


# Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part Two\*

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ust as with several of the colophons of the texts contained in a number of volumes that belong to an incomplete set of the writings by the great Sa skya pa scholar and saint Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan of Sa skya monastery's Rin chen sgang Residence (*bla brang*) that was cataloged a long time ago in Part One of this paper,<sup>1</sup> so also many of the colophons of a collection of texts as well as the texts themselves in the last, incomplete volume of this set, volume Na — the longest of these little treatises consists of but seven folios — ought to be of considerable interest to the social and intellectual historian of fourteenth century Tibet. The volume in question contains what may be considered Bla ma dam pa's miscellaneous writings, his *gsung thor bu*, that as a matter of course also include a number of more ephemeral and, to be sure, less consequential literary pieces. Bla ma dam pa was in sundry ways a quite remarkable man, so that even many of these relatively minor

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\* This paper includes some findings that I made during a research sojourn in Beijing from July to September of 1993. My stay was made possible by the second installment of a grant from what was then the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. Unless stated otherwise, all references to catalog numbers in the ensuing are taken from the in-house catalog of the Tibetan section of the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (Mi rigs rig gnas pho brang / Minzu wenhua gong 民族文化宫), Beijing, [= C.P.N.] that was kindly made available to me during my stay there.

<sup>1</sup> See my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part One," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 7 (1993), 109–147. In the meantime, a catalog of the same corpus was published in *Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag shes bya'i gter mdzod*, Smad cha, eds. Sun Wenjing 孫文景 and Mi nyag Mgon po (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 457–459.

works of his contain valuable information about his personal contacts and where he was when he wrote them. Indeed, they provide us with important insights into his intellectual development as well as into the social and political aspects of his life and his career as an intellectual and a man of the cloth. Thus, they considerably add to what we are able to learn from reading through his biographies. And it therefore goes without saying that a good number of the texts in this volume themselves constitute primary material for historical investigations in the religious and political history of his times, not to mention for a critical study of his life that will perhaps one day be written.<sup>2</sup> This is to be expected from one who was a leading member of one of Sa skya monastery's ruling families. A substantial number of texts in volume Na are in fact letters and panegyrics that are addressed to one or the other member of the Mongol imperial family in China, to Grand-Instructor (*ta'i si tu* < Ch. *da[i]situ* 大司徒) Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302–1364) — hereafter *Ta'i si tu* — and a host of other Tibetan notables, both religious and secular. Written in the *dbu can* script, the volumes of this set were kept in the Tibetan section of the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. I came across them while I was doing research there in the summers of 1992 and 1993. In their catalog of his oeuvre, Sun Wenjing and Mi nyag Mgon po list three little works under what they wrongly designated volume Nya, whereas the Buddhist Digital Resource Center [formerly: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (tbrc.org)] correctly registers them for a microfilm copy of a very incomplete volume Na.<sup>3</sup> In fact, these correspond to nos. 1, 16 and 17 of the catalog that is presented below in this paper, except that the latter is only four and not eighty-one folios in length as Sun Wenjing and Mi nyag Mgon po have it. Vol. Na was published in the sixth and last volume of the C.P.N.'s incomplete set of Bla ma dam pa's writings that were computer generated in Nepal.<sup>4</sup> The catalog that I offer below

<sup>2</sup> A beginning is made in Li Mengyan 李梦妍, "Ju jixiang lama dan ba suo nan jian zan zhuanji" yizhu yu yanjiu 《具吉祥喇嘛丹巴锁南坚赞传记》译注与研究 [A Study of Dpal ldan Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar: Translation and Annotations], MA Thesis (Beijing: Renmin University of China, 2013), which is based on Bla ma dam pa's biography that was written by his disciple Dpal ldan tshul khriims (1321-1387 or 1333-1399), for which see below. Li's work was published in *Han Zang foxue yanjiu: wenben, renwu, tuxiang he lishi* 汉藏佛学研究: 文本, 人物, 图像和历史 [Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies: Texts, Figures, Images, and History], ed. Shen Weirong 沈卫荣 (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2013), 414-459.

<sup>3</sup> See, respectively, their *Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang gi dpe tho las gsung 'bum skor gyi dkar chag*, *Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 459, and tbrc.org, W00KG02390.

<sup>4</sup> See *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2007), 502-747, and also tbrc.org, W1KG11900.

is based in the first place on a photocopy of the original *dbu can* manuscript of volume Na that is in my possession.

More importantly, however, is the very recently published edition, in Lhasa, of an edition of his *Collected Works* in twenty-six volumes.<sup>5</sup> This collection was the result of the herculean efforts of the late scholar *extraordinaire* Tshul khirms rgyal mtshan (1933–2001) of Nalen dra monastery in 'Phan po. Despite its size, it is still missing a number of works, but what we now have available to us is more than sufficient to further our understanding of Bla ma dam pa as a formidable intellectual. The first two volumes of this edition contain the texts of the C.P.N.'s volume Na.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that this collection is based on a different set of manuscripts that were housed in the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. and some of these differences will be signaled in my catalog.

The origin of the collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings of the C.P.N. is not entirely clear, but it appears that these volumes had been taken from what seems to have been the personal library of Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682) that was housed in 'Bras spungs monastery's Dga' ldan pho brang or, in any event, from one of this large monastery's many libraries. In fact, it is altogether quite likely that before they had become part of 'Bras spungs' library system, they were originally part of the spoils of the civil war that had raged on and off for more than two decades between the Dga' ldan pho brang and the ruling family of Gtsang, the Gtsang pa Sde srid, whose court was located in Bsam grub rtse, that is, what is now Gzhis ka rtse (= Shigatse).<sup>7</sup> The Dga' ldan pho brang emerged victorious from the battle field in the spring of 1642, a victory that was to have far reaching consequences for the development of the institution of the Dalai Lama and thus for Tibet's pre-modern and modern history.

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<sup>5</sup> See *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe nying dpe skrun khang, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> See *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 229-334, vol. 2, 1-113.

<sup>7</sup> For the family as a whole, see B.E. Bogin's splendid *The Life of Yol mo Bstan 'dzin nor bu: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of the Memoirs of a Seventeenth-century Tibetan Buddhist Lama*, PhD dissertation (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005), especially ix-x, 64-71, and his *The Illuminated Life of the Great Yolmowa* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2013), Index, 268, and D. Templeman, "The 17th cent. Gtsang Rulers and their Strategies of Legitimation," *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. R. Vitali (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012), 65-78, even if we cannot always agree with the dates in the latter. See also the précis in N. Lamminger, *Der Sechste Zhwa dmar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) und sein Reisebericht aus den Jahren 1629/1630: Studie, Edition und Übersetzung*, PhD dissertation (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2013), 12-16.

A summary of the biography of Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub (1571–1642), a scion of Sa skya's Rtse gdong Residence — this fiefdom was located to the northeast of Shigatse on the northern bank of the Gtsang po river — and a court chaplain of Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606–1642), the Gtsang pa Sde srid's last ruler, contains a very brief but unusual account of the last battles that were fought until the fall of this ruler's fortress.<sup>8</sup> It records with painstaking accuracy that Gushri

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<sup>8</sup> See Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros' (1729–1784) 1781 *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, ed. Dbyangs can seng ge (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 106 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian* 薩迦世系史續編, tr. Wang Yüping 王玉屏 (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1992), 29-30]; Sngags 'chang's extremely informative excerpts of a much longer biography of Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub of unknown authorship extend from pp. 48 to 113 of his work [*Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 5-32]. The year of Karma bstan skyong dbang po's birth is taken from *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, ed. Tshe ring dpal 'byor et al., Gangs can rig mdzod 7 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 87 [= Bsod nams tshe ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 169]. For him, see also N.M. Gettelman, "Karma bstan skyong and the Jesuits," *Reflections on Tibetan Culture. Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 269-277. Authored by Sangs rgyas rdo rje (1569-1645), an undated and somewhat venal panegyric to him, which unfortunately contains no overt historical information, is *Phyogs las rnam rgyal ba'i gtan gzhon med na da'i sgra dbyangs* of which an *dbu med* manuscript in nine folios was cataloged under C.P.N. catalog no. 002866(6). This piece was recently published in *Gtsang stod rgyal po'i rnam thar dang rgyal rabs*, ed. Gzhon nu nor bzang, Gangs can rig mdzod 60 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2013), 1-17. In his path breaking study of the development of the Jo nang school, Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa (1920–1975) observes in his *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba'i sgron me* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1992), 136, that Kun dga' rab brtan dbang gi rgyal po was an alternate name of Karma bstan skyong dbang po. There are many outstanding questions about the complicated history of the Gtsang pa Sde srid, and its story still needs to be written, ideally using the scores of edicts issued by this regime that are currently housed in the Tibet Archives, Lhasa. Although rather late, an important source is also Rag ra Sprul sku Khri chen Ngag dbang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's 1822 *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan, Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, ed. Ldan lhun Sangs rgyas chos 'phel et al., Gangs can rig mdzod 9 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1990), 249-254, 266-293. With much candor, this Dge lugs pa scholar gives a remarkably evenhanded account of the Gtsang pa Sde srid's rise and fall. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs' and Nor brang O rgyan's *Bod kyi lo rgyus rags rim g.yu yi phreng ba*, Bar cha (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1990), 542-557, is also of considerable use, and Rdzong rtse Byams pa thub bstan's *Gtsang myang smad bsam 'grub rtse'i sde srid gtsang pa rim byung gi mnga' thang 'byur rgud kyi lo rgyus* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1994) is a first attempt at trying to make sense of the information on members of the family that lies scattered in a variety of sources. See, finally, also B. Bogin, "The Red and Yellow War: Dispatches from the Field," *Himalayan Passages. Tibetan and Newar*

Qan (1582–1655) of the Qoshot Mongols, the key ally of 'Bras spungs' Dga' ldan pho brang, had surrounded Shigatse and the fortress of Pho brang Bsam grub rtse on the ninth day of the fifth lunar month (*snron*, \**jaiṣṭha*) of the iron-snake year, that is, on June 18, 1641. He then laid siege on the fortress for more than three months, but was unable to take it. It was only at this time that Bsod nams rab brtan (1595–1657), the Dga' ldan pho brang's financial secretary (*phyag mdzod*) [and much else besides] in an almost leisurely fashion came to the aid of the by now weakened army of the Qan. Bsod nams rab brtan, who also seems to have been called Bsod nams chos 'phel, where *chos 'phel* certainly has the sense of "spreading the [Dge lugs pa] religion," may have thought it not a particularly good idea to have a strong Mongol military presence in Central Tibet. Hence, his protracted absence from the battle field during the early stages! A series of talks between the parties were held in the presence of intermediaries, the then abbot of Sa skya A mes [also: myes] zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659) and the aged but indefatigable Paṅ chen Bla ma I [or: IV] Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1567–1662) among them.<sup>9</sup> Karma pa X Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674)<sup>10</sup> had also been invited, but was

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*Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler*, ed. B. Bogin and A. Quintman (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2014), 319-341.

<sup>9</sup> Writing in 1660, Paṅ chen Bla ma I is quite clear that he left 'Bras spungs on the fifth day of the twelfth month, that is, on January 12, 1642; see *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 202-203. In this passage, he mentions "the Qan [and his] object of patronage" (*rgyal po mchod yon*) which, although "the two" (*gnyis*) is absent, must, I believe, indicate Gushri Qan and Bsod nams chos 'phel; see also in this connection Y. Ishihama, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara," *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 64 (1993), 40. Paṅ chen Bla ma I refers to A mes zhabs as the Sa skya zhabs drung. A mes zhabs, his voluminous oeuvre, and his views on the *Hevajratāntra* and its sources became the subject of two in-depth studies by J.-U. Sobisch, for which see his *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, the Great 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplement Band 38 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007) and *Hevajra and Lam 'bras Literature of India and Tibet Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs*, *Contributions to Tibetan Studies* 6 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichelt Verlag, 2008). Happily, two editions of A mes zhabs' collected writings have been published in recent years, one in Kathmandu (2000), and the other in Lhasa (2012).

<sup>10</sup> Much of how he saw his life up to 1630 can be gleaned from his recently excavated poetic biography of his main tutor Zhwa dmar VI Gar dbang chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) as in-terwined with his own life that was published as *Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa zhing kun tu rang nyid 'ong ba gdul bar bya ba kun gyi 'dod pa 'jo ba'i ba mo*, *Rje karma bcu pa chos dbyings rdo rje'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, *Mgo log dpe rnying dpe tshogs* 18 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 3-333. He completed this work in Rgyal thang on December 30/31, 1648. This and the other volume of his collected writings, published as the *Mgo log dpe rnying dpe tshogs* 19, that were rescued

absent during the negotiations. The probable reason why he was apparently unable to come or simply refused to participate in these proceedings may very well have been because he and his *bla brang*-corporation had been too deeply involved with the Gtsang pa Sde srid as a whole. While it is unlikely that this should have fallen within the competence of the still very young Karma pa, Karma bstan skyong dbang po's legal code indicates that the Karma pa had given his father Karma phun tshogs [phyogs thams cad las] rnam par rgyal ba (?1586–1620/1) the authority to rule over Dbus and Gtsang!<sup>11</sup> This must have

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from oblivion through the tireless effort of A khu Gzan dkar Rin po che Thub bstan nyi ma and his associate Bkra shis, contain additional autobiographical poetic pieces. See now K. Debreczeny et al., *The Black Hat Eccentric: Artistic Visions of the Tenth Karma pa* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012) and also Shamar Rinpoche, *A Golden Swan in Turbulent Waters: The Life and Times of the Tenth Karmapa Choying Dorje* (Lexington: Bird of Paradise Press, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 87 [= Bsod noms tshé ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 169]: *rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen pa karma pa chos dbyings rdo rjes dbus gtsang bdag po'i lung gnang ste shel tham dmar nag skya dar rgya gling sogs lung gi che ba mngon par mtho ba'i dge mtshan bsam gyis mi khyab cing bka' khrims bzang pos mnga' bangs rnams rdzogs ldan gyi dus ltar bde skyid du mdzad pa'o //*. Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal's dates are not unproblematic. His short biography in *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 85-87 [= Bsod noms tshé ring, *Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 168-169]: provides us with the following data: He was born in the fire-dog year, which would give the impossible 1550 or 1610. At the age of twenty-four, he overthrew Yar rgyab and other regions in Dbus. An army of barbarian (*kla klo*) Hor and Sog po Mongols entered Tibet in the earth-male-horse year [1618] and even occupied Lhasa [and the Jo khang]. In response, he led an army of eight "divisions" (*yan lag brgyad*) to Dbus and defeated them in lower Stod lung. At the same time, he brought Dbus under his control. According to some sources, this took place in 1610, so that he must have been born in 1586, which was a dog-year!; the notice that "quarreling broke out among the principalities" (*sde 'khrug langs pa[s]*) in Dbus and Gtsang during the years 1612-1613 in A mes zhabs' biography in Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 305 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 143], may refer to this or its consequences. This could mean that he was born in 1588 or 1589. On the other hand, Gtsang Mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho's (1610-1684) biography of Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594-?1651), *Dpal 'brug pa rin po che ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgyas pa chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974), 313, states that the latter met him in about 1614 when Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal was sixteen or seventeen years old. This would mean that he was born in *circa* 1597, which must of course be a mistake if we accept that his son was born in 1606; see also M. Aris, *Bhutan. The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979), 208-209. J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms, the Great 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 152, no. 173, registers a letter A mes zhabs had written to him in 1617 titled *Karma Phun tshogs rnam rgyal la guang ba'i gsung shog*. The year of his passing is not as controversial as that of his birth. Rag ra Sprul sku, *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*,

followed in the wake of Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal's effective military neutralization of the Yar rgyab and Sku rab families with whom he had controlled Dbus and Gtsang for a few years.<sup>12</sup> The success of his military campaigns enabled him to give Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub several religious estates (*chos gzhis*) in Dbus and

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269, writes that he succumbed to small pox "sometime in the tenth lunar month of the monkey-year" [October/November, 1620] while he was campaigning in Zangs [read: Bzang] yul – Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 316 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 148], registers the first of a number of outbreaks of this scourge during the seventeenth century for the year 1614. His death was at first kept secret by his ministers. It appears that around the middle of 1620, Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal had urgently requested A mes zhabs to focus on the Buddha's teaching and sentient beings (*bstan 'gror dgongs pa*). Translated, this means that he underwrote his candidacy for the office of Sa skya's abbot and probably also that he was considering the afterlife. Ultimately, the great Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634), alias Tāranātha, who owed the 1615 construction of his see of Rtag brtan phun tshogs gling to the largesse of the deceased ruler, was to write of the circumstances of his patron's death. He relates in his autobiography that he heard about it, as well as the secrecy surrounding it, sometime in the second half of the first and the second lunar months. This means that his patron may have passed away around the turn of 1621. It all depends on how long it took for the news, which had at first been kept secret, to have reached him. For this, see *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod*, *Collected Works* [Dzang thang ed.], vol. 1, (? , 199?), 464 ff. (= *Collected Works* [ed. Rtag brtan phun tshogs gling], vol. 1 (Leh: C. Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1982-1987), 476 ff.; *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 2, *Mes po'i shul bzhaq*, vol. 44, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 78 ff.). He relates this information after his entry for the death of Bsod noms dbang po (1559-1621). Of passing interest is that Tāranātha's undated oral commentary on Nāgārjuna's (2<sup>nd</sup> c.) *Suhylekha* was actually recorded by Phun tshogs rnam rgyal himself, for which see *Bshes pa'i 'phrin yig gi 'grel pa rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa tā ra nā tha'i gsung bzhin sde srid phun tshogs rnam rgyal gyis zin bris bgyis pa*, *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 42, *Mes po'i shul bzhaq*, vol. 84, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 194-331. According to A mes zhabs' 1629 celebrated study of the ruling families and abbots of Sa skya monastery, the *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 483 [= *Sajia shixi shi* 薩迦世系史, tr. Chen Qingying 陳庆英 et al. (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989), 344], his uncle Bsod noms dbang po passed away in Bkra shis bsam grub, in Dge sdings [in Shab], on the tenth day of the first lunar month [March 3] of the mouse-year [1621]. A mes zhabs himself was in Sa skya when he had learned of this. On the other hand, Tāranātha states that he was informed by Sa skya that the hierarch had passed away on the fourteenth day of the second fortnight of the previous lunar month (*zla ba snga ma'i mar ngo'i bcu bzhi*), that is, on February 21 of that year! In any event, Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal was succeeded by his son Karma bstan skyong dbang po in 1621, and A mes zhabs was among the hierarchs who attended his "coronation."

<sup>12</sup> Rag ra Sprul sku, *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, 252-253, 269.

Gtsang from which he and his *bla brang* would draw income.<sup>13</sup> To be sure, A mes zhabs, too, was hardly an impartial participant. Although he had first officially met the young Karma bstan skyong dbang po in 1621 during his coronation, they were thereafter in regular contact and he performed many apotropaic rituals on his behalf that, without any doubt, were directed against the Dga' ldan pho brang and its Mongol allies. The extent of his dealings with Karma bstan skyong dbang po was thus quite considerable and the depth of their relationship will have to be investigated on another occasion when all his biographies become available. The same holds for his elder brother Sgar chen Mthu stobs dbang phyug (1588–1637), who was also much sought after for his apparent expertise in the expulsion of Mongols (*sog bzlog*) through similar rituals. But Sgar chen was not alive at this time. His passing had been a sudden one. He had contracted small pox when, in 1636, a virulent epidemic of the disease broke out in Gtsang. This time, it was suspected that this highly infectious disease had been carried to Tibet by the army which Arslan, the son of Čoytu, chieftain of Kokonor, had led against Karma bstan skyong dbang po in the winter of the pig-year [November 1635–January 1636].<sup>14</sup> Fearing imminent infection, Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub hurriedly left Shigatse to embark on a meditative retreat in his private quarters at Rtse gdong. Many others were of course not as fortunate and died a horrific death.

In addition to these transparent connections with the Gtsang pa Sde srid, Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub's niece Bsod nams rnam gyäl bu khrid (?–1637) was married to the king and had borne him a son named Dbang chen dpal 'bar in 1628.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, it was precisely because of the close relationship A mes zhabs and his see had enjoyed with the Gtsang pa Sde srid [and perhaps also with the Be ri king Don yod rdo rje (?–1641) in Khams, who had been recently defeated and executed by Gushri Qan after a long war] that he was asked to intercede as an intermediary.<sup>16</sup> But the negotiations went nowhere. In

<sup>13</sup> Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 80 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 18].

<sup>14</sup> Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 92 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 23–24].

<sup>15</sup> Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 83 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 20].

<sup>16</sup> J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, the Great 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 144, no. 113, 152, nos. 173–174, 179, explicitly registers panegyrics and letters to both parties. Suggesting that the brothers Karma mthu stobs rnam gyäl, Kun spangs Lha dbang rdo rje, and Karma bstan srung dbang po (d. 1611) shared a wife or wives, *Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug, Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 85 [= *Bsod nams tshe ring, Snga rabs bod kyi srid khrims*, 167–168], states that the three were Karma phun tshogs rnam gyäl's



father. These were three of the *circa* nine sons of Zhing shag Tshe brtan rdo rje (?-?1599), the Gtsang pa Sde srid's founder. J.-U. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms, the Great 17<sup>th</sup> Century Sa skya pa Bibliophile*, 157, nos. 169-171, records three additional little texts that appear to give the names of three other brothers, namely, Nam mkha' tsho dbang phun tshogs dbang gi rgyal po and Mi dbang Mthu stobs dbang po; according to the latter Mi dbang [Bsod noms] mthu stobs dbang po[i sde] and Bdag po Bsod noms phun tshogs were brothers. But here we have to be careful and do some more research, for Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 345 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 160], characterizes Bsod noms dbang po'i sde as Shar kha Mi dbang, that is, a ruler of the Shar kha family that lorded over Rgyal mkhar rtse, and notes that his son was Chos rje Ngag dbang bsod noms rgyal mtshan. For Zhing shag pa's nine sons as the "nine incarnate devils" (*bdud sprul dgu*), Dalai Lama V cites *Bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus kyi lung bstan* of Mnga' ris Pan chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487-1542) and Rigs 'dzin Legs ldan pa (16<sup>c.</sup>), that is, Legs ldan rdo rje, in his 1642 chronicle as well as in his 1654 biography of his relation Ngag gi dbang po (1580-1639); see, respectively, *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 189-190, and *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho, Bka' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar* (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1972), 707-708. For the Be ri king, see P. Schwieger, "Towards a Biography of Don yod rdo rje, King of Be ri," *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, Indica et Tibetica, Band 34 (Swisttal Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1999), 247-260. Additional information on Don yod rdo rje and who was probably his father may now be gleaned, for example, from the biographies of 'Phags pa Lha III Mthong ba don ldan (1562-1604) and 'Phags pa Lha IV Chos kyi rgyal po (1605-1643) of Chab mdo in *'Phags pa lha sku phreng rim byon, Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, vol. 9, ed. Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Tsho rgyal (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995), 32-34, 42-43, and in Shākya lha dbang's 1640 *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, ed. Bsod noms tsho brtan, *Gangs can rig mzdod 35* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2001), 178-181 - Shākya lha dbang [diplomatically!] makes no mention of Don yod rdo rje in his *Life* of 'Phags pa lha IV which runs to 1640! Dated 1627, A mes zhabs's letter to him that is contained in the former's miscellaneous writings declares that the "Sde srid Gtsang pa and I" had a close patron-patronized relationship; see *Dpal sa skya pa śākya'i dge bsnyen paṇḍita theg pa mchog gi rnal 'byor pa sngags 'chang ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms kyiis rang lo so gsum yan gyi 'phrin yig dang gdams pa'i skor sogs thor bu 'ga' zhis phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa*, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 434. One of the earliest references to an ethnic grouping in Central Tibet called Be ri may very well be the one found in the narrative where Spyian snga Rin chen ldan (?1202-?) gives an especially poignant description of the havoc they and the Mongols (*hor*) had wreaked on the land when the Mongols invaded Central Tibet in 1240; see his biography of his master Yang dgon pa Rgyal mtshan dpal (1213-1258), *Chos kyi rgyal po rgyal ba yang dgon pa'i rnam par thar pa, Bka' brgyud gser 'phreng chen mo*, vol. 1 (Dehradun: Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970), 608. For the Be ri in Khams, see now also Li Zhiying 李志英, "Kangqu 'baili tusi' kao 康区 '白利土司' 考 [A Study of the Khams Region's 'Beri Chieftain']," *Zangxue xuekan 藏学学刊 / Bod rig pa'i dus deb / Journal of Tibetology* 13 (2015), 121-136, and Shi Shuo 石硕 and Li Zhiying, "Kangqu baili tusi dunyuejie de zongjiao taidu tantao - jianlun gushi han xiaomie baili tusi 康区白利土司顿月

March of 1642, both forces attacked the fortress of Bsam grub rtse, whereby the aforesaid account in Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub's biography has it that they needed more than nine months finally to take it. Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub, who had also been involved in performing apotropaic rituals on behalf of Karma bstan skyong dbang po and his political as well as military ambitions passed away on March 10, 1642. He was a probable victim of the siege. But the date of his death calls into question not only the origin but also the accuracy of the curious "nine months" of the passage. The sketch of his life contains an unusual afterword that reflects its equally unusual circumstances. In this interesting piece, we learn that Karma bstan skyong dbang po's ministers felt that his passing was a sign that the fortress would soon be lost. At this time, A mes zhabs had come to Bkra shis lhun po, the see of Paṅ chen Bla ma I. Making sumptuous offerings to the Paṅ chen Bla ma, the grand-financial secretary (*phyag mzod chen mo*) of the Dga' ldan pho brang, that is, Bsod noms rab brtan, Gushri Qan and others, he was able to secure the remains of his erstwhile teacher Kun dga' bsod noms lhun grub from the fortress. After staying in Gnas rnying rgyal khang, he took the remains to Rtse gdong Lhun po rtse on April 13/14, where he presided over a lengthy set of funerary rites.

It will have been readily noticed that, in terms of the chronology of events, the "nine months" of this account does not at all square with the one that the autobiographies of Dalai Lama V and Paṅ chen Bla ma IV have in common, beginning with the narrative of the latter's departure from his see of Bkra shis lhun po on the eight day of the fourth Mongol month, that is, on May 18, 1641 to his assumption of the abbacy of Zhwa lu monastery on the second day of the sixth Mongol month, that is, on June 29, 1642.<sup>17</sup> In fact, Dalai Lama V states *inter alia* that victory over the Gtsang pa Sde srid was achieved as early as April 13, 1642! The number "nine" is thus clearly a mistake for number "one" and can perhaps be most readily explained by the fact the numbers "1" and "9" are graphically somewhat similar, especially in cursive *dbu med* manuscripts. Many of the treasures, including manuscripts, from Bsam grub rtse and probably also from the large monastery Karma bstan skyong dbang po had founded just above Bkra shis lhun po, were taken to 'Bras spungs as the spoils of war.

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杰的宗教态度探讨——兼论固始汗消灭白利土司[A Probe into the Religious Attitude of Don yod rgyal, the Khams Region's Beri Chieftain – as well as on Gushri Qan's Elimination of the Beri Chieftain]," *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学 3 (2016), 40-48.

<sup>17</sup> See, respectively, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, Stod cha (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 205-228, and *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 200-207.

As noted, the manuscript of vol. Na of the incomplete set of Bla ma dam pa's oeuvre was part of the holdings of the C.P.N. library. In this connection, I might mention one other notable literary treasure that I found while doing research in this treasure store. This is the *\*Pho brang bsam grub rtse'i dkar chag*, of which a probably unique, albeit slightly incomplete *dbu med* manuscript in three hundred and ten folios on high-quality paper is [or was] located under catalog no. 004351; the indigenous catalog number is 'bras snang [read: nang] 116, meaning that it was part of the library system of 'Bras spungs monastery. While its colophon says nothing about the identity of the author, this impressive inventory of the religious objects and murals was at least in part compiled by a certain 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams bkra shis grags pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. He is of course none other than A mes zhabs. Extending from parts Ka to Sa, sections Kha to Nga, fols. 19-57, are missing, but the manuscript does note, on fol. 10-b, that A mes zhabs had been involved in its compilation. The in-house catalog of the Nationalities Library of the C.P.N. tentatively titled it *\*Pho brang bsam grub rtse'i dkar chag*. When the manuscript resurfaces, it will reveal that it is a catalog of the religious objects, including the murals, of the new monastery of Chos 'khor bde [read: sde] chen which Karma bstan skyong dbang po had begun to construct in 1638, not coincidentally right above Bkra shis lhun po. It was to be built on a very grand scale indeed. Arriving in Shigatse during the first week of October of 1637, Kun dga' bsod nams lhun grub was told by Karma bstan skyong dbang po of his plans.<sup>18</sup> Once, on a visit to Rgyal mkhar rtse as a young man, he had been so impressed by its great monastery and stupa that he wished to build something like it for himself. The site on which it was constructed was on the hillside above Bkra shis lhun po and the implications of this location must have been obvious to all. This is also underscored by its nickname "outshining/overcoming Bkra shis [lhun po]" (*bkra shis zil gnon*).<sup>19</sup> Translating intention into action, work on its construction began after the Rtse gdong hierarch had consecrated the site on March 25/26, 1638. Clearly an insulting punch on the chin and an eye sore for Bkra shis lhun po and Paṅ chen Bla ma I personally, the construction of the monastery had been completed and its statuary and other sacred objects, both large and small, had already been consecrated, when Gushri Qan surrounded the fortress with his army, setting the stage for its imminent destruction. In an entry for the year 1645, Dalai Lama V writes that Qatun Dalai Kun ci, the Qan's wife, offered the wood and

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<sup>18</sup> For this and what follows, see Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 97-105 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 26-29].

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, *Paṅ chen Blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 201.

other building materials from "Gtsang's large monastery" for the purpose of restoring Lhasa's Jo khang temple.<sup>20</sup> To be sure, "Gtsang's large monastery" refers to Chos 'khor sde chen. And Rag ra Sprul sku is definitely much more specific when he writes<sup>21</sup>:

*gtsang chos sde gsar pa'i shing rnams drangs nas jo khang  
khyams khra [read: r[w]a] chen po bzo bkod phun sum tshogs  
pa bskrun / pho brang bsam grub rtse'i rten mchod dngos  
dpyad [read: spyad] khal rgyab stong phrag brgal ba dbus su  
drangs /*

Having taken the wood of Gtsang's new monastery, they constructed the Jo khang temple's superbly crafted, large courtyard. More than one thousand pack-animal loads of Pho brang Bsam grub rtse's religious items and material things were taken to Dbus [read: to the Dga' ldan pho brang!].

He adds that a portion of the spoils of war was used towards the construction of the Potala Palace [in 1645] in which Dkon mchog chos 'phel (1573–1645), one of Dalai lama V's main tutors, had an important hand - it is worthy of mention apropos of the Potala Palace that the name "Potala" already occurs in connection with the Dmar po ri, the hill on which the palace was built, in the biography of the Tshal pa myriarch (*khri dpon*) Smon lam rdo rje (1284–1347) that was written by his son, Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309–1364), alias Bde ba'i blo gros.<sup>22</sup> To be sure, the end of the Gtsang pa Sde srid regime in Shigatse did not mean the end of warfare. The Dga' ldan pho brang's opponents were scattered far and wide, and for several years thereafter Gushri Qan and Bsod nams rab brtan were engaged in "pacification" operations in various principalities from Gtsang to Kongpo in southeastern Tibet. These operations coincided with a radical redistribution of landed property – this included entire hamlets and villages - whereby the Dga' ldan pho brang repaid its allies for their military and economic support against the Gtsang pa Sde srid and its allies. Needless to say, the ravages of war and the continuous political unrest had taken their severe toll on the general population, farmers

<sup>20</sup> *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, Stod cha, 258.

<sup>21</sup> *Rgyal rabs chos 'byung shel dkar me long mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan*, 292.

<sup>22</sup> See *Dpal ldan bla ma dge sbyong chen po zhes pa tshal pa drung chen smon lam pa'i rnam thar*, sixty-nine-folio *dbu med* manuscript, 19a, in P.K. Sørensen and G. Hazod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, vol. 2 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

and herdsmen most of them, and the war, albeit on a less technological scale, must have given rise to what is nowadays rather insidiously called "collateral damage." It is in this sense that we must take Byams pa bsam gtan rgya mtsho's note in his biography of A mes zhabs<sup>23</sup>:

*sprul lo nas bzung lo gsum gyi ring / dbus gtsang gyi ljongs  
'dir mu ge chen pos nyam thag par gyur pa'i tshe / skye 'gro  
rnams kyi bde thabs la dgongs /*

When in this region of Dbus and Gtsang the population was afflicted by a great famine during three years beginning with the snake-year [1641], A mes zhabs thought about a good turn for the people.

It would appear that "thinking" was apparently all he effectively did. Like most social elites, the Tibetan intellectual elite and the literature it has produced are generally quite mute when it comes to depicting the underbelly of everyday life in Tibet for any time period. We usually do not read about such things, but we can begin to imagine what those on the lower rungs of Tibetan society must have gone through when we read what Mi pham phun tshogs shes rab, the author of the 1688 biography of the 'Brug pa hierarch Cog grwa Mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po (1617–1680), wrote about the harrowing consequences these wars had for the better situated<sup>24</sup>:

*...bod dbus gtsang du mu ge chen po lo gsum bstud mar  
byung nas / ya rabs dang dge sbyong rnam par dag pa rnams  
zas kyi lhag ma la re / bkres pas nyen nas mi sha zos par lang  
shor gyis bu tsha brkus bsad kyis za / dngos po bzang po dag  
rtswa ltar dor/*

...a huge famine having repeatedly occurred for three years [1642-1644] in Tibet's Dbus and Gtsang, the upper classes and the pure clergy were hoping for leftover [or: surplus] food. Pained with hunger, eating human flesh,

<sup>23</sup> *Dpal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar yon tan rin po che 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, 602. The 1641-1643 famine is also briefly registered in A mes zhabs' biography in Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs go mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, 364-365 [= *Sajia shixi shi xubian*, tr. Wang, 169].

<sup>24</sup> See the Rje btsun rdo rje 'chang dngos mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i zlos gar, *The Biography of the Second Sding po che Cog grwa mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang* (Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1984), 367.

they are eating the [people's] sons and grandsons out of habit through abduction and murder. Good things were abandoned like a [useless] root.

The same biography also notes in an entry for the year 1652 that Cog grwa had wished to acquire an important religious object, the so-called Thub dbang zangs thang ma of the historical Buddha, and a small number of Bka' brgyud pa manuscripts from Bsam grub rtse.<sup>25</sup> His wish was not granted, but the passage suggests that the fortress had not [yet] been fully emptied of its sacred objects and also that it was not fully destroyed.

The vast majority of the manuscripts that were housed at the C.P.N. were repatriated to the Tibetan Autonomous Region in 1993. Reports have it that many were redistributed to those monasteries when they could be identified as the sources for those manuscripts that had been initially collected from them in the early 1960s, apparently at the order of then Premier Zhou Enlai, and when, indeed, they were still standing and had not been pulverized during the "Cultural Revolution." It is one of the ironies of history that this huge collection was saved from the ravages of that period. However, its bulk is now firmly deposited behind lock and key in the cellars of the Tibet Museum in Lhasa. Some were also stored in the Public Library in Lhasa, which is located across the street from the museum and has excellent facilities for keeping manuscripts. It is unclear why most of these should be stored away in the museum's basement. Thus, for the moment, they are to all intents and purposes inaccessible to any interested scholarly party, whether Tibetan, Chinese, or "other.

Before detailing the contents of volume Na, the last volume this collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings - its pagination runs from fols. 408 to 507, and forms part of the volume that includes incomplete portions of vols. Nya, Ta, and Tha of his oeuvre -, I will take advantage of the opportunity provided here to draw attention to several other sources on the life of this scion of Sa skya's Rin chen sgang Residence that I was able to recover since the publication of Part One, now already some twenty-five years behind me.<sup>26</sup> Further, I will single out

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<sup>25</sup> *Rje btsun rdo rje 'chang dngos mi pham ngag dbang snyan grags dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i zlos gar*, 402.

<sup>26</sup> A late biography of him was authored by Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728–1791), alias 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje II, and is found in his 1777 study of the life of Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) and his previous embodiments; see the *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i 'khrungs rabs kyi phreng ba gtam du brjod pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i ljong shing*, *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971), 364–389. This sketch seems to be based on the one written by A mes zhabs in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 265–

a manuscript of his treatise on Sanskrit grammar, a work that was not included in the set of volumes of his oeuvre of that formed the basis for my earlier paper. As stated above in n. 4, the texts included in vols. Nya, Ta, and Tha, are contained in vols. 1 and 2 of the 2016 Lhasa edition. And it so happens that his treatise on Sanskrit grammar is found in vol. 25 of that edition. A tradition that goes at least back to 1478 has it that Bla ma dam pa composed the chronicle that is best known under the titles of *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* or *Chos 'byung gsal ba'i me long*.<sup>27</sup> I will refer to this work as *Rgyal rabs* and I will try to show that, in spite of recent affirmations to this effect, there is plenty of evidence, even if it may not be "completely water-tight," for maintaining that this work did not originate from his pen and that we must continue questioning the identity of the author. The paper then concludes with an annotated catalog of the texts contained in volume Na and the relevant portions of vols. 1 and 2 of the Lhasa edition of his oeuvre.

### 1. Further Literary Sources on Bla ma dam pa's Life and Scholarship

In Part One, I signaled the recovery of an exemplar of the biography of Bla ma dam pa by his disciple Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo<sup>28</sup> - I

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97 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 190-208], for which see Part One of this paper, as is also suggested by its listing of his oeuvre on pp. 383-384. See also the summary of Bla ma dam pa's life in K.-H. Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der Lcang skya Qutuqtus*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 104 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 113-121. A volume dedicated to his biographies and sketches of his life is found in his *Collected Works*, ed. Bsod noms tshe brtan, Thub bstan smon lam et al. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 26.

<sup>27</sup> See P.K. Sørensen's outstanding study and translation of this work in his *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 128 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994), which represents a milestone in Tibetan historiography. Another but much inferior translation may be found in *The Clear Mirror: A Traditional Account of Tibet's Golden Age. Sakyapa Sonam Gyaltzen's Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogy*, tr. M. Taylor and Lama Choedak Yuthok (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1996). Both studies agree that its author was Bla ma dam pa.

<sup>28</sup> The dates 1302-1380 given for him in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod noms rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 111, should be changed to 1315-1379/80. The former is taken from the details of his life in 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal's (1392-1481) *Deb gter sngon po*, repr. L. Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976), 691-692 [*The Blue Annals*, tr. G. Roerich (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 787-788, wrongly has 1243 to 1320]. They are repeated in the texts by Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596) and Dngos grub rgya mtsho, a disciple of the latter, that

shall henceforth refer to him as Lo tsā ba - that I found among the holdings of the said library. In late 1993, shortly after Part One was published, I discovered in the same library another, this time a somewhat more carefully calligraphed *dbu med* witness of this work that was cataloged under no. 002780(1). It consists of sixty-seven folios and shows some minor orthographic deviations from the text that I had used earlier. One of these manuscripts formed the basis for the computer-generated text that was published in Kathmandu.<sup>29</sup> Luckily,

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were published as *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed / Tha snyad rig gnas lnga'i byung tshul*, ed. Nor brang O rgyan, *Gangs can rig mdzod 4* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 184-185, 304-305. On the other hand, writing in 1732, Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho gives 1315–1392 as his dates, that is, one duodenary cycle later, in his *Shel dkar chos 'byung. History of the "White Crystal"*, tr. Pasang Wangdu and H. Diemberger with G. Hazod (Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 70, 72. Bo dong Paṅ chen 'Jigs med grags pa (1373/75–1451), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal, appears to have written a fullfledged biography of him – the Lo tsā ba was his paternal great-uncle -, and he refers to his study of the transmission of Cakrasamvara in the *Gsang ba 'dus pa'i lung rigs man ngag ston par byed pa'i bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vol. 64 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1972), 451. This work has yet to surface, however. A somewhat larger study of his life is given in Bya btang pa Padma gar dbang's 1538 *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor (sic) las paṅ chen sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje [g]sum gyi bla ma [b]rgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnga chen, dbu can* manuscript in one hundred and twenty-seven folios, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running no. L4703, reel no. L-450/6, 62a-66a. Whereas the Lo tsā ba authored the biography of his own maternal uncle Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276–1342) - his mother was Ye shes sman ne, Dpang Lo tsā ba's sister (*lcam mo*) -, his own life was studied by Zhwa lu pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365–1448). At least there is a note to this effect in Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas' (1801-after 1867) *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 11. This very informative work has now been published as *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Yi [= 54] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 1-136, and the dates 1315–1379/80 are taken from it. One further correction should be made, this one anent the locale Gnas drug with which Blo gros mtshungs med, another disciple of Bla ma dam pa, is associated. While I wrote in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 128, that it refers to a place in Khams — there is indeed a place called Gnas drug that is located not far from Sde dge —, it refers here in all likelihood to the so-called Gnas drug temple (*lha khang*) of Sa skya, a structure located directly south of the Rin chen sngang Residence. For example, A mes zhabs provides a notice in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 236 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 172] that it was Imperial Preceptor Dharmapālarakṣita's (1268–1287) place of birth.

<sup>29</sup> See *Sa skya pa'i bla ma kha shas kyi rnam thar dang sa skya pa min pa'i bla ma kha shas kyi rnam thar*, vol. 1 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2008), 75-198.



I was also able to recover an *dbu med* manuscript of Dpal ldan tshul khrim's study of Bla ma dam pa's life in twenty folios that was cataloged under no. 002465(13). Dpal ldan tshul khrim was yet another one of his disciples. However, arguably of somewhat greater importance than the discovery of additional manuscripts of these two texts is that the same library also has at least one *dbu med* manuscript of the undated biography written by Karma pa Byams chos pa Byang chub rgyal mtshan (?-?)<sup>30</sup> — the text has "Karmā pa" instead of "Karma pa" and "Karmma pa" is also an attested variant of this epithet —, alias 'Be Byams chos pa. Till now generally unavailable, it is titled *Chos rje bsod noms rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsodus*, bears catalog no. 002813(3), and consists of forty-four folios. The recovery of this work by yet another one of his disciples now happily completes the three primary sources A mes zhabs explicitly acknowledged he had at his disposal while writing his own biographical sketch of Bla ma dam pa in his study of Sa skya monastery and her abbots.<sup>31</sup> Both the title and final page of this manuscript have the marginal notation of "A"; the former has at its upper center the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi ra 152* and simply titles it the *Chos rje bsod noms rgyal*

<sup>30</sup> He is mentioned by name in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Deb gter sngon po*, 452 [*The Blue Annals*, tr. G. Roerich, 518] in the list of Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje's (1340–1383) disciples. A brief sketch of his life is found in Si tu Pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas' (1699/1700-1774) *Bsgrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba* [*History of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa Sect*], vol. I (New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and Kesang Legshay, 1972), 397. Born in 'Be in Mdo khams, he owed his name in religion "Byang chub rgyal mtshan" to Bla ma dam pa; he also studied in Bo dong E monastery. Thereafter, he trained in basic Bka' brgyud pa teachings under Karma pa IV. The prefix "Karma pa" simply implies that he was considered a member of the Karma sect of the Bka' brgyud school. Apparently, he spent most of his adult life in meditation in Spu ru brag. Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen sde, yet another disciple of Bla ma dam pa, mentions [Karma pa] Byams chos pa's biography in his brief note of Bla ma dam pa's life in his chronicle of 1376; see the *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 163. Finally, there is little doubt that "Byams chos pa" is a title, indicating that the person who bore it had a solid reputation for his expertise in the so-called Maitreya (Byams pa) treatises (*chos*). For example, in his 1663 biography of Stag tshang Ras pa Ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1574–1651), Ngag dbang kun dga' lhun grub (1616–1675) mentions another person with this same title, namely a certain [Dka' bcu] Byams chos pa; see his *Au ḍi yā na* (sic) *ba ngag dbang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bris baidhūrya* (sic) *dkar po'i rgyud mang* [xylograph], 12b. Dpang Lo tsā ba even mentions a "Kashmirian Byams chos pa" (*kha che'i byams chos pa*) in his undated commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, for which see the *Chos mngon pa kun la btus pa kyi rgya cher 'grel pa shes bya gsal byed* (Dehra Dun: Sakya College, 1999), 76 [= two hundred seventy-two-folio *dbu med* manuscript, 27b]. A systematic search will no doubt turn up many more intellectuals with this title.

<sup>31</sup> *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po, 296 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 207-208].

*mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus pa*. The rather uninformative colophon but states, on fol. 43b, that the author wrote it in Sa skya. The text actually consists of two parts; the main body of this work extends from fols. 1b to 38b, to which is appended the so-called *Skyes mchog de'i dus tha ma'i rnam par thar pa* or *Chos kyi rje 'gro ba'i bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pa'i dus tha ma'i rnam par thar pa* on fols. 38a-43b. It is of course devoted to a detailed description of his last days and passing. I am inclined to believe that such an "appendix," one that one often finds in the earlier biographical literature anent the lives of religious hierarchs, emulate or are modeled after the *Mahāparinivāṇasūtra*, which recounts the last days of the historical Buddha and his passing. Fol. 44a of the manuscript — this folio has the marginal notation "A" — contains the following quatrain and an exclamation "Virtue!" in a different hand:

*dpal ldan bla ma'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus 'di //*  
*tshul khriims rgyal mtshan rang nyid dran gso dang //*  
*skal ldan gzhan la'ang phan par 'gyur snyam nas //*  
*lha gnyan rdzong ri rtse dgu'i mgul du bris //*

*dge'o //*

The verse tells us that this particular manuscript was written by a Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan in Ri rtse dgu of Lha gnyan fortress for the sake of refreshing his memory of Bla ma dam pa and for the benefit of others. On fol. 23a, Karma pa Byams chos pa notes that Bla ma dam pa was ritually installed or anointed (*dbang skur*) as *bdag chen*, "grand-abbot," of Sa skya upon the death of his elder brother Don yod dpal bzang po (b. 1310) in 1344, whom he therefore succeeded to this post. But he is silent on the precise duration of his term of office. The grand-abbacy of Sa skya was located in the Bzhi thog residence, as it had been the see of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), the fifth patriarch of the Sa skya school. Further, while he also included a listing of his master's oeuvre, on fols. 29b-30b, which, in terms of its sequence of texts noted, deviates from the catalog given by the Lo tsā ba, it is by and large identical with the one given later by A mes zhabs. This might suggest that he was working with a manuscript edition of Bla ma dam pa's oeuvre that was different from the one described by the Lo tsā ba, and that A mes zhabs might have made use of it.<sup>32</sup> However, like the

<sup>32</sup> A mes zhabs also knows of a twenty-five-volume edition of his collected writings, for which see his 1638 *Dpal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi nying kha 'khor lo sdom pa'i chos byung ba'i tshal legs par bshad pa bde mchog kun gsāl ba'i nyin byed*, Collected Works, vol. 16 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 225.

Lo tsā ba, but unlike A mes zhabs, Karma pa Byams chos pa also suggests that Bla ma dam pa wrote four works on *tshad ma*, Buddhist logic and epistemology, something that is not confirmed by the collections of his oeuvre that are under discussion.<sup>33</sup> A seven-folio *dbu med* manuscript of only the second part of the biography that is cataloged under no. 002816(3) states the author to have been "Byang chub rgyal mtshan, who is known as Dkar ba Byams chos pa," and lacks the afterword. None of the manuscripts of this work suggest when Karma pa Byams chos pa may have written it. But since Yar lung Jo bo cites it in his chronicle, we can be sure that he penned it shortly after Bla ma dam pa's death. Finally, as far as the date of Bla ma dam pa's passing is concerned, he dates it, on fol. 40a, to have fallen on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the wood-female-hare year, that is, July 23, 1375, and thus sides with the one given by the Lo tsā ba.

The biographies of Bla ma dam pa by the Lo tsā ba, Dpal ldan tshul khriims, and Karma pa Byams chos pa were conveniently reproduced *in toto* in the 2016 Lhasa edition of Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*.<sup>34</sup>

Two additional *dbu med* manuscripts of hitherto unknown biographies of Bla ma dam pa have surfaced as well. The first of these is a synoptic seven-folio study of his life authored by Rin chen rgyal mtshan, yet another disciple of Bla ma dam pa. It bears the title of *Chos kyi rje rin po che bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pa'i rnam thar*, is cataloged under no. 002779(12), and has the indigenous catalog number of *phyi ra 110*. The text was written at the behest of a certain "Bla ma Bde mchog pa," obviously one known for his expertise in the Cakrasamvara cycle, whom I am unable to identify at present. Who was this Rin chen rgyal mtshan? At least three different individuals would seem to come into question. The first might be the Rin chen rgyal mtshan whose dates are 1353 to 1435. A complete *dbu can* manuscript of his biography, *Mkhas grub rin chen rgyal mtshan gyis (sic) rnam thar*, in twenty folios is extant under its indigenous catalog number of *phyi ra 164*.<sup>35</sup> It was written by his disciple Sangs rgyas dpal

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<sup>33</sup> The three works that make up volume Da of the incomplete edition of his writings to which this and my earlier paper are devoted — see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 143-145 — have now been published in *The Collection (sic) Works of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan*, volume-Da (Dehra Dun: International Buddhist Academy & Sakya College, 1999) as well as in *Collected Works*, vol. 5 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2007). See now also *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vols. 3 and 4.

<sup>34</sup> See, respectively, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 1-111, 193-214, 135-192.

<sup>35</sup> An incomplete *dbu med* manuscript of his biography in eight folios is listed under C.P.N. catalog no. 004399(3); its indigenous catalog number is *phyi ra 193*. Another

bzang in the mountain retreat of Dpal Bde chen sdings at an unspecified time. We learn there that he was born in the patrilinear line (*gdung rus*) of the Ldong zi ma khum bu. His father had been chief-secretary (*dpon yig*) Bzang po dpal (?–1355), a secretary of sorts (*yig mkhan*) of Bzhi thog pa Mkhas btsun chen po Nam mkha' legs pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1305–1343), Bla ma dam pa's half-brother and a scion of the Bzhi thog Residence; his mother was Jo sras ma Dpal chen (?–1355). Upon their passing, he was taken care of by one of his paternal uncles, 'Dul ba 'dzin pa Rin chen 'od mdzes pa, and studied with a number of scholars including Bu ston, Bla ma dam pa and the Lo tsā ba. Known as Shangs pa Dkar po, indicative of being affiliated with the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud school, his patrons included Mi'i dbang po Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1360–1408) of Sa skya's Dus mchod Residence.<sup>36</sup> In spite of his connections with Sa skya, there is absolutely no immediate, let alone indirect, evidence that he was the author of this biography of Bla ma dam pa.

The second Rin chen rgyal mtshan was a scion of the House of Byang [in La stod]. Born in 1345, he was a son of Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (?1323–?75), the ruler of Byang myriarchy and perhaps one of the last Grand-Governors (*dpon chen*) of Sa skya, and his third wife Ma cig Dpal ldan 'bum.<sup>37</sup> The brief sketch of his life

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short biography of him, the *Shangs dkar ba rin chen rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* by an unidentified author, is contained in the *Shangs pa gser 'phreng. A Golden Rosary of Lives of Masters of the Shangs-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa Schools* (Leh: Sonam W. Tashigang, 1970), 631-639.

<sup>36</sup> On this bailan prince, see L. Petech, "Princely Houses of the Yüan Period Connected with Ti-bet," *Indo-Tibetan Studies. Papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. T. Skorupski (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990), 261-262. For the Bailan Wang hierarchs in general, see Chen Qingying, "Yuanzhao zai xizang suofengde bailan wang 元朝在西藏所奉的白蘭王 [The Installation of the Bailan Wang of the Yuan Dynasty in Tibet]," *Xizang Yanjiu 西藏研究 Tibetan Research* 4 (1983), 29-33, which is reprinted in Chen Qingying, *Zangxue lunwen ji 藏學論文集*, vol. Shang 上 [1] (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2006), 413-421; for an English translation, see "The Post of the Pa-len-dbang (King Palen) Installed in Tibet by the Yuan Court," *Tibet Studies. Journal of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences* 2 (1989), 37-45.

<sup>37</sup> See Dpal ldan chos kyi bzang po, *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che bstar ba, Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa*, Series 1 (New Delhi: T. Tsepal Taikhang, 1974), 179-181 [= Dpal ldan chos skyong(!) bzang po, *Byang pa lho bdag po'i gdung rab[s], dbu med* manuscript in eight folios, C.P.N. catalog no. ?, 3a = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs, dbu med* manuscript in twenty-four folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002833(10), 6a-7a]. E. Sperling, "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lineage of Byang la stod," *Zhongguo zangxue 中國藏學 [China Tibetology, Special Issue]* (1992), 275, took him to be a son of Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1332-1359) of Sa skya's Lha khang chen mo Residence, but I side with K.-H. Everding's reading of the text in his monumental *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang. Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt im Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts, Teil*

indicates that he was a very important patron of Buddhism to the point of providing the funds for having a Kanjur copied and of even being considered a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. It seems that he was famous for being an excellent practitioner, so that upon his passing his relics were treasured. The only problem with him is that he had several important titles, namely those of Duke (*gu'i gung* < Ch. *guogong* 國公), judge (*'jar go che* < Mon. *ṣaryači*), Grand Instructor, and *chang* (*chang* < Ch.? *jing* 境) Duke, none of which are used in the colophon's identification of its author.

The third is Spos khang pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1358–1430). A very brief biography of this man is included in Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po's (b. 1444) tract on the life and times of the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrībhadrā (1129–1225) and the transmission of the monastic *vinaya* code he introduced in Tibet during his stay there from 1204 to 1214.<sup>38</sup> There we read that Rin chen rgyal mtshan was ordained as a monk in 1367 in Bla ma dam pa's private quarters at Bsam yas whereby Bla ma dam pa performed the duties of overseer of the ritual proceedings. Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po suggests that he was a prolific author, but so far only a manuscript of his large 1423

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2. *Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung I, Band 6(2) (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 2000), 460, where he is identified as Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's son. This is confirmed in Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog's (1507-1566) undated biography of Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395-1475), who was Rin chen rgyal mtshan's grandson, for which see *Rigs ldan chos kyi rgyal po rnam rgyal grags pa bzang po'i rnam par thar pa rab bsngags snyan pa'i 'brug sgra* [Ngam ring xylograph], 6b-8a [= *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u zhing chen grangs nyung mi rigs kyi gna' dpe legs sgrig gzhung las khang and Kan lho bod sman zhib 'jug khang, 1985), 18-26]; see also Dalai Lama V's remarks in his *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho*, 462, where he states that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's eldest son Rin chen rgyal mtshan occupied the position of a VIP (*chen po*).

<sup>38</sup> *Mkhan rgyud* (sic) *rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar, dbu med* manuscript in twenty-five folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002775(6), 18a-b. For this work, see K.R. Schaeffer, *Dreaming the Great Brahmin. Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 48-56, 75-8, and now also J. Heimbel, "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadrā's Vinaya Tradition," *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2013), 188-241. For another short piece by the same author, my "On the Composition and Printings of the *Deb gter* [or: *ther*] *sngon po* by 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481)," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (2006), 14, [www.thdl.org?id=T2714](http://www.thdl.org?id=T2714).

commentary on Sa skya Paṅḍita's famous *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* has been published.<sup>39</sup>

Whoever he may turn out to be, this Rin chen rgyal mtshan observes that Bla ma dam pa's passing took place in the morning of the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the wood-female-hare year, that is, on August 22, 1375. It would thus appear that either the "seventh month" is a mistake for the "sixth month," or that a different calendar was used!

The second biography was written by another one of his disciples, namely a certain Btsun pa Bsod nams yon tan. It is titled *Chos rje rin po che'i rnam thar byin rlabs kyi gter mdzod*, bears catalog no. 002768(2), and consists of twenty-seven folios. According to its colophon, it was composed at the request of a *drung* Chos rje and a lady Ma cig Byang chub sems ma, both of whom I am at present unable to identify. Bsod nams yon tan refers to several earlier biographies — he singles out the one by Karma pa Byams chos pa — and Bla ma dam pa's own record of the texts he had studied (*gsan yig*),<sup>40</sup> and relates that he also based himself on several oral reports of those who had known the master personally. The text was completed in a dragon year in Dpal E monastery [in Bo dong] where the scribe was Blo gros dpal bzang. The dragon year could of course be 1376, but 1388, or perhaps even 1400, are equally possible. Apparently, the manuscript had at one time belonged to a Mkhan rin po che Nam mkha' blo gros whom I am unable to identify. As did the Lo tsā ba, so also Bsod nams yon tan observes, on fol. 14b, that Bla ma dam pa had received "four jade seals [and] an edict ('jal sa < Mon. *ḡasaq*) [of appointment] of the emperor" (*gong ma'i shel gyi dam kha bzhi 'jal sa*) in the hen-year, that is, in 1345, and that he thus became abbot of the Bzhi thog Residence. He concurs with the Lo tsā ba that Bla ma dam pa passed away on July 23, 1375.

Lastly, we come to his biography that was written by Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413) in 1409.<sup>41</sup> We can deal with it in a few words, because, as Red mda' ba himself states at the end, it is more or less a précis of the Lo tsā ba's work. It, too, states that Bla ma dam pa

<sup>39</sup> It is now also reprinted in *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*, Dpal sa skya'i sdom gsum phyogs bsgrigs, vol. 2, ed. Si khron bod yig dpe rnying bsdu sgrig khang (Chengdu: ?, 2015).

<sup>40</sup> This must refer to *Bla ma bryud pa'i mtshan 'bum* that is cataloged in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), Part One," 124-125; see also *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol.1, 1-228.

<sup>41</sup> See his *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa'i rnam par thar pa*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 26, 112-134.

passed away on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the earth-female-ox year.

In terms of giving detailed chronological details about Bla ma dam pa's life, none of these studies of Bla ma dam pa's life measures up to the one that the Lo tsā ba had penned, even though Karma pa Byams chos pa's text does contain certain items not found in the former. In addition, Karma pa Byams chos pa, Rin chen rgyal mtshan, and Btsun pa Bsod noms yon tan are silent on the title of *guoshi*, "National Preceptor," that is predicated of him in the studies of the Lo tsā ba and Dpal ldan tshul khriṃs, and neither makes clear the exact number of years he spent on Sa skya's abbatial throne. There is also some disagreement about the place where he passed away. Some suggest that he passed away in Bde ba chen Snye thang. On the other hand, Karma pa Byams chos pa, and he is cited as such by Yar Lung Jo bo, holds that he died in Bsam yas monastery, and this is also the position taken by the Lo tsā ba and A mes zhabs.<sup>42</sup> Red mda' ba's study is quiet on this score.

## 2. A Manuscript of Bla ma dam pa's Exegesis of Śarvavarman's *Kalāpasūtra* / *Kātantra*

In addition to the treatises of this collection cataloged in both parts of this paper, the Tibetan library also has a manuscript registered under no. 002349(1), which I am inclined to attribute to Bla ma dam pa.<sup>43</sup> The text in question involves a study of the *Kalāpasūtra*. It was written by a "monk (*btsun pa*) Bsod noms," a signature that we do not infrequently find in the colophons of his writings. The listings of his oeuvre by the Lo tsā ba, Karma pa Byams chos pa and A mes zhabs explicitly indicate

<sup>42</sup> See also Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 30. K. Dowman, *The Power Places of Central Tibet. A Pilgrim's Guide* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc., 1988), 104-105, 152, 174, gives much "infononsense" about Bla ma dam pa. There we read that Bla ma dam pa was associated with Rgya ma Rin chen sgang monastery, which ultimately came under Sa skya control! A common name, Rin chen sgang is not always, well, Rin chen sgang. Moreover, Rdo rje gdan pa [Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1432–1496)] is alleged to have been a disciple of Bla ma dam pa as was Seng ge rgyal mtshan of Rtse thang who belonged to the Tshar pa lineage. This lineage had its inception in the writings and teachings of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566)! For the latter, see C. Stearns, *Song of the Road. The Poetic Travel Journal of Tsarchen Losal Gyatso* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2014). The last piece seems to be partly based on the now dated information provided by L. Petech in A Ferrari, *Mkhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Serie Orientale Roma XVI* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 123, n. 221.

<sup>43</sup> This work is contained in *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), vol. 25, where it is titled *Sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i brjed byang nying ngu rnam gsal*.

that he wrote an exegesis of this work, and I am wholly convinced that we will have to identify the monk Bsod nams with Bla ma dam pa. The *dbu med* manuscript bears the following particulars.

Title: *Sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka la (sic) pa'i brjed byang*

Fols. 138

The upper center portion of the title page bears the indigenous, vertically arranged catalog number:

*phyi*  
*Za*  
83

Incipit: [1b] *om svasti pradznyābhyah / sgra rig pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i brjed byang // rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang gnas rig pa'i pha rol du phyin pa dpal ldan blo gros brtan pa'i zhabs la gus par phyag 'tshal lo //*

Colophon: [138b] *ka lā pa'i brjed byang nyung ngu rnam gsal zhes bya ba : bdag nyid bdag dang bskal pa snyam pa la'ang phan pa'i ched du : btsun pa bsod nams kyis dpal ldan byang chub rtse mo'i gsung las legs par mnyan te : brjed thor bris pa'i yi ge'i rkyen / dge slong mañjushri zhes bya ba dang / thub bstan gsal byed ces bya bas sbyar te / gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skyar dbu btsugs pa nas dag [-space-] po po'i [= dwags / dags po'i] sa cha'i sdzams yul lung bzangs su legs par grub pa'o //*  
*bde legs su gyur cig / zhus // //*

This treatise is thus a *brjed byang*, a "memorandum," of lectures on the *Kalāpasūtra* given by the Lo tsā ba, who, as the invocation suggests, was fully inspired by the instructions that he had received from his mentor Dpang Lo tsā ba. What makes this manuscript all the more interesting is that it contains a plethora of glosses in an unidentified hand. Mañjushrī<sup>44</sup> (ca.1319-1370) and Thub bstan gsal byed functioned

<sup>44</sup> This Mañjushrī must of course be distinguished from the Newar *paṇḍita* by the same name who, along with Dpang Lo tsā ba, had been a master of Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po (1283–?1363). The Newar Mañjuśrī is also mentioned in Gha rung pa Lha'i rgyal mtshan's (1319–1401) biography of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361), the *Chos rje jo nang pa kun mkhyen chen po'i rnam thar, dbu med* manuscript in fifty-seven folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002815(1), fol. 16a, as well as in Dol po pa's biography that is attributed to Kun spangs pa, the *Kun mkhyen rton pa bzhi ldan gyi skyes rabs rnam thar tshigs bcad ma kun nyon tsha gdung 'phrog pa'i chos snang 'od dkar zla ba'i bsil zer, Kun mkhyen jo nang pa chen po'i skyes rabs rtogs brjod*, ed. Phur ko (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000), 422, as having been



as Bla ma dam pa's scribes; both are mentioned severally with the same function in other colophons of his oeuvre. The Lo tsā ba devoted a few lines to Mañjuśrī in the entry of his biography of Bla ma dam pa where he signals his passing and that he had served Bla ma dam pa for some forty-four years from the age of seven.<sup>45</sup> As is stated in the colophon, Bla ma dam pa had begun writing it in Sa skya, but completed it in the "good valley of the Rdzams area" in Dwags po at an unspecified date. The latter can perhaps be calculated on the basis of a close examination of his rewarding biography by the Lo tsā ba.<sup>46</sup> We are not told what might have motivated him to do so, but to all appearances Bla ma dam pa took up Sanskrit studies rather late in life. Reverting to the first person singular, the Lo tsā ba relates that "I" (*bdag gis*) taught him Sanskrit grammar for some six months while they were staying in Sman lung, in Dwags po, in 1349.<sup>47</sup> Then after Bla ma dam pa was invited to Sgam po to consecrate the "inner receptacle" (*nanng rten*) of the supreme precious one (*rin po che gong ma*) [= ?], a certain Bla ma Ston dar gifted him the hermitage of Mkhar lung bzangs in Rdzams, where the Lo tsā ba continued to teach him grammar, poetics and other texts. Armed skirmishes raged outside as this was going on. After spending the entire tiger-year (February 8–December 29, 1350)

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involved in the decorative art of Jo nang monastery's Sku 'bum that was completed during the ninth lunar month of 1333.

<sup>45</sup> See the *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, dbu can manuscript in seventy-five folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002898(6), 45a [= Ibid., *Collected Works* [of Bla ma dam pa], ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 67]. The phrase *thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, "wholesome at the beginning, the end, and the middle," is most probably an allusion to *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, 11d, although we do find it in several other works as well, such as in Asaṅga's *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* chapter of the massive compilation, the *Yogācārabhūmi*; see the *Bstan 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jig lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 75 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1997), 76.

<sup>46</sup> For what follows, see the *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 28a ff. [= Ibid., *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 42 ff.]

<sup>47</sup> This coincides with the Lo tsā ba's composition of a commentary on his teacher of Sanskrit Dpang Lo tsā ba's 1309 *Brda sprod pa'i snying po gsal ba*, for which see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," 111, n. 3. For the *Brda sprod pa'i snying po gsal ba* and the 1339 autocommentary, see now P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume Two, Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 70-5, and now also Khu byug, "Dpang Lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pas brtsams pa'i <tshogs gsum gsal ba bzhugs so> zhes pa'i gzhung don gnad bsdu skor gleng ba," *Krung go'i bod rig pa 1* (2010), 29-45, and his *Dpang Lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pa'i mdzad rjes las 'phros pa'i khong gi brda sprod dang / snyan ngag yig sgyur skor gyi bsam blo la dpyad pa blo gsal rig pa'i dga' ston* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2013).

in religious retreat, holed up in a cave without meeting anyone, a low-level party from Sa skya arrived requesting him to return to his erstwhile see. He flatly refused to go. The party was followed by the arrival of a high-level delegation from Sa skya as well as other notables from Gtsang such as Mchims Blo bzang grags pa, then abbot of Snar thang, a Mkhan chen Bsod nams bzang po and even his old teacher Bu ston. They had come to Dbus to help mediate a conflict that had flared up between Ta'i si tu and the leadership of 'Bri gung monastery that was headed by Sgom chen Kun dga' rin chen.<sup>48</sup> The quarrelling parties agreed on a tenuous accommodation and what turned out to be a very short-lived truce was concluded between the parties, after which they took the opportunity to travel to Bla ma dam pa who was still in retreat in Mkhar lung bzangs. Why they did so is unclear, but they also asked that he return to Sa skya. Again, Bla ma dam pa denied their request, and it is possible that his denial was influenced by what he perceived to have been an injustice done to Ta'i si tu by the powers of Sa skya, notably by Grand-Governor Dbang phyug brtson 'grus and his son Nang pa Grags pa dbang phyug. But he was still quite reluctant to be drawn into the political intrigues that had become part of every day life in Sa skya and, indeed, in most of Central Tibet. Instead, he went on pilgrimage in Dbus. But family matters soon were to recall him to Sa skya. The Lo tsā ba writes that a certain Ma gcig had fallen ill in E, in Bo dong, a monastery where Bla ma dam pa had studied as a young man and where also the Lo tsā ba had strong ties. We are not told who this Ma gcig was, but on receiving word of her illness, they left posthaste for Gtsang. Upon their arrival at E, certain rituals were done for the "mother and son" (*yum sras*) — notice the change from Ma gcig to *yum*, the honorific form —, but she nonetheless passed away sometime in 1352. Very elaborate funerary rituals were conducted for her at Sa skya for the requisite forty-nine days. It is not easy to identify the mother in question. Bla ma dam pa's mother's name was Ma gcig Gzhon nu 'bum (b. 1286) or Ma gcig Jo mo lug skyes, and the fact that all of Sa skya was involved in these rituals, makes me inclined to suppose that the lady in question was none other than Bla ma dam pa's aged mother, herself the daughter of the erstwhile Zhwa lu ruler Sku

<sup>48</sup> For this, see L. Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyia Period of Tibetan History*, Serie Orientale Roma LXV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 110 ff. His source is Ta'i si tu's autobiography, specifically the manuscript reproduced in the *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar* (New Delhi: T. Tsepel Taikhang, 1974), 448 ff. [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, *Gangs can rig mdzod 1* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 205 ff. = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 109 ff.]. The meeting was held, not in "early 1350," but rather during the first winter month (*dgun stod*) of the iron-tiger year, that is, in *circa* November of 1350.

zhang Mgon po dpal. He stayed near and in Sa skya until early 1354, where he was privy to instructions given by Bu ston. Meanwhile, in late 1353, war had erupted up once again in Dbus between Ta'i si tu and an alliance comprising 'Bri gung, Gya' bzang and Nang pa Grags pa dbang phyug. As a result, many temples, including Bsam yas, were damaged by fire with the 'Bri gung forces being the main culprit. Still in Gtsang, Bla ma dam pa was invited to Zhwa lu for consultations to bring about the rescue of its ruler and his distant relative Sku zhang Ye shes kun dga', who had apparently been taken hostage by Ta'i si tu. This explains why he then left for Dbus where he met with Ta'i si tu in Gong dkar<sup>49</sup> and was able to secure the Sku zhang's freedom.<sup>50</sup> This is the very first time that we witness him playing the role of crisis manager. That relations between Ta'i si tu and the Sku zhang were not optimal can be seen from the way in which, admonishing his successors, Ta'i si tu voiced his feelings towards him near the end of his autobiography. He writes of the long-standing relationship between members of his and the Sku zhang's family, and that the Sku zhang was a schemer (*thugs sna mang ba*) and an opportunist (*'gyur skyen pa*), and that he was loathe to listen to his, Ta'i si tu's, advice no matter how sincere the latter was.<sup>51</sup> But he nonetheless ends on a conciliatory note by saying:

*sngar gyi 'brel tshul la bsams nas / rang re tshang gis phan  
ma thogs na'ang / gnod pa skyel ba'i rigs mi nyan /*

Considering the earlier relationships, even if he has not been benefited by our family, do not bring him harm!

Perhaps in part because of seeing his restoration efforts at Bsam yas come to naught due to the constant political and military unrest, Bla ma dam pa could no longer sit on the sidelines, and he never returned

<sup>49</sup> Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal's 1447 *Lho rong chos 'byung*, ed. Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje, Gangs can rig mdzod 26 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994), 378, states that he built Gong dkar fortress in 1350.

<sup>50</sup> Ta'i si tu does not speak of having captured the Sku zhang in his autobiography, but does mention that Bla ma dam pa had come to Gong dkar to help resolve the outstanding issues between him and the newly appointed Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po; see *Lha rigs rlang kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 508 [= *Rlang po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 230 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 136].

<sup>51</sup> *Lha rigs rlang kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 792-793 [= *Rlang po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 353 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 262]. The first and the third wrongly have *spyen snga zhi bar gshegs pa*. The other variant readings are immaterial.

to Sa skya. In 1357, he wanted to go Dwags po to take care of and retrieve his personal books, but his plans were thwarted because once again he was drawn into politics. This means that his memorandum of the lectures on the *Kalāpasūtra* or *Kātantra* was begun in *circa* 1352-1354 and that the finishing touches were completed in perhaps 1357.

### 3. On the authorship of the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* attributed to Bla ma dam pa

As indicated earlier, Sørensen's study and deeply annotated translation of the text of the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* — it is *inter alia* also referred to as the *Chos 'byung gsal ba'i me long* and the *Me long ma* — is fundamental reading for anyone interested in Tibetan cultural and political history. Its authorship, however, still poses a problem. It is truism that we have to reckon with many bibliographical gaps in our knowledge of Tibetan historical literature from, let us say, 1375 to the early 1480s, when the *Blue Annals* or, better, the *Blue Book* was compiled — and strangely, the *Blue Book* is silent on the *Rgyal rabs*. However, the curious fact remains that no less than eight outstanding chronicles that were written or that were compiled by way of a cut-and-paste method in the interim do *not* once allude to its existence, let alone mention it by title.<sup>52</sup> In fact, the earliest explicit attribution of this work to Bla ma dam pa that I have seen — this is of course not to say that it is the earliest one! — dates from the first time printing blocks were prepared for it in Snel [or: Sne'u], in 1478, under the patronage of Dpal 'byor rgyal po,<sup>53</sup> at the time the ruler of this principality that

<sup>52</sup> These are Yar lung Jo bo's chronicle, Spyan snga ba Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's (1386–1434) 1418 *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung mig 'byed 'od stong*, *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. Zhi (Lhasa: ?, 2006), 1-179, Rgyal sras Thugs mchog rtsal's 1422 [mistitled] *Klong chen chos 'byung*, ed. Bu byung Dbang 'dus, Gangs can rig mdzod 17 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1991), Stag tshang pa Dpal 'byor bzang po's *circa* 1434 *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985) [see also below n. 70], Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal's *Lho rong chos 'byung*, Dge ye Tshul khriims seng ge's 1474 *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rin po che*, ed. Khetsun, Sh. Miyaki et al. (Kyoto: Otani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute, 2007), Bsod nams lha'i dbang po's (1423–1496) 1484 *Bka' gdams rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mor byed pa'i 'od stong*, *Two Histories of the Bka' gdams pa Tradition* (Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten, 1977), 207-393, and Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's 1494 *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: B. Jamyang Norbu, 1972). For other fifteenth century historical sources, see D. Martin [with Y. Bendor], *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 62 ff.

<sup>53</sup> He and his wife Drung Bu 'khrid Dpal 'dzom also figured as the financial sponsors of the printing of Kun mkhyen Blo gros rin chen seng ge's (15<sup>c.</sup>) works on

included the town of Lhasa.<sup>54</sup> His patronage of the carving of printing blocks should be seen as a continuation of his family's "religious works", one that was ever so closely linked to the ruling Phag mo gru dynasty. Recall that his half great-[great-]uncle Sne'u Nam mkha' bzang po sponsored the construction of 'Bras spungs monastery [in 1416], and that he and his wife or mother Chos kyi dpal 'dzom were great benefactors of the fledgling Dga' ldan pa sect.<sup>55</sup> Recall further that the xylograph explicitly attributes the work to a Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, who had completed it in an earth-dragon year, that is, in roughly 1388/9 or 1448/9, provided we remain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as dictated by its contents.

By the first half of the sixteenth century, the attribution of the *Rgyal rabs* to "our" Bla ma dam pa may have found widespread acceptance in non-Sa skya pa scholarly circles, as is in evidence from the relevant references to this work and its putative author in the large-scale 1545-1564 historical work of Dpa' bo II Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566).<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, writing somewhat earlier, in 1538, Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478-1554) first quotes the *Rgyal rabs* as the *Chos 'byung me long ma* and states that its author was *dpal ldan bla ma*, the "lustrous teacher," which, of course, is neither a personal name nor a name in religion.<sup>57</sup> This is curious, inasmuch as he does not hesitate to name the authors of other older chronicles that he had used for his work, such as 'Phags pa, Bu ston, ad nNel pa [= Sne'u pa/Snel pa] Paṅḍita Smon lam tshul khrims – it is true that while he quotes the *Deb gter / ther sngon po*, he does not identify its author by name – and that he was of course quite familiar with Bla ma dam pa and his connection with Ta'i si tu.<sup>58</sup> His comment at the end of his first quotation is critical of the *Rgyal rabs*,

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Madhyamaka philosophy, for which see *Kun mkhyen blo gros rin chen seng ge'i gsung rtsom*, Mes po'i shul bzhang, vol. 39, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 551-552.

<sup>54</sup> See now the spellbinding study of the area in and around Lhasa in P.K. Sørensen and G. Ha-zod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, 2 vols. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

<sup>55</sup> For him and his printing projects, see Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 36, n. 105, and the literature cited therein.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po, Stod cha (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 330-331, 413, Smad cha, 1405.

<sup>57</sup> See *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, vol. 1, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 4a-5 [4b-5a]. Elsewhere, the Paṅ chen refers to the text as the *Me long ma*. The passage to which he refers is found in Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 50-52,

<sup>58</sup> See *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, vol. 1, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 141, 144-145, 209. On the latter page, he mentions Bla ma dam pa by his full name.

stating that its accounting of the number of rulers from the last 'Khor bsgyur [Cakravartin = Cārumant (Mdzes ldan)] to Zas gtsang [Śuddhodana] is incomplete.

Something similar can be observed with Bla ma dam pa's own disciple Yar lung Jo bo. He was also very well connected with Sa skya monastery and her then abbot Kun dga' rin chen (1339–1399). In fact, the latter had personally requested him to compose his chronicle. Thus, writing only one year after his master's passing, Yar lung Jo bo does not once explicitly mention the *Rgyal rabs*, although he does refer to a number of other cognate works such as the *Sba bzhed* and, *expressis verbis*, to the chronicle of Bu ston, another one of his teachers, and Tshal pa Dge ba'i blo gros' (1309–1364) *Deb ther dmar po* and the sources which the latter cites by title. Note further that the *Rgyal rabs* and Yar lung Jo bo do not use Tshal pa's lay name "Kun dga' blo gros," but rather "Dge ba'i blo gros," which is the name he was given when he had taken his monk's vows. Being the loser in a bloody dispute with Ta'i si tu over, what else, property rights – at stake were *inter alia* the areas of Grwa phyi and 'Phyongs rgyas -, Ta'i si tu made Kun dga' blo gros take his religious vows in 1351 or 1352 under Don zhags pa Sangs rgyas rin chen (?-?) and thus forced him to relinquish his post as myriarch of Tshal myriarchy. This implied that he retired from active political life and that he had handed what was left of Tshal myriarchy to his younger brother Grags pa bshes gnyen. It is probably in the context of him having taken his vows that he addressed a question about the monastic code to Bu ston, whose reply is found in the latter's miscellaneous writings.<sup>59</sup>

Further, it is perhaps a telling fact that the Sa skya pa historian Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1596) does not once cite from the *Rgyal rabs* in his famous *Bstan rtsis* and, indeed, the earlier ascriptions notwithstanding, a very important early seventeenth century Sa skya pa source explicitly casts aspersions on its authorship. Namely, in his youthful history of the Sa skya Path-and-Result (*lam 'bras*) system of 1621, A mes zhabs characterizes the *Rgyal rabs* as the "present day *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, which is alleged (*zer*) to have been authored by Bla ma dam pa" (*bla ma dam pas mdzad zer ba'i deng sang rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long...*).<sup>60</sup> The word *zer* suggests at a

<sup>59</sup> See *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i gsung rab thor bu pa*, *The Collected Works of Bu ston* [and Sgra tshad pa] [Lhasa print], part 26, repr. L. Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 253-257.

<sup>60</sup> *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che'i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung rab rin po che'i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, *Lam 'bras khog phub bde mchog chos 'byung*. *Two Historical Studies of the Sa-skyapa Lam 'bras and Chakrasamvara (sic) Traditions* (New Delhi: Ngawang Topgay, 1974), 103,

minimum that A mes zhabs, the greatest historian to have appeared in the Sa skya pa school, a distant descendant of Bla ma dam pa himself, and an extremely astute bibliophile, was not altogether convinced that this work had in fact been written by his illustrious ancestor. Of course, we could attribute this to the fact that he was only twenty-four when he wrote that study and that he might have changed his mind later in his life. On the other hand, I have not come across any other work of his where he reverses his opinion, not even in his large 1636 study on the history of the Kālacakra cycle that includes a fine sketch of Bla ma dam pa's life.<sup>61</sup> While this circumstantial evidence should give us pause, we must admit at the same time that these facts are by no means iron clad or "completely water-tight" arguments, to use Sørensen's phrase, against Bla ma dam pa being the *Rgyal rabs'* author. More ammunition is required. And, indeed, more is forthcoming.

Now, in Part One of this paper, I already briefly alluded to the problem of ascribing this work to Bla ma dam pa, if only because of its absence from *all* the title listings of his oeuvre that were then available to me – we should now add Karma pa Byams chos pa's register of these in which this work is also absent! The year and the place of the *Rgyal rabs'* composition given in the colophon of the xylographs and manuscripts that others and I have been able to consult are the earth-male-dragon year and Bsam yas monastery. The only earth-male-dragon year that occurred during Bla ma dam pa's lifetime is the one that fell in 1328/1329, and this would clearly be too early. Moreover, in 1328/1329, he had absolutely no connection with Bsam yas. This began only much later in his life, namely, in 1347. There is little utility in reviewing the early secondary literature on this issue, as Sørensen has already inimitably done this quite exhaustively.<sup>62</sup> Suffice it to note here that Yamaguchi Zuihō proposed to amend the "earth-male-dragon" year to the "earth-male-monkey," that is, January 21, 1368 to February 8, 1369, on the grounds that *'brug* and *spre'u* are sufficiently orthographically similar in certain *dbu med* scripts as to be susceptible to confusion.<sup>63</sup> This found further substantiation when he and

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and Brag dgon Zhabs drung, *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, 6.

<sup>61</sup> *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos 'byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i shing rta*, Collected Works, vol. 19 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000), 115-122.

<sup>62</sup> See P.K. Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study* (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1986), 29-33; for what follows, see also his *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 31-34, 56-57.

<sup>63</sup> Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, "On the Author and Date of the *Rgyal rabs rnam kyi byung tshul gsal ba'i me long*," Miscellaneous Paper 31, *The International Conference on China Border Area Studies*, Taipei, April 23-30, 1985, 1-18. We may add that Liu

Sørensen did a chronological calculation on the basis of the *Rgyal-rabs*-internal evidence as well as, in Sørensen's opinion, on some reports made by Bla ma dam pa's contemporaries.<sup>64</sup> The internal evidence is based on the author of the *Rgyal rabs* having taken Bu ston's "calculations of the Buddha's doctrine" (*bstan rtsis*) as found in his well known chronicle and the corresponding calculations of the early Sa skya pa scholars such as Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo (1142–1182) and Sa skya Paṇḍita as his point of departure – I should add that Bu ston also used the latter. In both cases it is clear that the author of the *Rgyal rabs* calculated his chronology from the said earth-monkey year! Another one of Sørensen's arguments is based on the colophon of the Lhasa xylograph of the text and I deal with it below. Finally, Sørensen mainly marshalls the *Rgyal rabs*' text-external evidence from Ta'i si tu's autobiography and Bla ma dam pa's connections with Bsam yas and the restorations he did or had done of this monastery. In the meantime, the issues were reexamined by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs in an essay with which Sørensen has voiced his disagreement.<sup>65</sup> Chab spel opens the first part of his essay with mentioning his discussion of the *Rgyal rabs* at the Tibetological conference held in 1992 at Fagernes, and in the second section of this paper he notes his conversation with *ten mag gi mkhas pa so'i nū tshon*, that is, of course, Sørensen. And he also comes to the conclusion that Bla ma dam pa composed the *Rgyal rabs* in 1368. Through the labors of A. Vostrikov, we know that Dalai lama V was at one time of the opinion that the author of the *Rgyal rabs* was a certain Legs pa'i shes rab, the sacristan-in-chief (*dkon gnyer dpon*) of the Jo khang.<sup>66</sup> At least, this is what we find in his undated study of the Jo khang — this is the unique mention of the *Rgyal rabs* in his entire oeuvre —, whereas he does not once quote the *Rgyal rabs* in his own

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Liqian 刘立千 brings nothing new in the introduction to his Chinese translation of the *Rgyal rabs* in the *Xizang wang ji* 西藏王記 [*The Royal Chronicle of Tibet*] (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1987), 3-7.

<sup>64</sup> Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study*, 43-64.

<sup>65</sup> See, respectively, "<<Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long>> rtsom pa po dang brtsams dus skor gyi bskyar gleng," *Chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs kyi dpyad rtsom phyogs bsgrigs*, Stod cha [I], ed. (Beijing: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang / Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 20-32 - my thanks to Ms. Rin chen sgrol ma of the CTRC, Beijing, for having so kindly sent me a two-volume collection of Chab spel's writings – and Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 29, n. 80. Chab spel reacted to the arguments Sørensen had presented in his 1986 study, which remained unchanged in Sørensen's 1993 study and translation of the *Rgyal rabs*.

<sup>66</sup> *Tibetan Historical Literature*, tr. H.C. Gupta (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1970), 74-78; this point is also made in Chab spel's "<<Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long>> rtsom pa po dang brtsams dus skor gyi bskyar gleng," 21-22.



chronicle of 1642. This is odd, since he cites there a number of earlier Tibetan chronicles.

But there are several problems with accepting 1368-1369 as the year in which the text was written that cannot be easily swept under the rug. For one, Bla ma dam pa was in personal contact with the Mongol imperial family and emperor Toγon Temür, the Shundi 順帝 Emperor (r. 1333–1368, 1368-May 23, 1370). The *Rgyal rabs* states that he ruled for forty-eight years, but this is incorrect, for the emperor ruled the Mongols from 1333 to 1370, albeit since 1368 not from China proper.<sup>67</sup> Thus we either have to reckon with an oversight on the part of Bla ma dam pa that was incorporated in the autograph or with a mistake made by an unknown glossator whose gloss was incorporated into the text of the manuscript or manuscripts on which basis the printing blocks were carved. The first alternative is extremely unlikely. The second is almost equally so, for the editor of the xylograph was careful to distinguish between the actual text and the marginal glosses that his manuscript[s] contained. It should be pointed out that the duration of Toγon Temür's reign was by no means an unknown quantity in Tibet. Both Yar lung Jo bo and Stag tshang pa Dpal 'byor bzang po have it that he became emperor in 1333 and fled the capital (*ta du* < Ch. *dadu* 大都) on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth lunar month, that is, on September 14, 1368.<sup>68</sup> And this date tallies ever so

<sup>67</sup> Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 92. The note [242] to this chronological error is tortuous and, in my opinion, unconvincing. The xylographs and manuscripts do contain a gloss that "thereafter he lost the capital to the Ta'i Ming Emperor."

<sup>68</sup> *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can, 85-86, and *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 259, 268. The identity of the author of the latter work, he calls himself a secretary (*yig mkhan*)-layman Shri bhu ti bha dra (*sic*), has been a puzzle for quite a while. In his recently published autobiography, *Lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa shes rab rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa*, *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, Mes po'i shul bzhang, ed. Rgyal mo 'brug pa (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 12-13, Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405–1477) mentions that his grandfather Bsod nams rgyal po, the official (*dpon*) of Khang dmar was a secretary (*yig dpon*) of Dbang (< Ch. [Bailan 白蘭] wang 王) Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1360-1408). He had two sons, Don grub rgyal po, who inherited his title associated with Khang dmar and who was Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's father, and (*dpon yig*) Dpal 'byor bzang po. I strongly suspect that the latter was the *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*'s author. For one, Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's family was in the service in the Rnam rgyal gling estate in Shangs and, falling within the purview of Sa skya's Dus mchod Residence which was the home of the Bailan Wang hierarchs, and he devotes a special chapter to the ruling family of this estate in the *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 419-426. The Bailan Wang-s had close connections with Stag tshang [rdzong kha]. Dbang Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1336–1378), Rnam sras rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's father, was even born there. He ended up marrying Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's sister by the name of Ma gcig Lha mo rin chen. For Stag tshang [rdzong kha], see also R. Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*

nicely with Chinese sources. Yar lung Jo bo writes that "it is known that he went to Mongolia." Stag tshang pa has the same and neither indicates when he passed away. On the other hand, Gtsang Byams pa [= Mus sradd pa] Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's (1424–1498) 1475 study of Sa skya monastery, its ruling families, institutions, and religious treasures, which includes a chronology of Yuan and Ming emperors, has it that he reigned for a total of twenty-eight years, but that he fled the Yuan capital in 1369.<sup>69</sup> Given this kind of knowledge, this lapse of twenty-eight years remains inexplicable, unless, of course, the passage was after all a gloss whereby the Tibetan editor misread the manuscript's number "4" as a number "2," which is not altogether an impossible explanation.

The hypothesis of the water-male-snake being the year in which Bla ma dam pa had written the *Rgyal rabs* rests, as we have seen, in large part on the assumption that he used the chronology of the early Sa skya pa tradition. But here we have a major problem. In his survey of the chronology of the Buddha and his teaching, the author of the *Rgyal rabs* states that the historical Buddha was born in the wood-female-ox year and that he passed away in the wood-male-monkey year. He thus departs from the said early Sa skya pa tradition which held that the Buddha was born in the earth-male-dragon year (ca. 2213 B.C.) and passed away in the fire-female-pig year (ca. 2134/3 B.C.). According to the treatise on Buddhist chronology that Lha dbang blo gros bzang po (1549–1632), alias Sureśamatibhadra, of the 'Brug pa sect of the Bka' brgyud pa school completed in 1592, Bla ma dam pa held quite different views, views that were evidently based on his studies of Kālacakra astronomy and calendar calculation in which he was a recognized expert. According to him, Bla ma dam pa claimed that the Buddha was born in the year *rab 'byung* (*prabhava*), that is, in a fire-female-hare year, the equivalent for which would be 694 B.C., and that

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according to the *Mnga' ris rgyal rabs* by Gu ge Mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa (Dharamsala: Tho ling gtsug lag khang lo gcig stong 'khor ba'i rjes dran mdzad sgo'i go sgrig tshogs chung, 1996), 565-574. Stag tshang rdzong kha Dpal 'byor bzang po is also associated with a little text concerned with the six teachings of Ba ri Lo tsā ba Rin chen grags (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.), for which see the *Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, Stod cha [1], comp. Karma bde legs et al. (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 1286, no. 013107. Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long. Author, Date and Sources. A Case-Study*, 53, cites U rgyan gling pa's (1323-?) *Lo pan bka'i thang yig* to the effect that the Mongols lost Dadu on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth lunar month, which means that he used another calendar or that he made a simple mistake.

<sup>69</sup> *Sa skya mkhon* (sic) *gyi gdungs* (sic) *rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba*, incomplete ninety-folio *dbu can* manuscript, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel L 591/4, 59b-60a.

he passed away in the fire-female-pig year, that is, in 574 B.C.<sup>70</sup> And we do in fact find these very dates in Bla ma dam pa's response to a question that was related to what he had written in his history of the Kālacakra of 1365 [see below n. 112], in a work that he wrote in 1373, which commemorates the ten-day long Sne'u gdong council that was presided over by *guoshi* 'Jam dbyangs Shākya rgyal mtshan (1340–October 20, 1373), the late Ta'i si tu's nephew, as well as in part in a piece he wrote for the community of Bsam yas in, so it would seem, 1374.<sup>71</sup>

Another way of approaching the question of the *Rgyal rabs*' authorship is surely to examine more closely the text itself and compare some of its assertions with what Bla ma dam pa had written elsewhere and with those writings of which we can be certain that he knew them very well — I am thinking here in particular of the short chronicles of Tibetan imperial times written by his ancestors Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), the third patriarch of the Sa skya school, and 'Phags pa.<sup>72</sup> This is what, among other things, Chab spel has also done, and it becomes quite apparent that the dates given for the rulers of Tibet's imperial period in the chronicles of his ancestors do not at all tally with those in the *Rgyal rabs*. To be sure, this was also noticed by Sørensen's keen eyes, but he chose to downplay and ignore these.

Perhaps even more compelling evidence for holding that the *Rgyal rabs* was not authored by Bla ma dam pa emerges when, upon comparing a passage from it with cognate statements in works that are indubitably his own, significant differences emerge. For example, he opens his history of the Path-and-Result transmission of the Sa skya pa school of 1341 — he was twenty-seven years old at the time — with the statement that both Glang [= Rlangs] Khams pa Go cha<sup>73</sup> and Thon

<sup>70</sup> See his *Bstan rtsis 'dod sbyin gter 'bum*, 'Brug lugs chos mdzod chen mo, vol. 98, ed. Nang chen Tshogs gnyis (Kathmandu: Drugpa Kagyu heritage Project, 200?), 25a-b [305-306].

<sup>71</sup> See below under text no. 16, vol. Na, 426a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 257], text no. 17, vol. Na, 429a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 2], and text no. 49, vol. Na, 453b-457b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 308-317]. The second was the source for this very notice in *Yar lung Jo bo's* chronicle in the *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can, 17-18.

<sup>72</sup> Handy editions of both are found in the *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, ed. and tr. G. Tucci, 127-35.

<sup>73</sup> In his epistle written on the occasion of the passing of Spyān snga Grags pa shes rab (1310–1370) of Phag mo gru [see below text no. 51, vol. Na, 459a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 1, 320], he calls Glang Khams pa Go cha a "grand-minister of Tibet's Mighty One [= ruler] of Tibet" (*bod kyi btsan po'i blon chen po*).

mi Saṃbhoṭa were responsible for the formulation of the Tibetan writing system<sup>74</sup> and shortly thereafter he lists the names of the first seven Tibetans who were ordained at Bsam yas monastery in the second half of the eighth century; these he classifies in the following three groupings:

I. The three older ones:

1. Dbas Ratnarakṣi ta - Rin chen srung ba; he is said to have been the first of these seven
2. Bha Dznyā nedra rakṣi ta - Ye shes dbang po srung ba,
3. Ratna indra rakṣi ta - Rin chen dbang po srung ba

II. The middle one:

4. Glang su ga ta warma rakṣi ta - Bde bar gshegs pa'i go cha srung ba

III. The three younger ones:

5. Pa gor Bai ro tsa na rakṣi ta - Rnam par snang mdzad srung ba
6. 'Khon Nā gendra rakṣi ta - Klu'i dbang po srung ba
7. Gtsang De wendra rakṣi ta - Lha'i dbang po srung ba.<sup>75</sup>

The author of the *Rgyal rabs*, to the contrary, only knows of Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa as the creator of the Tibetan script, as does indeed [almost] every other Tibetan Buddhist chronicle known to me. Bla ma dam pa's inclusion of Rlangs Khams pa Go cha in this narrative is therefore highly idiosyncratic, to say the least! As the prefix "Glang" [= "Rlangs"] already suggests, Khams pa Go cha was one of Ta'i si tu's ancestors. Ever so aware of his own family's history, Ta'i si tu speaks about him in a speech he delivered in 1350 where he took pains to remind his audience largely comprising of members of the Sa skya school that Khams pa Go cha had been a disciple of 'Khon Klu'i dbang po [b]srung

<sup>74</sup> Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar snang ba, The Slob bshad Tradition of the Sa skya Lam 'Bras*, vol. 16 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983), 6-7 [= *dbu med* manuscript in fifty folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002799(7), 3a-3b = *Collected Works*, vol. 20, ed. Lhasa, 4].

<sup>75</sup> We find the very same list in Gu ge Pañ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1415-1486) undated *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs dang zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, Gangs can gtsug lag rin chen phreng ba, vol. 7 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2014), 119.

ba, an ancestor of Sa skya's ruling families.<sup>76</sup> It is striking that the seven names listed by the author of the *Rgyal rabs* are quite at odds with those that are found in Bla ma dam pa's Path-and-Result history as well as those that are contained in the writings of Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan. The *Rgyal rabs* lists the following<sup>77</sup>:

1. Ratna, son of Sba Shang shi
2. Shākya bre ba, son of Mchims A nu
3. Vairocana, son of Pa gor Ratna
4. Ngan Rgyal na mchog dbyangs
5. Rma Rin chen mchog
6. 'Khon Klu'i dbang po bsrungs pa
7. Gtsang Legs grub

What else do the available biographies of Bla ma dam pa have to say about his connections with Bsam yas? Again, the one by the Lo tsā ba is the most informative.<sup>78</sup> We learn that he first visited the monastery in 1347. Seeing it in a state of disrepair and being struck by the damage done to it by birds, he charged a certain Slob dpon Shes rab dpal with the task of making the appropriate renovations, therewith reasserting as it were the early Sa skya pa connection with this monastery that was put into place when Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) had visited it and taught there for some time. He returned to Bsam yas again in 1351 to inspect what had been accomplished. In 1356, he undertook a number of "grand restorations" (*gso ba rnams chen po*) at Bsam yas, which he, so it would seem, personally oversaw for one year.

But what do the studies of his life have to say about his whereabouts during the earth-monkey year, that is, the year that extends from January 21, 1368 to January 28, 1369? Here it is only the Lo tsā ba's

<sup>76</sup> *Bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, in *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 448-451 [= *Bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, in *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 205-206 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 109-110].

<sup>77</sup> Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 369-370; the variant readings in others ources are not taken into account. Omitted in this translation is the gloss anent 'Khon Klu'i dbang po srung ba / bsrungs pa which has it that: "There is also a statement in a chronicle that 'Khon Klu'i dbang po has not reckoned as one of the seven tested ones." (*lo rgyus cig na / 'khon klu'i dbang po sad mi bdun la mi the zer ba'ang 'duḡ*). I examined the various notices of the so-called "seven tested ones" (*sad mi bdun*) or the first Tibetans to be ordained as monks in my "Some Remarks on the Textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 25 (2013), 148 ff.

<sup>78</sup> What follows is in part taken from *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a, 29a, 34a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 34, 44, 50].

study that sheds any light on this, and we read in an entry for the first lunar month of that year that he had gathered a number of artisans in Bsam yas and Chos rdzong in order to work on refurbishing the statuary and frescoes of the Jo khang temple in Lhasa.<sup>79</sup> And there is not one single mention of him having written anything at all during that year, let alone a work that was to occupy a reasonably important place in Tibetan historiography. He recorded some of his accomplishments (*gso [r]nams legs par grub*) in a short piece that is found in his miscellaneous works.<sup>80</sup> Hence, nothing is related about the composition of the *Rgyal rabs*. The detailed 1441 biography of the Lo tsā ba by his disciple Zhwa lu Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1365–1448) suggests that he was not in the company of Bla ma dam pa during that year.<sup>81</sup> Rather, in 1368, he spent a great deal of time in Sa skya at the invitation of her grand-abbot (*sa skya bzhi thog pa*) Kun dga' rin chen where he gave classes in grammar and poetics for which he was lavishly rewarded and was also given a *pandita's* cap to wear. From Sa skya he went to Bo dong E where he also gave extensive instructions in grammar and poetics as well as in Buddhist theory and practice. The following year, he spent quite some time with his erstwhile master Rgyal sras Thogs med bzang po dpal (b. 1295) in Dngul chu chos rdzong who had fallen seriously ill in the spring of that year and who ultimately passed away on October 18, 1369.<sup>82</sup> In fact, the Lo tsā ba and Bla ma dam pa moved in quite different circles for several years and only when Bla ma dam pa himself had come to Gtsang did the two men meet again, this time in Bo dong E, in 1372.

Finally, two more problems: Firstly, of the manuscripts and xylographs of the *Rgyal rabs*, only one, namely the Lhasa Zhol xylograph, mentions in the colophon that a certain Lha btsun Rin chen dpal was the person at whose behest the *Rgyal rabs* was written. On the evidence that Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318–1388) stated in an entry for the year 1351 in his biography of Bu ston that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's (?1323–?1375) name in

<sup>79</sup> *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 44b-45a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 65-66].

<sup>80</sup> See below under text no. 16, vol. Na, 486b-490b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 58-62].

<sup>81</sup> For what follows, see his *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*, 73-76 [37a-38b].

<sup>82</sup> See his 1375 biography by Dpal gyi rin chen, the *Rgyal sras thogs med pa'i rnam thar 'gro ba kun gyi gnyen cig pu thugs rje'i mnga' bdag spyan ras gzigs la 'dud*, Rgyal sras dngul chu thogs med kyi rnam thar, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying 'jug khang (np, nd), 152. The Rgyal sras is also known as Sems dpa' chen po Dngul chu chos rdzong pa and Bo dong Thogs med.

religion (*rab tu byung ba'i mtshan*) was Rin chen dpal bzang po,<sup>83</sup> Sørensen suggests that he was none other than this Lha btsun Rin chen dpal — *dpal* is often used as an abbreviation of *dpal bzang po*. But this needs to be examined a little more closely. Everding gives 1316–1375 and 1312–1375 the myriarch's dates,<sup>84</sup> where the latter is obviously a typographical error. Although these may have the plausibility of fact and have appeared as such several times in the secondary literature, they turn out to be far from unproblematic. The year 1316 would seem to derive from a statement belonging to the unauthorized publication [in China] of Sperling's paper, without footnotes, that I cited above to the effect that, according to the manuscript of the *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, he was thirty years old in a "wood-bird year (*shing bya lo [sic]*) [1345/6]" when he was given the title of National Preceptor of the Great Yuan (*ta'i/tā'i dben / dbon gu shri* < Ch.

<sup>83</sup> See D. Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 134, 28b. Sgra tshad pa calls him Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) [of Sa skya] and he was concurrently also myriarch (*khri dpon*) of Byang Myriarchy.

<sup>84</sup> See, respectively, *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang. Königtum und Herrschaftsgewalt im Tibet des 13.-17. Jahrhunderts, Teil 2. Studien zur Geschichte des Reiches*, 240 ff, 468 ff., and *Herrscherurkunden aus der Zeit des mongolischen Grossreiches für tibetische Adelhäuser, Geistliche und Kloster, Teil 2: Diplomata Tibetica*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung III, Band 9 (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2006), 139, n. 246 [on p. 135 he gives 1316–1375]. The latter occurs in the context of a decree issued by *btsun pa* Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan [dpal bzang po] (1349–1425), alias Theg chen Chos kyi rgyal po, which is dated the eighth day of the first lunar month of the *yos bu'i lo* [pp. 135–140] Everding suggests "1363/64." Another decree was issued by the same *btsun pa* on the eighteenth day of the first lunar month of the *yos* year, for which see *Herrscherurkunden aus der Zeit des mongolischen Grossreiches für tibetische Adelhäuser, Geistliche und Kloster, Teil 2: Diplomata Tibetica*, 141–145. Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan was a scion of Sa skya's Lha khang Residence. The son of Chos kyi rgyal mtshan and Ma gcig Rgyal mo mtsho, he was conceived before his father's ordination as a monk. Following 'Phags pa's calendar, Everding calculated these dates to correspond to January 23 and February 1, 1363. That Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan is styled *btsun pa*, an honorific word for monk or at least one who has formally renounced the world, appears *prima facie* to mitigate against this calculation. For the record shows that he took his first ordination, thereby effectively becoming a renunciate, in 1364 at the age of fifteen, under the then grand-abbot of Sa skya Kun dga' rin chen (1339–1399). At this point, he was given the name in religion of Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po — he only became a full monk in 1369; see his 1426 biography by his disciple Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, which is more or less reproduced in *A mes zhabs, Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 332–355 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 230–243]. The first decree notes a taxation ordinance that Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan had issued in connection with Mus, while the second decree notes two names, Master (*slob dpon*) A mo gha and Master Smon lam rdo rje, both of whom are associated with the ruling family of Mus. For this reason, I would be inclined to push the year forward by one duodenary cycle, that is, to 1375/6.

*dayuan guoshi* 大元國師.<sup>85</sup> This is not what the text says. Rather, it says that he was thirty [= twenty-nine] years old when he became Sa skya's Grand-Governor of Dbus and Gtsang, and that he thereafter had the title of *dayuan guoshi*. Indeed, it makes no mention of any "wood-bird year" at all! In my view, the origin of this curious error simply goes back to a misreading of the first part of his title that ends in *dayuan guoshi*. The three manuscripts read here, respectively, *thung ling shing bya lo tā'i dbon gu shri*, *tho ling shi gya bo ta'i dben gu shri*, and *tho gling shi gya'o ta'i dben gu shri*.<sup>86</sup> I strongly suspect that *shing bya lo* and *shi gya bo* are contaminations of something like *shi gya'o* which no doubt was intended to reflect Chinese *shijiao* 釋教, meaning "Śākyamuni's Teaching." There were several other Tibetans who were honored with this very same title.<sup>87</sup> Further, the manuscript of the *Byang pa lho bdag po'i gdung rab[s]* has a small supralinear note above his name that says *chu mo phag*. The equivalent of roughly 1323, this no doubt purports to indicate the year in which he was born. Whatever its historical veracity, this seems to be a reasonable working hypothesis. The year 1375 is apparently Everding's estimate based on an entry for him in the *Mingshilu* for February 23, 1373, and the myriarch's own *Mang yul kyi ljongs kyi rtogs brjod dal ba'i rna rgyan*, which may belong to the years 1370-1375. Unfortunately, the latter work is not available to me. The core-title of his title in religion, *ta'i dben gu shri*, is frequently abbreviated to *ta dben*, so that *ta dben pa* refers to an individual holding this title. This is in fact the title Dol po pa used in a large undated work in which he addressed the learned myriarch's questions that had to do

<sup>85</sup> "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lineage of Byang La stod," 275. But this is an oversight and may ultimately go back to an identical statement made in Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History*, 132. Petech cites Dpal bzang chos kyi bzang po's *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa (New Delhi: T. Tsepel Taikhang, 1974), 6a-b [176-177], but the text says nothing of the sort.

<sup>86</sup> *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, 176 [= *Byang pa lho bdag po gdung rab[s]*, *dbu med* manuscript in eight folios, C.P.N. catalog no. ?, 2b, = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs*, *dbu med* manuscript in ten folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 002833, 5b.

<sup>87</sup> See my *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family, The Central Eurasian Studies Lectures 4*, ed. F. Venturi (Bloomington: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004), 51, n. 154. Following the translation of Tang Chi'an 湯匙案 of the title the *Yar lung Jo bo chos 'byung*, 167, gives for Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1332-1359), the father of Theg chen Chos rje of n. 86, the title may render Chinese *tongling shijiao dayuan guoshi* 統領釋教大元國師; see his *Yalong zunzhe jiaofa shi* 雅隆尊者教法史 (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989), 94, and see also A mes zhabs, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 331 [= *Sajia shixi shi*, tr. Chen, 230].



with the Kālacakra corpus.<sup>88</sup> To be noted here that there is no hint in this work that the myriarch was also called "Rin chen dpal [bzang po]."<sup>89</sup> We also need to be clear about one thing "Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po" is a perfectly fine name in religion, the *dpal bzang po* (\*śrībhadra) affix beings emblematic of the ordination *vinaya*-line that passed through the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrībhadra (1127–1225), who had come to Central Tibet in 1204. That he fathered several children is not really a problem since he may have done so before his ordination.

Now if he were born in 1323, then he must have assumed the position of Grand-Governor in 1352. This more or less tallies with the fact that Sgra tshad pa calls him Grand-Governor, in an entry of the year 1351 in his biography of Bu ston, were it not that Tibetan writers often anticipate ranks, titles and positions that their owners may not have held at the time and then continue to use them even when the individual no longer holds the former rank or position. Further, the title *dpon chen* is not exclusively used for the Grand-Governors who ruled Dbus and Gtsang from Sa skya. Therefore, that Sgra tshad pa associated him with the *dpon chen* title in his entry for the year 1351 does not mean that he actually had this title at the time. Indeed, Petech proposes that he held this post in around 1357 and that he may have been reappointed as such in *circa* 1364. Turning to all three versions of Ta'i si tu's autobiography, we find that the narrative starting with the beginning of the winter of 1350 and ending in the seventh lunar month of 1353 indicates that Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) Dbang phyug dpal handed his seal of office (*dam rtags*) to, and thus abdicated his position in favor of, the high official (*dpon*) Rgyal ba bzang po, and also for the first time mentions severally a Governor of Byang (*dpon byang pa*) in connection with having sided with the itinerant Mongol prince of the blood Aratnashiri, 'Bri khung, and G.ya' bzang against Ta'i si tu.<sup>90</sup> In

<sup>88</sup> See the *Dpon byang pa'i phyag tu phul ba'i chos kyi shan 'byed*, Jo nang kun mkhyen chen po'i gsung 'bum, vol. Ya [6] ['Dzam thang xylograph] (np., nd.), 403-604, and the same in *The 'Dzam thang Edition of the Collected Works of Kun mkhyen Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan*, comp. M.T. Kapstein, vol. 5 [Yā] (New Delhi: Shedrup Books, 1992), 473-702.

<sup>89</sup> *Kun mkhyen rton pa bzhi ldan gyi skyes rabs rnam thar tshigs bcad ma kun nyon tsha gdung 'phrog pa'i chos snang 'od dkar zla ba'i bsil zer*, *Kun mkhyen jo nang pa chen po'i skyes rabs rtogs brjod*, 421, 471.

<sup>90</sup> *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 478, 496 [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 218, 226, = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 122, 131]. Against these three witnesses, Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skyia Period of Tibetan History*, 112-113, n. 116, claims that the mention of Dbang phyug dpal is an error for Dbang phyug brtson 'grus. This is not signaled in the Chinese translation of Ta'i si tu's autobiography, for which see *Lang shijiazu shi* 朗氏家族史 tr. Zanla Awang

combination with a few other sources, Petech arrives at the following succession:

...Rgyal ba bzang po (1328/9–1333) – Dbang phyug dpal (1333–1337) – Bsod nams dpal (1337–44) – Rgyal ba bzang po (2<sup>nd</sup> time) (1344–1347) – Dbang phyug brtson 'grus (1347–ca. 1350) – Rgyal ba bzang po (3<sup>rd</sup> time) (ca. 1350–1356 or 1358) – Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (ca. 1357) – Dpal 'bum (acting) (?–1360) – Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (2<sup>nd</sup> time?) (ca. 1364).<sup>91</sup>

This is virtually the listing of the two manuscripts of Tshal pa's chronicle except that neither recognized that Rgyal ba bzang po (d. late 1357) had a third term of office and both list the following after Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan: Grags pa rgyal mtshan → Dpal 'bum → Blo chen → Grags pa dbang phyug.<sup>92</sup> After Rgyal ba bzang po's second term, Yar lung Jo bo writes<sup>93</sup>:

*yang dpon chen rgyal ba bzang pos skyar nas go sa mdzad /  
de nas dpon chen dbang brtson / phag lo la dbus gtsang du  
phebs nas 'ja' sa bsgrags / 'di mar bcad la'ang dpon chen gyi  
ming byin pa kha yar byung ngo //*

Further, Grand-Governor once again occupied the post. Then Grand-Governor Dbang [phyug] brtson ['grus], having gone to Dbus and Gtsang in a pig-year [1347], an edict was publicly proclaimed. Henceforth, title of Grand-Governor[s] had become chaotic.

On the other hand, Stag tshang pa collection of documents closely follows Tshal pa's list, but states that Rgyal ba bzang po was once again re-appointed (*khyon gyis bskyar nas*), but this time as the replacement-representative (*tshab*) of Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan.<sup>94</sup> Lastly,

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赞拉阿旺 and Yu Wanzhi 余万治, ed. Chen Qingying (Lhasa: Xizang minzu chubanshe, 1988), 153.

<sup>91</sup> *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History*, 145.

<sup>92</sup> See the *Deb ther dmar po. The Red Annals. Part One* (Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1961), 24a-5b [= ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), 54]. This list seems to postdate Tshal pa who died in 1364.

<sup>93</sup> *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, 176.

<sup>94</sup> *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*, 361.

Gtsang Byams pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's 1475 study indicates nothing of the sort that we find in the above, for he writes<sup>95</sup>:

*...de rjes shangs dpon chen rgyal ba bzang po / de rjes shab rdzi lung pa dpon chen dbang phyug dpal / de rjes mang mkhar stag stog pa dpon chen bsod nams dpal / yang dpon chen rgal ba bzang po / de rjes dbus kyi stog [read: stod] lung pa dpon chen dbang phyug brtson 'grus / de rjes byang pa dpon chen nam mkha' bstan pa / yang dpon chen rgyal ba bzang po [sublinear note: khyon gyi bkos pa'i dpon chen] de rjes dbus kyi pho brang gad pa steng pa dpon chen dpal 'bum lung byung yang / yar lung pa [read ?pas] dam stag ma sprad pa'i 'tsams su / shang[s] pa grags pa rgyal mtshan la lung byung nas / dpon chen byas / de rjes dpon chen dpal 'bum la dam stag sprad nas dpon chen byas / de rjes lho pa dpon chen a mo gha pa yin no //*

...then Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po from Shangs; then Grand-Governor Dbang phyug dpal from Rdzi lung in Shab; then Grand-Governor Bsod nams dpal from Stag stog in Mang mkhar; then Grand-Governor Dbang phyug brtson 'grus from Stod lung in Dbus; then Grand-Governor Nam mkha' bstan pa from Byang; again Grand-Governor Rgyal ba bzang po was a reappointed Grand-Governor, then although Grand-Governor Dpal 'bum of the Gad pa steng pa palace of Dbus had an authorization (*lung*), when Yar lung pa had not handed him the tiger-seal (*dam stag*), the authorization went to Grags pa rgyal mtshan of Shangs, and he acted as Grand-Governor; then when Grand-Governor Dpal 'bum was given the tiger-seal, he acted as Grand-Governor; then it was Grand-Governor Amogha [Tib. Don yod] pa from Lho.

Closest to the chaotic events of the late 1350s and early 1360s, I suspect that Yar lung Jo bo's candid remark is probably right on the money.

Zhwa lu pa mentions Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po as "Ta dben (< Ch. 大元) Byang pa" on several occasions in his study of the Lo tsā ba's life and *never* uses Rin chen dpal bzang po! Indeed, we owe to this Ta dben Byang pa the Lo tsā ba's and Lo tsā ba Nam mkha' bzang po's translation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* of probably 1356, which they prepared using a manuscript that may have been in

<sup>95</sup> *Sa skya mkhon (sic) gyi gdungs (sic) rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba, 64a.*

the possession of the Kashmirian Sumanaśrī, who functioned as the *paṇḍita*-informant of their translation.<sup>96</sup> In an entry between the years 1339 and 1344 of Bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's 1387 biography of Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po (1306-1386), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal, first mentions him as "the great Ta'i si tu Nam mkha' brten [sic!] pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po" and then either as "Ta'i si tu [pa]" or "the great Si tu [pa]."<sup>97</sup> Finally, the Lo tsā ba also simply calls him Ta dben Nam mkha' in an entry for 1352.<sup>98</sup>

Now in response to an objection raised by Petech,<sup>99</sup> Sørensen is quite correct in holding that the title *lha btsun* was not only reserved for those monks who could trace their ancestry back to the Tibetan imperial families. And he points out that Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen was the Tibetan name in religion of the deposed Gongdi emperor of the Southern Song dynasty. While it is true that the ruling family of Byang traced its history to the Xi Xia/Tangut imperial family, the three extant manuscripts of the family's history do not countenance one single ordained member of the family with the title *lha btsun* in front of his name. Thus, Nam mkha' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po is never referred to as a *lha btsun* in these histories, brief as they are.<sup>100</sup> And to my knowledge the name Rin chen dpal bzang po does not once occur in any connection other than in Sgra tshad pa's biography of Bu ston. It is furthermore interesting to note that Bla ma dam pa's biographies do not anywhere suggest a direct contact between him and this important member of the family and a major political force in Central Tibet. Ta'i si tu's personal remarks about him are far from happy and he accuses him of having taken part in the murder of Lama Khang gsar ba [Bde legs rgyal mtshan] and Lama Kun spangs pa po [in 1357], and states that it is difficult to deal with him.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Chos rje rin po che byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*, 65 [32a]. This passage was also signalled in the fine dissertation of Epperson (2017: 46-47), where "autumn of the fire [male] monkey year (1357)" is an oversight and needs to be corrected to "autumn of the fire-male-monkey year (1356)." She also suggests that Bla ma dam pa may have been in Sa skya monastery at the time, but this is not borne out by his biographies, which have it that he was in Dbus during the years 1355-1356.

<sup>97</sup> See his *Chos rje phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar*, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs, vol. [50], ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang), 17a, 18a-b, etc.

<sup>98</sup> *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 31b [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 47].

<sup>99</sup> *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History*, 132, n. 186.

<sup>100</sup> *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che ba bstar ba*, 176-177 [= *Byang pa lho bdag po gdung rab[s]*, 2b, = *G.yas ru byang pa'i gdung rabs*, 5b].

<sup>101</sup> *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, New Delhi, 790-791 [= *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 352 = *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, Chos 'dzoms, 261-262].

Secondly, the series in which a large number Tibetan biographies, autobiographies, and histories were published includes a work with the title *Rgyal rabs me long gsal byed // nyung ngu rnam gsal*,<sup>102</sup> that is, *Clarification of the Rgyal rabs me long; A Slight Clarification*. The colophon of this work states that its author summarized the narratives of the succession of the various *chos rgyal*, religious kings, in the "*Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* of the holy lama (*rje bla ma*)."<sup>103</sup> The concluding verse:

*sngon byon mes dbon la mos dang //*  
*dam pa'i gsung rab la brten nas //*  
*ratna rang gi brjed thor bkod //*  
*nongs pa de gang bzod par gsol //*

Thus, the author of this memorandum states that his name [in abbreviated form] was Ratna, that is, Tibetan Rin chen. For reasons best known to them, the editors of this volume attribute this work to Lo tsā ba Ratnabhadra (1489-1563), that is, Rin chen bzang po, and provide a capsule biography of him in the catalog volume that accompanies this collection.<sup>103</sup> This man had strong affiliations with the Sa skya pa and Jo nang pa traditions, but it is not at all transparent, at least not to me, why he should be credited with this partial synopsis of the *Rgyal rigs*.

Thus, after all is said and done, what we are left with is a rather meager and unsatisfactory result, which can be summarized as follows: Whereas a Bsod nams rgyal mtshan may very well have written this work, the chances are indeed much better than great, that this man was not Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, but rather his namesake.

4. A Catalog of the Miscellaneous Writings of Bla ma dam pa: Vol. Na of the Mi rigs Rig gnas Pho brang / Minzu Wenhua Gong Collection [= Vols. 1 and 2 of the Lhasa Edition of his *Collected Works*].

The earlier volumes that were catalogued in Part One contain texts that are primarily religious or philosophical in nature. But this gives a skewed picture of the remarkable Bla ma dam pa. True, he was a religious hierarch and possibly also quite influential in this capacity.

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<sup>102</sup> See *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Nya [= 8] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 523-561.

<sup>103</sup> *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs thengs dang po'i dkar chag*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 92-96.

He also booked success as participant, albeit a reluctant one, in the turbulent politics that raged throughout Central Tibet during the middle of the fourteenth century. A good number of the documents that are cataloged below indicate, as is also readily apparent from his biographies and Ta'i si tu's marvelous autobiography, that he moved very freely in the political landscape of his era and that he was among its most important players. Perhaps somewhat counterintuitive, he was a prominent member of Sa skya's ruling families as well as one of the most trusted councilors of Ta'i si tu as the latter revolted against Sa skya rule over Central Tibet, and ultimately gained the upper hand through diplomacy and open warfare. This fact alone should make a study of his life from this angle all the more interesting.

What now follows is a catalog of all the texts, small, smaller, and smallest, even those consisting of a single quatrain, that are contained in vol. Na of the incomplete collection of Bla ma dam pa's writings that I found in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities.<sup>104</sup> Some of these constitute fundamental source material for an as yet to be written intellectual and political history of fourteenth century Tibet. Others are rather ephemeral pieces that are neither of obvious historical interest nor of immediate consequence. We can also not assume that it is a complete collection of miscellaneous copies of his panegyrics, instructions, letters, etc. Indeed, it is not. For one, Grags pa rdo rje dpal bzang po records a letter Bla ma dam pa had written to Mi nyag Byang chub dpal bzang po (1287–1375), alias Rigs pa'i seng ge, that is not contained in Vol. Na or in the volumes of the Lhasa edition of his *Collected Works*.<sup>105</sup> Even if this volume contains but copies of his letters in which their original format and physical layout are clearly ignored and blurred over, their contents should be of some interest to historians of whatever stripe, as should be the epistolary collection of Khirms khang Lo tsā ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho'i sde's (1424-1482) letters that F.K. Ehrhard published not long ago and the unpublished, no doubt equally incomplete collection of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's correspondence.<sup>106</sup>

Note: Only in rare cases have I made attempts to correct the spelling errors left behind by the scribe[s] of the manuscript. Further, whenever dates were given in the colophons, I have sought to convert them into

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<sup>104</sup> The texts are found in vol. Na, fols. 408-507 [1-101], which bears the Cultural Palace's catalog no. 003877 and the 'Bras spungs catalog no. phyi la 331.

<sup>105</sup> *Mkhan rgyud (sic) rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar*, 15a.

<sup>106</sup> See, respectively, *A Buddhist Correspondence: The Letters of Lo chen Bsod nams rgya mtsho*, Lumbini International Research Institute, Facsimile Edition Series 3 (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002) and the collection of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's letters at tbc.org, W00KG01610.

their Western equivalents. In so doing, my assumption has been that Bla ma dam pa followed the *byed rtsis* of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan and/or the Kālacakra.<sup>107</sup> The numbers in the square brackets that follow the folio numbers of the manuscript refer to the page numbers of volumes 1 and 2 of the printed Lhasa edition of his *Collected Works*.<sup>108</sup> It should be noted that I have made no full-fledged attempts at comparing the Tibetan texts of the latter with those of the original *dbu can* manuscripts. As a matter of fact, except in very few cases, I have left the readings of the manuscript in tact.

1. *Kye rdo rje la bstod pa shloka gnyis pa*; 408a-b [1, 229]  
Catalog no. *phyi la* 331

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dpal kye rdo rje la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //*  
No colophon.

A panegyric of Hevajra in two quatrains.

2. *Mkhan po zhi ba 'tsho la bstod pa*; 408b-410a [1, 229-232]

Incipit: *svasti pra dzā bhyaḥ gsung gi mnga' bdag 'phags pa 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //*  
Colophon: *de skad smra ba dpal ldan sa skya pa // chos kyi dbang phyug rje'i rjes 'brangs te // lung rigs smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas gus pa'i yid kyis sbyar // zhes pa 'di thub pa'i dbang po dang gnyis[ s]u med pa mkhan po mkhas grub zhi ba 'tsho'i dbu thod la mchod pa'i tshogs sbyar zhing / bkra shis pa'i rten 'brel nye bar bsgrigs pa'i tshe / gung thang gi gtsug lag khang chen por dpa' bo'i lo dbo can gyi zla ba'i nyer brgyad kyi nyin par myur du bsdebs pa dge legs[ s]u gyur cig /*

This panegyric of Śāntarākṣita (8<sup>th</sup>c.) was written in the monastery of Gung thang on the twenty-eighth day of the month *dbo can* (*\*phālguna*) of the *dpa' bo* (*\*vikrama*) year, that is, on March 27, 1340.

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<sup>107</sup> For this, see D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplement Band 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), 132 ff.

<sup>108</sup> See above n. 6.

3. *Lo tsa ba blo brtan la mdzad pa*; 410a-411a [1, 232-234]

Incipit: *phun tshogs mkhyen pa'i gting mtha' mi mngon zhing // tshad med thugs rje'i dba' rlabs phreng ba can // dpag yas phrin las nor bu'i gter gyur pa // sngon med chu bdag zas gtsang sras la 'dud //*

Colophon: *rab myos kyi lo // dka' thub can gyi zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcwa lnga la / mkhas pa'i mkhas rnams kyi bsti gnas mchog tu gyur pa dpal sa skya'i dgon pa nas rigs pa dang grol bar smra ba'i spobs can / mang du thos pa'i dge slong bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos / phrin yig tu gsol ba'i yi ge / slad nas rgyal ba'i bstan pa 'jig rten mig / lta spyod ngan pa'i tsher mas ma dkrugs shing // de 'dzin khyed kyang sku tshe brtan pa yis // 'gro la phan bde de'i dga' ston 'gyed par shog / lo tsa ba chen po blo gros brtan pa la mdzad pa /*

This is a biographical note anent his master Dpang Lo tsā ba that was written on the fifteenth day of the first half of the month *dka' thub can* of the *rab myos* (\**pramāda*) year, that is, on February 3, 1330. A brief, undated and slightly incomplete sketch of Dpang Lo tsā ba's life is also found in *Bla ma dam pa's Spang Lo ts̄sha ba Blo gros brtan pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar mdor bsodus*, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), 106-113.

4. *'Di'ang lo tsa ba la mdzad pa*; 411a-412b [1, 234-238]

Incipit: *gang gi mkhyen pa'i yon tan dpag yas pa // dzambus mtshon pa'i gling du khyab gyur pas // thugs kyi bang mdzod gtams las gzhon nu'i dus // u rgyan grub pa'i skyes bus byin brlabs te //...*

Colophon: *de skad smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas bla ma'i drin thob las // go ba sla phyir snyan ngag rab spangs nas // don la gnas pa'i tshul 'di legs par bkod // lhag dman mi gsal ma tshang 'gal ba sogs // yongs 'dzin mchog la nongs gang bzod par gsol // 'di yi dge ba ston tshe'i nam[ m]kha'i ngogs // nya ba'i zla ltar kun du rgyas pa shog // bkra shis par gyur cig / mkhan chen byang rtse bas bskul nas mdzad pa yin gsungs /*

This brief, undated biography of Dpang Lo tsā ba was written at the behest of Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo, Dpang Lo tsā ba's maternal nephew.



5. *Bla ma don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa*; 412b-414a [1, 238-241]

Incipit: *na mo ratna gu ru ve / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal[ l]o //*

Colophon: *bstod tshig 'di ni bla ma'i tshogs rnames kyi // gsung gi bdud rtsi'i thigs pa rab myangs pa // blo gros lus rtas bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes byas legs par sbyar ba yin // bla ma dam pa don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po gcen po la bstod pa'o //*

An undated praise of Don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, Bla ma dam pa's older brother.

6. *Bde mchog lū yi pa rtsom bzhed pa'i mchod brjod*; 414a-b [1, 241-242]

Incipit: *namaḥ shrī tsa kra samba rā ya / dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga lag len gsal ba'i sgron ma zhes bya ba /*

No colophon.

The lines of invocation for a work he had wanted to write on the transmission of the Cakraśaṃvara teachings of Lū yi pa.

7. *Cha pa chos kyi seng ge la bstod pa*; 414b-? [1, 242-?]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / thub dbang nyin mor byed pa'i phrin las kyi // 'od stong gis phye bstan pa pad mo'i phreng // gangs ri'i khrod gnas bstan gtsug gi rgyan // 'byung gnas blo gros dkar ldan zhabs pad 'dud //*

No colophon.

An undated and incomplete panegyric of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169). Compare here the second Sa skya pa patriarch Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo's (1142-1182) eulogy to the same man, his erstwhile master, one that formed the text for the backside of a thangka painting<sup>109</sup>; missing is fol. 415.

8. No title; ?-416a [?-1, 244]

Incipit: Missing.

<sup>109</sup> See the *Slob dpon phya pa la bstod pa*, *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 2, comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), no. 5, 39/4-41/2.

Colophon: *mkha' 'gro ma'i rdo rje tshig bzhi la brten pa'i gdams pa / sde snod 'dzin pa āryas / tshig nyung zhing don 'dril ba cig zhu zer ba'i ngor / btsun pa bsod nams kyis sbyar ba'o // 'di'i brgyud pa ni / sgrol ma / rnal 'byor ma / sum pa lo tsa ba / chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta / 'phags pa / zhang dkon mchog dpal / bla ma pu ṇya shrī/ bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan la'o //*

This is an undated and incomplete instruction on the *Mkha' 'gro ma'i rdo rje tshig bzhi* written at the behest of a certain 'Phags pa. The line of transmission: \*Tārā - \*Yogeśvarī - Sum pa Lo tsā ba - Sa skya Paṇḍita - 'Phags pa - Zhang Dkon mchog dpal (1250-1317) - Āla ma Puṇyaśrī [= Bsod nams dpal] - Bla ma dam pa.

9. *Tshogs bdag dmar po'i mchod bstod shloka sum bcu rtas bdun pa; 416a-21a; incomplete: missing fols. 418-420 [1, 244-248]*

Incipit: *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs [416b] la phyag 'tshal lo // āḥ gā hūṃ/*  
 Colophon: *nor bdag rnam la gsol ba gdab pa'i tshigs[ s]u bcad pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // // ces pa la sogs pa tshigs[ s]u bcad pa sde tshan bdun po 'di ni / dbus su rnam bcu dbang ldan dang / shar du 'khor lo rtsibs drag gi dbus su dhūḥ rtsibs la oṃ a ra pa tsa na bkod pa'i 'jam dpal ye shes 'khor lo dang / lhor rin po che 'bar ba'i nor bu steng ma la oṃ // 'og ma gnyis la āḥ da hūṃ bris pa'i rdo rje rnam pa gsum dang / nub tu pad ma 'dab ma drug gi dbus su hrīḥ 'dab ma la oṃ ma ni pad me hūṃ / bris pa dang / byang du sna tshogs rdo rje'i lte bar a / phyogs bzhir rwa dbus ma'i sboms bzhi la mo gha sid dha bris pa rnam gter gyi bum pa las skyes pa'i pad ma dang / zla ba'i gdan la sogs ji ltar mdzes pa'i bkod pas spras pa'i 'og tu / dge legs su bya ba'i tshigs[ s]u bcad pa rnam so sor bri zhing / gsol 'dab kyi tshig gnyis po sku so sor bris pa'i thad du bri bar bya ba 'di ni / sne gdong rtse'i gtsug lag khang chen po so ma rnam[ s]u bkra shis dge legs 'phel bar bya ba'i phyir / dge ba'i bshes gnyen yar glungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyis myur bar bskul ba'i rten byas te / btsun pa bsod nams kyis dpal bsam yas lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba dge legs[ s]u gyur cig /*

Written at the behest of Yar glungs [= lung] Seng ge rgyal mtshan (1332-1400)<sup>110</sup> in Bsam yas at an unspecified time, this

<sup>110</sup> The dates are taken from his short biography that comprises the first part of the *Yar klungs khu dbon gyi rnam par thar pa srang srong dga' byed*, fols 1-3b. He is the *khu*, "uncle," of the *dbon*, "nephew," *Spyan snga Bsod nams rgyal mtshan* (1360-1433) whose life story extends from fol. 3b to 6a of this *dbu med* manuscript in six folios. The biography was written by Nam mkha' bsod nams. I should like to thank

work is the first of several anent the red-colored Tshogs bdag (\*Gaṇapati). The thirty-seven quatrains were to be inscribed on statues of the monastery at Sne'u gdong rtse that was founded by Ta'i si tu in 1353.

10. *Nor bdag la gsol gdab stag brtse ba'i spyil por mdzad pa*; 421a-b [1, 248-249]

Incipit: *om svasti / rgyal ba'i phrin las dpag yas gsher ba'i kham*  
[421b] *las 'khrungs //...*

Colophon: *gdan sa dpal gyi pha mo gru'i stag brtse'i ba'i spyil por*  
*ming 'dogs pa nor bdag la gsol gdab tu mdzad pa'o //*

A reverential petition to Nor bdag (\*Kubera) written in the hermitage of Stag rtse at Phag mo gru Gdan sa mthil.

11. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab brag kha rtser mdzad pa*; 421b [1, 249]

Incipit: *om svasti / phun tshogs 'byor pa'i dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas*  
*//...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pas bkra shis*  
*par gyur cig / brag kha rtse dang /*

A reverential petition to Nor lha (\*Vasudeva) written in the hermitage of Brag kha rtse.

12. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab 'di'ang jo bo'i sar mdzad*; 421b-422a [1, 249-250]

Incipit: *rgyal ba kun gyi mkhyen pa'i dpal 'dzin cing //...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // gnas*  
*chung na yod pa dang gnyis / yar glungs kyi jo bo'i sar mdzad pa'o*  
*//*

A reverential petition to Nor lha written at the residence of Yar lung Jo bo.

13. *Nor lha'i gsol gdab*; 422a [1, 250]

Incipit: *o[m ]svasti / phun tshogs 'dod dgu ma lus 'byor pa'i gter //...*

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K. Schaeffer for sharing this manuscript with me. A work written in response to Seng ge rgyal mtshan is found in Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2, 97-98.

Colophon: .../ ces pa btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // 'di yar glungs mdo mkhar du nor lha phyag bris yod par mdzad pa'o //

A reverential petition to Nor lha written in Mdo mkhar in Yar lung.

14. *Bsam yas gso nam mdzad dus bgyis pa'i tshigs bcad shlo ka bzhi*; 422a [1, 250-251]

Incipit: om svasti / yon tan rin chen mang po'i gter //...

Colophon: shu bhanj // bkra shi so // 'di bsam yas gsos nam chen mo'i dus mdzad nas dbu rtse chen mo'i bar sgo'i rgyan gyi 'phul la yod pa'o //

The last line reads: *rin chen bsam grub zhes byas bgyis //*, which suggests that it was written by someone called Rin chen bsam grub. These four quatrains were written on the occasion of one of his restoration projects of Bsam yas.

15. *Dag [Dwags]por bka' bsdams pa gcig la gnang pa dang / dpal ldan ye shes kyis zhus lan dang gcer mthong thug phrad gsum mo*; 422a-423a [1, 251-253]

Incipit: dka' spyad rgyas kyang shin du rnyed dka' zhing //...

Colophon: ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten mtshon par chab gser zho phyed mchis shing sgrub pa'i bar chad thams cad zhi nas chos kyis rgyal po'i go 'phang thob par gyur cig / dge'o // bkra shis par gyur cig / a single dang kyog graph / / dam pa skyes mchog rnam la phyag 'tshal lo // dpal te tse ba'i dgon par 'jam dpal smra ba'i seng ges / rje btsun dam pa rgya gar la gcer mthong thug phrad kyis gdams pa gnang pa // gang shar cer [gloss: gzung 'dzin gyi rnam rtog la rig pas brtags pas grol du song nas rig pa rjen par 'dug pa de chos sku yin pa[s ]so //] gyis ltos // yin thog tu lhan gyis zhog [gloss: bzhag pas sems mi rtog pa la gnas so //] / zin [gloss: lta sgom gyi blo de] tsa na [gloss: yin thog tu lhan gyis gnas kyis] shig la bor [gloss: rtsis med du phyad kyis mthong] / de nyid la rtsal sbyongs [gloss: rtsis med kyis shes pa sangs rgyas kyis dgongs yin pa] / gang byung [gloss: bde sdug stod smad yin min thams cad] thog tu [gloss: khyer la nyams len bya'o //] khol / ces gsungs so // cer mthong thug phrad kyis gdams pa rdzogs [gloss: rdzong khar bzhugs dus mkhan po shes rdor [shes rab rdo rjer] dpe la bris //] so //

After the initial *dang kyog graph*, mention is made of "the monastery of Te tse ba" and that this piece was written in

Rdzong kha for the abbot Shes rab rdo rje. It also includes a reply to a Dpal ldan ye shes.

Fol. 424a is a new title page with marginal notation "Na," and in the upper center we have the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi la* 331.

16. *Chos rje bla ma dam pas ta dben pa'i zhu lan du mdzad*; 424a-427a [1, 253-259]

Incipit: *ta dben pa'i zhal snga nas gsung yig bskur ba legs par thengs shing /...*

Colophon: *...chags sdang dbang gis 'dor zhing dmod par ga la zhig // gcig zhus // shubham //*

This work deals with Kālacakra chronology in relation to the life of the historical Buddha. It is a reply to a query by a Ta dben pa. To be sure, *ta dben* reflects Chinese *da yuan*, that is, the "Great Yuan dynasty," and it is often used as a short-form for Chinese *dayuan guoshi*. He had apparently seen several problems with "the *Chos 'byung*" and queried Bla ma dam pa about these. The *Chos 'byung* refers to Bla ma dam pa's own history of the Kālacakra cycle that has recently surfaced.<sup>111</sup>

Fol. 428a is a new title page with marginal notation "Na," and in the upper center we have the indigenous catalogue number of *phyi la* 231.

17. *Yar lungs sne gdong du gu shri chen po'i chos 'khor dus kyi bstan rtsis*; 428a-431b [2, 1-7]  
Catalog no. *phyi la* 231

Incipit: *om svasti / shes bya'i mkha' la don gyi de nyid gzigs //...*

Colophon: *...tshul 'di yang sngar yang mkhas pa rnam kyis mi 'dra ba'i rnam gzhas mang du mdzad cing / ding sang yang chos dang zang zing gi dga' ston rgya chen po 'di lta bu'i dus su sngar byung gi tshul dang mthun par rnam gzhas byed pa'i rigs[ s]o // zhes lung rigs 'dzin pa rnam kyis / gu shri ba'i spyen lar (sic) gsol ba las / de*

<sup>111</sup> See his *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos 'byung legs bshad sgron me*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 13, 1-173, which he completed in 1365. His *Sbyor ba yan lag drug gi ngo sprod sbas don gsal ba'i sgron me*, an undated study of the Kālacakra's hexapartite yoga, opens with a brief history of its development; see his *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 13, 174-451.

*nyid kyi bkas bskul nas btsun pa bsod nams kyis smras pa'o // gcig zhus //*

This is a work on Buddhist chronology (*bstan rtsis*) written on the occasion of the 1373 council that 'Jam dbyangs Shākya rgyal mtshan convened in Sne'u gdong.<sup>112</sup>

18. *Dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyal lon dpal gyi zhu lan*; 431b-433b [1, 259-263]

Incipit: *om svasti / dge ba'i gshes gnyen rgyal mtshan dpal gyi phrin yig lung thang gi phreng ba la dngul rdor dang bcas pa 'phrod pas spro /...*

Colophon: *.../ ces pa'i yi ge'i rten du dgas phreng legs pa brgya rtsa gcig bdog / kun ldan gyi lo dbyar zla ra ba'i tshes brgyad la dge legs[s] u gyur cig //*

This is a reply to a query by Rgyal mtshan dpal anent Madhyamaka philosophy. The text was written on the eighth day of the fifth lunar month of the *kun ldan* (\**śārvarī*) year, that is, on June 23, 1360.

19. *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pas tha'i tse chen po'i lung gi lan du phul ba*; 433b-6b [1, 263-270]

Incipit: *gong ma mi'i dbang po sa'i bdag po rgyal po chen po'i drung du / zhu ba /*

Colophon: *drung chos kyi rin po che'i gsung rab[s] hāng tha'i tshe la mdzad pa yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyis zhus dag bgyis shing sbyin par bya ba'i chos so //*

This is a letter to and in reply to a statement of the great prince (*tha'i tse* < Ch. *taizi* 太子) Ayushiridara (1339–1378) that was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> For this event, see also *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 22b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe nying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33]

<sup>113</sup> For some six letters written by Rgyal ba Rin po che Grags pa brtson 'grus (1203–1267), alias Thog brdugs pa, to Hülegü and Qubilai, see Jampa Samten and Dan Martin's outstanding "Letters to the Khans. Six Tibetan Epistles of Togdudgpa Addressed to the Mongol Rulers Hulegu and Khubilai, as well as to the Tibetan Lama Pagpa," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* [*Trails of the Tibetan Tradition. Papers for Elliot Sperling*, ed. R. Vitali et al.] 31 (2015), 297–332. See also, in general, D. Martin, "Letter Writing Manuals," in the entry for December 7, 2016, in his lovely tibetologic.blogspot.com

20. No title; 437a [1, 250-251]

Incipit: *yang dag lam la yang dag rjes gshegs pas // phul byung yon tan phul byung mchog brnyes te // ...*

Colophon: *...rgyal ba bdud las rgyal ba kun la 'dud // lo tsa ba byang chub rtse mo la /*

This is a series of quatrains written to Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo in Bsam yas; the text in 1, 250-251, only consists of one quatrain.

21. No title; 437a [1, 251]

Incipit: */ svasti / gang gi zhabs pad nyin byed gsar pa yi // 'od kyi rjes 'gros skye dgu 'i yan lag mchog //...*

Colophon: *...legs bshad bdud rtsi rtag par spro bar gsol // lo tsa ba dharmā shrī bha dra la /*

This is a letter written to Lo tsā ba Dharmashrībhadrā, that is, Chos kyi dpal bzang po (1316-1397).

22. No title; in a note: *Dpal ldan sa skya 'i dge ba 'i bshes gnyen rnam la mdzad pa*; 437a-b [1, 270-272]

Incipit: *om svasti / bla ma dang 'jam pa 'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // dpal ldan yon tan srid na dpe zla ma mchis pa //...*

No colophon.

A work addressed to Sa skya monks.

23. No title; 437b-438a [1, 271-272]

Incipit: *gang gi srid pa 'i chags pa spangs kyang brtse bas 'gro ba 'i don la chags //...*

Colophon: [437b-438a] *...a wa dhū tī pa 'i dge slong dpal sa skyar gnas pas / sa 'i steng na 'gran zla dang bral ba 'i / 7 mi 'i dbang po yab yum sras dang bcas pa 'i mchod gnas / [438a] 'gro kun la phan bde stsol ba 'i dbang gi rgyal po / rnam par dag pa 'i phrin las / rin po che 'i gnyer du gyur pa / ta 'i tu 'i pho brang chen po na bzhugs pa 'i dge ba 'i bshes gnyen rnam pa 'i snyan du gsol ba 'o //*

This is a verse addressed to Tibetan clerics who were staying in Dadu, the Mongol winter capital.

24. No title; 438a [1, 272]

Incipit: / *dge bshes grags pa dpal la* / ...  
No colophon.

Verse addressed to Grags pa dpal.

25. No title; 438a-439b [1, 272-276].

Incipit: / *'dren mchog bla ma'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // lung rigs smra ba'i bshes gnyen bsam grub kyis* / ...  
No colophon: *dge'o* /

This work deals effecting an enlightened attitude, monastic vows and transgressions in the context of Mahayana practice, in response to questions by layman Bsam grub.

26. No title; 439b-440b [1, 276-278]

Incipit: *om svasti / yon tan rin chen bye bas brgyan pa'i sku // legs bshad chos sgra rgyun du sgrogs pa'i gsung //...*  
Colophon: *...ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten tsam / sa ga dpyid zla'i tshes bcwa lnga la bris pa dge legs[ s]u gyur //*

This is a letter to Slob dpon Don grub rgyal mtshan, his maternal nephew (*dbon po*), that was written on the fifteenth day of the spring-month *sa ga* (*\*vaiśākha*) of an unspecified year.

27. No title; 440b [1, 278]

Incipit: *dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyal ba dpal la springs pa // dad dang brtson 'grus thos pa gsum // ...*  
No colophon.

A letter to a certain Rgyal ba dpal.

28. No title; 440b-441a [1, 278-279]

Incipit: *om svasti / bim pa ltar dmar 'dzum pa'i zhal snga nas // rnam mang mtshan dpe'i rgyan gyis mdzes pa'i skus //...*



Colophon: ...*zhes pa zhi ba'i lo tha skar gyi zla ba'i rgyal ba'i tshes la phul ba dge legs ches cher 'phel[ l]o // drung chos kyi rjes / kar ma ba la gnang pa'i bka' shog yin // //*

This is a letter to Karma pa [= ?Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje] that is dated the third day of the month *tha skar* (\**āśvina*) of the *zhi ba* (\**saumya*) year, that is, October 4, 1369.

29. No title; 441a-441b [1, 279-280]

Incipit: *mkhyen pa dpag yas dri med chab kyi gter // tshad med brtse ba'i yid bzhin nor bu'i mdzod //...*  
No colophon

This is a letter to an unnamed Kashmirian scholar with connections in the Mongol court.

30. No title; 441b-442a [1, 280-281]

Incipit: *om svasti / rang bzhin rnam dag rigs kyi chu gtsang las // legs 'khrungs mkhyen brtse'i 'dab ma stong dang ldan // ...*  
Colophon: [442a] / *ces pa'i zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten du //*

This is a letter to emperor Toγon Temür with enclosed gifts.

31. No title; 442a-b [1, 281-283]

Incipit: *phun tshogs dge legs rin chen bzhi rang bzhin // ye shes rnam bzhi'i bang rim bzhi yis mdzes //...*  
No colophon

This is a letter to crown prince (*hwang tha'i tshe* < Ch. *huang taizi* 皇太子) Ayushiridara on the occasion of Bla ma dam pa's own *Kālacakra* commentary. Mention is made of the earlier petition made by Duke (*gu'i gung*) Chos kyi rin chen (?-1402) and the Mongol imperial family's kindness towards a Bla ma Kun dga' rgyal po; see my forthcoming "Two Letters of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375) to the Mongol Heir-Apparent Ayushiridara (1339-1378) concerning *Kālacakra* Texts."

32. No title; 442b-443a [1, 283-284]

Incipit: *na mo manydzu nā thā ya / mkhyen rab rgya chen nam mkha'i go skabs bcom bzhin yangs //..*

Colophon: *phyis dpe zhig bsgrubs nas 'dul ba brtan pa cig la ci myur gyis phyag tu thengs par byed pa lags / zhu yig gzigs pa'i /*

This is yet another letter to crown prince Ayushiridhara in connection with Bla ma dam pa's Kālacakra commentary.

33. No title: 443a-444a [1, 284-286]

Incipit: */ om svasti / mar gad ltar gsal rab tu rgyas pa'i zhal //...*

Colophon: *gu shrī ba'i zhal snga nas lo gsar pa bkra shis par 'gyur ba'i smon lam...tshes bcu gcig la bris pa dge zhing bkra shis par gyur cig /*

A New Year's "card" in verse and prose for an unidentified National Preceptor.

34. No title; 444a-445a [1, 286-287]

Incipit: *khyed rnam pas da lta mi lus thob pa'i dus 'dir /...*  
No colophon.

35. No title; 445a-446a [1, 287-289]

Incipit: *om svasti / dgos 'dod kun 'byung yon tan rin chen gter //..*

Colophon: *[445b-6a] ...bshes gnyen sgrub pa yon tan 'od zer gyis // bskul phyir bstun pa bsod [446a] nams kyi sbyar ba'i gter // dge bas bstan pa dri med rin chen gter // sgo 'byed rnam dag lung rigs lde mig gis // mtha' drug rgyas btab sgo lcags legs phye nas // yang dag don gyi khang bzang 'jug gyur cig / //*

This is a work on taking on an enlightened attitude in Mahayana Buddhism as requested by the layman Sgrub pa Yon tan 'od zer.

36. No title; 446a-446b [1, 290-291]

Incipit: *om svasti / bde stong zung 'jug sku bzhi dpal //...*

Colophon: *...mkhyen rab dam pa dpal ldan seng ge zhes // yongs su grags pas bskul ba'i zhal ngo ru // gsang sngags smra ba bsod nams kyis smras so //*

A work on tantric theory and practice as requested by Dpal ldan seng ge.

37. No title; 446b-4477b [1, 291-293]

Incipit: *svasti pradzā bhyaḥ rgyal ba kun gyi yon tan rnams // gcig tu bsodus bzhin mkhyen pa yi // ...*

Colophon: *...brtan (sic) pa rgyal mtshan zhes bya bas // bskul phyir a wa dhū tī pa // bsod nams zhes byas phan pa'i blos //...*

A work on general Buddhist doctrine as requested by Bstan pa rgyal mtshan.

38. No title; 447b-448a [1, 293-294]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / dpag yas yon tan nor bu'i dpal gyis mdzes //...*

Colophon: *khyu mchog lo rta pa'i zla ba'i yar gyi tshes dga' ba dang po la chos grwa chen po dpal e chos 'byung ba'i gtsug lag khang du bris pa'i yi ge bkra shis / ...*

This is a New Year's "card" in verse allegedly written to Spyan snga Rin chen grags pa byang chub dpal bzang po (1356–1386) at E chos 'byung monastery on the first day of the horse-month of the *khyu mchog* (\**vr̥ṣa*) year. The only *khyu mchog*, that is, the iron-serpent year that fell in Bla ma dam pa's life is 1341, so that he would seem to have written this card on January 18, 1341. But this presents us with a problem, for the Spyan snga's dates makes it impossible for this piece to have been composed in a *khyu mchog* year!

39. No title; 448a-b [1, 294-295]

Incipit: */ dri med blo gros dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas //...*

Colophon: *...yi ge'i rten du zhwa sbrel cig bdog / tshes bcu bdun la dge /*

This is a letter to the layman Nyi ma that was written on the seventh day of an unknown month and year.

40. No title; 448b-449a [1, 295-297]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / / rgyal ba sgrub med mkhyen pa can //...*

Colophon: ...*yi ge'i rten du zhwa yug dmar po zung cig mchis // dpa' bo can gyi lo smin drug gi zla ba'i yar tshes lnga la bris pa dge legs[ s]u gyur cig / śubham //*

Sublinear note: *dpon po kun dga' rdo rje la spring pa'i yi ge /*.

A letter to Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje that was written on the fifth day of the *smin drug* (\**kārttika*) month of a *dpa' bo can* year, that is, on October 26, 1340.

41. *Phrin yig bdud rtsi'i thigs pa; 449a-451a [1, 297-301]*

Incipit: *om svasti // phrin yig bdud rtsi'i thigs pa zhes bya ba / rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa rnam la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // dge legs phun tshogs yid 'ong nags kyi nang //...*

Colophon: ...*ces pa'i phrin yig ltos 'gro'i lo nag pa'i zla ba'i drag po'i tshes la legs par bsrings pa mig lam du gyur ba'i slad du / spos cung zad dang / ka ra nyung zad hūṃ la sbyar ba bdog / dge legs su gyur cig /*

This letter was written on the *drag po* day of the month *nag pa* (\**caitra*) month of a *ltos 'gro* year. The term *drag po* refers to the second fortnight of a lunar month, and *ltos 'gro* is a synonym for *sbrul* ("snake"). Hence, it was written sometime between the sixteenth and the thirtieth day of the third lunar month of a snake-year. This title is almost identical to Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab's (?1059–?1109) famous open letter on Madhyamaka philosophy.<sup>114</sup>

42. *Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan la springs pa; 451a-b [1, 301-302]*

Incipit: / *'di dang phyi mar phan pa dam pa'i chos //...*

Colophon: ...*shlo ka gsum a wa dhū tī (sic) pas / sgrub brtson ngur smrig rgyal mtshan 'dzin la gdams // phag lo zla ba gnyis pa'i nyer brgyad la //*

An instruction written for a Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan on the twenty-eighth day of the second lunar month of a pig-year.

<sup>114</sup> For the text of Rngog Lo tsā ba's work, see Kano Kazuo 加納和雄, "A Critical Edition of Rngog Blo ldan shes rab's *Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* [in Japanese]," *Mikkyōbunka kenkyū jōkiyō* 20 (2007), 1-50, and for a study of this work his "An Annotated Translation of Rngog Blo ldan shes rab's *Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* [in Japanese]," *Mikkyōbunka kenkyū jōkiyō* 22 (2009), 121-178.

43. No title; 451b-upper-452a [1, 302-303]

Incipit: *svasti pra dzā bhyaḥ dge legs chu gter che las 'ongs //...*

Colophon: [upper 452a] *...yi ge mi 'khyar ba'i rten tsam du / thugs dam mdo 'dzin la the tshe 'byar ba cig dang / bla bres legs pa bsod dbang gis the tshe 'di 'byar ba cig 'bul / byi ba lo zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes brgyad la /...*

A letter written to an unidentified person on the eighth day of the second month of a rat-year.

44. No title; upper-452a [1, 303]

Incipit: [upper 452a] / *'gro la brtse ba'i spyang yangs shing //...*

Colophon: [upper 452a] *khri dbang phyug dpal mgon lde la springs yig gi mchod brjod / dge'o //*

This is the opening verse of homage of a letter to Khri Dbang phyug dpal mgon lde, evidently a local western Tibetan ruler who, however, remains unidentified.

45. No title: upper-452a [1, 303-305]

Incipit: *na maḥ shrī gu ru we / rab rgyas thugs rje'i cha shas rdzogs //...*

Colophon: *...theg pa gsum dang rgyud sde bzhi'i // zab don snying po mdor bsod pa // dpal ldan a ba dhū tī (sic) pas // slob ma'i mchog la gdams pa lags //...mangalambhavantu /*

Sublinear note at *na: chos blo dpon pa la*, "for ?the official Chos [kyi] blo [gros]."

46. No title; 452a-b [1, 305-306]

Incipit: *na maḥ gu ru we / yon tan rin chen du ma'i gter gyur pa //...*

Colophon: *...phrin yig a ba dhū tī pas // dkar po'i phyogs kyi zla tshes sbyar ba yi // rten du phra ras dri med 'du 'bul lo //...*

Sublinear note at *na maḥ...: 'bri thung pa bla ma kun dga' rgyal mtshan la'o /*. This is a letter written to Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, a lama of 'Bri thung [gung], on the first fortnight of an unidentified month and year.

47. *Ta ta'i si tu la gnang ba'i ka* [read: *bka'*] *shog*; 452b-453a [1, 306-307]

Incipit: *slob dpon byang chub rgyal mtshan la bskur ba //...*

Colophon: *...phrin yig gzigs pa'i rten du phreng ba brgya rtsa gcig bdog / stag lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcwo brgyad la dge bar gyur cig /*

A letter written to the great (*ta* < Ch. *da* 大) *Ta'i si tu*<sup>115</sup> on the eighteenth day of the third month of a tiger-year, that is, on April 14, 1362.

48. No title; 453a-b [1, 307-308]

Incipit: *dge slong bsod dbang la springs pa / yi ge bum chu ril bu dang bcas pa 'phrod / ...*

No colophon.

A letter written to the monk Bsod [nams] dbang [po/phyug].

49. No title; 453b-457b [1, 308-317]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo //...*

Colophon: *...de skad smra ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal // bzang po zhes bya a wa dhū tī pa // thub pa'i bstan la zol med gus pa can // dge sbyong tshul gnas dpal ldan sa skya pa'o // bsam yas chos 'khor gyi 'bul yig // // shubham /*

A letter of request ('*bul yig*) to the assembly at Bsam yas and a list of offerings written in 1374.

50. No title; 457b-461a [1, 318-324]

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<sup>115</sup> The same locution of *ta ta'i si tu* is also met with in the *Ta si tu byang chub rgyal mtshan gyi bka' chems*, New Delhi, 119, but not in the corresponding passages of the *Lha rigs rlangs kyi rnam thar*, ed. Chab spel Tshen brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, 471, and the *Rlangs po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chos 'dzoms, 215. *Ta'i si tu* is first mentioned in the Lo tsā ba's *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 22b [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33], in an entry for the pig-year, 1347. In a letter written in his own hand, *Ta'i si tu* had requested him to intervene on his behalf with Sa skya's Governor General Rgyal ba bzang po, who had just "invited" him. The relations between these two men who played such major roles in the politics of Central Tibet still require study.

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo //...*

Colophon: *...gdan sa phag mo gru'i spyan snga rin po che grags pa shes rab pa'i gshegs rdzongs kyi 'bul yig / drung chos rje pas mdzad pa // // shubham /*

This is a letter of request written on the occasion of the passing of Spyan snga Grags pa shes rab (1310–1370) of Phag mo gru.<sup>116</sup>

51. No title [sublinear note: *Sa skya bka' gros la gnanng ba*]; 461a-b [1, 324-326]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / gang gis mkhyen pas shes bya kun gsal snang bas sna tshogs gzugs la bzhin //...*

Colophon: *...de skad smras pa a va dhū tī pa // bstan la gus pas bstan pa'i tshul 'chang ba // ring na gnas kyang nye ba'i yid can gyis // gsol la nongs pa gang de'ang bzod mdzad rigs // yi ge gzigs pa'i rten du gser zho do bdog // lug gi lo zla ba drug pa'i gnam gang la yang rtser bris pa'i yi ge shin du bkra shis par gyur cig / // shubham /*

This is a letter written in Yang rtse to the councilors (*bka' gros*) of Sa skya on the *gnam gang* (= thirtieth, new moon day) of the sixth month of a sheep year.

52. No title [supralinear note: *Bla ma bzhi thog pas gtso mdzad dge ba'i bshes gnyen dpon chen dang bcas pa la gnanng*]; 462a-b [1, 326-328]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / mkhyen pa kun ldan rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas mchog / sdug bsngal kun sel dam chos chos kyi mchog /...*

No colophon.

This is a letter written to monks of Sa skya headed by Lama Bzhi thog pa [= Kun dga' rin chen] and a Grand-Governor. This letter was written to congratulate Kun dga' rin chen for having been given an imperial edict (*'ja' sa*) and a jade seal of office for the abbacy of Sa skya's Bzhi thog residence, that is, of Sa skya as a whole, in 1365.

53. No title; 462b-463a [1, 328-329]

<sup>116</sup> The first entry for him in *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a [= *Ibid.*, *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 33], is dated 1347.

Incipit: *na mo bud dha ya / gang gi mkhyen brtses zag med yon tan kun // gcig tu bsdu pas bya lam yangs pa bzhin //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa spre'u lo zla ba bzhi pa'i yar tshes lrgyad [read: brgyad] la bla ma mnyam med grags rgyal la'o //*

This is a letter written to Lama Mnyam med pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan on the eighth *yar*-day [= first half of the lunar month] of the fourth month of the monkey year.<sup>117</sup>

54. No title; 463a [1, 329]

*yon tan rin chen kun gyis gang ba'i mdzod // 'chad rtsod rtsom pa'i rgyal mtshan ches gsal bas // don gnyis rnam par dag pa'i dpal yon can // phrin las bzang ldan gang de rgyal gyur cig / ces bla ma shar pa la'o //*

A quatrain written to Lama Shar pa.

55. No title; 463a-b [1, 329-330]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / rnam dag khrims kyi yid bzhin nor bus 'byor // mkhyen brtse ting 'dzin dam pa'i rgyan gyis mdzes //...*

Colophon: *...gong gi kha skad 'dra la brtags nas zhu ba rim pas bskur ba lags / zhal ta gda' na'ang rim pa bzhin gnang ba zhu / spyan sngar gyi bzhin las ma mchis shing / de la gnod par gda' na bstan pa'i bya ba chen po'i bar chad du 'gyur bas zhu spobs mi nus lags / shes pa gzigs pa'i rten tsam du bzang ras kyi rten khebs gcig 'bul / nyer lnga la dge / mkhan chen byang rtse la'o //*

A letter addressed to Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo written on the twenty-fifth day of an unspecified month and year.

56. No title; 463b-464a [1, 330-331]

<sup>117</sup> A very brief note on the life of this little-known Sa skya master can be found in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1: Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan as a Man of Reli-gion," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37 (1994), 143-144. This can now be somewhat supplemented with what we gather from Gtsang Byams pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, *Sa skya mkhon (sic) gyi gdungs (sic) rab rin po che'i 'phreng ba*, 40b ff. and the *Mkhan rgyud (sic) rnam gsum byon tshul gyi rnam thar*, 15a. Like Bla ma dam pa, he played a very significant role in the ongoing negotiations between Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan and his competitors at Sa skya and elsewhere. In the manuscripts of Ta'i si tu's autobiography he is most commonly referred to as Bla ma Mnyam med pa.



Incipit: *dus gsum rgyal ba'i gdung tshab khyung po rnal 'byor pa'i // phrin las bsgrub mdzad sgrub pa'i rgyal mtshan mchog gi rtser //...*  
 Colophon: *sa ga'i zla ba'i dga' ba'i tshes la phul ba dge legs mchog tu gyur cig / stag tshang pa bla ma khyung po la gnang ba'o //*

A letter "offered" to Lama Khyung po [? Tshul khrim mgon po] of Stag tshang on a *dga' ba* day of the month *sa ga* (*\*vaiśākha*) of an unspecified year.

57. No title [sublinear note: *Bde ba can pa rnam la gnang ba*]; 464a-b [1, 331-332]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / lung dang rigs pa'i sgra dbyangs rgyun mi 'chad par sgrog pa'i dga' ston /...*  
 Colophon: *...snron gyi zla ba'i tshes bcu gcig la dge bar gyur cig...*

A letter to the residents of Bde ba can monastery dated the eleventh day of the month *snron* (*\*jyaiṣṭha*) of an unspecified year.

58. No title; 464b [1, 332]

Incipit: *phun tshogs yon tan kun gyi gter // mtha' yas dri ma 'khud pa'i chu //...*  
 Colophon: *...ces dam pa dbon po la'o // // shubham /*

Undated verses to his maternal nephew.

59. No title; 464b-470b [2, 13-26].

Incipit: */ skabs 'dir / bstan pa'i rtsa lag dge 'dun 'dus pa rgya mtsho lta bu'i dbus su / skabs don gyi brda sprod chu klung gi sgra snyan du gsol bar zhu 'tshal /*  
 No colophon.

An end note states: *bsam yas[ s]u chos 'khor mdzad pa'i mos pa mdzad pa'o //*. This text is evidently a speech he gave on the occasion of one of his teaching stints at Bsam yas. A Bla ma Bdag nyid chen po ba and a Bla ma chen po Kun dga' blo gros are mentioned; these must be identified as Bdag nyid Bzang po dpal (1262-1323), alias Don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (*\*Amoghadhvajāsribhadra*), and *dishi* Kun dga' blo gros (1299–1327). His work is closely related to nos. 17 and 49.

60. No title; 470b-471b [2, 7-9]

Incipit: / *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // gang zag mchog la brten nas dge ba bsgrubs nas de mi zad cing spel ba'i phyir /...*  
No colophon.

61. No title; 471b-473a [2, 9-13]

Incipit: / *skabs 'dir / skabs don brda sbyor ba'i lo rgyus tshig 'ga' gleng bar zhu 'tshal / phyag 'tshal ba dang / zhes sogs sbyar na'ang rung bas /...*  
No colophon.

62. No title; 473b-474a [1, 332-334]

Incipit: [473b] *shes bya kun la gang zhig mkhyen pa'i spyang yangs shing // lus pa med pa'i 'gro la gcig tu brtse ba can //...*

Colophon: *rnam gnon lo yi thub zla 'jig rten tshes // gang la babs tshe mkhas pa'i bsti gnas mchog // sa skya'i gtsug lag khang nas phul ba ste / da dung 'bel pa'i bka' 'chid phreng du spro // [note: bla ma gzhon nu seng ge la'o /] / shubham //*

Text of a speech held at Sa skya on the 'jig rten [= third] day of the thub [= seventh] month of the rnam gnon (\*vikrama) year, that is, on July 28, 1340. It was given to a Bla ma Gzhon nu seng ge.

63. *Lung chos kyi bshad gsar gyi mol ba yin / tshang ma'i gcig yod pa rtsang sbyang nas bri'o //; 474a-476a [2, 26-31]; nos. 63-65 are all closely related.*

Incipit: *skabs 'dir 'dus pa rgya mtsho'i dbus nas cung zad cig snyan gsan par zhu 'tshal // zhu skabs na /...*

Colophon: *...'bul ba'i yi ge la'ang gsan par zhu lags //*

64. No title; 476a-477b [2, 31-34]

Incipit: *skabs 'dir skabs don brda sprod pa'i tshig 'ga' snyan du 'bul bar zhu 'tshal / zhu skabs na /...*

Colophon: *...se lung sgang du lha'i rab gnas dang / dpon po rdor rje dpal bzangs kyis brtags gnyis bshad gsar dus dags por chos rjes mdzad pa'o//*

Mention is made of Se lung sgang and that Bla ma dam pa wrote it in Dwags po on the occasion of the official/nephew (*dpon/dbon po*) Rdo rje dpal bzang and his new *Hevajratantra* commentary.

65. No title; 477b-478b [2, 34-37]

Incipit: *khyed kyi dus las 'das pa'i don du // dkon mchog gi mchod pa /...*

Colophon: *gshin bsngo bsdus pa dbon po rdo rje dpal bzangs kyi don du dags por chos rje mdzad pa'o //*

Written in Dwags po for the official/nephew Rdo rje dpal bzang.

66. No title; 478b-480a [2, 37-40]

Incipit: *svasti / chos dbyings dag pa'i dpag bsam rkang 'thung // don kun gzigs pa'i lo 'dab rgyas shing //...*

No colophon.

67. *Thog mar gtor ma'i byin rlabs mdzad par zhu; 480a-b*

Incipit: *dge ba'i rtsa ba bla na med pa'i byang chub tu bsngo ba bgyid / bsngo ba 'grub pa'i dpang por /...*

Colophon: *mol ba dang bsngo ba drung chos kyi rje pas gnyal stod du mdzad pa'o //*

This speech and dedication of merit was composed in Gnyal stod.

68. *Ta dben kun legs pa phyags phyir yod pa'i don du; 480b-483b [2, 40-48]*

Incipit: *// phun tshogs yon tan mchog gi nor lha // mkhyen gsum yon tan 'byor pa'i tshogs la dbang bsgyur bas //...*

No colophon.

Written for the servants of Great Yuan (*ta dben* < Ch *dayuan* 大元) *dishi* Kun dga' legs pa (1358-1376).

69. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / phun tshogs mkhyen pa'i 'od zer rnam par gsal // tshad med thugs rje'i dkyil 'khor rab tu rgyas //...*  
 Colophon: *gong ma la bskur ba'i mchod brjod //*

An expression of worship in verse that was sent to the emperor (*gong ma*).

70. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / gang zhig dge 'os mchod pa'i gzahir gyur cing / nyin byed 'od 'dra sku yi dpal 'bar bas //...*  
 Colophon: *gong ma la //*

Another ephemeral verse for the emperor.

71. No title; 484a [2, 48]

Incipit: *gdong nas spro pa kun las rnam grol yang // skal bzhin gdul bya sna tshogs don mdzad pa //...*  
 Colophon: *mkhan chen bu ston pa la //*

Two quatrains of homage for his master Bu ston.

72. No title; 484a [2, 48-49]

Incipit: [484a] *om svasti siddham / gang gis 'gro ba mi zad sdug bsngal rnam // kun du bsal slad 'khor ba spong bar mi mdzad la //...*  
 Colophon: *bla chen tri shri kun rgyal la //*

A quatrain of homage for his half-brother *dishi* Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1310-1358).

73. No title; 484a [2, 49]

Incipit: *gang zhig dran pas sdug bsngal kun sel zhing // 'chi med de tshe yi dpal dang rnam grol gyi //...*  
 Colophon: *tha hu la //*

A quatrain of homage to the empress dowager (*tha hu* < Ch. *taihou* 太后) [= ?Mailaiti].

74. No title; 484a-b [2, 49]

Incipit: *phun tshogs mtshan dpe'i dpal gyis rab mdzes shing // srid zhi'i rgud pa mtha' dag zhi mdzad de //...*  
Colophon: *hong hu la //*

A verse for the empress (*hong hu* < Ch. *huanghou* 皇后) [= ?Gi].

75. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *gur kum mdog can mchog tu gzungs bzang pa // gti mug mun pa'i tshogs kun 'joms mdzad la //...*  
Colophon: *rgyal bu la //*

A quatrain for a prince (*rgyal bu*) [= ?Ayushiridara].

76. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *gangs ri ltar dkar 'od zer dra bas rab mdzes la // thugs rje'i gyis 'gro ba'i gdung ba zhi mdzad cing //*  
Colophon: *a khro la //*

A quatrain for a certain A khro. He is also mentioned below in no. 97.

77. No title; 484b [2, 49]

Incipit: *phrin las drag pos bdud rnams tshar gcod cing // thugs rje'i dbang gis 'gro rnams rjes bzung nas //...*  
Colophon: *swon ji dbon po la //*

A verse for the Swon ji dbon po, a member of the ?Department of Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs (*swon ji dbon* < ?Ch. *xuanzhengyuan* 宣政院).

78. No title; 484b [49-50]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshalo // gang sku'i mdzes pas 'gro ba kun gyi yid 'phrog cing // tshangs pa'i dbyangs ldan 'dzin ma'i khyon kun gsal bar khyab //...*  
Colophon: *lo tsa ba byang rtse er bskos pa'i 'bul yig mgo //*

A letter requesting that Lo tsā ba Byang chub rtse mo be appointed abbot of Bo dong E monastery.

79. No title; 485a [2, 50-51]

Incipit: *om svasti / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la phyag 'tshal lo // tshogs gnyis rab rdzogs bkra shis phun tshogs rnam rgyal rtser // yon tan rab rgyas bkra shis nor bu'i tog gis mdzes //...*  
 Colophon: None

80. No title; 485a-486a [2, 51-53]

Incipit: *mkhyen gsum yon tan du ma'i dpal la dbang 'byor ba rtsa ba dang brgyud par bcas pa'i bla ma dam pa rnam dang /...*  
 Colophon: *...ces 'di bsod nams mtshan can gsung / gtam bshad bsdus pa bsngo ba dang bcas pa'o //*

On the dedication of merit.

81. *Phrin yig nor bu'i phreng ba*; 486a [2, 53-56]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / phrin yig nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba / na mo lo kod ta ra sarba dznyā ya / rab mdzes bkod legs nor bu'i dra ba yis // rab spras yid 'ong khang bzang ches bkra ba //...*  
 Colophon: *rgya ma rin po che bkra shis rgyal mtshan la mdzad /*

A letter to Rgya ma Rin po che Bkra shis rgyal mtshan

82. No title; 486a-b [2, 56-57]

Incipit: *rigs kyi dbang phyug rnam la phyag 'tshal lo // gang gsung 'jam pa'i dbyangs snyan 'di ni sgra snyan ma lags 'gro ba'i mun sel sgron ma ste //...*  
 Colophon: *smo lam rdo rje la //*

A piece written for Smon lam rdo rje (1284-1347), the Tshal pa myriarch.<sup>118</sup>

83. *Dka' bzhi pa la springs pa*; 486b [2, 57-58]

Incipit: *dge zhing yun ring 'tsho ba dang //*  
 Colophon: *'tshal pa la yin /*

<sup>118</sup> *Chos rje bla ma dam pa'i rnam[s] thar thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, 23a [= *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 26, 34], relates that he was present at the funerary ceremonies of the deceased Tshal pa myriarch, which is confirmed by *Dpal ldan bla ma dge sbyong chen po zhes pa tshal pa drung chen smon lam pa'i rnam thar*, 57a.

A quatrain written for Tshal pa Dka' / Bka' bzhi pa, a scholar learned in the four domains of Buddhist Studies: *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Pramāṇa*, *Vinaya*, and *Madhyamaka*.

84. *Slob dpon grags pa bshes gnyen la springs pa*; 486b [2, 58]

Incipit: *gang la rten na dge legs 'phel //*  
Colophon: *'tshal pa rin po che /*

A quatrain for Master Grags pa bshes gnyen who is affiliated with the Tshal pa.<sup>119</sup>

85. *Slob dpon shākya rdo rje la spring pa*; 486b [2, 58]

Incipit: *'di dang phyi mar phan pa ni //*  
Colophon: *phrin yig yid bzhin nor bu 'o // bkra shis bde legs ldan par shog / 'tshal pa //*

A quatrain for Master Shākya rdo rje who is affiliated with the Tshal pa.

86. No title; 486b-490b [2, 58-62]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / na mo gu ru ve / na mo ratna tra yā ya / dge legs chur 'byung yon tan dpag med 'dab stong rgyas // dpag med thugs rje 'i ge sar dpag med phyogs kun gsal //*  
Colophon: *bsam yas gso nam chen po 'i dus kyi 'bul yig go //*

This is a piece written on the occasion of the large-scale restoration work that was begun at Bsam yas in the monkey-year [1368] and lasted through to the hen-year [1369], whereby the Mongol emperor Toγon Temür was the main underwriter and sponsor, together with a number of Tibetan notables, lay as well as clerical. Consecrations and festivities were then conducted from the first month of the monkey-year to the next mouse-year [1372]. This duodenary cycle recapitulates another duodenary cycle during which, as we are told in the *Dbā' / Sba*

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<sup>119</sup> He is probably the same [Spyan snga] Grags pa bshes gnyen (1322-1381), the younger brother of Smon lam rdo rje, who ruled Tshal myriarchy from *circa* 1351-1356, and who was abbot of the family's monastery Tshal Yang dgon from 1354/7-1381; see Sørensen and Hazod [in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo], *Rulers on the Celestial Plain. Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gung thang*, vol. 2, 636.

*bzhed* texts and elsewhere, Bsam yas was constructed and consecrated.<sup>120</sup>

87. No title; 490b-491a [2, 62-63]

Incipit: *na mo lo ke shwa rā ya / gang gi zhab sen dmar ba'i 'od zer gyis //*

Colophon: *zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nyer lnga la dge bar gyur cig / //*

A supralinear note to *lo* of the invocation to Lokeśvara (\*Jig rten dbang phyug) states: *dge bshes yon tan rin chen la gdams pa*, meaning "Instruction for Dge bshes Yon tan rin chen." It was written on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth lunar month of an unknown year.

88. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *phun tshogs dri med sku yi cha las ni // nyin byed 'od zer bye ba phrag brgya yis // lus can blo yi pad tshal rab rgyas nas // sku gnyis ze'u 'bru'i rtsi yis gtam par mdzod //*

Colophon: *dge bshes tshul rgyal la //*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Tshul khrims rgyal [po/mtshan].

89. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *gang mtshan skad cig cig la dran tsam gyis // sgrib pa gnyis zhi zhi gnas las 'das nas // gang gis chos kun kun du mngon sum dang // ji bzhin rab mkhyen mkhyen pa mnga' la 'dud //*

Colophon: *snar thang pa la //*

A quatrain in a chime (*zung ldan*, *yamaka*) poetic figure that is based on phonology (*sgra rgyan*, *śabdālamkāra*) for someone associated with Snar thang monastery.

90. No title; 491a [2, 63]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / 'jam pa'i dpal gyis mkhyen pa'i phul // spyan ras gzigs kyi brtse ba'i gter //...*

Colophon: *gong ma la //*

<sup>120</sup> See the discussion in Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 376, 601-6.



Three quatrains for the Mongol emperor.

91. No title; 491a [2, 63-64]

Incipit: *om na mo shrī gu ra ve / na ma skā rā yai / phun tshogs rgyal  
ba kun gyi phrin las las // lha mo'i tshul gyis gdul bya rjes bzung  
phyir // 'gro la lha mo tshul gyis mchog stsol ba'i // srid gsum sgrol  
mdzad de yis skyong gyur cig /*  
Colophon: *hong tha'i tshe //*

A quatrain for the crown prince Ayushiridara.

92. No title; 491a [2, 64]

Incipit: *namaḥ shrī gu ra ve / gang gi grags pa 'dzin ma'i mthar son  
zhing // rgya che mkhyen pa'i gting mtha' dpag yas las // phrin las  
chu gter lta bur mi zad pa // skyabs mchog bla ma'i tshogs kyis skyong  
gyur cig /*  
Colophon: *dge shes blo ldan bzang po dmar khams pa la // //*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Blo ldan bzang po of Dmar [?read: Smar] khams.

93. No title; 491a [2, 64]

Incipit: *'jam pa'i ngang tshul 'jam dbyangs 'gro ba'i dpal //*  
Colophon: *dge bshes byams pa dpal la /*

A quatrain for Dge bshes Byams pa dpal.

94. No title; 491b [2, 64]

Incipit: *phun tshogs yon tan bdun la dbang 'byor zhing //*  
Colophon: *ta'i si tu byang rgyal la // //*

Two quatrains for Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan.

95. No title; 491b [2, 64]

Incipit: *gang zhig phun tshogs shar gyi ri yi rtser // ji lta ji snyed  
gzigs pa'i dkyil 'khor rgyas // dri med thugs rje'i 'od kyis dra ba can  
// rgyal ba 'gro ba'i mgon pos dge legs mdzod //*

Colophon: ...ces gong ma'i drung du'o //

A quatrain for the emperor.

96. No title; 491b [2, 64-65]

Incipit: *tshad med bzhi'i rin chen las grub cing // phrin las rnam  
bzhi'i bang rim mdzes pa can //...*

No colophon.

Two quatrains.

97. Dge bshes dkon mchog seng ge la spring ba; 491b [2, 65]

Incipit: *dkon mchog thugs rjes rjes snyegs byas // cho dben 'jig rten  
pha rol son //...*

Colophon: *nyan po ba'i dge bshes dkon seng la mdzad pa'o // shub  
ham //*

A two quatrain-letter to Dge bshes Dkon mchog seng ge. Master A khro is mentioned therein; see above no. 76.

98. *Shel gyi tho shu'i dam phud kyi tshigs bcad chos rjes mdzad pa*; 492a-b [2, 65-67]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus  
par phyag 'tshal lo // rgyal ba kun gyi thugs rje gcig bsdus pa // dpag  
yas yon tan kun la dbang 'byor zhing //...*

Colophon: *shing pho stag gi lo zla ba dang po'i tshes bcu gsum la  
bris pa phyogs dus thams cad du bkra shis dang dge legs phun sum  
tshogs par gyur cig / spyang snga grags byang pa / thel shod sbrel ba'i  
dus su / thu shu spel kha'i dam phud 'bul ba'i tshigs bcad / drung  
chos kyi rje pas mdzad pa // yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan pas  
dag par bgyis pa'o //*

These verses in Spyan snga Grags pa byang chub are dated the thirteenth day of the first month of the wood-male-tiger year, that is, January 25, 1374. It was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.

99. No title; 492b-493a [2, 67]

Incipit: *rmi lam brtag pa'i sngon 'gror / om mu rtsi li svāhā / om mo  
hā ni svā hā / om tan ti le svā hā / zhes ci mang du bgrangs la /...*

Colophon: *chos kyi rje pa la / lha sras dam pa jo bo brag kha bas brag khar zhus nas mdzad pa yin la / yar lungs pa seng rgyal gyis gus pas blangs te bris pa dge'o //*

On the preliminaries of dream analysis. Jo bo Brag kha ba, an individual of royal descent (*lha sras*, \**devaputra*), requested this of Chos kyi rje [= Bla ma dam pa] in Brag kha, and it was received and written down by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan.

100. No title; 493a-b [2, 67-68]

Incipit: *na mo gu ru / char bcad pa'i man ngag la / rdzas dang sngags gnyis //...*

Colophon: *'jam dbyangs gu shrī chen po // dbyar gtsang la byon dus / chos kyi rje pa la zhus nas zhal dpod mdzad nas bris pa'i man ngag yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan [493b] gyis zhus shing zhu dag bgyis pa'o //*

An instruction on how to stop rain. The fire-male-horse year, roughly 1366, is mentioned, as is the occasion of 'Jam dbyangs Gu shrī Shākya rgyal mtshan being en route to Gtsang during the summer. The editor of this little work was Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Another work edited by Yar lung pa is found in Bla ma dam pa's *Collected Works*, ed. Rdzong pa'i dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu khang, vol. 2 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2016), 99-101.

101. No title; 493b-496a [2, 68-74]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang mgon po 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus par phyag 'tshal lo // bkra shis phun tshogs dge legs rgya mtsho'i dpal las 'khrungs // ji lta ji snyed ji bzhin gzig pa'i rba rlabs g.yo //...*

Colophon: *chu mo glang gi lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bcu la / / yar lungs sne gdong du chos kyi 'khor lo'i dbu btsugs nas / nyi shu gcig gi nyin legs par grub pa bgyis pa'i du[ s] su chos rjes mdzad pa'i 'bul yig gi dbu zhabs yin //*

This important tract was completed on the twenty-first day of the fourth month of the water-female-ox year, that is, on May 1, 1373, on the occasion of a religious council (*chos 'khor*) held at Sne gdong that was begun eleven days earlier.

102. No title; 496a-497a [2, 74-75]

Incipit: *svasti / da lo'i dbyar gnas kyi skabs[ s]u / bstan pa rin po che'i rtsa lag / rnam par dag cing dge ba'i thugs can /...*

Colophon: *shing mo yos kyi lo yar lungs[ s]u jo dan tshogs pa sde bzhi dbyar gnas la bteq pa'i dus tshogs pa la chos rje'i sku rim mdzad dus / mol ba'i dgos don / chos rje nyid kyis mdzad pa'o //*

An address given to the Jo dan tshogs pa sde bzhi<sup>121</sup> in Yar lung during the summer recess of 1375. This may have been his last public act.

103. No title; 497a-b [2, 75-77]

Incipit: *bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo // thog mar maṅdal 'bul du bcug la / de nas slob dpon gyis thun mong gi bsrung 'khor brjod de /...*

Colophon: *brda tshig rgyud kyi phyag len bskul ba po'i don du btsun pa bsod nams kyis sbyar ba'o //*

• Marginal gloss: *bla ma gzhon rgyal ba*

This work was written at the behest of a Bla ma Gzhon nu rgyal ba who wished to practice the *Brda tshig rgyud*.

104. No title; 497b [2, 77]

Incipit: *svasti / bla ma bsgoms la gsol ba gdab // rgyun du 'chi ba dran par bya //...*

No colophon: *shubham /*

How to meditate on the lama.

105. No title; 497b-498a [2, 77-78]

Incipit: *tho rangs dang por skyabs 'gro sems bskyed bya / de nas bla ma bsgoms la gsol ba gdab //...*

Colophon: *'di gnyis dags por chos kyi rje bzhugs dus / sgom chen pa gnyis kyis zhus nas mdzad pa'o //*

<sup>121</sup> For these communities, see J. Heimbels, "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadrā's Vinaya Tradition," *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2013), 188-241.

A follow-up of no. 104; both texts had been requested by two meditators while Bla ma dam pa was staying in Dwags po.

106. No title; 498a-502a [2, 78-86]

Incipit: *om svasti / <sup>a</sup> bsam gyis mi khyab tshogs bsags pas // bsam gyis mi khyab sangs rgyas te // bsam gyis mi khyab sprul pa yis // bsam gyis mi khyab don mdzad 'dud //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa'i yi ge mi 'khyer ba'i rten du ther gon ma dkar po cig bdog / bya'i lo zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nyer lnga la skyi shod kyi sa char bris pa dge legs 'phel bar gyur cig /*

<sup>a</sup> Marginal gloss: *chos rje'i gsung rab las dge bshes rin rgyal gyi dri lan bzhugs /*

A reply to queries by a Dge bshes Rin [chen] rgyal [mtshan/po/ba] that were primarily focused on the question of Buddha-nature. It was written on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of a hen-year, while he stayed in the Skyi[d] shod area.

107. No title; 502a-b [2, 86-88]

Incipit: *<sup>a</sup> rgyal ba kun gyi phrin las kun // nyid kyi gcig tu bsdu bzhin nyid // mchog gsum rtsa ba bla med mchog // rab dad bsam pas bdag kyang dad //*

Colophon: *bde ba can gyi gdan sa ba // bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan // chos kyi rje rin po che'i gsung rab / yar lung pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi yi dam du bya zhing spel bar bya ba zhus dag go // <sup>b</sup>*

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note: *chos rje'i gsung rab las bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan[ n]o /*

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note: *bla ma 'jam rin gyi dri lan gzhan gcig yod pa'ang btsal nas 'di bzhug go //*

A reply to a query by 'Jam dbyangs rin chen, the abbot of Bde ba can monastery; the text was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Marginal note <sup>a</sup> states that the other reply to a query by the same person should be placed here after it has been acquired.

108. *Chos rje'i gsung rab las* : *Rgyal ba kun bzang la gdams pa*; 502b-503a [2, 88]

Incipit: *slob dpon kun dga' bzang po la springs pa / khyod khams bzang zhing bstan pa'i bya ba la brtson pa'i thad nas nged la yi ge rten gser srang phyed dang bcas pa bskur ba 'phrod pas spro /...*

Colophon: *da lan yi ge'i rten du zhwa sbrel zung cig yod // glang lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes gcig la bris / chos kyi rin po che'i gsung rab las // yar lungs pa seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi yi dam du bya ba'i chos bsam gling yang dben du bris shing dag par bgyis pa dge'o //*

This instruction for Master Kun dga' bzang po was written on the first day of the fourth month of an ox-year. It was edited by Yar lung pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan as a meditative exercise in Bsam [gtan] gling yang dben.

109. *Chos rje'i gsung rab thor bu ba*; 503a-b [2, 89-90]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal[ l]o // gang zhig srid zhi'i dpal 'byor chus gter gyis rgyas g.yo med dbyar skyes rigs 'khrigs shing // srid gsum gdug pa'i nyes tshogs gdung bzhi mdzad sngon med chu bsil legs bkos pas //...*

Colophon: *...ma gcig pa'i gshegs rdzongs sgrub dus kyi'o //*

A brief work written on the occasion of his mother's passing.

110. *Spyan snga grags byang pa'i zhu lan*; 503b-504b [2, 90-91]

Incipit: *bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la gus par phyag 'tshal lo // rang bzhin rnam dag rab yangs dpag bsam nam mkha'i khams // rnam dag ye shes nyi gzhon gang gis blo bur dri ma'i sprin tshogs bral //...*

Colophon: *ma gcig pa'i cho ga'i dus kyi'o //*

A reply to a query by Spyian snga Grags pa byang chub written during the [?funerary] rituals held for his deceased mother.

111. No title; 504b [2, 91-92]

A reply to a query by Spyian snga Grags pa byang chub of Gdan sa thel.

112. No title; 504b-505b [2, 92-93]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / bstan pa rin po che'i rtsa lag skye dgu'i dren pa dam pa /...*

Colophon: *yi ge gzigs pa'i rten du bdag cag gyi gyon zhwa cig bsod / sa ga zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcu la chos rdzong nas dge bar gyur cig / //*

A letter issued from Chos rdzong on the tenth day of the spring-*sa ga* (*\*vaiśākha*) month of an unknown year.

113. No title; 505b [2, 93-94]

Incipit: *rab dkar dge ba'i yid kyis rab bskyod de // bstan dang bstan 'dzin rnams la lhag dad cing //...*

Colophon: *tshe bcu bzhi la bris //*

A prayer for Bde ba can (Tuṣita) that was written on the fourteenth day of an unspecified month in an unspecified year.

114. No title; 505b-506a [2, 94-95]

Incipit: *gang zhig mkhyen rabs nam mkha'i khyon ltar dpag yas shing // brtse ba'i thugs rje chu bo'i rgyun ltar zad mi mnga' //...*

Colophon: *dpang lo tsa ba yer bzhug[s ]su gsol ba'i 'bul yig go //*

A letter requesting Dpang Lo tsā ba to reside in Bo dong E monastery.

115. No title; 506a [2, 95]

Incipit: *gang zhig dge legs du ma'i dpal las rab grub cing //*

Colophon: *...ces pas bla ma don yod rgyal mtshan pa'i nang rten 'jams dbyangs rab gnas kyi'o //*

A short piece that was written on the occasion of consecrating the 'Jam dbyangs "inner" reliquary (*nang rten*) of his elder brother Don yod rgyal mtshan.

116. No title; 506a-507a [2, 95-96]

Incipit: *om svasti siddham / btsun pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos // dkar phibs la gtogs pa'i dge bshes //...*

Colophon: *spre'u lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad la chos 'khor chen por bris pa'i yi ge dge zhing bkra shis par gyur cig /*

An open letter written on the eighth day of the fourth month of a monkey year to the population at large for the promotion of vegetarianism using two citations from the eighth chapter of the *Lankāvatārasūtra*.<sup>122</sup>

117. No title; 507a [2, 96-97]

Incipit: *de legs chen po rnam s kyi nor bu rin chen rin chen tang med pa ni // 'gro ba kun la ci 'dod sbyin pa'i gnas su gyur pa nyid //...*

Colophon: *...ces pa ma gcig pa'i nang rten bzhugs pa'i gtsug lag khang rab gnas dus kyi'o //*

Written on the occasion of consecrating the chapel where his mother's "inner" reliquary resided.

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<sup>122</sup> *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jig lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 49 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), 386, 387 [= D.T. Suzuki, tr., *The Lankavatara Sutra, A Mahayana Text* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1978), 220 (2), (9-12)]



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