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„The Life and Works of the Thirteenth Karma-pa
bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733-1797)“

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The seeds for the following pages were already planted in my childhood. Growing up in a home full of encyclopedias, atlases and other exciting books about distant times and places was formative for me. Therefore, from the bottom of my heart I would like to thank my parents, Christa and Ulrich Coura, for arousing my curiosity.

1 Introduction



Wall painting of the Thirteenth Karma-pa
Centro Budista Karma Guen, Vélez-Málaga, Spain
Artist: Zla-ba Lha-bris-pa, photograph courtesy of Elisabeth Haderer

This thesis is an attempt to shed some light on the life of one of the Karma-pa incarnations about whom not very much is known so far: the Thirteenth, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje. It consists of two main parts: first, an edition and translation of one of his life stories, which is preceded by an introductory part that contextualizes the times and society that he was living in; and second, a preliminary evaluation of his collected works by means of quantitative and qualitative methods.

For the translation that forms the core part, I chose a rather recent text: the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba'i kha skong* by sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal. The advantage of this text is that it is based on a multitude of other primary sources, and therefore contains substantially more information than each of its predecessors. In terms of language, the frequency and length of the quotations gave me the chance to deal with the writing styles of a variety of authors.

Throughout this thesis, the following conventions are used:

- Both the titles of texts and Tibetan or Sanskrit technical terms that remain untranslated are italicized.
- Tibetan terms are transliterated according to the Wylie system. The root letters of titles of texts, titles and names of persons and names of places are capitalized. Hyphens are used for titles and names of persons, as well as for names of places.
- Sanskrit terms are transliterated according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST).
- Whenever a Sanskrit or Tibetan term has made its way into standard English, as for example in the cases of “samsara” or “lama,” the English orthography is used. The criterion for this is the existence of an entry in the American Heritage Dictionary.
- At the first occurrence of the names of persons and places, their TBRC Resource ID is given in a footnote.
- In the bibliography and footnotes, primary, i.e. Tibetan, sources are referred to by means of short titles. References to secondary sources are by means of their author's or translator's name in small caps. References to online sources are by means of an abbreviated name in small caps.
- In some cases, the sources used were parts of volumes that have no continuous page or folio numbering, but a separate numbering starting with “1” for each text. In these cases, the page numbers of the TBRC scans were given and indicated by “scan page.”
- All sources that were consulted are listed in the bibliography. For sources that are mentioned but were not consulted, their TBRC Resource ID, Library of Congress Control Number (LCCN) or NGMCP Reel Number is given in a footnote.

2 The Life of the Thirteenth Karma-pa

2.1 Available Sources

2.1.1 Primary Sources

A very short autobiography¹ is well-hidden within one of the texts in bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's² *Collected Works* (gSung 'bum), entitled *rJe karma pa na rim gsum gyi rnam thar*³. He first writes about his two predecessors and then dedicates one and a half folios to himself. This is followed by an appendix of four and a half folios, entitled *rNam thar kha skong 'ga' shas*⁴, which tells of some more life events.

The only life story of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje that was written by a direct disciple is by the Eighth 'Brug-chen, Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snang-ba⁵ and is entitled *rGyal ba'i dbang po karma pa bdud 'dul rdo rje'i rnam thar nyung ngu dad pa'i zla shel*⁶. Since it is only seven folios long, the amount of information that can be extracted from it is limited.

One might expect to find a chapter on the Thirteenth Karma-pa in 'Be-lo Tshe-dbang-kun-khyab's⁷ supplement to the Eighth Si-tu's⁸ *sGrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*⁹. However, even though he devotes chapters to the lives of his contemporaries, for example the Tenth Zhwa-dmar¹⁰, Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu¹¹ and the Seventh dPa'-bo¹², there is none on bDud-'dul-rdo-rje.

1 The Tibetan term *rnam thar* is frequently translated as “biography” or “hagiography.” In order to avoid the shortcomings of both terms, I use the term “life story” throughout this thesis. It has the advantage that, unlike “biography,” it is not a genre designation within Western literary theory and thus does not evoke inapplicable connotations within the reader. The only context in which “biography” cannot be avoided is in “autobiography.”

2 TBRC: P828.

3 gSung 'bum, vol. 1: 191-200 (ff. 96a.2-100b.1).

4 gSung 'bum, vol. 1: 200-209 (ff. 100b.1-105a.2).

5 TBRC: P846.

6 Dad pa'i zla shel.

7 TBRC: P2872.

8 TBRC: P956.

9 Rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba.

10 TBRC: P831.

11 TBRC: P676.

12 TBRC: P841.

Fortunately, the life stories of his two main teachers, the Eighth Si-tu¹³ and Kah-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu¹⁴, provide us with a substantial amount of information for the earlier periods of his life. Si-tu and Tshe-dbang-nor-bu passed away in 1774 and 1755 respectively.

The Ninth Si-tu¹⁵ composed an invocation to the Thirteenth Karma-pa¹⁶, in which a couple of life events are mentioned; the text's function, however, is mainly that of a praise, and its length is only one and a half folios.

Later authors, such as Karma-nges-don-bstan-rgyas¹⁷ in his *Chos rje karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus dpag bsam khri shing*¹⁸ and 'Jam-dbyangs-tshul-khrims¹⁹ in his *dPal karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*²⁰, seem to have based their accounts almost exclusively on the above-mentioned sources, thus presenting only limited additional insights into bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's life. Despite its promising title, Mig-dmar-tshe-ring's²¹ *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon dang krung dbyang srid gzhung rim byung dbar gyi 'brel ba'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus*²² gives an account of the political situation during bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's times, as well as the history and the different systems of recognizing incarnations, but contains no information specifically related to the Thirteenth Karma-pa.

Therefore, very little information is available for the years between 1774 and 1793, when the Thirteenth Karma-pa passed away. This will also become evident from sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal's²³ text. He resorted to gathering bits and pieces from the occasional diary-like introductions to the individual texts of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's *Collected Works*. Even though they are not a life story in the classical sense, and it is thus hard to deduce the sequence of events from them, they give valuable insights into his daily life, including visitors he received, travels, even his moods.

13 *Dri bral shel gyi me long*.

14 *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho, Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*.

15 TBRC: P559.

16 *bDud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*.

17 TBRC: P926.

18 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 400-434 (ff. 200b.4-217b.1).

19 TBRC: P5118.

20 *Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*: 203-210.

21 TBRC: P1GS66315.

22 *Karma pa sku phreng rim byon dang krung dbyang srid gzhung rim byung dbar gyi 'brel ba*: 95-101.

23 TBRC: P6208.

2.1.2 Secondary Sources²⁴

The three main sources in English on the lives of the successive Karma-pa incarnations are Kar-ma-phrin-las's *History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet*²⁵, Douglas/White's *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet*²⁶, and the more recent *History of the Karmapas: the Odyssey of the Tibetan Masters with the Black Crown*²⁷ by Kunsang/Pemo/Aubèle. Unfortunately, all three are very imprecise in naming their respective sources. Most of what Kar-ma-phrin-las mentions in his bibliography is too early to be relevant for the life of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, and some other sources could not be identified.²⁸ Douglas/White present only a “select bibliography” with very few Tibetan sources, but say in their introduction that they had access to written and oral sources at Rum-stegs monastery^{29, 30}. With very few exceptions, Kunsang/Pemo/Aubèle exclusively mention secondary sources.³¹

There are also brief accounts of the Thirteenth Karma-pa's life in *Music in the Sky: the Life, Art and Teachings of the 17th Gyalwa Karmapa, Ogyen Trinley Dorje*³² and *Karmapa: The Politics of Reincarnation*³³, which closely resemble those in the above-mentioned books. Brunnhölzl prefaces his translation of one of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's songs in *Straight from the Heart: Buddhist Pith Instructions*³⁴ with an overview of his life.

2.2 Overview

The following overview of the main events in bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's life was compiled based on both primary³⁵ and secondary³⁶ sources.

24 As most secondary literature deals with all Karma-pa incarnations, not just a single one, part of this section was taken over from my unpublished B.A. thesis, *The Fifteenth Karma-pa mKha'-kyab-rdo-rje (1871-1922): Some Glimpses on His Life, Death and Rebirth*, Hamburg 2011, and expanded.

25 KARMA THINLEY 1980.

26 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976.

27 KUNSANG ET AL. 2012.

28 KARMA THINLEY 1980: 150.

29 TBRC: G1PD110071.

30 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 14, 225-226.

31 KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 307-310.

32 MARTIN 2003: 288.

33 TERHUNE 2004: 92.

34 BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429-430.

35 *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 4-33; *Dad pa'i zla shel*; *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*: 73-74, 80; *Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*: 203-210; *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 400-434 (ff.200b.4-217b.1).

36 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 96-98, KARMA THINLEY 1980: 117-119, KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 171-178, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429-430, MARTIN 2003: 288, TERHUNE 2004: 92.

1733	Birth
1737	Arrival at mTshur-phu ³⁷ , enthronisation
1745	First meeting with Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas at mTshur-phu
1746	Novice ordination by Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas
1747	Recognition of the Tenth Zhwa-dmar
1750	Pilgrimage to Nepal (?) ³⁸
1751	One-month stay in Lha-sa ³⁹
1763	Full ordination by Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas
1771-1772	Journey to A-mdo ⁴⁰ and Khams ⁴¹
1772	Visit to the royal palace of sDe-dge ⁴²
1774	Recognition of the Ninth Si-tu
1779	Visit to Lha-sa to prevent the city from being flooded by the <i>nāgas</i>
1797	Death

2.3 Historical Context

2.3.1 Tibet in the Eighteenth Century

In the last years of the century that preceded bDud-dul-rdo-rje's birth, the dominant figure in Central Tibet was the Fifth Dalai Lama's⁴³ regent, sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho⁴⁴. In 1696, it became known that for fourteen years he had hidden the death of his master⁴⁵ and found and secretly educated a reincarnation, Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho⁴⁶. Unfortunately, it turned out that the young man preferred wine, women and song to a renunciate's lifestyle.⁴⁷

Even though Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho was a powerful and skilled politician, there were two other parties with a strong interest in Tibet. First, the Qoshot Mongols, the successors of Gushri Khan, were still the official rulers. However, because of a series of

37 TBRC: G33. See TIBETMAP sheet 2990, 10 km west of Namkar, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 160.

38 It is doubtful whether this event really took place. See chapter 2.4.2.4.

39 TBRC: G2GS1127. See TIBETMAP sheet 2991, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 160.

40 TBRC: G1202.

41 TBRC: G1326.

42 TBRC: G1366. See TIBETMAP sheet 3198, right top corner, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 582.

43 TBRC: P37.

44 TBRC: P421.

45 For a description of the daily routines that made this possible, see SHAKABPA 1984: 126-127. SCHULEMANN 1958: 267 doubts that it worked.

46 TBRC: P352.

47 KAPSTEIN 2006: 142-143.

weak leaders and because of their frequent absences from Lha-sa, their power was nominal.⁴⁸ Second, there was the Chinese Manchu emperor Kangxi, with whom the Fifth Dalai Lama had maintained a friendly relationship.⁴⁹

When Lha-bzang Khan⁵⁰ became the leader of the Qoshots in 1700⁵¹, he was determined to tread in the footsteps of his ancestor Gushri Khan, and gain power in Central Tibet again. In order to do so, he needed to get rid of both the sDe-srid – who maintained friendly relationships with the Dzungars, a rivalling Mongol tribe – and the Sixth Dalai Lama.⁵² After a period of seemingly peaceful coexistence, war between him and the regent broke out in 1705. Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho was defeated and forced to resign. In 1706, with the consent of his ally Kangxi, Lha-bzang forced Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho into exile, where he died.⁵³ It is unclear whether it was a natural death or not.⁵⁴

Lha-bzang declared that Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho had not been the true reincarnation and installed a 25-year old, reportedly his son, as the “real” Sixth Dalai Lama, but the Tibetans did not accept him. Kangxi, being more aware of Tibetan sensitivities than Lha-bzang, did not give his approval, but instead sent an advisor to Tibet in order to support Lha-bzang, and, in return for that support, made him pay tribute. In the meantime, the news spread about Tshangs-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho's rebirth⁵⁵, later known as sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho⁵⁶, and in 1716 the boy was formally enthroned at sKu-'bum monastery⁵⁷ under the patronage of Kangxi.⁵⁸

Lha-bzang continued to rule until 1717, when the Dzungars invaded Tibet, killed him and dethroned his “Dalai Lama.” The sympathies that this brought them from the Tibetan side quickly vanished – neither did they not manage to bring sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho to Lha-sa, nor did they refrain from looting. Kangxi intervened and was defeated

48 PETECH 1972: 8.

49 KAPSTEIN 2006: 140-141.

50 TBRC: P420.

51 1703 according to PETECH 1972: 10.

52 KAPSTEIN 2006: 144.

53 PETECH 1972: 10-17.

54 PETECH 1972: 17 seems to see no reason for a violent death, whereas SCHULEMANN 1958: 285, RICHARDSON 1984: 48 and KAPSTEIN 2006: 146 do not consider it impossible. SHAKABPA 1984: 133 merely says that the sources do not mention murder.

55 RICHARDSON 1984: 48.

56 TBRC: P179 (spelling: *bskal bzang rgya mtsho*).

57 TBRC: G160. See map 5 in GYURME DORJE 2009: 504-505, A4.

58 KAPSTEIN 2006: 147-148.

by the Dzungars in 1718, but finally made it to Lha-sa in 1720, together with sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho.⁵⁹

Afterward, a council of four Tibetan noblemen was established in order to govern the country. It did not function well, and in 1727 the assassination of one of them led to a civil war. An aristocrat named bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas⁶⁰, commonly known as Pho-lha-nas, took over the leadership. Even though he formally ruled together with two Manchu representatives called ambans, in fact he was like the king of Tibet. As the Dalai Lama's father had been spinning some intrigues, both he and his son were sent into exile until 1735; from then on, any activity that was neither religious nor ceremonial was forbidden to the Dalai Lama.⁶¹

By that time, the Thirteenth Karma-pa bDud-dul-rdo-rje had been born.

Pho-lha-nas' death in 1747 marked the beginning of another period of instability. Following the advice of lCang-skyā Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje⁶², who was the reincarnation of Kangxi's former tutor and whose designated role was to serve as an intermediary between the Manchu on the one hand and the Mongols and Tibetans on the other hand, the emperor Qianlong decided that giving the Dalai Lama political power, instead of letting the ambans govern the country on their own, was the only way to avoid further bloodshed. It came as a surprise that the Dalai Lama was successful as a leader. Among the changes he initiated was the creation of a council of ministers (*bka' shag*). During the period between the Seventh Dalai Lama's death and the coming of age of the Eighth, 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho⁶³, Tibet was again governed by a regent.⁶⁴

In 1788 the Gorkhas, the new Hindu rulers of Nepal, invaded Tibet in order to protect their commercial interests. It is a matter of dispute whether they were instigated by the Tenth Zhwa-dmar, Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho.⁶⁵ A treaty that made Tibet pay tribute was negotiated, and the Gorkhas retreated. When the Dalai Lama refused to pay the second installment on the basis of his not having been involved in the agreement⁶⁶, the Gorkhas

59 RICHARDSON 1984: 48-49.

60 TBRC: P346.

61 KAPSTEIN 2006: 150-151.

62 TBRC: P182.

63 TBRC: P109.

64 KAPSTEIN 2006: 153-155.

65 See chapter 2.3.2.3.

66 According to SHAKABPA 1984: 161-162, the situation was as follows: the treaty contained a passage that the Tibetan government could ask for a reduction of the tribute after the first year; however, at

invaded again. The Manchu army intervened, and only when they were approaching Kathmandu in 1792, did the Gorkhas capitulate.⁶⁷

These events resulted in the prohibition of further Zhwa-dmar incarnations, the confiscation of his monastery Yangs-pa-can⁶⁸ and the introduction of several administrative reforms by Qianlong – one of which was the system of the golden urn, a kind of lottery for the recognition of reincarnations.⁶⁹

The decades after bDud-dul-rdo-rje's death in 1797 were characterized by a sequence of extremely short-lived Dalai Lamas, some of whom may have been murdered⁷⁰, increasing power for their regents, and a lessening of Manchu influence.⁷¹

2.3.2 Important Contemporaries of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje

2.3.2.1 Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu

Born in 1698 in Sa-ngan⁷² in Khams, Tshe-dbang-nor-bu was recognized as the rebirth of Grub-dbang Padma-nor-bu⁷³. He was brought to Kaḥ-thog monastery⁷⁴ and educated by the preeminent rNying-ma and bKa'-brgyud masters of his time.⁷⁵ Having rejected the offer to become the abbot of his monastery, he left the place in 1723; it seems he felt more like a bKa'-brgyud-pa than like a rNying-ma-pa.⁷⁶ His various activities included treasure revealing and restoration of monasteries and stupas.⁷⁷ In particular, he traveled to the Kathmandu valley several times in order to renovate the Svayambhūnāth and Bauddhanāth stupas. He maintained a friendly relationship with the Tibetan government and occasionally served as an intermediary for them.⁷⁸ In terms of philosophy, he was attracted to gZhan-stong, a view at that time primarily held by the Jo-nang.⁷⁹

that time the Gorkhas refused to negotiate with them, therefore they did not pay the second installment.

67 RICHARDSON 1984: 69.

68 TBRC: G198. See TIBETMAP sheet 2990, top middle, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 165.

69 KAPSTEIN 2006: 158-159.

70 KAPSTEIN 2006: 160.

71 RICHARDSON 1984: 70-71.

72 TBRC: G3465. This is probably the place named Sangenrong on TIBETMAP sheet 3098, right margin middle, and Sangen on the map in GYURME DORJE 2009: 576.

73 TBRC: P5989.

74 TBRC: G17. See GYURME DORJE 2009: 576.

75 RICHARDSON 1967: 7.

76 RONIS 2013: 63.

77 RICHARDSON 1967: 8.

78 EHRHARD 1989: 3-7.

79 SMITH 2001: 90.

2.3.2.2 The Eighth Si-tu, Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas



Si-tu Paṅ-chen as the Great Transmitter of His Lineage (detail).
Scroll painting, ca. 1760. Rubin Museum of Art, New York
Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons

Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas was born in sDe-dge in 1700 and recognized by the Eighth Zhwa-dmar⁸⁰. At the age of twelve, he left for Central Tibet and spent three years there.⁸¹ He was educated at the mTshur-phu and Yangs-pa-can monasteries.⁸² His meeting with Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, with whom he shared the gZhan-stong view, was the beginning of a lifelong friendship. From 1721 to 1724 he traveled in Nepal and Western Tibet. After his return to Khams, he established the dPal-spungs monastery⁸³. Subsequently, he dedicated himself to editing and correcting the *sDe dge bka' 'gyur*⁸⁴. The next task he started, the revision of the translation of Sanskrit philological works into Tibetan, would occupy him for the rest of his life. Besides his scholarly work, he

80 TBRC: P955.

81 SMITH 2001: 91.

82 RONIS 2013: 51-52.

83 TBRC: G36. See TIBETMAP sheet 3198, 25 km southeast of Derge.

84 For example TBRC W30532.

traveled extensively within Nepal, Central and Eastern Tibet⁸⁵ and ordained more than four thousand men belonging to various traditions in a multitude of monasteries throughout Eastern Tibet.⁸⁶ He passed away in 1774.⁸⁷

An important factor influencing Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas' activities throughout his life was his relationship with the royal house of sDe-dge. Because of their wish to establish a good connection to a multitude of Tibetan Buddhist schools, and the prestige of the Si-tu incarnation line, they developed an interest to form a patron-and-priest (*mchod yon*) relationship with the Twelfth Karma-pa⁸⁸, and emphasized it by not granting the two incarnations permission to leave the kingdom. Formal negotiations started in 1706, and in 1712 a contract was signed. For Si-tu, the consequences were that he still could not travel the way he wished⁸⁹, that the royal family gave a considerable amount of material support, both in general and for establishing dPal-spungs, and that he had to perform various duties in their service in the areas of ritual, publishing, medicine and astrology.⁹⁰

Si-tu's outstanding position within the Karma-kam-tshang tradition stemmed from his close connection to the kings of sDe-dge, as well as from the almost simultaneous passing away of both the Twelfth Karma-pa and the Eighth Zhwa-dmar-pa in 1732. The extraordinary knowledge of this polymath extended far beyond Buddhism into areas as distinct as medicine, art, Sanskrit and maybe even Chinese.⁹¹

2.3.2.3 The Tenth Zhwa-dmar, Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho

The recognition of Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho was characterized by an unresolved reincarnation conflict regarding the Ninth Zhwa-dmar incarnation. At that time, Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas had presented a candidate from Bhutan⁹², while the Seventh mTshur-phu rGyal-tshab⁹³ had presented one⁹⁴ from rNam-sras-gling⁹⁵. Both sides went to court, and the case was still going on when the Bhutanese boy passed away at a very

85 SMITH 2001: 91-93.

86 RONIS 2013: 54-55.

87 SMITH 2001: 93.

88 TBRC: P838.

89 An open question in this context is why the travel restrictions applied only to Si-tu, even though the patron-priest relationship was with the Karma-pa.

90 CHAIX 2013: 21-35.

91 SMITH 2001: 90-91.

92 TBRC: P829.

93 TBRC: P957.

94 TBRC: P830.

95 TBRC: G2813. See TIBETMAP sheet 2991, 20 km east of Tsetang, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 207-208.

young age.⁹⁶ He incarnated in 1743 at bKra-shis-rtse⁹⁷ as the younger brother of the Third/Sixth Pan-chen⁹⁸. However, Gar-dbang-rgya-mtsho, the boy from rNam-sras-gling, was still alive, thus there was a Ninth Zhwa-dmar competing with a Tenth Zhwa-dmar for being the true incarnation.⁹⁹ 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal¹⁰⁰, the son and successor of Pho-lha-nas, gave the order that both boys should be thrown into the water, and the one that neither sank nor drifted away should be recognized as the rebirth, but the Seventh Dalai Lama intervened. Finally a divination was made in front of the Jo-bo statue in Lha-sa; it indicated the bKra-shis-rtse candidate.¹⁰¹ As the events had caused a great stir in Central Tibet, Si-tu brought the young Zhwa-dmar to dPal-spungs and educated him there; later on, he and Tshe-dbang-nor-bu made a plan to install him at Kaḥ-thog monastery. There was an enthronement ceremony that upset some of the monks, but afterward Zhwa-dmar never set foot on Kaḥ-thog again.¹⁰²

Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho's role in the Gorkha wars is controversial. The main source for the sequence of events is the diary of the Tibetan government official rDo-ring-pa bsTan-'dzin-dpal-'byor¹⁰³. It seems that different authors draw different conclusions from it.¹⁰⁴

According to the predominant opinion, Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho allied himself with the Nepalese and incited them to wage war against Tibet, hoping it would help him to get access to the Pan-chen's inheritance, which he felt that he had been unjustly deprived of.¹⁰⁵ On several occasions during the war he seemed to act as a mediator between Nepal and Tibet, but his true intentions remained doubtful to the Tibetan government.¹⁰⁶ When the Gorkhas were defeated by the Manchu army, he committed suicide.¹⁰⁷

96 WONG 2010: 147. The Ninth Zhwa-dmar candidate's premature death may not have been a natural one, see RONIS 2013: 68, CHAIX 2013: 31.

97 According to TBRC: G837, the place is close to bKra-shis-lhun-po, see TIBETMAP sheet 2988, close to Zhikatse.

98 TBRC: P168. There are two different systems of counting the Pan-chen Lamas, depending on whether the first ones, who were given the title only posthumously, are included or not. See POWERS/TEMPLEMAN 2012 (*q.v. pan chen bla ma*).

99 WONG 2010: 147.

100 TBRC: P338.

101 *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 37-38.

102 RONIS 2013: 69-70.

103 TBRC: P300, W28259.

104 For a brief overview over the literature on the topic and the sources being used, see EHRHARD 2004: 87-88.

105 KAPSTEIN 2006: 158, RICHARDSON 1984: 69, SHAKABPA 1984: 157.

106 SHAKABPA 1984: 160, 164.

107 SHAKABPA 1984: 167.

Others hold that after the Paṅ-chen had passed away, the climate in Tibet became hostile toward the Tenth Zhwa-dmar. He was accused of being pro-British and blamed for not being a dGe-lugs-pa, and was denied his share of the inheritance. Therefore, in 1784 he went on pilgrimage to Nepal and stayed there.¹⁰⁸ As for his role as a mediator in the war, it cannot be proven that he was on the Gorkhas' side. The accusations of treachery had a negative impact on his relationships with the Lha-sa government and the Chinese; plans to deport him to Tibet and punish him were made, but never carried out. The cause of the Zhwa-dmar's death was not investigated, but the body had no signs of injury or poisoning.¹⁰⁹

Several sources¹¹⁰ mention that the Zhwa-dmar had a wife, but the details remain to be investigated, namely whether, where and when he gave back his monastic vows, whether they had children and so forth.

2.3.2.4 The Ninth Si-tu, Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po

Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po was born in 1774 in Yid-lhung¹¹¹ in sDe-dge.¹¹² In 1780¹¹³, he was enthroned by the Tenth Zhwa-dmar at dPal-spungs. Soon afterward, he traveled to dBus¹¹⁴ and gTsang¹¹⁵, where he studied with the eminent masters of his time, such as the Eighth 'Brug-chen and the Thirteenth Karma-pa. From the latter, he took the novice and monk's vows.¹¹⁶ The foremost among his students was the First Kong-sprul, Blo-gros-mtha'-yas¹¹⁷. In 1834 he went into retreat and stayed until his passing away twenty years later.¹¹⁸

108 WONG 2010: 141-142. DHUNGEL 1999: 191-193 presents a slightly different version, in which the Zhwa-dmar manages to get hold of his inheritance, is put under house arrest because he is blamed for the Gorkhas' looting of bKra-shis-lhun-po, and manages to flee to Nepal in 1788. He also mentions a document that testifies the Zhwa-dmar's loyalty to the king of Nepal.

109 WONG 2010: 142-146. She also bases her account on rDo-ring-pa.

110 SHAKABPA 1984: 168, TERHUNE 2004: 150, *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 70.

111 TBRC: G753. See map in GYURME DORJE 2009: 582.

112 *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 96.

113 The Tibetan text has *lcags khyi*, which corresponds to 1790. This is impossible, as the Tenth Zhwa-dmar had already left for Nepal at that time. Probably *lcags sbyi*, the equivalent of 1780, was misspelled.

114 TBRC: G1115.

115 TBRC: G1300.

116 *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 97-99.

117 TBRC: P559. For a description of their relationship and the transmissions received, see BARRON 2003: 22-92.

118 *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 104.

2.3.3 Important Monastic Seats

2.3.3.1 mTshur-phu

After he had already established several other monasteries, in 1187 the aged First Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa¹¹⁹ founded mTshur-phu, situated in the sTod-lung¹²⁰ area west of Lha-sa. From then onwards it became the seat of the Karma-pas; this was the first time in history that a series of incarnations was associated with a particular monastery.¹²¹ Shortly before his death in 1453, the Sixth Karma-pa mThong-ba-don-ldan¹²² granted his disciple dPal-'byor-don-grub¹²³ the title of rGyal-tshab (regent). This marked the start of a second incarnation lineage. The rGyal-tshab-pas had the duty to supervise the monastery when the Karma-pa was not around, particularly in between two incarnations.¹²⁴ Since the times of the Tenth Karma-pa¹²⁵, the Gyal-tshab-pas had their own monastic college on the premises of mTshur-phu.¹²⁶ In 1642, after having overthrown gTsang, the Mongols attacked the monastery and did serious damage.¹²⁷

The mTshur-phu monastery suffered considerable damage during the Cultural Revolution, but has been rebuilt and is now fully operational again with about three hundred monks.¹²⁸

2.3.3.2 dPal-spungs

It is unclear whether dPal-spungs-thub-bstan-chos-'khor-gling in Khams was founded because Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas requested permission from bsTan-pa-tshe-ring¹²⁹, the king of sDe-dge¹³⁰, or because the king gave the order to Si-tu to do so¹³¹. The construction started in 1727, on a piece of land that bsTan-pa-tshe-ring had granted to Si-tu. The king also contributed material gifts and workers. Still, Si-tu had to make considerable efforts to obtain sufficient funding. In 1729, the monastery was

119 TBRC: P1400.

120 TBRC: G1344.

121 DOWMAN 1988: 128.

122 TBRC: P1006.

123 TBRC: P1380.

124 KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 107.

125 TBRC: P1382.

126 DOWMAN 1988: 126.

127 KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 145.

128 GYURME DORJE 2009: 161-162.

129 TBRC: P4095.

130 CHAIX 2013: 27.

131 RONIS 2013: 54.

consecrated. From then onwards, it became the seat of the Si-tu incarnations, who had previously resided at Karma-dgon¹³².¹³³ At that time, there was only a limited number of Karma-kam-tshang monasteries in Khams.¹³⁴ Starting its activity with five hundred monks, dPal-spungs soon became an important center for scriptural studies, painting, medicine, printing and retreat.

During the Cultural Revolution, no harm was done to the main assembly hall, but the printing press, retreat and study areas were destroyed. They have recently been rebuilt.¹³⁵

2.4. The First Chapter of sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal's *bKa' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba kha skong*

2.4.1 The Author¹³⁶

2.4.1.1 His Life

sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal, also known as sTobs-dga' Rin-po-che, was born in 1940¹³⁷ in 'Dan-khog¹³⁸ in Khams as one of eight siblings. His father was a local king of mGo-log¹³⁹, and his mother was the elder sister of the Sixteenth Karma-pa Rang-byung-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje¹⁴⁰.¹⁴¹ He was considered to be the reincarnation of rJe-dbon Chos-dbang Rin-po-che.¹⁴² He entered mTshur-phu monastery at the age of eight¹⁴³, was installed as *vajrācārya* at the age of seventeen¹⁴⁴, and continued this position at Rum-steps

132 TBRC: G35. See TIBETMAP sheet 3196, right margin close to the top.

133 CHAIX 2013: 27-28. On possible reasons why Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas never established his seat at Karma-dgon, see CHAIX 2013: 23.

134 RONIS 2013: 54.

135 THLIB PLACES/RONIS.

136 This section was also taken over from my B.A. thesis (see footnote 24), and supplemented by additional information received in the meantime.

137 1941 according to KUENSEL, 1942 according to TBRC: P6208.

138 TBRC: G842. See map in GYURME DORJE 2009: 582.

139 TBRC: G813.

140 TBRC: P865.

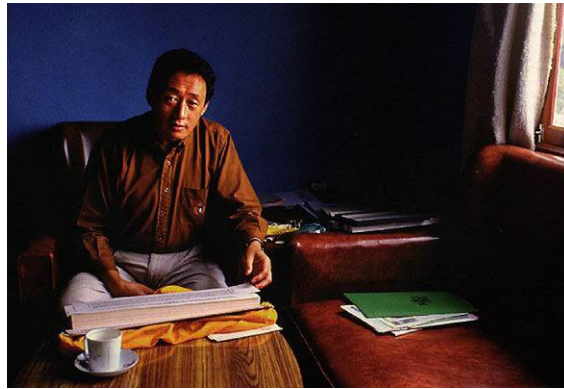
141 mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel, personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013.

142 In the *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 208, sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal mentions two different rJe-dbon Rin-po-che, rJe-dbon Chos-dbang and rJe-dbon Don-'grub. Both of them were nephews of the Fourteenth Karma-pa (TBRC: P562). Even though some lamas say that sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal was the rebirth of rJe-dbon Chos-dbang, he was not officially recognized (mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel, personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013). See also BARRON 2003: 360 (footnote 937).

143 mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel, personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013.

144 CURREN 2008: 127.

monastery until he gave back his monastic vows in 1967.¹⁴⁵ The reason was that on a journey to Bhutan with the Sixteenth Karma-pa, he met the Bhutanese princess A-she Chos-skyid; they fell in love and got married two months later.¹⁴⁶ They had a daughter, bSod-nams-dbang-mo.¹⁴⁷ From 1983 onwards, he served as the General Secretary of the Karma-pa's administration (*zhwa nag mdzod dpon*¹⁴⁸).¹⁴⁹ In the context of the Karma-pa controversy, he played a crucial role as a supporter of Phrin-las-mtha'-yas-rdo-rje.¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal was considered a very learned person and particularly renowned for his knowledge on Tibetan history. At the Karmapa International Buddhist Institute (KIBI) in New Delhi, he taught Tibetan history and language¹⁵² as well as Buddhist philosophy and epistemology, and was one of the main teachers of the Seventeenth Karma-pa Phrin-las-mtha'-yas-rdo-rje.¹⁵³ Having suffered from cancer, he passed away in New Delhi on September 19, 1997.¹⁵⁴



sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal
(source unknown)

2.4.1.2 His Works

Besides the *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*, sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal also wrote some other texts.¹⁵⁵ There are at least two more historical works treating the

145 'Jigs-med Rin-po-che as cited in WONG 2010: 294.

146 Zhwa-dmar Rin-po-che as cited in WONG 2010: 233.

147 mKhan-po Tshe-ring-bsam-grub, email communication, June 2011. A-she Chos-skyid had already been married before and had a daughter, but got divorced (mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel, personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013).

148 *Kun gsal*.

149 CURREN 2008: xiii.

150 TBRC: P10569.

151 See for example BROWN 2004, CURREN 2008, WONG 2010.

152 BUDDHISMUS HEUTE 10 (the retrieved information is from the article's appendix).

153 WONG 2010: 183.

154 BUDDHISMUS HEUTE 25.

155 The existence of a complete publication list in connection with sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal's obituary in a Kathmandu newspaper was brought to my attention by Manfred Seegers (email communication,

previous masters of the Karma-kam-tshang tradition, *mNyam med dwags po bka' brgyud kyi bstan rtsa so thar sdom rgyun du bzhugs pa'i mkhan rabs kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus tshul khrims mdzes rgyan*¹⁵⁶ and *bKa' babs bzhi 'dzin gyi brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus dad pa'i sa bon*¹⁵⁷, and at least three books on Tibetan grammar. Another work, which deals with the prediction letter for the Seventeenth Karma-pa incarnation presented by the present Si-tu Rin-po-che¹⁵⁸, is entitled *dPal spungs si tu padma don yod nyid byed kyi mgul bsrung rgyal dbang karma pa rig pa'i rdo rje'i 'da' kha'i zhal chems su gnas gyur pa'i yig cha las 'phros pa'i gtam sna tshogs kun rtog gi ri mo*¹⁵⁹.

His premature death prevented the realization of the next book project he had envisioned: an extensive life story of the Sixteenth Karma-pa.¹⁶⁰

2.4.2 The Text

2.4.2.1 Introductory Remarks on Genre, Creation and Sources Used¹⁶¹

The *bKa' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba'i kha skong* was intended by its author as a continuation of the *sGrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba* by Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas and 'Be-lo Tshe-dbang-kun-khyab, which ends with the Twelfth Karma-pa.¹⁶² It covers the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Karma-pa and the lineage holders in between: the Tenth Zhwa-dmar-pa, the Ninth Si-tu, the Eleventh Si-tu¹⁶³, the First Kong-sprul and the Second Kong-sprul¹⁶⁴.

If we look at the wording within the title, we have two words that give us an indication to the text's genre: *gser phreng* and *rnam thar*.

June 2011), but so far I have not been able to retrieve it.

156 TBRC: W19825.

157 I could not find this work in TBRC or WORLDCAT. However, according to Manfred Seegers (email communication, June 2011), its publication data is: Kathmandu: Sharminub Foundation, 1997, and KIBI also published it in English under the title “A Short History of the Karma Kagyu Lineage” but without mentioning the name of the author.

158 TBRC: P855.

159 LoC, LCCN 00441515.

160 mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel, personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013.

161 This section, too, was taken over and expanded from my B. A. thesis, see footnote 24.

162 E. Gene Smith, personal communication, New York, September 2010.

163 TBRC: P925.

164 TBRC: P937.

On the one hand, the entire collection is definitely a *gser phreng*, which, according to E. Gene Smith, is a separate subcategory within Tibetan historical literature that is particularly popular within the various *bKa' brgyud* traditions. He describes it as follows:

Probably intended to explain a *bla brgyud gsol 'debs*, the reverential petition to the successive gurus in a transmission lineage of an esoteric teaching, such collections of hagiographic writing often enshrine some of the most cherished instructions (*man ngag*) of a tradition.¹⁶⁵

On the other hand, all the chapters within the text can be allocated to the *rnam thar* genre. Still, it is clearly visible that its author is mostly interested in history. From among the three subtypes of *rnam thar* as defined in Tibetan literary theory¹⁶⁶, the text predominantly contains elements belonging to the outer and inner life story, i.e. life events and Buddhist transmissions received. The secret life stories, i.e. visions, meditation experiences etc., are almost completely lacking.

mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel¹⁶⁷, who was involved in the creation process, described it as follows: in preparation, a group of people at Rum-steps monastery was identifying and collecting the sources that were later used in the book. In 1992¹⁶⁸ the author wrote the text in cursive script. It was then transferred into block letters by a scribe from Bhutan, and published in 1993.

What distinguishes the text from many other Tibetan texts is that the author is very precise in giving the sources from which he quotes, in using western-style quotation marks, and in providing a structure that is very clear: There is a new paragraph for almost every new year.

sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal is quoting from the following texts:

- *Dad pa'i zla shel*: bDud-dul-rdo-rje's life story by the Eighth 'Brug-chen.
- *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: the life story of Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu.

165 SMITH 2001: 39.

166 See VOSTRIKOV 1994: 186–187.

167 personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013.

168 Further evidence for creation after 1991 can also be derived from the fact that at one point (*Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*: 254), Dil-mgo mKhyen-brtse Rin-po-che (TBRC: P625) is referred to as a deceased person.

- *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: the diaries of Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas. There are only very few quotations from this text. However, there is evidence that the passages that list teachings received from Si-tu are mainly based on it.
- *gSung 'bum*: the *Collected Works* of the Thirteenth Karma-pa (see chapter 3). The citations are from a variety of texts and from the interspersions between texts.
- *bDud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*: The invocation of bDud-dul-rdo-rje by Si-tu Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po.
- *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*: there is only one very short quotation from Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma's work on the philosophical systems.

The chapter on the Thirteenth Karma-pa is the first of the book. A section on the Ninth Zhwa-dmar, one and a half pages in length, is appended to it. However, as he is not the subject of this thesis, this part was left out in both the edition and the translation.

2.4.2.2 Tibetan Text

2.4.2.2.1 Introduction to the Edition

As there is only one edition of the text, variant readings exclusively occur within quotations from other texts, the frequency and length of which is significant. Apart from the quotations, emendations were needed in a few cases, because of orthographical or other kinds of scribe's errors.

In most cases, there are two variants, sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal's text and the one that he is quoting from. Sometimes there are different editions of the quoted text, which results in three versions, and only one quotation – the Gu-ru Rin-po-che prophecy about the circumstances of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's birth at the beginning of the text – occurs in a multitude of texts. I have repeated the variant of my choice in the critical apparatus and marked it with a closing square bracket; this enables the reader to see at first glance which texts – namely all those whose sigla appear in the apparatus – contain a certain quotation and which ones do not.

One of the texts was available in two different versions. I had access to Tshe-dbang-nor-bu's life story both from his collected works and from the Green Book¹⁶⁹ by E. Gene Smith. The latter was very useful for identifying the quotations, because it is searchable. However, even though some scribe's errors from the original were corrected, there are additional typing mistakes.

In order to minimize the critical apparatus, the following variant readings were not taken into account:

- *pa* for *ba* and vice versa;
- *po* for *bo* and vice versa;
- punctuation variants that do not influence the grammatical structure. However, where punctuation, for example a *shad* or its absence, distorted the syntax, or quotation marks were missing, emendations were made.

The Tibetan number 7¹⁷⁰, which functions as a sign of politeness in front of names and titles – as for example in *lo 'dir 7 gong sa bdun pa skal bzang rgya mtshos* on page 17 – was not transcribed.

The original text contains very few paragraphs. In order to facilitate orientation for the reader, some were added. For the same reason, the quotations were set off from the text by means of a smaller font, single spacing and separate, indented paragraphs.

The following sigla were used:

K *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*

Z *Dad pa'i zla shel*

R *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*

G *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*

D *Dri bral shel gyi me long*

S *gSung 'bum*

P *bDud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*

M *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*

169 For a description of how E. Gene Smith edited and annotated Tibetan texts in his Green Books, see <http://about.tbrc.org/sustainability/ways-to-support/e-genesmiths-green-books/>.

170 Throughout the text, it rather looks like a 2, not like a 7. I have never come across 2 being used as a politeness sign in any other text.

2.4.2.2.2 Edition

(p. 4) /na rim bcu gsum pa bdud tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje ni/ dus rabs bco brgyad pa dang /
rab byung bcu gnyis nang du byon pa/ kaḥ thog rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu zhes rgyal
dbang karma pa sku phreng bcu gnyis pa byang chub rdo rje dang kun gzigs zhwa dmar
sku phreng brgyad pa chos kyi don 'grub zung gi zhabs pad spyi bor brten/ phyag rgya
chen po'i khrid sogs gsan/ phyis kun mkhyen tā yi si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas dang / bla
slob dam tshig gong bu gcig tu gyur zhing / ris med pa'i bstan par gzigs pa'i spyen ras
mchog tu yangs pa/ mkhas dang grub pa'i snyan pa phyogs mthar khyab pa de nyid
dgung grangs so dgu bzhes pa rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i me 'brug lor/ dpal 'jig rten dbang
phyug karma pa rim par byon pa'i gdan sa'i gtso bo mtshur mdo bo lung gi dgon pa dang
nye bar/ padma khyung rdzong zhes sku phreng mang dag cig bcaḍ rgyar nges don
phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub brnyes pa'i gnas su bzhugs pa'i skabs shig 'od
gsal gyi nyams snang la/ o rgyan sangs rgyas gnyis pa'i lung bstan byung ba 'di ltar/

'thung gcod¹⁷¹ dang mtshungs srid pa'i rdul dkar thod bcing¹⁷² na bun can/ /chu¹⁷³
klung me yi phyogs dag rgyu zhing rkang 'thung mtshams par gnas/

/zhes dang /

dge ri gzhung ri'i¹⁷⁴ nye ba'i phyogs¹⁷⁵ na 'byor pas ches¹⁷⁶ dben zhing¹⁷⁷ / /rigs rus
nam dag dge la brtson zhing de na¹⁷⁸ karma ka¹⁷⁹/

/zhes rdo rje'i lung gis dbugs (p. 5) dbyung ba ltar/ 'brug chen kun gzigs chos kyi snang
bas mdzad pa/ rje bcu gsum pa 'di'i nam thar dad pa'i zla shel zhes pa'i nang

“'thung spyod chen po dpal gyi gnas¹⁸⁰ tsā ri tra dang 'dab chags pa/ byar¹⁸¹ gnyal lo
ro¹⁸² zhes yul gru dge ba can¹⁸³ las¹⁸⁴/ nang tshan¹⁸⁵ gnyal yangs pa can gyi grong
khyer gu rus¹⁸⁶ byin gyis brlabs¹⁸⁷ pa'i sgrub gnas dge ri dang ches nye ba/ leam pa
grong gsar zhes bya bar”

171 S gcod], GKRZ spyod

172 KRZ bcing], GS bcings

173 GRSZ chu], K phyogs

174 GRSZ ri'i], K ri

175 GRSZ phyogs], K gnas

176 GKR ches], SZ cher

177 K zhing], GSZ cing, R ching dang

178 GRSZ de na], K om.

179 GKRS ka], Z pa

180 Z gnas], K om.

181 Z byar], K gyar

182 emend. ro], K grong, Z gro

183 Z ba can], K btsan

184 K las], Z lam

185 K tshan], Z chen

186 Z rus], K ru'i

187 K brlabs], Z rlabs

zhes 'khod pa ltar/ sku 'khrungs pa'i yul ni bod dbus kyi lho phyogs gnyal lcam pa grong
gsar du/ rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i chu glang 1733 lor sku 'khrungs/

rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i shing stag lor kaḥ thog pa tshe dbang nor bu bod nub
phyogs su gnas gzigs la phebs pa'i skabs shig rgyal dbang karma pa'i yang srid skor rje
nyid kyi rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho zhes pa'i nang

“shing stag lor¹⁸⁸ rje nyid kyi bkas/ zham ring pa¹⁸⁹ skyid grong la ldebs pa/ kun
bzang 'jigs¹⁹⁰ bral rab gsal zhes phyogs 'dir sgom chen 'jigs¹⁹¹ bral du grags pa de
nyid la/ karma pa sku gang du¹⁹² bltams¹⁹³ pa'i yul gyi bkod pa/ khang khyim yab
yum dang sras kyi ji¹⁹⁴ byad tshul 'di lta bu'o zhes/ gdams te¹⁹⁵ bya bral rnal 'byor
par brdzu ba'i tshul¹⁹⁶ gyis phyin pa na 'khrul pa med par ngos 'dzin¹⁹⁷”

zhes 'khod pa ltar yang (p. 6) srid 'khrul bral du ngos zin te/ mdo khamd dpal spungs su/
si tu rin po cher zhu 'phrin phul ba rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i me sbrul lo mgo tsam la
phyag khar son zhing / mtshur phu'i sku tshab gnyis kyang yang srid zhu bskul ched
dpal spungs la¹⁹⁸ yong¹⁹⁹ skabs khel 'dug/

yang / rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i shing yos lor kun mkhyen si tu gtsug lag chos kyi
snang ba gdan sa mtshur phur/ rgyal dbang bcu gnyis pa byang chub rdo rje dang zhwa
dmar brgyad pa chos kyi don 'grub gnyis kyi sku gdung rab gnas gnang rgyu dang 'brel/
gnas mjal du phebs skabs/ karma pa sku phreng gnyis pa chos kyi grags pas bzhangs
pa'i thub pa'i sku/ mtshur phu lha chen du grags pa'i spyang sngar/

“yab sras sprul sku'i don du²⁰⁰ brtag sgril phul”

zhes nyid kyi rang rnam dri bral shel gyi me long du 'khod 'dug pa bcas kaḥ thog rig
'dzin tshe dbang nor bu dang si tu gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba'am chos kyi 'byung gnas
zung nas yang srid 'khrul bral du thugs thag bcad par mngon/ yul dus kyis bkar bas
mtshur phu'i sku tshab gnyis khri 'don skabs gdan sar 'byor thub mi 'dug kyang / kun
mkhyen si tu'i zhabs nas/ mchog gi sprul pa'i sku'i mtshan “dpal ldan 'jigs med bdud

188 K lor], GR lo

189 GR pa], K om.

190 GK 'jigs], R 'jig

191 GK 'jigs], R 'jig

192 K sku gang du], GR gang du sku

193 K bltams], GR bltam

194 KR ji], G byi

195 K gdams te], G gdam ste, R gdams ste

196 K tshul], GR zol

197 K 'dzin], GR zin

198 add. la], K om.

199 emend. yong], K yod

200 K du], D om.

tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje mi shig **(p. 7)** snying po'i dbang phyug nges don bstan pa'i rtsa lag phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i sde" zhes gsol zhing / rten 'byung shis pa'i rdzas dang bcas sku tshab gnyis brgyud stsal/ 'di'i skor rje bdud 'dul rdo rje nyid kyi bka' 'bum gyi khrod du

“bdag cag glang lo hor zla 8 pa'i yar tshes la btsas pas/ shing pho stag lor kun bzang 'jigs bral rab gsal bya ma rtas/ 'bad pa du mas ngos 'dzin ngo mtshar gnam bcas phyir log skabs”

zhes 'khod/ dad pa'i zla shel nang

“rje nyid 'khrungs pa nas bzung byis pa phal pa'i spyod pa mi mnga'²⁰¹ de'i tshe thugs kyi nyams snang du byis pa dar dkar gos²⁰² gyon pa shel sder²⁰³ me tog gis gang ba lag na thogs te 'ja' 'od kyi klong du bzhugs pa la”

sogs gsal ba'i skor/ bka' 'bum gyi khrod du

“nged kyi nyams snang dag tu byis pa dar dkar gos gyon pa/ /shel sder²⁰⁴ me tog gis gang lag na thogs te 'ja' 'od klong / /glu gar rol rtsed ston mkhas khyod nyid su zhig lags sam byas/ /nga ni rdo rje ber nag can zhes rnam brjid nga ro can/ /ye shes dbyings las khro bo'i skur ston las bzhir dbang bsgyur don dam du/ /nyid kyi sems las gzhan snang gud du med pa lta ba'i yang rtse mchog/ /de skad smra zhing me tog 'thor te ha ha'i gad rgyangs²⁰⁵ sgrog par snang /”

zhes 'khod/

(p. 8) rnam thar dad pa'i zla shel nang

“de'i tshe rig 'dzin chen pos yul gyi sa babs 'di 'dra dang sku'i²⁰⁶ mtshan rtags ljags la yi ge a dang / thugs kar sme ba dmar pos mtshan pa yod tshul lung²⁰⁷ bstan pa bzhin skye bo rnam kyis ji bzhin mthong bas nges shes 'drons te/ lha ldan du rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen gzigs bdun pa²⁰⁸ skal bzang rgya mtsho dang / mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas²⁰⁹ bcas par de tshul zhib rgyas²¹⁰ zhus pa na/ thugs lhag par ches pas²¹¹ ring min 'og min dpal gyi mtshur phur²¹² gdan 'dren dgos par gsungs te”

sogs 'khod pa ltar/ spyi dang bye brag gi bstan 'dzin gyi skyes chen/ dge 'dun gyi sde/ skye bo pho mo sogs 'brel yod kun gyi yid la the tshom gyi drwa ba chod de mchog gi sprul pa'i sku'i mtshan gyi snyan pas phyogs su khyab par gyur/

201 Z mnga'], K mnga' ba

202 Z gos], K om.

203 Z sder], K lder

204 S sder], K lder

205 K rgyangs], S rgyang

206 Z sku'i], K sku yi

207 Z lung], K lung du

208 K bdun pa], Z om.

209 Z rgyas], K rgyal

210 Z rgyas], K par

211 K ches pas], Z chas nas

212 K phur], Z pur

bka' 'bum gyi khrod du

“me 'brug hor zla bcu gnyis zla tshes dge bar rgyal tshab dam pa dang / grwa zur
dpon slob sngon gyi gsol gzim²¹³ mgron bcas ji snyed tshogs/ /chas bzang dang
bcas bsu bar 'byor tshe yid dga'i sim pa bskyed^{214/}”

zhes 'khod pa ltar/ dgung grangs bzhir son pa/ /rab byung 12 pa'i me 'brug lo mjug/ rgyal
dbang gong (**p. 9**) ma'i gsol gzim mgron gsum sogs gdan sa mtshur phu'i zhabs bsu ba
rnams 'byor skabs thugs shin tu mnyes pa'i tshul bstan/ /rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i me
sprul gnam lo gsar tshes dga' ston bcas/ gdan sar zhabs sor 'khod/ bka' 'bum gyi khrod
du

“rgyal rir lo gsar dga' ston spro zhing rgyal ba dang po la/ /gdan sar 'byor nas
khams gsum mgon gcig bstan pa'i mnga' bdag dam pa mchog thams cad mkhyen
gzigs rgyal ba²¹⁵ bska²¹⁶ bzang rgya mtsho'i thugs bskyed rten²¹⁷ 'byung dang / /mi
rje sa yi dbang phyug bsod nams stobs rgyas²¹⁸ gzhan yang bka' brgyud kyi/ /yab
sras rnams dang ltos bcas kun gyis²¹⁹ 'jigs med seng khrir mnga' gsol zhing /”

zhes 'khod pa ltar/ cho 'phrul zla ba'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin mtshur phu rgyal tshab
gtsos/²²⁰ kar 'brug yab sras rnams dang / mtshur phu bla brang gi mkhan slob dbu chos
las sne/ bod ljongs na che ba'i skye bo mtha' dag gis gus pa'i mchod sprin dbul ba dang
bcas/ seng ge'i khri chen por mnga' gsol/ dad pa'i zla shel nang

“lha ldan nas rgyal ba skal bzang rgya mtsho/ mi rje tshangs pa chen po bsod nams
stobs rgyas/ gzhan yang kar 'brug gi skyes chen yab sras thams cad kyis/ mi 'jigs
seng ge'i khri la mnga' gsol lo/”

zhes 'khod/ 'di skabs kaḥ thog rig 'dzin (**p. 10**) chen po'ang mtshur phur khri 'bul du
byon 'dug/ rim pas yi ge 'bri klog rtsis sogs rig pa'i gnas mthong rgyun gyi phyag bzhes
dang 'brel ba'i cho ga'i 'gros sogs la gsan sbyongs mdzad pa rnams tshegs med par
mkhyen/ dad pa'i zla shel du/

“de nas gzhon nu don kun grub pa'i rnam par thar pa'i ngang tshul bzhin/ yi ge'i
phyi mo klog pa dang 'bri ba rtsis kyi rig pa'i²²¹ sogs rig pa'i gnas phal la blo byang
ba'i tshul dang / sngags kyi cho ga'i rim pa/ 'don dbyangs gar thig la sogs pa cho ga
lag len gyi tshul la nges par mdzad pa ni/ 'di'i mkhyen pa'i spyen ras kyis grwa²²²
zur tsam btsa' bas kyang skad cig la mngon du mdzad do/”

213 K gzim], S gzims

214 S bskyed], K skye

215 S rgyal ba], K om.

216 S bska], K skal

217 K rten], S brten

218 K rgyas], S rgyal

219 K gyis], S gyi

220 emend. rgyal tshab gtsos/], K rgyal tshab/ gtsos

221 D kyi rig pa'i], K om.

222 K grwa], D gra

/zhes 'khod/

/rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i shing glang lor/ si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas gdan sa mtshur phur zhabs sor 'khod cing / rgyal ba'i dbang por rje dgu pa dbang phyug rdo rje'i yig cha'i thog nas sgrol dkar gyi rjes gnang zhig rten 'brel gyi tshul du phul mtshams/ 'du khang chen mor rje dpa' bo tre'o sogs yab sras 'dus pa rgya mtsho'i dbus su rgyal ba'i dbang po chos kyi khri 'phang²²³ mthon por bzhugs pa'i spyang sngar thog ma'i rten 'byung legs 'bul rgya che ba dang 'brel mnga' gsol mdzad/ zhwa dmar sku phreng gnyis pa mkha' spyod dbang po'i bka' 'bum gyi lung / rje gsum pa rang byung rdo rje'i gsung zab²²⁴ mo nang don gyi bshad pa/ rje brgyad pa mi bskyod (p. 11) rdo rje'i gsung rlung sems gnyis med kyi khrid/ chos drug gser zhun/ sku gsum ngo sprod/ chos drug bdud rtsi chu gter sogs kyi lung / chos drug bdud rtsi nying khu'i khrid/ rje sgam po pa'i bka' bum sogs kyi lung gsan/

/rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i me stag lor/ slar kun mkhyen/ si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas zhabs las rgyal dbang dgu pa dbang phyug rdo rje'i phyag chen rgyas 'bring bsdu gsum gyi khrid lung / thub pa'i skye rabs brgya rtse/ zhwa dmar bzhi pa spyang snga chos kyi grags pa'i bka' 'bum gyi lung / kar lugs rgyal ba rgya mtsho lha dgu'i dbang chen/ ngor lugs sgrub thabs rgya mtsho/ tā ra nā tha'i yig cha ltar sgrub thabs brgya rtse'i rjes gnang / gter chen mi 'gyur rdo rje dang / chos rje gling pa'i gter chos rnams kyi lung sogs gsan bsam brgyud mar mdzad/

lo de'i zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin lha chen gyi spyang sngar si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas/ rje dpa' bo bdun pa gtsug lag dga' ba/ kha skong dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i drung nas dge tshul gyi sdom pa bzhes/ 'di skabs zhig tu kaḥ thog pa tshe dbang nor bu'ang gdan sar byon pa las/ tshe dpag dkar po'i rjes gnang / rje kaḥ thog pa nyid kyi chog sgrigs sgrol ma maṇḍal bzhi chog gi lung / tshe dpag mi tra lugs dang / sher phyin dkar mo'i rjes gnang lung sogs gsan/ maṇḍal bzhi chog 'dod don yid bzhin 'grub (p. 12) pa'i ljon shing du grags pa de'i sgrub mchod thog mar gdan sar tshugs/ si tu'i mdun nas/ rta phag yid bzhin nor bu'i lung / mi tra brgya rtse'i dbang sogs gsan/

dus tshod 'di'i sngon rjes rnams su/ zhwa dmar sku phreng dgu pa'i yang srid mi 'dra ba gnyis thon te/ kaḥ thog pa chen po dang / kun mkhyen si tu rnam gnyis nas/ sku ngal chen pos mchog gi sprul pa'i sku 'khrul bral lag thog tu lon pa'i thabs shes ci yang gnang

223 *emend.* 'phang], K phangs

224 *emend.* zab], K zam

dgos byung ba dang / mchog sprul phal cher ngos 'dzin nas/ rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog
gis kyang / bkra shis lhun por snga phyir sku tshab gtong gnang dang 'brel/ sprul pa'i
sku'i mtshan dang / na bza' stan dkar sogs gnang / 'brug thams cad mkhyen pa/ dpal ldan
sa skya pa sogs nas zhwa dmar pa mchog gi sprul pa'i sku'i ched brtan bzhugs kyi rim
pa 'byor bzhin pa'i skabs yin/

kaḥ thog pa tshe dbang nor bu 'di/ spyir grub mtha' ris med pa la gzigs pa'i spyen ras
shin tu yangs shing / lhag par karma kam tshang dang chos dam gyi 'brel pa shin tu che/
dmigs bsal/ gong du bshad pa ltar karma pa bcu gsum pa bdud 'dul rdo rje dang zhwa
dmar bcu pa chos grub rgya mtsho yab sras zung thog mar ngos 'dzin pa dang / de nas
khri mnga' gsol ba'i mthun sbyor gyi mdzad pa gcig tu dge bas bka' drin shin tu che **(p.**
13) bar mthong / nam thar zla ba chu shel gyi phreng bar/ karma pa bcu gnyis pa dang /
zhwa dmar brgyad pa gang rung zhig las kaḥ thog pa 'dis dge bsnyen gyi sdom pa zhus
pa'i lo rgyus 'dug kyang / dad pa'i rol mtsho'i nang

“mtshur phu bde ba'i pho brang du/ /mi bskyod 'od mtshan cod paṇ can/ /mjal byas
chos 'brel tsam re²²⁵ thob/”

/ces dang dgung grangs nyer bdun du son pa rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i shing 'brug lor/
zur mang che tshang drug pa gsung rab rgya mtsho las/ bka' chos mang du gsan skabs/
dge bsnyen gyi sdom pa yang nos te/ mtshan karma bstan pa mtha' rgyas su gsol ba'i
tshul 'khod 'dug pas dpyad gzhir mthong ba zhar byung /

kun mkhyen si tu'i drung nas/ lo de'i zla ba drug pa'i nang / karma pa sku phreng
dang po dus gsum mkhyen pa'i thugs dam/ sdom pa lha lnga/ dgyes rdor lha lnga/ phag
mo bam bskyed ma lha lnga/ sgrol ljang lha lnga/ jo lugs rta mgrin lha lnga ste/ lnga
tshan lngar grags pa rnams kyi dbang / 'ja' tshon thugs rje chen po'i dkyil 'khor gyi
dbang dang / rta phag gi dbang / yongs dge mi 'gyur rdo rje'i gter chos gro lod dang /
tshe sgrub thabs shes kha sbyor gyi dbang / karma pa sku phreng gnyis pa'i bla sgrub
zhal gzigs ma'i dbang / brtag gnyis rngog 'grel rin chen rgyan 'dra'i lung / zhwa dmar **(p.**
14) bzhi pa spyen snga chos kyi grags pa'i yig cha ltar dus 'khor dbang chen/ sangs
rgyas gling pa'i thang yig gi lung / karma pa drug pa mthong ba don ldan gyi yig cha'i
thog nas mgon po ber gyi dbang chen gsan skabs/ gsang mtshan rdo rje bdud 'dul rgyal
por gsol/ zhwa dmar drug pa chos kyi dbang phyug gi yig cha'i thog nas mgon po ber
gyi 'khor lnga'i rjes gnang / karma chags med yig cha ltar tshe ring ma'i rig gtad/ jo bo'i

225 KR re], G ri

chos chung brgya rtse/ bka' gdams glegs bam sogs kyi lung gsan/ lo de'i zla ba brgyad pa'i nang / rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i lung gsan pa'i dbu tshugs/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i thog ma me yos lor/ kun mkhyen si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas lha ldan du snga phyir phebs shing / 'brel yod yongs la zhwa dmar mchog sprul skor don smin thugs blo khengs pa yong thabs mdzad don ltar/ thag chod gtan 'bebs byung zhing / bkra shis rtse'i sku tshab khag kyang rgyal dbang mchog gi zhabs sar bcar/ skabs 'di tsam la mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas sku tshe ma zin pa'i gnas tshul dang / bsngo rten 'byor/ lo de'i zla ba brgyad pa'i nang zhwa dmar mchog sprul bcu pa bkra shis rtse nas gdan sa mtshur phur byon skabs/ zhabs bsur phebs shing / dkar leb zhes pa'i sa gnas su yab sras thog ma'i zhal 'dzoms gnang ba dang 'brel/ mtshur sgar sogs bla brang khag nas brtan bzhugs (p. 15) phul/ sa gnas de nyid du mchog sprul gyi dbu skra gtsug phud bzhes shing bar ma rab byung du bsgrubs par mdzad/ rim pas yab sras zung / kun mkhyen si tu bcas gdan sa mtshur phur phebs shing / mchog sprul chos kyi khrir mnga' gsol ba'i bdag rkyen mdzad/ kaḥ thog pa chen po'ang gdan sar phebs shing / zhwa dmar mchog gi sprul skur khri 'bul dang / yab sras zung nas klong gsal gter chos cha lag tshe sgrub rdo rje rgya mdud kyi dbang chen gsan/ 'di skabs 'brug thams cad mkhyen pa sku phreng drug pa bka' brgyud phrin las shing rta yang gdan sar phebs shing / mchog sprul la khri 'bul mdzad/ yab sras zung gis 'brug chen thams cad mkhyen pa las/ mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i dbang chen gsan skabs/ rgyal ba'i dbang po'i gsang mtshan rgya mtsho rdo rjer gsol/ rgyal ba'i dbang pos chos 'brel gyi thog mar zhwa dmar mchog sprul la bzang spyod smon lam gyi lung gnang / mchog sprul dang 'brug chen lhan gcig par bde mchog lha lnga'i dbang chen gsan/ slar si tu'i drung nas rin 'byung brgya rtse'i dbang / sgrol ma 'byung ba'i khrid/ sgrol ma 'byung ba'i rgyud gnyis dang / sgrub dkyil sogs kyi lung gsan/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i sa 'brug lor/ zhwa dmar pa'i gdan sa yangs pa can du phebs shing / yab sras lhan rgyas par chos mthun gyi mdzad sgo ci rigs pa dang / kun mkhyen si tu rin po cher (p. 16) brtan bzhugs kyang 'bul gnang mdzad/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i sa sbrul lor/ si tu thams cad mkhyen pa'i mdun nas/ rgyud kyi rgyal po brtag pa gnyis pa'i bshad pa gsan/ rgyal ba'i dbang pos kun mkhyen si tur chos 'brel gyi thog mar sgrol dkar rjes gnang stsal/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i lcags lugs lor/ kaḥ thog rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu lha ldan nas mtshur phur byon pa'i drung nas/ sbyor ba yan lag drug khrid/ byang chub lam rim gyi khrid sogs gsan/ lo de'i zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes bco lnga nyin/ rje de nyid kyi mdun nas/ lha chen 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi spyen sngar byang chub sems sdom bzhes/ lo 'dir rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog/ lha ldan du gong sa chen po'i mjal phyag tu bcar gnang mdzad pa'i skor/ ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho'i nang /

“dpal karma pa chen po'ang²²⁶ lha sar zla gcig lhag tsam gdan chags par mchog dman mtha' dag nas gus zhabs che zhing / gzhung lugs sa ga'i nyer bzhi la gong zhabs dang mjal 'phrad skabs/ ldang ba mthong zhes²²⁷/ bzos sgo²²⁸ sogs²²⁹ gang ci²³⁰ 'di res ring²³¹ sngar las legs cha che ba yang rten 'brel gyi mthu las byung ”

zhes gsal ba/ lo 'dir gong sa bdun pa skal bzang rgya mtshos chab srid kyi sku 'gan thog mar bzhes skabs khri 'bul la phebs par sems/ 'di nas chu rta lo bar mdzad rim gsal ba ma mthong /

(p. 17) /rab byung bcu gsum pa'i chu rta lor/ kun mkhyen si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas gdan sa mtshur phur zhabs sor 'khod/ rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog mdo sngags chos tshul rgya mtshor gsan bsam sgom gsum la nyin mtshan kun tu rtag gus kyi sbyor bas zhugs bzhin pa ltar/ yab sras zhal 'dzoms 'di'i skabs/ dri bral shel gyi me long du

“karma pa nas dbu ma'i skor gyi²³² rtogs 'bul dang /”
sogs nas

“de skor gyi chos skad smar po byung /”
zhes 'khod/²³³ slar kun mkhyen si tu'i drung nas zhwa dmar mchog sprul dang lhan cig par/ bka' 'gyur lung gsan/ lo mjug mgon sgrub chen mo'i gar 'chams skabs/ rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog dang / kun mkhyen si tu gnyis ka gar gyi rol stabs la phebs/ si tu rin po che dang lhan rgyas par/ ston pa'i mdzad bcu'i zhal thang skya bris dang / tshon gtong / sbyor drug gi skor la dogs gcod kyang mdzad/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i chu lug zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bcu bzhi nyin/ lha chen 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi spyen sngar/ si tu paṇ chen gtsug lag chos kyi snang bas mkhan slob sbrags ma/ zhwa dmar mchog sprul dkon mchog chos kyi nyi ma'am mi pham chos grub

226 K po'ang], GR po yang

227 *emend.* zhes], GKR bzhes

228 *emend.* sgo], GKR go

229 GR sogs], K bog sogs

230 GR ci], K cir

231 K ring], GR rings

232 D skor gyi], K *om.*

233 *add.* /], K *om.*

rgya mtshos gsang ston/ dad pa'i dge 'dun grangs tshang ba'i dbus su²³⁴ dge slong gi
sdom pa bzhes/ mi ring bar yab sras zung dang / si tu thams cad mkhyen pa bcas gdan
sa yangs (**p. 18**) pa can du phebs/ rgyal ba'i dbang po bcad rgyar 'khyug tsam bzhugs/
slar ye shes rab 'bar gyi dbang chen/ stag sham dgongs 'dus/ sgyu²³⁵ 'phrul zhi khro/ dus
'khor/ bde mchog stod 'grel gyi dbang chen sogs gsan zhing gdan sa mtshur phur phebs/
dgung grangs so dgur son pa/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i lcags yos lor mdo khams su chibs zhal bsgyur/ lam bar gyi
gdul bya rnams smin grol gyis rgyud tshims par mdzad bzhin lo de'i zla ba bdun pa'i
nang rgyam gzhung du sgar chen phab/²³⁶ si tu thams cad mkhyen pa yang chibs bsur
phebs shing yab sras zhal 'dzoms dgyes tshor dang bcas bzhugs/ karma lha steng ba
dang / sde gsar ma sogs der 'dus skye bo bgrang las 'das par dbu zhwa mthong grol rin
po che mjal sgron gyis mtshon/²³⁷ smin grol rgya che ba stsal/ lam bar dgon sde bla sprul
ser skya mang po'i re skong mdzad bzhin zur mang rnam rgyal rtser phebs/ gar dbang
sprul sku'i dbu skra gtsug phud bzhes/ mtshan gsol/ brtan bzhugs mnga' gsol mdzad/ gar
dbang sprul sku 'di kun mkhyen si tu'i zhal slob gar dbang chos skyong rnam rgyal gyi
yang srid yin/ zur mang sgar chen steng pa'i tshogs gar la zhib gzigs mdzad/ kun
mkhyen si tu'i zhal slob khams sprul bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma zhabs sar bear bar tshe
dbang gnang / gzhan yang der 'dus skye bo (**p. 19**) ser skya yongs kyi re skong mdzad
cing chibs zhal bsgyur/ kun mkhyen si tu rin po cher chibs thog nas kyang phyag chen
skor la dogs gcod mdzad pa sogs gsan bsam sgom gsum 'khor yug tu brtson/

rgyun ne dgon sogs su dad 'dus rnams la chos kyi 'khor lo bskor bzhin lha thog rgyal
sar phebs/ lha thog yum sras rnams la tshe dbang dang / de phyogs mchog dman yongs
kyi re skong mdzad de/ gter ston sgar sogs brgyud/ spom brag pa'i gdan sa'i 'dus par
phyag chen gyi lung gnang /

lam bar rnams su dbu zhwa mjal ston dbang lung khrid/ 'pho ba bsngo smon sogs
mdor na mchog dman ser skya grangs med pa rnams la so so'i re skong nye ring phyogs
lhung bral bar mdzad bzhin lo de'i zla ba brgyad pa'i nang ser phreng thog rol sogs rgya
che ba'i bsu ma bcas dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling du zhabs sor 'khod/ 'du
khang du chos kyi khri 'phang mthon por zhabs pad 'god par mdzad cing / kun mkhyen

234 *emend.* dbus su], K dbusu

235 *emend.* sgyu], K rgyu

236 *add.* /], K *om.*

237 *add.* /], K *om.*

si tu nyid nas maṇḍal phyag bstar gnang ba dang bcas/ 'dus pa rgya mtshos shis brjod
brtan bzhugs phul/ gdan sa der 'dus shing 'khod pa'i skye bo grangs las 'das pa nyin ltar
mjal phyag tu bcar zhing de dag gi re skong mdzad/

'di skabs shig tu kun mkhyen si tu rin po cher grub rgyal lugs kyi tshe dbang phul/ de
nyid kyi drung nas/ karma pa sku phreng gsum pa rang byung rdo rje'i bka' 'bum gyi
lung / (p. 20) bde mchog dkar po'i tshe dbang / smin byed/ gcod tshogs kyi lung sogs
gsan/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i chu 'brug lor/ sde dge rgyal khab nas gdan zhus ltar phebs
shing / chos rgyal bstan pa tshe ring gi brgyud 'dzin sku ngo nams la/ sgrol dkar grub
rgyal tshe dbang rdo rje phag mo'i dbang sogs gnang gnyer chen mdun skor bla grwa
sde 'bangs bcas par so so'i 'dod don rjes su skong ba'i smin grol gyi rim pa ci rigs
btsal²³⁸ zhing / slar dpal spungs gdan sar phyir phebs/

'di skabs su si tu'i mdun nas/ phyag chen dang chos drug gi rtsa tshig nams gsan/
dpal spungs 'dus sder bde mchog lha lnga'i bka' dbang gnang / si tu'i drung nas/ tshe
sgrub gsang ba 'dus pa'i dbang / rdo rje phag mo'i dkyil 'khor gyi dbang / sngags lam la
dogs gcod mdzad pa sogs gsan bsam bar ma chad bar mdzad/ kaḥ thog dge rtse sprul
sku rmog sprul sogs la phyag rdor gyi rjes gnang btsal/ skabs 'dir rdza khog tu 'khyug
phebs thog phyogs der 'khod pa'i gdul bya'i rigs mtha' dag smin grol gyis tshim par
mdzad cing / dpal spungs su zhabs sor 'khod nas ring por ma lon par kun mkhyen si tu'i
zhabs kyis/ 'du khang chen mor/ rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog la maṇḍal rten gsum gyis
sna drangs pa'i legs 'bul dang / brtan bzhugs shis brjod kyi rten 'brel mchog tu (p. 21)
dge bar mdzad/ rgyal ba'i dbang po nyid nas kyang kun mkhyen si tu rin po cher/ legs
'bul gyi dngos po shin tu rgya che ba dang bcas/ brtan bzhugs 'bul bar mdzad/

lo de'i zla ba drug pa'i nang / chibs zhal dbus su bsgyur/ kun mkhyen si tu'i zhabs nas
kyang chibs skyel du phebs/ dpal 'byor dgon/²³⁹ spom brag/ khro ru/ 'dzi dgon mdzo rdzi
dgon pa sogs brgyud/ dpal karma pa'i gdan sa gong 'og bar gsum du grags pa'i nang gses
sa spyod gsung gi gnas karma dgon du phebs/ 'dus pa'i sdes 'du khang du chos kyi khrir
bzhugs pa'i spyang sngar maṇḍal brtan bzhugs phul/ zur mang gar dbang bstan 'dzin
sang rgyas mnyan sprul khra legs ras chung sprul sku sogs mchog gi sprul pa'i sku
nams dang / gdan sa de nyid kyi bla ma/ slob dpon 'dus pa'i sde phyogs nas 'dus pa'i

238 *emend.* btsal], K brtsal

239 *add.* /], K *om.*

skye bo'i tshogs shin tu mang por blo dang mtshams pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo ci yang bskor
te/ karma lha steng du phebs/ kun mkhyen si tu'i zhabs nas slar yang legs 'bul brtan
bzhugs dang / rgyal dbang mchog nas kyang bkra shis pa'i rdzas sogs btsal²⁴⁰ te yab
sras 'bral mi phod pa'i nram pa bcas chibs zhal so sor bsgyur/

rgyal ba'i dbang po ston 'khor rnam lam bar skye bo grangs las 'das par re skong
mdzad bzhin/ ring min 'og min mtshur (p. 22) phu'i gdan sar zhabs sor 'khod/ 'di nas
bzung lo grangs dang 'brel ba can gyi nram thar kha gsal ma mjal/

/rab byung bcu gsum pa'i sa phag lor/ lha ldan du gong sa thams cad mkhyen pa dang
/ srid skyong no mi han nram gnyis mjal phyag tu phebs pa'i skor/ bka' 'bum gyi khrod

“sa phag lor/ gangs ljongs bstan 'gro'i dpal gcig rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen gzigs²⁴¹
chen po dang / skyabs mgon²⁴² khri chen no min²⁴³ han rin po cher²⁴⁴ mjal phyag tu
bcar skabs/ lam bar stod lung khri zam du/ dga' gdong chos skyong skyor mo²⁴⁵
lung du char 'bebs su byon pa dang 'phrad pas/ chos rje sku rten²⁴⁶ pa ni²⁴⁷ shes²⁴⁸
rgyud dul ba sogs gzhan dang mi 'dra ba 'dug/ grwa gzhon btsun chung rnam
kyang / khru gsol gyi yo byad thogs te²⁴⁹ zhi dul gyi ngang tshul can dang / bgres
song²⁵⁰ kha shas ni rtsed mo'i rigs sna tshogs rtse zhing 'tshub cha shin tu che bas
'di ltar lags/”

sogs tshigs bcad ngo mtshar can mang po gsungs 'dug/

lo 'dir gong sa 'jam dpal rgya mtsho dgung grangs nyer gnyis su phebs shing gsan
bsam 'phro skyong mdzad bzhin pa dang / rgyal tshab de mo 'jam dpal bde legs rgya
mtsho lo gnyis kyi sngon du sku gshegs pas/ rgyud stod mkhan zur ngag dbang tshul
khrims la no mi han gyi mtshan gnas dang bcas srid skyong du 'khod de/ tshe smon
gling du bzhugs pas/ (p. 23) tshe smon gling rgyal thog dang por brtsi ba 'di'i khri ston
la phebs pa'am/ yang na gong sa mchog gi zhabs sar rang bzhin mjal phyag tu bcar
ba'ang yin srid/

lha ldan du klu yi 'jig pa bzlog par ched du phebs pa'i lo rgyus yongs su grags pa 'di'i
skor bka' 'bum gyi khrod du

240 *emend.* btsal], K brtsal

241 S mkhyen gzigs], K mkhyen cing gzigs pa

242 S mgon], K mchog

243 S min], K mi

244 S cher], K che'i

245 K chos skyong skyor mo], S chas skyang skyar ma

246 *emend.* rten], KS brten

247 S ni], K om.

248 S shes], K shin tu

249 K te], S ste

250 S song], K po

“stod 'grel dag las spre'u lo shar tshe/ khrums²⁵¹ zla'i gral tshes dge bar mtshur nas btegs/ lam zhag gnyis bcas gzhung sa chen po nas/ rta thab bsu ma dang bcas lha sar 'byor// gza' skar dus sbyor dge ba'i snga cha ru/ /phyogs bcu dus gsum sangs rgyas ji snyed kyi²⁵²/ mtha' klas yon tan mi zad 'dus pa'i sku/ /srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan gangs²⁵³ can bstan 'gro'i dpal/ /thams cad mkhyen gzigs 'jam dpal rgya mtsho yi/ /mtshan dpe'i dkyil 'khor mjal²⁵⁴ zhing gsung thos pas/ /mthong lam thob ltar rmad byung dad spro thob/ /'gro ba'i mchod sdong shākya mu ne'i drung / /yan lag bdun pa sngon du 'gro ba yi²⁵⁵/ /gdengs can sun²⁵⁶ bzlog spyi²⁵⁷ dger smon bzang dang / /smon 'jug sems bskyed yang dag brtan²⁵⁸ por bzung / /gdul byar gyur pa'i skye bo'i tshogs rnams la/ /dam pa chos kyi sbyin pas²⁵⁹ smin grol bkod//”

ces gsal ba ltar/ dgung grangs lnga bcu rtsa lngar son pa stod 'grel las/ spre'u lo ste/ me lug 1787 lor gzhung sa dga' ldan pho brang nas gdan zhus ltar/ lha ldan sprul pa'i grong khyer du zhabs sor bkod cing / (p. 24) gong sa thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po sku 'phreng brgyad pa 'jam dpal rgya mtsho'i zhal gyi dkyil 'khor mjal zhing / gter lung dag dang mthun par bka' yis rjes su bskul ba bzhin/ jo bo shākya mu ne'i sku brnyan gyi drung du/ yan lag bdun pa sngon du 'gro ba'i sgo nas/ gdengs can gyi bsu ma bzlog pa'i cho ga mdzad/ lha sar jo bo'i sku brnyan gyi zhabs la reg pa'i chu yi 'jig pa byung ba'i tshe/ bod gzhung nas rgyal ba'i dbang po mchog ched du gdan zhu dang 'brel/ jo bo'i mdun gsol 'debs smon lam mdzad cing / phyag 'khar btsugs pa'i shul du chu sim pa lta bus klu yi gdan zhu bzlog par mdzad ces rgyun du gleng / gter lung las/

me rta lug la lha sa yi: jo bo klu yis gdan 'dren zhu: da lta rgyal dbang mchog dbyangs kyi: skye mtha' karma'i mtshan can gyis: gsol ba btab na bzlog kyang srid:

ces gsal ba ltar/ skabs der chu yi 'jig pa dngos su byung min ji ltar yang / lung don dang mthun par gdan zhu mdzad pa ni yongs grags dang / de mtshungs spyi nor gong sa sku phreng bcu bzhi pa chen pos kyang / rgyal ba'i dbang po karma pa bcu drug pa rang byung rig pa'i rdo rje mchog la/ skabs su/ jo bo klu yi gdan 'dren zhu ba las skyob pa'i thugs smon gsol 'debs mdzad dgos zhu bskul gnang 'dug pa yang babs 'phros dang / pho brang po ta la'i (p. 25) 'phags pa'i sku brnyan wa tir snyan shal phul ba phyag gis dngos su bzhes pa'i lo rgyus bcas yongs su grags pa 'di'i skor rnam thar dad pa'i zla shel du/

251 S khrums], K khrum

252 K kyi], S kyis,

253 K gangs], S gongs

254 S mjal], K 'jal

255 K yi], S yis

256 K sun], S bsu

257 K spyi], S spyir

258 K brtan], S brten

259 S pas], K pa

“lha sar jo bo rin po che la brtan bzhugs khrus gsol thugs smon mdzad par/ rgyal ba 'jam dpal rgya mtshos gdan zhu²⁶⁰ mdzad pa na/ sku dngos kyis phebs te thugs smon yang dag par gnang zhing / jo bo rin po che yang 'jig rten 'dir yun du bzhugs pa'i rten 'brel mdzad/ 'phags pa wa ti bzang por snyan shal gyi dar 'bul bar mdzad pa'i tshes/ 'phags pas dngos su phyag gis dar len par mdzad pa ni zhabs 'bring ba mang pos mthong ba'i ya mtshan dang”

zhes dang / si tu padma nyin byed dbang po'i gsung rje nyid kyi nram thar gsol 'debs las kyang

“yid bzhin bsam 'phel jo shāk mchog gnyis drung / /gdengs can sun bzlog²⁶¹ smon lam bden stobs dang / /'phags pa wa tir mchod pa'i sprin spro bas/ /ngo mtshar mngon sum snyan shal 'dzin der 'dud/”

/ces gsal/ gong sa sku phreng brgyad pa 'jam dpal rgya mtsho/ rab byung bcu gsum pa'i sa stag 1758 lor 'khrungs shing / rgyal ba'i dbang po bdud 'dul rdo rje lha ldan du jo bor brtan bzhugs 'bul bar phebs pa'i lo 'dir/ dgung grangs sum cur son pa yin/ yang bka' bum gyi khrod du

“me pho rta yi²⁶² gnam lo 1786 'char ba'i tshes/ dpa' bo mchog sprul (p. 26) khra leb sprul sku bcas/ /mtshan gsol rdo rje'i mdud kyi bsrung ba dang // dam rdzas lha gos rab bzang ltas bcas te/ /ngo mtshar 'od snang mdo smad phyogs su spro/”

/zhes gsal ba/ rab byung bcu gsum pa'i me rta lha ldan du phebs pa'i snga rol/ dpa' bo dang khra legs sprul sku ngos 'dzin mtshan gsol dbugs dbyung mdzad pa'i lo rgyus te/ dpa' bo sku phreng bdun pa gtsug lag dga' ba kun mkhyen si tu zhal bzhugs pa'i ring 'tsho zhing gzhes pa ltar mtshan gsol gnang ba 'di rje de'i yang srid sku phreng brgyad pa gtsug lag chos rgyal yin par sems/ de mtshungs khra legs sprul sku yang kun mkhyen si tu'i zhal slob de'i yang srid yin/ yang mdzad rim thor bu kha cig rgyal dbang nyid kyi gsung dkyus su 'god pa 'di ltar bka' 'bum gyi khrod du/

“shing stag lor 1794 chu stod²⁶³ zla ba'i tshes dge ba'i rim par mchog gi sprul pa'i sku nams la mi tra brgya rtsa'i dbang bskur gyi skabs”

zhes dang

“shing stag dbyug²⁶⁴ gu zla ba'i yar²⁶⁵ ngo'i tshes bcu la/ lung rtogs yon tan du ma'i mnga' bdag 'brug klu dga' rwa²⁶⁶ ba'i bla ma dang chos nyid sprul pa'i sku sogs la bde mchog lha lnga'i dbang bskur gyi rim pa dang / rang²⁶⁷ zla ba de'i tshes nyer

260 D zhu], K zhus

261 K bzlog], P zlog

262 K yi], S lo'i

263 S stod], K stag

264 S dbyug], K dbyu

265 S yar], K yang

266 S ra], K rwa

267 S rang], K yang

dgu la gu ru padma'i thugs sras sprul pa'i sku mchog phebs par²⁶⁸/ smin zla'i tshes gnyis la sgrol ma nyer gcig gi rjes gnang dang / smon 'jug gi sdom pa mtha' rten bkra shis kyi rim pa bcas gang phyir²⁶⁹ rten 'brel (p. 27) phun sum tshogs pa'i rang bzhin du gyur/ zla ba de'i tshes bde 'byung la (25) byang chub sems dpa'i nram 'phrul/ khams rgya ston sprul sku nged la mos pa che bas 'dir phebs/²⁷⁰ tshes nyin byed 12 la/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma dang / dpal mgon phyag bzhi pa'i dbang bskur gyi rim pa dang / gzhan yang spyir²⁷¹ chos kyi 'bel gtam sogs bskal pa²⁷² bzang po'i dus ltar snang / tshes mkha' zla 10 la/ tsha ba sgang gi sgis sna bla ma nams la sgrol ma bkra shis don 'grub ma'i lung sogs byas/ tshes klu lag nyin 28/ la dwags rgyal sras rin po che nas 'dir ring 'tsho'i rten 'brel 'bul bar phyag rdor dpon g.yog nams 'byor/ phun sum tshogs pa'i lang tsho dar ba'i dpal du byung²⁷³ /"

zhes gsal ba ltar/ dus dang nram pa kun tu dam pa'i tshul dgur gzhol ba'i mkhas grub kyi skyes bu chen por gyur ba ni/ nram thar dad pa'i zla shel du/

"phrin las nram pa bzhi yis 'brel tshad don dang ldan pa'i skal bzang la sbyor ba dang / sku yi bkod pa so so'i mos snang du 'char bas mthong tshul gyi bye brag tha dad pa/ gsung rdo rje tshig gcig gis du ma'i don 'byed pa'i gsang ba bla na med par mnga' ba dang / skye bo rang rgyud ngan pa zhe sdang gis yid dkrugs pa/ blang dor la mig ldong ba 'gas/ gsol ngan pa sbyar te phul kyang dug gis mi tshugs pa dang / mdor na mchog gi yon tan phul du byung bar mnga' brnyes kyang / sbas tshul kho nas bzhugs te su la yang mi gsung bas/ 'dir (p. 28) yang re re gnyis bka' 'bum du gsal ba tsam bkod kyi²⁷⁴/ gzhan du zhabs 'bring ba nams dang / mig dang rdzi ma lta bur nye bar bcar ba nams kyis kyang mi smra bar gzhol na²⁷⁵/ bdag lta bu cha rgyus zhib par mi 'tshal bas smos²⁷⁶ ci zhig/ mngon gyur du snang ba la yang / grang ngad ches cher²⁷⁷ bdo ba'i dus kyang / sku bsil²⁷⁸ ba'i tshul mi bstan par na bza' srab mo las mi bzhes pa dang / gzhan rgyud kyi nram rtog bzang ngan ji ltar 'gyu²⁷⁹ ba kun mkhyen cing /²⁸⁰ ma 'ongs pa na 'di ltar 'byung gsung ba²⁸¹ kun thog tu khel ba'i dus gsum sgrib med du gzigs pa'i spyen mnga'/"

sogs dang

"bya dang ri dwags sogs dud 'gror gyur pa'i 'gro ba nams²⁸² la yang / rang rang skad du chos bstan cing thar pa'i bde ba la sbyor ba ni bsam las 'das/"

zhes gsal ba ltar/ bya dang bra ba sogs dud 'gro la chos gsungs shing smin grol gyi lam la 'god par mdzad pa ni rgyal dbang 'di'i nram thar khyad par can du grags pa 'di rigs zhib pa bka' 'bum du gsal zhing dud 'gror sgra rang mtshan par chos gsungs pa mtha'

268 K par], S om.

269 S phyir], K cir

270 S/], K om.

271 S spyir], K om.

272 emend. bskal pa], S bskal pha, K skal pa

273 S byung], K gyur

274 K kyi], D kyis

275 D mi smra bar gzhol na], K smra bar mi gzhol na

276 D smos], K lta

277 D cher], K che bar

278 K bsil], D bsir

279 D 'gyu], K byung

280 D kun mkhyen cing /], K mkhyen

281 D gsung ba], K gsungs pa

282 K nams], D om.

gcig tu ma nges kyang / dpe chos tshul du bkod pa rnams ni sde snod gsum gyi chos sgo
mtha' dag gi bcud phyungs pa lta bu'i gdams ngag sha stag tu mthong /

rnam thar dad pa'i zla shel du

“gang nyid mchog gsum kun 'dus kyi rang bzhin 'gro ba thams cad kyi phyag gi
gnas/ mchod pa'i rten yin (p. 29) pas gzhan du mi²⁸³ dmigs kyang / dad rdzas chud
mi 'dza' bar byed gsungs/ mthong grol lha khang du gser dngul gyi mchod rten
brgyad/ gong rgyab dngul srang stong phrag gsum tsam gyi rtsis bzheng ba²⁸⁴
dang /”

sogs rten bzhengs mchod 'bul mdzad pa'i tshul mdo tsam 'khod pa dag/ bka' 'bum gyi
khrod du

“shing pho²⁸⁵ stag gi²⁸⁶ lor/ khams gsum 'gro ba'i skyabs gcig pu²⁸⁷/ /bcom ldan 'das
de bzhin gshegs pa”

sogs dang /

“²⁸⁸gang gi sku brnyan²⁸⁹ jo bo rin po che'i sku mdun du”

sogs nas

“gser zho lnga brgya las grub pa'i ting bdun tshar phul bas”²⁹⁰

zhes sogs dang

“bdag cag dgon pa'i 'dzin skyong sbyin bdag gi ngo bsrung sogs rnam g.yeng
chu'i²⁹¹ gnyer ma ltar 'khrigs shing / bstan la zhugs pa'i tshul can phal cher sdom
gsum ring du spong zhing / rang snang ma dag pa'i kun slong gi snang ba ches cher
'phel ba'i mkhris nad can gyi²⁹² dung dkar gser mdog tu snang zhing / gang la'ang
snying po chu shing ltar dben pa'i ngang / dam chos sgrub²⁹³ pa le lo dang bar chad
kyi dbang du song / na tshod kyang smin skabs der/ lta ba'i gdeng tshad la yid skyo
ba'i skabs der/ grub chen karma pakshis²⁹⁴ rdzu 'phrul las grub pa'i lha chen 'dzam
gling rgyan 'di'i drung du/ dngul ting dang lhung bzed zhig phul ba'i skabs”

sogs 'khod/ 'di skor dad pa'i zla shel du/

283 K mi], D ma

284 D bzheng ba], K bzhengs pa

285 S pho], K om.

286 K gi], S om.

287 K pu], S pa

288 add. “], K om.

289 K brnyan], S brnyen

290 add. ”], K om.

291 S chu'i], K chu yi

292 K gyi], S gyis

293 K sgrub], S bsgrub

294 S pakshis], K pakshi'i

“²⁹⁵lha chen 'dzam gling rgyan la/ dngul srang nyis brgya lnga bcu las grub pa'i ting
bdun tshar (p. 30) lhung bzed yang srang nyis brgya lnga bcu las grub pa'i
mandal”²⁹⁶

zhes gsal/ yang bka' 'bum gyi khrod du

“rang cag gi ston pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa khyad par
can rnams bstan pa'i skabs su byung ba'i thub pa'i mchod rten chen po brgyad zhes
yongs su grags pa 'di byung ba yin te”

sogs mchod rten cha brgyad kyi rtogs pa brjod pa gsal bar²⁹⁷ bstan pa'i mjug tu/

“di nged la dngos 'byor gyi dkor rdzas phran bu byung ba rnams sgyu ma'i nor la
snying po len pa'i²⁹⁸ phyir/ mthong grol lha khang gsar bzhengs skabs/ mchod
khang rten bcas kyi rgyu dang / phra rgyan dang²⁹⁹ bzo bo'i gla lto bcas tshang mar
gong rgyab khyon sdom³⁰⁰ dngul srang stong phrag gsum gyi rtsis song bar”

zhes 'khod pa ltar mdzad pa'i zur phra mo tsam yang chos dang mthun pa kho na ste/

dad pa'i zla shel du

“mdor na rgyal ba'i dbang po 'di nyid kyi mdzad pa rnam thar bsam gyis mi khyab
pa ni/ rgyal ba rnams kyi³⁰¹ spyod yul las phal gyis rtogs par nus³⁰² pa ga la zhig³⁰³
kyang kun gyi mthun snang du dam pa'i mdzad pa 'di lta ste/ chen po kun gyis btud
kyang khengs dregs mi mnga' zhing / che 'gying³⁰⁴ gtan nas med par skye bo dman
pa rnams dang 'dra mnyam lta bu'i mnyam 'grogs mdzad/ gdul bya³⁰⁵ skye bo'i
bsam pa tha dad pa rnams dgongs³⁰⁶ kyang mi mkhyen pa'i tshul gyis³⁰⁷ 'dri/ chos
dang chos min gyi dbye ba mtha' dag zhib par gzigs shing / skal ldan la lam (p. 31)
drang thad du ma nor³⁰⁸ 'di'o zhes mdzub btsugs kyang / thun mong du grub mtha'i
kha 'dzin gyi skyes bu su la yang dag snang mdzad/ mnyam nyid kyi ngang du gnas
bzhin chos min rnams btang snyoms su bor/ chos kun stong pa nyid du gzigs kyang
rgyu 'bras rten 'brel dge sdig las 'bras la phra zhib mdzad/ snyoms chung dman cha
'dzin kyang chos kyi spobs pas gzhan snang zil gyis gnon/ brjod bral gyi don la
mnyam par bzhag bzhin du yang dam pa'i ngo mtshar gyi gtam la dgyes/ rtag tu zhi
ba'i nyams/ byams pa'i thugs dang ldan pa'i rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin gyis³⁰⁹
bdud dpung zil gyis gnon/ thugs kyi dgongs pa sus kyang mi dpog³¹⁰ rung thams
cad la snang ba bstun/ srid zhi'i phun tshogs ma tshang ba med par 'du bas 'dod yon
la chags pa med kyang / zhen med sgyu ma lta bur rol/ rtag tu phyag rgya chen po

295 *add.* “], K *om.*

296 *add.* ”], K *om.*

297 *emend.* gsal bar], K gsal bar bar

298 S pa'i], K *om.*

299 S dang], K *om.*

300 S khyon sdom], K *om.*

301 D rnams kyi], K kun gyi

302 D rtogs par nus], K rtogs par mi nus

303 D zhig], K gzhig

304 D 'gying], K 'gyings

305 D bya], K bya'i

306 D dgongs], K *om.*

307 K gyis], D gyi

308 D nor], K nor ba

309 K gyis], D gyi

310 K dpog], D dpogs

las g.yo ba med par bzhugs kyang / gang 'dul gyi mdzad 'phrin³¹¹ 'gog pa med par
bstan/ yi dam gyi lha dang gnyis su med/ mkha' 'gro chos skyong dbang du 'du/
'brel tshad don dang ldan pa'i rnam thar ni/ sangs rgyas karma ka bdud 'dul rdo rje'i
mdzad pa yin no/”

/zhes gsungs pa/ 'brug chen kun gzigs chos kyi snang ba 'di nyid sku dngos kyi zhal slob
kyi gtso bo'i gras su gyur bar brten/ sku gsung thugs kyi rnam par thar pa la mngon sum
du thugs snang byung ba'i dge mtshan la gzahir bzung ste dkyus su 'god par byas/

(p. 32) rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che ma nor ba lam du byed pa la thog mtha' bar gsum
du gcig tu dge ba/ byang chub kyi sems rin po che'i rtsis kyis zin pas thugs rgyud kyi
spang rtogs yon tan gyi 'jug ldog la rtag tu 'grus pa las/ snyan grags dpal 'byor mnga'
thang sogs/ 'jig rten na che bar grags pa'i rgyu dag la thugs kyi gding ma bcol bas/
mtshan nyid dang ldan pa'i bstan 'dzin gyi skyes bu 'gran zla dang bral bar mngon pa ni/
dus rabs bco brgyad pa'i nang / rgyal ba'i dbang po bcu gsum pa dgung grangs lnga
bzhes skabs 'khrungs shing / ri bo dge ldan pa'i bstan 'dzin mkhas grub kyi snyan pa
mnga' ba/ thu'u kan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma'am chos kyi rdo rjer grags pa'i gsung /
grub mtha'i rnam bzhag legs bshad shel gyi me long zhes pa'i nang

“mtshur phu na/ zhwa nag sprul sku dge sbyong gi chos bzhi dang du len cing
bzhugs/”

zhes dam pa'i yon tan tshul bzhin gzigs te smad pa'i zol gyis bstod pa 'dis kyang gsal bar
mtshon nus so//

de ltar sku tshe'i mdzad pa mthar phyin te/ padma'i ljags ldan kun gyi thog ma/ si tu
padma nyin byed dbang po bstan pa'i rgyal tshab tu dbugs dbyung zhing / dgung grangs
re lngar son pa/ rab byung bcu gsum pa'i me sbrul 1797 lor ngo mtshar ba'i ltas du ma
dang bcas dgongs pa chos (p. 33) dbyings su thim pa'i tshul bstan pa'i skor/ rnam thar
gsol 'debs su

“me sbrul cho 'phrul can gyi nyer bzhi la/ /dgongs pa chos dbyings thim pa'i snang
ba bstan/ /me tog char babs³¹² lha yi³¹³ rol mo ldir/ /skal ldan rgyud smin byin rlabs
stsol³¹⁴ la 'dud/ /”

ces gsal/ mtshur phu bla brang nas/ dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod sprin rgya che bar spel/
gser dngul las grub pa'i gdung rten dang / snang brnyan bcas 'gro ba'i mchod sdong dam
par bskrun par byas so//

311 D 'phrin], K phrin

312 P babs], K 'bab

313 K yi], P yis

314 P stsol], K rtsol

rje 'di'i zhal slob kyi gtso bo bka' brgyud³¹⁵ gser phreng du bzhugs pa ni/ zhwa dmar chos grub rgya mtsho dang si tu padma nyin byed dbang po/ gzhan yang 'brug chen kun gzigs chos kyi snang ba/ dbang po gtsug lag chos rgyal/ tre ho dang rgyal tshab sprul sku/ 'dzi sgar rdo rje grags pa sogs mang du byon no//

2.4.2.3 English Translation

2.4.2.3.1 Introduction to the Translation

My main objective was to produce an understandable English text, while at the same time making as few concessions in terms of accuracy as possible. Therefore, I have tried to reduce the use of Sanskrit, Tibetan and in particular hybrid, i.e. Sanskrit-English and Tibetan-English, terms to a minimum. However, they could not be avoided completely.

In general, for the sake of consistency I have tried to stay with one English equivalent for each Tibetan word as much as possible. Still, there are occasional variations in order to avoid too tedious repetitions. For example, *yab sras* is alternately translated as “father and son” and “master and disciple.”

Just as in the edition, additional paragraphs were inserted, the quotations were set off and the politeness sign was disregarded.

Whenever the Sanskrit equivalent of a Tibetan deity name was known from a reliable source, it was used. In all other cases, the Tibetan was retained.

For the Western equivalents of the Tibetan years given in the text, the first of the two corresponding Western years is given (for example, the *chu glang lo*, which extends from February 1733 to February 1734, is referred to as 1733). In cases when the month was also given in the text, I deduced the Western year from it.

All work titles mentioned are translated into English. If English translations of the mentioned work exist, the title of the translation and its reference is given in a footnote, in order to facilitate recognition for the reader. The Tibetan title is given in brackets after the English one.

315 *emend.* brgyud], K rgyud

The names given during an initiation, ordination etc. are rendered in English, in order to convey an idea of the qualities that are ascribed to the person. In all other cases, names of persons remain untranslated.

Whenever the age of a person is given, the reader should be aware that in Tibetan culture, a person is already considered one year old at his or her birth³¹⁶. Therefore, in order to find out the person's age according to the Western system, one year should be subtracted.

2.4.2.3.2 Translation

p. 4 The thirteenth [Karma-pa] in line, bDud-tshogs-'dul-ba'i-rdo-rje, appeared in the eighteenth century, i.e. in the twelfth cycle. Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bu kept the lotus feet of both the twelfth Karma-pa incarnation, Byang-chub-rdo-rje, and the eighth Zhwa-dmar incarnation, Chos-kyi-don-'grub, on his head³¹⁷. He heard instructions on *mahāmudrā* etc. from them. Later on, he entered a very close³¹⁸ teacher-student relationship with Ta-yi Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas, and had an extremely wide view looking out toward the non-sectarian teachings³¹⁹. In the fire dragon year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1736], at one time when he, whose fame for [his] scholarship and realization pervaded all directions, having reached the age of thirty-nine, stayed close to mTshur-phu-mdo-bo-lung monastery, the seat of the successive Karma-pas, the Lords of the World, at the place called Padma-khyung-rdzong³²⁰, where many [previous] incarnations by means of retreat had obtained supreme realization of ultimate *mahāmudrā*, an experience of clear light manifested and a prophecy by the second Buddha from Oḍḍiyāna appeared as follows:

The misty hair-band of the white dust of existence similar to a *pīlava*³²¹, a place where the river flows in the southern direction³²² and trees gather....³²³

316 See YAMAGUCHI 1984: 1083.

317 This means that he was their student.

318 mKhan-po Gyur-med-rdo-rje (personal communication, Vienna, 12/11/2012): *dam tshig gong bu gcig tu* – extremely close, almost becoming one, inseparable.

319 Literally: the teachings of the followers of *ris med*. According to Ri-mgul sPrul-sku (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013), the use of the term *ris med* was not limited to the 19th century onwards, but can be traced down to a much earlier time.

320 A retreat place above mTshur-phu monastery. See DOWMAN 1988: 126.

321 Tibetan: *'thung gcod*. The term occurs in the Hevajra Tantra and designates a certain type of meeting place for *yogins* and *yoginīs* (SNELLGROVE 1959: 68-69). BEER 1999: 251 describes the *pīlava* as a part of the Eight Great Charnel Grounds.

And:

In a place close to dGe-ri³²⁴ and gZhung-ri³²⁵, the life necessities are mostly lacking. An immaculate family is striving for virtue, and there [is] the Karma-pa.³²⁶

p. 5 According to the reassurance by these *vajra* words, in the life story of the Thirteenth [Karma-pa] written by 'Brug-chen Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snang-ba, entitled *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*, it is stated:

Near³²⁷ the glorious place, the large *pīlava* Tsā-ri-tra³²⁸, from Byar, gNyal and Lo-ro³²⁹, the places endowed with virtue, very close to dGe-ri, the meditation place blessed by the teacher,³³⁰ which is part of the vast³³¹ gNyal³³², in [a place] called lCam-pa-grong-gsar³³³ ³³⁴

As for the region where he was born, he was born in the water ox year of the 12th cycle, 1733, in lCam-pa-grong-gsar in the South of Central Tibet.

In the wood tiger year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1734], on one occasion of Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu going to see a sacred place in Western Tibet, as it is said

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- 322 The term *me yi phyogs* is a metaphor for the south (Klaus-Dieter Mathes, personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013).
- 323 *gSung 'bum*, vol.1: 197-198 (ff. 99a.5-99b.1), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 170 (f. 85b.2-3), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*: 73, *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 4 (f. 2b.3-4).
- 324 TBRC: G4811.
- 325 Place not identified.
- 326 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 198 (ff. 99b.1-2), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 170 (f. 85b.3-4), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*: 73, *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 4 (f. 2b.4-5). According to *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 400 (f. 200b.4-5), these two prophecies also appear both in various treasure teachings and in a text by the Twelfth Karma-pa.
- 327 mKhan-po 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje's explanation of '*dab chags pa* (personal communication, Vienna, 12/11/2012).
- 328 TBRC: G2890. See GYURME DORJE 2009: 269-272 and TIBETMAP sheet 2893, between Yulme and Mikyimdun (the summit that is the center of the pilgrimage circuit is marked by "5735 m"). In the Hevajra Tantra, Caritra (i.e. Tsā-ri-tra) is mentioned as one of the locations of the *pīlavas* (SNELLGROVE 1959: 70).
- 329 The emendation from *lo grong* to *lo ro* was made based on the following evidence: first, in *gNas chen tsa ri tra'i legs bshad*: 236 there is: *phu nas 'gro ba'i g.yas na byar gnyal lo ro gsum gshibs pa/*. Second, GYURME DORJE 2009: 238, FERRARI 1958: 126-127 and WYLIE 1962: 174 mention *gnyal chu*, *byar chu* and *lo ro chu*. Third, TBRC has *gnyal* (G724), *byar yul* (G843) and *lo ro* (G1192) as traditional place names. From this and the information from the previous quotations we can narrow down the area of the Karma-pa's birth to the area limited by the gNyal-chu in the west, Lo-ro-chu in the south and Byar-chu in the east. As the gNyal-chu is flowing exactly in the southern direction, it is probably the river referred to in the previous quotation. See TIBETMAP sheet 2892 (it should be noted that on this map the gNyal-chu is named Lhuntse shung chu, and the Lo-ro-chu is named Chayül chu behind the juncture of the two arms. The identity of the rivers could be verified from GYURME DORJE 2009: 238-239).
- 330 This may refer to the treasure teachings discovered at that place, see TBRC: G4811.
- 331 See GOLDSTEIN 2001 (*q.v. yangs pa can*). mKhan-po Tshe-ring-bsam-grub (personal communication, Vienna, 09/01/2013) confirmed that in this case it is an adjective qualifying gNyal.
- 332 TBRC: G724. See GYURME DORJE 2009: 238-239.
- 333 TBRC: G835.
- 334 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 4 (f. 2b.1-2).

in the life story of that master called *The Ocean of Marvelous Faith* (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*) about the reincarnation of the rGyal-dbang Karma-pa,

In the wood tiger year, by order of the master himself, the attendant, who had turned back at sKyid-grong³³⁵, explained to Kun-bzang-'jigs-bral-rab-gsal³³⁶, known in the area as the meditator 'Jigs-bral, the scenery of the Karma-pa's region of birth, [and] what the house, father, mother and children would look like. When he went [there], in the role of³³⁷ a renunciate meditator, he recognized him unmistakably.³³⁸

p. 6 Accordingly, he recognized the rebirth free from mistake. The message sent to Si-tu Rin-po-che in dPal-spungs in Khams arrived in his hand³³⁹ at the very beginning of the fire snake year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1737]. At the same time³⁴⁰, two representatives of mTshur-phu came to dPal-spungs for the purpose of inquiring about the reincarnation.

Also, [already] in the wood rabbit year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1735],³⁴¹ while Si-tu gTsug-lag-chos-kyi-snang-ba³⁴² was on pilgrimage, in connection with consecrating the body stupas of both the Twelfth rGyal-dbang [Karma-pa] Byang-chub-rdo-rje and the Eighth Zhwa-dmar Chos-kyi-don-grub at the seat mTshur-phu, in the presence of the Buddha statue erected by the Second Karma-pa Chos-kyi-grags-pa³⁴³ known as the “Great Deity of mTshur-phu³⁴⁴,” along with what is

335 TBRC: G2161. See TIBETMAP sheet 2885, close to Ganesh Himal.

336 This translation is based on emendating *ldebs* → *ldeb*, which means “to turn back” according to JAESCHKE 1881 (*q.v.* *ldeb*), and constructing it with *zham ring pa*. However, in his Green Book (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* (Green Book): 73), E. Gene Smith marked *skyid grong la ldebs pa* as part of the name of Kun-bzang-'jigs-bral-rab-gsal: “Kun-bzang-'jigs-bral-rab-gsal from near sKyid-grong.”

337 The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (*q.v.* *rdzu ba*) defines the term as *sgyur ba dang / ma yin pa yin pa ltar byed pa*. However, according to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013) it does not necessarily imply that somebody has the intention of deceiving; in the given context, it means that he was not openly communicating to the family that he was there in order to find the Karma-pa.

338 *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 170-171 (ff. 85b.5-86a.1), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* (Green Book): 73.

339 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *phyag khar son* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

340 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *skabs khel 'dug* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

341 Even though this is unusual, it seems we are moving backwards in time here. The event took place in 1735 also according to *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: 162-165 (ff. 81b.4-83a.4).

342 According to TBRC (P956), Si-tu Paṅ-chen's first ordination name was Karma-bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed-gtsug-lag-chos-kyi-snang-ba.

343 Neither is Chos-kyi-grags-pa among the names of the Second Karma-pa listed in TBRC: P1487, nor did Charles Manson (email communication, 06/21/2013) come across it during his research on Karma Pakshi. Therefore this seems to be a mistake. The author might have confounded it with the first ordination name of the First Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (TBRC: P1400).

344 See RICHARDSON 1982: 32.

written in the autobiography [of Si-tu Paṅ-chen] *The Stainless Crystal Mirror* (*Dri bral shel gyi me long*),

p. 7 I did a divination on the reincarnations of father and son³⁴⁵.³⁴⁶
an unmistakable decision on the reincarnation became manifest from Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bu and Si-tu gTsug-lag-chos-kyi-snang-ba, also known as Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas, together. Even though, because of the separation of [both] place and time³⁴⁷, the two representatives of mTshur-phu were unable to come to the seat for the occasion of the enthronement, the omniscient Si-tu gave the name “Glorious fearless *vajra* who tames the assembly of demons, Lord of the indestructible essence, friend of the teaching of the definitive meaning, hero that is victorious in all directions,” and sent it through the two messengers together with auspicious substances. About this, it is stated in the *Collected Works* of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje himself:

We were born during the waxing moon in the eighth month of the ox year. In the male wood tiger year [i.e. 1734], the messenger Kun-bzang-'jigs-bral-rab-gsal returned with the amazing story of the recognition by means of several efforts.³⁴⁸

In the *Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith* (*Dad pa'i zla shel*), it is clarified

Ever since the master was born, he did not possess the behavior of a normal child. At that time, in a visionary experience of mind, a child, dressed in white silk clothing [and] holding a crystal plate filled with flowers, dwelt in a sphere of rainbow light.³⁴⁹

About this, it is said in the *Collected Works*:

In my pure visionary experience, a child, dressed in white silk [and] holding a crystal plate filled with flowers, [was] in a sphere of rainbow light. It was skilled in performing songs, dances and amusements. I asked 'Who are you?' It said: 'I am [Mahākāla] Ber-nag-can³⁵⁰, the lion [of] awesome splendor. From the sphere of wisdom, I show a wrathful body. I mastered the four [Buddha] activities. Ultimately, it is the most supreme of views that appearances other than your own mind do not exist separately.', tossed flowers, and was seen bringing forth a strong 'ha ha' laughter.³⁵¹

345 This refers to the Twelfth Karma-pa and the Eighth Zhwa-dmar-pa (mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol, personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

346 *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: 165 (f. 83a.4).

347 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *yul dus kyi bkar bas* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

348 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 198 (f. 99b.2-3).

349 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 4-5 (ff. 2b.7-3a.2).

350 Literally: “Black Cloak.” This is one of the many forms of Mahākāla, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1975: 56, TBRC: T2338.

351 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 198 (f. 99b.3-5).

p. 8 In the life story *Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*, it is written:

At that time, a great *vidyādhara*³⁵² prophesied what the geographical features of the area would be like, that a characteristic of the body would be a letter A on the tongue, and that a read mole would mark the heart. In this way, as the people saw [the Karma-pa] like that, certainty was obtained. In Lha-sa, after the Victorious Omniscient Seventh [Dalai Lama] sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho and Lord bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas had enquired in detail in this regard, they said that because of their extraordinary trust, they wished an invitation to Akaniṣṭha, the glorious mTshur-phu, without delay.³⁵³

and so forth. Accordingly, in the mind of all those connected – great beings following the teachings in general and in particular³⁵⁴, the congregations of the community³⁵⁵, men and women and so forth – the veils of doubt were cut off. Because of the fame of the reputation³⁵⁶ of the supreme *nirmāṇakāya*, it pervaded [all] directions.

In accordance with what is recorded in the *Collected Works*,

On an auspicious date³⁵⁷ of the twelfth lunar month of the fire dragon year [i.e. 1737]³⁵⁸, as many as the sublime regent³⁵⁹ together with the chief attendant³⁶⁰, [my] former cook, personal attendant and chamberlain³⁶¹, gathered. At the time of [their] arrival in nice garments in order to welcome [me], I developed the pleasure of a happy heart....³⁶²,

p. 9 at the end of the fire dragon year of the 12th cycle, when [he] had reached the age of four, at the time when the cook, personal attendant and chamberlain of the previous Lord of the Victorious Ones, who were welcoming [him] to the seat mTshur-phu,³⁶³ arrived, [his] mind seemed to be very delighted. On New Year of

352 Tibetan: rig 'dzin. See DUFF 2009 (*q.v.* rig 'dzin).

353 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 5 (f. 3a.4-6).

354 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013): those of the other Tibetan Buddhist schools and those of the Karma bKa'-brgyud.

355 RY DICTIONARY (*q.v.* dge 'dun gyi sde gnyis): “two congregations of the Sangha: 'dul ba'i sde - Vinaya followers, sngags kyi sde - Mantra followers.”

356 According to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013), *mtshan* could be not only the name of a person, but also his/her reputation.

357 The term *zla tshes* has several meanings. Another one that would fit the context of this sentence is “crescent moon,” but according to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 06/14/2013), the intended meaning is “day of the month,” i.e. “date.”

358 The fire dragon year is 1736/37, but as this event takes place in the twelfth month, it corresponds to 1737.

359 This refers to the Seventh mTshur-phu-rgyal-tshab, dKon-mchog-'od-zer.

360 According to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

361 GOLDSTEIN (*q.v.* mgon): = *mgon gnyer chen mo* – lord chamberlain; mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013): attendant in charge of guests.

362 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 199 (f. 100a.2-3).

363 As his actual arrival at mTshur-phu takes place in the following sentence, this seems to refer to an escort that is meeting him on the way.

the fire snake year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1737], during³⁶⁴ the party,³⁶⁵ he set foot on the seat [mTshur-phu]. In accordance with what is recorded in the *Collected Works*,

At rGyal-ri³⁶⁶ I enjoyed the New Year festivities, and having arrived at the seat on the third day of the month, together with the auspicious coincidence [of] the kindness [of the presence] of the sole protector of the three realms, the supreme excellent Lord of the teaching, the omniscient all-seeing victorious bsKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho, the Lord of Men and master of the land bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas, and also the masters and disciples of the bKa'-brgyud-pa with their attendants, they all enthroned me on the Fearless Lion Throne.³⁶⁷

on the fifteenth day of the month of miracles³⁶⁸, headed by the regent of mTshur-phu, the Kar[ma] and 'Brug[-pa bKa'-brgyud] masters and disciples, the teachers and students, chant and discipline masters³⁶⁹ and officials of the mTshur-phu monastic household, and every important person throughout Tibet, together with giving clouds of offerings [out] of respect, enthroned [him] on the great lion throne. In the *Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*, it is written:

The victorious sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho and the Lord of men and great Brahmā bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas, [both] from Lha-sa, and also all Kar[ma] and 'Brug[-pa bKa'-brgyud] masters and disciples enthroned [him] on the Fearless Lion Throne....³⁷⁰

p. 10 At that time, the great Kaḥ-thog-rig-'dzin also came to mTshur-phu for the purpose of [giving] presents on the occasion of the enthronement. Gradually, [Karma-pa] mastered³⁷¹ without difficulty the hearing, training and performing of the fields of knowledge such as writing, reading and mathematics, and [of] the types of rituals connected with the practices of visual transmission³⁷². In the *Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*, it is written:

Then, in a way similar to the life story of the young Siddhārtha, as for ascertaining how [his] mind was trained in the common fields of knowledge, such as reading and writing the base letters, mathematics and so forth, and how he practiced rituals such as the sequence of tantric rituals, chanting,

364 Literally: "Together with."

365 According to what is said in the quotation below, this cannot be a party on the first day of the Tibetan New Year, but on one of the following ones, probably the third.

366 Place not identified.

367 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 199 (f. 100a.3-5).

368 i.e. the first month.

369 Tibetan: *dbu chos*. See GOLDSTEIN 2001 (*q.v. dbu chos*).

370 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 5-6 (ff. 3a.7-3b.1).

371 Literally: "comprehended."

372 RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. mthong rgyun*): "The visual transmission is the direct passing on of the knowledge of how to make tormas etc. by a physical demonstration."

singing, dance, drawing and so forth, his knowing eye actualized them within a single moment, even though he only watched [them] from [its] corner.³⁷³

In the wood ox year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1745], Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas set foot on the seat mTshur-phu, and offered a permission [empowerment]³⁷⁴ of White Tārā, based on the textbook by the Ninth [Karma-pa] dBang-phyug-rdo-rje³⁷⁵, to the Lord of the Victorious Ones in an auspicious way. At that time, in the great assembly hall, amidst the ocean of the masters and disciples assembled, such as dPa'-bo [Rin-po-che]³⁷⁶, Tre-hor [Rin-po-che]³⁷⁷ and so forth, in the presence of the Lord of the Victorious Ones, who resided on a dharma throne of elevated height, he invested him with power, together with magnificent presents [on the occasion] of the first auspicious connection. He heard³⁷⁸ the reading transmission of the collected works of the second Zhwa-dmar incarnation, mKha'-spyod-dbang-po³⁷⁹, explanations on the *Profound Inner Meaning (Zab mo nang don)*³⁸⁰ written by the Third [Karma-pa] Rang-byung-rdo-rje³⁸¹, the reading transmissions of the Eighth [Karma-pa] Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's³⁸² *Instructions on the Indivisibility of Winds and Mind (rLung sems gnyis med)*³⁸³, the *Cast Gold of the Six Doctrines (Chos drug gser zhun)*³⁸⁴, *Pointing out the Three Kāyas (sKu gsum ngo sprod)*³⁸⁵,

373 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 6 (f. 3b.3-5).

374 The Tibetan term used here, *rjes gngang*, refers to a particular type of abridged empowerment, in which some parts, such as the sand mandala, are left out. See DUFF 2009 (q.v. *rjes gngang*).

375 See TBRC: P889, and *gCig shes kun grol*: 14 (f. 7b.3-5).

376 This refers to the Seventh dPa' bo incarnation, gTsug-lag-dga'-ba'i-dbang-po.

377 *tre'o* = *tre hor* = *tre bo*, see TBRC: G4671; as the Third Tre-hor-sprul-sku (TBRC: P944) died in 1730 and the Fourth (P8LS12491), named either Blo-bzang-chos-dbang or Byang-chub-chos-kyi-snying-po, reached the age of seventy according to a note in TBRC: P10405, it must be him.

378 The Tibetan term used here, *gsan*, literally means “to hear.” However, as it is uncommon to say that somebody heard an empowerment, I have alternated between the translations “to hear” and “to receive” depending on the context.

379 TBRC: P1413, W23928.

380 For example TBRC: W679.

381 TBRC: P66.

382 TBRC: P385.

383 There is no text of exactly that title in the Eighth Karma-pa's collected works (TBRC: W8039). However, there is *rLung sems dbyer med kyi khrid* (TBRC: W1KG11880). Another possibility is that this refers to the text called *rLung sems gnyis med* by the Third Karma-pa (see outline of *gDams sngags mdzod*, TBRC: W20877, vol. 9: 167-174). This is supported by the fact that Si-tu himself in his *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: 237 (f. 119a.5) gives the name of the text as *rLung sems gnyis med*, and that a series of texts by the Third Karma-pa follows.

384 This refers to *Zab lam nā ro chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chings khrid yig dang bcas pa*, another text by the Third Karma-pa (see outline of TBRC: W30541, vol. 10: 537-594). It is also incorporated into the *gDams sngags mdzod* (see outline of TBRC: W20877, vol. 9: 17-62), with *chos drug gser zhun mar grags so* added to the title.

385 Another text by the Third Karma-pa, see outline of TBRC: W30541, vol. 11: 1-19.

*The Ocean of Nectar of the Six Doctrines (Chos drug bdud rtsi chu gter)*³⁸⁶ etc., instructions on *The Quintessence of Nectar of the Six Doctrines (Chos drug bdud rtsi nying khu)*³⁸⁷, and reading transmissions for the collected works of sGam-po-pa³⁸⁸ and so forth.

In the fire tiger year of the 12th cycle [i.e. 1746], he continuously heard and reflected upon the instructions and reading transmissions of the Ninth [Karma-pa] dBang-phyug-rdo-rje's extensive, medium and short *mahāmudrā*,³⁸⁹ the reading transmissions of the *Sage's one hundred previous births (Thub pa'i skye rabs brgya rtsa)*³⁹⁰ and the collected works of the Fourth Zhwa-dmar sPyan-snga-chos-kyi-grags-pa³⁹¹, the great empowerment of the nine deities of Jinasāgara³⁹² of the Karma bka'-brgyud tradition, the permission [empowerments] for *The Ocean of Sādhana*s (*sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*) of the Ngor tradition³⁹³ and for *The One Hundred Sādhana*s (*sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*) according to the textbook of Tāranātha³⁹⁴, the reading transmissions for the treasure teachings of the great treasure revealers Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje³⁹⁵ and Chos-rje-gling-pa³⁹⁶ and so forth, again from Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas.

On the fifteenth day of the fourth month of that year, in front of the Great Deity [of mTshur-phu], he took the novice vows in the presence of Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas and the Seventh dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-dga'-ba, together with the required number of sangha members³⁹⁷. Once at that time, when Kaḥ-thog-pa Tshe-dbang-nor-bu also came to the seat, he received the permission [empowerment] for White Amitāyus³⁹⁸, the reading transmission for the four-

386 Text not identified.

387 RY DICTIONARY (*q.v.* *chos drug bdud rtsi nying khu*) : “instructions on the esoteric yogic practices of the six doctrines of Naropa according to the Kamtsang Kagyü tradition; by zhwa dmar chos kyi dbang phyug, 1584-1630, and si tu pan chen chos kyi 'byung gnas, 1699 or 1700-1774.”

388 TBRC: P1844; for the text, see for example TBRC: W23439.

389 This refers to *Phyag chen rgyas pa nges don rgya mtsho*, *Phyag chen bring po ma rig mun sel* and *Phyag chen bsdu pa chos sku mdzub tshugs*. See TBRC: W00EGS1016968.

390 Text not identified.

391 TBRC: P317, W1KG4876.

392 TBRC: T526.

393 TBRC: W1CZ1135.

394 TBRC: P1428, W12422.

395 This may either refer to gNam-chos Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (TBRC: P659, see W21578) or to Yong-dge-gter-ston Mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (TBRC: P654, see associated works).

396 It seems there is no single collection of Chos-rje-gling-pa's *gter chos*. See associated works for TBRC: P671.

397 Tibetan: *kha skong dge 'dun*.

mandala ritual of Tārā compiled by the master Kaḥ-thog-pa himself,³⁹⁹ and the permission [empowerments] and reading transmissions of [both] Amitāyus according to Mitrayogin's system⁴⁰⁰ and the White Prajñāpāramitā⁴⁰¹, and so forth. For the first time, the *sādhana* practice known as *The Four-mandala Ritual of the*
p. 12 *Wishfulfilling Tree (Maṇḍal bzhi chog 'dod don yid bzhin 'grub pa'i ljon shing)*⁴⁰² was established at the seat. From Si-tu, he received the reading transmission for the *Wishfulfilling Jewel of Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī (rTa phag yid bzhin nor bu)*⁴⁰³ and *Mitrayogin's One Hundred Empowerments (Mi tra brgya rtsa'i dbang)*⁴⁰⁴ and others.

Around that time, two different rebirths of the Ninth Zhwa-dmar [Rin-po-che] appeared. It turned out that both the great Kaḥ-thog-pa and the omniscient Si-tu, by means of great hardship, needed to apply whatever skillful method to reach an unmistakable supreme *nirmāṇakāya* for the time being, and after they had recognized the probable incarnation, the supreme Lord of the Victorious Ones, together with sending representatives to bKra-shis-lhun-po⁴⁰⁵ on several occasions, gave the name of the *nirmāṇakāya*, clothing, a white meditation cushion and so on. It was the time when a series of longevity rituals for the supreme Zhwa-dmar reincarnation arrived from the omniscient 'Brug[-chen Rin-po-che], the glorious Sa-skyapa ['Khri-'dzin]⁴⁰⁶ and so forth.

Generally speaking, Kaḥ-thog-pa Tshe-dbang-nor-bu had a very wide view looking out toward those of the non-sectarian tradition, and in particular, the connection with the Karma Kam-tshang, the[ir] teaching and *samayas*⁴⁰⁷, was very strong. Specifically, as explained before, he recognized both the Thirteenth Karma-pa bDud-'dul-rdo-rje and the Tenth Zhwa-dmar Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho,

398 This could refer to a variety of forms. See for example BRAUEN 2000: 90-91, and TBRC: T00AG01365.

399 Surprisingly, the text is not in Tshe-dbang-nor-bu's collected works. There is a detailed description (including a bibliographic reference for the Tibetan text) in BEYER 1973: 170-226.

400 TBRC: T674.

401 TBRC: T2GS1161.

402 See outline of TBRC: W23685, vol. 3: 1-2.

403 TBRC: W23645.

404 TBRC: W1CZ1183.

405 TBRC: G104; see TBRC: P831 for the incarnation's connection to that monastery.

406 The Thirty-first Sa-skyapa 'khri-'dzin, Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-blo-gros, TBRC: P805.

407 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013): *chos dam* = *chos dang dam tshig*.

father and son, for the first time, and from then on he was seen as exceedingly kind because of his completely virtuous actions under the circumstances of the p. 13 enthronement. Even though there is a story in the *Moon[-Like] Crystal Garland of Lifestories* (*rNam thar zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*)⁴⁰⁸ about how this Kaḥ-thog-pa asked either the Twelfth Karma-pa or the Eighth Zhwa-dmar for the laypeople's vows, it says in the *Ocean of Marvelous Faith* (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*):

At mTshur-phu, the residence of the fortunate ones, I met the one named Mi-bskyod-'od⁴⁰⁹ possessing the crown, and at least obtained a dharma connection.⁴¹⁰

and when he reached the age of twenty-seven, in the wood dragon year of the twelfth cycle [i.e. 1724], when he received many teachings from the sixth Zur-mang-che-tshang, gSung-rab-rgya-mtsho⁴¹¹, he also received the laypeople's vows; it is written that he received the name Karma-bstan-pa-mtha'-rgyas⁴¹². Therefore I see [this as] a point to be analyzed. [This is just] an addition.

In the sixth month of that year⁴¹³ [Karma-pa] received, from the omniscient Si-tu, the empowerments for the personal deity [practice]⁴¹⁴ of the first Karma-pa incarnation, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, known as the five sets of five [deities]⁴¹⁵ – the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara, the five deities of Hevajra, the five deities of Vajravārāhī on a corpse⁴¹⁶, the five deities of Green Tārā, and the five deities of Hayagrīva according to Atiśa's system⁴¹⁷; 'Ja'[-mtshon-snying-po]'s empowerments of the mandala of Avalokiteśvara⁴¹⁸ and of Hayagrīva and

408 See *Rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 2, p. 666 (f. 333b.5): *mtshur phur karma pa byang chub rdo rje dang zhwa dmar brgyad pa mjal/ dge bsnyen gyi sdom pa zhus/ mtshan karma bstan pa mtha' rgyas gsol/*

409 Mi-bskyod-'od is not among the names of the Twelfth Karma-pa or the Eighth Zhwa-dmar-pa. However, from the mention of the crown it becomes clear that it must refer to either one.

410 *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 129-130 (ff. 65a.6-65b.1), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* (*Green Book*): 53. As this passage is part of the verse autobiography, the first person was used in the translation.

411 TBRC: P2928.

412 It is noteworthy that this is the same name that, according to Si-tu (see footnote 408), the Twelfth Karma-pa or the Eighth Zhwa-dmar gave him.

413 This refers to the last year mentioned before the paragraph about Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, i.e. 1746.

414 Tibetan: *yi dam*. See BUSWELL/LOPEZ 2014 (*q.v. yi dam*).

415 See outline of TBRC: W23651, vol. 1: 327-430, also for the individual deity subjects.

416 Ri-mgul sPrul-sku's explanation of *bam bskyed ma* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013). I suspect that *bam* refers to a seed syllable, but so far I have not found any evidence.

417 Tibetan: *jo lugs*; see RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. jo bo lugs*).

418 TBRC: T1391.

Vajravārāhī [together]⁴¹⁹; the empowerments of the treasure teachings by Yongs-dge-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje – rDo-rje-gro-lod⁴²⁰ and *The Longevity Practice “Union of Skillful Means and Insight”* (*Tshe sgub thabs shes kha sbyor*)⁴²¹ and the *Guru practice of the Second Karma-pa incarnation [Received in a] Vision* (*Karma pa sku phreng gnyis pa'i bla sgrub zhal gzigs ma*)⁴²²; the reading transmission of rNgog's⁴²³ commentary on the two sections [of the Hevajra Root Tantra] “*The Ornament-Like Jewel*” (*Rin chen rgyan 'dra*)⁴²⁴; the great Kālacakra empowerment according to the textbook of the Fourth Zhwa-dmar sPyan-sngachos-kyi-grags-pa⁴²⁵, the reading transmission for Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa's⁴²⁶ chronicle⁴²⁷ and the great empowerment of the protector Ber[-nag-can] based on the textbook by the Sixth Karma-pa mThong-ba-don-ldan⁴²⁸. At that time, he was given the secret name “Demon-taming *vajra* king.” He received the permission [empowerment] of the five mandalas of the protector Ber[-nag-can] based on the textbook of the Sixth Zhwa-dmar Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug⁴²⁹, the introductory ritual⁴³⁰ to the empowerment of Tshe-ring-ma according to the textbook of Karma-chags-med⁴³¹ and the reading transmissions for Atiśa's⁴³² *One Hundred Small Teachings* (*Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa*)⁴³³, the *bKa' gdams Scriptures* (*bKa' gdams glegs bam*)⁴³⁴ and so on. In the eighth month of that year, he started hearing the reading transmission for the precious *bKa' 'gyur*⁴³⁵ of the Victorious One.

419 TBRC: T1394. Even though grammatically the empowerment is not necessarily by 'Ja'-mtshon-snying-po, it is highly probable, as throughout this entire section the sources for the respective transmissions are given.

420 TBRC: W23997.

421 TBRC: W1KG12794.

422 See outline of *Rin chen gter mdzod*, TBRC: W1KG14, vol. 11, scan page 847-858.

423 TBRC: P5820.

424 TBRC: W19472.

425 Text not identified. There are a few texts referring to Kālacakra in the third volume of the Fourth Zhwa-dmar's collected works (TBRC: W1KG4876), but none of them is an empowerment.

426 TBRC: P5340.

427 This refers to the life story of Padmasambhava. TBRC: W27933.

428 This may refer to a text edited by mThong-ba-don-ldan, TBRC: W1KG4478.

429 TBRC: P1432. Text could not be identified.

430 My translation is based on RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. rig gtad*). However, mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013) explained it as “the five Tshe-ring-mas as consorts,” and mKhan-po Tshe-ring-bsam-grub (personal communication, Vienna, 09/01/2013) said it means “a group of texts about Tshe-ring-ma.”

431 TBRC: P649. The text is probably *Jo mo bkra shis tshe ring ma'i sgo nas 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i rjes gnam*. See outline of TBRC: W1KG8321, vol. 31: 17-64.

432 TBRC: P3379.

433 TBRC: W2CZ6751.

434 TBRC: W1KG4473.

435 For example TBRC: W22703.

In the first, the fire rabbit year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1747], the omniscient Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas went to Lha-sa on several occasions. As he applied a method so that for all those having a connection, a satisfactory result concerning the supreme [Zhwa-dmar] reincarnation came [about], a settled decision appeared, and a group of representatives of bKra-shis-rtse even called on the place of the supreme Victorious Lord. Under the circumstances[, namely] that approximately at that time Lord bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas had died, they connected it with an offering ceremony⁴³⁶ [on his behalf]. In the eighth month of that year, the supreme Tenth Zhwa-dmar incarnation came from bKra-shis-rtse to the seat mTshur-phu. At that time [Karma-pa] went to welcome him, and at a place called dKar-leb⁴³⁷, father and son had their first meeting. In connection with that, the mTshur-phu encampment and other households and groups offered a long life ceremony. At that very place, he cut⁴³⁸ the hair⁴³⁹ of the supreme incarnation and gave him⁴⁴⁰ the pre-novice vows⁴⁴¹. Slowly, father and son, the two of them accompanied by the omniscient Si-tu, traveled to the seat mTshur-phu and prepared⁴⁴² the installation of the supreme incarnation on the dharma throne. The great Kaḥ-thog-pa also came to the seat and offered presents on the occasion of the installation to the supreme Zhwa-dmar incarnation, and both father and son received the great empowerment of the long-life practice *Vajra Knot (rDo rje rgya mdud)*⁴⁴³, a supplementary practice to the treasure teachings of [*The Heart Essence of the Ḍākinīs of Clear Space (Klong gsal [mkha' 'gro snying thig]*)⁴⁴⁴. At that time, the sixth incarnation of the omniscient 'Brug[-chen], bKa'-brgyud-phrin-las-shing-rta⁴⁴⁵, also came to the seat and offered enthronement gifts. When master and disciple received the [bDe-mchog-]mKha'-'gro-rgya-mtsho⁴⁴⁶

436 The Tibetan term used here, *bsngo rten*, is defined as *gshin po'i ched du bsngo smon zhu rgyu'i 'bul rten/ (Tshig mdzod chen mo, q.v. bsngo rten)*.

437 TBRC: G1214.

438 Literally: “took.”

439 This refers to Buddhist refuge.

440 Literally: “made him get.”

441 Tibetan: *bar ma rab byung*. An intermediate level of vows between the layperson's and the novice's vows. See *Tshig mdzod chen mo (q.v. bar ma rab byung)*.

442 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013): *bdag rkyen mdzad* – to bring together whatever is needed, e.g. all kinds of offering substances, ceremonial scarves and so forth.

443 See outline of *Rin chen gter mdzod*, TBRC: W1KG14, vol. 20, scan page 501-560.

444 TBRC: W9201.

445 This is obviously a mistake. Neither the name nor the life data of the Sixth 'Brug-chen (TBRC: P940) fit. It must be the Seventh (TBRC: P842).

empowerment, the Lord of the Victorious Ones received the secret name “*Vajra Ocean*.” At the beginning of the dharma connection, the Lord of the Victorious Ones gave the reading transmission for the *Wishing Prayer for Good Conduct* (*bZang spyod smon lam*)⁴⁴⁷ to the supreme Zhwa-dmar incarnation. The supreme [Zhwa-dmar] incarnation received the great empowerment of the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara together with 'Brug-chen [Rin-po-che]. Again, from Si-tu [Rin-po-che] they received the empowerment for *The One Hundred [Sādhana]s*, *Source of Jewels* (*Rin 'byung brgya rtsa*)⁴⁴⁸, both *The Explanations on How Tārā Came About* (*sGrol ma 'byung ba'i khrid*)⁴⁴⁹ and the *Tantra on how Tārā Came About* (*sGrol ma 'byung ba'i rgyud*)⁴⁵⁰, and the reading transmissions for other *sādhana*s [and] mandalas.

In the earth dragon year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1748], they went to Zhwa-dmar-pa's seat Yangs-pa-can, and together father and son performed activities in harmony with the teaching according to circumstances, and also a long-life ritual for the omniscient Si-tu Rin-po-che.

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In the earth snake year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1749], he heard explanations on the *Hevajra Tantra*⁴⁵¹ from the omniscient Si-tu. As the first dharma connection⁴⁵², the Lord of the Victorious Ones bestowed the permission [empowerment] for White Tārā⁴⁵³ to the omniscient Si-tu.

In the iron sheep year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1751], he heard instructions on the six branches of yoga⁴⁵⁴ and on the gradual path to enlightenment⁴⁵⁵ from Kaḥ-thog-rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, who had come from Lha-sa to mTshurphu. On the fifteenth day of the second month of that year, he took the

446 TBRC: T1067.

447 See for example the outline of TBRC: W1KG4532, vol. 1: 199-212.

448 This is an alternative title for Tāranātha's *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*, see bibliographic data in TBRC: W12422.

449 Text not identified.

450 See for example the outline of TBRC: W1PD96682, vol. 94: 517-572, and RKTS: rKTs-k720.

451 Literally: “the King of Tantras, the Two-sectioned One.” See TBRC: W1KG12678.

452 The phrase refers to the first connection in this direction, i.e. for the first time the Karma-pa is giving transmissions to Si-tu, not the other way round. This was confirmed by mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 06/21/2013).

453 TBRC: T00AG0338.

454 TBRC: T2552.

455 These two phrases – *sbyor ba yan lag drug* and *byang chub lam rim* – could refer to a multitude of texts, and it is impossible to determine which particular one is meant. I translated them as general statements on the topics that were taught.

bodhisattva vow from that master in the presence of the Great Deity, the unique ornament of the world. In this year, the supreme Lord of the Victorious Ones came to meet the Dalai Lama in Lha-sa. About [this,] it is clarified in the *Ocean of Marvelous Faith* (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*):

When the glorious Karma-pa resided in Lha-sa for more than a month, everybody, [whether] high [or] low, [had] great respect, and it is said that on the occasion of the audience with the Dalai Lama⁴⁵⁶ on the 24th day of the fourth month [according to] the governmental calendar⁴⁵⁷, [the Dalai Lama] was seen standing up. All kinds of gifts and so forth, each very much of higher quality than before, also appeared by means of the auspicious coincidence.⁴⁵⁸

In this year, when the Seventh Dalai Lama sKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho took responsibility for the governance for the first time, I think [the Karma-pa] came to offer installation gifts. From then up to the water horse year [i.e. 1762], I do not see a clear sequence of events.

p. 17 In the water horse year of the thirteenth cycle, the omniscient Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas set foot on the seat mTshur-phu. Every day and night, the supreme Lord of the Victorious Ones permanently [and] devotedly applied himself to the listening to, reflecting on and meditating on the ocean of the sutra and tantra teachings. Likewise, during this meeting of father and son, [as] it is said in the *Stainless Crystal Mirror* (*Dri bral shel gyi me long*),

The Karma-pa offered [his] realization of Madhyamaka [to me].⁴⁵⁹
and

... a beneficial dharma conversation about that arose.⁴⁶⁰

Again, from the omniscient Si-tu he heard the reading transmission of the *bKa'* 'gyur together with the supreme Zhwa-dmar incarnation. At the dance of the great protector practice⁴⁶¹ at the end of the year, both the supreme Lord of the

456 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013) also did not rule out the possibility that the term *gong zhabs* has the more general meaning “the high ones.”

457 A few lines above the passage quoted here (*Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 241-242 (f. 121a.6-121b.1), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* (*Green Book*): 107), Tshe-dbang-nor-bu uses the terms *mtshur lugs* and *gzhung lugs* in connection with a date: *mtshur lugs kyi sa ga dang / gzhung lugs kyi nag pa'i tshes* From this we can conclude that *gzhung lugs* is a synonym for *phugs lugs*. For an explanation of these terms, see SCHUH 1973: 156.

458 *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho*: 243 (f. 122a.3-4), *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho* (*Green Book*): 107.

459 *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: 445 (f. 223a.2). Offering one's realization to one's teacher often takes place in the form of singing a *vajra* song about one's experiences (mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol, personal communication, Vienna, 05/13/2013).

460 *Dri bral shel gyi me long*: 445 (f. 223a.2).

Victorious Ones and the omniscient Si-tu came to enjoy the dance. Together with Si-tu Rin-po-che, he made a charcoal drawing⁴⁶² for a scroll painting of the twelve deeds of the Buddha⁴⁶³, and painted it.⁴⁶⁴ He also eliminated doubts about the six branches of yoga.

On the fourteenth day of the fourth month of the water sheep year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1763], in the presence of the Great Deity, the unique ornament of the world, he took full ordination⁴⁶⁵ from Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-snang-ba as the preceptor and the instructor in combination, [and] the supreme Zhwa-dmar incarnation dKon-mchog-chos-kyi-nyi-ma or Mi-pham-chos-grub-rgya-mtsho as the interviewer⁴⁶⁶, amidst a devoted monastic community. Before long, father and son, accompanied by the omniscient Si-tu, went to the seat
p. 18 Yangs-pa-can. The Lord of the Victorious Ones stayed in retreat for a short while. Later, he received the great empowerment of Ye-shes-rab-'bar⁴⁶⁷ and other great empowerments, such as sTag-sham[Nus-ldan-rdo-rje]'s⁴⁶⁸ *Embodiment of Realization of the Three Root Meditation Deities* (*rTsa gsum yi dam dgongs 'dus*)⁴⁶⁹, sGyu-'phrul-zhi-khro⁴⁷⁰, Kālacakra⁴⁷¹, and the 62 deities of Cakrasaṃvara⁴⁷², and returned to the seat mTshur-phu. He had [now] reached the age of thirty-nine.

In the iron rabbit year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1771], he left for A-mdo and Khams. He continuously satisfied the mindstream of the disciples on the way by means of ripening [empowerments] and liberating [instructions]. In the seventh month of that year, they fixed⁴⁷³ the encampment in the middle of a shelter[ed

461 For a description of Tibetan ritual dance (*'chams*) and its role at the end of the year, see SCHREMPF 1999: 199-201.

462 See RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. tshon med skya bris*).

463 The text speaks of ten deeds, but according to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/23/2013), this is a common way to refer to the twelve deeds.

464 See TASHI TSERING 2013: 136-137.

465 i.e. the *bhikṣhu* vows.

466 For a description of the roles of preceptor, instructor and interviewer within a Buddhist ordination ceremony, see KONGTRUL 2003: 44-46.

467 TBRC: T1371.

468 TBRC: P663.

469 See TBRC: W21974.

470 TBRC: T003JR4624.

471 TBRC: T74.

472 TBRC: T1057.

473 Literally: “brought down.”

area]. He rode out to welcome the omniscient Si-tu, and master and disciple had a delightful encounter. For the innumerable people assembled there, those from Karma-lha-steng⁴⁷⁴, those from sDe-gsar⁴⁷⁵ and so forth, he showed the precious hat that liberates by seeing⁴⁷⁶, by putting [it] on. He gave important ripening [empowerments] and liberating [instructions]. Fulfilling the wishes of many monastic communities, reincarnate lamas, monks and nuns, and laypeople on the way, he arrived at Zur-mang-rnam-rgyal-rtse⁴⁷⁷. He cut the hair of Gar-dbang-sprul-sku⁴⁷⁸, gave him a name, performed a long life ritual and enthroned him. This Gar-dbang-sprul-sku was the rebirth of the omniscient Si-tu's personal disciple Gar-dbang Chos-skyong-rnam-rgyal⁴⁷⁹. The assembly of people of the Zur-mang encampment watched the dance attentively. Having met the omniscient Si-tu's personal disciple Khams-sprul bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-nyi-ma⁴⁸⁰ at his place, he gave a long life empowerment. Moreover, he fulfilled the wishes of all the

p. 19 ordained and laypeople gathered there, and left. At all times, he applied himself to the three [activities of] listening, reflecting and meditating, such as eliminating doubts about *mahāmudrā* for the omniscient Si-tu Rin-po-che even from horseback.

While he was permanently turning the wheel of dharma for the faithful ones assembled in monasteries and the like, he arrived at the capital of Lha-thog⁴⁸¹. He gave a long life empowerment to the family⁴⁸² of Lha-thog and fulfilled the wishes of everybody of that area, high [or] low. He passed through gTer-ston-sgar⁴⁸³ and other [places]. To those assembled at sPom-brag-pa's seat⁴⁸⁴ he gave

474 TBRC: G4812. According to TASHI TSERING 2013: 139, this monastery is part of Karma-dgon, so it is probably situated nearby.

475 Place not identified.

476 This refers to the Black Crown Ceremony.

477 TBRC: G2652. See TIBETMAP sheet 3296, about 35 km east of Sharda.

478 According to the life stories of the Gar-dbang incarnations on ZURMANG KAGYUD, the Eighth Gar-dbang, the one mentioned here, was part of the search party for the Twelfth Karma-pa. This is almost impossible – it would mean he already was more than sixty years old when he took refuge with the Thirteenth.

479 The Seventh Gar-dbang, see ZURMANG KAGYUD.

480 TBRC: P313.

481 TBRC: G682. See TIBETMAP sheet 3197, spelling: Lhato.

482 Literally: “mother and sons.” According to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/23/2013), this could refer to an important family of the place, whose father has already passed away.

483 This is probably the place on TIBETMAP sheet 3198, left margin close to the top. It is also mentioned in BARRON 2003: 32.

484 TBRC: G4813. Even though this place is mentioned in ROERICH 1979: 484, and was known under

reading transmissions for *mahāmudrā*.

He was showing the [Black] Crown, [giving] empowerments, reading transmissions and explanations, [the practice of] the transference of consciousness⁴⁸⁵, the dedication prayer and so forth to those on the way. In brief: he was impartially fulfilling the wishes of each of the countless high and low ones, ordained and laypeople.

In the eighth month of that year, together with a magnificent welcome, [i.e.] a procession, music from the roof and so forth, he set foot on dPal-spungs-thub-bstan-chos-'khor-gling. In the assembly hall, he put [his] lotus feet on a dharma throne of elevated height, and together with a mandala made by the omniscient Si-tu's own hand, the assembly of practitioners offered auspicious wishes and a long life ceremony. Every day, he met the innumerable beings gathered and present at this seat in an audience and fulfilled their wishes.

Once during that time he offered the [Amitāyus] long life empowerment according to Mandāravā's system⁴⁸⁶ to the omniscient Si-tu Rin-po-che. From him, he received the reading transmission for the Third Karma-pa's collected p. 20 works⁴⁸⁷, the initiation of White Cakrasaṃvara of long life⁴⁸⁸, and the reading transmission for the *gCod Collection* (*gCod tshogs*)⁴⁸⁹.

In the water dragon year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1772], as he was invited by the kingdom of sDe-dge, he went [there] and gave the long life empowerments of White Tārā [and] Mandāravā, the Vajravārāhī empowerment and others to the successors of the dharma king bsTan-pa-tshe-ring in person. According to circumstances, he bestowed a sequence of empowerments and instructions to fulfill the wishes of each of the administrators, the servants, the lamas and monks, and the subjects. Then he went to the seat dPal-spungs again.

that name as late as 1877 (see BARRON 2003: 183-184), it could not be located on any map. From the travel route, we can deduce that it must be situated on the way between gTer-ston-sgar and dPal-spungs.

485 Tibetan: *'pho ba*.

486 TBRC: T832 or T833. From this, I deduced that the empowerment in question is on Amitāyus.

487 TBRC: W30541.

488 TBRC: T577.

489 There are several texts this could refer to, but as the *gcod* transmission originates from Ma-gcig-lab-sgron (TBRC: P3312), the transmission is probably for her *gCod tshogs yon tan kun 'byung*, see TBRC: W1KG3410.

On that occasion, he received from Si-tu the root texts of *mahāmudrā* and the Six Doctrines⁴⁹⁰. He gave the empowerment of the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara to the community of dPal-spungs. From Si-tu, he received, among others, the empowerment[s] of the *Guhyasamāja Long Life Sādhana*s (*Tshe-sgrub-gsang-ba-'dus-pa*) [treasure cycle]⁴⁹¹, the empowerment of the mandala of Vajravārāhī and an elimination of doubts about the Mantrayāna path. He reflected [on this] uninterruptedly. He gave the permission [empowerment] of Vajrapāṇi⁴⁹² to Kaḥ-thog dGe-rtse-sprul-sku⁴⁹³, rMog[-rtsa]-sprul-sku⁴⁹⁴ and others. At that time, within a very short time⁴⁹⁵ he satisfied the several kinds of disciples assembled at that place through ripening [empowerments] and liberating [instructions]. Not long after he had set foot on dPal-spungs, in the great assembly hall, the honorable omniscient Si-tu made a highly virtuous auspicious connection to the Lord of the Victorious Ones, [consisting] of gifts, the first of which was the mandala [of] the three supports⁴⁹⁶, a long-life ritual and auspicious wishes. The

p. 21 Lord of the Victorious Ones also offered a long-life ritual, together with magnificent material gifts, to the omniscient Si-tu Rin-po-che.

In the sixth month of that year, he left for dBus. The honorable omniscient Si-tu also came to escort [him] on horseback. He passed through dPal-'byor-dgon⁴⁹⁷, sPom-brag, Khro-ru⁴⁹⁸, 'Dzi-dgon⁴⁹⁹, mDzo-rdzi⁵⁰⁰ and other monasteries. He arrived at Karma-dgon, within the so-called upper, middle and lower seats of the glorious Karma-pas “the earthly abode⁵⁰¹, the place of the speech.”⁵⁰² In the

490 It cannot be determined to which texts this refers.

491 TBRC: T557.

492 TBRC: T390.

493 TBRC: P2943.

494 TBRC: P5980.

495 according to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/23/2013). Literally: “during the entering of lightning into an earthenware pot.”

496 i.e. a Buddha statue, a text and a stupa See JAESCHKE 1881 (*q.v. rten*).

497 TBRC: G1691. This could be identical with Benjor Gon, a place about 15 km west of dPal-spungs, on TIBETMAP sheet 3198.

498 TBRC: G1352. See map in GYURME DORJE 2009: 568. However, according to TIBETMAP sheet 3198, Troru Gon is located next to Jomda. Either way, the travel route makes sense.

499 Most probably a short form of 'Dzi-sgar-dgon. TBRC: G185. See map in GYURME DORJE 2009: 568, and TIBETMAP sheet 3197, right margin middle.

500 TBRC: G38. See TIBETMAP sheet 3197, about 55 km west of Dzigar.

501 For an explanation of the term *sa spyod*, see RY WIKI (*q.v. Eight Earthly Abodes*).

502 See RY WIKI (*q.v. lho karma dgon*): “[The Karmapa consecrated his three main seats in Tibet by giving them the names of the three mandalas of enlightened form, enlightened speech and enlightened mind of Cakrasaṃvara [bde mchog]. He named mtshur phu dgon pa: [‘og min mkha’

presence of the one seated on the dharma throne, the assembled practitioners offered a mandala and a long-life ritual. For the Zur-mang Gar-dbang, the holder of the teaching Sangs-rgyas-mnyan[-pa]⁵⁰³, Khra-legs⁵⁰⁴ and Ras-chung⁵⁰⁵ and other high incarnations, the lamas of this seat, the assembly of gathered masters, and the very large crowd of people assembled from [all] directions, he turned whatever dharma wheel [was suitable].⁵⁰⁶ They came to Karma-lha-steng. Again, the honorable omniscient Si-tu offered gifts and a long life ceremony, and the supreme Lord of the Victorious Ones also gave auspicious substances. Father and son, having the situation of being unable to bear separation, each went their own way.⁵⁰⁷

p. 22 Before long, the teacher – the Lord of the Victorious Ones – and his retinue, while on the way fulfilling the wishes of innumerable beings, set foot on Akaniṣṭha, the seat mTshur-phu. From here onwards, I could not find a clearly-formulated life story that has an enumeration of years.

About [his] going to meet both the omniscient Dalai Lama⁵⁰⁸ and the regent No-mi[n]-han⁵⁰⁹ in Lha-sa in the earth pig year of the thirteenth cycle [i.e. 1779], it is written in the *Collected Works*:

In the earth pig year, I went to the unique splendor of the teachings and the beings of the Land of Snows, the victorious omniscient and all-seeing great one, the refuge and protector, the throne holder No-min-han Rin-po-che, for an audience. At that time, on the way in Khri-zam⁵¹⁰ in sTod-lung, I encountered the oracle of dGa'-gdong⁵¹¹ going to sKyor-mo-lung⁵¹² for rain-

spyod thugs kyi gden sa] which is the name of the enlightened mind mandala of Cakrasamvara, Karma dgon* was named ['og min sa spyod gsung gi gden sa] which is the name of the speech mandala of Cakrasamvara and Kam po gnas nang was named ['og min sa la sku yi gden sa] which is the name of the enlightened form mandala of Cakrasamvara]] (Excerpt from rnam thar of the 5 th Karmapa De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415)).

503 Tibetan: *bstan 'dzin sangs rgyas mnyan*. As I have not come across any Sangs-rgyas-mnyan-pa who have bsTan-'dzin as a part of his name, I chose this translation. Taking into account the few life data for the Sangs-rgyas-mnyan-pa incarnation lineage that we have in TBRC and combining them with an average human lifespan, this could be the Fourth to Seventh (TBRC: P10575 to P10578).

504 As the second incarnation (TBRC: P2479) died in 1708, the sixth (TBRC: P2458) was born in the 19th century, and there is mention of another rebirth later in the text, this could theoretically be the Third (TBRC: P2480) or Fourth Khra-legs (TBRC: P2481).

505 TBRC: P1421. There is also mention of a Ras-chung-sprul-sku Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho in one of the texts in the *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 30-35 (section kha, ff. 15b.1-18a.4).

506 i.e. he gave a variety of teachings.

507 It seems that this was their last meeting. Si-tu passed away two years later, and there is no further mention of him in the text.

508 This refers to the Eighth Dalai Lama.

509 TBRC: P332.

510 See TIBETMAP sheet 2990, right margin middle (spelling: Trizam).

making prayers. The dharma master [who was] the medium⁵¹³ was gentle-minded and so forth, unlike others. Even the novices and young monks carrying the substances for the cleansing ritual had a peaceful and gentle disposition, and some elderly ones were playing various kinds of games and creating considerable turmoil – it was like that...⁵¹⁴,

and so forth, [in this way] many wondrous verses⁵¹⁵ are told.

p. 23 In that year, the Dalai Lama 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho reached the age of twenty-two. While he completed his education⁵¹⁶, as the regent 'Jam-dpal-bde-legs-rgya-mtsho⁵¹⁷ had passed away two years before, the retired abbot of rGyud-stod⁵¹⁸, Ngag-dbang-tshul-khrims, was installed as the regent, along with the title No-mi[n]-han. [The Karma-pa] stayed at Tshe-smon-gling⁵¹⁹. Therefore he either [first] went to the enthronement of the one counted as the first regent⁵²⁰ of Tshe-smon-gling, or it is also possible that he went to the place of the supreme Dalai Lama for an informal audience.

About the widely known story that he came to Lha-sa in order to repel the destruction by the *nāgas*, it is written in the *Collected Works*:

At the time of [sun]rise in the monkey year of the Indian system⁵²¹, on a good day of the eighth month, I went from mTshur[-phu]. [It was] a two-day journey. I arrived at Lha-sa together with a welcome delegation on horseback from the great capital. In the early morning, [at] the auspicious constellation of planets and stars, I met the mandala of major and minor marks which is the all-knowing and seeing 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho, who is the body of the inexhaustible limitless qualities of all the Buddhas of the three times and ten directions, the head ornament of samsara and nirvana, the glory of the teachings and the beings of the Land of Snows; and I heard his voice. Therefore, amazement and faith emerged, just like [when] obtaining the path of seeing. In addition to that, in the presence of Śākyamuni, the object of offerings for all beings, preceded by the seven-branch [wishing prayer], [I performed] a general averting of the *nāgas*, together with good wishes for virtue. I gave rise to the genuine *bodhicitta* of aspiration and

511 See POWERS/TEMPLEMAN 2012 (*q.v. dga' gdong chos skyong*), and TBRC: T1GS108651. For dGa'-gdong monastery, see TIBETMAP sheet 2990, right margin middle.

512 See TIBETMAP sheet 2990, right margin middle, and DOWMAN 1988: 124, 133.

513 This translation is based on an emendation *sku brten* → *sku rten* and GOLDSTEIN 2001 (*q.v. sku rten*).

514 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 130-131 (ff. 65b.3-66a.1).

515 The quoted passage is prose. However, right after the text continues in verse.

516 Literally: “listening and reflecting.”

517 TBRC: P1788.

518 TBRC: G236. See GYURME DORJE 2009: 103-104.

519 TBRC: G220. See GYURME DORJE 2009: 107.

520 This holds true for Ngag-dbang-tshul-khrims, see TBRC entry.

521 Tibetan: *stod 'grel dag las*. Literally: “from the upper commentaries.” The monkey year of the Indian sixty-year cycle corresponds to the fire sheep year, see SCHUH 1973: 217-219. So far, I have found no proof that this is called *stod 'grel*.

application, and firmly held on to it. For the gathering of beings who had become disciples, I placed them in ripening and liberation by means of the generosity of the authentic teachings.⁵²²

Thus it is clarified. Accordingly, having reached the age of fifty-five, in the monkey year of the Indian system, [i.e.] the fire sheep year 1787, at the invitation of the Dalai Lama's government⁵²³, he set foot on the magically emanated city

p. 24 Lha-sa. He met the all-knowing and all-seeing eighth Dalai Lama incarnation, 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho, face [to face]. In accordance with the treasure prophecies, being encouraged by the words [of the Dalai Lama], in the presence of the Jo-bo Śākyamuni statue⁵²⁴, he performed a ritual for receiving [and] overcoming the *nāgas*, based on a preceding seven-branch [wishing prayer]. When destruction arose in Lha-sa from the water that touched the feet of the Jo-bo statue, the Tibetan government specifically invited the supreme Lord of the Victorious Ones. In connection with that, he made invocations and wishing prayers in front of the Jo-bo. At the place where he put his walking stick, the water sort of seeped away. Therefore it has always been told that he reverted the *nāgas*' taking [of Lha-sa]. In the treasure prophecies, it is clarified:

In the fire horse [i.e. 1786] [or] sheep [year] [i.e. 1787], the *nāgas* will take⁵²⁵ the Jo-bo of Lha-sa. Then it would even be possible to avert [it] if a subsequent birth of rGyal-dbang-mchog-dbyangs⁵²⁶, who has the name Karma[-pa], made invocations.⁵²⁷

Accordingly, at that time, the destruction through water did not really happen. However it is, it is well-known that the invitation [of the Karma-pa] was in accordance with the meaning of the prophecy; in the same way, the great Fourteenth Dalai Lama also at one point made the request to the Lord of the Victorious Ones, the supreme Sixteenth Karma-pa Rang-byung-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje,

522 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 203-204 (ff. 102a.4-102b.3).

523 Tibetan: *dga' ldan pho brang*. A name for the Tibetan government from the Fifth Dalai Lama onwards. See POWERS/TEMPLEMAN 2012 (*q.v. dga' ldan pho brang*).

524 See DOWMAN 1988: 45-46, and GYURME DORJE 2009: 91.

525 Literally: “invite”.

526 See TBRC: P2CZ7940: “a close disciple of guru Rinpoche who attained accomplishment through the practice of hayagriva and later was incarnated as the karmapas.”

527 There is a similar passage in TBRC e-text W4JW160, p. 24 bottom: */me rta lug la lha sa ni/ /chu yis 'jig ste stongs par 'gyur/ /byang chub sams dpa' karma pas/ /gsol ba btab na bzlog par 'gyur/*. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this passage in W8870, the parent work of the e-text. However, the text before and after it is there. Either the passage has made its way into the e-text by mistake, or the parent work is not really the parent work. According to *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 406 (f. 203b.6), the prophecy is from a treasure text named *sPyi lung 'od kyi drwa ba can* (according to DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 98, the spelling is *sPyi lung 'od kyi lta ba chen*), which could not be located anywhere.

that he should make wishing prayers and invocations that protect the Jo-bo from being taken by the *nāgas*. Also, while [the water] still came down, [he] offered a ceremonial scarf to the 'Phags-pa-wa-ti statue in the Po-ta-la palace,⁵²⁸ and it [i.e. the statue] really took it with its hands. About these very famous stories, it is written in the life story *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*:

When the victorious 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho invited [the Karma-pa] in order to perform a statue-blessing, cleansing ritual and wishing prayers for the Jo-bo Rin-po-che in Lha-sa, he came in person. He made genuine wishing-prayers and created auspicious conditions for the Jo-bo Rin-po-che to always remain in this world. When he offered a silken ceremonial scarf⁵²⁹ to 'Phags-pa-wa-ti-bzang-po, there was the miracle that many servants saw that [the statue of] the Noble One itself took the scarf with its hands.⁵³⁰

Also, it is clarified in Si-tu Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po's life story and invocation of the master himself[, *The Invocation of the Supreme Conqueror Holding the Lotus, bDud-tshogs-'dul-ba'i-rdo-rje, the Great Vajradhara*⁵³¹ (*rGyal mchog phyag na padmo bdud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*)]:

In the presence of both the wishfulfilling Jo[-bo] and the supreme Śāk[yamuni],⁵³² he averted the *nāgas* and [made] wishing-prayers [having] the power of truth, and spread out clouds of offerings to 'Phags-pa-wa-ti. He bowed down to him who miraculously directly took the scarf.⁵³³

The Eighth Dalai Lama 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho was born in 1758, the earth tiger year of the thirteenth cycle. In the year when the Lord of the Victorious Ones, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, came to Lha-sa in order to offer a blessing to the Jo-bo, he had reached the age of thirty. Also, it is clarified in the *Collected Works*:

p. 26 When the male fire horse year, 1786,⁵³⁴ dawned, I gave names to the supreme dPa'-bo incarnation⁵³⁵ and the Khra-leb⁵³⁶ incarnation, together with auspicious signs: protective amulets [made] of *vajra* knots, sacred

528 The statue in the Po-ta-la is named 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara or Jo-bo Lokeśvara (see DOWMAN 1988: 56, GYURME DORJE 2009: 115). However, at that time its “brother” 'Phags-pa-wa-ti-bzang-po had been brought to Lha-sa from sKyid-grong, as there was the danger of a Gorkha invasion in that area. See EHRHARD 2004: 271-273.

529 Literally: “silk which was a ceremonial scarf.”

530 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 9 (f. 5a.2-4).

531 This translation is based on reduplicating *rdo rje*, i.e. seeing it as a part of both *bdud tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje* and *rdo rje 'chang*.

532 As there must be mention of two (*gnyis*) statues, it seems that *jo* refers to Jo-bo Lokeśvara and *shak* refers to Jo-bo Śākya-muni. Alternative version: one could emendate *gnyis* → *nyid* and translate “In the presence of the wishfulfilling supreme Jo-bo Śākya-muni.”

533 *bDud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*: 306 (f. 7b.3-4).

534 From here onwards, within quotations, the Western years are supplemented in the text.

535 This refers to the Eighth dPa'-bo, gTsug-lag-chos-kyi-rgyal-po (TBRC: P1420).

536 This is a spelling variant that is also being used by TBRC for the Khra-legs incarnations. As explained in footnote 504, this can refer to the Fourth (TBRC: P2481) or Fifth (TBRC: P2482).

substances, and excellent ceremonial scarves. Miraculous light appeared and spread out in the direction of A-mdo.⁵³⁷

The story of how he recognized the dPa'-bo and Khra-legs incarnations before he went to Lha-sa in the fire horse year of the thirteenth cycle, and gave them names and protection⁵³⁸ [is as follows]: as the seventh dPa'-bo incarnation, gTsug-lag-dga'-ba, lived during the lifetime of the omniscient Si-tu, I think that the one who was given a name was the rebirth of that master, the eighth incarnation gTsug-lag-chos-rgyal. In the same way, the Khra-legs incarnation is also the rebirth of that personal disciple [of the same title] of the omniscient Si-tu.

Also, some miscellaneous activities of which the Lord of the Victorious Ones usually made a record, are [written down] in the *Collected Works* like this:

In the wood tiger year, 1794, on a series of auspicious days in the sixth month, while [giving] Mitrayogin's one hundred empowerments to the supreme reincarnations ...⁵³⁹

and also:

p. 27 On the tenth day of the waxing moon in the ninth month of the wood tiger [year], [I gave] the series of empowerments of the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara to the masters of scripture, realization and various qualities, the lama of Klu-dga'-rwa-ba⁵⁴⁰ [in] Bhutan, Chos-nyid-sprul-sku⁵⁴¹ and so forth; and for the supreme Padma'i-thug-sras-sprul-sku⁵⁴² arriving on the twenty-ninth day of that very month, on the second day of the tenth month, the permission [empowerment] for the twenty-one Tārās⁵⁴³ and the [bodhisattva] vows of aspiration and application together with an auspicious series of supportive teachings. Therefore, auspicious circumstances happened naturally, which was excellent. On the eleventh⁵⁴⁴ day of that month, out of great devotion toward me, the magical manifestation of a bodhisattva, rGya-ston-sprul-sku⁵⁴⁵ [from] Khams, came here. On the twelfth day⁵⁴⁶, [I gave] the series of empowerments of Vajravārāhī and the

537 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 203 (f. 102a.2-4).

538 Tibetan: *dbugs dbyung*; see RY DICTIONARY and ROERICH 1983 (*q.v. dbugs dbyung*).

539 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 424 (section cha, f. 47b.1-2).

540 There is mention of a monastery named Klu-dga'-ra-ba in Bhutan in ARDUSSI 2004: 9, endnote 5.

541 TBRC has a series of Chos-nyid-rgya-mtsho incarnations, three of which (P6054, P5982, P6053) are born in the eighteenth century. The person mentioned here may be one of them.

542 TBRC: P2694.

543 TBRC: T744.

544 See JAESCHKE 1881 (*q.v. bde 'byung*) and PETRI 1966: 504. From here onwards up to the end of the quotation, symbolic numerals are used. They are translated by the numbers they stand for. These numbers are glossed in the text; they are not part of the original quote. In this particular case, “25” is glossed, which is doubtful. I have found no evidence that *bde 'byung* could also mean 25. The author or scribe might have mixed up the waxing and the waning moon (see SCHUH 1973: 221). Moreover, as the following sentence is about the 12th, it makes sense that the 11th should be treated before.

545 rGya-ston is a monastery in Khams, see TBRC: G3210. There are several persons in TBRC with rGya-ston as part of their name, but either their life data do not fit or they have none.

546 So far, I have not come across any evidence that *nyin byed* could mean 12. However, PETRI 1966:

four-armed protector⁵⁴⁷, as well as useful dharma explanations and so forth. It looks like a time of the fortunate eon. On the tenth⁵⁴⁸ day, I performed the reading transmission for Tārā bKra-shis-don-'grub-ma⁵⁴⁹ and others for the sGi-sna⁵⁵⁰ lamas of Tsha-ba-sgang⁵⁵¹. On the 28th day⁵⁵², from rGyal-sras Rin-po-che of La-dwags⁵⁵³, Phyag-rdor with his attendants arrived, in order to make offerings for long life here. I have become resplendent with youthfulness.⁵⁵⁴

Thus it is written. Concerning [his] being a great being of scholarship and realization, who dedicated himself to the nine ways of a noble being⁵⁵⁵, [it is written] in *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*:

p. 28 By means of the four enlightened activities, he brought everybody he met into contact with meaningful good fortune. The manifestation of his body happened as a projection of individual dispositions. Therefore, [for each individual] the details of the ways of seeing were distinct.⁵⁵⁶ He possessed the *vajra* speech, in an unsurpassable hidden way, which by one word differentiated various meanings. Some beings with a negative mindstream [whose] mind was agitated by anger, [and whose] eyes were blind for what has to be adopted and what has to be given up, made offerings adding poisoned food. Still, he was unharmed by the poison. In brief, even though he attained mastery of outstanding supreme qualities, he dwelt exclusively in a manner of secrecy, not telling [it] to anybody. Here, only a few that appear in the *Collected Works* are written down. Other than that, however, if even the servants, who were close [to him] like eye and eyelashes, were determined not to talk, what could somebody like me, who has not sought

505 gives *nyi ma*, a synonym for *nyin byed*, as the symbolic numeral for 12.

547 This could refer to a variety of deities. From among the eleven *mgon po phyag bzhi* topics TBRC has, the most probable one is T2172. NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ (1975: 46-47) also describes several four-armed forms.

548 Tibetan: *mkha zla*. This is a combination of the symbolic numerals for 0 and 1. In that case, the ones always precede the tens. See PETRI 1966: 501-502. As this is a lower number than the ones in the sentences above, it must refer to one of the following months.

549 TBRC: T858.

550 There is a text requested from the Fifteenth Karma-pa (TBRC: P563) by a sGis-sna-sprul-sku (see the outline of TBRC: W22081, fourth section, vol. 1, text no. 18, colophon), a reference to *sgis sna bla ma* in TBRC etext W4JW5395, and *sgis sna dgon gyi snyo ba bla ma* on RINPOCHES. From this, we can conclude that a sGis-sna monastery with a line of incarnations existed, but not who the lamas mentioned here are.

551 One of the “six ridges” (*sgang drug*), see TBRC: G851 and GRUSCHKE 2004, vol. 1: 149.

552 Tibetan: *klu lag*. This is a combination of the symbolic numerals for 8 and 2. See PETRI 1966: 502-503.

553 This must be the same person that requested the text *dGe bsnyen jag me'i mnga' gsol* from the Eighth 'Brug-chen. See the colophon and authorship note in the outline of TBRC: W10754, vol. 2: scan page 517-518. There is also mention of a rGyal-sras Rin-po-che in KARMA THINLEY 1980: 119, DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 97 and BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 430.

554 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 482-483 (section cha, ff. 76b.3-77a.3).

555 This refers to the various activities of a Buddhist practitioner. The first three – listening, contemplating and meditating – are for one's own benefit. The second group of three – speech, debate and composition – results in benefit for others. Finally, there are three activities that benefit both oneself and others: being learned, being disciplined and being compassionate. For a detailed explanation, see THRANGU 1998: 43-46.

556 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol: to some he appeared as Mañjuśrī, to some as Avalokiteśvara etc. (personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013).

out detailed familiarity, say? Also, regarding evident appearances, even at the time when biting frost occurred, he did not accept anything else than thin clothing, in order to not show that he was cold.⁵⁵⁷ He knew all the positive and negative conceptual thoughts of others' mindstreams the way they emerged, and possessed the eye that unobscuredly sees the three times in which everything comes to fruition, saying 'in the future, it will become like this'.⁵⁵⁸

It is also said:

As for [his] teaching the dharma also to beings who have become birds, game or other animals, in their own language, and [his] connecting them with the happiness of liberation, it is unimaginable.⁵⁵⁹

With respect to [his] teaching the dharma to birds, rodents and other animals and [his] setting them out on the path of maturation and liberation, these, who are renowned to be special in the life story of the Lord of the Victorious Ones, are explained in a detailed way in the *Collected Works*, and on the one hand, teaching the dharma in its literal meaning⁵⁶⁰ to animals is doubtful. Still, I see the writings in the style of religious parables only as an advice that is sort of extracting the quintessence of the countless doors of dharma of the three baskets.⁵⁶¹

In the life story *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*, his ways of erecting representations and making offerings are briefly described, for example:

p. 29 Because he was the nature of the Three Jewels condensed, an object of prostrations for all beings, a support for offerings, he had no attachment⁵⁶², but said not to waste offerings given by the faithful. At mThong-grol-lha-khang⁵⁶³, he erected eight stupas of gold and silver, calculated at the value of about 3000 silver *srang*^{564 565}.

557 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 06/14/2013) explained that this serves as an example for his humility.

558 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 8-9 (ff. 4b.3-5a.1).

559 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 9 (f. 5a.4).

560 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *sgra rang mtshan par* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013)

561 According to mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol (personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013): a praise of one's own guru is the pith instruction that is mentioned here.

562 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *gzhan du mi migs* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013).

563 A search for mThong-grol-lha-khang in TBRC resulted in three hits – the texts were associated with Khra-'brug and sDe-dge. However, as there is mention of a reconstruction of mThong-grol-lha-khang, of which the Karma-pa is in charge, later in the text, it becomes evident that the temple meant here must be part of mTshur-phu. As the Black crown is referred to as *dbu zhwa mthong grol*, it might refer to the place where it is stored.

564 The term *srang* can either refer to a measure unit or to a currency. In this case, it is the latter. See DUFF 2009 (*q.v. srang*).

565 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 9 (f. 5a.5-6).

According to the *Collected Works*,

In the male wood tiger year, in front of the Jo-bo Rin-po-che⁵⁶⁶, the image of the only refuge of the beings of the three realms, the Bhagavān Tathāgata ... I offered seven offering bowls made of five hundred *zho*⁵⁶⁷ of gold ...^{568 569}

and also:

Distractions, such as [that] we, the administrator of the monastery, [have to] agree with the patrons, are condensing like ripples on water. The majority of those possessing the ways of having entered the dharma have long ago abandoned the three vows. The white conch shell of those having jaundice, [which is] appearances of impure personal motivations increasing greatly, appears as golden-colored⁵⁷⁰. In the state of being devoid of whatever essence, like a banana tree, one gets lazy about accomplishing the authentic dharma and under the power of obstacles. Even at this time of mature age, at this time of being sad about the degree of confidence in the view, at the time of offering silver offering bowls and an alms bowl in front of the Great Deity, the ornament of the world, made by the *mahāsiddha* Karma Pakshi out of magical power ...⁵⁷¹

and so forth, [thus] it is written. About this, it is said in *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith (Dad pa'i zla shel)*:

p. 30 To the Great Deity, the ornament of the world, a mandala of seven offering bowls made of 250 silver *srang*, and a begging bowl also made of 250 silver *srang* ...⁵⁷²

Also, he clearly taught the accounts of the eight kinds of stupas in the *Collected Works*, such as:

The widely-known so-called eight great stupas of the Muni, which appeared at the time when our teacher, the complete and perfect Buddha, showed the special deeds, manifested ...⁵⁷³

At the end:

In order to make good use of⁵⁷⁴ of the illusory wealth, the few real and imagined offering substances having come to me, when the mThong-grol-lha-khang was newly built, for everything, including the valuables in the

566 From a quotation further down in the text, it will become evident that this does not refer to the Jo-bo in Lha-sa, but to the Great Deity of mTshur-phu.

567 A *zho* is a tenth of the measure unit *srang*. See DUFF 2009 (*q.v. zho*).

568 The Tibetan text does not have two, but three ellipses. However, this could not be transferred into English without distorting the grammar.

569 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 337 (section cha, f. 4a.2-4).

570 The meaning can be paraphrased as follows: because of their impure motivation, they are unable to see Karma-pa the way he is (mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol, personal communication, Vienna, 06/21/2013).

571 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 340-341 (section cha, ff. 5b.4-6a.2).

572 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 9 (f. 5a.6-7).

573 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 16-17 (ff. 8b.5-9a.1).

574 mKhan-po dKon-mchog-rang-grol's explanation of *snying po len* (personal communication, Vienna, 05/29/2013).

shrine room with the statues, the jewel ornaments, and the food and wages for the builders, the total price was calculated at three thousand silver *srang*.⁵⁷⁵

As it is laid out [here], even the smallest parts of his actions were also in accordance with the teaching exclusively. In *The Moon[-Like] Crystal of Faith* (*Dad pa'i zla shel*):

p. 31 In brief, regarding the completely liberated inconceivable actions of the Lord of the Victorious Ones, how could one be able to understand the objects of experience of the Victorious Ones through ordinary actions? Still, in the common perception of everybody, they were the actions of a noble being. Even though all the important⁵⁷⁶ [people] paid respect, he did not have any arrogance at all. Being not in the least pompous, he associated with inferior beings on an equal level⁵⁷⁷. Even though he knew the various thoughts of the disciples, under the pretext of not knowing, he asked. He clearly saw all the differences between what was dharma and what was not, and straightforwardly pointed out: 'This is unmistakable.' Still, on a common level, he kept the pure view toward all people who adhered to a school of thought. While he rested in a state of equanimity, he even-mindedly rejected non-dharma. Even though he saw all phenomena as emptiness, he acted precisely with regard to dependent occurrence, the results of positive and negative actions. Even though he adhered to humility and meekness, by means of his confidence in the dharma, he overpowered outer appearances. Even while he was resting in the meditative equipoise of the inexpressible meaning, he was pleased by the wondrous stories of noble beings. He always experienced peace. By means of the *vajra*-like *samādhi*, which is endowed with the mind of loving kindness, he overpowered the hords of Māra. Nobody judged⁵⁷⁸ [his] intentions, but for everybody, they were in harmony with [their] experiences. Even though, because of the perfection of samsara and nirvana coming together without anything lacking, he had no attachment toward the sense pleasures of the desire realm, he enjoyed them in an illusion-like way, without clinging. He always abided in a way of not being shaken [up] from *mahāmudrā*. Still, he unceasingly showed the correct activity of those to be tamed. Inseparable from the meditation deity, included in the power [field] of the *ḍākinīs* and protectors, completely liberating all those meaningful[ly connected] ones he encountered – [these] are the deeds of the Buddha Karma-ka[mṭ-shang-pa] bDud-'dul-rdo-rje.⁵⁷⁹

Because 'Brug-chen Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snang-ba himself was among his main personal students, as a base for the life story of body, speech and mind, he stuck to the good points which arose from his direct impressions, and put them together at length.

p. 32 Regarding ['Brug-chen] making the precious unmistakable teaching of the

575 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 19-20 (ff. 10a.4-10b.1).

576 Literally: "big."

577 Literally: "like equality."

578 Literally: "Everybody did not judge."

579 *Dad pa'i zla shel*: 10-11 (ff. 5b.1-6a.2).

Victorious One his [own] path, his definitely being virtuous in the beginning, in the middle and in the end can be summed up in the precious enlightened attitude. He always persevered the engagement in and the disengagement from qualities to be given up and to be adopted in the mindstream. Because of that, from the bottom of his heart he did not trust the causes for being very famous in the world, such as reputation, wealth, power and so forth. Regarding [his] manifestation as a matchless being who was a fully qualified follower of the teaching: he was born in the eighteenth century, when the thirteenth Lord of the Victorious Ones had reached the age of five.

In the *Presentation of Tenets Called the Crystal Mirror of Lucid Exposition*⁵⁸⁰ (*Grub mtha'i rnam bzhag legs bshad shel gyi me long*) by Thu'u-kan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma, also known as Chos-kyi-rdo-rje⁵⁸¹, a holder of the teaching of the Ri-bo-dge-ldan-pa⁵⁸², who had the fame of being both learned and accomplished, he says:

At mTshur-phu, the Black Hat incarnation assumed the four principles of virtuous training⁵⁸³ and dwells in them.⁵⁸⁴

He saw the qualities of the noble one in the right way – even by means of this seemingly disrespectful praise,⁵⁸⁵ we are able to clearly show [this].⁵⁸⁶

In this way, [the Karma-pa] brought the actions of [his] lifetime to completion. He appointed Si-tu Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po, the first of all bearers of the lotus tongue, as his dharma regent. He reached the age of sixty-five. About his seeming to melt the mind into the *dharmadhātu*, accompanied by various miraculous signs,

p. 33

580 translated as *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems*, JACKSON 2009.

581 TBRC: P170.

582 A synonym for dGe-lugs-pa. See RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. ri bo dge ldan pa dag*).

583 See RY DICTIONARY (*q.v. dge sbyong gi chos bzhi*): “1) *gshe yang slar mi gshe bar bya* although abused, one does not return abuse. 2) *khros kyang slar mi khro bar bya* although made angry, one does not respond with anger. 3) *'tshang brus kyang slar mtshang 'bru bar bya* although censured, one does not respond with criticism. 4) *brdeg kyang slar mi brdeg par bya* although struck, one never strikes back.”

584 *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*: 136 (section *bka' brgyud*, f. 8b.3). It should be noted that the quotation is preceded by *da lta'i dus kar bstan cher nyams pas* and followed by *pa tsam lhag mar lus so*. The entire passage is translated by JACKSON 2009: 126 as “At the present time, the Karmapa teaching has greatly deteriorated, so the Black Hat trulku just lives in Tsurphu, concentrating on the four trainings of a recluse. That is all that remains.”

585 According to mKhan-po Tshe-ring-bsam-grub (personal communication, Vienna, 09/01/2013), the disrespect lies in the tone of the statement – he talks about the Karma-pa as one would about an ordinary monk.

586 It remains obscure how the author can arrive at this conclusion – he should be familiar with the phrases preceding and following the quotation (see above).

in 1797, the fire snake year of the thirteenth cycle, it is said in the life story and invocation:

On the twenty-fourth of the month of miracles in the fire snake year, he showed the appearance of his mind melting into the *dharmadhātu*. A rain of flowers fell and the music of the gods sounded out loudly. Homage to him who ripens the mindstreams of the fortunate ones and who gives blessing!⁵⁸⁷

The monastic household of mTshur-phu extensively prepared clouds of offerings for the funeral service. They made a stupa for the beings – a body stupa made of gold and silver, and with images.

As for this master's main personal students dwelling within the golden rosary of the bKa'-rgyud-pa, many appeared, such as Zhwa-dmar Chos-grub-rgya-mtsho and Si-tu Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po, and moreover the omniscient 'Brug-chen Chos-kyi-snang-ba, Lord gTsug-lag-chos-rgyal, the Tre-ho and rGyal-tshab incarnations, [and] 'Dzi-sgar rDo-rje-grags-pa⁵⁸⁸.

2.4.2.4 Comparison with Other Sources

Secondary sources frequently present alternate versions of the events related by sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal. In most cases, the same version is in several sources – it seems that they copied from one another a lot. For example, instead of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, the rGyal-tshab-pa or Si-tu is credited with the recognition of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje.⁵⁸⁹

It comes as a surprise that most secondary sources mention a particular event in the Thirteenth Karma-pa's life: the renovation of the Svayambhūnāth stupa in 1750.⁵⁹⁰ However, there is no evidence for this in the *Kam tshang gser phreng gi rnam thar kha skong*, nor in any of the other primary sources. For sure the stupa was renovated at that time.⁵⁹¹ The sources for the confusion are the respective translations of a bilingual inscription at Svayambhūnāth, which speak of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu in the Tibetan part⁵⁹² and of a “Karmāpā Lāmā,” whose activity seems to be identical to that of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, in the Newār part.⁵⁹³ Tshe-dbang-nor-bu might just be referred to as “Karmāpā

587 *bDud 'tshogs 'dul ba'i rdo rje 'chang chen por gsol 'debs*: 306-307 (ff. 7b.6-8a.1).

588 This is probably a spelling mistake or variant, and refers to the Fourth 'Dzi-sgar rDo-rje-drag-po-rtsal. See TBRC: P691.

589 KARMA THINLEY 1980: 117, DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 96, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429, MARTIN 2003: 288.

590 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 97, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429-430, KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 172.

591 RICHARDSON 1967: 8, *Ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho (Green Book)*: 113-115.

592 EHRHARD 1989: 5-7.

593 WRIGHT 1877: 229-231.

Lāmā.” Given his role as one of the main teachers of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje and the Tenth Zhwa-dmar, this would make sense.⁵⁹⁴

According to some secondary sources, on his return from Khams in 1772, the Karma-pa went into retreat for many years.⁵⁹⁵ There is no mention of this in any of the primary sources; however, it would provide a plausible explanation why so little information is available for the years after 1772.

The story about averting the flood in Lha-sa occurs in a slightly different version: As bDud-'dul-rdo-rje was unable to come personally, he sent a letter, which was subsequently placed on the water, and then made it recede.⁵⁹⁶ Again, even though there is no evidence for this in the primary sources, it would make sense that the Karma-pa did not go to Lha-sa in person if he was in the above-mentioned retreat.

The *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus* has a few additional events that are mentioned neither by sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal nor by any of the life stories he cites, such as a pilgrimage to gNyan-chen-thang-lha⁵⁹⁷ with innumerable circumambulations⁵⁹⁸ and a story about a rabbit that illustrates his alleged ability to communicate with animals⁵⁹⁹. It seems that – just like sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal – Karma-nges-don-bstan-rgyas extracted information from the *gSung 'bum*, which contains texts related to the above-mentioned events⁶⁰⁰.

'Jam-dbangs-tshul-khrims occasionally describes events from the cultural and political history of Tibet. Additional life events include a meeting with Ngor-mkhan-chen dPal-ldan-chos-skyong⁶⁰¹ at Lha-sa in 1754⁶⁰² and the Karma-pa's prediction of his rebirth in the patron Zla-nang's family.⁶⁰³

594 This suspicion was confirmed by Franz-Karl Ehrhard (email communication, 10/24/2013).

595 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 97, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 430, KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 172. The latter accidentally date the event twenty years too early. According to all other sources, the Karma-pa was in Central Tibet in 1751.

596 DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 96, KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 172-173, MARTIN 2003: 288, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429.

597 TBRC: G3419.

598 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 414-415 (ff. 207b.6-208a.1).

599 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 422-430 (ff. 211b.4-215b.5).

600 *gSung 'bum* vol. 1: 292-294 (ff. 146b.3-147b.3), *gSung 'bum* vol. 2: 352-378 (section cha, ff. 11b.2-24b.2).

601 TBRC: P802.

602 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*: 205.

603 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*: 208.

The autobiography's appendix also contains a pilgrimage to Zab-phu-lung⁶⁰⁴ in gTsang⁶⁰⁵ and a more extensive description of a visit to Lha-sa, including a meeting with the ambans and the council of ministers.⁶⁰⁶ In addition, the Karma-pa describes various dreams and visions.

The authors of *History of the Karmapas* claim that the Thirteenth Karma-pa's intervention when Lha-sa was in danger of being flooded substantially improved the relationship with the government, which had already been tense for some time.⁶⁰⁷ It may be because of Tibetan etiquette that the way sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal and other authors describe the enthronement and the visits to Lha-sa does not convey these tensions. However, if there was an improvement, it is hard to imagine that it lasted after the confiscation of Yangs-pa-can monastery.

If one compares sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal's choice of events with that of the other sources, it reflects his penchant for historical facts. For example, he does not include the stories of the Karma-pa's seeing Si-tu as an emerald-colored form of Hayagrīva⁶⁰⁸ and the rain of flowers⁶⁰⁹ coming down at sPo-bo⁶¹⁰ while he performed a consecration ceremony from the distance⁶¹¹.

604 TBRC: G525.

605 gSung 'bum vol. 1: 202.

606 gSung 'bum vol. 1: 204-205.

607 KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 172-173.

608 *Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam*: 205, *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 405 (f. 203a.4-5).

609 according to the secondary sources: blessed grains (DOUGLAS/WHITE 1976: 97, KARMA THINLEY 1980: 119, KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 173, BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 429-430).

610 TBRC: G655.

611 *Karma pa sku 'phreng rim byon gyi rnam thar*: 414 (f. 207b.4-5).

3 An Overview of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's Writings

3.1 Available Works

3.1.1 The dPal-spungs-shes-rab-gling Edition of the *Collected Works*

The *Collected Works* consist of two volumes, which are downloadable as PDF files (and since recently, the first volume also as a computer input) from the website www.words-of-karmapa.org. Both volumes are complete⁶¹²; there are 339 texts in total.

This is the only source I have found so far. There are no hits in WorldCat, so none of the major academic libraries owns it. Probably there are very few printed copies. E. Gene Smith once told me that he used to have one, but then he lent it to somebody and never got it back.⁶¹³ mKhan-po Chos-grags-bstan-'phel remembered that the copy sTobs-dga' Rin-po-che used when he composed the text was either his own or Si-tu Rin-po-che's,⁶¹⁴ which seems to be the one that was used for creating the PDFs. In the former case, it might still be in possession of his family in Bhutan. Apart from that, I have not heard about any further copies, and all other Tibetologists and mKhan-pos that I talked to were unaware that the *Collected Works* are extant at all.⁶¹⁵

Both volumes are woodblock prints. In some places illegible characters or passages have been replaced by computer input, for example in line 1 of page 190 and in line 5 of page 210 of the first volume.

The *Collected Works* are divided into six sections. The beginnings of the sections are the only places where the text titles are not within the text, but on separate title pages; hence, the title of the first text within the section kind of has the function of a section title. A system by which the individual texts are grouped into the respective sections is not recognizable. Each section has a separate folio pagination on the left margin; however, the page pagination by Arabic numbers on the right margin is continuous throughout each of the volumes. The following table gives an overview over the sections:

612 The differences between the page numbering and the number of scan pages stem from the fact that empty back pages at the end of individual texts were not scanned.

613 personal communication, New York, September 2010.

614 personal communication, Vienna, 01/13/2013.

615 This may also be from the fact that Google does not provide search results from www.words-of-karmapa.org.

Section	Title page title	Vol.	Pages
ka	mchog gi dngos grub byin rlabs char rgyun chos bu ba'i gsol 'debs	1	1-426
kha	dpal ldan bla ma dam par gsol 'debs dngos grub mchog stsol	2	1-88
ga	'phag ma sgrol ma bkra shis don grub ma'i sgrub thabs rjes gnang dang bcas pa	2	89-198
nga	dpal ldan bla ma mchog gi rnam thar brjod pa snyan ngag utpala'i phreng ba	2	199-294
ca ⁶¹⁶	sgrub brgyud rin po che'i phreng ba karma kam tshang rtogs pa'i don rgyud las byung ba'i gsung dri ma med pa rnam bkod nas zhal 'don rgyun khyer 'phags lam bgrod pa'i shing rta	2	295-330
cha	yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi gtor 'bul bsdus pa	2	331-498

Not all of the individual texts have a colophon, and there is also no author's or print colophon at the end of either volume of the blockprint. However, there is a print inscription (*spar byang*) at the end of the second volume⁶¹⁷, and a computer input of a print inscription wishing prayer (*spar byang smon tshig*) by the present Si-tu Rin-po-che has been added to the PDF files of both volumes.⁶¹⁸

The *spar byang* tells us that the print is from dPal-spungs and was commissioned by dBon-sprul Karma-ratna, also known as Karma-nges-don-bstan-'dzin-'phrin-las-rab-rgyas⁶¹⁹. Taking into account his year of birth, we can conclude that the *Collected Works* were published sometime during the first half-century after bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's passing away. Therefore, the Si-tu who, according to its colophon, authored the *spar byang* must be the Ninth – he died in 1853.

According to the *spar byang smon tshig* and its colophon, dated September 10th, 2005, the new edition is part of a larger effort by the dPal-spungs-shes-rab-gling⁶²⁰ printery to restore and make available all the texts previously published at dPal-spungs-thub-bstan-chos-'khor-gling.

For the title list of the *Collected Works*, see the appendix. In order to facilitate orientation, I have added title variants or incipits whenever they differ considerably

616 Contrary to all other sections, for this one the letter designating it is not given in the left margin of the respective pages. However, for reasons of consistency, I am labeling it “ca”.

617 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 496-497 (section cha, ff. 103b.4-104a.5).

618 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 427-432, *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 499-504 (ff. 1a-3b).

619 TBRC: P1360.

620 Si-tu Rin-po-che's monastery in India, see KUNSANG ET AL. 2012: 253.

from the title list on www.words-of-karmapa.org, authors other than bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, and other available editions of the texts.

3.1.2 Texts Available from the NGMCP

At first sight, it seems that only six texts by the Thirteenth Karma-pa were microfilmed – some of them several times in several places – and cataloged by the NGMPP. Their bibliographic data are now available from the online database of the successor project, the NGMCP.⁶²¹ However, if one takes a closer look, it turns out that the NGMCP texts are substantially longer than their counterparts from the *Collected Works* – for example, *mChog gi dngos grub byin rlabs char rgyun chos bu pa'i gsol 'debs* has 142 folios in the former⁶²² but only one and a half in the latter⁶²³ – and that their titles correspond to the section title pages in the *Collected Works*. The NGMPP catalogers seem to have taken the title pages as the sole indicators for the beginnings of texts. Remarks in the catalog state that the texts consist of several chapters. However, it is clearly visible from the *Collected Works* that these thematically unrelated “chapters” are indeed separate texts that form a section. So it seems that the entire *Collected Works* are also available from the NGMCP, even though they do not go by that name; in any event, their completeness would have to be verified from the texts themselves.⁶²⁴

In some cases, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's writings have been assigned to other authors. Three texts filmed at gLo-smon-thang⁶²⁵ have “Karma-pa bDud-las-rnam-rgyal” in the colophon. From the similarity of name we can conclude that they are by the Thirteenth Karma-pa, the more so as the titles are identical to those of texts from the *Collected Works*. Another case is a text⁶²⁶ accidentally assigned to sPo-bo-gter-ston⁶²⁷, whose name is also bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, even though there is a text of the same title and length by the Thirteenth Karma-pa. Moreover, in two cases section ca of the *Collected Works*, which contains writings by a variety of authors, is assigned to the Ninth Karma-pa, dBang-phyug-rdo-rje, based on the colophon of the last text of the section.⁶²⁸

621 I have not had access to these texts, just to their catalog entries.

622 NGMCP: L 541/2.

623 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: 2-4 (ff. 1b.1.-2b.1)

624 As I cannot be entirely sure whether these manuscripts really contain all texts up to the next title page, in the title list I have noted “Other edition” only for the texts with the section title pages.

625 NGMCP: L 148/22, L 148/23, L 148/24 – L 149/1.

626 NGMCP: L 196/22 – L 197/1.

627 TBRC: P651.

628 LoC: LCCN 72906040 does the same.

3.1.3 Translations

To my knowledge, only three of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's texts have been translated into Western languages.

Brunnhölzl entitles his English translation of *lTa sgom spyod pa'i skor*⁶²⁹ “A Song on the View [Arising from] Understanding and Experience.”⁶³⁰ He translated from a reprint of the text in the collection *Yid bzhin gyi za ma tog*⁶³¹. Judging from a comparison between the version in the *Collected Works* and the translation, there seem to be only minor differences to the *Yid bzhin gyi za ma tog* version.

Another song by the Thirteenth Karma-pa, the main topic of which is the four ordinary preliminaries, has been translated into English by the Nālānda Translation Committee.⁶³² It is part of the collection *bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*⁶³³ but could not be located within the *Collected Works*. By means of a full text search, it was ascertained that the song is not part of volume 1. As there is no searchable text available for volume 2, its title list was thoroughly checked for words that could refer to the song's form (*mgur, glu*) or content⁶³⁴ (*bskul ba, thun mong sngon 'gro, blo ldog rnams bzhi*), and all texts whose titles could indicate the song were looked at – to no avail. Even though the probability that it is hidden somewhere within volume 2 has been lowered considerably, only a full text search will provide certainty. In that case, an interesting question comes up: If not via the *Collected Works*, from where did the song make it into the *bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*?

The main part of the text *'Phags pa lo ki shwa ra'i gsol 'debs*⁶³⁵, the invocation of 'Phags-pa-wa-ti-bzang-po that bDud-'dul-rdo-rje made in Lha-sa in 1787 in order to prevent the flood, is rendered in German by Ehrhard.⁶³⁶ His translation is not based on the *Collected Works*, but on a quotation in Brag-dkar-rta-so-sprul-sku's⁶³⁷ *rNam thar*

629 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 35-44 (section kha, ff. 18a.4-22b.5).

630 BRUNNHÖLZL 2007a: 430-440. An excerpt is also quoted in BRUNNHÖLZL 2007b: 171-172.

631 LoC: LCCN 2002296286.

632 NĀLĀNDA TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 1999: 64-66.

633 *bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*: 59-62 (ff. 30a.5-31b.4).

634 For an analysis of the content, see NĀLĀNDA TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 1999: 318-319.

635 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 341-342 (section cha, ff. 6a.3-6b.4).

636 EHRHARD 2004: 272-273.

637 TBRC: P5630.

*ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i gtam*⁶³⁸. A comparison between the Tibetan text used by Ehrhard⁶³⁹ and the *Collected Works* showed that they are almost identical.

3.2 Evaluation

In order to get a first overview of the *Collected Works*, I availed myself of the concordancer freeware AntConc 3.2.4.w,⁶⁴⁰ which is used in corpus linguistics.⁶⁴¹ The aim was not to conduct a full-fledged quantitative study, including comparisons with the collected works of other authors and testing the statistical significance of the results, but rather to get an idea what aspects of the Thirteenth Karmapa's writing I should take a closer look at.

Searches were performed in the title lists of both volumes for words that can serve as an indicator for a certain genre or subject.⁶⁴² As a text's title does not necessarily reveal its contents, in some cases full text searches within volume 1 proved to be useful. Search terms that were synonymous, very similar, or closely connected in any other way were grouped together. All hits that are irrelevant, for example because the search term occurs as a part of a personal name, were eliminated from the results.

In terms of genres, many texts are related to ritual and other kinds of practice – indicated by designations such as *smon lam*, *gsol 'debs*, *bsgom bzlas*, *rgyun khyer*, *sgrub thabs*, *dbang bskur*, *cho ga* and their synonyms. On the other hand, philosophy-related terms such as *bstan bcos* or *'grel pa* are barely existent.

From the frequent occurrence of names of persons in the titles, often together with expressions such as *ngor bris pa*, in combination with the considerable number of texts with instruction-related genres such as *dris lan*, *gdams pa*, *bslab bya* and *man ngag*, we can conclude that one of the main driving forces for bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's writing was the relationship with his students.

638 NGMCP: L 380/5- L 381/1.

639 EHRHARD 2004: 191-192.

640 For a concise description of the general features of a concordancer program, see McENERY/WILSON 1996: 15. On the particular features of AntConc, see ANTCONC HELP.

641 On the use of corpora for research questions similar to ours, see McENERY/WILSON 1996: 101-103.

642 Even though I disagree with some of TBRC's classifications into “genres” and “subjects,” in general I am using these terms in a similar sense as they do (see <http://www.tbrc.org#!/footer/help/glossary>): “genre” refers more to the form, and “subject” more to the content.

In terms of subjects, the searches for deities revealed nothing unexpected: The most frequent ones were the different forms of Tārā, various dharma protectors and Avalokiteśvara.

From the perspective of the traditional fields of knowledge, the subjects covered go far beyond the inner science (*nang gi rig pa*) – there is a certain amount of astrology (*dkar rtsis*), medicine (*gso ba'i rig pa*) and performing arts (*zlos gar*). It comes as a surprise that bDud-'dul-rdo-rje showed a keen interest in practical things such as gilding (*tsha gser gtang ba*⁶⁴³) or how to cut glass into pieces (*gshel leb dum bur gcod thabs*⁶⁴⁴) – what is referred to as the science of fabricating things (*gzo gnas kyi rig pa*). Unlike his teacher Si-tu, who dedicated half of his writing to the language-related fields of knowledge (*sgra'i rig pa*, *snyan ngag*, *mngon brjod*, *sdeb sbyor*),⁶⁴⁵ the Thirteenth Karma-pa did not author any texts on them. Logic (*gtan tshigs kyi rig pa*) also seems to be completely lacking.

The terms *tshigs [su] bcad [pa]* and *shlauka/shloka* occur in a multitude of text titles. Taking into account that certain genre designations, such as *mgur*, already imply that a text is in verse, and that a text may be in verse without there being any mention of it in the title (but not vice versa), we can say that a substantial part of the *Collected Works* is in verse.

643 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 187 (section ga, f. 50a.4-5).

644 *gSung 'bum*, vol. 2: 188 (section ga, f. 50b.4-5).

645 SCHAEFFER 2013: 304-305.

4 Conclusion

Unlike the Fifteenth Karma-pa, in whose life story events like meeting consorts and fatherhood play a role, among the activities of the Thirteenth Karma-pa there is none that would be unusual for a Buddhist master of his standing. The lack of an extensive life story authored by someone who personally knew him makes it difficult to draw a complete picture. As sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal brings together all sources that were available to him at the time of writing, he sheds light on bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's life from different angles. Still, he is not always able to establish a clear chronology, and about some decades hardly anything is known.

Nevertheless, if we leave aside the narrative patterns that are part of almost every Tibetan life story, which are reflected in standard phrases such as “fulfilling the wishes of all disciples,” various pictures emerge from the text: from the passage about the offerings made, that of a generous sponsor of Buddhism; from the frequent mention of transmissions given, that of a tireless Buddhist teacher; from the meeting with the oracle of dGa'-gdong, that of a curious traveler who likes to socialize, and so forth.

Taking a look at what is missing is just as revealing: There is no evidence for bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's having been involved in politics in any way. However, this does not mean that it was not the case, it just means that it is not being written about. The events related to the Tenth Zhwa-dmar and the Gorkha wars would have given him good reason to raise his voice, in one way or another – either to protest against the way his student was treated or to condemn his behavior.

The major part of the Thirteenth Karma-pa's life was strongly linked to Si-tu, Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu and the Eighth Zhwa-dmar. Further investigation of this teacher-student matrix may also add to our knowledge about bDud-'dul-rdo-rje. The main sources for this will be the life stories of Si-tu and Tshe-dbang-nor-bu. Apart from that, as long as there are no spectacular rediscoveries of previously unavailable texts relevant for the topic, the main source for additional insights will be the *Collected Works*. Scrutinizing them may add yet unknown life events to the pieces of the jigsaw. Moreover, it will definitely enhance our knowledge about bDud-'dul-rdo-rje as an author.

Appendix: Title List of the *Collected Works*

Volume 1

No.	Title	Page
1	mchog gi dngos grub byin rlabs char rgyun chos bu pa'i gsol 'debs/ Other editions: NGMCP, L 541/2 and L 147/8-148/2	1
2	gsol 'debs dngos grub myur thob/	4
3	thub dbang mchog gi sku brnyan lha chen 'dzam gling rgyan la snyan dar phul ba'i 'dod gsol smon lam zin bris/	4
4	bstan pa'i mnga' bdag de bzhin gshegs pa la gsol ba 'debs pa/	6
5	bde gshegs mchod rten brgyad kyi dkar chag	9
6	rten bshad mkhas btsun bla ma tshe dbang kun khyab gang la bri dgos zhes bskul ba ltar de bzhin legs par bkod pa/ Incipit: 'dir yang bdag cag gi ston pa/ thabs mkhas la ...	16
7	gu ru padma 'byung gnas la gsol ba 'debs pa/	20
8	gu ru padma 'byung gnas la gsol 'debs theg gsum mngon mtho//	21
9	gong ma rnam gsum dang grub thob khams pa mi gsum la bstod pa byin rlabs mchog stsol/	22
10	nyi zhal ma'i zhal thang gi rgyab byang / Incipit: na mo dznya na badzrā ya/ /chu pho ...	24
11	'brug thams cad mkhyen pa'i sku thang gi rgyab yig Incipit: nā ro'i rnam 'phrul dpal ldan 'brug pa'i zhabs/ /bka' brgyud ...	25
12	rje chos kyi 'byung gnas la gsol ba 'debs pa/ Incipit: rgyal kun thugs rje'i mnga' bdag bla ma mchog/ mtha' yas ...	25
13	sngon 'gro bzhi sbyor gyi khrid yig mtho ris them skas ma/	26
14	la stod phyogs nas bya bral ye shes dbang phyug la 'phros gdam dang mos gus bdun ma'i khrid kyi snying po/	39
15	bla ma'i nang sgrub bsdus pa/	44
16	gsol 'debs mdor bsdus/	55
17	bla ma rgyang 'bod mdor bsdus/	56
18	sems ngo skyong ba'i zin bris/ Incipit: na mo gu ru/ sems nyid blta ba'i ...	59
19	yid la sim par bya ba'i chos/ Incipit: na mo ma hā sarbba dznyā darsha ...	63
20	nā ro chos drug nyung bsdus/	64
21	skyid sdug lam khyer gyi gdams pa/	68
22	long med rgyud bskul gyi gzhung dang 'grel pa bcas/	70

No.	Title	Page
23	chos la bskul ba'i sngon 'gro mdor bsdus/	73
24	le lo can rnams chos la bskul ba'i smon lam/	74
25	ma rig gnyid bskrog/	79
26	snang ba brda'i bla mas byis pa las can chos la 'khod pa'i lo rgyus/	88
27	brda chos/	96
28	phyag rgya chen po'i zin bris tho tsam bkod pa/	102
29	dge sbyor la bskul ba'i mgur ma tshigs bcad nyer gcig ma/	102
30	'khor bar zhen bzlog blo la phan bskyed/	107
31	bstan bcos 'dra 'dra 'ga' zhig	108
32	dus chen bzhi'i ngos 'dzin/ Incipit: na mo buddhā ya tshogs gnyis ...	111
33	sogs rtse bla ma'i zhal slob la gnang ba'i smon lam/ Incipit: ma rig mdongs nga'i dmigs bu brtul phod pa/ /tshad med ...	112
34	spyen ras gzigs kyi bsgom bzlas na ma ārya pa lo/ Incipit: na ma ārya pa lo/	112
35	spyen ras gzigs kyi bsgom bzlas bdag sogs mkha' mnyam ma/ Incipit: bdag sogs mkha' mnyam 'gro tshogs rnams/ /dkon mchog ...	113
36	sgrol dkar bsgom bzlas/ Incipit: skyabs sems sngon du song nas ni/ ...	114
37	sgrol dkar mngon rtogs rgyun khyer/	115
38	rje btsun 'phags ma sgrol ma la gsol 'debs/	117
39	dge rgan karma don grub gshegs pa'i skabs kun rig stong chog tshogs dus smon lam mtshams sbyor du bris pa/ Incipit: om swa sti/ /gang gi mtshan tsam dran pas ...	118
40	dus chen gsum 'dzoms kyi skor/ Incipit: tshogs gnyis bsags pa'i zhing sa ...	121
41	maṇḍal smon tshig Incipit: om swa sti/ /'phags mchog yon tan ...	125
42	bla ma kun khyab kyi ngor bris pa'i smon tshig Incipit: na mo dharmā ka rā ya/ /gang gi tshad med thugs rje'i ...	127
43	mnyam med thugs rje zhes bya ba'i smon tshig	128
44	mnga' ris bande shes rab ngor bris pa'i bla ma'i gsol 'debs/ Incipit: mangga lam swa sti bha wantu/ /bde gshegs rgyal ba'i ...	128
45	gong sa thams cad mkhyen pa'i zhabs brtan gsol 'debs/ Incipit: gdod nas lhun grub kun khyab chos kyi dbyings/ ...	129

No.	Title	Page
46	rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po dang skyabs mgon khri chen no mon han rin po che'i mjal phyag tu bcar ba'i lam du bris pa/ Incipit: sa phag lor/ gangs ljongs bstan 'gro'i dpal gcig ...	130
47	mnga' ris bande blo gros chos rgyal ngor bris pa'i 'gro mgon chos rgyal ma/ Incipit: 'gro mgon chos rgyal kun 'dus pa'i zhal/ /paṇ chen ...	132
48	rab 'byams pa blo bzang rnam grol gyi bskul ngor bris pa'i dpal 'byor tshogs gnyis ma/ Incipit: dpal 'byor tshogs gnyis rgyal mtsho'i klong yangs las/ ...	132
49	karma bde mchog ngor bris pa'i smon tshig rtsa gsum kun 'dus ma/ Incipit: oṃ swa sti/ /rtsa gsum kun 'dus ...	133
50	sgrol ma'i rgyun khyer bsdus pa/ Incipit: rgyal ba kun gyi phrin las ma/ ...	133
51	shes rab bzang po'i ngor bris pa'i sgrol bstod dbu skyes bung ba'i ma/ Incipit: dbu skyes bung ba'i mdog ltar ...	134
52	gnyer karma bkra shis ngor bris pa'i gangs can skyabs gcig ma/ Incipit: gangs can skyabs gcig 'phags mchog spyen ras gzigs/ ...	134
53	ngag dbang lhun grub ngor bris pa'i o rgyan chen po'i gsol 'debs/ Incipit: o rgyan chen po padma 'byung gnas la/ /mos gus ...	134
54	sku skye karma dbang rgyal ngor bris pa'i dkon mchog rgyal ba ma/ Incipit: dkon mchog rgyal ba rgya mtsho'i gsang ...	135
55	gnyer yon tan ngor bris pa'i shlau ka/ Incipit: sgrub bstan spel la rmad byung ...	135
56	kham phyogs kyī bla ma mi pham blo gros rab rgyas ngor bris pa'i shlau ka/ Incipit: mi pham blo gros rab 'phel zhes bya khyod/ /thos bsam ...	136
57	mchod dpon karma rab rgyas ngor bris pa'i shlau ka/ Incipit: dal 'byor mi lus thob pa'i gru bo mchog/ /khor ba'i ...	136
58	dbu mdzad bstan pa rab rgyas ngor bris pa'i shlo ka/ Incipit: dpal brgyad 'byor bcu thob pa'i rnam dag khyod/ ...	136
59	kham phyogs kyī bla ma 'gyur med dpal ldan la gnang ba'i shlau ka/ Incipit: dpal 'byor don grub mchog der gsol btab pas/ ...	137
60	'gag pa karma lha dbang rgya bo'i ngor bris pa'i shlau ka/ Incipit: dpal ldan bla ma'i byin rlabs snying la zhugs/ /lhun grub ...	137
61	gzhi lam 'bras gsum/ lta sgom spyod 'bras kyī smon lam/ Incipit: na mo si tu dharmā ka ra ye/ ma bcos lhun grub ...	137
62	kham sgis sna bla ma'i ngor gnang ba'i shlau ka/ Incipit: gdod nas rnam dag mi g.yo mchog gi sku/ /gnas lugs ji ltar ...	138

No.	Title	Page
63	dbu mdzad dbu dkar karma bsod nams ngor bris pa'i smon tshig Incipit: dkon mchog kun 'dus mtshungs med bla ma rje/ /e yig ...	138
64	kham rta rna bla mar btsal ba'i shlau ka/ Incipit: dkon mchog rnam gsum lhag pa'i ltar/ /byang chub ...	139
65	dpal ldan zur ri'i 'bul sdud 'gro mi rnam kyī ngor gnang ba'i smon tshig Incipit: spros bral ye shes chen po'i klongs yongs las/ /gyur med ...	139
66	grwa tshang dpon slob la gnang ba'i rtsa gsum thugs rje gnad bskul chos dbyings ye shes ma Incipit: chos dbyings ye shes lnga ldan mchog gi klong / ...	140
67	bde mchog gi rnal 'byor pa ye shes lhun grub ngor bris pa'i smon tshig Incipit: a ham de stong chen po'i dbyings las/ /thar pa chen po'i ...	141
68	smon lam mchog gsum ngo bo zhes pa/ Incipit: mchog gsum ngo bo gu ru rje'i/ ...	141
69	drung yig gis bskul ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: 'khor ba'i go rar chud pa'i ya ma rlas/ ma rig ...	142
70	tshab tsha bla ma tshang gi mdzo rdzi'i 'dod don du spel ba'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: kī/ dam chos tshig bzhi nyams su long / /rang nyid ...	142
71	bstan rgyas gling gi dge slong ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: gang zhig khyod nyid rtag bar du/ /skyabs mchog ...	142
72	dad ldan slob ma nor skyong dang brtson 'grus zung gi ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: rig 'dzin padma 'byung gnas byin rlabs kyis/ mi mthun ...	142
73	sgrub chen blo gros ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: gsang bdag rnam 'phrul ras chung rdor grags gis/ ...	143
74	mdo smad phun gling rdor slob kun dga' chos 'phel ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: 'dren mchog dam pa bla ma rje/ /bral smin legs ...	143
75	stong nag sku skye tshang la 'tshub cha che skabs 'dod don du bris pa/ Incipit: snang srid dbang bsgyur gu ru padma 'byung / ...	144
76	sgis sna bla ma tshul khrims rgya mtsho'i ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/	144
77	gnas mdo bla ma'i ngor bris pa'i smon lam tshigs su bcad pa/ Incipit: chos dbyings rab byams bde chen grong yangs nas/ ...	146
78	zur mang sprul sku zung la gdams pa/	146
79	mgo log phyogs kyī bande tshe dbang skyabs chos la bskul ba'i bshad pa/ Incipit: kham gsum 'gro ba'i mgon gcig zas gtsang sras/ /rtag tu ...	152
80	ka mad sum cu las gras pa'i chos bshad/ Incipit: ka dag gnas lugs rtogs pa'i ...	155
81	sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyob kyī smon lam/ na mo ārya tā rā ye zhes pa/ Incipit: na mo ārya tā rā ye/ bdag cag gzhi dang ...	157

No.	Title	Page
82	'gro ba'i nad la phan thogs pa'i smon lam/ sangs rgyas sman blas zhes pa/ Incipit: sangs rgyas sman blas rjes bzung ste/ /gang gis ...	159
83	mgo log dpon chung 'brug skyabs la gnang ba'i smon lam/ dag pa dga' ldan zhes pa/ Incipit: dag pa dga' ldan zhing khams su/ /'gro ba'i skyabs ...	160
84	sbyin bdag tshe skyabs la gnang ba'i smon lam shlau ka/ Incipit: tshogs gnyis bskal pa grangs med gsum du spyad/ ...	161
85	ri bo bya rkang gi ho shang span shag ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: chos dbyings bde chen spros bral klong yongs las/ ...	162
86	ar ge dpal bzang ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: rgyal ba rab 'byams sgyu 'phrul las/ /mthon mthing ...	162
87	thang pa'i ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: mchog gsum rab 'byams ji snyed la/ ...	162
88	kha reg jo grong sde pa mthing 'don 'go pa'i ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: skyabs mchog rig 'dzin padma 'byung / /'khor dang bcas ...	164
89	rdzong shar sde pa mthing 'don 'go pa'i ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: om̐ āḥ hūṃ badzra gu ru padma siddhi hūṃ/ /dpag yas ...	165
90	sgrol ma gsung byon ma'i 'dod gsol/ Incipit: 'phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la/ ...	166
91	sgo yi mdun du tho chung brtsigs pa'i ngos la bris pa'i yi ge/	166
92	sog po byang chub ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: e yig shes rab sra mkhregs rdo ste stong nyid ...	168
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⁶⁴⁶ The beginning of this text could not be determined, it seems it is identical with the following one.

⁶⁴⁷ It is also not completely clear to me whether this text begins at the beginning of the first or in the end of the second line.

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99	byang chub sems ma yum chen blo bzang chos kyi sgrol ma'i dgongs rdzogs skabs kyi nyams snang /	252
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101	rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg shin tu bsdus pa/	253
102	sgrol ma chu'i 'jigs skyob kyi man ngag Incipit: sa sprel lor/ shar phyogs ...	255
103	rims nad mtha' dag bsrung ba'i sngags srung zab mo/ Incipit: gnas nang dgon gyi dbu mdzad bsam 'phel nas rims nad ...	258
104	mthun pa spun bzhi/ Incipit: khams dpal spungs dgon gyi grwa ...	259
105	mgyogs rtsis bde legs nyi ma sogs/	259
106	rten 'brel bcu gnyis kyi brtag thabs/ Incipit: na maḥ shrīḥ kā la tsakra ya/ ...	263
107	sgra gcan kyi brtag thabs/ Incipit: yang skabs zhig rtsis gsar pa ...	264
108	byis pa gsum la las 'bras kyi bshad pa Incipit: om āḥ huṃ a ho mahā sukha/ byis pa ...	266
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112	tsā ri'i gnas bshad glu ru blangs pa/ Incipit: yang nged mtshur gyi ri khrod ...	274
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114	gdung dbyangs gsol 'debs dus gsum rgyal kun/ Incipit: na mo dri shya bogha (?)/ dus gsum rgyal ba kun gyi/ ...	277
115	dam can rdor legs kyi gsol mchod mdor bsdus/ Incipit: om badzra pa ṇi hūṃ/ dam can rdor legs kyi gsol mchod ...	278
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118	char 'bebs/ Incipit: klu sman gyi skor sna ...	282
119	gnod sbyin 'khor lo/	283
120	rab gnas dang smon lam mdor bsdus/	285
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122	sgrub brgyud rin po che'i phreng ba karma kaṃ tshang gi zhal 'don rgyun khyer 'phags lam bgrod pa'i shing rta/ Title page title: sgrub brgyud rin po che'i phreng ba karma kaṃ tshang rtogs pa'i don rgyud las byung ba'i gsung dri ma med pa rnams bkod nas zhal 'don rgyun khyer 'phags lam bgrod pa'i shing rta/ Other edition: NGMCP, L 735/3	295
123	snang ba lam du khyer ba'i phyir rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i bskyed rim rgyun khyer/ Incipit: de rjes snang ba lam du khyer ba'i phyir rdo rje ...	312
124	zhwa dmar lnga pas mdzad pa gdung shugs gsol 'debs/ sku bzhi'i bdag nyid ces pa/ Incipit: sku bzhi'i bdag nyid mtshungs med chos kyi rje/ zhwa nag cod pan ... Author: dKon-mchog-yan-lag (Fifth Zhwa-dmar)	316
125	dkon mchog yan lag gis mdzad pa'i smon lam/ sangs rgyas dngos su zhes pa/ Incipit: sangs rgyas dngos su byon pa'i karma pa/ mi bskyod ... Author: dKon-mchog-yan-lag (Fifth Zhwa-dmar)	317
126	thun bzhi'i dmigs rim bsdus pa/ Author: A-rā-ga (Karma-chags-med)	319
127	rje karma pa chen po rgyal dbang mi bskyod rdo rje'i dus gsum gyi rnam thar/ Author: dKon-mchog-'bangs (either the Fifth Zhwa-dmar dKon-mchog- yan-lag or the Ninth Karma-pa dBang-phyug-rdo-rje)	322
128	rje btsun dbang phyug rdo rje'i gsol 'debs dang dbu zhwa'i bshad pa/ Author: dKon-mchog-yan-lag (Fifth Zhwa-dmar)	325 648
129	dpal ldan karma pa chen po'i zhabs brtan phrin las rab 'phel/ Author: Si-tu (probably the Ninth, Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po)	328
130	yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi gtor 'bul bsdus pa/ Other editions: NGMCP, L 541/3, L 148/24 – L 149/1 and L 196/22 – L 197/1	331
131	mgon po mi 'khrugs pa'i brgyud rim gsol 'debs/	335

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132	shākya'i rgyal po'i sku brnyan drung du phul ba'i snyan dar ngos su bkod pa'i bstod pa/ Incipit: na mo shākya mu na ye/ shing pho stag lor/ khams gsum ...	337
133	lha chen 'dzam gling rgyan gcig drung ting dang lhung bzed 'bul bskabs mdzad pa'i smon lam Incipit: skye rgu'i mgon gcig bcom ldan shākya thub/ ...	339
134	'phags pa lo ki shwa ra'i gsol 'debs/ Incipit: na mo ārya lo ki shwa rā ye/ ...	341
135	mnga' ris sman pas bskul ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: skye dgu'i yid kyi dad pa'i padmo byed mkhas pa/ ...	342
136	dge ba'i bshes gnyen tshul khirms mthar phyin la gnang ba'i sems kyi ngo sprod/ Incipit: skyabs dkon mchog gsum la gsol ba 'debs/ shar sprin bral ...	342
137	bsod nams dbang rgyal pa'i sgom gyi bogs 'don/ Incipit: na mo si tu dha mā kā rā ya/ 'khor 'das chos kun ...	345
138	bod chen zur mang phyogs su bskyod skabs mdzad pa'i 'gro chos rten 'brel tsam/ Incipit: bsam brjod las 'das skye med chos skur 'dud/ bdag gzhan ...	345
139	skal bzang sgron me zhes pa'i mgur ma/	346
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151	'khrul zhig kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi ngor gdams pa/ Incipit: thog ma med nas da ltag thug gi bar/ /chos sku las nyon ...	409
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156	ban chen dge slong karma bzang 'phel ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: gtan gyi skyabs gnas mchog gsum la/ /bdag gzhan ...	413
157	dad ldan tshe ring don grub ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: yang dag ngo bo lhun gyis sgrub pa'i sku/ ...	414
158	bsam grub tshe 'phel ngor bris pa'i tshigs bcad/ Incipit: bdag sogs 'gro ba ma rig mun sangs te/ ye shes ...	414
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LoC	Library of Congress Online Catalog. http://catalog2.loc.gov/
NGMCP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloging Project http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/
RINPOCHES	A List of Recognized Incarnations or Tulkus (made in about 1819 CE). Input by Dan Martin. https://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/rinpoches
RKTS	Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/
RY DICTIONARY	Nitartha International Online Dictionary Search of Rangjung Yeshe Dictionary http://www.nitartha.org/dictionary_search04.html

RY WIKI	Rangjung Yeshe Wiki – Dharma Dictionary http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/Main_Page
THLIB PLACES/RONIS	THL Place Dictionary – Pelpung Monastery. By Jann Ronis http://places.thlib.org/features/17172/descriptions/1207
TIBETMAP	Tibet Map Institute Maps http://www.tibetmap.com/eros3br.html
TBRC	Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center Library www.tbrc.org
WORDS OF KARMAPA	The Words of Karmapa http://www.words-of-karmapa.org
WORLDCAT	WorldCat library catalog search engine http://www.worldcat.org
ZURMANG KAGYUD	Zurmang Kagyud – Gharwang http://www.zurmangkagyud.org/dharma/images/ozio-gallery/2/HTML-Joomla/zm_Gharwang.html

Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the Thirteenth Karma-pa, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733-1797). In order to examine the impact he had on the times and society that he was living in, two different sources are consulted: a life story and his writings.

The chapter on the life story forms the core part. It starts with a survey of the available sources on bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's life, and goes on to describe the political circumstances in Tibet during his time, as well as people and places that were important to him. The life story chosen for translation is the first chapter of the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba'i kha skong* by sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal (1940-1997), a source that is more comprehensive and more precise than the earlier ones. After a brief introduction into the author's life and works and the text itself, the critical edition and translation follow. In a final section, the information gained is compared to that of other sources: contradictions are pointed out, and additions and omissions are described.

As bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's writings are not widely available, the third chapter first gives an overview of accessible texts, both in Tibetan and in translation. A brief evaluation of the writings follows; based on the *Collected Works*, it examines the literary genres and the topics treated.

On the whole, the result is a clearer picture of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje – his life was characterized by a close relationship to his teachers Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas and Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, considerable dedication in teaching his students, and a keen interest in a wide range of topics that is reflected in his writing.

Zusammenfassung

Thema dieser Abschlussarbeit ist der Dreizehnte Karma-pa, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733-1797). Um seinen Einfluss auf die Zeit und die Gesellschaft, in der er lebte, zu untersuchen, werden zwei verschiedene Quellen herangezogen: seine Lebensgeschichte und seine literarischen Werke.

Das Herzstück der Arbeit ist das zweite Kapitel über die Lebensgeschichte. Es beginnt mit einer Bestandsaufnahme der verfügbaren Quellen zum Leben bDud-'dul-rdo-rjes, und beschreibt in Folge die politische Situation in Tibet zu seiner Zeit, sowie Menschen und Orte, die eine wichtige Rolle für ihn spielten. Die Lebensgeschichte, die für die Übersetzung ausgewählt wurde, ist das erste Kapitel des *bKa' brgyud gser phreng gi rnam thar rab 'byams zla ba chu shel gyi 'phreng ba'i kha skong* von sTobs-dga'-g.yul-rgyal (1940-1997), eine Quelle, die umfassender und präziser als ihre Vorgänger ist. Nach einer kurzen Einführung in Leben und Werk des Autors, sowie den Text selbst, folgt die kritische Edition und Übersetzung. In einem abschliessenden Abschnitt werden die gewonnenen Informationen mit denen anderer Quellen verglichen: Widersprüche werden aufgezeigt, Auslassungen und Hinzufügungen beschrieben.

Da die von bDud-'dul-rdo-rje verfassten Texte nicht leicht zugänglich sind, gibt das dritte Kapitel zunächst einen Überblick über erhältliche Ausgaben, sowohl in Tibetisch als auch in Übersetzung. Es folgt eine kurze Evaluierung; basierend auf einer Ausgabe der “Gesammelten Werke” werden die literarischen Genres und die behandelten Themen untersucht.

Als Gesamtergebnis entsteht ein klareres Bild von bDud-'dul-rdo-rje – sein Leben war charakterisiert von einer engen Beziehung zu seinen Lehrern Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas und Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, beachtlichem Engagement bei der Ausbildung seiner Schüler und einem starken Interesse an einem breiten Spektrum von Themen, das sich in seiner literarischen Tätigkeit widerspiegelt.

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Data:

Name: Gabriele Coura
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Education:

Expected 1/2014 University of Vienna, Vienna/Austria
Master of Arts in Tibetan Studies

08/2011 University of Hamburg, Hamburg/Germany
International Bachelor of Arts in Languages and Cultures of the Indian Subcontinent and Tibet; Minor: English Linguistics

03/1998 Karmapa International Buddhist Institute, New Delhi/India
Bachelor of Arts in Buddhist Studies

05/1990 University of Regensburg, Regensburg/Germany
Master in Business Administration (“Diplom-Kaufmann”)

Experience:

07/2012-Present Department of South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of Vienna, Vienna/Austria
Student Assistant

10/2013-Present **Language Instructor**
Compile lists of Tibetan manuscripts to be acquired. Digitize texts. Taught workshop “Introduction to the Use of the TBRC Online Resources”. Teach seminar for Introduction to Classical Tibetan.

09/2010-12/2010 Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, Cambridge MA/USA
Intern

02/2011-12/2012 **Freelance Contributor**
Created structural and topical outlines for works of various Tibetan literary genres (*gsung 'bum*, *rnam thar*, *gnas yig*, *gter ma*, *zhal 'don* et al.). Amended typos and factual mistakes contained in the TBRC database. Translated TBRC website into German; responsible for the English and German versions of the website, coordinated translations for the French, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese versions.

02/2009-08/2009 04/2010-03/2011	Library of the Asia-Africa Institute, University of Hamburg/Germany Intern Student Assistant Cataloged about two thousand Tibetan books, blockprints and manuscripts, which were previously on index cards, in the online catalog. Cataloged new acquisitions of Tibetan, English, German and French publications. Reviewed the classification of texts and reclassified them if necessary. Substituted the librarian during his vacation and after his retirement.
05/2005-06/2007	Asociación Cultural Karma Guen, Vélez-Málaga/Spain Librarian Built up a research library from scratch. Chose and bought inventory and texts. Wrote the specification for the catalog software, tested the software. Contributed to the design of a classification system and a keyword list. Set up and documented guidelines for cataloging. Cataloged and classified several thousand volumes of Tibetan, English, German, Spanish, French, Italian and Sanskrit publications. Collaborated in setting up and testing hardware and software for digitization of texts.
11/2001-02/2005	Verra GmbH, Fürth/Germany SAP Application Developer and Deputy Head of IT Department Adapted the SAP system to the needs of a medium-size import and retail company, with particular focus on warehouse management.
08/1999-10/2001	Faber-Castell Consulting GmbH, Stein bei Nürnberg/Germany SAP Application Development Consultant Maintained the service management components of the SAP system of a large medical technology company.
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Language Skills:

- Native German
- Near-native written and excellent spoken English
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- Profound knowledge in Classical Tibetan, good Modern Tibetan skills
- Basic Sanskrit, Mongolian, French and Italian

Publications:

- “English Terminology in the Tibetan Buddhist Tradition: a Corpus-based Study”. In: Modern Buddhist Studies No. 1 (Department of Philosophy, University of Opole), forthcoming.
- translation: “Questions and Answers with Mipham Rinpoche, Part 2” (with Khenpo Karma Ngedon). In: Buddhism Today No. 21, Spring/Summer 2008.
- translation: “Questions and Answers with Mipham Rinpoche, Part 1” (with Khenpo Karma Ngedon). In: Buddhism Today No. 19, Spring/Summer 2007.