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HEFT 68

JOWITA KRAMER

**A NOBLE ABBOT FROM MUSTANG**  
**LIFE AND WORKS OF GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN (1456-1532)**



ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN UNIVERSITÄT WIEN  
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## Contents

<i>Preface</i> .....	9
<b>Part One</b> <b>Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life and Works</b> .....	11
<i>Chapter 1</i> <i>Historical Setting</i> .....	13
1.1      Main Political and Religious Developments in Glo-bo until the Mid- 16th Century .....	13
1.1.1      Early History .....	13
1.1.2      Origins of the Ruling Line of Glo-bo .....	16
1.1.3      Chos-skyong-'bum's Appointment as the Ruler of Glo-bo and Dol-po	19
1.1.4      Extension of Glo-bo's Power under A-ma-dpal .....	19
1.1.5      Glo-bo's Dominant Position under A-mgon-bzang-po .....	22
1.1.6      The Reign of bKra-shis-mgon and His Brothers .....	24
1.1.7      Glo-bo in the First Half of the 16th Century .....	25
1.2      Glo-bo's Neighbours from the 10th Century to the 1530s .....	26
1.2.1      The Kingdoms of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs .....	27
1.2.2      The Kingdom of Ya-rtse .....	30
1.2.3      The Kingdom of Mang-yul Gung-thang .....	31
1.2.4      The Principality of La-stod lHo .....	34
<i>Chapter 2</i> <i>Previous Research</i> .....	37
2.1      G. TUCCI (1956) .....	37
2.2      E. SMITH (1970) .....	37
2.3      Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970) .....	39
2.4      D. JACKSON (1976/77, 1978, 1980, 1983) .....	40
2.5      L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983) .....	40
2.6      D. JACKSON (1984) .....	41
2.7      L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985) .....	41
2.8      D. JACKSON (1986, 1987, 1991a, 1991b) .....	42
2.9      S. ONODA (1992) .....	43
2.10      L. VAN DER KUIJP (1993, 1994) .....	43
2.11      R. VITALI (1996) .....	43
2.12      G. DREYFUS (1996) .....	44
2.13      D. MARTIN (1997) .....	44
2.14      P. HUGON (2002) .....	44

<i>Chapter 3</i>	<i>Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life</i> .....	47
3.1	Biographical Sources .....	47
3.1.1	Autobiography .....	47
3.1.2	Lost Biography by Sa-lo Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (Title Unknown) .....	48
3.1.3	Blo-gros-dpal-mgon's ' <i>Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub kyi rnam par thar pa</i> .....	48
3.1.4	Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's <i>dPal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan</i> .....	50
3.1.5	Short Biography by A-myes-zhabs .....	50
3.1.6	Short Biography in the Catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing .....	51
3.1.7	Other References .....	52
3.2	Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Autobiography .....	53
3.2.1	The Texts .....	53
3.2.1.1	Known Versions of the Autobiography .....	53
3.2.1.2	Description of the Utilized Manuscripts .....	55
3.2.2	Structure and Contents .....	56
3.3	Main Events of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life .....	58
3.3.1	Date of Birth .....	58
3.3.2	Childhood and Youthful Studies (1456-1477) .....	59
3.3.3	Full Ordination and Abbothood (1477-ca. 1488) .....	63
3.3.4	The Years Before His Departure for Central Tibet (ca. 1488-1493) ...	69
3.3.5	Two Visits to Central Tibet (ca. 1493 and 1506-ca. 1509) .....	69
3.3.6	Main Events from the Last Two Decades of His Life (1511-1532) ...	72
3.3.7	Date of His Death .....	74
<i>Chapter 4</i>	<i>Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works</i> .....	79
4.1	Manuscript Collections and Xylograph Editions .....	79
4.1.1	The <i>dBu med</i> Manuscript Set from Gelung .....	80
4.1.2	Manuscripts of Unknown Provenance Listed in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang Catalogue .....	80
4.1.3	<i>dBu med</i> Manuscripts from an Unknown Monastery in Glo-bo .....	81
4.1.4	The "Golden Manuscripts" ( <i>gser chos</i> ) Preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo .....	82
4.1.5	Prints from Derge .....	82
4.1.6	Prints from Ngor .....	83



4.2	Contents and Structure of the <i>gSung 'bum</i> .....	84
4.2.1	Contents .....	84
4.2.1.1	Commentaries .....	84
4.2.1.2	Biographies and Histories .....	85
4.2.1.3	Letters .....	85
4.2.1.4	Works Written in Connection with Ritual or Meditative Practice .	86
4.2.1.5	Praises. ....	86
4.2.1.6	Records, Dedicatory Verses, and the Like .....	88
4.2.1.7	Others .....	88
4.2.2	Structure .....	90
4.3	Comparison of the Available Catalogues .....	90
Part Two	Critical Edition and Translation of Glo-bo mKhan- chen's Autobiography .....	109
<i>Chapter 5</i>	<i>Critical Edition</i> .....	111
5.1	Method of Editing .....	111
5.2	Edition of the Tibetan Text .....	113
<i>Chapter 6</i>	<i>Translation</i> .....	143
Part Three	Descriptive Catalogue .....	171
<i>Appendices</i>	.....	265
Appendix A	A Composite List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works	267
Appendix B	A List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works Found in Khenpo Appey's <i>Sa skya pa'i dkar chag</i> .....	280
Appendix C	Three Lists of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works Found in a Catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing .....	283
Appendix D	A List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works Found in sByin pa grags pa's <i>gsan yig</i> .....	292
<i>Abbreviations and Bibliography</i>	.....	299
Abbreviations	.....	301
Bibliography	.....	302
A. Tibetan Sources	.....	302

B. Sources in Other Languages .....	304
<i>Index</i> .....	311
Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts .....	311
General Index .....	314
Title Index to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works .....	325
Unidentified Titles .....	334
 <i>Tables</i>	
A Chronological Chart of the Main Events in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life ...	75
A Comparative Table of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works .....	93

## Preface

Although the historiography of Tibetan Buddhism has tended to overlook the importance of developments in the far-flung eastern or western borderlands, sometimes even these seemingly provincial areas were home to masters of national stature. The noble monk Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532) was one such case. Born about two hundred years after the passing of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan and in the year of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's death, he was later regarded as Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's reincarnation, and he proved to be a loyal adherent of Ngor-chen's tradition. A prince of the ruling house of Glo-bo (Mustang) in the Nepalese-Tibetan borderlands, he became one of the most prominent Sa-skyā-pa teachers of his time. Late in life he received homage from some of the greatest abbots of central Tibet, and such outstanding masters as Sa-skyā Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533), Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566) and mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542) are counted among his disciples.

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's main contributions to Tibetan scholasticism were his commentaries on Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's major works. Of particular interest are his writings on the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, which bear witness to the schism within the Sa-skyā-pa school caused by the controversial doctrines of another eminent master from this tradition, namely his teacher gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507).

The span of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life saw not only the heyday of scholasticism in fifteenth-century Tibet, but also the apogee of his family's power in Mustang, which was situated on an important north-south Himalayan salt route. Fortunately enough, he recounted parts of his eventful life in an autobiography, which is of interest both as an account of his personal career and as a document of more general historical value. This autobiography is thus one of the main subjects of the present book, which aims at presenting Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life story and extensive oeuvre.

Part One of this study gives an overview of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life and works, introducing the political and religious history of the region in which Glo-bo mKhan-chen was born (Chapter 1), reviewing previous modern research on this master and his writings (Chapter 2), and sketching chronologically Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life (Chapter 3). Moreover, it investigates the versions and the contents of his collected works and compares the available lists of his writings (Chapter 4). Part Two presents a critical edition (Chapter 5) and translation (Chapter 6) of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography. Part Three consists of a descriptive catalogue of the majority of Glo-

bo mKhan-chen's available works. The final section comprises four appendices with lists of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works.

The present publication is a revised version of an M.A. thesis on Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life and works that I completed at the University of Hamburg in 2000. I regret that some subsequent publications on Glo-bo, such as Ramesh K. Dhungel's *The Kingdom of Lo (Mustang): A Historical Study* (Kathmandu: Tashi Gephel Foundation, 2002) could not be incorporated into this book.

I would like to express my gratitude to my teacher Professor David Jackson (New York) for his continued support and advice. His innumerable corrections and valuable suggestions brought substantial improvements to the original version of this study. I would also like to thank my husband, Ralf Kramer, Dr. Carola Carstens (Hamburg), and Stefan Baums (Seattle) who read previous drafts of this study and made a number of valuable suggestions, as well as Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg) and Pasang Tsering (Dharamsala) for help in connection with the translation of the Tibetan text. Moreover, I am grateful to Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes (Hamburg, formerly of the Nepal Research Centre, Kathmandu) for help in obtaining photographs of texts filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), to Dr. Karl-Heinz Everding for very helpful comments on the first chapter, and to Professor Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Copenhagen) for drawing my attention to a list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works found in sByin-pa-grags-pa's *gsan-yig*. Finally, I would like to thank the editors of the series Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde for accepting my work for publication.

München, December 2007

PART ONE

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life and Works



## CHAPTER 1

### Historical Setting

#### 1.1 Main Political and Religious Developments in Glo-bo until the Mid-16th Century

##### 1.1.1 *Early History*

The territory of Glo-bo<sup>1</sup> located in the upper Kali Gandaki valley in north Nepal is clearly defined in the north, east, and west by high mountains, but its southern border is harder to determine. One possible boundary to the south is found in the demarcation by the non-Tibetan Thakalis, who inhabited the areas known as Baragaon and Panchgaon,<sup>2</sup> which, for the greatest part, formed the principality of Se-rib in former times.<sup>3</sup> In some sources Glo-bo is divided into the regions of Upper Glo-bo (Glo-bo sTod), covering the areas around the capital sMon-thang, and Lower Glo-bo (Glo-bo sMad), including the Muktināth valley and Kag.<sup>4</sup>

Very little is known about the history of Glo-bo prior to the beginning of the present royal line at the end of the fourteenth century. The earliest known event seems to be Glo-bo's subjugation by the Tibetan king Srong-btsan-sgam-po in the seventh century.<sup>5</sup> A probably legendary account of Padmasambhava's visit to Glo-bo represents the earliest reference to religious activity in that region.<sup>6</sup> Later, after the collapse of the Tibetan empire in the ninth century, Glo-bo turns up in the sources as part of bKra-shis-mgon's (fl. mid-10th c.) dominion in Western Tibet.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The area of Glo-bo is also known as "Mustang" (sMon-thang), a name that actually refers only to the capital of that region. See D. JACKSON (1976/77), 37. In the present study the term "Glo-bo" is used to indicate the larger territory, whereas "sMon-thang" designates its capital. The origin and different spellings of the names are discussed in detail in D. JACKSON (1984), 5-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. However, some regions of Baragaon, like Muktināth and Kāgbeni, were regarded as parts of Glo-bo sMad due to their Tibetan inhabitants.

<sup>3</sup> C. RAMBLE and M. VINDING (1987), 7.

<sup>4</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 5.

<sup>5</sup> A. H. FRANCKE (1926), 83. See also D. JACKSON (1976/77), 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. Western Tibet (mNga'-ris) was ruled by the three sons of Nyi-ma-mgon, known as dPal-gyi-mgon, bKra-shis-mgon, and lDe-gtsug-mgon. While his brothers had control over the far-western parts of the kingdom, including La-dwags, Zangs-dkar and sPi-ti, bKra-shis-

By the eleventh century, Buddhism as well as Bon seem to have been well established in the region.<sup>8</sup> One of the main disciples of Atiśa (982-1054), sTon-pa Yang-rab, came from Glo-bo, and the “treasure finder” (*gter ston*) Shes-rab-bla-ma made his first discoveries there, in the Glo-bo Ges-dkar temple.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the Buddhist master La-stod dMar-po, a contemporary of Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba (1012-1099), visited the area.<sup>10</sup> One of the most prominent masters of the Bon tradition active in Glo-bo was Yang-ston (1077-1141?), who studied under Rong-sgom rTogs-med-zhig-po,<sup>11</sup> a disciple of Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po (1092-1158) who resided in the bSam-grub-gling monastery of Glo-bo.<sup>12</sup> Yang-ston’s son Klu-brag-pa bKra-shis-rgyal-mtshan is regarded as the founder of Bon in the region of Se-rib, bordering on Glo-bo to the south.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, this master probably established the Klu-brag monastery, near Muktināth, in about 1160.<sup>14</sup>

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Glo-bo seems to have fallen into the hands of the king of Mar-yul (La-dwags), lHa-chen Utpala (ca. 1080-1110), for a short time.<sup>15</sup> In ca. 1212, the famous Indian teacher Śākyaśrībhadra (1140s-1225) passed through Glo-bo on his way back from Tibet to Kashmir.<sup>16</sup> Around the same time, two sub-schools of the bKa’-brgyud-pa tradition, the Tshal-pa and the ’Bri-gung-pa, became influential in Western Tibet. While the kings of Gu-ge and Ya-rtse patronized primarily the ’Bri-gung-pa,<sup>17</sup> the rulers of Pu-hrangs are known to have

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mgon acted as the ruler of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs. For a detailed discussion of the areas, collectively known as *mnga’ ris skor gsum*, which were ruled by these kings, see R. VITALI (1996), 156-161. See also G. TUCCI (1956), 73, T. WYLIE (1962), 55f., and D. JACKSON (1984), 10, note 21.

<sup>8</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 200.

<sup>9</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 41f.

<sup>10</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 200.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>12</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *mKhas pa rnams ’jug*, fol. 303a.1-2. See also D. JACKSON (1976/77), 52, note 29.

<sup>13</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 202.

<sup>14</sup> C. RAMBLE and M. VINDING (1987), 18.

<sup>15</sup> A. H. FRANCKE (1926), 96. See also D. JACKSON (1976/77), 42f., and R. VITALI (1996), 328.

<sup>16</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 44.

<sup>17</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 213, note 66, and L. PETECH (1997), 240.



supported both schools.<sup>18</sup> The influence of the 'Bri-gung-pa doubtlessly extended as far as Glo-bo, which was under the control of Ya-rtse at that time.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, also the Tshal-pa are known to have established monasteries in the area.<sup>20</sup>

During the first half of the thirteenth century Glo-bo must have been controlled by Pu-hrang, since two of its monasteries, Brag-dkar and bSam-gtan-gling, were given to rTogs-ldan Darma-bsod-nams, the second occupant of the throne of rTa-sga, a Tshal-pa monastery in sKu-thang, by the king of Pu-hrang.<sup>21</sup>

At about the time of Gung-thang's rise in the middle of the thirteenth century to the position of leading power in Western Tibet with the help of the Sa-skyapa, the great Vajrayāna master Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen, who had studied under Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita, became the religious preceptor of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280), then ruler of Tibet. Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba transmitted the Red Yamāntaka (*gshin rje gshed dmar po*) cycle and worked together with pandits from Ya-rtse.<sup>22</sup>

In the second half of the thirteenth century, Glo-bo was taken by Gung-thang and included within the "thirteen hundred-groups" (*brgya tsho bcu gsum*) of mNga'-ris, ruled by the Gung-thang kings from their capital at rDzong-dkar on behalf of the Mongols of the Yüan dynasty (1279-1368).<sup>23</sup> At that time, the Gung-thang ruler 'Bum-lde-mgon (1253-1280) founded several forts in Upper and Lower Glo-bo.<sup>24</sup> Kaḥ-tog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698-1755) mentions three of them in his *Gung thang rgyal rabs*, namely the Ni-ri g.Ya'-rdzong-dkar-po and the gTsang-rong Bya-pho'i-ze-ba in Upper Glo-bo and the Mu-khun Srin-rdzong in Lower Glo-bo.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 240, and R. VITALI (1996), 393-401.

<sup>19</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 44, and R. VITALI (1996), 469, note 792. On the kingdom of Ya-rtse, see below, 1.2.2.

<sup>20</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 397f., note 648, mentions the names of two Tshal-pa monasteries in Glo-bo, namely Brag and bSam-gtan-rdzong. For a description of the development of the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa in Western Tibet—especially in Gung-thang—see K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 333ff.

<sup>21</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 300 and 307.

<sup>22</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 45f.

<sup>23</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 211.

<sup>24</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 45. The network of forts established by 'Bum-lde-mgon throughout mNga'-ris is known under the expression *glang gi las stabs bcu gsum*. See R. VITALI (1996), 391.

<sup>25</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 417f.

In ca. 1309-1312 Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) studied in Glo-bo under the Sa-skyapa master sKyi-ston 'Jam-dbyangs-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>26</sup> Since Glo-bo remained under Gung-thang's control until the end of the next century, it appears likely that the Sa-skyapa occupied a dominant position in the region during that period.

Due to the collapse of the Yüan dynasty in the second half of the fourteenth century, the power of the Gung-thang rulers, who were closely dependant upon the Sa-skyapa-Yüan coalition, weakened. The supremacy in Glo-bo shifted in favour of the family of the Gung-thang general Shes-rab-bla-ma (fl. ca. 1380), which would later form the royal line of Glo-bo that continues until the present day.

### 1.1.2 *Origins of the Ruling Line of Glo-bo*

The lineage of the ruling clan of Glo-bo has been traced back to different origins in the Tibetan sources. In the accounts found in several local speech-texts or "Mollas," the rulers are identified as descendants of the Yar-klungs dynasty of Tibet. In the "Tsarang Molla," the royal family is described as an independent line, whose origins are portrayed in a similar way to those of the ancient Tibetan kings, but are not identical to the latter's beginnings. A corresponding account is found in the history of the Glo-bo rulers entitled *Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes*.<sup>27</sup>

Glo-bo mKhan-chen, who was a member of the ruling clan, linked the origins of his family lineage to a subdivision of the Khyung-po clan called Sa-gnam.<sup>28</sup> The Khyung-po families belonged to the nomadic tribes of the northern plains (Byang-thang) of Tibet, and some of them supplied high officials to the Yar-klungs kings. The Sa-gnam faction is said to have migrated from the area of gNam-ru in the north of Central Tibet to the region of Gung-thang in the early seventh century.<sup>29</sup> This idea is supported by Glo-bo mKhan-chen's statement that the Tibetan master Mi-la-ras-pa, whose origins are ascribed to the nomadic regions of dBu-ru located to the east of gNam-ru, was from the same clan.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the Sa-gnam seem to have been

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<sup>26</sup> C. STEARNS (1999), 13, and 178, note 7.

<sup>27</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 97-100 and 115-119.

<sup>28</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 2a.1-3.

<sup>29</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 112. On the Sa-gnam faction, see also K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 317f.

<sup>30</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 2b.2, and D. JACKSON (1984), 112f. Mi-la-ras-pa is also said to derive from the Khyung-po clan in his biography by gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka. See *ibid.*, 113. In the *Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i*

related with some Bon-po priests in an early period, since Glo-bo mKhan-chen mentioned Bon-po seers within his family lineage and Bon-po titles are attached to the name Sa-gnam in other sources.<sup>31</sup> In later times the members of the Sa-gnam clan acted as officials at the court of the Gung-thang kings in rDzong-dkar, being active, for instance, as district governors in mNga'-ris.<sup>32</sup>

A nomadic provenance of the Glo-bo rulers—although not from the Khyung-po clan—is, moreover, indicated in R. Vitali's study of the Men-zhang-pa clan.<sup>33</sup> The latter appears to have been a nomad tribe that inhabited the area around Pra-dum and Gro-shod, including also Glo-bo, after it had moved from its original settlements in the region of Gu-ge.<sup>34</sup> According to R. Vitali, a subdivision of the clan, the gTso-tsho sMad-pa, had formed the sMon-thang dynasty.<sup>35</sup> Vitali's argument is based on the assumption that the expression “Zhang”, which—on the one hand—appears as a title of the Glo-bo noble Shes-rab-bla-ma and—on the other hand—seems to indicate a rival clan active in Glo-bo,<sup>36</sup> refers to the Men-zhang clan.<sup>37</sup>

R. Vitali's understanding of the term “Zhang” and of the origins of the sMon-thang dynasty has been refuted by K.-H. Everding, who distinguishes clearly between the three groups of the Men-zhang nomads,<sup>38</sup> the Zhang clan, the roots of which might be traced back to Srong-btsan-sgam-po's minister Zhang-blon sNa-chen-po, and the sMon-thang-pa, belonging to the Sa-gnam subdivision of the Khyung-po

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*'phreng mdzes*, Mi-la-ras-pa is mentioned in the family tree of the Glo-bo rulers. See D. JACKSON (1984), 118.

<sup>31</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 2b.1, and D. JACKSON (1984), 113.

<sup>32</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 215, and (1984), 113. *Ibid.*, 110ff. lists the biography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566), the biography of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po by Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, and an untitled text from the Muktināth valley as further sources, which ascribe the origins of the Glo-bo rulers to the Khyung-po clan or at least mention Mi-la-ras-pa as being born in the same lineage.

<sup>33</sup> R. VITALI (1997).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1025f. and 1028. See also K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 360ff.

<sup>35</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1031f.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, the “Tsarang Molla” in D. JACKSON (1984), 146, and GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, 13a.4.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, R. VITALI (1997), 1032.

<sup>38</sup> For a sketch of the history of the Men-zhang nomads, see K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 360ff.

clan.<sup>39</sup> According to Everding, the members of the Zhang family—of whom he mentions Zhang bTsan-thog, Zhang sNa-tshags-pa sMon-lam-rgyal-mtshan, Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan,<sup>40</sup> and Zhang sNa-tshags-pa dGe-legs-rgyal-mtshan by name—and the sMon-thang-pa, i.e. Shes-rab-bla-ma's clan, had been two rival powers in Glo-bo, the Zhang being predominant at least until the end of the fourteenth century. Both parties seem to have provided the fort commanders (*rdzong dpon*) for two of the forts established by the Gung-thang ruler 'Bum-lde-mgon in Glo-bo. The Zhang commanders resided in Ni-ri g.Ya'-rdzong-dkar-po, a fort founded in order to control Upper Glo-bo, whereas the sMon-thang-pa were settled in gTsang-rong Bya-pho'i-ze-ba, controlling central Glo-bo.<sup>41</sup>

K.-H. Everding's very clear argumentation is convincing and sheds some light on the controversial origins of the sMon-thang-pa dynasty. Although a thorough study of the descent of the sMon-thang-pa rulers and the circumstances of their coming into power is still required, it seems evident that the Zhang-pa and the sMon-thang-pa formed two rival clans, which strove for supremacy in Glo-bo.<sup>42</sup> An identification of the Zhang-pa with the Men-zhang nomads is not found in any of the known sources. Therefore the equation of the two—only on the basis of the similarity of their names—appears doubtful. Since a descent of the sMon-thang-pa dynasty from the Men-zhang-pa or gTso-tsho-ba is not mentioned anywhere either, there is no reason to reject the accounts which assign the dynasty to the Khyung-po clan in general or to the Sa-gnam subdivision in particular.

However, the references to Shes-rab-bla-ma as “Zhang Shes-rab-bla-ma” and to his son Chos-skyong-'bum as “Zhang-pa nyes-gnas” cause some difficulties. As pointed out by R. Vitali and K.-H. Everding, the latter term was probably intended as a designation of Chos-skyong-'bum as an attendant or subordinate to the Zhang-pa.<sup>43</sup> Thus the expression would be a mere indication of the predominance of the Zhang-pa in Glo-bo at Chos-skyong-'bum's time. But it remains unclear how the title “Zhang”

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 418ff.

<sup>40</sup> Zhang sNa-tshags-pa sMon-lam-rgyal-mtshan and Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan were involved in the political disturbances in Gung-thang around 1375.

<sup>41</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 418ff.

<sup>42</sup> See the “Tsarang Molla” in D. Jackson (1984), 146, GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, 13a.4, and the autobiography of bTsun-pa Chos-legs (1437-1521), 24a, quoted in R. VITALI (1996), 485, note 817. See also K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 527.

<sup>43</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1032. Note that Vitali equated the Zhang-pa with the Men-zhang-pa here. K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 503, translated *gnas pa* as “Untergebener” (= subordinate).

is to be understood in connection with Shes-rab-bla-ma. Everding tried to explain the occurrence of the title, pointing out that it might be used with reference to a family relationship or the title of an official.<sup>44</sup> But he did not make clear why Shes-rab-bla-ma in particular bore this title.

### 1.1.3 *Chos-skyong-'bum's Appointment as the Ruler of Glo-bo and Dol-po*

Although Glo-bo remained under the control of the Zhang-pa until ca. 1441, Shes-rab-bla-ma's son Chos-skyong-'bum (fl. ca. 1400) was able to strengthen his family's position in Glo-bo. After having retaken Pu-hrangs, which Gung-thang had lost to Gu-ge before, the general Chos-skyong-'bum was officially appointed as the ruler (*mi dpon*) of Glo-bo and Dol-po by the Gung-thang king bSod-nams-lde (1371-1404).<sup>45</sup> It is controversial to which extent Glo-bo already had gained independence at that time. According to R. Vitali, the handing over of the districts to Chos-skyong-'bum had been a pure formality, after Gung-thang was so weakened by internal struggles for its throne that it no longer directly influenced Glo-bo.<sup>46</sup> This view of the events has been rejected by K.-H. Everding, in whose opinion Gung-thang tried to weaken the Zhang-pa's influence by supporting his rival, Chos-skyong-'bum's clan, in Glo-bo.<sup>47</sup>

### 1.1.4 *Extension of Glo-bo's Power under A-ma-dpal*

Chos-skyong-'bum married Ga-ma, a member of the gTso-tsho-ba tribe.<sup>48</sup> He is known to have had two sons, the younger of whom, A-ma-dpal (var. A-me-dpal, 1380-ca. 1440), is regarded by many Tibetan sources as the great founder of the royal line of Glo-bo.<sup>49</sup> A-ma-dpal was undoubtedly able to consolidate his family's dominance in Upper and Lower Glo-bo, and also beyond its borders. At the beginning of his reign, A-ma-dpal acted as fort commander (*rdzong dpon*) of the gTsang-rang-bya-po'i-zc-ba (= Tsarang) fort, which belonged to the *rdzongs* founded by the Gung-thang king

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 418 and 420. Prior to Everding, D. JACKSON (1984), 152f., note 6, already pointed out that the term is also used as an expression for a maternal uncle of a member of the old Tibetan royal family.

<sup>45</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 484, note 815, and K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 502f.

<sup>46</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 484.

<sup>47</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 503.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 526.

<sup>49</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 119.

'Bum-lde-mgon in the thirteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Later he ordered the erection of a palace at sMon-thang<sup>51</sup> and extended his authority as far as Dol-po, Gu-ge, and Pu-hrangs.<sup>52</sup> He appointed, for instance, the *rdzong dpon* of dKar-dum, a former Gung-thang stronghold created for the control of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, A-ma-dpal seems to have controlled Lower Glo-bo, since he made Khro-bo sKyabs-pa, a member of the noble family sKye-skyas-gang-ba, fort commander of rDzong, near Mukti-nāth.<sup>54</sup> The fort at mKha'-spyod-steng in the north of sMon-thang served as A-ma-dpal's main stronghold.<sup>55</sup>

In order to assert his own family's predominance in Glo-bo, A-ma-dpal tried to eliminate all rivals. Between 1437 and 1440, he succeeded in crushing the 'Phred-mkhar-ba, another noble family in Glo-bo.<sup>56</sup> Both A-ma-dpal and 'Phred-mkhar sKyab-pa, the head of the 'Phred-mkhar-ba, were married to daughters of the gTso-tsho-ba head Thugs-rje. After A-ma-dpal had formed an alliance with the Zhang-pa of that time, Zhang sNa-tshags-pa dGe-legs-rgyal-mtshan, 'Phred-mkhar sKyab-pa allied himself with a son-in-law of A-ma-dpal. The conflict ended in the cruel murder of 'Phred-mkhar sKyab-pa and his ally by A-ma-dpal and his attendants during a joint visit of the spa of sNa-tshag.<sup>57</sup> Soon after these events, also Zhang sNa-tshags-pa sGe-legs-rgyal-mtshan was killed by the sMon-thang-pa. After his sons had fled to Gung-thang, the way was cleared for the predominance of the sMon-thang-pa in Glo-bo.

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<sup>50</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.2 (fol. 32a.2).

<sup>51</sup> The "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 146. According to R. VITALI (1999), 3, however, the foundations of the palace were laid in 1441.

<sup>52</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.3 (fol. 32a.3).

<sup>53</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 216, and R. VITALI (1996), 488.

<sup>54</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1033. Khro-bo sKyabs-pa was the elder son of Khro-rgyal-rdo-rje, whose second son Rab-brtan-mgon-po acted as *rdzong dpon* at dKar-dum. See *ibid.*, and R. VITALI (1996), 488, note 823.

<sup>55</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 146. The mKha'-spyod-steng fort is found on the map in M. HENSS (1999), 79, under the name "Khachö Dzong." According to R. VITALI (1999), 3, the ruins of this fort can still be seen.

<sup>56</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1032f., and K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 527. According to Vitali, the 'Phred-mkhar-ba were a faction of the Men-zhang clan. In D. JACKSON (1976), 54, note 39, 'Phred-dkar is mentioned as belonging to Tsho-nub, one of the seven sections (*tsho*) of Glo-bo.

<sup>57</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 527.

Besides his political activities, A-ma-dpal distinguished himself as a patron of Buddhism, inviting the Tibetan masters Bo-dong Paṅ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1451) and Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456) to Glo-bo.<sup>58</sup> Whereas the former could not establish his influence in the region in the long run, the Ngor-pa, a sub-school of the Sa-skyapa, could assert itself in the region.<sup>59</sup> Several masters of this tradition visited Glo-bo and acted as religious preceptors of the rulers of Glo-bo.<sup>60</sup> Honoured by A-ma-dpal as his chief religious preceptor, Ngor-chen founded the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-dar-rgyas-gling monastery<sup>61</sup> and a great seminary during his first visit to Glo-bo in 1427.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, he brought the Buddhist canon with him and ordained A-ma-dpal, who received the ordination name bZang-po-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>63</sup> In 1436 Ngor-chen visited Glo-bo for the second time, after having been invited by A-

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<sup>58</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.3 (fol. 32a.3). Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, the son of Sa-skyapa bDag-chen bZhi-thog-pa Kun-dga'-rin-chen, was a disciple of the Sa-skyapa master Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan in his youth. Later he studied under the *Lam 'bras* master Buddhaśrī (1339-1420) and founded the Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan monastery in 1429. See R. DAVIDSON (1981), 82-87.

<sup>59</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.3 (fol. 32a.3).

<sup>60</sup> For detailed descriptions of these masters' visits and activities in Glo-bo, see also below, 1.1.5 and 1.1.6.

<sup>61</sup> According to G. TUCCI (1956), 18, note 3, this monastery was located to the east of sMon-thang.

<sup>62</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.2 (fol. 32b.2), and GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 5a.4. The author of the "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 148, states that A-ma-dpal's son A-mgon-bzang-po sponsored the building of the Brag-dkar monastery. This would mean that the monastery was probably founded during Ngor-chen's third visit to Glo-bo in 1446-7, which contradicts Glo-bo mKhan-chen's account that during his second visit in 1436 Ngor-chen consecrated a Vajradhara image and the temple of the Brag-dkar monastery founded before (i.e. during Ngor-chen's first visit). See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 6b.5-7a/8a.2. Another inconsistency is represented by the statement that Ngor-chen established the gTsang-rang Thub-bstan-bshad-sgrub-dar-rgyas-gling seminary, which is found only in the "Tsarang Molla" (see D. JACKSON [1984], 147) and possibly derives from its author's aspiration to emphasize the significance of the gTsang-rang monastery, which in fact was the place of recitation of the "Tsarang Molla." See *ibid.*, 26 and 43, note 6.

<sup>63</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 6a.1-2, and SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.6-538.1 (fol. 32a.6-b.1).

ma-dpal again.<sup>64</sup> He consecrated the golden Vajradhara image at the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling monastery and erected the 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang as well as the Maitreya temple and image in sMon-thang.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, he restored the old rNam-rgyal monastery and founded the monastic centre of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling.<sup>66</sup>

#### 1.1.5 *Glo-bo's Dominant Position under A-mgon-bzang-po*

Two of A-ma-dpal's four sons, his successor, A-mgon-bzang-po (b. 1420), and the general A-mo-gha-badzra (d. 1482), whose mother was Tshe-dbang-sgron-ma,<sup>67</sup> were responsible for maintaining and extending the military dominance of their family after A-ma-dpal's passing. They achieved the ultimate defeat of Zhang sNa-tshags-pa dGe-legs-rgyal-mtshan in 1441,<sup>68</sup> as well as of the gTso-tsho-ba from the Men-zhang-pa clan in 1446, and caused the members of the gTso-tsho-ba to flee to Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs.<sup>69</sup> In order to halt the growing power of Glo-bo, the gTso-tsho-ba formed

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<sup>64</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 6a.2-b.5, and SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.3-4 (fol. 32b.3-4).

<sup>65</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 6b.5-7a/8a.2, 7a/8a.5-7b/8b.1, and 10b.4. According to SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 540.1 (fol. 33b.1), and the "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 147, the image was erected during Ngor-chen's third visit in 1446-7. The *maṅḍalas* found in this temple are described in Keith DOWMAN (1997).

<sup>66</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.6 (fol. 32b.6), and GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 10b.4. See also below, Chapter 6, note 37. Since the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery apparently was also called rNam-rgyal, it has been confused with the old rNam-rgyal monastery already during Glo-bo mKhan-chen's lifetime. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 12b.2-13b.2. See also D. JACKSON (1984), 42, note 6, where the date of Ngor-chen's restoration of the rNam-rgyal monastery has to be corrected to his second visit (1436), which is given by SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.3-6 (fol. 32b.3-6). This date is also found in D. JACKSON (1978), 216, note 77. The (old?) rNam-rgyal and the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monasteries are found on a map in M. PEISSEL (1992), 95, as "Namgyal" and "Thubten Darjeeling," the latter being marked as a ruin.

<sup>67</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1033, note 23.

<sup>68</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 485, note 817.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 484, 521, and 523. In the autobiography of bSod-nams-dbang-phyug (1660-1731) edited and translated in D. SNELGROVE (1967), a minister of A-mgon-bzang-po coming from the "Me-zhang-stod-pa" lineage is mentioned. The master states in his account that the ruler and the ministers were on bad terms at that time and that many people were killed. See *ibid.*, 235. Probably the events described represent the expulsion of the Men-zhang-pa during A-



a coalition with the Gung-thang king rNam-rgyal-lde and with Pu-hrangs,<sup>70</sup> which managed to break away from Glo-bo's supremacy sometime before 1436.<sup>71</sup> Although the allies besieged the Byi-ba-mkhar fort of A-mo-gha-badzra in 1442, they could not overcome Glo-bo's power.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, A-mgon-bzang-po was apparently able to retake Pu-hrangs, since he is mentioned as having controlled it in the years after 1450.<sup>73</sup>

Continuing the policy of his father, A-mgon-bzang-po invited Ngor-chen to Glo-bo again in 1446.<sup>74</sup> The master was probably accompanied by 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1396-1474), who would later become the third abbot of Ngor E-wam-chos-ldan.<sup>75</sup> In Glo-bo he was appointed by Ngor-chen as the first *mkhan po* of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery, which seems to have been one of the most significant religious centres in the region at that time, after it had been granted a great part of Upper and Lower Glo-bo by A-mgon-bzang-po.<sup>76</sup> 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho stayed in Glo-bo for about ten years,<sup>77</sup> probably from ca. 1446 until 1457. A-mgon-bzang-po is moreover said to have commissioned the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur, together with the collected works of the five Sa-skyapa founders<sup>78</sup> and of Ngor-chen, all written in golden letters.<sup>79</sup>

Since the date of the end of A-mgon-bzang-po's reign remains undetermined, it is unclear if he or his son and successor bKra-shis-mgon (ca. 1440-1489) waged the

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mgon-bzang-po's reign.

<sup>70</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1034.

<sup>71</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 520.

<sup>72</sup> R. VITALI (1997), 1034. Two years later Glo-bo was supported by the Hor-pa of La-dwags, i.e. the Muslim invaders who overran Baltistan, Kashmir, and La-dwags in the first half of the fifteenth century, in its fight against the gTso-tsho-ba, who could, however, ultimately defeat the Hor-pa. See R. VITALI (1996), 514. On the Muslim invaders in Kashmir and La-dwags, see also L. PETECH (1977), 22f.

<sup>73</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 523.

<sup>74</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 539.6 (fol. 33a.6).

<sup>75</sup> On the abbots of Ngor, see D. JACKSON (1989b).

<sup>76</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 12b.1-2.

<sup>77</sup> D. JACKSON (1989), 53.

<sup>78</sup> On the five Sa-skyapa founders (*sa skya gong ma rnam lnga*) see below, Chapter 4, note 70.

<sup>79</sup> The "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 147.

battle against La-stod lHo in 1465-1466.<sup>80</sup> In 1472 at the latest, however, bKra-shis-mgon is found on Glo-bo's throne.<sup>81</sup>

### 1.1.6 *The Reign of bKra-shis-mgon and His Brothers*

A-mgon-bzang-po had four sons, the third of whom was Glo-bo mKhan-chen.<sup>82</sup> The latter's eldest brother, bKra-shis-mgon, who took over the control of Glo-bo from his father, was involved in a war against Gu-ge and its king Blo-bzang-rab-brtan in ca. 1481,<sup>83</sup> and is said to have controlled the three districts of mNga'-ris as far as Gru.<sup>84</sup> However, since Pu-hrangs seems to have been independent from Glo-bo at that time,<sup>85</sup> the three parts of mNga'-ris probably refer here to the region of Glo-bo, Dol-po, and rDzong-dkar, also known as mNga'-ris sMad.<sup>86</sup>

As for his religious commitment, bKra-shis-mgon was the patron of the Sa-skyapa master Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), a student of Ngor-chen, who, however, never became abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, and of the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).<sup>87</sup> Shākya-mchog-ldan was active in Glo-bo in 1472-1474, whereas Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug gave teachings there in 1466 and 1477-1478.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, bKra-shis-mgon sponsored the Thub-chen-rgyal-ba'i-pho-brang of sMon-thang and its great Śākyamuni statue.<sup>89</sup>

After bKra-shis-mgon's death in 1489, his younger brother A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (d. ca. 1496) ruled for a few years in Glo-bo and was succeeded by the youngest

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<sup>80</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 531. According to *ibid.*, La-stod lHo fought against Glo-bo on behalf of Gung-thang. On the history of La-stod lHo, see below, 1.2.4.

<sup>81</sup> See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 22a.3-4, where bKra-shis-mgon (*a jo pa*) is said to have invited Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), who was one of his main religious preceptors, to Glo-bo in 1472.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 17a.2-3, and D. JACKSON (1984), 133.

<sup>83</sup> E. SMITH (1969), 14, and R. VITALI (1996), 532.

<sup>84</sup> The "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 148. According to D. Jackson, Gru probably is a variant name for Parbat, south of Thak Khola. See *ibid.*, 154, note 22.

<sup>85</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 533.

<sup>86</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 10, note 21. On the *mnga' ris skor gsum*, see above, note 7.

<sup>87</sup> The "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 148.

<sup>88</sup> On the visits of these masters to Glo-bo, see below, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

<sup>89</sup> The "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 148.

of the four brothers, bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho (d. ca. 1500).<sup>90</sup> During this ruler's reign, Glo-bo was involved in warfare against Pu-hrangs and lost rGyal-ti, the former capital of the latter,<sup>91</sup> on that occasion.<sup>92</sup> But already one year later, Glo-bo defeated Pu-hrangs, forcing the region to pay tribute. The governor (*dpon btsun*) of the district, whose name was sNyan-grags, tried to oppose Glo-bo's predominance and was subsequently killed by bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho.<sup>93</sup>

Despite the dominance of the Sa-skyapa (represented primarily by Shākya-mchog-ldan) and Ngor-pa schools in Glo-bo during that time, masters from other traditions such as the rNying-ma-pa and the bKa'-brgyud-pa were also involved in the religious life of the region. The bKa'-brgyud-pa, in particular the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, were represented by one of Tibet's "holy madmen" (*smyon pa*), namely gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507).<sup>94</sup> During his travels in Western Tibet, this master visited Glo-bo three times: in 1481, 1498, and once between these two dates.<sup>95</sup> One of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's first teachers, namely bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, was an adherent of the rNying-ma-pa tradition.<sup>96</sup> Later, in 1511, the rNying-ma-pa scholar mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal, a native of Glo-bo of Gung-thang royal descent, received full ordination from Glo-bo mKhan-chen at bSam-grub-gling monastery.<sup>97</sup>

### 1.1.7 *Glo-bo in the First Half of the 16th Century*

Very little is known about Glo-bo's fate between the death of bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho in ca. 1500 and the kingdom's decline in favour of the kingdoms of Jumla and La-

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<sup>90</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 33b.5. See also D. JACKSON (1984), 124.

<sup>91</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 390.

<sup>92</sup> E. SMITH (1969), 11, and R. VITALI (1996), 533f.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 535.

<sup>94</sup> A Tibetan biography of this master by rGod-tshang-ras-pa sNa-tshogs-rang-grol has been published by Lokesh Chandra in 1969 with an English introduction by E. Smith. See E. SMITH (1969). According to *ibid.*, 4, gTsang-smyon actually belonged to the Ras-chung bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition, which has not survived as a distinct school until the present day. Due to the similarity of the main teachings of the Ras-chung-pa and the 'Brug-pa, gTsang-smyon is regarded as an adherent of the latter.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 10f., and R. VITALI (1996), 532 and 536.

<sup>96</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 17b.5-18b.4.

<sup>97</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 3, note 12, and E. DARGYAY (1979), 157.

dwags in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>98</sup> Immediately after bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho's passing, Glo-bo mKhan-chen found himself in conflict with the Rin-spungs-pa ruler of Central Tibet, who sent some representatives (*hor 'dra*) to the region.<sup>99</sup> At that time, bKra-shis-mgon's second son, mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan-grags-pa-mtha'-yas, whose religious preceptors included the ninth and tenth Ngor abbots, lHa-mchog-seng-ge (1468-1535) and dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557), acted as the ruler of Glo-bo.<sup>100</sup> Since lHa-mchog-seng-ge was invited to Glo-bo by mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan in 1523,<sup>101</sup> the latter held the position of ruler at least until this date. bKra-shis-mgon's eldest son, Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, was dedicated to the religious life<sup>102</sup> and occurs as the addressee of a number of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's letters.<sup>103</sup> mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan's son and successor was probably bKra-shis-stobs-rgyas, but at present hardly any details are known about Glo-bo during his reign.<sup>104</sup> The only events mentioned in the available sources are the loss of the harvest of Upper Glo-bo to the southern neighbours (*mon*) in ca. 1544 and the subsequent famine in Glo-bo.<sup>105</sup>

## 1.2 Glo-bo's Neighbours from the 10th Century to the 1530s

Glo-bo's history was continuously influenced by the political situation in the neighbouring kingdoms of Western Tibet (mNga'-ris) and western gTsang, which were closely interlinked with each other, not least through marriage alliances.<sup>106</sup> The strongest influence on the formation and development of the kingdom of Glo-bo was

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<sup>98</sup> On Glo-bo's decline in the sixteenth century, see D. JACKSON (1978), 218f.

<sup>99</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 33a.3-5.

<sup>100</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 133.

<sup>101</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 552.4.

<sup>102</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 126f.

<sup>103</sup> For the letters, see below, Part Three, nos. 261-264. mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan also received letters from Glo-bo mKhan-chen. See below, Part Three, nos. 209-211. Moreover, according to information received from Prof. D. Jackson, he is known to have posed questions to the fourth Zhwa-dmar, and is included among the most prominent disciples of the Zhwa-lu sKu-zhang master mKhyen-rab Chos-rje.

<sup>104</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 127.

<sup>105</sup> D. SNELGROVE (1967), 91. See also D. JACKSON (1978), 218.

<sup>106</sup> For some examples of political marriages between the kingdoms of Western Tibet, see R. VITALI (1996), 522f., note 890. Another marriage alliance between the Gung-thang and La-stod lHo royal houses is mentioned *ibid.*, 531.

exerted by Gu-ge in the far west, Pu-hrang at the junction of the present Tibetan, Nepalese, and Indian borders, Ya-rtse in the western part of the present territory of Nepal, Gung-thang to the north-east of Glo-bo, and La-stod lHo to the east of Gung-thang. Glo-bo's neighbours to the south, like the ancient principality of Se-rib, which comprised the present Baragaon and Panchgaon areas and was inhabited by the non-Tibetan Thakalis,<sup>107</sup> as well as Dol-po in the south-east, were not strong enough to influence the developments in Glo-bo to any degree.<sup>108</sup>

### 1.2.1 *The Kingdoms of Gu-ge and Pu-hrang*

Since the kingdoms of Gu-ge and Pu-hrang were united at times and maintained also a close relationship as separate empires, their history can best be treated jointly. The kingdom of Gu-ge and Pu-hrang emerged from the dominion erected by sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon (reigned ca. 923-950) in Western Tibet (mNga'-ris) that was later split up under his three sons dPal-gyi-mgon, bKra-shis-mgon, and lDe-gtsug-mgon.<sup>109</sup> The middle brother, bKra-shis-mgon (fl. mid-10th c.), most probably gained control over the territory of Gu-ge and Pu-hrang and laid the foundations for a ruling line which remained uninterrupted for five generations.<sup>110</sup> He resided in the fortress of Nyi-bzungs in Pu-hrang, which had been founded by his father, and bore the title *mnga' bdag*.<sup>111</sup> bKra-shis-mgon's sons and grandsons became famous for their services to the revival and propagation of Buddhism after its decline in the ninth century. Ye-shes-'od (947-1024), one of bKra-shis-mgon's sons, sent Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055), who would later be regarded as one of the greatest figures in Tibetan religious history, to Kashmir and founded the Ta-bo and Tho-ling monasteries. Ye-shes-'od's sons Byang-chub-'od (984-1078) and 'Od-lde (995-1037) invited the Bengali master Atiśa (980-1054) to Tibet.<sup>112</sup>

Under 'Od-lde's sons rTse-lde and bTsan-srong, the empire broke into the two kingdoms of Gu-ge and Pu-hrang. While rTse-lde still controlled the whole territory,

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<sup>107</sup> On the history of this area, see e.g. D. JACKSON (1978), C. RAMBLE (1997), and M. VINDING (1998).

<sup>108</sup> In the prime of Glo-bo's expansion in the fifteenth century, these areas fell under the control of the Glo-bo rulers at least as tributaries. See D. JACKSON (1976/77), 39.

<sup>109</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 156 and 156f., note 210, and L. PETECH (1997), 232.

<sup>110</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 145. For the different traditions of the division of the *mnga' ris skor gsum* under the three brothers, see *ibid.*, 156f., note 210.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 156, and L. PETECH (1997), 232.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 233f. and 236.

the sphere of influence of his brother was limited to Pu-hrang after his death. In Gu-ge, the royal lineage of bKra-shis-mgon's descendants was interrupted after rTse-lde's passing, and 'Bar-lde (var. dBang-lde, dBang-phyug-lde), probably a nephew of rTse-lde, ascended the throne starting a new ruling line. His place of residence was at Dun-mkhar.<sup>113</sup>

In the first half of the twelfth century, the Gar-log, who can probably be identified as the Qarakhanid Turks,<sup>114</sup> invaded Gu-ge. King bKra-shis-rtse, the grandson of 'Bar-lde, was killed and his youngest brother 'Od-'bar-rtse was taken prisoner. However, the middle brother Jo-bo rGyal-po succeeded in driving out the Gar-log from his kingdom.<sup>115</sup>

In the fourth generation after 'Bar-lde, in about the mid-twelfth century, Gu-ge was divided into Byang-ngos, ruled by sPyi-lde-btsan, and lHo-stod, controlled by his brother dPal-mgon-btsan. While the relations between the two parts were very hostile, lHo-stod cultivated friendly connections with Pu-hrang, supporting the 'Bri-gung-pa together with the ruler of Pu-hrang. The control of the latter kingdom was still in the hands of bTsan-srong's descendants at that time, but possibly passed to a different family after the appointment of a Pu-hrang *jo bo* ("ruler") by the king of Byang-ngos in the late twelfth century.<sup>116</sup> Soon thereafter, in the first half of the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Byang-ngos found itself confronted with foreign rule by probably non-Tibetan kings for two generations, before it came under the control of the Tibetan king Chos-rgyal-grags-pa, an ally of the Sa-skyapa, in the second half of the century. Around that time the lHo-stod ruler Grags-pa-lde (1230-1277), a sponsor of the 'Bri-gung-pa and Tshal-pa, succeeded in reunifying Byang-ngos and lHo-stod, and probably even in reintegrating Pu-hrang into his empire.<sup>117</sup>

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Gu-ge Pu-hrang came under the rule of the Sa-skyapa, who gained control over Tibet with the help of the Yüan dynasty (1279-1368), for about one hundred years. Nevertheless, the royal line of Pu-hrang continued to exist until the third quarter of the fourteenth century. One of the Pu-hrang kings, namely bSod-nams-lde, who ruled on behalf of the predominant Sa-skyapa, even ascended the throne of Ya-rtse between 1328 and 1336. After the end of the Pu-hrang dynasty, the territory ultimately lost its independent status and came

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<sup>113</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 126, 322f, and 338f.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

<sup>115</sup> On the Gar-log invasion, see *ibid.*, 347-353.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 145, 357, and 371.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 425-431 and 441-443.

under the alternating supremacy of Gu-ge, Gung-thang and Glo-bo. At first Pu-hrang sTod (Upper Pu-hrang) was taken by the Gung-thang troops, but could be freed by Gu-ge in 1378, which gradually found its way back to its former powerful position. In order to strengthen its influence in Pu-hrang, Gu-ge appointed its own governor for the region.<sup>118</sup>

Under the king rNam-rgyal-lde (1372-1439), Gu-ge regained its ancient strength and prosperity, although, at the end of the fourteenth century, it again lost at least a part of Pu-hrang to Gung-thang, after its troops were defeated by the Gung-thang general Chos-skyong-'bum, who was rewarded for his reconquest with the appointment as *mi dpon* of Glo-bo and Dol-po.<sup>119</sup> As mentioned above,<sup>120</sup> during the rule of A-ma-dpal (1380-ca. 1440) in Glo-bo, the *rdzong dpon* of dKar-dum in the nomadic lands between Glo-bo and Pu-hrang was appointed by the Glo-bo king. However, in 1436, under the reign of the Gu-ge king Nam-mkha'i-dbang-po Phun-tshogs-lde (b. 1409), a patron of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, at least rGyal-ti, one of the former capitals of Pu-hrang, was controlled by Gu-ge. In the years 1447-1448, Muslim invaders, who dominated La-dwags at that time, overran Gu-ge, but caused no significant political changes in the region.<sup>121</sup>

In 1472 and 1473, probably during the rule of the Gu-ge king Blo-bzang-rab-brtan, Gu-ge and the kingdom of La-stod lHo were involved in a war with Glo-bo.<sup>122</sup> During the last twenty years of the fifteenth century, other fights with the Glo-bo troops followed, which resulted in the loss of rGyal-ti, which was controlled by Pu-hrang at that time.<sup>123</sup> At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Gu-ge and Pu-hrang

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 453f., 460, 476f., 481, 483, and 556-564. For a list of the Pu-hrang governors (*dpon po*), see *ibid.*, 530.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 500 and 484, note 815.

<sup>120</sup> See 1.1.4.

<sup>121</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 514.

<sup>122</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 23a.5-b.3. According to Glo-bo mKhan-chen, Shākya-mchog-lDan acted as mediator in this conflict. R. VITALI (1996), 530f, mentions this event as a war between Gu-ge and La-stod lHo. However, Prof. D. Jackson drew my attention to the description of this conflict in Shākya-mchog-lDan's biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, which indicates that both Gu-ge and La-stod were fighting against Glo-bo. See Shākya-mchog-lDan's *Collected Works* (Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975), vol. 16, 111f.

<sup>123</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 533-537.

came under the influence of the Rin-spungs-pa rulers,<sup>124</sup> and in 1533, probably under the Gu-ge ruler Śākya-rin-chen, suffered another Muslim invasion from La-dwags. During the reign of the latter's son 'Jig-rten-dbang-phyug, Gu-ge's relations with the dGe-lugs-pa were intensified, after Blo-bzang-rab-brtan had already corresponded with dGe-'dun-rgya-mtsho (1475-1542), posthumously known as the second Dalai Lama, in 1483/4.<sup>125</sup>

### 1.2.2 *The Kingdom of Ya-rtse*

Due to the existence of many disagreeing traditions on the origins of the Ya-rtse dynasties, the modern publications dealing with the history of this kingdom in western Nepal also present widely differing accounts.<sup>126</sup> While the lineage of Ya-rtse's kings has been described as “fundamentally non-Tibetan” on the one hand,<sup>127</sup> it was linked with the Pu-hrangs dynasty on the other.<sup>128</sup>

In its very early history, in the tenth century, Ya-rtse apparently was part of Nyi-ma-mgon's empire and later passed under the control of his son bKra-shis-mgon. After it probably had belonged to the sphere of influence of the Pu-hrangs rulers bTsan-srong and Khri-btsan-lde in the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, Ya-rtse was ruled by an apparently non-Tibetan king called Nāgarāja (= Naga-lde).<sup>129</sup> This ruler is said to have come from Khāri and to have founded Señjā, which seems to correspond to the Tibetan name “Ya-rtse.”<sup>130</sup> In the second quarter of the twelfth century, Ya-rtse was regained by the Pu-hrangs ruler bTsan-phyug-lde, the son of Khri-btsan-lde, and subsequently ruled by bTsan-phyug-lde's brother Grags-btsan-lde.<sup>131</sup> In ca. 1235, the army of Ya-rtse overran Gung-thang and could not be expelled until Gung-thang rose to dominate Western Tibet through a

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>125</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 245f.

<sup>126</sup> See, e.g., R. VITALI (1996), 461-469, on the one hand, and L. PETECH (1980) on the other.

<sup>127</sup> L. PETECH (1980), 91.

<sup>128</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 461f.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 465f.

<sup>130</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 239f.

<sup>131</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 144 and 465-467. Note that Vitali identifies bTsan-phyug-lde with Cāpa and Grags-btsan-lde with Cāpilla and omits the Ya-rtse ruler bKra-shis-lde (= Krāśicalla), who is mentioned in L. PETECH (1980), 89, as the successor of Cāpilla, whom the author identifies with bTsan-phyug-lde, and predecessor of Grags-btsan-lde. I decided to follow R. Vitali's presentation, since it appeared to be more conclusive.



coalition with the Sa-skyapa.<sup>132</sup> The Ya-rtse troops withdrew from Gung-thang in ca. 1266-1267.<sup>133</sup>

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the suffix of the names of the kings of Ya-rtse changed from *-calla* (corresponding to the Tibetan *-lde*) to *-malla*. It remains unclear whether this modification took place due to a break in the Ya-rtse dynasty and whether the “Malla kings” were Tibetan,<sup>134</sup> but they seem to have supported the Buddhist institutions of Tibet.<sup>135</sup>

Probably for lack of male descendants within the Ya-rtse dynasty or due to the efforts of the Sa-skyapa to extend their influence to the territory of Ya-rtse, the Pu-hrangs king bSod-nams-lde (= Puṇyamalla) ascended Ya-rtse’s throne sometime between 1328 and 1336.<sup>136</sup> With bSod-nams-lde’s son Pṛthivīmalla, a patron of the Sa-skyapa who ruled only Ya-rtse (and not Pu-hrangs), the royal house of Ya-rtse came to an end at the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>137</sup> After the king’s death, Ya-rtse disintegrated into many principalities, which subsequently fell under Hindu influence.<sup>138</sup> Among them, the kingdom of Jumla became most influential in the region at the end of the sixteenth century, gaining control over Globo as well.<sup>139</sup>

### 1.2.3 *The Kingdom of Mang-yul Gung-thang*

bKra-shis-brtseg-dpal, a brother of Nyi-ma-mgon, is regarded as the founder of the ruling line of Gung-thang,<sup>140</sup> located around rDzong-kha and sKyid-grong. However, the rulers of Gung-thang did not enter the political scene of Western Tibet until the second quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>141</sup> At that time, the Gung-thang king mGon-

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<sup>132</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 44.

<sup>133</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 393f.

<sup>134</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 466, and L. PETECH (1980), 99. Note that the “Malla-dynasty” of Ya-rtse has nothing to do with the Mallas of the Nepal Valley. See L. PETECH (1984), 78f.

<sup>135</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 468.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 453 and 456f., and L. PETECH (1997), 241f.

<sup>137</sup> L. PETECH (1980), 98, and R. VITALI (1996), 459. Pṛthivīmalla became famous primarily due to the wealth of inscriptions he left to posterity. See L. PETECH (1980), 97.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, and L. PETECH (1997), 242.

<sup>139</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 218f.

<sup>140</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 43.

<sup>141</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 241.

po-lde was involved in a war with the troops of Ya-rtse and, having been defeated, fled to sKyid-grong, where he finally was killed.<sup>142</sup> Subsequently, the region of Gung-thang came under Ya-rtse's control for a number of following years.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Gung-thang rulers entered into matrimonial alliances with the then powerful Sa-skyapa and were backed up by them politically.<sup>143</sup> Only with the support of an army sent by the 'Khon family of Sa-skyapa, the power of the Gung-thang kings could be reestablished in ca. 1266-1267.<sup>144</sup>

One of the most outstanding rulers of Gung-thang was mGon-po-lde's grandson 'Bum-lde-mgon (1253-1280), whose relations with the 'Khon family were very close through his uncle 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280).<sup>145</sup> 'Bum-lde-mgon established a network of forts scattered throughout Western Tibet, which was known as the *glang gi las stabs bcu gsum*.<sup>146</sup> Among these strongholds, that of dKar-dum was of great significance, since it served as military headquarter for the control of the territories of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs.<sup>147</sup> To the south Gung-thang's control extended as far as Muktināth at that time, including Upper and Lower Glo-bo.<sup>148</sup>

One of 'Bum-lde-mgon's sons, Khri-lde-'bum (b. 1268), was appointed ruler of the thirteen hundred-groups (*brgya tsho*) of mNga'-ris, two of which comprised the regions of Upper and Lower Glo, during his visit to the court of the Mongol emperor. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, Gung-thang's power waned simultaneously with the decline of the Yüan dynasty and Sa-skyapa political predominance.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, internal conflicts furthered the decline of the kingdom's influence. After the Gung-thang king Phun-tshogs-lde (1338-1370) had been murdered in 1370 by Zhang sNa-tshags-pa sMon-lam-rgyal-mtshan,<sup>150</sup> the fort commander (*rdzong dpon*) of the Ni-ri g.Ya'-rdzong-dkar-po in Upper Glo-bo, one of the forts

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<sup>142</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 44, and K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 366.

<sup>143</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 44f.

<sup>144</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 394.

<sup>145</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 45, and D. JACKSON (1978), 211.

<sup>146</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 45, and R. VITALI (1996), 391, note 633. For a very detailed description of this network of forts and the administrative system founded by 'Bum-lde-mgon, see K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 398ff.

<sup>147</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 391.

<sup>148</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 210f.

<sup>149</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 211, and D. JACKSON (1976/77), 45ff., and K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 398 and 453f.

<sup>150</sup> On the Zhang-pa clan, see above, 1.1.2.

founded by 'Bum-lde-mgon, the control of Gung-thang was seized by Tā-dben (1316-1375), the ruler of La-stod Byang and grandfather of the legitimate heir to the Gung-thang throne, Phun-tshogs-lde's under-age son bSod-nams-lde (1371-1404).<sup>151</sup> Tā-dben is known to have controlled Gung-thang from 1371 until his death in 1375. After Tā-dben's passing another member of the Zhang family, Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, tried to take advantage of the unstable political situation and take over the control of Gung-thang, but he was expelled by the gTso-tsho-ba, a faction of the nomad clan of the Men-zhang-pa settled in the region of Gung-thang, and withdrew to his fort in Glo-bo.<sup>152</sup>

Finally the old royal line of Gung-thang could be restored with the enthronement of mChog-grub-lde, a premarital son of Phun-tshogs-lde.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, Gung-thang was not able to recover its former strength. In 1378, Gu-ge succeeded in regaining rGyal-ti, the former capital of Pu-hrang, from Gung-thang dominance,<sup>154</sup> and soon thereafter Glo-bo, which was a part of the kingdom until then, broke away from Gung-thang's sphere of influence.<sup>155</sup> mChog-grub-lde was succeeded by his half-brother bSod-nams-lde, after whose death in 1404 the kingdom was ruled by his wife, the Gu-ge princess Chos-skyong-rgyal-mo, for ca. fifteen years.<sup>156</sup>

In 1419, bSod-nams-lde's illegitimate son, lHa-dbang-rgyal-mtshan (1404-1464), a patron of Bo-dong Paṅ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1376-1451), ascended the throne.<sup>157</sup> In order to stem the rising sMon-thang-pa, lHa-dbang-rgyal-mtshan's son rNam-rgyal-lde (1422-1502), who was appointed king in 1439, besieged the Byi-ba-mkhar fort of A-mo-gha-badzra, the brother of the Glo-bo ruler A-mgon-bzang-po (b. 1420), together with troops from Pu-hrang and from the gTso-tsho-ba clan, in 1442.

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<sup>151</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 114f. and 472f.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 472 and 476f. R. VITALI (1996), 477, note 805, and (1997), 1030, presents a different interpretation of the events. According to him, Tā-dben and Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan had been members of the Men-zhang-pa clan, which had tried to usurp the Gung-thang throne. This explanation is refuted in detail in K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 468ff.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 477f.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 476f.

<sup>155</sup> See above, 1.1.3.

<sup>156</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 243.

<sup>157</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 514f. and 519.

But he had to break off the siege, after Gung-thang had been attacked by troops of La-stod lHo and La-stod Byang.<sup>158</sup>

rNam-rgyal-lde was followed by his eldest son Nor-bu-lde (1450-1484), who fathered his only son, 'Jam-dbyangs-rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, in an extramarital relationship with gYur-rtse-ma Ming-khrid, a woman from a noble family of Glo-bo, during his stay in Glo-bo.<sup>159</sup> 'Jam-dbyangs-rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan for his part later fathered the famous mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542).<sup>160</sup>

After Nor-bu-lde's death, Gung-thang was ruled by his brothers bSam-grub-lde (1459-1506), Shes-rab-dpal-bzang, and Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal-lde,<sup>161</sup> known—like his father—to have patronized the holy madman He-ru-ka from gTsang (gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka, 1452-1507).<sup>162</sup> Most probably in 1529, Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal-lde's son, Kun-bzang-nyi-zla-grags-pa (1514-1560), whose daughter bDe-legs-bzang-mo later became the wife of a Glo-bo ruler, ascended the Gung-thang throne, but was removed from power by his cousin bKra-shis-dpal-'bar before 1536.<sup>163</sup>

#### 1.2.4 *The Principality of La-stod lHo*

The territory around Ding-ri and Shel-dkar in south-western Tibet formed the former principality of La-stod lHo, which was controlled by the Sa-skya-pa from a very early period on.<sup>164</sup> Already at the time of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (742-797/804), the region was under the influence of the 'Khon family, members of which later founded Sa-skya monastery in 1073.<sup>165</sup> Later, in about the middle of the thirteenth century, the line of *dpon chen* Shākya-bzang-po's<sup>166</sup> nephew provided the *spyi dpon* ("main

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 528.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 547f. Nor-bu-lde appears as one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's addressees. See below, Descriptive Catalogue, nos. 232-4.

<sup>160</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 549.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 550ff.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 555.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 573f. and 575.

<sup>164</sup> For a detailed study of this principality, see the recent publication by K.-H. Everding and Dawa Dargyay Dzungphugpa, *Die Geschichte des tibetischen Fürstentums La stod lHo (um 1265-1621) nebst einer Edition der Chronik Shel dkar chos 'byung*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2006. Unfortunately, the work was not available to me at the time of writing.

<sup>165</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (1997), 270f.

<sup>166</sup> Shākya-bzang-po acted as the first Sa-skya *dpon-chen* from ca. 1264 to 1270. See L. PETECH (1990), 144.

rulers”) of La-stod lHo, who ruled from their seat in Ding-ri Gangs-dkar. At the end of the same century, the Shes-phrug noble family gained control over the region, after gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug, a member of the Shes-phrug clan, was adopted by the childless La-stod lHo ruler. gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug visited the Yüan court and was granted the title of the Gangs-dkar *khri dpon* there. Moreover, he was appointed as the Sa-skyia *dpon chen* and ruler of the La-stod lHo *khri skor* in 1288.<sup>167</sup>

In the next century, the ruler of La-stod Byang,<sup>168</sup> Tā-dben Nam-mkha’-bstan-pa’i-rgyal-mtshan (1316-1375), succeeded in integrating La-stod lHo into his empire, taking as prisoner the region’s ruler Si-tu Chos-kyi-rin-chen (d. 1402), a great-grandson of gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug. However, the captivity did not last for long, since Chos-kyi-rin-chen married Tā-dben’s daughter and finally regained the rule over his former principality. The economic and cultural development of La-stod lHo flourished under Chos-kyi-rin-chen, who built the palace Shel-dkar-rtse-rgyal and founded the monastic seminary of Shel-dkar-chos-sde (in 1387).<sup>169</sup> The latter monastery was linked closely to the monastic centre of Bo-dong E, which provided the abbots for Shel-dkar, the most prominent among whom was Bo-dong Paṅ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1451).<sup>170</sup>

Under the ruler sGrol-ma-skyabs, a descendant of Chos-kyi-rin-chen, who married a Gung-thang princess, La-stod lHo waged war against Glo-bo in ca. 1465-66.<sup>171</sup> Soon thereafter, in 1472-1473, the troops of La-stod lHo fought—together with Guge—against Glo-bo again.<sup>172</sup> Both conflicts were carried out by La-stod lHo on behalf of Gung-thang, one of the most important allies of La-stod lHo.<sup>173</sup> During the reign of the Rin-spungs-pa ruler Don-yod-rdo-rje (late 1400s), the region of La-stod lHo came under his control and did not regain independence until the defeat of the Rin-spungs-pa by the Gung-thang king in 1555.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> K.-H. EVERDING (1997), 271-273.

<sup>168</sup> La-stod Byang, a principality located to the north of La-stod lHo, was founded around 1300 and was on close terms with the Sa-skyia-pa. See K.-H. EVERDING (2000), 287, note 687. References to studies of the history of La-stod Byang are found in K.-H. EVERDING (1997), 271, note 16.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 273f.

<sup>170</sup> P. WANGDU and H. DIEMBERGER (1996), 14.

<sup>171</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 531.

<sup>172</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 23a.5-b.3.

<sup>173</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 531.

<sup>174</sup> G. TUCCI (1949), 642, and P. WANGDU and H. DIEMBERGER (1996), 4f.



## CHAPTER 2

### Previous Research

Although many publications on Glo-bo have appeared to date, few Western scholars have devoted their research to the history of the ancient kingdom,<sup>1</sup> and even fewer mentioned Glo-bo mKhan-chen, though he may be regarded as one of the most prominent masters from this area. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's compositions, especially his commentaries on Sa-skyā Paṅḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's works, received more attention. However, only two of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works have been dealt with in detail,<sup>2</sup> and no publication so far was exclusively concerned with examining the master's life. Therefore one has to gather brief references scattered among many publications, if one wants to review the state of research on Glo-bo mKhan-chen and his writings today. Most of the publications on Glo-bo that appeared up to 1999 have been listed in the bibliographies of D. JACKSON (1984) and M. HENSS (1999). Articles on the latest results of Mustang research from various disciplines are to be found in several issues of *Ancient Nepal*, a journal published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Social Welfare, Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu. See for example nos. 130-134 (1993), 137 (1994), 138 (1995) and 140 (1998).

#### 2.1 G. TUCCI (1956)

The first Western scholar to mention Glo-bo mKhan-chen was probably Giuseppe Tucci in his *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*. Based on Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's biography, he referred to Glo-bo mKhan-chen in a genealogy of A-ma-dpal and his descendants as A-mgon-bzang-po's son.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2.2 E. SMITH (1970)

This introduction to an Indian edition of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i*

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<sup>1</sup> The history of this area has been studied for instance in G. TUCCI (1956), D. JACKSON (1976/77, 1978, 1980, and 1984), and R. VITALI (1996).

<sup>2</sup> See E. SMITH (1970) and P. HUGON (2002).

<sup>3</sup> G. TUCCI (1956), 19. The reference to Glo-bo mKhan-chen in Ngor-chen's biography is found in SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, fol. 32b.3.

*gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa 'i sgo*<sup>4</sup> was a remarkable step forward in research on this master. Although E. Smith was not able to make use of any of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biographies,<sup>5</sup> he nevertheless succeeded in presenting some basic details about the latter's identity, which he extracted from the life stories of other Tibetan masters and from the titles of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works given in the appendix of his introduction.

In the beginning, Smith ascribed Glo-bo mKhan-chen to "a group of eminent Buddhist scholars connected with the former principality of Glo Smon-thang (Mustang) in Nepal, a list that includes such names as Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen, mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal, and Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan-rdo-rje."<sup>6</sup> Smith also tried to determine Glo-bo mKhan-chen's dates. Taking into account that the master was a contemporary of Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527/8) and that he died during sNgags-'chang Kun-dga'-rin-chen's (1517-1584) youth, he dated Glo-bo mKhan-chen correctly "to the latter portion of the 15th century."<sup>7</sup> As Glo-bo mKhan-chen's main teachers, he mentioned the fourth abbot of Ngor, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, Gu-ge Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, and the seventh abbot of Ngor, dKon-mchog-'phel. He moreover supposed that Glo-bo mKhan-chen could also have studied under Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), Bla-ma dMar, and Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal,<sup>8</sup> which however seems unlikely, considering that Glo-bo mKhan-chen visited gTsang for the first time after Go-rams-pa's death,<sup>9</sup> and that the masters dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po and Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal (1237-1323),<sup>10</sup> whose biographies Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed,<sup>11</sup> were both students of Sa-skyā Paṅḍita. An important detail noticed by Smith is Glo-bo

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<sup>4</sup> See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs pa 'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*. Actually, besides this composition, the edition includes another work by Glo-bo mKhan-chen: a brief text on Mi-la-ras-pa's philosophical viewpoint. Both works are described below, Part Three, nos. 200 and 228.

<sup>5</sup> E. Smith states that a biography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed by his student Sa-skyā Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533) had existed in Tibet, but had not yet come to light. See E. SMITH (1970), 2, note 6. On the biography, see below, 3.1.2.

<sup>6</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 1f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2f. and 2, note 10.

<sup>9</sup> See below, Chapter 3, note 84.

<sup>10</sup> These dates are given in L. VAN DER KUIJP (1994), 188.

<sup>11</sup> Both biographies are described below, Part Three, nos. 91 and 92.



mKhan-chen's participation in mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal's (1487-1542) ordination.<sup>12</sup>

Of greatest significance, however, was E. Smith's contribution to research on Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works. He listed about eighty-five compositions of the master arranged in four volumes<sup>13</sup> on the basis of a catalogue compiled by Khenpo Appey, then unavailable but which has since been published, in 1987.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Smith dedicated a few words to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentary.

### 2.3 Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970)

In the same year that E. Gene Smith's introduction was published, another work appeared that would throw more light upon Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings. The *Catalogue of the Tōyō Bunko Collection of Tibetan Works on History* published by Z. Yamaguchi described those works kept in the Tōyō Bunko that had been classified as "historical works," including not only histories but also biographies and letters. As for Glo-bo mKhan-chen's compositions, two versions of his autobiography, most of his letters, two works on the *Lam 'bras* tradition, and four biographies written by him are described in the catalogue.<sup>15</sup> This publication seems, moreover, to be the first modern source that attempted to give the exact dates of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's birth and death. However, the determination of his lifetime as 1420-1489 was wrong for reasons specified below (3.3.1 and 3.3.7). Furthermore, Yamaguchi correctly described Glo-bo mKhan-chen as the son of A-mgon-bzang-po and the disciple of Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12. It is difficult to give an exact number of the works that occur in the list since many are mentioned under collective titles such as *rJe btsun gong ma lnga sogs bla ma yid dam gyi bstod tshogs mang po* ("many praises of Lamas [and] protective deities like the five venerable founders [of the Sa-skyapa tradition]").

<sup>14</sup> See KHENPO APPEY. See also the review of this catalogue in D. JACKSON (1991d).

<sup>15</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15-20.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 15. Z. Yamaguchi also stated in this context that A-mgon-bzang-po was the ruler of La-stod lHo. Since the area of La-stod lHo has not been under the control of the Glo-bo kings, this assertion is incorrect.

#### 2.4 D. JACKSON (1976/77, 1978, 1980, 1983)

The greatest contribution to the research on Glo-bo mKhan-chen has been made by the studies of D. Jackson. In his publications of 1976/77 and 1978, he mentioned Glo-bo mKhan-chen only peripherally. In the former, which deals with the early history of Glo-bo and mNga'-ris, he was the first to give the master's dates as they are widely accepted today, namely 1456-1532, and described him as the teacher of Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533). Moreover, he made use of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentary on Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *mKhas 'jug* and of Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan's (d. 1476) biography written by the master.<sup>17</sup> In the latter article, which treats the history of Se-rib, Jackson referred to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography and a letter to his nephew mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan and investigated the origin of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's ancestors.<sup>18</sup>

In 1980, D. Jackson's study of the genealogy of the kings of Glo-bo was published. In a list of the ruling family's generations, Glo-bo mKhan-chen is found along with his three brothers within the third generation.<sup>19</sup>

Jackson's publication of 1983 was devoted to the commentaries on Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's works. Since Glo-bo mKhan-chen was one of the most prolific commentators of this master's writings, the descriptions of his commentarial treatises form a great part of this article. D. Jackson's pioneering study includes a compilation of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries, taking into consideration their occurrence in various catalogues and different versions.

#### 2.5 L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983)

L. van der Kuijp, in his pioneering study of Tibetan Buddhist epistemology, made use of one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries on Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab dbye 'i dka' ba 'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag*, his *mKhas 'jug* commentary, and his biography of Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa

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<sup>17</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 49, note 2, 52, note 29, and 55, notes 48 and 50.

<sup>18</sup> D. JACKSON (1978), 202, note 19, and 214-217.

<sup>19</sup> D. JACKSON (1980), 134f.

bSod-nams-seng-ge.<sup>20</sup> He briefly described the works, counting Glo-bo mKhan-chen among Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa's main students.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.6 D. JACKSON (1984)

D. Jackson's study from 1984 focusses on the investigation of several Mollas ("ceremonial speeches") from Glo-bo and the history of the ancient ruling line of that area. The autobiography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen, who was a member of the ruling family, was one of Jackson's main supplementing sources. The author translated a passage from this work and moreover consulted another biography of the master written by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566).<sup>22</sup> In connection with the description of the rulers' genealogy, Jackson uncovered some interesting details on Glo-bo mKhan-chen's close relatives and his problems with the Rin-spungs-pa ruler. He pointed out the uncertainty of the date of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's first visit to Central Tibet and the confusion in the sources with regard to the monastery of which Glo-bo mKhan-chen had been abbot.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, Jackson made use of several works deriving from the third volume of the master's *gsung 'bum*, which had been published in 1977.<sup>24</sup> He also mentioned Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, and briefly described his commentary on the *mKhas 'jug*.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.7 L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985)

In his description of some rare Sa-skyapa works filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) during an expedition in the Muktināth area in 1984, L. van der Kuijp gave many details about the xylograph editions of two commentaries on the *sDom gsum rab dbye* composed by Glo-bo mKhan-chen,

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<sup>20</sup> L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 16 and 263, note 44, 257, note 7, 307, note 309, and 315, note 363.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 16. On the question if Glo-bo mKhan-chen has been Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa's direct student, see below, Chapter 3, note 84.

<sup>22</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 110f.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-7, 141, note 41, and 155, note 28.

<sup>24</sup> See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*.

<sup>25</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 154, note 23, and 136, note 2.

namely the *bsKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje* and the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag*.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.8 D. JACKSON (1986, 1987, 1991a, 1991b)

In 1986, D. Jackson published a study of a painting deriving from a Ngor-pa collection of eleven thangkas that depict the lineage of the *Lam 'bras* masters. Jackson's main written source was Glo-bo mKhan-chen's description of this set, which bears the title *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnam ky'i bris yig*.<sup>27</sup>

In 1987, Jackson published two ancient catalogues of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works as part of his study of the third section of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *mKhas 'jug*.<sup>28</sup> One of the catalogues corresponds to an *dbu med* set from Glo-bo and the other represents a golden manuscript collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works, fragments of which are preserved in the Tōyō Bunko (Tokyo).<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Jackson paid some attention to the questions that Glo-bo mKhan-chen put to gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) with regard to the *mKhas 'jug*. He also treated Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentary on this work and gave a detailed topical outline of it.<sup>30</sup> The study also sketches Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's writings, incorporating some new details compared with Jackson's first contribution on this subject in 1983.<sup>31</sup>

Through D. Jackson's description of a golden manuscript collection in 1991, a previously ignored biography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen, composed by Blo-gros-dpal-mgon, became known.<sup>32</sup> In the same study, the author mentioned a version of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biography of Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa that was different from the one previously used by Western scholars.<sup>33</sup> Jackson's investigation of some questionable

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<sup>26</sup> L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 92f.

<sup>27</sup> For this description of thangkas, see below, Part Three, no. 85. Jackson also referred to this work in D. JACKSON (1996), 78 and 82.

<sup>28</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 546-565.

<sup>29</sup> Both sets are described below, 4.1.1 and 4.1.4.

<sup>30</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 210-5 and 528-545.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 221-3, note 20.

<sup>32</sup> D. JACKSON (1991a), 31.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* The version of Go-rams-pa's biography to which L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 315, note 336, referred belongs to the collection of the Tōyō Bunko.

works ascribed to Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1991b) should also be mentioned, since several of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's compositions served as key sources. In particular, his notes on the master's *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan* are noteworthy.<sup>34</sup>

## 2.9 S. ONODA (1992)

In his study of monastic debate, S. Onoda mentioned two works by Glo-bo mKhan-chen on epistemology (*blo rigs*) and logic (*rtags rigs*), namely the *Blo'i rnam par gzhaq pa sde bdun snying po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* and the *rTags kyi rnam bzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me*.<sup>35</sup> Onoda not only presented a synopsis of the *rTags rigs*, but also edited the Tibetan text of this work in his study.<sup>36</sup>

## 2.10 L. VAN DER KUIJP (1993, 1994)

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs gter*, the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo* (= *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma*),<sup>37</sup> received some attention in L. van der Kuijp's study of two xylograph editions of this work by Sa-paṅ (1993).<sup>38</sup> Moreover, in a study of 1994, van der Kuijp pointed to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's history of the Shar-pa family.<sup>39</sup>

## 2.11 R. VITALI (1996)

R. Vitali's history of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs includes also some interesting details on the relationship between these kingdoms and Glo-bo.<sup>40</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen, how-

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<sup>34</sup> D. JACKSON (1991b), 235-237.

<sup>35</sup> S. ONODA (1992), 187-214. Moreover, both works are mentioned in S. ONODA (1996), 195. The titles of the texts are found in the composite list below, Appendix A, nos. 203 and 279.

<sup>36</sup> S. ONODA (1992), 189 and 191-214.

<sup>37</sup> E. Smith has written an English introduction for the Indian edition of this work. See above, 2.2.

<sup>38</sup> L. VAN DER KUIJP (1993), 283, 285, and 287.

<sup>39</sup> L. VAN DER KUIJP (1994), 189.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. R. VITALI (1996), 531-537.

ever, is mentioned only marginally in connection with the translation of two passages from his autobiography.<sup>41</sup>

## 2.12 G. DREYFUS (1997)

In his examination of the reception of Dharmakīrti's tradition among Tibetan scholars, G. Dreyfus made use of one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs gter*, namely the *sDe bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig lam gsal ba'i nyi ma*.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.13 D. MARTIN (1997)

Although D. Martin was not the first to mention Glo-bo mKhan-chen's history of the Shar-pa clan,<sup>43</sup> the description of this work included in Martin's compilation of Tibetan histories, published in 1997, is the most detailed presentation to date.<sup>44</sup>

## 2.14 P. HUGON (2002)

This study of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *rTags kyi rnam gzhas rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me* includes an edition of the text based on a copy of a manuscript obtained from

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 509f., note 863, and 531, note 903. Vitali's translation of the beginning of the first passage: "Ratna.shri, who was a true 'Jam.pa'i dbyangs, is wrongly recognized as the 'Gig mkhan.po," is different from my rendering of this part: "[The first abbot of our religious centre here] was 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs [Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho] himself, but some people ('gig = 'ga' zhig) say that it was mKhan-chen Ratnaśrī. [But, that] is an incorrect account." For the Tibetan text see below, 5.2, fol. 12b (= 5a). As for the second passage, the phrase that has been translated by Vitali as "... at Thub.chen rnam.par rgyal.ba'i gtsug.lag. khang, mkhan.chen Yon.tan chos.rgyal completed giving exhaustive teachings to over nine hundred monks" should perhaps be understood in the following way: "I (i.e. Glo-bo mKhan-chen) accomplished a partial [public] exposition ... in the Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba temple, where there was a gathered assembly [of] nine hundred [monks], [with] the great abbot Yon-tan-chos-rgyal as [their] head." The corresponding Tibetan text is found on fol. 23a (= 8b).

<sup>42</sup> G. DREYFUS (1997), e.g. 481, note 11, 501, note 36, 555, note 32. Other references to Glo-bo mKhan-chen are found in the index of the book under "Lo Ken-chen." On the commentary, see below, Part Three, no. 200.

<sup>43</sup> As the first Western scholar, E. Smith pointed to the history, after he had noticed it in Khenpo Appey's list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works. See E. SMITH (1970), 3.

<sup>44</sup> D. MARTIN (1997), 71.

Dehra Dun (India)<sup>45</sup> and on a version of the text published by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (Sarnath, Varanasi). It also presents an annotated translation of the text.

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<sup>45</sup> A copy of the same manuscript has been used by S. ONODA (1992).





## CHAPTER 3

### Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life

#### 3.1 Biographical Sources

Although the accounts of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life found within Tibetan literature do not amount to a corpus comparable to the biographies of a few very famous Tibetan masters, the available sources are sufficient to reconstruct roughly the course of his life and its main events. The following biographies, listed in their chronological order of composition, could be located so far. One of them may no longer be extant (no. 2), another one is a modern compilation (no. 6).

1. Autobiography, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan* (= *rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*)
2. Lost biography by Sa-lo Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (title unknown)
3. Blo-gros-dpal-mgon's *'Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub kyi rnam par thar pa*
4. Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's *dPal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan*<sup>1</sup>
5. Short biography by A-myes-zhabs
6. Short biography in the catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing

Moreover, biographical information can be gathered from several colophons to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works, his own record of teachings received (*thob yig*), and life stories of other Tibetan teachers that refer to Glo-bo mKhan-chen. These sources are mentioned under:

7. Other references

##### 3.1.1 Autobiography

Since the available biographies seem to be based primarily on Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account of his life, the autobiography should be regarded as the fundamental and most significant source. The work is available in at least three versions, one comprising thirty-seven folios (1a-37a); the second fourteen folios (1a-14a); and the third

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<sup>1</sup> Since I had no direct access to this work, the title is given as in D. JACKSON (1984), 175.

twenty-three (8a-30b).<sup>2</sup> The biography was written in the bSam-grub-gling monastery in Glo-bo, most probably in 1514, at the request of Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533).<sup>3</sup> It includes a great amount of information about the author's studies and travels until his fifty-second year, besides a very intimate and frank report on his problems with his elder brothers and his difficult relationship with the controversial Sa-skyā-pa master Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507). The autobiography has been edited and translated in Part Two of the present study and is described in more detail in 3.2 below.

### 3.1.2 *Lost Biography by Sa-lo Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (Title Unknown)*

Apart from the fact, mentioned in a brief note by E. G. Smith, that such a biography formerly existed in Tibet,<sup>4</sup> very little is known about the work today. The only references to it are found in the lists of Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams's works compiled by A-myes-zhabs<sup>5</sup> and by Khenpo Appey.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, A-khu Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho mentions this biography as a rarity.<sup>7</sup> The work must have been composed in 1533 at the latest, since the author, Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba, who was a student of Glo-bo mKhan-chen, passed away in that year.

### 3.1.3 *Blo-gros-dpal-mgon's 'Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub kyi rnam par thar pa*

This biography is available in a modern edition of eighty-four folios (1a-84a)<sup>8</sup> and was completed in the horse year 1534 by a monk called Blo-gros-dpal-mgon at the request of the ninth abbot of Ngor, lHa-mchog-seng-ge (1468-1535), who himself

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<sup>2</sup> The different versions of the autobiography are described below, 3.2.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> On the year of composition, see below, note 123.

<sup>4</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 2, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Sa skyā'i gdung rabs*, 391.

<sup>6</sup> KHENPO APPEY, 80f.

<sup>7</sup> A-KHU-CHING SHES-RAB-RGYA-MTSHO, 596, no. 13402.

<sup>8</sup> Fol. 69 mistakenly appears twice in the pagination. In order to distinguish the two folios the second has been marked as "lower 69" (*re dgu 'og*) in the biography. In the following outline the second fol. 69 is marked with an asterisk. Moreover, fols. 57 and 58 had first been omitted. In order to remove these inconsistencies, fol. 56 has later been marked as fol. 56/57 and fol. 59 as fol. 58/59. Consequently, the text actually comprises eighty-three folios.

had been a student of Glo-bo mKhan-chen.<sup>9</sup> Although it is much longer than Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, it contains few details of historical interest not in the master's own account. The new contents include mainly descriptions of auspicious dreams and events and several long lists of the teachings that Glo-bo mKhan-chen received, making use of the master's *thob yig*. The contents of the work may be outlined as follows:

I. Preliminaries:

1. Obeisance and resolution to expound the subject (fols. 2b-5a.2)
2. List of contents (fol. 5a.2-b.1)

II. Main contents:<sup>10</sup>

1. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's birth into an extraordinary family lineage (*rigs*) (fols. 5b.1-8b.3)
2. The purifying of his mind through studying and reflection after having entered the gate of the Doctrine (fols. 8b.3-50a.5)
3. His being accepted by the lamas and the tutelary deities through contemplative practice (fols. 50a.5-60a.2)
4. His spreading of the Doctrine through the three activities of a scholar, i.e. exposition, debate, and composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*) (fols. 60a.2-69\*b.3)
5. His forming (*bskrun pa*) of students and holders of the Doctrine (*bstan 'dzin*) (fols. 69\*b.3-73b.5)
6. The continuity of deeds of his emanated body (*sprul sku*) after having realized the spiritual body (*chos sku*) (fols. 74a.1-82b.2)

III. Colophon (fols. 82b.3-84a)

The events in the first two parts of section II are described in a very similar way in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, but also include further information, which suggests the utilization of additional sources by the author. The first part deals with Glo-bo mKhan-chen's ancestors (fols. 5b.1-6a.4), birth (fol. 7a.2-b.3), and first contacts with religious teachers (fols. 7b.4-8b.3). The details on his mother (fols. 6b.2-7a.1), who is not mentioned in any other source, are of particular interest. The second part contains information on his ordinations (fols. 10a.1-4 and 17a.3-b.4) and

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<sup>9</sup> The biography by Blo-gros-dpal-mgon is included in a collection of golden manuscripts containing the life stories of *Lam 'bras* masters that has been published in Dehra Dun in 1985 (see BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON) and described in D. JACKSON (1991a), 30-32.

<sup>10</sup> The following listing of subjects is based on the list of contents given by the author on fol. 5a.2-b.1.

studies (*passim*), including the lists of teachings received (fols. 17b.4-24a.2 and 26b.4-49b.1) mentioned above. The following part is devoted to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's practice and describes auspicious events, like meaningful dreams, which occurred in his life. From the historical point of view, the references to the places that Glo-bo mKhan-chen visited, including dGu-rum (i.e. sGo-rum; fol. 53b.3) and sKyid-rong (fols. 53b.5 and 55a.2), are important. The fourth part primarily lists the teachings given by Glo-bo mKhan-chen and some of the works he composed. The author furthermore mentions how Glo-bo mKhan-chen propagated the Doctrine, for example by erecting temples, images, *stūpas*, and the like (fol. 68b.2-4). Part five includes a list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's main students (fols. 69\*b.4-70b), and focuses on eulogistic elements. The last part is dedicated to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's death and the last years preceding his passing. It relates many details about the miracles which occurred at that time.

#### 3.1.4 *Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's* dPal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan

Since it was impracticable to include this long and incomplete cursive manuscript within the scope of this study, I have based the following description on the data given by D. Jackson, who made use of it in one of his studies.<sup>11</sup> The biography, composed by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566/7), a master from Glo-bo who is famous for his composition of Shākya-mchog-ldan's life story,<sup>12</sup> was written at rDo-rje-brag<sup>13</sup> in 1535. As is evident from quotations and notes given by D. Jackson, the information found in the 125-folio manuscript, which obviously represents the longest account of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life, goes far beyond the details told in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography.<sup>14</sup>

#### 3.1.5 *Short Biography by A-myes-zhabs*

This work, comprising four folios (117a.3-120a.5), is part of the history of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition by A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597-

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<sup>11</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 110 and 136, note 3.

<sup>12</sup> Shākya-mchog-ldan's biography is included in his Collected Works (Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 16, pp. 1-233 [fols. 1a-117a]).

<sup>13</sup> This monastery of the rNying-ma-pa tradition is located at the northern bank of the gTsang-po river in the present Gong-dkar county. See G. DORJE (1996), 224f.

<sup>14</sup> See D. JACKSON (1984), 72, note 13, 136, note 8, and 141, note 41.

1659).<sup>15</sup> Despite its brevity, the biography contains a great wealth of important facts that go beyond Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account. In particular, the reported events from the time after the completion of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography are of great significance. While the work seems to be based on the aforementioned biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog,<sup>16</sup> A-myes-zhabs obviously did not make use of Blo-gros-dpal-mgon's account.

### 3.1.6 *Short Biography in the Catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing*

This short biography is attached to the list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works kept in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang in Beijing.<sup>17</sup> It is of little use, since the details found in it are limited to those already known through Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, and the compiler seems to have misunderstood the context in some instances<sup>18</sup> and even overlooked several inconsistencies in the dates given by himself. Although the selection of the described events clearly shows that the account is based on Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography,<sup>19</sup> the dates of his age at his novice and full ordinations mentioned in the short sketch do not correspond to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account, and the period of his teaching in Central Tibet for three years is assigned to

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<sup>15</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 547.3-553.5 (fols. 117a.3-120a.5).

<sup>16</sup> This is evident from the occurrence of the same mistake concerning a date in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life in both biographies. See D. JACKSON (1984), 141, note 41.

<sup>17</sup> See Mi-rigsCat, 89-91. For the description of the collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works kept in this library, see below, 4.1.2.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Mi-rigsCat, 90, where the compiler mentions more than once a "ruler 'Jam-dbyangs" (*sde pa 'jam dbyangs*), mixing up two individuals, namely Glo-bo mKhan-chen's brother, the ruler of Glo-bo, and the Tibetan master Shākya-mchog-ldan, who is called "'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po" in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography.

<sup>19</sup> The similarity between the sketch and the autobiography becomes evident, for instance, from the fact that both mention the same event, namely Glo-bo mKhan-chen's teaching in Central Tibet for three years (the sketch does not mention explicitly that the teaching took place in Central Tibet), as his last activity. This, however, is by no means the last historically known episode of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life, but the autobiography was completed before any further noteworthy events took place. Only a remark found at the end of the sketch, stating that Glo-bo mKhan-chen lived in seclusion (*zur bzhugs*) during the last two years of his life, has no parallel in the autobiography. See Mi-rigsCat, 91.

a quite unlikely time.<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy, moreover, that the compiler of the biography gives Glo-bo mKhan-chen's dates as 1441-1525, which is wrong for reasons that I will explain in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.7 below.

### 3.1.7 Other References

In some cases information about Glo-bo mKhan-chen's place of residence at a certain point in his life can be ascertained from the colophons of his works. Unfortunately, only a few works, including two commentaries on the *Tshad ma rigs gter*<sup>21</sup> and one on the *mKhas 'jug*,<sup>22</sup> give exact dates, whereas most of the colophons only mention the animal of the twelve-year cycle, omitting the element (i.e. fire, earth, iron, water, or wood) which, in combination with the former, would identify the year within the sixty-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar.

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's list of teachings received (*thob yig*) is another important primary source for the study of his life.<sup>23</sup> Besides the listings of instructions given to the master by his main teachers and the lineages through which the teachings were transmitted to him, it includes details on his full ordination. The general outline of the *thob yig* is:

#### I. Preliminaries:

1. Obeisance and resolution to expound the subject (fols. 1b-2a.2)

#### II. Main contents:

1. Remaining in the discipline (fols. 2a.2-3a.2)
  - a) General remarks (fol. 2a.2-6)

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<sup>20</sup> According to the compiler, the three-year teaching lasted from an iron-tiger to a water-dragon year, which, taking into account Glo-bo mKhan-chen's dates (1441-1525 in the sketch), can only be the years 1470-1472. Since this event is mentioned as the last in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life, before his death in 1525, it seems strange that it should have happened at such an early point in his lifetime. Moreover, the assigning of the period to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's 30th to 32nd years would not leave enough time for many other episodes described in the master's autobiography that clearly took place before the event in question. Most probably the author of the sketch made a mistake by assigning the tiger and water years, which are given in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, to the wrong elements.

<sup>21</sup> For more details on these works, see below, Part Three, nos. 200 and 202.

<sup>22</sup> This commentary is described below, Part Three, no. 320.

<sup>23</sup> The *thob yig* entitled *Thob yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan* is included within Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works filmed by the NGMPP at Gelung in 1986 (reel no. 103/26).

- b) Glo-bo mKhan-chen's full ordination (fol. 2a.6-b.5)
- c) His Bodhisattva vows (fols. 2b.5-3a.2)
- 2. Teachings received from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (fols. 3a.2-10b.2)
- 3. Teachings received from Paṇḍita chen-po Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (fols. 10b.3-38b.1)
- 4. Teachings received from bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (fols. 38b.1-40b.6)
- 5. Teachings received from dKon-mchog-'phel (fols. 40b.7-41a)

Finally, the biographies of other Tibetan masters connected with Glo-bo mKhan-chen sometimes contain additional details about his life. Two sources of that kind have been used in the biographical sketch which follows in 3.3 below. One is Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams's life story, which mentions Glo-bo mKhan-chen as the person from whom Sa-lo took his novice vows.<sup>24</sup> The second source is a text dealing with the life of a well-known master from the rNying-ma-pa tradition, namely mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542), who is said to have received the full ordination from Glo-bo mKhan-chen.<sup>25</sup>

## 3.2 Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Autobiography

Given the great significance of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account of his life for the study of his career, its text and different versions will be described in more detail in the following section. A critical edition and translation of the biography is found in Part Two below.

### 3.2.1 *The Texts*

#### 3.2.1.1 Known Versions of the Autobiography

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography has been transmitted in at least three versions, two of which are included in the collection of "golden manuscripts" (*gser chos*) preserved in the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo under nos. 44-694-2 and 41-683 and have been described in a catalogue by Z. Yamaguchi.<sup>26</sup> The first bears the title *rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* and belongs to volume *ka* of Glo-

<sup>24</sup> See A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 553.7-554.1, and *Sa skyā'i gdung rabs*, 382. See also D. JACKSON (1984), 141, note 41.

<sup>25</sup> See E. SMITH (1970), 3, note 12.

<sup>26</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15 and 17. On the Tōyō Bunko collection, see below, 4.1.4.

bo mKhan-chen's collected works, whereas the second (hereafter abbreviated TōNTh), entitled *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan*, has a marginal notation that assigns it to volume *ca*. While the two available ancient catalogues of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings<sup>27</sup> list his autobiography at the beginning of the first volume (*ka*) under the title *rJe nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma*,<sup>28</sup> they do not mention it in the fifth volume (*ca*). Since one of the ancient catalogues is contained in the set of the aforementioned golden manuscripts and obviously represents a catalogue of them, it is strange that it omits the text. Possibly, TōNTh, which is described by Z. Yamaguchi as written on pages of a smaller size than the first version of the autobiography,<sup>29</sup> derives from a different set than the other manuscripts belonging to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's œuvre preserved in the Tōyō Bunko. A third version of the autobiography, written in the *dbu med* script, could be located among the works microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in Gelung (henceforth GeNTh).<sup>30</sup> A comparison of the three versions shows that GeNTh corresponds to the Tōyō Bunko version of the autobiography belonging to volume *ka*, while TōNTh differs from the other two not only in its title, but also in many readings. Since the Tōyō Bunko version of the autobiography belonging to volume *ka* was accessible to me only through the not always reliably transliterated version made available on the Tōyō Bunko's *Seminar on Tibet* website,<sup>31</sup> GeNTh has been consulted for the edition of the autobiography presented below, which is primarily based on TōNTh.

Apart from the ancient catalogues, there exist three modern lists that mention Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography. The first of them, appearing in a bibliography of Sa-skyapa literature compiled by Khenpo Appey, lists it under the title *Rang nyid rang rang nyid [sic] kyi rnam thar*.<sup>32</sup> The other two represent lists of manuscripts kept in

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<sup>27</sup> For these catalogues, see D. JACKSON (1987), 546-565.

<sup>28</sup> See *ibid.*, 546, no. 1, and 555, no. 2. The second catalogue contains the slightly different title *Nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma*. The biography is moreover mentioned in BG under no. 64 (see below, Appendix D) bearing the title *rJe btsun kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma*.

<sup>29</sup> The second version of the autobiography measures 6 x 32 cm., whereas all other works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen found in the Tōyō Bunko collection are 7 x 33 cm. in size. See Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15-20.

<sup>30</sup> See below, 4.1.1.

<sup>31</sup> See [www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/Database/tibetan\\_resources/globomkhanchen\\_rnamthar1.html](http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/Database/tibetan_resources/globomkhanchen_rnamthar1.html) (last accessed on 27/09/06).

<sup>32</sup> See below, Appendix B, no. 8.



the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing, which are not accessible to me. One of the lists contains the autobiography under an identical title as in the ancient catalogues.<sup>33</sup> The other includes two titles that refer to the autobiography.<sup>34</sup> The titles given there—*rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan ma ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* and *rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*—are similar to that of GeNTh and the version in the Tōyō Bunko in vol. *ka* (no. 44-694-2), but without direct access to the works, it is impossible to say anything definite about their relationship to the versions described above.<sup>35</sup> In any case, it is strange that two autobiographies are mentioned in one single list, which—one might think—represents the contents of only one set of works.

### 3.2.1.2 Description of the Utilized Manuscripts

The edition of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography that is presented in Part Two of the present book is based on a manuscript from Glo-bo (TōNTh) preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, under no. 41-683. The original text, with alternating lines of gold and silver *dbu can* letters on black paper measuring 6 x 32 cm., comprises thirty-seven folios (numbered 1-37), with three to five lines per side.<sup>36</sup> Although, as mentioned above, it is uncertain to which collection the manuscript originally belonged, most probably it was commissioned by the past Glo-bo rulers like the other works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen that are kept in the Tōyō Bunko and form fragments of an old golden manuscript set, the patrons of which were the ruler bSam-grub-dpal-'bar (fl. ca. 1675) and his son A-mchog sKye-dgu'i-dpal.<sup>37</sup>

The second version of the autobiography (GeNTh) that has been used in the following edition is a copy of an *dbu med* manuscript that was microfilmed by the NGMPP in the bKra-shis-chos-gling monastery of Gelung, a village in the present district of Mustang, in 1986, and is now kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu

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<sup>33</sup> See below, Appendix C, first list, no. 28. For the complete catalogue, see Mi-rigsCat.

<sup>34</sup> See below, Appendix C, third list, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>35</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1987), 223, note 20, the lists of Mi-rigsCat refer probably to manuscripts which originally come from Sa-skya or Ngor.

<sup>36</sup> The physical description of the manuscript is partly based on the data found in Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15, no. 41-683, and in D. JACKSON (1987), 212, where another work of the same collection is described. Note that Z. Yamaguchi states that the manuscript has six lines per page, a detail which seems to be incorrect, since it does not correspond to the number of lines of my Tōyō Bunko copy of this text.

<sup>37</sup> See D. JACKSON (1987), 213.

(reel no. 101/26). The text measures 40.6 x 9 cm.<sup>38</sup> and is 14 folios (1a-14a) long, with seven lines per side. It appears as the first work of the first volume (*ka*) of a set comprising four volumes, which is described below (4.1.1). It is at present impossible to date the manuscript.

### 3.2.2 *Structure and Contents*

Like the majority of biographical compositions within Tibetan literature, Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography also belongs, in general, to the *rnam thar* genre,<sup>39</sup> which aims primarily at presenting a Buddhist master's efforts on his way to spiritual liberation (*rnam thar*, Skt. *vimokṣa*), rather than at describing his worldly activities. However, Glo-bo mKhan-chen has written a quite down-to-earth account of his "spiritual life," rarely found in comparable works. Although all the events described have a religious basis, they often do not refer to the author's innermost spiritual development, but present details on such secular things as his problematic relationship with his elder brothers. Moreover, Glo-bo mKhan-chen's extraordinary honesty, for instance, while telling episodes from his very early childhood, like the remark that he remembers only the cover of the *vajra* and bell, but not the outer appearance of his teacher, enriches his story with a sympathetic humor that still shines through the lines of his text almost five hundred years after its completion.

Although the work is announced in its title as the life story of Glo-bo mKhan-chen, the temporal framework of the text is not limited to the lifetime of the master, but reaches back to the time of his grandfather A-ma-dpal (1388-ca. 1440) and Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456). Almost forty percent of the biography deals with the events during Ngor-chen's three visits to Glo-bo and is consequently set in the time before Glo-bo mKhan-chen's birth. This shows the strong obligation Glo-bo mKhan-chen felt to this great master of the Ngor-pa tradition. Furthermore, about one fifth of the remaining part of the work, which the author devoted to the account of his own life until his fifty-second year, treats Glo-bo mKhan-chen's difficult relationship with Shākya-mchog-ldan. In these passages, the author tries in particular to justify his critical attitude towards the latter's doctrinal viewpoints, in order to protect himself from the harsh criticism he was exposed to from many sides because he allegedly showed disrespect to this eminent master.

The autobiography follows a strict chronological order, and the two excursus on Ngor-chen and Shākya-mchog-ldan are skillfully integrated into the temporal frame-

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<sup>38</sup> This size is found on the catalogue card of the NGMPP.

<sup>39</sup> Technically the autobiography can also be classified as a *zhus lan* ("reply to a request").

work. The death of the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, for example, is used as an opportunity to mention Shākya-mchog-ldan's ambiguous letter that he wrote in answer to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's request for a biography of the abbot. The structure and contents of the autobiography can be easily made out from the following outline:

I. Introductory verse (fols.1b-2a.1)

II. Main contents:

1. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's clan and ancestors (fols. 2a.1-3a.4)
2. Ngor-chen's three visits to Glo-bo (fols. 3a.4-17a.2)
  - a) Invitation by A-ma-dpal and his first visit (fols. 3a.4-6a.2)
  - b) Second invitation and his visit (fols. 6a.2-11a.3)
  - c) Third invitation by A-mgon-bzang-po and A-mo-gha-badzra and his visit; excursus on the first abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery (fols. 11a.4-17a.2)
3. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's childhood and youthful studies (fols. 17a.2-23a.4)
  - a) Taking refuge and empowerments from 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (fol. 17a.5-b.4)
  - b) Empowerments from bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (fols. 17b.4-18a.3)
  - c) Empowerments etc. from bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (fol. 18a.3-b.4)
  - d) Lay ordination and empowerments from Yon-tan-chos-rgyal (fols. 18b.4-19a.2)
  - e) Novice ordination and teachings from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (fol. 19a.2-b.5)
  - f) Studies with Rwa-ston Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po (fols. 20a.1-21b.4)
  - g) Studies with Yon-tan-chos-rgyal (fols. 21b.4-22a.3)
  - h) Studies with Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan and Glo-bo mKhan-chen's inaugural exposition (fols. 22a.5-23a.4)
4. Contacts with Shākya-mchog-ldan and full ordination from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (fols. 23a.4-28b.1)
  - a) Shākya-mchog-ldan's visit and studies with him (fols. 23a.4-24a.-4)
  - b) Refutation of his doctrinal viewpoint (fols. 24a.4-26a.3)
  - c) Full ordination and teachings from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug and the latter's death in Glo-bo (fols. 26a.3-27a.3)
  - d) Receipt of a letter from Shākya-mchog-ldan containing an appa-

- rently sarcastic final verse, and further remarks on him (fols. 27a.3-28b.1)
5. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's conflicts with his elder brothers (fols. 28b.1-31a)
    - a) Dispute with the eldest brother bKra-shis-mgon (fols. 28b.1-30a.4)
    - b) Studies with Paṇḍita Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and teaching in seclusion (fols. 30a.4-b.5)
    - c) Conflict with second-eldest brother A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (fol. 31a.1-b.1)
  6. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's first visit to Central Tibet (Rin-chen-rtse, Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan) (fols. 31b.1-33a.2)
  7. The conflict between Glo-bo mKhan-chen and the Rin-spungs-pa ruler (fols. 33a.3-34a.3)
  8. The great earthquake of 1505 and its consequences in Glo-bo (fol. 34a.4-b.5)
  9. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's second visit to Central Tibet (fols. 34b.5-35a.3)
  10. A final summing-up of his religious life for the sake of others (fols. 35b.3-36a.5)
- III. Concluding matter:
1. Concluding verses (fol. 36a.5-b.4)
  2. Colophon (fols. 36b.4-37a)

### 3.3 Main Events of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life

#### 3.3.1 *Date of Birth*

At least two Tibetan sources ascribe Glo-bo mKhan-chen's birth to the year of Ngor-chen's death. The first<sup>40</sup> assigns this date to the 3591st year after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and the second<sup>41</sup> supplies it with additional details, stating that the master was born on a Thursday of the ninth month (*skar ma tha skar*) of a fire-mouse year. Based on this information, the date can easily be identified as the fire-mouse year 1456,<sup>42</sup> the year of Ngor-chen's passing and the 3591st year after Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa*

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<sup>40</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam'bras*, 547.4.

<sup>41</sup> BLOS-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 7a.2 and 7b.2-3.

<sup>42</sup> This year is also given in D. Jackson's publications. See for example D. JACKSON (1984), 110.

according to the calculation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita.<sup>43</sup> Some Western as well as modern Tibetan publications, however, give the years 1420 or 1441 (*lcags mo bya*) as dates of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's birth.<sup>44</sup> Both determinations are unlikely, since they contradict details given in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography. The master states in his account that he took novice vows from the fourth abbot of Ngor, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), in his eleventh year. With regard to Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug's date of birth, it would be impossible that Glo-bo mKhan-chen, assuming he was born in 1420, took the vows in 1430 from a six-year-old.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, although Glo-bo mKhan-chen does not explicitly mention the date of his birth in his autobiography, the chronological order within his account evidently shows that he was born after Ngor-chen's last visit to Glo-bo in 1446/7, so that also the year 1441 as date of his birth has to be eliminated.

However, one inconsistency still remains: the date of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's full ordination given by the master himself in his *thob yig* presupposes a completely different date of birth. Glo-bo mKhan-chen states that he was ordained in his twenty-second year, which had been a female water-bird year (*chu mo bya*), i.e. 1453.<sup>46</sup> This would imply that his birth took place in 1432, a date which would have been too early for the reasons specified above and which is not found in any other source. Probably, Glo-bo mKhan-chen made a mistake when he ascribed the water-element to the bird-year, which in fact is also mentioned by one of his biographers as the date of his ordination.<sup>47</sup> The correct combination should be fire-bird (*me bya*), which corresponds to 1477 and assumes his birth in 1456.

### 3.3.2 *Childhood and Youthful Studies (1456-1477)*

Glo-bo mKhan-chen was born as the third son of the ruler of Glo-bo, A-mgon-bzang-po (b. 1420). His mother, whose name was dPal-skyong, belonged probably to the

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<sup>43</sup> On this tradition of calculating the date of the Buddha's death see below, Chapter 6, note 29.

<sup>44</sup> 1420 is found in Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15, L. PETECH (1980), 104, and D. MARTIN (1997), 71. Mi-rigsCat, 89, mentions 1441.

<sup>45</sup> Moreover, according to R. VITALI (1997), 1033, it was Glo-bo mKhan-chen's father, A-mgon-bzang-po, who was born in 1420 (*lcags byi*).

<sup>46</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fol. 2b.2. In this passage, Glo-bo mKhan-chen gives also the name *dpal dong* for the year of his ordination, which is a different expression for a water-bird year.

<sup>47</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 17a.2.

clan of sTag-ra Klu-gong.<sup>48</sup> The place of his birth is not recorded in any of the available sources, but most probably it was sMon-thang, the capital and main seat of the Glo-bo rulers at that time.<sup>49</sup> The name he was given after his birth was A-grub-bkra-shis.<sup>50</sup> While his two elder brothers (and later also the younger one) were made to engage in wordly affairs, Glo-bo mKhan-chen was designated for a religious career from the time of his birth. Already at the age of one he took refuge in the presence of 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1396-1474), who later became the third abbot of Ngor E-wam-chos-ldan,<sup>51</sup> and received the first empowerments and transmissions from him, having been carried by his mother.<sup>52</sup> In the next year he was given an initiation by a certain bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po of Khwa-char,<sup>53</sup> and in his fifth and sixth year he learnt several tantric rituals from a rNying-ma-pa master called bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.<sup>54</sup> Later, at the age of eight, he took lay vows from Yon-tan-chos-rgyal and received several empowerments from him.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The mother's name and descent are mentioned in BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 6b.2-3. sTag-ra Klu-gong had been a minister of Khri-srong-lde-btsan. A-mgon-bzang-po seems to have been, moreover, married to a Gu-ge princess, who probably was his first wife but not Glo-bo mKhan-chen's mother. The Gu-ge princess is mentioned in D. JACKSON (1987), 220, note 14, who extracted his information from the *Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes*, fol. 18b.

<sup>49</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 547.4, states that Glo-bo mKhan-chen was born in the great kingdom of Glo-bo sMon-thang, probably having in mind the district of Glo-bo and not its capital sMon-thang in particular.

<sup>50</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 7b.3.

<sup>51</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1989b), 53, 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho stayed in Glo-bo for ten years. Since in GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 11b.4-5, he is said to have been appointed abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery during Ngor-chen's third visit to Glo-bo in 1446/7, his acting as Glo-bo mKhan-chen's teacher must have taken place very shortly before his departure.

<sup>52</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 17a.5-b.5.

<sup>53</sup> The Khwa-char monastery was located in the kingdom of Pu-hrangs. On its foundation, see R. VITALI (1996), 264, and below, Chapter 6, notes 26 and 35.

<sup>54</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 17b.5-18b.4. On the teachings Glo-bo mKhan-chen received from this master, see also GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, 38b.1-40b.6.

<sup>55</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 18b.4-19a.2. Yon-tan-chos-rgyal is mentioned later on in *ibid.*, 21b.4-5, to have been abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyal-gling monastery in 1472.

Glo-bo mKhan-chen met Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor and a nephew of Ngor-chen,<sup>56</sup> who may be regarded as his main teacher, in his eleventh year (1466), when this master visited Glo-bo for the first time. From him he received novice ordination and many tantric teachings, including those of the *Lam 'bras* tradition.<sup>57</sup> Apart from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug as *mkhan po* (Skt. *upādhyāya*), Yon-tan-chos-rgyal participated in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's ordination, which took place in the midst of twelve monks, as master of ceremonies (*las kyi slob dpon*, Skt. *karmācārya*), and Slob-dpon Sangs-rgyas-dpal-grub acted as the *dus bgo ba*.<sup>58</sup> On this occasion, Glo-bo mKhan-chen was given the ordination name bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.<sup>59</sup> Soon after his ordination, he started a six-year study of Prajñāpāramitā, Pramāṇa, and Vinaya under master Rwa-ston Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po,<sup>60</sup> who had been selected as his teacher by Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug himself.<sup>61</sup> During these years, Glo-bo mKhan-chen came into contact with Sa-skya Paṇḍita's minor works and a special devotion toward this master arose in him.<sup>62</sup>

In his seventeenth year (1472), Glo-bo mKhan-chen rejoined Yon-tan-chos-rgyal, who had become abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery in the meantime, and studied Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, Guṇaprabha's *Mūlavinayasūtra*,

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<sup>56</sup> D. JACKSON (1976/77), 51, note 12.

<sup>57</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 19a.2-b.5.

<sup>58</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 10a.1-3. According to an information received from Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg), the *dus bgo ba*'s role during an ordination is it to determine the time at which the ceremony takes place. See also the definition of the expression *dus go brjod pa* in *Tshig mdzod*, 1270.

<sup>59</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 10a.4.

<sup>60</sup> On Rwa-ston, see below, Chapter 6, notes 69 and 90.

<sup>61</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 20a.1-21a.2. For further teachings which Glo-bo mKhan-chen received from this master, see BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fols. 48b.4-49a.4. The source from which Blo-gros-dpal-mgon derived his information is unclear, since Rwa-ston is not mentioned in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *thob yig*, Blo-gros-dpal-mgon's usual source for this kind of information.

<sup>62</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 21a.2-5. It is noteworthy that Glo-bo mKhan-chen is mentioned as the emanation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita in a quotation from Kong-sprul's biography of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal given in E. SMITH (1970), 3, note 12. An identification of Glo-bo mKhan-chen as Sa-skya Paṇḍita's rebirth is moreover found in a text dedicated to the erection of a *maṇi* wall, which is quoted in D. JACKSON (1984), 203.

and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* with him.<sup>63</sup> Later, he continued his studies under master dPal-ldan-pa Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1476),<sup>64</sup> who instructed him to complete his inaugural exposition (*bshad gsar*) before he received new teachings.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, Glo-bo mKhan-chen gave a three-day public exposition of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, and Nāgārjuna's *Suḥrillekha* before an assembly of nine hundred monks in the Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba temple.<sup>66</sup>

1472 was also the year of gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan's (1428-1507) arrival in Glo-bo. He came around the seventh or eighth month and stayed for two years (probably until 1474).<sup>67</sup> At that time Shākya-mchog-ldan still seems to have been highly esteemed by the Sa-skyapa scholars in general, and Glo-bo mKhan-chen studied Vinaya, Prajñāpāramitā, and the *Pramāṇavārttika* under him.<sup>68</sup> But, according to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's account, starting with his composition of some provocative questions on the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, Shākya-mchog-ldan became a more doubtful figure in the Sa-skyapa scholarly world.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, Glo-bo mKhan-chen sent

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<sup>63</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 21b.4-22a.3.

<sup>64</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed a biography of this master. See below, Part Three, no. 90.

<sup>65</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 22a.5-b.5. BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 16b.4, states that Glo-bo mKhan-chen studied with Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan for two or three years.

<sup>66</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 22b.5-23a.4. The Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba temple is most probably the "Thub-chen-rgyal-ba'i-pho-brang" mentioned in the "Tsarang Molla" as translated by D. JACKSON (1984), 148, where Glo-bo mKhan-chen's elder brother, the ruler bKra-shis-mgon, occurs as the sponsor of this temple and its image of Buddha Śākyamuni.

<sup>67</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 23a.4-5 and 23b.2-3. 1.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 23b.4-24a.3. Curiously enough, no other biographer mentioned Glo-bo mKhan-chen's contacts with Shākya-mchog-ldan, perhaps because the latter came to be regarded as a controversial figure a few years later.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25b.1-4. Shākya-mchog-ldan's collection of one hundred and eight questions bears the title *sDom gsum rab dbye la dri ba legs pa* and is found in his Collected Works (Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 17, 448-462 [fols. 23b-30b]). Shākya-mchog-ldan obviously was not pleased with any of the answers he received from many learned Sa-skyapa masters and therefore composed an additional work on this topic representing his own answers in 1483, known as *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gnam rnam par nges pa legs bshad gser thur* (Collected Works, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, 439-647 [fols. 1a-105a]). For a detailed description of the controversy, see D. JACKSON (1983b), 17f. Glo-bo mKhan-



him twenty-one questions concerning another work of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, namely the *mKhas 'jug*,<sup>70</sup> after his visit to Glo-bo, and Shākya-mchog-ldan completed a history of rNgog Lo-tsa-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059-1109) and his school in 1479 at Glo-bo mKhan-chen's request.<sup>71</sup>

### 3.3.3 Full Ordination and Abbot hood (1477-ca. 1488)

In Glo-bo mKhan-chen's twenty-second year (1477), Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug came to Glo-bo again. Glo-bo mKhan-chen took this opportunity to complete his studies and to receive the full ordination of a *bhikṣu*.<sup>72</sup> He was ordained in the midst of an assembly of monks in the Byams-pa-gling temple<sup>73</sup> with the *upādhyāya* Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, Yon-tan-chos-rgyal as master of ceremonies, Rwa-ston Yon-tan-dpal-bzang as "secret preceptor" (*gsang ste ston pa'i slob dpon*), and bKa-bcu-pa Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan as *dus bgo ba*.<sup>74</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen gives the following lineage through which the *bhikṣu* vows had been transmitted from the Buddha Śākyamuni to him:<sup>75</sup>

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chen himself referred to Shākya-mchog-ldan's questions and answers in probably all of his six compositions on the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (four of which are described below, Part Three, nos. 109, 125, 227, and 317), but most likely he did not belong to the respondents to Shākya-mchog-ldan's first work and did not compose his critical answers until the latter's own reply in 1483. Cf. D. JACKSON (1983), 17f., and see also D. JACKSON (1991b), 235f.

<sup>70</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen's questions are not available in their original form today, but can be derived from Shākya-mchog-ldan's answer, which is contained in his Collected Works (*op. cit.*, vol. 24, 113-149 [fols. 24a-42a]). See D. JACKSON (1987), 210-212.

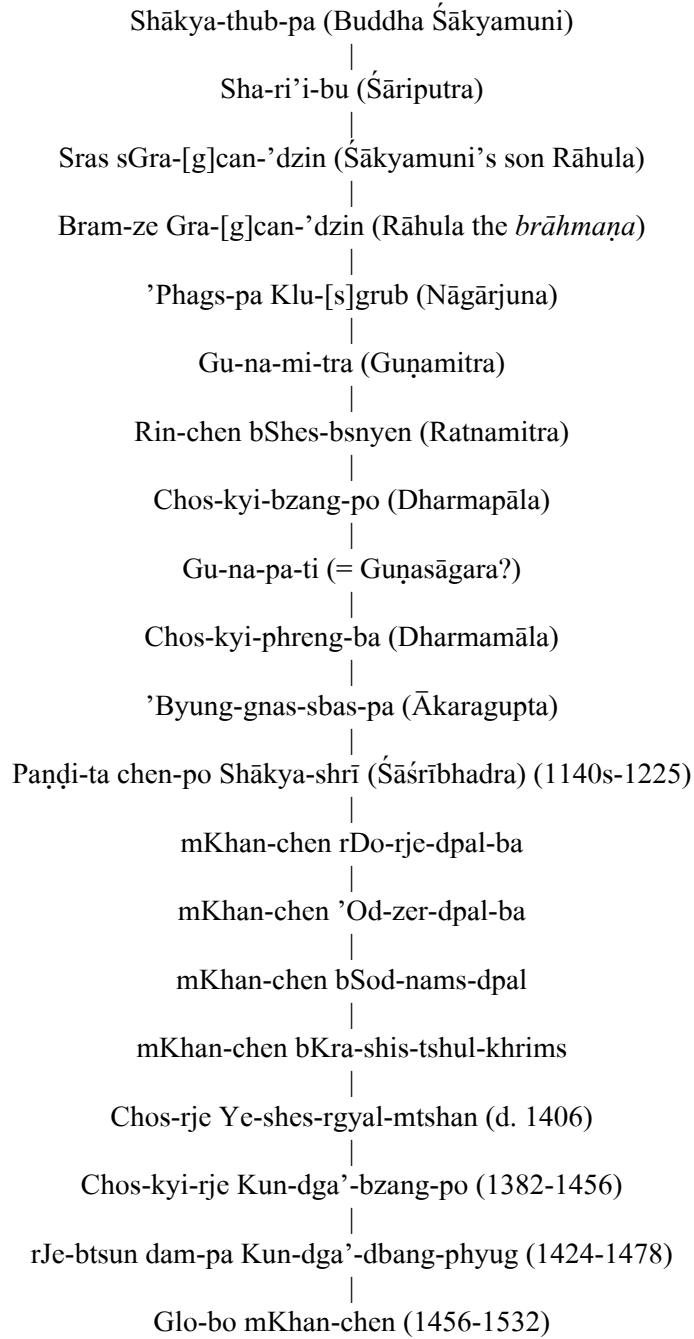
<sup>71</sup> See SHĀKYA-MCHOGLDAN, 456 (fol. 6b), and D. JACKSON (1987), 219, note 9.

<sup>72</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 17a.1-3. For an extensive list of the teachings which Glo-bo mKhan-chen received from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, see GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fols. 3a.2-10b.2, and BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fols. 17b.4-24a.2, whose list is based on the *thob yig*.

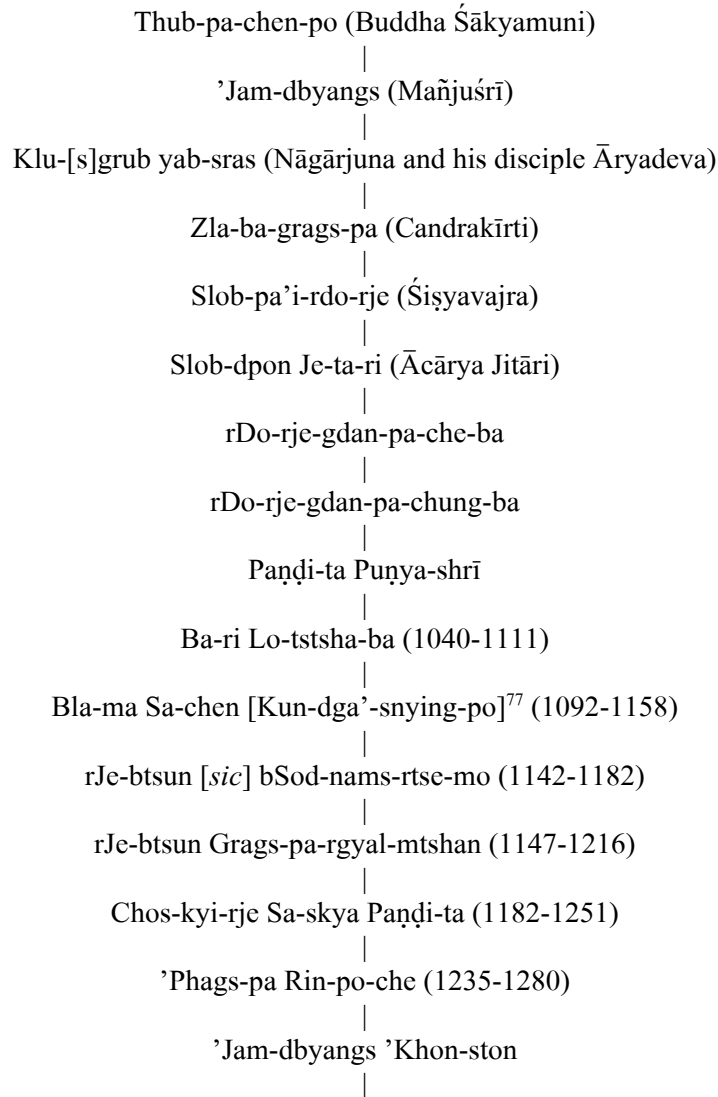
<sup>73</sup> D. JACKSON (1984), 42, note 6, mentions a Byams-pa bShad-sgrub-gling monastery (= Byams-gling) in Glo-bo, which probably is identical to the temple of Byams-pa-gling.

<sup>74</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 17a.3-b.2.

<sup>75</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fol. 2b.3-5. The lineage corresponds to that found in Ngor-chen's *thob yig* (Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968, vol. 9, 45.3.5-45.4.1 [fols. 91b.5-92a.1]) as the line of the masters who transmitted the vows to him. The only difference is with regard to Guṇamitra, who is replaced by "Paṇimitra" in Ngor-chen's list.

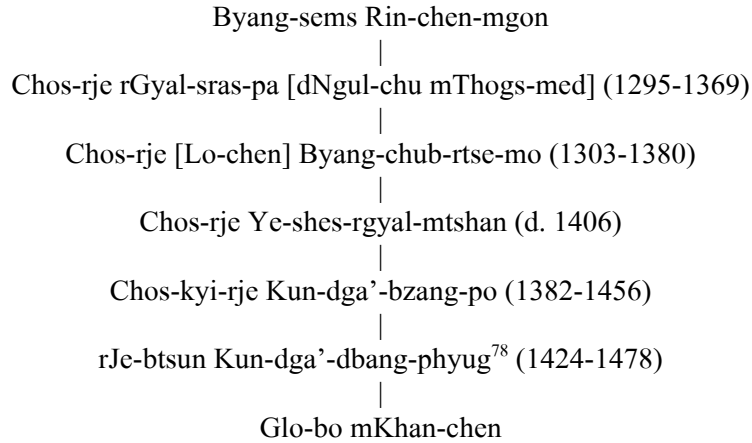


With regard to the transmission of his Bodhisattva vows, which he also received from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, he gives this lineage:<sup>76</sup>



<sup>76</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fols. 2b.6-3a.2. The same lineage down to Ngor-chen is found in Ngor-chen's *thob yig* (in the *Sa skyā pa'i bka' 'bum*, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, 45.4.1-45.4.4 [fol. 92a.1-4]) and quoted in D. JACKSON (1990), 134f.

<sup>77</sup> The phrase *bla ma sa chen* has been added by a different hand in the manuscript.



Shortly after his ordination, Glo-bo mKhan-chen was appointed abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery, which had more than one thousand monks at that time, and he occupied this position for twelve years.<sup>79</sup> During that time his relationship with Shākya-mchog-ldan worsened after the latter sent him an ambiguous answer to a request for the biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, who died in 1478 during his stay in Glo-bo.<sup>80</sup> Shākya-mchog-ldan's disapproving verse, which was attached to his letter,<sup>81</sup> was most probably directed at Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug and not at Glo-bo mKhan-chen himself, but as one of that lama's students and loyal followers, Glo-bo mKhan-chen became indignant about such disrespect towards the great master and even began to criticize Shākya-mchog-ldan's unorthodox doctrinal viewpoints publicly.<sup>82</sup> However, he obviously did not receive much support for his objections in his homeland and soon found himself in a conflict with his eldest brother, the ruler of Glo-bo, who continued to honour Shākya-mchog-ldan as one of

<sup>78</sup> The name *rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug* has been added by a different hand in the manuscript.

<sup>79</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 24a.4-b.4. On the disagreement in the sources about the name of the monastery in which Glo-bo mKhan-chen acted as abbot, see below, Chapter 6, note 95.

<sup>80</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 26b.2-27b.4. Finally, Glo-bo mKhan-chen himself wrote a biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug in a dog year (probably 1490), which is the only account of this master's life known today. The biography is described below, Part Three, no. 88. See also D. JACKSON (1987), 219, note 9.

<sup>81</sup> This verse is quoted in GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 27a.4-5.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 28b.1-2.

his chief spiritual preceptors.<sup>83</sup> It is remarkable that in one of his disputes with his brother, Glo-bo mKhan-chen proves to be an admirer of one of Shākya-mchog-ldan's greatest rivals, namely Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), whom he seemingly never met personally.<sup>84</sup>

In the meantime, Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed his first important works, two commentaries on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs gter*. The first, the *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed*, he completed in the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery on the eighteenth day of the fourth month<sup>85</sup> of the water-tiger year (1482).<sup>86</sup> The second, the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*, he finished at the same place on the fourteenth day of the ninth month (*tha skar*) of that year.<sup>87</sup> Due to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's young age at that time, one assumes that he wrote the commentaries with the assistance of his teachers.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 28b.1-29.5. See also the "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 148.

<sup>84</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 29a.3-b.3. According to BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 25b.3-5, one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentaries was sent to Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa and received much praise from this great master, showing that the latter knew Glo-bo mKhan-chen at least through his work. However, since none of the available sources mentions a visit of Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa to Glo-bo and since Glo-bo mKhan-chen went to Central Tibet only after Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa's death in 1489, it appears to be impossible that the two masters ever met personally. L. VANDER KUIJP (1983), 16, states, however, that Glo-bo mKhan-chen was "one of his (i.e. Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa's) foremost students." See also E. SMITH (1970), 2, note 10, who points out that Glo-bo mKhan-chen is not mentioned among Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa's students in the latter's biography, but in spite of this fact does not exclude the possibility that Glo-bo mKhan-chen was one of the master's disciples.

<sup>85</sup> Actually the date is specified as the third day of the *snron* month. Since, according to *Tshig mdzod*, 1602, this month corresponds to the period from the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar (*hor zla*) until the fifteenth day of the fifth month, the third day of the *snron* month must be equivalent to the eighteenth day of the fourth month.

<sup>86</sup> On this work see below, Part Three, no. 202.

<sup>87</sup> On this work and its different titles, see below, Part Three, no. 200.

<sup>88</sup> This proposal is for example found in D. JACKSON (1987), 221, note 20.

Sometime after 1482, Glo-bo mKhan-chen stayed for a while in the Ri-bo-che 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang,<sup>89</sup> which had been founded by Ngor-chen during his second visit to Glo-bo in 1436.<sup>90</sup> The reason he gives for leaving Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling is that Gu-ge Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1486) visited Glo-bo,<sup>91</sup> but most probably he also felt a need to retire from public life in his homeland after the disputes concerning Shākya-mchog-ldan and after his eldest brother apparently took strict measures against the Ngor-pa monks in Glo-bo.<sup>92</sup> Apparently, Glo-bo mKhan-chen even considered visiting Central Tibet at that time. However, his aspirations encountered resistance from many sides.<sup>93</sup> Therefore he even tried to depart in secret, but was convinced by his teacher Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan to return.<sup>94</sup> During the next years Glo-bo mKhan-chen lived a secluded life studying with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and teaching only a few persons.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 25a.3-4.

<sup>90</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 7a/8a.5-b.1.

<sup>91</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 30a.4-5. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is mentioned in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography as a student of Ngor-chen in 1436 and as ritual assistant (*mchod g.yog mdzad pa po*) during the latter's last visit to Glo-bo. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 7a/8a. 4-5 and 15b.3-4. See also BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 25b.1-2. Furthermore, he seems to have been one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's main teachers, since Glo-bo mKhan-chen received a great wealth of instructions from him. The teachings Glo-bo mKhan-chen received from this master form the greatest part of his *thob yig*. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fols. 10b.3-38b.1. See also BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fols. 26b.4-48a.5, who extracted his information from the *thob yig*. According to an information received from Prof. D. Jackson, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is said in his biography entitled *rNam thar dgos 'dod 'byung ba* by 'Jam-dbyangs-nam-mkha'-bstan-pa, fol. 13b.1, to have visited Glo-bo after A-seng rDo-tje-brtan-pa went to Gu-ge in 1482 (*stag lo*). Moreover, D. Jackson pointed out to me that Glo-bo mKhan-chen is mentioned as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's student in about his twenty-seventh year (i.e. 1482) in Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's account of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's life (see above, 3.1.4), fols. 31a-32b. Furthermore, A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 548.2-3, states that Glo-bo mKhan-chen met Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in his twenty-sixth year (1481), after he had received a message saying he should come to obtain a tantric initiation from the master.

<sup>92</sup> See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 30a.3-4, where he mentions his intention to leave Glo-bo.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 30a.3-4.

<sup>94</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 26a.2-b.2

<sup>95</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 30b.2-5, and BLO-GROS-DPAL-

### 3.3.4 *The Years Before His Departure for Central Tibet (ca. 1488-1493)*

On the fourteenth day of the second month of the bird year (1489) Glo-bo mKhan-chen completed his longest *sDom gsum rab dbye* commentary (99 fols.), the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag*,<sup>96</sup> which for the most part represents a refutation of Shākya-mchog-ldan's position.<sup>97</sup>

1489 was also the year of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's eldest brother bKra-shis-mgon's death and of A-mgon-bzang-po's second son A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa assuming political control of the kingdom.<sup>98</sup> Since the new ruler continued the policy of his deceased brother, Glo-bo mKhan-chen's wish to leave his home for Central Tibet became stronger day by day.<sup>99</sup> After further debates with his brother, he finally set off for Central Tibet in ca. 1493.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.3.5 *Two Visits to Central Tibet (ca. 1493 and 1506-ca. 1509)*

His first destination was the Sradd Rin-chen-rtse monastery, located about a four days' march away from Sa-skya,<sup>101</sup> where he stayed for one winter.<sup>102</sup> Probably after visiting the rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal monastery, founded by Go-bo Rab-

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MGON, fols. 26b.2-48a.5.

<sup>96</sup> On this work see below, Part Three, no. 109.

<sup>97</sup> See L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 16.

<sup>98</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote a work for bKra-shis-mgon's funeral ceremony at Sa-skya. See below, Part Three, no. 270.

<sup>99</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 31a.1-5.

<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, none of the available sources gives an exact date for Glo-bo mKhan-chen's departure. BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fols. 55b.4-56a/57a.4 (fol. 57 has been omitted in the pagination), however, mentions a dream that Glo-bo mKhan-chen had during his visit to the seventh abbot of Ngor, dKon-mchog-'phel, on the twenty-first day of the second month of the tiger year (1494). Since Glo-bo mKhan-chen states that he stayed at Ngor during the second year of his visit to Central Tibet (*rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 31b.2-3), he probably started his trip in 1493. However, the account of A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 549.7-550.1, who gives a quite unlikely year for Glo-bo mKhan-chen's return to Glo-bo, poses a conundrum that complicates the matter. According to him, the master came back to Glo-bo in his thirtieth year (i.e. 1485), but this date does not, for example, fit Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account, namely that he made his trip after bKra-shis-mgon's death in 1489 (*rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 30b.5-31a.1).

<sup>101</sup> G. DORJE (1996), 348.

<sup>102</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 31b.2.

'byams-pa,<sup>103</sup> he spent the following summer in Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, where he received teachings from the seventh abbot, dKon-mchog-'phel (1445-1514), and stayed in the latter's private quarters (*gzim chung*).<sup>104</sup> After he had again returned to Rin-chen-rtse in the winter, he was invited to rTse-gdong by Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (b. 1458), the father of his most prominent disciple, Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533). In rTse-gdong, Glo-bo mKhan-chen bestowed lay vows on Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba in the *smin drug* month<sup>105</sup> of the year 1495 (*shing mo yos bu*) and gave empowerments to him and other students.<sup>106</sup> Thereafter he went back to Ngor E-waṃ and participated, in the first half of the twelfth month (*rgyal gyi zla ba*)<sup>107</sup> of the same year, in Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba's novice ordination.<sup>108</sup>

Although Glo-bo mKhan-chen would have preferred to stay in gTsang longer, he felt compelled to return to Glo-bo due to the death of A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa and the pleading of his younger brother, bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho, who was on good terms with Glo-bo mKhan-chen and had to take over the rule of Glo-bo now.<sup>109</sup> bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho reigned only for a few years and died probably in ca. 1500. At about the same time, Glo-bo mKhan-chen found himself in a conflict with the Rin-spungs-pa ruler,

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<sup>103</sup> On the date of the founding of rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal, see D. JACKSON (1987), 156, note 65. The information that Glo-bo mKhan-chen visited this monastery derives from A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 549.5.

<sup>104</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 31b.3-5, and A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 549.5. For a list of the teachings Glo-bo mKhan-chen received from dKon-mchog-'phel, see GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thob yig*, fols. 40b.7-41a, and BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 48a.5-b.3, whose list is based on the *thob yig*.

<sup>105</sup> The *smin drug* month corresponds to the period from the sixteenth day of the ninth Tibetan month (*hor zla*) until the fifteenth day of the tenth month. See *Tshig mdzod*, 2170.

<sup>106</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 549.7 and 553.7-554.1, and *Sa skya'i gdung rabs*, 382.

<sup>107</sup> According to *Tshig mdzod*, 556, *rgyal zla ba* can alternatively comprise the period from the sixteenth day of the eleventh Tibetan month until the fifteenth day of the twelfth month.

<sup>108</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs*, 382. According to *ibid.*, Glo-bo mKhan-chen acted as *slob dpon* at Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba's ordination, a title which could refer to the master of ceremonies (*las kyi slob dpon*) or the secret preceptor (*gsang ste ston pa'i slob dpon*).

<sup>109</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 32b.3-33a.2. Glo-bo mKhan-chen also visited the sKyed-tshal and Shel-dkar monasteries during his first or second visit to Central Tibet, since he sent letters from these places. For the letters see below, Part Three, nos. 213 and 275.



stirred up by the monks of the gSer-mdog-can monastery.<sup>110</sup> Authorized enforcers (*sgo non gyi hor 'dra*) with order to suppress his activities were sent to Glo-bo, and he was worried about their oppression of the Ngor-pa monks.<sup>111</sup> He even sent a letter to the Rin-spungs-pa ruler from the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling monastery on the thirteenth day of the fifth month of a bird year (probably on the 30th or 31st of May<sup>112</sup> 1501).<sup>113</sup>

In Glo-bo mKhan-chen's fiftieth year (1505), the region of Glo-bo and the whole western Himalaya were shaken by a great earthquake, which destroyed not only the natural environment, but also many monasteries.<sup>114</sup> No doubt under these circumstances Glo-bo mKhan-chen was glad to accept the invitation by his main student, the Sa-skya bDag-chen Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba, to rTse-gdong.<sup>115</sup> He left his homeland in 1506 (*[me] stag*) for the second time and made his way to rTse-gdong, passing through Sa-skya and Ngor.<sup>116</sup> Besides his involvement in teaching, he probably composed his commentaries on the *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa* of Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182) and the *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) when he resided in rTse-gdong at that time.<sup>117</sup> During his journey home after two years (in 1508), he stopped

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<sup>110</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 33a.3-4. The gSer-mdog-can monastery, located in gTsang, was founded in 1452 by Shākya-mchog-ldan's teacher Don-yod-dpal under the auspices of the Rin-spungs-pa governor Nor-bu-bzang-po. See L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 9.

<sup>111</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 33a.4-b.3. This indicates that Rin-spungs-pa authority reached Glo-bo in ca. 1499, a date which is also given in R. VITALI (1996), 536, for Rin-spungs-pa's gaining control over the whole territory of mNga'-ris.

<sup>112</sup> According to D. SCHUH (1973), \*121\*, the 13th day of the fifth month of the iron-bird year of the eighth cycle (i.e. 1501) corresponds to the 30th (following the astrological tradition of the *Kālacakrantra* and the *Phug-pa* school) or to the 31st (according to 'Phags-pa's system) of May.

<sup>113</sup> See below, Part Three, no. 273.

<sup>114</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 34a.4-b.1, and A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 550.1. For details of this great Himalayan earthquake, see D. JACKSON (2002).

<sup>115</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fols. 34b.5-35a.1.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 35a.2, and A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 550.2.

<sup>117</sup> On these works see below, Part Three, nos. 100 and 101. Although their colophons mention only the place of composition (rTse-gdong) without giving any date, it seems probable that Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote them during his second visit to rTse-gdong, since

at Ngor again and possibly composed his biography of Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa.<sup>118</sup> Later on his way, he rested at Sa-skya once again, where he spent some time in the library of sGo-rum.<sup>119</sup> There he composed his praise of Mahākāla in 1509 (*sbrul lo*).<sup>120</sup>

### 3.3.6 Main Events from the Last Two Decades of His Life (1511-1532)

Glo-bo mKhan-chen returned to Glo-bo in 1511 at the latest, since in that year he ordained mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542) in the bSam-grub-gling monastery.<sup>121</sup> At the same place he moreover composed his autobiography three years later, on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month, i.e. on the fourth of December,<sup>122</sup> of 1514 (*[shing] khyi*).<sup>123</sup> During the following years the master travelled to sKyid-grong to worship the famous Jo-bo<sup>124</sup> of that place and gave teachings at the

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Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba (1485-1533), who requested the second commentary, would probably have been too young during the first visit (1495).

<sup>118</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 550.4. According to the colophon of this work (see below, Part Three, no. 89) Glo-bo mKhan-chen completed it at Ngor in a dragon year, which may be 1496 or 1508.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 550.4. The sGo-rum temple in northern Sa-skya was founded by 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po in 1073.

<sup>120</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *dPal gur*, fol. 40b.2-3. This work is included under no. 82 in the comparative table below (see Chapter 4).

<sup>121</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 3, note 12.

<sup>122</sup> See D. SCHUH (1973), \*124\*.

<sup>123</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub*, fol. 37a.3-4. Since Glo-bo mKhan-chen gives a dog year as the year of composition, the only possible dates for the completion of the autobiography are 1514 and 1526. The latter appears unlikely, however, because Glo-bo mKhan-chen apparently wrote his biography in the first dog year that followed the tiger year in which he set off for his second visit to Central Tibet (see *ibid.*, fol. 35a.2, where he states that he gave teachings from the *last* tiger to the dragon year [1506-8]), and he cannot have made this trip twelve years later (i.e. 1518-20), since this period would not fit the chronology given by A-myes-zhabs, who reports that Glo-bo mKhan-chen visited Central Tibet before Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1453?-1524) became abbot of Ngor in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's fifty-ninth year (i.e. 1514?). See A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 550.7-551.3. Cf. D. JACKSON (1989), 81, who gives 1513 as the first year of Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen's abbothood.

<sup>124</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote a praise and a history of this Buddha statue of sKyid-grong made of sandalwood. See D. SNELLGROVE (1967), 105. Both works are included under nos.

court of the Gung-thang king, one of his patrons.<sup>125</sup> The next secure date that can be located in the biographies is Glo-bo mKhan-chen's sixty-eighth year (1523), the time lHa-mchog-seng-ge (1468-1535) arrived in Glo-bo.<sup>126</sup> This master became the ninth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan one year later and was one of the main spiritual preceptors of mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan-grags-pa-mtha'-yas, bKra-shis-mgon's son, who acted as the ruler of Glo-bo after bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho's death.<sup>127</sup> lHa-mchog-seng-ge also requested the biography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen written by Blo-gros-dpal-mgon. During his visit to Glo-bo he gave many teachings and ordained, together with his teacher Glo-bo mKhan-chen, a great number of monks.<sup>128</sup> After lHa-mchog-seng-ge's departure, Glo-bo mKhan-chen remained in meditation for some months and finally received another student, who would later (in 1534) succeed to the throne of Ngor as the tenth abbot, namely dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557).<sup>129</sup> He received full ordination from Glo-bo mKhan-chen, together with the element "lhun-grub" in his ordination name from that of Glo-bo mKhan-chen.<sup>130</sup>

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's extensive commentary on Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's *mKhas 'jug*, which he composed in the bSam-grub-gling monastery in 1527 (*thams cad 'dul gyi lo*) with the assistance of a certain Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po,<sup>131</sup> may be

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56 and 93 in the comparative table found below (see Chapter 4).

<sup>125</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 551.3 and 552.1-2, and BLO-GROS-RGYAL-MTSHAN, fol. 70b.5. On the same occasion Glo-bo mKhan-chen probably also visited the Chos-sdings monastery located in the area of sPo-rong near the Pad-khud-mtsho (see P. WANGDU and H. DIEMBERGER [1996], 81), since he sent a letter from there, most likely in 1518. On the letter see below, Part Three, no. 255.

<sup>126</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 552.4. See also D. JACKSON (1984), 72, note 13.

<sup>127</sup> See the "Tsarang Molla" in D. JACKSON (1984), 149. On the period of lHa-mchog-seng-ge's abbothood, see D. JACKSON (1989b), 81.

<sup>128</sup> A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 551.3 and 552.4-6.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.7.

<sup>130</sup> D. JACKSON (1991b), 237.

<sup>131</sup> This scribe assisted Glo-bo mKhan-chen with at least two other works. See below, Part Three, nos. 217 and 317. A second scribe called dPal-ldan-grags-pa (often mentioned under the Sanskrit translation of his name, "Śrīmatkīrti"), who seems to have worked with Glo-bo mKhan-chen in Glo-bo and in Central Tibet, is found in many colophons of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings. See below, Part Three, e.g. nos. 101, 109, and 305. The name of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's third scribe was dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan. See below, Part Three, no. 315.

regarded as the concluding culmination of his scholarly career.<sup>132</sup> This work, the longest of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's compositions, had been requested by rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the religious preceptor of the Gu-ge king, who was another patron of the master.<sup>133</sup> Apart from this ruler and the aforementioned king of Gung-thang, the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) of Mar-yul (La-dwags) is included among Glo-bo mKhan-chen's sponsors.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, he was the teacher of Sa-skya Lo-tsa-ba's brothers bDag-chen Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po and bDag-chen 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa, as well as of bDag-chen Tshe-bdag-pa (?), A-mgon Rab-'byams-pa rGyal-mtshan-rin-chen, Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan from sGo-mangs (in Gung-thang), and dPal-ldan-bkra-shis from Nam-gling (in Gung-thang).<sup>135</sup>

### 3.3.7 *Date of His Death*

As with Glo-bo mKhan-chen's date of birth, his passing at the bSam-grub-gling monastery, too, has been ascribed to different years.<sup>136</sup> If one follows the chronology outlined in the present biographical sketch, only one of the existing determinations appears to be possible, namely the twenty-ninth day of the first month of the dragon year, being the master's seventy-seventh year (i.e. 1532).<sup>137</sup> The two other dates that are found in Tibetan and Western sources (i.e. 1489 and 1525) may be easily excluded, since they presuppose too early a death of Glo-bo mKhan-chen in view of some events that evidently took place later.<sup>138</sup> While the first date would not even allow a meeting between Glo-bo mKhan-chen and his student dKon-mchog-lhun-

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<sup>132</sup> On this work see below, Part Three, no. 320.

<sup>133</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 70b.5. See also D. JACKSON (1987), 212, who had wrongly identified rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po as a king of Guge.

<sup>134</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 70b.5.

<sup>135</sup> Moreover, in the autobiography of bSod-nams-dbang-phyug (1660-1731), a person with the name of Khyi-ku is mentioned who studied in Glo-bo under a lama called bSod-nams-lhun-grub, who may be identical to Glo-bo mKhan-chen. However, the date of Khyi-ku's joining his teacher sometime during or shortly after Glo-bo mKhan-chen's father A-mgon-bzang-po's reign appears a little bit too early, since Glo-bo mKhan-chen would have been in his teens at that time. See D. SNELGROVE (1967), 235.

<sup>136</sup> The place of his death is given in A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 553.5.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* According to D. SCHUH (1973), \*129\*, this date corresponds to 6 March 1532.

<sup>138</sup> 1489 as the date of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's death is found in Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15, L. PETECH (1980), 104, and D. MARTIN (1997), 71. Mi-rigsCat, 91, and F.-K. EHRHARD (1996), 58, give 1525.

grub (b. 1497), the second falls before the master composed his *mKhas 'jug* commentary, which can be dated to the fire-pig year of the ninth cycle (1527) with some certainty, since Glo-bo mKhan-chen would have been too young to compose this extensive work sixty years earlier (i.e. in 1467).

*A Chronological Chart of the Main Events  
in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Life*

Year	Age	Event
1456		Birth in Glo-bo sMon-thang in the fire-mouse year
1457	1	Takes refuge in the presence of 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho
1458	2	Receives an empowerment from bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po
1460/61	4/5	Receives empowerments from bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po
1464	8	Takes lay vows from Yon-tan-chos-rgyal
1466	10	Receives empowerments and instructions, including <i>Lam 'bras</i> teachings, and takes novice vows from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug during the latter's first visit to Glo-bo
1467-72	11-16	Studies Prajñāpāramitā and Pramāṇa with Rwa-chen
1472	16	Studies the <i>Pramāṇavārttika</i> , the <i>Mūlavinayasūtra</i> , and the <i>Abhidharmakośa</i> with Yon-tan-chos-rgyal; gives his inaugural exposition in the Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba temple on the fourth day of the sixth month of the dragon year; receives tantric teachings from Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (until 1473/74); Shākya-mchog-ldan visits Glo-bo
1473	17	Studies with Shākya-mchog-ldan
1474	18	Shākya-mchog-ldan leaves Glo-bo; later Glo-bo mKhan-chen requests a history of rNgog Lo-tsa-ba's tradition from Shākya-mchog-ldan and poses questions on the <i>mKhas 'jug</i> to him

Year	Age	Event
1477	21	Receives teachings and takes full monastic ordination in the Byams-pa-gling temple from Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug during the latter's second visit to Glo-bo; is appointed abbot of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling
1478	22	Death of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug in Glo-bo
after 1479		Problems with Shākya-mchog-ldan and elder brother bKra-shis-mgon arise
1482	26	Composes two commentaries on the <i>Tshad ma rigs gter</i> in Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling; later studies with Gu-ge Pañ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan for some years
ca. 1488	32	End of his abbothood in Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling; stays in the 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang
1489	33	Death of his eldest brother bKra-shis-mgon; composes a commentary on the <i>sDom gsum rab dbye</i> in the 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang; later problems with second-eldest brother A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa
1490 (?)	34	Composes the biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug in Brag-dkar-theg-chen-gling
1493	37	Goes to gTsang; stays in Rin-chen-rtse for one winter; later visits rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal
1494	38	Resides in Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan for one summer and studies with dKon-mchog-'phel; returns to Rin-chen-rtse for a second winter; later visits rTse-gdong
1495	39	Gives lay vows to Sa-skya Lo-tsa-ba Kun-dga'-bsod-nams
ca. 1496	40	Death of his second eldest brother A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa; returns to Glo-bo
ca. 1500	44	Death of his youngest brother bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho; problems with the Rin-spungs-pa ruler
1501	45	Sends letter to the Rin-spungs-pa ruler from Brag-dkar-theg-chen-gling on the 13th day of the fifth month of the bird year
1505	49	Earthquake in Glo-bo

<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Event</b>
1506-8	50-52	Visits Central Tibet for a second time on the invitation of Sa-lo Kun-dga'-bsod-nams; goes to Sa-skyā, Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan and rTse-gdong; gives teachings to Sa-lo, and then visits Ngor E-waṃ and Sa-skyā again
1509	53	Stays at sGo-rum and composes a praise of the Mahākāla there
1511	55	Ordinates mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen in bSam-grub-gling
1514	58	Completes his autobiography in bSam-grub-gling on the 18th day of the eleventh month of the dog year; later worships the sKyid-grong Jo-bo and teaches at the court of the Gung-thang king
1523	67	lHa-mchog-seng-ge visits Glo-bo; later Glo-bo mKhan-chen stays in retreat for some months; thereafter dKon-mchog-lhun-grub visits Glo-bo
1527	71	Composes the commentary on the <i>mKhas 'jug</i> in bSam-grub-gling
1532	76	Death in the bSam-grub-gling monastery on the 29th day of the first month of the dragon year





## CHAPTER 4

### Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works

Glo-bo mKhan-chen's œuvre consists of more than three hundred works, but only a few of them have been taken into account by modern scholarship to date. Apart from P. HUGON (2002) and several studies published by D. Jackson, Western publications have mentioned only Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's main compositions, i.e. on the *Tshad ma rigs gter*, *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*, *mKhas 'jug*, and *sDom gsum rab dbye*.<sup>1</sup> The greatest part of his writings, however, has remained unnoticed until now, mainly because a complete set of his works has not been commonly available. The purpose of the present chapter is therefore to describe Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works with regard to their extant versions and contents. Finally, I will attempt to draw up a composite list of his compositions by comparing seven catalogues of his writings.

#### 4.1 Manuscript Collections and Xylograph Editions

Sets of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works seem to have already existed in Glo-bo and Sa-skya soon after his death in 1532.<sup>2</sup> Today the following manuscript collections and blockprint editions of his writings are known:<sup>3</sup>

1. *dBu med* manuscript set from Gelung

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance D. JACKSON (1983b, 1984, 1987). Other Western publications that make use of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings mainly include studies by L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983, 1985, 1993), who also mentions Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biography of Go-rams-pa besides his commentaries. For further details, see below, Part Three, where references to works of modern scholarship are given (where available) for each of the works described.

<sup>2</sup> In D. SNELGROVE (1967), 88, bSod-nams-blo-gros (1516-1581) mentions within the context of his autobiography that he studied in Glo-bo the complete works of a certain bSod-nams-lhun-grub ("Merit Self Created"). This seems to have happened in the 1540s. According to A-MYES-ZHABS, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs*, 415, a set of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works was in use in Sa-skya at the time of sNgags-'chang Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517-1584). See D. JACKSON (1987), 220, note 17.

<sup>3</sup> The works that are included in the following six collections have not been listed in detail, but they may easily be found in the comparative table below.

2. Manuscripts of unknown provenance listed in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang catalogue<sup>4</sup>
3. *dBu med* manuscripts from an unknown monastery in Glo-bo
4. "Golden manuscripts" (*gser chos*) preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo
5. Prints from Derge
6. Prints from Ngor

#### 4.1.1 *The dBu med Manuscript Set from Gelung*

The only complete set of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings known today is available in the form of microfilm copies made under the auspices of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). They are kept in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Unfortunately, some of the works are partly illegible due to the bad quality of several photographs. The collection was filmed in the bKra-shis-chos-gling monastery of Gelung, a village in Glo-bo, in 1986. It is divided into four physical volumes (*ka* to *nga*) comprising approximately 287 works<sup>5</sup> and is written in *dbu med* script on pages measuring 40.6 x 9 cm.,<sup>6</sup> with seven lines per page.

At the beginning of the first volume there is a catalogue for the complete collection, which has already been published by D. Jackson.<sup>7</sup> The date of the manuscripts is unknown to me.

#### 4.1.2 *Manuscripts of Unknown Provenance Listed in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang Catalogue*

The manuscripts included in the catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, containing the titles of one hundred and eighty collected works of various Tibetan masters, represent the second largest collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works that has come to light so far. The manuscripts had been preserved in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang in Beijing for some time, but have now been sent back to Tibet (Lhasa), where they

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<sup>4</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 223, note 20, suggests that the manuscripts might come from Sa-skya or Ngor. See also *ibid.*, 220, note 17.

<sup>5</sup> This is the number of titles found in the catalogue of the collection. Actually, the set probably comprises some more works. See below, 4.3.

<sup>6</sup> The description is based on the data given on the catalogue card of the NGMPP.

<sup>7</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 546-554. This catalogue is listed in Tō, 62, no. 41-678-1, under "(bSod nams lhun grub bka' 'bum) dkar chag."

will be kept permanently. Nothing definite is known about the provenance and physical appearance of these manuscripts. They possibly come from the Sa-skya or Ngor E-wam-chos-ldan monasteries.<sup>8</sup>

The catalogue that is contained in Mi-rigsCat, 68-88, gives no details apart from the titles of the texts and the numbers of folios.<sup>9</sup> It consists of three lists, the first being divided into three volumes (*ka* to *ga*).<sup>10</sup> These volumes correspond roughly to those of GeCat, but include also works that are found in the fourth volume of GeCat. The second list gives titles of several works that are included in the first two volumes of GeCat, and the third contains some writings found in the first volume of GeCat. A comparison of the lists shows that the manuscripts are fragments of three different sets.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.1.3 *dbu med Manuscripts from an Unknown Monastery in Glo-bo*

In the 1970s fragments of a Glo-bo manuscript set of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works were reproduced in India in two separate publications.<sup>12</sup> The manuscripts seem to derive from a set of four volumes similar to the Gelung set. The similarity between the two sets is evident, for example, from the contents and structure of the third volume of the *dbu med* manuscript set published in India in 1979, which, bearing the marginal notation “*ga*” on all folios, includes nearly the same works arranged in an identical order as those in the third volume of GeCat.

The published fraction includes the third volume of the collected works, a *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentary, and a composition on Mi-la-ras-pa. The texts are written in an *dbu med* script with seven lines per page.

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<sup>8</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 223, note 20.

<sup>9</sup> Note that Glo-bo mKhan-chen's *bka' 'bum* is found under the heading *Klo-bo mKhan-chen* in the catalogue.

<sup>10</sup> For the lists, see below, Appendix C.

<sup>11</sup> See the comparative table below.

<sup>12</sup> *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo* (Gangtok: S. T. Kazi, 1970) and *The Collected Works (gSung 'bum) of Glo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub* (New Delhi: Ngawang Topgay, 1977).

4.1.4 *The "Golden Manuscripts" (gser chos) Preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo*

The collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings preserved in the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo is restricted to volumes one (*ka*), six (*cha*), and eight (*nya*) of originally eight volumes (*ka* to *nya*). Moreover, a second version of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography deriving from volume five (*ca*) is included in the set.<sup>13</sup> The manuscripts of this collection are written in alternating gold and silver *dbu can* letters on black paper (hence the name "golden manuscripts") with six lines per page.<sup>14</sup>

The catalogue for this corpus is found in the first volume, between fols. 94 and 95, and has been published by D. Jackson.<sup>15</sup> According to Jackson, the manuscripts can be dated to the second half of the 17th century.<sup>16</sup> Since two Glo-bo rulers seem to have commissioned the set,<sup>17</sup> it is most probable that the manuscripts originally came from Glo-bo.

4.1.5 *Prints from Derge*

According to a list of the Derge prints compiled by bKra-shis-rdo-rje, twelve of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works were printed at Derge.<sup>18</sup> The blocks of this edition, with six

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<sup>13</sup> This volume probably belongs to a different set. On the versions of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography, see above, 3.2.1.1.

<sup>14</sup> The details given about the physical appearance of the original manuscripts are partly based on D. JACKSON (1987), 212.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 555-565.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE (1983), 328-330. Note that the fourth work of bKra-shis-rdo-rje's list, the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal rgyal sras 'phags pa'i lam gyi sgrung 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer*, has been erroneously ascribed to Glo-bo mKhan-chen, though actually it is a composition of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's disciple Zhang mDo-sde-dpal (fl. ca. 1250-1280). The confusion was probably caused by the existence of a similar composition by Glo-bo mKhan-chen, namely the *rGyal sras lam bzang gi skyabs kyi gam brgyud nyer mkho*, which has not been printed at Derge. See also D. JACKSON (1987), 221, note 20. With the exception of the list of contents of the printed works (*dkar chag*), which is included in bKra-shis-rdo-rje's list (as no. 5), the Derge prints are also listed in the catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang. See Mi-rigsCat, 88f.

lines per page, were probably carved in the late 1940s.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the list of contents (*dkar chag*), all of them have been published in Dehra Dun.<sup>20</sup>

#### 4.1.6 *Prints from Ngor*

A list of printing blocks in Central Tibet dating to the 1950s mentions blockprints at Ngor of two commentaries on the *sDom gsum rab dbye* ascribed to Glo-bo mKhan-chen, the *sDom gsum rab dbye'i dka' gnad rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag* and the *brGal lan snying gi mun sel*.<sup>21</sup> The second title seems to be a mixture of two separate compositions by Glo-bo mKhan-chen, namely the *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel* and the *sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel*. Two blockprints, one bearing the title of the first work listed in the index of the blocks from Ngor, and another, namely the *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel*, have been photographed by the NGMPP in the private library of Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin Rin-po-che in Tyangpoche.<sup>22</sup> It appears probable that both texts, measuring 57 x 10.5 cm.<sup>23</sup> and having seven lines per page, originally come from Ngor. Therefore it is most likely that the second title appearing in the aforementioned listing of Tibetan xylograph blocks at Ngor represents the text *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel*, the term "*brgal lan*" being a misprint for "*skal ldan*," a possibility supported by the similar pronunciation of both expressions.<sup>24</sup> The printing date of the texts is unknown to me; one possible hint to it, however, might be a date given in the final colophon of one of the works, where a sheep year is mentioned.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 222, note 20, and 227, note 35.

<sup>20</sup> See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *mKhas pa rnam s'jug, rGyud sde spyi* and *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*.

<sup>21</sup> *Gangs can gyi ljongs*, 217.4-5 (fol. 25a.4-5).

<sup>22</sup> L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 92f., describes both prints, which—according to him—were filmed in 1984 in the "Syang Gonpa" (*ibid.*, 88) and are kept under the single reel no. L73/4. This information disagrees with the details given by the NGMPP on the catalogue cards for two texts with titles identical to those given by L. van der Kuijp, of which I could obtain a copy in May 1999. They are catalogued under the reel nos. L 166/6 and 7, which may indicate a second filming. The texts are said to have been photographed in "Tyangpoche," "Tyang" being possibly an alternative spelling for "Syang," in 1988.

<sup>23</sup> This size is given on the catalogue card of the NGMPP. Strangely enough, L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 92f., gives 55 x 10 cm. as dimensions. Possibly, van der Kuijp referred to a different folio of the text than the catalogue card.

<sup>24</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1983), 19, and (1987), 222, note 20, however, not the *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel*, but the *sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel*, was printed at Ngor.

<sup>25</sup> See below, Descriptive Catalogue, work no. 109. See also L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 93.

## 4.2 Contents and Structure of the *gsung 'bum*

### 4.2.1 Contents

The works contained in Glo-bo mKhan chen's oeuvre may be classified into the following literary types:

1. Commentaries
2. Biographies and histories
3. Letters
4. Works written in connection with ritual or meditative practice
5. Praises
6. Records, dedicatory verses, and the like
7. Others

#### 4.2.1.1 Commentaries

Among Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings, his commentaries on Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's major compositions represent his most significant works. Especially his comments on the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* and the *mKhas 'jug*, as the only complete commentaries on these treatises, are of great importance for the study of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's works. Moreover, some of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's commentaries include quotations from some rare compositions by Sa-skyia Paṇḍita that otherwise would be inaccessible to modern scholars.<sup>26</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote four commentaries on the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* (nos. 312-315),<sup>27</sup> one on the *mKhas 'jug* (no. 320), three on the *Tshad ma rigs gter* (nos. 200-202), and six on the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (nos. 109, 125, 196, 227, and 317-318).

Furthermore, Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed works on Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa* (nos. 100 and 102), rJe-btsun Grag-spa-rgyal-mtshan's *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* (no. 101), and Nāgārjuna's *Dharmadhātustotra* (no. 199).<sup>28</sup> Finally, there are found teaching aids (*'chad thabs*) and annotations (*mchan bu*) for various tantric texts (nos. 73, 106, 115, and 127).

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<sup>26</sup> D. JACKSON (1991b), 236.

<sup>27</sup> The numbers refer to the composite list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works found below, Appendix A.

<sup>28</sup> Nāgārjuna's *Dharmadhātustotra* is found in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 2010 of the Peking edition.

#### 4.2.1.2 Biographies and Histories

Seven biographies are included in the collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works. Besides his autobiography (no. 1), he wrote on the lives of two of his teachers—Kundga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478) (no. 88) and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1476) (no. 90)—and also of Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489) (no. 89), dMarston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (no. 91), and Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal (1237-1323) and Laru-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (no. 92).<sup>29</sup> He also devoted some verses of praise to the life of his teacher dKon-mchog-'phel (1445-1514) (no. 25) and composed a brief *avadāna* of Slob-dpon Kun-bzang-chos-dpal (no. 307), as well as a history of the sKyid-grong Jo-bo (no. 93) and the Shar-pa family (no. 94). Finally, he even penned a short history of the Indian Śākya lineage (no. 278).

#### 4.2.1.3 Letters

Glo-bo mKhan-chen addressed letters to a variety of recipients, including his brothers, bKra-shis-mgon (no. 234) and A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (nos. 237-243), and nephews, mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan (nos. 209-211) and Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (nos. 261-264), the ruler of Gung-thang (?) Chos-rgyal Nor-bu (nos. 232-4) and an unidentified Gung-thang king (nos. 251-252), the prince of La-stod Byang (no. 235), as well as a Rin-spungs-pa ruler (no. 273). He corresponded, moreover, with rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the religious preceptor of the Gu-ge king (nos. 204-6), the preceptor of the prince of La-stod Byang (no. 215), Sa-skyia Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533) (nos. 217, 247, and 274), Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527/8) (no. 214), sNe-shangs Lo-tsā-ba dPal-ldan-grags-pa (nos. 245-246), the head official of the Ngor Khang-gsar Bla-brang (no. 236), a noble descendant of Ye-shes-'od (nos. 249 and 253-256), Ra-nag-pa (no. 257),<sup>30</sup> his scribe (?) dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (no. 266), and one of Go-rams-pa's students called Lha-dbang-blo-gros (no. 276).<sup>31</sup> He also wrote an epistle to Sa-skyia Paṇḍita (no. 226).

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<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed a biography of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita which is included in his *mKhas 'jug* commentary. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *mKhas pa rnam 'jug*, 4.1-57.6 (fols. 2b.1-29a.6). See also below, note 280.

<sup>30</sup> On Ra-nag-pa, see below, Part Three, note 167.

<sup>31</sup> Lha-dbang-blo-gros is mentioned as Go-rams-pa's disciple in L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 120.

The identity of the following recipients of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's letters is unknown to me: Slob-dpon Yon-tan-'byung-gnas (nos. 207-208),<sup>32</sup> the physician Chos-skyong-dpal-bzang (no. 212), dPon-btsun Kun-dga'-dpal-bzang (no. 213), Nang-so (Zhang-po?) rGyal-ba'i-dbang-po (no. 216), Rab-'byams-pa Blo-gros-rab-gsal (no. 218), bKa'-bcu-pa dPal-'byor (no. 219), Bla-ma dPal-skyabs (nos. 220 and 248), ruler Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (no. 244), She'u-ri-pa (no. 250), dPon-po rMa (no. 258), Drung Rab-'byams-pa Ye-shes-dbang-phyug and dGe-slong Dar-bzang-ba (no. 259), Bla-ma Sho-ma-phug-pa (no. 260), Bla-ma bZang-po (no. 265), Chos-rje Nor-bu (= Nor-bu-phun-tshogs?) (no. 271), Khri-gts-rtse mKhan-po Rab-brtan-bzang-po (no. 272),<sup>33</sup> four monks of Khams Zil-gnon (no. 275), and the physician rGyal-mtshan-rdo-rje (no. 277).

#### 4.2.1.4 Works Written in Connection with Ritual or Meditative Practice<sup>34</sup>

This category of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's compositions comprises mainly different kinds of works intended for various rituals and ceremonies (*khros chog*, *cho ga*, *gtor chog*, *gtor 'bul*, *byin brlabs*, etc.) (nos. 108, 111, 113, 128, 131-132, 135, 137, 144, 147, 164-166, 181, 183, 188, 192, and 198), *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*, *mngon rtogs*) (nos. 110, 112, 129, 136, 146, 149, 153, 161, 167, 170-173, 175-176, and 182), meditation texts (*sgom thabs*, *sgom zlas*, etc.) (nos. 97, 140, 143, 151, and 157), empowerments (*rjes gnang*) (nos. 139, 141, 150, 154, 156, and 162-163), and recitation aids (*bsnyen thabs*, *'don thabs*) (nos. 148, 168, and 174). Furthermore, it includes outlines (*tho yig*) of rituals (nos. 103, 114, 120-124, 126, 129-130, 134, 138, 142, 155, 158-161, 169, 177-180, 184, and 194-195), a table of contents (*sa bcad*) of a *sādhana* (no. 116), and topical outlines of liturgies (*bsdus don*, *bsdus pa*) (nos. 98-99, 117-119, and 193).

#### 4.2.1.5 Praises

At least thirty Tibetan masters were praised by Glo-bo mKhan-chen in verse eulogies. In his compositions he worshipped not only the five founders of the Sa-skyapa

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<sup>32</sup> This could be Rwa-ston Yon-tan-'byung-gnas, the *gsang ston* at Sa-skya Lo-tsa-ba's ordination. See A-MYES-ZHABS, *Sa skya'i gdung rabs*, 383.

<sup>33</sup> This master could be identical to a certain Blo-gros-rab-brtan mentioned among lamas from the Khri-se monastery in the *Baidūrya ser po*. See SDE-SRID SANGS-RGYAS-RGYA-MTSHO, 279.

<sup>34</sup> Some of the following works have been assigned to the present category because they do not clearly belong to another group. Their classification remains tentative.



tradition<sup>35</sup> (nos. 7-14), but also those six abbots of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan to whom he had a special—not necessarily personal—relationship, namely Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1389-1456) (no. 15),<sup>36</sup> 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1396-1474) (no. 22), Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478) (nos. 16-21), Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa (1429-1489) (no. 23), dKon-mchog-'phel (1445-1514) (nos. 24-25), and Lha-mchog-seng-ge (1468-1535) (no. 42).

Moreover, Glo-bo mKhan-chen composed praises of his teachers rNal-'byor-dbang-phyug bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan (no. 36), Yon-tan-chos-rgyal (no. 30), Rwa-ston Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po (nos. 31-32), Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1476) (nos. 33-35), and Gu-ge Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1486) (nos. 26-28), as well as his most prominent disciple, Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (no. 40). Among other persons honoured by Glo-bo mKhan-chen are found his students mKhan-chen dKon-mchog-chos-skyabs (no. 47)<sup>37</sup> and Rab-'byams-pa rGyal-mtshan-rin-chen (no. 49),<sup>38</sup> as well as three disciples of Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa, namely Kong-ston dBang-phyug-grub-pa (no. 41), Mus Rab-'byams-pa Thugs-rje-dpal-bzang (no. 38), who was the founder of the 'Jad Thub-bstan-yangs-pa-can seminary, and mGon-po-dbang-phyug (no. 48).<sup>39</sup>

The identity of the remaining eight masters, including Bla-ma Rab-brtan-bzang-po (no. 37), Bla-ma Kun-brtson-pa (no. 39), dBu-mdzad Ngag-dbang-bzang-po (no. 43), bDag-chen Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (no. 44), Bla-ma Kun-dga'-chos-legs (no. 45), Bla-ma Tshul-khrims-dpal (no. 46), Bla-ma Tshul-rgyal (no. 50), and dPon-btsun dKon-mchog-grags-pa (no. 55), remains unclear. Furthermore, Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote praises of deities, including praises of the Buddha statue of sKyid-grong (no. 56), of the Maitreyas of dGa-gdong (no. 59) and of Khro-phu (no. 60), of Prajñāpāramitā (no. 54), Tārā (nos. 61-70), Mahākāla (nos. 79-82), and other deities (nos. 51-52, 57-58, 72, 75, 77-78, and 83-84), a praise of the Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan monastery (no. 76), and of the lineage of tantric lamas (no. 71).

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<sup>35</sup> The five founders are Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158), Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182), rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), Sa-skyā Paṅḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), and 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280).

<sup>36</sup> This praise of Ngor-chen is probably identical to that mentioned in SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 532.2 (fol. 29b.2)

<sup>37</sup> He is mentioned as Glo-bo mKhan-chen's student in BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, fol. 25a.1.

<sup>38</sup> This master is included in the list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's students in *ibid.*, fol. 70b.1.

<sup>39</sup> On these masters, see D. JACKSON (1987), 136, and L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 120.

#### 4.2.1.6 Records, Dedicatory Verses, and the Like

The determination of the exact genre of the *dkar chag* and “*mtshon byed*” works found among Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings proves to be difficult in many cases. This group of texts comprises, on the one hand, lists of contents of a set of seventy-two tantras (no. 107) and of the wooden book covers of the tantric corpus commissioned by the Glo-bo ruler bKra-shis-mgon (no. 284). On the other hand, it contains brief records or catalogues together with dedicatory verses for various collections, including the golden volumes of the *mdo mangs* collection commissioned by Glo-bo mKhan-chen's brother A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (no. 283), and another *mdo mangs* collection (no. 308), for manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (nos. 285, 288, and 298-301) and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (no. 304), a manuscript of the *Hevajratāntra* (no. 286), a golden volume commissioned by bDag-chen Gur-gum-rgyal-mo (no. 302), a manuscript of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (nos. 305), a *bka' 'bum* of unknown identity (no. 310), and for a manuscript of the three *sūtras rGya nag skag zlog, mDo sde za ma tog* (Skt. *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra*),<sup>40</sup> and *gSer 'od dam pa* (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*) (no. 309).<sup>41</sup>

He also wrote dedicatory verses in commemoration of the building of temples, including the *gtsug lag khang* of bDe-gshegs-gling (no. 290) and the *gtsug lag khang* of Phun-tshogs-bsam-gtan-gling (no. 296), as well as lists of deities in the *lha khangs* of the rGyal-ba'i-gtsug-lag-khang (?) (no. 297) and in the assembly hall of the Chos-zom monastery (no. 303), and an evocational description of the deities in the golden temple of bSam-'grub-gling (no. 295). Finally, Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote a record with dedicatory verses for a hanging brocade ornament of the Ngam-rings monastery (no. 293).

#### 4.2.1.7 Others

Among the remaining works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen, his *thob yig* (no. 197) is worthy of particular notice. Furthermore, there exist works on the lineage of the *Lam 'bras* lamas (nos. 5 and 6) and on the *guru* transmission worshipped with nectar in the Vajrakīla cycle (no. 29), a summary of Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* in verse (no. 53),<sup>42</sup> as well as descriptions of thangkas, including the eleven thangkas of lamas of the *Lam*

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<sup>40</sup> This *sūtra* is found in the bKa'-'gyur under no. 784 of the Peking edition.

<sup>41</sup> This *sūtra* is found in the bKa'-'gyur under nos. 174-176 of the Peking edition.

<sup>42</sup> Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* is found in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5650 of the Peking edition.

'bras tradition found in Ngor (no. 85), a painting of Mahākāla (no. 86), and a portrait of Sa-chen (no. 87).

Moreover, he composed a work on Aśvaghōṣa's *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* (no. 74),<sup>43</sup> lecture notes (*zin bris*) of an oral *Lam 'bras* teaching (no. 95) and of a teaching on the prostration practice of the five limbs of the body, i.e. the head, two arms, and two knees (no. 96), an explanation of the legend of *yakṣa* Khasarpaṇa (no. 104), summaries of the *Āryakaraṇḍavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra* (no. 145)<sup>44</sup> and of the *rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs kyi 'grel pa* by Śāntarakṣita (no. 191),<sup>45</sup> a description of the main contents of Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (no. 222),<sup>46</sup> topical outlines of Kamalaśīla's second *Bhāvanākrama* (no. 223)<sup>47</sup> and of Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* (no. 225),<sup>48</sup> compositions on the seven major sacred lands (*yul chen po bdun*) (no. 185) and on the holy spots of Tsāri<sup>49</sup> and Devīkoṭa<sup>50</sup> (no. 189), a work on the three vows that probably is not a commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye* (no. 186), a treatise on the determination of the value of precious stones (no. 221), a short text on the one hundred and eight basic items of the Prajñāpāramitā (no. 224), verses of praise for the arrival of Lha-mchog-seng-ge in Glo-bo (no. 190), and other kinds of verses, for instance for hanging ornaments (nos. 75, 229, 280-282, 289, 291-292, and 294).

Furthermore, Glo-bo mKhan-chen wrote an introductory work on epistemology belonging to the *blo rigs* genre (no. 203) and a text on logic from the *rTags rigs* genre (no. 279),<sup>51</sup> as well as a short explanation of Mi-la-ras-pa's philosophical viewpoint

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<sup>43</sup> Aśvaghōṣa's *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* is found in the bsTan-'gyur as no. 2040 of the Peking edition.

<sup>44</sup> This *sūtra* is found in the bKa'-'gyur under no. 784 of the Peking edition.

<sup>45</sup> This work by Śāntarakṣita could not be located in the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>46</sup> Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is found in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5336 of the Peking edition.

<sup>47</sup> The second *Bhāvanākrama* is found in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5311 of the Peking edition.

<sup>48</sup> Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* is found in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5330 of the Peking edition.

<sup>49</sup> On the district of Tsari (var. Tsāri) to the south-east of Tibet and the holy mountain Dakpa Sheri, a popular goal of pilgrims situated within its boundaries, see T. HUBER (1999), who presents a detailed study of the pilgrimage tradition of this area.

<sup>50</sup> See T. HUBER (1990).

<sup>51</sup> On these genres of Tibetan literature, see S. ONODA (1996). On the second of these texts, the *rTags kyi rnam gzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me*, see also P. HUGON (2002).

(no. 228), texts for funeral ceremonies (nos. 267-270), auspicious wishes for two New-Year celebrations (nos. 287 and 311), and a work on the non-tantric stages and path (no. 319).

#### 4.2.2 Structure

According to the ancient catalogues GeCat and TōCat, Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works were originally arranged into four volumes—numbered *ka* to *nga* (henceforth *ka<sub>G</sub>* to *nga<sub>G</sub>*)—or eight volumes—numbered *ka* to *nya* (henceforth *ka<sub>T</sub>* to *nya<sub>T</sub>*). Although the order of the titles in the first catalogue is not identical in detail to that of TōCat, it is evident that the contents of *ka<sub>T</sub>* and *kha<sub>T</sub>* roughly correspond to *ka<sub>G</sub>*, and that *ga<sub>T</sub>* and *nga<sub>T</sub>* represent approximately *kha<sub>G</sub>*. *Ca<sub>T</sub>*, *cha<sub>T</sub>*, and the greatest part of *ja<sub>T</sub>* are included, apart from some small differences, in *ga<sub>G</sub>*, and the remaining works of *ja<sub>T</sub>* as well as *nya<sub>T</sub>* in *nga<sub>G</sub>*.

The one hundred and three works of *ka<sub>G</sub>*, or the one hundred and six of *ka<sub>T</sub>* and *kha<sub>T</sub>*, contain primarily praises, biographies, and histories, as well as the commentaries on bSod-nams-rtse-mo's and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's works. Among the eighty titles of *kha<sub>G</sub>*, or ninety of *ga<sub>T</sub>* and *nga<sub>T</sub>*, the majority represents liturgies and related genres, as well as some of the *sDom gsum rab dbye* commentaries. The first part of volume *ga<sub>G</sub>*, which corresponds to *ca<sub>T</sub>* and *cha<sub>T</sub>*, includes mainly letters and several commentaries on the *Tshad ma rigs gter*.<sup>52</sup> The second part of this volume, which has its counterpart in the first portion of *ja<sub>T</sub>*, comprises mainly records and dedicatory verses for various collections. Both parts consist of ninety-six compositions in total. The last volume *nga<sub>G</sub>*, containing many of the works found in the second part of *ja<sub>T</sub>* and comprising eight titles, incorporates chiefly commentaries on the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*, the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, and the *mKhas 'jug*, the latter commentary constituting the whole of volume *nya<sub>T</sub>*.

### 4.3 Comparison of the Available Catalogues

The first thing one notices from a comparison<sup>53</sup> of the two ancient catalogues GeCat and TōCat is that the latter includes an additional twenty-four titles. Apart from the fact that many of the smaller works have probably been overlooked while being

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<sup>52</sup> *Cha<sub>T</sub>*, moreover, contains one commentary on the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* and another one on the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, both missing in GeCat. Both works are described below, Part Three, nos. 315 and 227.

<sup>53</sup> See the comparative table below.

catalogued,<sup>54</sup> it is hard to understand why two important texts, namely the *Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter* (no. 315), being a *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* commentary, and the *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje* (no. 227), a *sDom gsum rab dbye* commentary, are missing in GeCat. While checking the microfilm copy of the manuscript set from Gelung, however, I could locate the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* commentary in volume *nga* following the work found in GeCat as number 282. The composition on the *sDom gsum rab dbye* could also be detected in the Gelung collection, preceding number 207 of GeCat.

The list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works contained in sByin-pa-grags-pa's *gsan yig* (BG) comprises 249 titles and follows roughly the structure of GeCat and TōCat (without arranging the collection into single volumes). Fourteen of the titles could not be identified and have been appended to the composite table (see Appendix A).

From a juxtaposition of the three lists of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works kept in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang (henceforth Mi-rigsCat1 to 3), one can conclude that they represent parts of three separate sets, since they overlap in several cases. Moreover, all three include titles that cannot be linked with the traditional catalogues GeCat and TōCat. Of these additional works, those that could be clearly identified as compositions that are not mentioned under another title in the catalogues have been incorporated into the composite list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings below.<sup>55</sup> Other titles of uncertain identification have been appended to the composite table, since they could be identical to the works already included in the ancient catalogues. Mi-rigsCat1 gives five extra titles that I suppose do not occur in GeCat or TōCat. The most important of them is a *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentary (no. 202) that was also printed in Derge and has been published in Dehra Dun.<sup>56</sup> The other four comprise a liturgy (no. 157), a topical outline of an empowerment (no. 169), an additional letter to rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po (no. 204), and a list of deities of the Chos-zom monastery's assembly hall (no. 303).<sup>57</sup> Mi-rigsCat2 includes a further praise (no. 77) and Mi-rigsCat3 lists—the only available source to do so—a work that might be the second

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<sup>54</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed in GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, where many titles of texts that begin in the middle of a folio and have no extra title page are missing from the table of contents.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>56</sup> GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, vol. 1, 1-57 (fols. 1a-29a).

<sup>57</sup> All five titles are also mentioned in BG.

version of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography (no. 1), which is contained in volume *ca* of the "golden manuscripts" preserved in the Tōyō Bunko.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned two ancient catalogues, the listing found in BG, and the three lists of Mi-rigsCat, there exists a catalogue of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's writings by Khenpo Appey (henceforth KA).<sup>59</sup> It is part of a compilation of the collected works of Sa-skya-pa scholars, beginning with Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158) and continuing down to twentieth-century masters. The titles of this list are divided into four volumes following the model of GeCat, but their order often differs from that of the ancient catalogues,<sup>60</sup> and some of the titles are only given in abridged or descriptive form. In some cases, several works with similar contents are even summed up under one single collective title. It appears as if the list had been drawn up from memory and not on the basis of an actually existing collection. According to D. Jackson, the first half of Khenpo Appey's compilation, which includes Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works, is primarily based on a bibliographical list of 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892) recording the contents of rare *bka'* 'bum he had seen while visiting Central Tibet.<sup>61</sup> Like the three lists of Mi-rigsCat, Khenpo Appey's catalogue also includes additional works that are not mentioned in GeCat and TōCat, namely the same *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentary (no. 202), list (no. 169), and liturgy (no. 157) as Mi-rigsCat1.

The following comparative table shows the relations between the arrangement of titles in the two ancient catalogues GeCat and TōCat, the listing of BG as well as the modern lists Mi-rigsCat1 to 3 and KA. Furthermore, the numbers of the works contained in the fragmentary "golden manuscript" collection in Tokyo, extracted from the catalogue of the Tōyō Bunko (abbreviated to "Tō"), have been listed. The first column refers to a composite list compiled by myself, which is based on the

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<sup>58</sup> The autobiography is originally included in vol. *ka*.

<sup>59</sup> See below, Appendix B.

<sup>60</sup> E. SMITH (1970), 1, note 3, points to the inconsistency between a marginal notation found in the *rJe btsun mi la ras pas mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs su bkod pa 'khrul med snang ba*, belonging to the *dbu med* manuscript from Glo-bo published in India (see GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*, 423-426), which assigns the text to volume *ga*, on the one hand, and the attributing of the same work to volume *nga* by Khenpo Appey on the other hand. E. Smith, however, tended to follow the classification of Khenpo Appey's list, whereas I suppose that the notation "*ga*" indicates the correct volume, since the set from which the text derives obviously has been arranged in accordance with GeCat, which also assigns the work to volume *ga*.

<sup>61</sup> See D. JACKSON (1991d), 220f.

contents of GeCat and TōCat and completed with additional works from Mi-rigsCat1 to 3 and KA. The order of the titles generally follows that given in GeCat, with the exception of works nos. 3 and 4, which have apparently been misplaced into volume *kha* of GeCat, although, according to their contents, they belong to volume *ka*.<sup>62</sup>

*Comparative Table of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works*

No.	Ancient Catalogues			Modern Catalogues				
	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
1*	1	2	64	8	28		1/2	41-683/ 44-694-2
2	2	1	24?				3	44-694-1
3	159	3					4	44-694-3
4	160	4	55		22			44-694-4
5 <sup>a</sup>	3	5	1		2		5	44-694-5
6 <sup>b</sup>		6	2		3	2		44-694-6
7	4	7	3 <sup>j</sup>	2 <sup>c</sup>	4			44-694-7
8	5	8	4	2 <sup>c</sup>	5	3		44-694-8
9	6	12	5	2 <sup>c</sup>	6			44-694-12
10	7	9	3 <sup>j</sup>	2 <sup>c</sup>				44-694-9
11	8	10	3 <sup>j</sup>	2 <sup>c</sup>		4		44-694-10
12	9	11	6	2 <sup>c</sup>		5		44-694-11
13	10	13	7	2 <sup>c</sup>		6		
14	11	14	8	2 <sup>c</sup>			6	

<sup>62</sup> For full quotations of the composite list and the BG, KA and Mi-rigsCat, see below, Appendixes A-D. GeCat and TōCat are listed in detail in D. JACKSON (1987), 546-565.

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
15	12	15	9		7			44-694-13
16	13	16	10		8?	7?		44-694-14
17	14	17						44-694-15
18	15	18						44-694-16
19	16	19				8		
20	17	20				9?		44-694-17
21	18	21						
22	19	22						44-694-18
23	20	23	11		9	10		44-694-19
24	21	24	12?			11		44-694-20
25 <sup>d</sup>	22	25	13?					44-694-21
26	23	26	14			12		44-694-22
27	24	27	15			13		
28	25	28	16			14		44-694-23
29	26	29	17			16		44-694-24
30	27	30	18			17		44-694-25
31	28	31	19		10	18		44-694-26
32	29	32	20			19		44-694-27
33	30	33	21?		11	20		44-694-28
34	31	34	22			21		44-694-29
35	32	35	23					44-694-30
36	33	36	29			22		44-694-31
37	34	37	30		13	23		44-694-32
38	35	38	27			34		44-694-33



No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
39	36	39	31			24		44-694-34
40	37	40	25		12	33		44-694-35
41	38	41	26				7	44-694-36
42	39	42					8	44-694-37
43	40	44	32				9	44-694-39
44	41	45						44-694-40
45	42	46					10	44-694-41
46	43	47	34					44-694-42
47	44	48	33				11	44-694-43
48	45	49	28			36		44-694-44
49	46	50	35					44-694-45
50	47	51						44-694-46
51	48	52	36		14	25		44-694-47
52	49	53	37		15			44-694-48
53	50	54	54		21			44-694-49
54	51	55	38		16			44-694-50
55	52	43						44-694-38
56	53	56					12	44-694-51
57	54	57					13	44-694-52
58	55	58					14	44-694-53
59	56	59	40			32	15	44-694-54
60	57	60	39		17			44-694-55
61	58	61	41		18	26	16	44-694-56
62	59	62	42			27		44-694-57

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
63	60	63	43			28		44-694-58
64	61	64	44					44-694-59
65	62	65	47					44-694-60
66	63	66						44-694-61
67	64	67	45					44-694-62
68	65	68	46					44-694-63
69	66	69	48					
70	67	70						
71	68	71				15	17	44-694-64
72	69	72					18	44-694-65
73	70	73						44-694-66
74	71	74	49		19			44-694-67 <sup>c</sup>
75	72	74 <sup>c</sup>					19	44-694-67 <sup>c</sup>
76	73	75	50			29		
77						30		
78	74	76				31		44-694-68
79	75	77					20	44-694-69
80	76	78	222?					
81	77	79	52				21	44-694-70
82	78	80	51		20			44-694-71
83	79	81						44-694-72
84	80	82	53				22	44-694-73
85 <sup>*</sup>	81	83	58		23			44-694-74
86 <sup>*</sup>	82	84	59				23	44-694-75

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
87*	83	85	60		24			44-694-76
88*	84	86	61	6	25		24	44-694-77
89*	85	87	62	7	26		25	44-694-78
90*	86	88	63		27			44-694-79
91*	87	89	248	4	75		26	
92*	88	90	249	5	76			
93	89	91					27	
94*	90	92	65	3	29			
95	91	93					28	
96	92	94					29	
97	93	95	80	22	39			
98	94		81	23	40		30	
99	95	96	85	24	44			
100*	96	97	66	10	30			
101*	97	98	67	11				
102*	98	99	68	12	31			
103	99	100	70	14	33		31	
104	100	101	69	13	32			
105		102	71	15	34			
106	101	103	72	16			32	
107	102	104	78	21	38			
108	103	105	79	79?	63		33	
109*	104	179	142	44	86			
110	105	106	83	26	42			

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
111	106	107	84		43			
112	107	108	82	25	41			
113	108	187	149	50	93			
114	109	109	89		47	41		
115	110	110	73		35			
116	111	111	74	17		37		
117	112	112	75	18		38		
118	113	113	76	19	36			
119		114	77	20	37			
120	114	115	87	27	46	39		
121	115	116	88	28		40		
122	116	117	90		48			
123	117	118	91	32	49			
124	118	119		30				
125*	119	180	143	45	87			
126	120	121	86		45			
127	121	147						
128	122	166	133		72	43		
129	123	152	111		62			
130	124	129	101?					
131	125	153	112		65			
132	126	167	135					
133	127	173	138					
134		174	140					

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
135	128	172						
136	129	165						
137	130	159						
138	131	171						
139	132	130	126			44		
140		131	127?			45		
141	133	132	128			46		
142	134	133	100			47		
143	135	175						
144	136	146						
145	137	177	141		74			
146	138	168	136		73			
147	139	169	137	42				
148	140	170	138?	43?				
149	141	145	105		59			
150	142	142	125					
151		143	106					
152		144						
153	143	164	120			55?		
154	144	138	107	41	60			
155		139	108					
156	145	161	109?					
157			93	33	51			
158	146	148	94	34	52			

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
159		149	116		67			
160		150	110		61			
161	147	134	130			48		
162		135	131	38		49		
163	148	136	121		69			
164	149	137	123?		85?			
165	150	140						
166	151	141	122					
167	152	151	132		71	51		
168	153	176	244	83	79			
169			241	81	82			
170	154	162	119			53		
171	155	163	124		70	54		
172	156	155	114					
173	157	156	115					
174	158	154	113	82	66			
175	161	157						
176	162	160	117	40	68	50		
177	163	122						
178	164	120	92	31	50			
179	165	123	103	36	57			
180	166	124	98	35 <sup>f</sup>	55			
181	167	125	102	35 <sup>f</sup>	56			
182	168	126	96	35 <sup>f</sup>		42		

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
183	169	127						
184	170	128	104	37	58			
185	171	181	144	46	88			
186	172	185	147	49	91			
187	173	183	221					
188	174	158	240	80	78			
189	175	182	145	47	89			
190	176	195						
191	177	189	206		138			
192	178	193	150	51	107			
193	179	190						
194		191						
195		192						
196	180	184	146	48	90			
197*	181	194						
198	182	186	148		92			
199	183	188	173		100 <sup>g</sup>			
200*	184	196	152 <sup>k</sup>	53				
201*	185	197	151	52	159			
202*			152 <sup>k</sup>	54	160			
203	186	276						
204			153	55	108			
205*	187	199	154	56	109			42-685-1
206*	188	200	155	57	110			42-685-2

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
207*	189	201	156	58	111			42-685-3
208*	190	202	157	59	112			42-685-4
209*	191	203	160	62	115			42-686-1
210*		204	161	63	116			42-686-2
211*		205	162	64	117			42-686-3
212*		206	159	61	114			42-686-4
213*	192	207	163	65	118			42-686-5
214*	193	208	164	66	119			42-686-6
215*	194	209	158	60	113			42-686-7
216*	195	210						
217*	196	211	239					
218*	197	212	238		120			42-686-8
219*	198	213						42-686-9
220*	199	214	169		94			42-686-10
221*	200	215	168	67				42-687
222*	201	216	175	71	103			42-688-1
223*	202	217	176	72	104			42-688-2
224*	203	218	177	73	105			42-688-3
225*	204	219	178	74	106			42-688-4
226*	205	220	179	75	122			42-688-5
227*		221			124			42-688-6
228*	206	222	181	76	125			42-688-7
229*	207	223	182		126			42-689-1
230*		224	180?					42-689-2



No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
231*	208	225	184				42-689-3	
232*	209	226	185		127		42-689-4	
233*	210	227	186				42-689-5	
234*	211	228	187		128		42-689-6	
235*		229					42-689-7	
236*		230					42-689-8	
237*	212	231	188		129		42-689-9	
238*	213	232	189		130		42-689-10	
239*	214	233	190		131 <sup>h</sup>		42-689-11	
240*	215	234	191		131 <sup>h</sup>		42-689-12	
241*	216	235	192		132		42-689-13	
242*	217	236	193		133		42-689-14	
243*	218	237	194		134		42-689-15	
244*	219	238	195				42-689-16	
245*	220	239	166				42-689-17	
246*	221	240	167				42-689-18	
247*	222	241					42-689-19	
248*	223	242	200				42-689-20	
249*	224	243	196 <sup>l</sup>				42-689-21	
250*	225	244					42-689-22	
251*	226	245					42-689-23	
252*	227	246					42-689-24	
253*	228	247	197 <sup>l</sup>				42-689-25	
254*	229	248					42-689-26	

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
255*	230	249						42-689-27
256*	231	250						42-689-28
257*	232	251						42-689-29
258*	233	252						42-689-30
259*	234	253	183					42-689-31
260*	235	254						42-689-32
261*	236	255	201		136			42-689-33
262*	237	256	202					42-689-34
263*	238	257	203					42-689-35
264*	239	258	204					42-689-36
265*	240	259	210					42-689-37
266*	241	260	199		135			42-689-38
267*	242	261	209		141			42-689-39
268*	243	262	211		140			42-689-40
269*	244	263	214?					42-689-41
270*	245	264	212		142			42-689-42
271*	246	265						42-689-43
272*	247	266						42-689-44
273*	248	267						42-689-45
274*	249	268	198					42-689-46
275*	250	269						42-689-47
276*	251	270						42-689-48
277*	252	271						42-689-49
278*		272						42-689-50

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
279		277						
280*	253	279	205		137			
281*	254	280						
282*	255	281						
283*	256/7 <sup>i</sup>	282	216		144			
284		283						
285*	258	284	217		145			
286*		285	218		146			
287*	259	286						
288*	260	287	219		147			
289*	261	288	220					
290*	262	289			157			
291*	263	290	223					
292*	264	291	224					
293*	265	292	225					
294*	266	293	226					
295*	267	294	227		148			
296*	268	295	232		153			
297*		296						
298*	269	297			149			
299	270		228					
300*	271	298	229?		150?			
301	272							
302*	273	299	215		143			

No.	GeCat	TōCat	BG	KA	Mi-rigsCat			Tō
					1	2	3	
303			230		151			
304*	274	300	231		152			
305*	275	301	233		154			
306		302	234		155			
307*	276	303						
308*	277	304	235		156			
309*		305	236		158			
310*	278	306						
311*	279	307	237		161			
312	280	308	170		95			
313	281	278						
314*	282	309	171		96			
315*		198	172	68?				42-684
316	283	275			101			
317*	284	178	246	9				
318	285	273	245	84	77			
319	286	274	174	70	102			
320*	287	310	247	85				43-693

*Key to the Table:*

- a: This work has been described in Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 18, no. 44-694(5).
- b: This work has been described in *ibid.*, 18, no. 44-694(6).
- c: KA, no. 2, refers to all praises of the five founders of the Sa-skya-pa tradition.
- d: This work has been described in Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 18, no. 44-694(21).
- e: Nos. 74 and 75 are catalogued under one number in TōCat and Tō.
- f: Nos. 180-182 are listed in KA under one title and number.

- g: The same title is also found under no. 162 of this list.
- h: Nos. 240 and 241 are catalogued under one collective title in Mi-rigsCat1.
- i: No. 284 is catalogued under two separate titles in GeCat.
- j: BG, no. 3, refers to several praises of Sa-chen and his sons.
- k: BG, no. 152, seems to refer to both commentaries, no. 200 and no. 202.
- l: BG mentions only two (instead of five) letters to Thar-po-pa.
- \* Described below, Part Three.



PART TWO

Critical Edition and Translation of  
Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Autobiography





## CHAPTER 5

# Critical Edition

### 5.1 Method of Editing

The following edition of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's autobiography is based on a collation of the two versions GeNTh and TōNTh described in section 3.2.1.2 above. The edited text follows primarily the reading of TōNTh, while the variants of GeNTh, except punctuation,<sup>1</sup> are listed in the notes. Only when the expressions and passages given in TōNTh appeared to be clearly incorrect or incomplete they have been replaced by the variants of GeNTh, if the latter represented a correct alternative. In these cases, the readings of TōNTh are found in the notes. If both versions give an obviously misspelt form, the reading has been emended in the edited text and indicated as an emendation in the annotation. One footnote always shows the alternative reading for the single syllable preceding it in the main body of the text unless indicated otherwise. Three common misspellings have been emended without explicit notice: *shin du* (corrected to *shin tu*), *kun du* (corrected to *kun tu*), and *stengs nas* (corrected to *steng nas*). Furthermore, the alternating forms *methun* and *'thun* have been standardized to *methun*.

Moreover, both versions contain abbreviations for certain pairs of syllables (*bsdus yig*), which have been resolved in the edition without further notice. The shortened forms used in GeNTh represent the common abbreviations found in texts written in the *dbu med* script.<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations in TōNTh follow a similar pattern to those in *dbu med* manuscripts, since they consist in the erasure of the first consonant of the second syllable when it is identical to the last letter of the first syllable, e.g. ལྷོག་ལྷོག་ (resolved: ལྷོག་ལྷོག་). The second method of abbreviating words used in TōNTh is the omission of the *tsheg*, as in ལ་སྐྱེས་ (in full: ལ་སྐྱེས་ལ་སྐྱེས་).

One remarkable peculiarity of TōNTh is the arbitrary usage of the different forms of the punctuation marker *shad*. The *rin chen spungs shad*, for instance, which normally replaces an ordinary *shad* after the first syllable of a line, occurs anywhere on the page. This, however, has been ignored in the following edition, where only the

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<sup>1</sup> Differences in punctuation are only mentioned if they improve the understanding of a passage.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed list of these abbreviations, see J. BACOT (1912), and most recently DPA'-RIS SANGS-RGYAS, 111-129, who lists more than 950 expressions in the *'khyug yig* shorthand and their respective counterparts in *dbu can* characters.

ordinary *shad* has been used. Supernumerary second *shads* after final *-g*, missing *tshegs* subsequent to a concluding *-ng*, and redundant *tshegs* after all final letters, with the exception of *-ng*, followed by a *shad* have been removed or added without further notice. Finally, the pagination of TōNTh is given in square brackets, for instance [1a], whereas the folio numbers of GeNTh have been enclosed in braces, for instance {1a}.

5.2 Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text

[title] ཇི་བཙུན་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་ལེགས་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་  
པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ལུས་ལན་བཞུགས།<sup>1</sup>

[1b]{1b}མཁྱིལ་རབ་<sup>2</sup>འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབང་པོའི་བཀའ་ལྷན་གསལ།  
ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པའི་ཆ་གསལ་ཅམ།  
མུར་དུ་སྤྲིངས་ཞེས་གསུང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ངོ་རྩལ།  
བདག་[2a]གིས་<sup>4</sup>ཡིད་ལ་བྱན་པ་ཆ་ཅམ་ལ།

བདག་ཅག་གི་རིགས་རྩལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་ཁྱུང་པོའི་རྩལ་ཚན་ས་གནས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ།  
མངའ་རིས་གུང་<sup>5</sup>ཐང་གི་ཇི་བཙན་<sup>6</sup>རྣམས་[2b]ཀྱི་ལས་ཁ་འཛིན་པའི་རིགས་ཡིན། དང་པོ་སྤྱི་མོའི་དུས་སུ་  
བོན་པོའི་དྲང་སྤོང་<sup>7</sup>འགའ་རེ་དང་། ཇི་བཙུན་མི་ལ་ལ་<sup>8</sup>སོགས་པ་གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་<sup>9</sup>འགའ་ཞིག་གྱུང་ཡང་<sup>10</sup>། བར་  
སྐབས་ཅིག་<sup>11</sup>ནས། དཔོན་པོ་དག་སྤྲིང་ཨ་མ་དཔལ་ཡན་ལ། བསྐྱན་པ་ལ་བྱ་བ་བྱས་པའི་རྣམ་བཞུག་དོད་  
པའི་ཚད་<sup>12</sup>ནི་མ་གྱུང་། དུང་དགེ་སྤྲིང་པ་དེ་གང་ཟག་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་མཐུ་སྤོབས་དང་[3a]ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་  
ཞེང་། སྤོབ་དཔོན་པ་ལྷན། མ་འོངས་ལྷན་བསྐྱན་ཞིག་ན།

<sup>1</sup> Titel in GeNTh: ཇི་བཙུན་སྤྱི་མོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ངོ་མཚར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བཞུགས།.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: རྟོན་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: གི་.  
<sup>5</sup> TōNTh: དགུང་.  
<sup>6</sup> TōNTh: བཙན་པོ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: སྤོང་མཐུ་བོ་ཆེ་.  
<sup>8</sup> TōNTh: ལ་ missing.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་ missing.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཀྱང་; emended to ཡང་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: གཅིག་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཚང་; emended to ཚད་ following the suggestion in D. JACKSON (1984), 136, note 6.

ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་པ་ནི།  
 ཕུག་ན་རྩོ་རྩིས་བྱིས་པ་བཞུགས།  
 ལ་མ་ཞེས་བྱར་ཀུན་ཏུ་བྲགས།  
 དེས་ནི་སྤྱི་མོ་མང་དུ་འདུལ།  
 བདུལ་ཀྱང་མི་ལ་དགའ་ཚོར་མེད།<sup>3</sup>

{2a}ཞེས་བཤད་པའང་<sup>4</sup>ཡོད་ལ། རྩོ་བཅུ་རྩོ་རྩི་འཆང་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོའི་མཚན་ནས་གཞན་[3b]བྱིས་  
 བརྩོད་པ་གསན་པ་ཙམ་བྱིས་<sup>5</sup>དང་པའི་རྒྱལ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི། བཤེས་གཉེན་དམ་པ་ཚོལ་བའི་བྱ་<sup>6</sup>བ་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་  
 བཅོམ་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། གདན་ས་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱར། རྩོའི་དུང་ཤྲུག་<sup>7</sup>བཟང་སྐྱེ་འབྱུང་ན་བཞུགས་དུས།  
 གདན་འབྲིན་སྤྲུལ་རྒྱུ་ལྡན་ཏེ། དེ་དུས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་<sup>8</sup>ལ་དབང་བྲགས་པ་མངའ་རིས་ནས་གདན་སར་འཁོར་ཏེ།  
 ཚོས་རྩོའི་<sup>9</sup>དུང་དུ་འབྲོས་པ་<sup>10</sup>ལུས་པ་ལ་མངའ་རིས་སུ་ཐེབས་ཀྱང་། ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེན་པོ་མི་ཡོང་བའི་རྒྱ་  
 མཚན་ལུས་པ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་པས་<sup>11</sup>། ལན་གཅིག་ཡར་ལ་མི་ཐེབས་པའི་ལན་ལ་[4a]སོགས་པ་ཚར་བར་  
 མཇེད་ཀྱང། དེའི་ལུས་མོའི་མནལ་<sup>12</sup>ལམ་དུ་མཚན་ལྷན་ཤིན་ཏུ་བཟང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ལྷར་བྱི་  
 གསུང་ཤོག་ཚར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྤོས་ནས།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ལྷི་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྷ་སྤྱར་; emended to ལྷི་མོ་ following the reading in D. JACKSON (1984), 163, where this verse is quoted within the “Tsarang Molla”, since ལྷ་སྤྱར་ is not attested in the dictionaries and glossaries available to me. The verse is moreover included in a text cited in *ibid.*, 203. There ལྷ་སྤྱར་ appears instead of ལྷ་སྤྱར་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh has an additional verse: ལྷས་ཀྱང་ཐུབ་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: པ་ཡང་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ལྷིས་ཡིད་ལ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: བའི་བྱ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཤྲུག་; emended to ཤྲུག་.  
<sup>8</sup> TōNTh: པ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: རྩོ་པའི་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: པ་ missing.  
<sup>11</sup> TōNTh: པ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: རྣལ་.

མ་ནོར་ལམ་སྒྲོན་བཤེས་གཉེན་བསྐྱེན་པ་དང་།  
 རྣམ་དག་ཁྲིམས་ལ་རིམ་གྱིས་སློབ་པ་དང་།  
 བདེ་གཤེགས་གསུང་ལ་ཐོས་པ་བྱ་བ་གསུམ།  
 དང་པོ་ཚོས་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་སྒྲོ་གསུམ་ཡིན།  
 ལས་འབྲས་སྒང་ {2b} རོར་ཚུལ་བཞིན་སློབ་པ་དང་།  
 མཐའ་ཡས་འགྲོ་ལ་སླིང་རྗེས་སྒྲོ་མ་པ་དང་།  
 སྒྲོས་བྲལ་ཟབ་མའི་དོན་ལ་སྒྲོམ་པ་གསུམ།  
 བར་དུ་དམ་ཚོས་ [4b] འཕེལ་བའི་སྒྲོ་གསུམ་ཡིན།  
 རྒྱ་ཚེན་མཚན་པས་དཀོན་མཚོག་མཉེས་པ་དང་།  
 རི་མེད་གསུང་རབ་མང་དུ་ལྷག་པ་དང་།  
 ཐོས་བསམ་ལྡན་པའི་དགེ་འདུན་བསྐྱེན་པ་གསུམ།  
 ཐ་མ་བསྐྱེན་པ་རྒྱས་པའི་སྒྲོ་གསུམ་ཡིན།  
 དེ་ལྟར་ཤེས་ནས་སྐལ་བཟང་དང་ལྡན་ཁྱོད།  
 འཁོར་དང་འོངས་སློབ་ཀྱིས་ཐབ་ལ་སོགས་ལ།  
 ཆགས་པ་སྤངས་ཏེ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ཞིག་ཤིང་།  
 བསྐྱེན་དང་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕན་པར་འགྱུར་རོ་གྱེ།

རྒྱ་མཚན་རྣམས་ཞིབ་པར་སློབ་དཔོན་གྲོགས་མཚན་ལ་གསལ་ཞིང་།      ཡི་གའི་རྟེན་མཚན་ཚོས་བསྐྱལ་གྱི་  
 སྒྲིགས་བམ་རྒྱུད་དུ་དང་།    ཁྱོད་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་གྱི།    མདོ་ལྷགས་ [5a] གཉེས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: རིམས་.  
<sup>2</sup> TōNTh: སློབ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ཐོས་སམ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>5</sup> TōNTh: ཤེག་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: མཚོན་པར་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཏུ་གཅིག་.

ཉིན་འབྲེལ་དུ་དར་ཆེན་གསེར་མདོག་ཁ་དོ་སྤྲེལ་གཅིག་སྤྲེལ། ཉི་ལོ་སློན་དུག་ཟླ་བའི་ཉེར་ལྔ་ལ། དཔལ་ས་  
སྤྲི་ཚོས་སྤྲེལ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་སྤྲེལ་བ་དག་ལེགས་མཚོག་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཅེས་གསུང་བའི་བཀའ་ཤོག་ཀྱང་གནང་།

དེ་ནས་ལན་ཟླ་<sup>2</sup>མ་ཐེབས་པའི་དུས་སུ། བསྐྱེད་པའི་གཞི་མ་འདུལ་སྤྲེལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཙུགས་པ། དེའི་དུས་  
སུ་མངའ་རིས་སློ་བོ་ན་དག་སློང་བཞི་སྟེ་ལོངས་པ་ཡང་དཀའ་མོ་ལས་མེད་པར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དགོས་འདུན་བརྒྱ་  
ཕྱག་དུ་མ་འདུ་བའི་ཉིན་འབྲེལ་བསྐྱེགས་པ། རྒྱུད་སྤྲེ་<sup>5</sup>དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་ [5b]ནས་གསུངས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བདུན་  
བཅུ་དོན་གཉིས་ལྟག་ཅམ་ཞིག་རྒྱན་མར་སྤྲེལ་བའི་དུས་བཙུགས་པ། བཀའ་འགྱུར་རོ་ཅོག་དང་བསྐྱེད་  
བཙུགས་འགྱུར་རོ་ཅོག་གི་གསུང་རབ་<sup>7</sup>རྣམས་བཞེངས་པའི་གཞི་རྒྱན་མཛད། ཇི་ཉིད་ {3a} ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་གདུལ་བུ་  
ཐུན་མོང་བ་<sup>8</sup>རྣམས་ལ། བ་རོལ་དུ་<sup>9</sup>ཕྱིན་པའི་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། རྒྱལ་སྤྲེལ་བུང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་ལམ་བཟང་  
ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་གསུངས་ཤིང་། ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་<sup>10</sup>འོས་སུ་གྱུར་པ་རྣམས་ལ། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་<sup>11</sup>ཚོ་  
ག་དོ་ཇི་སྟེང་བའི་བཀའ་ཡོངས་སུ་ཇོགས་པ་དང་། ཤིན་དུ་སློབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མན་ངག་དང་། གསུང་ངག་ཀྱང་  
སྤྲིན་ [6a]བདག་གིས་གཙོ་བུས་ཉུང་གས་ཤིག་ལ་གསུངས་པ་ཡིན་པར་མཚོན། སྤྲིན་བདག་ཉིད་ཀྱང་རབ་དུ་  
བུང་ཞིང་། མཚན་ཡང་བཟང་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་བུ་བར་བཏགས་སོ།།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལན་<sup>12</sup>གཉིས་པ་གདན་འདྲིན་པར་དགོངས་ཏེ། ལྷ་ཡིག་རིམ་པར་སྤྲེལ་བ་ལ། ལན་ཟླ་  
མ་ཞིག་ལ། ད་ལན་རིས་ཤིག་ཡོང་ཅིས་ལགས་ནའང་། ལུང་ར་བཀའ་བཙུ་པས། ཀྱི་དོར་ལུས་དཀྱིལ་ཚོས་  
རྣམ་དག་མ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་ཡི་གེ་མཛད་པ་ལ་ཉིན་<sup>13</sup>ནས། གདན་ས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུགས་རྒྱལ་བཞེངས་ཏེ།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: གཉིས་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> TōNTh: ཟླ་.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: གཙུགས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: སྤྲིགས་; emended to བསྐྱེགས་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ཟླ་ missing.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: གཙུགས་; emended to བཙུགས་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: མོངས་པ་ instead of མོང་བ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: དུ་; emended to དུ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: བའི་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱི་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ལན་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: བརྟེན་.

འདིའི་ཐག་མ་ཚད་བར་ལ་དག་བཤེས་རྣམས་གར་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་མཛད་[6b]ནས། བདག་ཀྱང་  
 འོང་ས་མ་གྲུང་བ་དེ་ལགས། ལུ་གེ་སླ་མ་གཅིག་ཕེབས་ན། ཐུགས་འབེད་ཨི་འབྲུག། མི་འབྲུག་པར་བདག་  
 ཅེས་ཀྱང་ཡོང་དགོས་ན། ས་ཆ་གཞན་དུ་འགྲོ་མི་དགོས་པ་དང་། ཡུན་རིང་ས་མི་འགྲོགས་<sup>2</sup>པའི་དོ་དམ་ཐུགས་  
 རྗེས་འཛིན་ན་རེས་ཤིག་ཡོང་བ་བགྱིད་པས། དེར་ཡང་གཡས་གཡོན་ནས་འབོད་མི་གྲུང་ན། མཛད་བདེ་བ་  
 དང་། འདིར་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ཡིད་ཆེས་པའི་དོན་དུ། ཕྱག་རྟགས་ཅིག་གནང་<sup>3</sup>བ་ལྟུགས་ལྟར་བའི་ལན་གྲུང་།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་གདན་དྲངས་པས། དཔོན་སློབ་ལྔ་པ་བས་<sup>4</sup>མང་བ་ཞིག་ཕེབས་ཏེ། ལྔ་པ་ནས་བཞོད་  
 པ་[3b]མཛད་པའི་བྲག་དཀར་[7a/8a]<sup>5</sup>ཐིག་ཆེན་སྲིང་གི་གསེར་སྐུ་དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་  
 ཁང་སྤོང་ཤོད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རབ་དུ་གནས་པ། མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་དོ་རྗེ་<sup>6</sup>གུར་རིགས་བསྐྱེས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་  
 རྩལ་ཚོན་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་ཁ་དོག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་བཞོད་པ་ལེགས་པར་བཞེངས་ནས།  
 དེའི་ཐོག་ནས་སྐྱོན་དབྱེའི་ཚོ་ག་རྒྱས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་མཛད་གསུང་ཞིང་། དེ་ནི་བདག་གི་སླ་མ་པརྗེ་ཉ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 བྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས། རྗེ་དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ལ་སྤྲིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་<sup>8</sup>གསན་པའི་ཐོག་མ་ཡང་ཡིན་ནོ།

དེ་ནས་རི་བོ་ཆེར་<sup>9</sup>འཁོར་ལོ་སྤོམ་པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་[7b/8b]<sup>10</sup>ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས་པ་ལ་རབ་དུ་གནས་པ་  
 རྒྱས་པར་<sup>11</sup>མཛད་དེ། དེའི་དུས་ཀྱི་དགའ་སྟོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བར། སླ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་<sup>12</sup>ནས། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བ་ལ་ཆེན་  
 པོའི་ལས་ཀ་གནང་བ་དང་། དམག་དཔོན་པ་ལ། རིན་ཆེན་གང་<sup>13</sup>སླ་བྲང་ནས། ད་ར་ཁ་ཆེའི་ལས་ཀ་གནང་  
 འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། རྗེའི་དྲུང་ནས་བཀའ་ལྷུང་མཛད་དེ། གནང་བ་ཡིན་པར་གདའ།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: དེ་ཞོར་ལ་ཐུགས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཐོགས་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: སྤང་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ལས་.  
<sup>5</sup> Since fol. 8 is missing in the pagination, fol. 7 has been marked as fols. 7 and 8.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: དོ་རྗེ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱི་མཛོན་པར་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: དག་.  
<sup>9</sup> ToNTh: ཆེ་.  
<sup>10</sup> See above, note 6.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: པ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: པོ་བཞེ་ཐོག་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: སྤང་.

དེ་ནས་ཡང་དུང་ནམ་ཅེ་བས། ལྷ་འཕྲུང་ཡོད་པའི་མཚམས་ཤོུར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཚོས་<sup>2</sup>མེད་དུང་ནས་  
 བུ་བྱངས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་བོ་མཚེད་གསུམ་ལ་དཀར་མི་<sup>3</sup>འབྲལ་བ་<sup>4</sup>ཕེབས། དེ་དང་སློ་<sup>5</sup>བརླུན་ཏེ་གུ་གི་ནས་ཀྱི་ལྷ། རྗེ་  
 བཅུན་པ་ཡང་ཕེབས་ནས། རབ་དུ་[9a]བྱུང་ཞིང་བསྟེན་པ་<sup>6</sup>ཚོགས། བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སློམ་པ་དང་  
 དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་དུ་མས་ཐུགས་<sup>7</sup>ལྷམས་ཏེ་རེག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་བརྟུལ་ལྷགས་<sup>8</sup>མཚོག་གི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་<sup>9</sup>མཛེས་  
 པར་མཛད་དོ།

དེའི་དུས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པའི་རྩིས་ཀྱང་མཛད་དེ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ས་སྐྱུ་པརྗེ་ཏེ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྩིས་  
 མཛད་པའི་དུས་<sup>10</sup>ཡན་ཆད་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལོ་སུམ་སྟོང་སུམ་བརྒྱ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཐམ་པ་  
 ལོན་པ་ནི་འདྲ་ལ། །དེ་ནས་ལོ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཅུ་དག་སོང་བ་མེ་མོ་སྐང་གི་{4a}ལོ་དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ་ལ། ཚུ་མིག་དཔལ་  
 ཀྱི་སྒྲི་<sup>11</sup>ཆེན་དུ་ས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་[9b]པོ་འཕགས་པ་རེན་པོ་ཆེས། དུར་སྒྲིག་<sup>12</sup>འཛིན་པ་ཁྲི་ཕྱག་  
 བདུན་ལ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐྱར་བའི་དུས་སུ་རྩིས་པས། སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལོ་  
 སུམ་སྟོང་བཞི་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་ལོན་ནོ། །དེ་ནས་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་དུག་སོང་བ་ཚུ་པོ་ཁྲིའི་ལོ་ལ། སྐ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་  
 དགའ་སྟོ་གྲོས་བསྟེན་པར་ཚོགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་རྩིས་པས་ལོ་སུམ་སྟོང་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཅུ་དག་ལོན་ནོ། །དེ་ནས་  
 ལོ་ལྷ་བཅུ་སོང་བ་ཚུ་པོ་བྱེ་བའི་ལོ་ལ། བོ་དོང་ཞེ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་བའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོར་གནས་ལྷ་རེག་པའི་  
 པརྗེ་ཏེ་ཆེན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས།[10a]དགེ་འདུན་ཁྲི་ཕྱག་གསུམ་ལ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་  
 ལོ་བསྐྱར་རོ། །དེའི་ཚེ་<sup>13</sup>སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ནས། ལོ་སུམ་སྟོང་ལྷ་བཅུ་དང་དུག་<sup>14</sup>ལོན་ནོ། །དེ་

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: འཚམས་; emended to མཚམས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཚོས་ missing.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: མ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: བ་ལ་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ལོ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: པར་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཐུགས་རྒྱན་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: འཕྲུགས་; emended to ལྷགས་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱང་ missing.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: པརྗེ་ཏེ་ཆེན་པོ་ instead of པརྗེ་ཏེ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྩིས་མཛད་པའི་དུས་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: བཞི་.  
<sup>12</sup> TōNTh: སྒྲིག་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: ཚེའི་.  
<sup>14</sup> The following passage up to ལྷ་བཅུ་དང་དུག་ is missing in TōNTh due to a homoioteleuton.



ནས་སྒྲུང་ནས་སྒྲུང་གི་བར། དུག་བཅུ་བསྐྱོར་གཅིག་དང་ལོ་གསུམ་འགྲོ་བ་བཞི་པའི་སྤྱིང་མེ་པོ་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་ལ།  
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྱི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ལྗེ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཚེ་ཅིས་པས། ལྷོན་པ་མྱུང་ན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལོ་སུམ་སྤོང་  
 ལ་བརྒྱ་དང་དུག་བཅུ་རེ་དག་སོང་ནས། ད་ལོའི་ལོ་འདི་བདུན་བཅུ་པའི་སྤྱིང་ན་ལོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་གསུང་ཞིང་།  
 ཕུ་བྱངས་ཀྱི་དགོན་པ་ཉ་ཅེ་རིག་དུ། དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོའི་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་དང་། དགོན་པ་བཞི་ལྗེས་བཅོམ་ལྷན་  
 འདས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་དང་། ཚོས་འཁོར་ཁྲ་ཆར་དུ་རྟེན་གཏོར་འཇུགས་པ་དང་། རབ་  
 དུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་བསྐྱེན་པར་ཇོགས་པའི་ཚོགས་གྲངས་མེད་པ་སྐྱབ་པར་<sup>2</sup>མཛད།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ས་ [10b] ཕྱོགས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རི་བོ་ཆེར་ཕེབས་ཏེ། འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་གི་པོ་བྱང་སྤོས་  
 སྒྲུང་<sup>3</sup>བ་བཞིན་ {4b} དུ་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལ། ལུ་ཉི་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱལ་ཚོན་དུ་བཞེངས་ཏེ་རབ་དུ་  
 བཞན་པ། ཇི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་<sup>4</sup>མ་གསང་སྤྱི་མཛད་ནས། འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་བུ་པའི་རིམ་པ་ལ་པ་དང་།  
 ཅ་དབུ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གིན་དུ་ཟབ་མོའི་གདམས་པ་མང་དུ་གསུང་ཞིང་<sup>6</sup>བཞུགས་ནས། སྐར་ཡང་ཚོས་ལྗེ་  
 ཚེན་པོ་འཇུགས་པ་དང་། བུམས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། བདན་ས་ཚེན་པོར། བྲ་བསྐྱོར་གྱི་<sup>7</sup>རྒྱུན་འཇུགས་  
 པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>8</sup>མ་འོངས་པའི་བཀོད་པ་ཅམ་ཞིག་མཛད། དགེ་སྤྱོད་པ་<sup>9</sup>རང་ལ་ཡང་། [11a] དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་  
 སྐྱུ་པའི་འཆག་མེད་བཞེ་དང་གིན་དུ་ཟབ་པའི་ཉ་མས་ལེན་དུ་མ་བཞན་ཞིང་ཁྱད་པར་ཇི་བཅུན་མ་རྒྱ་<sup>10</sup>རོ་མཁའ་  
 སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་གདམས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་བཞན་ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་མཐོ་རིས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་རྒྱུ་ལ་རབ་དག་པ་ཡང་སྐྱུའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཕྱི་  
 མ་ལ་ཐོབ་པར་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནས་བདན་ས་ཚེན་པོ་ཉིད་དུ་ཕྱག་ཕེབས་པར་འདུག་ལགས།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་དུང་དགེ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ། སྐས་པོ་ཆེ་བ་དུང་ཚེན་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། དེའི་འོག་མ་  
 དམག་དཔོན་ཨ་མོ་རྩ་<sup>11</sup>དང་། དེའི་འོག་མ་དཔོན་བཅུན་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའོག་<sup>2</sup>དཔོན་བཅུན་

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<sup>1</sup> TōNTh: གཞི་. བཞི་ is also found in SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 539.4.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: བ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: སྤང་.  
<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: སྐྱར་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: པའི་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: བསྐྱངས་གིང་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: སྐྱོར་ instead of བསྐྱོར་གྱི་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: པའི་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: བ་.  
<sup>10</sup> TōNTh: ན་.  
<sup>11</sup> TōNTh: འགའ་.

རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་སྟེ་བཞི་ [11b]ཡོད་ཀྱང་། རྒྱུ་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་མཆེད་ཆེ་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བཞོས་<sup>3</sup>མཛད་དེ།  
 རྗེ་རྒྱུ་ནས་སྐྱེ་ནས་འཕྲོན་པོར་ཕེབས་ཀྱང་འདི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྐར་ཡང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྷན་པར་མཛད།  
 ད་དུང་སྤྱིན་པའི་བདག་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། བསྐྱེད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དགོངས་ཏེ་ཅི་ནས་ཀྱང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་<sup>4</sup>འཆག་པ་  
 དགོས་ཞེས་ནན་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། བྱུགས་རྗེས་ཚད་མེད་པས་<sup>5</sup>བསྐྱེད་ས་ཏེ་འདིར་ཕེབས།

ཕྱབ་བསྐྱེད་དར་རྒྱས་སྤོང་གི་ཚོས་སྟེ་ཆེན་པོར། {5a}འཇམ་པའི་དབྱེད་ས་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཁན་  
 པོར་བསྐྱོས་ཤིང་། ཚོས་སྟེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་དགེ་འདུན་སྣོང་ཕྲག་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཅིས་པའི་དགུན་ [12a]ཚོས་<sup>7</sup>ཞལ་གྲངས་  
 བརྒྱ་དབྱེད་ཚོས་ལ་ཞལ་གྲངས་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་ལྔ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྒྱུན་བཅུགས། ཚོས་སྟེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱིགས་དང་  
 རྣམ་བཞག་གི་རིམ་པ་<sup>9</sup>ཡར་ཚད་ཀྱི་བཤད་པ་གཡག་རོང་<sup>10</sup>གང་རུང་གི་སྤོས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། རིགས་<sup>11</sup>  
 གཏེར་རང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཐོག་ནས་འཆད་པ་དང་། དབུ་མ་རྗེ་བཅུན་གོང་མའི་སྤོས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཁོ་ནར་འཆད་  
 པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དྲིལ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་ནས་རྗེ་ཉིད་དང་སྤྱིན་བདག་སྐྱེ་མཆེད་ཀྱི་<sup>12</sup>དམ་རྒྱས་ཀྱང་བཏབ་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང་།  
 བདག་རྒྱུན་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>13</sup>རྗེ་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཚུལ་ནི་བཅུ་ཆག་<sup>14</sup>ལྟ་དང་དུ་འཁོད་<sup>15</sup>པ་ལ་གསལ་ཏེ། མདོར་  
 [12b]ན་སྟེ་པ་སྤོན་ཐང་པ་རང་གི་སྟོ་བོ་སྟོད་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ས་གཞིས་ཕྱིད། ཚོས་སྟེ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སྐྱེ་བར་བྱུགས།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: མཚན་དང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: འོག་མ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: སྤོས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: པ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཕྱོན་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཚོས་ལ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: གཅུགས་; emended to བཅུགས་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: པ་ལ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: རོང་གཉིས་.  
<sup>11</sup> TōNTh: རིག་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: པ་གཞན་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཕྲག་; emended to ཆག་.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: བཞོད་.

འདིར་རང་རེའི་ཚེས་ལྷོ་མཁན་པོའི་ཐོག་མ་ནི། འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཉིད་ཡིན་གྱི། འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་  
 མཁན་ཆེ་<sup>1</sup>རྩ་<sup>2</sup>ལྷོ་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་གཏམ་མ་དག་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྩ་<sup>3</sup>ལྷོ་པ་གསང་ཕུ་བའི་<sup>4</sup>འཆད་ཉན་ནས་  
 ཐོ་ཏེ། རྩུང་འབུམ་མོ་ཆེན་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་འོ་བརྒྱལ་<sup>5</sup>པོ་བྱང་ནས་ཚེས་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་<sup>6</sup>གདན་ས་ན་  
 བཞུགས་དུས།

དམ་པ་ཉི་མ་ཀུན་བཟང་དེ་དྲུང་དུ།  
 པལོ་རྒྱས་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཁང་བུ་ནས།  
 འོངས་སྤོད་སྤང་ཚེ་འོ་བཅུད་ཀྱིས་དབེན་པ་ཡི།  
 ཀང་དུག་རྩ་<sup>8</sup>ལྷོ་<sup>9</sup>ཡིས་དོན་འདི་ལྟ།

[13a]ཞེས་པ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་<sup>10</sup>སྤྱ་ཕྱོན་<sup>11</sup>སྤྱང་འདོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱག་སྐད་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ཕྱལ་ནས།  
 རྗེའི་དྲང་ནས་ཀྱང་། ཁོང་པ་མཁན་ཆེན་གཡག་པའི་སྤྱ་རིགས་སྤྱ་ཡོན་ཅན་<sup>12</sup>{5b}ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཚེས་རྗེ་རང་  
 གི་ཡང་<sup>13</sup>སྤོབ་བུ་ཡིན་པ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་འདིར་དྲུང་དགེ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་བསྐྱོ་<sup>14</sup>ཐབས་<sup>15</sup>ཀྱི་<sup>16</sup>ཕུག་དམ་མཛད། དེའི་  
 དུས་སུ་<sup>17</sup>རྩམ་རྒྱལ་ཚེས་ལྷོ་རྗེའི་པ་འདི་ལྟར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པས། ཁོང་དབང་ཆེ་བར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྗེའི་ཕུག་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: མཁན་པོ་ instead of གིས་མཁན་ཆེན་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རྩ་; emended to རྩ་.  
<sup>3</sup> See previous note.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: བ་ missing.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: རྒྱལ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: རིན་ཆེན་པ་ instead of རིན་པོ་ཆེ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཡིས་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རྩ་; emended to རྩ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ལྷོ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: རིས་ཕྱོགས་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: འཕྱོན་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཡོན་ཅན་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: འང་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: སྤོ་.  
<sup>15</sup> Read: བཏབ་?  
<sup>16</sup> TōNTh: ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>17</sup> GeNTh: ད་དུས་ instead of དེའི་དུས་སུ་.

དམ་ལ་རྟེན། དགེ་སྤྱོད་པས་ཞང་པ་ལ་ལུས་ནས། དགུན་ཐོག་གཅིག་<sup>2</sup>ཙམ་ཚེས་སྤྱིང་པའི་མཁན་པོར་<sup>3</sup>  
 བཞུགས་པ་ལགས་སམ། [13b]དེ་ནས་ནི་ཕྱ་མངས་སུ་བྱོན་ཏེ་ས་གཡོས་ཀྱིས་གཤེགས་པར་འདུག། དེས་ན་  
 དེའི་དུས་སུ། ཚེས་སྤྱིང་གསར་པ་འདི་<sup>4</sup>མཚན་དུ་བཏགས་པ་མེད་པ་ཡིན།

ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་གི་ཚེས་སྤྱིང་བཏུགས་ནས་ཇི་ཅིན་པོ་ཆེས་ཀྱང་ལན་ཇེས་མ་འདི་ལ་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་  
 བར་དུ་ཡང་། ཐུག་དཀར་ཐེག་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས། གསུང་ངག་ཅིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལམ་འབྲས་བུ་  
 དང་བཅས་པའི་ཁྲིད་དང་། ཟབ་ལམ་རྩི་ཇིའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡན་ལག་དུག་གི་ཁྲིད་དང་། ཤིན་ཏུ་སྤོས་  
 མེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་འདུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལྷན་སོང་ཐམས་ཅད་<sup>9</sup>སྤྱོད་པའི་  
 [14a]རྒྱུད་དང་། ཅ་བའི་རྒྱུད་བཏགས་<sup>10</sup>པ་གཉིས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱུད་སྤྱིང་ཚོགས་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་འདུས་པ་དང་།  
 རྩི་ཇི་ཅེ་མོ་དང་། དཔལ་མཚན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོ་གའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། སྤྱོད་དཀྱིལ་  
 བཏུ་གཉིས་དང་། སྤྱིང་གྱིའང་<sup>11</sup>འདི་ན་བསྐྱེད་མཚན་ཡོད་པའི་ཟུར་བཀའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཆ་ཆང་བར་དེའི་  
 དུས་སུ་མཛད་ཅིང་། དེ་དུས་ཇི་རང་གི་དྲུང་དུ། དབང་བསྐྱེད་ཐོབ་པའི་དགེ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེད་པོ་འགའ་ཤི་  
 དེའི་<sup>12</sup>ལོ་ལྷ་དུག་གི་གོང་དུ་ཡང་འདིའི་དགོན་པ་རྩིང་པ་རྣམས་ན་ཡོད་དོ།

དེའི་ཚེ་སྤྱིང་མཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། ཇིའི་དྲུང་དུ་གསེར་གྱི་གཏུ་ལྲས་གཙོ་ [14b]བྱས་པའི་གསེར་སྤང་ལྷ་  
 བརྒྱལ་སོགས་པའི་འབུལ་བའི་རྣམ་བཞག་མཛད་ཅིང་། གདན་ས་ཆེན་ {6a}པོར་བྱ་བསྐྱེད་གྱི་རྒྱན་ཚུགས་པ་  
 དང་། དབུས་གཙང་གི་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་བྱ་ཆང་སོ་སོར་། ཇིའི་དགོངས་པ་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བྱ་རྒྱན་ཚོང་ལུགས་དང་།  
 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་དགོན་གནས་སོ་སོའི་དགེ་རྒྱན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་བཞག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེའི་དུས་སུ་མཛད་པ་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: བརྟེན་ནས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཅིག་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: པོ་མཛད་ནས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: དེའི་.  
<sup>5</sup> ToNTh: ཉམས་.  
<sup>6</sup> ToNTh: ལྷན་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: དང་ missing.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: རྒྱུད་དང་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ཅད་ཡོངས་སུ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ཉུག་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱི་ཡང་.  
<sup>12</sup> Read འདིའི་ or དེའི་?

ཡིན་ཞིང་། ། བྱང་པར་དུ་ཡང་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་སའི་ཕྱོགས་འདི་རྩ། རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་ཞིང་  
 རྒྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར། བྱམས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་དབུ་ཅེར། དཔལ་གྱུར་གྱི་མགོན་པོའི་སྐྱེ་བུ་མོང་མ་ [15a] ཡིན་པའི་  
 གཟུངས་བཞུགས་<sup>2</sup>དང་བཅས་པ་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། བསྐྱེད་པ་ཇི་སྲིད་ནམ་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རྟེན་གཏོར་བཙུགས་<sup>3</sup>  
 རྗེའི་དྲུང་དུ་<sup>4</sup>སྐྱེ་མཚེད་བཞི། རྗེ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་པ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་ནས་<sup>5</sup>གཞོན་ནུ་ཡོད་པ་དང་  
 བཅས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་ཁྲ་དཔོན་ལྷ་ལ། དཔལ་ལྡོ་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་གྱུར་གྱི་མགོན་པོ་ལྷུ་མ་འདྲལ་<sup>6</sup>འཁོར་དང་  
 བཅས་པའི་རྗེས་གནང་བུ་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་གནང་ནས། བཀའ་བསྐྱོས་ཤིང་གདམ་<sup>7</sup>ལ་བཞག་པ་ཡིན་པས།  
 སློ་བོའི་ས་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་དེ་དང་མི་འགལ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལ་གནས་པ་ཞིག མཚན་གནས་དང་སྦྱིན་ [15b]  
 བདག་<sup>8</sup>ཀྱུན་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་<sup>9</sup>བྱུང་ན་ནི། ཚོས་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་གོང་འཕེལ་དུ་འགྲོ་ཞིང་།  
 དེ་ལྟ་<sup>10</sup>མ་ཡིན་ན་ཅེར་འགྱུར་མི་ཤེས་པ། སྤྲོ་མ་བརྒྱད་པ་ཚོས་བསྐྱུངས་དང་བཅས་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་གཉན་<sup>11</sup>པོ་  
 སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བདེན་པ་ལས་ཤེས་པ་ལགས་ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་<sup>12</sup>། དེའི་<sup>13</sup>དུས་ཀྱི་མཚན་གཡོག་མཛད་  
 པ་པོ་ནི། པརྗེ་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་<sup>14</sup>གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་རྗེ་བཙུན་ཀྱུན་དགའ་དབང་ལྷུག་ལན་རྗེས་མ་འདི་རྩ་ཕེབས་ཏེ་ཚོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར་བའི་  
 བར་ལ། རྗེ་པ་སྦོན་ཐང་པའི་ཚོས་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་མཛད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡར་དཔེའི་ [16a] ཚད་དུ་སྐྱེལ་  
 ཞིང་། མངའ་ {6b} རིས་བསྐྱོར་<sup>15</sup>གསུམ། དབུས་གཙང་རྩ་བཞི། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་གསུམ། རྒྱ་གར་ཁ་ཆེ་<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ཅིང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: གཞུགས་.  
<sup>3</sup> ToNTh: གཙུགས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: དེའི་དྲུང་དུ་དྲུང་ཆེན་ instead of རྗེའི་དྲུང་དུ་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ཅོ་.  
<sup>6</sup> ToNTh: བྲལ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: དམ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: སྦྱིན་བདག་དང་མཚན་གནས་ instead of མཚན་གནས་དང་སྦྱིན་བདག་.  
<sup>9</sup> ToNTh: པ་ཞིག་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ལྟར་.  
<sup>11</sup> ToNTh: མཉན་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་ missing.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: དེ་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: ཆེན་པོ་ missing.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: སྐྱོར་.

དང་<sup>2</sup> འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཚུན་ཆད་དུ་ཡང་། ལྷན་པ་དང་གྲགས་པས་ཁྱབ་སྒྲིལ། རྩོགས་ཐ་དང་<sup>3</sup>ཀྱི་ཕྱིན་དང་།  
 ཐོ་ཉ་དང་། ཚོང་པ་དང་། བཅའ་འབྲུལ་བ་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་དགེ་མཚན་བཟོ་བའི་<sup>4</sup>ལྷན་མའི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བོའི་  
 ཚོགས་གངས་མེད་པ་འདྲ་ཞིང་། འཁོར་དང་ལོང་སྤྱོད་དཔུང་གི་ཚོགས། ལྷའི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱེད་ལ་འགྲན་  
 པར་བཅོད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་རྗེས་ལྷན་གྱི་སྤྱིན་<sup>6</sup>ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་སྟེ། འགྲོ་བའི་བདེ་སྤྱིད་[16b]སངས་  
 རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལས་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། དེ་ཡང་ཕྱིན་ཅེ་<sup>7</sup>ལོག་དུ་སྤྱོད་<sup>8</sup>པ་ལས་མི་འབྱུང་གི་ ཕྱིན་ཅེ་<sup>9</sup>མ་ལོག་པར་  
 ལྷན་པ་ལས་འབྱུང་སྟེ། ཚོས་རྗེ་ས་སྐྱེ་བའི་དུས་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་བཞེན་དུ་<sup>10</sup>མཛད་ན་སྐྱེ་བའི་གསུང་  
 བཞེན་དུ་<sup>11</sup>སྐབ་ན་སློབ་མ་དེ་དག་གི་མཐུན་ཆེན་སྤྱོད་པ་དེ་སྤྱིན་བདག དེ་ལྟ་བུ་གང་ན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ན་སངས་རྒྱལ་  
 ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡོད་པར་གྱུར་ཤིང་། ཞེས་གསུངས་པའི་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད། ཚོས་རྗེ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ཡབ་  
 སྲས་ཀྱིས་<sup>12</sup>མཛད་པ་མ་ཉམས་པར་ཡོད་པའི་དུས་དེ་ཡན་ཆད་ལ་ཚང་བར་ཡོད་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། དེ་  
 ཡན་<sup>13</sup>ལ། ཚོས་རྗེ་ཀུན་[17a]དགའ་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་དང་མི་མཐུན་ཀྱང་ཚོག་ཟེར་བའི་ཚོག་ཁ་ནས་  
 འདོན་ཐོད་<sup>14</sup>པ་ཙམ་ཡང་མེད་པས་ད་ལྟའི་<sup>15</sup>གྲུབ་མཐུན་རྩོགས་སུ་ཆད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གང་ཡང་མེད་དོ།

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<sup>1</sup> TōNTh: ཕྱི.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: དང་ missing.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: དད་ནས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱི་ instead of བཟོ་བའི་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: སྤྱོད་དང་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: སྤྱིན་ཕུང་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཕྱི་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ལྷན་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: དུ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: དུ་ missing.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: དུ་ missing.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཀྱི་; emended to ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: ཡན་ཆད་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: ཐོད་ missing.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: ལྟའི་དུས་ཀྱི་.

དུང་ཆེན་པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོ་<sup>1</sup>པ་ལ་སྐུ་བདག་ཅག་<sup>2</sup>བཞི་ཡོད་པ་ལ།   ཨ་ཇོ་པ་ཆེ་བ་སྐྱུ་མཆེད་  
གཉེས་ལྗེ་<sup>3</sup>སྤྲིད་སྦྱོང་བ་དང་།   བདག་ཅག་<sup>4</sup>ཆུང་བ་གཉེས་ཆོས་ཐོག་དུ་གནས་པའི་ལྷགས་ཡིན་པ་ལ།   ཕྱིས་ནི་  
ཁོང་སྐྱུ་མཆེད་གསུམ་ཀས་ཀྱང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལྷགས་བྱིད་པ་ཀ་བྱང་།

བདག་གིས་ལོ་གཉེས་འགྲོ་བའི་<sup>5</sup>{7a}དུས་སུ།   འཇམ་<sup>5</sup>དབྱངས་ཤེས་[17b]རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་པའི་དུང་  
དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡང་ཡུད་ཅམ་དུན་ལམ་ན་ཡོད་ཅིང་།   སྐྱབས་སུ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྦྱོམ་པ་དང་།   གཙུག་རྟོར་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་  
མའི་རྗེས་གནང་དང་།   བསྟོད་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་།   ཁོང་པ་རང་གིས་མཇེད་པའི་དད་པའི་ཐ་རྒྱལ་མ་<sup>6</sup>  
དང་།   རང་གི་མ་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་དུ།   རྟོག་གཟུངས་ཀྱི་ལུང་ཐོབ་པོ།   ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་།   ཕྱིས་སྦོབ་དཔོན་དོན་གྱི་  
པ་དེ་དུས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་གཡོག་པ་ཡིན་པས།   ཁོང་ལ་དྲིས་པ་ན།   དེ་ཀ་ཤིན་དུ་ཡང་<sup>7</sup>ཡིན།   ཞག་བྲངས་བདུན་  
ཅམ་གྱི་བར་དུ་ཡང་ལུང་ཉན་པ་ལ་ཁྱར་ནས་<sup>8</sup>ཡོང་གིན་འདུག་གསུང་།

ལོ་གསུམ་འགྲོ་བའི་དུས་སུ།   ཁྱ་ཆར་[18a]བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་  
དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་པའི་<sup>9</sup>དུང་དུ།   དུ་<sup>10</sup>རའི་ལྷག་ཆུང་གི་ནང་དུ།   ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་ལྷ་དགའི་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་ཐོབ་  
པའི་སྐྱུ་མ་རང་གི་སྐྱའི་ཉམས་གསལ་པོ་ནི་<sup>11</sup>མི་དུན།   མཚོད་པ་དང་དོ་རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུའི་ཤུབས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡིད་  
ལ་གསལ་པོར་དུན།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་ལྔ་དུག་ཅམ་འགྲོ་བའི་དུས་ནར་ལོ་རྩ་བ་<sup>12</sup>རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་སྐུ་གྱི་མཐུ་བོ་ཀེ་ལོ་རྣམ་རྗེ་  
ཤྱེའི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་གསང་སྟོན་སྤེལ་མའི་གུབ་པ་བརྟེས་པ་བདེ་ལེགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་དུང་དུ།   བཙམ་

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོ་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: དག་སྐྱུ་མཆེད་; སྐྱུ་མཆེད་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: བཟླ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: བཅག་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: འཇམ་པའི་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNth: རྒྱལ་མ་; TōNTh: རྒྱལ་མ་; emended to རྒྱལ་མ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཤིན་དུ་ added by a different hand; ཡང་ missing.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ལས་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: པ་ missing.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ལྟ་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: རྣམ་པ་ནི་གསལ་པོར་ instead of ཉམས་གསལ་པོ་ནི་.  
<sup>12</sup> TōNTh: པ་.

ལྷན་འདས་དཔལ་ཉ་མགྲིན་པ་སྐྱོད་དབང་ཆེན་ཡང་ [18b]གསང་ཁྲོས་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་ལན་  
 བྱངས་དུ་མའི་བར་དང་། ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་ལྷན་ལྷན་མའི་དབང་དང་། ལུ་རུ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དབང་དང་། གཙོད་  
 ཉམ་མཁའ་སྐོར་འབྱེད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་བཏུབས་དང་། ཕུག་ན་རྩོམ་འབྲེལ་འགྲོལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡང་ལན་མང་པོ་ཐོབ།  
 ཡང་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡང་དགོན་པས་མཛད་པའི་རི་ཚོས་བསྐྱར་གསུམ་ཆ་ལག་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་  
 ལའི་ཚོས་བསྐྱུངས་ཆེ་རིངས་མ་མཛེད་ལྡེའི་རྗེས་གནང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡང་ཐོབ།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་དགུ་འགྲོ་བའི་ {7b}དུས་སུ། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཡོན་ཉན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དུང་དུ།  
 དགེ་བསྐྱེད་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཡོངས་ [19a]སུ་རྗོགས་པ་ཡང་ཐོབ་པོ། ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་ལྷ་དགའི་དབང་དང་། འཆི་  
 བདག་འཛོམས་པའི་དབང་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལན་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ཐོབ་པོ།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ལོན་པའི་དུས་སུ། རྗེ་བཙུན་རྩོམ་འབྲེལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་དབང་ཕུག་ལན་  
 ལྷ་མ་ཐེབས་པ་དང་མཇལ་ཏེ། ཚོས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཐོག་མར་མགོན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་ལྷ་དགའི་དཀྱིལ་  
 འཁོར་རྒྱལ་ཚོན་དུ་བཞེངས་པའི་སྤོང་ནས། དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་ལེགས་པར་ཐོབ་ཅིང་<sup>10</sup> དེ་ནས་དགུན་ཚོས་ལ་  
 རྒྱུད་བརྟག་པ་གཉིས་པ་ཅིག་གསུང་གིན་འདུག་པ་ནི་ཉན་པ་<sup>11</sup>མ་བྱུང་། དཔྱིད་ཁ་<sup>12</sup>ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་གར་ཕྱོགས་  
 [19b]ལ་<sup>13</sup>མ་ཐེབས་བར་<sup>14</sup>ལ། རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དགེ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་པ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་མཉོས་ཏེ། གསུང་ངག་  
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལམ་འབྲས་བུ་དང་བཅས་པའི་བྲིད་ཀྱི་གྲུ་ལྷགས་ནས་སྤྲིན་ལམ་<sup>15</sup> ཐོལ་ལམ་ཆ་ལག་ཅུང་<sup>13</sup>ད་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: དཔལ་ཉ་མགྲིན་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: མང་དུ་ instead of ལན་མང་པོ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: སྐོར་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཐོབ་པོ་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: པོ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: པོ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ཕུག་པ་.  
<sup>9</sup> ToNTh: རྗེན་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ཅིང་ missing.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: པ་ནི་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱ་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: ལྷ་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: བར་ missing.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: ལམ་དང་.



མ་གཏོགས་པ་<sup>2</sup>དང་། རྗེས་གནང་བྱུང་བཀའ་<sup>3</sup>ཤིན་ཏུ་གྲངས་མང་བ་དང་། སེམས་འགྲེལ་བསྐྱོར་<sup>4</sup>  
 གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལྷུང་གི་ཚོགས་<sup>5</sup>རབ་ཏུ་མང་པོ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཐོབ་སྟེ། བརྒྱད་པ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་ལས་བྱུང་  
 བའི་སྒྲོམ་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་<sup>6</sup>བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས་<sup>7</sup>བསྐྱེད་སྲུང་ས་པས་མ། ཅུ་བའི་སྐུ་མ་དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་གི་དོ་བོར་གྱུར་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།  
 རྗེས་དྲུང་ནས་གར་ལ་ཕེབས་ལ་ཁད་དུ། ཡོན་མཚན་བཀའ་བཏོན་[20a]ཏི། བདག་སློབ་གཉེར་  
 ཅིག་བྱིད་པའི་གྲོགས་དན་<sup>9</sup>ལ། ཚོས་རྗེ་རྩ་ཆེན་གྱི་དྲུང་ནས་དང་། མཁས་པ་ཚུལ་འདོད་གཉེས་གང་འོས་གྱི་  
 ཞིབ་དཔྱད་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཚོས་རྗེ་རྩ་ཆེན་གྱི་དྲུང་ནས་འོས་པར་དཔྱད་<sup>10</sup>དེ། རྗེས་དྲུང་དུ། ཁོང་པ་ལ་ཞལ་ཏ་<sup>11</sup>  
 ཞིབ་མོར་གནང་། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཁོང་པས་གྲོགས་དན་<sup>12</sup>མི་ཡོང་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་མང་པོ་ཞུས་འདུག་པ་ལ། རྗེས་  
 ཞལ་མངའ་ནས་འདི་<sup>13</sup>མ་འོངས་པའི་དུས་སུ། {8a}ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཅིག་ཡོང་བས་གྲོགས་  
 དན་<sup>14</sup>ཅེས་ཀྱང་གྱིས། སློབ་གཉེར་ཀྱང་དང་པོ་ཕར་ཕྱིན་ལ་སློབས། དེ་ཡང་རོང་ཁྱེད་འདི་གྲུབ་མཐའི་བབས་  
 ཤིན་[20b]དུ་ལེགས་ཀྱང་། སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྐབས་འགའ་ཞིག་ན། རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱུ་  
 པ་གོང་མའི་སྒྲོས་དང་མི་འདྲ་བ་<sup>15</sup>ཅི་རིགས་པ་འདུག་པས། དེ་ཚོ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྗེ་ལྟ་བུ་  
 བཞིན་དུ་ཤོད་<sup>16</sup>ཅིག། ཅས་<sup>17</sup>གསུང་གིན་འདུག་ཅེས་སློབ་དཔོན་རང་གསུང་། བདག་རང་ལའང་<sup>18</sup>དེའི་དུས་སུ།

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<sup>1</sup> TōNTh: བཙུང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཚང་བར་.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: དཀའ་; emended to བཀའ་. GeNTh: བ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: རྐོར་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: གི་ཚོགས་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: གྱི་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: གྱིས་ missing.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: པའི་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྡན་; emended to དན་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: བཅད་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྟ་; emended to ཏ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྡན་; emended to དན་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: འདིས་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྡན་; emended to དན་.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: བ་ཡང་.  
<sup>16</sup> GeNTh: བཤོད་.  
<sup>17</sup> TōNTh: ཚོས་.  
<sup>18</sup> GeNTh: ལ་ཡང་.

ལྷོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ལམ་བཟང་ན་ཡོད་པའི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་བྱའི་སྐབས་དེ་བཟུང་གསུང་ནས། ལྷོ་ལ་བཟུང་མེད་  
 བྱང་ནས་ཀྱང་མཚན་པ་མཛད་དེ། འདི་ཚོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གལ་ཆེ་བའི་གནད་ཡིན་པས། དང་པོ་<sup>4</sup>ནས་སྤོལ་  
 འཇགས་པར་དགོས་ཞེས་གསུང་གིན་མཚིས།

དེ་ནས་ཕར་ [21a]ཕྱིན་གྱི་སློབ་གཉེན་ལ་ལུགས་ནས། ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་འགྲོ་བའི་བར་གྱི་ལོ་དྲུག་ལ་  
 ཕར་ཚད་གཉིས་ཀའི་སློབ་གཉེན་ཀང་ཚུགས་སུ་བྱས་ཤིང་། དེ་ཙམ་ན། རྗེན་གྱི་བག་ཆགས་ཅུང་<sup>5</sup>ཟད་སད་པ་  
 ཡིན་པར་འདུག་པས། ལྷོ་མ་ཚོས་ཇི་སྐྱེ་པའི་ཉེ་བའི་བཀའ་འབུམ་འཕྲོ་བུ་པ་<sup>6</sup>དེ་མཐོང་བས་<sup>7</sup>རྒྱན་བྱས་  
 ཉེ་སྤྱོད་མ་ཚོས་ཇི་སྐྱེ་པའི་མི་ཕྱིད་པའི་དད་པ་གཏོང་ཚུགས་པ་གཅིག་<sup>8</sup>བྱུང་ནས། ཚོས་གང་བྱེད་<sup>9</sup>ཀྱང་། འདིའི་  
 དགོངས་པ་ལོངས་པ་ཅིག་ཅིས་<sup>10</sup>ཀྱང་བྱ་སྐྱེས་པ་དེ་བྱུང་བ་ལགས། དེའི་བར་སྐབས་སུ། སྤྱོད་འཇུག་དང་། དབུ་  
 མ་དང་། རྗེས་གསུམ་དང་། འཇམ་དབྱངས་ [21b]ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཛད་པའི་འདུལ་བའི་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་དང་།  
 བསྐྱབ་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདུས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱོད་ཕྱོགས་དང་། བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སློ་སྤྱོད་དང་། བཀའ་  
 བདམས་<sup>11</sup>སྐྱེས་བུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་། ཚད་མ་རིགས་པའི་གཏེར། རང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྤོང་ནས་བཤད་  
 པ་དང་། གཡལ་རྟེན་གྱི་སྤོང་ནས་བཤད་པ་གཉིས། འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤྱོད་རྟེན་<sup>12</sup>{8b}སྤོང་  
 ནས་བཤད་པ་གཅིག་རྣམས་ཐོབ་ཅིང་། དེ་དུས་ཚོས་ཇི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ། ཚོས་སྤོང་<sup>13</sup>མཁན་པོ་ལ་བཞུགས་  
 ཀྱིན་འདུག་པས། ཁོང་པའི་དུང་དུ་ཡང་། རྣམ་འབྲེལ་གཡལ་རྟེན་གྱི་ [22a]སྤོང་<sup>14</sup>ནས་གཞན་དོན་གྱི་སྐབས་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ཅོ་ emended to ཅས་ by a different hand.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: བསྐྱན་ instead of ཀྱང་མཚན་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ཡིན་ missing.  
<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: སམ་, GeNTh: ས་; emended to པོ་.  
<sup>5</sup> TōNTh: བཅུང་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཐོར་བུ་ instead of འཕྲོར་བུ་པ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: བ་ emended to བས་ by a different hand.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ཞེག་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: སློབ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ཅིས་ missing  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: དམ་; emended to བདམས་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: རྟེན་གྱི་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: ཚོས་སྤོང་ missing.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: ཐོག་.

ཡན་ཞིག་དང་། རིང་ཤིང་གི་སྤང་ནས་<sup>2</sup>ཚང་མ་གཅིག་དང་། རང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལུང་ཚང་བ་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་  
པ་ཐོབ། ཡང་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ་འདུལ་བ་མདོ་རྩ་<sup>3</sup>མཛོད། གཉིས་འཚམས་ཤིག་གི་སྤང་ནས་ཡམས་སེ་  
བ་རེ་ཐོས།

དེ་ནས་ཨ་ཇོ་པའི་དྲུང་ནས་༥༥ བདག་རྒྱན་མཛོད་དེ༥༥ གསང་ཕུ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཚས་ཇི་འཇམ་  
དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོ་དཔོན་སློབ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡར་ལེབས་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་ཟེར་བའི་གསལ་བྱུང་། དེའི་དུས་༥༥ ཚས་ཇི་རིན་  
པོ་ཆེ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལང་བཞུགས་པས། ཁོང་པའི་གསུང་ནས། རྟོན་གྱིས་ [22b]མདོ་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་སློབ་  
གཉིས་ས་ཆའི་ཚོད་ལ་དཔགས་པའི་འབྲུག་ལྟུང་། ད་རྣམ་བཞག་གི་རིམ་པ་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་<sup>8</sup>  
མ་བྱས་ན། རང་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཡོན་ཏན་མཐར་ཕྱིན་བྱས་པ་ལ། མིང་གཞན་གྱིས་འདོགས་པ་ཅིག་ཡོད་  
བས། བཤད་གསར་ཚུན་ལ་གྲུབ་པ་ཅིག་གྱིས་གསུང་༥༥ ལྷ་མ་འདི་ལ་དོ་རྩེ་གུར་དང་། སྤྲོ་ཁྱེ་དང་། གསང་  
བ་འདུས་པ་མི་བསྐྱོད་ལུགས་དང་། གཤམ་ཇི་ཇི་གཤམ་དམར་པོ་རིགས་གཉིས་རྣམས་<sup>10</sup>ཐོབ་པས། ཤིན་ཏུ་  
བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བའི་དོ་རྩེ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་དུག་པའི་ཆེས་བཞི་ནས་བཅུ་མས་<sup>11</sup>ཉི། ཞག  
གྲངས་ [23a]གསུམ་གྱི་བར་དུ། ཐུབ་ཆེན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ། མཁན་ཆེན་ཡོན་ཏན་ཚས་  
རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གཙོ་མཛོད་དགེ་འདུན་འདུས་པ་དག་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཅིག་བྱུང་བའི་སར། ཕར་ཕྱིན། རྣམ་འབྲེལ།  
སློབ་གསུམ། དུ་མ་བཤེས་<sup>12</sup>པའི་སྤྲིངས་ཡིག་སྟེ་པོ་ཉི་བཞི་ལ་རང་ལུགས་གྱི་སློབ་དང་མཐུན་པའི་བཤད་པ་  
ཡང་ཕྱོགས་ཅམ་གྲུབ་པར་བྱས་པ་ལགས།

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ཡན་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: གི་སྤང་ནས་ missing.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: དང་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: གིས་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ཉི་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: དཔོན་སློབ་རྣམས་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: དུས་སུ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: པ་གཅིག་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: གསུང་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: རྣམས་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>11</sup> TōNTh: རྩམས་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཤིས་.

དེ་ནས་ {9a} ལོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བ་བདུན་པ་དང་བརྒྱད་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་དུས་ན་པ། ཚོས་ཇི་འཇམ་  
 དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོ་དཔོན་སློབ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཕེབས་བྱུང་། དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་ཆགས་སྟེ། ལ་སྟོན་ལྷོ་ལོ་དམག་ཆེན་  
 [23b] དང་། ལུ་གུ་ནས་ཀྱི་དམག་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུས་ཟིངས་ཀྱང་ཆེར་ལངས་པས་། དཔོན་སློབ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་  
 བར་ལུགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཛད་པའི་བྲེལ་བས་གཡངས་ཏེ། འཆད་ཉན་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་མི་འདུག དེའི་དགུན་  
 ཚོས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་སྟེ། ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་བར་དུ་ཡང་འདིར་བཞུགས། ལོ་གཉིས་པ་ལ་ཡང་། ལྷོ་པ་དང་ལུ་གུའི་  
 དམག་ཟིངས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱང་བས་དཔོན་སློབ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཆད་ཉན་རིལ་པོ་ལོ་གཅིག་མཛད་ལྷུ་བྱུང་། དེའི་  
 རིང་ལ་ངེད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། ཁོང་པའི་དྲུང་དུ། སར་ཚད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོས་གང་གསུང་རྣམས་དང་། ཇི་བཙུན་རེད་  
 མདའ་བའི་འཇོག་ལེ་སྟེང་ནས། འདུལ་བ་གསུང་། [24a] གིན་འདུག་པ་དང་། ཚོས་ཇི་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ་གྱི་  
 འཇོག་ལེ་སྟེང་ནས། རྣམ་འབྲེལ་གསུང་གིན་འདུག་པ་རིགས་གཉིར་དང་། ཆ་བསྐྱས་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་<sup>10</sup> རྣམ་  
 ངེས་འཇོག་ལྷུང་གི་སློབ་རྣམས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཕྱོག་ནས། རྣམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་དོན་གསུང་གིན་འདུག་པ་ཕྱོག་གསང་  
 ལྷགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་<sup>11</sup> ཚོས་དང་། སློབ་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཚོ་གཉི་ཚོག་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཕྱོག་པ་ཡང་མེད་ཅིང་། དེའི་  
 དུས་སུ་ཁོང་པས་ཀྱང་མི་གསུང་བར་འདུག།

ད་ལྟ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་བསམ་པ་ལ། ཚོས་ཇི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོ་དེ། ངེད་ལ་ཚོས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་  
 བཀའ་དྲིན་གིན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཅིག་ཡིན་པ་ལ། ངེད་ [24b] ཀྱིས་མི་རིགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སློབ་རྣམས་བརྩེ་<sup>12</sup> བཞག་མ་  
 བུས་པའི་བཛྲ་སྟེང་<sup>13</sup> སྣ་ཚོ་གསུམ་<sup>14</sup> བྱེད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཚོས་དང་གང་ཟག་གི་རྣམ་དབྱེ་སོ་སོར་གཉིས་དགོས་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ལྷོ་པའི་  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: གཟིངས་  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: པས་ missing.  
<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: ལྷོ་ལ་  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: གཟིངས་  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: གཅིག་ཙམ་  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: པའི་  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: འཇོག་  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: བ་ལྷང་  
<sup>10</sup> TōNTh: པའི་  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: པའི་  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཅོ་; emended to བརྩེ་  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ལྷང་; emended to ལྷང་  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: སྣ་ཚོ་གསུམ་ missing.

པས། {9b}གང་ཟག་གི་ངོས་ནས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་། གཏོང་བ་དང་། ཐོས་པ་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་།  
 གསུང་<sup>1</sup> རབ་<sup>2</sup>མང་དུ་གཟུགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་དུ་མའི་མཛོད་འཛིན་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་  
 རྩོགས་ནས་གྲུབ་པའི་མཐའ་ངེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་འབབ་ཅིང་བཞེལ་<sup>3</sup>བའི་ཇི་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་<sup>4</sup>ཇི་  
 རྒྱན་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་<sup>5</sup>དང་མཐུན་པར་མི་གསུང་ཞིང་། ལུགས་འདི་ལ་མཐའ་གཅིག་དུ་གནས་པ་ཡིན་[25a]  
 པར་ངེད་རང་གི་སློབ་མི་<sup>6</sup>ཤར་ཞིང་། སྤྲོ་མ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་<sup>7</sup>དང་། ཇི་ལྟར་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཚུལ་  
 ཡང་། དྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་<sup>8</sup>ཀྱི་མིག་གིས། གསུང་རབ་<sup>9</sup>ཀྱི་གཏོང་དཔོགས་པ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་པའི་  
 རྒྱུས་བུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ལ། ལེགས་པར་དྲིས་པ་ལས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་<sup>10</sup> ཕྲག་<sup>11</sup>དོག་དང་ཆགས་སྣང་གི་དབང་གིས་ནི་  
 རྣམ་ཡང་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ལྷུ་མཐའ་ཁས་མ་སྤངས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་སྤྲོ་མ་དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་<sup>12</sup>པའི་ཉེས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 བསགས་པར་འགྱུར་ན་ནོ། ཇི་<sup>13</sup>དོ་ཇི་འཆང་གིས་ཀྱང་། སྤྲོ་མ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ལམ་རིམ་<sup>14</sup>གསན་འདུག་སྟེ།  
 ལྷུ་[25b]མཐའ་ཅི་ཤོགས་མཛད་པས། ཉ་<sup>15</sup>ཅང་ཐལ་བར་མི་འགྱུར་རམ། དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་མོད་ཀྱི། འཇམ་  
 དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོས་<sup>16</sup>འདྲིར་བཞུགས་དུས། རྩོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་དྲི་བ་མ་མཛད་གོང་དུ་གས་ཆེ་བས་ཀྱང་། ས་སྐྱུ་  
 པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་གསུང་བར་མ་གོ། དྲི་བ་བརྟེན་པ་ནས། སལ་ཆེ་བས་ཀྱང་<sup>17</sup>ཕུགས་ཀྱི་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: གསུངས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: གཞོལ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: བསྲོལ་; emended to སྲོལ་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ལྟར་བཤད་ instead of རྒྱན་བྱེད་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: མ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>8</sup> TōNTh: གསུང་རབས་ instead of ཤེས་རབ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>10</sup> TōNTh: ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ཕྲ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཉེན་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: ཇི་ missing.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: རིམས་.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཉ་.  
<sup>16</sup> GeNTh: པོ་.  
<sup>17</sup> GeNTh: ཡང་ instead of བས་ཀྱང་.

དགོངས་པ་གང་འདྲ་<sup>1</sup>ཞིག་ཡིན་སྐྱུམ་པའི་<sup>2</sup>ཐེ་ཙོམ་གྱི་ལང་ལོང་དུ་གྱུར། ལན་གྱི་སྒྲོས་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་མཛད་ནས།  
 རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་ཅེ་གཅིག་མཛད་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་<sup>3</sup>ནི་ངེས་ཤེས་<sup>4</sup>གཏིང་ནས་འདྲོངས་པར་གདའ། བདག་  
 ཅག་རང་གིས་ནི་དང་པོར་<sup>5</sup>། ཚོས་ཇི་རུ་སྒྲོན་དང་། ཚོས་ཇི་[26a]དཔལ་{10a}ལྡན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས།  
 ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་སྐབ་མཐའ་གཙང་མ་ཞིག་། །འདི་ལ་ཇི་འདྲ་ཡོད་དམ་<sup>6</sup>གསུང་གིན་དཔུང་གཞི་མང་པོ་<sup>7</sup>  
 མཛད་ཀྱིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་ངེས་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མ་གྱུང་ཞིང་། གང་ཟག་སྤོངས་ཅན་དུ་སོང་བས་གཏིང་<sup>8</sup>ལོངས་པ་  
 དཀའ་སྐྱུམ་ནས་ཐེ་ཙོམ་ཀ་གྱུང་།

དེ་ནས་ཇི་བཙུན་ཀུན་དགའ་དབང་ཕུག་འདིར་ལན་ཇིས་མ་ཤེབས་ཏེ། ཚོས་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 བསྐྱར་ཞིང་། ངེད་རང་གིས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱེན་པར་ཇོགས་པའི་སྒྲོམ་པ་དང་། གསུང་ངག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་  
 ཚོས་གྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་རྣམས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པར་ལུས། སྐབ་བསྐྱེན་གྱི་[26b]མཁམ་པོ་དགོས་གསུང་ནས། ཡོན་  
 མཚོད་ཀུན་དཀའ་བཤོས་ནས་<sup>9</sup>། མི་ཏོག་འཐོར་བ་གནང་གིན་གདའ། དེ་ཇིས་ཇི་བཙུན་ཀུན་དགའ་དབང་ཕུག་  
 གཞན་དོན་ལ་གཤེགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་ངོ་མཚར་བའི་ལྷས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་གྱུང་བ་རྣམས་འདི་ན་ཡོད་པའི་  
 དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་གཟིགས་ཆར། ཕྱོགས་གཞན་ན་ཡོད་<sup>10</sup>པའི་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་  
 བསྐྱར་འཛིན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ངོ་མཚར་བའི་གདམ་གསལ་ན་གིན་དུ་ནས་ཀྱང་ཐུགས་དང་བ་བསྐྱེད་  
 པའི་རྒྱར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ཁོང་པ་རང་གིས་ཀྱང་། བཙོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཇི་འདྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་[27a]དབང་  
 བསྐྱར་བ་དང་། གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་རྗེ་ཇི་འདྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>11</sup>གསལ་པའི་  
 རྗེ་ཇི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པས་ཁྱད་ཆེ་བར་འདུག་སྐྱུམ་ནས་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞིབ་མོར་བཞོད་པའི་ལྷ་ཡིག་གཅིག་<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: འདྲ་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: པ་ལ་ instead of སྐྱུམ་པའི་.  
<sup>3</sup> ToNTh: གྱི་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཤེས་ missing.  
<sup>5</sup> ToNTh: པོ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཅེ་འདྲ་ཡོད་ instead of འདི་ལ་ཇི་འདྲ་ཡོད་དམ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: མང་པོ་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: གཏིངས་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ཏི་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: བཞུགས་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ལ་སོགས་པ་ missing.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: གཅིག་ added by a different hand.

ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེའི་ལན་དུ་ཐོག་མར་བདག་ཅག་ལ་བསྐྱོད་ར་མང་པོ་ཞིག་མཛད་ནས་དེའི་མཇུག་དུ།

འགའ་ཞིག་འཁོར་དང་བྱིམ་ལ་འབྲིན་པ་ཡི།།

ཚོས་ལྟར་བཅོས་པའི་རབ་སྒྲུན་ཁ་ལོ་བས།།

ཕྱ་དོག་དབྱུངས་སུ་ལེན་པ་མང་ན་ཡང་།།

ཁད་ཀྱིས་འཇོལ་ཐབས་ {10b} ཤེས་པ་འདི་ན་དག།

ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཚིགས་ [27b] བཅད་འདི་གྲིས་ཉེ་གནང་བུང་། དེའི་ཚེ། བདག་ལ་ནི། ཨ་ཙ་མ་འདི་འདྲ་ཅིག་སྲུང་  
བ་ཡིན། གང་འདྲ་ཞིག་གསུང་བ་ཡིན། འགའ་ཞིག་དེ་སུ་ཡིན། འཁོར་གང་ལ་འབྲིན་པ་ཡིན། སུའི་བྱིམ་  
ལ་འབྲིན་པ་ཡིན། ཚོས་ལྟར་བཅོས་པ་དེ་སུ་ཡིན། ཕྱ་དོག་དབྱུངས་སུ་ལེན་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱས། བྱིད་  
མཁན་དེ་རྣམས་ཁད་ཀྱིས་མེད་པར་འགྲོ་བའི་ཐབས་ཅི་འདྲ་ཞིག་མཁྱེན་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་སྐྱུམ་པའི་སློལ་  
ཚེར་བ་ཚེན་པོ་བུང་སྟེ། དེ་ཕྱིན་ནས་འུ་ཅག་གི་སྐྱེས་པ་མཛད་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སྟོལ་མི་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་པར་  
ཕུ་ཐག་ཚོད་ལགས།

ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཇི་དཔལ་ལྡན་པའི་དུང་<sup>10</sup>ནས། ཇི་དོ་ཇི་འཆང་ [28a] རྣམ་རྒྱལ་པའི་<sup>11</sup>ན་བཞུགས་དུས།

རུབ་གཅིག་དབྱས་གནས་<sup>12</sup>ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་ཚོ་འཕུལ་གཅིག་བུང་། མ་འོངས་པ་ན་<sup>13</sup>དེའི་སྐྱོན་ཅིག་ཡོང་བ་ཡིན་

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ཅག་རང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཡིས་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: པས་.  
<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: ཅག་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: གང་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: རྣམ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཅེར་; emended to འཚེར་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: པ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: བསྟོལ་; emended to སྟོལ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: གསུང་.  
<sup>11</sup> Read: ཅེ'?.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: རྣམ་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: རྣམ་ missing.

ནམ་གསུང་། རྩོགས་བཞི་རྒྱུང་བ་བྱས་པ་རེ་མཛད་ཀྱིན་འདུག<sup>2</sup> །དེ་འདྲི་<sup>3</sup>ལ་དགོངས་པ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་  
ཅེས་གསུང་དོ།།

འོན་ཀྱང་ཁོང་པ་ས་སྐྱ་པ་<sup>5</sup>ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེན་གཉེན་དུ་གྲས་ཤིང་། ཇི་བཙུན་དོ་ཇི་འཆང་  
ཆེན་པོ་<sup>6</sup>ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སློབ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པ་དང་། གསུང་རབ་<sup>7</sup>ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་ཐུགས་གཞིལ་བས་ཕུགས་སྐྱོན་<sup>8</sup>  
མིད་མཚིས་ནའང་། ཇི་ས་འབྲང་<sup>9</sup>དུ་སློམ་པའི་ཕོ་རུས་ཆེ་བར་བྱས་པ་ནམས་<sup>10</sup>[28b]ནི། སའི་ཕྱོགས་འདྲི་  
ན་ཡོད་པའི་ཇི་བཙུན་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོའི་བསྐྱན་པ་<sup>11</sup>འདྲི་མིང་གི་ལྷག་མ་ཙམ་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ། དང་པོ་གྲུབ་<sup>12</sup>  
མཐའི་དགག་བཞག་<sup>13</sup>ཅུང་<sup>14</sup>ཟད་ཙམ་བྱས་པའི་དུས་སྟེ། དེད་རང་སྐྱུ་མཆེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་དབེན་བཙོས་པའི་<sup>15</sup>  
ལལ་རིགས་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་། བྱེད་ཚུལ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སློན་ནས། ཟླ་པ་རང་{11a}ཡང་ཐུགས་བསྐྱུར་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་ཚོས་  
ཇི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོའི་སློབ་རིགས་ཡིན་པ་ལ། གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་དགག་སྐྱབ་<sup>16</sup>བྱེད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>17</sup>ཤིན་དུ་  
ཡང་མི་རིགས་ཤིང་<sup>18</sup>། ཚོས་ཇི་གོ་བོ་རབ་འབྱམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། ཚོས་འཇིག་རྟེན་གང་གིས་དོས་<sup>19</sup>ནས་  
ཀྱང་འབྲེལ་སོ་མིད་དོ་ཞེས་[29a]གསུང་དུ་བྱུང་། དེ་ལ་ཁོ་བོས། ཚོས་ཇི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆེན་པོའི་སློབ་

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: གསུང་ནས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: འདུག་སྟེ་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: འདྲི་པ་ instead of དེ་འདྲི་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཅེས་ཀྱང་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: པའི་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཆེན་པོ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: རབས་; emended to རབ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: སྐྱོན་ཆགས་པ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: འབྲང་སློབ་བརྒྱུད་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: བ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ instead of བར་བྱས་པ་ནམས་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: པ་ནམ་པར་དག་པ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: གྲུབ་པའི་.  
<sup>13</sup> TōNTh: གྲུབ་.  
<sup>14</sup> TōNTh: བརྒྱུད་.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: ཙོ་བའི་ instead of བཙོས་པའི་.  
<sup>16</sup> GeNTh: པ་; TōNTh: གྲུབ་; emended to སྐྱབ་.  
<sup>17</sup> GeNTh: ལ་སོགས་པ་ missing.  
<sup>18</sup> GeNTh: ཏི་.  
<sup>19</sup> GeNTh: གི་སློ་ instead of གིས་དོས་.



རིགས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། ཁོང་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་བཞེད་པ་ལྟར་གྱི་ལྷ་སྐབ་འདི་དར་ན། འོ་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཀྱང་། དོན་གྱི་ཐོག་  
 ནས་ལྔ་པ་ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱིས་<sup>2</sup>བཙུགས་<sup>3</sup>པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱན་རྒྱབ་ཅིང་། ཇི་དོ་ཇི་འཆང་གི་དམ་བཞག་དང་ཡང་<sup>4</sup>  
 འགལ་ཉེ་མཆི།<sup>5</sup> ཚོས་ཇི་གོ་བོ་རབ་<sup>6</sup>འབྲུམ་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་སོ་མེད་པ་ཡང་<sup>7</sup>མ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་བ་དོ་ཇི་འཆང་  
 གིས་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ཆེ། རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དུ་ལྷུང་བསྐྱར་པའི་གང་ཟག་དམ་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཉེ། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་  
 ཆེན་པོས། ཚོས་ཇི་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་གདན་[29b]འབྲིན་གྱི་དུས། རབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ། འབྲིང་  
 ཚོས་ཇི་གུང་རུ་ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ། ཐ་མ་ཡང་གོ་རབ་འབྲུམ་པ་གདན་དྲོངས་མཛོད་གསུང་ནས། མར་ལ་  
 གནང་བ་དང་། ཡམ་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གསུང་ཤོག་གི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཇི་དང་རང་གི་དོས་ནས་ལྷ་  
 སྐབ་མཐུན་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་གང་ན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཕུག་འཆལ་ཞིང་ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་བའི་འདུན་<sup>10</sup>པ་ཡོད་པ་དང་།  
 ལྷུང་ལས།

སློན་པོ་ལྷན་པས་ལུགས་གཞན་ལ།  
 ཇི་ལྟར་སྦྱང་པོ་མེད་མཐོང་བ།  
 དེ་ལྟར་དེ་དག་འགོག་པ་ལ།  
 གུས་པ་ཤིན་དུ་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་<sup>11</sup>དང་མཐུན་པར་དད་པ་[30a]ཡང་གཏོང་ནས་སྐྱེས་པས། འབྲེལ་སོ་དེ་ཙམ་<sup>12</sup>ལས་ལྷག་པ་  
 མཆིས་སམ། ཞེས་ཞུས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱན་དབང་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྣོ་ནས་གཞན་དབང་དུ་སོང་སྟེ། ལྷ་རིགས་རྣམས་ལ་  
 ཡང་ཐུགས་གནས་{11b}དང་། ཆད་ལས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་གཏོང་གིན་འདུག་པས། ཚོས་བྱེད་ས་ཕྱོགས་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: ཇི་ལྟར་ missing.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱིས་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: གཙུགས་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཡང་ missing.  
<sup>5</sup> *Shad* added.  
<sup>6</sup> TōNTh: རམ་ instead of བོ་རབ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཡང་ missing.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ཡིན་ཉེ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: བ་ཤེས་བཟང་ instead of ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: མདུན་; emended to འདུན་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: གསུང་བ་ instead of གསུངས་པ་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ཙམ་ added by a different hand.

གཞན་ནའང་<sup>1</sup>ཡོད་སྐྱམ་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ལན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ལ་འགྲོ་བྱའམ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཀུན་གྱིས་བཀག་སྟེ་འགྲོ་ར་མ་བཅུག།

འོན་ཀྱང་དེའི་དུས་སྟེ། ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཇི་ཤེས་ཏེ་ཤར་བྱས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཞུགས་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པས། ཚོས་སྟེར་སྟོན་[30b]པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>3</sup>། སྟོས་བཏང་ནས་ཚོལ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་རྒྱུན་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་<sup>4</sup>ཐོབ་པོ་<sup>5</sup>། དེ་ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་འགའ་ཡར་གྱི་བར་དུ་ནི། རང་གི་སྐྱབས་འགྲོའི་རིམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་<sup>7</sup>ཤིན་ཏུ་བཙོན་ཞིང་། མི་འགའ་<sup>8</sup>རེ་བྱུང་རེ་ལ་འཆད་ཉན་ལྟོག་དུ་བྱེད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་<sup>9</sup>མཐའ་མནན་ཞིང་<sup>10</sup>དབྱར་འཛོན་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་བསམ་པས་འཆད་ཉན་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ཆགས་སྤང་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱར་འགྲོ་བ་<sup>11</sup>འདུག་པས་བཏང་སྟོམས་སུ་བསྟེན་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། ཡང་སྐྱེ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཆུན་བྱས་ཏེ། སྟེ་པ་[31a]ཆེ་བ་མི་ཞུགས་<sup>12</sup>ཀྱང་། སྟེ་པ་བར་མ་དང་<sup>13</sup>གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་སེལ་བཅུག། སེམས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་ཚོས་སྟོང་གི་བཀའ་བསྟོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཐུགས་ཚོས་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་གསལ་ན་ཏེ་གོ་མི་ཚོད་པར། ཡང་སྐྱེ་རིགས་རྣམས་ལ་ཆད་ལས་<sup>14</sup>ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་པ་<sup>15</sup>བྱེད་ཅིང་། ངས་སྐུབ་<sup>16</sup>མཐའ་མཐུན་མི་མཐུན་གྱི་སྟོན་ནས་དགག་སྐྱབ་བྱས་པ་ལ་དེ་རང་གི་རྣམ་བཞག་པར་<sup>17</sup>བོར་ནས། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁ་མཚུར་ཕབ་

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: གང་ན་ཡང་ instead of ཕྱོགས་གཞན་ནའང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཏེ་ཆེན་པོ་.  
<sup>3</sup> TōNTh: པ་སྟོན་པ་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: བ་ཞིག་.  
<sup>5</sup> TōNTh: ཐོ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: འགའི་ instead of འགའ་ཡར་གྱི་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: པ་ལ་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: འགའ་ missing.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: ཀྱི་; emended to ཀྱིས་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: ཅིང་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: བར་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: བཞུགས་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: དང་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: ལས་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: པ་ missing.  
<sup>16</sup> GeNTh: སྐུབ་པའི་.  
<sup>17</sup> GeNTh: ཕར་.

ནས་ཚོད་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་པ་བྱས་བྱུང་བས། སའི་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་བྱིད་རང་གང་དགའ་བ་གྱིས། ང་རང་ཚོས་  
 དང་མ་འགལ་བ་བྱས་པས་<sup>2</sup>ཚོག་སྐྱམ་པ་ [31b]བྱས་ནས། ལན་ལྔ་<sup>3</sup>མ་དབྱས་གཙང་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་  
 ལྷ་མཚན་དེ་ཡིན། ལྷ་མ་དམ་པའི་བྱིན་བཏུབས་ཀྱི་མཚན་མ་ཅུང་<sup>4</sup>ཟད་ཀྱང་ཡོད།  
 དེའི་དུས་དང་པོ་ {12a} རིན་ཚིན་ཅེ་ར་དགུན་ཐོག་གཅིག་བཟང་<sup>5</sup>དེ། ལྷ་བས་འགྲོ་དང་ཚོས་ཀྱང་  
 ཤིན་ཏུ་<sup>7</sup>དམར་<sup>8</sup>བར་བྱུང་། ཞི་<sup>9</sup>ལྷོ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ། དབྱར་<sup>10</sup>ཐོག་དེ་ཀར་བཟང་<sup>11</sup>ལྷ་བས་འགྲོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དམར་ཞིང་<sup>12</sup>  
 ཕྱག་དཔེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤང་ནས་བལྟ་རྟོག་སློལ་ཚོགས་པར་བྱུང་། དབྱར་ཁ་དེ། རྗེ་རྗེ་འཆང་གི་གཟིམས་<sup>13</sup>  
 རྒྱུ་དུ་ཞག་གངས་འགའ་ཡར་གྱི་བར་དུ། ཚོས་སྤོང་གི་གཏོར་བསྐྱབ་<sup>14</sup>འཇུར་པོ་མ་ཞག་གངས་ཁ་  
 ཡར་ཅིག་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་<sup>15</sup>བཟང་པས་ [32a]ཐོ་རངས་གཅིག་གི་མི་ལམ་དུ་ས་སྤྱིའི་དཔོན་<sup>16</sup>པོ་རེ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་རེ་ཤིན་  
 ཏུ་མཐོ་བ་བལྟས་ཅ་ན། མངའ་རེས་རྒྱུ་ཆད་ཀྱང་མཐོང་བ་གཅིག་གི་ཅེ་མོར་སླེབ་ནས་བཟང་པས།  
 བཅུན་པ་ལྷ་དམར་པོ་གྱོན་པ་མང་པོ་<sup>17</sup>བྱུང་སྟེ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་བ་དང་། ར་འདྲེན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱེད་པ་རྗེས་<sup>18</sup>  
 དེ་ན་ཚོས་སྤོང་གི་འཆམ་སྐྱེ་ཞིག་<sup>19</sup>ཀྱང་འདུག་པ་བྱུང་།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: མེད་; emended to མེད་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: བས་ instead of བ་བྱས་པས་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ལྔ་.  
<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: བཅུང་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ཐོད་.  
<sup>6</sup> TōNTh: ཏེ་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཤིན་ཏུ་ added by a different hand.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: མེད་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: དེ་ནས་ཞི་.  
<sup>10</sup> TōNTh: གཡར་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ཟང་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: ལྷོར་བ་བྱུང་ instead of དམར་ཞིང་.  
<sup>13</sup> TōNTh: གཟིགས་སམ་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: ལྷུབ་.  
<sup>15</sup> GeNTh: ཅུང་.  
<sup>16</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: པོ་མ་; emended to དཔོན་.  
<sup>17</sup> GeNTh: འདྲ་ instead of མང་པོ་.  
<sup>18</sup> GeNTh: རྗེས་.  
<sup>19</sup> TōNTh: ཅིག་.

དེ་ནས་དགུན་རིན་ཆེན་ཚེ་ར་ཡོངས་ཏེ་བསྐྱད་ཙ་ན་མིའི་དབང་པོ་ཉམས་མཁའ་བཟུ་ཤིས་སྐྱལ་མཚན་  
 དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་བཀའ་ལུང་ཐེབས་ཏེ། གདུང་བརྒྱུད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱེ་མཚན་གྱི་ལྷོགས་ལྷན་འབྲལ་བ་ལ་ཤོག་  
 [32b]གསུང་བ་བྱང་། ལྷ་ཨེ་མྲི་དུ་མི་ལམ་བྱང་བ་དེ་དྲན་པས། ས་སྐྱེ་པའི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་རི་མ་མེད་པ་  
 ཡིན་པའི་དད་པ་དང་ངེས་ཤེས་སྐྱེས་ཏེ། དེ་འབྲལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་ལེགས་པར་བྱལ་ཅིང་།  
 དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་པའི་བསྐྱན་པ་ལ་བྱ་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་དགའ་སྤོང་ཚད་མེད་པ་བྱང་།

མངའ་རིས་སུ་ལོག་འགྲོ་བསམ་པ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། འདིར་ལྷེ་པ་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་  
 འདོད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱང་ཞིང་། ཤེན་ཏུ་ལྷུག་བསྐྱེད་ཆེ་བའི་གཏམ་དང་། ལྷེ་པ་རྒྱུང་བ་དེ། ངེད་རང་ལ་ཤེན་ཏུ་  
 ལུས་ཤིག་ལུང་བཟང་བར་ཡོད་པ་{12b}ལ། ཁོང་གིས་[33a]ཀྱང་ཡོང་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་མང་དུ་བྱང་བ་དང་།  
 འདིའི་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་བསྐྱན་པ་ལ་ཡང་རེ་ཐག་མ་ཚོད་པར་ཡམས་ལ་ཡོངས་ཏེ། ལོ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་བར་དུ་དགེ་  
 སྦྱོར་དང་ཚོས་ལ་སོགས་པ་འཚད་ཉམ་ཅུང་ཟད་བྱང་ཀྱང་། ཡང་ལྷེ་པ་གཤེགས་པ་དང་སྐྱོ་བསྐྱེན་ནས་གསེར་  
 མདོག་ཅན་གྱི་བྱ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། ལྷེ་པ་གཤེགས་ཀ་པའི་སྦྱང་དུ་འཕྲུལ་ལེན་མང་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ། འདིར་  
 བཀའ་བཏོན་པའི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་དང་། མགོ་ཉོན་ཏེ་འདྲ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཕབ་སྟེ། བོད་གངས་ཅན་དུ་ལྷེ་པ་  
 བྱང་བའི་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་དབྱེ་འཕངས་སྤྲོད་པ་[33b]ཞིག་བྱས། ལྷེ་པ་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས།  
 ལྷེ་པ་ལྷོགས་འཛིན་པ་ལུང་དུ་ཁྲུང་ཏེ། ལྷེ་པ་མཐའི་རྣམ་བཞག་དགེ་བཤེས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱེད་པར་འོས་པ་ལ། ད་  
 དགག་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཕྱག་ཁ་ལྷེ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལེན་པར་འདུག་པས། ཤེན་ཏུ་ནས་ཀྱང་འཛིགས་པར་འདུག། །ངའི་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: པོ་དབང་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: རང་ missing.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ལུས་ཤིང་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: པས་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: འགའི་ instead of འགའ་ཞིག་གི་.  
<sup>6</sup> TōNTh: བཅུང་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཁ་པའི་ instead of ཀ་པའི་.  
<sup>8</sup> TōNTh: སྦྱངས་སུ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ཐེལ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: སྐོ་; emended to མགོ་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: གྱི་ missing.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: དམད་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: བྱ་བར་ instead of བྱེད་པར་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: འཛིགས་པར་.

དཔང་པོ་ལ། དཔལ་ལྡན་ས་སྐྱེ་པའི་ལྷ་མ་བརྒྱད་པ་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་བ་འདྲ་བཅས་པ་ཡོད་དོ་ཟེར་དགོས་པ་བྱུང་།  
 དེའི་དུས་སུ། ཁོ་པོའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྣམས་པ་སང་པའི་སོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ཙམ་ཡོད་པས། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་  
 སེམས་བརྐྱེད་དང་འགལ་བའི་ཉེས་པ་ནི་ཅུང་<sup>3</sup>ཟད་ཙམ་ཡང་<sup>4</sup>མ་བྱུང་། [34a]ཞིང་། མདོ་ལྗེ་<sup>5</sup>རྒྱན་ལས།

བརྟན་པ་གྲོགས་ངན་སྐྱུག་བཟུལ་དང་།།

ཟབ་མོ་ཐོས་པས་མི་གཡོས་སོ།།

ཞེས་བཤད་པ་དང་། ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལས།

དབུགས་ཀྱི་དུག་ཙན་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་གིས།།

མཁུད་པར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ཙན་དན་ནི།།

རང་གི་རང་བཞིན་བསེལ་བ་ཉིད།།

ཞེས་བཤད་པའི་དོན་ལ་གནས་པར་བྱེད་ཅིང་འདུག་གོ།

དེ་ནས་བདུད་རིགས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་<sup>7</sup>འབྲུགས་ཤིང་། ཚོད་པའི་དུས་ཀྱི་མཚན་མ་ {13a}  
 འར་བས། ས་ཆེན་པོ་གཡོས་ཉེ་རྩེ་ཤིང་དང་<sup>8</sup>ནགས་ཚལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་<sup>9</sup>ཉམས། དགེ་འདུན་  
 གྱི་སྤྲེ་རྣམས་དང་། [34b]གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་<sup>10</sup>ཞིག་ལྟ་རྟེན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མ་རུངས་པར་  
 གྱུར། སེམས་ཙན་ཚད་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཆེའི་དུས་བྱས་ནས། ཡུལ་འདི་ཐམས་ཅད་<sup>11</sup>འབྲོག་དགོན་པ་སྐྱོངས་<sup>12</sup>པ་  
 བཞིན་དུ། རེ་ཞིག་གི་བར་ལ་སོང་། དེ་ཙམ་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་སྐྱེ་བོ་གཞན་རྣམས་<sup>13</sup>ཐམས་ཅད་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: བསྐྱུངས་མ་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: སུ་ཡང་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: བརྒྱུང་; emended to ཅུང་.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱང་ instead of ཙམ་ཡང་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ལྗེའི་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཅེས་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ཀྱང་ missing.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: དང་ missing.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ཉེ་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: འང་ instead of རྣམས་ཀྱང་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: ཐམས་ཅད་ missing.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: སྐྱོང་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: རྣམས་ missing.

བསམ་པ་སྣོད་<sup>1</sup>། ཚོས་ཁོ་ན་ཡིད་ལ་སེམས་ཤིང་<sup>2</sup>དུལ་བར་གྱུར་ཀྱང་། ཐོག་མ་མེད་པ་ནས་<sup>3</sup>  
 ཕྱོགས་འཛིན་གྱི་དུག་གིས་ཚུལ་ཤིང་། ཁོང་འབྲུག་པའི་མི་ལྷོ་འབར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ངན་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཡིད་ཅུང་<sup>4</sup>ཟད་  
 སུན་པ་དང་།<sup>5</sup> བདག་ཆེན་དབང་གི་དུང་དུ་མ་འོངས་པ་ན་གདུང་བརྒྱད་སྟུ་[35a]མཆེད་ཀྱི་དུང་དུ་སླེབ་པའི་  
 ཉེན་འབྲེལ་སློག་ལུས་པ་ལ་ཉེན་<sup>6</sup>ནས། དེ་ནས་<sup>7</sup>བཀའི་ནན་བྱུང་བའི་ཁུར་མ་ཐེག་པར། ན་ནིང་སྐྱག་གི་ལོ་  
 ནས་འབྲུག་གི་ལོའི་བར་དུ་ལྡར་གྱི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཕྲོ་མ་ལུས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ངེད་རང་གིས་<sup>8</sup>ཐོབ་པའི་དགོངས་  
 བཞེད་ཡོད་པའི་ཚོས་པལ་མོ་ཆེ་ཕུལ་ནས། ད་བསྐྱེད་པ་རེན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འགྲོ་བ་མཐའ་དག་གི་དགེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ཅ་  
 བར་གྱུར་པ་ལགས་པས། བདག་ཅག་གི་རེགས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་བྱ་བ་བྱས་པ་དང་།  
 རང་གིས་ཀྱང་ལུས་སློག་ལ་མ་བཞུས་། གཉེན་དང་དགའི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འཛིགས་[35b]པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱད་དུ་  
 བསད། རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱུ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྣོང་ཕྱགས་སུ་བཅུག་ནས་ཐོས་བསམ་  
 གྱིས་<sup>10</sup>མཐའ་དཔུང། ཟབ་དོན་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱོམས། སློགས་མའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ལོག་བསྐྱབ་འདི་ཀ་ཙམ་ལ་གཞན་  
 གྱིས་ཆགས་སྡང་དུ་གོ་བའི་བཙེ་སེམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི། སེམས་ཀྱི་ངོས་{13b}ནས་གཞན་ལ་གང་  
 སན་<sup>11</sup>བྱས་པ་དང་། ད་དུང་བྱེད་པ་དང་། སྐྱེ་བ་དུ་མར་ཡང་སྤྱོད་པ་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཆེ་གཞན་གྱིས་བསམ་པར་མི་  
 རུས་པ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་<sup>12</sup>སྐྱོ་ནས་སྤོང་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ཉལ་དུ་བྱེད་པར་སྐྱོན་<sup>13</sup>ལགས།

བདག་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་ནས། སྤྲེལ་ཚོས་[36a]རྗེ་ས་སྐྱུ་པ་ལ་གཉིང་ནས་དད་པ་དང་། རང་གི་  
 རེགས་ཀྱི་རུས་པ་ཅུང་<sup>14</sup>ཟད་ཙམ་སད་པས། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བསམ་པ་མ་དོར་ཞིང་། དེའི་དབང་གིས་སྐྱབས་

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: གཉིར་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཞིང་.  
<sup>3</sup> རས་ added by a different hand; GeNTh: པས་ instead of པ་ནས་.  
<sup>4</sup> ToNTh: བཅུང་.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: པར་གྱུར་ཉི་ instead of པ་དང་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: བཙེན་.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: རས་ཀྱང་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: ལོ་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: ལུས་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: གྱི་.  
<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: སན་སན་.  
<sup>12</sup> GeNTh: པའི་.  
<sup>13</sup> GeNTh: སྐྱོན་པ་.  
<sup>14</sup> GeNTh: བཅུང་.

ལྷ་འགྲོ་བ་ནས་རྩམས་ཏེ་ལམ་གྱི་དངོས་གཞི་དང་། རྗེས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་<sup>2</sup>ཉམས་ལེན་ཐམས་ཅད། ཐིག་པ་ཆེན་  
 པོའི་བསམ་པས་ཟེན་པ་གཅིག་ཞི་ཡོང་ན་<sup>3</sup>སྣམ་པའི་མོས་པ་ལམ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་<sup>4</sup>དགོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ལག་ལེན་གང་  
 ལྷུང་གྲུབ་<sup>5</sup>བྱེད་པ་ཙམ་<sup>6</sup>མ་གཏོགས་མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆེན་པོ་མ་མཆིས།

ཚོད་ལྡན་ཚུ་སྲིན་སྣོང་སྤྲུག་ཁ་གདངས་ཤིང་།།  
 མི་བསྐྱུན་འདུག་པའི་ལྷབས་ཤིང་། [36b]གནམ་དུ་འཕྱོར།།  
 དུས་ཀྱི་ལྷོང་འཁྲུགས་དྲག་པོ་རྣམས་མཐོང་ཡང་།།  
 རང་ཉིད་ཞི་བའི་སྲིང་ཙམ་དོན་གཉེར་མིན།།  
 བྱིས་གྱི་འཆིང་བ་དུག་ཅན་ཟས་དང་ནི།།  
 འདུ་འཇོ་སློག་གི་བློ་གར་ལྟར་མཐོང་ཡང་།།  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་ཀྱི་གདུང་རྒྱན་<sup>8</sup>བསྐྱེད་བྱེད་པ།།  
 དད་ལྡན་འཁོར་བའི་ན་རྒྱུངས་རྣམས་དང་མཁུད།།  
 བཅེ་ལྡན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱུར་དབང་དག།  
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གང་ལའང་ཕྱོགས་ཙམ་བཏོལ་<sup>10</sup>མེད་པར།།  
 འཆད་<sup>11</sup>པའི་ཁ་ཙམ་ལྟ་བུ་དོན་གཉེར་བའི།།  
 དུད་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲད་པའི་འོས་མ་ཡིན།།

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<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: བརྩམས་.  
<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ལམ་གྱི་.  
<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ན་ added by different hand.  
<sup>4</sup> GeNTh: མོས་པ་ལམ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ missing.  
<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: ལྷུང་ཅེ་.  
<sup>6</sup> GeNTh: ཙམ་ missing.  
<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: ལྲུན་.  
<sup>8</sup> GeNTh: བརྒྱན་.  
<sup>9</sup> GeNTh: བདག་.  
<sup>10</sup> GeNTh: རྟོལ་.  
<sup>11</sup> ToNTh: ཆད་.

ཞེས་ལུས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་འདི་ནི་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐ་མ། ཇི་བཙུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཆེན་པོ་ཀུན་  
 དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ [37a]གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞལ་མངའ་ནས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པའི་  
 {14a}ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཆ་<sup>2</sup>ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་<sup>3</sup>དུ་བསྐྱེད་པས་ཁྱེད་པམ། ཇི་ལྟར་ཡོད་གསུང་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཅུང་<sup>4</sup>ཟད་  
 ཅམ་སྐྱུལ་བ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། འདི་ལས་ཇི་སྲིད་པོ་མཛད་དེ། རང་དང་ཇི་སྲིད་སུ་མཐུན་པའི་གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས་ལ་  
 ཇི་ལྟར་འོས་པ་གསུང་བར་ལ།

ཞེས་པ་འདི་འང་འཁྱིལ་ཉེར་སྐྱབ་བཙུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་<sup>8</sup>བརྒྱད་ལ། བསམ་གྲུབ་<sup>9</sup>སྤྲིང་དགོན་  
 པར་གྲིས་ཉེ་སྐྱུལ་བ་དགེ་ལེགས་འཕེལ། འདིའི་དཔང་<sup>10</sup>པོ་ལ།<sup>11</sup> རྒྱུས་པའི་རབས་དང་མདོ་སྤེལ་གྱི་རྒྱུན་དང་།  
 བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ས་དང་དབྱུ་མ་རྟོག་གི་འབར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཞིབ་དུ་གཟུགས་པ་ལ། མཛུགས།

<sup>1</sup> GeNTh: བྱངས་.

<sup>2</sup> GeNTh: ཆ་ཅམ་.

<sup>3</sup> GeNTh: ཅིག་.

<sup>4</sup> TōNTh: བཙུང་; emended to ཅུང་.

<sup>5</sup> GeNTh: འདི་ instead of ཅུང་ཟད་ཅམ་.

<sup>6</sup> TōNTh: ཅེས་.

<sup>7</sup> GeNTh: འདི་ཡང་.

<sup>8</sup> GeNTh and TōNTh: བཅོར་; emended to བཅོ་.

<sup>9</sup> TōNTh: གྲུབ་ missing.

<sup>10</sup> TōNTh: དཔང་.

<sup>11</sup> GeNTh: པོར་ instead of པོ་ལ་.



## CHAPTER 6

### Translation

The Answer to a Request for the Life of Liberation<sup>1</sup> of the Venerable  
bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po<sup>2</sup>

**[1b]** In response to the urging of mKhyen-rab-'jam-dbyangs-dbang-po<sup>3</sup> who ordered: “Please send quickly a part of your illustrative life story (*rtogs pa brjod pa, avadāna*) [to me]!” **[2a]** I will tell just a part [of what] I remember.

Our lineage, clan, and so forth, is a branch of the Khyung-po clan<sup>4</sup> of the Tibetans (*bod kyi mi rigs*), called Sa-gnam, **[2b]** which was a lineage that held official positions (*las kha 'dzin pa*) for the mNga'-ris Gung-thang rulers. Although, at first, in an early period, some Bon-po seers and several famous [Buddhists] like the venerable Mi-la[-ras-pa] appeared [in this clan], from a certain period until [the time of] the ruler-ascetic (*dpon po dge sbyong*) A-ma-dpal, service (*bya ba byas pa'i rnam bzhag*) for the Doctrine did not emerge [in] a prominent amount (*dod pa'i tshad*).<sup>5</sup> This “Lord Ascetic” (*drung dge sbyong pa*) **[3a]** was an excellent [and] powerful person, and in one prophecy by master Padma[sambhava] it is also said [about him]:

[In the land of Glo there will appear]<sup>6</sup> an emanation of  
me, [the one from] U-rgyan. Filled with supporting

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<sup>1</sup> Tib. *rnam par thar pa* is the equivalent of Skt. *vimokṣa*, which literally means “liberation” and, following D. SEYFORTH RUEGG (1966), 45, also denotes “the spiritual experiences of a meditating saint.” My translation is that found in D. JACKSON (1994), 373. Other possible renderings include “spiritual career” as suggested by F.-K. EHRHARD (1996), 55.

<sup>2</sup> The pagination given in brackets refers to the folios of the Tibetan text (TōNTh) edited above, 5.2.

<sup>3</sup> mKhyen-rab-'jam-dbyangs-dbang-po is identical to Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-(var. 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje-)kun-dga'-bsod-nams (22nd occupant of the Sa-skya throne). See D. JACKSON (1984), 136.

<sup>4</sup> For details on this clan, see above, Chapter 1.1.2.

<sup>5</sup> For the above passage, compare also the translation in D. JACKSON (1984), 110, who suggests the alternative rendering “equal measure” for *dod pa'i tshad*.

<sup>6</sup> The first line of this prophecy has been added because of its importance for the context, following the quotation in *ibid.*, 163: *glo bo zhes gyi [sic] lung pa ru!* Its exact source remains unidentified, though it is probably a *gter ma* text. See also *ibid.*, 153, note 11.

spiritual powers by Vajrapāṇi, he will be famous everywhere as A-ma. He will tame many Sri-mo demons, but although he has tamed [them], men will not be pleased.<sup>7</sup>

[3b] Through merely hearing others mention the name of the venerable [Ngor-chen] rDo-rje-'chang<sup>8</sup> Kun-dga'-bzang-po, a wave of faith was agitated [in A-ma-dpal]. Trying very hard to get hold of this noble teacher, he sent the first invitation to the great monastic seat, the glorious Sa-skya [monastery], at the time when the master resided in the Shāk-bzang sKu-'bum.<sup>9</sup>

At that time the translator Ngag-dbang-grags-pa returned to the main monastic seat from mNga'-ris. In a casual talk (*'phros pa zhus pa*)<sup>10</sup> with the religious master [Ngor-chen], he gave reasons why it would not be of great use even if [Ngor-chen] went to mNga'-ris. [4a] Although [Ngor-chen] had already finished [writing] his answer and so on that he would not come westward [to Glo-bo], he changed the earlier finished letters again, after there occurred such things as a very good omen in his dream that night. [He wrote:]<sup>11</sup>

Adhering to a teacher, [who] teaches the correct way, training gradually in the pure discipline, and studying the teachings of the Sugata, [these] three are the three gates to entering into the Dharma at the beginning.

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<sup>7</sup> In GNTh, 1b.7-2a.1, and in D. JACKSON (1984), 163 and 203, the prophecy is concluded by an additional verse (*stos* [var. *bsdos*] *kyang thub par* [var. *pa*] *mi 'gyur ro*).

<sup>8</sup> The title rDo-rje-'chang points at his having been a tantric teacher.

<sup>9</sup> This sKu-'bum is located at Sa-skya, to the west of the complex, and was Ngor-chen's main residence at that time.

<sup>10</sup> My translation of the term *'phros pa zhus pa* is based on an explanation from Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg). Cf. *Tshig mdzod*, 1798, where the phrase *'phros gtam* is explained as “conversation” (*mol gtam*) and “statement made in passing” (*don rtsa las 'phros pa'i skad cha gzhan*; lit. “conversation ensuing from the main topic”).

<sup>11</sup> In SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOG, 536.5-6 (fol. 31b.5-6), the aforementioned event is complemented by the contents of Ngor-chen's dream, in which he saw thirteen white umbrellas (*gdugs dkar po*) with golden tops and no one to hold them, after he had said that he was going to mNga'-ris (... *mnal lam du mnga' ris la 'gro zer nas zi thang gi thad ka la/ gdugs dkar po bcu gsum gcig zho le byas 'dug gsungs/ thams cad gser tog dang bcas pa 'dzin mkhan med par 'gro ba rmis*).

The proper practice [of] acceptance and rejection [of] good and evil deeds according to karmic] cause and result, the cultivation [of] compassion towards an endless number of beings, and contemplating on the profound meaning of the freedom from elaborations (*spros bral*, Skt. *niṣprapañca*), [these] three **[4b]** are the three gates to increasing the noble Dharma at an intermediate [level].

Delighting the [three] jewels<sup>12</sup> through extensive worship, reading [of] many pure holy scriptures, and adhering to a monastic community possessing learning (*thos*) and reflection (*bsam*), [these] three are the three gates to extending the Doctrine at the end.

Having understood it in this way, you, fortunate person, having given up the attachment for [such things] as a retinue, worldly possessions, [and your] spouse, should take monastic vows, and this will benefit the Doctrine and living beings!

After [Ngor-chen] clarified (*gsal*)<sup>13</sup> in detail to the religious scholars, [his] friends and brothers (*slob dpon grogs mched*), the reasons [for changing his mind], he **[5a]** sent a little book [comprising the above verses to A-ma-dpal] urging [him to practise] the Dharma as the gift accompanying the letter (*vi ge'i rten mtshon*), and also a message that said: “You should take monastic vows! I send [you] a golden prayer flag [made of] two joined squares (*dar chen gser mdog kha do sbrel*) as an auspicious sign for the extension [of] the *sūtra* and tantra teachings. May [this] present [sent] from the religious seminary of glorious Sa-skya on the 25th of the *smin drug* month in the [fire-]horse year (1426)<sup>14</sup> become the highest virtue!”

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<sup>12</sup> The three jewels are Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha.

<sup>13</sup> The use of the verb *gsal* here is rather odd and it possibly is to be interpreted in the sense of *gsal bsgrags byas*, following the suggestion of Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg).

<sup>14</sup> According to *Tshig mdzod*, 2170, the *smin drug zla ba* corresponds to the period from the sixteenth of the ninth *hor zla* till the fifteenth of the tenth *hor zla*. SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 537.6 (fōl. 32a.6), mentions the autumn of the [fire-]hare year (1427) as the date of Ngor-chen's first departure to Glo-bo. Moreover, he reports that the master left Mus-chen Sems-dpa'-chen-po dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469), who became the second abbot

Then, when [Ngor-chen] came for the first time, he established the great seminary of monastic discipline (*'dul grwa*),<sup>15</sup> the foundation of the Doctrine. In that time only through difficulty could one find four monks to make up [a minimal] monastic community in the Glo-bo [district of] mNga'-ris, but he arranged the conducive conditions for the [future] gathering of many hundreds of monks. **[5b]** He began the continuous practice [of] more than seventy-two *maṇḍalas* that are taught in the pure tantra collection [and] brought together the basic conditions (*gzhi rkyen*) for producing [sets of] the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur scriptures. This master also gave to ordinary students many teachings, such as [on] the stages of the path of the Prajñāpāramitā, the noble way of the Bodhisattvas, the Sons of the Conqueror (*rgyal sras byang chub sems dpa'i lam bzang*).<sup>16</sup> In the case **[6a]** of those suitable [for] special [tantric teachings], he explained to a few persons, mainly to the donor (i.e. A-ma-dpal), also the complete [initiations and] teaching of the *Vajrāvali-nāmamaṇḍalopāyikā* (*dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga rdo rje phreng ba [zhes bya ba]*),<sup>17</sup> the instructions on the complete freedom from elaborations (*shin tu spros pa med pa*), and the [precious] instructions, [the Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*)]. The donor himself took monastic vows and was given the [ordination] name bZang-po-rgyal-mtshan.

Later [A-ma-dpal] thought to invite [Ngor-chen] for a second time. After he had **[6b]** sent one petition (*zhu yig*) after another, he received [this] reply in a first answering letter: “Although I was planning to come this time, due to a letter written by lCang-ra bKa'-bcu-pa which says that the Hevajra-body-*maṇḍala* (*kyai rdor lus dkyil*) is not a correct teaching, all the monks of the monastic seat (*gdan sa pa*) got angry, and therefore an order has been enacted for the religious scholars (*dge bshes*) not to go anywhere as long as this [matter] has not been resolved.<sup>18</sup> So I, too, have no possibility of going. If a lama came to Gu-ge, would [your] wish be fulfilled? If not,

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of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan in 1456, as his representative (*sku tshab*) in the Shāk-bzang-sku-'bum.

<sup>15</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.1 (fol. 32b.1), has the term *steng chen 'dul grwa* here, which might be the name of the seminary.

<sup>16</sup> According to information received from Prof. D. Jackson, Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* was sometimes called *rGyal sras lam bzang*.

<sup>17</sup> This tantric commentary by Abhayākara Gupta is found under no. 3961 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>18</sup> lCang-ra bKa'-bcu-pa was the title of Tsong-kha-pa's disciple mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzang (1385-1438), who founded the Nyang-stod lCang-ra monastery in gTsang. See J. CABEZÓN (1993), 16. See also *ibid.*, 17f. and 410, note 44.

and if I must come by all means, I [could only] come for a short while, if you kindly see to it (*do dam thugs rjes 'dzin*) that I will not have to go to other places and that it will not take a long time. Therefore, please send [an invitation letter with] a sealed order (*phyag rtags*) to [make it] easy, [so that] there occurs no invitation from right [or] left there (i.e. in Glo-bo), and for the confidence [of] those who are here.”

Then, since [the donor] invited, the teacher and [his] students, [whose number was] larger than at the first time, came. [7a/8a] [Ngor-chen] consecrated the great golden Vajradhara image of the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling [monastery], which he had planned before,<sup>19</sup> and the upper and lower part [of its] temple. He had made beautifully the great *maṇḍala* of the condensed family of *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara* (*mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur rigs bsdus pa'i dkyil 'khor*) [out of] an arrangement [of] different precious stones, corresponding to the colours [used] for the coloured sand *maṇḍala*. After that, moreover, it is said that he performed [that main consecration ritual] together with an elaborate ritual of eye opening (*spyang dbye 'i cho ga*).<sup>20</sup> And that was also the first maturing empowerment received by my teacher the great [Gu-ge] Paṇḍita Gags-pa-rgyal-mtshan [from] master [Ngor-chen] rDo-rje-'chang. [7b/8b] Later on, [Ngor-chen] erected the great Cakrasaṃvara Palace (*'khor lo sdom pa'i pho brang*) at the *ri bo che* (?) and consecrated it extensively. In connection with a ceremony on that occasion, the grantings from the Great Bla-brang<sup>21</sup> of the title (*las ka*) of “chief” (*chen po*)<sup>22</sup> to the religious king [A-ma-dpal], and from the Rin-chen-rgang Bla-brang<sup>23</sup> the title of “military officer” (*da ra kha che*)<sup>24</sup> to the general [A-mo-gha] were made at the order of master [Ngor-chen].

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<sup>19</sup> SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 538.2 (fol. 32b.2), mentions the founding of this monastery by Ngor-chen during his first visit to Glo-bo. For details on the differing reports on the time of this institution's foundation, see above, Chapter 1, note 62.

<sup>20</sup> This is the ritual for “opening”, i.e. painting, the eyes of a religious image.

<sup>21</sup> According to an oral communication from Prof. D. Jackson, Glo-bo mKhan-chen here probably referred to the bZhi-thog Bla-brang of Sa-skya.

<sup>22</sup> *Chen po* is a title given during the Phag-mo-gru-pa period. According to L. PETECH (1990), 117, note 131, *chen po* is a direct translation of the Mongolian *eke* (“great”).

<sup>23</sup> The Rin-chen-rgang (var. -sgang) Bla-brang is located at Sa-skya and was built by dPon-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po during the 1270s. See J. SCHOENING (1983), 37.

<sup>24</sup> On this Mongolian title, see e.g. F. WOODMAN CLEAVES (1953).

After that, the noble monk (*drung*) Nam[-mkha']-rtse[-mo of bZhi-sde]<sup>25</sup> made a connection [between the Gu-ge ruler and Ngor-chen], which was secret at first. The religious master went to light offering lamps for the three statues (*jo bo mched gsum*) of Pu-hrangs.<sup>26</sup> When the divine [royalty] who was from Gu-ge (*gu ge nas kyi lha*), the venerable one, came at the same time, too, [9a] he took monastic vows and was ordained [by Ngor-chen].<sup>27</sup> [The master] filled [that disciple's] mind with the Bodhi-sattva vows and many initiations, and he adorned [him] also with the ornament [of] the highest tantric practice of a *vidyādhara*.<sup>28</sup>

At that time [Ngor-chen] also made calculation [of the age] of the Buddha's Doctrine.<sup>29</sup> He explained: "Up to the time when the great religious master Sa-skyā Paṇḍita (1182-1251) made the calculation [in 1216], 3,350 years had elapsed since the Buddha[']s *nirvāṇa*. Later on, when fifty-nine years had passed, in the first month [of] spring (*dpyid zla ra ba*) [of] the female fire-ox year (1277), [9b] according to the

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<sup>25</sup> L. PETECH (1997), 244, renders the expression *drung* with "official in charge" in this context. According to SANGS-RGYAS-PHUN-TSHOGS, 539.3 (fol. 33a.3), a person with the name "bZhi-sde-pa Drung Nam-rtse" held talks with the king of Gu-ge Khri-nam-mkha'i-dbang-po during Ngor-chen's second visit to Glo-bo, and then Gu-ge mKhan-chen Chos-nyid-seng-ge was sent to invite the master and his students to Pu-hrangs. As Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs reports further on (539.3-4 [fol. 33a.3-4]), Ngor-chen resided for three months at rGyal-de'u (i.e. the place of residence of the kings of Pu-hrangs, see R. VITALI [1996], 390f.) and gave teachings to many religious exponents from Gu-ge, sPi-ti, Mar-yul and Pu-hrangs.

<sup>26</sup> This famous triad "Kha-char Jo-bo-dngul-sku-mched-gsum" situated at the Kha(var. Khwa)-char monastery consisted of the main statue of Mañjuśrī ('Jam-dpal-rdo-rje) and the side figures of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbang-phyug) on the right and of Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje) on the left, all three made of silver. The main image was probably sponsored by lHa-lde, the king of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs (reigned from 996 to ca. 1024), and made by the artists A-shwa-dharma and Wang-ku-la. The two other statues were erected in the early 13th century under the patronage of the Pu-hrangs ruler rNam-lde-mgon. See R. VITALI (1996), 262ff. and 402, note 658.

<sup>27</sup> The king in question is Phun-tshogs-lde (1409-1480). On the date of his ordination by Ngor-chen, see R. VITALI (1996), 508f.

<sup>28</sup> The term *rig pa 'dzin pa* ("knowledge holder") is a title given to tantric practitioners. The vow of the *vidyādhara* represents the third of three vows, the other two being the Prātimokṣa (*so sor thar pa 'i sdom pa*) and the Bodhisattva vows (*byang chub sems dpa 'i sdom pa*). See D. SEYFORTH RUEGG (1966), 68, note 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ngor-chen followed the system used also by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita when he calculated the date of the Buddha Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa*. According to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, the Buddha died 3350 years before 1216, which was the year of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's passing. See D. SEYFORTH RUEGG (1992), 272f.

calculation at the time of the very extensive teachings of the Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo rgya chen po bskor ba*) for 70,000 monks [by] the lama of the three realms, the religious king 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che (1235-1280) in the great [monastic] centre of Chu-mig-dpal, 3,410 years had elapsed since the Buddha[']s *nirvāṇa*. Then, when forty-six years had gone by, 3,456 years were completed through a calculation at the time of the great lama Kun-dga'-blo-gros[-rgyal-mtshan]'s (1299-1327) ordination in the male water-dog year (1322).<sup>30</sup> After that, fifty years later, in the male water-rat year (1372) the great Paṇḍita of the five fields [of] knowledge (*gnas lnga rig pa*),<sup>31</sup> [Bla-ma-dam-pa] bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1312-1375) [10a] taught the Dharma (*chos kyi 'khor lo bskor*) to an assembly [of] 30,000 [monks] in the large temple of Bo-dong E-chos-'byung.<sup>32</sup> At that time 3,506 years had passed since the Buddha[']s *nirvāṇa*. Then, after one cycle [lasting] from the [water-]ox year (1373) to the [water-]ox year (1433), in the fourth year after three [additional] years had passed (i.e. after sixty-three years), through the calculation at the time of the religious king Khri-phun-tshogs-lde's ordination in the male fire-dragon year (1436),<sup>33</sup> 3,569 years were reached since the great teacher's (*ston pa*) *nirvāṇa*. The present year is the [3,5]70th."

Then [Ngor-chen] gave a Kālacakra empowerment in the Nya-rtse-rig monastery of Pu-hrangs and the *bCom ldan 'das mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho* initiation in the bZhi-sde monastery,<sup>34</sup> and in the religious centre (*chos 'khor*) [of] Khwa-char<sup>35</sup> he instituted [offerings of] gTor[-ma cakes] before [the shrine] (*rten gtor*), and he accomplished a countless number of basic ordinations (*rab tu byung ba*) and full ordinations (*bsnyen par rdzogs pa*).

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<sup>30</sup> Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan was the eighth Imperial Preceptor (*ti-shih*) at the Yüan court from 1314-1327. See L. PETECH (1990), 144. On his ordination, see *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>31</sup> The five fields of knowledge (*rig pa'i gnas lnga po*, Skt. *pañcaviḍyāsthāna*) include crafts (*bzo*, Skt. *śilpa*), healing (*gso ba*, Skt. *cikitsā*), grammar (*sgra*, Skt. *śabda*), logical reasoning (*gtan tshigs*, Skt. *hetu*), and Buddhist philosophy (*nang*, Skt. *adhyātma*).

<sup>32</sup> The Bo-dong E monastery was founded by dGe-shes Mudrā-chen-po in 1049. See P. WANGDU and H. DIEMBERGER (1996), 14.

<sup>33</sup> On this king of Gu-ge, see above, note 27.

<sup>34</sup> According to R. VITALI (1996), 392, bZhi-sde was located in Lower Pu-hrangs, south of sTag-la-mkhar.

<sup>35</sup> The Khwa(var. Kha)-char temple (Yid-bzhin-lhun-gyi-grub-pa'i-gtsug-lag-khang) was founded around 996 by the king Khor-re (reigned from 988 to 996) of Gu-ge and Pu-hrangs, the brother of Ye-shes-'od (947-1024) and the father of lHa-lde who later sponsored the Mañjuśrī statue for this temple (see also above, note 26). See R. VITALI (1996), 259 and 264f.

Later [10b] he went to the *ri bo che* (?) of this very region and in order to realize the Palace of Cakrasaṃvara as [his] three-dimensional *maṅḍala*,<sup>36</sup> he erected the coloured sand *maṅḍala* of the Luhipā[da] tradition. And after the master himself had performed the consecration [of this *maṅḍala*], he resided [there], teaching in secret many very profound instructions, for instance on the Five Stages of Cakrasaṃvara [practice according to] Ghaṅṭāpāda (Dril-bu-pa) (*'khor lo bde mchog dril bu pa 'i rim pa lnga pa*) and on the Central Channel (*rtsa dbu ma*). Afterwards he made rough plans of future [projects], such as for founding the great religious centre (*chos sde chen po*),<sup>37</sup> erecting the great Maitreya [temple and image]<sup>38</sup> and institutionalizing the regular visit [of Glo-bo] monks to the great monastic seat [Sa-skya]. [11a] He gave [teachings on] the four “unbroken practices” (*'chag med*) of the glorious Sa-skya-pa [tradition] and many very profound practices to the [ruler-]monk [A-ma-dpal] himself. [The master] in particular gave the thorough instructions of goddess Nāḍīḍākinī (*rje btsun ma nā ro mkha ' spyod*) to him, causing [the king] to achieve also in a later rebirth a pure existence [of] the higher realms. Thereafter [Ngor-chen] went back to the great monastic seat [of Sa-skya] itself.

Moreover, the monk-official [A-ma-dpal] [11b] had four sons: the eldest son, the high official A-mgon-bzang-po; the one following him (*de 'i 'og ma*), the general A-mo-gha; the next in order, the noble monk (*dpon btsun*) Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan; and the next one, the noble monk Rin-chen-bzang-po. The two elder brothers, the high officials, discussed [inviting Ngor-chen again]. Although master [Ngor-chen] was of old age, he again accomplished extensive service for the Doctrine here [in Glo-bo]. Thinking of the donors and the precious Doctrine again and governed by immeasurable compassion, because [the sponsors] requested [him] with urgency: “You must come (*zhabs kyi 'chag pa*) by all means!” he came here [for a third time].

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<sup>36</sup> The expression *blos slang ba* literally means “produced by the mind,” but according to D. L. SNELLGROVE (1967), vol. 2, 338, the term *blos slong* bears the meaning of “mystic circle” (*dkyil 'khor*). *Tshig mdzod*, 1928, explains the phrase *blos bslangs* more precisely as *'bur dod du bzos pa 'i dkyil 'khor* (“*maṅḍala* that is made in three-dimensional form”).

<sup>37</sup> Since the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery is called *chos sde chen po* on fol. 11b.4 of our text, the author probably also thought of this monastery here. For further details on the time of its founding, its different names, and the confusion of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling with the old rNam-rgyal monastery, see also D. JACKSON (1984), 42.

<sup>38</sup> On this temple and its image, see above, Chapter 1, note 65.



He appointed 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho<sup>39</sup> as abbot in the great religious centre of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling and [12a] established the basic supportive conditions for a winter term [of teachings consisting of] one hundred days [and] a summer term [of teachings consisting of] forty-five days in the great monastic centre for an assembly counting one thousand [monks]. He composed a long scroll (*dril chen po*) recording the monastery's rules and the stages of [its] system, such as that the explanation of Prajñāpāramitā (*phar [phyin]*) and Pramāṇa (*tshad [ma]*) should be made according to g.Yag[-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal's (1348-1414) and] Rong[-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig's (1367-1449)] wordings, that the explanation [of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma*] *rigs gter* should be based on [his] autocommentary, and that the explanation [of] Madhyamaka should exclusively correspond to the method of the venerable founders [of the Sa-skya-pa tradition] (*gong ma*), and this was [confirmed and] sealed by master [Ngor-chen] himself and the donor-brothers. The manner of how [the brothers] dedicated (*sbyar ba*) material support [to the monastery] and so on, appears in a separately written historical record (*bem chag*).<sup>40</sup> [12b] In short: It is said that the sMon-thang ruler gave one half [of] his own estates in Upper and Lower Glo-bo for the support of the great monastic centre [of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling].

The first abbot [of] our religious centre [of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling] here [in Glo-bo] was 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs [Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho] himself, but some people say that it was mKhan-chen Ratnaśrī. [But that] is an incorrect account. Ratnaśrī originated from the gSang-phu tradition of teaching [and] learning.<sup>41</sup> After experiencing difficulties during his stay at rGyang 'Bum-mo-che,<sup>42</sup> when the precious religious master [Ngor-chen] stayed at the great monastic seat [of Sa-skya, Ratnaśrī sent Ngor-chen a letter beginning:]

To the noble sun All-good (Kun-bzang), [I,] Ratnaśrī,  
a bee who lacks the nectar of honey [of] wealth in a

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<sup>39</sup> 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho (1396-1474) acted later as the third abbot of Ngor E-waṃ. See D. JACKSON (1989b), 81.

<sup>40</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1984), 125, *bem chag* is a synonym of *dkar chag* and is used in the sense of "historical record."

<sup>41</sup> This tradition was founded by rNgog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059-1109) at the temple of gSang-phu Ne'u-thog in central Tibet. For further details on this school see D. JACKSON (1994), 372.

<sup>42</sup> The rGyang 'Bum-mo-che stupa situated near the lHa-rtse *rdzong* was built by bSod-nams-bkra-shis (1352-1417) and Thang-ston-rgyal-po (1385-1464). See G. TUCCI (1949), 179-185.

small house, which is similar to a wide open lotus,  
write the following.

**[13a]** Then he uttered many sad words, for instance [that] he desired to go to mNga'-ris. [Ngor-chen,] thinking that he was an educated (*sku yon can*) [monk belonging to] the group [of] mKhan-chen g.Yag[-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal]'s disciples and that he was also a student of the religious master [Ngor-chen] himself, produced a [letter of] commission (*bsri thabs*)<sup>43</sup> [with] a seal for the “Lord Ascetic” (i.e. A-ma-dpal) here [in Glo-bo]. Since at that time the old religious centre [of] rNam-rgyal belonged to the Zhang-pa,<sup>44</sup> they were the most powerful [there]. But, relying on the master's seal, the “[Lord] Ascetic” asked the Zhang-pa, and then [Ratnaśrī] resided, I suppose (*lags sam*), for about one winter term as abbot of the old monastic centre. **[13b]** Afterwards he went to Pu-hrangs and died [there] because of an earthquake. Therefore, at that time, the new religious centre was not called [rNam-rgyal].

After the monastic institution of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling had been founded, the precious master [Ngor-chen] resided at [the occasion of] this last [visit] for three years in the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-dar-rgyas-gling monastery.<sup>45</sup> **[14a]** At that time he gave completely all supplementary teachings (*zur bka'*) of the practice offerings (*bsgrub mchod*) that existed here, [namely] instructions including the precious instructions, the Path [with Its] Fruit (*gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu*), instructions of the profound way [of] the Vajrayoga, [namely] the six unions [of the Kālacakra] (*zab lam rdo rje'i rnal 'byor sbyor ba yan lag drug*), the method of the practice [of] the state of complete freedom from elaborations and the like, a collection of the tantra section, like the [Sārvatathāgata] *tattvasaṃgraha* [nāmamahāyānasūtra] (*De nyid 'dus pa'i rgyud*),<sup>46</sup> the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (*Ngan song thams cad sbyong ba'i rgyud*),<sup>47</sup> and the *Hevajramūlatantra* (*rTsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis*

<sup>43</sup> The term *bsri* (var. *sri*) *thabs* is not attested in the dictionaries available to me. I follow the translation given by D. L. SNELGROVE (1967), vol. 2, 344, for the phrase *sri btab*, which most probably is an alternative (and maybe correct?) reading for *bsri* (var. *sri*) *thabs*. R. VITALI (1996), 510, note 863, translates the expression as “appointment.”

<sup>44</sup> On the different identifications of the Zhang-pa, see above, pp. 12-14.

<sup>45</sup> Actually, Ngor-chen is known to have stayed in Glo-bo not for three but for two years (1446-1447) during his third visit there. See D. JACKSON (1978), 218.

<sup>46</sup> Although according to the Sanskrit name of this work it may be classified as a *sūtra*, it is regarded as a tantric text by the Tibetans and is found in the tantra section of the Tibetan canon, under no. 112 of the Peking edition of the bKa'-gyur.

<sup>47</sup> This tantra could not be identified clearly. It could be identical to one of the works found in the Peking edition of the bKa'-gyur under nos. 116 and 117.

pa),<sup>48</sup> great yoga *maṇḍalas*, like the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*De nyid 'dus pa*), the *Vajrasekhara*[*mahāguhyayogatantra*] ([*gSang ba rnal 'byor chen po 'i rgyud*] *rdo rje rtse mo*),<sup>49</sup> and the *Śrīparama*[-*ādyanāmamahāyānakalparājā*] (*dPal mchog [dang po shes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i rtog pa 'i rgyal po*),<sup>50</sup> the twelve purification *maṇḍalas* (*sbyong dkyil bcu gnyis*), and the highest (Skt. *anuttara*) [tantras]. Five or six years before now there were [still] a few aged religious scholars in the old monasteries here who had received empowerments [from] master [Ngor-chen] himself at that time.

At that time the [donor-]brothers **[14b]** made different kinds of presents to the master, such as five hundred ounces [of] gold, of which the most notable were five golden amulet boxes. And all the different arrangements, like the establishing of the going of monks to the great monastic seat [of Sa-skyā] for advanced scholastic training and testing, the system of sending monks regularly to the different monastic colleges of the Sa-skyā-pa [tradition in] dBus and gTsang according to the master's intention, and the systems [of practice to be followed] in various temples and monastic places (*dgon gnas*), were accomplished [by Ngor-chen] at that time. In particular, in order to spread and increase the doctrine of the venerable Sa-skyā-pa [founders] in the region of mNga'-ris, an image of [Mahākāla in the form of] Śrī Pañjaranātha with a **[15a]** formula (Skt. *dhāraṇī*) put inside (*gzungs bzhugs*) was erected in the central temple (*dbu rtse*) of the great Maitreya. And he established the [offerings of] gTor[ma cakes] before [the shrine] for as long as the Doctrine exists.

The four [donor-]brothers,<sup>51</sup> who, together with the young great ruler bKra-shis-mgon, made five, brothers and nephew (*sku mched khu dbon*), received also the secret empowerment of Śrī Vajramahākāla Pañjaranātha, brother and sister (*dpal rdo rje nag po chen po gur gyi mgon po lcam 'dral 'khor dang bcas pa 'i rjes gngang*), [from] the master. Then, giving [them] orders and advising [them], **[15b]** [Ngor-chen] said: “If we all, teacher and donors, manage to remain in this commitment without contradicting it, [then] here, in the region of Glo-bo, all religious and worldly deeds will be increased. If it will not be [managed] like this, I do not know what will happen. [But] it is known from the Buddha's true teachings that the commitment of the lineage lamas and the Dharma protectors is very serious.” The ritual assistant

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<sup>48</sup> This tantra is found in the Peking edition of the bKa'-'gyur under the title *Kye'i rdo rje shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po* (no. 10).

<sup>49</sup> A tantra with this name is found in the Peking edition of the bKa'-'gyur under no. 113.

<sup>50</sup> A tantra with this name is found in the Peking edition of the bKa'-'gyur under no. 119.

<sup>51</sup> The four brothers are A-ma-dpal's four sons, A-mgon-bzang-po, A-mo-gha, Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, and Rin-chen-bzang-po. See above, fol. 11a-b.

(*mchod g.yog mdzad pa po*) of that time was the great [Gu-ge] Paṇḍita Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

From that time onward until [the time when] the venerable Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug came here for the second time and taught the Dharma,<sup>52</sup> all religious and worldly deeds of the sMon-thang ruler [16a] were enlarged<sup>53</sup> to the degree of a [good] example, and the three regions of mNga'-ris,<sup>54</sup> the four districts of dBus-gTsang,<sup>55</sup> the three ridges of mDo-Khams,<sup>56</sup> Indian Kashmir and also [the land] as far as India (*'phags pa 'i yul* [= "Land of the Āryas"]) [proper] were filled with [his] fame and glory. An innumerable number of men came together [here in Glo-bo], due to the messengers, envoys, merchants, and those who wanted to give presents, and due to the spectacle of the auspicious sign of [this] land that [could] be seen. The abundance [of his] retinue and riches appeared like a completely perfected cloud, similar to Indra, Lord of Gods.

[16b] Happiness arises for living beings in the world from the Buddha's Doctrine. And it does not emerge from [its] incorrect practice, but from [its] correct practice.

The complete meaning of what the religious master Sa-skya Paṇḍita had said: "He who acts in accordance with the Buddha's teaching is a [genuine] religious teacher, he who practises according to the guru's teaching is a [real] student, [and] he who establishes conducive conditions for teacher and student is a [true] donor. You should know that wherever there are such [circumstances], there the Buddha's Doctrine exists,"<sup>57</sup> was fully accomplished as long as the [deeds] done by the religious master [Ngor-chen] Kun-dga'-bzang-po, the [spiritual] father, and his [spiritual] sons were not damaged, and during that [time] [17a] there was also no one at all who even dared to utter the words: "It is acceptable to go against the teachings of the religious

<sup>52</sup> Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, visited Glo-bo twice (1466 and 1477-1478), and passed away during his second stay there.

<sup>53</sup> Tib. *yar...skyel* literally means "brought up," but for the sake of clarity I translate it as "enlarged."

<sup>54</sup> On the *mnga' ris skor gsum*, see above, Chapter 1, note 7.

<sup>55</sup> These four regions, also known as *bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi*, include g.Yas-ru and Ru-lag in gTsang and dBu-ru and g.Yo-ru in dBus. See G. URAY (1960), 31-57.

<sup>56</sup> In conventional usage, the ridges of mDo-Khams are known as a group of six (*mdo khams sgang drug*): Zal-mo, Tsha-ba, sMar-khams, sPo-'bo, dMar-rdza, and Mi-nyag. See *Tshig mdzod*, 2160.

<sup>57</sup> Prof. D. Jackson pointed out to me that this quotation derives from Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sKyes bu dam pa rnams la springs ba 'i yi ge*, 333.3.3 (fol. 6b.3), as found in the Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968, vol. 5, 330.4-339.2 [fols. 1a-18a]).

master Kun-dga'-bzang-po." Therefore we [then] had absolutely none of the divisions in doctrinal tenets that we have now.

The great ruler A-mgon-bzang-po had us, the four sons. The two elder brothers ruled the political sphere, and we, the two younger ones, lived a life of religion. So was the tradition, but later on, all three brothers [of mine] became active in worldly affairs.

[17b] I remember a few moments [of my] coming to 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho<sup>58</sup> when I reached [my] second<sup>59</sup> year. It is said that I received the vow of taking refuge and the empowerment of Uṣṇīṣavijayā (gTsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma), the text-transmission of the *bsTod pa chos kyi rgyal po*,<sup>60</sup> the *Wave of Faith* (*Dad pa'i rba rlabs ma*) composed by ['Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho] himself, and together with my own mother the [transmission of] the [*mDo sde za ma*] tog<sup>61</sup> and the *gZungs* [*bsdus* collection]. Later, when I asked the teacher Don[-grub]-she[s-rab], since he was the ritual assistant at that time, he said that it was exactly like this, [and that] I came, being carried, to receive the transmission even for the time of about seven days.

When I reached [my] third year, [18a] I received the empowerment of Amitāyus [and his] ninefold group of deities (*tshe dpag med lha dgu*) in the small Tārā temple (?) (*tā ra'i lhag chung*) [from] the Bodhisattva of Khwa-char, bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, but I do not remember clearly the outer appearance of the lama himself. I [only] recall plainly, for instance, the cover of the *vajra* and the bell.

Then, about the time when I reached [my] fifth [or] sixth year, [18b] I received [from] bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, an accomplished adept of the ancient tantric tradition [of] the descendant lineage of Ki-nor Jñānaśrī,<sup>62</sup> the translator Rin-

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<sup>58</sup> This is the same person that Ngor-chen appointed as abbot of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling. See above, fol. 11b.

<sup>59</sup> Although the author uses cardinal numbers (i.e. *gnyis*, *gsum*, ...) to indicate his age, I will render them from here on as ordinal numbers without further notice, taking into account the peculiarities of the Tibetan tradition of chronological calculation. On the latter, see Zuihō Yamaguchi (1984), "Methods of Chronological Calculation in Tibetan Historical Sources," in: Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, vol. 2, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 405-424.

<sup>60</sup> On this versified biography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita by his student Yar-klungs-pa Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan, also known as *Chos rgyal ma*, see D. JACKSON (1987), 17.

<sup>61</sup> The *mDo sde za ma tog* (Skt. *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra*) is included in the bKa'-'gyur under no. 784 of the Peking edition.

<sup>62</sup> In G. ROERICH (1988), 355, this Indian translator is mentioned as sKyi-nor Jñāna.

chen-bzang-po's main student, numerous times the empowerment of the *maṇḍala* of the very secret wrathful bCom-ldan-'das dPal-rta-mgrin Padma-dbang-chen and many times also, for example, the initiation of Amitāyus [and] Niguma (*tshe dpag med grub rgyal ma'i dbang*) and the *Gu ru bka' brgyud* initiation, the *Nam mkha' sgo 'byed* blessing [of] the gCod [tradition], and the salvation of Vajrapāṇi (*phyag na rdo rje'i byang 'grol*). I was also given the *Three Classes of the Hermit Teachings* (*Ri chos bskor gsum*), written by rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa (1213-1258),<sup>63</sup> including the main part and the branches, and the empowerment of the venerable Mi-la[-ras-pa]'s protectors [of] the Dharma, the five sisters [of] long life (*chos bsrungs tshe rings ma mched lnga*),<sup>64</sup> including the extensive [teaching].

Later on, when I was in [my] ninth year, **[19a]** I also received the complete vows of a layman [from] Bodhisattva Yon-tan-chos-rgyal.<sup>65</sup> I obtained for instance the empowerment of Amitāyus [and his] ninefold group of deities and of Yamāntaka ('Chi-bdag-'joms-pa) several times.

Then, when I reached [my] eleventh year, I met the great venerable rDo-rje-'chang Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug after he had come [to Glo-bo] for the first time. At the first spiritual connection, I properly received an empowerment [that was based] on the construction of a coloured sand *maṇḍala* of Lord Amitāyus [and his] ninefold group of deities. Then, in the winter term when he taught the *Hevajramūlatantra*, I [could] not study [that]. Beginning with the spring season, **[19b]** for as long as he had not returned to the east, I received the pure vows of a novice monk,<sup>66</sup> and, having joined the assembly in which the instructions including the precious instruction, the Path [and Its] Fruit, [were taught], I obtained the path [of] ripening (*smin lam*) [and] the path [of] liberation (*grol lam*), except for only a little bit [of the auxiliary teachings], a great many incidental empowerments, and the three great tantric commentaries *Sems 'grel bskor gsum*.<sup>67</sup> Since he supported me with the benevolence of the

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<sup>63</sup> A biographical sketch of this master is found in G. ROERICH (1988), 688-691.

<sup>64</sup> Mi-la-ras-pa's dialog with the five sisters is found in G. CHANG (1962), pp. 357-361 (story no. 31).

<sup>65</sup> As Glo-bo mKhan-chen reports further on, this master was the abbot of the monastic centre of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling in 1472. See below, fols. 21b, 22b, and 23a.

<sup>66</sup> For further details of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's novice ordination, see above, 3.3.2.

<sup>67</sup> According to *Tshig mdzod*, 2939, the *sems 'grel bskor gsum* are three works found in the bsTan-'gyur, namely the *Phyag rdor stod 'grel*, the *rDo rje'i snying 'grel*, and the *Rigs ldan pad dkar gyi 'grel chen dri med 'od*. However, these titles could not be identified with known works. The second commentary might be identical to no. 4608 of the bsTan-'gyur in the Peking edition (*Dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi snying po'i 'grel pa dri ma med pa'i 'od*).

three vows,<sup>68</sup> which originate from the pure transmission lineage, he became [my] root lama, whose nature is Vajradhara.

When the master was about to return east, the donors [and] the teacher **[20a]** consulted together, and after [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug] had examined who [among] the two, the religious master Rwa-chen<sup>69</sup> or the learned scholar Tshul-[khrims-]'od[-zer], would be most suitable for assisting my study, the religious master Rwa-chen was ascertained to be the right one. Master [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug] gave him detailed instructions, [and] at that time he (i.e. Rwa-chen) mentioned many reasons why he could not assist [as tutor], but—**[20b]** [as] I was told by my teacher (i.e. Rwa-chen)—the lord [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug] said: “Since this [person] will be of use for the Sa-skyapa doctrine in the future, you should assist [him] by all means. As for [his] study, you should teach Prajñāpāramitā at first. Regarding this, although the method (*babs*) of the tenet system of Rong[-ston]'s commentary is very excellent, in some passages, for instance [in connection with the explanation of] the generation [of] the aspiration [for awakening] ([*byang chub kyī sems bskyed*, Skt. [*bodhi-cittotpāda*]), it differs to some extent from the method of the [five] founders<sup>70</sup> [of] the venerable Sa-skyapa [tradition]. Therefore explain these [passages] exactly according to the way of [Sa-skyapaṇḍita's] *Sems bskyed chen mo* (i.e. the *dBu ma lugs kyī sems bskyed kyī cho ga*)<sup>71</sup> and the like.” After [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug] said to me at that time: “Memorize the passage on the rules of training in the generation [of] the aspiration [for awakening] that is [explained] in [Sa-skyapaṇḍita's] *rGyal sras lam bzang* (i.e. the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*),” the master also urged [me] to learn [it] by heart. He said: “Since these [represent] the very important essential point, you must fix [them] in your mind from the beginning.”

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<sup>68</sup> The three vows (*sdom gsum*) include the *prātimokṣa* vow (*so sor thar pa'i sdom pa*), the Bodhisattva vow (*byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa*), and the tantric vow (*gsang sngags kyī sdom pa*).

<sup>69</sup> BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, 435.3-4 (fol. 13a.3-4), gives the name Rwa-ston Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po for Rwa-chen and assigns him to the family lineage of Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags (on whom see G. N. ROERICH [1988], 374ff.), who was a contemporary of rNgog Lo-tsā-ba (1059-1109). On Rwa-chen, see also below, note 90.

<sup>70</sup> The *sa skyapa gong ma* [*rnam lnga*] are Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158), Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182), rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), Sa-skyapaṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), and 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280).

<sup>71</sup> This work by Sa-skyapaṇḍita is included in the *Sa skyapa'i bka' 'bum* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968, vol. 5, 264.3-273.2).

Then [21a] I entered into the study of Prajñāpāramitā (i.e. the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*), and I remained in the study of both, Prajñāpāramitā [and] Pramāṇa, for six years, until I had reached [my] seventeenth year. At about that time, small dispositions<sup>72</sup> of [my] former [lives] were awoken. Therefore, through reading [of] the minor writings [of] the religious master lama Sa-skya Paṇḍita's collected works, a deeply felt unshakable faith in the lama, the religious master, arose. The thought occurred to me that whatever religious teaching I practiced, I should by all means practice one that measured up to the intention of this [master]. In the meantime, [21b] I received [teachings] on [moral] conduct, like [Śāntideva's *Bodhisattva*]caryāvatāra ([*Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod [la] 'jug [pa]*),<sup>73</sup> the Madhyamaka [work *Suhṛllekha* (*bShes pa'i springs yig*) by Nāgārjuna],<sup>74</sup> [Sa-skya Paṇḍita's] *sDom gsum[rab dbye]*, the Vinaya rules compiled by 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho, and [Śāntideva's] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*bSlab pa kun las btus pa*),<sup>75</sup> as well as [teachings such as] the *Byang chub sems dpa'i blo sbyong* and the instructions on the three [kinds of] persons (*skyes bu gsum gyi khrid kyi rim pa*) [of] the bKa'-gdams-pa [tradition], an explanation [of] Sa-skya Paṇḍita's] *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* [based] on [his] autocommentary, two explanations [based] on g.Yag[-ston's] commentary, and one explanation [based] on 'Jam-dbyangs-shes-rab-rgya-mtsho's "syllogism commentary" (*sByor tik*).

Since at that time the religious master Yon-tan-chos-rgyal resided as the abbot [in] the monastic centre [Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling], [22a] I obtained [from] him [Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa*]vārttika ([*Tshad ma rnam 'grel*) up to the section on the benefit [for] others,<sup>76</sup> [based] on g.Yag[-ston's] commentary, the complete [explanation based] on Rong[-ston's] commentary, and the entire transmission of [its] autocommentary.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, I studied dimly (*yams se ba re*)<sup>78</sup> [Guṇaprabha's] *Mūla-*

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<sup>72</sup> *Bag chags* (Skt. *vāsanā*) are karmic impressions left by all mental and physical deeds.

<sup>73</sup> This work is found under no. 5272 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>74</sup> This work is found under nos 5409 and 5682 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>75</sup> This work is found as no. 5336 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>76</sup> The section on the benefit for others forms the fourth and last chapter of the *Pramāṇavārttika* which is found under no. 5709 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>77</sup> The autocommentary, the *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa*), is included in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5717(a) of the Peking edition.

<sup>78</sup> This phrase has been explained by a Tibetan teacher as a synonym of *rag rims* ("rough") to me.



*vinayasūtra* ('*Dul ba mdo rtsa*) [and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma*]kośa,<sup>79</sup> both [based] on 'Chims [brTson-'grus-seng-ge's] commentary,<sup>80</sup> with this master.

Then I heard a report that, with [my] elder brother's support and at his instigation, the religious master "Great Mañjuśrī" ('Jam-dbyangs-chen-po)<sup>81</sup> from gSang-phu [Ne'u-thog], together with disciples (*dpon slob*), was coming west. Since the precious religious master Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan was also present at that time, he said: **[22b]** "The study of the *sūtra* section by you has reached an excellent level by the standards of this place. After your own master [Rwa-chen] has perfected [your] qualities, this will be given a different name (i.e. attributed to another teacher) if now you do not carry out the 'stages of presentation' according to tradition. Therefore you should complete [your] inaugural exposition (*bshad gsar*) before [receiving new teachings]." Since I received the [*Dākinī*]vajrapañjara ([*mKha' 'gro ma*] *rdo rje gur*),<sup>82</sup> the *Sam̐bhūṭi*,<sup>83</sup> the transmission [of] Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya (*gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod lugs*), and two lineages of the red Yamāntaka (*gshin rje'i gshed dmar po*) from this lama, he was a Vajra[yāna] master to whom I am very grateful.

Then, starting on the fourth day of the sixth month [of] the [water-]dragon year (1472), **[23a]** I accomplished a partial [public] exposition, according to the method of our own tradition, of the four basic texts Prajñāpāramitā (i.e. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*), [*Pramāṇa*]vārttika, *sDom gsum* [*rab dbye*], [and] the Madhyamaka [work] *Suhr̥llekha* for three days in the Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba temple, where there was gathered an assembly [of] nine hundred [monks], [with] the great abbot Yon-tan-chos-rgyal as [their] head.

Then, around the seventh and eighth month of the same year, the religious master 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po [and his] disciples came. At that juncture ('*brel chags*) **[23b]**

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<sup>79</sup> The *Abhidharmakośa(kārikā)* is found under no. 5590 in the Peking edition of the bsTan-'gyur.

<sup>80</sup> 'Chims (var. mChims) brTson-'grus-seng-ge wrote the famous *Abhidharmakośa* commentary *Nag 'byams su grags pa'i mdzod ṭik*, known also as '*Chims mdzod*.

<sup>81</sup> As it will become evident from passages below, "'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po" can only be gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), who visited Glo-bo from 1472 to 1474. For further information on him, see above, 3.3.2.

<sup>82</sup> There are at least three works found in connection with "Dākinīvajrapañjara" in the bsTan-'gyur. See Peking edition nos. 2324 (*Dākinīvajrapañjaramahātantrarājasya pañjikā prathamapaṭalamukhabandha*), 2326 (*Dākinīvajrajālapañjaratantrarājasya pañjikā tattvapauṣṭika*), and 2453 (*Dākinīvajrapañjarapañcadākasādhana*).

<sup>83</sup> This text can probably be identified as the *Sam̐puṭināmamahātantra* (*Yang dag par sbyor ba shes bya ba'i rgyud chen po*). See no. 26 in the Peking edition of the bKa'-'gyur.

a great conflict [involving] the army of La-stod lHo<sup>84</sup> and the troops of Gu-ge and so on arose [in Glo-bo].<sup>85</sup> As a result, the master [and his] disciples were disturbed because they were engaged [in] mediating and the like. There was no teaching [and] studying and so on. Starting from the winter term of that [year Shākya-mchog-ldan] stayed here for three years. Also in the second year there occurred a great battle [between Glo-bo and the armies] of the [La-stod] lHo-pa and Gu-ge, so that the master [and his] students had the chance to teach and study for [only] one whole year. During that time, **[24a]** I also studied with him what he taught [on] the general teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā [and] Pramāṇa, [his] explanation [of] the Vinaya [based] on the commentary of the venerable Red-mdā'-ba, the teaching [on] the *Pramāṇavārttika* [based] on the religious master Don-yod-dpal's<sup>86</sup> commentary, [and his] explanation [of] the general meaning of the *Pramāṇavārttika* [based] on the combination [of] the methods of the [*Tshad ma*] *rigs gter*, [Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge's] *Cha bsdus* (i.e. *bsDus pa*),<sup>87</sup> and the small [*Pramāṇa*] *viniścaya* commentary by [rNgog] Lo-tśā-ba. Not only did I not hear even a single word [of] tantric teachings or [of] the rituals [for imparting] the three vows, but also he did not teach [them] at that time.

Today some people think **[24b]** I am highly indebted to this religious master 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po from the religious point of view, but that I engage in various talks that show no respect ([*b*] *rtsi bzhas*) through different incorrect ways. But one has to know the distinction between the doctrine [on the one hand] and the person [on the other]. Therefore, although regarding [his] person he was a treasure holder (*mdzod 'dzin pa*) of many [excellent] qualities, like discipline, renunciation, [and] a perfectly complete education, being widely read in the scriptures, from the religious side he did not teach according to the way [of] the venerable Sa-skyā-pa's tradition, which follows (*'bab cing bzhol ba*) the tenet system [of] the definite meaning, and **[25a]** it did not seem to me that he exclusively remained in this tradition. Concerning how [his teachings] were not in accordance with the writings of the [five] lamas, the founders [of the Sa-skyā-pa tradition], I know this through questioning well contemporary noble persons who fathomed the depth of the scriptures with an eye of stainless discriminative understanding (*shes rab*), but I never [did so] influenced by envy and attachment.

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<sup>84</sup> On the history of the principality of La-stod lHo ("South La-stod"), see above, 1.2.4.

<sup>85</sup> See also above, Chapter 1, note 122.

<sup>86</sup> He was the teacher of Shākya-mchog-ldan. See D. JACKSON (1983b), 14.

<sup>87</sup> On Phywa-pa's "Pramāṇa summary," see S. ONODA (1996), 190f.

If it were true that merely by not accepting the tenet system [of a master], much fault would be accrued with regard to this lama, would [this assertion] not entail too much (*ha cang thal ba*), [keeping in mind] that the master [Ngor-chen] rDo-rje-'chang studied the stages [of] the path (*lam rim*) with the precious lama [Tsong-kha-pa] but deviated from his doctrinal tenets? **[25b]** So it is, but when 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po stayed here, for the most [part] I did not hear him teach not in accordance with Sa-skyapa tenets until he composed [his] questions on the *sDom gsum* [*rab dbye*].<sup>88</sup> After he wrote the questions, doubts arose (*lang long*) for most people about what his final intention was. After he gave [himself] an extensive answer,<sup>89</sup> all those engaging in the one-pointed practice of our tradition gained a profound certainty (*nges shes*). As for myself, **[26a]** although at first [my teachers] the religious masters Rwa-ston [Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po]<sup>90</sup> and dPal-ldan<sup>91</sup> made many investigations asking: "In which way are there the pure tenets [of] the Sa-skyapa in this?", I could not gain certainty. Thinking that it is hard to reach the bottom when the person has come under [negative] influence (*slongs can du song bas*),<sup>92</sup> doubts arose [in me].<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> This collection of one hundred and eight questions bears the title *sDom gsum rab dbye la dri ba legs pa* and is found in Shākya-mchog-ldan's Collected Works (Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 17, 448-462 [fols. 23b-30b]). See also D. JACKSON (1983b), 17f, and above, Chapter 3, note 69.

<sup>89</sup> Shākya-mchog-ldan's answer, the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad gser thur*, is included in his Collected Works (*op. cit.*, vol. 6, 439-647 [fols. 1a-105a]). See also above, Chapter 3, note 69.

<sup>90</sup> Rwa-ston is identical to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's teacher Rwa-chen (see above, fol. 20a and note 69). He also occurs as a respondent to Shākya-mchog-ldan's questions in Shākya-mchog-ldan's biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (KUN-DGA'-GROL-MCHOG, 117.7) and in Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's autobiography *Blo gsal gyi ldum bu ba kun dga' grol mchog rang gi myong ba rgyan gi me tog* (in: *Sa skya pa lam 'bras bla brgyud kyi rnam thar*. Dehra Dun: Sakya Center, 1985, 575-653 [fol. 1a-40a]), fol. 39b. See also D. JACKSON (1983b), 17.

<sup>91</sup> He is Glo-bo mKhan-chen's teacher dPal-ldan-pa Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, mentioned in BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, 440.4 (fol. 16b.4), by the name of dPal-ldan-bzang-po.

<sup>92</sup> The meaning of the phrase *gang zag slongs can du song bas* is unclear. Possibly one should read *slong rkyen* instead of *slong can* (which could be a misspelling due to possibly similar pronunciation of *rkyen* and *can*), in which case the text would mean something like "being under [negative] influence/forces". Cf. *Tshig mdzod*, 2997, where *slong rkyen* is explained as *skul slong yong ba'i shugs rkyen nas rgyu rkyen*. I am grateful to Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg) for suggesting this interpretation.

<sup>93</sup> Glo-bo mKhan-chen himself wrote several replies to Shākya-mchog-ldan. See above, Chapter 3, note 69.

Then the venerable Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug came here for the second time (in 1477). He gave many teachings, and I also requested exhaustively vows [of] full ordination (*bsnyen par rdzogs pa'i sdom pa*)<sup>94</sup> and religious teachings, like the precious instruction[, the Path with Its Fruit, from him]. **[26b]** After he said that an abbot for the Thub-bstan[-dar-rgyas-gling monastery]<sup>95</sup> was needed, the donors [and] the teacher conferred, and then they “scattered flowers” (*me thog 'thor ba gngang*),<sup>96</sup> [appointing me]. Later, when the venerable Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug passed away for the benefit [of] others, the religious scholars who were here saw with their own eyes (*mngon sum du*) miraculous signs going beyond the scope of thought. Thereafter, I thought that if the holders [of] the Sa-skyapa doctrine who were at other places would also hear such a wonderful report, it would cause them to generate exceeding delight (*thugs dang ba*). **[27a]** And [I also thought] that since [Shākya-mchog-ldan] himself was a great master [of] Vajra[yāna] who had also received the empowerments of the *maṇḍala* of Hevajra and of the *maṇḍala* of Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra (gSang-'dus 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje) from him, he was specially [qualified],

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<sup>94</sup> On Glo-bo mKhan-chen's full ordination, see above, 3.3.3.

<sup>95</sup> Although the sources disagree on the name of the monastery, it seems most probable to me that the monastery mentioned here is Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling, and not Thub-bstan-bshad-sgrub-dar-rgyas-gling (also called Tsarang) as the “Tsarang Molla” (translated in D. JACKSON [1984], 148) has it. This is supported by BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, 455.5-6 (fol. 24a.5-6), and 456.3 (fol. 24b.3), where Glo-bo mKhan-chen is said to have been the abbot of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling for twelve years (i.e. 1477 to 1488/89), and *ibid.*, 523.3 (fol. 60a.3), where he is mentioned as the abbot of rNam-gyal (= Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling). Moreover, A-MYES-ZHABS NGAG-DBANG-KUN-DGA'-BSOD-NAMS, *Lam 'bras*, 548.3, reports that Glo-bo mKhan-chen was the *chos dpon* (“religious master”) of this very monastery. One could also refer to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's statement in the colophons of two of his works (see below, Part Three, nos. 200 and 202) that he completed them in 1482, i.e. during the time of his abbothood, at Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling. Furthermore, SHĀKYA-MCHOG-LDAN, 456, who, in the colophon of his history of rNgog Lo-tsā-ba's school, mentions a certain bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-byung-gnas from the great Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling temple who is said to have requested the writing of the work from him, which was composed in 1479 (see D. JACKSON [1987], 219, note 9), i.e. when Glo-bo mKhan-chen was already abbot there. Finally, it is noteworthy that a monastery called Thub-bstan-bshad-sgrub-dar-rgyas-gling (i.e. Tsarang) is not mentioned in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works.

<sup>96</sup> The metaphor of “scattered flowers” indicates formal ritual blessing or approval, here the agreement of the Glo-bo ruler and Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug about Glo-bo mKhan-chen's appointment as the abbot of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery.

and thus I sent a letter [to Shākya-mchog-ldan] requesting him to compose a detailed biography [of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug].<sup>97</sup>

In the answer he wrote many praises regarding myself at the beginning, and thereafter [27b] he composed this verse at the end and sent [it to me]:

Many songs [of] jealousy are sung by somebody [like]  
a charioteer, a melodious feigner of religion, who  
clings to retinue and family. Knowing how to bring  
down [this man] gradually is in this case virtue.<sup>98</sup>

At that time I felt very sorrowful, thinking: Alas (*a tsa ma*), what did he [want to] say by such [words]? What kind of thing is he saying? Who is “someone”? For which retinue is there desire? For whose family is the desire? Who feigns religion? How does he speak [with] jealousy? What kind of means does he know for removing the doers [of this] gradually? From then on, I came to the conclusion (*phu thag chod*) that he did not [follow] the tradition of our founding lamas.

The religious master dPal-ldan<sup>99</sup> [28a] said: “When master rDo-rje-'chang [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug] stayed in rNam-rgyal-rtse, he told [me] that one night there appeared a miraculous form of the *rgyal po* spirit residing in dBus (*dbus gnas kyi rgyal po*) [to him, and he said:] ‘There will be some harm [from] him in the future.’ He performed extensive purifications (*sbyang ba*) for each [of] the four directions. That [statement] had in mind (*dgongs pa*) this [trouble instigated by Shākya-mchog-ldan].”

Nevertheless, he (i.e. Shākya-mchog-ldan) was famous as a religious scholar of the Sa-skyapa [tradition], and he also [belonged to] the disciple lineage of the venerable great rDo-rje-'chang [Kun-dga'-bzang-po], spiritual father, [and] spiritual son, [Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug]. And since his mind was engaging (*thugs gzhol ba*) the intention of the Holy Scriptures, ultimately he was without fault. But the main lineage (*pho rus che ba*) of those who imagined [themselves to be his] followers [28b] destroyed the venerable Kun-dga'-bzang-po's doctrine that existed in this region, leaving behind only its name.

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<sup>97</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1987), 219, note 9, the only known biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug has been written by Glo-bo mKhan-chen himself. The biography is described below, Part Three, no. 88.

<sup>98</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Dorji Wangchuk (Hamburg) for explaining the meaning of this verse to me.

<sup>99</sup> On dPal-ldan see above, note 91.

When I made some criticism [of Shākya-mchog-ldan's] doctrinal tenets for the first [time], through different kinds [of] talk and deeds they alienated me from [my] brother [and] also changed the mind of the ruler himself, [29a] who said: "While you [belong to] the disciples of the religious master 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po, expressing criticism and so on regarding [his] tenets is very inappropriate. And we have no relations in terms of religious [or] worldly [matters] with such religious masters as Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa"<sup>100</sup> To this I answered: "I [belong to] the disciples of the religious master 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po, but although they say they are 'Ngor-pa,' propagating the philosophical viewpoint (*lta grub*) in the way they establish [it], in reality (*don gyi thog nas*) the religious lineage founded formerly by [our] ancestors will decline. It also contradicts master Kun-dga'-bzang-po's solemn aspiration. [To say that] we have no relations with the religious master Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa is also not [true]. He is the noble person whom the victorious rDo-rje-'chang [Kun-dga'-bzang-po] prophesied as [his] successor-regent when [he gave] empowerments. Relying on this, [29b] while inviting the religious master [Mus-chen] Sems-dpa'-chen-po [dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan], the great religious king [A-mgon-bzang-po] said: 'In the best case (*rab*), invite Sems-dpa'-chen-po, second best [would be to invite] the religious master Gung-ru Shes-rab-bzang-po (1411-1475),<sup>101</sup> and third best Go[-bo] Rab-'byams-pa.' Thereafter there was a correspondence (*gsung shog gi 'brel*) of sending [letters] there and back<sup>102</sup> and the like. For my part, I wish to pay homage and fold [my] hands in respect to a noble person whose theory and realization accord, wherever he may be. According to what is said in the scriptures (*lung*):

Exceeding devotion arose in me for the intelligent one  
who, seeing the essencelessness of other traditions,  
accordingly rejected those.

[30a] also profound faith arises [in myself]. Therefore, [could] there be any relations higher than these?" So I said, but through various circumstances he fell under the

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<sup>100</sup> Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa (or Go-rams-pa) bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489) was the sixth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan. See D. JACKSON (1989b), 81.

<sup>101</sup> Gung-ru Shes-rab-bzang-po was the sixth abbot of the Nalendra monastery. See D. JACKSON (1989a), 15f.

<sup>102</sup> Tib. *mar la gñang ba dang yar la phul ba*; this phrase literally means "to give down [by a person of higher rank] and to give up [to this person by someone of lower status]." In our context this expression indicates the sending of letters by the ruler of Glo-bo to Go-rams-pa and vice versa.

influence of others, and he committed many [offensive activities] towards monks (*grwa rigs*) like hating (*thugs gnag*) and punishing them, and I thought that religious practice also existed in other regions. Twice when I was preparing to go to the east, everybody blocked me and did not let me go.<sup>103</sup>

But since at that time the religious master [Gu-ge] Paṇḍita Graggs-pa-rgyal-mtshan was residing [in Glo-bo], **[30b]** I gave up the idea of living in the religious centre and the like and obtained the great favour of the noble Dharma through great effort. Then, for some years, I made a great effort [regarding] the stage of my own taking refuge and, besides teaching and studying in private with a few individuals, [I could not teach openly]. But I remained indifferent (*btang snyoms su bsdad pa*) about teaching, because [it] would have become the cause of desire and hatred, since all oppressed [me] and regarded [me] as an enemy. However, the monks subdued [my brother], **[31a]** and even though the oldest ruler did not live [any more], they caused discord (*sel*) between the two [of us], the middle ruler and [me]. He had even received the generation [of] the aspiration [for awakening] and many tantric teachings, like the ritual for getting rid of evil influences [with the help] of the Dharma protectors (*chos skyong gi bka' bsgo ba*) [from me], but it did not help. He still did various [things], like punishing monks. Concerning my criticisms and proofs through similar and dissimilar tenets, he cast aside the method proper to that and reduced the discussion to [the level of] a worldly dispute and subjected me to various arguments. **[31b]** After that I thought: “Do what you like in this region, [but] it is enough [for me] if I don’t contravene the Dharma.” This was the reason for [my] going to Central Tibet for the first time. Minor signs of Bla-ma-dam-pa’s spiritual blessing (*byin brlabs*) also appeared.<sup>104</sup>

At that time I first stayed at Rin-chen-rtse<sup>105</sup> for one winter. [My] taking refuge and Dharma became fully developed (*shin tu dmar ba*).<sup>106</sup> I went to [Ngor] E-wam and stayed there for the summer. [There, too, my] taking refuge became fully ripened

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<sup>103</sup> According to BLO-GROS-DPAL-MGON, 459.1-2 (fol. 26a.1-2), Glo-bo mKhan-chen refrained from going to Central Tibet after his brothers and the abbots of different monasteries had asked him not to do so.

<sup>104</sup> As Prof. D. Jackson explained to me, Glo-bo mKhan-chen probably refers to Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, who left Sa-skya, his homeland, for dBus in the mid 1300s under similarly unpleasant circumstances.

<sup>105</sup> This is probably is the Srad Rin-chen-rtse monastery situated in the present Sa-skya county. See G. DORJE (1996), 348.

<sup>106</sup> The term *dmar ba* literally means “red,” but according to D. L. SNELLGROVE (1967), vol. 2, 339, also bears the meaning of “ripe, fully-developed, excellent.”

and [my] wish to investigate (*blta rtog blo kha*) through [reading] the scriptures was fulfilled. Since I stayed for some days in the private quarters (*gzims chung*) of master rDo-rje-'chang [Kun-dga'-bzang-po in] that summer, making the 'Jur po ma (?) Tor[-ma] practice for the Dharma protectors for a few days, **[32a]** I dreamt early one morning that I saw the very high Sa-skyā mountain, called dBon-po-ri, and arrived at [its] summit, from which one had a view up to mNga'-ris. And thereafter, since I stayed [there], many monks wearing red hats appeared, paying homage, bringing tea, and so on. In that [dream] also a dance mask (*'cham sku*) of a Dharma protector appeared.

Later, [in the] winter, I came to Rin-chen-rtse [again], and during [my] stay [there] an order from the Lord of men, Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po,<sup>107</sup> arrived. **[32b]** It said: "Come to give assistance to the brothers [of] the precious family lineage." Because I remembered the dream I had had earlier in [Ngor] E-waṃ, faith and certainty that the Sa-skyā-pa family lineage was pure arose [in me]. Since I went immediately [after] this, I accomplished [his] wish completely and immeasurable happiness arose [in me when] I thought: "I have accomplished a great service to the doctrine of the glorious Sa-skyā-pa."

Although I did not intend to go back to mNga'-ris, great misfortune, such as the death [of] the [middle] ruler [A-seng], happened and **[33a]** I received reports of the very great distress and, from the small ruler, [who] had been very respectful [and] honest with me, reasons why I had to come. Without realizing [my] hope for the previous continuous teachings, I returned west.<sup>108</sup> For several years after that I could engage in a little virtuous practice and study of religion and so forth, but then, coinciding with the death of the [youngest] ruler, the monks of gSer-mdog-can corresponded (*'phen len*) much with the ruler [of] gZhis-ka.<sup>109</sup> [Therefore] he [sent]

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<sup>107</sup> Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po from the Dus-mchod branch of the Sa-skyā family was the father of Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba. See J. SCHOENING (1983), 342f.

<sup>108</sup> According to A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 549.7, Glo-bo mKhan-chen returned to Glo-bo in his thirtieth year (i.e. 1485). As D. JACKSON (1984), 141, note 41, already pointed out, this disagrees with Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own account that his eldest brother, who passed away in 1489 (see above, fols. 30b-31a), died before his visit to dBu-s-gTsang, and also with Sa-lo Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533) having taken the vows of a layman from Glo-bo mKhan-chen in his eleventh year, i.e. 1495 (see A-MYES-ZHABS NGAG-DBANG-KUN-DGA'-BSOD-NAMS, *Lam 'bras*, 553.7).

<sup>109</sup> According to R. VITALI (1996), 536, parts of mNga'-ris, like Gu-ge, were controlled by the rulers of gZhis-ka, i.e. the Rin-spungs-pa, starting in 1499.



here an official order of reprimand and suppressing seizure-officers (*hor 'dra*)<sup>110</sup> and the like. The high rank of the monk community [33b] was degraded [like never] before in the snowy land of Tibet. In general, the great regional rulers should respect the monks as the highest, and it is right for the exposition of the tenet system to be done by religious scholars. But now the rulers take up the shield of refutation and acceptance, and this is extremely alarming. I was reduced at one point to saying: “The lineage [of] the lamas of the glorious Sa-skyapa together with the Dharma protectors are my witnesses!” Through my possession at that time in my mind a stream of the reviving of the power of positive spiritual inclination (*rigs*, Skt. *gotra*) even the smallest fault that [would] contradict the generation [of] the aspiration [for awakening] of the Mahāyāna did not arise [for me], [34a] and I kept to the meaning explained in the [*Mahāyāna*]sūtrālaṅkāra (XVIII 22 c, d):

A steadfast man (*brtan pa*) is not made to tremble by  
wicked friends, pain, and hearing [of] the profound,<sup>111</sup>

and in the Nītiśāstra:

Even if sandalwood is embraced by hundreds [of  
snakes] with poison-breath, it [keeps] its own nature,  
the coolness.<sup>112</sup>

Later on, also the evil spirits of the *māra* class (*bdud rigs*) were disturbed and signs of the age of decay (*rtsod pa'i dus*, Skt. *kaliyuga*) appeared. Thus, the great earth quaked.<sup>113</sup> All fruit-trees and forests and the like were damaged. Centres of the monastic communities and [34b] most temples were destroyed, too. The images of gods were also ruined, and an immeasurable [number of] living beings died. For some time this entire land was like barren wasteland (*'brog dgon pa stongs pa*). When that much [had happened], all other people refused to think of worldly

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<sup>110</sup> M. GOLDSTEIN (1975), 1219, defines *hor 'dra* as “confiscation, seizure.” According to L. PETECH (1990), 130, originally those Tibetans were called *hor 'dra* (“quasi-Mongols”) who “had accepted Mongol dress, customs, and language.” Prof. D. Jackson explained the term as “officers fully deputed to carry out an order (such as confiscation, arrest, etc.)” to me.

<sup>111</sup> The Sanskrit text as given in S. LÉVI (1983), 136, is as follows: *kumitraduḥkhagambhīraśravād vīro na kampate/*.

<sup>112</sup> This quotation could not be located.

<sup>113</sup> According to A-MYES-ZHABS, *Lam 'bras*, 550.1, this earthquake took place in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's fiftieth year (i.e. 1505).

[matters] and they only thought of religion and were disciplined. But then my mind was somewhat annoyed by the evil behaviour of those who from beginningless time have been intoxicated by the poison of being biased (*phyogs 'dzin*) and in whom burned the flames of anger.

**[35a]** And because of [my] request to the *bdag chen dbang*<sup>114</sup> to arrange the [necessary] auspicious conditions for [my] arrival in [the presence of your] brothers in the [’Khon] lineage in the future, [though] after that [I did] not [immediately] carry out [the ensuing] important instruction, from the last tiger year (1506) until the dragon year (1508) [I visited you] and offered all that remained to be given from the previous instructions without exception and most [of] the religious teachings you wanted to receive that I had previously obtained. Since [that] has become a source of good fortune for the precious Doctrine and all living beings, our [family] lineage has served the doctrine of the glorious Sa-skya-pa. **[35b]** For my part, I have not regarded [my own] life, and I have disregarded all dangers from relatives and enemies. Having placed in my heart the doctrine of the venerable Sa-skya-pa and all living beings, I have exhaustively examined [the teaching] through learning [and] reflection. I have properly cultivated [its] profound meaning in meditation. I displayed a manifestation of a compassionate mind, understanding as the attachment [and] aversion of others even that much wrong action of this degenerated age (*snyigs ma’i dus*, Skt. *kaliyuga*). In my mind, I have helped others as much as I could. And I hope to continue to do so still more and always to carry out in many [future] lives, too, a stream of activities through various very effective (*rlabs po che*) actions incomprehensible to others.

As for my qualities, **[36a]** because of [my] profound faith in the guru, the Dharma-master Sa-skya [Paṇḍita], and the awakening [of] a little power of my own positive spiritual inclination, I did not give up the intention (*bsam pa*) of Mahāyāna. By virtue of this, I accomplish as much as I can virtuous action and practice which makes intent (*mos pa*) into practice through the hope that, beginning with taking refuge, the main part (*ngos gzhi*) of the path, and the concluding practice,<sup>115</sup> all may possess the intention of Mahāyāna. Besides [this], I have no great qualities of realization (*mngon par rtogs pa*, Skt. *abhisamaya*).

Thousands [of] disputatious crocodiles gaped [their] mouths, and a chain [of] malicious [and] harmful waves **[36b]** splashed up to the sky. Although I have

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<sup>114</sup> *dBang* was a title held by many of the senior laymen of the Dus-mchod Bla-brang.

<sup>115</sup> These three parts are also known as *sbyor ngos mjug gsum*. See *Tshig mdzod*, 2027.

witnessed fierce winds of time, I do not strive merely for an island of my own peace.

Although I have seen the ties of householder life as poisoned food and the tumult as a dance show of flashlights, I maintained the [family] lineage of a Bodhisattva, and I embraced the faithful young girl of *samsāra*.

Those kind universal monarchs of religion should not (*'os ma yin*) be disrespected by animals who, not even knowing roughly the religious precepts, strive after theory (*lta ba*) through just empty talk.

This letter [37a] was written merely as a brief answer [to] the lama of the three realms, the venerable great 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Sa-skyapa Kun-dga'-bsod-nams-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, who said: "Can you capture a part of the qualities of your illustrative life story through a one-sided presentation? Or [if not], how is [it]?" Please draw [your own] conclusions from this [report], and then teach [it] in a suitable way to the students who are in agreement with myself.

These words have been written down in the bSam-[grub-]gling monastery on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month [of] the [wood-]dog year (1514). May excellent virtues spread [through this] offering! As my [scriptural] witnesses of this [report], please read in detail the Jātakas, [Maitreya'nātha's *Mahāyāna*] *sūtrālaṃkāra* ([*Theg pa chen po 'i*] *mdo sde rgyan*),<sup>116</sup> the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Byang chub sems dpa 'i sa*),<sup>117</sup> and [Bhavya's] *Madhyamaka* [*hṛdayavṛtti*] *tarkajvālā* (*dBu ma* [*'i snying po 'i 'grel pa*] *rtog ge 'bar ba*).<sup>118</sup> Happiness!

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<sup>116</sup> This work is included in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5521 of the Peking edition.

<sup>117</sup> This work is included in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5538 of the Peking edition.

<sup>118</sup> This work is included in the bsTan-'gyur under no. 5256 of the Peking edition.



PART THREE

Descriptive Catalogue



In the following catalogue, I describe the majority of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's available works—about one hundred and thirty in all—with regard to their physical makeup, contents, and occurrences in various catalogues and works of modern scholarship. The manuscript set from Gelung could only be taken into consideration in a fragmentary way, due to its partial illegibility and the difficulty of accessing it in microfilm form, and will have to be investigated more thoroughly in the future. Therefore, I restricted myself to the description of some important works of this set, like commentaries, biographies, and the history of the Shar-pa family, which are not available elsewhere. Unfortunately, two commentaries on the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, namely nos. 196 and 318, had to be omitted, since the microfilm copy of the first proved to be illegible at the beginning and the latter could not be located in the set. Moreover, it was not possible to include two of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's four *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* commentaries, namely nos. 312 and 313, since they are missing in the Gelung set (and elsewhere). The most important compositions have been dealt with in all known versions and editions, but a large number of texts could only be described in one version, since a detailed treatment would go beyond the scope of this study. Subject outlines, which undoubtedly would be useful within the description of the extensive commentaries, also had to be omitted for lack of time. Therefore, for the moment, the present catalogue should be regarded as tentative and merely as a basis for future more complete descriptions.

The order of the works described corresponds to the table above (chapter 4) and the composite list given in Appendix A, below. If more than one version of a text is mentioned, manuscripts have priority over blockprint editions. If the former are written in the *dbu can* script, they are treated before those in *dbu med* characters. In general, the *dbu can* manuscripts described here come from the collection preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, the *dbu med* texts derive from the Indian publications mentioned above,<sup>1</sup> and the xylographs from a Derge edition reproduced in Dehra Dun.<sup>2</sup> The other two sources—microfilms of the manuscripts from Gelung and of the Ngor blockprints—are mentioned explicitly whenever used.

The description of the works starts with details of their physical makeup,<sup>3</sup> including book-type (manuscript [MS] or xylograph), number of folios and lines of text per page (only given if the work is longer than one page), margin notations (other than page numbers), and illustrations. Some remarks about the legibility of the text are also made. Other details are treated under the following five main categories:

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<sup>1</sup> See above, 4.1.3.

<sup>2</sup> See above, 4.1.5.

<sup>3</sup> Since I had no access to the original manuscripts and xylographs, I could not give details about the size of the paper or blocks. Some general remarks regarding the size of the various collections may be found above, 4.1.

1. Title
  - a. on the title page
  - b. in the colophon (if different)
  - c. abbreviated title in the margin
2. Incipit
3. Colophon
  - a. quotation<sup>4</sup>
  - b. author's name if different from standard form
  - c. year and place of composition
  - d. at whose request
  - e. name of scribe
4. Subject of the work
5. References
  - a. appearance in catalogues
  - b. modern editions
  - c. appearance in works of modern scholarship<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Concluding verses which precede most of the colophons are quoted in full only if they include relevant information about the work's composition. If there is no colophon at the end of a composition, the final part of the text is quoted.

<sup>5</sup> Under point 5.c, works of modern scholarship that make use of the described text are mentioned without taking into account the version of the work in question.



- No. 1** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-37a; fols. 1b-2a: 3 lines, fols. 2b-3a: 4 lines, fols. 3b-end: 5 lines; recto: *ca* (vol. *ca* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-14a; 7 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); two unrecognizable illustrations on fols. 1b and 2a, respectively.<sup>6</sup>
1. a. (I) *rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan.*  
(II) *rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho.*
2. [fol. 1b] (fol. 1b) *mkhyen rabs [sic] 'jam dbyangs dbang po'i bka' lung gis// khyod kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i cha shas tsam//*
3. a. [fol. 36a.5] (13b.4) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 36b.4] (fol. 13b.6) *zhes zhus pa'i yi ge 'di ni khams gsum gyi bla ma/ rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs (II: byangs) sa skya pa chen po kun dga' bsod nams [fol. 37a] grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhal mnga' nas/ khyod kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i (fol. 14a) yon tan gyi cha (II: cha tsam) phyogs gcig (II: cig) tu bstan pas khyab pam/ ji ltar yod gsung ba'i lan du bcung zad tsam (II: 'di instead of bcung zad tsam) phul ba yin zhing/ 'di las rjes dpog mdzad de/ rang dang rjes su 'thun pa'i gdul bya rnam la ji ltar 'os pa gsung bar zhu/ zhes (I: ces) pa 'di'ang (II: 'di yang) khyi lo hor zla bcu gcig pa'i tshes bcor [sic] brgyad la/ bsam grub (I om. grub) gling dgon par bris te phul ba dge legs 'phel/ 'di'i dpang (I: dbang) po la (II: por instead of po la) skyes pa'i rabs dang/ mdo sde rgyan dang/ byang chub sems dpa'i sa dang/ dbu ma rtog ge 'bar ba rnam la zhib tu gzigs pa zhu// manggalam//*
- c. On the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of a dog year (i.e. 4th December 1514) in the bSam-grub-gling monastery.
- d. Sa-skya Lo-tśā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485-1533).
4. Autobiography of Glo-bo mKhan-chen.
5. a. BG: 64; GeCat: 1, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 8, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat1: 28, vol. *ka*, Mi-rigsCat3: 1/2; Tō: 41-683 and 44-694-2; TōCat: 2, vol. *ka pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 15, no. 41-683 and 17, no. 44-694(2).

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<sup>6</sup> The work has been photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung in 1986 and a microfilm copy is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 101/26).

- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 110, 136, note 1;<sup>7</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 509, note 863, and 531, note 903.

**No. 85** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1b.2-8b.1 (136b.2-143b.1); 6 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams kyi bris yig.*
2. [fol. 1b.3] *om swa sti siddham/ sangs rgyas kun gyi mkhyen brtse'i nyi ma mchog// gang gi thugs rje nam mkha'i khyon yangs par//*
3. a. [fol. 8a.2] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang rgyal ba rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i thugs dam/ lam 'bras brgyud pa'i bris sku bcu gcig bzhugs pa la/ rje nyid kyi lha bkod dang/ rab tu gnas pa tshul bzhin du mdzad pa dpal e waṃ chos ldan na bzhugs pa las/ rang nyid nges pa bskyed pa dang/ dad pa dang ldan pa gzhan gyi lha'i bkod pa la phan par gyur cig bsam nas dge slong/ [fol. 8b] bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos dpal e waṃ chos ldan yon tan rin po che du ma'i 'byung gnas su bris pa'o//*
- c. In Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan.
4. Brief painting description (*bris yig*)<sup>8</sup> of eleven thangkas of Lamas of the *Lam 'bras* tradition commissioned by Ngor-chen and examined by Glo-bo mKhan-chen at Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan.
5. a. BG: 58; GeCat: 81, vol. *ka pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 23, vol. *ka*; Tō: 44-694-74; TōCat: 83, vol. *ka pa*.
- c. D. JACKSON (1986); D. JACKSON (1996), 78 and 82.

**No. 86** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 8b.2-9a.4 (143b.2-144a.4); 6 lines; fol. 9a: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Bla ma rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi thugs dam thang ka mgon po'i bris yig.*
2. [fol. 8b.3] *dbus su gur mgon/ steng star la thog mar dus 'khor/ bar du kye rdo rje rigs lnga/*

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<sup>7</sup> D. Jackson apparently used a 16-folio copy of the *dbu med* manuscript. See D. JACKSON (1984), 136, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> For further information on the *bris yig* genre, see D. JACKSON (1996), 369f.

3. a. [fol. 9a.2] *'di bla ma rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi thugs dam mgon po'i bris sku'i bkod pa la snang ba bi kṣu puṇya pas dad pa'i sgo nas bris/*  
*gang zhig mthu stobs kun gyi mgon//*  
*bgegs dgra rdo rje nag po che//*  
*dpal ldan khams gsum dbang phyug pa'i//*  
*thugs kyi bzhed pa ji bzhin no/*  
*bkra shis//*
- b. Monk Puṇya (= bSod-nams).
4. Description of a thangka of Mahākāla that was the holy object of the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, rJe-btsun Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).
5. a. BG: 59; GeCat: 82, vol. *ka pa*; Mi-rigsCat3: 23; Tō: 44-694-75; TōCat: 84, vol. *ka pa*.

**No. 87** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 9a.4-11a (144a.4-146a); 6 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rJe btsun sa skya pa'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul.*
2. [fol. 9a.5] *na ma gu ra we/ spyān ras gzigs dbang pad dkar las 'khrungs pa'i// kun dga'i snying po legs bshad ze 'bru can/*
3. a. [fol. 11a.3] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ rje btsun sa skya pa chen po'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu bltas nas dag par bya ba'i phyir bris pa'o// he//*
4. An account of a detailed examination of a actual lifelike portrait of the venerable Sa-chen.
5. a. BG: 60; GeCat: 83, vol. *ka pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 24, vol. *ka*; Tō: 44-694-76; TōCat: 85, vol. *ka pa*.

**No. 88** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1b-33a.1 (146b-178a.1); 6 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).<sup>9</sup>

1. a. *Bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba.*

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<sup>9</sup> D. JACKSON (1987), 219, note 9, mentions a 16-folio manuscript of this biography found in Lumbini.

2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ra we/ rje btsun bla ma dam pa'i zhabs kyi padmo dri ma med pa la phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// dge legs mtshan dpe'i ri mo rnam bkra 'gro kun dga' ba'i mig gi bdud rtsi lta bu'i sku//*
3. a. [fol. 32a.2] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 32b.4] *ces pa rje btsun bla ma dam pa'i rnam par thar pa cung brjod pa 'di ni/ rang nyid kyi mos pa lam du bya ba dang/ skal pa mnyam pa gzhan gyis kyang dad pa'i rgyur 'gyur bar bsams tel rje btsun thugs kyi rdo rje las zhal gyi bdud rtsi cung zad thob pa/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ ma bcos pa nyid rgyan gyi dam par bcas tel khyi lo zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes gsum [fol. 33a] gsum [sic] la/ dpal ldan brag dkar theg chen gling gi gtsug lag khang du bris pa'o// //maṃ ga lam//*
- c. On the third day of the second month of a dog year (i.e. 22nd February 1490?) in the temple of the Brag-dkar-theg-chen-gling monastery.
4. Biography of the fourth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, rJe-btsun Kundga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).
5. a. BG: 61; GeCat: 84, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 6, vol. *ka*; Tō: 44-694-77; Mi-rigsCat1: 25, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat3: 24; TōCat: 86, vol. *ka pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 19, no. 44-694(77).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 154, note 23; D. JACKSON (1987), 219, note 9, 246, note 32.

**No. 89** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a.2-24b.4 (178a.2-202b.4);<sup>10</sup> 6 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer.*
2. [fol. 1a.2] *rje btsun bla ma dam pa sa skya pa rnams kyi zhabs kyi padmo dri ma med pa la gus par phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// rnam dkar bsod nams mtshan dpe'i ri mo can//*
3. a. [fol. 22b.6] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 24a.5] *ces chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa shes bya'i dkyil 'khor ma lus pa la chos kyi spyang gsal ba mkhas pa chen po bsod nams seng ge ces yongs su grags pa de'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam du brjod pa 'di [fol. 24b] yang bdag nyid la yang thun mong ma yin pa'i dad pa yod pa dang/ dad pa dang ldan pa'i gdul bya du mas kyang/ bdag nyid chen po 'di'i rnam par thar pa zhig rtsoms zhes phral*

<sup>10</sup> Fol. 1a is actually marked as fol. 33a of the previous work and fol. 24b as fol. 1[b] of the following text.

*dang yun tu bskul ba'i rkyen byas nas/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ 'brug lo hor zla gnyis pa'i yar tshe bco lnga la dpal e waṃ chos ldan yon tan rin po che'i 'byung gnas su gus pas sgrubs so// //dge'o//*

- c. Completed on the fifteenth day of the second month of a dragon year (i.e. on 28th February 1496 or 17th March 1508) in [Ngor] E-waṃ-chos-ldan.
- d. Many students.
- 4. Biography of the sixth abbot of Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan, Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489).
- 5. a. BG: 62; GeCat: 85, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 7, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat1: 26, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat3: 25; Tō: 44-694-78; TōCat: 87, vol. *ka pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 19, no. 44-694(78).
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po*.
- c. D. JACKSON (1991a), 31; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 315, note 363.

**No. 90** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a.4-40b (202b.4-241b); 6 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); partly illegible.

- 1. a. *Chos kyi rje tshul khirms rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung.*
- 2. [fol. 1a.5] *na mo gu ru bha tā ya/ rje btsun dam pa dmigs pa med pa'i thugs rje chen po dang ldan pa bka' drin can rnam kyi zhabs la phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// btse ba chen pos dus thams cad du rjes su bzung du gsol//*
- 3. a. [fol. 39a.5] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 40a.4] *ces dpal ldan bla ma dam pa tshul khirms rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam zhig bkod pa 'di ni/ rje bla ma nyid la dad pa'i dge slong sangs rgyas dar zhes bya bas yang yang du bskul bas rkyen byas te/ bla ma de nyid kyi drung du thun mong ma yin pa'i sdom pa gsum gyi bka' drin thob pa/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po/ bla ma nyid kyi rnam thar [fol. 40b] snga ma dang/ gsan yig rnam gzhir bzhag cing/ thun mong du brjod pas chog pa rnam gtso bor byas te nye bar sbyar ba'i yig ge pa ni bhi kṣu shrī wan (read: *mat*) [illegible] // dge'o// [illegible].*
- d. Monk (*dge slong*) Sangs-rgyas-dar.
- e. Monk (*bhikṣu*) Śrīmat[kīrti] (= dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
- 4. Biography of Tshul-khirms-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1476), based on a previous biography and his *gsan yig*.

5. a. BG: 63; GeCat: 86, vol. *ka pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 27, vol. *ka*; Tō: 44-694-79; TōCat: 88, vol. *ka pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 20, no. 44-694(79).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1976/77), 55, note 48.

**No. 91** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-4b.5 (163a-166b.5); 7 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).<sup>11</sup>

1. a. *Bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam par thar pa.*  
 2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ru bha ta ye// gsung ngag rin chen rdo rje'i tshig// bshad pa'i bsrol 'dzin 'jam dbyangs dmar//*  
 3. a. [fol. 4b.3] *zhes bdag gi bla ma dam pa rje btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi zhal mnga' nas gsung zhing/ rdzogs rim gyi dmigs pa rnams kyang 'di nas ji ltar bshad pa bzhin du ston par mdzad kyin 'dug lags so// byed po 'khrul pa yin pa'i dug bcom nas// ma shor lam ston dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyi// rnam par thar pa'i bdud rtsi 'di drangs pas// 'khrul med rtogs pa'i lus stobs rgyas par shog// ces pa'i rnam thar gyi yi ge thor bu pa 'di/ gzhung bshad dmar ma 'chad pa'i slad du brjod par 'dod nas/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos 'phul du bris pa'o//<sup>12</sup>*  
 d. The fourth abbot of Ngor, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478) (?).  
 4. Biography of Bla-ma dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po, written in connection with the author's interest in the *lam 'bras* commentary written by dMar-ston.<sup>13</sup>  
 5. a. BG: 248; GeCat: 87, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 4, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat1: 75, vol. *kha*; Mi-rigsCat3: 26; TōCat: 89, vol. *kha pa*.  
 c. E. SMITH (1970), 3f.

<sup>11</sup> The work has been photographed in 1986 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 102/15).

<sup>12</sup> This work was obviously written together with the following one (no. 92), since the colophon of the latter refers also to the present work.

<sup>13</sup> According to E. SMITH, 3, note 11, this master is identical with a disciple of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po called dMar-ston rGyal-mtshan-'od-zer, but actually the biography is devoted to the disciple of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po.

**No. 92** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 4b.6-7b (166b.6-169b); 7 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).<sup>14</sup>

1. a. *Grub thob yon tan dpal dang la tu ba bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa.*
2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ra we// dpal ldan 'jam dbyangs nyi ma'i 'od zer gyis// blo gros padmo'i ge sar kha phye nas//*
3. a. [fol. 7a.5] *dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta'i gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gsung sgros 'dzin pa'i slob ma'i mchog bzhi byung ba las/ bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po dang/ grub thob yon tan dpal gnyis kyi rnam par thar pa gnyis/ rnam thar thor bu ba'i kha bskong du 'gro bar bsam nas/ bdag gis phyogs gcig tu bkol te bris pa'o//*  
*gang zag mchog gi yon tan rnam//*  
*lam mchog bsgrub la dgos pas na//*  
*lam mchog rnam kyis legs bsams te//*  
*bsgrub mchog la ni brtson par rigs//*  
*ces pa 'di'ang dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal*  
 [fol. 7b] *mtshan dpal bzang pos dad pa'i rjes su 'brangs te bris pa'o//*  
*grub chen yon tan dpal 'di'i dngos kyi slob ma ni/ la tu ba chen po bsod nams seng ge [illegible] ba/ 'gro mgon 'phags pa dang/ shar pa rdo rje 'od zer dang/ shar pa ye chen po rnam las sa lugs kyi dbang bka' ma lus pa zhus shing/ rgyud gsum gdams ngag dang bcas pa la mkhas par mdzad nas/ dpal ldan sa skyar brtag gnyis la bshad pa brgya tshar mdzad pa de yin/ 'di gong ma siddhi pha las rgya ru spyang drangs te/ pho brang chen por dgung lo brgyad bcu gya bdun pa la bde bar gshegs/ de la kun spangs chos grags pas lam 'bras lam bskor dang bcas pa yongs su rdzogs par gsan no// zhes dang po'i yig rnying las gsungs yod do// maṅgalaṃ bhawantu shubhaṃ//*  
 [illegible]
4. Biography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's disciple Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal (1237-1323) and the latter's student La-tu-ba bSod-nams-seng-ge.
5. a. BG: 249; GeCat: 88, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 5, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat1: 76, vol. *kha*; TōCat: 90, vol. *kha pa*.

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<sup>14</sup> The work has been photographed in 1986 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 102/15). Note, however, that the latter number refers in fact to the previous work (no. 91) to which the present text is appended without a separate title page.

**No. 94** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-4b (185a-188b), fol. 1a missing; 7 lines; recto: *ka* (vol. *ka* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); two unrecognizable illustrations on fol. 1b.<sup>15</sup>

1. a. [*Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul.*]
2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ra we// rje btsun sa skya pa sras dang slob mar bcas pa thams cad la phyag 'tshal lol// dge legs 'dzin par snying rje'i chu yis nges par bskrun pa'i yongs 'du'i shing/*
3. a. [fol. 4b.4] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces dpal ldan bla ma dam pa shar pa gdung brgyud rim par byon pa rnams kyi rnam par thar pa rin po che'i phreng ba ltar mtshor du mngar ba 'di ni bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar gyi yi ge rnying pa dang/ gdung rabs kyi yi ge tho bur bzhugs pa rnam dag par btus nas skye dgu'i gtsug rgyan kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhabs drung dul/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ shri e waṃ chos ldan rin po che'i 'byung gnas nas dad pa'i yid kyis phul ba'o// maṃ ga lam/*
  - c. Sent from the Ngor Ewaṃ-chos-ldan monastery.
  - d. Sent to Kun-dga'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan.
4. History of the Shar-pa lineage of Sa-skya.
5. a. BG: 65; GeCat: 90, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 3, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat1: 29, vol. *ka*; TōCat: 92, vol. *kha pa*.
  - c. L. VAN DER KUIJP (1994), 189, note 31; D. MARTIN (1997), 71; E. SMITH (1970), 3.

**No. 100** Xylograph; fols. 1a-44a (pp. 1-87); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 44a: *mkhan chen gsung spyi rnam gsal byed*; two inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b: *snying dus rgyal ba gnyis pa ni// rdo rje 'chang dngos kun dga' bzang//* identifying Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po on the left margin and *rgyud gsum de nyid gzigs pa'i phul// mkhan chen bsod nam [sic] lhun grub zhabs//* identifying Glo-bo mKhan-chen on the right.

1. a. *Slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer.*
  - c. *sPyi rnam gsal byed* (verso).

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<sup>15</sup> The work has been photographed in 1986 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 102/16).



2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti siddham/ rgyud sde spyi rnam gyi gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer zhes bya ba// bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang gnyis su ma mchis pa rje btsun sa skya pa yab sras brgyud pa dang bcas pa'i zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// byin gyis brlab tu gsol// gang gi thugs rje rmad byung legs bshad 'od zer phreng//*
3. a. [fol. 43b.3] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces tshul dang po gsum gyi gsal byed cung zad tsam bshad pa 'di yang rje btsun sa skya pa'i gdung brgyud dam pa bdag chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs sku mched kyi bka' gnang zhing rang nyid dad pas rkyen byas nas dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bris pa'o// mngon par rtogs pa'i yi ge logs su bshad yod do//<sup>16</sup>*
- 'di bsgrubs [fol. 44a] pa las byung ba yi//  
dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//  
des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//  
bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*
- 'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*
- sems can thams cad bde gyur cig//  
sems can thams cad skyon med par//  
gang gi lam gyis grol 'gyur ba//  
de yis sangs rgyas myur thob shog//*
- grong khyer sum 'jig thub bstan grong khyer skyongs//  
'jigs rung zhal gdangs gad brgyangs 'jigs rung sgrogs//  
dpung chen nus mthus bdud kyi dpung chen 'joms//  
bstan srung rnams kyis bstan pa 'di srungs shig//  
dge'o/ dge'o/ dge'o//*
- c. Between 1506 and 1508<sup>17</sup> in rTse-gdong.

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<sup>16</sup> The following part of the colophon occurs in a similar form (sometimes shortened or extended) in all those works that have been printed in Derge. Consequently, it is most probable that it was only added for the xylograph edition.

<sup>17</sup> No date of composition is given in the text, but since Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba, who requested this commentary, would have been too young during Glo-bo mKhan-chen's first visit to Central Tibet to request it, only the years during his second visit are possible.

- d. The Sa-skya *bdag chen* Sa-skya Lo-tsä-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams and his brother.
- 4. Explanation of Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo's (1142-1182) *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa*.<sup>18</sup>
- 5. a. BG: 66; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 7; GeCat: 96, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 10, vol. *ka*; J. KOLMAŞ: 11.074 (1450); Mi-rigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.2; Mi-rigsCat1: 30, vol. *ka*; TōCat: 97, vol. *kha pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rGyud sde spyi*, 1-87 (fols. 1a-44a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 222f., note 20.

**No. 101** Xylograph; fols. 1a-49a (pp. 89-185); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 49a: *mkhan chen gsung ljon shing gsal byed*.

- 1. a. *mNgon par rtogs pa rin po che ljon shing gi gsal byed rin chen sgron me.*
- c. *lJon shing gsal byed* (verso).
- 2. [fol.1b] *om swa sti siddham/ mngon par rtogs pa rin po che ljon shing gi gsal byed rin chen sgron me zhes bya ba/ bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs gnyis su ma mchis pa dpal brtse ba chen po yab sras brgyud par dang bcas pa'i zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// phyin gyis brlab tu gsol/ brtse chen thugs rje'i nyi ma gsal po yis// bdag sogs rmongs pa'i mun pa drung nas 'byin//*
- 3. a. [fol. 48a.6] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 48b.2] *ces pa'i yi ge bla ma gong ma rnams kyi gsung sgros sor bzhag pa la/ dbu zhabs kyi 'chad tshul gyi cha cung zad tsam bsnan zhing/ blo la 'dzin sla ba'i phyir du mngon par rtogs pa'i tho yig tsam bstan pa 'di ni/ rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par 'phrul ba bdag chen gzhi thog pa 'jam pa'i dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams grags pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po sku mched kyi bka' lung gis bskul zhing/ rang gi mos pa gtso bor byas nas/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ rje btsun sa skya pa'i gdung brgyud rin po che rnams rim par byon pa'i gnas rtse gdong phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i gzhal med khang du bris pa'i yi ge pa ni bhi kṣu shrī matkī rti'o// 'dis 'khor ba sdug bsngal gyi rgya mtsho chen po myur du skems shing/ bde ba'i mchog bcu gsum rdo rje 'dzin pa snying po kye rdo rje'i go 'phang myur du thob par gyur cig// de ma thob kyi bar du yang nad dang*

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<sup>18</sup> On this work, see R. DAVIDSON (1981), 81.

*gnod pa dang/ sdug bsngal gyi tshogs nye bar zhi nas lam bzang po 'di lta  
bu dang 'phrad par gyur cig//*<sup>19</sup>

*'di bsgrubs [fol. 49a] pa las byung ba yi//  
dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//  
des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//  
bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*

*sems can thams cad bder gyur cig//  
sems can thams cad skyon med par//  
gang gi lam gyis grol 'gyur ba//  
de yis sangs rgyas myur thob shog//*

*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*

*grong khyer sum 'jig thub bstan grong khyer skyongs//  
'jigs rung zhal gdangs gad brgyangs 'jigs rung sgrogs//  
dpung chen nus mthus bdud kyi dpung chen 'joms//  
bstan srung rnams kyis bstan pa 'di srungs shig//*

*dge'o// dge'o// dge'o//*

- c. Between 1506 and 1508<sup>20</sup> in the Tse-gdong palace.
- d. The Sa-skya *bdag chen* gZhi-thog-pa Sa-skya Lo-tsä-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams Grags-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po and his brother.
- e. Monk Śrīmatkīrti (= dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
4. Explanation of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's (1147-1216) *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing*.<sup>21</sup>
5. a. BG: 67; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 8; GeCat: 97, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 11, vol. *ka*; MirigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.3; TōCat: 98, vol. *kha pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rGyud sde spyi*, 89-185 (fols. 1a-49a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 222f., note 20.

<sup>19</sup> See above, note 16.

<sup>20</sup> See above, note 17.

<sup>21</sup> On this work by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, see R. DAVIDSON (1981), 80f.

**No. 102** Xylograph; fols. 1a-11a (pp. 187-207); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 11a: *mkhan chen gsung spyi rnam rtsod spong*.

1. a. *sPyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan.*  
c. *sPyi rnam rtsod spong* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ru we/ spyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan zhes bya ba/ bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la sgo gsum gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// byin gyis brlab tu gsol/ rgya che rab zab dgongs pa rmad byung gi//*
3. a. [fol. 11a.2] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang rang gi dran pa gso zhing mdo'i don la nges shes bskyed pa'i phyir/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas dpal bzang pos bris pa'o// //iti//<sup>22</sup>*  
*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//*  
*dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//*  
*des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//*  
*bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*  
  
*sems can thams cad bder gyur cig//*  
*sems can thams cad skyon med par//*  
*gang gi lam gyis grol 'gyur ba//*  
*de yis sangs rgyas myur thob shog//*  
  
*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//*  
*bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//*  
*bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//*  
*bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*  
*dge'o/ dge'o/ dge'o//*
4. A reply to a critical examination of Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *rGyud sde spyi rnam bzhag*.
5. a. BG: 68; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 6; GeCat: 98, vol. *ka pa*; KA: 12, vol. *ka*; J. KOLMAŠ: 11.073 (1449); Mi-rigsCat1: 31, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 88, no. 000560.1; TōCat: 99, vol. *kha pa*.  
b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rGyud sde spyi*, 187-207 (fols. 1a-11a).  
c. D. JACKSON (1987), 222f., note 20.

**No. 109** Xylograph (printed at Ngor?); fols. 1a-99a; fol. 1b: 6 lines, fols. 2a-end: 7 lines; recto: *kha* (vol. *kha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); two in-

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<sup>22</sup> See above, note 16.

scriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b: *sa skya paṇḍi ta la na mo//* identifying Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan on the left margin (right margin: illegible),<sup>23</sup> two inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 99a: *'jam dbyangs dkon mchog lhun grub la na mo//* identifying dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, the tenth abbot of Ngor Ewaṃ-chos-ldan, on the left margin and *paṇ chen lha dbang blo gros la na mo//* identifying Paṇ-chen lHa-dbang-blo-gros on the right margin.<sup>24</sup>

1. a. *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag.*
2. [fol. 1b] *na mo bi dza ya/ sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag zhes bya ba/ rje btsun dam pa sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po'i zhabs kyi pad mo dri ma med pa la phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su 'chi'o/ byin gyis brlab tu gsoll/ stobs ldan bdud rtsi gsung gi 'od dkar kyis/*
3. a. [fol. 96a.1] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 98a.6] *ces sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag ces bya ba 'di ni/ dang por mkhas pa'i dbang po yon tan dpal bzang la sogs pas smin par byas shing/ dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo rdo rje 'chang chen po kun dga' dbang phyug gi zhal mnga' nas dang/ paṇḍi ta chen po grags pa rgyal mtshan [fol. 98b] dpal bzang po la sogs pa sa skya pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnam las lung rigs man ngag gi tshogs mang du thos shing/ gsung rab spyi dang bye brag tu rje btsun sa skya pa rnam kyi gsung rab la shes nas dad pa thob pa/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bya lo zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes bcu bzhi la/ bla ma rdo rje 'chang gis byin gyis brlabs pa'i ri bo che 'khor lo sdom pa'i pho brang du legs par sbyar ba'il yi ge pa ni rig pa 'dzin pa'i brtul zhugs la gnas pa dpal ldan grags pas bgyis te legs par spel lol/ e waṃ//*  
 [final colophon] *gu ru manydzu shri na mo//*  
*skyabs mchog mtshungs med rtsa rgyud bla ma dang//*  
*sbang rtogs mthar phyin zas gtsang sras po mchog//*  
*srid pa'i mun 'joms rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs//*  
*mchod 'os rnam la gus pas skyabs su mchi//*

<sup>23</sup> According to L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 93, the illustration on the right margin shows Glo-bo mKhan-chen.

<sup>24</sup> The work has been photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Tyangpoche in 1988 and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 166/6). See also above, Chapter 4, note 22.

bskal pa du mar tshogs gnyis bsgom pa'i mthus//  
 rgya bod mkhas pa'i gtsug na nor bu bzhin//  
 gang gis mthong thos dran reg rtsam gyes kyang//  
 don gnyis lhun grub 'jam dbyangs bla ma rgyal//

de gsung mdo rgyud gnyis kyis snying po'i don//  
 sdom gsum nyi ma'i 'od zer shar ba las//  
 mu cor rang dgar smra ba'i sprin char 'dra'i//  
 mkhas rlom nyi ma'i zer la skyon tshol ba//

rnam rtog dug chus myos pa'i bab chol smras//  
 de la mkhas shing grub pa mnyes [illegible]//  
 blo gros mtshungs med 'jam dbyangs bla ma mchog//  
 rgyal sras thu bo bsod nams lhun grub gyis//

zhib mor dpyad nas yin min shan 'byed pa'i//  
 bka' [illegible] legs bshad phun tshogs 'di//  
 mthong [fol. 99a] ba tsam gyis don gnyis 'grub shes nas//  
 mi zad par du sgrub pa'i mdun pa gtang//

dkon mchog thugs rjes myur du bsgrub gyur cing//  
 de la 'bad pas brtson 'grus byed pa po//  
 khang gis ston pa byams pa phun tshogs kyis//  
 lug lo zla ba drug pa'i nang khongs su//

mthar phyin bsgrubs pas don gnyis 'grub par nges//  
 de la bskul zhing do dam ched gnyer ba//  
 shi ri chos rje blo gros rgyal mtshan dang//  
 bye phug mkhan chen rdo rje sgrol mas bskul//

'dis mtshon bdag [illegible] dge ba'i mthus//  
 rgyal ba kun gyis mngags pa'i zhing gis mchog//  
 bde ba can zhes bya bar rab sgrid nas//  
 rgyal sras sbyong bas 'brel tshad don ldan tel//

khams gsum 'khor ba dong nas dkrung bar shog//  
 ye dha rmā he tu pra bha wa he tu nte ṣā nta thāg tohya bā dat//  
 te ṣā [illegible] tsa yo ni ro dha ye waṃ bā dī ma hā shra ma naḥ//

oṃ wa gi shwa ri naṃ//  
 oṃ ma ṇi pad me huṃ//

*om va dzra pa ni hum//  
manggalam// bkra shis// dge'o//*

- c. On the fourteenth day of the second month of a bird year (i.e. 16th March 1489?) in the 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang of Glo-bo.<sup>25</sup> The final colophon mentions a further date: the sixth month of a sheep year, which could be the date of printing.
- d. Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor E-wam-chos-ldan.
- e. dPal-ldan-grags-pa.<sup>26</sup>
4. Commentary on difficult points (*dka' ba'i gnas*) of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*.<sup>27</sup>
5. a. BG: 142; GeCat: 104, vol. *kha pa*; KA: 44, vol. *kha*; Mi-rigsCat1: 86, vol. *kha*; TōCat: 179, vol. *nga pa*.<sup>28</sup>
- c. D. JACKSON (1983b), 19; D. JACKSON (1987), 222, note 20, 226, note 35; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 16 and 263, note 44; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 93.

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<sup>25</sup> In L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 93, the earth-bird (*sa bya*) year, i.e. 1489, is given as the date of completion. The author derived this information from the work's colophon, reading *bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po sa bya* instead of *bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bya* (see the colophon cited above, 3.a.). Since Glo-bo mKhan-chen's name usually occurs with a final -s in connection with the verb *sbyar ba* in the colophons (see e.g. below, nos. 125, 200, 202, 304, and 309), it is probable that also in the present work, the -s indicates the agent and does not represent a separate syllable. The lack of the element in the element-animal pair would not be unusual, since most of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's colophons mention only the animal of the twelve-year cycle, omitting the element.

<sup>26</sup> He is mentioned under the Sanskrit translation of his Tibetan name ("Śrīmatkīrti") as scribe of many other works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen. See above, nos. 90 and 101, and below, nos. 221, 283, 288, and 305.

<sup>27</sup> This work belongs to the controversy provoked by Shākya-mchog-ldan and consists for the most part of a refutation of the latter's interpretation of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*. See L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 16.

<sup>28</sup> Moreover, this work is also mentioned in a list of printing blocks found at the Ngor printery under the title: *sDom gsum rab dbye'i dka' gnad rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag*. See *Gangs can gyi ljongs*, 217.4-5, and D. JACKSON (1983b), 19.

**No. 125** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-29a (134a-162a); 7 lines; recto: *kha* (vol. *kha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); two illegible inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b.<sup>29</sup>

1. a. *bsTan bcos sdom pa gsum gyi gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa nor bu chu shel.*
2. [fol. 1b] *bla ma dang lhag pa'i lha la gus par phyag 'tshal shing skyabs su 'chi'o/ rgyal ba'i dgong don snying po sdom gsum gyi/ gnad la 'khrul med sa skya paṇḍi ta'i/*
3. a. [fol. 29a.3] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces sdom pa sum gyi rab tu dbye ba las bshad pa'i 'jam bu'i gling gi gnas mchog tu gyur pa gsum gyi rnam par bzhag pa rang [b]zo dang bral ba'i 'di yang/ mthu stobs kyi dbang phyug sdud pa dang bcas pa'i zhabs bskul spyi bos len pa bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos nye bar sbyar ba'o/ maṃ ga lam/ gcig zhus/*
4. Commentary on three points of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye* relating to sacred spots.
5. a. BG: 143; GeCat: 119, vol. *kha pa*; KA: 45, vol. *kha pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 87, vol. *kha pa*; TōCat: 180, vol. *nga pa*.

**No. 197** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-41a (pp. 297a-337a); fol. 1b: 6 lines, fols. 2a-end: 7 lines; two inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b: *rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po la na mo//* identifying Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po in the left margin and *sems dpa' chen po dkon mchog rgyal mtshan la na mo//* identifying Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469), the second abbot of Ngor, in the right margin.<sup>30</sup>

1. a. *Thob yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan.*
2. [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ru bha ṭa ya// rje btsun bla ma dam pa rnam kyi zhabs kyi pad mo dri ma med pa la mchog tu dad pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos rjes su bzung du gsol// 'dir rje btsun sa skya pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa...*
3. a. [fol. 41a.5] *dpal mgon zhal bzhi pa'i rjes gnang pu tra'i rjes gnang/ yig bskor dang bcas pa rnam yang thob po// ma[ng] ga lam// dge legs 'phel// gcig zhus/*

<sup>29</sup> The work has been photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung in 1986 and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 102/41).

<sup>30</sup> The work has been photographed in 1986 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Gelung and is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 103/26).



4. List of teachings received (*thob yig*) by Glo-bo mKhan-chen.
5. a. GeCat: 181, vol. *kha pa*; TōCat: 194, vol. *cha pa*.
- No. 200** (I) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-211b (pp. 1-422); fols. 1b-2a: 6 lines, fols. 2b-end: 7 lines.
- (II) Xylograph; fols. 1a-207a (pp. 1-413); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 207a: *mkhan chen gsung rigs gter 'grel bshad*; two inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b: *tshad ma'i shing rta'i srol 'byed pa// smra ba'i dbang phyug phyogs glang zhabs//* identifying Dignāga in the left margin and *mu stegs rgol ba bzlog mdzad pa// chos kyi grags pa dzam gling rgyan//* identifying Dharmakīrti in the right.
1. a. (I) *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo.*  
 (II) *sDe bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig lam gsal ba'i nyi ma.*
- b. (I) *Tshad ma rig pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo.*  
 (II) *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma.*
- c. (II) *Rigs gter 'grel bshad* (verso).
2. (I) [fol. 1b] *om swa sti/ mkhyen rabs kyi dbang phyug dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po'i zhabs la gus par phyag 'tshal lol/ tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba/ rmad byung dge legs yon tan rin chen gter//*  
 (II) (fol. 1b) *om swa sti/ sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma zhes bya ba/ dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhabs la sgo gsum gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos rjes su gzung ste byin gyis brlab tu gsoll/ rmad byung dge legs yon tan rin chen gter//*
3. a. [fol. 210b.4] (206b.2) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 211a.5] (207a.2) *de ltar tshad ma rigs (I: rig) pa'i gter gyi (II: gyi 'grel pa'i) rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo (II: lam gsal ba'i nyi ma instead of pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo) zhes bya ba 'di ni/ mkhyen rab kyi dbang phyug chos kyi rje dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta'i gsung rab la shes nas dad pa thob pa/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta bltams nas lo sum brgya lon pa'i chu pho dge byed*

*kyi lo tha skar gyi* (II om. *gyi*) *zla ba'i dus bzang po yar ngo'i* (II: *ngo'i tshes*) *bcu bzhi la thub bstan dar rgyas gling gi gtsug lag khang du sbyar* (II: *sbyor*) *ba'o*//

*blon po* (II: *blo gros* instead of *blon po*) *sngon med rigs pa'i rnam 'gyur can*//

*dbyangs can ngag gi sbyor thabs ci* [fol. 211b] *yang shes*//

*thog med byed pos sprul pa'i sgyu ma mkhan*//

*'di'i* (II: *'di yi*) *yig mkhan gang de dbang rgyal lo*//

*bkra shis/ gcig zhus*//<sup>31</sup> (II om. *bkra shis/ gcig zhus*//)

*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi*//

*dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa*//

*des ni skye bo thams cad kyis*//

*bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog*//

*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu*//

*bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas*//

*bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang*//

*bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig*//

*dge'o*// *dge'o*// *dge'o*//

- c. On the fourteenth day of the ninth month (*tha skar gyi zla ba*) of the water-tiger (*chu pho dge byed* = *chu pho stag*) year (i.e. 25th September 1482) in the temple of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling.
4. Commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*.
5. a. A-KHU-CHING SHES-RAB-RGYA-MTSHO, 540, no. 11834; BG: 152; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 1; GeCat: 184, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 53, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 88, no. 000559.1; TōCat: 196, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (I) GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*, 1-422 (fols. 1a-211b).  
(II) GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, vol. 2, 1-413 (fols. 1a-207a); in: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa*, 1-262.
- c. G. DREYFUS (1997), 481, note 11, 501, note 36, 555, note 32; D. JACKSON (1983b), 11; D. JACKSON (1987), 221-223, note 20; D. JACKSON (1991a),<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See above, note 16.

<sup>32</sup> Note that the references found in this article by D. Jackson are to the Xining edition. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa*.

26, note 5; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1993), 283, 285, and 287, note 26; E. SMITH (1970).

**No. 201** Xylograph; fols. 1a-4a (pp. 59-65); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 4a: *mkhan chen gsung rigs gter nyer mkho*.

1. a. *sDe bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal byed.*
- c. *Rigs gter nyer mkho* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti/ sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal byed ces bya ba/ bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos rjes su gzung zhing byin gyis brlab tu gsoll seng ge 'phrog byed dbyig gi snying po dang//*
3. a. [fol. 4a.1] *zhes legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyis sol// yi ge'i 'du byed dbang rgyal yin//*<sup>33</sup>

*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//  
dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//  
des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//  
bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*

*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*

*dge'o// dge'o// dge'o//*
4. Commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs gter*.
5. a. BG: 151; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 11; GeCat: 185, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 52, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.6; Mi-rigsCat1: 159, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 197, vol. *ca pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, vol.1, 59-65 (fols. 1a-4a); in: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa*, 297-299.
- c. D. JACKSON (1983b), 11; D. JACKSON (1987), 221 and 223, note 20.

**No. 202** Xylograph; fols. 1a-29a (pp. 1-57); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 29a: *mkhan chen gsung rigs gter phyogs snga*.

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<sup>33</sup> See above, note 16.

1. a. *sDe bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed.*
- c. *Rigs gter phyogs snga* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] *na ma manydzu shrī ye/ sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed ces bya ba/ bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos rjes su bzung ste byin gyis brlab tu gsol// de la/ shes bya thams cad gzigs pa'i spyān yangs pa//*
3. a. [fol. 28a.3] *de ltar tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi phyogs snga mar bkod pa'i rtog ge rnam pa bdun po rang rang gi 'dod pa'i tshul ji ltar yod pa bzhin bshad pa 'di ni slob dpon legs ldan byed kyi rtog ge 'bar ba dang/ chos rje nyid kyi mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo dang/ gsung sgros gzhan rnam dang/ kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyi dag ldan gsal byed dang/ 'grel byed spyān ras gzigs brtul zhugs dang/ slob dpon kā ma la shī la 'i rigs thigs kyi phyogs snga ma mdor bsod pa la sogs pa la gzhir byas shing don bsod nas tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi gsal byed kyi char 'gyur bar bsams te rnam par bshad pa yin nol/ 'dir smras pa/ ... [verses of praise omitted] [fol. 29a.2] de ltar sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi phyogs snga ma rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed ces bya ba 'di ni/ mkhyen rab kyi dbang phyug sa skyā paṇḍi ta chen po 'i gsung rab kyi tshig don la shes nas dad pa thob cing/ sde snod kyi don 'chad par spobs pa bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos chu pho stag gi lo snron gyi zla ba 'i yar tshes gsum la thub bstan dar rgyas gling gi gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba'o//*
- tshig don yongs rdzogs 'dab gsar ldan pa can//*
- blo gsal rkang drug sdud pa'i sbrang rtsi can//*
- mi shes gdung ba sel ba'i dri bsung can//*
- bstan bcos padmo 'di yang legs bshad can//*
- zhes bya bar rtogs par bya'o//<sup>34</sup>*
- 'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//*
- dge ba 'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//*
- des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//*
- bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*

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<sup>34</sup> See above, note 16.

'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
 bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
 bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
 bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//

dge'o// dge'o// dge'o//

- c. On the third day of the *snron* month<sup>35</sup> of the water-tiger (*chu pho stag*) year (i.e. 5th or 6th May 1482) in the temple of the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling [monastery].
4. Identification of the “initial positions” (*phyogs snga*, Skt. *pūrvapakṣa*), i.e. the positions criticized, in Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*.
5. a. BG: 152; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 12; KA: 54, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.7; Mi-rigsCat1: 160, vol. *ga*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, vol. 1, 1-57 (fols. 1a-29a); in: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa*, 300-336.
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 221 and 223, note 20; D. JACKSON (1991b), 245, note 25.

**No. 205** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-3b.2 (113a-115b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Chos rje rnam rgyal bas rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas la dri ba zhus pa'i zhus lan.*
2. [fol. 1a] *'dir rtsa ba'i rgyud las/ ngo bos gzugs med mthong ba po// zhes sogs kyi skabs sul*
3. a. [fol. 3a.1] *zhes pa'i dogs gcod kyi yi ge 'di yang/ gu ge chos kyi rgyal po'i bla'i mchod yul dam pa rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i drung nas/ khyod kyis skabs 'di la yi ge zhib pa gcig bris la bskur zhig gsung ba la brten nas/ rnal 'byor spyod pa'i gzhung gi skabs su babs pa'i bshad tshul rnams la zhib tu dpyad cing/ slob dpon shanti pa'i gzhung gi dgongs pa blangs nas/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos spyi brtol med par phul ba'o//  
 mngon par zhen pa'i dug gis myos pas lce gnyis smra ba rnam 'dzin zhing//  
 bka' yi ri dbang 'khyog 'gro'i bgrod pas gya gyur spyod pa'i ri mo can//*

<sup>35</sup> According to *Tshig mdzod*, 1602, the *snron* month corresponds to the time from the sixteenth day of the fourth month until the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the Tibetan calendar. The third day of the *snron* month is then the eighteenth day of the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar.

*phrag dog 'bar ba'i dbugs kyis bskyod pa'i tshig rtsub du ba cher spro ball  
bshes gnyen ngan pa'i mig dug phog las gzhung 'dis nges par skyong gyur  
cig//*

*dam pa'i ri dbang rtse las [fol. 3b] legs bshad kyil//  
dkyil 'khor yongs rdzogs gzhung brgya'i snang ba can//  
des don 'dab brgya'i tshal kun gsal byed kyil//  
zer 'phreng can 'dis tshim pa rgyas byed yin//*

*maṃ ga lam//*

- d. rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po.  
4. Reply to questions asked by rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the religious preceptor of the Gu-ge king, regarding difficult points of the *Hevajramūlatantra*.<sup>36</sup>  
5. a. BG: 154; GeCat: 187, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 56, vol. *ga*;<sup>37</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 109, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-685-1; TōCat: 199, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 206** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 3b.2-13a.5 (115b.2-125a.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Chos rje rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i dris lan zab don nor bu'i gter.*  
2. [fol. 3b.3] *na mo manydzu shrī ye/ rje btsun dam pa sa skya pa rnams kyī  
zhabs la phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// lha rigs chos rgyal gtsug gi  
'od tshogs kyis//*  
3. a. [fol. 12b.2] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 13a.1] *ces pa'i dris lan gyi  
yi ge 'di yang dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyan  
(read: rgyal) mtshan dpal bzang pos/ bla ma gong ma rnams kyī gsung rab la  
lan mang du mthong zhing thos pa'i lam byang bar byas nas rang gi des pa  
rnams lan du bris pa'o// //maṃ ga lam/  
gang zhig ring nas mun sprul goms pa'i tshogs chen mi zad dang/  
rtog ge'i chang gis rtog par myos pas blo gros 'gram gnag gyur rnams la//  
rigs pa'i don la rab ston mig can tshul gnyis rig pa'i gshog rlabs can//  
tshig don rab zab snyo ma'i khun ldan gzhung 'di'i dri bsung kun nas gsad//  
bkra shis//*

<sup>36</sup> According to an explanation received from Prof. D. Jackson, rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po was not the king of Gu-ge, as he was identified in D. JACKSON (1987), 212, but the ruler's religious preceptor (*bla'i mchod yul dam pa*). rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po also requested a commentary on Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *mKhas 'jug* from Glo-bo mKhan-chen. See below, no. 320.

<sup>37</sup> Works 55-57 are listed in KA under the collective title: *Chos rje rnam rgyal pa'i dris lan tshan gsum*.

4. Reply to questions asked by rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the religious preceptor of the Gu-ge king.<sup>38</sup>
5. a. BG: 155; GeCat: 188, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 57, vol. *ga*;<sup>39</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 110, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-685-2; TōCat: 200, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 207** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 13a.6-16a.5 (125a.6-128a.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-2b (pp. 1-4); 7 lines; fol.1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Slob dpon yon 'byung gi* (II: *gis gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan*).
2. [fol. 13a.6] (fol. 1a) *swa* (II: *su sti pra dza bhyah// nor skyod 'dod ldan* [fol. 13b] *'dzin byed zhags pa yi// che ba'i cod paṅ ngal gso* (II: *bso padma'i 'phreng* (II: *phreng*))//
3. a. [fol. 16a.2] (fol. 2b.4) ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos myur ba nyid du bkod pa'o//* (II: *pa'o// dge bar gyur/*) *maṃ ga lam/* (II: *lang// gcig zhus//* instead of *lam/*)
4. Reply concerning the clarification of the three places, sent to Slob-dpon Yon-tan-'byung-gnas.
5. a. BG: 156; GeCat: 189, vol. *ga pa*, KA: 58, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 111, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-685-3; TōCat: 201, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (I) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 1-2b (fols. 1a-4).

**No. 208** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 16a.5 -29b (128a.5-141b); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works)..

1. a. *Dris lan don gsum gsal byed*.
2. [fol. 16a.5] *siddhi rastu// mngon mtho'i dge legs rkang 'thung gis mdzes phyag byar 'os pa kun gyi lha// 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi bdud rtsi sbyin pas kun dgar 'os pa'i rna ba'i bcud//*
3. a. [fol. 28b.6] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol.28a.6] *ces pa 'di yang dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas* [fol. 28b] *rgyal mtshan*

<sup>38</sup> See also the preceding work, no. 205.

<sup>39</sup> See above, note 37.

*dpal bzang pos rang gi yid la shar ba tsam lan du btab pa'o//mam ga lam//  
bha wantu/ dge bar gyur cig//*

4. Letter to Slob-dpon Yon-tan-'byung-gnas.  
5. a. BG: 157; GeCat: 190, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 59, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 112, vol. *ga*;  
Tō: 42-685-4; TōCat: 202, vol. *cha pa*.

- No. 209** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-8b.1 (142a-149b.1); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
(II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-6a.6 (pp. 5-15.6); 7 lines; recto (not on fol. 2a): *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mshan gyi dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog.*  
2. [fol. 1b] (fol. 1b) *na mo buddha ya/ sngon gyi dus su dam pa'i chos byung ba'i yul chen por gtogs pa rab tu mang po zhig byung ba las/*  
3. a. [fol. 8a.](fol. 6a.2) ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces dge slong punye bas bris* [fol. 8b] *nas/ mi dbang bstan pa'i* (II om. *bstan pa'i*) *sbyin bdag mgon po rgyal mtshan la phul ba'o// mang ga lang//*  
b. Monk Puṇya (= bSod-nams).  
4. Reply to questions from his nephew, the Glo-bo ruler mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>40</sup>  
5. a. BG: 160; GeCat: 191, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 62, vol. *ga*;<sup>41</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 115, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-1; TōCat: 203, vol. *cha pa*.  
b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 5-15.6 (fols. 1a-6a.6).  
c. D. JACKSON (1984), 125, 142, note 51.

- No. 210** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 8b.1-11b.4 (149b.1-152b.4); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
(II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 6a.6-8b.7 (pp. 15.6-20.7); 7 lines; recto (not on fols. 7a and 8a): *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mshan gyi dris lan padmo'i snying po.*

<sup>40</sup> mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan (fl. ca. 1505) was the son and heir to the throne of bKra-shis-mgon, Glo-bo mKhan-chen's eldest brother. See D. JACKSON (1984), 133.

<sup>41</sup> Works 62-64 are listed in KA under the collective title: *Mi dbang mgon po rgyal mtshan dris tshan gsum*.



2. [fol. 8b.1] (fol. 6a.6) *swa sti/ legs bshad zla ba'i thig le la dgyes pas// tshig don bdud rtsi'i ngo mtshar rnam mang po//*
3. a. [fol. 11b.2] (fol. 8b.4) *'dir smras pa/*  
*ring nas goms pa'i chos spyang gsal po yis//*  
*rnam mang gzhung lugs pad mo'i tshal mthong zhing//*  
*legs bshad sbrang rtsi'i dog par ngal bso ball//*  
*gang gis dris lan padmo'i snying po 'di//*  
  
*snyoms las chu bor lus bying gsung rab kyil//*  
*gtam mang thos pas mchog shes ring dor ball//*  
*tshig tsam smra ba'i spong ba lhur len des//*  
*mngon par khyengs pa'i dri ma bsal te phul//*  
*mang ga lang//*
4. Reply to questions from mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>42</sup>
5. a. BG: 161; KA: 63, vol. *ga*;<sup>43</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 116, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-2; TōCat: 204, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 15.6-20.7 (fols. 6a.6-8b.7).<sup>44</sup>
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 142, note 50; D. JACKSON (1978), 202, note 19.
- No. 211** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 11b.4-16b.5 (152b.4-157b.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 8b.7-12b.6 (pp. 20.7-28.6); 7 lines; recto (not on fols. 9a and 10a): *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mshan gyi dris lan sngon rabs gsal ba'i me long.*
2. [fol. 11b.5] (fol. 8b.7) *swa sti rastu/ mkhyen rabs rkang thung sa ha ka'i// dri zhim* (fol. 9a) *ci yang phyogs su ldang//*
3. a. [fol. 16b.2] (fol. 12b.3) ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang mi'i dbang po'i gsung gis dris pa'i lan du/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mshan dpal bzang pos phul ba'o// mam ga lam//*

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<sup>42</sup> On him see above, note 40.

<sup>43</sup> See above, note 41.

<sup>44</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

4. Reply to mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>45</sup>
5. a. BG: 162; KA: 64, vol. *ga*;<sup>46</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 117, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-3; TōCat: 205, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 20.7-28.6 (fols. 8b.7-12b.6).<sup>47</sup>
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 142, note 50.
- No. 212** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 16b.5-30b.5 (157b.5-171b.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 12b.6-23a.3 (pp. 28.6-49.3); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *'Tsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gi dris lan.*
2. [fol. 16b.5] (fol. 12b.6) *na mo gu ru bha ṭa ya/ kun gyi gnas lugs ji ltar gzigs// dga' chen ye shes snang ba po//*
3. a. [fol. 30a.6] (fol. 22b.4) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 30b.2] *ces mang du thos shing zab mo'i don la dpyod par nus pa'i blo gros can mnga' ris 'tsho byed chos* (fol. 23a) *skyong dpal bzang pos/ ji ltar dris pa'i lan rang gi blo la shar tshod tsam/ rje btsun gong ma sangs rgyas dang 'dra ba rnams kyi dgongs pa dang mthun par bsams te btab pa 'di ni// dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ phag lo zla ba drug pa'i yar tshes gnyis la/ bla ma glo bo lo tsā ba'i dgon gnas skye rtsa'i gtsug lag khang du bris pa'o// manggalam//* (II: *dge bar gyur// gcig zhus// bkra shis/* instead of *manggalam*)
- c. On the second day of the sixth month of a pig year in the temple of sKye-rtsa, the monastery of Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba.
4. Reply to the physician (*'tsho byed*) Chos-skyong-dpal-bzang-po of mNga'-ris.
5. a. BG: 159; KA: 61, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 114, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-4; TōCat: 207, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 28.6-49 (fols. 12b.6-23a).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> On him see above, note 40.

<sup>46</sup> See above, note 41.

<sup>47</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

<sup>48</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

- No. 213** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 30b.5-31a.6 (171b.5-172a.6); 6 lines; fol. 31a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 51-52); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la'o.*
2. [fol. 30b.5] (fol. 1a) *dpon btsun grogs mched kyi yi ge rten dang bcas pa thengs pas shin tu rjes su yid* (I: *yi*) *rang//*
3. a. [fol. 31a.6] (fol. 1a.7) *glang lo hor zla lnga pa'i tshes bdun la skyed tshal* (fol. 1b) *byang nas bris/* (II: *bris/ shu bham/ bkra shis// dge'o//*) *gcig zhul/ manggalam//* (II om. *manggalam*)
- c. On the seventh day of the fifth month of an ox year (i.e. on 22nd May 1493?) in sKyed-tshal.<sup>49</sup>
3. Letter to the noble monk (*dpon btsun*) Kun-dga'-dpal-bzang.
5. a. BG: 163; GeCat: 192, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 65, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 118, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-5; TōCat: 207, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 51-52 (fol. 1a-b).

- No. 214** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 31a.6-32b.6 (172a.6-173b.6); 6 lines; fol. 31a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-2b.3 (pp. 53-55.3); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Zha lu lo tsā* (I: *tstsha*) *ba la dri ba* (II: *dris* instead of *dri ba*) *mdzad pa.*
2. [fol. 31a.6] (fol. 1a) *tshig dbang khyu mchog* [fol. 31b] *lha mi'i rje// 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis rjes su skyongs// 'jig rten mig 'byed lo tsā* (I: *tstsha*) *ba//*
3. a. [fol. 32b.3] (fol. 1b.6) ... [concluding verses omitted] (fol. 2a.2) *shes pa 'di yang// dge slong bsod nams lhun grub kyis yid gnyis su gyur pa'i gnas 'ga' zhis zhus pa'o// mang ga lang//*
4. Letter with questions regarding doubts to Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527/8).<sup>50</sup>
5. a. BG: 164; GeCat: 193, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 66, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 119, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-6; TōCat: 208, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 53-55.3 (fols. 1a-2b.3).

<sup>49</sup> The sKyed-tshal monastery, located in Central Tibet to the south of the gTsang-po, was founded in 1464 by Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa. See E. SMITH (1970), 8, note 37.

<sup>50</sup> This date of his death is given by E. SMITH (1970), 2, note 5.

c. D. JACKSON (1987), 224, note 25.

**No. 215** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 32b.6-43b.2 (173b.6-184b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

(II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 2a.3-10a.6 (pp. 55.3-71.6); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Byang pa mchod gnas pa'i dris lan nges don snying po.*
2. [fol. 32b.6] (fol. 2a) *na mo gu ra we/ gang zhig bden don kun gsung la// 'khrul* [fol. 33a] *pa'i dra ba rtsad nas spangs//*
3. a. [fol. 43a.4] (fol. 10a.1) ... [concluding verses omitted] [43b.2] *ces dge slong punye pas bris te phul ba lags so// gcig zhus// manggalam//* (II: *mang ga lang// gcig zhus//*)
- b. Monk Puṇya (= bSod-nams).
4. Letter written in reply to questions from a religious preceptor of the prince of La-stod Byang.
5. a. BG: 158; GeCat: 194, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 60, vol. *ga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 113, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-7; TōCat: 209, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 55.3-71 (fols. 2a.3-10a).<sup>51</sup>

**No. 216** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 43b.3-50b.3 (184b.3-191b.3); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

(II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-6a (pp. 73-83); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Nang so rgyal ba'i dbang po'i dris lan.*
2. [fol. 43b.3] (fol. 1a) *rnam dag thugs kyi 'od zer gyis// yang dag lam rnams gsal byed cing// bstan pa'i pad mtsho rgyas byed pa// rgyal sras nyin mor byed pa rgyal//*
3. a. [fol. 51b.1] (fol. 6a.5) *dus gsum rgyal ba'i bgrod pa gcig pa'i lam// zab mo'i rnal 'byor nyams su blangs pa'i mthus// drod sogs lam gyi rtags snang kun shar nas// 'khor lo bskor ba'i lam dang nye bar 'gyur//*

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<sup>51</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

*de nas rim* (I: *rims*) *gyis grub pa'i mtha' snyogs* (I: *bsnyogs*) *shing//*  
*sa dang lam gyi yon tan kun rdzogs te//*  
*bcu gsum rdo rje 'dzin pa'i sa dge ball*  
*'chi ba med pa'i go 'phang* (II: *'phangs*) *brnyes par 'gyur//*  
*manggalam//* (II: *bkra shis// gcig zhu/ shu bham//* instead of *manggalam*)

4. Reply to Nang-so rGyal-ba'i-dbang-po.  
 5. a. GeCat: 195, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 210, vol. *cha pa*.<sup>52</sup>  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 73-83 (fols. 1a-6a).

**No. 217** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 50b.3-56a.5 (191b.3-197a.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-5a (pp. 85-93); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Sa skya bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa.*  
 2. [fol. 50b.4] (fol. 1a) *mkhyen pa nyi ma'i 'od zer gyis// ji snyed shes bya'i gnas rnam kun// ma* (II om. *ma*) *lus ji bzhin gsal bar gzigs//*  
 3. a. [fol. 55a.6] (fol. 4a.7) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 55b.6] (fol. 4b.5)  
*ces zhu ba'i yi ge 'di/ rje btsun sa skya pa'i bla ma dam pa rnam kyi gsung rab la lhan gcig skyes pa'i dad pa dang// nges pa'i shes pa gting nas skyes pa'i* [fol. 56a] *dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ sa gsum gyi bla ma/ lnga rig pa'i pañḍi ta chen po 'jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ mkhyen bzhin du dri ba'i tshul cung zad tsam gnang byung ba'i lan du/ rang gis go ba'i tshod tsam bris te/ sbrul lo zla ba drug pa'i tshes brgyad la/ thub bstan dar rgyas* (fol. 5a) *gling gi gtsug lag khang nas phul ba'o//*  
*da dung bdag la sngon med pa'i//*  
*legs par bshad pa'i cha shas 'ga'//*  
*nges pa thob pa mchis mod kyi//*  
*rim pa bzhin du 'bul bar bgyid//*  
  
*yi ge'i 'du byed 'jam pa'i dbyangs//*  
*kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i//*  
*mtshan gyis rnam par brgyan* (I: *rgyan*) *byas pa//*  
*rig gnas mkhas pa de yis so//*  
*mang ga lang//* (II: *mang ga lang// gcig zhus// dge'o//*)

<sup>52</sup> The title is missing in Tō.

- c. Sent on the eighth day of the sixth month of a snake year from the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling temple.
- e. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.
4. Reply to the Sa-skyā throne holder Sa-skyā Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.
5. a. BG: 239; GeCat: 196, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 211, vol. *cha pa*.<sup>53</sup>
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 85-93 (fols.1a-5a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 432, note 151.
- No. 218** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 56a.5-70b.5 (197a.5-211b.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-12b<sup>54</sup> (pp. 95-116); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan.*
2. [fol. 56a.5] (fol. 1a) *na mo gu ru/ 'jam dbyangs bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// gang gi mkhyen pa nyi ma'i 'od zer gyis// shes bya'i gnas kun gsal bar rab ston la//*
3. a. [fol. 70b.1] (fol. 12a.7) *zhes bla ma gong ma rnams kyi gsung rab kyi don la/ blo gros kyi snang ba shin tu rgyas shing nges don gyi nyams len mthar phyin par mdzad pa'i yongs kyi dge ba'i bshes gnyen dam (fol. 12b) pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dri ba mdzad pa'i lan rang gi cung zad tsam go yul du shar ba 'di ltar yin nam bsam ste/ mdor bsodus pa tsam phul ba 'di ni/ dpal ldan sa skyā pa'i bla ma gong ma rnams kyi gsung rab la yid ches cung zad tsam brnyed (I: rnyed) pa'i dge long bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ tu ru kha'i dmag gi 'jigs pas nyen te/ sbas mtha'i dgon pa zhig tu gnas pa'i tshe phul ba'o//*  
*dus mthar chos min sna tshogs kyis//*  
*'jigs pas nyen pa'i g.yang sa dang//*  
*lta ngan mun pa mi bzang pa'i//*  
*lam gyi gegs las thar bar shog//*  
*mang ga lam// (II: mang ga lam// gcig zhus//)*
- c. Sent when Glo-bo mKhan-chen stayed in a hermitage (*sbas mtha'i dgon pa*), hiding from the expected invasion of a Turkish army.

<sup>53</sup> The title is missing in Tō.

<sup>54</sup> Fol. 3 is erroneously marked as fol. 4, so that the present text consists of eleven physical folios only.

4. Reply to Rab-'byams Blo-gros-rab-gsal.
5. a. BG: 238; GeCat: 197, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 120, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-686-8; TōCat: 212, vol. *cha pa*.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 95-116 (fols.1a-12b).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1987), 80, note 19 and 20, 104, note 22.
- No. 219** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 70b.5-72a.5 (211a.5-213a.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 117-118); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *bKa bcu pa dpal 'byor gyi zhus lan.*  
 2. [fol. 70b.5] (fol. 1a) *drung bka' bcu pa'i yi ge rten ldan thengs pas shin tu spro// 'dir yang 'tshams par yod//*  
 3. a. [fol. 72a.4] (fol. 2b.7) *da lan ri mo gzigs pa'i mtshon byed du sgril ma gcig la rtags 'byar ba zla ba bcu pa la phul// (II: phul// gcig zhus//) mang ga lam//*  
 c. Sent in the tenth month.  
 4. Reply to bKa'-bcu-pa dPal-'byor.  
 5. a. GeCat: 198, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-686-9; TōCat: 213, vol. *cha pa*.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 117-118 (fol.1a-b).
- No. 220** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 72a.5-78b.6 (213a.5-219b.6); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Theg mchog gnad kyi snying po bla ma dpal skyabs la gdams pa .*  
 2. [fol.72a.5] *na mo manydzu shri ye/ bdag nyid chen po sa skya paṇḍi ta// de gsung yid la bcags shing goms pa'i mthus//*  
 3. a. [fol. 78b.1] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces pa 'di yang dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzung pos rang gi dran pa la gsos 'debs pa dang/ spong ba pa khyed kyi thugs dam gyi gsal 'debs pa'i phyir go sla ba'i ngag gis sdebs pa lags so// mangga lam//*  
 4. Letter to Bla-ma dPal-skyabs.  
 5. a. BG: 169; GeCat: 199, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 94, vol. *kha*; Tō: 42-686-10; TōCat: 214, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 221** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-14a.5 (220a-233a.5);<sup>55</sup> 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod kyi 'byung gnas.*
2. [fol. 1a] *rgya gar skad du/ ratna shāstra artha kā ma sambha wa na ma/ bod skad du/ rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod kyi 'byung gnas zhes bya ba/ thams cad mkhyen la phyag 'tshal lol/ ya sa dznyanad ya sindho gu na sā ga ra/ sa manta bha dro bha ga van lo ka dzi/*
3. a. [fol. 13b.6] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 14a.1] *ces pa'i rin po che'i rigs kyi brtag tshul ni/ ma ga ta'i paṇḍi ta chen po mahā o kha ti zhes bya bas mdzad pa'i nor bu'i brtag thabs hinu'i rgyal rigs kyi paṇḍi ta chen po sbrang rtsi'i zla ba'i thugs la zhugs pa/ 'tshams sbyor gyi lo tstsha ba zhib tu dri gtugs byed du bcug cing gsung rab dang bstun nas don gyi zhu thug kyang byas nas lugs kyi gtsug lag dang/ ya rabs kyi yig tshang rnam kyi rgyan gyi yan lag tu/ bhi kṣu bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa'i yi ge pa ni bhi kṣu shrī mān (read: mat) kīrti 'o// mang ga lam// bhawantū//*
- e. Monk Śrīmatkīrti (dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
4. A treatise concerning the determination of the value of precious stones, based on the treatise of the Magadha *paṇḍita* Mahokha, obtained by the author by interviewing through an interpreter the *paṇḍita* sBrag-rtsi'i zla ba, who knew that treatise by heart.
5. a. BG: 168; GeCat: 200, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 67, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-687; TōCat: 215, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 222** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a<sup>56</sup>-3a.2 (233a.6-235a.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bSlab bstus kyi le 'grel bslab pa'i rgyan.*
2. [fol. 1a.6] *srid dang zhi ba'i dpal gyis gang gi thugs// rab mdzes 'jam dbyangs gzhon nu'i ye shes sku/ [fol. 1b] mtha' yas yon tan tshogs la dbang 'byor ba'i//*
3. a. [fol. 3a.1] *bslab pa kun las btus kyi lus rags par phye ba 'di go sla bar bya ba'i phyir bris tel le 'grel logs su shes par bya'o// mangalam//*

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<sup>55</sup> The title of the text begins on fol. 78b.6 of the previous work.

<sup>56</sup> The text actually starts on fol. 14a of the previous work. However, since the following folio is marked as 1[b], fol. 14a must be identical with fol. 1a.



4. Description of the main contents and chapter divisions of Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.
5. a. BG: 175; GeCat: 201, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 71, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 103, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-1; TōCat: 216, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 223** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 3a.2-4b.6 (235a.2-236b.6); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *sGom rim bar ma'i sa bcad 'phags lam snying po.*
2. [fol.3a.2] *bsgom pa'i rim pa bar ma la/ lotstsha bas bkod pa'i mtshan don dang phyag mchod bshad pa/*
3. a. [fol. 4b.4] *'di don mthong zhing thos nas mos blo yis//  
'gro la phan byed 'phags lam snying po 'di//  
rtogs ges ma dkrugs gsal bar 'chad pa ni//  
legs pa'i 'byung gnas sngon dge'i bsod nams mthu//  
zhes pa 'di'ang dran gso'i phyir du bris pa'o// mangalam//*
4. Topical outline of Kamalaśīla's second *Bhāvanākrama*.
5. a. BG: 176; GeCat: 202, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 72, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 104, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-2; TōCat: 217, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 224** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 4b.6-5b.2 (236b.6-237b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Yum gyi 'dres rkang.*
2. [fol.4b.6] *na mo ta ra ye/ thugs rje'i bdag [fol. 5a] nyid rin chen 'bar ba'i sku// skyon bral gsung gis 'gro ba'i gdung sel ma// yang dag ji bzhin gzigs pa'i thugs mnga' ba// lha mchog zhabs la gus par phyag 'tshal lol/ yum gyi 'dres rkang brgya rtsa brgyad la//*
3. a. [fol. 5b.1] *so sor chod la gcig tshig rnam//  
don mang yod kyang bsdoms la bgrongs//  
kun mkhyen rong ston rnam bshad ltar//  
lags 'byung gis ni go slar sbyar// bkra shis//*
4. A listing of one hundred and eight basic items of the Prajñāpāramitā.
5. a. BG: 177; GeCat: 203, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 73, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 105, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-3; TōCat: 218, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 225** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 5b.3-12b.5 (237b.3-244b.5); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *mDo kun las btus pa'i sa bcad kun btus sgron me.*
2. [fol.5b.3] *om swa sti/ yang dag gsung ba don mchog bla na med// srid pa'i nyes mang tshang tshing kun bsreg cing//*
3. a. [fol. 12b.4] *srid pa'i lam du 'dug kyang ma rig pa'i//*  
 [illegible] *rmi lam bzhin du shes gyur te//*  
*chags med mkha' ltar dag pa'i shes rab kyi//*  
*nam yang 'gro don nyid la rgyu bar shog//*  
*mangalam// bhawantu//*
4. Topical outline of Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya*.
5. a. BG: 178; GeCat: 204, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 74, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 106, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-4; TōCat: 219, vol. *cha pa*.
- No. 226** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 12b.6-15a.1 (244b.6-247a.1); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-3a.2 (pp. 119-123.2); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *rJe btsun sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po la phrin du gsol ba padmo'i 'phreng ba.*
2. [fol. 12b.6] (fol. 1b) *rje btsun sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po la 'phrin* (II: *phrin*) *du gsol ba/ padmo'i 'phreng* (II: *phreng*) *ba* [fol. 13a] *ces bya ba 'jam mgon bla ma'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo// ji snyed phun tshogs khri shing gzhon nu can//*
3. a. [fol. 14b.6] (fol. 3a.1) ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces* [fol. 15a] *pa 'di legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyi brjod pa'o// dge'o//*
4. Letter to Sa-skya Paṇḍita.
5. a. BG: 179; GeCat: 205, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 75, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 122, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-5; TōCat: 220, vol. *cha pa*.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 119-123.2 (fols.1a-3a.2).
- No. 227** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 15a.1-23b.1 (247a.1-255b.1); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 3a.2-9a (pp. 123.2-135); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

(III) Xylograph (printed at Ngor?); fols. 1a-6b; 7 lines; recto and fol. 1b: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); partly illegible.<sup>57</sup>

1. a. *sKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje.*
2. [fol. 15a.1] (fol. 3a.2) {fol. 1b} *na mo buddha ya/ chos kyi (II om. kyi) rje mkhyen rab kyi dbang phyug// dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta chen po'i zhabs la gus par phyag 'tshal lo// 'chi med bdud rtsi 'byung ba'i gnas chen po//*
3. a. [fol. 21b.2] (fol. 7b.6) {fol. 5b.5} ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 22b.6] (fol. 8b.5) {fol. 6b.2} *zhes (I: ces) rje btsun sa skya pa gong ma rnams nas/ bdag cag gi 'dren pa dam pa rje btsun [fol. fol. 23a] kun dga' dbang phyug gi bar gyi (III: gyis)/ thugs nyams su bzhes pa'i grub pa'i mtha' dang/ dus phyis/ sdom gsum rab dbye'i dris lan mdzad pa/ 'jam dbyangs chen po'i grub mtha' gnyis ye ma mthun par 'dug cing/ khong (II: kho) rang gi thugs dgongs kyang mthun (III: 'thun) gsung ba min par 'dug na'ang rjes 'brang grags rnyed don du gnyer ba rnams kyis/ (fol. 9a) ma bzod pa'i blos dbye ba med do zhes (II: ces) smra ba 'dis/ nyams len gyi rgyun la gnod kyis (II: kyi) dogs nas gsal ka cung zad smras pa 'di yang/ rje btsun sa skya pa'i gsung rab kyi tshogs la nges pa cung zad rnyed pas (III: thob pa'i instead of rnyed pas)/ dngos por (III om. por) 'dzin pa'i gdon las thag ring du grol ba legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyis bris pa'o//*  
*lung rigs rno ba'i mtshon thogs rtsub 'gyur tshal//*  
*smra ba'i khyu mchog stong gis ma pham pa'i//*  
*legs bshad lus rtsal ldan pa'i seng ge ni//*  
*sgrub dang sun 'byin drags pa'i gang (II: rgang) mo sgrogs//*  
  
*de lta mod kyi gzung (II: bzung) 'dzin spros tshogs las//*  
*byung ba'i kun rtog g.yo bas rang gi sems//*  
*nam yang bsgrib (II and III: sgrib) pa med [fol. 23b] pa'i bshes gnyen rnams//*  
*snying gi chu gter khol bar ma gyur cig//*  
*manggalam//*
4. A commentary on certain points from Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, relating to the controversy raised by the questions of Shākya-mchog-

<sup>57</sup> The work has been photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Tyangpoche in 1988 and a microfilm is kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (reel no. L 166/7). See also above, Chapter 4, note 22.

ldan, in which the author refutes those followers of Shākya-mchog-ldan who claim their master's thought is the same as that of the Sa-skyā founding masters.<sup>58</sup>

5. a. Mi-rigsCat1: 124, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-6; TōCat: 221, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 123.2-135 (fols. 3a.2-9a).<sup>59</sup>
- c. D. JACKSON (1983b), 19; D. JACKSON (1987), 222, note 20; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1985), 92.

**No. 228** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 23b.1-25b.5 (255b.1-257b.5);<sup>60</sup> 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-2b (361a-362b),<sup>61</sup> pp. 423-426; 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rJe btsun mi la ras pas mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs su bkod pa 'khrul med snang ba.*
2. [fol. 23b.2] (fol. 1a) *rje btsun chen po mi la'i ji ltar bzhed pa'i gnas lugs kyi go yul ni 'di lta ste/*
3. a. [fol. 25b.3] (fol. 2b) *ces rje btsun mi la'i bzhed tshul mdor bsodus te bshad pa ni// rang gi dad pas bskul ba po byas shing// rje btsun gyi gsung rab mthong bas rkyen byas nas// mi la'i btsun pa bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung*

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<sup>58</sup> See also above, no. 109, and below, no. 317.

<sup>59</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

<sup>60</sup> Fol. 25b is actually marked as fol. 1[b] of the following work.

<sup>61</sup> The second folio reference (361a-362b) indicates that the text originally formed part of a larger collection. In fact, it seems to derive from the works that make up the third volume of a set from Glo-bo, published in GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*. Several pages of the latter publication also bear additional folio numbers that refer to the whole volume. This pagination appears for the first time on page 171 and assigns the page to folio 380a of the complete volume. Going back seventeen folios to folio 362b, being the last folio of the present work on Mi-la-ras-pa's viewpoint, one reaches the end of a letter to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, which according to GeCat precedes the composition on Mi-la-ras-pa. On the next folio, which has to be 363a, one finds the work that is mentioned in GeCat as the text following the Mi-la-ras-pa work in question. This means that the latter fits exactly into the corpus of texts published as GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, but has been published separately, for reasons unknown to me, with a *Tshad ma rigs gter* commentary (see the references given under 5b), which belongs to the same set.

*gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bris pa 'o// mang ga lang// gcig zhus zhing dag khul lo/* (I om. *mang ga lang// gcig zhus zhing dag khul lo/*).

- b. The Mi-la monk bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshandpal-bzang-po.
- 4. Short description of Mi-la-ras-pa's philosophical viewpoint, inspired by Glo-bo mKhan-chen's faith after reading Mi-la-ras-pa's writings.
- 5. a. BG: 181; GeCat: 206, vol. *ga pa*; KA: 76, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat1: 125, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-688-7; TōCat: 222, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*, 423-426 (fols. 1a-2b = 361a-362b).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 139, note 20; E. SMITH (1970), 1, note 3.

- No. 229** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1b.5-2b.5 (257b.5-258b.5); 6 lines; fol. 2a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b.4 (pp. 137-138.4); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

- 1. a. *Rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa.*
- 2. [fol. 1b.5] (fol. 1a) *na mo lo ki sho* (II: *shwa*) *ra yal rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa zhes bya ba/ sngon med ston pa thub dbang snying rje can//*
- 3. a. [fol. 2b.4] (fol. 1b.3) *zhes rang ris rang la bskul zhing smras pa'i tshig zur brgyad pa zhes bya ba legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyi gtam du bya ba 'o//*  
*bsod nams dpag med ngal 'byor gru bo che//*  
*long med brtson pa'i rlung gis myur skyod de//*  
*rnam grol bde ba'i gling du cha 'dod pa 'i//*  
*ded dpon mkhas pa rnams kyi 'di la gzigs//*  
*dge'o// manggalam//*
- 4. Eight verses for Glo-bo mKhan-chen's own motivation.
- 5. a. BG: 182; GeCat: 207, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 126, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-1; TōCat: 223, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 137-138.4 (fol.1a-b.4).

- No. 230** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 2b.6-3b.1 (258b.6-259b.1); 6 lines; fol. 3a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1b.5-2a (pp. 138.5-139); 7 lines; fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. [*Yang lta bsgom spyod 'bras kyi mgur.*]<sup>62</sup>
2. [fol. 2b.6] (fol. 1b.5) '*jam dbyangs bla ma dang rtsa ba'i bla ma 'dren mchog kun dbang phyug la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// rjes su bzung du gsell*
3. a. [fol. 3a.6] (fol. 2a.2) '*jam dbyangs gsung la dad pa'i sa skya pa// legs pa'i 'byung* [fol. 3b] *gnas bdag gis nyams dga'i tshull// mam ga lam//* (II: *dge'o// gcig zhus//* instead of *mam ga lam//*)
4. A song of meditative experience about view, meditation, action and fruit.
5. a. BG: 180?; Tō: 42-689-2;<sup>63</sup> TōCat: 224, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 138.5-139 (fols. 1b.5-2a).<sup>64</sup>
- No. 231** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 3b.1-4b.6 (259b.1-260b.6); 6 lines; fol. 4a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.7 (pp. 141.1-142.7); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *bDag chen chos rgyal nor bu la thog mar gngang ba'i gsung 'phrin.*
2. [fol. 3b.1] (fol. 1a) *swa sti/ dpal ldan chos rgyal 'gro mang kun gyi ni// gtsug gi nor bu 'phrin las* (II: *phrin* instead of '*phrin las*) *gzi 'od can//*
3. a. [fol. 4a.2] (fol. 1a.7) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 4b.4] (fol. 1b.5) *zhes zhu yig gzig pa'i rten mtshon par kha che thum po* (II: *bu*) *gcig la rtags 'di 'byar ba dang// shel ka ra gcig la rtags 'byar 'bul// gsung don gzhan rnam rim par 'bul bas da lan ma grub pa la thugs mi bas par zhul dge slong nam mchog skyid grong du dkar me gcig* (II: *zhig*) '*bul ba la thegs mchis pa la yang/ lam bde zhing 'jug pa bde ba thugs rjes 'dzin pa mkhyen// dge'o//* (II: *bkra shis//* instead of *dge'o//*)
4. Letter to the Gung-thang ruler Chos-rgyal Nor-bu (d. 1484), with a request to help the *dge slong* Nam-mchog who was on his way to offer butter lamps at sKyid-grong.
5. a. BG: 184; GeCat: 208, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 127, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-3; TōCat: 225, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.1.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 141-142 (fol.1a-b).

<sup>62</sup> This is the title found in TōCat, no. 224.

<sup>63</sup> The work is catalogued under the title '*Jam dbyangs bla ma dang zhes pa* in Tō.

<sup>64</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

- No. 232** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 4b.6-6b.2 (260b.6-262b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-2a.3 (pp. 143.1-145.3); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Bla ma'i rnam thar chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa.*
  2. [fol. 4b.6] (fol. 1a) *zab yangs blo gros gting* [fol. 5a] *mtha' mi mngon zhing// dge tshogs 'byor ba'i chab kyis kun nas bltams* (II: *bltam*)//
  3. a. [fol. 6a.4] (fol. 1b.6) ... [concluding verses omitted] *zhes zhu ba'i tshig 'di ni/ rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi* (fol. 2a) *thugs rje'i zla zer gyi* (II: *gyis*) *blo gros ku mu ta'i kha phye ba/ bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten/ dar* [fol. 6b] *phug kha kha gang la rtags 'byar ba dang bcas pa lhan cig tu thub bstan dar rgyas gling gi gtsug lag khang nas/ khyi lo hor zla lnga pa'i tshes bco lnga'i/ bsod nams rnam par 'phel ba snga gro'i cha la phul ba dge legs mchog tu gyur cig// manggalaṃ// bhawantu//* (II om. *manggalaṃ// bhawantu//*)
    - c. Sent on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of a dog year (i.e. 15th June 1478?) from the temple of Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling.
  4. Letter of instruction to the Gung-thang ruler Chos-rgyal Nor-bu (d. 1484) concerning the biography (?) of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).<sup>65</sup>
  5. a. BG: 185; GeCat: 209, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 127, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-4; TōCat: 226, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.2.
    - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 143-145.3 (fols.1a-2a.3).<sup>66</sup>
- No. 233** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 6b.2-7b.2 (262b.2-263b.2); 6 lines; fol. 7a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2a.3-b.6 (pp. 145.3-146.6); 7 lines; fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Yang chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa.*
  2. [fol.6b.3] (fol. 2a.3) *swa sti yongs dag chos dbyings nam mkha'i mdzod la dga' mgur spyod* (II: *dpyod*) *pa'i blo gros kyis// srid 'dir 'gro ba lha mi klu dbang grub pa'i gtsug gis bsti ba'i gsung//*

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<sup>65</sup> For the biography itself, see above, no. 88.

<sup>66</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

3. a. [fol. 7a.4] (fol. 2b.2) *gsung gi chab rgyun dbyangs snyan klog gis*  
(II: *gi*) *lces//*  
*rnam par gcod pa'i gru char bdag yid kyi//*  
*mdun sar sil khrol 'brug sgrar bcas pa khums//*  
*ngo mtshar ri skyes dga' ba 'dod pa'i mdas//*
- snying gi dang ba cir* (II: *btsir*) *yang gsal bar byas//*  
*da lta chos kyis sa skyong phyi ma'i tshe//*  
*thub bstan chos 'dzin ngur smrig smra ba'i rje//*  
*yid bzhin nor bu lha mi'i gtsug rgyan du//*
- bdag cag* [fol. 7b] *bka' 'bangs kun gyi 'dod bya nyid//*  
*smra ba'i dbang phyug 'jam dbyangs sa skya pa//*  
*brgyud pa'i gsung la dad rjes 'brang ba pa//*  
*gzhan lta 'khrul par nges pa'i gdeng thob pa'i//*  
*bdag kyang lus soms mtshams shes mchid du 'bul//*  
*manggalam// bhawantu//* (II: *dge/ mang ga lang// gcig zhus//* instead of  
*manggalam// bhawantu//*)
4. Letter of instruction to the Gung-thang ruler Chos-rgyal Nor-bu (d. 1484).
5. a. BG: 186; GeCat: 210, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 127, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-5; TōCat: 227, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.3.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 145.3-146 (fol.2a.3-2b).<sup>67</sup>
- No. 234** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 7b.2-8a.6 (263b.2-264a.6); 6 lines; fol. 8a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.2 (pp. 147.1-148.2); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Mi dbang bkra shis mgon la phul ba.*
2. [fol. 7b.3] (fol. 1a) *rnam dkar tshogs gnyis byed pos bskrun pa yi// yid 'ong lta* (II: *blta*) *na sdug pa'i khang bzang na// rnam dpyod 'od stong gsal ba'i mig stong can//*
3. a. [fol. 8a.5] (fol. 1b.1) *ces mchod par brjod nas/ bka' yig ja'i gnang byin dang bcas pa phebs mchis/ shin tu thugs rjes bzung zhing dga' spro dbyar mtsho ltar rgyas par gyur mchis// gcig zhus// manggalam// bhawantu//* (II om. *bhawantu//*)

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<sup>67</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.



4. Reply to a letter from ruler bKra-shis-mgon.<sup>68</sup>
5. a. BG: 187; GeCat: 211, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 128, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-6; TōCat: 228, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.4.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 147-148 (fol. 1a-b).

**No. 235** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 8b.1-9a.6 (264b.1-265b.6); 6 lines; fol. 9a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Ngam rings bdag chen la gnang ba.*
2. [fol. 8b.1] *che dgu'i cod paṅ rin chen 'bar bas gang gi zhabs stegs padmo'i 'phreng ba mngon par gsal ba'i khrir mkhod cing/*
3. a. [fol. 9a.5] *da lan zhu yig spyan lam du 'bebs pa'i rten mtshon par chab gser zho lnga la brtags 'byar ba me mo yos lo hor zla bzhi pa'i yar tshes bcor (I: bcwor) lnga la phul ba'i zhu yig//*
  - c. Sent on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the fire-hare year (*me mo yos*), i.e. on 26th April 1507.
4. Letter to the prince of La-stod Byang, accompanied by five *zho* of gold.<sup>69</sup>
5. a. Tō: 42-689-7; TōCat: 229, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.5.

**No. 236** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 9a.6-10a.1 (265a.6-266a.1); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Khang gsar drung chen la gnang ba.*
2. [fol. 9a.6] *phul du byung ba'i blo gros dang brtson pa dam pa'i rgyan dang go chas mdzes shing/ lugs gnyis [fol. 9b] drang por byed pa'i kha lo sgyur ba/*
3. a. [fol. 9b.5] *da lan ri mo gzig pa'i rten du chab gser zho gang la rtags 'di 'byar ba yos lo zla ba lnga la phul// dpal ldan sa skya pa'i 'phrin bskyar gyi ne tsho rgan po lo drug cu brgal ba zhig nyes med kyi gzeb tu bcug nas/ 'phrin las kyi [fol. 10a] 'tsho rgyun bcad pa la mi zad pa'i rnam smin gyi khur lci ba yang legs par dgongs dgos/ khang gsar nang so la gnang ba'i phyag rtags so// mangalam bhawantu//*
  - c. Sent in the fifth month of a hare year (1507?).

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<sup>68</sup> bKra-shis-mgon (d. 1489) was Glo-bo mKhan-chen's eldest brother. For further details on him see above, 1.1.6.

<sup>69</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1996), 95, Ngam-rings was the main seat of the *byang bdag* ("Lord of Byang").

4. Letter to the chief official (*drung chen*) of Khang-gsar, also called Khang-gsar Nang-so.<sup>70</sup>
5. a. Tō: 42-689-8; TōCat: 230, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.6.
- No. 237** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 10a.2-11b.3 (266a.2-267b.3); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-2a.4 (pp. 149.1-151.4); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 10a.2] (fol. 1a.1) *legs par 'doms dang dul ba'i khur gyis rtsen* (II: *brtsen*)// *yid la bab cing phebs par smra ba'i thugs*//
3. a. [fol. 11b.2] (fol. 2a.3) *cha tsam yid la shar nas dam pa yi*//  
*sku yi dpal dang rab dang gsung gi mdzod*//  
*thugs kyi dge ba 'phel phyr myur ba ni*//  
*dpal ldan brag dkar chos grwa che nas phull*//  
*dge'o*// (II om. *dge'o*//)
- c. Sent from the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling seminary of Glo-bo.
4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>71</sup>
5. a. BG: 188; GeCat: 212, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 129, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-9; TōCat: 231, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>72</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.7.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 149-151.4 (fols. 1a-2a.4).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 238** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 11b.3-12a.3 (267b.3-268a.3); 6 lines; 12a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2a.4-b.2 (pp. 151.4-152.2); fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba.*

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<sup>70</sup> Khang-gsar later became one of the four *bla brangs* of Ngor (the other three were: Phan-bde, Thar-rtse, Klu-sdings). See D. JACKSON (1989b), 50, note 2. These *bla brangs*, however, were not yet founded at Ngor at that time.

<sup>71</sup> A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (d. ca. 1496) was Glo-bo mKhan-chen's second-eldest brother.

<sup>72</sup> Works 231-237 of TōCat are catalogued under the collective title: *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba'i gsung shog tshan bdun*.

2. [fol. 11b.4] (fol. 2a.4) *skye dgu'i bsod nams gzugs dang lhan cig tul/ gang gi phrag par ring du ngal bso* (II: *so*) *zhing//*
3. a. [fol. 12a.2] (fol. 2b.1) *de ltar gyur tshe mi dbang khyod kyi gsung// bdud rtsi'i thigs pa dag dang lhan cig tul/ bdag cag lag pa'i snod du lhung ba gang// ming pas yid kyi kun dga' ci yang thob// manggalam// bhawantu//* (II: *bkra shis//* instead of *manggalam// bhawan tu//*)
4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>73</sup>
5. a. BG: 189; GeCat: 213, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>74</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 130, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-10; TōCat: 232, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>75</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.8.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 151.4-152.2 (fol. 2a.4-2b.2).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 239** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 12a.3-b.4 (268a.3-b.4); 6 lines; 12a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2b.2-7 (pp. 152.2-7).
1. a. *Yang a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba.*
2. [fol. 12a.4] (fol. 2b.2) *gsum brtse* (I: *sum rtsen* instead of *gsum brtse*) *na utpal gser gyi ze 'bru lal/ 'phrog byed zla ba'i gtsug rgyan babs pa'i 'od//*
3. a. [fol. 12b.3] (fol. 2b.7) *ces zhu ba'i yi ge gzigs pa'i rten du/ sman rtse'i* (I: *dman tse'i* instead of *sman rtse'i*) *dar gsar ma kha gang la rtags 'di 'byar ba byams gling chos 'khor gling nas phul// dge'o//* (II: *bkra shis//* instead of *dge'o//*)
- c. Sent from the Byams-gling-chos-'khor-gling monastery.
4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> See above, note 71.

<sup>74</sup> Works 213-218 of GeCat are catalogued under the collective title: *Yang a seng la gdams pa drug*.

<sup>75</sup> See above, note 72.

<sup>76</sup> See above, note 71.

5. a. BG: 190; GeCat: 214, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>77</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 131, vol. *ga*;<sup>78</sup> Tō: 42-689-11; TōCat: 233, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>79</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.9.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 152.2-7 (fol. 2b.2-7).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 240** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 12b.4-13b.1 (268b.4-269b.1); 6 lines; 13a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3a.1-b.1 (pp. 153.1-154.1); 7 lines; fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *sDe pa chen po a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba gcig.*  
 2. [fol. 12b.5] (fol. 3a.1) *sde pa'i drung du/ zhu ba sku kham snyoms shing// bstan pa rnam par dag pa'i mdzad 'phrin rgya che bar gdan chags pa thugs rjes bzung/*  
 3. a. [fol. 13a.2] (fol. 3a.4) ... [concluding verses omitted] (fol. 3b.1) *ces zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten mtshon par dar sngon kha do 'brel gcig la rtags 'byar phull tshes* [fol. 13b] *bco* (I: *bcwo*) *brgyad la zhus// dge'o//* (II om. *dge'o//*)  
 c. On the eighteenth day.  
 4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>80</sup>
5. a. BG: 191; GeCat: 215, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>81</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 131, vol. *ga*;<sup>82</sup> Tō: 42-689-12; TōCat: 234, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>83</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.10.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 153-154.1 (fol. 3a-b.1).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 241** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 13b.1-16b.3 (269b.1-272b.3); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 3b.1-5b.6 (pp. 154.1-158.6); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

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<sup>77</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>78</sup> Nos. 239-240 are found in Mi-rigsCat1 under the collective title: *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba skabs gnyis snang.*

<sup>79</sup> See above, note 72.

<sup>80</sup> See above, note 71.

<sup>81</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>82</sup> See above, note 78.

<sup>83</sup> See above, note 72.

1. a. *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la gdams pa.*
  2. [fol. 13b.1] (fol. 3b.1) *swa sti/ 'gro kun thugs rje'i phyag gis 'dren mdzad cing// srid gsum khyab pa'i legs bshad dga' ston stsol (II: bstsol)//*
  3. a. [fol. 16a.2] (fol. 5a.7) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 16b.1] (fol. 5b.5) *zhes gang gi gsung yig me 'od 'phro ba'i khyad par can gyi rten bcas gdang ba'i lan du/ rab tu mgyogs par phul ba dge legs 'phel// dge'o// (II om. dge'o//)*
  4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>84</sup>
  5. a. BG: 192; GeCat: 216, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>85</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 132, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-13; TōCat: 235, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>86</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.11.
    - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 154.1-158.6 (fols. 3b.1-5b.6).
    - c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 242** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 16b.3-17b.1 (272b.3-273b.1); 6 lines; fol.17a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 5b.6-6a.7 (pp. 158.6-159.7); 7 lines; fol. 6a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba.*
  2. [fol. 16b.3] (fol. 5b.5) *swa sti/ legs pa'i lam gyi shul yangs par dpag tu med pa'i bsod nams kyi shing rta chen can// mtho ris dang thar pa'i skal pa bzang po pa kun gyi gtsug rgyan gyi 'os su gyur ... //*
  3. a. [fol. 17a.5] (fol. 6a.6) ... [concluding verses omitted] [17b.1] *zhes tshes bzhi'i snga gro'i cha la brag dkar theg chen gling nas phul/ manggalam// bhawantu// (II: dge// instead of manggalam// bhawantu//)*
    - c. Sent on the fourth day from the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling monastery of Glo-bo.
  4. Letter to ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> See above, note 71.

<sup>85</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>86</sup> See above, note 72.

<sup>87</sup> See above, note 71.

5. a. BG: 193; GeCat: 217, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>88</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 133, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-14; TōCat: 236, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>89</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.12.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 158.6-159.7 (fols. 5b.6-6a.7).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.
- No. 243** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 17b.1-18a.1 (273b.1-274b.1) ; 6 lines; fol.18a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 6a.7-b.5 (pp. 159.7-160.5); fol. 6a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. (I) *Yang a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba.*  
(II) *A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba.*
2. [fol. 17b.2] (fol. 6b) *drung du zhu ba/ phyag rtags dar ser po'i gnang sbyin dang bcas pa thengs mchis pa shin du thugs rjes bzung/*
3. a. [fol. 17b.5] (fol. 6b.3) *bka' drin me shel 'od kyis rtag par yang//*  
*ring du 'tsho ba'i snang ba la chags pa//*  
*gsung rab sbrang rtsi'i bcud kyis tshim pa ni//*  
*re zhig yul gyi mtshe 'ur ngal bso bgyid//*  
  
*rang rgyud* (II: *brgyud*) *thos bsam chu yis gang ba na//*  
*gzhan phan 'brug sgra sgrogs shing phyogs kyi ni//*  
*dga' ba'i lo thog gsar du thob pa yi//*  
[fol. 18a] *khur 'di yid la yun du 'dzin par zhu//*  
*dge'o//* (II: *gcig zhus// dge'o//*)
4. Reply to a letter from ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa.<sup>90</sup>
5. a. BG: 194; GeCat: 218, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>91</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 134, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-15; TōCat: 237, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>92</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.13.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 159.7-160 (fols. 6a.7-6b).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 141, note 39.

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<sup>88</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>89</sup> See above, note 72.

<sup>90</sup> See above, note 71.

<sup>91</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>92</sup> See above, note 72.

- No. 244** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 18a.1-b.2 (274a.1-b.2); 6 lines; fol.18a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b.7 (pp. 161-162.7); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *mNga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba.*
  2. [fol. 18a.1] (fol. 1b.1) *lha'i lam las legs 'ongs ser skya'i gnas// bsod nams rin chen tshogs mang gyis bkang ste//*
  3. a. [fol. 18b.2] (fol. 1b.6) *zhes ri mo gzigs pa'i mtshon byed du ja zho gang la rtags 'byar phul// dge'o//* (II: *shu bham// gcig zhus//* instead of *dge'o//*)
  4. Letter to ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
  5. a. BG: 195; GeCat: 219, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-16; TōCat: 238, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.14.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 161-162 (fol. 1a-b).
- No. 245** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 18b.2-19a.5 (274b.2-275a.5) ; 6 lines; fol.19a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.2 (pp. 163.1-164.2); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *sNe shangs lo tsha* (I: *tstsha*) *ba la springs pa.*
  2. [fol. 18b.3] (fol. 1a.1) *dge slong lo tsā* (I: *tstsha*) *ba dPal ldan grags pa thos bsam gyi khur gyis dub par ma gyur grang* (II: *drang*)//
  3. a. [fol. 19a.4] (fol. 1b.1) *da lan ri mo'i mtshon byed zangs bum legs pa gcig/ ka dan dkar po yug gnyis rnam la rtags 'byar yod/ lug lo hor zla dgu pa'i nyer bdun la mkha' spyod rtse nas bris pa'o// dge'o//* (II: *mang ga lang/ gcig zhus//* instead of *dge'o//*)
  - c. Sent on the 27th day of the ninth month of a sheep year from mKha'-spyod-rtse (?).
  4. Letter to sNe(= sNye)-shangs Lo-tsā-ba dPal-ldan-grags-pa.<sup>93</sup>
  5. a. BG: 166; GeCat: 220, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-17; TōCat: 239, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.15.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 163-164 (fol. 1a-b).

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<sup>93</sup> According to D. JACKSON (1984), 155, note 26, sNye-shangs Lo-tsā-ba is mentioned in Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog as one of the translators who were active in Glo-bo during the reign of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's eldest brother, bKra-shis-mgon.

- No. 246** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 19a.6-20a.6 (275a.6-276a.6); 6 lines; fol.19a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.4 (pp. 165.1-166.4); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dGe slong dpal ldan grags pa la gnang ba.*
2. [fol. 19a.6] (fol. 1a.1) *dge slong lo tsā* (I: *tstsha*) *ba'i yi ge legs par bshad pa'i rten bcas thengs pa shin tu spro/ grangs* [fol. 19b] *med legs sbyar smra ba'i zlos gar gyis//*
3. a. [fol. 20a.5] (fol. 1b.3) *da lan ri mo'i mtshon byed du rgya mtshal zho nyi shu la rtags 'di 'byar yod/ zla ba dgu pa'i nyer brgyad la bris// dge'o//* (II: *mang ga lang// gcig zhus//* instead of *dge'o//*)  
 c. Sent on the 28th day of the ninth month.
4. Reply to a letter from sNe-shangs Lo-tsā-ba dPal-ldan-grags-pa.<sup>94</sup>
5. a. BG: 167; GeCat: 221, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-18; TōCat: 240, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.16.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 165-166 (fol. 1a-b).

- No. 247** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 20a.6-21b.2 (276a.6-277b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-2a.6 (pp. 167.1-169.6); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bDag chen chos rje la phul.*
2. [fol. 20a.6] (fol. 1b.1) *mkhyen rab dang thugs rje bzung* (II: *zung*) *du 'brel ba'i mnga' bdag* [fol. 20b] *'jam pa'i dbyangs mi pham chos kyi rje'i drung du/ zhu ba/*
3. a. [fol. 21a. 6] (fol. 2a.4) *rdo rje 'jigs* [fol. 21b] *byed rwa lugs kyi rjes 'brang dpal 'dzin gyis byas pa'i yig skor* (II: *bskor*) *cha tshang ba gcig* (II: *cig*) *yod par 'dug kyang// mtha' dag ma rnyed lags pas phyag tu byung na gnang ba dang// bla ma ldong gi yang de dang cha 'dra ba gcig yod tshod* (II: *tshod du*) *'dug pas rtsol ba mdzad pa* (II om. *pa*) *zhu//*
4. Letter to the Sa-skya throne holder Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams.
5. a. GeCat: 222, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-19; TōCat: 241, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.17.

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<sup>94</sup> See above, note 93.



- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 167-169.8 (fols. 1a-2a.6).
- No. 248** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 21b.2-22a.2 (277b.2-278a.2); 6 lines; fol. 22a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2a.6-b.4 (pp. 169.6-170.4); fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba.*
  2. [fol. 21b.2] (fol. 2a.6) *bla ma pa'i yi ge'i nang na/ bslab bya 'dra dgos gsung ba* (II: *ba 'dug pa*) *la/ kha sing gi yig ger 'bri ba brjed 'dug//*
  3. a. [fol. 22a.2] (fol. 2b.4) *rjes de lta bu ma rtogs pa la bdag gzhan rje* (II: *brje*) *ba bsgom pa bsngo ba sogs shin tu gal che// dge'o//* (II om. *dge'o//*)
  4. Letter to Bla-ma dPal-skyabs.
  5. a. BG: 200; GeCat: 223, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-20; TōCat: 242, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.18.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 169.8-170.4 (fol. 2a.6-2b.4).
- No. 249** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 22a.2-6 (278a.2-6); *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2b.4-7 (p. 170.4-7).
1. a. *Lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud* (I: *rgyud*) *thar po pa la phul ba.*
  2. [fol. 22a.3] (fol. 2b.4) *mnyam med zas gtsang gi cho rigs dam par sku 'khrungs shing rmad du byung ba'i yon tan gyi khur 'dzin pa bdag po chen po 'i drung du/*
  3. a. [fol. 22a.5] (fol. 2b.6) *da lan ri mo gzigs pa'i rten mtshon byed du ja zho bzhi/ snam bu ngur bubs/ ther ma yug gnyis rnams la rgya 'byar phul/ chu stod zla ba'i tshes bcu gcig la zhus/ mang ga lam* (II: *lang*) */ bhawantu// shubham//* (II om. *bhawantu// shubham//*)
  - c. On the 11th day of the *chu stod* month.<sup>95</sup>
  4. Letter to Thar-po-pa, a descendant of lama Ye-shes-'od.

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<sup>95</sup> According to *Tshig mdzod*, 802, this month corresponds to the time from the 16th day of the fifth month of the Tibetan calendar until the 15th day of the sixth month. Furthermore, the dictionary gives a second explanation that identifies *chu stod zla ba* as the sixth Tibetan month.

5. a. BG: 196; GeCat: 224, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-21; TōCat: 243, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.19.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 170.4-7 (fol. 2b.4-7).

**No. 250** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 22b.1-23a.2 (278b.1-279a.2); 6 lines; fol. 23a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 2b.7-3a.6 (pp. 170.7-171.6);<sup>96</sup> fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Chos rje she'u ri pa la gnang ba.*  
 2. [fol. 22b.1] (fol. 2b.7) *dpal ldan* (fol. 3a) *sa skya pa'i mtshan gyis nye bar mdzes pa'i chos kyi rje'i drung du zhu ba/ khyed sku rab gsal padmo dam pa la//*  
 3. a. [fol. 22b.6] (fol. 3a.5) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 23a.2] *tshes bzang po la bsam grub gling nas phul ba'i zhu yig// dge legs 'phel//* (II om. *dge legs 'phel//*)  
 c. Sent from the bSam-grub-gling monastery.  
 4. Letter to the religious master She'u-ri-pa, a Sa-skyapa teacher.  
 5. a. GeCat: 225, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-22; TōCat: 244, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.20.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 170.7-171.6 (fols. 2b.7-3a.6).

**No. 251** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 23a.2-b.3 (279a.2-b.3); 6 lines; fol. 23a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3a.7-3b.5 (pp. 171.7-172.5);<sup>97</sup> fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rDzong kha bdag chen la phul ba.*  
 2. [fol. 23a.2] (fol. 3a.7) *'phags mchog sprul pa'i gdung rigs rgya mtsho'i rlabs// mi dman bsod nams chu 'dzin gyis blangs nas//*  
 3. a. [fol. 23b.2] (fol. 3b.5) *shes* (I: *zhes*) *zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten du/ sgril ma legs pa gcig rtags 'byar ba* (II om. *ba*) *phul/ tshes bzang po la bsam grub gling nas phul ba'i zhu yig// manggalam//* (II om. *manggalam//*)  
 c. Sent from the bSam-grub-gling monastery.

<sup>96</sup> Fol. 3a is also marked as fol. 380. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>97</sup> Fol. 3a is also marked as fol. 380. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

4. Letter to the ruler of Gung-thang.
5. a. GeCat: 226, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-23; TōCat: 245, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>98</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.21.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 171.7-172.5 (fol. 3a.7-3b.5).
- No. 252** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 23b.3-25a.2 (279b.3-281a.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 3b.5-4b.6 (pp. 172.5-174.6); 7 lines; fol. 4a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *rDzong kha bdag chen la phul ba.*
2. [fol. 23b.4] (fol. 3b.6) 'gro kun dga' bskyed snyan pa'i ba dan can// phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i dpal 'bar ba//
3. a. [fol. 24b.2] (fol. 4b.1) ... [concluding verses omitted] *da lan ri mo gzigs pa'i rten du/ zangs chen* [fol. 25a] *gcig ras phrug zhab ma sngo phral/ ka yug bcu/ sgril ma sngon dmar/ ljang ser/ dkar po/ tim pi sngon dmar/ kha thags dkar po sne tshang cig la rgyas btab pa/ sbrul lo hor zla dgu pa'i yar tshe lnga la phul ba'i zhu yig// dge legs 'phel//* (II om. *dge legs 'phel//*)
- c. Sent on the fifth day of the ninth month of a snake year.
4. Letter to the ruler of Gung-thang.
5. a. GeCat: 227, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-24; TōCat: 246, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>99</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.22.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 172.5-174.6 (fols. 3b.5-4b.6).
- No. 253** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 25a.2-b.5 (281a.2-b.5); 6 lines; fol. 25a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 4b.6-5a.6 (pp. 174.6-175.6); fol. 5a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Thar po la phul ba.*

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<sup>98</sup> Nos. 251 and 252 are catalogued in TōCat under the collective title *rDzong kha bdag chen la phul ba tshan pa gnyis*.

<sup>99</sup> See above, note 98.

2. [fol. 25a.2] (fol. 4b.6) *nyi ma 'i rigs su 'khrungs khyod kyis// snyan grags srid rtse 'i mtha' la 'dzegs// phyogs kyi glang po thams cad kyis (II: kyī)// rna lung g.yo ba 'i khur yug brgal (II: rgal)//*
3. a. [fol. 25b.4] (fol. 5a.5) *lta ba la dga' ngur smrig 'dzin rnams kyis// khyim la 'khren pa 'i 'khyog 'gro 'i ri mo dang// khong nas sdang ba rnams kyi shub bu 'i gtam// sdeb legs 'dun sar 'khod tshe khyod la chags// manggalam// (II om. manggalam//)*
4. Letter to Thar-po-pa, a descendant of the western Tibetan royal line of Yeshe-'od.<sup>100</sup>
5. a. BG: 197; GeCat: 228, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>101</sup> Tō: 42-689-25; TōCat: 247, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>102</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.23.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 174.6-175.6 (fols. 4b.6-5a.6).

**No. 254** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 25b.5-26a.3 (281b.5-282a.3); 6 lines; fol. 26a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 5a.6-b.3 (pp. 175.6-176.3); fol. 5a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Thar po la phul ba*.
2. [fol. 25b.6] (fol. 5a.6) *lha rigs rgyal po 'i gdung 'dzin gang gi drung du/ zhu ba/ phyag dam de na gi rten ldan phebs pa thugs rjes bzung//*
3. a. [fol. 26a.3] (fol. 5b.2) *chos rje lo chen gyi drung nas gsung ngag tu phul ba la thugs rje che ba mkhyen mkhyen// dge 'o// (II om. dge 'o//)*
4. Letter to Thar-po-pa, a descendant of the old Gu-ge royal line.
5. a. GeCat: 229, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>103</sup> Tō: 42-689-26; TōCat: 248, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>104</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.24.

<sup>100</sup> For another letter to Thar-po-pa, see above, no. 249.

<sup>101</sup> Works 228-231 of GeCat are catalogued under the collective title: *Yang thar po la phul ba bzhi*.

<sup>102</sup> Works 247-250 of TōCat are catalogued under the collective title: *Yang thar po la phul ba tshan pa bzhi*.

<sup>103</sup> See above, note 101.

<sup>104</sup> See above, note 102.

- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 175.6-176.3 (fol. 5a.6-5b.3).
- No. 255** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 26a.3-b.3 (282a.3-b.3); 6 lines; fol. 26a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 5b.3-6a.1 (pp. 176.3-177.1); fol. 6a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Thar po la phul ba.*
  2. [fol. 26a.4] (fol. 5b.3) *dpal ldan lha btsun rnam par rgyal ba'i lha'i// zhabs rten* (II: *brten*) *rin chen 'od tshogs char spro zhing//*
  3. a. [fol. 26b.2] (fol. 5b.7) *da lan zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten mtshon par gos chen ne tsho kha gang la rgyas btab pa phul/ stag gi lo hor zla gsum pa la chos sdings* (fol. 6a) *nas zhus// manggalam// bhawantu//* (II om. *manggalam// bhawantu//*)
    - c. Sent in the third month of a tiger year (1518?) from Chos-sdings.<sup>105</sup>
  4. Letter to Thar-po-pa, a descendant of the old Gu-ge royal line.
  5. a. GeCat: 230, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>106</sup> Tō: 42-689-27; TōCat: 249, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>107</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.25.
    - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 176.3-177.1 (fols. 5b.3-6a.1).
- No. 256** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 26b.3-27a.4 (282b.3-283a.4); 6 lines; fol. 27a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 6a.1-7 (p. 177.1-7); *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Thar po la phul ba.*
  2. [fol. 26b.3] (fol. 6a.1) *lha'i lam las legs 'ongs ser skya'i gnas// bsod nams rin chen tshogs mang gis bkang ste//*
  3. a. [fol. 27a.3] (fol. 6a.6) *zhes ri mo gzigs pa'i rten mtshon byed du ja zho gang la rtags 'byar phul// dge legs 'phel//*
  4. Letter to Thar-po-pa, a descendant of the old Gu-ge royal line.

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<sup>105</sup> This monastery is probably identical to the Chos-sdings monastery of sKyid-grong. See above, Chapter 3, note 125.

<sup>106</sup> See above, note 101.

<sup>107</sup> See above, note 102.

5. a. GeCat: 231, vol. *ga pa*,<sup>108</sup> Tō: 42-689-28; TōCat: 250, vol. *cha pa*,<sup>109</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.26.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 177.1-7 (fol. 6a.1-7).

**No. 257** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 27a.4-b.3 (283a.4-b.3); 6 lines; fol. 27a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 6a.7-b.4 (pp. 177.7-178.4); fol. 6a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Ra nag pa*.  
 2. fol. 27a.4] (fol. 6a.7) *rig pa 'dzin pa nam mkha' rdo rje'i gsung shog// sngon gyi bla ma dam pa rnams kyi gsung bsgros mang po yod pa'i po* (I: *pu*) *ti rgya ma nyams* (fol. 6b) *par 'dir thengs lags pa shin du rjes su yi rangs* (II: *rang*)//  
 3. a. [fol. 27b.3] (fol. 6b.4) *da lan ri mo gzig pa'i rten mtshon byed du/ sil* (II: *bsil*) *snyan gcig la rtags 'byar ba yod lags/ tshes bco* (I: *bcwo*) *brgyad la sman chu kha nas bris// manggalam//* (II om. *manggalam//*)  
 c. On the 18th day in sMan-chu-kha.  
 4. Letter to Ra-nag-pa, in response to receiving a letter of Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje, with a sealed book.<sup>110</sup>  
 5. a. GeCat: 232, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-29; TōCat: 251, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.27.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 177.7-178.4 (fol. 6a.7-6b.4).

**No. 258** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 27b.4-28a.5 (283b.4-284a.5); 6 lines; fol. 28a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 6b.5-7a.5 (pp. 178.5-179.5); fol. 7a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dBon po rma bya ba la gnang* (I: *snang*) *ba*.

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<sup>108</sup> See above, note 101.

<sup>109</sup> See above, note 102.

<sup>110</sup> R. VITALI (1996), 521, mentions a certain Ra-nag-pa whom he refers to as "Pu.rangs *khyim.po.che* ('chamberlain')" in connection with an event of 1440.

2. [fol. 27b.4] (fol. 6b.5) *dbon po sgrub* (II: *bsgrub*) *pa po'i yi ge de nang du gsal ba'i rten dang bcas pa 'dir thengs lags* (I: *pags*) *pas shin tu rjes su yi rang//*
3. a. [fol. 28a.5] (fol. 7a.4) *da lan ri mo'i rten mtshon par zangs sbug gcig la rtags 'byar ba dge//*
4. Reply to a letter from the religious practitioner dBon-po rMa-bya-ba.
5. a. GeCat: 233, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-30; TōCat: 252, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.28.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 178.5-179.5 (fols. 6b.5-7a.5).

- No. 259** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 28a.6-b.6 (284a.6-b.6); 6 lines; fol. 28a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 7a.5-b.4 (pp. 179.5-180.4); fol. 7a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dGe slong dar bzang ba gnyis la gnang ba.*
2. [fol. 28a.6] (fol. 7a.5) *drung rab 'byams* (I: *'byam*) *pa ye shes dbang phyug dang// dge slong dkon mchog dar bzang gnyis kyi yi ge rgyu mtshan gyi tho yig dang bcas* (fol. 28b) *pa ka sang* (II om. *ka sang*) *snga sor thengs lags kyang//*
3. a. [fol. 28b.6] (fol. 7b.4) *da lan thun mong du ja thum bu gcig la rtags 'byar ba bskur yod phral du bris// manggalam//* (II om. *manggalam//*)
4. Letter to Drung Rab-'byams-pa Ye-shes-dbang-phyug and monk dKon-mchog-dar-bzang-ba.
5. a. BG: 183; GeCat: 234, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-31; TōCat: 253, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 16, no. 2.29.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 179.5-180.4 (fol. 7a.5-b.4).

- No. 260** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 29a-b.4 (285a-b.4); 6 lines; fol. 29a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 7b.4-8a.5 (pp. 180.4-181.5); fol. 8a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Bla ma sho ma phug pa la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 29a.1] (fol. 7b.4) *bla ma pa'i gsung yig de nang du gsal ba'i rten ldan thengs lags pas shin du rjes su yid rang//*

3. a. [fol. 29b.2] (fol. 8a.4) ... [concluding verses omitted] *da lan yi ge'i rten mtshon par// nged rang gi* (I om. *gi*) *gon 'phro 'i bem po* (I om. *po*) *cig yod lags// mang ga lam//* (II: *mang ga lang // gcig zhus//*)
4. Reply to a letter from Bla-ma Sho-ma-phug-pa.
5. a. GeCat: 235, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-32; TōCat: 254, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.30.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 180.4-181 (fols. 7a.5-8a).
- No. 261** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 29b.4-30b.5 (285b.4-286b.5); 6 lines; fol. 30a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.5 (pp. 183.1-184.5); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Bla ma blo pa la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 29b.4] (fol. 1a.1) *blo bzang g.yo ldan dpyid kyi dpal mo yis// nye bar 'phangs pa'i snyan tshig utpal 'phreng//*
3. a. [fol. 30b.4] (fol. 1b.4) *'phrin shog ngos la gsal ba 'di gzigs nas// lhag bsam rnam dag khyed kyi dgongs don dang// re ba'i 'bras bu ldan du 'grogs pa yi// dga' ba'i rgyun gyi tshim pa myong bar smon// tshes brgyad la dge//*
- c. On the eighth day.
4. Letter of instruction to Bla-ma Drung Blo-pa.<sup>111</sup>
5. a. BG: 201; GeCat: 236, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 136, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-33; TōCat: 255, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>112</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.31.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 183-184.5 (fol. 1a-b.5).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 127, and 142, note 60.
- No. 262** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 30b.6-31b.4 (286b.5-287b.4); 6 lines; fol. 31a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

<sup>111</sup>“Bla-ma Blo-pa” is probably Glo-bo mKhan-chen's nephew, Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. See D. JACKSON (1984), 127.

<sup>112</sup>Works 255-258 of TōCat are catalogued under the collective title: *Drung blo pa gdams pa tshan pa bzhi*.



(II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1b.5-2b.1 (pp. 184.5-186.1);<sup>113</sup> 7 lines; fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 30b.6] (fol. 1b.6) *dad dang blo gros dkar ba'i rang bzhin mdog// legs bshad zer phreng* (II: *'phreng*) *ldan pa'i snang ba yis//*
3. a. [fol. 31b.3] (fol. 2a.6) ... [concluding verses omitted] *dar ser po legs po kha gang la* (fol. 2b) *rtags 'byar ba phull//*
4. Letter to Bla-ma Drung Blo-pa.<sup>114</sup>
5. a. BG: 202; GeCat: 237, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 136, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-34; TōCat: 256, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>115</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.32.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 184.5-186.1 (fols. 1b.5-2b.1).
  - c. D. JACKSON (1984), 127, and 142, note 60.

**No. 263** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 31b.4-32a.4 (287b.4-288a.4); 6 lines; fol. 32a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

(II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2b.1-6 (p. 186.1-6).

1. a. *Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 31b.5] (fol. 2b.1) *dad dang blo gros lhan cig ldan pa yis// lhag bsam snyan tshig mnyam* (II: *snyam*) *du sdebs pa'i 'phrin//*
3. a. [fol. 32a.3] (fol. 2b.5) *dran pa'i mod la yi* (II: *yig*) *ge'i tshig 'di dag phul bas gzigs par zhu/ kun spyod kyi mchan bu 'di chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pas mdzad par mchis pas// cis kyang 'dri ba zhu//*
4. Letter to Bla-ma Drung Blo-pa.<sup>116</sup>
5. a. BG: 203; GeCat: 238, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>117</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 136, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-35; TōCat: 257, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>118</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.33.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 186.1-6 (fol. 2b.1-6).
  - c. D. JACKSON (1984), 127, and 142, note 60.

<sup>113</sup> Fol. 2a is also marked as fol. 387. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>114</sup> See above, note 111.

<sup>115</sup> See above, note 112.

<sup>116</sup> See above, note 111.

<sup>117</sup> Works 238 and 239 of GeCat are catalogued under the collective title: *Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa gnyis*.

<sup>118</sup> See above, note 112.

- No. 264** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 32a.4-b.4 (288a.4-b.4); 6 lines; fol. 32a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 2b.6-3a.5 (pp. 186.6-187.5);<sup>119</sup> fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa.*
  2. [fol. 32a.5] (fol. 2b.6) *mi rtag g.yo ba rab spangs 'od gsal mtha'// 'di la rtag mthar lhung ba rnams spangs te//*
  3. a. [fol. 32b.3] (fol. 3a.4) *'gro ba'i re skong gtsug nor bu//  
 sngon gyi mkhan po de dag gi//  
 nyams (I: nyam) pa med pa'i lugs rnying la//  
 mi nub ring du gnas par smon//  
 dge'o//*
  4. Letter to Bla-ma Drung Blo-pa.<sup>120</sup>
  5. a. BG: 204; GeCat: 239, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>121</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 136, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-36; TōCat: 258, vol. *cha pa*;<sup>122</sup> Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.34.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 186.6-187.5 (fols. 2b.6-3a.5).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1984), 127, and 142, note 60.
- No. 265** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 32b.4-33b.1 (288b.4-289b.1); 6 lines; fol. 33a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3a.5-b.6 (pp. 187.5-188.6);<sup>123</sup> fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Bla ma bzang po la gdams pa mdzad pa.*
  2. [fol. 32b.4] (fol. 3a.5) *thugs la phan par mchis na 'di ltar mdzod (II: mdzad)// gang zhig yon tan kun gyi mi zad gter//*
  3. a. [fol. 33b.1] (fol. 3b.6) *zhes (II: ces) pa 'di mdzad par zhu// dge'o// gcig zhus// mang ga lang/ (I om. gcig zhus// mang ga lang//)*
  4. Letter of instruction to Bla-ma bZang-po.

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<sup>119</sup> Fol. 3a is also marked as fol. 388. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>120</sup> See above, note 111.

<sup>121</sup> See above, note 117.

<sup>122</sup> See above, note 112.

<sup>123</sup> Fol. 3a is also marked as fol. 388. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

5. a. BG: 210; GeCat: 240, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-37; TōCat: 259, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.35.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 187.5-188 (fol. 3a.5-3b).

**No. 266** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 33b.1-34b.3 (289b.1-290b.3); 6 lines; fol. 34a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.5 (pp. 189.1-190.5);<sup>124</sup> 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dBang phyug rgyal mtshan la gdams pa.*  
 2. [fol. 33b.2] (fol. 1a) *phan dgongs thugs rje'i ri bong 'dzin pa gang// rnam grol bdud rtsi'i 'od dkar spro bzhin du//*  
 3. a. [fol. 34b.1] (fol. 1b.4) *thar 'dod yon tan rgya mtsho'i khor yug can// snyan grags gser gyi ra bar zhabs brtan cing// bslab gsum nyi zla'i 'od kyis mdzes 'dod na// brtson byas phyogs kyi mun pa 'dor 'tshal lo// dge'o// manggalam//* (II: *mang ga lang// dge'o//* instead of *dge'o// manggalam//*)  
 4. Letter of instruction to dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>125</sup>  
 5. a. BG: 199; GeCat: 241, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 135, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-38; TōCat: 260, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.36.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 189-190 (fol. 1a-b).

**No. 267** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 34b.3-36b.4 (290b.3-292b.4); 6 lines; fol. 35a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-2b.1 (pp. 191.1-194.1);<sup>126</sup> 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rJe btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi dgongs rdzogs kyi mdzad 'phrin* (II: *phrin) mdzad pa'i mchod brjod mdzad pa.*

<sup>124</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 389. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>125</sup> dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan could be identical to the scribe who assisted Glo-bo mKhan-chen with the writing of a commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*. See below, no. 315.

<sup>126</sup> Fols. 1a and 2a are also marked as fols. 390 and 391, respectively. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

2. [fol. 34b.3] (fol. 1a.1) *om swa sti sidham/ sna tshogs shes bya'i pad tshal nyams dga' bar// rmad byung 'phrin las gsar pa'i nyi ma'i 'od//*
3. a. [fol. 36b.3] (fol. 2a.7) *gang zhig dge (fol. 2b) ba 'di la dad pa dang// rjes su yid rang mthun rkyen cha shes tsam// bsgrub pa kun kyang bde ba'i lam nyid nas// thams cad mkhyen pa'i sa la gnas gyur cig// manggalam// (II: bkra shis// instead of manggalam//)*
- c. 1478 (?).<sup>127</sup>
4. Eulogy for the funeral ceremony of the fourth abbot of Ngor, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).
5. a. BG: 209; GeCat: 242, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 141?, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-39; TōCat: 261, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 191-194.1 (fol. 1a-2b.1).
- No. 268** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 36b.4-36\*a.2<sup>128</sup> (292b.4-293a.2); 6 lines; fol. 36\*a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 2b.2-5 (p. 194.2-5).
1. a. *Yang dgongs pa rdzogs thabs bar ma'i dus kyi mjug (II: 'jug) gi shis brjod.*
2. [fol. 36b.4] (fol. 2b.2) *rnam dkar dge tshogs 'di dang dus gsum dul// bdag gzhan kun gyis (II: gyi) byas dang byed 'gyur ba//*
3. a. [fol. 36\*a.1] (fol. 2b.4) *gnas skabs su yang bstan 'dzin 'khor dang bcas// mi mthun gnod pa'i tshogs las rgyal ba dang// dkar phyogs yar ngo'i zla ba ltar 'phel zhing// nag phyogs bdud kyi g.yul las rgyal gyur cig// dge'o//*
- c. 1478 (?).<sup>129</sup>
4. A benediction meant to be recited after the intermediate time as part of the funeral service for Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor.

<sup>127</sup> Since Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug died in 1478, Glo-bo mKhan-chen most probably composed this eulogy in that year.

<sup>128</sup> Fol. 36 erroneously appears twice in the pagination. In order to distinguish the two folios, the second has been marked with an asterisk in the present description.

<sup>129</sup> See above, note 127.

5. a. BG: 211; GeCat: 243, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 140, vol. *ga* (?); Tō: 42-689-40; TōCat: 262, vol. *cha pa*.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 194.2-5 (fol. 2b.2-5).

**No. 269** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 36\*a.2-b.5<sup>130</sup> (293a.2-b.5); 6 lines; fol. 36\*a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 2b.5-3a (pp. 194.5-195); fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rJes kyi dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod.*  
 2. [fol. 36\*a.2] (fol. 2b.5) *om swa sti/ rnam dag thugs rje'i chu ris stong ldan mkhyen brtse'i rlabs 'phreng chal chil g.yo// blo bzang skye bo ngang pa'i ded dpon kun nas dga' ba'i tha* (II: *thag*) *grur gzhol//*  
 3. a. [fol. 36\*b.3] (fol. 3a.5) *dmigs med bsngo ba'i tshul gyis rgyas btab pa//*  
*brtse chen bla ma'i tshogs kyi thugs rje yis//*  
*phyogs dus kun du bkod pa'i bkra shis rnamsl//*  
*sbyin bdag dge zhing dge ba'i dpal du mdzod//*  
*mang ga lang// shu bham/ dge'o//* (I om. *shu bham/ dge'o//*)  
 c. 1478 (?)<sup>131</sup>  
 4. Prayers of dedication for the end of the funeral service for Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), the fourth abbot of Ngor.  
 5. a. BG: 214?; GeCat: 244, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-41; TōCat: 263, vol. *cha pa*.  
 b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 194.2-5 (fol. 2b.2-5).

**No. 270** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 36\*b.5<sup>132</sup>-40b.4 (293b.5-297b.4); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-3b.4 (pp. 197.1-202.4);<sup>133</sup> 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Chos rgyal chen po bkra shis mgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod.*

<sup>130</sup> See above, note 128.

<sup>131</sup> See above, note 127.

<sup>132</sup> See above, note 128.

<sup>133</sup> The page number on fol. 3a is missing.

2. [fol. 36\*b.5] (fol. 1a.1) *om swa sti siddham/ rje btsun dam pa thugs rje chen po dang mkhyen rab phul du byung ba'i bdag nyid 'gran zlas dben pa'i dpal ldan sa skya pa brgyud pa dang bcas pa'i zhabs kyi padmo dri ma med pa la//*
3. a. [fol. 40b.1] (fol. 3b.1) *sa mo bya'i lo hor zla dgu pa'i dkar po'i phyogs kyi tshes bcu gcig gi nyin/ zhi ba mya ngan med pa'i (I om. pa'i) mtha' mngon du mdzad do// de'i nyin bar nas brtsams te/ mchod pa'i bkod pas 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang/ kun du bzang po'i smon lam gyi rnam pa can rgya mtsho'i rdul gyis mtha' klas (II: bklas) pa rgyun mi chad pa bgyis pa las/ mi 'phrogs pa'i mkhyen rab (II: rabs) dang/ thugs rje tshad med pa mnga' ba'i rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gdan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skya'i chos grwa chen por rnam bzhag rgya che ba bsgrub pa'i mchod brjod// mang ga lam (II: lang)// bhawantu// (II om. bhawantu//)*
- c. On the 11th day of the ninth month of the earth-bird (*sa mo bya*) year (i.e. 5th October 1489).
4. Text to be recited in connection with the worshipful offerings made at the funeral ceremony at Sa-skya for bKra-shis-mgon (ca. 1440-1489), the king of Glo-bo.
5. a. BG: 212; GeCat: 245, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 142, vol. *ga*; Tō: 42-689-42; TōCat: 264, vol. *cha pa*.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 197-202 (fols. 1a-3b).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 123, 141, note 37 and 38, and 154, note 21.
- No. 271** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 40b.5-41b.2 (297b.5-298b.2); 6 lines; fol. 41a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.1 (pp. 203.1-204.1); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Chos rje nor bu la phul ba 'bras yul du.*
2. [fol. 40b.5] (fol. 1a.1) *rab tu zab pa dang/ rgya che ba'i mkhyen pa'i dbang po grub pa'i yon tan khyad par can gyi thugs rgyud (II: brgyud) legs par bltams (II: bltam) pa/*
3. a. [fol. 41b.1] (fol. 1b.1) *phyogs mtha' dag (II: dag la) 'di las dpangs (II: spongs) mtho ba zhig (II: cig) 'bul (II: phul) dgos yin kyang// phyi nang gi hor gyi nyer 'tshe ches pas ma grub pa la thugs kyi mi bas pa zhu// mangga-lam// bhawantu// (II: gcig zhus// instead of manggalam// bhawantu//)*
4. Letter to Chos-rje Nor-bu, at time of threats from Hor.

5. a. GeCat: 246, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-43; TōCat: 265, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.37.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 203-204 (fol. 1a-b).
- No. 272** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 41b.2-42b.3 (298b.2-299b.3); 6 lines; fol. 42a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.4 (pp. 205-206.4); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *Khrigs rtse mkhan po rab brtan bzang po la gnang ba.*
2. [fol. 41b.3] (fol. 1a.1) *tshul khrims* (I: *khril*) *dang thos pa'i rtsa ba rab tu brtan zhing/ legs par gsungs pa'i dam pa'i chos kyi dga' ston bzang po gdul bya'i rgyud yongs su smin par mdzad pa'i/*
3. a. [fol. 42b.1] (fol. 1b.2) *ces zhu ba'i phrin* (II: *'phrin*) *du phul ba 'di yang// bstan pa'i rtsa lag rab brtan bzang pos/ sing ha la'i rten dang bcas pa'i gsung shog gnang ba'i lan du/ dge slong bsod nams kyi 'gyogs par bris te phul ba'o// da lan ri mo gzig pa'i rten du bdun cha gcig gi phyi shun la rtags 'byar* (II: *sbyar*) *sbrul lo hor zla brgyad pa la phul ba'i zhu yig// gcig zhus// bkra shis par gyur cig/ dge'o//* (I om. *gcig zhus// bkra shis par gyur cig/ dge'o//*)
- c. Sent in the eighth month of a snake year.
4. Reply to a letter from Khrigs-rtse mKhan-po Rab-brtan-bzang-po.
5. a. GeCat: 247, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-44; TōCat: 266, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.38.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 205-206 (fol. 1a-b).
- No. 273** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 42b.3-46b.2 (299b.3-303b.2); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.1-3b.7 (pp. 207.1-212.7);<sup>134</sup> fol. 2a: 6 lines, remaining fols.: 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *gZhis mkhar gnang ba'i phyag gdam zhal bshu dge.*
2. [fol. 42b.3] (fol. 1a.1) *nyi ma'i gnyen gyis ring du bskyangs pa'i gsung gi bcud kyi tshim pa yis// ngo mtshar grangs med sring mthar phyin pa'i dpal yon ci yang ster mkhas pa//*

<sup>134</sup> Fols. 2a and 3a are also marked as fols. 400a and 401a, respectively, which seems to be a mistake, since fol. 2a actually corresponds to fol. 399a. See above, note 61.

3. a. [fol. 46a.3] (fol. 3b.3) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 46b.1] *ces zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten mtshon par chab gser srang gang la rtags 'byar// bya'i lo hor zla lnga pa'i tshes bcu gsum la brag dkar theg chen gling nas phul ba dge// manggalam//* (II: *bkra shis/* instead of *manggalam//*)
- c. Sent on the 13th day of the fifth month of a bird year (i.e. 30th or 31st May 1501?) from the Brag-dkar Theg-chen-gling monastery.
4. Copy of an official letter to the Rin-spungs-pa ruler, sent with one *srang* of gold.
5. a. GeCat: 248, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-45; TōCat: 267, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.39.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 207-212 (fols. 1a-3b).
- c. D. JACKSON (1984), 142, note 45.
- No. 274** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 46b.2-47b.3 (303b.2-304b.3); 6 lines; fol. 47a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-b.6 (pp. 213.1-214.6);<sup>135</sup> 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
1. a. *bDag chen kun dga' bsod nams la phul ba'i gsung phrin.*
2. [fol. 46b.2] (fol. 1a.1) *dpal ldan 'jam dbyangs mkhyen rabs mthar son dus mthar sprul pa'i gzugs kyi sku// ma lus 'gro ba'i mgon dang skyabs gyur dpag med 'phrin las mdzad pa can//*
3. a. [fol. 47b.2] (fol. 1b.5) *da lan rin po che gser las grub pa'i brgyad stong pa gsum* (I: *sum*) *'bigs// rgya dpe gcig dang/ rten la dngos po gya nom pa shin tu bzang ba phul lo// dge'o//* (II: *bkra shis/* instead of *dge'o//*)
4. Letter to the Sa-skyā throne holder Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams.
5. a. BG: 198; GeCat: 249, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-46; TōCat: 268, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.40.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 213-214 (fol. 1a-b).
- No. 275** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 47b.3-47\*a.5 (304b.3-304\*a.5);<sup>136</sup> 6 lines; fol. 47\*a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

<sup>135</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 402. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>136</sup> Two folios have erroneously been indicated as fol. 47 (or 304). The second fol. 47 is marked with an asterisk here.



(II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-7 (p. 215.1-7);<sup>137</sup> *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *'Di na thor bu pa 'dra yod pa la/ khams yul zil non* (II: *gnon*) *pa'i dge 'dun bzhi la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 47b.4] (fol. 1a.1) *dge ba'i bshes gnyen chos 'bar// tshul khrims rgyal mtshan/ dpal ldan rnam kyis/ chos bya lugs kyi rim pa mdor bsdu te dgos gsung ba* (I om. *ba*) *byung ba la/*
3. a. [fol. 47\*a.4] (fol. 1a.6) *zhes dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos stag lo hor zla bdun pa'i tshes nyer lnga la shel dkar gtsug rgyan du bris te phul ba'o// dge'o//* (II om. *dge'o//*)
  - c. On the 25th day of the seventh month of a tiger year (i.e. 25th August 1494 or 14th August 1506) in Shel-dkar.<sup>138</sup>
4. Letter containing religious instruction for the four monks of Zil-gnon in Khams, dGe-bshes Chos-'bar, Tshul-khrims, rGyal-mtshan, and dPal-ldan.
5. a. GeCat: 250, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-47; TōCat: 269, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.41.
  - b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 213-214 (fol. 1a-b).

**No. 276** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fol. 47\*a.6-47\*b.4 (304\*a.6-304\*b.4);<sup>139</sup> 6 lines; fol. 47\*a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).  
 (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.7-b.4 (pp. 215.7-216.4);<sup>140</sup> fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Chos rje lha dbang la skyid* (II: *bskyid*) *tshal du springs pa.*
2. [fol. 47\*a.6] (fol. 1a.7) *yon tan rin chen gser gyi lhun po las// sna tshogs 'phrin las 'od zer spros pa las//*
3. a. [fol. 47\*b.3] (fol. 1b.3) *phyugs bdag ral pa'i cod paṅ* (I: *pan*) *gyi// khur gyis 'gying* (I: *mgying*) *zhing 'gro bas kyang// dus mthar dangs grub thob min gyi// khrims kyi dam pa nyid kyis rtsol//*

<sup>137</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 403. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>138</sup> The Shel-dkar monastery was founded in 1385 by Si-tu Chos-kyi-rin-chen (d. 1402). See P. WANGDU and H. DIEMBERGER (1996), 4. According to D. JACKSON (1987), 134, Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1353-1420?) was involved in the establishment of the monastery.

<sup>139</sup> See above, note 136.

<sup>140</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 403. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

4. Letter to Chos-rje lHa-dbang-blo-gros at sKyed-tshal.<sup>141</sup>
5. a. GeCat: 251, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-48; TōCat: 270, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.42.
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 215.7-216.4 (fol. 1a.7-1b.4).
- No. 277** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 47\*b.4-48a.2 (304\*.4-305a.2)<sup>142</sup> 6 lines; fol. 48a: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).
- (II) MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1b.4-7 (pp. 216.4-7).
1. a. *'Tsho byed rgyal rdor la gdams pa.*
2. [fol. 47\*b.5] (fol. 1b.4) *'tsho byed rgyal mtshan rdo rje la 'di lta ste// 'dod yon la sred rmongs pa'i dri ma mi zad pas//*
3. a. [fol. 47\*b.6] (fol. 1b.5) *gzhung lugs ma mthogs spongs pa'i dpangs ni mi dman* [fol. 48a] *pa//*  
*da dung 'di phyir legs bshad tshol la ngoms med pa'i//*  
*'dun dang rtsol ba lhong pa med par myur skyed* (II: *bskyed*) *nas//*  
*skyugs pa'i zas dang mun pa'i mal nas lhur du longs//*  
*manggalam// bhawantu//* (II: *dge bar gyur cig// gcig zhus//* instead of *mang-galam// bhawantu//*)
4. Letter to the physician rGyal-mtshan-rdo-rje.
5. a. GeCat: 252, vol. *ga pa*; Tō: 42-689-49; TōCat: 271, vol. *cha pa*; Z. YAMAGUCHI (1970), 17, no. 2.43.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 215.7-216.4 (fol. 1a.7-1b.4).
- No. 278** MS (*gser chos*); fols. 48a.2-51b (305a.2-308b); 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); partly illegible.
1. a. *'Phags yul gyi shākya'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs mdor bsdus.*
2. [fol. 48a.2] *swa sti/ srid rgyun* [illegible] *mdzad zhing mkhyen gang// de yis legs gsungs rnam grol dam pa'i chos//*
3. a. [fol. 51a.6] *shākya'i rigs ldan skye dgu rnams kyis gnyen//*  
*mi dbang khyu mchog* [illegible] *shing pa'i gdung//*  
*mya* [fol. 51b] *ngan g.yo skyu las ldog skyu 'phrul gyis//*

<sup>141</sup> On the sKyed-tshal monastery, see above, note 49.

<sup>142</sup> See above, note 136.

*lhums su zhugs te yid 'ong blo gros mdzad//*  
*bsam gtan la phan dben pa'i [illegible]*

*[illegible] sna tshogs tshal [illegible] dam chos bdud rti yi//*  
*dgongs pa mkhyen des yum gyi sku g.yas nas//*  
*rgyal la phab tshe gnod [illegible] rgyal ba 'khrungs//*  
*mkha' las [illegible]//*

*[illegible] dag [illegible] min//*  
*[illegible] gyur te//*  
*phyogs kyi mun pa 'phrog byed nyi ma yin//*  
*'di nged rang gi dang po brtsams pa'i 'phro la las pa//*  
*manggalam/ bhawantu// dge legs 'phel//*

4. Summary of the royal genealogy of the Indian Śākya clan.  
 5. a. Tō: 42-689-50; TōCat: 272, vol. *cha pa*.

**No. 280** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b.6 (pp. 217-218.6);<sup>143</sup> 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Yid 'byung ba'i tshigs bcad.*  
 2. [fol. 1a] *a ho/ dpal ldan li khri gzhon nu'i thig phreng dang// rab 'grog nyin mor byed pa'i dpal mnga' ba//*  
 3. a. [fol. 1b.5] *de skad thog ma'i ming la ni//*  
*bde bar gshegs pa'i mgon ldan zhing//*  
*tha mar lha chen mgon ldan pas//*  
*rab 'jigs nyen nas smras pa yin//*  
 4. Verses expressing sadness and religious renunciation due to the four kinds of suffering: birth, aging, illness, and death.  
 5. a. BG: 205; GeCat: 253, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 137, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 279, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 217-218.6 (fol. 1a-b.6).

**No. 281** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1b.6-3a (pp. 218.6-221);<sup>144</sup> 7 lines; fol. 2a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

<sup>143</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 404. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>144</sup> Fols. 2a and 3a are also marked as fols. 405 and 406 respectively. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

1. a. *Tshigs bcad bcu bdun pa.*
2. [fol. 1b.6] *om swa sti/ 'chi med dbang po'i blo yi dpal 'byor dang// kun mkhyen ral pa'i gnas tsan thabs kyis min//*
3. a. [fol. 3a.2] *shes legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyis smras soll dge legs 'phell// gcig zhus//*<sup>145</sup>  
*'jam pa'i rdo rje ngur smrig zol 'dzin pa//*  
*bod 'dir sa skya paṅ chen zhes grags dell*  
*slar yang byon pa bsod nams lhun grub kyil//*  
*don bzang tshigs gcad 'di bkod thogs med pa//*
4. A work in seventeen verses.
5. a. GeCat: 254, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 280, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 218.6-221 (fols. 1b.6-3a).

**No. 282** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 223-224);<sup>146</sup> 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *sTod phyogs su gsung shog tshigs bcad ma phul ba.*
2. [fol. 1a] *rnams rgyal 'jigs med mtho ris phun tshogs rim par bkra ba'i 'ja' 'od dang// dge ba'i dpal 'bras lhun btug bkod legs mthar gyis 'bab pa'i dal 'gro'i rgyun//*
3. a. [fol. 1b.5] *ces zhu yig gzigs pa'i rten mtshon par bkra shis kha thags yug la rtags 'byar ba 'bul// zla ba gsum pa'i tshes gcig la/ bhikṣu puṅye ni rā bho ga su [read: shu?] bha ka ra dhwa dza shri bha dra/ gtsang g.yas ru rtse gdang gi phyogs las rnam rgyal nas phul/ mang ga lang//*  
 b. Bhikṣu Puṅy[a]nirābhogaśubh[ā]karadhvaśr[i]bhadra (= dGe-slong bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po).  
 c. Sent on the first day of the third month of year 1495 or 1506-08 from the Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal palace in the rTse-gdang (= rTse-gdong) monastery.<sup>147</sup>
4. Verses sent to Glo-bo in the western regions.
5. a. GeCat: 255, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 281, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 223-224 (fol. 1a-b).

<sup>145</sup> The following four verses seem to be a later addition by a different hand.

<sup>146</sup> Fol. 1a is also marked as fol. 407. The reason for this is explained above, note 61.

<sup>147</sup> Since Glo-bo mKhan-chen is known to have visited rTse-gdong only in 1495 and 1506-1508, he must have composed the work during these periods.

**No. 283** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-12a (pp. 225-247); fol. 1b: 6 lines, fols. 2a-end: 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *mDo mangs gser gyi glegs bam 'bum phrag gi/ mtshon byed rin chen ngag gi lde mig can// shing brjod sgo kra ldan pa'i snyan tshig gis// mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta dga' ba bzhugs//*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti bi dza ye/ byams pa'i thugs ni rgya chen dges pas mgul nas yang dag 'khyud gyur pa//*
3. a. [fol. 12a.5] *tshul 'di tha skad gzhung lugs du ma la// mun pa phyogs rtsal bsal ba'i me long gis// zab don bsgom pa'i skor ni ma zhugs kyang// gsung gi glegs bam smra ba'i spobs pa mtho//*  
  
*bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas mchog// rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po zhes grags pa yis// sa skyong bka' yi rol mos bkul ba ltar// rnam dag tshangs pa'i dbyangs ni lhur blangs so//*  
  
*shakya'i brtul zhugs ldan pa'i yi ge mkhan// shri wan (read: mat) kirti'i lag pa'i 'du byed kyi// legs bshad mtshon byed bkod pa'i gzhal med khang// mgyogs legs ser gyis mdzes pa'i rnam 'phrul bstan// mang ga lang// gcig zhus//*
- c. Śrīmatkīrti (dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
4. Dedicatory verses written for the golden volumes of the *mdo mangs* collection commissioned by the ruler A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (d. ca. 1496).<sup>148</sup>
5. a. BG: 216; GeCat: 256/257, vol. *ga pa*;<sup>149</sup> Mi-rigsCat1: 144, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 282, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 225-247 (fols. 1a-12a).

**No. 285** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 249-250); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Rin po che bde legs rgya mtsho'i brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag.*

<sup>148</sup> The text bears the title: *A seng rdo rje brtan pas bzhengs pa'i mdo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta* in TōCat.

<sup>149</sup> The text seems to be divided into two separate works in GeCat bearing the titles: *mDo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed* and *sNyan tshig mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta*.

2. [fol. 1a] *gang 'dir rigs kyi sa bon mchog gis nges par bskyed pa'i dpag bsam shing// dad dang brtse ba'i grib bsil rgya chen 'phongs pa'i gdung ba 'phrog byed la//*
3. a. [fol. 1b.3] *rdo rje 'chang dbang bla ma'i bden pa dang// mchog gsum rin chen bden pa'i byin brlabs dang// dpal mgon chos skyong rnams kyi len pa'i mthus// dge legs rgya mtsho rtag par gang bar smon// mang ga lang// mastu dza ya// bi dza ya ma ra sya pra marda na ye swaha// gcig zhus/ dge'o//*
4. Brief catalogue and dedicatory verses for a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* written for Glo-bo mKhan-chen's youngest brother, bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho.
5. a. BG: 217; GeCat: 258, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 145, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 284, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 249-250 (fol. 1a-b).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1984), 124, and 142, note 44.

**No. 286** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b.3 (pp. 251-252.3); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *U dum brtag gnyis kyi dkar chag.*
2. [fol. 1a] *Om swa sti siddham/ rab gsal nor bu'i mdangs kyis nyen mtshan pa'i// sna tshogs bde chen sgyu ma'i gzugs mdzes shing//*
3. a. [fol. 1b.2] *de skad smra de bsod nams ni// lhun po'i dgos su dka' thub kyil// gzugs kyi phung po grub gyur pa'i// rig byed legs pa'i 'byung gnas soll// mang ga lang//*
4. Brief catalogue and dedicatory verses for the *Hevajratantra*.
5. a. BG: 218; Mi-rigsCat1: 146, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 285, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 251-252.3 (fol. 1a-b.3).

**No. 287** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1b.3-7 (p. 252.3-7).

1. a. *Lo gsar dus shis brjod mdzad pa.*
2. [fol. 1b.3] *rnam dkar dge tshogs gangs ri'i chu rgyun ni// gang yang mkhyen pa'i dpal mnga' 'jam pa'i dpal//*
3. a. [fol. 1b.7] *rigs tshogs lha mi'i rgya mtshor gnas bcas tel// rig pa'i sgra dbyangs sgrogs pa'i phu sgra 'byin//*

*rigs dang mi rigs 'byed pa'i gdengs ka'i nor//*  
*rigs ldan lag 'gro'i dbul sel de la 'du//*

4. Benediction for a new year celebration.
5. a. GeCat: 259, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 286, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 252.3-7 (fol. 1b.3-7).

**No. 288** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 253-254); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bDag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 1a] *om swa sti siddham/ dge legs lha lam yangs par mtshon dpe'i gzugs// ngo mtshar sprul pa'i 'od ris 'bum phrag g.yo//*
3. a. [fol. 1b.7] *dkar chag yig ger bkod pa dang//*  
*sbyin bdag dge tshogs bsngo ba po//*  
*dge slong bsod nams lhun grub stel//*  
*shrī man (read: mat) ki rtis yi ger bris//*  
*gcig zhu// mang ga lang// dge'o//*
- c. Śrīmatkīrti (= dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
4. Dedicatory verses for an *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* commissioned in commemoration of the death of bDag-mo Sangs-rgyas-sgron.
5. a. BG: 219; GeCat: 260, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 147, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 287, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 253-254 (fol. 1a-b).

**No. 289** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a.1-3 (p. 255.1-3); *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Thub chen gyi 'phan la btab pa'i tshigs bcad.*
2. [fol. 1a] *'jig rten dregs ldan mi'am ci// sna tshogs 'byung po'i mun tshogs mthar mdzad cing// legs gsung gling gi snang ba rgyas mdzad pa//*
3. a. [fol. 1a.3] *rin chen 'od mdzes 'phro ba dang bcas kun skyong ba'i 'od ldan zhing// sa gsum 'di na 'di 'dra'i rtsal yang mtho ris mgon po'i dpal las gang//*
4. Verses for the hanging brocade ornament of the Thub-chen-rgyal-ba'i-pho-brang of sMon-thang (or the great Śākyamuni image [*thub chen*] of this temple?).
5. a. BG: 220; GeCat: 261, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 288, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 255.1-3 (fol. 1a.1-3).

**No. 290** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a.3-2b.3 (pp. 255.3-258.3); recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bDe legs gling pa'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 1a.4] *om swa sti siddham/ bla ma dang dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la phyag tshal lo// 'od gsal ches sku'i sprin lam rab tu yangs//*
3. a. [fol. 2b.2] *ces dkar chag gsal ba mdor bsdus pa 'di yang// dge slong bsod nams lhun grub kyis lhur bar bris te/ gtsug lag khang gi rgyan du phul ba 'o// mang ga lang//*
4. Verses written in commemoration of the building of the bDe-legs-gling-pa temple.
5. a. GeCat: 262, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 157, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 289, vol. *ja pa*.  
b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 255.3-258.3 (fols. 1a.3-2b.3).

**No. 291** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 2b.3-3a.5 (pp. 258.3-259.5); fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Ngam rings kyi byams pa'i 'phan gyi tshigs bcad.*
2. [fol. 2b.4] *om swa sti siddham/ ma pham dga' ldan gser ri phrag pa la// rtag par bzhugs nas chos kyi snang ba bgyid//*
3. a. [fol. 3a.4] *bkra shis mchog gis bden pa'i tshig grub nas//  
bkra shis rmad byung 'byor pa bla med kyil//  
bkra shis phung pos sa kun khyab gyur tel//  
bkra shis dpal la rtag par rol gyur cig//*
4. Verses for the hanging brocade ornament of the Maitreya statue of Ngam-rings.<sup>150</sup>
5. a. BG: 223; GeCat: 263, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 290, vol. *ja pa*.  
b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 258.3-259.5 (fols. 2b.3-3a.5).

**No. 292** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3a.5-7 (p. 259.5-7); *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

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<sup>150</sup> On the disagreement of the sources with regard to the date of the foundation of the Ngam-ring monastery located in North La-stod, see T. WYLIE (1962). According to D. JACKSON (1987), 134, the seminary (*chos grwa*) of the monastery was probably established in 1354 by dPon-chen Byang-ba.



1. a. *bSam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras pa'i bla ma rnams la phul ba'i gos phan gyi tshigs su bca pa.*
2. [fol. 3a.5] *gos bzang rab bkra rin chen mu tig gi//  
rgyan gyi spras 'di bla ma'i tshogs la 'bul//  
tshogs gnyis mthar phyin rgyal ba'i dbang po yi//  
sku gnyis gzi 'od 'phro ba thob par shog//  
mang ga lang//<sup>151</sup>*
4. Verse for a brocade pillar-hanging (*gos phan*) decorated with pearls, offered for the statues of *Lam 'bras* lamas of the bSam-'grub-gling monastery of Glo-bo.
5. a. BG: 224; GeCat: 264, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 291, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, p. 259.5-7 (fol. 3a.5-7).<sup>152</sup>

**No. 293** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3a.7-b.5 (pp. 259.7-260.5); fol. 3a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bDag mo thugs rje sri mnon [sic] gyis ngam rings su phul ba'i 'phan gyi dkar chag.*
2. [fol. 3a.7] *om swa sti siddham/ sa dbang grong khyer shambha la'i rtse//  
dpal ldan kā la pa'i gzhal med khang//*
3. a. [fol. 3b.5] *ma ra se na pra marda na ye swa hā// dge'o//*
4. Record with dedicatory verses for the hanging brocade ornament offered for the Ngam-rings monastery by bDag-mo Thugs-rje-sri-gnon.<sup>153</sup>
5. a. BG: 225; GeCat: 265, vol. *ga pa*, TōCat: 292, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 259.7-260.5 (fol. 3a.7-b.5).

**No. 294** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 3b.6-7 (p. 260.6-7).

1. a. *Khro phu byams pa'i 'phan gyi sho lo ka.*
2. [fol. 3b.6] *nyi ma bye ba 'bar ba'i 'od 'gyed cing//  
gser ri 'bum phrag brtsegs 'dra'i sku mnga' ba//  
mi pham chos kyi rgyal po mchod pa'i phyir//  
rab dkar 'phan gyi sprin phung mchog 'di 'bul//*

<sup>151</sup> Due to the shortness of this work, the whole text has been quoted.

<sup>152</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

<sup>153</sup> On the Ngam-rings (var. -ring) monastery, see above, note 150.

*mang ga lang// gcig zhus// bhawantu//*<sup>154</sup>

4. Verse for the hanging ornament of the Maitreya statue of Khro-phu.<sup>155</sup>
5. a. BG: 226; GeCat: 266, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 293, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, p. 260.6-7 (fol. 3b.6-7).

**No. 295** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-4a.4 (pp. 261-267.4); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bSam 'grub gling gi gser khang gi bkod pa.*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti siddham// mkhyen dang brtse ba'i yon tan ma lus pa// pha mthar son pas gdul ba'i tshogs rnam la//*
3. a. [fol. 4a.2] *mthu stobs phul byung rdo rje nag po che// dpal ldan gur gyi mgon po 'khor bcas kyis// gtsug lag bsrung zhing bstan pa rgyas pa dang// sbyin bdag 'khor bcas dge ba'i 'phrin las mdzod//*  
  
*zhing skyong stobs chen rgyal ba'i bka' bstod kyis// mi bsrung gdug pa'i dgra bgegs tshar bcad nas// sdom rtson bstan 'dzin sku tshe lhun po ltar// rab brtan bshad bsgrub brtag par gnas par mdzod// mang ga lang//*
4. Evocational description of the deities in the golden temple of the bSam-'grub-gling monastery of Glo-bo.
5. a. BG: 227; GeCat: 267, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 148, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 294, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 261-267.4 (fols. 1a-4a.4).

**No. 296** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 4a.4-6b.1 (pp. 267.4-272.1); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 4a.4] *om swa sti siddham// brgyad khri bzhi stong chos kun mkhyen pa yi// ye shes dri med dga' bzhi'i dbyug brnyes//*

<sup>154</sup> Due to the shortness of this work, the whole text has been quoted.

<sup>155</sup> The Khro-phu monastery, situated north-east of Sa-skya, was founded in the mid-12th century by Rin-po-che rGyal-tsha, a disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa. See G. DORJE (1996), 348. The great Maitreya image was consecrated by the Kashmiri Paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā in 1212. See G. Roerich (1988), 1070.

3. a. [fol. 6b.1] *dri med mig gi dga' ston can//*  
*yongs rdzogs bstan pa rgyas byed de'i//*  
*mtshon byed mtshar du dngar 'di yang//*  
*dge slong bsod nams lhun grub so//*  
*mang ga lang//*
4. Verses written in commemoration of the building of the Phun-tshogs-bsam-gtan-gling temple.
5. a. BG: 232; GeCat: 268, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 153, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 295, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 267.4-272.1 (fols. 4a.4-6b.1).

**No. 297** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 6b.2-8a (pp. 272.2-275); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *rGyal ba'i gtsug lag khang rin po che gser gyi tā la ltar 'bar zhing ches gsal ba 'di gtso bor byas pa'i lha khang so so'i lha'i grangs.*<sup>156</sup>
2. [fol. 6b.2] *sidha rastu/ 'dir rgyal ba'i gtsug lag khang rin po che gser gyi tā la ltar 'bar zhing tshes gsal ba 'di gtso bor byas pa'i lha khang so so'i lha'i grangs ni/ gser khang na bzhugs pa'i gtso bo//*
3. a. [fol. 8a.6] *bden pa gsung ba'i chos kyi char//*  
*dri med me tog sil ma yis//*  
*sa dang bar stong kun gang ltar//*  
*dge bas phyogs kun gang bar smon//*  
*bkra shis/ gcig zhus/ dge'o//*
4. List of the deities of the *lha khangs* of the rGyal-ba'i-gtsug-lag-khang (?).
5. a. TōCat: 296, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 272.2-275 (fols. 6b.2-8a).<sup>157</sup>

**No. 298** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-4a (pp. 277-283); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dKar chag rin po che'i sgron ma zhes bya ba.*

<sup>156</sup> This is the title given at the beginning of the work (fol. 6b.2). There is no separate title in small handwriting as is usually found at the beginning of works without a title page.

<sup>157</sup> The title is missing in the table of contents of this publication.

2. [fol. 1a] *om swa sti siddham// rnam dag tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho 'i byings las 'khrungs// sku bzhi 'i bang rim kun nas mtho ldan zhing//*
3. a. [fol. 4a.2] *ces shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa 'i glegs bam gzhal du med pa 'i yon tan rin po che 'i phung po 'jam bu chu bo gser las bris pa 'i bi warta shin tu rgyas shing dag pa 'phags pa byang chub sems dpa' ches 'phags kyi thugs dam dang// tshul mtshungs pa 'di 'i dkar chag don tshang ba cig bris shig ces yang dang yang du bskul ba las/ don ji lta ba bzhin du gtso bor byas nas/ bris pa 'di ni bsod nams lhun grub legs pa 'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ stag gi lo zla ba bdun pa 'i tshes gsum la/ dpal e waṃ chos ldan du bris te bskur ba 'o//*
- c. On the third day of the seventh month of a tiger year (i.e. 4th August 1494 or 23rd July 1506) in Ngor E-waṃ-chos-ldan.
4. Record of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* written in gold.
5. a. GeCat: 269, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 149, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 297, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 277-283 (fols. 1a-4a).

**No. 300** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-2a (pp. 285-287); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 1a] *om bde legs su gyur cig/ skabs gsum pa dang grub pa mi 'am ci// 'jig rten dbang phyug mkha' lding rgyal mtshan can//*
3. a. [fol. 2a.5] *ces 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'i mtshon byed 'di yang bkul ba po 'i ngor// btsun pa bsod nams lhun grub kyis bris pa 'o// swa 'i (?) bhikṣus bris//*
- d. His own scribe (?).
4. Dedicatory verses for a manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.
5. a. BG: 229?; GeCat: 271, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 298, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 285-287 (fols. 1a-2a).

**No. 302** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-2b (pp. 289-292); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bDag chen gur gum rgyal mo 'i rin po che gser gyi glegs bam bzhengs pa 'i dkar chag gi snyan ngag.*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti// rmad byung thugs bskyed rgya mtsho 'i rdul rnyed las// legs tshogs mtshan dpe 'bum gyi gzi 'od can//*

3. a. [fol. 2b.1] *ces gsung rab rin po che glegs bam du bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed  
kyi tshigs su bcad pa 'di yang// dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i  
'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos lhur bar bris pa'o//  
len byed mdor bsdus sor gdub kyil//  
me long ngos la glang chen gyil//  
gzugs brnyan 'char ba ji bzhin du//  
don mang ston pa e ma mtshar//  
bha wantu// bkra shis// gcig zhus//*
4. Verses of praise for a golden volume commissioned by bDag-chen Gur-gum-rgyal-mo.
5. a. BG: 215; GeCat: 273, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 143, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 299, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 289-292 (fols. 1a-2b).

**No. 304** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-4b (pp. 293-300); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *dPon po tshe bzang pa'i [sic] shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag  
nyi shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti siddham// was (?) bi dzā ya/ dge legs chen pos phyogs  
dus thams cad du khyab par gyur cig// rnam dag srid zhi'i dpal 'byor mtha'  
dag las//*
3. a. [fol. 4b.3] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin  
pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa/ rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed  
mdor bsdus pa 'di yang// bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal  
mtshan dpal bzang pos sbyar ba'o// mang ga lang// gcig zhus//*
4. Dedicatory verses for the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* commissioned by dPon-po Tshe-dbang-bzang-po from precious materials.<sup>158</sup>
5. a. BG: 231; GeCat: 274, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 152, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 300, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 293-300 (fols. 1a-4b).

**No. 305** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-6a (pp. 301-311); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

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<sup>158</sup> Tshe-dbang-bzang-po was the father of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507-1566) and a minister in Glo-bo. See D. JACKSON (1984), 154, note 17.

1. a. *sKyes rtsa bla mas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed.*
2. [fol. 1a] *om swa sti siddham/ rnam dag dge legs gser gyi sa gzhir gang sku'i lhun po nyer mdzes shing//*
3. a. [fol. 6a.3] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces rje btsun bla ma dam pa sa skya pa rnams kyi sku gsung thugs kyi rten rnam par dag pa bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed 'di ni/ rang gi bla ma 'gyur pa bde legs rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i dbon gyi mchog [illegible] pa kun dga' chos legs kyis/ bla ma rnams kyi thugs dgongs yongs su bskang ba'i phyir khyad par du 'phags pa'i rten rnams grub pa'i tshe bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bkod pa'i yi ge pa ni bhikṣu shrī wan (read: mat) kirtis bris so// mang ga lang// gcig zhu// bhu wantu/*
- e. Monk Śrīmatkīrti (= dPal-ldan-grags-pa).
4. Record and dedicatory verses for a *Sa skya bka' 'bum* manuscript commissioned by sKyes-rtsa Bla-ma Kun-dga'-chos-legs, the nephew of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's teacher bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.
5. a. BG: 233; GeCat: 275, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 154, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 301, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 301-311 (fols. 1a-6a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 80, note 22, and 223, note 22; D. JACKSON (1991b), 238.

**No. 307** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 1a-b (pp. 313-314); 7 lines; fol. 1a: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Slob dpon kun bzang chos dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa.*
2. [fol. 1a] *na mo buddha ya// sde pa rnams kyi dgongs yul du bzhugs shing// byin rnams kyi nges rgyu la/*
3. a. [fol. 1b.4] *'phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi thugs rje dang byin brlabs la kun gyis yid ches par mdzod cig// gcig zhu// dge bar gyur cig//*
4. Very brief versified biography (*rtogs brjod*, Skt. *avadāna*) of Slob-dpon Kun-bzang-chos-dpal.
5. a. GeCat: 276, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 303, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 313-314 (fol. 1a-b).

**No. 308** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-7a (pp. 315-327); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *'Tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mangs kyi dkar chag.*
2. [fol. 1a] *om swa sti/ thugs bskyed rgya mtsho'i 'jings zab g.yo ldan yon tan rin chen du ma'i gter//*

3. a. [fol. 7a.3] *tshul 'di tha snyad dbang phyug ngag gi ni//*  
*'phrin las grub pa legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyis//*  
*gang gis gsol ba btab ltar don ldan par//*  
*ma nor gsal ba'i ngag gis lhur bar bris//*
- lag pa'i pad mtshor sor mo'i rtsed 'phyo mkhan//*  
*yig sgros 'phur lding bsgyur ba'i chu bya dag//*  
*tshig 'di 'bri byed 'dam len ngang pa dang//*  
*ji bzhin mtshungs par brjod pa ma lags sam//*  
*mang ga lang// gcig zhus//*
4. Record and dedicatory verses for the *mdo mangs* collection written for the physician (*'tsho byed*) Sangs-rgyas-skyabs-pa.
5. a. BG: 235; GeCat: 277, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 156, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 305, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 315-327 (fols. 1a-7a).

**No. 309** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-3a (pp. 343-347); recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *brGya tog gser gsum nang so dpal srungs kyi bzhengs pa'i dkar chags.*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti siddham/ dus gsum gyi rgyal ba sras dang slob mar bcas pa thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo// dpal ldan gang gi mkhyen brtse yi//*
3. a. [fol. 3a.4] ... [concluding verses omitted] *ces brgya tog gser gsum gyi glegs bam nang gnyer chen po dpal bsrungs kyi rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed 'di yang// dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos sbyar ba 'o// mang ga lang// gcig zhus// dge bar gyur cig/*
4. Record and dedicatory verses for a manuscript of the three *sūtras* *rGya nag skag zlog*, *mDo sde za ma tog*, and *gSer 'od dam po* commissioned by Nang-so dPal-srungs.
5. a. BG: 236; Mi-rigsCat1: 158, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 306, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 343-347 (fols. 1a-3b).

**No. 310** MS (*dbu med*); fols. 1a-7a.3 (pp. 329-341.3); 7 lines; recto: *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *bKa' 'bum kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron ma.*
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti/ bla ma rgyal ba sras dang slob mar bcas pa'i zhabs kyi padmor gus par phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi 'o// byin kyis slab tu gsoll*

3. a. [fol. 6b.6] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 7a.1] *ces pa'i gsung rab rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed 'di yang// mi'i dbang po brtan pa'i rgya mtsho yab yum gyi bka' lung gis bskul ba ltar/ dge slong bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos/ phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa'o//*  
*rig 'dzin bla ma blo gros dpal mgon dang//*  
*rab 'byam smra ba bsod nams dpal ldan tel//*  
*mdo dang sngags kyi dag byed rnams gnyis kyis//*  
*bka' bcad gsar rnying brda rnams dag par bgyis//*
- d. Glo-bo mKhan-chen's nephew, the ruler of Glo-bo brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho, and his consort.
4. Record and dedicatory verses for a *bka' 'bum* (?), corrected by Rig-'dzin Blo-gros-dpal-mgon and Rab-'byams bSod-nams-dpal-ldan.
5. a. GeCat: 278, vol. *ga pa*; TōCat: 307, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 329-341.3 (fols. 1a-7a.3).  
 c. D. JACKSON (1984), 11, note 34, 125, and 142, notes 52-54.

**No. 311** MS (*dbu med*); fol. 7a.3-7 (p. 341.3-7); *ga* (vol. *ga* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works).

1. a. *Lo gsar dus kyi bkra shis kyi tshigs bcad.*
2. [fol. 7a.3] *rnam dkar dge tshogs gangs ri'i chu rgyun ni// gang yang mkhyen pa'i spyang mnga' 'jam pa'i dpal// gang thugs brtse bas spel legs 'jig rten mgon//*
3. a. [fol. 7a.6] *rigs tshogs lha mi rgya mtshor gnas bcas tel//*  
*rig pa'i sgra dbyangs bye ba'i phu sgra 'dzin//*  
*rigs dang mi rigs 'byed pa'i gdongs ka'i nor//*  
*rigs ldan lag 'gro'i dbul sel de la 'dud//*  
*bkra shis// gcig zhu// dge bar gyur cig//*
4. Versified benediction for New Year.
5. a. BG: 237; GeCat: 279, vol. *ga pa*; Mi-rigsCat1: 161, vol. *ga*; TōCat: 308, vol. *ja pa*.  
 b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 341.3-7 (fol. 7a.3-7).

**No. 314** Xylograph; fols. 1a-15a (pp. 67-95); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 15a: *mkhan chen gsung dgongs gsal 'chad thabs*; two inscriptions and illustrations on fol. 1b: *mu stegs rgol ba bzlog mdzad pa// mkhas pa'i gtsug gtor sa skya pa//* identifying Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan in the left



margin and *mdo sngags bstan pa'i gsal byed che// glo bo mkhan chen legs 'byungs zhabs/* identifying Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas in the right margin.

1. a. *Thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan.*  
c. *dGongs gsal 'chad thabs* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] *om swa sti siddham/ thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan zhes bya ba/ bla ma dang gnyis su med pa 'jam dbyangs mi yig gzugs 'dzin rje btsun sa skya pa rnams kyi zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// byin gyis brlab tu gsoll bstan bcos thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba 'di la don gnyis tel*
3. a. [fol. 14b.5] ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 15a.2] *ces pa 'di yang rje btsun sa skya pa'i gdung rgyud dam pa rnams rim par byon pa'i sa cha/ rtse gdong dpal gyi pho brang phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i khyams su chos kyi rje sa skya paṅḍi ta chen po'i gsung rab kyi cha shas tsam la'ang dad pa dang spro ba lhur len pa'i btsun pa bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos rje btsun sa skya pa'i gdung rgyud dam pa rnams kyi bka' lung spyi bor blangs tel/ yos bu'i lo zla ba gsum pa'i nyer lnga la legs par bris pa'o//<sup>159</sup>*  
*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//*  
*dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//*  
*des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//*  
*bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*  
  
*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//*  
*bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//*  
*bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//*  
*bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*  
  
*byang phyogs skyong ba'i skyob pa mchog gyur pa//*  
*mkhas grub rgya mtshos yongs su gang ba'i gnas//*  
*gangs ri'i khrod 'dir bstan pa gsal mdzad pa//*  
*sa skya pa yi bstan pa rgyas gyur cig//*  
*mangga lam// dge'o/ dge'o/ dge'o//*
- c. On the twenty-fifth day of the third month of a hare year (i.e. on 20th April 1495 or 6th April 1507) in the courtyard of the Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal palace of the rTse-gdong monastery.

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<sup>159</sup> See above, note 16.

4. A “teaching aid” (*'chad thabs*) for Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*.
5. a. BG: 171; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 2; GeCat: 282, vol. *nga pa*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 88, no. 000559.2; Mi-rigsCat1: 96, vol. *kha*; TōCat: 309, vol. *ja pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, vol. 1, 67-95 (fols. 1a-15a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1987), 221-23, note 20.
- No. 315** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-112b; fol. 1b: 5 lines, fols. 2a-end: 6 lines; recto: *cha* (vol. *cha* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); partly illegible.
- (II) Xylograph; fols. 1a-78a (pp. 97-251); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 78a: *mkhan chen gsung dgongs gsal mdo sbyor*.
1. a. (I) [illegible]  
(II) *Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter*.
- b. (I) *Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter*.
- c. (II) *dGongs gsal mdo sbyor* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] (fol. 1b) *rgya gar skad du/ mu ni ma ta pra kā shā nā ma* (II: *nā ma* missing) *sha stra su tra ni rti sha* (II: *bi bha ṣi ta ratna ni dhī nā ma* instead of *ni rti sha*) *bod skad dul thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba ces bya* (II: *ba ces bya* missing) *ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba/ bla ma dang gnyis su med pa 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa* (I: *rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba/ bla ma dang gnyis su med pa 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa* illegible) *la phyag 'tshal lo/ gang sku 'od chags mtshon yangs 'bar ba'i li khri gsar pa'i mdangs 'dzin zhing/*
3. a. [fol. 111a.5] (77a.6) ... [concluding verses omitted] [fol. 112a.5] (78a.3) *ces thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba 'di ni/ mkhyen rab gyi dbang phyug sa skya paṇḍi ta'i gsung rab la shes nas dad pa thob pa'i dge slong bsod* [fol. 112b] *nams kyi ming can legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyi rang gi dran pa gso ba dang/ gzhan gyis mthong na don yod par bya ba'i phyir rnam par bshad pa yin no// dbang phyug rgyal mtshan gyi[s] ri mo [b]gyis so// maṃ ga lam// gcig zhus//* (II: *dbang phyug rgyal mtshan gyi[s] ri mo [b]gyis so// maṃ ga lam// gcig zhus//* missing)<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> See above, note 16.

'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//  
 dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//  
 des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//  
 bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//

'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
 bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
 bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
 bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//

dge'o// dge'o// dge'o//

- c. (I) dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>161</sup>
4. A collection of *sūtra* quotations that are meant to supplement the contents of Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*.
5. a. BG: 172; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 3; KA: 68 (?), vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 88, no. 000559.3; Tō: 42-684; TōCat: 198, vol. *cha pa*.<sup>162</sup>
- b. (II) In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa*, 97-251 (fols. 1a-78a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1983b), 4f., and D. JACKSON (1987), 221, note 20.

**No. 317** Xylograph; fols. 1a-57a (pp. 209-321); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2b-end: 6 lines; verso and fol. 57a: *mkhan chen gsung sdom gsum dris lan*.

1. a. *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan*.
- c. *sDom gsum dris lan* (verso).
2. [fol. 1b] *swa sti siddham/ sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan zhes bya ba/ bla ma dang gnyis su med pa mgon po 'jam dpal dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// bdag sogs sems can thams cad thugs brtse ba chen pos rjes su bzung ste byin gyis brlab tu gsol/ re zhig dang por bstan bcos mdzad pa po'i yon tan ji lta ba bzhin du brjod pa ...*
3. a. [fol. 56b.6] *zhes pa'i tho* [fol. 57a] *yig tsam lung du bris pa 'di yang mkhyen rab dang thugs rje tshad med pa'i mnga' bdag rje btsun rdo rje 'chang chen po kun dga' dbang phyug gi gsung las skyes pa dge slong bsod nams lhun*

<sup>161</sup> dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan is probably identical to the person that was the addressee of one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's letters. See above, no. 266.

<sup>162</sup> Although the title of the present work is missing in GeCat, the work is included in the set from Gelung microfilmed by the NGMPP. It is located in vol. *nga* following the *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* commentary described above, no. 314.

*grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la/ gzhung lugs rab  
'byams smra ba'i bshes gnyen dam pa nor bu phun tshogs kyi zhal snga nas  
khyod kyis sdom pa gsum gyi dri ba 'di la lan du 'gyur ba zhig bskur dgos so  
zhes gnang byung ltar rang gi mthong tshod kyi khungs rnams legs par bris  
te gsal bar byas pa'o//*

*gang zhig sbrul gyi mgrin par ni//  
'o ma'i thigs pa lhung ba ltar//  
nges par dug gi du ba dang//  
phu sgra'i rlung chen ma g.yo zhig//*

*yi ge pa ni rim gnyis kyi//  
ting nge 'dzin la lhur byed pa//  
bstan bcos mdzad pa gang de yi//  
mtshan gyi rnam par bzung de'o/  
mangga lam bha wantu shu bham//<sup>163</sup>*

*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//  
dge ba'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//  
des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//  
bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*

*'gro ba'i sdug bsngal sman gcig pu//  
bde ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gnas//  
bstan pa rnyed dang bkur sti dang//  
bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig//*

*dge'o/ dge'o/ dge'o//*

c.<sup>164</sup>

d. The noble religious scholar Nor-bu-phun-tshogs.<sup>165</sup>

e. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See above, note 16.

<sup>164</sup> No year of composition is given in the colophon, but according to D. JACKSON (1991b), 236, this work was written after Go-rams-pa's death in 1489.

<sup>165</sup> Perhaps this person is identical to the religious master (*chos rje*) Nor-bu, who was the addressee of one of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's letters. See above, no. 271.

<sup>166</sup> The name of the scribe is not explicitly mentioned, but on fol. 57a.3 Glo-bo mKhan-chen indicates his name by referring to him as "the one who bears the name of the [man] who wrote the treatise (i.e. Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan)" (*bstan bcos mdzad pa gang de yi mtshan gyi rnam par bzung de'o/*), which leads us to identify him as Kun-dga'-rgyal-

4. Reply to Shākya-mchog-ldan's questions (and probably also his own answer) regarding Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*.<sup>167</sup>
5. a. BG: 246; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 9; GeCat: 284, vol. *nga pa*; KA: 9, vol. *ka*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.4; TōCat: 178, vol. *ga pa*.
- b. In: GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *rGyud sde spyi*, 209-321 (fols. 1a-57a).
- c. D. JACKSON (1983b), 19; D. JACKSON (1991b), 235-237, 241, and 250.<sup>168</sup>
- No. 320** (I) MS (*gser chos*); fols. 1a-303a; fols. 1b-2a: 5 lines, fols. 2b-302a: 6 lines, fols. 302b-303a: 5 lines; recto: *nya* (vol. *nya* of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works); partly illegible.
- (II) Xylograph; fols. 1a-204a (pp. 1-407); fols. 1b-2a: 4 lines, fols. 2a-end: 6 lines; verso: *mkhan chen gsung mkhas 'jug rnam bshad*.
1. a. (I) *mKhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed*.  
(II) *mKhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo yi rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed 'phrul gyi me long*.
- c. (II) *mKhas 'jug rnam bshad* (verso).
2. (I) [fol. 1b] *na mo gu ra we/ bla ma dang rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs tha mi dad pa'i zhabs kyi pad mo la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos dus thams cad [illegible] dpal ldan mkhas pa'i yid bzhin mtshor//*
- (II) (fol. 1b) *na mo gu ra we/ mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo yi rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed 'phrul gyi me long zhes bya ba/ dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ngo bo bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi zhabs kyi padmo la gus pas phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o// brtse ba chen pos dus thams cad du rjes su bzung du gsol// legs par bshad pa'i rba rlabs phreng bas mu med shes bya'i phyogs kun khyab pa'i dpal ldan mkhas pa'i yid bzhin mtshor//*

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mtshan, who, moreover, is also known as the scribe of other works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen. See above, no. 217 and below, no. 320.

<sup>167</sup> Shākya-mchog-ldan's questions are included in his Collected Works (*sDom gsum rab dbye la dri ba legs pa*, Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 17, pp. 448-462 [fols. 23b-30b]). Shākya-mchog-ldan's own answer, the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gnam rnam par nges pa legs bshad gser gyi thur ma*, is found in his Collected Works, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, pp. 439-647 (fols. 1a-105a). See D. JACKSON (1991b), 235f., note 11.

<sup>168</sup> This text is also mentioned in a Tibetan work, namely in NGAG-DBANG-CHOS-GRAGS, 259.4 (fol. 131a.4). See D. JACKSON (1983b), 19.

3. a. [fol. 300b.3] (202b.5) 'dir smras pa/  
*mkhyen rab mthar son 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis ni//  
 sku gsung thugs kyi rdo rje gsum 'dzin pa//  
 dus 'dir dpal ldan sa skya'i paṅ chen zhes//  
 grags pa'i 'od dkar 'dzin pa gang der 'dud//*
- mkhas mang 'jug pa'i legs par bshad pa'i sgo//  
 mtha' yas shes bya'i lam kun gsal byed pa//  
 gnas lnga mkhyen pa kun gyi bgrod pa'i shul//  
 gang 'di rig gnas rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs yin//*
- thub dbang mkhyen pa so sor rig pa dang//  
 (203a) mi 'jigs bzhi la dbang 'byor ye shes ni//  
 gzhung lugs 'di yi mthar phyin 'bras bu stel//  
 ji snyed gzig pa chos kun gsal ba yin//*
- rtsom 'chad rtsod pa nyi ma'i 'od zer gyis//  
 'phags yul mkhas rnams dges pa padmo'i gnyen//  
 [fol. 301a] kha ba can 'dir gnas gsum chu shel gyi//  
 'od dkar ku mud rgyas pa gzhan yod min//*
- rig gnas 'jug sgo gsum dang tshig re yang//  
 mkhas rnams mkhyen pa'i 'jug sgor shes byas nas//  
 thams cad mkhyen pa'i grong du legs bgrod pa'i//  
 legs bshad 'di ni mkhas mang kun gyi tshul//*
- shes bya'i chos kun gzig pa 'phags pa'i gsung//  
 byis blo rmongs pa'i spyod yul min mod kyi//  
 gzhung mang thos dang mthong ba mi dman phyir//  
 log pa'i skyon gsum ldan pa'i skabs yod min//*
- legs par bshad pa rtsom pa'i tshul 'di ni//  
 lha rigs mi yi dbang po'i cod pan du//  
 zhabs sen chu shel 'od dkar spro ba can//  
 phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i gsung gi khur//*
- spyi bor blangs kyang ring du ma grub (II: 'grub) pa//  
 snyigs dus kla klo'i nyer 'tshes rkyen byas tel//  
 rnam mang thos pa'i bag chags bsos gdab phyir//  
 lhag bsam dkar ba'i yid kyis gsal bar bkod//*

*de dge las byung rnam par dkar ba ni//  
 ston zla bye ba dang mtshungs rab gsal des//  
 sa gsum mi shes mun pa kun bsal te//  
 ji snyed shes [fol. 301b] bya gzigs pa'i gnas thob shog//*

*ces mi 'phrogs pa'i mkhyen rab mnga' ba'i bdag nyid chen po/ dpal ldan sa  
 skya paṇḍi ta'i gzhung lugs chen po mkhas pa rnam 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya  
 ba'i bstan (203b) bcos 'di la/ bla ma chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che'i  
 gsung gi sgras mchan bur btab pa phran tshags tsam dang/ lho pa kun khyen  
 rin chen dpal gyis dag ldan grub mtha'i gsal byed du le'u gsum pa'i phyi  
 nang gi grub mtha'i gsal byed cung zad (II: zad tsam) byas pa ma gtogs  
 rnam bshad du byas pa zhin tu bkod pa sngar mi 'dug pas/ rnam bshad du  
 byas pa'i rtsom (II: brtsom) pa zhig ci nas kyang byed dgos so zhes/ zhang  
 zhung gu ge'i chos rgyal rnam kyi gtsug rgyan du gyur pa rnam rgyal dpal  
 bzang po'i bka' gnang ba ltar dang du blangs shing/ rang gis kyang gzhung  
 lugs 'di la nye bar mkho ba'i 'phags pa'i yul gyi bstan bcos tshad ldan  
 rnam dang/ bla ma chos kyi rje'i gsung rab mtha' dag la zhib tu dpyad cing  
 gtan la phabs te/ dgongs pa gang longs (II: langs) su bshad la/ sgra'i bstan  
 bcos [fol. 302a] rnam kyi don bdag nyid kyis dpyis phyin pa mi shes kyang/  
 mkhan po kha che paṇ chen dang/ dpang lo chen po blo gros brtan pa dang/  
 snar thang lo tsā (I: tstsha) ba sam gha shrī dang/ sa bzang lo tsā (I: tstsha)  
 ba ngag gi dbang phyug grags pa rnam kyis legs par bshad pa'i cha cung  
 zad blangs shing/ khyad par zhwa lu lo tsā (I: tstsha) ba chos skyong bzang  
 po la gzhung lugs 'di'i (II: di'i sgra'i) skabs rnam la gsal byed du 'gyur  
 ba'i dka' 'grel gnang bar zhu zhes<sup>169</sup> springs nas/ lo chen gyis kyang gnang  
 byung ba rnam skabs dang sbyar te bkod pa yin la/ tshig don gzhan rnam  
 ni rang gi blo'i nus pa gang yod kyis lhag bsam rnam par dkar ba lhur  
 blangs te bris pa yin pas thugs gzu bor gnas pa'i skyes bu dam pa rnam  
 [fol. 302b] kyis de ltar dgongs su gsol//*

*zhes zhus pa 'di ni snyigs ma'i dus kyi rdo rje 'chang chen po kun dga'  
 dbang phyug gi zhabs kyis (II: kyi) padmar (II: padmor gus par) gtugs shing/  
 sdom pa (204a) gsum gyi bka' drin mnos te/ rje btsun sa skya pa rnam kyi  
 gsung rab la shes nas dad pa thob cing/ de dag gi gsung rab phyogs mtha'  
 dag nas dar rgyas su gyur na ci ma rung snyam pa'i bsam pa can gshen bon  
 sa (II: pa) gnam gyi btsun pa bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas  
 rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos thub bstan dar rgyas gling gi chos sder bris*

<sup>169</sup> The last three lines of fol. 302a of (I) are illegible on the copy available to me due to a mistake in reproduction.

*shing/ glo bo lo tsā ba* [fol. 303a] *chen po shes rab rin chen dang/ rje btsun sa skya* (II: *skya pa*) *chen po 'i dngos kyi slob ma ro bsgom gyis kyang bzhugs par grags pa 'i gnas chen bsam 'grub gling gi dgon par thams cad 'dul gyi lo la legs par bris pa 'o//*

*yi ge pa ni mang thos shing//*

*sdom pa gsum gyis rgyud sbyangs la//*

*rig pa 'dzin pa 'i brtul zhugs mchog//*

*kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po//*

[illegible] *ni ro dha e waṃ bā dī mahā shra ma ṇaḥ// //gcig [illegible] te zhus// maṃ ga laṃ bha ba tu//* (II: [illegible] *ni ro dha e waṃ bā dī mahā shra ma ṇaḥ// //gcig [illegible] te zhus// maṃ ga laṃ bha ba tu//* missing)<sup>170</sup>

*'di bsgrubs pa las byung ba yi//*

*dge ba 'i rtsa ba gang thob pa//*

*des ni skye bo thams cad kyis//*

*bde gshegs shes rab thob par shog//*

*'gro ba 'i sdugs bsngal sman gcig pu//*

*bde ba thams cad 'byung ba 'i gnas//*

*bstan pa rnyed dang bskur sti dang//*

*bcas te yun ring gnas gyur cig// dge'o// dge'o// dge'o//*

- b. Monk of gShen-bon-sa-gnam<sup>171</sup> bSod-nams-lhun-grub-legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.
  - c. 1527 (*thams cad 'dul gyi lo* = fire-pig year) in bSam-grub-gling.<sup>172</sup>
  - d. rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the religious preceptor of the king of Gu-ge.<sup>173</sup>
  - e. Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.
4. Commentary on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *mKhas pa rnams 'jug pa 'i sgo*.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>170</sup> See above, note 16.

<sup>171</sup> On this clan, see above, 1.1.2.

<sup>172</sup> As Glo-bo mKhan-chen states in the colophon (fols. 301a and 302b), he began this work at the Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling monastery, but was disturbed and prevented from completing it by what appears to have been attacks by Turkic Moslems (*kla klo*). See D. JACKSON (1987), 212 and 220, note 15.

<sup>173</sup> rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po was also the addressee of two of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's letters. See above, nos. 205-206 and note 36. See also D. JACKSON (1987), 212 and 220, note 14.

<sup>174</sup> Fols. 2b.3-44a.4 of this work contain a biography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita. See D. JACKSON (1987), 21.



5. a. BG: 247; BKRA-SHIS-RDO-RJE: 10; GeCat: 287, vol. *nga pa*; KA: 85, vol. *nga*; Mi-rigsCat, p. 89, no. 000560.5; Tō: 43-693; TōCat: 310, vol. *nya pa*.
- b. (II) GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *mKhas pa rnam* 'jug.
- c. D. JACKSON (1976/77), 52, note 29; D. JACKSON (1983b), 6f.; D. JACKSON (1984), 110f., 136, note 2 and 7; D. JACKSON (1987), 212-215, 528-545, *et passim*; <sup>175</sup> D. JACKSON (1991b), 238-240; D. JACKSON (1996), 85, note 143; L. VAN DER KUIJP (1983), 257, note 7, and 307, note 309.

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<sup>175</sup> D. Jackson gives a detailed subject outline of the work in *ibid.*, 528-545.



## Appendices



## APPENDIX A

### A Composite List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works

The arrangement of the following composite list is primarily based on GeCat and has been supplemented by additional works occurring in the other lists. Those texts that could not be clearly identified are attached at the end of the present list. The individual titles represent the most complete titles that could be found in any catalogue. If two very different titles are used for one and the same work, the alternative is given in parentheses. Important variants for parts of the title are enclosed in parentheses, the beginning of the expression in question being marked by an asterisk. Smaller differences are not mentioned explicitly, since they are obvious from the separate lists of the catalogues given below and by D. Jackson.<sup>1</sup>

1. rJe nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma (= rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho = rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan)
2. rJe nyid kyi bstod pa mkhyen brtse ma gcig
3. rNal 'byor dbang phyug la rnam 'gyur drug gi sgo nas bstod pa
4. bSam 'grub gling gi gzim khang gi logs ris kyi \*lha tshogs (var. bla ma'i sku) rnams la bstod pa mdzad pa
5. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa bsgrub mtha' shan 'byed cung cad dang bcas pa dge legs rol pa'i chu gter
6. Lam 'bras kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rims pa mthong ba don ldan
7. rJe btsun sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po la bstod pa yon tan gyi khyad par bco lnga'i sgo nas bsngags pa
8. rJe btsun bsod nams rtse mo la thun mong gi yon tan gyi tshul 'ga' zhig mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa
9. Yang rje btsun sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa mtshan gyi phreng ba rnam par spel ba
10. Yang rje btsun rtse mo la thun mong min pa'i yon tan gyi sgo nas bstod pa
11. rJe btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa mtshan rin po che'i phreng ba
12. Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa dam pa bzhi ldan
13. Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita bstod pa phan mdzad ma
14. Chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che la bstod pa

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<sup>1</sup> Appendices B, C, and D and D. JACKSON (1987), 546-565.

15. rGyal ba kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa rin po che'i sgron ma
16. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dus gsum ma (= rGyal tshab dam pa la bstod pa tshan pa gsum)
17. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la gcig las 'phros pa'i bstod pa
18. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa gsang ba'i sgo 'byed
19. Yang de (= rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug) la bstod pa rab mdzes gser ri ma
20. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dpag yas ma
21. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug bstod pa dge tshogs ma
22. 'Jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho la bstod pa dad pa'i shing rta
23. Go bo rab 'byams pa la bstod pa dad ldan ma (= Kun mkhyen la bstod pa)
24. Chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel ba la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rigs bdag ma
25. De'i (= Chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel gyi) rnam thar bstod tshig ngo mtshar 'phreng ba
26. Chos kyi rje paṇḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa dge legs rgya mtsho
27. Chos kyi rje paṇ chen [grags pa rgyal mtshan] la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma
28. De (= Chos kyi rje paṇḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan) la bstod pa dngos grub ma lus ma
29. rDo rje phur pa'i bdud rtsi mchod pa'i bla ma brgyud rim
30. Byang chub sems dpa' yon tan chos rgyal la bstod pa phan bde kun 'byung ma
31. Chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang po la bstod pa zab rgyas ma (= Rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma)
32. Yang de (= chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang) la gsol 'debs dge legs yon tan ma
33. Chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rab dkar ma
34. Yang de (= chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan) la bstod pa shin tu rnam dag ma
35. Yang chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan bstod pa bkra shis kyi grangs spel ma
36. rNal 'byor dbang phyug dge legs rgyal mtshan la bstod pa phan bde'i pad tshal
37. Bla ma (var. bShes gnyen dam pa) rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa mkhyen rab ma
38. Mus pa chos rje thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa byams pa'i sprin phung ma
39. Bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa
40. 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams [grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po] la bstod pa zab yangs ma
41. Chos rje dbang phyug grub pa la bstod pa gzhung lugs ma
42. Chos rje lha mchog seng ge la bstod pa lhag pa'i lha mchog ma
43. dBu mdzad \*ngag dbang (vars. dga' ba, gang ba) bzang po la bstod pa
44. bDag chen kun dga' rnam rgyal sde'i sku bstod

45. Bla ma kun dga' chos legs la bstod pa
46. Bla ma tshul khirms dpal la bstod pa
47. mKhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs kyi bstod pa
48. Chos rje mgon po dbang phyug la bstod pa
49. Rab 'byams pa rgyal mtshan rin chen la bstod pa
50. Bla ma tshul rgyal la bstod pa
51. 'Khor lo bde mchog gi lha tshogs la bstod pa nges don bcud kyi snying po
52. sGrub thabs brgya rtsa'i lha tshogs rnams kyi bstod pa rin po che'i tshom
53. Thub pa'i dbang po skyes pa'i rabs kyi phreng ba'i tshigs su bcad pa me tog gi phur ma
54. Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma dkar mo la bstod pa rgyan gyi phreng ba
55. dPon btsun dkon mchog grags pa la bstod pa
56. sKyid grong jo bo'i bstod pa
57. Srid mtsho ma
58. Lus can ma
59. dGa' ba (var. sGa) gdong \*gi rab 'byams pa (var. byams chen) la bstod pa
60. Khro phu'i byams pa la bstod pa
61. 'Phags ma sgrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya
62. rJe btsun sgrol ma la bstod pa bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun
63. 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa 'dod pa'i 'bras bu \*rtsol (var. stsol) ba
64. 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa thugs rje rgyun ldan ma
65. 'Phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa dus gsum rgyal ba ma
66. 'Phags ma sgrol ma'i bstod pa dus gsum sangs rgyas ma
67. Yang de (= 'phags ma sgrol ma) la bstod pa 'o mtsho ma
68. sGrol ma'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa'i don mthun bstod pa (= mTshan brgya rtsa brgyad kyi bsdus don)
69. Yang gsol ba 'debs pa 'dod don ma ('Dod don gsol gtab)
70. Yang gsol 'debs ngo mtshar ma (= [sGrol ma'i] bstod pa)
71. rTsa rgyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog phreng ba
72. Kye rdo rje \*mtshan (var. mtshon) cha can gtso 'khor rnams kyi bstod pa rgyud nas \*phyung (var. byung) ba mdzad pa
73. Kye rdo rje bcu bdun ma'i sngags 'phreng bu \*krig (var. ṭik) las mchan bur btab pa
74. Gaṇḍi'i bstod pa slob dpon rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa las tshig gi sdebs legs su mdzad pa
75. gZhan gyi snyan ngag gi dpal rnam par 'phrog pa'i tshig don rnam par bkra ba
76. E waṃ gyi bkod pa la bstod pa theg chen sgra dbyangs

77. E waṃ chos ldan gyi gtsug lag khang na bzhugs pa'i zhing khams kyi gtso bo rnam kyi bstod pa
78. Chos zom gyi gtsug lag khang gi logs ris kyi gtso bo rnam bstod pa mdzad pa
79. dPal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstod pa [mdzad pa] dpal ldan srid gsum ma
80. bSam 'grub gling 'du khang rab gnas dus mdzad pa (= Yang de [= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po?]) la bstod pa rab brjid ma)
81. dPal gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa mdzad pa (= Yang de [= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po]) la bstod pa dbang sngon lhun brtsegs ma)
82. dPal gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa rnam dag ma (= Yang de [= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po]) la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rnam dag ma = sGo rum gyi mngon po'i bstod pa)
83. dPal ldan lha mo la bstod pa
84. rNam sras kyi bstod pa
85. rDo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i thugs dam thang ka lam 'bras [bu dang bcas pa'i] bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnam kyi 'bris yig
86. Bla ma rdo rje 'chang (var. rJe btsun) kun dga' dbang phyug pa'i thugs dam thang ka mgon po'i bri yig (= rGyal tshab dam pa'i thugs dam bris yig)
87. rJe btsun sa skya pa chen po'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul
88. rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi (var. Bla ma'i) rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba (= rGyal tshab dam pa'i rnam thar)
89. rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po (var. Kun mkhyen) bsod nams sengge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer
90. Chos kyi rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung
91. Bla ma [rin po che] dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam par thar pa
92. Grub thob chen po yon tan dpal dang la \*tu ba (var. ru pa) bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar
93. sKyid grong jo bo'i rnam thar dri med snang ba
94. Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul
95. Lam 'bras kyi gsung rgyun zin bris
96. Yan lag lnga sbyong gi zin bris
97. Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi ngag 'don
98. Kye rdor dpa' gcig gi mngon rtogs las dang po pa'i don du mdzad pa (= Kye [var. kyai] rdo rje'i mngon rtogs bsodus pa)
99. dPal kye rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag drug pa'i dka' ba'i gnas mdor bsodus pa



100. rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed zab don nyin mor byed pa'i snang ba (= Slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer)
101. mNgon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing gi gsal byed \*zab don bcud kyi snying po (var. rin chen sgron me)
102. 'Og min (var. ma'i) stug po bkod pa'i rgyan (= sPyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan)
103. rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i tho yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa
104. Dag ldan gleng gzhi'i gnod sbyin kha pa ra'i (var. Kha sar pa ṅa'i) \*lo rgyus (var. lam dus) kyi gsal byed
105. Chos sna so dgu'i grangs 'dren tshul
106. rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsungs rgyun (= rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon 'gro'i bshad pa kun spyod 'chad thabs)
107. rGyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me
108. rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i [dkyil 'khor gyi] bkra shis
109. sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par \*\*byed (var. bshad) pa zhib mor rnam 'thag
110. sGrub thabs padma'i snying po zhes bya ba ku ru ku lli'o (= Ku ru kulle'i sgrub thabs padmo'i snying po = Ku ru ku le lha lnga'i sgrub dkyil)
111. dKyiil 'khor gyi cho ga rin po che padma rā ga'i gter
112. rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs
113. Nā ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi phyag len (var. cho ga)
114. Drag po sgröl dbang gi tho
115. rNal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs
116. dPal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcaḍ
117. Ma hā ma ya'i sa bcaḍ bsdus don
118. rTog pa bdun pa'i bsdus don nyung ngu rab gsal (= 'Jigs byed gzhuḅg rtogs bdun gyi bsdus don)
119. rNam par rgyal (var. rNal 'byor) ma'i rtogs pa che ba'i bsdus don
120. Lwa wa (var. Lā ba) pa'i bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho (= bDe mchog lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho)
121. Bong bu'i zhal gyi dbang gi skabs su gsung ba'i tho (= Bong zhal can)
122. dGra gdong gi dbang gi tho [yig]
123. dPal phyag na rdo rje 'khor lo chen po'i dbang gi tho [yig]
124. gShin rje dgra nag gi dbang gi tho yig
125. bsTan bcos sdom pa gsum gyi gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa nor bu chu shel
126. bCom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed bcu bdun ma'i dbang gi tho yig

127. 'Jam dpal gyi sngags mchan bu dang bcas pa
128. Gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bo bcu'i gtor 'bul 'khor lo'i \*bsgrubs (var. bris) tshul dang bcas pa (= rDo rje gur las gsungs pa'i khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang bya tshul)
129. mChod rten bsgrub pa'i tho
130. Kye rdor nag po lugs kyi dbang gi tho yig
131. gNyan (var. sNyan) sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon par rtogs pa
132. rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg
133. rTa mgrin gyi gtor \*ma (var. chog, 'bul)
134. Kye rdor \*gyi (var. zhi ba'i) sbyin sreg gi tho
135. Ri (var. Re) ma ti'i mchod gtor
136. gShin rje'i gshed dgra nag po dpa' gcig mngon rtogs
137. Phag mo zhal gnyis ma'i bsrung 'khor shin tu zab pa
138. Pu ta ming sring gsum gyi rjes gnang gi tho yig rje'i zhal mnga' nas mdzad pa
139. 'Phags pa mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang byed tshul
140. Yang mi g.yo ba'i \*sgom thabs (var. bsgom bzlas)
141. Sha ba ri'i rjes gnang byed tshul
142. Tshe dbang dang gza' mchog gi tho yig (= gZa' yum)
143. 'Dod rgyal gyi sgom bzlas byed tshul
144. 'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung ba dang bzlog pa'i 'khor lo
145. 'Phags pa za ma tog bkod pa'i snying po las btus pa theg chen lam gyi snying po
146. dPal gur gyi mgon po'i mngon rtogs
147. gTor 'bul brgya rtsa \*'bul (var. byed) tshul
148. dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gnang ba'i mgon po'i bsnyen thabs
149. 'Phags pa spyen ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs
150. Khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
151. 'Phags pa spyen ras gzigs kyi sgom zlas (= sPyan ras gzigs kyi bsgom thabs chung ba)
152. Yang de'i (= 'phags pa spyen ras gzigs kyi) sgom zlas
153. Phyag rdor 'khor chen gyi sgrub thabs 'bring po (= Phyag na rdo rje gos sngon can gyi mngon rtogs 'bring ba bdud rtsi'i thigs pa las btus pa?)
154. Don zhags dpa' gcig gi rjes gnang byed tshul
155. Chab gtor gyi tho
156. Phyag rdor gyi rjes gnang dang sgom don
157. sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor
158. Shin tu spros med kyi khrid kyi tho yig mthong ba don ldan
159. gTsug gtor rnam rgyal ma'i rjes gnang \*gi tho (var. byed tshul)

160. Seng ge sgra'i gdon sgrol gyi phyag len gyi tho
161. 'Jam dpal smra ba'i sengge'i rjes gnang gi tho dang sgrub thabs
162. 'Jam dbyangs gang blo ma'i rjes gnang \*gi tho (var. byed tshul)
163. rNam sras kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
164. rNam 'joms kyi gtor mchog ma ni badzra
165. Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin brlabs mdzad tshul
166. rNam 'joms kyi khros chog
167. Sangs rgyas klu dbang gi rgyal po'i sgrub thabs
168. bCom ldan 'das kun rig gi bsnyen pa \*bya tshul (var. yig)
169. Rigs gsum spyi dbang gi tho
170. Phyag na rdo rje 'gro bzang \*gi bsgrub thabs (var. lugs kyi mngon rtogs)
171. Phyag rdor gtum chung gi \*mngon rtogs (var. sgrub thabs) (= Phyag rdor gtum \*po'i bsgom [var. sgom] bzlas)
172. 'Phags ma sgrol ma gser mdog can gyi \*sgrub thabs zab mo (var. tshe bsgrub)
173. sGrol ma dug sel ma'i sgrub thabs
174. sGrol ma nyin mtshan zhi khro'i 'don thabs (= mTshan brjod 'don thabs)
175. 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bdag mdun bskyed pa'i mngon rtogs
176. dPal phyag na rdo rje u \*tstsha'i (vars. tsa'i, tsarya'i, rtsa'i) mngon rtogs
177. sDom chen gyi tho yig
178. gDong drug gi dbang gi tho yig
179. bSrung ba lnga'i \*tho (var. dbang tho) (= gSang ba lnga'i dbang gi tho yig)
180. bCom ldan 'das gdugs dkar mo can gyi dbang gi tho yig
181. gDugs dkar can gyi gtor chog \*bdud rtsi (var. bcud kyi) snying po
182. gDugs dkar can gyi \*phyir bzlog (var. mngon rtogs)
183. Ma mo sha gos kyi gtor chog
184. 'Od zer can ma'i dbang gi tho yig
185. Yul chen po bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul \*med (var. mdzad) gsal ba
186. sDom gsum (var. sNgon pa) sgrag bzung gi thad kyi gsung rgyun
187. rMa bya chen mo nas gsungs pa'i ri'i sdom
188. dPyal \*ba'i (var. lugs kyi) phag mo skor gsum gyi byin brlabs \*bya tshul (var. tho, mtshan brjod 'don thabs)
189. Tsā ri dang de wi ko \*ṭa'i yul gyi (var. ṭik) dgag sgrub
190. Shrī e waṃ chos ldan nas chos rje lha mchog seng ge phebs dus kyi 'bul ba'i mchod brjod
191. rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs kyi 'grel pa zhi 'tshos mdzad pa las btus pa
192. Yas gtam \*bras bu rin po che rnam par spel ba dngos 'grub kyi gter (var. bsdoms tshan)
193. 'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung bzlog bsdu pa

194. bDe mchog nag po rims bzhi'i khrid kyi brjed tho
195. Yang gtor bsgrub kyi phyag len gyi tho
196. sDom pa gsum gyi skabs kyi nyer mkho bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
197. Thob (var. gSan) yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan
198. dBu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga
199. dBu ma chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa'i rnam par bshad pa don dam snying po
200. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus la 'jug pa'i sgo (= Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma)
201. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba dge
202. Tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi phyogs snga ma rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed
203. Blo'i rnam par gzhag pa sde bdun snying po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos
204. Chos rje rnam rgyal ba'i dris lan
205. Chos rje rnam rgyal bas rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas la dri ba zhus pa'i zhus lan (= Chos rje rnam rgyal ba la gnang ba'i dris lan rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas cung zad)
206. Chos rje rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i dris lan zab don nor bu'i gter
207. Slob dpon yon 'byung gis gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
208. Dris lan don gsum gsal byed
209. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog
210. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan padmo'i snying po
211. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan sngon rab gsal ba'i me long
212. 'Tsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gis dris lan
213. dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang \*grogs mched kyi zhus lan (var. la gdams pa)
214. Zha lu lo tsā ba la dri ba mdzad pa
215. Byang pa mchod gnas pa'i dris lan nges don snying po
216. Nang so (var. Zhang po) rgyal ba'i dbang po'i dris lan
217. Sa skyar bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa
218. Rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan
219. bKa' bcu pa dpal 'byor gyi zhus lan
220. Theg mchog gnad kyi snying po bla ma dpal skyabs la gdams pa (= Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba'i blo sbyong theg mchog gnad kyi snying po)
221. Rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod [kun] 'byung gnas
222. bSlab btus kyi le 'grel bslab pa'i rgyan (= bSlab pa kun las btus pa'i le'u'i 'grel pa)
223. bsGom rim bar ma'i sa bca'd 'phags lam snying po
224. Yum gyi \*'dres (var. 'gres, 'grel) rkang

225. mDo kun las btus pa'i sa bcaḍ kun btus sgron me  
 226. rJe btsun sa skya paṇḍita la phrin du gsol ba padmo'i [snying po'i] phreng ba  
 227. sKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje  
 228. rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs \*su bkod pa  
 'khrul med snang ba (var. kyi don bshad)  
 229. Rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa  
 230. Yang lta bsgom spyod 'bras kyi mgur  
 231. bDag chen chos rgyal nor bu la thog mar gnang ba'i gsung 'phrin  
 232. Bla ma'i rnam thar chos rgyal nor bu la \*gdams pa (var. phul ba'i zhu yig)  
 233. Yang chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa  
 234. Mi dbang bkra shis dgon la phul ba  
 235. Ngam rings bdag chen la gnang ba  
 236. Khang gsar drung chen la gnang ba  
 237. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la \*gdams pa (var. phul ba dge)  
 238. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba'i zhu yig  
 239. Yang a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba  
 240. sDe pa chen po a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba gcig  
 241. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la gdams pa  
 242. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba  
 243. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba dge  
 244. mNga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba  
 245. sNe shangs lo tsā ba la springs pa  
 246. dGe slong dpal ldan grags pa la gnang ba (= Yang de [= sne shangs lo tsā ba] la  
 gnang ba)  
 247. bDag chen chos rje la phul ba  
 248. Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba  
 249. lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud \*thor pa (var. thar po) la phul ba  
 250. Chos rje \*shi'u (var. she'u) ri pa la gnang ba  
 251. rDzong kha bdag chen la phul ba  
 252. Yang rdzong kha bdag chen la phul ba  
 253. Thar po la phul ba  
 254. Thar po la phul ba  
 255. Thar po la phul ba  
 256. Thar po la phul ba  
 257. Rwa nag pa la gdams pa  
 258. dPon (var. dBon) po rma bya ba la \*gdams pa (var. gnang ba)  
 259. dGe slong dar bzang ba gnyis la gnang ba  
 260. Bla ma sho ma phug pa la gdams pa

261. Bla ma blo pa la gdams pa  
 262. Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa  
 263. Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa  
 264. Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa  
 265. Bla ma bzang po la gdams pa mdzad pa  
 266. dBang phyug rgyal mtshan la gdams pa  
 267. rJe btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi dgongs rdzogs kyi mdzad phrin mdzad pa'i mchod brjod mdzad pa  
 268. Yang dgongs pa rdzogs thabs bar ma'i dus kyi \*'jug (var. mjug) gi shis (var. mchod) brjod  
 269. rJes kyi dgongs rdzogs kyi \*mchod brjod (var. shis brjod)  
 270. Chos rgyal chen po bkra shis dgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod  
 271. Chos rje nor bu la phul ba  
 272. Khrigs rtse mkhan po rab brtan bzang po la gnang ba  
 273. gZhi khar gnang ba'i phyag gdams zhal bshu  
 274. bDag chen kun dga' bsod nams la \*phul ba'i gsung phrin (var. phul ba zhus lan cung zad dang bcas pa)  
 275. Khams yul zil gnon pa'i dge 'dun bzhi la gdams pa  
 276. Chos rje lha dbang [blo gros] la skyid tshal du springs pa  
 277. 'Tsho byed \*rgyal (var. phyag) rdor la gdams pa  
 278. 'Phags yul gyi shākya'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs mdor bsod  
 279. rTags kyi rnam bzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me  
 280. Yid 'byung ba'i tshigs bcad  
 281. Yang tshigs bcad bcu bdun pa  
 282. sTod phyogs su gsung shog tshigs bcad ma phul ba  
 283. A seng rdo rje brtan pas bzhengs pa'i mdo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta (= mDo mang gser gyi glegs bam 'bum phrag gi/ mtshon byed rin chen ngag gi lde mig can/ shis brjod sgo gsum ldan pa'i snyan tshig gis/ mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta dga' bzhugs so)  
 284. Chos rgyal bkra shis mgon gyis bzhengs pa'i rgyud kyi glegs shing gi dkar chag  
 285. Rin po che bde \*legs rgya mtsho'i (var. rgyal ba'i) brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag (= Mi'i dbang po bde legs rgya mtsho brgyad stong pa yi mtshon byed)  
 286. dBu (var. U) dum brtag gnyis kyi \*dkar chag (var. mtshon byed)  
 287. Lo gsar dus kyi shis brjod mdzad pa  
 288. bDag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed  
 289. Thub chen gyi 'phan \*la ttab pa'i tshig bcad (var. gyi mtshon byed)

290. bDe \*gshegs (var. legs) gling pa'i gtsug lag khang bzhegs pa'i mtshon byed  
 291. Ngam rings kyi byams pa'i 'phan gyi tshigs bcad  
 292. bSam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras pa'i bla ma rnams la phul ba'i gos phan gyi tshigs su bcad pa  
 293. bDag mo thugs rje sri gnong gyis ngam rings su phul ba'i 'phan gyi dkar chag  
 294. Khro phu byams pa'i 'phan gyi shlo ka  
 295. bSam 'grub gling gi gser khang gi \*bkod pa (var. dkar chag)  
 296. Phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi \*gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed (var. gser khang lha khang gi dkar chag)  
 297. rGyal ba'i gtsug lag khang rin po che gser gyi tā la ltar 'bar zhing ches gsal ba 'di gtso bor byas pa'i lha khang so so'i lha'i grangs  
 298. dKar chag rin po che'i sgron ma  
 299. dPon sri btsan gyis bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa'i sum 'big<sup>2</sup>  
 300. 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mtshon byed  
 301. Drung rgyal gyis yab gyi phyir bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa<sup>3</sup>  
 302. bDag chen gur gum rgyal mo'i rin chen gser gyi glegs bam bzhengs pa'i dkar chag gi snyan ngag (= bDag chen ma gur rgyal gyi brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag)  
 303. Chos zom 'du khang gi lha tshogs kyi dkar chag dag  
 304. dPon po tshe dbang bzang po'i shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed  
 305. sKyes rtsa bla ma bas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed  
 306. Sa skya bka' 'bum lam 'bras spros med lam zab bla ma brgyud pa sogs bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed  
 307. Slob dpon kun bzang chos dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa  
 308. 'Tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mang gi dkar chag  
 309. brGya rtog gser gsum nang so dpal srungs kyis bzhengs pa'i dkar chag (= Nang so dpal bsrung gi brgyad rtog gser gsum gyi mtshon byed)  
 310. bKa' 'bum gyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me  
 311. Lo gsar dus kyi bkra shis kyi tshigs bcad  
 312. Thub pa'i dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs lam bzang snang ba  
 313. rGyal sras lam bzang gi skabs kyi gtam brgyud nyer mkho

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<sup>2</sup> Item 299 and 301 do not have any corresponding text content in the fragmentary collection of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works reproduced in Delhi. See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, *The Collected Works*, 283 and 287.

<sup>3</sup> See above, note 2.

314. Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i gzhung gi bshad thabs rgyal sras lam bzang gi mdzes rgyan (= Thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan)
315. Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i \*gter (var. gter sgrung 'grel)
316. sNying po'i don gsal bar byed pa lung gi phreng ba
317. sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan
318. sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel
319. Pha rol tu phyin pa'i sa lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa
320. mKhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed 'phrul gyi me long (= mKhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo'i ṭika gnas ma lus pa gsal ba'i me long)<sup>4</sup>

*Unidentified Titles*

KA:

321. Phur pa'i sgrol dbang (no. 29 of KA)
322. bDe kyai bsnyen yig (no. 78)

Mi-rigsCat1:

323. gDugs dkar can gyi mngon rtogs (no. 53 of Mi-rigsCat1)
324. So so 'brang ma'i mngon rtogs (no. 54)
325. dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i bsnyen pa'i man ngag dngos grub kyi char 'bebs (no. 80)
326. 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod 'don thabs (no. 81)
327. Paṅḍi ta'i brjod dogs bris (no. 83)
328. mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs tho yig (no. 84)
329. 'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gsung gi lan rnam par gsal ba'i sgron me (no. 99)
330. rTsa ba'i bla ma'i dris lan (no. 121)
331. rJe nyid kyi thugs la 'khrungs pa'i tshigs bead (no. 123)

Mi-rigsCat2:

332. rGyal mtshan kun dga' dbang phyug gi bstod pa (no. 34 of Mi-rigsCat2)

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<sup>4</sup> This alternative title is given in L. VAN DER KUIJP (1990), 216, who extracted it from Glo-bo mKhan-chen's biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (see above, 5.1.4).



333. Slob dpon bdag nyid chen po klu grub zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa'i man ngag 'phags pa dkon mchog sprin las byung ba'i smon lam (no. 56)
334. dPal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstan pa gtad pa'i phrin bcol (no. 57)

BG:

335. rJe rdo rje 'chang gi sku 'dra la bstod pa (no. 56 of BG)
336. bDe ba can gyi zhing bkod la bstod pa (no. 57)
337. gDugs dkar can gyi mngon rtogs (no. 95)
338. So 'brangs kyi mngon rtogs (no. 97)
339. Tshe dpag med (no. 99)
340. U tsa'i rjes gnang (no. 117)
341. 'Jam dbyangs dmar ser gyi rjes gnang (no. 128)
342. 'Khor lo bri tshul (no. 133)
343. Zha lu lo tsa ba la springs pa (no. 164)
344. rJe nyid kyi thugs la 'khrungs pa'i tshigs bead (no. 179)
345. bsTan rtsis dang beas pa (no. 212)
346. A seng la phul ba gnyis (nos. 206-207)
347. rNal 'byor ma yi byin rlabs kyi mtho (no. 241)
348. bDag chen ngag pa'i bsnyen pa'i zhus lan (no. 242)

## APPENDIX B

### A List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works Found in Khenpo Appey's *Sa skya pa'i dkar chag*

The following list is extracted from KHENPO APPEY, 76-79. It has previously been published in E. SMITH (1970), 10-12, although the author did not mention his source explicitly.

*ka*

1. rJe rang gi bka' 'bum dkar chag
2. rJe btsun gong ma lnga sogs bla ma yi dam gyi bstod tshogs mang po
3. Shar pa'i dgung rabs
4. Bla ma dmar gyi rnam thar
5. Grub thob yon tan dpal gyi rnam thar
6. rGyal tshab dam pa'i rnam thar
7. Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar
8. Rang nyid rang nyid [*sic*] kyi rnam thar
9. sDom gsum dris lan lung gi tshad ma
10. rGyud sde spyi rnam gsal byed
11. Jon shing gsal byed
12. 'Og min stug po bkod pa'i rgyan
13. Kha sar pa ṅa'i lo rgyus
14. mNgon rtogs tho
15. Chos sna so dgu'i grangs
16. rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon 'gro'i bshad pa kun spyod 'chad thabs
17. mNgon rtogs sa bcaḍ
18. Mahā ma ya'i bsdus don
19. rTog bdun gyi bsdus don
20. rNal 'byor ma'i rtog pa che ba'i bsdus don
21. rGyud sde bdun bcu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag

*kha*

22. Lam zab mo
- 23-24. Kye rdor mngon rtogs gnyis
25. Phur pa'i sgrub thabs

26. Ku ru ku le lha lnga'i sgrub dkyil mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i dka' gnad mdor bsdus<sup>1</sup>
27. bDe mchog lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho
28. Bong zhal can gyi dbang tho
29. Phur pa'i sgrol dbang
30. gShin rje'i gshed kyi man dbang dag gi tho yig
31. gDong drug gi dbang tho
32. 'Khor chen dbang gi tho yig
33. sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor
34. De'i khrid yig
35. Sor 'brang dang gdugs dkar sogs kyi mngon rtogs mang po
36. gSang ba lnga'i dbang gi tho yig
37. 'Od zer can ma'i dbang gi tho yig
38. 'Jam dbyangs dang blo ma'i rjes gnang gi tho
39. 'Jam dbyangs dmar ser gyi rjes gnang
40. Phyang rdor u tsarya
41. 'Byung 'dul spyang ras gzigs don yod zhags pa sogs rjes gnang rigs mang po'i tho
42. gTor ma brgya rtsa byed tshul
43. bsNyen pa kha gso byed tshul
44. sDom gsum rab dbye'i dka' gnas rnam 'byed zhib mo rnam 'thag
45. De'i dka' gnas gsum gyi gsal byed nor bu chu shel
46. Yul chen ngos 'dzin
47. Tsā ri dang de wi ko ṭik dgag sgrub
48. bDe gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
49. sDom pa bsgrang bzung thad kyi gsung rgyun
50. Sems bskyed dbang gi sngon 'gro
51. Yas gtam bsdoms tshan

*ga*

52. Tshad ma rigs gter gyi nyer mkho mtha' gnyis gsal ba
53. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam bshad rigs pa la 'jug pa'i sgo
54. Phyogs snga'i rnam bshad rigs lam gsal byed
- 55-57. Chos rje rnam rgyal pa'i dris lan tshan gsum

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<sup>1</sup> The end of this title (“...mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i dka' gnad mdor bsdus”) is also part of another title listed under no. 99 of the composite list (see Appendix A) and was probably added to the present title by mistake.

58. gNas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
59. Don gsum gsal byed
60. Byang pa mchod gnas kyis dris lan
61. Chos skyong dpal bzang gis dris lan
- 62-64. Mi dbang mgon po rgyal mtshan dris tshan gsum
65. Kun dga' dpal bzang dris lan
66. Zhwa lu lo tsā ba la dri ba
67. Rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod kun 'byung bcas

*nga*

68. Theg pa chen po'i lam gyi rim pa mtha' dag snyung ngu'i ngag gis ston pa rgyal sras lam bzang 'chad thabs le tshan chos rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter
69. Chos dbyings bstod pa'i rnam bshad
70. Phar phyin gyi sa lam rnam bzhag
71. bSlab pa kun las btus pa'i le'u'i 'grel pa
72. bsGom rim bar pa'i sa bcad
73. 'Grel rkang
74. mDo btus sa bcad
75. Sa paṅ la 'phrin du zhu
76. rJe btsun mi las bzhed pa'i gnas lugs kyis don bshad
77. Chab shog zhal gdams dkar chag skor shin tu mang ba
78. bDe kyai bsnyen yig
79. rNal 'byor ma'i byin rlabs tho
80. Phag mo skor gsum gyi byin rlabs tho
81. Rigs gsum gyi dbang
82. mTshan brjod 'don thabs
83. Kun rigs bsnyen yig
84. sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel
85. mKhas 'jug gi rnam bshad rigs gnas gsal byed

## APPENDIX C

### Three Lists of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works Found in a Catalogue of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing

The following three lists (I to III) have been copied from the Mi-rigsCat, 68-88.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the original numbering in the catalogue, the following titles have been numbered consecutively.

#### I.

*ka*

1. rJe nyid kyi bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag dgos 'dod kun 'byung
2. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa grub mtha' shan 'byed cung zad dang bcas pa
3. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa
4. rJe btsun pas sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po la bstod pa
5. rJe btsun bsod nams rtse mo la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa
6. Sa paṅ la bstod pa mtshan gyi phreng ba
7. rGyal ba kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa rin po che'i sgrom
8. rDo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug la gsol ba 'debs pa
9. Ma hā paṅṅi [*sic*] ta pu nya sing ha'i bstod pa gsum
10. Yang rwa ston pa yon tan dpal bzang la bstod pa
11. Chos kyi rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
12. 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
13. bShes gnyen dam pa rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa
14. bDe mchog 'khor lo'i lha tshogs la bstod pa
15. sGrub thabs brgya rtsa'i lha tshogs rnam kyi bstod pa
16. Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dkar mo la bstod pa
17. dPal khro phu'i byams pa la bstod pa
18. sGrol ma'i bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya
19. Gaṅḍi'i bstod pa rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa la sdebs su mdzad pa
20. sGo rum gyi mgon po'i bstod pa
21. Thub pa'i dbang po'i skyes pa'i rabs kyi phreng ba'i tshigs su bcad pa
22. 'Di ni bsam grub gling gi gzims khang gi logs bris kyi bla ma'i sku rnam la bstod pa mdzad pa

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<sup>1</sup> The works are found under the heading *klo bo mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub kyi gsung 'bum*.

23. Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa rnam kyi bri yig
24. rJe btsun sa skya pa'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul
25. Bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen phreng ba
26. rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i  
'od zer
27. Chos kyi rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun  
'byung
28. rJe nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma
29. Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul
30. rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed
31. 'Og min stug po bkod pa'i rgyan
32. Dag ldan gyi gleng gzhi'i gnod sbyin kha pa ra'i lo rgyus kyi gsal byed
33. mNgon par rtogs pa'i tho yig
34. Chos sna so dgu sogs kyi grangs 'dren tshul
35. rNal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs
36. rTog pa bdun pa'i bsdus don nyung ngu rab gsal
37. rNam par rgyal ma'i rtog pa che ba'i bsdus don
38. rGyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me
39. Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi ngag 'don
40. Kye rdo rje'i mngon rtogs bsdus pa
41. rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs
42. sGrub pa'i thabs padma'i snying po
43. dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga rin po che padma rā ga'i gter
44. dPal kye rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag drug pa'i dka' ba'i gnas mdor  
bsdus
45. bCom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed bcu bdun ma'i dbang gi tho yig
46. La wa pa'i tho
47. rTa po sgrol dbang gi tho
48. dGra gdong gi tho yig
49. 'Khor chen dbang gi tho
50. gDong drug gi dbang gi tho
51. sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor
52. Shin tu spros med kyi khrid kyi tho yig mthong ba don ldan
53. gDugs dkar can gyi mngon rtogs
54. So so 'brang ma'i mngon rtogs
55. bCom ldan 'das gdugs dkar mo can gyi dbang gi tho yig
56. gDugs dkar can gyi gtor chog beud kyi snying po
57. bSrung ba lnga'i tho

58. 'Od zer can gyi tho
59. bCu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs
60. Don zhags dpa' gcig rjes gnang byed tshul
61. Seng ge sgra'i gdon sgrol
62. mChod rten sgrub pa'i tho
63. rNal 'byor ma'i bkra shis

*kha*

64. bSod nams lhun grub bka' 'bum kha pa'i dkar chag
65. sNyan sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon rtogs
66. sGrol ma nyin zhi mtshan khro'i 'don thabs
67. rNam rgyal gyi rjes gnang byed tshul
68. Phyag na rdo rje u tsa'i mngon rtogs
69. rNam sras kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
70. Phyag na rdo rje gtum po'i sgom bzlas
71. Sangs rgyas klu dbang gi sgrub thabs
72. Gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bcu'i gtor 'bul
73. dPal gur gyi mgon po'i mngon rtogs
74. 'Phags pa za ma tog bkod pa'i snying po
75. dMar chos kyi rgyal po bla ma rin po che'i rnam thar
76. Grub thob chen po yon tan dpal dang la tu ba bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar
77. Tshig don mun sel zhes bya ba
78. dPyal lugs kyi phag mo skor gsum gyi byin rlabs bya tshul
79. bCom ldan 'das kun rig gi bsnyen pa bya tshul
80. dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i bsnyen pa'i man ngag dngos grub kyi char 'bebs bya ba
81. 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod 'don thabs
82. Rigs gsum spyi dbang gi tho
83. Paṅṅi [*sic*] ta'i brjed dogs bris pa
84. mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs tho yig
85. Manydzu badzra gyi zin bris
86. sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag ces bya ba
87. bsTan bcos sdom gsum gyi gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa nor bu chu shel
88. Yul chen po bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul med gsal ba ces bya ba
89. Tsā ri dang de wi ko ṭa'i yul gyi dgag sgrub
90. sDom gsum rab dbye'i bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
91. sDom gsum bsrag zung gi thad kyi gsung rgyun

92. Sems bskyed kyi cho ga
93. Na ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi phyag len rnam
94. Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba'i blo sbyong theg mchog gnad kyi snying po
95. Thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs
96. Thub pa dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i gzhung gi bshad thabs rgyal sras lam bzang gi mdzes rgyan
97. rGyal sras lam bzang gi sgrung 'grel zhes bya ba

*ga*

98. bSod nams lhun grub bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag
99. 'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gsung gi lan rnam par gsal ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba
100. dBu ma chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa'i rnam par bshad pa don dam snying po zhes bya ba
101. sNying po'i don gsal bar byed pa lung gi phreng ba
102. Pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa zhes bya ba
103. bSlab btus kyi legs 'grel
104. bsGom rim bar pa'i sa bcad
105. Yum gyi 'dres rkang
106. mDo kun las btus pa'i sa bcad
107. Yas gtam 'bras bu rin po che rnam par spel ba dngos grub kyi gter
108. Chos rje rnam rgyal ba'i dris lan
109. Chos rje rnam rgyal ba la gnang ba'i dris lan rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas cung zad
110. Chos rje rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i dris lan
111. gNas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
112. Dris lan don gsum gsal byed
113. Byang pa mchod gnas pa'i dris lan nges don snying po
114. mTsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gi dris lan
115. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog
116. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan padma'i snying po
117. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan sngon rabs [*sic*] gsal ba'i me long
118. dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang grogs mched kyi zhus lan
119. Zha lu lo tsā ba la dri ba mdzad pa
120. Rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan
121. rTsa ba'i bla ma'i dris lan
122. rJe btsun sa skya paṅṅi [*sic*] chen po la 'phrin du gsol ba



123. rJe nyid kyi thugs la 'khrungs pa'i tshigs bcad
124. sKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje zhes bya ba
125. rJe btsun mi la ras pas mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed lugs 'khrul med snang  
ba
126. Rang la bskul ba tshig zur brgyad pa zhes bya ba
127. Chos rgyal nor bu la phul ba'i zhu yig
128. Mi dbang bkra shis mgon la phul ba
129. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba dge
130. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba'i zhu yig
131. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba skabs gnyis snang
132. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la gdams pa
133. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba
134. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba dge
135. dBang phyug rgyal mtshan la gdams pa
136. Drung blo pa la gdams pa
137. Yid las byung ba'i tshigs bcad
138. rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs kyi 'grel pa zhi 'tshos mdzad pa las btus pa dge
139. Mi'i dbang po a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba
140. mGo sngon gyi mjug gi shis brjod
141. Rin po che chen mo'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod bstan rtsis dang beas pa
142. Chos rgyal chen po bkra shis mgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod  
brjod
143. bDag chen ma gur rgyal gyi brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag
144. mDo mang gser gyi glegs bam 'bum phrag gi/ mtshon byed rin chen ngag gi  
lde mig can/ shis brjod sgo gsum ldan pa'i snyan tshig gis/ mkhas mang yid kyi  
shing rta dga'
145. Rin po che bde rgyal ba'i brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag
146. U dum brtag gnyis kyi dkar chag
147. bDag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed
148. bSam grub gling gi gser khang gi dkar chag
149. dKar chag rin po che'i sgron ma zhes bya ba
150. dPon po khro bo'i brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed ces bya ba
151. Chos zom 'du khang gi lha tshogs kyi dkar chag dag
152. dPon po tshe dbang bzang po'i shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi  
shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
153. Phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi gser khang lha khang gi dkar chag bkra shis
154. sKye rtsa bla mas sa skya bka' 'bum sogs bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed

155. Sa skya bka' 'bum/ lam 'bras bla brgyud/ spros med bla brgyud/ lam zab bla ma brgyud pa sogs bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed/
156. 'Tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mang dkar chag
157. bDe legs gling gi gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
158. brGyad tog gser gsum gyi dkar chag
159. Tshad ma rig [*sic*] pa'i gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba dge
160. Tshad ma rig [*sic*] pa'i gter gyi phyogs snga ma rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed
161. Lo gsar pa'i dus kyi tshigs bead
162. dBu ma chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa'i rnam par bshad pa don dam snying po

## II.

1. bKa' 'bum gyi dkar chag rin po che'i phreng ba
2. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa mthong ba don ldan
3. rJe btsun bsod nams rtse mo la thun mong ba'i yon tan gyi tshul 'ga' zhig mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bsngags pa
4. rJe btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa mtshan gyi phreng ba
5. Chos kyi rje sa skya paṅṅi [*sic*] ta la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa dam pa bzhi ldan
6. Chos kyi rje sa skya paṅṅi [*sic*] ta la bstod pa phan mdzad ma
7. rJe btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa/ ngag don yod par bsgrub pa dad pa'i shugs bskyed
8. Rab mdzes ma bzhugs pa lags so
9. rDo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa yon tan bsngags pa'i phreng ba
10. Chos kyi rje go bo rab 'byams pa la bstod pa dad ldan ma
11. Chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel ba la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rigs bdag ma
12. Chos kyi rje paṅṅi [*sic*] ta grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa dge legs rgya mtsho
13. Paṅ chen grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma
14. rJe bla ma grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
15. rTsa rgyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog phreng ba
16. rDo rje phur pa'i bdud rtsi mchod pa'i bla ma brgyud rim
17. Byang chub sems dpa' yon tan chos rgyal gyi bstod pa
18. rJe yon tan dpal bzang po la bstod pa zab rgyas ma
19. Chos kyi rje yon tan dpal bzang po la bstod pa
20. rJe tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa

21. Chos kyi rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
22. rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug bde legs rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
23. Bla ma rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa
24. Bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa
25. 'Khor lo bde mchog gi lha tshogs rnams la bstod pa nges don bcud kyi snying  
po
26. sGrol ma yid bzhin gyi 'khor lol [*sic*] bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya
27. rJe btsun ma sgrol ma'i bstod pa bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun
28. 'Phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa 'dod pa'i 'bras bu stsol ba
29. E wam gyi bskong ba la bstod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa theg chen sgra dbyangs  
ma
30. E wam chos ldan gyi gtsug lag khang na bzhugs pa'i zhing khams kyi gtso bo  
rnams kyi bstod pa
31. Chos zom gtsug lag khang gi logs ris kyi gtso bo rnams la bstod pa
32. sGa gdong byams chen la bstod pa
33. 'Jam dbyangs la bstod pa
34. rGyal mtshan kun dga' dbang phyug gi bstod pa
35. rJe thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa
36. Chos rje mgon po dbang phyug pa la bstod pa
37. dPal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcad
38. Ma hā ma ya'i sa bcad bsdus don
39. La wa pa'i bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho dang
40. Bong bu'i zhal gyi dbang gi skabs su gsungs pa'i tho
41. Drag po sgrol dbang gi tho
42. gDugs dkar can gyi phyir bzlog
43. rDo rje gur las gsungs pa'i khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes  
gnang bya tshul
44. Mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang bya tshul dang
45. Mi g.yo ba'i bsgom bzlas bya tshul
46. Sha ba ri'i rjes gnang byed tshul
47. Tshe dbang dang gza' chog gi tho yig
48. 'Jam dpal smra ba'i seng ge'i rjes gnang gi tho dang bsgrub thabs
49. Gang blo ma'i rjes gnang byed tshul
50. U rtsa'i mngon rtogs
51. Sangs rgyas klu dbang gi rgyal po'i sgrub thabs
52. gDugs dkar can gyi sgrub thabs
53. Phyag na rdo rje 'gro bzang lugs kyi mngon rtogs
54. Phyag na rdo rje gtum po'i sgrub thabs

55. Phyag na rdo rje gos sngon can gyi mngon rtogs 'bring ba bdud rtsi'i thigs pa las btus pa
56. Slob dpon bdag nyid chen po klu sgrub zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa'i man ngag 'phags pa dkon mchog sprin las byung ba'i smon lam
57. dPal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstan pa gtad pa'i phrin bcol

### III.

1. rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa zhus lan ma ngo mtshar rgya mtsho
2. rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho
3. mKhyen brtse ma
4. rNal 'byor dbang phyug la rnam 'gyur drug gi sgo nas bstod pa
5. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa grub mtha' shan 'byed cung zad dang bcas pa dge legs rol pa'i chu gter
6. Chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa la bstod pa
7. Chos rje dbang phyug grub pa'i bstod pa
8. Chos rje lta mchog seng ge la bstod pa mdzad pa
9. dBus [*sic*] mdzad gang ba bzang po la bstod pa
10. Bla ma kun dga' chos legs pa la bstod pa
11. mKhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs kyi bstod pa
12. sKyid grong jo bo'i bstod pa
13. Srid mtsho ma
14. Lus can ma
15. dGa' ba gdong gi byams pa la bstod pa
16. 'Phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa yid bzhin 'khor lo dngos grub kyi pho nya zhes bya ba
17. rGyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog phreng ba
18. Kye rdo rje mtshon cha can gtso 'khor rnams kyi bstod pa rgyud nas byung ba mdzad pa
19. Tshig don rnam par bkra ba
20. dPal nag po chen po la bstod pa mdzad pa
21. dPal gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa mdzad pa
22. rNam sras kyi bstod pa
23. Bla ma rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug pa'i thugs dam thang ka mgon po'i bri yig
24. Bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen phreng ba

25. rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i  
'od zer
26. Bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam par thar pa
27. sKyid grong jo bo'i rnam thar dri med snang ba
28. Lam 'bras kyi gsung rgyan zin bris
29. Yan lag lnga sbyong
30. Kye rdor dpa' gcig gi mngon rtogs las dang po pa'i don du mdzad pa
31. mNgon par bdud rtsi thigs pa rtogs pa'i tho yig
32. rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsung rgyun
33. rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i bkra shis

## APPENDIX D

### A List of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Collected Works found in sByin-pa-grags-pa's *gsan-yig*

The following list is extracted from SBYIN-PA-GRAGS-PA, fols. 9b.3-12b.7.<sup>1</sup>

1. Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa grub mtha' shan 'byed cung zad dang  
bcas pa
2. Yang lam 'bras bla brgyud gcig
3. Sa chen yab sras gsum gyi bstod pa re<sup>2</sup>
4. Yang rje btsun bsod nams rtse mo la bstod pa
- 5.-6. Sa paṅ gyi bstod pa gnyis
7. Phan mdzad ma
8. 'Phags pa'i bstod pa
9. rJe rdo rje 'chang la bstod pa
10. rGyal tshab dam pa la bstod pa tshan pa gsum
11. Kun mkhyen la bstod pa
- 12.-13. 'Dren mchog la bstod pa gnyis
- 14.-16. Paṅḍi ta grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa gsum
17. Phur pa'i brgyud rim
18. Chos rje yon tan chos rgyal la bstod pa
- 19.-20. Rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang la bstod pa gnyis
21. Chos rje dpal ldan pa la bstod pa
- 22.-23. Chos rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa gnyis
24. mKhyen brtse ma rgyud kyi gsol 'debs
25. 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams la bstod pa
26. Chos rje dbang phyug grub pa la bstod pa
27. rJe thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa
28. Chos rje mgon po dbang phyug la bstod pa
29. bDe legs rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
30. bShes gnyen dam pa rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa
31. Bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Copenhagen) for drawing my attention to this list. Details on SBYIN-PA-GRAGS-PA, which is part of the *gsan-yig* of A-mes-zhabs, are to be found in J.-U. SOBISCH (2002), p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> This title obviously refers to several praises of Sa-chen and his sons. As there is no definite number of works given I have listed it under a single number.

32. Chos rje gang ba bzang po la bstod pa
33. mKhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs la bstod pa
34. Bla ma tshul khriims dpal ba bstod pa
35. Rab 'byams pa rgyal rin la bstod pa
36. bDe mchog 'khor lo'i lha tshogs la bstod pa
37. sGrub thabs rgya rtsa'i lha tshogs la bstod pa
38. Sher phyin dkar mo la bstod pa
- 39.-40. Khro phu dang dga' ba gdong gi byams pa la bstod pa
41. sGrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya sogs sgrol ma'i  
bstod pa
42. bDud rtsi'i chu rgyun<sup>3</sup>
43. 'Dod pa'i 'bras bu stsol ba
44. Thugs rje rgyun ldan ma
45. 'O mtsho ma
46. mTshan brgya rtsa brgyad kyi bsod don
47. Dus gsum rgyal ba ma
48. 'Dod don gsol gtab
49. Gaṇḍi'i bstod pa
50. E wam gi bkod pa'i bstod pa
51. sGo rum gyi mgon po'i bstod pa
52. Yang mgon po'i bstod pa gcig
53. rNam sras la bstod pa
54. sKyes rabs kyi phreng ba'i tshigs su bcad pa
55. bSam 'grub gling gi logs ris la bstod pa
56. rJe rdo rje 'chang gi sku 'dra la bstod pa
57. bDe ba can gyi zhing bkod la bstod pa
58. Lam 'bras bla brgyud kyi bris yig
59. rGyal tshab dam pa'i thugs dam bris yig
60. Yin thang la zhib tu gzigs pa'i bris yig
61. rGyal tshab dam pa'i rnam thar
62. mKhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar
63. Chos rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar
64. rJe nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma
65. Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi byon tshul
66. sPyi nam gsal byed
67. lJon shing gsal byed

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<sup>3</sup> Nos. 42-48 are listed in an interlinear gloss in the manuscript.

68. 'Og ma'i sdug po bkod pa'i rgyan
69. gNod sbyin kha pa ra'i lo rgyus
70. mNgon par rtogs pa'i tho yig
71. Chos sna so dgu'i grangs 'dren tshul
72. rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsung rgyun
73. rNal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs
74. dPal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcad
75. Mahā ma ya'i bsdus don
76. rTog pa bdun pa'i bsdus don
77. rNam rgyal gyi rtogs pa che ba'i bsdus don
78. rGyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag
79. rNal 'byor ma yi bkra shis
80. Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi ngag 'don
81. Kyai rdor mngon rtogs bsdus pa
82. Phur pa'i sgrub thabs
83. Ku ru ku lle'i sgrub thabs
84. De'i dkyil chog
85. mNgon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i dka' gnas bsdus pa
86. 'Jigs byed bcu bdun ma
87. La wa pa
88. Bong zhal can
89. Drag po sgröl dbang
90. dGra gdong
91. 'Khor chen
92. gDong drug rnams kyi dbang gi tho re re
93. sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor
94. sPros med kyi khrid yig
95. gDugs dkar can gyi mngon rtogs
96. Phyr bzlog
97. So 'brangs kyi mngon rtogs
98. gDugs dkar can
99. Tshe dpag med
100. gZa' yum
101. Kye rdor nag po pa rnams kyi dbang gi tho re re
102. gDugs dkar can gyi gtor chog
103. bSrung ba lnga yi dbang tho
104. 'Od zer can gyi dbang tho
105. bCu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs



106. sPyan ras gzigs kyi bsgom thabs chung ba
107. Don zhags dpa' gcig gi rjes gnang
108. Chab gtor gyi tho
109. So 'brangs gi rjes gnang gi tho
110. Seng ge sgra'i gdon 'grol
111. mChod rten bsgrub pa'i tho
112. gNyan sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon rtogs
113. Nyin zhi mtshan khro'i 'don thabs
114. sGrol ma gser mdog can gyi sgrub thabs
115. Dug sel ma yi sgrub thabs
116. rNam rgyal gyi rjes gnang byed tshul
117. Phyag rdor u tsarya'i mngon rtogs bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa
118. U tsa'i rjes gnang
119. Phyag rdor 'gro bzang lugs kyi mngon rtogs
120. Phyag rdor gyi mngon rtogs 'bring po
121. rNam sras kyi rjes gnang
122. rNam 'joms
123. Ma nydzu ba dzra kyi gtor 'bum
124. Phyag rdor gtum po'i bsgom bzlas
125. 'Byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang
126. Mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang
127. sGrub thabs
128. Sha wa ri'i rjes gnang
129. 'Jam dbyangs dmar ser gyi rjes gnang
130. 'Jam dbyangs smra seng gi rjes gnang
131. Gang blo ma'i rjes gnang
132. Sangs rgyas klu dbang gi rgyal po'i sgrub thabs
133. Gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bcu'i gtor 'bul
134. 'Khor lo bri tshul
135. Za byed rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin bsreg
136. Gur gyi mgon po'i mngon rtogs
137. gTor ma brgya rtsa byed tshul
138. bsNyen pa kha gso byed tshul
139. rTa mgrin gyi gtor 'bul
140. Kye rdor zhi ba'i sbyin bsreg
141. 'Phags pa za ma tog gi snying po
142. Zhib mo rnam dag
143. Nor bu chu shel

144. Yul chen po bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul mdzad gsal ba
145. Tsa ri dang de wi ko ṭa'i dgag sgrub
146. bDe gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
147. sDom pa srag bzung gyi 'thad kyi gsung rgyun
148. Sems bskyed kyi cho ga
149. Nā ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi cho ga
150. Yas gam rin chen rnam spel
151. Rigs gter gyi nyer 'kho mtha' gnyis gsal ba
152. 'Grel bshad rigs pa'i 'jug sgo phyogs snga bshad pa'i rig lam gsal byed
- 153.-155. Chos rje rnam rgyal gyi dris lan snga phyi gsum
156. Slob dpon yon tan 'byung gnas kyi gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
157. Dris lan don gsum gsal byed
158. Byang pa mchod gnas kyis dris lan
159. 'Tsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gi dris lan
- 160.-162. Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan gsum
163. Kun dga' dpal bzang grogs mched kyi dris lan
164. rJe nyid kyi zha lu lo tsa ba la dri ba mdzad pa
165. Zha lu lo tsa ba la springs pa
- 166.-167. dGe slong dpal ldan grags la springs yig gnyis
168. Rin po che'i bstan bcos
169. Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba'i blo sbyongs
- 170.-171. rGyal sras lam bzang gi 'chad thabs gnyis
172. De yi mdo bshad rin po che'i gter sgrung 'grel
173. Chos dbyings bstod pa'i rnam bshad snying po don gsal
174. Pha rol phyin pa'i sa lam gyi rnam gzhag
175. bSlab btus kyi le 'grel
176. bsGom rim bar ma'i sa bcad
177. Yum gyi 'grel rkang
178. mDo kun las btus pa'i sa bcad
179. Sa paṅ la zhu 'phrin du gsol ba
180. rJe nyid kyi thugs la 'khrungs pa'i tshigs bcad
181. Mi la'i bzhed bkod 'khrul med gnang ba
182. Rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa
183. Rab 'byams pa ye shes dbang phyug grogs mched kyi zhus lan
- 184.-186. bDag po chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa gsum
187. Mi dbang bkra shis mgon la phul ba
- 188.-194. A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba snga phyi bdun
195. mNga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba

- 196.-197. Lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud gu ge thar po la phul ba gnyis
198. bDag chen kun dga' bsod nams la phul ba zhus lan cung zad dang bcas pa
199. dBang phyug rgyal mtshan dang
200. Bla ma dpal skyabs la gdams pa re re
- 201.-204. Drung blo ba la gdams pa bzhi
205. Yid 'byung ba'i tshigs bcad
206. rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs las btus pa
- 207.-208. A seng la phul ba gnyis
209. rJe'i mdzad 'phrin gyi mchod brjod
210. Bla ma bzang po ba la gdams pa
211. Yang dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod
212. Chos rgyal bkra shis mgon gyi dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod
213. bsTan rtsis dang bcas pa
214. Yang de nyid kyi dpal ldan sa skyar bsgrub pa'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod
215. Gur rgyal gyi brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag
216. A seng rdo rje brtan pa'i mdo mang gi dkar chag
217. Mi'i dbang po bde legs rgya mtsho'i brgyad stong pa yi mtshon byed
218. dBu dum brtag gnyis kyi mtshon byed
219. bDag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed
220. Thub chen gyi 'phan gyi mtshon byed
221. rMa bya chen mo'i ri'i sdom
222. bSam grub gling
223. Ngam ring
224. Yang bsam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras
225. Yang ngam ring
226. Khro phu byams pa rnams kyi 'phan gyi tshigs bcad re re
227. bSam 'grub gling gser khang gi dkar chag
228. brGyad stong pa gsum 'bigs kyi dkar chag
229. dPon po khro bo'i brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed
230. Chos zom 'du khang gi lha tshogs kyi dkar chag
231. dPon po tshe bzang gi shes phyin stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa'i mtshon byed
232. Phun tshogs bsam gtan gling pa'i gser khang dkar chag
233. Bla ma skye rtsa pa'i sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshan byed
234. Yang lam 'bras bla brgyud spros med bla brgyud lam zab bla brgyud rnams kyi mtshon byed
235. Sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mang dkar chag
236. Nang so dpal bsrung gi brgyad rtog gser gsum gyi mtshon byed

237. Lo gsar pa'i dus su phul ba'i bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa  
 238. mKhar spe rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan  
 239. bDag chen chos rje'i dris lan  
 240. dPyal pa'i phag mo skor gsum gyi byin rlabs mtshan brjod 'don thabs  
 241. Rigs gsum spyi yi dbang gi tho  
 242. rNal 'byor ma yi byin rlabs kyi tho  
 243. bDag chen ngag pa'i bsnyen pa'i zhus lan  
 244. Kun rig gi bsnyen pa byed tshul  
 245. Der ma thus pa la brgal lan tshig don<sup>4</sup> mun sel  
 246. bsTan bcos sdom gsum rab dbye'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma  
 247. mKhas pa rnam 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed  
 248. Bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar  
 249. Grub ston yon tan dpal dang la ru ba bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar

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<sup>4</sup> *Don* is added by a different hand in the manuscript.

## Abbreviations and Bibliography



## Abbreviations

BG	SBYIN-PA-GRAGS-PA.
GeCat	Catalogue of the Gelung manuscript set of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works published in D. JACKSON (1987), 546-554.
GeNTh	GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, <i>rJe btsun bla ma'i rnam par thar pa</i> .
KA	KHENPO APPEY.
Mi-rigsCat	<i>Bod gangs can gyi grub mtha' ris med kyi mkhas dbang brgya dang brgyad cu lhag gi gsung 'bum so so'i dkar chag phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa shes bya'i gter mdzod</i> . Vol. 1 ( <i>stod cha</i> ), [Chengdu]: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.
Mi-rigsCat1	The first list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works found in Mi-rigsCat.
Mi-rigsCat2	The second list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works found in Mi-rigsCat.
Mi-rigsCat3	The third list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's works found in Mi-rigsCat.
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.
Tō	<i>Provisional Title-Index of the Toyo Bunko Collection of Tibetan Works</i> . Ed. by the Seminar on Tibet. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1978.
TōCat	Catalogue of the Tōyō Bunko manuscript set of Glo-bo mKhan-chen's collected works, published in D. JACKSON (1987), 555-565.
TōNTh	See GLO-BO MKHAN-CHEN, <i>rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub</i> .
<i>Tshig mdzod</i>	Krang-dbyi-sun <i>et al.</i> , <i>Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo</i> . 2 vols., [Beijing]: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993. [Reprint of the first edition in 3 vols. from 1985.]
<i>Three Karchacks</i>	<i>Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnam nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed</i> . See Bibliography s.v. [Anonymous].

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## Index

### Sanskrit and Tibetan texts<sup>1</sup>

- Abhidharmakośa* 62, 75, 159  
*Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 62, 158f.  
*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* 88, 245, 250  
*Baiḍūrya ser po* 86  
*Bhāvanākrama* 89, 207  
*Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes* 16  
*Blo gsal gyi ldum bu ba kun dga' grol mchog rang gi myong ba rgyan gi me tog* 161  
*Blo'i rnam par gzhas pa sde bdun snying po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* 43  
*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 169  
*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* 158  
*brGal lan snying gi mun sel* 83  
*bsKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje* 42  
*bsTod pa chos kyi rgyal po (= Chos rgyal ma)* 155  
*Cha bsdus* 160  
*'Chims mdzod see Nag 'byams su grags pa'i mdzod ṭik*  
*Chos rgyal ma see bsTod pa chos kyi rgyal po*  
*Dad pa'i rba rlabs ma* 155  
*Ḍākinīvajrapañjara* 147, 159  
*dBu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga see Sems bskyed chen mo*  
*Dharmadhātustotra* 84  
*dPal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan*  
47  
*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* 89  
*Gung thang rgyal rabs* 15  
*gZungs bsdus* 155  
*Hevajra(mūla)tantra* 88, 152, 156, 196, 244  
*'Jam dbyangs bsod nams lhun grub kyi rnam par thar pa* 47  
*Jātakamāla* 88  
*Kālacakratāntra* 71  
*Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra* 88f., 155  
*Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams kyi bris yig* 42  
*Madhyamakahrdayavṛttitarkajvālā* 169  
*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 167, 169  
*mKhas (pa rnams) 'jug (pa'i sgo)* 40-42, 52, 63, 73, 75, 77, 79, 84f., 90, 196, 262  
*Mūlavinayasūtra* 62, 75, 158  
*Nag 'byams su grags pa'i mdzod ṭik* 159

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<sup>1</sup> The Tibetan titles of works described in the Descriptive Catalogue (Part Three) are found in a separate section of the index below.

- Nītiśāstra* 167  
*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* 88, 251  
*Phyag rdor stod 'grel* 156  
*Pramānavārttika* 62, 75, 158-160  
*Pramānavārttikavṛtti* 158  
*Pramānaviniścaya* 160  
*rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs kyi 'grel pa* 89  
*rDo rje'i snying 'grel* 156  
*rGyal sras lam bzang (=Thub pa'i dgongs gsal)* 146, 157  
*rGyal sras lam bzang gi skyabs kyi gtam brgyud nyer mkho* 82  
*rGya nag skag zlog* 88, 253  
*rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* 71, 94  
*rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa* 71, 84, 184, 186  
*Ri chos bskor gsum* 156  
*Rigs ldan pad dkar gyi 'grel chen dri med 'od* 156  
*rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam  
par thar pa zhus lan* 47, 54  
*rJe btsun mi la ras pas mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs su bkod pa 'khrul med  
snang ba* 92  
*rTags kyi rnam bzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me* 43f.  
*Sam̐bhūṭi* 159  
*Sam̐puṭināmamahātantra* 159  
*Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* 152  
*(Sarvathāgata)tattvasaṃgraha(nāmamahāyānasutra)* 152f.  
*sByor ṭik* 158  
*sDe bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam  
bshad rig lam gsal ba'i nyi ma* 44  
*sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel* 83  
*sDom gsum rab dbye* 40f., 62, 69, 76, 79, 83f., 89-91, 159, 161, 173, 189f., 209, 259  
*sDom gsum rab dbye'i dka' gnad rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag* 83, 189  
*sDom gsum rab dbye la dri ba legs pa* 62, 161  
*sDom pa gsum gyi rab dbye'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag* 40, 69  
*sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos kyi 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad  
gser thur* 62, 161, 259  
*sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mo rnam 'thag  
42*  
*sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan* 43  
*Sems bskyed chen mo* 157  
*Sems 'grel bskor gsum* 156  
*Śikṣāsamuccaya* 158, 207  
*sKal ldan snying gi mun sel* 83, 91  
*sKyes bu dam pa nams la springs ba'i yi ge* 154  
*Śrīparamādyanāmamahāyānakalparājā* 153  
*Suh̐llekha* 62, 158f.  
*Sūtrasamuccaya* 89, 208  
*Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* 88

- Thob yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan* 52  
*Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* 79, 84, 90f., 146, 173, 233, 256f., 256  
*Thub pa'i dgongs gsal rgyal sras 'phags pa'i lam gyi sgrung 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer* 82  
*Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter* 91  
*Tshad ma rigs gter* 39, 43f., 52, 67, 76, 79, 81, 84, 90, 91f., 151, 158, 160, 192f., 195, 210  
*Tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed* 67  
*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*  
 43, 67  
*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo* 37f.  
*Vajraśekharamahāguhyayogatantra* 153  
*Vajrāvalināmamaṇḍalopāyikā* 146

## General Index

- Abhayākara Gupta 146  
*abhisamaya* 168  
*adhyaṭma* 149  
 A-grub-bkra-shis 60  
*a jo pa* 24  
 Ākaragupta 64  
 A-khu Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho 48  
 A-ma-dpal (var. A-mc-dpal, A-ma) 19-22, 37, 56f., 143-147, 150, 152  
 A-mchog sKye-dgu'i-dpal 55  
 A-mes (var. myes)-zhabs (Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams) 47f., 50f., 72, 291  
 A-mgon-bzang-po 21-24, 33, 37, 39, 57, 59f., 69, 74, 150, 153, 155, 164  
 A-mgon Rab-'byams-pa rGyal-mtshan-rin-chen 74  
 Amitāyus 155f.  
 A-mo-gha(-badzra) 22f., 33, 57, 147, 150, 153  
*Ancient Nepal* 37  
 Āryadeva 65  
 Āryasūra 88  
 A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa 24, 58, 68-70, 76, 85, 88, 216-220, 243  
 A-shwa-dharma 148  
 Aśvaghōṣa 89  
 Atiśa 14, 27  
*avadāna* 85, 143, 252  
 Avalokiteśvara 148  
  
 Baltistan 23  
 Baragaon 13, 27  
*bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi* 154  
 Ba-ri Lo-tstsha-ba 65  
 'Bar-lde (vars. dBang-lde, dBang-phyug-lde) 28  
*bCom ldan 'das mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho* 149  
 bDag-chen Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal 87  
 bDag-mo Sangs-rgyas-sgron 245  
 bDag-mo Thugs-rje-sri-gnon 247  
 bDe-gshegs-gling 88  
 bDe-legs-bzang-mo 34  
 bDe-legs-gling-pa 246  
 bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan(-dpal-bzang-po) 25, 53, 57, 60, 75, 87, 155, 252  
 bDe-legs-rgya-mtsho 25, 70, 73, 76, 244  
*bem chag* 151  
 Bengali 27  
 Bhavya 169  
*bhikṣu* 63  
 bKa'-bcu-pa dPal-'byor 86, 205  
 bKa'-bcu-pa Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan 63  
 bKa'-brgyud-pa 14, 25  
 bKa'-gdams-pa 158  
 bKa'-'gyur 23, 146  
 bKra-shis-brtscg-dpal 31  
 bKra-shis-chos-gling 55, 80  
 bKra-shis-dpal-'bar 34  
 bKra-shis-lde (= Krāśīcalla) 30  
 bKra-shis-mgon (ruler of Glo-bo) 23-24, 26, 58, 62, 69, 73, 76, 85, 88, 153, 198, 215, 221, 236  
 bKra-shis-mgon (son of Nyi-ma-mgon) 13, 27, 30  
 bKra-shis-rdo-rde 82  
 bKra-shis-rtse 28  
 bKra-shis-stobs-rgyas 26  
 bKra-shis-tshul-khrims 64  
 Bla-ma bZang-po 86, 232  
 Bla-ma-dam-pa (bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po) 149, 164  
 Bla-ma dMar sec dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po  
 Bla-ma dPal-skyabs 86, 205, 223  
 Bla-ma (Drung) Blo-pa 230-232  
 Blo-bzang-rab-brtan 24, 29  
 Blo-gros-dpal-mgon 42, 47f., 51, 61, 73  
 Blo-gros-rab-brtan 86  
 Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan 26, 85, 230  
*blo rigs* 43, 89  
*bodhicitta* 157  
 Bodhisattva 53, 65, 146, 148, 155-157, 168

- Bo-dong E(-chos-'byung) 35, 149  
 Bo-dong Pañ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal 21, 33, 35  
 Bon(-po) 14, 17, 143, 262  
 Brag 15  
 Brag-dkar (Theg-chen-dar-rgyas-gling) 15, 21f., 71, 76, 147, 152, 177, 216, 219, 238  
*brgya tsho* 32  
*brgya tsho bcu gsum* 15  
 'Bri-gung-pa 14f., 28f.  
*bris yig* 176  
 brTan pa'i-rgya-mtsho 254  
 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa 25  
 bSam-grub-dpal-'bar 55  
 bSam-grub-gling 14, 25, 48, 72f., 77, 88, 169, 175, 224, 247f., 262  
 bSam-grub-lde 34  
 bSam-gtan-gling 15, 74  
 bSam-gtan-rdzong 15  
*bsdus don* 86  
*bsdus pa* 86  
*bsdus yig* 111  
*bsnyen thabs* 86  
 bSod-nams-bkra-shis 151  
 bSod-nams-blo-gros 79  
 bSod-nams-dbang-phyug 22, 74  
 bSod-nams-dpal 64  
 bSod-nams-lde (king of Gung-thang) 19, 33  
 bSod-nams-lde (= Puṇyamalla) 28, 31  
 bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po 57, 60, 75, 155  
 bSod-nams-rtse-mo 65, 71, 84, 87, 90, 157, 184, 186  
*bsri thabs* 152  
 bsTan-'gyur 23f., 146  
 bTsan-phyug-lde 30  
 bTsan-srong 27, 30  
 Buddha 58f., 62-65, 145, 148f., 154  
 Buddhaśrī 21  
 Buddhism (in Glo-bo) 14, 21, 27  
 'Bum-lde-mgon 15, 18, 20, 32  
 Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa 201  
 Byams-pa bShad-sgrub-gling (= Byams-gling) 63  
 Byams(-pa)-gling 63, 76, 217  
*byang bdag* 215  
 Byang-chub-'od 27  
*Byang chub sems dpa'i blo sbyong* 158  
 Byang-ngos 28f.  
 Byang-sems Rin-chen-mgon 66  
 Byang-thang 16  
 Byi-ba-mkhar 23, 33  
*byin brlabs* 86  
 bZang-po-rgyal-mtshan 21, 146  
 bZhi-sde 148f.  
 bZhi-sde-pa Drung Nam-rtse 148  
 bZhi-thog Bla-brang 147  
 Cakrasaṃvara Palace ('Khor-lo-bde-mchog-gi-pho-brang) 150; see also 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang  
 Cakrasaṃvara tradition 50  
 Candrakīrti 65  
 Cāpa 30  
 Cāpilla 30  
 Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies 45  
*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum* 49  
*'chad thabs* 84  
*'chag med* 150  
*'cham sku* 166  
*chen po* 147  
 'Chims brTson-'grus-seng-ge 159  
*cho ga* 86  
 Chos-kyi-rin-chen see Si-tu Chos-kyi-rin-chen  
 Chos-nyid-seng-ge 148  
 Chos-rgyal-grags-pa 28  
 Chos-rgyal Nor-bu 85, 212-214  
*chos sde chen po* 150  
 Chos-sdings 73, 227  
*chos sku* 49  
 Chos-skyong-'bum 18f., 29  
 Chos-skyong-bzang-po see Zhwa-lu Lo-tsa-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po  
 Chos-skyong-dpal-bzang(-po) 86, 200  
 Chos-skyong-rgyal-mo 33

- Chos-zom 88, 91  
 Chu-mig-dpal 149  
*cikitsā* 149  
  
 Dakpa Sheri 89  
*da ra kha che* 147  
 dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan 73, 85, 233, 257  
 dBon-po-ri 166  
 dBon-po rMa-bya-ba 229  
 dBu-mdzad Ngag-dbang-bzang-po 87  
*dbu rtse* 153  
 dBu-ru 16, 154  
 dBus 153f., 163, 165f.  
 debate, monastic 43  
 Dehra Dun 45, 83, 91, 173  
 Derge 80, 82, 91, 173, 183  
 Devikoṭa 89  
 dGe-bshes Chos-'bar 239  
 dGe-'dun-rgya-mtsho 30  
 dGe-lugs-pa 30  
 dGe-shes Mudrā-chen-po 149  
 dGe-slong Dar-bzang-ba 86  
 dGu-rum see sGo-rum  
*dhāraṇī* 152  
 Dharmakīrti 44, 62, 158, 191  
 Dharmamāla 64  
 Dharmapāla 64  
 Dignāga 191  
 Ding-ri 34  
 Ding-ri Gangs-dkar 35  
*dkar chag* 82f., 88, 151  
 dKar-dum 20, 29, 32  
 dKon-mchog-chos-skyabs 87  
 dKon-mchog-dar-bzang-ba 229  
 dKon-mchog-lhun-grub 26, 73-75, 77, 187  
 dKon-mchog-'phel 38, 53, 69f., 76, 85, 87  
 dMar-rdza 154  
 dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po 38, 85, 180  
 dMar-ston rGyal-mtshan-'od-zer 180  
*dod pa'i tshad*  
 Dol-po 19f., 24, 27, 29  
 Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan 16  
 Don-grub-shes-rab 155  
  
*'don thabs* 86  
 Don-yod-dpal 71, 160  
 Don-yod-rdo-rje 35  
 dPal-gyi-mgon 13, 27  
 dPal-ldan 239  
 dPal-ldan-bkra-shis 74  
 dPal-ldan-bzang-po 161  
 dPal-ldan-grags-pa see Śrīmatkīrti  
 dPal-ldan-pa Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan  
     see Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan  
 dPal-mgon-btsan 28  
 dPal-rta-mgrin Padma-dbang-chen 156  
 dPal-skyong 59  
*dpon btsun* 25  
 dPon-btsun dKon-mchog-grags-pa 87  
*dpon chen* 34  
 dPon-chen Byang-ba 246  
 dPon-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po 147  
*dpon po* 29  
 dPon-po rMa 86  
 Dreyfus, G. 44  
*drung* 148  
 Drung Rab-'byams-pa Ye-shes-dbang-phyug see Ye-shes-dbang-phyug  
*dul grwa* 146  
 Dun-mkhar 28  
*dus bgo ba* 61, 63  
 Dus-mchod Bla-brang 168  
  
 earthquake 152; (of 1505) 58, 71, 76, 167  
 epistemology, Tibetan Buddhist 40, 43  
 Everding, K.-H. 17-19  
  
 Ga-ma 19  
 Gangs-dkar *khri dpon* 35  
 Gar-log 28  
 gCod 156  
 Gelung 52, 54f., 79-81, 91, 173, 175, 180-182, 190, 257  
 Ghaṇṭāpāda 150  
*glang gi las stabs bcu gsum* 15, 24, 32  
 Glo-bo Ges-dkar 14  
 Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen 15, 38, 200

- Glo-bo sMad (Lower Glo-bo) 13, 15, 19, 23, 32, 151  
 Glo-bo sTod (Upper Glo-bo) 13, 15, 18f., 23, 26, 32, 151  
 gNam-ru 16  
*gnas pa* 19  
 golden manuscript(s) 42, 49, 53, 80, 82, 92  
 Gong-dkar 50  
*gong ma* 151  
 Go-rams-pa (var. Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa) bSod-nams-seng-ge 38, 40-42, 67, 69f., 72, 79, 85, 87, 164, 179, 258  
*gotra* 167  
 Grags-btsan-lde 30  
 Grags-pa-lde 29  
 Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Gu-ge Paṅ-chen 38, 53, 58, 65, 68, 76, 87, 147, 154, 165, 239  
 Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (ruler) 86, 221  
 Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, rJe-btsun 71, 84, 87, 90, 148, 157  
 Great Bla-brang 147  
*grol lam* 156  
 Gro-shod 17  
 Gru 24  
 Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal 38, 85, 181  
 gSang-phu 151  
 gSang-phu Ne'u-thog 151, 159  
*gsang ste ston pa'i slob dpon* 63, 70  
*gsan yig* 179, 290  
 gSer-mdog-can 71, 166  
*gshin rje gshed dmar po* 15  
*gter ston* 14  
*gtor 'bul* 86  
*gtor chog* 86  
*gtor ma* 149, 166  
 gTsang 26, 38, 71, 76, 146, 153f., 166  
 gTsang-po 50, 201  
 gTsang-rang-bya-po'i-ze-ba (= Tsarang) 19  
 gTsang-rang (Thub-bstan-bshad-sgrub-dar-rgyas-gling) 21  
 gTsang-rong Bya-pho'i-ze-ba 15, 18  
 gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka 16, 25, 34  
 gTso-tsho-ba 18-20, 22f., 33  
 gTso-tsho sMad-pa 17  
*gtsug lag khang* 88  
 Gu-ge 14, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27-29, 32f., 35, 43, 60, 68, 74, 85, 146, 148f., 160, 166, 196f., 226f., 262  
 Gu-ge mKhan-chen Chos-nyid-seng-ge see Chos-nyid-seng-ge  
 Gu-ge Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan see Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan  
 Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya 159  
 Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra 162  
 Guṇamitra 63f.  
 Gu-na-pa-ti (= Guṇasāgara?) 64  
 Guṇaprabha 62, 158  
 Gung-ru Shes-rab-bzang-po 164  
 Gung-thang 15f., 18-21, 23f., 27, 29f., 32-35, 73f., 77, 85, 143, 212-214, 225  
 Gur-gum-rgyal-mo 88, 251  
*Gu ru bka' brgyud* 156  
*guru* transmission 88  
 g.Yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal 151f., 158  
 g.Yas-ru 55  
 g.Yo-ru 154  
 gYur-rtse-ma Ming-khrid 34  
 gZhis-ka 166  
 gZhon-nu-dbang-phyug 35  
*gzim chung* 70  
  
*hetu* 149  
 Hevajra 162  
 Hevajra-body-maṇḍala (*kyai rdor lus dkyil*) 146  
 Himalaya 71  
 Hindu 31  
 Hor 236  
*hor 'dra* 26, 167  
 Hor-pa 23  
 Hugon, P. 44  
  
 India 81, 154  
 Indra 154  
  
 Jackson, D. 40-42, 50, 79f., 82, 192, 263, 267

- 'Jad Thub-bstan-yangs-pa-can 87  
 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po (= Shākya-  
 mchog-ldan) 51, 159, 164  
 'Jam-dbyangs 'Khon-ston 65  
 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po  
 92f.  
 'Jam-dbyangs-rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan 34  
 'Jam-dbyangs(var. 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs)-  
 shes-rab-rgya-mtsho 23, 39, 44, 57,  
 60, 75, 87, 151, 155, 158  
 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa 74  
 Jātakas 169  
 'Jig-rten-dbang-phyug 30  
 Jitāri 65  
 Jñānaśrī 155  
 Jo-bo (of sKyid-grong) 72, 77, 85  
*jo bo mched gsum* 148  
 Jo-bo rGyal-po 28  
 Jumla 25, 31  
*'Jur po ma* 166  
  
 Kag/Kāgbeni 13  
 Kaḥ-tog Rig-'dzin Tshé-dbang-nor-bu 15  
 Kālacakra (empowerment) 149, 152  
 Kali Gandaki 13  
*kaliyuga* 167  
 Kamalaśīla 89, 207  
*Karmācārya* 61  
 Kashmir 14, 23, 27, 154  
 Khams Zil-gnon 86, 239  
 Khang-gsar 85, 216  
 Khang-gsar Nang-so 216  
 Khāri 30  
 Khasarpaṇa 89  
 Khenpo Appey 39, 44, 48, 54, 92  
 'Khon 32, 34, 168  
 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po 72  
 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa'i-pho-brang  
 (Cakrasaṃvara Palace) 22, 68, 76,  
 147, 189  
 Khor-re 149  
 Khri-btsan-lde 30  
 Khrigs-rtse mKhan-po Rab-brtan-bzang-  
 po 86, 237  
 Khri-lde-'bum 32  
  
 Khri-nam-mkha'i-dbang-po 148  
 Khri-phun-tshogs-lde see Phun-tshogs-  
 lde (king of Gu-ge)  
 Khri-se 86  
 Khri-srong-lde-btsan 34, 60  
 Khro-bo sKyabs-pa 20  
 Khro-phu 248  
 Khro-rgyal-rdo-rje 20  
*khrus chog* 86  
 Khwa-char 60, 148f., 155  
 Khyi-ku 74  
 Khyung-po 16f., 143  
 Ki-nor Jñānaśrī see Jñānaśrī  
*kla klo* 262  
 Klu-brag 14  
 Klu-brag-pa bKra-shis-rgyal-mtshan 14  
 Klu-sdings 216  
 Kong-sprul 61  
 Kong-ston dBang-phyug-grub-pa 87  
 van der Kuijp, L. 40f., 43, 83  
 Kun-brtson-pa 87  
 Kun-bzang-chos-dpal 85, 252  
 Kun-bzang-nyi-zla-grags-pa 34  
 Kun-dga'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan 182  
 Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan 149  
 Kun-dga'-chos-legs 87  
 Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug 24, 38, 41, 53,  
 57, 59, 61, 63-66, 75f., 85, 87, 154,  
 156f., 162f., 177f., 180, 189, 213,  
 234f.  
 Kun-dga'-dpal-bzang 86, 200  
 Kun-dga'-grol-mchog 17, 29, 41, 47,  
 50f., 68, 161, 221, 251  
 Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan 74  
 Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (son of A-ma-  
 dpal) 150, 153  
 Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan(-dpal-bzang-po)  
 73, 204, 258f., 262  
 Kun-dga'-rin-chen see Sa-skyia bDag-  
 chen bZhi-thog-pa Kun-dga'-rin-chen  
 Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal-lde 34  
  
 La-dwags 13f., 23, 25f., 30, 74  
*lam 'bras* 21, 39, 42, 49, 61, 75, 88f.,  
 146, 152, 176, 180, 247



- lam rim* 161  
 La-ru-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge 85  
*las kha 'dzin pa* 143  
*las kyi slob dpon* 61, 70  
 La-stod Byang 33-35, 85, 202, 215, 246  
 La-stod dMar-po 14  
 La-stod lHo 24, 27, 29, 34-36, 39, 160  
 La-tu-ba bSod-nams-seng-ge 181  
 lCang-ra bKa'-bcu-pa 146  
 lDe-gtsug-mgon 13, 27  
 lHa-chen Utpala 14  
 lHa-dbang-blo-gros 85, 187, 240  
 lHa-dbang-rgyal-mtshan 33  
*lha khang* 88, 248  
 lHa-lde 148f.  
 lHa-mchog-seng-ge 26, 48, 73, 77, 87, 89  
 lHa-rtse rdzong 151  
 Lhasa 80  
 lHo-stod 28f.  
 Lo-chen Byang-chub-rtse-mo 66  
 logic 43  
 Luhpāda 150  
 Lumbini 177
- Madhyamaka 151, 158f.  
 Magadha 206  
 Mahākāla 72, 77, 87, 89, 153, 177  
 Mahāyāna 167f.  
 Mahokha 206  
 Maitreya 153, 246; (of dGa-gdong and of Khro-phu) 87, 248 (temple) 22, 150  
 Maitreya-nātha 169  
 Malla 31  
 Mallas (of Nepal Valley) 31  
*maṇḍala* 22, 146f., 150, 152, 156, 162  
*maṇi* 61  
 Mañjuśrī 65, 148f., 159  
*māra* 167  
*mar la gnang ba dang yar la phul ba* 164  
 Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba 14  
 Martin, D. 44  
 Mar-yul 14, 74, 148  
*mchan bu* 84  
*mchod g.yog mdzad pa po* 68
- mChog-grub-lde 33  
 mDo-Khams 154  
*mdo khams sgang drug* 154  
*mdo mangs* 88, 253  
*mdzod 'dzin pa* 160  
 Men-zhang(-pa) 17f., 22, 33  
*me thog 'thor ba gnang* 162  
 mGon-po-dbang-phyug 87  
 mGon-po-lde 31f.  
 mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan(-grags-pa-mtha'-yas) 26, 40, 73, 85, 198f.  
*mi dpon* 19, 29  
 Mi-la-ras-pa 16, 38, 81, 89, 143, 156, 211  
 Mi-nyag 154  
 Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang 47, 51, 55, 80, 91  
*mkhan po* 23, 61  
 mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzang 146  
 mKha'-spyod-rtse 221  
 mKha'-spyod-steng 20  
 mKhyen-rab Chos-rje 26  
 mKhyen-rab-'jam-dbyangs-dbang-po see Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba  
*mnga' bdag* 27, 74  
 mNga'-ris 13, 15, 17, 24, 26f., 32, 40, 71, 143f., 146, 152-154, 166, 200  
 mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal 25, 34, 38f., 53, 61, 72, 77  
*mnga' ris skor gsum* 14, 24, 27, 154  
 mNga'-ris sMad 24  
*mngon rtogs* 86  
 Mollas 16, 41  
*mon* 26  
 Mongol(s)/ Mongolian 15, 32, 147  
*mtshon byed* 88  
 Mu-khun Srin-rdzong 15  
 Mukti-nāth 13f., 20, 32, 41  
 Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan 145, 164, 190  
 Muslim invaders/invasion 23, 29f.  
 Mus Rab-'byams-pa Thugs-rje-dpal-bzang 87  
 Mustang 13, 55

- Nāḍīḍākinī 150  
 Nāgarāja (= Naga-lde) 30  
 Nāgarjuna 62, 64f., 84, 89, 158, 208  
 Nam-gling 74  
 Nam-mchog 212  
 Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po 70, 166  
 Nam-mkha'i-dbang-po Phun-tshogs-lde  
   see Phun-tshogs-lde (king of Gu-ge )  
 Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje 228  
 Nam-mkha'-rtse-mo 148  
*Nam mkha' sgo 'byed* 156  
 Nang-so dPal-srungs 253  
 Nang-so (Zhang-po?) rGyal-ba'i-dbang-po  
   see rGyal-ba'i-dbang-po  
 National Archives (Kathmandu) 55, 80,  
   175, 180-182, 187, 190, 209  
 Nepal 13, 27, 30f., 38  
 Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation  
   Project (NGMPP) 41, 52, 54-56, 80,  
   83, 175, 180-182, 187, 190, 209, 257  
 Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin Rin-po-che 83  
 Ngag-dbang-grags-pa 144  
 Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa-rgyal-  
   mtshan-dpal-bzang-po 74  
 Ngam-rings 88, 215, 247  
 Ngor-chen (Kun-dga'-bzang-po) 17, 21,  
   23, 29, 37, 56-61, 63f., 66, 68, 87,  
   144-149, 151-155, 161, 163f., 166,  
   176, 180, 182, 190  
 Ngor (E-waṃ-chos-ldan) 21, 23f., 26,  
   38, 41, 48, 55, 57-61, 69-73, 76f.,  
   80f., 83, 87, 89, 146, 151, 154, 164-  
   166, 173, 176-179, 182, 186, 189f.,  
   216, 234f., 250  
 Ngor-pa 21, 25, 42, 56, 68, 71, 164  
 Niguma 156  
 Ni-ri g.Ya'-rdzong-dkar-po 15, 18, 32  
*nirvāṇa* 58, 148f.  
*niṣprapañca (shin tu spros pa med pa)*  
   145f.  
 Nor-bu (= Nor-bu-phun-tshogs?) 86,  
   236, 258  
 Nor-bu-bzang-po 71  
 Nor-bu-lde 34  
 Nor-bu-phun-tshogs 258  
 Nyang-stod ICang-ra 146  
 Nya-rtse-rig 149  
 Nyi-bzungs 27  
 Nyi-ma-mgon 13, 30, 31  
  
 'Od-'bar-rtse 28  
 'Od-lde 27  
 'Od-zer-dpal-ba 64  
 Onoda, S. 43  
  
 Pad-khud-mtsho 73  
 Padmasambhava 13, 143  
*pañcavidyāsthāna* 149  
 Paṅ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan see  
   Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan  
 Panchgaon 13, 27  
 Paṇimitra 63  
 Parbat 24  
 Phag-mo-gru-pa 147, 248  
 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (=   
   'Phags-pa Rin-po-che) 15, 32, 65, 87,  
   149, 157  
*'phags pa 'i yul* 154  
 Phan-bde 216  
 'Phred-mkhar-ba 20  
 'Phred-mkhar sKyab-pa 20  
*'phros pa zhus pa* 144  
*Phug-pa* 71  
 Phun-tshogs-bsam-gtan-gling 88, 249  
 Phun-tshogs-lde (king of Gu-ge) 29,  
   148f.  
 Phun-tshogs-lde (king of Gung-thang)  
   32f.  
 Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal 242, 255  
*phyogs snga*  
 Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge 160  
 Pra-dum 17  
 Prajñāpāramitā 61f., 75, 87, 89, 146, 151,  
   157-160, 207  
 Pramāṇa 61, 75, 151, 158, 160  
 Prātimokṣa 148, 157  
 Pṛthivīmalla 31  
 Pu-hrangs 14f., 19f., 22-25, 27-33, 43,  
   60, 148f., 152

- Pu-hrangs *jo bo* 28  
 Pu-hrangs sTod 29  
 Puṇya (= Glo-bo mKhan-chen) 177, 198, 202  
 Puṇya-shrī 65  
*pūrvapakṣa* 195  
  
 Qarakhanid Turks 28  
  
 Rab-brtan-bzang-po 87  
 Rab-brtan-mgon-po 20  
 Rab-'byams bSod-nams-dpal-ldan 254  
 Rab-'byams-pa Blo-gros-rab-gsal 86, 205  
 Rab-'byams-pa rGyal-mtshan-rin-chen 87  
 Rāhula 64  
 Rāhula the *brāhmaṇa* 64  
 Ra-nag-pa 85, 228  
 Ras-chung bKa'-brgyud-pa 25  
 Ratnamitra 64  
 Ratnaśrī 44, 151f.  
 rDo-rje-brag 50  
 rDo-rje-'chang 144, 163, 166  
 rDo-rje-dpal-ba 64  
 rDo-rje-gdan-pa-che-ba 65  
 rDo-rje-gdan-pa-chung-ba 65  
*rdzong* 19  
 rDzong 20  
 rDzong-dkar 15, 17, 24  
*rdzong dpon* 18-20, 29, 32  
 rDzong-kha 31  
 Red-mda'-ba 160  
 rGod-tshang-ras-pa sNa-tshogs-rang-grol 25  
 rGyal-ba'i-dbang-po 86, 203  
 rGyal-ba'i-gtsug-lag-khang 88, 249  
 rGyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa 156  
 rGyal-de'u 148  
 rGyal-mtshan 239  
 rGyal-mtshan-rdo-rje 86, 240  
 rGyal-sras-pa dNgul-chu mThogs-med 66  
 rGyal-ti 25, 29, 33  
 rGyang 'Bum-mo-che 151  
  
*ri bo che* 68, 147, 150  
 Rig-'dzin Blo-gros-dpal-mgon 254  
 Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan-rdo-rje 38  
*rig pa 'dzin pa* 148  
 Rin-chen-bzang-po 27, 155f.  
 Rin-chen-bzang-po (son of A-ma-dpal) 150, 153  
 Rin-chen-rgang Bla-brang 147  
 Rin-chen-rtse 58, 69f., 76, 165f.  
*rin chen spungs shad* 111  
 Rin-po-che rGyal-tsha 248  
 Rin-spungs-pa 26, 30, 35, 41, 58, 70f., 76, 85, 166, 238  
*rjes gnang* 86  
 rNal-'byor-dbang-phyug bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan see bDe-legs-rgyal-mtshan  
 rNam-lde-mgon 148  
*rnam (par) thar (pa)* 56, 143  
 rNam-rgyal (= Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling) 22, 152, 162  
 rNam-rgyal, old 22, 150, 152  
 rNam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po 74, 85, 91, 196f., 262  
 rNam-rgyal-lde 23, 29, 33  
 rNam-rgyal-rtse 163  
 rNgog Lo-tsā-ba (Blo-ldan-shes-rab) 63, 75, 151, 157, 160, 162  
 rNying-ma-pa 25, 50, 53, 60  
 Rong-sgom rTogs-med-zhig-po 14  
 Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig 151, 157f.  
*rtags rigs* 43, 89  
 rTa-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal 69f., 76  
 rTa-sga 15  
*rten gtor* 149  
 rTogs-ldan Darma-bsod-nams 15  
*rtogs pa brjod pa* 143  
*rtsa dbu ma* 150  
 rTse-gdong 70f., 76f., 183, 185, 242, 255  
 rTse-lde 27  
 Ru-lag 154  
 Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags 157  
 Rwa-ston Yon-tan-'byung-gnas 86  
 Rwa-ston (Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po) (= Rwa-chen) 57, 61, 63, 75, 87, 157, 159, 161

- sa bcad* 86  
*śabda* 149  
 Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po 14, 65, 87,  
 89, 92, 107, 157, 177, 291  
*sādhana* 86  
 Sa-gnam 16f., 143, 262  
 Śākya 85, 241  
 Śākyamuni 58, 64f., 148  
 Śākyamuni statue (of Thub-chen-rgyal-  
 ba'i-pho-brang) 24, 62, 245  
 Śākya-rin-chen 30  
 Śākyaśrībhadrā 14, 64, 248  
*samsāra* 169  
 Sangs-rgyas-dar 179  
 Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs 17, 148  
 Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen 72  
 Sangs-rgyas-skyabs-pa 253  
 Śāntarakṣita 89  
 Śāntideva 89, 158, 207  
 Śāriputra 64  
 Sa-skyā 32, 34, 55, 69, 71f., 77, 79-81,  
 143f., 148, 150f., 153, 165f., 182, 210,  
 222, 236, 247  
 Sa-skyā bDag-chen bZhi-thog-pa Kun-  
 dga'-rin-chen 21  
*Sa skyā bka' 'bum* 88, 252  
*Sa-skyā dpon chen* 35  
*sa skyā gong ma rnam lnga* 24, 157  
 Sa-skyā Lo-tṣā-ba (var. Sa-lo) 'Jam-  
 dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (= *mKhyen-rab-'jam-dbyangs-dbang-po*)  
 38, 40, 47f., 53, 70f., 74, 76f., 85, 87,  
 143, 166, 169, 175, 184f., 204, 222,  
 238  
 Sa-skyā-pa 15f., 21, 23-25, 28, 31f., 34,  
 41, 48, 54, 62, 86, 92, 106, 150f., 153,  
 157, 160, 163, 166-168  
 Sa-(skyā) Paṅ(ḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-  
 mtshan) 15, 37f., 40, 42-44, 59, 61-63,  
 65, 67, 73, 79, 82, 84f., 87, 89, 146,  
 148, 151, 154f., 157f., 168, 180f., 187,  
 189f., 192f., 195f., 208-210, 233, 254,  
 256-259, 262  
 sBrag-rtsi'i zla ba 206  
 sByin-pa-grags-pa 91  
*sbyor dngos mjug gsum* 168  
*sdom gsum* 157f.  
 Señjā 30  
 Se-rib 13f., 27, 40  
 sGo-mangs 74  
*sgom thabs* 86  
*sgom zlas* 86  
*sgo non gyi hor 'dra* 71  
 sGo-rum 50, 72, 77  
 sGrol-ma-skyabs 35  
*sgrub thabs* 86  
*shad* 111f.  
 Shāk-bzang sKu-'bum 144, 146  
 Shākya-bzang-po 34  
 Shākya-mchog-ldan 24f., 29, 42, 48,  
 50f., 56f., 62f., 66-69, 71, 75f., 159,  
 161, 163, 189, 209f., 259; see also  
 'Jam-dbyangs-chen-po  
 Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan 21, 64,  
 66  
 Shar-pa 43f., 85, 173, 182  
 Shel-dkar 34, 70, 239  
 Shel-dkar-chos-sde 35  
 Shel-dkar-rtse-rgyal 35  
 Shes-phrug 35  
 Shes-rab-bla-ma 16-19  
 Shes-rab-bla-ma, *gter ston* 14  
 Shes-rab-dpal-bzang 34  
 Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho see 'Jam-dbyangs-  
 shes-rab-rgya-mtsho  
 She'u-ri-pa 86  
 Sho-ma-phug-pa 86, 230  
*śilpa* 149  
 Śiṣyavajra 65  
 Si-tu Chos-kyi-rin-chen 35, 239  
 sKu-thang 15  
 sKyed-tshal 70, 201, 240  
 sKye-rtsa 200  
*skyes bu gsum gyi khrid kyi rim pa* 158  
 sKye-skyā-sgang-ba 20  
 sKyes-rtsa Bla-ma Kun-dga'-chos-legs  
 252  
 sKyiid-(g)rong 31, 50, 72, 77, 85, 87,  
 212, 227

- sKyi-dde Nyi-ma-mgon see Nyi-ma-mgon
- sKyi-nor Jñāna see Jñānāsī
- sKyi-ston 'Jam-dbyangs-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan 16
- Slob-dpon Sangs-rgyas-dpal-grub 61
- Slob-dpon Yon-tan-'byung-gnas 86, 197
- sMan-chu-kha 228
- sMar-khams 154
- smin lam* 156
- Smith, E. Gene 25, 37, 39, 44, 48
- sMon-thang (pa) 13, 17f., 20, 22, 24, 33, 38, 60, 75, 151, 154, 245
- smyon pa* 25
- sNa-tshag 20
- sNe(var. sNye)-shangs Lo-tsā-ba dPal-ldan-grags-pa 85, 221f.
- sNgags-'chang (Ngag-dbang-)Kun-dga'-rin-chen 38, 79
- sNyan-grags 25
- Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich 291
- sPi-ti 13, 148
- sPo-'bo 154
- sPo-rong 73
- sprul sku* 49
- spyān dbye'i cho ga* 147
- spyi dpon* 34
- sPyi-lde-btsan 28
- Srad Rin-chen-rtse see Rin-chen-rtse *sri btab*
- Śrīmatkīrti (= dPal-ldan-grags-pa) 73, 179, 185, 189, 206, 243, 245, 252
- Sri-mo 144
- Śrī Pañjaranātha 153
- Śrī Vajramahākāla Pañjaranātha 153
- Srong-btsan-sgam-po 13, 17
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin 80
- sTag-la-mkhar 149
- sTag-ra Klu-gong 60
- steng chen 'dul grwa* 146
- sTon-pa Yang-rab 14
- stūpa* 50
- Ta-bo 27
- Tā-dben (Nam-mkha'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan) 33, 35
- tantra/tantric 60f., 68, 75, 84, 87f., 144-146, 148, 152f., 155-157, 160, 164
- Tārā 87; (temple) 155
- Thakalis 13, 27
- Thak Khola 24
- thangka 42, 88, 176f.
- Thang-ston-rgyal-po 151
- Thar-po-pa 107, 223, 226f.
- Thar-rtse 216
- tho yig* 86
- thob yig* 47, 49, 52, 59, 61, 63, 65, 68, 70, 88, 91, 191
- Tho-ling 27
- Thub-bstan-bshad-sgrub-dar rgyas-gling (= Tsarang) 162
- Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling 22f., 57, 60f., 66-68, 76, 150-152, 155f., 158, 162, 192, 195, 204, 213, 262
- Thub-chen-rgyal-ba'i-pho-brang 24, 62, 245
- Thub-chen-rnam-par-rgyal-ba 44, 62, 75, 159
- Thugs-rje 20
- Tibet 14-16, 25-28, 30-32, 34, 41, 51, 58, 68f., 72, 77, 80, 83, 89, 92, 151, 164, 167, 201
- tī-shih* 149
- Tōyō Bunko 39, 42, 53-55, 80, 92, 173
- Tsarang Molla 16-18, 20-24, 67, 73, 114
- Tsāri 89
- Tsha-ba 154
- Tshal-pa 14f., 29
- Tshc-bdag-pa 74
- Tshc-dbang-bzang-po 251
- Tshc-dbang-sgron-ma 22
- tsho* 20
- 'tsho byed* 200, 253
- Tsho-nub 20
- Tshul-khrims 239
- Tshul-khrims-dpal 87
- Tshul-khrims-'od-zer 157

- Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (= dPal-ldan)  
40, 57, 62, 75, 85, 87, 159, 161, 163,  
179
- Tshul-rgyal 87
- Tsong-kha-pa 146, 161
- Tucci, G. 37
- Turkic Moslems 262
- Turkish army 204
- Tyangpoche 83, 187, 209
- upādhyāya* 61, 63
- U-rgyan 143
- Uṣṇīṣavijayā 155
- vajra* 56, 155
- Vajradhara 22, 147, 157
- Vajrakīla 88
- Vajrapāṇi 144, 148, 156
- Vajrayāna 15, 159, 161
- Vajrayoga 152
- vāsanā* 158
- Vasubandhu 62, 159
- vidyādhara* 148
- vimokṣa* 143
- Vinaya 61f., 158, 160
- Vitali, R. 17-19, 30, 43f.
- Wang-ku-la 148
- yakṣa* 89
- Yamaguchi, Z. 39, 53-55
- Yamāntaka 15, 156, 159
- Yang-ston 14
- Yar-klungs 16
- Yar-klungs-pa Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan  
155
- Ya-rtse 14, 27f., 30-32
- Ye-shes-dbang-phyug 86, 229
- Ye-shes-'od 27, 85, 149, 223, 226
- Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan see Shar-chen Ye-  
shes-rgyal-mtshan
- Yid-bzhin-lhun-gyi-grub-pa'i-gtsug-lag-  
khang 149
- Yon-tan-'byung-gnas see Rwa-ston Yon-  
tan-'byung-gnas
- Yon-tan-chos-rgyal 44, 57, 60f., 63, 75,  
87, 156, 158f.
- Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po see Rwa-ston  
Yon-tan-dpal-bzang-po
- Yüan 15f., 28, 32, 35, 149
- yul chen po bdun* 89
- Zal-mo 154
- Zangs-dkar 13
- Zhang-blon sNa-chen-po 17
- Zhang bTsan-thog 18
- Zhang Kun-spangs Tshul-khrims-rgyal-  
mtshan 18, 33
- Zhang mDo-sde-dpal 82
- Zhang-(pa) 17-20, 33, 152
- Zhang-pa nyes-gnas 18
- Zhang Shes-rab-bla-ma 18
- Zhang sNa-tshags-pa dGe-legs-rgyal-  
mtshan 18, 20, 22
- Zhang sNa-tshags-pa sMon-lam-rgyal-  
mtshan 18, 32
- zhus lan* 56
- Zhwa-dmar 26
- Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-  
po 38, 85, 201
- Zhwa-lu sKu-zhang 26
- zin bris* 89

Title Index to Glo-bo mKhan-chen's Works<sup>2</sup>

- A seng rdo rje brtan pa la \*gdams pa (var. phul ba dge) 237, 241, 243  
 A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba 242  
 A seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba'i zhu yig 238  
 A seng rdo rje brtan pas bzhengs pa'i mdo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta 283
- bCom ldan 'das gdugs dkar mo can gyi dbang gi tho yig 273  
 bCom ldan 'das kun rig gi bsnyen pa \*bya tshul (var. yig) 168  
 bCom ldan 'das rdo rje 'jigs byed bcu bdun ma'i dbang gi tho yig 126  
 bDag chen chos rgyal nor bu la thog mar gnang ba'i gsung 'phrin 231  
 bDag chen chos rje la phul ba 247  
 bDag chen gur gum rgyal mo'i rin chen gser gyi glegs bam bzhengs pa'i dkar chag gi snyan ngag 302  
 bDag chen kun dga' bsod nams la \*phul ba'i gsung phrin (var. phul ba zhus lan cung zad dang bcas pa) 274  
 bDag chen kun dga' rnam rgyal sde'i sku bstod 44  
 bDag chen ma gur rgyal gyi brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag 302  
 bDag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed 288  
 bDag mo thugs rje sri gnon gyis ngam rings su phul ba'i 'phan gyi dkar chag 293  
 bDe \*gshegs (var. legs) gling pa'i gtsug lag khang bzhegs pa'i mtshon byed 290  
 bDe mchog lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho 120  
 bDe mchog nag po rims bzhi'i khrid kyi brjed tho 194  
 bKa' bcu pa dpal 'byor gyi zhus lan 219  
 bKa' 'bum gyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me 310  
 Bla ma blo pa la gdams pa 261  
 Bla ma bzang po la gdams pa mdzad pa 265  
 Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba 248  
 Bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba'i blo sbyong theg mchog gnad kyi snying po 220  
 Bla ma'i rnam thar chos rgyal nor bu la \*gdams pa (var. phul ba'i zhu yig) 232  
 Bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa 39  
 Bla ma kun dga' chos legs la bstod pa 45  
 Bla ma rdo rje 'chang (var. rJe btsun) kun dga' dbang phyug pa'i thugs dam thang ka mgon po'i bri yig 86  
 Bla ma (var. bShes gnyen dam pa) rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa mkhyen rab ma 37  
 Bla ma [rin po che] dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam par thar pa 91  
 Bla ma sho ma phug pa la gdams pa 260  
 Bla ma tshul khriims dpal la bstod pa 46  
 Bla ma tshul rgyal la bstod pa 50  
 Blo'i rnam par gzhang pa sde bdun snying po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos 203

<sup>2</sup> The numbers refer to the Comparative Table in Chapter 4, the Descriptive Catalogue, and Appendix A. Important variants for parts of the titles are enclosed in parentheses, the beginning of the expression in question being marked by an asterisk.

- Bong bu'i zhal gyi dbang gi skabs su gsung ba'i tho (= Bong zhal can) 121  
 brGya rtog gser gsum nang so dpal srungs kyis bzhengs pa'i dkar chag 309  
 bSam 'grub gling 'du khang rab gnas dus mdzad pa 80  
 bSam 'grub gling gi gser khang gi \*bkod pa (var. dkar chag) 295  
 bSam 'grub gling gi gzim khang gi logs ris kyi \*lha tshogs (var. bla ma'i sku) rnams la  
     bstod pa mdzad pa 4  
 bSam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras pa'i bla ma rnams la phul ba'i gos phan gyi tshigs su bcad pa  
     292  
 bsGom rim bar ma'i sa bcad 'phags lam snying po 223  
 bSlab btus kyi le 'grel bslab pa'i rgyan 222  
 bSlab pa kun las btus pa'i le'u'i 'grel pa 222  
 bSrung ba lnga'i \*tho (var. dbang tho) 179  
 bsTan bcos sdom pa gsum gyi gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa nor bu chu shel 125  
 Byang chub sems dpa' yon tan chos rgyal la bstod pa phan bde kun 'byung ma 30  
 Byang pa mchod gnas pa'i dris lan nges don snying po 215
- Chab gtor gyi tho 155  
 Chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che la bstod pa 14  
 Chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel ba la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rigs bdag ma 24  
 Chos kyi rje pañ chen [grags pa rgyal mtshan] la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma 27  
 Chos kyi rje pañḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod  
     pa dge legs rgya mtsho 26  
 Chos kyi rje sa skya pañḍita bstod pa phan mdzad ma 13  
 Chos kyi rje sa skya pañḍita la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa dam pa bzhi ldan 12  
 Chos kyi rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung 90  
 Chos rgyal bkra shis mgon gyis bzhengs pa'i rgyud kyi glegs shing gi dkar chag 284  
 Chos rgyal chen po bkra shis dgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod 270  
 Chos rje dbang phyug grub pa la bstod pa gzhung lugs ma 41  
 Chos rje lha dbang [blo gros] la skyid tshal du springs pa 276  
 Chos rje lha mchog seng ge la bstod pa lhag pa'i lha mchog ma 42  
 Chos rje mgon po dbang phyug la bstod pa 48  
 Chos rje nor bu la phul ba 271  
 Chos rje rnam rgyal ba'i dris lan 204  
 Chos rje rnam rgyal ba la gnang ba'i dris lan rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas cung zad 205  
 Chos rje rnam rgyal bas rtsa rgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas la dri ba zhus pa'i zhus lan 205  
 Chos rje rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i dris lan zab don nor bu'i gter 206  
 Chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang po la bstod pa zab rgyas ma 31  
 Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul 94  
 Chos rje \*shi'u (var. she'u) ri pa la gnang ba 250  
 Chos rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rab dkar ma 33  
 Chos sna so dgu'i grangs 'dren tshul 105  
 Chos zom 'du khang gi lha tshogs kyi dkar chag dag 303  
 Chos zom gyi gtsug lag khang gi logs ris kyi gtso bo rnams bstod pa mdzad pa 78



- Dag ldan gleng gzhi'i gnod sbyin kha pa ra'i (var. Kha sar pa ṅa'i) \*lo rgyus (var. lam dus) kyī gsal byed 104
- dBang phyug rgyal mtshan la gdams pa 266
- dBu (var. U) dum brtag gnyis kyī \*dkar chag (var. mtshon byed) 286
- dBu ma chos kyī dbyings su bstod pa'i rnam par bshad pa don dam snying po 199
- dBu ma lugs kyī sems bskyed kyī cho ga 198
- dBu mdzad \*ngag dbang (vars. dga' ba, gang ba) bzang po la bstod pa 43
- De (= Chos kyī rje paṅḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan) la bstod pa dngos grub ma lus ma 28
- De'i (= Chos kyī rje dkon mchog 'phel gyī) rnam thar bstod tshig ngo mtshar 'phreng ba 25
- dGa' ba (var. sGa) gdong \*gi rab 'byams pa (var. byams chen) la bstod pa 59
- dGe slong dar bzang ba gnyis la gnang ba 259
- dGe slong dpal ldan grags pa la gnang ba 246
- dGra gdong gi dbang gi tho [yig] 122
- dKar chag rin po che'i sgron ma 298
- dKyil 'khor gyī cho ga rin po che padma rā ga'i gter 111
- 'Dod rgyal gyī sgom bzlas byed tshul 143
- Don zhags dpa' gcig gi rjes gnang byed tshul 154
- dPal gur gyī mgon po'i mngon rtogs 146
- dPal gur gyī mgon po la bstod pa mdzad pa 81
- dPal gur gyī mgon po la bstod pa rnam dag ma 82
- dPal kye rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag drug pa'i dka' ba'i gnas mdor bsdu pa 99
- dPal ldan lha mo la bstod pa 83
- dPal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcad 116
- dPal phyag na rdo rje 'khor lo chen po'i dbang gi tho [yig] 123
- dPal phyag na rdo rje u \*tstsha'i (vars. tsa'i, tsarya'i, rtsa'i) mngon rtogs 176
- dPal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstod pa [mdzad pa] dpal ldan srid gsum ma 79
- dPon (var. dBon) po rma bya ba la \*gdams pa (var. gnang ba) 258
- dPon btsun dkon mchog grags pa la bstod pa 55
- dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang \*grogs mched kyī zhus lan (var. la gdams pa) 213
- dPon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gnang ba'i mgon po'i bsnyen thabs 148
- dPon po tshe dbang bzang po'i shes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed 304
- dPon sri btsan gyis bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa'i sum 'big 299
- dPyal \*ba'i (var. lugs kyī) phag mo skor gsum gyī byin brlabs \*bya tshul (var. tho, mtshan brjod 'don thabs) 188
- Drag po sgrol dbang gi tho 114
- Dris lan don gsum gsal byed 208
- Drung rgyal gyis yab gyī phyir bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa 301
- E waṃ chos ldan gyī gtsug lag khang na bzhugs pa'i zhing khams kyī gtso bo rnams kyī bstod pa 77
- E waṃ gyī bkod pa la bstod pa theg chen sgra dbyangs 76
- Gaṅḍi'i bstod pa slob dpon rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa las tshig gi sdebs legs su mdzad pa 74

- gDong drug gi dbang gi tho yig 178  
 gDugs dkar can gyi gtor chog \*bdud rtsi (var. bcud kyi) snying po 181  
 gDugs dkar can gyi \*phyir bzlog (var. mngon rtogs) 182  
 gNyan (var. sNyan) sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon par rtogs pa 131  
 Go bo rab 'byams pa la bstod pa dad ldan ma 23  
 Grub thob chen po yon tan dpal dang la \*tu ba (var. ru pa) bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar  
 92  
 gSang ba lnga'i dbang gi tho yig 179  
 gShin rje dgra nag gi dbang gi tho yig 124  
 gShin rje'i gshed dgra nag po dpa' gcig mngon rtogs 136  
 gTor 'bul brgya rtsa \*'bul (var. byed) tshul 147  
 gTsug gtor rnam rgyal ma'i rjes gnang \*gi tho (var. byed tshul) 159  
 Gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bo bcu'i gtor 'bul 'khor lo'i \*bsgrubs (var. bris) tshul dang bcas  
 pa 128  
 gZa' yum 142  
 gZhan gyi snyan ngag gi dpal rnam par 'phrog pa'i tshig don rnam par bkra ba 75  
 gZhi khar gnang ba'i phyag gdams zhal bshu 273
- 'Jam dbyangs gang blo ma'i rjes gnang \*gi tho (var. byed tshul) 162  
 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams [grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po] la bstod pa zab  
 yangs ma 40  
 'Jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho la bstod pa dad pa'i shing rta 22  
 'Jam dpal gyi sngags mchan bu dang bcas pa 127  
 'Jam dpal smra ba'i sengge'i rjes gnang gi tho dang sgrub thabs 161  
 'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung ba dang bzlog pa'i 'khor lo 144  
 'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung bzlog bsodus pa 193
- Khams yul zil gnong pa'i dge 'dun bzhi la gdams pa 275  
 Khang gsar drung chen la gnang ba 236  
 'Khor lo bde mchog gi lha tshogs la bstod pa nges don bcud kyi snying po 51  
 Khriags rtse mkhan po rab brtan bzang po la gnang ba 272  
 Khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang byed tshul 150  
 Khro phu byams pa'i 'phan gyi shlo ka 294  
 Khro phu'i byams pa la bstod pa 60  
 Kun mkhyen la bstod pa 23  
 Ku ru ku le lha lnga'i sgrub dkyil 110  
 Ku ru kulle'i sgrub thabs padmo'i snying po 110  
 Kye rdor dpa' gcig gi mngon rtogs las dang po pa'i don du mdzad pa (= Kye [var. kyai] rdo  
 rje'i mngon rtogs bsodus pa) 98  
 Kye rdor \*gyi (var. zhi ba'i) sbyin sreg gi tho 134  
 Kye rdor nag po lugs kyi dbang gi tho yig 130  
 Kye rdo rje bcu bdun ma'i sngags 'phreng bu \*krig (var. ṭik) las mchan bur btab pa 73  
 Kye rdo rje \*mtshan (var. mtshon) cha can gtso 'khor rnam kyi bstod pa rgyud nas  
 \*phyung (var. byung) ba mdzad pa 72

- Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa bsgrub mtha' shan 'byed cung cad dang bcas pa dge  
legs rol pa'i chu gter 5
- Lam 'bras kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rims pa mthong ba don ldan 6
- Lam 'bras kyi gsung rgyun zin bris 95
- Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi ngag 'don 97
- lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud \*thor pa (var. thar po) la phul ba 249
- Lo gsar dus kyi bkra shis kyi tshigs bcad 311
- Lo gsar dus kyi shis brjod mdzad pa 287
- Lus can ma 58
- Lwa wa (var. Lā ba) pa'i bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho 120
- Ma hā ma ya'i sa bcad bsdus don 117
- Ma mo sha gos kyi gtor chog 273
- mChod rten bsgrub pa'i tho 129
- mDo kun las btus pa'i sa bcad kun btus sgron me 225
- mDo mang gser gyi glegs bam 'bum phrag gi/ mtshon byed rin chen ngag gi lde mig can/  
shis brjod sgo gsum ldan pa'i snyan tshig gis/ mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta dga' bzhugs  
so 283
- Mi dbang bkra shis dgon la phul ba 234
- Mi'i dbang po bde legs rgya mtsho brgyad stong pa yi mtshon byed 285
- Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan padmo'i snying po 210
- Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog 209
- Mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan sngon rab gsal ba'i me long 211
- mKhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs kyi bstod pa 47
- mKhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo'i ṭika gnas ma lus pa gsal ba'i me long 320
- mKhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed 'phrul gyi me long  
320
- mNga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba 244
- mNgon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing gi gsal byed \*zab don bcud kyi snying po (var.  
rin chen sgron me) 271
- mTshan brgya rtsa brgyad kyi bsdus don 68
- mTshan brjod 'don thabs 174
- Mus pa chos rje thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa byams pa'i sprin phung ma 38
- Nā ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi phyag len (var. cho ga)  
113
- Nang so dpal bsrung gi brgyad rtog gser gsum gyi mtshon byed 309
- Nang so (var. Zhang po) rgyal ba'i dbang po'i dris lan 216
- Ngam rings bdag chen la gnang ba 235
- Ngam rings kyi byams pa'i 'phan gyi tshigs bcad 291
- 'Od zer can ma'i dbang gi tho yig 184
- 'Og min (var. ma'i) stug po bkod pa'i rgyan 102
- Phag mo zhal gnyis ma'i bsrung 'khor shin tu zab pa 137

- 'Phags ma sgrol ma gser mdog can gyi \*sgrub thabs zab mo (var. tshe bsgrub) 172  
 'Phags ma sgrol ma'i bstod pa dus gsum sangs rgyas ma 66  
 'Phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa dus gsum rgyal ba ma 65  
 'Phags ma sgrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya 61  
 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bdag mdun bskyed pa'i mngon rtogs 175  
 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa 'dod pa'i 'bras bu \*rtsol (var. stsol) ba 63  
 'Phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa thugs rje rgyun ldan ma 64  
 'Phags pa mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang byed tshul 139  
 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mtshon byed 300  
 'Phags pa spyang ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs 149  
 'Phags pa spyang ras gzigs kyi sgom zlas 151  
 'Phags pa za ma tog bkod pa'i snying po las btus pa theg chen lam gyi snying po 145  
 'Phags yul gyi shākya'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs mdor bsdu 278  
 Pha rol tu phyin pa'i sa lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa 319  
 Phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi \*gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed (var. gser khang lha khang gi dkar chag) 296  
 Phyang na rdo rje gos sngon can gyi mngon rtogs 'bring ba bdud rtsi'i thigs pa las btus pa 153  
 Phyang na rdo rje 'gro bzang \*gi bsgrub thabs (var. lugs kyi mngon rtogs) 170  
 Phyang rdor gtum chung gi \*mngon rtogs (var. sgrub thabs) 171  
 Phyang rdor gtum \*po'i bsgom (var. sgom) bzlas 171  
 Phyang rdor gyi rjes gnang dang sgom don 156  
 Phyang rdor 'khor chen gyi sgrub thabs 'bring po 153  
 Pu ṭa ming sring gsum gyi rjes gnang gi tho yig rje'i zhal mnga' nas mdzad pa 138
- Rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan 218  
 Rab 'byams pa rgyal mtshan rin chen la bstod pa 49  
 Rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur bgyad pa 229  
 rDo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i thugs dam thang ka lam 'bras [bu dang bcas pa'i] bla ma bgyud pa dang bcas pa rnam kyi 'bris yig 85  
 rDo rje 'dzin dbyangs kyi 'grel pa zhi 'tshos mdzad pa las btus pa 191  
 rDo rje gur las gsungs pa'i khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang bya tshul 128  
 rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg 132  
 rDo rje phur pa'i bdud rtsi mchod pa'i bla ma bgyud rim 29  
 rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs 112  
 rDzong kha bdag chen la phul ba 251  
 rGyal ba'i gtsug lag khang rin po che gser gyi tā la ltar 'bar zhing ches gsal ba 'di gtso bor byas pa'i lha khang so so'i lha'i grangs 297  
 rGyal ba kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa rin po che'i sgron ma 15  
 rGyal sras lam bzang gi skabs kyi gtam bgyud nyer mkho 313  
 rGyal tshab dam pa'i rnam thar 88  
 rGyal tshab dam pa'i thugs dam bris yig 86  
 rGyal tshab dam pa la bstod pa tshan pa gsum 16  
 rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i tho yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa 103

- rGyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me 107  
 rGyud sde spyi'i nram par bzhag pa'i gsal byed zab don nyin mor byed pa'i snang ba 100  
 rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsungs rgyun 106  
 rGyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon 'gro'i bshad pa kun spyod 'chad thabs 106  
 Rigs gsum spyi dbang gi tho 169  
 Ri (var. Re) ma ti'i mchod gtor 135  
 Rin po che bde \*legs rgya mtsho'i (var. rgyal ba'i) brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag 285  
 Rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod [kun] 'byung gnas 221  
 rJe btsun bla ma'i nram par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho 1  
 rJe btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i nram par  
 thar pa zhus lan 1  
 rJe btsun bsod nams rtse mo la thun mong gi yon tan gyi tshul 'ga' zhid mtshan spel gyi sgo  
 nas bstod pa 8  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug bstod pa dge tshogs ma 21  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi (var. Bla ma'i) nram thar rin chen 'phreng ba 88  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dpag yas ma 20  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dus gsum ma 16  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa gsang ba'i sgo 'byed 18  
 rJe btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la gcig las 'phros pa'i bstod pa 17  
 rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs \*su bkod pa 'khrul med  
 snang ba (var. kyi don bshad) 228  
 rJe btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po (var. Kun mkhyen) bsod nams sengge'i nram par thar pa nyi  
 ma'i 'od zer 89  
 rJe btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi dgongs rdzogs kyi mdzad phrin mdzad  
 pa'i mchod brjod mdzad pa 267  
 rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i [dkyil 'khor gyi] bkra shis 108  
 rJe btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa mtshan rin po che'i phreng ba 11  
 rJe btsun sa skya pa chen po'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul 87  
 rJe btsun sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po la bstod pa yon tan gyi khyad par bco  
 lnga'i sgo nas bsngags pa 7  
 rJe btsun sa skya pañḍita la phrin du gsol ba padmo'i [snying po'i] phreng ba 226  
 rJe btsun sgrol ma la bstod pa bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun 62  
 rJe nyid kyi bstod pa mkhyen brtse ma gcig 2  
 rJe nyid kyi nram thar zhus lan ma 1  
 rJes kyi dgongs rdzogs kyi \*mchod brjod (var. shis brjod) 269  
 rMa bya chen mo nas gsungs pa'i ri'i sdom 187  
 rNal 'byor dbang phyug dge legs rgyal mtshan la bstod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 36  
 rNal 'byor dbang phyug la nram 'gyur drug gi sgo nas bstod pa 3  
 rNal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs 115  
 rNam 'joms kyi gtor mchog ma ni badzra 164  
 rNam 'joms kyi khros chog 166  
 rNam par rgyal (var. rNal 'byor) ma'i rtogs pa che ba'i bsod don 119  
 rNam sras kyi bstod pa 84  
 rNam sras kyi rjes gnang byed tshul 163  
 rTags kyi nram bzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me 279

- rTa mgrin gyi gtor \*ma (var. chog, 'bul) 133  
 rTog pa bdun pa'i bsdus don nyung ngu rab gsal (= 'Jigs byed gzhang rtogs bdun gyi bsdus don) 118  
 rTsa rgyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog phreng ba 71  
 Rwa nag pa la gdams pa 257  
 Rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma 31
- Sangs rgyas klu dbang gi rgyal po'i sgrub thabs 167  
 Sa skya bka' 'bum lam 'bras spros med lam zab bla ma brgyud pa sogs bzhangs pa'i mtshon byed 306  
 Sa skyar bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa 217  
 sDe pa chen po a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba gcig 240  
 sDom chen gyi tho yig 177  
 sDom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel 318  
 sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan 317  
 sDom gsum (var. sNgon pa) sgrag bzang gi thad kyi gsung rgyun 186  
 sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par \*'byed (var. bshad) pa zhib mor rnam 'thag 109  
 sDom pa gsum gyi skabs kyi nyer mkho bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed 196  
 Seng ge sgra'i gdon sgröl gyi phyag len gyi tho 160  
 sGo rum gyi mngon po'i bstod pa 82  
 sGrol ma dug sel ma'i sgrub thabs 173  
 sGrol ma'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa'i don mthun bstod pa 68  
 sGrol ma nyin mtshan zhi khro'i 'don thabs 174  
 sGrub thabs brgya rtsa'i lha tshogs rnam kyi bstod pa rin po che'i tshom 52  
 sGrub thabs padma'i snying po zhes bya ba ku ru ku lli'o 110  
 Sha ba ri'i rjes gnang byed tshul 141  
 Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma dkar mo la bstod pa rgyan gyi phreng ba 54  
 Shin tu spros med kyi khrid kyi tho yig mthong ba don ldan 158  
 Shri e wam chos ldan nas chos rje lha mehog seng ge phebs dus kyi 'bul ba'i mehod brjod 190  
 sKal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje 227  
 sKyes rtsa bla ma bas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhangs pa'i mtshon byed 305  
 sKyid grong jo bo'i bstod pa 56  
 sKyid grong jo bo'i rnam thar dri med snang ba 93  
 Slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi rnam par bzhang pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer 100  
 Slob dpon kun bzang chos dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa 307  
 Slob dpon yon 'byung gis gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan 207  
 sNe shangs lo tsā ba la springs pa 245  
 sNying po'i don gsal bar byed pa lung gi phreng ba 316  
 sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor 157  
 sPyan ras gzigs kyi bsgom thabs chung ba 151  
 sPyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan 102  
 Srid mtsho ma 57

sTod phyogs su gsung shog tshigs bcad ma phul ba 282

Thar po la phul ba 253-256

Theg mchog gnad kyi snying po bla ma dpal skyabs la gdams pa 220

Thob (var. gSan) yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan 197

Thub chen gyi 'phan \*la btap pa'i tshig bcad (var. gyi mtshon byed) 289

Thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan) 314

Thub pa'i dbang po skyes pa'i rabs kyi phreng ba'i tshigs su bcad pa me tog gi phur ma 53

Thub pa'i dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs lam bzang snang ba 312

Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i \*gter (var. gter sgrung 'grel) 315

Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i gzhang gi bshad thabs rgyal sras lam bzang gi mdzes rgyan 314

Tsā ri dang de wi ko \*ta'i yul gyi (var. tik) dgag sgrub 189

Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma 200

Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus la 'jug pa'i sgo 200

Tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi phyogs snga ma rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed 202

Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba dge 201

Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin brlabs mdzad tshul 165

Tshe dbang dang gza' mchog gi tho yig 142

'Tsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gis dris lan 212

'Tsho byed \*rgyal (var. phyag) rdor la gdams pa 277

'Tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mang gi dkar chag 308

Yan lag lnga sbyong gi zin bris 96

Yang a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba 239

Yang chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa 233

Yang chos rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan bstod pa bkra shis kyi grangs spel ma 35

Yang de'i (= 'phags pa spyang ras gzigs kyi) sgom zlas 152

Yang de (= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po) la bstod pa dbang sngon lhun brtsegs ma 81

Yang de (= 'phags ma sgrol ma) la bstod pa 'o mtsho ma 67

Yang de (= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po?) la bstod pa rab brjid ma 80

Yang de (= rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug) la bstod pa rab mdzes gser ri ma 19

Yang de (= dpal ldan rdo rje nag po chen po) la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rnam dag ma 82

Yang de (= chos rje tshul khriims rgyal mtshan) la bstod pa shin tu rnam dag ma 34

Yang de (= sne shangs lo tsā ba) la gnang ba 246

Yang de (= chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang) la gsol 'debs dge legs yon tan ma 32

Yang dgongs pa rdzogs thabs bar ma'i dus kyi \*'jug (var. mjug) gi shis (var. mchod) brjod 268

Yang drung blo pa la gdams pa 262-264

Yang gsol ba 'debs pa 'dod don ma ('Dod don gsol gtab) 69

Yang gsol 'debs ngo mtshar ma (= [sGrol ma'i] bstod pa) 70

Yang gtor bsgrub kyi phyag len gyi tho 195

Yang lta bsgom spyod 'bras kyi mgur 230

Yang mi g.yo ba'i \*sgom thabs (var. bsgom bzlas) 140

- Yang rdzong kha bdag chen la phul ba 252  
 Yang rje btsun rtse mo la thun mong min pa'i yon tan gyi sgo nas bstod pa 10  
 Yang rje btsun sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa mtshan gyi  
 phreng ba rnam par spel ba 9  
 Yang tshigs bead bcu bdun pa 281  
 Yas gтам \*bras bu rin po che rnam par spel ba dngos 'grub kyi gter (var. bsdoms tshan)  
 192  
 Yid 'byung ba'i tshigs bead 280  
 Yul chen po bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul \*med (var. mdzad) gsal ba 185  
 Yum gyi \*'dres (var. 'gres, 'grel) rkang 224
- Zha lu lo tsā ba la dri ba mdzad pa 214

#### Unidentified Titles

- A seng la phul ba gnyis 346  
 bDag chen ngag pa'i bsnyen pa'i zhus lan 348  
 bDe ba can gyi zhing bkod la bstod pa 336  
 bDe kyai bsnyen yig 322  
 bsTan rtsis dang bcas pa 345  
 dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i bsnyen pa'i man ngag dngos grub kyi char 'bebs 325  
 dPal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstan pa gtad pa'i phrin bcol 334  
 gDugs dkar can gyi mngon rtogs 323, 337  
 'Jam dbyangs dmar ser gyi rjes gnang 341  
 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod 'don thabs 326  
 'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi gsung gi lan rnam par gsal ba'i sgron me 329  
 'Khor lo bri tshul 342  
 mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs tho yig 328  
 Paṇḍi ta'i brjod dogs bris 327  
 Phur pa'i sgrol dbang 321  
 rGyal mtshan kun dga' dbang phyug gi bstod pa 332  
 rJe nyid kyi thugs la 'khrungs pa'i tshigs bead 331, 344  
 rJe rdo rje 'chang gi sku 'dra la bstod pa 335  
 rNal 'byor ma yi byin rlabs kyi mtho 347  
 rTsa ba'i bla ma'i dris lan 330  
 Slob dpon bdag nyid chen po klu grub zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i byang chub kyi sems bsgom  
 pa'i man ngag 'phags pa dkon mchog sprin las byung ba'i smon lam 333  
 So 'brangs kyi mngon rtogs 338  
 So so 'brang ma'i mngon rtogs 324  
 Tshe dpag med 339  
 U tsa'i rjes gnang 340  
 Zha lu lo tsa ba la springs pa 343



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