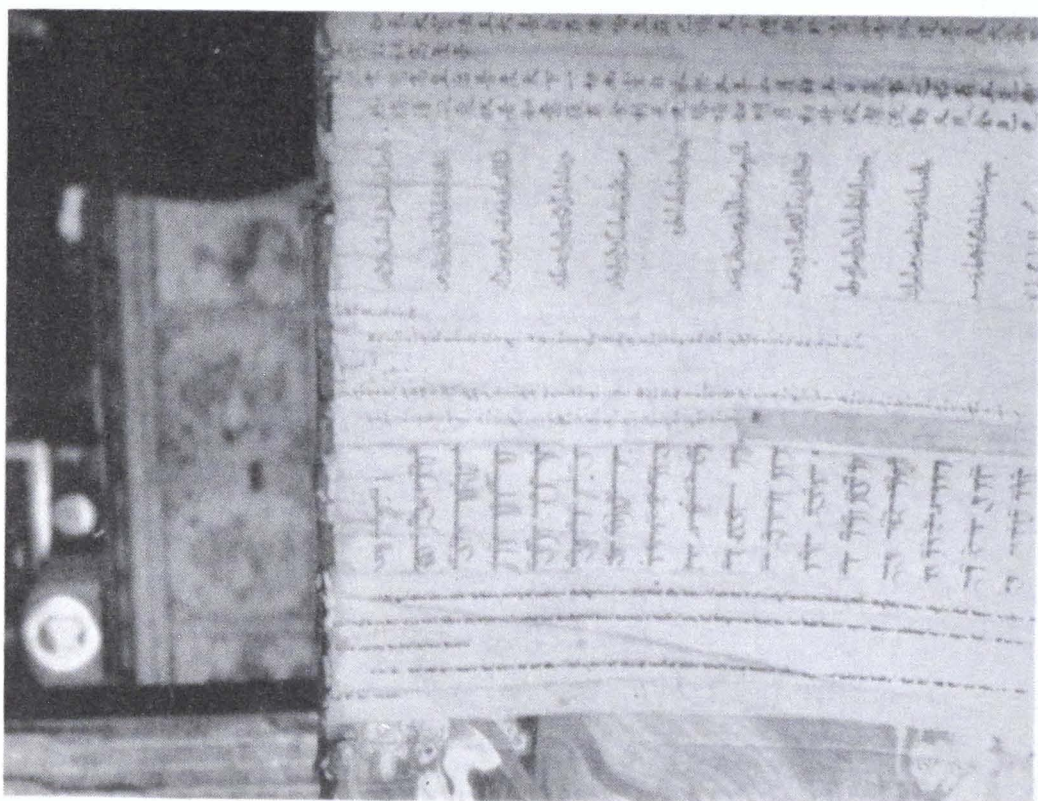
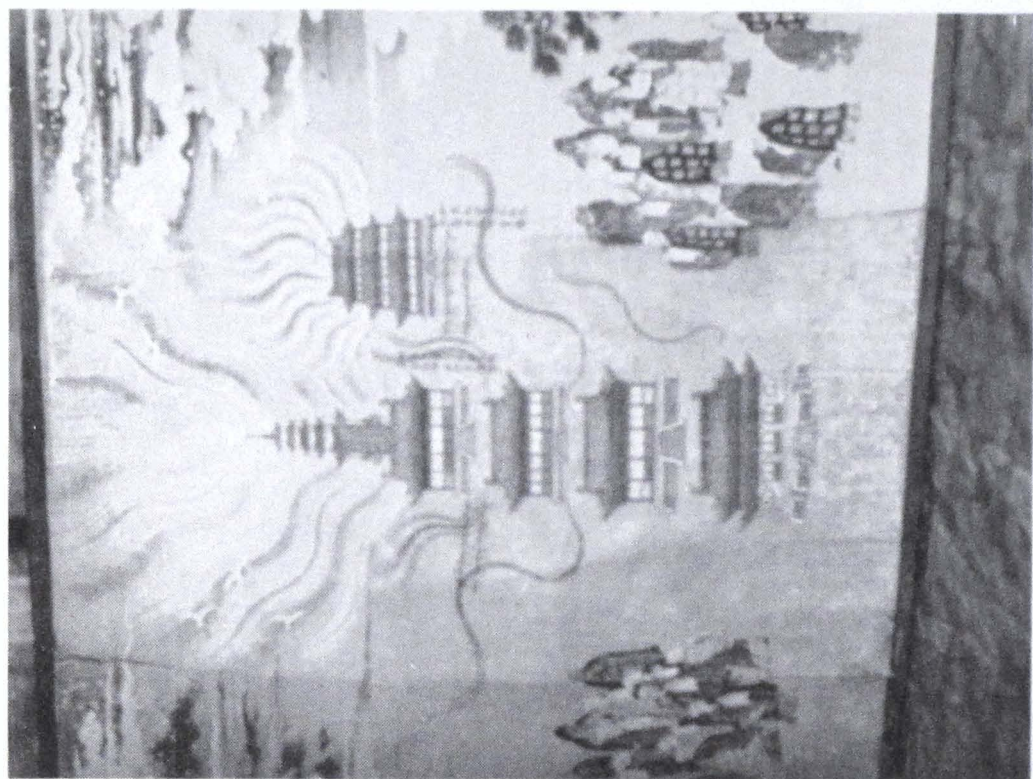


The Karma-Pa Sect. A Historical
Note

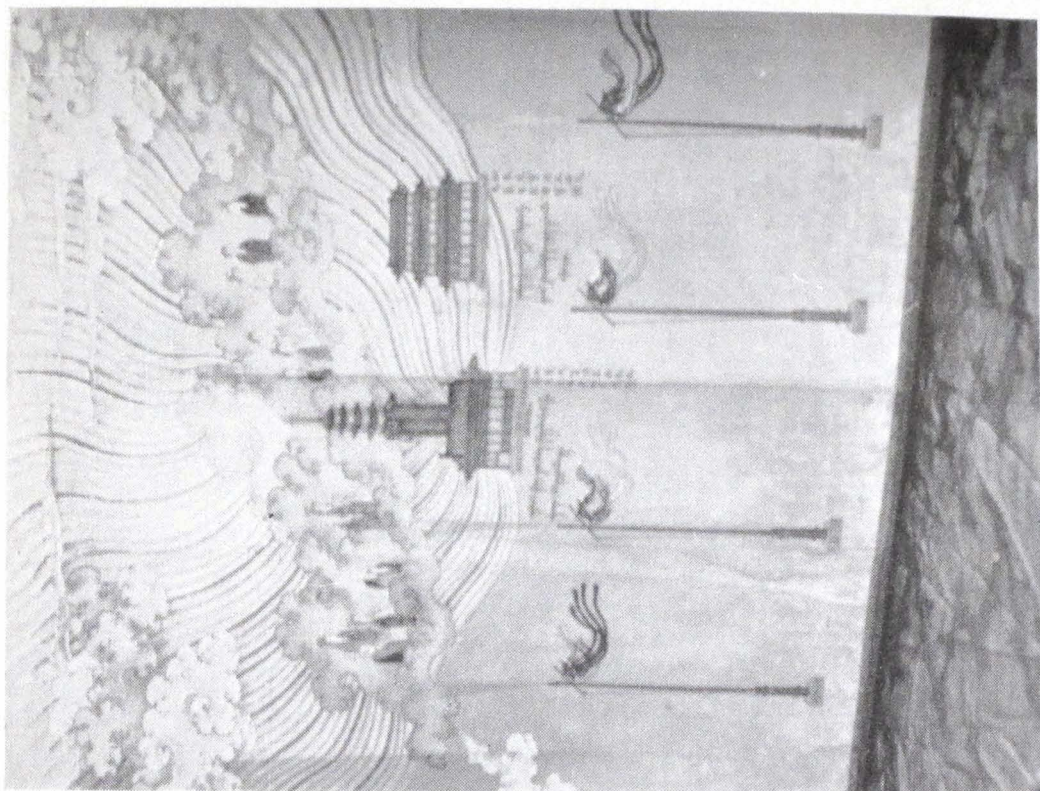
By

H. E. RICHARDSON

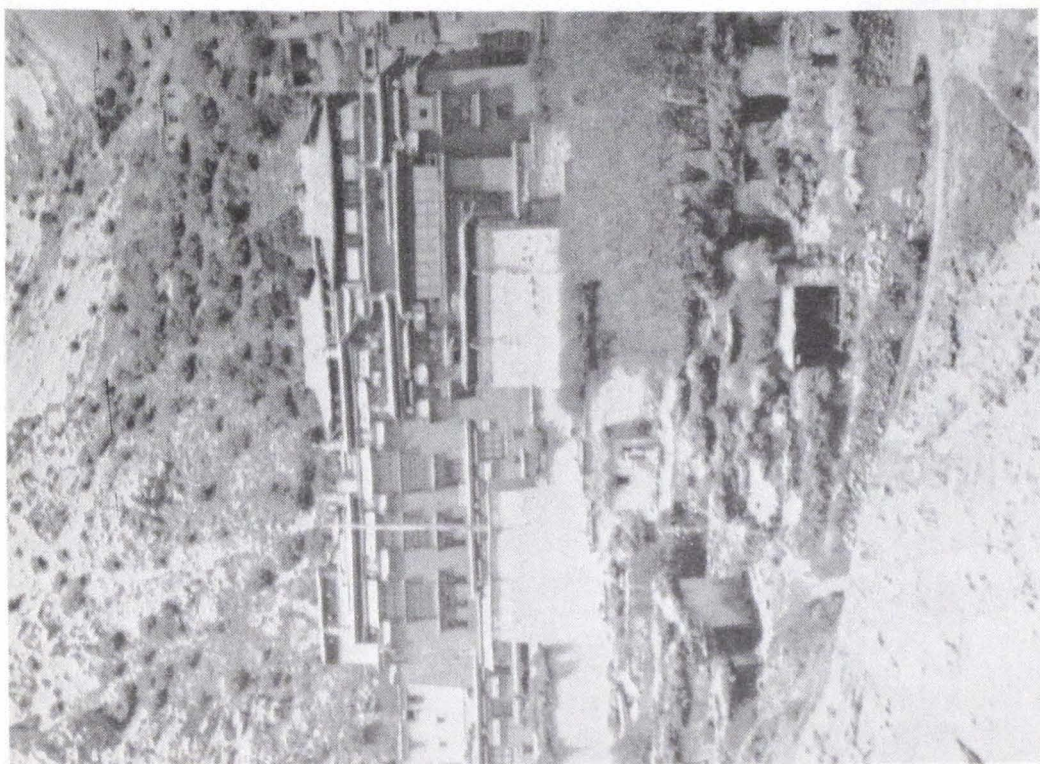
[From the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, October, 1958.]



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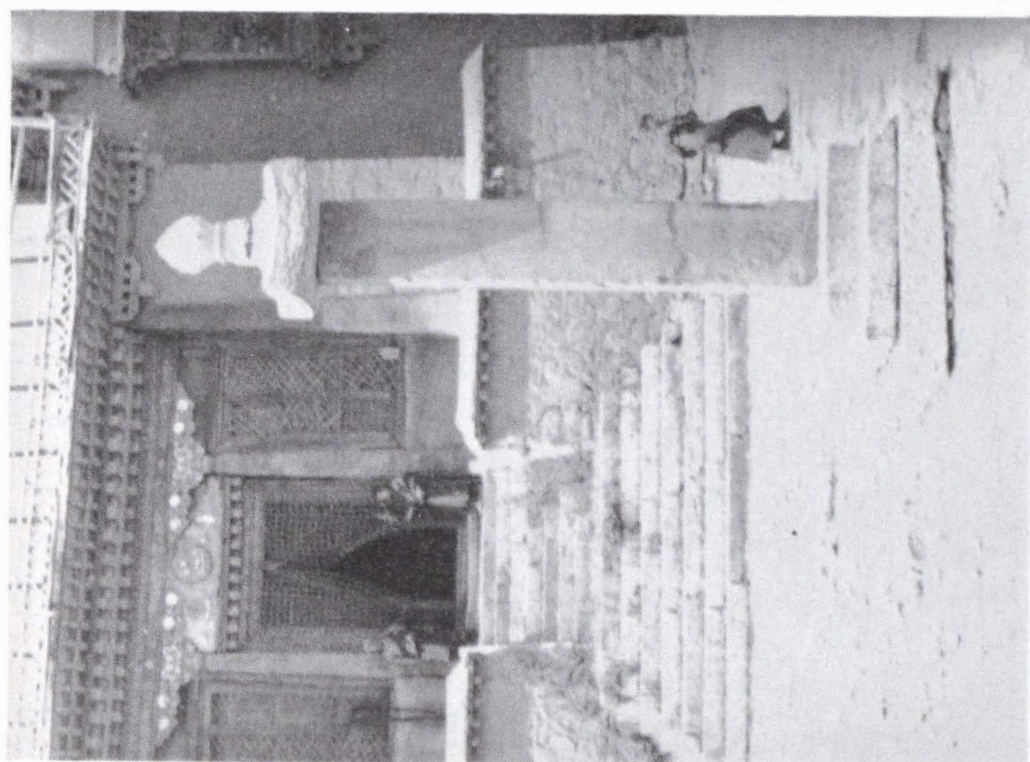
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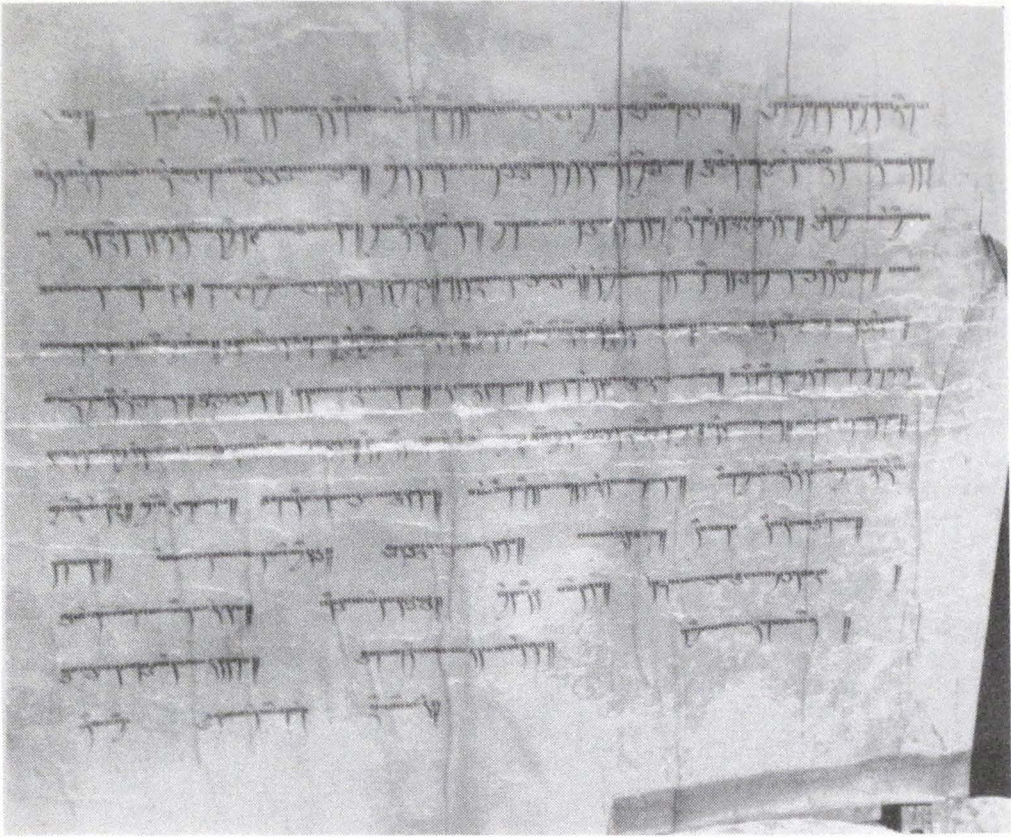
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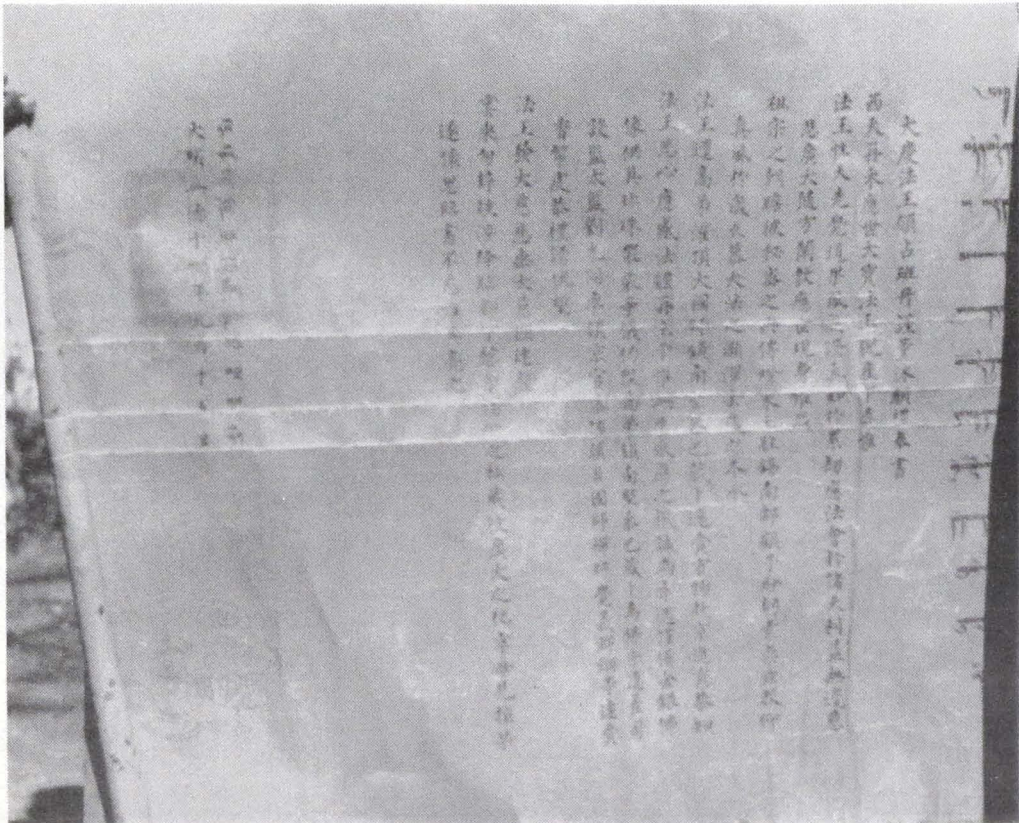


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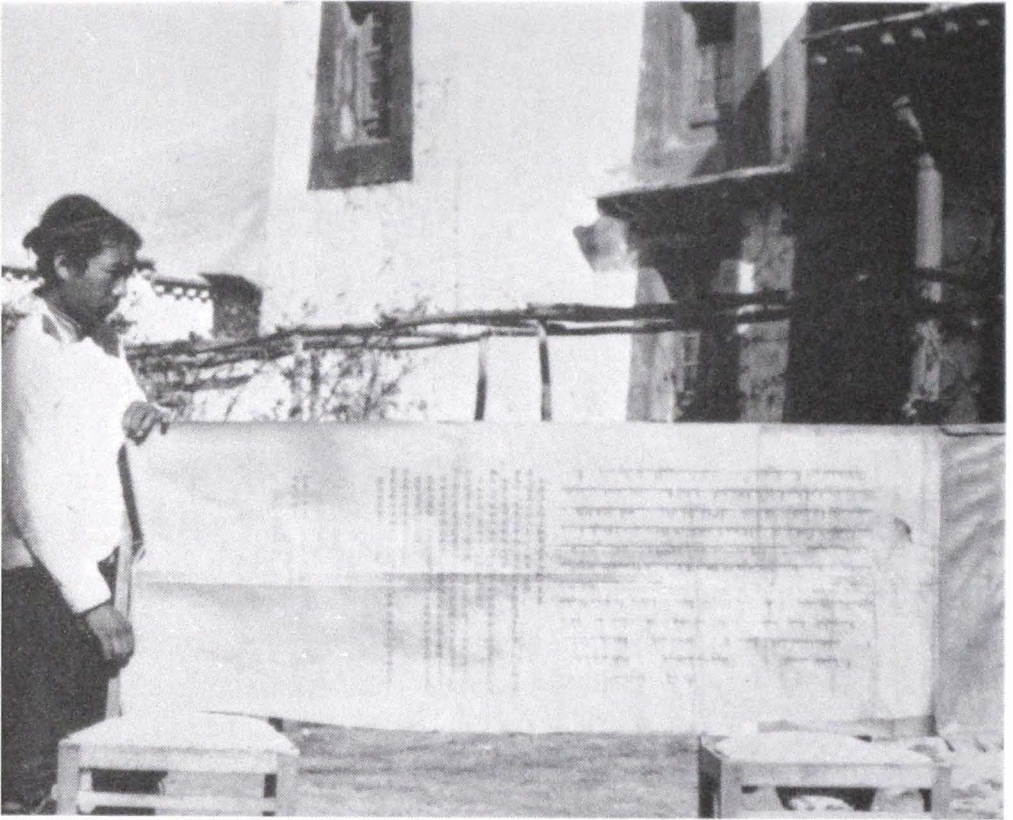


Tibetan Text

LETTER FROM WU TSUNG TO THE XTH ŽVA-NAG-PA



Chinese Text



LETTER FROM WU TSUNG TO THE XTH ŽVA-NAG-PA

THE KARMA-PA SECT. A HISTORICAL NOTE

By H. E. RICHARDSON

PART I with PLATES VII-XI

THE KARMA-PA sect, an important offshoot of the bKa'-rgyud-pa, derives from dPal Chos-gyi-grags-pa, generally known as Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, who was born in A.D. 1110 at Dre-śod in East Tibet. He was, by some accounts, the first Lama¹ to originate a continuous line of reincarnations lasting to the present day—a claim which is contested by the Lamas of 'Bri-khuñ. At the age of 30 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa became the principal disciple of sGam-po-pa, himself the chief disciple of rJe-btsun Mid-la (Mi-la-ras-pa), and so entered the direct doctrinal succession from Mar-pa, the founder of the bKa'-rgyud-pa sect. A pious explanation of the name Karma-pa is that an assembly of gods (*lha*) and Dakini bestowed on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, in his sixteenth year, knowledge of the past, present, and future—together with a magical black mitre woven from the hair of a million *mKha'*-*'gro-ma* (angels or fairies). That story is found in vol *Pa* of the *Chos-'byuñ* of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag; but however early the name Karma-pa came into existence its perpetuation was probably due to the association of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa with the monastery of Karma gDan-sa, or Lho Karma'i sGar, which he founded in 1147 to the east of the Ñom-chu, somewhere between Ri-bo-che and sDe-dge. A few years before his death in 1193 he returned to Central Tibet and in 1189 he founded mTshur-phu in the sTod-luñ valley some 50 miles west of Lhasa. This became the principal monastery of the sect and the home of its chief incarnate Lama, who is known as the rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa or the Žva-nag-pa.

In the main courtyard of mTshur-phu monastery there is an inscribed stone pillar recording the establishment during the reign of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can, A.D. 815–841) of the “*gtsug-lag-khañ* of lCañ-bu as a dependency of the great *gtsug-lag-khañ* of 'On-cañ-rdo”. The inscription has been edited by me in *JRASB.*, 1949, and by Professor G. Tucci in *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome, 1950. In my article I suggested that the pillar might have come from an older religious foundation on or near the site of mTshur-phu monastery; but on two visits I could find no trace in that neighbourhood of a place called lCañ-bu or of any ancient

¹ bLa ma. I use the popular spelling “Lama” throughout.

remains. The name appears several times in the Tun Huang Annals (*Documents de Touen Houang*, Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, Paris, 1940): “Ñen kar lcañ bu,” p. 18; “sTod gyi lcañ bu,” pp. 57, 58; “Byar gyi lcañ bu,” pp. 58, 59, 60. At first sight the case for sTod gyi lcañ bu looks attractive because mTshur-phu is in the sTod-luñ valley. But “sTod”—“the upper country, the upper part of a valley”—is a place-name of quite wide application. Moreover, all the references to lCañ-bu in the Tun Huang Annals are to a place of winter residence. That does not accord well with the sTod-luñ valley, which is cold in winter. Of the other places mentioned, Ñen-kar seems to be not far from Brag-mar; and Byar, according to Professor Tucci (*Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome, 1956, p. 82), is east of Yar-lha-sam-po and north of Lho-kha. The name Byar, Byar-mo, dByar-mo, appears also in East Tibet, where Professor Thomas connects it with the Pailan people (*Nam*, F. W. Thomas, O.U.P., 1946, pp. 34, 35); but that identification does not seem relevant here. The valleys south of the gTsañ-po in the Yar-luñ and Lho-kha areas would generally provide much better winter quarters than sTod-luñ; and, to narrow the choice more closely, attention may be directed to the proximity of Ñen-kar to the Yar-luñ valley, the royal burial ground at 'Phyoñ-rgyas, and the castle of Phyiñ-ba'i-stag-rtse (*Tun Huang Annals*, pp. 34, 35; Tucci, *Tombs*, pp. 30, 31). In the *bLon-po bKa'-thañ* (f. 9) the neighbourhood of “Yar-luñs and Phyi-luñs” (“Phyiñ-luñs” in the *Tun Huang Annals*, p. 154) is ascribed to the gÑags and Tshes-poñ (Tshes-poñ) families. A member of the Tshes-poñ family was responsible for the erection of the inscribed pillar now at mTshur-phu and it seems not unreasonable to locate lCañ-bu of that inscription in the Tshes-poñ country round about Yar-luñ and to suppose that the 8 ft. stone pillar was removed from there to mTshur-phu—a troublesome task for porters but quite feasible.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that other possibilities remain open. lCañ-bu seems to have been a common name perhaps signifying a place where willows (*lcañ-ma*) grew (cf. the name lCañ-lo; lCañ-lo-can, which is fairly widespread at the present time). There may formerly have been a lCañ-bu in sTod-luñ of which the name has now vanished; or it may be, as was related to me by the *Phyag-mdzod* (Treasurer) of mTshur-phu, that the pillar was brought all the way from East Tibet by one of the early Lamas. This information was offered without great conviction and no literary evidence could

be produced to support it. The monks of mTshur-phu seem to take little interest in the pillar nowadays nor could I find mention of it in any of the three accounts of the Karma-pa sect which I have followed in writing this article, viz. the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* of 'Gos gŽon-nu-dpal (1478); the *Chos-'byuñ* of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreñ-ba, himself a Karma-pa Lama (1564); and a short *rNam-thar* of the rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa Lamas¹ down to the XIVth Incarnation, who was born in 1797. (Hereafter I shall refer to these sources as *DT*, *PT*, and *NT* respectively.) These works all draw on original records at mTshur-phu and a detailed study of those records might discover confirmation of the *Phyag-mdzod's* story, but I am inclined to see in it no more than a vague echo of the close connection between mTshur-phu and East Tibet which began with Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and continues to this day—most of the sixteen Žva-nag Incarnations, including the present one, having been born in East Tibet. If it is necessary to speculate who might have moved the pillar from Yar-luñs to mTshur-phu, the second incarnation, Karma Pakši (1206–1283), to whom the *rNam-thar* attributes descent from the Kings of Tibet, appears a probable person to have brought that royal relic to the monastery which, by tradition, he did much to adorn.

In addition to the original line of Žva-nag—Black Hat—Karma-pa Lamas there came into being at an early date a second branch known as the Žva-dmar or Red Hat. Its first Lama, Grags-pa-señ-ge, was contemporary with the third Žva-nag incarnation, Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje. Some accounts, e.g. that of Kloñ-rdol Lama, mentioned by Professor Tucci on p. 682 of his monumental and invaluable work *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, assign a more extended spiritual lineage to both the Black and Red Hat Lamas, the former going back through Po-to-pa to five earlier incarnations and the latter, through four incarnations, to Ti-lo-pa; but when numbering the incarnate Lamas of the two lines the Karma-pas themselves invariably begin with Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and Grags-pa-señ-ge respectively. At first the Red Hat Lamas were closely connected with the monasteries of Lha-luñ, in Lho-brag, and gNas-nañ, near mTshur-phu, but later, in 1489, the monastery of Yañs-pa-can, about 20 miles north of mTshur-phu, was founded and became their chief seat. The line of Žva-dmar-pa incarnations was officially terminated in 1792, as will

¹ *Chos rje Karma pa sku 'phreñ rim khyon gyi rnam thar mdor bsduḡ dpag bsam khri śiñ.*

be recounted in the proper place, because of the part taken by the ninth Lama in the Nepalese invasion of Tibet.

There are also many lesser incarnate Lamas of the Karma-pa sect, such as the rGyal-tshab Sprul-sku of mTshur-phu, the Karma Si-tu Rin-po-che of dPal-spun in sDe-dge, and the dPa'-bo bLa-ma. The last-named line included, as its second incarnation, the historian gTug-lag-'phren-ba (1503-1566); its seat was formerly at Lha-luñ, in Lho-brag, which had been founded by Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa in 1154 on what appears to have been the site of an older chapel, but this monastery was taken from the Karma-pa by the fifth Dalai Lama and the present dPa'-bo bLa-ma lives at gNas-nañ, near mTshur-phu.

It is not my intention to attempt here a comprehensive history of the Karma-pa sect and all its branches but rather to examine some incidents in the relations of its principal Lamas, especially the Žva-nag-pa, with Mongolia and China. The connection began with the second Žva-nag-pa, Karma Pakši, who is, after Padma Sambhava, probably the most famous miracle-worker in Tibetan religious history and is known by the epithet "*Grub Chen*".

Association between the Tibetan church and the Mongols was established by the Sa-skyapa sect in 1244 when the Sa-skyapa Pan-chen, taking with him his nephews 'Phags-pa, aged about 10, and Phyag-na, aged about 6, accepted the invitation—or obeyed the command—to visit Godan Khan, governor of the Kansu region, and was shortly afterwards appointed by Godan as the Mongols' vice-regent in Tibet. At that time supreme authority in the Mongol dominions was nominally held by Godan's mother, who acted as regent during the long rivalry for the office of Khakan which followed the death in 1241 of her husband Ogotai, the third son of Genghiz Khan. The vacancy was filled in 1246 by the election of Godan's elder brother, Ogotai's first son, Kuyuk; but he died in 1248 and the struggle for power among the grandsons of Genghiz began all over again. It ended in 1252 when Mongka (Mangu), the eldest son of Genghiz's fourth son, Tului, was chosen as Khakan and thus ousted from the succession the line of Ogotai which had patronized the Sa-skyapa Lamas. In 1251, shortly before this dynastic change, the Sa-skyapa Pan-chen had died; and in 1253 his nephew 'Phags-pa, making a politic transference of loyalty to the new ruling family, was received by Mongka's youngest brother, Kubilai Khan, who was then governor of the territories conquered by the Mongols

on the north and east borders of the Sung Empire. Continuance of Sa-skyapa influence was thus ensured ; but other sects also had attracted the notice of the Mongols, whose generals had been conducting occasional raids into Tibet, and in 1255 Kubilai sent for Karma Pakśi, who was then at mTshur-phu. The Lama, then in his fiftieth year, obeyed the summons and joined Kubilai at Roñ-yul gSer-stod, which is perhaps somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tachienlu. Sa-skyapa tradition shows that Karma Pakśi was a serious rival to 'Phags-pa, who had to prove himself an equally good miracle-worker (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 627) ; but the position of the newcomer cannot have been easy and Karma Pakśi declined a request by Kubilai that he should stay permanently at his court. He set out northwards on a journey in the course of which he founded 'Phrul-snañ-sprul-pa'i Lha-khañ, on the Hor Mi-ñag border, and visited Ling-Chow (or perhaps Liang Chow), where he met with some Zin-śiñ (Hsien-seng : Taoists), whom he confounded by his magical powers, and Kan Chow, where people from China, Hor, Sog, and Mi-ñag flocked to see him. In 1256 he decided to return to Tibet but, on being summoned by the Khakan Mongka, he went to the Great Palace of Zi-ra 'Ur-rdo in 'On-ge'i Yul, i.e. Sira Ordo, on the Ongin, not far south of Mongka's headquarters at Karakorum. There he won the favour of the Khakan and became his personal chaplain. Karma-pa records also say that he took part in a debate there with Taoists and other religious sects. His arrival at Mongka's court was long after the departure, in 1254, of the Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck, who had triumphed over Buddhists and others in a religious debate organized by Mongka. There was another debate in 1255 in which the Buddhists, led by Fou-yu, abbot of Chao-lin, overcame their Taoist rivals ; but from Karma-pa sources it is clear that the occasion on which Karma Pakśi is said to have taken part was in the Dragon year, 1256. According to *Inscriptions et Pièces de Chancellerie Chinoises de l'Epoque Mongole*, E. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, Series II, vol. 5, p. 381, there was an assembly of Buddhists at Sira Ordo in 1256, but none of the Taoists dared to confront them there. This was taken as a confession of defeat and Mongka issued an edict in favour of the Buddhists. It is perhaps this meeting which has been slightly misrepresented by Karma-pa historians as the occasion of a debating victory by Karma Pakśi. The next debate was in 1258. It took place, under the presidency of Kubilai, at Shang-tu and it appears that 'Phags-pa was present.

It is not possible to trace Karma Pakši among the Buddhist leaders named in the Mongol documents quoted by Chavannes. He cannot be the same as Na-mo for the latter was appointed as Master of the Buddhists in 1252, before Karma Pakši had left Tibet ; nor can he be readily identified with the Abbot of Chao-lin (a monastery, according to Chavannes, loc. cit., p. 374, north of Shang-tu). The only other person mentioned in Chavannes' selection is an unnamed monk from Ta-li. Examination of the complete list of persons present at the debates might discover the name of Karma Pakši ; there is even a faint possibility that a reference to 'Phags-pa may be a mistake for *Pa ka si pa* because Chavannes notes that the characters used for the name in the record of the debate in 1258 are different from those used elsewhere ; but there is no suggestion from Karma-pa sources that Karma Pakši returned to Kubilai's court after joining Mongka until a much later date.

The apparent silence of Mongol documents about Karma Pakši need not be thought to throw doubt on the veracity of Karma-pa historians. It may signify no more than that Karma Pakši's powers, as can clearly be seen from the *rNam-thar* and from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, were those of a magician rather than a dialectician ; but there may also be some possibility that 'Phags-pa was able to suppress references to his rival.

In some Tibetan histories, including Vol. *Ma* of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, it is suggested that Karma Pakši was in Mongolia before 'Phags-pa. This seems to be a misunderstanding due to the fact that Karma Pakši's patron Mongka preceded 'Phags-pa's patron Kubilai as Khakan. The careful chronology in Vol. *Pa* where dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, himself a Karma-pa, gives detailed attention to the history of his sect puts the sequence of events beyond serious doubt. Although 'Phags-pa preceded Karma Pakši in Tibet, the Karma-pa were the first Tibetan sect to establish influence with a ruling Khan. But their ascendancy was short-lived. Mongka died in 1260 and his death was followed by a bitter struggle, with Kubilai, who had declared himself Khakan, in opposition to his younger brother Ariq Boga, who by Mongol custom had some grounds for claiming to be the legitimate successor. When Kubilai was victorious in 1261 Karma Pakši found himself in difficulties. He had earlier offended Kubilai by refusing to stay at his court and now, whether rightly or wrongly, he was suspected of having sided with Ariq Boga. Moreover it is probable that 'Phags-pa and his followers did what they could to

add to the troubles of their rival. Karma Pakśi was persecuted by Kubilai and eventually banished to Ke'u Chu, a hot and unhealthy place "on the shore of the ocean". Some of his disciples were put to death (*DT*, Vol. *Ña*, f. 51). Karma-pa records claim that eventually, by a display of his magic and spiritual powers, Karma Pakśi won restoration to favour and converted Kubilai to his own religious views. He left Mongolia about 1264 and took eight years on his journey back to mTshur-phu, where he died in 1283.

The monks of mTshur-phu tell many stories of Karma Pakśi's feats in Mongolia—how he could not be confined in any prison or hurt by any torture and how when he was finally loaded with costly presents but had no means of transporting them to Tibet he threw them into a spring near Shang-tu from where, by his magic powers, they soon reappeared in a pool near mTshur-phu. To support this story they point to the discoloured gold roof of one of the temples which, they say, shows the effects of its underground journey from China. Of the same roof, which covers a great image of Sakyamuni made by Karma Pakśi, it is also said that it had once belonged to the monastery of Nalanda, whence it had been carried off in a Mongol raid on India.

Karma Pakśi's fame as a magician recalls those Lamas who, according to Marco Polo, could make the Khan's cup move from the table to his lips without visible human agency. Karma Pakśi could not, of course, have met Marco Polo because he left the Mongol court before Marco's arrival in 1275; but he might have met Nicolo and Maffeo Polo on their earlier visit between 1260 and 1263.

After the rather chequered introduction of the Karma-pas to the Mongol court the next Žva-nag Lama, Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje (1284–136), paid a visit to China on an easier footing when he was invited in 1331 by the Emperor Togh Temur. Although by then the Yuan dynasty had sunk into luxury and into that extravagant adulation of Buddhism which so speedily enervated and degraded the Mongol character, the Emperor was still the unquestioned overlord of Tibet and his letter of invitation has the ring of authority. It is addressed as a command (" *luñ* ") to "Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje" without the addition of any honorific titles. The letter is quoted in the *rNam-thar* (ff. 65, 66) and has the appearance of being authentic. In rambling and involved Tibetan (which can be seen in the transcription included in Appendix B) the Emperor writes of the devotion to Buddhism shown by the kings of the North (in Mongolia) and by his ancestor

Se-chen (Kubilai) in China ; and he declares that he, too, desires to be the protector and servant of the faith. Having heard the reputation of the Lama for learning and holiness he has sent his envoy mGon-po and others to conduct him to China. The letter continues, in a rather minatory tone, that if the Lama disregards the command he will be responsible for all manner of harm to the practice of the faith in China and will also displease the Emperor ; but, as it cannot be thought that he could bring himself to cause such a calamity, he will surely come quickly for the benefit of all creatures from the Emperor downwards. If he does so, everything will be done for the faith according to his wishes. To accompany the letter, the Emperor sent a gold seal which had been given by Mongka to Karma Pakši. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje let it be known that he would go to China and he set about rather dilatory and hesitant preparations for the journey. In the following year he received a further letter expressing the Emperor's satisfaction that his command was being obeyed and exhorting the Lama not to delay. In this letter, which also is quoted (*NT*, f. 67), the Lama is addressed as dGe-ba'i-bśes-gñen—Kalyanamitra.

Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje entered China in 1332 but before he could reach Peking the Emperor died. The new Emperor, Rinchenpal, urged him to continue his journey and he went on to the capital ; but soon after his arrival Rinchenpal, too, died. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje stayed on in Peking and, in the disturbed conditions of intrigue and faction then prevailing, he assisted in the succession and enthronement of the new Emperor, Toghan Temur (*PT*, *Pa*, f. 44). In 1334 he left for Tibet after promising to return in two years ; and early in 1336 he received a letter from Toghan Temur reminding him of that promise. This letter also is quoted in the *rNam-thar* (f. 69). Although employing a similar formula to that of Togh Temur's letter—expressing fears that, if the Lama does not come, much harm will be done to the faith—the tone is less authoritative and the language more respectful. Moreover, the Emperor offered the Lama the same exalted honours and facilities for his journey as those enjoyed by the Ti Śri Chen-po, the Imperial Viceregent for Tibet. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje returned to China in 1338 and died there in the same year after a brief further exercise of his mediating and religious authority in the troubled conditions of the decadent Yuan court.

Toghan Temur's devotion to the Karma-pa's continued ; and in 1386 he invited the fourth Žva-nag Lama, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje

(1340–1383), to visit China. By then Mongol supremacy over Tibet had been reduced to a formality by the vigorous nationalism of Byañ-chub-rgyal-mtshan, but the Emperor was still titular overlord. His letter to Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje is still described as a "command"; but the wording shows an increase in politeness and reverence and the Tibetan, an increase in lucidity and elegance (see Appendix B, no. 4). It is therefore rather strange that the Emperor attributes his continued good fortune not to the "Three Jewels" (*dkon-mchog-gsum*), as was done in all the previously mentioned Imperial letters, but to the "protection of everlasting Heaven" (*tshe-rin gnam gyi še-moñ*), which seems to be a reversion to the formula of the old Mongol religion. The letter refers to the degeneration of the times and exhorts the Lama, who is addressed as Great Teacher (*blo-dpon chen-po*), not to confine his loving-kindness to Tibet but to lead back to the faith creatures who have erred and strayed from the right path.

Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje went to China in 1359 and stayed there until 1363. At that time the Yuan dynasty was tottering to its fall; and in the last stages of its dissolution Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje seems to have established himself as a revered and influential figure. From the accounts in my three sources (*DT*, *Nā*, ff. 40–5; *NT*, f. 76–99; *PT*, *Pa*, f. 49–59) he was clearly an exceptional visionary and miracle-worker; and he is famed as one of the early teachers of the rJe-Rin-po-che bLo-bzañ-grags-pa (Tsoñ-kha-pa).

On his way back to Tibet Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje received an invitation to visit the "King of Stod Hor" (Mogholistan), the Jagatid Mongol, Toghlag Temur but, not surprisingly, he did not accept for Toghlag Temur had some years earlier been converted to Islam. In 1368, after the change of dynasty in China, the first Ming Emperor, Tai Tsung, sent the envoy Hsu Yun-te with letters inviting the principal Lamas to visit him (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 685; and Li Tieh-tseng, *The Historical Status of Tibet*, 1955, p. 95). Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje was one of the persons invited (*NT*, f. 95). He did not revisit China himself but he sent messengers to the Emperor in 1374 and thereafter at regular intervals until his death.

His successor, De-bžin-gsegs pa (1384–1415), was an even more famous wonder-worker. In 1407, when he was twenty-three, he accepted an invitation to go to China and perform memorial services for the parents of the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo). The letter is preserved in *PT*, *Pa*, f. 77, and a transcription may be seen in

Appendix B. It makes an interesting contrast with the letters of the Yuan Emperors. If dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's quotation is complete, there is no suggestion of a "command" nor is there any overt claim to authority, but behind the courteous and respectful language there are tentative hints of some sort of superior connection. The Emperor states that before he was established in his high position he had heard of the Lama's fame ; and he refers to the peace prevailing in the Kingdom of dBus (*Yul dBus rgyal-khams*). Later he remarks that the former King (his predecessor ?) had been careful to maintain the peace of the Kingdom of dBus. For the rest, the letter is made up of polite and complimentary requests to the Lama to confer on the Emperor the benefit of his presence.

The events of the ensuing visit are described at length in a remarkable Imperial decree which was shown to me at mTshur-phu in 1949. It is contained in a silk-backed scroll some 50 feet long by 2½ feet high composed of sections of text beautifully written in five scripts—Chinese, Tibetan, Arabic, Mongol, and Uighur—alternating with panels painted in the meticulously elegant Ming style. The inscriptions record the miracles performed by the Lama on twenty-two different days and the paintings illustrate those occurrences, day by day. On my visit to mTshur-phu I could not attempt to copy more than a few passages of the inscription and, as my special camera was unfortunately damaged on the journey, I was unable to take satisfactory photographs ; but the present rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa kindly provided me later with a complete copy of the Tibetan text. It is written in the 'bam yig script and appears to be a translation, passage by passage, of the Chinese original, but there are so many deviations from normal grammar and usage that it can hardly be the work of a Tibetan any more than the above-mentioned letters of the Yuan Emperors appear to be. A Tibetan language school for diplomatic purposes was established at Peking in the seventh year of the Yung Lo era, i.e. about two years after De-bžin gśegs pa's visit to China, but the earlier employment of Chinese or Mongol translators of Tibetan is indicated by the style of the Yuan dynasty letters and, at that period, multilingual inscriptions which included Tibetan were quite common (*Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule and Cordier, 1902, pp. 28, 29). Although De-bžin-gśegs-pa's visit and its extraordinary occurrences are well documented in Tibetan and Chinese sources (*NT*, ff. 108–111 ; *PT*, *Pa*, ff. 77–82 ; *DT*, *Ña*, ff. 45–7 ; Ming Shih, trs. Tucci in *TPS.*, p. 682), the Imperial con-

firmation of a series of miracles warrants quotation in full; but some details of the phenomena are rather repetitious and I have, therefore, relegated the translation, together with a transcription, of the Tibetan text to the Appendix.

Tibetan records claim that, among other successes of his visit, De-bžin-gśegs-pa dissuaded the Emperor from a plan to invade Tibet in order to establish his authority there, as had been done by the Mongols (*NT*, f. 111; *PT*, *Pa*, ff. 82–3). This is of interest in assessing the nature of the relationship between China and Tibet during the Ming dynasty, especially in view of the evidence of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, who wrote before that relationship had been affected by the imperial designs of the Ch'ing dynasty.

From Nanking, which was at that time still the effective capital of China, De-bžin-gśegs-pa went to Omei Shan to conduct further requiem services for the Emperor's parents and from there he returned to Tibet, where he died of smallpox at the age of 31. His successor, mThoñ-ba-lton-lan (1416–1453), was also invited to the Chinese court. He did not go there; but eight times between 1436 and 1450 he sent missions which the Ming Shih describes as "tribute". Representatives of a Lama who made no claim to exercise temporal dominion over Tibet cannot have brought tribute in the strict sense of the word. In fact, the arrangement was a source of profit to the Tibetans and other neighbours of China, who secured disproportionately large return presents from the Emperor and also Chinese goods, especially tea, on favourable terms. So much so that by 1453 these missions had become such a burden that they had to be restricted by imperial decree (Li, *op. cit.*, p. 26). Nevertheless, the nuisance continued and in 1499 an attempt to send a mission twice in one year had to be firmly rejected (Tucci, *TPS*, p. 683); and in 1569 another decree was promulgated limiting the frequency of such missions and the number of their members (Li, *op. cit.*, n. p. 232). By the time of Father Matteo Ricci's stay in China (1578–1610) these "foreign embassies", which Ricci's informants appear to have attributed originally to the vainglory of the Emperor Yung Lo, had become a public scandal and a commercial racket between foreign merchants and the all-powerful court eunuchs (V. Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West*, p. 185).

The seventh Žva-nag Lama, Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho, was born in 1454. There was no contact with the Chinese court in the early years of his life, by which time the

Emperor Ying Tsung (T'ien Shun), in the second part of his interrupted reign, had turned against Buddhism. In 1465 the succession of Hien Tsung (Ch'êng Hwa), a fervent Buddhist, brought an immediate resumption of correspondence and an exchange of presents. The *rNam-thar* records that when "Chin Hwa" died his successor (Hsiao Tsung) sent to ask for the Karma-pa's blessing. This was presumably an act of policy for during the greater part of his reign the new Emperor was disposed to treat Tibetan lamas with disapproving severity. Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho also had correspondence with the Mahapandita of Bodh Gaya, who invited him to visit India. The letter in Sanskrit is said to be reproduced in the original *rnam-thar* at mTshur-phu. Of greater interest is the statement that in about 1465 presents were received from a Mongol king in the direct succession from Genghiz Khan (*NT*, f. 127 b). This must have been Mandaghol Khan, the twenty-seventh successor of Genghiz, who died in 1467. There is little on record about the attitude of the Mongols towards Buddhism in the years immediately following the eviction from China of the lama-ridden relicts of the Yuan dynasty. At that time, Buddhist influences do not seem to have penetrated much beyond the Khans themselves and their family circle and in the bracing air of their homeland the leaders probably returned to their ancestral shamanism; but the overture from Mandaghol shows that the connection with Tibet was not entirely severed. For all that, it cannot have been seen at its true value as a political weapon and there is no hint that Dayan Khan, Mandaghol's successor who restored much of the lost greatness of his line, made any effort to use Tibetan religious influence in his rivalry with the Chinese Empire. Nor did the Karma-pa Lamas have sufficient prescience to make the most of this opportunity to strengthen their own position. The fourth *Žva-dmar-pa*, Chos-grags-ye-śes, did, it is true, visit Mongolia in 1470 (*NT*, f. 127 b) but he was then only seventeen and no important results seem to have flowed from his visit. Similar friendly exchanges continued from time to time but nearly a hundred years later the first evangelists of the *dGe-lugs-pa* sect found Mongolia an almost untouched missionary field.

Before returning to the succession of *Žva-nag* Lamas something should be said about the emergence of the *Žva-dmar* Lamas as a vigorous and ambitious force in Tibetan affairs. The fourth incarnation, Chos-grags-ye-śes, almost the exact contemporary of the seventh

Žva-nag Lama, turned with energy to politics and worldly interests. He acted as a sort of Cardinal-Counsellor to the Princes of Rin-spuñs, who in 1481 effectively usurped in Central Tibet the authority of the Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers which they had been undermining since about 1435. He joined in the struggle against the rivals of Rin-spuñs, including the rising power of the dGe-lugs-pa sect and its lay supporters. From 1498 to 1518 the Karma-pas excluded the monks of 'Bras-spuñs and Se-ra from the Great Prayer ceremony which had been initiated by Tsoñ-kha-pa ; they also founded monasteries of the Žva-nag and Žva-dmar schools near Lhasa in order to overawe 'Bras-spuñs and Se-ra—that near 'Bras-spuñs was called Yam-mda'-phur Thub-dbañ-legs bśad-gliñ ; and they exacted respectful salutes from any dGe-lugs-pa who met a Karma-pa. Chos-grags-ye-śes took the lead in these matters and the same militant spirit was shown by his successors, dKon-mchog-yan-lag (1525–1583) and Chos-gyi-dbañ-phyug (1584–1638). They allied themselves with the Kings of gTsañ (gTsañ sDe-srid : gTsañ Sde-pa), who superseded the Rin-spuñs princes, and also, as suited their purpose, with the Phag-mo-gru-pa, whose influence was renewed about 1517, and with the powerful Lamas of 'Bri-khuñ. This temporal activity of the Žva-dmar-pas may be partly explained by the fact that most of them, unlike the Žva-nag-pas, were born in or near Central Tibet. At all events, the Žva-dmar Lamas were so prominently the leaders in the rivalry with the dGe-lugs-pa that for some Western writers the name "Red Hat" has become the synonym of all the old sects in a way unrecognized in Tibet. This has to some extent affected the reputation of the Karma-pa sect as a whole and of its principal Lamas, the Žva-nag-pa, who in fact largely succeeded in preserving their character as teachers of religion, with special proficiency in its magical and mystic aspects ; they also acted at times as mediators and moderating influences in political dissensions.

Turning again to relations between the Žva-nag Lamas and the Chinese court we come to a curious incident which seems to have been misunderstood by both Western and Chinese scholars. The eighth Žva-nag-pa was Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and in the year of his birth there succeeded to the Chinese throne the Emperor Wu Tsung (Chêng Tê, 1506–1521) who, after a hostile start, gradually became devoted to Buddhism and very indulgent towards Tibetan Lamas. He gave himself a title "equivalent to Dharma Raja" and he sent a mission to Tibet to invite to his court a man who, he was told, was

a living Buddha. The party was attacked and robbed *en route* and failed to achieve its object. That, in brief, is the story from Chinese sources as presented by Mr. Li Tieh-tseng (op. cit., p. 27). Both Mr. Li and Professor Tucci (*TPS*, p. 255, n. 97) assume that the Emperor's mission was aimed at the second Dalai Lama,¹ dGe'dun-rgya-mtsho (1475–1543) and this is supported by Père L. Wiegier (*Textes Historiques*, vol. ii, pp. 1760–1); but the Karma-pa rNam-thar and dPa-bo Gtsug-lag's history leave no doubt that it was actually sent to invite the eighth Žva-nag Lama. Moreover, the original letter of invitation in Chinese and Tibetan has survived at mTshur-phu and I was allowed to study and photograph it (see Appendices).

The incident proves to have been even more strange than has hitherto been thought. The *rNam-thar* (f. 152) and dPa-bo Gtsug-lag (vol. *Pa*, f. 205) show that the Tibetans believed that the Emperor considered himself to be in some way an incarnation of the seventh Žva-nag Lama and that this caused them so much concern that they postponed the enthronement of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje. Apart from the difficulty that the Emperor was born a long time before the death of the seventh Žva-nag-pa his claim could be covered by the practice, prevalent especially in the bKa'-rgyud-pa sect, of a deceased Lama reincarnating in at least two successors at the same time, one representing his *gsun* or speech and the other his *thugs* or intellect. What the Emperor had in mind is shown to some extent in the letter of invitation. He gives himself the title "Fa Wang", which is the equivalent of Dharma Raja or Chos-rje—in which form it was borne by several high-ranking Tibetan Lamas. He also takes the name Rin-chen-dpal-ldan. His language is almost fulsomely respectful and he refers to the Lama's visit to China in a previous incarnation. There is no hint of a challenge to the position of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje as the rightful eighth Žva-nag incarnation; all the Emperor appears to claim is that the coincidence of the dates of his own accession to the throne and the birth of the Lama constitute a link in their destiny.

The letter, which was entrusted to the Eunuch Liu Yun, was written in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Chêng Tê, i.e. 1516.

¹ Strictly speaking, the first Dalai Lama was bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, on whom the title was conferred in 1577 by Altan Khan, but it is the accepted practice in Tibet to attribute the title retrospectively to his two previous incarnations, thus treating bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho as the third Dalai Lama. At the time of the incident in question the Karma-pa hierarch was a figure of greater importance than the dGe-lugs-pa and therefore more likely to attract the Emperor's attention.

This disagrees with the information in Wieger's *Textes Historiques*, where the invitation is attributed to 1515, but Dr. H. H. Frankel, of the University of California, Berkeley, has kindly informed me, after reference to the Ming Shih, that the event may be placed later than 1515. The Karma-pa *rNam-thar* states that the invitation was declined on account of inauspicious omens foreboding the death of the Emperor, which occurred shortly afterwards. It is known that the Emperor died late in 1521 and so the party appear to have taken several years to make their preparations and to reach their destination—which was not Central Tibet but the Lama's monastery in Khams. Although the Emperor's invitation may have been inspired only by a somewhat eccentric devotion and although his intentions may have been misunderstood, the ostentatious size, luxury, and military strength of the mission, which are described by dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag (*Pa* 205, 206), must have increased Tibetan anxieties. At all events, no risks were taken; a polite refusal was communicated and the young Lama was hurriedly removed to Central Tibet. Tibetan and Chinese sources disagree about what happened next. The Tibetans say that the envoys withdrew in anger, taking with them the presents they had brought for the Lama and, on the way back, the presents were looted "by others" (*NT*, 152). In dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag the suggestion is that members of the Chinese mission themselves appropriated the valuables. The story in the Ming Shih (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 255) is that the Living Buddha took alarm and went into hiding, whereupon the Chinese officials were angry and tried to get hold of him by force. The "barbarians" attacked by night, killing 100 Chinese and wounding more. The leader of the mission, Yun, escaped and later sent a false report which arrived after the Emperor had died. It seems, therefore, that the Chinese account may contain some confusion and prevarication and the Tibetan some reticence.

When Wu Tsung was succeeded by his cousin Shih Tsung, a violent opponent of Buddhism, the Karma-pa Lamas were spared the embarrassment of further invitations to Peking. The so-called "tribute missions" continued but, as already mentioned, these were little more than commercial ventures.

The eighth *Žva-nag-pa*, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, had some contact with Mongolia, where the principal figure was then Dayan Khan (1465–1543), but it seems to have been only formal (*PT*, *Pa*, f. 208). Like his predecessors, he travelled widely in Tibet and there is an

interesting story in the *rNam-thar* (f. 155) that, on a visit to Rva-sgreñ he studied books belonging to Śa-ra-ba which are described as being kept in leather covers with metal fastenings. When I was at Rva-sgreñ in 1950 I saw a large collection of books similarly wrapped and fastened with chains. I was told they had belonged to Pandit Atiśa. Unfortunately it was not possible to examine them because they had been sealed by the thirteenth Dalai Lama and could not be opened until his successor came of age. Perhaps the attribution of the books to Atiśa was mistaken but part of his remains are said to have been taken to Rva-sgreñ soon after its foundation in 1056; and Śa-ra-ba was a pupil of Atiśa's personal disciple, Po-to-pa, so the library at Rva-sgreñ may well contain books of exceptional importance.

One contemporary of the eighth Žva-nag-pa was the historian dPa-bo Gtsug-lag-'phreñ-ba, who was slightly older and lived some ten years longer. Another was the fifth Žva-dmar-pa, dKon-mchog-yan-lag, over twenty years younger but very early active in political affairs; he allied himself in 1537 with the gTsañ Sde-srid and the 'Bri-khuñ hierarchy in an attempt to suppress the dGa'ldan princes, who were the strongest lay champions of the dGe-lugs-pa.

The successor to Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, who died in 1554, was dBañ-phyug-rdo-rje (1556–1603). Presents were exchanged by him with the Emperor Shên Tsung (Wan Li, 1573–1619) and with an unidentified Mongol chief (*NT*, f. 164). The old-standing relationship with the king of 'Jañ Sa-tham (Likiang) was further cultivated. But these friendly connections were of little account when compared with the strong tide of dGe-lugs-pa influence, which began to flow through Mongolia in the lifetime of this incarnation and which was to sweep away the Karma-pa supremacy in the time of his successor.

It may be convenient to recall that about 1435 hegemony among the Mongols fell into the hands of the Oirats, a confederacy of tribes unconnected with the original ruling line of Genghiz and consisting of four main sections—the Torgut; the Choros (later better known as the "Dzungar" invaders of Tibet); the Dörbot; and the Qośot. After some fifty years Dayan Khan, the twenty-ninth successor of Genghiz and a direct descendant of Kublai, succeeded in overcoming the fissiparous tendency of the Mongol system and in reunifying under his leadership the several tribes of Genghizid descent. He was thus able to recover supremacy from the Oirats and to drive them westward out of the territories on which they had

encroached. On Dayan's death in 1543 the unity imposed by his forceful character dissolved and once more the Genghizid tribes went their different ways. These tribes consisted of the Chahar, the tribe of the legitimate successor of Genghiz; the Kharachin; Ördos; Tumed; and the Khalkha confederacy made up of five sub-tribes each led by a descendant of Geresandza, one of Dayan's sons. On the death of Dayan the most powerful were the Ördos and the Tumed.

Although the dGe-lugs-pa may first have gained a footing in Mongolia when the Ördos Khan, Khutuktai Sechen Kong Taiji, captured some of their monks in the course of a raid into north-east Tibet in 1566, it was the exceptional ability and missionary zeal of Lama bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho that effectively laid the foundations of their greatness. In 1577 he converted the Tumed ruler Altan Khan, at that time the most vigorous of Dayan's descendants. Altan bestowed on bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho the title "Dalai Lama" and gave active support to the dGe-lugs-pa faith. The connection was further enhanced by the discovery of bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho's reincarnation in the person of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, a child born to Altan's own son and successor, Senge Dugurun. With these favourable auspices the dGe-lugs-pa teaching spread rapidly and its converts soon included the Chahar chief, Tumen Sasaktu, and the leaders of most of the five Khalkha tribes; it also found its way to the Khans of the Oirat confederacy—the Torgut Khu Orluk; the Dörbot Karakulla; and to the Qosot Khan Boibegus and his brother Gusri who, in 1642, was to conquer Tibet for the dGe-lugs-pa cause.

The Karma-pa had little to set against that accession of strength by the dGe-lugs-pa and they had no leader to compare with bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. The tenth Žva-nag-pa, rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje, who was born in 1604, received an invitation in 1610 to visit "King Kho lo ji", who appears to have been a Mongol chief of the Koko Nor country (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 51) and a grand-nephew of Altan Khan (E. H. Parker, "Mongolia after the Genghizides," *JRAS.* (China), xliv, 1913, p. 97). The guardians of the young Lama feared that he might be kidnapped and they refused the invitation (*NT*, f. 169); but in 1614, on another invitation, the Lama went to Mongolia, where he converted "King Da'i Ching" (? Tsai Seng—a title held by some Tumed, Kharachin, and Khalkha leaders). In 1620 there is mention of presents being sent by the Chahar and Khalkha Khans—presumably Legdan and Altyn (*NT*, f. 174).

Legdan seems to have been for a time a dGe-lugs-pa supporter but his later history shows that he was unreliable.

It appears, therefore, that the Karma-pa Lamas did not neglect nor were neglected by the Mongols but they lacked the missionary fervour of their rivals ; moreover their influence and energy were impaired at this time by various internal dissensions. The Žva-nag-pa rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje, who was born in 'Gu-log [*sic*] country, came from his childhood under the control of the two lCags-mo Lamas, who displayed open enmity towards the Žva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug and the gTsañ sDe-srid Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal (*NT*, ff. 168, 171). The latter succeeded in breaking the power of the lCags-mo Lamas about 1620 but his relations with the Žva-nag-pa continued to be strained and almost hostile (*NT*, ff. 173, 174). This rupture was still apparent more than twenty years later at the time of Gusri's invasion when, in spite of the common danger, the Žva-nag-pa expressed disapproval of the misdeeds of the then sDe-srid, Karma Bstan-skyoñ. It may also be noticed that in 1640, when representations were made by various parties in Tibet to the newly-risen power of the Manchus, the gTsañ ruler commended to their favour only the Žva-dmar-pa and made no mention of the Žva-nag-pa.

These disagreements weakened the moral authority of the Karma-pa to the advantage of the dGe-lugs-pa and also made inroads on their material position, which depended on the ability of the gTsañ sDe-rid to maintain his hold over the greater part of Tibet. That hold had for some time been subject to attrition. The dGe-lugs-pa connection brought many Mongol supporters into Central Tibet. There was some sort of armed incursion in 1621 and further threatening gestures in 1625 (Tucci, *TPS.*, pp. 58, 59). dGe-lugs-pa writers gloss over the fact that their eventual triumph was secured by a foreign invasion ; but too much should not be made of any claim that the opposite side were nationalists defending Tibetan independence for the Karma-pa would have used the Mongol troops of Arslan Khan against their enemies if they could. The story is rather obscure. Arslan's father Chogtu (Dzasaktu ?), a Khalkha khan of the Koko Nor, was a supporter of the Žva-dmar-pa. It is possible that he sent his son to help the Karma-pa to maintain their position ; or Arslan may have set out on a private adventure ; but whatever prompted his invasion of Tibet, Arslan proved himself an unscrupulous opportunist with an eye only for

loot. The Karma-pa were his first victims. It appears that Arslan killed the sixth *Žva-dmar-pa* in an engagement near 'Dam in 1635 and that the *Žva-nag-pa* had to flee from mTshur-phu. That is what I take to be the meaning of the references to "Karma chuñ ba" and "Karma che-ba" in f. 79 of vol. *Ja* of the fifth Dalai Lama's *rNam-thar* which Professor Tucci kindly allowed me to consult in his fine private library at Rome. The Karma-pa *rNam-thar*, although mentioning that the *Žva-dmar-pa* died about this time, conceals the circumstances. After this disaster the Karma-pa succeeded in directing Arslan's violence against the dGe-lugs-pa. The dGe-lugs-pa, after suffering some damage, were able to play the same game. They won over Arslan, who again turned his hostility against Karma-pa possessions. The late *Žva-dmar-pa*'s principal official, known as *Žva-dmar Rab-byams-pa*, sent a hurried protest to Chogtu who, seemingly without compunction, arranged for the execution of his own son Arslan.

About the same time Legdan, Khan of the Chahar, was won over by Chogtu to the Karma-pa side and set out for the Koko Nor area to do battle for them but was killed there by the Qośot Gusri Khan, who was then beginning his career as a dGe-lugs-pa champion. The Karma-pa were thus deprived of their effective allies among the Mongols and Gusri, after clearing up opposition in Koko Nor and Khams, proceeded in 1642 to the invasion of Tibet, the defeat and execution of the gTsañ sDe-srid, and the establishment of the supremacy of the dGe-lugs-pa church.

The problem of tiding over this reversal of power fell to the lot of the tenth *Žva-nag-pa*, whose uneasy relations with the gTsañ kings have been mentioned earlier. When he was eight and again some six or seven years later there had been an exchange of formal messages with the Emperor Shên Tsung (Wan Li), but there is no further record of correspondence between the Karma-pa and the Chinese court until 1640, when rival parties in Tibet sent letters to the newly-established Ch'ing Emperor seeking to win his support. It was on this occasion that the gTsañ sDe-srid specially commended the *Žva-dmar-pa* to the Emperor. It appears that in reply the Emperor addressed a letter to the *Žva-dmar-pa* (W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*, 1910, p. 12), but perhaps this is a misinterpretation. The sixth *Žva-dmar-pa*, as mentioned above, died or was killed about 1635; and there was some delay in finding his successor. I wonder, therefore, whether the Emperor's letter may have been intended for

the *Žva-nag-pa* and whether the latter also had addressed the Emperor. At all events, before the Imperial letters were received the issue in Tibet had been decided in favour of the *dGe-lugs-pa*.

rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje was a quietist in the tradition of many of his predecessors and he does not appear in *dGe-lugs-pa* records as a figure of any personal importance in their estimation. Through the mediation of the Panchen Lama he quickly reached an agreement with the Dalai Lama by which the Karma-pa, in return for acknowledging the supremacy of the Dalai Lama, were to be left undisturbed in their doctrine and in possession of most of their monasteries (*NT*, f. 177). But this settlement was soon upset by "ill-disposed persons" and the *Žva-nag-pa* became involved, perhaps almost accidentally, in the rebellion by the *sGar-pa* against the new regime. The *sGar-pa* were an East Tibetan clan, perhaps originating in the neighbourhood of Karma *gDan-sa*, from which sprang the line of Rin-spuñs princes. Before their rise to power in *gTsañ* they had been in close relations with the Karma-pa through that sect's monasteries in Khams. It was inevitable that the *Žva-nag-pa* should fall under suspicion, although the *rNam-thar* suggests that this was a mistake (f. 179). He was besieged in *sGar-chen* by *sKyi-śod* and Mongol troops. It is not clear what place is meant here by *sGar-chen*, a term apparently used with the general meaning of "Headquarters" or "Principal Seat". It might refer to the Karma-pa's own monastery of *mTshur-phu*, or to the *sGar-pa*'s castle at Rin-spuñs or even to some stronghold in *rKoñ-po*, in which area the *sGar-pa*'s rebellion was finally crushed (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 67). The Lama escaped with difficulty from scenes of slaughter and destruction and eventually found refuge with the king of Sa-tham, whose family had long been devout supporters of the Karma-pa Lamas. He soon became dissatisfied with the bustle and luxury of the Sa-tham court. First he withdrew to a quiet monastery and then, displaying his unusual character, he set out into the dangerous 'Gu-log country, entirely alone and taking the barest necessities, declaring that he intended to visit the new reincarnation of the *Žva-dmar* Lama. He fell among thieves and was robbed of his horse and all the rest of his possessions; but he went on bare-footed and in rags, imperturbably begging food and shelter until search parties of his own followers and those of the *Žva-dmar-pa* succeeded in rescuing him (*NT*, f. 182).

In spite of the reduction in his position the *Žva-nag-pa* was still

considered of sufficient importance to be invited to China by the Emperor in 1653, the year in which the Dalai Lama returned from a visit there. He did not accept; but from Sa-tham, where he had settled once more after his solitary adventure, he kept up a correspondence with the Imperial court. In 1659 he appears to have sent a mission to the Emperor (Rockhill, *JRAS.*, 1891, p. 204) and in 1660 this was followed up by the Emperor "Shun-rtsi" (Shun Che: Shih Tsu, 1644-1662), who may have welcomed an opportunity of extending his own influence among the Tibetans in order to offset the power of the Qośot Mongols. "Shun-rtsi" sent a letter and offered to the Lama a seal, referring to the precedent of the Ming dynasty and seeking to establish himself as the successor to their relations with the Tibetan church. The Lama was not to be led into any bargaining with temporal powers and returned the typically Tibetan answer that "no change appeared necessary" (*NT*, f. 184).

While rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje was in virtual exile at Sa-tham, Karma-pa interests in Central Tibet and gTsañ were in the hands of a young and able deputy, the rGyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa-mchog-dbyañ (1617-1658). Accompanied by the Žabs-druñ Rin-po-che of sTag-luñ, who frequently acted as intermediary between the Dalai Lama and the old sects, he visited Lhasa in 1653 to plead for the return of Karma-pa monasteries sequestered after the sGar-pa's rebellion. He succeeded in recovering most of them but not all, for at Lha-luñ and sMra-bo-mchog-pa, in Lho-brag, I was told that those monasteries had formerly been Karma-pa but were taken over by the fifth Dalai Lama. Some degree of dGe-lugs-pa control was retained even at mTshur-phu and there is still a permanent official of the Yig-tshañ (Ecclesiastical Court) stationed there, although his duties now appear to be nominal.

Before his death in 1674 the tenth Žva-nag-pa visited Lhasa and made his peace with the Dalai Lama. Ñag-dbañ-blo-bzañ, "The Great Fifth" Dalai Lama, was born in a rÑiñ-ma-pa family and is widely believed in Tibet to have been for all his life a secret supporter of the unreformed sects. This reputation perhaps reflects the moderation and tact with which he assumed authority over his religious rivals; and it is one good reason for his title "The Great" that in his dealings with other sects he was free from bigotry and iconoclasm, such as marked the activities of the Dzungars during their brief domination of Tibet in 1717 or such as the Chinese sought to impose in 1726.

The eleventh *Žva-nag-pa*, *Ye-śes-rdo-rje* (1676–1702), had a short and uneventful life. A visit to *mTshur-phu* by the famous Regent *Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho* in 1686 suggests a growing *rapprochement* between Lhasa and the Karma-pas after the death of the fifth Dalai Lama.

The twelfth incarnation, *Byaṅ-chub-rdo-rje* (1703–1732) also died quite young but the *rNam-thar* has more to record about him. In 1718 he was taken to Lhasa, where he met the Dzungar leader *Tshe-riṅ-don-grub*. He was present later when the seventh Dalai Lama, *bsKal-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho*, arrived at Lhasa in 1720 and he met all the leading men of the day—the *sDe-srid Stag-rtse-pa*; *bKra-sis-rtse-pa*; Mongol and Chinese generals; the Minister *Khaṅ-chen* and *Pho-la Mi-dbaṅ*. The last-named was a friend worth having for he became one of the best rulers Tibet has known; and, although he was a sincere follower of the *dGe-lugs-pa*, he is still spoken of with affection by adherents of the older sects for his noble and enlightened defence of their freedom against the Chinese Imperial edict enjoining persecution of the unreformed church (L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, 1950, p. 94). The *rNam-thar* records that *Pho-la* sent presents to the *Žva-nag-pa* on several occasions. The Karma-pa Lama was also one of those who mediated a settlement when *Pho-la* invaded Bhutan in 1730 (Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 146). In 1728 the Lama had accepted an invitation to visit the Emperor, but before going to China he, together with the *Žva-dmar-pa*, the *Si-tu Rin-po-che*, and other Karma-pa Lamas, went on a pilgrimage to Nepal and India. In 1731 the *Žva-nag* and *Žva-dmar* Lamas proceeded to Peking. It was an ill-starred visit. Both the Lamas, who had been close friends and companions for most of their life, died there in 1732 within a month of one another.

The thirteenth Incarnation, *bDud-'dul-rdo-rje* (1733–1797), is reputed to have been a famous *gter-ston* and to have understood the language of animals. Most of the space assigned to him in the *rNam-thar* is devoted to his conversations with beasts and birds. There is nothing of any political significance; no reference to important lay officials or to relations with China. From this account it would seem that the sect was settling into a staid and venerable respectability; but that assumption would be premature for the *rNam-thar*, with excessive caution, suppresses all mention of the

one notorious and disturbing Karma-pa of the day—the last *Žva-dmar-pa*.

The ninth incarnation of that line, who was born about 1734, was an elder brother of the third Panchen Lama, Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan ye-śes (1738–1780).¹ I have not yet been able to discover his personal name.² The eldest brother in the family was the Panchen Lama's *Phyag-mdzod* or Treasurer—the “Chanzo Cusho” whom Bogle knew well at Shigatse in 1775 and Turner in 1783. He also was an incarnate Lama and is mentioned in the *rnam-thar* of the third Panchen Lama, which I have seen by the kindness of Professor Tucci, as *Phyag-mdzod Chen-mo Druñ-pa Hu-tuk-tu Blo-bzañ-byin-pa*. In Chinese sources he is called Chungpa Hutuktu (S. Cammann, *Trade Through the Himalayas*, Princeton, 1951, p. 73, n. 81). Bogle says that the Chanzo Cusho was a half-brother of the Panchen Lama, being a son of the same mother by a different father. The mother was a member of the royal family of Ladakh (*Bogle and Manning*, C. Markham, 1859, pp. 139, 84). It is possible that the *Žva-dmar-pa*, too, was a half-brother. The Panchen Lama's nephews, whom Bogle calls the “Pyn (spun) Cushos”, were, so he says, the sons of another brother who also was a Lama. One of this Lama's daughters, by another wife, was the incarnation of *rDo-rje Phag-mo* (Markham, op. cit., pp. 108, 109). According to Bogle, this brother died before 1775. As he had two acknowledged wives he may have been a monk of one of the unreformed sects; perhaps he was, in fact, the *Žva-dmar-pa* whom Bogle may have been mistaken in understanding to be dead.

The discovery of so many important incarnations in the same well-connected family helps to explain the Chinese Imperial Edict of 1793 which sought to regulate the selection of incarnate Lamas (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 55). In this instance it is particularly surprising to find one family providing at the same time important figures in both the reformed and unreformed sects.

¹ Often described by western and Chinese writers as the sixth Panchen Lama. There is no question, even at bKra-śis-lhun-po, that he was actually third in succession from Blo-bzañ-chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1569–1662) whom his pupil, the fifth Dalai Lama pronounced to have been an incarnation of 'Od-dpag-med. The ascription to the Panchen Lamas of an extended spiritual lineage, including Indian teachers and the Pandita of the Sa-skya sect, is simply a subsequent attempt to enhance their prestige *vis-à-vis* the Dalai Lamas for political ends.

² Professor Tucci has informed me that there is a religious work, written apparently in the eighteenth century, by a “*Žva-dmar dGe-'dun-bstan'dzin-rgya-mtsho*”; but it has not yet been possible to establish that this was the name of the ninth *Žva-dmar-pa* Incarnation.

The death of the third Panchen Lama at Peking in 1780 set off a train of incidents. According to a report written at Kathmandu in 1792 by a Muslim agent of the East India Company the *Žva-dmar-pa* immediately fled to Nepal, taking much treasure with him (W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, 1811, App. II). It is suggested that he had reason to fear the Chinese and suspicions were voiced that the Panchen Lama had been poisoned because the Emperor disliked his great authority in Tibet, his independent attitude towards his Chinese suzerain, and his relations with the British in India. The invitation to Peking may have been intended to remove him temporarily from Tibet and to let him understand what the Emperor thought of his activities. The Chinese official account of his death, which is accepted in the Lama's *rnam-thar* and in a letter from his brother the *Phyag-mdzod* to Warren Hastings, is that he died of smallpox. There is no reason to doubt that. This is not the place for a discussion whether the Panchen Lama might have been deliberately infected with the disease, for even if he had been murdered—which is improbable—there is no clear reason why the *Žva-dmar-pa* should consider himself endangered.

Chinese sources explain the *Žva-dmar-pa*'s flight as due to a quarrel with his elder brother when the latter returned from China and treated him unfairly by withholding his just share of the late Panchen Lama's wealth and by persecuting him on account of his position as a Lama of the unreformed church. Some such motive is indicated by the vindictive hatred directed by the *Žva-dmar-pa* against *bKra-śis-lhun-po*; and when distributing punishments later the Chinese clearly held the *Phyag-mdzod* to be largely responsible, for they took him captive to China and confiscated his property as well as that of the *Žva-dmar-pa*. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the Chinese had other reasons for disliking the *Phyag-mdzod*, who had taken the leading part in the negotiations with Bogle.

The origin and course of the whole affair are well examined by Professor S. Cammann in his work already mentioned; and as all the principal references are given there I shall not quote them here.

In Nepal the *Žva-dmar-pa* was welcomed by the Raja, into whose ear he poured incitement against Tibet, recounting in particular the wealth of *bKra-śis-lhun-po*. The Raja was not unwilling to be incited. Relations between Tibet and Nepal had been strained since the seizure of power by the Gorkhas in 1769; and so, in 1788, on the

pretext that the Tibetan Government was behaving improperly in matters of currency and frontier dues, a Nepalese army was sent into Tibet. It occupied Śel-dkar rdzoñ and the frontier districts of Skyid-groñ, Ņe-lam, and rDzoñ-kha. Tibetan and Chinese officials negotiated an agreement by which the Nepalese were bought off with the promise of a yearly tribute. The Žva-dmar-pa appeared at these negotiations as a representative of Nepal ; and on the Lhasa side the representatives included Lamas from Sa-skya and bKra-śis-lhun-po as well as the Minister Bstan-'dzin-dpal-'byor, of the dGa'-bži family, who was married to a niece of the Žva-dmar-pa (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 56). The agreement, reached in 1789, broke down when the Tibetans failed to pay more than one instalment of the tribute ; and in 1791 the Nepalese launched a fresh invasion. The dGa'-bži Minister, who was sent to protest, was taken prisoner and a Chinese envoy at Kathmandu, who demanded reparation, was treated with contempt. The Chinese Government, by now aware of the mishandling of affairs by local authorities, dispatched a strong force preceded by renewed demands for reparation and for the surrender of the Žva-dmar-pa. To this last the Raja replied that " the Lama was the same as himself ". Later, when the Chinese had routed the Nepalese and had thrown their country into alarm and confusion, the Raja decided that he would have to give up the Lama, but the latter took his own life by poison. That is the story reported from Kathmandu while the invasion was still in progress (Kirkpatrick, loc. cit.). Chinese sources raise a doubt whether the Žva-dmar-pa's death was due to poison or to natural causes (Li Tieh-tseng, op. cit., p. 244, n. 153) ; but there is no good reason to question the account written from Kathmandu at the time. At all events, the Žva-dmar-pa escaped the vengeance of his enemies ; but his dead body and his followers were handed over to the Chinese. Professor Cammann also says (op. cit., p. 131) that the Žva-dmar-pa's Tibetan wife was handed over. C. Imbault Huart, quoting from the same sources in *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, does not mention this.

After the Žva-dmar-pa's death the Chinese brought a curious charge against him in the Edict of 1793 already mentioned, where it is said : " Quite recently Dza-marpa (Hutuketu) took advantage of the internal condition of Tibet to conspire to seize the office of Panchen Lama and he stirred up the Gorkhas to take by force of arms Tashilhunpo . . ." (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 56). If Rockhill's translation is correct, this improbable allegation casts some doubt on

other Chinese statements about the affair. But whatever the causes of his action, the Žva-dmar-pa was clearly guilty of treasonable behaviour against Tibet and it is not surprising that the Dalai Lama forbade any further reincarnation of that line ¹ and also confiscated the Žva-dmar-pa's property, including the monastery of Yañs-pa-can, which was conveyed to the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Kun-bde-glin.

I understand that the memory of the Žva-dmar-pa is kept alive by a distinguished family at Kathmandu which looks on him as a generous benefactor and recounts the tradition that he disappeared from earth leaving behind him only one leg, the bones of which, together with his boot, are preserved as relics in their house.

It is not entirely inappropriate that the Žva-dmar-pa hierarchy should end in a blaze of violence. In contrast, the Žva-nag-pa Lamas, after they had been displaced from their eminent position by the victorious dGe-lugs-pa, continued to live a succession of quiet and gentle lives remote from politics and devoted only to matters of religion. Their reputation and moral influence are still high in Khams, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, and Ladakh, as well as among the nomads of the Byañ-thañ. The sixteenth Incarnation, Rañ-byuñ-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje, was born in Khams about 1927. He exemplifies the religious calm and the love of wild animals common to many of his predecessors; and he is held in veneration for his powers as a *gter-ston*, by which he discovered a store of silver hidden by a former incarnation and which he used to build a new chapel. In addition to his kindness in entertaining me and showing me the treasures of his monastery of mTshur-phu, he conducted for my benefit the ceremony of wearing the magical black hat of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, which confers "Deliverance on Sight". The Lama seated himself on his throne and the hat was brought in a silk-covered box. Two monks took it out, holding it firmly all the time, for they say that if it is let go it will fly away by itself. They placed it on the Lama's head and he grasped it with one hand and held it for the time it took to count the beads of his rosary as he recited the special prayer for the occasion. When the hat was restored to its box the ceremony ended with a blessing from the Lama.

Mention of the black mitre woven for Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa from the hair of the *Mkha'-gro-ma* some 800 years ago serves to link the present day with the origin of the Karma-pa sect and provides a suitable conclusion for these notes.

¹ Although there is now no Žva-dmar-pa Lama, Karma-pas like to believe that he continues to reincarnate in the person of the Si-tu Rinpoche of dPal-spuñs.

THE KARMA-PA SECT. A HISTORICAL NOTE

By H. E. RICHARDSON

PART II

APPENDIX A

1. Translation of Tibetan text of the scroll referred to on p. 148, *JRAS*, 1958. The Tibetan is in Appendix B, no. 6.

Passages in small capitals are in red in the original.

THE WONDERFUL DECREE "DELIVERANCE AT SIGHT"

BY THE GREAT MING EMPEROR THE KARMA-PA gŽu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ ta'i śin rtsi tsa'i hu'o was invited and was made chief of all the *ban-dhe* (Buddhist monks) in the Empire. At Liñ-gu svi-sde (temple) he performed a great service of prayers for the Great Imperial Father, Tha'i Ju, and the loving Queen-mother in order to deliver all creatures in the world from the round of transmigration and from hell. The service began on the fifth day of the second month of the fifth year of Yun Lo. On the first day there appeared an iridescent cloud of five colours, beautiful to see, expanding and contracting in various ways, IN BRILLIANCE LIKE THE WISH-GRANTING GEM. Also, above the *mchod-rten* (stupa) of Relics a ray of light, like the full moon, shone out unblemished and flickering a little. Also, two bands of golden rays rose above the dwelling place of the Precious Essence of all Bygone Buddhas, the Religious King, Powerful through Great Compassion, THE KARMA-PA gŽu'i la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ zi then ta'i śin tsi tsa'i hu'o,¹ the place where he performed the ceremony after having made the *dkyil-'khor*² (mandala).

ON THE SIXTH DAY OF THE MONTH there was seen a large number of iridescent clouds, shaped like begging-bowls, which filled the whole sky. And on the clouds in the south-west many figures of the gNas-brtan (Sthavira) appeared, each followed by a large retinue. Some of them could be very clearly discerned and others not so clearly.

¹ The *rNam-thar* (f. 110) quotes the title gŽu'u la'i, etc., in a slightly different spelling and apparently from a different source. It translates the title into Tibetan as follows: "De-bžin-gšegs-pa rin-po-che chos-kyi-rgyal-po nub-phyogs kyi byams-pa chen-po ži-ba-dbañ-phyug-gi sañs-rgyas—Precious Tathagata, Religious King, Great Loving One from the West, Buddha of Imperturbable Power." *PT*, f. 81, has a similar translation. This shows that the epithets "Precious Essence", etc., here are intended to be a translation of the title.

From the *Tibetan Grammar* of S. C. Das it appears that the title was borne by the Žva-nag-pa Lamas at least down to the time of the fourteenth Incarnation, rGyal-dbañ-theg-mchog-rdo-rje (1797–1845). I understand it is not applied to the present (sixteenth) Incarnation. Perhaps it ceased to be used after the end of the Chinese Empire.

² It might seem from the Tibetan text that only one *dkyil-'khor* was made but the *rNam-thar* mentions at least nine.

For a short time flowers fell from the sky, some fully blown, others in bud ; their stems and upper parts were all like crystal and they floated everywhere, both high up and low down. After that, a five-coloured rainbow shone above the chapel containing the *dkyil-'khor* made by De-bžin-gšegs-pa. Then after a time there appeared in the rainbow more than ten gNas-brtan carrying begging-bowls and pilgrim staffs ; some were wearing hats, others held yak-tail fans in their hands and they moved about among the clouds.

ON THE SEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH there dropped from the sky sweet-flavoured, sweet-scented nectar that looked red and white in colour. Also, after a time, in a cloud of many colours there appeared very clearly a tree seemingly of gold and on its branches were flowers like glass, radiating light.

ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MONTH many-coloured rays of light streamed from the south-west quarter to the north-east and flowers floated and danced in the sky. Five-coloured rays shone over the upper room¹ of De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che and then vanished into space.

ON THE NINTH DAY OF THE MONTH there was a shower of heavenly flowers and nectar ; and in the upper air were seen many canopies, banners of victory, silken streamers, and so on. Also, a rainbow-hued light of five colours rose from the roof of De-bžin-gšegs-pa's upper room and vanished into the sky.

ON THE TENTH DAY OF THE MONTH there fell nectar as sweet as honey both to smell and to taste. A five-coloured ray of light flashed to the opposite ends of the sky ; and over the *mchod-rten* there rose three sacred relics like, for example, the moonlight gleaming on a jewel or the sun's rays on the waves of the sea. Those three bright globes moved up and down the *mchod-rten* and the circling light spread its radiance over all the ten directions. And again, after many men had seen innumerable *dGra-bcom-pa* (Arhats) moving in the sky, there appeared more than ten *Ban-dhe* with bundles on their heads and staffs in their hands, who were seen approaching the street. On being questioned they said : " We are going to LIÑ-GU-SVI-SDE to take breakfast." The men in the street, seeing that they had long eyebrows and broad foreheads and were very handsome, began to wonder and followed them to inquire who they were ; but on reaching the great main gate of Liñ-gu-svi-sde they could not discover where the *Ban-dhe* had gone.

ON THE ELEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH an iridescent cloud of five colours arose and heavenly flowers fell from all sides. Nectar also fell ; and on a juniper tree blossomed a flower like a golden lotus with a thousand petals, compactly shaped and of surpassing natural

¹ *gnam khan*, which is found frequently in the text, is perhaps the translation of a Chinese word. It does not seem to be common in Tibetan but I am told it means " a room for meditation, an upper room ".

beauty. From De-bžin-gśegs-pa's *dkyil-'khor* a five-coloured ray shone out.

ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF THE MONTH heavenly flowers, each as big as a *don-rtse* (coin) filled the sky above the chapel in every direction and began to fall all around. On that night there could be seen above the head of the (image of the) deity a ray of red light like a rainbow, compact and very bright, illuminating everything. Also, a five-coloured ray of light shone above De-bžin-gśegs-pa's *dkyil-'khor*; and over the *mchod-rten* a single relic rose as brightly as the sun, shining everywhere both above and below, so that the grass and trees were all seen clearly in its light. After a time this brightness appeared again.

ON THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH two Lamps of Perfect Intellect appeared. One came to rest on the tomb and one on the Palace. Also a circular light of five colours moved around the chapel where the *dkyil-'khor* was and shone above the upper room where De-bžin-gśegs-pa was staying. At the same time there was a shower of flowers which circled round the Emperor's apartments¹ as they fell. At midday (when the sun was warm) there was a snowfall of good omen. On that night a brilliance like a jewel appeared above the building where the *mchod-rten* was and in its light the shape of the *mchod-rten* was clearly visible. A barefooted *Ban-dhe*, in appearance quite unlike any other, was seen wearing a ragged woollen robe² the skirt² of which he held in his left hand and his shoes in his right hand. As he went along he seemed to fly. People followed him to inquire who he might be and, although they were watching him, when he reached the front of the chapel they could not see where he had gone. Even though they searched they could not find him; but after a little they saw him sitting in a cloud.

ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a blue Khyuñ (Garuḍa) and a white crane were seen to fly up into the sky and dance around in it. A five-coloured rainbow cloud encircled the sun; and after a time another rainbow cloud split off from it and encircled the chapel, moving round it. Various phantom shapes, also circular lights, surrounded the upper room of De-bžin-gśegs pa Rin-po-che. Then after a little while a golden ray appeared and vanished to the opposite end of the sky. Then a crimson ray shone out. It did not fade for a long time. And on that night, in a ray of five-coloured light, there was seen the form of a *dkyil-'khor*, while more than ten images of Bodhisattva (*byan-chub-sems-dpa'*) appeared, crossing from east to west as they came and went. Golden light shone from the four decorated prayer-masts (*'phan śin*).

ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a five-coloured ray of light

¹ *gzim ther*, meaning not clear. Jäschke gives "*gzim ter*", "lamp"; but the reference here seems to be to part of the Imperial Palace.

² *Bin-po*, *ben-po*-. Explained as woollen cloth. Cf. Das Dictionary, '*ban-po*'.

shone over the chapel of De-bžin-śegs-pa (the Buddha) and also over the upper room of the living incarnation, the De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che. After a time it separated into pieces shaped like lotus flowers and became very bright ; then after a considerable time it again reformed and shone as a five-coloured ray. In an auspicious cloud there was seen a hermit-saint (*drañ-sron*) of golden complexion. A white crane flew up into the sky and circled round dancing. After a while a white ray of light shone from the roof of De-bžin-gśegs-pa's upper room and disappeared into the east. That night over the *mchod-rten*, the chapel, and the dwelling of the Emperor a rainbow shone ; also two circular rays of light each illuminating the other.

ON THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH over the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room a five-coloured ray of light and a rainbow appeared. A shower of heavenly flowers filled the sky and fell on the royal tomb and the palace.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH innumerable rays of five-coloured light glowed over the Precious *mchod-rten* and spread out so as to reach the roof of the chapel. On that night two men were seen standing on top of the prayer-masts ; and after that in the south-west many auspicious rainbow-hued clouds appeared on top of which were seen two *Ban-dhe*, high above the ground, with their hands joined in the attitude of reverence ; and on another small cloud one *Ban-dhe* with his hands joined was seen following after the other two. They all moved in the direction of the chapel and there they descended. Then they ascended again and, on the instant, vanished. Also, ON THE SOUTH-WEST HORIZON there appeared three five-coloured rays of light which travelled in a north-easterly direction towards the chapel of the *mchod-rten*. Opposite them in the east a white ray shone and five-coloured rays shone over De-bžin-gśegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room.

ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH, ON WHICH THE CEREMONY WAS CONCLUDED, came flocks of blue *khyun* and white cranes which danced as they flew. There was a shower of flowers ; and in all directions there appeared iridescent clouds of many colours shaped like innumerable auspicious signs of good omen ; pearl-like drops of nectar fell and there were breezes of good omen. Many assemblies of innumerable deities of this world were clearly seen. Rainbow clouds formed in the shape of dragons, *khyun*, lions, elephants, and of precious *mchod-rten*s. That night, on the tall prayer-masts which stood outside the main door, there appeared two heavenly lamps, of very intense red, and other lights, too, of different kinds which lit up the ten directions and by that light could be seen in the brilliant upper sky, even from a great distance, gods adorned with precious jewels riding on blue lions and white elephants. After some time there shone OVER THE MCHOD-RTEN a globe of light of intense brightness

with the form of a sacred relic. It merged into the heavenly lamps and an even more brilliant light flashed forth. Heavenly music of many sorts of stringed instruments caused the foundations of the house and of the *dkyil-'khor* to tremble. Those who were in the HOUSE OF THE DKYIL-'KHOR and who heard it thought that the sound was in the sky. It continued a long time in the upper air ; and after a little the whole of the *dkyil-'khor* appeared to have been transformed into a golden Paradise (*Žin-khams*).

ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE THIRD MONTH took place the presentation of the laudatory title Gžu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ zin then ta'i śin tsi tsa'i hu'o. On that day more than 2,000 *Ban-dhe* of the kingdom were bidden to a midday repast at which time a five-coloured rainbow ray arose to the west of Liñ-gu-svi-sde and travelled towards the east. The light was like a bridge, extending the length of the sky. Then a five-coloured iridescent cloud, of intense brightness, arose and changed fleetingly into different miraculous appearances. Heavenly flowers fell one after another. Then rosy clouds with rainbow tints spread over the *mchod-rten* and over De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room ; OVER THE UPPER ROOM shone three bands of five-coloured rays and while they were still visible a single ray of white light and three bands of golden rays shone forth.

ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE MONTH De-bžin-gšegs-pa went to the Palace, to the Skyil Nin (Lake ?). On that day a rainbow of blue and white colour in five bands appeared and five-coloured rays of light covered De-bžin-gšegs-pa's upper room and from the Rin-po-che's upper room two white rays of light shone. Also a ray of five-coloured light glowed above the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and two white cranes flew up from the roof and danced in the sky.

ON THE FIFTH DAY OF THE MONTH the Emperor's retinue went to Liñ-gu-sde for a banquet. On that day there shone a ray of five-coloured light, iridescent clouds of five-colours and a ray of golden light. Below the sun there was a very bright radiance. Above De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's upper room five rays of light shone, also a golden ray. On that night a ray of crimson light rose in the south and glowed on the chapel, illuminating it very brightly.

ON THE THIRTEENTH OF THE MONTH, the day when De-bžin-gšegs-pa set out for Ri-bo-tse-lña on a pilgrimage to 'Jam-dbyaṅ's' holy place, as he took his departure from Liñ-gu-sde a five-coloured ray of light rose in the north-west and a crimson ray shone on the upper room of De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che. On the pinnacle of the *mchod-rten* flashed a single ray of light, in colour like gold ; also three bands of five-coloured light flashed above the roof of the chapel.

ON THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH all the *Ban-dhe* performed the ceremony of purification and offered their prayers to De-bžin-gšegs-pa. On that day a five-coloured iridescent cloud appeared and

flowers fell, filling all the sky. Two white cranes flew into the sky and danced and a jewel of many coloured light flashed. That night the sound of cymbals rang out first on one side then on the other. This lasted for a considerable time and then ceased.

ON THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH the semblance of two *mchod-rten*, one large and one small, appeared in the western chapel. The larger had five stories and measured two *'dom-pa* (fathoms) and one hand's breadth up to the top of the finial spire. The smaller phantom *mchod-rten* had five stories. In height it was rather more than five hand's breadths between the base and the pinnacle. There was a very bright light and a golden ray which changed shape and moved about. Nectar dropped from the top of a *Zo-lo* incense tree and rays of light suffused everything.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH eight bands of five-coloured light rays shone ; then a single ray each of blue, white, and red light which rose in the north-east. A golden light glowed over the chapel of the *mchod-rten* and a rainbow of five colours shone upon the roof of *De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's* upper room.

ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH a ray of blue light shone from the south-west ; and a golden ray shone over *De-bžin-gšegs-pa Rin-po-che's* upper room ; then a rainbow brilliance and iridescent clouds just like gold.

2. Translation of Tibetan text of the letter of invitation from the Emperor Wu Tsung to *Žva-nag-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje* referred to at p. 152. The Tibetan is in Appendix B, no. 7.

Many points have been clarified by translations of the Chinese text generously made for me by Professor V. V. Gokhale, Ferguson College, Poona, and Mr. D. C. Lau, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

“*Ta'i Hva Wañ*¹ *Rin-chen-dpal-ldan*, with single-minded devotion and after washing in scented water, offers this petition.

A humble request to the present Lord of Religion come, self-born, from the West to guide the world.

The fulness of your excellent nature like the all-knowing Heaven is wholly perfected by the experience of countless former lives. Unlimited in the impartial bestowing of divine benefits and blessing,² great in compassionate affection, diffusing religion to all quarters, you have now appeared to the world in bodily form.

In the reign of my ancestor you conferred a boon even to the

¹ The Chinese has “*Ta Ch'ing Fa Wang*”, translated as Greatly Rejoicing, or Greatly Blessed, Prince of the Law. This is the religious title assumed by the Emperor. The Karma-pa Lamas bore the title *Ta Pao Fa Wang*, Very Precious Prince of the Law.

² The Chinese has here something about expounding the Law in heavenly assemblies. This seems to have dropped out of the Tibetan or the translator has gone astray.

present time through the teaching of the mystic religion in this eastern country when you came at his invitation to this realm.¹

My mind has long been humbly devoted to this doctrine and in my thoughts the holy scriptures are of great profundity. In the winter of last year the venerable monk whom you sent, Kvon Tiñ Ta'i Gvo Sri Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po, honoured me by presenting gifts, coming here to the Palace.

Since your compassionate kindness, Lord of Religion, has ordained that you should be reborn in bodily form I rejoice at the auspicious conjunction² that links your destiny and mine. I have now provided presents of gold, silver, sacred images, and ritual vessels, with a principal offering of pearls and monastic robes; and having recently promoted the venerable monk Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshandpal-bzan-po to the rank of Great Son³ (of the Buddha) I send him together with my envoy from here, the Eunuch Le'u Yun of the Zi' Che' Kyen,⁴ at the head of some lesser officials⁵; also principal officers of this place with their servants⁶; and monks with the rank of Gvo Sri, Chen Sri, Gyo'i, Du Gañ, and so on,⁷ bearing presents from this distant land with dutiful and pious affection to invite you here desiring this only, Precious Lord of Religion, that you will show affectionate compassion and for the benefit of living creatures will speedily exert your miraculous powers and travel over the long journey, the hills and the valleys, taking no account of great rivers and the like. Come here I beseech you.

When you are come here it will be like a draught of water when I am thirsty. Be pleased to perform that infinitely miraculous transformation. Do not hesitate but come here and fulfil my wish.

I cannot write in detail of all that is in my mind."⁸

¹ The earlier visit must be that of De-bžin-gšegs-pa in 1407, as is shown by mention in the Chinese of the Southern Capital. The Emperor Ch'eng Tsu transferred the capital from Nanking to Peking, but this was not done until 1414-1420. Wieger (op. cit., p. 1751) states that the monk Ha li ma (Karma-pa) was received at Ling-kouo-seu (Lin gu svi), in Nanking.

² The Tibetan has the obscure phrase 'jal phrad ka bas, but the Chinese confirms my translation. *Ka bas* must stand for *dga'bas*, or less probably *bkra-bas*.

³ The Tibetan is *rGya-sras*. The Chinese has Son of the Buddha, which is a title given to high-ranking monks.

⁴ *Zi' Che' Kyen* represents the office Ch'i ssü shê chien in the Chinese. The Eunuch Liu Yun is named in the Ming Shih as leader of the expedition.

⁵ The Tibetan is *bra kyi bgo' byas*, which might conceivably refer to some sort of official dress (*bra* = marmot; *bgo'* = wear). The Chinese gives no help here, but I take the phrase to be a mistake for *phra kyi mgo' byas* (*phra* = ordinary; *mgo'* = head, leader), which occurs elsewhere in the letter.

⁶ The Chinese is translated: "together with officials of the capital and retainers."

⁷ The words *Gvo Sri*, etc., represent the monastic titles Kuo Shih, Chan Shih, Chüeh-i, and Tu Kang.

⁸ A more literal translation of the closing sentence would be "I have not finished writing all the circumstances in detail"; but the Chinese, as translated by Mr. Lao, reads more graciously—"Faced with the task of writing this letter I am unable to say all I want to say and I hope you will give me your indulgence".

The fifteenth day of the ninth month of the eleventh year of Ta'i Miñ Ciñ De."

The letter consists of a silk-wrapped scroll some 5 feet broad by 2 feet high. The Tibetan is on the right, the Chinese on the left and the date in both languages, together with the imperial seal, are on the left of the Chinese text. The Tibetan is in the 'bam yig script. The text in transliteration and some textual notes will be found in Appendix B (Plates X and XI). It is apparently the work of a Chinese translator. There are so many inaccuracies in spelling and the construction is so ambiguous that without the invaluable guidance of the translations from the Chinese text by Professor Gokhale and Mr. Lau the meaning of the Tibetan would be obscure. Even with that help some passages still present difficulties. The footnotes do not attempt to cover every error and obscurity but deal only with the more interesting of them.

APPENDIX B

Transliterations of letters, etc., in Tibetan from Chinese Emperors to Karma-pa Lamas.

1. Letter of the Emperor Togh Temur to Lama Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje, dated 1331, quoted in *NT*, ff. 65, 66. See p. 145, *JRAS*, 1958.

Phrases in the Tibetan are separated by *śad*; in transliteration I have shown the divisions by a full stop followed by a capital letter.

“ dKon mchog gsum byi byin rlabs kyis bsod nams chen po'i dpal la brten nas rgyal po ñed kyī luñ Rañ-byuñ rdo rje la gsol ba. bDe bar gśegs pa'i bstan pa byañ phyogs kyī rgyal po rnams la dar ba 'gyur ba luñ bstan pa'i stobs kyis sañs rgyas kyī chos lugs kyañ ci rigs pa rtogs par yod 'dug. De rjes nas se chen rgyal pos kyañ bla ma dge ba'i bśes gñen rab tu mañ po brten žiñ bkur bas sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa sa cha 'dir dar byar byas 'dug pa kun la gsal mod. Ned kyis kyañ bstan pa'i skyoñ bran legs par byed pa'i 'dod pa dañ khyed thos pa mañ po dañ yon tan khyad par du 'phags śiñ bzañ po du ma dañ yañ ldan žer ba thos pas mgon po la sogs pa'i gser yig pa rnams khyed len du btañ pa yin. Gal te khyed sñad gžan byas nas mi yoñ bar gyur na. Dad pa can gyi sems sun 'byin pa'i ñes pa dañ rnal 'byor pa rañ gi yul spoñ ma thub pa'i bag chags sa bon dri ña ba dañ gžan don phyogs med du byed par 'dod pa'i lhag bsam 'jig par 'gyur pa'i skyon dañ. Bstan pa la ma bsam par 'gyur ba'i sdig pa dañ. Sems can rnams kyī dka' thub sdug bsñal la ji mi sñam pa'i sgrib pa dañ ñed kyī khirms lugs chen po'i 'jva' sa la log pa byas pa'i sgyo nas ñed kyī sems ma rañs par byas pa'i stobs kyis bstan pa byin po la gnod pa byas par mi 'gyur ba e yin debs na ñed kyis mgo byas byas sems can thams cad kyī don la bsams nas mgyogs par byon. 'Dir phebs nas bstan pa'i bya ba

khyed kyi 'dod pa dañ mthun par sgrub pa yin. Lug lo dbyid zla tha chuñ gi tshes bcu gsum la ta'i tu na yod dus bris."

2. Letter from Togh Temur to Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje dated 1332, quoted in *NT*, f. 67. See p. 146, *JRAS*, 1958.

" rGyal po'i luñ gi. dGe ba'i bśes gñen rañ byuñ rdo rje la gsol ba. Ned kyi mgon po mnags nas khyed len du btañ ba yin pa la. Ned kyi luñ la log pa ma byas par yoñ gi yod žer ba thos pa'i don la. Ra dza ta tshe dben dañ zam bh'o gñis mnags nas yi ge rten dañ bcas pa bkur yod. Siñ kun tu ma bžugs par zla ba gñis pa'i tshes ñi śu'i khoñs su pho brañ du slebs par byon. Spre'u lo zla ba dañ po'i tshes gñis kyi ñin ta'i tu na yod dus bris."

3. Letter from Toghan Temur to Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje dated 1336, quoted in *NT*, f. 69. See p. 146, *ib*.

" dKon mchog gsum gyi byin rlabs la brten nas. Tha'i hor tha'i tsu ned kyi e ji. Chos rje rin po che karma pa'i druñ du. Na niñ bla ma yar byon dus thugs dgoñs bzañ po'i sgo nas rañ re la phan pa'i bya ba bzañ po sgrubs nas myur du phyir 'byon par žal gyis bzes siñ. Bla ma byon nas lo gñis soñ ba la. Bla mas gsuñs pa'i chos dran ciñ. Bla ma la mos gus dañ dad pa yod pa'i don la. Śnar yañ gdan 'dren gyi gser yig pa btañ na 'an. De bar du 'dir nam chags phebs kyi tshigs gsal ma thos pa'i don la. Yañ bla ma gdan 'dren pa la dge bśes don rin gyi mgo byas gser yig pa rnam btañ yod pas. Rañ re la bsams nas bstan pa'i žabs thog la dgoñs te myur du 'byon pa bla ma mkhyen. Gal te myur du ma byon par gsuñ thog tu ma phebs na. Dad pa dañ ldan pa'i bu slob rnam kyi yi chad pa dañ. gŽan yañ chos la log pa rnam kyi thos nas. Khoñ lta bu gsuñ thog tu ma phebs na gžan rnam gañ na bden zer ciñ bstan pa la gnod pas. gSer yig 'di rnam sleb pa dañ ned la bsams nas bstan pa'i žabs thog dañ sems can gyi don la dgoñs nas myur du 'byon pa bla ma mkhyen. Yi ge gžigs pa'i rten. Nam bza' cha tshañ ma gcig. gSer bre chen gcig. mChod pa'i chas bskur bdog. Byi lo zla ba dañ po'i tshes bcu'i ñin ta 'i tu nas bris."

4. Letter from Toghan Temur to the Lama Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje dated 1356, quoted in *NT*, f. 88. See p. 147, *ib*.

" Tshe riñ gnam gyi śe moñ la bsod nam chen po'i dpal la brten nas rgyal po ned kyi luñ. Rol pa'i rdo rje la gsol ba. Ned kyi mgo byas gdul bya mañ po la dgoñs te. Khyed bod phyogs su skye ba bžes nas mtshur phu'i dgon par bžugs žes thos. De'i don la śnar gyi yon tan dañ phrin las la bsam nas. Sems can mañ po'i don la tiñ ju dañ dkon mchog rgyal mtshan gyis mgo byas gser yig pa rnam gdan 'dren du btañ yod pas. Da lta sñigs ma'i dus 'dir sdug bsñal gyis gzir ba'i sems can la dgoñs te. 'Di phyogs kyi skal pa dañ ldan pa'i gdul bya rnam la chos kyi bdud rtsis tshim par mdzad pa dañ. Lam gol lam stor pa'i sems can rnam kyi 'dren pa mdzad pa'i don

la. Rañ yul spañs nas sku lus kyī tshigs la mi lta bar myur du 'byon par žu žin. Yañ thub pas gžan don du dgoñs nas sdug sñal dan du blañs te yul khams pa dad du sems can gyi don mdzad pa thugs la gsal mod. sKu khams kyī 'tsho skyoñ. Chos kyī bśad ñan. Bod phyogs rkyañ pa la žen par ma mdzad par. 'Di nas mñags pa'i gser yig par der sleb pa'i 'thad du ñed la bsam nas. 'Di phyogs su mjal dus sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa rgya cher ci nus su dar bar byed ciñ sems can mañ po thar lam la 'god pa la dgoñs la sñad mi mdzad pa myur du 'byon pa slob dpon chen po rol pa'i rdo rje mkhyen. mChod pa'i chas dan 'jva' sa'i rten la gser bre gcig. dÑul bre gsum. Gos phyi nañ dgu tshan gñis yod. Sprel lo zla ba bcu pa'i tshes bcu'i ñin la ta'i tu nas bris pa'i 'jva' sa bkra śis par gyur cig."

5. Letter from the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo) to the Lama De-bzin-gsegs-pa quoted in *PT*, f. 77. See p. 147, *ib.*

"Bla ma khyed kyis. De-bžin gśegs pa'i chos zab mo mkhyen pa'i don la nub phyogs kyī sems can thams cad kyī don byed pa kun gyis skyabs su 'gro pa dañ gus par sañs rgyas 'jig rten du byon pa lta bu'i. Khyed thabs śes rab yon tan phrin las mchog gi dños grub ma thob na de bžin du sems can thams cad la phan pa rgya chen po ga la 'byuñ. Ñed sñar byañ phyogs su yod pa'i dus su khyed kyī mtshan bzañ po thos nas lan gcig mjal bsam pa'i sems bžin da lta go sa chen po la bžugs. Yul dbus kyī rgyal khams kun bde bar 'dug. Yun riñ du bsams pa la mun pa bsal ba lta bu drin mñam pa ñid phan yon thun moñ du mdzad dgos. Sñar Śa' kya thub pas thugs rjes bzun nas sems can thams cad kyī don byed. Thub pa'i chos kyī dños grub zab mo thob pa'i don la khyed thub pa'i thugs dañ gñis su med par 'dug pas yul dbus 'dir byon nas Sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa dar ba dañ rgyal khams kyī phan bde la dgoñs nas. Ñed kyis sñar bsams pa bžin rjes su 'breñs nas bla ma khyed cis kyañ 'byon par mdzod. Sñar gyi rgyal pos yul dbus kyī rgyal khams bde ba'i sgo nas bcos pa yin. Sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa la yañ dad pa sñon du 'gro ba. Ñed kyī yab Tha'i rgyal po hu hañ dañ dad pa can gyi btsun mo Hu ha'n bu gnam la gśegs nas yun riñ. Drin bsab dgos pa thabs gañ yañ ma rñed. Bla ma khyed thabs śes phrin las kyī sgo nas mchog gi dños grub thob pa'i don gyis Sañs rgyas gyi ño bo ñid yin par 'dug. Cis kyañ myur par byon nas 'das pa rnams la sgröl pa'i cho ga sgrub pa'i don la da lta'i li skyam. Śa'u skyam. Hu 'u rkyen la sogs pa mñags nas yi ge'i rten bskur gdan 'dren soñ yod. Bla ma thugs rjes bzuñ la mñes par mdzod la myur du 'byon pa žu. Yi ge'i rten gyi dñul bre chen gsum la srañ brgyad dañ lña bcu. Gos yug mdog mi 'dra ba phyi bcu. Nañ dar mdog mi 'dra ba bcu. Tsandan dum gcig. Spos dkar rgya ma bcu. Zu'u hañ spos rgya ma gañ. Ja dkar rgya ma brgya dañ lña bcu. Sna drug yun lo zla ba gñis pa'i tshes bco brgyad la pho brañ chen po nas bris."

I do not understand the date in the last line. Perhaps something

has gone wrong in the copying by dPa'-bo-Gtsug-lag. The date of the letter is probably not later than the fourth year of Yung Lo—1406—as the visit of De-bžin-gségs-pa took place at the beginning of the fifth year.

6. The great scroll presented by the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu to the Lama De-bžin-gségs-pa. See p. 148, *ib.*, and Appendix A, no. 1.

The text below is divided into sections, each dealing with one day, which in the original are separated by paintings illustrating the events described. In the copy which the Žva-nag Lama had made for me the phrases are marked off by a single, double, or triple *śad*. From photographs it appears that on the scroll itself punctuation signs are very few and that phrases are separated almost entirely by spacing. In the transliteration I have attempted to follow that model and have not used full stops and capital letters to divide the phrases as in the other transliterations. The copy also has several phrases written in red. I cannot recall whether this was so in the original but that seems probable, and I have shown those phrases in italics. There are numerous mistakes in spelling which will be sufficiently obvious without comment. As I have not been able to check them all with the original it is possible that some may be due to the modern copyist; but the work was done under the supervision of the Lama himself and, where I have been able to check it, the copying is accurate. It is improbable that copying mistakes are frequent.

“No mtshar 'ja' sa mthoñ grol chen mo bžugs so

Ta'i miñ rgyal pos Gžu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ ta'i śin tsi tsa'i
 hu'o *dkar ma pa* gdan 'dren rgyal khams gyi ban dhe thams cad
 kyi gtso bo mdzad nas liñ gu svi sde nas cho ga chen po
 mdzad *ya(b) tha'i ju rgyal po* chen po byams pa'i yum btsun mo
 'jig rten gyi sems can thams cad 'khor ba ñan soñ la sgrol ba'i
 don la yun lo sna pa zla ba gñis pa'i tshes lña'i ñin cho ga dbu
 btsug pa la žag dañ po la sprin 'ja' kha tog sna lña bltas na
 mdzes pa spro bsdu'i rnam pa sna tshogs *yid bžin nor bu'i*
 'od dañ 'dra ba byuñ yañ riñ srel mchod rten gyi steñ gu 'od zer
 phro ba zla ba ña gañ ba dañ 'dra žiñ dri ma med pa cuñ zad
 g-yo ba byuñ yañ gser gyi 'od zer rim pa gñis śar de bžin gségs pa
 thams cad kyi ño bo rin po che chos kyi rgyal po byams pa chen
 po'i dbañ phyug kar ma pa'i gzim khañ gžu'i la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ
 zi then ta'i śin tsi tsa'i hu'o dkyil 'khor bžeñs nas cho ga bsgrub
 pa'i gnas.

Tshes drug gi ñin 'ja' sprin lhuñ bzo gyi rnam pa lta bu nam
 mkha' gañ ba byuñ yañ lho nub phyogs kyi sprin steñ du gnas
 brtan gyi sku mañ po byon re re la yañ 'khor mañ po rjes su
 'brañ ba la la ni śin tu gsal ba'i rnam pa la la ni cuñ zad mi gsal
 ba byuñ nas re žig bar la me tog bab nas la la gañ la la ma

gañ pa yu ba rten pa thams cad śel dkar po 'dra ba steñ 'og thams cad la 'phur ba byuñ yañ de'i rjes su 'ja' kha tog sna de bžin gśegs pas mdzad pa'i dkyil 'khor lha khañ steñ du śar de nas re žig tsam na sprin gyi nañ na gnas brtan bcu lhag tsam lhuñ bzod dañ mkhal sil bsnam pa la la ža gon pa lag na rña yab 'dzin pa sprin gyi nañ na 'gro 'oñ mdzad pa byuñ.

Tshes bdun gi ñin nam mkha' la bdud rtsi kha tog mar dkar lta bu dri zim pa ro mñar ba bab yañ re šig rtsam na kha tog sna tshogs pa'i sprin gyi nañ du gser gyi ldoñ po lta bu'i yal ga la me tog śel lta bu 'od zer 'phro ba dañ bcas pa śin tu gsal ba byuñ.

Tshes brgyad kyi ñin kha tog lña'i 'od zer lho nub kyi mtshams nas byañ sar 'tshams su slebs pa me tog namkha' la 'phur nas gar byed phyogs kun tu bdud rtsi bab de bžin gśegs pa rin po che'i gnam khañ steñ du 'od zer kha tog lña śar bar snañ la stoñ du soñ.

Tshes dgu'i ñin yañ lha'i me tog dañ bdud rtsi bab yañ nam mkha bar snañ la bya bres dañ rgyal mtshan dañ 'phan la svogs pa du ma snañ ba yañ 'ja' 'od kha tog sna lña de bžin gśegs pa'i gnam khañ steñ nas śar nas nam mkha la soñ.

Tshes bcu'i ñin bdud rtsi'i char bab dri zim pa ro mñar ba sbrañ rtsi 'dra yañ 'od zer kha tog lña nam mkha' la thad sor stoñ du soñ mchod rten gyi steñ du riñ srel gsum śar ba la zla ba'i 'od zer kyi rin po che la 'phros pa lta bu dper na ñi ma'i 'od zer rgya mtsho'i rlab la 'phros pa dañ 'dra 'od kyi goñ bu gsum mchod rten gyi steñ dañ 'og tu gyo žiñ 'khor ba 'od zer 'phros pa phyogs bcu kun tu khyab ciñ yañ dgra bcom pa dpag tu med pa nam mkha' la byon pa mi mañ pos mthon ba'i rjes la ban dhe bcu lhag tsam mgho la 'bog char khrar lag na mkhar sil bzuñ nas srañ la 'gro ba mthoñ mi rnams kyi dris pa *ñed lin gu svi sde la* gro zar 'gro zer srañ gi mis mthoñ ba smin ma riñ dpral ba yañs pa śin tu mdzes pa the tsom skyes ste ci 'dra yin brtag pa'i ched du phyi nas 'brañs nas soñ sgo mo cher slebs pa dañ gar soñ ma mthoñ.

Bcu gcig gi ñin sprin 'ja' kha tog sna lña śar žiñ lha'i me tog kyañ 'khor nas bab bdud rtsi yañ bab śugs pa'i sdoñ po la gser gyi me tog pad ma 'dab stoñ 'dra bar 'bril pa rañ bžin gyi śin tu mdzes pa de bžin gśegs pa dkyil 'khor gyi steñ nas 'od zer kha tog sna lña 'phro ba.

Bcu gñis kyi ñin lha'i me tog che chuñ doñ rtse tsam lha khañ gi steñ na nam mkha' gañ ba khyab ciñ 'khor nas bab de'i nub mo lha'i dbu'i steñ na 'od zer dmar po 'ja' ltar 'bril pa śin tu gsal śiñ kun du khyab pa yañ 'od zer kha tog lña de bžin gśegs pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi steñ du śar ba mchod rten gyis steñ na riñ srel rdog po cig ñi ma śar ba dañ 'dra steñ 'og kun du 'phro žiñ rtsa śiñ thams cad de'i 'od kyis gsal byuñ re šig na yañ de 'dra gsal ba byuñ.

Bcu gsum ñin śes rab kyi 'od zer gñis byuñ cig bañ so la zug cig pho brañ la zug yañ 'od kor sna lña yañ dkyil 'khor gyi lha khañ la 'khor ba yañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ la śar ba dañ dus mñam du me tog gi char yañ bab ciñ goñ ma'i gzim ther la bskor nas bab ñi ma dros ka la dge ltas kyi kha ba byuñ de'i nub mo rin po che'i 'od mchod rten gyi khañ pa'i steñ du 'phros pa'i 'od kyi nañ na mchod rten gyi gzugs śin tu gsal ba cig byuñ ban dhe rkañ rjen pa skye gzugs gžan dañ mi 'dra ba bin po hrul po gon pa lag pa g-yon pa ben po'i mthu ba bzuñ ba g-yas pas lham bzuñ ba 'gro na 'phur ba dañ 'dra ci 'dra yin brtag pa'i ched du phyi bžin 'brañs nas bltas kyañ lha khañ gi mdun du slebs pa dañ gar soñ ma śes gar btsal kyañ ma rñed re śig tsam la sprin gyi nañ na bžugs pa mthoñ.

Bcu bži ñin khyuñ sñon po dañ bas ho'o nam mkha' la 'phur nas 'khor gin gar byed kha tog sna lña sprin 'ja' ñi ma la bskor ba re śig tsam na yañ sprin 'ja' gyes śiñ 'khor gin lha khañ la bskor ba yañ re śig tsam na gser gyi 'od zer cig śar nas tha sor nam mkha' la soñ yañ 'od zer dmar po cig 'phros nas yun riñ bar la ma yal de'i nub mo yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña'i nañ na dkyil 'khor gyi rnam pa śar yañ byañ chub sems dpa'i gzug brñen bcu lhag tsam śar nub la 'gro 'oñ byed pa mthoñ 'phan śiñ bži'i rtse la gser gyi 'od śar.

Bco lña'i ñin kha tog sna lña'i 'od zer de bžin gśegs pa'i lha khañ steñ du śar yañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ steñ du yañ śar re śig tsam na me tog pad ma bžin du dum bu dum bu śin tu gsal ba byuñ yun riñ cig lon pa dañ yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña 'gyur žiñ śar yañ bkra śes kyi sprin gyi nañ du drañ sroñ gser mdog can cig yañ bas ho'o nam mkha' la 'phur žiñ 'khor nas gar byed re śig tsam na de bžin gśegs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ steñ na 'od zer dkar po cig śar nas śar phyogs su soñ de'i nub mo mchod rten dañ lha khañ steñ du rgyal chen gyi khañ pa'i steñ du thams cad la 'ja' 'od śar yañ 'od kor gñis gcig la cig 'phros pa byuñ.

Bcu drug gi ñin mchod rten gyi lha khañ dañ de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che gnam khañ dañ gñis kyi steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar yañ sprin 'ja' śar lha'i me tog nam mkha' gañ ba bab bañ so dañ pho brañ gañ ba bab.

Bcu bdun gi ñin rin po che mchod rten gyi steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña dpag med 'phros nas dkyil 'khor gyi lha khañ steñ tshun chad du khyab par byuñ de'i nub mo 'phan śiñ gi steñ du mi gñis lañs pa mthoñ ba'i rjes la yañ lho nub na bkra śes pa'i sprin 'ja' mañ po byuñ ba'i steñ na ban dhe gñis lañs ste gus pas thal mo sbyar ba mthoñ yañ sprin chuñ ba cig gi steñ na ban dhe cig thal mo sbyar nas gñis po'i rjes su soñ ba mthoñ thams cad lha khañ gi phyogs su 'oñs te mar babs

nas phyir yar soñ skad cig la ma mthoñ yañ *lho nub kyi*
'tshams su 'od zer kha tog sna lña gsum byuñ nas dkyil 'khor
gyi lha khañ gi steñ du byañ śar nas soñ yañ 'od zer dkar
po cig śar gyi thad sor śar de bžin gśegs pa bžugs pa'i rin po che
gnam khañ steñ du yañ 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar.

Bco brgyad cho ga rdzogs pa'i ñin khyuñ sñon po bas ho'o tshan
pa tshan pa 'phur nas gar byed pa dañ me tog gi char bab pa
byuñ phyogs thams cad nas sprin 'ja' kha tog sna tshogs pa
dge ltas kyi rten 'bril mañ po mu tig gi rdog po lta bu'i bdud
rtsi mañ po bab rten 'bril bzañ po'i rluñ 'jig rten pa'i lha dpag
med 'tshogs pa mañ po mthoñ ba rnam byuñ sprin 'ja' 'brug
'dra ba khyuñ 'dra ba señ ge 'dra ba glañ po che 'dra ba rin
po che mchod rten 'dra ba de'i nub mo sgo'i phyi log na yod pa'i
'phan śiñ riñ po'i steñ na lha'i mar me gñis śin tu dmar ba 'od
gžan dañ mi 'dra ba phyogs bcur gsal ba'i nañ na señ ge sñon
po dañ glañ po che dkar po la bcibs pa'i lha rin po che rgyan dañ
ldan pa 'od kyi bar snañ thag riñ sor bltas pa'i gsal ba mthoñ de nas
re śig na *mchod rten gyi steñ du* reñ srel lta bu'i 'od kyi goñ bu
śin tu gsal ba śar ba byuñ lha'i mar me dañ 'dres slar yañ 'od
chen por gyur lha'i rol mo sgra sñan sna tshogs pa khañ pa dañ
dkyil 'khor gyi sa gži gyo ba tsam byuñ *dkyil 'khor gyi khañ*
pa'i nañ du yod pa rnam kyi ñan pa sgra de yañ nam mkha' la
yod pa tshor bar snañ la yañ riñ du byuñ ba sogs yun riñ po
ma lon par dkyil 'khor thams cad gser gyi žiñ khams su 'gyur ro.

Zla ba gsum pa'i tshes gsum gi ñin bstod ciñ mtshan gsol
ba gžu'u la'i ta'i ba'u hva wañ zin then ta'i śen tsi tsa'i hu'o
de'i ñin par 'jig rten gyi ban dhe khri tsho gñis lhag tsam la
dro drañs liñ gu sde nas 'ja' 'od zer kha tog sna lña nub phyogs su
byuñ nas śar phyogs su slebs 'od zer zam pa dañ 'dra riñ ba
gnam dañ 'dra yañ kha tog lña'i sprin 'ja' śar 'od rab tu gsal
ba sprul pa rigs mi 'dra ba 'gul ba lha'i me tog rim pa bab yañ
sprin dmar gyi 'ja' 'od mchod rten bkab de bžin gśegs pa'i rin
po che'i gnam khañ bkab *nam khañ gi steñ na* 'od zer kha tog sna
lña rim pa gsum śar bžugs na 'od zer dkar po cig śar gser gyi 'od
rim pa gsum śar.

Tshe bži'i ñin de bžin gśegs pa pho brañ nañ byon nas skyil
ñin la de'i ñin par 'ja' 'od sñon po dkar po rim pa lña śar yañ
'od zer kha tog lña de bžin gśegs pa'i gnam khañ g-yogs rin po
che'i gnam khañ steñ na 'od zer dkar po gñis śar yañ 'od zer
kha tog lña mchod rten gyi lha khañ la 'phros yañ bas ho'o
gñis steñ nas 'phur gin gar byed.

Tshes lña'i ñin goñ ma'i rgyal bcas liñ gu sde la dro 'dren
pa 'gro ba dañ de'i ñin par 'od zer kha tog sna lña śar yañ sprin
'ja' kha tog sna lña'i 'od zer śar gser gyi 'od zer śar ñi ma'i 'og
na 'phros pa śin tu gsal de bžin gśegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam
khañ steñ na 'od zer lña śar lha khañ la 'phros pa śin tu gsal ba.

Tshes bcu gsum gi ñin de bžin gšegs pa ri bo rtse lña la 'jam dbyaṅs gi gnas bskor ba 'byon pa'i ñin leñ gu sde nas gžeṅs pa'i dus su 'od zer kha tog sna lña nub byaṅ nas śar yañ 'od zer dmar po de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ steñ du śar mchod rten kyī rtse mo na gser gyi kha tog lta bu 'od zer cig śar ba yañ lha khañ steñ du 'od zer kha tog sna lña rim pa gsum śar.

Tshes bco lña'i ñin ban dhe thams cad dag 'gyur gi chos 'don pa de bžin gšegs pa la smon lam 'debs pa dañ de'i ñin sprin 'ja' kha tog lña śar yañ nam mkha' gañ ba me tog bab yañ bas ho'o gñis nam mkha' la 'phur gin gar byed pa rin po che 'od zer kha tog sna tshogs śar de'i nub mo bar snañ la rol mo'i sgra phar 'phros tshur 'phros byuñ nas yun riñ por lon pa dañ med par gyur.

Tshes bcu drug gi ñin nub pho brañ kyī mchod khañ nañ na mchod rten gyi gzugs rñen che chuñ gñis śar che ba la thog rim pa lña 'gan tsi ra'i rtse mo'i bar la 'dom pa do'o chag śiñ gañ mchod rten gzugs rten chuñ ba la thog rim pa lña mtho ba la gdan ma dañ rtse mo tug gi bar du chag śiñ lña lhag tsam yod pa 'od zer rab tu gsal ba gser tyi 'od zer 'gul žiñ gyo ba zo lo'i spos kyī sdoñ po thog na bdud rtsi bab pas 'od zer thams cad 'phros.

Tshes bcu bdun gi ñin 'od zer kha tog sna lña rim pa brgyad śar yañ sñon po dkar po dmar po 'od zer cig śar byaṅ śar nas byuñ yañ 'od zer ser po mchod rten gi lha khañ la 'phros de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ thog tu 'ja' kha tog sna lña śar.

Tshes bco brgyad kyī ñin 'od zer sñon po lho nub nas śar gser gyi 'od zer de bžin gšegs pa'i rin po che'i gnam khañ la śar yañ gser lta bu 'ja' 'od dañ sprin 'ja' śar."

The scroll is mentioned in the history of dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag (vol. *Pa*, ff. 77-82) and in the Karma-pa *rNam-thar*. In the former there is a long account of De-bžin-gšegs-pa's visit complete with details of his reception by the Emperor, the ceremonial, entertainments, presents, and so on; there is also a summary of the miracles. Much of the information is additional to that contained in the scroll and is presumably drawn from the *rNam-thar Chen-mo* at mTshur-phu. The passages are too long to quote and I shall only transliterate, below, a few sentences from each work which relate to the scroll itself.

PT, f. 81 b.

... "Ño mtshar mtha' yas pa byuñ ba rnams ñin so so'i liñ tse bkod. . . . Bod rgya yu gur sogs yig rigs du ma'i žal yig dañ bcas pa dar yug chen po gcig gi dkyus tsam pa'i ño mtshar 'ja' sa žes gsi thañ yug dril du ma da lta yod par lta."

NT, 110 b.

“Ñin re bžin ño mtshar mi 'dra ba sna tshogs byuñ ba rnam gon ma'i bkas ri mor bkod pa dañ rgya hor yu gur tu ruska ste yig rigs lña'i kha byañ btab de 'dra sgar chen du a'n yod par gsuñs śin rnam thar chen mor yañ byuñ.”

From the last sentence it appears that there was a copy of the scroll at sGar-chen. For this name see p. 158, *ib.* It is unlikely that more than one copy would be made of so large and elaborate a document and the reference here is probably to mTshur-phu.

7. Letter from the Emperor Wu Tsung to the Lama Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje dated 1516. At mTshur-phu. See p. 152, *ib.*, and Appendix A, no. 2.

“Ta'i hva wañ rin chen dpal ldan gi sems rtse cig gi dad pas spos chus khruś byas nas žu yig phul ba. Nub phyogs nas rañ byon 'jigs brtan 'dren pa'i chos rje bžugs pa'i druñ du gus pas žu ba. Khyen rab namkha' ta bu sku yon tan rañ bžin kyi grub pa. Sku tshe dpag tu med pa'i phrin las rnam par dag pa. Mdžad phrin 'dod lha sñom par byin rlabs mtha' med pa. Byam rñiñ rje rgya chen po. Phyogs thams cad du bstan pa dar ba. 'Jig rten sku sñosu ston pa. Sku ñed kyi yab me kyi mña than la phan pa la da'i bar du. Gsañ sñag kyi chos lug rgyud nas śar phyogssu. Gdan grañs nas yul du phed. Ñed kyi sems bstan pa 'di la dad gus byas nas yun riñ du soñ ba. Bsam pa la gsuñ rab zab ciñ rgya che ba. Sñar lo'i rgun thog la Khyed kyi btañ pa'i gra rgan. Kvoñ tiñ ta'i gvo'i sri bson rgya (bsod nams rgyal mtshan) dpal bzañ po. 'Bul chas skur ba'i sños so. Pho rañ du sled pas. Chos rje byam sñiñ rje kul nas. Sku sñosu khruñ nas. Ñed dañ las 'brel yod pas. 'Jal 'phrad ka bas. Da lan gser dñul sku 'dra' chos cha sog. Mo dig gi rnam sbyar gi mgo' byas (1). Gsar du gra rgan bsod rgyan dpal bzoñ (bzañ po) la rgya sras pa'i las ka par nas. De dañ 'dir sñag pa'i zi' che' kyen. Tha'i gyan le'u yun bra kyi bgo' byas. 'dir las ka can mgo' pa žam sdog pa. Gvo'i sri. Chen sri. Gyo'i du kan sogs. Thags riñ po nas 'bul ba skur nas brtse cig (2) gi dad pas gdan 'dren la btañ yod pa. Cig kyañ (3) chos rje rin po che byams sñiñ rje'i dgos nas. Sems can la 'phan pa'i phyir du. Myur du sdzu 'phrul mdžad nas. Lam sgrad thags. Riñs ba dañ ri' roñs btsugs pa. Chu chen po sogs la min mdzen pa (4). 'Di ru phed par žu žu. Khyed 'dir 'phed nas. Ñed rkom pas chu mthuñs pa ta bu dañ 'dra'. sDzu 'phrul dpag tu med pa mdžad dgos. Thugs gñis pa ma mdžad pa 'phed nas. Ñed kyi bsams pa rdzogs pa yin. Žibs kyi rgyun mtshan (5) yi ge bris mi tshar.

Ta'i miñ ciñ de'i lo bcu cig zla dgu bca' lña ñin.”

There are many straightforward misspellings to which I need do no more than draw attention, e.g. 'jigs brtan for 'jig rten; rñiñ rje for sñiñ rje; lug for lugs; rgun for dgun; pho rañ for pho brañ;

sled for sleb ; žam sdog for žabs rtog ; sñag for mñag ; sdzu 'phrul for rdzu 'phrul.

Some points have been mentioned in notes on the translation in Appendix A and a few more may be noted here.

1. The Tibetan would appear to mean that the monks' robes were ornamented with pearls (mo dig + mu tig), but that is manifestly improbable and the Chinese text shows that the pearls and the robes were separate offerings.

2. brtse cig is probably a mistake for rtse cig.

3. cig kyañ is perhaps a mistake for cis kyañ, meaning " somehow or other " ; but in the absence of clear guidance from the Chinese I have translated what is written.

4. min mdzen pa may be a mistake for min (pa) 'dzin pa or min mdzad pa. The meaning " taking no account of " appears from the Chinese text.

5. rgyun mtshan I take to be a mistake for rgyu mtshan.

The *rNam-thar* (f. 151 b) has a short paraphrase of this letter as follows :—

“Tha'i can sogs gser yig pa gdan 'dren du byuñ. 'Jva' sar. Ñi ma nub' phyogs na lha rañ byon chos rje'i druñ du lus spos chus bkrus. Pus mos la btsugs nas žu ba. Ñed karma pa sñiñ nas 'dod pa la skom pa chu 'dod pa ltar. Khyed dañ ña las 'phro yod pas. La chen chu chen rnams 'ju 'prul gyis byon śog.”

This inadequate paraphrase need not throw doubt on the general accuracy of the other letters quoted in the *rNam-thar*, which are mostly of greater length and include the date of writing. They have, I think, the appearance of genuine copies.

APPENDIX C

Principal Incarnations of the Karma-pa Sect.

ŽVA NAG-PA		ŽVA DMAR-PA		SI-TU RIN-PO-CHE		DPA'-BO RIN-PO-CHE		
1. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa	1110-1193			<i>The first mention of this incarnation which I have seen refers to the early fifteenth century. As I have at present no exact information about the number or the dates of these Lamas I have entered them as contemporaries of the Žva-nag-pa whose pupils they were. The line continues to the present day but I have not yet secured information about the Lamas from the nineteenth century onwards.</i>		<i>This line continues to the present day ; but I have not yet secured information about the successors to the eighth Lama.</i>		
2. Karma Pakši	1206-1283	1. Grags-pa Señ-ge	1283-1349					
3. Rañ-byuñ rdo-rje	1284-1339							
4. Rol-pa'i rdo-rje	1340-1383	2. Mkha'-spyod dbaň-po	1350-1405					
5. De-bžin gšegs-pa	1384-1415	3. Chos-dpal Ye-šes	1406-1452					
6. Mthoň-ba ldon-ldan	1416-1453						1. Chos-dbaň lhun-grub	1440-1503
7. Chos-grags rgya-mtsho	1454-1506	4. Chos-grags Ye-šes	1453-1524		Bkra-šis dpal-'byor.		2. Gtsug-lag 'phreň-ba	1504-c.1566
8. Mi-bskyod rdo-rje	1507-1554	5. Chos-kyi don-grub dkon-mchog yan-lag	1525-1583		Chos-kyi Go-cha.			
9. Dbaň-phyug rdo-rje	1556-1303	6. Chos-kyi dbaň-phyug	1584-1635		Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan.		3. Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho	1567-1633
10. Rgyal-mchog Chos- dbyiñs rdo-rje	1604-1674	*7. Ye-šes ñiñ-po	1639 (?) - 1694		Chos-rgyal mi-pham 'phrin-las.		4. Kun-tu bzaň-po	1633-1649
11. Ye-šes rdo-rje	1675-1702	8. Nam-rol mchog-pa	1695-1732		Chos-kyi byuñ-nas.		5. 'Phrin las rgya-mtsho	1649-1699
12. Byañ-chub rdo-rje	1703-1732	9. (Dge-'dun bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho ?)	1733-1791		Padma ñin-byed dbaň-po.		6. Gtsug-lag don-grub	1700-1765
13. Rje-btsun bdud-'dul rdo-rje	1733-1797						7. Gtsug-lag chos-rgyal	1766-c.1820
14. Rgyal-dbaň theg-mchog rdo-rje	1797- c.1845						8. Gtsug-lag ñin-byed	c.1820- ^o
15. Mkha'-khyab rdo rje	c.1845- c.1927							
16. Rañ-byuñ rig-pa'i rdo-rje	c.1927							

* The succession is not clear. It is possible that the lama born c. 1639 died in about 1645 and was succeeded by another born in 1640

