

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
XXIV

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DEB T'ER DMAR PO GSAR MA

TIBETAN CHRONICLES

by

bSod nams grags pa

Vol. I

Tibetan Text, Emendations to the Text, English Translation
and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles



ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1971

ROME ORIENTAL SERIES

Already published:

- I. — TUCCI G., *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings.*
- II. — PETECH L., *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu.*
- III. — FRAUWALLNER E., *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu.*
- IV. — ROCK J. F., *The Na-khi Nāga cult and related ceremonies.* Part I and II.
- V. — *Conferenze*, Vol. I. Containing lectures delivered at Is.M.E.O. by G. CÈDÈS, J. L. DUYVENDAK, C. HENTZE, P. H. POTT.
- VI. — CONZE E., *Abhisamayālaṅkāra.* Introduction and Translation from the original text, with Sanskrit-Tibetan Indexes.
- VII. — *Conferenze*, Vol. II. Containing lectures delivered at Is.M.E.O. by H. CORBIN, N. EGAMI, M. ELIADE, J. FILLIOZAT, P. HUMBERTCLAUDE, J. MASUI, E. H. DE TSCHARNER.
- VIII. — FRAUWALLNER E., *The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist literature.*
- IX, 1. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part. I. Containing Aśaṅga's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* edited and translated; Analysis of the commentary on it by Vasubandhu; *Mahāyānavimśikā* of Nāgārjuna; *Navasloki* of Kambalapāda; *Catuḥstavasamā-sārtha* of Amṛtākara; *Hetutattvopadeśa* of Jitāri; *Tarkasopāna* of Vidyākaraśānti. With an appendix containing the Gilgit Text of the *Vajracchedikā*, edited by N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
- IX, 2. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part II. *First Bhāvanākrama of Kama-lāsila.*
- X. — *Materials for the study of Nepalese History and Culture:*
 1. TUCCI G., *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal.*
 2. GNOLI R., *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters.* Part. I, Text and Plates.
 3. PETECH L., *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480).*
- XI. — GNOLI R., *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta.*
- XII. — ROCK J. F., *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions. A monographic study.*
- XIII. — CONZE E., *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā.*
- XIV. — *Le Symbolisme cosmique des Monuments religieux.* Actes du Congrès qui a eu lieu à Rome sous les auspices de l'Is.M.E.O., avec la collaboration du Musée Guimet, Avril-Mai 1965. Conférences par R. BLOCH, J. DANIELOU, M. ELIADE, M. GRIAULE, C. HENTZE, C. LEVI-STRAUSS, H. Ch. PUECH, G. TUCCI.
- XV. — WYLIE T. V., *A place name index to George N. Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals.*
- XVI. — FERRARI A., *mK'yen brise's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet.* Completed and edited by L. PETECH, with the collaboration of H. RICHARDSON.
- XVII. — *Orientalia Romana*, I. Essays and Lectures, by E. BENZ, H. CORBIN, A. GODARD, L. HAMBIS, V. MINORSKY, S. P. TOLSTOV.
- XVIII. — ROERICH G., *Le parler de l'Amdo.* Etude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet.
- XIX. — VAN GULIK R. H., *Chinese Pictorial Art as viewed by the Connoisseur.* Notes on the means and methods of traditional Chinese connoisseurship based upon a study of the Art of mounting scrolls in China and Japan. Limited to 950 copies.
- XX. — MAHLER J. G., *The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China.*

DEB T'ER DMAR PO GSAR MA
TIBETAN CHRONICLES

ISTITUTO ITALIANO
PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

SOTTO LA DIREZIONE
DI
GIUSEPPE TUCCI

Vol. XXIV

LA REDAZIONE DELLA SERIE È CURATA
DAL PROF. ANTONIO GARGANO

ROMA
Is. M. E. O.
1971

S E R I E O R I E N T A L E R O M A
X X I V

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DEB T'ER DMAR PO GSAR MA

TIBETAN CHRONICLES

by

bSod nams grags pa

Vol. I

Tibetan Text, Emendations to the Text, English Translation
and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles



R O M A
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1971

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

Printed in Italy - Stampato in Italia

AZIENDE TIPOGRAFICHE EREDI DOTT. G. BARDI SALITA DE' CRESCENZI 16, - ROMA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	IX
PREFACE	XI
PART I – Tibetan text	XV
EMENDATIONS TO THE TEXT	105
APPENDIX: The royal genealogies of Grags pa rgyal mts'an and aP'ags pa from the gSuñ abum Sa skya pa.	127
PART II – Translation	137
INTRODUCTION	139
CHAPTER III – The royal genealogies of Tibet	141
CHAPTER IV – China and Hor	175
CHAPTER V – Chinese and Hor rule in Tibet	181
CHAPTER VI – Principal fiefs and estates	189

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Blue Annals** **The Blue Annals. Transl. by George Roerich. Calcutta, 1949–1953.**
- GR.** **rGyal rabs gsal bai me loñ.
Derge ed.**
- Obermiller** **History of Buddhism, translated from the Tibetan text of
Buston. Heidelberg 1931.**
- Reu mig** **dPag-bsam-ljon bzañ of Sum pa mkhan po Ye šes dpal
hbyor Part III containing a history of Buddhism in China
and Mongolia preceded by the rehu – mig or Chronological
Tables, ed. by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi 1959.**
- TH.** **J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, Documents de
Touen – Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet, Paris, 1940.**
- TPS.** **G. Tucci, Tibetan painted scrolls, Roma, 1947.**

P R E F A C E

I am glad to be in a position to edit the Tibetan Text of the rGyal rabs ṅp'rul gyi lde mig or De b t'er dmar po gsar ma of bSod nam s grags pa (1478–1554) along with an English translation. The text is reproduced photographically from the manuscript in my possession which I secured in Lhasa; the book has in common with that written by Ts'al pa Kun dga' rdo rje¹⁾ only the title, being on purpose called by its author "the new red Annals" to distinguish it from that of his forerunner. It was rather rare in Tibet; this is due to the fact that the fifth Dalai Lama did not always agree with bSod nam s grags pa, though they belonged to the same sect; very often he rebukes his predecessor, and blames his inaccuracy.

I thought it advisable to edit the Tibetan text from the unique ms. accessible to me, because, considering the scarcity of Tibetan books written by Tibetans now

¹⁾ S. Inaba, *Urân-shi Hu lan deb gter no chosaku nenji* (On the date of the *Hu lan deb gter*), Ōtani Gakuhô, XL/3, 1960, pp. 13–26. The original text is now printed in Gangtok, Sikkim, *The Red Annals*, Part one (Tibetan text), Namgyal Institute of Tibetology 1961. Cfr. *The Red Annals* (recensio nova from an incomplete manuscript in the Library of Rai Bahadur T. D. Densapa, Gangtok, Sikkim), reproduced by Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, International Academy of Indian Culture, N. Delhi 1968, here indicated as Ms. B. The author is also called Situ dGe bai blo gros. See: S. Inaba, H. Sato, *Huran Deputeru (Hu lan deb t'er) – chibetto Nendaiki*, Kyôto 1964.

available in Europe, it seems to me that the task of publishing as many texts as possible by the pen of well-known Tibetan authors is very urgent. There are of course in this text the usual clerical mistakes with which scholars who are familiar with Tibetan studies are acquainted. They can easily be detected and are often due to the fluctuation of Tibetan orthography; in some cases we are confronted with real mistakes caused by inattention of the copyist. Since there is no difference between the copies in my possession taken while I was in Lhasa, and another copy belonging to Rai Bahadur Tashi Dahdul Densapa of Barmiok of which Miss Chio Nakane has kindly shown me a photo, I suppose that the text from which all these copies are derived was written in dbu med; in this way we can explain the frequent confusion between *e* and *o*, the presence of the same abbreviations *bcos* = *bstan bcos*, *p'ris* = *p'rin las*, *rgyun* = *rgyu mts'an*, *gan* for *gžan*, etc. I have added at the end a list of *errata-corrige* availing myself of the suggestions and the advice of a learned Tibetan monk who worked in our Institute for over one year and who is well-read and learned, Chhimed Rigdzin, Professor of Tibetan in Shantiniketan. I take this opportunity for thanking him for his most useful collaboration and his suggestions. Thanks must also be extended to Geshe Jampel Sanghye and to Professor Namkhai N. Dewang, now working with us at IsMEO; their advice was often requested when the book was already in the press, because some doubts still existed; nor, I must admit, are they all of them solved even now.

The translation is literal, and in some cases, I must confess, it was not easy because the author uses some expressions, either peculiar or not entered in the dictionaries.

Even after a careful revision, *I am not sure that I could always guess the proper meaning of some sentences.* They will be properly discussed in the commentary to follow. The names of the various dignities and offices, and in general the titles which laymen or monks receive have not been translated, because I think that one incurs in the danger of attributing them a function which they actually did not have; there is scarcely any relation between our terminology and that of Tibet. To render the title of Tibetan officers in terms of our bureaucracy may be greatly misleading; but in the commentary the meaning of these terms, their real import as well as the actual duties implied or their extent, will be properly discussed. The translation is limited to the part concerning Tibet, not only because my main interest is at present with the medieval history of Tibet, but chiefly because the Indian and the Śambhala sections do not contain new material or facts of great historical significance; on the other hand, in spite of their aridity, the chronicles of the different Tibetan principalities contain a great deal of useful information about the events of medieval Tibet, its families, the struggle for power of the leading families or monasteries. With the exception of the royal period, whose chronology is still subject to discussion, cyclic dates have been expressed according to our computation.

Along with the chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama this work represents a skeleton, so to say, of the main events which took place in Tibet up to the advent of the fifth Dalai Lama himself, and gives the most important trends of the feudal and internecine wars which disturbed Tibet, from the beginning of the Sa skya pa supremacy down to the concentration of power into the hands of the Dalai Lamas.

These chronicles are so concise that sometimes the events which they relate are difficult to follow.

The many problems that the book raises are discussed in the commentaries, where all their implications are studied in detail, and which, I am afraid, will by consequence be rather voluminous. In this way I hope to contribute to a better knowledge of medieval Tibet with the help of new materials which may shed light on the political and religious history of the country. This will give me the opportunity to correct some statements contained in my *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* and to enlarge its historical section. My idea is in fact that my notes to the *Debt'er dmar po* might supplement that part of my former book, and be a kind of appendix to it, revising, of course, some statements contained therein, and correcting some mistakes, which further research has detected.

However, I am not afraid of going back upon what I have written, because science is but a perennial revision, nor can I deny that, since writing that book, researches in Tibetology have greatly progressed. As an appendix I added the two chronological texts of *Grags pa rgyal mts'an* and *aP'ags pa* already studied by me in "The validity of Tibetan historical Tradition" (*India Antiqua*, 1947, p. 309 ff.).

G. TUCCI

PART I
TIBETAN TEXT

ॐ॥ सुप्रसन्नोऽयं भूयः सुखी भवति ॥
 मम सुखी भवति ॥

ॐ
 सु
 सु
 सु

ॐ॥ सुप्रसन्नोऽयं भूयः सुखी भवति ॥
 मम सुखी भवति ॥

ॐ
ॐ
ॐ

ॐ
 शक्रकनपुत्रं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 शक्रं कनकात्मकं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 शक्रं कनकात्मकं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 शक्रं कनकात्मकं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 शक्रं कनकात्मकं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 शक्रं कनकात्मकं दुर्गायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।

पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।
 पञ्चकं यज्ञं पदुकरायाः कृत्यं त्रिसंख्यं कनकात्मकं ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । इति श्रीमद्भागवतस्य प्रथमस्कन्धोऽध्यायः ॥ २७ ॥
 मत्तः । योऽपि न दमोदरं चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।

॥ यद्वा दत्तं कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।
 मतिः चैव न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति । योऽपि न कृपयति न चैव न कृपयति ।

10

11 ॥
 ॥ शिवसंज्ञया च भावमनुसंधानं कृतमथवा । देवसंज्ञया मन्त्रसिद्धं च शक्तिपदं च यत्पदं तस्य
 ॥ १२ ॥ ॥ १३ ॥ ॥ १४ ॥ ॥ १५ ॥ ॥ १६ ॥ ॥ १७ ॥ ॥ १८ ॥ ॥ १९ ॥ ॥ २० ॥ ॥ २१ ॥ ॥ २२ ॥ ॥ २३ ॥ ॥ २४ ॥ ॥ २५ ॥ ॥ २६ ॥ ॥ २७ ॥ ॥ २८ ॥ ॥ २९ ॥ ॥ ३० ॥ ॥ ३१ ॥ ॥ ३२ ॥ ॥ ३३ ॥ ॥ ३४ ॥ ॥ ३५ ॥ ॥ ३६ ॥ ॥ ३७ ॥ ॥ ३८ ॥ ॥ ३९ ॥ ॥ ४० ॥ ॥ ४१ ॥ ॥ ४२ ॥ ॥ ४३ ॥ ॥ ४४ ॥ ॥ ४५ ॥ ॥ ४६ ॥ ॥ ४७ ॥ ॥ ४८ ॥ ॥ ४९ ॥ ॥ ५० ॥ ॥ ५१ ॥ ॥ ५२ ॥ ॥ ५३ ॥ ॥ ५४ ॥ ॥ ५५ ॥ ॥ ५६ ॥ ॥ ५७ ॥ ॥ ५८ ॥ ॥ ५९ ॥ ॥ ६० ॥ ॥ ६१ ॥ ॥ ६२ ॥ ॥ ६३ ॥ ॥ ६४ ॥ ॥ ६५ ॥ ॥ ६६ ॥ ॥ ६७ ॥ ॥ ६८ ॥ ॥ ६९ ॥ ॥ ७० ॥ ॥ ७१ ॥ ॥ ७२ ॥ ॥ ७३ ॥ ॥ ७४ ॥ ॥ ७५ ॥ ॥ ७६ ॥ ॥ ७७ ॥ ॥ ७८ ॥ ॥ ७९ ॥ ॥ ८० ॥ ॥ ८१ ॥ ॥ ८२ ॥ ॥ ८३ ॥ ॥ ८४ ॥ ॥ ८५ ॥ ॥ ८६ ॥ ॥ ८७ ॥ ॥ ८८ ॥ ॥ ८९ ॥ ॥ ९० ॥ ॥ ९१ ॥ ॥ ९२ ॥ ॥ ९३ ॥ ॥ ९४ ॥ ॥ ९५ ॥ ॥ ९६ ॥ ॥ ९७ ॥ ॥ ९८ ॥ ॥ ९९ ॥ ॥ १०० ॥ ॥

10

११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥ ॥

२२१

दिदं शिवं कृपयं चोदयन् वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

कृपयन्ति कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।
कृपयन्त्येसुभ्यस्तु कृपया मम ।
कृपया चोदयन्ति तं मन्त्रेण सदा ।

120। **100।** **101।** **102।** **103।** **104।** **105।** **106।** **107।** **108।** **109।** **110।** **111।** **112।** **113।** **114।** **115।** **116।** **117।** **118।** **119।** **120।**

100। 101। 102। 103। 104। 105। 106। 107। 108। 109। 110। 111। 112। 113। 114। 115। 116। 117। 118। 119। 120।

121। **122।** **123।** **124।** **125।** **126।** **127।** **128।** **129।** **130।** **131।** **132।** **133।** **134।** **135।** **136।** **137।** **138।** **139।** **140।** **141।** **142।** **143।** **144।** **145।** **146।** **147।** **148।** **149।** **150।**

२२। विद्वेष्यमाणस्यैवामुदस्य। दमविप्रकृत्यमप्ययमपेक्षया। देवस्युपपत्तिनाप्यनकेमस्यु
 यद्विप्रकृत्यमप्यवमुदस्य। हेमदुर्गवसोदवभस्युर्गोमपेक्षयापेयिष। सुदत्रेदसकंमोदवभस्युप्यवभ
 योदप्रमाणवामुदस्य। ददुमपस्ययमपेक्षया। देवस्युपपत्तिनाप्यवभस्युप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 देवकेवकृत्यमकं। येषेणमुदप्रमाणदमवि। प्रमाणस्युपपत्तिनाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 मदमपिदेकेवसोवदय। देवस्युपपत्तिनाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। शुद्धदमपेक्षया। अपस्युप
 वभस्युपपत्तिनाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। शुद्धदमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। शुद्धदमपेक्षया। शुद्ध

दमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। शुद्धदमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 यकंनददमदु। मन्त्रमन्त्रेवमुपमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 ददददु। शुद्धदमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 ददददु। शुद्धदमपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ
 देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ। देवपेक्षयाप्यवभस्युप्यवभ

५०। ५१। ५२। ५३। ५४। ५५।
 ५६। ५७। ५८। ५९। ६०। ६१। ६२। ६३। ६४। ६५। ६६। ६७। ६८। ६९। ७०। ७१। ७२। ७३। ७४। ७५। ७६। ७७। ७८। ७९। ८०। ८१। ८२। ८३। ८४। ८५। ८६। ८७। ८८। ८९। ९०। ९१। ९२। ९३। ९४। ९५। ९६। ९७। ९८। ९९। १००।

६५। ६६। ६७। ६८। ६९। ७०। ७१। ७२। ७३। ७४। ७५। ७६। ७७। ७८। ७९। ८०। ८१। ८२। ८३। ८४। ८५। ८६। ८७। ८८। ८९। ९०। ९१। ९२। ९३। ९४। ९५। ९६। ९७। ९८। ९९। १००।

ॐ। मयवदमो वदमानसमावत। मदि पदु रेव पिके द द स व क्तु द स विद। मस क्रि द म व प क्त स द्द
 मग्रा वी स द प य र्दे प स द्दे य म सु द क्त स म स र न्द्र। री व क्त र म म कि क्त स द्द ये व स प रि सु ग स पु र व र्के स प र्शे म स
 य स प मो सु व प द द प र्मे य को। रे वि द र्मे व क्त स द्द म द म द प्र म स प द द। के रं वि दं पं क्तं प दं प्र मं स पं दं दं। के र प द प
 क्त व द प्र म स पं सु अ क्तं द्दि रि द क्त स क्रि ये क्त य स क्त स प र्श र त्। सु म यु द प्र द प रि व द्दि म र्के व प्र म स उ द प्र उ द
 म द क्रि म द र व द स म द य रे म क्रि द। क्रि व द प्र म स व र्के र क्रि स म द द्दं ये त् र वी ये स प रि ये द स वृ द्द ये द रे त्। सु
 म सु द प्र म स क्रि रे व व र्के द स प र्शे म स द म य स उ द प्र म स को। दे य द र्मे व क्त म रि स उ द म रि क्त स प म द र्म स र

म द र व क्तु र म दे प र प द रे र क्तु द य म द र्म स व म त्। सु र क्तु द म द र्म स र म व र्म स र म व र्म स प य क्तु द पं क्त र य म र्तं द। वि
 य स म यु द म र्के म स वृ म द स द स क्तु स प र प्रु व क्रि द र्मे व पं म ग्रा ये स सु म द द स द स क्तु स द म य व म रि स वि स
 र्के र व स म द र्म स य क्तु द प रि म ग र य व र्के त्। म क्तु द म र्दं द प्र म स प म ये म स र स व र्के व पं सु व र्म द स म ग्रा ये स
 द प य व रि द्द म र्के म र पु क्त रि द दृ व र्म स म सु क्त र व र्के द स प र्शे म स व र्म द ग र क्रि म र्दं द प क्ते व व र्द म र्के व क्तु
 र्के क्तु म स उ द व र्के सु म म यो म म सु य द य य व य र्के व य र्के म व र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के
 व र्के म स य रि सु म व र्के सु स प स क्रि व। के व स यो र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के म र्के

Handwritten marginal note on the left side of the page.

Handwritten marginal note on the left side of the page.

Main body of handwritten text in a historical script, likely Tibetan or Sanskrit, covering the upper half of the page.

Second section of handwritten text, starting with a small symbol on the left, continuing the script from the previous page.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ ॥ इति परमहंसविरचिते योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रे नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 कर्मणि विद्यमानं शून्यं यज्ञोपविष्टं चैव ॥ १ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ २ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 मर्त्यं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ३ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 शक्तिशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ४ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ५ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥

शास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ६ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ७ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ८ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ९ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ १० ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ ११ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥
 योगशास्त्रं ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥ १२ ॥ इति योगशास्त्रे योगशास्त्रं ॥

४३० । देहं कर्मकं । सुवा दगा म द र्शे नः श्रुवा । रै व क क्क अ क्क यो । द गे व क क्क यो रै व क्क यो । सु व द गे नः ।
 ४३१ । विषा द म क्तु नः । यो द ग म श्रुवा । अ क्तु य यो । य म क्तु य रै व क क्क य यो । य म म श्रे । श्रुवा न य म श्रुवा य म । श्रु व र्णे द नः ।
 ४३२ । य वा श्रु व य रै व नः । यो द ग । क्तु य रै व यो क्तु य म । अ य म य रै व यो द गे वि वा । द नः क्तु य रै व यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य
 ४३३ । द वा श्रु व र्शे नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । क्तु य यो रै व यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४३४ । यो व । द गे नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४३५ । यो व । श्रु व श्रे । रै व नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो

४३६ । यो व नः । य म क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४३७ । यो व । श्रे । रै व नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४३८ । यो व । श्रे । रै व नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४३९ । यो व । श्रे । रै व नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो
 ४४० । यो व । श्रे । रै व नः । यो द ग । अ क्तु य यो क्तु य म । यो व क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो द गे नः । य म क्तु य यो

ॐ । पदे वपद विद । देम विद नुं य कठ द प्रम अद रे र क स म र्द द ल क ग व क्ति म र्द म य व प म
 द म य व प्रे क्ति य ये व र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क र्द र्द क्ति व प म र्द म र्द म क वि द म क द व व द न य म्ब म म
 म म क स क्ति क्ति य ये व प्रे म म द व द अ द ये व म्ब क म म । प म म र्द म्ब क म द क य क । य म म्ब क म म्ब
 व म्ब क क्ति क्ति य ये व म्ब क म र्द म । र्द म क स क स क्ति र्द म य म र्द म । म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म
 क्ति म म व म्ब क म र्द म म । र्द म म म्ब क म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म

म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म
 म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म म्ब क म र्द म

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्री कृष्णाय नमः
 श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः

॥ परमार्थं । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 श्री कृष्णाय नमः
 श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः

॥ परमार्थं । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।
 अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा । अथ यथा ।

EMENDATIONS TO THE TEXT

<i>Text</i>	<i>Read</i>
p. 2, l. 4 and p. 4 <i>a</i> , l. 1, mañ pos bskur dañ	mañ pos bkur dañ
p. 2, l. 4, dge c'og	dge mc'og
p. 3 <i>a</i> , l. 1, rgyal sar ston	rgyal sar bton
p. 3 <i>a</i> , ll. 2, 6, p'u 'o	p'u bo
p. 3 <i>a</i> , l. 3, nu 'o	nu bo
p. 4 <i>a</i> , l. 1, and p. 5, l. 5, sgra can zin	sgra gcan ḡdsin
p. 4 <i>a</i> , l. 1, rgyal rgyud	rgyal brgyud
p. 4 <i>a</i> , l. 6, btsun dha	tsun dha
p. 5 <i>a</i> , l. 1, ñuñs pai	ñuñ bai
p. 6, l. 4, o tan pu ri	o tan ta pu ri
p. 6 <i>a</i> , l. 5, rgyal ka	rgyal dka'
p. 7 <i>a</i> , l. 5, bstus	btus
p. 8, l. 4, bstus	btus
p. 9, l. 2, los	lor
p. 9 <i>a</i> , l. 1, lo ñer gcig tu k'as blañ 'am	lo gñis gcig tu k'as blañ ñam
p. 10, l. 5, ts'ao	ts'a bo
p. 10 <i>a</i> , l. 6, rtsis na	brtsis na
p. 11, l. 2, ko la ša	ke la ša
p. 11, l. 5 and p. 11 <i>a</i> , l. 1, rgyal ka	rgyal dka'
p. 11 <i>a</i> , l. 2, me mk'a' brgya mts'o	me mk'a' rgya mts'o
p. 11 <i>a</i> , l. 5, rkyo par	rtogs par

p. 12, l. 2 and p. 12 a, l. 2, 3,	rgyal dka'
rgyal ka	
p. 12, l. 3, rab byuñ las sogs	rab byuñ la sogs
p. 13, l. 2, sdoms pas	bsdoms pas
p. 13 a, l. 3, bri ba	ap'ri ba
p. 13 a, l. 3, mya ñan ađas nas	mya ñan las ađas nas
p. 14 a, l. 3, skyabs señ	skya señ
p. 15, ll. 3, 4, mña k'ri btsan po	gña' k'ri btsan po
p. 15 a, l. 1, su de guñ rgyal	spu de guñ rgyal
p. 15 a, l. 3, blon pos skroñs te	blon pos bkroñs te
p. 15 a, l. 4, gzuñ ste	bzuñ ste
p. 15 a, l. 4, loñ ñam gyi	loñ ñam gyis
p. 15 a, l. 5, loñ ñam gsad de	loñ ñam bsad de
p. 15 a, l. 6, pu te	spu de
p. 16, l. 1, rtag rtse rtsigs	stag rtse brtsigs
p. 16, l. 1, nu'o	nu bo
p. 16, l. 3, bon gyis skyañs par	bon gyis bskyañs par
p. 16, l. 3, mt'a' k'ob ta zig	mt'a' ak'ob ta zig
p. 16, l. 5, mña k'ri btsan poi	gña' k'ri btsan poi
p. 16 a, l. 5, spañ goñ p'yag	spañ skoñ p'yag rgya
rgya	
p. 16 a, l. 6, lo brgya ni šu	lo brgya dañ ñi šu
p. 16 a, l. 6, rnal lam du	mnal lam du
p. 17, l. 2 and l. 4, blo sems	blo sems aťs'o
mts'o	
p. 17, l. 4, ži ba mts'o	ži ba aťs'o
p. 17, l. 4, bal por sgugs	bal por bsgugs
p. 17 a, l. 4, son por bañ sor	gson por bañ sor žugs
žugs	
p. 17 a, l. 4, sras kyi yab	sras kyis yab (kyi) gsuñs pa
gsuñ ba	
p. 18 a, l. 3, mña k'ri btsan po	gña' k'ri btsan po
p. 18 a, l. 1, mgar ston btsan	mgar stoñ btsan
p. 18 a, l. 2, rdsañs pa	brdsañs pa
p. 18 a, l. 2, señ ge la yi ge	señ ge las yi ge
p. 18 a, l. 5, yul mt'a' k'ob	yul mt'a' ak'ob
p. 19, l. 4, c'os ak'or	c'os ak'or ma

p. 19 a, l. 2, cuñ zad rdsus nas	cuñ zad brdsus nas
p. 20, l. 3, rgyun ađi las	rgyu mts'an ađi las
p. 20, l. 3, rigs pa	rig pa
p. 20, l. 6, sdad na	bsdad na
p. 20 a, l. 3, mgar gyi	mgar gyis
p. 20 a, l. 3, dkye nas	bkye nas
p. 20 a, l. 6, bdag po mdsad nas	better: bdag por mdsad nas
p. 21, l. 1, sgom gra	sgom grva
p. 21, l. 6, gra ađsugs pa	grva ađsugs pa
p. 21 a, l. 2, bstod luñs nas	stod luñs nas
p. 22, l. 1, gcad pa las	bcad pa las
p. 22, l. 5, mts'o ba	aťs'o ba
p. 22, l. 5, p'o brañ nas byor	p'o brañ nas sbyar
p. 22 a, l. 2, lo dañ mi ađrig	lo grañs mi ađrig
p. 22 a, l. 3, sgra sgrags nas	sgra bsgrags nas
p. 22 a, l. 4, mid du	miñ du
p. 23, l. 2, me la sreğs	me la bsreğs
p. 23, l. 4, lus sroñ rnam	ađus sroñ nam
p. 23, l. 2, sña gro	sña dro
p. 23 a, l. 3, rtsig pa	brtsig pa
p. 23 a, l. 3, žabs rtogs	žabs tog
p. 23 a, l. 5, pañđi spyān drañs te	pañ đī ta spyān drañs te
p. 24, l. 1, rtsal nas	btsal nas
p. 24, l. 1, bzañ po byas	bzañ por byas
p. 24, l. 3, sna nam gzas	sna nam bzas
p. 24, l. 4, sa bcad	sa dpyad
p. 24, l. 6, de	der; or: de la
p. 24 a, l. 3, yar ađ'rog	yar ađbrog
p. 24 a, l. 4, ces mi ađra	c'es mi ađra
p. 24 a, l. 4, žañ brom pa	žañ k'rom pa
p. 24 a, l. 6, bltas ađa' byuñ	ltas ađa' byuñ
p. 25, l. 2, sña gro	sña dro
p. 25, l. 3, dañ bgros tun nas	dañ gros bstun nas
p. 25, l. 4, ađros na re	ađros na re
p. 25, l. 5, bson por	gson por
p. 25 a, l. 1, ži ba mts'o	ži ba aťs'o

p. 25 a, l. 4, t'og rdeg pa	t'og brdeg pa
p. 26, l. 1, guñ lo	dguñ lo
p. 26, l. 6, c'os kyi gra, sgom gra	c'os kyi grva, sgom grva
p. 26 a, l. 1, bsgyur žiñ	bsgyur ciñ
p. 26 a, l. 1, 2, žabs rtogs bsgrubs	žabs tog bsgrubs
p. 26 a, l. 2, srol bstod par mdsad	srol btod par mdsad
p. 26 a, l. 6, aťs'ams řig nas	mts'ams řig nas
p. 27 a, l. 1, sañs rgya	aťs'añ rgya
p. 27 a, l. 3, loñ dañ yañ len	len dañ yañ len
p. 27 a, l. 4, bstos brtsams	bstan bcos brtsams
p. 27 a, l. 1, bco brgyad bai	cig c'ar pai
p. 28, l. 3, dod ltar	dañ po ltar
p. 28 a, l. 6, ts'e spon gzas	ts'e spon bzas
p. 29, l. 1, btod pa	gtad pa
p. 29, l. 1, rta skrogs nas	rta dkrogs nas
p. 29, l. 1, skroñs	bkroñs
p. 29, l. 4, žabs rtogs	žabs tog
p. 29, l. 5, rtsigs par grags	brtsigs par grags
p. 29, l. 5, brgya dañ	rgya dañ
p. 29, l. 6, lha rje lhun grub	lha rje lhun grub
p. 29 a, l. 1, ñer gcig tu	gñis gcig tu
p. 30, l. 2 bho ti	bo dhi
p. 30, l. 3, ka cog žañ sum	ska cog žañ gsum
p. 30, l. 3, sgom gra	sgom grva
p. 30, l. 3, břad gra	břad grva
p. 30, l. 4, žabs rtog tu	žabs tog tu
p. 30 a, l. 4, gros bdur ba	gros bsdur ba
p. 30 a, l. 5, ma skroñs na	ma bkroñs na
p. 30 a, l. 5, rgyal po skroñs kyañ	rgyal po bkroñs kyañ
p. 31 a, l. 1, skroñs řiñ	bkroñs řiñ
p. 31 a, l. 3, bskor nas skroñs	bskor nas bkroñs
p. 31 a, l. 3, lha loñ	lha lod
p. 31 a, l. 5, žabs rtogs med par	žabs tog med par

p. 31 a, l. 6, bžugs	bžud
p. 31 a, l. 2, cuñ du mdsad de	gcuñ du mdsad de
p. 31 a, l. 3, sgos	sgo nas
p. 32, l. 4, bka' bstos	bka' bstan bcos
p. 32, l. 5, sñags pa brten	sñags pa rten
p. 32, l. 6, ap'rul lo	rtags so
p. 32 a, l. 3, bsnun nas skroñs	bsnun nas bkroñs
p. 32 a, l. 5, k'am c'es pai don gyis	for: k'am c'es pai rkyen gyis
p. 32 a, l. 5, bžugs nus pa	bžugs ma nus pa
p. 33, l. 1, lha k'añ dgyel žiñ	lha k'añ bsgyel žiñ
p. 33, l. 2, bran tu bskol	bran tu bkol
p. 33, l. 3, c'u la skyur	c'u la bskyur
p. 33, l. 5, de nas lo bskor	de nas lo skor
p. 33 a, l. 2, ša la c'ar nas	ša la sbyar nas
p. 33 a, l. 3, bstan tu bcug pas	brtan tu bcug pas
p. 33 a, l. 5, 'od bsruñs	'od sruñ
p. 34, l. 7, gžan p'an btsan	gžan p'an brtson
p. 35, l. 1, rgyud	brgyud
p. 35, l. 3, ag ts'om sogs	ag ts'oms so
p. 35, l. 4, btsan pa'o	btsan po'o
p. 35, l. 4, rkañ pai gros ni	rkañ pai aros ni
p. 35, l. 5, ñi ma šar bai	ñi ma ač'ar bai
p. 35, l. 7, rgyal po med par	rgyal po med pas
p. 35 a, l. 1, 'od sruñs kyis	'od sruñs ni should be more correct
p. 35 a, l. 2, bañ so rnam šig pa	bañ so rnam bšig pa
p. 35 a, l. 2, yin žiñ me loñ mar	yin žes me loñ mar
p. 35 a, l. 3, sñags kyis skroñs	sñags kyis bkroñs
p. 35 a, l. 4, bkra šis rtsegs pa dañ	bkra šis brtsegs dañ
p. 35 a, l. 5, rgyud pa las	brgyud pa las
p. 35 a, l. 5, mña' rigs smad rnam su	mña' ris smad rnam su
p. 35 a, l. 6, rta nag gi bdag mdsad	rta nag gi bdag po mdsad

p. 36, l. 1,	rnams ač'ad de	rnams c'ad de
p. 36, l. 2,	rnams ač'ad de	rnams c'ad de
p. 36, l. 2,	šar tsod k'a sogs	šar tsoñ k'a sogs
p. 36, l. 2,	mdo smad dañ ač'ad de	mdo smad du c'ad de
p. 36, l. 3,	rgyud	brgyud
p. 36, l. 4,	ač'iñ ña rtag rtse	ač'iñ ña stag rtse
p. 36, l. 4,	ač'ar / da	ač'ar / de
p. 36, l. 5,	rgyud pa la	brgyud pa la
p. 36 a, l. 6,	rtsigs te bžugs	brtsigs te bžugs
p. 37, l. 1,	yin jo bo	yin/jo bo
p. 37, l. 5,	rñiñ ma rtsigs	rñiñ ma brtsigs
p. 37 a, l. 2,	de la gñis byuñ bai	de la [sras] gñis byuñ bai
p. 37 a, l. 6,	stod mgon gyi mgon	stod kyi mgon
p. 38, l. 2,	byuñ smad la	byuñ / smad la
p. 38, l. 5,	slu bar rtsams	slu bar brtsams
p. 38, l. 6,	dogs nas slur ma bcug	dogs nas bslur ma bcug
p. 38, l. 6,	sku srog gtañ ba	sku srog btañ ba
p. 38, l. 6,	rin bzañ guñ lo	rin bzañ dguñ lo
p. 39, l. 1,	rgyal rgyud c'e de	rgyal brgyud c'ad de
p. 39, l. 4,	mgon gyi rgyud	mgon gyi brgyud
p. 39, l. 4,	glo ba la stag	glo bo / la dvags
p. 39, l. 5,	gan ač'sin	gžan ač'sin
p. 39 a, l. 2,	žabs rtogs byed ciñ	žabs tog byed ciñ
p. 39 a, l. 2,	gra ts'añ	grva ts'añ
p. 39 a, l. 2,	blo 'o ni	glo bo ni
p. 39 a, l. 4,	bla mar k'ur de	bla mar bkur te
p. 40, l. 1,	rnams su ač'ed	rnams su mc'ed
p. 40, ll. 1, 2, 3,	rgyud pa	brgyud pa
p. 40, l. 5,	rgyud pa	brgyud pa
p. 40, l. 5,	lum pa gtsad po	lum pa rtsad po
p. 40, l. 5,	bar pa nas rgyud pa	bar pa nas brgyud pa

p. 40, l. 6, nas rgyud pa	nas brgyud pa
p. 40 a, l. 1, gru ša	bru ša
p. 40 a, l. 3, rnam s kyis	rnam s kyi
p. 40 a, ll. 3, 4 de nas rgyud pa	de nas brgyud pa
p. 41, l. 2, las kyi k'a bkoñ du	las kyi k'a bskoñ du
p. 41, l. 5, bdag skyen mdsad	bdag rkyen mdsad
p. 41, l. 6, gsum pa ye šes blo gros	sum pa ye šes blo gros
p. 41 a, l. 2, len du rdsañs pa	len du brdsañs pa
p. 41 a, l. 3, las kyi k'a bkoñ byas	las kyi k'a bskoñ byas
p. 41 a, l. 4, p'yag p'ab ste	p'yag p'eb s te
p. 41 a, l. 4, sbyin bdag gi at'il len	sbyin bdag gi mt'il len
p. 41 a, l. 5, gnas gži rnam s rtsigs nas	gnas gži rnam s brtsigs nas
p. 42, l. 4, rin po c'e	rin po c'es
p. 42, l. 5, dpal ldan bla ma	dpal ldan bla mas
p. 42, l. 5, kam kam spyān sña	kam kam spyān sñas
p. 42, l. 6, abrom ston pa	abrom ston pas
p. 42 a, l. 2, lo brgyad dañ gsum pa	lo brgya dañ gsum pa
p. 42 a, l. 3, c'os rje sa rgya pa	c'os rje sa skya pa
p. 42 a, l. 5, skroñs pa nas	bkroñs pa nas
p. 43, l. 2, p'yir	spyir
p. 43, l. 3, p'ou gñis	p'a bu gñis
p. 43, ll. 3, 4 rgyal rgyud	rgyal brgyud
p. 43, l. 4, blon po žig gi rgyal sa	blon po žig gis rgyal sa
p. 43 a, l. 4, logs su skyañs	logs su bskyañs
p. 43 a, l. 4, rgyal poi rgyud pai	rgyal poi brgyud pai
p. 43 a, l. 4, rgyud kyi	brgyud kyi
p. 43 a, l. 4, c'in sañ rgyud kyi	c'in sañ [gi] brgyud kyi
p. 43 a, l. 6, abal ba med do	agal ba med do

p. 44, l. 4, c'os ək'or dus rtsis	c'os ək'or du brtsis
p. 44, l. 4, rgyud de	brgyud de
p. 44, l. 5, p'a'u gñis	p'a bu gñis
p. 44 a, l. 2, mos ag tsom	mes ag tsom
p. 44 a, l. 2, mñam šiñ etc.	mñam žiñ gñen du ąbrel ba
p. 44 a, l. 3, bkos pa	bskos pa
p. 44 a, l. 3, ryual rgyud	rgyal brgyud
p. 44 a, l. 5, rgyud rig brgyad	brgyud rigs brgyad or better: rigs brgyud brgyad
p. 45, l. 2, skar ma btags can	skar ma rtags can
p. 45, l. 5, mi ñag gi	mi ñag gis
p. 45, l. 6, drug dbyuñ žiñ	drug byuñ žiñ
p. 45 a, l. 1, byuñ ts'ul lo dañ po	byuñ ts'ul lo / dañ po
p. 45 a, l. 2, nam dus ąc'i bar	nam dus p'yi bar
p. 45 a, l. 3, mt'a' k'ob gyi	mt'a' ək'ob kyi
p. 45 a, l. 5, c'os kyis skyañs ste	c'os kyis bskyañs te
p. 45 a, l. 6, sa skyai yañ re gcig pa	sa skya pai [dguñ lo] re [~] gcig pa
p. 46, l. 1, lo drug skyañs	lo drug bskyañs
p. 46, l. 2, c'u ba	c'uñ ba
p. 46, l. 3, loñ spyod rgya c'e	loñs spyod rgya c'e
p. 46, l. 5-6, grub rkya bstan nas	grub rtags bstan nas
p. 46 a, l. 2, gzuñ	bzuñ
p. 46 a, l. 3, tsi dbañ gi lo lña	tsi dbañ gis lo lña
p. 47, l. 2, zer sña sor	zer / sña sor
p. 47, l. 4, lo la brgya nag la	lo la rgya nag la
p. 47, l. 6, bdun bcu	bdun cu
p. 47 a, l. 2, spyi miñ yin pas mil lo	spyi miñ yin pas mi ągal lo
p. 48, l. 2, gžan dsuñ gin lo bži	gžan dsuñ gis lo bži
p. 48, l. 3, cin t'uñ gi	cin t'uñ gis
p. 48, l. 3, t'in žun gyi	t'in žun gyis
p. 48, l. 5, rgyal pos	rgyal po

p. 48 a, l. 2, dge ṅadun mañ po skroñ pa	dge ṅadun mañ po bkroñs pa
p. 48 a, l. 3, ma mt'oñ bas btag go lcags byi	ma mt'oñ bas brtag go / lcags byi
p. 48 a, l. 4, c'en pos sdigs nas	c'en pos bsdigs nas
p. 48 a, l. 6, rags ris gcig	rags rim žig
p. 48 a, l. 6, sa skyai sde	sa skyai c'os sde
p. 49, l. 1, sku ts'ei ṅjug	sku ts'ei mjug
p. 49 a, l. 2, srog bzuñ bdun cu	srog bzuñ/bdun cu
p. 49 a, l. 6, dus su'ñ rtsis par snañ	dus su'ñ brtsis par snañ
p. 50, l. 2, cuñ zañs ts'a	gcuñ zañs ts'a
p. 50 a, l. 6, sgos	sgo nas
p. 50 a, l. 6, bstan pai rin po c'ei	bstan pa rin po c'ei
p. 51, l. 4, guñ lo bcu bžes	dguñ lo bcu bžes
p. 51, l. 5, p'yags p'yir	p'yag p'yir
p. 51, l. 6, lcags ṅp'ag la	lcags p'ag la
p. 51 a, l. 1, pa bstus	pa bsdus
p. 51 a, l. 3, bla mar gyur ste	bla mar gyur te
p. 51 a, l. 5, žes gñis pa	že gñis pa
p. 51 a, l. 6, se c'en gan gyi rgyal pos	se c'en gnam gyi rgyal pos
p. 51 a, l. 6, k'ams sum la zer	k'ams gsum la zer
p. 52, l. 2, ṅjags pa bsgrags	ṅjags sa bsgrags
p. 52, l. 5, k'ral bstud sla bai p'yir	k'ral bsdud sla bai p'yir
p. 52, l. 5, gtsañ nas lho byañ pa gsum	gtsañ nas lho byañ šañs gsum
p. 52, l. 6, rgya ṅbri mts'al gsum	rgya ṅbri ts'al gsum
p. 52 a, l. 1, ṅjags pa gnañ	ṅjags sa gnañ
p. 52 a, l. 3, c'en mo rtsigs	c'en mo brtsigs
p. 52 a, l. 4, bla grañ dañ	bla brañ dañ
p. 52 a, l. 6, bla ma guñ lo	bla ma dguñ lo
p. 53, l. 3, p'ra ma bcug na	p'ra ma bcug nas

p. 53, l. 4, ñe gnas kyi skroñs	gñe nas kyis bskroñs
p. 53, l. 6, gcig gyen ʔdug pai	gcig gyon ʔdug pai
p. 53 a, l. 3, c'e gsal c'en mo	dbye gsal c'en mo
p. 54, l. 1, sa mdsad pai	sa pa mdsad pai
p. 54, l. 2, gtsañ ston pa yañ skroñs	gtsañ ston pa yañ bkroñs
p. 54, l. 4, ol bya t'ul gyi	ol bya t'ul gyis
p. 54, l. 6, drug cu bskor gcig	drug cu skor gcig
p. 54 a, l. 2, gžon dbañ skyar	gžon dbañ bskyar
p. 54 a, l. 5, ʔdii rgyud pas	ʔdii brgyud pas
p. 54 a, l. 5, rta nag gi bdag yun riñ	rta nag gi bdag po(r) yun riñ
p. 54 a, l. 6, dpon c'en dbañ rtson	dpon c'en dbañ brtson
p. 54 a, l. 6, ʔdii rgyud pa	ʔdii brgyud pa
p. 54 a, l. 6 and 55, l. 1, ʔdii rgyud pa	ʔdii brgyud pa
p. 55, l. 1, ʔdii rgyud pa	ʔdii brgyud pa
p. 55, l. 3, dbañ brtson gyi	dbañ brtson gyis
p. 55, l. 4, mgo rtsams ʔdug	mgo brtsams ʔdug
p. 55, l. 5, ʔdii rgyud pas	ʔdii brgyud pas
p. 55 a, l. 2, dei bla mc'ed du bskur ste	dei bla mc'od du bkur te
p. 55 a, l. 3, de rje dpon rabs	de rjes dpon rabs
p. 55 a, l. 5, miñ med du btoñ bai	miñ med du gtoñ bai
p. 56, l. 1, rgyañ mk'ar rtse rtsigs ste	rgyañ mk'ar rtse brtsigs te
p. 56, l. 1, gñis ces zer,	gñis žes zer
p. 56, l. 2, ma ʔt'un nas	ma mt'un nas
p. 56, l. 3, rgyañ mk'ar rtser mk'yogs	rgyañ mk'ar rtser ʔk'yogs
p. 56, l. 5, bskur ste dpal hkhor	bkur te dpal hkhor
p. 56 a, l. 4, riñ gži k'a pa	riñ gžis k'a pa
p. 56 a, l. 6, rgyab sñer mdsad pas	rgyab gñer mdsad pas

p. 56 a, l. 6,	rñiñ k'uñs ts'ag du ts'ud	rñiñ k'uñs ts'ags su ts'ud
p. 57, l. 1,	srid du sgrel bas	srid du sbrel bas
p. 57, l. 1,	bdag byas ste	i.e. bdag por byas te
p. 57, l. 3,	c'e si tu	c'e / si tu
p. 57, ll. 3-4,	dag po lha btsan	dvags po lha btsun
p. 57, l. 4,	bla mar k'ur nas	bla mar bkur nas
p. 57, l. 5,	byañ sa	byañ pa
p. 57, l. 6,	sku mc'ed ma at'un žiñ	sku mc'ed ma mt'un žiñ
p. 57, l. 6,	ma at'un	ma mt'un
p. 57 a, l. 2,	byañ pa dañ bsñen du	byañ pa dañ gñen du
p. 57 a, l. 3,	gcig gis ap'ags pa	gcig ap'ags pa
p. 57 a, l. 5,	las stod byañ	la stod byañ
p. 57 a, l. 6,	rdsoñ byi grags rin	rdsoñ spyi grags rin
p. 58, l. 2,	gñis srid du sbrel	gñis srid du sgril (or: abrel)
p. 58, l. 5,	bšad gra bzañ poi	bšad grva bzañ poi
p. 58, l. 6,	bla mar bskur žiñ	bla mar bkur ciñ
p. 58 a, l. 1,	gra pa gra ts'añ rnams	grva pa grva ts'añ rnams
p. 58 a, l. 3,	mun can du yod	mu can du yod
p. 59, l. 1,	mc'og tu bskur bas	mc'og tu bkur bas
p. 59, l. 2,	bsñen srid du abrel	gñen srid du abrel
p. 59, l. 2, 3,	žo ajags pa	žod ajags pa
p. 59, l. 5,	byar las sogs	byar la sogs
p. 59 a, l. 1,	sde ts'ugs bžig	sde ts'ugs žig
p. 59 a, l. 1,	dpon rgyud	dpon brgyud
p. 59 a, l. 1,	k'ri ađo rnams	k'ri cog rnams
p. 59 a, l. 2,	mi rgyud	mi brgyud
p. 59 a, l. 3,	bdag po mdsad pai	i.e. bdag por mdsad pai
p. 59 a, l. 4,	skyi bšod stod smad	skyyid šod stod smad
p. 59 a, l. 6,	bšad gra bzañ po	bšad grva bzañ po

p. 59 <i>a</i> , l. 9, bdag po mdsad pai	bdag por mdsad pai
p. 60, l. 5, rgya mts'al gñis kas	rgya ts'al gñis kas
p. 60, l. 5, ʔbriñ kuñ pa dañ	ʔbri kuñ pa dañ
p. 60, l. 6, dgra rgya mts'al bka' gsum	dgra rgya ts'al bka' gsum
p. 60 <i>a</i> , l. 2, sku c'ed	sku mc'ed
p. 60 <i>a</i> , l. 5, lña pa cuñ rin po c'ei	lña pa gcuñ rin po c'ei
p. 60 <i>a</i> , l. 6, dbyar dags ts'un la	byar dwags ts'un la
p. 61, l. 3, gliñ rtsigs	gliñ brtsigs
p. 61, l. 4, res ʔga' ma ʔt'un	res ʔgar ma mt'un
p. 61, l. 4, gros btun	gros bstun
p. 61, l. 5, 'ol k'a rtag rtse	'ol k'a stag rtse
p. 61, l. 5, rtag rtse	stag rtse
p. 61, l. 5, la slus brtsams pa	la bslu bar brtsams pa
p. 61, l. 5, c'u la skyur ba na	c'u la bskyur ba na
p. 61, l. 5, žus ste	žus te
p. 61, l. 5, 'on pa mi mañs	'on pa mi dmañs
p. 61 <i>a</i> , l. 2, rdsoñ ji	rdsoñ spyi
p. 61 <i>a</i> , l. 4, bšis kyis	gšis kyis
p. 61 <i>a</i> , l. 6, bya gos	ja gos
p. 62, l. 4, skroñs pa sogs	bkroñs pa sogs
p. 62, l. 4, da ra k'a c'os	da ra k'a c'es
p. 62, l. 6, rgyab sñer žus pas	rgyab gñer žus pas
p. 62, l. 6, ʔjags gzugs gnañ ste	ʔjags gzu gnañ ste
p. 62 <i>a</i> , l. 1, zor rtsod p'ran t'igs	zor rtsod p'ran ts'egs
p. 62 <i>a</i> , l. 3, mc'od žiñ	mc'od ciñ
p. 62 <i>a</i> , ll. 3-4, gtsan du ʔjug ciñ	btsan du ʔjug ciñ, or: brtson du
p. 62 <i>a</i> , l. 4, blon po mgos c'e	blon po go sa c'e
p. 62 <i>a</i> , l. 5, ñag c'e	ñag ts'e
p. 63 <i>a</i> , l. 1, mdsad cuñ po	mdsad gcuñ po
p. 63 <i>a</i> , l. 2, rin po c'es sgrags	rin po c'e [sgra] bsgrags
p. 63 <i>a</i> , l. 4, cuñ c'uñ ba	gcuñ c'uñ ba
p. 63 <i>a</i> , l. 6, sgom mañs	sgo mañ
p. 64, l. 2, nañ ʔts'ams su	nañ mts'ams su

p. 64, l. 3, aṭ'un pa dañ	mt'un pa dañ
p. 64, l. 4, gcig dañ	cig dañ
p. 64, l. 5, mi mañs	mi dmañs
p. 64, l. 6, der rjes	de rjes
p. 64 a, l. 1, žu aṭjags sgrigs pa	žu aṭjags bsgrigs pa
p. 64 a, l. 3, stag k'uñ	stag luñ
p. 64 a, l. 4, aṭ'a' rgya na	mt'a' rgya na, (t'a gru na)
p. 64 a, l. 4, cig kyañ	gcig kyañ
p. 64 a, l. 5, žu aṭjags sgrigs de mt'un	žu aṭjags bsgrigs de mt'un
p. 65, l. 1, bzu k'og nas	gzu k'og nas
p. 65, l. 2, dbu ra la	dbu ru la
p. 65, l. 3, žu ats'ams pa	žu mts'ams pa, (the pleader for peace between that two parties)
p. 65, l. 3, dpuñ tu gcig	dpuñ ru gcig
p. 65, l. 3, rañ gis byañ drañs nas	rañ gis spyān drañs nas
p. 65, l. 4, aṭs'ams aḍir	mts'ams aḍir
p. 65, l. 6, koñ dmag stos c'e ba dañ aḡril nas	koñ dmag gtos c'e ba dañ bsgril nas
p. 65, l. 6, srid du sgril ba	srid du bsgril ba
p. 65 a, l. 2, lo gsum	lo sum
p. 65 a, l. 6, bkra šis dpal rtsegs	bkra šis dpal brtsegs
p. 66, l. 2, rje la gsuñ c'os	rje las gsuñ c'os
p. 66, l. 5, mña' aḡbañs guñ la	mña' aḡbañs dguñ la
p. 66, l. 6, byuñ bai sgres pa	byuñ bai bgres pa
p. 66 a, l. 1, cuñ la (gdan sa btad)	geuñ la (gdan sa btad)
p. 66 a, l. 1, slar cuñ gdan sar	slar geuñ gdan sar
p. 66 a, l. 1, rtsod pa c'en po gtañ	rtsod pa c'en po btañ
p. 66 a, l. 3, gdan sa la rtsad pai bka' yin	gdan sa la rtsad pai skag yin
p. 66 a, l. 3, btsen po kun spañ	gcen po kun spañ

p. 66 a, l. 5, cig gis	gcig gis
p. 66 a, l. 6, sna gšan byas pas rkyen	sna šan byas pas rkyen
p. 67, l. 1, sñoñ rgyud	sñoñ rug
p. 67, l. 2, stsal te	btsal te
p. 67 a, l. 4, byañ c'ub ądre skol	byañ c'ub ądre bkol
p. 67 a, l. 6, rje spyan sñas	rje spyan sña
p. 68, l. 1, c'os rjei druñ gžuñ	c'os rjei druñ du gžuñ dañ
p. 68, l. 5, bžed pa bžan ma byuñ	bžed pa bžin ma byuñ
p. 68 a, l. 5, gdan sa	gdan sar
p. 69, l. 2, bcu gñis rin rdor ba	bcu gñis pa rin rdor ba
p. 69 a, l. 4, že dgu žes pa sa byi la	že dgu bžes pa sa byi la
p. 69 a, l. 6, spyan lña gser t'og	spyan sña gser t'og
p. 70 a, l. 1, ts'oñ dus brag k'a	ts'oñ ądus brag k'a
p. 70 a, l. 2, bcu gsum rtsig	bcu gsum brtsig
p. 70 a, l. 3, ts'es bži pa la	ts'es bži pa las
p. 71, l. 1, mt'el rdol ba'ñ	mt'eb rdol ba'ñ
p. 71, l. 3, p'o brañ rgya spañs skyed	p'o brañ rgya dpañs bskyed
p. 71, l. 4, ądsugs pa mdsad	ądsugs par mdsad
p. 71, l. 4, p'yi droi kam zas	p'yi droi k'a zas
p. 71, l. 5, skabs šig nas	skabs šig na
p. 71 a, l. 4, sgyur nas bkyon pas	bsgyur nas bskyon pas
p. 71 a, l. 6, sku lus steñs su	sku lus steñ du
p. 71 a, l. 6, 'o rgyal	'o brgyal
p. 72, l. 1, blos ma mk'yud pa	blos ma ąk'yud pa
p. 72, l. 2, go na	go nas
p. 72, l. 5, gdan sa ti šri	gdan sar ti šri
p. 72, l. 5, bžugs t'añ na'ñ	t'añ is not clear: the meaning is: bžugs žes gleñ na'ñ
p. 72 a, l. 3, rtsis pai	brtsis pai

p. 73, l. 1, bñad gra	bñad grva
p. 73, l. 3, dpuñ c'en pos sdigs nas	dpuñ c'en pos bsdigs nas
p. 73, l. 3, 4, bdag mdsad	i.e. bdag por mdas
p. 73, l. 4, gñer dpon bko a'bebs	gñer dpon bsko a'bebs
p. 73, l. 5, si tu ba mkhyen pai	si tu pas mkhyen pai
p. 73, l. 6, mña' t'añ guñ la	mña' t'añ dguñ la
p. 73 a, l. 3, sgom grai žabs rtog	sgom grvai žabs tog
p. 73 a, l. 6, sogs la	sogs las
p. 74, l. 2, gzims k'añ kyañ rtsigs	gzims k'añ yañ brtsigs
p. 74 a, l. 1, 'ol ka rtag rtse	'ol ka stag rtse
p. 74 a, l. 2, rtsigs te	brtsigs te
p. 74 a, l. 2, rdsoñ dpon bkos pa	rdsoñ dpon bskos pa
p. 74 a, l. 2, gžis skor la	gžis bskor la [p'ebš]
p. 74 a, l. 4, rin po c'ei tai si tu	rin po c'e tai si tu
p. 74 a, l. 4, p'yogs t'ams cad grags	p'yogs t'ams cad du grags
p. 74 a, l. 5, mña' bar	gña' bar
p. 74 a, l. 5, gser gyi mña' šin	gser gyi gña' šin
p. 74 a, l. 6, gtoñ ba a'ag	gtoñ ba c'ag
p. 75, l. 1, t'ugs k'ur skyuñ nas	t'ugs k'ur bskyuñ nas
p. 75, l. 2, c'u glañ gšegs par mdsad kyañ	c'u glañ la gšegs par gsuñ kyañ
p. 75, l. 3, bžes pa la	bžes pa las
p. 75, l. 4, lcags a'brug la ltams	lcags a'brug la bltams
p. 75, l. 5, dgu lo dgu pa la	dguñ lo dgu pa la
p. 75, l. 6, dguñ lo bcu gsum	dguñ lo bcu gsum pa
p. 75 a, l. 1, bka' pod bži las sbyañ te	bka' pod bži la sbyañs te
p. 75 a, l. 3, yan mad kyi	yan c'ad kyi
p. 75 a, l. 3, gžeñs stod pai	gžeñs bstod pai

p. 76, l. 2, aḡags sa dril sgrags	aḡags sa dril bsgrags
p. 76, l. 3, bstan pa rjes pai	bstan pa brjes pai
p. 76, l. 3, aḡren dgos byuñ ba'ñ	aḡren dgos byuñ na'ñ
p. 76, l. 6, nas rtsis pai	nas brtsis pai
p. 76 a, l. 2, rjes su yid rañ	rjes su yi rañ
p. 76 a, l. 4, de nas rgyud pa la	de nas brgyud pa la
p. 76 a, l. 5, bdag po mdsad	bdag por mdsad
p. 76 a, l. 6, sa glañ nas rtsams pai	sa glañ nas brtsams pai
p. 77, l. 1, aṡs'ams su	mts'ams su
p. 77, l. 4, aḡig rten gyi bdag po mdsad mo yin	aḡig rten gyi bdag po mdsad lo yin
p. 77, l. 5, rtse t'añ gdan sa	i.e. rtse t'añ gi gdan sa pa
p. 77 a, l. 3, bsgrub brgyud	bsgrub rgyud
p. 77 a, l. 5, gdan sa gsum par	gdan sa pa gsum par
p. 78, l. 2, bskos c'es	bskos šes
p. 78 a, l. 2, brtag gñis sogs	brtags gñis sogs
p. 78 a, l. 3, bsod grags pa	bsod grags pas
p. 78 a, l. 4, sku žañ rdsoñ ci	sku žañ rdsoñ spyi
p. 78 a, l. 5, rdsoñ ji ba skroñs	rdsoñ spyi bkroñs
p. 78 a, l. 6, re c'e yoñs rtsis	je c'er yoñ rtsis
p. 79, l. 6, mñag ste	mñags te
p. 79 a, l. 1, c'u bo bžin aḡebs	c'u bo bžin aḡ'el
p. 79 a, l. 2, des pas skyañs	des pas bskyañs
p. 79 a, ll. 2, 4, gsum gyi	gsum gyis
p. 79 a, l. 5, t'el rtse t'añ gi	i.e. t'el dañ rtse t'añ gi
p. 79 a, l. 6, bsgom gra dañ bšad gra	sgom grva dañ bšad grva
p. 80, l. 2, žabs rtog	žabs tog
p. 80, l. 3, sgrub mc'od kyis	sgrub mc'od kyi
p. 80, l. 6, rdsoñ dpon mi rgyud dañ	rdsoñ dpon mi brgyud dañ
p. 80 a, l. 1, sde bzar c'en po	sde gzar c'en po
p. 80 a, l. 2, blon c'en mgos c'e ba	blon c'en go sa c'e ba

p. 80 a, l. 4, brag dkar rgya'o	brag dkar rgya bo
p. 81, l. 4, sñag par dgoñs te	bsñegs par dgoñs te
p. 81, l. 4, rgyal bzañ gžis ka rtsigs	rgyal bzañ gžis ka brtsigs
p. 81, l. 5, lo gcig gñis sñer ste	lo gcig gñis bsñun te
p. 81, l. 6, c'os rje spo ta la	c'os rje po ta lar
p. 81 a, l. 2, gra pai dar rgyas kyañ	grva pai dar rgyas kyañ
p. 81 a, l. 6, kun spañs pa t'el gyi	i.e. kun spañs pas t'el gyi
p. 82 a, l. 1, khu dbon du bsko la	khu dbon su bsko la
p. 82 a, l. 5, skyañs	bskyañs
p. 82 a, l. 6, dgoñs pas spun zed mañ	dgoñs pas dpuñs šed mañ
p. 82 a, l. 6 - 83, l. 1, yar kluñ 'til du dus bzis	yar kluñs mt'il du dus ziñ
p. 83, l. 2, ądi la stag mo	ądi la pag moi ?
p. 83, l. 2, sde bzar c'en mo	sde gzar c'en mo
p. 83, l. 3, p'al p'er sañs te	p'al c'er sañs te
p. 83, l. 3, rdsoñ jii las	rdsoñ spyii las
p. 83 a, l. 1, sgro gleñ la	bgro gleñ la
p. 83 a, l. 1, t'ugs gžed	t'ugs bžed
p. 83 a, l. 2, gžuñ tog te	gžuñ gtog de
p. 83 a, l. 4, mañ po mñag ste	mañ po mñags te
p. 83 a, l. 6, brten nas gsuñ c'os	bsten nas gsuñ c'os
p. 84, l. 3, bžes pa mdsad	bžes par mdsad
p. 84, l. 3, dod po	dod por
p. 84 a, l. 1-2, bya rgyal ba bkra šis	bya rgyal ba bkra šis
p. 84 a, l. 2, skya 'o rin c'en bzañ po	skya bo rin c'en bzañ po
p. 85, l. 2, c'e sa ądis	c'e sa ądi
p. 85, l. 5, bžes pa la sras	bžes pa las sras
p. 85, l. 6, mñag ste	mñags te
p. 85 a, l. 4, p'an ts'un ts'ogs pa dañ	p'un sum ts'ogs pa dañ

p. 85 a, l. 4, las stod lho byañ	la stod lho byañ
p. 85 a, l. 4, šar nub gyis kyañ	šar nub kyis kyañ
p. 85 a, l. 5, rnam s pai mdsad spyod kyi k'og la ma ągu ba yin ądug	rnam pai mdsad spyod kyis k'og la ma mgu ba yin ądug
p. 85 a, l. 6, sde ąk'rug luñ bstan mañ	sde ąk'rug luñ ma bstan mañ
p. 86, l. 2, yab kyi guñ lo	bya kyi dguñ lo
p. 86, l. 4, tsan t'añ bkra šis	btsan t'añ bkra šis
p. 86, l. 5, ma c'ad pa yin ądug	ma c'od pa yin ądug
p. 86 a, l. 1, c'en po mdsad	c'en por mdsad
p. 86 a, l. 3, sde bzar rgyun ži na'ñ	sde gzar rgyun ži na'ñ
p. 86 a, l. 4, lhan pa dam po re	lhan pa dmar po re
p. 87, l. 5, bka' bsgos nas	bka' bgros nas
p. 87 a, l. 1, gsan ste	gsan te
p. 87 a, l. 1, rdsogs pa dge sloñ	rdsogs pas dge sloñ
p. 87 a, l. 2, dbañ ądsin byas ste	dbañ ądsin byas te
p. 87 a, l. 3, bcu drug tsam du	i.e. lo bcu drug tsam
p. 87 a, l. 4, p'eb s pa ąp'rin las	p'eb s pas ąp'rin las
p. 87 a, l. 5, dmag ltos c'e ba	dmag gtos c'e ba
p. 87 a, l. 6, skyi šod du	skyid šod du
p. 88, l. 1, ts'añ du ts'ud	ts'ags su ts'ud
p. 88, l. 2, bde bdun	bde ądum
p. 88, l. 6, sne gdoñ lo sar	sne gdoñ lo gsar
p. 88 a, l. 1, gtam sgrags te	gtam bsgrags te
p. 89, l. 3, dbus su sde bzar byuñ kyañ	dbus su sde gzar byuñ yañ
p. 89, l. 4, ti šri brten nas	ti šrir bsten nas
p. 90, ll. 1, 2, rnam s pas	rnam pas
p. 90, l. 1, gduñ rgyud	gduñ brgyud
p. 90, l. 2, k'o rañ rnam s pas	k'o rañ rnam pas
p. 90, l. 2, žabs t'ag sriñ bai	žabs tog bsriñ bai
p. 90, l. 2, t'ag bc'od gtsañ	t'ag bc'ad gtsañ

p. 90, l. 3, t'añ ston c'en mo btoñ	t'añ ston c'en mo gtoñ
p. 90, l. 4, t'el btoñ byas de	t'el gtoñ byas / de
p. 90, ll. 4, 5, bskor ts'or sde bzar aṗ'ran ts'igs	skor ts'or sde gzar p'ran ts'ega
p. 90, l. 5, yar aḅrog na rgyud de	yar aḅrog nas brgyud de
90 a, l. 1, spyān sñar skos	spyān sñar bskos
p. 90 a, l. 4, dpuñ ltos c'e ba	dpung gtos c'e ba
p. 91, l. 2, c'e aḡyogs ston c'en	c'e aḡogs ston c'en
p. 91, l. 2, mi mañs kyi	mi dmañs kyi
p. 91, l. 4, gduñ rgyud	gduñ brgyud
p. 91, l. 5, nañ žig sde bzar	nañ žig sde gzar
p. 91, l. 6, drag po mñag ste	drag po mñags te
p. 91, l. 6, dpuñ p'yir rlog	dpuñ p'yir bslogs
p. 91 a, l. 3, dpon blon mk'on gži	spon blon aḡ'on gži
p. 91 a, ll. 1, 3, mk'on gžii	aḡ'on gžii
p. 91 a, l. 2, rtse nas zlog ci t'ub	rtse nas bzlog ci t'ub
p. 91 a, l. 3, sgar pa	sgar pas
p. 91 a, l. 6, žal lta mdsad pa	žal ta mdsad pa
p. 92, l. 2, t'ugs riñs pa bžin du	t'ugs reñs (s) bžin du ?
p. 92, l. 3, gnas k'a rñams su	gnas k'ag rñams su
p. 92, l. 3, skye žiñ	bskyel ciñ
p. 92, l. 6, zil snon pa bos nas	zil gnon pa bos nas
p. 92, l. 6, de k'ai aḡjug la	de k'ai mjug la
p. 92 a, l. 1, go řri dbon ḡyog	go řri dpon ḡyog
p. 92 a, l. 1, mañ po mñag ste	mañ po mñags te
p. 92 a, l. 1, aḅri k'uñ c'os rjes	aḅri k'uñ c'os rje
p. 92 a, l. 3, p'yogs su lhuñ bai bzuñ mdsad pas	p'yogs su lhuñ bai gzu mdsad pas
p. 92 a, l. 4, mk'on gžir	aḡ'on gžir
p. 92 a, l. 4, sde bzar	sde gzar

p. 92 a, l. 4, sna blañ ba la rten	sna blañs pa la brten
p. 92 a, l. 5, btoñ rtsis	gtañ rtsis
p. 92 a, l. 6, spuñ že grabs	dpuñ šed grabs ?
p. 93, l. 2, žal lta aĵam po mdsad	žal ta aĵam po mdsad
p. 93, l. 2, sde bzar mi legs	sde gzar mi legs
p. 93, l. 3, dpon blon ma	dpon blon gyis ma
p. 93, l. 5, sde bzar c'en po	sde gzar c'en po
p. 93, l. 5, sa aťs'ams	sa mts'ams
p. 93, l. 6, rin po c'e dbon slob	rin po c'e dpon slob
p. 93, l. 6, c'iñs brten	c'iñs rten
p. 93 a, l. 1, rnams dañ dgos su	rnams dañ sgos su
p. 93 a, l. 3, aĵrig rtsal ste	aĵrig btsal te
p. 93 a, l. 4, dbyar dus soñ gźis	dbyar dus rdsoñ gźis
p. 93 a, l. 5, sde srid kyi	sde srid kyis
p. 94, l. 2, ñañ stod rgyud de	ñañ stod brgyud de
p. 94, l. 2, skyi aĵ'an gyi	skyid p'an gyi
p. 94, l. 3, gźu sñe rgyud de	gźu sñe brgyud de
p. 94, l. 4, gtan gliñ la aĵ'yon	gtan gliñ la aĵ'yoñs
p. 94, l. 5, bca' sgrigs pa	bca' sgrig pa
p. 94, l. 6, sde bzar slañ žiñ	sde gzar bsłañs žiñ
p. 94, l. 6, sde bzar	sde gzar
p. 94 a, ll. 2, 3, 4, gduñ rgyud	gduñ brgyud
p. 94 a, l. 5, sde bzar	sde gzar
p. 94 a, l. 5 aĵril	sgril
p. 95, l. 1, žo aĵags	žod aĵags
p. 95, l. 1, gnas te rjes	gnas te de rjes
p. 95, l. 2, šugs rgyab pa	šugs brgyab pa
p. 95, l. 3, dgos su sde bzar	sgos su sde gzar
p. 95, l. 4, aĵ'ran ts'agr	p'ran ts'egs
p. 95, l. 5, sde srid kyi	sde srid kyis
p. 95, l. 5, c'iñ ať'ud	c'iñs mt'ud
p. 95, l. 5, ci yoñs gi	ci yoñ gi
p. 95, l. 5, srid gtogs ma	srid gtogs kyis ma

p. 95, l. 6, sde bzar šin tu c'e ba	sde gzar šin tu c'e bar
p. 95, l. 6, k'ams c'e ba	k'am c'e ba
p. 95 a, l. 5, mdsad pa ts'ur skal	mdsad pa ts'ur rgol
p. 95 a, l. 5, sde bzar mi mdsad	sde gzar mi mdsad
p. 96, l. 2, rnam par bžig ste	rnam par žig te
p. 96, l. 4, c'os k'a gsum	c'ol k'a gsum
p. 96, ll. 4, 6, bdag po mdsad	bdag por mdsad
p. 96, l. 6, k'ri gnan pai goñ ma	k'ri gnon pai goñ ma
p. 96 a, l. 2, sa bcañ bzañ po	sa dpyad bzañ po
p. 96 a, l. 5, bstan pa spyi dgos la	bstan pa spyi sgos la
p. 97 a, l. 4, bsgyur žin	bsgyur cin
p. 97 a, l. 5, sñar mkhyud bžin yod	sñar rgyun bžin yod
p. 98, l. 4, lam abras rgyud pai	lam abras brgyud pai
p. 98, l. 4, brten mañ po	rten mañ po
p. 98 a, l. 1, ya mts'an can byams	ya mts'an can dañ byams
p. 98 a, l. 3, a'ra bkod pa	p'ra bkod pa
p. 98 a, l. 5, las ka slañ par	las ka blañs par
p. 99, l. 5, brag dkar rgya 'os	brag dkar rgya bos
p. 99 a, l. 1, a'ro mus mdsad dgos rnams sgrubs	a'ro lus mdsad dgos rnams bsgrub
p. 99 a, l. 2, ñor pa la	ñor pa las
p. 99 a, l. 2, žu bar rtsam pai	žu bar brtsam pai
p. 99 a, l. 4, sa skya par sgyur ba	sa skya par bsgyur ba
p. 99 a, l. 4, dge adun grub dgon pa	dge adun grub kyis dgon pa
p. 100, l. 1, rgyal ts'ab pa la	rgyal ts'ab pa las
p. 100, l. 1, 2, dka' bcu pa dgon pa	bka' bcu pas dgon pa
p. 100, l. 4, rgya ban rnams kyi	skya ban rnams kyi

p. 100, l. 4, rkyen k'ur	or: skyel k'ur ?
p. 100, l. 4, sde bzar gyi rkyen k'ur	sde gzar gyi rkyen ək'ur
p. 100 a, l. 1, sde bzar mañ du	sde gzar mañ du
p. 100 a, l. 3, bla mar k'ur nas	bla mar bkur nas
p. 101, l. 1, kun gyi mdsem	kun kyis ądsem
p. 101, l. 4, c'os kyi dpal mdsom	c'os kyi dpal ądsom
p. 101 a, l. 2, spyi dgos kyi	spyi sgos kyi
p. 101 a, l. 2-3, c'ags ągros la rten	c'ags ągros la brten
p. 102, l. 3, gra ts'añ k'a yar	grva ts'añ k'a yar
p. 102, l. 4, lo bžin ągyogs pa mdsad	lo bžin ąjog par mdsad
p. 102 a, l. 6, rñed bskur	rñed bkur
p. 102 a, l. 6, rnam ęyeñ rgyañ sriñ ste	rnam ęyeñ rgyañ bsriñ te
p. 103, l. 1, mts'al pa si tu	ts'al pa si tu
p. 103, l. 2, deb t'er sgrig la	deb t'er bsgrig la
p. 103, l. 2, nor gyis rgyan pa	nor gyis brgyan pa
p. 103, l. 6, rtag du bde ək'rugs	rtag tu sde ək'rugs
p. 103 a, l. 1, ądsañs pai rnam dpyod	mdsañs pai rnam dpyod

APPENDIX

*The royal genealogies of Grags pa rgyal mts'an
and aP'ags pa from the gSun abum Sa skya pa*¹⁾.

I

Oṃ svasti siddham*

Ta 196 b, 6

bod kyi rgyal po: k'ri bdun, ldeñ gcig dañ | | legs drug,
 lde brgyad, btsan bži, žes bya ste | | ñi šu rtsa drug
 sñon gyi rgyal po yin | | skyid pai gduñ rabs p'yed dañ
 bcu drug dañ | * | šin tu skyid pai gduñ rabs p'yed dañ 197 a, 1
 bži | | de ltar gduñ rabs bži bcu t'am pa ste | | de
 yis bod abañs spyi yi skyid res k'yer | | 'on kyañ dam
 c'os dar las aḡrib pa med | | rje lde gña' k'ri btsan po,
 deñ k'ri btsan po dañ | * | mu k'ri btsan po, pri k'ri btsan 2
 po dañ | | gdags k'ri btsan po, k'ri²⁾ ye btsan po dañ | |
 gri³⁾ gum btsan po, gnam gyi k'ri bdun yin | | spu lde
 guñ rgyal ldeñ gcig bya ba'o | | ño legs, 'og rgyu legs
 dañ šo legs dañ | | aḡbro žiñ legs dañ i šo legs dañ ni | * 3
 gcen riñ gnam zi legs ni žal sña bgyi | | gcuñ zi gnam zi

¹⁾ For the contents see G. Tucci, *The validity of Tibetan historical tradition* in «*India Antiqua*», p. 309 ff. The comparison of the various lists of the Tibetan kings contained in the historical records will be published in the commentary. The language of these texts is archaic and certainly incorrect. Only the most evident mistakes have been corrected.

²⁾ Xyl. k'ris.

³⁾ Xyl. k'ri.

legs te legs drug go | | lde nam zin | [lde] ap'rul po gžun
 btsan | lde¹⁾ rman bum | lde²⁾ snol nam | lde snol po | lde
 se snol lam | lde se rnoł po | lde rgyal po ste brgyad do |
 4 | rgyal t'ó * lo sa btsan | de man c'ad abans dan gñen
 bsres te la lam ldes³⁾ | bza' k'ri rgyal nan⁴⁾ bu bžes pai sras
 k'ri btsan nam | des sman bza' klu rgyal dbaň bžes pai
 sras k'ri sgra dpun btsan | des sman bza' klu rgyal dbaň
 5 bžes pai sras k'ri t'og rje | t'og * btsan⁵⁾ te btsan bži'o |
 | de yan c'ad mi rje mdsad nas gduň rabs ñi šu rtsa
 drug t'al lo | | des ru gyon bza' steň rgya mts'ó ma
 bžes pai sras t'ó t'ó ri sňan btsan | des dam pa[i] c'os kyi
 dbu brñes te spaň skoň⁶⁾ p'yag brgya pa dan | gser gyi
 6 mc'od rten k'ru gaň ba dan | yi ge * drug pa dan | tsin ta
 ma ñi'i kol p'or nam mk'a' la[s] byon | des lha luň bza'ma
 mo rje bžes pai sras k'ri gñen bzuň btsan | des abrom bza'
 byaň gñen te pa bžes pai sras abro gñen lde ru | des
 197 b, 1 mc'ims bza' klu rgyal ñan pu ats'ó ba bžes pai sras *
 rgyal stag ri gñen gzigs | des bol gol bza' stoň btsun gyi
 abro sman bžes pai sras gnam ri sroň btsan | des ts'e spoň
 bza' abri ma tog t'is skoň bžes pai sras sroň btsan sgam
 po | des btsun mo gsum las | | mo[ñ] bza' k'ri mo gñan
 2 gyi * sras | guň sroň guň btsan | dei žaň abros byas
 te yab kyi sñon du adas pas p'yed ces bgyi'ó⁷⁾ | des
 wa žva bza' maň po rje bžes pai sras maň sroň maň
 btsan | dei žaň ts'e spoň gis bgyi'ó⁸⁾ | | des abro

1) Xyl. lto.

2) Xyl. lto.

3) Xyl. sde.

4) Xyl. na.

5) Sic; perhaps: k'ri t'og btsan.

6) Xyl. paň koň.

7) bgyis so.

8) bgyis so.

bza'¹⁾ k'ri c'en k'ri ma lod kyi sras dur sroñ mañ po rje * 3
 rluñ nam | des mc'ims bza' mts'ams me tog bžes pai
 sras me k'ri lde gtsug brtan | skyid pai gduñ rabs p'yed
 dañ bcu | | btsan lñar byed na ma dag ste | | 'on
 kyañ p'yed dañ bcu lags so | | šin tu skyid pai rgyal
 rabs p'yed dañ bži ni me k'ri ldes * btsun mo drug bžes 4
 pa las | rgya rje yag abyam gyi sras mo gyim p'ya kon
 ju'i sras k'ri sroñ lde btsan | des btsun mo bžes pai ts'e
 spoñ bza' rma rgyal mts'o skar ma la sras bži ak'ruñs
 te mu k'ri btsan po gžon pa la gšegs | mu tig btsan po
 t'ar pa la * gšegs | mu ne btsan pos rgyal sa lo gcig zla 5
 ba dgu byas nas yum gyis bkroñs pas p'yed ces bya'o |
 | k'ri lde sroñ btsan gyis rgyal sa bzun ño | | des abro
 bza' lha rgyal guñ skar ma bžes pai sras gsum gyi c'e ba
 k'ri btsan ma²⁾ | lho bum t'añ du bcug * nas abrom bza' 6
 legs rje dañ | sna nam bza' me rje t'e'us dug gis bkroñs
 | glañ dar ma sprel mgo mi sdug pa gleñ pas rgyal sar ma
 bton | c'uñ ba k'ri gtsug lde ral pa can gyis te šin tu
 skyid pai gduñ rabs p'yed dañ bži lags so | | de yan c'ad
 mi * rje mdsad nas rgyal poi rabs bcu la mu ne dañ k'ri 198 a, 1
 lde gñis mc'ed lags pas gduñ rabs dgu lags so | | dam pa[i]
 c'os kyi dbu rñed nas rgyal poi rabs bcu bži lags so |
 | yañ brjod par bya ste | dañ po rgyal po gañ du * ak'ruñs 2
 pa dañ | | yab dañ ji srid ašrogs pa dañ | | ts'e yi ts'ad
 dañ rgyal sa ji tsam bzun ba dañ | gañ du ašas sa rnam
 gžun ađi[r] bstan par bya ste | 'on kyañ gnam ri sroñ btsan
 yan c'ad la ni de žib ts'ags gžun nas bstan pa med |
 'on * kyañ mi rje mdsad nas gduñ rabs ñi šu rtsa drug la³⁾ 3

1) Xyl. pa.

2) For: gtsañ ma,

3) Corr.: ts'ags; i. e: lo grañs

drug brgya dañ drug cu rtsa drug t'al | dam pai c'os dbu
 rñed nas ni gduñ rabs lña la lo grañs brgya dañ lña bcu
 t'al zer | sroñ btsan sgam po me mo glañ gi lo la aḱ'ruñs
 4 | spyān ras gzigs te bcu gsum * lon nas yab aḱas nas c'ab
 srid lo grañs drug cu [rtsa] dgur bzuñ nas spyir lo brgyad
 cu gya gñis pas [na]¹⁾ aḱ'ruñ snañ bcu gcig žal la t'im skad |
 aḱ'an yul zal mo sgañ du aḱas kyañ zer | | ñes par t'ugs rje
 5 c'en po lags pas na | | spyān ras gzigs la * gus pas p'yag
 aḱs'al lo | | guñ sroñ bcu gsum bžes nas c'ab srid ni | |
 lo lñar bzuñ ste bco brgyad lon nas aḱas | | slar yañ yab
 kyi[s] rgyal srid bzuñ ño skad | | me p'o k'yi la mañ sroñ
 aḱ'ruñs nas ni | lo skor gcig nas mes aḱas mañ sroñ des
 6 * bco lñar srid bzuñ ñi šu rtsa bdun dpyid | gtsañ²⁾ gi
 bar snañ žes byar aḱas so skad | | dur sroñ ma bltams
 pa nas yab aḱas te | | c'u p'o byi bai lo la bsgrags
 su bltams | | cig car srid bzuñ ñi šu rtsa dgu na aḱañ
 198 b, 1 gi yul du aḱas te [s]pur gñer * ni cog gru k'oñ k'ri dag gis
 bgyis so skad | | k'ri lde gtsug brtan lcags aḱrug dpyid
 kyi dus | p'o brañ ldan dkar [aḱ'ruñs]³⁾ te lo gžug la | | yab
 aḱas cig car srid bzuñ dguñ lo ni | | drug cu rtsa gsum
 2 bžes nas c'u rta la | | yar aḱrog sbas pa * bya bar aḱas
 so skad | | k'ri sroñ lcags rtañ dpyid ka brag dmar du |
 aḱ'ruñs nas bcu gsum lon nas yab aḱas te | | cig car srid
 bžes bži bcu rtsa gsum bzuñ | | lña bcu rtsa drug lon
 te šiñ glañ la | | zuñ aḱ'rañ nañ du aḱas žes gsal bar t'os
 3 || * mu ne⁴⁾ btsan po c'u stag brag dmar aḱ'ruñs | | rtsa lña
 lon nas srid bzuñ lo gcig dañ | zla dgu srid bzuñ spun p'ur
 yum gyis bkroñs | | gcuñ po k'ri lde sroñ btsan šiñ

1) Xyl.: nas.

2) Xyl.: rtsañ.

3) Xyl. aḱas

4) Xyl. ni.

abrug ston | | brag dmar du aḱ'ruṅs ṅi šu rtsa bži nas |
 | gcen groṅs rgyal srid sum * cu so gcig bzuṅ | | spyir 4
 lo lña bcu rtsa bži bžes pa na | | me byai ston kar sgrags
 kyi p'ur aḱas so | | k'ri gtsug lde btsan ral pa can žes
 pa | | me p'o k'yi la 'o caṅ de'ur bltams | | gsum gyi
 gcuṅ po yon tan ldan pa aḱi | | bcu gṅis lon nas yab * 5
 aḱas rgyal sar bton | | ṅi šu rtsa bži rgyal sa bzuṅ ba
 las | | aḱsam gliṅ sum gṅis dag gi rgyal po bgyis | rje
 btsun p'yag na rdo rjei sprul pa aḱi | | lcags bya sum
 cu rtsa drug aḱas so skad | | c'u p'o rta la k'ri sroṅ
 rgyal sa bzuṅ | | lcags mo bya la k'ri * gtsug lde 6
 btsan aḱas | | de yi bar la dgu bcu go dgu ru | | dam c'os
 šin tu dar te skyid pai rabs | | de nas dam c'os k'rims
 bsnuḱs rgyal srid ṅams | | c'os kyi dbu ḡyogs glaṅ dar
 rgyud la smin | bod spyi aḱ'ur¹⁾ ba med de sil bur gyur |
 | dam c'os * nub kyaṅ rim gyis dar bar gyur²⁾ | | gsum 199 a. 1
 gyi gcen po gtsaṅ³⁾ ma lcags p'o dbyug | | rgyal srid ma
 bzuṅ lho brag bum t'aṅ du | | aḱbro bza' legs rje sna nam
 maṅ mo rjes | | dug gis bkroṅs te de yi srid [b]rgyud
 bžugs | | bar pa glaṅ dar * sprel mgo c'u mo lug | | bco 2
 lña lon ts'e yab aḱas (so)⁴⁾ bcu dgu la | | gcuṅ aḱas de nas
 rgyal srid bzuṅ nas ni | zla ba drug tu ts'ul ṅan rgyal po
 byas | | lcags mo bya yi mjug tu dam c'os bsnuḱs | | de
 nas zla ba p'yed daṅ bdun dag tu | | sdig rgyal * byas 3
 te de dag spyir bsdoms⁵⁾ na | | lo gcig zla p'yed bgyis te
 k'yi lo la | | byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' dpaḱal gyi rdo rjes bsad
 | 'od sruṅs yum brtan dag ni spun yin te | | 'od sruṅs c'u

1) Xyl. k'ur.

2) Xyl. aḱgyur.

3) Xyl. rtsaṅ.

4) Xyl. dele metri causa.

5) Xyl.: bsdams.

mo p'ag la spur p'ur skyes | | de ma t'ag tu srid bzuñ lo
 4 gsum na | | šiñ mo * glañ la yar luñs ap'añs [mdar] ađas |
 | yum brtan sum cu drug la ši žes zer | | de gñis riñ nas
 dus ñan mgo ts'ugs so | | p'yi yi so k'a¹⁾ šor nas bod
 nañ ađ' rugs || p'a bu²⁾ gsum po de la[s] btsog pa med |
 5 | dpal ađ'or c'u mo glañ la ap'añs [m]dar ađ'ruñs || * bcu
 gsum bžes nas yab ađas de nas ni | | bco brgyad rgyal
 srid bzuñ bai bar la ni | | gtsug lag k'añ brgya bžens šiñ
 c'os la gus | | mes kyi spyod pa dag la šiñ tu rmad³⁾ | so
 gcig c'u lug yar luñ šar [šam] por groñs | | de nas bod kyi
 6 k'rims * ađ' rugs dus ñams te | | sa mo glañ la k'en⁴⁾ log
 byuñ ño skad | | me mo bya la bañ soi dur rnams brus |
 dpal ađ'or sras gñis stod smad gñis su gyes | | yab mc'ed
 drug gis rgyal sa k'ol bur bzuñ | | yañ smras pa | k'ri
 199 b, 1 yer⁵⁾ btsan poi riñ la | sruñ * dañ sdom dañ | gnam bon po
 gšen po c'e c'uñ byuñ | gri gum btsan po groñs nas spu
 lde guñ rgyal gyi riñ la žañ žuñ dañ | bru⁶⁾ šai bon pos
 gšen gyi dur bon byuñ | t'o t'o ri sñan btsan gyi riñ la
 dam pa[i] c'os kyì dbu rñed | gnam ri sroñ btsan gyi riñ la
 2 rgya nag nas rtsis byuñ | * sroñ btsan sgam poi riñ la
 dam pa[i] c'os kyì srol btod | mt'a' bži lho bal p'al c'e ba
 dbañ du bsdus nas mk'os c'en po drug mdzad skad | k'ri
 sroñ lde btsan gyi sku riñ la | dam pai c'os dar žiñ rgyas par
 mdzad | k'ri lde sroñ btsan gyi riñ la skad gsar c'ad kyis
 3 dam * pai c'os gtan la p'ab | yab sras de gñis kyis gtsug lag
 k'añ brgya [r]tsa brgyad brtsigs | k'ri gtsug lde btsan ral

1) Xyl. ka.

2) Xyl.: p'a bud.

3) Xyl. smad.

4) Xyl. k'yen.

5) Above 197 a; l. 2 ye.

6) Xyl. sru.

pa can gyi sku rin la gtsug lag k'an ston rtsa brgyad brtsigs
 lags so | | dpal ak'or btsan gyi sras gñis kyi c'e ba |
 bkra šis * brtsegs pa btsan gyi bu gsum gyi c'e ba dpal 4
 sdei brgyud¹⁾ ni | guñ t'an pa | klu rgyal ba | spyi pa | lha
 rtse pa | glañ luñ brtsad skor ba rnams yin no | | bar
 pa 'od sdei brgyud ni | grom pa | srad pa | ñañ stod pa |
 yar luñ gi lha c'en dpal abar la sogs pa * yin no | | c'un 5
 ba skyid sdei [b]rgyud ni | mus pa | ajad pa | ñañ stod
 du gtogs²⁾ [pa] aga' yod | dpal ak'or btsan gyi sras c'un ba
 | k'ri skyid ldei³⁾ gi bu gsum gyi c'e ba | dpal gyi mgon gyi
 [b]rgyud ni | mar yul pa lags | bar pa bkra šis mgon gyi
 brgyud ni * žañ žuñ p'yi nañ dañ | pu rañ⁴⁾ dañ | ya 6
 rtse pa lags | c'un ba sde gtsug mgon gyi brgyud ni | k'u
 bu la sogs pa mon yul rnams su yod do | | žes t'os so |
 | rgyal rabs ma dag pa yañ mañ du mt'oñ | | rgyu mts'an
 du mas dpyad ciñ brtags pas dag pa aga' * žig kyañ mt'oñ 200, 1
 nas | spyir pu sti gcig tsam las legs par btus te | mdor bsdus
 šin tu dag pa ađi | šā kyai dge bsñen grags pa rgyal mts'an
 gysis dpal sa skyai gtsug lag k'an du sbyar ba'o | | ađis
 bstan pa dañ sems can la p'an t'ogs par gyur cig || * 2

II

* | | bod kyi rgyal rabs bžugs | | | sron btsan sgam 360 b, 4
 po me mo glañ la ak'ruñs | bcu gsum pa la rgyal sar bton |
 drug cu rtsa dgur rgyal po mdzad | * brgyad cu rtsa gñis 5
 sa p'o k'yi la ađas | guñ⁵⁾ sron gis rgyal po lo lña mdzad

1) Xyl. rgyud.

2) rtog aga'.

3) Xyl. ldiñ.

4) Xyl. roñ.

5) Xyl. c'un.

kyañ | slar yab kyis rgyal po mdsad pas logs su mi bgrañ |
 mañ sroñ mañ btsan me mo k'yi la aḱ'ruñs | bcu gsum pa
 6 la rgyal sar bton | lo bco lñar rgyal po mdsad | ñi šu rtsa *
 bdun c'u p'o byi ba la aḱas | dur sroñ mañ po rje rmug
 yin la | c'u p'o byi bai lo de la aḱ'ruñs | de ma t'ag rgyal
 por mña' gsol | lo ñi šu rtsa dgu lcags aḱrug la ajañ du
 aḱas | k'ri lde gtsug brtan lcags aḱrug de ñid kyi dbyid
 361 a, 1 la aḱ'ruñs | dei lo gžug * la yab aḱas nas | rgyal por mña'
 gsol | dguñ lo drug cu rtsa gsum c'u rta la aḱas | k'ri sroñ
 lde'u btsan lcags p'o rta dpyid la aḱ'ruñs | lo bcu gsum
 c'u rta la rgyal por mña' gsol | lo bži bcu rtsa gsum rgyal
 2 po * mdsad | | lña bcu rtsa drug šiñ mo glañ la aḱas | mu
 ne btsad po c'u po rta la aḱ'ruñs | lo ñi šu rtsa lña la rgyal
 por mña' gsol | lo ño gñis la aḱas | dei gcuñ k'ri lde sroñ |
 btsan šiñ p'o aḱrug gi ston la aḱ'ruñs | lo ñi šu rtsa bži
 3 me yos la rgyal sa bzuñ | * lo sum cu rtsa gcig rgyal po
 mdsad | lña bcu rtsa bži me bya la aḱas | ral pa can me
 p'o k'yi la aḱ'ruñs | lo bcu gñis me bya la rgyal por mña'
 gsol | lo ñi šu rtsa bži rgyal srid bzuñ | lo sum cu rtsa drug
 4 lcags bya la aḱas | k'ri sroñ ldeu btsan c'u rta la rgyal *
 por mña' gsol ba nas bzuñ nas | lcags mo bya la ral pa
 can gšegs pai bar la lo brgya t'am pa soñ la | dei bar du
 bod kyi c'os k'rims dañ rgyal k'rims gñis ka dar bas skyid
 pai dus rab[s] yin no | | ral pa can gyi gcen po glañ
 5 dar ma c'u mo lug lo la skyes | * sum cu rtsa dgu lcags
 mo byai lo gžug la rgyal sar bton | zla ba drug ts'ul
 bžin rgyal po byas | de nas zla ba p'yed bdun du sdig
 rgyal byas | spyir bsdoms¹⁾ pas lo gcig dañ zla ba p'yed
 rgyal po byas nas | c'u p'o k'yii lo la bsad | dei sras 'od
 6 sruñs rmug yin te | * c'u mo p'ag la aḱ'ruñs | de ma

1) Corr.: bsdoms.

t'ag¹⁾ rgyal srid bzuñ nas | lo drug cu rtsa gsum šiñ mo
 glañ la yar luñs aḡ'añ mdar aḡas | 'od sruñs kyi sras dpal
 aḡ'or²⁾ btsan c'u mo glañ la aḡ'ruñs | lo bcu gsum la rgyal
 sar bton | rgyal po lo bco brgyad mdsad nas | * c'u mo 361 a, 1
 lug la aḡas | dpal aḡ'or³⁾ btsan gyi sras gñis kyi c'e ba bkra
 šiis brtsegs pa yin la | de la sras gsum gyi c'e ba dpal sdei
 [b]rgyud ni | guñ t'añ klu rgyal ba | spyi pa lha rtse pa
 — gla luñ btsad skor⁴⁾ ba rnams yin no | bar pa 'od ldei
 [b]rgyud ni | grom pa | srad * pa | ñañ stod pa | yar luñs 2
 kyi lha c'en dpal aḡar ba la sogs pa rnams yin no |
 | c'uñ ba skyid ldei [b]rgyud ni | mus pa | aḡad pa | ñañ
 stod na'ñ aḡa' žig yod | dpal aḡ'or⁵⁾ btsan gyi sras c'uñ ba
 skyid ldei gsum las chhe ba dpal mgon gyi [b]rgyud ni | mar
 *luñs kyi btsad po rnams yin no | | aḡriñ po bkra šiis 3
 mgon gyi [b]rgyud ni | žañ žuñ p'yi nañ dañ | pu rañs
 pa dañ | ya ts'e pa rnams yin mo | | c'uñ ba lde gtsug
 mgon gyi [b]rgyud ni | k'u aḡu⁶⁾ pa dañ | mon yul na'ñ ci
 rigs pa yod | šiñ mo p'ag gi zla bai * ts'es bcu drug la 4
 aḡ'ags pas sa skyar rka mdor sbyar ba'o ||

1) Xyl. to'g.

2) Xyl. gor.

3) Xyl. gor.

4) Xyl. kor.

5) Xyl. gor.

6) In the previous text: bu only.

PART II
TRANSLATION

INTRODUCTION

Homage to the Blessed One, the Tathāgata, the Arhat,
the perfect Buddha, the Master of the two Laws. ¹⁾

5 « I bow to the omniscient king of the Law,
to Him who overcame the four demons of heresy
and who rules over the three worlds
with the golden wheel of the double ²⁾ knowledge.
I offer this marvellous key of the royal genealogies [2]
to all those who want to narrate the history
10 of the two directions of life (the religious and the social),
[having well opened
the precious treasury of history. ”

Here (as regards the subject), if one wants to relate
briefly the royal genealogies of the rulers of the great earth,
15 there are five subjects (to be treated):

A) the royal genealogies of India; B) the royal genealogies of Śambhala; C) the royal genealogies of Tibet; D) the royal genealogies of China and of the Hor; E) the manner in which the Chinese and the Hor came to rule
20 over Tibet.

¹⁾ Religious and social.

²⁾ ji lta ba, don dam pa, absolute truth and ji sñed, kun rdsob, relative truth.

CHAPTER III *)

The royal genealogies of Tibet

We shall now speak of the genealogies of the Tibetan kings. Concerning the first origin of the Tibetan people, 5 the story goes that they were created by the copulation of a monkey and an ogress. And it is also said:

At the beginning of the aeon *rsod ldan*, when the five sons of king *sKya señ* defeated the army of *Ru dra*, king *Ru ši*,¹⁾ with his army, dressed up as woman, 10 fled; he took shelter in the Land of the snows and from his lineage many descendants were issued. In the *Lun rnam ḅbyed*, the *Dus kyi ḅk'or lo* and in other texts the mention of *Bod* often occurs. It therefore appears that both the country and the people (of Tibet) 15 originated long before our Teacher; (there is no contradiction also if one says that they were contemporary with India). As regards the royal lineage [15], in the *C'os ḅbyuñ* of *Buston* it is said that this (ancestor of the Tibetan race) may be the fifth son of *gSal rgyal* or the fifth son of *sTobs c'uñ*, 20 the son of *gZugs can sñiñ po* or the eldest son of *ḅC'ar byed*,

*) In the preface I have stated the reasons why Chapters I and II have not been translated.

¹⁾ I. e. mistake for *Rūpati* of other sources, Obermiller, p. 181, *Blue Annals* p. 36. *Rudra* is a corruption of *Kaurava*.

king of Bad sa la who possessed the signs of a great man (skyes bu c'en po). The three (may) equally correspond to the Lord gÑa' k'ri btsan po. But while that one is said to belong to the Śākya family, certainly the first two did not; therefore that the last one was of the Śākya family, 5 is in agreement (with the tradition). Now this Lord gÑa' k'ri btsan po went to Sog k'ar in Yar kluñs and built the palace of 'Um bu bla mk'ar, the oldest palace of Tibet. Then seven kings followed in succession, called the seven gNam gyi k'ri (the K'ri, thrones, of heaven): Mu k'ri 10 btsan po, Diñ k'ri btsan po, So k'ri btsan po, Mo k'ri btsan po, gDags k'ri btsan po, Sribś k'ri btsan po [15 a].

The son of the last-named king was Gri gum btsan po; he and his son sPu de guñ rgyal were called the two sTeñ of the upper regions. King Gri gum lost his reason; for no 15 reason whatsoever he fought with his minister (horsekeeper) Loñ nam, but was killed by him. His three sons Śa k'ri, Ña k'ri and Bya k'ri were respectively exiled to Koñ, Oñ and sPo bo and the power fell into the hands of the (horsekeeper) Loñ nam. 20

The latter committed to the queen the care of the horses and took as spouse the princess (lha gcig). At that time, the wife of the king had a son from Yar lha śam po and this son was called Ru la skyes. When grown in age, he killed the (horsekeeper) Loñ nam, and then went to 25 call the three elder brothers, but he led only Bya k'ri (into his country) from sPo bo. The latter was consecrated king and was called sPu de guñ rgyal [16]; he built the castle of sTag rtse in aP'yiñ na and his minister was Ru la skyes, his younger brother. During the time of this king and his 30 minister, the art of husbandry spread among the people and, by the force of their merits, silver, copper and iron

were extracted. The public affairs were guarded by the Bon. At that time among the Ta zig, a people on the frontier, the teacher gŠen rab was born; he revised the Bon (as it had been practised) in Žai žuñ and (from that country) 5 divulged it (in Tibet). But in some Bon records it is stated that he appeared at the time of gÑa' k'ri btsan po. Then, one after another, the six Legs, the intermediate ones, followed [16 a]: A šo legs, E šo legs, De šo legs, Gu rub legs, ąBrom rje legs and T'o šo legs. Then the eight lDe of 10 the earth, one after the other, followed: rGyal bza' rNam zin lde, lDe ąp'rul nam gžuñ btsan, Se rnol nam lde (mss. rnam lde), Se rnol po lde, lDe rnol nam, lDe rnol po, lDe rgyal po, lDe sprin btsan.

The three other rulers who succeeded one another, viz. 15 K'ri btsan nam, K'ri dgra dpuñs btsan, K'ri t'og rje t'og btsan, were called the three bTsan, from below ¹⁾. The son of the last was Lha t'o t'o ri gñan btsan, who was an emanation of Kun tu bzañ po. When he resided in the upper storey of the palace of 'Um bu bla mk'ar, three things 20 fell from the sky, viz. the two books Z a m a t o g bkod pa and also the sPañ skoñ p'yag rgya pa and a stūpa of gold.

He called them the "mysterious Spirits" (gñan) ²⁾ and worshipped them. So he could keep on one hundred and 25 twenty years; then during a dream [17] a voice was heard by him saying: "after five generations beginning with thyself, the meaning of all this will be understood". This

¹⁾ Therefore, the succession is: heaven, upper regions, intermediate space, earth, lower world.

²⁾ But other sources read, as known, gñen, helper. gÑan are a class of demons of the intermediate space. All these problems are discussed in the commentary.

is the prophecy which is said to have taken place at that time. Nel pa states that since the Bon po-s adored (lit. rejoiced in) the sky, they said that those things had fallen from the sky. But as a matter of fact the paṇḍita Blo sems aṭs'o and the lotsāva Li t'i se¹⁾ came (into Tibet) carrying the above said things pertaining to religion, but the king could not understand the meaning of the words, and therefore he placed in the palace those things pertaining to religion; then the paṇḍita and the lotsāva went back. 5

But the Deb sñon says that it is probably correct (to presume) that this Blo sems aṭs'o²⁾ is the same as Ži ba aṭs'o and that this abbot for nine Tibetan royal generations had waited in Bal po. The son of Lha t'o t'o ri was K'ri gñan bzuñ btsan; the son of the latter was aBroñ gñan lde ru, who had as his queen a Klu mo. The king noticed that she ate aside her food and that her body appeared beautiful [17 a]. Thinking that her food was good, unseen by his wife, he opened the door with a picklock and he saw that (inside) there were many frogs besmeared with butter; he felt some doubts³⁾ (about the real nature of his wife), therefore the king fell ill and was afflicted with leprosy. They had a son who was born blind. The father thus left his will to his son: "Make worship to the 'mysterious Spirit' of the ancestor. Call a doctor and when thine eyes are opened, then must thou take hold of power". The father and the mother were laid in the tomb while still alive. The son did as his father had told him and his eyes were opened. Then since he saw a wild 10 15 20 25

¹⁾ Or T'i se from Li?

²⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 38.

³⁾ t'ugs rtog za ba = sems la rnam rtogs skyes, to have some misconceptions.

sheep (gñan) walking upon the sTag ri, he was called king sTag ri gñan gzigs. His son was gNam ri sroñ btsan. During the time of the latter, salt was obtained from the Northern countries and astrology and medicine were introduced into the country from China. The son of gNam ri sroñ btsan was Sroñ btsan sgam po [18], who was born one thousand four hundred and forty-nine years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, in the year fire-ox, in the palace Byams pa mi aḡyur gliñ in sBra stod ts'al of Yar snon.

10 In the Šes bya rab gs al¹⁾ of bla ma aP'ags pa it is said that two thousand years after the nirvāṇa, the lord gÑa' k'ri btsan po was born and five hundred years after him, Lha t'o t'o ri gñan btsan; but since the years said to have passed are much in excess, that reckoning
15 does not agree with this one. When he (Sroñ btsan sgam po) was thirteen years old, his father died and so he came to power. His residence was the dMar po ri. This king generally had innumerable ministers, but the principal ones were: aP'rul gyi sna c'en rin bzañ (gloss: of Yar kluñs)
20 [18 a], T'on mi sam bho ṭa, mGar ston btsan (gloss: sTod luñ ram pa), aBri se ru goñ ston (gloss: of aBri k'uñ), Ñañ k'ri bzañ (gloss: of Ñañ ser).

T'on mi was sent to India and he learnt, at the school of the brahmin Li byin and of Paṇḍita Lhai rig señ ge,
25 letters and grammar and also hymns. When he came back to Tibet, he arranged the fifty letters of the Indian (alphabet) within thirty Tibetan ones and presented these letters to the king and taught them to the ministers. He then translated the dK on mc'og sprin and he

¹⁾ But in this text p. 18 b, l. 6 (gSuñ abum Sa skya pa, vol. pa) it is written: lo stoñ lhag, more than one thousand years. So also in the Chinese translation. *Taishō*. XXXII, n. 1645, p. 231 b.

wrote many books, such as the grammatical sūtra called: T'o n mi m d o r d s i . Thus Tibet is greatly indebted to him.

He himself said:

“In this realm of Tibet, the barbarous country on the 5
[border (mt'a' k'ob),

I am the first to become a learned man;

I am the lamp that now expels darkness:

the lord, the king, here abides as the sun and the

[moon (in the sky); 10

[19] among my associates, the ministers, nobody is

[like myself.

Towards all the people of Tibet, the Country of the
snows, are not my favours great? ”

So he said and he was true in thinking so. 15

The king, when sixteen, sent his ministers to ask
in marriage K'ri btsun, daughter of the king of Nepal
'Od zer go c'a; the images of Jo bo Mi bskyod rdo rje,
Byams pa c'os a k'or ma , a sGrol ma of sandal
wood and a begging bowl of cat's eye were given as 20
dowry. This was the beginning of the karmic connection
which made the Buddha's teaching appear in Tibet.
When eighteen, he sent his ministers mGar, etc., with
one hundred horsemen to bring back as his wife Lha
gcig 'Un šiñ koñ jo, daughter of the Chinese king Señ ge 25
btsan po [19 a]. When they reached the palace of Zim šiñ,
they offered the presents sent by the king and they expound-
ed the reasons wherefore the Lha gcig should be given as
a wife (to their king).

Then the Chinese king, with his ministers and subjects, 30
was not much pleased; however, giving somehow a decep-

tive representation (of their mind), he asked: "Has your king of Tibet the capacity to keep the ten moral precepts? to build temples? to enjoy the five enjoyable goods? If he has these capacities, then can I give my daughter to him. Go therefore and ask him." Since going
 5 between China and Tibet to carry the news (meant) that the time would never come to take the princess (to Tibet), mGar said that there were three paper-rolls containing the replies which his king had sent and he
 10 presented them to the Chinese king, one after the other. In them it was written: "these three conditions and some more are fulfilled. But even if in spite of that, the daughter should not be given, I will send an army of fifty thousand men [20] magically created, kill thee and take away
 15 by force the princess and subdue the whole country".

When the Chinese king saw these letters, he was much afraid, though he did not show it, and said: "Your king of Tibet is a great swaggerer." On account of this and since the seven or eight tricks of sharp intelligence
 20 which the minister mGar had shown were beyond his comprehension, with some reluctance, the king handed over the princess along with (the image of) Jo bo Śa kya mu ni as a dowry. When her father, the king, was arranging for the escort, aBri se ru goñ ston was jealous
 25 of mGar and said that if an intelligent minister remained in China, the (good) relations between China and Tibet would not be interrupted. And so he looked with an envious eye on the mGar minister, and the king earnestly bade mGar to remain there [20 a].

30 Though mGar had perceived the envy of his companion, he feigned as if he greatly desired so, and said that he accepted (to remain). Then he took apart T'on mi and Nāi

and said to them: "I will remain in China no more than five months, and until then I will do as much damage as I can to China." Accordingly, the innumerable deceitful magic creations of mGar spread out and subdued the kingdom of China; then he escaped and he overtook the princess in lDan ma. 5

The princess with the image of the precious Jo bo came before the king who was in the dMar po ri, and the great festivities of rejoicing beyond all imagination then made were most appropriate. The king became the patron of the Law and he preached the six syllables of sPyan ras gzigs [21] ¹⁾ and other kinds of religious texts, such as that of aP'ags pa gšin rje gšed, etc., founded many seminaries for meditation and many temples such as that of K'ra abrug, (the four) mT'a' aḍul and the (four) Yañ aḍul, etc. Even the two queens founded, respectively, the aP'rul snañ and the Ra mo c'e, and placed in each of them one of the two Jo bo. To say it briefly, it is certain that the king was an epiphany of the Great Compassionate and the two queens also were two epiphanies of the two goddesses. Even the ministers were, in general, other divine manifestations. (By the agency) of them all, the royal Law based upon the ten virtuous actions permeated the two thirds of the aḌsam bu gliñ. Under the king's reign there was not even the name of famine, epidemics and quarrels. 10 15 20

In all other aspects the Law spread widely, with the only exception that it was still impossible to establish the order of the monks (duly initiated). This is called the beginning of the Buddhist Law in Tibet [21 a]. 25

At that time the two queens had no sons and therefore the king married successively two other queens, but also in 30

¹⁾ Om ma ñi pad me hūm.

their case no sons were born. Later, from Moñ bza' K'ri lcam of sTod luñ, his son Mañ sroñ mañ btsan was born who, when thirteen, was installed king; but after five years of reign, he passed away at the age of eighteen.

5 To him a son was born called Guñ sroñ guñ btsan, but since he was not of age, the king (Sroñ btsan) was obliged to take hold again of the reign. The *Me loñ ma*¹⁾ inverts the order of Mañ sroñ and Guñ sroñ, but *Bu ston*²⁾ in his history agrees with what stated previously by us; therefore, there is no mistake (in what we asserted). Then the
 10 father, the king, said to his grandson, to his ministers and to his subjects: "This soil of Lhasa [22] being gradually bitten into by water, will appear like a fish, like a frog, like a tadpole, like a water warm; when it is like this if they
 15 worship the gods and restore³⁾ the embankments, and all the people pray most earnestly to the precious Jo bo, it will stay for a little while". Then, on the eve of his passing into nirvāṇa, he went to the northern chapel and he gave to his grandson the necessary instructions
 20 for protecting the reign according to the Law. Then he said: "Five generations after me there will appear a king called K'ri and lDe; he will found many communities of monks duly ordained and the sustenance will be given by the Palace and he will make the teaching of the Buddha
 25 shining like a sun". Suchlike prophecies he uttered. At the age of eighty-two [22 a] in the year earth-dog⁴⁾,

1) Fol. 28 a, and 28 b.

2) Obermiller p. 185.

3) Lit. inwardly worship, externally restore.

4) For the chronology of these kings, and the fact that only the second element of the date is valid, see G. Tucci, *The validity of the Tibetan historical tradition*, in *India Antiqua*, Kern Institute 1947, p. 308; and Id., *Tombs of the*

along with his two queens, he disappeared into the image of the Jo bo with eleven heads.

The Me lo ñ ma¹⁾ and the Deb t'er sñon po²⁾ say that he died in the year iron-dog, but this computation does not agree with what they state, that he was born 5 in the year fire-ox. What the ministers said about his disappearance into the image of the god is the secret tradition; the rumour was spread that he had passed away in Žal mo sgañ in aP'an yul. They built a marvellous tomb in aP'yoñ rgyas mda', filled it with precious jewels 10 and this is even now called the tomb of Sroñ btsan. Then the king's grandson, Guñ sroñ guñ btsan took hold of the reign at the age of thirteen. He instituted perpetual offerings in honour of his grandfather in Lhasa and paid homage to the three Jewels. He reigned for fifteen years 15 and then [23], at the age of twenty-seven, he died in gTsañ. During the time of this king's reign, Chinese troops entered into Tibet and burnt down the dMar po ri. Since the image of Jo bo Šā kya mu ni had been hidden in the aP'rul snañ, they could not get hold of it, but they took away 20 the image of Jo bo Mi bskyod rdo rje a half-day march; so it is written in the rG y a i d e b t' e r .

Again the minister mGar led an army of hundreds of thousands of Tibetan soldiers and plundered the Chinese territory. But mGar himself died at the head of his 25 troops. The son of this last king was aDus sroñ rnam aP'rul

Tibetan kings, Roma 1950; H. E. Richardson, *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa*, London 1952. E. Haarh, *The identity of Tsu-chih-chien etc.*, *Acta Orientalia*, XX. V, 1-2, pp. 121 ff. In this case for earth read: iron iron-dog = 650.

¹⁾ Fol. 87 b.

²⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 49.

gyi rgyal po¹⁾, who was born in sBraggs p'u, seven days after the death of his father; he reigned for twenty-nine years and paid devotedly homage to the three Jewels. During his time there were the seven ministers of great strength
 5 So it is related. The son of mGar, gÑan btsan lde m bu, led an army of one hundred million Tibetan soldiers [23 a], subdued China and increased authority and majesty to the Tibetan king. The last king's son, known as K'ri lde gtsug brtan mes²⁾ ag tsom, was born in the palace of sTon
 10 t'añ Lhan dkar³⁾ (gloss: Yar luñs). When ten years of age, he came to power.

He rendered great services to the Buddhist teaching, because he built many temples and ordered many books of the Law to be translated. He boasted of being that very
 15 K'ri Sroñ lde btsan predicted by his forefather Sroñ btsan; he is said to have invited many pandits and started the foundation of monasteries for monks. He had a son lJan ts'a lha dbon; Kim šiñ koñ jo was summoned from China to be taken to wife by his (son). But as soon as
 20 the Chinese (princess) reached Tibet [24], the prince died; so she was united to the old king, sought for the image of Jo bo Šā kya mu ni which had been hidden and made fine offerings to it; in the year earth-male-horse⁴⁾ in the palace of Brag dmar (gloss: in bSam yas) his (i.e. the
 25 king's) son K'ri Sroñ ldeu btsan was born.

At that time, eighty years had passed since the death of Sroñ btsan sgam po. As soon as the boy was born, queen sNa nam bza' said that the boy had been born to

1) In the ms.: Lus sroñ; mistake for: ḡDus sroñ.

2) MS.: mei.

3) Corr.: lDan dkar.

4) Corr.: water-horse = 742.

her and then she took him away. The ministers were in doubt and even the Koñ jo was greatly disturbed in her mind and thinking that now she could not have control over her son, she laid waste many lucky signs ¹⁾ of Tibet.

The king then called from their countries the paternal relations of the two wives, made them sit in two rows and bade his son, who was then about one year old, to recognize his maternal uncle. (This son then) said: "I am K'ri Sroñ lde btsan, the offspring of Chinese (extraction). I have no need of you, the uncle from sNa nam," ¹⁰ [24 a]. So saying he offered to his Chinese (relative) a golden vase full of rice-beer and the mother was very glad. After the son had recognized his maternal uncle, the mother said that though half the country had been laid waste, there were means of restoring it. When the boy ¹⁵ was five years old, the mother died and also the king died at the age of sixty-three in Yar aḅrog. This greatly differs from the rGyai deb t'er. The boy came to power when he was thirteen. Some ministers, like Ma žaṅ k'rom pa skyes and sTag ²⁾ ra klu goñ, were not pleased ²⁰ with the Buddhist Law but also very powerful; first they hid the image of the precious Jo bo underneath heaps of sand; then, since there were some bad omens, they took it out and sent it to be carried away to India; but as soon as it had reached sKyid groñ in Mañ yul, pretending that ²⁵ it could not go further [25], (the people who carried it) requested that it should be kept there. The Me loñ ma states that then the image of Jo bo mi bskyod rdo rje was

¹⁾ Sa dpyad: dge mts'an rten aḅrel.: i. e. the fortune, the prosperity; the story is told in detail in the GR. p. 83 b, f.

²⁾ Ms. rTa ra. TH. p. 132 sTag sgra.

taken away a half-day (march); but it is easy to understand that this is a gross mistake of the text.¹⁾ When the king came of age, he consulted his ministers aGos K'ri bzañ and Žañ Nam bzañ and others (devoted to the) Law and they
 5 were of the same opinion; while discussing (what should have been done concerning) the practice of the Buddhist Law, Nam bzañ said that this plan was impossible, because the two other ministers had great power. But aGos said
 10 "There is a way of doing it; follow me". Accordingly, by means of some deceitful tricks, they laid Ma žañ alive in a tomb (gloss: in sTod luñ) and then exiled sTag ra in the Northern country. First of all they took back the image of the Jo bo from Mañ yul and placed it in Lhasa [25 a]. Then gSal snañ of sBa was sent as an
 15 envoy and the master Ži ba aṭs'o, invited to Tibet, first came to Lhasa and then went to bSam yas, where he was met with great reverence by the king. The Abbot explained many parts of the Law, beginning with the ten good actions and the twelve members of causation;
 20 then the gods and the demons of Tibet were not pleased with this and the dMar po ri was hit by lightning and aP'añ t'añ²⁾ was flooded. When such portents had been shown, the Abbot pondered on that and for a while he went to Nepal; according to the instructions given of
 25 inviting the slob dpon Padmasambhava, this latter was ordered to be led to Tibet; thus the gods and klu of Tibet were converted. The Abbot was again taken back to Tibet.

¹⁾ I. e. of the copy used by the Author; the sentence referred to is not in the text of GR. p. 84 a, but instead of: jo bo rin po c'e it refers once to: jo bo mi bskyod rdo rje, p. 84 a, l. 6.

²⁾ Gloss: in Yar luñ.

When the king was twenty-two years old [26] in the year earth-female-hare ¹⁾ the foundations of the temple of Mi aḡyur lhun gyis grub of bSam yas were laid, and in the year iron-female-hare the building was completed. The ceremony of the consecration was chiefly conducted by 5 the Abbot, the Bodhisattva and the slob dpon Padma; in the year wood-female-sheep, the seven Sad mi, etc., were ordained in the presence of the Abbot. Though the Me loñ ma ²⁾ says that the ordination of the seven Sad mi was made before the consecration of the temple, 10 in many sources it is stated as previously said. Moreover many persons endowed with faith or excellent insight were ordained; in a general way, it is said that in K'ams, Upper and Lower, twelve seminaries were built for the study of the Law; in Yer pa and 15 in aC'iñ p'u two places for meditation were established. Lotsāvas [26 a] and Paṇḍitas translated chiefly religious books on mantras and logic and great service was rendered to the cause of determining the exact meaning (of the Law) by explaining and hearing (the holy texts). 20

The precious teaching of the Buddha was extolled. ³⁾

Later, Jo bo Atiśa said that at that time even in India the Buddhist teaching could not be compared to that of Tibet. Then the Abbot said: "Although in Tibet there are no heretics, the Buddhist teaching will be divided into 25 two groups and there shall be many controversies. Then you should invite Kamalaśīla from India and you should

¹⁾ See G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Roma, II, p. 27 ff and 285.

²⁾ P. 86 a.

³⁾ There are three moments or times concerning the progress of the Law: to open it, srol p'ye ba; to extol it, srol bstod pa; to fully possess it, srol aḡsin pa.

entrust to him the task of the controversy". This was his will, and he then entered nirvāṇa.

5 Meanwhile, in accordance with that prophecy, the Hva šaṅ came from China; he taught [27] that Buddhahood consists in remaining in a state of inactivity and there is no need of any application in the Law regarding either body or speech. Thus gradually Tibet came to follow, for the most part, the materialistic (u c c h e d a - v ā d a) theory.

10 Then Ye šes dbaṅ po reminded the king about the prophecy of the Abbot. When the Hva šaṅ came to know that messengers had been sent to bring (to Tibet) Kamalaśīla, he composed the b S a m g t a n ṅ a l b a i
 15 ṅ k'or lo, the b S a m g t a n g y i l e n and the (bSam gtan gyi) yaṅ len and the m D o s d e b r g y a d
 c u k' u ṅ s, and other śāstras.

Then Kamalaśīla arrived, and the king sitting in the midst (of the two disputants), Kamalaśīla started a controversy with the Hva šaṅ and defeated him. Then
 20 the Hva šaṅ was sent back to his country and his books were hidden; so it is said. The system of Kamalaśīla and that of the Hva šaṅ are respectively called Tsen min pa and Ton min pa; which means in Tibetan [27 a] the followers «of the gradual method» and those of «the method of
 25 the sudden realization». At the time of this king and his ministers who were in bSam yas¹⁾, the Chinese emperor and his son-in-law, the Tibetan king, were not always on good terms and therefore the occasions for wars arose. So
 30 once the general Lha bzaṅ klu dpal, at the head of two hundred thousand Tibetan soldiers, occupied Šiṅ k'un,

¹⁾ Litt. of bSam yas.

Tsiu mk'ar and the country of sMan rtse. So it is written in the rGyai deb t'er. This king had three sons: Mu ne btsan po, Mu tig btsan po and K'ri lDe sron btsan.

The king handed down the reign to the eldest son; he then passed away in gÑug ma mk'ar, the palace of Zuñ 5 mk'ar at the age of sixty, in the year earth-tiger [28]. According to the C'os a byuñ ¹⁾ of Buston, Mu ne btsan po took possession of the reign in the year water-tiger; but after one year and seven months of reign, at the age of seventeen, he passed away (gloss: the text (dpe) is incorrect) ²⁾. 10

In the Me loñ ma ³⁾ it is written that he was born in the year water-tiger and became king at twenty-eight and that having reigned for one year and nine months, he died at twenty-nine (gloss: the text (dpe) is incorrect). According to the first theory, the calculation does not correspond 15 to what is written in the C'os a byuñ, viz. that the father died at sixty-nine in the year fire-tiger ⁴⁾; he must therefore have handed down the kingdom to his son aged forty-five; according to the second theory, a son must have been born to the king when the latter was forty-five; but this does not 20 agree with the calculation contained in that same history ⁵⁾ stating that the king, the father, died in the year water-ox ⁶⁾ when he was fifty-six [28 a]; moreover the date of the death, i. e. the year wood-ox is a misprint; in this printed edition there are many other chronological mistakes. In some books 25 it is said that the son ruled for seven years and nine months

¹⁾ Obermiller, p. 196.

²⁾ The text, dpe, here refers to that used by the author himself.

³⁾ Fol. 93 a l. 1, 2: 93 b, l. 4. It is only said that the father died "at 69 years of age".

⁴⁾ Not expressly stated in Buston, Obermiller, p. 196.

⁵⁾ I. e., Me loñ ma.

⁶⁾ In the edition: p. 92 b, l. 6 wood-female-ox.

and this seems to be exact. If the calculation is followed of (those) two (above said histories) which say that this king thrice established equality between rich and poor, there is no time left for enforcing thrice such equality.

5 This king, following the ways of his father and of his grandfather, paid reverence to the Teaching; he also instituted in bSam yas some worship to be offered to the three collections of texts ¹⁾ and even today this worship to the holy books (tripiṭaka) is not obliterated. At the age of
10 twenty-three he died having eaten some bad food which his mother Ts'e spon bza' had administered to him. Then the reign was to pass [29] into the hands of the second son Mu tig btsan po, but this was killed by sNa nam pa frightening his horse.

15 The reign was given to the youngest son K'ri lDe sroñ btsan who was not yet of age and who is known as Sad na legs ajiñ yon. The latter took hold of the government and was provided with the ten good rules ²⁾ and offered worship to the temples which had been founded by his father and his
20 grandfather. He provided the necessary support for many lotsāvas and paṇḍitas translating sūtras and works of grammar which had not been (translated) as yet. He is said to have founded the temple of dKar c'uñ, a royal establishment. During his time as well as that of Mu ne btsan po, there
25 were many occasions of war with China; so it is stated in the Deb t'er. ³⁾ This king had five sons: gTsañ ma, Dar ma, Ral pa can, Lha rje and Lhun grub [29 a]. Buston in his C'os

¹⁾ mdo, ṅdul ba, mñon par mdsod pa.

²⁾ I. e. moral precepts: three concerning the body, four the speech, three the mind.

³⁾ Not found; but see: *Blue Annals*, p. 51. Deb t'er may also stand for rGyai deb t'er.

ąbyuñ¹⁾, takes Lha rje and Lhun grub as being one and
 the same person; in the Me loñ ma²⁾, Sad na legs is given
 one son, lDeñ k'ri, and to this five sons are attributed.
 But this is wrong, since it does not coincide with the pro-
 phecy made by the ancestor Sroñ btsan, viz. that in the
 second generation after K'ri Sroñ lde btsan there would
 have been an incarnation of P'yag na rdo rje, i.e. Ral pa
 can³⁾. gTsañ ma took the vows, Lha rje and Lhun grub died
 young. Though Dar ma was the eldest, since he did not
 like the Law, the reign passed into the hands of K'ri Ral
 pa can when he was twelve years old. This happened in
 the year fire-bird, thirty-two years after the death of K'ri
 Sroñ lde btsan. In the C'os ąbyuñ⁴⁾ of Buston, it is
 said that he came to power when eighteen years of age [30],
 but there are many sources agreeing with what has been said
 before. Ral pa can married queen dPal gyi ñaṅ ts'ul; having as
 his minister Bran k'a dPal yon tan, he ruled over the State.

This king invited many paṇḍitas, such as Paṇḍita Jina-
 mitra, Śilendrabodhi and Dānaśīla; the three lotsāvas of
 Ka ba, of Cog ro and of Žañ translated many books of the
 Law. He founded many monasteries and extended sem-
 inaries for the explanation of the Law, for meditation and
 for (the study of) monastic rules.

And he wanted, as his offering, that each man ordained as
 a monk should be waited upon by seven laymen taken from
 among his subjects. To both ears⁵⁾ he attached two long

1) Obermiller, p. 196.

2) Fol. 94 b.

3) GR., p. 77 b, 3.

4) Obermiller, p. 196.

5) But sña may be «the two sides of a cap» or sña stands for (ral) sña: end of lhr-locks, as in GR.

strips of silk cloth and revered the row of monks sitting upon them (as if) upon his head; therefore, they were known as the two ¹⁾ head-communities. He also founded the temple of dPe med bKra šis dge p'el of 'On can rdo in
 5 'U šaṅ rdo [30 a] and thus he caused the Buddhist teaching to spread and develop. During that time there was a disagreement between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king and as a consequence many tens of thousands of Tibetans were led to war and plundered many localities
 10 and castles in China; but then the chaplains of Tibet acted as intermediaries and the father-in-law and the son-in-law swore a reciprocal oath and the text of this pact is (written) on the pillar of Lhasa. But some sinful ministers could not bear that the king should take such delight
 15 in the Law, and so held a council and agreed that it would have been impossible to abolish the religious customs unless the king were killed. But some said: " Even if the king is killed, the prince (son of K'ri lDe sroṅ
 20 btsan) gTsaṅ ma and the blon c'en ²⁾, these two, are very pleased with the Law and it is therefore impossible to destroy it ". Then, first of all, they exiled the prince to sPa gro mon [31] and then slandered the blon c'en devoted to the Law saying that he had intercourse with the queen. So he was killed, being quite innocent, and
 25 the queen immediately after committed suicide.

After that, the king who was then thirty-six, in the year iron-bird, was killed by sBas sTag sna can and Cog ro Lha lod. Following these events, the merits accumulated by Tibet dwindled like (the flame of) a lamp in which

¹⁾ I. e.: right and left.

²⁾ Bran k'a dPal yon.

the oil is used up, and the royal rule (based upon) the ten virtuous actions was consumed like the stalks which bind a bundle of rotten straw, and sinful practice rose up like a gale in a forbidding country, and therefore the lotsāvas, the paṇḍitas and the chaplains, since no services were rendered to them, remained in their own countries. 5

In that year iron-bird, in compliance with the desire of the sinful ministers, the elder brother, K'ri Dar ma u dum btsan, was raised to the throne [31 a]; he was then thirty-nine years of age. The T'eu rañ¹⁾ dBas rGyal to re was elected nañ blon. In the Me loñ ma it is said that Dar ma was born in the year earth-ox²⁾; he is therefore made younger than Ral pa can; but in other historical works one reads the same. Then in the heart of the king an evil disposition (gdon³⁾) took abode and by various means he cancelled all traces of the monks who are the foundation of the Law and the support of liberation; the teaching of the Buddha declined from the very roots. After that time, the people rightly called this king Glañ (ox), after the name of an animal. From the year wood-sheep when the Abbot and K'ri Sroñ lde btsan, the priest and the patron, established the ordination of the monks [32] down to this year iron-bird * when the decline of the Law began, there ran eighty-seven years. The C'os a by uñ of Buston places the introduction⁴⁾ of the ordination of the monks in the year water-sheep; and this derives from the chronology mistakenly placing the foundation of the bSam yas in the year fire-hare. At that time, except for the fact that it 10 15 20 25

1) I. e.: the incarnation of a T'eu rañ, a kind of demons.

2) But in the text only glañ: ox year, p. 98 b, l. 5.

3) Comm.: las ñan mñon du gyur.

4) Obermiller, p. 190: but Buston says only: sheep-year.

was necessary to hide the two Jo bo under their own throne, they did not succeed in destroying the great temples, such as those of Lhasa and of bSam yas. In the same way, the (books of) revelation (sūtra) and the doctrinal works (śāstra),
 5 which had been translated in the previous period, did not generally disappear, but were revered by the laymen.

In the villages and in the side valleys, among the exorcists turned into laymen, experiences (ñams len) concerning the deep concentrations continued and that was a sign that
 10 the teaching of the Buddha was to spring up again later on¹⁾.

At that time [32 a] Lha luñ dpal gyi rdo rje dwelt in Yer pa. On hearing the story of this sinful king, he felt a great compassion (for the king also) and, admonished by the words of Ma cig dpal lha (mo), he changed his apparel and
 15 went to Lhasa and, hitting the king on the forehead with an iron arrow (gloss: year wood-ox), he killed him. Sticking an arrow on his forehead when the sinful king was killed, he said: 'such was the doing'. Being the deed of a bodhisattva, a strong hero, it was like the compassionate caravan leader
 20 (ded dpon sñiñ rje c'en po), killing the black man having a small arrow. Since this action had been of great consequence, dPal gyi rdo rje could not remain there and went to mDo k'ams. The prophecy of this event is contained in the rGyal po bka' c'ems:

25 "Then a manifestation of the devil²⁾
 a king with the name of an animal will come;
 in his heart an evil disposition (gdon) [33] will dwell;

¹⁾ See emendations; if the reading of the ms. is maintained, the meaning could be: that was the magic play, the miracle of the future revival of the Doctrine.

²⁾ Cfr. Ma pi bka' abum, Evam, p. 309 b and 312 f.

As to the (real) heir, since (the mother) was afraid of harm coming from the first queen, he was protected day and night, respectively by the light of the sun and of the lamps; he was therefore called 'Od sruñ. The two brothers, even
 5 before reaching their full age, were requested by the ministers who took delight in the Law that the two Jo bos should again be placed on their thrones, that the temples which had been destroyed should be rebuilt and that reverence should be paid to the (three) jewels [34]. From
 10 the times of Sron btsan down to those of 'Od sruñ, there is a prophecy of the ṅJam dpal rtsa rgyud.

“ (There will be) accomplishers of their duty towards
 [the teaching of the Buddha in many ways;
 as regards the northern regions,
 15 at that time there will arise
 a king, called a god among men,
 dwelling in the snowy mountains,
 (in a country) called the country of the Gods (Lha ldan);
 he will be born in the family of the Licchavis,
 20 he will realize the meaning of the mantras
 and he will possess much wealth;
 the mystic knowledge called “ possession of wealth ”
 [this ruler of men will master;
 he will rule for eighty years,
 25 he will abstain from brigandage;
 when this king has abandoned life,
 then also the mantras¹⁾ meant to give peace
 or to make one prosper or to bestow power will be quic-
 [kly realized,

¹⁾ I. e.: vidyā-s deriving the name from the deities symbolizing them.

and the goddess who is famous as the lamp of the world¹⁾
 and the goddess in a white dress,
 the goddess of a great whiteness exerting herself in
 [benefiting others,
 and he whose mind is never tired; 5
 so there will be many kings,
 in very many ways, of various colours (varṇa) [34 a]
 and of [various forms;
 the king of the Kla klo dwelling in the country of the
 snows, he also will worship the Teacher; 10
 (among them): ‘bull’ and the ‘good bull’
 and ‘light of earth’, and also ‘good light of earth’ –
 [and also the ‘subduer of outsiders’
 and ‘foot-going’ and
 and the ‘protector of earth’ of knowledge certain 15
 [and ‘the calf’]
 and as the last, the ‘brilliant’;
 at the end there will be
 the ‘rising winner’ (and) a ‘virtuous character’.
 There will be various kinds of Kla klo. 20
 Then the (two) ways (of good statesmanship and
 religion) will be destroyed
 and foreign people will enjoy (the country).²⁾
 This is the prophecy.

The ‘Northern region’ and the ‘Country of the snows’ are 25
 well-known. The ‘country of the Gods’ is Lhasa. “Will rule
 for eighty years” means that he will stay (on this earth)

1) Or «she who sets us free from the world» = Tārā, sgröl ma, (for sgron ma) as in the skr. text.

2) From Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra, p. 621 f., where this passage refers to Nepal. Cfr. *Blue Annals*, p. 44.

for eighty-two years and that in the interval Mañ sroñ mañ
btsan will also come to power for a little while. sGrol
ma¹⁾, the goddess in a white dress, the goddess of a great
whiteness are the three principal wives: Koñ jo, the Ne-
5 palese, and T'od dkar of the aBri clan²⁾.

“Will be born in the family of the Licchavi” is the fami-
ly [35] of Yañs pa can. In the Me lon ma it is said that
it was the family of Šā kya Ri brag³⁾, but this is to be
blamed.

10 “King of the Kla klo” because he subdued also the
Ta zig in the West. “So there will be many kings” i. e.
those who will follow. The ‘bull’ is Guñ sroñ: “the
good bull” is aDus sroñ rnam aṅ’rul; “light of the earth”
is Mes ag ts’om. The “good light of earth” is K’ri sroñ
15 ldeu btsan. “The subduer of outsiders” is Mu ne btsan
po; “foot-going” is Sad na legs; “The protector of
earth” is Ral pa can. “The calf” is Glañ dar ma;
“The brilliant” is ‘Od sruñ. “At the end a rising
winner (and) a virtuous character” means that the kings of
20 the Hor coming from the East will conquer Tibet; thus there
are various kinds of Kla klo. The agreement (of facts)
with the prophecy is thus very close.

After ‘Od sruñ, as there was no ruler over the whole
of Tibet, the two right manners of life perished. Then
25 since ‘Od sruñ and Yum brtan did not agree about go-
vernment [35 a], the first took γYo ru and the second dBu
ru and thus there arose trouble. ‘Od sruñ lived sixty years.

¹⁾ But before: sgron ma, the lamp; according to the Sk. text in both cases: Tārā.

²⁾ But see above p. 13.

³⁾ P. 24 a, The Śākya are said to be of three kinds or clans; Great Śākya, Śākya-Licchavi and Śākya of Ri brag, cfr. *Red Annals*, p. 15 b, l. 4.

When he was twenty-nine, there were disorders due to the rebellion of rJe K'on;¹⁾ after eight years the (royal) tombs were destroyed. So it is written in the Me loñ ma.²⁾

The son (of 'Od sruñ) was dPal ak'or btsan who, 5
when thirty-one, was killed by sÑags in Šar k'a; his sons
were bKra šis rtsegs and sKyid lde ñi ma mgon. The
sons of the former were dPal lde, 'Od lde, sKyid lde, i. e.
the three lDe of the Lower Country (sMad). From the
family of the first, dPal lde, the (chiefs) of the lower 10
mÑa' ris in the Upper country derived. Now these
(descendants) are the princes of rDsoñ k'a. The youngest,
sKyid lde, became prince of rTa nag in Šaṅs. He had six
sons; from these the chiefs of [36] Mus, aJad and Ñañ
stod are derived. The second, 'Od lde, had four sons; 15
from the eldest the chiefs of γYag sde and sTag ts'al, in
Ñañ stod, were born.

As regards the family of the second, K'ri lde, the prin-
ces of Šar tsoñ k'a in mDo smad, etc. were born of him.
Also the chieftains of Lha don still existing, according to 20
the Me loñ ma,³⁾ are derived from the family of K'ri lde.
As regards the family of his son Ñag lde, it dwelt in γYas
ru and in sKyin mk'ar; his (other) son K'ri c'uñ went
to Yar kluñs and took possession of the castle of sTag
rtse in aP'yiñ⁴⁾ ña. The son of the last was 'Od 25
skyid aḅar. The latter had seven sons, the eldest being
rJe ts'a k'ri aḅar, and six younger brothers; from the

¹⁾ Blon Kon bzer, in Ch. Lun K'un-jo. Cfr. P. Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, p. 26 27 n.

²⁾ Fol. 99 b, l. 1.

³⁾ Fol. 102 b, l. 3.

⁴⁾ Ms. aC'iñ ña.

first the family of the princes of γ Yu t'og, sNa mo, aPyiñ na, Don mk'ar, T'añ aḳ'or descended.

As regards the six younger brothers, they were: Lha bcaḁ,¹⁾ γ Yu can,²⁾ [36 a] Da ra, Lhun po, 'Od btsan, Guñ
 5 btsan. The rulers of K'ra aḅrug, Byiñ, Byar, C'u mig gog po are descended from the last two. γ Yu can took possession of Bya sa. His son was Jo dga'. This one had three sons: the eldest was known as the Lha c'en of Bya sa and built the temple of Bya sa. The second son, K'ri dar
 10 ma, had four sons: gTsug lde, K'ri gtsug, Jo bo rnal aḅyor and Jo bo smon lam. Jo bo rnal aḅyor took possession of aḅan ts'igs; sMon lam built the white dwelling of sPu gu rdo and dwelt there. K'ri gtsug took possession of Bya sa and dPe sñon; the rulers of Yar mda' are descended from
 15 his family [37]. Jo bo rnal aḅyor had three sons: Jo aḅag, Lha c'en, Lha ñam šod pa; the second took his seet³⁾ in aC'ad spyil and was known as the (dBañ p'yug) of Lha luñ.

Jo aḅag had five sons: Jo bo Šā kya mgon, Lha aḅro mgon, lDe po, lDe c'uñ and Jo rgyal. The second took his
 20 seet in aC'ad spyil and accomplished many commendable deeds for the benefit of others. The first, separating himself from his younger brothers, founded the palace of gNas c'uñ. His son was Jo bo Šā kya bkra šis who founded P'o brañ rñiñ ma. He had two sons: Lha brag k'a pa and mÑa' bdag
 25 Grags pa rin c'en, who enjoyed great power and prosperity. The latter had three sons, the eldest being Blo gros 'od; this one also took his seet in aC'ad spyil [37 a]. The younger was Lha btsun Ts'ul k'rims bzañ po, who was ordained in

1) Corr. brtsad [po].

2) GR.: 102 b, l. 4. Lha spyan dañ γ Yu spyan gñis.

3) I. e.: was a gdan sa pa of aC'ad spyil.

gDan sa t'el and wrote the rGyal rabs deb t'er
c'en mo. The son of Jo rgyal was Jo ḅabar who had two
sons, the elder being Lha zur k'añ pa; this one also took
his seat in ḅC'ad spyil. The younger was invited to act as
dpon by the people of Roñ k'rom po and was known as 5
Lha k'rom po pa. His family still exists in Byar in the
South and in Sa smad spyañ rtsigs (ri mgo pa - gloss).

The second son of dPal k'or btsan, called Ñi ma mgon,
went to mÑa' ris; he founded the castle of Ñi bzuñ in the
country of sPu hrañs, and ruled there. His sons were 10
Rig pa mgon¹⁾, bKra šis mgon, and lDe gtsug mgon, who
are known as the three mGon of the Upper Country.
The first took possession of Mar yul [38], the second of
sPu hrañs, the third of Žañ žuñ.

The last, lDe gtsug mgon had two sons; ḅK'or re and 15
Sroñ ñe. In the first part of his life, the latter had as
sons: Nā ga rā dsa and De va rā dsa; in the later part he was
ordained and known as Lha bla ma Ye šes 'od. He founded
the temple of mT'o ldiñ and sent to India, in order to learn
the Law, twenty-one boys of sharp intellect, and he invited 20
the three Pañḅitas called Varma; many texts of sūtras and
mantras were then translated.

Afterwards, when Atiśa was invited, the Garlok (Qarluk)
who had come in search of gold, took the king prisoner.
Though mÑa' ris had begun to ransom him with much 25
gold, lest this might be an obstacle to the invitation of the
Jo bo, giving up the ransom, he sacrificed his life for the
sake of the Law. At that time, the great Lotsāva Rin
c'en bzañ po was thirteen years of age [38a], when in the
year iron-horse he was ordained. In the Chronicle of Bu-

¹⁾ A mistake for dPal gyi mgon; cfr. below fol. 39, b.

ston¹⁾ it is written that the name which aK'or re took when he was initiated was Ye šes 'od.

The son of the elder brother aK'or re was Lha lde. This one had three sons: 'Od lde, Ži ba 'od and Byañ c'ub 'od.
 5 During the time of the latter, Jo bo²⁾ was invited to Tibet and this was a great favour which the grandfather and the grandson bestowed upon Tibet. 'Od lde had one son, mŃa' bdag rTse lde, who held a great religious assembly in mŃa' ris; his son was aBar lde; his son was bKra šis
 10 lde. From this, in succession: Bha ē, Nā ga lde, bTsan p'yug lde, again bKra šis lde, Graggs btsan lde, Graggs pa lde, A šog lde, A nan smal, Reu smal. This last offered the golden roof on top of the head³⁾ of the chapel of the image of the Jo bo in Lhasa. Then, in turn [39]: Ji ađar
 15 rmal, A ji rmal, Ka lan rmal, Par ti rmal. With him the family of Ya rtse came to an end; mŃa' bdag bSod nams lde was invited from sPu hrañs and was given the royal power. His son, sPri ti rmal, offered the golden roof above the head of bCu gcig žal in Lhasa. After
 20 him, down to this time, there were some saintly kings who protected with their strength the Buddhist teaching. From them the kings of Šel in Mañ yul and Nub ra are descended and also those of Glo pa, La dags and Zañs dkar. These (last) five rulers honoured, in their heart,
 25 as their chaplains, only the dGe lugs pa; in the monasteries subject to them no other system was followed.

dPal lha btsan po of Guge also was only devoted to the dGe ldan pa-s and satisfied them with rich gifts. He left to

1) Obermiller, p. 212.

2) Atiśa.

3) dbu t'og may also mean in some cases: upper storey.

their ways the Sa skya pa monasteries [39 a] subject to him.¹⁾ As regards the prince of rDson k'a, besides being a devotee of the Sa skya pa-s, he was above all a devotee of Bo doñ pa. In the monastery there was also a dGe ldan pa seminary and he protected it also impartially. 5
 As regards Glo bo, a chief (dpon sa) of rDson k'a was made sde dpon of sKya aṅ'ar pa.²⁾ During his time and the time of dPon A ma dpal,³⁾ first, the C'os rje P'yogs las [rnam rgyal], then Kun bzañ pa [Kun dga' bzañ po] of Ņor were invited and made chief bla ma-s; they forced 10
 the monasteries of their estate to be either Sa skya pa-s or especially Ņor pa-s, whether they were or not (of those sects) and they showed somehow unfriendliness towards the dGe ldan pa-s. Then also at the times of dPon bKra šis mgon, (these) religious manners were as 15
 before, and the meritorious works increased.

The son of mŅa' bdag Yum brtan was K'ri lde mgon; the son of this last was mGon brten; his sons were Rig pa mgon and Ņi 'od dpal mgon [40]; the family of the latter spread in rLuñ šod, aP'an yul and mDo k'ams. Rig 20
 pa mgon had two sons: lDe po and rDo rje aṅar; the descendants of the former were the holders of P'ug pa can in Yar stod and those of T'añ lha brag. The descendants of the former (i. e. P'ug pa can) are the sde pa-s of bSam bde of to-day. The son of rDo rje aṅar was dBañ p'yug btsan; 25
 the son of the latter was Tsv'a na Ye šes rgyal mts'an; the son of this one was mŅa' bdag K'ri pa; the sons of this

¹⁾ rañ aṅabs su aṅog: rañ sar bžag, bcos bsgyur ma byas par bžag; rañ stañs rnam aṅgyur (Dict. of C'os kyi grags pa).

²⁾ G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, 1956, p. 18 n. 1.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 19 n. 1.

were: A tsa rya, Lha dge sloñ, Lha btsun Bo dhe rā dsa;
 three in all. The descendants of the first are the chieftains
 of ḡP'rañ po, Grib pa, sÑe t'añ and Lum pa. The princes
 (btsad po) of 'On descended from the second; from the last,
 5 the family known as the Lha btsun sñon mo of bSam yas and
 the (chiefs) of Lha ḡbri sgañ are derived. The ancestor of
 the first was Lha btsun Ži ba 'od [40 a]. This one and an
 exorcist of Bru ša are said to have looked at rJe sryan sña
 as (a possible) substitute (for the son of Ži ba 'od).¹⁾ From
 10 his family the s de pa-s of Bu ts'al and Lha gliñ dkar pa of
 to day are descended. Those known as the princes of Ts'a
 roñ belong to the same lineage; their progeny is that of
 the s de pa-s of Lha rgya ri of to-day. Two among those
 who have been so recorded, viz. the prince of bSam yas
 15 Tsv'a na Ye šes rgyal mts'an, and the mÑa' bdag K'ri pa,
 father and son, are considered to have bestowed great
 favours upon the teaching of religion during its second
 introduction into Tibet.

It so happened; when on account of the sinful king
 20 the Law declined, gTsañ Rab gsal, ḡYo dGe byuñ,
 dMar Šā kya mu ne, these three, went from C'u bo ri to
 mDo smad; while they dwelt in Yañ dgon [41] of Dan
 tig šel, Mu bzu gsal ḡbar requested them to ordain him
 as a novice and he was called dGe ba rab gsal. Then,
 25 his spiritual attainments greatly increasing, he was called
 dGoñs pa rab gsal.

Again the (two) Ha šañ Ke bañ and Gyi ban agreed to
 act as supplementary officiants so completing the number

¹⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 575. That is, as a person upon whom the impending
 death of the son of that prince was to be transferred in order to spare the
 life of the boy.

of five officiants (necessary for an ordination) and he was given the full ordination. In the *Me loñ ma*¹⁾ it is written that the great Lama *dGoñs pa rab gsal* was born in *Žogs*, in upper *dBus*, and went to *K'ams* in order to take there the vows; but this is a great 5 mistake. As it is said, this is like having the face beaten down by an antiquated historical book²⁾. About five years later *Ts'a na Ye šes rgyal mts'an* helped him with his support. Then *Klu mes Ts'ul k'rims šes rab*, *Ye šes yon tan* of *ąBriñ*, *Rag ši Ts'ul k'rims ąbyuñ gnas*, 10 *Ts'ul k'rims blo gros* of *sBa*, *gSum pa Ye šes blo gros*, five in all, from *dBus* and [41 a] *Lo ston rDo rje dbañ p'yug*, *Ts'oñ btsun Šes rab señ ge*, 'O *brgyad* of *mÑa' ris* and his brother and *U pa de kar* of *Bo doñ*, these five from *gTsañ*, altogether ten persons, were 15 sent to *K'ams* in order to take the vows of ordination. There the great lama acted as *mk'an po*, *gTsañ pa* and *γYo* (respectively) as *las slob dpon* and as esoteric master (*gsa ñ ston*). *dMar* and a *Ha šañ* completed the (number of five) masters requested for 20 the initiation, so that they were fully ordained and then they all came back to *dBus* and went to *bSam yas*. Though *Ts'a na Ye šes rgyal mts'an* was no more there, the prince *K'ri pa* undertook to be their chief patron.

In the beginning, the (number) of novices and of monks 25 duly ordained increased. Afterwards, they founded various places where to stay so that they divulged the Teaching.

¹⁾ In the GR. it is written that *sMu gsal* was in *ąP'an yul Žog*, p. 100 a, l. 5.

²⁾ *ldan rtsa* = *ldan pa*.

The prophecy of this is contained in the bK a' c'e m s :

“ then, after five hundred years,
 the extinguished fire of the teaching of the Buddha
 will again arise from mDo K'ams sGañ
 5 and [42], among the creatures of the Country of the
 [snow,
 like the brilliancy of a lamp which was near to die,
 the Teaching will (again) spread ”. ¹⁾

But we may now ask: how many years did there pass
 10 from the disappearance of the Teaching, down to the coming
 of the ten men to dBus ? According to Nel pa, from the
 year earth-sheep * in which the Teaching declined, down *839
 to year earth-bird * ²⁾ when it (re)appeared, there ran one *949
 hundred and eleven years. This calculation is generally
 15 the same as that of bCom ldan Rig ral; Buston rin po c'e ³⁾
 (counts) seventy-three (or) seventy-one years; dPal ldan bla
 ma, ninety-eight; according to Kam kam spyan sña,
 one hundred and forty; according to aBrom ston pa, sev-
 enty-eight, down to the year earth-tiger; * this last date is *978
 20 the right one. ⁴⁾ At that time [42 a] the great lotsāva Rin
 c'en bzañ po (958-1055) had been already ordained since
 eight years; therefore, the revival of the Teaching in
 mÑa' ris took place earlier than in dBus or in gTsañ.

Sixty-five years after the Teaching had reappeared in
 25 dBus and in gTsañ, in the year water-horse * Jo bo came *1042

¹⁾ Cfr. for occasional similarities Ma ñi bka' abum. Evam, 284 b; 309 b.

²⁾ Quotation wrong: according to *Blue Annals* p. 61, it should be: lcags bya, iron-bird. instead of sa bya: earth-bird. Therefore, according to Nel pa, the period during which there was no Doctrine, was of 108 years.

³⁾ Obermiller, p. 211 (70 years).

⁴⁾ But this does not agree with the date of 839. This chronology will be discussed in the Notes.

to mÑa' ris. One hundred sixty-three ¹⁾ years later,
the kaśmīri paṇḍita came to Tibet, in the year wood-
•1204 mouse *; forty-one years after, in the year wood-dragon,
•1244 * the C'os rje Sa skya pa went to China; twenty-two years
•1265 after, in the year wood-ox, * the aGro mgon aP'ags pa 5
came back from China to dBus. In that year, five ²⁾ sex-
•845 agenary cycles after the year wood-ox * ³⁾ in which king
K'ri Dar ma was killed, had elapsed. Down to this year
•1538 earth-dog, * from that year, two hundred and seventy-
four ⁴⁾ years have elapsed. 10

1) Ms. brgyad dañ gsum.

2) Which is wrong; to be corrected in: seven?

3) Glañ dar ma according to GR. p. 98 b, l. 5, was killed in [me] stag
=846.

4) In the text wrongly: 214.

CHAPTER IV

China and Hor

As regards the royal genealogies of China and Hor, there are two things to be considered. In the first place the first king of China was Tsiu. He was a contemporary of [43] gŽu brtan, the ancestor of the Blessed one. Then, after
5 four royal generations, a king called Tsiu dbaṅ rgyal came to power; twenty-four years after this event, in the year wood-tiger, the Buddha appeared in the world.

Generally speaking, thirty-six kings of the royal lineage of Tsiu held the power for one hundred years. After that,
10 there were Gan, the father¹⁾ and his son and then twelve kings of the lineage of the Han kings. Then a minister called I maṅ took the kingdom and held it for some years. Then a person, belonging to the royal lineage of the Han kings, killed I maṅ and took hold of the power. When the latter's
15 son, called king Han man ti, began to rule, the teaching of the Buddha appeared in China, long before it came to Tibet. Then there were twenty four kings of the Han dynasty. During the time of the last of them [43 a], a minister possessed himself of the kingdom, and his family held it for
20 five generations. One of his ministers took away the kingdom from their hands. Afterward there were Duṅ tsiṅ and bSi tsiṅ of the lineage of the Hiu-tsiṅ; during the time of the latter (bSi tsiṅ) they sent (messengers to India) to fetch the image of the Jo bo made of sandal-wood. When this was

¹⁾ Gan = huang, Ch'in Shih huang ti. On this chapter cfr. *Blue Annals*, p. 47 ff.

brought to (China), bSi tsiñ¹⁾ had died, and an officer, C'iñ sañ (Ch'êng hsiang) [became emperor]; the general who had gone to India to take the Jo bo of sandal-wood became master of bSi c'on²⁾ and of twenty-four castles of Ciu and ruled over a separate kingdom. Then a king of the lineage of that C'iñ sañ took away from the hands of the king belonging to the family of the general the Jo bo of sandal-wood and worshipped it. According to the Me loñ ma³⁾, the Jo bo and the image of Šā kya mu ni both came (into China) during the time of bSi tsiñ; this does not contradict (our statement).

As to the story that this image of the Jo bo in sandal-wood now exists in this country of China it is not heard that anybody has it. As regards [44] the way how it came to (China), it is known from the prophecy of the Buddha who said: "one thousand years after my nirvāṇa, this image will benefit the creatures of China."

Founding his calculation on these two kinds of evidence, viz. on this one, and on the reckoning of the Indian chronology whereby the Buddha was born in the year wood-tiger, the bla ma ṛP'ags pa calculated in the royal Palace a chronology; this chronology exceeds by a few years that which was later calculated in the council held in C'u mig.

Then the lineage of the C'iñ sañ came to an end, and two Gan⁴⁾ kings, father and son, took possession of the kingdom. After that came king T'añ, who was a contemporary of gNam ri sroñ btsan; his son was king T'añ ka'o bzuñ; the son of the latter was king T'ai rdsuñ,

1) Ms. bsam.

2) Ssü chuan.

3) Fol. 10 b.

4) Huang.

the same as *Señ ge btsan po* [44 a]. This is the king who gave his daughter to wife to the king of Tibet, *Sroñ btsan sgam po*. He had seven sons; *Dsuñ dsuñ* belonged to the family of the eldest; this was a contemporary of the Tibetan king *Mes ag ts'om* and was connected by marriage with him.

His son, *Han dsuñ*, was appointed king, but on a certain occasion the kingdom was taken by one minister. Thus there were various dynasties like the one called *Lañ* of a different lineage; there were altogether five lineages with fifteen kings. Afterwards there was a king called *Ciu t'ai dsuñ*¹⁾, but in effect the kingdom passed from his hands into those of the *Mi ñag*. In the country of *sBen Lañ*²⁾ his descendents dwelled for eight generations. Then there were eight royal generations in *sMan rtse*, till *sMan rtse lha btsun*.

As to how the kingdom fell into the hands of the *Mi ñag* (it should be known that) between *Byañ ños*³⁾ and *Mi ñag sga*, there is a mountain where dwelt a *klu*, a great *bdud*, called *Se Hū* [45]; this snake had carnal connection with a female of *Ša za* extraction in the castle of *Byañ ños*; when a child was born, an ominous star (*Rāhu*) which had not been noticed before was seen to appear and the Chinese, on the basis of an astrological calculation, came to know that a man was born who would have taken away the kingdom. And all were therefore afraid. When the boy had grown in age, according to the suggestion of an old female of the *Mi ma yin* (*Asura*), he led an army of many horsemen, went to the palace, and killed the king and the ministers, who had come to bring their seals (insignia of power). Thus the kingdom of China fell into the

1) *Chao T'ai tsu*.

2) *Pien liang*.

3) On this passage see R. Stein in *BEFEO*, vol. XLIV, 1951, p. 250 ff.

hands of the Mi ñag; as to the king's name, he was known as king Seu from the name of his father. Then down to king rGyar god of the Mi ñag, there were six generations of kings and the rule of the Mi ñag lasted for two hundred and sixty years.

Second, as regards the [45 a] royal genealogy of the Hor, 5 there are two things to be considered, i.e. the genealogy itself and in what way the rule of China again came into being.

As to the first argument, (it should be known) that the first king of the Hor was a son of heaven called sBor¹⁾ ta c'e who seems to have appeared some time after Tsiu, 10 king of China; from him until the times of king T'ai dsuñ Dsiñ gin there were twenty-two royal generations.

During that time, they ruled over the border kingdoms, but there was (among them) no king who practised the Law.

Afterwards the king called Dsiñ gin appeared, who sub- 15 dued China, Tibet and Mi ñag; for twenty-three years he protected the kingdom according to the Law.

*1242 He died when he was sixtyone in the year water-tiger. * In this year the Sa skya c'os rje was also sixty-one.

His son Go dan ruled [46] for six years. After that, 20 they were connected with the Sa skya pa-s in the relationship of patrons and chaplains.

Go dan's son Go yug ruled for six months. He had three sons: the eldest was king Moñ gol who ruled for nine years; the youngest, called Hu la, became king of the 25 Upper Hor; he had great power and wealth.

The second son was Se c'en gan who was born in the year *1213 water-bird; * he came to power when he was forty-eight *1260 years of age in the year iron-monkey *. He ruled over China, Tibet, Hor and the Mi ñag. The latter king 30

¹⁾ Ms. spor.

had great force and power and reverence for the Law.

It is evident that the king Gu be la, who showed his trust in Kar ma pak ši¹⁾ when the latter had shown him the proofs of his siddhi, is the same as this Se c'en [46 a].

5 He died when he was eighty-two in the year wood-horse *. After him king Ol bya t'ul ruled for thirteen years. *1294
During his time, the bsTan agyur of sNar t'an originated. After him, in succession, King Go l(y)ug ruled for four years, A yu ta bur yan²⁾ for nine years, Si tiñ p'a la³⁾ for three
10 years; T'e mur tsi [ñ] dbañ for five years, Ra k'yi p'ag for forty days, Ku śa la for one month; king T'og t'e mur for five years, Rin c'en dpal for one month.

The first visit⁴⁾ to the Palace by C'os rje Rañ abyuñ rdo rje took place during the time of the last two kings.

15 Then for six months there was a vacancy. Afterwards the power was for some years in the hands of T'a mur t'a śri; after him in the year water-bird *, the power was taken *1333
by T'o gan t'e mur [47]. This happened ninety-two years after the death of Dsiñ gin and forty after that of Se c'en.
20 He ruled for thirty-six years. In the Me loñ ma⁵⁾ it is said that (he ruled) forty-eight years. First, when C'os rje Rañ abyuñ came to China and died in the palace, when he was fifty-six, (that emperor) made reverence to the his remains; afterwards he (the emperor) is said to have
25 invited C'os rje Rol pai rdo rje and to have sent to invite Bu ston in the hope that he might come. In the year

¹⁾ dPao gtsug lag's Chronicles, pa, p. 44. ff. H. E. Richardson, *The Karmarpa sect. An historical note*, JRAS, 1958, p. 139, ff.

²⁾ Ms. Asu: i.e. A yu par pa ta Bu yan du of *Blue Annals*, p. 58.

³⁾ Siddhipāla.

⁴⁾ Rañ abyuñ rdo rje went to China twice; *Blue Annals*, pp. 492-3.

⁵⁾ Fol. 12 b.

- 1368 earth-male-monkey *, power passed into the hands of the Chinese and he (the emperor) fled to the country of the Hor. At that time, Tsoñ k'a pa, who was born in mDo smad, was twelve years old. From that year down to this
- 1538 year earth-dog *, one hundred and seventy years elapsed. 5

Secondly, as to how the rule (of the Chinese) [47 a] arose again, (we must tell that) a Chinese king with the face of a

•1368 boar, in the year earth-monkey * took over the power from the hands of the Hor and held it for thirty-three years. In the Me loñ ma and other works it is said that the kingdom 10 was taken by a king called Tai Miñ; but there is no contradiction because Miñ is a generic name ¹⁾. After him king Kyihun ruled for two years; king Ye dbañ ruled for twenty-two years. This king, at first, invited rJe rin po c'e, but the latter did not come, and he therefore invited the Kar ma pa C'os 15 rje dPal bzañ po, the Sa skya pa Kun dga' bkra šis, and Se ra pa Šā kya ye šes, who respectively received the name of De bžin gšegs pa, T'eg c'en c'os rje and Byams c'en c'os rje. Generally he sent dresses and ceremonial utensils to the Jo bo and had a great reverence for all the monks of China 20 and Tibet [48] and the contributions in things and goods which he sent (them) were beyond imagination. After him, Dsuñ gin ruled for four years; king Zon lde for eight years: during his time the marvellous t'añ ka representing the sixteen arhats and the Buddha of dGe ldan was made. Then 25 Cin t'uñ reigned for thirteen years, Gyin t'a for seven years, T'iñ žun for eight years, C'iñ ho for eleven years. Then down to this time there was in succession a line of kings ruling according to the Law, who were masters of a kingdom extending over 13 provinces (žin). 30

1) i.e., of the dynasty.

CHAPTER V

Chinese and Hor rule in Tibet

As to the fifth point, viz. how the Chinese and the Hor came to command over Tibet, (we must tell that) 5 twenty years after the king of the Hor Dsiñ gin had taken power, in the year iron-mouse * he sent an immense *1240 army of Hor [48 a] against Tibet under the orders of two generals [Mi] Li byi¹⁾ and rDo rta, and conquered most of the towns.

10 At that time the sGom pa of aBri k'un Ša kya rin c'en was made prisoner by the Hor soldiers. In Ra sgreñ and in rGyal lha k'an many monks were killed; so it is written in the Deb t'er sñon po²⁾, but since this fact is not 15 seen to be clearly attributed to Ra greñ by other sources it should be properly pondered.

In this year iron-mouse, the C'os rje Sa skya pa was fifty-nine; those (two generals) threatening it with a fourfold army subdued the Tibetan country; henceforth this was placed under the power (of the Hor), but as regards the 20 carrying out of orders, it was done jointly (by the Hor) along with the Sa skya pa-s, both being related as patrons and chaplains.

If we now want first of all to relate briefly the genealogy of the Sa skya pa-s, we must say that aK'on dKon mc'og

¹⁾ Ms. la byi.

²⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 649.

•1073 rgyal po, in the year water-female-ox, * founded¹⁾ the
 great monastery of Sa skya [49] and the same year of
 the foundation the monastery of gSañ Neu t'og; this
 happened seventeen years after the foundation of Ra sgreñ.
 His son was Sa c'en Kun dga' sñiñ po, who was born in 5
 •1092 the year water-monkey; * when he was eleven, his father
 •1103 died, so the lotsāva of Ba ri for a while occupied the see. *

Afterwards, when he was twenty, he went to the see.
 •1158 At sixty-seven he died in the year earth-tiger. *

The Sa c'en had four sons; the eldest was Kun dga' ābar, 10
 who went to India and at twenty-two died in Ma gha ta
 (Magadha). The second son was rje btsun bSod nams rtse
 •1142 mo, who was born in the year water-dog; * he died at forty-
 •1182 one in the year water-tiger. *

The third son was rJe btsun Grags pargyal mts'an [49 a] 15
 •1147 who was born in the year fire-hare; * he was installed on the
 throne in the year water-dragon, when he was twenty-
 •1172 six. * He took hold, as if it were, of the the vital points
 of Mahāyāna (and) of the teaching of the secret formulae;
 •1216 he died at seventy in the year fire-mouse; * as a means 20
 to realize the highest attainments of his mind he invited
 many monks, honoured them with reverence and set in
 order (the texts) of the Law. This is the council which was
 held in the year fire-mouse. At that time, the C'os rje Sa
 skya pa took as basis the chronology of the rGyal po 25
 lugs, and therefore his chronology is of some years in excess
 in comparison with that followed by the chronology of
 facts concerning the religion.

The calculation accepted in the council of C'u mig assem-
 bled by the saintly king āP'ags pa and in the council of

¹⁾ Deb dmar, p. 42 water-male-mouse.

Yar kluñs, assembled by the Supreme Lama, was based on this one¹⁾.

The fourth son was dPal c'en 'Od po [50] who was born in the year iron-horse;* he died in the year water-boar •1150
 5 at fifty-four.* He had two sons: the elder was Sa skya pañdi- •1203
 ta born in the year water-tiger;* i. e. the year in which •1182
 bSod nams rtse mo died. The younger brother was Zañs
 ts'a bSod nams rgyal mts'an; he was born in the year
 wood-dragon * and died in the year earth-boar at fifty-six. •1184
 10 * He had four sons: C'os rgyal aP'ags pa, the aGro mgon, •1239
 P'yag na, Rin c'en rgyal mts'an and Ye šes abyuñ gnas.

The son of P'yag na was Dharmapāla; the son of Ye
 šes abyuñ gnas was bDag ñid c'en po bZañ po dpal. The
 sons of this last were bSod nams bzañ po, Kun dga' blo
 15 gros, mK'as btsun Nam (mk'a') legs, Nam mk'a' rgyal
 mts'an, Kun dga' legs pai abyuñ gnas, Kun dga' rgyal
 mts'an [50 a], Kun dga' legs pai abyuñ gnas, Kun dga' ñi
 mai rgyal mts'an, Don yod rgyal mts'an, bSod nams rgyal
 mts'an, ten in all; or counting two others who died young,
 20 twelve sons in all. The son of bSod nams bzañ po was
 dBañ Ratna. Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, before being ordain-
 ed, had two sons: C'os kyi rgyal mts'an and Blo gros
 rgyal mts'an. The sons of dBañ Kun dga' legs pai rgyal
 mts'an were bSod nams and Grags pa rgyal mts'an. The
 25 son of mK'as btsun was bla ma Kun dga' rin c'en. The
 son of C'os kyi rgyal mts'an was T'eg c'en Kun dga' bkra
 šis, and so on. As regards the C'os rje Sa skya pa, by the
 three activities²⁾ befitting a learned man, he mastered the
 vital points of the precious teaching, so that the name

1) I. e. rGyal poi lugs. See above p. 44.

2) ač'ad, rtsod, rtsom.

of the Sa skya pa-s [51] became famous in all parts of the world. When he was sixty-three, in the year wood-dragon,* the great king Go tan despatched to him an envoy and a letter; it was so written: "Order of myself, the king, exalted on account of his merits, increased by the power of the immortal (lit. longlived) Heaven to the Sa skya paṇḍita of Tibet Kun dga' rgyal mts'an", and invited him to (his court). He then went to China taking with him as his retinue aP'ags pa Blo gros rgyal mts'an, who was then ten years old and P'yag na who was six. He then satisfied the king and the ministers and subjects with the teachings of the Law of the great Vehicle. When seventy, in the year iron-boar,* he passed away in the monastery of sPrul sde in Byañ nos. [51 a] At that time aGro mgon aP'ags pa was seventeen: from his nineteenth year aP'ags pa became chaplain of the prince Se c'en; he was fully ordained in the monastery of Me tog ra va in the year wood-hare*, when he was twenty-one; at twenty-six, in the year iron-monkey*, when Se c'en took the reign, he became bla ma of the Emperor. Like the sun and the moon in the sky, so were these two, the chaplain and the patron on earth; so they were famous. When thirty-one, in the year wood-ox,* he (aP'ags pa) came back to Tibet; then in the year earth-female-snake* he went again to China where he remained for seven years; when forty-two in the year fire-mouse,* he went to Sa skya. At that time Se c'en gNam gyi rgyal po (king [by the favour] of Heaven) offered to the bla ma aP'ags pa rin po c'e the three c'ol k'a of Tibet as a reward (for the initiation conferred upon him in the mysteries of Hevajra) [52]. This teacher (bla ma) accomplished his duties of teacher and his dispositions of mind were excellent; thus the order of the Hor was proclaimed that those who

practised religion in Tibet could attend each to his own sect.

Each dpon c'en, elected in turn, accomplished his duties as regards wordly affairs. As regards the dPon c'en-s,
 5 the first was Šā kya bzañ po who was given by the emperor the seal investing him with power over the three c'ol k'a and he was therefore appointed dpon c'en. Behind him the supreme control was exercised by the Emperor himself; and a census of the population¹⁾ was
 10 made, so that the government's orders could be carried out and the taxes easily collected. In gTsañ there were six Myriarchies: La stod Lho, La stod Byañ, (and Šaṅs) these three; C'u mig, Ža(lu) and mGur (mo), these three.²⁾

In dBus there were six myriarchies: gYa', P'ag (mo gru)
 15 T'añ, these three; and rGya, aBri (k'uñ), mTs'al, these three; even Yar aḅrog was a k'ri skor [52 a], so there were thirteen myriarchies in all, each under the command of a myriarch appointed by the conferment of a diploma. Each one of the myriarchs appointed under himself ten
 20 chiliarchs. As regards the works of this dpon c'en, Šā kya bzañ po, he built the inner and outer wall of the Lha k'añ c'en mo and the K'añ gsar c'en mo. After his death the Nañ c'en Kun dga' bzañ po was elected dpon c'en. He founded the bla brañ of Rin c'en sgañ and the temple with
 25 its wall. When he handed over his office, there were in turn the following dpon c'en: Žañ btsun, P'yug po sgañ dkar pa and Byañ rin, appointed upon the advice of the bla ma. Thus it appears that the use of appointing the dpon c'en-s began from the moment when the bla ma aP'ags pa came

¹⁾ On: hor dud rtsis see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 14.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 681.

for the first time to dBus. At forty-three, in the year
 •1277 fire-female-ox,* he [53] invited (and appointed) as the
 person of prominent rank the omniscient of mC'ims and
 held the great conclave known as the conclave of C'u mig.
 •1280 At forty-six in the year iron-dragon * he died. Moreover 5
 the great assistant (ñe gnas) put in some slanders between
 the precious bla ma and the dpon c'en Kun dga' bzañ po,
 so that the bla ma was indignant. Keeping this in his
 mind, the assistant sent secretly some letters to the Em-
 •1281 peror. Therefore, in the year iron-snake,* following that in 10
 which the bla ma had died, by order of Se c'en, an army
 of Sog po invaded Tibet and falling upon Bya rog rdsoñ
 in Lower Ñañ, they killed the dpon c'en. When later
 the Emperor heard the story that the latter on the point
 of death was wearing a white dress and a black hat, thin- 15
 king that this was a sign of his being blameless, he rebuked
 [53 a] his generals. In this year the nephew (of aP'ags
 pa) Dhar ma pa la¹⁾ was installed. During the time
 of the dpon c'en Byañ rin, since Se c'en had him near
 at heart, he was given the crystal seal. After Byañ rin, 20
 there was the dpon c'en dKon gžon; then gŽon dbañ;
 during his time a great survey was held and there was a
 general detailed investigation in dBus and gTsañ. Then
 followed dpon c'en Byañ rdor, then dPon c'en Ag len;
 the latter built the outer wall of the see and that of the 25
 dPon po ri; during the time of these three dpon c'en,
 there was a fight with aBri k'uñ; especially Ag len carried
 out the great repression known as the revolution of aBri
 k'uñ; the year in which this revolution took place is the

¹⁾ Ms. p'a la.

year iron-tiger * in which Bu ston rin po c'e was born. *1290
 As regards that fact the event which happened before and
 made such a result to ripen and be visible to all was that
 in the year wood-bird *, the seventh year since the T'og *1285
 5 k'a pa Rin c'en señ ge had occupied the see of aBri k'uñ,
 he (i. e. T'og k'a pa) [54] had burnt all the monasteries¹⁾,
 except the small residence, in Bya yul. Four years after
 that (rebellion of aBri k'uñ) in the year wood-horse, * the *1294
 Emperor Se c'en passed away; after ten years, in the year
 10 fire-horse * the bDag ñid c'en po bZañ po was raised to *1306
 the see (of Sa skya). It is guessed that he had come
 to China while 'Ol bya t'ul reigned; having remained for
 seventeen years on the see, in the year water-dog * he *1322
 died. After three years, in the year wood-ox * mk'as *1325
 15 btsun Nam mk'a' legs was elevated to the see; in this
 year wood-ox one full cycle of sixty years was completed
 after the year wood-ox * in which aGro mgon aP'ags *1265
 pa had come (to Tibet) from China for the first time.
 After nineteen years, in the year water-sheep * [54 a] *1343
 20 the mk'as btsun died; the sons of the bDag ñid c'en po,
 Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' ñi ma rgyal
 mts'an, etc. went to China; they appear to be contemporaries
 with King T'o gan.

After Ag len, gZon dbañ was again appointed dpon c'en.
 25 After him, one after the other, came Legs pa dpal, Señ ge
 dpal, 'Od zer señ ge, Kun dga' rin c'en, Don yod dpal, Yon
 btsun, again 'Od zer señ ge, rGyal ba bzañ po, dBañ p'yug
 dpal, bSod nams dpal; again rGyal ba bzañ po; the family
 of this last were for a long time lords of Šaṅs and rTa nag.

¹⁾ That is, that destruction of aBri kuñ was the maturation of the karma
 accumulated in so doing. gLiñ, different quarters or parts of monasteries.

Nowadays they are in the fief of U rgyan of aP'an yul and in sTod luñ p'u. Then dpon c'en dBañ rtson, Nam mk'a' bstan pa, dPal abum, whose family nowadays is in upper and lower dBus. [55]. Then Blo c'en, then Grags dbañ whose family is in Kluñs šod. When the mk'as btsun 5 resided in the see, the office of dpon was held successively by rGyal ba bzañ po and by dBañ brtson. During their *1340 time in the year iron-snake* the war with P'ag mo gru started, and that was the beginning of coming to a compromise (with the P'agmo gru pa-s) concerning all the 10 possessions of the Sa skya pa-s in the dBus.

CHAPTER VI

Principal fiefs and estates

rGyañ mk'ar rtse

So, as it was said, the dpon c'en had the administration of justice of the Sa skya pa-s and a Nañ c'en looked after the Home affairs.

5 One belonging to that family took possession of a territory in Ñan šab. Then there were Se ru bSod namd dpal and the Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, two brothers [55*a*]; the first took possession of rTse c'en in Ñañ stod and of Señ ge rtse in Šag stod; he chose as his chaplains the omniscient
10 ap'ags pa 'od and C'os rje Šes (rab) señ ge, built the new monastery of Lhun po rtse and did many commendable deeds. Though for three or four generations of chiefs and ministers there was a great implantation of the two practices of life (the political and the religious), eventually
15 they fell under the Rin spuñs chiefs. With the purpose (as it were) of cancelling even their name, the chieftains ¹⁾ of rGyañ mk'ar rtse did some unwise actions, such as raising an army and over again boasting of their military strength against that of Rin spuñs; on account
20 of that, nowadays their power has come to an end. Kun dga' ap'ags pa founded rGyañ mk'ar rtse [56] on the east bank of the river and established his power there; thus, there were two palaces: (viz. two branches of the fa-

¹⁾ But B. reads: dmigs med du gtoñ bai rtsis, which may also mean «with the purpose of rendering themselves independent».

mily) the eastern and the western one. His son Rab brtan kun bzañ was first in disagreement with the branch of rTse c'en and with the (Sa kya pa-s) uncle and nephew: then he took the office of gzims dpon of the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an; at one time, the Goñ ma 5 was not satisfied with him, and it was necessary to levy an army of ten thousand men against rGyañ mk'ar rtse. The people of Yar klun also considered the Šar k'a pa of Nañ as their (chief) enemy in the upper country. Afterwards he (i. e. Rab brtan kun bzañ) chose mK'as grub rin po c'e 10 as his chaplain and founded the great monastery of dPal ak'or sde c'en. He also made the great sKu abum and a great silk t'añ ka. He acquired great merit and accomplished thirty-three unrivalled meritorius deeds. The bKa' agyur [56 a] written in golden letters was begun at that 15 time and with no interruption is going on up to our days. So the white deeds of this chief were extremely high.

To him Rab brtan bkra šis was born; two sons were born to the latter, i. e., Don grub ap'ags pa etc. and [P'un ts'ogs] ap'ags pa¹⁾. The minister who took hold of the power was 20 the secretary (dpon yig) Pad ma rgyal. At the time of these three, the chiefs and the minister, the great defeat of sPel skya²⁾ in rGyañ ro was inflicted on the gži k'a pa. At one time the prince of rTse c'en changed his political associations; on account of that he suffered great damage losing his 25 districts and for a long time the prestige (of the family) declined. Then a son, who is nowadays the chief, was supported by sNe gdon rtse and was reinstated in the

¹⁾ Text corrupt. Ms. ap'ags sogs ap'ags ste gñis. On this passage see the commentary.

²⁾ But at fol. 89 of the ms.: sPe rgya.

formerl authority: [57] again being in good terms ¹⁾ with gži k'a pa, now he is master of rTse c'en. So his power has greatly increased.

Lho

As regards the chieftains of Lho, their power was
 5 very great since they had received, by order of the emperor, the diploma of K'ri dpon with power upon the territory of La stod lho from γYa 'o la up to Brañ po. During the time of Situ C'os riñ c'en and his nephew Dvags po lha btsun skyabs, they chose the mk'an c'en C'os rgyal
 10 as chief lama and they offered him the monastery of Šel dkar and rendered him great services. On one occasion they fought with the chieftain of Byañ, but were defeated; therefore, by losing the districts they suffered great damages; nevertheless by fighting again they recovered it.
 15 Since again the chief (žal ño) and his brothers did not agree and the dPon, the laymen and the sTod po ²⁾ [57 a] and their entourage also were malevolent in their intentions, therefore eventually very unhappy times occurred. Nowadays since this chief established parental connection
 20 with the chieftain of Byañ, the power is great, cohering in one single myriarchy.

Byañ

As regards Byañ, one chief of that family went to China as a servant of aP'ags pa rin po c'e, and became a lama

¹⁾ srid du sgrel: political connection, alliance; bsñen du sbrel: to be related by marriage or simply to be on friendly terms.

²⁾ Translation doubtful. La stod is divided into La stod lho (south) and La stod byañ (north); is stod po, here, for: la stod pa?

of Se c'en. He is known as the Ti šri Grags pa 'od zer. On account of this, he is also named Hor dkar Grags 'od zer. For his favours, he received from the king the diploma of myriarch as well as power on the territory of La stod byañ from sKyar skya up to aJad; his power was very great. 5

Once rDsoñ spyi Grags rin (c'en) led a great army of P'ag mo gru [58] (against Byañ), but in spite of that, he was unable to cause great trouble. Especially during the time of the two brothers, rNam rgyal grags pa and dKon mc'og legs pa, since the gži k'a pa and Byañ were in agree- 10 ment, except that some territory of the Lho pa was taken back, there was no reason for great disturbances. on either side. They ordered a pavilion of silver of Dus kyi ak'or lo to be made and many images of gilt brass, beginning with that of Byams pa and a bKa' agyur. They gave material help 15 for the building of a disputation college (bšad grva bzañ po) in the monastery; their name was therefore magnified. Beside the Sa skya pa-s whom they revered as their own bla ma-s, they honoured as their masters the Jo nañ pa-s, the Bo doñ pa-s, Byañ sems gŽon nu rgyal mc'og, and impartially they 20 rendered service to the colleges and to the monks of the dGe ldan pa-s [58 a] being under their authority. From that time up till now, chiefs and ministers of that family, on account of their good behaviour, did not suffer any danger of losing the myriarchy. Their great wealth and the wonderful 25 extent of their devotion to the three Jewels still lasts¹⁾.

sNa dkar rtse

As regards the family of sNa dkar rtse, they received from Se c'en the diploma of myriarchs with authority

¹⁾ Mu can = ap'ro mt'ud pa.

from Yar ḅrog up to Lho brag and their power was great; the dpon c'en of Sa skya, the man of violent temper known as Ag len, was also a dignitary of this family. He founded the monastery of mÑon dga', etc., and therefore rendered great
 5 services to the Teaching. During the time of the myriarch Nam mk'a' bzañ po and of his nephew He ru ka Kun dga' rgyal mts'an [59], the pañ c'en ḅJigs med grags pa ¹⁾ was revered by them above all other (lamas); monks and laymen of Yar ḅrog became thus subject to
 10 his work of conversion. Then they began to make friends with the chiefs of Rin spuñ; there was therefore a time of prosperity; nevertheless, on some occasions, there occurred unhappy times, that are still lasting.

15

γYa' ²⁾ bzañ

As regards γYa' bzañ, the C'os rje C'os smon lam pa, who was a pupil belonging to the spiritual lineage of the precious ḅGro mgon, in the year fire-tiger * founded the
 20 monastery of γYa' bzañ and in Yar kluñs east and west, in gÑal upper and lower, in mTs'o sna gro šul, in Byar and in other places he preached extensively the Law. By the continuity of his merits, his assistant received the diploma of myriarch and his power became very great [59 a]. On one occasion, the γYa' bzañ pa-s fought against the
 25 P'ag mo gru-s; therefore, they lost their dominions and their authority came to an end. On another occasion, somebody belonging to the family of the dpon took possession

¹⁾ Gloss inserted in the text itself: from that (pañ c'en) the great biography of C'os rje Bo doñ was made.

²⁾ Also written faultily γYam bzañs; e. g. *Blue Annals*, p. 656, Reu-mig p. 21.

of Šel mk'ar in gÑal, but, in spite of that, it was lost to Bya sa. Now there are surely one or two branches of the family in Yar kluñs.

Ts'al pa

As to the Ts'al pa, the Žaň riñ po c'e was the chief both of the land¹⁾ and of the temple; on account 5
of the continuity of his merits (which he acquired in such a quality) he obtained for his assistant the diploma of myriarch; he (and his family) became the chief of sKyid šod upper and lower. Though the authority of these chiefs was very high, the druñ c'en sMon lam rdo rje, 10
the Tai si tu dGe ba blo gros, the druñ c'en Kun dga' rdo rje, etc. were learned not only in religious matters but also in writing Chronicles (deb t'er) on royal genealogies; especially sMon lam rdo rje founded C'os ąk'or gliñ and established there a disputation college [60] and his learning greatly increased. Buston rin po c'e said: "Nowadays 15
this prince of Ts'al is the greatest among those who have a great insight in religious literature". During the time of Kun dga' rdo rje his dominions, to a great extent, were lost to P'ag mo gru and he therefore became an ascetic. Afterwards, with the exception of a nephew on the mother's 20
side, the family was extinguished.

rGya ma

As regards the chiefs of rGya ma, the monastery and its property (lha sde) had increased on account of the large

¹⁾ sde is here territory as distinct from the temple: sde may be: lha sde and mi sde. Definition of lha sde as opposed to mi sde; dgon pai žabs ądegs žu ba po mi ser rñams la lha sde žes zer; gžuñ gi žabs ądegs žu ba po rñams la mi sde žes zer; it therefore includes land and peasants living on it.

merits, civil as well as religious, of sGyer, the uncle and the nephew; one of their assistants within it¹⁾ obtained the office of myriarch with authority up to aP'an yul.

Both Ts'al and rGya, when the power of the Sa skya pa-s
 5 was at its highest, sided with them and fought against the
 aBri k'uñ pa-s; so those of upper dBu ru said that there
 were three enemies: the rGya ma, the Ts'al pa and the bKa'
 [brgyud pa]. When the authority of the P'ag mo gru pa-s
 began to extend, the dominion went for the greatest part
 10 under rGyal c'en rtse [60 a]. Afterwards, they recovered
 strength, and occasionally, besides their being on terms
 of friendship with mK'ar rtse, they asked gradually for
 the office of myriarch from sNe gdon. Then, during the
 time of the chief Legs ldan, they opposed the P'ag mo gru
 15 pa-s and drove away all the dGe ldan pa-s who were under
 their rule and destroyed an image of the rJe rin po c'e; on
 account of such mean deeds, unhappy times followed from
 inside and from outside.

aBri k'uñ pa

20 As regards the aBri k'uñ pa (it is related) that the c'os
 rje aJig rten gsum (gyi) mgon po in the year earth-female-
 boar * founded aBri k'uñ t'el; during the time of the gCuñ
 rin po c'e, the fifth in the series to occupy the see, the sGom
 pa obtained the diploma of myriarch. His authority extended
 25 up to dByar and Dvags. During the time of the three dPon
 c'en, there was a struggle with the Sa skya pa-s [61]. In the
 beginning there were alternatively victories and defeats, but
 during the times of rDo rje ye šes of sNubs the big revolt

¹⁾ I.e.: lha sde.

took place; it is thus said that beginning from that time, their boundaries were generally reduced. During the time of the twentyeighth C'os rje, the office was taken over by the Si tu Šā kya bzañ po, who founded Lhun grub gliñ of K'ri k'añ.

(Šā kya bzañ po) sent (once) his troops to help the army 5 of the Goñ ma Tai si tu against the Sa skya pa-s, but on some other occasion, disagreeing, he negotiated with the two sons of Šā kya btsan po, and set about to entice (the chief of) 'Ol k'a stag rtse; which Šā kya btsan po referred to the Goñ ma. When the two sons were thrown into the water, the 10 populace of 'On blamed him and said: «Šā kya btsan dared to do it». Later the Tai si tu in his gSuñ c'ems said:

“ my head, the head of the Tiger ¹⁾ and sTag rtse, these three [61 a], if they exist, that was the work of Šā kya btsan; deaf are those who quarrel (or gossip) as 15 regards that. ²⁾”

Nevertheless, in accordance with what the gSuñ c'ems tells, i. e. «[that] gossip grew less», there were no great disturbances. During the time of the saintly king, the rDsoñ spyi bSod nams rin c'en took over himself the 20 burden and he had two copies of the bKa' agyur made: such meritorious works did he do.

Whatever work he did, he carried it out by the force of his violent temper.

Once he led his troops against Byañ; while he was pur- 25 suing the army of K'yuñ po, though many officers of Byañ assembled and acted as mediators, he, without giving heed, deviating farther than Byañ conquered the territory.

¹⁾ The seal conferring power upon him.

²⁾ i. e., those who quarrel about this are like the deaf, because they do not understand that Šā kya btsan po was the man who helped me.

Another time pursuing (the chief of) Roñ po, though the C'os rje of sTag luñ, bKra šis dpal brtsegs, offered him many presents of tea, cloth and silk, (wishing) to act as intermediary, giving no heed, he conquered the territory.

5 Then [62] C'os rje Don grub rgyal po, was given by the goñ ma ¹⁾ Ye dbañ the diploma of Go šri; he was therefore called the 'precious go šri'. At the school of the rJe rin po c'e (viz. Tsoñ k'a pa), he heard some portions of the religions texts and he caused that the dKa' brgyud
 10 pa-s and the dGe lugs pa-s were not in opposition. The sku žañ Ts'ul rgyal carried the burden of the office of sGom pa; though, as regards (political) power, he (ruled) well, generally speaking, his faith in praiseworthy actions was not great; specially, without any reason, he led the
 15 army against the monastery of Lo. On this occasion many monks, about ten teachers and disciples, were killed. Soon after people said that it was due to the magic power of the Lo pa that he (the sku žañ) and his son were killed by the Da ra k'a c'e. Soon the Da ra k'a c'e began to be in an
 20 unpleasant situation, and asked for assistance from sÑe gdoñ; (sÑe gdoñ) gave guarantee for him and so he was delivered from the (impending) calamity.

During the time of the C'os rgyal Rin c'en dpal bzań po [62 a], except for a small contest of gtor ma used in the
 25 ritual meant to invoke terrific deities and directed against the sTag luñ pa, ²⁾ no great trouble arose and, therefore, the people of Northern Tibet enjoyed rest and had rev-

1) The Chinese emperor; Ye dbañ = Yung-lo.

2) Zor rtsod: contest in which terrific deities are invoked and gtor ma are used with weapons on them. But a simpler and perhaps better translation is: «a small quarrel concerning the sickle» i. e. the boundaries of cultivated fields, where people could go and collect fodder or crops.

erence for the good deeds. At the school of the Go šri of sTag p'u and of Yon tan grags of mÑa' ris he learned some parts of the religious instructions and exercised the faith of his mind both towards the Kar ma pa-s and the dGe legs pa-s. Being good-minded, he revered the community and if somebody offered some donations for ceremonies he ratified them. He did not write any letters other than those ending with the formula: «It should be listened by the honourable community». During that time there were six chief ministers: Rom po and Ñag c'e, these two; that of gŽi sgom and that of Byes sgom ¹⁾, these two; that of the K'ri and that of the rDsoñ, these two. Among them bDe legs bzañ of Rom po founded C'os sde goñ in Kluñs šod, bSod nam srgyal mts'an of Ñag ts'e founded the monastery of dPal aḅar; Yon tan rin c'en [63] of gŽi sgom founded the monastery of C'a dkar; bSod nam srgyal mts'an of Byes sgom founded the monastery of dGe rgyas; mGon po kra šis of K'ri k'añ founded the monastery of T'añ skya; the rdsoñ dpon bSam aḅrub rgyal mts'an founded the monastery of mC'in sdiñs. Moreover rGya lu dPal grags of Byes sgom had a copper gilt image of Byams c'en and many copies of the scriptures made, and felt great reverence for the teaching of the dGe ldan pa-s. The Nañ so dGe sloñ pa almost rebuilt anew the monastery of Rin c'en sgañ and had made a bKa' aḅgyur to be written in silver and gold letters and a great silk t'añ ka representing rgyal ba Mi k'rugs pa.

This saintly king Rin c'en dpal bzañ po, famous for having both religious and civil authority (bla dpon) at the same time, had two sons [63 a]. The elder, dBañ rin po c'e,

¹⁾ gŽi sgom; the name derives from a sgom k'añ, hermitage for residents; byes sgom: hermitage for outsiders.

accepted for his particular revenue mK'ar t'og and was a lama of T'el on retreat. The younger, bCo lña pa rin po c'e had both religious and civil authority, married one of the daughters of the sTag rtse pa, and he had by her three sons.

5 The eldest went to P'ag mo gru, took up the office of sGom pa, and had a son: Byams pa c'os kyi rgyal mts'an. He did some meritorious works such as some copies of the bKa' agyur and of the bsTan agyur written with golden and silver which he ordered to be made. He had three sons.

10 The youngest (of his sons), C'os kyi rgyal po, took sPro luñ, and his son was Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs. The second son was C'os rje Kun dga' rin c'en who resided in the see and realized many good works, such as the building of a sGo mañ mc'od rten made of precious material and a bKa' agyur and a bsTan agyur written with gold and silver [64].

15 Nevertheless, perhaps yielding to the request of some monks and laymen, the dBon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs had to go to Yar kluis; the sku žañ of sTag rtse rdsoñ was turned out and in spite of the fact that P'ag mo gru remained trustful, there arose some internal quarrels between the

20 uncle and the nephew. Moreover, as he made the monasteries under his jurisdiction change their hat, it ensued that troubles of some moment inside and outside were unavoidably caused. Especially in the year fire-dog * there arose *1406

25 a great trouble between the Red and Yellow Hats; on that occasion P'ag mo gru sided with the Yellows; in the following year, viz. the year fire-boar, * the death of the c'os *1407

30 rje of aBri guñ was attributed to the magic power (mt'u) of the dGe ldan pa. So the people related.

Then the sde pa T'og k'a pa proposed as terms of an agreement that he of sPu luñ and then [when this had refused] that he of P'ag mo gru should proceed a together to

the see: and P'ag mo gru accepted. Thus in the year earth-
 *1409 ox, * the dbon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs was elevated to the see.
 *1041 In the following year iron-tiger, * he changed his politics.
 In fact, being friendly with hin (the T'og k'a pa) and this was
 fighting against the Yellows, he rallied to his party the armies 5
 of sTag luñ, sTeñ Hor, rGya ma, mK'ar rtse, Mañ ra, Bya
 yul; he also requested Goñ dkar (to issue) the order (litt.:
 seal) that none among the chiefs (sde pa) or the monasteries
 within its frontiers should start up (in arms) in favour of
 the Yellows; ąBri k'uñ and the see came to an agreement. 10

In the autumn of that year, T'og k'a pa led the armies
 of his party against C'a dkar and 'Od sna. There was a
 single encounter with the Yellows in Mal gro mda'; still,
 on account of the superiority of the army, C'a dkar [65]
 was lost and 'Od sna feigning to agree changed the colour 15
 of their hats. From that moment, the T'og k'a pa and
 his party guessed that the burden of their responsibility
 towards the sde srid had diminished and (as a consequence)
 the chief of mK'ar rtse led the army against dBu ru and
 met his point. But not suffering that, the Žu mts'ams ¹⁾ 20
 pa appointing himself (as commander) led a wing of the
 army of the sde srid against mK'ar rtse and besieged
 it; [then] the army of gTsañ came to Bod yul c'os ²⁾ and
 an agreement was reached. On this occasion, C'os rje Rin
 c'en p'un ts'ogs retired and P'ag mo gru placed the dBon 25
 *1417 rin po c'e on the throne. After that, in the year fire-bird, *
 the Nañ so of T'og k'a collected a powerful army of Koñ
 and let it against 'Ol k'a, but he was not successful. In
 this year earth-dog, betwen ąBri k'uñ and gTsañ being

¹⁾ i. e. the man acting as intermediary.

²⁾ Name of a place, see fol. 93 l. 5.

allied on one side and the sde srid on the other there was a war; [65 a] therefore this was a troubled time

Now, eighty-six years after the foundation of Sa skya, * 1073
 the see of P'ag mo gru was founded. * Then, twen- * 1158
 5 ty-one years after, aBri k'un t'el was founded. * From * 1178
 that year up to this year earth-dog, * three hundred and * 1538
 sixty years have elapsed. So should it be known.

sTag luñ

As regards sTag luñ, this was not included among the
 10 myriarchies and during the time of the Hor, its chiefs did
 not take over that office. The great monastery of sTag luñ
 was founded by sTag luñ t'añ pa c'en po bKra šis dpal
 in the year iron-mouse. * Having submitted to his * 1180
 control Dar, bKras and Roñ, he became the chief of
 15 the estate as well as of the temple. When the Chinese rule
 (over Tibet) began, the Emperor Ye dbañ gave the title of
 dBon to C'os rje bKra šis dpal brtsegs [66] who was con-
 temporary with rJe Rin po c'e. The grandson of the grand-
 father, C'os rje bKra šis dpal 'od learnt the Law at the school
 20 of Tsoñ k'a pa himself. He carried on his wish of building
 the monastery of Rin c'en brag and was closely connected
 with the dGe ldan pa-s. During the time of dBon C'os rje
 Ņag dbañ grags pa and his brother Hor k'añ pa Ts'e dbañ
 grags pa, the development of religious works did not end.

25 As regards also the worldly side of the sTag luñ t'añ
 pa, rulers and subjects of North-Tibet reached the peak
 (of their prosperity); inside the country and outside, all
 was full of riches and they had inexhaustible wealth.
 The meritorious deeds, such as the building of receptacles of
 30 the three kinds: physical, verbal and spiritual, were immense.

The (C'os rje) had two nephews; the elder was elevated to the see [66 a], then, without a reason, he suddenly delivered the see to the younger brother.

Again he greatly opposed his younger brother who was then on the see. As regards this fact, those of sTag luñ 5 say that even before it was bad luck¹⁾ that bKra šis bla ma, the nephew of the late Sañs rgyas yar byon, and Sañs rgyas dpal (both of sTag luñ), quarrelled against the see. After the death of the younger brother bSod grags, the elder Kun spañs bKra šis dpal himself resided for a 10 long time in the see and accomplished many good deeds, such as the foundation of Lha c'en. As regards political power also sTag luñ and ąBri k'uñ were on the same level; *1402 in the year water-horse, * a Žal ño (of this family) led a vanguard of the army of the Nañ so of T'og k'a, moving 15 to ąP'an yul. For this reason the goñ ma, in the Palace, was a little displeased; as if knowing his inner thoughts [67] instantly P'ag mo sent an army and took over the district of sÑoñ rug. The žal ño could not bear this and asked for the support of the T'og k'a pa and sÑoñ rug 20 acquired (again its) independence. Nevertheless, later it (sÑoñ rug) passed under the Nañ so of T'og k'a. At the time of the various wars of the Yellows, it (sTag luñ) committed the great sin of becoming a follower of sGar²⁾ and hardships arose (to it) during the fight of ąBri k'uñ and gDan (sa 25 t'el). So it is told.

As regards the other four myriarchies C'u mig, Ža lu, Ts'oñ ądus gur mo and T'añ po c'e, nobody has heard the story either of their genealogies or of their authority.

¹⁾ See corrections to the ms.

²⁾ On the sGar pa Zil non pa etc. of gTsañ see. TPS. p. 67.

P'ag mo gru

As regards P'ag mo gru, the myriarchs of Tibet are derived from the continuity of the meritorious deeds of their own lamas: in the same way, in this case also, 5 the precious aGro mgon in the year earth-male-tiger * •1158 founded the see [67 a] of P'ag mo gru; he accomplished thoroughly so many deeds for the benefit of others, that they cannot even be conceived; although this lineage (of the P'ag mo gru-s) is said by the Deb t'er sñon po 10 to belong to the dBas¹⁾ descent, in the bKa' brgyud gser p'reñ ba, it is stated that it belongs to the family of the Glañs Lha gzigs. aGro mgon was born in the family of Glañs K'ams pa go c'a, nañ blon of the saintly king K'ri sroñ lde btsan and of the direct disciple of the ācārya 15 Padma(sambhava), A mi Byañ c'ub aḍre bkol; from one of the brothers of the aGro mgon, in the country of gNas drug of K'ams, called Yon c'en rGyal ba skyabs, three sons were born: rje sPyan sña Grags pa aḅyuiñ gnas, the dBon mGon po rgyal, Yon c'en Sañs rgyas skyabs. The 20 rje spyān sña, when fifteen, went to dBus, but since the bla ma did not sit in the see [68], he fully learnt at the school of the C'os rje of aBri k'uñ the holy texts, the mantras and the esoteric instructions. When thirty-four, in the year earth-dragon, * he went to the precious see. •1208

25 At that time the c'os rje of aBri k'uñ was sixty-six and the C'os rje Sa skya pa was twenty-seven; it was also the fifth of the ten years which the Kashmiri paṇḍita spent in Tibet. The see had been vacant for seven years,

¹⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 553. In my copy of the dKar brgyud rñams kyi rñam t'ar gyi sgron me, t'a, p. 2 sBas Bon ts'añ kyi rigs.

beginning from the death of the aGro mgon which had
 *1170 taken place in the year iron-tiger. *

Then the c'os rje of aBri k'uñ had remained in the see
 for three years, but no activity as should be desired had
 *1179 taken place. Later, from the year earth-boar * down to 5
 *1207 the year fire-hare, for thirty years, * the see remained
 vacant and it was therefore greatly damaged. It is the
 merit of this spyān snā if it was increased [68 a]. The
 fame spread that he had made the see one hundred times
 and one thousand times bigger (than it was). For twenty- 10
 six years he dwelt in the see of P'ag mo gru; when sixty-one
 *1235 years of age, in the year wood-sheep, * he went to the see
 of aBri k'uñ. Beginning from then, the two places, aBri
 k'uñ and the see (of P'ag gru) were called the two corre-
 lated sees. The dBon mGon po rgyal had one son: K'ro 15
 bo ap'an. Yon c'en sañs rgyas skyabs had two sons: rGyal
 ba rin po c'e Grag pa brtson grus, and the bcu gñis pa
 Rin c'en rdo rje. They, one after the other, resided in the
 see. The rGyal ba rin po c'e dwelt in the see for thirty-three
 years. It is known that, at that time, the king of Ti ra hur 20
 ti, a town in India, the king of Siñ ga gliñ, the king of Ya
 tse and Hu la the king of upper Hor, presented him with
 religious receptacles of three kinds, made of precious mate-
 rials, utensils and requisites for worship, a gem called sog
 po [69] sprad agyel; innumerable riches were also 25
 offered to him. Therefore, on account of this and beginning
 from that time it was said that among the abbeys of
 Tibet gDañ sa T'el possessed the largest wealth.

When the bcu gñis pa Rin c'en rdo rje had been on the
 see for twelve years, one of his assistants was given the 30
 investiture of myriarch. As an external receptacle dedi-
 cated to the Victorious one, he had a marvellous mc'od rten

built of the type called sGo mañs (with many doors), and this therefore was called the sGo mañs of the spyan sña. When sixty-three, in the year iron-dragon,* he passed away; *1280 in the same year the aGro mgon aP'ags pa died; it was one
 5 year after the death, in aBri k'uñ, of the c'os rje junior. K'ro bo apan had three sons, i.e. sPyan sña Grags pa ye šes, gÑis mc'od Grags pa rin c'en, and dPon Rin c'en skyabs [69 a].

Beginning with this last, the family of Lha gzigs began
 10 to spread in dBus. Grags pa ye šes in the year iron-snake * *1281 was installed on the see; it was the same year in which dBon Dharmapāla had been elevated to the see of Sa skya. This was also the year in which the Hor army occupied Tibet and the dpon c'en Kun dga' bzañ po was killed.
 15 He dwelt eight years in the see and, during that time, one of his assistants took the office of myriarch; when forty-nine, in the year earth-mouse, * he died. The gÑis mc'od pa *1288 in the year earth-ox * was elevated to the see; in the follow- *1289
 20 ing year iron-tiger,* the Sa skya pa-s plundered aBri k'uñ; *1290 the Ti šri Grags 'od and the Hor prince gave him the seal with the tiger-head and he was therefore known as the bla dpon.

During his time, the king of Ya ts'e offered him a golden roof and he was therefore known as: the spyan sña of the
 25 golden roof. In the eighteenth year of the twenty-two years he dwelt in the see [70] i. e. in the year fire-horse, * the *1306 bdag ñid c'en po was elevated to the see of Sa skya. dPon Rin c'en skyabs had five sons: the slob dpon rGyal mts'an dpal, Ts'es bži rñiñ ma pa Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Tai si
 30 tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an, the bCu gñis gsar ma Grags pa šes rab, Druñ bSod nams bzañ po. From the first was issued the lineage which ensured the continuation of the family.

Ts'es bži rñiñ ma pa was elevated to the see of P'ag mo gru, and he remained there for fiftyone years. After him the bCu gñis gсар ma was elevated to the see. During the time of Ts'es bži pa, a žal ño (dignitary) of the family of Lha gzig, who was officer of rKañ bži of aBri k'uñ, was invited to P'ag mo gru and [70 a] was elected to the rank of myriarch. He was known as the myriarch rDo rje dpal; he established thirteen fiefs ¹⁾ such as sNe gdoñ rtse, Ts'oñ dus brag k'a, lCags rtse gri gu rñiñ ma, mC'od rten dkar po in Yar aBrog, Mon mk'ar rgya t'añ, etc.

- *1302 The Tai si tu was born in the year water-tiger; * at the age of seven he asked the spyan sña Ts'es bži pa for the rules of the lay devotee and was called Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an; at the age of nine, he was ordained by Ts'ul dar pa who acted as mk'an po, and by sPu hrañs pa who acted as slob dpon. This Ts'ul dar had acted also as mk'an po when the spyan sña Ts'es bži pa had been ordained and was a dignitary (žal ño) of the aP'yoñ rgyas family. Bla ma lha k'añ pa gave him the initiation and opened to him the door of the Law. He made great worship to bDe mc'og and it is said that a corn was produced in his thumb (by the rosary used in his continous prayers) [71]. When he was fourteen, he went to Sa skya, and he met the bDag ñid c'en po bZañ po dpal; when twenty years of age, in the year iron-bird, * the great emperor T'o gan t'e mur gave him the jewel of third class with the tigerhead and he was invested as myriarch. He extended and raised still higher the palace of sNe gdoñ; and around it he erected the famous great *pisé* wall (gyañ mo). On the river Šam that flows in front of it he built a mar-

¹⁾ Very often in this text gži ka=rdsoñ

vellous big bridge. He ruled according to the Law and he therefore avoided c'añ and afternoon meals; he also enjoined his officers to do the same. Once the dPon c'en rGyal ba bzañ po led the armies of the thirteen
 5 myriarchies of dBus and gTsañ against Yar luñ. The Si tu and the other met at the head of the big bridge and while they were talking of an agreement, the Si tu was taken prisoner [71 a] by the Sa skya pa-s who had resorted to deception. Then, leading the Si tu in front
 10 of the army, they made some tricks hoping that the Palace might surrender, but the dPon po gŽon nu bzañ po and dPon Ša kya bzañ po and other officers did not listen and said that the government had greater importance than a žal ño ¹⁾; when the goñ ma was being con-
 15 ducted to Sa skya he mounted on horseback with his face turned towards his servant, and this he took for a good omen that he should come back. When he reached Sa skya, many monks and laymen collecting a handful of earth threw it on his face; then he said that this
 20 was an excellent omen that he could thrust Sa skya into his mouth. While he was staying there, many pains were heaped upon his body, nevertheless he endured them in an unconceivable manner and (resisted with such forbearance) that it was beyond the comprehension
 25 of all [72]. Then, having known that the king of the Hor had given the investiture of dPon c'en to dBañ brtson, rGyal ba bzañ po came secretly to an agreement with the Si tu and, as if he had escaped, the Si tu was let free. Afterwards, dBañ brtson took charge of the office of dPon

¹⁾ i. e. the prince himself; i. e. they considered the administration and the government of P'ag mo gru as being of greater importance than a dignitary.

- c'en and repeatedly led the armies of the thirteen myriarchies against Yar kluñs, but he had no success and, in the
 1349 end, the Si tu won. Thus, in the year earth-female-ox, the
 greatest part of dBus came into his hands. Six years had
 passed since the mK'as btsun had died in Sa skya. There is 5
 a rumor that the Ti śri Kun dga' rgyal mts'an was the oc-
 cupant of the see, but this is not clear from the documents.
- *1352 After three years, in the year water-dragon,* he laid the
 foundations of the great monastery of rTse t'an, but in the
 Deb t'er it is said¹⁾ that this [72 a] was founded in the 10
 year iron-hare;* this is the year when the rDo rje rgyal po Ņer
 brgyad pa²⁾ having passed away in aBri k'uñ, one year after,
 the king of the Law was elevated to the see, on his seventeenth
 year of age, one hundred and ninety-four years after the year
 1158 earth-tiger in which the see of P'ag mo gru was founded. 15

He built a veranda in front of the old temple which
 went back to the times of Klu mes c'en po, and whose up-
 per storey was decaying; to the west of that, a temple with
 the door facing east and forty big seminaries surrounded
 by walls; he then invited from various monasteries many 20
 monks and masters and disciples. As means of suste-
 nance for those who had to explain the Teaching or listen
 to it, he gave fields as endowment and established three
 rules (ts'ul) relating to the common property of the com-
 munity viz. those of providing food, soup and tea; thus 25
 he greatly developed the colleges [73] for the expla-
 *1354 nation of the Law. In the year wood-horse * there were
 internal troubles in Sa skya. rGyal ba bzañ po was
 imprisoned by the (chief of the) Eastern palace; then

¹⁾ *Blue Annals*, p. 1082. So also *Reu mig*, p. 37.

²⁾ As usual so called from the day of his death.

the Si tu threatened them with a big army at the head of which there was the C'en po Rin c'en bzañ po; so rGyal ba bzañ po was set free. In this way the Si tu became master of the greatest part of gTsañ. From that moment, the
 5 thirteen myriarchies appointing the caretakers and officers in dBus and gTsañ gave these the seal (of investiture) with the approval of the Si tu. As to the author of the internal decay of the Sa skya pa-s, as told in the very words of the Si tu:

10 "In former times the glorious Sa skya pa-s had a power which reached to the sky [73 a]; they had perfection of glory; the dpon c'en Nam mk'a' brtan pa, being young, that is the cause",¹⁾

15 it seems to have been this (Nam mk'a') brtan pa.

As regards the works concerning the religion of this Goñ ma, he founded, as stated above, the college for disputations on logic in rTse t'añ, further he provided support to the meditation college of T'el. He ordered
 20 a new worship hall (mc'o d k'a ñ) to be made, where the mc'od rten of many doors (s g o m a ñ s) of the Ts'e bži pa²⁾ and the sKu ãbum were situated; he also ordered many copies to be made of the bKa' ãgyur written in golden letters, and he listened to the Law from many
 25 masters such as Bu ston rin po c'e, rGyal sras t'og med, Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, spyan sna Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Kar ma pa Rol pai rdo rje, rTogs ldan

¹⁾ A quotation from she gSuñ c'ems; len pa may also have the meaning of rkyen, because.

²⁾ i. e. containing the remains of.

Zla señ, Bla ma mñam med [74] and he greatly honoured them. Among the above-mentioned masters, he chose the first three as his principal bla-ma-s and he built separate habitations for them in the hermitage of bSam gtan gliñ in rTse t'añ.

Since he had planned to wage many wars, (a man) possessing magic power called Gañs pa Šag abum asked Bu (ston), Dol(bu pa) and Šes rab (señ ge) if he was to be killed. One remained indifferent, and the other two agreeing (in their views) said that he should not be killed since he was a man supported by the force of the Teaching¹⁾.

Moreover, it was said that he had been prophesied as an incarnation by O rgyan rin po c'e and A mi Byañ c'ub aadre bkol. As regards wordly affairs, from below the place called rDo dkar he founded many rdsoñ such as lCags rtse gri gu [74 a], 'Ol k'a stag rtse, Goñ dkar, sNeu rdsoñ, Brag dkar, Rin spuñs, bSam grub rtse, sPa nam, Lhun grub rtse, and appointed in each place a rdsoñ dpon to be changed every three years.

He himself made a survey of his feuds and on account of this, he was famous everywhere as the T'ai si tu, the druñ c'en rin po c'e.

If even nowadays the sde srid of P'ag mo gru is important on account of the golden yoke equally distributed upon everybody, high and low, this is the consequence of the deeds of that Goñ ma. When sixty-three, in the year wood-dragon,* on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month, he passed away. The ceremony is celebrated without interruption since then, every year on the twentyseventh day of that month in sNe gdoñ rtse.

¹⁾ bstan pa stobs = btsan pai stobs.

[75] The Deb t'er sñon po states that the T'ai Si tu
in the year wood-dragon, * having set aside his care (lit. *1364
set aside the burden) of sNeu gdoñ rtse,¹⁾ died in the
year water-ox; * but this does not seem to be exact²⁾. *1373

5 Druñ bSod nams bzañ po married bDag mo Ñe tu ma and
had by her three sons: aJam dbyaṅs šā kya rgyal mts'an,
T'el dpon Rin c'en rdo rje, and bDag po Šā kya rin c'en.
The first of them, aJam dbyaṅs, was born in the year iron-
dragon; * he received the vows of a lay devotee from Ts'es *1341

10 bži pa rin po c'e and was then called Grags pa bzañ po; at
the age of nine he received the ordination as a novice (dge
ts'ul) from gŽon dbaṅ who acted as mk'an po and from
gŽon ts'ul who acted as slob dpon. He was then called
Šā kya rgyal mts'an; when thirteen years of age, in the year
15 water-dragon * [75 a], he was elevated to the see of rTse t'añ *1352
as the first of the series; he mastered the four sections of
the Revelation³⁾ and he recited them in the congregation of
monks; he also listened very often to the explanation of the
Tantras by Bu ston rin po c'e beginning from the Vajra-
20 dhātu. This latter praised him saying that, if in front of all
fields of Yar luñ from mGon po gdoñ ri different maṅḍalas
were to be dedicated, he could cover all those (fields)⁴⁾.
When nineteen years of age, he was fully ordained by C'os
rje bla ma dam pa who acted as mk'an po, by the great
25 abbot bSod nams dbaṅ and gŽon dbaṅ who acted respec-
tively as las slob dpon and gsañ ston.

¹⁾ I. e.: having resigned, retired.

²⁾ I could not find a complete reference to this in Deb t'er sñon po, but
the date 1373 is given in fact in *Blue Annals*, p. 218, as that of his passing away.

³⁾ Šer pyin, mÑon pa, aDul ba, Ts'ad ma.

⁴⁾ Had the d b a ṅ, initiation, in all of them, knew them all, so that he
could cover with the designs of maṅḍalas all the fields of that locality for
their protection,

When twenty-one, he went for preaching to Lhasa and he rejoiced many learned men of sKyid šod, such as rGyal sras bde abyuñ etc. At the age of twentysix, in the year

*1365 wood-snake * [76], the king T'o gan gave him the investiture of Go šri and then elected him myriarch of sNe gdoñ; the firman was proclaimed conferring upon him the (authority) concerning whatever should be done in dBus and gTsañ such as appointments and removal (of officials) along with their lineage. Three years after, in the year

*1368 earth-monkey, * the Chinese dynasty (i.e. the Ming) took the place of the Hor. Once, when it was necessary to wage a war in gTsañ, he (Šā kya rgyal mts'an) with the help of the C'os skyoñ-s, completely destroyed the

*1373 enemies. When thirty-four, in the year water-ox, * he invited as chairman the dPal ldan bla ma and held the council known as the great council of sNe gdoñ; this happened ninety-seven years after the great council of C'u mig,

*1277 which had taken place in the year fire-ox. * The summit of the power of the Sa skya pa-s was the council of C'u mig and that of the government of P'ag mo gru [76 a] was the council of sNe gdoñ. The donation of provisions for the monks was made on a big scale; having thus spiritually rejoiced¹⁾ (everybody) he reached that stage (of mind) which consists in putting on the same level one's own and other people's merits. The patron who financially supported the council of sNe gdoñ was the rDsoñ spyi rGyal mts'an bzañ po.

His son was Grags pa rin c'en; from his descendants the chiefs of dGe mo are derived. Towards the end of

*1373 the year water-ox, * in which the council had been held, in the day of the new moon of the ninth month (according

1) I. e. with the good works of others, *anumodanā*.

to the Hor calendar) aJam dbyaṅs¹⁾ passed away. Since this happened twenty-five years after the year earth-ox * in which the sDe srid had begun to be master of the world, it was said that to the P'ag mo gru pa-s the unlucky fate of the Sa skya pa-s would have occurred, on the thought that the number of years corresponded; in fact among the Sa skya pa-s, the bZi t'og pa-s [77] had ruled upon the world for twenty-five years, the bLa brañ šar pa-s for twenty-five and the K'an gsar pa-s also for twenty-five. This year water-ox is the same in which the rJe rin po c'e came from K'ams to dBus.

The dpon of T'el Rin c'en rdo rje married Zi sna bKra šis skyid, and by her had two sons; the elder rGyal sras Gags pa rin c'en was born in the year earth-ox, * the same year in which the Tai si tu became master of the world; at seventeen he was elevated to the see of rTse t'an, as the second in the series; at nineteen, in the year fire-sheep, * he passed away in the Palace itself.²⁾

The second son, Ts'es bži gsar ma Gags pa byañ c'ub, was born in the year fire-monkey, * viz. the year before the birth of rJe rin po c'e [77 a] when the Go šri was seventeen. At the age of sixteen, he was elevated as spyān sna of the see, after the bCu gñis pa and then, at nineteen, in the year wood-tiger * he ascended the throne of sNe gdon rtse. This was the year following the death of aJam dbyaṅs. For eight years he was jointly bla ma and dpon³⁾; then at twenty-six, in the year iron-bird, * he gave up the burden of the Palace (ie. the responsibility of government) and in T'el assumed the direction of the teaching of the Tantras

1) I. e. Sā kya rgyal mts'an.

2) nañ: palace.

3) I. e. had spiritual as well as temporal power.

dealing with the mystic realizations¹⁾. He died in the year
 *1386 fire-tiger * at the age of thirty-one. The youngest brother
 *1359 was born of another mother in the year earth-boar; * and
 was called bSod (nams) grags pa. At the age of ten he was
 elevated to the see of rTse t'an, as the third in the series. 5

Then after Grags pa byañ c'ub, for five years he accepted
 the burden of being myriarch in the Palace. In the year
 *1386 fire-tiger * he was made spyān sñā of T'el; at the age of
 *1405 forty-seven, in the year wood-bird * [78], he became a kun
 *1408 spañs²⁾. He died at fifty in the year earth-mouse. * In the 10
 C'os a byuñ of the sPyan sñā, it is written that the bDag
 *1423 po Ša kya rin c'en in the year water-hare * was invested
 as a myriarch by order of T'o gan, but this calculation does
 not agree when comparing the date of the passing away of
 the Tai si tu and the year in which the Chinese succeeded the 15
 Hor. While he dwelt in dGon gсар, he married Zi sna Rin c'en
 aḍsom. By her he had six children: Grags pa rgyal mts'an,
 Byañ c'ub rdo rje, bSod nams bzañ po, dPal ldan bzañ po, bSod
 nams rgyal mts'an, Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an; since these were
 born in dGon gсар, they were called the six dGon gсар pa-s. 20
 *1374 Grags pa rgyal mts'an was born in the year wood-tiger, *
 one year after the death of the Go šri and ten after that of
 the Tai si tu. He was an incarnation of aJams dbyañs.
 When seven years of age [78a] he was initiated, in the see,
 by gŽon dbañ acting as mk'an po, and by Ts'ul rgyal acting 25
 as slob dpon; from the spyān sñā Grags byañ he listened to
 the explanations concerning the mystic initiations (dbañ).
 When eight years of age he went to the see of rTse t'an
 and explained the rNam aḡrel and the brTags gñis,

1) His interest lay chiefly in Tantras and their rites more than in aḡad, rtsod, rtsom, explanation, discussion, writing.

2) A person who has completely renounced the world.

etc.; at the age of twelve, in the year wood-ox, * he went to sNe gdon rtse; this was the year before the Rin po c'e bSod nams grags pa was made spyān sna of T'el. •1385

The sku žaṅ rDsoṅ p'yi Grags pa rin c'en assumed the power of first minister (blon c'en dbaṅ ḅdsin). On a certain occasion, the lay officers, unable to endure him, calumniated him to the Goṅ ma and the rDsoṅ p'yi pa was murdered; immediately ten lay officers of Yar kluṅs caused trouble; it was called "the group of ten". Greater troubles were expected to come. During that time, the great abbot P'yag rdor pa and the rJe rin po c'e [79] said that the fortunes of the Buddhist teaching in dBus and gTsaṅ depended on the sde srid of P'ag mo gru. They therefore entered the bulwark of a deep meditation¹⁾ and the Rin po c'e of sTag luṅ bKra šis dpal brtsegs picked up his own great resources and made an agreement; thus, before long the troubles were pacified.

On that occasion, the king Tai miṅ Ye dbaṅ gave him (Grags pa rgyal mts'an) the golden seal and the diploma of dBaṅ. At the same time, the office of dBaṅ was given also to ḅBri k'uṅ, to rTse gdon and to Gliṅ; therefore, they were called the four dBaṅ of Tibet. Again the king sent him from China many ambassadors; he also received the rock-crystal seal, and many valuable riches were given to him. The renown of dBaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an increased [79 a] like a river in summer time. Since the rule of China had started, it appears that there had been nobody else in Tibet who had received the crystal seal. Generally, as regards the two aspects of his rule, the political

¹⁾ = sruṅ ḅk'or; ceremony intended to ensure protection; the meditation is on the t'ugs dam.

and the religious, that noble man looked (properly) after his dominion; he also made innumerable receptacles of the bodily Plane, beginning with three bKra šis sgo mañs; infinite receptacles of the verbal Plane, beginning with many complete bKa' agyur written in golden letters and one written in gold and silver mixed together and three written in ink; receptacles, beyond the limits of the mind, of the mental Plane, such as one hundred thousand of ts'a ts'a-s having as their very essence the dhāraṇī gTsuḡ tor dri ma med in gold. 5

As regards the accumulation of good deeds in favour of the monasteries, such as endowments reserved for the meditation colleges and for the colleges for the disputations on logic in T'el and rTse t'añ, it is beyond the limits of the mind. Especially [80] he gathered all sorts of merits worth wishing for; he established a foundation for the fourfold congregation of jo stan¹⁾ and particularly for the great congregation. He rendered service, (on the occasion of) the conclaves, held in various circumstances in honour of rje btsun Tsoñ k'a pa accompanied by many hundreds of his attendants. He accepted to be the principal offerer of donations for the sMon lam celebrated in Lhasa and, for that occasion and for a long time to come, for the liturgical ceremonies of the dGe ldan pa-s meant to achieve mystic realizations (sgrub mc'od). He very often listened to the explanation of the Law by the rJe rin po c'e, the sPyan sna Kun spans pa, mTs'uñs med Rin gžon pa, mTs'al min rin po c'e bSod bzañ, Kar ma rin po c'e De bžin gšegs pa, etc. and honoured them: he gave the rock-crystal (seal) convalidating the investiture of the prefects of the chief rdsoñ and their lineage and so 10 15 20 25

¹⁾ Cf. Deb dmar, *Red Annals*, Kalimpong, p. 25 and bKa' gdams gсар rñiñ gi c'os abyuñ (by bSod nams grags pa) p. 92 a-b. Jo monks; stan: cushion upon which they sit; to the four congregations is given food once a day.

he was rightly called [80 a] the goñ ma, the saintly king.

With the exception of one or two wars against Nañ stod, there was no trouble and dBus and gTsañ became like one soft piece of silk and his authority was very high.

5 As regards his principal ministers, they were: Druñ c'en Nam mk'a' bzañ po of sNeu, bKra šis rgyal mts'an of 'Ol k'a, Nam mk'a' bzañ po and Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an of Rin spuñs, rGya bo of Brag dkar and his two brothers, dPal abyor bzañ po of aP'yoñ rgyas, spag ši (= pak ši) Šes rab
 10 bkra šis and Rin c'en dpal of Brag dkar, the uncle and the nephew, I nag bži aḍsom of Goñ dkar, dGe bsñen pa of Yar rgyab with his brother, bKra šis dpal bzañ of Bya, the myriarch of rGya ma Zla ba, the C'os rgyal of sGom log, dPon dge of rTse t'añ [81] Rab brtan kun bzañ aḗ'ags pa of the
 15 Eastern palace,¹⁾ Si tu bSod nams dpal of the Western palace, the sde pa of bSam grub rtse, that of sPa nam, he of Gliñ dkar and he of Bu ts'al, with his brother, dPal abyor rgyal po of rGyal c'en rtse who was the first rdsoñ dpon of rGyal c'en rtse. Then there were many other foremost
 20 (officials) like the myriarch Nam mk'a' bzañ po.

Then he aspired to isolation, founded the gži k'a of rGyal bzañ and so assured to him his own means of subsistence (pension) with a suitable number of peasants (bod mi ser) and aḗbrog pa: but he fell ill in the palace
 25 for one or two years and, at the age of fifty-nine, in the year water-mouse,* he passed away. This is the same year *1432 in which the rGyal ts'ab c'os rje died in Po ta (la).

The second son, Byañ c'ub rdo rje, was born in the year fire-snake; * at the age of nine, in the year wood-ox *1377
 30 [81 a], he was elevated to the see of rTse t'añ; at the * *1385

1) Of Gyantze.

age of twenty he was fully ordained. He went to Lhasa and held there a council. Exactly during his time the number of the monks also greatly increased. When he was

*1428 fifty-two, in the year earth-monkey, * he passed away in
 rTse t'añ. The fourth son was dPal ldan bzañ po, who, 5
 at the age of twenty-three, went to T'el as sryan sna; at

1407 twenty-five, in the year fire-boar, he passed away. After
 him, bSod namś bzañ po at the age of twenty-nine was
 elevated to the dignity of sryan sna and when he was

*1416 thirty-seven, in the year fire-monkey, * he passed away. 10
 The fifth son, bSod namś rgyal mts'an was born in the year

*1386 fire-tiger; * this was the year in which the sryan sna Kun
 spuñś was elevated to the see of T'el. When he was thirty-

*1417 two [82], in the year fire-bird, * he was elevated to the dignity
 of sryan sna. This year fire-bird is the year in which the 15
 rJe rin po c'e was sixty-one; at forty-nine, in the year wood-

*1434 tiger, * he passed away. This is the same year in which the
 aDul aḍsin rin po c'e died in bTsun mo ts'al; it is also the
 year in which mK'as grub c'os rje completed in dGa' ldan 20
 the great commentary on Dus aḅk'or. The sixth son,

Sañś rgyas rgyal mts'an, came to power in dGon gśar of
 mK'ar t'og; then he married one of the daughters of the
 chief of Rin spuñś and he had by her Gragś pa aḅyuiñ gnaś.
 Then marrying again another daughter, he had by her
 Kun dga' legś pa. Gragś pa aḅyuiñ gnaś was born in dGon 25

*1414 gśar in the year wood-horse; * this is the same year
 in which the great saintly king reached his forty-first year.
 When fifteen, he dwelt in the see of rTse t'añ. After the
 great saintly king had died, [82 a] the officials did not agree 30
 as to whether the uncle or the nephew was to ascend
 the throne. Nor bzañ pa of Rin spuñś gave the good
 advice that the opinion of the sryan sna of T'el should be

asked and that it should be done according to what he would say. The spyan sna was asked for his opinion and he said that nobody was fit to sit on the throne except the young boy; nor was it proper for an old
 5 layman. Nobody could pass over his words, and so towards the end of the year water-mouse, * Grags pa *1432
 abyuñ gnas, who was in the see, at the age of nineteen, went to the Palace and took therefore command. Afterwards, on the twenty-second day of the first month of the
 10 new year wood-tiger, * the spyan sna rin po c'e of T'el *1434
 passed away. Then the father, C'e sa rin po c'e, the chief with his officers, were relieved from any fear and wondered whether the moment had not come for him to take hold of the power and decided to levy a strong army, and therefore some
 15 troubles arose in the core of Yar klunš [83]. Then it became necessary for the C'e sa, the chief with many officers to go to Yar rgyab; so the troubles increased. This period is known as the great anarchy of the year of the tiger, and as the year of internal collapse of the P'ag mo gru-s.
 20 Towards the end of the year wood-hare, * this hard time *1435
 was, in a general sense, removed, and the dge sloñ of mK'ar took the office of rDsoñ spyi. The goñ ma himself at the beginning of the year fire-snake * went to sKyid šod *1437
 and the Nañ so du dben ša c'en mo greatly honoured him.
 25 At this time, in the fief of sNeu, he was met also by the mK'as grub c'os rje for reasons concerning religion; when the great C'os rje of gSañ p'u came to meet him with his disciples, it is said that the lotsāva of aGos, gŽon
 30 nu dpal [83 a], who was in the retinue of the Goñ ma and the c'en po Yon tan rgyal mnt's'an got up for a disputation¹⁾

1) Two methods: e. g. in Sera a master puts a question on a certain su-

(on religious subjects); his Reverence of gSañ p'u expressed his wish that the lecturing¹⁾ should have been supplied by the great c'en po; nevertheless, the Yid bzañ rtse pa²⁾ himself picked up the name of the subject upon which to lecture (gžuñ) and laid it down on account of his pride in being of rTe t'añ. On account of the hard times, he could not go on tour to the fiefs of gTsañ; on one occasion the king of China Gyin t'a (Ching-t'ai) sent him many ambassadors and gave him the diploma of dBañ; from that time he was called dBañ Grags pa 10 a byuñ gnas; he had learned many religious books at the school of many lamas such as the Pañ c'en Nags kyi rin c'en, gŽon 'od, spyān sña of rGya ma, Grags pa a byuñ gnas, the ras pa of rGod p'rug, the twenty-second spyān sña etc., and he therefore became much learned. Though 15 he was not a retired occupant of the see of rTse t'añ, this prince [84] himself ordered the Chapel, the great image and a bKa' agyur written in gold letters to be made.

He also promulgated laws concerning the discipline of prostitutes and the drinking of c'añ, established some 20 great ceremonies intended to attain mystic realizations and willingly carried out his purpose (lit. the burden of his mind) of showing the great estimation he had for (the monks

bject, and another one replies lecturing (bžad pa); [in Depung there is no bžad pa: both can put forth questions and lecture].

The man who puts questions is standing, the other who is making the lecturing sits down (this one is called the bžad pa). There are two rolls of paper which are planted on a plate full of wheat: one with the name of the questioner and one with the name of the lecturer: gŽon nu pa picked up the roll of paper with the name of the gžuñ upon which he was to lecture.

¹⁾ bžad = lan bžad, to reply in a discussion on religious subjects.

²⁾ I. e. gŽon nu dpal. Cfr. *Chronicles* of the Fifth D.L., p. 85 b.

³⁾ Here brtul žugs = ña rgyal.

addicted) to preaching or to listening to the Law; he also acted as a spyan sna, in so far as he imparted in T'el instructions¹⁾ concerning the quick (Tantric) realizations to the recluses, (ri pa = ri k'rod pa). When thirty years
 5 of age, in the year water-boar, * he invited back with ***1443**
 great honour his father the C'e sa from Yar rgyab and made him reside in rTse t'añ.

During that time, the principal officers (go sa c'e ba) were: du dben ša Grags pa dpal bzañ, Nor bzañ and dPal
 10 rin c'en the two brothers of Rin spuñs, Nor bzañ and rGya mts'o of 'Ol k'a the two brothers, dKon mc'og rin c'en and Sañs rgyas skyabs the two brothers of aP'yoñ rgyas [84 a], Rin c'en bzañ po of Yar rgyab, rGyal bu Grags še of bSam sde, rGyal ba bkra šis of Bya, aP'an po dPal abyor rgyal po,
 15 Rin c'en bzañ po of sKya bo, Lha dbañ of Bu ts'al, etc., who was the chief rdsoñ dpon of Glin dkar²⁾. When thirty-two years of age, in the year wood-ox, * he passed away on ***1445**
 the fifth day and was called the Ts'es lña rin po c'e. This was the same year in which rJe btsun Šes rab señ ge had
 20 passed away. This goñ ma alone among all, after his death, left such great record³⁾.

The younger brother, Kun dga' legs pa, was born in dGoñ gsar in the year water-female-ox; * this was the year ***1433**
 following the death of the great saintly king; when he
 25 was fourteen he went to the see of rTse t'añ; this was the year following the death of the Ts'es lña rin po c'e [85]. After three years, in the year earth-dragon, * ***1448**
 he went to the Palace. In this year the du dben ša passed

1) mgyogs k'rid abogs pa = myur lam gsuñ rab kyi dgoñs don bšad pa.

2) Evidently a gloss.

3) šul c'en = rjes šul, p'yag rjes.

*1457 away. After nine years, in the year fire-ox, * the c'e sa Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an passed away. This C'e sa nad dwelt for nine years in Yar rgyab and had been for fifteen years in rTse t'añ. sMyon pa of dGe mo took the dignity of ka bži; after him it was taken over by the dge sloñ 5 of sBal mig; the younger brother of this dge sloñ, called lÑa dar, took possession of the dignity of Eastern ka bži and became master of I nag.

He (Kun dga' legs) married one of the daughters of Rin spuñs and had a son: rDo rje rin c'en dbañ gi 10 rgyal po.

The emperor of China C'iñ ho (Ch'êng-hwa) sent some ambassadors to him and granted him the diploma of dBañ; he received it and was therefore called dBañ Kun dga' legs [85 a]; he went to make a tour of the fiefs and all 15 governors honoured him greatly; especially when he went to gTsañ, and the time came for Rin spuñs to attend upon him, the chief of Rin spuñs presented him with festive raintertainments where meat, butter and coagulated milk (were offered) and offerings beyond reckoning, consi- 20 sting of various kinds of precious things raised up highly in the two great rdsoñ. Also in Lhun grub rtse of sPa nam and in Gliñ dkar rdsoñ there were heaps of adequate offerings; even in La stod, lho and byañ, and rTse, East and West, presents were altogether many; 25 but in spite of that he was not satisfied with the behaviour of Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs and his ministers. Meanwhile the goñ ma fell under the influence of the ka bži pa and his brother, and since he and his wife did not agree, there were many great disturbances [86]. 30 Then Yar rgyab, Goñ dkra, Bya sa, bSam sde sided with the princess but the chiefs of sNeu, 'Ol k'a, etc. sided with

the prince and his officers. In the year fire-boar, * rDo *1467
 rje rin c'en, the gduñ rgyud¹⁾ was elevated to the see
 of rTse t'añ, when his father was thirty-five. Then the
 mother and the son came to an understanding and new
 5 troubles arose between the Palace (sNeu gdoñ) and rTse
 t'añ.

The great assistant of rTse t'añ, bKra šis bzañ po, made
 many hostile actions beyond measure such as the plundering
 of sNe gdoñ, T'od pa ri, Tsan t'añ bkra šis sgañ, etc. On
 10 that occasion the chief of P'yoñ rgyas did not side with
 anyone. In the year fire-dog, * Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs *1466
 had died and on account of such an event and other
 facts, somehow, the army of Rin spuñs for the time
 15 being, was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, the goñ ma went
 once or twice to sKyi šod and [86 a] was greatly
 honoured by the nañ so, the druñ c'en, the chief
 and his officers. Then the prince (dpon sa) who had
 occupied the see died at the age of nineteen and then
 the mother C'os dpal bzañ mo died too; both mK'ar tog
 20 and dGon gsar were occupied by the nañ so mTs'o
 skyes, and though the continuous troubles between the
 Palace and rTse t'añ were appeased, the Palace ordered
 that the monks of rTse t'añ should wear the red cap,
 and since the monks did not wish to comply, they gene-
 25 rally used only red patches and wore no caps²⁾. Such
 unpleasant things did happen. At that time the prin-
 cipal officers were dPal abyor rgyal po of sNeu, Kun
 tu bzañ po, Rin c'en dpal bzañ, mTs'o skyes rdo rje,
 Šā kya rgyal mts'an, these four brothers of the Rin

¹⁾ As before: family-heir.

²⁾ mgo yu byed pa = mgo la žva med pa, bare head.

spuñs family, the mK'an c'en of 'Ol k'a, rDo rje ts'e
 brtan of aP'yoñ rgyas [87], dÑos grub, Rin c'en lhun po
 and dKon mc'og don grub, the three brothers of Brag
 dkar, bKra šis dar rgyas of Bya, Gral lña rgyal po
 of Goñ dkar, Rin c'en rgyal po of Yar rgyab, Grags 5
 pa mt'a' yas of bSam sde, P'ag smyon pa of sKyid
 šoñs, etc.

The Ts'es lña rin po c'e had married a daughter of the
 mK'ar pa family; by her he had the gduñ rgyud Ñag gi
 *1439 dbañ po, who was born in the year earth-sheep * in rGyal 10
 rtse; the Ts'es lña pa was then twenty-six and Kun dga'
 legs pa was seven.

When he (Ñag gi dbañ po) reached the age of sixteen,
 *1454 in the year wood-dog, * the c'e sa of dGoñ gсар and the goñ 15
 ma Kun dga' legs took council together and made him
 spyān sña of T'el; after the death of the twenty-second spyān
 sña, the see had been vacant for twenty years down to that
 *1454 year wood-dog *. He listened to the Law from the lotsāva of
 mGos etc. [87a]; being very learned, having been fully ordai-
 ned, he lived as dge sloñ (litt.: a receptacle (of the rules) 20
 of a dge sloñ). The dGe sloñ of mK'ar exercised the office
 of gñer pa. The meritorious works of his moral conduct
 were very large. When he was twenty, in the year earth-
 1458 tiger, the goñ ma suddenly made himself spyān sña of T'el;
 for this and other reasons for sixteen years he¹⁾ lived in 25
 Brag dkar and rGyal bzań.

*1473 Again in the year water-snake * he won his cause,
 returned to the palace of Yañ dgon and his deeds spread;
 *1480 then after seven years, in the year iron-mouse, * Don yod
 rdo rje of Rin spuñs and Ts'e dbañ of γYuñ, the 30

¹⁾ Ñag gi dbañ po.

chief and the officers, led a great army and joining the troops of Yar (rgyab) and Goñ (dkar) reached the very core of Yar kluñs, dismissed the two ka bži pa-s, the Eastern the and Western, from their office, and marching into sKyid šod, restored order in¹⁾ the state of affairs²⁾ of Brag dkar [88] and took many districts, such as the C'u šul Lhun po rtse, etc.; then the chief of the fief of sNeu and his brother made peace.

Then the chiefs of Rin spuñs, the uncle and the nephew, du dben ša bSod nams rgyal po, Rin c'en rgyal mc'og of aP'yoñ rgyas, Srid c'od rgyal po of Brag dkar, Nor adsin c'os rgyal of 'Ol k'a, Kun dga' bkra šis of sPa nam, lHa rnam rgyal 'od of bSam sde, Rin c'en rgyal po and his brother of Yar rgyab, Lha dbañ kun dga' of Goñ dkar, bKra šis dar rgyas of Bya, K'ams gsum rnam rgyal of Bu ts'al, Ts'e dbañ grags of Hor k'añ, the chief of rGyal c'en rtse, the (chief) of sKyid šoñs and his brother and many other officers met in sNe gdon, at the beginning of the year iron-female-ox; and the rumour spread that the two princes, the uncle and the nephew, had come to an understanding [88 a]. The spyān sña Ņag gi dbañ po was invited to Lho k'a and the goñ ma was invited to dGon gsar; the spyān sña himself was elevated to the see of the Palace and married the daughter of rDsoñ k'a pa; at that time the spyān sña was forty-three. In this year the lotsāva of mGos died in gSal k'añ rtse in lower 'On, one hundred and nine years after the death of the Tai si tu, forty-nine after that of Grags pa rgyal mts'an and thirty-six after that of Grags pa abyuñ gnas; from that year iron-ox* down to this year earth-dog, *1481

1) ts'añ du ts'ud pa = ts'ags su ts'ud pa.

2) sde srid = state.

- 1538 * fifty-eight years have elapsed. Then the nañ so mTs'o
skyes took over the office of blon c'en and Rin c'en dar
rgyas of aT'on that of ka b ž i p a .
- 1483 After three years, in the year water-hare, * the goñ ma
Kun dga' legs passed away at the age of fifty-one [89]. The 5
Palace ordered then a great memorial ceremony to be set up
for the attainment of the perfection of his mind ¹⁾. Then
- 1485 after three years, in the year wood-snake,* the chief of Rin
spuñs led the army against the chief of rGyañ rtse and the
chief of γYuñ was made prisoner; such a disaster took place. 10
The year is called the (year) of the defeat of sPe rgya ²⁾ in
rGyañ ro. At the same time there arose trouble in dBus,
but the goñ ma himself remained the Overlord, (spyi dpon).
In a general sense, he did not like contentions and at the
school of dPal c'os kyi grags pa Ti šri he listened to many 15
doctrines of the great Vehicle; he held in great considera-
tion the logicians of rTse t'añ and also greatly patronized
the liturgical ceremonies meant to attain mystic rea-
lizations (held) in the Palace and in rTse t'añ. On the
ferry of Ñañ po he erected a great iron bridge; these 20
and other meritorious actions of this kind did he accom-
plish. When fifty years of age [89 a], in the year earth-mon-
key, * in the palace of aJañ, the gduñ rgyud Ñag dbañ bkra
šis grags pa was born to him. In this year, on account of 25
the internal anarchy between the Western and Eastern
Palace (rTse), Rin spuñs had the upper hand. The following
•1489 year, in the year earth-bird,* the mother rDsoñ k'a ma passed
away; it is the same year in which the last du dben ša passed
•1490 away. The following year, the year iron-dog, * the druñ

¹⁾ So that his mind might reach to the highest attainment, the limit-
situation.

²⁾ But before, fol. 56 a, sPel skya.

c'en dPal ḅbyor rgyal po passed away, and the year after that, iron-boar, * on the second day of the sixth month, the goñ ma himself; (therefore) he was called the Ts'es gñis rin po c'e. He was then fifty-three. At that time three persons of T'el: the abbot, the ācārya and the saintly king, these three, the c'en las of rTse t'añ, the c'e bgres C'os k'rims pa, the dge sloñ bSam grags pa of Brag k'a, P'ag smyon pa of sKyid šoñs, bSod noms grags pa of aC'os, the rdson dpon Ñi ma pa, Sañs rgyas rdo rje of gSer, etc., the prominent councillors of Yar, 'On and T'il [90] asked the sprul sku rin po c'e for his opinion. It was decided that, as long as the gduñ rgyud was not of age he himself should outwardly appear to be discharging the governmental duties, but in fact it was agreed to invite the žal ño of Rin spuñs, and a man was sent to gTsañ as envoy to give explanations¹⁾. Then the Palace of bDe c'en advised that mTs'o skyes pa should come: he then came just when the funeral-ceremony was being performed in the open space (in the plateau, t'añ) and he issued (documents) with the seal of regent²⁾; on account of that, in the summer of the year water-mouse, * all round Yar kluñs there were minor troubles³⁾.

In the autumn of the year water-mouse, * an army of gTsañ under the leadership of the sde pa sGar pa and the nañ so Kun dga' bkra šis came through Yar ḅbrog, reached the core of the country and took some districts from the sde pa—s of Yar (rgyab), Goñ (dkar) and sNel. Then a peace was signed.

The following year water-ox * [90 a] the C'os rje, the sprul sku, was elected spyan sna of T'el. In this year in upper gTsañ, Rin c'en dpal bzañ passed away.

1) rgyu ḅbul = rgyu mtsa'n ḅbul.

2) t'el gtoñ: to use the seal.

3) Cfr. *Chronicles* of the fifth D. L. p. 87 a.

The emperor of China thinking that the prince, the spyan sna, was still alive, send him envoys carrying the diploma of dBaṅ; the gifts were placed in the treasury and the ambassadors went back; also these things happened in
 *1495 this year. Then after two years, in the year wood-hare, * in 5
 sKyid šod there arose an internal anarchy which led to the killing of the uncle and the nephew of the chief of sNaṅ rtse. Then on account of some malicious accusations, (which
 *1498 were made) in the year earth-horse * the chief of Rin spuṅs drove a great army of dBus and gTsaṅ to sKyid 10
 šod, and there occurred some mighty events for which the naṅ so and his brother were obliged to go to sKyor mo luṅ.
 *1499 In the beginning of the year earth-female-sheep, * many officers, under the leadership of the chief of Rin spuṅs, gathered in sNe gdoṅ rtse, and then installed on the 15
 throne of the Palace the gduṅ rgyud rin po c'e ṅag dbaṅ bkra šis, inviting him to come from Brag k'a; he was twelve years old [91]. On that occasion the chief of Rin spuṅs, both in T'el and in rTse t'aṅ, entertained all the monks of the new school of logic and organized a great 20
 feast in which presents were individually offered¹⁾ and gifts to the whole community were distributed and wonderful precious things of various kinds of the time of the Chinese and the Hor etc., silk, tea, dresses, gold, silver, etc. difficult to reckon by common men, were 25
 *1504 se, * he²⁾ married a daughter of Rin spuṅs; after four
 *1508 years, in the year earth-dragon, * the gduṅ rgyud ṅGro bai mgon po was born; after him also his Presence (druṅ)

¹⁾ Increasing according to the rank (c'e ṅgyogs).

²⁾ i. e. ṅag dbaṅ bkra šis.

the spyan sña was born. In the following year, in the year earth-snake, * trouble arose, on account of strife *1509 between the sde srid and the chieftain and officers of bSam sde, but gTsañ sent a strong ambassador and the army of the sde srid drew back. On account of this, it is said, the cause of the grudge between the prince (dpon sa) and the chieftain of Rin spuñs, the chief and the ministers, was originated. In the following year [91 a] iron-horse* the nañ so mTs'o skyes died in Yar *1510 kluñs. When the funeral ceremonies were celebrated, an army led by Ñag dbañ rnam rgyal was sent against γYe bla aβriñ. The Palace made every effort to check it, but the sGar pa did not listen; the causes of grudge of the chief and his ministers were somehow increased. The spyan sña rin po c'e did not bear this and gave the following advice to the nañ so Don yod: "this sde srid of the P'ag mo gru, in a general sense, loves his people, then in particular the sde dpon, but especially you from Rin spuñs; therefore present him with an important estate; so it is better to find a way to remove (all causes) of grudge".¹⁾

The (other) feigned to listen, and invited the spyan sña and the Goñ ma, who were in the relation of chaplain and patron, to sBrag s mda'; [92] to them, he made all sorts of usual homage and made a show of great devotion; then as a present he offered Byar luñ pa²⁾. Therefore, the patron and the chaplain were not pleased. The spyan sña as a man of quick mind, went to Yañs pa can and the

¹⁾ dgoñs k'rel=hatred; cfr. dgoñs k'rel ma gnañ, honorific for t'ugs dgoñs ma aḡal, k'oñ k'ro ma lañs. The meaning is: you should beg your excuse to the goñ ma.

²⁾ Name of a place of small importance.

- goñ ma distributed for the most part among the different dependencies of bSam yas the things of various kinds which had been given him, and offered all armours and weapons to the spyan gzigs¹⁾ of the gži b dag and the c'os s ky oñ, as if he did not want them. At this the sGar pa was dissatisfied. The following year water-monkey * the sGar pa died at the age of fifty, and a great funeral ceremony was openly performed. As had been established in the will, Zil gnon pa from sNa dkar rtse was called and made žal no.
- *1512 At the end of this year water-monkey * from the Palace (of China) were [92 a] sent many C'in šri, and Go šri officers and servants, and the diploma of dbaň was conferred on the Palace. Then in the year water-bird, * the C'os rje of ąBri k'uň, the saintly king, passed away, and the dBon rin po c'e went to Yar kluňs and asked the Palace for help; the Palace appointed him as delegate and he administered justice in gTsaň, but since he was partial, this fact also became the cause of grudge between the Prince and the žal no p'yi ma²⁾ of Rin spuňs. Then in the year wood-boar, * since the chief of bSam sde had headed a rebellion, the army of the sde srid went to Yar stod, and though it was likely that it would turn into a trouble, the chief of ąP'yoň rgyas made a settlement and everything went well³⁾. Then the prince of gTsaň censured him, saying: "ąP'yoň rgyas has taken

¹⁾ Animals, embalmed, kept in the mGon k'aň.

²⁾ žal no p'yi ma: the successor, the heir, here does not have the meaning of «last»; p'yi mo = rtsa ba (Dict. of C'os grags).

³⁾ ts'o t'ub = ts'o zin pa = sde ts'an ma űams par gnas pa, bde tsam lta bu.

away the (office of) supreme judge from me, the chief of Rin spuñs". He afterwards prepared a powerful army and in the Palace he made (to the sde srid and his ministers) rude requests in a haughty manner¹⁾ [93]. Then the sde srid, the
 5 chief with his officers, though they were inwardly prepared, for the time being gave mild instructions, with the purpose of proving that they were true to their words; the spyan sna especially stated that these disturbances were not good and many officials and noble laymen from gTsañ itself
 10 presented a petition (in that sense). Nevertheless, the prince of Rin spuñs, the chief and his officers, did not listen, and kept watchmen in the rdsoñ-s of Yar kluñs, beginning with the palace of the saintly king. Therefore, in the year fire-dog * there arose great troubles in dBus *1526
 15 and gTsañ. At last the sde srid won his cause and the boundary was marked between K'a rag and Bod yul c'os. On that occasion the spyan sna rin po c'e, the master with his disciples, went to bZad mda' and rLuñ po rtse of C'u šul was placed as a guaranty of peace [93 a]. For three
 20 years there was peace in dBus and gTsañ and though there arose some trouble with aBri k'uñ, K'añ t'og, rGya mk'ar rtse, which sided with gTsañ, the peace lasted. rGya mk'ar rtse took back again from gTsañ its original territories and sided with the sde srid. Then the chief of
 25 Rin spuñs and his followers tried an agreement with sKyid šoñs and other (chiefs) who had rebelled, and in the following year, in the year fire-ox, * in the summer, he sent the *1517
 army of his district against rGyañ mk'ar rtse. When a large force was ready, the sde srid ordered a big army led

¹⁾ Passage doubtful: na seems to be aut of place.

by ṗP'yoñ rgyas to be sent in Nñan stod and everything went well. The chief of sPan¹⁾ nam had sided with the sde srid; for this and other reasons those who had rebelled in dBus could not succeed and the peace of one year was concluded [94].

5

- *1518 In the year earth-tiger, * in summer, the peace was broken and then the chief of ṗP'yoñ rgyas (Rin c'en rgyal mc'og, gloss) led an army of dBus and, through Nñan stod, went up to Ts'oñ dus. The chief of dGa' ldan (bSod nams rnam rgyal, gloss) led the army of sKyid and ṗP'an and through gZu and sÑe, went up to Šañs. Then he set in order both rGyañ rtse and sPa nam, and made them stable. The chief of ṗP'yoñ rgyas and of γYuiñ acted as intermediaries; an agreement between dBus and gTsañ was reached and the Zil gnon pa went to ask for the office of rdsoñ dpon and a kind of settlement was made; but in spite of that the chief of Rin spuñs and his
- *1522 followers in the year water-horse * gave rise to new
- *1523 disturbances. In the following year water-sheep no * great disturbances were aroused and for many years
- *1524 [94 a] peace was realized. In the year wood-monkey * the spyān sñā rin po c'e, at the age of seventy-two, passed away in Yañs pa can and the gduñ rgyud, still a boy, was elevated to the dignity of mts'ams bcad²⁾ of T'el. The prince ṗGro bai mgon po took possession of Goñ dkar and, marrying the daughter of dGa' ldan pa, he begot from her a gdun rgyud and another son. Then the prince, the ṗGro mgon, beside these two sons, begot two other

10

15

20

25

1) For sPa nam.

2) Filler of a vacancy: lit. to interrupt the break, the pause.

sons from another wife: therefore, there were a few disturbances and in the year wood-monkey * there were *1524
 fightings between P'ag mo gru and sTag luñ. In the following year wood-bird * there was fighting between sTag *1525
 5 luñ allied with T'og k'a pa and P'ag mo gru; in the following year fire-dog, * with the exception of a fight between *1526
 P'ag mo gru allied with the Yellow Hats on one side and aBri k'un and sTag luñ on the other [95], dBus and
 gTsañ were in peace; then in the year iron-tiger, * *1530
 10 peace was concluded between T'og and mK'ar on one side and the prince, the sde srid, on the other and it was
 not violated; therefore, in that year in the upper country there arose trouble between the Red and the Yellow
 Hats, and it appears that, to increase it, the sde srid
 15 (on one side) and T'og pa and mK'ar pa (on the other) parted (again); there were, in particular, disturbances in
 aBri k'un and 'Ol k'a; a small army of the sde srid was sent to the help of 'Ol k'a.

In this year earth-dog, * when the peace between dBus *1538
 20 and gTsañ was being broken, the sde srid did what was needed to prolong the peace, but the chief of Rin spuñs
 and his followers did not listen to him and great troubles arose.

However, there was no great acquisition or loss of territory on either side. As regards the offices which in various
 25 times were given by this Goñ ma, he bestowed [95 a] the office of rdson dpon to the aP'yoñ rgyas brothers, to rGya lu
 of bSam sde, to Ñag dbañ rnam rgyal and Zil gnon rdo rje of Rin spuñs, to aJam dpal of Brag dkar uncle and nephew,
 30 to Don yod rnam rgyal rdo rje of 'Ol k'a, to Pad ma of sPa nam, to Rin c'en bkra šis of Yar rgyab and his brother, to
 Nor bu bkra šis of Bya, to the son of the chief of Goñ dkar

and his brother, to bSod nams rgyal po of dGa' ldan, to the (chief of) rGyal c'en rtse the uncle and the nephew; according to suitableness he distributed also other offices. As to his ordinary actions, he did not cause useless disturbances, except in case of offenders¹⁾. He was impartial 5 towards all religious sects and did not take away any private endowment pertaining to²⁾ any community monks whatsoever. He ordered a bKa' agyur to be written in golden letters, a mc'od rten and a big silk t'añ ka to be made; suchlike good works [96] both as regards religion 10 and state, did he accomplish.

Conclusion

From gÑa' k'ri btsañ po down to 'Od sruñ there were forty-two kings; during that time they were the masters of all Tibet; after rJe dPal ak'or btsan that political 15 situation came to an end.

Up to the rise of the Hor, not only was the whole of Tibet in a state of anarchy, but in dBus and gTsañ there was no king ruling over all those (provinces); during the time of the Hor, the three c'ol ka of Tibet were offered to the 20 saintly king aP'ags pa, as a gift for the initiation (he had imparted) and the Sa skya pa-s became the masters of the world.

But, as it has been said before, on account of internal division within the family, they ruled no longer than se- 25 venty-five years. As regards the s de s r i d of P'ag mo gru, from the Si tu up to this year, there were nine goñ ma

¹⁾ ts'ur skal for ts'ur rgol.

²⁾ = dge a'dun gyi yo byad la gnod mi skyel ba.

sitting on the throne. The Si tu became master of the world in the year earth-ox [96 a]. * From that year down to this year earth-dog, * one hundred and ninety years have elapsed, during which they (viz. the goñ ma-s) were without interruption the masters of the world. This was (the result of) the good, marvellous, auspicious signs of the soil upon which the palace of sNeu gdoñ rtse had been founded. So people said.

'Ol k'a

10 Among the sde dpon, bKra šis rgyal mts'an of 'Ol k'a (of the Myañ family; gloss) ordered many copies of the sacred scriptures to be made in gold and silver. He was also one of the chief patrons of the rJe rin po c'e; afterwards, the C'os rje bZañ skyoñ fulfilled his purpose of
 15 founding Ñi ma gliñ; then, when the rGyal ts'ab c'os rje came to his estate, he took the vows and was known as the great monk of 'Ol k'a. Both Nor bzañ and rGya mts'o had great reverence for the Teaching¹⁾ in general and in particular; rGya mts'o was known for having had a heavy hand
 20 (i.e. being oppressive) against his enemies, when he was general of the sde srid. During the time of the mK'an c'en and his nephew, he (i. e. the mK'an c'en) ordered the great [97] mC'od k'añ, the golden image of Byams pa and many copies of the scriptures to be made. Nowadays Don yod
 25 rnam rgyal rdo rje generally worships the bla mas and the community and he is especially a good patron of the temple of C'os ak'or rgyal.

¹⁾ Teaching, bstan, as usual, manner of life concerning a) religious b) social life.

Brag dkar

Rin c'en dpal bzañ po (of the Myañ family; gloss) of Brag dkar was the patron for the building of the monastery of gSañ snags mk'ar. Sri c'od rgyal po ordered a great golden image of Byams pa to be made in gSañ snags mk'ar. 5

ṅP'yoñ rgyas

As regards dPal ṅbyor bzañ po (of Hor family; gloss) of 10
ṅP'yoñ rgyas, not only was he the rdsoñ dpon of bSam grub
rtse, but he was also connected as patron to rJe rin po c'e
who was his chaplain. Sañs rgyas skyabs offered the plan
for the building of bKra šis lhun po. rDo rje ts'e brtan, in
accordance to the words of his father dKon c'en rin mc'og, 15
founded the monastery of Ri bo bde c'en [97a]. Besides,
he ordered an image of the Tathāgata to be made in gold
and copper, as well as two images of rJe rin po c'e in gold
in human size, the celestial palace of dPal gsañ ba ṅdus
pa, and a pair of the holy scriptures i.e. the bKa' ṅgyur 20
and of the bsTan ṅgyur; moreover, in a general sense,
he rendered great services to the community. As regards
Rin c'en rgyal mc'og, the žal ño p'yi ma¹⁾ of ṅP'yoñ
rgyas, he was very famous as a political leader and
ordered a copy of the bKa' ṅgyur to be made. The chief 25
of today with his brother maintains the same hold as
before.

¹⁾ cfr. fol. 92 a.

bSam sde

Gragš še[s] (rab) (of the family descended from Yum brtan; gloss) of bSam sde, being connected as a patron with C'os rje Blo brtan, who was his chaplain, was the patron
 5 of the Yellow sect. Though Gragš pa mt'a' yas broke his connections with the dGe ldan pa-s, he did some good works; (e.g.) [98] he ordered a bKa' aḡyur in golden letters to be written.

Goñ dkar

10 Goñ dkar bži aḡsom, following the words of the Goñ ma Gragš pa rgyal mts'an, ordered many scriptures to be written, such as a bKa' aḡyur in golden letters, and caused many of the works of rJe rin po c'e to be printed. His son Gral lña founded the convent of Goñ dkar and had
 15 many receptacles of the three kinds made, such as the images of the masters of the Lam aḡbras¹⁾; he also ordered many of the works of the Sa skya pa bla ma-s, uncle and nephew, to be printed. Later, at the school of some bla mas, he became learned in the Tantras of the "mother
 20 class"; then, taking the vows, he was called C'os rje rDo rje gdan pa. During the time of Rin bzañ of Yar rgyab and his wife, and of Rin c'en rgyal po with his brother [98 a], there were made in Byams pa gliñ the marvellous mc'od
 25 mañs; the golden image of the big Byams pa, fifty-seven

¹⁾ I. e. of the Sa skya pa school and their Indian teachers.

spans large in the back; a great silk t'an-ka representing Byams pa; a bKa' agyur written in golden letters; a mc'od rten in silver containing the relics of the bla ma, the lotsāva, adorned with padmarāga and other kinds of precious gems; in a general sense they (the chiefs of Goñ dkar) bestowed great service upon the community. 5

Bya

As regards the sde srid of Bya, the saintly king dPal bzañ of Bya founded the temple of Yañ rtse and became the master of that territory. Formerly, he had not received any office, neither from the Chinese nor from the Hor; though the mÑa' bdag C'os sen 'od was appointed dpon of Byar and Dvags by aBri k'uñ, Bya was taken over by bKra šis dpal bzañ pa. 10 15

He was given the office of myriarch by (the princes of) sNe gdoñ [99]. bKra šis dar rgyas did many meritorious works, since he ordered a golden image of Šā kya t'ub pa along with a temple to be made, a bKa' agyur in golden letters to be written, and a big mc'od rten to be built. 20

Nevertheless, he was very partial as regards religion and his fame was therefore restricted to a part only.

Rin spuñs

Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuñs (of the family of sKyer; gloss) ordered the monastery in gTsañ roñ and a big golden image of Byams pa to be made. Nam mk'a' rgyal 30

mts'an ordered a bsTan ḡgyur to be written on whitish paper. He was ordained in T'el by rGya bo of Brag dkar: he was the keeper of the hut (called) dG'a dan spyil of P'ag mo gru in T'el¹⁾, and many times did he
 5 fetch the holy water (used by) the congregation on the occasion of the ceremonies of the purification of sins (sdig sbyon).

Nor bzañ pa [99 a] brought to completion the temple of Byams c'en with its receptacles and supplied the necessary
 10 things. Though, as regards the religious sects, he had faith in the Sa skya pa-s and in the dKar (rgyud pa-s), he also acted nicely towards the dGe ldan pa-s. When he asked the C'os rje of N'or to impart to him the instructions, the bla ma said: "I will impart to you the instructions, if
 15 you fulfil my three wishes". He replied that he would do so, provided he had the power to accomplish them. When the instructions had been delivered, the bla ma asked "all the dGe ldan pa-s in your territory should turn
 20 unto Sa skya pa-s; an end should be put to the building the monastery by the bka' bcu pa dGe ḡdun grub and (endowments for the maintenance) of the femal servants²⁾ of the new monastery of N'or should be offered". To which Nor bzañ replied: "Generally, no chief should compel (his

¹⁾ dGe ldan gyi spyil ḡdsin. This hut is still in the monastery of gDan sa t'il. It was there when in 1948 I visited the place. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 127 f. One may also consider the possibility of a faulty reading: dGe ḡdun: huts of monks, small houses in which the monks retire for meditation.

²⁾ Mor ban, stands for: mor ban, also called in gTsañ mor yan, female servants as a part of the mi ser provided as servants of a monastery and attached to its property and service. This explanation was provided by the most learned men of Tibet yonzin Trijang the Thichen rinpoche and tracher of his Holiness the Dalai Lama.

subjects) to change their religious sect; in this particular case, I have asked for religious connection with rGyal ts'ab [100] and I must therefore keep my promise to him, the dge ldan pa; though I was not a patron in the building of the monastery by the bka' bcu pa, if 5 I stop him, a bad name would come upon me and therefore I do not dare to do so. As regards the (request concerning the) offering to the new monastery of (some endowments) for the maintenance of the female servants, I had to carry the usual burden of rendering service to the 10 Goñ ma when he went on inspection to his fiefs, and take care of the officers carrying instructions for that purpose and of their chartered assistants¹⁾ and as well as of the calamities (caused) by the disturbances: therefore, the present (which you want) is not suited". At the time 15 of Kun tu bzañ po and his brother, there were the aforesaid rivalries. As regards Don yod rdo rje, as dignitary of Rin spuñs, he had great authority [100 a]; his orders ran all over dBus and gTsañ. Nowadays, during the time of Ņag dban rnam rgyal, he is not in peace with 20 the Goñ ma, the sde srid, and therefore many troubles have of necessity arisen. Nevertheless his power on (lit. of) gTsañ is high.

sNeu rdson

The chief of sNeu, Nam mk'a' bzañ po (of the family 25 of sGyer; gloss) esteemed the rJe rin po c'e and his

¹⁾ žabs tog las ka skyel mi = žabs žui las don gyi bka' yig skyel mk'an; rgya ban bran yyog (in gTsañ also called skye'o = ban c'en, etc.) so by kindness of his Holiness Yonzin Trijang.

disciples as his masters, and did many great meritorious works, surpassing all imagination, because he had the great monastery of ṅBras spuñs made, with the temple and many receptacles of the three kinds and was the chief
 5 patron of the sMon lam festival of Lhasa.

sNel

The du dben ša Grags pa bzañ po rendered great services to the Teaching and treated his enemies with a very heavy hand. He inflicted a famous defeat upon the chief of
 10 Rin spuñs in mDso ri [101]. Besides, nobles and humble people avoided him saying «it may happen that we meet the rgan po of sNel». dPal ṅbyor rgyal po rendered great services to the Teaching and the preservers of the Teaching; on account of his love for his subjects he
 15 behaved as a saintly king.

As to his power, it is said that he issued passports from below rDo t'em in ṅBri k'uñ up to rDo bug pa can of K'a rag and up to K'ra ṅbrug in Yar kluñs. The princess¹⁾ C'os kyi dpal ṅdsoṃ ma accomplished many meritorious actions:
 20 she ordered a set of the bKa' ṅgyur to be written in golden letters and many of the works of the rJe rin po c'e and his disciples to be printed, and rendered many services to the community.

The eldest of her three sons, ṅNag dbañ bSod nams rgyal
 25 po died early [101 a], but during the times of the other two, ṅNag dbañ bSod nams lhun po and ṅNag dbañ bSod

¹⁾ dpon sa.

nams rnam rgyal, the good works of religious men continued as before; still on account of some sinful behaviour in their conduct as regards the direction of life in general and in particular,¹⁾ there came to happen some troubles in their dominion. Nevertheless, they offered 5 many things for the Law. They accomplished wonderful meritorious works: they, in fact, ordered a great golden image of rje btsun Byams pa of aḅras spuṅs to be made, a great silk t'an ka and an architectonic maṅḅala of silver. 10

Though the Victorious incarnated lama had no sons by any of his three wives, he had three daughters: the eldest, Ṅag dbaṅ rgyal mo, was given in marriage to dGa' ldan k'an gsar and had a daughter and a boy; the daughter became the wife of the chief of Goṅ dkar [102], her son bSod 15 nams rgyal po was general and p'yi blon of the Goṅ ma sde srid and rendered great services to the religious community.

The mother, besides patronizing²⁾ some monasteries and their estates especially those in the southern part, established everlasting donation for a smon lam to be held for seven days at a stretch in the Ra mo c'e, and founded yearly endowments in favour of some colleges for supporting their religious duties. The youngest daughter (of the incarnated lama) was married to the 25 chief sNa dkar rtse. The second daughter, Saṅs rgyas dpal aḅsom ma, besides holding sNeu was given in marriage to the prince (dpon sa), the sde srid. She ordered physi-

¹⁾ bstan spyi and sgos; spyi = saṅs rgyas bstan; dgos = rgyal lugs bstan.

²⁾ ḅal bdag mdsad pa.

cal, spiritual and verbal receptacles to be made, such as a bKa' ḡgyur made of precious substances, etc. and rendered many services [102a] to the community. It is said¹⁾ that, as regards meritorious works, in sKyid ḡod
 5 there was no one who left a greater record than the nañ so goñ ma.²⁾

“A very estensive record containing the origin and [succession of the thirteen myriarchies of dBus and gTsañ and especially of the sde srid of P'ag mo gru as a continuation of the royal genealogies [of India, [China, Šambhala situated in the North, of the Hor and of Tibet and of the history, as well, of how the Chinese and [the Hor rules started in Tibet, by all means, is [needed»; so it was solicited by a couple of people endowed with intelligence [coming] from a distant country; it was at last made by a Šā kya monk, able in [speech, but who, though very learned, is lazy in mystic realiza- [tions.³⁾

1) Here most probably there is a gap in the original text: ji skad du seems to introduce a metrical quotation: one may surmise that some lines have been dropped.

2) That is, there is only little to say about the former nañ so-s of sKyid ḡod.

3) Because his interest lay chiefly in meditation and not in writing history; therefore, he adds that those who like meditation should forgive him, litt. be patient if, in order to comply with the request made to him, he interrupted his meditation, thus showing a certain laziness in that very meditation (to which he should have been addicted).

Let those who turn their mind long away from the
 distractions (which lead) to profit in this life and take
 [delight in meditation only
 pardon me [103].

If you ask: «is there, in some other part of the
 [world,
 an historian like the si tu of mTs'al dGe ba blo
 [gros?»

let it be known that there is a second author
 able to compile a history of the genealogies telling
 [the lineage (of different families)
 Though there might be many ornaments, such as good
 [extraction, good appearance and wealth
 such an author (capable of) creating such a beautiful
 [composition, is rare;
 without his mind being attached to historical tales,
 filling the sky with jewels, he deserves to be
 [honoured.

By the virtue of the meritorious work, (so)
 [accomplished,
 which consists in bestowing the magic key of the
 [genealogies,
 may all contemporary princes act according to the
 [Law,
 and may the wide kingdom enjoy happiness for
 [ever;
 (but) such rulers who, being subject to evil plots and
 [deceptions by bad friends,
 continually cause disturbances only,
 to say nothing of seeing them
 let us, if it happens that we have to listen to them,
 even become deaf in the hole of our ears. [103 a]

After a (prince) courageous and bold, with his wise
[discernment,
has guided his subjects into the enclosure of love
and after the good accumulation of virtue as regards the
[holy Law and government
as a full moon spreads (everywhere), may all creatures
[be happy.

- XXI. — *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka*. La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan. Testo, traduzione e note a cura di G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI e di G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, con prefazione di G. TUCCI e introduzione di U. SCERRATO.
- XXII. — LEE P. H., *Studies in the Saenaennorae: old Korean poetry*.
- XXIII. — GNOLI R., *The Pramānavārttikam of Dharmakīrti*. The first chapter with the autocommentary. Text and critical notes.
- XXIV. — TUCCI G., *Deb t'er dmar po, Tibetan Chronicles*. Tibetan Text, Emendations to the Text, English Translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles.
- XXV. — WYLIE T. V., *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*.
- XXVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. Chapters 55 to 70 corresponding to the 5th *Abhisamaya*. Text and English translation.
- XXVII. — GNOLI R., *Udbhaṭa's Commentary on the Kāvya-lamkāra of Bhāmaha*. Sanskrit fragments from Pakistan. Edited with critical notes.
- XXVIII. — ROCK J. F., *A Na-khi-English Encyclopedic Dictionary, Part I*.
- XXIX. — *A bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict of Aśoka*, Text, Translation and Notes by G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI and G. GARBINI, Foreword by G. TUCCI, Introduction by U. SCERRATO.
- XXX. — GNOLI G., *Le iscrizioni giudeo-persiane del Ġūr (Afghanistan)*. Text, Italian Translation and Notes.
- XXXI. — AUBOYER J., *Introduction à l'étude de l'art de l'Inde*.
- XXXII. — SCARCIA G., *Şifat-Nāma-yi Darviş Muḥammad Ḥān-i Ġāzī*.
- XXXIII. — TAKASAKI J., *A study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra) being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism*.
- XXXIV. — RUEGG D. S., *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, with the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar.
- XXXV. — SOPER A. C., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese bronzes*. A catalogue of the Auriti Collection donated to IsMEO and preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.
- XXXVI. — *Orientalia Romana, 2. Essays and Lectures* by V. S. AGRAWALA, P. BERNIO-BROCCHIERI, P. CORRADINI, L. LANCIOTTI, NAMKHAI N. DEWANG.
- XXXVII. — PENSA C., *L'Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-Vimuktisena. Primo Abhisamaya*. Testo e note critiche.
- XXXVIII. — BOYCE M., *The Letter of Tansar (Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 1)*.
- XXXIX. — *Orientalia Romana, 3. Ghalib*. Two essays by A. ALI and A. BAUSANI.
- XL. — ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*.
- XLI. — MOLÈ G., *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties*.
- XLII. — WYLIE T., *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*.
- XLIII. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts, Part III, Third Bhāvanākrama*.

Forthcoming Works:

- ROCK J. F., *Na-khi Culture as expressed in their Literature: An Encyclopedic Dictionary. Part II*.
- PENSA C. — VENKATACHARYA T., *Samghabhedavastu*, Containing the Life of the Buddha (From the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin).
- VENKATACHARYA T., *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters. Part II, Translation*.
- NAMKHAI N. DEWANG, *Mtsho mapham dkar chag*.
- MEISEZAHN R. O., *The Central Tibetan Tradition of the Tanjur*.