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Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts  
Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of the  
Sa skya pa and Ko brag pa

The still little studied path—and—result (*lam 'bras*) teachings had their inception in the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pai gdams ngag dang man ngag tu bcas pa*—this work is also referred to as the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* or the *Gsung ngag rin po che*—of Virūpa (?eighth century) which, after several centuries of propagation in the Indian subcontinent, penetrated the Tibetan cultural area in the eleventh century through the efforts of primarily 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba Shākya ye shes (993–1074/1087) and his fifteen main disciples, both men and women.<sup>1</sup> Among his disciples we find 'Khon Dkon mchog rgyal po (1034–1102), the founder of Sa skya monastery, and it was with him and especially his son Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158), the first of the Sa skya school's five patriarchs, that *lam 'bras* became one of the most cherished and esoteric doctrinal entities of this school.

Anyone studying the various available chronicles of the transmission of *lam 'bras*, will quickly come to the realization that so many early and evidently highly influential treatises mentioned in these are still unknown to us.<sup>2</sup> This situation is now slowly changing for the better. The Tibetan division of the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of

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This paper is one of the results obtained during my stay in Beijing from July to September of 1993 that was made possible by a generous grant from the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China, Washington, D. C. I should wish to express my gratitude to Messrs. Li Jiuqi, Chief Librarian, Shao Guoxian, Deputy Librarian, and Ngag dbang nor bu, Assistant Researcher, of the library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (hereafter CPN) for the warm cooperation I received, one which made it possible for me to survey a slight portion of the enormous collection of Tibetan texts in their library.

1. See the literature cited in my introduction in van der Kuijp–Stearns (forthcoming).

2. For two of these, namely Cha gan Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan's biography of Virūpa as well as his *lam 'bras* chronicle (= CHA), both of which were written in 1304, see van der Kuijp–Stearns (forthcoming).

Nationalities (hereafter CPN) contains an enormous number of hand-written *dbu med* manuscripts of hitherto unknown treatises that have to do with *lam 'bras* and the ensuing annotated (and preliminary) catalogue of a fraction of the manuscripts that were inspected by me is but a modest contribution toward an illumination of this doctrinal entity's literary history. It falls into three parts: [A] *lam 'bras* chronicles, [B] biographies and an autobiography of five exponents of this tradition, and [C] exegeses of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*. A 1–3 are three different witnesses of the early history of the Sa skya pa transmission of the *lam 'bras* teachings by Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po, who, as he himself indicates, based his work *inter alia* on information passed on to him by his master Bla ma Lo tsā ba, that is, Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), the Sa skya school's fourth patriarch. An edition and an annotated translation of this very influential treatise based on three different manuscripts is being prepared by C.R. Stearns. A 4–5 concern two different manuscripts of the history written by Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1373/75–1451). The next section, B 1–5, describes manuscripts of one autobiography and four biographies of five thirteenth century *lam 'bras* masters, including one of Ko brag pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1182–1261). C 1–2 involves two manuscripts, one complete the other less so, of Dmar ston's commentary on the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, C 3–4 are witnesses of the exegesis of the same by Shar pa Rdo rje 'od zer, and C 5 concerns the early fourteenth century study of Virūpa's text by Cha gan Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan.

A. *Chronicles of the Sa skya pa Transmission of Lam 'bras Teachings*

1. Title page: *Bla ma bod kyi [b]rgyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje*  
CPN no. 002807(20)  
Folios 27

Incipit: [1b] // bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la spyi bos gus par phyag 'tshal lo  
// gang zhig phyi nang gsang pa [read: ba] mthar thug rten 'brel de kho  
na // sor phreng can dang 'jam dbyangs mthu stobs dbang phyug rdo rje  
'chang : dpal ldan bla ma mtshungs med rang gi sems nyid lhan med  
skyes // dbyer med rten cing 'brel 'byung ston mdzad dam pa'i zhabs  
pad 'dud //

Colophon: [27b] bla ma bod kyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje zhes bya ba : mang du mnyan zhing zhal las dris te : legs par rnyed pa 'di ni shakya'i dge slong chos kyi rgyal po zhes bya bas : gung thang na la cho gnas po chen po'i gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba 'di yongs su rdzogs sho //

Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po thus wrote this text at an unspecified date, but probably before 1244, in the temple of La cho [read: rtse] gnas po chen po in Gung thang, the same place where Sa chen had resided for some time.<sup>3</sup> Gung ru Shes rab bzang po's (1411–1475) supplement to the unfinished *lam 'bras* chronicle by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) gives one of the lines of transmission that issued from his master Sa skya Paṇḍita as follows<sup>4</sup>: Tshogs bsgom Kun dga' dpal bzang po (1210–12 April/11 May 1307)<sup>5</sup> –Gnyags Snying po rgyal

3. For this, see Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po's *lam 'bras* chronicle in DMAR 17a. This is not noted in Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1147–1216) biography of his father Sa chen in his *Bla ma sa skya pa chen po'i rnam thar*, SSBB 3, no. 5, 83.3.6–87.3. In addition to this and good number of other *lam 'bras*-related texts, Dmar ston is known to have written works on *lam 'bras* other than the two mentioned in this paper, as well as a commentary on a number of gnomes of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Legs bshad rin po che gter* and a series of glosses on his master's *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*; for these, see the *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter dang 'grel pa* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1982) and the reference in Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog's (1507–1566) autobiography in KUN 360.

4. GUNG 122.1.3–6. For some remarks on Gung ru's life, see David P. Jackson, *The Early Abbots of 'Phan-po Na-lendra: The Vicissitudes of a Great Tibetan Monastery in the 15th Century*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 23, (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1989) 15–16, and also van der Kuijp 1994, 147 note 15. I located another text by him under CPN catalogue no. 002807(18), namely a thirty-folio handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of his biography of Mus chen Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1388–1469), the *Rje btsun chen po dkon mchog rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar*, which he wrote in 1469 in Bde ba can monastery in Western Mus when his subject was eighty-one years old. It is no doubt this work to which Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog rab rgyas (1801–?) refers in the bibliography of his history of Buddhism in Amdo; see the *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, ed. Yon tan rgya mtsho, vol.1 (New Delhi, 1974) 22 (*Ibid.*, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho [Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982] 10).

5. The only biography of this man known to me is the anonymous TSHOGS; another witness of this work is a four-folio handwritten *dbu med* manuscript under CPN catalogue no. 002465(10), where the title has *bsgom* instead of *sgom*. The precise, albeit here still ambiguous dating of his passing—it is unclear which “final spring-month” is meant here—and those for certain ind-

mtshan<sup>6</sup>—Bar ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, and states that the latter wrote a *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje* and a “voluminous” set

viduals that will follow are computed with the aid of the *Tabellen* in D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplement Band 16* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973). On fol. 4a, the CPN manuscript of Tshogs sgom's biography contains a rather interesting postscript after the notice of his departure for Bde ba can, his death, on the ninth day of the final spring—month of 1307, one that seems to devolve on his unidentified biographer and which is missing from the LBSB. It reads: *chos rje ?nyan po pa de yul mdog stod gyi rje grong dbyig 'khar ba dgung lo bcu gcig la rab tu byon bcu gsum pa la spyod 'jug khyog du bshad de nas brag ram du byon nas dgung lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa'i bar du phar tshad rnam tshar nas thugs dam rtse l la bzhugs rin po che tshogs lo bcu gnyis bsten sku tshe'i 'jug tu gdul bya dpag tu med pa'i don mdzad nas dgung lo brgyad bcu gya brgyad pa la sbrul gyi lo zla ba gnyis pa'i nyi shu brgyad kyi ?? la ngo mshar ba'i lsa dpag tu med pa dang bcas te bde bar gshegs so / : dge'o / shuhbhanm. This would indicate that the subject of this note seems to have met Tshogs sgom when he was about twenty-four or twenty-five years, after which he stayed and studied with him for some twelve years. He passed away in a snake-year at the age of eighty-seven.*

6. Earlier, in GUNG 119.3.1, he warned that the Gnyags Snying po rgyal mtshan—the chronological study of Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1596) writes his name “Gnyan Snying po rgyal mtshan” in MANG 182—of this particular line should not be confused with Gnyags [g]zhir pa/ba Dbang phyug dpal for whom Sa chen had written a *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* commentary known to the tradition as the *Gnyags ma*. No doubt because it was the shortest of his best known eleven commentaries of this work, it was included by his son Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan in his compilation of *lam 'bras* texts known as the *Pod ser*, the “Yellow Volume”; see LBSB 11, 21–128. The *Gnyags ma* enjoyed some “popularity” around the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. GUNG 122.4.2–3 notes that Sru lung Kun [dga'] smon [lam], a disciple of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), Sa skya's fifth patriarch, had composed a survey of its contents (*zin bris*), an explanation of the *lam bsdus* and a commentary on the first of Sa chen's *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* exegeses, the *A seng ma*, so called after its addressee Skyu ra A seng; Gung ru also calls the latter the *Don bsdus ma* in GUNG 119.2.4. The cognate account given by A mes zhabs differs somewhat from Gung ru's, for, omitting the work on *lam bsdus*, he writes, in A MES 200, that Sbro lung pa Kun [dga'] smon [lam], a disciple of Zhang Dkon mchog dpal (1250–1317)—for the biography of this student of 'Phags pa, see below note 19—also wrote a clarificatory (*gsal byed*) commentary on the GNYAGS MA. The toponym “Sbro lung” is probably a variant of not only “Sru lung”—A mes zhabs registers a “Sru lung pa” in A 275 (A 1 227) among 'Phags pa's disciples— but also of “Sro lung pa” as noted in A MES 171; for the latter, a grand-master of Thugs rje brtson 'grus, see below note 36. Another variant is “Spru lung” as encountered in Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385–1438) record of teachings received in *Mkhas grub rje'i gsung 'bum* (Lhasa Zhol print), vol. KA (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan

of annotations to the *Dmar ma*, that is, Dmar ston's exegesis of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, for which see below under C-1-2. He also suggests that Dmar ston wrote a *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, a study of the biographies of various *lam 'bras* masters, without specifically giving a title for this work. The ascription of a set of biographies subtitled *Zhib mo rdo rje* to Bar ston is evidently based on a confusion with what we know the title of Dmar ston's work to have been, since, for example, A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659) subtitles Bar ston's text as the *Zhib mo rnam dag*.<sup>7</sup> To be sure, the similarity of these titles might indicate that the latter was conceived as a continuation of Dmar ston's work, or that it was critical of it. In any event, it has unfortunately not turned up so far. All the major Sa skya pa *lam 'bras* histories appear to have made ample use of Dmar ston's text<sup>8</sup> and, at times, refer to it in a critical fashion.<sup>9</sup> On fol. 1b, Dmar ston quite

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Works and Archives, 1979) 63. Yet another one is "Sro lung pa," as found in the enumeration of some early exegeses of Sa skya Pandita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye* where Kun dga' grol mchog has it, in KUN 360, that Sro lung pa Kun smon had written a series of annotations to the text, as well as in MANG 166. Lastly, Ngor chen's record of teachings obtained writes "Sbru (or: Spru) lung pa Kun smon; see THOB 61.1.6, 2.2.

7. See A MES 198 and the entry in his bibliography in A MES 311. A mes zhabs also distinguishes between an early and a later Bar ston. The former was the author of these texts, whereas the latter had been for a long time Bla ma dam pa's major domo (*gsol dpon*). This work is also noted by Kun dga' grol mchog in KUN 309.

8. There is no overt use of Dmar ston's chronicle in Cha gan's CHA, which either tells us something about its "sociology," or about Cha gan himself. Further, it is curious that Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375) and ?Bo dong Pañ chen—see below note 15—only mention his *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* commentary and not his *lam 'bras* chronicle—see BLA 93 (BLA1 fol. 38b) and BO 570 (BO1 fols. 40b-41a)—, although they clearly made use of it. We might note here that ?Bo dong Pañ chen's text is to some extent dependent on Bla ma dam pa's. Both are duly noted, however, by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug (1524-1568) in 'JAM 142.

9. An explicit example would be Dmar ston's discussion of 'Brom De pa/ba ston chung, one the fifteen closest disciples of 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba and the founder of the 'Brom *lam 'bras* transmission in DMAR fols. 8a-9a, where he concludes that it did not develop (*des na 'brom las 'phel ba med de.*), and that the so-called "'Brom system" (*'brom lugs*) appears to have had its inception (and demise) with a rather problematic and eclectic lady by the name of Jo mo 'Brom mo, an erstwhile disciple of Sa chen. While his survey of 'Brom was not really criticized by either Bla ma dam pa in BLA 32 (BLA1 fol. 13a) or ?Bo dong Pañ chen in BO 464 (BO1 fol. 15a)—only a note in BLA 30 refers to Dmar ston—it was severely taken to task by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382-1456) in NGOR 114.2.1, 114.4.4-5 (NGOR1 157.3.5-6, 158.2.5), and then in 'JAM 82 and A MES 166, where A mes zhabs refers to

explicitly says that his account of the transmissions of *lam 'bras* teachings in Tibet, emphasizing how it developed among the Sa skya pa, was written exactly according to statements by “bla ma lo tsā ba,” who is of course none other than Sa skya Paṇḍita. He is unspecific about other sources he might have used.

2. Title page: *Bla ma dam pa bod kyi lo rgyus bzhugs pa lags so dbang*

CPN no. 002864(3)

Folios: 21

Colophon: [21a] bla ma bod kyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje zhes bya ba mang du mnyan zhing zhal las bris te legs par rnyed pa 'di shakya'i dge slong chos kyi rgyal po zhes bya bas / gung thang na la rtse gnas po che'i tsug lag khang du sbyar ba 'di yongs su rdzogs shyo //

Secondary Colophon: [21a–b] lo rgyus kyi yi ge 'di bla ma lo tsha ba chen po'i phyag du phul bas mnyes ste rab tu bsngags [21b] pas na the tshom na par gus pas long shig / yul dbus kyi blo gsal dmar gyis yi ge 'di bri ba bsnan med par bris pa yin no // dge'o / dge'o /

Here the place of composition is given as La rtse gnas po che. What we have called the “secondary colophon,” observes that Sa skya Paṇḍita was delighted when Dmar ston showed him this work. Furthermore, “na” is an abbreviation of *med* that one frequently encounters in early *dbu med* manuscripts. This manuscript is laced with annotations by an unknown hand.

There are two post-textual additions extraneous to the colophons. In the first, we read in a hand similar to the one used in the manuscript:

// 'khon glu'i [read: klu'i] dbang po bsrung ba / rdo rje rin po che : shes rab yon tan : tshul khriims rgyal mi shan : rdo rje tsug tor : dge skyabs : dge mthong : 'khon bal po : shakya blo gros : shes rab tshul khriims : dkon mchog rgyal po / kun dga' snying po / slob dpon rin po che : rje bitsun pa : chos rje pa : bla ma chos rgyal {both “Chos rje pa” [= Sa skya Paṇḍita]}

both Ngor chen's stricture and Dmar ston's text without, however, passing judgement on the latter. In CHA fol. 31b, Cha gan gives 'Brom's full name as “'Brom De ba Shakya [read: Shākya] dpal,” and in his account of him, in CHA fols. 48b–53b, he makes no mention of any “'Brom system,” although he does indicate that while he had composed several exegeses of *lam 'bras*, his hermeneutic approach (*bshad srol*) did not spread.

and “Bla ma Chos rgyal” [= ’Phags pa] are subscribed by “7”—this may be a very early attestation of the so-called *che rtags kyi yig*, “graph of an indication of greatness,” a sign indicating respect<sup>10</sup> // *slob dpon chen po dharma pa la rakṣi ta’o* // [the last occurs in small characters]

This is therefore a little genealogy of members of that branch of the ’Khon family that ended up founding and ruling Sa skya. It ends with Dharmapālarakṣita (1268–24 December 1287),<sup>11</sup> ’Phags pa’s nephew, so that it is quite probable that this manuscript dates from his *floruit*. We then read in a hand different from that of the manuscript:

// // *na mo gu ru // chos kyi rje nyid thugs kyi sras / bla ma rin po che pa’i rnam thar kyang gong du gsung ba bzhin khong pa rang dang mnyam po cig gis brjod par rigs pa la ’on kyang bsod nams ’phel bas cung zad brjod na : rigs rgyud shin du bzang ba la lo tsha bzhi byon pa’i rjes su ’khrungs shing thog mar mkhan po bzhi mo lung pa la : kyai rdo rje’i bum dbang yan chad thob : ’bri ’tshams zhang gi drung du kun las btus gsan : dgung lo bcu dgu pa la spang tsar chos ’khor mdzad nas mngon pa gsungs / de nas chos rje pas mkhan po mdzad / ’u yug pas [supralinear note: bsod nams seng ge] gsang ste : ri phug pas [supralinear note: kras rgyal = bkra shis rgyal polmṣhan?] las mdzad bsnyen par rdzogs pa chig rdzogs mdzad : ’byad pa rtsi ’dul gyi drung du mdo rtsa ’dul ba’i cha lag tsho mkhyen par mdzad / lug gdur du u [read: dbu] ma rigs tshogs thams cad mkhyen par mdzad ste : u [read: dbu] ma la khong pas rgya che ba tsam mi ’dug gsung / chos rje pa lo bcu gsum . . .*

Given the context, this seems to be a short biographical note on Dmar ston(?) We learn that, while still very young, he first received initiations in Hevajra from the so-called “jug initiation” onward from Mkhan po Bzhi mo lung pa. Having read the [*Abhidharma*]-*samuccaya* with

10. See here, for example, Bis pa Mi pham zla ba, *Phrin yig gi rnam bzhag dper brjod dang bcas pa padma dkar po’i phreng mdzes* (based on Reb gong Rong bo dgon chen print) (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986) 16. This work was written by the author in 1806. The name he used in his poetic and linguistic compositions, as in this textbook on the art of letter-writing, is Mi pham dbyangs can dga’ ba’i blo gros.

11. Tshal pa Kun dga’ rdo rje (1309–1364) writes simply that he passed away in 1288 at the age of twenty-one (= twenty); see TSHAL 48 (TSHAL 1 22a)—whereas Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen’s chronicle of 1376 explicitly states that his death occurred on the eighteenth day of the *smal po* month in 1287; see YAR fol. 96a (YAR 1 158, YAR 2 153). And the latter is followed in the compilation of Stag tshang Dpal ’byor bzang po in STAG 333. In addition to the dossier used in Inaba 1975, 542–540, we may note that the history of Sa skya’s ruling families by Stag tshang Lo tsa ba Shes rab rin chen (1405–after 1477) follows Yar lung Jo bo in dating Dharmapālarakṣita’s death—see SHES fol. 24a—, and A mes zhabs concurs with this scenario in A 287 (A 1 237).

'Bring 'tshams [also: mtshams] Zhang, he held a convocation at Spang tsa at the age of nineteen (= eighteen) and taught there *abhidharma*. He subsequently received his monk's vows from Sa skya Paṇḍita, 'U yug pa Bsod nams seng ge, alias Rigs pa'i seng ge,<sup>12</sup> and Ri phug pa 'Bkra shis rgyal po/mtshan. He studied the *Vinayasūtra* under a 'Byad pa Rtsi 'dul [?'Thugs rje byang chub]<sup>13</sup> and the six collections of *madhyamaka* arguments, that is, the six purely philosophical treatises of Nāgārjuna, in Lug dgur and became an expert in these. The abrupt ending could suggest that he may have stayed with Sa skya Paṇḍita for thirteen years. Though unseen by us, we may add here that the biographical sketch of Dmar ston's life by Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1456–1532), it is entitled *Bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar*, was filmed by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project under Reel no. L 1681/L 139–4. It will be studied in C. Stearns' forthcoming translation of this text.

Of sufficient interest is that the beginning of Tshogs sgom pa's biography—see note 5 of this essay—bears such striking resemblances to this narrative that we may very well suspect some kind of inter- or intra-biographic contamination, or that this slight postscript has nothing whatsoever to do with Dmar ston.<sup>14</sup>

12. This must have taken place in the early 1220s at the earliest. For 'U yug pa and how he had come to Sa skya, see my "A Hitherto Unknown Oral Text of Sa skya Paṇḍita," which is to appear in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.

13. For him, see briefly 'Gos Lo tsa ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481) in 'GOS 900 (Roerich 1979, 1013).

14. After a few preliminaries, Tshogs sgom's biography states, in TSHOGS 338, that he was born in the wake of some four Tshogs Lo tsa bas—this compares with the manuscript's "lo tsha bzhi"—and that his birth was accompanied by good omens. It then continues in TSHOGS 339: *de nas gzhon nu'i dus su bla ma gzhi mo lung pa la kye rdo rje'i bum dbang yan chad zhus / de nas klog yi ge sgra bstan bcos la sogs pa thams cad mkhas par bslabs nas / dgung lo bcu gsum pa la 'bring mtshams zhang gi drung du mngon pa gong ma gsan du byon / bcu dgu pa la spang rtsar 'bring mtshams zhang gdan drangs nas mngon pa la bshad gsar mdzad do // de nas chos rje pas mkhan po mdzad de bsnyen par rdzogs pa mdzad nas / mdog lung du risi 'dul 'dzin gyi drung du 'dul ba mdo rtsa gsan / gzhan yang 'dul ba'i cha lag thams cad rdzogs par gsan no // de nas chos rje pa la sems bskyed zhus nas / da khyod kyis dbu ma cig nyon gsungs nas / bo dong lug dur dang / ri phug gnyis su yar gshegs mar gshegs mdzad nas / dbu ma rigs tshogs dang bstod tshogs skor la sogs pa thams cad gsan / rtsa she dang tshig la bshad pa yang mdzad / de nas chos rje pa lo bcu gsum . . .* The text continues this sentence: . . . *bsten nas spyod tshogs dang / byams chos dang / rgyud gsum gdams ngag dang bcas pa // bde mchog gi rgyud*

3. Title page: *Lam 'bras kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus*

CPN no. 004345(1)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ga 102*

Folios 23

Incomplete

This is another manuscript of Dmar ston's work. Its colophon on fol. 23a ends in . . . *gus pas long // bkra shis sho //*; this would be part of the "secondary colophon" found also in A-2.

4. Title page: *Lam 'bras kyi bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus*

CPN no. 002452(5)

Folios 41

Marginal notation: ü li

Incipit: [1b] da ni kye'i rdo rje'i snyan rgyud zab mo'i man ngag brjod par nya ste /

Colophon: [41a] . . . *snga ma la ni bsams na shes pa'i mngon shes kyang mnga' zhes thos so //*

This work, attributed to Bo dong Paṅ chen, is included in his collected writings.<sup>15</sup> Its subject matter ranges from Virūpa to an incomplete sketch of the lives of 'Phags pa's students of the *lam 'bras* teachings. Bo dong Paṅ chen's biography notes<sup>16</sup> that he had first obtained the transmission of the *lam 'bras* system under his maternal uncle Lo tsā ba Grags pa

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*cha lag dang bcas pa / yo ga la sogs mdor na sa skya pa'i chos lugs thams cad gsan cing thugs su chud par mdzad /*. This also allows us to place Lug [g]dur in the Bo dong area.

15. See BO. A word of caution is needed here. There is much in this *Encyclopedia Tibetica* that did not come directly from Bo dong Paṅ chen's own pen. GUNG 123.1.6 writes that Lo tsa ba Byang chub rse mo (1303–1380), Bo dong Paṅ chen's great-uncle, received *lam 'bras* from Bla ma dam pa and that he had written *inter alia* a chronicle of its transmission. It remains an open question as to what relationship, if any, exists between this work and the one ascribed to Bo dong Paṅ chen by virtue of its inclusion in the encyclopedia.

16. See 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa thams cad mkhyen pa phyogs bcu las rnam par rgyal ba'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mshar gyi dga' ston*, *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1981) 149–152, 208 (*Ibid.*, ed. Padma tshul khriims [Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990] 110–111, 152).

rgyal mtshan (1352/53–1405)<sup>17</sup>, after which he continued his studies with Blo bzang dkar mo, who was a disciple of Gon gyi/Go 'g.yo Ye shes dpal (1281–1365). At that time, Blo bzang dkar mo was staying at mount Se mkhar chung and Bo dong Pañ chen spent some twenty–three days with him after which, according to his biographer, he fully realized the *lam 'bras* precepts. Some information on this Blo bzang dkar mo and his transmission of the *lam 'bras* is found in the *lam 'bras* histories of Gung ru, 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug and A mes zhabs, as well as in Mang thos' study,<sup>18</sup> and his line of transmission can be sketched as follows:

Sa skya Paṇḍita  
 'Phags pa  
 Zhang Dkon mchog dpal<sup>19</sup>  
 Brag phug pa Bsod nams dpal (1277–1350)<sup>20</sup>  
 Brag phug pa Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan  
 Blo gros dkar po, alias Blo bzang dkar po  
 Lam 'bras pa Ye shes dpal  
 Blo bzang dkar mo

5. Title page: *Lam 'bras kyi bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus*  
 CPN no. 006867(1)  
 Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 84*  
 Folios 67

This is yet another manuscript of ?Bo dong Pañ chen's work.

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17. His biography is found in the *Gsang 'dus lung rigs man ngag ston par byed pa'i bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus*, *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Pa chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vol. 64 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1972) 451–490. “1420” for the year of his passing in van der Kuijp 1994, 148, note 25, is a typographic error.

18. See, respectively, GUNG 121.1.6 ff. 122.4.3 ff., 'JAM 145, A MES 196, 200–201 and MANG 173–175.

19. His biography based on an account by his disciple Brag phug pa is found in LBSB 1, 362–367. A six–folio *dbu med* manuscript of this text is located under CPN no. 002465(9).

20. His biography by Ri khrod pa Blo gros brtan pa, alias Blo gros mtshungs med, dated 1351, is found in LBSB 1, 367–374. An eight–folio *dbu med* manuscript of this text is located under CPN no. 002465(12).

*B. Four Biographies and One Autobiography of Thirteenth Century  
Lam 'bras Masters*

1. Title page: *Chos rje ko brag pa'i rnam thar*

CPN no. 002790(5)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 33*

Folios 10

Incipit: [1b] // *bsod nams rgya mtsho'i gling la legs 'khrungs cing // rgyal mtshan rtse nas ye shes nor bu la //.*

Colophon: [10a] *rje ko brag pa'i rnam thar dgos 'dod 'byung pa zhes bya ba / la stod pa shes rab mgon gyis rgya che ba rnams kyi nang nas gal che ba rnams bstus te / phan thogs che ba'i phyir bris pa'o // 'gro ba dpag tu med pa la phan thogs par gyur l // dge'o : //*

This biography of Ko brag pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan<sup>21</sup> was written by his disciple La stod pa Shes rab mgon at an unspecified place and date. On fol. 2a, we learn that he was known as Dum bu Dge bshes at around the age of twenty. This allows us to understand why one version of Ngor chen's chronicle gives his name as "bla ma dam pa ko brag pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan," whereas another version has "bla ma dum bu ko brag pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan."<sup>22</sup> Fol. 5a states that he received *lam 'bras* from Chos rje Snyos [= Gnyos Chos kyi gzi brjid] and Bla ma Smon mkhar ba [= Nyang Rgyal po grags], to whom we should also add Zhang ston Se mig pa.<sup>23</sup> The available sources also mention in this

21. A brief note on his life is found in 'GOS 635–638 (Roerich 1979, 726–727). There the name of his mother is given as "sTod rje ma," but fol. 1b of the biography has "Stod mo rje ma."

22. NGOR 116.3.1 and NGOR1 160.1.3; A MES 169 reads this prefix as "ldum bu."

23. Ngor chen, 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug and A mes zhabs devote a special section of their work to his *lam 'bras* transmissions, which took their point of departure from the feminine line of the Zh[w]ma tradition and that of the Zhang, both of which originated with Se Mkhar chung ba (or ?Se ston Kun rig, see below note 39), one of 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba's fifteen disciples; see NGOR 116.3.1–4.1 (NGOR1 160.1.3–2.3), 'JAM 152–153 and A MES 169–170. For the Zh[w]a ma transmission in general, see NGOR 115.1.1–116.3.1 (NGOR1 158.3.3–160.1.3), and for that of the Zhang, see NGOR 114.4.5–115.1.1 (NGOR1 158.2.6–3.3). For Ma gcig Zh[w]a ma (1062–?)—her date is taken from MANG 114—, the founder of the Zh[w]ma tradition, see now the brief remarks in E. Lo Bue, "A Case of Mistaken Identity: Ma gcig Labs sgron and Ma gcig Zha ma," *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings*

connection Vibhūticandra and his *sbyor drug* (*ṣaḍaṅga*) teachings, so that it would appear that his *lam 'bras* precepts were also influenced by the former. The biography notes, on fols. 6b–7a, that he studied with this aged master in Glang 'khor—Ko brag pa had invited him to Tibet—during the Mongol conquest of Central Tibet or shortly thereafter which, since most sources date the Mongol invasion to the year 1240, suggests the *terminus a quo* of their meeting to have been that very year. Ko brag pa passed away on 1 November, the eighth day of the *smin drug* month, 1261.

2. Title page: *Rje btsun nag phug pa'i rnam thar*

CPN no. 004381(7)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 173*

Folios 1–19; 483–501

Upper left-hand corner of title page: *gi*

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Incipit: [1b] om swa sti siddham / dpal ldan bla ma rnam dang 'khor lo  
sdom 'jam dbyangs srol sogs lhag pa'i lha rnam dang // tshogs  
rnam kun la gus pas phyag 'tshal[ l]jo //

Colophon: [18b–19a] // rnam par thar pa 'di bla ma 'jam dbyangs la jo  
gdan shākya shes rab kyis yang dang yang du gsol ba btab nas mdzad  
pa yin no //..

This is an undated autobiography which Nag[s] phug pa 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab 'od zer (?–?) wrote at the behest of a *jo gdan* Shākya shes rab who was one of his disciples. The equation of Sa skya Paṇḍita with Mañjuśrī that occurred to him in a dream—it is outlined on fols. 15b–16a— is quoted in Sa skya Paṇḍita's biography by Glo bo Mkhan chen, which was then adopted by A mes zhabs for his study of Sa skya Paṇḍita's life of 1629.<sup>24</sup> No doubt in part owing to the role Mañjuśrī

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of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes 1992 (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994) 481–482, which is solely based on 'Gos Lo tsā ba's chronicle, without taking into account any of the earlier historical studies of *lam 'bras*. The Zhang transmission began with Zhang ston Chos 'bar (1053–1135)—one of the main masters of Sa chen—and his younger brother Zhang ston Gzi brjid 'bar.

24. See, respectively, *Mkhas pa rnam 'jug pa'i sgo yi rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed* (New Delhi, 1979) 52 (*Ibid.* [Sde dge ed.], *Selected Writ-*

played in his own spiritual life, he is sometimes referred to as “Jam dbyangs gsar ba/ma,” the “New Mañjuśrī.” He had come to Sa skya Paṇḍita somewhat late in his life, at the earliest shortly after the Mongols had invaded Central Tibet. He obtained from him *lam 'bras* and was witness to his (and his nephews’) departure for Köden’s residence in 1244. Gung ru relates<sup>25</sup> that he had at first written out some formal disagreements with Sa skya Paṇḍita’s opinions whereafter Mañjuśrī (in a vision) had expressed his displeasure with this. However, after receiving the *lam 'bras* from him (and 'Phags pa), he composed a reverential petition (*gsol 'debs*) to the *lam 'bras* lineage as well as a eulogy to both masters. This manuscript was clearly part of a larger collection of (probably) biographies, whereby it occupied fols. 483 to 501 of this ensemble. Mang thos writes that he was the second of “three quite renowned scholars in Nags phug [in] Gtsang,” the other two being Gtsang Nags [phug pa] Brtson 'grus seng ge, the well-known disciple of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169), and Gtsang Nags phug pa Thugs rje seng ge, a disciple of Thugs rje brtson 'grus, who figures as the subject of the biography listed under B–5, and the author of the influential *Bar do 'phrang sgrol*.<sup>26</sup>

3. Title page: *Bla ma grub thob chen po'i nam thar*

CPN no. 004381(10)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 151*

Folios 6

Incipit: [1b] bla ma grub thob pa'i lo rgyus cung zad brjod na / de yang chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta zhes pa sa gsum du yongs su grags pa de'i sras kyi thu bor gyur pa / grub thob yon tan dpal zhes bya ba yin /

No colophon.

This work is an undated, anonymous study of the life of Grub thob Yon tan dpal, another disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍita, who served him as a chamber-servant (*gzims g.yog*) for six years. Fol. 6b states that he passed away in the Mongol (Yuan) capital of Dadu (or Shangdu) on the eighth day of the eleventh lunar month of the water-female-pig year at

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*ings*, vol.3 [Dehra Dun: Pal Evam Chodan Ngorgpa Centre, 1985] 33–34) and A 127–128 (A1 112–113).

25. GUNG 121.4.4–6; see also A MES 199.

26. MANG 152.

the age of eighty-seven (= eighty-six). This means that he was born in 1237 and that he probably died on 6 November 1323.

4. Title page: *Chos rje 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam thar yon tan rgya mtsho*  
 CPN no. 004381(10)  
 Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 173*  
 Folios 24  
 Incomplete; missing are folios 14–17

Incipit: [1b] // om̄svastisiddham // dpal ldan bla ma dam pa 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rgya mtsho zhes bya ba / bla ma danf dkon mchog 3 la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // bskal pa bgrang yas tshogs 2 rgya chen rgya mtsho las // . . .

Colophon: [23b–24a] chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam par thar pa 'di ni / de nyid la mi phyed pa'i dad pa dang ldan zhing / gsung gi bdud rtsis tshim pa'i skyes bu dge ba'i bshes gnyen rin chen skyabs kyi gsung gis bskul ba dang / sgo 3 gus pas bla ma mnyes par mdzad cing bka' drin rjes su dran pa'i nye gnas rnam pas bskul ba dang / thos bsam gyis rgyud yongs su sbyangs shing / nges don bsgom pa la spro ba [24a] can : ston pa ye shes rgyal mtshan dang / nye gnas seng ge rgyal mtshan 2 kyis gus 'dun drag pos yang yang bskul ba'i phyir / bsgom chen pa rgyal ba ye shes kyis / dngos dang brgyud pa'i sgo nas mthong thos kyi rnam thar cung zad bkod pa 'di legs par grub po // . . .

This biography of 'Jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan of Sa skya's House of Shar, erstwhile abbot of Sa skya's Bzhi thog Residence, that is, abbot of Sa skya as a whole, from probably 1288 to 1297,<sup>27</sup> and imperial preceptor to Öljaitü Qayan (Chengzong Emperor, r. 10 May 1294 to 2 February 1307) from 1304 to 1305, was written by Byang

27. In an undated passage in fol. 5a of the biography, Rgyal ba ye shes writes that, upon Dharmapālarakṣita's death, Qubilai Qayan appointed him abbot of Sa skya. Stag tshang Lo tsa ba but notes some of his accomplishments in SHES fols. 24a, 25a, without giving any dates for his priorship. A mes zhabs provides a brief account of the vicissitudes of the abbatial throne in connection with 'Jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan and Bdag chen Bzang po dpal (1262–1322/1324), his successor, in A 290–295 (A I 239–243)—some of what is written there seems to be taken literally from SHES fols. 24a–25a—, after which, in A 659 (A I 541), he calculates the former's tenure of Sa skya's abbacy to have taken place from 1288 to 1297.

sems Rgyal ba ye shes (1257–1320)<sup>28</sup> at the behest of Rin chen skyabs, Ston pa Ye shes rgyal mtshan and *nye gnas* Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Its CPN catalogue number is identical to the manuscript of B-3. Rgyal ba ye shes does not relate the year of his birth, but does provide a precise date of his passing on fol. 21a, namely the eleventh day of the first lunar month of the serpent-year, that is, 7 January 1305, and this year is corroborated by the history of the Yuan dynasty which, too, has the first month of this year.<sup>29</sup> His main preceptors in *lam 'bras* were 'Phags pa, Nags phug pa, his uncle Shar pa Ye shes rgyal mtshan (?1222–?1287) and his elder brother Dus 'khor ba Ye shes rin chen (?1248–1294).

The earliest account of the House of Shar is given by Tshal pa, which was then reproduced by and large in the later chronicles of Yar lung Jo bo, Stag tshang Dpal 'byor bzang po, and in an anonymous text whose date of composition has not yet been established with any certainty, although it may belong to the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>30</sup> All are very short on dates. Another study of this family authored by Glo bo Mkhan chen has the drawback of not providing any dates at all.<sup>31</sup> Only a note in Yar lung Jo bo's text has it that he was "an earth-male-horse one," that is, that he was born in 1258, and that he was appointed to the Bzhi thog throne in 1287. He does write, however, that he passed away at the age of forty-nine (= forty-eight), so that the year of his birth

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28. A very brief sketch of his life can be found in 'GOS 678–679 (Roerich 1979, 772–773). A full length study of his biography was written in 1362 by Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po (1306–1386), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal. CPN catalogue no. 002780(2) registers a thirty-two folio handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of this work entitled *Chos kyi rje byang chub sems dpa' chen po'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i gter mdzod kun las btus pa*. For Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po, see 'GOS 682–683 (Roerich 1979, 777–779) and my "Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa (1920–1975) and His Chronicles of the Jo nang pa Sect," currently under preparation, where several manuscripts of his writings found in the CPN are considered.

29. Inaba 1975, 536.

30. See, respectively, TSHAL 50–51 (TSHAL 1 23a–b), YAR fol. 103a (YAR 1 170–171, YAR 2 163), STAG 351–352 and the *Rgyal rabs sogs bod kyi yig tshang gsal ba'i me long, Sngon gyi gtam me tog gi phreng ba..with other rare historical texts from the library of Burmiok Athing T.D. Densapa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1985) 102–103. The first and third of these (plus the notices in the *Yuanshi*) formed the basis for the analysis of this family in Inaba 1975, 539–535.

31. This is his *Chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul*. My thanks to Mr. Jeffrey Schoening for providing me with a handwritten *dbu med* manuscript of this text in five folios. Rgyal ba ye shes' work is listed in its bibliographical note on fol. 5a–b.

would then have to be 1257. According to Chinese sources, he was installed as imperial preceptor sometime in the first lunar month of 1304, and two dated official documents that were issued by him in this capacity are extant.<sup>32</sup>

5. Title page: *Kun spangs chos rje'i nam thar yon tan rab gsal*  
 CPN no. 002815(5)  
 Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ra 197*  
 Folios 40  
 Incomplete

Incipit: [1b] om swasti siddham // kun spangs chen po chos kyi rje'i nam par thar pa yon tan rab gsal zhes bya ba : bla ma dang dkon mchog 3 la gus pas phy[ag 'tshal ]lo /

Colophon: [40b] kun spangs chen po chos kyi rje nam par thar pa brjod kyis mi lang bir(= ba 'dir?) / brjod pa'i spobs pa dang bral bas rang gzhan gyi dad gus kyi dmigs rkyen mdor bsdu la / mkhyen ldan kun thugs bstun pa gyeng ris la bkod pas tshim par bgyis pa lags na'ang / chos rje'i gsung gi bdud rtsis tshim pa'i dge ba'i gshes gnyen dbu che sgom chen rnams kyis yang yang bskul ba dang / khyad par du bla ma yon tan rgya mtshos thugs. . .

A portion of the colophon of this biography of Kun spangs pa Thugs rje brtson 'grus, alias Kun tu bzang po and Mi bskyod rdo rje, by the same Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes is therefore missing from this manuscript. Another manuscript of the same biography under CPN cata-

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32. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II (Rome: la Libreria Dello Stato, 1949) 670, 747, published one letter missive by him dated the twenty-third day of the fifth month of the dragon year (1304), which he wrote at imperial command in the capital of Shangdu; this document was reprinted in the tententious volume edited by 'Phrin las chos grags, *Krung go'i bod sa gnas kyi lo rgyus yig tshang phyogs btus* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1986) 243–244, and also in Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 200. An earlier, hitherto unknown letter missive from his pen was recently published in Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 199, and it was written by him by order of the emperor in Me tog ra ba temple in the capital of Dadu on the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the dragon year (1304). Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 201, reproduces an edict with no *intitulatio*, which it also attributes to 'Jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan. However, its dating to the year ?1306 would preclude this ascription.

logue no. 002815(11), this one in fifty–seven folios, continues on fols. 56b–57a:

... *gnyer ched pos mang du bskul zhing / ston pa bsod nams dpal dang : ston pa sher rgyal la bskul ba bcol nas : nye bar bskul ba'i phyir : bsgom chen [gloss: brtsom byed] pa rgyal ba ye shes kyis rgas pa'i sems dang brjed nas snyom las kyi ngang las : 'bad pas dran shes bskyed nas / ru 4'i [gloss: brtsom gnas] snying po gtsang chu [d]mig ring mo'i sa [57a] cha : g.yas 'khyil gyi chu bo'i rgyun gyis bskor zhing / dgos 'dod sna tshogs kyi 'bru smin pa'i sa gzhi rgya ched po'i dbus su / rtsi thog sna tshogs rgyas pa'i ri bo mthon pos bskor ba / phrin dkar gyi mdog can gyi brag ri la lha dang mi'i drang srong gi bsgrub gnas ran byung / bkra shis sgo mangs ltar brtsegs pa'i gnas mchog / lhun grub bde chen zhes bya bar bsdebs pa 'di legs par grub pa yin / yi ge pa ni ston pa shes rab rgyal mtshan no //.*

Thus Rgyal ba ye shes wrote this work in Lhun grub bde chen at the behest of some meditators at Dbu che, Yon tan rgya mtsho—he should probably be identified as Mkhas btsun Yon tan rgya mtsho, his disciple and successor to Jo nang monastery's abbatial throne, whose dates are 1260 to 1327<sup>33</sup>—, Ston pa Bsod nams dpal, and Ston pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan functioned as his scribe. The latter must probably be identified as Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361). Another handwritten *dbu med* manuscript in forty–eight folios of this very same text is located under CPN catalogue no. 006594(8). The earliest biographical sketch of Thugs rje brtson 'grus so far had been the few lines devoted to him by 'Gos Lo tsā ba.<sup>34</sup>

As with his study of the life of 'Jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan, here too Rgyal ba ye shes is rather short on dates. While there seems to be little reason to question that Thugs rje brtson 'grus passed away in 1313—Rgyal ba ye shes observes on fol. 37b that this took place on the twenty–fifth day of the intermediate spring–month, that is, sometime in the first half of that year, irrespective of what he meant by the ambiguous “intermediate spring–month”—the biography does not note the year of his birth, which other sources give as either 1242 or 1243.<sup>35</sup> Both may very well be problematic, however. After outlining the various

33. 'GOS 680–681 (Roerich 1979, 775). His biography is published in the seventh volume of *The 'Dzam thang Edition of the Collected Works (Gsung 'bum) of Kun mkhyen Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan*, ed. M. Kapstein (New Delhi, 1994) 279–386.

34. 'GOS 677–678 (Roerich 1979, 771–772).

35. Roerich 1979, 771.

transfigurations Thugs rje brtson 'grus underwent in his previous embodiments, the actual biography begins on fol. 12a, and it relates on fol. 12b that he had received the bodhisattva-vow from Sa skya Paṇḍita at the age of five (= four) in Gnyag tsha. As was observed previously, this master had begun his voyage to the residence of Köden, in present day Gansu province, in 1244 and passed away among the Mongols, never returning to his homeland. Fol. 22b relates that Thugs rje brtson 'grus studied the *Hevajratantra*, a tantra fundamental to *lam 'bras*, under 'Phags pa in Chu mig bde chen, indicating that this must have taken place between the years 1276 and 1280. Shortly thereafter, he received *lam 'bras* proper from 'Jam dbyangs chen po, that is, the subject of the biography listed above under B-4, in Lha rtse rdzong. Rgyal ba ye shes stipulates, however, he studied the *lam 'bras* transmissions of the Sa skya pa and the Zh[w]a ma traditions from Bla ma Rin chen 'od.<sup>36</sup> Later, Rgyal ba ye shes writes, Thugs rje brtson 'grus was to edit (*zhus dag*) the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* texts belonging to the Sa skya pa and 'Brom transmissions<sup>37</sup> and, presumably, on the basis of this text, wrote various exegeses and meditation manuals. This is one of the two earliest references to a reworking of the basic *lam 'bras* text; for the other see below under C-5. Ngor chen is much more explicit on this matter than Rgyal ba ye shes and makes in this connection the following observation.<sup>38</sup> Thugs rje brtson 'grus apparently thought of rewriting the basic text in a sequence different from the original one so as to facilitate a better understanding of it, and petitioned his (unnamed) master and a *mkha' 'gro ma* for permission to do so. Se ston Kun rig (?1029–?1116),<sup>39</sup> one of the founding fathers of especially the Zh[w]a *lam*

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36. NGOR 117.4.3 identifies him as a native of Kha phyar—NGOR1 161.2.2 has here “Rab phyar”—and an immediate disciple of Bla ma Lha lung pa. A MES 171 has the toponym “Kha char,” homophonic with “Kha phyar,” and writes that Rin chen 'od was a student of a Bla ma Sro lung pa; for “Sro lung pa,” see above note 6. Gung ru adds that Byang nga sbyer ba(?) Rin chen 'od zer—JAM 153 has the more correct toponym “Byang pa Char pa”—, himself a disciple of Nag[s] phug pa, was another one of Thugs rje brston 'grus' *lam 'bras* masters; see GUNG 122.1.1.

37. For this transmission, see NGOR 114.1.6–4.5 (NGOR1 157.3.5–158.2.6).

38. See NGOR 117.4.1–118.1.3 (NGOR1 161.1.6–3.2).

39. These dates are taken from 'GOS 193 (Roerich 1979, 215), where it is said that he was eighty-seven (= eighty-six) when he met Sa chen aged twenty-four (= twenty-three), and that he passed away one year later. Of the available sources, Dmar ston, Cha gan and A mes zhabs place someone with this name in the listing of 'Brog mi Lo tsa ba's fifteen main disciples, specif-

'bras, manifested himself to him in a dream, and granted him that permission. He then made a compilation of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* corpus of the Zh[w]a, 'Brom and Sa skya traditions, and rewrote the text changing much of the earlier sequence. Thereafter, he composed one large commentary using various earlier exegeses, including those of Sa chen, the Zh[w]a ma tradition, and of "two Bka' brgyud(!)," which seemingly was entitled *Rdo rje'i tshig rkang dkrugs pa bsdebs gab pa mngon du phyung ba'i 'grel pa tshig don gsal byed sgron ma*. And he also wrote a summary of it which apparently included a "chronicle of the transmission" (*de'i bsdus don brgyud pa'i lo rgyus*). Neither has been located so far. The library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities has at least one minor work of his, namely a commentary on a text by Sha ba ri pa.<sup>40</sup>

ically as the last of the three who had received from him the complete oral instructions (*gdams ngag/man ngag*); see DMAR fol. 6a, CHA fol. 31b and A MES 144. Of the three other pre-Dmar ston lam 'bras chronicles are extant, namely the one by Rje Btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan and the two that were probably written by Ko brag pa, the former gives the identical names for the first two disciples in this particular grouping, but has "Bla ma Se mkhar chung ba"—according to Mang thos, in MANG 89, his dates are 1025 to 1092—instead of "Se ston Kun rig"; see his *Bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus*, SSBB 3 no.11, 173.4.5—another witness of this text is a five-folio handwritten *dbu med* manuscript under CPN catalogue no. 002465(2), where the corresponding passage can be found on fol. 4a. On the other hand, one of the two texts that I would tentatively like to attribute to Ko brag pa—for this consideration, see van der Kuijp–Stearns (forthcoming)—knows only of Se ston Kun rig and the other one may equate him with Se mkhar chung ba; see, respectively, the *Bhir ba pa'i lo rgyus* and the \**Lam 'bras snyan brgyud*, in *Gžun bsad klog skya ma sogs*, vol.1 (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1975) 399, 440. A confusion of these two, or their identity, is furthermore indicated by the fact that 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug writes, in 'JAM 153, that it was Se mkhar chung ba who had appeared to Thugs rje brtson 'grus in this dream. To be recalled is that, whereas, in A MES 144, A mes zhabs indicated his sources to have been the chronicles by Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Dmar ston and Bla ma dam pa, he nonetheless has "Se ston Kun rig" and *not* "Se mkhar chung ba" in the aforementioned triad. Se mkhar chung ba is discussed not only in Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan's text, but also in BLA 30, 32–36 (BLA1 fols. 13a, 14a–15b), NGOR 114.1.6 (NGOR1 157.3.5), 'JAM 77, 82–90, 99, and MANG 82—but see also MANG 132! These excursions are very similar to the ones concerning Se ston Kun rig in DMAR fols. 9a–12b and CHA fols. 53a–60a. The relationship between Se ston Kun rig and Se mkhar chung ba requires further study.

40. The title page of this little handwritten *dbu med* manuscript in six folios entitles it *Dpal sha ba ri pa'i gzhung chung // gzhung chung de'i 'grel pa kun spangs thugs rje [b]rtson 'grus gyis mdzod [= mdzad]*. Its CPN cata-

C. Exegeses of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*

1. Title page: *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig [rkang] gi rnam par bshad pa gsung sgros ma zhes bya ba dmar chos kyi rgyal pos mdzad pa*  
CPN no. 006687(1)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ma 337*

Folios 107

Incipit: [1b] bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la spyi bos phyag 'tshal lo // bde gshegs kun dngos rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog : rdo rje 'dzin pa gsang bdag dbyer med gtso : sku bzhi'i bdag nyid lhun grub sku lnga'i skur : gnas gyur mchog brnyes bla ma'i zhabs la 'dud :

Colophon: [107a–b] . . . mgon po 'am dpal dbyangs dang tha mi dad cing / 'gran zla thams cad dang bral ba'i chos kyi [107b] rje chen po sa skya pañdi ta'i zhabs kyi brdul(sic) la yun ring du gus par btugs(sic) cing / zhal la dris te nan tur gyis bzung nas dga' ba chen pos yid la 'dris par byas ste / dbri bsnan med par gzhan gyi don du yul dbus kyi blo gsal la dmar gyi(sic) sbyar ba rdzogs sho / shubhan /

This exegesis of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, written by Dmar ston at the behest of his disciples Rin chen 'bar, Rdo rje grags pa and Ye shes 'od zer and at the subsequent request of Bla ma Grags pa 'od zer—these names are taken from glosses found in a manuscript of this text with a slightly different title that was published in India<sup>41</sup>—was based

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logue number is 006762(11) and the indigenous catalogue number *phyi ka 131*. For Sabara, see the note in K. Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra. Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas* (Albany: The State University of New York, 1985) 60–65. For his lineage of this transmission, see Ngor chen in THOB 72.2.3–4.

41. DMAR1 294. These names are not entirely unproblematic, for only one, namely the last one, is most likely identifiable as belonging to imperial preceptor Grags pa 'od zer (1246–1303), and 'Phags pa's erstwhile master of offerings (*mchod dpon*); see Inaba 1975, 538–536, 533. GUNG 122.1.6 but registers a Sgang ston Shes rab 'bum as one of his *lam 'bras* students, and A MES 194 notes two variants of his name, “Gye re Sgang ston” and “Sngang thang Sgang ston.” Ngor chen first registers a Dgongs ston Shes rab 'bum as a student of 'Phags pa after which this same individual is also stated to have been a disciple of Dmar ston; see THOB 68.2.2, 69.2.3–4. Thus, “Dgongs ston” would be a variant of “Sgang ston.” But THOB 107.1. 1 records a Sgang ston Shes rab bla ma as one of Dmar ston's students, and distinguishes him from his disciple Shes rab 'bum, something we also encounter in the record of teachings received of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) in BU 22. This might be an error. The latter notes that Mnga' ris Skyi ston, a Mi

on the oral teachings he received from Sa skya Paṇḍita. While their colophons read more or less the same, the text issued in India does have an additional note subsequent to it, one which states: *bsod nams dpal gyi dpe'o //*, “Bsod nams dpal’s manuscript.”<sup>42</sup> One wonders if this “Bsod nams dpal” is to be identified as Brag phug pa Bsod nams dpal. This exegesis is also known as the *Gzhung bshad dmar ma*<sup>43</sup> and should of course not be confused with the *Pod dmar po*, the “Red Volume,” so named after the color of the cloth in which it was wrapped. The latter is a convolute of *lam 'bras* texts by various authors, originally compiled by Ngor chen, for which his nephew and disciple Rgyal tshab dam pa Kun dga' dbang phyug (1424–1478) wrote a catalogue.<sup>44</sup>

2. Title page: *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag dang man ngag du bcas pa dmar chos kyi rgyal pos mdzad pa'i gsung ngag gi nyams len yig chung dang bcas pa*  
 CPN no. 004345(2)  
 Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ga 102*  
 Folios 42  
 Incomplete; missing folios 43–?

Incipit: [1b] same as no. 4.  
 No colophon

This is another manuscript of Dmar ston's exegesis of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*.

3. Title page: *Bla ma shar pa rdo rje 'od zer gyis thugs kyi bcud / // lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa*  
 CPN no. 004345(3)  
 Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ga 102*

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nyag Chos rgyal, and a Khams pa Sa mu dra (= Rgya mtsho) were also among Dmar ston's disciples—see BU 105, 118—to which we may add Dmar Shākya grub (?his nephew) and Bla ma Shākya gzhon nu; see THOB 102.4.3, 103.4.6–1–104.1.1.

42. DMAR 1 295.

43. GUNG 122.1.6.

44. See the *Lam 'bras gžun bśad pod dmar ma* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974). However, a collection by the same name is also attributed to Mus chen Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan, another one of Ngor chen's disciples, in the listing of contents for LBSB 13, 1–469.

Folios 20

Incomplete; missing folios 9–10, 21–?

Some water damage

Incipit: [1b] // bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo // rdo rje tshig rkang la don gnyis te / bla ma dam pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal zhing lam 'bras bshad par dam bcwa [read: bca'] ba dang / gzhung dngos po //  
No colophon

This is a commentary on the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* by Shar pa Rdo rje 'od zer. Fol. 1b has two miniatures with Virūpa on the left and an unidentified individual, possibly Sa skya Paṇḍita, on the right hand side. Gung ru observes that Rdo rje 'od zer completed the exegesis of the text that had been left unfinished by his elder brother Shar pa Shes rab 'byung gnas.<sup>45</sup> This may be that work. Rdo rje 'od zer was the second abbot of Sa skya's Shar Residence and a disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍita and his elder brother. The first three sources mentioned in note twenty–three of this paper state unanimously that Shes rab 'byung gnas passed away at the age of sixty–four (= sixty–three). It is only in a gloss anent him in a manuscript of Yar lung Jo bo's text in which we find given the year of his birth as the earth–male–horse year. This would mean that his year of birth was most likely 1198 / 1199 remains a slight possibility as January of that year is also included in the earth–male–horse year, so that the year of his passing would have to be either 1261 or 1262. Again, the first three sources state that his younger brother Rdo rje 'od zer was abbot of the see of Shar for seven years and that he died at the age of sixty–two (= sixty–one). If we can accept that Rdo rje 'od zer mounted the abbacy upon the death of Shes rab 'byung gnas and that he remained on the throne until his own passing, then we may assume that his dates are *circa* 1206 to 1267.

4. Title page: *Bi bsrungs 'thun mong pa : rje btsun dam pa'i gsung ngag*

CPN no. 004345(4)

Indigenous catalogue no. *phyi ga 102*

Folios 113; folio 25 has an “upper” (*gong*) and a “lower” (*'og*) one

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45. GUNG 121.4.3–4.

## Some water damage

Incipit: [1b] // bla ma dang dkon mchog rin po che rnam pa gsum la  
phyag 'tshal zhing skyabs su mchi'o // bdag dang sems can thams cad  
kyi(sic) sangs rgyas thob par bya ba'i phyir / bsrung ba'i rnal 'byor  
nyams su blang bar bgyi'o /

Colophon: [112a] // bla ma dam pa chos kyi rje sa skya pa'i chos thams  
cad kyi mthar thug gam 'bras bu 'di chos kyi rje sa skya pañḍi ta chen  
po'i zhabs kyi pad mo spyi bos blangs pa : bla ma shar pa rdo rje 'od zer  
gyis legs par sbyar ba'o // . . .

// thun mong ma yin chos tshul 'di // dad ldan don yod rdo rje yis //  
nyams su blang phyir bris brtsams pa // rgya ston ring mos dag par bris  
// . . .

This work on *lam 'bras* practise was written by Shar pa Rdo rje 'od zer under the inspiration of Sa skya Pañḍita's instructions. It would appear that a Don yod rdo rje made a copy for his own use and the manuscript was then written out by a Rgya ston ring mo.

5. Title page: *Rdo rje tshig rkang gi 'grel pa cha gan gyis bsdebs*  
*pa'o*

CPN no. 006617(14)

Fols. 46

Incipit: [1b] na mo gu ru bhyah bla ma yid dam mkha' 'gro la // sgo  
gsum gus pas phyag 'tshal te // rdo rje'i tshig 'byed 'grel chung 'di //  
rang gzhan don du bri bar bya'o //

Colophon: [47a–b]..shing pho brug gi lo sgrog khum gyi zla ba'i yar  
tshes bcu gsum la : [47b] bla ma dam pa'i gzims khang rin chen sgang  
gong mar sbyar cing bris pa 'dis gang zag dpag tu med pa smin grol la  
'god cing : phyogs dus thams cad du bkra shis par gyur cig // //

Cha gan Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan completed this study in what had been 'Phags pa's private chambers in the Rin chen sgang complex of Sa skya on the thirteenth day of the first half of the *sgrog khum* lunar month of the wood–male–dragon year, that is, sometime in 1304, inasmuch as I do not know to what month the expression *sgrog khum* refers. The manuscript is in places scarcely legible and is replete with a

large number of glosses in an unknown hand, including a long post-colophonic note which is by and large illegible. Typologically, Cha gan's exegesis belongs to the genre of the interlinear commentary, called *mchan 'grel* in later times. According to Ngor chen, Cha gan and his disciple Bla ma Mnyam med pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan<sup>46</sup> apparently edited and, no doubt in their opinion, corrected the Tibetan translation of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, without recourse of the Sanskrit text of the original, after which Cha gan wrote an exegesis of this curious production. Ngor chen critically refers to the resultant work, the *Gzhung bshad rgyas pa*, an "Extensive Commentary [on Virūpa's] Text, as a "subjective [re]construction" (*rang bzo*). Gung ru appears to call it the *Gzhung bshad chen mo bka' rgya ma*, a "Sealed Extensive Commentary [on Virūpa's] Work."<sup>47</sup> If we compare the text of the *Rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* used by Cha gan—in the manuscript, it is marked off the exegesis as such by having been written in larger script—to the readings and structure of the text as transmitted in orthodox Sa skya pa sources, it is clear that a number of significant changes in the text seems to have been initiated by him, or by him and Bla ma Mnyam med pa.

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### Abbreviations

- A A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams. 1975. *'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung* [Sde dge print]. New Delhi: Bonpo Monastic Centre.
- A1 *Ibid.* 1986. Ed. Rdo rje rgyal po. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- A MES *Ibid.* 1974. *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che'i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung rab rin po che'i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho, Lam 'bras khog phub bde mchog chos 'byung. Two*

46. NGOR 117.2.2–3.4 [NGOR1 160.3.1–4.3]. For Bla ma Mnyam med pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan, see van der Kuijp 1994, 139, 142–144, and additional references in the introduction of van der Kuijp–Stearns (forthcoming).

47. GUNG 123.2.3–4.

*Historical Studies of the Sa-skyapa Lam 'bras and Chakrasamvara(sic) Traditions.* New Delhi. 1-314.

- BLA Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan. *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar snang ba.* LBSB 13. 1-121.
- BLA 1 *Ibid.* Handwritten *dbu med* manuscript in fols. 50. CPN catalogue no. 002799(7).
- BO ?Bo dong Pañ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal. 1973 *Lam 'bras bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Pañ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal.* Vol.106. New Delhi: The Tibet House. 411-573.
- BO 1 See the text listed under A-5 in the present paper.
- BU Bu ston Rin chen grub pa. 1971. *Bla ma dam pa kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul bka' drin rjes su dran par byed pa. The Collected Works of Bu ston (and Sgra tshad pa) [Lhasa print].* Part 24. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1-142.
- CHA Cha gan Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan. *Lam 'bras kyi bla ma bod kyi lo rgyus rgyas pa bod bstan pa'i byung 'dems ma.* Incomplete, handwritten *dbu med* manuscript in fols. 92. See van der Kuijp-Stearns (forthcoming).
- DMAR See the text listed under A-2 in the present paper.
- DMAR 1 Dmar ston Chos kyi rgyal po. *Gzhung rdo rje'i tshig rkang gi 'grel pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i gsung sgros ma.* LBSB 31. 1-295.
- 'GOS 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal. 1976. *Deb gter sngon po.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- GUNG Gung ru Shes rab bzang po. *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa'i 'od.* SSBB 9 no.37. 108/3-126.4.3.
- 'JAM 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug. *Gdams ngag byung tshul gyi zin bris gsang chen bstan pa rgyas byed.* LBSB 14. 1-155.
- KUN Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog. 1982. *Zhen pa rang grol gyi lhug par brjod pa'i gnam bskal bzang dad pa'i shing rta 'dren byed. The Autobiographies of Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog.* Vol.2. New Delhi: The Tibet House. 285-534.
- MANG Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho. 1987. *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed lhag bsam rab dkar, Gangs can rig mdzod*

4. Ed. Nor brang O rgyan. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.
- LBSB *The Slob bshad Tradition of the Sa skya Lam 'bras*. 1983–1985. Vols.1–31. Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre.
- NGOR Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa'i 'od*. SSBB 9 no.37. 108.3–118.2.3.
- NGOR1 *Ibid.* *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag bstan pa rgyas pa'i 'od kha skong dang bcas pa*. SSBB 15 no.87. 152.2-161.4.2.
- SHES Stag tshang Shes rab rin chen, *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya msho* handwritten dbu med manuscript in fols. 34. CPN catalogue no. 002 437(?).
- SSBB *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*. 1968–1969. Vols.1–15. Comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.
- STAG Stag tshang pa Dpal 'byor bzang po. 1985. *Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo*. Ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- THOB Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. *Thob yig rgya msho*. SSBB 9 no.36. 44.4–108.2.
- TSHAL Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje. 1981. *Deb ther dmar po*. Ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- TSHAL1 *Ibid.* 1961. Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.
- TSHOGS Anonymous. *Tshogs sgom rin po che'i nam thar*. LBSB 1. 338–341
- YAR Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen, *Yar lung jo bo shākya rin chen gis mdzad pa'i chos 'byung*, handwritten dbu med manuscript in fols. 116. CPN ca-talogue no. 002446(2)
- YAR1 *Ibid.* 1988. Ed. Dbyangs can. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- YAR2 *Ibid.* 1988. Ed. Ngag dbang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

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