

**RIN-CHEN-BZAN-PO AND THE
RENAISSANCE OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET
AROUND THE MILLENIUM**



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भाचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां

(...स्त-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

Rin-chen-bzan-po and
the Renaissance of
Buddhism in Tibet
Around the Millenium

by
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PREFACE

Rin-chen-bzañ-po is the key figure in the Later Spread of Dharma after its persecution by Glañ-dar-ma in A.D. 901. Due to him it first appeared in Mñañ-ris and later on spread to Dbus and Gtsañ. He is famous for his translations of both the sūtras and tantras, and extensive explanations of the Prajñāpāramita. The Blue Annals says: "The later spread of the Tantras in Tibet was greater than the early spread, and this was chiefly due to this translator (lo-tsa-ba). He attended on seventy-five pañditas, and heard from them the exposition of numerous treatises on the Doctrine. Bla-chen-po Lha-lde-btsan bestowed on him the dignity of Chief Priest (*dbuñi mchod-gnas*) and of Vajrācārya (*rdo-rje slob-dpon*). He was presented with the estate of Žer in Spu-hrañs, and built temples. He erected many temples and shrines at Khra-tsa, Roñ and other localities, as well as numerous stūpas. He had many learned disciples, such as Gur-śiñ Brtson-grus-rgyal-mtshan and other, as well as more than ten translators who were able to correct translations (*žus'-chen pher-bañi lo-tsa-ba*). Others could not compete with him in his daily work, such as the erection of images and translation of (sacred texts), etc. He paid for the recital of the Nāma-saṅgiti a hundred thousand times in the Sanskrit language, and a hundred thousand times in Tibetan, and made others recite it a hundred thousand times". (Blue Annals 68-69).

"This Great Translator on three occasions journeyed to Kas-mira, and there attended on many teachers. He also invited many panditas to Tibet and properly established the custom of preaching (the Yoga Tantras). (Blue Annals 352).

In Tibet the system of Jñānapāda was first introduced by the Great Translator Rin-chen-bzañ-po. The latter preached it to his disciples and it was handed down through their lineage (Blue Annals 372). The widely propagated teaching and manuals of meditation (*sgrub-yig*) according to the initiation and Tantra

2 *Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

of Śrī-Saṃvara, originated first in the spiritual lineage of the disciples of the Great Translator Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Blue Annals 380).

“At that time the lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-bzañ-po thought: ‘His knowledge as a scholar is hardly greater than mine, but since he has been invited by Lha-bla-ma, it will be necessary (for me) to attend on him.’ He accordingly invited him to his own residence at the vihāra of Mtho-Idiñ. (In the vihāra) the deities of the higher and lower Tantras were represented according to their respective degrees and for each of them the Master composed a laudatory verse. When the Master sat down on the mat, the lo-tsa-ba (Rin-chen-bzañ-po) inquired from him: ‘Who composed these verses?’—‘These verses were composed by myself this very instant’ replied the Master, and the lo-tsa-ba was filled with awe and amazement. The Master then said to the lo-tsa-ba: ‘What sort of doctrine do you know?’ The lo-tsa-ba told him in brief about his knowledge and the Master said: ‘If there are men such as you in Tibet, then there was no need of my coming to Tibet!’ Saying so, he joined the palms of his hands in front of his chest in devotion. Again the Master asked the lo-tsa-ba ‘O great lotsa-ba when an individual is to practise all the teachings of Tantras sitting on a single mat, how is he to act?’ The lo-tsa-ba replied: ‘Indeed, one should practise according to each (Tantra) separately.’ The Master exclaimed: ‘Rotten is the lo-tsa-ba! Indeed there was need of my coming to Tibet! All these Tantras should be practised together.’ The Master taught him the ‘Magic Mirror of the Vajrayāna’ (Gsañ-sñags-ḥphrul-gyi me-loñ), and a great faith was born in the lo-tsa-ba, and he thought: ‘This Master is the greatest among the great scholars!’ He requested the Master to correct (his) previous translations. . . .

“The Master said: ‘I am going to Central Tibet (Dbus), you should accompany me as interpreter. At that time the great lo-tsa-ba was in his 85th year, and taking off his hat, he said to the Master (pointing out to his white hair): ‘My head has gone thus, I am unable to render service’. It is said that the great lo-tsa-ba had sixty learned teachers, besides the Master, but these others failed to make the lo-tsa-ba meditate. The Master said: ‘O great lo-tsa-ba! The sufferings of this phenomenal world are difficult to bear. One should labour for the benefit of all living beings. Now,

pray practise meditation!' The lo-tsa-ba listened attentively to these words, and erected a house with three doors, over the outer door he wrote the following words: 'Within this door, should a thought of attachment to this Phenomenal World arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head!' Over the middle door (he wrote): 'Should a thought of self-interest arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head.' Over the inner door (he wrote): 'Should an ordinary thought arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head' (The first inscription corresponds to the stage of Theravāda, the second to that of the Bodhisattva-yāna, and the third to the Tantrayāna). After the departure of the Master, he practised 'one-pointed' (ekāgra) meditation for ten years and had a vision of the maṇḍala of Śrī-Saṃvara. He passed away at the age of 97". (Blue Annals 249-250).

While Buddhism spread anew with greater purity and its understanding deepened by the new sūtras and tantras, Rin-chen-bzañ-po realised that the translations of sacred texts alone would not do, and to irradiate the faith temples would have to be built and would also have to be attractive to draw people. He brought with him artists and craftsmen from Kashmir to embellish temples newly built all over the country. The temples at Tsaparang, Tholing, Tabo and elsewhere in Western Tibet bear clear evidence of the craftsmanship of Kashmiri masters. The murals of Mañ-nañ temple are the only surviving frescoes of the Kashmiri idiom known today. There is a sharp distinction between the school of Guge and the school of Central Tibet, in spite of the same spiritual world. While Guge leaned on Kashmir because of geographic proximity, Central Tibetan schools were influenced by the Pāla and Nepalese idiom (Tucci 1949:1.272-275).

The biographies of Rin-chen-bzañ-po afford very few dates in his life. The main chronological landmarks are:

<i>A.D.</i>	<i>Age</i>	
958	—	He was born at Rad-nis.
970	13	He was ordained by Ye-śes-bzañ-po in Mñañ-ris proper.
975	18	He set out for Kashmir and stayed for 13 years in India.

4 *Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

1042 85 He met Atiśa on arrival in Tibet.

1055 98 He passed into nirvāṇa at Khva-tse Viñ-gir (Blue Annals 69).

Since Prof. Tucci published his monograph in 1933, very few original sources or studies have appeared on Rin-chen-bzañ-po. In 1977, Rdo-rje-tshe-brtan brought out *Collected Biographical Material about Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po and his subsequent re-embodiments* (Delhi: Laxmi Printing Works). It reproduces manuscripts from the library of the Dkyil Monastery in Spiti. The third text in this collection is a biography of Rin-chen-bzañ-po by Dpal-ye-śes of Khyi-thañ in Guge. It has been translated into English by David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, 2.83-100.

A manuscript of the biography of Rin-chen-bzañ-po by Dpal-ye-śes entitled *Bla-ma lotstsh-ba-chen-poḥi rnam-par-thar-pa: Dri-ma-med-pa śel-gyi ḥphreñ zes-bya-ba* (19 folios) has been reproduced at the end of this volume.

LOKESH CHANDRA

§ 1. *Historical background*

Rin-chen-bzañ-po is without doubt one of the most important figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism and a man distinctly representative of the period in which he lived. In him converged and united the characteristics and spiritual needs of his people and his age. It would not be useless, therefore, to study his figure as an apostle of Buddhism in the Land of Snows, in the light of the material that is available today.

In recalling his person, his travels, and his works we can relive that spiritual atmosphere and that historic moment to which he belonged. In illuminating the events in which he took part or which happened around him, it will be possible to clarify several points that are still obscure in the history of Western Tibet, and in general, the role that he played in the rebirth of Buddhism in the plateaus of the Himalayas.

Only Francke (1) has mentioned on several occasions the work of the Lotsava Rin-chen-bzañ-po, from which he justly recognized him as one of the greatest constructors of temples and sacred edifices in Indian Tibet and as the translator of the *Prajñāpāramitā*—the versions of which we will see subsequently—that is one of those mystical treatises that represent the essential foundation of the Mahāyāna dogma and that constitute together the necessary prerequisite of the mystical experiences described and elaborated in Tantric literature. But Rin-chen-bzañ-po was and did yet much more: the *Prajñāpāramitā* is a very small part of his immense work as translator. The texts that he transformed from Sanskrit into Tibetan are rather numerous and consider the most

(1) *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 1.40 et passim.

diverse arguments—although remaining mostly within the limits of mystical works and canonical treatises that the universally accepted tradition attributed to the revelation of the Buddha himself.

Thus it was through the translations that he made or that were made at his request, that a great part of the sacred and exegetic literature reached Tibet, at a moment in which Buddhist doctrine was in great danger, having been struck, in fact, by the persecutions of the apostate king, *Glañ-dar-ma*; it threatened to degenerate by means of Tantric ritual, erroneously taken as an end in itself without that rich foundation that represents its theoretical justification, into pure magic and thus be merged again with the religion of the Bon, who had never considered themselves as conquered, and strong from the momentary advantage, competed fiercely against the new faith for the domination of consciences. And thus it was precisely *Rin-chen-bzañ-po* who predicted and anticipated the numerous bands of the great apostles, whether Tibetan or Indian, that in the 10th and 11th centuries infused new life into the doctrine, which having crossed the barrier of the Himalayas for over two centuries, had not yet been able to organize itself in a systematic manner. *Rin-chen-bzañ-po* and the royal dynasties are to be credited with having made direct and more binding ties with India and with having called to Tibet the most famous masters and doctors of that time. They wanted to learn under their direction the innermost spirit of the sacred texts and to relive in all their profundity the mystical experiences that these texts had revealed by almost literally transplanting the celebrated schools of India in the hermitages of the Himalayas. The enthusiasm of the neophytes moved the masters, and disciples full of zeal and faith descended by the inaccessible paths of the Himalayan range into India, and the Indian doctors climbed under their guidance the same roads and renewed in Buddhism that was by now declining that apostolic activity that it had inspired in its golden age. *Atiśa* from the monastery of *Vikramaśilā* brought with him the subtleties of dialectics, the sublime experiences of the mystical ascent, and the daring Tantric practices, which investigated with profound analysis the mysterious forces

of the subconscious and controlled them until they were sublimated in the full light of consciousness, and with his lay disciple, Hbrom-ston, founded the sect of the Kadampa, which was four centuries later, to produce the reform of Tsoñ-kha-pa. Somanātha from Kashmir introduced the theory of the Kālacakra that transformed astrology and astronomy into thaumaturgic forces and into vehicles of salvation, by assimilating the microcosm to the macrocosm. Marpa, the translator, descended instead into India becoming a disciple to another luminary of Vikramaśilā—Nāropā—and transplanted into Tibet the mysteries of the esoteric Buddhist schools, and through his favoured disciple, Milaraspa, became the inspiror and spiritual father of the Kargyupa that still lives a glorious life today.

§ 2. *The Importance of Rin-chen-bzañ-po as lotsāva*

Rin-chen-bzañ-po is not connected with any of the many schools that were to multiply on Tibetan soil. One still cannot speak of sects in his time. These were a subsequent development, owing to the appearance of very unique personalities, doctors, mystics or reformers and to the foundation of the great monasteries in which the school begun by them gathered together and perpetuated itself, almost as a repository and symbol of their work. In the period that we are discussing the same schools that existed in India were transferred to Tibetan soil; generally, they were no longer those that they once were, that is, directed as rivals towards very disparate ends with dogmatical and doctrinal peculiarities all their own. Even if one hears mentioned in the commentaries of a Yogācāra or a Mādhyamika view, the late interpretations of these systems in the end almost converge and meet in the same vision. And metaphysics is by now nothing more than the foundation of Tantric practices, for which experience is worth more than theory. Now it is just this type of literature that Rin-chen-bzañ-po translated and it is this Tantric doctrine that he followed and spread in a special way. Rather than speaking of sects, we can speak of methods of interpretation of this or that Tantra or of preferences given, in some centres, to one Tantric cycle rather than to another. But following one line of experi-

ences (*sampradāya*) did not prevent one from passing also to others at another time. In a certain sense, Buddhist teaching is altered. It is no longer, predominantly, simple abhidharma, metaphysics, and dialectic, nor is it any longer a fact of intellectual consciousness, but one of experience and ecstasy. One does not teach solely in order to understand a text, but rather to experience and relive a mystical state. Each Tantra describes, explains in symbolic fashion, and aims to reproduce in living particular cycles of truth that correspond, in fact, to a different spiritual level, but among the diverse levels represented by the various cycles, one cannot say that there is a gradation of value: they are contiguous, but necessarily dissimilar, because they are proportionate to the preparation of the neophyte. Each Tantra presupposes, then, an initiation that changes the letter into the spirit and that consecrates in a definite manner the spiritual conquest that the adept has by now reached or acquired.

Thus the task of the lotsava is not just that of a simple translator. There is no doubt that it required an expert's mastery of Sanskrit or of the other languages in which the texts of the Law were written. As it is known, there was no lack of treatises translated from Chinese, from the language of Gilgit (1) (Bru-za), from Uigur etc., but it was also necessary for the lotsava to create a bit of his own language and style. It was not an easy matter, because a literary experience was still lacking or was just about to be established in Tibet: many and diverse dialects were spoken

(1) Concerning Bru-za (Gilgit) see the monograph of Laufer, *Die Bru-za-Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padma Sambhava*, T'oung Pao, II, IX. The influence of Gilgit on Tibet belongs, without a doubt, to the most ancient period of Tibetan Buddhism and this occurred not only with regard to Buddhism, but also with regard to Bon. Since 1881 it has been known from a publication of Chandra Das, "Contributions on Tibet", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1881 : 198 that a priest Bon of Bru-za figures among the first systematizers of the Bon religion, based on information that Chandra inferred from the *Grub-mthah śel-gyi me-loñ*. The information is confirmed from the same sources of the Bon-po; in fact, three masters of

there. Thus a unified language comprehensible to all the provinces was necessary. He had to continue and in many places revise and correct the work begun by Tibetans and Indians since the time of Khri-sron-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can. Nor was it a slight undertaking to reproduce the ideas contained in the Buddhist texts in a manner that could be understood by all: he had to bend the marvelous construction of the Sanskrit sentence to a different syntax and find equivalents for those philosophical terms so expressive of the dogmatical or mystical texts that were the magnificent fruit of the incomparable religious and speculative experience of India. The task must have appeared all the more vast and difficult because, in fact, he had to create not only a literature but a new culture, or rather, he had to give to Tibet a culture that it had never possessed before. That could only happen through the introduction of the new religion, that little by little, permeated the consciences, shaped all of life, and having already penetrated for about three centuries, had its glories, its defeats, and its martyrs. The lotsavas, then, were not simply literati; when they descended into India in search of a treatise to translate and make known to their country, they did not content themselves with understanding the literal sense: by means of the book, they searched for the mystical experience it contained, and relived in all its profundity its intimate and esoteric significance, which they possessed no longer as dead letters, but as living and vivifying spirit. Only in this way could they transplant it in Tibet and continue there that uninterrupted chain of masters and disciples, which if broken, a book would remain incomprehensible and inefficacious words, as happened to many texts for which they confess that

the name of Bon are cited as of Bru-za extraction, Bru, in the Bon-po liturgical manual entitled: *Phyag-len ltar gsañ-snags spyi spuñs-hgro-lugs zin-ris* (corr. *bris*) *kha-bskan* that I propose to publish shortly. On the other hand, the *Deb-ther snon-po* (ga 2) informs us that Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes went to the country of Bru-śa (sic) to study with the great lotsava of Bru-śa Btsan-skyes. The discoveries of manuscripts in Gilgit (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (sic) 1931:863, *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1932:93, 342 and *Journal Asiatique* 1932:13) document in a precise manner the importance that Buddhism must have had at one time in that region.

there is no longer a way to have an initiation, *dbañ*, because there are no longer any masters.

§ 3. *Rin-chen-bzañ-po as a builder of temples*

But if the importance of Rin-chen-bzañ-po is such that the historian of Tibetan Buddhism can no longer ignore his figure, it is certain that he particularly affects Western Tibet, that was his birthplace. Because in Ladakh, in Lahul, in Spiti, in Guge, in Purang, along the valley of the Sutlej there is not a small ancient temple that tradition still does not connect with the great Lot-sava. Rightly or wrongly, we do not always know: but one thing is undeniable; that in addition to being a great translator, he was also a great builder of temples and of stupas (*mchod-rten*), which he disseminated in Western and Indian Tibet. Thus his figure cannot be disassociated from that great building activity that took place around 1000 A.D. in these regions that are perennial centres of Lamaist culture. Let us be quite clear: when one speaks of Lamaism, usually, the immense convents populated with hundreds, at times thousands, of monks that the travelers to Tibet have described, come to mind. That occurred after the foundation of the Yellow Sect and the consolidation of the theocracy. In the beginning the situation was otherwise. The very term monastery, *dgon-pa* (that translates the Sanskrit *āranyaka*) given in Tibetan for monastery demonstrates its original character: it is not a place of meeting, *conventus*, but of segregation, *monasterium*, a refuge more or less removed from the inhabited centers, as much as was necessary to live undisturbed in meditation, but not so remote to render difficult those contacts with the inhabited world that even an ascetic needs. Whether chapels or small temples, *lha-khañ* are almost rectangular, of the type of Alchi Tabo and Lha-luñ, described by Francke and by Shuttleworth (1).

(1) Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I.

Shuttleworth, *Lha-luñ temple, Spyi-ti*, "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India", 39.

Many of the temples have remained virtually unchanged over the centuries, the end, even today, of the devout pilgrimages of the faithful: that was the fate particularly of those that are found in districts that are inaccessible, sparsely populated or poor, where that prosperity and richness of the country and the people are lacking that favoured the development of the great monasteries. Instead, the *dgon-pa* erected in proximity to the caravan routes or more densely populated centres experienced greater fortune and expansion, since with the diffusion and the propagation of the monastic orders they became the centres around which great building activity was generated by patrons and donors. And the famous doctors who studied or established themselves in them, almost consecrating them by the saintliness of their persons and drawing around them crowds of proselytes and admirers, contributed not only to spreading the prestige of the monastery, but also to increasing its size. Such was the case, for example, with the monastery at Toling, that arose quickly on the temple founded by Rin-chen-bzañ-po, since it was protected by the kings of Guge, or also the monastery of Lamayuru that is built against *Señ-ge-sgañ* another early chapel, certainly, even if it could not be attributed precisely to Rin-chen-bzañ-po.

When one remembers that the temples and chapels built by Rin-chen-bzañ-po (and that have remained unviolated) are rich in frescoes, stuccos or wooden sculpture and that much of this artistic decoration and furnishings is without a doubt inspired by, or even of actual Indian workmanship, as for example, in the wooden sculpture in the monastery of Alchi or those of Tabo, it becomes evident that a study of the activity of Rin-chen-bzañ-po does not pertain solely to the history of Buddhist doctrine, but also to that of Tibetan art. He lived, as we have seen, in a period of great importance for the formation and development of Tibetan culture: it is the period in which Buddhism, declining in India because of the victorious renewal of Brahmanic currents and because of the Islamic incursions that were destroying, little by little, its religious centres and universities, transplanted itself in Tibet and Nepal through the work of an elect host of pandits and mystics, the memory of whom the Tibetan chronicles have preserved for us; it is also, then, that Tibet establishes more in-

tense spiritual bonds with the country of Śākyamuni and sends beyond the barriers of Himalayas, to the Indian plains, its pilgrims and its lotsavas to come back from their pious mission carrying books and new experiences. The pandits and lotsavas were followed by artisans and artists. The renaissance of Buddhism gave a great impulse to Tibetan art. The biography of Rin-chen-bzañ-po points out to us one of the ways through which that impulse reached the Land of Snows. It was in a special way from Kashmir that Western Tibet imported its artists. It is wrong to believe that Tibetan art developed completely under the influence of Nepalese and through this of Bengali art: a very considerable place is due to Kashmiri artists, and it will be the task of future research to clarify this. The biography of Rin-chen-bzañ-po — as we will see shortly—openly makes reference to the Kashmiri artists that he employed. The cultural dependence of Western Tibet on Kashmir is, moreover, explicitly confirmed by our sources.

Western Tibet had, thus, a great importance in the Buddhist renewal that took place around the first millenium of our era: Rin-chen-bzañ-po, the lotsava of Zañs-dkar, and the kings of Guge that invited Atiśa are witnesses to it.

§ 4. *The conditions of Buddhism at the time of Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

The history of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet demonstrates that it diffused under the shelter and protection of the court and especially through the patronage that it received on the part of the princes and the powerful. The persecution against the faith initiated by Glañ-dar-ma (in 901) interrupted, and for a short time broke that spiritual continuity that had bound India to the Land of Snows. First of all, they had lost the generous support of the royal house, and by then it had become impossible to maintain in the accustomed splendour the temples already erected on Tibetan soil and to continue in an efficacious manner the work of propaganda that had been initiated; in addition, they attacked the offensive of the sect of Bon-po with mani-

fest violence, since even if they were not as persecuted as the Buddhist sources would want one to believe, they had certainly lost most of the privileges that at one time they had enjoyed uncontested and had to begin again, on their part, the battle to regain terrain and to make full use of unexpected favourable circumstances.

To these external causes that prepared for the monetary eclipse of Buddhism one must add the internal ones. Constrained to hide themselves, persecuted without the possibility of renewing themselves by means of the stimulus of Indian missionaries, the Buddhists degenerated. There was an involuntary return to the primitive beliefs that Buddhism in its early enthusiasm had suppressed, but not completely extinguished; there was also the advantage that the traditional religious experience of the race had over the new forms imported from outside.

In fact, the Buddhism that was imposed on the masses in this first period, was not at all that of the wonderful flowering of its dogma nor of the daring constructions of its metaphysics, but principally that of Tantric liturgy, and not always in its best forms. What I mean to say is that the Tantric rituality that was greatly diffused was certainly not that that accompanied and favoured the great mystic experiences and served to translate the axioms of mystical theory into psychologically relived truth, but above all that (Tantric rituality) whose character was predominantly magical and exorcistic. To the multitudes—this is not the case with the lotsavas and the few doctors who were in a position to understand the significance of even the works of dogma that had already been translated—Buddhism must have appeared as a system of formulas and rites more efficacious for subduing those spirits and multiformed demons that they imagined populated the region, much more so than the magic of Bon-po.

Left alone to themselves without the guidance of the great masters who relived the faith and who gave a clearer and more comprehensive vision of the essence of Buddhism, the Tibetan converts were inevitably drawn back to their original beliefs; or even if they professed themselves to be Buddhists their Buddhism became less and less distinguishable from the practices of Bon.

And this is why the Tibetan historians are perfectly correct when they define the rebirth of Buddhism in the period of our lotsava as a "new penetration" of Buddhism, *phyi dar*, to distinguish it from the first one that began at the time of Sroñ-btsan-gam-po and that is usually known as *sñar dar* "the first propagation of the faith".

§ 5. *The dynasties of Western Tibet as patrons of Buddhism*

But around seventy years after the persecutions of Glañ-dar-ma a new impulse was given to Tibetan Buddhism principally through the efforts of the dynasties of Western Tibet, that having profited from the disorder that occurred at the death of the apostate king, had succeeded in forming for themselves autonomous principalities and in founding more or less vast kingdoms that continued their own and not inglorious lives for several centuries. But everything derived from Glañ-dar-ma, since it was founded by his grandnephews. The Buddhism that he persecuted, was given new strength by the work of his descendants.

The great importance that the western provinces had for the rebirth of Tibetan Buddhism is widely recognized by historians and by the chronicles, as for example, in the Pad-ma-dkar-po, that dedicates to it a special paragraph of its histories (fol. 107); even the second chapter of the Deb-ther-sñon-po that is dedicated to the second propagation of the faith begins with their work.

Nor are there lacking modern scholars, who for different reasons, however, are concerned with these dynasties. Nor could it be otherwise, because we will see shortly, it was during this period that they were energetically engaged in the activity of translation, whose limits must be precisely established if one wants to determine chronologically the compilation of at least one part of Tibetan collections. And, in fact, it was with this intention that Huth (1) turned his attention for the first time to

(1) Huth, *Nachträgliche Ergebnisse bezügl. der chronologischen Ansetzung der Werke im Tibetischen Tanjur, Abteilung mDo (Sūtra), Band 117-124,*

Rin-chen-bzañ-po and his translations, while Francke concerned himself particularly with our dynasty from the historical point of view and as a reference to the ancient genealogies of Ladakh. But some of the sources that I used were not available to my predecessors, nor was it the aim of any of them, as it is mine, to go into details.

Therefore, it would not be inopportune on the basis of the sources now at our disposal and from which I have profitted, to reconstruct the genealogy of these dynasties that encouraged, if they did not directly advise Rin-chen-bzañ-po with regard to his activities and that governed in particular that zone called *Mñah-ris bskor gsum* that consists of Mar-yul, Guge, and Pu-rañ (Purang) (1).

It is obvious that it is impossible to define precisely the limits of these provinces, since they must have varied from century to century according to historical circumstances, conquests, and treaties. Generally, one can say that Mar-yul corresponds to the westernmost territory, that is to Ladakh. Mar-yul is the most ancient form that one finds in the chronicles, or used by historians, and also in the inscriptions that has been substituted in more recent times by the form that is most common today, Mañ-yul. But originally the form Mañ-yul referred only to the district between Nepal and Tibet near Skyi-roñ or Skyid in whose proximity was the birthplace of Milaraspa (2). Guge is the intermediary province, certainly not as restricted as it would appear from

in *Zeit. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft* 49 (1985). 279 preceded partially by S. Ch. Das, Contributions on the religion, history, etc. of Tibet, III, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1881: 211-251. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II.

(1) The division of the Tibetan Mñah-ris according to Orazio della Penna is equally tri-partite: Ngari Sankar (zañs-dkar), Ngari Purang, and Ngari Tamo (see "Breve notizia del Regno del Tibet dal (sic) Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi", by M. Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, 1835).

(2) See for ex. the colophon to the translation of the *Buddhacarita*, Mdo hgral, ñe, fol. 119b and further the testimony of Bu-ston Chos-hbyuñ, trans. by Obermiller, part II, p. 187 "to Kyi-roñ in Mañ-yul". Mañ-yul bordered on the west with Guñ-thañ that was in Guge.

the Survey map (52 P) that limits it to the group of mountains south of Chumurti. Even today the monastery of Toling (Totling) is considered the centre of Guge; and the first Tibetan province of the high valley of the Sutlej that borders Kunuwar has been generically called Guge. It is not improbable that it also comprised the present-day Spiti.

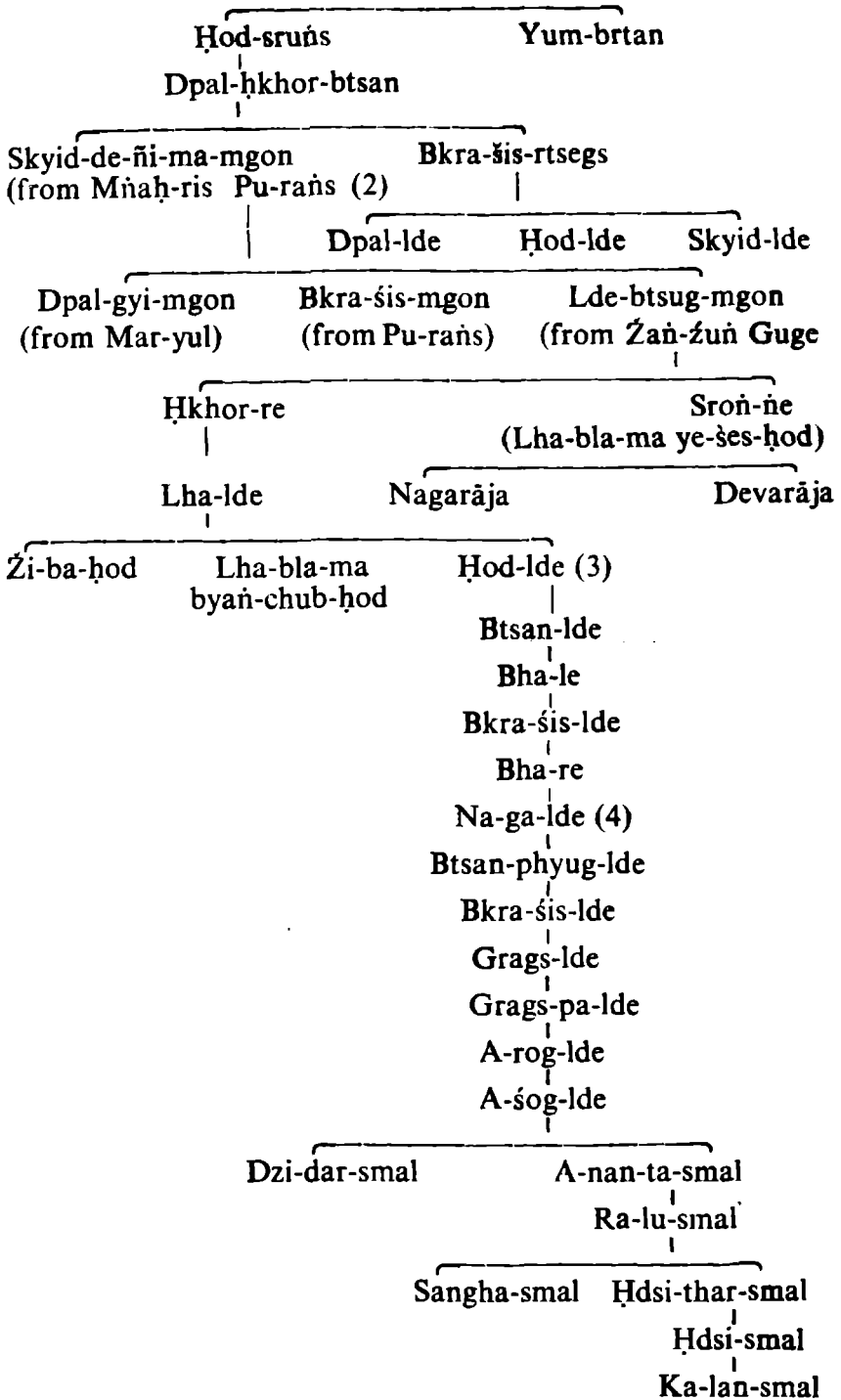
Pu-rañ (in ancient spelling Spu-hrañs, Pu-hrañs, in the modern Spu-rañs, Pu-rañs) comprised the lands to the east of Guge and as far south as lake Manasarovar.

These sources were used in order to reconstruct the genealogy of the dynasties that ruled these provinces: the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-baḥi me-loñ* or the genealogy of the kings of Tibet, the *Deb-ther sñon-po* written by Gzon-nu-dpal, the lotsava of Gos, and doubtless one of the most accurate and scrupulous, although apparently schematic, historical works on Tibet that I know, the Chos-ḥbyuñ of Bu-ston and that of Pad-ma-dkar-po; the chronicles of the kings of Ladakh edited or studied by Schlagintweit, Marx, and Francke. Partial lists are recovered in the Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary discovered at Tun Huang and edited by Hackin (*Formulaire sancrit-tibétain*) and the extracts of Sum-pa mkhan-po.

All these sources present a great uniformity except for details of minor importance that is in a certain sense a guaranty of their general reliability. In this light the text published by Hackin which represents a document chronologically very close to the period that interests us, assumes a singular importance together with those scarce bits of information that can be gleaned here and there from the colophons of contemporary translations collected in the Bstan-ḥgyur. That the sources listed are interrelated or dependent on one another also becomes evident: there is no doubt for example, that the chronicles of Ladakh, apparently a late compilation, reproduce a close version of that of the Rgyal-rabs that is also followed quite closely by Pad-ma-dkar-po. An independent source is represented by the Deb-ther, which Bu-ston follows closely.

RGYAL-RABS (p. 140-142) (1)

Glañ-dar-ma



(1) Up to Bkra-śis-mgon the genealogy is reproduced substantially also in the mam-thar of G.yu-thog Yon-tan-mgon-go.

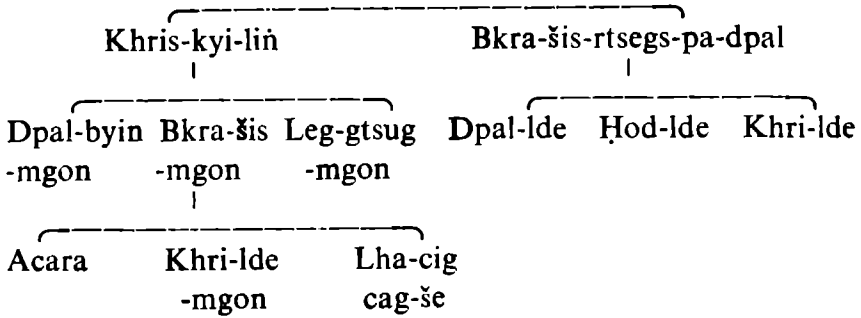
(2) In the text Mñah-rigs p. 42; on p. 140 gya-rig.

(3) The same genealogy is followed by Kloñ-rdol bla-ma.

(4) Up to this king the dynasty governed in addition to Guge also Mar-yul and Pu-rañ.

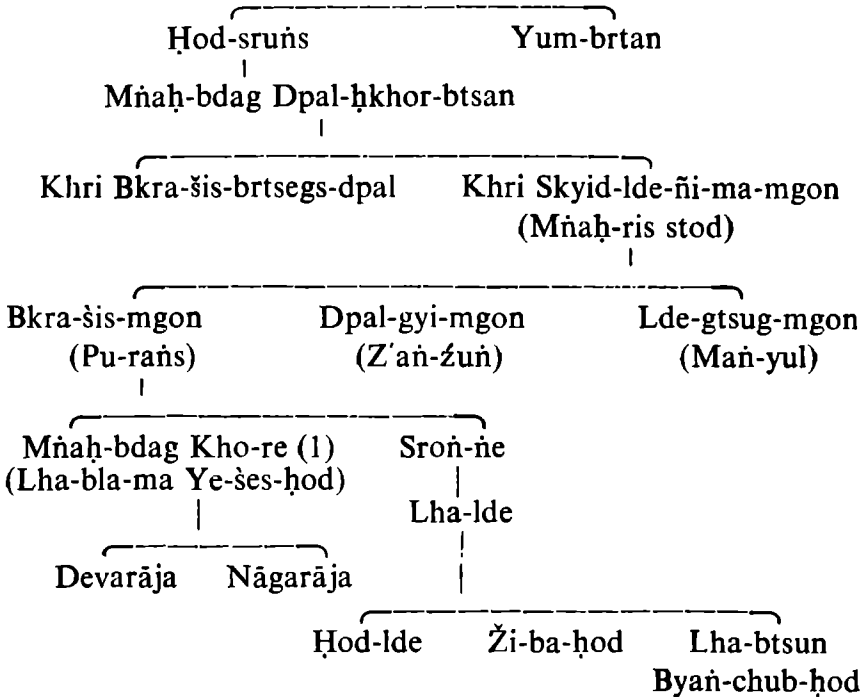
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LIFE OF ATĪŚA (p. 71)

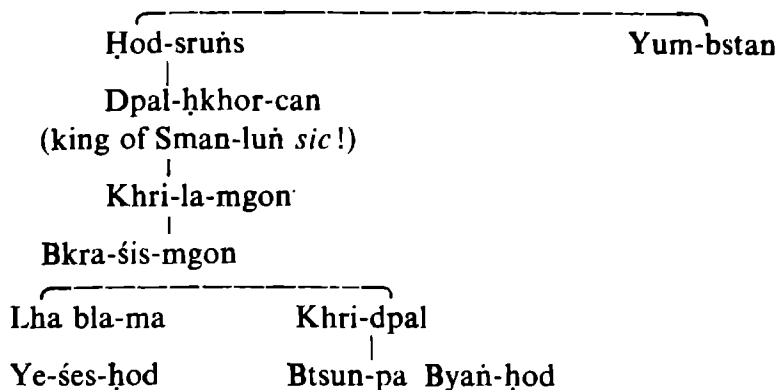
Dar-ma



(1) He left the throne to Lha-lde.

BKAḤ-THAN̄ (ña 69)

Dar-ma



The most interesting figures for us in this long list of kings and princes, many of whom are no more and will be no more than just names, are without a doubt Ḥkhor-re, Sroṅ-ñe (1), Lha-lde, Ḥod-lde, Bla-ma Byañ-chub-ḥod, Ži-ba-ḥod, Rtse-lde because they were the true authors of that rebirth of Buddhism that occurred in the 10th and 11th centuries, with whom and under their patronage, Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and the many masters who were brought from India collaborated. Indeed, we will find among the lotsavas of this period one of the princes of the royal family mentioned above.

All the sources, although they differ with regard to the names indicated, are in agreement in affirming that of the two grandsons of Skid-lde ñi-ma-mgon—according to the Rgyal-rabs and followed by Padma-dkar-po and Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma that would mean the sons of Lde-tsugs-mgon and thus the princes of Guge, while the Deb-ther sñon-po says that they were the sons of Bkra-śis-mgon and thus implicitly kings of Pu-rañ—one renounced the throne and took vows with his two sons leaving power in the hands of his younger brother. In fact, the Rgyal-rabs, which in

(1) Thus in almost all the sources; but the forms Ḥkhor-lde and Sroṅ-de occur also (in Bu-ston), which form is the most exact can be established only by comparison with contemporary epigraphical information; the frequency of *lde* in these onomastic types should lead one to consider this the original form.

this case Pad-ma-dkar-po echoes, narrates that the king who became a monk was Sroñ-ñe, the father of Nāgarāja and Devarāja, while the Deb-ther followed also by Bu-ston asserts that it was precisely the eldest one, that is Ḥkhor-re, who took vows together with his two sons, leaving the government to the younger brother Sroñ-ñe (ka19, ca2).

The question will be resolved definitively either by earlier chronicles that may eventually come to light or by epigraphical data that further exploration of Western Tibet will provide for us. One of these inscriptions, actually, is already, known and was discovered and mentioned by Francke (2) as early as 1914: but, unfortunately, it preserves for us only the name that the prince assumed after having taken the vows and with which he is usually recorded in our sources, I mean, Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod, which in the inscription is preceded by the royal titles in use for this dynasty, Dpal-lha-btsan-po. But because of the greater antiquity and the general accuracy that distinguish the works of Gžon-nu-dpal and of Bu-ston, I am inclined to consider as more valid the information contained in the Deb-ther sñon-po than that in the other chronicles and histories which reproduce a single model, that is to say the scheme that inspired the Rgyal-rabs, if not the Rgyal-rabs itself.

At any rate there is reason to consider that the renunciation of the administration of public matters on the part of Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod was not absolute. The title Lha-bla-ma-Sanskrit devaguru, the master of chief of the gods, that he assumed is certainly not an hieratic title.

It is a title that we also usually see adopted by many of his successors; it probably indicated that the prince had taken religious vows and that, in addition to being the head of the state, he was also the religious head (3); in fact we know from Pad-ma-dkar-po that Ye-śes-ḥod invested himself with ecclesias-

(1) Followed by Bodhimör, p. 268; according to Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen* it is Ḥkhor-re who takes the vows, p. 53.

(2) *Antiquities* 1.19.

(3) In the Buddhist states the identification of princes with the Bodhisattva is not uncommon. See Coedes, *Les inscriptions malaises de Śrīvijaya*,

tical rank. But that does not necessarily imply a total renunciation of the governing of the realm. One ought rather to think that he always remained the head of state while leaving the dispatch of current affairs or those of less importance to his delegates. And in fact, the princes that followed in succession until he was taken prisoner, that is Sroñ-ñe and Lha-lde are called by Gžon-nu-dpal (ca 2): *rgyal-tshab*, a title that corresponds to the Sanskrit *yuvarāja* and indicates not only the heir to the throne, but the regent and he who as *yuvarāja* is associated with the government within certain limits. That behind this spontaneous assumption of religious power are also hidden political motives is a matter that we will have more time to consider later.

There is yet another argument that strengthens my conviction. According to the Rgyal-rabs, Ye-śes-ḥod would have been captured by the infidels during the journey to India that he undertook for the purpose of inviting in person the celebrated Indian teachers or according to Pad-ma-dkar-po, while intent on collecting money for this purpose (folio 109).

These historians and biographers do not have the scrupulous accuracy of the ancient chroniclers; they concern themselves little with the truth: their principal aim is certainly not to give an exact view of the past, but principally to construct a work of edification and propaganda. It is not surprising then, that in all the activity of Ye-śes-ḥod they see only an admirable faith and inexhaustible piety. But the author of the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* gives us quite another reason for his expedition. He tells us (ca 2) that Ye-śes-ḥod, although having renounced the throne, continued to be the head of the country's armed forces. And since he found himself in conflict with Gar-log (1) he took command of the army, was defeated and taken prisoner. It was dur-

Bulletin de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême Orient 30.57, compare *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I. 240; L. de la Vallée Poussin in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* I.378.

(1) What tribe is being alluded to here we cannot determine with certainty.

ing this imprisonment that the king advised his grandson *Byañ-chub-ḥod*, who had come to the enemy camp in order to free him with a ransom of gold, to use all this wealth to invite to Tibet the most exalted representatives of Indian Buddhist thought. As is known, the advice was taken and brought about the arrival of *Atiṣa*. We do not know if his brother was still living when *Ye-śes-ḥod* was taken prisoner: one finds no more record of him in the sources. It is certain, however, that he was succeeded immediately or after a short interval by *Lha-lde*, who appears, in fact, as king in the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (1). He too, however, was not to live for long, because we see him succeeded by his eldest son, *Ḥod-lde* in whose time *Atiṣa* arrives in *Mñāḥ-ris* (*Deb-ther, kha* 4,6) (2), although the principal part in bringing about this invitation seems to belong to the younger brother *Byañ-chub-ḥod* who had taken the title of his grandfather and had received and executed his order to invite teachers from India.

From the inscription of *Tabo* published by *Francke* (3), it would seem that even *Ḥod-lde* did not remain long on the throne, because he is succeeded by *Byañ-chub-ḥod* who renovated the temple of *Tabo* that had been constructed 46 years earlier by *Lha-yi-bu Byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥ*, or what seems to me still more probable, that when *Ye-śes-ḥod* died the highest spiritual authority passed into the hands of the grandson *Byañ-chub-ḥod*, beside whom the regents or *rgyal-tshabs* always remained, invested with political powers. This *Devaputra Bodhisattva* is certainly not the *Byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥ* of dubious authenticity that the chronicles of *Ladakh* record as one of the first kings of the

(1) He ordered its revision-making for which, as we will see, *Subhāṣita* came from India. In the colophon he is called *dbañ-phyug-dam-poḥi Mñāḥ-bdag hod-kyi Dpal Lha-btsan-po bkra-śis Lha-lde-btsan*.

(2) However, elsewhere (ca 4) when speaking of the arrival of *Atiṣa*, the king is indicated with the title: *lha bla-ma*; thus also in the *Pad-ma-dkar-po*: *lha-btsun* (ca 3 a) = *deva-bhadanta*, epithets attributed equally to *Byañ-chub-ḥod*.

(3) *Antiquities* 1.41.

country—as Francke proposed—but seems rather to be the honorific title given *post mortem* to Ye-śes-ḥod by his descendants.

This is all that we can reconstruct of the lives of the princes of Mñah-ris, who were contemporaries of Rin-chen-bzañ-po.

It is possible to specify the chronological limits within which they ought to be arranged? The only dates that we have at our disposal are those regarding Rin-chen-bzañ-po and Atiśa. From these we know that Rin-chen-bzañ-po was born in the earth-horse year (Deb-ther, kha 3), that is 958 A.D. (and not 956 as Francke proposed) (1) that is 329 years after the birth of Sroñ-btsan that happened precisely in 629 A.D. (2) and that Rin-chen-bzañ-po took his vows at thirteen and immediately afterwards was sent to India at the order of Ye-śes-ḥod, that he met Atiśa in 1042 when he was 85, and that he died at 98 in the wood goat year, that is 1055. Concerning Atiśa, from the almost unanimous consensus of the sources, we know that he left India in the metal-dragon year, that is 1040, and that in the metal-snake year, 1041, he was in Nepal and that in the water-horse year, that is in 1042 he arrived in Mñah-ris (3) when Ḥod-lde was king (Deb-ther, kha 4b). To these dates ought to be added that of 1076 when, as we will see, Rtse-lde held a Buddhist council at Toling. All these dates give us rather secure points of reference for the history of Western Tibet and it is on the basis of these that it will be necessary to correct many of those already proposed.

§ 6. *The schools assembled around Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

Rin-chen-bzañ-po with his long life and the magnificent work that he carried out seems almost to sum up and symbolize in himself the Buddhist ardour of these kings. But at the wish of his

(1) The preface to Shuttleworth, *Lha Luñ Temple*.

(2) See Bell, Ch. *The Religion of Tibet*, p. 202. The date contained in Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 53, that is *Schim-Drachen-Jahr* (932 or 992) is to be considered incorrect.

(3) The date 1048 in Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibetain*, 74, is incorrect. Some chroniclers have Atiśa arrive in the year 1026, as it is recorded in the history of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa by Bsod-nams-grags-pa.

princes was assembled around him a numerous group not only of his disciples, but also of Indian masters that his generous patrons had called in order to assist him in his work and to assure that Buddhism had a long and secure success. Thus it was that at the court of the kings of Guge and of Purañ that an actual school was formed to which are owed the hundreds of translations that figure today in the collections of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and the *Bstan-ḥgyur*; a school which must be credited with having introduced for the first time in Tibet special lines of exegesis that can be precisely qualified as western currents or those from Stod or Kashmiri, that is, from the region of India from which they were introduced into Guge, and that comprise not only canonical texts, but in particular many Tantras and their interpretations, Vinaya or monastic rules and treatises of logic. According to the tradition preserved by our biography and confirmed by the *Deb-ther* the number of pandits that gathered at the court of *Mñah-ris* would have been 75, and this number can probably be considered exact if one includes not only the masters but also the disciples that accompanied them on their trans-Himalayan travels and if one considers that it does not refer to a particular moment, but embraces a long period of time.

Thus the collaborators of *Rin-chen-bzañ-po* can be divided into two categories: his immediate masters (or teachers) in India who initiated him in the diverse Buddhist disciplines and experiences and those who, through royal invitation, transplanted themselves in the Tibetan hermitages or in one of the many temples that the *lotsāva* constructed, or rather had persuaded the munificent kings to construct.

Setting aside for the moment a study of the details of the life and biography of *Rin-chen-bzañ-po*, it would not be inopportune to reconstruct his activity as a translator and apostle of Buddhism. That could be done by trying to trace his Indian masters and collaborators and his Tibetan disciples and by listing the versions of his works that have been attributed to him in the Tibetan collections.

The investigation, as Huth already perceived, will not be without profit, because, however indirect the route, it will be able to shed new light on the schools and Buddhist centres that were

flourishing towards the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries in India.

Secondly, not only would we have an exact idea of the royal purport of this school of Mñah-ris and its importance in the penetration of Buddhism in Tibet, but by singling out the works that were translated in this region, we will contribute to the history of the Bkañ-ḥgyur and the Bstan-ḥgyur that is yet to be undertaken.

It will be opportune to begin by summing up the historical sources available to me today that speak of Rin-chen-bzañ-po and his activity as lotsāva, subject to finding confirmation of how much concerning them is related in the indices of the Tibetan collections.

§ 7. *The sources concerning Rin-chen-bzañ-po and their historic value*

It would certainly be very useful to know the documents from which our informants drew their information; but unfortunately, the Tibetan bibliographical material at our disposal is still too scarce and fragmentary to be able to undertake with some profit an investigation of the sources of the biographies and the historians that we consulted. It is necessary, however, to note that the fundamental elements can always be drawn from the archives of the monastery of Toling that, as all convents, must necessarily preserve its own records, very often enumerated in the schematic form of a dry chronicle in the dkar-chag that, whether in published or in manuscript form, are not lacking in any monastery of some renown. On the other hand, G'zon-nu-dpal cites the source from which he gathered information concerning our lotsāva, and that is the rnam-thar of Rin-chen-bzañ-po written by Jñāna of Khri-thañ. If this Jñāna is the same Jñāna of Skyi-nor cited among the four most famous disciples of Rin-chen-bzañ-po in chapter ja, p. 2 of the Deb-ther itself, the information contained in this work, already in itself very accurate, would acquire a much greater value in as much as it ought to be attributed to an immediate pupil of the lotsāva.

It is also not to be excluded that the biographer used the same source because as much as he is more diffuse than G'zon-nu-dpal,

there is however, considerable agreement between the two works. But it is evident that the author of the *Rnam-thar*, who, as we will see, was from Guge, must have drawn extensively from the popular traditions, which even today, in all of Western Tibet celebrate the lotsāva and his great work.

8. *Rin-chen-bzañ-po and his school according to the Deb-ther*

The *Deb-ther-sñon-po* (kha fol. 3 b) contains several references to *Rin-chen-bzañ-po* that can be summarized thus: “the lotsāva *Rinchen-bzañ-po* was born in the earth-horse year that is 329 years after the birth of *Sroñ-btsan*; at the age of 13 he was ordained as a monk by the learned *Ye-śes-bzañ-po*. So one reads in the life written by *Jñāna* of *Khri-thañ*. Thus the year of his ordination would correspond to the seventieth year after the persecutions of *Glañ-dar-ma* (that occurred in the iron-bird year 901) (1) and thus the rebirth of the Law took place first in *Mñah-ris* (Western Tibet) and in the provinces of *Dbus* or *Gtsañ* (Central Tibet). When he met *Atiṣa* who had come to Tibet he was 85 years old. While still a youth he went to Kashmir and perfected himself in many systems of mysticism (mantra, sñags) and in logic: as a result he became very wise and he decided to translate many treatises of mysticism and many sūtras, composing also ample explanations of the *prajñāpāramitā* and of two types of Tantra (2) and he also taught many parts of the mystical ritual and the disciplinary rules.

The diffusion of mystical teachings into Tibet and the greater penetration of doctrine in this second period in comparison with the first is all to be credited to *Rin-chen-bzañ-po*. He visited seventy-five pandits and so heard from them many parts of the supreme

(1) I do not know how Francke arrived at the date 814 A.D., “Notes on Khotan and Ladakh”, *Indian Antiquary* 59. 41, while on p. 68 he places the conquest of Western Tibet by *Skid* (*Skyid*)-*lde-ñi-ma-mgoñ* around 930.

(2) That is, according to the distinction in use in Tibet of *pha* and *ma* *father* tantra and *mother* tantra. The first are those joined to the *upāya* or the means of realization constituted by *karuṇā* or compassion; the second are those that refer to *prajñā* or mystical knowledge.

Law. The king, great Lama Lha-lde-btsan honoured him as “supremely venerable” and as “Vajracārya” and made a present to him of property in Žer in Spu-hrañs. He also founded temples such as the temple of Khva-tse and the temples of Roñ. He had many disciples, whether they were learned men or ascetics as Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan of Gur-śiñ or pre-eminent translators. He entered nirvāṇa at 98 years of age in the wood-goat year in that of Viñ-gir in Khva-tse.”

Then it adds (kha 4) that Ye-śes-ḥod had the pandit Dharmapāla come from eastern India, from whom are derived three commentators of the Vinaya, that is Sādhupāla, Guṇapāla, and Prajñāpāla, usually known as “the three Pāla”: the school that stemmed from them was called the school of the monastic rules of Stod; Subhutiśrīśānti who translated the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, his large commentary (ḥgrel-chen), and the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Mñon-par-rtogs-paḥi-rgyan) with his commentary.

The disciples of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, on the other hand, continued the work of the master in three branches: sūtra, prajñāpāramitā and mantra; of all of them, the lotsāva of Rma, Dge-ba-blo-gros, deserves to be singled out. He translated the Pramāṇavārttika (Tshad-ma-rnam-ḥgrel), the commentary to this work written by the same author, that is by Dharmakīrti (Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti), the commentary of Lha-dbañ-blo (Devendrabuddhi) and the commentary (ṭikā) of Śākyabuddhi (Śākya-blo).

This was the first time that works of logic reached Tibet; and it was precisely from the western provinces that had initiated the translations of them; they were introduced slowly, and at a later time also introduced into the districts of Dbus and Gtsañ, that is the central provinces. It is customary, however, to call this period, the period of ancient logic (1) to distinguish it from the new system of study that was inaugurated later by Blo-ldan-śes-rab.

(1) It is probably the system of logic that gave its name to one of the three schools of dialectic founded at the monastery of Sera: Mṇaḥ-ris grva-tshañ, see Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* 1.57 n. 9.

Concerning this lotsāva, called also the Lotsāva of Rñog, we know that he was sent to Kashmir by Rtse-lde in order to study logic in the school of Parahitabhadrā and Bhavyarāja and that he specialized in the mystical system of Maitreya with the guidance of Sajjana, Amaragomin, etc. Although it is known that he was not a native of Western Tibet, it is obvious, however, from the account of Bu-ston, that the king of Guge was his patron. While many translations were thus being completed, they proceeded quickly to correct those that already existed, but that were demonstrably inadequate or rather defective: and this occurred particularly when Ḥod-lde invited Atīśa. His son, Rtse-lde, in the year me-pho-ḥbrug/fire-dragon 1076, held a council (1) at which all of the greatest masters of Dbus, Gtsañ and Khams participated, each of whom explained the discipline of which he was a specialist. It was also the time when the lotsāva of Zañs-dkar (Ḥphags-pa-śes-rab) corrected the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*, Tshad-ma-rgyan, whose translation had been begun by Blo-ldan-śes-rab together with Bhavyarāja (2).

(1) That a gathering of masters/ston-pa took place under this king is recorded in the colophon to the translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* that he commissioned, see Mdo ḥgrel vol the (Cordier 2.442).

(2) Notice of this council/chos-ḥkhor is found also in the biography of the Lotsāva of Rva, who is also recorded in the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* as being among those who attended. But judging from what the *nam-thar* says of this lama, famous for his impulsiveness and fierce temper, he departed from the council following an argument with the lotsāva of Zañs-dkar. Among the other delegates recorded in the biography of the Translator of Rva are (fol. 91) the lotsāva of Rñog Blo-ldan-śes-rab, the lotsāva of Gñan Dar-ma-grags, Kha-po-che of Btsan, Khyuñ-po-chos-brtson (in Bu-ston, p. 215 *Khvañ-po*), Dad-pa-śes-rab of Mar-thuñ, Byañ-chub-śes-rab of Mañ-hor (in *Z'añ-z'uñ* or Guge according to the colophon to the *Mdo ḥgrel ne*, Cordier 3.443). *Dvags-po-dbañ-rgyal* (the first five of whom are also mentioned in the *Deb-ther-sñon-po*). The same biography mentions that this council is contemporary with the translation of the *Pramāṇālaṅkāra* made by the lotsāva of Zañs-dkar.

In no other region was so great a service rendered to religion—so concludes *G'zon-nu-dpal*—as that by the kings of *Mñah-ris*.

In another chapter of the same work (ja lff.) in which the Tantric schools are classified and their diffusion in Tibet studied, establishing those missing links that connected the mystical currents of Tibet with those of India. The same author demonstrates that many Tantric cycles were introduced for the first time into the Land of Snow through the initiative of *Rin-chen-bzan-po* who, as was said above, was not only a translator of the texts, but the master who transplanted into Tibet the mystical knowledge learnt from the Indian gurus, by granting an initiation into it to a series of disciples or by communicating its secrets to a not indifferent band of *lotsāvas* and learned men, who, in every part of Tibet, cooperated in the recent rebirth of Buddhism whose past fortune was restored by the protection of the kings of *Guge*. According to the *Deb-ther*, then, the *lotsāva*, by means of his three trips to Kashmir (1), and with the aid of the masters invited to Tibet, introduced the system of interpretation of the *yoga-tantra*. In particular, the *De-ñid bsdus-paḥi-rgyud*, that is the *Tattvasaṅgraha* with the commentary of *Ānandagarbha*, the commentary to the *Dpal-mchog*, that is to the *Paramāditantra* written by the same *Ānandagarbha*, the rituality connected with the Tantric cycle of *Rdo-rje-ḥbyuñ* that is the *Vajrodayatantra*, the system of interpretation *Sgyu-ḥphrul-ḥdra* or *Māyājālatantra* according to the commentary of *Ānandagarbha* and the commentary of *Sarvarahasyatantra* composed by *Śāntipā*.

Pupils gathered around the *lotsāva* from every part of Tibet, not only from *Mñah-ris*, but also from *Dbus* and *Gtsañ*, eloquent testimony of the importance of the flourishing Buddhist centre in *Guge*: among them *G'zon-nu-dpal* records the lesser *lotsāva* *Legs-paḥi-śes-rab*; *Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan* of *Gur-śiñ* in *Mañ-nañ*: *G'zon-nu-śes-rab* of *Gra* and *Jñāna* of *Skyi-nor* who

(1) Only here is mentioned the three Indian journeys of *Rin-chen-bzan-po*. Even the biography speaks only of two.

were considered by Rin-chen-bzañ-po as his favorite disciples. Four others were pupils of both the greater and the lesser lotsāva: An-ston Grags-rin of Spu-hrañs, Rgya-ye-tshul, Dge-śes of Guñ, Dkon-mchog-brtsegs of Mar-yul. In addition Rgyan-pa Chos-blos of Rgyañ-ro Speu-dmar in Myañ-stod has his origin in the school of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, having learned from Rin-chen-bzañ-po the mystical system of the Vajrodaya as it had been transmitted to Rin-chen-bzañ-po by Śraddhākaravarman and the Kośalālāṅkāra that is the great commentary to the Tattvasaṅgraha and the system of Guhyasamāja according to Prajñāpāda (Ye-śes-žabs) while he studied works on ritual with the great ascetic Dol-po; however, he ought to be considered particularly as the disciple of the lesser lotsāva.

Another disciple of the greater lotsāva was Sum-ston Ye-ḥbar of Śaṅs who for seven years studied with him the above listed Tantric systems, although he continued his studies principally with the lesser lotsāva, whose school Lce-žar of Myañ-stod also joined after he also, however, had first met Rin-chen-bzañ-po. He dedicated himself especially to the Yogatantra and the Paramāditantra. The same thing happened to many others, who while having met Rin-chen-bzañ-po, in the end became disciples of Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, perhaps because of the already advanced age of Rin-chen-bzañ-po; among these are recorded: Gžon-nu-rgyam-tsho; Brag-steñs-pa of Las-stod; “the master of Dmar”, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mthsan of Kul-ḥchiñ-ru; Kle-ston of Ldog: the Nepalese (Bal) Śākya-rdo-rje, Ldog-goñ-kha-pa, Ge-ser of Rñog and Srid-ye-gžon of Śaṅs. The latter was not in time to meet Rin-chen-bzañ-po, but the first did not fail to study with the lesser lotsāva, and then under the guidance of prince Ži-ba-ḥod, who was also called “the translator”, he began to translate various works into Tibetan. From this school was also to come one of the greatest ascetics and lotsāvas of Western Tibet, that is to say, the lotsāva of Zañs-dkar Ḥphags-pa-śes-rab who was later in time than Rin-chen-bzañ-po, but who studied with the lesser lotsāva and with

his co-disciple An-ston Grags-rin whose name we have mentioned above (1).

§ 9. *Rin-chen-bzañ-po and his school according to Pad-ma-dkar-po*

The information contained in the Chos-ḥbyuñ of Pad-ma-dkar-po is less schematic than that contained in the Deb-ther-sñon-po; but the greater wealth of details is not always a benefit to its exactitude. Much of the information that the author gives us concerning the motives that prompted the king of Guge to send Rin-chen-bzañ-po to India and concerning the list of masters that he advised him to invite to Tibet rather than transmitting a tradition accurately, has instead the appearance of a knowledgeable reconstruction by Pad-ma-dkar-po intended to place Rin-chen-bzañ-po within the contemporary Buddhist movement in India, and thus to associate the greater part of his work with Indian doctrinal exegesis. It is probable that Rin-chen-bzañ-po met many of

(1) It will not be inappropriate in this volume dedicated to western Tibet to summarize the information that the Deb-ther has preserved for us concerning this lotsāva of Zañs-dkar (in the rnam-thar of the Lotsāva of Rva p.91 Zañs-mkhar, an obviously corrupt form). With his masters he studied not only the Tattvasaṅgraha and the Paramāditantra, but also the Caryātantra; then having invited the Pandit Gz'on-nu-bum-pa and having gone to Central Tibet, he translated the Rtse-mo; that is the Vajraśikharatantra (Beck, p.91) based on the preceding translation executed by Pandit Karmavajra and Gz'on-nu-tshul-khrims of Zañs-dkar and a Sanskrit manuscript brought by Gz'on-nu-bum-pa.

Thus having become famous on account of his great knowledge of doctrine, he gathered about him various pupils desirous of learning the same tantric cycle: among them ought to be mentioned Mar-pa Rñor-yas of Smongro, Rgya-ston of Khams, Yam-śuñ Klu-chuñ. Then, having gone to Lhasa with the Indian pandit, he took as a disciple Nyi-ma-śes-rab of Gñal who was initiated by them in the very same Vajraśikhara. This disciple was his companion on a pilgrimage to Nepal after which he returned to Mñah-ris and then he settled in Kashmir.

Then he set about composing a commentary (ṭikā) to the same Vajraśikharatantra. Of his pupils four merit special mention: Nyi-ma-śes-rab of Gñal; Mar-pa Rñor-yas; Tshul-ḥbar, the master of Gñan; Señ-ge-rgyal-mtshan.

the masters recorded here and that he initiated them in various Tantric systems which the Tibetan author (polygraph) mentions, but we ought to look for confirmation of this in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, and in the colophons of the works that he translated.

According to Pad-ma-dkar-po, then, the king Sroñ-ñe, who had constructed the monastery of Toling and who subsequently took religious vows assuming the name Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod in order to even more effectively propagate the faith in his region, chose 21 youths from the best families of the state (1) whom he divided into three groups according to their intelligence in such a way that the second and third group would depend on the preceding one; and having brought them from their families, he consigned to them a large amount of gold with the stipulation that they invite to Tibet the most eminent and famous masters that were in India at that time. According to the king those masters would have been Rin-chen-rdo-rje, that is Ratnavajra of Kashmir, Dharmapāla of eastern India, Karuṇāpaṇḍita, called also Nor-bu-gliñ-pa “the one from Ratnadvipa” in Western India, and finally Prajñāvalī. The youths that he sent to India were supposed to study Tantric literature in particular, and the king indicated the texts that he wished to have explained to them, because, as is well known, a Tantric manual is almost incomprehensible unless one learns the mystical significance of its formulas from the living voice of an initiated master. Such texts would principally have been: the *Guhyasamāja* according to its two fundamental interpretations (2), the *Tattvasaṅgraha* according to the commentary of Kun-dgaḥ-sñin-po, that is of Ānandagarbha. It is necessary to note immediately that this particular *Tattvasaṅgraha* is by no means the anonymous treatise of dogma by Śāntirakṣita with a commentary of Kamalaśīla, but a Tantric text that is said by some schools to go back to the Buddha himself, and to judge from some of the preserved fragments (3), it is actually written at least partially, in a rather archaic style that resembles that of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

(1) So also Ssanang-Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen*, p. 53.

(2) That is that of Buddhajñāna and Nāgajñāna, and Nāgārjuna.

(3) For example in *Jñānasiddhi*, *Two Vajrayāna Works*, edited by B. Bhattacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. XLIV.

Consequently, they were also to study the Las-kyi sgrib-pa rgyun-grod-kyi rgyud, that is the Karmāvaraṇaprasābdhitantra, with the commentary of ācārya Vasanta (Dpyid) according to the school of Nor-bu-gliñ-pa and Dharmapāla and then the meditations on the 340 divinities of the maṇḍala for which Ācārya Rgyal-baḥi-lha or Jinadeva had made a commentary, afterwards the Guhyasamāja both according to the commentary of Buddhajñāna and that of Nāgārjuna, then, with Ratnavajra, the commentaries to the Kālacakra and the four Tantras of Vajrāsana. Afterwards, he advised them to go to Vikramaśilā, where there was a great assembly of masters and learned men, each of whom was a unique repository of Buddhist knowledge. Having mentioned the renunciation of the throne on the part of Sroñ-ñe, Pad-ma-dkar-po records the sad fate that awaited these 21 that he had sent, all of them very young since the king had chosen none older than twenty and none younger than ten. Nineteen of them died in Kashmir and only Rin-chen-bzañ-po and the lesser lotsāva Legs-paḥi-śes-rab were fortunate to return home after long years of residence in India.

Regarding the Indian experiences of the lotsāva, Pad-ma-dkar-po tells us that in Kashmir he learned from Ratnavajra the system of the Yogatantra together with the mystical ritual that was connected with it; afterwards, when he met Nāropā, he had him explain the Guhyasamāja acc. to the two customary interpretations. Not being able to meet either Prajñāvalī, who had died in the meantime, or Dharmapāla, he became the disciple of Nor-bu-gliñ-pa who interpreted for him the Durgatipariśodhanatantra and the upāyatantras, the Tantras connected with Akṣobhya (Mi-ḥkhrugs-paḥi-rgyud). In Vikramaśilā he met Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Mi-thub-zla-ba and Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuñ-gnas (Jinākara), from whom he learned mantras and logic; therefore, having had the uncertainties that still remained from his stay with the Kashmiri Ratnavajra explained and resolved, he returned to Tibet, at the age of 33. At 49 he took his vows with the pandit Candraprabha, Bhi-na-se (?) and Kamalarakṣita. Subsequently, in Tibet he had

the opportunity to meet Śraddhākaravarman who had been invited there by Nor-bu-gliñ-pa and had him explain the system of Vajrodaya (Rdo-rje-ḥbyuñ), and the exegesis of Ye-ses-ḥabs (Prajñāpāda) and correct the translations of the two lotsavas of Ka and Cog (1). Finally, he succeeded in meeting Dharmapāla who had come to Tibet, and from him learnt the mystical system that was in use in eastern India.

Even the biography that we will discuss shortly has left us a record of the masters in whose schools he studied: but the names are often so altered that it is difficult to recognize them.

Among his principal disciples Pad-ma-dkar-po mentions Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, Gzon-nu-śes-rab, Ye-śes-dbañ-phyug of Skyi-nor and Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan of Gur-śiñ. As his guru or master in the broadest sense of the word the biography records now Da-ka-ra-bar-ma (21), now Sra-ta-ra-bar-ma (22), now Tratakara (25, 28), now Tra-ta-kar-bar-ma (26). Despite these deformations it is not difficult to recognize among such names that of the pandit Śraddhākaravarman, of whom Pad-ma-dkar-po has spoken.

In Kashmir, according always to the same biography, he would have also met with the most celebrated of the Kashmiri sages or ascetics, I mean with Nāropā, who, as I indicated above, was the spiritual father of Marpa, and then together with his guru Tilopa, the patriarch of the school of Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa. With Nāropā he would have learnt in particular the texts connected with the mystical rite of mahāmudrā. In India he studied with many masters, among which the biography cites Ḥdzin-mi-tra, Pa-na-gñan-na, Śi-len-dra-bho-dhi: the first name is obviously a corruption of Dzi-na-mi-tra, that is Jinamitra; the third is Śilendrabodhi, a famous translator of the time of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, that the author of the biography transfers, as a serious anachronism, to the time of the kings of Guge.

(1) That is the two translations of the time of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan: Dpal-brtsegs of Ska and Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan of Cog-ro.

§ 10. *Religious exchange between Tibet and India*

According to a three-fold tradition, this is the total vision of the relations that the kings of Guge established with the Indian masters and of the work of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, his disciples and collaborators that developed under their patronage, the court of Mñah-ris is to be credited, then, with having initiated a new period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism and having breathed new life into it, having contributed to a more perfect understanding of the complex and difficult theories and experiences of Buddhist dogma and mysticism, and having thus, preserved the best part of Buddhist thought, which otherwise, the Brahmanic rebirth would perhaps have deprived us for ever.

This was then, an exceptionally glorious period for the western provinces of Tibet. Perhaps no one today in crossing the arid and impervious ravines or the desolate plains of Spiti or Guge could imagine in the few and scattered temples or in those hermitages secluded in rocky solitude that such fervid life was concentrated and that a task so momentous for Tibetan culture was accomplished. This was a wonderful period in which Buddhist masters did not disdain to help their Tibetan brothers, who full of faith and mystical ardour descended their steep mountains and did not hesitate in confronting dangers and discomforts of the Himalayan passes, submitted with resignation to the hardships that a stay in the hot and humid Indian plains induced; messengers and apostles of religion and civilization who renewed with equal daring the example of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. Of this multitude of translators only names remain. Nevertheless, the transfusion of Indian Buddhism and with it of Indian civilization into the Land of Snow and the civilizing of Tibet that derived from it owes to the efforts and the tenacity of these missionaries. Most of the time they do not leave for posterity traces of themselves, yet they accomplished a wonderful task that even today arouses our deep-felt admiration and makes us consider the unheard of sacrifices, renunciations, and victims that it necessarily cost.

It is not necessary, however, to believe that all the Indian masters that we find at the court of the kings of Western Tibet at this time were actually summoned by them. The Muslim invasion had already begun to undermine the fortune of Indian Buddhism. From Turkestan and from Gilgit (Bru-za), through which the Islamic storm had already raged, the Buddhist masters could have descended very easily into Western Tibet via the caravan routes that today connect Ladakh with Central Asia. But the greatest contingent of immigrants must have come, without a doubt, from Kashmir, not only for its geographical proximity and its commercial exchanges, that then, as today, existed between the two regions, but also because in this period Kashmir had to endure the harsh misrule of a series of tyrants whom Kalhaṇa condemned to the execration of their descendants. The great number of Kashmiris in these years seems to be confirmed by a tradition, alive also today in Ladakh, that tells how the kings of Tibet were constrained, considering the scarce resources of their country to limit permission of residence in their country to these immigrants to no more than three years.

On the other hand, Kashmir at that time was one of the places where Buddhism prospered even more, if no longer as the state religion, certainly, as the home of the greatest doctors and exegetes of that time.

Nāropā, who became the teacher of Marpa and will be recognized as the most celebrated guru of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa sect that is also very diffused today in Tibet, together with Ākarasiddhi (Pad-ma-dkar-po, 85), and Jñānaśrimitra, pupil of Nāropā (ibid. p. 83, 106) were Kashmiri. Some of the greatest interpreters of the system of the Kālacakra, that also was destined to have an extraordinary fortune and diffusion, were Kashmiri, as for example Somanātha. And even at the time of Kṣemendra, Buddhism was to have in Kashmir many proselytes if the great poet did not disdain to have a hand in that ponderous collection that is entitled, Avadānakalpalatā, without doubt among one of the most beautiful and rich works owed to his inexhaustible genius.

(1) Francke, Notes on Khotan and Ladakh, *Ind. Ant.* 49 (1930). 42.

And the derivation of the Buddhism of Western Tibet from that of Kashmir remains documented, at least partially, by the fact that the Tantric systems together with their exegesis that were introduced by Rin-chen-bzañ-po were designated in Tibet with the name, Kashmiri system, according to the unanimous consensus of our sources.

§ 11. *The collaborators of Rin-chen-bzañ-po and their translations*

According to the literary documents available today, we can reconstruct this list of masters, collaborators, or disciples of Rin-chen-bzañ-po:

<i>Deb-ther</i>	<i>Padma-dkar-po</i>	<i>Biography</i>
Dharmapāla	Id.	
Guṇapāla		
Sādhupāla		
Prajñāpāla		
Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan (disciple)		
Dge-ba-blo-gros.		Id. (disciple)
Legs-paḥi-śes-rab	Ratnavajra	
Gʒon-nu-śes-rab	(Karūṇāpaṇḍita)	
Jñāna.	Candraprabha	
An-ston Grags-rin	Bhinase (?)	
Rgya Ye-tshul	Kamalarakṣita	
Dge-śes	Śraddhākara	
Dkon-mchog-brtsegs	Legs-paḥi-śes-rab	
Chos-blos	Ye-śes-dbañ-phyug	
Sum-ston Ye-ḥbar	Gʒon-nu-śes-rab	
Dīpaṅkara	Id.	Id.
		[Jinamitra (1)
		Śilendrabodhi (1)]
		Padmākaravarman
		Rin-chen-gʒon-nu
		Byañ-chub-śes-rab.

(1) For the obvious error, that I mentioned above.

Consulting the indices of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, we will find confirmation of all that our sources have indicated. Indeed, since many of the translations contained in these collections were done in collaboration, we will be able to establish contemporaneity and thus determine, at least approximately, the dates of some of the principal translators and masters who contributed to the success of the penetration of Buddhism into Tibet.

We will begin by giving an index of the works translated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po, dividing them into three groups: I) sūtras and tantras of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*; II) commentaries to the sūtras; III) commentaries to the tantras.

I

In the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*

1. *Laghusaṃvaratantra* (Otani p. 7, Beck p. 75, who does not mention the name of Rin-chen-bzañ-po).
2. *Abhidhānottaratantra*; *Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 8, Beck p. 75).
3. *Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyaguhyasamāja* (Ot. p. 23, Beck p. 85); *Śraddhākaravarman* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po.
4. *Māyājālamahātantrarāja*; Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 33, Beck p. 89).
5. *Śricandraguhyatilakamahātantrarāja*; Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 35, Beck p. 91).
6. *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha*; *Śraddhākaravarman* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 36).
7. *Sarvarahasyatantrarāja*; *Padmākaravarman* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 36, Beck p. 91).
8. *Śrīparamādīmahāyānakalparāja*; *Śraddhākaravarman* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 41, Beck p. 92).
9. *Āryavajrapāṇinilāmaradhāraṇīlokavijaya*; *Dīpaṅkara* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 51, Beck p. 96).
10. *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*; *Subhāṣita* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po, then revised on a new ms. by *Dīpaṅkara* and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 215, Beck p. 8).

11. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra; Kamalagupta and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 292, Beck p. 33).
12. Nairātmyapariṣcchā; Kamalagupta and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 321, Beck p. 42).
13. Ghaṇṭisutra; Dharmasribhadra, Tshul-khrims-yon-tan and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 374, Beck p. 61).
14. Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra; as above (Ot. p. 375, Beck p. 62).
15. Sumāgadhāvadāna; as above (Ot. p. 392, Beck p. 68).
16. Candraprabhāvadāna; Dharmasribhadra, Śes-rab-legs-pa, and Rin-chen-bzañ-po (Ot. p. 393, Beck p. 69).
17. Śrisenāvadāna; as above (Ot. 393, Beck p. 69).

II

Commentries to the sūtras (mdo ḡrel)

1. Translation and revision of Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka of Hari-bhadra together with Subhāṣita and then with Dīpaṅkara (Cordier 2.277).
2. Translation together with Dīpaṅkaraśrijñāna of the Durbo-dhāloka comm. of Abhisamayālaṅkāra (Cordier 2.278).
3. Translation together with Śraddhākaravarman of the Praj-ñāpāramitānavasīlokaṅgārtha (Cordier 2.287).
4. Translation with Kamalagupta of the ṭikā to the same work (Cordier 2.287).
5. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of the Hastabalapra-karaṇa (Cordier 2.296).
6. Revision of the translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra together with Dharmasribhadra and Śā-kya-blo-gros (Cordier 2.306).
7. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Saṃvṛttibodhicitta-bhāvanopadeśavarnasaṅgraha (Cordier 2.317, 349).
8. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Paramārthabodhi-cittabhāvanākramavarnasaṅgraha (Cordier 2.317, 344).
9. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Pāramitāyānabhā-vanākramopadeśa (Cordier 2.319 K. 354).

10. Translation with Dharmasribhadra of the *Dhyānasaddharma-vyavasthāna* (Cordier 2.320).
11. Translation with the same of the commentary of the same work (Cordier 2.320).
12. Translation with Prajñākaravarman of *Bodhisattvacaryā-saṅgrahapradīparatnamālā* (Cordier 2.324).
13. Translation with Kamalagupta of the *Vimalaprasnottara-ratnamālā* (Cordier 2.344).
14. Translation with Gaṅgādhara of the *Saptaḡuṇaparivarṇanākathā* (Cordier 2.346).
15. Translation with the same person of the *Sāmbhāraparikathā* (Cordier 2.346, 424).
16. Translation with Buddhabhadra of *Caturviparyāyaparihāra-kathā* (Cordier 2.347, 424).
17. Translation with Dharmasribhadra of *Pañcavidhakāmaguṇopālabhanirdeśa* (Cordier 2.350).
18. Translation with Dharmasribhadra of *Dhyānasaddharma-vyavasthāna* (Cordier 2.352).
19. Translation with the same person of *Yogāvatāra* (Cordier 2.354).
20. Translation with Janārdana of *Yogāvatāropadeśa* (Cordier 2.355).
21. Translation with Kamalagupta of *Saptaḡuṇavarṇanākathā* (Cordier 2.356).
22. Translation with Atiśa of the *Triśaraṇagamanasaptati* (Cordier 2.360).
23. Translation with Janārdana of *Yogāvatāropadeśa* (Cordier 2.390).
24. Translation with the same person of the *Prātimokṣabhāṣya-sampramuṣitasmaraṇamātralekha* (Cordier 2.403).
25. Translation with Dharmasribhadra of *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna* (Cordier 2.416).
26. Translation with Gaṅgādhara of *Saptaḡuṇaparivarṇanākathā* (Cordier 2.423).
27. Translation with Atiśa of *Supathadeśanāparikathā* (Cordier 2.426).

28. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of Dṛṣṭāntamālyā (Cordier 2.432).
29. Translation with Janārdana of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā (Cordier 2.470).
30. Translation with the same person of the comm. of the same work Padārthacandrikā (Cordier 2.471).
31. Translation with the same person of Dhūpayogaratnamālā (Cordier 2.475) and of Aṣṭapadikṛtadhūpayoga (Cordier 2.475).
32. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā and Buddhaśrīsānti of Śālihotriyāśvāyurvedasaṁhitā (Cordier 2.501).

III

Commentaries to the tantras (rgyud ḥgrel)

1. Translation with Janārdana of Viśeṣastavaṭīkā (Cordier 1.3).
2. Translation with the same person of Devātiśayastotraṭīkā (Cordier 1.4).
3. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Kāyatrayastotratvivarṇa (Cordier 1.5).
4. Translation with Padmākaravarman of the 13th chapter of the Varṇanārhavarṇane Bhagavato Buddhasya stotre aśakyastava (Cordier 1.7).
5. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of Ekottarikāstotra (Cordier 1.8).
6. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Sugatapañcatrimśatstotra (Cordier 1.8).
7. Translation with Buddhākaravarman of Deśanāstava (Cordier 1.11).
8. Translation of Buddhābhīṣeka-nāma-stotra (Cordier 1.11).
9. Translation with Śraddhākara of Pañcatathāgatastava (Cordier 1.12).
10. Translation with the same person of Saptatathāgatastotra (Cordier 1.121).

11. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of Śūramanojñā with comm. to Śrīcakrasaṃvara (Cordier 1.28).
12. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Śrībhagavadabhisamaya (Cordier 1.33).
13. Translation with Buddhaśrīśānti of Bhagavacchricakrasaṃvaramaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.37).
14. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of the work of the same title (Cordier 1.37).
15. Translation with the same of Herukasādhana (Cordier 1.43).
16. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Herukaviśuddhi (Cordier 1.44).
17. Translation with Atīśa of Śrīcakrasaṃvarasādhana (Cordier 1.45).
18. Translation with Atīśa of Bhagavadabhisamaya (Cordier 1.46).
19. Translation with the same of Cakrasaṃvaravistaraprabandha (Cordier 1.53).
20. Translation with Atīśa of Vajrayoginīstotra (Cordier 1.64).
21. Translation with Kamalagupta of the Catuḥpīṭhayogasādhantantrasāadhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.99).
22. Translation with the same of Tattvopadeśa (Cordier 1.103).
23. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantrapāñjikā (Cordier 1.108).
24. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Dharmaśrībhadrā of Sarvabuddhasamāyoga (Cordier 1.109).
25. Translation with Atīśa of Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa (Cordier 1.126).
26. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pradīpoddyotana (comm. on Guhyasamāja) (Cordier 1.131).
27. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭikā (Cordier 1.132).
28. Translation with the same of Vajrajāpaṭikā (Cordier 1.132).

29. Translation with the same of Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrobhavasaptālaṅkāravimocana (Cordier 1.132).
30. Translation with the same of Piṇḍikṛtasādhana (Cordier 1.134).
31. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of Sūtramelāpaka (comm. on Guhyasamāja) (Cordier 1.135).
32. Translation with Subhāṣita of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.135).
33. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Kamalagupta of Pañcakrama (Cordier 1.136).
34. Translation with the same of Svādhiṣṭhānakramaprabheda (Cordier 1.136).
35. Translation with the same of Abhisambodhikramopadeśa (Cordier 1.136).
36. Translation with the same of Amṛtakunḍalisādhana (Cordier 1.138).
37. Translation with Dharmaśrībhadrā of Mahāvajradharapathakramopadeśa-amṛtaguhya (Cordier 1.140).
38. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman and Dharmaśrībhadrā of Homavidhi (Cordier 1.140).
39. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājamaṇḍaladevakāyastotra (Cordier 1.141).
40. Translation with Prajñāśrīgupta of Śraddhāpralāpastava (Cordier 1.141).
41. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājavivaraṇa (Cordier 1.143).
42. Translation of Mukhāgama (Cordier 1.147).
43. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Samantabhadrasādhana (Cordier 1.147).
44. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.148).
45. Translation with Vīryabhadrā of Samantabhadravṛtti (Cordier 1.149).
46. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Samantabhadrasādhanaṅvṛtti (Cordier 1.149).

47. Translation with Kamalaguhya of Muktitilakavyākhyāna (Cordier 1.150).
48. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhīkā (Cordier 1.150).
49. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājābhisamayasādhana and maṇḍalavidhi (Cordier 1.152).
50. Translation of Priyasādhana (Cordier 1.152).
51. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Akṣobhyavajrasādhana (Cordier 1.153).
52. Translation with Vīryabhadra of Suviśiṣṭasāadhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.154).
53. Translation with Atīśa of Guhyasamājalokeśvarasādhana (Cordier 1.154).
54. Translation with Tathāgatarakṣita of Abhiṣekaprakaraṇa (Cordier 1.155).
55. Translation with Vijayaśrīdhara and Śraddhākaravarman of Guhyasamājapañjikā (Cordier 1.159).
56. Translation with Atīśa of Yamārisādhana (Cordier 1.167).
57. Translation with Tathāgatarakṣita of Vajrabhairavatantrapañjikā (Cordier 1.169).
58. Translation with Devākara of Devīprabhādhārādhiṣṭhāna (Cordier 1.181).
59. Translation of Jñānasiddhisāadhanopāyikā (Cordier 1.211).
60. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Vajrayānasthūlāpatti (Cordier 1.254).
61. Translation with Dharmāśrībhadra of Kośalālānkāra (Cordier 1.259).
62. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Vajradhātumaṇḍalasarvadevavyavasthāna (Cordier 1.259).
63. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Saṅkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtravṛtti (Cordier 1.259).
64. Partial translation of the commentary to Tattvasaṅgraha (Cordier 1.260).

65. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Paramādivṛtti (Cordier 1.259).
66. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Paramāḍīṭikā (Cordier 1.261).
67. Translation of the comm. to Māyājāla (Cordier 1.261).
68. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pañjikā to Māyājāla (Cordier 1.262).
69. Translation with Buddhaśrīśānti of Sarvavajrodaya (Cordier 1.262).
70. Translation of Trailokyavijayamaṇḍalopāyikā (Cordier 1.263).
71. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Pratiṣṭhāvidhi and Karuṇodaya (Cordier 1.263).
72. Translation with Dharmāśrībhadra of Pratiṣṭhāvidhi (Cordier 1.263).
73. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Homavidhi (Cordier 1.264).
74. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Nāmasaṅgītivṛtti (Cordier 1.265).
75. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīṭīkā (Cordier 1.266).
76. Translation with Subhūtiśrībhadra of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanamaṇḍalasādhanaopāyikā (Cordier 1.284).
77. Translation with Kanakavarman of Sarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi (Cordier 1.285).
78. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Sarvaśuddhisamskārasūtrapiṇḍitavidhi (Cordier 1.285).
79. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisambaddhatanrapūjāvidhi (Cordier 1.291).
80. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Vajravidāraṇīdhāraṇīṭīkā (Cordier 1.295).
81. Translation with the same of Vajravidāraṇīdhāraṇīvyākhyānabṛhaṭṭīkā (Cordier 1.295).
82. Translation with the same and revision of Vṛttipradīpa (Cordier 1.296).

83. Translation with the same of Āryamañjuḥoṣastotra (Cordier 1.301).
84. Translation with Atīśa of Sahasrabhujāvalokiteśvarasādhana (Cordier 1.305).
85. Translation with Viryabhadra of Sthiracakrabhāvanā (3.3).
86. Translation with Kamalagupta of Arpacanasādhana (2.4).
87. Translation with Atīśa of Nāgeśvararājasādhana (2.66).
88. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Nayatrayapradipa (81).
89. Translation with Atīśa of Tattvasiddhiprakaraṇa (81).
90. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Tattvāvatāra (81).
91. Translation with the same of Mantranayāloka (81).
92. Translation with Janārdana of Tattvasārasaṅgraha (82).
93. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Yogānuttaratantṛā-rthāvatārasaṅgraha (82).
94. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Guhyapañcaśikha (84).
95. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Madhyamabhāga-trayavidhi (95).
96. Translation of Jalabalividhi (96).
97. Translation of Mahāmudrāyogāvatārapīṇḍārtha (97).
98. Translation with Atīśa of Nāgabalividhi (97).
99. Translation with the same of Balipūjāvidhi (107).
100. Translation with Viryabhadra of Daṇḍakabhagavaccakra-saṁvarastotra (114).
101. Translation with Atīśa of Vajrayoginisādhana (118).
102. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Piṇḍīkramasādhana (162).
103. Translation with Atīśa of Nilambaravajrapāṇisādhana (181).

104. Translation with Atiśa of Vajradharavajrapāṇikarmasādhana (181).
105. Translation of Vajravidāraṇīmaṇḍalavidhi (182).
106. Translation with Śraddhākaravarman of Karmakarastotra (200).
107. Translation with Atiśa of Yamārisādhana (260).
108. Translation with Padmākaravarman of Bhūmisūtra (Mdo-maṅ Lalou, Cat. n. 112).

§ 12. *Synchronisms between translations and translators*

It follows from this list that we can assign to a precise period the translations bearing the names of Śraddhākaravarman, Padmākaravarman, Subhāṣita, Kamalagupta (or Kamalarakṣita or Kamalaguhya), Dharmasribhadra, Subhūtiśribhadra, Śākya-blo-gros (Śākyamati), Gaṅgādharma, Buddhahadra, Vijayaśridhara, Tathāgatarakṣita, who participated greatly in the final version of the Avadānakalpalatā (1), Devākara, Kanakavarman, Atiśa, Tshul-khrims-yon-tan. All these pandits and lotsāvas, then, are contemporaries of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and their activity should therefore be confined within a very precise time limit: the second half of the 10th century and up until about the third quarter of the 11th century.

This contemporaneity provides us with other synchronisms. In fact, we know, for example, that the Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra) mentioned by Pad-ma-dkar-po was the disciple of Gaṅgādharma (Cordier 2.377), who was himself a frequent collaborator of Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, that Kamalagupta collaborated with Bsod-nams-rgyal-ba (Cordier 2.85) and that some works were translated by Śraddhākaravarman with the lotsāva Yon-tan-śi-la (Guṇa-śīla, Cordier 2.198,199). On the other hand, Subhūtiśrīśānti and Śākyamati collaborated with the great Nepalese pandit, Śāntibhadra, with whom they had translated works together with Tshul-

(1) Cordier 2.420.

khirms-rgyal-ba, better known under the name of Nag-tsho, one of the most celebrated disciples of Atiśa (see for example Cordier 2.276). Śāntibhadra translated at least three works at the request of Lha-btsun Byañ-chub-ḥod (the grandson of Ye-śes-ḥod) and these are, as deduced from their colophons: Yogacaryābhūmau bodhisattvabhūmivivākyā, the ṭīkā of the Samādhirāja (Mdo-ḥgrel, ñi and ri, Cordier 2.369 and 382) and the commentary to the Abhisamayālaṅkāra of Bhadanta Vimuktisena in which collaborated Śāntibhadra Śākya-ḥod (Śākyaprabha); whereas the very brother of Byañ-chub-ḥod, that is to say, Ži-ba-ḥod in the colophon to the translation of the kārikā of Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntirakṣita that he translated into Tibetan together with Guṇākara-śrībhadra, was also called a great lotsāva.

Byañ-chub-ḥod himself commissioned from Subhūtiśrī (Śānti) a translation of the Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti of Devendrabuddhi (Cordier 2.440, Mdo-ḥgrel che) and of the Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa of Candrakīrti (Cordier 2.304) that was made by Dīpaṅkara, if it is true that the Dpal-lha-bstun-pa bodhi-rāja that this last mentioned one (Dīpaṅkara) wishes to be identified, as it almost certainly appears to be, with our Byañ-chub-ḥod.

From the time of Lha-lde we have the Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā of Haribhadra, in the colophon of which, in the edition of Snarthan one reads clearly Khri bkra-śis Lha-lde-tsan, from which one cannot agree with the identification of this king with his successor Ḥod-lde as Cordier 2.277 has proposed. Moreover, Subhāṣita already figures expressly as a translator, at the wish of the same monarch, of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā of which the āloka is the commentary. It is due to the decree of the same monarch that one owes the translation of the Śālihotrāśvāyurvedasaṃhitā (2.500) (1).

Concerning his successor Ḥod-lde, during whose reign Atiśa arrived in Tibet, we know that he had Subhūtiśānti, Śākya-blo-gros (Śākyamati) and Dge-baḥi-blo-gros translate the Śuddhimati

(1) Cordier in *Bulletin École Française d' Extrême Orient* 3.620.

(Cordier 2.281), that was then revised and corrected by Śāntibhadra, who we will see work for his (Ḥod-lde's) successor, Rtse-lde, together with the lotsāva Lha-btsas whose many translations are incorporated in the Tibetan collections.

The works that Rtse-lde, the successor of Ḥod-lde, had translated furnish us with another series of synchronisms: he reigned after the death of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, that is approximately sometime after 1055. He is usually designated with all his titles, Dpal-lha-btsan-po, Khri bkra-śis-mñah-bdag Rtse-lde-btsan, and we know concerning him that he ordered the translation of the Vinayasaṅgraha that was made by Jñānaśrībhadra, a pandita who was a native of Groñ-khyer-dpe-med, Anupamapura in Kashmir, together with the lotsāva Rgyal-ba-śes-rab and Śākya-bśes-gñen. And at the wish of the same prince and of Dpal-lha-bstun Ži-ba-ḥod, Jñānaśrībhadra, collaborating with the disciple of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, Dge-baḥi-blo-gros, translated the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti. It was the same king together with Ži-ba-ḥod who ordered that the great Pramāṇavārttikaḥ of Śākyabuddhi and Prajñākara-gupta (Mdo-ḥgrel, je, ñe, te, the, Cordier 2.440ff.) be translated, obeying the will of Khu and Dpon, of the uncle and the nephew, that is of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byañ-chub-ḥod (and not Ži-ba-ḥod as Cordier proposes); and entrusting the translation to Sunayanaśrimitra of Vikramaśilā and to Kumāraśrī from among the many other masters brought together for this purpose, during a meeting held at his very request at Toling. Always obeying the will of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byañ-chub-ḥod, this same prince together with Ži-ba-ḥod had the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraḥ translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkararakṣita and Byañ-chub-śes-rab of Mañ-ḥor in Žaṅ-Žuṅ, that is Guge (2.443).

As a result of this comparative examination we find that the information deduced from our sources is completely confirmed in the indices of the Tibetan collections. Certain information from the biography naturally takes exception, such as the great

anachronism, for example, of mentioning among the masters of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi, who, as is well known, belong to the first period of Tibetan translations, since both lived at the time of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan, collaborating together with Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan, Dānaśīla, etc.

Moreover, any connection between Rin-chen-bzañ-po and Nāropā, that Pad-ma-dkar-po mentioned, is missing; no work of the great siddha is among those translated in Guge, nor does it appear that in that region at that time that anyone knew the Kālacakrat Tantra of which Nāropā was one of the first interpreters. The credit for having introduced the system of Nāropā and his teachings into Tibet is due principally to Marpa, the lotsāva of Lho-brag (not of Zañs-dkar as Francke would have it) (1).

With regard to what I have said above, it seems, thus, completely confirmed that the period to which Rin-chen-bzañ-po belonged can be considered as among the most fruitful and important ones for the history of Lamaism and for the elaboration of Indian doctrines after their introduction into the Land of Snow. In the future it will be advantageous to draw attention to the cultural movement that took place in Western Tibet and that shows itself to be more noteworthy than has been recognized so far. Not even Francke, who, apart from some of the defects of his works, has the indisputable merit of having illuminated in a very large series of works the history and culture of Indian Tibet, has collected precise information on our period. And although he was the first to mention the great figure of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, especially as an apostle of Lamaism in Mar-yul and as a singular constructor of temples, the dates that he has provided, on different occasions, are faulty and certainly inadequate to permit us to understand completely the full worth of the work carried out by Rin-chen-bzañ-po and its significance. It is that we lack the sources or, at least they are not yet available.

(1) *Indian Antiquary* 59 (1930). 69.

§ 13. The rnam-thar of Rin-chen-bzañ-po

I knew that a biography (rnam-thar) of Rin-chen-bzañ-po existed, but no matter how many attempts I made to find it during my trips in 1928 and 1930 I was not able to locate it. And, even Francke could only use a modest biography that came into the possession of Gergan in Leh in 1926. What that was I cannot say; but Gergan, who, when I met him again in 1931 and asked him about it, confirmed that his book consisted of only a few pages. That led me to suppose that it might be an abbreviated version of the other that in September 1932 reached me from Poo and that consisted of 58 folios with four lines per folio. Also the different spellings of the proper names that cannot be considered as a casual deformation due to ignorant scribes, since the same forms usually recur constantly in the text, lead me to believe that my version is different from that of Gergan.

That there is in fact more than one version of the biography is demonstrated from the colophon of the one that has come into my possession: *Gu-gehi khyi dañ-pa Dpal-ye-śes-kyis Tho-liñ-du bris-paḥi rnam-thar ḥbriñ-po rdzogs-so* "here ends the median biography written in Tho-liñ by Dpal-ye-śes of Kyi-dañ in Guge":

This makes one suppose that in addition to the present biography there are two others: one more vast, the other more concise. The case is not new in Tibetan literature, and it repeats itself for example, in the biographies of Atiśa. The rnam-thar that has now come into my possession is a manuscript, and to judge from its state of preservation, is reasonably ancient; it shows in the writing a great uncertainty of forms that denotes that the amanuensis ignored the rules of spelling. Very often he is influenced by the pronunciation of the words and shows a great uncertainty with regard to prefixed letters. It is certainly not my intention here to give a complete translation of the text. If we were to put our mind to translating completely all the Tibetan rnam-thars, not only would we take on a very arduous task indeed, but very often the result would not compensate for our effort.

These rnam-thar ought to be used with much caution. Generally, in fact, they cannot be considered as works of absolute historic value; no more than can the lives of the saints of our medieval period, they are a branch of religious and edifying literature. The great personalities, whose glories and memorable deeds they narrate are not save for very rare exceptions, heroes or warriors, or political men, but only monks and ascetics: they speak of spiritual conquests, they describe visions, they reveal mystical exaltations. In an atmosphere so saturated with magic and with such intense faith as Tibet has always been, it is evident that the miraculous, the legendary, and the supernatural superimpose themselves on the historical base and take the upper hand. In short, the Tibetans are interested in another reality, that even though it does not belong to history, is for that no less real or vital than this one is for us, from which is increased the psychological interest of this literature that paints with full efficacy the atmosphere of the fantastic in which even today devout Tibet lives and moves.

That does not take away, however, from the fact that even the historian can find in these biographies precious elements for which it would be in vain to search elsewhere. And it is on these now that we will especially insist, seeking to complete the information that we were able to recover in the sources used above. The biography of Rin-chen-bzañ-po is not in fact, to be considered as one of the most representative from the artistic point of view, nor could it certainly give a completely perfect and satisfying idea of this biographical literature that also has magnificent examples, such as the life of Milaraspa or that of Marpa.

The author of the biography has organized the subjects that he will treat in eleven fundamental headings, and they are:

1) The prophecies concerning his birth, since the appearance of every great person is, according to a common Buddhist conception, anticipated by the prophecies of the Buddha or of the saints long before their birth.

2) To what lineage he belonged.

3) Where he was born.

4) When and where he took his vows.

- 5) Where he acquired the qualities of lotsāva, etc.
- 6) With which masters and sages he learnt the Law.
- 7) How he translated the Law.
- 8) How he constructed the four residences and the temples.
- 9) How he constructed the twentyone lesser places.
- 10) Where he performed extraordinary asceticism.
- 11) From what place he entered nirvāṇa, disappearing into the air.

Setting aside the prophecies, let us consider the birth: instead of speaking to us immediately of the courtly town in which Rin-chen-bzañ-po was born, the text prefaces the exposition of his genealogy by a designation, that has all the appearance of a gloss or later insertion, of the place where especially resided (fol.4): *bla-ma dam-pa dehi z'ugs-yul rtsa-ba ni Gu-ge Kha-tsihi Lha-luñs yin* that is: "the principal place of residence of the exalted master was Lha-luñs, in that of Kha-tse of Guge. Although Lha-luñs is a rather common place-name in Tibet, it is probable that this Lha-luñs is to be identified with Lha-luñ in Spiti, along the valley of the Lingti that appears on the Survey map (52L) under the form of Lilung; here one finds famous small temple (or shrine) illustrated by Shuttleworth and attributed precisely to Rin-chen-bzañ-po. But, at that time, Kha-tse which is recorded also in the Deb-ther ought to be identified with Spiti. In favour of this hypothesis one could cite the fact that even today the name of Kha-tse seems to exist in that of the village of Kaze (or Kaja on the Survey map) which, from the ruins that remain seems to have been at one time more important than it is today.

The fact that the whole region is indicated by the generic name of Guge does not constitute an objection to this identification, because, as we have seen, our sources divide all the territory of Western Tibet into three large areas: Maryul, Guge, and Puran which must have been subdivided into many other provinces with different names probably from those that are in use today. That Kha-tse was the name of a province is demonstrated by the fact

that in it was not only Lha-luñ, but also Go-khar (fol. 33,34) where, owing to regal munificence, Rin-chen-bzañ-po erected a temple that must be the same one recorded by the Deb-ther-sñon-po (kha 3b), and Veñ-gir, as the locality where the lotsāva, according to our biography and the Deb-ther entered nirvāṇa.

His place of birth was Skyu-vañ or Kyu-vañ, according to different spellings, as we learn from folio 8, where the prodigy that announces his conception is narrated, from folio 30 where it is indicated as the residence of his mother, and from folio 35 where it is expressly stated that he is a native of the place. The name is evidently corrupt, but its exact form is preserved for us in the index of the Bstan-ḥgyur. In fact, in the colophon of the Muktā-gama (Cordier 1.147) translated by our lotsāva together with Śraddhākaravarman one finds that the birthplace of Rin-chen-bzañ-po is specified as Khyuñ-veñ. The first name is too common in the toponomy of Guge for one to attempt a secure identification (Gyuñ-vo is east of Toling; Kyun-lung is near the hot springs on the Toling-Manasarovar road, etc.), but it is not, however, impossible to arrive at an approximation. In fact, to judge from what we read on folio 35: *khruñs-yul yin-pas Skyu-veñ Rad-nis-su* Rad-nis, where Rin-chen-bzañ-po founded a temple, is found in the territory of Khyuñ-veñ. One can now stabilize where this temple of Radnis arose: it is found in a gorge northeast of Shipki, not very far from this village and even today it is an object of pilgrimage. I heard of it for the first time from some lamas who were my informants in the monastery of Kanam, who when I asked them wrote the name, however, with another spelling: Rva-nid. They told me that ancient frescoes are still visible there. It is thus a place that will be necessary to visit on a subsequent expedition.

Concerning his genealogical origins it tells us that he belonged to the G.yu-sgra clan whose origin was in Kha-che. Kha-che signifies "Kashmir" and even—in recent times—"Muslim", but it is

often used in a very broad sense to indicate the non-Tibetan population at the western confines of Tibet. This tradition with regard to Rin-chen-bzañ-po could have a double significance: that is to say, whether it is a simple fiction to connect the family of the great lotsāva to Kashmir, where he was to descend when still a youth to master the Sanskrit language and thus attribute to him an Indian origin, or whether to preserve memory of that heterogeneity of ethnic elements that we see coexist and overlap in Western Tibet and that even if Tibetan with regard to language, belong anthropologically to different races.

Apart from all the evidently legendary details that the biography piously gathers and hands down, we note (fol.5) that from his paternal grandfather G.yu-sgra-stoñ-śan (or bśan, p.6a) the family divided into two branches, one called G.yu-sgra-śan-pa (1) the other younger one called G.yu-sgra-chuñ, which seems to have established itself a little further east; in fact, it is designated by the localities in which it resided Zar-žañ-pa, Śon-ḥkhar-pa, Ma-yañ-pa, Tsha-rañ-pa. Man-yañ is certainly the Miang of the old Survey maps (now Ma-dzong), on the Hindustan-Tibet trade route to the east of Tiak. Tsha-rañ is rather than Tsa-pa-rañ (Rtsa-ba-rañ), Charang near Tangi pass between Guge and Bashahr or Sarang near the monastery of Chu-su. Rin-chen-bzañ-po was born into the principal branch of the family. His father was called Ban-chen-po G'zon-nu-dbañ-phyug and his mother, Kun-bzañ-śes-rab-bstan-ma of Cog-ro. He was born in the last month of summer in the year of the horse, a date that we must fill out according to that indicated to us from the Deb-ther-sñon-po. To his father's brother will be born his companion and disciple Legs-paḥi-śes-rab, distinguished by the title the lesser lotsāva, whose

(1) This form is rather strange: *śan* or *bz'an* means: butcher. If there was not the alternation with *bz'an* on folio 6 I would consider it as a correction of *chen* as opposed to *chuñ*. An opposition that is maintained in the names of the two personages that came from the twofold lineage and are thus called, respectively, the greater lotsāva (*chen*) and the lesser lotsāva (*chuñ*).

translations also remain in the Tibetan collections. Rin-chen-bzañ-po had two brothers and a sister (6 b); the elder brother was called Śes-rab-dbañ-phyug, the younger one, Yon-tan (1)-dbañ-phyug; he was the middle son and received the name of Rin-chen-dbañ-phyug; his sister was Kun-sriñ-śes-mtsho. According to a custom that still continues in Tibetan society, the task of providing for the well being and continuity of the family is left to the eldest son. The younger brother and sister also took monastic vows; indeed, regarding the sister, it also gives her religious name, Rnal-ḥbyor-ma Chos-kyi-sgron-ma, and it seems that she achieved great fame for her saintliness.

Thus, the information that the biography contains concerning the family of the great translator is so spare and unembellished that there is no reason not to accept it as substantially correct and it agrees with the inscription at Alchi that mentions briefly the life of the lotsāva (2). Concerning his entry into the monastic order, the biography agrees with the Deb-ther-sñon-po, asserting that it happened when the lotsāva was still an adolescent; in fact he would have taken his vows at the age of thirteen, assuming the name Rin-chen-bzañ-po, and his spiritual master and guide would have been the pandit Legs-pa-bzañ-po (folio 9). There is, as can be seen, a disparity between the author of our biography and that of the Deb-ther-sñon-po; the difference can be explained quite well, however, as due to an error in transcription, since the cursive form of *ye-śes* can be easily confused with *legs*; or the amanuensis was lead astray by the name of the lesser lotsāva and his cousin, that is Legs-paḥi-śes-rab.

§ 14. *Travel to India and the itinerary that he followed*

The biography does not mention the decree that Rin-chen-bzañ-po may have received from the king of Guge to go to India together with other youths chosen by the king. Thus we do not know what were the motives that impelled the young Tibetan to aban-

(1) Mss. *stan*.

(2) And it is visibly based on the Deb-ther-sñon-po.

don his country and descend into the great Buddhist centres in order to rebuild a culture all his own and obtain the sacred doctrines from the original sources. Whether or not there was a royal decree, little by little, as his studies progressed, he must have realized the insufficiency of the existing translations then in Tibet and to have yet a greater awareness of the enormous quantity of doctrinal and exegetic texts that still remained to be translated. It was not only the curiosity of the new, but the necessity to see more deeply into that literature that had entered Tibet through many ways and in different epochs. There were too many references in that literature to books of which the Tibetan lamas perhaps knew nothing but the title, while, on the other hand, as it usually happens with almost all Indian religious and philosophical literature, one text clarifies another, such that ignorance of one precludes the correct comprehension of another. It was necessary to descend into the Indian monasteries, where one found the large libraries and greatest repositories of the doctrine and the mystical experiences of Buddhism, in order to get an idea of the vast material lying there that was still ignored by Tibetan masters, and then, after having understood and translated it, to bring it back to the Country of Snows.

And so Rin-chen-bzañ-po, a youth of seventeen, left his father and mother and undertook the journey that was neither short nor easy in the direction of Kashmir accompanied by an upāsaka or lay disciple named Bkra-śis-rtse-mo, and a Mon-pa (1) that is a native of Nyuñ-ti who knew the road well. Nyuñ-ti is the designation that is still current today for Kulu, and the inhabitants of Kulu together with those of Bashahr today still engage in an active commerce of transporting small goods during the summer months, from all of India to all the inhabited centres of Spiti, Guge, Rudok, Ladakh bringing back salt, borax, and wool. It does not seem that the centuries have profoundly changed the living conditions in these regions.

(1) For the meaning of Mon that is "non-Tibetan" see Dainelli, *I Tipi Umani, Spedizione italiana De Filippi*, p. 135 ff.

What was the itinerary that Rin-chen-bzañ-po followed to go to Kashmir? It is most likely that he did not take the road that would be most easy today, that is to say, he must not have descended to Jalandhara and then climbed to Kashmir via the pass of Banihal or Kohāla. The fact that having arrived at Kulu, his companion was afraid of the great snow-covered mountain that still had to be crossed suggests that he followed the direct route through the Himalayan range. He could have reached Kulu via Spiti; in this case he had to follow the valley of the Chandra river, that then was certainly open to traffic since the glacier Shigu precipitated in the last century, had not completely obstructed it with immense and deformed boulders that rolled down in the catastrophe and he could have reached from Losar at the extreme end of Spiti to the confluence of the Chandra and the Bhāga, in four to five days. Since this was the shortest route at that time, I do not think that he could have taken the road commonly used today through Bārālācha, given the impracticality of the other (today). If he then descended by the Sutlej he must have inevitably reached the valley of the Chandra-Bhāga whether he passed through the pass of Rohtang, or whether, having arrived at Kulu, he took a left and crossed the range that separates Kulu from Chambā. Once he arrived at the valley of the river, the way progressed through Kilar Ārthal Piyas Kishtwār. After a month and three days he would have arrived, according to our sources, at the city of Ke-ri-ka and two days later, at a large bridge called Ma-hā-gsañ-ḡgal: the location of these sites is rather dubious. But if the itinerary indicated by me is correct, it is probable that the city of Ke-ri-ka is to be identified with Kilar on the Chandra-Bhāga in Chambā and the bridge is the one on the very same Chandra-Bhāga that one crosses at Ārthal (Atholi) since the road on the right bank of the river passes there to the left bank. This identification would correspond with what is said subsequently (16 b) that is, that for three days Rin-chen-bzañ-po and his companion remained without food having found themselves in wooded terrain; it is about a four-day march between Ārthal and Kishtwār, and while there are abundant

forests, provisions are completely lacking (1).

We know nothing of the cities in which he stayed during his residence in Kashmir, because the two names found in the text: Ka-la-cag-ti (fol. 20) and Tamalapanti, where he met Śrad-dhākaravarman (2) (3,21) do not suggest to me any Kashmiri center with an equivalent phonetic type. Probably we are faced with an ancient deformation of the original Sanskrit word, made worse, as always happens with foreign names, through the manuscript tradition.

The stay of Rin-chen-bzañ-po outside his own country ought to be divided, it seems, into two periods: the first, for the duration of seven years was spent in Kashmir, evidently with the purpose of learning not only the spoken language, but more importantly Sanskrit and then to acquire the acquaintances that would be necessary to undertake the vast program of translation that he had prescribed. The second stay he spent in eastern India, probably at Vikramaśilā, with the intent to find and copy other texts of the Law and to hear from living masters an immediate explanation. The third period is represented by another stay in Kashmir, perhaps to put in order the large amount of material collected and to finish some of the translations undertaken with his first masters.

The first period of residence in Kashmir probably lasted seven years, the second and third together ten years, that is Rin-chen-bzañ-po would have been absent from his country for a total period of 17 years.

When he returned to Khyuñ-ven he did not have the joy of a festive meeting of both his parents. His father died during his absence, perhaps, by then despairing that India would not return his son to him. Then we see him set to work intensely: in fact he began revising the still existing traditions and translating the new texts, assisted by 75 other pandits that Lha-lde-btsan had called.

(1) For this itinerary see the schematic, but precise information in K. Mason, *Routes in the Western Himalaya*. Dehra Dun, 1922, Route 54.

(2) In the text: *da-ka-ra-var-ma*.

§ 15. *Construction of the three principal temples*

But, as we noted above, the work of Rin-chen-bzañ-po is not exhausted simply in that of a translator or revisor of the translations of others. His pilgrimages in Kashmir and India, even though inspired by motives of study and apostolic ardour, still show him to be a restless spirit, vivacious and desirous of travel, one of those men who know how to adapt themselves to a purely contemplative life, but from an inner impulse drawn from action. And watch him interrupt from time to time his translations to disseminate throughout the country a great number of small temples and chapels that must have, more than the doctrinal texts, contributed to the diffusion among the rough population of shepherds that lived in the bitter mountains of Western Tibet of respect for the new faith, by now introduced in more noble forms; and revived religious spirit. Tradition attributes to him the construction of 108 edifices of major and minor importance. The number 108 is sacred in Buddhism and is thus suspect and cannot be taken literally; but it is certain that many temples that still exist in Western Tibet arose from his initiative. And even if we do not wish to honor the pretensions of all the little villages of Ladakh, Lahul, Spiti, Kunuwar, Guge that pride themselves in having a Rin-chen-bzañ-po Lotsavañi lha-khañ, that is, a chapel constructed by the lotsāva, it is certain that in many cases the tradition tells the truth; it is confirmed not only in the generally reliable biographical sources, as we have already noted, but also in the epigraphic and palaeographic data and especially in the paintings or statues or in cult objects conserved in the temples that go back undoubtedly to the period which we are considering and, that as Francke has repeatedly observed, they should be, in many cases, attributed securely to Indian artists. This work of his, if it did not create, it did consolidate without a doubt the position of Lamaism in Western Tibet; he was able to succeed

because as pointed out earlier, he was assisted by the great energy and good will of the kings of Guge. His name cannot be disassociated from that of Ye-śes-ḥod and of Byañ-chub-ḥod. The kings of Guge showered him with honors: when he returned from his travels, according to both our biography and the Deb-ther, Lha-lde called him *Dbuñi mchod-gnas* and *Rdo-rje slob-dpon* that is “supremely venerable” and “Vajrācārya”, two honorific titles that must have augmented his prestige and authority at court and in the state. And quickly following the example of Indian rajas, they also made gifts of land to him, four of which, according to the sources, were in the province of Purañ. Immediately afterwards we see the lotsāva erect the first of the great temples, those of Kha-char (or Ḥkhaḥ-char or Ḥkhab-char), of Tho-liñ and of Myar-ma. That of Kha-char was erected expressly at the wish of King Lha-lde: *de-nas bla-chen-po Lha-ldes Kha-char-kyi btsug-lha-khañ bzheñs-su-gsol* (fol. 29), information that does not completely agree with that furnished by the Rgyal-rabs that says that the founder was Khor-re. The site, to my mind, is not precise; but that it was in Purañ is explicitly asserted by our biography fol 30 *Spu-trañs-kyi Hkha-ḥchar* (at fol. 44 Ḥkhaḥ-char) (1). Moreover, the fact that in order to indicate the great activity of construction of the lotsāva, it says that he built 108 temples from Ḥkhaḥ-char in Purañ to Ho-bu-lañ-bkaḥ (fol. 44, compare fol. 29 where the spelling is Ho-bu-lañ-kaḥ) seems to indicate that it is located in the extreme edge of Pu-rañ where this region touches Tibet, true and proper; instead Ho-bu-lañ-ka is rather close to China (2) and I would situate it at Khapalu northwest of Ladakh, near which even today exists a village called Lañ-ka. This region of the temple which we are discussing was securely Buddhist.

(1) There is, however, a Kang-sar to the southeast of Toling and to the south of Sotlej.

(2) As Gergan proposes in the preface of Francke in *Lha-luñ Temple of Shuttleworth*.

The same spelling of the name of the monastery could be correct on the basis of the colophon of the *Sūtrālaṅkāradīśloka-dvayavyākhyāna* (Mdo ḡrel, tshi, Cordier 2.377) the version of which was executed, in fact, in the monastery *Dpal-yid-bḡzin-lhun-gyis-grub-pa* at a *Khva-char*. That the monastery is the one mentioned by our sources seems to be demonstrated by the fact that among the translators we see figured the Kashmiri pandit, *Parahitabhadrā*, who, as is known, was one of the masters who worked at *Toling*, as is clearly indicated in the colophon to the *Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga* (Mdo ḡrel, phi, Cordier 2.374). The place has nothing to do with *Khva-tse* of the *Deb-ther* because we have already seen that this was not in *Pu-rañ*, but in the outskirts of *Rad-nis*, that is near *Shipki*.

Myar-ma is in *Mar-yul*, that is *Ladakh*: it is not indicated on the map, but it can be securely identified with the ruins that still exist today in the environs of *Ranbirpur*, in the vicinity of *Tikse* that I visited many times (1) (*Nyerma*).

Coming last is the greatest of all, that of *Tho-liñ* indicated on the old maps as *Totling* and on the recent ones *Toling*, *Toling-math* (2) of which *Sven Hedin*, *Rawling*, and, in particular, *Young* spoke, in a little known work that is worthy of greater consideration. This temple was constructed at the wish of *Ye-śeḡhod*, and *Toling* was probably the capital of the state of that time. One cannot determine the date of its construction precisely; in fact there is no warranty to accept the date of 1014 (*Ga-pant-her-jahr*) suggested by *Ssanang Ssetsen* p. 53 because as we have

(1) See *Indo-Tibetica* 1.50-51.

(2) The spelling is various; in the colophons of *Bstan-ḡgyur* and of *Bkaḡ-ḡgyur* it is usually *Tho-liñ*; thus also in the biography and the *Rgyal-rabs*. Incorrectly in the *Bkaḡ-thaṅ-sde-lña* the deformation (*ña*, folio 70) *Mkho-mthiñ*, in the *Deb-ther* it is (ca 4) *Mtho-ldiñ* and thus also in *Padma-dkar-po* (110); in *Kloñ-rdol-blama* (2,9) *Tho-ldiñ*.

(3) In "Journey to *Toling* and *Tsaparang* in Western Tibet" in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* 3(2). 117.

seen the dates concerning Ye-śes-ḥod and Rin-chen-bzañ-po are contradicted by our Tibetan sources. Equally untenable is a date of 1025 proposed by S. Ch. Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p.52. Whereas, according to the biography, the temple would have been constructed by the lotsāva after his return from India, according to the Pad-ma-dkar-po it was built by the king of Guge before the Indian mission of Rin-chen-bzañ-po. As we have deduced from the colophon of the Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti (Mdo ḥgrel, ya, Cordier 2.305) it was erected in the town of Guge in the district of Guñ-thañ in the province of Mñaḥ-ris. And it was during this period of time that the great hot bed of Buddhist studies prospered there under the aegis and protection of the enlightened princes. In the colophons of the Bstan-ḥgyur and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur this monastery is often recorded as the place where the important translations were being made; for example Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti (Cordier 2.305, from the Parahitabhadrā mentioned above), Bodhipathapradīpa (2.336, 337), revision of Vinaya-saṅgraha (2.401). Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga (2.374), Pramāṇavārttikālāṅkāra and ṭikā (2.442, 443), Śrīparamāḍīṭikā (1.261), Sītāpatrasācchakavidhi (1.364).

One of the vihāras of Tho-liñ in which they worked especially on translations was called Dpal Dpe-med-lhun-gyis-grub-pa in which was executed the version of the commentary to the Pramāṇavārttikālāṅkāra and the Paramāḍīṭikā (1): another was known under the name of gser-khañ, frequent in temples of this period (see Beck p. 97 n. 8 and Otani Cat. p. 52 n. 137 where instead of tho-riñ it should read Tho-liñ).

(1) From the Deb-ther-sñon-po (ca 4) we learn that from the time of Atiśa the walls of the temple were covered with pictures figuring the principal divinities of various Tantric cycles (about which compare Young, op. cit., p. 192). The episode is also known to Bu-ston, p. 213 according to which the paintings would have been in the room of the lotsāva. The contradiction is only apparent, because usually, even today, the great masters live in the chapels, when a real monastery is lacking.

§ 16. *Another trip to India*

Having consecrated the major temples, we see him take again the inaccessible roads of India and this time on behalf of Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod and of Bla-ma Byañ-chub-ḥod, who desired that he bring back books and artists who would fashion statues of the gods. Evidently, the temples that were constructed were rather unadorned and in Tibet they could not find a way to decorate or finish them as they would have liked. And to Rin-chen-bzañ-po, who must have described at the court of the kings, his lords and friends, the riches and the art that was collected in the sanctuaries of India, was entrusted with the task of providing these things so that Tibet would also have temples not unworthy of those in India. And he succeeded perfectly in his intent; since Tabo and Alchi and for what one knows also Toling are derived directly from the contemporary art of India, of which these temples have conserved precious documents that should be guarded and protected by every means.

I was struck by the curious notice in the biography that in Kashmir he had made an image in bronze of his father by a famous artist called Ḥbi-ta-ka (in the source used by Gergan: Bhitaka) and he had it sent to Tibet, where, in the author's time, it was still conserved in the temple of Go-khar in Kha-rtse. In fact, for what I know, it is not the custom for Tibetans to make images of the deceased; they do not permit other than portraits of the donors and those who have executed on their own account some religious work, such as a painting, for example. But this does not fit our case, since we know that the father of Rin-chen-bzañ-po had already been dead for some time. Nor at any rate could the image be called a portrait, in any manner, because it was executed in a foreign land by an artist who had never known the person he was requested to represent.

We are perhaps in the presence of funeral rites in use in pre-Buddhist Tibet and that Buddhism completely eradicated, little by little, or perhaps the image was placed in the temple of Go-khar because it was constructed in memory of the father of Rin-chen-bzañ-po.

This second absence of the lotsāva from Tibet was not, however, as long as the first.

§ 17. *New activities of Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

After six years Rin-chen-bzañ-po returned to his country bringing with him thirtytwo Kashmiri artists (fol. 33). But this time also the joy of returning must have been disturbed by an unfortunate event: for in the meantime, the king Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-ḥod had been imprisoned and the lotsāva was never to see him again. But the work undertaken was not stopped: thanks to the interest of Lha-bla-ma Byañ-chub-ḥod and the king Lha-lde, we see the lotsāva make use of his Indian artists and to line up as troops in twentyone different sites, that had been donated to him by those princes, so many temples and chapels that they completed together with the major centres cited above, the penetration of Buddhism into the tribes of Western Tibet. They were so many tentacles that extended the faith into every place in the bitter fight against still existing forms of Bon-po. And in one year he made a tour depositing in each three copies of the Mdo-mañ and seven of the Prajñā (fol 34). Special preference was given to the temple of Rad-nis, in that of Khyuñ-veñ, the birthplace of the lotsāva, that I have mentioned above.

The foundation of the chapel in Rad-nis (fol. 36) seems to have aroused the protest of the still vigorous centres of Bon-po; it is in this light, it seems to me, at least, that one ought to interpret the legend which tells of the hostility of the local Sa-bdag (spirits of the place) represented by a nāgī (klu-ḥbrog-mo) called sman-ḥdsa-la-ma-ti, that is Jalamati, by her four brothers and by still others that in the end were completely subdued by Rin-chen-bzañ-po and elected as guardians of the diverse temples that he was constructing (1).

(1) The tradition of this battle sustained by the lotsāva against local demons, that is, against, the religion in which they believed is sketched also in the tale of Bu-ston, p. 214: "The great translator Rin-chen-bzañ-po subdued the nāga Kar-gyal and refuted the false exorcists by means of the doctrine". [The name Jalamati is Sman-ḥdza-la-ma-ti = Mañjulamati, Lokesh Chandra].

As we see, the story of Padmasambhava is repeated in modest proportions; nor should the tale of the biography be considered a mere legend, since it is clear that before Buddhism could conquer the country definitively, it had to placate the hostility of the pre-existing sects and its victory was in great part assured only by a progressive assimilation of local cults and by the acceptance of them, transformed into Buddhist ones most often only on the exterior.

It was in this manner that Buddhism succeeded in substituting itself for the religion of Bon-po, at one time certainly rather diffused and powerful, since, as has been noted, it was precisely in Žaň-žuň, that is Guge, that Gžen-rabs, the systematizer of the sect was born. This tenacious battle against the Bon is alluded to in the inscription of Ye-śes-ḥod in Poo, in which is mentioned the religion of the gods, also called the religion before Buddhism: Lha-chos and śnar-chos. The Lha are in fact, the gods of the Bon, who still in the Tibetan imagination populate the dangerous passes or bridges and impervious paths and that require propitiation to avoid their wrath; the books of the Bon-po almost always begin with an incomprehensible heading: in the "language of the gods" "*Lhañi skad-du*". It is necessary to add that in this work of propaganda the kings of Guge were probably motivated by political reasons. For however sincere their faith may have been, one ought not to forget that Ye-śes-ḥod was a king, and a king whose family had been settled for only a short time on the ground that he ruled and he must have met with the opposition of hostile forces which, as it happens in the Orient, is realized in religious movements or guided by religious sects.

Thus, it is not improbable that behind this intense work of Buddhist propaganda in a country that we have serious reasons to consider the homeland of the systematized Bon, are hidden more or less secret political motives: to overthrow Bon-po, or let us say rather, to absorb it into the new faith signified a unification of minds, while as head of the religion, the king could have a great influence and control over a population that had become Buddhist.

§ 18. Works of art and books deposited in the temples

Having constructed the temple of Rad-nis, Rin-chen-bzañ-po decided to furnish it with cult objects and to embellish it with works of art. The author of the biography, who was from Guge, must have known the temple well and thus it would not be in vain to summarize that which he said of this Lha-khañ and of the things that were to be admired. A further examination of these notices in order to shed more light on the state of conservation of the temple must be the concern of future research. In it he placed an ivory statue of the "the Great Compassionate One" (Buddha or more likely Avalokiteśvara) (*Ba-soñi Thugs-rjes-chen-poñi rten*), a wonderful statue of Hevajra, made from the wood of the tree of enlightenment (*byañ-chub-kyi-ñiñ-las* (ms. *la*) *bz'eñs-pañi dpal Dges-pa-rdo-rjeñi rten*) and a manuscript of the Guhyasamāja, written in Indian characters on the bark of a tree of Indian origin (*dpal Gsañ-ba-ñdus-pañi dpe* (ms. *spe*) *Rgya-dkar* (ms. *brgya-dkar*)-*kyi ñiñ-ñun-la rgya-yig-gi(s) bris-pa*); from folio 36 b we learn that he made in the same temple images of all the divinities of the cycle of the Guhyasamāja: which probably means that paintings on the walls were connected with this Tantric cycle in which he was especially initiated and whose introduction into Tibet, as we have seen above, he effectively contributed to. And together he placed in the temple another 45 statues made either of copper or bronze (*gz'an yañ* (ms. *bz'an*) *zañs* (ms. *zañ*) *sku-rag sku-la-sogs-pañi rten rnam-pa bz'i-bcu-z'e-ñña bz'ugs-so*).

But in every temple that Buddhists consider as a *Thugs-rten* or receptacle of the Buddha's spirit, are conserved not only the images of the gods, but also their words. Following the Indian tradition that Buddhist books are *buddhabhāsita*, that is they contain the words of the Buddha and altogether they represent the continuity of Dharma, or the Law, in which he lives, is renewed and

reveals himself, the temples, being among the most venerated works, were destined to receive collections of the sacred texts. Faithful to this principle, the lotsāva is said to have deposited a Tripiṭaka of a total number of 468 volumes in the monastery of Rad-nis. Actually the number of such volumes greatly exceeds that of the tomes of the Bstan-ḥgyur and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and does not in itself merit to be trusted greatly, because in the time of the lotsāva the work of the translation of doctrinal and canonical texts was far from being concluded, nor had the systematization of the Buddhist literature as it was known in Tibet occurred. There is no doubt that the compiler of the biography transferred to the period of the lotsāva a state of things that were verified much later; or very probably, in the same temple were collected more copies of the same work according to a custom that we will see further on, exercised with great frequency.

From the names of the remainder of the text that the biographer cites one supposes that the texts gathered in the temple were solely in relation to the Prajñāpāramitā in its various versions (fol. 39) of which Francke, moreover, had found copies also in the monastery of Tabo. Nothing is said about the language in which such collections were written, but it is not to be excluded that beside the Tibetan versions there could have been conserved also the original Sanskrit ones brought from India and that had served as a basis for those translations. We do not know if such manuscripts are still preserved or where; but it is not improbable that in these ignored little temples one or two remain today, as zealously hidden from profane eyes as the ignorance of the monks increases. But the greatest part of them must have been transferred to the convents, when the great monastic institutions were beginning to develop: at that time the rich libraries became centres of culture and erudition and they transformed themselves into flourishing schools where they educated the monks towards that secure mastery of the sacred literature, once rather more common in the Country of Snows than it is today. Nor is it to be excluded that many of these Indian manuscripts were destroyed or dispersed in the wars that Guge engaged in against Ladakh, and especially during the Tibetan war that brought about

the definitive annexation of the territory of Western Tibet by Greater Tibet. That is probable, since during the conflicts the monks became soldiers and the monasteries that were constructed almost always at the top of the mountains or close to the cliffs were by their very position, truly small fortresses; very often they rise well protected by bastions and castles, that would sweep the monasteries away in their own ruin, when they would be dismantled and destroyed by the victors.

In the text there follows a list of objects of various kinds that were placed in the temple by the lotsāva himself and by the lesser lotsāva, Legs-paḥi-śes-rab; but it is a simple listing of ritual objects that are not wanting in any chapel since they are necessary to the ceremonies carried out in them.

§ 19. *Other religious foundations attributed to Rin-chen-bzañ-po*

Besides this temple we see listed another 21 minor ones, many of which still exist today in more or less dilapidated condition. I will discuss those that it is possible, at least, to identify and that I myself visited during my travels and that people connect precisely with Rin-chen-bzañ-po. They are usually known and marked with the name of *lotsāvaḥi lha-khañ* "temple of the Lotsāva". It seems, however, that there is no trace of many other temples, since the inhabited centres in which they arose were also destroyed or abandoned in the course of time. At any rate, I will give a complete list of them since they represent a good guide when one might want to finish the archaeological exploration of Western Tibet and reconstruct its artistic as well as political and religious history (fol. 43-44).

1. Žer-sa in Purañ, that in the copy of Gergan becomes bžer-ver; it is surely the same Žer in Purañ of which there is mention in the Deb-ther (kha 3).

2. Go-khar in Kha-rtse (Gergan: tse; see above; in the Deb-ther it is Khva-tse).

3. Phur-khar.

4. Pu-ri (Gergan Pho-ri) it is almost surely the monastery of Pu-ri opposite Shipki (in the old maps of the Survey Booree).

5. G.yañ-skur (Gergan: gyan-skur ri-hri) northwest of Tiak.
6. Ti-yag, in the maps of the Survey Tiak, on the road of the Hindustan-Tibet trade route, two days march from Shipki.
7. Stañ-med (fol. 43 tañ-med) (in Gergan tsañs-med) probably the Stang or Thang of the maps, south of the Pimikche pass.
8. Sne-hu.
9. Nye-van.
10. Śo-liñ.
11. Sgyu-man (Gergan: rgyu-lan).
12. Ro-dpag (Gergan: ro-pag).
13. Bcog-ro.
14. Re-hri (probably the Ri-hri that figures as the second half of the Gyañ-skur ri-hri in the list of Gergan), perhaps Ri, along the Sulej, opposite Nuk.
15. Drañ-drañ (Drangkhar in Spiti?).
16. Lari, evidently the homonymous village in Spiti.
17. Ta-pho, the great temple of Tabo in Spiti (near Lari). It was visited by Francke in 1909 and thus described in the work cited already many times: *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* 1.38 ff. Although it did not have the same importance as that of Toling, because it is far from the court and the capital, it is certain that it was also at one time one of the principal centres of the diffusion of Lamaist ideas instigated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po. This temple is also usually called *chos-ḥkhor* as Toling, Alchi, etc. What does this designation that was given to some of the most celebrated temples of Western Tibet mean? Franke (1) thought that *chos-ḥkhor* indicated a passage for the circumambulation of the faithful: that is he understood *chos-ḥkhor* or synonymous with *gyas-ḥkhor*. I, however, do not believe that is the exact interpretation. *Chos-ḥkhor* means literally dharmacakra and calls to mind

(1) Shuttleworth, *Lha-luñ Temple*, introd. III.

the *dharmacakrapravartana*, the setting in motion of the wheel of Law performed by the Buddha with the preaching of the doctrine. Thus, I think that *chos-ḥkhor* might be a designation of temples in which on some occasions during the period of the kings of Guge, they convoked councils or preached the Law at least partially taking advantage of the presence of the Indian masters invited to Tibet and from the necessity to make the tradition uniform with regard to the diverse texts translated.

In fact, we know that a *chos-ḥkhor* took place under King Rtse-lde in 1076 and that the gathering of the masters that had come from various parts of Tibet and who were considered as repositories of various aspects of doctrine was called precisely *chos-ḥkhor* (Deb-ther kha 4: *Me-pho-ḥbrug-gi chos-ḥkhor z'es-bya-ba Dbus Gtsaṅ Khams gsum-gyi sde* (xyl. lde)-*snod-ḥdzin-po phal-che-ba yaṅ ḥdus*). From the rest of the same Deb-ther (ja 2) we deduce that Tabo had a great importance and hosted for some time famous masters; in fact, it is narrated there (in Deb-ther) that when the pandit Kashmiri Jñānaśrī came to Tibet, he established himself in the *chos-ḥkhor* of Tabo. It was there that he learned the Tibetan language and for seven years imparted Tantric teachings to Nyi-ma-śes-rab of Gñal, the disciple, as we have seen, of the Lotsāva of Zaṅs-dkar.

18. Śaṅ-raṅ of the Survey maps and south of Kuang (1).

19. Rig-rtse.

20. Tsa-raṅ, I do not think that it is Tsa-pa-raṅ, but rather Charang, in the proximity of Bekhar.

21. Dril-chuṅ-re the same as the dri-la-chuṅ of Gergan's list.

In addition, the temples of Dkar-dpag in Lho, that is to the south, of Mo-na in Grug-dpag; in Roṅ-chuṅ that of Pu (Poo of the maps) and in Ña-ra that of Bkaḥnam, in the village of the same name, along the Sutlej (near Jangi) where Csoma de Koros lived for some time (2).

(1) But in the text it is divided poorly: śaṅ raṅ rig/rtse, Raṅ is a very common final in the toponomy of Guge.

(2) See Francke, *Antiquities*, 1.16.

When Rin-chen-bzañ-po was (87 fol. 47) he met (1) the great Atiśa, or as the Tibetans usually call him, Jo-bo, who had been expressly called to Tibet by the king of Guge: the meeting is described with abundant detail, not only by our biography, but also in the life of Atiśa and in the *Deb-ther-sñon-po*. The lotsāva already burdened by his years and doctrine did not hesitate to kneel before the luminary of Vikramaśilā, indeed, he requested and received some supplementary initiations such as that of Bde-mchog (Samvara), Tārā and Avalokiteśvara according to the rite introduced by Atiśa.

At 98 he died, we do not know how: because the legend speaks of his vanishing in the air, as is the usual convention in the lives of the great saints and thaumaturges of Tibet.

But the work that he began was not interrupted: Buddhism was flourishing again in Western Tibet. The enlivening apostolate of Rin-chen-bzañ-po kindled new enthusiasm. And his disciples continued with constant fervor the activity of the master.

SARVA-MAṄGALAM

(1) But according to the *Deb-ther-sñon-po* cited above, when he was 85; the same date is repeated in this work ña 1.

APPENDIX

Deb-ther-shon-po ka 19a7

དེའི་(འོད་སྤངས་)སྤྲུལ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཅོན། དེ་འབངས་གྱིས་བརྒྱུངས་དབུས་
 གཙང་མཐིལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ཤོར་ནས། སྤྲུལ་ཕྱི་བྱ་ཤིས་ཅེགས་པ་དཔལ་དང་།
 སྤྱིད་ལྗེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་བཞིས་ཡོད་པ། ཕྱི་བྱ་ཤིས་ཅེགས་པ་དཔལ་གཙང་སྤྱིད་ད་
 བཞུགས་ཉི་མ་མགོན་མངའ་རིས་སྤུ་བྱོན། དེ་ལ་སྤྲུལ་གསུམ་ལྟེ། དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་།
 བྱ་ཤིས་ལྗེ་མགོན། ལྗེ་བཙུན་མགོན་རྣམས་སོ། ཆེ་བས་མར་ཡུལ། བར་བས་
 སྤྱ་རྒྱངས། ཆུང་བས་ཞང་ཞུང་ལྟེ་ག་གའི་མངའ་ཞབས་ན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། བྱ་ཤིས་
 མགོན་ལ་སྤྲུལ་བཞིས་དེ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་སྤྱང་འོ། འཁོར་རེ་ལ་སྤྲུལ་ནུག་རྒྱ་རྩེ་
 དང་དེ་བ་རྒྱ་རྩེ་བཞིས་སོ། འཁོར་རེ་ཡབ་སྤྲུལ་གསུམ་རབ་ད་བྱང་ནས་སྤྱང་འོ་ལ་
 སྤྱིད་གདང། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་སྐྱ་ལྟེ། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་འོད་ལྟེ་སྤྱིད་གཟུང། བཙུང་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་
 འོད་དང་ཞི་བ་འོད་གཉིས་རབ་ད་བྱང། འོད་ལྟེ་འི་སྤྲུལ་ཅེ་ལྟེ། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་འབར་ལྟེ།
 དེ་ནས་བྱ་ཤིས་ལྟེ། ལྷ་ལྟེ། ལྷ་ག་དེ་བ། བཅོན་ཕྱག་ལྟེ། བྱ་ཤིས་ལྟེ། བྱགས་
 བཅོན་ལྟེ། བྱགས་པ་ལྟེ། ཡས་སོ་ག་ལྟེ། དེའི་སྤྲུལ་འཛོལ་རྣམས་དང་ཡུ་ནན་སྐལ་
 བཞིས་། ཕྱི་མའི་སྤྲུལ་རེབ་སྐལ་། དེ་ནས་སང་གྲུ་སྐལ་། འཛོལ་རྣམས་གྱི་བྱ་
 ཡུ་འཛོལ་སྐལ་། དེའི་བྱ་ཀ་ལན་སྐལ་། དེའི་བྱ་བར་བདུག་སྐལ་། དེས་ཡ་ཆེའི་
 རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་ཆད།

Deb-ther-shon-po kha 3b2

སྤྱིང་བཅོམ་འབྲངས་ནས་ལོ་སྤྱི་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙམ་འདས་པ་ས་པོ་དེ་
 ལོ་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་འབྲངས། ། ཁོང་གིས་བཅུ་གསུམ་བཞེས་པའི་ཚེ་
 མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། བྱི་ཐང་རྩྭ་ནས་བཀོད་པའི་
 རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ན་འདག ། དེ་ལྟ་ན་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་བའི་ལོ་དེ། བལྟན་པ་
 བསྐྱབས་པའི་ལྷགས་བྱ་ནས་ལོ་བདུན་བཅུ་པ་ཡིན་དེ། བལྟན་པ་བྱང་བ་ཡང་དབྱུས་
 གཅོང་ལས་མངའ་རིས་སྤྱི་བར་མངོན་ནོ། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ཙམ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་
 རྩ་བའི་པོ་དང་ཕྱོད། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་མཇུག ། སྤྱིར་ལོ་ཆེན་འདིས་སྐྱ་གཞིན་བ་ནས་ཁ་
 ཚེར་བྱོན། ལྷགས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལྷགས་མང་པོ་ལ་སྤྱངས། མཁྱེན་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་
 ཚེ་བས་མངོན་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར། ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་
 བཤིས་ཀའི་བཤད་པ་རྒྱ་ཚེར་མཇོད། དབང་དང་སྐྱབ་པའི་ལག་ལེན་མང་ཏུ་བལྟན་
 ཞིང། བལྟན་པ་སྤྱི་དར་ལས་ཕྱི་དར་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བལྟན་པ་བོད་དུ་དར་བ་ཡང་ཕལ་
 ཚེར་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་འདི་ཁོ་མའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུན་ཡིན། བརྩེ་དུ་བདུན་བཅུ་ཙམ་བལྟན་ནས་དམ་
 པའི་ཚོས་མང་ཏུ་གསལ། ལྷ་ཚེན་པོ་རྣམས་ལྷེ་བཅོམ་གྱིས་དབྱུང་མཚོད་གནས་དང་རྩོ་
 རྩོ་སྤོབ་དཔོན་དུ་བཀར། སྤྱི་བྱངས་ཀྱི་ཞེར་གྱི་གནས་གཞི་སྤུལ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
 ཀྱང་བཞེངས། ལྷ་ཚོའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། རོང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོགས་
 པ་གནས་གཞི་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་མཚོད་དེན་མང་ཏུ་བཞེངས། གར་ཤིང་
 བཅོམ་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤོབ་མ་མཁས་གྲུབ་མང་པོ་དབུལ་ཚེན་
 ཕེར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཡང་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཙམ་ཐོན། འཕྲལ་གྱི་མཇོད་པ་ཡང་སྐྱ་གཞུགས་

བཞེངས་པ་དང་འགྲུར་མཚན་པ་པ་སོགས་ཤིང་འདི་རྗེས་ཀྱང་གཞན་གྱིས་མི་
 ལྷོགས་པ་དང་། མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཞེད་པ་ཡང་སྤྱི་དུའི་སྐད་དྲུམ་ལྷག་
 གཅིག། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དྲུམ་ལྷག་གཅིག། གཞན་པ་ཡིས་བྱིན་དྲུམ་ལྷག་
 གཅིག་རྣམས་བཏོན། མཐར་ཚུལ་རྗེས་སྐྱབ་པ་པ་བཅུ་དེ། ལྷག་ཁང་གི་ཕྱི་རོལ་
 བསྐོས་སྐྱམ་རིམ་དྲེད་པ་ལ། ཚེ་འདིརི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་དང་། རང་རྟོན་ཡིད་བྱེད་
 ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་དང་། ཐ་མ་ལ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པ་རྣམས་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་རེ་སྐྱེས་
 ན། བལྟན་བསྐྱངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་བོའི་མགོ་བོ་ཁོས་གིག་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐོ་ཡིག་
 ལྷུར་ནས། ཅེ་གཅིག་དྲུམ་སྐྱབས་པས་མཚོག་གི་གྲུབ་པ་བརྟེས་དེ། དགང་ཡོད་གྲུ་
 བཅུ་ཅ་བརྟུན་པ་གིང་མོ་ལྷག་ལ་ཁུ་ཅོ་གྲིང་གིར་དྲུ་ངན་ལས་འདའ་བའི་ཚུལ་
 བལྟན་བའི་ཚོ། ལས་མཁའ་གང་བའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རོལ་མོ་བྱ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱོགས་པ་
 དང་། མེ་དོག་གི་ཚར་འབེབས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གྲོང་བའི་བྱིས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་
 བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་མཚན་སྐྱམ་དྲུམ། གདང་གདན་མ་བྱང་བས་མཁའ་སྐྱོད་དྲུ་
 ག་ཤེགས་ཤེས་གྲགས། རིང་བསྐྱེལ་འོལ་མ་སེའི་མཚོག་ལྷ་བྱ་གིན་དམར་པོ་
 གསུམ་བྱང་བ་ཡོང་། རེ་ཞིག་ལྷར་འབྲག་ལྷ་བྱའི་སྐྱ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་བཙམ་དེ་ལས་
 མཁའ་སོང་ངོ། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སྐབས་སོ། ... གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་སྐྱ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས།
 གྱི་གར་གར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་པ་རྗེ་དྲུ་ས་ལྷ་ལྷུན་དངས། འདལ་བའི་བཤད་པ་དང་
 ལག་ལེན་མཚན་པའི་སྐྱོབ་མའི་གཙོ་བོ་སྐྱ་རྒྱ་ལ། གཏུ་ལྷ་ལ། བྱ་རྩ་ལྷ་ལ་ལྟེ།
 ལྷ་ལ་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྐྱོབ་མའང་དྲུང་ལྟེ། དེ་རྣམས་ལས་བརྟུན་པ་ལ་
 ལྷ་དྲུམ་ལ་བཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་སྐྱའི་རིང་ལ་སྐྱ་རྒྱ་དེ་གྱི་བྱ་རྩ་ལྷེ། ཁ་
 ཚེ་པར་ཆེན་དྲུག་གས་པ་དེ་སྐྱོན་དངས་ནས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་མོ་རོལ་དྲུ་བྱིན་པ་བརྟུན་

ལྷོང་པ་དང་། དེའི་འབྲེལ་ཚེས་དང་། མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་རྒྱན་འབྲེལ་པ་དང་།
 བཙམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་པ་རྩལ་དུ་སྤྱོན་པའི་མདོ་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་དུ་བསྐྱར་།
 ལོ་ཚེན་གྱི་སྒྲོབ་མ་ལོ་རྩུ་མཚོག་དུ་མཁམ་པ་མང་དུ་བྱང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བའི་
 རྩེ་རྫོང་མང་པོ་དང་པ་རྩལ་དུ་སྤྱོན་པ་དང་། རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བསྐྱར་།
 བྱང་པར་མ་དགེ་བའི་རྫོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚད་མ་རྣམ་འབྲེལ་དང་། དེའི་རང་འབྲེལ་དང་།
 ལྷ་དབང་རྫོང་འབྲེལ་པ་དང་། སུ་ཀྱ་རྫོང་འབྲེལ་བཤད་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་
 བསྐྱར་ཞིང་། འཆད་ཉན་གྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་། དེ་ལས་མཚེད་ནས་དབྱུས་གཙང་གི་
 རྩོགས་འདིར་ཡང་ཚད་མའི་འཆད་ཉན་བྱང་ཞིང་། དེའི་ཚོ་བྱང་པོ་གྲགས་སེ་ཞེས་
 བྱ་བ་མཁམ་པར་གྲགས་པ་དེས་ཚད་མའི་བཤད་པ་མང་དུ་མཛོད་། དེ་དག་ལ་ཚད་
 མ་རྫིང་མ་ཞེས་ཟེར་། ཕྱིས་ལོ་རྩུ་བ་རྫོགས་ཤེས་རབ་ནས་ཚད་མ་གསར་མར་
 གྲགས་པ་རྣམས་བྱང་། མཁམ་པ་ཚེན་པོ་རྩུ་ན་གྱི་ཡང་སྤྱན་མ་དྲངས་པར་བོད་དུ་
 ཕྱོན་། དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་པ་རྩུ་དུ་མང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་རྣམ་པར་དགའ་བའི་འབྱར་མང་པོ་
 མཛོད་པ་དང་། འོད་ལྗེའི་རིང་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རྩུ་དྲངས་ནས་བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཞུས་དག་
 མཛོད་པ་དང་། དེའི་སྤྲས་ཅེ་ལྗེ་རིང་ལ་། མེ་པོ་འབྲེག་གི་ཚོས་འཁོར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
 དབྱུས་གཙང་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྗེ་རྫོང་འཛོན་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡང་འདས་།
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལེགས་པར་སོ་སོར་བསྐྱོར་། ཟངས་དཀར་ལོ་རྩུ་བས་ཚད་མ་
 རྒྱན་ཡང་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བསྐྱར་བ་མཛོད་དེ། རྒྱུར་ན་མངའ་རིས་བསྟོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྟན་པའི་ཞབས་དོག་བཀྱིས་དེ་ལྷ་བྱ་ནི་ཡུལ་གཞན་གང་ན་ཡང་མ་
 མཚིས་། ཚོས་འཁོར་དེ་ལ་རུ་ལོ་རྩུ་བ་དང་། གཉན་ལོ་རྩུ་དང་། བྱང་པོ་ཚོས་བཙོན་
 དང་། བཙོན་ཁ་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། རོག་རྫོགས་ཤེས་རབ་དང་། མར་ཐང་དད་པ་ཤེས་

རབ་སྒྲུབ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འགྲུལ་ཚུན་ལ་དགས་པོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཡོང་ཡང་དེ་རྣམས་
འཁོར་དེ་ལ་སྒྲུབས།

Deb-ther-shon-po ca 2a5

ལྷ་བཙུན་པ་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ལན་མང་པོའི་བར་དྲ་གསེར་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་
པའི་སྐུན་འབྲེན་པ་མང་དྲ་བརྒྱུད་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་མངའ་པོས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྐྱམ་ཡེ་ཤེས་
འོད་ཅེས་གྲགས་པ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་སྤྱོད་ཏེ། དེའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་སྒྲེ། དེའི་
རྒྱལ་ཚབ་འོད་སྒྲེ། དེ་ལ་གཙུང་པོ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་བཙུན་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ཚེ་བ།
ཚུང་བ་དག་སྤྱོད་ཞི་བའི་འོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བལྟམ་པ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཚོས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་
མཁས་ཤིང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཁས་པར་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་བཞུགས། ལྷ་སྐྱམ་ཡེ་
ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་གཏད་ཐིམ་གྱིང་དམག་གི་དཔོན་མཛེད་དེ། གར་
ལོག་དང་འཐབས་པས་པམ་སྒྲེ། གར་ལོག་གིས་བཙོན་དྲ་གཟུང།

Deb-ther-snon-po ja 1a3

བལྟམ་པ་ཕྱི་དར་ལ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀའི་བཤད་བརྒྱན་དང་བཅས་དེ་
མང་དྲ་བྱང་འོ། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེས་བུའི་མཚོག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཚེན་པོ་རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་
གྲགས་པ་དེས། སྤྱིར་ལ་རིལ་དྲ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་སྐྱགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་
ཅིང་བཤད་པ་ཡང་མཛེད་མོད། བྱེ་བྱག་དྲ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཤད་བའི་ལྷ་ར་
མཛེད་པ་ནི། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཚེན་པོ་དེས་ཁ་ཚེར་ལན་གསུམ་ཕྱོད་། དེར་སྐྱམ་མང་པོ་
བསྐྱེན། བོད་དྲ་ཡང་པ་རྗེ་དྲ་མང་པོ་སྐུན་བྱངས། བཤད་བའི་སྤོལ་ལེགས་པར་

བཅུགས་དེ། དེ་ཉིད་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀམ་སྒྲིང་གིས་
 མཛེད་པའི་དེ་ཉིད་སྒྲུང་བ་དང། དཔལ་མཚོག་གི་རྒྱུ་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀམ་
 དགའ་སྒྲིང་པོས་མཛེད་པ་ཡང་དོལ་ཁོངས་འགའ་ཤེས་ལུས་པ་ཞིག་དང། ཀམ་
 དགའ་སྒྲིང་པོས་མཛེད་པའི་དོན་ཉིད་འབྲུང་བའི་ཚོགས་ལག་ལེན་དང་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་
 དང། རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་བ་དེ་ཉིད་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀམ་དགའ་སྒྲིང་པོའི་བཤད་པ་དང་
 བཅས་པ་དང། ཐམས་ཅད་གསང་བའི་རྒྱུ་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་ཉི་མའི་འབྲེལ་
 བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་དེ་དག་གི་སྤོངས་མང་པོ་ཡང་བསྐྱེད་ཞིང་ཕྱག་ལེན་
 དུ་མཛེད་དེ་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལས། མའའ་ཤིས་དང་དབྱུས་གཙང་
 པའི་སློབ་མ་ཡང་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལས། ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ།
 མང་ནང་གི་གར་ཤིང་བཅོམ་འགྲུས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན། ལྷ་པ་གཞིན་ན་ཤེས་རབ།
 རྒྱ་མོར་རྒྱ་ནང་བཞི་ལ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་བཞེད་གྲགས། གཞན་ཡང་སྐྱེས་ལ་
 ཡན་སྒྲིན་གྲགས་ཤིན། རྒྱ་ཡེ་ཚུལ། གང་པ་དགེ་ཤེས། མར་ཡུལ་པ་དགོན་མཚོག་
 བཅུགས་རྣམས་དེ། བཞི་པོ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུང་གཉི་མའི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན། གཞན་ཡང་
 ཕྱང་ལྗོད་རྒྱུང་རོ་སྤྱུ་དམར་གྱི་རྒྱུང་པ་ཚོས་སློབ་ལོ་རྒྱུང་གི་ཞབས་ལ་གདུགས།
 ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལ་ཆེ་ནས་ཕྱོགས་ཐོག་ཅིག་ལ་དོན་ཉིད་འབྲུང་བའི་དབང་ཤུད་རྒྱ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་
 བ་དང། ཀོ་ས་ལའི་རྒྱན་གསལ། དཔལ་མཚོག་གྲང་དོལ་ཁོངས་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུད་ལོད་པའི་
 འབྲེལ་བ་དབང་དང་བཅས་པ། ཤེས་ཅེ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་ཤེས་དུ་གསལ། གསང་
 འདས་ལེ་ཤེས་ཞབས་ལུགས་གྲང་ལེགས་པར་གསལ། ལག་ལེན་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྐྱེས་
 ཚེན་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པ། བཤད་པ་རྣམས་གཙོ་བོར་ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལ་ཞུས། ལོ་རྒྱུང་གིས་ལ་ཆེ་
 ལན་གཉིས་པ་འཁོར་ལྗོད་དོལ་ཁོངས་གསལ་བ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང། ལྟར་གྱི

རྣམ་འཕྲོ་ལུས་པ་ཡང་གསུམ། དེ་རྗེས་ཤངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་མ་སྤྱོད་ཡི་འབར་གྱིས་ལོ་
 བདན་དུ་ལོ་ཚེན་བསྟེན། དེ་ཉིད་སྤང་བའི་སྤྱོད་འབྲེལ་དང། དཔལ་མཚོག་སྤྱོད་
 འབྲེལ་དང། དཔལ་མཚོག་ཉོལ་ཁོངས་ཚན་དང། རྗེ་རྗེ་འབྲུང་བ་དང། འབྲེལ་པ་
 བཞིས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་བཀའ་དང། དཔལ་མཚོག་རྗོ་སེམས་དང། རིགས་
 བསྐྱུས་ཀྱི་དབང་བཀའ་རྣམས་ལྟས། ལོ་ཚེན་ལ་བཀའ་ཐོབ་ཚམ་མཛད་ནས་སྤྱུངས་
 པ་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་སྤང་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་ལར་གྱིས་ལོ་ཚེན་ལ་ཐག་
 ཅིང། བཀོའ་ཐོར་ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལོ་བདན་དུ་བསྟེན་ནས་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ག་ཐམས་ཅད་དང། རྩད་
 པར་དཔལ་མཚོག་ལ་མཁམས་པར་བྱས་ནས་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་སྤང་ཁ་དར་རྒྱུང་གི་པ་
 བཞིན་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བྲག་སྤྱེངས་པ། ཀལ་འཚིང་ཅུའི་དམར་སྤྱོད་ཚོས་
 ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚོན། རྒྱལ་པ་སྟེ་སྤྱོད། བལ་ཤུག་རྗོ་རྗེ། ཐང་སྤྱོད་ཀོད་ཁ་པ། རྒྱལ་
 བོང་ཁ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཚེན་ལ་ཐག་པ་ཚམ་བྱས་ནས། རྒྱལ་བཞེར་བཀོའ་ཆེར་ལོ་
 རྒྱུང་གི་དྲུང་དུ་སྤྱུངས། རྒྱལ་བོ་སེར་དང། ཤངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཡི་བཞིན་གྱིས་ལོ་ཚེན་
 ལ་བསྟེན་པས་པས་མ་རྗེན་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལ་བཏེན་དེ། རྒྱལ་བོ་སེར་པས་མཚོན་བོདྱོད་
 འབྲེལ་ཚེན་ལ་མཁམས་པར་བྱས་སོ། ལོ་ཚེན་གཤེགས་རྗེས་ལོ་སྤང་ལི་བའོད་ལོ་རྒྱ་
 ལ་མཁམས་པས་འབྲུར་མང་པོ་མཛད་ཅིང། ལོ་པམ་མང་པོ་སྤྱོད་དྲངས་ནས་དཔལ་
 མཚོག་གི་ཉོལ་ཁོངས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་བསམས། ཟངས་དཀར་འཕགས་
 པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཚེན་ལ་མ་རྗེན་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུང་དང། དེའི་རྩར་ཚོས་པ་ཨམན་སྤྱོད་
 བྲགས་རིན་ལ་བསྟེན་ནས། དེ་ཉིད་བསྐྱུས་བ་དང་དཔལ་མཚོག་གི་བཤད་བཀའ་
 དབང་བཀའ་དང། སྤྱོད་རྒྱུ་མ་བྱུའི་བཤད་བཀའ་དབང་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་བསམ།
 དེ་ནས་པ་རྗེ་ད་བཞིན་ན་བྱུ་མ་པ་སྤྱོད་དྲངས་ནས་དབྱུས་སུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཚེ། དེ་གོང་དུ་

པ་རྩི་དུ་ག་སྐ་བ་རྩོ་དང་ཟངས་དཀར་གཞོན་ནུ་ལྟུང་ལྷིམས་ཀྱིས་འདས་དུ་རྩེ་མའི་
 འབྲུང་མཛད་པའི་དཔེ་དང་། གཞོན་ནུ་བྱས་པས་རྒྱ་དཔེའི་སྤྱང་ནས་བཤད། ཟངས་
 དཀར་གྱིས་ལོ་རྩུ་བྱས་ནས་སློན་གྱིའི་མར་བ་རྩོར་ཡས། ཁམས་བ་གྱི་སྤྱན། ཡས་
 ཤང་གྲུ་རྒྱང་གསུམ་ལ་བཤད། དེ་ནས་སྣ་སར་བྱོན་པའི་རྩོ་གཉལ་བ་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་
 རབ་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་དེན་དགེ་བསྟེན་ཞིག་གིས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལ་རྩེ་མོ་རྩོར་གསུམ་
 གསར། མཚན་དང་ཡིག་སྐྱེ་མང་དུ་བྱིས། ཟངས་དཀར་དང་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་རབ་གྱིས་
 ཕྱིས་བལ་པོར་སྐྱར་ཅིག་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་ལོ་རྩུ་བ་དང་དཔོན་སློབ་གཉིས་པོས་མངའ་
 རིས་སུ་བྱོན། ལོ་རྩུ་བ་ཁ་རྩོར་བཞུད། གཉལ་གྱིས་རྩེ་མོ་རྩོར་གཅིག་བཤད། ཕྱིས་
 ཁ་རྩོར་རྩུ་ན་བྱི་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་རྩོས་འཁོར་དུ་བོར་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། ལོ་གསུམ་ན་
 པ་རྩི་དུ་བོད་སྐད་བྱང་བར་གྱུར་པས། དེ་ལ་ལོ་བདུན་གྱི་བར་དུ་ལེགས་པར་མཉམ།
 མང་ནང་བ་ལ་ཀུན་སྐྱོང་གི་ལྷགས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལྷས། སྤྱོད་རྩུ་ན་ལོ་རྩོ་བོད་ལྷགས་
 ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་པར་ལྷས། ཕྱིས་ཟངས་དཀར་གྱིས་རྩེ་མོ་ལ་རྩི་ག་ཡང་མཛད།

Chos-ḥbyun of Pad-ma-dkar-po, folio 107.3

གཉིས་བ་སྤྲོད་ནས་གསོས་རྩུང་ཞི། སྤྱང་དར་གྱི་སྐས་འོད་སྤངས་དང་ཡུམ་
 བཅོན་གཉིས། དང་པོ་ལ་མངའ་བདག་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཅོན། དེ་བྱང་སྤྲོད་དུ་སྐྱབས་
 ཀྱིས་བཀོངས་པ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྤྲོད་འཁོར། ཁོང་གི་སྐས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བརྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་
 དང་། སྤྲོད་དེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གཉིས་བྱང་བའི་ཕྱི་མ་མངའ་རིས་སྤྲོད་དུ་སྐྱབས་པ་ལ་
 སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན། ལྷ་གཙུག་མགོན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་གསུམ་བྱང་བ་སྤྲོད་དུ་
 རྒྱལ་སྤྲོད་ཞུས་ཆགས། ལ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་པོའང་དེ་རྣམས་ལ་ཟེར། སྤྲོད་དུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་

བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་མ་བཞུགས། དེ་ཡང་པ་པ་ལྟེ། དེ་ལྟེ། ལྷོ་ལྟེ། བསུམ་པ་ལྟེ། དཔུམ་
 བཀའ་ལྷི་ཏུ་ཡག་བཞི་བསུངས་པས་སྤྲད་ཏུ་ཀྱལ་སྤོང་རྣམས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཟེར། བཀྱ་
 ལོས་མཚོན་གྱི་སྤྲུམ་འོད་གྱི་ཀྱལ་མཚོན། དེའི་སྤྲུམ་སྤོང་དེ་དང་ཁོ་དེ་བཞིས། སྤོང་
 དེས་ག་གེར་མཚོ་སྤོང་གི་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཁང་བཞེང་བའི་གྲོས་མཚན། ས་ཤུ་མཁའ་པོ་
 ས་ཏེ། བཅུ་གསུམ་ཀྱང་ལོ་བརྒྱུན་འཇིག་པར་འདག་ཟེར། འོ་ན་བཞེང་གསུམ་གསུངས་
 བས། ལོ་བརྒྱ་པོ་དེ་བརྒྱུན་པ་པ་ནས་རྣམ་པར་བཞི་གའོང་བར་འདག་ཟེར་བ་ལ།
 འོ་ན་བཞེང་འོ་ན་ཚོག་དཔོངས་དེ་བསམ་ཡས་ཇི་ལྟེ། བ་པ། ལྷོད་པར་གར་སྤྱོགས་སྤུ་
 བསེར་གྱི་མཚོན་དེ་ན་ཚེ་པོ་ཞིག་བཞེངས་པས་ཉི་མ་གར་བའི་ཚོ། དེའི་འོད་ནང་ན་
 ཡར་པོག་པས་རྣམ་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོན་ཏུ་རྣམ་གར་འཆར་བས་མཚོ་
 སྤོང་གསེར་ཁང་དུ་གྲགས། སྤྱིས་བསམ་ཡས་གཟིགས་པ་ན། འདི་ཡབ་མེས་པོད་
 ཚངས་ལ་དབང་སྐྱུར་བའི་སྤྱག་ཇས་ལས་ང་མཐའ་ལོ་ལྷོ་གྱི་ཀྱལ་སྤོང་ཞིག་གི་
 སྤྱག་ལས་མི་ཚུང་བར་འདག་གསུང་། དེས་མཚོན་ཉིད་གྱི་ཐོག་པ་བཀར་གཤེས་ཀྱང་།
 ཡར་ཚོ་པ་རྗེ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་པོ་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱགས་པ་ནས་ས་གྱིས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་བས།
 དེ་དག་བཀའ་ཡིན་མིན་ཐོ་ཚོས་ཟོས། ཇི་ལྟེ་གསུམ་གྱི་བྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསགས་དེ་ལོ་
 བཅུ་པས་མར་མི་གཞོན། ཉི་གུ་ལས་ཡར་མི་གར་པ་མང་དུ་འཚོགས་པའི་སྤོ་
 ལ་བཅགས་ནས་སྤོ་རབ་འབྲིང་དགར་ཕྱེ། སྤོ་རབ་གྱི་རབ་དུ་གྱུར་བ་བདན། དེ་ནས་ས་
 གྱི་གཡོག་པོ་བདན། ཡང་གཡོག་བྱེད་པ་བདན་དེ་ཉི་གུ་ཚ་གཟིག་པ་མ་ལ་འོན་ཀྱིན་
 སས་ཉིས་དེ་ཁ་ཚོར་བཞེངས། དེར་ཁོང་རྣམས་ལ་གསེར་མང་པོ་བསྐྱར་ནས་འདི་
 སྤྲད་བརྒྱའོ། ། ཁ་ཚེ་འི་ཡུལ་ར་མཁམས་པ་འི་ར་ཚེ་ར་ཇི་ཞེས་བུ་བུ་ཡོད་པས་དེ་
 སྤོ་རྒྱུ་འོདས། ཀྱ་གར་གར་སྤྱོགས་ན་རྣམས་ཡུལ་བུ་བུ་ཡོད་པས་དེ་སྤོ་རྒྱུ་འོདས། ལུ་

ལྷོགས་ཀ་ཅུ་ན་པ་རྩེ་དུ་མོར་བུ་སྒྲིང་པ་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས་དེ་སྤྱན་དྲོངས་ཤིག། དབུས་
 འགྲུ་འཆང་ན་པ་རྩེ་དུ་བླ་རྒྱུ་བ་ལི་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལ་འདས་པ་རྣམ་གཞིས་བྱ་
 བའི་ཚོས་སྤྱ་སྤྲེགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཚུད་པར་མི་ནས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག།
 དེ་ཉིད་འདུས་པ་ལ་ཀན་དགའ་སྒྲིང་པོའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། དེ་ཤེས་པར་
 གྱིས་ཤིག། མོར་བུ་སྒྲིང་པ་དང་རྩམ་བུ་ལ་གཞིས་ལ་ལས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྒྱན་གཙོ་
 བའི་རྒྱད་དང་། དེའི་འགྲེལ་པ་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་དཔྱིད་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་དང་། དཀྱིལ་འགོར་
 གྱི་ལྷ་སྤྲུམ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་པ་སྒྲོབ་དཔོན་རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷ་ས་མཛད་པ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། དེ
 ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག། དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདས་པ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ལེ་ཤེས་ཞབས
 དང་། འཕགས་པ་སྐྱ་བུ་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་དཀྱིལ་ཚོག་ཡོད་ཟེར་བ་དང་། རིན་ཚེན་
 རྗེ་ལྷ་དུས་འཁོར་དང་། རྗེ་ལྷ་གདན་བཞིའི་རྒྱད་འགྲེལ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས་ཚོལ་ལ་
 ཤིག། །། གཞན་པེ་ཀྲ་མ་ཤི་ལ་(1)ན་པ་རྩེ་དུ་བརྒྱ་ཅ་བརྒྱད། མཁས་པ་བདུན་ཅུ་ཅ་
 གཞིས། འགྲུན་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་སྤྲུམ་ཅུ་ཅ་བདུན། གཙོག་གི་མོར་བུ་ལྷ་བྱ་བཅུ་གཅིག།
 འཛོམ་བུའི་སྒྲིང་གི་རྒྱན་ལྷ་བྱ་བརྒྱད། ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱན་ལྷ་བྱ་གཞིས་ཡོད་
 ཟེར་བས། དེ་རྣམས་ལས་གང་བྱུང་དེ། རབ་གསེར་ལ་མ་རྩེག་པར་སྤྱན་ཅི་འདྲོངས་
 གྱིས། འབྲིང་གདམས་པ་ཅི་ཤོབ་གྱིས། ཐ་མའང་པ་རྩེ་དུ་ཚོས་གང་མཁས་པ་དང་།
 གདམས་ངག་གང་ཆེ་བ་རྩད་ཚོད་ལ་ལྷུང་ཞུས་དཔེ་ཡོངས་པ་གྱིས་ལ་ཤིག་བྱས་དེ་
 བདང་ངོ་། །། ཁོང་རང་མཁན་སྒྲོབ་མེད་པར་བསྟེན་པར་ཇོགས། མཚན་ལེ་ཤེས་
 འོད། ལྷས་གཞིས་ཀྱང་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་གཙུང་གི་སྤྲུམ་ལྷ་སྤྲེལ་གདང་། དེ་
 ལ་སྤྲུམ་གསུམ། འོད་ལྷ། བྱང་རྩལ་འོད། ཞི་བ་འོད་དོ། །། བྱང་རྩལ་འོད་ལ་ཐགས་

(1) Xil.: bi kra ma la si la.

བཅུ(1)ཚེ། རབ་དྲུག་དྲུག་བཅུག་ཤོ། དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་གར་དྲུག་པར་ལ་མཇུག་པ་རྣམས། དང་
 རོ་ཁ་ཚེར་ཕྱིན། བཅུ་དྲུག་ཁ་ཚེ་གྲིབ་བསྟན་དུ་ཤི། རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ལེགས་
 བའི་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་ལྷུས། རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་པོས་འཇིག་རྟེན་སྤངས་ལྷུང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དལ་དྲ་
 ལྷགས། འཇུག་པའི་དོན་ལེགས་ལྷུག་ལྷུག་དྲུག་པ་ལ་མེད་པ་ཤོག། ཁ་ཚེ་རིན་
 ཚེན་དོན་ལ་སོགས་པར་ཡོ་གའི་རྒྱུད་དཀྱིལ་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ། དོན་ལྷུང་འབྱུང་
 མས་ལྷུང་བསྟན་ནུ་རོ་པ་ལ་གཏུགས་དེ། གསང་འདུས་ལྷགས་གཉིས་གསལ།
 དབུས་འབྱུང་གྱི་བརྟེན་འདུས་ནས། ལྷོ་བ་མ་རྩམ་ལྷུ་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བཅའ་ཡང་མ་
 ཚེད། རོར་བྱ་སྤྱིང་པ་ལ་ངན་སོང་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུད་དང་། ཐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ། ལྷུང་པར་མི་
 འབྲུགས་པའི་རྒྱུད་གདམས་ངག་དང་བཅས་པ་ལྷུས་སོ། ། དོན་ལྷུང་འབྱུང་ས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་
 འཁོར་དུ་སྒྲ་གངས་དང་མཉམ་པའི་དབང་ཤོབ། བྱི་ཀྱ་མ་གྱི་ལར་(2)པརྟེན་མར་མི་
 མཚན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། མི་ཐབས་སྐབས་དང་། རྒྱལ་བའི་འབྱུང་གནས་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྲུགས་
 མཚན་ཉིད་མང་པོ་ལྷུས། ལྷུང་པརྟེན་སྤྲུམ་ཅུ་ཅུ་ལྷུ་ལ་དབང་ཤོབ། རྒྱུད་ལྷུང་བཞི་ལྷི་
 ལྷོ་འདོགས་ཁ་ཚེན་པརྟེན་དང་མོར་བྱ་སྤྱིང་པ་ལ་བཅད། དགང་ལོ་སོ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་
 རོད་དུ་ཕྱོན། དེར་ཡོ་གའི་ཁ་ཚེན་ལྷགས་བཅུགས། མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་སྤོན་སྤོས་པ་ལ་
 དབྱེ་སྤོན་ནས། གཞུང་ན་མེད་པའི་མཚན་འབྲེང་དང་། ལྷུང་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུང་ལེགས་ཤེ་
 གྲོ་བ་བདེ་བས་དབྱུངས་བཅོས། དགང་ལོ་ཞེ་དག་པ་ལ་པརྟེན་སྤོན་ལོད་བཟང་པོ་དང་།
 ལྷོ་ན་སེད་དང་། ཀ་མ་ལ་རྒྱུ་དལ་བསྟེན་པར་ཚོགས། དབུས་གཅིང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཀ་ན་
 དུ་ཚོས་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་ལོ་བརྟེན་ནས་པརྟེན་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ཀ་ར་ལྷུ་སྤོན་ལོད་བཟང་པོ་
 པས་རོད་དུ་བདང་ནས་དོན་ལྷུང་བདང་ཡོ་གའི་ཞབས་ལྷགས་གསུངས། ཀ་ཚོགས་

(1) Xil.: rtois.

(2) Xil.: bi kra ma la si la.

གི་འགྲུར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཅོས། བོད་སྐྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལ་གྲུབ་ནས་ཀྱང་གར་
 ཤར་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་བ་རྗེ་དྲ་རྩ་མ་ལུ་ལ་བལ་བའི་དེམ་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་རྣམས་བསྐྱར་བ་ལ་
 རྱོན་པས། བ་རྗེ་དྲ་རྩ་པས་བསྐྱེད་ནས་བོད་གྱི་གངས་ཅི་མཐོང་བར་རྱོན་ན་པན་ཟེར་
 བས། རྒྱལ་སྐོན་ཚོས་ལ་དགེས་བོད་ལ་པན་ཐོགས་པར་དགོངས་ནས་མངའ་ཅིས་
 སུ་རྱོན། དེར་ཡོ་ག་གསན་པས་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་ཀམ་དགའ་སྐྱོང་བའི་གངམས་བ་མ་
 རོར་བ་ཞིག་བྱང་བས་ཡིན་དུ་མཉེས་དེ། གསེར་འཁར་སྡེར་གང་ལུལ་བ་མ་བཞེས་
 ཁོང་རོར་གྱི་འདོད་པ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་། དེ་ནས་ཡོ་ག་ཁ་ཆེ་ལྷགས་བཞག་
 རས་ཀྱང་གར་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་པའི་ལྷགས་གཞུང་གདམས་ངག་དང་བཅས་བ་ལ་ཉམས་
 ལེན་དང་བཤད་པ་བྱས་པས་ཡོ་གའི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར། དེའང་སྐྱོ་ཚོའི་སྣང་ལ་ཁ་
 ཆེ་ལྷགས། སྣང་ལ་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ལྷགས་དར་བས་ཡོ་ག་ལ་བོད་འདིར་སྣང་ལྷགས་
 དང་སྣང་ལྷགས་གཉིས་སུ་གྲགས་སོ། ། དེ་ལ་སྐྱོབ་མའི་མཚོག་བཞི་བྱང་བ་ནི། ལོ་
 ཅུང་ལེགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ། ལྷ་པག་ཞོན་ན་ཤེས་རབ། གྱི་རོར་(1)ཡོ་ཤེས་དབང་
 ལྷག། གར་(2)ཤིང་བཙོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ། །

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རྗེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙོན་གྱི་ཆེན་མའི་སྐས། སྤྱད་དེའི་མ་མགོན་གྱིས། མངའ་
 ཅིས་(3)གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛོད། ལུ་རངས་གྱི་ལའང་དབང་རྒྱར། དེ་ལ་སྐས་གསུམ།
 ཆེ་བདཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱིས་མར་ལུལ་གཟུང་། འདི་ནས་ཇོ་བོ་རས་ཆེན་གྱི་བར་དུ་

(1) Correct skyi-nor as in Deb-ther.
 (2) Xil.: guñ, but it is necessary to read gur as in Deb-ther.
 (3) Ms.: rigs.

རྒྱུད། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་གྱི་ཕུ་རངས་བཟུང་། རྒྱུད་བཟླ་བཅུག་མགོན་
 རྒྱུས་(1)ཞང་ཞུང་བཟུང་། འདི་གསུམ་ལས་ལྷོད་ན་བཀྲུགས་པའི་མགོན་གསུམ་
 ཟེར། ལྷེ་བཅུག་མགོན་ལ་སྲས་བཅིས་དེ། འཁོར་དེ་དང་། ལྷོད་དེ་དང་སྐྱ་ཚེ(2)་
 ལྷོད་ལ་བཅུན་མོ་ཁབ་དུ་བཞེས་པས། སྲས་བཅིས་འབྲུངས་པའི་ནག་ར་ཅན་དང་།
 ལྷེ་བ་ར་ཅན། སྐྱ་ཚེ་སྲོད་ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནས། ལྷ་སྲས་ལེ་ཤེས་འོད་དུ་མཚན་
 གསོལ། མགོ་ལྷེང་(3)་དཔལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས། ལྷ་རྩེ་བར་མཚན་བཟང་པོ་
 དང་། རྒྱལ་ལོགས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱོན་བཅི་ཤ་ཅ་ཅིག་གྲགས་དུ་
 ཚོས་སྲོབ་པ་ལ་ཇངས། པརྟེ་དུ་བྱི་རྩ་ཀ་ར་(4)དང་། ལྷར་མ་(5)དུ་བཅིས་སྲུབ་
 བྲངས་དེ། མཚན་ཉིད་གྱི་ཐོག་བདང་། རྒྱུད་ལྷེ་བཞི་པོ་སྲུང་ཞིང་བལྟན་ལ་ཕབ།
 འདལ་བ་ལྷོད་ལྷགས་དར་བར་མཛད་པོ། ཚེས་པོ་འཁོར་དེས་ཁ་ཚར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་
 གཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྷེ་པོས། པརྟེ་དུ་སྲུབ་ཤི(6)དེད་དང་། པརྟེ་དུ་མེ་ཅུ་སྲུབ་
 བྲངས། ལྷ་ལྷེ་པོ་ལ་སྲས་འབྲུངས་པ། ཚེ་བཞི་བའོད། འབྲིང་ལྷ་སྲས་བྱུང་པོད།
 རྒྱུད་པོད་ལྷེའོ། འདི་གསུམ་གྱི་དམ་སྲུ། ལྷ་སྲས་ལེ་ཤེས་འོད་གྱིས། མངས་གྲུམ་
 གྱི་བལྟན་པ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། རྒྱུགས་དུ་པརྟེ་དུ་གང་ན་འདྲེན་བྱོན་པས། ལས་དུ་
 སྲུ་ལྷེགས་པའི་དམག་གིས་བཟུང་། ་་་པོད་གངས་ཚན་གྱི་སྲོངས་འདིར། མངས་
 རྒྱུས་གྱི་བལྟན་བཅི་མ་ཤར་བ་ལྷ་བྱུར་མཛད་པ་ན། ལྷ་སྲས་བྱུང་ལྷུ་པོད་དེ། པོད་

(1) Ms.: gyi.
 (2) Thus mss.: but the text seems to be corrupt.
 (3) Ms.: mthon ldiñ.
 (4) Thus mss.: correct śrad-dhā-ka-ra.
 (5) Namely: Pad-mā-ka-ra-var-ma.
 (6) Mss.: śid.

ལ་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བ་ལེགས་སོ། ལྷ་སྐྱེས་ཕྱང་རྒྱུ་ལོང་གི་བཅུང་པོ་ལོང་ལྡེས།
 པ་རྒྱེ་དཀར་ཆེ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་སྐྱེས་དྲངས། དེའི་སྐྱེས་བཅོན་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྐྱེས་སྐྱ་ལེ། དེ་ནས་
 རིམ་བཤེན་དུ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། ལྷ་རེ། བ་ག་ལྡེ་རྣམས་ཕྱང་བ། འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་
 ག་གེ། ཕྱང་ངས། མར་ཡུལ་ལ་སོགས་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབས་ལ་དབང་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།
 ཡང་ལྷ་ག་ལྡེའི་སྐྱེས། བཅོན་ཕྱུག་ལྡེ། ཡ་ཅེར་ཕྱོག་དེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛོད། འདེའི་
 སྐྱེས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྐྱེས་གྲགས་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྐྱེས་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྐྱེས་
 ཡམ་ལྡེ། ཡམ་དེའི་སྐྱེས་ཡམ་སོག་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྐྱེས་ཇི་དར་སྐྱེས་དང། ཡམ་ནད་
 ལྷལ་གཤིས་སོ། ཡམ་ནད་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས། ར་ཡུལ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སར། ཇི་བོ་
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དབྱེ་ཐོག་དུ། གསེར་ཐོག་ཕྱུལ། དེ་ལ་སྐྱེས་གཤིས། སང་རྒྱ་སྐྱེས་དང།
 འདི་ཐར་སྐྱེས་གཤིས་སོ། ཐར་(1)སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས། ཡམ་ཇི་སྐྱེས། དེའི་སྐྱེས་ཀ་ལ་ན་
 ལྷལ། དེ་ནས་ཡ་ཅེའི་(2)རྒྱལ་རྒྱུ་ཆད་ནས། ཕྱང་ངས་ནས། མངའ་བདག་བསོད་
 ལྷལ་ལྡེ། ཡ་ཅེར་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ས་བརྒྱངས། ཕྱི་སྐྱེས་ཕྱ་བར་
 མཚན་དགས། དེའི་སྐྱེས་ཕྱི་དེ་སྐྱེས་དང། ལྷོན་པོ་དབལ་ལྷན་གྲགས་གཤིས་ཀྱིས་
 ལྷ་སར་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་གྱི་སྡེ་དུ་གསེར་ཐོག་ཕྱུལ།

(1) Man.: ul'ar.
 (2) Man.: ya ts'ei.

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**TIBETAN TEXT OF THE
BIOGRAPHY OF RIN-CHEN-BZAN-PO**

५७१ । ब्रह्मवैकुण्ठसकैवर्षेदिक्कामपरप्रपद्मिभवेदसमयं ।
 क्रुत्तुं प्रदसवर्षेणतुमससुवर्षेण ॥

५७२ । तत्रैतद्वृत्तुं प्रदय । ब्रह्मवैकुण्ठसकैवर्षेदिक्कैव
 मत्रदसवर्षेणसकैवर्षेण । सुमयसिचसुवर्षेणसकैवर्षेण
 मत्रद । ब्रह्मवैकुण्ठसकैवर्षेण । तत्रैतद्वृत्तुं प्रदय ।
 ५७३ । इदमसिचसुवर्षेणसकैवर्षेण । तत्रैतद्वृत्तुं प्रदय ।
 ५७४ । इदमसिचसुवर्षेणसकैवर्षेण । तत्रैतद्वृत्तुं प्रदय ।

५७५

ॐ । कुमसेमसदपमठेवयेदेरेकाममः ममयुदवदमेदव
 पदेव ममुने । सुससुकेवयेदेरेवाहुदमुदुनयदयेवयदवाठिया ॥
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 ममुदमदददु । गवमवावेददवाठियाममममदुममववेदममदद

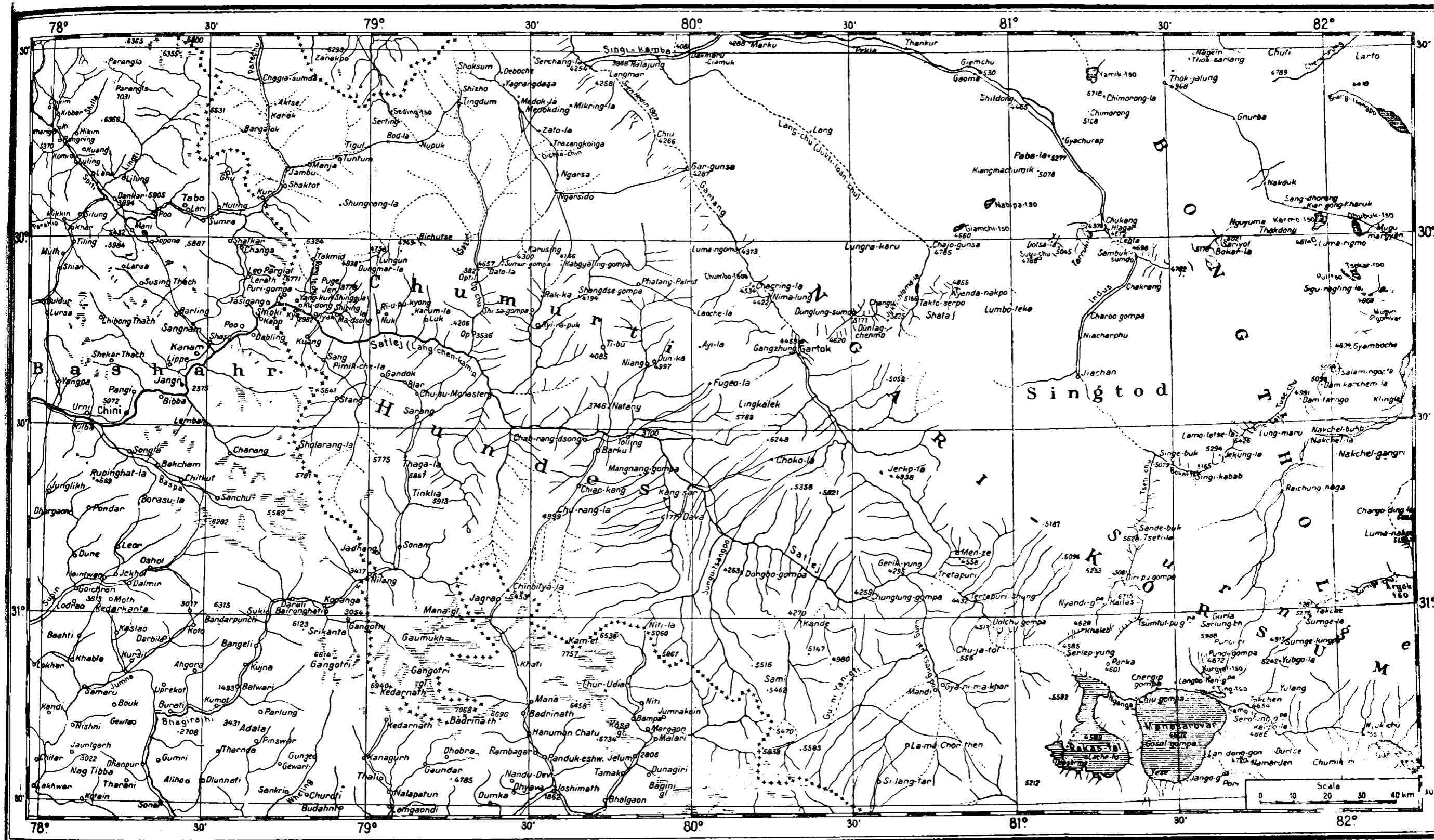
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दुमा । * सुमयेपुठमठिगदिपुमठेदपदममुदु । सुममपुदममठववाददमठेदवददवा । वममममम
 ममममुदुदुममेरमददममुदुवे । देमठुमठेवयेदेरेवमुदुयुमवेममवेममठेवये । मदेवेमठेवये
 प्रियमपुमठुयेवेपुठेवमुदुदुममठुदयेवमममममठेवये । ममुदुदुमठेवयेदेरेवयेवयेवयेवयेवये
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ॐ ॥ गदिगप्रसवेभुदं प्रसवस्य ॥ प्रसवस्य सुदं विदयामयत् रवस्य सुदं ॥
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