

Ho-Chin Yang

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Annals  
of  
Kokonor

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**ANNALS OF KOKONOR**  
**ERRATA**

**Index (pages 108-125)**

Due to revised pagination, the reader must make the following modifications in using the index:

Pages 5-11: subtract 1 from number in index (except that Bshad-sgrub-gling 5 and Bsam-gtan-gling 5 on page 116 remain the same)

Pages 31-99: subtract 2 from number in index

**Other Errata**

Page 66, line 11: "p. 35" correct to "p. 33"

Page 72, line 23: "p. 43" correct to "p. 41"

Page 87, line 10: "p. 45" correct to "p. 43"

Page 116, line 4: "-bling" correct to "-gling"

Page 121, line 26: "Su-" correct to "Wu-"



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- BA                    George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, Calcutta, 1949, (Part Two, 1953)
- FPYL                Huang-ch'ao fan-pu yao-lüeh 皇朝藩部要略
- GT                    Turrell V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad, S. O. R., Roma, 1962
- HJAS                Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Harvard-Yenching Institute
- Hoffmann          J. Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, New York, 1961
- Howorth            Henry H. Howorth, History of the Mongols, Part I, London, 1876
- ITC                  Chia-ch'ing ch'ung-hsiu ta-ch'ing i-t'ung-chih  
嘉慶重修大清一統志
- JASB                Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- JRAS                Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- MBG                Alfonsa Ferrari, Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, S. O. R., Roma, 1958
- MKYMC            Meng-ku yu-mu chi 蒙古游牧記
- Petech              L. Petech, China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century, Leiden, 1950
- P. Notes          L. Petech, 'Notes on Tibetan History of 18th Century', T'oung Pao, Vol. LII, 1966, pp. 261-292
- PSJZ                Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang

- Rockhill W. W. Rockhill, 'The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China (1644-1908)', T'oung Pao, Vol. XI, 1910, pp. 1-104
- ŚATAPIṬAKA ŚATA-PIṬAKA Series, founded by Raghu Vira, published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi
- SOC Wangchen Surkhang oral communications
- TPS G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, 1949
- Waddell L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, London, 1939
- WTTC Wei-tsang t'ung-chih 衛藏通志



## INTRODUCTION

The full title of the Annals of Kokonor in Tibetan is: 'MTSHO-SNGON GYI LO-RGYUS SOGS BKOD-PA'I TSHANGS-GLU GSAR-SNYAN ZHES-BYA-BA BZHUGS-SO', which means 'The harmonious, new sacred song containing the annals of Kokonor, etc.' It was written by Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor (Jñānaś-rībhūti in Sanskrit), a learned and prolific author, who wrote on almost all the important lamaistic subjects. The historical work DPAG-BSAM LJON-BZANG is his most famous book. Sum-pa, his family name, is connected with the ancient Sum-pa tribe, which once inhabited parts of Central Asia and Northern Tibet. Mkhan-po (abbot) is the title for the head of a monastery or a learned man. Ye-shes dpal-'byor is his personal name given by the first Lcang-skyā Qutuytu Ngag-dbang chos-ldan (1642-1714); he is better known, however, by his family name. The outlines of his life can be found in S. C. Das, 'Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, also styled Yeśes-Dpal-hbyor, the author of the Rehumig (Chronological Table)', JASB, Vol. LVIII, Part I, No. II-1889, pp. 37-39; L. M. J. Schram, 'The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan border, Part II: Their religious life', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 47, Part I, Philadelphia, 1957, pp. 32-33; DPAG-BSAM LJON-BZANG, Part III, ŚATAPIṬAKA, Vol. 8, 1959, pp. xiii-xviii; and B. D. Dandaron, OPISANIE TIBETS-KIKH RUKOPISEY I KSILOGRAFOV BURYATSKOGO KOMPLEKS-NOGO NAUCHNO-ISSLEDOVATEL'SKOGO INSTITUTA, VYPUSK II,

MOSKVA, 1965 ('Description of Tibetan Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Buriat Complex Research Institute of the Siberian Division of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 2nd fascicle, State Publishing House of Oriental Literature, Moscow, 1965'), pp. 6-8.

The following chronological data on Sum-pa mkhan-po's life are based on the above-mentioned sources.

- 1704 According to the Annals of Kokonor (p. 437), Sum-pa mkhan-po, a Monguor, was born in Tho-li on the bank of the Rma-chu (Yellow River, or Huang-ho in Chinese) in the Kokonor region. But according to S. C. Das, 'Life of Sum-pa Khan-po' (p. 37), he was born at a place in the neighborhood of the Dgon-lung monastery of Amdo. He was known by the title of Sum-pa Zhabs-drung in his youth.
- 1712 He was admitted as a novice in the Dgon-lung monastery, where he studied under the guidance of the Lcang-skya Qutuŕtu Ngag-dbang chos-ldan and the T'u-kuan Qutuŕtu Ngag-dbang chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1680-1735).
- 1723 This was the year when Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin started the rebellion in the Kokonor region and Sum-pa left his home country for Central Tibet. He was admitted to the great monastery of 'Bras-spungs, a center of learning near Lhasa.
- 1725 He made a journey to Bkra-shis lhun-po, where he pronounced his final vows in the presence of the Panchen Rin-po-che Blo-bzang ye-she (1663-1737).
- 1726 He was appointed Mkhan-po (abbot) of Sgo-mang, one of the four colleges at 'Bras-spungs.
- 1731 He returned to Amdo and found that Dgon-lung and

## Introduction

- other monasteries, which had been burned during the 1723 rebellion, were being rebuilt.
- 1733 He founded the Bshad-sgrub-gling monastery at the hermitage of Bsam-gtan-gling.
- 1737 Having been summoned by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor (reigned 1735-1796), he traveled to Peking in the company of the Lcang-skya Qutuŷtu Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1717-1786). He stayed five years in Peking and revised the Tibetan books printed in China. At the end of this period he was granted the title of Erdeni Paṇḍita.
- 1743 He went to the sacred mountain of Wu-t'ai-shan (五台山) in Shen-hsi (陝西), where he stayed for three years.
- 1746 He returned to Amdo, where he was appointed abbot of Dgon-lung.
- 1748 He compiled the Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang.
- 1776 This year has been cited as the year of Sum-pa mkhan-po's death by some scholars.
- 1778 His second letter to the third Panchen Rin-po-che was written when he was seventy-five years old.
- 1786 He completed the book Annals of Kokonor.
- 1787 He died at the age of eighty-four.

A complete list of Sum-pa mkhan-po's writings is published in ŚATAPIṬAKA, Vol. 8, pp. xix-xxxix, and the Annals of Kokonor is listed under Kha (12); however, the original Tibetan text of the Annals of Kokonor appears in ŚATAPIṬAKA, Vol. 12 (2), pp. 425-458, immediately following the VAIDŪRYA-SER-PO, Part 2 (which is an account of the Dge-lugs-pa monasteries of Tibet, written by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho in 1698). This volume was edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra and published by the Inter-

national Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1960. An outline description for each of Sum-pa's writings is found in B. D. Dandaron.

The Tibetan text of the Annals of Kokonor, which has been copied in the dbu-can script published in the ŚĀTAPIṬĀKA, Vol. 12 (2), is very clear, except for the letters 'pa' and 'ba' which are occasionally interchanged. Sometimes interlinear passages in smaller script appear as footnotes, made either by Sum-pa himself or by some other person. These interlinear passages are called 'textual footnotes' in this book and are placed between square brackets at the appropriate place in the transcribed text. There are obvious errors in orthography in the text; these mistakes have been corrected in my transcription. The corrected orthography is given in the transcribed text, and the original, incorrect form is enclosed in brackets, following the notation 'Origo'. The only copy of this work available to me is in ŚĀTAPIṬĀKA, Vol. 12(2); therefore, it is not possible to offer an edited text based on comparison. Consequently, some scribal errors or obscure passages were corrected or clarified only through the help of Professor Turrell V. Wylie and Mr. Wangchen Surkhang, who is a Research Associate of the Inner Asia Project of the University of Washington.

Sum-pa mkhan-po divided the Annals of Kokonor into four chapters: Chapter one (pp. 427-429): Having pointed out that Kokonor is located in the A-mdo area of Greater Tibet, Sum-pa quotes an old legend found among the Kokonor people about the origin of the Kokonor lake. He then writes some of his own opinions to show his disagreement with the legend. Chapter two (pp. 429-445): The history of Kokonor and the related historical events in Tibet, Mongolia and China, embracing almost two

centuries (the seventeenth and eighteenth), are stated in this chapter. Chapter three (pp. 445-450): This contains a poetic description of Kokonor. Sum-pa eulogizes the unusual riches of the region and its natural beauty. Chapter four (pp. 450-452): A narrative about the happiness, the pleasures, and the good deeds of those who live in Kokonor: here is described the blissful life of the people who live in this earthly paradise, where everybody from beggar to rich man, from young to old, contemplates the basic precepts of Buddhism and where they enjoy happiness.

After this there follows (pp. 452-458) a religious and secular history of Dzungaria and China, and a geographical section, in which particular attention is given to the geography of Tibet.

Then the Colophon (p. 458): Although Sum-pa mentioned related Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian events, the main part of the work deals with the history of Kokonor. His compilation of the Annals of Kokonor was the result of the encouragement and respect shown him by Gu-shri Khan's descendants. This book was completed when he was eighty-three years old, in the Fire-horse year (1786). Mar-me-mdzad Ye-shes helped him select his materials. The original draft of the book was copied by Btsun-chung Blo-bzang bstan-'phel, and the one who inscribed the woodblocks was Dge-tshul Blo-bzang brtson-'grus.

Kokonor ('Blue Lake') is the Mongolian name for that lake called Mtsho-sngon ('Lake Blue') in Tibetan and Ch'ing-hai ('Blue Sea') in Chinese. It is located at about 101° E. Long. and 37° N. Lat., in the northeast corner of the present Ch'ing-hai province of China. The Tsaidam basin is situated on its west side, and the Yellow River, flowing eastward, lies to its south. From the very beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912), the

Kokonor region has been known as the grazing land of Gu-shri Khan and his descendants who were Qoṣūt Mongols, descendants of Ha-pu-t'u Ha-sa-erh (哈布圖哈薩爾), Chinggis Khan's younger brother. Sum-pa's Annals of Kokonor deals mainly with the history of Gu-shri Khan and his descendants from the birth of Gu-shri Khan (1582) up to the completion of this book in 1786. Being respected and visited by Gu-shri Khan's descendants, such as Be-si Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, Sum-pa wrote the annals for their family. He concealed the shameful aspects of their history as well as he could: when he described the rebellion of 1723, he did not even mention the name of Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, the leader of the rebellion, who fled to Dzungaria after being defeated in 1724. On the other hand, Sum-pa did not make excuses for Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin because Sum-pa had been well received while he was at the Manchu court. Perhaps he had to be cautious about the strict 'literary inquisition (文字獄)' of the Manchus as well; therefore, the book had to be written very carefully by this learned Monguor lama.

In seeking to please his patrons, the Qoṣūts, Sum-pa all but ignored the existence of the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) in his Annals of Kokonor. Gu-shri Khan had conquered Tibet in 1642 and deserved to be praised for his victory over the Red Hat antagonists, but it is a fact that he presented Tibet as a religious gift to the fifth Dalai Lama. In other sources, the fifth Dalai Lama is described as a man of great determination and force of character, who drew all power gradually into his own hands, including that of appointing the regent. The Tibetans refer to him as the Great Fifth. Sum-pa, on the other hand, did not even mention the fifth Dalai Lama in connection with Gu-shri Khan's conquest of Tibet. By comparison,

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the detailed account of the fifth Dalai Lama's enthronement and rise to political power given in Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History (Yale University Press, 1967) represents the traditional Tibetan point of view regarding that period of history. Sum-pa, even though a Yellow Hat lama, was born a Monguor and was regarded as a foreigner by the Tibetans. Moreover, the Monguors are ethnically closer to the Qošūt Mongols than to the Tibetans; therefore, the obvious prejudice of Sum-pa in favor of Gu-shri Khan over the fifth Dalai Lama in writing his Annals of Kokonor would seem to be based upon his ethnic affinity for the Qošūts and his need to flatter them as his patrons.

The Annals of Kokonor is an invaluable Tibetan history of the Kokonor region, since it was completed by a learned lama born and reared in that region. In the second chapter, particularly, Sum-pa has arranged the history materials with a high degree of accuracy regarding data and dates. Moreover, he did not over-emphasize religious events. If this book is read from the point of view of literature, its style is found to be clear and well-ordered. Sum-pa himself stated in the colophon that he used a narrative style rather than the traditional Tibetan poetic style of writing because he wanted to let people know the history of the Kokonor region; and it seems the narrative style of Tibetan writing would be easier for non-Tibetans. For these reasons, I have translated the second chapter of the Annals of Kokonor as the basis of this book, as it may be of some value to those who are interested in the history of this region as well as to those interested in Tibetan literature in general.

The Kokonor region is populated chiefly by Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese people. Since Sum-pa mkhan-po used only the Tibetan language to transcribe the names of the different people,

tribes, and places, it was perhaps impossible for him not to have made some errors. Consequently, I have checked these transcriptions with other sources to verify their accuracy and to eliminate any errors which Sum-pa made. Unfortunately, because of difficulties in obtaining reliable, up-to-date materials from Communist China, all of the facts and descriptions relating to the Kokonor region and Tibet in this book are based on what existed prior to the Communist Chinese take-over in 1950.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF TEXT

(p. 429, line 13) //Rtsa ba'i gnyis pa ni/ Gna' sngon gang  
sus yul de bdag byas pa'i yi ge bdag gis ma mthong la/ 'on kyang  
snga dus su sa stong lta bu la su 'dug gi nges pa med dam snyam/  
bar skabs nas bod dpa' ris kyis bdag byas tshe phur tsha sgam  
pa chos rdo rje zhes pa'ang byung nas mtsho snying ri sogs la  
bsdad/ dpa' ris kyi rjes su bod a chi'i dpon rta mang po yod pa  
la khri rta dmar can du grags pa 'bangs bcas kyis ljongs (Origo:  
ljogs) de la dbang bsgyur dus su glang dkar po zhon nas 'gro ba'i  
bla ma glang dkar can zhes pa grub pa thob pa lta bu zhig mtsho  
snying dang mtsho'i nub (Origo: zhub) 'gram gyi mgon po gdong  
zhes pa'i brag khung dang/ khro bo lta bu dang bskang rdzas 'dra  
ba rang byung du ma yod pa'i brag bar sogs su bsdod pa'ang  
byung/ yang bar der bod co ni'i mi sde zhig dang/ phyis su len  
tan hu thog thu yar 'ongs nas lam du 'das rjes su ru sde 'thor ba'i  
nang gi cha gwar sde tshan zhig kyang rma chu khar bsdad de sa  
mkhar bzung nas zhing btab zer/ de ltar na sngar rgyal dpon  
chen po kho nas bdag byas pa'i nges pa med pa 'dra/ de nas thu  
med ho lo che dpon spun 'bangs bcas yun ring bsdad/ de dus  
(p. 430) su rgyal ba gnyis pa rje blo bzang grags pa'i dge lugs  
zhwa ser ba'i bstan pa dri ma med pa bod dang bod chen dang sog  
yul du dar rgyas che la/ de'i nang nas de la snying nas dad pa  
byang stod kyi sog po o rod (Origo: rong) tsho bzhi dang/ bar du  
bod chen gyi a mdo dpa' ris sogs dang/ smad kyi sog po mon  
gwol phal cher yin la/ de la mi dad par bod kyi chos lugs gzhan

la snying nas gus pa ni/ stod du gtsang rgyal karma phun tshogs  
 (Origo: chogs) rnam rgyal dang de'i bu bstan skyong dbang po  
 snga phyi ni gtso bor kar 'brug la gus/ bar khams kyi be ri don  
 yod rgyal po ni bon chos la phu dud byed/ hal ha tshog thu rgyal  
 po ni kha la nang pa sangs rgyas par gus skad las don ngo ti la  
 rgya nag gi bon po do'u se'i lugs la dga'/ smad kyi ching gis  
 rgyal po'i brgyud pa rgyal po [che 16 chung 21] so bdun pa len tan  
 ni gang la'ang dad pa'i nges pa med/ yangs gangs can gyi dbus pa  
 byings gu ru chos dbang las dar ba'i rnying chos bstan pa'i snying  
 por 'dzin la/ rgyal dpon snga ma de bzhi so sos 'dod pa de ltar  
 mi 'dra yang/ dge lugs pa la shin tu mi dga' bar mthun te/ dper  
 na sha ba [rtsa lo] dang bya chen go bo (Origo: bya chen bya chen  
 go po) [rdo] dang brang 'gro [rlung] dang dred [shing 'bras] so  
 sos (Origo: so sosm) rang rang gi kha zas mi 'dra yang/ kun  
 gyis sha za zhing/ thun mong du dri bzang sman mchog lte ba'i  
 dri la mi dga' bar mthun pa ltar ro/ /de lta na yang phyis su ju  
 'un gwar gyi gu shrir (sic! =gu shri) rgyal po phyogs 'dir byon nas  
 'og tu smos ltar du zhwa ser ba'i bstan dgra kun rmang med du  
 bgyis (Origo: bgyas) te dge ldan pa'i lugs gtsang nyin (Origo:  
 nyid) byed dbang po ltar gsal bar (Origo: par) mdzad la/ de ni  
 spyi bshad tsam yin no/ /bye brag tu rgyal po de so so'i lo rgyus  
 cung zad spros bshad kyi zhor la/ dus skabs der rgya bod hor  
 gsum gyi bla chen rgyal dpon byon rim dang/ legs nyes kyi bya  
 ba gang dang gang byung ba (Origo: pa) phyi rabs kyi phal mang  
 gis shes slad du rags tsam smos na/ de yang lo drug cu skor  
 mthun rab byung bcu pa'i lcags rta la pan chen blo bzang chos  
 kyi rgyal mtshan 'khrungs/ chu byi la gtsang pa karma phun  
 tshogs rnam rgyal gyis gtsang phyogs dbang du bsdus tshe gtsang  
 stod rgyal po snga ma zhes grags/ me sbrul la bla ma rin po che  
 sku lnga pa bltams/ sa rta lor gtsang rgyal gyis bod dbus kyang

blangs te/ lha sa dang 'bras spungs kyi rgyab rir skya ser brgya  
 phrag mang po la gnod pa byas te/ dge (p. 431) lugs pa'i grub  
 mtha'ang bsgyur/ ser 'bras kyi dge 'dun 'thor nas stag lung phu  
 mdo'i bar du byon dus su bsnyen bkur byas pas phyis su lha sa'i  
 smon lam gyi mang ja'i ja ro dang ja 'dren pa stag lung pa la byin  
 zer/ de'i snga phyir bkra shis lhun po'i 'dab tu kar rnying gi chos  
 sde chen po zhig gsar rgyag dang/ rgyab rir lcags ri'i spe'u  
 mthon po brtsegs pa la skye bo bra 'chal mang pos bkra shis zil  
 gnon zhes btags pas rten 'brel ma 'grig/ bod dbus skyid shod kyi  
 se ri dang kar rnying gi thub chen gling zhes pa'ang bzung skad/  
 skabs der dge ldan pa'i btsun pa rnams kyis zhwa snam dmar ser  
 gnyis kyis zhwa phyi nang bgyis pa bzos te phyi bsgyur nang bsgyur  
 byas nas gyon dgos byung bas 'ga' ru lo tsa'i zhwa da ltar kho rang  
 gi nye du'i nang na yod do/ /lcags byar smad nas dpon ho lo che'i  
 sras gu ru hung the je dang lha btsun blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya  
 mtsho spun gyis sog dmag khrid 'ongs nas skyid shod [sde pas  
 kyang dmag grogs byas nas skyid shod] kyi rkyang thang sgang  
 du gtsang dmag gi nang du thog rgyug byas pas gtsang pa pham  
 ste/ sngar shor lha sa sogs tshur la thob cing grub mtha' bsgyur  
 ba'ang sngar babs su bzhag go/ yang de dus su sog po mtsho chen  
 drug tu grags pa'i gzhung khrims la dmag 'khrugs kyi skabs lta  
 bur mtshon phog min par tsho sde rang la nang 'khrugs dang lag  
 zin mi ni lug ltar gsod sogs kyi srol ngan med kyang len tan rgyal  
 po dang tshog thu dpon ngan gnyis kyi dus su de lar la/ de yang  
 rab byung bcu gcig pa'i sa 'brug lo nas len tan rgyal pos ching  
 gwas han gyi nang sde'i gzhung khrims bzhig nas cha gwar du  
 nang 'khrugs bslangs te mi mang po bkum nas yar gyi dge ldan  
 par 'tshe ba rnams kyi grogs byed par 'ongs zhor la lam du thu  
 med dang ur tu su'i sde 'ga' zhig bcom nas shing khyir bod kyi  
 sa'i cha sha ra tha la zhes par 'byor tshe chos rgyal rnam gsum

gyis lnga pa'i lam du btang/ de'i tshe cha gwar gyi bros mi mang  
 po hal har song ba dpon rnamts kyi brtsod dus su/ shing khyi lor  
 tshog thu dpon ngan gyis nang 'khrugs bslangs nas srol ngan ngom  
 tshe hal ha mang gis spyug pa mtsho sngon du 'ongs te/ thu med  
 ho lo che 'bangs bcas blangs nas der 'dug dus su mtsho sngon du  
 tshog thu rgyal por grags/ de ltar stod kyi gtsang rgyal gyis  
 (Origo: gyi) (p. 432) dge ldan pa la nye bar 'tshe zhing smad  
 kyi be ri rgyal pos nang par dad pa'i bla dpon sogs mang po bkum  
 zhing khri mon du bcug pa dang/ tshog thu han gyis zhwa ser  
 ba'i bla ma ser mo ba du ma bkum cing khrims rar bcug pa dang/  
 de gnyis kyi dad ldan mang po dbus gtsang du 'gro ba'i gser zam  
 bcad sogs rkyen gyis rje tsong kha pa'i bstan pa nyam dma' bar  
 'gyur/ de'i tshe bod pa dpon bsod nams chos 'phel dang/ a mdo'i  
 dgon lung mgon chen gyi grwa pa 'ga' ru lo tsā ba sna che dang  
 sem nyi kha che ces pa blo rgod (Origo: rkod) pa gnyis kyang  
 bod du phyin nas/ de gsum dge ldan par dad kyang dbang med du  
 gtsang rgyal gyi drung 'khor gyi gral du yod la/ de'i tshe de dag  
 dang skyid shod kyi dga' ldan dgon pa'i sbyin bdag stag rtse rdzong  
 gi sde pa mtsho skye rdo rje rnamts gros mthun nas la mo chos  
 skyong la lung zhus byas pas/ byang phyogs kyi dpon sbrul gyi  
 ri mo yod pa'i ske rag can gyis dgra gnon thub zhes par brten nas  
 gsang ste sem nyi'am 'ga' ru lo tsā ba jo 'un gwar phyogs su  
 mngag tshe (Origo: tsha)/ de rang yul du 'ongs nas dpa' ris kyi  
 dmag gros nyung bshas khrid nas songs te jo 'un gwar du slebs  
 nas/ rgyal dpon rnamts la gtsang (Origo: gtsan) rgyal sogs kyi  
 dge ldan pa snub par 'dod de da ltar zhwa ser ba la shin tu sdang  
 zhing dgra dar drag pa'i gnas tshul zhus nas phyir log 'ongs ste  
 gtsang du phyin/ de nas rgyal dpon rnamts 'dus nad dbus gtsang  
 du su 'gro bar gros mdzad skabs su gu'u shri (sic! =gu shri) han  
 zhes pas bod dbus su kho bo 'gro zhes zhal bzhes mdzad/ de

nyid sngar o'i lod sde zung bzhi'i nang gi ho shod kyis rus gwal  
 gwas yin pas dpon chen ha ni'i no yon hong gwar gyi btsun mo  
 chun ma'i a ha'i ha thun zhes pa sras dpa' mdzangs brtul phod  
 pa stag zhes pa'i spun lnga yod pa'i gsum pa chu rta lo ba'i ming  
 tho ri pe'ui hu zer la/ de nyid lo bcu gsum lon dus su dmag bcas  
 phyin nas mgo dkar ho thon gyi dmag bzhi khri pham pas dpa'  
 bo'i grags pa rgyas shing mnga' (Origo: mda') thang dar/ yang  
 rang lo nyer lnga lon dus su/ o'i lod dang hal ha ma mthun par  
 sde gzar chen po 'byung la khad kyis dus su/ de nyid theg nas  
 mkhas pa'i gtam bzang pos 'dum par mdzad pas hal ha'i bla rgyal  
 gyis ta'i gu'u shri zhes cho lo phul pas de ltar dpa' zhing mkhas  
 pa'i snyan grags can zhig go/ de nas shing phag lor tshog thus  
 rang gi bu ar sa lang the'i je khri dmag (p. 433) bcas dbus gtsang  
 gi dge ldan pa'i bla chen rnam la 'tshe ba dang grwa tshang sgrub  
 sde gtor phyir du mngag pa 'bri (Origo: 'bru) chu'i stod du sleb  
 tshe/ ngag sgros shig tu de'i tshe jo 'un gwar nas gu shri dpon  
 'khor nyung shas dang bcas pa'ang lha mjal tshul du sngar gyi pho  
 nya ba'i gtam bden mi bden rtags ched du byon pa dang ar sa lang  
 la 'phrad nas mnyam du 'gro lam du gu shris de la zhwa ser bstan  
 par 'tshe mi rung ba'i rgyu mtshan mang du bshad pas/ des de  
 sems la bzhag nas bod du phyin/ gu shri phyi lor snga lam de nas  
 rang yul du byon zer ro/ /de nas ar sa lang dmag bcas gangs can  
 du 'byor nas phas ngag bkod ltar ma byas par/ dmag dbus g.yas  
 g.yon ru gsum du byas te yar 'brog tu phyin nas gtsang dmag  
 dang yul chen 'gyed/ skabs der bod dmag rgya che zhes pa'i shob  
 kyis 'ur zhog gis sog dmag skyid zhod (sic! =shod) du babs/ me  
 byi lor zla ba dang por ar sa lang sogs kyis bla ma rin po che  
 sku lnga pa la mjal zhing/ dge ldan pa'i dgon sgrub la gnod pa  
 med pa'i steng du dad gus bgyis/ de nas gtsang rgyal gyis bsdu  
 pa'i bod kyis dmag chen byang gi gnam mtsho dang nye bar slebs

tshe/ sog dmag kyang byang du 'byor nas 'thab pa'i shom ra byas  
 shing/ de'i tshe gtsang pas rnying sngags lugs kyi byad mthu byas  
 pas ar sa lang smyos pa dang dmag khrod du thog 'khyug rgyug pas  
 sog dmag gis g. yul 'gyed pa bshol nas bod dmag 'thor/ de nas  
 gtsang rgyal gyi phyogs su yod pa'i zhwa dmar rab 'byams pa sogs  
 kyi bsams tshod la tshog thu dang gtsang pa phyogs gcig bgyis te/  
 kar 'brug rnying ma bteg nas kha ba can gyi chos lugs gzhan dag  
 btang snyoms su bzhag ste dge lugs pa ming med du byed 'dod mchis  
 kyang mis bsams sar rta mi rgyug pa'i dper gyur tshe/ zhwa dmar  
 rab 'byams pa dang tshog thu'i dmag la phyin pa'i blon sogs kyis  
 mtsho sngon du bang chen pa mngag nas/ ar sa lang gis yab rgyal  
 po'i gsungs ltar du ma byas par zhwa ser pa la gnod 'tshe mi byed  
 pa'i steng du mchod bkur byas te gtsang rgyal dang 'thab pas 'di  
 ji ltar byed ces pa'i lan du/ tshog thus de thabs kyis sod ces pa  
 ltar du de nam mkha' dwangs (p. 434) pa'i dbus kyi sprin gyi dum  
 bu ltar bgyis te/ sog dmag kyang phyir log pa 'dra/ /lo der gu  
 shris jo 'un gar pā thur the je dpung bcas dmag grogs la khrid nas  
 phyogs 'dir byon te/ lam gyi yi le dang tha rim dang has tag gi  
 chu klung dang 'dam chen po ston dgun mtshams su 'khyags steng  
 nas brgal te/ mtsho sngon gyi sa sne'i bu lung ger du 'byor nas  
 mi rtas ngal gsos te ri dwags rna ba mang po la brten nas bsdad  
 pa'i ri la ming gwan yam thu zhes ming btags/ me glang gi lo gsar  
 zla ba dang por mtsho sngon gyi stod du 'byor nas dmag chig khris/  
 tshog thu'i dmag sum khri dang g. yul chen 'gyed de/ ri sne gnyis  
 khrag gis dmar por gyur ba la deng sang u lan ho sho che chung du  
 grags/ sras tā yan the'i je sogs dmag bcas kyis tshog thu'i dmag  
 lhag ma har gel gyi khyags rom steng du ded nas pham/ dmag 'ga'  
 zhis de'i shar ngos lung bar gtad nas blangs par deng sang sha hal  
 zer/ tshog thu dpon ni 'phyi khung zhis nas bzung ste dge ldan pa'i  
 bstan dgra de pham/ de'i tshe rgya gar du yin na rgyal rnga brdungs

shing dgra las rgyal ba'i (Origo: pa'i) rgyal mtshan bsgrengs 'os  
 pa'i tshod yin no/ /de'i rjes su sa stag sa yos lor rim par gu shrir  
 (sic! =shri) rgyal po'i jo 'un gwar gyi ru sde thams cad kyang mtsho  
 ngon phyogs su 'byor/ de nas rgyal pos dmag grogs the'i je la pa  
 thur hung the'i je'i cho lo dang rgyu rdzas mtha' yas pa dang rang  
 gi sras mo a min tā ra chung mar gnang nas rang yul du btang ngo/  
 /lo der bod dbus su thegs tshe rgyal dbang lnga pas bstan 'dzin chos  
 rgyal zhes pa'i mtshan gyis gzeng bstod/ yang sa yos lo'i mgor pe  
 ri (sic! =be ri) dpon gyis gtsang rgyal la 'phrin bskur bar nged  
 gnyis gnyen 'brel byed/ jo bo rin po che zer ba'i zangs sku des  
 dmag sna 'dren par 'dug pas de chu la bskyrur ste/ ser 'bras dge  
 gsum bshig pa'i shul du mchod rten re brtsigs nas/ rang res ban  
 bon gang 'os re brten nas legs zhes spring (Origo: smring) / de  
 la gzhan gyis bkral ba'i zhing bcu tshang bar 'dug ces smad skad/  
 skabs der gtsang (Origo: btsang) rgyal gyis bod khri skor bcu  
 gsum gyi dmag bsdus kyang/ de la ma 'thab par phyir log te slar  
 mtsho khar byon/ de'i tshe sras ratna the'i je sogs gyis a mdo'i  
 bod kun dmag dpung gi dpa' stsal stobs kyis dbang du bsdus te/  
 dpa' ri'i dbus kyi grwa sa chen po dgon lung [byams gling] la lha  
 sde rgya chen bstsal [lab tsho khra mang man te'i mtsho 'yan]/  
 de nas (p. 435) sa yos lnga par ko'u shri (sic! =gu shri) ge gen  
 han de nyid sog dmag dpung chen po 'jigs rung bcas pa rlung 'tshub  
 dmar nag bzhin du chas te/ bu ram shing ba'i bstan pa spyi la nye  
 bar 'tshe ba'i be ri rgyal phran gyi phyogs su byon nas khams phal  
 cher stobs rtsal gyis blangs/ lcags 'brug zla [11] tshes [25] la be  
 ri rgyal por grags pa de bzung nas khri mon du bcug/ des sngar  
 sa dge kar 'brug 'bri stag gi bla ma mi dpon ser skya mang po  
 btson rar bskor ba kun bton pas rab dga'i snyan sgra phyogs der  
 khyab/ de nas 'jang sa dam rgyal po tshun chad kyi [khams kyil]  
 ljongs kun chab 'og tu bsdus/ lcags sbrul lor slar yang dmag chen

khrid de bod dbus brgyud nas gtsang du phebs te/ gtsang rgyal  
 snga ma'i bu na gzhon mi bsrin pa'i dpung chen dang sog dmag  
 'khrugs te khras byi'u brdas ltar dbang med du mnan/ de rjes  
 gu'u (sic! =gu) shri rang lo re gcig lon dus su chu rta'i zla [1]  
 tshes [8] la stod kyi rdzong bcu gsum blangs te/ gtsang rgyal  
 bzung nas ko thum rgyab/ yang dpon bsod nams chos 'phel kyis  
 bkrong yang zer/ de nas kar ma pa la dad kyang dge ldan pa la  
 shin tu sdang ba khams bod bar kyi rkong po'ang mnga' 'og tu bcug/  
 gling bcu gsum du grags pa'i grwa tshang rnam gsar 'dzin gyi  
 rmang gzhi ttab (Origo: btang)/ de ltar dgra bo'i phyogs kun las  
 rnam par rgyal nas bod chol gwa (sic! =kha) gsum du grags pa yongs  
 la stobs kyi 'khor los dbang bsgyur te/ lo de'i zla [3] tshes [15] la  
 bod rgyal gyi khri 'phang mthon por 'khod/ de'i tshe rgya gar dang  
 bal yul dang mnga' ris rgyal po 'ga' zhig gis skyes (Origo: skyi)  
 bzang phul lo/ mdor na de ltar mnga' thang shin tu dar cing bstan  
 'dzin chos rgyal gu'u shri ke ken han (sic! =gu shri ge gen han)  
 zhes pa'i mtshan snyan phyogs kun tu grags shing/ de'i dmag  
 dpung dpa' rtsal brtul phod pa phon chen po rgya gar gyi a kṣo hi  
 ni dpung chen dang 'gran pa'i char sprin nag po yongs su 'thib pa  
 rlung nag chen po ltar 'gro ba'i sgra'i glog (Origo: klog) dmar bar  
 'tshams med par 'khyug bzhin du/ dad des 'jigs mtshon cha'i thog  
 'khyug mi bzad pa rab tu 'bar ba phabs pas/ sngon gyi log smon  
 nag po'i las kyi 'bras bu da dus smin nas/ rje rgyal ba gnyis pa'i  
 zhwa ser bstan pa dang de 'dzin pa'i dkye bu dam pa sbyin bdag  
 bcas pa la log par 'khu (p. 436) ba'i dgra bo'i brag ri sems rtsub  
 rtse rnon gzengs pa mtha' dag bcom ste/ khrims zung rab 'jam  
 gru char 'dod dgur 'jo bas/ bod du gtogs so cog gi chos srid kyi  
 ri thang gi nags tshal rtsi shing lo tog ma lus pa dbyar mtsho'i  
 mched por spel te/ gnam la nyi zla zung gis brgyan ltar du sa  
 la'ang ri bo dge ldan pa'i gangs can gyi mchod yon zung gi lugs



gnyis kyi mdzad bzang gi snyan grags rgya bod hor gsum gi ljongs  
 kun du lha yul gyi rnga bo che'i sgra chen do zlar lhang lhang  
 sgrogs bzhin pa 'di'o/ /de ltar dge ldan rnam par rgyal ba'i  
 (Origo: pa'i) bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan lha yul bar du bsgreng 'gran  
 gyur te/ gangs te se nas mdo khams yan chad kyis bod du gtog so  
 cog dge lugs pa'i sbyin bdag tu bsgyur nas bla ma dgon sgrub lha  
 sde skya ser kun bde skyid dpal la sbyor bar (Origo: par) mdzad  
 do/ de nas ljongs de'i mang gis/ rang dbang thams cad bde ba  
 yin/ /gzhan dbang thams cad sdug bsngal yin/ zhes pa ltar ram  
 gang ltar yang rang dbang gzhan la ma shor na bsams pa gu  
 (Origo: ku) dogs yod kyang/ rgyal po nyid kyis phyis kyis rgyang  
 ring po'i don dgongs te/ dge ldan pa la slar sdang ba byung srid  
 na de zil gyis gnon zhing de 'dzin pa'i dam pa dang dge 'dun dang  
 sbyin bdag bcas pa la dpung gnyen lta bur 'byur ched du/ rang gi  
 sras brgyud bcas pas bod rgyal mdzad pa'i srol btsugs phyir du  
 gong smos ltar rang nyid thog mar rgyal khrir 'khod do/ skabs  
 der shing sprel lor khams tha pur rgyal po'i sde khrod kyis lu ju  
 zi zhes pa jag rkun (Origo: rgun) drug gis chom po'i dmag khrid  
 'ongs pa zi ling du slebs nas pi'i cing du phyin de/ rgya rgyal  
 tha ma khrung t̄ing gi srid 'phrog nas zla shas [5] la rgyal sar  
 sdad kyang/ de'i tshe khrung t̄ing gi blon po wang [u'u wang drum]  
 zhig gis/ nor gwan cha'i brgyud pa man ju'u jur chid rgyal po la  
 zhus nas/ de'i dmag dang rgya dmag gis pi'i cing bskor tshe jag  
 dmag bros nas khams la song/ man ju'u rgyal po thog ma shun  
 t̄i chi the tsung rgyal sar 'khod do/ /me phag lor gtsang dbus  
 gnyis ral kha byung/ chu 'brug lor bla ma rin po che sku lnga pa  
 rgya yul pe'i cing du thegs ste phyi lor yar byon/ de nas bzung  
 ste rgya bod 'brel che zhing mnga' ri (sic! =ris) man (p. 437)  
 chad kyis bod rgya rgyal gyi mnga' 'og tu tshud do/ shing rta la  
 gu shri 'das nas rigs sras che ba dwa yan rgyal sar 'khod de sa

khyir tham ka phul/ chu stag la mahā tsi nar khang zhi bde skyid  
 rgyal sar bzhugs/ me lug la mtsho sngon po'i dmag gis rgya  
 mkhar zi ling bskor tshe rgya'i dmag chen grong lang bar du 'ongs  
 yang slar mthun par gyur/ lcags phag lor bod rgyal du ratna 'khod  
 sogs 'og tu 'god ltar ro/ /bar der shing stag la sngon gyi rgya nag  
 ral pa can gyi u'u wang gi brgyud pa phid se ching wang dang rgya  
 rgyal ma mthun pa'i dus gzeng byung yang myur du zhi/ sa lug  
 lor a bar sangs rgyas rgya mtsho sde srid byas/ chu phag la  
 tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho bltams/ shing glang la tshangs  
 dbyangs rgya mtsho bla ma rin po che'i khrir 'khod/ rab drag  
 [11] tha ma me stag la mon pa bla ma rin po che 'khrung/ yang  
 rgyal chen gu shri'i btsun mo gsum la sras bcu yod pa'i nang gi  
 gzhan dang brgyud pa phal cher gyis thog mar mtsho sngon gyi  
 rma (Origo: rmu) chu'i 'gram gyi tho li [kho bo'i skye sa] zhes  
 par gzhi bzung bas ṅ lod (sic! =o rod) kyi pa ron gwar zhes grags/  
 phyi su tshab che zhes par lha khang bzheng/ de nas rgyal dbang  
 lnga pas sgo mang bla zur hor ngag dbang 'phrin las lhun grub la  
 no min han gyi cho lo gnang nas mtsho sngon gyi sar mngag/ de  
 'ongs nas 'ju lag gi stod kyi shug sha pad stong gi chu 'dus mdo'i  
 ju 'un gwar gyis sngar nas bzung ba'i stag sna [go'u si] dgon yod  
 pa dang nye sar dpon thams cad bsdu te so so'i 'dug sa'i gzhi  
 bgos nas byin ltar du/ g.yas ru g.yon ru byas te phyis kyi shing  
 yos kyi dus zing bar du kun mthun cing mi phyugs 'phel ngang du  
 bde skyid kho nas dus 'da' bar (Origo: par) gnas so/ /rab nyi  
 [12] me glang lor gong ma khang zhi rgyal po yul ljongs bskor  
 tshul du nying sha mkhar brgyud de shing nga phur thegs tshe/  
 thu med pa phyag na rdo rje tā bla ma sogs mtsho sngon gyi dpon  
 rnam 'bod par mngag pa dang dus mtshungs su lcang skya rin po  
 che gong ma'ang bla ma rin po che drug pa la tham ka 'ja' sa 'bul  
 ched du btang bas kyang mtsho kha'i dpon rnam la rgyal por

'tshams zhus la phyin na legs tshul gsungs pa la yid (p. 438) ches nas shing nga (Origo:de) phur phyin tshe/ rgyal pos gu shri rgyal po'i sras chung ba bkra shis pa thur la ching wang dang/ gzhan la rim par jun wang dang/ pi le dang/ bi se dang gung dang ja sag sogs kyi cho lo tham ka dang gnang sbyin rgya chen bstsal nas mtsho sngon pa dbang du bsdus te rgya sog 'brel bzang gser thag gis bcings/ skabs der dpon 'ga' zhig ma song ba ta yan hung the'i je sogs/ rjes sor pi cing du phyin/ lha bzang ma song bar phyi lor sa stag la ba ro chu 'gag nas bod dbus su thegs nas sngar gyi sog rgyal rnams bzhugs sar bsdad/ chu rta lor tshangs dbyangs rgya mtshos bstan pa'i mnga' bdag pañ chen rin po che blo bzang ye shes la 'dul sdom phul nas ma bzhes mi dbang gi tshul bzung/ lo der sangs rgyam pa zur pa mdzad de khong (Origo: khod) rang gi sras che ba sde srid du bzhag/ chu lug lor lha bzang rgyal sar 'khod kyang sde srid dang rtse mgo rtsod 'gran gyis ma mthun pas/ shing byar zla ba dang por rgyal mo tshe ring bkra shis spus (Origo: spun) ma yin bzhin du sde srid sogs kyi lha bzang la rdzong brda' byas te mtsho sngon du btangs kyang/ nag chur slebs nas mtsho sngon la ma log bar dmag tshogs byas te zla ba drug par yar log nas dmag tshan gsum [rgad mo 'phrang nas rgyal po/ rgo la nas thu gwus je sang/ stod (Origo: stong) lung nas tshe ringam tshe dbang rgyal mo/] khrid songs nas rgo la dang rgad mo 'phrang dang stod lung gsum nas phyin te/ bod khri skor (Origo: sgor) 'dod grangs dang khams dang mnga' ris tshun gyi dmag tshan chen po dang g. yul 'gyed de lha sa blang tshe/ sangs rgyam pa ko (Origo: go) gru'i steng nas gong dkar rdzongs la bros pa rgyal mo'i dmag gis bzung nas skyor lung gi 'dab tu sde srid rin po che ni sngar 'ongs [rgyal po'i dmag dpon thu gwus je sang dang/ sde srid kyi rdo rje rab brtan gnyis rgo lar 'thab nas snga mas phyi ma bkum pa der gdon du skyes pa'i

'dre tho bslangs] sa'i rin po che'i gling du gdan drangs/ [bar cho kha dar rgyab ho'u sho ches bkrong/] de ko sngon gyi gna' gtam las bla dpon dbang che rang las gong du skrag yul med cing ngo tsha khrel med pas lugs zung las brgal ba'i chos srid kyi khrims ngan 'dzug zer ltar ha cang thal lo/ de ltar jo bo rin po che dang nye bar bsgrubs las kyi (p. 439) 'bras bu'i sngun bsu'i me tog tsam zhig phyis su lha bzang rang la byung ngam snyam/ slar lo de nas bzung ste lha bzang rgyal srid bskyangs te lo bcu gnyis kyi bar du bzhugs/ me khyi la tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho bla ma rin po che'i sprul sku min par thag bcad de/ de dang sangs rgyam gyi sras dag rgya rgyal gyi bkas smad du gdan drangs tshe/ tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho mtsho sngon gyi stod kyi kun dga' no'ur du 'das nges yin/ gzhan rnams cha gwar gyi sa'i do lon no'ur du khyer/ me phag la bla ma la la dang chos skyong 'ga' zhig gis lung bstan ltar du mon pa ye shes rgya mtsho bla ma rin po che'i khrir bkod/ sa byi la rgyal dbang bskal bzang rgya mtsho ba khams li thang du 'khrungs/ chu sbrul lam gang ltar yang bar skabs der dā yan hung the'i je dang jo 'un gwar nas gsar du ru sde bcas 'ongs pa'i tshe tshen the'i je g. yon rur bsdad thse g. yas ru g. yon ru zhes brtsad pa na paṅ chen rin po ches rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sprul sku mngag nas tshe tshen the'i je g. yas rur bzhag nas 'grig/ me sprel lor mtsho sngon gyi dpon rnams kyis kun gzigs bskal bzang rgya mtsho ni rje bla ma'i 'khrungs yul du chags pa'i grwa sa chen po sku 'bum zhes par gdan drangs/ yang sngon nas kyang dbus gtsang gi lha bzang rgyal po dang/ jo 'un gwar gyi rgyal po hung the'i je tshe dbang rab brtan phan tshun gnyen 'brel gyi nang mthun kyang/ bar skabs su lha bzang lkog tu rnying chos la dad pas gshin rje chos rgyal gyis ma bzhed pa'i khar/ jo 'un gwar la skyes phul ba'i rta sga dang gos la la byad yig bcug pa dang/ byad ma bdun btang pa [rgyal po'i bod pa pag shis/] sogs

jo 'un gwar pas shes pa'i rkyen gyis/ me bya lor jo 'un gwar nas  
 tshe ring don grub che ba [chos 'phel dang thob chi dang sangs  
 rgyas dang gdugs dkar je'i sang] sogs dmag dpon lnga dmag bcas  
 mngag pa dres pa nag tshong dang lā rgan sogs brgyud de 'dam  
 du 'byor dus su/ lha bzang [dpa' bo thu'u gwus je sang gi bu da  
 la the'i je dang a shi ta] gis kyang bod sog gi dmag dpung chen  
 pos bsus tshe paṅ chen rin po che blo bzang ye shes sogs chings  
 la byon (p. 440) kyang ma chings par/ jo 'un gwar gyi dmag lha  
 sar shor nas lha bzang pham par bgyis nas rgyal po la mi rtag  
 pa'i rang bzhin bstan te/ stag rtse'i sde pa mtsho skye rdo rje  
 sde srid du bskos/ de nas jo 'un gwar pa lha btsun sgo mang bla  
 ma blo bzang phun tshogs kyi ngag bkod ltar du/ sa shyi dang sa  
 phag lor rnying ma'i bla chen rdo rje brag sprul sku sogs bkrong/  
 dga' ldan pho brang gi sku phyogs grwa tshang rnam rgyal gling  
 dang bsam yas gzhung gi rdo rje brag dgon dang smin grol gling  
 sogs bzig/ ser 'bras dge gsum sogs kyi 'dul khrims byi dor byas  
 shing/ mkhas pa kun lha sa'i 'khyam rar bsdus te/ mtshan nyid  
 la rtsod pa mdzad bcug nas mkhas pa che rim nas mkhan po  
 (Origo: sa) slob dpon sogs kyi gdan sar bzhag cing phu dud dpag  
 med byas/ bar skabs der bla ma rin po che sku bdun pa khams li  
 thang du 'khrungs 'dug ces pa'i gtam grags tshe ['jam bzhad kyang  
 rang yul du byon/] ye shes rgya mtsho re zhig lcags po rir spos/  
 de nas gong ma rgyal po'i bkas mon pa pad dkar 'dzin pa khams  
 rgyud nas smad du gdan drangs ste sog yul gshe hor du bzhugs su  
 gsol/ de rjes kun gzigs bskal bzang rgya mtsho dgung lo bcu gsum  
 pa lcags byi la/ stobs kyi 'khor los 'dzam gling gi shar phyogs la  
 dbang bsgyur ba'i bka' lung ltar du/ pe'i cing nas rgyal sras [14  
 (Origo: 17)] zhi se tsang cun ching wang dang am pa sogs dmag  
 bcas dang/ mdo sngags bstan pa'i mnga' bdag dgon lung ba thu'u  
 kwan sku gong ma chos rgya mtsho pa dang/ gser khog pa yongs

'dzin tā bla ma kba' 'gyur ba 'phrin las dang/ mahā tsi na'i mi  
 dbang gi blon po a ta ha ta sogs dang/ mtsho sngon nas o rong  
 (sic! =o rod) gu shri rgyal po'i brgyud pa blo bzang bstan 'dzin  
 ching wang dang/ dga' ldan er te ni ju nang jun wang [te'i ching  
 ho shu che 'am/] dang/ er te ni er khi/ er te ni dā la bo shog  
 thu/ mer geng te'i ching/ ching hong the'i je/ 'jig byed skyabs/  
 dge legs jo nang/ te'i hung the'i je/ dga' ldan bkra shis dang/  
 a lag sha nas e phu pe'i le pā thur jo nang dang/ ching gis rgyal  
 rgyud hal ha nas rje (p. 441) btsun dam pa'i sprul sku'i yab don  
 grub wang dang gung tshe dbang nor bu dang the'i ji lha dbang  
 rgya mtsho sogs kyis phyi nang mngon lkog med par dad 'dun rtse  
 gcig pas bod dbus kha ba can gyi ljongs su gdan drangs te/ rim  
 gyis mtsho 'gram dang gnyan tsor dang rma chu'i mgo so lo mo  
 dang pā yan ha ra 'bri (Origo: 'bru) chu'i bar du sleb nas zhi se  
 ching wang sogs phyir log/ de nas yar la dung bu ra dang ldang  
 la dang/ bog shag la slebs tshe o rod jo 'un gwar gyi dmag rang  
 yul la log zhor la 'phrad kyang skyon ma byung/ de nas mtsho  
 mo ra dang nag chu dang rwa sgrenng stag lung phu mdo nas sgyid  
 (sic! =skyid) shod kyi lha sar 'byor (Origo: 'gyor) te/ rim par  
 gru 'dzin gnyis pa gangs can gyi po ta la dang 'bras spungs kyi  
 dga' ldan pho brang gi seng khir 'khod nas 'dod pa'i yon tan lngas  
 dga' ston rgya chen byas te/ bod dang bod chen yongs gyi gtsug gi  
 rgyan dang bstan pa'i bdag por mnga' gsol te snyan grags kyis  
 dbyig 'dzin khyab par gyur to/ /mtshams 'di'i mtsho kha pa'i gnam  
 'ga' zhis mol na 'di skad/ po ta la ru dgyes ston chen po'i dus/  
 /rgya dpon che rnam dbus gral bzhag ston gzab/ /rang re mtsho  
 sngon pa rnam gcig tu na/ /rgyab gral bzhag la zas 'grem tsab  
 tsub tshul/ /gnyis na stag rtse sde pa'i srog bslangs kyang/ /ma  
 thos rnam pas zhus don stongs par yal/ /gsum na 'u bu cag gis  
 li thang nas/ /bzung ste da ltar rgyal dbang rin po che/ /seng

khrir 'khod par 'bad pas don bsgrubs kyang/ /dgos dus re che  
 gzhan dus byas bzo dman/ /gzhan yang rang cag 'og 'gyu'i bsam  
 tshod la/ /sngar nas gu shri rgyal brgyud rim pa bzhin/ /bod  
 kyi rgyal por 'khod ltar da dus kyang/ /de bzhin re yang gtsang  
 shangs (Origo: zhang) khang chen nas/ /sde srid go sar bzhag  
 sogs skyen du mas/ /nged cag ngo tsha rngul (Origo: rdul) chus  
 gdong bkrus shing/ /snying la tsher mas reg mtshungs gyur ba  
 la/ /bkon pas gangs can ljongs kyi mchod sdong drung/ /rgya  
 la dus zengs slong mthun bro bor zhes/ /mtsho khar (p. 442)  
 'ongs nas kun la mol zhes thos/ /'on kyang rgya bod gang la'ang  
 g. yul 'gyed dang/ /lhag par rgya rgyal sde khrod gnas bzhin du/  
 /rgya la 'khrugs pa 'dre shar nub glud dpe/ /glang lor phyir log  
 stag lor tshogs 'dus skabs/ /sngon gyi mna' dang nang khrims  
 shig ma mthun/ /chu yos rgya rgyal yong ñing khrir 'khod lor/  
 /nang 'khrugs phyi 'khrugs ched du dmag 'tshogs pa/ /kho bos  
 [20] bod dbus 'gro lam nas mthong ngo/ /de rjes nang 'thab rgya  
 mkhar 'gar 'khrugs kyang/ /dmag las mi shes byis pa'i rtsed  
 mo'i tshul/ /de'i tshe rgya dpon gnyis kyis dmag dpung che/  
 /phyogs 'di'i 'dzin mar khyab 'gran g. yul bshams te/ /glag gis  
 byi'u'i tshogs 'ded bzhin gtor tshe/ /sog dmag rtse mgo byang  
 bros dmag gzhan 'thor/ /de yi shugs kyis mun can zla bsgrub tshe/  
 /sa yang mun pas mog por gyur de bzhin/ /yos 'brug lo la a mdo'i  
 dgon sgrub sde/ /bla chen dge 'dun du mar rgya dmag gis/ /gnod  
 tshabs che yang pi'i cing mkhar nang du/ /sa me rlung gis 'jigs  
 ltas byung ba'i khar/ /pañ chen bar mas mi sna mngag pa dang/  
 /lcang skya sprul pa'i skus kyang dang du blangs/ /nan tan chen  
 pos dgon sgrub don zhus tshe/ /chos rgyal yong ñing chen po  
 mnyes bzhin du/ /sa bya lo la mdzod kyis dgon sgrub gsos/ /lha  
 sde khral mir bsdus kyang de'i 'tshab tu/ /mdzod las lo re bzhin  
 du phog gtan chags/ /gnang ba'i srol bzang 'gyur med legs par

btsugs/ /de nas bzung ste dgon sgrub de rnam su'ang/ /'chad  
 nyan legs dar rgyal bstan mtsho ltar 'phel/ /mtsho sngon mdo  
 khams kun tu khrims bzang tshugs/ /bde skyid dpal gyis khyab  
 gyur 'di rmad byung/ /yang de'i rjes su kho bo bod dbus sgo  
 mang grwa tshang du yod skabs su/ gtsang shangs khang chen  
 pa sde srid lta du dang/ de'i bka' blon bzhi las dbus pa rdo rje  
 rgyal po dang lon (sic! =lum) pa nas dang rnga (p. 443) bod blo  
 bzang dang/ bka' blon chung ba gtsang pa pho la (sic! =lha) tha'i  
 je yin la/ de dus lus med bdag po'i mda' lnga snying la phog  
 pa'i lon pa nas kyis/ spyir sdig dgon che ba 'di gsum dang khyad  
 par du sgo mang dang rgyud smad grwa tshang med na bod 'dir  
 skyid po 'ong zhes yang yang smreng ba nges 'drong thos/ de nas  
 dbus blon gsum gyi 'og 'gyu'i bsam tshod zhig yod kyang de'i  
 steng du ma song bas/ pho la the'i je gtsang pho lar song rjes  
 su/ khang chen pa sde srid las spo bar 'dod de/ gong gi sa byar  
 a mdo'i dgon sgrub gsos pa'i snga lo'i snga lo/ jo bo'i lha khang  
 gi mdun steng rab nyi me lug lo'i zhag phung [5/18] la bkrong/  
 bar skabs der pho la ba rang rdzong du yod pa bkum dmag btang  
 ba shes nas bros pa dmag chen gyis ded kyang shor nas lā dag  
 mnga' ri rgyal po las dmag grogs blangs te gtsang dmag bcas pas  
 rgyal (Origo: rgyang) rtse rdzong [dbus kyi dpa' bo tshe bdag  
 sogs dang/ gtsang gi nya shur dpon yul ni sogs/] dang nye bar  
 lo gcig la dbus dmag dang 'thab nas/ sa spreil lor [5/28] dbus pa  
 pham te bka' blon gsum sogs [17 (Origo: 15)] bzung ba dang dus  
 mtshungs su/ gong ma yong ṭing chos rgyal gyis kyang mi dpon  
 dmag bcas mngag pa 'byor nas nyes can rnam tshe phyi mar  
 spur/ pho la the'i je la gong ma'i bka' lung gis jun wang gi cho  
 los gzeng (Origo: gzing) bstod de bod rgyal du bzhag pa nas bzung  
 ste/ dge ldan pa yongs la gnod 'tshes dben cing 'chad rtsod rtsom  
 sogs 'phel ba dang gangs can gyi yul khams mtha' dag bde skyid



kyi dpal la rol lo/ phyis su rab 'dod [13] sa 'brug la pho la wang  
 gi bu chung ba tā li pā thur zhes spyod pa rtsing ba sde srid go  
 sar bsdad kyang/ snying la bdud kyi lcags kyus zin nas bstan  
 dgrar gyur na'ang mi ring bar gong ma'i bkas bsad pa nas bzung  
 ste bod pa'i sde srid kyi rgyun yal/ 'on kyang de'i rjes nas gong  
 ma yong ṭing gis mnga' mdzad pa nas bod du'ang bde 'jag byung  
 ngo/ yang lo der paṅ chen rin po che bar ma'i sprul sku dpal  
 ldan ye shes dang/ rab 'dod sa stag la bla ma rin po che sku  
 brgyad pa 'jam dpal rgya mtsho 'khrungs/ sa phag lor paṅ chen  
 thams cad mkhyen pa dbangs phyogs kyi bstan 'gro'i don du chibs  
 bsgyur mdzad de/ lcags byi lor paṅ chen rin po che rgya yul gyi  
 sa'i thig (Origo: theg) le pi'i cing du byon nas/ gong ma khin lung  
 mi dbang chen po dang bstan pa'i mnga' bdag lcang skya rin po che  
 sogs kyis mtshon pa'i rgya bod hor gsum mtha' dag gi chos srid  
 lugs zung gi sgo nas yid bzhin nor bu dbang rgyal dang 'gran par  
 re 'dod bskong bar mdzad de/ slar dgung (Origo: dgong) lo zhe  
 gcig bar zhi ba'i dbyings nas gangs ljongs su thegs/ lcags (p. 444)  
 glang lor sprul ba'i nyin byed dbang po slar gtsang phyogs kyi shar  
 ri'i rtse nas thon par thos pas bdag cag ltos bcas mtha' dag gi  
 yid kyi 'dab brgya ches cher bzhad do/ /de lta'i bstan 'dzin chos  
 rgyal gyi sras bcu'i tha chung bkra shis pā thur wang dang de'i  
 bu blo bzang bstan 'dzin dag dang bdag 'jal phrad byas nas kho bo  
 la bsnyen bkur mdzad la/ de rgyud bcas kyis yul ljongs gzhan  
 dang 'gran zla ma mchis pa'i ljongs 'di gu shri'i (Origo: shris)  
 brgyud pas bdag gir mdzad pa rnam kyi rgyud rim zhib pa bdag  
 gi chos 'byung du bkod zin ltar yin la/ de nas da lta'i rab 'dod  
 [13] me rta lo 'dir mtsho sngon dang a lag shar bzhugs pa'i gu  
 shri'i brgyud pa ni/ rma chu'i g. yas su/ wang ngag (Origo: dag)  
 dbang dar rgyas/ dza sa blo bzang bstan 'dzin/ dza sag klu 'bum/  
 the je chos dpal/ rma chu'i g. yon du/ wang bsod nams rdo rje/

gangs kar wang/ pi le 'jig med ye shes/ pe si mtsho skyes rdo  
rje/ gung bsod nams stobs rgyas/ gung dge 'dun don 'grub/  
gung chos skyong skyabs/ dza sag kun bzang tshe ring/ dza sag  
dpal 'byor/ dza sag phyag rdor/ dza sag ban dhe/ dza sag nor  
bu rin chen/ dza sag rdo rje/ khur lugs pe si blo bzang tshe  
brtan/ dza sag lha skyabs/ dza sag dge 'dun skyabs/ tshas  
dam gyi dza sag dga' ldan bstan skyong/ dza sag chos btsun  
skyabs/ dza sag bkra shis chos 'phel lo/ /gzhan jo 'un gwar pi  
li chos skyong skyabs/ jo 'un gwar pe si 'chi med zla ba/ ho de  
gung rta mgrin/ thor gwod kyi dza sag dkon mchog/ dza sag  
sgrol ma skyabs/ dza sag ur rgyan/ dza sag bsam 'grub rgya  
mtsho/ hal ha dza sag tshe thar rnames ste/ deng sang dpon  
khag so gsum dang mda' 'di 101 yod zer/ a lag sha ru ho'u shod  
ching wang dbang chen dpal 'bar dang gung sogs spun bcas dang/  
gzhan yang gung rdo rje tshe brtan/ thu sa lag chi tshe dbang  
rdo rje/ 'jigs byed skyabs thu sa lag chi dang/ gzhan tha'i je  
yang mang ngo/ gong smos de ltar mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus ri  
bong 'dzin pa'i dkyil 'khor nya gang ba shar ba'i mod la/ 'ja'  
sprin rab mdzes lang long g. yo ba'i bar bar nas rgya bod hor  
gsum gyi bla ma rgyal blon 'bangs mi la la'i bya spyod sna tshogs  
mol ba'i 'od dkar spros bzhin du/ yul 'di'i khyad chos phun sum  
tshogs pa bshad pa'i bsil zer gyis sems mi bde ba'i tsha gdung  
bskrad pa dang chab gcig tu 'od snang gsal bas mi shes pa'i mun  
pa bsal te/ de lta'i gtam snyan la mos pa'i skyid tshal gyi ku mu  
da'i tshogs ches cher bzhad par bgyis (p. 445) pas/ gzhan nye  
ring kun gyi mig la ngo mtshar ltad mo ngoms pa med par bgyis  
pa e ma ho//

## TRANSLATION OF TEXT

(p. 429, line 13) I have not seen any records of who the rulers of [the Kokonor] region were in ancient times; moreover, it is thought to be uncertain who formerly lived in that deserted land.<sup>1</sup> Then, later on, when the Tibetan Dpa'-ris<sup>2</sup> people ruled, one who was called Phur-tsha sgam-pa Chos-rdo-rje<sup>3</sup> appeared in that region and lived at such places as the [island in Kokonor lake called] Mtsho-snying-ri.<sup>4</sup> Following the Dpa'-ris people, there came a leader of the A-chi<sup>5</sup> Tibetan people who had many horses and was known as Khri-rta dmar-can.<sup>6</sup> At the time when he and his people were ruling this region, there also appeared the Bla-ma Glang-dkar-can,<sup>7</sup> who traveled by riding a white ox and seemed to be a holy man. This Bla-ma lived in places such as the Mtsho-snying-[ri], the rock-cave which was called Mgon-po-gdong<sup>8</sup> at the west bank of the lake, and among rocks, many of which naturally resemble angry deities and ceremonial objects. At the same time, the Tibetan Co-ni<sup>9</sup> people were there [in the Kokonor region]. Later on, Len-tan Hu-thog-thu (Lingdan Qutu(tu))<sup>10</sup> came up [to this region] and died enroute. Afterwards, a Cha-gwar (Chahar)<sup>11</sup> community, which was among the scattered tribes settled on the bank of the Rma-chu (Yellow river),<sup>12</sup> having occupied the country and the forts, cultivated the land. So it is said that if this be true, it seems uncertain that there was a great ruler who acted as master [of this region] before that time. Then, Ho-lo-che<sup>13</sup> of the Thu-med<sup>14</sup> lived there with his officers, relatives, and subjects

for an extended period.

At that time, the pure teachings of the Yellow Hat Dge-lugs-pa<sup>15</sup> of the Second Buddha, Lord Blo-bzang grags-pa,<sup>16</sup> were becoming widespread in Tibet, Greater Tibet,<sup>17</sup> and Mongolia. In these countries those [people] who sincerely believed in the teachings were: the four O-rod<sup>18</sup> Mongol tribes of Byang-stod (northern uplands); A-mdo Dpa'-ris,<sup>19</sup> etc. of Greater Tibet in the middle [region]; and most of the Mon-gwol<sup>20</sup> people in the lowlands. As for those who did not believe in them (the pure teachings of the Dge-lugs-pa) but sincerely respected other Tibetan religious systems, they were as follows: In the uplands, the King of Gtsang, Kar-ma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal<sup>21</sup> and his son Bstan-skyong dbang-po<sup>22</sup> had always paid particular respect to the Kar-ma-pa<sup>23</sup> and 'Brug-pa<sup>24</sup> [sects]; in the middle [region], Don-yod rgyal-po,<sup>25</sup> King of Be-ri<sup>26</sup> in Khams,<sup>27</sup> honored the Bon religion;<sup>28</sup> as for Tshog-thu Khan<sup>29</sup> of the Hal-ha,<sup>30</sup> he professed to revere the Buddhist religion, but in fact he preferred the ways of Do'u-se (= Tao-shih), the Chinese Bon-po;<sup>31</sup> and in the lowland, the beliefs of Lingdan, the thirty-seventh Khan [sixteen greater ones, twenty-one lesser ones]<sup>32</sup> of the descendants of Ching-gis Khan,<sup>33</sup> were not clear. Furthermore, the Dbus<sup>34</sup> people of Tibet generally accepted the essential teachings of the old religion spread from Gu-ru Chos-dbang.<sup>35</sup> Although the four rulers mentioned above had differing beliefs, they in fact agreed in their distaste for the Dge-lugs-pa. For instance, just as the deer [grass and leaves], vulture [stone], snake [air], and snow-bear [fruits],<sup>36</sup> each eats a different food; they all eat meat; and they all agree in disliking the odor of musk which is generally regarded as fragrant and as an excellent medication.

However, later on after Gu-shri Khan<sup>37</sup> of Ju-'un-gwar<sup>38</sup> had come to this region, as it is recounted below, all enemies of the Yellow Hat teachings were exterminated, and the pure way of Dge-ldan-pa<sup>39</sup> was made to shine like the mighty sun. Such is the general account of this region.

As for particulars, in addition to the narration of some of the history of the individual kings, let me give a rough account of the general history of that time for the sake of informing many later generations about the succession of the chief lamas and the rulers of China, Tibet and Hor,<sup>40</sup> as well as about whatever good or bad events took place.

In the Iron-horse year (1570) of the tenth cycle of the sixty-year cycle,<sup>41</sup> Paṅ-chen Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan<sup>42</sup> was born.

In the Water-mouse year (1612), Gtsang-pa<sup>43</sup> Kar-ma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal brought the Gtsang region under his rule and became known as the first king of Upper Gtsang.

In the Fire-serpent year (1617), the fifth Dalai Lama<sup>44</sup> was born.

In the Earth-horse year (1618), the King of Gtsang also took over Dbus of Tibet and persecuted many hundreds of monks and laymen on the mountains behind Lhasa<sup>45</sup> and 'Bras-spungs;<sup>46</sup> moreover, he caused the teachings of Dge-lugs-pa to be changed. The monks of 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra<sup>47</sup> dispersed; and when they proceeded up to the Stag-lung and Phu-mdo,<sup>48</sup> they were honored [by the local people]. Thus, it is said that later on the used tea leaves and [the honor of] serving tea at the 'tea for the many' [service during the] Prayer [festival]<sup>49</sup> in Lhasa were given to the Stag-lung people. About the same time, a great new monastery

of the Kar-ma-pa and Rnying-ma-pa<sup>50</sup> was built alongside Bkra-shis lhun-po.<sup>51</sup> When the high tower of the wall was being built on the hill behind the new monastery, many sarcastic people called it 'Bkra-shis zil-gnon',<sup>52</sup> which was an ill omen. It is said that Se-ri<sup>53</sup> of Skyid-shod<sup>54</sup> and Thub-chen-gling<sup>55</sup> of the Kar-ma-pa and Rnying-ma-pa in Dbus of Tibet were also maintained [by the King of Gtsang]. At that time, the Dge-ldan-pa monks made a hat with yellow woolen felt on the inside and red on the outside, which they turned inside out [in public] or outside in, depending on the circumstances. Even now, 'Ga'-ru lo-tsa's<sup>56</sup> hat [which is of that type] is preserved among his kinsmen.

In the Iron-bird year (1621), the sons of the leader Ho-lo-che, Gu-ru Hung-the-je and Lha-btsun Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho,<sup>57</sup> came from the lower region (Kokonor), leading their Mongol troops, and having joined forces with the Sde-pa (governor)<sup>58</sup> of Skyid-shod, they rushed like lightning into the Gtsang armies at Rkyang-thang-sgang<sup>59</sup> in Skyid-shod and defeated the Gtsang people. Consequently, they recovered Lhasa, etc., which had formerly been lost and they restored the altered teachings to their former state. Furthermore, at that time, in accordance with the ruling code of those known as the six great Mongol tribes,<sup>60</sup> there were no evil practices, such as internal conflicts within one's own tribe and the killing of prisoners like sheep;<sup>61</sup> and weapons were used only during times of war. However, in the time of the two evil leaders, Lingdan Khan and Tshog-thu, these customs became widespread.

Then, in the Earth-dragon year (1628) of the eleventh cycle, Lingdan Khan, having destroyed the ruling code of Chinggis Khan's own tribe, started a civil war among the Chahar, killed many

people, and proceeded to make league with those who were persecuting the Dge-ldan-pa of the uplands; while on the way to Kokonor, he defeated several tribes of the Thu-med and Ur-tu-su.<sup>62</sup> In the Wood-dog year (1634), when he arrived at Sha-ra-tha-la<sup>63</sup> in Tibetan territory, he was sent to the fifth state (i. e., put to death)<sup>64</sup> by Chos-rgyal rnam-gsum.<sup>65</sup> The two sons of his two wives<sup>66</sup> and the precious white jade seal<sup>67</sup> having been sent to the great Manchu Emperor T'ai-tsung,<sup>68</sup> the tribe surrendered.

At that time, many refugees of Chahar went to Hal-ha. In the Wood-dog year (1634) when the officers were contending, the evil leader Tshog-thu started a civil war. At this time when he was gratifying his evil propensities, he was banished by many Hal-ha people, and went to the Kokonor region. Having taken over Ho-lo-che of the Thu-med together with his people, he stayed in that region. At that time, he was known as Tshog-thu Khan in the Kokonor region.

Accordingly, while the upland King of Gtsang was severely persecuting the Dge-ldan-pa, the lowland King of Be-ri killed many monks, officers, and others who believed in Buddhism, and [many] were put into prison. [Also] many Yellow Hat lamas and monks were killed or were put into prison by Tshog-thu Khan. Because of deeds done by these two [kings], such as the cutting of the golden bridge over which many faithful traveled to Dbus and Gtsang, Lord Tsong-kha-pa's<sup>69</sup> teachings went into decline.

At that time, a Tibetan official, Bsod-nams chos-'phel,<sup>70</sup> and two learned men called 'Ga'-ru lo'tsā-ba sna-che<sup>71</sup> and Semnyi kha-che,<sup>72</sup> monks of Dgon-lung mgon-chen<sup>73</sup> in A-mdo, also went to Tibet. Although these three believed in the Dge-ldan-pa,

they were powerless and they had to be in the ranks of the King of Gtsang's retinue. At that time, they and a patron of Dga'-ldan<sup>74</sup> monastery in Skyid-shod, the Sde-pa (governor) of Stag-rtse-rdzong,<sup>75</sup> Mtsho-skye rdo-rje,<sup>76</sup> were in agreement, and they requested an oracle from La-mo Chos-skyong.<sup>77</sup> Since [the oracle] said 'a northern leader, one with a sash having snake designs, will be able to conquer the enemy', they kept it secret, and sent either Sem-nyi or 'Ga'-ru lo-tsā-ba to the Dzungaria region.<sup>78</sup> Having come to his own country (A-mdo), he took command of a small, friendly troop of Dpa'-ris [soldiers] and then proceeded to Dzungaria. He reported to the king and officials that the King of Gtsang and others wanted to annihilate the Dge-ldan-pa and now hated the Yellow Hats intensely; and [he also explained] the circumstances of the enemy's alarming increase. Then he returned to Gtsang again.

At the time when the king and officials assembled to decide who should go to Dbus and Gtsang, the one called Gu-shri Khan<sup>79</sup> made a promise saying, 'I will go to Dbus of Tibet.' He belonged to the Gwal-gwas<sup>80</sup> family of the Ho-shod (= Qošūt), which was formerly one of the four O-rod tribes. The great leader, Ha-ni'i no-yon Hong-gwar, and his junior queen, A-ha'i ha-thun, had five sons who were known as the 'five talented, brave heroic tigers'.<sup>81</sup> The third one of the 'five tiger brothers', named Thoripe'ui-hu,<sup>82</sup> was born in the Water-horse year (1582). When he was thirteen years old, having marched with the army, he defeated 40,000 soldiers of Mgo-dkar Ho-thon;<sup>83</sup> consequently, his reputation as a hero spread and his power extended. Furthermore, when he was twenty-five years old, the O-rod and the Hal-ha being in disagreement, a great civil war developed; and at



that very time, he arrived and brought about peace through his skillful and superb mediation. Therefore, the great Khan of the Hal-ha granted him a seal with a title of Ta'i-gu'u-shri,<sup>84</sup> and thereafter he became famous for his heroism and sagacity.

Then, in the Wood-hog year (1635), Tshog-thu sent his own son, Ar-sa-lang The-je<sup>85</sup> with 10,000 soldiers to Tibet in order to persecute the high lamas of the Dge-ldan-pa in Dbus and Gtsang and to destroy monasteries, religious schools, and places of meditation. When [Ar-sa-lang] arrived at the upper part of the 'Bri-chu<sup>86</sup> [river]—according to an oral tradition—Gu-shri Khan and some of his officers, proceeding from Dzungaria as if on pilgrimage, had also come to determine whether or not the report by an earlier messenger was true. After meeting Ar-sa-lang, [Gu-shri Khan and his officers] traveled with him as Gu-shri Khan explained many reasons to him why it was improper to do harm to the Yellow Hat teachings. Having had these [reasons] planted in mind, [Ar-sa-lang] proceeded to Tibet. In the following year, Gu-shri went back to his own country by the same route, or so it is said.

Then Ar-sa-lang arrived in Tibet, but, disobeying his father's instructions, he divided the army into three wings: center, right, and left. He marched to Yar-'brog<sup>87</sup> and fought a big battle with the army of Gtsang. At that time, due to the rumbling rumor of a great Tibetan army, the Mongol army moved to Skyid-shod.

In the first month of the Fire-mouse year (1636), Ar-sa-lang and others met with the fifth Dalai Lama. He did no harm to the monasteries and the places of meditation of the Dge-ldan-pa; instead he venerated them faithfully. Then when the large Tibetan army, which had been assembled by the King of Gtsang, approached

[Lake] Gnam-mtsho<sup>88</sup> in the north, the Mongol army also reached the north and prepared to fight. At that time, because the Gtsang people made use of the magic power of the old Tantric system (Rnying-sngags-lugs), Ar-sa-lang became crazed, and ran amuck among his troops. Consequently, the Mongol army delayed fighting the battle, and the Tibetan army dispersed.

Then, it was the opinion of the Red Hat Rab-'byams-pa<sup>89</sup> and others who were on the side of the King of Gtsang that Tshog-thu and the Gtsang people had the same goal; for after supporting the Kar-ma-pa, 'Brug-pa, and Rnying-ma-pa and treating the other religious sects equally, they desired to wipe out the name of the Dge-lugs-pa. However, it was like the proverb: 'The horse does not run to the place where the man wants it to go.' Subsequently, the Red Hat Rab-'byams-pa and the ministers who came to Tshog-thu's army sent a courier to Kokonor, saying, 'Ar-sa-lang, disobeying the instructions of his father, the King, did no harm to the Yellow Hats; instead he venerated them and fought with the King of Gtsang. Thus did he do.' Tshog-thu replied, 'Kill him by [all] means.' Accordingly, [Ar-sa-lang] vanished like a small piece of cloud in the center of the clear sky. Apparently, the Mongol troops then returned [to Kokonor].

In that year (1636), Gu-shri Khan, leading an army allied with Pā-thur The-je<sup>90</sup> of the Dzungars, came to this region. They passed through Yi-le<sup>91</sup> and Tha-rim,<sup>92</sup> [and traversed] the river of Has-tag<sup>93</sup> and the Big-Swamp ('Dam-chen-po)<sup>94</sup> over the ice between autumn and winter. After arriving at Bu-lung-ger<sup>95</sup> on the border of the Kokonor, the soldiers and their horses took a rest there. Having subsisted on many wild antelopes (Ri-dwags rna-ba), they gave the mountain where they stayed the name of Gwan-yam-thu.<sup>96</sup>

On New Year's day of the first month of the Fire-ox year (1637), having arrived in the upper part of the Kokonor, [Gu-shri's] 10,000 soldiers fought a great battle with Tshog-thu's 30,000 soldiers. Because two mountain spurs became reddened by blood, they are now known as the great and small U-lan Ho-sho.<sup>97</sup> His son Tā-yan The-je,<sup>98</sup> and others with troops, chased the remainder of Tshog-thu's army across the ice of the Har-gel<sup>99</sup> and defeated them. Some soldiers went toward a valley on the east side of the Har-gel and occupied it; so nowadays it is called Sha-hal.<sup>100</sup> As for the leader, Tshog-thu, he was captured in a marmot hole, and that enemy of the Dge-ldan-pa's teachings was defeated. At that time, if it had been in India, it would have been considered proper to beat the drum of triumph and raise the banner of victory over the enemy.

Then in the Earth-tiger year (1638) and in the Earth-hare year (1639) successively, all [the people] of Gu-shri Khan's tribe in Dzungaria also came to the Kokonor region.<sup>101</sup> Afterwards, Gu-shri Khan gave his ally The-je the title of Pā-thur Hung-the-je,<sup>102</sup> a great many presents and his own daughter, A-min-tā-ra, to be his wife, and then sent him back to his own country (Dzungaria). In that year, when [Gun-shri Khan] arrived in Dbus of Tibet, the fifth Dalai Lama honored him with the name Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal (Religious-King-Who-Maintains-the-Teachings).

Moreover, at the beginning of the Earth-hare year (1639), the King of Be-ri sent the King of Gtsang a message, saying 'Let us join in friendship. Since the copper image of Jo-bo Rin-po-che<sup>103</sup> was the cause of the war, let us throw it into water. It would be better to build a Mchod-rten (stūpa)<sup>104</sup> on the ruins of

the three monasteries, Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs, and Dga'-ldan, which should be destroyed; and then let each one of us adhere to whichever is suitable —Buddhism or Bon.' Some people derided [the King of Be-ri] for being completely corrupt.<sup>105</sup> Thereupon, the King of Gtsang assembled the army of the Thirteen Myriarchies (Khri-skor)<sup>106</sup> of Tibet. [Gu-shri Khan] did not fight with him, but returned to the Kokonor region again. At that time, [Dayan Khan's] son, Ratna The-je,<sup>107</sup> and others gathered all of the Tibetans of A-mdo under their control through the strength and heroic skill of their soldiers. A great monastic estate [from Lab-tsho khra-mang downwards as far as Te Lake]<sup>108</sup> was granted to Dgon-lung byams-gling,<sup>109</sup> a great monastery in the center of Dpa'-ris.

Then in the fifth month of the Earth-hare year (1639), Gu-shri Gegen Khan<sup>110</sup> personally set out with a great terrifying Mongol army which was like a reddish-black whirlwind. Having reached the territory of the petty King of Be-ri, who almost destroyed the universal doctrine of Bu-ram shing-pa (= Buddha Shākya thub-pa),<sup>111</sup> [the Khan], by dint of strength and skill, took over most of the Khams.

On the twenty-fifth of the eleventh month of the Iron-dragon year (1640), the King of Be-ri was captured and imprisoned. Many lamas, officers, monks, and laymen of the Sa-skyapa,<sup>112</sup> Dge-lugs-pa, Kar-ma-pa, 'Brug-pa, 'Bri-khung-pa,<sup>113</sup> and Stag-lung-pa,<sup>114</sup> who had earlier been imprisoned by the [King of Be-ri], were released; therefore, that region was filled with joyful, pleasant sounds. Then, all the territories of Khams upward from that of the King of Sa-dam, in 'Jang,<sup>115</sup> were brought under his dominion.

In the Iron-serpent year (1641), he again led a great army by way of Dbus of Tibet and arrived in Gtsang. The great army under the rash young son (Kar-ma Bstan-skyong dbang-po) of the first King of Gtsang fought with the Mongol army; but, powerless as a little bird pursued by a hawk, they were subdued.

Then when Gu-shri reached the age of sixty-one, on the eighth of the first month of the Water-horse year (1642), he obtained the thirteen Rdzongs<sup>116</sup> of Stod (the upper part of Gtsang). The King of Gtsang was captured and sewed up in leather. It is also said that he was killed by the official Bsod-nams chos-'phel.<sup>117</sup> Then, Rkong-po (Kong-po),<sup>118</sup> a region between Khams and Tibet, where there was faith in the Kar-ma-pa and much hatred for the Dge-ldan-pa, was brought under [Gu-shri Khan's] power as well.

[Gu-shri Khan] provided the monastic schools of the thirteen well-known monasteries (Gling)<sup>119</sup> with a new foundation.<sup>120</sup> In so doing, having completely triumphed over all enemy territories, he ruled by the wheel of power over all that which was known as the three provinces of Tibet.<sup>121</sup> On the fifteenth of the third month of that year (1642), he was established in the high position of king of Tibet. At that time, the kings of India, Nepal, and Mnga'-ris<sup>122</sup> presented him with gifts.

In short, he extended his dominion in that manner, and the name of Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal Gu-shri Gegen Khan became famous everywhere. His numerous, powerful, skillful, and heroic troops were like an all-obscuring black rain cloud, comparable to the great A-kṣo-hi-ni army of India.<sup>123</sup> They moved like a whirlwind and darted unceasingly like noisy, red lightning. The Faith sent down a thunder-bolt of frightening weapons which were blazing and irresistible, and the fruit of the deeds of former

evil, heretical desires was then ripe; consequently, the various enemies of high, pointed, rock-mountain-ragged minds, who rebelled against the Yellow Hat teachings of the Second Buddha (Tsong-kha-pa) and the holy men who followed him, and their patrons were defeated. Because the gentle rain of the pliant dual law waters all desires, the forests, fruit trees, and harvests on the hills and plains of the religious dominion of Tibet all increased like a lake in summer. In all the regions of China, Tibet, and Mongolia, the renowned good deeds resulting from the priest-patron relationship of the Snow-capped, virtuous mountain on the earth (i. e., the Yellow Hat sect), are comparable to the sun and moon decorating the sky. It is like the clear-ringing sound of a large drum in the realm of the gods (sky). Thus, the victory banner of the all-conquering Dge-ldan-pa teachings was raised up, and it competed for loftiness with the realm of the gods. Everywhere in Tibet, from the Gangs-te-se<sup>124</sup> down to Mdo-Khams,<sup>125</sup> the people became patrons of the Dge-lugs-pa; and the lamas, monasteries, classes of gods, the laity and the clergy were all given to utmost happiness.

Then, many of the [Tibetan] people said: 'All who are independent are happy; all who depend on others are miserable'; or, no matter what, one is narrow-minded if he does not give freedom to others. Nevertheless, the Khan himself still thought about long-range benefits; so in order to vanquish hatred toward the Dge-ldan-pa if it should rise again, to be a military aide to the holy people, monks, and patrons who believed in [the Dge-ldan-pa], and to establish the custom of making his own descendants kings of Tibet, as stated above, [the Khan] first raised himself to the throne.

In the Wood-ape year (1644), one of the six robbers, Lu-ju-zi (Li Tzu-ch'eng), <sup>126</sup> who belonged to the community of the king of Tha-pur on the frontier, <sup>127</sup> led a bandit army past Zi-ling (Hsi-ning) and arrived at Peking. <sup>128</sup> Having usurped the kingdom of the last Chinese Emperor Khrung-ting (Ch'ung-cheng, reigned 1628-1644), <sup>129</sup> he (Li Tzu-ch'eng) occupied the capital for a few months. <sup>130</sup> At that time, the high officer of Ch'ung-cheng, Wang U'u-wang-drum (Wu San-kuei), <sup>131</sup> asked for help from the Emperor of Manchu Jur-chid, <sup>132</sup> who was the descendant of Nor-gwan-cha. <sup>133</sup> When the Manchu's troops and the Chinese army surrounded Peking, the bandit troops escaped and fled to the frontier. <sup>134</sup> The first Manchu Shun-chih Emperor, Ch'ing Shih-tsu (reigned 1644-1661), <sup>135</sup> ascended to the throne.

In the Fire-hog year (1647), a rift developed between Gtsang and Dbus.

In the Water-dragon year (1652), the fifth Dalai Lama went to Peking, China, and returned to Tibet in the next year (1653). Since then China and Tibet have been closely allied, and Tibet from Mnga'-ris eastward passed under the rule of the Emperor of China.

In the Wood-horse year (1654), Gu-shri Khan died. <sup>136</sup> His oldest son Dayan Khan ascended to the throne, and a seal was presented to him in the Earth-dog year (1658).

In the Water-tiger year (1662), Khang-zhi Bde-skyid (= the K'ang-hsi Emperor, reigned 1662-1722) sat on the throne of Great China (Mahā-tsi-na). <sup>137</sup>

In the Fire-sheep year (1667), the Kokonor [Mongol] army surrounded the Chinese city of Hsi-ning, but when a large Chinese army came up to Grong-lang, <sup>138</sup> they again became peaceful.

In the Iron-hog year (1671), Ratna<sup>139</sup> became king of Tibet, and other [events took place] — such things will be mentioned below.

In the Wood-tiger year (1674), Phid-se ching-wang,<sup>140</sup> a descendant of the former Chinese Ral-pa-can,<sup>141</sup> U'u-wang (Wu San-kuei), rebelled against the Emperor of China, but this situation was resolved quickly.

In the Earth-sheep year (1679), A-bar Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho<sup>142</sup> became the Regent (Sde-srid).<sup>143</sup>

In the Water-hog year (1683), Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho<sup>144</sup> was born.

In the Wood-ox year (1685), Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho ascended the throne of the Dalai Lama.<sup>145</sup>

In the Fire-tiger year (1686), the last year of the eleventh cycle, Mon-pa Bla-ma Rin-po-che<sup>146</sup> was born. Furthermore, Tho-li, which is my birthplace on the banks of the Rma-chu in the Kokonor region,<sup>147</sup> was first occupied by most of the descendants and others of the ten sons of the great king Gu-shri and his three queens; consequently, [these descendants] were known as the Pa-ron-gwar (= Barūn gar, 'right banner') of the O-rod. Later on a temple was founded in Tshab-che.<sup>148</sup>

Then, having been invested with the title of No-min-han<sup>149</sup> by the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), a private lama (Bla-zur) of Sgo-mang, Hor Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las lhun-grub,<sup>150</sup> was sent to the Kokonor region. Arriving there, he gathered together all of the leaders in the vicinity of the monastery Stag-sna go'u-si,<sup>151</sup> which was formerly held by the Dzungars, at the confluence of the Shug-sha pad-stong<sup>152</sup> [river], in the upland of 'Ju-lag.<sup>153</sup> Then, he divided the land and gave each of them a place to dwell. According [to this division], they established the right banner



and the left banner. They lived passing the time in complete happiness, people and cattle increased, and all was in harmony, until the troubled time of the next Wood-hare year (1675).<sup>154</sup>

In the Fire-ox year (1697) of the twelfth cycle, when the K'ang-hsi Emperor, who was taking an imperial tour, passed through the city of Nying-sha (Ning-hsia)<sup>155</sup> and arrived at Shing-ga-phu (Hsi-an-fu),<sup>156</sup> Thu-med-pa Phyag-na rdo-rje Tā-bla-ma<sup>157</sup> and others were sent to invite the leaders of the Kokonor region. At the same time, the first Lcang-skyā Rin-po-che<sup>158</sup> was also despatched for the purpose of offering an edict and a seal to the sixth Dalai Lama; consequently, he told the leaders of the Kokonor region: 'If you go and pay your respects to the Emperor, it would be the proper behavior.' They believed what he said and went to Hsi-an-fu. At that time, the Emperor conferred the seal and title of Ching-wang<sup>159</sup> on Bkra-shis pa-thur, the youngest son of Gu-shri Khan, and in succession [conferred] such titles as Jun-wang, Pi-le, Bi-se, Gung, and Ja-sag<sup>160</sup> on others, along with a large number of gifts. Thus, he brought the people of Kokonor under his power and bound the good relationship between the Chinese and Mongols with a golden cord. On that occasion, some leaders, such as Ta-yan Hung-the-je, who did not go [to Hsi-an-fu], afterwards went to Peking. Lha-bzang,<sup>161</sup> who did not go [to Peking], arrived the next year — the Earth-tiger year (1698), in Dbus of Tibet from Ba-ro chu-'gag,<sup>162</sup> and stayed at the place where the previous Mongol Khans had lived.<sup>163</sup>

In the Water-horse year (1702), having renounced the Vinaya vows to the Lord of Religion, Panchen Rin-po-che Blo-bzang ye-shes,<sup>164</sup> Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho took a woman and became a lay king.<sup>165</sup> In that year, Sangs-rgyam-pa (= Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho) retired and appointed his eldest son to be regent.<sup>166</sup>

In the Water-sheep year (1703), although Lha-bzang was established in the position of king, he and the Regent were in conflict due to their competition for supremacy.

In the first month of the Wood-bird year (1705), because the Queen (Rgyal-mo), Tshe-ring bkra-shis, was no ordinary person, the Regent and others made a gesture of escorting [her] to Lha-bzang Khan, and then ordered [her and her husband] to the Kokonor;<sup>167</sup> nevertheless, they did not return to the Kokonor. After arriving in Nag-chu<sup>168</sup> he gathered some troops, and in the sixth month he turned back. He led three divisions of troops, which marched from the three places of Rgo-la,<sup>169</sup> Rgad-mo-'phrang,<sup>170</sup> and Stod-lung<sup>171</sup> [the Khan himself from Rgad-mo-'phrang, Thu-gwus je-sang from Rgo-la, and Tshe-ring or Tshe-dbang Rgyal-mo from Stod-lung].<sup>172</sup> They fought a battle with the large [combined] forces of the Thirteen Myriarchies (Khri-skor) of Tibet, Khams, and Mnga'-ris and captured Lhasa. At that time Sangs-rgyam-pa escaped to Gong-dkar-rdzongs<sup>173</sup> by means of a hide-boat. [The Khan's general, Thu-gwus je-sang, fought with the Regent's commander, Rdo-rje rab-brtan, in Rgo-la; the former killed the latter, and a demon stone-cairn was erected because Rdo-rje rab-brtan [was reborn there as an evil spirit].<sup>174</sup> After being captured by the army of the Queen, and [arriving] near Skyor-lung,<sup>175</sup> the Precious Regent was 'escorted to the precious world from which he previously had come' [that is to say: he was killed by Bar-cho-kha Dar-rgyab Ho'u-sho-che].<sup>176</sup>

As for this [Khan], according to old traditions it is said that no one was more to be feared than he. Being shameless, he established an evil religious and secular law which transgressed the dual custom (i. e., yön-mchod custom)<sup>177</sup> and thereby committed excesses. In view of this, one could imagine that later

on Lha-bzang Khan received some predestination flowers of the fruits which would come of deeds done near the Jo-bo Rin-po-che.<sup>178</sup> Thereafter, starting from that year (1705), Lha-bzang Khan ruled the kingdom for twelve years.

In the Fire-dog year (1706), it was decided that Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho was not the emanation of the Dalai Lama. When he and the sons of Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho were escorted to the lowlands (China) by order of the Emperor of China, it was certain that Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho died at Kun-dga'-no'ur<sup>179</sup> in the upper part of the Kokonor. The others were brought to Do-lon-no'ur<sup>180</sup> in the territory of Chahar.

In the Fire-hog year (1707), according to the prophecies made by some lamas and oracles, Mon-pa Ye-shes rgya-mtsho was installed on the throne of the Dalai Lama.

In the Earth-mouse year (1708), the Dalai Lama, Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho,<sup>181</sup> was born in Li-thang<sup>182</sup> of Khams.

At one time, about the Water-serpent year (1713) when Dā-yan Hung-the-je<sup>183</sup> and Tshe-tshen The-je, who had recently arrived from Dzungaria with his tribe and taken up residence in the left banner, were disputing over 'the right banner' and 'the left banner', Panchen Rin-po-che despatched Rdo-rje'i 'dzin-pa'i Sprul-sku [to mediate], and [the dispute] was settled by assigning Tshe-tshen The-je to the right banner.

In the Fire-ape year (1716) the leaders of Kokonor invited the All-Seeing-One (Kung-gzigs), Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho, to the great monastery of Sku-'bum<sup>184</sup> which had been built at the birth place of the Rje-bla-ma (= Tsong-kha-pa).

Although Lha-bzang Khan of Dbus-Gtsang and the King of Dzungaria, Hung-the-je Tshe-dbang rab-brtan,<sup>185</sup> were at first in mutual agreement, later on Lha-bzang secretly cultivated faith

in the old religion. Before he was summoned by Gshin-rje chos-rgyal (i. e., the Lord of death),<sup>186</sup> he put written curses in some saddles and clothes which were sent to Dzungaria as presents. The Dzungarian people came to know about the conveyor [a Tibetan, the Pag-shi of the Khan]<sup>187</sup> of the seven cursed articles<sup>188</sup> and other things; consequently, in the Fire-bird year (1717), five military officers, the elder Tshe-ring don-grub,<sup>189</sup> Chos-'phel, Thob-chi, Sangs-rgyas, and Gdugs-dkar je'i-sang, as well as their troops were despatched from Dzungaria via such places as Dres-pa nag-tshong and Lā-rgan,<sup>190</sup> and arrived in 'Dam. At that time when Lha-bzang [and the hero Thu-gwus je-sang's son Dala The-je and A-shi-ta]<sup>191</sup> went to meet [the enemy] with a large Tibetan and Mongol army, the Panchen Rin-po-che Blo-bzang ye-shes and others came to make peace, but they failed. Pouring into Lhasa, the Dzungarian troops defeated Lha-bzang and showed the Khan (Lha-bzang) the impermanent nature of life (i. e., they killed him), and the Sde-pa of Stag-rtse, Mtsho-skye rdo-rje,<sup>192</sup> was appointed regent. In accordance with the oral orders of the Dzungarian Lha-btsun,<sup>193</sup> Bla-ma Blo-bzang phuntshogs of Sgo-mang,<sup>194</sup> the high lama of the Rnying-ma-pa, Rdo-rje-brag Sprul-sku, and others were killed in the Earth-dog year (1718) and Earth-hog year (1719). A monastic college, Rnam-rgyal-gling<sup>195</sup> near Dga'-ldan pho-brang,<sup>196</sup> and the monasteries, Rdo-rje-brag<sup>197</sup> and Smin-grol-gling,<sup>198</sup> and others under the control of Bsam-yas<sup>199</sup> [monastery] were destroyed.<sup>200</sup> The monastic rules at Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs, and Dga'-ldan, etc., were enforced; and all the learned ones were gathered in the 'Khyam-ra of Lhasa,<sup>201</sup> where they entered into debate on Buddhist logic. The learned ones were ranked according to their [intellectual]

stature and appointed to the positions of Mkhan-po (abbot),<sup>202</sup> Slob-dpon (teacher),<sup>203</sup> etc., in which they were highly respected.

During that time, it became known that the seventh Dalai Lama had been born in Li-thang of Khams; so ['Jam-bzhad (= 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa)<sup>204</sup> went back to his own country] and Ye-shes rgya-mtsho<sup>205</sup> was taken temporarily to Lcags-po-ri.<sup>206</sup> Then, by the Emperor's order, Mon-pa Pad-dkar 'dzin-pa (the title of Ye-shes rgya-mtsho) was escorted to the lowlands (China), passing through Khams. He was ordered to stay in Gshe-hor<sup>207</sup> in Mongolia.

Then in the Iron-mouse year (1720), when the All-seeing Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho (the seventh Dalai Lama) was thirteen years old, according to the order of the one who ruled by the wheel of power over the eastern region of the world (i. e., the K'ang-hsi Emperor), all of [the following] who were unquestionably of a single faith escorted [the seventh Dalai Lama] to Dbus in Tibet, the country of snow: from Peking, the [fourteenth] prince Zhi-se Tsang-cun Ching-wang<sup>208</sup> and ambans,<sup>209</sup> together with their troops, [and] the Master of the Teachings of the Sutras and Tantras, Dgon-lung-ba, the first Thu'u-kwan, Chos-rgya-mtsho-pa (= Ngag-dbang chos-kyi rgya-mtsho),<sup>210</sup> [and] Gser-khog-pa Yongs-'dzin Tā-bla-ma, Bka'-'gyur-pa 'phrin-las,<sup>211</sup> and the Minister of the Ruler of Great China, A-ta-ha-ta,<sup>212</sup> and others; from the Kokonor, the descendants of O-rod Gu-shri Khan, Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin Ching-wang,<sup>213</sup> [and] Dga'-ldan Er-te-ni Ju-nang Jun-wang [or Te'i-ching Ho-shu-che],<sup>214</sup> [and] Er-te-ni Er-khi,<sup>215</sup> [and] Er-te-ni Dā-la Bo-shog-thu, [and] Mer-geng te'i-ching, [and] Ching-hong The-je, [and] 'Jig-byed-skyabs, [and] Dge-legs ju-nang, [and] Te'i-hung The-je,<sup>216</sup> and Dga'-ldan bkra-shis;<sup>217</sup> from the A-lag-sha,<sup>218</sup> E-phu Pi-le

Pā-thur ju-nang;<sup>219</sup> from Chinggis Khan's royal lineage, the Hal-ha, Don-grub Wang, father of the Rje-btsun dam-pa<sup>220</sup> incarnation, [and] Gung Tshe-dbang nor-bu,<sup>221</sup> and The-je Lha-dbang rgya-mtsho,<sup>222</sup> and others. [Passing] in succession by the bank of the lake (Kokonor) and by Gnyan-tsor,<sup>223</sup> So-lo-mo,<sup>224</sup> the head of Rma-chu, and Pā-yan-ha-ra,<sup>225</sup> they arrived at the 'Bri-chu, whereupon the Zhi-se Ching-wang and others returned [to their own regions]. Then when they arrived at Dung-bu-ra,<sup>226</sup> Ldang-la,<sup>227</sup> and Bog-shag<sup>228</sup> in the upper regions, they unexpectedly encountered the O-rod Dzungarian troops who were returning to their own country; but nothing happened. Then they arrived in Lhasa of Skyid-shod from Mtsho-mo-ra,<sup>229</sup> Nag-chu, Rwa-sgreng,<sup>230</sup> Stag-lung and Phu-mdo. They successively installed [the seventh Dalai Lama] in the Gru-'dzin gnyis-pa, the Po-ta-la<sup>231</sup> of Tibet, and on the Lion Throne of Dga'-ldan pho-brang of 'Bras-spungs, and then held a great festival with the five sensory delights.<sup>232</sup> He was called the crown ornament of all Tibet and Greater Tibet, and the Lord of Religion; and his fame filled the world.

Some stories about the people of the lake (Kokonor) area during this period say that: 'During the time of the great festival in the Po-ta-la, the high officers from China were placed in the center row and were elegantly served. [Whereas] we Kokonor people were placed in the back row and served food hastily. Secondly, although [we wanted to] save the life of the Sde-pa Stag-rtse-pa, none would listen [to us], and [our] petition came to naught. Thirdly, we brought the Dalai Lama from Li-thang and have now through diligence accomplished our goal in placing [him] on the Lion Throne — a task for which we were needed and for which [they regarded] us highly — yet, [our] achievements

were belittled at other times. Moreover, in our private opinions, the royal descendants of Gu-shri Khan were successively enthroned as king of Tibet since early times and it should be that way even now. Nevertheless, Khang-chen-nas<sup>233</sup> of Shangs<sup>234</sup> in Gtsang was appointed to the position of regent.<sup>235</sup> Due to many such causes our faces were washed with the sweat of shame and our hearts were pierced as by a thorn; so, harboring resentment, we took an oath before [the image of] the Buddha in Tibet agreeing to rise in revolt against China.'

I have heard that, having returned to the Kokonor region, they told [this decision] to all the people. Nevertheless, to fight with either China or Tibet, and particularly to fight with China, since they lived in the realm of the Emperor of China, was [just like] the proverb, 'Dre-shar nub-glud (i. e., it is pointless).<sup>236</sup>

They returned in the Ox year (1721). When they assembled in the Tiger year (1722), they could not agree whether to rescind the former oath and the internal law. In the Water-hare year (1723) when the Emperor of China, Yung-cheng (reigned 1723-1735), ascended the throne, the [Mongol] troops assembled for war, [be it] internal or external. I (at the age of twenty) saw this on my way to Dbus of Tibet. Then, though still fighting among themselves, they attached some Chinese forts. Not knowing military techniques, they were like children playing games. At that time two Chinese generals<sup>237</sup> prepared a great army to fight for control of this region. Scattered like little birds being chased by an eagle, the leaders of the Mongol army escaped to the north and the other soldiers dispersed.

When the moon is eclipsed by the shadow of the [Chinese] force, the earth also becomes darkened. In the Hare year (1723) and the Dragon year (1724), Chinese soldiers severely damaged

many of the monasteries, places of meditation, [and harmed] high lamas and monks in A-mdo. Also, inside the city of Peking, the fearful omens of earth (i. e., earthquake), fire, and wind appeared. Then the second Panchen<sup>238</sup> sent a delegate [to Peking], and even the Lcang-skya Sprul-sku<sup>239</sup> was in agreement with [him]. When they asked with great earnestness for aid to the monasteries and places of meditation, the Religious-Emperor, Yung-cheng, was very pleased. There in the Earth-bird year (1729) the monasteries and places of meditation were restored with [funds from his] treasury and he set aside an annual payment from the treasury to pay the tax, which [used to be] collected from the monastic communities. This unalterable, benevolent custom of granting [funds] was well established. Since then, in the monasteries and places of meditation, listening to the explanation [of scriptures] was also well propagated, and Buddha's teachings extended like an ocean. [Because] this benevolent law was established all over Kokonor and Mdo-Khams, wondrous joy glorified this region.

Afterwards when I was at the Sgo-mang Grwa-tshang, in Dbus of Tibet, Khang-chen-nas of Shangs of Gtsang was like a regent; and his four ministers (Bka'-blon) were Rdo-rje rgyal-po, Lon-pa-nas, Rnga-bod blo-bzang, who were from Dbus, and a junior minister, Pho-la The-je from Gtsang.<sup>240</sup> At that time, Lum-pa-nas, whose heart was stabbed by the five arrows of Lus-med bdag-po,<sup>241</sup> kept saying, 'Generally speaking, if these three great evil monasteries, especially the Sgo-mang and Rgyud-smad Grwa-tshang,<sup>242</sup> did not exist, happiness would come here to Tibet.' I actually heard this.

Then, although the three ministers of Dbus had a secret plan, they could not attain their goal. Therefore, after Pho-lha The-je went to Pho-lha<sup>243</sup> of Gtsang, they plotted to remove



Khang-chen-nas from the [position of] regent, and [thereafter] [Khang-chen-nas] was killed in front of the temple of Jo-bo on the eighteenth day of the fifth month<sup>244</sup> in the Fire-sheep year (1727) of the twelfth cycle. That was two years before the monasteries and places of meditation of A-mdo were restored in the above mentioned Earth-bird year (1729). Meanwhile, Pho-lha The-je, in his own rdzong, learned that a murderous army had been sent [to kill him] and he ran away. Although he was chased by a large army, he escaped and obtained an allied army from the King of Lā-dag Mnga'-ris.<sup>245</sup> Together with the army of Gtsang, they fought with the army of Dbus for one year near Rgyal-rtse-rdzong.<sup>246</sup> [Tshe-bdag,<sup>247</sup> the hero of Dbus, and others were on the side of Dbus. Yul-ni,<sup>248</sup> the officer of Nya-shur<sup>249</sup> of Gtsang, and others were on the side of Gtsang.] On the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month in the Earth-ape year (1728), the people of Dbus were defeated, and the three ministers and others (seventeen of them)<sup>250</sup> were captured. At the same time, the officers and troops, who were despatched by the Religious-Emperor, Yung-cheng, arrived and made those evil ones fly to their next life.

Pho-lha The-je was given the title of Jun-wang (Chün-wang)<sup>251</sup> by the Emperor's order and was appointed the King of Tibet. From that time persecution of the Dge-ldan-pa for the most part ceased and there was an increase in preaching, debating, and writing, etc. The various regions of Tibet enjoyed a wealth of happiness.

Afterwards in the Earth-dragon year (1748), Tā-li pa-thur, the rude-mannered younger son of Pho-lha Wang, occupied the position of regent;<sup>252</sup> however, his heart was seized by Māra's iron-hook and he even became an enemy of [Buddha's] teachings.

Before long he was killed by the Emperor's order (in 1750), and then the succession of Tibetan regents vanished.<sup>253</sup> Nevertheless, after that, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor<sup>254</sup> reigned, and prosperity came even to Tibet. Furthermore, in that year (i. e., the above Earth-dragon year, 1748) the emanation of the second Panchen Rin-po-che, Dpal-ldan ye-she, [was born].<sup>255</sup> In the Earth-tiger year (1758) of the thirteenth cycle the eighth Dalai Lama, 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho, was born.

In the Earth-hog year (1779), Panchen, the All-knowing one, embarked on a journey for the purpose of spreading the Buddha's teachings in the east. In the Iron-mouse year (1780) the Panchen Rin-po-che arrived at Peking, the capital of China. By means of the dual religious-secular law of the three [countries], China, Tibet and Mongolia, which were represented by such [persons] as the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, the great ruler, and the Lcang-skya Rin-po-che, the Mightly Master of [Buddha's] Teachings, hopes and desires were fulfilled [in a manner] vying with the mighty 'Wish-Granting-Jewel'. At the age of forty-one he again went [back] to Tibet from the realm of death (i. e., he was again re-born in Tibet). In the Iron-ox year (1781) when we heard that the emanation again [had been reborn] in the Gtsang region,<sup>256</sup> [just as] the mighty sun had come out over the eastern mountain peak, all our minds were like the lotus in full blossom.

Bkra-shis pā-thur Wang, the youngest one of Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal's ten sons, and his son Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, met with me with me and paid their respects.<sup>257</sup> Because of the lineage of this family, other regions are not comparable to this one [of the Kokonor]. A detailed lineage of Gu-shri Khan's descendants who dominated this region is given in my Religious History (Chos-'byung).<sup>258</sup>

At present, the Fire-horse year (1786) of the thirteenth cycle, the descendants of Gu-shri Khan who are living in the Kokonor region and A-lag-sha are as follows:

On the right side of the Rma-chu: Wang Ngag-dbang dar-rgyas, Dza-sag Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, Dza-sag Klu-'bum, and The-je Chos-dpal.

On the left side of the Rma-chu: Wang Bsod-nams rdo-rje, Gangs-kar Wang, Pi-le 'Jig-med ye-shes, Be-si Mtsho-rkyes rdo-rje, Gung Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas, Gung Dge-'dun don-'grub, Gung Chos-skyong-skyabs, Dza-sag Kun-bzang tshe-ring, Dza-sag Dpal-'byor, Dza-sag Phyag-rdor, Dza-sag Ban-dhe, Dza-sag Nor-bu rin-chen, Dza-sag Rdo-rje, Khur-lugs Be-si Blo-bzang tshe-brtan, Dza-sag Lha-skyabs, Dza-sag Dge-'dun-skyabs, Tshas-dam Dza-sag Dga'-ldan bstan-skyong, Dza-sag Chos-btsun-skyabs, and Dza-sag Bkra-shis chos-'phel.

The others [are]: Dzungar Pi-le Chos-skyong-skyabs, Dzungar Be-si 'Chi-med zla-ba, Ho-de Gung Rta-mgrin; Thor-gwod Dza-sag Dkon-mchog, Dza-sag Sgrol-ma-skyabs, Dza-sag Ur-rgyan, Dza-sag Bsam-'grub rgya-mtsho; Hal-ha Dza-sag Tshe-thar. It is said that nowadays there are thirty-three Principalities (Dpon-khag) and 101 Divisions (Mda').<sup>259</sup>

In the A-lag-sha banner: Ho-shih Ch'in-wang Dbang-chen dpal-'bar, and his brothers who are Gung, and other [sorts of dignitaries].

Moreover, [there are] Gung Rdo-rje tshe-brtan, Thu-sa lag-chi Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, 'Jigs-byed-skyabs Thu-sa lag-chi, and many other The-je.

May this Annals of Kokonor, as related above, be like the full moon just as it rises, and may all of the deeds of some lamas, kings, ministers, and the common people of the three [countries],

China, Tibet, and Mongolia, be like the white lights that spread through openings in the most beautiful rainbow clouds moving slowly [in the sky]. May the explanation of the wholly pleasing features of this region be like cool rays which banish the fever pains of wearying minds; and at the same time, may the ignorant gloom also be cleared away by the bright light. Being pleased with this joyful story, the water lilies in the garden spring into full bloom. May [the Annals of Kokonor] be a wonderful spectacle that will never weary the eyes of other people, whether near or far.

E-ma-ho!<sup>260</sup>

## NOTES

1. In this translation, the first-person singular pronouns (I, my, and me) refer to the original author, Sum-pa mkhan-po.

2. Dpa'-ris (or Dpa'-ri) refers to the area also called A-mdo Dpa'-ris (or A-mdo Dpa'-ri). It is the area corresponding roughly to the course of the Ta-t'ung Ho ( 大通河 ) of modern maps (GT, p. 197, note 771). The people who lived in this area were Tibetans.

3. Phur-tsha sgam-pa Chos-rdo-rje: unidentified.

4. Mtsho-snying-ri (Hai-hsin-shan 海心山), the name meaning 'Lake-heart-mountain', is a small island in Lake Kokonor. It is also called Mtsho-snying Mahādevā (GT, p. 202, note 827).

5. A-chi: unidentified.

6. Khri-rta dmar-can, literally 'One With 10,000 Red Horses'.

7. Glang-dkar-can, literally 'One With a White Ox'.

8. Mgon-po-gdong, literally 'Lord's Face'. This Mgon-po-gdong is not to be confused with the Mgon-po-gdong of Mon-mkhar mentioned by Sum-pa mkhan-po in the Water-mouse year (1252) of the Re'u-mig (PSJZ, ŚATAPIṬAKA, 8, p. 26) which was in Tibet.

9. Cc-ni or Co-ne, called Cho-ni ( 卓尼 ) in Chinese, is the large Tibetan tribe near the Chinese district of T'ao-chou ( 洮州 ). See J. F. Rock, 'Life Among the Lamas of Choni', The National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C., November, 1928.

10. Len-tan Hu-thog-thu was the last Great Khan of Chinggis Khan's imperial descendants. About his birth year: Walther Heissig says, 'Ligdan was seventeen years old when he became Great Khan in 1604' (A Lost Civilization - The Mongols Rediscovered, p. 120). Henry H. Howorth says, 'He was born in 1592, succeeded his grandfather in 1604, under the title of Khutuktu Khan, a name he owed to his zeal in promoting the spread of Lamaism' (Howorth, p. 378). Howorth's dating is more reliable, because he has adopted the materials of the history of Mongols as given by Saγang-sečen (= Hsiao Ch'e-ch'en Sa-nang 小徹辰薩囊). According to Ch'in-ting Meng-ku yüan-liu (欽定蒙古源流, chüan 6, ff. 10a-14b) and Howorth (pp. 369-381), the lineage of Lingdan Khan from Ta-yen Han (達延汗) downwards is as follows:

Ta-yen Han (達延汗, Dayan Khan died in 1543 when he was eighty years old. [For a discussion on the uncertainty of Dayan Khan's dates, see Robert James Miller, Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia, Otto Harrassowitz-Wiesbaden, p. 1]) — T'u-lu Po-lo-t'e (圖魯博羅特, Töröbolod died in his father's lifetime) — Po-ti A-la-k'e Han (博迪阿拉克汗 Bodi-alay Khan, 1504-1547) — Ta-lai-sun K'u-teng Han (達賚遜庫登汗, Darayisun-küdeng Khan, 1520-1557. [Ch'in-ting Meng-ku yüan-liu, chüan 6, pp. 12b, 13a says, 'He was born in the year of Chia-ch'en 甲辰, 1544, and died in the year of Hsin-szu 辛巳, 1581'; this should be corrected to 'He was born in the year of Keng-ch'en 庚辰, 1520, and died in the year of Ting-szu 丁巳, 1557']) — T'u-men Cha-sa-k'e-t'u Han (圖們札薩克圖汗, Tümen-jasaγtu Khan, 1539-1592) — Pu-yen Ch'e-ch'en Han (布延徹辰汗, Buyan-sečen Khan, 1555-1603) — Mang-ho-k'e T'ai-chi (莽和克

台吉 , Mangqu(-tayiji died in his father's lifetime) — Ling-tan Pa-t'u-erh K'u-t'u-k'e-t'u Han (陵丹巴圖爾庫圖克圖汗, Lingdan-bağatur Qutu(tu) Khan, 1592-1634) — E-erh-k'e K'ung-ko-erh E-che (額爾克孔果爾額哲, Erke-qong(ör-e)je and his mother surrendered to the Manchu Emperor, Ch'ing T'ai-tsung 清太宗, in the ninth year of T'ai-tsung, 1635). Different transcriptions of the name for Lingdan Khan are as follows: In Tibetan: Len-tan or Legs-ldan; in English: Lingdan or Ligdan; in Chinese: Ling-tan Han (陵丹汗) or Lin-tan Han (林丹汗). But in the Ming Shih (明史), he is called Hu-tun-t'u (虎墩兔) which is transcribed from his honorary title Khutukhtu or Qutu(tu) ('Reincarnation') (Li Tung-fang 黎東方, Hsi-shuo ming-ch'ao 細說明朝, Part II, Taipei, 1964, p. 334). Also see Henry Serruys, Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-Qan, (Central Asiatic Studies, III) Mouton & Co., 1958, 'S-Gravenhage, pp. 20-27.

11. Cha-gwar is called Ch'a-ha-erh (察哈爾) in Chinese, Čaqar in Mongolian, and Chahar or Chakhar in English. 'It is not an ethnic name, but the name of a district which stretches along the north side of the Great Wall, from Shandu Gol (Shang-tu Ho 商都河 or 上都河 which is near To-lun 多倫) to the borders of the Tumeds' (Howorth, p. 385). A short history of Chahar, see Hu Nai-an 胡耐安, Chung-hua min-tsu chih 中華民族志, Taiwan, 1964, p. 53, note 58; also see ITC, chüan 549, 'Ch'a-ha-erh'.

12. Rma-chu is the Tibetan name for the Yellow River (Huang Ho 黃河).

13. According to MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 3b, Ho-lo-che (in Chinese, Huo-lo-ch'ih 火落赤) was Altan Khan's grand-nephew. See also E. H. Parker, 'Mongolia after the Genghizides and before the Manchus', JRAS (China), XLIV, 1913, Shanghai, p. 97. More details about him are found in the Ming Shih, chuan 327, 'Wai-kuo 外國' 8, 'Ta-tan 韃靼'. 'The Biography of Huo-lo-ch'ih 火落赤列傳' is recorded in Wan-li wu-kung-lu (萬曆武功錄) which was written by Ch'ü Chiu-szu (瞿九思), in 1612 (明萬曆壬子夏五月廿五日).

14. Thu-med, also spelled 'Mthu-med' (TPS, p. 255, note 106) are the Tümed Mongols. In Chinese, it is written as 'T'u-me-t'e' (土默特).

15. The Dge-lugs-pa sect is commonly referred to in Western sources as the Gelugpa, or the Yellow Hat sect. Tsong-kha-pa reformed the Bka'-gdams-pa doctrine, and his new school became known as the Dge-lugs-pa. The name 'Yellow Hat' sect comes from the fact that those who follow Tsong-kha-pa's teachings do not wear the red monk's hat common to the followers of the unreformed sects, but use a yellow one instead (Hoffmann, p. 164).

16. Blo-bzang grags-pa, better known as Tsong-kha-pa, was born in the district of Tsong-kha in the Fire-bird year (1357). He went to Dbus and Gtsang and, after studying under various masters, founded the reformed Dge-lugs-pa sect. Tsong-kha-pa is referred to here as the Second Buddha of the present age, the first being of course Sākyamuni (GT, p. 193, notes 743, 744).

17. Sum-pa used Bod ('Tibet') to include Gtsang, Dbus and Mnga'-ris; and Bod-chen ('Greater Tibet') to include A-mdo and Khams.

18. The people whom Western writers generally call Kalmuks are known to the Chinese as Wala (瓦剌 in the Ming Shih),



otherwise written 'Ölöt' ('E-lu-t'e' 額魯特, or 'Wei-la-t'e' 衛拉特), which is the name for one section of the Western Mongols (Howorth, p. 498). 'O-rod', or 'O'i-lod', or 'O-lod' is the Tibetan form for Ölöt (or Oirat). The four O-rod Mongol tribes (四衛拉特) were: Ho-shuo-t'e (和碩特; Qośūt; Ho-shod), Chun-ka-erh (準噶爾; Dzungar; Ju-'un-gwar), Tu-erh-po-t'e (杜爾伯特; Dörbet) and T'u-erh-hu-t'e (土爾扈特; Torgut) (MKYMC, chüan 11, f. la-b). For more details about the history of the Wala (瓦剌), see Lai Chia-tu (賴家度) and Li Kuang-pi (李光璧), Ming-ch'ao tui wa-la te chan-cheng (明朝對瓦剌的戰爭), Shanghai, 1954, pp. 20-25.

19. See note 2.

20. 'Mon-gwol' is Sum-pa mkhan-po's transcription for the word 'Monguor'. Tibetans generally call the Mongols 'Sog-po'. The Mon-gwol people are the Mongols living between the Hsi-ning Ho (西寧河) and the Ta-t'ung Ho (大通河) on the Kan-su and Ch'ing-hai border. These Mongols call themselves 'Monguors', which is 'T'u-tsu' (土族) in Chinese (Antoine Mostaert, 'The Mongols of Kansu and Their Language', Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking, 8, Peiping, 1931, p. 78).

21. The rulers of Gtsang supported the Kar-ma-pa sect, which was in open rivalry with the Dge-lugs-pa; therefore, Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal was called Kar-ma Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal. He conquered Tibet in 1618 and was the first King of Gtsang (TPS, p. 697, note 453).

22. Bstan-skyong dbang-po was born in 1606. He had the title of Sde-pa Gtsang-pa and ruled in Shigatse from 1620 until 1642 when he was killed by the soldiers of Gu-shri Khan (GT, p. 138, note 209).

23. The Kar-ma-pa, a sub-sect of the Bka'-brgyud-pa, was founded by a disciple of Sgam-po-pa named Chos-'dzin dge-'phel of Khams (1110-1193), who is also known as Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (GT, p. 126, note 104).

24. The 'Brug-pa school was founded by Gling-ras-pa Padma rdo-rje (1128-1188), who is also called Rna-phu-pa and 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che. He was a disciple of Phag-mo gru-pa. The monastery of Ra-lung is the chief monastery of the northern branch of the 'Brug-pa. The southern school is the predominant one in Bhutan (GT, p. 126, note 105).

25. Don-yod rgyal-po was Don-yod rdo-rje, the King of Be-ri. He began to persecute the Dge-lugs-pa in his area at the time the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa Karma bstan-skyong rose to power in Gtsang. Gu-shri Khan led his army to Be-ri in 1639, and took control of the area. In the following year (1640) the King of Be-ri was captured (GT, p. 187, note 676).

26. Both Tibetan spellings 'Be-ri' and 'Pi-ri' are used in Sum-pa's work. In Western sources 'Bi-ri', and 'Pe-re', 'Bhiar', or 'Be-ri' are used; in Chinese, 'Pi-li' ( 必里 ) or 'Pai-li' ( 白利 ). Be-ri is located on the left bank of the Nyag-chu (Yalung River), about halfway between the Kantse and Rongbatsa of the maps (GT, p. 188, note 680).

27. Khams, the eastern region between Dbus of Tibet and Yün-nan of China, is included in Sum-pa's designation 'Greater Tibet'.

28. Bon, a type of shamanism, is the oldest religion of Tibet. In time, it adopted many of the doctrines, practices, and gods of Buddhism and is now hardly distinguishable from Tibetan Buddhism itself (GT, p. 127, note 106).

29. In The Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles (ff. 108b, 109a), 'Tshog-thu' is spelled as 'Chog-thu' and occurs as 'Khar-kha Chog-thu', which tells us only that Tshog-thu (= Chog-thu) was a Khar-kha (Hal-ha; K'a-erh-k'a 喀爾喀) Mongol. Since he had 40,000 soldiers when he moved to the Kokonor region, he must have been a great leader (cf. TPS, pp. 650-655). Sum-pa called him 'Tshog-thu rgyal-po', which means 'King Tshog-thu', or 'Tshog-thu Khan'; however, The Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles did not mention any title for Chog-thu (= Tshog-thu).

30. The Hal-ha are the Halha (Khalkha) Mongols (TPS, p. 49). The name 'Hal-ha' is transcribed as 'K'a-erh-K'a' 喀爾喀 in Chinese and was the name for Outer Mongolia (MKYMC, chüan 7).

31. Chinese Bon-po refers to Chinese Taoism (道教) and 'Tao-shih' (道士) means a Taoist priest.

32. [Che 16, chung 21] is an interlinear footnote for 'the thirty-seventh Khan'. Chinggis Khan was the first great Khan of the Mongols. The 'sixteen greater ones' should be the sixteen emperors of the Yüan dynasty from Chinggis Khan down to Toḡan Temür (Shun-ti 順帝) (cf. 'A Table of the Emperors of the Yüan Dynasty', by A. C. Moule, in Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1914, XLV, Shanghai, p. 124. See also BA, pp. 58-59). The 'twenty-one lesser ones' should be the twenty-one Mongol Khans during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), after the time of Toḡan Temür's flight to Mongolia in 1368 down to Lingdan Khan (1592-1634).

33. Chinggis Khan or Jenghiz Khan (reigned 1206-1227) was called Ch'eng-chi-szu Han (成吉思汗) in Chinese.

34. Dbus: the central province of Tibet, between Gtsang and Khams. The capital city of Lhasa is in Dbus.

35. 'As far as we can see today, apart from the discoverer of Padmasambhava's biography, O-rgyan gling-pa (born 1323), the Lama Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1273) played an important role in these treasure hunts and in the subsequent development of the Rnying-ma teachings' (Hoffmann, pp. 64-65). Gu-ru Chos-dbang (or Gu-ru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug) was a famous Gter-ston and the master of the Rnying-ma-pa (BA, p. 445).

36. [grass and leaves], [stone], [air], and [fruits] are inter-linear footnotes to the original text (hereafter I will use 'textual footnote' as an abbreviation for such footnotes), which would mean, 'according to the traditional saying, a deer eats grass and leaves; a vulture eats stone; a snake eats air; and a snow-bear eats fruits; but they all eat meat'.

37. Gu-shri Khan (Ku-shih Han 顧實汗 or 固始汗) was the nineteenth descendant of Chinggis Khan's brother Ha-pu-t'u Ha-sa-erh (哈布圖哈薩爾, Qabutu Qasar in Mongolian). Beginning with Gu-shri Khan's father, the definite history of the Qoṣūts, which was one of the four wings of the O-rod, really commences. After Gu-shri Khan moved his people into the Kokonor region, another wing of the O-rod, the Dzungars, took over his former grazing land Urumchi (烏魯木齊) (Hu Nai-an, pp. 116-117; Howorth, p. 501). 'The Tibetans called him Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal, and the Mongols called him Gu'i-shrī-han, or Gegen-han' (GT, p. 201, note 824).

38. Sum-pa used 'ju-'un-gwar Gu-shri rgyal-po' to state that Gu-shri Khan was from Ju-'un-gwar (= Dzungaria). Actually he was a Qoṣūt Mongol, and his original grazing land was close to Dzungaria. See also note 37.

39. 'Dge-ldan-pa' is another name for the Yellow Hat Dge-lugs-pa sect.

40. 'According to Pandit Nain Singh, the Hor province is bounded on the west by Mnga-ris skor-gsum, on the south by the mountain range north of the Tsang-po. It extends eastward up to Lake Tengri Nor and is bounded on the north by Eastern Turkistan (called Yer-khen in Tibet) and by Sog-po'i-yul (Mongolia)' (GT, p. 119, note 52). In this book, Sum-pa uses 'Hor' when referring to Mongolia, although he sometimes still uses 'Sog-yul' for it.

41. The dates, used in most Tibetan historical works, are marked according to the Chinese sexagenary system, which results from the combination of the twelve cyclic animals and the five elements, each of them corresponding to two of the so-called 'stems'. Each cycle, therefore, composed of sixty years, is called a 'Rab-'byung': when a cycle is completed, another one begins. The first year of the first Tibetan cycle (Rab-'byung; prabhava) is A. D. 1027, which is the year of Ting-mao (丁卯) in the Chinese sexagenary cycle; but the beginning of the first Tibetan cycle does not coincide with the first year of the Chinese cycle: the first year of the first Tibetan 'Rab-'byung' was the fourth of the Chinese sexagenary cycle (cf. PSJZ, ŚATAPIṬAKA, 8, pp. ix-x). Identification tables of the years of the first sixteen Tibetan cycles with their Christian and Chinese equivalents can be found on pages 278-309 of the article 'On the Sexagenary cycle of the Tibetans', by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, in Monumenta Serica, I., 1935-1936.

42. 'Paṅ' is an abbreviation of 'Paṅḍita', and Chen means 'great' in Tibetan. 'Er-de-ni' is Mongolian, and is equivalent to 'Rin-po-che' in Tibetan or 'Ratna' in Sanskrit. Paṅ-chen Rin-po-che (or Er-de-ni) is the title for the second religious

leader of Tibet, next to the Dalai Lama. Hereafter, I will use the form 'Panchen' instead of 'Paṅ-chen'. Paṅ-chen Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan was the first Panchen Rin-po-che. For his biography, see Sarat Chandra Das, 'Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet', JASB, LI, Part I, No. 1-1882, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 25-27.

43. Gtsang-pa means 'the one from Gtsang' which is the province between Mnga'-ris and Dbus, in Tibet. It was used as a title for Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal and Bstan-skyong dbang-po, the two rulers of Gtsang during this period.

44. The fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, was born at 'Phyongs-rgyas in the Yar-klungs valley (GT, p. 156, note 378). The title Dalai Lama is a Mongol title, which was bestowed for the first time by Altan Khan on Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho in 1578, who is now considered to be the third Dalai Lama. He is called Ta-lai-la-ma (達賴喇嘛) in Chinese sources (GT, p. 153, note 359).

45. Lhasa, literally 'Place of the Gods', has been the capital of Tibet since the fifth Dalai Lama's reign.

46. 'Bras-spungs monastery, or rather monastic town, is about five miles west of Lhasa and has a population of seven to eight thousand monks. Formerly it was the religious see of the Yellow Hat sect and its abbot was the recognized head of the Dge-lugs-pa. After the abbot became known as the Dalai Lama and the see was moved to the Potala, 'Bras-spungs remained one of the four most important monasteries of Tibet (MBG, pp. 96-97).

47. Se-ra monastery was founded in 1419 by one of Tsong-kha-pa's principal disciples, Byams-chen chos-rje Sha-kya ye-shes, shortly after his return to Lhasa from China. Se-ra, in time, rose to great distinction and was regarded as a major seat

of learning. It is second only to 'Bras-spungs in size (Sarat Chandra Das, 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama', JASB, LXXIII, Part I, Extra No. -1904, Calcutta, 1905, p. 80).

48. Stag-lung (= Ta-lung 達隆) is a district north of Lhasa beyond 'Phan-yul valley. Phu-mdo (= P'ang-to 旁多) is a place close to Stag-lung on the south bank of the Skyid river.

49. 'Tea for the many' (mang-ja) refers to the tea given to the assembled monks on the occasion of a religious service. Smon-lam ('Prayer Festival') or Smon-lam chen-po ('The Great Prayer Festival') is the great annual religious assembly established in Lhasa by Tsong-kha-pa in 1409 (Das, 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama', p. 81). In Tibet, the same tea leaves are steeped to make tea four or five times; thus, tea leaves may be used on more than one occasion.

50. The Rnying-ma-pa, literally 'The Old Ones', is commonly referred to as the unreformed Red Hat sect. Its founder was the Indian teacher Padmasambhava who introduced an esoteric doctrine of Buddhism into Tibet about A. D. 760 in the reign of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan (755-797) (Edward Conze, Buddhism: its essence and development, pp. 207-210; see also Waddell, pp. 72-74).

51. Bkra-shis lhun-po, the large monastery near the town of Shigatse, is the seat of the Panchen Lamas, and is known in western sources as Tashilumpo and in Chinese sources as Cha-shih-lun-pu (札什倫布). It was built in A. D. 1447 (GT, p. 137, note 200).

52. Bkra-shis zil-gnon means 'overcoming the Bkra-shis lhun-po monastery'. See also TPS, p. 700, note 582, and Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History, p. 100.

53. From context, 'Se-ri' appears to be the name of a hermitage; however, its identity remains unknown.

54. 'Skyid-shod' is the ancient name for the district of Lhasa (BA, p. 912; GT, p. 74).

55. Thub-chen-gling: unidentified.

56. 'Ga'-ru lo-tsa-[ba] was a monk of Dgon-lung mgon-chen in A-mdo. He belonged to the Yellow Hat sect, but also served in the ranks of the King of Gtsang's retinue. He, or another monk Sem-nyi, was sent to Dzungaria to ask for help for the Yellow Hats who were being persecuted by the King of Gtsang (see p. 35).

57. Concerning Ho-lo-che, see note 13. There is nothing mentioned in Chinese sources about his sons, but some details about them are given in TPS, pp. 53, 56, 58.

58. Sde-pa was the title of district governors. See also Petech, p. 233.

59. Rkyang-thang-sgang is the place between Potala and 'Bras-spungs, on the northwest side of Lcags-po-ri (SOC).

60. Dayan Khan divided the tribes adhering to him into two sections: a right wing and a left wing. The left wing included three tribes: the Chahar, the Urianghai, and the Khalkha; the right wing included another three tribes: the Ordos, the Tümed, and the Yungsiyebü. Together these groups were called the Six Tümen (R. Miller, Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia, pp. 1-2). See also Henry Serruys, p. 16, note 4. 'The Six Tümen' are called 'the six great Mongol tribes' by Sum-pa.

61. Regarding the phrase 'killing of prisoners like sheep', it is said that 'The Manchus spread a rumor that Lingdan Khan



sacrificed prisoners of war to the gods of his battle-standards. The enemy who portrayed him thus was later to defeat him' (Heissig, A Lost Civilization, p. 121).

62. Ur-tu-su, Urdus in their own pronunciation or written as Ordos, was a Mongol tribe located in the Ordos region around modern Kuei-sui (歸綏) of Sui-yüan province (Sheng-wu-chi 聖武記, chüan 3, ff. 9b-10a).

63. 'Lingdan Khan fled towards Tangut, but died on the way in the steppe of Shira talas (Shira or Shara Tala = Yellow prairie) in A. D. 1634' (Howorth, p. 380). 'In 1634, while he was camping at Kokonor and trying to form an alliance with Tibetan supporters of the old, nonreformed Buddhist sects, he died. The remainder of his tribe, his wives and his sons surrendered to the Manchu troops' (Heissig, p. 124). 'Lin-tan Han (林丹汗) fled and died in Ta-ts'ao-t'an (大草灘) of Ch'ing-hai (青海), in the sixth month of the eighth year of T'ien-ch'ung (天聰)' (Sheng-wu-chi, chüan 3, f. 6a).

64. According to Brahmanical custom, the five states of life are as follows: 1) Chastity (tshangs-spyod-pa); 2) Living the life of a householder (khyim-na gnas-pa); 3) Forest dwelling (nags-su gnas-pa); 4) Homeless wanderer (kun-tu rgyu-ba); 5) Death ('chi-ba) (Dge-bshes Chos-grags Tibetan Dictionary, p. 219).

65. 'Chos-rgyal rnam-gsum' refers to the three Chos-skyong (guardians) of the Yellow Hat sect: Dam-can chos-rgyal, Mgon-po phyag-drug-pa, and Dpal-ldan dmag-zor rgyal-mo (SOC).

66. 'On the death of Lingdan Khutuktu Khan, his widow, named Shodai Taigho (蘇泰太妃), who was of Royal Manchu descent, went with her son, Erke Khongkhor, into the country of the Ordus to a place named Toli. The Manchu

Emperor seems to have received them kindly, he gave his daughter Erke Gurne Gundshu (固倫公主) in marriage to the young khan, while the second wife of Lingdan joined his own harem, Erke Khongkhor and his brother, Abaghai (阿布鼐), were treated as his own sons' (Howorth, p. 380). See also Ch'ing-shih-kao 清史稿 (published by Wen-hsüeh yen-chiu-sheh, Hong Kong 香港文學研究社, 1960), Piao 6, 'Kung-chu-piao 公主表 -- the second daughter of T'ai-tsung', p. 635.

67. It was the Yüan Imperial Seal which was lost when the last Yüan Emperor, Shun-ti (順帝), fled to Mongolia. It was rediscovered by a shepherd more than two hundred years later. Then Lingdan Khan obtained it. He died in 1634, and the Imperial Seal was delivered into the hands of the Manchu ruler, Abahai (T'ai-tsung), in the next year. In 1636 the Emperor was recognized by the Mongols because of the seal. After that, the Manchus began to use 'Ch'ing' (清) as their dynastic name (FPYL, chüan 1, ff. 22b-23a; see also Sheng-wu-chi, chüan 3, f. 4b, and Ch'ing-shih-kao, pen-chi 2, 'T'ai-tsung pen-chi I' 太宗本紀一, pp. 6-7).

68. The original text was 'Man-'ju shun-ṭi rgyal-chen', literally, 'the great Manchu Shun-chih Emperor'. It is an error made by Sum-pa, because at that time the Manchu Emperor was T'ai-tsung (太宗 1627-1643), not Shun-chih (順治 1644-1661). See also note 67.

69. See note 16.

70. Bsod-nams chos-'phel was the first Sde-srid, appointed in 1642 by Gu-shri Khan. He died in 1658.

71. 'Ga'-ru lo-tsā-ba sna-che: see note 56. Sna-che literally means 'big nose', which may be his nickname.

72. Sem-nyi kha-che: Kha-che literally means 'the big mouth' which may be Sem-nyi's nickname.

73. Dgon-lung mgon-chen: unidentified. Possibly a scribal error for 'Dgon-lung dgon-chen' (on which, see note 109).

74. Dga'-ldan is one of the three great monasteries of the Yellow Hat sect. It was founded by Tsong-kha-pa himself about twenty-five miles to the east-northeast of Lhasa, on a high hill to the south of the Skyid-chu. It was founded in 1409 after the celebration of the Smon-lam (MBG, p. 106, note 107).

75. Stag-rtse-rdzong is situated northeast of Lhasa, on the right bank of the Skyid-chu (Petech, p. 43, note 2).

76. Mtsho-skye rdo-rje was the father of Stag-rtse-pa Lha-rgyal rab-brtan. See also note 192 and P. Notes, p. 264, note 4.

77. This is the Chos-skyong of La-mo. La-mo is situated northeast of Dga'-ldan monastery, to the south of the Skyid-chu (MBG, p. 109, note 111). Chos-skyong, literally, 'the Protector of religion', is used for a certain individual deity, or for a class of magicians in the monasteries (cf. René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, pp. 3, 145; and P. Notes, p. 271, note 6).

78. The Dzungaria region refers to Gu-shri Khan's original grazing land, Urumchi (see notes 37, 38). Sum-pa used the word 'Jo-'un-gwar' or 'Ju-'un-gwar' as the name for all of the grazing areas of the four O-rod Mongol tribes.

79. Because Sum-pa regarded the four O-rod Tribes as a united group living in Jo-'un-gwar (Dzungaria), he thought that there must be a king; and he did not treat Gu-shri Khan as the king of Jo-'un-gwar at this time. Actually, the four O-rod tribes were separate and each of them had its own leader or Khan.

80. The Qošūts were governed by a royal line named Galgas (Gwal-gwas), which claimed descent from Qasar, the brother of

Chinggis Khan. Gu-shri Khan was the nineteenth descendant of Qasar, and probably Galgas was his family name (Howorth, pp. 494, 499).

81. See Howorth, p. 501.

82. See note 37. Also cf. MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 3a.

83. According to The Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles (f. 108a), the story goes like this: 'At the age of 13 he attached at the head of his troops several tens of thousands of Mgo-dkar, and became famous because in one single moment he caused the entire army of the enemy to taste the spectacle of the next world' (TPS, p. 650). Tucci says: 'Mgo-dkar, viz. the Čahar. Legs-ldan was called 'bald head' by the Mongols' (TPS, p. 698, note 459). In the twelfth chapter (Hor li Śambhala) of Grub-mtha' thams-cad-kyi-khung dang 'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bshad shel-gyi me-long, written by Thu'u-bkan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-mia (1737-1802), there is a similiar story (f. 6a), but S. C. Das mistranslated it as follows: 'At the age of 13 he assumed the command of the army of the Mgo-dkar (white heads), numbering 10,000, and went on an expedition against Hoi-Hoi (Tangyut). He gained a complete victory in the fight, for which he became eminently famous' (Das, 'Contributions on Tibet', JASB, 1882, pp. 63, 71). In these two sources, there is no one person designated by both names 'Ho-thon' and 'Mgo-dkar' combined. Mgo-dkar literally means 'white head', which designates the Moslems. The Mongolian word Ho-thon (Qotun) means 'city' or 'fortress'. So, 'Mgo-dkar Ho-thon' could be translated as 'a Moslem city', or simply 'the Moslems'.

84. Ta'i-gu'u-shri is Ta-kuo-shih (大國師) in Chinese. S. C. Das in his 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama' (p. 85) says: 'In the year 1605, the Emperor of China conferred on him the

Buddhist title Tā-kau-śri, from which circumstances he became known by the name of Gushi Khan.' This information lacks corroborating evidence. I find no title for Gu-shri Khan in any of the Chinese sources consulted. Only in the tenth year of Shun-chih (1653), the Emperor of China (Shun-chih) conferred upon him a gold tablet inscribed with the title of 'Tsun-wen hsing-i min-hui ku-shih-han' (遵文行義敏慧顧實汗)(FPYL, chüan 9, f. 5b).

85. The'i-je (T'ai-chi 台吉 is a Mongolian title (Taiji) derived from T'ai-tzu (太子) in Chinese, which means 'prince'. See William F. Meyers, The Chinese Government, p. 89, note 538. I use the Tibetan form The-je instead of The'i-je which is also in the text.

86. 'Bru-chu' (in the text) should be 'Bri-chu', which is the Tibetan name for the Yangtse River. It refers to the upper branch of the Yang-tzu Chiang, and is called T'ung-t'ien Ho (通天河) in Chinese, Murui Ussu (木魯烏蘇) in Mongolian (Ou-yang Wu-wei 歐陽無畏, 'Po te Chiang-yü ho pien-chieh 鉢的疆域和邊界', Hsi-tsang yen-chiu 西藏研究, Taipei, 1960, p. 180).

87. Yar-'brog lies between Dbus and Gtsang, around Lake Yar-'brog. This area was one of the thirteen Myriarchies (Khri-skor) of Tibet.

88. Gnam-mtsho is the Tengri-nor lake of the map, lying northwest of Lhasa (GT, p. 116, note 26).

89. This is a Red Hat high lama with the title of Rab-'byams-pa which is the highest academical title of honor, corresponding to 'Doctor of Theology', or 'D. D.' (Waddell, p. 186). He was the Rab-'byams-pa of Gzhu-khar, Dge-legs lhun-grub (TPS, pp. 654-655).

90. Pā-thur The-je (= Bātur Qung Taiji) was the ruler of the Dzungars, the father of Seng-ge and Dga'-ldan (Howorth, pp. 517, 614, 617, 620; see also Petech, p. 270).

91. Yi-le is the town of Ili (伊犁) of present-day Hsin-chiang province (新疆省). The Dzungars' old headquarters were in Ili (MKYMC, chüan 15, f. 11a).

92. Tha-rim is the Tarim Basin (塔里木盆地) of present-day Hsin-chiang province.

93. Has-tag: unidentified.

94. This is the Tsaidam (柴達木盆地) of present-day Ch'ing-hai province (青海省).

95. Bu-lung-ger (= Bulungir) is called Barun-kure in Albert Hermann's A Historical Atlas of China, Chicago, 1966, p. 52; and Pa-lung (巴隆) in modern Chinese maps. It is located on the west bank of the Pu-lung-chi-erh River (布隆吉爾河 or 布隆水 in ITC, chüan 546, 'Ch'ing-hai e-lu-t'e-t'u' 青海厄魯特圖 f. 2a) in present-day Ch'ing-hai province.

96. Gwan-yam-thu: unidentified.

97. 'U-lan Ho-sho', from the Mongolian words ulān qošū, literally means 'the Red-promontory'.

98. Tā-yan The-je was also called Dayan Khan. He succeeded his father Gu-shri Khan as king of Tibet in 1655 and died in 1670, leaving the throne to his son Ratna Dalai Khan (see p. 43).

99. Har-gel: unidentified.

100. Sha-hal: unidentified.

101. For an account of the Qošūt Mongols' move to Kokonor, see MKYMC, chüan 12, ff. 3a-9a.

102. See note 90. Hung-the-je is a Mongolian title Qung Taiji derived from Huang-t'ai-tzu (皇太子) in Chinese, which means 'the heir-apparent'.

103. Jo-bo Rin-po-che is the most famous statue of Tibet, the palladium of the Tibetans. It represents the Buddha at the age of twelve and was brought to Tibet by Wen-ch'eng Kung-chu (文成公主), the Chinese wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Being considered as the symbol of the new religion, the Jo-bo went through many vicissitudes, according to the fluctuation of religious policy in the Tibetan court (MBG, p. 86, note 39).

104. A mchod-rten, literally 'symbol of offerings', is modeled after the Indian stūpa. The common Tibetan mchod-rten is built with a square base called seng-khri ('lion-throne'), above which is a flight of steps, sa-'dzin ('earth-holder'), leading up to the bum-pa ('bottle-shaped'), a conical dome with its larger part pointing upwards. The bum-sgo ('dome-door') is open with its lower portion resting on the top step of the sa-'dzin. Two rectangular blocks, a bre-chung ('small measure') topped by a bre-chen ('large measure'), lead up to a spire of thirteen chos-'khor (religious wheels) piled one above another. The top of the chos-'khor is covered with a lotus-flower-shaped char-khebs ('rain-cloak'). The nyi-zla (emblem of the sun and moon), a crescent zla-ba (moon) cradling the nyi-ma (sun), is located on top of the char-khebs. Finally, a candle-flame-shaped nor-bu (jewel) adorns the nyi-ma (SOC).

In Buddhism, human beings are considered to be composed of lus (body), ngag (speech), and yid (mind); likewise the Buddha is also composed of sku, gsung, and thugs (body, speech, and mind in the honorific forms). Any image of the Buddha symbolizes his body, the texts of his teachings his speech, and the mchod-rten his mind.

Originally eight mchod-rten were built in Tibet, and each was designed to commemorate an important event of the

Buddha's life. They are called Bde-gshegs mchod-rten brgyad ('the eight mchod-rten of the one who has passed happily', i. e., the Buddha): 1) the Padma spungs-pa'i mchod-rten for his birth; 2) the Byang-chub mchod-rten for his enlightenment; 3) the Bkra-shis sgo-mang mchod-rten for his first sermon; 4) the Lha-babs mchod-rten for his descent into Kāśī after preaching to his mother in the heavenly world; 5) the Cho-'phrul mchod-rten for his having performed a miracle in Kośala; 6) the Dbyen-bzlums mchod-rten for his having mediated a monks' dissension in Rājagṛha; 7) the Rnam-rgyal mchod-rten for the longevity ceremony, performed for him in Magadha; 8) the Myang-'das mchod-rten for his passing away in Kuśinagara.

The majority of mchod-rten built in Tibet were modeled after these eight original structures, while a few other designs can also be found. An account of mchod-rten appears in Vaidūrya dkar-po, by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, pp. 608a-b; see also Waddell, pp. 262-264.

105. In the text, the King of Be-ri is said to be the one who had completed the ten worldly preoccupations (Bkral-ba'i zhing-bcu), which were disgraceful acts of conduct. In a written communication from Sde-gzhung Sprul-sku Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (passport name: Kunga Labrang), a Research Associate of the Inner Asia Project of the University of Washington, a list of the 'ten worldly preoccupations', which is not available in any of the written sources, has been given by him as follows: 1) Sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa 'jig pa (to destroy the Buddha's doctrine); 2) Dkon mchog gi dbu 'phang smad pa (to degrade the rank of the Most Excellent One); 3) Dge 'dun gyi sde dkrug pa (to agitate the group of the clergy); 4) Skye 'gro sems can yongs la 'tshes ba (to persecute all animate beings); 5) Chos sgrub pa la bar



du gcod pa (to interrupt someone before he has accomplished his religious study); 6) Bla ma'i sku dgra (to be the enemy of lamas); 7) Dge 'dun gyi sdang dgra (to be the hostile enemy of the clergy); 8) Mna' dang khrel la mi rtsi ba (to disregard the oath and modesty); 9) Las rgyu 'bras la yid mi ches pa (to have no belief in the cause and effect of Karma); 10) Ma rung pa'i las byas pa (to do improper actions).

106. 'The names of these thirteen Khri-skor (myriarchies) are: Dbus: 1) Rgya-ma, 2) 'Bri-gung, 3) Tshal-pa, 4) Thang-po-che, 5) Phag-gru, 6) G-ya-bzang; Gtsang: 1) Lho and 2) Byang of La-stod, 3) Gur-mo, 4) Chu-mig, 5) Shangs, 6) Zha-lu, (and) Yar-'brog' (GT, p. 129, note 124). A more detailed study of Khri-skor bcu-gsum is found in Hsi-tsang yen-chiu, pp. 148-151.

107. Ratna The-je, also called Dalai Khan, was Gu-shri Khan's grandson, Lha-bzang Khan's father and predecessor. He died in 1697 (Sheng-wu-chi, chüan 5, f. 8b). See also Tieh-Tseng Li, The Historical Status of Tibet, p. 237, note 32.

108. Textual footnote. The names of the places are unidentified.

109. This monastery, also known as Dgon-lung dgon-pa, was founded in 1604 by Rgyal-sras Don-yod chos-kyi rgya-mtsho of Dags-po (GT, p. 196, note 760).

110. Gegen Khan was the title given to Gu-shri Khan by the Mongols. "Gegen=Gegegen: Term of reference and address for incarnate lamas usually translated as 'Serene Holiness'" (Lessing, Mongolian-English Dictionary, 1960, p. 374).

111. 'Bu-ram shing-pa: n. of the progenitor of the solar race, an epithet of Sākya simha Buddha who was born of that race' (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 871).

112. Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158) was the founder of the Sa-skyia sect which takes its name from the monastery of Sa-skyia, founded by his father, 'Khon Dkon-mchog rgyal-po, in A. D. 1073 (Turrell Wylie, 'Mortuary Customs at Sa-skyia, Tibet', HJAS, Vol. 25, 1965, pp. 229-230). The first twenty-one generations of Sa-skyia family and their relations with Mongols are found in Hu-lan deb-ther (ff. 21a-23a) composed by 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje in A. D. 1346, and recently published by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim, in 1961. The Sa-skyia lineage is given the most extensive and detailed treatment in the Rgya-bod yid-tshang. A preliminary study of the Sa-skyia history has been done by E. Gene Smith, who has presented two papers for the Inner Asia Colloquium of the University of Washington: 'The history of the 'Khon to the birth of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po according to Rgya-bod yid-tshang' (April 25, 1961) and 'The era of 'Gro-mgon 'phags-pa and the apogee of Sa-skyia power: a preliminary report' (May 31, 1962).

113. The 'Bri-khung-pa is a sub-sect of the Bka'-brgyud-pa (MBG, p. 111, note 116). 'Jig-rten mgon-po (born 1143), a pupil of Phag-mo gru-pa (1110-1170), founded the 'Bri-khung-pa (Hoffmann, pp. 156-157).

114. The Stag-lung-pa sect and the Stag-lung monastery were founded by Bkra-shis-dpal (1142-1210). This sect was derived from the 'Bri-khung-pa, and both go back to the Bka'-brgyud-pa (MBG, p. 82, note 22).

115. 'Jang is the region between Tibet and the province of Yün-nan (雲南). It is called Nan-chao (南詔) in the T'ang dynasty, and Ta-li-kuo (大理國) in the Sung dynasty (Chou K'un-t'ien 周昆田, Chung-kuo pien-chiang min-tsu chien-shih 中國邊疆民族簡史, Taipei, 1961,

pp. 216-226). Sa-dam is the place called Li-chiang (麗江) in Chinese, located in the northwest of Yün-nan (H. E. Richardson, 'The Karma-pa Sect. A Historical Note', JRAS, 1958, p. 154).

116. Rdzong: 'The word means both the land area under the jurisdiction of an official called a Rdzong-dpon, and the fortress in which he lives' (GT, p. 235). See also Petech, p. 234.

117. See note 70.

118. The district of Rkong-po (= Kong-po) is called Kung-pu (工布) in Chinese (WTTC, chüan 4, p. 82).

119. From VAIDŪRYA SER-PO (ff. 314a-318a), written by Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (ŚĀTAPIṬĀKA, V. 12(1)), the thirteen famous monasteries (Gling-bcu-gsum) are the following:

1) Dga'-ldan chos-'khor in Shangs (f. 314a), 2) Dga'-ldan chos-'khor yang-rtse in Chu-shur (f. 314b), 3) Dga'-ldan gsung-rab-gling in Dol of Lho-kha (f. 315a), 4) Dga'-ldan 'og-min-gling in Lha-rtse (f. 315a), 5) Dga'-ldan don-gnyis-gling in Lho-brag-do-rdzong (f. 315a), 6) Dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub-gling in Gong-dkar (f. 315b), 7) Dga'-ldan thos-bsam dar-rgyas-gling in Yar-stod of Sne-gdong (f. 316a), 8) Dga'-ldan chos-'khor-gling in Nyug of Gtsang (f. 316a), 9) Dga'-ldan gsang-sngags yang-rtse in Yer-pa brag-gseb (f. 316b), 10) Dga'-ldan 'phel-rgyas-gling in Mnga'-ris (f. 316b), 11) Gsang-sngags byang-chub-gling in Chu-shur (f. 317a), 12) Bdud-dpung gzil-gnon-gling in Phung-po ri-bo-che of Gtsang (f. 317b), 13) Dga'-ldan bdud-'joms-gling in Lho-brag mkhar-chu (f. 317b).

120. This foundation was one based on Yellow Hat sect teachings, because the Red Hat sect was then suppressed and many of its monasteries were forcibly annexed by the Yellow Hat sect (Hoffmann, pp. 174-175).

121. It is said that the three provinces (Chol-kha-gsum) are: Dbus-Gtsang, the province of Dharma; Mdo-stod, the province of people; and Mdo-smad, the province of horses (Dge-bshes chos-grags Dictionary, p. 272). Traditionally, Tibetans use this term Chol-kha-gsum for Tibet. The province of Dbus-Gtsang refers to Tibet proper; Mdo-stod refers to Khams which is the province abounding with population; Mdo-smad refers to A-mdo which is the province with many horses. Dbus-Gtsang is from Gung-thang of Mnga'-ris, which is located in the modern Rdzong-dga' Rdzong near Ding-ri, to Sog-la skya-bo which is called Sog-g. yag-lā near So-dgon. Mdo-stod is from Sog-la skya-bo to Rma-chu khug-pa, which is the bend of the Rma-chu around the Am-nye Rma-chen mountain range. Mdo-smad is from Rma-chu khug-pa to Rgya-mchod-rten dkar-po (the white Chinese stūpa) which is near the Ka-chu River and Tho-chu River somewhere between Lan-chou (蘭州) and Yung-ching (永立青) in Kan-su province (甘肅省) (SOC).

122. Mnga'-ris is the upper or western part of Tibet (GT, pp. 55-56).

123. A-kṣo-hi-ni is the Sanskrit Akshauhiṇī: 'An army consisting of ten anīkinīs or 21, 870 elephants, 21, 870 chariots, 65, 610 horse, and 109, 350 foot' (Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 4).

124. Gangs-te-se (= Gangs-ri Ti-se, the Snow mountain Ti-se or Te-se) is the Kailāsa mountain of the maps. It is located in western Tibet, north of Lake Mānasarowar of the maps. It is called Kang-ti-szu shan (岡底斯山) in Chinese sources (GT, p. 114, note 3).

125. Mdo-Khams is the eastern area of Tibet, including A-mdo (Mdo-smad) and Khams (Mdo-stod). Sum-pa called it 'Greater

Tibet' (Bod-chen). See also The Dalai Lama, My Land and My People, p. 15.

126. Li Tzu-ch'eng (李自成) was born in Mi-chih (米脂) of Shen-hsi province (陝西省). His maternal uncle, Kao Ying-hsiang (高迎祥), the horse thief of An-sai (安塞馬賊), started rebelling in the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (崇禎, 1628), in Shen-hsi, and proclaimed himself Ch'uang Wang (闖王 = 'The Rough King'). About the same time, because of the severe famine, there were many robbers in this area, not just 'six'. One of the famous robbers, Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), proclaimed himself Pa-ta-wang (八大王 = 'The Eighth Great King') in Yen-an (延安) of Shen-hsi and joined together with Ch'uang Wang. Li Tzu-ch'eng did not join his maternal uncle until A. D. 1631; then he was called Ch'uang Chiang (闖將 = 'The Rough General'). After his maternal uncle was killed in 1636, he succeeded to the position of Ch'uang Wang. He captured Hsi-ning in the winter of 1643, and entered Peking on the nineteenth of the third month, in the seventeenth year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644), which was the first year of Shun-chih (順治) of the Ch'ing dynasty. On the second of the fifth month of the same year, he was driven out of Peking by the Manchu troops which had been requested by Wu San-kuei (吳三桂), the General of the last Ming Emperor, Ch'ung-cheng. So, Li Tzu-ch'eng had occupied Peking for only about forty days. Then he was killed at Chiu-kung shan (九宮山) in Hu-pei province (湖北省), in the ninth month of the second year of Shun-chih (1645) (Ming Shih, chüan 309, Lieh-chuan 197).

127. The 'king of Tha-pur' should refer to Li Tzu-ch'eng's maternal uncle, Ch'uang Wang, who started rebelling in Shen-hsi

province between China proper and the Kokonor area (cf. note 126).

128. See note 126.

129. The Ch'ung-cheng (崇禎) Emperor was the last emperor of the Ming dynasty.

130. A textual footnote — the number '5' — was put underneath 'a few months', but, actually, Li Tzu-ch'eng had occupied Peking for only about forty days (cf. note 126).

131. Wu San-kuei (吳三桂 1612-1678) was granted the title of Ch'in-wang (親王) in 1645. He started rebelling in 1674 and proclaimed himself Emperor of Chou (周) dynasty on March 23, 1678, with the reign-title Chao-wu (昭武). His eldest grandson was called Wu Shih-fan (吳世璠 who was mistaken for Wu San-kuei's son in Rockhill, p. 19), son of a concubine (庶子) of Wu Ying-hsiung (吳應熊) who was married to the princess K'o-ch'un (恪純公主 1642-1704), the youngest half-sister of Emperor Shih-tsu (清世祖). Having been given the designation of T'ai-sun (太孫 = 'Imperial Eldest Grandson'), Wu Shih-fan ruled Yün-nan (雲南), and beginning in 1679, took the reign-title Hung-hua (洪化). He finally committed suicide (Dec. 7, 1681), thus ending the rebellion begun by Wu San-kuei eight years earlier (Ch'ing-shih-kao, Lieh-chuan 261, 'Wu San-kuei'; see also Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period (1644-1912), II, pp. 877-880, edited by Arthur W. Hummel, Washington, 1944).

132. The Jur-chid, Nü-chen (女真) in Chinese, were the predecessors of the Manchus, who spoke a similar language (Chou K'un-t'ien, pp. 5-6, 31-35). The Emperor of Manchu Nü-chen refers to Ch'ing Shih-tsu (清世祖 1644-1661).

133. Nor-gwan-cha, Nu-erh-ha-ch'i (努爾哈齊) in Chinese, was Ch'ing T'ai-tsu (清太祖 1559-1626) (Ch'ing-shih-kao, Pen-chi I, 'T'ai-tsu').

134. Li Tzu-ch'eng fled to Hsi-an (西安) (cf. note 126).

135. The original text reads 'Chi-the-tsung' which is an error for 'Ch'ing Shih-tsu' (清世祖).

136. Gu-shri Khan died in 'Bras-spungs on the seventeenth day of the twelfth month in the Wood-horse year (TPS, p. 70) = January 24, 1655 (Petech, p. 267, note 3). Generally, only one Western year is given for any single Tibetan year; however, the Tibetan year begins usually from the middle of February, thus, each Tibetan year overlaps two Western years. Although the Wood-horse year is given as 1654 for convenience, it actually should be 1654/1655.

137. Mahā-tsi-na transliterates Sanskrit Mahācīna meaning 'Great China'.

138. Grong-lang: unidentified.

139. 'Ratna' here refers to Dalai Khan, the eldest son of Dayan Khan (cf. note 98 and P. Notes, pp. 267-268).

140. 'Phid-se Ching-wang' must be a transcription of the Chinese 'P'ing-hsi Ch'in-wang' (平西親王) which was the title conferred on Wu San-kuei (吳三桂), by the K'ang-hsi (康熙) Emperor in 1662 (Ch'ing-shih-kao, Piao 8, 'Chu-ch'en feng-chüeh shih-piao I' 諸臣封爵世表一, p. 641). However, Sum-pa uses it here to refer to Wu San-kuei's grandson Wu Shih-fan (cf. note 131).

141. Ral-pa-can literally means 'one with long hair'. Wu San-kuei was called Ral-pa-can because he let his hair grow long when he started rebelling (cf. Ch'ing-shih-kao, Lieh-chuan 261,

p. 1434), as a symbol of his disobeying the Manchu edict forcing male Chinese to shave off their hair in the Manchu style (Ibid., Pen-chi 4, p. 12).

142. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705) was the Sde-srid of Tibet from 1679 until 1703, when he resigned. However, he retained the power of regent until his death at the hands of Lha-bzang Khan in 1705 (GT, p. 155, note 376). The A-bar, an honorific for the Tibetan word Phru-gu ('child'), was his nickname.

143. For details on the office of regent and those who filled it, see L. Petech, 'The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study', T'oung Pao, XLVII, Livr. 3-5, 1959, pp. 377-394.

144. Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho (1683-1706) was the sixth Dalai Lama. A short biography of him, based mainly on Schlemmann, Rockhill and Bell, can be found in Yü Tao-ch'üan 于道泉, Love songs of the sixth Dalai Lama Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho 倉洋嘉錯情歌, (Academia Sinica Monograph A5), pp. 31-36.

145. Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho was publicly installed as the sixth Dalai Lama by the Panchen Rin-po-che Blo-bzang ye-shes in 1696. The Wood-ox year (1685), mentioned in the text, was perhaps the year when he was found to be the new incarnation of Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682). See Rockhill, pp. 21-22, 27, 29; see also Charles Bell, The Religion of Tibet, pp. 134-135; and Petech, p. 9.

146. This is Lha-bzang Khan's puppet sixth Dalai Lama, Ye-shes rgya-mtsho. He was installed on the see of the Potala in 1707 (Petech, p. 13).

147. S. C. Das says: 'Sum-pa mkhan-po was born at the place in the neighborhood of the Dgon-lung monastery of A-mdo in



ulterior Tibet' ('The Life of Sumpa Khanpo', JASB, 1889, p. 37). Dgon-lung monastery is called Yu-ning-szu (佑寧寺) in Chinese; it lies to the northeast of Hsi-ning (西寧), in the present Ch'ing-hai province (Chou Chen-ho 周振鶴, Ch'ing Hai 青海, p. 174; Hsi-ning-fu hsin-chih 西寧府新志, chüan 15, f. 4a). The Yellow River flows eastwards on the south side of Hsi-ning. Sum-pa says that his birthplace, Tho-li, is on the bank of the Rma-chu. If this Rma-chu is the main river of the Yellow River (Huang-Ho in Chinese), Sum-pa's birthplace should not be located in the neighborhood of the Dgon-lung monastery, unless he means that any tributary of the Yellow River can be called Rma-chu.

148. Tshab-che: unidentified.

149. The title No-min-han (= Nomîn Qān) is a Mongol term which means 'Prince of the Faith' (Rockhill, p. 49, note 1). See also Mayers, The Chinese Government, p. 108, note 587. No-min-han is the equivalent of Chos-rgyal in Tibetan.

150. This name is mentioned in GT, p. 195, note 757.

151. Stag-sna go'u-si may be the same as the Chinese Tu-lan kuo-szu (都蘭國寺), which is a monastery called Tu-lan-szu (都蘭寺) in Tu-lan Hsien (都蘭縣) of the present Ch'ing-hai province (Chou Chen-ho, p. 177).

152. Shug-sha pad-stong: unidentified.

153. According to GT, p. 119, note 47, 'Ju-lag is the Tibetan name of the Ta-t'ung Ho (大通河) which lies north of Lake Kokonor. But from the context, if the monastery Stag-sna go'u-si is the monastery called Tu-lan-szu in Chinese (see note 151), 'Ju-lag should be located west of Lake Kokonor. Thus, the 'Ju-lag here may not be the same as the 'Ju-lag in GT.

154. When Wu San-kuei rebelled in 1674, the K'ang-hsi Emperor ordered the Kokonor Mongols to send troops to attack him.

In the next year (1675) Dga'-ldan, ruler of the Dzungars, attacked the Kokonor Mongols. See note 131, and Rockhill, pp. 19-21.

155. Nying-sha (= Ning-hsia 寧夏) is the capital of the present Ning-hsia province.

156. Shing-nga-phu (= Hsi-an-fu 西安府) is the capital of Shen-hsi province.

157. The chief lama of Hsi-ning (Petech, p. 11).

158. The first Lcang-skya Rin-po-che — in Chinese, Chang-chia Hutukhtu (章嘉呼圖克圖) — was called Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-ldan (1642-1714). His short biography is found in Lokesh Chandra's Materials For A History Of Tibetan Literature, Part I, p. 36. See also Hu Nai-an, pp. 127-128.

159. Ching-wang is Ch'in-wang (親王) in Chinese. It is the title 'Prince of the First Order' (Mayers, The Chinese Government, p. 2, note 17). See also Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i (聶崇岐), 'Manchu Official Titles with Chinese Explanations' (滿官漢釋), Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies (燕京學報), Number 32, June 1947, p. 101, note 2. This title was actually conferred on Bkra-shis pa-thur in 1698 (P. Notes, p. 282).

160. Jun-wang = Chün-wang (郡王), Pi-le = Pei-le (貝勒) Bi-se (or Be-si) = Pei-tzu (貝子); Gung = Kung (公), and Ja-sag (or Dza-sag) = Cha-sa-k'e (札薩克). Chün-wang is the title 'Prince of the Second Order'; Pei-le is the title 'Prince of the Third Order'; Pei-tzu is the title 'Prince of the Fourth Order'; and Kung is the title 'Imperial Duke' which has four degrees (Mayers, pp. 2-3; and Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, pp. 101-102.). Cha-sa-k'e is a Mongolian title Jasaγ which means

'Chieftain'. Each Mongolian banner is ruled by a Chieftain or noble bearing this title (Mayers, pp. 88-89, note 537).

161. Lha-bzang Khan was the younger son of Ratna Dalai Khan (P. Notes, p. 268).

162. Ba-ro chu-'gag may be the Palung (巴隆) of the present Ch'ing-hai province, which is near Tsaidam and north of the Tsaring Nor (cf. note 95, and P. Notes, p. 270, note 10).

163. This place, called 'Dam, is to the southeast of the Tengri Nor (Petech, p. 8). See also WTTC, chüan 15, 'Ta-mu Meng-ku' (達木蒙古), pp. 390-392.

164. Panchen Rin-po-che Blo-bzang ye-she was the second Panchen (1663-1737) (Das, 'Contributions on Tibet', JASB, 1882, pp. 27-29).

165. There is a more detailed account of this story in Rockhill, p. 32. Cf. also P. Notes, p. 265, note 3.

166. Sum-pa did not give any other details about this young Regent. The use of 'Regent' in the next two paragraphs still refers to Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, who was killed in 1705. However, in 'Re'u-mig', PSJZ, p. 75, Sum-pa gives a different date of the Regent's resignation, saying 'The Regent Sangs-rgyam resigned in the Water-sheep year (1703).' See also Petech, 'The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet', pp. 380-381, and P. Notes, pp. 270-271.

167. This Queen (Rgyal-mo) was Lha-bzang Khan's wife. At that time, she lived in Lhasa, while the Khan stayed in 'Dam. Because of her troublesome behavior and the Khan's ambitions, the Regent wanted to get rid of both of them (SOC).

168. Nag-chu, literally 'Black River', is called Hei-ho (黑河) in Chinese; the name designates a region and a river north of Dbus (GT, p. 166, note 475).

169. 'Rgo-la' is spelled as 'Sgo-la' ('Sgo pass') in MBG.

This pass is to the north of Lhasa, through which the great route from the north leads to the capital (MBG, p. 85, note 36).

170. Rgad-mo-'phrang is the same as the Dga'-mo-'phrang on the Skyid-chu, to the east of Lhasa (P. Notes, p. 272, note 2).

171. The Stod-lung is a valley on the right bank of the Skyid-chu to the west of 'Bras-spungs monastery (GT, p. 149, note 321).

172. Textual footnote. See P. Notes, p. 272.

173. Gong-dkar-rdzongs is a fort and town situated southeast of Lhasa, on the southern bank of the Gtsang-po River (P. Notes, p. 273, note 1).

174. Textual footnote. See P. Notes, p. 272.

175. Skyor-lung is called Skyor-mo-lung in MBG. It is the monastery which lies on the slope of a hill not far from the Skyid-chu, on the south bank of the Stod-lung River, west of Lhasa (MBG, p. 167, note 690).

176. Textual footnote. 'Bar-cho-kha Dar-rgyab Ho'u-sho-che' should be the name of one of Lha-bzang Khan's men. See also P. Notes, p. 273.

177. This dual custom refers to the mutual obligations of a relationship between patrons (Yon) and priests (Mchod). For a discussion about the priest-patron relationship (Yon-mchod), see H. E. Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, pp. 41-42.

178. 'Jo-bo Rin-po-che' refers to the statue of Buddha in Lhasa (cf. note 103).

179. Kun-dga'-no'ur is a small lake to the south of the Kokonor (Petech, p. 13).

180. Do-lon-no'ur (= Dolōn nōr, 'Seven Lakes'), called To-lun-no-erh (多倫諾爾) or To-lun (多倫) in Chinese,

is situated on the east side of Ch'a-ha-erh province (察哈爾省).

181. Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho was the seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757).

182. Li-thang is called Li-t'ang (裏塘) in Chinese. The seventh Dalai Lama's birthplace was the hamlet of Ts'a-ma-chung (擦馬中) near Li-t'ang in the present Hsi-k'ang province (WTTC, chüan 15, p. 410).

183. Dā-yan Hung-the-je (spelled 'Ta-yan Hung-the-je' on p. 45), Lha-bzang Khan's cousin, was the leader of the right banner in the Kokonor region (MKYMC, chüan 12, pp. 14a-15b; P. Notes, p. 284, note 8).

184. The full name of this monastery is Sku-'bum Dga'-ldan Byams-pa-gling; in Chinese it is called T'a-erh-szu (塔爾寺). It is located southwest of Hsi-ning (GT, pp. 193-194, note 745).

185. Tshe-dbang rab-brtan was the ruler of Dzungaria from 1697 to 1727 (Petech, p. 25).

186. Gshin-rje chos-rgyal is usually addressed in Tibetan as Gshin-rje, or as Gshin-rje chos-kyi rgyal-po (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, p. 82).

187. Textual footnote. Concerning this Tibetan Pag-shi (= Pakṣi), see P. Notes, p. 279. Pag-shi (or Pak-shi or Pa-shi) is the Mongolian word Baṣi derived from the Chinese Po-shih (博士), which means 'teacher, instructor, professor, learned lama; master; mister' (Lessing, Mongolian-English Dictionary, p. 70; see also Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 107, note 6). According to Das, the term Pag-shi is applied to 'a Tibetan lama of the Karmapa sect who visited China to preach Buddhism' (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 777).

188. Except for the saddles and clothes mentioned above, Sum-pa did not identify the cursed articles.

189. The elder Tshe-ring don-grub was a cousin of the King, Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, and the second man in the realm of Dzungaria (P. Notes, p. 276). Concerning the younger Tshe-ring don-grub, see MKYMC, chüan 13, f. 6b).

190. These places are unidentified. Some details about the above four Dzungarian officers who served under the elder Tshe-ring don-grub are found in P. Notes, pp. 276-277.

191. Textual footnote. Da-la The-je is called Dpa'-rtul-can Durai Taiji in P. Notes, p. 279. A-shi-ta: unidentified.

192. At this time the Sde-pa of Stag-rtse was Stag-rtse-pa Lha-rgyal rab-brtan who received the title of Sa-skyong ('Protector of the Realm') in 1717, and was appointed Regent by the Dzungarian leader Tshe-ring don-grub (Petech, pp. 43-44). He was killed in the eleventh month of 1720 (Petech, pp. 63-64). Mtsho-skye rdo-rje was the name of his father (see note 76 and P. Notes, p. 264, note 4).

193. Lha-btsun is a title meaning 'The Reverend God'. Only those high lamas who were from the royal family held this title.

194. This Sgo-mang was one of the four colleges (Grwa-tshang) in 'Bras-spungs monastery (MBG, p. 97).

195. Rnam-rgyal-gling, in which Tsong-kha-pa took his final vows, was called Dga'-ldan Rnam-rgyal-gling or Rnam-rgyal Lha-khang. 'It is a small yellow-washed building, south of Rtse-tshogs-pa' (MBG, p. 124, note 228; p. 125, note 242).

196. Dga'-ldan pho-brang is the name of the palace at 'Bras-spungs in which the Abbot of 'Bras-spungs lived. It is said to have been built by the second Dalai Lama (GT, p. 152, note 350).

197. Rdo-rje-brag, between Bsam-yas and Lhasa, is a very important center of the Rnying-ma-pa in Central Tibet (MBG, p. 118, note 175). According to P. Notes, p. 290, the above-mentioned Rdo-rje-brag Sprul-sku was the incarnate abbot of the Rdo-rje-brag monastery.

198. Smin-grol-gling, a great Rnying-ma-pa monastery, lies south across the Gtsang-po River from Bsam-yas in the valley of the Smin-grol-gling River (Waddell, p. 277).

199. Bsam-yas was the first monastery founded in Tibet. It is situated about thirty miles southeast of Lhasa, near the north bank of the Gtsang-po River. The majority of its members used to be Rnying-ma-pa, but since the thirteenth century it has been Sa-skya-pa (cf. Waddell, pp. 266-268).

200. All of these destroyed monasteries or monastic colleges were Rnying-ma-pa centers. The Dzungars persecuted the Red Hats because they were patrons of the Yellow Hat sect (Petech, p. 44).

201. 'Khyam-ra, spelled Khyams-ra in Das's Dictionary (p. 159), means 'a courtyard or an open space before a house or on the roof of a house used for airing, walking, or sitting; also playground'. The 'Khyam-ra of Lhasa is the courtyard of the Gtsug-lag-khang (大昭寺) in the center of Lhasa (MBG, p. 85, note 38).

202. The original spelling was Mkhan-sa, an error for Mkhan-po, that is to say, an abbot of a monastic institution (Waddell, pp. 172-173).

203. For the function of a Slob-dpon, see Waddell, p. 188.

204. This was the first 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa (1648-1721). He was born in A-mdo, and arrived at Lhasa in 1668. The first time he returned to his home country was in 1708 when the

seventh Dalai Lama was born (J. F. Rock, The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions, pp. 39-41).

205. See note 146.

206. Lcags-po-ri ('Iron Hill') is to the southwest of the Potola in Lhasa. A famous temple, attached to a medical school, is at its summit (MBG, p. 91, note 60).

207. Gshe-hor, north of Peking, was the summer retreat of the Manchu emperors; it is called Je-ho (Jehol, 熱河) in Chinese. It is also called Ch'eng-te (承德) which is the capital of the present Je-ho province.

208. This was the K'ang-hsi Emperor's fourteenth son (not the seventeenth), Fu-yüan Ta-chiang-chün, Yün-t'i (撫遠大將軍允禔 1688-1755). See Petech, p. 57; and Sheng-wu-chi, f. 10a.

209. Amban is a Manchu title corresponding to the Chinese Ta-ch'en (大臣), Ta-kuan (大官), or Ta-jen (大人), which means 'High Official' (Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, p. 99).

210. He was the first of the series of the T'u-kuan 土觀) Qutu(tu of Peking (1680-1736). His short biography is found in Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part I, pp. 54-55; and also in Petech, p. 60.

211. He is called Bka'-'gyur Ta-bla-ma Blo-bzang tshul-khrims in Petech, p. 60.

212. A-ta-ha-ta: unidentified.

213. Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin was the son of Gu-shri Khan's tenth son Bkra-shis Pā-thur (MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 9b; Petech, p. 82).

214. He was called Tai-ch'ing ho-shih-ch'i (岱青和碩齊) in Chinese. He was the grandson of Gu-shri Khan's fifth son (MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 12a; P. Notes, pp. 282-283).



215. He was the grandson of Gu-shri Khan's third son (MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 14a; P. Notes, p. 286, note 1).

216. These names are unidentified.

217. He was the grandson of Gu-shri Khan's eldest son (MKYMC, chüan 12, f. 18a).

218. The A-lag-sha were Mongols of A-la-shan (阿拉善蒙古) who were settled in the region north of Ning-hsia (寧夏) and along the Western Bend (西套) of the Yellow River (Ibid., chüan 11, ff. 2a-10a).

219. Called E-fu A-pao (額駙阿寶) in Chinese, he was the son of Ho-lo-li (和羅理) (Ibid., chüan 11, ff. 3a-3b). E-phu is E-fu (額駙) in Chinese; it is the Manchu title 'Husband of an Imperial Princess' (Mayers, The Chinese Government, p. 2, note 15; P. Notes, pp. 288-289).

220. Rje-btsun dam-pa was the Mongolian hierarch regarded as an incarnation of the celebrated lama, Tāranātha (Waddell, pp. 70, 240-241). When the twenty-first Rje-btsun dam-pa died in 1924, the lineage of incarnations came to an end (Hu nai-an, p. 127, note 61). Don-grub Wang was the father of the third Rje-btsun dam-pa (1725-1771) (P. Notes, pp. 287-288).

221. He was a Mongol prince, called Ts'e-wang no-erh-pu (策旺諾爾布) in Chinese (FPYL, chüan 4, ff. 20a-24b); in P. Notes (p. 287) he is called Gewang Norbu.

222. The-je Lha-dbang rgya-mtsho: unidentified.

223. Gnyan-tsor: unidentified.

224. 'So-lo-mo', or 'Soloma' on the maps, is the Mongolian name for the Rma-chu. It refers to the river west of Tsaring Nor.

225. This is the mountain range called Bayan Kara Ula on the maps, between the Rma-chu and the 'Bri-chu.

226. Dung-bu-ra, southwest of the 'Bri-chu, is called Dom-burtu Pass (Dom-bur-du-la) on the maps.

227. Ldang-la, which is on the south of the Tanglha Range, is called Tang Pass (Dwangs-la) on the maps.

228. Bog-shag: unidentified.

229. 'Mtsho-mo-ra' is written in Chinese as 'Ch'o-ma-la' (卓瑪喇); this is where Tshe-ring don-grub was defeated by General Yansin (in Chinese, Yen-hsin 延信) (FPYL, chüan 10, f. 41b; Petech, p. 57).

230. Rwa-sgreng or Ra-sgreng, the Reting on the maps, is a monastery northeast of Lhasa (MBG, p. 77, note 3).

231. The Po-ta-la is the residence of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. 'Gru-'dzin gnyis-pa', literally 'the second harbor', is another name of the Potala. For the history of the Potala and the building itself, see MBG, pp. 88-89, note 47; and GT, p. 152, note 358.

232. The five sensory delights ('dod-yon-lnga) are derived from 'gzugs (form: sight), sgra (sound: hearing), dri (smell), ro (taste), reg-bya (feel)' (Dge-bshes chos-grags Dictionary, p. 438). Das explains the delights as follows: '(1) that of sight, desire for beauty, etc.; (2) that of hearing, i. e., desire for music; (3) that of smelling, i. e., desire for sweet scents; (4) that of touch; (5) that of taste, i. e., desire for sweet and delicious food.' (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 690).

233. Khang-chen-nas, who was also called Bsod-nams rgyal-po, was the chief minister of Lha-bzang Khan; at the same time he was also the governor of Mnga'-ris. Then he was the chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1721 to 1727 (Petech, pp. 28, 268).

234. Shangs, which is spelled 'zhang' in the text, is the valley of the Shangs-chu River which enters the Gtsang-po just east of Shigatse from the north (GT, p. 140, note 236).

235. Sum-pa was wrong in giving the title of Sde-srid ('Regent') to Khang-chen-nas. He was the chairman of the Council and his title was Bka'-blon (Petech, pp. 66-67).

236. This proverb is condensed from 'Dre shar sgo'i phyogs su gnas pa la/ glud nub sgor gtong ba don re chung/ which means: 'It is pointless to send ransom to the west door while the demon stays at the east door.'

237. The two Chinese generals were the Marshall for the Pacification of Distant Lands, Nien Keng-yao (撫遠大將軍 年羹堯) and the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Szu-ch'uan, Yüeh Chung-ch'i (四川提督岳鍾琪 1686-1754) (FPYL, chüan 11, ff. 6a-7b; Petech, pp. 82-84).

238. The second Panchen Lama was called Blo-bzang ye-shes dpal-bzang-po (See note 164).

239. This is the Second Incarnation of the Lcang-skya Qutuytu Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (alias Ye-shes bstan-pa'i sgron-me, 1717-1786). He was brought to Peking at the age of nine (Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part I, p. 38).

240. The correct names of the four ministers are as follows: Nga-phod-pa Rdo-rje rgyal-po, Lum-pa-nas Bkra-shis rgyal-po, Sbyar-ra-ba Blo-gros rgyal-po, who were from Dbus, and Pho-lha-nas Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas from Gtsang (Petech, p. 268).

241. 'Lus-med bdag-po' is an epithet of a lustful god, also called Mda'-lnga-pa, who is the holder of five arrows: 1) Smyo-byed-kyi-mdam' (the arrow of craziness), 2) Sred-byed-kyi-mdam' (the arrow of desire), 3) Kun-tu rmongs-byed-kyi-mdam' (the arrow of all-stupefying fascination), 4) Skem-byed-kyi-mdam'

(the arrow of drought), 5) 'Chi-byed-kyi-mda' (the arrow of death) (Dge-bshes chos-grags Dictionary, pp. 425, 864; Das's Dictionary, p. 673).

242. These are religious colleges. Sgo-mang Grwa-tshang is at 'Bras-spungs, and Rgyud-med Grwa-tshang is near the Mo-ru monastery in the northeast corner of Lhasa (MBG, pp. 42, 46, notes 46, 95).

243. 'The valley and village of Pho-lha should be located west of Wangden Dzong and south-southeast of Tho-man' (GT, p. 143, note 255). It is in the 'Don-byung-rdzong, between Shigatse and Gyantse (SOC).

244. According to Petech, p. 101, Khang-chen-nas was killed on the eighteenth of the sixth month, i. e., August 6, 1727. For a discussion of the above dates, see Tieh-Tseng Li, p. 240, note 70. See also PSJZ, ŚĀTAPIṬĀKA, 8, p. xiv.

245. Lā-dag, usually written as 'La-dwags' in Tibetan, and 'Ladakh' in English, is the area around the valley of the Indus between Mnga'-ris and Kashmir. It is inhabited by Tibetans and formerly belonged to Tibet. The capital of Ladakh is called Sles-mkhar in Tibetan or Leh in English (GT, pp. 60-61). But 'the King of Lā-dag Mnga'-ris' was actually the governor of Mnga'-ris, Dga'-bzhi-ba Tshe-brtan rab-'byams, the elder brother of Khang-chen-nas (Petech, pp. 104-105).

246. Rgyal-rtse-rdzong ('Rgyang-rtse-rdzong' in the text) is the Gyantse (Chiang-tzu 江孜 in Chinese) on the maps. It is on the east bank of the Nyang-chu to the southeast of Shigatse.

247. Tshe-bdag: unidentified.

248. Yul-ni: unidentified.

249. Nya-shur is located between Ralung and Sgo-bzhi to the east of Gyantse.

250. The original interlinear note gave the number as fifteen, but it should be seventeen. These seventeen men were sentenced to death afterwards. For more details about this event, see Petech, pp. 133-134.

251. He received the title of Chün-wang ( 郡王 ) 'Prince of the Second Order', on the day of I-yu of the twelfth month of the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung ( 乾隆四年十二月乙酉 = January 11, 1740) (Petech, p. 163; Tung-hua-lu 東華錄 1899, 'Ch'ien-lung 10 乾隆十' f. 65a).

252. Tā-li Pa-thur (Dalai Bātur) was the Mongol title of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, Pho-lha-nas's younger son. He actually succeeded to the position of Administrator or King of Tibet (Petech, pp. 163, 222), or Regent (as Sum-pa says) immediately after the death of his father, Pho-lha-nas, on March 12, 1747 (Petech, pp. 177, 181).

253. After the death of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, the Dalai Lama was ordered to govern Tibet with the help of a council of four ministers by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor. The office and title of Regent were then abolished. The Regents of later Tibetan history are those lamas appointed to manage the government of the Dalai Lama during the latter's minority (Petech, p. 223).

254. The text reads 'Gong-ma yong-ting (Emperor Yung-cheng)' which is an error for 'Emperor Ch'ien-lung' (reigned 1736-1795).

255. The third Panchen Blo-bzang dpal-ldan ye-shes actually was born in the Earth-horse year (1738). A short biography of the third Panchen can be found in Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part I, pp. 22-23. See also S. C. Das, 'Contributions on Tibet', JASB, pp. 29-43.

256. The fourth Panchen Lama Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma phyog-las rnam-rgyal (1781-1856) was born in Pa-lang-chi-hsiung (巴浪吉雄) of Gtsang (WTTC, chüan 5, p. 128).

257. Bkra-shis pā-thur was born in 1632 and died in 1714 when Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin was twenty-two (P. Notes, p. 288). If both of them met with Sum-pa at the same time, the date should be between 1712 and 1714, because he was born in 1704 and was admitted as a novice in the Dgon-lung monastery in 1712 (PSJZ, ŚATAPIṬAKA, 8, p. xiii).

258. This is Sum-pa mkhan-po's outstanding work, viz. the History of Buddhism in India, Tibet, China, and Mongolia, popularly known as the Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang. The full title is 'Phags-yul rgya-nag chen-po bod dang sog-yul du dam-pa'i chos-byung tshul dpag-gsam ljon-bzang zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so; it was completed in 1748. The genealogical chart of Gu-shri Khan's descendants is found in Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang ff. 310a-b (PSJZ, ŚATAPIṬAKA, 8, pp. 160-161).

259. Dpon-khag is translated from the Mongolian word Qosiγun (Khoshun) or the Chinese word Ch'i (旗), 'banner' which is a division of an Aimaγ. Mda' is translated from the Mongolian word Sumun ('arrow') which is an organizational unit of the banner. The head of a Sumun is called Tso-ling (佐領) in Chinese. As originally organized, a Tso-ling is assigned to one hundred and fifty adult men and their families. Each banner is ruled by its Dza-sag (ᠵasaγ, hereditary chief) who carries the title of Ch'in-wang, Chün-wang, Pei-le, Pei-tzu, Chen-kuo-kung (Imperial Duke of the First Degree), Fu-kuo-kung (Imperial Duke of the Second Degree) and T'ai-chi (the lowest order of Mongolian nobility). The banner system of the Mongols in Kokonor was established by an Imperial edict after Blo-bzang

bstan-'dzin's rebellion which was subdued in 1724. For the banner system, history of the banners and Tso-ling, and descendants of Gu-shri Khan, see 1) Ta-ch'ing hui-tien (大清會典) chüan 64-67; 2) ITC, chüan 534, 546; 3) MKYMC, chüan 12; 4) Chou Chen-ho, Ch'ing Hai, pp. 92-114, 134-137. For a discussion of Dpon-khag, see GT, p. 187, note 676.

260. E-ma-ho, literally 'rare' or 'precious', is a kind of interjection expressing compassion which is usually put at the very beginning of a chapter or a book; but Sum-pa used it to finish his second chapter of the Annals of Kokonor. Similar kinds of initiatory interjections, also transcribed from Sanskrit, are as follows: U-hu-la, Om-swa-sti, and Swa-sti-si-tam (SOC). The usual Sanskrit expression given at the very end of a book is Mangalam (Tibetan: Bkra-shis).





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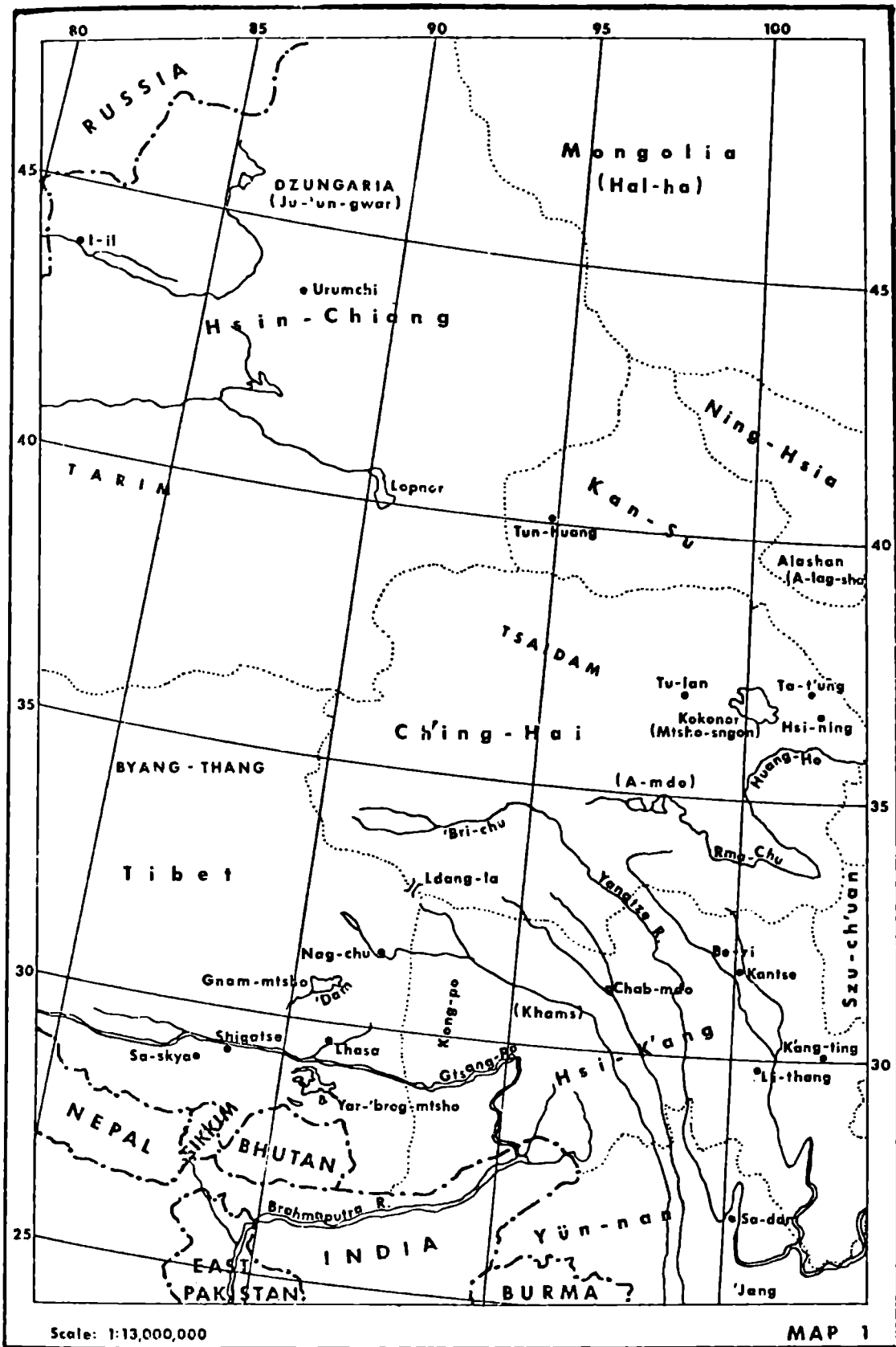
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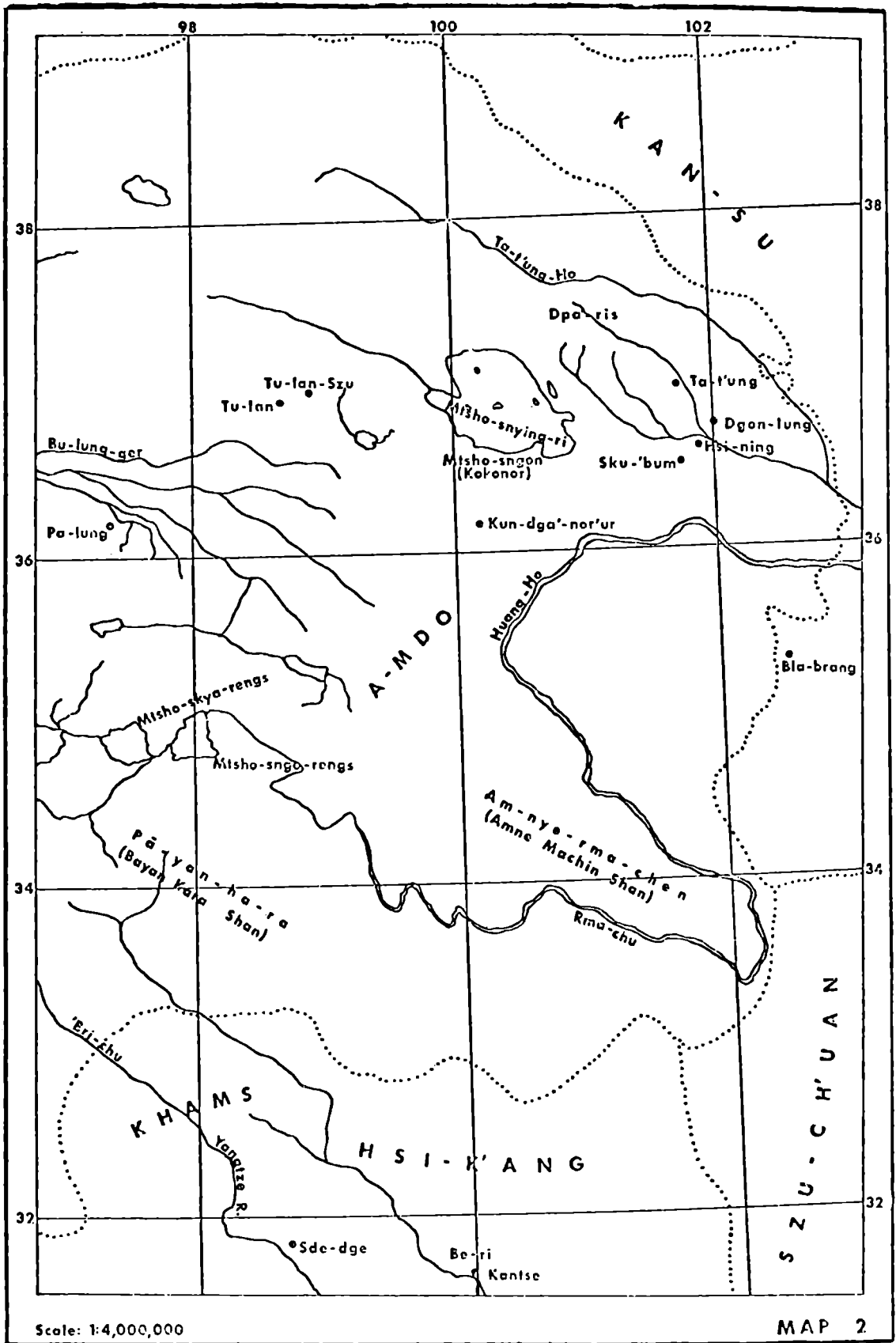
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