal me long</i>	<i>Rgyal tshab mchan 'grel</i>	“Annotation commentary” on the ninth chapter, draw- ing upon Mi pham's <i>Nor bu ke ta ka</i>
	Rdo grub 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma (1865– 1926)	<i>Spyod 'jug dka' gnas gsal byed</i>	<i>Spyod 'jug dka' gnas gsal byed</i>	Work on im- portant general issues raised in the BCA
5) Later writ- ings				
	Thub bstan bshad sgrub rgya mtsho (1879– 1961)	<i>Spyod 'jug bsngo le'i nyams len zin tho</i>		
	Thub bstan bshad sgrub rgya mtsho (1879– 1961)	<i>Spyod 'jug brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bdus rtsi'i 'khri shing</i>		
	Blo gros rgya mtsho (19th c.)	<i>Spyod 'jug sher le'i rgya cher 'grel mchan snying po'i don gsal nyin byed chen po</i>		
	'Jigs med rdo rje (1879– 1940/41)	<i>Spyod 'jug 'grel pa byang chub gzhung lam gsal byed nyi ma'i snang ba</i>		

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Red Faced Barbarians, Benign Despots and Drunken Masters: Khotan as a Mirror to Tibet

Sam van Schaik¹

1. *The Buddha on the Silk Road*

The way of the Mahāyāna has been sought by the accomplished in the auspicious places where our Teacher placed his feet, such as the Vajra Seat, the Vulture's Peak, and the Shady Willow Grove of Khotan.²

From Nub Sangyé Yeshé's
Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation (early 10th c.)

t the beginning of the tenth century, a chaotic time for Tibet, the scholar Nub Sangyé Yeshé wrote these lines on the sacred places visited by the Buddha. Two of them are well-known throughout the Buddhist world, but the third is a little more obscure. Is the Buddha really supposed to have visited the Silk Road city of Khotan? According to the Khotanese, he did indeed, and the fact that this was accepted without any need of explanation by an educated Tibetan writer like Sangyé Yeshé shows how far the Khotanese understanding of Buddhism had penetrated into Tibet at this time.³

¹ Aspects of this article first appeared as a series of posts on my website earlytibet.com, and I would like to thank those with whom I discussed them in the comments sections, especially Dan Martin. I would also like to thank Lewis Doney for his many useful comments and suggestions on the article itself, which was completed with the support of the European Research Commission under the EU's 7th Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ERC grant agreement no.609823.

² *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, 5–6: rgyu'i theg pa chen po'i lugs kyis kyang sngon ston pas zhabs kyis bcags pa'i rdo rje'i gdan dang/ bya rgod phung po'i ri dang/ li yul lchang ra smug po la stsogs pa bkra shis pa'i gnas dag bya ba grub par byed pas btsal lo/.

³ The Shady (lit: "Dark Red") Willow Grove of Khotan (*li yul lchang ra smug po*) appears in a few other later Tibetan sources, including a pilgrims' guide to the Khadrug temple, which includes a story of how the temple's statues were obtained from Khotan by the Tibetan army, during the reign of Songtsen Gampo. See Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 62–64. Later, when the real location of Khotan had been forgotten in Tibet, the "Shady Willow Grove of Khotan" came to be identified with one of the tantric holy sites known as *pīṭha* – associated with parts of the body and with pilgrimage sites in India. The site associated with Khotan was Gṛhadevatā, a problematic site unlocateable in India. On the divine body, Gṛhadevatā represented the anus, a rather ignominious development in the

Khotan was the most important kingdom on the southern Silk Route, situated between the Taklamakan desert and the Kunlun mountain range. Two rivers coming down from the mountains brought the water that allowed cultivation of the land, also bringing down jade, the stone prized by the Chinese and the source of much of Khotan's wealth. Khotan was thus ideally placed to take advantage of east-west trade, becoming in the process open to influences from a variety of cultures. Indigenous legends of Khotan's early history emphasise both the country's cultural plurality and its allegiance to Buddhism.

These legends do indeed tell of the Buddha visiting Khotan. In one version, he flies over from Vulture's Peak to hover above the lake that covered Khotan in ancient times, before descending to rest upon a lotus throne in the middle of the lake.⁴ Other legends also brought to Khotan the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the protector deity Vaiśravaṇa. Re-imagining themselves as the centre of their religious world became a surprisingly consistent feature of Khotanese culture. When Aurel Stein visited Khotan at the turn of the twentieth century, he noted of the Muslim Khotanese: "Pious imagination of a remarkably luxuriant growth has transplanted into the region of Khotan the tombs of the twelve Imāms of orthodox Shiite creed, together with a host of other propagators of the faith whose names are known to local legend only."⁵

It may be true, as Stein suggested, that the people of Khotan are a *gens religiosissima* particularly given to pious invention, but a solid Buddhist sangha was resident in Khotan from at least the third century AD, when the Chinese translator Zhu Shixing 朱士行 went to Khotan to look for the 25,000 verse *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*.⁶ Zhu Shixing found the sūtra, settled in Khotan and never returned to China, dying there at the age of 80. He did send the text back with his disciples, and it was taken to several cities before being translated by a Khotanese monk and a Sinicized Indian monk in 281. This translation, known as *The Scripture of the Emission of Rays*, became very popular in China at the time.⁷

Tibetan uses of Khotan. See Huber 2008: 95–96. Dates for Nub Sangyé Yeshé are from Vitali 1996.

⁴ The *Prophecy of Khotan*; translation and Tibetan in Emmerick 1967: 8–9. See also Thomas 1935: 89–90.

⁵ Stein 1907: 140.

⁶ *The Annals of Khotan* state that Buddhism was adopted by a Khotanese king in 86 BC. This is not entirely unlikely, although the evidence throughout Central Asia suggests that an established Buddhist sangha was not present till the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

⁷ Zürcher 2007 [1959]: 61–63.

Discoveries of Khotanese manuscripts in archaeological sites in the areas once ruled by the kingdom have shown that the major Mahāyāna sūtras were all known in Khotan. These were first written in their original language, then after the fifth century increasingly translated into Khotanese. The *Suvarṇaprabhāśa sūtra* seems to have been particularly influential, informing the notion of Khotan as a Buddhist realm under the protection of bodhisattvas and divine kings.⁸ Alongside this Buddhist material are many examples of Khotan's literary tradition, stories on Indic themes, like the trials of Rāma, and poems on the ever-popular subjects of nature and love. One unique text, the so-called *Book of Zambasta* marries the Khotanese poetic tradition with Buddhist subject matters in a lengthy and wide-ranging survey of Buddhism.⁹

During the seventh to the ninth centuries, the Tibetans were sporadically active in Central Asia, fighting the Chinese Tang empire over strategically situated and highly profitable Silk Route oasis cities. The Khotanese first encountered the Tibetans in the seventh century as one among many threatening barbarian armies. After a brief period of Tibetan occupation in the late seventh century, Khotan was returned to Chinese rule, to be conquered again by the Tibetans at the end of the eighth century. After the final fall of the Tibetan empire in the middle of the ninth century, Tibetans and Khotanese met in Silk Road towns like Dunhuang in the role of Buddhist teachers and disciples, sharing their knowledge, and translating each other's religious texts.¹⁰

We are fortunate to have a number of Khotanese Buddhist texts that the Tibetans translated into their own language preserved in the Tibetan canon and among the manuscripts from the Dunhuang cave. In addition, the Khotanese manuscripts from Khotan and Dunhuang provide us with evidence of a close relationship between Tibetans and Khotanese during the second Tibetan occupation of Khotan in the late eighth to mid-ninth centuries, and later at Dunhuang in the tenth century. These sources display some very different perceptions of the Tibetans, and because some of these Khotanese works were known in Tibet, they came to inform the way later Tibetan Buddhists constructed their own identities, reconciling the two aspects of their imperial history: conquest and religion.

⁸ A thorough study of the Khotanese *Suvarṇaprabhāśottoma sūtra* is contained in Skjaervø 2004a.

⁹ For a review of Khotanese literature, see Emmerick 1992. See also Emmerick's translation of *The Book of Zambasta* in Emmerick 1968.

¹⁰ For a single-volume account of Tibetan activities in Central Asia during the Tibetan empire, see Beckwith 1987. On Tibetans and Khotanese at Dunhuang during the tenth century, see Takata 2000.

2. *The Red Faced Ones*

There will come a time when the Red Faced Ones seize the country, destroying and burning monastic groves, temples and great stūpas. They will form the perverse aspiration to annihilate my teachings, come what may.

The Buddha, speaking in the
Enquiry of the Goddess Vimala (7th c.)¹¹

Tibetan histories usually present the Tibetans before their conversion to Buddhism as a crude and unlearned race, without writing, law or the civilizing effect of the dharma, and possessing a number of unsavoury customs, including blood sacrifices and painting their faces red with vermilion before going into battle. The description of the Tibetans as Red Faced Ones (*gdong dmar can*) came to be a signifier of all of this pre-Buddhist barbarity, and of the civilizing effects of Buddhism. In the early tenth century the Tibetan scholar mentioned at the beginning of this study, Nub Sangyé Yeshé, wrote of his country, “these kingdoms at the borderlands, these lands of the Tibetans, the red faced demons.”¹²

The idea of the Tibetans as barbarians is part of the narrative of their conversion to Buddhism, which sees the transformation from the barbaric to the religious as predestined, foretold by the Buddha himself in these words: “Two thousand five hundred years after my *parinirvāṇa*, the true dharma will be propagated in the land of the Red Faced Ones.”¹³ This prophecy was cited in one the earliest surviving Tibetan histories of Buddhism, that of the Sakya patriarch Sōnam Tsemo. It was then reproduced in many later works, becoming a standard topos in the history of Buddhism in Tibet.

Yet the prophecy's provenance is unclear. It is ascribed to a text called *The Enquiry of the Goddess Vimala* (*Lha mo dri ma med pa'i zhus*, Skt. **Devī-vimala-pariprcchā*), yet no text of that title appears in the Tibetan canon. We do, however, have a text called *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* (*Dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa*. Skt. **Vimalaprabhā-*

¹¹ P.835, 238a.1: gang gi tshe gdong dmar dag gis yul bzung ste/ dge 'dun kyi kun dga' rab dang/ dri btsang khang dang/ mchod rten chen po rnam 'jig par byed cing sreg par byed de/ de dag gis ci nas kyang nga bstan pa gzhig par bya ba'i phyir smon lam log par btap pas. See also Thomas 1935: 203 (f.363a-b).

¹² *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* (494.3ff): dus lan cig mtha' khob kyi rgyal khams / bod srin po gdong dmar gyi yul 'di dag tu//. This work has been dated to the early tenth century (see Vitali 1996). The same phrase, “red-faced demons,” appears in a Tibetan ritual text from Dunhuang in a list of malign spirits (see IOL Tib J 279).

¹³ *Introduction to the Dharma* (50a.3): lha mo dri ma med pa'i zhus las/ gdong dmar can gyi yul du ston pa mya ngan las 'das nas lo nyis stong lnga brgya na dam pa'i chos rgyas par gyur ro zhes gsungs so//.

pariprcchā).¹⁴ Given that in this text the Vimalaprabhā of the title is indeed a goddess, it seems that two titles may refer to the same text. *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* is indeed full of prophecies, some of which do speak of the Red Faced Ones, but none of them is the prophecy quoted above.

The *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* is a Khotanese work that was translated into Tibetan, and found its way into the Tibetan canon. Cast in the form of a prophecy, it deals with the fears of the Khotanese Buddhists under the onslaught of the Tibetan war machine, fears that the structures and institutions of the dharma will be destroyed by Tibet's barbaric and cruel Red Faced Ones. The text has a heroine, the goddess Vimalaprabhā, who takes rebirth as the Khotanese princess Praniyata in order to save Buddhism in Khotan.¹⁵

F.W. Thomas somewhat whimsically suggested that the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* was the Khotanese Romance of its age and that Praniyata was Khotan's Joan of Arc.¹⁶ Closer to home, the text belongs with the late sūtra literature, being a mixture of narrative, prophecies, rituals and *dhāraṇī* spells. Interestingly, many of the rituals address female concerns, including women's illnesses and childbirth.

The historical sequence of events laid out in the text has the Tibetans battling the Khotanese in alliance with the Supīya people.¹⁷ In this battle the Khotanese king Vijayavikrama is killed and his daughter, Praniyata, forced into exile. The new Khotanese king Vijayakīrti is disparaged in the text, presumably because of his weakness in the face of the invaders. The hopeful scenario laid out in the text is that a neighbouring prince, Vijayavarman, will come to Khotan with the funds to pay off the Tibetans and take the throne. For the future security of Khotan, hope is placed in the Chinese. This aspiration is summarized in the following prayer:

May we come together with one accord and consecrate
Vijayavarman to be the king of Khotan. When the Red Faced Ones

¹⁴ Tib. *Dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa*. Q.835.

¹⁵ The Sanskrit name Praniyata is a reconstruction from the Tibetan *rab nges*. Many Khotanese had Sanskrit names; however, there are other ways of reconstructing the Sanskrit.

¹⁶ Thomas 1935: 171. More recently, the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* has been discussed by Eva Dargyay (1988: 109–12), who suggests that its structure provides the basis for the later Tibetan stories of the emperor Songtsen Gampo; see the following section where I discuss further parallels between Khotanese texts translated into Tibetan and the legends of Songtsen Gampo.

¹⁷ Along with Thomas (1935: 156–157) I read Tibetan *sum pa* as Supīya. Khotanese texts confirm that the Supīya were a threat concurrently with the Tibetans (see Skjaervø 2004).

and the Chinese battle each other, may Khotan not be destroyed. When monks come from other countries to Khotan, may they not be treated dishonourably. May those who flee here from other countries find a place to stay here, and help to rebuild the great stūpas and monastic estates that have been burned by the Red Faced Ones. In order that this happens, may [Vijayavarman] pay the ransom for Khotan and mutually exchange brides with the Chinese.¹⁸

Here and elsewhere in the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* we are told that the Tibetan forces burned down Buddhist structures, making life very hard indeed for the Buddhists of Khotan. In the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, the Buddha himself castigates the Tibetans for harbouring the perverse aspiration to destroy his dharma. The Khotanese survival strategies expressed in the text are: (i) the defeat of the Tibetan forces by the Chinese, and (ii) to buy off the Tibetan forces with a ransom. There is certainly no suggestion of any recourse to the Tibetans as fellow Buddhists.

The text leaves the situation unresolved, and the threat of the Tibetans hangs over it, clearly still present at the time of composition. Thus it was probably written in the years immediately before the first Tibetan conquest of Khotan, which took place in the second half of the 660s. The year 665 was particularly marked by conflict, as Khotan attempted to defend itself from attacks by Turks, Kashgaris and Tibetans.¹⁹ Given the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*'s obsession with contemporary events and plans for their resolution, it was probably composed in the midst of this turbulent period.

Given this date, the portrayal of a Tibetan army lacking any respect for Khotan's Buddhist institutions in the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* is credible. Though there may have been some Tibetan interest in, and patronage of, Buddhism in the mid-seventh century, any such interest would probably have been restricted to the court, and any Buddhist monks resident in Tibet would have been

¹⁸ Q.835: 271a: /bdag cag thams cad kyi nram par rgyal ba'i go cha ni ci nas kyang li yul gyi rgyal por 'gyur bar thams cad sems pa thun pas lhan cig tu dbang bskur bar bgyi'o//gang gi tshe gdong dmar dang brgya[=rgya] 'thab par 'gyur ba de'i tshe/ ci nas li yul 'jig par mi 'gyur ba dang/ gang gi tshe yul gzhan nas li yul du rab tu byung ba nams 'ongs pa na der ci nas rim 'gro med par mi 'gyur ba dang/ yul gzhan nas der sems can bros pa de dag der gnas 'thob par 'gyur zhing gdong dmar gyis bsregs pa gang yin pa'i mchod rten chen po de dag dang/ dge 'dun gyi kun dga' rab dag[=kun dga' rwa ba] mchos[='chos] pa'i grogs byed par 'gyur par bya ba'i phyir li yul gyi blud 'jal ba dang/ brgya[=rgya] dang phan tshun du bag ma btong ba dang/ len par byed do/. The translation here is my own. See also Thomas 1935: 254.

¹⁹ Beckwith 1987: 34.

foreigners.²⁰ The attacks and occupations inflicted upon Khotan by its enemies (among which the Tibetans are counted), and the threat to Buddhism constituted by these depredations, are a theme that reappears in Khotanese literature, including *The Book of Zambasta* which, like the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, characterizes these political enemies as enemies of Buddhism as well:

There are Māmkuayas, Red Khocas and Hunas, Ciṃggas, Supīyas, who have harmed our Khotanese land. For a time we have not been angry about this. When he hears, “The Buddha does indeed exist”, the unbeliever is angry.²¹

An interesting reference in the *Annals of Khotan* suggests that once Khotan had come under Tibetan rule, Buddhist institutions were no longer endangered, and may even have been supported. The text records the construction of a major new monastery — the first to be built in four generations — during the reign of the Khotanese king Vijayakīrti. It adds: “This monastery was built at the time when Khotan, being attached to the old Tibetan dominions, was governed by the Gar councilor Tsenyen Gungtön.”²² The Gar clan effectively ran the Tibetan empire after the death of the emperor (*btsan po*) Songtsen Gampo in the middle of the seventh century. This particular official is also mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. Here the entry for the year 695/6 states that he was executed for disloyalty, a killing that marks the beginning of reassertion of authority by the Tibetan emperor.²³ In any case, the construction of the monastery is said to have taken place while Gar Tsenyen Gungtön was the governor of Khotan, during the first Tibetan occupation of the city.²⁴ Thus the

²⁰ The early reception of Buddhism at the Chinese court offers a useful analogy – see Zürcher 1959.

²¹ *The Book of Zambasta* has been translated by Ronald Emmerick (1968). In Emmerick’s opinion (1992: 40), this work could not have been composed before the seventh century. It may thus be roughly contemporaneous with the *Enquiry*. The lines of the invaders, including the Tibetans, are found at chapter 15, verse 9 (pp.228–229 of Emmerick’s edition):

Z Fol.271v, vv.9-10:

(9) māmkuaya rro īndā heinā kho—ca u huna ciṃgga supīya

kye nā hvatāna-kṣīru bajo—ttānda ttu ju ye gāvu ne oysde .

(10) balysāṣṣai aṣṭā ci pyūṣḍe . varī oysde aṣṣaddā cau ka—

rma cu tā yiḍe haysgu ku jso aṣṭā śśāru mā vaska

²² See Thomas 1935: 125.

²³ See Dotson 2009: 98–99. In the *Old Tibetan Annals* the name is spelled Mgar Btsan nyen gung rton. See also Beckwith 1987: 56.

²⁴ Based on an identification of king Vijayakīrti with a Khotanese king mentioned in Chinese source as having fled Khotan in 674, Hill (2008: 181) dates the founding of this temple to the period 670–674.

panicky tone of the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* seems to have been somewhat premature. Buddhism in Khotan would survive for another three centuries, during which time its connections with Tibetan culture would become even stronger.²⁵

3. *Subjects of the Bodhisattva King*

“Then a bodhisattva will take birth as the king of the Red Faced Ones and the practice of the true dharma will come to the land of Tibet.”

From *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* (9th c.)

The idea of the Tibetan emperors as emanations of bodhisattvas is equally, if not more, important in the Tibetan construction of a Buddhist self-image than the motif of the red faced barbarians. The idea of the bodhisattva king came to be associated primarily with the first imperial ruler, Songtsen Gampo (ruled early to mid seventh century), but probably not until after the end of the Tibetan empire. And while there is some early evidence from Dunhuang manuscripts of the ninth or tenth century of the Tibetans viewing Songtsen Gampo as a Buddhist king, most references to a Tibetan Buddhist king in these sources are to Tri Songdetsen (ruled 756–c.800).²⁶ When Tibetan historians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries came to formulate and defend the notion that Songtsen Gampo was a bodhisattva, they seem to have turned to the Khotanese records. In some of the earliest Tibetan histories (including *The Pillar Testament* and *The Testimony of Ba*), Songtsen Gampo's status as an emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is established through a story about Khotanese monks.

The story involves the visit of two Khotanese monks to Tibet. The monks hope to see Avalokiteśvara face to face, and have been told that they may do so by travelling to Tibet and looking upon Songtsen Gampo, who is in fact Avalokiteśvara in person. Upon their arrival in

²⁵ For a recent survey of the Tibetan administration of Khotan, see Zhu Lishuang 2013.

²⁶ For example, Pelliot tibétain 149 links the activities of Tri Songdetsen to the events of the *Gandhavyūha sūtra*. IOL Tib J 466/3 pays homage to Tri Songdetsen as a Buddhist king, and places him in the company of the Buddhist kings Aśoka, Kaniṣka and Harṣa. A poem in another manuscript, IOL Tib J 370, probably dating to after the fall of the Tibetan empire, places Songtsen Gampo alongside Tri Songdetsen, designating him a Buddhist king but not identifying him as a bodhisattva. Kapstein 2000: 56–58 discusses this same process in terms of the gradual re-reading of the early legislation of the Tibetan empire in Buddhist terms.

Tibet, the monks are shocked to see the execution, imprisonment and corporal punishment of criminals. Thinking that the bodhisattva of compassion could never countenance such cruelty, they resolve to go back to Khotan immediately. However, Songtsen Gampo, hearing of this, has them brought to the palace and shows himself to them in the form of Avalokiteśvara. Speaking to them in Khotanese, the king assures the monks that the atrocities they witnessed were just magical illusions created by the king to ensure the rule of law in his land. The monks are filled with faith; they fall asleep in the palace and wake up back home in Khotan.²⁷

This story addresses doubts regarding the compatibility of the king's enforcement of Tibet's laws with his identity as the bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteśvara, by employing the common topos of magical illusion.²⁸ In some sources the barbaric nature of the Tibetans is invoked at this point to justify the king's use of these violent illusions in enforcing the law, showing again the close link between the cultural emblems of the Red Faced Ones and the bodhisattva king.²⁹ The prominence of this story in the histories does suggest that by the eleventh century there were some doubts among Tibetan Buddhists regarding the compatibility of the Tibetan kings' status as bodhisattvas, and the violence required of them as imperial rulers.³⁰

The Pillar Testament attributes the story of the Khotanese monks to a *Prophecy of Khotan*.³¹ A text of this name is to be found in the Tibetan canon and the Dunhuang manuscripts. Like the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, it was probably translated into Tibetan from Khotanese.³² In the Dunhuang manuscript version, it has the longer

²⁷ The version in *The Testimony of Ba* is briefer, though not necessarily earlier (see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 32–33). The version in *The Pillar Testament* (302–305) is more extensive and contains most of the details found in later versions. The different versions of the story are discussed in Sørensen 1994: 303, 584. See now also the discussion of these versions, and the different presentations of the story therein, in Mills 2012.

²⁸ In the earlier version of *The Testimony of Ba* the magical illusion explanation is absent. If this is an earlier version, it may be that the king's status as Avalokiteśvara was originally considered sufficient to allay doubts regarding his oppressive penal practices.

²⁹ See Sørensen 1994: 305.

³⁰ Kapstein 2000: 51–52 suggests that no such incompatibility was felt by Tibetans during the Buddhist period of the Tibetan empire. This may well be true, and the discomfort may be directly linked to the gradual elevation in Tibetan histories of Songtsen Gampo to the status of a personified bodhisattva of compassion.

³¹ *The Pillar Testament* (p.305.1–4) gives two sources, a *Prophecy of Khotan* (*Li lung bstan*) and a *Prophecy Regarding the Great Compassionate One King Songtsen Gampo* (*Rgyal po srong bstan sgam po thugs rje chen por lung bstan pa*). No text corresponding to the second title has been found.

³² See Appendix.

title *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*. Yet the story of the Khotanese monks' encounter with Songtsen Gampo is not found in any of the versions of this text. Perhaps this is why many later Tibetan histories, following the *Testimony of Ba*, change the attribution of the story slightly to a *Great Prophecy of Khotan*.³³ While there may have been a *Great Prophecy of Khotan*, now lost, it is perhaps more likely that the word *Great* was added to the title when it was realized that the story was not to be found in *The Prophecy of Khotan*.³⁴

Yet the attribution of the story of the two Khotanese monks does have a parallel in the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*. The narrative of the prophecy is primarily concerned with the flight of a group of monks from Khotan to Tibet, where they are welcomed and supported by Tri Songdetsen's father Tri Detsugtsen (ruled 712–c.754), and in particular, by his Chinese queen, who may be identified as Jincheng Gongzhu 金城公主. The prophecy seems to have been written in response to a genuine calamity that forced a group of monks to seek refuge in Tibet. Adopting the narratives of the end of the dharma that are found in many earlier Indian sources, in particular the *Candragarbha sūtra*, the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* ties in this local calamity to the end of the dharma itself.³⁵

The *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* credits the Chinese queen with building monasteries for the monks, who may well have constituted a genuine Buddhist sangha in Central Tibet for several years.³⁶ It goes on to describe how this pleasant period came to an end when a disease killed the queen, along with many Tibetans. The epidemic was taken as a sign that the local deities were unhappy with the Buddhist presence in Tibet, and the foreign monks were expelled. The epidemic seems to be a genuine historical event, and the *Old Tibetan Annals* mentions the death of the queen in the year 739/40.³⁷

This narrative appears in three overlapping texts (see Appendix) which differ in certain details, but agree in the broad outlines of the story. Modern scholarship has tended to take this narrative as derived from a genuine series of historical events. However, the

³³ In *The Testimony of Ba* it is just *The Great Prophecy* (*Lung bstan chen mo*).

³⁴ This is the conclusion that Per Sørensen arrived at (see Sørensen 1994: 584). Similarly, we find 'great' versions of several tantras that seem never to have existed as texts, but function as a notional repository and source of material not found in the extant tantra.

³⁵ On the Kauśāmbī prophecy of the end of the dharma and its various versions, see Nattier 1991.

³⁶ The *Testimony of Ba* also mentions the temples built by Gongzhu, but does not contain the narrative of the refugee monks. See Pasang and Diemberger 2000: 34–35.

³⁷ See Dotson 2009: 121. Roberto Vitali (1990: 11) argues that death of the queen was not caused by epidemic, but by political intrigue.

assumption in recent studies of this episode that these were *Khotanese* monks has recently been questioned by Antonello Palumbo. This seems reasonable, given a close reading of the narratives. The *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* implies that at least some of the monks were not Khotanese, referring to their arrival in Khotan from Anxi (*'an se*) and Kashgar (*shu lig*). The *Religious Annals of Khotan* implies that all of the monks were foreign refugees, stating that they came to Khotan from the "four western garrisons" (*stod mkhar bzhi*).³⁸

Two versions of the narrative state that the foreign monks stayed in Tibet for three or four years, which, given the death of the Chinese queen in 739/40 would place their arrival in Tibet in 736/37.³⁹ As Palumbo points out, the year 736 also saw the expulsion of large numbers of foreign monks from China, at the order of the emperor Xuanzong 玄宗, apparently due to a suspicion that a foreign Buddhist monk had been involved in an attempted coup earlier in the same year. Those monks classified as foreigners were generally from Indo-Iranian backgrounds.⁴⁰ The arrival of these monks in Khotan in 736/7, travelling from the east, may well be connected to this imperial edict. As Khotan was then under Chinese rule, the same edict would have applied there, precipitating their departure from the Tang empire to Tibet and elsewhere. It may be significant that the monks are described in some versions of the narrative as *lho bal*, a term equivalent, as R.A. Stein has shown, to the Chinese *fan* 番 "foreigner."⁴¹

The *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* also contains a passage about the Chinese emperor's support of Daoism resulting in the immigration to Tibet of many monks from China.⁴² Xuanzong's support for Daoism over Buddhism is well known; thus if this passage is not a further reference to the expelled foreign monks, it may suggest that a number of Chinese monks travelled separately to Tibet to enjoy the patronage of Gongzhu. In any case, for the Tibetans the arrival of these foreigners in the 730s was probably the largest

³⁸ See Thomas 1935: 313. The Tibetan is *stod mkhar bzhi*. Thomas doubts that the phrase refers to the four garrisons, but only based on the preconception that this was a local Khotanese affair. Vitali (1990: 8) refers to this passage, but continues to refer to the refugee monks as Khotanese.

³⁹ The event is discussed in detail in Kapstein 2000: 41–42.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Antonello Palumbo for sharing his unpublished work on this episode. Palumbo (forthcoming) also suggests that certain well-known monks who were close to the emperor, such as Amoghavajra, were temporarily exempted from this edict, but were nevertheless forced to leave by 741.

⁴¹ Stein 1983. See also *lho bal* see Vitali 1990: 7–8.

⁴² IOL Tib J 598, f.4b.1: kong co gdong dmar gyl yul du 'ongs pa'I 'og tu rgya'I rgyal pos de'u sh'i chos spyod pas rgya'I dge slong rll gdong dmar gyl yul du 'ong bar 'gyur ro/. Translation in Thomas 1931: 84.

single influx of Buddhist monks that the Tibetans had yet encountered. The impact of this movement on the development of Buddhism in Tibet was significant. After the epidemic, fears that the old gods of Tibet had been angered caused a suppression of Buddhism by the elite Tibetan clan leaders. Members of this elite also conspired to assassinate Tri Detsugtsen; so when his son Tri Songdetsen came to power, opposition to Buddhism was embodied in the same people who opposed his own royal line. Tri Songdetsen brought the centre of power in Tibet back to his own family line, and aligned himself with Buddhism, making it the official religion of Tibet.⁴³

In the context of this narrative, and in contrast to the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* presents the Red Faced Ones as idealized patrons of Buddhism.

At that time the king of the Red Faced Ones will use their great power and strength to seize and hold numerous countries belonging to others. Then a bodhisattva will take birth as the king of the Red Faced Ones and the practice of the true dharma will come to the land of Tibet. Scholars and the sūtric scriptures will be brought from other countries, and then temples and stūpas will be built and the two kinds of sangha established in the land of the Red Faced Ones. Then everyone, including the king and ministers, will practice the true dharma. Khotan too, under the power of the king of the Red Faced Ones, will work to spread the true dharma, and the property of the three jewels—the stūpas and so on—will be honoured, and be made to increase rather than diminish.⁴⁴

The passage states clearly the concept of a bodhisattva (though which bodhisattva is not specified) manifesting as the king of Tibet. Here we have a link to the story in the *Testimony of Ba*, though neither the

⁴³ The suppression of Buddhism is recounted in a pillar inscription by Tri Songdetsen. In the inscription, the ministers are said to have referred to Buddhism as the religion of 'foreigners' (*lho bal*). See Richardson 1998: 93, 97. Richardson's translation of *lho bal* as "Nepal" here is almost certainly inaccurate.

⁴⁴ IOL Tib J 598: 1b.5: de'i tshé gdong dmar gyI rgyal po dbang dang mthu [2a] che bas gzhan gyI yul khams mang po phrogs nas 'dzIn par 'gyur ro/ /de'i dus su byang chub sems dpa' gcIg gdong dmar gyI rgyal por skye ba blangs nas/ bod khams du dam pa'I chos spyod par 'gyur bas/ /rgyal khams gzhan nas chos kyI mkhan po dang gsung rab mdo sde la stsogs pa spyang drangs nas/ gdong dmar gyI yul du gtsug lag khang dang mchod rten mang du brtsIgs te/ dge 'dun sde gnyis btsugs nas/ rgyal po dang blon po la stsogs pa 'khor ril kyis dam pa'I chos spyod par 'gyur ro/ /li yul gyang[=kyang] de'i tshé gdong dmar gyI rgyal po'i ris su dbang bar 'gyur bar dam pa'i chos rgyas par spyod cing mchod rten la stsogs pa dkon mchog gsum gyI mnga' ris kyang myI dbri ste rgyas par 'dzugs shing mchod par 'gyur ro/. The translation here is my own, based on the oldest Dunhuang manuscript containing the text. See also Thomas 1935: 79.

name of the Tibetan king nor the identity of the bodhisattva are stated. The passage is supposed to describe a king seven generations before Tri Detsugtsen.⁴⁵ Some, pointing out that the number seven may be more a symbol than an exact calculation, have identified this bodhisattva king as Songtsen Gampo, the emperor who came to be seen as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara.⁴⁶ In any case, we certainly have here one of the first literary examples of the movement toward the transformation of the figure of Songtsen Gampo into a bodhisattva king, which became fully expressed in the *Testimony of Ba* and the *Pillar Testament*.

Along with the literary sources, there are several Khotanese manuscripts dating from the second Tibetan occupation of Khotan in the first half of the ninth century which contain references to the Tibetan “masters” of Khotan. Some of these speak of the Tibetans in glowing terms. One such document concerns an invitation extended by the Khotanese king to two reverend monks, to stay for a year at a Buddhist temple at Mazar Tagh.⁴⁷ It begins with a celebration of the king's merits, stating:

There is abundance here in everything because of the merits of the king, as well as because of the Tibetan masters, who are guarding this land of Khotan.⁴⁸

Among the Tibetan manuscripts found at the sites of Endere and Mazar Tagh, there are several Buddhist texts and documents that deal with Buddhist matters. From Endere, we have a Mahāyāna prayer, fragments of the *Śālistamba sūtra* and a substantial manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*. From Mazar Tagh we have more fragments of Buddhist texts, and also several wooden slips (usually used for brief communications) with messages involving monks and temples.⁴⁹ These manuscripts suggest that when the Tibetans

⁴⁵ The dates here are based on Beckwith 1987.

⁴⁶ This is the tentative conclusion of Thomas (1935: 75) and Vitali (1990: 7). Vitali points out how often the number seven occurs in the text. In any case, the succession of the Tibetan monarchy went through a difficult period prior to and during the reign of Me Agtsom, which makes the reckoning of generations somewhat uncertain (see Beckwith 1983). Due to the eclipse of the Tibetan emperors during the second half of the seventh century, it would have been difficult for outsiders to calculate the generations between Songtsen Gampo and Tri Detsugtsen.

⁴⁷ The king is named as Viśa' Kīrta (Skt. Viśvakīrti), whose reign dates are reconstructed by Skjaervø as 692–706+.

⁴⁸ IOL Khot 50(4). Translation from Skjaervø 2004: 35–36.

⁴⁹ The *Śālistamba sūtra* fragments are Or.8212/168 and Or.15000/271, 370, 434, 435, 436 and 437 (see catalogue entries and reproductions in Takeuchi 1998). The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* manuscript is in the National Museum of Stockholm,

returned to Khotan, a century after they had been forced out of the previous occupation, their engagement in Buddhism and support of Buddhist institutions led to their being lauded as enlightened guardians by the local Buddhist sangha.

4. *Wandering Buddhists*

“Bring a bowl! The Tibetan teacher has become ill.”

From a Khotanese-Sanskrit colloquy (10th c.)

The final stage of cultural relations between the Khotanese and Tibetan Buddhists can be traced through the manuscripts found in the Dunhuang cave. A substantial Khotanese population was resident in the Silk Route city of Dunhuang during the tenth century, as were a number of Tibetans.⁵⁰ The Sanskrit-Khotanese colloquy from which the exclamation quote above is drawn is written on the back of an official letter from Viśa Śūra, the king of Khotan, to his maternal uncle in Shazhou (Dunhuang) dated to 970.⁵¹ Thus we can date the colloquy to the years between 970 and the closing of the library cave in the early eleventh century, as the letter occupies the full length of the scroll and is clearly the primary text here.

The first conversation in the colloquy concerns pilgrimage; the pilgrim being questioned is from India and has come via Khotan. His destination would have been Wutaishan, famed throughout the Buddhist world as the dwelling-place of Mañjuśrī. Later the conversation moves on to the subject of a travelling Tibetan teacher:

A foreign monk has come.
Why has he come?
I don't know.

and has been studied in Karashima 2005. Buddhist fragments from Mazar-Tagh include Or.8212/961, Or.8212/1911 and Or.15000/76. Wooden slip documents mentioning monks or temples include IOL Tib N 1844, 1573, 1851, 1875, 1894. Furthermore IOL Tib N 1647 contains a mantra, and IOL Tib N 2189 seems to reference a Vajrayāna ritual.

⁵⁰ On the Khotanese population at Dunhuang see Kumamoto 1996 and Takata 2000. On the continuing influence of Tibetan language and Buddhism after the end of Tibetan rule in Dunhuang, and into the tenth century, see Takeuchi 2012.

⁵¹ This bilingual text was translated and transcribed in Bailey 1938: 521–543. A more recent study is Kumamoto 1988. The letter was first transcribed in and translated in Bailey 1964: 17–26. Both sides of the scroll are transcribed in Bailey 1956: 121–129. While I have in the past referred to this text as a “phrasebook” I now prefer to characterise it as a colloquy as its purpose is more likely to have been educational. The Sanskrit of the colloquy is highly irregular, but remains closer to Sanskrit than any known Prakrit.

What does he want.
It's a Tibetan monk.
Liar! I'll ask him.
Ask!⁵²

Many of the following lines concern some kind of strife. It seems that the Tibetan teacher may not be very well-behaved:

He is dear to many women.
He goes about a lot.
He makes love.

...

Bring a bowl! The Tibetan teacher has become ill.⁵³

It is probably unwise to try to extract a narrative from these disconnected phrases, but it is interesting that the Tibetan teacher is associated with making love to numerous women. In the genre of Buddhist tantra known as Mahāyoga, which is represented in many Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, sexual practices are discussed under the euphemism 'union' (*sbyor ba*). One of these Mahāyoga manuscripts defines 'union' as sexual intercourse with many women, mentioning the need to avoid criticism by using coded language:

Indiscriminate [union] is the greatest path of the three realms. In this case, if one is engaging in union with all women in accordance with the ritual manuals, one should avoid criticism by using *vajra* speech.⁵⁴

Criticism of this kind of behaviour was a common theme in Tibetan writings by the late tenth century. For example, in a famous edict, the ruler of the kingdom of Gugé, in Western Tibet, wrote:

False mantras bearing the name of the Dharma have spread through Tibet,
Bringing disaster upon the kingdom in the following ways:
As 'liberation' spreads, goats and sheep are roped up and killed;

⁵² Pelliot 5538: (93) agaduka baikṣū agatta / ināvaka āśīā (94) kīma prratya agatta / aśtai keṇa ā (95) na jśanamī / na bvai (96) kīma kṣamattī / aśtū-v-ai kṣamai (97) bauṭa baikṣu / ttāhaṅtta āśī (98) mrraiṣavadī / yālaṣa (99) prraitsamī / pvaisūmai (100) praitsa / pvaise.

⁵³ Pelliot 5538: (107) prrabhūta narī prrīya / phaṅrāka maṅḍī brrai (108) prrabhatta attaṣṭamuttāṣṭa satsattī / pharāka hāṣṭa vāṣṭa jśavai (109) maithūnadarma karaiyattī ... (117) kaṣṭa bajana anīya / hamāka vā bara (118) baṭa baikṣu rāga babḷva / ttāhaṅtta āśīāchanai hamye.

⁵⁴ Pelliot tibétain 656, ll.47–49: phyal ba ni khams gsum dag kyi lam mchog/ na/ bud myed ci snyed yod pa rnam/ thams cad cho ga bzhin sbyor na/ rdo rje gsung kyis myi smad do zhes 'byung ba'o/

As 'union' spreads, the different classes of people are mixed up.⁵⁵

The Khotanese colloquy certainly suggests that by this point in time itinerant Tibetan teachers had acquired something of a reputation. Yet not all Tibetan teachers attracted this kind of criticism. Another Khotanese manuscript from Dunhuang reflects, in much more positive terms, the fame of a Tibetan teacher:

To the great teacher, the eyes of the Buddha, who sees lowly ones like us with the eyes of wisdom. Although we do not share a language, and we are not skilled in the Tibetan language of the lords of the dharma, the local rulers, please do not break your commitments. This is addressed to the great master: I respectfully enquire whether you are well, and in particular whether your precious and noble body has become fatigued. We humble ones have ridden to see the face of the Noble Mañjuśrī and are returning to [the land of] Śākya, the god of gods. May we be permitted to come and make an offering to all who have seen the face of Mañjuśrī?⁵⁶

The letter itself is in Tibetan transliterated into the Khotanese script. It was probably written by a Khotanese with an understanding of spoken Tibetan, but without ability in written Tibetan. The letter follows the polite conventions of that we see in other Tibetan letters of the tenth century. Given that this letter refers to Tibetan as the language of the Buddhist masters (*chos rje*) and secular rulers (*sa bdag*), the letter may have been intended for the Tibetan kingdoms to the southeast of Dunhuang.⁵⁷ What we have here is probably a copy — it is appended to a long *dhāraṇī* text, written on the back of a

⁵⁵ ll.47–50: chos par ming btags sngags log bod du bar/ de yis rgyal khams phung ste 'di ltar gyur/ sgrol ba dar bas ra lug nyal thag bcad/ sbyor ba dar bas mi rigs 'chol ba 'dres/ (Karmay 1998: 15).

⁵⁶ This translation is from Pelliot khotanais 2782 (ll.73–80). Note that my translation here differs greatly from the one in Bailey 1973. The following is my own reading of the Khotanese transliteration which in most places follows that of Ryotai Kaneko (which was published in Bailey 1973):
om slob dpon chen po la sangs rgyas kyi spyen bdag cag ngan pa spyen ras la mthong[/] skad myi 'thun yang chos rje dpal sa bdag bod kyi skad myi rtsal slob dpon thugs dang myi 'gal[/] slob dpon chen po yi zha snga nas[/] thugs bde 'am myi bde[/] khyad 'phags pa'i sku gces pa'i snyun nam gsol zhing mchis[/] bdag cag ngan pa 'phags pa 'jam dpal kyi zhal mthong du chibs las[/] shakya bla'i lha star don mchis[/] 'phags pa 'jams dpal gi zhal mthong kun phul du phyin bsnyal te chogs sam[/]

⁵⁷ The most relevant group of letters are those written on behalf of a Chinese pilgrim visiting Tibetan monasteries in primarily Tibetophone areas of Hexi and Qinghai in the 960s. These are discussed in van Schaik and Galambos 2011. See also Takeuchi 1990.

Chinese *sūtra* scroll. This fascinating multilingual manuscript also contains a few lines of Uighur writing.

The Khotanese phrasebook and this letter suggest a milieu in which Khotanese and Tibetan Buddhists met frequently, and shared an interest in the Vajrayāna practices that were very popular during the tenth century. Further evidence of this shared interest is a series of manuscripts from Dunhuang written in Tibetan, but numbered in Khotanese; suggestive of a Khotanese scribe well-versed in Tibetan. These are IOL Tib J 338 (on stūpas), 340 (on water offerings), 423, 424, and 425 (on the *homa* ritual). The contents of these manuscripts indicate an interest in ritual and Vajrayāna, shared with the scribes of other Tibetan manuscripts dated to the tenth century.⁵⁸

Finally, it is in this context that we should understand the apparent popularity of the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* at Dunhuang, where it is found in several manuscript versions. This work valorises both Khotan and Tibet as Buddhist chosen lands, and draws them together with the story of the refugee monks. It is quite likely that these texts were translated into Tibetan in Dunhuang, where Khotanese and Tibetan Buddhists mingled. The statement by Nub Sangyé Yeshé at the beginning of this article that the Buddha taught the Mahāyāna in Khotan is eloquent testament to the general acceptance among Tibetans at this time of Khotan's central place in the Buddhist world. For Tibetans, Khotanese texts like the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* and the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* were elements from which they could begin to form their own Buddhist identity, when they began to put together the first "histories of the dharma" (*chos 'byung*) in the eleventh century.⁵⁹ In particular, the images of the barbaric Red Faced Ones and the subjects of the bodhisattva king become a fruitful symbolic realm in which Tibetan Buddhist historians could conceptualize the conversion of their own culture to Buddhism.

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⁵⁸ The Khotanese numbers on these manuscripts are discussed in Maggi 1995. On the forensic analysis by which the manuscripts have been identified as being written by the same scribe, see Dalton, Davis and van Schaik 2007.

⁵⁹ As well as the *Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, some other early Buddhist historical works have been found in Dunhuang (see van Schaik and Iwao 2008; van Schaik and Doney 2007). These are the kind of texts that the first Tibetan Buddhist historians would have used to construct their narratives. The scribe who wrote the manuscript version of the *Prophecy* in IOL Tib J 597 also wrote other works of Buddhist history (see van Schaik and Doney 2007: 180–181).

APPENDIX I

The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā, The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat, and related texts

1. *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* (*Dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa*) is found only in the *Bka' 'gyur* (P.835). It was probably written in or near Khotan, around the time of the Tibetan conquest of Khotan in the late 660s. F.W. Thomas argued that the original was probably written in Sanskrit (Thomas 1935: 140–141). The date of its translation into Tibetan is not known, but may have been around the same time as *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, during the first half of the ninth century.

2. *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* (*Li yul gyi dgra bcom pas lun bstan pa*) appears in several Dunhuang manuscripts:

- IOL Tib J 597 (probably tenth century, copied from IOL Tib J 598).
- IOL Tib J 598 (from the ninth or tenth century).
- IOL Tib J 601 (perhaps from the ninth century).
- Pelliot chinois 2139 (a Chinese translation made by Go Chödrup in 848).

Thomas believed that this text was composed in Dunhuang itself, probably in the Tibetan language (Thomas 1935: 42–43); this has been disputed by Jan Nattier who argues that it represents a translation from the Khotanese (1990: 189–190). R.A. Stein has argued that the presence of Chinese transcriptions and loan-words in the Tibetan text indicates that its redaction was based on the Chinese translation, done perhaps by Chödrup himself (Stein 1983: 217).

3. The *Bka' 'gyur* contains a *Prophecy of Khotan* (P.5699: *Li yul lung bstan pa*), which includes the text of *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, along with a history of Khotan; the latter part of the text is also known independently as *The Annals of Khotan*. There has been some disagreement about whether to view *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* and *The Annals of Khotan* as separate texts or a single entity. Thomas (1935: 73–74) considered them separate, while Emmerick (1967) presented them as a single text. Geza Uray, though originally of the same opinion as Emmerick, later came to agree with Thomas

(Uray 1990: 422–423).⁶⁰ I have followed Thomas's view here. There has also been some disagreement over whether the canonical versions represent different versions of the same text (Thomas 1935: 42, 59–51) or a different translation of the Khotanese original texts (Nattier 1991: 189). Working from the *Bka' 'gyur* texts without reference to the Dunhuang manuscript versions, John Hill (1988: 184–5) suggests that *The Prophecy of Khotan* was composed in 746, adding rather fancifully “quite likely by one of the monks who had fled to central India.” Hill suggests a similar dating for *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*.

4. The *Bka' 'gyur* also contains a text called *The Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardana* (P.5698: *Dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyis lung bstan pa*), which is very similar to *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, though the narrative of the monks' stay in Tibet is somewhat expanded here. Thomas (1935: 42–43) argues that the *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardana* is far older than *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* because the title of the former appears in the *Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*. However, the text as we have it seems more like a later, expanded version of the *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, as Nattier has pointed out (1991: 194).

5. Finally, *The Religious Annals of Khotan*, found in the unique manuscript Pelliot tibétain 960, is another prophecy text, not identical nos.2–4 above, but overlapping with them in various places. The colophon states that this is a “new” translation by the *mkhan po* Mo gu bde shil. As Thomas (1935: 109–110) has noted, this name appears in the *Annals of Khotan*, where it is stated that respected ascetics are given the name Mo rgu de shi. Here also is given a popular Sanskrit etymology *mārgadeśin*. Nattier (1991: 199) prefers *mārgaupadeśai*. The text itself may have been redacted in Tibetan from other Khotanese and Tibetan versions of the story. Strikingly, it is the only version of this narrative that does not end with the destruction of the dharma, and Nattier (1991: 203–204) suggests that it may represent the latest version of the Kauśāmbi story, in which the sad tale of the destruction of the sangha is no longer presented as a prophecy, but as a limited cataclysm that happened in the past, and can be avoided in the future. Note however, that the handwriting style of Pelliot tibétain 960 resembles other Tibetan manuscripts from the first half of the ninth century, suggesting that this may be the oldest extant manuscript copy of any of the Khotanese prophecies. The manuscript has been proofread, and we also see at the end the

⁶⁰ See also Vitali 1990: 6–11.

editor's mark of *zhus*, characteristic of manuscripts written during the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang.

APPENDIX II

Tibetan names in phonetic transliteration and Wylie transcription

Khadrug (place)	Kha 'brug
Nub Sangyé Yeshé (b.844)	Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes
Songtsen Gampo (605?–649)	Srong btsan sgam po
Tri Detsugtsen (704–c.754)	Khri lde gtsug btsan
Tri Songdetsen (742–c.800)	Khri srong lde btsan
Tsenyen Gungtön (d.695)	Btsan nyin gung ston

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Women Returning from Death: The Gendered Nature of the *Delog* Role

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This essay explores the relationship between *delogs* (*das log*) and women and reflects on what this connection adds to current understandings about gender stereotypes and religious roles available to Tibetan Buddhist women in the Himalayas.

But first, what is a *delog*? *Delogs* are typically defined as people who have died and returned to life. As opposed to a seconds or minutes-long near-death experience, *delogs* usually lie dead for several days, sometimes for a week or more. When they miraculously return to life, they report having toured the postmortem realms (*bar do*), witnessing the consequences of negative deeds and being charged with messages to deliver to the human world. Because scholarship to date has focused on textual narratives, *delog* “biographies” intended to inspire ethical behavior and devotion to the Buddhist Three Jewels, we currently know very little about the lives of these extraordinary people.¹ Here I present results from an ethnographic study of contemporary *delogs* which reveals a markedly different picture from that found in textual sources. The fact that a *delog*’s first death experience often initiates a continuing series of otherworldly excursions, for example, has been noted by Pommaret in the case of Bhutanese *delogs* but has yet to be recognized as a common feature of *delog* practice.² Studies of *delogs* that are based solely on written records also fail to recognize that the majority of *delogs* are women.

This research is based on fieldwork begun in 2004 and concentrated in north-central Nepal and the Sichuan and Qinghai Provinces of China between January 2008 and October 2009.³ During this time, I

¹ Epstein 1982; Cuevas 2007, 2008; Pommaret 1989, 1992, 1997. Pommaret’s work includes ethnographic data.

² Pommaret 1989.

³ I am grateful to the Fulbright-Hays, University of California Pacific Rim, and Council of American Overseas Research Centers programs for supporting this research.

was able to collect biographical information about twenty-four living or recently (within the past twenty years) deceased Tibetan and Nepali *delogs*. Among these, nineteen were female and five male.⁴ The remarkably high percentage of women in the *delog* role was reflected in popular perceptions of *delogs*. In Nepal, for example, a well-traveled Hyolmo trekking guide told me that Hyolmo Buddhists do not use the word '*delog*'; they always say '*delogma*' (the '*ma*' marking the noun as feminine) "because all *delogs* are women." Likewise, in eastern Tibet, those who had met or heard of *delogs* agreed that *delogs* can be male as well as female, but few people with whom I spoke could cite examples of male *delogs*.

Women's predominance as *delogs* is significant because there are few Tibetan Buddhist religious roles occupied solely or mainly by women. Yet since the *delog* role is not one that can be taken up at will but demands that a person die and return to life with information about other realms, all in the presence of witnesses for verification, how is it that Himalayan women undergo this extraordinary experience with greater frequency than men? The answer to the gender riddle does not seem to be a medical disorder to which the female body, as understood by modern Western medicine, is more susceptible. Literature about near-death experiences in Western and Japanese cultures indicates that women do not report near-death experiences more often than men.⁵ Neither are women more likely to suffer diseases that can cause *delog*-like symptoms, such as epilepsy or Klein-Levin syndrome (which mainly affects males).⁶ Instead, the connection between women and *delogs* lies in Himalayan Buddhist understandings of how and why a person returns from death, tantric ideas about male and female bodies, and the ways gender affects one's social and religious possibilities in the Buddhist Himalayas.

Note: The following analysis treats women and men as homogeneous groups, thus reifying categories that should be problematized. This is not oversight. Essentialized notions of women and the feminine persist in Himalayan Buddhist societies where biological sex and gender are viewed as inseparable.⁷ It is also important to note that the interpretations described here are largely male views, a fact that may be explained by the nature of the question. Examining the

⁴ Bhutanese *delogs* do not figure into these numbers. Pommaret (1989) reports a similar ratio of female to male *delogs* in Bhutan: four females and one male.

⁵ Bailey and Yates 1996; Carr 1993; Lundahl 1982; Osos and Haraldsson 1977; Sabom 1982.

⁶ Panayiotopoulos 2007; Roger, et al. 1985.

⁷ As Gyatso and Havnevik point out, "Even a bare physical or anatomical definition of woman as a sex in Tibetan history, as contained in traditional medical descriptions, is pervaded by gender and other loaded conceptions" (2005: 4).

relationship between *delogs* and women demands critical thinking, theorizing, and speculation, activities in which Himalayan women demonstrate less confidence. As Makley noticed in Labrang, asking nuns to participate in taped interviews “clashed with nuns’ own sense of illegitimacy as authoritative exegetes” and “challenged their ‘structural muteness.’”⁸ Makley sought to overcome this obstacle by soliciting stories and gossip from nuns, as opposed to philosophical explanations. Similarly, as opposed to issues of how and why, which women chose to avoid, the detailed *delog* life-stories that I collected, even those concerning men, were narrated to me, eagerly and enthusiastically, by women. (For their part, *delogs* were unconcerned with issues of sex and gender and did not speculate as to why there are more female than male *delogs*.)

Gendered Personalities and Sexed Bodies

Reporting on the Qinghai Tibetan region of China, Makley writes that “sex differences were seen to produce different mind-body relationships and to result in basic proclivities that differentiated male versus female abilities.”⁹ The perceived effects one’s biological sex has on one’s personality is perhaps the most straightforward emic explanation for the link between *delogs* and women. According to this line of thought, the personality and character traits a person must have in order to be sent back to life as a *delog* are linked to positive stereotypes of women.

Himalayan Buddhists share a widespread conviction that men and women “think differently.” A university professor in Xining cited this cognitive variation to explain the link between *delogs* and women. “Men are decisive,” he told me. “For men, whether or not to do something is simple. Comparatively, women’s minds are tranquil, and they take more time when considering what to do.” This disparity between men’s and women’s minds is said to entail gendered moral and spiritual aptitudes: women are patient, whereas men have short tempers and are quick to engage in violence. Other informants described women as sincere, spiritual, and having “pure hearts,” as opposed to men who do not engage as often in religious practices. Informants drew from these gender stereotypes to explain a person’s likelihood of becoming a *delog*. “Those who have great sins can’t be *delogs*,” the professor explained. “Women don’t usually

⁸ 1999: 185.

⁹ 2005: 269. See also Rajan 2015.

commit the five inexpressible sins.¹⁰ This is why *delogs* are usually women and rarely men.”

Although it is rare for anyone, male or female, to murder a parent or harm a monk, reports of men killing or seriously injuring each other in drunken knife fights and stories of husbands abusing their wives are ubiquitous throughout Tibet and Nepal. Likewise, the observation that women are more dedicated to Buddhist practice than men has been well-documented by ethnographers of Himalayan societies, and the idea that women are more religiously minded than men finds evidence in contemporary behaviors.¹¹ Among the group of Hyolmo Buddhists with whom I gathered one Sunday to read *mani* prayers, with one exception, all were middle-aged and older women. When we finished the recitations and the lama began to read the biography of *delog* Lhame Lhamchung (Lha mo lham gcung), nine women stayed to listen. The audience was thus entirely female, and the lama told me that it had been a group of women who commissioned and paid for the painting (*thang ka*) that he used to illustrate Lhame Lhamchung's story. Men, on the other hand, are known for drinking and playing cards, and the task of butchering animals falls to men, saddling them with the negative karma that results from killing. This relates to *delogs* because it is a person's positive karma and potential benefit to others that persuades the Lord of Death (Gshin rje chos rgyal) to dispatch him or her back to the human world. Because women are seen as maintaining a more positive karmic balance and engaging in more devotional activities than men, there is an expectation that women will more often be sent back to life as *delogs*.

Alongside the positive feminine qualities that the topic of *delogs* elicits is a belief that women are more sensitive and emotionally delicate than men. At a Hyolmo funeral in Kathmandu, I was sent away from the cremation site, along with the rest of the women and the children, before the lighting of the pyre. When I asked why women are not allowed to attend a cremation, a monk answered that unlike men, who are brave, “women might have nightmares.” Ironically, this perceived female weakness, namely, a tendency to succumb to one's feelings, provides women with another advantage for acting as *delogs*. The responsibilities of a *delog* necessitate a capacity to feel deeply and a willingness to convey emotion. Effective *delogs* must be able to communicate not just the facts but the affective quality of

¹⁰ The five inexpressible sins (*mtshams med pa lnga*) are killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing an *arhat*, drawing blood from the body of a buddha with cruel intention, and causing a rift in the Sangha.

¹¹ Gutschow 1998: 320; Majupuria 1990: 143, 236; Padma'tsho 2014: 187.

their experiences as they relay what they saw and heard during their journeys through the lands of the dead.

I came to appreciate the importance of empathy and expressiveness to successful *delog* practice when I met the *delog* Kunzang in Golok.¹² Upon mention of her *delog* experiences, she burst out crying. Later, she explained her weeping as brought on by memories of the suffering she has witnessed on her tours of the intermediate state between death and rebirth. I was moved by her outburst, and as I reflected on the incident, I realized the significance of emotional displays to the authenticity of a *delog*'s tales as well as to the larger soteriological goal of discouraging people from evil and inciting them towards virtue. When I discussed the incident with my Tibetan assistants, they cited Kunzang's tears as evidence that her words were true. In this case, the perceived masculine traits of controlling one's feelings and always speaking rationally turn out to be hindrances to the *delog*'s task, leaving women, who are believed to "have more emotional energy than men," to excel in the role of *delog*.¹³

Along with the belief that the sex of one's body influences one's behaviors and inclination towards religious practice, Himalayan Buddhists speak of women being more "open" than men. In Kunzang's case, this openness can be interpreted as her readiness to express her feelings. Other times, openness can refer to sharing power and information. According to the assessment of an educated and articulate Hyolmo monk, "If women were allowed to receive all of the [Buddhist] teachings like men, they would share them freely with everyone... and would not withhold them out of desire for power." In a similar vein, scholar Tulku Thondup described women as "by nature... mentally and spiritually open" and related this unguardedness to the probability of their becoming *delogs*.¹⁴

Yet another interpretation of women's "openness" lies in sexed characteristics of the female subtle, or yogic, body. As women and men are endowed with different physical bodies, they are also said to possess different subtle bodies. In particular, the channels of a woman's subtle body are said to be more open than those of a man's, an idea that has a long history in Indian tantric traditions.¹⁵ Open

¹² All names are pseudonyms.

¹³ Havnevik 1990: 148. In his biography of *delog* Dawa Drolma, Chagdud Tulku writes that her eyes overflowed with tears when she described the miseries of the lower realms (Dawa Drolma 1995: vii). I am not aware of accounts of male *delogs* that mention the *delog* crying or otherwise displaying strong emotion.

¹⁴ Personal communication, 11/16/2008.

¹⁵ Havnevik 2002: 280; Gyatso and Havnevik 2005: 21. Silburn summarizes the Kaśmiri Śaivite view: "A man's *nādi* [channels] are narrow, rigid, and not easy to expand," while "what characterizes woman is the expansion of the central way:

pathways through the subtle body are believed to facilitate meditation and make a person susceptible to spirit possession. Relevant to *delogs*, expanded channels make it easier for one's consciousness to leave the body to journey in the intermediate state and to return to the body so that the *delog* revives. Female bodies, possessing open and expanded energy channels, are therefore more conducive to *delog* experiences than male bodies which have more constricted pathways.

A slightly different version of this idea was voiced by a Dzogchen practitioner-monk in Golok. He described the difference between men's and women's channels in terms of speed and then explicitly linked this to the facility with which the consciousness can exit and re-enter the body: "Women's channels are very quick, very fast. For women, the consciousness (*rnam shes*) comes out easily; it's easy for it to come out and for it to return... A man's consciousness comes out more slowly. For men, it's difficult." To clarify, I asked him to characterize the channels of a *delog's* subtle body. "A *delog's* channels are quick," he replied. This reference to speed is surprising unless we remember the limited time frame within which *delog* operate. Hyolmo Buddhists tell the tale of a well-known *delog* whose impatient son threw her body onto the funeral pyre too early. After her corpse started to burn, her voice cried out, scolding her son and lamenting that now she would be unable to return to her body and thus to life. As this story illustrates, to revive as a *delog*, one's consciousness must re-enter the body "quickly," or there may be no body to come back to.¹⁶

The accounts of the relationship between *delogs* and women we have examined so far draw from relatively positive characterizations of women and the feminine. How can stereotypes that depict women as creating more good karma than men and being better suited to transmit messages that will encourage others towards virtue be reconciled with the unfavorable and condescending portrayals of women that are ubiquitous in studies of Buddhist women?¹⁷ One could argue that informants did not speak negatively to me about women because I am both a woman and a Westerner, that is, someone who

in her, the energy of the center... as well as the womb, is in constant expansion" (1988: 175).

¹⁶ See also the 17th c. story of Sangye Chödrom (Pommaret 1989). The Hindu practice of cremating immediately after death is cited by Buddhists in Nepal as the reason there are no Hindu *delogs*.

¹⁷ Aziz 1987; Gellner 1994; Gutschow 1998 and 2004; Havnevik 1990; Huber 1994; Makley 2002; Padma'tsho 2014; Reis 1983. In his interviews with Kathmandu Newars on the subject of witches and spirit-mediums, Gellner was told that women are morally weaker and have more negative karma than men (1994: 39).

likely values gender equality. While this may have influenced some people's comments, I do not believe it was a significant factor in their responses. Most of the scholars who have recorded negative attitudes towards women have been female, and I routinely encountered disparaging comments about women during previous research on Buddhist nunneries in Nepal.

The reason I did not encounter disparaging views of women when asking about *delogs* more likely stems from the difference in subject matter. Many of the existing studies of Himalayan Buddhist women have been studies of female monastics. But a *delog* is a very different figure from a nun. Whereas nuns represent a challenge to the hegemony of male monasticism, *delogs* pose little threat to male control of institutions and practices. Furthermore, in criticizing nuns, people must reference their uniquely female characteristics or risk also disparaging monks and monasticism in general. Questions about *delogs*, on the other hand, are not unavoidably gendered. Because the *delog* role is not exclusive to women, people who are critical of *delogs* can express their skepticism without referencing gender. In fact, informants who were dismissive of *delogs* often ridiculed Nyingma and Dzogchen practices or areas of Tibet where the Nyingma and Dzogchen traditions predominate (i.e., Golok) instead of targeting women in their critiques. In addition, because *delogs* occur mostly in Nyingma and Dzogchen communities, those who knew the most about *delogs* and were thereby the principal informants of this study were Buddhists associated with Nyingma and Dzogchen teachings, teachings that maintain a relatively appreciative view of women and allow for greater female authority. In particular, the respected female figure of the *khandroma* (*mkha' 'gro ma*), prominent in Nyingma and Dzogchen practice communities, was frequently cited in discussions of *delog* and gender.

Delogs and Khandromas

Although Buddhists in Tibet and Nepal often cannot explain why most *delogs* are female, they are sure of the empirical fact. When pressed to come up with an explanation for women's greater representation as *delogs*, the majority of informants referred to other gendered religious roles, specifically the male figure of the reincarnate lama (*sprul sku*) and the female figure of the *khandroma*. In the words of a young tour guide in Xining, "A *khandroma* is female, right? That

is why most *delogs* are female."¹⁸ The association between *delogs* and *khandromas* is so strong that when I encountered people who were unfamiliar with the term *delog*, the mention of *khandromas* would help them understand what I was asking about. The nature of the relationship between *delogs* and *khandromas* and the bearing that *khandromas* being female has on *delogs* being female, however, was a question informants struggled to articulate. As we will see, the connection is not straightforward, and the various parallels between *delogs* and *khandromas* reveal both positive and negative ideas about women and the feminine.

Like *delog*, *khandroma* (Sanskrit *dākinī*) is a somewhat indeterminate category that admits of various interpretations. In many cases, the title '*khandroma*' indicates a woman who possesses some unusual quality or ability, such as access to information that ordinary people do not have. When I showed a young tour guide in Xining a photograph of a female *delog* wearing a burgundy robe and large amulet box and clutching a massive prayer wheel, he commented that she looked like a *khandroma*. "Is she? Maybe she does divination. Does she? Maybe she predicts the future by looking at a mirror. Maybe she reads the scriptures every day, more so than other people. Does she do that?" he asked before offering his own understanding of what defines a *khandroma*. "People come to her to ask something about the future, and what she says is reliable," he explained, comparing *khandromas* to diviners. This understanding of *khandromas* is prevalent in Yushu where villagers consult the local *khandroma* about their deceased kin, a process known as "asking the door of rebirth" (*skye sgo zhu*). In these cases, *khandromas* function like *delogs* in that they provide information about individuals' rebirths.

Reporting the fate of the recently deceased is not, however, an exclusively female endeavor. Many male religious figures perform divination, and lamas are said to be able to utilize their clairvoyance to see people's rebirths. In these cases, the ability to offer information about the deceased does not lead to comparisons with *delogs*. Why not? A young Nyingma monk answered this question in three words: unlike *delogs*, "lamas don't travel." *Khandromas*, on the other hand, do. This characteristic of *khandromas* is reflected in the literal meaning of the term '*khandroma*': a female (*ma*) who goes or moves ('*gro*) through space (*mkha*'). According to this understanding of *khandromas*, like *delogs* who leave behind their physical bodies to embark on tours of the postmortem states, *khandromas* abandon their

¹⁸ Paul also reports an association between *delogs* and *khandromas* among Sherpas in Solu-Khumbu (1976: 143). As far as I know, there is no tradition of recognizing *khandromas* among Nepal's Hyolmo or Tamang populations.

corporeal forms to, according to the monk, “visit hell... [to] see who is suffering and bring back messages.” This surprising description of *khandromas* was echoed by a senior lama from Shachung Monastery who claimed that “a real *khandroma* will have the power to [die and] return to life.” It follows that, in a university-educated young man’s words, “*delog* is a kind of *khandroma* behavior”: both *delogs* and *khandromas* undertake extraordinary journeys to other realms and return to share their experiences.

Here is where we begin to understand the connection between *delogs* and *khandromas* and another reason *delogs* are expected to be female. In tantric Buddhism, relaying messages and acting as a go-between have long been depicted as tasks appropriate for women. In Indian tantric texts, the “celestial messenger” (Skt., *dūtī*) who brings inspiration and wisdom to her yogic partner is female. Likewise, in the *Cakrasamvara Tantra*, the yogi’s muse, his female consort, is alternately called *khandroma*, *yoginī* (*rnal ’byor ma*), and messenger (*pho nya mo*).¹⁹ The last title, “messenger,” is especially relevant to *delogs* because, as Kunzang pointed out, a *delog* is simply “a postal worker,” someone who delivers news.²⁰ Likewise, in Tibetan tantric sources, we find women, both human and divine, serving as facilitators and “bridges” for male religious figures.²¹ When we consider what *delogs* (and many *khandromas*) do and realize that the task of relaying information from one party to another is gendered, the connection between women, *delogs*, and *khandromas* begins to make sense. Both *delogs* and *khandromas* share a predilection for journeying to other realms and they return with messages, a task associated with women.²²

¹⁹ See Wayman (1990) for a description of female messengers in Sanskrit and Tibetan-language Tantras.

²⁰ Holmberg (1983) has argued that the function of the Tamang shaman (Tamang *bompo*) is feminine since it is a mediating function and the mediators in Tamang society are women. Relatedly, according to Diemberger (2005), all oracles in the Nepal Himalaya south of Dingri are women, and in this region, being an oracle is a female role. Anecdotally, the accounts I heard of someone becoming possessed by and thus serving as the mouthpiece of the spirit of a deceased person (*shi ’dre*) were all stories of women.

²¹ Gyatso and Havnevik 2005: 20.

²² It is worth asking whether checking up on the dead, a form of continued caretaking, is also a feminine task? In terms of the *delogs*’ clientele, Pommaret (1989) noted that it was mainly women who attended the *delogs* she interviewed in Bhutan. Based on my fieldwork, among individuals who have personally consulted a *delog*, women outnumber men two to one. This ratio cannot be given too much weight, however, because in several cases the *delog* the patron consulted lived in a remote location, and women mobilized men to make the journey. It was therefore a man who met the *delog* and requested the information, but he was sent by and reported back to a woman. Since *delogs* are not the only reli-

In Golok, an outspoken lama lectured me about the gendered nature of Tibetan Buddhist religious roles when I asked him to explain why most *delogs* are female. "In order to understand why *delogs* are women... you have to understand method and wisdom," he told me. "You have to understand the nature of assistance." He illustrated these concepts by describing the relationship between *khandromas* and Treasure revealers (*gter ston*):

The men, the Treasure revealers, have the responsibility to bring forth the Dharma and reveal Treasures. They're sent from a Pure Land with the responsibility to spread the Dharma and give blessings. The work of Treasure revealers is to spread and practice new Dharma... No lama can reveal a treasure by himself; he must rely on a *khandroma* or a nun. If a lama finds a Treasure, he won't be able to retrieve it if he doesn't have a *khandroma* or a nun to help him. *Khandromas* are caretakers (*bdag gnyer*) of the new and old Dharma. They have the special ability to protect the new and other Dharma.²³ When lamas write Treasure texts, *khandromas* have the ability to help them complete their work. That's the purpose of *khandromas* – to help, to support the Dharma.

The lama's statement echoes a widespread Buddhist trend whereby men assume the active and creative tasks while women are assigned assistant, caretaking roles.²⁴ Attempting to summarize the lama's point, my assistant suggested: "A *khandroma's* main power, her special task, is to support, not practice, the Dharma. In a similar way, *delogs* have power only to support the Dharma."

Indeed, when we compare *delogs* to male figures, such as lamas, we notice the limits of a *delog's* abilities. Lamas can rescue a consciousness from hell and deliver it to a Pure Land, but *delogs* are unable to help those whose sufferings they witness in the lower realms. According to Kunzang, when another local *delog*, who is also a lama, visits hell, "he sings *mani*. When he sings *mani*, the cauldron tips over. He transports [the beings in the cauldron]." She also tries to do

gious figures consulted for birth signs (*skye rtags*), this data does not permit conclusions about the sex of people who request information about the deceased. It could be that women orient their questions towards *delogs*, who are also women, while men choose to consult lamas, who are also men.

One could also look at the sex of those who tell and retell *delog* histories. In my experience, the keepers of these stories are largely women.

²² Gyatso and Havnevik 2005: 20.

²³ Cf. the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's statement that *khandromas* are "the female guardians of the Tantras" (Edou 1996: 103).

²⁴ Faure 2003: 125; Makley 2005: 270. This gendered division of labor can be traced to exoteric Mahāyāna as well as Tantric Buddhist texts that depict wisdom and emptiness as feminine and compassion and skillful means as masculine.

something, striking the cauldron with her staff while her dog “runs around and barks.” Unlike the lama, she is unable to lead the suffering to liberation. She can only witness their misery and report back to the living.²⁵ Looked at from this perspective, according to which *delogs* are powerless to alter the states of affairs they observe and can only relay information to support the activities of monks and lamas, the connection between *delogs* and women points towards limiting conceptions of women’s abilities.

When considered from another point of view, however, the link between *delogs*, *khandromas*, and women reflects more positive conceptions of women and the feminine. Most Tibetan Buddhist women who are known as *khandromas* are believed to possess above-average spiritual capacities. In these cases, ‘*khandroma*’ serves as a title and mark of respect. These *khandromas* are sometimes viewed as divine females or human women who “possess the consciousness of gods” (*lha gyi rnam shes*). As a university-educated man in Xining explained, it is the exceptional nature of a *khandroma*’s consciousness that enables her to send it out of her body at will to travel to other realms. Indeed, among modern Tibetan *khandromas*, a *delog*-like death experience sometime early in their life seems to be *de rigueur*. Sera Khandro (Se ra mkha’ ‘gro, Kun bzang bde skyong dbang mo, 1892-1940), Dawa Drolma (Zla ba sgrol ma, 1908-1941), Sherab Zangmo (Shes rab bzang mo, b. 1932), and Palchen Lhamo (Dpal chen lha mo, b. 1960s) all report journeys to the intermediate state in their (auto)biographies.²⁶ In fact, the expectation that powerful (Nyingma/Dzogchen) female religious figures will undergo a *delog* or *delog*-like experience is so prevalent that many Tibetans with whom I spoke insisted that the respected female teacher and *khandroma*, Tāre Lhamo (TA re lha mo, 1938-2002), had also been a *delog*.

In these cases, *khandromas* and *delogs* are related in that, according to a monk in Golok, “if a person has a normal human consciousness, she won’t be a *delog*. [A *delog*] must be someone who has the ability

²⁵ Kunzang’s testimony contrasts with Pommaret’s (1989) report of Bhutan where a female *delog* told her that she could and did rescue beings from hell. I never met a *delog* who claimed to be able to do this and who was not also a (male) lama.

²⁶ Sera Khandro’s account of the intermediate state is found in Kun bzang chos nyid dbang mo, n.d. I am grateful to Christine Monson for sharing this manuscript. Because Dawa Drolma was recognized as an emanation of White Tara and enjoyed widespread respect “for her extraordinary powers as a lama,” it seems her primary identity was that of *khandroma* (Dawa Drolma 1995: vii). Perhaps it is because “she was more famous for being a *delog*” that Chagdud Tulku chose the title *Delog: Journey to Realms Beyond Death* for her (auto)biography (Dawa Drolma 1995: vii). Sherab Zangmo’s multiple death experiences are reported in Tshangs dbang dge ‘dun bstan pa and Sku rgyab tshul khrims, n.d. I am grateful to Antonio Terrone for information about Palchen Lhamo.

to control her mind, to make it leave and return to her body." The idea that *delogs* control their death journeys contradicts the widespread conception of a *delog* as an ordinary individual who, due to past karma, undergoes an involuntary and uncontrolled death and return to life. The monk's description of a person who can eject his or her consciousness from the body at will coincides, instead, with Tibetan Buddhists' beliefs about the extraordinary powers of yogis, reincarnate lamas, and some *khandromas*.

Not only do the life-stories of *khandromas* often include death experiences, the confusion between *delogs* and *khandromas* is furthered by the fact that female *delogs* may become known as *khandromas* if they are highly esteemed in their communities. When I questioned him about a local *delog*, a writer in Derge explained that she was known, not as "*delog*," but as "*khandroma*":

According to you, we should call her a *delog*. But out of respect, people always call her "*khandroma*." First, she died and revived, [so she's] a *delog*. But, because after she became a *delog* she knew a lot of things, people call her "*khandroma*." When a *delog* knows everything, we call her "*khandroma*" out of respect, like we do for a lama's wife. So sometimes *delogs* become [identified as] *khandromas*, due to people using a respectful word for them.

The life of a now-deceased *delog* in Amdo reflects this process. When I asked her grandson if she was called "*khandroma*" after her *delog* experience, he answered by commenting on *khandromas* in general: "After she had made herself a better person (*sems pa de bzung btang nas*), everyone called her the emanation of a *khandroma*." We observe a similar process at work in the case of historical *delogs*. Lingza Chökyi (Gling za chos skyid) and Karma Wangdzin (Karma dbang 'dzin), two of Tibet's most well-known *delogs*, neither of whom seems to have been considered extraordinary before her *delog* experience, are referred to as *khandromas* in some versions of their (auto)biographies.²⁷

²⁷ *Ye-shes mkha'-gro gLing-za Chos-skyid kyi 'das log sgrun yig: The Return from Death Experiences of gLing-bza' Chos-skyid* 1985 and *Bya bral Kun dga' rang grol*. n.d.

When *delogs* are respected as *khandromas*, the two often share the further similarity of taking rebirth as part of incarnation lineages. Lingsa Chökyi, for example, returned as Delog Kunzang Chökyi Drolma (d. 1958) who then reincarnated as another female *delog* who lives today in Golok. Lingsa Chökyi is also believed to have taken rebirth in contemporary Bhutan as Delog Khandro Tayang, and Delog Karma Wangdzom (b. 1962) is believed to be the incarnation of the 17th century *delog*, Sangye Chödrom, herself the reincarnation of Karma Wangdzin (Pommaret 1989). In Kham, Delog Sherab Chödron is considered the incarnation of Delog Dawa Drolma.

The Status of Women and Delogs

In contrast to the emic explanations examined so far that present *delog* identity in largely positive terms, an etic analysis of women's predominance as *delogs* points to the marginal status that *delogs* occupy within the Tibetan Buddhist religious world. According to this perspective, the peripheral nature of the *delog* role makes it especially appropriate for Himalayan women given their disadvantaged status vis-à-vis men.²⁸

Tibetan Buddhist societies have a long history of patriarchy and androcentrism. Perhaps as a result, scholarly literature amply documents that modern Himalayan women are less educated, less likely to occupy positions of power in their communities, and in many contexts, subservient to men.²⁹ This general observation was supported by the explanation a Hyolmo mother gave for a line in her text of daily prayers. We were reading together when we came to a verse referencing a '*skyes dman med pa'i khams,*' literally, a realm where there are no beings of low birth. The term *skyes dman* is also a common way of referring to women, and that is how my companion glossed it. "Somewhere that there are no women is a very happy place," she explained. "Women have to take on everyone's sins (Nepali *pāp*); they have to raise the children. This refers to a place where no one suffers as do women in this world."

Like Tibetan Buddhist women who are said, even by men, to endure more hardship and misery than their male peers, acting as a *delog* is described as a bothersome as well as physically and emotionally difficult task. Due in part to the tortures they witness and the typically sorrowful news that they must convey to the living, *delogs* portray their death experiences as unpleasant and often painful. Likewise, they depict their human lives as filled with suffering. As Kunzang narrated the events of her life, she emphasized the motif of misfortune as she related a prophecy the local abbot made at her birth. "Poor thing," he said. "Name her Kunzang. She will suffer greatly. She will suffer greatly, but she will benefit Tibetans." Indeed, Kunzang faced daunting challenges in her early life, from

²⁸ The logic of this argument has been used to account for the high proportion of female spirit mediums in the Himalayas as well as women's prominence as shamans in South Korea and Buddhist-influenced regions of Siberia (Aziz 1978; Diemberger 1991, 2005; Hamayon 1994; Kim 2003; March 1979; Smith 2006). Havnevik 2002 argues against this view.

²⁹ Aziz 1987; Desjarlais 2003; Gutschow 1998 and 2004; Havnevik 1990; Huber 1994; Makley 2002; Padma'tsho 2014; Reis 1983; Prude 2014.

nearly starving to death to being imprisoned by Chinese authorities.³⁰

When Himalayan women first begin speaking of their postmortem journeys and interactions with the dead, they are usually dismissed as “crazy” and pressured to stop their “babbling.” In an effort to prevent Drugmotso, a *delog* in Golok, from talking more about her experiences in the intermediate state, her family stuffed her mouth with rags. When she continued to speak, they tied her up in a wool bag and beat her such that she lost several of her front teeth. Even after a prestigious lama recognized her as a *delog* and commanded the family to stop their mistreatment, a man who was angry with an unfavorable report Drugmotso delivered about his father bound and drug her behind his horse. Similar stories of abuse are common across the Himalayas. Along with being verbally attacked, Hyolmo *delog* Evie recounted being branded with a hot iron. Circumstances supposedly got so bad for a Sherpa *delog* that she is said to have been “taken by God” when she was forty years old: “because she was mistreated, she didn’t come back [from her last *delog* journey]. She stayed up there; she didn’t return.”

The autobiographical accounts that Kunzang, Drugmotso, and Evie related were stories of social ostracism and physical abuse. When we take their communities’ skepticism and active discouragement into account, the path to recognition as and the role of *delog* is less than attractive. Himalayan women’s lives, however, are expected to be difficult. Stories of women’s suffering often begin with being sent away to a distant village to marry a stranger. In her new household, a woman labors for an unsympathetic mother-in-law and bears children for a husband who is not required to treat her kindly. For a woman seeking an alternative to the hardships of being a wife and mother, the options are extremely limited, and it is virtually unheard of for a single woman to live by herself unless she is a nun. Yet, because female *delogs* are expected to be celibate, recognition as a *delog* enables a woman to avoid marriage without having to live within the constraints of monastic life.³¹ In addition, it affords her a remarkable degree of independence as well as economic benefits otherwise difficult for Himalayan women to obtain.

³⁰ For a summary account of Kunzang’s life, see Prude 2014.

³¹ Of the five female *delogs* whom I interviewed extensively, only one was a nun, but all five claimed to be celibate. In Nepal, Shantamāla swore that it was the Lord of Death himself who prohibited her, on penalty of rebirth in hell, from taking a husband. Such a threat, issued in the intermediate state by the one who would send her to her next rebirth, must have been difficult indeed for her parents to defy.

The social and economic benefits that women stand to gain by being recognized as *delogs* are one of the factors that accounts for the high proportion of women in the *delog* role. Among the *delogs* I encountered, all had benefited significantly from their status as *delogs*: in Golok, Kunzang lived independently in a small house with her teenage son. Due to her renown as a *delog*, Drugmotso had avoided marriage altogether and was able to support both herself and an attendant as she moved her nomad's tent when and where she chose. At Yachen-gar, Sherab Chödrön had her own room and a group of nuns who cooked and cared for her. She received teachings from the lamas that other nuns did not, and she had traveled to Chengdu and Beijing for medical treatment. In Nepal, Shantamāla had successfully eschewed being married and independently assumed possession of her parents' home. Finally, in Hyolmo, Evie's fellow villagers had built her a house and provided all her daily needs when they respected her as a *delog*. Since losing the confidence of her community, however, the stone and mud of her house had crumbled into ruins and she had been forced to rely on the reluctant hospitality of her nieces and nephews. Life was definitely better for her when she was regarded as a *delog*.

Drawing on Ortnner's argument that males can just as easily be excluded from positions of power and economic advantage as women, Cuevas objects to applying the "phenomenon of marginality" to account for female *delogs*.³² Certainly, men are not guaranteed power or privilege, and men do seek recognition as *delogs*. In Hyolmo, after growing up in a barn (Nep. *goth*) with parents too poor to feed him, a young Hyolmo man made the demeaning choice to search for work as a laborer in India. Several years later, as a result of a *delog* experience, he became famous throughout his community and was suddenly able to support himself, his wife, and their three children, albeit modestly, through his work as a *delog* and shaman (Hyolmo *bonpo*).

Yet, due to social realities in Himalayan societies, a disadvantaged man has more opportunities to better his situation than does a woman in the same position. When the Hyolmo *delog* left his wife and children in Nepal and took a dishwashing job in the U.S., his community in Nepal stopped respecting him as a *delog*. For him, however, life abroad and the potential to obtain a green card were more valuable than his *delog* status. In this example, we see that while both men and women may benefit from being recognized as *delogs*, be-

³² Cuevas 2008: 79. Based on his reading of literary *delog* accounts, Cuevas believes that female *delogs* were often from noble families and high social classes. This is not the case today.

See also Havnevik (2002: 281) who references Henrietta Moore in her parallel argument regarding women and oracle mediums.

cause Himalayan men have more avenues by which to gain respect and improve their economic standing, the opportunity to act as a *delog* is not as valuable to them. In other words, there may be fewer male *delogs* not because for physiological or ethical reasons men are less likely to die and return to life but because men are less interested in acting as *delogs*.

In fact, Tibetan Buddhists in Nepal say that *delogs* most often “appear” among the suffering and oppressed (Nep. *dukhī mānche*). This expectation is based on the fact that, because the *delog* experience is commonly understood to occur involuntarily, a *delog*'s access to extraordinary knowledge does not imply skill or special ability. As a result, the *delog* role is open to those who lack access to economic and educational resources. In their life narratives, Kunzang, Drugmotso, and Shantamāla all commented on their inability to write and their lack of religious education. Kunzang related how, as a young woman, she had begged her lama for teachings only to have him refuse. “Just meditate,” the lama told her and sealed her in a cave. Drugmotso professed to not even know how to meditate. “I don't understand anything about the true nature or the inner meaning of the Dharma. I don't even recite many prayers. I never stayed in a monastery to learn, and I haven't studied the scriptures. I haven't received a single instruction,” she lamented. Because acting as a *delog* requires neither religious training nor basic literacy, it is open to participation from people who have been unable to pursue education, notably women.

When this characteristic of *delogs* is taken into account, it becomes significant that the communications *delogs* relay are always someone else's words. As she related her life story, Drugmotso described her first missives from the dead as “babble” (*kha brla*) and “random things I said” (*kha nas 'dra mi 'dra cha ga yar mar ra bshad*). She emphasized the absence of personal motive and volition by expressing surprise that her charges were accurate:

Once, we carried the dead body of an old monk to our local cremation ground, but the vultures didn't eat it. People considered that old monk a pure and true renunciate (*dge slong*). At that time, I was saying various things [i.e., speaking as a *delog*], and I called that old monk a sinner. I said that he had murdered a person called such-and-such, and that it was impossible that his body would be eaten [by vultures]. Many lamas performed the ritual of consciousness transference (*pho ba*) for the murdered person and then for that old monk. Afterwards, [it was discovered that] the things I said were true; it *had* happened like that.

In Drugmotso's account, we see that even after her reports were corroborated, she distanced herself from the import of her testimonies.

A distancing strategy is typical of *delog* narratives. The autobiography of Sherab Chödrön frames her words as direct quotes from the Lord of Death, his workers, or the dead themselves:

A frightening black boy, the very embodiment of non-virtue, laughed freely and stood up. Piling many black pebbles in front of the Dharma King, he said:

"Lord of Death, Precious Dharma King, I know about this person. When he was in the human realm, he accepted many offerings on behalf of the dead. Not mindful of the holy Dharma, he deceived many black-headed people. He stirred up trouble among monks and *tantrikas* and injured many living creatures. He made offerings of both meat and blood... Please send him to the lower realms."

When [the boy] finished speaking and the workers of *samsara* measured [the dead person's] virtue and non-virtue, the accumulation of black [pebbles] was greater [than the quantity of white pebbles]. The Dharma King said this:

"*Dharmakāya*, Kuntuzangpo, think of [these beings]! Look on these miserable beings, these old grandmothers, with your eye of compassion. May pitiful evildoers like these one day encounter the Dharma. [Until then, they] must experience the suffering of Wailing Hell."

As soon as he said this, the workers of *samsara* [shouted] "Slay! Kill!" like the roar of a thousand thunderclaps and led [the deceased] to the lower realms.³³

By portraying *delogs* as passive witnesses, written accounts thus deflect responsibility from *delogs* for the content of their messages.

Related to the lack of agency seen in *delog* accounts, it is common for contemporary *delogs* to remain able to recollect their death experiences for only limited periods of time. After having completely revived or having consumed food or drink, many *delogs* deny any recollection of their experience and the information they delivered as they regained consciousness. A lifelong series of *delog* journeys, therefore, does not serve as an experiential education in the law of karma or Buddhist cosmology. Most *delogs* retain their sense of ignorance and inferiority, even in matters related to religion, throughout their lives.

At this point we must ask if the large number of female *delogs* is a recent historical development, a result of Himalayan societies' transition to modernity and the gender-biased nature of new economic

³³ Shes rab chos sgron n.d.: fol. 16-17.

opportunities? Pommaret reports that over the past two decades there are fewer and fewer *delogs* in Bhutan and acting as a *delog* is seen as a “backwards job” only worth pursuing to the most disenfranchised Bhutanese.³⁴ Per this line of thought, the high proportion of contemporary female *delogs* could be a result of recent cultural and economic changes which have given men, to a greater extent than women, new avenues to education, wealth, and power. As evidenced by the male Hyolmo *delog* who took a job in New York City, men have taken advantage of new opportunities and left traditional religious practices, like that of *delog*, to women. Relatedly, Cuevas found that pre-modern textual accounts of *delogs* can be divided equally in terms of male and female (six and seven respectively). He concludes that in the past, the *delog* role was not gendered.³⁵

The question of historical gender balance is one that cannot currently be answered, but evidence suggests that the *delog* role has long been associated with women. First, it is significant that many of the most well-known *delog* accounts, those of Karma Wangdzin and Lingza Chökyi in Tibet and Lhame Lhamchung in Nepal, are stories of women. In addition, the “original” and “best” *delog*, whether a historical person or not, is generally said to be Nangsa Obum (Snang sa ‘od ‘bum). Second, assuming that textual evidence accurately reflects historical reality is problematic. Scholars are well-aware that men are more likely than women to have their lives and experiences recorded in writing. Equivalent numbers of male and female *delog* texts, therefore, does not entail that historically there were equal numbers of

³⁴ Personal communication, 8/17/2010.

³⁵ 2008: 78-82. Cuevas does not identify the thirteen *delogs* whose narratives he included in his survey. My count of all individual *delogs* named in literary sources, modern and pre-modern, sums to thirty-one. Sixteen men: 1. Bla khri rgyal ba g.yung drung, 2. Bya bral kun dga’ rang sgrol, 3. Byams pa bde legs, 4. Byang chub sengge, 5. Chos kyi dbang phyug, 6. Dan ma sangs rgyas sengge, 7. Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, 8. Dwags po bkra shis rnam rgyal, 9. Khams pa a krung, 10. La phyi sprul sku, 11. Padma ‘phrin las, 12. Padma sku gsum rdo rje, 13. Rdo rje bdud ‘dul, 14. Rgyal ba g.yung drung bstan ‘dzin, 15. Rig ‘dzin dbang phyug, 16. Stag lha nor bu. Fifteen women: 1. Bsam bstan chos mtsho, 2. Bstan ‘dzin chos sgron, 3. Chos dbang rgyal mo, 4. Dbu za rin chen sgron gsal, 5. Gling bza’ chos skyid, 6. Karma dbang ‘dzin, 7. Lha mo lham gcung, 8. ‘Od zer bzang mo, 9. Padma chos skyid, 10. Rje btsun lo chen, 11. Sangs rgyas chos ‘dzom, 12. Shes rab bzang mo, 13. Shes rab chos sgron, 14. Snang sa ‘od ‘bum, 15. Zla ba sgrol ma.

These types of lists are problematic because the inclusion or omission of an individual depends on the compiler’s definition of *delog*. For example, Shugseb Jetsun Lochen (Rje btsun blo chen, 1853/65-1950/51/53), included here, is not typically cited as a *delog*, but she reports undergoing several *delog* experiences in her autobiography (see Havnevik 1999). Padma Trinley (Padma ‘phrin las), also included here, is called *Delog* in his (auto)biography, but his visions of the intermediate state occurred during meditation (“Das log dkar chags blang dor ‘byed pa’i lde mig” n.d.).

male and female *delogs*. Furthermore, if one chooses to read *delog* literature as history, one must consider all the individuals mentioned in the narratives when making claims about gender. In Karma Wangdzin's account, for example, when the Lord of Death sends her back to the human world, he sends two other people at the same time. Like Karma Wangdzin, both of these people are female.³⁶ When seventeenth-century *delog* Sangye Chödrom (Sangs rgyas chos 'dzom) arrives in the court of the Lord of Death, another woman who had previously been sent back to life is there as well.³⁷ The inclusion of all *delogs* mentioned in *delog* texts could thus alter the gender balance reflected in pre-modern *delog* literature.

Conclusion

To become a *delog*, one must undergo an incredible death experience and return to life to tell about it. Since both men and women die and a person's sex is irrelevant when facing the Lord of Death, it is possible for both men and women to become *delogs*. Nevertheless, the majority of *delogs* are female.

Emic explanations for the connection between *delogs* and women explain why women are more likely to die and return to life. According to Himalayan Buddhist beliefs about men's and women's personalities, men are quick to anger and prone to violence whereas women are patient and devote more time to religious practice. As a result, a woman is more liable to maintain the positive karmic balance necessary for returning as a *delog*. From a tantric perspective, on the other hand, the channels of a woman's subtle body are "open" and "quick" and therefore more conducive to the out-of-body experiences that *delogs* undergo. Yet another point of view relies on the similarities *delogs* share with the female figure of the *khandroma*: a predilection for undertaking extraordinary journeys to other realms, an ability to provide information about the deceased, and often the possession of divine attributes. Tibetan Buddhist ideas about sex and gender that link women to the *delog* role thus point to what Gyatso and Havnevik have described as a "homology" between gender stereotypes and certain religious functions.³⁸

Based on sociological considerations, it is also possible that women who have a *delog* experience are more eager than men to assume identity as *delogs*. This theory speaks to the observation that in Hima-

³⁶ Pommaret 1989: 75.

³⁷ Pommaret 1989: 62.

³⁸ 2005: 19.

layan Buddhist societies, women are structurally inferior to men. It follows that women do not necessarily experience death journeys more often than men but when they do, women more frequently adopt '*delog*' as a title and vocation because, due to the smaller number and limited desirability of alternatives available to them, recognition as a *delog* is a relatively attractive option. Gyatso and Havnevik argue that jobs viewed as insignificant or demeaning are particularly welcoming of women's participation.³⁹ According to this argument, we should see peripheral religious roles, like those of diviner, oracle-medium, and *delog*, often filled by women, and indeed this is the case.

In the end, our gender analysis is unavoidably circular, reflecting Bourdieu's observation that social structures and strategies tend to reproduce themselves to the point that "the body is in the social world but the social world is also in the body."⁴⁰ Attention to Himalayan Buddhists' theories regarding the connection between *delogs* and women reveals contradictory beliefs about both the status of *delogs* and women's talents and shortcomings. For someone who has respect for *delogs* and views their activities as authentic and important, the fact that most *delogs* are female can be evidence of women's competency and merits. Those who question the possibility of returning from death and are skeptical of *delogs*' claims can explain women's disproportionate participation as *delogs* to *delogs*' marginal standing vis-à-vis the institutions of Tibetan Buddhism and women's inferior place in Himalayan social hierarchies. In this way, an investigation of the link between *delogs* and women highlights the inseparability of religion and culture in Tibetan Buddhist societies whereby the adoption of *delog* identity allows women an opportunity to participate in religious authority while simultaneously reiterating gender stereotypes.

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³⁹ 2005: 13.

⁴⁰ 1990: 190.

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In the Bosom of Khotan? A Dialogue between Image and Text

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 Amongst the wondrous metal images of the Berti Aschmann Collection of Tibetan Art preserved in the Rietberg Museum stands a unique statue 'Bodhisattva with *gadā'* (fig.1). The unidentified Bodhisattva has been attributed to Kashmir and dated from the ninth to tenth century.² However, a Tibetan inscription engraved on the top of the lotus base has seemingly gone unnoticed. The reading of the inscription not only allows for the identification of this figure, but also raises the question of its place of production and workmanship. The inscription on the pedestal reads as follows (fig.2):³

14 *nub li'i byang chub seMd' rdo rgyal mtshan*
"14 The Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja of Western Li"

The inscription opens with a number fourteen written in Tibetan numerals. A small gap separates this number from the first word of the inscription. At the outset, it would seem to suggest that this statue was initially part of a set of images. Alternatively, the statue would have been engraved and listed alongside other miscellaneous religious articles belonging to a particular place. I will return to this point later.

Two words of the inscription are clearly abbreviated. The last two syllables of the Buddhist word *byang chub sems dpa'* (Skt. *bodhisattva*) are cut short. A dot above the term *sems* indicates that the third syllable is shortened by means of an *anusvāra* (Tib. *rjes su nga ro*). The last syllable *dpa'* is equally abridged. Second, the name *rDo rje rgyal mtshan* (Skt. *Vajradhvaja*) is abridged, too. Here, the second syllable of the noun *rdo rje* (Skt. *vajra*) is omitted. The use of abbreviated nouns is common practice in Tibetan epigraphic writing, usually because of

¹ This research benefitted from the generous assistance of the Tise Foundation.

² Helmut Uhlig, *On the Path To Enlightenment: The Berti Aschmann Foundation of Tibetan Art at the Museum Rietberg Zürich* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1995), 120-121.

³ I am very grateful to Alexandra Von Przychowski from the Rietberg Museum for sharing her own photograph of the inscription.

space, sometimes for technical reasons. In the present context, the identification of Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja does not pose any problems and is further confirmed by the iconography, as I intend to show.

There is every reason to think that the expression *nub li* might also be an abbreviation of some sort. Therefore, the genitive case suffixed to the word *li* has been provisionally translated 'of'. It could also be rendered as 'from', 'in', or as a clause introduced by 'that', depending upon our reading of the expression 'Western *li*'.

Some remarks on the term 'li' and its derivatives

Dictionaries usually define the word *li* as 'bronze' or 'metal bell'. This term is also used to mean a unit of distance of approximately one third of a meter. The latter can easily be ruled out as far as the inscription is concerned. Moreover, the term *li* is often found in compound nouns pertaining to metal casting (Tib. *li ma*), the oasis of Khotan (Tib. *li yul*), or an artistic style (Tib. *li lugs*) related to Central Asia.

In the context of traditional metalwork, the word *li* is used somewhat loosely by Tibetan authors. It is generally admitted that *li* is employed to designate different types of alloys. Tibetan texts discussing casting and metallurgy speak of red *li* (Tib. *li dmar*), white *li* (Tib. *li dkar*), reddish brown *li* (Tib. *smug li*), or even iridescent *li* (Tib. *li khra*). Overall, these terms seem to reflect the hues of different types of copper alloys that assumed a dominant position in Tibetan and Himalayan metalwork.⁴ Incidentally, Pad-ma dkar-po (1527 – 1592) reported in his work on metal images that red *li* and white *li* were found in the hills of Khotan (Tib. *li yul*). They were both regarded as the finest alloys for having been blessed by four different Buddhas.⁵

In some cases, the word *li ma* is used instead of *li*. It introduces a small distinction between metal alloys and metal objects, which is not strictly followed by all Tibetan authors, in particular with regard to sculpture. A chapel inside the Potala Palace in Lhasa, for instance, bears the name of *Li ma lha khang*. It is renowned for housing about eight hundred metal images (Tib. *li ma*) of divine figures (Tib. *lha sku*). Tibetan historian and lexicographer Dung-dkar blo-bzang

⁴ Erberto Lo Bue, "Statuary Metals in Tibet and the Himālayas: History, Tradition and Modern Use", *Bulletin of Tibetology*, 1-3 (1991): 23-24.

⁵ | *li dmar dmar [m]dangs cung zad ser ba dang* | | *li dkar dkar [m]dangs cung zad ser ba yin* | | *'di gnyis li yul ri la thub dbang bzhis* | | *byin gyis brlabs pa las 'ongs mchog tu bsnags* |; "Red *li* is red in hue with some yellow, and white *li* is white in hue with some yellow. These two came to be praised as the finest since four Buddhas blessed the hills of the Country of Li (i.e. Khotan)"; Pad-ma dkar-po, *Li ma brtag pa'i rab byed smra 'dod pa'i kha rgyan*, text edited by Tashi Tsering and Ngawang Lungtok (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 2002), 295.

'phrin-las (1927 – 1997) listed a whole variety of mediums, periods, and provenances for these images.⁶ In addition to various types of *li* alloys, he noted that Tibetan statues produced during the imperial period were called *chos rgyal li ma*.⁷ He also explained that sculptures of Indian origin are classified according to their place of production. Hence, the *Li ma lha khang* contains statues made in Magadha in the heartland of India (Tib. *rgya gar yul dbus ma gha dha*). Other metal images manufactured in East India are commonly referred to as Eastern *li* (Tib. *shar li*), whilst sculptures created in West India are called Western *li* (Tib. *nub li*). In addition, this classification of Indian metal images also includes statues produced in Nepal (Tib. *bal po'i li ma*), Kashmir (Tib. *kha che'i li ma*), and in Khotan (Tib. *li yul gyi li ma*).

In light of the literary tradition, however, the geographical distribution and stylistic development of early metal images is not always recognised unequivocally. This situation is particularly relevant when it comes to Kashmir and Khotan, two springboards for the development of Buddhist figurative art in Tibet. According to Tāranātha (1575 – 1634), who included a chapter about artistic production in his *History of Buddhism in India*, the early formative influences on Kashmiri art came from Central and Western India.⁸ Pad-ma dkar-po, for his part, gave a long description of stylistic features found in images produced in the 'Land of Kashmir in Western India'.⁹

⁶ Dung-dkar blo-bzang 'phrin-las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002), 1955-1956.

⁷ The abbreviated form *chos li* is also found in Pad-ma dkar-po's work on casting and metal images; Pad-ma dkar-po, *Li ma brtag pa*, 301.

⁸ *l kha cher yang sngon dbus dang nub rnying gi rjes su 'brang l phyis hasur Adza zer ba zhig gis bris 'bur gnyis ka'i srol gsar ba btod pa'i lugs la ding sang kha che ma zer l*; "Then in Kashmir, the early [tradition] followed the ancient [styles of] Central and Western [India]. Later, someone named Hasurāja initiated a new tradition of both painting and sculpture known as Kashmiri today"; Tāranātha, *Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, in *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 138A.

⁹ *l rgya gar nub phyogs kha che'i yul gyi lha l l li dkar cung zad ser dang lhag par du l l li dmar rdo dang gi gu sha 'dra dang l zi khyim dag kyang 'di la mang bar snang l l sku yi tshugs rigs zhal ras ring zhing tsho[n] l l stod smad chung dang spyen bar dog pa dang l l shangs kyi sgang zlum bzang dang zhal mchu 'thug l l 'gying bag bde nyams chung zhing lhu tshigs thung l l phyag zhabs mnyen zhing zangs mchu dngul spyen mang l l na bza' sku la 'khril zhing gos 'khyud ring l l rags zhib 'tsham la gtsug tor nor bu nub l l mu tig thod bcings mu tig do shal dang l l me tog rgyan gyis spras pa'ang srid pa yin l l Padma dbyigs mo chig rkyang 'dab ma che l l pad mgo cung rgyas kha sbyar rkyang pa'ang srid l l gdan khri la sogs ci rigs yod ba yin l*; "The deities from the Land of Kashmir in Western India [are made] of white *li* – slightly yellowish – and in particular of red *li*, stone, enamel-like (i.e. ivory) and also *zi khyim* (i.e. natural copper), which were to be found there in large numbers. The stylistic features of [these] images [include] long and fleshy faces. The upper and lower

Likewise, the Country of Li (i.e. Khotan) in the deserts of Central Asia was also accepted as being part of a larger Indian geography. Located to the north-west of the Tibetan plateau, it is not clear as to why this region came to be known as such in early Tibetan sources. Notwithstanding the homonymic relationship between the term *li*, 'bronze', and the name of the country, Khotan has long had a reputation for its artistic influence in Tibet. The literary tradition recalls, for instance, the episode in which King Srong-btsan sgam-po (r. c. 605 – 650) and his army set off to 'Khotan in India' (Tib. *rgya gar li yul*) to assume ownership of sacred statues in order to install them inside the royal temple of Khra 'brug.¹⁰ Similarly, one of the most famous metal sculptures of the Kadampa tradition (Tib. *bka' gdams li ma*) preserved in Tibet is a forty-five centimetre-tall representation of Mañjuvajra (Tib. 'Jam dpal rdo rje),¹¹ which is said to have been brought from Kho-

[parts of the face] are small with a narrow space between the eyes. The nose bridge is round and elegant. The lips are thick. The posture is slightly uptight with short joints and limbs. Legs and arms are slender. Lips are mostly [inlaid with] copper and eyes with silver. The undergarment hugs the body and the robe enfolds its length. Depending on the quality some may be adorned with head-dresses [inlaid with] gems, pearl tiaras, pearl necklaces, and floral ornaments. Some may be [seated] on a single and elegant lotus with large petals; some on a single lotus head in full bloom, small or large; some are seated on thrones and so forth according to their types"; Pad-ma dkar-po, *Li ma brtag pa*, 298.

¹⁰ [...] *slar yang phyogs bcu'i rgyal ba sras bcas kyis mgrin gcig tu khy[od] [k]yi lha'i 'khor rnam srgya gar li yul lcang ra smug po na sngar sangs rgyas 'o srung gis rab gnas mnga' gsol mdzad ba'i | nye sras brgyad | rje btsun sgrol ma | khro bo dang bcas pa bzhugs yod | de nams khyod kyi lha'i 'khor du bdan drongs shig | 'dzam bu'i gling na rten de las ngo mtshar che ba med | nged rnam kyis kyang grogs byed gsungs pa nam [m]kha' nas sgra bsgrags pas | nang par rgyal po thugs shin tu mnyes te | blon 'bangs rnam bsdus nas | mdang nub lha'i 'khor rnam srgya gar li yul lcang ra smug po gzhugs yod pa'i lung bstan byung bas | de gdan 'dren du 'gro dgos pas khyod rnam dmag dpung sogs la grab gyis gsungs [...]; " [...] Once again the Buddhas of the ten directions and the Bodhisattvas unanimously declared: "The retinue of your divine images, which is at the Maroon Willow Grove of Khotan in India, had been consecrated and enthroned by Buddha Kāśyapa in former times. The Eight Close Sons (Skt. *aṣṭa utaputra*), the venerable Tārā, together with Krodhā reside [there]. Bring and establish them as the retinue of your divine statues! There is no sacred images more wondrous [than these] on Jambudvīpa. We too shall provide assistance'. [Their] word having resounded through the sky, the king utterly elated brought together the ministers and the subjects the following day and declared: 'Last night, I had the prophetic revelation that the retinues of the deities are at the Maroon Willow Grove of Khotan in India. Since we must depart to bring them here, you shall assemble the troops' [...]"'. For the Tibetan rendition and a different translation of this passage; see Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-'brug Tibet's First Buddhist Temple* (Vienna : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 62-63, 341-342.*

¹¹ Michael Henss, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet* (Munich-London-New York: Prestel, 2014), 1, 285.

tan to the Land of Snows as part of a civilizing enterprise.¹² A stylistic analysis of these images, when they exist, would certainly be useful to evaluate the historical dimension of these Buddhist narratives. In any case, we are repeatedly told that metal sculptures attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, to Khotanese workmanship were held in great esteem. When Tsong-kha-pa (1357 – 1419) officially declined an invitation made by the Yongle Emperor (1360 – 1424) in 1408, the Tibetan master dispatched sumptuous presents to the Chinese emperor amongst which a ‘statue of Avalokiteśvara brought from Khotan’.¹³

Eventually, the term *li*, as in the expression *li lugs*, came to convey a certain Khotanese artistic influence on the art and architecture of the imperial period in Tibet. It is found, for example, in reference to the monastery of bSam-yas that was founded around 780 CE. If Tibetan sources generally agree that the main three-tiered temple (Tib. *dbu rtse*) had been erected following three artistic styles (i.e. Tibetan,

¹² *rgyal ba'i lung gis zin pa'i pho brang gzhal yas khang chen mo ka gnyis ma'i rten gyi gto bo jo bo 'jam dpal rdo rdje zhes bya ba'i lo rgyus kyi dbang du bgyis na | re phad ma las | rgyal ba yab sras tshur gson dang | l bcom ldan rig gsum mgon po yis | l mtha' 'khob li yul nas bzung ste | l gdong dmar kha ba can gyi dbus | l gti mug byol song mi'i gzugs can | l lha srin gdug pa kha ma bye | l sha za srin po gdug rtsub can | l de dag 'dul ba'i gnyan po ru | l 'jam dpal khros pa'i lha dgu la | l gsol ba btab pa'i snang ba las | l 'jam dpal rdo rjes 'dul bar dgongs | l des na phyag na rdo rje yis | l po tA la yi pho brang du | l rje btsun spyan ras gzigs dbang la | l 'jam dpal rdo rje bzhengs pa yi | l bdag rkyen mdzad par gsol ba btab | l de tshe rje btsun 'jam dbyangs dang | l spyan ras gzigs dang phyag rdor gsum | l gdug pa can rnam 'dul ba'i phyir | l nor bu rin chen du ma las | l skad cig dran rdzogs nyid la bzhengs | l de tshe mgon po 'od dpag med | l rig gsum mgon po 'khor dang bcas | l rgyal ba sras bcas dpag med kyis | l rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga mdzad | l ces gsungs pa ltar | [...]; ‘If we follow the historical tradition, the prophesy of the Victorious One tells that the one called Lord Mañjuvājra is the main recipient of worship of the The-Divine-Mansion-Of-The-Two-Pillars [inside] the assembly hall. It is said in the *Re phad ma*: ‘Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, listen here! The triumphant protectors of the three families brought [this image] from the confines of the Country of Li (i.e. Khotan) to the heart of the Red Faces’ Land of Snows, as a pacifying antidote against the mental obscuration of animals and those having human form, against a repository of pernicious *rakṣasa* and savage *piśāca*. As a remedy, they make supplication to the nine [manifestation] deities of Wrathful Mañjuśrī and visualised Mañjuvājra taming them. Thereupon, Vajrapāṇi requested the venerable Avalokiteśvara in the Potala Palace to confer the conditions for the realisation of Mañjuvājra. At that moment, the three venerable ones, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi, created the perfect [image of the deity] in a single instant from a multitude of precious gems in order to tame all pernicious beings. Then, the saviour Amitābha, the protectors of the three families along with their retinues, a myriad of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas conducted the consecration ritual’ [...]; Lhun-grub chos-'phel, *Rva sgrenng dgon pa'i dkar chag* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994) 95-96.*

¹³ *li'i yul nas spyan drangs ba'i spyan ras gzigs kyi sku gcig*. For Tsong-kha-pa's letter and gift exchange; see Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1975), 80-81.

Indian, and Chinese), they are yet at variance when it comes to the exact sequence and the style of at least one of these floors.¹⁴ In a text ascribed to the fourteenth century, it is stressed that the upper floor of the main temple of the monastery of bSam-yas had been built in Khotanese style (Tib. *li lugs*).¹⁵

The possibility of a direct influence from Central Asia on Tibetan visual art took a new turn when the term *li lugs* was found by the Italian polymath Giuseppe Tucci on the walls of a chapel at g.Ye dmar in Tibet.¹⁶ At the time, his misreading of the inscription supported the idea that the painted representation of Tathāgatas was following a Khotanese style. More recently, art historian and Tibetologist Amy Heller has argued that the syntax of the inscription indicates the exact opposite, pointing at paintings that, in fact, did not conform to Khotanese style.¹⁷ Based on stylistic evidence and comparative analyses, it was eventually proposed that the expression *li lugs* should not be taken too literally but rather be understood as 'Central Asian style'.¹⁸

To compound the matter further, Amy Heller has also remarked that technical terms such as *li lugs* and *li ma lugs* are also being used by Tibetan artists today in reference to a style of depiction, in both painting and sculpture, based on the tradition of metal images, as the

¹⁴ Anne Chayet drew attention to the fact that it is difficult to speak of different architectural styles and stylistic characteristics related to the artwork of these storeys as the building underwent important damage and renovation phases. She suggested that the three types of floor (Tib. *rigs gsum*) mentioned in Tibetan sources might, in fact, reflect construction techniques rather than artistic trends: with a ground floor made of stone, a middle floor made of bricks, and an upper floor constructed in wood; see Anne Chayet, "Le monastère de bSam-yas: sources architecturales", *Arts asiatiques*, 43 (1988): 19-29. The use of three distinct building materials for each storey is further attested in Tibetan sources; see bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), 18, 209.

¹⁵ *dbu rtse rigs gsum bkod pa'i khyad par ni | 'og khang rgya nag bar khang rgya gar lugs | steng khang li yi lugs su bzhengs pa yin |*; "As for the structural characteristics of the three-tiered dBu rtse [temple]: the ground floor is Chinese; the middle floor is in Indian style; the upper floor is built in Khotanese/Central Asian style"; U-rgyan gling-pa, *Pad ma bka' thang* (Chengdu : Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 508.

¹⁶ Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica IV: Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1941), 3, 137. And again, Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica IV: Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1941), 2, 136.

¹⁷ *bde bar gshegs 'bri ba li lugs mi mthun*; "the painted Tathāgata do not conform to the style of *li*"; Amy Heller, circular note (Nyon: 1996), 1-3.

¹⁸ Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia Publication, 1990), 53-56, 65 n.93. Zhang Yasha, "A Study of The Sculptures of Iwang (E-Wam) Temple and an Analysis of Their Art Style", *China Tibetology*, 1 (2004), <http://zt.tibet.cn/english/zt/tibetologymagazine/..%5CTibetologyMagazine/..%5CTibetologyMagazine/200312004422102321.htm> (as of 1 January 2016).

phrase 'the monastic robe in the style of Indian metal images' (Tib. *rgya gar li ma lugs kyi chos gos*) would tend to indicate.¹⁹

What are we to conclude from this brief review with regard to the expression 'western *li*' engraved on the pedestal of the Rietberg Bodhisattva? In light of the above, three main lines of enquiry can be pursued here, namely: (i) *li* as a medium, (ii) *nub li (ma)* as a place of provenance, and (iii) *nub li (ma lugs)* as stylistic tradition. As a medium, the inscription would simply state that the Bodhisattva represented was made of a type of alloy ubiquitous in the West, in the same way that some statues are said to be made of gold (Tib. *ser gyi sku*) or silver (Tib. *ngul gyi sku*). This interpretation would accord well with the use of the genitive case (i.e. *li' i*) but is not very probative as far as the geographical reference is concerned. In a less restrictive sense, the term *nub li* could be interpreted as a metal image of Indian origin (Tib. *rgya gar li ma*), which was produced in West India (Tib. *nub li*), as opposed to statues cast in central or East India.²⁰ We have seen, however, that Tibetans have a rather inclusive understanding of Indian geography vis-à-vis casting and metallurgy. As a result, the traditional classification of Indian metal images and the origin of sculptures produced in the western margins of the Tibetan plateau can be somewhat conflated. A statue manufactured in Kashmir, Swat, Gilgit, or Khotan could still potentially be described as a Western metal image. This leads to the final point where the term 'Western *li*' encapsulates artistic elements representative of images from Western India. This expression would thus suggest a mode of representation, as in *li lugs* or even *li ma lugs*, where artists replicated stylistic elements that were typical of metal images produced from within an Indic-influenced cultural environment. Whatever approach is adopted, a description of the Rietberg Bodhisattva is now in order.

Iconographic and stylistic comments

The 'Bodhisattva with *gadā*' from the Berti Aschmann collection measures 13.5 centimetres (fig.1). It is likely cast in one piece with a partly hollow pedestal.²¹ In the absence of a composition analysis, it is reasonable to assume a copper alloy. A separately cast halo is now lost. The figure is seated in *sattoaparyāñkāśana* on a single lotus base,

¹⁹ Amy Heller, circular note (Nyon: 1996), 1-3.

²⁰ The term *nub li* would hence stand for longer sentences such as: *rgya gar nub phyogs kyi li ma* or *rgya gar nub phyogs nas yin pa'i li ma* (i.e. a metal image from Western India).

²¹ A piece of metal fixed to the statue inside the lotus base suggests the presence of a possible tenon.

with his right leg over his left leg. Unlike other seated Buddhist images, the right knee does not rest on the pedestal but is being held in mid-air. The left hand is placed on the hip. The right hand holds the staff of a banner (Skt. *dhvaja*, *ketu*) – broken off above the hand – that was likely topped by a *cintāmaṇi*. The deity wears a *dhoti*-like garment decorated with deeply incised flower patterns tied around the hips with a beaded girdle;²² traces of red pigment are visible on the right thigh, left calf, and buttocks. A swirling ribbon-like scarf placed over the shoulders is broken off in several places. Silver and copper inlays were used to embellish body parts and jewellery. The eyes and the *ūrṇā*, for instance, are made of silver, whilst the nipples are inlaid with copper. The figure wears bejewelled adornments, namely a necklace with multi-coloured pendants, similarly inlaid bracelets on the upper arms, and a pair of circular earrings. Beaded bracelets are also visible around the wrists and the right ankle, along with a sacred thread (Skt. *yajñōpavīta*) over his left shoulder. Finally, an upswept hairstyle – damaged in its upper section – is surmounted by an elaborate crown composed of a beaded headband with flowers on the sides and a central round jewel, three large flower blossoms and crescent moons, from which two long strands of hair fall to his shoulders. Traces of blue paint in the hair and remnants of cold gold are still visible on the face and neck, attesting that the statue was preserved in a Tibetan Buddhist context.

Overall, the iconographic composition of this image exhibits the general iconographic features of a seated Bodhisattva. Moreover, the position of the left hand and the remaining part of the attribute in the right hand (Tib. *phyag mtshan*) are well-suited to support the identification of this statue as Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja, as suggested by the inscription.²³

The artistic depiction of this Vajradhvaja can be compared to at least two other known metal images (fig.3-4).²⁴ These sculptures

²² Similar flowers can be seen on the *dhoti* of a standing Mañjuśrī attributed to Kashmir schools in Western Tibet in the eleventh century; see Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet* (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma, 2001) 1, 152, 40A-C.

²³ This Bodhisattva is often known under the name Vajraketu. For a review of Vajradhvaja-Vajraketu's iconography; see Lokesh Chandra, *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1999) 13, 3974-3979; Shashibala, *Comparative Iconography of the Vajradhātu-Manḍala and the Tattva-Saṅgraha* (New Delhi: Sharadi Rani, 1986) 164-168; Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du tântrisme bouddhique* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1975) 1, 397.

²⁴ For a general description of figure 3; see Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 190, 57A. For a general description of figure 4; see Von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 190-191, 57B.

show two seated figures whose body proportions, modelling, clothing, and ornaments are strikingly similar to the stylistic features of the Rietberg Bodhisattva. They have been identified as the goddess Mālā (Tib. *'phreng ba ma*) and a form of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Tib. *'jam dpal*) by Ulrich Von Schroeder who attributed these images to Kashmiri workmanship – or schools – in Western Tibet around the eleventh century.²⁵ These three sculptures represent a closely related corpus of sculptures and point towards a similar artistic tradition or workshop.

Within this group of sculptures, the Rietberg Bodhisattva and the goddess Mālā display strong stylistic similarities. Notwithstanding their respective iconography, the two images are similar in nearly all respects as far as the description and photographic documentation allow us to judge.²⁶ The goddess from the *Li ma lha khang* in Lhasa measures 13.7 centimetres, as against 13.5 for Vajradhvaja. It is cast in one piece with a hollow pedestal. Both figures had separately cast aureoles. The goddess Mālā is also seated in the noble attitude on a single lotus base, which is the perfect replica of Vajradhvaja's pedestal; here again, a distinctive feature is the fact that the right knee does not touch the ground. The relief work of her garment follows the same fashion, with stripes of eight-petalled flowers outlined in black and the presence of a similar roundel motif on the left knee, whilst traces of red pigment are also visible in the inner thighs. Unlike Vajradhvaja's, Mālā's ribbon-like scarf is not broken off but swirls around her arms, with similar beaded fringes, and two large fork-tailed ends at the level of her shoulders; an interesting element is the later addition of a small thread with a wafer seal attached to the lower left loop of the scarf. The most salient elements for a comparison between these two images are the ornaments; with the major exception, however, that the use of inlays has not been reported in the description of the second image.²⁷ They include a beaded girdle with a yet slightly different central buckle-like ornament, beaded bracelets and anklets, identical circular earrings clipped onto the earlobes, and

²⁵ Von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 190, 57A-57B. The identification of Mālā is congruent with the iconography of the goddess. The image, however, seems to lack female body forms. Alternatively, this statue could be related to the depiction of vajra-bodhisattvas such as Vajrahāsa, Vajrarakṣa, or Vajrayakṣa, who also hold their hands in front of the chest in a similar fashion.

²⁶ The face of Mālā was later on covered in cold gold and her hair painted in blue according to a Tibetan fashion and religious praxis. The difference of patina between the two images can be imputed to various reasons; including an exposition to the smoke and soot of butter lamps in a traditional Tibetan shrine for Mālā; anti-tarnish cleaning and polishing in the case of Vajradhvaja as remnants of cold gold can attest; and the conditions in which the photographs were taken.

²⁷ Von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 190, 57A.

a similar headdress. The angle of the photography and the use of cold gold on Mālā's chest does not allow for a clear view of her necklace. The central arrow-like pendant with roundel, however, is reminiscent of the one on Vajradhvaḡa's neck. Finally, the very distinctive pair of beaded bracelets on the upper arms of these figures, with three dangling ornaments and stylised fleurs-de-lys on top, are identical in all aspects.

In light of the great similarities between these two metal images, it is tempting to reconsider their stylistic provenance. As a reminder, the Rietberg Bodhisattva has been ascribed to ninth-tenth century Kashmir, whilst the goddess Mālā has been attributed to Kashmiri schools in Western Tibet around the eleventh century. There are grounds, I will argue, to refute the first provenance and to question the second attribution.

To begin with, the body proportions of these two figures differ considerably from ninth-tenth century Kashmiri metal images. In particular, the elongated torsos, well-proportioned chests, and lean shoulders do not accord well with the triangular upper body, broad chests, and rounded shoulders of many metal sculptures from Kashmir. In fact, the manner in which the tripartite trunk (i.e. developed chest, slender wasp waist, and pronounced cruciform abdomen) is modelled relate these two sculptures to a Western Indo-Tibetan style. But yet again, the Rietberg Bodhisattva and the goddess from the *Li ma lha khang* differ quite significantly from eleventh-century bronzes from Western Tibet, with their general stiffness and often disproportionate body parts.

Likewise, the facial features of these images seem to defy easy classification, whilst retaining *un-je-ne-sais-quoi* familiar to both Kashmiri statues and metal images from Western Tibet produced between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Stylistically, their heads are rather well-proportioned, avoiding the round and full faces with fleshy cheeks of most Kashmiri images, and the slightly oversized heads with oval faces of later Western Tibetan copies altogether. It combines the heavy upper eyelids with high bow-like brows of traditional Kashmiri works, yet avoids the low foreheads of the latter. In particular, the position of the protruding *ūrṇā* in the middle of the forehead does not accord well with Kashmiri metal images – produced in Kashmir or by Kashmiri artists – in which the tuft of hair is more often than not positioned between the converging lines of the upper eyebrows, almost at the root of the nose. Finally, I see no visual parameters to evaluate with any degree of certainty the nose, mouth, and gently marked chin; while evading the large nose with rounded ridge of early pieces, these features do not seem to conform to the

mannerism of Western Tibetan images based on Kashmiri models either.

Another stylistic feature can be raised against a Kashmiri provenance or Kashmiri workmanship in Western Tibet. The depiction of the *yajñopavīta* of the Rietberg Bodhisattva, as well as to a large extent that of the goddess Mālā, is of dubious appearance.²⁸ In both cases, the sacred thread runs down the left side of the body and joins the girdle or, more likely, disappears below the *dhotī*-like garment. Furthermore, the initiation thread does not resurface on the right side of the body, and was clearly not represented on Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja's back. According to art historian and Tibetologist Christian Luczanits it could suggest that the depiction of the *yajñopavīta* was an artistic and iconographical convention no longer clearly understood by craftsmen. This would exclude, in theory, the hand of a Kashmiri master who must have been accustomed to the religious meaning of the *yajñopavīta* and its cultural significance within a Buddhist context. As a result, the simplification of the thread would indicate that the image was, perhaps, made by a foreign artist, either trained in Kashmir or trained by a Kashmiri master.²⁹

The possibility that we are dealing here with foreign craftsmanship in a Western Indo-Tibetan idiom becomes particularly interesting when looking at Vajradhvaja and Mālā's pedestals. As noted earlier, the fluted moon disc atop a lotus flower, with a single row of downward-pointing broad lotus petals, double-lobed elements, and alternate sharpened-edged petal tips, is the same in both images. The treatment of these petals is generally absent from the art of Greater Kashmir and Western Tibet. It differs substantially from the long, broad, and plain lotus petals that are often associated with the Swat Valley, and which came to influence west Kashmir and Gilgit. One must acknowledge that in a small number of cases, however, the lotus seat of sculptures related to Kashmir and Western Tibetan bear

²⁸ Compare with the depiction of the sacred thread in the front and back of figure 4 where it has been stylized; see Von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 190-191, 57B-C.

²⁹ In the case of the example discussed by Luczanits, the geographical provenance of the artist is attributed to the Western Himalayas. I see no reason to limit the sphere of Kashmiri influence to the East and exclude the possibility of artists from regions to the north and northeast of Kashmir to be included here; see Christian Luczanits, "From Kashmir to Western Tibet: The Many Faces of a Regional Style", Rob Linrothe, *Collecting Paradise: Buddhist Art of Kashmir and Its Legacies* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, Evanston: Northwestern University, Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art), 111, 119.

some resemblance with the rows of lotus petals described above, suggesting perhaps a regional variation of the same theme (fig.5-6).³⁰

A good example of this is found at Dras in Lower Ladakh where a stone sculpture representing Bodhisattva Maitreya offers the closest depiction of these lotus petals for the Western Himalayan region (fig.7). The life-size sculpture is dated to the seventh-eighth century by art historian Rob Linrothe who analyses several stone images as part of a wider artistic movement in Zangskar and Ladakh which he assimilates to a 'Kashmiricisation'.³¹ Linrothe does not discuss the pedestal of the Maitreya image but notes how the Bodhisattva's vase (Skt. *kunḍika*) in the lower left hand is curiously reminiscent of Sogdian and Tang Chinese ewers. With the stone sculpture in Dras, we are certainly reminded of extensive cultural contacts between Kashmir and Ladakh, through which pilgrims, merchants, and artists would often travel to Yarkand or Kothan in Central Asia after the fifth century.³² In this respect, the lotus base of the Rietberg image would seem to attest to an artistic trend well established further East.

This type of lotus seat appears in Buddhist imagery as early as the sixth century. It is seen in stone and metal sculptures produced in China from the Northern Wei Dynasty (535 – 557) all the way through the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907) (fig.8).³³ Furthermore, sculptures retrieved from the Tarim Basin underscore the long history and popularity of this type of lotus representations in Central Asia. Three

³⁰ Figure 5 shows a seated Buddha from the O.C. Sud Collection in Shimla, India, dated from the eleventh century. Compared to the lotus leaves under review, the heart-shaped central part of the petal is yet quite different with the absence of bulging elements. Image taken from Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo, a Lamp for the Kingdom: Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalayas* (Milan, Skira, 1997), 170. As for Figure 6, it shows a seated Buddha Maitreya from the Nyingjei Lam Collection, currently on display at the Rubin Museum of Art, New-York, USA. This metal image is attributed to Kashmir and dated from the late eighth-ninth century. Here, the lotus petals are more closely related to our images. They still differ considerably in shape, design, and arrangement, with the main petals being positioned largely apart from one another, leaving space for a second row of alternate petals. Image from Rob Linrothe, *Collecting Paradise: Buddhist Art of Kashmir and Its Legacies* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, Evanston: Northwestern University, Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art), 68.

³¹ Rob Linrothe, "Origins of the Kashmiri Style in the Western Himalayas: Sculpture of the 7th-11th Centuries", *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, edited by Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 147-188.

³² For a discussion on trades routes and early stone sculptures in Ladakh; see Phuntsog Dorjay, "Embedded in Stone – Early Buddhist Rock Art of Ladakh", *Art and Architecture in Ladakh: Cross-Cultural Transmissions in the Himalayas and Karakoram*, edited by Erberto Lo Bue and John Bray (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 35-67.

³³ Figure 8 shows a seated Bodhisattva in a pensive pose measuring 54.4 centimetres and dated 544 CE based on a dedicatory inscription; see 金申, *海外及港台藏历代佛像珍品纪年图鉴* (山西出版集团.山西人民出版社: 2007), 121.

images deserve further considerations here. The first image shows a stucco relief fragment that served to decorate Buddhist monuments. The artefact was brought back from Khotan by the Ōtani expedition team and is currently kept in the National Museum of Korea (fig.9).³⁴ It shows a Buddha in *dhyānamudrā* seated on a lotus seat seen from above. The double-lobed lotus petals are slightly more elongated, yet, they generally conform to the style of petals discussed here above. Other stucco reliefs with similar petals were also retrieved from the site of Dandān-oiliq to the north-west of Khotan (fig. 10).³⁵ Finally, a fragment of a wooden panel from Khotan dated to the seventh-eighth century features a seated Buddha flanked by a standing Bodhisattva (fig.11).³⁶ Notwithstanding its rough cut appearance, the Khotanese version of the Buddha's seat closely resembles the lotus base of the Rietberg Bodhisattva, with its moon disc atop a row of downward-facing lotus petals, double humps, and lower leaf tips.

Discussion

An impressive corpus of Buddhist metal images attributed to North-Western India, Greater Kashmir, Western Tibet and beyond has found its way into museums, private collections, auction catalogues, and academic publications in the last twenty years or so. Although these sculptures seem to form a coherent whole, art historians are often at loss when it comes to locating the exact geographical production of these works. Moreover, very few of them appear to be securely datable objects and the bulk of metal images from these regions are usually attributed quite loosely to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Therefore, it is generally believed that a multitude of small and independent metal workshops developed by the end of the first millennium; usually on the basis of stylistic similarities observed in groups of images, rather than based on archaeological data, epigraphic evidence, and literary testimonies. As a result, these metal statues regularly fall under convenient yet rather imprecise labels such as 'Western Tibet', 'Kashmiri style in Western Tibet', 'Western Himalayas', 'Western Trans-Himalayas', or even 'Kashmiri style in Central Asia'.

³⁴ It is believed that these ornamental motifs adorned larger statues dated from the Tang Dynasty; see 金申, *海外及港台藏历代佛像珍品纪年图鉴*, 580.

³⁵ M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 2, LIV, D.II.

³⁶ A sixth-seventh century date is generally given for the wood carving preserved in the National Museum in New Delhi. For a later date adopted here; see Lin-rothe, *Collecting Paradise*, 33.

It is interesting to note that the complexity of this situation may have been experienced in Tibet as well, conceivably as early as the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Judging from a literary genre dedicated to metallurgy and casting (Tib. *li ma brtag pa*), metal images were identified and grouped under four distinct headings: Indian, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese. In the case of statues made in Indian style, sculptures were then classified according to their provenance, with further distinctions between images ascribed to Central, Eastern, Western, Southern, or Northern India. It is in this context that the term 'Western *li*', which came to be incised on the lotus base of the Rietberg Bodhisattva, must be considered. But as we have seen, Western metal images cast in Indian style could easily include a variety of sculptures produced in North-Western India, Kashmir, or even Central Asia.³⁷ Whilst caution may be appropriate with regard to the Tibetan classification of Indian metal images, the question remains as to whether Tibetan Buddhist masters, artists, and craftsmen were able to clearly identify the provenance and artistic trend of sculptures sometimes produced centuries before them.

In this regard, the inscription on the Rietberg Bodhisattva is unique. First of all, it does not seem to have any equivalence with other known bronzes bearing meritorious or devotional inscriptions.³⁸ Secondly, Tibetan inscriptions engraved on metal sculptures from Kashmir in the eleventh century offer the means for a palaeographic analysis. A comparison of the headed script (Tib. *dbu can*) used to inscribe these statues reveals that the engraving of the Rietberg Bodhisattva can hardly be attributed to that period.³⁹ In this con-

³⁷ In a recent article about the collection of metal sculptures kept in the *Li ma lha khang* in Lhasa, a Tibetan researcher from the Potala Palace notes that Western Indian images include statues from Kashmir (Tib. *kasmir*), *Ti li dza* (?), and Xinjiang (Tib. *yu gur*); see bDe-skyid, "Pho brang po tA la'i li ma lha khang gi li ma'i sku brnyan skor cung zad gleng ba", *Pho brang po tA la*, 1, 2012, 45-49.

³⁸ Meritorious inscriptions usually bear the name of a donor and the reason for its commissioning (e.g. the death of a relative). Conversely, a devotional inscription may simply give the name of the figure portrayed but would usually be accompanied with expressions such as 'I bow down' (Tib. *phyag 'tshal lo*) and 'homage to' (Tib. *la na mo*).

³⁹ The writing style of the inscription on the Rietberg Bodhisattva differs significantly from Tibetan inscriptions datable to the eleventh century with their rounded letters /la/ and /'a/, stretched vowel *gi gu*, and typical subjoined /ya/. For example, the Kamru Avalokiteśvara bearing the name of the eleventh century translator Vīryabhadra (Tib. *Byi rya ba dra*); see Amy Heller, "Observations on an 11th century Tibetan inscription on a statue of Avalokiteśvara", *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, 14 (2008): 107-116; many engraved sculptures in the possession of members of the royal family of Guge, such as the Buddha from Dangkhar offered to Lha bla-ma Zhi-ba-'od; see Lobsang Nyima (Yannick) Laurent, "Lha bla ma Zhi ba 'od's Eighth Century Bronze from Gilgit", *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, 26 (2013): 195-214; a statue of a Buddha in Kashmiri style acquired by King rTse-lde;

text, the singularity of the formula supports the assumption that Tibetans were aware of metal sculptures of non-Tibetan origin – possibly even workmanship – either past or present. This would explain, perhaps, why it was felt necessary to label both the identity and artistic affiliation of this image. With his face painted in cold gold, it is reasonable to believe that the Bodhisattva image was worshipped and preserved alongside other Buddhist memorabilia and curiosities of a distant past, which so often fill up Tibetan shrines.

In the same way, the goddess Mālā in Lhasa was equally revered as a ‘religious artefact’. As most sacred metal images in the hands of the Tibetans, her hair was painted blue, her face covered with gold, and her facial features redrawn out of devotion. But this image had also been a gift before being installed in the *Li ma lha khang*. The wafer seal attached to her scarf attests to a tradition of gift giving whereby religious hierarchs or rulers would generally bestow sculptures of spiritual significance; due to their symbolic value, provenance, or history. A small thread was then attached with the personal seal of the donor – whose identity is now lost in the case of Mālā – and sometimes even listed in an official document dispatched along with other presents.⁴⁰

As memorabilia and Buddhist relics, Bodhisattva Vajradhvaḥja and the goddess Mālā ended up in Tibet at a time that can no longer be specified. Nonetheless, their identical size and stylistic resemblance call attention to a similar artistic trend and even workshop production. More importantly, these elements strongly suggest that the two

Amy Heller, “Indian Style, Kashmiri Style: Aesthetic of Choice in Eleventh Century Tibet”, *Orientalism*, 32, 10 (2011): 18-23; and also sculptures belonging to the royal prince Nāgarāja (Tib. *Na gar a dza*) amongst which the standing Buddha from the Cleveland Museum of Art; see Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhism Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Route* (Los Angeles: UCLA Art Council: 1982), 103. I am grateful to Amy Heller for sharing the visual material needed for these comparisons.

⁴⁰ On the general practice of precious gifts, including old gilded statues; see Emma Martin, “Fit for a King? The Significance of Gift Exchange between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and King George V”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25, 1 (2014): 71-98. A well-documented case is the famous Buddha image offered by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Russian explorer and agent Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov (1863 – 1935). The body of the statue was wrapped, sealed, and marked with the message “To be offered to Kozlov” (Tib. *kho dzo lob par sprod rgyu*). The sacred image was then entrusted to Agvan Dorzhiev (1854 – 1938) with a letter from the Dalai Lama in which the religious monarch requested his emissary to ensure that the statue would arrive according to the attached list of gifts (Tib. *’bul rgyu tho*). For a photograph of this Buddha; see Yulia I. Elikhina, *Abode of Charity: Tibetan Buddhist Art* (Saint Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2015), 120. For the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s letter; see Jampa Samten & Nikolay Tsyrempilov, *From Tibet Confidentially: Secret correspondence of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Agvan Dorzhiev, 1911 – 1925* (New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives), 52, 89, 121.

pieces were initially part of a set of images. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that these two figures are not the most common deities of the Buddhist pantheon, nor do they figure prominently in popular Buddhist imagery. It seems only reasonable to locate the production of these two sculptures within the sphere of higher esoteric Buddhist praxis. In fact, there is little doubt that they had once belonged to the same ritualistic context before being scattered to the four winds.

In effect, these two metal figures would not have had much of a presence outside a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*. It is generally believed that such meditational supports – and the esoteric texts that accompanied them – were available in North-Western India, Kashmir, and Central Asia by the tenth century, if not earlier. Series of individually cast deities of small sizes, which are usually ascribed to the broad category of Western Indo-Tibetan images, highlight the development of three-dimensional arrangements of particular *maṇḍalas* during the following centuries.⁴¹ If the textual tradition suggests the use of a large array of root texts and esoteric imagery, an important number of artistic depictions known to us today points to the visual representations of Buddha Vairocana's *maṇḍala*.

The rise of Buddha Vairocana from the mid-sixth century onwards did not only turn him into an iconic figure in China and Central Asia, but also contributed to promoting the royal cult of the Tibetan Tsanpo (Tib. *btsan po*) in Tibet by the eighth century.⁴² The rapid visual transformation of Vairocana, linked to the development of esoteric literature, eventually culminated in a distinctive period of architectural and artistic expression during which Vairocana's *maṇḍalas* gained popularity in Central and then West Tibet.⁴³ Not so surpris-

⁴¹ For an example of free-standing figures of a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*, see four of the sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas attributed by Ulrich von Schroeder to Kashmir schools in Western Tibet. These images measure between 17-18 centimetres and date from the eleventh century; see Von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 1, 170-171, 49B-E.

⁴² For the multifaceted aspects of the artistic development of Buddha Vairocana; see Christian Luczanits, "The many faces of Buddha Vairocana", Jan Van Alphen (ed.) *The All-Knowing Buddha: A Secret Guide* (New-York: Rubin Museum, 2013), 13-23.

⁴³ A relevant evidence from Central Tibet is provided by the main temple of *bSam yas* monastery. According to the description in the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, it is recalled that the principal image of the third floor is Sarvavid Vairocana hence attesting to a general depiction of a *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. It is worthy of note that the sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas of his retinue are all subsumed under the mention of Vajradhvaja; *steng khang gi gtso bo sangs rgyas rnam par snang mdzad kun tu zhal re re la 'khor gnyis re | byang chub sems dpa' nye ba'i sras brgyad | nang gi lha byang chub sems dpa' rdo rje rgyal mtshan la sogs pa phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas byang sems | khro bo mi g.yo ba dang phyag na rdo rje | bzo rgya gar gyi lugs su bzhengs |*; "In the upper chapel, the main [image] is Buddha Sarvavid Vairocana – each head having two retinues –, the eight close sons, the inner deities [of the *maṇḍala*] Vajradhvaja and

ingly perhaps, Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja and the goddess Mālā feature amongst the core assembly of this deity.

According to prescriptive expositions found in tantric literature, the root *maṇḍala* of Vairocana known as *vajradhātumaṇḍala* is usually composed of thirty-seven deities, namely five *tathāgatas* or *jinās*, sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas, eight offering goddesses, and four gatekeepers. Within this arrangement, Vajradhvaja features as one of the sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas, whilst Mālā with her garland is usually depicted as one of the eight offering goddesses.⁴⁴ Traditionally, they both reside in the southern quarter of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. The question therefore arises whether the number fourteen in the inscription could refer to a set of free-standing images and their position within this specific *maṇḍala*. From a simple structural arrangement, whereby each *tathāgata* is surrounded by four vajra-bodhisattvas, Vajradhvaja would indeed occupy the fourteenth position as part of Ratnasambhava's retinue.⁴⁵ But in some Tibetan painted representations his position is swapped with Bodhisattva Vajrabhāṣa's (Tib. *rdo rje bzhad pa*) and thus Vajradhvaja comes fifteenth. This way of counting the deities of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* does not conform, however, to the textual traditions established in Tibet. In the *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgrahanām Mahāyānasūtra* (Tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na nyid bsdus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*) Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja is listed sixteenth. Likewise, if we follow Ānandagarbha's commentary, the list of deities exactly coincides with the Tibetan ritual practice of *Kun rig rnam par snang mdzad* (Skt. *sarvavid vairocana*).⁴⁶ Here again, Vajradhvaja occupies the sixteenth position.⁴⁷

This last arrangement, for instance, served as the basis for the iconographic programme of the main temple at Tabo in 1042. It replicated a three-dimensional architectural and artistic expression of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* of Sarvavid Vairocana.⁴⁸ It is worth noting some iconographic divergences between our metal images and the clay

so forth, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions, the wrathful Acala and Vajrapāṇi, the workmanship of which is in Indian style"; bSod-nams rgyalmtshan, *rGyal rabs*, 21, 208.

⁴⁴ She may also appear under the form of Vajramālā, for instance in the *Sarvatathāgatattattvasaṃgrahanatantra*; see Shashibala, *Comparative Iconography*, 1986, 37-38.

⁴⁵ The four vajra-bodhisattvas surrounding each *tathāgata* are represented clockwise, starting with *tathāgata* Vairocana in the centre, Akṣobhya in the East, Ratnasambhava in the South, Amitābha in the West, and Amoghasiddhi in the North.

⁴⁶ Shashibala, *Comparative Iconography*, 1986, 37-40.

⁴⁷ I am grateful to dKa'chen bLo-bzang dus-'khor from Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in India for confirming the exact sequence of the thirty-seven deities of *Kun rig*.

⁴⁸ Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo*, 1997, 100-103.

sculptures in Tabo, particularly in the ritualistic hand gestures (Skt. *mudrā*).⁴⁹ If it is difficult to say whether these iconographical departures are based on different textual traditions or due to regional and artistic variations, they raise once again the knotty problem of the provenance of our images.

In the course of this paper, several pieces of evidence challenge the view that the 'Bodhisattva with *gada*' in the Rietberg Museum should be attributed to Kashmir or to Kashmiri workmanship in Western Tibet. The presence of a closely related bronze in Lhasa shows that both images were likely to belong to a same set of free-standing metal sculptures used to provide visual support for the visualisation of a *vajradhātumaṇḍala*. This type of artistic expedient, as we have seen, is linked to the rise of esoteric literature and the representations of *maṇḍalas*. The production of these two metal images is thus in line with religious praxis and artistic depictions well-established in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

From a stylistic point of view, the Rietberg Bodhisattva and the goddess Mālā generally conform to a trend of metal images datable to the turn of the first millennium. As expressed earlier, a series of stylistic features are however at variance with well-known examples of sculptures produced in Kashmir and Western Tibet around that time. In particular, the exceptionally fine depiction of Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja displays bodily proportions and facial features that cannot be easily categorised. Furthermore, the oversimplification of the sacred thread on both images raises justifiable doubts as to the Kashmiri origin of these statues. Finally, and to compound matters, the uniqueness of these metal works is further emphasised by a choice of lotus seats quite unusual for the regions of Kashmir and Western Tibet, although largely attested in Central Asia and China.

What is certain, however, is that the Rietberg Bodhisattva was acquired by Tibetans in later times as the writing style of the inscription cannot be attributed to the eleventh century. They correctly identified the bronze as Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja, which suggests that the banner in his right hand was not broken when they engraved his name, and recognised the foreign provenance of this image. His face and neck were covered with gold, his hair painted blue. It was probably installed on a shrine and the number fourteen was assigned to him, perhaps as part of a list of religious items (Tib. *brten deb*) belonging to a particular chapel or monastery. I am of the view that the unusual inscription incised at the feet of Vajradhvaja eventually operated as

⁴⁹ In the case of Mālā's hands, they are turned towards her chest in the metal image from Lhasa, whilst they used to hold the garland outwards in Tabo. Likewise, the left hand of the Rietberg Bodhisattva rests on the upper thigh, whilst Vajradhvaja/Vajraketu's left fist is held upside-down at the thigh in Tabo.

the caption of a museum showcase. It helped pilgrims and non-monastics to identify a rather secondary deity.⁵⁰ Most importantly, it drew attention to its foreign workmanship production, highlighting its sacred and most revered origin as a metal image from West India.

Combining stylistic observations with a review of the term 'Western *li'*, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Rietberg Bodhisattva and the goddess Mālā in Lhasa were produced further East, in regions that once fell under the general conception of Western India. The actual presence of copper ore deposits located north of the Kunlun Mountains between Yarkand and Khotan,⁵¹ the recurring accounts of Khotanese artistic influence in Tibetan sources, and the long political history and cultural connections between Tibet and the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Khotan provide a valid contextual framework to locate the production of these images. As we have seen, Tsong-kha-pa's gift to the Yongle emperor underlines the fact that Khotanese sculptures were still familiar in Tibet in the fifteenth century. Together with those from Kashmir and North-western India, Khotanese statues were soon to be categorised as *nub li* in specific Tibetan texts discussing the metal casting of images.

Notwithstanding a dearth of material vestiges and artefacts attributed to the latter phase of Khotanese Buddhist art, from the eighth to the beginning of the eleventh century, Khotan had long been a pilgrimage destination and transit point for the spread of Buddhism between India and China.⁵² Luxury goods, Buddhist texts, and devotional objects circulated through the southern and northern routes of the Silk Road along with traders, monks, and pilgrims. Portable shrines and statues retrieved from Khotan demonstrate interactions between Kashmir, Gilgit, and surrounding cultures. A Kashmiri statue of a seated Buddha excavated in Domoko, for instance, bears witness to the vitality of cultural exchanges in the region, prefiguring perhaps for their Tibetan neighbours competing aesthetic trends.⁵³

It is equally noteworthy that in a few cases Bodhisattva Vajradhvaḥ appears in literary texts related to Khotan. He is mentioned,

⁵⁰ The labelling of deities and religious figures – in particular statues – for the sake of pilgrims and worshippers is still a current practice inside Tibetan chapels and temples today. Their names are usually handwritten or printed out on paper and these modern captions are variously fixed, taped, or glued to the religious images.

⁵¹ Lo Bue, *Statuary Metals in Tibet*, 1991, 14.

⁵² Erika Forte, "A Journey 'to the land on the Other Side', Buddhist Pilgrimage and Travelling Objects from the Oasis of Khotan", Patrick Mc Allister et al. (ed.), *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 151-187).

⁵³ Heller, "Indian Style, Kashmiri Style", 18-23.

for instance, with other great Bodhisattvas of the *bhadrakalpa* in a Khotanese translation of the *Sumukhasūtra* commissioned in 943.⁵⁴ More significantly, he grants protection against the red-faced Tibetans by pronouncing a *dhāraṇī* for the safeguard of Khotan in the Tibetan recension of a text known as the *Vimalaprabhāpariprcchāsūtra*.⁵⁵ Despite these brief literary occurrences, the statue of Bodhisattva Vajradhvaṅga in the Rietberg Museum should likely be connected to the development of esoteric literature and the figure of Vairocana, as we have seen.

The cult of Buddha Vairocana had strong roots in Central Asia and China even before the emergence of tantric literature. As a Buddha of cosmic dimensions he features prominently in the *Avatamsakasūtra* literature, a corpus of Mahāyāna texts fully translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Buddhahadra (359 – 429) from an original Sanskrit version acquired in Khotan in the fifth century. In it, the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* already announced in essence the doctrinal concept of *dharmadhātu*. With these texts, images of Vairocana started to circulate by the mid-sixth century. The cosmic Buddha thus became an important theme in Khotanese and Central Asian paintings where he is depicted as the source of all existing phenomena in the universe.⁵⁶ Whilst painted representations of *mandalas* have not been found amongst Khotanese vestiges, minor iconographic themes suggest that the ancient Buddhist kingdom acted as “a transitional stage in the evolution of the art of Vajrayāna”.⁵⁷ However, there is material evidence of representations of *vajradhātumaṇḍalas* produced under the Tang in the late eighth and ninth centuries. Esoteric Buddhist art at Dunhuang, where the activity of Khotanese Buddhist patrons is largely attested in the tenth century,⁵⁸ underscores “a unique blend of cross-cultural iconographical themes and styles (...) that are often

⁵⁴ Ronald E. Emmerick, “The Khotanese *Sumukhasūtra*”, *Indologica Taurinensia*, 23-24 (1997-98): 387-421.

⁵⁵ Lokesh Chandra, “Suvarṇa-bhasottama and the defence of Serindic Khotan”, 年西域文献座谈会 (中国国家图书馆: 2006). <http://www.nlc.gov.cn/newhxjy/wjls/wjqcsy/wjd17g/201011/P020101123697628704580.pdf> (as of 1 January 2016). Frederick William Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. Part I: Literary texts* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1935) 32, 139-258.

⁵⁶ For example, the mural fragment of a Cosmic Vairocana from Khotan preserved in the National Museum in Delhi; see Joanna Williams, “The Iconography of Khotanese Painting”, *East and West*, 23, 1-2 (1973): 117-118, 131. Also, a painting of Buddha Vairocana in Cave 13 at Kizil in the ancient kingdom of Kucha; see Denise Patry Leidy, *The Art of Buddhism: An introduction to its history and meaning* (Boston-London: Shambhala, 2008), 70.

⁵⁷ Williams, *The Iconography of Khotanese Painting*, 116.

⁵⁸ 張廣達 / 榮新江, 于闐史叢考, 西域歷史語言研究叢書 (北京: 中國人民大學出版社, 2008).

strongly informed and influenced by those of India, Tibet, and the Uighur kingdom in Turfan".⁵⁹ The Islamic takeover of Khotan by the Qarakhanids around 1006 likely prevented an artistic expansion of some of the most sophisticated forms of esoteric imagery, which were to flourish in Western Tibet in the following centuries.

As a result of these epigraphic and stylistic considerations, I propose to read the inscription engraved on the statue of the Berti Aschmann collection as follows: "A metal image of Bodhisattva Vajradhvaja from Western [India]". The singularity of this formulaic phrase confirms the great mobility of religious objects within the Buddhist world. It underscores the Tibetans' fascination for Buddhist images from the holy land of India, a geographical notion that was extended to the Buddhist kingdoms of the Silk Road. By exhibiting a combination of features reminiscent of the art of Western Tibet and the art of the Tarim Basin, the Rietberg Bodhisattva reminds us of the complex artistic interplays at work by the turn of the first millennium. Last but not least, it recalls once again the important role attributed to Khotanese imagery and artists in the Tibetan literary tradition, a recurring trope that still awaits more tangible evidence.

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⁵⁹ Henrik H. Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhist Art under the Tang", *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 401-418.

Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Tibetans in Wakhan: New Information on Inscriptions and Rock Art

John Mock

(Independent Scholar)

In May of 1906, on his way to Khotan, Aurel Stein traveled through what is now the Afghanistan portion of Wakhan. Stein entered Wakhan from the south via the Broghil pass, followed the main trail along the north bank of the Wakhan river to the Pamir, and exited Wakhan via the Wakhjir pass. Snow covered much of the higher elevation terrain at that time of year (Stein 1912, p. 72). He visited the massive fort of Kansir above Korkut village on the south bank of the Wakhan river on the morning of May 21, returned to his camp at Sarhad¹ that afternoon and the next morning departed for the Pamir (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 - Eastern Wakhan and the Afghan Pamir

¹ Sarhad, also known as Sarhad-e Broghil, is the highest elevation permanent settlement area in Afghanistan Wakhan.

Stein's understanding of Wakhan's history was "derived solely" from Édouard Chavannes' French translation of the Tang dynasty annals (Stein 1922, p.133; Chavannes 1903/2006a). Recent scholarship has contributed substantially to our understanding of the history of Wakhan and the Pamir region in the 7th-9th centuries CE. The Tang dynasty annals have been reexamined and compared with other important Chinese sources, the Old Tibetan Annals, the Old Tibetan Chronicle, Old Turkic inscriptions, and Arabic sources.²

Stein's main interest in Wakhan was the Chinese campaign of 747 CE, in which General Kao Hsien-chih led an army of 10,000 cavalry and infantry across the Pamir and defeated a Tibetan army at *Lien-Yün*, a fortified place close to present-day Sarhad-e Broghil. Stein noted that a principal Chinese objective in the Pamir was "control of the great Central Asian trade route" (Stein 1922, p. 114), and Kao Hsien-chih's military campaign was the culmination of decades of struggle with the Tibetan empire for control of the Pamir route(s).

The Tang court maintained diplomatic relations with the independent kingdoms of Wakhan, Balur/Palola,³ Chitral and Kashmir, which sent emissaries bearing tribute to the court. Despite these trade and diplomatic missions to the Tang court and the Chinese granting official decrees awarding royal titles to the kings, the Tibetans continued to pass through Balur and Wakhan.⁴ In 722 CE, the Tibetan army occupied Little Balur, provoking a military response from the Chinese,⁵ who defeated the Tibetans in Balur the same year (Beckwith 1987, p. 95). The Tibetans, however, did not go away and in 730 CE the king of Wakhan fled to Chinese territory where he requested military aid to counter Tibetan influence (Beckwith 1987, p. 111). Finally, in 737 CE, the Tibetan army captured the king of Little Balur, the entire Pamir region came under the control of Tibet, and all tribute to the Tang court ceased (Beckwith 1987, p. 116).

² The ground-breaking study is Beckwith 1987. See also recent scholarship by Denwood (2007, 2008, 2009), which proposes new interpretations, and Zeisler (2009) which reviews and discusses the scholarship and sources. Dotson (2009) has provided a new and annotated translation of the Old Tibetan Annals.

³ von Hinüber (2004, p. 7) notes that Palola is also a geographic name.

⁴ Balur and Wakhan, along with neighboring Chitral, Uddyana and Kashmir, remained aligned with China, notwithstanding significant Tibetan influence in the region (Beckwith 1987, p. 87-89; Denwood 2009, p. 152). The Tang court even sent an ambassador to Little Balur in 720 CE to confer the title of king on *Su-lin-toi-chih* (Surendraditya) (Chavannes 2006b, p. 42).

⁵ On learning of the Tibetan occupation of Balur, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner said: "Balur is the western gate of Tang; if Balur is lost, then the lands of the West will become all Tibetan" (Chavannes 2006a, p. 182, n. 5, my translation).

The kings of Balur/Palola, the Palola Shahis, were wealthy patrons of Buddhism, commissioning sumptuous bronze Buddha images and copying and preserving important Buddhist texts – the famous Gilgit manuscripts. Their “astonishing rich and flourishing Buddhist culture” (von Hinüber 2003, p. 35) also left a legacy of inscriptions and Buddhist art on numerous large rocks throughout the Gilgit region.⁶ Their remarkable bronzes present not only a central Buddha image, but in several cases also depict a Palola Shahi king, queen and minister as donors, all of whom are identified in dated inscriptions on the bronzes (see Fig. 2).⁷



Fig. 2 - Palola Shahi Bronze of Nandivikramadityanandi, 715 CE

⁶ In addition to the discussion of the Palola Shahi rock inscriptions in von Hinüber 2004, see also the wider discussion of rock art and inscriptions in Jettmar 1989.

⁷ The Palola Shahi dynasty is discussed in detail in von Hinüber 2004. The bronze images are discussed from an artistic and scholarly perspective in Pal 2003 and von Schroeder 2001.

Although the Palola Shahi dynasty was “unknown to ancient Indian historiography” (von Hinüber 2003, p. 36), the cultural and political significance of Balur for the Tang court seems undeniable. Nor could the strategic importance of Balur, the “western gate of Tang” be underestimated. Therefore, it is not surprising that when, in 740 CE, the king of Little Balur married a Tibetan princess⁸ and the Tang Imperial Commissioner’s fears of losing the western regions to Tibet were realized, the Tang court sent an army of 10,000 to re-take Little Balur.

Tang China’s Campaign of 747 CE

The campaign, led by general Kao Hsien-chih, is recorded in his biography.⁹ Appointed by the Tang court as envoy in charge of administration of the army and cavalry of the Four Garrisons, Kao Hsien-chih was ordered by the Emperor to attack the Tibetans. The army, in which the infantry also brought their own horses, marched from Kucha to Kashgar to Tashkurgan. From there, more than twenty days marching brought them to the valley of *Po-mi*, identified by Chavannes (2006a, p. 85) as the Pamir. After more than twenty additional days marching, the army arrived in the *Te-le-man* valley, which is equated with the kingdom of the five *She-ni*, identified by Chavannes as Shughnan (2006a, p. 85). The area of Shughnan in present-day Tajikistan has five main valleys¹⁰ whose rivers arise in the Pamir and descend to join the Panj river (whose name itself means ‘five’). The place *Te-le-man*, 特勒滿 in Chinese, has an alternative reading of *Te-ge-man*,¹¹ which corresponds with Tegeman Su, a valley in the extreme northeast of Afghanistan’s Little Pamir that feeds into the Aksu river near Shaymak in Tajikistan. It can be reached from Tashkurgan via either the Neza Tash pass (4476m) or the Beik pass (4662m).

⁸ The Lady *Khri ma lod* was married to the *Bruzha rje*, or Lord of Bruzha, the title the Tibetans conferred on him. Such marriages resulted in *zhang dbon* relationships, in which the Tibetan king was *zhang* or uncle, and the local king who married the princess was *dbon* or nephew (Richardson 1998a, p. 16, Dotson 2009, pp. 31-37).

⁹ Found in *Chiu T’ang Shu*, chapter 104, which was translated into French by É. Chavannes (Chavannes 2006a, pp. 185-189). Stein 1922 interprets the narrative in conjunction with his (Stein’s) 1906 visit to Wakhan. Beckwith (1987, pp. 130-133) offers a revised reading of the original biographic narrative.

¹⁰ From north to south, the Vanch, Yazgulem, Bartang, Gund, and Shakh dara rivers.

¹¹ I am grateful to Dr. David Keenan, Chinese scholar and colleague at the University of California, Santa Cruz, for bringing this to my attention.

At this place *Te-le-man/Te-ge-man*, Kao Hsien-chih divided his army into three. His strategic aim was to attack the Tibetan-occupied fort at *Lien-Yün*, near present-day Sarhad-e Broghil in Wakhan. Kao Hsien-chih sent three thousand horsemen by the “northern gorge”; a second group went by the “Red Buddha Hall Road”; and the general himself and the Imperial Commissioner went via the “kingdom of *Hou-mi*”, which Chavannes identified as the kingdom of Wakhan. The plan was for the three groups to meet “about three days after their departure” (Beckwith 1987, p. 132) “on the thirteenth day of the seventh month between seven and nine in the morning at the Tibetan fortress of *Lien-Yün*” (Chavannes 2006a, p. 186), a date which Beckwith identifies as August 11, 747 CE.

The distances and terrain that would have to be traversed to arrive at Sarhad are such that the three groups would not be able to depart at the same time and arrive at Sarhad at the same time no matter where they started from; the distances and routes through the Wakhan mountains are too varied to allow for that. However, leaving aside the question of whether the times given in Kao Hsien-chih’s biography are entirely accurate, or what the actual place was where the army separated into three groups,¹² the general description of the three routes converging on Sarhad appears sound.

The “Northern Gorge” Route

Stein supposed that the “northern gorge” route crossed the Pamir Range south-east of Lake Victoria (now known as Zor Kul) via a pass and then descended “into one of the gorges which debouch east of Sarhad” (Stein 1922, p. 118). Stein was able to confirm the existence of such a route on his third Central Asian expedition in 1915, although only through information from two Kirghiz men traveling with him and from looking through his binoculars at the Pamir Range in Afghanistan from the northern shore of Zor Kul (Stein 1916, p. 216). The actual pass, known locally as *Kotal-e Shaur* (4890m), is used today by Tajik traders visiting Kirghiz camps in the Great Pamir. From Sarhad, the route leads due north over a pass to the Wakhi pasture areas known as *Chap Dara*, which are on a western tributary of the main

¹² Stein dealt with this difficulty by proposing that the army must have proceeded “in three columns moving up from Kashgar in successive stages” (Stein 1922, p. 118). But this conflicts with the Tang Annals version which has the army dividing at *Te-le-man*. Nor does Beckwith’s statement that the three groups converged at Sarhad “about three days after their departure” from *Te-le-man* fit either with Stein’s interpretation or with the actual ground to be covered.

Shaur stream.¹³

In the Chap Dara area, high on a spur ridge with excellent views of the entire valley, is a ruined structure constructed of flat stones placed on top of each other (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 – ruined structure in Chap Dara

It has been dismantled and dug by “illegal excavators”, according to Wakhi herders. This structure matches the locational and structural parameters for a hill-station (Tib. *ri-zug*) used for signaling with fire or smoke to raise the alarm if enemies approached.¹⁴

Numerous rock carvings and inscriptions near this ruined stone structure demonstrate substantial human occupation of the site over many years. The oldest rock carvings¹⁵ depict ibex, argali sheep, yaks,

¹³ When Kimberley O’Neil and I explored this area in 2005 and 2007, we were unaware of any other non-local persons having visited the area. We subsequently learned that the Japanese medical doctor Go Hirai explored this route and identified it as the “Northern Gorge” route in 2001 (Hirai 2002).

¹⁴ Stein (1912, pp. 152-153) described these at Miran. Takeuchi studied them in detail and suggested they may have also existed along the southern route of the Silk Road including “Little and Great Balur ... and the Pamirs” (2004, p. 55). Mu Shunying mentions Han and Tang dynasty beacon towers along the northern and southern routes of the Silk Road (1984, p. 65). Dotson links the Tibetan hill-stations with “red fire raising stations” that are mentioned in the Old Tibetan Annals (2009, pp. 56-57).

¹⁵ For a thorough discussion of Central Asian rock art see Tashbayeva 2001, especially the section on Petroglyphs of Tadjikistan (Tashbayeva 2001, pp. 122-148),

and humans holding spears or bows. Such rock art hunting scenes are widely found throughout Central Asia and were likely related to ritual practices that ensured hunting success (Dodykhudoeva 2004, pp. 151-152; Hauptmann 2007, pp. 24-25, Bellezza 2008, p. 173). The spiritual dimension of the rock art at this site is demonstrated in one panel which shows a hunter holding a spear, several ibex, a yak, and a large ibex with exaggeratedly long curving horns (see Fig. 4). The excessively large size of this ibex with a reverse (counter-clockwise) swastika above and a crescent moon beneath suggests a ritual function for the art.¹⁶ (Also published as Fig. 16 and Plate IVb in Mock 2013c).

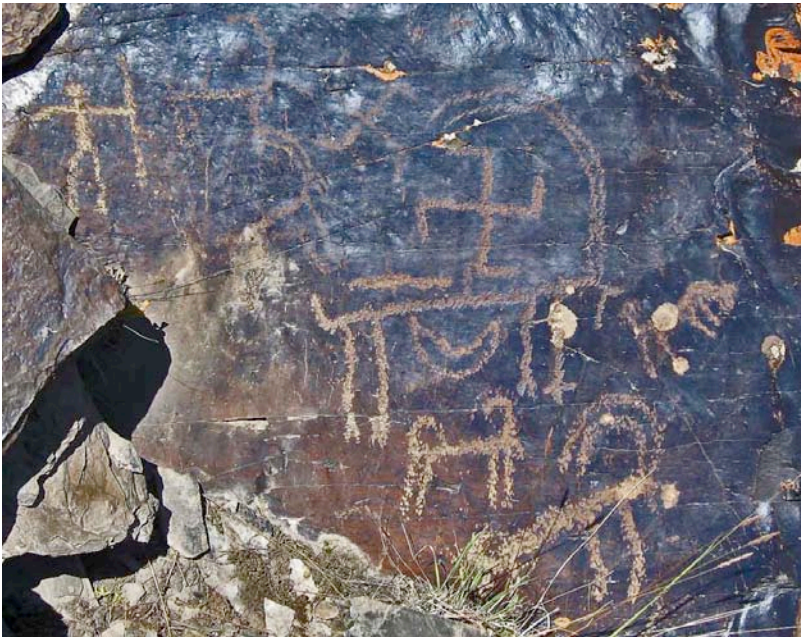


Fig. 4 - large ibex with reverse swastika and crescent moon

There are nine *chorten* (Tib. *mchod-rten*) or *chorten*-like structures¹⁷ (see

which includes a site from the north bank of the Panj river in Tajikistan Wakhan. For additional material from Wakhan, see Mock 2013c.

¹⁶ These symbols have been associated with Bon traditions. See Hoffman 1969 for a discussion of Bon religion and Bru-sha, the Tibetan name for Burusho people speaking Burushaski language (presently in Hunza and Yasin valleys of Pakistan). See Bellezza 2010, 2016a, 2016b for examples from Upper Tibet.

¹⁷ Ceremonial structures depicted on rocks likely served as a locus of ritual practice for not only Buddhist tradition. They are stepped and usually have a mast or fi-

Fig. 5) depicted on rocks at this site.¹⁸



Fig. 5 – chorten-like depictions and swastika

Six have Old Tibetan epigraphs associated with them.¹⁹ Three of the epigraphs are legible and are discussed below. Two of them name the donors of the *chorten* and one of those epigraphs has a date in the twelve-year cycle. The third epigraph gives what appears to be a name, but whether it is a donor and whether the structure depicted is a Buddhist *chorten* or other ceremonial structure is undetermined.

In addition to the epigraphs associated with the *chorten*, there are eight additional Old Tibetan inscriptions. Most of them are quite weathered and difficult to read. One readable epigraph, discussed below, is not associated with a *chorten* and gives a date in the twelve-year cycle. Another is the unique Tibetan toponym for Wakhan, discussed in Mock 2013a. The other seven inscriptions are difficult to read, due to weathering and/or lichen growth on the rock.²⁰ These inscriptions are on horizontal rocks, where snow and rain accumulate and weathering tends to be more pronounced.

The variety of rock art, including hunting scenes, animals, shrine structures, and Tibetan inscriptions indicate significant human use of

nial (see Bellezza 2008, pp. 182-186 for detailed discussion of categories of shrines in rock art).

¹⁸ Space constraints preclude discussion of all of the ceremonial structures depicted. A full-length treatment of the site, following additional field work in 2016, is planned.

¹⁹ For discussion of the paleography of inscriptions, see Takeuchi 2013a and van Schaik 2014.

²⁰ Two inscriptions appear to begin with a year, *byi ba lo'i*, and end with *bris*, suggesting they follow a formula of date – name – inscribed, as discussed in Takeuchi 2013b, pp. 29-30.

the site over time. The site today does not hold any cultural significance and is not associated with any legends for the Wakhi inhabitants of Wakhi, who told me that they were “made by *fereshta*” (“angel” or “fairy” in Persian).²¹

The Old Tibetan inscriptions and associated *chorten* structures are relevant to the history of the Tibetan empire in Wakhan. If this site was on the “northern gorge” route taken by the three-thousand horsemen of the Chinese army in 747 CE, why was it not mentioned in Kao Hsien-chih’s biography or elsewhere in Tang records? Although absence of evidence does not equal evidence of absence, the lack of any mention of Chinese forces encountering Tibetans or of a Tibetan-occupied site in the detailed narrative of Kao Hsien-chih’s biography would seem a significant omission had Tibetans been at the Chap Dara site. The simplest explanation is that Tibetans did not occupy the site at that time. Perhaps only after the successful Chinese expedition of 747 CE did the Tibetans, who reasserted their influence in Wakhan in 756 CE (Beckwith 1987, pp. 144-145; Denwood 2009, p. 156), station forces at the site to guard against enemies approaching via the “northern gorge” route.

One structure depicted at the site is not a typical Buddhist *chorten* (*chorten* design is further discussed below), but rather may depict a shrine for a local deity (see Fig. 6). The cross-like shape of the shrine is unusual and is different from what Francke (1928, p. 1051) termed “cross-like stupas”. The two conical side members are not typical *chorten* elements.²² The central part of this structure bears some similarity to a Nestorian cross,²³ but the inscription does not support such affiliation.

²¹ Although no human agency is attributed to the rock carvings, the attribution of a supernatural agency matches beliefs in the Pamir of supernatural female beings (*peri*) who are the owners of the wild sheep and goats. For a discussion of these concepts and their cultural significance in Wakhi areas of Pakistan, see Mock 1998, pp. 375-388.

²² However, two Palola Shahi bronzes, (Plate 22A in von Schroeder 2001 and Plate 63 in Pal 2003) have central Buddha figures flanked by a pair of conical tower stupas. von Schroeder (2001, p. 115) remarks “the shape of the two stupas appears to follow an architectural type based on the Kanishka-stupa”. Davidson (2002, p. 15) notes that “the Kanishka stupa in Peshawar served as a focal point for Buddhists and merchants in the Gandhara/Karakorum/Indus river corridor, and ... informs the stupa plaques, casts, and petroglyphs from Harwan and Chilas to Hunza, the Tarim Basin, and beyond”, which opens the possibility that this shrine figure may be an example of such wide-spread influence.

²³ Nestorian crosses are “depicted in four equal branches ... narrow at the crossing point and larger at the extremity” (Bressan 1993, p. 272). For more on Tibet and Nestorianism, see Uray 1983, esp. pp. 404-407.



Fig. 6 - 'jang lha inscription and shrine depiction

On the top cross piece the inscription reads *'jang lha*, which may refer to a local deity of the place (*yul lha*).²⁴ On the base, the inscription reads *'phan gyI yon*.²⁵ The phrase *gyI yon* is a typical offering phrase in which the possessive/genitive case marker *gyI* and the noun *yon* ("gift") follow a name (Karmay 1998, pp. 327, 330). The name in this inscription, *'phan*, is attested in Richardson's list of titles (Tib. *mkhan*) (Richardson 1998a, p. 20) and Denwood notes it was "frequent in Central Asia", citing an example from Dunhuang (Denwood 1980b, p. 162). Perhaps a local person who was a native of Wakhan or Brusha serving with the Tibetans offered this shrine composition and

²⁴ *Yul lha*, "deities of the local territory" are mountain deities. The term *yul lha* is attested in the Dunhuang manuscript PT 1047 (Karmay 1998, pp. 432, 442). The ancient tradition of mountain deities is autochthonous and specific to a particular place and community (Karmay 2005, p. 33), consistent with the hypothesis that *'Jang lha* may be a deity of this class.

²⁵ The reversed *gi-gu* (transliterated with I) is an archaic orthographic variant that was common in Dunhuang manuscripts but gradually fell out of use by the 12th century (Denwood 1980b, p. 161; van Schaik 2014).

had a literate individual incise the inscription.²⁶



Fig. 7 – Nam bshud’s inscription

On the lower left corner of the same rock panel is an inscription reading:

spre’u’i lo’i ston nam bshud rtse sa bris

Tsuguhito Takeuchi (pers. com.) kindly pointed out that *rtse sa* may be read as *tses*, giving:

spre’u’i lo’i ston nam bshud rtse tses bris

which he notes follows an inscription formula frequently found in Ladakh.²⁷ Accordingly, an English rendition could be, “In autumn of the monkey year, Nam bshud rtse tses inscribed (this)”. Above the inscription on a separate layer of rock is a weathered syllable that may be *brug* or *sbrul*. *Nam bshud* does not seem to be a known clan name or a title and may be a non-Tibetan, local name. The inscription provides a date in the twelve-year cycle, naming the autumn season (*ston*) but not the month (first, middle or last) of the season (Francke 1914, p. 48).

Another chorten offering on a separate rock face provides a much more precise date (see Fig. 8).

²⁶ Or perhaps the inscriber was not Tibetan but was literate in Tibetan. Scribes from Khotan wrote in Tibetan at Dunhuang (Dalton 2007) and Central Asian people under the Tibetan Empire acquired Literary Tibetan (Takeuchi 2013a, pp. 6-7).

²⁷ Published examples from the ruined fort (*mkhar ’gog*) on the left bank of the Indus near Saspol on the road to Alchi are found in Denwood 1980b, Francke and Jina 2003, and Takeuchi 2013b. Orofino 1990 has examples from beyond Alchi.



Fig. 8 – Khyung-po Rgyal-tsung's chorten offering

The inscription reads:

bru gi lo'i ston sla bring po
tshes nyi shu la zhengs (zhengs is inscribed on the other side of
 the chorten)
khyung po rgyal
tsug gyi yon

This inscription identifies the dragon year (*bru gi lo*), the middle month of autumn (*ston sla bring-po*), the twentieth day, and the meritorious donor *Khyung-po Rgyal-tsung*.

The Old Tibetan year was divided into four seasons, each of which had three months (Dotson 2009, p. 12). Although it is not clear how many days were in each month,²⁸ the middle autumn month corresponds roughly to September. The Tang calendar and the Old Tibetan calendar did not coincide, but comparative dating using the Chinese calendar (Hsueh 1940; Tibetan Medical & Astrological Institute 1998) show that the twentieth day of the middle autumn month of

²⁸ I am grateful to Christopher Beckwith for pointing out the uncertainties of assigning western dates to Old Tibetan reckonings. For discussion of the question of Old Tibetan chronology, see Beckwith 1989, pp. xvi-xviii, and Dotson 2009, pp. 12-13. The old "farmer's new year" (Tib. *so-nam lo-gsar*), still observed in outlying rural regions of Tibet, offers another point of reckoning for the start of the year, and I am grateful to John Bellezza for discussing it with me. See Gergan 1978 for discussion of Losar in Zhang-Zhung and Pirie 2008 for discussion of Losar in Ladakh, both of which observe the *so-nam lo-gsar* reckoning. In the Pamir today, the winter solstice is literally observed as the annual turning point of the year, as part of the still-followed traditional "farmer's calendar" (Ilioliev 2008, pp. 92-93, Mock 1998, p. 291).

the dragon years between 764 CE and 848 CE²⁹ fell between 12 September and 7 October. For an elevation of over 4000m, such dates would be near the end of the season when the site might be occupied, although certainly plausible for occupation.³⁰

The name given in the inscription, *Khyung-po*, is an Old Tibetan clan name. Typically, clan names (Tib. *rus*) precede personal names (Tib. *mying*) in such inscriptions (Francke 1928, p. 1050; Richardson 1998a, p. 18; Takeuchi pers. com.). Richardson's list (1998a, p. 18) of *mying* does not include *Rgyal-tsug*, but does have *Rgyal-kong*, *Rgyal-sum-gzigs* and *Rgyal-slebs*.

This Old Tibetan name and Old Tibetan date accompany an archaic *chorten*. It has a base with three diminishing stages, a tall middle section and upper projecting stages topped by a small dome, a mast and 'horned sun' (or crescent moon and sun) finial. Denwood noted that this design, typical of the western Himalaya and Karakoram, was termed "cross-shaped" by Francke who saw "a fancied resemblance to a Christian cross" (Denwood 2007, p. 45), and that Jettmar considered the design to be an innovation made during the time of imperial Tibetan rule in the region. Denwood published a similar design from near Alchi in Ladakh (Denwood 2007, p. 52, fig. 5), Tucci photographed similar designs near Alchi and at Khalatse (Orofino 1990, figs. 17, 18, 30, 39, 40) and Jettmar and Sagaster (1993) published a similar design from Gakuch in present-day Pakistan. Denwood described the sun and crescent moon finial as a distinctive Bon-po element (Denwood 1980a, p. 176). This Bon-po aspect, along with the previously mentioned hunting ritual rock art panel containing symbols associated with Bon (Fig. 4 above), suggests a continuation of beliefs and practices from pre-Tibetan to Tibetan times.³¹

²⁹ Tibetan control of Wakhan appears to have resumed in 756 CE and lasted until the mid or late 9th century CE, which serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the Tibetan inscriptions. Tibetan control of Dunhuang lasted from 781-848 CE (Dalton 2007, p. 18; but see Horlemann 2000 for an earlier date of in the 760s, which parallels dates for Wakhan). Although an Arab army defeated Wakhan in 814-15 (Beckwith 1987, pp. 160-162), Tibetan control soon returned. However, by the end of the ninth century, the high water mark of Buddhism in the Hindukush and Pamir had receded, the Tibetan empire no longer reached to Wakhan, and the region was increasingly influenced by Islam (Beckwith 1987, p. 172; Denwood 2008, p. 157; Hauptmann 2007, p. 32).

³⁰ Early autumn, as we understand the modern autumn season, at 4035m in the Pamir, has relatively light snowfall and rivers are low and easier to cross. Winter brings heavy snow, which lingers through spring, when there is substantial avalanche danger and movement is difficult. Summer is the main pasturing season, but rivers are at their peak and difficult to cross.

³¹ Fussman (1986, p. 47, n. 40) mentions a similar sun-moon finial on a rock carving of a stupa from Chilas I in the Indus valley, and notes that although such finials are typically identified as Tibetan, the example from Chilas is Indian and "is cer-

Another *chorten* on a separate rock at the site is not so finely inscribed (see Fig. 9). It has a three-stage base, but the central column is not as tall and it has only a single projecting upper stage. The mast is shorter, but does appear to be topped by the horn-like crescent moon and orb symbol. The rock on which this *chorten* is inscribed does not have a smooth, varnished surface, but rather a rougher texture, with much lichen present.³²



Fig. 9 – *btsan la gzigs'* chorten offering

The inscription reads: *rMe-'or btsan la gzigs gyI [x]*, conforming to the formula where final *yon* ("gift") would be expected but in this inscription is not legible. The name *btsan* was known as a ministerial

tainly to be dated in the 1st century A.D." Bruneau discusses the crescent moon and sun finial, and notes that Gandharan viharas from Butkara I are depicted with a crescent moon or a disc (Bruneau 2007, p. 66). Orofino (1990, pp. 173-174, n. 2) touches briefly on the question of the relationships of Buddhism as practiced in Swat and Gilgit, the Bon-po traditions of Zhang Zhung, and Tibetan Buddhism. Buddhism was officially adopted by the Tibetan royalty in 779 CE (Dotson 2009, p. 20), which is around the time that the Wakhan art and inscriptions were made. The Tibetan empire's military projection into these regions brought close contact and interaction which is evidenced by the sending of a copy of the 782 edict of *Khri-song-lde-tsan* to the country of Bru-sha (Richardson 1998, pp. 91, 93). The "delicate and fascinating" question of the transmission of Buddhism between Gilgit (Bruzha), Western Tibet (Zhang Zhung) and central Tibet is discussed in Scherrer-Schaub 2002.

³² The chorten and inscription are discussed and published in Mock 2013b.

title for a person descended from the royal family of Ladakh (Francke 1914, p. 51) and *bTsan-gzigs* appears on Francke's list of names (Francke 1914, p. 40). Richardson includes *Btsan-zigs* in his list of *mkhan*, a term which he says "seems to signify some sort of title" in Old Tibetan (Richardson 1998a, pp. 17-20). This seems to be an Old Tibetan name or title, perhaps that of a person who had come from the Ladakh area.³³

The clan name *rMe-'or* is also relevant to historical questions. Although not appearing in any known lists, this same clan name does appear in the Darkot pass inscription accompanying a *chorten* of similar design (see Mock 2013b for the photo and discussion). The Darkot *chorten* has the same "cross-shaped" design, with a two-stage base, a tall central pillar, and two projecting stages below a more oval dome. It has a double mast structure, with a horn-like finial and a more complex central orb on a cross-shape staff. But the general design of the *chorten*, the inscription formula, the identical clan name, the physical proximity of the Darkot pass to Wakhan and the Tang Annals documentation of the Darkot pass as a route to Wakhan all link the Darkot *chorten* to this Wakhan *chorten* and site. Following the previously stated hypothesis that the extensive Wakhan site could not have gone unmentioned in the Tang account of the events of 747 CE, the dating of the Darkot inscription to the same period, when the otherwise unknown *rMe-'or* clan must have held some prominence, seems reasonable.³⁴

Conclusion

Further study of the Wakhan site and translation of all the Tibetan inscriptions there will help us to better understand the site and its relation to the religious and historical context of the 8th-9th centuries CE. But certainly we now have evidence of the western Himalayan *chorten* style further north than previously known. The material demonstrates a deeper Tibetan involvement in Wakhan in the 8th and 9th centuries CE and provides significant information about the events of 747 CE, when a Chinese army defeated Tibetan forces at *Lien-yiin*. The material, in conjunction with textual evidence and analysis of the topographic realities on the ground enables identifica-

³³ Ladakh was clearly under Tibetan control by 719 CE, when Tibet conducted a census there (Denwood 2009, p. 43).

³⁴ Takeuchi (2011, p. 55) notes that the Darkot inscription and others in present-day Gilgit-Baltistan date from the late 8th-early 9th c. CE, which was the only time when Tibetan imperial power reached as far north-west as Gilgit (and Wakhan).

tion of the “northern gorge” route taken by Chinese forces. Exploration of the “northern gorge” route has identified a significant Tibetan site, with what appears to be important pre-Tibetan mytho-religious symbolism forming an earlier locus of activity at the site. Textual evidence from the Tang Annals and the Old Tibetan Annals offers a basis to assume the site was occupied by Tibetans only after 747 CE and most probably after 756 CE. The site and other monuments discovered in Afghanistan support the existence of a network of watch towers and signaling towers in Wakhan. An inscription at the “northern gorge” site links it to the well-known Darkot inscription and provide a context for more closely dating that inscription. Stylistic elements of the chorten carvings in Wakhan, along with onomastic elements of the inscriptions, offer evidence of links with Gandharan-influenced traditions from Balur, with the Ladakh region, and with as yet unidentified local or regional traditions, which may include the indigenous Brusha or other Central Asian groups allied with the Tibetan empire.

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The Nechung Record

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espite the encroaching Lhasa suburb that now surrounds Nechung Monastery (*Gnas chung dgon pa*; lit. “Small Abode Monastery”), it is still an imposing structure that greets the visitor on the way up Mount Gepel (*Dge 'phel*) toward Drepung Monastery (*'Bras spungs dgon pa*). Once inside Nechung’s expansive courtyard, one encounters a vast chain of murals along the gallery wall depicting wrathful protector deities, skinned humans and animals, and oceans of blood. This is the retinue and divine realm of the Dharma protector Pehar (*Pe har*) and his team of spirits, collectively called the Five Sovereign Spirits (*Rgyal po sku lnga*). This unique gallery has been noted by many and discussed in great detail by Franco Ricca,¹ but what is often ignored is the lengthy inscription painted on the south wall of the courtyard (see the figure below). This inscription is the *Nechung Record* (*Gnas chung dkar chag*), and as a *dkar chag* it includes a great deal of information on the monastery’s founding and contents. Dan Martin succinctly defines the *dkar chag* as “a text describing the construction and/or content of items which the Tibetan Buddhist traditions consider holy and capable of bestowing blessings (*byin brlabs*).”² Considering Nechung Monastery’s importance to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas, from the Great Fifth to the present Fourteenth, what follows is the first complete translation and transcription of the *Nechung Record*.

The *Nechung Record* is a detailed list of the sacred items, texts, and relics that were stored at Nechung Monastery after its renovation and expansion in 1682. Yet as with most monastic records, this work also

¹ See Ricca 1999, pp. 93-146.

² Martin 1996, p. 504. Martin (1996, p. 505) describes *dkar chag* as synonymous with *gnas bshad* and *gnas yig* when referring to monastic complexes and other sacred sites.

includes praises to and descriptions of the monastery's central deities, details behind its mythic founding, and lists of the workers who effected its expansion. The *Nechung Record* was coauthored by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and his final regent Sangyé Gyatso (1653-1705) and is 75 lines long, with the first 37 lines consisting of the Fifth Dalai Lama's contribution and the remaining 38 lines composed by Sangyé Gyatso. While the wall inscription of the *Nechung Record* was badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution, most of it is still legible today. The text of the inscription is written in the *druṣṭa* ('bru tsha) Tibetan script. It is presented over a grayed background framed by regal red and gold borders on the left and right, flowing red and gold embellishments on top, and multicolored lotus petals along the bottom. Between the left border and a bare yellow strip next to the text, there is a vertical line of Tibetan written in the Mongolian script (*hor yig*).

There have been two previous attempts to transcribe and publish the record's contents in Tibetan. The first is a complete transcription produced by a Tibetan scholar named Lingön Padma Kelsang (*Gling dbon Pad ma skal bzang*) in the mid-1980s. At this time, a team of Tibetan scholars conducted an extensive survey of Drepung Monastery for the purposes of textual preservation. This included transcribing the records of the monastery's colleges, often inscribed on the walls of their porticos, as well as documenting their histories, abbatial lineages, and sacred contents. Nechung Monastery was included in this endeavor due to its close historical ties with, and physical proximity to, Drepung. The monastery's information was collected by Lingön Padma Kelsang, who transcribed all its wall inscriptions including the *Nechung Record*. All of this material pertaining to Drepung has been collected in the *Stainless and Clear Crystal Mirror: A Record of Glorious Drepung Monastery*.³

The second transcription of the *Nechung Record* is a partial copy; it consists of a 13-folio block-print manuscript (*dpe cha*) edition of Sangyé Gyatso's portion of the record. Although its publication date and location are unknown, this edition is presented as a distinct text entitled, *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms: the Record of the Pehar Chapel*

³ *Dpal ldan 'bras spungs dgon gyi dkar chag dri med dwangs gsal shel gyi me long*; see Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009. I am grateful to the irreplaceable Tsering Gyalbo for drawing my attention to this work and for generously providing me with a copy.

*Nechung, which is Exalted by Eight Unprecedented Kinds of Craftworks – Rāvaṇa's Palace Transferred to Earth, where Offerings and Praises are Joyfully Performed [for] the Churning Whirlpool of the Host of Haughty Spirits and the Ocean of Oath-Bound [Guardians].*⁴ While Lingön Padma Kelsang copied the Fifth Dalai Lama's portion of the *Nechung Record* from the wall inscription itself, it is clear from the philological idiosyncrasies and word choices that he transcribed Sangyé Gyatso's portion from this manuscript instead of the wall. The Tibetan scholar Dobis Tsering Gyal has likewise published a typed transcription of this manuscript.⁵

Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription has until now been the only full copy of the *Nechung Record*.⁶ However, there are notable differences between the wall inscription of the record and Lingön Padma Kelsang's edition. Unfortunately, whether during transcribing or typing the record, a number of errors crept into Lingön Padma Kelsang's text. These errors include minor typographical mistakes as well as major issues, like misplacing or omitting entire lines of verse. Understandably, Lingön Padma Kelsang also grammatically corrected the original Tibetan text in a number of places, since the wall inscription is rife with distinctive or erroneous spellings. While this is admirable, and even helpful, it ultimately does damage to the original text, the errors and unique spelling of which contain valuable historical data. Nevertheless, Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription has proven indispensable, since it was recorded thirty years ago when the record was less decayed and more legible than it is today.

For this reason, in transcribing the *Nechung Record* anew, I have relied on Lingön Padma Kelsang's text as a base. I then used high definition photographs of the wall inscription taken *in situ* to make any necessary changes in order to produce an accurate facsimile of the

⁴ *Mchod bstod dregs pa'i lha tshogs rba klong 'khrug cing dam can rgya mtsho dgyes par spyod pa'i mgrin bcu'i pho brang sa la 'phos pa sngon med bzo sna brgyad kyis 'phags pa'i gnas chung pe har lcog gi dkar chag sa gsum g.yo ba'i nga ro*; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da.

⁵ See Dobis Tsering Gyal 2009, pp. 350-359.

⁶ See Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, pp. 470-488. There are three other shorter records found on various walls within Nechung Monastery, which Lingön Padma Kelsang also transcribed (see *ibid*, pp. 489-498); however, it is clear that this record is the oldest and most significant.

inscription.⁷ I also referred to the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript, as well as Dobis Tsering Gyal's transcription, in order to aid understanding; differences between the wall inscription and the other editions are provided in the footnotes of my transcription. One distinction in the edition below is that abbreviated Tibetan words (*bskungs yig*) found in the wall inscription are spelled in full in my transcription. I have also separated poetic verses by meter in order to highlight their syllabic differences. These differences make the below transcription a semi-diplomatic edition. Otherwise, this edition is as accurate a copy of the original wall inscription as is possible given its deterioration. For my translation of the wall inscription, I used my transcription while taking advantage of the occasional differences in orthography visible in the other editions. Finally, the wall inscription of the *Nechung Record* does not have a distinct title, nor does it distinguish between the Fifth Dalai Lama's section and Sangyé Gyatso's section beyond starting the latter on a new line. Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription provides a title for each of the two portions, which I include in my translation for ease of reference.

In terms of structure and content, the *Nechung Record* is very well organized. The first half of the record, composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama, begins with a series of poetic quatrains. The meter length of these verses diminishes gradually in odd numbers – the first quatrain has 19 vowels per line, while the final quatrains have 7 vowels. The contents of these quatrains match the contraction in meter, since the first verses concern the grand Buddhist cosmos while the final verses condense into the specific historical context of the Five Sovereign Spirits, the central protectors of the monastery, as well as Nechung's lineage. It is a beautifully and evocatively rendered mythos. After this panegyric introduction, the prose of the record begins with a detailed doctrinal and philosophical argument for why it is appropriate to venerate protector deities, and why the Five Sovereign Spirits are the best protectors to revere. This is followed by a brief outline of Pehar's past lives, his arrival at Samyé Monastery (*Bsam yas dgon*

⁷ I am grateful to Cecilia Haynes for diligently photographing the numerous quadrants of the *Nechung Record* wall inscription using her Nikon D7000 DSLR camera and 18-55 mm lens. These photographs provided me with detailed images of the entire record, line-by-line, from which I could accurately transcribe its legible contents. I am also grateful to Mikmar Tsering, who likewise provided me with detailed photographs of the record.

pa), and his eventual ties to Drepung. The record then discusses Nechung Monastery's expansion, as well as its religious contents and the main *tantras* and ritual texts of its deity cult. The Fifth Dalai Lama's section concludes with more poetic verses praising Nechung and the Five Sovereign Spirits, tying them back to the Tibetan dynasty. The section ends with a colophon.

The second half of the *Nechung Record*, composed by the regent Sangyé Gyatso, likewise begins with poetic quatrains. These stanzas also descend in meter length, though more simply – from 15-syllable verses straight to 9-syllable verses. Along with this simplicity, there is a noticeable contraction of focus in these verses. The prose of the section follows, and it begins with a much more detailed treatise on the metaphysical importance of the Five Sovereign Spirits. The record then continues Pehar's history where the Fifth Dalai Lama left off, explaining the deity's migration to Tsel Yangön Monastery (*Tshal yang dgon dgon pa*) southeast of Lhasa and his eventual arrival at Nechung northwest of the city. A stronger connection is made in this portion of the text between Pehar and the lineage of the Dalai Lamas, since their special relationship is consistently emphasized. The next section is the lengthiest as it details the workers and craftsmen involved in Nechung Monastery's 1682 expansion and renovation. After the temporary consecration ceremony is described, the last section concerns the eight different craftworks that make the monastery unique. As with the first half, the second half of the record concludes with poetic stanzas and a colophon. An outline of the record's contents is as follows:

I. Fifth Dalai Lama's Section

- 1) Panegyric verses describing the Buddhist cosmos, Tibetan religious history, and the Five Sovereign Spirits (ll.1-5)
- 2) Doctrinal argument legitimizing protector deities in general and the Five Sovereign Spirits specifically (ll.5-12)
- 3) Pehar's mythic background and role in Tibet (ll.12-17)
- 4) Nechung Monastery's expansion, sacred contents, and religious texts (ll.17-32)
- 5) Concluding poetic verses on the Five Sovereign Spirits and colophon (ll.33-37)

II. Sangyé Gyatso's Section

- 1) Panegyric verses describing the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Five Sovereign Spirits (ll.38-39)
- 2) Metaphysical importance and ultimate enlightened nature of the Five Sovereign Spirits (ll.39-42)
- 3) Continuing mythic history of Pehar from Samyé to Nechung (ll.42-48)
- 4) List of workers and craftsmen involved in Nechung's 1682 expansion and renovation, as well as a description of the monastery's sacred contents (ll.49-65)
- 5) Description of the temporary consecration ceremony and the eight types of craftwork that characterize the monastery (ll.65-73)
- 6) Concluding poetic verses on Nechung, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the Five Sovereign Spirits, as well as the colophon (ll.73-75)

Another text warrants mentioning, given its intertextual significance to the *Nechung Record*. This is the *Summary of the Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Pendenpa along with the Origins of the Great Dharma Protector*.⁸ This work is a short 18-folio biography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden,⁹ the founder and first abbot of Deyang College (*Bde yangs grwa tshang*) at Drepung Monastery, as well as the original founder of Nechung when it was a smaller chapel. According to Per Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, this text was composed by the regent Sangyé Gyatso.¹⁰ However, this is questionable because the text contradicts a claim made in the portion of the *Nechung Record* also composed by Sangyé Gyatso, which states that the deity Pehar left Tsel Yangön Monastery with the Second Dalai Lama. The text itself does not explain its authorship; however, it was composed within a century after Nechung Monastery's seventeenth-century expansion. The hagiography quotes heavily from the *Nechung Record*, placing it after 1682, and was in turn quoted in the *Gung thang dkar chag*, placing it before the latter

⁸ *Lcog pa byang chub dpal ldan pa'i rnam thar rags bsdu chos skyong chen po'i 'byung khungs dang bcas pa*. See Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db. I refer to this text in abbreviation as the *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden*.

⁹ *Lcog pa Byang chub dpal ldan*, 1404/1464-1471/1531.

¹⁰ See Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, p. 217, n. 572.

text's publication in 1782.¹¹ Since the text quotes the *Nechung Record*, it has proven useful for confirming some of the content of the wall inscription that is now too damaged or obscured with age to be legible.

The following translation and transcription are color-coded and organized in various ways. The page numbers for Lingön Padma Kelsang's transcription have been included for cross-referencing purposes and are maroon in color, while the line numbers for the wall inscription are blue. Due to unavoidable variations in Tibetan and English word order, the page numbers as listed in the below translation are approximate. Parenthetical words and phrases within the text represent Lingön Padma Kelsang's original correction or interpolation while bracketed words and phrases are my own. I have also maintained the red coloring of key words and phrases found in the text of the wall inscription, used to highlight significant names and terms. As noted above, I have divided the verses of poetry into stanzas to act as an immediate visual cue, separating the framing panegyrics from the enclosed exposition. It is with these changes and emendations that I hope to provide an improved and more reliable transcription of the *Nechung Record*, as well as its preceding translation. I also hope that this translation and transcription vividly illustrate the need to give greater attention to wall inscription records, given the diverse and extensive content they possess as concrete records from the past. While the other wall inscriptions at Nechung and Drepung have been successfully recorded, others visible at important centers like Samyé, Tsel Yangön, and Meru Nyingpa (*Rme ru snying pa*) have not. In the case of the *Nechung Record*, it clearly memorializes just how the monastery, its central deities, and its famous renovators were involved in a robust and extensive world-building project of mythic proportions.

¹¹ See *ibid*, p. 13.



Wall inscription of the *Nechung Record*, Nechung Monastery Courtyard.
(Photo: Cecilia Haynes, 2012)

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[470] Transcription of the Record on
the Southern Face of Nechung Monastery's Courtyard

The Nechung Record
Composed by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama¹²

(1) The immutable **Dharma body**, the great primordial [XX] bliss, appears undifferentiated, limitless, and all-pervading. The **perfect enjoyment body**, more resplendent than a thousand lotuses XX, is Mighty **Hayagrīva**...XXXXX. The auspicious manifold display of **emanation bodies**, which are exceedingly difficult to count X[X], are [all ultimately] the lord who holds five kinds of white lotuses.¹³ As I bow the top of my head in the dust at the feet of these three inseparable bodies, may they bestow [on me] the great blessing of ordinary and extraordinary accomplishments!¹⁴

(2) Amid five-colored rainbows and **countless peaceful and wrathful deities**—which were spontaneously produced from within luminous emptiness and [inseparable] space and awareness—the *vajra*-holding all-pervading lord **Tötreng Tsel** [Padmasambhava] emanates XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX as one. I entreat him to come once again to aid this snowy land [Tibet] and act [as] our most supreme kinsman for the benefit and well-being of the Buddha's teachings and sentient beings!

The lord of **Dharma masters**, [with] your magical net of the three embodiments—wisdom, benevolence, and spir-

¹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: *The numbers given below indicate the lines of the original text, and the X marks represent unclear syllables.* As noted, Lingön Padma Kelzang uses X marks to signify syllables that have been obscured by damage. X marks within brackets (e.g., [X]) are my own interpolations based on my observations of the original inscription.

¹³ Tib. *pad dkar rigs lnga 'chang ba'i gtso*. This clearly refers to Padmapāṇi (Tib. *pad dkar 'chang*), an epithet for Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁴ While a number of the words that make up this poem are missing because of damage to the original inscription, enough has been salvaged that the overall meaning is clear. This is a prayer to the three bodies (Tib. *sku gsum*; Skt. *trikāya*), particularly of the Lotus Family (Tib. *pad ma rigs*; Skt. *padmakula*), that they might bestow accomplishments (Tib. *dnegos grub*; Skt. *siddhi*) on the composer.

itual power – conquered the dark and perverted views of this land and completely endowed it with virtue, pervading [it like] a **roaring** [wind]. (3) **Tsongkhapa**,¹⁵ the omnipresent Vajradhara,¹⁶ the Dharma king of the three worlds, by means of several emanations, sentient beings
XXXXXXXXX glorious.

Like a luminous five-colored rainbow in the expanse of the sky, the **Five Dharma Kings**¹⁷ – who emanate [as] body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities – auspiciously appear in order to accomplish each and every pacifying, augmenting, subjugating, and destructive activity. They produce a powerful emanating army of brigadiers, servants, and an ocean of oath-bound protectors.

Tsokyé Dorjé [Padmasambhava] invested the lord of all chiefs¹⁸ with authority, placed a *va-jra* [on his head], (4) gave him the immortal *amṛ ta* [nectar] to drink in full, and proclaimed the solemn *samaya* vow. Never forget the oath that was entrusted [to your] care! Increase the well-being of the Buddha's teachings as well as [all] sentient beings in Tibet!¹⁹

[You] were made a servant within the palace of the great *maṅ ḍala* of the **root and lineage lamas** – XXXXX-kyi Wangchuk and so forth.²⁰ Reflect here

¹⁵ Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, 1357-1419; this is the renowned founder of the Geluk sect.

¹⁶ Tib. *kha sbyor bdun ldan*; lit. "endowed with the seven attributes of union." This is an epithet for Vajradhara.

¹⁷ Tib. Chos rgyal sku lnga; this refers to the Five Sovereign Spirits presided over by Pehar.

¹⁸ Tib. *sde dpon yongs kyi rje bo*; given the context, this clearly refers to Pehar.

¹⁹ The last two imperative sentences are directed at the deity Pehar, who was the recipient of Padmasambhava's *samaya* vow in this verse.

²⁰ Tib. XXXXX *kyi dbang phyug*. I speculate that the figure mentioned here is the treasure-revealer Guru Chökyi Wangchuk (Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1212-

and now on [your] promise to accomplish all activities without obstruction!

[You are] the supreme savior who has served and protected in a timely manner the communities of **Gendün Gyatso**,²¹ the embodiment of all the Buddhas, and **Sönam Gyatso**,²² the crown ornament respected by all—[both of whom] generally and specifically represented the lineage of the Victorious Ones.

There is a great palace displaying terrifying charnel grounds (5) that is completely and constantly filled with riches, such as piles of treasure and clouds of outer, inner, and secret offerings. I offer these in abundance through meditation, *mantras*, and *mudras*.

After beckoning [you] with the yoga of single-minded concentration for a full day and night,²³ we [hung] colored flags, shouted appeals [to you], played instruments, chanted ritual songs, built up dense clouds of smoke [from] burnt offerings, and sprinkled the *arḡham* [oblation]. Since we did this, come here [quick] as lightning and sit on your lotus, moon, and sun [throne]!

1270). The rest of his name would fill in three of the five missing syllables, while the first two are likely *gter ston* (treasure-revealer) or another honorific title.

²¹ Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, 1476-1542; the Second Dalai Lama.

²² Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 1543-1588; the Third Dalai Lama.

²³ Tib. *nyin mtshan dus drug*; lit. "the six times of the day and night." This refers to how a 24-hour day was divided into six 4-hour parts in the ancient Indian system.

[471] The teachings, debates, and writings of the disciplined **community** that upholds and protects the **precious teachings of the Buddha** – the roots and branches of which [instill] happiness and well-being – overflow like a lake [in the] summer. Because of this all dharmic activities wax like the moon!

Regarding these [verses], (6) [it is stated] within the [*Door that*] *Leads to Wisdom*:²⁴

The holy ones who composed the commentaries wrote praises²⁵ to the Buddha. Since they expanded the teachings, they perceived these pure words properly and sincerely.

Accordingly, following the example of the excellent hagiographies of past [masters], I performed plentiful offerings and praises and embraced their perspective. The reason – which is not motivated by jealousy toward others – [is as follows]:

In the *Praise Exceeding that of the Gods*²⁶ [it is stated], “I am not partial to the Buddha, nor do I hate [the followers of] Kapila²⁷ and the

²⁴ Tib. *Mkhas 'jug*. This is an abbreviation of *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo*, a famous treatise on Buddhist scholasticism composed by Sakya Paṇ ḍ ita Kūnga Gyentsen (Sa skya Paṇ ḍ ita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182-1251), one of the five great forefathers of the Sakya sect. See Sa skya Paṇ ḍ ita 1967, p. 6.9-11.

²⁵ Tib. *mchod brjod*; lit. “offering verses.” This term specifically refers to the prefatory stanzas written in honor of the Buddha or deities at the beginning of commentaries.

²⁶ Tib. *Lha las phul byung gi bstod pa*; Skt. *Devāśīṣyastotra*. This brief text was composed by Śaṃkarapāṭi and found in the commentarial collection of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (*Tengyur*; Tib. *Bstan 'gyur*); see Śaṃkarapāṭi 1982, f.44v.6.

²⁷ An important Vedic sage, the followers of whom generally represent the Hindu opponents of Buddhism.

like. I will only accept he whose words are logical as a teacher.”²⁸ Also, the Lord of Knowledge [Dharmakīrti]²⁹ said, (7) “Since [the Buddha’s teachings] are infallible with regard to the primary subjects, we can subsequently infer that [the same is the case] for other [secondary] subjects.”³⁰

Regarding the need to enter onto the path that ensures the highest rebirths to be attained and the most transcendent state [of enlightenment], the omniscient [Tsongkhapa] Lobzang Drakpa said, “The stages of the path of the great and glorious Vajradhara thoroughly differentiated the essential points of all secrets.” Accordingly, it is said that our Teacher Śākyamuni guided sentient beings onto the sublime path³¹ based on what [teachings] accorded with the capabilities of superior, intermediate, and inferior disciples. Therefore, he taught whatever sections of the Dharma were suitable.

In the *Sūtra which Gathers All Intentions*³² [it is stated]:

“If [you], the Conqueror,³³ definitively taught the three pure guid-

²⁸ My translation of this stanza is indebted to Geshe Wangyal (1986, pp. 64-65).

²⁹ Tib. *rig pa'i dbang phyug*. While this epithet is too generic to give any indication as to whom it refers, it is clear from the quoted verse that the great Buddhist sage Dharmakīrti is intended.

³⁰ See Dharmakīrti 1986, pp. 204.7-205.1 for the original verse. I am indebted to Engle (2009, pp. 85-86) for providing the original context and understanding of this verse.

³¹ Tib. *ma dag pa'i lam*; given the obscurity of the original text here, I am reading this as *yang dag pa'i lam*.

³² Tib. *Mdo dgongs pa 'dus pa*. This is the principal text of the Anuyoga Tantras. It can be found in volume 97 (ff.110r-314r) of the Dergé (Tib. Sde dge) edition of the *Tengyur* under its longer title, *De bzhin gshags pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. The colorful history of this important text is discussed in Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, Section 1, pp. 597-739. See also *ibid*, pp. 911-913.

³³ Tib. *bcom ldan*; Skt. *bhagavat*; this is a common epithet for the Buddha.

ing vehicles,³⁴ (8) [why did you] not teach the one definitive vehicle that spontaneously accomplishes [the doctrines of] causality without seeking enlightenment from others?" [The Buddha] replied, "Since I thoroughly turned the wheels of the causal Dharma [for] those who practice the causal [vehicles],³⁵ (the short path) [of] the Diamond Vehicle will appear in the future."³⁶

[The Buddha] turned the wheels of the causal Dharma for those with intermediate capabilities and below. He taught the Diamond Vehicle of Secret *Mantras* to those with superior [capabilities]. The multitude of fortunate disciples does not need to rely on many eons; they can achieve enlightenment in the middle or at the end of this lifetime, in seven lifetimes, sixteen lifetimes, etc. It is said that in order to overcome the temporary obstacles and discordant factors [encountered] in this method, (9) [one must] entrust activities to, and depend on, powerful Dharma protectors.

In the *Tantras* [it is stated]:³⁷

³⁴ Tib. *'dren pa'i theg pa gsum po*. According to Rangjung Yeshe, this term is synonymous with *mtshan nyid kyi theg pa gsum*, the 'three vehicles of characteristics.' These are (1) the Vehicle of those who Heard [the Buddha] (Tib. *nyan thos kyi theg pa*; Skt. *śrāvakayāna*), who achieve enlightenment as *arhats*; (2) the Vehicle of Solitary Buddhas (Tib. *rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa*; Skt. *pratyekabuddhayāna*), who achieve enlightenment on their own yet do not teach others; and (3) the Vehicle of Bodhisattvas (Tib. *byang chub sems dpa'i thegs pa*; Skt. *bodhisattvayāna*), who take the *bodhisattva* vow. The last vehicle is synonymous with the Great Vehicle (Tib. *theg pa chen po*; Skt. *mahāyāna*).

³⁵ This refers to the three vehicles discussed in the previous note.

³⁶ This dialogue is fully quoted in the *Blue Annals* (see Roerich 1996, p. 158); see also Karmay 1998, pp. 84-85, n. 34, for an updated translation.

³⁷ Tib. *rgyud las*; the text does not specify from which *tantra* the following quote is derived.

Many transcendent beings manifest as emanations that naturally arise from the wisdom of the Victorious One. [According to] the ultimate [truth, they] are understood³⁸ to be singularly nondualistic [and are part of] the spontaneously present *maṅ ḍala*.³⁹

Accordingly, the **Great Sovereign Spirit Pekar**⁴⁰ and his retinue are included in such *maṅ ḍalas* as that of the great Eight *Sādhana* Deities, and are none other than manifestations of the Supreme Heruka.⁴¹ They are [found] among the haughty spirits of [mundane] offerings and praise, and appear in whatever form is appropriate to guide disciples. Because of this, their extraordinary methods (10) are compatible with the essential intention of all the *tantras*.

Moreover, in accordance with the generation stage of the Mahāyoga [*tantras*], the **Five Sovereign Spirits, their consorts, emanations, and ministers**, along with their brigadiers, (emanate) from the radiance of the one hundred supreme peaceful and wrathful deities. XX As such, [Padmasambhava's] mind emanation, Ngari [Paṅ chen] Padma Wangyel,⁴² said:

The Five Great Sovereign Spirits—as well as their five self-appearing consorts, such as ChenXX,⁴³ male and fe-

³⁸ I am translating the term *rtogs* here rather than *rdzogs*, as per Lingön Padma Kelzang's emendation.

³⁹ Tib. *lhun gyis grub pa'i dkyil 'khor*. This likely refers to one of the three main Anuyoga *maṅ ḍalas* called *rang bzhin lhun grub kyi dkyil 'khor*, which is a Samantabhadra *maṅ ḍala*.

⁴⁰ A variant spelling for Pekar.

⁴¹ Tib. Che mchog He ru ka; Skt. Mahottara Heruka. This is the central deity of the Eight *Sādhana* Deities, sometimes considered synonymous with Vajrāmṛta, the deity of good qualities.

⁴² Mnga'ris Padma dbang rgyal, 1487-1542; see Ahmad 1999, pp. 164-170.

⁴³ Tib. Spyan XX. The inscription is too obscure to make a clear identification of this deity. The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.5b.6) reiterates this portion of the text and has the name Chenmala (Tib. Spyan ma la) here, though this does not accord with any of the common names for the Five Sovereign Spirits' consorts.

male bodhisattvas, [472] which are the very essence of the six sense objects, and their cabinet ministers, *shadröl*, *ky-idröl*,⁴⁴ and external ministers— assemble [from the] natural manifestations of the Five [Buddha] Families.

[He also] said, “The Great Sovereign Spirits, who are endowed with destructive powers, assemble from the unproduced self-manifestations⁴⁵ [of] the peaceful and wrathful Herukas⁴⁶ and their consorts.”

In the scriptural transmission of the Anuyoga, [these deities] are the essence of the right, left, and middle [channels],⁴⁷ (11) as well as the male, female, and androgynous haughty spirits.

In the Atiyoga, they must be understood as the very nature of the union of appearance and emptiness. [Padmasambhava's] good qualities emanation, the Dharma King Wangpo Dé,⁴⁸ said:

Summon the assembly of male and female haughty spirits, [who represent] the inseparability of appearance and emptiness, from the expanse of non-duality [in order to perform] the enlightened work of the four activities.

All those [deities are] the conceptualizations [of] one's own mind; free from conceptual elaboration, they are actually the single seminal

⁴⁴ Tib. *sha grol kyi grol*; the exact meaning of these two works is difficult to ascertain, though it is clear from the context that they refer to groups that help make up Pehar's retinue.

⁴⁵ The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.6a.2) has *rtsal las* at this point, while Lingön Padma Kelzang suggests *mal las*. My translation is based on the *Hagiography* reading.

⁴⁶ Tib. *khrag 'thung*; lit. “Blood Drinkers,” a common epithet for the tantric Heruka deities.

⁴⁷ Tib. *ro rkyang dbu gsum*. This refers to the three channels (Tib. *rtsa*; Skt. *nāḍi*) of the subtle body in yogic metaphysics.

⁴⁸ Tib. Chos rgyal Dbang po'i sde, 1551-1603; see Ahmad 1999, pp. 170-178.

drop of the **Heruka's**⁴⁹ wisdom, which manifests out of ultimate reality on its own.

In the *Three Households* [it is stated]:⁵⁰

Rikpé Gyelpo Jangchupsem⁵¹ [said,] “The intrinsic nature of all [things] is one. Thus, it is certainly [the case] that the gods and spirits of the phenomenal world are inseparable from one’s own mind. Because of this, once one purifies the mind itself, the gods and spirits of the phenomenal world effortlessly appear.”

While one remains firm within the [meditative] states of bliss, clarity, and nonthought, (12) [the Five Sovereign Spirits] effortlessly appear as the five—**body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities**. They arise without limitations for the benefit [of all] beings.

⁴⁹ The *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.6a.6) has *he ru ka* at this point. In lieu of the obscure word here, I have chosen to use this reading rather than the inscription’s *X ĀH*.

⁵⁰ Tib. *khyim gsum du*; given the above pattern this appears to be a text, though which text is being referenced is unknown.

⁵¹ This refers to Jokpa Jangchup Penden, in whose biography it is explained that he received the full ordination name of Rig pa’i rgyal po byang chub [sems] (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.4a.2-3). The *sems* that I provide as a part of the name immediately follows the *byang chub*. However, there is some confusion over its placement between the texts. The hagiography places the *sems* at the start of the next line, making it appear that it is not part of Jokpa Jangchup Penden’s ordination name. The wall inscription, by contrast, has the *sems* immediately follow the *byang chub* and leaves a noticeable space between it and the next verse. Since this is a translation of the wall inscription, and since the inscription spacing follows a seven-syllable meter structure, I have chosen to understand the *sems* as part of Jokpa Jangchup Penden’s name. It merits noting that the *Stainless and Clear Crystal Mirror* (Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, p. 343) summarizes the biographical contents of the *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* in its chapter on Deyang College, and so it renders his name Rig pa’i rgyal po byang chub.

In a conventional sense, throughout King Pekar's [past] lives, the Lord of Secrets [Vajrapāṇi] commanded⁵² [him to relinquish his life essence].⁵³ Countless eons ago, there was a devout king named Mahābuta⁵⁴ XXX [and] a monk [named] Lekden Nakpo,⁵⁵ who became his minister.⁵⁶ At this time, they were ordained under the abbot Daö Dünting.⁵⁷ The king's ordination name was Daö Zhonnu⁵⁸ and the minister's was Dün[ting] Nakpo.⁵⁹ XXXX the king XXXXXXXXXXXX.⁶⁰ Then, at the Temple where Nine Evil Spirits Gathered, Daö Zhonnu and a Brahmin woman made love, [then] he gave a [perverse] prayer of aspiration, and so forth. Because of this, (13) [he was successively reborn as] the butcher Ragochen,⁶¹ [then] Chumi

⁵² Tib. [bka'] stsal.

⁵³ Such details of Pekar's involvement with Vajrapāṇi can be found in a seventeenth-century text on Samyé Monastery's history composed by the Sakya hierarch Amézhap Ngawang Künga Sönam (A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, 1597-1659) entitled the *Symphony of the Captivating Gods that Grants all Desires and Makes the Wish-fulfilling Dharma Protectors Rejoice: A Good Explanation for the Origins of the Great Monastery of Glorious and Spontaneously Present Samyé and its Guardians of the Teachings* (Dpal bsam yas lhun gyi grub pa'i gtsug lhag khang chen po bka' srung dang bcas pa'i byon tshul legs par bshad pa chos skyong yid bzhin nor bu dges par byed pa'i yid 'phrog lha'i rol mo dgos 'dod kun 'byung); see A myes zhabs 2000, p. 405.

⁵⁴ Tib. Ma ha abu ta. The *ma ha* here is too damaged in the original inscription to verify. A later source (Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 36) gives the name of this king who would become Pekar as Dharmajvala. This is clearly not the name here, so for now Lingön Padma Kelzang's suggestion stands. In the quote of this line found within the *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.1), the king's name is Dharmarāja.

⁵⁵ Tib. Legs ldan nag po; lit. "Excellent Black One."

⁵⁶ This differs from Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 36), who says that this figure is the minister's son, not the minister himself.

⁵⁷ Tib. Zla 'od dun ting; lit. "Moonlight Diligent Samādhi."

⁵⁸ Tib. Zla 'od gzhon nu; lit. "Young Moonlight."

⁵⁹ Tib. Dun nag po; lit. "Black Diligent One." Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 36) gives his name as Dünting Nakpo (Tib. Dun ting nag po; lit. Black Diligent Samādhi). The original inscription is too damaged to confirm that this was the minister's ordination name here, but it is likely so.

⁶⁰ A significant portion of the story is missing here. However, we can fill in the gaps by drawing on Sle lung rje drung 1979, pp. 36-37. The king preferred exposition (Tib. *bshad pa*), while the minister enjoyed meditation (Tib. *sgom pa*), and the two friends grew apart and started practicing separately. The king's loneliness no doubt paved the way for what follows, which is a heavily summarized account of Pekar's past lives.

⁶¹ Tib. Ra mgo can; lit. "Goat-headed One."

Jangchupbar,⁶² Lenmi Jangchupö,⁶³ and a marmot.⁶⁴ After such lives as these, there was the father Mujé Tsenpo⁶⁵ and the mother Düza Minkarma,⁶⁶ XXX [who had the following children:] Yapjé Lamé,⁶⁷ Tramtok Nyampajé,⁶⁸ Mudü Dramkarjé,⁶⁹ Tramtok Barwajé,⁷⁰ and Dünak Tongjé.⁷¹ Of these five siblings, [Pehar] became the middle named one, Mudü Dramkarjé. At this time, he enslaved all of the eight classes of gods and spirits of phenomenal appearance, such as the gods of the sky, and so forth.⁷² He ate small stars for food, XXX all female Hinderings Spirits XXXXXXXX [and] striking the chests [of] sentient beings.⁷³ [He performed] a variety of malicious acts, such as eating a hundred men for food every day, a hundred women every

⁶² Tib. Chu mi byang chub 'bar; this is an alternative form of Chu mig byang chub 'bar (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 38), a literal translation of which is, "Blazing Enlightenment Spring."

⁶³ Tib. Glan mi byang chub 'od; lit. "the Dumb Man Enlightened Light." Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 38) explains that this version of the name is given in a non-extant text entitled the *Gathering of Black Clouds* (Tib. *Sprin nag 'khrigs pa*), while the *White Crystal Rosary Tantra* (Tib. *Shel phreng dkar po'i rgyud*) has the alternative, Glan mi dbang phyug 'bar.

⁶⁴ Tib. 'phyi ba. Drawing on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 38), this refers to a story where Pehar, in one of his former lives, transformed into a marmot in order to harass his old friend, Dünting Nakpo, while he was meditating. He was summarily subdued by Vajrapāṇi.

⁶⁵ Tib. Rmu rje btsan po; lit. "Emperor Lord of the Savage Spirits."

⁶⁶ Tib. Bdud gza' smin dkar ma; lit. "Female Hinderings-Planetary Spirit White Eyebrows."

⁶⁷ Tib. Yab rje bla med; lit. "Unsurpassed Lord Father."

⁶⁸ Tib. Khram thogs nyams pa rje; lit. "Obstructing Charlatan Lord of Degeneration."

⁶⁹ Tib. Smu bdud khram dkar rje; an alternative form of this name is Dmu bdud brang dkar (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 39), a literal translation of which is, "the Savage-Hinderings Spirit White Chest."

⁷⁰ Tib. Khram thogs 'bar ba rje; lit. "Lord Blazing Obstructing Charlatan."

⁷¹ Tib. Bdud nag stong chen; drawing on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 39), I strongly suspect that this deity's name is actually Bdud nag stong rje, a literal translation of which is, "Lord of a Thousand Black Hinderings Spirits." This would also coincide well with the *rje* found in the names of the four preceding deities, as well as their father.

⁷² For a descriptive list of this category of beings, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, pp. 264-266, as well as the surrounding chapter.

⁷³ Several words are missing from this section; however, according to Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 40), after enslaving the minor gods, Mudü Tramkarjé ate small stars, bound the sun and the moon to his crown, and tormented all living beings. There is no mention of female Hinderings Spirits, so their purpose here remains a mystery.

evening, and a hundred children every morning. (14) [He successively transformed into] a powerful black scorpion surrounded by a thousand scorpion offspring, an eight-year-old child [that appeared] from the sky above,⁷⁴ and a white lion. [Padmasambhava] remained firm in AM XXXXX.⁷⁵ [As a lion, Pehar] glared [at the master], ears upraised and [about] to pounce. [In the] form of an ugly black monk, [he threw down on Padmasambhava's head] a white meteorite (about the size of) a sheep XXXX.⁷⁶ He transformed into a handsome young layman holding a 108[-bead] crystal rosary in his hand. He then displayed magical emanations with an inconceivable number of weapons, as well as innumerable ministers. At that time, XXXX Dor-jé⁷⁷ and the great master Padma Tötreng Tsel, at places such as the Wish-Fulfilling Crystal Cave, conferred empowerments on [Pehar] and (15) bound him under oath. [Pehar then] offered his radiant life essence in supplication, and he promised to protect the precious teachings of the Buddha.

⁷⁴ At this point we are aided by A myes zhabs 2000, p. 412, where the story picks up here.

⁷⁵ Due to the missing words, the action here is unclear. However, by relying on Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 43) and A myes zhabs (2000, p. 412) – both of which draw on the *White Crystal Rosary Tantra* – we can infer what is happening at this moment. At this point in the story Pehar encounters Padmasambhava and mischievously attempts to distract the master from meditating. He transforms into a white lion and disturbs the master's *mañ dala* configuration, making the threatening gestures that follow. The meaning of *aM tshugs* here is difficult to ascertain without the remaining words in the line; Sle lung rje drung (*ibid*) does not mention it, while A myes zhabs (*ibid*) has *khyi tshugs ma byas*, which is itself difficult to understand in context.

⁷⁶ See Sle lung rje drung, *ibid*, and A myes zhabs, *ibid*.

⁷⁷ Lingön Padma Kelzang interpolates this as Garap Dorjé (Tib. Dga' rab rdo rje; Skt. Vajraprahe), who first transmitted the Dzogchen system after divinely receiving it; see Germano 1992, p. 43. However, I have no confidence in this reading, since no other known account corroborates it. Every account has Padmasambhava meditating alone; the one exception is an account cited by Sle lung rje drung (1979, p. 49), where Padmasambhava is accompanied by his consort, presumably Yeshé Tsogyal (Tib. Ye shes mtsho rgyal). My own suspicion is that this name refers to Vajrapāṇi (Tib. Phyag na rdo rje), who has also subjugated and bound Pehar to oath in the course of his lives (see Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 41). However, in lieu of stronger evidence, I have chosen to ignore the interpolation provided and leave the name a mystery.

Nowadays, this snowy land [of Tibet] is described as Noble **Avalokiteśvara**'s realm of conversion. Accordingly, [473] it is said that [the Tibetan kings,] from Lord Nyatri Tsenpo⁷⁸ down to the divine ruler Trisong Deutsen, propagated and expanded the Holy Dharma. [During King Trisong Deutsen's time,] **Master Śāntarakṣita**,⁷⁹ who adhered to the Sarvāstivāda tradition, was invited [to Tibet], where he established a system that was in accordance with the 18 elements⁸⁰ and the 10 virtuous actions.⁸¹ He did not allow the gods and spirits to do XXXXXX.⁸² According to what Master [Padmasambhava] prophesied, in Jambudvīpa⁸³ XXXX.⁸⁴ **Master (16) Padmasambhava** was invited [to Tibet], where he erected many [sacred sites], such as **Changeless and Spontaneously Present Samyé Monastery**, and XX translated countless [texts of] the Holy Dharma. He nominated the Serpent Spirit Zurpü Ngapa⁸⁵ [to act] as protector of [Samyé] Monastery. [However, Zurpü Ngapa] explained that XXX there was a nephew of the Serpent Spirits who [could] (track) riches the size of a small needle, traveling [in one day] the distance a vulture covers in eighteen.⁸⁶ In accordance with this, Prince **Muruk Tsenpo**⁸⁷ invited Pekar

⁷⁸ This is the first semi-mythical ruler of Tibet.

⁷⁹ This famous eighth-century Indian Buddhist monk is responsible for inaugurating the Sarvāstivādin lineage of monastic ordination in Tibet.

⁸⁰ Tib. *kham*s bco brgyad; these are the six sense powers (Tib. *rten gyi kham*s drug; sight, smell, touch, taste, hearing, and thinking), their objects (Tib. *dmigs pa'i kham*s drug; image, scent, texture, flavor, sound, and idea), and the conscious awareness of each one (Tib. *brten pa'i kham*s drug).

⁸¹ Tib. *dge bcu las*; alternatively, *dge bcu'i las*. These are (1) abandoning the destruction of life (Tib. *srog gcod pa spong ba*); (2) abandoning the taking of what was not given (Tib. *ma byin par len pa spong ba*); (3) abandoning improper sexual practices (Tib. *'dod pas log par g.yem pa spong ba*); (4) abandoning the telling of lies (Tib. *brdzun du smra ba spong ba*); (5) abandoning abusive language (Tib. *tshig rtsub po smra ba spong ba*); (6) abandoning slander (Tib. *phra mar smra ba spong ba*); (7) abandoning gossip (Tib. *tshig bkyal ba smra ba spong ba*); (8) abandoning covetousness (Tib. *brnab sems spong ba*); (9) abandoning malice (Tib. *gnod sems spong ba*); and (10) abandoning wrong views (Tib. *log par lta ba spong ba*).

⁸² There are too many obscure words to determine the meaning of this segment.

⁸³ Tib. 'Dzam bu gling; lit. "Rose Apple Continent." In ancient Indian cosmology, this was the name of the southern continent of the world and refers to the Indian subcontinent; it is also a synonym for the world in general.

⁸⁴ Once again, the details of this passage are unfortunately obscured.

⁸⁵ Tib. Zur phud lnga pa; lit. "[The One with] Five Locks of Hair."

⁸⁶ Tib. *klu tsha nor rgya khab tsam gyi (rjes su) rgod po'i nyin lam bco brgyad 'gro ba'i de nyid*. To clarify this sentence I relied on an extended version of it provided by the

and his supporting elements from the land of Drugu,⁸⁸ and appointed him master of the entire treasury. Likewise, as the principal local guardian of the great Dharma center **Glorious Drepung, (17)** [Pekar] was asked by the omniscient [Second Dalai Lama] **Gendün Gyatso** — who upheld the immaculate tradition of the Dharma King **Shar Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpé Pel**, the embodiment of the power of the wisdom and compassion of all Buddhas — to eternally adhere to past aspirations, to a mind [focused] on enlightenment, and to the unsurpassed general and specific teachings [of the Buddha]. Moreover, in accordance with the awesome *samaya* vow that was fully proclaimed by the Great Master [Padmasambhava], the Dalai Lamas from [the Third,] **Sönam Gyatso**, and on have worshipped the lord of all the guardians of the [Buddha's] teachings, who more and more supports the excellent virtuous deeds of the religious and secular [government].⁸⁹

Since⁹⁰ all the activities of [such worship] had been increasing, there was also a desire to make his temple abode much larger by expanding it beyond its former [size]. Because of this, the gathering [of] masters also called for it. (18) Likewise, Regent Sangyé Gyatso, who has passed through successive [human] bodies,⁹¹ remembered his past aspirations and accordingly built an extensive divine mansion.⁹² He had murals [of] lamas, buddhas, bodhisattvas, peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities, *ḍākinīs*, and Dharma protectors [painted] inside a sixteen-pillared assembly hall⁹³ that is like no other. In the courtyard

Fifth Dalai Lama in his own autobiography; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1992, p. 27.4-5. This section has further been translated by Tucci; see Tucci 1999, vol.2, p. 735.

⁸⁷ One of Trisong Deutsen's sons.

⁸⁸ This refers to an ancient kingdom north of Tibet that once existed in the vicinity of modern-day Xinjiang Province and Qinghai Lake, Qinghai Province, China.

⁸⁹ Tib. *chos srid*; here this is an abbreviation for *chos srid lugs gnyis*, the Tibetan government that combined religious and secular systems.

⁹⁰ Tib. *rten*; read as *brten*.

⁹¹ Tib. *rim lus su song ba*; this is an obscure epithet, but it appears to be a complimentary one. Given Sangyé Gyatso's series of human lives preceding him (see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol. 1, pp. 5-11), I am reading this epithet as one honoring a consistently human succession of lives, which is highly prized in Buddhism and a mark of one's wealth of merit.

⁹² Tib. *zhing bkod pa*; lit. "established a divine realm."

⁹³ Tib. *gtsang khang*; while this term usually refers to shrines, it is clear that the Nechung assembly hall is meant, which still has sixteen pillars today.

[there are murals of] the retinue, the army of the haughty spirits of phenomenal existence. In the XX chapel,⁹⁴ there are bas-relief statues of the 18 deities.⁹⁵ In the top-floor chamber, there are [images of] Master [Padmasambhava] and his 25 disciples on the right as well as on the left, and all the implements, such as offering materials and wrathful gifts, are inconceivable [in number]. [This] was spontaneously accomplished regardless of difficulties. In particular, during an exhortation that arose from the force of a detailed⁹⁶ analysis [of] the outer, inner, and secret sacred objects [of] just the retinue, (19) it was said:

You, [who are] presently the king of all Tibetans,⁹⁷ emanate five beings with your pure aspiration prayer.

In the great assembly hall, [there are as follows: the text of] the subjugation of the Five Dharma Kings⁹⁸ and their retinue, which comes from the profound treasure text of Nyang Nyima Özer⁹⁹—the body emanation of Master Padmakara [Padmasambhava] and the lord of men Trisong Deutsen; [the corpus of] the principal deity and his retinue [equaling] seventeen,¹⁰⁰ such as the wrathful king Hayagrīva, from the *Guru Guhyasamāja*, the profound teaching of Guru Chökyi Wangchuk—the speech emanation [of Padmasambhava and King Trisong Deutsen]—which [was drawn from] the belly of a Serpent-Hindering Spirit; [statues of] the Great Dharma protector and his retinue, which came from a hidden [source]; and a mustard seed-sized relic of the completely and perfectly [enlightened] Buddha,

⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the original inscription is too damaged here to know which chapel in Nechung this is.

⁹⁵ Tib. *lha tshogs bco brgyad*; I am uncertain to which deities this refers.

⁹⁶ Tib. *zhīb mol*; read as *zhīb mo'i*, as per Lingön Padma Kelzang's understanding.

⁹⁷ Tib. *mgo nag*; lit. "Black-headed [Ones]." This is an epithet for Tibetans.

⁹⁸ Tib. *Chos rgyal sde lnga*; in this context, this is an epithet for the Five Sovereign Spirits.

⁹⁹ This likely refers to the *White Crystal Rosary Tantra*, which was composed by Nyangral Nyima Özer (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124-1192). Copies of this text are extant at both the historic Nechung Monastery on the outskirts of Lhasa and the new Nechung Monastery established in Dharamsala; however, these copies are off limits to the uninitiated.

¹⁰⁰ Tib. *gtso 'khor bcu bdun*; it is unclear which group of deities this is.

which was an heirloom of King Ajātaśatru.¹⁰¹ [474] These were taken from among the sacred objects of Nakartse¹⁰² and from the dark treasury¹⁰³ of Tselagang.¹⁰⁴ (20)

Regarding body and clothing relics, [Nechung Monastery houses the following:] the hair of Masters Garap Dorjé and Śrī Siṃha;¹⁰⁵ a great XX rosary [made] of some¹⁰⁶ of the white and red *bodhicitta*¹⁰⁷ [produced] by Padma Tötreng Tsel [Padmasambhava] and his consort, [along with their] body and clothing relics; relics of Arsadhara, the King of Zahor; flesh from a seventh-born Brahmin;¹⁰⁸ Indian manuscripts of the Great Translator Vairocana; the crown of Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé;¹⁰⁹ the relics, hat, divan, hand X, and clay miniature of Lord Atiśa;¹¹⁰ the bodily X, tooth, hair, and divan of Dromtönpa;¹¹¹ the clothing of the uncle and nephew translators of Ngok¹¹² and of the translator of Khutön;¹¹³ the relics, heart, hair, and monastic robes of Potowa;¹¹⁴ the relics and hair of Jadül;¹¹⁵ (21) the relics and hair of

¹⁰¹ Tib. Rgyal po Ma skyes dgra; Ajātaśatru (ruled 491-461 BCE) was king of the ancient Indian Magadha empire and contemporary of the Buddha.

¹⁰² Tib. Sna dkar rtse; this is a county southwest of Lhasa.

¹⁰³ Tib. *mdzod nag*. Dark treasury refers to texts that are kept hidden from the public; see Roberts 2007, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Tib. Rtse la sgang; this is an area in Kongpo (Tib. Kong po), southeast of Lhasa.

¹⁰⁵ Tib. Shri Senge; like Garap Dorjé, Śrī Siṃha is another important semi-mythical Dzogchen master.

¹⁰⁶ The inscription is difficult to read here, with the transcription being *X cig*; however, I am reading it as *kha cig*.

¹⁰⁷ Tib. *byang sems dkar dmar*; this refers to the drops of male semen and female blood produced and united during tantric sexual yoga.

¹⁰⁸ Tib. *bram ze skye ba bdun pa*; this is an individual who has been reborn as a Brahmin seven times in a row, signifying their holiness.

¹⁰⁹ Tib. Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje; this is the famous monk who assassinated the last Tibetan King, Lang Darma.

¹¹⁰ This is Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (980-1054), the great 11th-century reformer of Buddhism in Tibet.

¹¹¹ This is Dromtönpa Gyewé Jungné ('Brom ston pa Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas, 1005-1064), Atiśa's main disciple.

¹¹² Tib. Rngok lo khu dbon; this refers to the lesser translator of Ngok, Lekpé Sherap (Rngok lo chung Legs pa'i shes rab, b.10th century) and his nephew, the great translator of Ngok, Loden Sherap (Rngok lo chen Blo ldan shes rab, 1059-1109).

¹¹³ This refers to Khutön Tsöndrü Yungdrung (Khu ston Brtson 'grus gyung drung, 1011-1075), one of Atiśa's students.

¹¹⁴ This is Potowa Rinchensel (Po to ba Rin chen gsal, 1027-1105), a Kadampa master.

Lord Neuzurpa;¹¹⁶ the relics of the Spiritual Guide Drepa; the blood of Sharawa;¹¹⁷ the relics and clothing of Zhangkamawa;¹¹⁸ a small piece of Khampa Lungpa;¹¹⁹ the hair and mantle of the Arhat of Pelti; the relics of Chim Namkhadrak;¹²⁰ the blood, tooth, hair, hat, urine, mantle, monastic robes, belt, divan, and cushion of the Dharma King Great Tsongkhapa; a finger of the Great Saint Lekyi Dorjé;¹²¹ the relics of the Realized Yogi Jamyang Gyatso; the hair of the seven abbots of Ganden Monastery after Tsongkhapa;¹²² the relics of the Omniscient Scholar;¹²³ a tooth and the monastic robes of the Omniscient Gendün Drupa;¹²⁴ (22) the blood, hair, and belt of the Omniscient Gendün Gyatso;¹²⁵ the clothing of Lord Dingtsepa; the hair of the Scholar Norzang Gyatso;¹²⁶ the mantle of Jamyang Lekchöpa;¹²⁷ the relics and hair of Pañ chen Sönam Drakpa;¹²⁸ the relics of Lord Dewachenpa;¹²⁹ the brains, flesh, relic pills of pus, urine, death shroud, monastic robes, belt, cup, assembly garments, and shoes of the Omniscient

¹¹⁵ This is Jadülzin Tsöndrubar (Bya 'dul 'dzin Btson 'grus 'bar, 1091-1166), an important transmitter of the Vinaya in Tibet.

¹¹⁶ This is Neuzurpa Yeshebar (Sne'u zur pa Ye shes 'bar, 1042-1118), a Kadampa master.

¹¹⁷ This is Sharawa Yöntandrak (Sha ra ba Yon tan grags, 1070-1141), another Kadampa master.

¹¹⁸ This is Zhangkamapa Sherapö (Zhang ka ma pa Shes rab 'od, 1057-1131).

¹¹⁹ This is Khampa Lungpa Śākya Yöntan (Khams pa lung pa Shākya yon tan, 1023-1115), a Kadampa master.

¹²⁰ Mchims Nam mkha' grags, 1210-1285; this is an important Kadampa scholar.

¹²¹ Grub chen Las kyi rdo rje, 1326-1401; this is the first Lelung Jedrung (Sle lung rje drung) incarnation.

¹²² Tib. 'Jam dbyangs gtsang pa bdun brgyud; lit. "Lineage of the Seven Men of Tsang who are [like] Mañjughoṣa [Tsongkhapa]."

¹²³ Mkhas grub Thams cad mkhyen pa; this likely refers to the first Pañ chen Lama, the Scholarly Lord Gelek Pelzang (Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang, 1385-1438), who was Tsongkhapa's other heart disciple alongside the first Dalai Lama.

¹²⁴ Dge 'dun grub pa, 1391-1474; the first Dalai Lama.

¹²⁵ The second Dalai Lama.

¹²⁶ Nor bzang rgya mtsho, 1423-1513; this was a student of the first Dalai Lama and teacher of the second.

¹²⁷ 'Jam dbyangs legs chos pa, b.15th century.

¹²⁸ Pañ chen Bsod nams grags pa, 1478-1554; this is a famous Geluk master who was Ganden Monastery's fifteenth abbot, and also served as abbot at Drepung and Sera monasteries.

¹²⁹ This like refers to Dewachenpa Gelek Pelzang (Bde ba can pa Dge legs dpal bzang, 1505-1567), the 21st abbot of Ganden Monastery.

Sönam Gyatso;¹³⁰ the hair of Paṅ chen Lozang Chökyi Gyentsen;¹³¹ the hair of the Omniscient Yöntan Gyatso;¹³² the hair of the Precious Abbot Könchok Chöpel;¹³³ as well as my own hair, blood, puss, and medicinal pills [that I produced with] the vase consecration of the lama's three bodies.

Within the Sovereign Spirit's red protector chapel, [there are:] (23) a heap of black barley and portions of new and old sacred substances, medicinal pills, sacred supporting items, and such; relics of the Dharma body; many lotus *dhāraṇīs* [from] all over Tibet;¹³⁴ a special [image of] Hayagrīva as well as a statue of Padma Tongdröl [Padmasambhava]¹³⁵ that arose from Myang[ral Nyima Özer]'s treasure texts; my own yellow hat and official seal;¹³⁶ a XX ritual dagger made from a cutch tree [struck?] by a barbaric black mule¹³⁷ in a dark pungent charnel ground; the life force *cakra*¹³⁸ for the Hayagrīva accomplishment and the *cakra* for subduing harmful [forces], which were revealed at Zambulung¹³⁹ [and derived from] a section concealed within the 108 treasures bestowed by the Great Master [Padmasambhava]; as well as each and every life force *cakra* of body, speech, and mind, and subjugation *cakras*.

In general, although there are numerous *tantras* for Pekar, the root *tantras* that are indispensable to the practitioner are: the 32-chaptered *Wealth God's Tantra*, within which there is a general summary as well as individual outer, inner, and secret (24) accomplishment practices; the seven-chaptered *Blue Turquoise Rosary Tantra*, within which there

¹³⁰ The third Dalai Lama.

¹³¹ Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662; the fourth Paṅ chen Lama.

¹³² Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1589-1616; the fourth Dalai Lama.

¹³³ Khri rin po che Dkon mchog chos 'phel, 1573-1644; this is the 35th abbot of Ganden Monastery.

¹³⁴ Tib. *dbu* [sic: *dbus*] *dang stod smad bar gsum*; lit. "the central as well as the three – upper, lower, and middle [parts of Tibet]."

¹³⁵ Tib. Padma mthong grol; lit. "the Lotus that Liberates upon Seeing it."

¹³⁶ Tib. *sbugs*; read as an abbreviation of *sbug dam*.

¹³⁷ Tib. 'dre [sic: *drel*] *rta nag po*.

¹³⁸ Tib. 'khor [lo]; in this context, *cakras* refer to ritual circles of protection. For vivid examples of such *cakras*, drawn from the Fifth Dalai Lama's own work, see relevant images in Karmay 1988, pp. 80-173. See also Skorupski 2009, pp. 53-119.

¹³⁹ Tib. Zab [sic: zam] bu lung; a holy place in Gtsang.

is the heart practice; the 20-chaptered *White Crystal Rosary* explanatory *tantra*, within which are the approach, accomplishment, and application of activities; the *Black Iron Rosary Tantra*, [475] within which there is the practice of the one-eyed black Hindering Spirit XXX; the *Tantra that Harms Pekar*, within which are the outer practice and the excellent practice; the *Tantra [of] the XX Lion-masked Corpse*, within which there is the secret practice; the *Tantra of the Nepalese Woman's Dialogue*, within which there is the practice of the Hindering Spirit Yapsher;¹⁴⁰ the *Tantra of the Sovereign Spirit Life Force and Karma*, within which there is the method for subduing the [Sovereign Spirit's] life force; the 108-chaptered *Life Force Cakra* and the *Tantra of Bestowing the Heart Citta*, within which there is the [method for] pressing to death; the *Tantra of the Sovereign Spirit's Karma*, within which there is the inner augmentation [practice]; the ninth chapter of the *Tantra of the Great Servant Kuchok Marpo*, within which there is the method for subduing royal ghosts;¹⁴¹ as well as the *Oral Tantra of Hayagrīva*, within which there is the method for mending [the *samaya* vow of] the Sovereign Spirits.

(25) Regarding the manner in which to implement these teachings: having received them with proper conviction, adhere to them just as the Lord, his ministers, and his subjects do. Regarding also the system of practice: perform the pacifying, augmenting, subjugating, and destructive [actions, as well as] the outer, inner, and secret body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities, of Pekar, the Capricious Spirits, the Savior Spirits, the single male skeleton dancers, the single female skeleton dancers, the lone XX, and their retinue according to [the system of] the butchers, the Three Razor Brothers.¹⁴² Once you have thoroughly assembled all the items for the individual practices, you must unerringly construct such things as the *Matraṃ maṅ ḍ ala*. Having forcefully bound [Pekar] with the approach and accomplishment practices, [as well as] the offerings, amendment rites, and oblations, rely on him like you would a father, control him like you would a son, associate with him like you would a friend, employ him like you would a servant, overpower him like you would an enemy, treasure

¹⁴⁰ Tib. Yab sher; lit. "Father Confronter."

¹⁴¹ Tib. *rgyal 'gong*; in this context this likely refers to Pekar and his ilk.

¹⁴² Tib. *Spu gri mched gsum*; the identity of these three deities is unclear, though they appear to be forms of the transcendent protector Mahākāla.

him like you would riches, receive him like you would a king, sic¹⁴³ him [on enemies] like you would a dog, and so forth. [After] omens that the three [acts]—summoning, dispatching, and slaying¹⁴⁴—of the preceding eight methods for cultivating [a relationship with the deity were successful] appear, subjugate him, integrate your oaths, (26) bind him to his *samaya* vow, and invest him with authority. Then apply the activities; if they are counteracted, suppress the counter-measures and praise and invoke [the deity]. Through such [methods], offer your enemies [to the deity] as food, cut off [all] errors in increasing the conquering of misfortune, and press intently XX. To conclude the principal protector's [rites], you must end with the three actions of crushing, burning, and blowing away [your enemies]. Thus, [there are] the four essences of the general weapons, the six essences of the *tormas*, and the nine essences of the *cakras* that eliminate the ten defects [of recitation]. If the Sovereign Spirit would harm you, [keep] the life force *cakra* that suppresses misfortune¹⁴⁵ [at] your heart; if he is delayed, keep [the text] on your body. If he runs away, overpower him with the life force *cakra* and fierce *mantras*. If there is internal strife, [use] the wheel of death. If he is hostile toward the Wisdom Being, [perform] the meditative stabilization of Hayagrīva. [Within] the crossed *maṅ ḍala* of Matraṃ [Rudra],¹⁴⁶ in front of the yogin, there is the *cakra* of *Overcoming the Serated Razor*¹⁴⁷ at the center of the united Father and Mother [deities]. Separately, there is the *cakra* of suppressing misfortune (27) at the yogin's navel. This completes the crucial practice that increases the conquering of misfortune, as well as the *cakra* of full confidence.

In all [of this], the yogins, sponsors, patrons, subjects, and so forth, keep the Five Sovereign Spirits—along with their messengers and servants—close to their hearts and are inseparable from them. In particular, there is the life force *cakra* for each of the five emanating dharma kings, their five great consorts, and their five ministers individually; the life force *cakra* that dispels malice, which came from the

¹⁴³ Tib. *rbud*; read as *rbod*.

¹⁴⁴ Tib. *bod* [sic: 'bod] *rbad bsad gsum*.

¹⁴⁵ Tib. *log mnon* [sic: *gnon*].

¹⁴⁶ Tib. *ma traṃ zhal 'khor bsnol ma*; the meaning of this line is uncertain.

¹⁴⁷ Tib. *Spu gri so brgal*; this refers to the *tantra* entitled *Dpal lha mo spu gri so rgal gyi rgyud*, found in vol. 42 of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*.

oral instructions of XX Lama Dogupa; and the life force *cakra* that unites the mother and son¹⁴⁸ XX for each X [of] the Five Sovereign Spirits generally.

Regarding [practices for] the great emanating Dharma protector Dor-jé Drakden, which the omniscient [Third Dalai Lama] Sönam Gyatso beheld in a vision [during] meditation: in addition to the three above life force *cakras*, there is my own waistcoat; the cycle of methods for increasing family, wealth, and possessions, which is explained within the *Gathering of Black Clouds Sādhana*, (28) as well as the life force *cakra* for augmenting life and merit; the *cakra* of the *Great Outer Tantra that Averts Malevolent Influences*, [possessing] such [content] as Buddhist, Tantrika, and Bönpo spells, [found within] the profound treasures of Künkyong Lingpa;¹⁴⁹ the protective *cakra* that is the object of practice for Uṣ ṇ īṣ asitāpatra;¹⁵⁰ [476] and the life *cakra* of Norbu Petreng¹⁵¹ and [Vajrā]mṛ takuṇ ḍ ali.¹⁵²

The body support itself is the [Nechung] medium, as well as the XX images and sword of the great Sovereign Spirit with whom he is associated, which were bestowed as items for him to infuse. The speech support is the entire yellow scroll of Myang[ral]'s treasure text, the *Great Compassionate Wish-Fulfilling Jewel that Tames [All] Beings*.¹⁵³ The mind support is the *Blazing Brilliance of the Adamantine Meteor*,¹⁵⁴ which is from that very [same] treasure cycle.

¹⁴⁸ Tib. *ma bu sbyor ba*; this is a Dzogchen phrase referring to when the primordial state (the mother) and knowledge (the son) are united in non-duality; see Reynolds 1996, p. 166.

¹⁴⁹ Kun skyong gling pa, 1396-1477.

¹⁵⁰ This is an important Buddhist goddess.

¹⁵¹ Tib. Nor bu pad phreng; lit. "Jewel and Lotus Garland." Given that this phrase is paired with a deity, it is likely the name of a deity itself; however, it is unclear which deity is being reference. The jewel and lotus motif suggest a form of Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁵² Tib. [Rdo rje] bdud rtsi 'khyil ba; lit. "[Adamantine] Nectar Swirler."

¹⁵³ Tib. *Thugs rje chen po 'gro 'dul yid bzhin nor bu*. This cycle of treasure texts is available in the *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*; see 'Jam mgon kong sprul 1976, pp. 1-275.

¹⁵⁴ Tib. *Gnam lcags rdo rje gzi byin 'bar ba*; this line suggests that this is a text drawn from the above-mentioned treasure cycle by Nyangral Nyima Özer; however, a cursory perusal of this cycle reveals no text by this name. Given that this is the mind support, which is usually a reliquary, this may be the name of said reli-

The reincarnate scholar Gökyi Demtruchen¹⁵⁵ gave a sword that he revealed from the Northern Iron Treasury to the Teacher of the Se clan, Nyima Zangpo,¹⁵⁶ [who is] among the seven meritorious sons. Then [you, Gökyi Demtruchen,] and your disciple (29) bestowed [it] as a weapon that liberates [through destruction] the personal enemies of the kings of Ngari, Gungtang, and so forth – the enemies and obstructing spirits in which the ten defects are complete.

Regarding a reliance on the Sovereign Spirit of Activities [Pehar]: there is the *Adamantine Meteor that Overpowers the Army of Hindering Spirits*, a treasure text rediscovered by Ratna Lingpa;¹⁵⁷ iron swords, thigh swords, and barberry daggers, respectively; *mantra* manuals for summoning, dispatching, and slaying; *linga* emblems; and various soils and stones from India, Nepal, Tibet, and so forth. Moreover, occasionally there are bundles of fragrant saffron, as well as measures of various clothes, silks, grains, medicines, teas, lumber, foods, and fruits. These completely fill a secluded storehouse, with nothing left out, such as yellow silks. Similarly, the principal [items are] my own images and individual relics – these being [my] monastic robes and hair; [and] the relics of the lord of the Buddhas of the three times [Padmasambhava] – these being his shawl and hair. Other [items] for the principal deity and the entire retinue [include] the holy relics¹⁵⁸ of the Indian and Tibetan root and lineage lamas, as well as *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras*, which were mentioned above. (30)

Regarding the life tree of the *gañjira* [spire] on top [of the monastery, there are:] extraordinary *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* placed within it and along the outside of it, written without adding or omitting anything; as well as the accomplishment ritual from the *Spotless Rays of Light*.¹⁵⁹ At its peak there are X relics:¹⁶⁰ my own hair, *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras*, as

quary, the design of which was taken from this treasure cycle. Another possibility is that the reliquary contains the text to which this refers.

¹⁵⁵ Tib. Sprul sku rigs 'dzin Rgod kyi ldem phru can, 1337-1409; the founder of the Northern Treasures tradition (Tib. *Byang gter lugs*) of the Nyingma school.

¹⁵⁶ Tib. Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, b.14th century.

¹⁵⁷ Tib. Ratna gling pa, 1403-1479; an important Nyingma treasure-revealer.

¹⁵⁸ Tib. *byin rten*; lit. "blessing support."

¹⁵⁹ Tib. 'Od zer dri med; this is a *tantra* from the Kriyayoga system.

¹⁶⁰ Tib. X *gdung*; the first syllable is illegible; however, given the context, this word is most likely *sku gdung* or 'phel *gdung*.

well as the relics mentioned above. In particular, these were arranged above, below, and in-between an image of [Uṣ ṅ īṣ a]sitātapatra, [as were] protective [amulets] for the country and for one's object of practice; flawless images and *mañ ḍ alas*; the most secret protection and aversion rites, as well as rituals for [sexual] union, respectively; life *cakras* from the Norbu Petreng [cycle] and new treasure texts; Guru Jotsé's¹⁶¹ rite for overpowering [spirits]; a protective [amulet] by Nyang[rel] and one from the *Great Almighty* [treasure text rediscovered] by [Padma] Lendretsel;¹⁶² as well as a rite for averting armies by Tseten Gyentsen. For the victory banners that have, [respectively,] tiger-, wolf-, vulture-, and monkey-[headed tips, as well as] silk brocade, the establishing ritual was based on the *Uṣ ṅ īṣ asitātapatra* cycle. For the supporting banners, [there are:] (31) support items of the body, speech, mind, good qualities, and activities for the seven—the Five [Sovereign Spirits], Dorjé Drakden, and [Dorjé] Drakgyelma—as well as a rooftop ornament ritual that accordingly came from oral instructions.

There are also many kinds of [items], such as thread-cross [structures] for mending, averting, and slaying, as well as supports that [compel] the deities to always remain,¹⁶³ which were constructed in secret. Over the course of one week, the *mantric* scholar Lozang Kyechokchen, along with a number of monks, powerfully completed [these, as well as] rituals for thoroughly establishing such [offerings] as continuous *tormas*, immediately-offered *tormas*, daily *tormas*, offering materials, and deity gifts; along with life force *cakras*, flawless support objects, and so forth, which were composed by such figures as Zur Agur. I consecrated [these objects] and recited the benedictions myself.

Regarding the appearance and establishment of the Sovereign Spirits, if concealed spirits were not overpowered then they were not successful. Therefore, overpower concealed spirits with the *sādhana* of

¹⁶¹ Tib. Gu ru Jo rtse; this figure appears to be a prominent Bönpo treasure-revealer; see Bellezza 2005, p. 97.

¹⁶² Las 'brel rtsal, b.1248.

¹⁶³ Tib. *chag pa*; read as *chags pa*.

the enemy[-defeating] god Khyungchen Ludrukdül¹⁶⁴ and the exposition within the *Razor [that Cuts] the Life of the Capricious Spirits*. (32)[477] Press down beneath the threshold thirteen masks of such [spirits] as the Nine Spirit Brothers, transgressor spirits, royal ghosts, and ghosts, which harm countries in general and Tibet in particular. For the realization of the Sovereign Spirits, it is explained that you must apprehend [these] indispensable spells that liberate [through destruction], as well as the material supports and soul stones; protect the *samaya* vow; and overpower the concealed spirits and cut off their heads.¹⁶⁵

Regarding such things as the essential nature of the outer, inner, and secret symbols, they arose from all the detailed ritual practices [and] the undefiled intended meaning of the *tantras* and oral instructions. Accordingly, these were arranged by myself, the thread-cross [structures] and *tormas* were created by the shrine-keeper Ngawang Sherapchen, and the *cakras* and so forth were commissioned by the monk Jamyang Drakpa. Everything was agreeable and of excellent quality. Most importantly, the place, time, and all the outer and inner [ritual] necessities were thoroughly established to the highest degree.

(33) Even though they arise from the **Five [Buddha] Families [that emanate from] Samantabhadra** – from whom the *maṅḍala* of the peaceful and wrathful [deities] emanates and is absorbed – the **Five Sovereign Spirits**, who thoroughly protect the teachings of the Dharma, [take on] wrathful, ferocious, and repulsive forms in order to cure communities of their wrong views.

¹⁶⁴ Tib. Dgra lha Khyung chen Klu 'brug 'dul; lit. "Great Garuḍa, Subduer of Serpent Spirits and Dragons;" a variant of this is Rdo rje Khyung chen Klu 'brug 'dul. This is Pehar's secret initiation name, bestowed upon him when he was subdued by Padmasambhava; see A myes zhabs 2000, p. 413.

¹⁶⁵ Tib. 'gren bcad; Lingön Padma Kelzang has *mgrin bcad*, which literally means, "to cut off from the neck." I am translating this phrase as such since 'gren is not a known Tibetan word. It is possible that 'gren is an abbreviation (Tib. *bskungs yig*); however, if so, I am uncertain of what words it is meant to condense.

In order to accomplish their activities, [the Five Sovereign Spirits'] emanations, consorts, and ministers each take a side, and their armies of right, left, front, and back brigadiers, as well as emissaries and secondary emanations, have the power to completely fill the three worlds.

Within [this] great palace—the outside of which is made from materials precious to gods and humans [and] the inside of which displays charnel grounds—the **assembly of the three divine roots** densely gathers like clouds; it is like passing into the pure land of the Lotus Light [Palace].¹⁶⁶

The oath-bound guardians accompany them like a shadow follows a body. The **outer supports** are beautiful white animals; the **inner supports** are seven-line [supplications written with] wild bamboo, five victory banners, eight auspicious [pillar ornaments],¹⁶⁷ large arrows, and black silks hanging on vulture feathers.

(34) The **secret supports** are images, various thread-crosses, *tormas*, and such. These plentiful clouds of offerings [that fill] the whole sky, high and low, completely open the one hundred doors of the Sky Treasury and fulfill the awesome *samaya* vow.

¹⁶⁶ Tib. Padma 'od; this refers to the palace in Padmasambhava's pure land.

¹⁶⁷ Tib. *legs brgyad*; read as an abbreviation of *ka 'phan che legs brgyad*.

In the presence of the **Abbot** [*Śāntarakṣita*], the **Master** [*Padmasambhava*], and the **Dharma King** [*Trisong Detsen*], **Prince** [*Muné Tsenpo* made] prayers of aspiration to act for the happiness and welfare of Tibet. The fruit [of these prayers] has ripened today [in the form of **Regent**] **Sangyé Gyatso**. The haughty one that challenged his abilities and power was appointed¹⁶⁸ [as a guardian] and joined to Brahma.

The stainless tradition of **Tsongkhapa**, who illuminated the Buddha's teachings like the sun, consequently spread throughout the expanse of the world. The **multitudes of great men** who more and more support the religious and secular [government] expand its dominion.

[In this] degenerate age, may the government of the great **palace possessing** the superior **joy** and happiness of the four [abundances]¹⁶⁹ –the thousand-spoked wheel of virtuous actions and merit, which is completely exalted throughout the heavens without obstruction –grow like the waxing moon.

(35)

¹⁶⁸ Tib. *'tshol ba*; read as *'chol ba*. I would like to thank Cameron Bailey for suggesting this reading.

¹⁶⁹ Tib. *sde bzhi*; read as an abbreviation of *phun tshogs sde bzhi*. The four abundances are (1) spreading the Buddhadharma (Tib. *sangs rgyas kyi chos dar ba*); (2) possessing wealth (Tib. *nor longs spyod dang ldan pa*); (3) enjoying the five sense pleasures (Tib. *'dod yon lnga la spyod pa*); and (4) achieving the level of liberation (Tib. *thar pa myang 'das kyi go 'phang 'thob pa*). As the red coloring in the original Tibetan text reveals, this line actually gives the name of the Tibetan government, the Ganden Podrang (Tib. *Dga' ldan pho brang*).

The blessings of the **root and lineage lamas** gather like clouds [and] the **peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities** shower down accomplishments [upon us] like rain. May the **[Five] Dharma Kings and their retinue** spontaneously accomplish the desired activities, which would be [like] enjoying fully ripened fruit.

Although Regent Trinlé Gyatso¹⁷⁰ – who wanted to expand Nechung Chapel long before [now] – finished laying its foundation, the Great Dharma Protector¹⁷¹ said, “A tantric house must be built within my estate.” He also prophesied that it would arise accordingly in the future. Moreover, Padma Tötreng Tsel prophesied:

A great minister who is an emanation of Mutri [Tsenpo],¹⁷² possessing a regal manner [and] the name of ‘Buddha,’ will become the magistrate.¹⁷³

He also [prophesied]:

An emanation of Muné Tsenpo,¹⁷⁴ possessing the name of ‘Jewel,’ will be born in a fire year in a part of the Ü region.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Tib. ‘Phrin las rgya mtsho, d.1667.

¹⁷¹ Tib. Chos skyong chen po; in this context this epithet refers to the Nechung Oracle.

¹⁷² Tib. Mu khri. This refers to the second Tibetan King Mutri Tsenpo (Mu khri btsan po), who was the son of the first Tibetan King Nyatri Tsenpo (Tib. Gnya’ khri btsan po); see Haarh 1969, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷³ The belief is that this prophecy refers to Sangyé Gyatso, whose name ‘Sangyé’ means Buddha, and who was believed to be an emanation of Mutri Tsenpo; see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol.1, p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ Tib. Mu ni [sic: ne]. This refers to the 39th Tibetan King Muné Tsenpo (Tib. Mu ne btsan po), who was the son of Trisong Deutsen; see Haarh 1969, pp. 56-57.

¹⁷⁵ This prophesy also appears to refer to Sangyé Gyatso, who was believed to have also been an emanation of Muné Tsenpo; see Lobzang Tondan 1983, vol.1, p. 8. Moreover, his personal name was Könchok Dondrup (Dkon mchog don grub) – Könchok means ‘jewel.’ However, the fire-year birth is an inconsistency, since

In order to protect against interfering Hindering Spirits, [478] this very [person] will entrust [the deities] as guardians and have them protect and avert [misfortune] again and again. (36)

Accordingly, three sons were born to the Dharma King Trisong Deutsen. The eldest, Muné Tsenpo, protected the two traditions, [spiritual and temporal,] here in this Land of Snows. Being as impartial as timely rainfall, he acted for the happiness and well-being of all people and cattle. He even established this chapel for the Great Dharma Protector. In [this] beautiful, majestic, and sublime [chapel] that is superior to others, the three precious supports – and in particular, a wealth of necessities exemplified by countless outer, inner, and secret supports and offering substances for the protector deities that naturally assemble [here] – were [all] piled up. When [Nechung Monastery] XX, along with the gifts for the deities, were completely established and [we] were about to enjoy the celebration of the consecration banquet, Regent Sangyé Gyatso urged [me to write] a record. Accordingly, [I], the **Monk of Zahor, Zilnön Zhepatsel**,¹⁷⁶ composed [this record]. The scribe was (37) the dance master, monk Ngawang Könchok.

May [all accomplishments] be bestowed!¹⁷⁷

Sangyé Gyatso was born in 1653, a Water-Snake year; the next fire year would be 1656.

¹⁷⁶ Tib. *Zil gnön bzhad pa rtsal*; this is the Fifth Dalai Lama's secret initiation name.

¹⁷⁷ Tib. *pra yatstshantu*; Skt. *prayacchantu*. This is the imperative third person plural for the Sanskrit *prayam/prayacchati*, meaning "to bestow, send forth, produce." I would like to thank Kathleen Erndl for providing me with the root and grammatical details of this word (personal correspondence, August 21, 2012).

A Facsimile of the Addendum to the Nechung Record
Composed by Regent Sangyé Gyatso¹⁷⁸

[38]¹⁷⁹ Although he is the father of all **Victorious** Ones, he [takes on] the appearance of the Bodhisattva **Padma Kar-po**.¹⁸⁰ Although he—the vast treasure of compassion—was instantaneously liberated, he firmly upholds all beings with compassion. Although he makes offerings of the four [actions] in abundance, he conquers *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* in all their glory. May the Omniscience [Fifth Dalai] Lama **Lozang Gyatso** look after [us] until we reach enlightenment!

[Like] the brilliance of a powerful sun blazing with the natural sunlight of pure wisdom, he directly manifests within the castle of the Haughty Spirits and annihilates the darkness of the demon horde. This self-produced universal monarch who bears the gnostic *mantras* [is] named **Padma Gyelpo** [**Padmasambhava**]. He is wreathed in [the light of] the 100,000 suns of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. May he expand the lotus garden of virtue and auspiciousness!

He fully comprehends the vast wisdom that illuminates all that can be known with the strength [of] the *garuḍa*. [39] Therefore, just like gooseberries thoroughly spread across the palm of one's hand, he completely perceives and analyzes all phenomena unadorned as they are. We

¹⁷⁸ As with the description and title at the start of the Fifth Dalai Lama's portion, this title was added by Lingön Padma Kelsang and is not part of the original *Nechung Record* wall inscription.

¹⁷⁹ Beginning here, the inscription numbering reverts from parenthetical to bracketed representations because Lingön Padma Kelsang ceases to record line numbers in his transcription, instead drawing his content from the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript.

¹⁸⁰ Tib. Padma dkar po; Skt. Puṇḍarīka; lit. "White Lotus." This is an epithet for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, but refers here to the Dalai Lama.

permanently pay homage to this **Dharma King** with five topknots,¹⁸¹ **Jampel Nyinpo!**¹⁸²

He conquered the great *maṇḍala* of the Haughty Spirits and, with a neighing roar, ate the host of spirits [throughout] the three worlds. May he, **Hayagrīva** — who is incredibly red, like a Mount Meru[-sized heap] of naturally radiant coral — protect us!

They [produce] unimpeded various miraculous emanations from the pure expanse, just like the [multiple] reflections of the moon in water, and with a fierce manner they **watch** after the [**Buddha's**] **teachings**. May these Dharma protectors, the **Five Sovereign Spirits**, delightfully play!

I fully composed¹⁸³ a wreath of stanzas [to decorate] the head [of this work] and placed this melodious chant possessing the eight qualities of poetry in the lines above. As for the present matter, the precious record **composed** by the unrivaled **savior**¹⁸⁴ of all sentient beings, including gods, is given above. [40] I offer this minor [work] as a detailed addendum.

The **precious teachings of the Buddha** spread, flourished, and have dwelled in the world for a long time. They rely solely on the empowering conditions of the **holy ones who uphold the teachings**. Moreover, they rely on the compassion of the **Highly-Exalted Omniscient Lord of the Victorious Ones** — who is the secret body, speech, and

¹⁸¹ Tib. Zur phud Inga ldan. This is an epithet for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, of whom Tsongkhapa is believed to be an emanation.

¹⁸² Tib. 'Jam dpal snying po. This is an epithet for Tsongkhapa, specifically in reference to his name in Tuṣṭita heaven.

¹⁸³ Tib. *rgod*; read as 'god.

¹⁸⁴ This refers to the Fifth Dalai Lama.

mind of the **Buddhas and Bodhisattvas**,¹⁸⁵ the magical emanation of inconceivable wisdom, the one who manifests as the very embodiment of compassion, [479] and the one who is **Padmapāṇi**¹⁸⁶ himself in the form of a tantric master. I will ever remain at the **lotus feet of this savior** for one-hundred eons. I will properly complete all activities that he desires and clear away discordant conditions.

Ordered [to perform] activities that accumulate¹⁸⁷ and augment concordant conditions without hesitation, bearing on their heads a *vajra* crown, never transgressing the oath to which they were bound [by] the awesome seal [41] – the worldly and transcendental **adamantine protectors** are inconceivable [in number]. However, among these, the ones that quickly [accomplish] the most activities, and who are the most fiercely powerful, are the **Great Sovereign Spirits that Protect the Dharma**. Furthermore, they are the essence of all the qualities of the wisdom and compassion of the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra. Complete enjoyment bodies that are the unhindered inherent radiance of he who is the universal splendor of all *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* arose as the **five [Buddha] families**. From these, in response to the wicked tamable beings that must be wrathfully subdued, the five [appeared]: the **central Sovereign Spirit of the mind [Gyajin]**,¹⁸⁸ who is an emanation of **Vairocana**¹⁸⁹ – the essence of the wisdom of the *Dharmadhātu*, the purification of hatred; the **eastern Sovereign Spirit of the body [Mönbuputra]**,¹⁹⁰ who is an emanation of **Vajrasattva**¹⁹¹ – the essence of mirror-like wisdom, the purification of ignorance; [42] the **southern Sovereign Spirit of good qualities [Shingja-chen]**,¹⁹² who is an emanation of **Ratnasambhava**¹⁹³ – the essence of impartial wisdom, the purification of pride; the **western Sovereign**

¹⁸⁵ Tib. rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa; lit. “the Victorious Ones and their sons.”

¹⁸⁶ Tib. Phyag na padma; lit. “Lotus-holder.” This is a form of Avalokiteśvara.

¹⁸⁷ Tib. *sog*, read as *gsog*.

¹⁸⁸ Tib. Brgya byin.

¹⁸⁹ Tib. Rnam par snang mdzad. Vairocana is the head of the Buddha family and takes the central position.

¹⁹⁰ Tib. Mon bu pu tra.

¹⁹¹ Tib. Rdo rje sems dpa’. Vajrasattva is a form of Akṣ obhya (Tib. Mi bskyod pa), who is more generally considered the head of the Vajra family in the east.

¹⁹² Tib. Shing bya can.

¹⁹³ Tib. Rin chen ’byung gnas. Ratnasambhava is the head of the Ratna family in the south.

Spirit of speech [**Kyechik Marpo**],¹⁹⁴ who is an emanation of **Amitābha**¹⁹⁵ – the essence of the wisdom of discriminating awareness, the purification of desire; and the **northern Sovereign Spirit of activities** [**Pehar**], who is an emanation of **Amoghasiddhi**¹⁹⁶ – the essence of all-accomplishing wisdom, the purification of envy. They [are accompanied by] many primary, secondary, and tertiary emanations, such as **five consorts** that instill delight and are the inherent nature of wisdom, **five emanations** that are protective and perform many kinds of activities, **five ministers** that accomplish [their assigned] activities, **lion-masked dancers** that entertain, and the **four great brigadiers** of the right, left, front, and back sides. By relying on them, they accomplish all pacifying, enriching, conquering, and destructive activities. They have great power, are loyal, and are easy to invoke.

Consequently, long ago the great Dharma-protecting King **Trisong Deutsen** constructed the great Changeless and Spontaneously Present Three-styled¹⁹⁷ [Samyé] Monastery, together with its temples and sacred images. [43] When the **Abbot** [**Śāntarakṣita**], the **Master** [**Padmasambhava**], and the **Dharma King** [**Trisong Deutsen**] were discussing how they would appoint a protector [for the monastery], the **Abbot** said, “the Hindering Spirits enjoy killing, the Planetary Spirits are vicious, the Serpent Spirits are noxious, the Imperial Spirits are harmful [and cause] pain, the Savage Spirits are too gentle, and the Maternal Spirits are terrifying. None of them [will do], so who is suitable?” The Second Buddha, Great Master **Padmasambhava** said:

The tutelary deity¹⁹⁸ of Mongolia is Namlha Jangchub. Once we invite this Sovereign Spirit Shingjachen [here], we will entrust the monastery to him and it

¹⁹⁴ Tib. Skyes gcig dmar po.

¹⁹⁵ Tib. Snang ba mtha' yas. Amitābha is the head of the Padma family in the west.

¹⁹⁶ Tib. Don yod grub pa. Amoghasiddhi is the head of the Karma family in the north.

¹⁹⁷ Tib. *zan g.yang*; read as *zan yang*. This refers to the three styles that make up Samyé Monastery's central temple, each story of which was designed in a different cultural style: Indian, Chinese, and Khotanese, traditionally.

¹⁹⁸ Tib. *pho lha*. This usually refers to one of the five personal protector deities (Tib. *'go ba'i lha lnga*) that are attached to an individual from birth; see Jovic 2010.

will be indestructible. If we conquer the meditation center of Bhatahor, Pekar will follow after his possessions and come [here]. I will establish his supports at Pekarling.¹⁹⁹

Likewise, [the others said,] “the Sovereign Spirit Pekar, the treasure guardian from the Bhatahor meditation center, is suitable.” And so, they conquered the Mongolian meditation center. Along with **Dhar-mapāla** of the Zahor royal line, as well as many [of the deity’s] possessions—such as a turquoise Buddha [statue] and a conch-shell lion [statue]—[Pekar] was invited [to Tibet] and [44] installed as the guardian of the entire Dharma center [of Samyé]. [480] His outer and inner supports were also established. [Pekar] was entrusted to protect the life pillar of the Buddha’s teachings and promised to do so. However, all five great Sovereign Spirits successively came to reside and remain at many such monasteries. Thus, this **Great Dharma King** [Pekar went] to reside at Yangön Monastery, in the central region to the north. One day during the lifetime of the **Omniscient [Second Dalai Lama] Gendün Gyatso**, though he was uninvited, [Pekar and the Dalai Lama] met at that place [Yangön] in accordance with the [Buddha’s] teachings. This was a sign that [the deity] would not transgress his awesome and delightful adamantine oath. Accordingly, [the Second Dalai Lama] spread the **Gelukpa**²⁰⁰ teachings and, together with the protector of this **great Dharma center**, he left Yangön by way of a coracle.²⁰¹ Because [he] offered [Pekar] prayers, offerings,

¹⁹⁹ Tib. Pe kar gling; this is a condensed form of Pe kar dkor mdzod gling, the monastic treasury. This exchange is summarized and quoted from the 63rd chapter of the *Padma bka’ thang*; see O rgyan gling pa 1996, pp. 384-385.

²⁰⁰ Tib. *zhwa ser cod pan ’chang ba*; lit. “the bearers of the yellow hat.”

²⁰¹ Tib. *rta mgo*; read as *rta mgo can*. I would like to thank Bryan Cuevas for suggesting this reading (personal correspondence, October 8, 2012). This segment of the *Nechung Record* concerning Yangön is summarized in the *Gung thang dkar chag*; see Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, p. 216. However, since this segment in the latter text is a summary, it is missing some important details that have affected how Sørensen and Hazod translate this event. Their interpretation is that Pekar left Yangön alone in the form of Hayagriva, translating *rta mgo* as such. Yet the full text of the *Nechung Record* suggests rather that the Second Dalai Lama himself came to Yangön, befriended Pekar, and left with him.

and entrusted actions, [the deity] accomplished the actions that the Omniscient one [requested] without obstruction.

A summary record of [Pekar's] coming here [is as follows]: Moreover, when he was close to being born in the direction of Tölung Tsega²⁰² for the benefit of all beings, [the Dalai Lama] was slightly delayed by a hindrance. [45] At this time, he deliberately went to the glorious Copper-colored Mountain²⁰³ because he was exhausted from benefiting beings. When [he arrived], the great **master** was teaching the profound Dharma to an assembly of knowledge-bearing *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs*. There were two protector deities – one large and one small – in front of where he was sitting. The [large] one had a black body and white plaited locks²⁰⁴ of hair, and held a sword and a blood-filled skull-cup. The [small] one had a red body and wore leather armor and a leather helmet, the top²⁰⁵ of which was adorned with silk ribbons. He brandished in his hands a red spear and a lasso. He possessed a tiger-skin quiver and a leopard-skin bow case, and wore red leather boots. The [two deities] stood as such with Padmasambhava above and behind them. [The Dalai Lama] asked the **great master Padma[sambhava]**, “Who are these two protectors?” [He replied,] “These two are my attendants and they will accompany [you] as companions. Go to Tibet in order to benefit the [Buddha's] teachings and sentient beings!” Accordingly, they were entrusted as [the Dalai Lama's] servants to accomplish all [desired] activities. [46] As requested, [the Dalai Lama,] together with the two protectors, came to this land in order to benefit [all] tamable beings.²⁰⁶ Later, [after he

²⁰² Tib. Stod lung rtse dga'. The full name of the Third Dalai Lama's birth place is Stod lung rtse dga' khang gsar, located in the Töling valley just west of Lhasa.

²⁰³ Tib. Zangs mdog dpal ri; this is Padmasambhava's pure land.

²⁰⁴ Tib. *thor lcog*; read as *thor cog*.

²⁰⁵ Tib. *ldem phru*; read as *ldem 'phru*.

²⁰⁶ This encounter with Padmasambhava and the two protectors, which is said to have taken place in the intermediate state between the death of the Second Dalai Lama and the rebirth of the Third, was drawn almost verbatim from the biography of the Third Dalai Lama composed by the Great Fifth; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 16-17. Amy Heller (1992b, pp. 223-225) discusses this event in detail. She explains that the identification of the smaller red deity is ambiguous in this account; however, given its placement at this point in the *Nechung Record*, it seems that Sangyé Gyatso is making the argument that it is Pehar or one of his emanations. For a larger discussion of the identity conflict between the deity Begtse and Pehar's emanation Dorjé Drakden, see Heller 1992a.

was born,] the great omniscient one **Sönam Gyatso** was placed²⁰⁷ on the great Dharma throne at **Glorious Drepung Monastery**. Not long after, this **great Dharma protector** [the red guardian] possessed the human body²⁰⁸ [of the Nechung Oracle]. In this manner, and expressing [himself] here²⁰⁹ [like] **Sarasvatī** [did when she] vividly revealed herself, he said, “Through the interdependent connections of [our] extensive and unhindered activities that benefit [all] tamable beings, [may] the incarnate one [the Third Dalai Lama] behold me!”²¹⁰ The image was drawn [as such]:

Regarding the way to make the
tangka display,²¹¹ however large
[you want] the cotton canvas is

²⁰⁷ Tib. *zhabs zung nmam par bkod*; lit. “his two feet were fully established.”

²⁰⁸ Tib. *khog*; lit. “the trunk of the body.”

²⁰⁹ Tib. *'drir*; read as *'dir*.

²¹⁰ This and the following verses greatly summarize an encounter between the Third Dalai Lama and Pehar—in possession of the Nechung Oracle—recorded in the Third Dalai Lama’s biography. This event, recorded here in a piecemeal and disjointed way, occurred around the turn of 1589, shortly after the Third Dalai Lama was appointed abbot of Sera Monastery. For the full account, see Ta la’i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 116.3-126.4; see also Department of Religion and Culture 2004, pp. 29-37. Here, the two deliberate on the commissioning of a biographical *tangka* for the Dalai Lama before the oracle gives iconographic instructions to the painter, Trengkhawa Penden Lodrö Zangpo (‘Phreng kha ba Dpal ldan blo gros bzang po, b.16th cent.). This specific quote does not appear to be verbatim, since it paraphrases two disparate elements. The first element is earlier in the exchange and concerns the activities of the Dalai Lama and Pehar working in tandem. This exchange is quoted verbatim below; see Ta la’i bla ma 05 1982, p. 121.3-4. The second element is at the end of the account and makes mention of the goddess Sarasvatī (Tib. Dbyangs can lha mo; var. Dbyangs can ma). The Nechung Oracle explains that when Trengkhawa was beginning to paint a *tangka* of Sarasvatī, he had doubts about the iconography. In response, the goddess appeared to the Third Dalai Lama in a vision and said, “Behold me, incarnate one!” In similar fashion, when painting the *tangka* of the Third Dalai Lama’s biography, which includes a detailed image of the Sovereign Spirit, the Nechung Oracle says that he proclaimed the same thing; see Ta la’i bla ma 05 1982, p. 126.3-4. The next few lines of verse are quoted verbatim and describe iconographic elements given to Trengkhawa by the Nechung Oracle. Macdonald (1978, pp. 1140-1141) also briefly discusses this event.

²¹¹ Tib. *thang ga’i ljags bkod gnang ba’i tshul*; unlike the following verses, this line does not appear to be drawn verbatim from the Third Dalai Lama’s biography. It does not precede the next line in that text.

fine.²¹² ...In the middle of those [images] or on one side,²¹³ [paint] the form of the western Sovereign Spirit of speech. He rides a black mule with white heels and is majestic.²¹⁴ ...Countless emanations that look like [the Sovereign Spirit] radiate [from him], even more than all of these beings.²¹⁵ The emanations of the Sovereign Spirit Pekar are many—even more than the hairs on a tawny horse's [body]. [47] Moreover, a description is for small-minded people [while] this image is [for] you—a great mind, worthy and expansive...²¹⁶

[The Nechung Oracle further] said:²¹⁷

In general, even though all phenomena do not truly exist, they appear true in a conventional [sense]. With respect to this, in the center of the lotus at the heart of the 1002 Buddhas there is Padmasambhava. When [we] were in the Lotus Light Palace at the peak of the glorious copper-colored mountain, Padmasambhava in-

²¹² For this line, see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 124.3.

²¹³ This positioning is explained in greater detail in the Third Dalai Lama's biography. The Nechung Oracle expounds on the proper iconography for the *tangka*; immediately before this line he states that there should be a monastery in the corner under the Dalai Lama's right knee and a Savior Spirit under his left knee. The oracle then explains that the image of one of the Five Sovereign Spirits should go in-between these two images.

²¹⁴ See Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 124.5.

²¹⁵ This line is preceded by a detailed description of the entities that make up the Five Sovereign Spirits' retinue.

²¹⁶ See Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, p. 125.3-4.

²¹⁷ The below lengthy quote is also found in the Third Dalai Lama's biography; see Ta la'i bla ma 05 1982, pp. 121.2-122.1. This prose was spoken by the Nechung Oracle to the Third Dalai Lama while the former was possessed by Pekar.

structed [us] [481] to act for the improvement of the **Buddha's teachings**. That is to say, the **Incarnate One Meaningful to Behold**,²¹⁸ through pacifying and augmentative means, performs activities that protect those who bear the [Buddha's] teachings; [while] I, the **Sovereign Spirit Pekar**, through subjugating and destructive means, accomplish activities that clear away discordant conditions and that bring about concordant conditions for him. Accordingly, both [of us] must also act for the improvement of the [Buddha's] teachings. Please consider this! In particular, **Padmasambhava** gave the enemies' flesh, blood, life essence, and life breath to me as food rations. [48] For [my] allotted work, he entrusted me with protecting the **[Buddha's] teachings**, as well as the **bearers of those teachings**. Because of this, I have also never transgressed **Padmasambhava's** commands in the past. Again and again I have not transgressed [his commands]. So if there are obstacles to the activities that the **One Meaningful to Behold** performs in his lifetime, I will clear them away. I will accomplish all the concordant conditions! If there are harmful demons and obstructing spirits, human beings and inhuman spirits are not suitable [for dealing with them] unless they are included among the Haughty Spirits, the eight classes of gods and spirits of the phenomenal world. I am the overlord of all eight classes, the king who is the embodiment of the Haughty Spirits. What demons and obstructing spirits are able to transgress my command? Therefore, [your] entreaty is not insignificant. There is no need to act humble!

Accordingly, [49] this **great Dharma protector** ultimately [acts] as the guardian of the life stages of the great Omniscient King of the Victorious Ones,²¹⁹ as well as the guardian of all the teachings of the great

²¹⁸ Tib. Sprul sku Mthong ba don ldan. This is an epithet for the Dalai Lamas often used by the Nechung Oracle.

²¹⁹ Tib. Rgyal dbang Thams cad mkhyen pa; in this context this appellation is an epithet for the Dalai Lamas.

[and] incomparable **Tsongkhapa**; he is like a rampart for the great Dharma center **Glorious Drepung [Monastery]**. [However,] this [deity] did not have a natural and spontaneously present abode where he could live. Nevertheless, he generated one through meditation and [then], together with his emanations, created a real one. The manager of Glorious Drepung [Monastery] also requested that this new dwelling place, **Nechung Pekar Chapel**, [be built]. Consequently, by means of the earlier request and through great effort, [construction] began in the **Iron-Female-Bird year [1681]**, in the third month, which celebrates when the Buddha turned the Dharma wheel of the Kālacakra at the great reliquary of Glorious Dhānyakaṭ aka.²²⁰ First, I myself made an arrangement of multicolored papers and various [other things]. The area [of the site] was cleared and marked out by the cords of the serpent.²²¹ [50] The Mantrika of Chongyé, Ngawang, performed the methods for subjugating [the Lord of the Soil, interpreted] the planets and stars, and so forth; these are explained in the [geomantic and astrological] literature. On the day when the ground was dug up, there was a dust storm and the sky was turbulent.

There were 22 supervisors. The two chiefs were Kytöpa Tenpé Gyentsen and Pulungpa Püntsok Pelzang. [Other supervisors included] Chungpa Raptang Marmowa, Rongrang Chönpa, Sawa Druppa, Nang Jungpa, Kartsowa, Gadong Zhidewa, Sharpa Rapsel, Chölung Zhungkar, Kangsar Raptan, Polhawa, the Five folks from Rong, Sönam Dargyé, and Zimchungpa. There were 127 carpenters. Their chief craftsmen were Nesarwa Jamyang and Drachi Gögö, their medium craftsman was Lhasa Lamnyé, and their lesser craftsman was Büdé Mendrup Lingpa; their remaining [craftsmen included] Zadam Tsewang. There were 93 masons. Their chief craftsmen were Drigung Samdrup Tseten and Gyamön Dargyé, [51] and their lesser craftsman was Chukpo Tashi; their remaining [craftsmen included] Madro Menchok. [482] There were 7 bricklayers. Their chief craftsman was

²²⁰ Tib. Dpal ldan 'bras spungs; this site is located in Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh, India and is the place after which Drepung Monastery in Tibet was named.

²²¹ Tib. *lto 'phye'i thig*. This refers to the practice of using cords to divide the site space into a chessboard-like configuration. This iconometry then determines the location of the serpent-like Lord of the Soil (Tib. *sa bdag*) underneath the ground, to whom offerings must be made before he will grant permission to dig the foundation.

Epa Tsenden and the remaining [craftsmen included] Jamyang. There were 44 [other workers] such as roofers, transporters, leathersmiths, and builders from Mön. When both Sönam Pel and Zangpo acted as supervisors, they gathered stone collectors for corvée labor. In this they followed in the footsteps of the story of Samyé Monastery²²² being built by the **Dharma King Trisong Deutsen**: [at that time] the gods and spirits gathered a mountain of stones for all to see, regardless of whether it was day or night. There was a great output [of work] and a great number of corvée laborers—nearly 5000. Prior to that, other than one or two bad omens—like Sovereign Spirit diseases²²³—there had been no illnesses and the builders were exceptionally wonderful.

For the murals, there is the great **incomparable Tsongkhapa** [52], the First Paṅ chen Lama, and the First Dalai Lama; [as well as] the **Lineage of the Seven Men of Tsang who are [like] Mañjuḥṣa**;²²⁴ the five successive bodies of the great **All-Knowing, All-Seeing Lord of the Victorious Ones**,²²⁵ the crown jewel of the five hundred [bodhisattvas?]; the great **master** of Glorious Uḍ ḍ iyāṅ a [Padmasambhava]; the Eight *Sādhana* Deities; the great Five Sovereign Spirits, their five consorts, and five ministers; the Seven Wild Imperial Spirit Riders; and, in particular, the two physical expressions²²⁶ of **this great Dharma King [Pehar]**. For the murals in the courtyard, there is the retinue: the 30 chiefs of the Haughty Spirits, the 75 glorious protectors, and the horde of the eight classes [of gods and spirits].

Arranged according to the explanations within the *tantras*,²²⁷ the interstices [of the walls] have innumerable servants and various kinds of wild animals: the outer supports consist of vultures, monkeys, and parrots; the inner supports consist of dogs; and the secret supports

²²² Tib. *lugs gsum mi 'gyur lhun grub kyi gtsug lag khang*; lit. "the changeless and spontaneously present monastery of three styles."

²²³ Tib. *rgyal zer*; read as *rgyal gzer*.

²²⁴ Tib. *'jam dbyangs gtsang pa bdun rgyud*; this refers to the first seven abbots of Ganden Monastery who followed after Tsongkhapa.

²²⁵ This refers to the first five Dalai Lamas.

²²⁶ Tib. *sku'i rnam 'gyur rnam gnyis*; this refers to the two forms, peaceful and wrathful, of the central deity.

²²⁷ This likely refers to the many *tantras* that concern Pehar, which were listed above in the Fifth Dalai Lama's section, lines 23-24.

consist of silk brocade. The supports that summon the butchers are the victory banners [topped with the heads of] tigers, wolves, [etc.] There is an eight-year-old crystal child with turquoise eyebrows who bares his conch-shell fangs, brandishes a razor in his hand, and rides a white lion. [53] [He is flanked by] a one-eyed black monkey holding an iron knife in his hand and riding a small mule, and a white enemy[-defeating] god wearing a nine-layered robe, holding a flaming razor, and riding a lion. There are 100 *arhats* on their right, 100 armored [soldiers] on their left, 100 women in front of them, and 100 monks riding black mules [behind them]. [There are also] 100 black Indian Mön dancers holding mendicant staffs in their hands, and 7 black women wearing skull-garlands. There is the butcher [Jatri] Mikchikpu²²⁸ wearing a turban of black serpents and riding a blue horse with a black bottom; Putra Nakpo²²⁹ riding a small mule; an *arhat* wearing a wooden summer hat and riding a camel;²³⁰ and Jagö Tangnak²³¹ throwing a *vajra*.²³² There are great skeleton servants—100 of which are holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of vultures, and 100 of which are holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of lions. There are Lords of Life—100 of which are holding aloft flaming [military] standards, and 100 of which are holding aloft silk ribbons and victory banners. There are 100 armored Lords of Life and great skeleton servants. [54] There are 100 quarreling²³³ white lions and 100 racing blue wolves. There are 100 black female Hinderer-Planetary Spirits holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of peacocks. There are 100 packs of black horses, black mules, and black dogs. There are 100 camels loaded

²²⁸ This is Mönbuputra's minister.

²²⁹ Tib. Spu gri [sic: tra] nag po; I have incorporated Lingön Padma Kelzang's correction here, since the context indicates that this refers to Pehar's minister, who also rides a mule.

²³⁰ This refers to Kyechik Marpo's minister, Dorjé Drakden, in his original form.

²³¹ This is Shingjachen's minister.

²³² Gyajin's minister, Jarawa (Tib. Bya ra ba), is oddly absent from this list.

²³³ Tib. *'khrab mo byed pa*. Lingön Padma Kelzang considers the first word of this phrase to be a misspelling of *khrab*, making its meaning somehow relate to armor; however, I propose that it is a phonetic misspelling of *'thab mo byed pa*, meaning to quarrel or fight. The trend of the next clause appears to agree with this interpretation.

with notched wooden plates²³⁴ that [summon] Hindering Spirits. There are 100 emissaries²³⁵ mounted on white horses and 100 black Mön. Of those emanations that have a variety of repulsive forms, 100 *devas* hold aloft silk victory banners; 100 *asuras* hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of tigers; 100 *rākṣasas* hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of wolves; and 100 *gandharvas* hold aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of vultures. There are 100 [deities] holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of mongooses and peacocks. [Lastly,] there are 100 [deities] holding aloft victory banners [topped with the heads] of monkeys and cats.

The painters [were as follows]:²³⁶ the medium craftsmen were Jamyang Wangpo and Mentangpa Gönpö Tsering. [55] The remaining [craftsmen were] [483] Menlugpa (Sharling) Könchok, Lekpa Gyentsen, Jamyang Döndrup, (Shünshak) Kyikyak, Akuk, Sönam, Baklhuk, Drakpa, Köpa, (Jangteng) Tashi, (Zhöl) Lobzang, (Dechen) Püntsoq Rabjang, Rinchen Dorjé, Penjor, Samdrup Tsering, (Pentsa) Lobzang, (Gentsang) Tseten, (Tsomé) Dorjé, (Zhendön) Kündrak, (Rampa) Draklokpa, (Zadam) Sönam Tashi, Tashi Döndrup, (Aku) Samdrup, Karkar, Akar, Padma Gyelpo, Lhasung, (Jokpo) Genyen, (Nyenpo) Jamyang, Patsap Gönpö, Genyen Gyelpo, Azin, Samdrup, Gyelpo, Lobzang, Döndrup Chödar, Jamyang Gyeltsen, Sönam Tashi, Dechok, Tenzin, Wangchuk, Lobzang Yarpel, Lhuklhuk, (Rongpa) Sönam Gyelpo, Umzé, (Panam) Gönpö, (Nyiding) Pendé, Tupwang Tenzin, and Tashi Döndrup. [56] Along with [the paintings] there was some varnishing. The wise and compassionate medium craftsman [of the varnishers] was the Tantrika Karpa Tsepel. The remaining [craftsmen included] Ngawang Sönam, Tenzin, (Künga Dorjé), Künga Jangchup, Penden Zangpo, Namsé, Sangyé Döndrup, Ngawang Dodé, Künga Rappel, (Tserna) Kelzang, Namgyel Tsultrim, Künga Gyatso, Ngedön Nyingpo, Lobzang Tenzin, Ngawang Chöpel, Ngawang Yeshé, Lodrö, Sangyé Künga, Sangyé Dönden, Sönam

²³⁴ Tib. *khram shing*; this refers to wooden boards with crosses notched into them that are used in Tibetan sorcery to summon malicious spirits.

²³⁵ Tib. *kingka ra*; Skt. *kirṅkara*; the common Tibetan abbreviation for this word, encountered above, is *ging*.

²³⁶ Many of these names are given a toponym or clan affiliation in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript; I include these added names in parentheses.

Norbu, (Lhakpu) Shenyen, (Drigung) Lhundrup, Sölsöl, Nesung, Sönam Sherap, Tashi Tsering, Orgyan, Dönyö, Loden, (Tseru) Gadöl, Yönten, Tashi Lhundrup, Püntsok Tsering, Lobzang Döndrup, (Jang) Trönpa Kapa, and (Nyetang) Trinlé Gyatso.

For the bas relief statues, [57] as stated above, there is Hayagrīva and his consort in accordance with the *Guru Guhyasamāja* [cycle]; the Five Sovereign Spirits, along with their consorts and ministers; Dorjé Drakden as envisioned by the Omniscient [Third Dalai Lama] Sönam Gyatso, which was mixed with the clay of an ancient statue; a miraculous Dorjé Drakden wearing the garments of the Imperial Spirits, as secretly envisioned by the Incomparable Sovereign, the Supreme Savior [Fifth Dalai Lama];²³⁷ as well as Dorjé Drakgyelma. In the Birch Tree Chapel, there is the venerable Lord of the Victorious Ones, the great Omniscient One [the Fifth Dalai Lama] **Ngagi Wangchuk Lobzang Gyatso**, which is the chief [statue]; [there are also] the four successive bodies of the Eminent One;²³⁸ the great Victorious One Tsongkhapa; Padmasambhava and his two consorts;²³⁹ the Eight Manifestations of Guru [Padmasambhava]; as well as the guardian of the [Buddha's] teachings, Dorjé Drakgyelma. In the four-pillared right upper chapel, there is the Lord of the Victorious Ones, the Omniscient [Fifth Dalai Lama] Lobzang Gyatso, which is the chief [statue]; the great venerable Tsongkhapa; Jamyang Chöjé;²⁴⁰ the Eight Medicine Buddhas; [58] Nāgeśvararāja;²⁴¹ Roaring Lion Avalokiteśvara;²⁴² White Tārā; Tārā of the Acacia Forest;²⁴³ Tārā who Protects against the Eight Fears;²⁴⁴ Turquoise [Vajra]vidāraṇa; as well as

²³⁷ This may refer to the vision the Fifth Dalai Lama had of Dorjé Drakden in 1653; see Karmay 1988, p. 35.

²³⁸ This refers to the four previous Dalai Lamas.

²³⁹ Tib. O rgyan yab yum gsum; Padmasambhava's two consorts are Yeshé Tsogyel and Mandarava.

²⁴⁰ Tib. 'Jam dbyangs chos rje Bkra shis dpal ldan, 1379-1449. This is the founder of Drepung Monastery.

²⁴¹ Tib. Klu dbang gi rgyal po; lit. "Mighty King of the Serpent Spirits." This figure is the head of the system of 35 Confessional Buddhas (Tib. Ltung bshags sangs rgyas so lnga) developed by Tsongkhapa.

²⁴² Tib. Spyan ras gzigs seng ge sgra; Skt. Siṃhanāda Avalokiteśvara. This form of Avalokiteśvara rides a lion.

²⁴³ Tib. Seng ldeng nags sgröl; Skt. Khadiravaṇ itārā.

²⁴⁴ Tib. Sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyabs [sic: skyob]; Skt. Aṣ ṭ amahābhaya Tārā.

Pratisarā. In the four-pillared left [upper chapel], there are the Buddhas of the Three Times; the 16 Noble *Sthaviras*; Dharmatala; the Four Great Kings; and Hwashang [Mahāyāna].

The sculptors who built such images [are as follows]: [the chief craftsmen] were Epa Umzé Bakdro and Chöpel, and the lesser craftsman was Pelzin. The remaining [craftsmen included] [484] Tsönchung, Lobzang Tenkyong, Orgyan Gönpö, Gyelwar Dargyé, Dzomtruk, Lobzang, Yutruk, Sönam Tsering, Sumga, Tenpel, Jamyang Dargyé, Awar, Norbu Tsering, Döndrup, Horgyel, Sumpel, Lobzang Norbu, and Norbu Dargyé. Their main supervisors were Lodrö Gyentsen, the high monk of Kabok, [59] as well as Chungwa Kyidrung Drapön and Gyeltse Chokbukpa. The supervisors for the corvée laborers were Changra Sönam and Zadam Tsering Döndrup.

The central deities of these paintings and statues were designed according to the instructions and supplemental [texts] explained above, as well as the astrological works; [however,] I did amend them. Prior to doing this, from blessing the craftsmen, tools, and life tree,²⁴⁵ to [writing] the guide book, consecrating [the site], and opening the eyes [of the images], the monk Jamyang Drakpa ordered such activities, which were [discussed] above, and I placed my head at his feet.

The **Great Holy Savior** of all beings, including gods, [the Fifth Dalai Lama] gave instructions for the silk thread-cross mansions of various Haughty Spirits—such as the Five Sovereign Spirits, their consorts and ministers, as well as Dorjé Drakden²⁴⁶—and, similarly, for the abundant *torma* materials. The shrine master Ngawang Sherap acted as the supervisor [for this].

²⁴⁵ Tib. *srog shing*; this does not refer to Pehar's soul tree, but rather to the central beam or axis that is placed at the sacred center of all monasteries, statues, and reliquaries—the axis mundi of such a site or object.

²⁴⁶ The original wall inscription has Rdo rje grags rgyal ma, while the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript amends this to Rdo rje grags ldan; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., f.8a.1. The manuscript also adds *bstan srung* ("Protector of the [Buddha's] Teachings") before the name. Given the context, I am interpreting the emendation to be correct. Nonetheless, that one deity is confused for another carries interesting implications.

Each monk in the college made an effort and they made wonderful things, [such as] [60] victory banners made of embroidered silk, which were topped with banners and included canopies. Their supervisors were Jagowa Lobzang Wangchuk, Peldor, Tashi Kapa, and the head tailor Ratse Shakpa Sönam. The remaining 32 [craftsmen] included (Gongkar) Ngayak.

Along with the images, inside [the monastery] there is, chiefly, the renowned body support [the Nechung Oracle]; consecration supports, represented by the four kinds of relics;²⁴⁷ as well as the outer, inner, secret, innermost secret, and supplemental life force *cakras*. For the attachment supports, there are three things [that hold the deity's] soul syllables: [1] a [piece of] coral about the length of the Sovereign Spirit's hand, which gathers against his will whatever great power of his is not suitable or desired; [2] an immaculate square of white crystal [the size of] a single finger, which appeared within phenomenal existence [and] which makes it so that, even if the Sovereign Spirit is entrusted with infinite activities, there is no way he will not do them without obstruction; and [3] a complete shell of mother of pearl, [which makes it so] that the Sovereign Spirit will not turn against oneself, the object of accomplishment, or the master with his disciples and attendants, and that there is no way [the deity] will not accompany us like a shadow follows a body. [61] Such [items] originated from the *tantras*.

Furthermore, [regarding other] precious and high-quality [possessions]: there was a horse in China that would startle whenever it was turned; for this reason, when this would happen, it would need to be [carefully] supervised. This year, the proper karmic connections were right and the horse was presented [to the monastery] by the Dharma Lord Dungé. The horse's features and color were excellent and it had an agreeable disposition.²⁴⁸ Headed by this, there was the best in the world of the jewels of the gods, Serpent Spirits, and humans, such as, chiefly, silver ingots the size of bird's eggs, as well as [chunks of] cor-

²⁴⁷ Tib. *ring bsrel sna bzhi*; this is a variant of *ring bsrel rnam bzhi*. These four are: [1] relics of the Dharma body (Tib. *chos sku'i ring bsrel*); [2] relics of the corpse (Tib. *sku gdung ring bsrel*); [3] relics of clothing (Tib. *sku bal ring bsrel*); and [4] miniature relics (Tib. *nyung du lta bu'i ring bsrel*).

²⁴⁸ Tib. *glo ba tsam pa*; this is read as a variant of *blo dang 'tsham pa*.

al the size of fresh peaches, [pieces of] soul-turquoise the size of goose eggs, pearls, lapis lazuli, copper, and iron; riches, garments, silks, and fabrics; ripened²⁴⁹ grains like buckwheat and mustard seeds; as well as fruits like mangoes and jujubes. There was [also] a variety of medicinal pills [made from] different medicines – chiefly, white and red sandalwood that was neither poisonous nor fetid – and various kinds of food and drink, like the three whites and three sweets.²⁵⁰ Each and every one of the items of these final supports, as well as the images, thread-cross mansions, and *tormas*, were complete. [485]

[62] Each day, barley was [ceremoniously] scattered and there were consecrations, as explained earlier, such as with the *cakra* sections. Moreover, during the main instructions, the monk Jamyang Drakpa acted as the supervisor for the recitations. Ngawang Trinlé, Ngawang Gyatso, Lekden Wangyel, the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechok, and the Dharma Lord Zilnön Dorjachen transcribed [the recitations]; the monk Jamyang Drakpa also completed [them]. At the time of the offerings, along with Miklha, the shrine master Ngawang Sherap, the monk Jamyang Drakpa, and the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechokchen acted according to the oral instructions.

When the *dhāraṇīs* were being inserted [into the statues], the Nechung Oracle's sword and wooden placard needed to be placed within the statue of [the Third Dalai Lama] Lord Sönam Gyatso's vision [of the deity]. The young monks know this, and now King Pekar and his retinue truly do come [here]. [However], on that day, those who inserted the *dhāraṇīs* were deceitful, so the known omens did not appear. [63] Then, from that night on, the sculptors from Epa were disturbed by ominous dreams and there were very bad signs. Because of this, they needed to receive blessings, ask the Nechung Oracle for advice, and so forth. These strange [events] took place over several days.

²⁴⁹ Tib. *min pa*; this is read as a misspelling of *smin pa*.

²⁵⁰ Tib. *dkar gsum mngar gsum*. The three whites are curds, milk, and butter, and the three sweets are sugar, molasses, and honey.

On the roof [of the monastery], inside the *gañjira* spire made from 2,000 *zho*²⁵¹ of refined gold, blessed supports—chiefly, relics as small as mustard seeds—[were placed]. In order to bring good fortune to the region, an extraordinary circle of protection for pacifying, enriching, conquering, and destroying [was also placed inside the spire]. [There is also] a *tuk*²⁵² support for Dorjé Drakden on the right [of the spire] and [Dorjé] Drakgyelma on the left. In the northern area each of the Five [Sovereign Spirits were placed] in the four cardinal directions, with the Sovereign Spirit of the mind [Gyajin] in the center. On [the roof of] the middle floor, for the support materials, there are victory banners of the four animals as well as silk.²⁵³ On the bottom [roof], the *tuks* of the five consorts [of the Sovereign Spirits] were placed. A circle of protection was also made in accordance with the oral instructions for each of them, decorated with their support materials. Various aristocratic victory banners, *tuk*, and silken ribbons were also established.²⁵⁴ When the *gañjira* was finished, the consecration [64] was performed by the monk Jamyang Drakpachen and the *tuk* rituals were performed by the Tantric scholar Lobzang Kyechokchen.

The [iron] door bands are also decorated with various kinds of images of support materials and offerings. The supervisors for this were Zhika Nyingnying, Laok Tashi, and Lhomö Künga Dorjé. There were 32 blacksmiths. Their lesser craftsman was Otsangpa; the remaining [craftsmen included] Serzhu Kyikyak. There were 52 goldsmiths. Their head craftsmen were Tsechen Sönam Dargyé and Panam Gönpö; the remaining [craftsmen included] Ramgang Norbu. There were 15 silversmiths, such as Orgyan. There were 57 wool-spinners, such as Purtsa. They were supervised by Pari Tenzin and Drachi Norbu Döndrup. There were four dyers [for the wool]: Nyemo Kar-

²⁵¹ Tib. *zho*; this is a traditional Tibetan measurement. One *zho* equals approximately one-tenth an ounce of gold or silver; ten *zho* equals one *srang*, or approximately one ounce of gold or silver; see French 2002, p. 127.

²⁵² Tib. *thug*. This refers to a type of cylindrical banner found on the roofs of Tibetan monasteries, generally covered with black yak or horse hair; see Alexander 2005, p. 115.

²⁵³ Four of these victory banners are topped with the heads of a tiger, wolf, vulture, and monkey, respectively, while the fifth is silk; see line 30 above.

²⁵⁴ To see the orientation of the *gañjira* and these victory banners on the various levels of Nechung Monastery, see Ricca 1999, pp. 48-50.

ma, Tönpa Tsewang Sitar, the leathersmith Tsewang Dorjé, and the drum-maker Trawa Gopachen. The four acrostic poems²⁵⁵ on both sides of the [monastery's] entrances [were composed by] [65] Darlo Ngawang Püntsoḳ Lhündrup and Namling Paṅchen Könchok Chödrak. The Indian and Tibetan letters [surrounding the poems] were painted [on the walls] by Gyantsé Jamyang Wangpo and Paksam Tsering. Those who gave the necessary salaries and such were Geshé Dargen and Busangpa Tsewang Tashi.

In the bird year [1681], the heads of Zangri, Neudong, Dratsang, Drongmé, and Drepung, the [Nechung] medium, the monks of Lose-ling, Gomang, Deyang, and the Tantric College, [486] as well as Geshé Dargen, Tardongpa, and Busangpa conducted the construction feast. In the dog year [1682], the heads of Drepung, monks from Drongmé and Deyang College, the [Nechung] medium, Geshé Dargen, and Busangpa conducted the craftwork feast. [After] such things, the [monastery's] possessions and ancient images were properly established at the beginning of the 9th month of the Water-Dog year [1682]. When these were transferred [to the monastery] on the 8th day of the month—an auspicious [configuration of] planets and stars—various wondrous omens appeared. [66] Preparations were made for the temporary consecration on the 13th day [of the month]. On the 14th [day], the Dalai Lama²⁵⁶ [ceremoniously] scattered barley and meditated on the *maṅḡala of the fierce blood-drinker Vajrakumāra*, the great Glorious One. He completed the approach, accomplishment, and activities of the peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities that insatiably drink the nectar of the glorious and holy lama's speech. The tantric master endowed with the three [wisdoms], the monk Jamyang Drakpa, acted as the *vajra* master [for the temporary consecration].

Subjugating external [forces] does not contradict enlightened conduct even for an instant. And so, the monastic assembly of Namgyel Mon-

²⁵⁵ Tib. *kun 'khor*; these Nechung acrostics have been transcribed in Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences 2009, pp. 660-669.

²⁵⁶ Tib. *gong sa mchog*; lit. "Supreme Sovereign." This is a common epithet for the Dalai Lama. Given that this portion of the record was composed after the Great Fifth's death, it would seem Sangyé Gyatso is keeping up the appearance of the Dalai Lama's continued existence in official documentation for all to see.

astery²⁵⁷ – which abides in the profound yoga of the inner deity, *mantra*, and wisdom – directly inserted the Wisdom Being into the *Sama-ya* Being²⁵⁸ and consecrated [the monastery]; [as a result,] a rain of flowers fell.

When that happened, the forces that obstructed the preparations were driven out; then the untimely storms were expelled and [the Nechung deity] was invited. At that time, a storm came from the direction of upper Dambak and Drepung, and the whole of Nechung disappeared. From the life tree blessing to the consecration, *dhāraṇī*-insertion, and so forth, there was snow and rain by turns. Now, there are cloudless skies one day after another. During the consecration, concluding feast, and such, there was a snowstorm. In particular, although there was no [storm] whatsoever around Kyishö,²⁵⁹ it stayed swirling over the hill behind Nechung and everybody saw it. From that day on, the magical effigies²⁶⁰ would suddenly become heavier and heavier, and the carriers realized this. [Also,] Epa Umzé Bakdro had a portentous dream [that concerned him] going to see many monks in the Central Chapel; they squeezed [together] the forces obstructing²⁶¹ the statues and were absorbed into the statue of the central Sovereign Spirit [Gyajin]. Furthermore, the monks of the college, the lay government officials, and others each had visions or [portentous] dreams. These abundant omens appeared, [showing] that great

²⁵⁷ Tib. Rnam par rgyal ba'i phan bde legs bshad gling; lit. "Palace that Elegantly Teaches the Happiness and Well-Being that Conquers All."

²⁵⁸ See Bentor 1996, pp. xix-xx.

²⁵⁹ Tib. Skyid shod; lit. "Lower Kyi[chu Valley]." This term generally refers to the area around the Kyichu River, including Lhasa; see Sørensen, Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo 2007, pp. 17-27. In this context, it refers especially to the area just below Nechung at the base of the mountain.

²⁶⁰ Tib. *sku gsob 'phrul ma*. It is unclear to what this refers, though it is likely the various statues that were carried to and installed at the monastery.

²⁶¹ Tib. *chag dogs byed pa*; this is read as a misspelling of *chags thogs byed pa*.

**troublesome Haughty Spirits did actually live
[around Nechung].²⁶²**

On the 15th day, an auspicious day for planets and stars – the favorable conjunction of Venus and Zeta Piscium – [67] the great Dharma Protector descended into the body of the [Nechung] medium, Tsewang Pelwar, and arranged the inauguration ceremony; this produced [much] delight. [The deity] is inseparably united with and resides within his abode; he is the attentive sentinel of the [Buddha's] teachings and sentient beings, and has promised to effortlessly accomplish the four activities.

Regarding the sublime completion of these wondrous things, this monastery and abode is distinguished by **eight kinds of craftwork**. The **first distinguished [craftwork]** is endowed with [the following] special qualities: the characteristics of the soul stones and life force *cakras* mentioned above are not found anywhere else. In addition to this, even the paintings and sculptures look as if they were produced by the immortal craftsmen of the gods in human form; the appearance of these exceptional works is enchanting. The manufacturers are also visualized as deities, and the paint pigments, tools, and such are likewise consecrated and completely filled with blessings. In short, [68] if those with eye disease do nothing more than [see the basic] form of these paintings and sculptures, [487] they will spontaneously achieve the primordial nature of ultimate reality. Then the ocean of the oath-bound Haughty Spirits of phenomenal existence will assemble in reality, rolling without interruption like rainclouds gathering [in the sky], and perform the actions [entrusted to them].

The **second [distinguished craftwork]** is as follows]: this **Dharma Protector** consumes an arrangement of whatever life breath [of] mortal

²⁶² This paragraph is a significant portion of text that is found in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript, as well as in the transcriptions by Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., ff.10a.3-10b.1. Although this additional information is not present in the wall inscription of the *Nechung Record* and was clearly added later to the manuscript, it provides greater detail on the events surrounding Nechung Monastery's 1682 consecration. I include this material in the body of the text as a block quote, in a smaller font, and bolded to distinguish it from the content of the wall inscription proper.

beings he catches through countless manifestations. Even though he is like this, because it is the emanation [most] suitable for subjugating anyone, he appeared as a physical manifestation [of] overwhelming splendor, [who came] by way of a coracle decorated with red turquoise jewels. He then dissolved into this birch Aśoka tree²⁶³ endowed with a marvelous fragrance and abundant flowers and fruits—as the support that delights [this] manifestation—and abides in such a manner. Accordingly, this palace that delights the oath-bound [guardian deities] [69] was blessed with the great power that is the manifestation of the deity, *mantra*, and wisdom of the profound *Vajra Yoga* by the successive incarnations of the form that is meaningful to behold, who emanated supremely from the center of the lotus that is the heart of all the Victorious Ones of the Three Times—like the 2000 Buddhas of the good eon.²⁶⁴ The great Dharma Protector, with great delight, also became inseparable from this divine mansion that is adorned with many gifts and material offerings; the supports remain unimpaired in the assembly hall. These [supports] are like the life tree of this place—they are the essence of the supreme supports that delight [the deity]. Subsequently, in order to instill delight and [have the deity] protect the [Buddha's] teachings unimpaired, gifts, clouds of ever-excellent offerings, and all the wealth of the gods and humans are together spread out [over] the measureless shrine²⁶⁵ where the real [offerings] are arranged; [the offerings] are dispersed in this way one after the other. These became the outer and inner supports and thus are distinguished.

The third [distinguished craftwork] is as follows: [70] even if one [just] looks at the beam and rafter junctures at the edges of the Central Chapel, it can make the heart tremble and cause [them] to flee. There are human skins, snakes endowed with the qualities of the five [Buddha] families, razors, knives, and swords, as well as lightning and hail being vomited from the mouths of thunder [dragons]. These superior works of art are terrifying and [make people] shudder in fear.

²⁶³ Tib. *mya ngan med pa'i ljon shing*; lit. "sorrowless tree." This tree's taxonomic name is *Saraca asoca*.

²⁶⁴ This lengthy epithet refers to the Dalai Lama.

²⁶⁵ Tib. *gzhäl yas*; this term here refers to a large shrine dedicated to the deities where their offerings are displayed.

The **fourth** [**distinguished craftwork** is as follows]: the internal doors appear as the three bodies [of the Buddha] within the state of the three doors of liberation.²⁶⁶ Beyond this, there are the **five doors** that represent the **Five Great Sovereign Spirits** [who are] the self-manifestations of the **Five Wisdoms**.²⁶⁷ These [five doors] are incredibly vast; they are so wide that even if all the living beings in the three worlds were to enter them at the same time, they would [still] fit through them without a doubt. Even the façades²⁶⁸ [of the doors] reach the pinnacle of existence. [The doors] are regarded as [a sign that] the palace and courtyard of the pair of five necks²⁶⁹ have been accepted into this savage land. Thus, these are **special** [doors] endowed with magnificence.

The **fifth** [**distinguished craftwork** is as follows]: the threshold door frames are fully established with dangling ornaments fastened by the self-existing [forms] of snakes hanging from the mouths of corpse heads. [71] These **marvelous** [door frames] can cause even an intelligent person's heart to jump up into their throat.

The **sixth** [**distinguished craftwork** is as follows]: on the peak [of the monastery, the spire with] the nature of refined gold can block out the splendor of a hundred thousand suns. This great *gañjira* was established to complete the body, speech, and mind supports, together with the outer, inner, and most profound [supports], in order for the **leader of the Haughty Spirits** and his retinue to accomplish the four activities without obstruction. This [spire] is a **special work of art**, such that it rivals the top story of a Flesh-Eating Spirit's palace, where the oath-bound [guardians] are naturally gathered and the garlands of golden roof ornaments²⁷⁰ and garlands of dried human heads are arranged in order by appearance.

²⁶⁶ Tib. *rnam thar sgo gsum*. Symbolically, this refers to the three approaches to liberation: [1] emptiness (Tib. *stong pa nyid*), [2] aspirationlessness (Tib. *smon pa med pa*), and [3] attributelessness (Tib. *mtshan nyid med pa*). Here this term refers to the three doors that lead into the Central Chapel at the back of the assembly hall.

²⁶⁷ These are the five doors that lead into the assembly hall from the courtyard.

²⁶⁸ Tib. *babs gdong*; lit. "surface condition." The meaning of this term is difficult to fully ascertain; however, the context suggests that it pertains to the nature and size of the doors.

²⁶⁹ Tib. *mgrin pa lnga zung*; this refers to the Five Sovereign Spirits and their consorts.

²⁷⁰ Tib. *gser phru'i sba phreng*; the specific meaning of this term is difficult to ascertain.

[488] The **seventh** [**distinguished craftwork** is as follows]: on the outside, this **abode for the Haughty Spirits** was actually established [with] the attributes of a *maṅ ḍala*. In the east, south, west, and north [of the monastery], respectively, there is a gate that accords with a color of the four activities,²⁷¹ a stylobate sitting on the ground, and an archway supported by pillars; these complete the faultless appearance of the divine mansion. [72] The parapet balustrades on the roofs and the garlands of dried skulls on the ruby-colored friezes radiate light in a hundred directions; therefore, the opportunities for darkness [to take over the ten] directions are diminished. These eight parts represent the **eight great planets**;²⁷² such is the **special quality** [of these structures].

The **eighth** [**distinguished craftwork** is as follows]: the wall plaster of blood²⁷³ that liberates [those suffering from] the ten defects is completely stirred [with] bubbling garlands of fat and brains, thus actualizing the house of [Yama,] the Lord of Death. [This blood] is seething and churning like clouds²⁷⁴ close to pouring down a deluge of rain. Furthermore, [the monastery's] sixteen pillars represent the sixteen [deities]—the fifteen Dharma protectors²⁷⁵ and the *kimmaras*.²⁷⁶ This design is [truly] **distinguished!**

²⁷¹ These colors are white for pacifying activities, yellow for augmenting activities, red for subjugating activities, and black for destructive activities.

²⁷² Tib. *gza' brgya chen*. The eight planets in traditional Indo-Tibetan astrology are [1] the Sun (Tib. Nyi ma; Skt. Sūrya), [2] the Moon (Tib. Zla ba; Skt. Candra), [3] Mars (Tib. Mig dmar; Skt. Mañ gala), [4] Mercury (Tib. Lhag pa; Skt. Budha), [5] Jupiter (Tib. Phur bu; Skt. Bṛ haspati), [6] Venus (Tib. Pa sangs; Skt. Śukra), [7] Saturn (Tib. Spen pa; Skt. Śāni), and [8] Rāhula (Tib. Sgra gcan). The eight parts likely refer to [1-4] the four gates of the cardinal directions, [5] the stylobate, [6] the archways, [7] the balustrades, and [8] the skull garlands.

²⁷³ Tib. *khrag gi zhal ba*; this refers to the ocean of blood painted on the lower register of all the murals along the entrance, courtyard, and assembly hall.

²⁷⁴ Tib. *nam mkha'i glang po*; lit. "the bull of the sky."

²⁷⁵ It is unclear to which fifteen Dharma protectors this refers. Given that this concerns the assembly hall, it could be 15 of its 18 murals, sans the two images of the Nechung Oracle and a painting of Padmasambhava. This could also refer to the Five Sovereign Spirits along with each of their consorts and ministers.

²⁷⁶ Tib. *mi'am ci*; this refers to the animal-headed attendants of the Dharma protectors.

The roars of the terrifying ones, [the Five Sovereign Spirits] who strike and kill, resound like a thousand thunder claps rumbling simultaneously. Accompanying [them], all the Haughty Spirits [of] the eight classes of gods and spirits attached to the field of imputations²⁷⁷ gather automatically, like bees swarming over piles of utterly fetid rotten meat or carnivorous beasts in charnel grounds trotting and running toward the steaming odor of warm flesh and blood. [73] The heaps of their outer, inner, and secret support objects, gifts, and clouds of offerings are piled up throughout heaven and earth without interruption; they are [fully] contained within this great palace for the eight classes of Haughty Spirits.

The great Dharma center [Drepung] – where the ethical monastic community lives – upholds, preserves, and spreads the tradition of the Gentle Savior lama [Tsongkhapa], the immaculate teachings of the Buddha, and is like an overflowing pile of the wise arhat's white rice.²⁷⁸ [Located among] its foothills –

This abode, where the eight classes of Haughty Spirits automatically gather, is not small; it can hold the vast expanse [of] existence.²⁷⁹ This grove that pleases the emanating Sovereign Spirit Pekar, his consort, and minister is a marvelous chapel that is distinguished by eight kinds of craftworks.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Tib. *brtag chags kyi lha ma srin sde brgyad*; this is read as a variant of *btags shing chags pa'i lha srin sde brgyad*.

²⁷⁸ When combined, the two red words in this last clause cleverly spell out Drepung.

²⁷⁹ Referring to the fourth distinguished craftwork, this line interprets the monastery's name ironically. Despite being called "Small Abode," it is considered a sacred realm vast enough to hold all of existence.

²⁸⁰ As with the previous verse, when the red words of this stanza are combined they spell out "Nechung Pekar Chapel" (Tib. *Gnas chung pe kar lcog*).

[Nechung] was begun in the Iron-Bird year [1681] and thoroughly established in the third-eon year [called] 'Splendor of Melted Beryl' [1682?].²⁸¹ This amazing monastery, erected with the efforts [of] body, speech, and mind, is marvelous!

[74] Such efforts were necessary; ²⁸² [now] the **teachings** of those who wear the yellow hats [the Gelukpa] have utterly reached, without obstruction, the pinnacle of **existence**. The **religious and secular** [government] of the **joyous** all-victorious **palace** pervades everything like the light of the sun and the moon. May the **lotus feet** of the **Omniscient Vajra-Holder, the Universal Lord of the One Hundred [Buddha] Families** [the Dalai Lama], remain steadfast for innumerable eons!²⁸³ May the actions he desires [be performed] without delay! May a Dharma banquet always be held [here]!

[The Five Sovereign Spirits] successfully accomplish the [four] activities that pacify, subjugate, destroy, and augment [against] all the diseases, negative influences, and obstacles for those who perform [the above rites]. [These deities] conquer the demon armies, remain [in] *vajra*-like immortality, and quickly ac-

²⁸¹ Tib. *bai ḡūra* [sic: *ḡūrya*] *zhun ma'i mdangs 'dzin sum ldan lor*; it is clear that this line refers to a Tibetan year, though it is uncertain to which specific year it refers. This phrase appears to extend from an esoteric system of poetic labels for specific Tibetan years.

²⁸² Tib. *dges*; this is read as a misspelling of *dgos*.

²⁸³ Tib. *bskal pa rgya mtsho*; lit. "oceans of eons."

comply [whatever is] desired without exception.

May the auspicious sun of new light simultaneously smile [down on this] lotus grove of virtue and goodness, and destroy the intense darkness of savage beings and malevolent ghosts! May the sun²⁸⁴ of joy and happiness pervade [all existence]!

This record was bestowed by the Supreme Sovereign [the Fifth Dalai Lama]; [75] **Drongmepa Sangyé Gyatso** handwrote most of it, [having] accepted the responsibility of secretary by way of this finely detailed service. Other writing duties were done by the two Changtens.²⁸⁵ [This record] was written in the Water-Dog year [1682].²⁸⁶ May it be Victorious!²⁸⁷

May all living beings prosper!²⁸⁸

Mongolian script line: May auspiciousness and the flames of Glorious [Heruka] come to [this] ornament of the world,²⁸⁹ an immeasurable mansion where the oceanic sangha gathers!²⁹⁰ May it be virtuous!²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Tib. *rta bdun dbang po*; lit. "Lord of Seven Horses;" this is an epithet for the Indian sun god Sūrya. This line illustrates the depth of Sangyé Gyatso's poetic knowledge; he was quite skilled at filling the meter with an impressive array of idioms and epithets, as the third quatrain above also illustrates.

²⁸⁵ Tib. *chang bstan*; it is unclear whether this is a name or a job title.

²⁸⁶ Tib. *rnga chen gyi lo*; lit. "year of the large drum." This is the Water-Dog year.

²⁸⁷ Tib. *dza yantu*; Skt. *jayantu*.

²⁸⁸ Skt. *śubhamastusarvajagatam*.

²⁸⁹ Tib. *'dzam gling*; this transliterates and contracts the Sanskrit word *Jambudvīpa*, which is the continent south of Mount Meru in traditional Buddhist cosmology. This term is often poetically used to refer to the world as a whole.

²⁹⁰ Tib. *dge 'dun rgya mtsho 'du ba'i gzhal yas khang*; this phrase is an entendre and can also be translated as, 'an immeasurable mansion where Gendün Gyatso [the Second Dalai Lama] gathered.' The term *gzhal yas khang* is an ambivalent reading, as the inscription is vague and idiosyncratic at this point.

²⁹¹ Tib. *dgeun [dge 'dun] rgya mtsho 'du ba'i gzhal yas khang bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling rgyan du byon dge'o/*.



[470]གནས་རྒྱུད་གི་བདེ་ཡངས་ཁྱམས་སྐོར་སྟོང་སྟོང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་འབྲ་བཤུས།

རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་གནས་རྒྱུད་དཀར་ཆག་²⁹²

²⁹³ (༡)[XX]གདོད་ནས་བདེ་ཚེན་ཚོས་སྐྱུ་མི་འགྱུར་མཉམ་ཡང་སྲུ་མཐའ་དང་བྲལ་ཁྱབ་གདལ་སྣང་།
|XX ²⁹⁴བསྐྱོད་སྐྱོད་ལོངས་སྐྱོད་རྩོགས་སྐྱུ་ཏྲ་མགོན་དབང་གི་XXXXX ²⁹⁵
X[X]གངས་བར་རབ་དཀའ་སྐྱལ་སྐྱུའི་སྐྱོས་གར་ལེགས་སྐྱུར་པད་དཀར་རིགས་ལྷ་འཆང་བའི་གཙོ།
སྐྱུ་གསུམ་དབྱེར་མེད་ཞབས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱུ་བོས་འདུད་ན་མཚོག་དང་མཐུན་མོང་དངོས་གྲུབ་བྱེན་ཚེན་པོ་བ།

(༢)གསལ་སྟོང་དབྱིངས་རིགས་ངང་ལས་སྐྱུན་གྲུབ་ཞི་ལོ་རབ་འབྱམས་འཇའ་ཟེར་འོད་མའི་སྟོང་།
།གཅིག་ཏུ་XXXXXXXX[XXXXXXXX] ²⁹⁶གར།
།རྩི་རྩི་འཛིན་པས་ཀུན་གྱི་ཁྱབ་བདག་ཐོད་ཐོང་རྩལ་གྱིས་གངས་ཅན་དཔུང་གཉེན་བུ།
།སྐར་ཡང་སྐྱེན་ལ་བསྐྱེན་དང་འགྲོ་བའི་ཕན་བདེའི་རྩ་ལག་དམ་བ་མཛད་པར་སྐྱལ།

²⁹² Lingön Padma Kelzang: (གཤམ་གསལ་མང་རྟགས་ནི་མ་ཡིག་ཡིག་གྲངས་གི་མཚན་རྟགས་མཚན་བྱེད་དང་ཀུར་རྟགས་རྣམས་མི་གསལ་བའི་ཚོག་
འབྲུའི་ཚབ་མཚན་ཡིན།).

²⁹³ Along the top of the record, before the text proper, there is a Sanskrit prayer given first in Rañjanā (Tib. *lanydza*) script and then transliterated into Tibetan letters. Both lines are so obscured by damage to the wall that they are almost completely unreadable, which may explain why Lingön Padma Kelzang did not transcribe them. I do not include these lines in my transcription for the same reason. Presumably, the first stanza of the text given here is the Tibetan translation of this prayer.

²⁹⁴ Lingön Padma Kelzang: (འདི་བར་ཚོག་རྒྱང་གཅིག་ཙམ་མི་གསལ་); trans. *about one line of verse is unclear here*. Judging from the wall inscription, my observation is that less than half the line is obscured.

²⁹⁵ It is unclear how many syllables are actually missing between the second and third verses of this stanza, since damage to the inscription has obscured the line breaks as well as an unknown number of syllables. However, the trend of this prefatory poem is that each stanza diminishes in syllable count by odd numbers. The second stanza possesses 17-syllable lines, the third stanza has 15-syllable lines, and so on. The last line of this first stanza is definitively 19 syllables long, making the first three lines likely 19 syllables long as well. Lingön Padma Kelzang gives the first line 17 syllables, though it appears that he missed two syllables at the beginning due to the damage.

²⁹⁶ Given the surrounding stanza of 17-syllable lines, this line is most likely missing 14 syllables.

།ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་མཁུན་བཅེ་རྣམས་མཐུའི་རང་གཟུགས་རིགས་གསུམ་རྒྱ་དྲ་**ཚོས་དཔོན་རྗེ།**
 །ཚྱོགས་འདིའི་ལོག་རྟོག་ལུན་བཅོམ་ཚེས་དཀར་གནང་བས་ཁྱབ་མཛད་**ལྷ་ཏུ་ཏུ།**
 །ཀུན་(3)ལུས་ཁ་སྐྱོར་བདུན་ལྡན་ཁམས་གསུམ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་**ཚོང་ཁ་པ།**
 །གང་མཚམས་སྐལ་བས་སྐྱེ་བྱ་XXXXXXXXXX²⁹⁷ དཔལ།

།རྣམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཁ་དོག་སྣ་ལྡེའི་འཇའ་ཚོན་མདངས་བཀྲག་ཉར།
 །ཁྱི་རྒྱས་དབང་དག་ལས་ཀུན་སོ་སོར་བསྐྱབ་ཆེད་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ལྷགས།
 །ཡོན་ཏན་འཕྱིན་ལས་སྐལ་བའི་**ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་ལྡར་ལགས་བཞུན་**²⁹⁸ །ཏེ།
 །སྐལ་བའི་ཏུ་འདྲེན་པོ་ཉ་དམ་ཅན་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཐུ་དབུང་བསྐྱེད།

།**མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྩ་རྗེས་**ལྷེ་དཔོན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་བོ་ཏུ།
 །མངའ་གསོལ་རྩ་རྗེ་ལག་གཏད་འཆི་མེད་(༤)ཨ་མི་ཏ།
 །ཉེར་ལྷུང་དམ་ཚོག་གཉན་²⁹⁹ པོ་རབ་བསྐྱགས་གཉེར་བསྐྱོས་པའི།
 །ཐ་ཚོག་མ་བསྐལ་བོད་ཁམས་བཞུན་འགྲུའི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་སྤེལ།

།XXXXXXXX ཀྱི་དབང་ཕྱུག་སོགས།
 །**ཚ་བརྒྱད་ལྷ་མས་**དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཚོན་བོ་ཏུ།
 །གཙུག་ནས་བཟན་དུ་གཏད་དེ་འཕྱིན་ལས་ཀུན།
 །ཐོགས་མེད་རྒྱབ་པའི་དམ་བཅའ་དང་འདིར་དགོངས།
 །རྒྱལ་བའི་གདུང་ཚབ་སྐྱེ་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ།
 །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀུན་འདུས་**དག་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་**དང་།
 །མང་བཀུར་གཙུག་རྒྱན་**བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་**སྤེལ།
 །བསྐྱེན་གསོལ་དུས་ལས་མ་ཡོལ་སྤང་སྐྱབས་མགོན།
 །རྩམས་བཅུད་དུར་ཁྲོད་རོལ་(༥)བའི་པོ་བྲང་ཆེར།
 །ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་མཚོད་སྤྱིན་འབྱོར་ཚོགས་སོགས།
 །དཀོར་ཚོར་བར་མཚམས་མེད་པར་རབ་གཏམས་པ།
 །ཉིང་འཛིན་ལྷགས་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་ཆེར་མཚོད།
 །ཉིན་མཚན་དུས་དུག་རྩེ་གཅིག་ནལ་འབྱོར་གྱིས།
 །གཡལ་རྗེས་དར་ཚོན་འབོད་བརྩ་རོལ་མོ་དབྱངས།

²⁹⁷ Instead of X's, Lingön Padma Kelzang adds the following parenthetical note here:
 (འདིའི་བར་ཚོག་འབྲུབ་བརྒྱུད་མི་གསལ་); trans. *eight syllables are unclear here.*
²⁹⁸ Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཞུན་; corrected to བཞུན་.
²⁹⁹ Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཉེན་; corrected to གཉན་.

།བསྐྱུར་དུང་སྒྲིན་གཏིབས་ཨཀ་རབ་སྐྱེང་ན།
 །སྒོག་ལྷར་སྒྲིན་ལ་བད་ལྷ་ཉི་མར་བཞུགས།
 །[471] བན་བདེའི་རྩ་ལག་ཐུབ་བཟླན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ།
 །འཛིན་ཞིང་སྐྱོད་མཛད་ཁྲིམས་ལྷན་འདུས་ལྷ་ཡི།
 །འཆད་རྩོད་རྩོམ་པ་དབྱར་མཚོ་བཞིན་འཕྱར་བས།
 །ཚོས་ལྷན་བྱ་བ་མཐའ་དག་ལྷ་ལྷར་སྐྱེལ།

།དེའང་མཁས་(༤)འཇུག་ལས།
 བཟླན་བཅོས་བྱེད་པའི་དམ་པ་ཡིས།
 །བཟླན་པ་སྐྱེལ་བྱེད་དག་པའི་ཚོག།
 །སྒོན་པ་ལ་ནི་མཚོད་བཟོད་བྱ།
 །འདི་ལ་འཐད་པ་བཟང་པོ་མཐོངས།

།ཞེས་པ་ལྷར་སྒྲིན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་ཞུགས་ནས་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་མཚོད་
 བཟོད་བྱེད་པ་དང་། རང་གི་ཕྱོགས་བཟུང་སྟེ་གཞན་ལ་སྤྲུག་དོག་གི་ཀུན་ལྷངས་མ་ཡིན་པའི་རྒྱ་
 མཚན།

།ལྷ་ལས་ཐུལ་བྱུང་གི་བཟོད་པར།
 །ལྷ་སྐྱོ་སོགས་ལ་མི་སྤང་ཡང་།
 །དེ་ཉིད་སྒོན་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་འཛིན།
 །གཙོ་(༥)པའི་དོན་ལ་མི་བསྐྱེད་བྱེད།
 བདག་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཕྱོགས་[མི་འཛིན།]³⁰¹
 །གང་ཞེག་རིགས་པར་ལྷན་པའི་ཚོག།
 །ཞེས་དང་རིག་པའི་དབང་ལྷུག་གིས།
 །གཞན་ལ་རྗེས་སུ་དཔོག་པར་གསུངས།³⁰²

།ཞེས་ཐོབ་བྱ་མངོན་མཐོ་དང་། དེས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་གོ་འཕང་སྦྱོལ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་འཇུག་དགོས་པར་ཐམས་
 ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པས་དཔལ་དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ཆེན་པོའི་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་གསང་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་
 གནད་རྣམ་པར་བྱེ་བར་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། འོ་སྟོལ་གྱི་སྟོན་པ་ཤུག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་པོས་འགོ་བ་རྣམས་མ་དག་
 པའི་ལམ་ལ་རབ་འབྱིང་ཐ་གསུམ་གྱི་གདུལ་བྱའི་དབང་པོ་དང་འཚོམས་པའི་སྟོ་ནས་དགྱི་བར་བཞེད་
 དེ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གངས་རི་སྟེད་ཅིག་བཀའ་སྟུལ།

300 The lines in these 5 stanzas are all 9 syllables long.
 301 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བདག་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཕྱོགས་རྩོད་(ཅིང་།)X The stanza being cited, as the text itself makes clear, is from the *Lha las phul du byung bar bstod pa*. After referring to the text directly, and conferring with other texts that cite this stanza separately (see Gung thang 03 2000, p. 352, and Khri byang 03 199?, p. 462), I have concluded that the last two syllables of this verse are actually མི་འཛིན་. See note 26 for details on this text.
 302 The lines in these two stanzas are all 7 syllables long.

མདོ་དགོངས་པ་འདུས་པར།	
།འདྲེན་པའི་ཐེག་པ་གསུམ་པོ་དག།	།བཅོམ་ལྡན་པའི་པར་གསུང་། ^(༤) ལགས་ན།
།རྒྱ་འབྲས་རྩུན་གྲུབ་ཏུ་སྦྱོད་ཅིང་།།	།སངས་རྒྱས་གཞན་ནས་མི་འཚོལ་བའི།
།ངས་པའི་ཐེག་པ་གཅིག་མ་གསུང་།།	།ཞེས་པའི་ལན་དུ།
།རྒྱ་ལ་སྦྱོར་བ་རྒྱ་ཚོས་གྱི།	།འཁོར་ལོ་རབ་ཏུ་བསྐྱོར་བྱས་ནས།
།རྗེ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པ་(ཉི་ལམ་ཞེག)	།མ་འོངས་དུས་ན་འབྱུང་བར་འགྱུར།

།ཞེས་དབང་པོ་འབྲིང་མན་ལ་རྒྱའི་ཚོས་འཁོར་རྣམས་བསྐྱོར་ཅིང་། རབ་རྣམས་ལ་གསང་སྟགས་རྗེ་རྗེའི་
 ཐེག་པ་བསྟན་ནས་སྐལ་ལྡན་གྱི་གདུལ་བྱའི་ཚོགས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མང་པོ་བསྟོན་མི་³⁰³ དགོས་པར་ཚེ་འདྲིའི་
 བར་ཐ་མའང་སྐྱེ་བ་བདུན་བཅུ་དུག་སོགས་ལ་འཚང་རྒྱ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་ལ་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་བར་
 གཅོད་མི་མཐུན་པའི་སྟེགས་^(༡)ལས་རྒྱལ་བར་བྱ་བའི་སྟེར་ཚོས་སྦྱོང་རུས་མཐུ་དང་ལྡན་པར་འཕྲིན་
 ལས་འཚོལ་³⁰⁴ བར་རག་ལུས་³⁰⁵ བར་བཤད་པས།

རྒྱུད་ལས།	
རྒྱལ་བ་གཅིག་གི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལས།	།དུ་མ་ལས་འདས་[པའི་]འགྲོ་བ། ³⁰⁶
།རང་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རྣམས་བར་རྣང་།།	།དོན་དམ་གཉིས་མེད་ཅིག་ཏུ་རྗོགས་ ³⁰⁷ །
།རྩུན་གྲིས་གྲུབ་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རོ་ ³⁰⁸ །	།ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར།

རྒྱལ་བ་མེ་ཚེན་པོ་བརྒྱད་སོགས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ནང་དུ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཆེ་མཚོག་ཏེ་ཅུ་ཀའི་རྣམ་པར་རོལ་བ་
 ལས་མ་འདས་ཤིང་མཚོད་བསྟོད་དྲེགས་པའི་ནང་ནས་རྒྱལ་བ་མེ་ཚེན་པོ་པོ་ཀར་ཡང་གཙོ་འཁོར་རྣམས་
 གདུལ་བྱ་གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་གྱི་སྐར་བསྟན་པ་ལས་རང་རྒྱུད་པ་མིན་ཚུལ་རྒྱུད་^(༡༠)ལྟེ་ཐམས་ཅད་
 དགོངས་པ་མཐུན་ཞིང་སྟག་པར་བསྐྱེད་པ་མདུ་ཡོ་ག་ལྟར་ན་ཞི་ཁོ་དམ་པ་རྟོགས་བརྒྱའི་མདངས་ལས་

303 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མ; corrected to མི.
 304 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཚོལ; corrected to འཚོས་.
 305 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལས; corrected to ལུས་.
 306 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །དུ་མ་ལས་འདས། (XXX)གྲོ་བ། In the wall inscription this is clearly a single 7-syllable verse. The འདས་ has since been lost, but with Lingön Padma Kelzang’s transcription, and the inference that the ending གྲོ་བ། is most likely འགྲོ་བ།, this only leaves one missing syllable. I provide an interpolation for this missing syllable.
 307 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྗོགས; corrected to རྗོགས་.
 308 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རོ; corrected to རོ་.

རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་ལྷ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་སྐྱུ་ལོན་ཅུ་འདྲན་བཅས་པར་(སྐྱལ་བ་)XXཡིན་ཚུལ་ནི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱལ་བ་
མངའ་རིས་བརྟུང་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་[1]³⁰⁹

རིགས་ལྗེ་རང་ཚལ་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་སྐུ་ལྷ་དང་[1 ལྷན་]³¹⁰ XXསོགས་རང་མདངས་ཡུམ་ལྷ་དང་།
སེམས་དབང་སེམས་མ་ཡུལ་[472]དུག་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད། ལྷན་ལོན་ཤ་གོལ་[གྱི་གོལ་]³¹¹ ལྷ་ལོན་ཚོགས།

ཤེས་ཞི་བ་དང་ཁྱོ་བོ་ཁྱུ་འཐུང་ཡབ་ཡུམ་སྐྱུ་མེད་རང་XX³¹² (མལ་ལས།) འཇིག་ཚུལ་མཐུ་སྟོབས་
ལྷན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ཚོགས། ཤེས་དང་། ལྷང་ཨ་ལུ་ཡོ་གར་རོ་རྒྱང་དབུ་གསུམ་དྲེགས་བ་པོ་(༡༧)མོ་མ་
ནིང་གསུམ་གྱི་ངོ་བོར་དང་། [ཨ་ཏི་ཡོ་གར་]³¹³ ལྷང་སྟོང་རྒྱང་འཇུག་གི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་ཤེས་དགོས་པ་
ཡོན་ཏན་སྐྱལ་བ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དབང་པོའི་ཤེས།

ལྷང་སྟོང་དབྱེར་མེད་དྲེགས་རྒྱ་བོ་མའི་ཚོགས།
ཤེས་མེད་དབྱིངས་ལས་ལས་བཞིའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་བསྐྱལ།

ཅེས་དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་³¹⁴ སེམས་རྣམ་རྟོག་[X་ལྷན་]³¹⁵ ཚོས་ཉིད་རང་ལྷང་གི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐེག་ལེ་ཉག་
ཅེག་སྟོབས་བྲལ་ཡིན་ཚུལ།

309 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ལྷ་ after the ལྱིས་ that is not found in the wall inscription. The space is too small to allow for a syllable, but there is the hint of a *shad*. Moreover, this reading makes the next verse 9 syllables long, which is the same length as the three verses that follow it, creating one uniform quatrain.

310 Lingön Padma Kelzang: X. In the wall inscription there is a clear *shad* line here and the syllable ལྷན་ is visible.

311 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted. In the wall inscription two syllables, ལྱི་གོལ་, are visible before the ལྷ་ལོན་.

312 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds an extra unnecessary X here.

313 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཨ་ནི་ཡོ་གར་; corrected to ཨ་ཏི་ཡོ་གར་.

314 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a མེད་ after the རང་ that is not found in the wall inscription.

315 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འདུལ་དཀར་. In the wall inscription it appears that both characters in these spaces are colored red to distinguish them from the surrounding words. Moreover, the second character is a partially visible ཨ་ that clearly ends in a *visarga* (h). Since this second character is most likely ལྷ་, the first, more obscure character is also possibly a *mantric* seed syllable, though the damage is too severe to make a confident reading. Regardless, Lingön Padma Kelzang’s suggestion appears to be false.

ཁྱིམ་གསུམ་དུ།

རིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས།

ལམ་ཅིག་ནི་ཀུན་གྱི་³¹⁶ རང་བཞིན་[དྲི]

སྣང་སྲིད་]³¹⁷ ལྷ་འདྲེ་རང་གི་སེམས།[

]³¹⁸ ལམ་ཅིག་གི་སྲིད་[པར་ཐག་]³¹⁹ ཚོད་ལས།

སེམས་ཉིད་དེ་མེད་དག་པ་སྟེ།

སྣང་སྲིད་ལྷ་འདྲེ་སྣུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ།³²⁰

ཤེས་བདེ་གསལ་མི་རྟོག་³²¹ པའི་རང་ལས་(ཉ་ཨ)མ་གཡོས་³²² བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཡོན་ཉན་
འཕྲིན་ལས། ལྷ་རྣམས་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ནས་འགྲོ་དོན་སྟོགས་མེད་དུ་ཤར་བ་ཡིན།

ཀུན་རྗེ་བྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེ་ཀར་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བ་XX[སྟོན་མར་]གསང་བའི་བདག་པོས་སྣལ་བར་བསྐྱལ་བ་དཔག་
དུ་མེད་པའི་སྟོན་རོལ་དུ་མ་ཉ་སྐྱུ་³²³ ཉ་བྱ་བར་ཚོས་ལྷན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་XXX³²⁴ དགེ་སྲོང་ལེགས་ལྷན་ནག་
པོ་སྟོན་པོར་གྲུར་པའི་ཚོ་མཁན་པོ་ལྷ་འོད་[དུན་རྟེ་] ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་མཚན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་འོད་
གཞོན་ཅུ་དང་སྟོན་པོར་³²⁶ དུན་³²⁷ [དྲིང་]ནག་པོ་[XXXXརྒྱལ་པོ་XXXXXXXXXX X]³²⁸ དེའི་ཚོ་
འགོང་པོ་དགུ་འདུས་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཁང་དུ་ལྷ་འོད་གཞོན་ཅུ་དང་བཟའ་ཟེ་མ་འདུས་པ་དང་སྟོན་ལམ་སོགས་ལ་
རྟེན་(ཉ་ཨ)ནས་བཤན་པ་Xམགོ་XX³²⁹ ལྷ་མི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་འབར། ལྷན་མི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་འོད། འཕྲི་བ་སོགས་གྱི་
སྐྱེ་³³⁰ མཐར་ཡབ་སྐྱེ་རྗེ་བཅན་པོ་དང་ཡུམ་[བདུད་]³³¹ གཟའ་སྟོན་³³² དཀར་མ་³³³ X³³⁴ XXལཔ་རྗེ་ལྷ་

316 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མི; corrected to ལྟོག་.
317 Lingön Padma Kelzang: XXXX(ལས་མ་འདས་ཕྱིར་).
318 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ལས་ here rather than a *shad* and space.
319 Lingön Padma Kelzang: XX.
320 My understanding of these verses and their content is aided by the *Hagiography of Jokpa Jangchup Penden* (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.4a.3-4), which provides an approximation of these lines that is closer to the wall inscription than Lingön Padma Kelzang’s interpolations.
321 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟོགས་; corrected to རྟོག་.
322 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཡོས་; corrected to གཡོས་.
323 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མ་དབྱེད་; corrected to ལྷ་.
324 Compare with Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.1.
325 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དུ་སྣང་; corrected to དུན་རྟེང་.
326 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མོ་; corrected to མོར་.
327 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དུ་; corrected to དུན་.
328 In the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription, this large section of obscure words has been reduced to XXXXརྒྱལ་པོ་ and misplaced 18 syllables back, following དུན་རྟེང་. I present here the placement according to the wall inscription. Compare with Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.3-4.
329 The inscription is damaged here, but drawing on Sle lung rje drung 1979, p. 38, as well as Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.db., f.7b.6, this name is clearly བཤན་པ་ར་མགོ་ཅན་པ་.
330 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྐྱེད་; corrected to སྐྱེ་.

མེད། ལྷམ་ཐོགས་ཉམས་པ་རྗེ།³³⁵ ལྷ་བདུད་ལྷམ་དཀར་རྗེ། ལྷམ་³³⁶ ཐོགས་འབར་བ་རྗེ། བདུད་
³³⁷ རྣམ་སྒྲིང་[ཚེན་Xདོན་]³³⁸ མཚེད་ལྷའི་བར་ཚོགས་སྐྱ་བདུད་ལྷམ་³³⁹ དཀར་རྗེར་གྱུར་པའི་དུས་ནམ་
མཁའའི་ལྷ་སོགས་སྣང་སྲིད་ལྷ་སྲིན་སྲེ་བརྒྱད་རྣམས་བར་དུ་བཀོལ། ལྷར་སྤོང་ཟས་སྤྱོད་ཐོས་XXXབདུད་
མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་XXXXXXXXXསྐྱེ་འགྲོ་དང་ལ་བཏབ། ཉེན་གྱི་ཟས་སྤྱོད་ལོ་བརྒྱ། ལུབ་གྱི་ཟས་སྤྱོད་མོ་བརྒྱ།
འོགས་གྱི་ཟས་སྤྱོད་གྱུ་བརྒྱ། (༡༤)ཐོས་པ་སོགས་མི་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་དང་སྤྱི་བུ་སྤྱོད་གི་
³⁴⁰ བསྐྱར་བའི་སྤྱི་བུ་སྤྱོད་པས་ལྷན་གནམ་གྱི་ཡར་སྤྲོད་ནས་བྱིས་པ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་སེང་གོ་དཀར་པོ་
ཨོ་ཚུགས་XXXXXXXXཤིང་མིག་བཀྲང་པ་རྣ་བ་³⁴¹ ཤོང་ངེ་བས་མཚོངས་པ་བར་དེ་རྣམ་པོ་མི་³⁴² ལྷག་
པའི་གཟུགས་གྱི་གནམ་རྩོད་དཀར་པོ་ལྷག་[ཅམ་]³⁴³ X པའི་XXXདགོ་བསྐྱེད་གཞིན་ལུ་ཡིད་དུ་འོང་
བ་ལག་ན་ཤེལ་སྲིད་བརྒྱ་ཅ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱུད་བར་སྐྱུལ་བས་མཚོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པའི་སྐྱ་འཕྱུལ་སྐྱོན་
གྲངས་ལས་འདས་པ་སྐྱོན་པར་མཛད་པའི་སྐབས་XXX[X](དགའ་རབ་)དོ་རྗེ་དང་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་
པོ་བརྒྱ་ཐོད་སྲིད་ཅམ་གྱིས་³⁴⁵ བསམ་གྲུབ་ཤེལ་གྱི་སྤྱག་པ་སོགས་སྤྱོད་དབང་བསྐྱར་དམ་(༡༥)བཞུག་
མཛད་པར་སོག་སྤྲོད་མདངས་གསོལ་དུ་སྤུལ་ཞིང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱོད་བར་ཞལ་
གྱིས་བཞེས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། དང་སང་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྲོད་པའི་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་གྱི་འདུལ་
ཞིང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ལྷར་རྗེ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་[473]བཅོན་པོ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་[ལྷ་བཅོད་པོ་]³⁴⁸ ཁྲི་སྤོང་སྤྱོད་
བཅོན་གྱི་³⁴⁹ དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་སྤེལ་བར་བཞེད་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་སྐྱའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་
འཛིན་པ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཞི་བ་འཚོ་སྐྱེད་དངས་ནས་ཁམས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་དགོ་བ་[བཅུ་ལས་

331 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་ (བདུད)X. Lingön Padma Kelzang’s transcription is erroneously convoluted here.
332 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷན་; corrected to ལྷེན་.
333 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མ་; corrected to མ་.
334 The syllable looks like བཏོས་; however, the following two syllables are too obscure to make a confident reading.
335 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
336 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷམ་; corrected to ལྷམ་.
337 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷད་; corrected to བདུད་.
338 This is Lingön Padma Kelzang’s transcription. I suspect it is: རྗེ་X; but the inscription is too damaged to confirm.
339 See note 336 above.
340 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷམ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.
341 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷ་.
342 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.
343 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; here I interpolate what is the most likely word, ཅམ་.
344 Lingön Padma Kelzang: XXX; corrected to X.
345 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷེ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.
346 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
347 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷེན་; corrected to ལྷེན་.
348 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷེན་ལྷེན་; corrected to ལྷེན་ལྷེན་པོ་.
349 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷེ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.

བཅུམས་]³⁵⁰ པའི་སློལ་གཞུག་³⁵¹ པ་སྣ་སྟེན་(རྣམས་ཀྱིས་)[XXXXXX]³⁵² མཛད་པ་མ་སྟེར་བར་སློབ་
 དཔོན་གྱིས་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་བཞིན་འཛམ་བུ་³⁵³ སྒྲིང་ན་X[XXX]³⁵⁴ སློབ་དཔོན་པར་(༡༢)མམ་³⁵⁵ ལྷ་མ་
 གདན་དངས་ཏེ་བསམ་ཡས་མི་འགྱུར་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་
 ཤིང་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བསྐྱར་XXཔར་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་བསྐྱར་མར་སྐྱུ་བྱུར་ལུང་ལྷ་
 པར་བསྟོ་བར་མཛད་པ་སྐྱུ་ཚོ་³⁵⁶ རོར་རྒྱ་ཁབ་ཅམ་³⁵⁷ གྱི་(རྗེས་སུ་)ཚོད་པོའི་ཉེན་ལམ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་འགྲོ་
 བའི་དེ་ཉིད་X[XX]གསོལ་³⁵⁸ བ་བཞིན་ལྷ་སྟེན་སྐྱ་རུག་བཅོན་པོས་གྲུ་གྱའི་³⁵⁹ ཡུལ་ནས་ལོ་ཀར་རྟེན་
 པ་³⁶⁰ དང་བཅས་པ་སྐྱུན་དངས་ཏེ་དཀོར་ཁང་གུན་གྱི་བདག་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་བར་མཛད་པ་ལྷར་
 ཚོས་སྤེལ་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་སྤྲངས་ཀྱི་གཅོས་པའི་གནས་སྤྱང་དུ་སྟོན་གྱི་སྟོན་ལམ་དང་³⁶¹ ལྷགས་
 བསྐྱེད་སླེན་ལ་མེད་པའི་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དང་³⁶² ལྷད་པར་(༡༧)སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་བཅེའི་རྣམ་
 པའི་རང་གཟུགས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤར་བཅོང་³⁶³ ལ་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པའི་དཔལ་གྱི་རང་ལྷགས་དྲི་མ་
 མེད་པ་འདི་ཉིད་འཛིན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་བསྟེན་གསོལ་རྒྱན་ཚུགས་པ་
 སྐར་ཡང་སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོའི་དམ་ཚིག་གཉན་³⁶⁴ པོ་[ཉེ་བར་]³⁶⁵ བསྐྱགས་པ་ལྷར་དུ་ལའི་སླ་མ་བསོད་
 བསྟེན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་རིམ་པར་ཚོས་སྤིང་གྱི་རྣམ་དཀར་བཟང་པོ་སྟེན་སྐར་འདེགས་པའི་བསྟན་
 བསྐྱེད་ཀུན་གྱི་རྗེ་པོར་བཀུར་བའི་མཛད་འཕྲིན་ཐམས་ཅད་གོང་འཕེལ་དུ་གྱུར་པར་རྟེན་³⁶⁶ བཞུགས་
 གནས་སྟོན་གྲང་ལྷ་མ་ནས་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤྲམ་³⁶⁷ མཐོ་བ་ཞིག་གི་རེ་བས་འདུས་³⁶⁸ པ་སློབ་དཔོན་པ་
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གྲང་བསྐྱུལ་མ་བྱུང་ནའང་(༡༨)རིམ་ལུས་སྐྱོང་བ་སྤེལ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་སྟོན་གྱི་

350 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅུའི་རྩ་བ་ཚོམ་; corrected to བཅུ་ལས་བཅུམས་.

351 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞུགས་; corrected to གཞུག་.

352 There are obscured syllables here not recorded in the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription.

353 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

354 There are obscured syllables here not recorded in the Lingön Padma Kelzang transcription.

355 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མ་; corrected to མམ་.

356 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོ་; corrected to ཚོ་.

357 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷན་; corrected to ཅམ་.

358 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གསོ་; corrected to གསོལ་.

359 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཤའི་; corrected to གྱའི་. Compare Ta la'i bla ma 05 1992, p. 28.

360 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

361 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

362 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

363 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོང་; corrected to བཅོང་.

364 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཉེན་; corrected to གཉན་.

365 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཉེར་; corrected to ཉེ་བར་.

366 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་; corrected to རྟེན་.

367 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡས་; corrected to ཡས་.

368 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འདུན་; corrected to འདུས་.

མོན་ལམ་དན་པ་ལྷ་བུའི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་བཀོད་པ་གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་བའི་གཙང་ཁང་ཀ་བ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་
 རང་གི་ལྗེ་བས་རིས་ལ་སྐྱ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་བྱང་སེམས་ཡི་དམ་ཞི་ཕྱོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཚེས་སྤྱིང་དང་³⁶⁹ བདེ་
 ཡངས་སུ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྤང་སྲིད་དེགས་པའི་དམག་ཚོགས་XXཁང་དུ་འབྱར་སྐྱ་ལྟ་ཚོགས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད།
 རྗེང་ཁང་གཡས་སུ་གཙོ་འཁོར་ཉེར་ལྔ་[] ³⁷⁰ གཡོན་དུ་འང་གོང་མཚུངས་མཚོད་རྣམ་སྤྱན་གཟེགས་
 སོགས་ཆ་རྒྱན་ཐམས་ཅད་སློབ་མི་འཕྲུང་བ་དཀའ་ཚོགས་ལ་མ་སྤོས་པར་སྤྱན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པར་
 X[མཚོད་]བྱི་བཀའ་འཁོར་རྒྱང་བྱི་རང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་རྣམས་ཞིབ་མོལ་ རྣམ་དཔྱད་གྱི་རྩལ་ལས་
 ཐོན་པའི་བསྐྱལ་མ་བྱང་བ་(༡༩)བཞིན།

རི་སྐད་དུ།

ད་ལྟའི་མགོ་ནག་སྤྱི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྟོད།

མོན་ལམ་དག་པས་སྐྱེ་བ་རྣམ་ལྔ་འདོན།

ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། གཙང་ཁང་ཆེན་མོར་སློབ་དཔོན་བསྐྱ་[ཀ་ར་] ³⁷² དང་། མི་རྗེ་ཁྱི་སྲོང་ལྷུ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐྱ་
 ལྷུལ་ལྷང་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ཟབ་གཏེར་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལྗེ་ལྷ་འཁོར་བཙས་གྱི་གོང་གཞོན་
 གསུང་སྐུལ་གྱ་རྩ་ཚོས་གྱི་དབང་ལྷུག་གི་སྐྱ་ བདུད་རྩོ་བའི་ཟབ་ཚོས་སྐྱ་མ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་ཁྲོ་
 བོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྟ་མགིན་སོགས་གཙོ་འཁོར་བཅུ་བདུན། རྒྱ་ཙན་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་ཆེན་པོ་དང་
 བཙས་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་སྐྱེས་དགའི་རྟེན་སྐལ་གྱི་ཡང་དག་པར་རྗོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་ཡུངས་འབྲུ་ལྟ་
 སུའི་རིང་བསེལ་ལྷ་དཀར་ཚེའི་ ³⁷⁴ རང་[474]རྟེན་དང་རྩེ་ལ་སྤང་གི་མཚོད་ནག་ ³⁷⁵ (༡༠)ནས་ ³⁷⁶ ཐོན་
 པ་རེད། སྐྱ་གསུང་སྐྱ་བལ་གྱི་རིང་བསེལ་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་དགའ་རབ་རྩོ་རྩོ་དང་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་འདི་དབུ་ལོ། **བསྐྱ་**
ཐོད་ལྷེང་རྩལ་ཡལ་ཡུམ་གྱི་བྱང་སེམས་དཀར་དམར་X ³⁷⁷ ཅིག་སྲོང་XXཆེན་པོའི་XXསྐྱ་གསུང་ན་
 བཟུལ། ཟ་ཏོར་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཙུག་ལག་འཛིན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གསུང་། བམ་ཟེ་སྐྱེ་བ་བདུན་པའི་སྐྱ་གྲ། ལོ་ཆེན་བོ་རོ་ཅ་
 རའི་རྒྱ་དཔེ། ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩོ་རྩོའི་དབུ་རྒྱན། རོ་བོ་ཨ་ཏི་ཤའི་སྐྱ་གསུང་ དབུ་ལུ་[] ³⁷⁸ བཞུགས་
³⁷⁹

369 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 370 There is a space here following the hint of a *shad*.
 371 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མའི་; corrected to མོལ་.
 372 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འབྲུང་གནས་གྱི་སྐྱ་X(བརྟན་); corrected to ཀ་ར་.
 373 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷ་.
 374 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྩོ་བའི་; corrected to རྩོའི་.
 375 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 376 Lingön Padma Kelzang has this རྣམ་ at the end of line 19; it is actually at the start of line 20.
 377 Lingön Padma Kelzang has an extra X here than spacing would allow.
 378 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 379 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.

གདན། ལྷག་[X] | ལྷག་ཚལ་ འཛོམ་སྟོན་པའི་སྐྱའི་Xམཚམས་ | དབུ་ལོ། བཞུགས་གདན། རྟོག་ལོ་ལྷ་
 དཔོན་[དང་ལྷ་སྟོན་] ³⁸² གྱེ་ན་བཟའ། བོ་ཏོ་བའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། ལྷགས། དབུ་ལོ། སྐྱ་ཚམས། ལྷ་འདུལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་
 གདུང་། དབུ་ལོ། [༥] ³⁸³ རྩེ་སྟེང་(༢༧)ལྷ་པའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་།] དབུ་ལོ། བཞེས་གཉེན་སྐྱེ་པའི་སྐྱ་
 གདུང་། ཤ་ར་བའི་སྐྱ་མཚལ། འད་ཀ་མ་བའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། བ་བཟའ། ལམས་པ་ལྷང་པའི་ཚུ། སྐལ་ཏི་
 དྲུ་བཙམ་པའི་དབུ་ལོ། རྩམ་སྐྱར། མཚམས་ནམ་མཁའ་གྲགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། ཚས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཙོང་
³⁸⁵ ལ་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐྱ་མཚལ། མཚམས་ | དབུ་ལོ། དབུ་ལྷ། གསང་ཚབ། རྩམ་སྐྱར། སྐྱ་ཚམས། སྐྱ་རགས།
 བཞུགས་གདན། སྐྱེ་འབོལ། གྲུབ་ཚེན་ལས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་རྩེའི་ལྷག་མཚལ། རྟོགས་ལྷ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་
 སྐྱ་གདུང་། འཇམ་དབྱངས་གཙང་པ་བདུན་བརྒྱད་ ³⁸⁷ ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོ། མཁས་གྲུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་སྐྱ་
 གདུང་། [ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་པའི་མཚམས། སྐྱ་ཚམས། ཐམས་ཅད་(༢༢)མཁྱེན་པ་
 དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྐྱ་མཚལ། དབུ་ལོ། སྐྱ་རགས། རྩེ་མདུང་ཚེ་པའི་ན་བཟའ། མཁས་གྲུབ་ལོ་ར་བཟང་
 རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབུ་ལོ།] ³⁸⁸ འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལེགས་ཚས་པའི་རྩམ་སྐྱར། བཤ་ཚེན་བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པའི་སྐྱ་
 གདུང་། དབུ་ལོ། རྩེ་བདེ་བ་ཅན་པའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབུ་
 ལྷང་། སྐྱ་ཤ། ཚབ་མེར་རིལ་ལྷ། གསང་ཚབ། ལུར་རས། སྐྱ་ཚམས། སྐྱ་རགས། གསོལ་ཡང་། གཟུམ་ལུལ།
 འཕམ་ལྷག། བཤ་ཚེན་སྟོ་བཟང་ཚས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་དབུ་ལོ། ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་
 མཚོའི་དབུ་ལོ། ལྷི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཀོན་མཚོག་ཚས་འཕེལ་གྱི་དབུ་ལོ། དེད་རང་གི་སྐྱ་དང་ལྷག་ལྷ་མེས་ལྷ་
 མ་[སྐྱ] ³⁸⁹ གསུམ་གྱི་བུམ་སྐྱབ་རིལ་ལྷ། རྒྱལ་མགོན་ལང་དམར་པོའི་ནས་ནག་ཚོམ་ལྷ་(༢༣)གསར་རྟེང་
 [གི་] ³⁹⁰ དམ་རྩས་རིལ་ལྷ་[དང་] ³⁹¹ རྟོན་དམ་སོགས་ནས་ཆ་ཤས་རེ། ཚས་སྐྱའི་རིང་བསྐལ། དབུ་དང་
 རྟོན་སྐྱད་བར་གསུམ་པད་གཟུངས་རྩམས་པོན་ཆེ་བ། བསྐྱ་དབང་ཚེན་སྟོས་ལ་[ལྷང་གི་] ³⁹² གཏུར་མ་
 ལས་བྱུང་བའི་བསྐྱེ་མཚོང་གོལ་གྱི་སྐྱ། དེད་རང་གི་ལྷ་མེར་སྐྱགས། དུར་ལྷོད་དང་པ་ནག་པོར་རིགས་
 དན་འདྲི་རྟོན་གསུམ་མེད་ལྷང་ ³⁹³ གི་ལུར་པ་རྩ་XXསྟོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོས་གནང་བའི་གཏུར་ལ་བརྒྱ

380 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལན་ཚུན་མངགས་བཙོལ་; the spacing in the inscription doesn't allow for these words.

381 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚམས་; corrected to མཚམས་.

382 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

383 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

384 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

385 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོང་; corrected to བཙོང་.

386 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚམས་; corrected to མཚམས་.

387 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱད་; corrected to བརྒྱད་.

388 In Lingön Padma Kelzang's transcription, these lines were displaced to line 23; see note 397 below.

389 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

390 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

391 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

392 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

393 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷང་; corrected to ལྷང་.

ཅ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ནང་ཚམ་ཟུང་བུ་ལྷང་ནས་གདན་དྲངས་པ་ཏྟ་མགིན་³⁹⁴ ལྷུབ་ཀྱི་སྲོག་འཁོར་
 གཞོན་ལྷེད་གཅུན་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་བཅས་པ།³⁹⁵] ལྷུ་གསུང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྲོག་འཁོར་སོ་སོ་རེ་དང་
³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ དབང་སྐྱུད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྤྱིར་བེ་ཀར་འདི་ལ་རྒྱུད་རྣམ་གངས་མང་ནའང་སྐྱབ་པ་སོ་ལ་མེད་དུ་མི་
³⁹⁸ ཅུང་བ་³⁹⁹ ཅ་བརྒྱུད་³⁹⁹ རོར་སྐྱེའི་རྒྱུད་ལེའུ་[སོ་] ⁴⁰⁰ གཞིས་པ་[ནས་] ⁴⁰¹ ལྷིར་དྲིལ་དང་སོ་སོ་ལ་ཕྱི་ནང་
 གསང་(༢༥)གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱབ་པ། གཡུ་ཤིང་སྲོན་བོའི་རྒྱུད་ལེའུ་བདུན་པ་ནས་⁴⁰² ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་པ། བཤད་
 རྒྱུད་ཤེལ་[ཤིང་] ⁴⁰³ དཀར་བོའི་ལེའུ་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་ནས་བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ་ལས་སྤྱོད། ལྷུགས་ཤིང་རག་བོའི་རྒྱུད་
 [475]ནས་XXXབདུད་རག་མིག་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱབ་པ། བེ་ཀར་འཕུང་⁴⁰⁴ ལྷེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ནས་ཕྱི་སྐྱབ་
 [དང་] ⁴⁰⁶ ལེགས་ལྡན་གྱི་སྐྱབ་པ། འབག་སེང་རོ་XXརྒྱུད་ནས་གསང་སྐྱབ། བལ་མོ་ལུས་ལན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་
 རས་བདུད་བོ་ཡབ་ཤར་⁴⁰⁸ ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་པ། སྲོག་ལས་རྒྱལ་བོའི་རྒྱུད་ནས་སྲོག་གཅུན་ཐབས། སྲོག་འཁོར་
 ལེའུ་བརྒྱབ་བརྒྱུད་པ་དང་ཅོ་རྟ་⁴⁰⁹ ལྷིང་འབྲིན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ནས་ཤེ་བ་ཨར་གཏད། རྒྱལ་བོའི་ལས་རྒྱུད་ནས་
 [ནང་རྒྱས།] ⁴¹⁰ གིང་ཚེན་སྐྱེ་མཚེག་དམར་བོའི་རྒྱུད་ལེའུ་དགུ་པ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བོའང་འདུལ་ཐབས། ཏྟ་
 མགིན་ལལ་བརྒྱུད་⁴¹¹ རས་རྒྱལ་བོ་བསྐྱངས་ཐབས་བསྐྱེན་པ་རྣམས་(༢༥)ཉམས་⁴¹² ལུ་[ལན་] ⁴¹³ རྒྱལ་ལ་
 དས་ཤེས་ལེགས་པར་འདྲོངས་ནས་རྗེ་སློན་འབངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཞེན་པ། ལྷུབ་⁴¹⁴ ལུགས་ལའང་བེ་ཀར་།
 གཞོན་སྤྱིན། མགོན་པོ། གིང་པོ་རྒྱུད་། མོ་རྒྱུད་[།] ⁴¹⁵ XXགཅིག་ལུ། འཁོར་བཅས། ཞི་རྒྱས་དབང་དུག་སྐྱེ་
 གསུང་ལུགས་ཡོན་ཏན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་བཤད་པ་སྤྱི་གི་མཚེད་གསུམ་དུ་བསྐྱབ་⁴¹⁵ བ་ལྟེ་

394 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds གསང་ here.
 395 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
 396 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ; corrected to དང་.
 397 See note 388 above.
 398 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི; corrected to བ་.
 399 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱུད; corrected to བརྒྱུད་.
 400 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 401 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 402 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds མ་ here.
 403 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བན་རྒྱུན་མངགས་བཅོལ་; corrected to ཤིང་.
 404 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds འབག་སེང་ here.
 405 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུང; corrected to འཕུང་.
 406 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 407 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཤར; corrected to ཤར་.
 408 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཅི; corrected to ཅོ་རྟ་.
 409 Lingön Padma Kelzang: XX; corrected to རང་རྒྱས་.
 410 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱུད; corrected to བརྒྱུད་.
 411 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལམས་; corrected to ཉམས་.
 412 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 413 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུབ; corrected to ལྷུབ་.
 414 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 415 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུབ; corrected to བརྒྱུབ་.

།ཉེས་ལ་སོ་སོ་བར་བསྐྱབ་པ་ལ་རྩལ་རྩལ་ཚོགས་ནས་དུས་ནི་མ་⁴¹⁶ ཉི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སོགས་འབྱུགས་
 མེད་བཅས་ཏེ། བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ་མཚོན་བསྐྱངས་གསོལ་ལས་ངར་བཏགས་ནས་པ་ལྟར་བརྟེན། ལུ་ལྟར་འབྱུག
 རྟོགས་ལྟར་འགྲོག།] ལྷ་ལྟར་བཀོལ། དག་ལྟར་གཟེར⁴¹⁸ ། རོར་ལྟར་བཅང་། བཅོན་ལྟར་སྦངས། བྱི
 ལྟར་རུད་⁴¹⁹ པ་སོགས་⁴²⁰ བསྐྱེན་ཐབས་བརྒྱད་པོ་སྟོན་སོང་གི་བོད་རྟེན་བསང་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟགས་ཐོན་པ་
 དང་དབང་བསྐྱུ་དམ་བཟེ་⁴²¹ དམ་(༢༤)[བཏགས་]⁴²² དབང་བསྐྱུར་རྩེས་ལས་ལ་སྐྱུར་ཞིང་ཚོག་ན་ལོག་
 གཞོན་དང་བསྟོད་བསྐྱུལ་སོགས་གྱི་སྟོན་ནས་དག་པོ་ཟས་སྐལ་དུ་སྟེར། ལོག་བརྟུག་ འབྱུམས་པར་གོལ་
 པ་གཙོན་ཅིང་XXཨར་གཏད། གཙོ་སྐྱུང་གི་མཐར་མཐན་བསྟོག་འཕང་གསུམ་གྱི་ལས་གྱི་མཇུག་བསྐྱུ་
⁴²⁴ དགོས་པས་མཚོན་སྟེ། གནད་བཞི། གཏོར་མའི་གནད་དུག་སྟོན་བཅུ་སྐྱངས་པའི་འཁོར་ལའི་གནད་
 དག་ལྟེ་རྩལ་པོ་རང་ལ་གཞོན་ན་ལོག་མཐོན་⁴²⁵ སོག་འཁོར་ལུགས་ཀ འབྱུམས་ན་ལུས་ལ་བཅང་བ།
 བརྟུག་ན་སོག་འཁོར་དག་སྟགས་དང་བཅས་པས་གཟེར། རང་རྩལ་ན་ཤི་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ། ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་
 དང་འགས་ན་དབང་ཚེན་གྱི་ཏིང་འཛིན། མ་ཉི་ཞལ་འཁོར་བསྐྱེལ་མ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་མཇུན་
 དུ།]སྐྱ་གི་སོ་བཀལ་ཅན་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ལྟོ་བ། བཀར་བ་ལོག་གཞོན་གྱི་ཅན་(༢༥)རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ལྟོ་བ།
 ལོག་བརྟུག་⁴²⁷ འབྱུམས་པའི་གནད་དང་དོད་ཚོད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅན་ཚང་བ་སྟེ་དགའི་ནང་ནས་རྣལ་
 འབྱོར་པ་རྩུ་སྐྱོར་སྟེན་བདག་མངའ་འབངས་⁴²⁸ སོགས་ལ་⁴²⁹ རྩལ་[བོ་སྐྱ་ལྟོ་] ⁴³⁰ པོ་ཉ་མངག་གཞུགས་
 དང་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་སྟེང་ཉེ་ཞིང་མི་འབྲལ་བའི་སྟོན་གྱི་སོག་འཁོར་སྐྱུལ་བའི་ཚོས་རྩལ་སྐྱ་ལྟོ་ཡུམ་
 ཚེན་ལྟོ་སོ་སོ་པོ་སོ་སོ་རེ།] XX ⁴³¹ ལྟོ་མ་དོ་⁴³² ལྟོ་པའི་⁴³³ ལྟོ་པའི་⁴³⁴ ལྟོ་པའི་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འཁོར་སོག་སེལ་

416 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མི; corrected to མ.
 417 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *tsheg* here, where the wall inscription has a space.
 418 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཟེར; corrected to གཟེར.
 419 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རུད; corrected to རུད.
 420 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 421 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 422 Lingön Padma Kelzang has གགས. The wall inscription is too damaged here to read the word correctly. I am reading this word as བཏགས because it makes greater sense given the context.
 423 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྟུགས; corrected to བརྟུག.
 424 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱུད; corrected to བསྐྱུ.
 425 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞོན; corrected to མཐོན.
 426 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
 427 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྟུགས; corrected to བརྟུག.
 428 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལ here.
 429 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ; corrected to ལ.
 430 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མའི; Lingön Padma Kelzang misses two other nearly illegible words.
 431 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
 432 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds one more X than the space would allot.
 433 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྟོ; corrected to ལྟོ.
 434 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལའི; corrected to ལའི.

བའི་སྲོག་འཁོར་རེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ལྷོ་[X]⁴³⁵ ལ་སོ་སོར་XXམ་ལུ་[སྲོར་བའི་]⁴³⁶ སྲོག་འཁོར་རེ། ཐམས་
 ཅད་མཁུན་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤྱགས་དམ་གཟིགས་སྤང་མའི་སྤྱལ་བའི་ཚོས་སྲོང་ཚེན་པོ་དོ་རྗེ་
 གྲགས་ལྷན་ལ་གོང་གི་སྲོག་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་དུ་དེད་རང་གི་རིང་འགག་སྤྱབ་ཐབས་སྤྱིན་ནག་
 འཁྲིགས་པ་ནས་བཤད་པའི་མི་ལོར་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་(༢༩)འཕེལ་བའི་སྤོབས་འཁོར་དང་ཚོ་བསོད་རྒྱས་
 པའི་སྲོག་འཁོར་⁴³⁷ ། ཀུན་སྲོང་གྲིང་པའི་ཟབ་གཏེར་གྱི་བན་སྤྲུགས་བོན་གསུམ་གི་མཐུ་གཏད་སོགས་ཕྱི་
 བརྒྱད་བྱང་བསྐྱོག་ཚེན་མའི་འཁོར་ལོ། གཞུག་ཏྲོར་གདུགས་དཀར་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱབ་བྱ་བསྤུང་[476]བའི་
 འཁོར་ལོ། ལོར་ལུ་པད་མེང་[དང་]⁴³⁸ བདུད་ཚི་འཁྲུལ་བའི་ཚོ་འཁོར་རེ། སྤྱ་རྟེན་དེ་ཉིད་སྤྱ་ཕེབས་དང་
 འཕྲོག་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོའི་[XX]⁴³⁹ སྤྱ་བརྟན་དང་རལ་གི་འཇུག་རྒྱར་གཞན་བ། གསུང་རྟེན་ལྷང་
 གཏེར་སྤྲུགས་རྗེ་ཚེན་པོ་འགོ་འདུལ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་ལུའི་ཤོག་སེར་ཚང་མ། སྤྲུགས་རྟེན་གཏེར་ལ་དེ་
 གའི་གནམ་སྤྲུགས་དོ་རྗེ་གཟི་བྱིན་འབར་བ། ལས་ཅན་ལུ་བདུན་གྱི་ནང་ནས་སེ་རྟོན་ཉི་མ་བཟང་པོར་
 སྤྱལ་སྤྱ་རིགས་⁴⁴⁰ འཛིན་རྟོན་གྱི་ལྷེམ་སྤྱ་ཅན་གྱི་⁴⁴¹ བྱང་སྤྲུགས་མཛོད་ནས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་པའི་རལ་གི་
 གཏད་དེ་ཁྲོད་གྱི་ལུ་བརྒྱད་ དང་(༢༩)བཅས་པས་མངའ་རིས་གུང་ཐང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོགས་གྱི་སྤྱ་དག་
 ཞིང་བཅུ་ཚང་བའི་དག་བཏགས་སྤོལ་བའི་ལག་ཆར་གནང་བ། འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཡིད་གཏད་ར་རྒྱ་
 གྲིང་པའི་གཏེར་བྱོན་གནམ་སྤྲུགས་དོ་རྗེ་བདུད་དཔུང་ཕྱིལ་གཞོན་མ་སོ་སོར་གྱི་སྤྲུགས། གྱི་རྟེན་། སྤྱིར་
 ལུར་བོད་ནད་བསད་པའི་སྤྲུགས་བྱང་ལི་རྒྱས་⁴⁴² མཚན་བ། རྒྱ་བལ་བོད་སོགས་གྱི་ས་རྩ་དོ་སྤྱ། གཞན་
 ཡང་བར་བར་དུ་དྲི་བཟང་གི་སྤྱལ་ལུ་གོས་དར་ལ་སྤྱ། འབྲུ་སྤྱ། སྤྲུ་སྤྱ། ར་སྤྱ། ཤིང་སྤྱ། ཟས་སྤྱ། ཤིང་
 འབྲས་གྱི་མཚོན་བང་མཛོད་མཚམས་དར་སེར་པོ་སོགས་མ་ཚང་བ་མེད་པས་གཏམས་ཤིང་། དེ་བཞིན་
 དུ་གཙོ་བོ་དེད་རང་གི་འདུ་འབག་སོ་སོར་འཕེལ་གཏད་རེ། འདི་གའི་ཚོས་གོས་རེ་དང་སྤྱ། དུས་གསུམ་
 ལངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་གཙོ་བོར་⁴⁴³ འཕེལ་གཏད་། འདི་གའི་གཟན་དང་སྤྱ། གཞན་མ་⁴⁴⁴ གཙོ་འཁོར་ཐམས་
 ཅད་ལ་རྒྱ་བོད་གྱི་རྩ་བརྒྱད་ལྷ་མའི་བྱོན་རྟེན་དང་གཟུངས་སྤྲུགས་གོང་(༣༠)བཞིན། རྩང་གི་གཞུང་རའི་
 སྲོག་ཤིང་ལ་སྤྱན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ནང་དུ་འཇུག་རྒྱ་དང་ཕྱི་རོལ་ལུ་⁴⁴⁵ གཟུངས་སྤྲུགས་སྤྲུག་ཆད་མེད་
 པར་བེས་བ། འོད་ཟེར་དྲི་མེད་གྱི་སྤྱ་ནས་སྤྱབ་ཚོག་དང་ཚེར་XXགཏད་། དེད་རང་གི་སྤྱ། གཟུངས་
 སྤྲུགས་དང་བྱོན་རྟེན་གོང་བཞིན་ལ་ཁྲུང་པར་གདུགས་དཀར་གྱི་སྤྱ་དང་། ལུལ་ལམས་དང་བསྤྱབ་བྱ་

435 Lingön Padma Kelzang has ལྷ་ལྷོ།; there is not enough space for two syllables and what piece of the syllable remains legible clearly shows a *gi-gu* not a *zhabs-kyu*.
 436 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུང་པ།; corrected to ལྷོང་བའི་.
 437 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཁོར་; corrected to འཁོར་.
 438 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 439 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 440 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རིགས་; corrected to རིགས་.
 441 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 442 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱད་; corrected to འབྲུད་.
 443 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལི་རྒྱས་; corrected to ལི་རྒྱས་.
 444 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཁོར་; corrected to ལོར་.
 445 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ་; corrected to མ་.
 446 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུ་; corrected to ལུ་.

བསྐྱུང་བ་རེ། གྲི་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་དང་⁴⁴⁷ དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་།]⁴⁴⁸ ཡང་གསང་གི་སྐྱུང་བ་སྒྲོག་སོ་སོར་ཁ་སྐྱོར། [རོར་
 བྱ་]⁴⁴⁹ བད་ཐོང་དང་⁴⁵⁰ གཏོར་གསང་། ཀྱི་⁴⁵¹ ཚེ་འཁོར་རེ། བྱ་ཅུ་ཚེ་འཁོར་དབང་སྐྱུང་དང་མུང་དང་ལས་
 འབྲེལ་སྐྱེ་གུན་ཕུབ་ཚེ་མེད་བསྐྱུང་བ་རེ། ཚེ་བརྟན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་དམག་བསྒྲོག་⁴⁵² གི་སྤྱོད་འོག་
 བར་གསུམ་གྱི་⁴⁵³ བཅས་དང་། ཟ་འོག་སྐྱག་སྐྱུང་མོད་སྤྱུའི་⁴⁵⁴ རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྣམས་ལ་གཙུག་ཏོར་
 གདུགས་དཀར་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་འབྲུག་ཚོག་ རྟེན་གྱི་ཅུ་མཚན་ལ་སྐྱེ་ལྡན། རྩོ་རྩེ་གཤམ་ལྡན། གཤམ་རྒྱལ་མ་སྤེ་
 (37)བདུན་ ལ་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ཕུགས་ཡོན་ཏུན་འཕྱིན་ལས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་རྩལ་རྣམས་མན་དག་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་
 ཕྱག་ཚོག་ བསྐྱུང་བ་དང་བསྒྲོག་བསང་གི་མདོས་སོགས་རྣམ་གངས་མང་ནའང་། ལྷ་རྣམས་དུས་རྟེན་གྱི་
 བར་ཚག་⁴⁵⁶ སའི་རྟེན་(རྣམས་ལའང་)གསང་བའི་བཅས་དང་།]⁴⁵⁷ རྟེན་གཏོར་འཛིན་གཏོར། རྒྱུན་
 གཏོར་།]⁴⁵⁸ མཚན་རྩལ་སྐྱུར་གཤམ་སོགས་མ་ཚང་བ་མེད་པར་སྐྱབ་ ཚོག་ སོག་འཁོར་རྣམས་དང་
 གྲི་མེད་ཀྱི་(རྟེན་རྣམས་ལ་)སོགས་⁴⁶⁰ ཟུར་ཨ་གུར་སོགས་ཀྱི་⁴⁶¹ བྲིས་པར་ཕྱགས་རམས་པ་སྒོ་བཟང་
 རྒྱུས་ཚོག་ཅན་གྱི་གངས་དང་བཅས་པས་བདུན་⁴⁶² ཕྱག་གཅིག་གི་བར་ལུས་ལྡན་དུ་སྐྱབས་⁴⁶³ ཤིང་།
 འོད་རང་ནས་རབ་གནས་དང་ཤིས་བརྗོད་བྱས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚགས་པ་དང་སྐྱབ་པར་སྐྱབ་འདྲེ་མ་མན་ན་ན་
 དོན་མི་འབྲུབ་པས་དག་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་ལྷུང་ཚེན་ལྷ་འབྲུག་འདུལ་གྱི་སྐྱབ་ཐབས་དང་གཞོན་སྐྱེན་སོག་[སྐྱེ] ⁴⁶⁴ གྱི་
 རས་བཤད་པའི་སྐབ་འདྲེ་མན་ན་པ་(38)རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྤྱི་དང་བྱེ་བྱག་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་པར་[477]
 གཞོན་པའི་འགོང་བོ་སྐྱུར་དག་དང་དམ་སྤི་རྒྱལ་འགོང་འབྱུང་བོ་སོགས་མགོ་བརྟན་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཐེམ་
 འོག་ཏུ་མན་ན་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱབ་པ་ལ་མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་གཏོར་འགོལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་རྟེན་གཟུགས་དང་

447 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the wall inscription.
 448 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
 449 Lingön Padma Kelzang: :XX; I have added my own interpolation here based on what is legible in the inscription.
 450 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 451 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 452 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་; corrected to བསྒྲོག་.
 453 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 454 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་; corrected to རྟེན་འཁོར་.
 455 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མན་ན་; corrected to བདུན་.
 456 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚགས་; corrected to ཚག་.
 457 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 458 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
 459 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱུང་; corrected to རྒྱུབ་.
 460 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 461 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
 462 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འབྲུག་; corrected to བདུན་.
 463 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱུབས་; corrected to རྒྱུབས་.
 464 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

སྒྲོ་བ་བྲུང་བ། དམ་ཚེག་བསྐྱུང་ཞིང་སྐབ་འདྲེ་མནན་བ། འགྲེན་⁴⁶⁵ བཅད་དགོས་པར་བཤད་པས་
 མཚོན་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་དེ་ལོ་ན་ཉིད་སོགས་ལ་ཕྱ་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལེན་མཐའ་དག་རྒྱུད་དང་མན་དག་གི་
 དགོངས་དོན་མ་ཉམས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་དེད་རང་ནས་བཀོད་པ་བྱས་ཤིང་མདོས་གཏོར་རྣམས་
 མཚོད་དཔོན་དག་དབང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་གྱི་⁴⁶⁶ བཟོས། འཁོར་ལོ་སོགས་དགེ་སློང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གྲགས་
 པས་དོ་དམ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཚང་མ་ཡིད་དང་མཐུན་ཞིང་དངོས་གཙང་བས་གཙོས་གནས་དུས་དང་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་
 ཡོ་བྱད་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ཚང་བ་མེད་པར་ལུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བར་གྲུབ་པའོ།

|(33)ཞི་ཁྲོའི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་སྐྱོ་བསྐྱེད་བྱེད་པོ་རུ།
 །ཀུན་བཟང་རིགས་ལྡར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ལོག་ལྷའི་ཕྱེད།
 །གཉེན་⁴⁶⁷ པོར་ཁོ་གཏུམ་དག་ཤལ་མི་སྤྱུག་གཟུགས།
 །ཉེར་བཞུན་ཚོས་སྦྱང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱ་ལྡོ་པོ།
 །ལས་བསྐྱབ་བྱིར་དུ་སྤུལ་ཡུམ་སྒོན་པོ་རྣམས།
 །རང་རང་ཕྱོགས་འཛིན་གཡལ་གཡོན་མདུན་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི།
 །རུ་འདྲེན་པོ་ཉ་ཡང་སྤུལ་དང་བཅས་དཔུང་།
 །མིད་གསུམ་ཡོངས་སུ་འགོང་⁴⁶⁸ པའི་མཐུ་རྩལ་ཅན།
 །ཕྱི་རོལ་སྤྱ་མའི་རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱ་ལས་གྲུབ།
 །ནང་ནི་དུར་ཁྲོད་རོལ་པའི་པོ་བྲང་ཆེར།
 །རྩ་གསུམ་སྤྱ་ཚོགས་སྤྱིན་ལྟར་རབ་གཏོབས་པ་⁴⁶⁹ །
 །བརྒྱ་འོད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འཕྲོས་པ་བཞིན།
 །དམ་ཅན་སྤང་མ་ལུས་དང་གིབ་མའི་ཚུལ།
 །འགྲོག་བྱེད་ཕྱི་རྟེན་མངོས་ལྡན་⁴⁷⁰ སོག་ཆག་⁴⁷¹ དཀར།
 །ནང་རྟེན་སྤྱུག་ཚོད་ཚོག་⁴⁷² བདུན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ།
 །ལོགས་བརྒྱན་མདའ་ཆེན་ཚོད་སྦྱོར་དར་ནག་སྤྱད།
 |(34)གསང་རྟེན་སྐྱ་དང་སྤྱ་ཚོགས་མདོས་གཏོར་སོགས།
 །མ་ཚང་མེད་པ་སྤྲོད་འོག་བར་སྤང་ཀུན།
 །མཚོད་སྤྱིན་ནམ་མཁའ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་སྐོ་འཕར་བརྒྱ།

465 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མཐིན་; corrected to འགྲེན་.
 466 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱུས་; corrected to ལྱུ་.
 467 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞོན་; corrected to གཉེན་.
 468 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འགོངས་; corrected to འགོང་.
 469 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེ་; corrected to པ་.
 470 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷན་; corrected to ལྡན་.
 471 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཆགས་; corrected to ཆག་.
 472 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོགས་; corrected to ཚོག་.

།རབ་ཏུ་བྱེ་བས་ལྷགས་དམ་གཉན་པོ་བསྐྱང་།
 །མཁན་སློབ་ཚེས་གསུམ་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་སྲས་ཀྱིས།
 །བོད་ཁམས་ཡན་བདེར་སྐྱོད་པའི་སློན་ལམ་འབྲས།
 །དང་སློན་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ལུས་མཐུ་ལ།
 །འགུན་བྱེད་དྲེགས་ལྷན་འཚོལ་བར་ཚངས་པ་བྲེལ།
 །ཐུབ་བརྟན་ཉི་ལྟར་གསལ་མཛད་བཙུང་⁴⁷³ །ཁ་བའི།
 །དྲི་མེད་རིང་ལུགས་འཛོལ་མའི་ཁྱོན་ཡངས་པོར།
 །སྐར་སྤེལ་ཚེས་སྲིད་གོང་ནས་གོང་འདེགས་པའི།
 །སྐྱེས་ཚེན་ཚོགས་རྣམས་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད།
 །ཚོད་དུས་ལེགས་བྱས་བསོད་ནམས་ཚེབས་སྟོང་གི།
 །འཁོར་ལོ་ནམ་མཁའ་འགོག་མེད་རབ་འཕགས་པ།
 །ལྷ་བཞིའི་དགའ་སྦྱིད་རབ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་ཆེའི།
 །ཆབ་སྲིད་ཡར་ངོའི་ལྷ་བཞིན་(34)འཕེལ་བར་མཛོད།
 །རྩ་བརྒྱད་ལྷ་མའི་བྱིན་ལྷགས་སྤོང་ལྷ་ལྷོ་གཉིབས།
 །ཡི་དམ་ཞི་ཁྲོས་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཆར་ལྷར་པོབ།
 །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཁོར་བཅས་འཕྱིན་ལས་གཡུར་ཟའི་འབྲས།
 །ལོངས་སུ་སྐྱོད་པའི་བསམ་དོན་སྐྱེན་གྲུབ་ཤོག

།གནས་རྒྱང་སྟོག་ལྷ་མོ་ནས་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་འདོད་ཀྱི་སྤེ་བ་འཕྱིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཚེག་མང་བཉིད་གྲུབ་ཅུང་
⁴⁷⁴ [ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ཆེན་པོས་] ⁴⁷⁵ ངའི་གནས་གཞི་ལས་སྤྲེགས་ཁང་བརྒྱུག་དགོས་ཚུལ་གསུངས་བ་མ་འོངས་པ་
 བ་འདི་ལྷར་འབྱུང་བའི་ལུང་བརྟན་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པར་མ་ཟད་བསྐྱེད་ཐོང་སྤོང་རྩལ་གྱིས།

ལུ་ཁྲིའི་སྐུལ་བ་⁴⁷⁶ ལྷོན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཚུལ།
 །བརྒྱུད་མིང་ཅན་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལོ་བསྐྱར།
 །ཅོས་དང་།
 ལུ་ཁྲིའི་⁴⁷⁷ ལྐུལ་བ་⁴⁷⁸ རྒྱུའི་མིང་ཅན་ཞིག
 །མེ་ཁམས་ལོ་བ་དབུ་ཅུའི་ཆ་རྩ་འབྱུང་།

473 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོང་; corrected to བཙུང་.
 474 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 475 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 476 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to ལུ.
 477 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྐུའི་; corrected to རྐུའི་.
 478 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to ལུ.

དང་ཉིད་བར་གཙོ་བོ་བུད་ལས་སྐྱོབས་པའི་ཚེད།
སྤྱང་[478]མར་གཉེར་གཏང་བསྤྱང་བསྐྱོག་ཡང་ཡང་བྱ།

ཁྱིམ་ལུང་བསྟན་(479)བ་སྤར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་སྤོང་སྤེའུ་བཙམ་ལ་སྤས་གསུམ་བྱུང་བའི་ཚེ་བ་སྤ་ནི་⁴⁷⁹
བཙམ་པོ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་སྤོངས་འདྲིའི་ལུགས་གཉེས་སྤྱོད་བའི་དུས་བབས་ཀྱི་ཚར་ཚུ་སྤོམས་བ་མེ་སྤུག་
⁴⁸⁰ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་སྤྱིད་ལ་སྤྱོར་བ་བྱུང་འོང་། ཚོས་སྤྱོད་ཚེན་པོའི་སྤོག་འདྲིའང་བཀོད་བ་གཞན་ལས་
ལྷུང་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་མཛོས་པ་བཟོད་རྩམས་སྤུན་སྤུམ་ཚོགས་པར་དཀོན་མཚོག་རྟེན་གསུམ་དང་བྱེ་
བྲག་སྤྱང་མ་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་⁴⁸¹འདུ་བའི་བྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་མཚོད་རྩམ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་
ལྷུང་པས་མཚོན་མཁོ་དགའི་འབྲོར་ཚོགས་སྤྱངས་XXསྤུན་གཟིགས་དང་བཙས་ཡོངས་སྤུ་རྩོགས་པར་
སྤུབ་པར་རབ་གསལ་སྤོན་མོའི་དགའ་སྤོན་ལ་སྤྱོད་པར་ཉེ་བའི་ཚོ་སྤེ་བ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་དཀར་
ཚག་གི་བསྐུལ་མ་བྱུང་བ་བཞིན་བ་⁴⁸²ཟ་ཉོར་གྱི་བརྟེ་བེལ་གཞོན་བཞད་བ་རྩལ་གྱི་⁴⁸³སྤྱར་བའི་ཡི་གེ་བ་ནི་
འཚམ་(477)དཔོན་དགོ་སྤོང་དག་དབང་དཀོན་མཚོག་གིས་བཞུས་བ་བྱ་ཡོད་ཚུ། |

[ཐེ་སྤིང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་སྤོན་ཐབས་སྤུ་བསྐུལ་བའི་དཀར་ཚག་འདྲ་བཤུས།]

[484]རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡབ་དུ་ལྱུར་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་སྤས་བསྐྱོད་དཀར་པོའི་ཚུལ།
སྤོང་རྩེའི་གཏོར་རྒྱ་གཅིག་⁴⁸⁴ཅར་གྲོལ་ཡང་འགོ་རྩམས་སྤུགས་རྩེས་དམ་དུ་འཛོན།
རྩམ་བཞིའི་སྤྱིན་བ་སྤུག་པོར་གཏོང་ཡང་སྤིང་ཞིའི་དཔལ་ཀུན་དབང་དུ་སྤྱང།
ཀུན་མཁུན་ཟུ་མ་སྤོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བྱང་ཚུབ་བར་དུ་རྩེས་སྤུ་སྤྱོདས་⁴⁸⁵ |
ཡི་ཤེས་དག་པའི་མེ་ཤེས་རང་བཞིན་མཐུ་སྤོབས་ཉིན་བྱེད་འབར་བའི་གཟེ།
དྲེགས་པའི་གཚུག་མཁར་མཛོན་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང་བདུད་སྤེའི་སྤུག་རུམ་ཚར་གཙོད་བ།
འིགས་སྤུགས་འཚང་བའི་འཁོར་[འོ་བསྐྱར་]⁴⁸⁶བ་རང་བྱུང་བསྐྱོད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས།
སྤིང་ཞིའི་སྤྱང་མཛོད་འབུམ་དུ་འཁྲུལ་དས་དགོ་ལེགས་པད་ཚོལ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད།
རྩི་སྤོང་ཤེས་བྱའི་ཀུན་གསལ་ཡངས་པར་མཁུན་རབ་མཁའ་སྤོང་ཤུགས་གཅིག་གི་⁴⁸⁷ |

479 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རི; corrected to རི.
480 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤུགས; corrected to སྤུག.
481 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤུ; corrected to སྤུ.
482 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤུ; corrected to སྤུ.
483 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡོད་ཚུ; corrected to ཡོད་ཚུ.
484 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཅིག; corrected to གཅིག.
485 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤྱོད; corrected to སྤྱོདས.
486 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འོ་བསྐྱར; corrected to འོ་བསྐྱར.
487 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གི; corrected to གི.

ཡོངས་སུ་གཞུག་བས་ཇི་ལྟོ་ཚོས་ཀུན་ལག་པའི་མཐེལ་དུ་ཉེར་[488]བཀོད་པའི།
 ལྷ་རུ་ར་ཡི་འབྲས་བུ་ཇི་བཞིན་བརྟེན་པར་རབ་གཟིགས་རྣམ་དཔྱད་ཀྱི།⁴⁸⁹
 ལུང་ལུང་ལྡན་ལྡན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་སྤོང་པོར་ཉག་ཏུ་འདུད།

དྲེགས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོར་དབང་འབྱེན་ལ།
 ལྟ་སྐད་ད་རོས་སྲིད་གསུམ་འབྲུང་པའི་ཚོགས།
 རོས་པའི་རང་མདངས་བྱུ་བུའི་སྐྱོན་པོ་སྤྲད།
 རབ་དམར་བསྐྱེད་དབང་ཆེན་དེས་སྤྲང་⁴⁹⁰ ཤེག།
 དག་པའི་དབྱིངས་ལས་འགག་མེད་རོལ་པའི་⁴⁹¹ འཕྱུལ།
 ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཚུ་ལྟེ་ལྟེས་གར་ཇི་བཞིན་དུ།
 དྲག་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེན་པ་རྗེས་སྤོང་བ།
 ཚོས་བསྤྲང་⁴⁹² རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱ་ལྡ་དགྲེས་པར་རོལ།

ཞེས་ཚོགས་སུ་བཅད་པའི་དབུ་བའི་དོ་ཤལ་རྣམ་པར་ཚོད་⁴⁹³ པའི་སྐྱོན་ཚོག་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ང་རོ་
 རྩོན་དུ་སྤོངས་ཏེ་སྐབས་དོན། གོང་དུ་ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་མགོན་མཚུངས་
 ལྷ་བལ་བའི་བཀའ་བརྩོན་⁴⁹⁴ ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆགས་⁴⁹⁵ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལེབས་པར་ཞེས་[490]ཆ་ལྟར་ཐབས་ཀྱི་
 ཚུལ་ལྷང་བུ་ལུ་ལུ་⁴⁹⁶ རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱེན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་
 གནས་པ་ལུ་ལུ་བསྐྱེན་འཇོན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བདག་རྟེན་ཁོ་ན་ལ་རག་ལུས་⁴⁹⁷ ཤིང་། [དེ་
 ཡང་] ⁴⁹⁸ རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷོས་དང་བཅས་པའི་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ལུགས་གསང་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ལྷབས་⁴⁹⁹ པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་
 ལྷ་མའི་ལྷོས་གར་སྤོང་རྗེས་རང་གཟུགས་སུ་ཤར་བ་[479]ལུག་ན་བསྐྱེད་ཉིད་དོ་རྗེ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཚུལ་
 བཟུང་བ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དབང་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་གཟིགས་ཆེན་པོའི་ལུགས་རྗེ་ལ་ལྷོས་⁵⁰⁰ ཤིང་། མགོན་པོ་
 འདི་ཉིད་ཞབས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་བསྐྱེས་བརྒྱུར་བརྟེན་པ་དང་། འཕྱིན་ལས་ཀྱི་བཞེད་པ་མཐའ་དག་ཚུལ་བཞིན་

488 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྗེན་; corrected to བཞེན་.
 489 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མཐུ་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
 490 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤྲངས་; corrected to སྤྲང་.
 491 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི་; corrected to པའི་.
 492 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤྲང་; corrected to བསྤྲང་.
 493 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དཀོད་; corrected to ཚོད་.
 494 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོན་; corrected to བརྩོན་.
 495 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཆག་; corrected to ཆགས་.
 496 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 497 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལས་; corrected to ལུས་.
 498 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དེའང་; corrected to དེ་ཡང་.
 499 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུབ་; corrected to ལྷབས་.
 500 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བལོས་; corrected to ལྷོས་.

[དུ] ⁵⁰¹བསྐྱབ་པ་ལ་འགལ་རྒྱུན་སེལ་ཞིང་། མཐུན་རྒྱུན་སོག་ ⁵⁰²སྤེལ་བར་མཛད་པའི་ལས་ལ་གཡེལ་བ་
 མེད་པར་བཀའ་རྟལ་སྤོང་རྒྱུ་ཚེའི་ཚོད་པན་སྤྱི་བོར་འཛིན་པ་ལྷག་རྒྱ་གཉན་པོ་བཅིངས་པའི་གཡེར་དམ་
 ལས་ནམ་ཡང་མི་འདད་པའི་[༤།] ⁵⁰³རྩོམ་རྒྱུ་མ་འཇིག་རྒྱུ་དང་འཇིག་རྒྱུ་ལས་འདས་པའི་
 བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པར་མཆོས་པ་དེ་དག་གི་ནང་ནས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་ཆེར་འཕྲིན་ལས་སྤྱར་ཞིང་དག་ཚུལ་
 གྱི་མཐུ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ནི་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་ལ། དེའང་གདོད་མའི་སངས་རྒྱས་
 ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་དང་ལྷགས་རྒྱུ་ཉམ་ཉམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ། འཁོར་འདས་མ་
 ལུས་པའི་སྤྱི་དཔལ་དུ་གྱུར་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་གདངས་ ⁵⁰⁴འགག་པ་མེད་པའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་རྩོགས་པའི་སྐྱ་
 རིགས་ལྔར་ཤར་བ་ལས་ ⁵⁰⁵གདུལ་བྱ་མི་བསྐྱུན་དག་པོས་འདུལ་ ⁵⁰⁶བར་འོས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངོར་ཞེ་སྤང་
 རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་[ཀྱི] ⁵⁰⁷ངོ་བོར་ ⁵⁰⁸རྣམ་པར་སྤྱང་མཛད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་སྤྱུལ་
 དབུས་ཕྱོགས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཏི་ལྷག་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་མེ་ལོང་[ལྟ་བུའི] ⁵⁰⁹ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་རྩོམ་
 སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱུལ་པ་ ⁵¹⁰ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ང་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་མཉམ་ཉིད་ཡེ་ཤེས་[༤༢]ཀྱི་
 ངོ་བོ་རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་ལྡན་གྱི་སྤྱུལ་པ་ ⁵¹¹ལྟ་ཕྱོགས་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། འདོད་ཆགས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་
 སོ་སོར་རྟོག་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་སྤྱང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུལ་པ་ ⁵¹²རུབ་ཕྱོགས་གསུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། སྤག་
 དོག་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་བྱ་བུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་དོན་ཡོད་གྲུབ་པའི་[སྤྱུལ་པ་] ⁵¹³བྱང་ཕྱོགས་འཕྲིན་ལས་
 ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟེ་ ⁵¹⁴རིག་ ⁵¹⁵ལྟ། དེ་ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་དབྱེས་པ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཡུམ་ལྟ། ⁵¹⁶རྣམ་མང་གིས་
⁵¹⁷མཛད་པ་སྤོང་བྱེད་ ⁵¹⁸སྤྱུལ་པ་ ⁵¹⁹ལ། ལས་བསྐྱབ་ཀྱི་སྤོན་པོ་ལྟ། ⁵²⁰སྤྱི་སྤྱོ་སངས་[འབག] སེང་གར་

501 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 502 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྣམས་; corrected to སོག་.
 503 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to པའི་.
 504 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མངས་; corrected to གདངས་.
 505 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 506 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གདུལ་; corrected to འདུལ་.
 507 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 508 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བོར་.
 509 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 510 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 511 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 512 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 513 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྣམ་སྤྱུལ་; corrected to སྤྱུལ་པ་.
 514 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 515 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རིགས་; corrected to རིག་.
 516 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ལས་ here that is not found in the inscription.
 517 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞེ་; corrected to ཞེས་.
 518 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཆེད་; corrected to རྒྱུད་.
 519 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 520 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

མཁན། གཡས་གཡོན་དང་ཀླད་རྗེས་སུ་སྐྱུལ་བའི་**ཏུ་འདྲེན་ཚེན་པོ་ལྷེ་བཞི་**སོགས་སྐྱུལ་བ་⁵²¹ ཡང་སྐྱུལ་
 ཉིང་སྐྱུལ་དུ་མར་བརྟེན་⁵²² རྣམ་དབང་དྲག་ཞི་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལས་རྣམས་བསྐྱབ་པ་ལ་མཐུ་ཚེ་ཞིང་སྟོང་ཉེ་
 བསྐྱུལ་བདེ་བས་ན་⁵²³ སྟོན་ཚོས་སྟོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་**མི་སོང་ལྷེ་འཕེན་**[གྲི།]⁵²⁴ ཟན་གཡང་⁵²⁵ མི་
 འགྱུར་སྐྱུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཚེན་པོ་རྟེན་དང་བརྟེན་པར་བཅས་པ་**[༤༥]**བཞེདས་པའི་
 སྲུང་མ་རྩེ་ལྷར་བསྐོ་**མཁན་སྟོན་ཚོས་གསུམ་**བཀའ་བཞུགས་པ་ན། **མཁན་པོའི་**ཞལ་ནས་བདུད་ནི་སོག་
 གཙོང་པ་ལ་དགའ། གཟའ་ནི་གཏུམ། ལྷ་ནི་གཏུག་བཅོན་གཞོན་པ་ཚ། དུས་འཇམ་དྲག། ། མ་མོ་ནི་⁵²⁶
 འཇིགས་པས་དེ་རྣམས་མ་ཡིན་པ་སུ་འཐད་གསུང་བ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་པ་སྟོན་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་**པདྨ་**
འབྲུང་གནས་གྱིས།

རྟོར་གྱི་པོ་ལྷ་གནམ་ལྷ་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཡིན།	རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིང་བྱ་ཅན་ནི་གདན་དྲངས་ནས།
དྲི་ལ་གཏད་པས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མི་འཇིག	རྟོ་ཏུ་རྟོར་གྱི་སྟོན་གྱ་བཅོམས་ ⁵²⁷ པ་ན།
ཤེ་ཀར་ཀ་ཅའི་མྱི་ལ་འབྲངས་སྟེ་འོང།	དང་ཡིས་བེ་ཀར་སྟོང་དུ་རྟེན་འཇུགས་གསུངས།

ཞེས་པ་ལྷར། རྟོ་ཏུ་རྟོར་གྱི་སྟོན་གྱ་⁵²⁹རྣམ་དཀོར་སྲུང་བེ་ཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོས་པར་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་རྟོར་གྱི་
 སྟོན་གྱ་བཅོམས། ཟ་རྟོར་⁵³⁰ རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་ **རྣམ་པ་ལ།** གཡུའི་ཐུབ་པ། དུང་གི་སེང་གེ་སོགས་ཀ་ཅ་དུ་མ་
 དང་བཅས་སྐྱུན་དྲངས་ནས་ཚོས་འཁོར་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་**[༤༥]**སྲུང་མར་མངའ་གསོལ་ཞིང་**[480]**ཕྱི་
 རང་གི་རྟེན་རྣམས་བཙུགས། རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེན་སོག་ཤིང་བསྲུང་བར་གཉེར་གཏད་དེ་ཞལ་གྱི་⁵³¹ བཞེས་པ་
 ཡིན་ཅིང་⁵³² རིམ་པར་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་སྐྱ་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་དུ་མར་གནས་ཤིང་
 བཞུགས་པ་ལྷར་⁵³³ **ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོ་འདྲི་ཉིང་བྱང་**⁵³⁴ དུས་ཏུ་ཡང་དགོན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་གནས་
 བཞིན་པ་དང་། **ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པ་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་**དུས་གང་ན་བསྐྱེན་པ་ཚུལ་བཞིན་གནས་

521 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to པ.
 522 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱེན; corrected to བརྟེན.
 523 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 524 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱས; corrected to རྒྱ།.
 525 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསམ་ཡས; corrected to ཟན་གཡང་.
 526 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དྲགས; corrected to དྲག་.
 527 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅོམ; corrected to བཅོམས་.
 528 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཉེ; corrected to ཉེ་.
 529 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a རྒྱ here that is not found in the inscription.
 530 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱད; corrected to བརྒྱད་.
 531 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱས; corrected to རྒྱ།.
 532 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 533 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 534 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱང; corrected to བྱང་.

བ་དེར་མ་བོས་ཀྱང་འདུ་ཞིང་དགེས་པའི་⁵³⁵ རྩོམ་མཁའ་དམ་གཞན་པོ་མི་འདུའ་བའི་རྟེན་ལེན་པ་
 ལྟར།] ⁵³⁶ ལྷ་སེར་ཚོད་པན་འཚང་བའི་བསྟན་པ་སྤེལ་ཞིང་ཚོས་སྤྲོ་ཚེན་པོ་འདིའི་སྤྱང་མ་དང་བཅས་
 ཡང་དགོན་ནས་རྟེན་མགོའི་རྣམ་པར་ལེབས་ཤིང་། གསོལ་མཚོད་འཕྲིན་བཅོལ་གནང་བས་ཐམས་ཅད་
 མཁྱེན་པའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་སྐྱབས་⁵³⁷ ། ཞིང་འདིར་རྒྱའི་⁵³⁸ བཀོད་པ་བསྟན་ཏེ་སྤང་ཡང་འགོ་
 བའི་དོན་དུ་སྟོད་ལུང་ཅེ་དགའི་བྱུགས་སུ་སྤྲོ་སྲིད་བཟུང་བར་ཉེ་དུས་བར་ཆད་ཀྱི་མཚན་[⁵³⁹ལ།]མས་
 ཅུང་ཟད་འགྲུངས་སྐབས་ཟངས་མདོག་དཔལ་རིར་ཆེད་དུ་འགོ་དོན་དཀའ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གྱིས་ལེབས་
 པའི་ཚོ། ⁵³⁹ སྤོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་ཉིད་རིག་འཛོལ་དཔལ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཟབ་མོའི་ཚོས་སྟོན་ཅིང་
 བཞུགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མཁའ་ན་སྤྱང་མ་ཅེ་རྒྱུད་གཉིས་འདུག་པ་གཅིག་སྐྱེ་མདོག་ནག་པོ་རལ་བ་དཀར་པོའི་
 ཐོར་སྟོག་⁵⁴⁰ ཅན་རལ་གྱི་དང་ཐོད་ཁྲག་བཟུང་བར་། གཅིག་སྐྱེ་མདོག་དམར་པོ་བསེལ་བཟུང་དང་བསེ་
 ཚོག་གྱོན་པའི་[མིམ་སྤུ་]⁵⁴¹ དར་སྐྱས་བརྒྱན་པ། ལྷག་ན་མཁའ་དམར་དང་འགས་པ་ཐོགས་པ་སྟག་རལ་
 གཟིག་ཤུབས་ཅན། བསེ་སྟེང་དམར་པོ་གྱོན་པའི་སྟེང་ན་[མོ་རྒྱན་]⁵⁴² བརྒྱབ་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་བཞུགས་པའི་
 སྤྱང་མ་གཉིས་སྤོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་བསྟན་ཅི་རྩར་ལགས་དྲི་བ་ ལྷ་བ་མཚང་པས། འདི་གཉིས་འདི་
 བཀའ་སྟོད་ཡིན་པས་འདི་གཉིས་གོགས་སུ་འཁྲིད་⁵⁴⁴ ལ་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྟན་པ་དང་འགོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་
 སོང་ཞིག་ཅས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། འཕྲིན་ལས་བསྐྱབ་པའི་བཟན་དུ་⁵⁴⁵ གཉིར་གཏད་དེ་⁵⁴⁶ བསྐྱལ་[⁵⁴⁷ལ།]བ་
 བཞིན་སྤྱང་མ་གཉིས་དང་ལྟན་དུ་གཏུལ་བྱའི་དོན་དུ་ཞིང་འདིར་ལེབས། དེ་ནས་སྤང་མཐམས་ཅད་
 མཁྱེན་པ་ཚེན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དེ་ཉིད་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་སྤྱངས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཚེན་པོར་འབས་
 ཟུང་རྣམ་པར་བཀོད་ནས་མི་རིང་བའི་སྐབས། ⁵⁴⁸ ཚོས་སྤྱང་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་མའི་ཁོག་ཏུ་བརྒྱམས་པའི་
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་⁵⁴⁹ གཏུལ་བྱའི་དོན་དུ་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོ་འགོག་པ་མེད་པའི་རྟེན་འབྱུང་[དུ་] སྤེལ་སྤྱང་

535 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་ནེ; corrected to པའི.
 536 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
 537 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱབས; corrected to སྐྱབས.
 538 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱའི; corrected to རྒྱའི.
 539 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོག; corrected to སྟོག.
 540 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to བར.
 541 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་སྤུ; corrected to རྟེན་སྤུ.
 542 Lingön Padma Kelzang suggests that this word should be བན.
 543 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to བ.
 544 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཁྲིད; corrected to འཁྲིད.
 545 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཏུ; corrected to ཏུ.
 546 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཏུ; corrected to དེ.
 547 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to བ.
 548 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱུ; corrected to རྒྱ.
 549 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

ལ་གཟེགས་ཞེས་དབྱུངས་ཅན་ལྷ་མོས་ཞལ་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་བསྟན་པ་དེ་ཉིད་འདྲིར་⁵⁵⁰ བརྒྱུག་སྟེ་སྐྱ་
བརྟན་བྱིས་།]⁵⁵¹

ཐང་གའི་⁵⁵² ལྷགས་བཀོད་གཞན་⁵⁵³ བའི་ཚུལ།
ཞེས་སོགས་དང་།

རས་གཞི་ཇི་ཅམ་ཆེ་བ་ལེགས་།]⁵⁵⁴

།དེ་དག་དབྱུངས་སམ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་དུ།
དྲུ་ནག་རྟིང་དཀར་ཆེབས་⁵⁵⁵ ཤིང་རྩམས།
ཞེས་སོགས་དང་།

།འུ་བ་ཕྱོགས་གསུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐྱ།

དོ་བོ་དེ་དག་ཀུན་ལས་ཀྱང་།
།མོག་རོ་རྟ་ཡི་སྐྱ་ལས་ཀྱང་།
།དེ་ཡང་སློ་རྩུང་རྩམས་ལ་བཤད།

།རང་འདྲའི་སྐྱལ་པ་⁵⁵⁶ གངས་མེད་འཕྱོ།
།པོ་ཀར་རྒྱལ་།⁵⁵⁷ པོའི་སྐྱལ་པ་⁵⁵⁸ མང་།
།སློ་ཆེན་སློང་ཡངས་ལྟོད་འདྲ་ལ།

།ཞེས་སོགས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ལྷུར་ན་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེན་པར་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནའང་ཀུན་རྫོབ་
བདེན་པར་སྤང་བའི་དོར། སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱའི་ཟེའུ་འབྲུ་།⁵⁵⁸ དང་། བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་
གནས་ཡིན། ཟངས་མདོག་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་བོའི་རྩེ་མོར་།⁵⁵⁹ [བརྒྱ] འོད་ཀྱི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་ན་ཡོད་དུས་
⁵⁶⁰ བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་⁵⁶¹ བཀའ་སློན་⁵⁶² [481] ཉེ།] སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བརྟན་པའི་དག་ཐེར་ལ་བཏང་
བ་ཡིན། །དེ་ཡང་།⁵⁶⁴ ལྷལ་སྐྱ་མཐོང་བ་དོན་ལྡན་གྱིས་ཞི་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སློ་ནས་བརྟན་པ་འཛིན་སྟོང་གི་འཕྲིན་
ལས་མཛད། ད་པོ་ཀར་རྒྱལ་པོས་དབང་དུ་གཏིག་སློ་ནས་དེའི་འགལ་རྒྱན་སེལ་ཞིང་མཐུན་རྒྱན་འགྲུགས་
པའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་བསྐྱབ། དེ་ལྟར་གཉིས་ཀས་ཀྱང་བརྟན་པའི་དག་ཐེར་མཛད་དགོས་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་
དགོངས་སུ་གསོལ་། ལྷུང་པར་དུ་འདྲ་བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་དའི་ཟས་སྐལ་དུ་དབྲལ་བའི་།⁵⁶⁵ ཤ་ལྷག་

550 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འདྲིར་; corrected to འདྲིར་.
551 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
552 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞི་; corrected to ཞའི་.
553 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷང་; corrected to ཀུན་དང་.
554 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
555 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅེབས་; corrected to ཆེབས་.
556 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
557 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
558 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
559 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
560 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ། ; corrected to .
561 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
562 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསློན་; corrected to སློན་.
563 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
564 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དེའང་; corrected to དེ་ཡང་.
565 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ། ; corrected to .

ལོག་དབུགས་ཡོག ལས་སྐལ་དུ་བསྟན་པ་དང་བསྟན་འཛིན་བསྟངས་བར་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་པས། ལྷན་ཡང་
 བསྐྱེད་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལས་འདའ་མ་ལྟོང་། ད་དུང་ཡང་མི་འདའ་བས་མཐོང་བ་དོན་ལྡན་⁵⁶⁶ ལྷ་
 ཚེ་མཛད་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྣམས་ལ་བར་ཚད་འདུག་ན་ངས་སེལ། མཐུན་ཀྱེན་ཐམས་ཅད་ངས་སྐྱབས། །
 གལ་ཏེ་གཞོན་ལྷེད་གདོན་བགལས་ཤིག་ཡོད་ན་མི་དང་མི་མ་ཡིན་པར་སྤང་ཞིང་སྲིད་པའི་ལྷ་མ་སྲིན་
 ལྷེ་བརྟུང་དྲུགས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ནང་⁵⁶⁸ དུ་གཏོགས་པ་ཞིག་འོང་བ་ལས་འོས་མེད། ལྷེ་བརྟུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་
 ཡང་རྗེ། དྲུགས་པ་ཀྱང་འདུས་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ དེ་དང་ཡིན་པས་[ན་] རའི་བཀའ་ལས་འདའ་བར་རུས་
 པའི་གདོན་བགལས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་ནི་སུ་ཡོད། དེ་བས་ན་བསྐྱལ་བར་མ་ཞན་ཞིག་ལྷགས་ཚུང་མཛད་མི་
 དགོས་སོ། །ཞེས་སོགས་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར། རྒྱལ་དྲབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པ་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ན་རིམ་
 ཀྱི་སྤང་མ་དང་། འཇམ་[༤༨]མེད་བཅོང་ ལ་བ་ཚེན་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དང་། ཚས་ལྷེ་ཚེན་པོ་དཔལ་
 ལྡན་འབྲས་སྤངས་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་རི་ལྷ་བུར་སྤང་མར་དེས་པ་དོན་གྱི་ཚས་སྤྱོད་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་རང་བཞིན་
 ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གནས་ལ་གར་བཞུགས་མ་མཆས་ཀྱང་། ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་གྱི་⁵⁷³ བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་སྐལ་པ་
 དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་པར་དངོས་སུ་གྲུབ་པའི་བཞུགས་གནས་གནས་རྒྱུད་པེ་ཀར་ལྷོག་གསར་པ་འདི་ཉིད་
 དཔལ་ལྡན་འབྲས་སྤངས་ཀྱི་] ལྷེ་སོས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱལ་མ་བྱུང་བས་ཀྱེན་བྱས་གོང་དུ་འང་ལྷན་འབྲས་
 དང་⁵⁷⁶ རྒྱལ་བ་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་ལྷགས་མོ་བྱ་⁵⁷⁷ པོ་དཔལ་ལྡན་འབྲས་སྤངས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་ཉེ་ཚེན་པོར་
 བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཚས་འཁོར་བསྐོར་བའི་དུས་ཚེན་ཉོར་ལྷ་གསུམ་པ་ནས་འགོ་
 བརྗོམས་⁵⁷⁸ པའི་ཐོག་མར་གྱི་ཤོག་ཁྲ་དང་གང་ཅིའི་བཀོད་པ་དེད་རང་ནས་བགྱིས་ཤིང་། ལྷོས་གཏའ་
⁵⁷⁹ ལྷོ་འབྱེད་ཐིག་གིས་མཚོན་གཙུག་ལག་ནས་བཤད་[༥༠]པའི་བཅོམ་ཐབས་གཟུང་སྐར་སོགས་
 འཕྲོངས་⁵⁸⁰ རྒྱས་ལྷགས་པ་ངག་དབང་གི་ བྱས་པར་ས་[འགྲུ་པའི་] ⁵⁸² ཉེན་ཐལ་རྒྱུང་སོགས་ནམ་

566 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ལྷ here that is not found in the inscription.
 567 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱེད་; corrected to ལྷགས་.
 568 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ཚན here that is not found in the inscription.
 569 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a ལྷ here that is not found in the inscription.
 570 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 571 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 572 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚང་; corrected to བཅོང་.
 573 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷེ་.
 574 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to པ་.
 575 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 576 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a *shad* and a space here that is not found in the inscription.
 577 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བྱེད་; corrected to བྱ་.
 578 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྗོམས་; corrected to བརྗོམས་.
 579 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷེད་; Dobis Tsering Gyal (2009, p. 353.3): དང་. The wall inscription is heavily damaged at this juncture and nearly illegible; however, the syllable count strongly suggests that there is no word at this point.
 580 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཕྲོང་; corrected to འཕྲོངས་.
 581 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷེ་.

མཁའ་ཚུབས་⁵⁸³ བ་བྱང་། དོ་དམ་སྦྱིད་སྦྱོང་བ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་།] ལུ་སྤང་བ་⁵⁸⁴ [སྤྱན་
 ཚོགས་]⁵⁸⁶ དཔལ་བཟང་གཞིས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་བྱས་།] རྒྱུ་དང་པ་⁵⁸⁷ རབ་ཐང་དམར་མོ་བ། རོང་རང་སྦྱོན་⁵⁸⁹
 བ། ས་[བ་གྲུབ་]⁵⁹⁰ བ། གནང་བྱང་བ། མཁར་ཚོ་བ། དགའ་གདོང་⁵⁹² བཞི་སྡེ་⁵⁹³ བ། ཤར་བ་རབ་གསལ་
⁵⁹⁴ ། ཚོས་ལྷང་གཞུང་⁵⁹⁵ དཀར། ལང་གསར་རབ་བརྟམ། མོ་ལྷ་བ། རོང་རིགས་ལྷ་བ།⁵⁹⁶ བསོད་ནམས་
 དར་རྒྱས། གཟེམས་⁵⁹⁷ རྒྱུ་དང་ཉེ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཆ་གཞིས། ཤིང་བཟོ་དབྱ་ཚེན་གནས་གསར་བ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དང་
 [།] ག། ལྷ་ལྷེ་དགོས་དགོས། དབྱ་འབྲིང་ལྷ་ས་ལམ་བརྟེད། དབྱ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱོད་བཞེས་⁶⁰⁰ གྲུབ་སྤྲིང་བ།
 ལྷེངས་གསར་ཟ་དམ་ཚོ་དབང་སོགས་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉེར་བདུན་རྣམས་དང་། རོ་བཟོ་དབྱ་ཚེན་འབྲི་གུང་
 བསམ་འགྲུབ་⁶⁰² ཚོ་བརྟམ།]⁶⁰³ རྒྱ་མོན་དར་རྒྱས། དབྱ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱོད་[༥༧]མོ་བཀ་ཤིས། ལྷེངས་གསར་[མ་གྲོ་
 ལྷན་]⁶⁰⁴ མཚོག་སོགས་དགྲ་བཅུ་ལོ་གསུམ་[རྣམས་དང་] ། ཞལ་མཁའ་[482]དབྱ་མཛད་ཨེ་བ་ཙན་
 དན། ལྷེངས་གསར་འཇམ་དབྱངས་སོགས་བདུན། ཨར་གཡམ་འདྲེན་མི་ཀོ་བ་⁶⁰⁶ ལྷོན་⁶⁰⁷ ལས་ལང་བ་
⁶⁰⁸ སོགས་[བཞི་བཅུ་]⁶⁰⁹ ཞེ་གཅིག དོ་དམ་བསོད་ནམས་འཕེལ་དང་བཟང་པོ་གཞིས་ཀྱི་⁶¹⁰ བཞུས་པའི་

582 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འབྲུ་བའི་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: འདྲ་བའི་ corrected to འགྲུ་བའི་.

583 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཚུབ་; corrected to ཚུབས་.

584 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

585 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བ་.

586 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བདུད་བཙན་; corrected to སྤྱན་ཚོགས་.

587 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .

588 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ་; corrected to བ་.

589 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷོན་; corrected to ལྷོྱན་.

590 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷུབ་.

591 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བསྟུ་.

592 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ། .

593 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བདེ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.

594 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བ་ here.

595 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞུ་; corrected to གཞུང་.

596 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལུན་སྤང་ here.

597 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཟེམས་; corrected to གཟེམས་.

598 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

599 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to གྲུ་.

600 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེད་; corrected to བརྟེད་.

601 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷོད་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷོན་; corrected to ལྷན་.

602 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུབ་; corrected to འགྲུབ་.

603 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དང་; corrected to ། .

604 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མལ་གྲོ་དཀོན་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: མལ་གྲོ་དཀོན་; corrected to མ་གྲོ་ལྷན་.

605 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

606 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བ་.

607 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷོང་ here.

608 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.

609 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

⁶¹¹ཚེ་⁶¹²རྩོག་སོག་⁶¹³ འུལ་⁶¹⁴ ལག་གི་⁶¹⁵ ཚེད་དུ་བསགས་པ་ལས།⁶¹⁶] ཉེན་མཚན་དུ་མ་སྟོས་⁶¹⁷ བར་ཀུན་
 གྱིས་མཐོང་བར་རེ་རྩོལ་འདྲེས་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་ཤོགས་ཚེ་ཞིང་། འུལ་⁶¹⁸ ལག་ལྡོང་དུ་ཉེ་བས་⁶¹⁹ བྲངས་
 མང་ལ་ཐོག་མར་རྒྱལ་ཟེར་⁶²⁰ སོགས་ཚུབ་⁶²¹ རྩོངས་རེ་གཉིས་ལས་ནད་སྣ་མེད་པའི་ཨར་འུལ་གཞན་
 ལས་ཀྱང་⁶²² མཚར་བ་སོགས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་སྲེའུ་བཙུན་གྱིས་ལྷགས་གསུམ་མི་འགྲུར་སྣུན་⁶²³ གྲུབ་ཀྱི་
⁶²⁴གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱུང་བ་འཛོགས་⁶²⁵ བར་གྲུར། ལྡེབས་རིས་
 སུ་མཉམ་མེད་བཙོང་⁶²⁶ ལ་བ་ཚེན་པོ་[ཡེ]ཡབ་སྐས་གསུམ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་གཙོང་བ་བདུན་རྒྱུད།⁶²⁷ །
 ལྡེབ་བརྒྱུ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་རྒྱུན་རྒྱལ་བའི་དབང་པོ་⁶²⁸ ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུའི་ཅིང་གཟེགས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་སྐྱུ་ན་
 རིམ་ལྡན་དབལ་[མོ་རེ]་⁶²⁹ ཡ་ནའི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ། [སྐྱབ་བ་བཀའ་བརྒྱད། རྒྱལ་ཚེན་སྐྱེ་ལྡན། ཡུམ་ལྡན།
 རྟོན་པོ་ལྡད་བཅས་པ།] བཙུན་ཚོད་ཡ་བ་སྐྱེ་བདུན། རྒྱུད་བར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེའི་
⁶³⁰རྣམ་འགྲུར་རྣམ་གཉིས། བདེ་ཡངས་ཀྱི་ལྡེབས་རིས་ལ་འཁོར་དྲེགས་པའི་སྡེ་དཔོན་སུམ་སྐྱེ། དབལ་
 མགོན་བདུན་ཅུ་ཙུ་ལྡན་ལྡེབ་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་དང་། རྒྱུད་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཚགས་བྱེད་[ཀྱི]་⁶³¹ ལྷི་རྟེན་བྱ་
 ཚོད། སྤྱུའུ་ རེ་ཚོ་ནད་རྟེན་ཁྱི། ། གསང་རྟེན་ཟེ་འོག་བཤན་བ་འགྲུག་⁶³² རྟེན་སྟག་སྤྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་
 མཚན། ཤེལ་གྱི་བྱིས་པ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པ་གཡུའི་སྟེན་མ་ཅན་དུང་གི་མཚེ་བ་གཙོགས་ཤིང་ཕུག་ན་སྐྱེ་གྱི་

610 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི.
 611 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; Dobis Tsering Gyal: omitted; corrected to བའི.
 612 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚེ; corrected to ཚེ.
 613 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds (མཁན་) here.
 614 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འུ; corrected to འུལ་.
 615 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གིས་; corrected to གི.
 616 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
 617 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྟོས་; corrected to སྟོས་.
 618 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འུ; corrected to འུལ་.
 619 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི; corrected to བས་.
 620 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཟེར་; corrected to ཟེར་.
 621 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཛུབ་; corrected to ཚུབ་.
 622 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བར་ here.
 623 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds གྱིས་ here.
 624 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི; corrected to ཀྱི.
 625 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཛོག་; corrected to འཛོགས་.
 626 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོང་; corrected to བཙོང་.
 627 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྒྱད་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: བརྒྱད་; corrected to རྒྱུད་.
 628 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds སོགས་ here.
 629 Dobis Tsering Gyal: མོ་རེ་.
 630 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 631 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 632 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷི་.
 633 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འགྲུགས་; corrected to འགྲུག་.

བསྐྱམས་པ་སེང་གོ་དཀར་མོ་ཚེབས་⁶³⁴ བ། སྤྲེལ་ནག་[ཡན]མིག་གཅིག་པ་ལག་ན་ལྷགས་གི་ཚོགས་པ་
 དྲུ་⁶³⁵ ཞོན་པ། དག་ལྷ་དཀར་པོ་བེར་དགུ་ཚེགས་⁶³⁶ གྱོན་ཞིང་སྤྲ་གི་འབར་བ་འཛིན་པ་སེང་གོ་ཚེབས་
⁶³⁷ བ། གཡས་ན་དག་བཅོམ་བརྒྱ། གཡོན་ན་ལྷུ་ཅན་བརྒྱ། མདུན་ན་ལྷ་མེད་བརྒྱ། བརྗེ་དྲེལ་ནག་
⁶³⁸ ཞོན་པ་བརྒྱ། རྒྱ་གར་མོན་ནག་གར་མཁན་ལག་ན་གསེག་⁶³⁹ ཤང་ རོག་ པ་བརྒྱ། རག་མོ་ཚོད་པའི་
 སྤང་ཅན་བདུན། བཤན་པ་མིག་གཅིག་པ་སྤྲེལ་ནག་ཚོད་བཅིངས་ཅན་རྟ་སྤོན་སྐབ་ནག་ཞོན་པ། [སྤྲ་
 གི་]⁶⁴² རག་པོ་དྲུ་ཞོན་པ། དག་བཅོམ་ཤིང་གི་[སག་ཐེབས་]⁶⁴³ ཅན་རྩ་མོང་ཞོན་པ། བྱ་ཚོད་ཐང་ནག་
 རྩ་རྩ་འཕེན་པ། གིང་ཚོན་བྱ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ་དང་[།]⁶⁴⁴ སེང་གོའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་
 བ་བརྒྱ། སོག་བདག་དར་ཚོན་མེ་འབར་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ་དང་[།]⁶⁴⁵ ཟ་འོག་གི་འཕམ་དང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་
 འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། སོག་བདག་གིང་ཚོན་བསེ་[ཡལ]ལབ་གྱོན་པ་བརྒྱ། སེང་དཀར་འལབ་ མོ་བྱེད་པ་བརྒྱ།
 རྒྱལ་པའི་སྤྱང་སྤོན་བརྒྱ། བདུད་གཟའ་ནག་མོ་རྩ་བུའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། རྟ་ནག་དྲེལ་ནག་ཁྱི་
 རག་ལལ་བཀལ་བརྒྱ། རྩ་མོང་⁶⁴⁷ བདུད་ཀྱི་ལྷམ་ཤིང་བཀལ་བ་ བརྒྱ། རྟ་དཀར་ཞོན་པའི་ཀིར་ར་བརྒྱ།
 མོན་པ་ནག་པོ་བརྒྱ། སྤྲེལ་པ་⁶⁴⁹ མི་སྤྲེལ་པའི་གཟུགས་སྤྲ་ཚོགས་བས་གསལ་བྱེད་ཟ་འོག་གི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་
 འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། རྩམས་ བྱེད་སྤྲེལ་གི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། ཟ་བྱེད་སྤྱང་གའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་
 བ་བརྒྱ། སྤིང་བྱེད་བྱ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། [སེ་མོང་]⁶⁵¹ དང་[རྩ་]⁶⁵² བུའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་
 འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ། སྤྲུ་དང་བྱི་ལའི་⁶⁵³ རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཕྱར་བ་བརྒྱ་སྤྲེལ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་པོ་ཉ་སྤྲེལ་
 གཟེགས་ཀྱི་རིགས་སྤྲ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་རྩམས་རི་མོ་བ་དུ་འབྲིང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབང་པོ་

634 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅིབས་; corrected to ཚེབས་.
 635 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤེལ་; corrected to དྲུ་.
 636 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅེགས་; corrected to ཚེགས་.
 637 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཅིབས་; corrected to ཚེབས་.
 638 Lingön Padma Kelzang places this line two lines prior to here.
 639 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སེག་; corrected to གཤེག་.
 640 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཤིང་.
 641 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རོགས་; corrected to རོག་.
 642 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལུ་ཏུ་; corrected to ལྷ་གི་.
 643 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གསག་ཐེབ་; corrected to གསག་ཐེབས་.
 644 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 645 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 646 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལལ་.
 647 Dobis Tsering Gyal: མོ་.
 648 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 649 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 650 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྩམ་; corrected to རྩམས་.
 651 Dobis Tsering Gyal: སེ་མོ་.
 652 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 653 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལའི་.

དང་།⁶⁵⁴] ལྷན་ཐང་པ་མགོན་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་། རྱིངས་⁶⁵⁵ [གས] ⁶⁵⁶ [ཡལ] ལྷན་ལྷགས་པ་⁶⁵⁷ [483] དགོན་
 མཚོག་⁶⁵⁸ ལོགས་⁶⁵⁹ པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། འཇམ་དབྱངས་དོན་གྲུབ།⁶⁶⁰ ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་ཨ་ལྷག་།⁶⁶¹] བསོད་ནམས།
 འབག་ལྷུག་གཤགས་པ། བསྐྱོས་⁶⁶³ པ། བཀྲ་ཤིས།⁶⁶⁴ ལྷོ་བཟང་།⁶⁶⁵ སུན་ཚེགས་རབ་བྱུང་། རིན་ཚེན་དོ་
 རྗེ། དཔལ་འབྱོར། བསམ་འགྲུབ་⁶⁶⁷ ཚེ་རིང་།⁶⁶⁸ ལྷོ་བཟང་།⁶⁶⁹ ཚོ་བརྟན།⁶⁷⁰ རོ་རྗེ།⁶⁷¹ ཀུན་གཤགས། བཀྲ་
 ལོགས་པ་⁶⁷³ །⁶⁷⁴ བསོད་ནམས་བཀྲ་ཤིས། [བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་གྲུབ།]⁶⁷⁵ བསམ་གྲུབ། དཀར་དཀར། ཨ་
⁶⁷⁷ ཀར། བརྒྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ། ལྷ་བསྐྱུང་། ། དགོ་བསྐྱེན།⁶⁸⁰ འཇམ་དབྱངས། པ་ཚབ་མགོན་པོ། དགོ་བསྐྱེན་
 རྒྱལ་པོ། ཨ་འཛིན། བསམ་གྲུབ། རྒྱལ་པོ། ལྷོ་བཟང་།⁶⁸¹ དོན་གྲུབ་ཚོས་དར། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན།
 བསོད་ནམས་བཀྲ་ཤིས། བད་མཚོག་⁶⁸³ བསྐྱེན་འཛིན།⁶⁸⁴ དབང་ལྷུག་ ལྷོ་བཟང་ཡར་འཕེལ། ལྷུག་ལྷུག་
⁶⁸² བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་པོ། དབྱ་མཛད། མགོན་པོ། སུབ་དབང་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་

654 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 655 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྱིང་; corrected to རྱིངས་.
 656 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 657 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བར་རྗེང་ here.
 658 Dobis Tsering Gyal adds ། here.
 659 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལོགས་.
 660 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷན་ཤག་ here.
 661 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
 662 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷག་; corrected to ལྷུག་.
 663 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱོས་; corrected to བསྐྱོས་.
 664 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds རྱང་རྗེང་ here.
 665 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷོ་པ་ here.
 666 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བདེ་ཚེན་ here.
 667 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུག་; corrected to འབྲུབ་.
 668 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷོན་ཅ་ here; Dobis Tsering Gyal has ལྷོན་ཅ་.
 669 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷན་ཚང་ here.
 670 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds མཚོ་རྒྱང་ here.
 671 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཀལན་དོན་ here.
 672 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds རམ་པ་ here.
 673 Dobis Tsering Gyal: པ་.
 674 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཟ་དམ་ here.
 675 Lingön Padma Kelzang places this name later in the text.
 676 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཨ་ལྷ་ here.
 677 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཨང་; corrected to ཨ་.
 678 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷང་; corrected to ལྷུང་.
 679 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds འཛོག་པོ་ here.
 680 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷན་པོ་ here.
 681 See note 675.
 682 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds རིང་པ་ here.
 683 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds པ་ནམ་ here.
 684 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷོ་རྗེངས་ here.

དོན་[⁶⁸⁵ཡུ]གྲུབ་རྣམས་ | ཤིང་ཚེ་བཟོ་ཤན་བཅས་པར་མཁུན་བཟེ་བ་དབྱུ་འབྲིང་གསང་སྤྲུགས་མཁའ་
 པ་ཚེ་འཕེལ། འབྲིངས་གྲས་དག་དབང་བསོད་ནམས་[']⁶⁸⁶ བཟླ་འཛིན།⁶⁸⁷ ཀུན་དགའ་བྱང་ཚུལ། དཔལ་
 ལྷན་བཟང་པོ། རྣམ་གྲས། སངས་རྒྱས་དོན་གྲུབ། དག་དབང་མདོ་སྤེ། ཀུན་དགའ་རབ་འཕེལ།⁶⁸⁸ བསྐལ་
⁶⁸⁹ བཟང་། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས། ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དེས་དོན་སྤིང་པོ། རྩོ་བཟང་བཟླ་འཛིན། དག་
 དབང་ཚེས་འཕེལ། དག་དབང་ཡེ་ཤེས། རྩོ་གྲོས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀུན་དགའ། སངས་རྒྱས་དོན་
 ལྷན་[།]⁶⁹⁰ [བསོད་ནམས་]⁶⁹¹ རོར་བྱ།⁶⁹² བཤེས་གཉེན་[']⁶⁹³ ལྷན་གྲུབ། སོལ་སོལ། གནས་སྤྱང་། བསོད་
 རྣམས་ཤེས་རབ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་། ཨོ་རྒྱན། དོན་ཡོད། རྩོ་ལྷན། དགའ་འདོལ། ཡོན་ཏན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་
 ལྷན་གྲུབ། ལུན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། རྩོ་བཟང་དོན་གྲུབ།⁶⁹⁶ རྩོན་པ་ཁ་པ།⁶⁹⁷ འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
⁶⁹⁸ བྱས་ཤིང་། འབྲུ་སྤྱ་ ལོང་[⁶⁹⁹ཡུ]གཞོན་དུ་རྩེ་མ་གསང་འདུས་ལྷར་གྱི་རྟ་མགིན་ཡུམ་བཅས། རྒྱལ་
 པོ་སྤྱ་ལྷ་ཡུམ་ལྷོན་དང་བཅས་པ། ལྷ་འདྲ་རྩིང་པའི་⁷⁰⁰ འཛིན་པ་བཤེས་པའི་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་
 བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཟིགས་སྤང་གི་རྩོ་རྩེ་གྲགས་ལྷན་དང་། ལོང་ས་མཚུངས་མེད་སྤྱབས་མགོན་
 མཚོག་གི་གཟིགས་སྤང་རྒྱ་ཚན་མའི་རྩོ་རྩེ་གྲགས་ལྷན་བཅོམ་ཆས་[ཅན་]⁷⁰¹ འཕྲུལ་ལྷན། རྩོ་རྩེ་གྲགས་
⁷⁰² རྒྱལ་མ། རྩོ་སྤོང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་གཙོ་པོ་རྩོ་བཅུན་རྒྱལ་བའི་དབང་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་ཚེན་པོ་དག་
 གི་དབང་ལྷན་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལྷ་ན་རིམ་གོང་མ་བཞི། རྒྱལ་བ་བཅོང་⁷⁰³ ཁ་པ་ཚེན་པོ། ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཡལ་
 ཡུམ་གསུམ། གྲུ་རུ་མཚན་བརྒྱད། བཟླ་སྤྱང་རྩོ་རྩེ་གྲགས་ རྒྱལ་མ། ལྷེང་ཁང་གཡས་ཀྱི་ཀ་བཞི་མར་
 གཙོ་པོ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། རྩོ་བཅུན་བཅོང་⁷⁰⁵ ཁ་པ་ཚེན་པོ། འཛིན་

685 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds དང་ here.
 686 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 687 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཀུན་དགའ་རྩོ་རྩེ། here.
 688 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཚར་རྩེ། here.
 689 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to བསྐལ་.
 690 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
 691 Dobis Tsering Gyal: སངས་རྒྱས་.
 692 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷན་གྲུབ། here.
 693 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 694 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds འབྲི་གུང་ here.
 695 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཚར་རྩེ། here.
 696 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷེངས་ here.
 697 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷོ་ཐང་ here.
 698 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷི་.
 699 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷར་; corrected to ལྷ་.
 700 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བའི་.
 701 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 702 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དག་; corrected to གྲགས་.
 703 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚང་; corrected to བཅོང་.
 704 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དག་; corrected to གྲགས་.
 705 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚང་; corrected to བཅོང་.

དབྱངས་ཚོས་རྗེ། ལྷན་ལྷ་བདེ་[༥༥]གཤེགས་བརྒྱད། ལྷ་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་སེང་གེ་ལྷ།
 ལྷོལ་དཀར། སེང་ལྲང་ནགས་ལྷོལ། ལྷོལ་མ་འཛིགས་པ་བརྒྱད་རྒྱབས།⁷⁰⁶ | ལྷ་མ་འཛོམས་ལྷང་ལྷོ། ལོ་
 ལོར་འབྲང་མ། གཤེན་གྱི་ཀ་བཞི་མར་[.]⁷⁰⁷ དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱལ། འཕགས་པ་གནས་བརྟན་བརྟུ་དུག
 ལྷན་ཏེ་ལ། རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ལྷོ་བཞི།⁷⁰⁸] ལྷ་ཤང་དང་བཅས་པའི་ལྷང་བརྟན་སོགས་བཞེངས་པར་འཛིམ་
 བཟོ་ཨི་པ་དབྱ་མཛད་བཀའ་ཤོ་དང་[།] ཚོས་འཕེལ། དབྱ་རྒྱུད་དཔལ་འཛོལ། བྱིངས་གསལ་
 [484]བཙོན་⁷¹¹ ལྷང་། ལྷོ་བཟང་བརྟན་རྒྱུད་། ཨོ་རྒྱལ་མགོ་མ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བར་དར་རྒྱལ། འཛོམ་ ལྷུག
 ལྷོ་བཟང་། གཤུ་འབྲུག་བསོད་ནམས་ཚོ་རིང་། ལྷམ་དགའ། བརྟན་འཕེལ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་དར་རྒྱལ། ཨོ་
 བར། ལོར་བྱ་ཚོ་རིང་། དོན་གྲུབ། ལྷོར་རྒྱལ། ལྷམ་འཕེལ། ལྷོ་བཟང་ལོར་བྱ། ལོར་བྱ་དར་རྒྱལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 དོ་དམ་[ཚེ]⁷¹⁴ ། །ལ་འབོག་གོང་བརྟན་པ་ལྷོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། [༥༥]རྒྱུད་བ་ ལྷོ་དྲུང་ ག་དཔོན་དང་
 རྒྱལ་ཚོ་ལྷོག་ལྷུག་པ། ལྷལ་⁷¹⁷ ལམ་དོ་དམ་རྒྱུད་ར་བསོད་ནམས་དང་[བ་དམ་]⁷¹⁸ ཚོ་རིང་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་
 བཞིས་ཤིང་། ལྷོས་འབྲུར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལྷའི་གཙོ་བོ་གོང་ནས་བསྐབ་རྟོན་དང་འཁོར་ཤིང་ལྷེས་མཚན་
 པ་དེ་དང་རང་ནས་བྱུར་བརྒྱལ་བར་⁷²¹ [ཐོག་མར་བཟོ་བོ་ དང་ལག་ཚ་སོག་ཤིང་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ནས་བར་
 དུ་གནས་ཡིག་རབ་གནས་རྒྱུན་འབྲེད་སོགས་དགོ་སྤོང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གསལ་བས་གོང་གི་བཀའ་
 གནང་རྒྱུ་བོར་རྒྱངས་ཏེ་བྱས།]⁷²³ ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱབས་མགོན་དམ་པ་ཚེན་
 རོས་བསྐབ་རྟོན་གནང་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་ལྷ་བརྟན་མོ་རྟོན་པོ་དང་། གཤམ་ཡང་⁷²⁴ རྗེ་རྗེ་གསལ་རྒྱལ་

706 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷོབས་; corrected to ལྷུབས་.
 707 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to ་.
 708 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to །.
 709 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བཞེང་.
 710 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 711 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྟན་; corrected to བཙོན་.
 712 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཨ་; corrected to རྒྱལ་.
 713 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཛོམས་; corrected to འཛོམ་.
 714 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 715 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to བ་.
 716 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷང་; corrected to ལྷུང་.
 717 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷལ་.
 718 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཟང་མ་; corrected to ཟང་མ་.
 719 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུ་; corrected to ལྷི་.
 720 Lingön Padma Kelzang places the following fragment after the portion bracketed for note 723.
 721 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བར་.
 722 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to ས་.
 723 See note 720.
 724 Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal add བརྟན་རྒྱུད་ཚེན་པོ་ here. This addition, as well as the following emendation to རྗེ་རྗེ་གསལ་ལྷན་, is also found in the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript; see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho n.da., f.8a.1.

མ་] ⁷²⁵སོགས་དེགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མདོས་རྣམས་སྣོང་སྐད་དང་། དེ་མཚུངས་གཏོར་མའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཕུན་
སུམ་ཚོགས་ཤིང་མཚོང་དཔོན་དག་དབང་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ ⁷²⁶དོ་དམ་བྱས་གྲུ་ཚང་གི་གྲུ་བ་ལ་ཡར་གྱི་
⁷²⁷ཚོལ་བས་ཁྱད་དུ་མཚར་བ་བཅས་བཟོས་ཤིང་ ⁷²⁸ཟེའོག་[གི་] ⁷²⁹དིང་[༄༅]ཕོན་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་
མཚན་འཕན་གྱིས་གཙོས་ ⁷³⁰གནམ་རྒྱན་དང་བཅས་པའི་དོ་དམ་བྱ་[གོ་བ་] ⁷³¹སློབ་པ་བཟང་དབང་ཕྱག་
དང་དཔལ་རྗེར་།] ⁷³²བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལ་པ། གོས་བཟོ་དུབ་མཚང་[ར་ཚེ་] ⁷³³ཤག་པ་བསོད་ནམས། བྱིངས་
⁷³⁴གས་ ལྡ་ཡག་ ⁷³⁵སོགས་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་གཉིས་[རྣམས་] ། ⁷³⁶སྐྱ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ནང་གཙོ་སྐྱ་རྟེན་གྲགས་
ཅན་རིང་བསྐལ་སྣ་བཞིས་མཚོན་པའི་བྱིན་ལྟེན་རྟེན་དང་། བྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་ཡང་གསང་བུར་བཀོལ་
དང་བཅས་པའི་སོག་འཁོར། ཆགས་རྟེན་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྟོབས་རུས་ཆེ་བུང་མི་འོང་ཞིང་མི་ཆགས་
པའི་རང་དབང་མེད་པར་འདུ་བའི་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ལག་མཐོ་གང་ཅམ་རེ། ལས་རབ་འབྲུམས་ཅི་བཅོལ་
ཀྱང་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པར་མི་བྱ་བའི་དབང་མེད་པར་བྱེད་པ་ཤེལ་དཀར་དྲི་མེད་སྣང་སྲིད་འཆར་བ་གྲུ་
བཞི་མཚུག་ ⁷³⁷རེ་རེ། རང་དང་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་དཔོན་སྟོབ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པར་མི་འཁྱུ་ཞིང་ལྟས་དང་གི་བ་
མ་བཞིན་མི་འགྲོགས་པའི་རང་དབང་མེད་པ་ཉ་ཕྱིས་ཁོག་པ་ཚང་བ་གསུམ་པོ་ལ་སོག་ཡིག་རྒྱས་[༄༅]
⁷³⁸སོགས་ ⁷³⁹རྒྱུད་ལས་བྱུང་བ། གཞན་ཡང་[རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ས་ལེ་སྣམ་] ⁷⁴⁰རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཆིབས་སྒྲིག་ བསྐྱར་སྐབས་
⁷⁴¹འུར་[ཏུ་སྲུང་] ⁷⁴²ཚད་དུ་གཉེར་ནས་ ⁷⁴³དགོས་ཚུལ་གནང་བ་འདི་ལོ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལེགས་པར་འབྲིག་ཏེ་
⁷⁴⁴དུང་དང་ ⁷⁴⁵ཚོས་རྒྱས་ཕུལ་བའི་ ⁷⁴⁶བཟོ་དབྱིབས་མདོག་རྣམས་ [ལེགས་] [པ་རེདི་] ⁷⁴⁷སློབ་ཅམ་

725 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན་; corrected to རྒྱལ་མ་. Dobis Tsering Gyal likewise has རྟེན་.
726 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
727 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
728 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ། here.
729 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
730 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds པའི་ here.
731 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཁོང་; corrected to ཁོ་བ་.
732 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to ། .
733 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཟེ་; corrected to ར་ཚེ་.
734 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ཁོང་དཀར་ here.
735 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡགས་; corrected to ཡག་.
736 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་; corrected to རྣམས་.
737 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མཚོན་; corrected to མཚུག་.
738 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སོག་; corrected to སོགས་.
739 Lingön Padma Kelzang places this phrase later in this line.
740 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལ་; corrected to སྐྱ་.
741 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དུས་སུ་; corrected to ཏུ་སྲུང་.
742 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བས་.
743 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེ་; corrected to ཏེ་.
744 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དད་; corrected to དང་.
745 See note 739.
746 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྣམ་; corrected to རྣམས་.
747 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

བ་གཅིག་⁷⁴⁹ གི་⁷⁵⁰ གཙོས་བྱ་སྒྲིབ་ཚམ་རེ། དབྱུང་ཏེ་མིག་⁷⁵¹ མས་གཙོས་པ་རེ། བྱ་རྩ་ཁམ་སྒོན་ཚམ་རེ། ལྷ་
 གཡུ་དང་སྒྲིབ་ཚམ་རེ། ལྷ་ཏྲིག་དང་ལྷ་མེན་ཟངས་ལྷ་གས་སོགས་ལྷ་སྤྲུ་མིའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རིགས། རྣམ་ལྷ།
 གོས་ལྷ། དར་ལྷ། རས་ལྷ། བ་བོ་⁷⁵²] ཡུང་ དཀར་ མེན་པའི་འབྲུ་ལྷ། [ཨ་ལྷ་] ⁷⁵⁵ དང་ཁ་སྲུང་པ་སོགས་
 ཤིང་ཏྲིག་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ན་ཡོད་དོ་ཅོག། དུག་རིགས་དང་དྲི་མི་ཞིམ་པ་མེད་པའི་ཚན་དན་
 དཀར་དམར་གྱི་⁷⁵⁶ གཙོས་སྤྲུན་སྤྲུ་རེང་⁷⁵⁷ ལྷ་སྤྲུ་ཚོགས། དཀར་གསུམ་⁷⁵⁸ མངར་གསུམ་སོགས་བཟའ་བ་
⁷⁵⁹ བཅའ་བའི་རིགས་སྤྲུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ མཐའ་རྟེན་⁷⁶⁰ པའི་ཡོ་བྱད་རྣམས་སྐྱེ་དང་མདོས་གཏོར་སོ་སོར་
[485]ཚང་ཞིང་། འཁོར་^[48]ལོ་ལེ་ཚན་སོགས་ལ་གོང་ནས་ལྷག་ནས་དང་རབ་གནས་ཉིན་རེ།
 གཞན་མ་⁷⁶² བསྐབ་སྒྲོན་གཙོ་བོར་སྒྲོན་⁷⁶³ དགོ་སྒྲོང་འཇམ་དབྱེངས་གྲགས་པས་དོ་དམ་བྱས་⁷⁶⁴] འདྲི་
 མི་དག་དབང་ཕྱིན་ལས། དག་དབང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལེགས་ལྡན་དབང་རྒྱལ། ལྷགས་རམ་ པ་སྒོ་བཟང་སྐྱེས་
 མཚོག་དང་^[] ⁷⁶⁶ ཚོས་རྗེ་ཟེལ་གཞོན་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཚན་གྱིས་བྱས་ཤིང་⁷⁶⁷ དགོ་སྒྲོང་འཇམ་དབྱེངས་གྲགས་པས་
 ཀྱང་བསྐབས་ཤིང་⁷⁶⁸ འབྲུལ་བའི་ཚོ་⁷⁶⁹ མིག་ལྷ་དང་བཅས་མཚོད་དཔོན་དག་དབང་ཤེས་རབ། དགོ་
 སྒྲོང་འཇམ་དབྱེངས་གྲགས་པ། ལྷགས་རམས་པ་སྒོ་བཟང་སྐྱེས་ཚོག་⁷⁷⁰ ཚན་གྱིས་ཁ་བཤོས་ནས་བྱས།
 གཟུངས་འབྲུལ་གྱིས་⁷⁷¹ དུས་ཚོས་སྒྲོང་ཚེན་བོ་ཉིད་སྐྱེ་པེབས་པའི་རལ་གྱི་དང་ཤིང་བྱང་གཞིས་ཀྱང་རྗེ་

748 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་རེའི; corrected to བ་རེའི; Dobis Tsering Gyal: བརའི.
 749 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞིག; corrected to གཅིག.
 750 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གིས; corrected to གི.
 751 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟེན; corrected to མིག.
 752 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 753 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡུངས; corrected to ཡུང.
 754 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཀར.
 755 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཨ་ལྷ.
 756 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས; corrected to ལྷི.
 757 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རེལ; corrected to རེང.
 758 Dobis Tsering Gyal adds a དང་ here.
 759 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds a དང་ here.
 760 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས; corrected to ལྷི.
 761 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བརྟེན.
 762 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ; corrected to མ.
 763 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཏོན; corrected to སྒྲོན.
 764 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to .
 765 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རམས; corrected to རམ.
 766 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 767 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ། here.
 768 Lingön Padma Kelzang: །; corrected to ཤིང.
 769 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཚོ.
 770 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མཚོག; corrected to ཚོག.
 771 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷི; corrected to ལྷིས.

བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མཚོའི་གཟིགས་⁷⁷² ལྷུང་མར་འབྲུག་དགོས་དང་། བན་ཚུང་ནམས་⁷⁷³ ཤེས་པར་བེ་ཀར་
⁷⁷⁴ རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་དེ་རིང་དངོས་སྤྲོ་ཡོང་⁷⁷⁵ སེབས་ཤིང་⁷⁷⁶ དེ་ཉིན་གཟུངས་འབྲུལ་བ་རྣམས་བྱིན་
ཆགས་པ་ལས་མཚན་⁷⁷⁷ [ཤེས་པ་]⁷⁷⁸ མ་བྱང་[༥༣]ཡང་། དེ་ལུབ་ནས་ཨེ་པའི་འབྲུར་པ་⁷⁷⁹ རྣམས་མི་
⁷⁸⁰ ལྷས་⁷⁸¹ འབྲུགས་སྟེ་⁷⁸² འཚུབས་⁷⁸³ ལྷོངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་དང་། ཚས་སྐྱོང་སྐྱེ་ལེབས་ལ་བསྐབ་
སྟོན་སོགས་ལྷ་དགོས་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་ཞག་ཁ་ཡར་བྱང་། ཚེ་མོར་གསེར་སྐྱུངས་ཉེས་སྟོང་ཞོ་ལས་གྲུབ་
པའི་གཞི་རའི་⁷⁸⁴ བད་དུ་ཡུང་⁷⁸⁵ འབྲུ་ལྷ་བུའི་རིང་བསྐལ་གྱིས་གཙོས་བྱིན་རྟེན། དུལ་ཕྱོགས་བཟ་ཤེས་
ཕྱིར་ཞི་རྒྱས་དབང་དྲག་གི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལྷུང་[པར་]⁷⁸⁶ ཅན། གཡས་སྤྲོ་དོ་རྩེ་གགས་ལྷན་དང་། གཡོན་དུ་
གགས་⁷⁸⁷ རྒྱལ་མ། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་དབྲུས་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བཞིར་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་སོ་སོའི་རྟེན་
ལྷའི་ལྷག་[ལོག་]⁷⁸⁸ བཅས་ལ་སོ་སོའི་མན་དག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྟེན་རྩེས་ཀྱི་⁷⁸⁹ བརྒྱན་པ་དང་
⁷⁹⁰ ལྷེར་ལག་གི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷག་ཅོད་པན་སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་བཅུགས་⁷⁹¹ ཤིང་།]⁷⁹² གཞི་རའི་སྐབ་པ་རབ་
གནས་དགེ་[༥༤]སྐོང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གགས་པ་ཅན་དང་། ལྷག་གི་ཚོ་]⁷⁹³ གཞུགས་རམ་⁷⁹⁴ པ་སྟོ་
བཟང་སྐྱེས་མཚོག་⁷⁹⁵ ཅན་གྱིས་བྱས། ལྷོའི་ཤན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རྟེན་རྩེས་དང་མཚོད་པའི་གཟུགས་འགོས་སྣ་

772 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཟིགས་; corrected to གཟིགས་.
773 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds རྒྱུས་ here.
774 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཉར་; corrected to ཀར་.
775 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡོངས་; corrected to ཡོང་.
776 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ། here.
777 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds མ་ here.
778 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཤར་; corrected to ཤེས་པ་.
779 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
780 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བལྷས་; corrected to ལྷས་.
781 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཉེ་; corrected to ལྷེ་.
782 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཚུབ་; corrected to འཚུབས་.
783 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ར་; corrected to རའི་.
784 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཡུངས་; corrected to ཡུང་.
785 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
786 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དྲག་; corrected to གྲགས་.
787 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷག་; corrected to ལྷགས་.
788 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
789 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱུས་; corrected to རྒྱུ་.
790 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ། here.
791 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཙོགས་; corrected to བཅུགས་.
792 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
793 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
794 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རམས་; corrected to རམ་.
795 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོག་; corrected to མཚོག་.

ཚོགས་ཀྱི་⁷⁹⁶ བརྒྱན་པའི་དོ་དམ་གཞིས་ཀ་སྟོང་སྟོང་[།]⁷⁹⁷ ལ་འོག་བཀྲ་ཤིས། ལྷོ་⁷⁹⁸ མོས་ཀུན་དགའ་དོ་
 རྗེ་གསུམ་གྱི་⁷⁹⁹ འུས་ཤིང་། ལྷགས་བཟོ་⁸⁰⁰ དབུ་རྒྱུང་ཨོ་ཚང་པ། འབྲས་གསལ་གསེར་ལྷ་⁸⁰¹ འབྲི་སྐྱུག་སོགས་
 ལུམ་རྩ་སོ་གཉིས་⁸⁰² ། ཚོགས་པ་དབུ་མཛད་ཅེ་ཚེན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས། པ་ནམ་⁸⁰³ མགོན་པོ། འབྲས་
 གསལ་རམ་སྐྱང་⁸⁰⁴ འོར་བུ་སོགས་ལྷ་བརྒྱུང་གཉིས་ ། དདུལ་མགར་བ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་སོགས་བཙེ་ལྷ། བལ་པོ་
 ལུར་ཙ་⁸⁰⁶ སོགས་ལྷ་བརྒྱུང་བདུན། དོ་དམ་ལྷ་⁸⁰⁷ རི་བརྒྱན་འཛིན་དང་གྲ་ཕྱི་ལོར་བུ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་⁸⁰⁸ འུས་
 པའི་ཚོན་འདུལ་⁸⁰⁹ ལྷོ་མོ་ཀུམ་དང་⁸¹⁰ ལྷོ་མ་ཚོ་དབང་ལྷི་ཐར། བསེ་མཁའ་ཚོ་དབང་དོ་རྗེ། ར་ལས་པ་
 ལྷ་བ་མགོ་པ་ཙན་བཞི་⁸¹¹ ། ལྷོ་པན་ཚུན་གྱི་ཀུན་འཁོར་བཞི་འདར་ལོ་དག་[༥༥]དབང་ལུན་ཚོགས་ལྷུན་
 གྲུབ་དང་རྣམ་སྐྱིད་པའི་ཚོན་དཀོན་མཚོ་གཞི་གསལ། ལྷ་བོད་[ཀྱི་]⁸¹² ཡི་གེ་འདྲི་⁸¹³ མི་རྒྱལ་ཅེ་འཇམ་
 དབྱུངས་དབང་པོ་དང་དཔག་བསམ་ཚོ་རིང་⁸¹⁴ ། དགོས་བྱེད་⁸¹⁵ སོགས་སོགས་སྟོན་མི་[དར་]⁸¹⁶ ཀན་
 བཀའ་⁸¹⁷ བརྩ་བ་དང་སྐྱུས་⁸¹⁸ ལྷང་[པ་]⁸¹⁹ ཚོ་དབང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་ འུས་ཟངས་ རི་སྐྱེའུ་གདོང་⁸²² ། ལྷ་
⁸²³ ཚོང་། ལྷོང་སྐྱང། འབྲས་སྐྱུངས་སྐྱི་པ། ལྷ་ཉེན་པ། ལྷོ་གསལ་སྐྱིང་པ། ལྷོ་[མང་པ་]⁸²⁴ ། བད་ཡངས་པ།

796 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས་; corrected to ལྱི.
 797 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དང་; corrected to །.
 798 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷོ.
 799 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས་; corrected to ལྱི.
 800 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཟོའི་; corrected to བཟོ.
 801 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ།; corrected to ལྷུ.
 802 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷམས་དང་ here.
 803 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷམ་; corrected to ལྷམས་.
 804 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds རམ་སྐྱང་ here; Dobis Tsering Gyal: རམ་སྐྱང་.
 805 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷམས་དང་ here.
 806 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོ་; corrected to ཙན་.
 807 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷེ.
 808 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས་; corrected to ལྱི.
 809 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བ་ here.
 810 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ། here.
 811 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds དང་ here.
 812 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 813 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འདྲི་; corrected to འདྲི་.
 814 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds ལྷིས་ལྷས་ here.
 815 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོང་; corrected to ལྷེད་.
 816 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 817 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དཀའ་; corrected to བཀའ་.
 818 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷུས་.
 819 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 820 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷིས་; corrected to ལྱི.
 821 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཟང་; corrected to ཟངས་.
 822 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷོང་; corrected to ལྷོང་.
 823 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷེ.

ལྷགས་པ། [486]དར་⁸²⁵ མན་བཀའ་⁸²⁶ བཅུ་བ། ལྷར་མྱོང་པ། ལྷས་⁸²⁷ སང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱ་ལོར་ཨར་⁸²⁸
 ལྷོན་དྲང་། འབྲས་ལྷངས་ལྷི་པ། ལྷོང་སྤང་བ།⁸²⁹ །བདེ་ཡངས་པ། ལྷ་རྟེན་པ། དར་⁸³⁰ མན་བཀའ་⁸³¹ བཅུ།
 ལྷས་ སང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱི་ལོར་བཟོ་སྟོན་སོགས་བསྟར་བ་རྩ་ཚེན་གྱི་ལོ་མ་སྐར་ལྷ་བའི་འགོར་ལེགས་
 པར་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱ་ཚས་དང་།⁸³³] ལྷ་རྟེན་རྣམས་ལྷ་བ་དེ་གའི་ཚེས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་གཟའ་སྐར་བཟང་བར་
⁸³⁴ [སྤོས་]⁸³⁵ དུས་ལ་མཚན་པའི་ལྷས་སྐྱ་[༥༥]ཚོགས་པ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། རབ་གནས་འཕམ་ལེལ་དུ་ཚེས་བཅུ་
 གསུམ་གྱི་ཉེན་ལྷ་⁸³⁶ ལོན་དང་།⁸³⁷ །བཅུ་བཞི་ལ་དཔལ་ཚེན་རྩ་རྩེ་གཞོན་ལུ་ལྷག་འབྲུང་ལོ་བོའི་དཀྱིལ་
 འཁོར་ལ་བཞེན་གོང་ས་མཚོག་གི་⁸³⁸ ལྷག་ནས་ ལྷན་དམིགས་གནང་བ་དང་། དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མ་དམ་
 པའི་གསུང་གི་བདུད་རྩི་རིམ་⁸⁴⁰ པ་མེད་པར་བཏུང་ པའི་⁸⁴¹ ཡི་དམ་ཞི་ལོའི་བསྟེན་སྐྱབ་ལས་གསུམ་ལ་
 མཐར་སོན་ཅིང་སྐུམ་ལྷན་རིགས་ ལྷགས་འཆང་བ་དགོ་སྤོང་འཇམ་དབྱུངས་གྲགས་པས་རྩ་རྩེ་སྤོབ་
 དཔོན་བྱས། ལྷ་འདུལ་བ་དང་བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་⁸⁴⁴ པ་ལས་སྐད་ཅིག་ཀྱང་མི་འགལ་ཞིང་ནང་ལྷ་
 ལྷགས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཟབ་མོ་ལ་གནས་པའི་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕན་བདེ་ལེགས་བཤད་སྤིང་
 འདུས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་⁸⁴³ དམ་ཚོག་སེམས་དཔར་ཡེ་ཤེས་པ་དངོས་སུ་བཅུག་པའི་རབ་ཏུ་གནས་ཤིང་མེ་རྟོག་
 ལོ་ཆར་བབ་⁸⁴⁶ [།]⁸⁴⁷ ཚེས་བཅོ་ལྔའི་པ་སངས་ནམ་གཤའི་འགྲུབ་སྦྱར་གྱི་གཟའ་སྐར་སུན་[༥༦]སུམ་

824 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མང་བ་; corrected to མང་པ་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: མངས་པ་.

825 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ད; corrected to དར་.

826 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དཀའ་; corrected to བཀའ་.

827 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.

828 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷས་.

829 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

830 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ད; corrected to དར་.

831 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དཀའ་; corrected to བཀའ་.

832 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷས་.

833 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

834 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི་; corrected to བར་.

835 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

836 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷ་.

837 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

838 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷས་; corrected to ལྷི་.

839 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds དང་ here.

840 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རིམ་; corrected to རིམ་.

841 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བཏུངས་.

842 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི་; corrected to བའི་.

843 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རིག་; corrected to རིགས་.

844 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷོད་; corrected to དབྱེད་.

845 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷི་; corrected to ལྷི་.

846 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བབས་; corrected to བབ་.

847 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

848 Based on the *Roar that Shakes the Three Realms* manuscript, Lingön Padma Kelzang and Dobis Tsering Gyal both include at this point the following lengthy addition

ཚོགས་པའི་ཉིན་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་ཚེན་པོ་སྐྱུ་རྟེན་ཚེ་དབང་⁸⁴⁹ དབལ་འབར་གྱི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཕབ་སྟེ་⁸⁵⁰ ཞལ་སྤྱིའི་
⁸⁵¹ རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ དགྲེས་པ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་གནས་ཁང་[དུ་]⁸⁵³ འདུ་འབྲལ་མེད་པར་བཞུགས་
 པ་དང་། བསྟན་འགྲོའི་མེལ་ཚོ་གཡེལ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་འབྲིན་ལས་རྣམ་བཞི་སྐྱུ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་
 བཞེས་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་སྤུན་སྤུམ་ཚོགས་པར་སྐྱབ་⁸⁵⁴ པ་ནི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་གནས་ཁང་གཞན་ལས་
བཟོ་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱད་གྱི་⁸⁵⁵ བྱང་དུ་འཕགས་པ་སྟེ་**བྱང་འཕགས་དང་པོ་ནི་**གོང་སྤོམ་བཞིན་གྱི་སྐྱོ་རྩོག་
 འཁོར་[གྱིས་མཚོན་] གཞན་དུ་མ་གྲགས་པར་མ་ཟད་བྲིས་འབྲུར་རྣམས་ཀྱང་འཚེ་མེད་གྱི་⁸⁵⁶ བཟོ་བོ་
 ལས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་མའི་རྣམ་པར་རྟེན་⁸⁵⁸ རས་བཞུགས་ཉམས་གྱི་བཟོ་བྱང་རྣམ་འབྲུར་གྱི་⁸⁵⁹ ཡིད་དབང་
 འཕྲོག་ཅིང་། བྱེད་པ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལྷར་བསྐྱེད་དེ་ཚོན་དང་ལག་ཆ་སོགས་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པར་གནས་པ་
 བྱིན་ལྷབས་གྱི་⁸⁶⁰ ཉེ་བར་གཏམས་པའི་མདོར་ན་[**ཅུ་**]⁸⁶¹ཆུ་སྐྱར་ [གྱི་]⁸⁶² མིག་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་བྲིས་
 འབྲུར་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་ཅའ་ལས། རོན་དམ་གདོད་ནས་[**487**]རང་བཞིན་སྐྱུ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྤྱང་མིང་
 དྲེགས་པ་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་མཚོ་དངོས་སུ་སྤྱིན་སྤུང་འབྲིབས་⁸⁶³ པ་ལྷར་བར་དང་མཚམས་མེད་པ་ནས་ལང་
 ལོང་དུ་འདུ་ཞིང་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་བྱང་ཅན། **གཉིས་པ་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་**འདི་ཉིད་རྣམ་སྤུལ་བགྲང་ཡས་བས་སྐྱེ

in their transcriptions:པའི་ཚེ་སྐྱུ་གེན་གྱི་བཞེགས་སྤྱོད་སྐབས་དུས་མིན་རྒྱང་འཚུབ་ཕྱིར་བྱང་པ་[Dobis Tsering Gyal adds:

དང་]སྤྱན་འབྲེན་གྱི་དུས་དར་ཕག།[Lingön Padma Kelzang adds: (དན་བག)]ཡས་དང་འབྲལ་སྤྱངས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་རྒྱང་འཚུབ་ལངས་པ་
 གནས་རྒྱང་གི་ཐད་ཡལ་བ་དང་སོག་གིང་བྱིན་ལྷབས་ནས་བཟུང་རབ་གནས་གཟུངས་འབྲལ་སོགས་ཡིན་ཅེས་གྱིས་ཁ་ཚར་དང་འདི་སྐབས་ཉི་མ་ཐུ་རྟེན་རྣམ་མཁའ་གཡེལ་
 དག་ལར་རབ་གནས་རབ་སྟོན་སོགས་གྱི་དུས་ཁ་ཚུབ་དང་བྱང་པར་བྱེད་གོང་ཡས་མས་གང་ལ་མེད་ཀྱང་གནས་རྒྱང་རྒྱབ་རིར་ལུལ་ལ་སྤོང་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཚོང་བར་བྱང་ཞིང་
 འདི་ཉིན་ནས་སྐྱ་གསོལ་འབྲུལ་མ་དེ་སྐྱོ་བར་[Lingön Padma Kelzang: བྱེད་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: བཟོ་བོ་]ཆེ་ཏུ་སོང་བ་
 འབྲེགས་མིས་རྟོགས་པ་དང་མེ་པ་དབྱེ་མཚན་བག།[Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྟོའི་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: རྟོའི་]ཆེ་སྐྱས་
 གཅོང་ཁང་དུ་བཅུན་པ་མང་[Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཕོ་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཕོ་]བསྐྱབ་[Lingön
 Padma Kelzang: ཡོང་བ་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཡོང་བ་]སྐྱ་རྣམས་ཚག་དྲོགས་བྱེད་པ་འཚངས། དབྲུས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐར་ཐེམ་
 པ་དང་གཞན་ཡང་[Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷ་]ཚང་[Lingön Padma
 Kelzang: ལྷ་ / Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷ་]པ་དང་རྒྱང་འཁོར་སོགས་ཁ་ཡར་ལ་ཉམས་སྤྱི་འཚུབ་ཆ་ཆེ་བའི་དྲེགས་པ་དངོས་སུ་བཞུགས་
 པའི་སྐྱས་སྤུན་སྤུམ་ཚོགས་པ་བྱང་།

849 Dobis Tsering Gyal: རིང་.
 850 Dobis Tsering Gyal: རྟེ་.
 851 Lingön Padma Kelzang: སྤྱིའི་; corrected to སྤྱིའི་.
 852 Lingön Padma Kelzang: པ་; corrected to བར་.
 853 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 854 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷབ་; corrected to ལྷབ་.
 855 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 856 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱི་མཚོན་; corrected to ལྱིས་མཚོན་.
 857 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱི་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 858 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྟན་; corrected to རྟེན་.
 859 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 860 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 861 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷར་; corrected to ལྷར་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷར་.
 862 Dobis Tsering Gyal: omitted.
 863 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཉིབས་; corrected to འབྲིབས་.

འགོ་དབྱགས་ཀྱི་⁸⁶⁴ ཟེན་ཚད་ཀྱི་ལྷག་པར་གནས་པ་ཞལ་གྱི་⁸⁶⁵ འཆེས་པ་ལྷར་ཡིན་ནའང་།] ⁸⁶⁶ གང་
 འདུལ་གྱི་རོལ་བས་སྐྱེའི་རྣམ་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྐྱལ་བ་⁸⁶⁷ ཏྲ་མགོ་གྲུ་དམར་གཡུའི་རོར་བྱས་མཚན་པའི་ཚུལ་
 གཟེ་བྱེན་བཟོད་པར་དཀའ་བ་ལོག་ཏུ་བརྟེན་⁸⁶⁸ ཏེ། རྣམ་འགྲུལ་⁸⁶⁹ དགྲེས་པའི་རྟེན་དུ་བྲི་བསྐང་ལུན་
 ལྷམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་ལུན་ཅིང་། ། མེ་ཏོག་དང་འབྲས་བུ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱས་པའི་⁸⁷¹ ལྷ་དན་མེད་པའི་སྡོན་
 ཤིང་སྡོ་⁸⁷² བ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་ཐེམ་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱི་⁸⁷³ གནས་པ་ལྷར་དམ་ཅན་དགྲེས་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་
 དུ།] བསྐལ་བ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་ཙུ་གཉིས་སོགས་དུས་[༥༧]གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་
 ཀྱི་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་པདྨའི་གོ་སར་ལས་མཚོག་ཏུ་སྐྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་མཚོང་བ་དོན་ལྡན་སྐྱེའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ན་རིམ་གྱི་⁸⁷⁵ རྩོ་
 རྩའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཟབ་མའི་སྣ་སྤྲེགས་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱི་རོལ་བའི་⁸⁷⁶ མཐུ་ཚན་པོས་བྱེན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་ཤིང་།
 ཚོས་སྟོང་ཚེན་[པོས་ཀྱང་] ལྷན་གཟེགས་མཚོད་ རྩས་དུ་མས་བཀྲ་བའི་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་དུ་མི་
 འབྲལ་⁸⁷⁹ བར་དགྲེས་པ་ཚེན་པོས་ཆགས་པའི་རྟེན་འདི་ཉིད་ཉམས་པ་མེད་པར་གཙང་ཁང་དུ་
 བཞུགས་པ་ནི་གནས་འདིའི་སོག་ཤིང་ལྷ་བུའི་དགྲེས་པའི་རྟེན་མཚོག་ཏུ་གྲུར་པའི་⁸⁸⁰ ལྷིང་པོ་ཡིན་ལ།
 ལྷད་ནས་དགྲེས་པ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་བསྐྱར་བའི་[སྐང་སྐྱབས་] ཉམས་པ་མེད་པའི་བྱིར་[] དངོས་
 བཤམས་⁸⁸³ ཀྱི་གཞལ་ཡས་སྤྱན་གཟེགས་ཀྱན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་མཚོད་སྤྱིན་ལྷ་མའི་འབྱོར་བ་⁸⁸⁴ ཐམས་ཅད་
 གཅིག་ཏུ་སྐལ་བ་ལྷར་རིམ་ བ་བཞིན་སྐྱོ་བ་ མཚོད་པས་ན། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་གྲུར་པས་ལྷད་པར་

864 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.

865 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.

866 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.

867 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.

868 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བཟུན་; corrected to བརྟེན་.

869 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷུལ་.

870 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞིང་; corrected to ཅིང་.

871 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བའི་.

872 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་; corrected to ལྷོ་.

873 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.

874 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ; corrected to | .

875 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.

876 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བའི་.

877 Lingön Padma Kelzang: པོར་ཡང་; corrected to པོས་ཀྱང་.

878 Dobis Tsering Gyal: མཚོས་.

879 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷལ་; corrected to འབྲལ་.

880 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བའི་; corrected to བའི་.

881 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐང་བ་; corrected to སྐང་སྐྱབས་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: བསྐང་སྐྱོབ་.

882 Lingön Padma Kelzang: | ; corrected to .

883 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཤམས་; corrected to བཤམས་.

884 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.

885 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དམ་; corrected to རིམ་.

886 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བར་; corrected to བ་.

འཕགས། གསུམ་པ་གཙང་ཁང་དབུས་མའི་མདོ་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་ཕུམ་⁸⁸⁷ [ཡེ]དང་དལ་⁸⁸⁸ མ་རྣམས་
 [ལ་]⁸⁸⁹ མཐོང་བས་ཀྱང་སྤོང་རྩ་འདར་ཞིང་འབྲིན་པར་རུས་པའི་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་པགས་པ། ལྟོ་འགྲོ་རིགས་
 ལྡེའི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་སྤྱི་དང་ཤང་ལང་རལ་གྱི། དབྱར་རྡེའི་ལ་ནས་ཐོགས་⁸⁹⁰ སེར་རྒྱལ་⁸⁹¹ པ་བཅས་
 འཇིགས་ཤིང་སྤྱི་གཡའ་བའི་བཅོ་བྱད། བཞི་པ་ནང་གི་སྒོ་ནི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྒོ་གསུམ་གྱི་དང་ལས་སྤྱི་གསུམ་
 དུ་ཤང་⁸⁹² བ་ཕྱི་རོལ་ཏུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྡེའི་རང་གདངས་⁸⁹³ ལྷུལ་ཆེན་སྤྱི་ལྡོ་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་སྒོ་སྤྱི་ནི།
 རབ་ཏུ་ཡངས་པའི་སྤོང་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་⁸⁹⁴ སྤྱི་རྣུ་⁸⁹⁵ ཀུན་དུས་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཞུགས་ཀྱང་དོག་པ་མེད་པར་ཤོང་
 བའི་ལྷོན་ཆེ་ཞིང་། བབས་གདོང་⁸⁹⁶ ཀྱང་⁸⁹⁷ སྤོང་པའི་རྩ་མོར་བསྟེན་⁸⁹⁸ བས་ན་མགྲིན་པ་ལྡེ་བྱང་གི་ཕོ་
 བྱང་བྱུངས་བཅས་དག་ཤལ་གྱི་⁸⁹⁹ ས་འདྲིར་སྤངས་པ་ལྟ་བུས་རྡམས་བརྡེད་དང་ལྡན་པའི་བྱུང་ཅན། ལྡོ་
 པ་སྒོ་འཕར་གྱི་སྟེགས་བུ་བུགས་⁹⁰⁰ བལ་གྱི་ཡན་ལག་མཚོག་གི་ལ་ནས་འབྱུང་བའི་སྒོ་འགྲོའི་རང་བཞིན་
 གྱི་⁹⁰¹ བཟུང་བའི་ཕྱང་ཡུལ་གྱིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་[ཡེ]བརྟན་པའི་སྒོ་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་དོན་སྤོང་སྟོག་མར་འབྲིན་
 རུས་པའི་བྱུང་མཚན། དུག་པ་རྩ་མོར་གསེར་སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ཉི་མ་འབྱུམ་གྱི་གཟི་བུན་འཕོག་པར་
 རུས་པའི་གཞི་⁹⁰² ར་ཆེན་པོ་དྲེགས་པའི་སྤེ་དཔོན་འཕོར་དང་བཅས་པས་འབྲིན་⁹⁰³ ལས་རྣམ་བཞི་
 ཐོགས་མེད་དུ་སྤྱུབ་⁹⁰⁴ ཕྱིར་སྤྱི་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ཕྱི་ནང་ཡང་ཟབ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཚང་བར་བཅུགས་
 པའི་⁹⁰⁵ དམ་ཅན་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་⁹⁰⁶ འདུ་བ་དང་། གསེར་སྤྱིའི་⁹⁰⁷ སྤོང་སྤོང་⁹⁰⁸ མི་མཐོ་རྣམ་⁹⁰⁹ པའི་སྤོང་

887 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུམས་; corrected to ཕུམ་.
 888 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དུ; corrected to དལ་.
 889 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 890 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཐོགས་; corrected to ཐོགས་.
 891 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྒྱལ་; corrected to བརྒྱལ་.
 892 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཤར་; corrected to ཤང་.
 893 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མདངས་; corrected to གདངས་.
 894 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 895 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དགུ་; corrected to ལྷུ་.
 896 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞོང་; corrected to གདོང་.
 897 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཡང་.
 898 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བར་བྱེད་ here.
 899 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 900 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དུགས་; corrected to ལུགས་.
 901 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 902 Lingön Padma Kelzang: གཞི་; corrected to གཞི་.
 903 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཕྱིན་; corrected to འབྲིན་.
 904 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བརྒྱབ་; corrected to ལྷུབ་.
 905 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བས་; corrected to བའི་.
 906 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 907 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུས་; corrected to ལྷུའི་.
 908 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ས་འབྲེང་; corrected to སྤོང་སྤོང་.
 909 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྣམ་; corrected to རྣམ་.

⁹¹⁰ གཟུགས་ཀྱིས་མཚར་ ⁹¹¹ དུ་མངར་བའི་ ⁹¹² སྲིན་པོའི་སོ་བྲང་གི་ཡང་ཐོག་ལ་ཙོ་འགྲི་ ⁹¹³ བ་ལྷ་བུའི་ལྷ་
 བཟོ། **བདུན་[488]པ་** སྲི་རྒྱ་**དྲེགས་པའི་བཞུགས་གནས་** དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་མངོན་སུམ་
⁹¹⁴ [དུ་] ⁹¹⁵ ལྷུ་བ་པའི་ཤར་རྩོ་ལུ་བ་བྲང་སོ་སོར་འཕྱིན་ལས་བཞིའི་ཁ་དོག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སློང་དང་།
 གདན་ལ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་འདོད་སྣམ་ཀ་སྣངས་ཀྱིས་བཏེགས་ ⁹¹⁶ པའི་རྟ་བབས་དང་བཅས་གཞུལ་ཡས་ཁང་
 གི་རྣམ་པ་མ་ཉམས་པར་ཚང་ཞིང་ཚེའི་བ་གམ་ **[ཡུ]**གྱི་ཚུལ་པ་བསྐྱུང་བ་ ⁹¹⁷ བསྐྱུང་རྒྱ་གའི་མདོག་ལྡན་
 གྱི་ཁ་[བད་ལ་] ⁹¹⁸ ཐོད་པ་སྐྱམ་པའི་སྲོང་ ⁹¹⁹ བ་འོད་ཟེར་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱར་འབྱེད་པས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྲུང་པའི་གོ་
 སྐབས་འཕྲོགས་ ⁹²⁰ ཅིང་སྣ་བརྒྱད་དེ་**གཟུང་ཚེན་བརྒྱད་**མཚན་པའི་**ལྷ་བཅས་** | **བརྒྱད་པ་**ཞིང་བཅུ་
 བསྐྱུལ་ ⁹²² བའི་ཞལ་གི་ཞལ་[བ་] ⁹²³ ཞལ་དང་ལྷང་པའི་[སྲུ་སྲོང་] ⁹²⁴ རྣམ་པར་འཁྲུགས་པས་མཐར་བྱེད་
 ཀྱི་ཁང་པ་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་ལྷུར་པས་མར་གྱི་རྒྱན་འབབ་པར་ཉེ་བའི་ནམ་མཁའི་སྐང་པོ་བཞིན་དུ་ལང་
 ལོང་དུ་གཡོ་བཞིན་ ⁹²⁵ ཀ་བ་བཅུ་དུག་སྟེ་ཚོས་སློང་བཅོ་ལྔ་དང་མེའམ་ཅེ་སྟེ་བཅུ་དུག་མཚན་པར་བྱེད་
 པའི་བཟོ་བཀོད་**ལྷ་པར་འཕགས་** ⁹²⁶ ལ། རྒྱུ་གསོད་ ⁹²⁷ འཇིགས་པའི་རང་སྐྱེ་འབྱུག་སྟོང་དུས་གཅིག་
 དུ་ཐེར་བ་ལྷར་སློག་པ་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་བཏུག་ ⁹²⁸ ཆགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མ་སྲིན་ལྟེ་བརྒྱད་དྲེགས་པ་ཅན་ཐམས་
 ཅད་ཤིན་ཏུ་དྲི་ད་བའི་ཤ་ཅུལ་གྱི་ཕུང་པོར་བྱང་བ་འདུ་བའམ་ཤ་ཞལ་དོན་མའི་དྲི་རྣངས་ལ་དུར་ཁོད་
 དུ་གཅན་གཟན་འདུར་ཞིང་ **[ཡུ]**རྒྱག་ ⁹²⁹ པ་ལྷར་ངམ་ངམ་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་ ⁹³⁰ འདུ་བའི་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་
 རྟན་རྩམ་སྲུང་གཟིགས་མཚན་པའི་སྲིན་གྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ ⁹³¹ གནམ་ས་བར་མེད་དུ་གཏོབས་པ་ལྟེ་བརྒྱད་
 དྲེགས་པའི་སོ་བྲང་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་དུ་ཚང་བ་ཡིན་ལོ།

910 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཕྲེང་; corrected to སྲོང་.
 911 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚར་; corrected to མཚར་.
 912 Lingön Padma Kelzang: དངར་བས་; corrected to མངར་བའི་.
 913 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཇི་; corrected to འགྲི་.
 914 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མ་; corrected to ལུམ་.
 915 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 916 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བཏེག་.
 917 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to བ་.
 918 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བདལ་; corrected to བད་ལ་.
 919 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཕྲེང་; corrected to སྲོང་.
 920 Lingön Padma Kelzang: འཕྲོག་; corrected to འཕྲོགས་.
 921 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཚོས་; corrected to བཅས་.
 922 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱུལ་; corrected to བསྐྱུལ་.
 923 Lingön Padma Kelzang: omitted.
 924 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷ་འཕྲེང་; corrected to ལྷ་སྲོང་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷ་འཕྲེང་.
 925 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞིང་; corrected to བཞིན་.
 926 Lingön Padma Kelzang adds བ་ here.
 927 Dobis Tsering Gyal: གསོད་.
 928 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བཏུགས་.
 929 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རྒྱགས་; corrected to རྒྱག་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: བརྒྱག་.
 930 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
 931 Dobis Tsering Gyal: སོ་.

།ལྷུབ་བཟུན་དྲི་མེད་འཇམ་མགོན་ལྷ་མ་ཡི།
 །རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་སྤེལ་མཁས་དག་བཅོམ་གྱི།
 །འབྲས་དཀར་ལྷུར་བྱར་སྤྲུངས་འདྲའི་ཁྲིམས་ལྡན་པའི།
 །འདུས་ཚྭགས་བསྟེ་བའི་ཚོས་སྤྲེ་ཚེན་པོའི་འདབས།
 །སྤྲེ་བརྒྱད་དྲེགས་པ་ངང་གི་⁹³² །འདུ་བའི་གནས།
 །མི་རྒྱུད་སྲིད་པ་ཡངས་པོ་⁹³³ །ཤོད་ལུས་པ།
 །སྤུལ་རྒྱལ་བོ་ཀར་ཡུམ་སྟོན་དགུས་པའི་ཚལ།
 །བཟོ་ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་འཕགས་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་སྟོག།
 །ལྷགས་ཁམས་གཉིས་སྟེས་ལོ་ལ་འགོ་བརྟམས་ཏེ།
 །[བེ་རྟུར་]⁹³⁴ །ལུན་མའི་མདངས་འཛིན་སྟུམ་ལྡན་ལོར།
 །ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའི་ངོ་མཚར་གསྟོ་ལ།
 །སྟོ་གསུམ་རྩོལ་བས་བཞེངས་པ་འདི་རྟེན་བྱུང་།
 །དེ་ལྟར་[པ་ལ]འབད་དགས་ཞ་⁹³⁵ །སར་འཆང་བའི་བཟུན།
 །སྲིད་པའི་རྩེ་མོར་ཐོགས་མེད་རབ་བསྟེགས་⁹³⁶ །ཅིང་།
 །དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕོ་བྲང་གི།
 །ཚོས་སྲིད་ཉི་ལྔའི་འོད་གྱི་⁹³⁷ །ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་མཛོད།
 །ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རིགས་བརྒྱའི་ཁྱབས་⁹³⁸ །བདག་རྩོ་རྩེ་⁹³⁹ །འཆང་།
 །བསྐྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོར་ཞབས་པད་རབ་བརྟན་ཅིང་།
 །བཞེད་དོན་འཕྲིན་ལས་དུས་ལས་མི་ཡོལ་ཞིང་⁹⁴⁰ །
 །རྟུག་ཏུ་ཚོས་གྱི་དགའ་སྟོན་འགྲུང་པར་ཤོག།
 །བྱད་པོའི་ནད་གདོན་བར་ཆད་ཀུན་ཞི་ཞིང་།
 །དབང་དག་རྒྱས་པའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་ལེགས་བསྐྱབས་སྟེ་⁹⁴¹ །
 །བདུད་སྲིའི་གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་འཆི་མེད་རྩོ་རྩེ་ལྟར།
 །བརྟན་ལ་བསམ་⁹⁴² །དོན་མ་ལུས་ལྷུར་དུ་སྐྱབས།

932 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྷུབ་; corrected to ལྷི་.
 933 Lingön Padma Kelzang: མོར་; corrected to མོ་.
 934 Lingön Padma Kelzang: རེ་རྟུར་; corrected to རེ་རྟུར་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: རེ་རྟུར་.
 935 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞ་; corrected to ཞ་.
 936 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྟེགས་; corrected to བསྟེགས་.
 937 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྱིས་; corrected to ལྱི་.
 938 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཁྱབ་; corrected to ཁྱབས་.
 939 Dobis Tsering Gyal: རྩོ་.
 940 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞིང་; corrected to བ་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: བར་.
 941 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ལྟེ་; corrected to ལྟེ་.
 942 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བསམས་.

|བགྲ་ཤིས་སྣང་བ་⁹⁴³ གསར་བའི་ཉིན་⁹⁴⁴ ལྷེད་ཀྱི་⁹⁴⁵ |
 |དགོ་ལེགས་པ་དང་ཚལ་འཇུག་དང་[ཆབ་ཅིག་]⁹⁴⁶ པར།
 |མི་བསྐྱེད་འབྱུང་བའི་སྤྲུལ་རུམ་མཐར་[བྱས་ཏེ]⁹⁴⁷ |
 |བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཏེ་བདུན་དབང་པོས་བྱུང་གྱུར་ཅིག།

|ཅེས་གོང་ས་མཚོག་གི་⁹⁴⁸ དཀར་ཆག་བསྐྱེད་བར་⁹⁴⁹ [ཡལ]ཕྱན་ཚེགས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་ཆ་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཀྱི་
 ལྷུ་ལ་དུ་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་འཛོལ་གྱི་སྣང་སྣང་བ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་པལ་ཆེར་སྤྲུལ་བྱས་དང་གཞན་མ་
⁹⁵⁰ ཆང་བསྐྱེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གའི་ལས་བྱས་ཏེ་རྩེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལོར་བྱས་པ་ཇ་ཡོད།།

शुभमस्तुसर्वजगतं⁹⁵¹



943 Dobis Tsering Gyal: བ་.
 944 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཉི; corrected to ཉིན་.
 945 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཀྱིས་; corrected to ཀྱི་.
 946 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཆབས་གཅིག་; corrected to ཆབ་ཅིག་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ཆབས་ཅིག་.
 947 Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷེད་དེ་.
 948 Lingön Padma Kelzang: ཞེས་; corrected to ཞེ་.
 949 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བསྐྱེད་བར་; corrected to བསྐྱེད་བར་; Dobis Tsering Gyal: ལྷུ་ལ་བར་.
 950 Lingön Padma Kelzang: བ་; corrected to མ་.
 951 This final Sanskrit prayer is presented in the Vartu script in the inscription, and is given here in a Devanāgarī font. It is transliterated as follows: *śubhamastusarva-jagataṃ*. The Tibetan equivalent is: ལྷེ་འགོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག་. I am grateful to Daisy Cheung for her assistance in deciphering the faded and difficult letters of this concluding phrase; personal communication, December 27, 2012.
 952 This is the line of Tibetan written in the vertical Mongolian script (*hor yig*) along the left side of the entire inscription. This text is presented here sideways and in a font approximate to the inscription. In the Tibetan head script (*dbu can*) the line is as follows: ལྷེ་འགོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག་ལྷེ་འགོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག་

Comptes-rendus

A review of Nicolas Tournadre, *Le Prisme des Langues, Essai sur la diversité linguistique et les difficultés des langues*, L'Asiathèque, Paris, 2014, 349 pages.

Reviewed by

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Only once in a great while does a scholarly work manage to grab the general public's interest in linguistics with such a high degree of scientific rigor and humanistic spirit. This book excels in its scope of investigation, dealing with a vast variety of linguistic families, Indo- and non-Indo-European alike. The author demonstrates an impressive ability in working across a constellation of sources, all of which are duly annotated. As a renowned polyglot, Nicolas Tournadre's linguistic expertise is all the more commendable given that he often carries out his analyses in plain French prose accessible even by those not trained in the relevant fields of academia. Moreover, it is readily evident that the abundance of first-hand examples supplied in this book are the fruits of years of field study in targeted communities where the peculiarities of relevant languages are to be encountered. Clearly, it is the author's willingness to immerse himself in the culture of others, however much it may be considered marginal or insignificant, and his eagerness to interact with people via their own modes of communication that form the humanistic bedrock of *Le Prisme des Langues*.

Not surprisingly, Tournadre's approach to the diversity of languages differs in many regards from Noam Chomsky's universal grammar, which tends to homogenize our perception of languages. As the book's provocative title indicates, Tournadre appears to espouse a weaker form of linguistic relativity by mounting an apology for the metaphoric "prism" that each language is supposed to carry. The book opens with an anecdote: by quoting Chomsky's own words, the author separates the linguists who just "like languages" from those "veritable humanist polyglots" who "love languages." In so doing, he also quite smartly debunks the popular misconception of linguists as invariably "humanistic" polyglots, while crediting the latter with the virtue of "falling in love" with the singularity of languages and not merely seeing linguistic activity as a universal human function (pp. 13-14). This differentiation, albeit methodological per

se, appears also to convey an ideological overtone that keynotes many incisive arguments of this book.

Indeed, by tracing the pros and cons surrounding the famous Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Tournadre defines himself as belonging to that cohort of neo-relativists represented by A. Wierzbicka, G. Deutscher, and quite expectably C. Hagège. In support of Wierzbicka's assumption that languages express their areas of special interest not only through vocabulary but through grammar as well, the author turns to Tibetan for some of the most compelling examples one may find in the book. For instance, if both English and French distinguish volitional from non-volitional verbs, as evidenced by the opposition between *regarder* and *voir* in French and that between "to slide" and "to slip" in English,¹ in Tibetan this differentiation of intentionality affects not just the lexicon but also the syntax (p. 201). Such, for instance, is the case with *ngas sha bzas-bzhag* (I ate some meat without knowing it and I finally realized what I did) and *ngas sha bzas-paying* (I ate some meat in an intentional, controllable way). Although *za* (to eat) or *bzas* (the inflected form of *za* in the past tense) is used mostly as a volitional verb and thus should be followed in Tibetan by volitional auxiliaries such as *giyod*, *giying*, or *paying* (assuming a first-person subject), under certain circumstances it can also be paired with the inferential and non-intentional auxiliary *bzhag*, albeit with a differing shade of meaning (p. 202).

This syntactic need to specify the intentionality of actions doubtlessly sets Tibetan apart from many other languages. That said, from a lexical point of view there might be even more dissimilarities to take into account. The author reminds of the myriad of words in Italian describing the different types of pastas as well as the multiplicity of Chinese terms referring to kinship (pp. 207-208). Likewise, one may expect Tibetans to develop a rich vocabulary for yaks (p. 210), yet their relative paucity of terms for types of fish is less well-known. In this respect, Tournadre argues that compared with Chinese people, who are keen to eat both fresh- and saltwater fishes, Tibetans do not seem to share this gastronomic appetite on both geographic and religious grounds (pp. 208-209). Indeed, a noticeable originality of Tournadre's analysis is his systematic recourse to comparative perspectives when demonstrating linguistic relativity as an indisputable

¹ One may argue that the opposition between "to slide" (intentional) and "to slip" (non-intentional) here is somewhat problematic since we often hear news reporters say "shares slid to an all-time low," which no one would understand as "the stock market intentionally plummeted to an all-time low." Idem for the verb "to slip": although generally non-intentional, it is frequently used as an intentional verb in sentences like "he slipped a note under the door" or, more figuratively, "she slipped some bad jokes into her boring and interminable speech."

universal phenomenon. Moreover, he not only emphasizes the gaps between Western and non-Western languages in their respective perceptions of the world, but also draws our attention to some previously understudied discrepancies between non-Indo-European languages per se, particularly those between Chinese and Tibetan. It is no exaggeration that this comparative approach often provides surprising results, not only for specialists of linguistic typology but for tibetologists and sinologists as well.

One example may suffice here. The author points out that among the four most commonly used methods of lexical construction—*unité lexicale non-analysable* (non-analyzable lexical unity), *la dérivation* (derivation), *la composition* (composition), and *l'emprunt* (borrowing)—*la composition* is “perhaps the most economic and easiest to assimilate” (pp. 273-274). He then illustrates this privileged status of composition by providing a list of catchy compounds in English, followed by a list in Chinese and one in Tibetan (pp. 274-275). Interestingly, it so happens that seven of the twelve Tibetan compounds listed by Tournadre are morphologically analogous to their Chinese equivalents, which are also compounds.² This is the case with *mig-lpags* (Ch: “眼皮” *yanpi*, eyelid; literally, eye skin), *shing-lpags* (Ch: “树皮” *shupi*, bark; literally, tree skin), *chu-mig* (Ch: “泉眼” *quanyan*, the mouth of a spring; literally, spring eye), *mig-shel* (Ch: “眼镜” *yanjing*, eyeglasses; literally, eye glasses), *lha-khang* (Ch: “神堂” *shentang*, shrine; literally, gods’ house), *ngul-khang* (Ch: “银行” *yinhang*, bank; literally, silver house), and *tshong-khang* (Ch: “商店” *shangdian*, shop; literally, business house) (p. 275). Although similar morphology might have arisen in both languages independently, we are still tempted to wonder whether some of these Tibetan compounds are in reality calques of Chinese terms that have appeared in great numbers since the 1950s. If so, they cannot be simply and indiscriminately considered neologisms issuing from an indigenous process of lexicon elaboration. And the odds are particularly high regarding some newly-coined technical terms such as *mig-shel* (eyeglasses) and *ngul-khang* (bank), to which we may also add *glog-klad* (computer), *khyag-sgam* (refrigerator), and *me-'khor* (train), which are respectively modeled on the Chinese words “电脑” *diannaο* (literally, electronic brain), “冰箱” *binxiang* (literally, ice box),³ and “火车” *huoche* (literally, fire vehicle). These loanwords are viewed poorly by some purists in the Tibetan diaspora for political reasons, but the difficulty of removing them from the daily

² This convergence, however, seems to have gone unnoticed.

³ Interestingly, English has the word *icebox* as well, though the term has fallen out of use. In fact, iceboxes predated refrigerators and in this respect the Chinese compound *binxiang* could be a calque from English.

vocabulary of Tibetans in exile may in turn simply confirm Tournadre's thesis that composition is perhaps the most economic method of lexical construction and easiest to assimilate, and consequently the hardest to cast off.

Indeed, Tournadre is well cognizant of the ideological considerations affecting lexical borrowing between languages. To illustrate such effects, he underscores the *don-sgyur* (sense-for-sense translation) method adopted by Tibetan translators of the Buddhist canon who chose to render Sanskrit terms such as *Buddha* and *bodhisattva* respectively as *sangs-rgyas* (literally, purified and developed) and *byang-chub-sems-dpa'* (literally, pure spirit hero) based on their meaning in the source language. By contrast, many other Asian languages, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Burmese, and Vietnamese, favored phonetic transliteration over semantic interpretation of Buddhist terminology (p. 127). But Tibetan translators were unwilling to assimilate Sanskrit terms phonetically, which would have left these dictions semantically alien. This domesticating translatorial stance contrasts with the prevalence of the so-called *ra-ma-lug skad* (Tibetan-Chinese mixed speech; literally, speaking half-goat half-sheep) widely spoken by the current generation of Tibetan city dwellers in Tibet. Tournadre has already made thorough study of *ra-ma-lug skad* in his oft-cited article, "The Dynamics of Tibetan-Chinese Bilingualism."⁴ Yet in *Le Prisme des Langues*, he goes further by situating this linguistic phenomenon within a larger picture. He notes that besides Chinese, Tibetans have also borrowed from Hindi and English, depending on their place of residence (p. 128). This form of hybrid speech, characterized by its constant inter-lingual code switching and linguistic instabilities, bears some resemblance to the Arabic-French mixed speech used by Maghreb immigrants in France, as well as to the English-influenced Spanish spoken by Latino communities in North America (p. 123).

Despite this succinct note, one may regret that Tournadre does not tap more deeply into the forms of *ra-ma-lug skad* employed by Tibetans living outside Tibet. Yet we may hope that the author, who surely has the ability and interest, will pursue this matter further. In the meantime, I would like to suggest a few hints in that direction based on the linguistic data I collected during a recent field trip to North India.

Ra-ma-lug skad, also referred to as *sbrags-skad* (mixed language) in the Tibetan diaspora, is a form of Tibetan-Hindi-English hybrid speech that appears to be widely used in the McLeod Ganj suburb of

⁴ Nicolas Tournadre, "The Dynamics of Tibetan-Chinese Bilingualism," *China Perspectives*, vol. 45, January-February 2003, 30-36.

Dharamsala. It tends to affect more the *gzhis-chags phru-gu* (literally, kids of the settlements), who are in fact the second or third generation of Tibetan exiles born and raised in India or Nepal. But *gsar-'byor-ba* (new arriviers) escaping Tibet as adults may also quickly pick up this form of hybrid speech after spending some time in India. Like the *ra-ma-lug skad* spoken in Tibet,⁵ lexical borrowings primarily concern substantives. For example, most of my interlocutors understood perfectly the English words for university degrees such as B.A, M.A, and Ph.D, but only a few knew the equivalents of these terms in Tibetan, which are *rig-gnas rabs-'byams-pa*, *gtsug-lag rab-'byams-pa*, and *'bum-rams-pa*. Leaving aside the relatively elevated vocabulary, youngsters also have a tendency to mix Tibetan with English even when speaking so-called *za-skad 'thung-skad* (speech for eating and drinking), a case in which the need for lexical borrowing seems less justifiable. For example, I once overheard a Tibetan gentleman tell his friend, *Sunday la ngas khyed-rang la invite gcig byed giyin* (I will invite you on Sunday). The insertion of two English dictions here, namely "Sunday" and "invite," is not very necessary. The speaker could, moreover, have avoided this blend of linguistic codes by reformulating his sentence either as *gza'-nyi-ma la ngas khyed-rang la mgron-'bod byed giyin* (ordinary register) or as *gza'-nyi-ma la ngas khyed-rang sku-mgron la gdan-'dren zhu giyin* (honorific register). As far as Hindi is concerned, we may cite *aaloo* "आलू" (potato), which commonly replaces the Tibetan word for potato, *zhog-khog*. Likewise, it is not uncommon to hear people supplant *tshes* (date) and *bdun-phrag* (week) with the Hindi words *taareekh* (तारीख) and *haphta* (हफ्ता). In addition to nouns, *sbrags-skad* also involves adverbs and adjectives. Such is the case with the Hindi adverb *pura* (पूरा), which occasionally replaces *tshang-ma* (all) in a sentence like *nga-tsho pura dpe skyid-po byung* (all of us had a lot of fun), but which should be corrected as *nga-tsho tshang-ma dpe skyid-po byung* if mixed speech is to be avoided. Equally popular is the Nepali adverb *pani* पनि (also), which would appear in a sentence like *nga pani 'gro giyin* (I am also going there), whereas an unalloyed way to express the same idea would be *nga yang 'gro giyin*.

When asked why they would speak "half-goat half-sheep," most of my Tibetan interlocutors replied that the usage of hybrid speech is somewhat *dpe-gsar 'dra-po* (literally, fashion-like). Yet all of them admitted at the same time that it was a very bad "fashion." This ambivalent attitude is noteworthy since it indicates that the ground-gaining *sbrags-skad* (Tibetan-Hindi-English hybrid speech) used by Tibetan

⁵ Ibid., 30-36.

residents in the McLeod Ganj district reflects more a personal and voluntary choice than the necessity of coping with a political or economic urgency. It is also no exaggeration to say that the speakers of *sbrags-skad* are also running against the ideological pressure exerted by advocates of the *pha-skad gtsang-ma* (literally, pure Father Tongue) movement who strive to preserve the linguistic identity of Tibetans living in and outside Tibet.

The dynamics of bilingualism can at times take subtler forms than mixed speech. In this respect, Tournadre notes the sinicization of several Tibetan toponyms such as *smed-ba* and *dar-tse-mdo*, which were respectively replaced by Hongyuan (红原) and Kangding (康定) (p. 120). Certainly, Hongyuan (literally, red plain) evokes the Red Army that marched through the region in the 1930s, while Kangding (literally, Kham pacified) conjures up the quelling of Tibetan rebellions in the Kham region by the Qing general Zhao Erfeng. Although Tournadre quite rightly recalls the ideological considerations lurking behind re-naming tactics, it is a pity he does not mention how Tibetans have reacted, from the side of the ruled, to the Chinese neologisms imposed on them. In fact, Tibetans tend to have systematic recourse to satirizing adaptations in response to political use of the language endorsed by the Chinese government, and they are keen to play the game. Once again, Tournadre certainly has the expertise and interest to delve more deeply into the subject; in addition to his excellent analysis of *ra-ma-lug skad*, a glance into the linguistic resistance of the Tibetan populace to the Chinese official language would considerably enrich our understanding of the dynamics of Sino-Tibetan bilingualism. Here I would like to offer a few hints for their heuristic value only.

First, we may cite the Tibetan nickname for *Bayi zhen* “八一镇” (Bayi sub-district), which is the urban center of the *Nying khri* prefecture (Chinese: *Linzhi diqu* 林芝地区; Tibetan: *Nying-khri sa-khul*) in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. This town was baptized *Bayi* “八一” (literally, eight one) mainly because its name purveyor intended to pay homage to the birthday of the Communist army on August 1, 1927. Tibetan word-meisters, however, have paraphrased *Bayi* into a witty catchphrase: *gya-mi brgyad bod-pa gcig* (literally, eight Han Chinese and one Tibetan). Undoubtedly, this new epithet quite aptly reflects the demographic reality of the urban centers of the *Nying khri* prefecture, where currently Han Chinese form the absolute majority of the local population.

The ridicule of the ideological fiction induced by the official Chinese language can at times acquire a harsher tone, such as in the case of Tibetan writer Tsering Woenser, who intentionally and phonetically “translated” the Tibetan term for the Cultural Revolution—*Rig-gnas*

gsar-brje—back into Chinese as *renlei shajie* (人类杀劫), literally meaning in Chinese “the deadly calamity of humanity.”⁶ Indubitably, in a society where the pressure of censorship persists, wordplays as an outlet of discontent often take the form of coded terms. For instance, during my stay in Lhasa in 2012 I recorded the odd formulae *tsha-lu-ma la ngal-gso rgyag-pa* (literally, to take a rest in tangerines). In Tibetan, this phrase rolls off the tongue and gives an air of playfulness, yet in reality it conceals a deeper sense. More precisely, the Tibetan word *tsha-lu-ma* (literally, tangerine) refers not to the fruit tangerine as it may appear but to police stations, since the Chinese words for “tangerine” (*juzi*, 桔子) and “police station” (*juzi*, 局子) are homophones. And so the hidden meaning of this phrase is “to get arrested by the police”! Indeed, this veiled lexical reference to Chinese appears to craft a political euphemism that turns unpleasant experiences into picturesque abstractions. Interestingly, this wizardly wittedness in forging puns based on intra-lingual homophony or inter-lingual phonetic closeness is also shared by Tibetans living in the diaspora. One may cite, for example, the sarcastic epithet for New York City. More precisely, the English “New York City” has been playfully transliterated into *mi'i-gyog grong-khyer*, literally meaning “the city of people’s servants.” In fact, many Tibetans who immigrated to New York City from the diaspora ended up finding low-paying jobs either in Asian restaurants or as baby-sitters, certainly giving them a frustrated sense of being servants in that city.

Since his analysis of political incursion forms the thrust of Tournadre’s well-rounded argumentation, he should be wholeheartedly thanked for mapping out the extreme diversity of ideological contexts at play in inter-lingual lexical borrowing and eventually in the making of mixed languages. Accordingly, it seems quite logical that he would display a sense of misgiving vis-à-vis the homogenizing definition of Creole languages, as he clarifies that this linguistic phenomenon is deeply embedded in the historical circumstances of the slave trade and plantation economy (p. 128). For Tournadre, all languages are creolized to some point, yet it would be of little interest to overgeneralize the notion of *créolité* or “Creoleness.” From that he further points out that real Creole languages are often typologically heterogeneous, allowing no mutual understanding, and are all in all “numerically scarce on the scale of world languages” (p. 129).

This line drawn by the author between mixed speeches such as *rama-lug skad* and Creole languages is doubtlessly sensible and scientifically grounded. Indeed, nowadays the notion of *créolité* tends to be

⁶ Cf: Tsering Woesser, *Shajie - Forbidden memory. Tibet during the Cultural Revolution*, Taiwan, Dakuai wenhua, 2006.


misused, if not abused, by postcolonial critics who at times appear to lack the positive competence in dealing rigorously with this question of linguistic hybridity. To some extent, this notion of *créolité* acquires so much ideological positivity that it ends up eliding some glaring differences between hybrid languages respecting their generative contexts. In this regard, Tournadre's note on the Creole language goes far beyond the sole domain of typology, as it elicits reflections on issues of such seemingly irrelevant areas as ethnography or literary criticism. As far as the latter is concerned, we may rethink the universal applicability of this post-colonial, one-size-fits-all cultural hybridity based on the Antilles model. We may also wonder whether this ecstatic vision of *créolité* or *antillanité* is too narrow to apply to other geographical contexts such as East Asia, where nationalism has always maintained its ideological currency. In other words, if some Francophone theoreticians of post-colonialism tend to enshrine hybridity as the cultural "norm," would their Tibetan counterparts perceive this much-cherished *créolité* in the same affirmative way? Needless to say, such correlation would be aberrant since any form of integration and assimilation, including a linguistic one, would seriously endanger the national identity of diasporic Tibetans and consequently undermine their hopes of self-determination.

Given the myriad of linguistic data treated by Tournadre and his admirable erudition, a reviewer, even himself a polyglot, might feel obliged to focus only on certain aspects of this learned work. Meanwhile, it goes without saying that even someone who knows nothing about linguistic typology could benefit greatly from the author's analytic insightfulness. In short, Tournadre should be wholeheartedly thanked for this vulgarized yet encyclopedic book, born out of a scholarly commitment that has prompted him to travel tirelessly around the world and work over a veritable tsunami of materials with such painstaking care. Certainly, the scientific rigor, humanistic spirit, and easy accessibility of *Le Prisme des Langues* makes it a must read for all those who find themselves dazzled by the complexity and beauty of the languages of our world.



Review of Lopen P. Ogyan Tanzin's "tshangs-lha-ḥi tshig-mdzod - Tshanglha dictionary" (Sarnath: Ogyan Chokhor-Ling Foundation, 2015).

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 As a linguist, it is always encouraging and enriching to come across publications on poorly described languages by local authors. Lopen P. Ogyan Tanzin's "tshangs-lha-ḥi tshig-mdzod¹ - Tshanglha dictionary" is a recent example of this. The hefty volume, 713 pages plus a CD-ROM, is a valuable source of information for the approximately 200,000 Tshangla speakers in India, Bhutan, Tibet and elsewhere, and a potentially welcome contribution to Tibetology and Tibeto-Burman linguistics.

The dictionary is a description of the *Padma-bkod-pa* Pemaköpa variety of Tshangla, spoken in the Yarlung Tsangpo gorge from Payi and Tongjuk in Kongpo on the Tibetan plateau till Tuting just across the border in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. This variety is very close to, and mutually intelligible with, standard Tshangla as spoken in eastern Bhutan, but not mutually intelligible with any other language, including the varieties of Tibetan. The Pemakö Tshangla speakers migrated to this area in successive waves from their Eastern Bhutanese homeland between the late 17th and mid 20th centuries.

On the back cover, the dictionary is called a 'landmark contribution to the documentation of the Tibeto-Burman languages'. This is surely the case, as there have been no previously published dictionaries of Tshangla beyond a few incomplete wordlists in, among others, Hoffrenning (1959), Das Gupta (1968), Sün et al. (1980), Zhāng

¹ As per the journal's guidelines, the review generally confirms to the Wylie method of transcription of 'Ucen orthography from the dictionary. However, without dwelling further on the discussion about the exact phonetic value of the 'Ucen letter 'Ꞩ', following the suggestion by van Driem (2001: xiii) it is here represented by an ḥ and not an apostrophe. The ḥ is also preferred over Hill's 2005 choice to use the symbol *v*, common in Chinese transcriptions of Tibetan, although in later publications, probably to conform to editorial guidelines, Hill also employs the orthographies ' and *h*. All dictionary entries are represented by a Wylie transcription of the 'Ucen Tshangla, the Roman Tshangla entry in cursive, and an English translation. Wherever possible, the English translation follows the Tibetan of the dictionary, however, sometimes improvisation based on either the sample sentence or the reviewer's knowledge of Tshangla was necessary.

(1986), Hoshi (1987) and Egli-Roduner (1987). The lack of publications on Tshangla is strange for a language with a relatively large speaker population and geographical spread, and a dictionary has been long awaited and is certainly welcomed.

The dictionary comes with a CD-ROM that contains 13 mp3 sound files with a total length of 5 hours and 45 minutes. The sound files, read by the author himself, contain all the Tshangla lexical entries as well as the Tshangla example sentences. The quality of the recordings is good, and phonetic analysis remains a possibility. Without having been able to listen to the entire CD, it is observed that for example the entries on page three were omitted. Hopefully, this is not repeated throughout the recordings. The religiously educated background of the speaker is rather prominent, for example, in the usage of the rounded vowels [y] and [ø] in lexemes where the author's choice of 'Ucen orthography triggers their realisation according to Tibetan pronunciation rules. However, most Tshangla speakers would pronounce the unrounded vowels [i] and [e] instead. Nevertheless, both for people who want to learn Tshangla and for linguists who want to analyse the sound system of the language, the CD-ROM is a valuable addition and a good use of the opportunities that modern technology provides.

The introduction of the dictionary contains a short overview of Tshangla and its relation to other languages, particularly Tibetan (i-vii), an overview of the spelling of Tshangla vis-a-vis the spelling of Tibetan (vii-xi), a short overview of the morphophonemic rules followed and the function of several suffixes and particles (xi-xix) and a description of the way of arranging the entries and the need for adding Roman transcriptions in the dictionary (xix-xxii). After the foreword by the translator and the acknowledgements by the author follows an index with all the head glosses. This is followed by the main body of the dictionary, containing head glosses, sub-entries, and example sentences in Tshangla with Roman transcription and Tibetan translation and definition.

The decision to call the language Tshangs-lha *Tshanglha* seems to be based on the purported descent of the Tshangla people from Lha Tshangs-pa *Lha Tshangpa*, the Tibetan Buddhist name for the Hindu deity Brahma (Bodt 2012: 180-181 and the dictionary entry *brah+mA+des̄h Brahmadesh* under entry *ḥbar-ma Barma* 'Myanmar', p. 427). To date, however, I have not met any Tshangla speakers who pronounce their ethnicity, nor their language as [s^haŋla], rather it is pronounced as [s^haŋla ~ saŋla], with most uneducated Tshangla speakers realising even Tibetan lha 'deity' as [la], with a lateral approximant rather than a lateral fricative. As earlier reported (Bodt

2012: 178-179; 2014: 393) *tshangla* [tʰaŋla] is still retained in archaic Bhutan Tshangla varieties as the word for ‘human being, man, person’ and thus reminds us of the reconstructed Proto-Lolo-Burmese root *tsaŋ¹ PERSON (Matisoff 2003: 265), cf. also Bisu [tʰaŋ⁵⁵] (Xu 2001: 240) and Anong [tʰaŋ³¹] (Sun and Liu 2009: 363). Other possible etymologies and references to the name can be found in Bodt (2012: 178-181). The author mentions a possible relation between the ‘indigenous’ language of Tibet, whatever that may be, and Tshangla, and therefore the importance of Tshangla for the understanding of Tibetan (page vii). Interesting is also the affiliation suggested by the author between Tshangla and the language of Manipur (Meiteilon, page vi).

The role of the translator, Dylan Esler of the Institut Orientaliste, Université Catholique de Louvain, appears to remain limited to concisely translating the last concluding paragraph of the 23 pages of the introduction, and writing a foreword to the dictionary. That is a pity, as it is the introduction that provides meaningful and important insights in the orthographic choices made by the author.

This review has been written keeping three main points in mind: the intended audience of the dictionary; the background of the author; and the aims of the author. After discussing these, I will focus on the benefits and drawbacks of the dictionary, shortly describe some of the main orthographic choices the author has made, and finally pose several recommendations how to improve the dictionary in what hopefully will be an expanded second edition.

The intended audience

The intended audience of the dictionary is a local, Pemaköpa and Tibetan audience, among whom the author wants to promote the language (p. iv-vii). The author’s targeted audience does not specifically include Tibeto-Burman linguists or Tibetologists, although the value of the dictionary for these people is tacitly presumed by the translator (p. iv-v).

The author’s background

The author has a background in both a religious education, including an MA in Tibetan Nyingma Philosophy, and an MA in Tibetan Language and Literature. This educational background pervades throughout the dictionary, with considerable focus on religious aspects of the lives of the Tshangla people and a clear focus on trying to harmonise Tshangla spelling with that of Tibetan.

The author's aims

From the introduction, it becomes clear that the major aim of the author has been to record the Tshangla language in an effort to preserve and promote it among the Tshangla speakers and the wider Tibetan public (in diaspora). A second aim is to illustrate his idea that the Tshangla language and its pronunciation closely reflect the Tibetan language as it was spoken at the moment that Tibetan was committed to writing: Tshangla is considered to have preserved an archaic, conservative pronunciation whereas the pronunciation of Tibetan has undergone much more phonological change. Following these two major aims, we would expect a dictionary that is complete as to content, with as many Tshangla terms recorded as possible; exhaustive in explanatory detail, with detailed and clear but nonetheless to the point descriptions; convenient and easy in its usage; and providing etymologies for both loans from, and cognates with, (written) Tibetan. The first two points will be discussed separately, the latter two points will be discussed in relation to the orthographical choices of the author.

The coverage of the dictionary

As any language, Tshangla is very rich in expressing the world of the people that speak it, and a dictionary of Tshangla would have to reflect that richness. That much said, we cannot expect a 200,000+ main entry dictionary like the Oxford English dictionaries' second edition. With around 2,150 main entries, this Tshangla dictionary is of a medium-sized coverage, for comparison, a standard Bhutan Tshangla dictionary that has been in preparation by the reviewer contains over 3,150 main entries.

One of the major strengths of the dictionary is the wealth of sociolinguistic, ethnobotanic, socioeconomic, cultural and historical information, applicable to the Pemakö area itself and the Tshangla homeland in eastern Bhutan. Much of this information and knowledge is rapidly disappearing and the descriptions in this dictionary are a timely attempt to preserve what is still known. There are entries on both wild and cultivated useable plants and both wild and domesticated animal species. The single entry *hbar bar* 'rice' (p. 425) has a total of 16 sub-entries including a possibly complete list of traditionally cultivated paddy varieties. Other food grains and their ways of preparation include *kha-la khala* 'bitter buckwheat' (p. 57), *gun-tsung guntsung* 'sweet buckwheat' (p. 104), *pu-tang putang* 'noodles' (p. 358), *nam cha-min nam.chhamin* 'spicy condiment made of white sesame seed' (p. 336) and *hbe be* 'flat unleavened bread' (p.

434). Similar coverage can be found for household items, agricultural implements and practices and items of daily use such as *ħche-ma chhema* 'shifting cultivation land' (p. 195), *cang-zer-ma changzerma* 'arrow head' (p. 170), *tor-pa torpa* 'type of trap to catch small rodents' (p. 253), *run-ħdi rundi* 'bamboo strap for carrying baskets' (p. 592), *tog-tsi toktsi* 'mortar' (p. 251) and *stan-pang tanpang* 'chopping block' (p. 265). There are many references to places in the Pemakö area and their short history, such as villages like *po-dung podung* 'Podung' (p. 363), the *tsho-khag lnga tsho khak lnga* 'five *tsho* divisions' of Pemakö (p. 494) and the pilgrimage site of *De-wa-ko-Ta Dewakota* (p. 295), on the traditional dress style of the Pemakö Tshangla people including the ubiquitous *mon-Di mgo-shubs monde.goshup* 'woollen tunic' (p. 466) or *mgo-shubs kha-mung gushup.khamung* 'ladies' tunic' (p. 121)² still worn by women in Tibetan Pemakö; an example of a *mkar shig-pa kharshigpa*³ 'riddle (lit. both 'telling the *khar* riddle' and 'de-structing the *khar* mansion')' and the famous Tshangla test of cleverness and nursery rhyme *a-ma la-nyi ko-ko ama.lanyi.koko* 'round mother moon', in which 'where is' questions are asked and answered until either the person asking the question or answering it is at his wit's end (p. 698-702); and on religious aspects such the practice of *yong ra-ba yong.rawa* 'calling the life principle/energy' (Tibetan *bla ħbod*) (p. 562-567).

Also impressive is the rich recording of quintessentially Tshangla words, such as *le-pong lepong* (n.) 'a person who eats whenever it suits him, not sticking to timings' (p. 619), *wam-pang wampang* (adj.) 'charming, graceful, elegant, flirtatious (said of the style of girls)' (p. 512), *pra-le-mo pralemo* (n.) 'a well-adorned and well-dressed girl or woman' (p. 366), *ħga-leng-nang⁴ galengnang* (n.) 'rotational labour performed by girls of a peer group on individual household demand basis' (p. 124), *to-ka-re tokare* (n.) 'dish made of grain (usu. bitter buckwheat) flour' (p. 249), and the characteristic (partially) reduplicated adjectives such as *shang-shang shangshang* (adj.) 'unkempt, uncombed, ruffled (of hair)' (p. 630), *ba-na bo-no banabono* (adj.) 'said of a religious practitioner who is either insincere in his practice or unable to explain it' (p. 399), *ħjab-pa-ħjob-po jappajopo* (adj.)⁵ 'omnivorous, said of a person eating anything without specific demand or

² Note that both these entries basically refer to the same dress item, and also note the inconsistency in the transcription of the vowel, with *goshup* the Tibetan pronunciation, and *gushup* the Tshangla pronunciation.

³ This should be *kharshikpa*.

⁴ The Tshangla 'Ucen spelling here applies a spurious ^ʌ.

⁵ The Roman Tshangla should have been *jappajoppo*, and in 'Ucen Tshangla again the ^ʌ is unwarranted.

preference' (p. 207) and phe-se-ko-so *phesekoso* (adj.) 'be covered with dust on the face and the body' (p. 378), some of which, such as *hjon-no-no jonono* in the example on page 606 do not have a separate dictionary entry, with the Tibetan translation 'tho-lo-lo' not being particularly enlightening either. Also peculiar are many Tshangla verbs and noun-verb and verb-verb compounds, such as *gyes-pa jespa* 'to crack open (said of fruits that are ripened)' (p. 108), *tang leb-pha tang-lepha*⁶ 'lightening to occur' (p. 234), *ming shog-pa ming.shokpa* '1. (the eyes) to burn (e.g. because of chili); 2. to be jealous' (p. 457), the archaic and particular Pemakö and local Bhutan Tshangla term *hchohi-ba chhoiba* 'to wash (clothes)' (p. 200, standard Bhutan Tshangla has *zik {pe}* for general washing, including clothes), *pris-pa prispa* 'to pull back (the foreskin of the penis)' (p. 366), *hod-pa hotpa* '1. to be capable of doing (work); 2. to menstruate' (p. 691) and *ngon-ma ngonma* 'to be pleased with, to like (of persons, food etc.)' (p. 164). These terms are unique and are disappearing fast, and thus deserve recording as well as proper translation.

The focus on religious terms and terminology is sometimes a bit overdone, and the dictionary could have been served better with shorter entries than, for example, the almost two-page entries for the Buddhist mantra *badz+ra gu-ru bendzaguru* (p. 401) or on *tsha-tsha tshatsa* (sic. *tshatsha*) 'votive tablets' (p. 484). Also, entries such as *zu-lu-kha zulukha* (sic. *zi-lu-kha*) (p. 534), the name of a former village and now neighbourhood in Bhutan's capital Thimphu, *mon-kha monkha* 'Monkha Nering Shri Dzong' (p. 466), the name of a pilgrimage place in eastern Bhutan, or *gang-steng gangteng* (p. 103) 'Gangte' a village and monastery in western Bhutan, seem out of place in a Pemakö Tshangla dictionary, as they have no apparent relation with the Tshangla people in Pemakö. Similarly, what personal names like *tshe-ring rdo-rje tshing.doje* (p. 491), *nyim chos-rje nyim.choije* and *nyim nor-bu nyim.norbu* (p. 224) do in the dictionary is a bit mysterious. A three-page entry on the concept of *tsha-chu las-pa tshachhu.laspa* 'to soak in hot water springs' (p. 486-489) also appears overdone. Some entries are reduplicated, e.g. *tsau-tsau tsautsau* 'mental confusion or tension' on both p. 478 and p. 483. The four-page entry for the lexeme *smrang-ma mrangma* 'to grumble' (p. 469-473) is obviously intended to state the author's claims of the archaic antiquity and conservative phonology of Tshangla (cf. archaic Tibetan *smreng* 'to speak'), but the Tibetan translation ('dmod ngan ngag *sngags? nas hdon pa la bye ste': 'to chant a cursing mantra for causing harm') does not suit the Tshangla meaning. Also, there are no references to any of the other Tshangla occurrences of the initial clus-

⁶ This should have been *tang.leppha*.

ter *mr-*, some of which, such as *mras* 'pimple', *mrok* {*pa*} 'to keep in a disorderly fashion' and *mrek* ~ *mrak* ~ *mres* ~ *mras* {*pa*} 'to be stained with an oily or muddy substance; to get squashed' ostensibly also occur in Pemakö Tshangla.

On the whole, the dictionary provides a good overview of the Tshangla language as spoken in Pemakö. There are examples from all lexical fields and parts of speech, including some versatile particles like *sho* *sho* (p. 642) whose meaning is illustrated with examples. Many terms recorded in it are very peculiar to the language, many of them are very rarely used in everyday speech nowadays and might thus disappear rather rapidly. Their recording in this dictionary comes at the right time.

The definitions

The definitions of many of the entries are straightforward and illuminating, and the author provides adequate example phrases and sentences that further clarify their meaning. Usually, when a clear one-on-one Tibetan cognate is available for a Tshangla entry the meaning becomes quite clear immediately, but it is often typical Tshangla terms with no direct Tibetan translation that require considerable explanation, in which the author has been more successful in some cases than others.

Certain Tibetan definitions seem to reflect a marked variety of Tibetan, rather than standard Tibetan. It is not clear which variety this is, but looking at the history of Pemakö this would perhaps be rKong-po, sPo-bo or Khams Tibetan. Random sampling indicates that most speakers of Central Tibetan varieties have a problem with understanding some of these definitions as well as their sample phrases. An example is *hpheng* *pheng* 'spindle' which is defined as *zhu-lu* (p. 393), whereas standard Tibetan has *phang*, *hphang* or *phang-ma*. Perhaps in absence of any other clear translation, the Tibetan term *spags-ma* 'side dish ('curry') to *tsampa* dough' is used to refer to any kind of side dish eaten with the main grain-based dish, such as *kam-tang* *kamtang* 'side dish' (p. 6) and *hor-pa* *horpa* 'to slurp up the soup of a side dish' (p. 692). Most Tibetans and Pemaköpa in exile, however, would be more familiar with a Hindi term like 'curry' or 'sabji'.

The value of the ethno-botanical and zoological entries could be significantly increased by providing their respective common or scientific names. Explanations such as *ku-ku-mom* *kuku.mom* 'kind of green vegetable' (p. 8) and *ping-ku-lung* *pinkulung* and *ping-pi-rung* *pingpirung*, both 'a kind of bird' (p. 358) are not particularly enlightening and serve perhaps as 'dictionary fillers'. Similarly, there are

some identification errors, a *wa-ga-ri wagari* is a hornbill and not a 'vulture' and for *zum-phi zumphi* 'porcupine' (p. 535) the Tibetan name *byi-thur* could have been provided. Some very common wild animals, like the *phoskong* 'civet cat', *basha* 'goral' or *shangsha* 'serow' are missing in the dictionary.

The dictionary makes no mention of which part of speech an entry belongs to. It is thus up to the reader to make out from the Tibetan translation and the examples what the function of the entry in Tshangla is. The lack of reference to the part of speech is partially understandable, as in Tshangla, like in many Tibeto-Burman languages, nominalisers can mark nouns, adverbs and adjectives as well as certain tense and aspect properties of verbs, and the formal distinction between various parts of speech is thus often blurred. Nonetheless, assigning a part of speech to every head entry would be a big improvement.

One major issue is encountered with the way in which verbs - be it what are basically monomorphemic verb roots or (noun-verb/verb-verb) compounds - are presented. Tshangla has a relatively complex verbal morphology, with what could be termed as five conjugational classes (Bodt 2014: 195-198 and Bodt 2012: 422-423). Whereas it is largely the phonotactic environment (i.e. the verb root coda) that determines the conjugational class of a verb, there are also homonymous cases where the historical simplification of an underlying coda cluster is responsible for the conjugation according to a certain class, rather than the present simple coda. This fact is, unfortunately, not acknowledged in the dictionary. Instead, orthographic inconsistencies are introduced haphazardly to indicate the distinction between what are basically homonyms. Take for example the verb *nub-pha nupha* [nup^ha] 'to enter' (on p. 343 exemplified with 'the sun to set', however, this verb is also used for, for example, people to enter a building) and the verb *nub-pa nubpa* [nupa] 'to perish, to disappear (usu. in a religious sense)'. The root of these verbs is in both cases [nup], with degemination of the coda bilabial consonant when followed by a morpheme with a bilabial consonant (in this case the past tense nominaliser *-pa* ~ *-pha*). Distinctive, at least in modern Tshangla, is to which conjugational class the verb belongs: i.e. either *-pa* or *-pha*⁷.

⁷ It goes beyond this review to pay attention to the underlying reasons for the existence of these conjugational classes and what determines a verb to belong to them. As a first indication, it may be noticed that verbs with stems ending on fricative *-s* always conjugate with the past tense nominaliser *-pa*, and that verbs with roots ending on plosive *-p* may conjugate either with the past tense nominaliser *-pa* or *-pha*. Relevant in this context is perhaps that the past tense spelling of the Tibetan verb *snub* 'do away with, cause to perish, abolish etc.' is *bsnubs*,

The dictionary would have greatly benefited if attention could have been given to this fact, by providing the stems of each verb in combination with the past tense nominaliser (or any other marker that indicates the conjugational class of the verb), e.g. *nup {pha}* 'to enter'; *nup {pa}* 'to perish' rather than spurious spellings such as *nu-pha* 'to set' and *nubpa* 'to perish'⁸. Such an approach would also have avoided inconsistencies such as *zom-ma zoma* 'to gather, to assemble' (p. 531) where the stem of the verb appears to be *zo-* judging from the Roman Tshangla entry, whereas this is actually *zom-* [zom]. This approach would also have removed the need to provide a whole set of different head entries for conjugated verbs, such as the examples of the verb *khe* (*khewa/khencha/khenchuma*, p. 92-95) '1. to contract (a disease, intransitive); 2. to need, to have to, require to (auxiliary); 3. to hit (an arrow, but also the rain on the ground i.e. to rain, a latch of a lock etc., intransitive and transitive)', or for a whole set of subentries, such as the examples of the verb *khowa* 'to break, to split (of stones, bamboo, wood)' (p. 95-97). The dictionary abounds in similar inconsistencies, again, for example, on p. 98 we find the entry *ħkhob-pha khopha* 'to peel off (actually 'peeled off')' and a few entries later on p. 99 the entry *ħkhob-bca khobcha* 'peels off', in which, when relying on the Roman Tshangla, a reader who does not know Tshangla and cannot read Tibetan, might understand these as two different verbs. Rather than providing examples of the meaning of the same verb in different tense and aspect combinations, it would be advisable to provide the verb root and its conjugational class, and then focus on the semantics of the verb, i.e. on the various meanings that a verb can have in its various contexts, but also according to its transitivity, and whether a verb operates as an independent verb or as an auxiliary. The meaning of the various verbal suffixes with their allomorphs according to the conjugational class could then be provided in the introduction. There is no need to provide for each verb a separate entry or subentry simply stating, for example, that the verb stem followed by *-chhuma* gives the verb a completive sense.

while the past tense of the Tibetan verb *nub* 'to go down, to set etc.' is simply *nub*. For establishing a possible relation between Tshangla and Tibetan as well as for the identification of loan verbs, these conjugational classes are of great interest.

⁸ What appears to be an attempt at this might be observed in the entries for *bceb-pa chep.pa* 'to hit, to bruise' and *bcob-pa chop.pa* 'to loot kitchen utensils' (?) (p. 176).

*Tshangla pronunciation
as closely approaching written Tibetan*

The second aim that the author has, is to show that Tshangla is in many ways more archaic in its pronunciation than the modern Tibetan varieties, maintaining the pronunciation of Tibetan at the time it was committed to writing. The editor (p. ii) gives as example the word for 'chest', which is written as *brang* or *brang-khog* in written Tibetan, pronounced as *drang* [ɖaŋ] in most Tibetan varieties, but still pronounced as *brang*, actually (p. 414) *brangtong* [bɾaŋtɔŋ], in Tshangla⁹. This is an irrefutable fact. But more than this observation cannot sensibly be derived from it. The fact that Tshangla [bɾaŋ] and written Tibetan *brang* are the same, does not necessarily provide evidence to support any hypothesis that the historical speakers of (Old) Tibetan at the time it was committed to writing and the contemporary Tshangla speakers are somehow directly related to each other: the similarities between written Tibetan and spoken Tshangla might be the result of a much older shared Tibeto-Burman root. Two other examples might illustrate that: Proto-Tani **haŋ-braŋ*/**haŋ-kwaŋ* (Sun 1993: 99) and Dulong (Trung) [pɿɑŋ] (Sün 1982: 217) are also very similar, if not the same.

Loans versus inherited words

A distinction has to be made between loan words from Tibetan, and inherited Tshangla words that have cognates in Tibetan. These are two fundamentally different ways as to how the part of the present day Tshangla lexicon with similar forms in written Tibetan has come into being. Loans are obviously present in Tshangla. But the long and intricate relationship between Tshangla and Central Bodish varieties makes it difficult to determine what is a loan, what is a nativised loan (often with a nativised pronunciation) and what is a native word that just happens to have Central Bodish cognates because of a shared Proto-Tibeto-Burman root.

Tshangla has been under strong influence from Bodish languages at least since the 8th century AD¹⁰. Successive waves of migration

⁹ Incidentally, Tawang Monket also has [bɾaŋ], and the Tibetan speakers I am currently surrounded with pronounce 'chest' as [p^hɑŋk^hɔʔ], with Nepali Sherpa speakers saying [pɾaŋɔʔ].

¹⁰ The question of whether Tshangla itself is a Bodish language, related to the Central and other Tibetan varieties, is an open question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered in linguistics. Perhaps it is rather intense language contact and borrowing that might have created this impression, with Tshangla a dis-

from the Tibetan plateau, the establishment of a Tibetan aristocracy ruling a Tshangla populace and the influence of both classical and spoken Tibetan through the spread of Buddhism and the administrative system has had an enormous impact on the Tshangla language. To this can be added the increasing influence of Bhutan's national language Dzongkha during the latter century in the Tshangla homeland and, in the case of Pemakö Tshangla, the influence of different Tibetan varieties (mainly Kong-po, sPo-bo and Khams Tibetan) since the advent of the Tshangla speakers in the Pemakö area and the subsequent diaspora of part of their people.

But the distinction between inherited vocabulary and later loans is hard to make. To revert to the example of 'chest': can this word be considered a loan from Tibetan at the time that it was still pronounced as [bran] in Tibetan? And did the phonological changes that affected the pronunciation in Tibetan not take place in Tshangla? I think few people would agree to this idea, and rather consider a root like 'chest', which is shown cross-linguistically to be not very susceptible to borrowing, to be an inherited root. On the other hand, *ḥu-lag ḥulag*¹¹ 'compulsory labour service' (p. 542), *zheb-sa zhepsa* 'honorific speech' (p. 516), *gtor-ma tormā* 'dough offering' (p. 257) and a verb like *sgrub-pa dupha*¹² 'to practice, accomplish (in a religious sense)' (p.117) are clear Tibetan loans, cf. Tibetan *ḥu-lag* 'compulsory service', *zhe-sa* 'honorific speech', *gtor-ma* 'dough offering', *sgrub* 'to accomplish, to attain etc.', all introduced as administrative and religious terminology. There are, however, many doubt cases, even in basic lexical items. Pemakö Tshangla has *gdong-pa dongpa* 'face' (p. 303). Bhutan Tshangla, on the other hand, has *gum* 'face'. Because Tibetan also has *gdong-pa* 'face', this might well be a Tibetan loan in Pemakö Tshangla. But does the fact that Dirang Tshangla also has *dongpa* 'face' mean that Bhutan Tshangla *gum* is actually an innovation? Or that Dirang Tshangla also borrowed *dongpa* 'face' from Tibetan?

Another example is the Tshangla verb *nyong* [ɲoŋ] 'to get, to obtain'. The Tshangla dictionary lists this under the 'Ucen spelling myong, in consistency with a Tibetan spelling of a word with a wide range of meanings, myong 'to enjoy, undergo, feel, comprehend, taste, to experience with one of the five senses, etc.'. But there are two main issues with this approach. First of all: in this case, as in many, Tshangla has not preserved the archaic Tibetan pronunciation

tinctly non-Bodish language whose centuries of language contact and subsequent creolisation have made it to appear as a Bodish language.

¹¹ This should be *ḥulak*.

¹² This should have been *sgrub-pa* and *duppha* if consistency was maintained.

of the period when the language was committed to writing: any Tshangla speaker will say [ɲoŋ] similar to modern Tibetan pronunciation, not [mjoŋ]. And secondly, considering the meanings of Tibetan *myong*, the question arises whether these two words perhaps just derive from the same root. These are issues that historical-comparative linguistics has to deal with, and should not be of concern to a compiler of a dictionary of a contemporary language. But by making the orthographic choice for the 'Ucen Tshangla spelling *myong*, not simply *nyong* in accordance with Tshangla pronunciation, the author implicitly presumes either that Tibetan *myong*, with its wide variety of meanings, and Tshangla *nyong*, with a much more restricted definition, derive from the same Bodish (and not earlier, Proto-Tibeto-Burman) root, or that Tshangla borrowed the word from Tibetan, with subsequent semantic change resulting in divergent meanings and phonetic change resulting in a similar pronunciation. Luxi Bola (Pəla, Jingpo) also has [mjɔ̃³¹ju⁵⁵] 'to get, to acquire' (Huang and Dai, 1992), this form is even closer to the Tibetan spelling, but everyone would consider it spurious to consider this as evidence of a genetic relation between Luxi Bola and Tibetan.

Whereas I do not want to argue against using standard Tibetan spelling for Tshangla words that are clearly loans from Tibetan, I would caution against overdoing that by trying to find Tibetan spellings for each and every Tshangla word, irrespective of whether this word is an actual loan or a native word, and otherwise invent spurious spellings that do not reflect the actual Tshangla pronunciation. Thus accepting written Tibetan spellings for at least the most obvious loans, it is then puzzling to notice that the author has decided to spell an obvious recent Tibetan loan like *mikshe* 'eye glasses' in the 'Ucen Tshangla orthography as *mig-she* (p. 453), in accordance with Tshangla pronunciation [mikɛ], and not according to the Tibetan spelling as *mig-shel*. On the other hand, for unknown reasons the author chose the 'Ucen Tshangla spelling *hgaḥ-ḥdang* (p. 124) for the native Tshangla word *gadang* [gadan] without any obvious written Tibetan source. These kind of inconsistencies are a serious drawback to the dictionary.

The main point, apart from the possible ramifications of the approach taken by the author for the historical-comparative side of the story, is that this approach has serious implications for the usefulness and user-friendliness of the dictionary. A user of the dictionary will have to a priori know that Tshangla [ɲoŋ] has the 'Ucen Tshangla spelling *myong* listed under the syllable MA, because he will not be able to find the entry *nyong* under the syllable NYA. This brings me to the next point, namely a general review of the ortho-

graphic choices of the author, the consistency of the use, and the implications for the user-friendliness of the dictionary.

The orthographies and consistency of its use

In the introduction, the author describes the conventions for both his 'Ucen Tshangla and his Roman Tshangla orthographies. Unfortunately, much is lacking in the consistency of the usage of these orthographic conventions throughout the dictionary. There are plenty of instances where the orthographic rules set out by the author at the onset are not followed in the main body of the dictionary.

The Roman orthography

The Roman orthography used in the dictionary is pretty straightforward, though no motivation for the choices made is given. The choice for representing the Tshangla unaspirated and aspirated affricates [tɕ, tɕʰ] with /ch, chh/ rather than /c, ch/ respectively is unfortunate from a linguistic point of view, but understandable under influence of the prevalence of haphazard romanisation in use throughout much of the Subcontinent, although it is at variance with both the Indological tradition and the principle of economy which should govern a new system of romanisation. Many native Tshangla speakers who write their language actually employ the same orthography, because for them the /c/ represents a [k], as in English cat [kʰæt] and not an affricate [tɕ].

But when it comes to the consistent use throughout the dictionary, there are some flaws to be observed. The main issue lies with the representation of the unvoiced and voiced syllable final plosives /k ~ g/, /p ~ b/ and /t ~ d/. Whereas in some cases the unvoiced Tshangla coda /t/ is represented in the Roman orthography with a /t/, in other cases the author has followed the Tibetan orthography in the Roman orthography and written a voiced plosive /d/, e.g. stod-ka *totka* [totka]¹³ 'at the top of (in elevation)' (p. 266) and nad-pa *natpa* [natpa] (p. 335), but then pad-pa *padpa* [patpa] 'leech' not **patpa* (p. 357). In other cases, the author, under written Tibetan influence, introduces a syllable-final plosive /t/ where the Tshangla pronunciation actually doesn't even have one, such as in stod-tung *todtung* cf.

¹³ Not that here the author pronounces [tɕka], in conformity with the written Tibetan spelling, rather than in accordance with the actual Tshangla pronunciation [totka]. The rounding of vowels [i] and [o] to [y] and [ø] under influence of written Tibetan spellings, even for native Tshangla words, can be observed throughout the recordings.

Tibetan *stod-tung* 'jacket' (p. 266) not **totung* [totun] 'jacket'. Other examples can be found with both the velar and bilabial plosive in coda position, which are sometimes written with Roman /p/ and /k/ and sometimes with Roman /b/ and /g/, as in *lag-pa lakpa* 'hide' (p. 609) but *har-khag-tang harkhagtang* not **harkhaktang* 'phlegm' (p. 689), *tseb-tseb tseptsep* 'crunchy when eating because of containing sand particles, said of e.g. flour' (p. 477) but *teb-pa tebpa* not **tep-pa* 'be squeezed or quashed (in a crowd)' (p. 247), and *nub-pa nubpa* [nupa] 'to perish, to disappear (usu. in a religious sense)' not **nuppa* (p. 343), *zhob zhob* [zɔp] not **zhop* 'ritual hearth deity pollution' (p. 519) or *mo-rab morab* 'beautiful' but then in the sample sentence *morap* (p. 465). Where degemination of the syllable final bilabial plosive takes place in actual pronunciation it is completely omitted in the Roman Tshangla, as in *heb-pha heppha* not **heppha* '1. to settle down (of heated butter or oil); 2. to pant' (p. 690), even though this creates a root **he-* not *hep-*. This inconsistency between the actual Tshangla pronunciation, the written Tshangla in 'Ucen script and the written Tshangla in Roman script is an almost constant source of ambiguity throughout the dictionary.

The choice for the use of dots to separate 'which parts of the word are to be pronounced together' (p. iv) in the Tshangla sample sentences is odd, as in English the full stop indicates the end of a sentence or a syllable boundary in phonetics. Moreover, this practice obscures which criteria are used to determine what in Tshangla constitutes a word, with many suffixes, enclitics and particles separated from their head word with a full stop. An example is the sentence *khangri.zangpo.gai.lama.mangpo.jonma.la* 'Many lamas came from good lineages', where both the ablative marker *-gai* and the existential copula *-la*, used in a periphrastic construction as the continuous past *jonmala* 'having come', are treated as independent words rather than suffixes.

The 'Ucen orthography

The author both acknowledges that the phonology and pronunciation of Tshangla and Tibetan are different in many aspects (p. xx) and that in the past it must have been difficult for the Tibetan grammarians to compose the spelling with prefix, superscript, subscript and suffix letters and that this is still cause of weariness and inconvenience (p. ix). Nonetheless, the author then continues that as Tshangla shares 70% of its vocabulary with Tibetan¹⁴ and that Tibet-

¹⁴ This might be an overestimate. Lieberherr and Bodt (2015) in a lexicostatistical analysis of 100 basic roots found a cognate percentage between Written Tibetan

an and Tshangla have a similar *sgra-gdangs* 'tune, pronunciation', it is no more than logical and even a necessity to know and employ the various affixes of the Tibetan spelling in the Tshangla orthography as well, explaining why and how he has tried to harmonise the Tshangla spellings and grammar with that of Tibetan (p. x). In his 'Ucen Tshangla spellings, the author thus makes profuse use of the written Tibetan *sngon-hjug* 'prefixed letters', *rjes-hjug* 'suffixed letters', *yang-hjug* 'final letters', *ya-byags*, *ra-btags*, *la-btags*, *wa-zur* 'subscript ya, ra, la, wa letters' and *ra-mgo*, *la-mgo*, *sa-mgo* 'super-script ra, la, sa letters'. He employs these in purported loans from Tibetan, in Tshangla words with Tibetan cognates, but, most unfortunately, also in purely native Tshangla terms without justifying the necessity of their use.

So, *wang* [waŋ] 'blessing' (p. 423) is written as *dbang* under the syllable BA, rather than with Tshangla spelling *wang* under the syllable WA because it is likely a Tibetan loan, cf. Tibetan *dbang* 'blessing', and *tsi* [tsi] 'fodder; weed' (p. 482) might have been written as *rtsi* rather than simply *tsi* because of a (doubtful) Tibetan cognate *rtswa* 'grass, weeds'. But why the orthographies *bang* [baŋ] 'grass' as *ḥbang* rather than simply *bang* (p. 424); *cha* [tʂa] 'have {copula}' as *bcaḥ* (p. 173) rather than simply *ca*; *khungma* 'to wait' as *ḥkhung-ma* (p. 92) rather than simply *khung-ma* (but on the other hand *khongma* 'raw, uncooked' as *khong-ma*, p. 82); or *bamung* [bamuŋ] as *ḥbaḥ-mung* 'mushroom' (p. 429) rather than simply *ba-mung*? Similarly, in Tshangla there is no phonetic difference between the adjective *ringbu* [riŋbu] 'long, tall' (p. 586) and the noun *ringbu* [riŋbu] 'intestinal worm' (p. 586), thus the Tibetan orthography *ring-bu* for the former and *ring-ḥbu* for the latter is completely based on the spelling of *bu* [bu] 'insect' in Tibetan, *ḥbu*, and not on the pronunciation in Tshangla.

The effect of the use of the affixes of written Tibetan on the user-friendliness of a Tshangla dictionary can also be shown through the following example. If a Tshangla user living in Delhi wants to find the meaning of the Tshangla word *lutumang* just used by his grand-

and Bhutan Tshangla of 41%. Despite being higher than the cognate percentages between Tshangla and any other language under review, or between Written Tibetan and any other language under review, this percentage is not so high considering the long period of language contact. Moreover, this percentage does not take into account roots descended from a common Proto-Tibeto-Burman root shared between all Tibeto-Burman languages. However, these basic roots exclude many lexemes from higher semantic fields, that are more susceptible to borrowing. The view that Tshangla is very close to, and even derived from, written Tibetan is very strongly maintained among educated Tshangla speakers, be it in the Tibetan diaspora or in Bhutan.

ma, and starts searching either in the main body of the dictionary or in the index in the beginning under the syllable LA, he will not find the word. It cannot be presupposed that every user will know written Tibetan orthography well enough to start searching all possible combinations of prefixes and sub- and superscript letters for the syllable LA and (luckily under KA) end up finding *klu-tu-mang* [lu-tu-maŋ] 'pestle'. One simple solution for this problem would be to group all phonetically identical onsets together under the same syllable heading, rather than based on their 'Ucen onsets.

In the following sections, I will shortly introduce some of the author's orthographical choices for both the vowels and the consonants, and discuss the consequences this has, mainly for the user-friendliness of the dictionary.

The vowel representations

As for the vowels, the author introduces a long vowel A apparently solely on basis of the minimal pair *wa wa* 'cattle' (p. 509) and *wA ḥphi-ba wa.phiwa* 'to joke' (p. 510), with not a single other attestation of a long vowel /a/ in the dictionary apart from the Hindi loan words *thA-II thali* 'plate' (> थाली 'plate', p. 282) and *DAG-khang drak.khang* (> डाक 'post, mail' + Tibetan *khang* 'building', p. 328). This, in combination with the fact that in the recording there is no audible distinction between the vowel length in the two occurrences of *wa*¹⁵ and the knowledge that vowel length is not distinctive in any other phonological descriptions of varieties of Tshangla to date (Das Gupta 1968, Zhāng 1986, Andvik 2009, Grollmann 2013, Bodt 2014), leads to the conclusion that the long versus short vowel /a/ distinction that the author makes is unwarranted¹⁶.

The author introduces the orthographic Tibetan AI and AU to represent two Tshangla diphthongs/offglides [ai ~ aj] and [au ~ aw]. These are commonly used for transcription of Sanskrit diphthongs and are as a choice defensible over, for example, aḥi and aḥu. It is unfortunate that, ostensibly under influence of Tibetan spelling conventions, the Tshangla diphthongs are neglected in many cases, such as *bral-ba braiba* [braiba] 'to separate' (p. 418) instead of *brAI-ba* (cf. Tibetan *kha bral-ba* 'to divorce, separate'). It is also unfortunate that

¹⁵ In fact, rather than a vowel length distinction, the *wa* in *wa.phiwa* appears to have a high register tone onset.

¹⁶ The same can be said of the aspirated voiced velar plosive *gha* [gʰ] on basis of the single lexeme *ghi ghi* [gi] 'Sichuan pepper, *Xanthoxylum armatum*, *X. bungeanum*', with neither a convincing minimal pair besides the near-minimal pair with the existential copula *gila* 'to be', nor clear aspiration in the recording.

the Tshangla diphthongs/offglides [oi ~ oj] and [ui ~ uj] are not recognised as distinctive phonemes in the introduction on page viii. In the remainder of the dictionary they are haphazardly represented, either by introducing a new vowel combination such as in *nyoḥE-ba nyoiba* [noiba] 'to swallow without chewing' (p. 228); with written Tibetan spelling conventions, e.g. *sbkul-ba kuiba* [kuiba] 'to invoke, arouse, admonish' (p. 43); or even completely ignored, as in *bri-ba brui-ba* [bruiba] 'to write' (p. 440) under influence of Tibetan *bri* 'write'. Over-reliance on written Tibetan spelling conventions rather than actual Tshangla pronunciation also results in inconsistencies such as [gau] 'amulet box' (p. 106), one of the few occurrences of the Tshangla diphthong [au] AU. Unfortunately, in the 'Ucen orthography the author stuck to the Tibetan spelling *gwaḥu*, with for the Roman orthography the odd spelling *ga.'u*.

The consonant representations

The consonant inventory described is pretty standard for Tshangla and the 'Ucen representations are straightforward. The author chose to represent the retroflex sounds with the lokta *Ta*¹⁷, *Tha* and *Da*, which is understandable. What is less clear is why these retroflex phonemes are then sometimes mentioned under their alveolar counterpart syllables TA, THA and DA and sometimes with their written Tibetan spellings like *sgra* under the syllable GA. As distinctive phonemes, they should have been accorded their own separate dictionary headings. In the current scenario, there is the confusing and inconsistent situation that a user has to look for *dupha* [dupp^ha] 'accomplished' (spelling *sgrub-pa*, p. 117) and *dom* [dɔm] 'box' (spelling *sgron*, p. 117) under the syllable GA, but for the phonetically same onsets in *dumsho* [dumɕo] 'gather towards this side (fire wood in a hearth)?¹⁸' (spelling *Dum-sho*, p. 330) and *domdom* 'sound of feet stamping on a wooden floor during a traditional 'kick dance'' (spelling *Dom-Dom*, p. 332) under syllable DA.

In many cases, it is unfortunate that the author has resorted to innovating 'Ucen Tshangla spellings for the retroflex phonemes that deviate from his own proposed orthography. There is a justification in the case of actual or plausible loans from Tibetan, such as *gru du*

¹⁷ The single unvoiced retroflex entry *Tau-li tauli* [tauli] 'wrung out?' (p. 268) is said to be a Chinese loan, even the Tibetan translation *skra dkyu-li* cannot be found in the most common dictionaries, and its inclusion in this dictionary is therefore questionable.

¹⁸ The meaning of Tibetan *ḥtshur* is unclear, and the reason why this verb is mentioned in the imperative is similarly unknown.

[dʉ] 'boat' (p. 109), Tibetan gru 'boat', not *Du and ḥgrig-pe *dikpe* [dʉkpe] 'to be ok' (p. 142¹⁹), Tibetan ḥgrig 'be ok, be alright etc.' not *Dig-pe. But little justification can be given to extend this even to lexemes where there is no written Tibetan basis to deviate from simply writing a lokta retroflex, such as khre *thre* [tʰe] 'veranda' (p. 85) instead of *Thre, phrog-rkyang *thokyang* [tʰokkjaŋ] 'Sausage vine *Holboellia latifolia*' (p. 383) instead of *Throk-kyang²⁰, especially since the next lexeme, phros-pa *phrospa* 'to vomit' (p. 383) is pronounced as [pʰɾospa] and not as *[tʰospa].

The same line of thought, with plenty of examples of inconsistencies, holds for the various representations of the Tshangla affricates /ch, chh, j/, depending on the variety realised as [tʰ ~ tʃ, tʰ ~ tʃʰ, dʒ ~ dʒʃ]. Lexical entries that have an affricate onset can be found under the direct 'Ucen syllables CA, CHA, and JA but also under the written Tibetan spellings rkya, skya, bskya spyā (syllables KA, PA); khya, ḥkhyā, phya, ḥphya (syllables KHA, PHA); and gya, rgya, ḥgya, bya, and ḥbya (syllables GA, BA) respectively. What this means in practice is, that a potential user who has just been called a *jungpo rolang* [dʒuŋpo rolaŋ] by a Pemakö Tshangla speaker, and who has no idea of the origin or spelling the word might have in Tibetan, would have to look under syllable JA for jung-po, mjung-po, ḥjung-po or ljung-po, under syllable GA for gyung-po, rgyung-po or ḥgyung-po and under syllable BA for byung-po, to finally find it under ḥbyung-po ro-langs *jungpo.rolang* 'a boy with an evil or offensive behaviour and attitude' (p. 439), from ḥbyung-po *jungpo* 'class of evil spirits' and ro-langs *rolang* 'zombie'. That's simply not practical, and not user-friendly. Wouldn't it have been easier to just write it in 'Ucen Tshangla as jung-po ro-lang, and then give the Tibetan etymology as (< Tib. ḥbyung-po ro-langs)?

In his listing of Tshangla onsets on page ix, the author does not include the lateral fricative [ɬ], in written Tibetan spelling lha, a fact consistent with most spoken Tshangla varieties. However, a grapheme /lh/ does occur in the Roman transcriptions in the dictionary, with Tibetan orthographies as divergent as rla, e.g. rlang-pa *lhankpa* 'left-over (food)' (p. 606) under RA; kla, e.g. klam-pa *lhampa* 'read, study' (p. 41) under KA; gla, e.g. gleng *lheng* 'over there, on the other side' (p. 118) under GA; bla, e.g. blug-pa *lhug-pa* 'pour' (p. 441) under

¹⁹ Why the author lists this as ḥgrig-pe *dikpe* with the non-past nominaliser and not as ḥgrig-pa *dikpa* with the past nominaliser like in other verb forms is another inconsistency.

²⁰ For this lexeme even a spelling *khrok-kyang* might be preferable, to reflect the archaic pronunciation Standard Bhutan Tshangla [tʰoktʰaŋ], archaic and dialect [kʰrokʰtʰaŋ] which is, however, probably not known to the author.

BA; and *sla*, e.g. *sla-nga lha-nga* ‘frying pan’ (p. 677) under SA. Whereas the recordings do not attest a lateral fricative but a lateral approximant for these entries, there does appear to be a high register onset distinguishing these lexemes from *langs-pa langpa* ‘to sit; to suffice’ (p. 610); *lam lam* ‘road, path’ (p. 611); *leng-ma lengma* ‘to change (clothes)’ (p. 621); *lugs luk* ‘habit, custom’ (p. 616); and *lam-ma lamma* ‘to accept; to find’ (p. 612) respectively. But the contradictory spelling of the entries *leng gtad-pa leng.tatpa* ‘towards the other side’ and *leng-gtad leng-gtad lengtat lengtat* ‘further and further towards the other side’ (p. 622), derivations clearly based on *gleng lheng* ‘over there, on the other side’ (p. 118) appear to suggest that, rather than that the ‘Ucen spelling of the lexemes with onset /lh/ in the Roman orthography represents an actually realised high versus low register onset distinction in Tshangla, the pronunciation of the speaker has been adapted to the ‘Ucen spelling employed. The complete absence of any discussion on suprasegmental features such as register onset, pitch or tone, important in Tibetan but only marginal in some Tshangla varieties, is also a shortcoming of the dictionary.

Coda consonant clusters

From a historical linguistic point of view, the dictionary provides additional evidence of what could be considered archaic retentions of syllable-final consonant clusters in Pemakö Tshangla, a feature of the language also reported in Bodt (2012: 197-201, 2014: 421-424) and Grollmann (2013: 39-41). Some of the rather abundant examples include *bordpa* [bort-pa] ‘to fry in oil’ (p. 410), *bertpa* [bertpa] ‘to be spicy’ (p. 408); *hbyard jart-* [dzart-] ‘to be stuck together’ (p. 119, but unfortunately a main entry for this lexeme seems missing), *hphird phirt-la* ‘to turn by itself’ (in the example on p. 390, but *phirpa* in the main entry), *hkhord khort-* ‘to turn’ (in the example on p. 389, but *khorpa* on p. 100). This is important information that needs to be further examined.

Conclusions

The Tshangla dictionary is an extremely rich source of lexical information on an important and enigmatic but nonetheless endangered Tibeto-Burman language. For an educated Tshangla speaker in Pemakö or the Tibetan diaspora the dictionary will be useful as a reference source on their own language. Similarly, for Tibetans who would like to study Tshangla it will be a useful assistance to master the vocabulary. For both groups of users, however, the biggest drawback will be the ‘Ucen orthography following Tibetan spelling

conventions and not the Tshangla phonology, not only for loans from Tibetan and Tshangla words with Tibetan cognates, but also for quintessentially native Tshangla words. This makes the usage of the dictionary time-consuming and complicated at the very least, and sometimes just outright frustrating: a user basically has to guess how the author has spelled a word. Another imminent danger is that following written Tibetan spelling conventions for Tshangla words results in a Tibetan, not a Tshangla pronunciation. In the included sound files, the author frequently, almost continuously, falls in this pit trap himself, by pronouncing the Tshangla entry based on Tibetan pronunciation rather than the Tshangla pronunciation. The absence of a reverse glossary with concise Tibetan glosses and their Tshangla translations is also a drawback, as the targeted audience has to know, or have access to, Tshangla speakers in order to use the dictionary. If someone would want to know how to say a certain Tibetan word in Tshangla, the dictionary will give no answer.

The dictionary might have some value for an educated Bhutanese audience. But for an external audience, including Tibeto-Burman linguists, Tibetologists and others, the ability to at least read, and preferably also understand Tibetan is a prerequisite to make use of this dictionary.

Hopefully, then, the author, the translator, the publisher and a linguist trained in the western tradition will find the time and funds to publish a second edition of this valuable dictionary. This should include a short overview of the basic Tshangla phonology, including onset clusters and rhymes and their realisation and IPA transcription. The Tshangla pronunciation, the spelling in the 'Ucen script, and the spelling in the Roman script should follow clear conventions and be consistent throughout the dictionary. Personally, I would strongly suggest that as much as possible, 'Ucen spellings conform the actual Tshangla pronunciation are maintained, neither adopting the spelling of cognate Tibetan words, which may or may not be loans, nor the innovation of spellings that do not reflect the Tshangla pronunciation but rather some Tibetan orthographical convention. If one of the aims be to show that Tshangla follows written Tibetan pronunciation rather closely, it is always possible to add an etymological or cognate note (cf. Tib./ < Tib.) with the written Tibetan spelling. At least the head entries, and preferably the entire dictionary should be translated into English. Entries should include a reference to the part of speech they belong to. The head entry of every verb should be its root, including the conjugational class, with as subentries noun-verb and noun-noun compounds with particular meanings. Definitions should be standardised in Central Tibetan and include as many common and/or scientific names as possible.

Definitely, the dictionary is a publication which merits being rendered accessible to a much wider audience, including Tibetologists, linguists, ethnologists and other interested individuals.

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